

OLGA V. TROKHIMENKO

MIT SPRUCHEN VOLLE BRINGEN: ULRICH VON
TÜRHEIM'S AND HEINRICH VON FREIBERG'S PROVER-
BIAL STRATEGIES

Abstract: The article examines the use of paremiological material in the two thirteenth-century Middle High German versions of the Tristan and Isolde legend by Ulrich von TÜRHEIM (ca. 1240–1260) and Heinrich von Freiberg (ca. 1290). Though working with the same originals and facing the same challenge of continuing the story whose ethos neither author could fully embrace, the two poets approach their source material in starkly different ways, based on their individual poetic goal, capabilities, and style. By looking at the way the two poets use proverbs and proverbial expressions in their respective epics, the paper claims that it is representative of their overall treatment of the Tristan story.

Keywords: Tristan and Isolde; Tristan legend; Middle High German; Ulrich von TÜRHEIM; Heinrich von Freiberg; proverbs; Gottfried von Strassburg

One of the most memorable moments in Ulrich von TÜRHEIM'S mid-thirteenth-century epic *Tristan* is a conversation between the main protagonist, Tristan, and his wife, Isolde of the White Hands, a lovely and, until this moment, understanding young woman, who suddenly turns tables on her manipulative and deceitful husband. Tired of false promises, Ulrich'S heroine suddenly summons her courage and confronts Tristan with a poignant reproach. Despite being joined to her in a sacrament of marriage, his heart belongs to another — to his former lover Isolde the Blond — and as result, their marriage remains unfulfilled and unfulfilling:

nu hore, lieber Tristan.
vil dikke ich daz vernomen han,
daz ein man unde sin wip
hant zwo sele und einen lip.
ez solte wesen under in zwein

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ein gar vereinetes ein.

nun sin wir unvereinet. (UvT, vv. 353–359)

(Now listen, my dear Tristan. I have often heard that a man and his wife have two souls, but one flesh. The two of them should be united into one single one. However, we are not united.)¹

Young Isolde's proverbial reproach is more than a mere summary of the main issue at the core of Ulrich's text, the incompleteness of Tristan's love relationships with both Isoldes. It can also be read as a metaphor for the overall plight of the Tristan legend in Middle High German after it had been left unfinished by the genius of Gottfried von Strassburg. The two continuators of Gottfried's twelfth-century masterpiece, Ulrich von Türheim (ca. 1240–1260) and Heinrich von Freiberg (ca. 1300), have cardinaly different approaches to their inherited material: from their respective works' length and poetic style to their treatment of gender, sexuality, and emotions, and, finally, to their ultimate message. A similar lack of unity, or rather say, unison, reigns in the area of proverb use. While telling the same story and being anchored, allegedly, in the same sources, the two authors are markedly *unvereinet* (disjoined) in their incorporation of gnomic material into their narratives, in their decisions regarding what proverbs are used, by whom, and to what purpose, and the overall place of the paremiological elements in the universes of their respective texts.

Before proceeding, a very brief plot summary of the Tristan legend and a quick overview of its reception in the medieval German tradition may prove helpful. Middle High German literature boasts several retellings of the Tristan and Isolde story, such as those by Eilhart von Oberge (ca. 1170–1175) and Gottfried von Strassburg (ca. 1210), followed by two mid-thirteenth-century sequels to Gottfried's unfinished epic by the above-mentioned Ulrich von Türheim and Heinrich von Freiberg. There is also a later retelling by Hans Sachs and a prose version of the tale (ca. 1490). The story of Tristan and Isolde is a tragic tale of illegitimate love between a Cornish knight and an Irish princess, chosen to become his uncle's bride. During a trip from Ireland to Cornwall, Tristan and Isolde unknowingly drink a love potion and therefore are doomed to love each other despite all kinds of obstacles (social, moral, religious, physical, etc.). Both Ulrich and

Heinrich begin their respective works at the point where Gottfried von Strassburg's torso stops, namely, with the main protagonist Tristan's exile from Cornwall and his arrival to the Duchy of Arundel. It is there that Tristan meets the family of the local ruler, defeats his enemy, befriends his son Kaedin, and proposes and marries his daughter, Isolde of the White Hands. Tormented by his separation from his true, albeit illegitimate, love, Isolde of Ireland, also known as Isolde the Blond, the wife of his uncle King Marke of Cornwall, Tristan fails to consummate his own, hastily arranged marriage. Eventually, his neglected spouse can no longer bear her shame and, involuntarily, makes his dishonorable behavior public in the famous Bold Water episode (UvT, vv. 374–518; HvF, vv. 3757–3895), in which during a horse ride, water splashes under her skirt and causes her to laugh and reveal her secret. When confronted by Isolde's relatives, Tristan excuses his neglect by his undying love for a woman, whom he claims to be far superior to his wife. To save his life and honor, he offers to take Kaedin, his brother-in-law, to Cornwall to see for himself the beauty of Isolde the Blond. Upon their return back to Arundel, Tristan does finally consummate his marriage, but does not live long after that, having received a mortal wound while accompanying Kaedin on a tragic love quest. Isolde the Blond is the only person capable of saving Tristan's life, but she arrives too late and finds him dead: his wife, Isolde of the White Hands, has convinced the dying man that the sail on the boat sent to bring him his cure is black — a sign that his lover is not coming to his aid. The story ends with the death of Isolde the Blond on Tristan's bier and their joint burial.

Ulrich von Türheim's and Heinrich von Freiberg's renditions of the Tristan legend have traditionally been dismissed as second-rate and unworthy of their sources — the Middle High German epics by either Gottfried von Strassburg, whose unfinished epic they purport to continue, or the earlier text by Eilhart von Oberge, whose plotline they actually adopt. Both continuations have been criticized for conceptual and artistic shortcomings, which particularly stand out when one compares them to Gottfried's *Tristan*.² Ulrich is commonly chastised for his poetic deficiencies, such as his lack of interest in narration, his choppy style of writing, insufficient or doubled motivation, and unabashed bawdiness; while Heinrich is criticized for his length, his excessive preoccupation with motivation, his moralizing tone, and his total rejection of

Gottfried's idea of love, despite his open admiration for and close imitation of the latter's style.³ Even though William McDonald's efforts have somewhat redeemed Ulrich von Türheim's *Tristan* as an ambiguous and complex text, the scholarly prejudice against this poet's version endures⁴; and Heinrich von Freiberg continues to be regarded more favorably and commended for his attempts to approximate Gottfried and even for the length of his work.⁵

A careful look at Ulrich von Türheim's text uncovers, however, that it is too simplistic and unjust to write it off as a product of an inferior poetic talent. Ulrich's writing indeed may not be very elegant, with its "linear and sequential method of story telling,"⁶ concrete and simple narrative that always looks forward and offers only barebones narration. Yet such deficiencies of style are offset by other aspects of Ulrich's writing, such as humor (which, one has to admit, at times leans toward the obscene), but also his approach to character depiction, gender, and emotions. Ulrich's epic is and, as the manuscript transmission suggests, may have been more palatable for the audiences now and then, thanks to its poetic style, full of dialogue, jokes, and irony, as well as to its relative shortness of some 3730 verses, compared to almost double of that by Heinrich von Freiberg (6830 verses). It has survived in seven full manuscripts, compared with only three of Heinrich's epic, and is the one to accompany Gottfried von Strassburg's unfinished *Tristan* in most of them, thus proving that the medieval public must have considered this version to be the true continuation of the great masterpiece.⁷

Both Ulrich's and Heinrich's sequels indeed fall short when compared to their great predecessor and alleged inspiration, Gottfried. However, it has been pointed out by several scholars that the two texts should not be treated as continuations, but rather as independent creations in their own right and read on their own terms.⁸ Existing studies have shown that Ulrich's narrative choices enable him and his audience to sympathize more easily with the adulterous love of Tristan and Isolde the Blond.⁹ It is Ulrich's continuous focus on the virtue of loyalty or fidelity (Middle High German *triuwe*) that brings his *Tristan* closer to Gottfried's masterpiece in spirit than Heinrich's righteous didacticism.¹⁰ A similar dynamic exists in the area of paremiological use as well. Wolfgang Mieder's and Tomas Tomasek's studies of Gottfried von Strassburg's use of proverbs uncover a highly complex work, in

which gnomic material is deeply embedded into the fabric of the text.¹¹ Tomasek, for example, examines the narrator's use of proverbs and sententious remarks, proving, yet again, that Gottfried was well-versed in both secular and clerical contemporaneous discourses.¹² Proverbs in Gottfried's *Tristan* contribute to creation of a *Kommunikationsgemeinschaft*, a shared, communal experience between the narrator and his audience and serve a didactic purpose. The narrator, according to Tomasek, functions therefore as a "teaching visionary" (*ein lehrender Visionär*), an expert on love.¹³ In his turn, Wolfgang Mieder concentrates on a specific theme, a true leitmotif of Gottfried's epic. Discussing the subject of love and pain, Mieder similarly demonstrates that the poet does not use his paremiological material randomly. Rather, his proverbial ideology is reflective of his larger concept of the interconnectedness between love and suffering, *liebe* and *leit*, as two sides of the same coin, the inseparable components of true love that only the select few — his so-called "noble hearts" (*edeliu herzen*, GvS, vv. 233) — can appreciate, embrace, and endure.¹⁴ It would come as no surprise that both Heinrich and Ulrich use their gnomic material highly strategically as well, revealing their knowledge of contemporaneous lay and clerical discourses, their source material (Gottfried and Eilhart), and, particularly in Heinrich's case, their contemporaries and competitors (Ulrich). The proverbs and proverbial expressions are as integral to the universes of their respective texts as they are to Gottfried's. Yet it must be pointed out that proverbial rhetoric significantly contributes to the fact that despite his alleged poetic deficiencies, it is Ulrich who comes closer to Gottfried in the overall message of his epic.¹⁵

Proverbial Talk: Ulrich von Türheim's Tristan

Despite the length of the two epics, the frequency of proverb use is remarkably low in both sequels. According to Manfred Eikelmann and Tomas Tomasek's extensive two-volume collection of proverbial material in medieval German epics, Ulrich's epic contains the total of 18 proverbs and sententious remarks (including allusions to the existing units), while, surprisingly, Heinrich's much lengthier text is said to have almost the same number as Ulrich's (13).¹⁶ The nature and content of gnomic material appears to be consistent with the two authors' respective approaches to the Tristan story, influenced by their individual worldviews,

ideologies, and poetic strategies and abilities. In Ulrich's *Tristan*, most of the proverbial expressions belong to the characters; the narrator's proverbial language occurs mostly in the end of the text, in the religiously intoned, somewhat moralizing closing. According to Eikelmann and Tomasek, three fourths of all proverbial sayings in Ulrich's epic belong to the characters, compared to only two thirds in Gottfried's torso.¹⁷ This is not at all surprising, considering Ulrich's overall approach to storytelling that favors dialogue as a means of propelling the tale forward and limits the narrator's descriptive role compared to Gottfried's or Heinrich's texts. The proverbial expressions help to move the plot along, to comment on what is occurring in the text, to clarify the characters' psychological state, empower them, as well as produce a more vivid and colorful language. For example, according to Eikelmann and Tomasek, a surprisingly high number of proverbs (57% of the total expressions) belongs to the female characters.¹⁸ It is indeed so and, again, not at all surprising, considering the number of memorable women found in Ulrich's text, who, in contrast to their counterparts in Heinrich von Freiberg's epic, are not afraid of speaking their mind, expressing themselves with both their mouths and their bodies.¹⁹ Proverbs and proverbial expressions lend themselves very well to the situations where there is need of convincing; the speaker receives from them additional authority that comes with wisdom transmitted through generations.

One example of such use is the above-quoted reproach from Tristan's young wife, Isolde of the White Hands, about the true nature of marriage: "vil dikke ich daz vernomen han, / daz ein man unde sin wip / hant zwo sele und einen lip" ("I have often heard that a man and his wife have two souls, but one flesh," UvT, vv. 354–356).²⁰ Its very forcefulness comes from the fact that the woman is using a proverb, whose concise form and authoritative, because age-long, wisdom, known to all, make her argument unbeatable. Introduced by the marker of proverbiality, "I have often heard" (*vil dike ich daz vernomen han*), the popular wisdom gives the shy and neglected wife authority to defend her spousal rights that Tristan keeps denying her. Here Ulrich's Isolde cites the authority that comes from nothing less than the Vulgate Bible itself. "Et erunt duo in carne una" (Gen. 2:24; also Matt. 19:5; Mark 10:8; 1 Corinth. 6:16; Ephesians 5:31)²¹ explains that man shall forsake his father and his mother and cleave to his wife and the

two will become one flesh. The proverb is known to have circulated in Ulrich's time in its vernacular form, as evidenced by writings of his rough contemporaries, the poet Reinmar von Zweter (ca. 1200–1248) and the preacher Berthold von Regensburg (1220–1272), as well as the anonymous poem *The Lament* (*Diu Klage*) (ca. 1200–1230). The expression continues to be used after Ulrich and appears later in Heinrich von Kaufringer's writings (ca. 1400), in the *Wolfdietrich* tradition, and finally in Martin Luther's translation of the Bible.²² The allusions to this proverb occur in other places in the epic as well, whenever Tristan's fraudulent marriage is mentioned: "si [Isolde of the White Hands] wande, / da wurden zwei inein. / nu belieben si unvereinet" ("She thought there would two become one, but the union never took place," UvT, vv. 218–220); "es solte wesen under in zwein / ein gar vereinetes ein. / nun sin wir unvereinet" ("The two [man and woman] should form complete oneness; however, we are not united," UvT, vv. 357–359). It may be surprising that a modest young woman should speak so unabashedly on the subject of sexuality, but the Breton Isolde is defending her legal rights here. When she later reveals her shame to her brother Kaedin in the Bold Water episode, she says that Tristan denies her her right: "min her Tristan / solte sin min eman / unde min reht mir so versaget, / daz ich beliben bin noch magt" ("My lord Tristan, who is supposedly my husband, keeps denying me my right, for I remain a maiden still," UvT, vv. 445–448). Unlike her naïve and compliant counterpart in Heinrich's text, Ulrich's Isolde of the White Hands is not at all meek. What distinguishes her is an awareness of her own sexuality and ability to voice it.²³ Already during her wedding night, she demonstrates her willingness to criticize her husband, albeit in her own mind at first. Throughout the text, she progresses from a stereotypical beautiful and virtuous maiden ("diu reine, süeze maget," UvT, v. 310) to a much more assertive young woman to a jealous fury who is capable of killing her wounded husband and have an exchange with his lover at his bier. She thinks, speaks, and acts, challenging the male-defined boundaries of propriety and etiquette until the very end.

Overall, the behavior and the use of gnomic material by all of the female characters in Ulrich's *Tristan* is best represented by the misogynist proverb "Diu wip mit listen sint vil karc" ("Women are very crafty and cunning," UvT, v. 1305). It is rather popular in

medieval German, as well as the greater pan-European discourses and is used, for example, by Heinrich von Veldeke (ca. 1150–1184) in his *Eneid*, Meister Otte (ca. 1210) in *Eraclius*, Heinrich Wittenwiler (ca. 1370–1420) in *Der Ring*.²⁴ The adjective *karc* and the noun *list* can be used both positively and negatively, referring to both cleverness and cunning or deceit²⁵; yet the meaning of *list* in all of these examples is unequivocally negative and reflects the spirit of the biblical Apocryphal verse from Sirach 25:17 “Omnis plaga tristitia cordis est, et omnis malitia nequitia mulieris” (“The sadness of the heart is every plague: and the wickedness of a woman is all evil”²⁶). The proverb is used to describe the behavior of Isolde the Blond in front of her vassal Antret just after her meeting with Tristan and Kaedin in the “Thorn Bush” episode (UvT, vv. 1115–1280). She pretends to blame her husband, King Marke, for not consulting with her wishes and abandoning her in the forest, while she actually was riding through it with her retinue in order to save Tristan’s reputation and convince Kaedin of her beauty and the splendor of her court. Antret is her mortal enemy, and in this tale of narrow escapes, it is no surprise that Isolde would invent yet another stratagem to save her honor and, potentially, even her life. Ulrich inserts this commentary on her actions without any further criticism; but although his text, unlike other versions of the Tristan legend, is overall less moralizing in tone and does not explicitly condemn women, his use of this particular proverb is nevertheless tainted by the misogynist stereotype, the negative meaning of *list* intensified by the adjective *karc*. The echo of this proverb is palpable some 40 verses later in yet another reference to Isolde the Blond, when she pines for Tristan and ponders how to have both pleasure and honor. As she lies suffering from both *herzelieb* and *herzeleid* (love and love’s sorrow) (UvT, vv. 1349–1351), the narrator observes wittily:

si sorgete umb ir wipheit
 unde wie si des gedahte,
 wie sie zesamene brahte
 sin Ysot unde ir Tristan,
 sin liebez wip, ir lieben man.
 swer diu ze samene bringen wil,
 der bedarf guter liste vil
 unde bescheidenlicher vuge. (UvT, vv. 1352–1359)

“Why love? Why heart’s sorrow? She was worried about her reputation and how to bring the two together: his [Tristan’s] Isolde and her Tristan, his beloved woman and her beloved man. He who wishes to bring them together should surely possess a great deal of cunning and due intelligence.”)

Even though the narrator qualifies *list* here as *quot*, it is quite clear that there is no possible reconciliation between love and honor and, therefore, no solution to the main dilemma of the epic — the separation and illegitimate affection between Tristan and Isolde — without employing cunning and trickery.

The idea of female craftiness is reflected in the proverb use by other female characters as well. Several examples belong to the mother of the White-Handed Isolde. This is both unsurprising and unique; unsurprising, because Duchess of Arundel is a remarkable female character. Like Gottfried’s Queen Isolde, the duchess is a successful aristocratic woman and an example of all that other women in the Tristan story ought to, but fail to, become — a respected wife, a loving and loved mother of the family, and a shrewd advisor and politician.²⁷ One would expect such a character to be wise and to show it, and the proverbs lend themselves very well for imparting counsel or a didactic message. At the same time, the use of the proverbs by the duchess is also unique, because of the situation in which it occurs. When Tristan leaves Cornwall for good and lands in Brittany in the duchy of Arundel, he befriends Kaedin, the son of the local ruler, and charms his sister, Isolde of the White Hands. Kaedin needs his new ally’s military prowess to keep his own enemies at bay. In Ulrich’s source texts, both Eilhart’s and Gottfried’s epics, he quickly realizes the usefulness of Tristan’s might and decides to create a permanent alliance with the hero by having him marry his beautiful sister (EvO, vv. 6344–6365; GvS, vv. 19088–19102). However, in Ulrich’s own and, consequently, in Heinrich’s versions, all of this strategic planning originates not with the male heir, but with his mother, the duchess, addressed in Heinrich’s text by the name of Karsie. This secondary character appears to have been invented by Ulrich, and was adopted in a modified form by Heinrich, who knew and used his predecessor’s text in addition to the two earlier poems.²⁸ Both sequels make the duchess starkly reminiscent of Gottfried’s Queen Isolde: she is a fulfilled, powerful, secure, and

respected wife and mother, who speaks on her husband's behalf, advises her son Kaedin, and makes important political and familial decisions. She uses proverbs in a crucial moment and with their help secures Tristan as an ally for her son and her land and a husband to her daughter. Her three proverbs encourage her son to seal the deal as soon as possible, so as not to allow such an opportunity to slip through their fingers:

*“daz getane ist daz getane.
ich bin in dem wane,
biz daz dinc ist ungetan,
so mag ez vil wol zegan.
sa zehant als ez geschicht
sone mag ez danne erwinden niht.
ganc, brinc Tristanen her.*

er vindet al sine ger.” (UvT, vv. 153–160; my italics)²⁹

(“Only what is done is truly done. I truly believe that until something is finalized, it may very well fall apart; but as soon as it happens, one can no longer undo it. Go and bring Tristan here, for he will find everything he desires.”)

As Eikelmann and Tomasek demonstrate, all three proverbs have a substantial history, appearing in Latin, Old French, and Middle High German, including such prominent names as Bernhard de Clairvaux, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Frauenlob, and Ulrich's other work, *Rennewart*.³⁰ Shrewd politician that she is, the duchess uses proverbial language to impose on Tristan a medieval legal procedure — the public oath, a binding oral contract in the presence of all, which Tristan would never be able to break afterwards without losing face. Her words are also an admonition that his marriage ties should not be taken lightly, for by binding himself to Isolde of the White Hands, Tristan binds himself to her and her whole family for life.³¹

Isolde the Blond, Tristan's illicit love, and her faithful helper Brangaene also use proverbial language in Ulrich's version. Isolde is, surprisingly, a not very appealing character for most of the text, until the final death scene. There is no trace of Gottfried's lyricism; she is emotional, explosive, cunning, and at times cruel, even to her lover, Tristan. She knows how to strike with her tongue in a fit of anger. In the so-called Pleherin episode, Tristan is slandered at the Cornish court by a certain knight Pleherin, who

recognizes the hero and, attempting to catch him, commands him to stop in Isolde's name. He then appears in front of the queen and denounces Tristan's behavior to his liege lady as cowardice and betrayal, to which Isolde replies in anger:

Do sprach Ysot diu kunegin:
 "sagt an, herre Plehirin,
 zwirt sagt ir mir die mere?
 ob tot her Tristan were,
 daz were mir als ein bosez ei.
 do iuwer munt nach tjoste schrei,
 daz er do niht kerte,
 sinen pris er dran unerte:
 doch weiz iz wares als den tot
 und nandent ir im mich, Ysot,
 und were er iender gewesen da,
 zware er haete gekeret sa." (UvT, vv. 1955–1966)

(Then Queen Isolde said: "Tell me, my lord Pleherin, why are you telling me this tale for the second time already? Whether my lord Tristan is alive or dead, it means as little to me as a rotten egg. The fact that he did not turn around as you cried out to him with your own lips, challenging him to battle, diminishes his honor. And yet I know, as sure as death, that if you had called my name, "Isolde," to him and he had been somewhere there, he would have truly turned at once.").

Isolde finds herself here in an untenable position: she does not wish to doubt Tristan's loyalty and tries to stop the slander, and yet, she has to be cautious and feign indifference, which she does with the help of the reference to a rotten egg. As the dictionaries by Benecke-Müller-Zarncke, Matthias Lexer, and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm all show, the egg in Middle High German often functions as a metaphor for something of little value, particularly when used with a negation.³² Samuel Singer's *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi (TPMA)* has a whole rubric on the little value of an egg ("Man gibt wenig Gold um ein Ei").³³ It appears that the imagery may have survived beyond the Middle Ages, as examples 252, 290, 295, and 306 in Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander's *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon* attest (e.g., "Er gilt nicht ein stinckendes Ey"; "Er acht sein nicht vmb eyn ey").³⁴

As Pleherin persists in his slander and even embellishes his story, claiming that Tristan fled from him in fear, Isolde feels compelled to shame him again with yet another expression: “Pleherin, dune hast niht war [...] e daz du in getörstest jagn, [...] *du bizzezt in den vinge e, / daz erbluete unde tetist dannoch me: / du brechest uz di ougen din*” (“Pleherin, you are not telling the truth. [...] Before you would dare to chase him, [...] you would sooner bite your own finger so that it would bleed and even more, you would poke your own eyes out,” UvT, vv. 1971, 1973, 1975–1977; my italics). Although neither Singer’s *TPMA* nor Wander’s *Sprichwörter-Lexikon* provide an exact match for these expressions, both have similar examples about the forbidden nature of finger-biting and particularly, those related to the value of human eyesight and fear of losing it.³⁵ The imagery of self-imposed eye-loss can be found in the biblical tradition as well: Matthew 5:29–30 tells the righteous to gouge their own right eye if it causes them to sin:

If your right eye causes you to sin, tear it out and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to be thrown into hell. And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one member than for your whole body to go into hell.³⁶

Naturally, this verse is found in the Vulgate, and also appears in the sermons of the famous preacher and rough contemporary of Ulrich’s, Berthold von Regensburg (“Als got selb sprichet in dem heligen êwangelîô: ‘dir ist bezzer mit eime outgen ze himele varn, danne mit zwein zer helle”), thus demonstrating its existence and use in Ulrich’s time.³⁷ Such level of dedication, bravery, and indifference to pain is nearly impossible to attain; this is why the allusion provides Isolde with a perfect challenge and humiliation of the liar, who would never dare to pursue the hero of Tristan’s statue, just as he would not dare to gouge his own eyes or bite his own fingers till they bleed.³⁸

Finally, Brangaene, Isolde’s trustworthy servant and confidante, also uses a proverb with *list*, in order to preserve her mistress’s reputation. She denounces Antret as somebody who is simply trying to plant seeds of discord between husband and wife, Marke and Isolde, by tarnishing Isolde’s reputation: “er wirt den

luten vil unwert, / swer wibe lasterz gerne gert" ("He who desires a woman's dishonor, is not respected among people," UvT, vv. 1483–1484). Ulrich's Brangaene echoes the wisdom of Freidank "Swere wîben sprichen valschiu wort, / der hât fröuden niht bekort" ("He who speaks evil of women, has not known joy").³⁹ Brangaene is openly evoking the popular topos of *Frauenehre*, defense of women, that is prominent in courtly and didactic writings of her period, including Gottfried's *Tristan*.⁴⁰ However, the audience knows that while Antret is undoubtedly a completely unsympathetic character and deserves to be brought to silence, the proverb is used in this specific case to cover up Isolde's dishonesty. Even though Antret is a villain, Isolde and Brangaene are lying.

William McDonald calls Ulrich's *Tristan* "a paean to loyalty."⁴¹ And it is indeed so, for Ulrich places great emphasis on the virtue of *triuwe* (Mod. German "Treue"). The critics who find Ulrich to be disapproving of Tristan and Isolde's love ignore a crucial appeal of his text to those he calls *rehte minnaere* ("true lovers," UvT, vv. 3629–3630), akin to Gottfried von Strassburg's *edeliu herzen* ("noble hearts," GvS, v. 170). Although the poet does reproach Tristan for his treatment of his wife and for leading *unreht leben* ("incorrect way of life," UvT, v. 2503), he also sees his book as *der minnen zil* ("love's goal," UvT, v. 3628), empathizes with the lovers, and asks God to have mercy on them (UvT, vv. 3705–3719). It is thus not surprising that Ulrich will also use proverbial material to emphasize the importance of *triuwe*, understood not only narrowly as fidelity in a love relationship, but also as a fundamental courtly virtue. Two of the proverbs on loyalty come from Tristan, who, ironically, oscillates between fidelity and disloyalty in respect to his lover, his wife, and his wife's family. When Tristan uses proverbs on *triuwe*, he refers not to his love life, but rather to the virtue that a courtly man should have in homosocial interactions. Samuel Singer's *TPMA* contains a number of proverbs under the rubric "Loyalty ennobles"⁴²; Ulrich's use of *triuwe*-proverbs supports this. For example, the proverb "ein vrum man âne triuwe niemer werden kan" ("A man can never be considered honorable without loyalty," UvT, vv. 763–764) appears when Tristan promises Duke of Karke, his father-in-law, that he shall return to his wife after his trip to Cornwall. He will undertake this trip together with Kaedin, his brother-in-law, in order to convince him and by proxy the whole family of the superiority of his

lover, the Irish Isolde, over this wife, the Breton Isolde. Even though it has just been uncovered that Tristan has scorned his familial obligation for an extensive period of time and broke trust with his wife's family, he nevertheless presents himself as an honorable person and knight. The proverb's authority enables him to come across as trustworthy in a male-male interaction.⁴³ Some hundred lines earlier Tristan praises Kaedin for his loyalty to his failing brother-in-law, by saying: "du tust, als der getriuwe tut, / der getriuwe triwe kan eren" ("You are acting as a loyal man, who knows how to honor the loyalty of the loyal [honorable]," UvT, vv. 656–657).⁴⁴ This repetitive and almost tautological phrasing expresses the same sentiment as the example above: Kaedin offers Tristan, who has just been caught red-handed, to beg his father on his behalf for a leave to go to Cornwall as well as for financial support for such a journey, which Tristan claims not to possess. Kaedin thus acts loyally towards his friend and kin; and by doing so, he also, according to Tristan, establishes the latter's own credibility as a trustworthy and loyal man. Loyalty is indeed ennobling.

The last proverb on *triuwe* comes from Tristan's friend and vassal, Kurvenal, who with its help reasserts his loyalty to his liege lord and unwavering support in any circumstances:

"ich tun", Curvenal do sprach,
 "ich tun, swaz ir gebietent,
 wan ir mich, herre, mitent
 mit vil hohem lone.
 iuwer schilt, der stat mir schone.
 ir sit min mac, min herre,
 got mir sine gnade verre,
 ob ich iemmer welle gemiden,
 swas ich sol durch iuch liden,
 ez si ubel oder guot.
*ez ist getriuwelicher muot
 an herren unde an gesellen,
 die eines wille wesen wellen.*"⁴⁵ (UvT, vv. 1400–1412; my italics).

("I shall do," said Kurvenal, "I shall do, whatever you order me to do, for you, my lord, have recompensed me with a great reward. Your shield suits me perfectly. You are my kinsman, my lord, and may I lose God's grace if I should ever appear

reluctant to share a burden with you, be it for good or for ill.
*Between the lord and the vassal there should be but one will
 and a spirit of trust and loyalty.*")

Kurvenal fulfills his promise: he participates in a handful of adventures and escapades and remains Tristan's most trustworthy friend and kinsman until the very end. The text explicitly points out that Kurvenal feels Tristan's death much more keenly than anybody else: "alles leit das ist ein wint, / wan das Curvenal ime nam" (UvT, vv. 3506–3407). He also takes over his late liege-lord's responsibilities (UvT, vv. 3501–3504), thus proving his sententious remark earlier in the text right.

Two more expressions spoken by male characters in Ulrich's *Tristan* deserve attention. Both of them participate in Ulrich's narrative strategy of creating memorable characters, who are simply human and subject to human foibles. Ulrich is not afraid of depicting his characters' emotions. In his epic, people speak as much with their mouths as with their bodies, through somatic manifestations of affect: they blush and pale, get angry and humiliated, laugh and weep.⁴⁶ For example, during their trip to Cornwall, Kaedin gets a rather comical panic attack, unexpected of a brave knight. If Tristan is associated with reckless bravery, Ulrich's Kaedin, as if anticipating Monty Python's Brave Sir Robin, is marked by his fear on several occasions (UvT, vv. 1118, 1899). While hiding with Tristan in a bush during their joint trip to Cornwall to ascertain the beauty of Isolde the Blond, Kaedin becomes overly anxious and is reproached for it by Tristan's proverbial expression, proclaiming that it is unseemly for a real man to continuously show fear ("ez misse stat eime guten man, / der niht wan vorhte phlegen kan," UvT, vv. 1369–1370). As Eikelmann and Tomasek show, the expression is a bow to Chretien de Troyes' Arthurian romance *Yvain* (ca. 1170), where one finds a very close expression: "N'est mie prodon qui trop dote" ("It is not at all a brave knight who fears too much," Chrétien, *Yvain*, v. 998).⁴⁷ The proverb helps Ulrich depict the emotional world of his character and also draw a contrast between Kaedin and Tristan by evoking a stereotype of knightly comportment.

Another example of how gnomic material is helpful in constructing characters' emotional life, is a puzzling expression *mit dem karles lote*. In the above-mentioned Pleherin episode, Ple-

herin's slander upsets and angers Isolde the Blond, who thinks that Tristan has waived in his devotion to her. She questions Tristan's *triuwe*; and when her lover appears at her court in the garb of a leper, she orders to have him beaten up and thrown out. Such an undeserved harsh treatment angers Tristan in his turn, who promises to repay Isolde for her cruelty "mit dem karles lote" (UvT, vv. 2272–2273). Albeit in a different situation, the expression appears in Heinrich von Freiberg's *Tristan* as well; however, it is not unique to Ulrich and Heinrich. The phrase appears to have been rather popular during the German Middle Ages, for it is used in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* (v. 256,22), Ulrich von Türlin's *Willehalm* (v. 115b), and in Wirnt von Grafenberg's *Wigalois* (v. 10037).⁴⁸ The epoch of Charlemagne (German "Karl the Great" / "Karl der Große") was imagined in the thirteenth century as the long-gone "Golden Age." *Karles lôt* ("Charles' weights"; Lat. *pondus Caroli*) is a reference to the medieval coin-making practices and the innovation introduced by Charlemagne. As Jacob Isidor Mombert explains,

the old standard of the coinage extant at the accession of Charles was the Roman pound of 325 grams, divided into 240 denarii of 1.35 grams. The gold *solidus* of the Gauls, Franks, Anglians, etc., of 40 denarii had an approximate value of about \$3.50. Charles introduced a heavier standard, based on a pound of about 367 grams, which for centuries later was known as "Karles lot," or *pondus Caroli*, that is Charles's weight.⁴⁹

Karles lôt, therefore, means the most precise measurement possible. When used figuratively, the idiom refers to judging somebody's actions by the highest standard, reciprocating in the strictest way possible, or not overlooking even the slightest aspect/transgression of one's opponent.⁵⁰ In Ulrich's epic, it allows the poet to express the protagonist's emotional state. Tristan uses the phrase to promise retribution for his humiliation. In contrast, there is no such scene and no such burst of anger in Heinrich's text, who prefers much more controlled and orderly courtly bodies. In the Bohemian *Tristan* the expression occurs in an entirely different context, in the description of Tristan's departure in search of adventure:

nu hub ouch sich der vrute [Tristan]
 von den herbergen san
 gein der aventuwer tan
 hin uf daz wunnenliche velt,
 da man der aventuwer gelt
 mit Karles lote wider wak. (HvF, vv. 1672–1677)
 (“The brave one [Tristan] then left the camp, in order to approach without delay the forest of adventure and the glorious realm, where adventure was recompensed generously in gold [lit. “weighed the money for adventure with *pondus Caroli*”]).

In their edition of Heinrich’s *Tristan*, Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok evoke the concept of repayment with interest to render into modern German what now has become an obsolete idiom: “Damit verliess der Wack’re nun das Lager, um sich unverzueglich dem Abenteuerwald zu naechern und jenem praechtigen Gefild’, wo man mit Zins und Zinseszins das Abenteuer zahlen musste.”⁵¹ Both this interpretation and my own paraphrase above demonstrate the difficulty of finding a proper equivalent in a modern language for an idiom that is not used any longer and with whose realia we are no longer familiar.

The Tristan legend is, first and foremost, a love story; therefore, it would have been surprising if Ulrich had not used any gnomic material on the subject of love. Ulrich’s proverbial discussion of love indeed involves two very popular motifs: intertwining of love and sorrow (*liebe und leid*), a seeming echo of Gottfried von Strassburg’s *Tristan*; and fickleness of the worldly love (*vrow minne*, or Lady Love, motif).⁵² Ulrich, while sharing some of Gottfried’s sensibility, lacks his grand predecessor’s acumen, subtlety, and complexity. He makes ample use of the motif, at times echoing Gottfried, but more often than not, freely substituting the elements of the original expression and modifying it. In his take on the *liebe und leit*, Ulrich does not overemphasize the negative aspects of this dichotomy, as his successor Heinrich does in his eulogistic lament for Tristan. Rather he uses it as an inseparable pair, inherent to *minne*: Isolde the Blond’s appearance arouses *lip mit leide* in the hearts of the men beholding her beauty (UvT, vv. 1217–1218); and as Isolde lies in her tent dwelling on her separation from Tristan, she experiences both *liebe unde leid* (“liebes unde leides si phlac,” UvT, v. 1348). Ulrich empathetically points

out that separation brings the two lovers *ane liebe herzeleit* (“heartache without love,” UvT, v. 1743), and that the two of them ultimately die of the true heartache: “mir tut noch ir sterben we, / wan si sturben beide / von rehtem herceleide” (“their death still causes me pain, for they both died of true heartache,” UvT, vv. 3588–3590). His use of the expression is both reminiscent and different from Gottfried’s. It is frequently borrowed as a mere cliché, a set expression, a trope: “liebes unde leides si phlac” (“She [Isolde] experienced both love and sorrow,” UvT, v. 1348); “si hate gehuset beide / herzelieb mit herzeleide” (“she housed both heart’s love and heart’s sorrow,” UvT, vv. 1349–1350); “Wie si [beauty of Isolde the Blond] lieb mit leide / gevuoge dem herzen beide” (“how Isolde’s beauty can arouse in one’s heart both love and and pain,” UvT, vv. 1217–1218). Examples such as these offer no Gottfried-style profound exploration of the inseparable nature of love and heartache, but appear to have been simply borrowed as a well-established phraseological unit, not the least for the sake of rhythm and rhyme.

Another, non-Gottfried-like strategy is to modify the original pair by altering one of its elements: “diu minne kan wol lere / vroude unde herzenot” (“Love can well teach us both joy and heartache,” UvT, vv. 3584–3585); “diu gehte in beiden brahte / ane liebe herzeleit” (“the haste brought them [Tristan and Isolde who are forced to separate] no love, just the heartache,” UvT, vv. 1742–1743); “ich tun das liebe unde mide das leit” (“I do what is good and avoid what is bad,” UvT, v. 855); “mit vrouden sunder leit” (“with joy without suffering,” UvT, v. 1014). Frequently, the poet relies on the audience’s recognition of the original meaning and form of the idiom to express the exact opposite: a joyful atmosphere at court or state of mind for one of his characters. We see such an allusion in the words from Kurvelnal quoted above that he seeks to avoid what is bad and does only what is good (“ich tun das liebe unde mide das leit,” UvT, v. 855). Also when the narrator describes Marke and Isolde playing a game together, he says they did so “mit vrouden ohne leid” (“in joy and without any sorrow,” UvT, v. 1014).

Finally, Ulrich does at times use the original expression that corresponds to the spirit of his predecessor, as, for example, when Isolde’s servant Thynas says to Tristan: “da ich weiz iuwer lieb unde iuwer leit” (“I know your love and your pain,” UvT, v.

1009). The text underscores that it is due to the illegitimate nature of Tristan and Isolde's love that *liebe* and *leid* will remain two inseparables, as is clear in the above-mentioned passage on Isolde's musings about her love and her honor:

si hate gehuset beide
 herzelieb mit herzeleide.
 wie wie herzelip? wie herzeleit?
 sie sorgete umb ir wipheit
 unde wie si des gedahte,
 wie si zesamene brahte,
 sin Ysot unde ir Tristan,
 sin liebez wip, ir lieben man. (UvT, v. 1349–1356)
 (“She housed both love and heartache. Why love? Why heartache? She was concerned about her reputation, and how to bring the two together: his [Tristan's] Isolde and her Tristan, his beloved woman and her beloved man.”)

Anybody familiar with Gottfried von Strasburg's unfinished torso would immediately recognize the echo of his Prologue, despite the lack of chiasmus: “ein senedaere unde ein senedaerîn, / ein man ein wîp, ein wîp ein man, / Tristan Isolt, Isolt Tristan” (“A lover and a beloved, a man and a woman, a woman and a man,” GvS, vv. 128–130). Both passages evoke the image of indivisible oneness, inseparable in life or death. However, in Ulrich's text this passage is followed by a statement on the unusual degree of cunning and intelligence necessary to bring the two together, thus shifting the audience's attention from Gottfried-like emphasis on spiritual unity and loyalty to the tragic impossibility of the physical togetherness. In such cases, the poet's use of the pair *liebe/leit* also serves to underscore his main theme of loyalty (*triuwe*) between the two protagonists.

The second thematic cluster of proverbs related to love has to do with the popular medieval topos of love's treachery, cruelty, and fleetingness, and therefore partakes not only of the contemporaneous secular discourse on love but also of the clerical comparison between human or worldly love and divine love. Ulrich acknowledges that “diu minne kan wol leren / vroude unde herzenot” (“love can well teach joy and heartache,” UvT, vv. 3584–3585) and mentions love's heavy burden (*sweren last*, UvT, v. 63): “die minne hat ir sweren last / uf mich [Tristan] geleit vil ma-

nege stunt" ("Love laid upon me [Tristan] a heavy burden many a time," UvT, vv. 63–64).⁵³ When Tristan lies tormented at his new bride's side, Isolde of the White Hands, Ulrich evokes the familiar topos of condemnation of Lady Love's fickle nature:

hie zeigte aber vrou minne
 ir verlust unde ir gewinne,
 ir unstete und ir stete.
 zwiu welt ir, daz siz tete,
 daz si Tristanden note
 zweiher hande Ysote?
 ez schuf ir untriuwe.
 sie ist gerne iht niuwe. (UvT, vv. 235–242).⁵⁴
 (Here Lady Love has shown her losses and her winnings, her
 steadfastness and her inconstancy. Why otherwise, would you
 think, would she oppress Tristan with the two Isoldes? Her
 treachery did it, for she is always something different.)

This passage concludes several lines later with a contrast between the false love and the true one, the secular and the divine:

mit disen wandelungen
 lebe ie vrou minne.
 swer rehte sih versinne,
 der vüege, wie er ir entrinne,
 unde minne die waren minne,
 die da niemer zergat
 unde ein vil stete gemute hat. (UvT, vv. 246–251)
 ("Lady Love has ever lived with fickleness. He who is in his
 right mind should take care and flee her, and love with the
 true love, the one that is not fleeting but truly steadfast.")⁵⁵

Here Ulrich evokes a topos, popular in both didactic clerical and secular traditions, about making correct choice as a Christian, the fleetingness of the worldly existence and the worldly love, and choosing instead salvation and God's eternal love. The protagonist of Hartmann von Aue's *Armer Heinrich* blames himself, for example, for behaving like a *werlthôr*, or the World's fool, who for a long time had preferred honor and possessions (*êre unde guot*) to the eternal, thinking that he can live like this in this world without God's guidance and mercy ("âne got mügen hân" (*Armer Heinrich*, v. 399)).⁵⁶

As this passage demonstrates, Ulrich does at times strike a moralizing tone, demonstrating his familiarity with clerical and didactic discourses of his time. Although not even remotely as moralistic as his successor Heinrich von Freiberg, he does include several proverbs and proverbial expressions that reflect upon proper Christian behavior, such as devotion, acceptance, and resignation: “swie got welle, ez mir ergê” (“May God’s will be done upon me,” UvT, v. 1558); “swez ich mich niht erwerben kan, / daz muoz ich allez dulden” (“Whatever I cannot avoid, I must bear,” UvT, vv. 1652–1653). Three proverbs deal with the subject of death: not fearing it (“ez ist niht anders wan ein tôt” ‘There is but one death,’ [UvT, v. 2293]; “ich weiz, daz nieman sterben sol / wan ze sînem gesatten zil” ‘I know that none shall die before his appointed time,’ [UvT, 2308–2309]),⁵⁷ and death as a sign of one’s virtue in the eyes of God (“war umbe tut unser herre daz, / daz er die vromen hin nimet / unde in der bosen niht gezimet?” ‘Why does our Lord take from us the good ones and leaves the bad?’ [UvT, vv. 3594–3596]).⁵⁸ On several occasions, one finds proverbial musings about the proper attitude toward worldly possessions: “swer hat lip unde guot / unde so mit den beiden tuot, / das im ez die werlt hat verguot, / den hat selde wol behuot” (“He who has life and worldly possessions and uses both so that it benefits the world, is protected by God’s grace,” UvT, vv. 3601–3604); “swer rechte kan mit gute lebn, / beide haben unde gebn, / entriuwe, der ist ein selich man” (“He who can live with possessions in a righteous way, both owning and giving them out, is verily blessed,” UvT, vv. 3605–3607).⁵⁹ The two proverbs occur in the closing part of the epic, in the narrator’s philosophical discussion, almost debate with his possible retractors, of Tristan and Isolde’s life and death, and the imagery of rose and vine, which also contains the important appeal on the “true lovers” (*rehte minnere*, UvT, v. 3629) and the proclamation of the purpose of Ulrich’s work as *der minnen zil* (UvT, v. 2628). While seemingly straightforward when taken out of their textual surroundings, the proverbs take on the spirit of ambiguity palpable in that part of the epic. They open a passage on Tristan and Isolde’s after-death plight as a didactic foreword, perhaps addressing the audience, and yet they show little relation to the subsequent discussion about love and loyalty. Does Ulrich imply that the two protagonists had both life and possessions and yet were not fortunate to find their happiness?

Or are the proverbs used in anticipation of Marke's actions following the heroes' deaths: his burying the two of them together, founding a monastery at the burial sight, and bequeathing it all of his possessions to atone for his share of misery he had inflicted? Or is it merely a didactic warning to the audience about *rehtez leben* (right way of life)? The passage following is opaque: Ulrich does his best to defend Tristan and Isolde, evoking *triuwe* as their best defense and blaming love for their misfortunes (UvT, vv. 3556–3557), and yet his very attempt at their defense reveals his doubts about their fate after death. On three occasions he supplicates God to take them to heaven and even mentions once in passing that the two of them may have to be pulled out of purgatory first: “nun muze sich got erbarmen / ueber die geliben armen / unde nemes in sin riche” (“May God have mercy on the two beloved and take them into His kingdom,” UvT, vv. 3639–3641); “nu laze si got erwerben / sin riche, des sint si wol wert. / swa triuwe an triuwe triuwen gert, / den sol got genedik wesen!” (“May God allow them to join His kingdom, for they are worthy of it. Whenever loyalty desires nothing but loyalty from the loyal, God will show His mercy,” UvT, vv. 3654–3657); “aller triuwen ueber genoz / was der werde Tristan / des sol man in geniesen lan, / ob er noch ist zehelle, / daz in got dannan zelle / unde in neme in sin riche / — dez winschent vlizecliche — / unde die kuneginne Ysot, / der ir triuwe das gebot, / das si nam gahes ende. / mit siner zeswen hende / muz er vuren si uz not” (“Our loyal Tristan surpassed everyone in loyalty. For that he should be saved. If he is still in purgatory, may God release him and take him into His kingdom. Pray for that heartily! And for Queen Isolde as well, whose loyalty bade her to die so swiftly. May God with His right hand release her from her suffering as well!” UvT, vv. 3706–3717).⁶⁰

Proverbial Moralizing: Heinrich von Freiberg's Tristan

In contrast to Ulrich von Türheim, Heinrich von Freiberg's approach to paremiological material is very different. Written some forty-fifty years after Ulrich (ca. 1290-1300), Heinrich's *Tristan* engages with three, and possibly four, source texts: Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, whom he purports to continue; Eilhart von Oberge's earlier epic, which Heinrich actually uses for his sequel; Ulrich von Türheim's own *Tristan*; and possibly an unknown Italian version of Thomas of Britan's Anglo-Norman

Tristan.⁶¹ Although the two texts cannot be more unlike, Heinrich's knowledge of Ulrich's epic manifests itself in certain episodes, where he appears to respond directly to the descriptions found in the predecessor's text.⁶² It is not surprising that there may be some proverbial echoes between the two authors as well. One of them, *mit Karles lôte*, has already been discussed; another one is the motif of dangers of worldly love. Overall, however, Heinrich uses proverbs very differently from Ulrich. Twice the length of Ulrich's *Tristan*, this later version is much more polished, extensive, and poetically skillful; and yet, it contains almost as many, or to be precise, even fewer, proverbs, according to Eikelmann and Tomasek. Where slightly over 3700 lines of Ulrich's text contain about 18 paremiological units, Heinrich's extensive epic of almost 6900 lines can boast only 13 proverbs and sententious remarks. This is even more surprising considering the overall style and approach of the Bohemian author. Written at the royal court in Prague during its cultural revival, the text reflects that society's enthusiasm for knightly life and courtly values and is meant to serve as a "nachahmenswertes Modell für den böhmischen Adel" ("a model worth of imitation for the Bohemian nobility").⁶³ The protagonist's chivalric adventures, including those at King Arthur's court, offer a favorable contrast to his failings in love, both with his wife and with his lover. Heinrich portrays Tristan as a splendid courtly hero whose Achilles' heel is his adulterous liaison with his uncle's wife. To Gottfried's and Ulrich's understanding of passion this poet prefers a more conventional view of love and marriage. He thus has been described as "the voice of the self-assured moralist" whose text "is marked [...] by the hostile encounter of heroic action and amorous passion."⁶⁴ One would expect to find, and indeed does find, a great deal of didacticism in Heinrich's text, which proverbs would be particularly suitable to provide succinct and easy-to-remember nuggets of wisdom; and yet, they are surprisingly scarce. Eikelmann and Tomasek identify three specific episodes, where most of the proverbial material occurs: in Tristan's self-reproaches earlier in the text, in Tristan's adventure at King Arthur's court, and in the episode with a magic pillow (Kamele adventure). They also attribute 7 units to the narrator, 6 to the characters (46% of all material), of which 2 units belong to female characters (33%). Tristan and Isolde the Blond appear to use proverbs the most among all the char-

acters,⁶⁵ which is to be expected due to these two characters' prominence in the text. There are also certain things that distinguish Heinrich's use of proverbial material:

1. Not infrequently, the expressions are marked as proverbial by the narrator himself, beginning with a phrase similar to "as the proverb says": *ich han offt gehoret sagen* (HvF, v. 138); *nu ergienc diz sprichwort* (HvF, v. 3192); *gedenket an daz sprich wort* (HvF, v. 4851).
2. Many of the expressions perform moral-didactic function or are anchored in religious-clerical discourse.
3. Thematically, the gnomic material addresses the subjects of love, Tristan's heroism, secular world's treachery, and religious motifs.

Heinrich's tale is that of Tristan's rise and downfall. He possesses little, if any, of Gottfried's sensibility or Ulrich's compassion towards the indomitable passion that condemns the two protagonists to separation and, ultimately, untimely death. Heinrich also has little sympathy for Isolde the Blond, who is portrayed as one of the causes of Tristan's perdition. His is the worldview of a stark and rigid Christian morality, in which adultery and the love that provokes it are sinful. Since it has been commissioned, the tale of Tristan's deceit, trickery, and illicit love affair with his uncle's wife has to continue, sinful or not, but we, as audience, can never be mistaken as to Heinrich's true feelings toward it. As a corollary and perhaps in an attempt to restore Tristan's reputation tarnished by his adulterous liaison, Heinrich's goal as a poet is to turn the protagonist into a splendid Arthurian knight and to produce a more traditional chivalric romance with more conventional courtly values for the Bohemian court. At the opening of this sequel, Heinrich's Tristan produces a long and reproachful monologue that demonstrates his keen awareness of his own wrongdoing (HvF, vv. 133–196), while the closing of the epic features a didactic and dogmatic reminder to its audience about the vices and treachery of the worldly *minne* and the dire need to mind the only true love — the divine one. It is therefore not surprising that most clerically inspired proverbs should occur in these two parts. In the prologue at the start of the epic, the narrator explains his mission to continue Gottfried's unfinished work, praising the grand master,

and yet, even this laudatory and elegiac passage is presented in terms of sinfulness of all earthly existence: “got unser schopfer das gebot, / daz in genumen hat der tot / hin von dirre broden werlt” (“God, our Creator, so ordained that he was carried away by death from this sinful world,” HvF, vv. 31–33). Then the proverb “di toten mit den toten dort, / di lebnden mit den lebnden hie” (“[Let’s leave] the dead to the dead there, and the living with the living here,” HvF, vv. 38–39) marks a transition from the discussion of Gottfried himself to his unfinished work, into which Heinrich shall undertake to breathe new life. Once the actual story begins with the description of Tristan’s self-torture in his relationship with the Second Isolde (Isolde of the White Hands), Heinrich uses a wealth of proverbial material to demonstrate his view of the so-called *Tristanminne*, namely, his clear disapproval of the illegitimate feeling between the two protagonists. The proverbial reproaches contribute to the overall goal of Tristan’s rehabilitation, for they are uttered by the hero himself:

ez mak nicht sin,
 daz ich in dem herzen min
 muge zwei herzen lieb getragen,
 wan ich han offft gehoret sagen:
*‘wer mer lieb hat dan eines,
 der hat nindert keines;
 wer mit zwein lieben liebe pflicht
 hat, der treit herzen liebe nicht.’* (HvF, vv. 135–142; my italics)

(“It cannot be that I should bear two loves in my heart, for I have often heard say: ‘He who has more than one love, will have none at all; and he who renders love service to two beloved, has no true love.’”)

The source of the proverbs is none other than Andreas Capellanus, the great medieval authority on courtly love, in whose treatise *De Amore* (ca. 1186–1190) there is a categorical statement about the impossibility of two loves (*neminem posse sauciari amore*) in Book 1.⁶⁶ Both proverbs have clearly circulated in Heinrich’s time, as Eikermann and Tomasek’s examples illustrate. Among the texts where these expressions appear are such famous names as Albrecht von Johansdorft, Heinrich von Veldeke, *Roman d’Eneas*, and others.⁶⁷ It is not surprising that they should appear

precisely in this retelling of the Tristan legend: after all, Heinrich's goal is to recreate the spirit of courtliness of the previous century, and what would be a better authority than Capellanus's programmatic treatise on the correct way to love? Interestingly, the proverbiality of these expressions is acknowledged intra-textually, by Tristan himself, who continues his monologue with a correct (according to Heinrich's worldview) deduction that his feelings toward the two Isoldes must not be true love at all, for the proverb proclaims them to be so:

ey, herregot, und wi bin ich
 so wunderlich gescheiden
 von den Ysoten beiden!
 und trage doch sie in herzen
 mit rechten herzen smercen;
 itweder mir in herzen liget,
 itweder hat an mir gesiget.
*und ist das herzenliebe nicht,
 als das sprichwort da spricht,
 das ich sie beide minne
 mit herzen und mit sinnen,*
 so mus ich eine Ysoten lan

und eine Ysoten zu vrowen han. (HvF, vv. 146–158)

(“Oh Lord, in what a strange way I am separated from both Isoldes! My heart is pining for them; both of them lie close to my heart, and both of them have conquered me. But it is not true love because, *as the proverb states*, I love both of them with my heart and mind. And so I must abandon one Isolde and make the other Isolde my wife.”)

Tristan's musings about his affection for both Isoldes inspire one more proverb, akin to the modern “Out of sight, out of mind.” Of the two Isoldes in Heinrich's text, Tristan's Breton wife is clearly the poet's favorite. Unlike Ulrich, who places a great emphasis on the virtue of loyalty (*triuwe*), Heinrich's narrator excuses Tristan's change of preference and his growing affection for Isolde of the White Hands by the fact of his physical separation from the blond Isolde; for as the proverb states, distance kills love: “ouch ist ez, als daz sprichwort saget: / vremde scheidet herzen liep, / so machet state manchen diep” (“It is as the proverb says: ‘Distance rips love apart,’ and ‘Opportunity turns many a man into

thieves,” HvF, vv. 318–320).⁶⁸ In this particular case, the proverb gives the narrator the authority to support the protagonist’s decision to abandon his love, the focal point of the Tristan legend, because it is illegitimate. In contrast to Gottfried and even to Ulrich, this is a clear return toward the conventional morality.

This example also illustrates that even proverbs dealing with love in Heinrich’s epic are used didactically. Admonitions against the treachery of worldly love intersperse his text, but are particularly prominent in the conclusion, after the description of the unfortunate lovers’ demise. The warning to the audience not to heed their example but to seek instead the only true love, by which Heinrich understands the love of Christ, is emphasized again and again:

“Sich, werlt, diz ist din lon,
den du zu jungest gibest in,
die dir zu dinest iren sin,
lip und herze neigen:
den kanstu tucke erzeigen,
die valschen in der letzten stunt” (HvF, vv. 6620–6625).⁶⁹
(‘See, World, this is your reward that you bestow on those who serve you with their minds, bodies, and hearts. To them you are wont to reveal your falsehood at their last moments.’)

As if it were not enough, Heinrich’s message about Tristan and Isolde’s wrongdoing, itself clad in a proverbial form “Sich, werlt, die hat dine suzikeit / geclaidet in des todes cleit” (‘See, World, to them your sweetness wore the garb of death,’ HvF, vv. 6649–6650), is followed by a string of the most popular proverbial oppositions that uncover the treachery of worldly minne: honey and gall, roses that conceal thorns, wheat that turns to thistle, sugar that turns bitter, sweetness that turns sour, and sunshine that easily turns to hail (HvF, vv. 6626–6641).⁷⁰

It is not surprising then that Heinrich’s take on the proverbial idiom *liebe und leit*, so crucial to the understanding of Gottfried’s worldview, would also share in this overall message: lamenting Tristan’s death, Heinrich hammers over the course of several stanzas that the hero lay dead because of the suffering that is inherent to love: “der lac vor leide in liebe mort” (‘He [Tristan] lay dead because of love’s suffering,’ HvF, v. 6448); “vor leide in liebe tot lac er” (‘because of love’s suffering he lay there dead,’ HvF, v.

6464); “von herzenliebe in leide starb” ([Tristan] died in suffering [of] his love,’ HvF, v. 6472). Even though the three examples quoted above appear almost identical, a careful look reveals that the last one differs from the first two: while in verses 6448 and 6464 Tristan dies of suffering in love (i.e., love’s suffering), *vor herzenliebe in leide*, the last line of the penultimate stanza in this lament, places the emphasis somewhat differently, reversing the components of the pair and thus reinforcing the overall cautionary message even more: Tristan died of love *in* great suffering. Those familiar with the legend would easily recognize this as an allusion to not only the *liebe und leit* metaphor, but also to the actual events in the text – Tristan dies both of physical suffering, a result of his helping his brother-in-law Kaedin in his own love adventure, and of great emotional anguish. His wound can be healed only by his lover Isolde the Blond, who, he believes, has abandoned him in his need. The emphasis in this last phrase is, conspicuously, in this case on the word ‘suffering’ (*in leide*) – a stark admonition to the audience not to follow Tristan’s path.

To compensate for Tristan’s moral failures, Heinrich spends a great deal of time and effort on his knightly exploits. Therefore, some of the proverbs and sententious remarks in his text serve to reinforce this, falling under the rubric of promoting Tristan as a hero. In contrast to Ulrich’s handling of Tristan’s marriage proposal, where the shrewd duchess makes the hero swear a public oath, Heinrich’s text uses a sententious remark to allude to Tristan’s greatness by explaining the eagerness of the whole family to see the marriage between Tristan and their daughter take place: “wes man sich vor betrachtet hat / und von herzen hat begert, / des rates rede nicht lange wert” (“Whatever one previously considered well and desired with all his heart, no longer requires deliberation,” HvF, vv. 432–434).⁷¹ Later, at King Arthur’s court, yet another *Sentenz* enables the narrator to praise Tristan indirectly, by highlighting his qualities, such as nobility and virtue, and unwillingness to boast about his victory over the royal seneschal Keye: “wo ellen⁷² und adel entsament sin, / da tut daz adel selden schin / mit rumworten sine tat” (“Where courage and nobility coexist, nobility seldom boasts of its deeds,” HvF, vv. 2157–2159). A similar thing occurs on two more occasions: by proclaiming that true heroes seldom avoid jealousy of others and that no evil comes to those favored by God, the narrator hints at Tristan’s exceptional-

ty: “die werlt uns urkunde git, das der biderbe sunder nit / gar selten blibet, wo der ist” (“As the world proves, no able person, wherever he is, can avoid provoking envy of others,” HvF, vv. 3035–3037); “nu ergienc diz sprichwort, als ich laz: / wem got wol, dem nimant ubel” (“The proverb was proven right then, as I read: the one favored by God will meet no evil,” HvF, vv. 3192–3193).⁷³

In contrast to favoring Tristan, Heinrich treats Isolde the Blond with dislike, as a source of Tristan’s downfall.⁷⁴ The three places containing proverbs that are either uttered by or related to Isolde contribute to this negative image, by hinting at the danger that her beauty presents to male admirers by surpassing all other women, or showing Isolde manipulating her husband Marke or tricking Kaedin. It is remarkable that when Tristan describes Isolde’s beauty to Kaedin in Heinrich’s epic, he does not simply say that it outshines other women’s beauty, but creates an allusion to the proverb *Schoene ist hoene*, that connects beauty to arrogance⁷⁵:

daz an tugenden ir geleich
 wart nie weibes liep geborn,
 und an schon als uz erkorn,
 daz ir schone honet,
 mit schonheit ueber schonet
 gar aller wibe schone. (HvF, vv. 3916–3921)
 (“Never was a woman born that would equal her in virtue and so exquisite in beauty. Her beauty surpasses and makes a mockery of all other women’s beauty.”)

In the other two instances, the proverbs help to demonstrate Isolde’s cunning and ability to deceive, as when she pretends to be angry at Marke while playing chess in order to make him take her to the place where she hopes to meet her lover, or when she uses proverbs to challenge (and consequently, humiliate) Kaedin who is desirous to sleep with Isolde’s maid Kamele in the episode about the magic pillow.⁷⁶ Having consciously aligned himself with the tradition of Arthurian courtly epic, Heinrich von Freiberg subscribes to a traditional view of femininity in his work; he prefers Isolde of the White Hands to Isolde the Blond, consistently depicting the former as submissive, compliant, childlike, and naively foolish, and attempting to subdue the latter through various means, by excising markers of her corporeality and agency, as

well as by curtailing her speech.⁷⁷ And yet, the role that Isolde the Blond is meant to play in the epic and in Tristan's life sets definite limits even on such a curtailment. What Heinrich cannot control, as for example, Isolde's wit and the stratagems she invents to prove her loyalty to Tristan, he codes as negative, including paremiological material related or uttered by her. The perceived superiority of Heinrich's text among modern scholars is therefore not merely the matter of structure and poetic mastery, but also of his return to a less nuanced depiction of his heroines, to an almost clerical view of femininity, dichotomized as virtuous and subdued, or erotic and threatening. Yet, as McDonald points out, the modern critical assessment of Heinrich's and Ulrich's continuations may not necessarily reflect the medieval aesthetic judgment of their quality: "Heinrich's *Tristan* has fared better in critical accounts than have the permutations of Ulrich and Eilhart; ironically, it would seem. For unlike these, it found a limited audience in the Middle Ages."⁷⁸

In his prologue, Ulrich von Türheim lays out the purpose of his new retelling of the well-known legend, which had already been told and retold numerous times not only by the German-speaking Gottfried von Strassburg and Eilhart von Oberge, but also by Old French Béroul and Anglo-Norman Thomas of Britain. His aim, he says, is to bring Gottfried's unfinished text to completion *mit spruchen*: "daz ich diz buch biz an sin zil / mit spruchen volle bringen wil" (UvT, vv. 23–24). In their modern German translation, Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok translate the Middle High German *mit spruchen* as "mit wohlgesetzten Versen" ("with well-worded verses").⁷⁹ Interestingly, however, the Middle High German word *spruch* refers not merely to poetic verses, but also has a meaning of a memorable saying, a maxim, an aphorism, or a *Sentenz*.⁸⁰ Seeing how firmly imbedded the proverbial expressions are in both Middle High German thirteenth-century retellings of the Tristan legend and to what extent they contribute to promoting the individual author's agenda, it would not be an exaggeration to say that both authors have done exactly what Ulrich has said he would do: they have indeed finished the story of Tristan and Isolde, each in his own way, and done it not only in "well-worded verses," but also *mit spruchen*, with the help of proverbial language.

Notes

¹ All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated. All quotations come from Ulrich von TÜRHEIM, *Tristan und Isolde: Fortsetzung des Tristan-Romans Gottfrieds von Straßburg*, ed. and trans. Wolfgang Spiewok and Danielle Buschinger, WODAN: Recherches en littérature médiévale 11, Serie 1: Texte des Mittelalters 4 (Greifswald: Reineke, 1992); Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan und Isolde: Fortsetzung des Tristan-Romans Gottfrieds von Straßburg*, ed. Danielle Buschinger, trans. Wolfgang Spiewok, WODAN: Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter 16, Serie 1: Texte des Mittelalters (Greifswald: Reineke, 1993); Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. Friedrich Ranke and Rüdiger Krohn, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1996), 2 vols. To differentiate between different Tristan-texts, I use the following abbreviations in the citations: 'GvS' for Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, 'HvF' for Heinrich von Freiberg's *Tristan*, and 'UvT' for Ulrich von TÜRHEIM's *Tristan*.

² Cf. "so blatantly not Gottfried von Strassburg"; "little ability to emulate [Gottfried] or — more significantly — to demonstrate an awareness of his true purpose"; "complete reversal of Gottfried"; and standing Gottfried "on his head." Marion Gibbs, "The Medieval Reception of Gottfried's *Tristan*," in *A Companion to Gottfried von Strassburg's "Tristan"*, ed. Will Hasty (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), 261–284, here 273–275, 281. Thomas Kerth sees Ulrich "struggling with two models to produce an independent writing, but inferior to each." As quoted in Gibbs, "Medieval," 275. For a detailed summary of critical responses to both later epics also see Marion Gibbs and Sydney Johnson, *Medieval German Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 373–374.

³ William C. McDonald, *The Tristan Story in German Literature of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Tradition and Innovation*. (Lewiston: Mellen, 1990), 14. Additionally, critics complain about Ulrich's emphasis on conventional, external incidents and his perceived failure to depict distinct mental impulses. McDonald, *Tristan*, 7–8; Alan Deighton, "Die Quellen der Tristan-Fortsetzungen Ulrichs von TÜRHEIM und Heinrichs von Freiberg," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 126, no. 2 (1997): 151.

⁴ See McDonald, *Tristan*, 4–53. This is true even for the reference works that were published after McDonald's study, as Gibbs and Johnson show: "In the eyes of modern critics [...] there is little doubt as to who won the competition." Gibbs and Johnson, *Literature*, 374.

⁵ On critical reception of all MHG Tristan epics, see Alan Deighton, "Ein Anti-Tristan? Gottfried-Rezeption in der 'Tristan'-Fortsetzung Heinrichs von Freiberg," *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters in und über Böhmen II: Tagung in České Budějovice/Budweis 2002*, ed. Václav Bok and Hans-Joachim Behr (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2004), 111–126, at 126; Marion Mälzer, *Die Isolde-Gestalten in den mittelalterlichen deutschen Tristan-Dichtungen: Ein Beitrag zum diachronischen Wandel* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1991), at 249; McDonald, *Tristan*, 54–67; Armin Schulz, "Die Spielverderber. Wie 'schlecht' sind die *Tristan*-

Fortsetzer?" *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistenverbandes*, 51, no. 3 (2004), 262–276, at 267.

⁶ McDonald, *Tristan*, 14.

⁷ McDonald, *Tristan*, 61; Joachim Bumke, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im hohen Mittelalter* (Munich: DTV, 2000), 194.

⁸ Several scholars caution against such a comparison and advocate treating each text on its own terms. Peter Strohschneider and Christopher Clason consider it altogether unfair to compare either Heinrich or Ulrich to Gottfried and offer instead to treat the two later texts as independent works. Peter Strohschneider, "Gotfrit-Fortsetzungen: Tristans Ende im 13. Jahrhundert und die Möglichkeiten nachklassischer Epik," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* 65 (1991): 70–98, here 95; Christopher R. Clason, "Gottfried's Continuator Ulrich von Türheim: Epistemology and Language," *Tristania* 24 (2006): 17–36, here 17.

⁹ For the sake of convenience and consistency, I have standardized the spelling of the characters' names as Tristan, Isolde, Kaedin, Kassie, Marke, Kurvenal, and Petiteriu.

¹⁰ See McDonald, *Tristan*; Olga V. Trokhimenko, "And All Her Power Forsook Her": Female Bodies and Speech in the Middle High German Tristan-Continuations." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 110 (2011): 202–228; Olga V. Trokhimenko, "Foolish Heart: Re-Examining Emotions in the Middle High German Tristan Continuations." *Allegorica* 30 (2014): 32–46.

¹¹ Wolfgang Mieder, "liebe und leide": Sprichwörtliche Liebesmetaphorik in Gottfrieds von Straßburg Tristan, in *nieman hât ân arebeit wistuom*: *Sprichwörtliches in mittelhochdeutschen Epen* (Burlington, VT: The University of Vermont, 2009), 15–28; Tomas Tomasek, "Überlegungen zu den Sentenzen in Gotfrids Tristan," in "Bickelwort" und "wildiu mære": *Festschrift für Eberhard Nellmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Dorothee Lindemann, Berndt Volkmann and Klaus-Peter Wegera, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik* 618 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1995), 199–224. In the opening of his essay, Tomasek gives a thorough overview of existing scholarship on gnomic material in Tristan. See Tomasek, "Überlegungen" 200–202.

¹² Tomasek, "Überlegungen" 203–204.

¹³ Tomasek, "Überlegungen" 208.

¹⁴ "Dabei wird sich im folgenden zeigen, daß Sprichwörter keine erratischen Weisheitsblöcke darstellen, sondern daß sie teilweise als bedeutungsvolle Leit-motive zur Aussagekraft und Bedeutung dieses großen Werkes beitragen. Wenn es sich in diesem Epos um das Thema von Freude und Schmerz, Liebe und Leid sowie Leben und Tod handelt, so werden auch metaphorische Sprichwörter all-gemeingültige Aussagen dazu liefern." Mieder, "liebe und leide" 17.

¹⁵ For the only existent study of Ulrich's use of proverbs in *Tristan*, see Olga V. Trokhimenko, "Sie ist gerne iht niuwe ('It Always Is Something New'): Love, Sorrow, and Proverbial Challenges in the Middle High German Tristan Section "Bis dat, qui cito dat" – "Gegengabe" in *Paremiology, Folklore, Language, and Literature. Honoring Wolfgang Mieder on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Christian Grandl, Kevin McKenna, Elisabeth Piirainen, and Andreas Nolte (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), 381–386. For Ulrich's use of proverbs in his

Rennewart, see Albert Leitzemann, “Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtliches bei Ulrich von TÜRHEIM,” *Beiträge für Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 65 (1941–1942), 164–170.

¹⁶ Manfred Eikelmann and Tomas Tomasek, eds., *Artusromane nach 1230, Gralromane, Tristanromane. Handbuch der Sentenzen und Sprichwörter im höfischen Roman des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 566, 594.

¹⁷ Eikelmann and Tomasek attribute 14 of the examples to the characters and only 4 to the narrator. Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 566.

¹⁸ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 566. Eikelmann/Tomasek establish that most of the proverbial material occurs in just four episodes: 1) marital negotiations in the Duchy of Karke; 2) in the thorn-hedge episode; 3) in Tristan’s second trip to see Isolde the Blond; and 4) in the end. Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 566.

¹⁹ For detailed discussion of gender dynamics and depiction of the female characters in both Tristan sequels, see Trokhimenko, “And All Her Power.”

²⁰ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 552–553.

²¹ ²³ dixitque Adam hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea haec vocabitur virago quoniam de viro sumpta est.²⁴ quam ob rem relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem et adheret uxori suae et erunt duo in carne una. ²⁵ erant autem uterque nudi Adam scilicet et uxor eius et non erubescabant.” (Vulg. Gen. 2:23–25); “et dixit propter hoc dimittet homo patrem et matrem et adheret uxori suae et erunt duo in carne una” (Matth. 19:5); “et erunt duo in carne una itaque iam non sunt duo sed una caro” (Mark 10:8); “an nescitis quoniam qui adheret meretrici unum corpus efficitur erunt enim inquit duo in carne una” (1 Corinth. 6:16); “propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem suam et adheret uxori suae et erunt duo in carne una” (Ephesians 5:31). “Biblia Sacra Vulgata,” *Bible Gateway*, <https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Biblia-Sacra-Vulgata> VULGATE. Accessed April 13, 2017.

²² For exact citations, see Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 553.

²³ As the 2010 study by Ute Nanz demonstrates, despite her being a secondary character, Isolde of the White Hands is a rather complex and ambivalent figure. See Ute Nanz, *Die Isolde-Weißhand-Gestalten im Wandel des Tristanstoffs: Figurenzeichnung zwischen Vorlagenbezug und Werkkonzeption* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2010), 301. Also see Gibbs, “The Medieval Reception,” 261–284; Trokhimenko, “And All Power.”

²⁴ Cf. Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 555.

²⁵ Benecke-Müller-Zarncke define the adjective *karc* as „klug, listig, in gutem und bösem sinne.” G. F. Benecke, W. Müller, and F. Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854): 788b. Henceforth abbreviated as BMZ.

²⁶ *Douay-Rheims Bible and Latin Vulgate*, <http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/26025.htm>. Accessed April 14, 2017.

²⁷ On the character of Queen Isolde see Ann Marie Rasmussen, *Mothers and Daughters in Medieval Literature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Rasmussen, “The Female Figures in Gottfried’s *Tristan and Isolde*,” in *Companion to Gottfried von Strassburg*, ed. Will Hasty (Rochester: Camden House, 2003), 137–157; Rasmussen, “*Es ist ir g’artet von mir*: Queen Isolde and Princess Isolde

in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan and Isolde*," in *Arthurian Women: A Casebook*, ed. Thelma Fenster (New York: Garland, 1996; reprint New York: Routledge, 2000), 41-58; Albrecht Classen, "Die Mutter spricht zu ihrer Tochter: Literarhistorische Betrachtungen zu einem feministischen Thema," *The German Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2002): 71-87; Classen, "Women Speak up at the Medieval Court: Gender Roles and Public Influence in Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* and Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan and Isolde*," in *The Power of Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literatures: New Approaches to German and European Women Writers and to Violence Against Women in Premodern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen, *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 69-103.

²⁸ Gibbs says it is not certain that Heinrich knew Ulrich's version, but there is evidence that he did, e.g., his correction of Isolde's behavior in the Petitcric episode. Gibbs, "The Medieval Reception," 277. There are several other episodes that may be read as Heinrich's indirect response or engagement with Ulrich's text, such as the Pleherin episode (UvT, vv. 1905ff, HvF, vv. 5142ff). Other scholars agree with my opinion that Heinrich knew and responded to his predecessor, just like he did to Eilhart, whom is also does not mention. Danielle Buschinger, "La composition et le sens du *Tristan* de Heinrich von Freiberg," in *Tristan-Studien, Tristan-Studien: Die Tristan-Rezeption in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, edited by Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok, *Wodan* 19, Series 3 (Greifswald: Reineke, 1993), 62-63; Nanz, *Die Isolde-Weißhand-Gestalten*, 222-223, 229; Margarethe Sedlmeyer, *Heinrichs von Freiberg Tristanfortsetzung im Vergleich zu anderen Tristandichtungen* (Bern: Herbert Lang; Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1976), 263 and 302.

²⁹ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 550-551.

³⁰ From here on Wander's and Singer's authoritative proverb dictionaries will be abbreviated as WA and SI, followed by a volume number, page(s), keyword, and entry or rubric number. Cf. Samuel Singer, *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi: Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, 13 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995ff); Karl-Friedrich Wilhelm Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon: Ein Hausschatz für das deutsche Volk*, 5 vols (1867-1880; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964). Here: WA I, 1640, Gethan, 1; SI XII, Tun 3.1; Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 551.

³¹ Somewhat later, the duchess demands that Tristan remain in Arundel until his death: "ir muzet aber beliben hie bi uns / iemmer biz an iuwern tot" ("But you will have to remain here with us forever, until your death," UvT, vv. 188-189).

³² Cf. "bildl. das geringste, niht ein ei gar nichts, zur verstärkung der negation." Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1872), col. 515-516. From here on abbreviated as Lexer. BMZ 1: 413b-414a: "Ei: bezeichnet etwas werthloses, und dient daher zur verstärkung der negation." BMZ cites Grimms' *Deutsche Grammatik*, 4 vols (Göttingen: 1819-1837). Examples from BMZ include such works as *Eneasroman*, *Flore und Blanscheflur*, etc. See also Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 33 vols (Leipzig: 1854-1961; Munich: dtv, 1984). *Wörterbuchnetz: Deutsches Wör-*

terbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm. <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/>. Accessed April 14, 2017. Here Grimm and Grimm, 3: col. 76-78: “er gäbe kein ei darum, nicht das geringste, mhd. daz enwas im niht ein ei; ei *bis* eibenzweig.”

³³ SI II, 375, Ei 2.5.

³⁴ WA, I, 759–761, Ei 252, 290, 295, 306.

³⁵ SI, I, 275, Auge 1 (“Das Augenlicht ist kostbar und unentbehrlich”); Auge 1.2 (“Das Augenlicht zu verlieren ist das Schlimmste”); SI, I, 276, Auge 13.1 (“Ein einziges Auge ist kostbar”; esp. Auge 421–440); SI, I, 277, Auge 23.4 (“In die Augen stechen”; es. Auge 524–525).

³⁶ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal /Deuterocanonical Books*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

³⁷ SI, I, 300, Auge 468; also see other examples SI, I, 300, Auge 464–469: “Er sprach och: ,hindert dich din ouge, brich es us”; “Wenn dich dein Auge aerget, so reiss es aus.” The image of picking one’s eye out goes back to Bible: “Quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, erue eum et projice abs te; expedit enim tibi, ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum quam totum corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam” (Vulg., Matth. 5:29). Also in Martin Luther’s translation of the Bible: “Ergert dich aber dein rechts Auge, So reis es aus, vnd virffs von dir. Es ist dir besser, das eins deiner Gelied verderbe, vnd nicht der gantze Leib in die Helle geworffen werde.” As cited in SI, I, 300, Auge 464–465.

³⁸ Wander’s dictionary contains several proverbs about finger-biting, the earliest being by Franck (1541) and Egenolff (1565). Ulrich’s use of a similar imagery shows that this association preceded the 16th century. See WA, I, 1025, Finger 214: “Wann jm einer die finger ins maul leget, er dorfft nit zubeissen. – Franck. I, 50d; Körte, 1390”; WA, I, 1016, Finger 2: “Den Finger, der Honig in den Mund streicht, muss man nicht beissen”; WA, I, Finger 223: “Eher würde ich mich in einen Finger beissen, eh’ ich dies thäte. – Fischer, Psalter, 232, 2” (this example accessed online: <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/Wander/?sigle=Wander&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=WF00382#XWF00382>; Accessed April 14, 2017). Also see references to Franck and Egenolff in Singer: SI, III, 255, Finger 40–41: “Wenn man ihm die Finger ins Maul legt, darf er nicht zubeissen.” There is also a modern German expression *sich in den Finger schneiden*, meaning “to be thoroughly mistaken in somebody or something” (“Sich in Bezug auf jemanden/etwas gründlich irren, täuschen”). *Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch* (Mannheim: Dudenverlag, 1989), 209.

³⁹ As quoted in Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 557.

⁴⁰ One has to think of Minnesang, German courtly lyric, and didactic writings such as *Winsbecke*, Thomasin von Zerclaere’s *Welscher Gast*, among many.

⁴¹ McDonald, *Tristan*, 53.

⁴² SI, XI, 428, Treue 2.6 (“Treue veredelt”).

⁴³ See Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 555.

⁴⁴ Cf. WA, I, 1174, Freund 58: “Den freund erkennt man in der not.”

⁴⁵ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 556–557.

⁴⁶ On emotions see Trokhimenko, “Foolish Heart”; on the gender aspects of Ulrich’s “body talk” see Trokhimenko, “All Her Power.”

⁴⁷ As cited in Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 557. Also see *The Power of Words: Essays in Lexicography, Lexicology and Semantics: In Honor of Christian J. Kay*, ed. Graham D. Caie, Carole Hough, and Irené Wotherspoon (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2006), 125.

⁴⁸ BMZ 1: 1043b–1044a.

⁴⁹ Jacob Isidor Mombert, *A History of Charles the Great (Charlemagne)* (London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1888), 406. Also see Lexer 1: 1961–1963: “lôt:

⁵⁰ Cf. “Karles lot bedeutete das richtigte genaueste Gewicht und mit Karles lote wider wegen oder gelten foviell als etwas nach der größten Strenge erwiedern dem Andern nicht das Geringste übersehen oder zu Gute halten.” *Allgemeine encyclopädie der wissenschaften und künste in alphabetischer Folge von genannten Schriftstellern*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1845), 248.

⁵¹ Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan und Isolde*, 48f.

⁵² Cf. WA, III, 133, Liebe 95: “Die Lieb’ ist eine kleine Freud’, und was sie bringt, ist Scham und Leid. *Lat.*: Nil amor est aliud, credas, quam parva voluptas, cum semel expleta est, inficit ota rubor. (*Chaos*, 495.)”; WA, III, 133, Liebe 99: “Die Lieb ist nichts den bitter leiden, vermischt mit kleinen Freuden. – *Petri*, II, 137.” For a more detailed analysis of this specific motif, see also Trokhimenko, “*Sie ist gerne*.”

⁵³ The idea that love brings both joy and sorrow is very popular in the Middle High German literary discourse. See, e.g., Hartmann von Aue’s *Gregorius*: “Si [love] machete ie nâch liebe leit,” as well as Thomasin von Zerclaere, Gottfried von Strassburg, Mechthild von Magdeburg and others. See SI, VII, 439–441, Liebe 719–762.

⁵⁴ See SI, VII, 443–445, Liebe 1.6.9.4 and 1.7.1.1: “Liebe verbirgt hinter der Süsse den Stachel” and “Liebe ist nicht dauerhaft und treu.”

⁵⁵ Cf. WA, III, 134, Liebe 281: “Keine Liebe über die Liebe zu Gott. (*Hebr.*)”

⁵⁶ Hartmann von Aue, *Der Arme Heinrich*, ed. Ludwig Wolff, Althochdeutsche Bibliothek 3 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1972). Also see Olga V. Trokhimenko, “*Der sælden stræze*: Sprichwörter in Hartmanns von Aue *Gregorius*,” *Proverbi-um: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* 18 (2001): 333.

⁵⁷ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 558–561; WA, II, 56, Gott 1321; WA, I, 78, Aendern, 10, respectively. Also WA, IV, 832–834, Sterben 53, 84, 93; SI, II, 314–315, Dulden 1.1.2.1 (“Man muss das Unausweichliche und Unabwendbare ertragen”); SI, XI, 354, Tod 4.1.1 (“Man stirbt nur einmal”); SI, XI, 355, Tod 4.1.2 (“Man stirbt nur zur gestgesetzten Zeit”).

⁵⁸ Ulrich appears to anticipate the several modern proverbs about perceived early death of good people and, vice versa, seemingly long (and even happy) life of the evil: “The good die young”; “Unkraut stirbt nicht”; “Die Guten sterben früh”. Wander lists two modern German proverbs for “Gut” (Adj.): “Die Guten sterben jung. Der *Kladderadatsch* vom 12. März 1865 fragt, ob das Sprichwort auch umgekehrt anzuwenden sei”; “Die Guten leiden noth, und die Bösen fressen unverdientes Brot. *Böhm.*: Dobrý i po suché kûrce tyje, a zlý ani masa nezažije.

(*Čelakovský*, 31).” WA, II, 183, Gut (Adj.) 21, 39, respectively. Martin H. Manser’s *The Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs* lists “God takes soonest those he loves best / whom the God loves die young / the good die young.” Martin H. Manser, *The Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs*, ed. Rosalind Fergusson and David Pickering, 2nd ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2007), 104. All of them can be traced back to Plautus’s *Bacchides*: “Whom the gods love die young. – Lat. *Quem Di diligent, adolescens moritur*” (Act IV, Scene vii, l. 18). As quoted in Ebenezer Coghnam Brewer, *Wordsworth Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 2001), 486. Brewer provides examples from Byron’s *Child Harold* and *Don Juan*. Plautus’s expression is attributed to Menander (342–292 BCE): “Whom the gods love dies young.” <http://wordinfo.info/unit/3479>. Accessed April 10, 2017. Also see Stuart Flexner and Doris Flexner, *Wise Words and Wives’ Tales: The Origins, Meanings and Time-Honored Wisdom of Proverbs and Folk Sayings Olde and New*” (New York: Avon Books, 1993).

⁵⁹ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 564–565; SI, V, 308, Gut 5.3; WA, II, 191, Gut (Subst.) 138.

⁶⁰ Cf. McDonald, *Tristan*, 53; Trokhimenko, “All Power,” 203.

⁶¹ Heinrich himself mentions, in his epilogue, that Thomas wrote about Tristan in *lampartischer zungen* (“in Lombardic tongue,” HvF, v. 6844). See Deighton, “Quellen” 141; and Wolfgang Spiewok, “Zur Überlieferung der Tristan-Fortsetzung Heinrichs von Freiberg,” *Wodan: Tristan-Studien. Die Tristan-Rezeption in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (Greifswald: Reineke, 1993), 153–154.

⁶² See note 24.

⁶³ Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan und Isolde*, xxiii; McDonald, *Tristan*, 55; Bumke, *Geschichte* 195; Spiewok, “Überlieferung,” 145.

⁶⁴ McDonald, *Tristan*, 55; Deighton, “Anti-Tristan,” 111.

⁶⁵ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 594. Eikelmann and Tomasek also point to several other places that are considered to contain paremiological material by other researchers but which they did not include into their own compilation.

⁶⁶ Andreas Capellanus, *De amore. Liber primus*. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/capellanus/capellanus1.html>. Accessed April 11, 2017. Cf. “But another rule of Love teaches that no one can be in love with two men.” Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 107.

⁶⁷ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 581.

⁶⁸ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 582–583.

⁶⁹ See note 50.

⁷⁰ Olga V. Trokhimenko, “Daz guot und weltlich êre und gotes hulde mêre zesamene in ein herze komen’: Sprichwörter in Hartmanns von Aue *Der Arme Heinrich*,” *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship* 17 (2000): 387–408; Trokhimenko, “*Der sælden stræze*.”

⁷¹ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 584–585.

⁷² Ms. H, used by Buschinger and Spiewok, has *ellen und adel* (might and nobility); however, other manuscript witnesses (ms. O) list this line as *adel und*

tugent (nobility and virtue). See Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 584; Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan und Isolde*, 62, note 143. Buschinger and Spiewok translate *ellen* as “Kraft”; however, BMZ translates *ellen* as “stärke mit kühnheit verbunden, mannheit” (“strength, related to bravery, manliness”) and Lexer as „mut, mannheit” (“courage, manliness”). BMZ 1: 429a; Lexer 1: 539–540.

⁷³ Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 586–587.

⁷⁴ See Trokhimenko, “All Her Power,” 327.

⁷⁵ Cf. BMZ 1: 708a–709a: “hoene: hochfahrendes wesen, übermut.” I disagree, however, with Eikelmann and Tomasek’s paraphrase of Heinrich’s passage as “Schönheit ist gefährlich” (Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 588). There is nothing in the passage and even in the meaning of the proverb evoked that suggests danger; rather the emphasis is on human vanity and arrogance. See Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 589. On the use of the expression in Gottfried’s *Tristan*, see Klaus Morsch, *schoene daz ist hoene: Studien zum Tristan Gottfrieds von Straßburg* (Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1984), 212–214.

⁷⁶ Cf.: “und wes ir turret gebiten, / mich mit zuchteclichen site, / des selben ich uch zwar gewer” (“And whatever you ask me in a friendly way, I will surely grant you,” HvF, vv. 4275–4277). Eikelmann and Tomasek paraphrase this proverb as “Einer angemessen vorgetragenen Bitt, die man auch gerne erfüllt, soll entsprochen werden.” Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 590–591. Also: “wan manch dinc vertirbet, / dez man nicht enwirbet, / daz nymmer vorturbe, / der ez mit vlize wurbe” (“Many a chance/thing slips away when one doesn’t make an effort to prevent it from slipping away, if one only would make an effort,” HvF, vv. 4847–4850) (Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 590–591); “gedenket an daz sprich wort / und habet in herzen mutes hort, / und versuchet ez noch baz: / unvorsuchet, waz touc daz?” (“Think of the proverb and have courage to try even more. If one doesn’t try, what’s the use?” HvF, vv. 4851–4854) (Eikelmann and Tomasek 2: 592–593).

⁷⁷ For example, in contrast to Ulrich, Heinrich conspicuously omits Isolde I’s verbal abuses towards Tristan in the Pleherin episode (HvF, vv. 5142ff).

⁷⁸ McDonald, *Tristan*, 61. Also see Trokhimenko, “Foolish Heart,” 41; Trokhimenko, “All Her Power,” 228.

⁷⁹ Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan and Isolde*, 17.

⁸⁰ See BMZ II.2: 538b–540a: “*spruch*: 1.was gesprochen wird, wort, rede. 2.wort, rede, ausdrück, bes. schöner ausdrück des dichters”; Lexer 2: 1120–1122: “*spruch*: 3.ausgezeichneter ausspruch, sinnspruch, maxime, sentenz.”

Olga V. Trokhimenko
 Department of World Languages and Cultures
 University of North Carolina Wilmington
 601 S. College Rd.,
 Wilmington, NC 28403-5954
 USA
 E-mail: trokhimenkoo@uncw.edu