

A critical study of the translations of
Gottfried's T r i s t a n by Hermann Kurz,
Karl Simrock and Wilhelm Hertz.

Thesis submitted for
the degree of M.A.
Hazel van Rest,
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

There have been many surveys of the general reception of the Tristan story in the nineteenth century and the countless versions which it inspired including Richard Wagner's music-drama. The present study examines the nineteenth-century literal translations which made the Middle High German form of the story available again. Gottfried von Strassburg's text underwent a stylistic transformation during each transition into modern German. Modern and medieval modes of poetic expression were different enough to force the translators to take up a definite attitude to the problem; compromise was difficult. The early translators, Hermann Kurz and Karl Simrock, were faithful to the letter of the original, but perhaps too much spellbound by its external form to convey to the modern reader its essential grace. In the later versions, a second one by Hermann Kurz and one by Wilhelm Hertz, both the original diction and the original structure were altered to meet modern aesthetic requirements. In all cases the narrative survived, but not the tone of Gottfried's composition. A detailed examination of the language of each version shows the elements which brought about the change in tone. A study of the features rejected and the features retained reveals which qualities of the original were valued by the modern translators. As indicators of the modern opinion of Tristan and as the means by which Gottfried von Strassburg reached the public of the mid-nineteenth century, the versions form an important part of the history of the Tristan story in modern times.

The versions examined include the unpublished, fragmentary second attempt by Hermann Kurz, from manuscripts in the Reutlingen Heimatmuseum.

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I INTRODUCTION; THE VERSIONS AND THEIR AUTHORS

The Tristan of Gottfried von Strassburg was translated into modern German by three writers in the nineteenth century: Hermann Kurz, Karl Simrock, and Wilhelm Hertz. They experienced, in addition to the difficulties common to all translators, the special difficulties of translating from an older period of their own language and from a poet whose excellencies could not be easily emulated. In this study of their translations their different ways of approaching the problem will be examined and compared with one another. It is chiefly a matter of aesthetics and style, but developments in the reception of Middle High German literature in the nineteenth century will also have to be taken into account.

The three modern Tristan versions were not entirely independent of each other. They were begun, completed and re-attempted at intervals so spaced that the different attempts interweave and together cover nearly the whole period from 1840 to 1880. Each translator benefited from the experience of his predecessor, either by continuing along along the same lines, or by striking out in the opposite direction. The versions and attempts were made in the following order:-

- 1843-44 Hermann Kurz, complete translation of Gottfried von Strassburg's poem, and a free ending of about 3650 lines (using material from Ulrich von Türheim, Heinrich von Freiberg, Sir Tristrem, the German Prose Romance and Karl Immermann); published 1843-44.

- 1851 (?) i) Karl Simrock, complete translation, with a prose summary of the end of the story; published 1855.
- 1862 Hermann Kurz planned a second attempt after a change of principles; he completed only the first episode, Rivalin und Blancheflur, (part of which was published in 1864) and a few fragmentary passages (long believed lost but in fact surviving in manuscript form).
- 1875 Karl Simrock, a year before his death, published a second edition of his translation, augmented by a free ending of about 1400 lines, based mainly on Sir Tristrem.
- 1877 Wilhelm Hertz, abridged translation, with an ending of about 850 lines, based on Thomas.

The three translators belonged to circles which touched each other at various points. They had mutual acquaintances and mutual interests. Each had strong personal ties with Ludwig Uhland, who was a great mover in spreading interest in medieval literature. They all shared his enthusiasm for Middle High German literature, and they were also all, in varying degrees, poets in their own right. Kurz and Hertz knew each other personally.

i) For the question of date see section III b), p. 43.

But the circles only touched; they did not overlap. The three writers belonged to different generations and different parts of Germany. For the points of contact to be seen in perspective, their places in the pattern of the century must be shown.

Kurz and Hertz were both South Germans and they were both connected with the Swabian and Munich schools of poets, though Kurz rather more with the former and Hertz rather more with the latter. Hermann Kurz was born in Reutlingen in 1813 i). He entered the theological seminary in Tübingen in 1831, a year after Uhland had begun lecturing on medieval German literature at the university there. Kurz attended his lectures and also his 'Stilistikum' in the summer term of 1832. The latter was a seminar in which aspiring poets read out their attempts and criticized each other. Kurz's companions included the young writers Berthold Auerbach, Adelbert von Keller, and Gustav Pfizer. In 1836, giving up a church living, Kurz moved to Stuttgart to live by his pen. He produced short stories, poems, and two long historical novels, Schillers Heimatjahre and Der Sonnenwirt. Common features of all his works were humour and local colour. His remuneration from them had to be supplemented by hackwork in the form of journalism, editing and translating. His many translations of Byron, Shakespeare, Ariosto, Gottfried von Strassburg,

i) He is not to be confused with the later Swiss novelist of the same name, Hermann Kurz of Basel, 1880-1933.

Chateaubriand and others had a greater success than his own works and made his name known throughout Germany. His daughter, Isolde Kurz i) bitterly resented the time spent on such uncreative 'drudgery', under which she ranked even the Tristan translation, although, in fact, Kurz made that at least from choice. For a time he turned to political journalism and from 1848 to 1854 he was editor of the Stuttgart Beobachter, a liberal paper. He then lived in various little Swabian towns, a short while in each, finding it hard to make ends meet. In 1863 friends of his obtained for him a position as university librarian in Tübingen, where he spent the last ten years of his life. He had never moved away from his native Swabia. For many years he was a close friend of Eduard Mörike (until they quarrelled about political matters in 1848) and during his years in Stuttgart he was also in contact with the poets of the main Swabian group, Justinus Kerner, Gustav Schwab, Berthold Auerbach, Gustav Pfizer, the Austrian Nikolaus Lenau, and Uhland. He later became acquainted with some of the poets who had been called to Munich by King Maximilian II. Some of these writers had independently formed an intimate literary circle called Das Krokodil, with Paul Heyse as president. Hermann Kurz found in Paul Heyse a close friend finally to fill the gap left by the quarrel with Mörike. Heyse was also a loyal friend for forty years to Wilhelm Hertz, and it was he who brought Hertz and Kurz together.

i) Isolde Kurz, Hermann Kurz. Munich and Leipzig, 1906.

Wilhelm Hertz was born in Stuttgart in 1835. He also studied under Uhland in Tübingen, twenty-three years after Hermann Kurz had done so. He then moved to Munich, where he spent the rest of his life as a university teacher and lyric poet. He was an active member of the Krokodil circle. His academic field of study and the inspiration for much of his poetry was medieval literature. In 1869 he became Professor at the Technische Hochschule. He died in 1902. Kurz and Hertz met at Heyse's house in Munich in April 1863, when Kurz made one of his rare journeys out of Swabia. Isolde Kurz wrote of the meeting:-

'Neben dem Freunde, den er seinen ,Einzigsten' nannte, (Paul Heyse) schloß er sich vor allen an seinen Landsmann Wilhelm Hertz, den Dichter und Gelehrten, an, dessen Wesen ihm wohl am nächsten stand und mit dem er sich auf dem ganzen Gebiet seiner Geisteswelt berührte.'ⁱ⁾ The affinity of their natures mentioned here is illustrated by the fact that Hertz carried out in his version of Tristan the abridgements and the change of diction planned by Kurz in 1862. He would also have used for his own version the ending which Kurz had written for Tristan in 1844, if he had received permission from Kurz's widow. To have considered such an action he must have felt in complete accord with Kurz's aesthetic aims. Their common background as Swabians and as pupils of Uhland probably played a part originally in attracting the two poets to each other. They had much in common.

Karl Simrock belonged to a different sphere, to the

i) Hermann Kurz. ed. cit. p. 284

philologists gathered round Lachmann and the brothers Grimm. And as a poet he belonged to the Rhineland group. Born in 1802, he grew up in Bonn under French occupation. His passion for old German literature sprang from the same source as the general, vast spread of interest in the German past which marked the first decades of the century; that is, it was part of the rise of patriotic feeling which was the reaction to Napoleonic domination. His own poems, and his collections of local legends, were also inspired by patriotism and love of his native Rhineland. He began his studies at Bonn, where he heard A. W. Schlegel and E. M. Arndt, who helped to strengthen his love of his national literature. Heinrich Heine and the political poet Hoffmann von Fallersleben were among his friends and fellow-students. Then in Berlin, while he was finishing reading law and starting a legal career, he came into contact with the brothers Grimm; he was also a member of a literary society there, the Mittwochsgesellschaft, and was on friendly terms with Adelbert von Chamisso, Ernst Raupach, Karl von Holtei, Willibald Alexis and other enthusiasts for the German past. In 1827 he translated the Nibelungenlied, a short time after Lachmann's edition of the text had appeared; this was the first of his many translations of Middle High German epics, and after he had been dismissed from the Kammergericht in 1830 on account of a poem hailing the July Revolution he devoted the rest of his life to Germanistic studies. The circle of Rhineland poets to which he then belonged was made up of Karl Immermann in Düsseldorf, H. F. Freiligrath, Levin Schücking, Gustav Pfarrius, Gottfried Kinkel, Nicolaus Becker, and Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter. In 1850 Simrock became a professor of German language and

literature in Bonn. He had a great reputation in Munich and was decorated by Maximilian of Bavaria, but he refused to leave his native Rhine for Munich University. He died in 1876. Carrying on the ideals of Lachmann, and of Benecke, Lachmann's teacher, who had initiated the study of German philology as a university subject, Simrock belonged to the main stream of the Germanists, the orthodox body. Trained by Lachmann to care about the accuracy of linguistic forms and the authenticity of texts, he came to the translating of Tristan as a philologist of the old school, whereas Kurz and Hertz, for all their knowledge and love of old German literature, came primarily as poets. Kurz's connections with the Germanists were far less direct than Simrock's and came by way of Franz Pfeiffer, the future editor of Germania and Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters. Kurz and Pfeiffer lived in the same house in Stuttgart while Kurz was making his Tristan translation; Pfeiffer was editing Middle High German texts for his patron, Massmann, the Munich philologist, a colleague of Simrock's. Massmann was then engaged on his edition of the Tristan text for the series Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters. Pfeiffer, no doubt drawing on Massmann's experience, helped Kurz with the philological problems which arose during the translation of Tristan and saw to the accuracy of his readings. Nearly twenty years later Kurz wrote to him about the plans for his second version, but made it clear then that he did not care about the academic value of that version. His acceptance of philological values was only such as could be shaken off when the poet in him was uppermost.

Wilhelm Hertz, the youngest of the three translators, lived after the first great phase of Germanic philology.

Simrock was dead before Hertz published his Tristan translation. Hertz, like Simrock, was a university professor of German, but of a later generation. Neither he nor Kurz had studied under any of the great philologists of northern Germany. In their place stood, significantly, the influence of Ludwig Uhland. Significantly, because unlike the philologists, whose main activity was editing the original texts, Uhland drew from the study of medieval literature and medieval history inspiration for poetical composition. Kurz had taken him as a model for his early poems, written at school, and had subsequently been a devoted student of his in Tübingen. It is significant that when his Tristan translation was finished, in 1844, he sent a copy of it to Uhland. His comparison of myths and sagas in the introduction to the second edition of 1847 is on the lines of Uhland's own researches. Hertz went further than Kurz; he modelled his whole life on Uhland's. He similarly combined literary and academic activity. His researches, also like Uhland's, were done into myths and sagas, and his ballads were made in conscious imitation of Uhland's. Some verse translations of Old French romances from manuscripts in the Paris libraries, which Uhland had planned to make in his youth and never carried out, were eventually made by Hertz, following in his traces.

Simrock also knew Uhland, but his relations with him differed from those of Kurz and Hertz. He first met him in 1829, not as a teacher and elder, but as one of a group of South German writers and poets gathered at the house of Justinus Kerner. This was the beginning of a lifelong acquaintance, with many visits to each other's houses in Tübingen and Menzenberg near Bonn. Simrock admired Uhland's use of modern German to convey the atmosphere of medieval

poetry and often paid tribute to this gift.

Translations of Gottfried's Tristan were made by each of these three writers, in their different spheres: the Swabian writer, the Bonn philologist, and the Munich professor-poet. The versions are strung out across the middle of the century and are more varied than might be expected, but there are connections between them and their authors which make it possible for them to be seen as stages in a development, and to be compared with each other as well as with the original.

II THE MODERNIZATION OF MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN EPICS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The interest shown by Hermann Kurz, Karl Simrock and Wilhelm Hertz in a Middle High German epic was not exceptional for their time. The whole of the nineteenth century was a period of great interest in the German Middle Ages. Knowledge of Middle High German literature had been gradually spreading since Bodmer, but it was not until about 1800 that enthusiasm for it began to become widespread, among poets, philologists and patriots - categories which among the Romantics were often embodied in one person - and then continued to flourish through all the decades of nationalistic fervour which preceded the unification of the German states ^{under the hegemony of} with Prussia in 1870. For much of its popularity was due to the fact that it was a national literary heritage, a reminder of the common past of the separate German states and an inspiration in the struggle against foreign domination. Even after the threat of political domination had been vanquished, the battle against cultural infiltration still had to be fought. The sentiment was formulated by Karl Simrock in 1851:-

'Diess theuerste Vermächtniss unserer Väter müssen wir der hereinbrechenden Flut sittenloser Erzeugnisse des modernen Auslands als national Hort entgegenstellen, um die Wiederkehr eines patriotischen Selbstgefühls in unser Volksbewusstsein anzubahnen.' i) For a time at the beginning of the

i) Die Edda. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1851. p. 318.

century interest in Middle High German language and literature was linked as indissolubly with patriotism as both were with the newly introduced gymnastics.i) The Middle High German works which first gained popularity were therefore those which were thoroughly German - 'durchaus aus Deutschem Leben und Sinne erwachsen.'ii) This applied to the heroic rather than to the courtly epics, since the latter were taken from the French. Tristan was thus at first neglected in favour of other works, especially the Nibelungenlied. Wilhelm Grimm, comparing the Nibelungenlied with the other Middle High German epics (including Tristan) in the collection published by C. H. Myller in the 1780s, wondered 'wie es in diese Gesellschaft gekommen, das so gross und unendlich viel höher steht, dass ihm nichts von der romantischen Poesie an die Seite gesetzt oder nur verglichen werden kann ...'iii) Whereas the Nibelungenlied was hailed as the great German national epic, comparable to Homer, the doubtful moral worth of Tristan and the fact that its story was set in foreign parts caused it to be considered unsuitable for elevation to a national literary monument. Parzival, also of non-German origin, was redeemed by its pious and

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- i) 'Vater' Jahn, the founder of gymnastics in Germany, was a keen philologist, and his young followers in Berlin also formed the audience for Zeune's lectures on the Nibelungenlied. The philologist-gymnasts wore their hair in flowing, Germanic locks. Lachmann and Massmann taught gymnastics as well as Old German in Berlin and Munich, and Franz Pfeiffer was a remarkable exception in studying one and not the other.
- ii) F. H. von der Hagen, Der Nibelungen Lied. Frankfurt-on-Main, 1824². p.ii.
- iii) Kleinere Schriften. ed. G. Hinrichs, Berlin, 1881. vol. I. p.66.

mystic contents, but Tristan was considered sacrilegious as well as immoral. During the first few decades of the century Tristan was ranked by the patriots as virtually part of the 'Flut sittenloser Erzeugnisse' and was no source of national pride. Ludwig Uhland, who by his university lectures, his research into the life of Walther von der Vogelweide, and his resuscitation of medieval motifs in his lyrics and ballads played an important rôle in the spread of interest in Middle High German literature, nevertheless completely omitted mention of Gottfried von Strassburg in his lectures on the period at Tübingen in 1830-31.i) Lachmann, a leading philologist and important with regard to the Tristan translations as Simrock's teacher, continually denounced Gottfried's narrative as immoral: '... Den weichlichen und unsittlichen Gottfried kann ich kaum lesen, wiewohl ich nicht behaupte, die Sage von Tristan sei ursprünglich unsittlich.' (12th December 1819)ii) He found difficulty in choosing passages from Gottfried for a selection which he published: '... anderes, als Ueppigkeit oder Gotteslästerung, boten die Haupttheile seiner weichlichen unsittlichen Erzählung nicht dar.'iii) He was called 'offener Tristansverächter' by Jakob Grimm.iv) The charge of immorality clung to Gottfried's work

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- i) H. Schneider, Uhland. Wittenberg, n.d. p. 335.
 ii) Briefwechsel der Brüder Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm mit Karl Lachmann, ed. A. Leitzmann. Jena, 1927. p. 15.
 iii) Karl Lachmann, Auswahl aus den Hochdeutschen Dichtern des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1820. p. iv.
 iv) Briefwechsel der Brüder Grimm ... ed. cit. p. 316.

for many years. That was one reason why it was not so widely read at first as other medieval works. Another reason was that the text was not readily available for many years. Unlike other contemporary medieval works, Gottfried's Tristan had been quite forgotten. Its rescue from oblivion and the gradual restoration of its popularity took many decades. Parzival and Titirel and parts of the Dietrichsaga had been republished during the early days of printing i), but the story of Tristan and Isolde had been known through the centuries in Germany only from the Volksbuch and the drama by Hans Sachs. The Old French prose version became well known again on appearing in Count de Tressan's Bibliothèque Universelle des Dames in 1787. F. H. von der Hagen and J. G. Büsching included the German Volksbuch version in their modernized Buch der Liebe, published in Berlin in 1809. C. H. Myller's edition of Tristan in 1782 in his collection of Middle High German texts had brought Gottfried's version into circulation again, but scarcely on a wide scale, and it remained the only edition of Tristan during the

i) Parzival and Titirel in 1477, Dietrichsaga episodes in 1490 and 1500; see W. Stammer, Von der Mystik zum Barock. Stuttgart, 1927. p. 185.

important early years of interest in Middle High German literature. On 10th November 1815, Wilhelm Grimm expressed in a letter to Georg Friedrich Benecke, the great philologist, a wish for a more adequate edition.i) Rival editions by de Groote and von der Hagen appeared in 1821 and 1823, but by then other medieval works had already established a firm popular footing and an unshakeable reputation.

The first modernizations of Middle High German epics were almost all of the Nibelungenlied; after the first in 1807 they followed fast upon one another and there had been a dozen of them before the first translation of Tristan appeared in 1843-4.ii) The number of translations of Middle High German epics which Karl Simrock made before his Tristan und Isolde confirms that the prevalent interest was at first in the heroic (and German) epics: Nibelungenlied 1827, Heldenbuch (Amelungenlied) 1829-46, Der arme Heinrich 1830, Parzival and Titirel 1842, Tristan 1855. When he thus

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- i) Briefe aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Philologie an Georg Friedr. Benecke, ed. R. Baier. Leipzig, 1901. p. 17.
- ii) F. H. von der Hagen 1807, Hinsberg 1812, Zeune 1814, Büsching 1814, Simrock 1827, Rebenstock 1835, Beta, Döring, Marbach all 1840, Wollheim 1841, Pfizer 1843, Follen 1843, etc.

eventually came to Tristan it is significant that he emphasised the Germanic connections of the story in his introduction: that it has points in common with the Siegfried saga, that the proper names Isold, Morold and Mark are possibly of Germanic origin, and that Almain is mentioned in Tristan's journeys. On the strength of these facts he ended his introduction to the second edition of his translation with the peroration: 'So eignen Übersetzung und Fortsetzung unserm Volk nur wieder an, was uraltes deutsches Eigentum ist.'

Tristan did, however, rouse interest in one quarter right from the turn of the century onwards: among poets. The Göttingen poets Bürger, Stolberg and Boie had been enraptured by the story but had not made any modern version. The Romantic poets, enthusiastic about everything medieval, planned numerous adaptations. Their leader, August Wilhelm Schlegel, made a partial translation in 1800, which Brentano reported as 'sehr süß und geschmiegelt, wie ich höre,' in a letter to his wife in 1804. He himself was hoping to band together with Arnim and perhaps Tieck to make their own modern adaptation of Tristan. He was full of plans for a whole series of modernizations of medieval works, which he felt would be more worthwhile than original composition. 'Zu eigenen Werken fällt ^[sic] einem ganz der Muth, wenn man die

alten Liebes- und Heldengeschichten der Minnesänger liest; ja ich fühle es oft als etwas sündisches, mich mit neuen Werken zwischen sie und unsre leichtfertige Zeit zu drängen.' The medieval work which he admired above all the others was Tristan: 'Die schönste, rührendste aller dieser Geschichten, die mich ergriffen und ergötzt hat wie nichts vorher, ist Tristrand und Isolde.' ... ' ... ich kenne nichts edlers, süßers, kühneres und begeisterteres.' i) Nothing came of this plan. Two or three years later Leo von Seckendorff, a patron of the young Uhland, called for translations of Tristan and other Middle High German works, ii) with little result, however. August Wilhelm Schlegel, unlike Uhland in his lectures later, gave Gottfried an appreciative mention in his university lectures on the period, and as early as 1803-4 called Tristan 'eine der schönsten vollendetsten Dichtungen.' iii) In September 1802 Ludwig Tieck had called it 'ganz Leichtsinn, Liebe, Leidenschaft.' iv) Tieck possessed it in Myller's edition v),

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- i) Reinhold Steig, Achim von Arnim und Clemens Brentano. Stuttgart, 1894. pp. 106, 116, 120.
- ii) H. Schneider, op. cit. p. 79.
- iii) Vorlesungen über Schöne Litteratur und Kunst. 3. Teil. Geschichte der romantischen Litteratur. ed. B. Seuffert. Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. no. 19. Heilbronn, 1884. p. 140.
- iv) cited by W. Golther, Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Leipzig, 1907. p. 265.
- v) His copy of Myller's collection is now in the British Museum.

and he also made his own copy of the Vatican manuscript.ⁱ⁾ He was still passionately interested in Tristan in 1840, when he used to discuss Immermann's modern version with him, and, a little later, after Immermann's death when he proposed finishing Immermann's version himself.

The poets were attracted to the story, but it inspired them to original or semi-original works, not to faithful translations of Gottfried's poem. One of the reasons for this was that the form of the original did not inspire their admiration. General ideals of translation had been plentifully discussed by eighteenth-century theorists, and since the utterances on this subject of Herder and August Wilhelm Schlegel it had been generally accepted that both form and content be rendered as faithfully as possible in translation. However translation from Middle High German was not made subject to the same principles, since the ideal of faithful translation had obviously been evolved to retain features of the original which commanded admiration. Schlegel himself, who otherwise repeatedly emphasized the importance of retaining the original form, even the original metre, of poems, nevertheless both advocated and practised reshaping when translating medieval epics. In contrast with the ideals manifest in his translations of Shakespeare, he recommended free treatment of the old material when dealing with chivalrous narratives: 'Es kommt nur darauf an, eine Dichtung in

i) Harry Maync, Immermann. Munich, 1921. p. 556.

ihrem eigentümlichen Sinne aufzufassen, und sie mit dem Glanze aller der Darstellungsmittel zu umkleiden, welche uns die heutige Ausbildung der Sprache und poetischen Kunst an die Hand gibt, so kann sie die grösste Wirkung nicht verfehlen.'i) He expressed a similar view in 1822 when he wrote: '... die alten erzählenden Gedichte (erwarten) nicht bloss einen Sprachausleger, sondern einen dichterischen Dollmetscher.'ii) Immermann's report of Schlegel's attitude to Tristan confirms that he was captivated by the content of the story but considered its form inferior. The reference comes in Die Epigonen, in which Immermann included a satirical portrait of Schlegel. In the middle of a long, blustering speech Schlegel is made to refer to Tristan, in passing, thus: 'Ich habe zuerst auf dieses Gedicht hingewiesen, worin süsse Frische, Lüsterheit und Unschuld den Becher mit Bezauberndem Getränk füllen ... es ist sehr leicht, bei diesem Gedichte an Ariost zu denken, aber Welch ein Abstand!'iii) Schlegel in fact satisfied his preference for Ariosto's strophes by making his own Tristan version in stanzas formally modelled on them. The opening of the story appears thus:

i) Vorlesungen, ed. cit. p. 135.

ii) Sophie von Knorring, née Tieck, Flore und Blanscheflur. Herausgegeben und mit einer Vorrede begleitet von A. W. von Schlegel. Berlin, 1822. 'Vorrede des Herausgebers', p. xix.

iii) Werke, ed. Harry Maync. Leipzig and Vienna, (1906). vol. III. p. 215-6.

Ein Ritter herrschte, kühn, getreu und mild,
 Adlich von Sitten, königlichen Blutes,
 Der Feinde Schrecken und der Seinen Schild,
 Zu Parmenie, in Fülle reichen Gutes.
 Sein junger Leib war aller Tugend Bild;
 Nur wollt' er, im Geleit des Uebermuthes,
 Zu weit in seines Herzens Lüften schweben,
 Und immer nur nach eignem Willen leben.i)

The rhetorical amplitude of the court epics was alien to nineteenth-century taste and not recognized for the disciplined form that it was. Instead it was labelled clumsy, longwinded and discursive. This was the reason for Schlegel's advocacy of poetic reshaping; he mistook the execution of rhetorical figures for incompetence: 'Ihre Form ist meistens sehr unvollkommen ... Die Erzählung ist unbeholfen: es fehlt ihr auf der einen Seite an frischer Gewandtheit und gedrängter Kürze, welche vorzüglich in den bloss zur Verständigung unentbehrlichen und des Schmuckes wenig empfänglichen Theilen erfordert wird: auf der andern Seite an gleichmässig vertheilter und in leichtem Schwunge vorübereilender Fülle. Es ist, als fühlten die Erzähler die Unzulänglichkeit ihrer Worte für das, was sie so treu und gemütlich empfinden: sie wollen ihren Gegenstand erschöpfen, sie nehmen verschiedentlich einen neuen Anlauf, und verfallen in Weitscheifigkeit.'ii) Wilhelm Grimm wrote

i) A. W. Schlegel, Poetische Werke. Heidelberg, 1811.

ii) Sophie von Knorring's Flore und Blanscheflur, ed. cit. p. xix.

about medieval Rittergedichte in general, in 1809: 'Eine unbeschreibliche Geschwätzigkeit drängt sich durch die Geschichte und treibt sie, mit Vernichtung jedes Interesses, nach allen Seiten hin, wie Laune oder Zufall will. Ja, man hat durchgehends den Eindruck, als sei die Darstellung der Geschichte das ausserwesentliche, bloss vorgenommen, um darüber reden zu können.' i) He considered that modern versions would be improved by alterations and omissions. ii) On December 12th 1819, Lachmann complained that 'die guten Erzähler unter unsern alten Poeten ... langweilen mich sammt und sonders.' iii) The view that the epics were too discursive to translate literally persisted through the century among poet-translators. Wilhelm Hertz abridged both Tristan (1877) and Parzival (1898) in order to avoid the 'Weitschweifigkeit' of the originals.

It was the form of the court epics which failed to gain appreciation. The strophic form of other Middle High German works, notably the Nibelungenlied and the poems of Walther von der Vogelweide and the other Minnesinger, appealed to modern taste and could hold its own among nineteenth-century products. Indeed, the form of the Nibelungenlied was so widely admired that anxiety to preserve it prevented writers from making any real changes when translating it. A mere adaptation of the pronunciation when reading it aloud was considered sufficient by Goethe, and by August Wilhelm Schlegel. The latter wrote in this connection: 'Von diesem

i) Kleinere Schriften, ed. cit. p. 62.

ii) ibid. p. 69.

iii) Briefwechsel der Brüder J. und W. Grimm... ed. cit. p. 15.

Gedichte behaupte ich allerdings ... dass es keine Erneuerung, die der Aussprache beym mündlichen Vortrage ausgenommen, weder bedürfe noch dulde, um lebendig auf die Gemüther zu wirken.'i) 'Sie (= modern versions) mögen da statt finden, wo ein vortrefflicher Stoff in einer vernachlässigten Form auf uns gekommen - aber in den Nibelungen ist die Form meisterlich und ganz dem Gegenstande angemessen.'ii) Von der Hagen, who published the first of the many modern German versions of the Nibelungenlied in 1807, subsequently revised it to bring it back closer to the original: '... und ich habe ... wieder einen starken Schritt zum Alten zurückgethan, von welchem ich hoffe, dass er in der Sache einer vorwärts ist.'iii) The translations of Minnelieder by Tieck in 1803 also show an approximation, if not absolute fidelity, to the original metre. But the rhymed couplets of Tristan and the other court epics did not appear to the modern poets to have enough character to warrant their retention. The philologists, too, found them unattractive. Wilhelm Grimm described them in general as having hart aufeinanderfallende Reime, fast immer ohne Rhythmus.'iv) August Wilhelm Schlegel also

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- i) Flore und Blanscheffur, ed. cit. p. xxi.
 ii) Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Poesie.
 (Deutsche Literatur-Denkmale des 18. und 19. Jhs.
 no. 147.) Berlin, 1913. p. 97.
 iii) Der Nibelungen Lied, ed. cit. p. viii.
 iv) Kleinere Schriften, ed. cit. p. 62.

considered it to be a monotonous metre; if rhymes were to be used at all, then a more elaborate scheme than the couplet was necessary. For modern epics, the stanzaic form had almost completely replaced the hexameters which had been normal in the eighteenth century, in the Messias and Hermann und Dorothea, for instance. Herder's Cid, written right at the beginning of the new century, was one of the first modern epics to use strophic form. It was an illustration of the new conception of epic structure as a collection of folksongs on one theme, and was in the form of a series of short

ballads, with regular trochaic lines loosely grouped in stanzas. The Romantic School drew much of the material for their narrative poems from the sagas of the Romance countries, calling them 'Romanzen' rather than 'epische Gedichte', and adapting varied Romance metres instead of using the classical hexameter. The fashionable strophic form was also the solution applied to modernizing the court epics. This is one of the reasons why there was no literal translation of Tristan, in couplets, until much later. August Wilhelm Schlegel's Tristan fragment of 1800, as we have seen, was in stanzas, and so were those of Karl Immermann and Friedrich Rückert, both nearly forty years later. Wieland had planned a Tristan 'Romanzendichtung' in 1804.i)

The interest of potential translators was thus at first shown only by the poets, and the form of Gottfried's Tristan did not inspire them to imitation. Meanwhile, however, the philologists were enthusiastically beginning to acclaim the style of Tristan as unique among the courtly epics. Its

i) W. Golther, op. cit. p. 261.

melodious metre could not be ranked as monotonous. But several decades were to pass before the philologists' appreciation was shared by the poets and modernizers. B.J. Docen was one of the first Germanists to give voice to a fervent enthusiasm for the style of Tristan. In his survey of old German poets published in 1809, Gottfried received a veritable panegyric: '... Es ist, als vernähmen wir hier einen reinen Nachklang der Harmonie des Universums, als sähen wir vor uns in der heitersten Region des Ursprünglich-schönen die Erscheinung eines Geistes, der mit den edelsten Gaben der Kunst ausgestattet, ruhig und sinnig in seiner lieblichen Fülle über morgenlichem Gewölk schwebt.'ⁱ⁾

F. H. von der Hagen described 'Gottfried's Reimgedicht' in a letter written in May 1817, while he was in Italy collating texts for his 1823 edition of Tristan, as '... das Höchste seiner Art, neben den Nibelungen und dem Gralgedichte ... Liebe und Leid ... sind noch nie und nirgend, so herzlich und schmerzlich, so innig und sinnig (unwillkürlich muss ich nachklingen) besungen worden.' He formulated Gottfried's use of rhymes and assonance: 'Der Reim ist hier am tiefsten überall als Widerhall und Antwort des Innern erkannt; die einfache Form der kurzen Reimpaare, welche bei den meisten alten Gedichten so eintönig wird, erscheint hier im mannigfaltigsten Wechsel zwischen den zugleich durch den Sinn vereinten oder entzweiten Reimen, und häufig vierfältig, zweimal hin- und herwogend, mit denselben nur umgekehrten Reimwörtern ... als das lieblichste Spiel mit der Form, welche zugleich den Inhalt darstellt,

i) Museum für altdeutsche Literatur und Kunst, ed. von der Hagen, Docen, Büsching. Berlin, 1809. p. 56f.

in den ständig von neuem sich knüpfenden und harmonisch sich auflösenden Dissonanzen.'i) Effusive praise came from Karl Rosenkranz, the literary historian, in 1830: 'Die Farben, die hier brennen, klingen wieder in den zarten Versen, in der Musik der Worte. Ein Himmel von Wohllaut enthüllt sich hier und der Geist des Minneliedes ist hier episch geworden ...'ii)

Jakob Grimm perceived artistic principles in the structure of Tristan and other works. He wrote to Lachmann on 28th December 1819: 'Wolframs Geist hat mich immer auch angezogen, doch gebe ich auf Gottfrieds Anmuth und den geschlossenen, einfachen Inhalt seines Tristan mehr als Sie thun.'iii), and on 7th July 1820: '... Wohlbewusste Composition leugne ich den Dichtern des 13. Jahrhunderts gewiss nicht ab, zumahl dem Wolfram und Gottfried nicht, auch den besten Minneliedern nicht.'iv) In 1833 Heinrich Heine called Gottfried the author of the finest poem of the Middle Ages, and perhaps their greatest poet.v) But by the time that such admiration of Gottfried (not just of the story) became general enough to inspire modern imitations of the original form and style, a tradition of translating Middle High German had already grown up, and various translation methods

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- i) F. H. von der Hagen, Briefe in die Heimat. vol. IV. Breslau, 1821. p. 360f.
- ii) Geschichte der deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter. Halle, 1830. p. 316.
- iii) Briefwechsel der Brüder J. und W. Grimm ... ed. cit. p.21.
- iv) ibid. p. 174.
- v) 'Die Romantische Schule', Sämmtliche Werke. Hamburg, 1873. vol. VI. p. 27.

had been tried out on the other, more popular, medieval works.

The method used most frequently at first showed a great respect for the language of the original. The actual language of the Middle High German epics, unlike some of their subject matter and some aspects of their style, was in fact admired on all sides, by the philologists whose main preoccupation it was; by the patriots, who could base their aspirations to a united Germany on their common linguistic history, and who sought to inspire patriotic feelings by inspiring admiration for it; and by the poets, who wished to draw new life for their own language from the older one. Since Bodmer, Middle High German had been considered pleasingly natural and graceful, and indicative of the uprightness and quickwittedness of its speakers. It was Bodmer who had inspired C. H. Myller, a pupil of his, to publish many of the Middle High German epics from the manuscripts in the 1780s, making many texts, including Gottfried's Tristan, available to the modern public for the first time. Bodmer had also been the first to urge the rejuvenation of the language of modern poetry by bringing it closer to the older language, an idea which was enthusiastically taken up by succeeding generations. In 1818 August Wilhelm Schlegel predicted its final effect: 'In fünfzig Jahren wird die Sprache der Nibelungen weniger veraltet seyn als jetzt - die heutige Poesie wird ihr entgegenkommen.'ⁱ⁾ Karl Simrock found that the change had largely taken place by the time that he began his translations of

i) Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Poesie, ed. cit. p.98.

Middle High German epics, and it had made his task easier: 'Hierbei fürchtete ich nicht, in einen, dem alterthümlichen Geist des Gedichts ungemässen, modernen Ton zu verfallen, wenigstens schien mir diese Klippe nicht unvermeidlich, da ja unsere poetische Sprache, seit Uhland gedichtet hat, dem Mittelhochdeutschen angenähert und für den naiven Ton und Ausdruck jener Dichtungen genügend vorbereitet ist.' i)

'Man hat sie (die Sprache) in ihre eigene Schule geschickt, aus der sie wie aus einem Jungbrunnen wunderbar erneut und verschönt hervorging. Am Meisten kam dies dem poetischen Ausdruck zu Gute, den Göthe, Tieck und Uhland dem der Minnesinger um so Vieles näher gerückt und mit seinem unverjäherten Eigenthum wieder ausgestattet haben.' ii)

Ludwig Uhland, here twice commended, was indeed an important figure in the development of the new language of lyrical poetry. He drew on the resources of medieval German with a poet's tact, and achieved the simplicity of folksong. The poetic harvest of his medieval studies was mostly in the form of ballads and 'Romanzen'. These songs and poems became immensely popular and influenced several generations of poets. They had the linguistic suppleness and lightness of medieval German but - and this is what some of his contemporaries failed to realize - Uhland drew on the old language with more discrimination than was apparent. His feeling for Middle High German came from a thorough acquaintance with it; at the

i) Der arme Heinrich. Berlin, 1830. p. x.

ii) Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide. Berlin, 1833. p. vii.

age of eighteen he had made a literal translation of two episodes from the *Wolfdietrich* saga, paying strict attention to keeping the style and metre of the original.i) There he was making a conscious effort to reproduce the older diction. But many of his contemporaries, eagerly working Middle High German linguistic and syntactical features into their own poems, failed to make Uhland's distinction between the two genres, translation and poetic composition. As Heine put it in 1833 in his description of the Romantic School, Tieck and his fellows drank too deeply at the rejuvenating springs of Middle High German - 'sie stürzten nach jenen Wunderquellen, und Das soff und schlürfte und schlückerte mit übermässiger Gier' - with the result that they became not youthful but childish.ii) This unbounded enthusiasm for the Middle High German language shaped the translation method which, for example, Tieck used in his Minnelieder aus dem schwäbischen Zeitalter in 1803, and which he described in the preface: 'Das Wichtigste schien mir, nichts an dem eigentlichen Charakter der Gedichte und ihrer Sprache zu verändern, daher durfte keine Form des Verses verletzt werden, dies war aber zu vermeiden nicht möglich, wenn man nicht manche der alten Worte so liess, wie sie ursprünglich gebraucht waren. In der neuern Sprache verliehren alle diese Gedichte zu viel, daher ist es keine unbillige Forderung, wenn der Herausgeber verlangt, dass ihm die Leser auf halbem Wege

i) Schneider, op. cit. p. 79.

ii) 'Die Romantische Schule', ed. cit. pp. 46-7.

entgegen kommen sollen, so wie er ihnen halb entgegen geht. Worte, die unserer Sprache ganz unverständlich sind, sind daher weggeblieben, nicht aber solche, die wir noch, nur in einem etwas veränderten Sinne gebrauchen, oder deren Bedeutung sich leicht aus der Analogie errathen lässt.'i)

This was the method used in most of the early modernizations, most notably in the numerous versions of the Nibelungenlied. It was also eventually the basis for the first Tristan translation, by Hermann Kurz. It shows a disregard for the effects of semantic change in an overruling anxiety to retain the effect of the actual words of the original. But, as the philologists soon pointed out, the simplicity and strength of the Middle High German language did not come over in a word-for-word rendering in modern German, where it sounded merely naive. So much was unavoidably lost in translation that the Grimm brothers declared themselves against any attempt at modernization, except possibly into prose. Karl Simrock agreed with his mentors in condemning slavish translations, but he began to produce his own verse translations. Acting according to philological principles, he treated Middle High German as a different language with its own syntax and vocabulary, which must be completely translated into the modern German equivalents. In the preface to one of his earliest translations, Der arme Heinrich, he took up battle with August Wilhelm Schlegel, more particularly with the latter's statements in the introduction to the translations of Flore und Blanscheflur which Tieck's sister, Sophie von

i) ed. G. Pauli. Hamburg, 1918. p. xxii.

Knorring, had made. Simrock contested the view of the literal translators that the Middle High German language was 'zwar veraltet und schwer verständlich, aber doch die unsrige', and that it was therefore not necessary to set about translating it in the same way as one would a foreign language. His description of the prevalent method tallies with Tieck's quoted above, but condemns instead of merely explaining it: '... die alte Sprache ... der heutigen Rechtschreibung zu unterwerfen, die dunkelsten Worte durch bekanntere zu ersetzen, und übrigens Alles stehen zu lassen, was noch heutzutage verständlich schien. Hieraus entstand unter dem Namen Erneuerung ein Gemischgemäsch, weder neuhochdeutsch, noch mittelhochdeutsch, den Gesetzen der einen wie der andern Sprache gleich sehr zuwider.' But in spite of a great deal of similar criticism from Simrock and other philologists, pseudo-archaic versions continued to appear side by side with the type favoured by Simrock, for as long as enthusiasm for the Middle High German language remained lively. Later in the century, however, a new generation of poet-translators began to value their own poetic language more than Middle High German, and therefore showed no interest in adapting the original words. Only in the case of the Nibelungenlied this development failed to take place; such was the fascination of its form right through the century that, to preserve it, each new version continued to retain the archaic vocabulary and syntax of the original.

The first Tristan translation, that by Hermann Kurz, was made at a time when the rival theories of close

imitation and of thorough translation were flourishing side by side. It was no longer a new thing to modernize a Middle High German epic. Nor was Kurz rescuing an unknown medieval tale from oblivion. The Tristan story was universally known. What Kurz was doing for the first time, however, was to give the general public an idea of how the story had been told by Gottfried von Strassburg. For that reason it is interesting to see how well he succeeded.

III THE LITERAL VERSIONS OF TRISTAN

a) The theoretical standpoint of Hermann Kurz

Hermann Kurz translated the whole of Gottfried's Tristan during the winter of 1843-4. He published it in three parts, each of which appeared as it was ready.ⁱ⁾ It was the first complete translation to be made. We have seen the reasons for the late appearance of any complete, literal translation: Tristan was not^{as} popular among the patriots as other Middle High German works on account of its content, and its form, unlike those of the Nibelungenlied and Minnesang, had not inspired the poets to close imitation. The first Tristan translation, however, eventually rose on the tide of interest in the story shown by contemporary poets. Hermann Kurz was a poet, not a philologist, and he made a translation only because he felt incapable of writing a good free version, and only as a prelude to supplying an ending which should complete Karl Immermann's unfinished Tristan. The direct incentive for the undertaking was thus the work of a modern poet. Hermann Kurz, it is true, had also a great admiration for Gottfried von Strassburg and for the Middle High German language, but these are subsidiary factors, governing his method only, not his initial decision.

i) Tristan und Isolde Nachgebildet von Herm. Kurtz.
 Stuttgart, 1844. The parts appeared in Dec. 1843,
 Feb. 1844, and March 1844.

There had been other modern versions of Tristan which took their material from Gottfried. Earlier in the century, Philipp Conz, August von Platen, Wilhelm Wackernagel, Oswald Marbach, Friedrich Roeber, and many others, had used parts of the story for poems and dramas. Karl Immermann's fragment was the most notable attempt. But none of these versions was full-length, their treatment of the content was free, and only one had kept the same form as the original, i.e. the rhymed couplet. Instead they had mostly used elaborate, stanzaic forms, such as were widely used at the time for dramatic, lyric and epic composition. The one exception was Oswald Marbach. He had published in 1839, in the winter number of his quarterly, Die Jahreszeiten, a translation of the first episode, Riwalin und Blansche-flur.ⁱ⁾ This was faithful to Gottfried in content and form, and it was published as a sample of a proposed complete translation. Marbach, then, was a potential rival, but Kurz made and published his translation unaware of this fact. It was brought to his notice when Marbach wrote a critical review as soon as Kurz published his version. Marbach compared it unfavourably with a newer, freer version on which he himself was by then working and which he hoped

i) cp. W. Golther, op. cit. p. 292.

to publish shortly. Kurz retaliated with wit and vigour in a pamphlet entitled Der Kampf mit dem Drachen. Ein Ritter- und Zaubermärchen. Zum Besten des Tristansängers und Tristankritikers Herrn Oswald Marbach ... i) In this he put Marbach out of countenance and expounded his own aims and method of translating. The latter show an independent attitude, but they are nevertheless compounded of ideas which had been in circulation for many years. These included admiration of the Middle High German language for its own sake (a sentiment which had been flourishing since Bodmer), theories similar to those of Tieck and von der Hagen about preserving the language by making the minimum of changes during translation, and Docen's enthusiasm for Gottfried's style and everything about Tristan. This is all voiced in the pamphlet. The counter-attack on Marbach is in the form of an allegory, based on the fight with the dragon in Tristan. In the allegory, Gottfried's Tristan is the princess who may be won only by overcoming the dragon (=the difficulties of translation); Marbach is the ridiculous steward who makes many fruitless attempts at fighting the dragon and finally claims to have won the princess; but Kurz himself is manifestly the true victor, since he is in possession of the dragon's tongue.

This application of the story implies that Kurz felt that his main achievement had been to preserve the language, the tongue, of the original. Why he chose to make a literal version, and how he set about it, is explained in

i) Karlsruhe, 1844; reprinted at the end of the 3rd ed. of his Tristan und Isolde, 1877.

detail in the glosses appended to Der Kampf mit dem Drachen and, to a large extent in the same words, in the introductions to the first and second editions of his translation.i) He wrote that once he had decided to make a modern version of Tristan, he had to choose one of three alternatives: to write a completely independent work, to use Gottfried only as a basis, or to keep strictly to Gottfried's text. He dismissed the alternative of an independent version because he did not wish to vie in this field with the fragment left by Immermann:-

'Ich ehrte Immermann's Andenken zu hoch, als dass ich so bald nach dem Tode dieses grossen Dichters eine unabhängige Behandlung der Tristanssage hätte versuchen mögen.'ii) In the choice which remained, between a free or a faithful translation, he was guided by his conviction that the quality which he valued in Gottfried's text - its 'magic' - was not separable from the language in which it was conveyed:-

'Eine freie Uebersetzung Gottfrieds schien mir gar nicht am Platze, weil ... der Zauber dieses alten Gedichtes doch nicht wiederzugeben wäre.'iii) This opinion was shared by the philologists and often voiced by Wilhelm Grimm, but whereas they therefore advocated reading the original text,

i) 1844¹; 1847².

ii) 'Erste Glosse', Tristan und Isolde ... Dritte vermehrte Auflage, 1877. p. 292.

iii) ibid.

Kurz, determined to translate, decided to evolve a method which should let the beauty of the older language 'shine through' the modern words. 'Da ich nun einmal die schöne alte Sprache so viel als möglich durch die jetzige durchschimmern lassen wollte ...' i) For his admiration of Gottfried's medium, the Middle High German language, was as strong as his admiration of Gottfried's handling of it. He wove into his ending a reference to the language,

'Die, innerlichen Lebens voll,
Im schwächsten Mund von Leben schwoll.'

He saw in its clarity and straightforwardness a reflection of the moral soundness of its speakers: 'Gewiss, auch die äusseren Sprachgewande sind bedeutsam für die geistigen Zustände, und noch heute spiegelt sich in der klaren schlanken Sprache, in den reinen strengen Reimen, in der einfachen von allem Plunder freien Schreibweise des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts die damalige Tüchtigkeit des deutschen Volkes ab.'

ii) He felt that acquaintance with their literary heritage would have a salutary influence on his contemporaries, and he urged them to immerse themselves in the study of their past. In connection with his translation of Tristan he said: 'Glaubt mir, ich sage euch, unsere Zeit wird nicht eher gesund werden, als bis sie näher zu jenen Dingen herantritt, vor welchen sie immer noch einen halben Widerwillen hat, als bis sie zu dem Entschlusse kommt, sich endlich einmal recht

i) 'Einleitung', 1847. p. liii.

ii) ibid. p. liv.

in ihre Vergangenheit zu vertiefen und statt des Zopfes den Geist des Mittelalters zu beschwören.'i)

The translation was not meant as a substitute for the original but was meant, on the contrary, to win new readers for it, and to serve as an aid to understanding it. He made this clear from the beginning: 'Ich habe das Format der Massmann'schen Ausgabe des Tristan gewählt, um meine Übersetzung halbkundigen Freunden des Urtextes, dem sein eigentümlicher Zauber niemals ganz abzulocken ist, als Commentar und Aushilfe handlich zu machen. Es wäre mir am liebsten, wenn das Buch nur auf dieser Weise gelesen würde.'ii)

He thus had strong reasons for wishing to imitate the language of the original: admiration of Gottfried's stylistic magic, enthusiasm for the language itself, and a desire to spread this enthusiasm among others by showing them what the original was like.

Tristan was not the first work of translation which had occupied Kurz. He had begun at school with verse-translations of English poets. To offset the losses incurred by his cousin in publishing a collection of them in 1832 iii), he supplied him in 1834 with an edition of the Faust Volksbuch. For this he scarcely altered the text of the editions by Widmann and

- i) Quoted by Max Koch in his article on Hermann Kurz in: Ersch and Gruber, Allg. Enc. der Wissenschaften und Künste. 1887.
- ii) 'Einleitung', 1844. p. vi.
- iii) Ausgewählte Poesien von Lord Byron, Thomas Moore, Walter Scott u.a. ...

Pfitzer of 1587 and 1674, and he added an introduction which imitated the Early New High German diction and sentence structure. In 1843, just before beginning the translation of Tristan, he published some sermons by David von Augsburg, rendered word-for-word from the Middle High German. A few years before he supplied versions of The Prisoner of Chillon and other poems for a German edition of Byron's works. In each case the archaic or foreign sentence-structure and cadences were imposed on the modern German. i) He had thereby already shown that, in translating, his main interest lay in preserving the linguistic features of his originals. He applied the same principle to Tristan: in the terms of the allegory, he adorned the princess with antique jewels from the hoard which the dragon had been guarding through the centuries. (That is, he used the stylistic means of the original to adorn his version). However, he wrote expressly that, although the dragon let him glimpse the whole treasure, it only presented him with a few pieces to take away and use. Kurz was well aware that many features of Gottfried's style would seem strange to his contemporaries, but he thought that the experiment of salvage was still worth trying: 'Etwas fremd sah das Geschmeide zwar aus, aber der Knappe (=Kurz) dachte,

i) cp. Heinz Kindermann, 'Hermann Kurz als Literaturhistoriker.' Festschrift Siebs. Breslau, 1933; and Hermann Kurz und die deutsche Übersetzungskunst im 19. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart, 1918. p. 37.

die Goldschmiede seiner Zeit würden es ihm danken, wenn er ihnen d i e s e n Guss und d i e s e Formen zeigte! i) He proceeded to explain how he put these ideas into practice. Paul Heyse mentioned 'den sehr eigenthümlichen Standpunkt, von welchem aus Kurz seine Aufgabe ins Auge fasste,' ii) but his method is like that of Tieck in his Minnelieder. Kurz preserved the original expressions and phrases wherever they were still comprehensible, even if, strictly speaking, they were obsolete in modern German. Bodmer's followers had done the same thing, but Kurz did it not from a desire to improve modern German, but to lengthen the life of old German - which betrays a slightly different viewpoint: 'Ich suchte auch zugleich recht durch die That für unsre alte Sprache zu wirken, ja von ihr zu retten, was noch zu retten wäre, d.h. was sich von den alten Ausdrücken noch selbst erklärte, was noch eine Lebensfähigkeit hätte.' iii) He modernized many obsolete words orthographically only, and used them in such a way that their meaning became clear from the context. He called this process of semi-translation, 'den Commentar in die Uebersetzung verlegen,' and gave a detailed explanation of the method: 'So liess ich z.b. gleich anfangs, wo Gottfried

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- i) 'Der Kampf mit dem Drachen', Tristan und Isolde ... Dritte vermehrte Auflage, p. 288.
- ii) Gesammelte Werke von Hermann Kurz. Stuttgart, 1874. p. xxxvi.
- iii) "Erste Glosse", ed. cit. p. 292.

sein Dichten eine ‚Unmüssigkeit‘ nennt, dieses Wort stehen: es ist so gar anschaulich; wer sich einen Augenblick besinnt, der sagt sich, dass Unmüssigkeit das Gegenteil von Musse sei, und zieht daraus, vom Zusammenhang unterstützt, den sehr einfachen Schluss, dass es wahrscheinlich ‚Beschäftigung‘ bedeuten werde.’ In this way, by keeping many of the words of the original, but making them comprehensible to the modern reader, Kurz took up a helpful halfway position between the thirteenth and the nineteenth century. By making few changes in the actual words, he was also able to render line for line, and this made his version an even more convenient aid to reading the original. Adherence to the original division into lines was also made easier by the fact that many of Gottfried's rhymes could still be used in modern German form. However, some of the rhyme-pairs which occurred most frequently were no longer valid in modern German, e.g. wol/sol (wohl/soll) and vil/wil (viel/will). Kurz took the liberty of rhyming these nevertheless, to avoid too great a rearrangement in the structure of each line.

The predominant feature of this translation-method is loyalty to the original, or rather to the letter of the original. It is a retrospective attitude; Kurz wanted to send readers back to the original, and his contemporaries back to a study of their literary heritage and the earlier form of their language. Instead of bringing Tristan up to date he provided a path for returning to the old version.

We shall examine his translation in comparison with that by Karl Simrock.

b) The theoretical standpoint of Karl Simrock

The second complete translation of Gottfried's poem appeared only eleven years after that by Hermann Kurz.ⁱ⁾ The date of its composition probably lies a few years before its publication date, most likely between 1850 and 1852. Rudolf von Raumer (Geschichte der Germanischen Philologie, Munich, 1870) and Karl Bartsch (Beilage zur Allgemeine Zeitung, 30th July 1876) quote 1852 as publication date. Karl Barthel (who died in 1853) referred to and quoted from Simrock's translation of Tristan in lectures on Middle High German literature held in Brunswick early in 1851 (published without a date). As a personal friend of Karl Simrock, he may have had a preview of the translation. He did not mention any Tristan translation by Simrock in his lectures in the previous winter, 1850. The published edition of Simrock's translation is dated 1855, but the dates above indicate that it existed and was known before then.

By the time that he made the Tristan version, Simrock was an experienced translator from Middle High German and had already established his method. His Nibelungenlied appeared in 1827, and he had since spent twenty years on its companion piece, which he called the Amelungenlied, an epic series formed by joining together the works in the Heldenbuch and filling in the gaps. He had also already published line-for-line translations of Der arme Heinrich, Parzival and Titirel.

i) Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan und Isolde.
Uebersetzt von Karl Simrock. Leipzig, 1855.

In deploring other contemporary methods of modernizing Middle High German epics he came to describe his own theoretical standpoint. He was against the reshaping advocated by August Wilhelm Schlegel, who thought that the epics needed a 'dichterischen Dollmetscher'. Simrock admired the originals too much to agree with this, and he reproved the arrogance which should presume alterations necessary: '... aber wenigstens sollte, wer einen wahren Dichter nach Gutdünken bearbeiten und zuschneiden will, einen höhern Dichterberuf bezeugen, als jener besessen hatte. Dies voraus geschickt, ist es aber wohl erlaubt zu zweifeln, ob nicht Gottfried von Strassburg eine vollere Dichterweihe empfangen, als August Wilhelm von Schlegel; oder Conrad Flecke, als Sophie von Knorring, geb. Tieck ...' i) He repeated this opinion in the notes to his Parzival: 'Umdichtungen halte ich nur dann für erlaubt, wenn der neue Dichter dem alten an poetischer Kraft überlegen ist, und so durfte wol Wolfram den Kiot aber weder St. Marte noch K. Simrock den Wolfram umdichten wollen'. ii) Simrock was content with the simple rôle of being a mouth-piece for Gottfried:

'Unsere Aufgabe war es, ihn in jetzt noch verständlichem Deutsch zu Worte kommen zu lassen. Ist uns diess gelungen, so zweifeln wir nicht, dass er seine Sache besser zu führen

i) Der arme Heinrich. Berlin, 1830. p. xi.

ii) Parzival. Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1842. vol. I. p. 505.

wissen werde als wir es vermöchten.'i) He voiced the appreciation of Gottfried's language and style which flourished among the Germanists and had also been felt by Hermann Kurz:-

'Gottfried hat zuerst von der Minne mit jener Inbrunst des seelenvollsten Gefühls und in der naivsten Sprache auch mit dem hohen Schwunge gesprochen, welche des Tiefsinns der Liebessage würdig sind, und für die ihm der Kranz gebührt, den ihm seine Zeit gereicht hat, und den ihm auch die Nachwelt nicht versagen wird.'ii)

Simrock, then, had the same admiration for Gottfried's narrative powers as Hermann Kurz had, and his conception of his task as 'to let Gottfried speak for himself' is comparable to the belief held by Kurz that he should let the old language 'shine through the new.' However, they set about it in different ways. Simrock disliked the method which Kurz had used, which resulted in a mixture of modern and Middle High German. His denunciation of translators who thus offended against the rules of semantics has been quoted above.iii) He also found such a hybrid language aesthetically displeasing. He was determined to make his own translations into proper, modern German. This made, or should have made, his Tristan version very different from that by Kurz. However by 'modern German' he meant not the modern language in general, but a specially adapted variety. He tried to follow the precedent set by Uhland in his Romanzen and medieval ballads, where the language, though indisputably modern German, had some of

i) Tristan und Isolde, 1855. p. 402.

ii) ibid.

iii) p. 32.

the freedom and atmosphere of Middle High German and none of the stiffness of the modern language. Simrock often paid tribute to Uhland for creating such a language, which made it easier for later poets to translate from Middle High German. Simrock's actual solution to the problem was therefore a compromise: he believed that it was enough 'im Ganzen ... die Formen der neuhochdeutschen Grammatik zugrunde zu legen,' without it being necessary that 'auch jedes darin zugelassene Wort neuhochdeutsch sein solle.'ⁱ⁾ The result is not very different from the version by Kurz after all.

i) Nibelungenlied, 1827. pp. ix-xi, quoted by Elga Lübrich, Die neuhochdeutschen Uebersetzungen des Nibelungenliedes, Diss. Hamburg, 1951. (unpublished).

c) A comparison of the literal versions by Hermann Kurz and Karl Simrock

Goethe's warning to translators, 'Beim Übersetzen muss man sich nur ja nicht in unmittelbaren Kampf mit der fremden Sprache einlassen',ⁱ⁾ was not heeded by Hermann Kurz and Karl Simrock. They both found themselves engaged at close quarters with the problem of translating from Middle High German into New High German without altering the character of the original text. Both described the task as more difficult than translating from a completely different language. Kurz, in letters written at the beginning of his struggle with the Tristan text, was emphatic about this. 'Gottfried ist so altertümlich modern, dass man verzweifeln möchte,' he wrote to Adelbert von Keller on the 22nd or 23rd of September, 1843. Two or three days later he wrote to his friend Rudolf Kausler: 'Die Arbeit ist beneidenswert, es hat mich noch keine so gefreut; aber sie ist auch mühseliger als irgend eine andere. Byron ist Kinderspiel dagegen.'ⁱⁱ⁾ In the same month he wrote in even stronger terms about it to

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- i) From a conversation with Friedrich von Müller, 20th September 1827, in the Gedenkausgabe Zürich, 1949. vol. 23. p. 514.
- ii) Some poems by Lord Byron had been in the collection of English verse which Kurz had translated and published as a schoolboy, in 1832, but the comparison with translating Byron was now in his mind because of a more ambitious and more recent undertaking: the German edition of Byron's collected works published in 1842,

Gottlob Kemmler: 'Der Tristan martert mich zu Tode. Lass die Hand vom Altteutschen, das der schwierigste Übersetzungsstoff ist, den ich jemals vorgehabt habe.'ⁱ⁾

Simrock was not facing the problem for the first time, but he had said earlier about the difficulties in translating caused by the lapse of time since the original was written: 'Indessen liegt doch allerdings die Schwierigkeit einer solchen Uebersetzung eben in der Aufgabe, immer neu und nie modern zu übersetzen, und weil es nichts weniger als leicht ist, hier überall die rechte Wahl zu treffen, halte ich es für mühsamer aus dem Mittelhochdeutschen, als aus irgend einer andern neuern Sprache zu übersetzen.'ⁱⁱ⁾

The old language was so tantalizingly like the new, but separated from it by the linguistic and stylistic developments of six centuries. Often the same words still existed in modern German, but the temptation to keep them had to be resisted if the meaning had changed. Even when the words of the original could be used in the same sense, attempts to capture, with the original words, the original cadence and metre were frustrated by the differences in syntax and in the number of syllables in words.

for which Kurz had supplied the translations of several verse dramas and narratives.

- i) Letters published by Hermann Fischer, 'Hermann Kurz in seinen Jugendjahren', Süddeutsche Monatshefte, July 1906, p. 52.
- ii) Der arme Heinrich, ed. cit. p. x.

Such was the problem with which Hermann Kurz and Karl Simrock were wrestling. They had to evolve a system of compromise, often taking over an archaic meaning or an archaic form for the sake of preserving the shape of a line, often substituting a new image for one of Gottfried's in order to avoid breaking the rhyme-scheme. The varying degree of freedom and degree of archaism which each allowed himself in the face of each aspect of the problem gives the two versions their differing characters.

In their striving after faithfulness, there was a great temptation to copy the vocabulary of the original. Hermann Kurz declared in expounding his method a belief which many of his predecessors had also held: that many Middle High German words required only orthographical modernization to be understood by the modern reader. In the following passage from the Tristan of 1844 those words are underlined which Kurz, in pursuance of his principle, left unchanged except for modifications in spelling:-

1306-28i) 'Und als sie nun aus dieser Noth
Ein wenig wieder zu Kräften kam,
Ihr Lieb sie in die Arme nahm
Und legte den Mund an seinen Mund
Und küsste ihn hunderttausend Stund
In einer kleinen Stunden,
Bis ihm ihr Mund entzunden

-
- i) The references to line-numbers are according to the edition of Gottfried's Tristan by von der Hagen, 1823. Kurz possessed the text in this edition.

Sinne und Kraft zur Minne,
 Denn Minne war darinne.
Ihr Mund, der machte ihn freudenhaft:
Ihr Mund, der brachte ihm eine Kraft,
Dass er das kaiserliche Weib
An seinen halb erstorbenen Leib
Gar inniglich und nahe zwang.
Darnach so währte es gar nicht lang,
Bis dass ihr Beider Wille erging
Und das viel süsse Weib empfang
Ein Kind von seinem Leibe.
Da war er auch von dem Weibe
Und von der Minne beinahe todt:
Half ihm nicht Gott aus seiner Noth,
So wär es aus mit ihm gewesen,
Doch Gottes Huld liess ihn genesen.'

It will be seen that Kurz was able to use all the rhymes of the original in this passageⁱ⁾ by his system of retaining Middle High German vocabulary, idioms and inflections. He retained them consistently otherwise too, whether it was necessary for the rhyme or not. Words and idioms were used in their Middle High German sense, even if their meaning had changed in the modern language; thus: ohne seinen Dank ('involuntarily', ll. 15598, 15610), zu meinen Dingen ('for me', l. 12904), aber ('again', l. 9901, etc.), alldieweil ('the while', l. 13274). In some cases he used Middle High German forms of words: bass, dar, ingrüne, Kür, Niftel, etc.

i) To use the final pair of rhymes in this passage he had to re-write the couplet. Gottfried has: 'so en kund' er nimmer sin genesen:/ sus genas er, wand ez solte wesen.'

Each of these words has a usable modern equivalent. That Kurz nevertheless used the old form shows a deliberate wish to preserve the atmosphere of a certain stage of the language.

The use which Karl Simrock made of archaisms is slightly different. The most striking thing in comparison with Kurz's use is their scarcity. They are an additional feature of his work, not its normal mode of diction. Simrock's version of the passage quoted above is also very close to the original, but not quite so close as Kurz's. The words which were left virtually unchanged are again underlined:

Als sie darauf aus dieser Noth
Zu Kraft ein wenig wieder kam,
Ihr Lieb sie in die Arme nahm,
Legt' ihren Mund an seinen
Und küsst' in einer kleinen
Weil ihn hunderttausendmal,
 Bis sich aus ihrem Munde stahl
 In ihm die Glut der Minne;
 Denn Minne war darinne.
 So gab ihr Mund ihm Freude kund,
 Und lieb ihm solche Kraft ihr Mund,
Dass er das kaiserliche Weib
An seinen halbtodten Leib
Nahe zwang und inniglich.
 Nicht lange mehr verzog es sich
 Bis da Beider Wunsch ergieng
Und das süsse Weib empfieng
 Von des Mannes Heimlichkeit.
Auch war er von der süssen Maid
Beinah, und von der Minne todt.
Half ihm Gott nicht aus der Noth,

So konnt er nimmermehr gedeihn;
So genas er, denn es sollte sein.

For the most part Simrock replaced every word by its modern equivalent. Most of the words which he did take over from Middle High German were recognizably related to familiar modern words. He used ersterbte (transitive, l. 1477), schmäh (l. 15332), beidesamt (ll. 13598, 14114, 14492), Weine ('weeping', l. 11507), trauersam (l. 13429). He also kept technical terms, many with no modern equivalent: rottieret (l. 3205), Gran (l. 15831), Bliant (ll. 15203, 18153), Palmat (l. 15888), Massenie (ll. 5173, 18416, etc). There were also some technical terms which he could have translated but did not: Zabelworte (l. 2287), Schachzabelspiel (l. 2591), Kiele (ll. 11423, 18475), Pallas (l. 9776), Concil (l. 15307, etc). These conveyed some of the flavour of the original text and were, generally, comprehensible from the context. A strange feature of Simrock's vocabulary, however, is the number of archaic forms from older stages of New High German, not from Middle High German, e.g. hinfüro (l. 16586), anitzt (l. 17568), jetzo (ll. 5622, 5824, etc., etc.). He also used the forms bedachte, gedachte, ohngefähr, jedweder, dazumalen, all rare forms but not actually obsolete. This was his way of being 'immer neu aber nie modern'. It seems that he wished to give his version an archaic flavour as much as Kurz did, but, since he was determined to avoid a mixture of old and new German, which he considered two different languages, he did it with words which were archaic in nineteenth-century German.

In addition to the question of vocabulary, an important problem for the close translators was how far to adopt Middle High German syntax. It was bound to leave at least some traces

on a close modern version. For Kurz it was an important and attractive feature of the poem and he kept many of the original syntactical forms; e.g.:-

2533 ' ... von einem Pfelle, der war reich.'

9504 ' ... Niemand niemals nichts inne ward.'

Simrock, on the other hand, moved nearer to modern German whenever it was practicable; for instance, he refrained from copying the Middle High German construction in which vil qualified an adjective or adverb. Unlike Kurz, who was content to write 'der viel süsse Mai', etc., Simrock omitted the vil or used gar in its place. This could be done without disturbing rhyme or metre. But Simrock did copy other constructions in order to salvage the rhyme. For example, like Kurz he kept Gottfried's form für (New High German vor) in

170 ' ... Legich .. allen edeln Herzen für.'

14442 ' ... Da gehn wir allezeit herfür.'

He also used Middle High German syntax when the original phrasing was very compact and a completely modern translation might have required a paraphrase of several extra lines:-

10565 ' ... Und wollt auch Anfangs wegen mein
Ehlichen Weibes ohne sein.'

14768 ' ... Als dem Einen, dem da ward
Die erste Rosenblume
Von meinem Magdtume.'

14834 ' ... Ich litte sanfter eh den Tod.'

15773 ' ... Fuhr er desselben Males
Von Engelland gen Wales.'

In such cases Simrock's version turned out identical with that by Kurz, since both corresponded literally with

Gottfried's text. But there are also a few correspondences due to Simrock's borrowing felicitous couplets from Kurz's version, e.g. 4312f., 10021 f., 11875 f. These^{are} passages difficult to translate, where the original words could not be kept. There are of course numerous correspondences in the case of obvious translations for lines.

For all his determination to avoid a hybrid form of language, Simrock made as much use of Middle High German inflectional endings as Kurz did: das Bette (18156), von seiner Fraun (18612), Zu Walde, wo er Marken fand (14588), Ihr trotz, weil ihr bestanden/Morolfen (sic) von Irlanden (16001). This was of course for metrical reasons. The endings also added an archaic element, as they did in Kurz's version too.

But Simrock's version seems positively modern compared to Kurz's ~~with~~ its consistent imitation of the Middle High German text. Kurz kept so closely to the form and the order of the original words that he was able to give an impression of Gottfried's actual style, an achievement which Simrock failed to rival. It seems that Simrock had altogether less feeling for Gottfried's individuality. He was not translating Tristan alone among the Middle High German epics out of affection for this one text, as Kurz was, nor was he pledged to a difficult between-language for the specific purpose of keeping the effect of Gottfried's own diction. Here and there, by slight changes, he showed that he failed to appreciate Gottfried's particular style, whereas Kurz did discern some of its special features and emphasized them by exaggeration.

Both writers necessarily preserved the general structure, with its rhetorical amplitude, simply by the act of rendering

the complete text line by line. It was Gottfried's own use of the language, his own particular points of style, which stood in danger of being lost. Both writers endeavoured to retain such obvious features as the punning quatrains, although the original lightness was lost in the equivalent modern words. The smoothness of Gottfried's verse was particularly hard to imitate. The morphological development of the language had taken away many of the neutral end vowel-sounds, and the same tripping effect of the unstressed syllables could not be given in the more clipped modern language; for example '... ir viende, sprich' ich umbe daz ...' (11405) became '... Ihrem Feind, sag ich, und weiss Bescheid ...' (Simrock). The modern phrase has no open end-syllables. The suppleness was lost altogether when Simrock resorted to apocope to keep within the line, e.g.:-

956 ... die seneden Blanscheflure niht.

S ... Nicht der jungen Blanschflur liebend Herz.

The smooth, unbroken tenor which Gottfried praised in other writers in his literary excursus (4659), was so much a feature of his own work that he almost completely avoided the use of apocope or syncope.ⁱ⁾ Simrock frequently dropped syllables, which shows a lack of discernment of Gottfried's own practice, and - perhaps deliberately, since Simrock so much admired the language of Uhland's ballads - brings the language nearer to that of folksong in such lines as

13913 '... Ich bin ein arm verlassen Weib.'

This change is most striking in one particular case: Gottfried's habit of labelling Isot as 'schöne' led, with the adjective

i) cp. K. Herold, 'Der Münchener Tristan', Quellen und Forschungen no. 114. Strassburg, 1911. p. 50.

capitalized and its ending cut off, to the name Schön Isot or Schön Isolde in Simrock's version, which ranks her with such heroines of Romantic ballads as Mörrike's Schön-Rohtraut and Gottfried Kinkel's Schön Elspeth:-

13030 so Tristan und sin frouwe Isot ...

S Wenn Tristan und Schön Isot ...

13246 ... daz diu schone Isot min ist.

S ... Dass Schön Isold mein eigen ist.

Further disregard of the sound of Gottfried's verse is shown by Simrock's introduction of enjambement, not a gentle form of it, but often one which crashes through the end of Gottfried's delicate line to come to a thudding stop in the next line:-

7418 In der Nacht jedoch hiess er sie fort
 Fahren, auf die Hauptstadt an.

10743 Und melde: wol mit meinen Dingen
 Stehs, ich würd es all vollbringen.

13033 Das war ihr Leid: sie waren so
 Traurig, waren anders froh.

Such enjambement with a marked caesura in the following line is alien to Gottfried's smooth-running couplet-rhythm and makes the lines where it occurs seem awkward and stumbling.

A characteristic of Gottfried's style which Simrock failed to recognize as deliberate was his custom of pairing nouns and phrases, in apposition or in repetition, in simple elaboration or in intricate plays on words. Such doubling was a rhetorical exercise, one of the 'figures of thought' listed in the medieval handbooks, but Simrock mistook it for tautology and sometimes re-phrased what to him seemed to be a weakness.

9989 ... in ir fliz unde in ir pflige.

S ... Aufs Neu in fleissge Pflege.

12441 ... eine witzze und einen list.

S ... Eines klugen Rathes List.

He split up Gottfried's two pairs of phrases in:-

16288 Der spil man, als im was gesaget,
 und als er under wiset wart,
 also kert' er uf sine vart,
 unde kam also ze Tintajoel.

S Der Spielmann, wie ihm war gesagt,
 Beeilt' er sich zu reisen,
 Und nach Tristans Unterweisen
 Kam er gen Tintajoel.

Kurz, on the other hand, recognized this pairing and doubling as characteristic of Gottfried, and instead of avoiding pairs, he doubled words and phrases even where Gottfried had not done so, e.g. 7860, 8202, etc., etc.

Thus, as far as Gottfried's mastery of form was concerned, it suffered from Simrock's lack of perception, but received some justice from his more faithful admirer, Kurz.

As for the finer points of Gottfried's style, they fell victim to the great changes in the use of language. Gottfried had developed a highly individual use of the Middle High German language which could not be reproduced in modern German without giving an impression of paucity and naivety. He often used concrete words in a purely abstract sense, so that images appealed to the mind rather than to the senses; and even descriptions of physical action - much rarer in any case than chronicles of each movement of the heart and mind - were too vague to present a picture to the eyes. Rudolf Leistner, in

his study of Gottfried's metaphors and similes i) shows that they are taken from the realm of the intellect, not of the senses. For example, Isolde is compared to the sun because of its heartwarming qualities, not because of its physical brightness or warmth. Leistner supports his thesis that the metaphorical terms are used in an abstract sense by quoting the passage:-

'swa si ir fiures niht en hat,
so der zorn an ir zergat,
ze hant en gruonet si niht.' (13069 f.)

The idea of fire being necessary for green growth would be absurd here if the figurative meanings of fiure and gruonen did not outweigh the literal meanings. This is typical of Gottfried's diction; he used common words in a new, narrow, precise and absolute function, or in plays on words which focused attention on their sound rather than on their meaning. It was inevitable that much of this rarified abstractness should be lost by the nineteenth-century translators; the modern language of poetry was too visually rich and colourful. When difficulties with rhymes or the metre necessitated small changes, the translators naturally drew on their own vocabulary. Such patches would not be meant to show. But they do stand out, revealing that the translators were not trying to capture exactly the same effect.

i) Über die Vergleiche in Gottfried von Strassburgs Tristan mit Berücksichtigung des metaphorischen Elementes im engeren Sinne. Diss. Leipzig, 1907.

Gottfried's simple adjectives denoting sweetness and beauty - sueze, saelec, wunnekliche - were replaced by Kurz with more elaborate terms: wonnereich, engelgleich, herz-inniglich, etc. The simplicity of Gottfried's vocabulary was its strength, but the translators invariably altered it. They replaced his verbs, which were often common ones of many uses, such as komen, gan, machen, tuon, with specific, colourful terminology. Margot Schlinghoff's examination of the style of Kurz's independent works i) discovered a preference there for adjectives having a concrete connection with the noun which they qualify, rather than colourless, general adjectives, or unusual ones. This resembles Kurz's use of verbs in the Tristan translation:-

- 5585 si taten die Britune
 durch ir pavelune
 mit todigen wunden.
- K Da warfen sie zur Stunden
 Die Britten mit Todeswunden
 Durch ihre Zelten hin und her.
- 5702 von disen zwein kunt edeler muot.
 Von diesen sproset edler Muth.
- 6028 vil schiere kwamen Marke
 unde hin ze hove maere.
- K Alsbald sich zu dem König schwang
 Und an den Hof die Märe.

i) Hermann Kurz, Werk und Persönlichkeit. Diss. Marburg, 1949. (unpublished). pp. 39-40.

Simrock made similar changes in the verbs:-

14750 man hat so michel maere
 von iu gemachet und von mir.

S Man hat so böse Märe
 Ausgesprengt von euch und mir.

15172 (liebe) ... von erneste gat.

S ... ernstlich entbrennt.

A similar process can be observed in the translation of the imagery. Concrete, physical pictures crept in, to elaborate bare statements. Both Kurz and Simrock made such changes:-

3835 ist Tristan, als ich han vernomen,
 also ze Kurnewale komen,
 so ist er rehte komen hin heim;
 wan Marke der ist sin oheim.

K Ist Tristan, als ich hie vernommen,
 Also nach Kornewall gekommen,
 So fand das Bächlein seinen Strom,
 Denn König Marke, der ist sein Ohm.

15047 sus was in aber ein wunsch leben,
 nach ir ungemuete gehen,
 swie kurz ez wernde waere,
 ane iteniuwe swaere.

K Ihnen war ein erwünschtes Leben
 Wieder nach Wetter und Sturm gegeben;
 Doch war der Tag ohne Schauer
 Leider von kurzer Dauer.

4416 (riterschaft) ... muoz ie von der kintheit
 nemen ir ane genge,
 oder si wirt selten strenge.

S ... Muss sich in der Kindheit Tagen
 Schon zeigen vor der Menge,
 Sonst wird sie selten strenge.

The rhyme obviously influenced this choice of image, and the pedestrian elaboration in the following example:-

12231 wir nemen der dinge unrechte war,
 wir saejen bilsen samen dar,
 unde wellen danne, daz uns der
 lilien unde rosen ber'.

S Man nimmt der Dinge übel wahr,
 Sät Bilsen aus im Februar,
 Und wundert sich am Erntetage,
 Dass er Rosen nicht und Lilien trage.

Whereas Gottfried gave a picture of natural scenery in only two passages, the May Meadow and the Minnegrotte, landscape played a significant part in nineteenth-century poetry and Simrock often added visually descriptive words to Gottfried's vague indication of the scene.

12774 nu si von dem gevilde
 verre hin in kamen ...

S Da sie nun vom Gefilde
 Ins Waldesdunkel kamen ...

17493 ... unde streich uf an sinen pfat.
 der jaegere habte an der stat.

S ... und eilte weiter durch den Thau;
 Zurück blieb Jener auf der Au.

Gottfried's general, vague expressions were replaced by Simrock with explicit terms:-

1205 ... als si ie taten und noch tuont,
 den ir dink stat, als ez ir stuont.

- S Wie sie allezeit thun und thaten,
Die sich um Liebesnoth berathen.
- 3794 gelich alsam ein art ribalt.
 S landstreicherischer Missgestalt.
- 5519 ir wart da manigez vertan.
 S Denn Schäfte brachen, Schwerter sprangen.
- 17194 daz der armen Kanaze
in der minnen namen geschach.
- S Und der armen Kanace
Leidig Liebesungemach.

Two minor points throw light on the impression which Kurz and Simrock had of the text. They both inserted the adjective hold many times. They found it convenient in the rhyme holde/Isolde to replace Gottfried's frequent Isote/ie genote. They used hold in the sense of 'gently sweet and charming', a sense which it did not have in Gottfried's time, and this continual insistence on Isolde's sweetness added a touch of sentimentality to the text.

The other point is Kurz's treatment of the proper name Blanscheflur. Gottfried does not draw attention to its literal meaning, 'white flower', although he does to that of Tristan, 'child born of sadness'. Kurz, however, made his one deliberate change in this connection. He repeatedly referred to Blanscheflur as 'the rose' or 'the white rose':-

- 631** ... Blanscheflur sine swester da,
 eine maget, daz da, noch anderswa,
 schoener wip nie wart gesehen.
- K Das war seine Schwester Blanscheflur,
 Ein Fräulein, das auf keiner Flur
 So schöne Rose war geboren.

- 685 ... da Blanscheflur diu werde,
 ein wunder uf der erde ...
- K ... Wo Blancheflur im Freien,
 Die Wunder-Ros' im Maien ...
- 955 Ouch vergie sin senelich geschicht
 die seneden Blanscheflure niht.
- K So auch entging der sehnlichen Pflicht
 Die sehnende weisse Rose nicht.

This introduces a flower image where Gottfried does not have one. Gottfried uses a rose metaphor elsewhere, but very subtly and in an abstract sense, not as a facile equivalent for 'young woman'. i) Kurz may have been influenced by reading Konrad Fleck's Flos und Blanscheflur, which does use similar person-flower imagery, but it is more likely that he was imitating the language of Immermann's version of Tristan, which has, though not with reference to Blanche-flur, 'Die Wunderros' im Wunderthale' ii), and, this time of Blancheflur:

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- i) cp. R. Gill, A study in traditional elements in Middle High German Literature, with special reference to the Tristan of Gottfried von Strassburg and its similarities with the Roman de la Rose of Guillaume de Lorris. M.A. thesis, London, 1959 (unpublished).
- ii) Tristan und Isolde. Düsseldorf, 1841. p.4.

'Die weiche, weisse, volle Schöne,
 Gepriesen durch des Liedes Söhne
 Als eine weisse Rose, die
 Natur schalkhaft, voll Ironie
 Auf alabasterweissen Wangen
 Anhauchte mit dem zärtsten Roth ... ' i)

If Kurz was influenced here by Immermann, it is noteworthy that this is the only change which he made for that reason in Gottfried's text. For the rest he waited to pay his tribute in the free ending.

Perhaps such pretty elements in Kurz's version justify Kosch's description of it in the Deutsche Literatur-Lexikon ii) not as a translation but as a Romanzenkranz, which ranks it among the so-named lyrical epics of the middle of the century, which were sentimentally romantic.

The list of changes which Kurz and Simrock made in translation may seem niggling, but in versions which were otherwise both in conception and execution strictly faithful, such features loom large. The two literal translators kept the body, the shape, the size of their original, and, to varying degrees, some of Gottfried's style and language. But not all their struggles for faithfulness could capture the original tone. The changes in the use of language made that impossible.

i) ibid. p. 20.

ii) p. 3052, under 'Tristan'.

IV THE POETIC TRANSLATIONS BY HERMANN KURZ AND
WILHELM HERTZ

a) The manuscripts of the second attempt by Hermann Kurz

Almost twenty years after his first translation, Hermann Kurz turned to Gottfried's Tristan again and began to make a second modern version. There are references to it in his correspondence, and fragments of it were actually written. Parts of these fragments were published. The manuscripts of most of the fragments, after some had been mislaid during Kurz's lifetime and all had been forgotten afterwards, were eventually presented to the Heimatmuseum of Kurz's birthplace, Reutlingen. i) There they lie displayed in the Hermann Kurz room among other examples of manuscripts of his. '1844' has been pencilled on the top sheet, presumably by someone who was unaware of any Tristan version by Kurz other than the one of that year. (In fact, the manuscript of the 1843-4 version is in Marbach.)ii) That the pages are really the lost fragments of twenty years later is confirmed by several facts. The modern orthography distinguishes them from the earlier version, and the word Unmüssigkeit near the beginning, which was the chief example cited by Kurz of his previous, preservative translation-method, has been

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- i) The present curator of the Heimatmuseum, Dr. Keim, believes that the museum came into possession of the manuscripts from the estate of Isolde Kurz. She died in 1944.
- ii) Heinz Kindermann, Hermann Kurz und die deutsche Übersetzungskunst im 19. Jh. ed. cit. p. 50.

finally abandoned and replaced by the modern words Gewirk and Gewebe. Another indication that the version is of a later date than 1843-4 is a correctly translated line near the beginning of the introduction (line 50 in Gottfried), for which Kurz gave an erroneous rendering in 1843, which he still valiantly defended in the reply to Oswald Marbach's attack in 1844 i) and which he did not realise was incorrect until January 1845, when he added a note admitting his error. ii) The manuscript passages correspond to the parts of the second version which the letters show to have been written. Further proof of the identity of the fragments is provided by the fact that some pages of the surviving manuscripts overlap with two extracts from the second version published as such by Ludwig Seeger in 1863 and Isolde Kurz in 1906 respectively. The possibility that in these cases the manuscripts might have been copied from the printed passages is ruled out by the presence of discrepancies; also the manuscripts have been corrected in many instances to the form of the printed extracts, and, moreover, they are longer than these extracts. For these several reasons, there can be no doubt that the pages in the Reutlingen Heimatmuseum are the almost complete manuscripts of the second version.

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- i) 'Zweite Glosse', Tristan und Isolde. Dritte, vermehrte Aufgabe, ed. cit. p. 295.
- ii) 'Nachtrag zu der zweiten Glosse', ibid. p. 304.

The letters in which Kurz refers to his second version are those sent to Franz Pfeiffer in 1862-4, published by Hermann Fischer in February 1900 in the Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur, also cited by Emil Sulger-Gebing in 1904 i) and by Heinz Kindermann in 1918 ii), and letters of the same period to Paul Heyse, referred to by Kindermann only. iii) It appears from these letters that the version was progressing well early in 1862. In February Kurz wrote about it at some length to both Franz Pfeiffer and Paul Heyse, enthusiastically discussing his new approach: on the 14th of that month he told Pfeiffer: 'Heute hoffe ich den zweiten Abschnitt vollends fertig zu bringen.' He presumably counted Gottfried's introduction as the first section and 'Riwalin und Blancheflur' as the second. These two sections, corresponding to Isolde Kurz's description of it as 'ein nicht unbeträchtliches Stück des

i) Hermann Kurz, ein deutscher Volksdichter. Berlin, 1904. p. 21.

ii) op. cit. p. 49 f.

iii) The Hermann Kurz-Paul Heyse correspondence, which according to Josef Körner's Bibliographisches Handbuch (1949, p. 360) was published by the Schwäbischer Bund as their first volume, is unobtainable. Isolde Kurz wrote in 1931 ('Hermann Kurz's letzte Lebensjahre', Wilhelm Raabe Festschrift. Berlin.) that the correspondence had not been published, and that a provision in the will of Heyse's widow made reference to it difficult. Kindermann seems to have had access to the original letters in 1918.

Anfangs' i), are almost as much of the new version as was ever written. A whole year later, in February 1863, Paul Heyse was sent, in addition to 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur', only the opening lines of the third section to read. The manuscript of the 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur' section was given to Ludwig Seeger, who included the second half of it in his Deutsches Dichterbuch aus Schwaben, an anthology of Swabian poetry, published in the autumn of 1863.ii) Seeger died in the following March, and the manuscript of the whole episode was lost among his papers. Kurz told Pfeiffer in a letter written on the 15th^{of} September 1864 that this left him with only the end-part of that episode, from the printed edition. It was, no doubt, partly the setback of losing the manuscript which discouraged him from continuing with the second version. In Kurz's handwriting on the last page of the Reutlingen manuscript of the prologue, there is a reference to the passage which was printed in the Deutsches Dichterbuch, possibly jotted down after the loss to indicate what was left to him.iii) There is no evidence that he took up Tristan again. He had been suffering from a nervous

i) Hermann Kurz, ed. cit. p. 283.

ii) Stuttgart, dated 1864. Reprinted in 1877, at the end of the 3rd, enlarged, posthumous edition of Kurz's Tristan und Isolde.

iii) 'Und (?) Riwalin und Blanche-flur.

Der hellste Tag muss untergehn

(Deutsches Dichterbuch aus Schwaben. S. 67 f.)

illness for several years, which attacked him whenever he tried to write (although Paul Heyse recorded that it did not affect him when he was working on Tristan, which he enjoyed doing). The few years in the little rural towns of Oberesslingen, Kirchheim and Weilheim in which he had had leisure for writing came to an end in 1863 when he received his appointment as a university librarian in Tübingen, and his duties there kept him busy for the remaining ten years of his life. The fragments of the second version may, therefore, and from the evidence of the letters which contain references to them, all be assumed to date from 1862-3. To summarize the manuscript fragments for which there is evidence of having come into existence:-

- a) Prologue (only pre-supposed by Kurz's having reached the second section).
- b) 'Riwalin und Blancheflur' - mentioned to Franz Pfeiffer, February 1862; sent to Paul Heyse, February 1863; half published by Ludwig Seeger, autumn 1863; all lost among Seeger's papers, 1864.
- c) Opening of 'Tristan das Kind' - sent to Heyse with 'Riwalin und Blancheflur'; published by Isolde Kurz in 1906 and possibly earlier by Freiligrath (see below).

The manuscripts of most of these fragments are extant in the Reutlingen Heimatmuseum, including some from the beginning and the end of the 'Riwalin und Blancheflur' section; these, of the ones lost among Seeger's papers, must eventually have been recovered. In all the Reutlingen manuscripts comprise:-

- i) pages numbered 1 - 2 (in duplicate, a rough and a fair copy), the prologue, headed 'Gottfried', corresponding to lines 45 - 242 of Gottfried.

- ii) pages numbered 3, 4, 5: the opening of 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur', corresponding to lines 243 - 861.
- iii) a page numbered 15, consisting of the last three paragraphs of 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur', equalling approximately lines 1749 - 1787 in Gottfried; this is the manuscript of the end of the passage printed in Seeger's Deutsches Dichterbuch. Of the gap in the manuscript of 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur', lines 1077 - 1748 can be supplied from the printed passage (which covers lines 1077 - 1787 in all); therefore only the equivalent of lines 862 - 1076, little more than 200 lines, are completely lost. They must have been on manuscript pages numbered 6 and 7.
- iv) pages numbered 16, 17, 18: the beginning of the third section, 'Tristan das Kind', corresponding to lines 1789 - 1960 approximately in Gottfried.
- v) pages numbered I - VI, a revision of Kurz's own ending of 1844.

Virtually all that was written of the second version, including a revision of the ending, is therefore still extant, either in the Reutlingen manuscripts or in Seeger's printed extract.

What is the history of the Reutlingen manuscripts? Are they the fragments mentioned in the book about her father by Isolde Kurz? She wrote there in 1906 that she and her brother Erwin had 'recently' i) rediscovered

i) 'neuerdings'. op. cit. p. 283.

among their father's papers some fragments of the lost second version, and she published there some of the opening of 'Tristan das Kind' (108 lines) - which deals with the subject of loyalty and can stand as a separate poem - as a sample of its style. (She believed that the same passage had previously been published in a Dichteralbum by Freiligrath. i) Heinz Kindermann wrote in 1918 ii) that this passage printed by Isolde Kurz was found to have survived in a letter addressed to Paul Heyse (presumably the letter of February 1863 referred to above with which Heyse was sent 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur' and this passage). There is nothing in the remarks on the subject by Isolde Kurz to confirm this, nor does Kindermann give any authority for his assertion. The wish of Heyse's widow that his letters should not be published (see above) may account for their silence on this point. But if Isolde Kurz printed her passage from such a source, the slight discrepancies from the Reutlingen manuscript in length and content would be explained. (The corresponding Reutlingen manuscript displays no sign of

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- i) Isolde may have been thinking of Freiligrath's anthology Dichtung und Dichter (Dessau 1854) in which he included two passages from Kurz's Tristan und Isolde of 1844: an extract from the eulogy of Gottfried in the ending, and an extract from the translation of Gottfried's Literaturstelle.
- ii) op. cit. p. 51.

being an enclosure in a letter.) But if Isolde had another source, the manuscripts now in Reutlingen are something of a mystery. If other manuscripts, possibly including the letter to Paul Heyse, formed Erwin and Isolde's discovery at the turn of the century, then when were the Reutlingen manuscripts discovered? They are believed to have come to the Heimatmuseum from the estate of Isolde Kurz; they must then surely have been known to her; how is it that she knew the passage of 'Tristan das Kind' only in another form? How did some pages of the manuscripts lost among Seeger's papers rejoin the others? The pages of 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur' in Reutlingen are rough copies, but it is unlikely that Kurz had these in his possession and sent Seeger another, fair copy, since he expressly wrote in 1864 that the whole section was lost to him. The Reutlingen manuscripts, wrongly dated and without testimonials, lie enigmatically in the Heimatmuseum. Only the passage from 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur' which Seeger had published became known, and it was taken to be as much of the second version as was ever written. In 1904 Hermann Fischer wrote about the second version: 'Nur ein kleiner Teil davon, 'Riwalin und Blanche-flur', ist zustande gekommen und in Ludwig Seegers Deutsches Dichterbuch aus Schwaben 1864 erschienen.'ⁱ⁾ Heinz Kindermann wrote in 1918: 'So müssen wir uns mit den beiden überlieferten Fragmenten begnügen (those published by Seeger and by Isolde).'ⁱⁱ⁾

i) Sämtliche Werke von Hermann Kurz. Leipzig, 1904.

p. xiv.

ii) op. cit. p. 51.

It is now, however, no longer necessary to be content with the printed fragments. The manuscript fragments too have been taken into account in this study. The pages which have not been published are, however, less different from the first version than the passages printed by Seeger and by Isolde Kurz. They are of little interest except to a student of the developments in the translation of Tristan.

b) The circumstances of the second attempt

Kurz intended to make a very different version on this second attempt. His change of heart is apparent in the letter to Paul Heyse in February 1862 and in the one to Franz Pfeiffer of the same month, which has already been quoted above. There had been striking changes in his approach since 1843-4. His determination then to cling to the archaic features of his original had been summed up in the emphatic words: 'Eine freie Uebersetzung mit modernen Ausdrücken wäre weit leichter gewesen, aber diese verabscheute ich.'ⁱ⁾ In 1862 he repudiated the first version in equally strong terms: 'Ich nahm ... meine Uebersetzung wieder vor und fand, dass ich sie in ihrer Wörtlichkeit und Achselträgerei zwischen alter und neuer Sprache vor Ekel nicht mehr lesen konnte.'

His attitude had undergone a complete revolution, from dislike of modernization to dislike of anything less. Clearly, he was seeing his old translation with new eyes. While making it, he had been concerned only with faithfulness to Gottfried. He now looked at it as a work in its own right and was not satisfied. He had decided that loyalty was not enough; positive alterations were necessary to make Tristan readable for the modern public. The original form, or imitation of it, was a hindrance to enjoyment of the story:-

'Im Gewand des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, zumal in linearer Uebersetzung, ist er (Tristan) nur noch halb geniessbar ...'

i) 'Erste Glosse', Tristan und Isolde. ed. cit. p. 292.

This is pure recantation, a startling reversal of his earlier opinion. The whole work, he now thought, must be re-shaped; he planned cuts and alterations which should produce a shorter, lighter version. He was happy at the prospect, 'der Welt einmal einen lesbaren Tristan zu hinterlassen.'

But his stubborn affection for Gottfried which had inspired the faithfulness of his first version still prevented him from going over entirely to the other camp. His main aim was still to help readers to enjoy Gottfried's work, not to write a poem of his own. Not abandoning all his feelings of loyalty, he proposed to incorporate Gottfried's 'best parts' in his free version. He summed up this method of freedom mixed with imitation as 'ein eigenthümlich Stück Arbeit - frech rebellisch und wieder jedem schönem Worte des Meisters gehorsam.'

Why did Kurz return to a task which he had already successfully achieved once? His other version had been well received and was never really superseded, even by that of Wilhelm Hertz. The reason which he gave to Pfeiffer was that it was good material to try his hand on again after years of prose writing and political journalism: 'Das Versemachen nun, wenn man es nur nebenher treiben kann, ist, besonders nach langer Entwöhnung, ein etwas schüchternes Ding, und so bin ich ganz natürlich auf den Gedanken gekommen, mich zunächst am Tristan zu versuchen, der doch schon etwas Gegebenes mitbringt und doch zugleich freie Bewegung nicht bloss gestattet, sondern verlangt.' This does not explain, however, why he thought that another version was necessary or why his attitude to modernization had changed. The reason partly lies in the fact that he was now in contact with the Munich poets, having become friendly with Paul Heyse about three

years before. It was to Heyse that he eagerly reported on the progress of the new version. The friendship was mostly carried on by means of letters, but there was Kurz's visit to Heyse in April 1863 which gave him new enthusiasm for writing poetry. (This stimulating visit was however after the bulk, or possibly all, of his work on the second Tristan version). Heinz Kindermann expressly states that it was due to the 'gehaltvollen, ermunternden Gedankenaustausch mit Paul Heyse' that Kurz turned to writing again.ⁱ⁾ Kindermann also surmises that Heyse showed Kurz the modern versions of the Lancelot story and the Rolandslied by Wilhelm Hertz, and that that stirred up his interest in epics of chivalry again. This is probable, and it would have given him an insight into modernization methods different from his own. The aesthetic principles of the Krokodil group differed greatly from those of his previous fellow-poets in the Swabian school. Instead of imitating the formal simplicity of old German literature and folksong, the Munich poets used medieval material for new compositions, such as Emanuel Geibel's Brunhilde drama, or the richly embellished narratives by Wilhelm Hertz. But the incentive for Kurz's new version need not have come entirely from his new friends. There is evidence that he had been nursing the idea for a long time. He mentioned to Heyse in the letter of February 1862 referred to above that he had suggested a 'shorter, lighter version' to his publisher 'several years' before. We also know that he had even considered a free adaptation in 1843 when he was planning his first version, and had only refrained then out

i) Hermann Kurz und die deutsche Übersetzungskunst, ed. cit. p. 48.

of respect for Immermann's. He had clearly always had the possibility of a free version in mind, and now, after twenty years, he no longer ~~had~~ ^{had} misgivings about using modern diction or about stealing Immermann's thunder. He also no longer cared about the scholarly value of the version. In 1843-4 he had drawn upon Franz Pfeiffer's specialized knowledge in order to make his version as accurate as possible, and he had avoided making alterations for fear of academic criticism. He had written to Adelbert von Keller on 22nd/23rd September 1843: 'Glaubst du, die Gelehrten würden mich steinigen, wenn ich den gespitzten, spitzfindigen Prolog weglassen, da der Dieterich, dem die Anfangsbuchstaben gelten, doch unbekannt ist? ...' He had however finally decided to keep the prologue in his first version. In 1862 he expected attack from the scholars' camp but no longer let this prevent him from making his changes. He wrote then to Pfeiffer: '... und wenn man im gelehrten Lager davon Notiz nimmt, so bin ich darauf gefasst, dass die äusserste Rechte auf Baumfrevelstrafe erkennt, das Zentrum auf die Hurl, und geht der mildeste Antrag durch, auf Schlegel und Bart, so ist's reine Gnade. Da aber die Feierstunden langsam tragen, so währt es schon noch eine gute Weile, bis ich geköpft werde.' It should be remembered that Karl Simrock's literal version had appeared meanwhile; Kurz may have felt that this now answered the demand for a faithful translation and that his own version could offer more in other directions, on the ground of being more of a poetical work. Once regarded as such, instead of first and foremost as a faithful translation, it would seem to him to require as many aesthetic changes as other free adapters of Tristan among his contemporaries had made.

Such lengthy verse narratives as the medieval court epics had no artistic place in the nineteenth century. The function of the long epic chronicle had been taken over by the historical novel. Modern verse narratives no longer portrayed all the adventures of a hero's whole life, as Tristan did, but instead there were narratives which related short anecdotes, as in Mörike's Idylle vom Bodensee of 1846, or single, rounded-off stories, such as Hebbel's Mutter und Kind of 1859. Several nineteenth-century poets who had adapted Tristan had chosen to change its form. Friedrich Roeber in 1838 had summarized the long story and put it into semi-dramatic form by giving it a framework: a bishop's reading aloud to Isolde Weisshand the chronicle of Tristan's adventures. i) Oswald Marbach's fragment of 1846, Riwalin und Blanche-flur, ii) abridged parts of the text and expanded others; he used the couplet form but he varied the metre so extravagantly that emotion often seems to run away with the line, and such pretty detail was added as:-

' ... Silberglöcklein hangen an den Zinnen,
Die bei des Zephirs Hauche lieblich klingen,
Zu Zaubermelodien sich verschlingen ...'

A.A.L. Follen, in Tristans Eltern iii) also used couplets, and with less deviation than Marbach from Gottfried's kind of couplet, but he rearranged elements of the original plot

i) Tristan und Isolde. Eine Tragödie in Arabesken.
Elberfeld and Leipzig, (1856?).

ii) Oswald Marbach, Liebesgeschichten. Leipzig, 1846.

iii) published posthumously. Giessen, 1857.

so that, for example, Tristan's father, not Tristan himself, fights Morolt; he also added completely new incidents and expanded the emotional climaxes.

Karl Immermann was a more important predecessor among the adapters of Tristan, both absolutely and in his influence on Kurz. Kurz's great admiration for Immermann's version was shared by nearly all Immermann's friends and contemporaries, and it remained the best-known poetical modernization. It was half free, half faithful, begun in the last two years before his death in 1840 and left unfinished. Parts of it were published in 1840 in the first number of the Rheinisches Jahrbuch, which was edited by Karl Simrock and others. Immermann had decided on his method of adapting Tristan in 1831; he described in a letter to Michael Beer written in that year how he was picking out the potentially lyric passages for free treatment with no further regard for Gottfried: 'Zu dem Ende extrahire ich mir die Motive, die mir poetisch erscheinen und wenn es einmal an die Arbeit geht, so werden lediglich diese Excerpte, und nicht der alte Tristan zur Hand genommen, damit sich nichts Manierirtes, Uebersetztes einschleiche.i)

The version which eventually resulted from this method is the one which Kurz had not dared to emulate in 1843-4, although the free ending which the latter gave to the poem at that time incorporated some of the ideas which Immermann had not lived to work out. Kurz had hoped in doing this that his ending might serve to round off Immermann's fragment as well as Gottfried's text. He included in it many lines of tribute to the poet 'der immer war ein Mann'.

i) Michael Beer's Briefwechsel, ed. Eduard von Schenk. Leipzig, 1837. p. 258.

He expressly preferred Immermann's narrative style even to Gottfried's:-

'Ja freier, kühnlicher beschwingt,
Gestalt~~er~~ter im Schmerzensernst, erklingt

Sein Lied, als Gottfrieds weiche Saiten ...'i)

It is therefore not surprising that Kurz should, in his second version, change to a method similar to Immermann's. Kurz had now entered the sphere of the modern adapters; he was now applying the same aesthetic standards as his contemporaries who made such free use of their source. But his fragmentary second version still has a place in the line of development of nineteenth-century Tristan translations. For basically he remained a translator, and his new version led on directly to the version by Wilhelm Hertz, which was a translation and not a free adaptation. The new attempt by Kurz leapt from pole to pole of possible translation-methods; he rejected the imitative language of his first version but used passages from it for the basis of a new, lyrical creation. The next version of Gottfried's poem, by Wilhelm Hertz, also broke away entirely from the bonds of the archaic language and fulfilled the aesthetic requirements of modern lyric poetry.

i) Tristan und Isolde, ed. cit. p. 227.

c) A comparison of the projected second translation by Hermann Kurz with the version by Wilhelm Hertz

There are demonstrable connections between the Tristan versions of Hermann Kurz and Wilhelm Hertz. Kurz had been working on his new version during the year before his meeting with Hertz at Paul Heyse's house in Munich in April 1863.i) In February Heyse had been sent the manuscript of 'Riwalin und Blancheflur' and the beginning of 'Tristan das Kind', which was probably almost as much as was finished, and part of it was published by Ludwig Seeger in the following autumn. The matter, no doubt, occupied Kurz's mind between those dates, and it may be surmised that he discussed it in Munich with Hertz. More than ten years later, Kurz died without having fully carried out his plans for a shorter, improved Tristan. Hertz proceeded to make a version comparable to Kurz's projected one as far as the use of language and the amount of pruning were concerned. The degree of sympathy with his aims to which this testifies was so strong that he even asked Kurz's widow for permission to use Kurz's free ending for his own translation, rather than try to rival it with an ending of his own. Only when permission was refused did he turn to the Anglo-Norman text of Thomas for this purpose.ii) He paid wistful tribute to Kurz in his introduction, and at the same time depreciated Simrock's attempt:-

i) see introduction above, p.8.

ii) see Heinz Kindermann, Hermann Kurz und die deutsche Übersetzungskunst ..., ed. cit. p. 48.

' ... hat in neuerer Zeit Hermann Kurz einen Schluss hinzugedichtet, mit dessen hochpoetischer Kraft Simrock sich im Greisenalter nicht mehr hätte messen sollen.'

He copied many couplets and phrases from both of the versions by Kurz; this is a significant token of his admiration.

There is enough material available to make it possible to compare the theoretical approaches of the two poets. The letters from Kurz to Paul Heyse and Franz Pfeiffer in 1862 referred to above outline the means by which he proposed to make his second, 'readable' version, although he did not write enough of it for all aspects of his method to be studied in practice. In Hertz's case, on the other hand, the changes which he made are manifest in his complete version.ⁱ⁾ He also discussed his theoretical standpoint in the short introduction which he wrote for it.

The new degree of freedom which Kurz allowed himself has been described in the previous section. He did not intend to be as free as the other adapters of Tristan, but neither would he let himself be hampered by the shackles of literal translation. Wilhelm Hertz, also, like Kurz, felt himself to be as much creative poet as translator, and his version as much a new work of art as a resuscitation of Gottfried's epic. This can be seen from his poem, especially from his choice of passages for omission. He would not reproduce what seemed to him weaknesses, nor be a latterday mouthpiece for Gottfried's personal utterances. He left out all references to Gottfried's sources and predecessors, as well as many of his personal reflections, and the opening acrostic.

i) Tristan und Isolde. Stuttgart, 1877.

The gnomic verses of the latter became stilted and even more difficult to understand in modern German, as could be seen in the earlier versions by Kurz and Simrock, where they made a rather formidable opening. Hertz pruned away these verses, which in translation became so much dead wood, to leave the strong, personal opening: 'Ich hab' ein Werk mir ausersehn ...' Gone is Gottfried's private reference in the acrostic to his patron, but the line with which Hertz starts is as apposite in his mouth as it had been in Gottfried's. As for Kurz's action in this matter, he would have liked to have cut away the acrostic from his first version (see p. 77 above). He did omit it from his second version, as can be seen from the Reutlingen manuscript, page 1. In its place stands a vestigial survivor, a single quatrain of the type with which Gottfried marked stages in the story. These lines would have indicated to the modern reader how Kurz stood in relation to Gottfried's work; they introduce a revised translation of Gottfried's prologue which is as faithful as Kurz's first translation - 'Hört aus des Meisters eignen Mund, / Wie er zum Werke legt den Grund ...' - but they go on to prepare the reader for the point where Gottfried broke off and Kurz had to continue: - '... Lauscht innig, eh der Sängermund / Verstummend sinkt zum schwarzen Grund.' A similar quatrain would have marked the end of Gottfried's text and the beginning of Kurz's ending:-

'Verlassen liegt von Meisterhand
Des Leides und der Liebe Band.
Er wob's nicht aus: eine dunkle Hand
Zerschnitt zu früh sein Lebensband.'

(There had already been a quatrain similar to this one in Kurz's first version.)

Like Hertz, Kurz omitted Gottfried's mention of his sources, and replaced the lines about Thomas and Gottfried's other predecessors (131 - 169) with his own couplet:

'So geb' ich nun im neuen Gewand,
Was ich in alten Geschriften fand.'

Both Kurz and Hertz thought it necessary to omit some chapters of the story. In the letters to Heyse and Pfeiffer of February 1862 i) Kurz dismissed some of the traditional events as 'mere action' (a thing which medieval authors, who clung reverently to their sources, could never have done). Kurz thought that much of the action could be summarized without loss: 'Ohnehin alles, was blosse Begebenheit ist, muss eine dezidierte Kürze bekommen.' He especially considered the fights against giants and dragons expendable: 'Mittelalterlicher Plunder, wie Drachenkampf und dgl., wird ganz weggeschnitten.' 'Diese Drachen- und Riesenkünste, was haben sie mit dem Liede selbst zu schaffen?' It is strange that Kurz should have planned to give up the fight with the dragon, since he had previously liked this episode well enough to base his polemic against Marbach on an allegorical form of it ii). As he had displayed in his first version understanding of Gottfried's style, one might surmise that he now struck off the fight scenes because he had noticed that Gottfried, not being a knight, showed little interest in jousts and battles. But the lie is given to this hypothesis by the fact that in the part of the second version which Kurz actually wrote, far from omitting Rivalin's battle against

i) see above, page 67.

ii) see above, page 36.

Morgan, he described it with great emphasis and elaboration. The chapters were to be eliminated not because of the fighting in them, but because of the giants and dragons, that unnecessary 'medieval lumber'. Kurz recognized the fact that Gottfried had reached greater heights in other passages and he passed over the mere adventures to concentrate on 'alles, was Gottfried zu/^{einer} seiner Sinfonien benützt hat.'

Wilhelm Hertz, also, considered the narrative too long, but he decided on less drastic pruning of actual incidents. He did not share Kurz's disregard of 'blosse Begebenheit'. He shortened the text by one quarter, but in all his compressing and summarizing he salvaged reports of even the smallest incidents from among what he considered to be pieces of rhetorical verbiage. He omitted only two complete episodes, those which seemed to him - as he explained in the introduction - 'Nebensächliches, das den unmittelbaren Genuss beeinträchtigen konnte.' The Gandin episode, in which Isolde is lightly relinquished to the harper-knight and as easily won again by Tristan, was not, in his view, on a level with the rest of the tale and would have spoiled the general effect. The minor episode of the faery dog, Petitcriu, was jettisoned for its disproportionate length. He did not omit unimportant sub-stories but summarized them in a few lines. The past history of Mark's kingdom, which took up 25 lines in Gottfried (423 - 447) was compressed by Hertz to:-

'Auch Englands Fürsten hatten eben
Sich unter seinen Schutz begeben
Und dienten ihm als ihrem Herrn.'

The origin of the Irish tax was explained in 44 lines by Gottfried (5887 - 5930) and in three lines by Hertz. By summarizing such details, Hertz concentrated the interest

on the main thread of the story without losing any vital elements. He also used the art of abridgement to bring out effects which he thought previously obscured by circumstantial description. Gottfried dwells on Tristan's noble appearance throughout the account of his preparations for the fight with Morold, and then pauses again to admire the finished picture of the young knight on his horse. Hertz passed quickly over the early passage to pause for the first time when the picture was complete. Similarly, Hertz omitted Gottfried's passage in which Tristan, dressing for his appearance as champion dragon-killer, first shows himself to Isolde and her mother, thus detracting from the effect of his public entrance. Hertz's general policy was to avoid repetition. In Gottfried's version Tristan's display of the art of venery is described with much technical detail, as he shows Mark's huntsmen (and the medieval audience) the right way to deal with a killed stag. (2790 - 3220). One of the huntsmen then relays this information to the king in great detail (3291 - 3315) and finally the king himself sets out for a hunt, an opportunity for a lesson on how to conduct the early stages of a hunting expedition (3406 - 3483). Gottfried at least refrains from repeating the description of the end of a hunt, but Hertz was more thorough-going; he omitted the details of the first scene, summarized the huntsman's report, and completely omitted the second hunt.

Hertz differed from Kurz in that he actually achieved a shorter, neater narrative, full of action. For although Kurz planned more drastic pruning, he would have used up the number of lines which he saved in adding embellishments of his own. This can be seen from the episode which he finished, 'Riwalin und Blancheflur'. The first half

(pages 3, 4, 5 in the Reutlingen manuscript) was only slightly abridged and re-arranged, but the second half, the passage published by Ludwig Seeger, was exuberantly expanded. For this second version Kurz did not wait until Gottfried had broken off before he took over. After the last line of the prologue -

' ... Der neige Herz und Ohren her:
Er findet alles sein Begeh.' -

came a quatrain similar to the explanatory one at the very beginning:-

'Er findet treuen Wiederklang
Des Reinsten was der Meister sang.
Doch weil zu fern die Weise klang,
So mischt sich ihr manch neuer Sang.'

This tallies with his statement of method: ' ... das Ganze zu bearbeiten, wobei aber die besten Bestandtheile von Gottfried beibehalten und aufs liebevollste meist neu übertragen werden.'ⁱ⁾ Kurz picked out the dramatic peaks and re-wrote them at great length and to his own liking. He replaced Gottfried's plain statements with visual and dramatic description, rich in metaphors. He described the occasion of Tristan's conception with sensuousness and, at the same time, euphemistically, whereas Gottfried is powerfully direct and impersonal:-

1317 ... daz er daz keiserliche wip
an sinen halp toten lip
vil nahe und innekliche twank.
da nach so was vil harte unlank,

i) see above, page 75.

unze daz ir beider wille ergie,
 unt daz vil schone wip enpfie
 ein kint von sinem libe.
 ouch was er von dem wibe
 unde von der minne vil nach tot ...

Kurz ... Dass er das königliche Weib
 An seinen todeswunden Leib
 In heissem Gegenkusse schloss,
 Seine Seele in ihre Seele goss.
 Fürwahr ein Wunder da geschah:
 Leben und Tod, die kämpften da
 Auf Tod und Leben um den Sieg,
 Das Leben dem Tode bot den Krieg,
 Es stieg hinab in seine Nacht,
 Hat der Minne Funken drin angefacht,
 Durch dessen Kraft es den Feind bezwang,
 Dass neues Leben aus Tod entsprang.

Kurz made the scene of the battle against Morgan more dramatic, with colourful and detailed description of the action, leading to the climax of the victory-cry, which is followed immediately by the news of Riwalin's death. Similarly, great tension is built up as the news is brought to Blanche-flur:-

Klopft sanft mit eurer Last ans Thor,
 Schleicht leise Hof und Trepp' empor,
 Dass nur noch eine arme Frist
 Ihr Leid der Armsten verborgen ist!
 Zu spät! Sie ahnt, sie weiss es schon:
 Ihr sagte der Tritte gedämpfter Ton,
 Das matte Licht, der stille Zug,
 Ihr sagten die Trauerblicke genug.
 Nun stähl' dich, Herz, bleib fest dabei,

Denn herzzerreissend Klaggeschrei,
 Das wird man nun vernehmen müssen ...'

Visual and concrete details embroider incidents which Gottfried passes over, as for example, the briefly indicated wedding:-

1636 nu daz geschach, diz was getan.

Kurz Die Glocke klang, der Priester sang.

- and the description of the return with Rivalin's body:-

1684 idoch in aller dirre not
 komen die sinen über in,
 unde brahten ihn mit noeten hin.

Kurz Und was in später Nacht mit Pein
 Bei kärglich trübem Fackelschein
 Empor sich wand durchs Felsenjoch,
 Das war ein kleines Häuflein noch.
 Rual war's, der mit schwachem Kern
 Und mit der Leiche seines Herrn
 Sich durchgeschlagen. Stumm und schwer,
 So ziehen sie zur Burg einher ...

Kurz elaborated Gottfried's narrative with flowery phrases and metaphors:-

1187 ... daz si in bi namen wolde sehen.

Kurz Ach, ihren Stern im Niedergehn
 Noch einmal Aug' in Aug' zu sehn.

1582 alsus so fuoren si von dan.

Kurz ... und Liebe fuhr
 In schmeichelnder Gestirne Segen
 Der sichern Heimath sanft entgegen.

This is the same language as Kurz had used for the poetical ending for his first version. It is the language which he

had refrained from using for this first version itself, but which had nevertheless left its mark on that too, creeping into the lines which could not be translated literally. Both Kurz and Hertz now believed their own poetic language to be the right one for translating Gottfried. The thought of using a mixture of archaic and modern linguistic forms disgusted Hertz as much as it now did Kurz. In his introduction Hertz deplored the wide-spread practice of translating in a language which was neither medieval nor modern German, but something of both. The results of Kurz's change of heart in this respect can be seen in the refurbished passages from his first version which alternated with his new lyrical effusions. The only changes which he made in the old passages to fit them for their new rôle was the deletion of archaic forms and spelling: begunte became begann, umfahen became umfängen, gar minniglich und gar lange became minnig und lang verweilend, Unmüssigkeit became Gewirk, Gewebe or Fleiss. The ease with which these lines thus became completely modernized emphasizes how deliberate the use of archaic forms had been before.

Hertz started out by dismissing all possible kinds of language but a completely modern one: 'Mein Bestreben war, das Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts in die Dichtersprache des neunzehnten zu übertragen.' In fact Hertz was not merely translating into modern poetic idiom, but into his own individual poetic style, which was not necessarily typical of the whole century, although it was perhaps typical of the Munich school of poets. The outstanding feature of Hertz's language was the predominance of richly sensuous imagery, as in this passage from his epic, Lanzelot und Ginevra:-

O Liebesnacht! In selgem Schweigen
 Durchwandelst du den Sternenreigen.
 Du fällst des Tages neidische Schranken,
 Versenkst im Fühlen die Gedanken ...
 Du tränkst den Keim im Erdenschosse;
 Du sprengst die grüne Haft der Rose
 Und hüllst verschämter Wangen Schein
 In deine keuschen Schatten ein!

The contrast between Hertz's style and that of Gottfried becomes evident if the above passage is compared with Gottfried's treatment of a similar occasion. During the description of the 'Liebesnacht' on the boat carrying Tristan and Isolde to Cornwall, Gottfried breaks off to expound the merits of love (12187 ff.). There is no lack of feeling in his tone, but it is conveyed in rational terms, in the form of a logical argument. This is typical of his style, which is predominantly abstract, not only in the rational excursions, but in every aspect of the narration. Gottfried and Hertz stand centuries apart, and Tristan underwent at Hertz's hands more than a simple translation into modern German. A detailed study of the diction of Hertz's version reveals once again, and more clearly than before, how the features which are characteristic of Gottfried's style could not survive in the modern language of poetry.

Hertz compressed the story greatly, but he was still basically translating. As was the case with the changes made by Kurz and Simrock in the literal versions, the alterations take the form of little additional touches which slip in as line-fillers or rhymes. Hertz added or emphasized visual detail, but usually where it had been suggested by

Gottfried. Additional adjectives, adverbs or phrases expanded the picture implicit in Gottfried's words, making it actually leap to the eye. Tristan notices the shadows of the eavesdroppers in the tree:-

14634 wan der mane ie genote
durch den boum hin nider schein.
 H Denn durch die Zweige klar und licht
 Von oben fiel dës Mondes Schein.

Gottfried's pictures are no more detailed than is necessary for the narrative; Hertz made them into decorations. Mark finds the lovers asleep in the Minnegrotte and notices,

17451 ... daz daz swert so bar da lak.
 H ... blitzend in dem Bette lag.

Similarly:

17487 ... schone und luter unde bar.
 H ... ein blosses, funkelblankes Schwert.

Hertz added colour and visual detail to descriptions of nature:

17170 ... diu liechte sunne
 uf begunde stigen,
 diu hitzze nider sigen ...
 H ... die lichte Sonne
 sich höher hob im Himmelsblau
 Und heisser ward die Luft der Au.
 17392 ... und allez daz da bluende was,
 daz lachte allez gegen in.
 ouch gruozte si her unde hin
 der tou mit siner sueze.
 H Und all dies Grünen, all dies Blühn

Sah ihnen lachend ins Gesicht;
 Dazu, verstreut im Morgenlicht,
 Der Tau mit seiner Süsse.

18145 si suochte zuo z'ir state schate,
 schate, der ir zuo z'ir state
 schirm und helfe baere.

H Der Lindrung dort zu warten
An schirmend schattendunklern Ort.

The last example shows Gottfried's preoccupation with the sound of the words, opposed to Hertz's choice of descriptive adjectives directed to the eye. By additions and by more precise description, Hertz elaborated the visual aspect of a scene or action:-

15142 ... den umbe hangen.

H ... dichte Vorhangsfalten,
Die um die Betten wallten.

11259 er n'kunde sprechen, noch gelan,
 er n'wiste, was gebaerde han.

H Er stand dort blöden Angesichts,
Tat auf den Mund und sagte - nichts.

10538 sus kusten si in do alle dri;
 doch tet iz Isot, diu junge,
 mit langer widerunge.

H So küssten sie ihn alle drei:
 Lang sträubte sich die Maid Isot,
 Bis sie dem Feind die Lippen bot.

16642 Tristan nam zweinzik marke
 von Isolde golde.

H ... entnahm Isoldens Schrein
 Zwanzig Mark von Golde.

7264 wie da die waren besant,
die leiten allen ir sin
mit arzatlichem liste an in.

H Die standen um sein Bette
Und wandten eifrig an die Wunde
Ihren Fleiss und ihre Kunde. i)

Aural effect is a striking feature of Hertz's own narrative poems; for example:

... Durchs Feld die Morgenglocke klingt,
Und hell im Wald der Wanderer singt.'

(Lanzelot und Ginevra)

In Tristan und Isolde he also made the sound effects live; he gave the sound of the brook in the forest:

17163 ... losten sinem klange,
sinem sliche und sinem gange.

H ... zu belauschen
Sein Rieseln und sein Rauschen.

He replaced abstract verbs by verbs describing the effect on the ear:

7287 Unde erkande ie baz unde baz
Moroldes rede ...

H Und immer klang ihm nun im Ohr
Die Rede Morolds.

i) As illustrations of this point see also 1124, 11513, 11725, 15238, 17152, 17428, and 19269.

The grief felt by Isolde and her women at the prospect of the steward's winning her hand is expressed by cries and shrieks in Hertz's version; in Gottfried's it is only apparent to the eye, presumably in facial expression, and seems more controlled:

9270 die marter unt die swaere,
die s'alle heten der van,
die en gesach an frouwen nie kein man.

H Was man da lautes Klagen
Und helles Wehgeschrei vernahm!
Wann sah man Fraun in solchem Gram?

A slight increase in importance of sound-effect is shown in:

15143 nu man zer mettin stunde
liuten begunde ...

H Doch als der Morgenglocke klang
Die Schläfer rief zum Kirchengang ...

The portrayal of passions and feelings is noticeably more fervent in Hertz's work. Stronger terms were used:

12178 ... einunge an in beiden,
der strik ir beider sinne ...

H ... der innigste Verein
Von Leib und Seele, Herz und Sinn.

13489 Der minnaere Tristan ,...

H ... mit liebesheissen Sinnen.

The expression and description of joy is less restrained:

953 wand alliu sin genuotheit
was gar in senede not geleit.

H Denn seiner Jugend Lust und Prangen
lag in sehnender Not gefangen.

- 1372 ... wande in ir ane vange,
do si aller beste lebeten ...
- H Im ersten Freudendrange,
Da sie am besten lebten ...
- 7811 ich entuo und mug' ez allez wol,
daz iuwer dienenest wesen sol.
- H Dass mich nicht freudge Kraft durchquillt,
Sobald es Euch zu dienen gilt.
- 15045 die lebten aber liebe unde wol.
- H ... lebten ...
In neuem Glück und Liebesglanz.

The joyful mood is expressed by additional adverbs or adverbial phrases in:

- 9382 si kerte, und rief ir muoter dar.
- H ... sie ritt
Zurück und rief mit freudgem Laut.
- 1095 ... unde sach der suezen alles sider
baltlicher unde suezer wider.
- H ... Und gab ihr kühn, berauscht von Glück,
Der Augen süssen Gruss zurück. i)

Additional adverbs are used similarly to express sorrow, fear, and other moods more strongly:

- 14403 ... sprach aber diu getriuwe ...
- H ... sprach sie mit bittrem Harne.

i) see also 7865, 8305, 9583, 10542, 10641, 10695.

14480 weinende sprach er aber z'ir.

H ... schmerzlich weinend fuhr er fort. i)

Additional adjectives intensify the portrayal of suffering:

9270 die marter unt die swaere.

H ... lautes Klagen
Und helles Wehgeschrei.

11678 diu werende swaere,
diu ende lose herze not.

H ... die ungestillte Pein,
die endlos heisse Herzensnot.

15668 manik herze und ouge nam ir war,
sware und erbermekliche,
ir gewandes und ir liche,
des wart da dikke war genomen.

H Da rührt ihr Anblick und ihr Los
Manch Herz und Auge mit Erbarmen;
Wie dürftig war das Kleid der Armen,
Wie bleich, wie trübe sah sie drein!

17512 sin herze in im und al sin lip
erkalte vor leide,
und ouch vor liebe, beide.

H Und ihm durchbebte Herz und Leib
Mit Schreck und jäher Trauer
Ein leiser Freudenschauer.

i) see also 10286, 11744, 13617, 14473, 17621, 17716,
18657, 18839.

- 19508 maniger herze not,
 H herber Herzensnot.
 13907 Isot diu weinde starke.
 H Isolde weinte wie verstört. i)

The fire burning in Riwalin's heart became a Flammenqual. There is similar intensification of the suffering of the characters in the following changes:

- 11065 ich hete michel arbeit
 unsinneklischen angeleit,
 solt' ich nu der von gan.
 H Ich wär doch wahrlich hirnverbrannt
 Gäb' ich mein Recht nun aus der Hand
 Für so viel Mühsal, Not und Pein.
 18369 die geschieden sich e males nie
 mit solcher marter, als hie.
 H ... schieden nie mit solcher Qual,
so martervoll wie dieses Mal.
 14987 ... von siner siecheite ...
 H Von Siechtum, das ihn brennt und quält.

Exclamations and rhetorical questions were used to intensify the strength of the feelings portrayed:

- 9119 in nam der kurzen reise
 groz angest unde freise.
 H Gott, wie viel Angst und Sorge ward
 Ihm schon auf dieser kurzen Fahrt! ii)

i) see also 11793ff.

ii) see also 7159, 9270, 10027, 11714, 15668, 17180, 17387.

For not merely the portrayal but the passion portrayed seems more violent in Hertz's version, for example, whereas Blanscheflur leans with a patient, gentle movement over the mortally wounded Riwalin, Hertz's Blanscheflur hurls herself upon him:

1290 ... saz eht blintlichen dar,
unde leite Riwaline
ir wange an daz sine ...

H Sie warf sich blindlings über ihn,
Lag 'Wang' an Wange ...

The passion also seems stronger in the following examples:

11740 swie blint ir beider herzen gir
an einem willen waere ...

H Und riss auch ihre Herzensgier
Nach einem Ziel sie blindlings fort ...

12322 Nu git uns doch daz guoten muot,
... daz tuot uns in dem herzen wol ...

H Und doch wird unser Herz entzückt ...
Wie stehn wir inniglich erfreut!

13600 diz was im inneklichen leit
unt tet im in den herzen we.

H Da ward sein Herz im Leid entbrannt.

15165 sin herze in sinem libe
daz wart nach dem wibe
volmuetig und in trahte,
wie er dar komen mahte.

H Das Herz in seinem Leibe
 Entbrannte nach dem Weibe
 In wilder stürmender Begier
 Und sann und drängte nur nach ihr. i)

Mâze, the dominant ideal of the courtly era, left its mark on Gottfried's style. The passions exercised in the Tristan story are immoderately violent, but Gottfried's measured account is unbroken by violence in form. That the emotions are expressed by him in unqualified, absolute terms - leit, swaere, minne - is their strength. Gottfried achieves his effect with unbroken composure. Also, the courtly vehicles of the passions are themselves schooled in mâze, and dignified even in anger. The zorn in Gottfried's narrative is a righteous anger, felt, for example, by Isolde when she discovers her uncle's murderer, and by Marke when he is deceived. Unjustified outbursts of anger, and lack of control altogether, were unknown in courtly behaviour. Hertz's small additions, however, include frequent indications of lost temper: page 168 Der König aber zürnte schwer, page 246 Und sprach zu ihm manch zürnend Wort, page 361 ... Wenn erst sein Zorn verglimme. ii)

i) see also 18364.

ii) see also 10201, 10267, 14011.

The page references are to the 1912 edition.

Hertz emphasized the love aspect of the story by small changes:

- 1581 so wart daz schif gestozen an:
 alsus so fuoren si von dan.
- H Sogleich liess er die Segel spannen
 Und fuhr mit seinem Lieb von dannen.
- 14316 ... leit, daz si niht mohten han
 keine state under in zwein,
 daz si geredeten in ein.
- H Leid, dass sie ...
 ... keinen Weg mehr sahen
 In Liebe sich zu nahen.
- 1624 so gebietet eine hoh zit
 wol, herliche unde riche,
 da nemt sie offenliche,
 vor magen und vor mannen ze e.
- H Dann riet der Treue seinem Herrn,
 Dass er, wie sich's gebühre,
 Die Frau zur Kirche führe
 Und den geschlossenen Liebesbund
 Vor allem Volke mache kund.

The change from great abstractness in Gottfried to concrete description in Hertz manifested itself in many ways. Where Gottfried described a state in abstract terms, Hertz illustrated it with an action:

- 18681 sinem dienest under tan.
 Wetteifernd seinem Wink und Wort.
- 15659 ir andaht diu was gotelich.
 Andächtig sah die Gute
 Zu Gott auf, dem sie sich vertraut.

- 10021 ... als irrekliche.
 H mit irrem Wandern.
 10028 so vil manik kunik riche
 besetzt ist mit swacher art.
 H So manches Reich ist in der Welt,
 Da sitzt ein Schwächling auf dem Thron.
 14755 des wanes ist der hof vol.
 H So geht der Wahn von Mund zu Mund.

Metaphorical personification was introduced to avoid ordinary abstract phrases:

- 14517 von ungelücke.
 H so wollt' es Tristans böser Stern.
 14525 des anderen tages.
 H Als drauf die Nacht entwichen ...

General idioms and phrases were replaced by verbs of specific concrete action:

- 10308 der uns mit kampf sprichet an.
 H Wenn nun bald pochend auf sein Schwert.
 15605 ... wolten den wallaere
 bereiten ubeler maere.
 H ... Um ihn mit blauen Malen
 Den Trägerlohn zu zahlen.
 7469 so müget ir iuch min wol bewegen.
 H Mögt ihr mich zu den Toten legen.
 11742 in was doch beiden swaere
 der urhap unde der begin.
 H Sie bangten vor dem ersten Wort.

Hertz inserted references to the part of the body concerned in descriptions of feelings, usually with visual effect:

10992 fruot und aller sorgen fri.

H hohen Hauptes.

10487 ... daz ich sin friunt gewesen muge.

H ... auf den Feind
Zu schaun mit Freundesaugen.

see also 545, 10020, 10203, 11559, 11765, 13959, 17220.

The tendency to draw terms down from the rhetorically general to the picturesquely specific is also shown in the change:

686 Blanscheflur ...
ein wunder uf der erde.

H Das Wunder dieser Maienflur.

Many of Gottfried's images ^{were} retained by Hertz as they stand, practically word for word. These are mostly similes and metaphors which are carried on through several lines.

For example:

806 unde namen Blanschefluren,
unde fuorten die mit in ze hant
in Riwalines herzen lant,
unde kronten si dar inne
im z'einer küneginne.

H Und nahmen Blanschefluren
Und entführten sie zur Hand
In Riwalinens Herzensland
Und krönten sie darinne
Zur Königin der Minne.

An extended simile:

8089 - 8135 Wem mag ich si gelichen,
 die schonen, saelden richen,
 wan, den Sirenen eine,
 die mit dem age steine
 die kiele ziehent ze sich? ...

H Wer ist, dem ich vergleiche
 Die Schöne, Freudenreiche?
 Das sollen die Sirenen sein,
 Die mit dem Magnetenstein
 Die Kiele ziehn in ihren Bann ...

That Hertz should take these over into his version is consistent with his use of his own poetic style, for there are similar long similes in his own narrative poems. In contrast, there are noticeable changes in those cases in which Gottfried used a term metaphorically without dwelling on it. Hertz usually proceeded to develop it into a concrete image. He presented an action or a picture to the eye instead of a concept to the mind.

537 so der vil suoze meije in gat.
 H Wo der Mai durch Wald und Feld
 Seinen frohen Umzug hält.

19168 verirreter Tristan!
 H Verirrter, strachelnder Tristan!

1113 ez ergieng in, rehte also man giht:
 swa lieb in liebes ouge siht,
 daz ist der minnen fiure
 ein wahsendiu stiure.

- H Da ging es ihnen, wie man spricht:
Schaut Lieb' in lieber Augen Licht
So schlagen ihre Flammen
In hellem Brand zusammen.
- 11977 ir spiegellichten ougen
diu volleten vil tougen.
- H Der Augen helle Leuchte
Erlosch in Tränenfeuchte.
- 16490 si ne bouweten den ark wan.
- H Des Argwohns giftge Saat zu nähren.
- Similarly, in the case of images already developed by
Gottfried, Hertz chose to emphasize the visual, concrete
aspect instead of the figurative meaning:
- 7165 diu schibe, diu sin ere truok,
die Morolt friliche sluok
in den bi landen allen,
diu was do nider gevallen.
- H Sein Glücksball, den in stolzen Tagen
Ihm Morolds Hand so hoch geschlagen
Rings in den Landen allen,
War in den Staub gefallen.
- 14474 swie kumbe so min schibe ge ...
- H Mein Glücksrad ganz ins Stocken kam.
- 15052 ... keiner slahte nezzel krut
nie wart so bitter noch so sure.
- H Dass keine Art von Nesselkraut
So schlimm uns brennt in Fleisch und Blut.

- 16459 nu ist aber der minnen arkwan
unde sin same also getan,
swa so er hin geworfen wirt,
daz er diu wurzelin gebirt,
da ist er also frúhtik,
so birik und so zúhtik ...
- H Doch nun ist in der Minne Feld
Des Argwohns Same so bestellt:
Wird er wohin getragen,
Wo er mag Wurzeln schlagen,
Da schiesst das Kraut der Eifersucht
So saftig auf in Laub und Frucht ...
- 11745 Tristan, do er der minne enpfant,
er gedahte sa ze hant
der triuwen unt der eren,
unde wolte dannen keren.
- H Als Tristan fühlt der Minne Banu,
Da rief er Treu' und Ehre an,
Und diese beiden mahnten ihn,
Vor ihrer Lockung zu entfliehn.
- 57 ir leben unde minez zweijent sich.
- H Ihr Weg und meiner scheiden sich.

In this last example there is clearly seen the process of using the full metaphor or simile - roads dividing - instead of a mere transferred use in one word - zweijent. The way in which Hertz doggedly carried a poetic image to its logical conclusion has in general a rather prosaic effect. He clung to the image so enthusiastically that the poetic meaning was overshadowed, or else the concrete terms applied to it fell

into bathos. Another result of emphasizing the image at the cost of the meaning is that only one image can be used at a time. As is shown in Leistner's example of fiure and gruonen (see page 58 above) a poet can juggle simultaneously with abstract concepts, but when visual images are used, the screen of the inner eye can only hold one at a time. (Whereas Gottfried, expatiating on the growth of love, took his terms alternately from plant-growth and usury, Hertz concentrated on the comparison with a plant and elaborated it:

11867 ... so liebe an in wahsende wirt,
 die bluomen unt den wuocher birt
 lieplicher dinge,
 dan an dem urspringe.
 diu wuocherhafte minne
 diu schoenet, nach beginne;
 daz ist der same, den si hat,
 von dem si nimmer zergat ...

H ... Wenn erst die Minne Raum gewinnt,
 Zu wachsen und zu blühn beginnt
 Und süsse Frucht zu tragen,
 Als in den ersten Tagen.
 So, wie die Liebe wächst und schwillt,
 Verschönt sie des Geliebten Bild.
 Das ist der Same, den sie streut,
 Durch den sie stetig sich erneut.]

Hertz drew on a wider vocabulary than Gottfried and where Gottfried was vague Hertz was precise, using more specifically appropriate adjectives, nouns, etc.:

17699 unde wurden in ir herzen fro,
 diu froeude heten ~~st~~aber do
 vil harter unde mere
 durch got unt durch ir ere,
 danne durch iht anders, daz ie wart.

H Sie freuten sich von Herzensgrund,
 Doch mehr um Gottes Segen
 Und ihrer Ehre wegen
 Als um ein andres Erdenglück.

14159 ... waz aber ir rede solte sin.

H ... was nütze sei und wohlbedacht.

Hertz expanded a simple statement:

14940 Marke, durch den argen wan,
 daz er den neven unt daz wip,
 und allermeist sin selbes lip
 so hete beswaeret ...

H Der König, weil er grollte,
 Dass er betört von Lügengeist
 Die beiden und sich selbst zumeist
Gequält mit schimpflichen Verdacht ...

8031 sus kom diu suoze junge
 ze solcher bezzerunge
 an lere und an gebare ...

H So war die junge Königin, ...
Mit allem, was den Sinn entzückt,
Mit Geist und Huld so reich geschmückt ...

The version by Hertz gives an impression of being more firmly bound together and close-packed than Gottfried's. This is, to a great extent, due to the verbs, which are more apt and specialized, and therefore add more significance to the content of each line. Their meaning is usually implicit in Gottfried's context, but Hertz put the idea into definite words.

- 11873 daz ist der same, den si hat.
H Das ist der Same, den sie streut.
- 14627 da, beide, schate unde gras
 von dem oeleboume was.
H dort zeichnet sich im Grase scharf
 Der Schatten, den der Ölbaum warf.
- 17615 er vorht', ez waer' ir an ir lich
 schade und schedelich.
H ... sorgte, dass er allzuheiss
 Versengte dessen zartes Weiss.
- 17175 ... diu bar in aber danne lust
 uzen und innerhalp der brust.
H ... sanfte Kühle
 Wohlig Brust und Herz umspüle.
- 18895 ... als ebere underschaffen.
H Wie Eber wüten unter Schafen.
- 18923 ... unde riten do erste in daz lant.
H Und nun erst recht ...
 Durchstürmten wieder sie das Land.

- 19032 ... diu mir den muot
 in dise gedanke hat braht,
 von der min herze als ist verdraht.
- H ... die mir Sinn und Mut
 Taumeln macht und schwanken
 In solchem Traumgedanken.

The simple verb of saying was often replaced by a stronger verb more explanatory of the contents of the speech.

- 8305 Nu Tristan hete gesaget
 von siner frouwen der maget.
- H Mit solcher Freudigkeit erhob
 Tristan der jungen Herrin Lob.

- 10195 ... sprach diu muoter ze hant.
 Die Mutter klagte bitterlich.

Sprach in 9160, 9829, 10206, 10211, 11287, was replaced by rief.

Gottfried calls the dwarf 'the tool of the devil', des valandes antwerk (14516), when he spies on the lovers and finds their rendezvous. Hertz replaced this by an apter metaphor: 'Des Teufels Spürhund', for the dwarf seeks out the lovers' traces like a police dog.

These changes towards greater precision and explicitness are matched by the additions made by Hertz in his rôle as narrator. Where Gottfried refers to the situation with a vague sus or dirre maere, Hertz inserted precise references to what is happening. Brangaene teaches Tristan the ruse of the wooden chips ze sinen dingen (14505). Hertz has zur Lindrung seiner Not. Tristan and Isolde hear Marke hunting in the forest and fear that si waeren im vermaeret

da (17330). Hertz was more precise: er wisse ihren Zufluchtsort. When Tristan does not run to meet her beneath the tree, Gottfried's Isolde wonders waz dirre maere waere (14691), in Hertz was ... der fremde Brauch bedeute. Similar explicitness can be seen in the following examples:

14557 ich ne weiz, wes si iuch da warnen sol.
H Die Herrin will Euch warnen,
 Weiss nicht, vor welchen Garnen.

15037 Isot wart aber Tristande
 von hande ze hande
 bevolhen wider in sine pflege.
H Und Marke gab als Friedenspfand
 Sein Weib Isot von Hand zu Hand
 In Tristans Schutz.

13021 Sus triben si zwei under in
 die stunde liepliche hin.
H So lieblich treu verbunden
 Vertrieben sie die Stunden.

see also 8548, 8877, 12608, 14306, 15546.

Hertz sometimes added a line of summing-up:

(15345) Jedoch das rechte Wort fand keiner.
(9330) ... Der Wildnis führt entgegen.
(14157) ... Das sie gewonnen Spiel verlor.

The changes made by Hertz in translation have been examined in detail to show how thoroughgoing the transformation was. In the literal versions by Kurz and Simrock there had been unavoidable changes, but the text had remained virtually Gottfried's. Hertz's version is not like these, nor is it as creatively free as the second attempt by Kurz. He translated sentence by sentence, but within the sentence he used his own poetic diction. To summarize the changes which he made: there is greater appeal to the senses, especially in the portrayal of visual and aural detail, and of passions and feelings. Abstractions are replaced by concrete references, both in narration and in imagery. Hertz shows greater precision in his choice of vocabulary and in his choice of metaphor; he is altogether more explicit. These changes are all part of a single, definite movement away from the abstract, generalizing, detached tone of the original - they say what was left unsaid, complete an image instead of throwing it up and passing on, thrust a picture beneath our eyes instead of leaving it to the imagination, pin down in precise, concrete terms ideas with which Gottfried carelessly played. There is never a touch of pregnant understatement in the version by Hertz - all is said, and said in florid terms. The tone of the tale is completely altered. The delicate restraint is gone with its nonchalant grace. Instead there is a richness of feeling and imagery. The version by Hertz is not a simple transformation into modern German;

it stands for a different kind of aesthetic ideal. Like the medieval Albrechtsburg at Meissen, whose masterly vaulted ceilings could rely for their effect on the intricate play of light and shade on their faceted surfaces, but which between 1873 and 1882 enthusiastic medievalists completely covered with painted patterns in red and blue, with flowers, frescoes and murals, the simplicity of Gottfried's masterpiece was over-painted by Hertz in florid colours.

V THE ENDINGS SUPPLIED BY THE THREE TRANSLATORS

The Tristan of Gottfried von Strassburg is incomplete; it breaks off during the hero's misgivings about wedding the second Isolde. Several further episodes of the story, including the events leading to Tristan's mortal wound, and the final double death-scene, are thus missing. The translators of Gottfried's text were faced with the problem of supplying an ending. They knew, of course, how the story finished, but they were left to bring it to a close in the manner which each thought most suitable. Each eventually supplied a verse ending, in rhyming couplets which matched Gottfried's. In 1844 Kurz completed the narration in about 3650 lines, mostly original. In 1855 Simrock gave only a prose summary of the rest of the story, in a few paragraphs in the notes at the end, but for his second edition, in 1875, he composed a verse ending of about 1400 lines. In 1877 Hertz made a greatly abridged translation of the Old French fragments to finish the story in about 850 lines.

It has been seen from the texts of the translations how the attitudes of the three writers to that part of their task differed. The style in which each translator continued when he no longer had Gottfried's text before him throws some more light on the conception which each had of the work. They were completely free to act according to their own sense of what was suitable, in the choice of incidents, the adjustment of length, and the choice of diction.

A wide selection of source-material lay open to them. They owed this freedom of choice to the state of knowledge at that time. The Old French poem by Thomas is now recognized as the obviously suitable source for an ending of a translation or edition of Gottfried's poem, for two reasons: he was Gottfried's own source, and the extant fragments of his text conveniently carry on from the point where Gottfried's broke off. Thus A. T. Hatto naturally rounded off his translation of Tristan into English in 1960 with a translation of the Thomas fragments. But ^{Thomas} was not universally acknowledged as Gottfried's obvious partner until several years after Kurz, Simrock and Hertz had all made their versions. Kurz, writing in the introduction to the second edition of his Tristan und Isolde in 1847, dealt at length with the question of the source. He interpreted Gottfried's lines about Thomas (line 150 f.) as referring to a history of Britain containing not the full Tristan story but only an authoritative summary of it. He considered both this book and Gottfried's actual source to be still undiscovered. In his ending he implied that the question of source was in fact unimportant:-

'Suche den echten, wer da mag!
 ... Die echte Urschrift, mir ist's kund,
 Die lag im liedersüssen Mund,
 Im reichen Hort von Freud und Schmerzen,
 Die lag in Meister Gottfrieds Herzen.' i)

i) p. 224.

Another theory, that Gottfried's Thomas was Thomas of Ercildoune, named in the first verse of the Middle English Sir Tristrem, was dismissed as untenable by Massmann in 1843 and by Kurz in 1847, but the same theory was resurrected in 1875 by Simrock, who thereby sought to justify the use of motifs from Sir Tristrem in his ending.

(Sir Tristrem was in fact eventually shown to be based on the Thomas who was Gottfried's source). Wilhelm Hertz used Thomas for his ending, but gave as his reason at the time not that it was Gottfried's source, but that it was the nearest thing to it. After Gaston Paris and other French scholars had made an intensive comparison of versions of the Tristan story, and after the Norwegian Tristramssaga, also based on Thomas, had been published in 1878, conclusively establishing the relationships of the different versions, Hertz amended his introduction in the later editions of his version to state that his ending came from Thomas, 'who was Gottfried's source'.

But because of the dissension and uncertainty about the most suitable source at the time, each of the nineteenth-century translators assembled his own selection of episodes for the ending from different sources. They based their choice primarily on compatibility with the story as told so far by Gottfried. However, other considerations also influenced their selection, especially in the case of Hermann Kurz. The ending which he composed is the only one of the three with a life of its own. Karl Simrock and Wilhelm Hertz produced reluctant, make-shift endings, Simrock twenty years after his translation, and Hertz only after he had been refused permission to use the ending

by Kurz. i) These two endings are short and unobtrusive. They do no more than finish off the story. But for Kurz the ending was of positive importance; it was to crown the whole long labour of translation which preceded it. He intended it as a tribute to his two great predecessors, Gottfried and Karl Immermann, who had both left their Tristan unfinished. Kurz stated in his introduction to the first edition of 1844 that he had embarked upon the translation firmly resolved to supply an ending for them both:- '... als ich gegen das Ende des vorigen Jahrs mit anbrechendem Winter diese Arbeit angriff, stand sogleich der Entschluss in mir fest, im Frühling, wenn er schön werden und meine Kraft noch ausreichen würde, dem Münster einen Noththurm aufzusetzen, eine freie von den Fortsetzungen Heinrichs von Freiburg und Ulrichs von Türheim unabhängige Arbeit, welche sich an Gottfrieds Werk, als die für uns authentische Gestalt der Sage, anreihen und doch zugleich, ohne die Prätension einer unmittelbaren Erbschaft, für einen Abschluss der Immermann'schen Dichtung gelten könnte.' ii) His allegiance, which in the body of the work had been to Gottfried alone, was now avowedly divided between Gottfried and Immermann. Each is apostrophized in the ending, Gottfried in 200 lines, and Immermann in 170 lines. Kurz extolled both, and

i) see above, page 81.

ii) page vi.

adapted his narrative to fit both their works, but the freedom which this still left him, and the lively spirit inspiring his continuation, made it an independent and personal creation.

For material he drew on nearly all the available sources: Gottfried's two medieval continuators, Heinrich von Freiburg and Ulrich von Türheim; the German Prose Romance i); and the Middle English poem, Sir Tristrem.ii) He also incorporated the ideas which Immermann had noted down for the final episodes. These included a comparison several lines long of womanly unhappiness and the river Jordan, which Kurz used for the transition from his opening eulogies back to the narrative:-

'So lass dir von ihm die Brücke schlagen,
Die dich soll zu der Märe tragen.
Noch sind uns Blätter, rasch geschrieben,
Von seiner edlen Hand geblieben,
Nur wenige, ach, und unvollendet:
Sie seien in dein Lied verwendet;
Das halbe Wort lass im Gedicht
Lebendig werden. Wohlan, er spricht:

-
- i) This was available in von der Hagen's and Büsching's edition of the Buch der Liebe, Berlin, 1809.
- ii) Available in Gottfrieds von Strassburg Werke, ed. F. H. von der Hagen. Breslau, 1823. vol. II.

,Glückloses Frauenleben gleicht
Des Jordans Lauf ... ' i)

But this and the two or three other short passages for which Kurz used Immermann's notes scarcely bulk large enough in the ending to give it as a whole the character of a dependent work, or to make it very like Immermann's own Tristan und Isolde.

In the selection of the most suitable diction, Kurz wavered between medieval and modern and eventually used both. The opening lines - a lament over Gottfried's demise - were translated from Heinrich von Freiburg, so that there was no immediate break with the medieval diction of the body of the translation. The description of the second Isolde's wedding-night (pages 231-2) and her revelation of Tristan's indifference (page 235) were also based largely on the narrative of Heinrich von Freiburg. However that is the complete extent of Kurz's efforts to retain the tone of translation from Middle High German, except for a quickly abandoned attempt to imitate Gottfried's own style:-

'Wie höbe Meister Gottfried an?
Da war nun freilich mein Herr Tristan
Isolden fern, Isolden nah,
Isolde hie, Isolde da -
Du stammelst nur, so schweige gar!'ii)

i) pages 228-9.

ii) page 232.

Kurz thereafter wrote freely in his own style, which here displays features which were to figure twenty years later in his free version (when he himself, writing to Franz Pfeiffer, described the style of this second version as 'in der Weise des Ihnen bekannten Schlusses.' The ending was the only part of the first version which Kurz felt that he could use almost unchanged for the second attempt.) There are passages of rich, visual description, and powerfully sustained emotional climaxes, such as the apostrophe to the guardian spirits to speed Isolde's boat to the dying Tristan:-

' ... Beschert dem schmerzegewobnen Band
 Den einzigen kurzen Augenblick,
 Ja, und besiegelt das Geschick,
 Das diesen Beiden auferlegt
 Das Höchste, was die Erde trägt
 Von Schmerzen und von Wonnen!
 Beim Lächeln der letzten Sonnen
 Das letzte, letzte Wiedersehn!
 Augen, die um Vergebung flehn;
 Ein Blick: Nun ist genug gebüsst!
 Ein Kuss, der Galle selbst versüsst,
 Den Kelch zum Freudenbecher macht
 Und rosig hell den Schooss der Nacht.
 Und so im Kuss zu sterben - nein,
 Nicht sterben, hingenommen sein
 In seligen Träumen, wie sie nur
 Auf reiner Paradiesesflur

Die Seelen träumen, wo sie blinken
 Als Thau, eh sie heruntersinken
 In diese Welt voll Schuld und Weh!
 ... O eile, eile, schwacher Kiel! ...' i)

Kurz gave rein to his love of pictorial description especially in one extensive scene, the 'Hall of Images'. In this episode, Kaedin learns Tristan's life-story from a series of wonderfully expressive paintings, displayed in a hall built by a defeated giant to Tristan's specifications. Kurz took the incident from Sir Tristrem, 'weil sie eine willkommene Gelegenheit bot, vor dem Ende noch einmal die Hauptbegebenheiten aus Tristans Leben gleichsam im Spiegel vorüberzuführen.' ii) Kurz indulged in this opportunity to the full. From two verses in Sir Tristrem (verses 62-63) he made a thousand lines. Eleven painted scenes, one for each important stage of the story, are described in colourful detail. Kurz here unfolded all the pictorial splendour, all the visual emphasis - the silks, roses, jewels and bright glances - which he had clearly admired, but found to his taste understated in Gottfried's narrative, and which he had to some extent overstated in his translation. There he had added, for example, adjectives of colour, and comparisons with flowers; the same leaning towards sentimental prettiness is obvious in these

i) page 256.

ii) 'Einleitung', page xlv.

paintings. Their borders, decorated

'Mit weissen und rothen Rosen,

Mit Engeln, die sich kosen,'

are reminiscent of the drawings of garlanded cherubs which adorned Tieck's Minnelieder. It is the Romantic view of medieval literature.

The endings supplied by Karl Simrock and Wilhelm Hertz are less distinctive. For his first edition Simrock was content to publish a translation of Gottfried's text alone, with a short indication in the notes of how the story ended. He was acting as a philologist, presenting a text for and by itself, and he felt no aesthetic compulsion to round it off. The compulsion which he eventually felt was a moral one. The tale as it stood - without the final disclosure of the lovers' innocence - could be, and was, thought improper. The slur of immorality, which had been impeding Tristan's rise to popularity since the beginning of the century, was still an important factor. In disapproving of the moral aspect Simrock resembled his 'Studienvater' Lachmann. Giving his reasons for supplying an ending for the second edition of his translation, he wrote: 'Es konnte meine Absicht nicht sein, mich mit Gottfried von Strassburg in einen Wettkampf einzulassen. Aber erst mit diesem Zusatz erscheint das Gedicht als ein Ganzes und zugleich als ein sittliches, während die frühern Fortsetzer zu dem Vorwurf der Unsittlichkeit neuen und gegründeten Anlass geboten hatten.'ⁱ⁾ Simrock therefore avoided

i) page xi.

Heinrich von Freiburg and Ulrich von Türheim, who, he noted with disapproval, seemed to have had French sources. He took from them only the finishing lines in which Mark learns that Isolde's apparent adultery was forced on her by a potion. The situation on which the whole story turns is made to seem considerably more moral by Simrock's insistence that Isolde never slept with Mark, but only with Tristan. This appearance of decency was gained at the price of contradicting incidents in Gottfried's narrative. Simrock put the conflicting statements in Gottfried's text into brackets.

He took the rest of the material for his ending from the English Sir Tristrem. He reduced the number of scenes to a minimum: betrothal and wedding-night, the Hall of Images, and the death-scene. The scene in the Hall had to be preceded by the fight with the giant who was to build it, but Simrock cut out Tristan's other adventures by making the fatal wound an old one which re-opens during a tour of the picture-gallery, when the little dog Petitcriu leaps out of one of the magic paintings and greets his master over-boisterously. Simrock considered that by using the scene to motivate the action in this way he had outdone Kurz, who seemed to him to have made only an 'idle interlude' out of the Hall of Images.ⁱ⁾ He also put into the text a veiled reference which may be to Kurz's version, although it implies that the latter was not well received:

i) ibid.

'Das hört Ihr wohl ein andermal;
Doch rühmt Ihr nicht den Bildersaal.' i)

Simrock was also pleased with himself for reinstating Petificriu as a harbinger of Death:- 'Ganz zu seinem Rechte kommt es aber erst bei mir, wo seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung als Todesbote (vgl. mein ,Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie' ...) wiederhergestellt ist.'

Simrock inserted a few personal remarks, the reference to Kurz, a comment on the weather of 1875, and a humorous reference to the research on giants done by the brothers Grimm, but on the whole he was content to narrate only the facts necessary to bring the story to a quick and decorous close.

Wilhelm Hertz, who was more of a poet and less of a philologist than Simrock, was moved to supply an ending only by aesthetic considerations, by the desire not to present an unfinished story: 'Ich habe, um dem Leser keinen blossen Torso zu bieten, eine freie Bearbeitung der alt-französischen Tristanfragmente beigelegt, welche Gottfrieds verlorener Quelle am Nächsten kommen und, wenn sie auch die Kunst dieses grossen Herzenskündigers nicht erreichen, doch das Werk eines echten Dichters sind.'ii) His 'free use' of the Thomas fragments took the form of excluding all but the absolutely essential incidents: the unconsummated wedding-night, and an adventure leading to the fatal wound and death-scene. These selected episodes were

i) page 252.

ii) page viii.

translated closely from Thomas with hardly any abridgement.

Simrock and Hertz both finished off the story quickly and simply. As in their translations, neither attempted to imitate Gottfried's style of diction or of narration. This confirms the impression that they were interested in the content rather than in the form of the narrative. Kurz was the only one of the three to match Gottfried's text with a lively composition, using stylistic features resembling those which he particularly noticed in the original - elaborate descriptions, musical diction and reflective passages. But it is clear from his rendering that he sought, and found, in the medieval text only a limited ideal of prettiness, and it is significant that, ignoring its other qualities, he should sum up his view of Gottfried's style with the word 'sweetness':-

'Euch ist Tristans Geschichte kund:
Ihr hörtet sie von einem Mund,
Dem sich kein anderer in der Welt
An Süßigkeit zur Seite stellt.' i)

The translations and endings together thus display their authors' different attitudes to the original.

i) page 248.

VI THE RECEPTION OF THE TRISTAN TRANSLATIONS

The translation by Hermann Kurz of 1843-4 was the first, and for several years the only, complete modern version of Gottfried's poem. It appeared in parts in 1843-4 and entire in 1844. Also in 1843, Massmann's edition of the Middle High German text appeared in the series Dichtungen des Deutschen Mittelalters. The latter was the first new edition of Gottfried's Tristan since those by de Groote and von der Hagen in 1821 and 1823 respectively. The pagination of the translation by Kurz was matched to this new edition by Massmann, to facilitate comparison with the original. The translation saw a second edition in 1847, but no further edition until a posthumous one in 1877, by which time the previous ones had long been out of print. There was no gold-edged, illustrated gift-edition of Tristan und Isolde, such as those of which there were many of the different Nibelungenlied versions, and such as appeared in 1860 of Hermann Kurz's other great translation, Ariosto's Rasender Roland. The dates of the editions of his Tristan und Isolde indicate that it was received at first with a warm enthusiasm, which, however, died down after a few years, when political excitement drew the public's attention away from romantic writing - but that interest in the translation was rekindled by the poet's publisher and friends thirty years later, after his death. The version by Kurz has thereafter and until the present day enjoyed a steady reputation, holding its own in the face of the strong competition from the translations by Wilhelm Hertz, and the less dangerous competition from

Karl Simrock's version. Kurz was already well-known as a translator of foreign poets. His version of Tristan had the advantage over the other two of having been the first in the field, so that it had already been accepted as the authoritative modern version before they appeared. Reinhold Bechstein paid it one of many tributes; in the introduction to his own edition of the Middle High German text in 1869 he stated that Kurz, by often 'hitting the nail on the head' in his poetic rendering, had helped him with difficulties encountered in compiling his own explanatory notes. i) Of the three translations, that by Kurz gave the most faithful impression of the language and style of Gottfried's poem. Its lively and original lyrical ending, too, attracted more notice than the makeshift endings by Simrock and Hertz did, and thereby drew ^{the} attention of the public to the torso which it adorned. The translation and the new ending became as a whole so closely identified in the public's mind with Gottfried's work, that for an edition of the latter in 1925 an editor of the Deutsche Bibliothek in Berlin, Alfred Heinrich, printed Kurz's complete work, with no explanation of how Gottfried's fragment came to have an ending, an ending, moreover, which contained references to nineteenth-century poets.

i) Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters, vol. 7. p. 90-1.

When the version by Wilhelm Hertz appeared, it was also widely accepted as an adequate substitute for Gottfried's work, and it became more popular than Kurz's version among the following generation, satisfying the taste of those who preferred modern poetic diction to an imitation of medieval language. An advantage in the eyes of many was that it was an abridged version. Alfred Heinrich took his introductory summary of the Tristan story for the above-mentioned edition expressly from the version by Hertz, apparently oblivious to the fact that the story is the same in Gottfried, Kurz and Hertz. (The length of Gottfried's poem is one reason for the small number of literal translations. There was no unabridged rendering into English until A. T. Hatto's translation appeared in 1960, although it was preceded by many abridged versions.) After the first edition of the translation by Hertz, which appeared in 1877, the same year as the enlarged, posthumous edition of the one by Kurz, there was a second edition in 1894, and then more and more frequent reprints at the beginning of the twentieth century, one approximately every two years. i) Hertz's version was in time to catch the enormous backwash of interest from Richard Wagner's Tristan und Isolde, which was first performed in 1865 and subsequently became so popular that it is perhaps the best-known of all the many treatments of the Tristan story in modern times. Enthusiasts for it who

i) 1901, '04, '07, '09, '11, '12, '19, '21, '23, '27, etc.

wished to read Wagner's medieval source would turn to Hertz's work as the most recent and poetic version. Hertz was known at Bayreuth as an admirer of Wagner. He aided Cosima Wagner in the productions there in the 1890s. i) The sales of his translation undoubtedly profited from the success of Wagner's masterpiece.

This great work of Wagner's may be counted as a child of Kurz's translation, for that was the version in which Wagner first read the tale. Oswald Marbach became Wagner's brother-in-law in 1837, and doubtless spoke to him of his work on Tristan during the next few years, but for the complete story Wagner had to turn to the translation by Kurz. The story as presented by Kurz seized his imagination; however, the portrayal of the linguistic features of Middle High German made, apparently, less impact, or at least too little to prevail against the force of the Northern rhythms in his subsequent preparatory reading for the Siegfried dramas. The overpowering vigour of the Nibelungen once again overwhelmed the gentler graces of Tristan, and the diction of both his Tristan und Isolde and of Der Ring der Nibelungen echoes the alliterative strength of the Edda.

Simrock's Tristan-translation was the least successful of the three. Unlike his modern versions of other

i) Ludwig Schiedemair, Musikalische Begegnungen.
Cologne and Krefeld, 1948. p. 26.

Middle High German works, especially his Nibelungenlied, which was well received on its first appearance in 1827, received Goethe's approbation, became more and more popular and reached its fortieth edition in 1880 - unlike these others, his Tristan und Isolde won no acclamation. Even his colleagues and admirers wrote it off as unsuccessful. It saw only two editions, the one of 1855, and the second with a new ending in 1875. Wagner mentioned a feeling of repulsion for the Tristan story at one stage of his preoccupation with it; this feeling is damningly attributed by Wolfgang Golther to his having re-read Gottfried's poem in Simrock's translation. i) Simrock's Tristan und Isolde added nothing to his reputation; he had made his name as translator of the Nibelungenlied and remained known as such; but the names of Kurz and Hertz remained linked with that of Gottfried's Tristan. Kurz's translation was named as one of his main achievements in a celebratory poem declaimed at the unveiling of a monument to him in Reutlingen in 1889. The versions by him and Hertz were called 'klassische Leistungen der klassischen deutschen Übersetzungskunst' by Harry Maync in 1929. ii)

It is doubtful whether any of the translations achieved as much as was hoped of them in arousing general interest in the Middle High German original. The editors of the Middle High German text also set out with high hopes

i) op. cit. p. 423-4.

ii) Immermann, ed. cit. p. 557.

of making it popular; after Massmann's edition in 1843 there was an attempt to bring it to a yet wider public in Bechstein's commentaried edition of 1869-70. In 1864 Franz Pfeiffer wrote in a general introduction to the series in which Bechstein's edition appeared, Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters, that there was a flourishing interest in medieval literature in translation, an interest which, he hoped, indicated a potential appetite for the originals. He felt that even the best translations were poor substitutes for the medieval masterpieces, and that everybody who could should turn to the originals. But the hopes of both translators and editors were doomed to disappointment. The enormous interest which was shown in the Tristan story was never matched by interest in its greatest medieval teller. The difficulties presented to the non-philologist by Middle High German works in the original were too great for the casual reader to plunge into them. Gottfried's poem had the exceptionally formidable barrier of the lengthy gnomic opening. In spite of the general enthusiasm for medieval literature at the beginning of the century, the anticipated spread of interest had never taken place. The early philologists had looked forward to Middle High German texts in every home, but in 1831 Immermann had had to admit that Gottfried's Tristan was known only to philologists, and it was necessary for him to make a modern version to rescue it from this fate.

'Es ist Jammerschade, wenn dergleichen nur für Stubengelehrte oder langjaarige Altdeutsche vorhanden ist.' i) As philology became established as a branch of learning it lost the general participation and interest of the crowd. By 1864 the situation had not improved since Immermann's time; Franz Pfeiffer wrote then in the introduction cited above that the classical Middle High German works were still 'closed books' to the general public, with the exception of the omnipotent Nibelungenlied. Interest in the latter flourished more and more during the period of belligerent nationalism and in 1868 Wilhelm Jordan began an immense modern version and strode over Germany declaiming it.

The general ignorance of Middle High German works in the original is illustrated by two things. One is a remark by Becher, the publisher of Kurz's 1843 translation. He later came across a copy of von der Hagen's 1823 edition of the Middle High German text and reproached Kurz for having claimed to have supplied him with the first modern version. ii) This shows that the early editions of Tristan were not widely known in the middle of the century, and

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- i) Michael Beer's Briefwechsel, ed. Eduard von Schenk. Leipzig, 1837. p. 258.
- ii) Hermann Fischer, 'Hermann Kurz und Franz Pfeiffer', Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum ... XXVI. 1900. p. 181-2.

that a layman was unfamiliar even with what Middle High German looked like, or it could be that he was conditioned to 'modernizations' which were indistinguishable from the original Middle High German. In either case, he did not recognize the original text as such. The other indication that Gottfried's poem was not widely read in the original is the way in which each of the three modernizations, for all their differences, was hailed as a faithful reproduction of Gottfried's style and diction. This was perhaps nearly true of the version by Kurz, but scarcely of those by Simrock and Hertz.

The style of Gottfried's masterpiece was not, could not be conveyed in the modern language. But the translations may be said to have contributed to the circulation of the story in the nineteenth century. This is not as much as their authors hoped of them, but it was a noteworthy achievement.

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- II Correspondence.
- III Critical works
 - a) The reception of Middle High German literature in the nineteenth century.
 - b) Biography and literary criticism.
 - c) Middle High German style.
- IV Bibliographies.

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