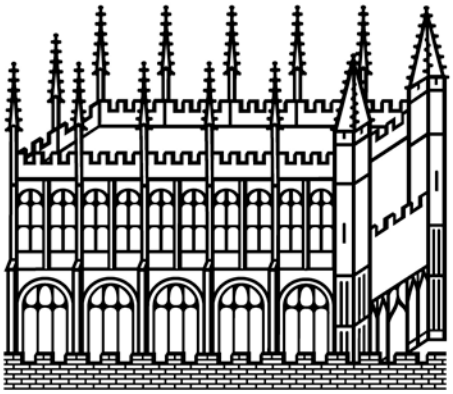


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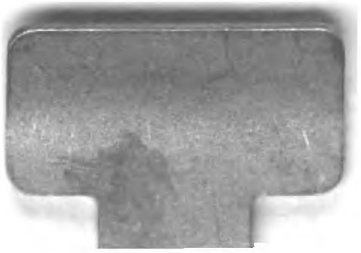


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TRISTAN AND ISOLT

A Study of the Sources of the Romance

II

By Gertrude Schoepperle



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Gertrude Schoepperle

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VI. AN EXAMINATION OF THE *ESTOIRE* FOR TRACES OF CELTIC TRADITION.

A. THE NAMES IN THE *ESTOIRE.*

From our study of the relation of the extant texts it would seem that we are safe in assuming that the names in the Eilhart version were in the *estoire.* We submit to the reader a brief statement of the conclusions that better qualified investigators have reached in regard to the origin of these names[1].

In some of the incidents the personages bear French names: Blankeflur (Thomas, *Blancheflor*)[2], Ûgrîm (Béroul, *Ogrin*)[3], Aquitain (Gottfried, *Melôt petit von Aquitân*), Thomas, *Melot* (?)[4], *Delekors schevalier*[5] (*chevalier de la cour?*), Gymêle von der Schitrîêle[6] (Prose Romance, *Camille*)[7].

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[1] We confine our examination to the names in Eilhart, although by so doing we may be omitting a few that were found in the French original. M. J. Loth in his *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris 1912, seems to us to have fallen frequently into the error of attributing to the *estoire* names that were introduced by later redactors. For examples see *Romanic Review* 1912, III, 431—5.

[2] Bédier II, 124—5, and note 1.

[3] Bédier II, 124, and note 3.

[4] cf. supra, Ch. II J; Ch. V J 2.

[5] Bédier II, 118 n.

[6] Lichtenstein, cxciii—iv; Bédier II, 118 n; cf. J. Kelemina, *Untersuchungen zur Tristansage,* Teutonia 16, Leipzig 1910, 7562.

[7] Bédier II, 377.

The origin of the names *Perenis*[1] and *Andret*[2] is a matter of dispute.

Of the Celtic names, some may be survivals of the Celtic story, others may have been introduced by the redactor of the *estoire*, or a French predecessor. The French redactors, whether they wrote on the continent or in England, would naturally be familiar with the more usual names of their Celtic neighbors. Our knowledge of the phonology of the Celtic dialects previous to the twelfth century is not sufficiently accurate to permit definite conclusions as to exactly which Celtic dialect or dialects the names preserved in the Tristan texts represent.

The name Tristrant (Thomas: *Tristan, Tristran*; Béroul: *Tristran, Tristrant*), probably of Pictish[3] origin, seems to have been transmitted to the French by the Welsh or Cornish. The name Îsalde (Béroul: *Iseut, Yseut*; Thomas: *Isolt, Ysolt, Isol, Ysode, Yselt, Yseut*) has been connected with various Germanic names: Ethylda, Iswalda, and Ishild. Its origin has also been sought in the Welsh Essylt[4]. Opinion is also divided in regard to the name Môrolt (Béroul: *Morho*[*u*]*t*; Thomas: *Morholt*)[5].

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[1] Bédier II, 122, attributes it to the Bretons; Loth 99. 103. 107, is doubtful.

[2] Bédier II, 120, attributes it to the Bretons or Welsh; Loth 93—4, considers it an Anglo-Saxon name.

[3] Zimmer (*Zts. f. frz. Sp. u. Lit.* XIII, p. 73) identifies Tristan with the Drest filius Talorgen who reigned over the Picts from 780 to 785 (*Annals of Tigernach*; *Annals of Ulster*, Rolls Series). This view has been generally accepted. Cf. Bédier II, 105—8, and bibliography. Also E. Brugger, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vol. CXXIX, p. 134 ff. M. J. Loth rejects this identification, *op. cit.* 16 – 23. 95—6. He considers the name Tristan to be of Welsh or Cornish origin, transmitted to the French by writing.

[4] For this name, as for Tristan, cf. Bédier II, 112—5, and bibliography, Loth 23—30. 95.

[5] cf. Bédier II, 117. 136; Golther, *op. cit.* 1907, p. 17. 21; J. Loth, *op. cit.* 29, note 1. The question is discussed infra Ch. VI C 1.

The word *mark* is attested from the earliest times equally among the Celts and Teutons as a common noun meaning *horse*[1]. Among the Welsh and Irish we find numerous stories dating from an early period, of a king Mark or Eochaid (Ir. *ech* = *horse*) who had horse's ears, and of an unfortunate servant who possessed the secret. This story, the reader will remember, is told, in the Béroul version, of the uncle of Tristan[2]. The barons one day ask the dwarf what it means that he and the king have so much talk together. The dwarf is drunk, and declares foolishly that he is willing they should know, but does not wish to break his faith to the king. He offers to lead them to the Gué Aventuros, and, arrived there, to put his head into the ditch by the hawthorn-tree and tell the thorn. The plan is carried out. The barons then return to the king and tell him that they know his secret. The king is angry, and, declaring that the misfortune of having horse's ears has come upon him through the dwarf, draws his sword and kills him.

The details of the Celtic versions are the same as those found universally in popular tradition[3]:

A king has some animal member (the ears of a horse, goat, or ass, or the head of an ape). Wishing to guard the secret, he kills one after another the persons who act as barber to him. At length the hero is called upon to perform the office. He escapes, but

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[1] Old Irish *marc*, Welsh *march*; Old Norse *marha*; O. H. G. *marah*; M. H. G. *marc, march*; O. E. *mear*.

[2] Béroul 1306—51.

[3] *Revue Celtique* II, 197 (fifteenth century manuscript); K. Meyer, *Stories and Songs from Irish Manuscripts, Otia Mersiana* III (tenth century); *Cymmrodor* VI, p. 181—3; Cambry, *Voyage dans le Finistère en 1794—5* (Paris, no date) II, 287; *Revue Celtique* XXXII, 413.

must promise never to reveal the secret. He is so much oppressed by it that he seeks relief, usually at the advice of others, by telling it to some inanimate thing, usually a chink or aperture in wood or stone. Some plant grows from the spot, and out of it a musical instrument is made. This instrument, when played, utters the words: 'The king has horse's ears'.

When the secret is made known [1], the king either leaves the country or repents and reveals his deformity [2].

The story appears in a very corrupt form in Tristan. Of the nine [3] steps in the narrative, which most of the popular versions retain, the Tristan poet has dropped all but three, and changed the character of the story by making the possessor of the secret tell it to the aperture with the confessed purpose of being overheard by human beings. It is impossible to decide, without more data than we possess, what was the intention of the poet in introducing the episode into the Tristan narrative. The words of Mark, when he is about to kill the dwarf in punishment for having betrayed his

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[1] The manner in which the secret is made known varies slightly in the different versions.

[2] *Ovid, Metamorphoses,* Bk. XI, iv; B. Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen,* Innsbruck 1868, p. 46—51; *Archiv für slavische Philologie,* XIV, 1892, p. 148—50; *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. populare* III, 1884, p. 370; Wuk Stephanowitch Karadschitsch, *Volksmärchen der Serben,* Berlin 1854, translation by the author's daughter Wilhelmina, p. 225—8; A. Coelho, *Contos populares portuguezes,* Lisboa 1879, p. 117, no. 50. For further references see Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* under *Midas.*

[3] 1. The king has the ears of an animal. 2. The king has the habit of killing his barber. 3. The hero is called upon to act as barber. 4. The hero escapes death on condition that he will not reveal the secret. 5. The hero is oppressed by the secret. 6. A cure is suggested. 7. He is to tell the secret to an inanimate thing. 8. The inanimate thing betrays the secret. 9. The king's behavior on hearing of the betrayal.

secret[1], suggest that Béroul had in mind some episode, now lost, which accounted for the king's disfigurement. It is also imposible to decide whether the incident is an integral part of the story and belongs to a very old stratum of the narrative[2], or whether it is a mere scrap of Celtic tradition, added by some late *conteur* without any appropriateness except in the name[3].

There is a tradition of a King Mark of Cornwall in the *Vita Sancti Pauli Aureliani*[4], a sixth century saint, composed from Welsh sources by an Armorican monk, Wrmonoc of Landevenec, in 884. We are told that while the saint was living in Britain, rumors of his virtues reached the ears of Mark, King of Cornwall, of whom the hagiographer speaks as of great renown.

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[1] Béroul 1343—6; cf. supra, Ch. V J 2 c, p. 244 ff.

[2] For previous discussions of this episode v. Muret, Béroul, p. viii; Bédier II, p. 143. 156, n. 3; Golther, *op. cit.* 1907, p. 107—8.

[3] We have noted the name Mark independently of this story in the following Celtic sources: 1. Margg or Morc, steward of the King of the Fomori, *Book of Leinster*, fac-simile 160a (cited by Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 590 n.); 2. Marc, one of the foes killed by Cuchulainn in the *Táin*, *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, cited by Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 590 n.; 3. March, *The Book of Llan Dav*, *Liber Landavensis*, ed. Gwenogwryn Evans, Oxford 1893, p. 225, l. 2—3. 235, 10; 4. March, *Mabinogion*, ed. J. Loth I, 299; in compounds J. Loth, *Crestomathie Bretonne*, Paris 1890, pp. 50, 219.

The use of the word *horse* as a proper name is seen in the Germanic Hengist, Horsa (cf. J. Grimm, *Mythologie*[3], p. 621); in Greek compounds of ἵππος (cf. Fick, *Griechische Personennamen*, p. 393), and in Sanskrit (cf. von Negelein, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 1902, p. 21, n. 2). Cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, Bk. 10. An animal member (such as horse's ears) might be the characteristic of the offspring of a human being and a beast. For transformations of men into animals cf. Negelein, *loc. cit.*; J. Grimm, *Mythologie*[3], 1047 ff.; Kittredge, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes* VIII, p. 149 ff. There is a curious example of the superstition under discussion included in the story of Diarmaid and Grainne. See O'Grady's edition, *Ossianic Society Transactions* III, p. 129 ff.

[4] AA. SS. mens. mart., vol. II, p. 114a. Cf. *Revue Celtique*, vol. V, p. 431.

'Interea cum haec et alia multa bona opera Dei gratia cooperante in illo agebantur, fama ejus regis Marci pervolat ad aures quem alio nomine Quonomorium vocant. Qui eo tempore amplissime producto sub limite regendo moenia sceptri, vir magnus imperiali potentiae atque potentissimus habebatur, ita ut quatuor linguae diversarum gentium uno ejus subjacerent imperio.'

King Mark accordingly sends for the saint, and having convinced himself of his excellent qualities offers him complete ecclesiastical authority in his realm. The saint, however, steals away secretly, being unwilling to accept pontifical authority.

The following names of minor characters are generally held to be Celtic: The name *Brangêne* (Béroul, *Brengain*, &c.; Thomas, *Bringvain* &c.)[1] has been identified with the Welsh Branwen. In Tînas of Lîtan (Béroul, *Dinas of Lidan*, Prose Romance *Dynas*)[2] the French poet is, perhaps, interpreting as the name of a person the Welsh (or possibly the Cornish) words for *great fortress*. *Kehenis* (Thomas, *Kaherdin*)[3], *Pleherin* (Thomas, *Breri?*)[4], Rivalin (Thomas, *Rivalen*)[5], Havelîn (Thomas, *Hoël*)[6], and Kurvenâl (Thomas, *Guvernal*; Béroul, *Governal*)[7] are also Celtic. Utânt (Thomas *Huden*; Béroul *Hu[s]dent*[8]) has been conjectured to have a Celtic origin.

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[1] Bédier II, 119; Loth 103—4.

[2] F. Lot, *Romania* XXIV, p. 337; similarly Loth, 90—92. 104; M. Muret identifies Lidan with Lidford, a village in Devonshire, formerly known as Hlydanford, v. glossary in his edition of Béroul.

[3] Bédier II, 119—20, considers the name Kaherdin Breton or Welsh. Loth 104, says it cannot be Breton. He believes it to be Cornish.

[4] Bédier II, 120, Welsh or Breton.

[5] Bédier II, 122. 124—5; Loth 99—100.

[6] Bédier II, 123; F. Lot, *Rom.* XXIX, 380—402; Loth 99.

[7] Bédier II, 119 – 20; Loth 103.

[8] Loth 106.

The following names have not been explained: Rîôle[1] (Prose Romance, *Agrippes*), Galîag[2], Mîlîag[3], Garîôle (Prose Romance, *Gargeolain*)[4], Nampêtenis (Prose Romance, *Bedalis*)[5], Parlasîn[6], Plôt[7], Pîloise[8].

Blankenlant (Blanche Lande)[9], and Blankenwalt[10] might be found in more than one district in Norman England and France. Britanjâ[11], Karahes (Carhaix)[12], and Tintanjôl[13] would probably be known to French poets of the twelfth century. Lîtan (Lidan), as we have seen, has been localized in Wales. For Gânôje[14] various suggestions have been brought forward. Lohenois has been identified with the Pictish territory Lothian south of the Firth-of-Forth[15].

There is one passage that seems to show a rather intimate acquaintance with the geography of Brittany and Cornwall. The poet knows that there is a St. Michael's Mount in each.

> 'zu Kurnevâles dâr ouch hîz
> eine stat rechte alsô die:
> vor wâr mag ich daz sagen hie,

---

[1] Rîôle (von Nantis) *OX* 5542. 5709. 5732. 5774. 5787. 5799. 5811. 6033. 8581. 8595.
[2] *OX* 6471. 6546. 6568; cf. Bédier II, 118 n.
[3] *OX* 6472; cf. Bédier II, 118 n.
[4] Bédier II, 118 n.
[5] Bédier II, 118 n.; 135. M. Bédier proposes *le Nain Bedenis*.
[6] *OX* 8268; Lichtenstein cxlv.
[7] *OX* 8374. 8400; cf. Golther 1907, p. 79.
[8] *OX* 7131 ff.
[9] *OX* 6284. 6396. 7521. 7541. 7606; Loth 78—9. 80—2. 125—6.
[10] *OX* 6619.
[11] *OX* 3878. 5020. 5021.
[12] *OX* 5557 and *passim* ff.
[13] *OX* 74 and *passim* ff.
[14] *OX* 4997; F. Lot, *Romania* XXV, 16—8.
[15] F. Lot, *Romania* XXV, 16. XXVII, 608; Loth, *Revue Celtique* XVI, p. 86; Bédier II, 108; Loth, *Contributions* 88.

daz sie hîzen beide
zû sant Michelssteine
und wâren vil nâch ebin rîche
und jârmarket was dâ gelîche:
zu sente Michahêlis misse
enwart dô nicht vorgezzen
grôz jârmarket alle jâr[1].'

The names in the *estoire* point to the same conclusion as that which we have arrived at from a study of its narrative elements. The poem is based on a Celtic romance. Many of the incidents in it are drawn from the common fund of European folk-lore. Others show the influence of French courtly literature of the latter half of the twelfth century, including the popular *matière de Bretagne.*

B. THE BIRTH AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF TRISTAN AND MINOR TRAITS OF HIS STORY.

1. THE CONCEPTION AND BIRTH OF TRISTAN.

We have studied the elements of the *estoire* which seem to betray the influence of a courtly redactor of the latter half of the twelfth century, and have thus

[1] *OX* 7384—94. This passage is corrupt in MS. D and in the prose redaction. In Béroul Ogrin goes to the *Mont* to purchase garments for Isolt when Tristan brings her back from the forest.

'Li hermites en vet au Mont,
Por les richeces qui la sont.
. . . . . .
Ogrins l'ermite tant achate
Et tant acroit et tant barate
Pailes, vairs et gris et hermine,
Que richement vest la roïne.' 2735 ff.

Cf. Loth, *op. cit.* 86—7.

arrived at an approximate date for the composition of the poem. We have studied the narrative technique in the passages whose elements, current everywhere in popular tradition, it was impossible to trace to one origin rather than another. We shall now examine the portions of the *estoire* which did not fall under either of these categories. We shall study them with especial reference to the question so frequently posed and so variously answered, of the possible Celtic origin of the tradition. For completeness we shall include in the discussion the fragments of tradition outside the *estoire* to which a Celtic origin has been assigned.

Before asking ourselves whether the account of the birth of Tristan in the *estoire* goes back to an older tradition, it is desirable to examine birth-stories which are actually preserved to us dating from more primitive times. The following account shows the curious belief that conception is caused by a worm swallowed in a drink of water[1].

> Findchoém, Cathbad's daughter, Amargein's wife, suffered from 'hesitation of offspring', so that she bore no children. But a certain druid met her and said: 'If my fee were good', quoth he, 'you would bear a noble son to Amargein.' — 'That will be true', quoth she, 'good shall be thy fee from me.' So the druid said: 'Come to the well tomorrow, and I will go with thee'. So on the morrow the twain fare forth to the well, and the druid sang spells and prophecies over the spring. And the druid said: 'Wash thyself therewith, and thou wilt bring forth a son, and no child will be less pious than he to his mother's kin, to wit, to the Connaughtmen.'
>
> Then the damsel drank a draught out of the well, and with the draught she swallowed a worm, and the worm was in the hand of the boy (as he lay) in his mother's womb, and it pierced the hand and consumed it.

[1] Windisch, *Irische Texte* III, p. 392—3, ed. W. Stokes, *Cóir Anmann (Fitness of Names)* § 251.

In another case conception is caused by eating a mess of pottage[1]:

> After the end of a time Cormac, king of Ulster, 'the man of the three gifts', forsook Echaid's daughter, because she was barren save for one daughter that she had borne to Cormac after the making of the pottage which her mother — the woman from the elf-mounds — gave her. Then she said to her mother: 'Bad is what thou hast given me: it will be a daughter that I shall bear.'

In the Life of Saint Molasius of Devenish[2] we are told that the holy man's mother dreamed 'that she got seven fragrant apples and the last apple of them that she took into her hand, her grasp could not contain it for its size; gold (as it seemed to her) was not lovelier than the apple'. Her husband interprets the dream as promising 'an offspring excellent and famous, with which the mouths of all Ireland shall be filled', an interpretation justified, of course, by the saint's birth. The dream prophetic of the birth and future greatness of the hero is an element that appears in many stories. It may be that, as this story was originally told, Molasius was the direct result of his mother's eating the apple. The same manuscript indeed contains an account of the saint's blessing a cup of water and giving it to a childless woman to drink with the intention that she should thereby become pregnant. We are told that the very noble bishop Finnacha was the result[3].

As the significance of conception became more clearly understood[4], distinguished heroes were credited

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[1] *Revue Celtique* XXII, 18.

[2] S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* I, 18 II, 19. The *Life* dates from the sixteenth century.

[3] *loc. cit.* I, 23. II, 23.

[4] E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, London 1910 II, 249 ff. The author speaks of the Irish stories I, 9.

with extraordinary fathers, and marvellous stories associated with their conception. The heroes of primitive Aryan tradition are almost all born out of wedlock[1]. The father is a god or hero from afar[2].

In the following version of the *Conception of Cuchulainn*, there is a combination of various primitive ideas:

Dechtire . . . asked for a drink in a copper vessel. They brought her a drink. As she lifted the vessel to her lips, she felt a little animal in the liquid. And when the creature had been removed from her lips, no one saw anything more. The creature gave a sudden leap, carried by the breath of Dechtire.

She went to sleep then, and during the night she saw something: a man came to her and spoke to her. He told her that she was pregnant by him. It was he who had brought her into the country with her companions; it was by him that they had been guided under the form of birds. The child she had brought up was he; and now it was he who had entered her womb and who would take the name Setanta. He was Lugh, son of Ethniu.

---

[1] In primitive societies the question of legitimacy is of small importance. Bastards are at no disadvantage in primitive law. In societies in which the mother-right prevails, the mother alone counts as the source of kinship; the identity of the father is a matter of no consequence. The male relative most directly responsible for the child is the maternal uncle. Even in the communities where father-right exists, the illegitimate children are usually accepted into the family. If the father of a bastard does not take it, it enters into the mother's family and inherits in due course from the father. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* II, 178; cf. *Ancient Laws of Ireland, Book of Aicill* cxlvii.

[2] J. G. von Hahn, *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien*, Jena 1876, *Arische Aussetzungs- und -Rückkehr-Formel*, p. 341 ff. A. Nutt: *The Aryan Expulsion- and -Return Formula in the Folk and Hero Tales of the Celts, Folk Lore Record* IV, London 1881, p. 1—44.

> The young girl became pregnant then. There was great dispute about it among the Ulstermen, for she was known to have no husband. They feared that Conchobar, in a moment of drunkenness, had rendered his sister pregnant, for she slept beside him. Conchobar then betrothed his sister to Sualdam, son of Rôg. Sore was her shame, to go to her husband pregnant. She went to the tree of . . ., vomited, and lost the germ that she bore in her womb, and became virgin again. She gave birth to a son, and the son was the child of the three years. And he bore the name of Setanta until he killed the dog of Culann the smith: it was only then that he was called 'the hound of Culann', Cuchulainn[1].

Here a conservative redactor seems to be trying to combine two accounts, one in which Cuchulainn is represented as conceived by the god Lugh (entering into the mother's womb in the form of a little animal?), and a second in which he is represented as of legitimate birth.

There is something similar in the account of the birth of Conchobar:

Ness goes to the river Conchobar to seek a drink for Cathbad her husband. She strains the water in the cup through her veil, and brings it to him.

> 'Let a light be kindled', said Cathbad, 'that we may see the water.' There were two worms in the water. Cathbad bared his sword over the woman with intent to kill her. 'Drink thyself, then,' said Cathbad, 'what thou wouldst have me drink, or thou wilt be killed, if thou drink not the water.' Then the woman drinks of the water twice, and she drinks a worm at either draught. Thereupon the woman grew pregnant for as long a time as every woman is pregnant, and some say that it was by the worms that she was pregnant, But Fachtna Fathach was the leman of the maiden, and he caused this pregnancy instead of Cathbad, the noble druid[2].

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[1] *Compert Conchulaind* MS. *LU*, ed. *Irische Texte* I, p. 138—9. We have followed the French translation of L. Duvau, *Légende de la Conception de Cûchulainn, Revue Celtique* IX, p. 12.

[2] *Compert Concobuir, Revue Celtique* VI, 179—80.

Mongán, like Cuchulainn, is represented as the son of a god:

> Fiachna Lurga, the father of Mongán, was sole king of the province . . . A message went from Aedán to him that he would come to his aid. . . . Then Fiachna went across. He left his queen at home. While the hosts were fighting in Scotland, a noble-looking man went to his wife in his stronghold in Rathmore of Moylinny. At the time he went there were not many in the stronghold. He asked the woman to arrange a place of meeting. . . . 'If we, I and thou, make love, then wilt bear a son thereof. That son will be famous: he will be Mongán . . .'
>
> And Fiachna returned to his country. And the woman was pregnant and bore a son, even Mongán son of Fiachna . . . So that this Mongán is a son of Manannán mac Lir, though he is called Mongán son of Fiachna[1].

In the society which the redactor of the *estoire* addressed somewhat more modern ideas prevailed. It was desirable[2] that the hero should be of legitimate birth. In the Norse redaction of the version of Thomas Tristan resents the slight upon his birth made by the usurper Morgan.

> 'You have lied, Duke, for I was begotten in honest wedlock, and that I will prove to you if you dare to press the matter further[3].'

In this statement the poet sets to rest whatever uncertainties may have been lingering in his readers' minds from acquaintance with older versions of the story. In all the extant versions Tristan is born, although perhaps not conceived, in lawful wedlock[4].

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[1] Meyer and Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran* I, 44—5.

[2] cf. Huet, *La légende de Charlemagne bâtard, Le Moyen-âge* XV, 161—73.

[3] ed. Kölbing, *op. cit.* XXIV [30], p. 28, l. 22.

[4] In Eilhart the account of the union of Blanchefleur and Rivalin is hurried over. Rivalin is represented as serving Mark as a vassal for the purpose of gaining Mark's sister. Dr. Kele-

In all of them the circumstances of his birth are tragic. In Eilhart, the child is cut from the dead mother's womb [1], a trait familiar in popular tradition [2]. In the redaction of Thomas, Blanchefleur gives birth to Tristan in the throes of her grief for her dead husband [3]. In the Prose Romance, Helyabel, deserted by the faithless Meliadus, brings forth her child in the forest [4].

It is usual in primitive stories for the hero to be brought up in obscurity, to display extraordinary powers in his youth, and then, coming to a brilliant assembly, to surpass the greatest in the land [5]. Some of these characteristics we find in the *estoire*, all of them in the redaction of Thomas. The latter seems to have supplemented his source by a considerable number of elements drawn from the familiar story known as the Exile and Return [6].

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mina, *Studien zur Tristansage* (*Teutonia* 16), p. 83—91 et passim, has objected that the terms in which Rivalin's hope is expressed

'daz wart umme daz getân,
daz her gerne wolde hân
sîn swestir ze einem wîbe (*OX* 83—6)

do not necessarily imply marriage. Dr. Kelemina accordingly infers that Tristan is represented in Eilhart as an illegitimate child. This inference seems to us unwarranted. If Rivalin hopes to receive Blanchefleur from Mark, it can hardly be on other terms than those of lawful marriage. Mark's graciousness to Tristan when he learns that he is his sister's son is also proof that the poet intended to represent Rivalin's union with Blanchefleur as conforming to his hearers' ideas of honor. For the expression *ze wîbe hân* as implying marriage cf. Gierach, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, February 11, 1912.

[1] *OX* 99—101.

[2] cf. references in Bédier II, 197; also *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, Argyllshire Series* IV (*The Fians*, London 1891), p. 285. The hero of Persian legend, Rustem, had to be cut from his mother's womb. Similarly, in Germanic tradition, Volsung, cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Göttingen 1854, I, p. 361.

[3] Bédier I, Ch. II.

[4] Löseth, § 16 from MS. 334 fo. 28; similarly Bédier II, 322.

[5] cf. J. G. Hahn, *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien, loc. cit.*

[6] Bédier I, Ch. II—X; cf. II, 197.

The story of the conception and birth of Tristan in the extant texts contains no traits that cannot be accounted for as the invention of a French poet of the twelfth century. The names of the hero's father and mother support this view[1]. Whether these accounts are modifications of a Celtic tradition or the invention of the French redactors, it is impossible definitely to decide[2].

If there was a Celtic story of Tristan's birth, it was of the character of the Old Irish accounts that we have cited. It would be manifestly impossible to present such a story to a twelfth century French audience. The story of Rivalin in the *estoire*, and of Meliadus in the French Prose Romance may be the survival of a Celtic tradition of a god or hero coming from afar and, after the conception of the child, disappearing, like Lugh and Manannán, into the unknown. Tristan's close association with Mark, his maternal uncle, would be natural in such a tradition. The figure of Rivalin is drawn with considerable uncertainty[3] in the extant texts. No two accounts of his history agree, and Tristan's interest in his paternal inheritance[4] is extremely slight.

[1] cf. Bédier II, 125.

[2] For previous dicussions of the tradition of the birth and childhood of Tristan cf. Golther (1907) 142—7; Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen 1906 I, 121 ff.

[3] cf. Bédier II, 194—5 and notes. Also *OX* 8135—205, 8553—75. In Eilhart the death of Rivalin occurs some years after Tristan has married and is established in Brittany. When he hears the news he decides to pay a visit to Queen Isolt before setting out for his own land. He and Gorvenal go to Cornwall, disguised as minstrels. They return to Brittany, muster several hundred men, and set out for Lohnois, where Tristan remains two years. He then leaves the realm in charge of Gorvenal, and returns to Brittany. We have a similar treatment of the hero's regaining his inheritance in the romance of *Lanzelet*, ed. K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt a. M. 1845, 8041 ff.; and in Crestien's *Erec* 6510.

[4] For the location of Lohnois cf. F. Lot, *Romania* XXV, 16—18.

2. THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF TRISTAN.

a) Feats of strength and skill.

1. Jousting, wrestling, &c.

Like the other heroes of popular romances of the twelfth century[1], Tristan excelled in the accomplishments cultivated by the knights of the time. Gorvenal's teaching is thus described:

'her lîz ez spelin unde tobin
mit andern kindern genûch
und lêrte in grôzin gevûch
mit hendin und mit beinen
werfen mit den steinen,
loufin unde springen,
listlîchin ringen,
die schaft schîzen
nâch manlîchen genîzen.
her hîz in wesin milde
und lêrte in mit dem schilde
ritterlîchen rîten,
und wie he in strîte
slûge mit dem swerte[2].'

Wace mentions similar exercises in which a knight is expected to be proficient.

'Si ont les chevaliers josté
E li baceler escrémi
Pière jeté, lancié, sali[3].'

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[1] For wrestling cf. *e. g.*, *Lanzelet* 282; *Trojanerkrieg* 6172 ff.; *Gr. Wolfdietrich* 264; *Walberan* 1038; *Parzival* 538_{19}; *Doon de Mayence,* p. 280—2; Crestien de Troyes, *Erec* 5994 ff.; Hartmann von Aue, *Erec* 9280—5. For the others, cf. A. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben*, *op. cit.* Index s. v. *Tjost, Steinwerfen, Lanze, Springen.*

[2] *OX* 138—52.

[3] Wace, *Roman de Brut,* ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen 1836, 4443—6.

Jousting, fencing, putting the stone, hurling the lance[1], wrestling[2], and leaping, are accomplishments in which Tristan's surpassing skill is emphasized in various texts.

Wrestling is one of the chief exercises of the Old Irish heroes. We are told, for example, of Cuchulainn:

> When they were wrestling he threw the same three times fifty of them under him on the ground and all of them together were not sufficient to throw him[3].

2. Leaping.

Tristan's ability in leaping is emphasized at several points in the narrative. When the flour has been strewn on the floor, and a footprint would incriminate him, he reaches Isolt's bed by a leap[4]. When he is being led to death, he begs to be allowed to stop in the chapel to pray, and saves himself by leaping from its window into the sea[5]. When he is asked in Isolt's name to take part, in his pilgrim disguise, in the sports of Mark's courtiers, he distinguishes himself above all the rest by an extraordinary leap[6]. We may regard these feats as exaggerations of such agility as that with which the French poets were familiar, or we may consider them to be paler descriptions of such feats as we find recounted of Celtic heroes.

The most striking of Tristan's leaps is that from the chapel window. It will be remembered that he is convicted by the footprint on the floor, and condemned,

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[1] cf. *OX* 7794—7822; cf. infra.
[2] cf. Gerbert's continuation of *Perceval, Tristan Ménestral, Romania* XXXV, p. 507, l. 411 ff.
[3] Windisch, *Táin bó Cúalnge, op. cit.*, p. 120.
[4] *OX* 3926—8.
[5] *OX* 4098—142.
[6] *OX* 7794—822.

according to Béroul[1], to be burned, according to Eilhart[2], to be broken on the wheel. On his way to be punished he obtains leave from his guards to stop in the chapel to pray. He forces his way through the little window, and leaps down from the cliff into the sea.

The accounts vary in detail[3]. In none of them is there expressed, but in all of them there is more or less implied, the idea that M. Bédier has emphasized as underlying the series of incidents from the footprint on the floor to the return from the forest: God delivers the lovers by two miracles; he saves Tristan by the leap from the chapel; he saves Isolt by delivering her from the lepers. For this poet it is not the fact that proves the crime, but the judgment which God sends upon it[4].

Tristan's escape by leaping from the chapel on the cliff becomes more significant when we consider that to be hurled over a precipice is one of the punishments for capital crimes in primitive law. The penalty of unchastity among the Britons was to be hurled over a cliff. In Gildas' *Breviarium* a miracle is feigned to save a mother from this doom[5]. Dion Cassius, speaking of the mildness of the Roman penalties, says that many means of deliverance are left to the condemned. For example, if a prisoner is hurled from the Capitol as a punishment, and escapes, no further penalty is exacted. One of the questions argued in the schools was the case of the vestal precipitated from the Tarpeian rock and saved by the grace of Vesta. Opinion was divided as to whether she should be given over a second

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[1] Béroul 882—4.
[2] *OX* 4016.
[3] Cf. also the French *Prose Romance,* Bédier II, 358.
[4] Bédier II, 183—6.
[5] Cited by Nutt, *Folk Lore* IV, p. 34.

time to punishment. The rigorists held that judgment should be carried out, declaring that an accident should not interfere with the law. The partisans of mercy considered that heaven had intervened in favor of the vestal, and that its decree should be respected. At every period of Greek history we read of religious ceremonies for occasions when human beings, criminals or priests, were hurled from a rock as a punishment, with the idea that God might nevertheless spare them from death [1].

It may be that to the readers of Tristan who were interested in the moral aspect of the situation, there was some association between the fact of Tristan's leap from the chapel and the question of his innocence in the eyes of heaven. The incident may have meant to the contemporaries of Béroul and Eilhart, and to previous redactors, not only the escape which it means to us, but a miraculous intervention in sign of the hero's innocence. That Tristan had indeed committed the crime was not significant. What was significant was that his will was innocent. It was the potion that was responsible for the deed.

The leap of Tristan is prodigious when compared with the accounts of leaping in French romances. It is not extraordinary compared with those in Irish ones. One of the traditional feats of the Irish hero was the salmon leap. It is frequently referred to in the Irish romances. For example, in *Bricriu's Feast* [2]:

> Fighting from ears of horses and over the breaths of men-folk, springing in air like a salmon when he springeth the spring of the heroes.

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[1] For the examples from Greece and Rome, see Gustave Glotz, *L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive*, Paris 1904, p. 92 ff.

[2] *The Feast of Bricriu*, ed. G. Henderson, *Irish Texts Society*, London 1899, § 25.

Rarest of feats he performeth, the leap that is birdlike he leapeth. Bounding o'er pools of water, he performeth the feat *cless nonbair.*

Again, in the same romance[1]:

He then mused within himself as to the leap his fellows leapt over the fort, for their leap was big and broad and high[2]. Moreover, it seemed to him it was by leaping it that the valiant heroes had gone over it. He essayed it twice and failed. 'Alas!' Cuchulainn quoth, 'my exertions hitherto about the Champion's Portion have exhausted me, and now I lose it through being unable to take the leap the others took.' As he thus mused, he essayed the following feats: He would keep springing backwards in mid-air a shot's distance from the fort, and then he would rebound from there until his forehead would strike the fort. Anon he would spring on high till all that was within the fort was visible to him, while again he would sink up to his knees in the earth owing to the pressure of his vehemence and violence. At another time he would not take the dew from off the tip of the grass by reason of his buoyancy of mood, vehemence of nature, and heroic valor. What with the fit and fury that raged upon him he stepped over the fort outside and alighted in the middle at the door of the palace. His two footprints are in the flag on the floor of the hold at the spot where was the royal entrance. He thereafter entered the house, and heaved a sigh.

Extraordinary leaps are frequently mentioned of Diarmaid, an Irish hero, who, as we shall see later, is strikingly similar to Tristan in many ways[3].

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[1] *op. cit.* § 88.

[2] These comrades had in reality been thrown over the fort by the giant, but Cuchulainn does not know this. Cf. Henderson, *op. cit.*, § 82.

[3] cf. *The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne*, ed. S. H. O'Grady, *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, Dublin 1855; re-edited for the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, Dublin 1895, passim; cf. infra.

3. Harping.

Tristan's ability to play the harp and to make lays is mentioned in almost all the extant texts. It is referred to in *Chievrefoil*[1]:

> 'Tristram, ki bien saveit harper,
> en aveit fet un nuvel lai.'

In Eilhart he takes only his harp and sword with him when he sets out in his rudderless boat[2]. In Thomas and in the Prose Romance, and probably in the *estoire*, the king hears or hears of his harp playing, and his attention is thus attracted to the little boat[3]. In Thomas Tristan teaches Isolt to play the harp[4]. The incident of the Harp and the Rote will be discussed later. In Gerbert's continuation of *Perceval*, when Tristan, disguised as a minstrel, visits Mark's court, he plays the lay of *Chievrefoil* before the king. Isolt knows that it is Tristan; he would never, she is sure, have taught that lay to another[5].

The references in Old Irish literature to skill in the playing of the harp are too numerous to cite. We shall give one characteristic example[6]:

> Now Lugh and the Dagdae and Ogma pursued the Fomorians, for they had carried off the Dagdae's harper, whose name was Uaitne. Then they reached the banqueting-house in which were Bres son of Elatha and Elathan son of Delbaeth. There hung the harp on the wall. That is the harp in which the Dagdae had bound the melodies so that they sounded not until by his call he summoned

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[1] *Chievrefoil* ed. Warnke, *Lais* (1900), p. 185, l. 112—4.
[2] *OX* 1134—8.
[3] Bédier II, p. 209 h., and note; cf. Bédier I, p. 94; II, 330; Löseth § 29.
[4] Bédier I, Ch. XI, p. 97.
[5] *Tristan Ménestral*, *Romania* XXXV, p. 512, ll. 758—88.
[6] *Revue Celtique* XII, 109.

them forth. . . . Then the harp went forth from the wall, and killed nine men, and came to the Dagdae. And he played for them the three things whereby harpers are distinguished, to wit, sleep-strain and smile-strain and wail-strain. He played wail-strain to them, so that their tearful women wept. He played smile-strain to them, so their women and children laughed. He played sleep-strain to them, and the hosts fell asleep. Through that (sleep) the three of them escaped unhurt from the Fomorians though these desired to slay them.

4. Imitating the songs of birds.

Such accomplishments as we have mentioned up to this point are not inappropriate to French heroes. Tristan's feats of agility, on the other hand, and his ability to imitate the songs of the birds are comparable in French tradition only to the accomplishments of minstrels and jongleurs, whereas in Irish they are still appropriate to heroes.

The latter gift is mentioned in an account of one of those secret visits of Tristan to Isolt which form the favored theme of episodic poems[1]: Isolt is lying in Mark's arms when she hears at the fountain in the garden below the voice of Tristan:

'humain language deguisa,
cum cil qui l'aprist de pec[e]a:
Il cuntrefit le russinol
la papingai [e] l'oriol,
E les oiseals de la gaudine[2].'

From his earliest years Tristan has had this gift:

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[1] The incident is narrated, as an example, in the *Donnei des amants*, a thirteenth century French poem on the art of love. *Romania* XXV, p. 508 ff.

[2] *loc. cit.* ll. 463—8.

'De grant engin esteit Tristrans:
Apris l'aveit en tendres anz;
Chascun oisel sout contrefere
Ki en forest vent ou repeire.
Tristrans feseit te[l] melodie
Od grant dousur ben loinz oïe
N'est quer enteins de murdrisur.
Ke de cel chant n'eüst tendrur[1].'

She braves the dangers that surround her, the king in whose arms she lies, the ten knights that guard, and the dwarf that follows her, and joins her lover in the garden.

To imitate birds seems to have been an accomplishment not uncommon among French minstrels of the twelfth and thirteenth century. Giraut de Calanson and others mention this among other tricks of the minstrel trade[2].

'Sapchas trobar
E ben tombar
E ben parlar e jocs partir;
Taborejar
E taulejar
E far sinphonia brogir,
E paucs pomels
Ab dos coltels
Sapchas girar e retenir
E chanz d'auzels
E bavastels
E fay los castels assalhir,
E citolar

[1] *loc. cit.* ll. 475—83.
[2] K. Bartsch, *Denkmäler der provenz. Lit.*, Stuttgart 1856, p. 94; cf. Bartsch, *Grundriss der provenz. Lit.*, p. 25, § 21.

E mandurar
E per catre sercles salhir.'

In *Karlmeinet* this accomplishment is possessed by certain minstrels[1]:

Ouch quam da sulch reis, De kunde harde waele Schallen as de nachtegale. Ind ouch sunderlingen Nach anderen vogelen singen. Sulche pyffen, als de re, Sulch as der pawe schre.

In the Old Irish story *The Tragical Death of Aife's Only Son* we find a hero possessed of this accomplishment[2].

> They saw the boy coming towards them across the sea, a skiff of bronze under him, and gilt oars in his hand. In the skiff he had a heap of stones. He would put a stone in his staff-sling, and launch a stunning shot at the birds, so that he brought down . . . and they alive. Then would he let them up into the air again. He would perform his palate feat, between both hands, so that the eye would not reach it (?). He would tune his voice for them, and bring them down for the second time. Then he revived them once more.

5. Juggling.

Tristan is adept in another art which the lower classes of French minstrels share with the Old Irish heroes. He is able to balance planed sticks. According to the *Folie*[3]

'Je ai sailli et lanciez jons
Et sostenu dolez bastuns'

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[1] *Karlmeinet* ed. A. von Keller, Stuttgart 1858, p. 440, l. 54 ff. Cf. for other examples Schultz, *Höfisches Leben* I, 570.

[2] ed. Kuno Meyer, *Eriu, Journal of the School of Irish Learning*, Dublin I, 114—5.

[3] *La Folie Tristan* 184—5; cf. *Rom.* XL, 86—8.

The second line seems to be in allusion to the juggling frequently mentioned among the tricks of the lower classes of minstrels. We are told in *Des deux Bordeors Ribauz*[1]:

> 'Ge sai joer des baasteax
> et si sai joer des costeax.'

We have seen the same boast in the passage quoted from Giraut de Calanson, and may find, on turning the pages of almost any mediaeval romance, similar descriptions of popular entertainment.

In Ireland the education of the hero included more varied and infinitely more difficult feats of this character. In a primitive society agility and dexterity of movement must constitute a hero's claim to distinction. Each of the Old Irish heroes had certain feats peculiar to himself, besides those which were more or less generally practised.

The following list from the *Táin bó Cúalnge* allows us to form, from its very unintelligibility, some idea of the elaborate character of the Irish hero's feats[2]. Many of the words are doubtful.

> The feat with the apples, the feat with the blades, the feat with the shield held horizontally, the feat with the dart, the feat on the rope, the feat with the body, the cat feat, the hero's salmon leap, the cast with the staff-sling, the leap over an abyss (?), the whirl (?) of a valiant champion, the feat of the *gae-bolg,* the . . . of swiftness, the feat with the wheel, . . . the over-breath feat . . . the hero's cry, the blow with adjustment, the side stroke, the mounting on the lance and straightening his body on its point.

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[1] ed. Montaiglon and Raynaud, *Recueil des Fabliaux* I, p. 11.
[2] cf. Windisch, *Táin bó Cúalnge, Irische Texte,* Extraband, 278—83 and notes.

The following are the conditions of entrance into the band of Irish heroes known as the Fiana[1].

> Of all these again not a man was taken until he were a prime poet versed in the twelve books of poesy. No man was taken till in the ground a large hole had been made (such as to reach the fold of his belt) and he put into it with his shield and a fore-arm's length of a hazel-stick. Then must nine warriors, having nine spears, with a ten furrows' width betwixt them and him, assail him, and in concert let fly at him. If past that guard of his he were hurt then, he was not received into Fianship.
>
> Not a man of them was taken till his hair had been interwoven into braids on him, and he started at a run through Ireland's woods; while they, seeking to wound him, followed in his wake, there having been between him and them but one forest bough by way of interval at first. Should he be overtaken, he was wounded and not received into the Fianna after. If his weapons had quivered in his hand, he was not taken. Should a branch in the wood have disturbed anything of his hair out of its braiding, neither was he taken. If he had cracked a dry stick under his foot [as he ran] he was not accepted. Unless that [at his full speed] he had both jumped a stick level with his brow, and stooped to pass under one even with his knee, he was not taken. Also, unless without slackening his pace he could with his nail extract a thorn from his foot, he was not taken into Fianship; but if he performed all this he was of Finn's people.

6. The twigs in the wall.

α) The trick.

There is a striking instance of the dexterity of Tristan in a curious passage in the latter part of the

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[1] *The Enumeration of Finn's People*, ed. S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* I, 92—3. II, 99—100. Professor K. Meyer places this text in the twelfth century. *Fianaigecht*, R. I. A. *Todd Lecture Series*, XVI, xxx.

romance. Tristan has accompanied Kaherdin to his tryst with Gargeolain[1].

'nu geschôz er mit dem rîse baz
denne îman anders dô tête.
dô saz der helt stête
und schôz ein rîs in die want.
dar nâch schôz er zu hant
abir einez in daz,
dar nâch baz und î baz
einez in daz ander.
daz nam die vrauwen wunder,
daz er sô wol dâ mete schôz.
des spils vil lutzel in vordrôz:
der wand beschôz er sô vil
und tet den frawen daz zu spil
daz er sich nicht verdâchte.
daz schîzen in dô brâchte
in ein tôtlich arebeit
do er wedir kein Karahes reit.'

When the husband returns[2]

'dô gîng he unde nam ware,
waz die vrauwin tâtin.
boben in der kemenâtin,
dâ sach he daz rîs steckin
daz Tristrant der kûne recke
hâte geschozzin in die want.
do gedâchte der wîgant
„diz schîzen nîman kan
wen Tristrant der eine man:
her hât ez sicherlîche getan"

[1] *OX* 9078—94.
[2] *OX* 9142—53.

und dâchte an sînem mûte sân,
Kehenis wêre mit im dâr.'

Similary in the French Prose Romance[1].

Puis passent oultre et defferment la porte et tous les autres huys et s'en viennent en la chambre ou Gargeolain estoit, et estoit toute la chambre jonchie de joncs vers et nouveaulx, et encourtinee d'une courtine la plus belle et la plus riche qui oncques fust ... et Tristan s'en va d'autre part et les leisse ensemble, et print une poingnee de joncs et se couche sus l'erbe tout envers, et commence les joncs a lancher et atacher en la courtine l'un dedens l'autre. Helas! oncques si mal jeu(s) ne fist! Mais il ne se donnoit garde, car il le faisoit pour soy esbanoyer.

The husband returns and hastens to his wife's room.

[Il] se leisse cheïr eu lit tout envers et voit les joncs fichiés en la courtine, si commence tout a fremir, car bien sceut que c'estoient des gieux Tristan.

Tristan seems to be able to cast the rushes into the curtain one into the other, in such a way that the first remains there and each following one lodges in the one before it, and remains attached to it. Both redactors mention that no one else is able to perform this feat.

The treatment of the passage by Ulrich von Türheim and Heinrich von Freiberg show that these later redactors did not understand it, or did not consider it suitable to present to their audience. The passage in Heinrich von Freiberg[2] is as follows:

'nu vuorte sie den ritter wert
in eine kemenâten sân,
und sîn geselle Tristan

[1] Bédier II, 380.

[2] Heinrichs von Freiberg *Tristan*, ed. R. Bechstein, Leipzig 1877, ll. 6072—9. 6103 ff. Cf. Ulrich von Türheim, ed. Massmann, p. 575, l. 35 ff. 577, l. 6 ff.

hie ûze bî den vrouwen bleip;
die zît kurzt er in und vortreip
mit hübschen dingen sunder zil,
der er konde mêr dan vil.'

Both Heinrich and Ulrich attribute the discovery of the two gallants by the husband to the garland that falls from Kaherdin's head into the moat. This trait, the dropping of the garland, is found also in Eilhart and the French Prose Romance. In their source, in this case as in the incident of the sign on the highroad and the whittlings on the stream, the more primitive trait and the more modern one doubtless stood side by side. The more primitive trait was preserved and the new one was added[1]. The subsequent redactors, however, recognizing the tautology, suppressed definitively the older trait, and emphasized the more modern one.

Tricks with osier rods are probably more or less universal in primitive communities. Games with rushes, twigs, grasses &c. are popular among French peasants[2]. Irish stories frequently mention jugglers' tricks with rushes[3].

We find an account of a feat resembling that in Tristan in the Old Irish epic, *The Feast of Bricriu*[4]:

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[1] For the examples of garlands worn by the knights in the summer time cf. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben* I, 312; also Müller, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch, s. v. schapel.* Cf. Heinrich von Freiberg, 6103 ff.

[2] Sébillot, *Folk Lore de France* III, 520—7.

[3] E. g. S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* II, 200: to take nine straight osier-rods, and (the while they stood on one leg, and had but one arm free) to dart them upward to rafter and to roof-tree of the building, he that did this catching them again in the same form. Another trick p. 320.

[4] Ed. Henderson, *Fled Bricrend*, § 65. Professor Kuno Meyer has suggested the modifications introduced into the translation. Henderson has *anon* for *then*; *tossed up* for *threw*; *joined together* for *in a row.*

> Cuchulainn then sought out the women-folk and took thrice fifty needles from them. These he threw one after the other. Each needle went into the eye of the other till in that wise they were in a row. He returned to the women and gave each her own needle into her hand. The young braves praised Cuchulainn.

It is frequent in American Indian stories for a chain of arrows to be made from the sky to the earth. The following is a characteristic account:

> Snail cried out: 'I see it (the arrow) sticking in the sky.' . . . So the next time Snail aimed the arrow while Wren pulled it. And it flew and stuck there. Then they shot arrow after arrow, and each stuck in the notch of the one preceding, and made a chain reaching down to the earth[1].

There is a curious echo of the situation in Tristan in one of Straparola's *novelle*[2].

> A lover visits his lady in secret. He has taken himself off before her husband returns. But one day, some time afterward, as the latter glances up from his bed, he notices on the wall very far from him and very high, certain marks which he recognizes as the traces of spittle. Seized with jealousy, he tries to spit the same distance, but fails. He knows then that his wife is unfaithful, and exacts of her an ordeal. She escapes by means of an ambiguous oath of innocence similar to that taken by Isolt.

β) The intrigue.

It is possible that the poet of the *estoire* (or one of his predecessors) has remodelled, in the story of Kaherdin and Gargeolain, an adventure originally belonging to Tristan. It is very probable that Tristan, like other traditional heroes, had other

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[1] L. Farrand, *Traditions of the Quinault Indians*, Jesup North Pacific Expedition, New York 1902, vol. 2, p. 108.

[2] Straparola, *Piacevoli Notte* IV, Favola II.

adventures in love besides those with Isolt. Many other love stories besides his tragic relation with Grainne are told of the hero of the Old Irish tale *The Elopement of Diarmaid and Grainne.* So numerous were these stories that he was known as *Diarmaid na mban,* Diarmaid of the women[1].

We have a story of Tristan in this character in his tryst with the wife of Segurades, related in the French Prose Romance[2]. A peculiar trait in this incident is given in the *Tavola Ritonda,* and is found also in the story of Gargeolain and Kaherdin in Eilhart.

Tristan is summoned by the lady to enjoy her favor. The Italian redactor says[3]:

> Vero è che la donzella avea preso marito di sedici giorni dinanzi, non che ancora si fossono congiunti insieme: imperò ch' egli era usanza a quel tempo, che quando gli cavalieri prendeano dama, egli stavano trenta giorni, ch' eglino si congiugnessono insieme; e ciascuno giorno insieme udivano messa, acciò che Iddio perdonasse loro l' offense, e anche perchè perdeano loro virginitade e venivano al conoscimento carnale; e pregavano Iddio che di lor uscisse frutto che fosse pro al mondo e grazioso alla gente e degno a Dio, e che portassono loro matrimonio con leanza.

It will be remembered that Gargeolain is represented as having promised her lover that before she would receive her husband, she would grant him a tryst and her love. At a later point in the narrative Kaherdin reminds Gargeolain of what she had promised him to do before she would take her husband. The passages read as follows[4]

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[1] Cf. e. g. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* II, Index, *ua Duibhne*; *Revue Celtique* XXXIII, p. 175, § 49. p. 178, § 80. p. 168, § 25. For a comparison of the story of Diarmaid with that of Tristan cf. infra.

[2] Löseth § 34.

[3] Ed. Polidori, *Collezione di opere inedite o rare* VIII, i, 93.

[4] *OX* 7945—50.

'Nû hâte die vrawe lîse
gelabit Kehenîse
eir sie einen[1] man nême,
ab he zû ir quême,
sie wolde in ummevân.
. . . . . .
Kehenis sie dô manete
swes sie im gelabit habete
eir sie iren man nême[2].'

This is a less explicit statement of the situation described in the *Tavola Ritonda*[3].

It is a general practice among primitive peoples to defer the consummation of a marriage for a fixed period. The idea seems to be that a temporary renunciation of a dangerous satisfaction will obviate the risks it ordinarily involves. The fear of sexual intercourse is possibly due to the belief that weakness and effeminacy may be produced by contagion from the woman and loss of strength of body and soul. Sometimes a child or an old woman is placed between the newly married pair to keep them apart[4]. The period of abstinence varies from one week to two months.

Such customs were encouraged by the mediaeval church, which was disposed to regard marriage as a necessary evil, and to foster any tendency to mitigate its sensual character. From the fifth century the

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[1] iren, MS. H.

[2] *OX* 7989—92.

[3] The passage in the *Tavola Ritonda* is drawn perhaps from a manuscript of the French Prose Romance which was less abridged at this point than those represented in our modern editions.

[4] E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London 1902, 343—7. For the child placed between the couple of the Old Irish story cf. *Liadain and Curithir*, Appendix V.

church had recommended, if not actually commanded, that marriage should be left unconsummated for three nights after the wedding. Intercourse was also forbidden during Lent, for the week after Easter, the week after Pentecost, and three days before partaking of the communion. It was also prohibited on the eve of Sundays, feast days, Wednesdays, Fridays, and fast days[1].

This custom would seem to be reflected in the passages in Eilhart and the *Tavola Ritonda*. In the latter, and in the similar incident in the French Prose Romance, the gallant who is favored by the lady in preference to her husband is Tristan. It may be that the poet of the *estoire* has here transferred to Kaherdin the favor which the Prose Romance represents as granted to Tristan.

Such a change would be easily accounted for; the poet wished to clear the tradition of an adventure which detracted from its romantic idealism. In his version the incident is subordinated, and treated, as we have shown in a preceding chapter, in the manner of the fashionable court lyric of the time[2]. The name of the heroine, Gargeolain[3], and the record of Tristan's extraordinary dexterity may be fossils of an earlier period of the tradition.

Thomas rejects the entire episode, with the following comment[4]:

> 'Plusurs de noz granter ne volent
> Ço que del naim dire ci solent,

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[1] F. Roeder, *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen, Studien zur Englischen Philologie* IV, p. 130—3.

[2] Cf. supra Ch. IV.

[3] Professor Kuno Meyer remarks, in answer to a personal inquiry, that the first syllable looks like the Celtic *garg*.

[4] Bédier I, p. 377. 2125—8. 2134—7.

Cui Kaherdin dut femme amer.
. . . . . .
Thomas içe granter ne volt,
E si volt par raisun mustrer
Que içe ne put pas ester.'

His proof that there is no truth in the incident is based on the observation that if things had really happened as they were represented in this other version, if Kaherdin had had his tryst with Gargeolain and if Tristan had accompanied him, and if the husband had discovered their visit, and if Kaherdin had been killed, and Tristan wounded, and if the wounded Tristan had sent Gorvenal across the sea to bring Isolt, — then Gorvenal would certainly have been recognized and Isolt could not have escaped with him to come to Tristan. In other words, since one of the sequence of events in the *estoire* is impossible, the whole is to be discredited.

The real reason for Thomas' rejection of the passage is that the traditional incident, even when transferred to Kaherdin, offends his taste. He does not wish to represent Tristan even as assisting in such an escapade. He therefore substitutes a final adventure more worthy of his hero. Having treated unlawful love as a tragedy in the main plot, he cannot look upon it lightly here. He does not approve of the moral *insouciance* in questions of conjugal infidelity which is reflected, if our interpretation be correct, in the latter part of the *estoire* from the *chansons de mal mariée*. Thomas was an idealist who held himself aloof from the vagaries of sentiment of his time.

Our interpretation of this incident may be fanciful. It is offered only as a suggestion in line with the

processes which we see at work in the evolution of the story as a whole.

7. The hazel on the highroad; the chips on the stream.

We have shown in the preceding chapter our reasons for believing that the version of Marie de France represents the simplest extant form of the incident of the hazel on the highroad. In the incident of the chips on the stream we have suggested that, in earlier versions, the workmanship of the whittlings was a sufficient sign to Isolt that her lover was on the bank of the stream. No one else could have fashioned the chips in just that deft way. We have seen also that accomplishments such as these were so unfamiliar to the French poets who transmitted the accounts that they were modified, and their function in the narrative served by more familiar devices. It is probable therefore that we should seek elsewhere for their origin.

We find some interesting parallels in Irish romance. With the episode of the chips sent down the stream the following Irish instance has already been compared[1]:

> . . . Slechtaire discovered an underground cave, wherein they (he and the other kinsmen and allies of Sengarmaín, with whom Finn is at feud) dwelt for a long time. Every night they used to go forth from it a-raiding, and one day they found, on Luachair Aine, Find's son Ossian alone. They make a prize (?) of him and carry him off to their dwelling. There Ossian cut a chip from a spearshaft (which Crim-

[1] Ed. and transl. by Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XV, p. 446 ff. Cited by Kuno Meyer, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.* XXVIII, p. 353, in connection with Tristan. The *Rennes Dindsenchas*, in which the passage is found, is a collection of stories that belongs in part to the ninth century.

thann had given him to trim), and cast it into the stream from the well[1], so that it got to Áth na Féile, 'the Ford of the Feale', where Find was dwelling. Then Find took the chip in his hand and said: 'Ossian made this'. And Find's men ascended the stream to its source and saw the earth-cave in which were Criblach and the rest, and dug into it. Then Criblach fled, but Find overtook her in Airer Criblaige (and there he killed her)[2].

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[1] Houses built over a stream are referred to elsewhere in Celtic and in Scandinavian literature. In the *Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel,* ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XXII, p. 316, § 146, we read: 'The cupbearers found no drink for him in the Dodder (a river) and the Dodder had flowed through the house.' O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish,* London 1873, I, CCCXVIII, cites passages from the ancient laws of Ireland by which physicians and other persons were obliged or permitted to build their houses over a spring. He adds: This custom of having a spring of water in the living room, or in the dairy of a farm-house, covered over with a movable flag, has come down to the present time in some remote districts of the country. Cf. also Kuno Meyer, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.* XXVI, 716. XXVIII, 353. In Scandinavian literature, the *Christne Saga, Biskopa Sogor,* i, p. 33 ff., contains a tale of Thorwald the Far-Farer in which is described a gathering of Christian and heathen Norsemen: 'There was a great hall, as was then much the custom, and there ran a little brook across the hall, well-cared for. But neither side, Christian or heathen, would eat with the other, and therefore the counsel was taken, to hang a curtain across the hall in the midst where the brook ran.' *Origines Icelandicae,* ed. Vigfússon and Powell, Oxford 1905, I, 410. In the *Grettir saga* Thorsteinn meets Spes in a chamber under which the sea flows. Being discovered, Thorsteinn escapes through a trap-door in the floor, and swims to safety. Reaching land, he takes a burning log, and holds it up, as a signal to Spes that he is safe, *Grettir Saga Asmundarson,* ed. R. C. Boer, Halle 1900, p. 303—5. M. Bédier, *op. cit.* II, 157, has called attention to the fact that *Robert le Diable* contains a description of a stream conducted by a canal through the chamber of the heroine from a spring in the garden. The circumstance is, however, not utilized in the narrative; cf. *Robert le Diable*, ed. E. Löseth, Paris 1903, X, n. 2, and ll. 1231 ff. 3500 ff. The present town of Chaudesaigues in France has a system of canals by which the warm streams characteristic of the place are conducted along the ground floors of the houses, cf. Joanne, *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France,* Paris 1892.

[2] F. Lot, *Romania* XXIV, 322, and George Henderson, *Bricriu's Feast*, London 1899, p. 143, have called attention to the utilizing of the stream as a signal bearer in the story of

In the versified form of the story contained in the *Book of Leinster*[1], a manuscript written before 1150, it is said that what Ossian cast into the stream was a ball that he had made of the chips from the spearshaft.

A similar incident, in which the characteristic chips floating down the stream serve to betray the hero to his enemy, is found in the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne*[2].

> Diarmaid was making dishes, and the shavings which he was making were going down with the burn to the

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Blathnat and Cúroi. Here Blathnat pours milk into the water to notify her lover, who is farther down the stream, that the moment has arrived for carrying out their plan; cf. *The Tragic Death of Cúrói mac Dári*, ed. and transl. by R. I. Best, *Ériu, Journal of the School of Irish Learning* (Dublin) II, Pt. I, p. 20 ff.; Kuno Meyer, *Revue Celtique* VI, 187—8 for another version; also *Dindsenchas of Findglais*, ed. and transl. by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica*, II, 482. 530 ff.; *Rennes Dindsenchas*, ed. and transl. by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XV, 448 ff.; the poem of *Brinna Ferchertne*, ed. and transl. by Kuno Meyer, *Zts. f. celt. Philol.*, III, 40 ff. The date of the first and last is the tenth century. The reader will note, however, that the parallel it not close, the milk being only a preconcerted signal, as in groups B and C of the Tristan texts, and the stream not passing through the house. For the reference to Henderson's note I am indebted to Mr. F. N. Robinson, of Harvard University. Hertz, *Tristan und Isolde von Gottfried von Strassburg*[2], p. 532, cites an incident from a ninth century Chinese story where a man and woman correspond by means of a floating red leaf.

[1] Cf. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XV, 448.

[2] J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Edinburgh 1862, III, 43. The *Elopement of Diarmaid and Grainne* is mentioned in the list of tales in the *Book of Leinster*, facsimile, p. 190, col. 1, l. 9, and is alluded to in a gloss in an eleventh century manuscript; cf. *Revue Celtique*, XI, 126. Several incidents of the story are contained in tenth century texts (edited by Kuno Meyer, *Revue Celtique*, XI, p. 125, and *Zts. f. celt. Philol.*, I, 458). Two poems from the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, probably dating from the fifteenth century, have been published by O. J. Bergin, J. H. Lloyd, and G. Schœpperle in the *Revue Celtique* (XXXIII, 41—57, 158—80). A discussion of the development of the tradition is given in the introduction to these articles. The complete story is extant only in late manuscripts, and in folk-tales collected within the last two centuries.

strand. The Fiantan were hunting along the foot of the strand . . . Finn took notice of the shavings at the foot of the burn. 'These', said he, 'are the shavings of Diarmaid.' — 'They are not; he is not alive', said they. — 'Indeed', said Finn, 'they are'.

In another version[1] we read:

Fingal saw a speal that Diarmaid cut off a stick in the water, and immediately knew that Diarmaid was in the woods thereabout, for the speal curled round nine times, and it was s . . . quarters long; there was none in Ireland that could do the like.

In another version[2]:

One day my generous king, And his Fenians who were not [timorous,
Were hunting along dark glens. We went down to the strand.
Then my king saw In front of the true man of strength [of Ireland,
A shaving in form of a pure white roll, Folded nine times, [coming to the sea.
He caught it in his white hand, And he gazed sharply [and keenly,
He measured it with his comely foot, And its length was [five feet and a span.
Then he spoke fiercely, 'It is Diarmaid who made this in [all truth,
And none of the men of Cormac, Or the swordsmen of [the Fianna.'

A similar story is told of Finn and Ferchess, son of Comman. Since this particular version is alluded

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[1] *Leabhar na Feinne*, vol. I, Gaelic Texts, Heroic Gaelic Ballads collected in Scotland, chiefly from 1512–1871, arranged by J. F. Campbell, London 1872, p. 128, H. 26. We have discussed this incident in connection with the *Death of Diarmaid* in the *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, p. 158—60.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, 171. I have adopted the translation of W. J. Watson, *Celtic Review* VIII, 266, for *sliseag na cuartaig fhinn* 'a shaving in a form of a pure white roll' instead of the rendering which I gave in the *Revue Celtique*.

to in *Cormac's glossary* (s. v. ringcne)[1], it is clear that it was current in the ninth century[2].

> Finn ua Báiscne went on the track of Ferchess (son of Commán) to avenge Mac Con (for 'tis Finn that was leader of his Fian), until he slew him at the end of seven years at the Pool of Ferchess on the Bann, when he found the chips carried down by the river which Ferchess had set free.

The points of similarity between the Irish and the Tristan episodes are:

1. The hero fashions chips in a manner so individual that they are sure to be recognized by those who know him (ODTF)[3].

2. He sends some of them down a stream (ODTF).

3. This stream flows through a house (OT).

The hero sends the chips from this house (O).

The hero sends the chips to a person dwelling in this house (T).

4. They are found and recognized (D) by the person for whom they are intended (OT), and notify him (her) of the hero's presence along the stream (ODTC).

The device is of the same sort as that used in *Chievrefoil*: the hero fashions his bit of bark and confides it to the path of the person to be notified.

But there are more striking parallels to the *Chievrefoil* episode.

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[1] ed. W. Stokes, Calcutta 1868, p. 142.

[2] ed. Kuno Meyer, *Fianaigecht, R. I. A. Todd Lecture Series* XVI, xxi, p. 38—9; cf. Zimmer *ZfdA.* XXXV, p. 115.

[3] O refers to the episode about Ossian; D to the episode about Diarmaid; F to the episode about Ferchess; T to the *Tristan* episode.

1. An episode in the Old Irish saga *Táin bó Cúalnge*[1] (the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* version)[2]:

'I am forced to go to a tryst with Fedelm Noichride[3], from my own pledge that went out to her' [said Cuchulainn].

He made a spancel-withe[4] then before he went, and wrote an ogam[5] on its peg[6], and threw it on the top of the pillar . . .

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[1] It is generally agreed that the *Táin* was compiled and written down in the seventh century; see Ernest Windisch, *Die altirische Heldensage Táin bó Cúalnge,* Leipzig 1905, lxviii, lxxxv. The oldest version is contained in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (*Book of the Dun Cow*), written before 1106, which has been published in fac-simile by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1870. It has been translated by Winifred Faraday, *The Cattle Raid of Cúalnge,* London 1904. Another version is contained in the *Book of Leinster,* a manuscript of the middle of the twelfth century, which has been published in fac-simile by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1880. This version has been edited and translated into German by Windisch, *op. cit.* A French translation containing passages from both manuscripts was made by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville *L'enlèvement du Taureau divin et des vaches de Cooley,* 3 parts, Paris 1907 ff., Pt. I. An edition by J. Strachan and J. G. O'Keeffe, based on the *Yellow Book* of *Lecan,* a fourteenth century manuscript, with variants from the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* version, with which it is substantially identical, appeared in *Ériu,* vol. I, Part. II ff. (Supplement).

[2] I have quoted from the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* version because it is less diffuse than that of the *Book of Leinster.* The translation is Miss Faraday's, *op. cit.,* p. 10—13; cf. Windisch, *op. cit.,* p. 66—74; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit.,* 51—4.

[3] 'Gloss incorporated in the text: that is with her servant.' Miss Faraday's note.

[4] 'This was a twig twisted in the form of two rings; joined by a straight piece, as used for hobbling horses and cattle.' Miss Faraday's note. *The Book of Leinster* version adds: 'und that den Reifen um den dünnen Teil des Pfeilersteins bei Ard Cuillenn. Er rückte den Reifen, bis er auf das Dicke des Pfeilersteins kam.' Windisch, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

[5] For studies on ogam writing see R. A. Stewart Macalister, *Studies in Irish Epigraphy,* London 1897, 1902, 1907; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1881,* pp. 20—7. For references to ogam writing in the romances, see O'Curry, *op. cit.,* I, cccxli—iv, also Index, vol. III, 689; Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland,* London 1899, p. 105—22. Ogam inscriptions, like runes, were carved on wood or stone. In the passages here cited it appears that Cuchulainn's writing was in one of the ordinary

They [the four who went ahead of Medb's army] found the withe that Cuchulainn threw, and perceived the grazing that the horses had grazed. For Sualtaim's two horses had eaten the grass with its roots from the earth; Cuchulainn's two horses had licked the earth as far as the stones beneath the grass. They sit down then, until the host came, and the musicians play to them. They give the withe into the hands of Fergus Mac Roich; he read the ogam that was on it.

When Medb came, she asked: 'Why are you waiting here?'

'We wait', said Fergus, 'because of the withe yonder. There is an ogam on its peg, and this is what is in it: „Let no one go past till a man is found to throw a like withe with his one hand, and let it be one twig of which it is made; and I except my friend Fergus.[1] — Truly', said

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more or less complicated ogam alphabets; that it was not in cipher, intelligible only to Fergus, as O'Curry and Hyde seem to suppose, is shown by the fact that in the second passage it is 'one of them' and not Fergus, who reads it.

[6] I. e. the piece of wood that holds the withe together. I am indebted to Professor Kuno Meyer for this translation. Miss Faraday leaves a blank.

[1] Cuchulainn puts the army under a *geis* not to proceed until one of them complies with his demand of a *fir-fer*, i. e. that the withe shall be removed under the same disadvantages under which it was placed on the pillar stone. The *fir-fer*, literally *the truth of men*, is the demand that the person challenged shall submit to the same conditions as the person challenging; cf. *Cuchulainn's Death.*, ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, III, 184: 'I wish,' says Lugaid, 'to have the truth of men from thee.' — 'What is that?' says Conall the Victorious. — 'That thou should use only one hand against me, for one hand only have I.' — 'Thou shalt have it', says Conall the Victorious. So then Conall's hand was bound to his side with ropes, cf. Windisch, *Táin*, p. 72, n. 6; *Irische Texte*, I, *Wörterbuch*, under *fír*, p. 550. This prohibition of Cuchulainn's constitutes what is known in Irish literature as a *geis*; cf. Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1880, p. 590. Such taboos are a feature of the Irish saga. Each hero has his particular *geasa*. For instance, Cuchulainn was under a *geis* not to go to a cooking hearth and consume the food; he was not to eat his namesake's (hound's) flesh; cf. *Cuchulainn's Death*, ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, III, 176. Fergus must not leave a feast before it ended, cf. Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Texte*, II, 159. The violation of a *geis* was practically never ventured by an Irish hero, no matter by whom imposed,

Fergus, 'Cuchulainn has thrown it, and they are his horses that grazed the plain.'

And he put it in the hands of the druids; and Fergus sang this song:

'Here is a withe, what does the withe declare to us?
What is its mystery?
What number threw it?
Few or many?

Will it cause injury to the host,
If they go a journey from it?
Find out, ye druids, something therefore
For what the withe has been left.

— of heroes the hero who has thrown it,
Full misfortune on warriors;
A delay of princes, wrathful is the matter,
One man has thrown it with one hand.

Is not the king's host at the will of him,
Unless it breaks fair play?
Until one man only of you
Throw it, as one man has thrown it.
I do not know anything save that
For which the withe should have been put.
Here is a withe.'

Then Fergus said to them: 'If you outrage this withe', said he, 'or if you go past it, though he be in the custody of a man, or in a house under a lock, the — of the man who wrote the ogam on it will reach him, and will slay a goodly slaughter of you before morning, unless one of you throw a like withe.' — 'It does not please us, indeed, that one of us should be slain at once', said Ailill. 'We will go

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or how unreasonably. Thus Deirdre succeeds in prevailing upon Nóisi to take her from Conchobar: 'A ces deux oreilles', s'écrie-t-elle, 's'attacheront la honte et le ridicule, si tu ne m'emmènes avec toi'. Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, p. 72, § 9, transl. by d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Epopée celtique en Irlande*, Paris 1892, p. 226. The piety with which the Old Irish hero observed the *geis* is similar to that with which the French knight observed requests made in his lady's name. Cf. supra, pp. 132—6, and Eilhart, 6840 ff., where the hero must risk his life sooner than disregard an unreasonable request made 'dorch sîner vrauwin willen'.

by the neck of the great wood yonder, south of us, and we will not go over it at all.'

In the *Book of Leinster* version Ailill's decision is slightly different[1]:

We will betake ourselves to the protection of this great forest until morning. There we will pitch our tents, and take up our quarters.

2. Another episode in the Old Irish saga *Táin bó Cúalnge* (the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* version)[2]:

Then Cuchulainn went round the host till he was at Ath Gabla. He cuts a fork there with one blow of his sword, and put it on the middle of the stream, so that a chariot could not pass it on this side or that. Eirr and Indell, Foich and Fochlam (their two charioteers) came upon him thereat. He strikes their four heads off, and throws them on the four points of the fork . . .

Then the horses of the four went to meet the host, and their cushions very red on them. They supposed it was a battalion that was before them at the ford. A troop went from them to look at the ford; they saw nothing there but the track of one chariot and the fork with the four heads, and a name in ogam written on the side. All the host came then.

'Are the heads yonder from our people?' said Medb.

'They are from our people and from our choice warriors', said Ailill.

One of them read the ogam that was on the side of the fork; that is: 'A man has thrown the fork with his one hand; and you shall not go past it till one of you, except Fergus, has thrown it with one hand.' . . .

'Avert this strait from us, O Fergus', said Medb.

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[1] Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 74—5; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[2] Faraday, *op. cit.*, 14ff.; cf. the *Book of Leinster* version, Windisch, *op. cit.*, 82—99; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit.*. 56—60.

'Bring me a chariot then', said Fergus, 'that I may take it out, that you may see whether its end was hewn with one blow.' Fergus broke then fourteen chariots of his chariots, so that it was from his own chariot that he took it out of the ground, and he saw that the end was hewn with one blow.

In the *Book of Leinster*[1], Fergus, having broken seventeen chariots, is commanded by Medb to desist:

'Stop, O Fergus', she says, 'if you were not with the army we should already have reached Ulster. We know why you do this, to delay and hinder the army until the Ulstermen recover from their weakness.'

The army encamp on the spot for the night.

3. Another episode in the Old Irish saga *Táin bó Cúalnge* (the *Leabhar-na h-Uidhri* version)[2]:

Then they reached Mag Mucceda. Cuchulainn cut an oak before them there, and wrote an ogam in its side. It is this that was therein: that no one should go past it till a warrior should leap it with one chariot. They pitch their tents there, and come to leap over it in their chariots. There fall thereat thirty horses, and thirty chariots are broken. Belach n-Ane, that is the name of that place for ever.

They are there till next morning; then Fraech is summoned to them: 'Help us, O Fraech', said Medb. 'Remove from us the strait that is on us. Go before Cuchulainn for us, if perchance you shall fight with him.'

Fraech is killed in a struggle with Cuchulainn. Fergus springs over the oak in his chariot. They then proceed until they reach Ath Taiten.

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[1] Windisch, *op. cit.*, 92 - 3; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit.*, 59.

[2] Faraday, *op. cit.*, 35; cf. O'Curry, *op. cit.*, I, cccxliii, n. 595. This episode does not occur in the *Book of Leinster* version, cf. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note; d'Arbois de Jubainville translates the text of the *Leabhar na hUidhri* to supplement the *Book of Leinster* version at this point, *op. cit.* p. 85.

4. A less striking parallel in a story of Finn[1]:

> Finn once came into Tethba with his Fiann, and went on a hunting excursion. Lomna staid at home, and as he was walking without, he saw Coirpre, a champion of the Luigne, lying secretly with Finn's woman. Then the woman besought Lomna to conceal it. It was grievous to him to be concerned in betraying Finn. Then Finn came (back), and Lomna cut an ogam in a four square rod, and this was on it: 'An alder stake in a pale of silver. Deadly night shade ... A husband of a lewd woman (is) a fool among the well-taught Fiann. There is a heath on bare Ualann of Luigne.' Finn then understood the story, and he became disgusted with the woman.

The points of similarity to *Chievrefoil* in the Irish episodes from the *Túin* are:

1. A person knows that a troop is to pass along a certain path.

2. He has reason for wishing to delay their march.

In Tristan, to allow him a meeting with Isolt.

In the first Irish episode cited, to allow him a meeting with Fedelm Noichride [or her maid].

In the second Irish episode cited, to gain time.

In the third Irish episode cited, to gain time.

3. He carves a message[2] on a piece of bark and places it on their path[3].

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[1] Ed. Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, London 1862. Under the words *orc tréith*, p. 34. Translated in *Cormac's Glossary*, ed. O'Donovan and Stokes, Calcutta 1868, p. 129. This passage belongs to the oldest codex, and was written, says Stokes (*Three Irish Glossaries*, XVIII), 'if not in the time of Cormac (831—903), at least within a century after his death'. Similarly Zimmer, *ZfdA.*, XXXV, 38.

[2] Teutonic as well as Celtic messages would naturally be carved on wood. Runes carved on wood are mentioned as messages by Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, in the sixth century. See Oscar Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, Leipzig 1906, p. 210. For Celtic messages carved on wood see references above.

[3] A stanza of an Anglo-Norman political song directed against one of the ordinances of Edward I. is interesting in this connection:

4. The troop pass; the message is found and read.
5. The halt is secured.
6. The purpose of the ruse is achieved.

Owing to the great dissimilarity in the underlying forces in the two situations and the complete difference of *milieu* which they represent, it would be absurd to hope to establish anything approaching a connection between the Tristan episode and the particular Irish fragments that have come down to us. But the device to bring about the halt and delay of a hostile troop is strikingly similar in both. The procedure of the hero, in the specifically Irish form in which it appears in the *Táin* episodes, was practically sure to be effective; in the simpler form in which it appears in Tristan, on the contrary, it presents all manner of difficulties. These difficulties were realized keenly, as we have seen, by the French redactors of the Tristan narrative, and have been emphasized again and again by the modern critics[1] who have discussed

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'Cest rym fust fet al bois desouz un lorer,
La chaunte merle, russinole, et cyre l'esperver;
Escrit estoit en parchemyn pur mout remenbrer,
E gittè en haut chemyn, qe um le dust trover.'

Thomas Wright, *Political Songs of England,* London 1839, p. 236. The purpose of the writer here, however, goes no further than to attract the attention of anyone who chances to pass. I am indebted to Professor Schofield for calling my attention to this passage.

[1] M. Sudre (*Rom.*, XV, 551) does not attempt to interpret Ms. *S*. but, following the reading of *H*, supposes that Tristan 'l'avait avertie de ce signal qu'il lui donnerait, en lui écrivant...' Miss Rickert (*op. cit.*, 193) remarks: 'We cannot suppose that Tristram wrote out in full the message of which the „import" fills seventeen lines. Even if it had been possible, Yseult could not have read it as she rode along, nor was there any need for her to do so, as the branch served merely to indicate Tristram's whereabouts'. M. Foulet (*loc. cit.*, 279) calls attention to 'combien il est invraisemblable que Tristan ait pu faire tenir tant de choses sur une baguette de coudrier, ou que Marie ait voulu nous le laisser entendre!' And (p. 280): 'Si attentive que fut Iseult, pouvait-elle se douter que son ami était soudainement revenu d'exil

the episode. We are strongly tempted to explain them as due to the loss of the specifically Irish superstitions[1] of which we have examples in the episodes from the *Táin*. We have the process of the disintegration of the episode from manuscript *S* of *Chievrefoil* to Ulrich von Türheim before our eyes[2]. It seems probable that the same tendencies of compromise had been at work before Marie de France as after her.

If we admit that our twelfth century French Tristan was originally a Celtic Drostan[3], it is difficult to resist reconstructing, in our imagination, the episode we have just been studying as this Drostan might have figured in it. Shorn of his twelfth century French trappings and restored to his Celtic *milieu*, we can

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après une longue année d'attente? Ne risquait-elle pas de passer à côté de la branche sans la voir?' He therefore takes advantage of the ambiguities introduced by Ms. *H* to form the following hypothesis: 'Il y a parfaitement eu un message, où était exprimée tout au long la comparaison de leur amour à la coudre et au chèvrefeuille et où se trouvaient les deux beaux vers que nous venons de citer, mais c'était une lettre que Tristan avait expédiée quelques jours avant.' M. Bédier (I, 194 n.), influenced by the same considerations of caution, in reconstructing the Thomas *Tristan*, rejects *Sir Tristrem* and *the Saga*, in which Tristan throws the message into the stream on the bare possibility of Isolt's finding it. 'Pour que la ruse ait chance de réussir, il faut qu'elle ait été concertée entre les deux amants; sans quoi le ruisseau pourrait charrier des branchages pendant des jours et des jours sans qu'Isolt, non avertie, les remarquât.' He accordingly accepts the testimony of Gottfried, which represents Isolt as sending Brangien to Tristan, telling him exactly where and when to meet her and instructing him to send the chip down the stream as a signal.

[1] The *geis* and the *fír-fer*, cf. note above.

[2] cf. supra, Ch. IV, pp. 138—50.

[3] As do Zimmer, *Zts. f. f. Sp. u. Lit.*, XIII, 73; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Revue Celtique*, XV. 405—8; F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXV, 22; Bédier, II, 106; Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, Leipzig 1907, p. 15; E. Brugger, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXXIX, 134.

imagine this Drostan as taking some such means as did Cuchulainn to bring about the delay of the troop and to secure opportunity for his tryst. A challenge carved on a spancel-withe would run little risk of being overlooked on a high road. It might safely fall into the hands of the first person who passed that way and be read to the whole army. The hero could depend upon a people to whom the *geis* was sacred and the *fír fer* not to be denied. The march of the troop once arrested, he could rely on his own cunning to effect a meeting with a person already informed of his presence by some characteristic of his message.

The prologue — the hero deftly peeling and shaping the piece of bark, carving his message, and then withdrawing into the forest — is preserved in Tristan. But it would be impossible for a twelfth century French poet to adopt completely the procedure of Cuchulainn. The impressiveness of ogam writing, the binding character of the *geis*, and the demand of a *fír fer* were ideas specifically Irish. Even at the expense of leaving a slight gap in the narrative, in the shifting of the scene from Ireland to courtly France such ideas would have to be sacrificed. As far as bringing about the halt of the army was concerned, it was sufficient for the hero to indicate to his beloved his desire for a meeting. In a society dominated by chivalric ideals, the lover could trust her to her being able to arrange a meeting with him. The poet was therefore free to fill out the content of the carving with any assurance of love he chose.

But, having thus simplified the character of the message, the French poet is forced to take it for granted that it will fall into the hands of the very person for whom it is intended. To a naïve listener

the question would perhaps not occur as to how the bark could be counted upon to reach the one person for whom it was designed, and be read by her in the midst of a hostile troop without incurring suspicion. But that the question *did* occur to twelfth century redactors, and with disastrous consequences to the original form of the episode, the preceding investigation of the texts that followed Marie's lay has shown[1].

The considerations which incline us to the belief that the Tristan episodes in question are based on Celtic traditions are: first, there are other traces in the story of Tristan, of its Celtic origin; second, the episode in question has been shown to be a relic of a pre-French stage of the tradition; third, the Irish parallels to the incident include not only both the carved bit of wood and the device of leaving it upon the path, but the employment of it, through the appeal to peculiarly Irish superstitions, to bring about the halt of a hostile army. Our suggestion of a Celtic origin for this incident accords with the facts of the development as we have been able to trace it in the extant texts, with the evidence of the Irish parallels, and with general probability. Our study proves no more, however, than that the *Chievrefoil* episode *may* be a survival of some such specifically Irish practice as we have seen in the *Táin* episodes.

b) Tristan master of primitive arts: arc-qui-ne-faut.

Tristan is regarded as having introduced various arts. In Eilhart he is said to have been the first to fish with a bent hook[2]. Béroul tells us that Tristan

[1] Ch. IV, p. 146—7.
[2] *OX* 4539—41.

invented the *arc qui ne faut.* While the lovers are living in the forest, Tristan's dog Husdent finds them, and lest his barking should betray them, Tristan teaches him to bring down the game without making a sound[1].

The *arc qui ne faut*[2], regarded by Gaston Paris and M. Bédier as a Celtic trait, in reality presents no characteristics that associate it especially with the Celts. It is represented as a trap consisting of a bow and arrow. When it is placed in position the arrow flies against any object that touches its cord. This trap is also mentioned in Geoffrey Gaimar's *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (1147—51)[3]. The death of King Eadmond (1016) is described as due to an *arc qui ne faut*, set by the traitor Eadric.

'Edriz out fait un engin feire
l'arc ki ne faut eissi set treire,
si rien atuche sa cordele
tost pot oïr male novele.'

The king is invited to seat himself, and the bow is so arranged that the arrow strikes him from below[4].

'Treskil sasist sur la sette,
El fundement li fiert la saiette.
Amunt li vint treskal pomun,
[Unc ne parurent li penun]
De la saiette kot[5] el cors,
Ne neient del sanc nen issi fors.'

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[1] *OX* 4541—6; cf. Béroul 1437—637.
[2] Béroul 1752—74.
[3] Geffrei Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles*, ed. Hardy and Martin (*Rolls Series* 1888), ll. 4409 ff., cited by Muret, Béroul, ix.
[4] Gaimar, *op. cit.*, ed. Hardy and Martin, 4421 ff.
[5] I have not attempted to emend this passage.

Henry of Huntingdon (d. circa 1155)[1] and William of Malmesbury (d. circa 1142)[2] give an account of Eadmund's death similar to that in Gaimar, but no details are mentioned. According to them it was the son or the accomplices of Eadric who, concealed in the pit above which the king was seated, plunged the steel into his body[3].

The account of the introduction of arts and the invention of weapons is a characteristic feature of traditions of primitive heroes[4]. In Irish tradition, for example, the *gæ-bolga* of Cuchulainn, a peculiar weapon which he alone possesses, has an Eastern origin assigned to it[5]. A certain Briun is represented in an Irish poem as having invented the *tathlum* or slingstone of artificial composition[6]. Labraidh Loingsech is said to have been the first to invent the green broad spears[7]. Similarly, in Greek tradition, Peleus is credited with the invention of the hunting knife[8].

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[1] *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold (*Rolls Series*), p. 185 ff.

[2] *De gestis regum anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (*Rolls Series*) p. 217.

[3] Automatic arrangements are not infrequently mentioned in the Arthurian romances. In *La Vengeance Raguidel* (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXX, p. 57) the lady plans to invite her unfaithful lover to look through the window at her treasures. The panel which closes the window is fitted with a razor. This she will drop to cut off his head. There is a portcullis fitted with a razor-blade mentioned in Crestien's *Yvain*, l. 907 ff.

[4] These traditions seem to bear out the epithet *gallofydd* or *galltofydd*, given to Tristan in the Welsh triad 43. M. J. Loth translates it *maître ès machines*. Rhys and Evans, *Y Mabinogion*, Oxford 1887, p. 304; J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Paris 1889, II, p. 238, cf. I, p. 337—8 note on *ovydd*.

[5] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* II, 311—2.

[6] O'Curry *Manners* II, 252.

[7] *op. cit.* II, 257.

[8] Serv. Vergil. *Aen.* 9, 505. For the development of the tradition see Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, s. v.* Peleus (u. Akastos).

c) Minor traits in Tristan story.

1. Heads as trophies.

A bit of savagery which is mentioned frequently in Old Irish romances is practised, according to Béroul, by Tristan and Gorvenal[1].

One day Gorvenal comes upon one of the barons hunting in the forest. He stations himself behind a tree, and, when the baron is sufficiently near, falls upon him from his ambush and cuts off his head. He carries it in his hand to the cabin where Tristan is sleeping, and suspends it by the hair from a forked branch, to greet his master when he awakens. The huntsmen find the dead body of the baron, and think it is Tristan's work. They shun that part of the forest thereafter.

In the *Táin bó Cúalnge*, Cuchulainn, meeting four enemies, cuts off their heads, and attaches each to one of the four prongs of a fork he has cut from a tree in the wood. One of the Old Irish warriors boasts that, since the first day he held a javelin in his hand, he has not often slept without the head of a Connaught man as a pillow. Examples of Old Irish heroes who, having slain their enemies, carry the heads with them as trophies, are too numerous to quote[2].

In the continuation of Béroul[3] there is an incident very similar to the one we have just discussed. The similarity is especially striking from the fact that the continuator is apparently oblivious of the fact that

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[1] Béroul 1656—750.

[2] ed. Windisch, *Tain*, p. 82—3; cf. 420. For similar examples, cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, Int. p. 29, *L'Epopée Celtique en Irlande*, Paris 1892, p. 97. 113. 116. 138. 139. 141. 347. 352. 353; cf. A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London 1905, I, p. 10.

[3] cf. Muret, *Béroul* xvi—ii.

the personage whose death he is relating has already been beheaded in the earlier portion of the romance. The details in the two accounts are slightly different[1].

In the second, Tristan, making his way through the forest to meet Isolt, sees Godoïne approaching. He conceals himself behind a tree with the intention of killing him from this ambush. But Godoïne escapes him. Denoalent, however, approaching with his hunting dogs, falls into his hands. Tristan kills him. He cuts off the braids of his hair, and carries them to Isolt as proof of his achievement.

The long hair mentioned in both incidents gives no clue to the origin of the stories, for, curiously enough, the fashion of wearing the hair long, characteristic equally of primitive Celts and primitive Teutons, was revived in the twelfth century in France, and the church declaimed against it in vain[2].

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[1] Béroul 4354—95; 4435—40.

[2] For allusions to the long hair worn by primitive Irish heroes, and the ignominy attaching to the loss of it, cf. Windisch, *Táin, op. cit.*, p. 246; d'Arbois, *Epopée*, p. 369—70; Windisch, *Irische Texte* III, 465 (*Tochmarc Ferb*); K. Meyer, *Stories and Songs, Otia Merseiana* II, p. 90; O'Mahony's Keating, p. 283; Windisch, *Táin*, p. 246.

For references to the long hair worn by primitive Teutons see Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* I, 395. 469. II, 287; *Kudrun*, ed. Ernst Martin, *Germanische Handbibliothek*[2], II, Halle 1902, p. 78, n. 341. p. 81, n. 355.

For a history of the fashions in wearing hair in France see Jules Quicherat, *Histoire du costume en France*, Paris 1875, Primitive Celts p. 2. 4. 10; French, from 290—490 A. D., p. 70; from 490—752, p. 82 ff. 95; from 752—888, p. 109; from 888—1090, p. 142; from 1090—1190, p. 158; from 1340—1380, p. 228.

For the accounts of Saxo Grammaticus and Giraldus Cambrensis about the way the Irish wore their hair, see Saxo, Bk. V, § 169; Giraldi Cambrensis, *Opera* (ed. J. F. Dimock, *Rolls Series*) VI, p. 185.

For previous discussions of the relation of the two episodes in Béroul, see Muret, Béroul, x—xiii, xvi—xviii; Bédier, *op. cit.* II, 151. Cf. Muret, *op. cit.* glossary *s. v.* treces.

2. Petit Crû and the bells.

α) The incident.

Other traits in connection with Tristan, unusual in French romance, appear frequently in Celtic stories. There is the charming incident of Petit Crû, preserved only in the version of Thomas[1]:

> While Tristan is in exile, he enters the service of a certain duke, by whom he is honored and cherished for his prowess. When the duke sees that he is always heavy-hearted, he seeks to divert him, and sends for his chief treasure, a marvellous little dog which he has from Avalon, the country of the fairies. This dog is of extraordinary beauty; from whatever side one looks at it, it shines with innumerable colors. If one looks at it from the front it appears white, black, and green. If one looks at it obliquely it looks red as blood; sometimes one would think it dark brown, and again light red. From the side, one cannot tell what color it is, for it seems to have none. It was a fairy that gave it to the duke. Never was there a dog so beautiful, so delicate, so agile, so gentle, and so obedient. The servants bring it in by a golden chain. When it is freed, it shakes its body, and the little bell that it wears on its neck sounds with so sweet a tinkling that Tristan forgets all his sorrow. His heart and senses are so strangely moved that he forgets even his love. No one living, when he heard that sound, could fail to be altogether consoled and filled with joy and to forget every other desire.
>
> Tristan determines to obtain the dog for Isolt, to free her from her grief for him. But he is too wise to make known his wish at once. One day the duke declares that there is nothing he would not give to be delivered from a giant that is coming to carry off the tribute of cattle which he levies yearly upon the people. Tristan succeeds in destroying the giant. When the delighted duke tells him to name his reward, he asks for Petit Crû.

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[1] Bédier I, Ch. XXV.

> He sends it to Isolt by a messenger. She has built for it a beautiful golden niche, and has it carried with her wherever she goes. But when she perceives that the tinkling of the bell makes her forget her grief, and that with her grief she forgets Tristan, she reproaches herself bitterly that she should be gay while her lover is sad. She tears the little bell from the dog's neck, and from that moment it loses its magic power.

The tale of the giant and his tribute belongs to the type of popular stories which we shall discuss in connection with the Morholt. Even the trait that the hero's attention is attracted by the sound of cattle led across the bridge, and that he then makes inquiries and learns of the tribute, we have found in an account in the life of St. Judicael, and might find perhaps in many others[1].

Lap-dogs were popular among German and French[2] as well as Celtic[3] ladies in the Middle Ages. They seem to have been held in both countries as a great luxury. We read in the Welsh laws[4]:

> The pet animal of a king's wife or his daughter is a pound in value. The pet animal of a [breyr's] wife or his daughter is half a pound in value. The pet animal of a taeog's wife or his daughter is a curt penny in value because they ought not to keep pet animals.

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[1] For giants in Tristan v. Hertz[5]; 547, Hertz[2] 538; Bédier I, 289, n. l. 715; Golther (1887), p. 19. For the trait in the life of St. Judicael cf. A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes 1905, I, p. 481.

[2] Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen im Mittelalter* I, 109; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* I, 487; Schultz, *Höfisches Leben* I, 450; Herrig's *Archiv* XLVI (1870), 425—64, (*Der Hund in den romanischen Sprachen*); Veldeke, *Eneide*, ed. O. Behaghel, Heilbronn 1882, 1766.

[3] Cormac's *Glossary*, ed. W. Stokes, p. 111, *s. v.* Mug-Éime; *Revue Celtique* XV, p. 293. 310; *Voyage of Bran*, ed Meyer and Nutt 1, 81, § 23; *Ancient Laws of Ireland* I, 145. IV, 120.

[4] A. W. Wade-Evans: *Welsh Mediaeval Law*, Oxford 1909, p. 254—5.

The lady treated her lap-dog with great consideration, and usually carried it in front of her on her horse when she rode. A lap-dog was a favorite gift from a lover.

β) The colors of the dog.

We find many accounts, both French and Irish, of dogs and horses of strange and varied coloring[1].

It may be that the horses and dogs were artificially colored in order to obtain this effect. We find the following passage in *Renaut de Montauban* in regard to the coloring of a horse:

'Maugis ot pris une herbe qui mult ot grant bonté;
Au pont del branc d'acier a l'erbe pestelé;
D'ew froide et de vin l'a molt bien destempré,
Puis en a Baiart ters, le pis et le costé,
Dont fu Baiars plus blans que n'est flors en esté.
Puis en a oint Renaut; es le vos tot mué;
En l'aé de .xv. ans ainsi l'a figuré[2].'

The practice of coloring domestic animals is believed by Jähns to have been introduced from the East, and to have established itself in Europe through the influence of the Crusades. As late as the sixteenth

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[1] L. A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance, Radcliffe Monographs*, no. 13, Boston 1903, p. 230; D. Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, p. 15; *Silva Gadelica*, ed. S. H. O'Grady II, 333; *Wooing of Fraech*, in R. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, Berlin 1901, p. 116. *Le roman d'Aubery le Bourgoing*, ed. P. Tarbé, Reims 1849, p. 62_{26}. *Fierabras*, ed. Kroeber and Servois, Paris 1860, 4109. *La chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche*, ed. Barrois, Paris 1842; Foerster, Crestien de Troyes, *Erec*, 5319 ff. Hartmann, *Erec*, 7307 ff.; Veldeke's *Eneide*, ed. Ettmüller, Leipzig 1852, 148_{15} ff.; *Wigalois*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, Leipzig 1847, 68_{1} ff.; *Carmina Burana*, ed. J. A. Schmeller, Stuttgart 1847, p. 161.

[2] *Renaus de Montauban*, ed. H. Michelant, Stuttgart 1862, p. 127, l. 4 ff.

century, he says, it was a favorite custom to dye the tail and mane and even the leg, red. Many of the old equestrian treatises contain directions how to obtain the 'turkish red' color for this purpose[1].

There is an elaborate description of a horse of many colors given to Tristan by Morgan le Fee in *Tristan Mönch*, an episodic poem of late origin found in one of the manuscripts of Gottfried von Strassburg[2].

We cite a few of the numerous Celtic passages in regard to colored dogs and horses.

> Then looked he at the color of the dogs, staying not to look at the stag, and of all the hounds that he had seen in the world, he had never seen any that were like unto those. For their hair was of a brilliant shining white, and their ears were red; and as the whiteness of their bodies shone, so did the redness of their ears glisten[3].

> 'O Ciaran', says his mother, 'do not now spoil the dyestuff for me; but let it be blessed by thee'. So when Ciaran blessed it there never was made, before or after, dyestuff as good as it, for though all the cloth of the Cenél Fiachrach were put into its *iarcáin*, it would make it blue, and finally it made blue the dogs, and the cats, and the trees against which it came[4].

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[1] M. Jähns, *Ross und Reiter*, Leipzig 1872, II, 133; cf. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs* I, cccciv—v; F. Bangert, *Die Tiere im altfranzösischen Epos*, Marburg 1885, § 50. 62. 68—71 is not inclined to believe that the remarkable colors mentioned in the French romances are due to dyeing; A. Kitze, *Das Ross in den altfranzösischen Artus- und Abenteuerromanen*, Marburg 1888, p. 19—22, n. 120, offers no comment.

[2] Ed. H. Paul, *Tristan als Mönch*, *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1895, p. 317 ff., l. 353—442; cf. supra, Ch. V, I, 3, p. 234 ff..

[3] *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved, The Mabinogion*, ed. Lady Guest, London 1849, III, 38.

[4] *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. W. Stokes, *Anecdota Oxeniensia*, p. 267, § 4076.

It is interesting to observe that Tristan's dogs, Husdent and Petit Crû, are the only ones in French romance which are given names. In Irish romance, on the contrary, in which, as in Tristan, hunting plays so important a part, the names of dogs are frequently mentioned.

> 'Goll', asked Cormac, 'what hounds were those?' — '*Bran* and *Sceolang* held by Finn', replied Goll: '*Adhnuaill* and *Féruaine* by Ossian; *Iarratach* and *Fostadh* by Oscar; *Baeth* and *Buidhe* by Dermot; *Breac* and *Luath* and *Láinbhinn* by Caeilte; *Conuall* and *Comrith* by mac Lughach'[1].

β) The bells.

In the story of Petit Crû, there is one trait that seems to us peculiarly Celtic — the description of the little bell that soothed the griefs of those who heard it. Cormac's branch, one of the familiar talismans of Irish romance, has a similar property[2].

> One day, at dawn in Maytime, Cormac, grandson of Conn, was alone on Múr Tea in Tara. He saw coming towards him a warrior, sedate (?), grayhaired. A purple, fringed mantle around him. A shirt, ribbed, gold threaded next (?) his skin. Two blunt shoes of white bronze between his feet and the earth. A branch of silver with three golden apples on his shoulder. Delight and amusement enough it was to listen to the music made by the branch, for men sore-wounded, or women in child-bed, or folk in sickness would fall asleep at the melody which was made when that branch was shaken . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
>
> At the end of a year the warrior comes into his meeting and asked of Cormac the consideration for his branch. 'It shall be given', says Cormac.
>
> 'I will take (thy daughter) Ailbe today', says the warrior.

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[1] Cf. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica, In Agallamh* I, 204. II, 231.

[2] *Cormac's Adventure in the Land of Promise, Irische Texte* III, 211—3; cf. *Silva Gadelica* II, 308; *Voyage of Bran* I, p. 2, n. 3. For pasages in Irish romance descriptive of the power of music, cf. supra, Ch. VI, B. 2 and 3.

So he took the girl with him. The women of Tara utter three loud cries after the daughter of the king of Eriu. But Cormac shook the branch at them so that he banished grief from them all and cast them into sleep.

That day month comes the warrior and takes with him. Cairpre Lifechair (the son of Cormac). Weeping and sorrow ceased not in Tara after the boy, and on that night no one therein ate or slept, and they were in grief and exceeding gloom. But Cormac shook the branch at them, and they parted from (their) sorrow.

Another account of Cormac's branch corresponds still more closely with the account in Tristan[1].

And this was the manner of that branch, that when anyone shook it, wounded men and women with child would be lulled to sleep by the sound of the very sweet faíry music which those apples uttered, and another property that branch had, that is to say that no one upon earth would bear in mind any want, woe, or weariness of soul when the branch was shaken for him, and whatever evil might have befallen anyone, he would not remember it at the shaking of the branch[2].

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[1] *Trans. Ossianic Society* 1855, p. 213—4.

[2] Two other traits to which a Celtic origin has been ascribed we include here for want of a more appropriate place. Attention has been called to the description of the castle of Tintagel, in the *Folie Tristan* of the Douce manuscript

'Li lius ert beus e delitables,
Li païs bons e profitables,
E si fu jadis apelez
Tintagel li chastel faez.

Chastel faé fu dit a dreit,
Kar dous faiz l'an tuz se perdeit.
Li païsant dient pur veir
Ke dous faiz l'an nel pot l'en veir,

Ne hom del païs ne nul hom,
Ja si grante guarde en prenge l'on,
Une en ivern, autre en esté;
So dient la gent del vingné.'

(*La Folie Tristan*, ed. Bédier, p. 20, l. 129 ff.).

Such, says M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, is the castle of the Irish magician Cúroi, which could be rendered inaccessible

C. THE VOYAGE FOR HEALING AND THE OLD IRISH IMRAMA.

1. THE TRIBUTE TO THE MORHOLT.

In the opening of the Tristan story we are told that Mark is at war with the king[1]

'gewaldig zû Îberne'

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on the nights when the master was absent. In the *Feast of Bricriu* it is said: 'In what airt soever of the globe Cúroi should happen to be, every night o'er the fort he chaunted a spell, till the fort revolved as swiftly as a mill-stone. The entrance was never to be found after sunset' (*Fled Bricrend* § 80; Windisch, *Irische Texte* I, 295; ed. G. Henderson, *Irish Texts Society,* p. 102—3).

Another passage from the *Folie Tristan* of the Douce manuscript has been compared to a description in the *Wooing of Etain.* The passage in *Tristan* is the following:

'Reis', fet li fol, 'la sus en l'air
Ai une sale u je repair.
De veire est faite, bele e grant;
Li solail vait par mi raiant;
En l'air est e par nues pent,
Ne berce e ne crolle pur vent.
Delez la sale ad une chambre
Faite de cristal e de lambre.
Li solail, quant main leverat,
Leenz mult grant clarté rendrat.'

(ed. Bédier, *La Folie Tristan,* p. 27, l. 301).

The passage in the *Wooing of Etain:* 'And he made a bower for Etain with clear windows for it through which she might pass, and a veil of purple was laid upon her; and that bower was carried about by Mac Oc wherever he went. And there each night she slept beside him by means that he devised, so that she became well-nourished and fair of form; for that bower was filled with marvellously sweet-scented shrubs, and it was upon these that she thrived, upon the odour and blossom of the best of precious herbs.' (ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte* I, p. 130; trans. A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland* I, 7; cf. Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXVIII, p. 587).

We see no connection between these passages. Cf., however, d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Revue Celtique* XXII, 133; Bédier II, 157.

[1] *OX* 59.

or, in another manuscript[1],

'ze Schotten und Yberne'.

We are not told how the struggle ended; we learn only that one of the princes who has come to Mark's aid wins the king's sister as his reward, and takes her back with him to his own land. Of their union is born the child Tristan. About fifteen years later a champion of the king of Ireland, who has reduced to subjection all the surrounding realms, turns his attention to Cornwall, and demands that Mark send him the tribute which he has withheld for more than fifteen years[2]. *Vreislîch*[3] and *grûwelîch*[4] is the Morholt, and Cornwall trembles before him. He is sister's husband to the king of Ireland, and he has the strength of four men. He requires as tribute every third child born in the Cornish land during the last fifteen years. If Mark will not give them willingly, he will take them himself, youths and maidens. The boys shall be his own, and the girls he will put in a brothel to earn him silver pennies late and early.

Traditions of human tribute are universal in primitive societies. Many localities preserve the memory of monsters, half man, half beast, who formerly inhabited the country and, issuing forth from their lairs, carried off the passers-by from time to time[5].

The following are a few examples of this belief which survive in France. In Gascony we hear of horned beings who dwell underground among the rocks.

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[1] MS. *H.* v. Lichtenstein, p. 29, note to l. 59.
[2] *OX* 351 ff.
[3] *OX* 355.
[4] *OX* 798.
[5] E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus* III, 1—95; Sébillot, *Folk Lore de France* I, 463 ff.; *Trans. Oss. Soc.* II, 62—71; cf. supra Ch. V C, The slaying of the dragon, p. 203 ff.

They have the bodies of men, but tails and hairy legs like goats. It is believed that these creatures will live till the end of the world, but that they cannot rise for the judgment day. When they used to live in Gascony they carried off the fairest maidens of the country. They have no horned women like themselves[1].

The caves of Bugey are believed to be the haunt of a mysterious being to whom men used to bring large bowls of milk to the entrance of the caverns that sheltered him by turn. He is a creature sad as death; he walks with bent head and draws back into his cave rather than talk with his benefactors[2].

A grotto of Périgord used to be frequented by a monster who fed upon the flesh of passers-by. A cavern in a mountain called Rez de Sol, in Auvergne, used to be inhabited by a ferocious being, half man, half beast, who devoured the inhabitants of the surrounding country[3].

Among the many stories of dragons current in popular tradition in France, there is one from Villedieu-lès-Bailleul in Normandy of a monstrous serpent that used to be the terror of the neighboring districts. To calm his rage the inhabitants presented him the first fruits of harvest and the purest milk of the herds. At times he required a young girl, whom he dragged to his cave and devoured[4].

Beowulf and the *Grettir Saga* are literary expressions of similar traditions. Professor Panzer, in his study of the former, gives a number of examples of folk-tales which relate how the inhabitants of the devastated country secure peace from a dragon by

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[1] Sébillot, *op. cit.*, I, 463.
[2] Sébillot I, 464.
[3] Sébillot I, 464.
[4] Sébillot I, 469.

offering to him at regular intervals a sheep, a calf, or a young girl. The victims are usually chosen by lot[1]. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of this practise. Welsh and Irish popular tales are rich in them.

These monsters are frequently represented as dwelling in or near the water. It is possible that the name Morholt, of which the first syllable signifies in the Celtic languages *sea*, and in the Germanic *marsh*, may be connected with this belief[2]. M. Joseph Loth suggests the etymology **mori-solto-* < an old Celtic **mori-spolto-*, he who cleaves the seas. **spolto-*, remarks M. Loth, has given the Welsh *hollt*, Cornish and Breton *folt* — (Cornish *felja*, to cleave, Breton *faota* for *falta*)[3].

There naturally associates itself with the superstition of the monster, an account of the delivery of the country from him. Such narratives are frequent in saints' lives, epics, and pseudo-historical accounts, as well as in folk-tales. The two French folk-tales last cited are concluded satisfactorily in this way.

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[1] F. Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte* I, *Beowulf*, p. 276 ff.

[2] *Morhold* is a Germanic name, cited by Foerstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*[2], 1118, from Frankish documents of the eighth century. Cf. Hertz[5], 517; Hertz[2], 511 ff.; Golther (1907), p. 17. Dr. H. G. Leach and Professor Axel Olrik, who have aided me in searching for it in Scandinavian documents, have found no trace of it. Cf. O. Rygh, *Gamle Personnami Norske Stedsname*, Kristiana 1901.

It is improbable that the name Morholt has been substituted, as Golther suggests (1907, p. 17), for a lost Celtic name connected with *mor*. It is difficult to believe that French poets would have substituted for an unknown Celtic name an unknown Germanic one. The name Morholt is unknown in France. E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées*, Paris 1904; Longnon, *Polyptique de l'Abbaye de St. Germain des Prés*, Paris 1895. The substitution of the well-known Morant (cf. Langlois, 470) would not have been astonishing, but this form first occurs in the English *Sir Tristrem*.

[3] *Contributions, op. cit.*, 29 n.

The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine represents the citizens of Silena in Libya as suffering from the visits of a dragon who had his lair in a swamp near the town. In order to appease him, the citizens determined to offer two sheep daily. When their flock failed, they substituted one sheep and one human being. The victim was chosen by lot from the sons and daughters of the citizens. The lot at last falls upon the king's daughter, who is delivered by St. George[1].

We have another example of the use of this folk-tale with emphasis on the demand of tribute in the story of the Minotaur. This was a monster, half man, half bull, which Minos kept captive in the Cnossan labyrinth and fed with the bodies which the Athenians were obliged at fixed times to send as tribute. This tribute was the result of a war waged by Minos in revenge for the death of his son Androgeos, who had been slain on Attic soil. The vanquished Athenians had been compelled to promise to send to Minos annually for nine years seven youths and seven maidens, according to most accounts chosen by lot. They were finally delivered by Theseus[2]. Delivery from a similar tribute is recounted in Pausanias[3] as an exploit of Kleostratos.

The biblical Moloch and the Carthaginian Saturn, to whom human sacrifice is offered, belong to the same class of monsters.

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[1] E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus,* in his chapter on the *Rescue of Andromeda, op. cit.* III, pp. 1—95, has brought together a great number of variants of this story.

[2] Daremberg, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, Minotaurus;* Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, s. v.*

[3] IX, 26, 5.

Among the Irish, stories of human tribute paid to monsters are almost invariably associated with the Fomorians[1]. The accounts of the Fomorians show a gradual process of rationalization which is, perhaps, suggestive, of the development which the story of the Morholt underwent previous to the redaction of our extant Tristan texts.

The modern Irish word *fomhair, famhair, foghmair* (pronounced *foar*) is ordinarily used for giant. It seems to have had this meaning as early as 1100, for it is so used in the *History of Monsters*[2], *that is the Fomori and the Dwarfs* in the *Book of the Dun*

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[1] The reader must be on his guard against attaching too much importance to the similarity between the names *Morholt* and *Fomori* 'As to Morholt and Fomori', says Prof. Kuno Meyer, in answer to a personal inquiry, 'I do not see how any connection is possible. Do not forget that Fomori was accented on the first syllable; the *m* is *mh* (pronounced *w*)'. The effort to connect the two was first made by Muret, *Romania* XVII, 606; XXVII, 112. Deutschbein, *Beiblatt zur Anglia* XV, 20, and Golther (1907) 17, repeat the suggestion. It is possible that the *mor* in the two words is identical in origin.

Deutschbein, *Beiblatt zur Anglia* XV, 16 ff., compares the story of the Morholt in Tristan with an Irish story of a princess offered as tribute to the Fomorians, and delivered by Cuchulainn (*Revue Celtique* XXIX, 141). This Irish episode is in place in a discussion of the Morholt only as representing one of the innumerable folk-tales originating in local traditions similar to those which gave rise to the pseudo-historical accounts of the Fomorian tribute. The mere fact that it exists in a very old manuscript gives no significance to the analogue. In discussing this incident, Rhys (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 595) justly remarks that the Fomori here assume the place occupied by the dragon in the legends of other lands and that the episode is the familiar folk-tale of the winning of a princess, with the usual heightening of interest by the concealment of the identity of the hero. Nutt pronounces it 'a folk-tale arbitrarily altered', and Hartland, who cites his opinion (*Perseus* III, 50), agrees with it.

The episode has moreover been proved beyond a doubt by Irish scholars (Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXXII, 240; Meyer, *Revue Celtique* XI, 435 ff.) to be an interpolation that has no connection, either with the story in which it stands, or with the adventures of Cuchulainn, or with the Fomorians.

[2] d'Arbois, *Cours de la littérature celtique* II, 92—3.

Cow, and by Giraldus Cambrensis[1]. All the extant accounts reflect the impression made upon the Celts by the Scandinavian pirates, whose ravages in the western isles date from 795. To this Keating's etymology is traceable: 'It is wherefore they used to be called Fomorians, namely from their being committing robbery on sea. *Fomhóraigh*, i. e., along the seas[2].' The Fomorians had originally no connection with the Scandinavians. There are indications that they were a race of monsters. The name of one of their leaders, Cichol Gri cen Chos (Cricenchos?), means the Footless. In a poem quoted by Keating, he is referred to as Cíocal the stunted, of withered feet[3]. A pseudo-historical account of the invasions of Ireland in a twelfth century manuscript describes the Fomorians as having only one eye and one hand. Some of them appear to have had only one hand and one foot, others to have been horned[4]. The names of one of their tax collectors, Morc (Horse), and one of their kings, Echaid Echchenn (Horsehead) lead Rhys to class them with the Luchorpáin and Goborchinn, monsters with their upper parts animal and lower parts human. Rhys explains the word Fomorian as meaning *under the seas*, and considers the race as imaginary creatures who originally had their abodes in or beneath the lakes and the sea, whence they paid unwelcome visits to the land[5].

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[1] *Topographia Hibernica* III, § 2, ed. Dimock (*Rolls Series*), p. 141, l. 27. 142, l. 7.

[2] Keating, *History of Ireland*, ed. Comyn I, p. 183.

[3] ed. Comyn I, 163. The editor adds the note or *hairy-legged?*

[4] d'Arbois, *Cours* II, 92—6. 99. 103, following a passage in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (before 1100), analogous to one which in the Book of Leinster serves as an introduction to the *Lebar Gabála* (*Book of Invasions*).

[5] J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 592 ff.

We are told that after the death of Nemed, the Fomorians settled in Tory Island and levied upon Ireland an annual tribute of two thirds of the sons and daughters of the inhabitants, and two thirds of the grain and milk. This tribute was brought to the island by the subject people every year on the night before the first of November[1]. The extortions of the Fomorians are mentioned again and again in the succeeding periods of Irish history[2]. The most famous account of delivery from the tribute paid to them is in the story of the *Second Battle of Moytura.* This tradition, which dates as far back as the tenth century is extant only in a manuscript of the fifteenth. The language presents some eleventh century forms[3].

[1] cf. *Catha Neimid re Fomorchaib,* d'Arbois, *Catalogue de la Littérature épique d'Irlande,* Paris 1883, 56. Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXXII, 196 ff., following the *Book of Leinster.*

[2] For discussions of the character of the Fomorians in Irish literature, v. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Mss. Materials,* Index; O'Curry, *Manners,* Index; O'Curry, *Atlantis* IV, 234, 164, n. 148, p. 159; vol. III, 390; J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures,* Lecture VI, p. 593; d'Arbois, *Le Cycle Mythologique, Cours* II, Index; *Epopée* 393 448; *Catalogue* 56; Zimmer, *Berl. Akad. der Wiss.* 1891, p. 312; Zimmer, *ZfdA.*, XXXII, 196 ff.; Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XII, p. 52—130; Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* II index, *s. v. Fomorians.*

Allusions to the Fomorians are found in poems of Cinaed hua Artacain, and Eochaid hua Flainn, and in Cormac's *Glossary,* texts previous to the tenth century. Cf. infra.

[3] Stokes, *Revue Celtique* XII, p. 63 § 25 ff. This tale exists only in a fifteenth century manuscript, Harl. 5280. Stokes points out that it contains several loan-words from Old Norse 'which can hardly have been naturalized in Ireland before the tenth or eleventh century, and one which points to the fourteenth. Of the grammatical forms, many are, doubtless, Old Irish . . . On the whole the language is of considerable antiquity'. *Revue Celtique,* XII, p. 53.

D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Epopée,* p. 394 ff., attempts to distinguish the interpolations (none of which have been included in our resumé) and dates the 'rédaction primitive' as far back as 900. He bases this conclusion chiefly on the fact that quotations from our text are found in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* and in Cormac's *Glossary.* He cites allusions to the second battle of Moytura in poems of Cinaed hua Artacain who died in 975, and of Fland Manistrech, who died in 1056.

The story of the *Second Battle of Moytura,* which relates Lugh's abolishing the Fomorian tribute, bears a general similarity to the story of Tristan's delivery of Cornwall from tribute to the Morholt. We offer a synopsis of it as suggestive of how the account of the Morholt, if indeed it is a traditional element, may have appeared in earlier versions of the Tristan story.

> Now when Bres had assumed the kingship, the Fomorians bound their tribute upon Ireland, so that there was not smoke from a roof in Ireland that was not under tribute to them. But when the Tuatha de Danann deposed Bres they ceased to pay the tribute, and now the Fomorians had come with a terrible host to impose their tribute and their rule perforce. Never came to Ireland a host more horrible or fearful than that host of the Fomorians. The men from Scythia of Lochlann and the men out of the Western Isles were rivals in that expedition.
>
> A young warrior, fair and shapely, with a king's trappings, was coming with his band to Tara where the Tuatha de Danann were feasting. The doorkeeper asks his lineage, and he replies that he is Lugh, son of Cian, son of Dian-cecht (of the Tuatha de Danann) and of Ethne, daughter of Balor (of the Fomorians). The Fomorians and the Tuatha de Danann had made a truce fifteen years before, of which this marriage was the confirmation. The door-keeper further asks the youth 'What art dost thou practise; for no one without an art enters Tara'. The youth offers himself as a wright, but is refused, since they have a wright already; then as a smith, a champion, a harper, a hero, a poet, a sorcerer, a leech, a cup-bearer, a brazier. But all these they have already. Lugh says again: 'Ask the king whether he has a single man who possesses all these arts, and if he has, I will not enter Tara'. The king then commands that the chessboards be brought, and the stranger youth wins all the stakes. Then the king says: 'Let him into the garth, for never before has man like him entered this fortress'. He entered the fortress then and sat down in the sage's seat, for he was a sage in every art.

Then the great flagstone, (to move) which required the effort of four score yoke (of oxen), Ogma hurled through the house so that it lay on the outside of Tara. This was a challenge to Lugh. But Lugh cast it back, so that it lay in the centre of the palace; and he put the piece which it had carried away into the side of the palace and made it whole.

'Let a harp be played for us', say the hosts. So the warrior played a sleep-strain for the hosts and for the king the first night. He cast them into a sleep from that hour to the same time on the following day. He played a wail-strain so that they were crying and lamenting. He played a smile-strain, so that they were in merriment and joyance.

Now Nuada (the king), when he beheld the warrior's many powers, considered whether he (Lugh) could put away from them the bondage which they suffered from the Fomorians. So they held a council concerning the warrior. This is the decision to which Nuada came, to change seats with the warrior. So Lugh went to the king's seat, and the king rose up before him till thirteen days had ended.

. . . . . .

Now when provision (?) of the battle had then been settled, Lugh and Dagdae and Ogma went to the three gods of Danu, and these gave Lugh the . . . of the battle; and for seven years they were preparing for it and making their weapons.

Then the Fomorians march till their . . . were in Scetne. 'The men of Ireland venture to offer battle to us', says Bres to Indech. 'I give this anon', says Indech, 'so that their bones will be small unless they pay their tributes'.

Because of Lugh's knowledge, the men of Ireland had made a resolution not to let him go into the battle. So his nine fosterers are left to protect him. They feared an early death for the hero, owing to the multitude of his arts. Therefore they did not let him go forth to the fight.

But Lugh had speech as to their arts with every one of the leaders in turn, and he strengthened and addressed his army so that each man of them had the spirit of a king or a mighty lord.

Then when the battle followed, Lugh escaped in disguise from the keeping in which he was so that it was he who

was in front of the battalion of the Tuath Dea. So then a keen and cruel battle was fought between the tribe of the Fomorians and the men of Ireland. Lugh was heartening the men of Ireland that they should fight the battle fervently so that they should not be any longer in bondage. For it was better for them to find death in protecting their fatherland than to bide under bondage and tribute as they had been. Wherefore then Lugh sang this chant below, as he went round the men of Eriu.

. . . . . .

Lugh and Balor of the Piercing Eye met in the battle. An evil eye had Balor. That eye was never opened save only on a battlefield. Then he and Lugh met.

'Lift up mine eyelid, my lad', says Balor, 'that it may see the babbler who is conversing with me'. The lid is raised from Balor's eye. Then Lugh cast a sling-stone at him which carried the eye through his head.

Then the battle became a rout, and the Fomorians were beaten to the sea.

Both the story of Tristan and the Morholt, and of Lugh and the Fomorians are accounts of a people suffering under a tribute imposed by a foreign power[1]. This tribute includes a certain proportion of the children of the country. The tax collectors come with an army by sea to take the tribute by force if necessary. Fifteen years previous to the opening of the story, the kingdom had had a struggle with the enemy, and it had resulted in a truce. At this time a child had been born, one of whose parents was of high birth among the subject people and the other was from another land. The boy has been brought up among the stranger people and, now become a youth, sets out to the realm of his other parent and

[1] J. Rhys (*Hibbert Lectures*, 607 ff.) calls attention to the similarity between the tradition of the Fomorians among the Irish, and that described in the *Mabinogion* and called in the Welsh triads the scourge of March Malaen.

offers his services to the king. He is graciously received on account of his surprising ingenuity and strength. After a council, the charge of delivering the country from the tribute is put into his hands. He exhorts the subject people to defy the oppressors. The king is unwilling to let him engage in combat on account of his youth, but he nevertheless attacks the champion of the tyrants and kills him. He is thenceforth associated with the people whom he has delivered.

We do not cite these traits with the idea of establishing by means of them a relation between the story of Tristan and that of Lugh, but as an example of a characteristically Celtic story similar to that of the Morholt. In the extant texts there is nothing in the account of the tribute to the Morholt nor of Tristan's encounter with him that could not have been appropriated from twelfth century French tradition and literature.

We find mention of tribute similar to that demanded by the Morholt in numerous French romances, among them the *Roman d'Aquin*, where *trente pucelles* are among the exactions of the Norse from the Bretons[1]. Crestien reckons among the exploits of Yvain the destruction of two monsters to whom the king of the Ile des Pucelles promises an annual tribute of thirty maidens[2]. The account of the hero's birth and accomplishments and of his coming to offer his services to the distressed people, is such as might be found in the story of any primitive hero. The account of the actual encounter with the Morholt, as we shall see in the following pages, is entirely in accordance

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[1] Ed. Sonon des Longrais *Soc. des bibliophiles Bretons*, Nantes 1880, CXIV.

[2] Ed. Foerster, l. 5279—84.

with twelfth century customs in France and England, and has many analogues in twelfth century French romance.

There are indications, however, in the account of the voyage for healing made by Tristan after he has been wounded by the Morholt, that the person from whom Tristan received the poisoned wound was originally a supernatural being, very recently rationalized by the redactors into an Irish champion, the uncle of Isolt. We are therefore inclined to recognize in the Morholt tribute, in spite of the conventional chivalric features which it presents in the extant texts, the survival of a tradition of considerable antiquity.

2. THE ISLAND COMBAT.

The Morholt comes with his army in the direction of Cornwall. He sends messengers to Mark offering to defend his right to the tribute in a judicial duel. Tristan accepts the challenge, and arrangements are made for the combat. It is to take place on an island.

a) The place of combat in the conventional chivalric duel[1].

The advantages of an island or a boat in the middle of a stream as a meeting place for rival powers seem to have been appreciated throughout the Middle

[1] The following study on the island combat appeared in *Radcliffe College Monographs*, no. 15, Boston and London 1910, p. 27—50. I am deeply indebted to Miss Hope Allen and Professor Schofield, who had the labor of putting the article through the press during my absence from America. The references to the island combats in the *Eneas* and *Sone de Nausay* appear here for the first time.

Ages. An early instance of this recognition of the stream as a sort of neutral territory is the treaty signed by Athanaric the Visigoth and the Emperor Valens, where the contracting parties met on a boat in the Danube[1]. Another, much later (1215), is Magna Carta, signed on an island at Runnymede. Similarly, the tradition of the tribute levied by the Fomorians on Ireland represents it as being brought yearly to the plain of Magh Céidne, which lies between the rivers Drowse and Erne[2].

For the judicial combat the island position would be especially favorable. Disturbances from the crowd or interference from friends of one or the other of the combatants would be effectually prevented. On the other hand, the spectators would be afforded a favorable position to watch the combat from the opposite shores or from boats along the stream. Fair play on the part of the champions would be further assured by the fact that the island offered a natural boundary beyond which neither could withdraw.

An examination of mediaeval accounts of judicial duels[3] shows that these considerations were universally appreciated. The single combats in the Old Irish epic take place at the ford of a river, a position offering similar advantages[4]. The Norse term *holmgang* (going to the island) and numerous accounts in the

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[1] Ammian. Marc. xxvii, 5. 9, cited by Keary, *The Vikings in Western Christendom*, London 1891, p. 35.

[2] Keating, *History of Ireland*, ed. Comyn, *Irish Texts Soc.* I, 180—1.

[3] It is unnecessary, of course, to state that the judicial combat is a prehistoric Aryan custom. Readers will recall the description of the duel between Menelaus and Paris in the *Iliad*. For the history of the judicial combat, see Lea, *Superstition and Force*, Philadelphia 1892.

[4] Cf. *Die altirische Heldensage Táin bó Cúalnge*, ed. Windisch, Leipzig 1908, passim.

sagas[1] show that the Scandinavians usually selected an island as the place for a judicial duel.

It is our purpose here to show that the island combat was familiar in twelfth century France, and that the Tristan-Morholt duel offers no peculiarity which is not richly paralleled in accounts of the conventional chivalric duels there. A study of the descriptions of the judicial duel in mediaeval romances and chronicles shows that the details in connection with the island are as stereotyped as those of the other formalities.

The preliminaries of the Tristan combat fall in exactly with the type established by Pfeffer and Schultz as the conventional description of the judicial duel in mediaeval literature[2]. They comprise the following:

a) The Indictment (Pfeffer *a*)[3].
The Morholt claims the tribute which he declares is justly due him.
O. He accompanies the message with an offer to prove his right to it by single combat or general battle. P 7, 6—13; X 404—442; Č 12, 17—14, 3.

[1] See Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, p. 280, under *holmganga*; Paul Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, London 1889, I, 563—577.

[2] M. Pfeffer, *Die Formalitäten des gottesgerichtlichen Zweikampfes, Zts. f. rom. Philol.* IX (1885), 1—75; A. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig 1889, II, 165; O. Leibecke, *Der verabredete Zweikampf in der altfranzösischen Literatur*, Göttingen 1905. For the reference to Dr. Leibecke's dissertation I am indebted to my friend Miss Hibbard of Mount Holyoke College.

[3] The references to the versions of *Tristan* are as follows:
O — Eilhart von Oberg.
T — Thomas:
S — *Saga.*
E — *Sir Trestem.*
G — Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. Marold.
R — *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, ed. Löseth.

T. The Morholt comes in person: single combat or general battle are the implied alternatives. S 30, 21—25; ch. xxvi (32); E lxxxvi—xci; G 5954—5973.

b) The Challenge (Pfeffer *b*; Schultz, p. 159).
His claim is denied and a judicial combat is agreed upon.

O. Mark sends word to Morholt, appointing the time and place for the combat (no mention of gage). P 13, 10—15; X 709—723; Č 24, 3—13.

T. Tristan personally denies before the assembly and before Morholt that the tribute is justly due. Morholt challenges him to single combat and Tristan accepts. S 32, 19—34, ch. xxvii (34) — xxviii (36) (glove); E xcii (ring); G 6264—6496 (glove).

c) The Vigil (Pfeffer *d*; Schultz, p. 164).

R. Tristan passes the night in prayer in the church (Bédier II, 326 n. 1; Löseth, § 28).

d) The Mass (Pfeffer *e*; Schultz, pp. 164, 167).

R. Tristan hears mass on the morning of the combat (Bédier II, 326 n. 1; Löseth, § 28).

e) The Prohibition against Interference from the Spectators (Pfeffer *b*; Schultz, p. 167).

G 6731—6736.

f) The Combat (Pfeffer *i*).

I. The time of the combat (Pfeffer *i, I*).

1. Appointment of the day (Pfeffer *i, I, 1*).

O. Mark appoints the third day for the combat. Morholt receives the message on the second day, and sets out preparing to meet his opponent on the next, i. e. on the third day. P 13, 11, 21; X 715. 742; Č 24, 6.

T. (?) S 34, 1—2; ch. xxvii (35). The combat follows the challenge immediately.

E. The time is not specified.

G. The combat is deferred till the third day after the challenge.

2. Appointment of the hour (Pfeffer *i, I, 2*; Schultz, p. 169).

O. The combat is to begin in the morning. P 13, *zu rechter streytzeyt*; X 733. 743; Č (24)6. (25)2.

T. (?) S, E, G, not specified.

Schultz has overlooked the fact that the place of combat is frequently an island, and Pfeffer passes it over in a note[1]. It seems desirable, therefore, to analyze here at length, in connection with *Tristan*, the twenty-two versions — Old French, Latin, and Middle English — of the fifteen instances of island

[1] Schultz, *op. cit.* II, 165—6; Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 62, § 4. Correct Godefr. 1870 to 4974. Leibecke, whose work was unknown to me when I prepared this chapter, mentions that an island is frequently the place of combat. He cites (p. 61) some of the passages I have given, and one that I had not seen: *Sone von Nausay*, ed. M. Goldschmidt, Tübingen 1899, 5073.

combats (thirteen of them from French romances, one from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and one from the annals of Jocelin of Brakelond) that have come to our notice[1]. They all appear in a conventional setting, and the treatment of them is lacking in any indication that they were considered extraordinary. The examples cited seem sufficient, therefore, to establish the fact that the practice, so well suited to the requirements for a judicial duel, was widespread and frequent.

The following is a list of the island combats that we have examined. The abbreviations indicated will be employed in the analysis:

1. The duel between Henry of Essex and Robert of Mountford.
   Jocelin — *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda* (Annals of the Monastery of St. Edmund), Camden Society[2].

2. The duel between Arthur and Flollo.
   a) Geoffrey — *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniae,* ed. San Marte, Halle 1854.
   b) Wace — *Le Roman de Brut,* ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen 1836.
   c) Layamon — *Layamon's Brut,* ed. F. Madden, London 1847.

3. The duel between Roland and Olivier.
   Girard — *Le Roman de Girard de Viane,* ed. Tarbé, Rheims 1850.

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[1] Several of these have been already cited; cf. Bédier I, 84 n. 2; Kölbing, *Germania* XXXIV, 190—5; Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Golther, *Tristan* (1907), p. 17; Kölbing, *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun,* E. E. T. S., 1894, pt. III, p. 350, note to l. 4141.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. K. G. T. Webster for this reference.

4. The duel between Ogier and Charlot and between Sadoines and Karahues.
   Ogier (*Chevalerie*) — *La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche*, ed. J. Barrois, Paris 1842.

5. The duel between Ogier and Brunamon.
   Ogier (*Enfances*) — *Les Enfances Ogier*, ed. A. Scheler, Brussels 1874.

6. The duel between Helyas and Macaire.
   Chev. Cygne — *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg, Le chevalier au cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon*, ed. Baron von Reiffenberg, Brussels 1846, Vol. IV.

7. The duel between Cornumaran and Aupatris.
   Godefroi — *La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon*, Paris 1874—1876, Vol. II.

8. The duel between Sir Torrent and the giant Cate.
   Sir Torrent — *Torrent of Portyngale*, ed. E. Adam, E. E. T. S., London 1887.

9. The duel between Guy and Amorant.
   a) *Guy of Warwick* (couplets), *G. & A.* — *The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, the second or fifteenth century version, ed. Zupitza (from the paper MS. Ff. 2, 38 in the University Library, Cambridge), E. E. T. S., London 1875. 1876.
   b) *Guy of Warwick* (Auchinleck MS.), *G. & A. The Romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza (from the Auchinleck MS. and from MS. 107 in Caius College), E. E. T. S., London 1883. 1887. 1891.

10. The duel between Guy and Colebrande.
    a) *Guy of Warwick* (couplets), *G. & C.* — See above.
    b) *Guy and Colebrande — Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, London 1868, Vol. II.

11. The duel between Bevis and Yvor.
    a) *Boeve — Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. A. Stimming (*Bibliotheca Normannica* VII), Halle 1899.
    b) *Bevis — Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, ed. Kölbing, E. E. T. S., London 1885. 1886. 1894.

12. The duel between Otuel and Roland.
    a) *Otinel — Gui de Bourgogne, Otinel, Floovant*, ed. Guessard, *Les Anciens Poètes de la France*, Paris 1858.
    b) *Otuel — The Taill of Rauf Coilyear*, with the fragments of *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel*, ed. S. J. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., London 1882.
    c) *Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell — The Sege off Melayne* and the *Romance of Duke R. and Sir O. of Spayne*, ed. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., London 1880.

13. The duel between Aeneas and Turnus.
    Eneas, ed. Salverda de Grave, *Bibliotheca Normannica* IV, Halle 1891.

14. The duel between Sone and Aligos. *Sone — Sone von Nausay*, ed. M. Goldschmidt, Tübingen 1899.

15. The duel between Tristan and Morholt.

We can now make an analysis of the features connected with the place of combat, including here the parallels from the above works.

I. The place of combat
(Pfeffer *i*, ii; Schultz, pp. 165—7).

A. *Tristan.* An island in the sea.

O. P 13, 4. Auff den word.
X 711. Bî den sê ûf ein wert.
Č (island characteristics effaced)[1].

T. S (island characteristics effaced).
E xciv. Þe yland was ful brade,
Þat Þai gun in fiȝt.
G 6727.
Ein kleiniu insel in dem mer,
dem stade sô nâhe unde dem her,
daz man dâ wol bereite sach,
swaz in der insele geschach.
und was ouch daz beredet dar an,
daz âne dise zwêne man
nieman dar în kaeme,
biz der kampf ende naeme.
daz wart ouch wol behalten.

La Folie Tristan (MS. Berne ed. Bédier, 100).
En l'ile ou fui menez a nage.

R. (Löseth, § 28; Bédier II, 326 n. 1). Island of Saint Samson.
Cf. *Erec* 1247—1251.
Onques, ce cuit, tel joie n'ot
La ou Tristanz le fier Morhot
An l'isle saint Sanson vainqui,
Con l'an feisoit d'Erec iqui.

[1] For the absence of the island characteristics in the Czech redaction of Eilhart and in the Saga, see Appendix I.

B. Parallels in mediaeval literature.

1. The island is in the sea.

Sir Torrent 1248.

Then take counsell kyng and knyght,
On lond that he shold not ffyght,
But ffar oute in the see,
In an yle long and brad.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & A.* 7965.

To an yle besyde the see,
There the batayle schulde bee.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & C.* 101. 31.

In a place, where they schulde bee,
Yn an yle wythynne the see.

Guy and Colebrande 202.

Then the Gyant loud did crye:
to the King of Denmarke these words says [hee,
"behold & take good heede!
yonder is an Iland in the sea;
ffrom me he can-not scape away,
nor passe my hands indeed;
but I shall either slay him with my brand,
or drowne him in yonder salt strand;
ffro me he shall not scape away."

Sone 5073.

En une ille qu'en mer estoit.

2. The island is in a river.

Ogier (*Enfances*).

Fu Karahues en l'isle voirement,
Il et Sadoines, armés moult gentement.
2618.

Seur les estriers chascuns d'aus .ii. s'estent,
Droit vers le gué s'en vont mult fierement.
2642.
Entre Charlot et le Danois Ogier
Orent le gué passé par le gravier. 2658.

En l'isle furent tout .iiii. li baron. 2711.

Chevalier au Cygne 1631.

Derière le palais au fort roy Oriant
Avoit une rivière moult bielle et bien
[courant,
Qui une ille entre deulx aloit avironnant,
L'ille fu longe et lée demy-lieue durant;
Là fu li camps frumés et derière et devant.

Godefroi 4947.

Chil sont remés en l'isle, où l'erbe est
[verdoians.

Otinel 324.

Entre .ii. eves en ont mené Rollant;
Ce est le pré où furent combatant
Li dui baron, quiconqu'en soit dolant.

Otuel 418.

Þere þe bataille sscholde be.
Al a-boute þe water ran.

Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell 379.

Þay broghte þam by-twene two watirs
[brighte —
Sayne, and Meryn le graunte, þay highte,
Als þe bukes gan vs saye —
In to a Medowe Semely to sighte,
There als these doghety men solde fighte
With-owtten more delaye.

Ogier (*Chevalerie*) 2959.

Li baron furent en l'ille enmi l'erbage.

Guy of Warwick (Auchinleck), *G. & A.* 96. 4.

Þan speken þai alle of þe batayle:
Where it schuld be, wiþ-outen fayle,
þai token hem to rede.
þan loked þai it schuld be
in a launde vnder the cite:
þider þai gun hem lede.
Wiþ a riuer it ern al about:
þer-in schuld fiȝt þo kniȝtes stout.
þai miȝt fle for no nede.

Geoffrey, p. 130. 53.

Conveniunt uterque in insulam quae erat extra civitatem.

Sir Bevis 4141.

In an yle vnder þat cité,
þar þat scholde þe bataile be.

Jocelin, p. 52.

Convenerunt autem apud Radingas pugnaturi in insula quadam satis Abbatie vicina.

Layamon 23, 873.

He wende to þan yllond: mid gode his wepne.
he stop vppe þat yllod: and nam his stede [on his hond.
þe men þat hine þar brohte: ase þe king [þam hehte.
lette þane bot wende: forþ mid þan watere.

Wace 10, 278.

Es vous les deux vassax armés
Et dedens l'ille el pré entrés.

Eneas 7838.

et manda li qu'a l'uime jor,
en une isle desoz la tor,
fust la bataille par els deus [1].

II. The champions arm
(Pfeffer i, III).

A. *Tristan.*

O. Mark arms Tristan with his own hands. P 13, 21—25; X 750—775; Č ——.

T. Both Tristan's and Morholt's equipment are described. S 34, 7—24, ch. xxviii [36]; E — —; G 6505—6525, 6538—6725.

The hero parts from his friends at the shore (not mentioned by Pfeffer, but frequent).

O. Tristan embraces Mark and sets off for the place of combat, commended to heaven by the weeping spectators. P 13, 25—14, 4; X 775—788; Č 25, 5—16.

T. Same with different details. S 34, 19—23, ch. xxviii [36]; E — —; G 6791—6795, additional exhortation of Tristan to Mark, 6758—6791.

B. For parallels, see Pfeffer, p. 43; Schultz, p. 164.

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[1] This island is not mentioned in Virgil's *Aeneid*. 'Ce qui est assez curieux', says the editor, 'dans *Eneas* le combat se fait pourtant sur la terre ferme, comme la suite le montre'. Cf. Salverda de Grave, *Eneas* LXVII. The lack of further mention of the island does not seem to us to mean that the combat did not take place there, v. infra. Cf. *Eneas* 9290.

III. The champions cross over to the island.

A. *Tristan.* In separate boats.

O. X 787.

Zu dem schiffe dô der helt gîng.
mit dem zôme he sîn ros bivîng;
he nam sînen schilt und sîn swert
aleine vûr he ûf den wert.

P. 14. 5.

Hiemit gieng herr Tristrant zů schiff, nam mit im sein pfärdt, schilt und schwerdt, und fůr allein in den wörd . . . Morholt kam im entgegen gefaren.

Č (island characteristics effaced; see Appendix I).

T. S (island characteristics effaced; see Appendix I).

E xciiii.

Þai seylden into þe wide
wiþ her schippes tvo.

G 6736.

Sus wurden dar geschalten
den kemphen zwein zwei schiffelîn,
der ietwederz mohte sîn,
daz ez ein ors und einen man
gewâfent wol trüege dan.
nu disiu schif diu stuonden dâ.
Môrolt zôch in ir einez sâ;
daz ruoder nam er an die hant,
er schiffete anderhalp an lant.
. . . . . .
Nu Tristan ouch ze schiffe kam,
sîn dinc dar în zuo sich genam,

beidiu sîn ors und ouch sîn sper;
vorn in dem schiffe dâ stuont er.
. . . . . .
sîn schiffelîn daz stiez er an
und fuor in gotes namen dan.

B. Parallels in mediaeval literature.

1. In separate boats.

Sir Torrent.

The Gyaunt shipped in a while
And sett him oute in an yle,
That was grow both grene and gay. 1260.
To the shipp sir Torent went,
With the grace, god had hym sent,
That was never ffayland. 1278.
Whan sir Torrent in to the Ile was brought,
The shipmen lenger wold tary nought,
But hied hem sone ageyn. 1284.

Sone 5095.

Appareillie fu la nes
Et Sones est dedens entrés
Et si doi varlet awec lui
E maronnier, n'i ot autrui.

2. Both champions in the same boat.

Godefroi 4944.

Sor l'iaue de Quinqualle, qui est rade et [corans,
Estoit apareilliés .i. moult riches chalans.
Li Aupatris i entre et avoc lui Balcans;
Outre l'en ont nagié à .xiiii. estrumans.
Puis revinrent ariere, nus n'i est demorans.

Guy of Warwick (Auchinleck MS.), *G. & A.*, 97. 1.

Ouer þe water þai went in a bot.

3. When it is only necessary to cross a ford in order to get to the island, they ride or swim.

Ogier (*Chevalerie*) 2774.

A ces paroles, rois Brunamons s'entorne,
Dessi au Toivre ne s'aresta-il unques.
Poinst le ceval, si se féri en l'onde,
Et li cevalx l'enporta tot droit outre;
Unques la sele n'en moilla ne la crupe,
Et li Danois le bon destrier golose:
'Dex! dist-il, pères qui formas tot le monde,
Se toi plaist, Sire, cel bon ceval me done!'

Boeve 3583.

Le gué þassent, oltre se sont mis.

Beves 4143.

Ouer þat water þai gonne ride.

Otuel 417—443.

Al a-boute þe water ran,
þer was noþer man ne wimman,
þat miȝte in riden no gon,
At no stede bote at on;
& þere otuwel in rood,
. . . . . .
Ouer þe water þe stede swam,
& to londe saf he cam.

IV. The spectators are gathered on the opposite shore.

A. *Tristan.*

O. P. 14. 2—4.

Er küsst in, trückt in an sein brust, unnd rûfft umb hilff in die hôhe der hymmel, er und als sein volck.

X 746.

An dem stade bî dem mere
vîlen sie nedir an daz velt.
ûf sô slûgen sie ir gezelt.
dô sie wârin ûf geslagin,
dô hîz der koning her vore tragin
sîn stêlîne harnas.

Č (island peculiarities effaced).

T. S (island peculiarities effaced).

E xcviii.

Mark the batayl biheld
And wonderd of þat fiȝt.

G 6501.

Dô kam al diu lantschaft
und volkes ein sô michel kraft,
daz daz stat bî dem mer
allez bevangen was mit her.

B. Parallels in mediaeval literature.

1. The spectators are gathered on the opposite shore and seek to secure elevated places.

Geoffrey, p. 130. 54.

Populo expectante . . . Britones ut prostratum regem viderunt, timentes eum peremptum esse, vix potuerunt retineri, quin rupto foedere in Gallos unanimiter irruerunt.

Wace 10, 278.

Dont véissiés pule fremir,
Homes et femes fors issir,
Saillir sor mur et sor maisons,
Et réclamer Deu et ses nons.

Layamon 23, 883.

Þa me mihte bihalden:
þe þer bihalues weoren.
folc a þan uolde:
feondliche adredde.
heo clumben uppen hallen:
heo clumben uppen wallen.
heo clūben uppen bures:
heo clumben uppe tures.
þat comp to bihalden:
Of þan tweom kingen.

Jocelin, p. 52.

Convenit et gentium multitudo, visura quem finem res sortiretur.

Godefroi 4956.

Tex .c. mil les esgardent, qui en sont esfrois
Car c'erent lor ami, si dotent, ce est drois.
Li borjois et les dames sont monté [as defois,
Es tors et es bretesches et es murs de liois,
Por véir la bataille des .ii. vassax adrois.

Boeve 3607.

Kant ceo veient paien, al gué sont feru . . .

Bevis 4169.

Alle, þat siȝen hem wiþ siȝt,
Seide, neuer in none fiȝt
So stronge bataile siȝe er þan
Of Sarasin ne of cristene man.

Otinel 575.

A ces paroles vint .i. colon [volant];
Karles le vit et tote l'autre gent.
Saint Espirit sus Otinel descent.

Otuel.

King Charles wiþ hise kniȝtes bolde,
Was come þe bataille to bi-holde. 503.
A whit coluere þer cam fle,
þat al þe peple miȝten se. 577.

Duke Rowland & Sir Otuel 487.

Charlles herde those wordes wele.
(Of the Saracen during the fight.)

Ogier (*Chevalerie*) 2943.

Francois le voient, mult en sont esmari,
E l'empereres qui France a à tenir
Andeus ses mains vers le ciel estendi.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & C.*, 10, 305.

Now the Danes prowde bene
And seyde þemselfe þem betwene,
That Gye was þen ouercomen.

Guy & Colebrande 387.

& then the Danish men gan say
to our Englishmen, 'well-away
that euer wee came in your griste!'

Sir Torrent 1281.

All the lordys of that contre,
Frome Rome unto the Grekys se,
Stode and be-held on lond.

Sone 5241.

Chil de saint Joseph l'ont vëu.

2. The people watch the combat from boats on the river.

Chevalier au Cygne 1638.

Ly gent de la chité, li bourgois, li siergant
Aloient entre l'ille à batiaus batellant.

3. In one case a number of the most distinguished spectators are allowed on the island.

Chevalier au Cygne 1711.

Et! Dieus! qu'il y avoit de grant
[peuple assamblé!
Le camp y véist-on autour avironné
Tellement qu'il estoient si drut et sy sierré
Que jusqu'en la rivière estoient avalé.
Et ly roys Orians et son riche barné
Estoit droit as feniestres de son palais listé;
Et la royne estoit amenée ens le prés,
Pour la justiche faire d'icelle cruauté.

V. A further touch characteristic of the island scene is introduced.

A. *Tristan.*

1. The hero, upon reaching the island, pushes off his boat, declaring that one will be sufficient for the return.

O. X 794.

Der kûne degin Tristrant
sîn schef gar harte hafte
und stîz dô mit dem schafte
Môroldes schef an den sint.

P 14. 8.

Morolt kam im entgegen gefaren; der hefft sin schif und stiess her Tristrant seins[1] verr hindan.

Č (island peculiarities effaced).

T. S (island characteristics effaced).

[1] Reading of MS. W.

E xciii.

Moraunt bond his biside
And Tristrem lete his go;
Moraunt seyd þat tide:
'Tristrem! Whi dos tow so?'
'Our on schal here abide,
No be þou never so þro,
Ywis!
Whether our to liue go,
He haþ anouȝ of þis!'

G 6796.

Sîn schiffelîn er fliezen liez
und saȝ ûf sîn ors iesâ.
nu was ouch Môrolt iesâ dâ:
'sage an', sprach er, 'was tiutet daz
durch welhen list und umbe waz
hâstû daz schif lâzen gân?'
'daz hân ich umbe daz getân:
hie ist ein schif und zwêne man,
und ist ouch dâ kein zwîvel an,
belîbent die niht beide hie,
daz aber binamen ir einer ie
ûf disem werde tôt beliget,
sô hât ouch jener, der dâ gesiget,
an disem einen genuoc,
daz dich dâ her zem werde truoc'.

B. Parallels in mediaeval literature.

1. A similar incident.

Guy and Colebrande 218.

& as soone as hee to the Iland come was,
his barge there he thrust him ffrom;
with his ffoote & with his hand
he thrust his barge ffrom the Land,

with the watter he lett itt goe,
he let itt passe ffrom him downe
[the streame,
then att him the Gyant wold ffreane
why he wold doe soe.
then bespake the Palmer anon-right,
'hither wee be come ffor to ffight
til the tone of vs be slaine;
2 botes brought vs hither.
& therfore came not both together,
but one will bring vs home.
ffor thy Bote thou hast yonder tyde,
ouer in thy bote I trust to ryde;
& therfore Gyant, beware!'

2. The hero breaks his sword, and, calling to the boatman, sends him to bring another, and with it wine.

Girard 142, 31.

'Sire Rollant, je vos en sai bon gré,
Puisque m'avez ainsi asseuré.
Sé il vos plaist por la vostre bonté,
Reposés vos .i. petit en cel pré,
Tant que je aie au maronier parlé,
Qui m'a issi en ceste ile amené'.
Et dist Rollant: — 'A vostre volanté'.
Et Olivier au corage aduré
Vint à la rive. N'i a plus demoré; . . .
Le maronier appelle isnelemant.
Et dist li Quens: 'Amis, à moi entant!
Va à Viane tost et isnelemant,
Et di Girars mon oncle le vaillant
M'espée est fraite joste le heuz devant.
Envoit m'en une tost et isnelemant; . . .

Si m'envoit plain bocel de vin ou
[de pimant;
Car grant soif a le niez Karl, Rollant'.
'Sire', fait il, 'tot á vostre commant'.
En sa nef entre si s'en tornat atant.
D'autre par l'ague en est venus najant.

3. In several of the accounts of single combats related of Guy of Warwick, the giant, becoming thirsty, begs to be allowed time to go down to the shore and drink; Guy gives him permission, but when he himself, shortly after, becomes thirsty, the giant refuses him the same privilege. Guy leaps into the water, however, defending himself at the same time. *Guy of Warwick* (Auchinleck), *G. & A.* 1144; *ib.*, Caius MS. 8325; *ib.*, couplets 8105; *Guy and Colebrande* 271.

4. The giant attempts to escape by wading, but the hero stones him to death in the water.

Sir Torrent 1295.

The theff couth no better wonne,
In to the see rennyth he sone,
As faste as he myght ffare.

5. The king is prevailed upon to interfere, and, going down to the shore, calls across the water to the combatants.

Godefroi 5134.

Venus est al rivage, si lor crie à haut ton,
'Seignor, estés tot coi, par mon
[Deu Baratron!
Se mais i ferés colp, j'en prendrai
[venjoison'.

VI. His opponent attempts to bribe the hero.

(cf. Pfeffer, *f*). An offer more closely corresponding to that in *Tristan* is found very frequently in Old French poems; cf. *Girart* 133, 23. 135, 12; *Ogier* (*Chevalerie*) 2788—2803; *Guy, G. & A.*, Auchinleck 1230—1240, Caius 8442—8454; *ib., G. & C.* 2650—2660, 10, 700—10, 710; *Guy* (couplets), *G. & A.* 8206—8215; *G. & C.* 10, 312—10, 332; *Guy & Colebrande* 348—363; *Otinel* 511—530; *Duke Rowland & Sir Otuell* 517—540, *Sone*, 5129—5163, 5203—5208.

A. *Tristan.*

O. Morholt, impressed by Tristan's courage as manifested by his abandoning his boat, offers to share his lands with him and to make him his heir if he will give up the fight. Tristan refuses. P 14, 12—15. 17; X 807—852; Č 25, 15—27. 8.

T. Morholt, having succeeded in wounding Tristan, offers to take him to his sister for healing and to share his goods with him, if he will abandon the fight. Tristan refuses. S 35, 20—36, ch. xxviii [37]; E____; G 6935—6980. G also contains a previous offer, on the part of Morholt, corresponding to O, above, 6799—6837.

VII. The champions return from the island.

1. Mention is made of a boat.

A. *Tristan.*

T. S (island characteristics effaced).

E 1096.

Wiþ sorwe thai drouȝ þat tide
Moraunt to þe se

And care.
With ioie Tristrem, þe fre,
To Mark, his em, gan fare

G. 7090.

Sus kêrte er wider zuo der habe,
dâ er Môroldes schif dâ vant;
dâ saz er în und fuor zehant
gein dem stade und gein dem her.

B. Parallels in mediaeval literature.

Godefroi 5147.

Li Sodans a tost fait une nef aprester,
S'i a envoié outre por ax .ii. amener.
Quant orent fait la barge d'autre [part ariver,
L'Aupatris i entra, n'ot cure d'arester;
Et cil les aconduirent, n'i volrent demorer.

Guy of Warwick (couplets), *G. & A.* 8313.

Wyth the boot he came passynge
And caste hyt to Tryamowre þe kynge.

Guy of Warwick (Auchinleck), *G. & A.* 134, 1.

Ouer þe water he went in a bot,
& present þer-wiþ fot hot
Þe king, sir Triamour.

Sir Torrent 1310.

He said: 'Lordys, for charite,
A bote that ye send to me,
It is nere hand nyght!'
They Reysed a gale with a sayll,
The Geaunt to lond for to trayll,
All men wonderid on that wight.

Whan that they had so done,
They went to sir Torent ful sone
And shipped that comly knyght.

Sone 5254.

Au port vient, une nef trouva
Et les notonniers aprestés.
Sones est en la nef entrés.
Dont l'ont le maronnier passé
Et en l'ost des Escos mené.

2. No mention is made of a boat.

A. *Tristan.*

O. P 16, 5.

Also ward der streit gescheiden, dem einen zů freüd, dem andern zů klag. Künig Marchs holt sein ôhem mit freüden und gesang; ..... und fůren mit freüden heim. ... Aber die traurig schar von Irland holten iren kempffer auch.

X 932—6.

Dô wart geholt Tristrant
mit vroudin und mit gesange.
ouch beiten nicht lange
die Môrolden man.

Č (island characteristics effaced).

B. Parallels in mediaeval literature.

Layamon 23, 992.

Ardur þe riche:
wende to londe.

Girard 156, 33.

Le Dus Rollant est fors de l'ile issus.

Girard 157, 31.

Dedans Viane est Oliviers venus;
Le grant bernaige est encontre venus.

3. The narrator takes the return for granted and proceeds with the story without alluding to it. Geoffrey 130. 53; Wace 10, 353; *Chev. au Cygne* 2043; *Guy of Warwick* (couplets), *G. & C.* 10, 369; *Guy & Colebrande* 393.

All the details of the engagement itself in *Tristan* are recognized commonplaces.

It is clear from the preceding analysis that in the description of Tristan's combat with Morholt we have a stereotyped incident of mediaeval French literature, offering no peculiarities for which we should be justified in seeking parallels farther afield.

b) The Norse Holmganga.

Twenty-five years ago, however, Sarrazin, in an article on *Germanische Sagenmotive in Tristan und Isolde*[1], suggested that the island combat in Tristan was a peculiarity that pointed to Scandinavian influence. Since then the incident has been repeatedly cited by *Tristan* critics as an instance of a Norse *holmganga*, although no characteristics of the *holmganga* have been given to support the assertion[2].

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[1] *Zts. f. vgl. Lit.* I (1887), 262—72.

[2] cf. W. Hertz, *Tristan von Gottfried*[5], p. 519, n. 52; Golther, *Tristan*, Munich 1887, p. 24; Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, Leipzig 1907, p. 16—7; F. Piquet, *L'Originalité de Gottfried de Strasbourg*, Lille 1905, p. 154, n. 5; Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, Paris 1891, p. 20, n. 1; Muret, *Romania*, XVI, 304; Kölbing, *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, E. E. T. S., III, 350, note to l. 4141.

Let us look a little more closely at the Norse *holmganga* to see what similarities it may offer to the Morholt combat. Although the *holmganga* is frequently mentioned in the sagas, our information regarding it is almost entirely drawn from the *Kormaks-saga*[1]. The significant passage is the following[2]:

After that Cormac went to meet his men. Berse and his men were come thither by this time and many other men to see their meeting. Berse spake: 'Thou, Cormac, hast challenged me to a *holmganga*, but I offer thee an *einvigi* instead. Thou art a young man, and little tried, and there are points to be known in the *holmganga*, but none at all in the *einvigi*'. Cormac spake: 'I would just as soon fight a *holmganga* as an *einvigi*. I will risk this and in everything match myself with thee.' 'Have thy way,' says Berse.

> It was the law of *holmganga* that there should be a cloak of five ells in the skirt and loops at the corners.
>
> They must put down pegs with heads on one end that were called *tiosnos*.
>
> He that was performing must go to the *tiosnos* so that the sky could be seen between his legs, holding the lobes of his ears, and with this form of words [form lost]; and afterwards was performed the sacrifice that is called *tiosno-sacrifice*.
>
> There must be three lines round about the cloak of a foot breadth; outside the lines there must be four posts, and they are called *hazels*, and the field is *hazelled* when this is done.

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[1] cf. Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, p. 280, under *holmganga*.

[2] Ch. x; ed. Möbius, Halle 1886; ed. Valdimar Asmundarson, Reykjavik 1893; *Islendingasögur* 6, translated in Vigfússon, *Origines Icelandicae*, Oxford 1905, II, 322; and I, 320—1; cf. diagram of holmgang ground in Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, London 1889, I, 565; also Collingwood, trans. of *Kormakssaga*, Ulverston 1902.

A man shall have three shields, and when they are gone then he shall step upon the skin though he have left it before, and then he must defend himself with weapon henceforth.

He shall strike first that is challenged.

If one of them be wounded so that blood come on the cloak, they shall not fight any longer.

If a man steps with one foot outside the hazels, he is said to flinch [lit. goes on his heel]; but if he step outside with both feet, he is said to run.

His own man shall hold the shield for each of them that fight.

He shall pay holm-ransom that is the more wounded, three marks of silver as holm- ransom.

It is thus clear that the Norse used the term *holmganga* with a very particular application, and that the extension of it by *Tristan* scholars to the Morholt combat is entirely without justification. The Scandinavian duel, in so far as we know it to have been different from the French chivalric duel, is paralleled at no point by *Tristan*. On the contrary, our examination of the latter in connection with similar combats in contemporary narratives brings out most clearly the fact that the *Tristan* story is at this point entirely under the influence of French chivalric conventions.

c) The Island of Saint Samson.

The Prose Romance[1] names the island of Saint Samson as the place where the combat was fought. Crestien's *Erec* contains an allusion to the same effect:

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[1] ed. Löseth § 28; cf. also Index *s. v.* Saint Sanson; Bédier II, 326.

'Onques, ce cuit, tel joie n'ot
La ou Tristanz le fier Morhot
An l'isle saint Sanson vainqui,
Con l'an feisoit d' Erec iqui'[1].

It is possible that the Eilhart version, with its habitual avoidance of names, has here omitted the name Saint Samson. The indications which it gives would correspond to this localization[2].

Thomas, who has suppressed the messengers, and brought the Morholt in person to the court of Mark, has effaced this localization, and makes the combat take place just off the coast of Tintagel.

There is nothing in the account of the combat with Morholt to differentiate it from what appears to have been the universal practise at the time of the redaction of the extant texts. It may or may not represent an older tradition remodelled according to contemporary taste. The indications that the Morholt adventure is a survival of a more primitive tradition receive neither confirmation nor denial from the account of the combat.

3. SECLUSION OF THE INVALID.

The wound received by Tristan at the hands of the Morholt becomes so offensive that he begs Mark to have built for him a little house by the sea, far from everyone. Those who accompany him when he is borne thither mourn him as one dead[3]:

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[1] ed. Foerster 1247—51.
[2] cf. supra, p. 102—4.
[3] *OX* 1071—83.

'dâ wart der siche în getragin
mit unmêzigen clagin
obir lût und tougen.
dô worden lûter ougen
trûbe von weinen,
dô man den helt reinen
ûz der stad in daz hûs trûg.
lûte volgeten im genûg
die alle sêre clageten,
daz sie vorlorn habeten
alsô den wigant.
sîne wunde im sô sêre stang
daz se in medin gemeine'.

The Prose Romance retains a shadow of this description in the sentence[1].

> Tristan se fait apporter a une fenestre sur la mer, et commença la mer a regarder et pensa une grant piece.

This account reflects a custom frequent in primitive communities. A person dangerously ill is removed from his house. A hut is built for him at a distance from the other dwellings, and he is transported thither and avoided. Mourners, homicides, warriors at certain periods, women in childbirth, girls at their first catamenia, and all those who have come in contact with the dead, are similarly isolated for definite periods. Contact with ordinary society is forbidden the person under taboo, and when the period is over, everything that has been touched by him is burned.

The king is permanently isolated. His divinity is considered as a fire which, under proper restraint, confers endless blessings, but if allowed to break

[1] Bédier II, 328.

bounds, burns and destroys all it touches. He is therefore shut up in his palace, and only certain persons are allowed to look at him. It is considered dangerous to partake of food that has been touched by him or to wear clothes that have belonged to him[1].

We find traces of these customs in Greek literature. The story of Philoctetes is a survival very similar to that which we have in Tristan. While the Greeks are at Tenedos after the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Philoctetes is bitten by a serpent. The wound refuses to heal, and the stench becomes so great that the Greeks, unable to endure his presence, expose him on the island of Lemnos. There the sick man lives alone, his only nourishment being the birds he can shoot with the bow left him by Hercules. Fragments of this story occur in numerous Greek writings. Certain of the classic writers explain that Philoctetes is thus abandoned by the Greeks on account of the evil smell of his wound. Sophocles adds that his cries disturbed the sacrifice. The latter considers, however, that the treatment of the wounded man was inhuman, and he lays the blame on Odysseus. Ovid excuses the Greek leader on the ground that the decision was approved by all. According to him, Odysseus believed that Philoctetes' wound might heal sooner if he were left alone on the quiet island. Later writers also represent the isolation at Lemnos as an opportunity for healing[2]. This humane interpretation is hardly true to the original story.

Tristan's little hut on the shore seems to us to be a survival of the same primitive custom that we

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[1] Frazer, in *Ency. Brit. s. v. taboo; Folk-Lore* XI (1900), p. 346; G. L. Gomme, *Handbook of Folk-Lore*, London 1890, p. 49; cf. Piper, *Höfische Epik, Deutsche National-Literatur* III, 264.

[2] Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der gr. u. röm. Myth.* 2319.

find in the story of Philoctetes. In both cases the redactors whose accounts have come down to us belonged to a society that had abandoned the practise. The ideas out of which it grew had long been unfamiliar.

4. THE RUDDERLESS BOAT.

Tristan has been living in his hut for some time when he decides to commit himself in a little boat to the waves. Eilhart accounts for his resolution as follows[1]:

'he gerûchte, ab he nimmir mê
alsô siech zu lande qûeme.
he bat daz man in nême
und trûge in in ein schiffelîn:
dâ wolde he eine inne sîn
und ûf dem irsterbin.
do wolde he eir vorderbin
ûf dem wazzer eine,
den he die lûte gemeine
vorterbete mit gestanke:
des wârin sîne gedanke.'

He bids farewell to Gorvenal, telling him to wait for him one year, and if he does not return, to go to his father and tell him to take him as a son, in Tristan's place. He bids his sword and harp be placed with him in a little boat without oars or rudder. There is general lamentation as he is borne down to the sea, and the winds and waves carry him where they

[1] *OX* 1094—1104.

will. He would rather die alone on the water than destroy the people with the smell of his wound.

The voyage in a rudderless boat is a favorite story in Old Irish literature[1]. In the extant examples of it the hero who thus sets out is usually impelled by religious motives. The enterprise is a penance appointed by a spiritual director or undertaken voluntarily. The extant accounts are almost all influenced by Christian ideas.

The voyage of Mael-duin[2]:

A mysterious person, appearing to a voyager, reproaches him for his covetousness, and obtains from him a promise of obedience. The stranger then directs him to throw all his riches into the sea. He continues: 'Go now, and in the stead in which thy boat shall pause, stay therein'. He is given as provision a cup of whey water and seven cakes. Putting forth alone, without oars or rudder, he is borne to an unknown goal by the wind and waves.

The voyage of the Húi Corra[3]:

A party of jesters see a boat departing on which are embarked the three sons of Conall the Red, 'robbers and brigands going on their pilgrimage', by the command of St. Columba, 'to seek the Lord on the sea and on the mighty main'. The leader of the jesters, stricken with contrition, joins them of his own accord. Then he went on board their boat and they were thinking whither they should go. 'Whithersoever the wind shall take us', says the bishop. Thereafter they shipped their oars and offered themselves to God. They visit marvellous islands, the description of which constitutes the interest of the story.

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[1] In the tenth century list of tales in the *Book of Leinster* (cf. d'Arbois, *Catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande*, Paris 1883, p. 151 ff.), one of the most important categories is that of the *Imrama* (Voyages).

[2] *Revue Celtique* X, 85—7. For date and composition see Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 147—82.

[3] *Revue Celtique* XIV, 39; cf. Zimmer, *ZfdA.*, XXXIII, 182—211.

The voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla[1]:

Snedgus and Mac Riagla had been directed by Columba to watch the departure of sixty couples of the men of Ross who had been condemned to put to sea in open boats 'that God would pass his judgment upon them'. When the two had assured themselves that the condemned were not trying to evade their fate, 'they bethought them of wending with their own consent into the outer ocean on a pilgrimage, as the sixty couples had gone, though these went not with their own consent'. They abandon their oars, and leave their voyage to God. The story relates the wonders which they see.

The tidings of the three young clerics[2]:

Three young clerics set out in a boat with three loaves and a cat. When they have reached the open sea, they throw away their oars and rudder, and commend themselves to God. They reach an island, and spend the rest of their lives as hermits.

Voyage of Maelduin (second example)[3]:

Mael-duin, having set out with his companions to avenge his father, is driven from his course by the wind. And even after morning they saw nor earth nor land, and they knew not whither they were going. Then said Mael-duin: 'Leave the boat still, without rowing, and let it be brought whithersoever it shall please God to bring it'. They come to marvellous islands, the description of which constitutes the interest of the story.

We find in a *Saxon chronicle*[4]:

891 þrie Scottas comon to Aelfrede cyninge on anum bate butan aelcum gereþrum of Hibernia, þonon hi hi be-

[1] *Revue Celtique* IX, 18; cf. Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 211—9. *The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics, Revue Celtique* XXVI, 133 is another account of the same adventure.

[2] Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 132; Gaidoz, *Mélusine* IV, 6—11; Stokes, *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Anecdota Oxoniensia 1890) VII—X.

[3] *Revue Celtique* IX, 462 ff ; cf. *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 147—82.

[4] John Earle and Charles Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, Oxford 1892, I, 82.

staelon forþon the hi woldon for Godes lufan on elþiodignesse beon, hi ne rohton hwaer.

Se þat waes geworht of þriddan haelfre hyde þe hi on foron, 7 hi namon mid him þaet hi haefdun to seofon nihtum mete; 7 þa comon hie ymb .vii. niht to londe on Cornwalum 7 foron þa sona to Aelfrede cyninge; þus hie waeron genemnde, Dubslane 7 Macc bethu 7 Maelinmun.

Life of St. Tathan[1]:

In order to avoid being made king, St. Tathan, following the command of an angel, goes to the sea-coast, and, finding a little ship, unsupplied with rudder or rowing gear, is carried by the wind to Britain.

Life of St. Brynach[2]:

The saint, troubled by his increasing fame, goes alone to the sea and, not finding a ship, places a piece of rock on the water. Committing himself altogether to God, he is carried the length of the British sea and brought to the port of Milford.

In the *Voyage of St. Brendan*[3]:

The idea of abandoning the oars comes to the men when they have already lost control of the boat on account of the wind.

Post XV vero dies cessavit ventus et ceperunt navigare usque dum vires eorum defecerunt. Confestim sanctus Brandanus cepit illos confortare atque monere dicens: 'Fratres, nolite formidare: Deus enim noster adjutor et nauta et gubernator est. Mittite intus omnes remiges et gubernacula, tantum dimittite vela extensa et faciat Deus sicut vult de servis suis et de sua navi'. They come to marvellous

[1] *Cambro British Saints*, ed. W. J. Rees, Llandovery 1853, p. 256. 581. On his Irish origin see p. 591, n. 1.

[2] *Cambro British Saints*, ed. W. J. Rees, Llandovery 1853, p. 6, 291. On his Irish origin see p. 289, n. 1.

[3] *Sanct Brandan*, ed. Carl Schroeder, Erlangen 1871, p. 7.

islands, the description of which constitutes the interest of the story[1].

A similar incident occurs in the story of *Liadain and Curithir* which we have cited at length in Appendix V.

We have no reason to believe that the idea of such a voyage of adventure was confined to the Irish. We have found an Annamite story of a husband who, taking the body of his dead wife, commits himself on a raft to the winds and the waves. The raft is borne to the Eastern Paradise, and the wife is restored to life[2]. In the romance of King Horn and in certain versions of the widely diffused Constance story[3], a person commits himself of his own accord to the chance of the waves[4].

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[1] Most of the above instances have already been mentioned by Deutschbein, *Sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen 1906, p. 69 ff.

[2] E. S. Hartland, *Perseus* II, 340, cited from A. Landes, *Contes et Légendes Annamites*, Saigon 1887, 207 (no. 84).

[3] cf. Piper, *Höfische Epik* II, 372; Kittredge, (*Harvard*) *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* VIII, 241.

[4] The exposure of a child in an open boat is an incident to be met almost everywhere, from the story of the infant Moses and the legend of Sceaf to the modern newspaper. There are wide-spread instances of this as a means of punishment. We see examples of this in the Irish Imrama (*The Sons of Hui Corra* and the men of Ross in *Snedgus and Mac Riagla*). The mother of St. Kentigern, being discovered pregnant, was thus punished (*Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, ed. Forbes* 1874, p. 167. 249—50). Similarly Ovid, in a mediaeval German rhymed chronicle (Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* II, 285), and a girl in the legendary *Vita Offae secundi* (quoted by Grimm, *ibid.* 285). In *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* no. 16 the false wife is put into a leaky ship and set adrift. Grimm speaks of finding instances in legal records (*Rechtsaltertümer* II, 286 citing *Monumenta boica* II, 507) and quotes from the story of King Karl and Radbod (Old Frisian), a passage which gives the criminal the choice between this and other punishments. Exposure in an open boat is a frequent method of getting rid of an enemy without bloodshed. In the *Life of Findchua of Bri Gobann*, a lad, Ciar Cuirchech, is put to sleep with intoxicating liquor and then put into a coracle with one oar on the sea (Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, p. 95. 242. 3157 ff.). Instances of persons voluntarily submitting themselves to the chance of the winds and waves are rare.

5. HEALING AT THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY.

In Eilhart the poet confides to the reader that no one but Isolt, the niece of the Morholt, can heal Tristan's wound. Tristan himself is given no inkling of this[1]. The prose redaction of Eilhart contains an additional passage which leads us to believe that in the *estoire* Tristan was represented as conscious of this possibility: the redactor takes the trouble to deny, quite gratuitously,. that Tristan knew anything of the sort[2].

> auch weste er solicher kunst nit bey ir, er het es sunst mit seiner listigkeit wol dartzu gebracht das ym hilff durch sy wer geschehen.

In the *Saga* and in Gottfried, hence probably in Thomas, Morholt declares to Tristan that he can be healed only by his sister Isolt[3]. In Malory we have the following rendering of the same idea[4]:

> Thenne the king lete sende after alle manere of leches and surgens bothe unto men and wymmen and there was none that wolde behote hym the lyf. Thenne came there a lady that was a ryght wyse lady and she said playnly unto King Mark and to Sir Tristram and to alle his barons that he shold never be hole but yf Sir Tristram wente in the same countrey that the venym came fro and in that countrey shold he be holpen or els neuer.

There are traces of this feature in the French Prose Romance[5]. From these indications we are in-

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[1] *OX* 1015—25.
[2] ed. Pfaff 17, 12—5.
[3] Bédier I, Ch. X, p. 87—8.
[4] Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, ed. O. Sommer, Bk 8, Ch. 8 Malory's version is based on a lost manuscript of the French Prose Romance. Cf. Sommer, III, 279—90.
[5] Löseth § 29; Bédier II, 328. In these versions the idea of seeking healing in *the same country that the venym came fro* is lost.

clined to believe that the *estoire* contained some survival of this trait.

There is still another sign that in the source of the extant versions Tristan was directed to seek healing at the hands of the Morholt's kinsmen. M. Bédier has ingeniously suggested that the name Pro of Iemsetir, which Tristan gives on being questioned by the Irish king, is an anagram for *Isot pro mire*[1]. If Tristan gave this name he would seem to have undertaken his voyage with the conscious purpose of seeking Isolt of Ireland.

Gottfried traces with charming delicacy the direction of Tristan's thought. As his wound becomes more and more ill-smelling and he realizes how obnoxious his presence is to his friends, he remembers what the Morholt has told him of Isolt of Ireland.

'ouch was sîn meistez ungemach,
daz er daz alle zît wol sach,
daz er den begunde swaeren,
die sîne friunde ê waeren,
und erkande ie baz unde baz
Môroldes rede; ouch hete er daz
ê males dicke wol vernomen,
wie schoene und wie vollekomen
Îsôt sîn swester waere;
wan von ir floug ein maere
in allen den bîlanden,
diu ir namen erkanden:
diu wîse Îsôt, diu schoene Îsôt,
diu liuhtet alse der morgenrôt.

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[1] Bédier II, 211—2. The poet may, however, have used the anagram without intending to imply such an intention on the part of Tristan.

Tristan der sorchafte man
hie gedâhte er zallen zîten an
und wiste wol, sollte er genesen,
daz enkunde niemer gewesen
wan eine von ir liste,
diu disen list dâ wiste
diu sinnerîche künigîn[1].'

Tristan's little boat is driven to the shores of Ireland. The music of his harp draws the attention of the Irish king to the wretched man thus cast upon the island. Tristan gives his name as Pro of Iemsetir, and explains that he is a merchant minstrel who has been attacked and left in this plight by pirates. The king sends to his daughter for a plaster, and after several failures she at last prepares one that heals him[2].

Tristan is thus saved by the kinswoman of the enemy who wounded him, the person who, as the German prose redaction says,

'was ym günstiger zesterben, dann zu leben'[3],

Striking as this seems to us, it is a theme popular in primitive fiction.

Stories of healing received at the hands of the person who inflicted the wound or of his kinsmen, are widely diffused. Greek literature offers an interesting example in the story of Telephus wounded by the lance of Achilles[4].

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[1] ed. Marold, 7283—304.
[2] *OX* 1150—1220.
[3] ed. Pfaff, p. 17, l. 11.
[4] Welcker, *Griechische Tragödie* II, 477 ff. (*Rheinisches Museum*, Sup. II, Pt. 2); L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, Berlin 1875, II, 417—419; C. Pilling, *Quomodo Telephi fabulam et scriptores et artifices veteres tractaverint* (dissertation Halle 1886); E. Gerhard, *Die Heilung des Telephos, Drittes Programm zum Berliner Winckelmannsfest*, Berlin 1843, p. 5—6.

On their expedition to Troy, the Greeks first land at Mysia. In the mistaken idea that it is Trojan territory they plunder the country. Telephus withstands them stoutly, but is at last wounded in the leg by Achilles. The Greeks are repulsed and return home. The wounded Telephus seeks the counsel of the oracle at Delphi, and receives the answer that the author of the wound must heal it. Knowing the danger he incurs by entering the land of the Greeks, he disguises himself as a lame beggar, wearing a Mysian cap and bearing a bag for crusts and a cruse for water. He waits before the house of Agamemnon. Clytemnestra appears, and he prevails upon her to help him. At her suggestion he seizes the little Orestes, and seeks sanctuary with the child before the altar. He pretends to be a merchant who has fallen upon evil fortunes and been wounded by the Mysians. The suspicion of Ulysses is aroused, and the stranger's identity is discovered. In the meantime it has been revealed to the Greeks that Troy cannot be taken by them unless they are led by Telephus. They then join in begging Achilles to cure him. Achilles replies that he knows nothing of medicine. Ulysses, however, interprets the oracle: 'Apollo does not mean thee; it is the lance that he calls the author of the wound'. Telephus is accordingly healed by Achilles with the rust of the spear that had wounded him.

There is a similar incident in the Norse saga of *Harald Hringsbane* [1]:

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[1] The resumé is from an abstract of *Haralds-rímur Hringsbana* which Kölbing considers must represent a lost saga; see E. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis und kritischen Verwertung der älteren isländischen Rimurpoesie* in his *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*, Breslau 1876, p. 227. In a saga representing the same story, examined in manuscript by Dr. H. G. Leach, to whom

Hermod, fatally wounded by Harald, declares with his last breath that his sister will avenge him. She only, he says, is able to heal the wounds he has given his slayer; but she will not do it, for she loves her brother supremely. Harald leaves his companions, and sets out to seek healing. For a twelvemonth he remains in the desert, his wound growing daily worse. At last he meets Hertrygg, Hermod's sister's son, who is seeking the murderer of his uncle. Disguised as an old man, Harald presents himself to him, and they swear blood-brotherhood. Harald then reveals himself, and Hertrygg is forced by his oath to spare him. He must also assist him to obtain healing from his sister.

The Norse *Aliflekkrsaga* recounts a similar incident[1]:

The troll woman Nótt comes one night in a dream to Aliflekkr and strikes him with a whip, saying that she is avenging her brother Gloðaugi. The wounds she has given him, she declares, cannot be healed except

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I am indebted for my acquaintance with it, this incident appears in different form. Harald, wounded, as in the *rímur*, by a man who would avenge Hring, is healed by a dwarf who chances to find him (Ch. XV—VII, MS. A. M. II, 298, Copenhagen). This saga, apparently unknown to Kölbing, represents, in Dr. Leach's opinion, a later development than the *rímur*.

[1] F. Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, København 1898, III, 115 conjectures that the story was written down about 1400. The earliest *rímur* belong to the seventeenth century. The resumé was made by Dr. Leach from two vellum manuscripts, one of the fifteenth century, the other of the sixteenth century, in the Arna Magnean collection. Chapters I—VII have been edited by O. Jiriczeks in *Zts. f. deutsche Philol.* XXVI, 17—22. The portion concerned with the voyage for healing is not included. Cf. Finnur Jonsson *op. cit.* III, 114. Ward, *Cat. of Rom.* I, 846. This incident of striking in a dream by a supernatural woman, who inflicts wounds which can be healed only by herself or her kin, is remarkably similar to the incident in the *Sickbed of Cuchulainn;* cf. below.

by one of her brothers. If they are not healed in ten years, the victim will die. Thorbiarg, Aliflekkr's wife, prepares ships, and takes her husband in search of cure. In all the quarters of the earth the best leeches fail. In India they learn that Nótt has three brothers; two of them, Seggur and Liðr, have an ointment that will heal anyone not destined to die, but they dare not use it without the consent of Jotunoxi, the third brother. Jotunoxi lives in a land at the confines of the earth, peopled by giants and giantesses. Aliflekkr and his wife set out under assumed names as brother and sister. Jotunoxi consents to allow Aliflekkr to be cured if Thorbiarg will be his wife. She agrees on the condition that he kill Nótt. Jotunoxi then sends them to his brothers with the coveted permission, and Aliflekkr is healed. Jotunoxi kills Nótt, according to his promise, but is slain on his wedding night. Aliflekkr and Thorbiarg sail home to England.

There is an example of healing at the hands of the enemy in an incident in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* version of the *Táin bó Cúalnge*[1].

> When Cuchulainn was in this great weariness, the Morrigan [whom he has previously wounded in the head, the eye, and the leg] met him in the form of an old hag, and she blind and lame, milking a cow with three teats, and he asked her for a drink. She gave him milk from a teat.
>
> 'He will be whole who has brought it (?)', said Cuchulainn; 'the blessings of gods and non-gods on you', said he. (Gods with them were the mighty folk that is the dwellers in the sid; non-gods the people of husbandry).
>
> Then her head was healed so that it was whole.
>
> She gave the milk of the second teat, and her eye was whole; and gave the milk of the third teat, and her leg

[1] Cited from Faraday, *The Cattle Raid of Cúalnge*, London 1904, p. 81—2.

was whole. So that this was what he said about each thing of them, 'A doom of blessing on you', said he.

'You told me', said the Morrigan, 'I should not have healing from you forever.'

'If I had known it was you', said Cuchulainn, I would not have healed you ever'.

In versions of this incident in the *Book of Leinster*[1] and in the *Cóir Anmann*[2] it is stated that none but Cuchulainn could heal the wounds that he inflicted.

A story of this sort, in which the wound is love, is the *Sickbed of Cuchulainn*[3]:

Cuchulainn wounds one of two mysterious birds, and is immediately stricken with mysterious languor. The same night two women come to him while he sleeps, and strike him, one after the other, until he is almost dead. He falls into a wasting illness. At the end of a year a stranger appears, promising him health and strength if he will come to the country of Fand, who desires his love. One of the mysterious women appears to him again on the spot where he had the vision that caused his illness. She repeats that he can be healed only by Fand. Cuchulainn cautiously sends ahead his charioteer Loeg to learn the nature of the country to which he is invited. Loeg returns with news and with full directions of the battle that Cuchulainn must fight in order to win Fand. Having now an invitation from Labraid, Cuchulainn sets out. He has scorned the summons of Fand because they are from a woman. He wins the victory, possesses Fand for a month, and returns healed.

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[1] Windisch, *Táin bó Cúalnge,* 330—4; cf. *Rev. Celt.* I, 49; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Rev. Celt.* XXIX, p. 201.

[2] Windisch, *Irische Texte* III, 354—5.

[3] Windisch, *Irische Texte* I, p. 197—227, edited from the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre.* Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée celtique,* p. 170—208.

In the lay of *Guigemar*[1] the woman who heals is not identified with the woman who wounds. It seems justifiable, however, in the light of similar Celtic stories and the probably Celtic origin of this part of the lay[2], to supply the trait. We may give the adventure in the words of the hero as he relates it to the lady whom he meets at the end of his voyage[3]:

'En bois alai chacier jehui.
Une blanche bisse feri,
e la saiete resortie;
en la quisse m'a si nafré,
ja mes ne quid aveir santé.
La bisse se pleinst e parla,
mult me maldist e si ura,

que ja n'eüsse guarisun
si par une meschine nun.
Ne sai u ele seit trovee!
Quant jeo oï la destinee,
hastivement del bois eissi.
En un hafne ceste nef vi;
dedenz entrai, si fis folie;
od mei s'en est la nes ravie.
Ne sai u jeo sui arivez,
Coment a nun ceste citez.
Bele dame, pur deu vus pri,
cunseilliez mei, vostre merci!'

The lady heals him of the wound, and after many difficulties the two are united.

In the *Feast of Bricriu or the Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait:* we have the following account of

[1] Warnke, *Lais* (1900), no. I.
[2] Warnke, *op. cit.* lxxviii—xxx.
[3] Warnke, *op. cit.*, ll. 316—35.

how the wounded man learns the means by which to obtain relief[1].

In punishment for the indignities which have been put upon him, Eocho Rond pronounces a curse upon Cuchulainn: He shall not rest sitting or lying until he knows what caused the exile of the sons of Doel Dermait. Cuchulainn immediately feels the garment that he wears, the house which he is in, and the ground that is under him, burning and tormenting him. 'Methinks I feel the effect of the curse that Eocho Rond put upon me. I shall die if I do not leave this place'. He takes his arms and goes down to the shore. He puts his question as to the sons of Doel Dermait to the prince of Scotland whom he finds in a boat in the port. 'I do not know', says the young warrior, 'but I have a sea-charm, and it shall be set for you, and you shall have the boat and shall not remain in ignorance'. Cuchulainn seats himself in the boat and is carried to an unknown land. There he receives directions by which he succeeds in finding the kinsmen of Doel Dermait and removing the curse.

The manner in which the hero learns the desperate conditions under which alone he can obtain healing is different in the various narratives we have examined.

In the *Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait* the enemy who causes the distress of Cuchulainn declares to him at the same time the conditions for obtaining

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[1] *Fled Bricrend and the Exile of the Sons of Duil Dermait*, ed. with trans. by Windisch, *Irische Texte* II, p. 164ff. French transl. by d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Epopée Celtique*, p. 149ff. Windisch does not date the story, but calls attention to the fact that 'die Übereinstimmung zwischen den alten Berichten (Diodor und Athenaeus) und den Sagen lässt uns hier echtestes Keltentum erkennen'. He considers that the voyage of Cuchulainn 'hat wieder ganz den alten volkstümlichen Charakter'. p. 171.

relief. These conditions Cuchulainn has no idea how to fulfil. It appears that his task involves the finding of the kinsmen of Doel Dermait, persons who dwell in undiscoverable regions.

In the lay of *Guigemar* also it is the injured enemy who reveals to her victim the means of recovery[1]:

'Oï, lasse! jo sui ocise!
E tu, vassal, ki m'as nafree,
tels seit la tue destinee:
ja mais n'aies tu medecine!
Ne par herbe ne par racine,
ne par mire ne par poisun
n'avras tu ja mes guarisun
de la plaie qu'as en la quisse,
des i que cele te guarisse,
ki suffera pur tue amur
si grant peine e si grant dolur,
qu'unkes femme tant ne suffri;
e tu referas tant pur li,
dunt tuit cil s'esmerveillerunt,
ki aiment e amé avrunt
u ki puis amerunt aprés.

In the *Sickbed of Cuchulainn* it is from the messenger of the fairy lady who has wounded him that the hero learns how he is to be healed. In the *Aliflekkrssaga*, the troll woman declares that the wound she has inflicted can be healed only by one of her brothers. Similarly, in *Haralds-saga Hringsbana*, the dying enemy declares that the hero can be cured only by his sister. In the story of Telephus it is not from his enemy, but from the oracle that the hero learns the means of recovery.

[1] Warnke, *op. cit.* (1900), *Guigemar*, no. I, 106—22.

The points of similarity in the incidents discussed are briefly as follows: The hero has been wounded. It has been declared to him that he shall not have relief except under certain conditions. He may be healed at the hands of the person who inflicted the wound or of his kinsman. He sets out, in some cases placing himself in a boat without oars or rudder, and confiding himself to chance or supernatural direction. He comes to the country of the person who has wounded him, and succeeds in obtaining relief by ruse at the hands of his enemy or one of his kinsmen.

In each case the victim, knowing that he can be cured only by the person or the kinsman of the person who inflicted the wound, sets out with more or less certainty of finding him. Since the person of whom he is in search is of course bitterly hostile to him, he disguises himself and obtains healing by a ruse. Telephus presents himself as a beggar and, by threatening Agamemnon through his child, attempts to prevail upon the Greeks to command Achilles to heal him. Aliflekkr promises his pretended sister to Jotunoxi on condition that he heal him. Harald Hringsbane takes advantage of the oath of blood-brotherhood given him by his enemy, to wring from him the promise of healing[1]. In Tristan likewise the hero succeeds by ruse in obtaining healing at the hands of the kinswoman of his foe.

In the *Sickbed of Cuchulainn* the situation is different in that the fair enemy from whom the hero receives the wound inflicts it with no other purpose than to force him to seek her in her land. The messengers that direct and the boat that bears him thither are sent by her. She is a goddess: to her

[1] In the *rimur* version he is in the disguise of an old beggar.

the end and the beginning, the desire and the event are one. *Guigemar* seems to present a similar situation, but the connection of events is less clear, owing, we believe, to modifications made by the French redactor. It appears to be by mere chance that the hero enters the ship that bears him to the land of healing. We are not told of any connection between the enchanted hind, the person who sent the magic boat, and the lady who receives and heals the hero.

All of these stories are founded on a primitive belief that a wound establishes some relation between the victim and the person or weapon inflicting it[1]. We find accounts of this superstition widely diffused. In Melanesia the friends of the injured man seek the weapon by which he has been wounded, and place it in a cool damp place. They believe that they thus soothe the inflammation of the wound[2]. Pliny directs a man to spit on his own hand if he wishes that the wound he has inadvertently caused should heal[3]. Francis Bacon records cures by salving, without the knowledge of the victim, the weapon that caused the wound[4]. The Norse *Havamal* recommends 'a hair of the dog that bit you' among other precepts of leechcraft[5]. Hrolf Kraki's sword Sköfnung had the property of being able to heal, by a stone belonging to it, the wounds which it inflicted[6]. Iphyklus is cured of

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[1] Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 253. E. S. Hartland, *Perseus* II, Ch. IX, Ch. X, 133—74. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London 1890, I, 9—12; London 1900, I, Ch. I. esp. 56—61. G. L. Gomme, *Handbook of Folk-Lore*, p. 47.

[2] Hartland, *Perseus* II, 171.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXVIII 36, cited by Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2] (1900) I, p. 56.

[4] F. Bacon, *Natural History*, cent. X § 998, cited by Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2] (1900) I, p. 57; cf. Hartland, *Perseus* II, 169.

[5] *Hávamál*, stanza 138, *Edda, Saemundar hins fróaða.*

[6] *Hrolf Kraka saga*, Cap. 50, *Fornalddars.* I, 93—102.

impotence, according to Apollodorus, by the rust of the instrument that has castrated a ram[1]. In the *Tuti-Nameh* we are told that the bites of a certain ape could be cured only by a plaster made from its blood[2].

Such beliefs, of which the literary records might easily be multiplied, survive among the peasants of parts of England and Germany to this day. If a man cuts himself with a hoe or a scythe, he cleans the implement with oil. An object that has caused a wound, whether it be a thorn, a rusty nail, a pair of scissors, a flat iron, or what not, is carefully greased or bound, and put away in a cool place. In some cases it is put away dry; in other cases damp, in order to accumulate rust. These measures are taken in the belief that the inflammation and poisoning of the wound it has dealt are thus avoided. In Central-Australia relatives grease themselves and submit to a diet in order to hasten the recovery of their kindred[3].

This superstition appears to have been familiar to the writers of French romance. In some of the versions of the Grail story it is said that the lance which had wounded the Fisher King could alone heal him[4]. In the *Tale of Balin* in the *Huth Merlin*[5] we hear of a slain knight who could be avenged only by the *tronchon meismes* by which he had been killed. In the same story it appears that the youth

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[1] *Apollodorus* I, Chapter 9, § 12.
[2] *Tuti-Nameh*, ed. von Rosen, Leipzig 1858, I, 132.
[3] Frazer[2], *op. cit.* (1900) I, 58—9; cf. 30—4.
[4] *Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Furnivall, 51—2, summary of A. Nutt in *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London 1888, p. 51.
[5] *Merlin*, ed. Paris and Ulrich. *Soc. des. anc. textes fr.* (1886) II, 6.

who has been wounded by Garlan, can be healed only by his enemy's blood[1]. In *Meriaduc* a knight is wounded by a certain sword, and can be healed only by a second blow from the same weapon[2]. The Dutch romance *Torec*, a late compilation from various French sources, tells of a poisoned wound that can be healed only by the sister of the enemy's wife[3]. The spear of Achilles is frequently alluded to by writers of amatory verse in the twelfth and thirteenth century as having the property of healing the wounds it made[4]. Dante refers to it as follows:

> 'Od' io che soleva la lancia
> D'Achille e del suo padre esser cagione
> Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia[5].'

The person who has caused the wound seeks in the same range of ideas a means to aggravate it. He and his friends drink burning liquids in the belief that inflammation is thus brought about. They keep the bow-string of the arrow stiff, and stretch it from time to time for the purpose of causing a similar strain in the nerves of the wounded man. The savage

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[1] *Merlin* II, 22.

[2] *Hist. Litt. de la France* XXX, 240.

[3] Cited by Hertz[5] 565; cf. Paul, *Grundriss* II, 1. Abt. p. 465.

[4] By a misunderstading it is frequently alluded to as the lance of Peleus. Cf. the study of Paget Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, London 1902, p. 137—41. Passages alluding to the healing lance are cited from Bernart de Ventadour and other poets, among them Shakespeare (*Henry VI.*, Part. II, Act V, Sc. I, ll. 100—1):

> 'Whose smile and frown like to Achilles' spear
> Is able with the change to kill and cure.'

[5] *Inferno* XXI, 4—6.

who has bitten the arm of one of his enemies, drinks hot water for a similar purpose[1].

Tremendous narrative possibilities are inherent in this primitive idea. It is a homeopathy not easy to put in practice. To seek the enemy, defeated or victorious, on his own ground, involves difficulties enough, but to prevail upon him to heal the wound he has himself inflicted calls into requisition all the hero's capacity for strategem. Toward the man who could achieve such an undertaking successfully in a primitive society, the attitude of the barons toward Tristan as described by Gottfried might well be justified.

> 'merket wunder, hoeret her:
> der parâtiere, wie kan er
> gesehendiu ougen blenden
> und allez daz verenden,
> daz er ze endenne hât[2]!'

6. CONCLUSION.

How are we to reconcile the hero's conscious purpose of seeking healing at the hands of his enemy with the story of his setting out without oars or rudder and confiding himself to the mercy of the winds and the waves? Why, instead of sailing to Ireland, where he knew the kinsfolk of Morholt were to be found, did Tristan set out in a rudderless boat as if he had no hope or goal?

The impulse to throw oneself upon the unknown, which appears in the Irish *Imrama* and in Tristan

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2] (1900) I, p. 56.
[2] ed. Marold, 8349—54.

is not entirely blind. It is based on the belief in marvellous countries to be found by such an abandonment, countries not to be reached by chart or compass. In such lands the Old Irish pilgrims always arrive. To such a land Cuchulainn is borne for healing at the hands of Fand. Such seems to be that of which the more cautious Aliflekkr learns, after his search through the known quarters of the globe, — a land inhabited by monsters at the confines of the earth. To such a land the Annamite husband is borne, committing himself on a raft to the winds and waves. The juxtaposition, in Tristan, of the rudderless voyage and the cure at the hands of the enemy's kinsman, lead us to believe that such also was the land of the Morholt, — a land of monsters beyond the confines of the earth, a land that cannot be reached by means of chart or compass.

The story of the Morholt, as we have seen, contains striking primitive traits: the hut built for the wounded Tristan, his embarking in a rudderless boat, his securing healing under the name of Pro of Iemsetir from the kinswoman of the Morholt himself. It has seemed possible to discern beneath these fragments of tradition the outlines of a type of story which we have not found elsewhere in French romance, but of which we have examples in Greek, Irish, and Norse literature. The Norse stories in question are late compilations of foreign, perhaps of Celtic, origin. They lack one of the most characteristic features of the Tristan story, the voyage in the rudderless boat. The Greek story is also without this feature. It seems possible, in view of the other Celtic connections of Tristan, that the Morholt story is traceable to Celtic tradition.

D. THE FLIGHT TO THE FOREST AND THE OLD IRISH *AITHEDA*.

1. INTRODUCTION.

We have discussed in Chapter V the portion of the story that follows the voyage for healing — the quest of Isolt, the marriage with Mark, the deceits by which the lovers at first elude suspicion, the desperate shifts by which, suspected, they contrive for a time to maintain their relation unmolested. These incidents the story has drawn to itself from the rich funds of popular tradition in which, everywhere in western Europe, the mediaeval story-teller was at home. With the exception of the incident of the harp and the rote, the portion of the Tristan story which lies between the voyage for healing and the life in the forest consists of incidents that may be found in almost any literature. They may equally well have been introduced into the story of Tristan by one people as by another. Our own opinion is that they were introduced by the French. It was not the habit of the Celts to leave in their typical form the stories which they appropriated. In these passages of Tristan, stories widely current in the Orient and Occident in popular tradition are reproduced with almost no modification.

But with the life in the forest we come to a passage of more distinctive character. Other lovers, to be sure, have fled from their persecutors, and some, in seeking a more hospitable society, have passed through forests and lonely places. Such are Aucassin and Nicolette[1]. Such are Guillaume de Palerne and

[1] *Aucassin et Nicolette*. ed. Suchier, Paderborn 1903, § 18—27.

the fair Melior[1]. But Tristan and Isolt, alone of the lovers that we know, have made the wilderness their home, have had no thought of seeking beyond it a more friendly society. These alone establish themselves in the desert, wrenching their scanty sustenance and shelter from reluctant nature. These alone are cut off for years from the world, living without intercourse with any, deprived of every activity and every responsibility. In the closely woven fabric of feudal society, they alone have no relation, no place. In the account of their life in the forest, Tristan and Isolt are unique in French romance. In other passages of their story we have found glimpses of a spirit and of customs that are not French. But in the life in the forest we find Tristan and Isolt associating themselves definitively with the company of the star-crossed lovers of Old Irish romance.

Nous avons perdu le monde et le monde nous[2], says Isolt to Tristan. The solitude of their forest life is peopled for the French poets by no tales of other lovers who have felt and lived as they. But the Celtic Grainne sings her lover to sleep in the forest with stories of many another that has shared their fate[3]:

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[1] *Guillaume de Palerne.* ed. H. Michelant, *Soc. des anc. textes. fr.* Paris 1876, l. 3023 ff. Similarly in *William of Palerne,* ed. W. W. Skeat, London 1867, l. 1764 ff. In *Islenzkar Þjoðsögur og Afintýri,* Leipzig 1864, *Saga af Geirlangu og Groðara,* p. 379—80, and *Saga af Jónides Kóngssyni og Hildi Kongsdottur,* p. 418, two lovers flee to the forest and, pursued, change themselves into birds. The step-mother discovers and kills them. In one of the lays included in the Norse *Strengleikar,* two lovers flee to the forest and shelter themselves in a cave. A shepherd brings them provisions. In a terrible snow-storm they perish of cold and hunger. I am indebted to Mr. Sigurður Nordal for the first two Norse references.

[2] Löseth, § 51.

[3] *Duanaire Finn,* ed. Mac Neill, *Irish Texts Society* V, Gaelic p. 84, Eng. p. 197. *The Sleep Song of Grainne.*

Sleep a little, a blessing on thee! above the water of the spring of Trénghart; little lamb of the land above the lake, from the womb of the country of strong torrents.

Be it even as the sleep in the south of Dedidach of the high poets, when he took the daughter of ancient Morann in spite of Conall from the Red Branch.

Be it even as the sleep in the north of fair comely Finnchadh of Assaroe, when he took stately Sláine in spite of Failbhe Hard head.

Be it even as the sleep in the west of Aine daughter of Gailian, what time she fared by torch light with Dubhthach from Doirinis.

Be it even as the sleep in the east of Degha, gallant and proud, when he took Coinchenn daughter of Binn in spite of fierce Dechell of Duibhreann.

Stories like that of Tristan and Isolt in the forest were numerous among the Celts. They constitute one of the important categories in the list, made in the tenth century, of the tales that every poet is bound to know[1]. Under the rubric: *Aitheda (Elopements)* we find the following[2]:

The Elopement of Mugain with Fiamain.

The Elopement of Deirdre with the sons of Uisnech.

The Elopement of Aife, daughter of Eoghan, with Mesdead.

The Elopement of Naise, the daughter of Fergus, with Nertach, son of Ua Leith.

The Elopement of the wife of Gaiar, son of Derg, with Glas, son of Cimbaeth.

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[1] The *Imrama,* mentioned above, constitute another group of such tales.

[2] *The Book of Leinster,* Facsimile published by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin 1880, pp. 189—90; printed in E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the manuscript materials of Ancient Irish history,* Dublin 1873, p. 590. Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue,* 34—8, 259 ff.

The Elopement of Blathnait, the daughter of Pall, son of Fidhach, with Cuchulainn.

The Elopement of Grainne with Diarmait.

The Elopement of Muirn with Dubhruis.

The Elopement of Ruithchearn with Cuana, the son of Cailcin.

The Elopement of Erc, daughter of Loarn, with Mureadhach, the son of Eoghan.

The Elopement of Dighe with Laidcnen.

The Elopement of the wife of Ailill, the son of Eoghan, with Fothudh Canann.

To these may be added

The Elopement of Emer with Tuir Glesta, son of the king of Norway[1].

Such a category is unknown in Old French literature. There the lover carries on his intercourse with his lady under the convenient shelter of the husband's roof, and does not find salt the taste of the husband's bread. In the more highly developed society which we find on the continent, the social order is too strong for such open revolt as we find in the Irish stories. The individual has not the courage to live in open defiance of the society to which he belongs. He cannot trust entirely to his own ingenuity and endurance, his own resourcefulness and self-sufficiency. He dares not struggle for existence, as these Irish fugitives have dared, his hand against every man's and every man's hand against his. Tristan alone of French heroes, by virtue of accomplishments which distinguish him strikingly from his fellows, is capable of it.

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[1] ed. K. Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* VI, 184—5.

2. TRISTAN AND ISOLT AND THE OLD IRISH STORY OF DIARMAID AND GRAINNE.

a) Introduction.

Only a few scanty fragments of the Irish *Aitheda* have come down to us[1]. It has seemed worth while to try to piece one of them together, and to compare it with the romance of Tristan.

The tradition of Diarmaid and Grainne descends in an unbroken line from the ninth century to the present day. Its hero, Diarmaid, is one of the Fianna, bands of roving warriors of which we have traces in Ireland as early as the sixth century[2]. We have already discussed the accomplishments of Tristan, and pointed out analogues to them among the feats of the Old Irish heroes. The Fianna were especially remarkable for strength and agility[3]. The exploits and adventures of their various chiefs were the subject of numberless stories. In the course of development of Irish literary tradition most of these adventures came to center in Finn ua Baiscne or Finn mac Umall, represented in the extant texts as the supreme leader of the Fianna, and his companions, Caoilte, Ossian, Diarmaid and others. These adventures are accounts of extraordinary feats, of incredible enchantments, of earthly and unearthly loves, of impossible quests, of far-fetched scruples of

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[1] *The Elopement of Deirdre with the Sons of Usnech* is discussed below. *The Elopement of Blathnait with Cuchulainn* was probably the same story that is preserved in *The Tragic Death of Curoi mac Dari*, discussed below in connection with *The Harp and the Rote*.

[2] K. Meyer, *Fianaigecht, R. I. A. Todd Lecture Series* XVI, Int. viii ff.

[3] cf. supra Ch. VI B.

honor. They are intensely individualistic in spirit; they are but slightly influenced by feudal ideas; their interest centers not at all in a cause or in battles for a cause; their paganism is intact.

With these heroes Tristan is allied in his adventures as in his accomplishments. It is not in fight shoulder to shoulder that we find Tristan at his best, although the French redactors have not allowed him to remain devoid of distinction in the abilities in which their own heroes excelled. What is most characteristic of Tristan is his nimbleness of hand and foot, his extraordinary possession of his five senses, and his fertility in ruses. Tristan can tune his voice to the birds, Tristan can take prodigious leaps, Tristan can snare the fish and trap the game. He can break the deer as none other can do it. He can teach his dog to bring down the prey without a sound. The mark of his hand is distinguishable by its superior cunning from that of any other, the whittlings which he makes will float on any current, and the sign that he leaves on the highroad is recognized at once as his. By him alone can the twigs be shot into the wall so that they will enter, the one into the other, and remain fixed in a line. With such accomplishments as these Tristan might well meet the requirements for entrance into the band of the Fianna. Among the heroes of French romance they isolate him.

French redactors, in adopting a Celtic elopement story, would very naturally modify it to some degree of conformity with the stories of unlawful love which were popular in France. It may well be due to them that the story of the flight to the forest is reduced to a subordinate element, whereas the situation of Isolt at the court, and Tristan eluding the vigilance

of Mark to secure meetings with her, is elaborated in numerous episodes. Some incidents, moreover, which in Celtic stories would have belonged to the period of the life in the forest, seem to have been shifted by the French redactor, for one reason or another, to other positions in the narrative[1]. We shall not attempt to trace any but general similarities between the Tristan story and the particular Irish romance which we have examined. Our purpose is merely to show that the former, in so far as it is not explicable by French literature contemporary with the extant redactions, seems to be a survival, in an alien atmosphere, of an Old Irish elopement story.

b) Fragments of the story of Diarmaid and Grainne in texts anterior to the tenth century.

The full title of the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne*, which is the *Aithed* that we shall take to compare with the story of Tristan and Isolt, is *Aithed Grainne ingine Corbmaic la Diarmaid ua n-Duibni*, (*The Elopement of Grainne, daughter of Cormac, with Diarmaid, grandson of Duibne*)[2]. The *Aithed* itself is unfortunately lost. Certain fragments of the story are extant, however, in tenth century texts, and from these we can discern the general outlines of the original romance.

Diarmaid, the nephew of Finn mac Umaill, is one of his chief's closest friends and most trusted warriors. Grainne, the daughter of Cormac the high king of Ireland, is Finn's wife.

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[1] cf. e. g. infra, *The Harp and the Rote, The Splashing Water.*

[2] d'Arbois, *Catalogue*, p. 35, cf. clv and p. 176. 7. 32 and 3.

One of the few fragments of tradition regarding them that dates from the tenth century is the account of Finn's wooing of Grainne[1]. This relates Grainne's unwillingness to become Finn's wife. She requires, as the condition of her marriage with him, a couple of every wild animal in Ireland. This attempt to evade Finn's suit is, however, unsuccessful. With the help of Caoilte, Finn brings the bridal gift demanded.

> Then in an unlucky hour Grainne was given to Finn, for they never lived in peace until they separated. Finn was hateful to the maiden and such was her hatred that she sickened of it.

She confesses to her father her feeling toward her husband. Finn, overhearing her words, declares that it is time for them to separate.

There is an allusion in a gloss in the *Amra Coluimb Chille* of the ninth century[2] to Grainne's love for another.

> And Grainne sang: There is one for a long look from whom I should be thankful: for whom I would give the whole world, O Son of Mary, though it be a privation.

According to the *Tochmarc Ailbe, ingine Cormaic hui Chuind la Find húa mBáiscne (The Wooing of Ailbe, daughter of Cormac grandson of Conn, by Finn grandson of Baiscne)*, an unpublished tale of the tenth century[3], there was strife between Cormac and

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[1] ed. K. Meyer, *Zts. f. Celt. Philol.* I. 458. Prof. Meyer dates this in the ninth or tenth century. *Fianaigecht, R. I. A. Todd Series* XVI, p. xxiii.

[2] Ed. Stokes *Rev. Celt.* XX, p. 156—7; Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* XI, 126, prints: *Ut dixit Gráinne ingen Cormaic fri Find,* citing *Rawl. B* 502, fo 56 a 2.

[3] MS. H. 3. 17, p. 827—31. Meyer, *Fianaigecht* xxiv, places this in the tenth century.

Finn, the cause being that Grainne had come to hate Finn, and had set her love on Diarmaid, son of O'Duibhne.

An allusion in the *Book of Aicill*, a law tract of the ninth century[1], shows that already at that time the story of the elopement of Diarmaid and Grainne was traditional. It appears further that Lughaid was present when the elopement took place[2]. The line[3]

'Grainne eloped with thee, O Lughaidh'

is cited to illustrate the legal responsibility of witnesses.

The *Uáth Beinne Étair* (*The Hiding in the Hill of Howth*)[4] of the tenth century[5], gives a dramatic

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[1] *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, ed. R. Atkinson, *op. cit.* III, clxii, n.

[2] *Op. cit.*, III, 533. The scene of the elopement in the *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Grainne* (*The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne*) is a feast at the house of Cormac in Tara, v. ed. S. H. O'Grady, *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, Dublin 1855; re-edited for the *Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language*, Dublin 1895, in two parts. The oldest manuscript noted by d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue*, p. 249, is R. I. A. 23 L 27, 1736—8. Mr. J. H. Lloyd informs me that one of the manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century. We have cited the *Oss. Soc.* edition by pages, the other by paragraphs. In oral tradition it is frequently during a feast that Grainne is overcome with love for Diarmaid (cf. stanzas 16—8, p. 56, *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII) and begs him to elope with her. It is not until some time later, however, that she succeeds in prevailing upon him to go; cf. J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (cited *W. H. T.*), Edinburgh 1862, III, p. 39. 54. 56; J. G. Campbell, *The Fians* (cited *F*), *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* V, London 1891, p. 53, p. 55; J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne*, London 1872, (cited L. F.), p. 153. 154. In O'Grady, p. 55 (I, § 7) there is no mention of the love spot.

[3] This Lughaidh, son of Daire Derg, is mentioned in the genealogical lists of the *Book of Leinster*, p. 311 ff., and in Rawlinson B. 502. 128 a. He is frequently mentioned among the Fenian heroes. In the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne* he is represented as one of those present when Grainne eloped with Diarmaid. ed. O'Grady, p. 50 (I, § 5).

[4] Ed. Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* XI, p. 125 ff.

[5] Meyer, *Fianaigecht*, p. xxiv.

moment in the life of the fugitives. They have taken refuge in a cave, and the old woman who is serving them is about to betray them. They are saved by the foster-father of Diarmaid, Aonghus of the Brugh, one of the Tuatha de Danann[1].

c) The transmission of the other portions of Diarmaid and Grainne.

The comparison of the Tristan story with that of Diarmaid and Grainne involves difficulties on both sides. The Celtic tradition of Tristan was modified by the French poets almost beyond recognition, and brought into conformity with French customs and French habits of thought. The tenth century story of *Diarmaid and Grainne* has survived in Ireland and Scotland only in fragments, and these often in late redactions, at the hands of men to whom the life it reflected was almost as strange as it was to the French poets. In consequence we find the story of Tristan distorted in the direction of French chivalry, and the story of Diarmaid, even in those fragments of it which are preserved to us in sixteenth century manuscripts, sadly corrupted by oral transmission. Fortunately there is a third set of documents that aids us in determining the original tradition — ninth and tenth century Irish texts recounting similar adventures of other heroes, and preserving, in a more primitive form, the incidents which appear in *Tristan and Isolt* and in *Diarmaid and Grainne.*

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[1] Aonghus has a similar role in the *Pursuit.* Cf. O'Grady, p. 71. 148. 150. 168 (I § 21. 23. 26. 34).

d) General similarities between Tristan and Isolt and Diarmaid and Grainne.

Like the story of *Tristan and Isolt*, the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne* is the tale of a trusted warrior who is driven by a strange fatality to take away the wife of his friend and king. By this he cuts himself off from all human ties. The fugitives are tracked like wild beasts. They sustain themselves in the wilderness, unconscious, in their love for each other, of hardships and privations.

e) The love-potion.

The fatality that draws the two lovers together is expressed in *Diarmaid and Grainne*, as in *Tristan*, in terms of popular superstition. In oral tradition everywhere in Scotland and Ireland, Diarmaid is represented as possessed of a mark called a *love-spot* which makes him irresistible to any woman who sees it[1]. For this trait no manuscript evidence of early date happens to survive, but Diarmaid's charm for women is always alluded to in Old Irish romance. The fifteenth century lay of the *Death of Diarmaid* in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, for example, is prefaced by the line

'This is the tale that makes women sorrowful[2]'

and closes with the lament[3]:

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[1] Cf. versions collected from oral tradition cited.
[2] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, p. 163. 166, Stanza 6, line 3.
[3] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, p. 165. 168. Stanza 25.

'Master (?) and charmer of women,
Son of O Duibhne of swift victories,
Wooing has not lifted her eyes
Since the clay was placed on his cheek'.

According to tradition, Grainne catches a glimpse of this love-spot and is at once consumed with passion for Diarmaid. She tries to persuade him to take her away from her husband. He attempts in a manner characteristic of popular tradition to evade her[1].

> 'I will not go with thee; I will not take thee in softness, and I will not take thee in hardness; I will not take thee without, and I will not take thee within; I will not take thee on horseback, and I will not take thee on foot.'
>
> She, however, went to a fairy woman and got garments made from mountain down. She came with this garment on, riding on a he-goat in the dusk of the evening, when it was neither light nor dark; and thus it could not be said that she was clothed or unclothed, on foot or on horseback, in company or without company, and consequently was deemed free from the spell laid upon her.

Grainne might have had recourse to a love-potion, but she takes the method of putting a *geis* upon Diarmaid to go with her. The *geis* is a peculiarly Irish taboo which any individual seems to have been at liberty to impose upon any other, and which, if disregarded, entailed moral degradation and swift retribution[2].

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[1] *W. H. T.* (*West Highland Tales*) p. 40, F. (*The Fians*), p. 52—3. Similarly *L. F.* (*Leabhar na Feinne*) 153. 154. This ingenuity in accomplishing an apparent impossibility is discussed by Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften* III, p. 514; cf. Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, no. 94.

[2] cf. Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch* I, Leipzig 1880, p. 590, s. v. *Geis*. Such prohibitions or interdicts are a characteristic feature of Irish romances. v. supra.

Diarmaid and Grainne are thus marked by fate for the tragic issue. She is under the spell of the *love-spot*, and he under the *geis*. They cannot escape — they must go with each other. They cannot defy their fate, and, subject to it, they must defy every human tie.

Similarly, in the story of the *Exile of the Sons of Usnech*, preserved in the *Book of Leinster*, a manuscript written before 1150, Naisi resists the advances of Deirdre, wife of King Conchobar, and refuses to take her from her lord. When she puts a *geis* upon him he is forced to yield[1].

In Tristan it is a love-potion that introduces the tragic necessity. The belief in love-charms is universal among primitive peoples. There is no literature that does not contain traces of it. We cite several examples from classic literature.

Lucian describes a witch preparing a love charm. She takes some portion of the man's clothing, or a few hairs, and hanging them on a nail, fumigates them with incense. Then, sprinkling salt on the fire, she pronounces the name of the woman, coupling with it the name of the man. Further spells are muttered to the twirling of a spindle, and the charm is complete[2]. Ovid describes a charm for a similar purpose, but expresses his scepticism as to the efficacy of such measures. He declares that potions are injurious to the brain, and concludes:

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[1] 'Two ears of shame and mockery shalt thou have', she cried, 'if thou take me not with thee'. Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte* I, p. 73. d'Arbois, *Epopée*, p. 226; A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London 1905, I, p. 95. Cf. infra.

[2] Lucian, *Hetaerae*, Dial. IV.

'Sit procul omne nefas! ut ameris, amabilis esto,
Quod tibi non facies solave forma dabit[1].'

Horace describes the kidnapping of a boy for the purpose of obtaining his marrow and liver to make a love charm[2]. Juvenal attacks potions among the magical arts used by women against their husbands[3]. Pliny describes various ingredients, such as the hair of a wolf's tail, a morsel of the forehead of a horse, or of a certain fish, as excellent, according to superstition, for love potions[4]. Suetonius ascribes Caligula's crimes to a love-potion administered by his wife[5]. Plautus also refers to the havoc played by a love-potion[6]. According to popular belief, love-potions sometimes caused madness.

These allusions of the Latin poets illustrate characteristics of the superstition which appear universally. We find similar practises among peasant communities today.

A love-potion plays a part in a story in the Old Norse *Heimskringla*[7].

> There rose to meet him Snowfair, daughter of Swasi, fairest of women, and gave to the king a cup full of honey mead. Then took he together the cup and the hand of her, and straightway it was as if hot fire came into his skin and therewith would he be by her that very night. But Swasi says it may not be, but if need sway him, but if the king betroth him to her and take her lawfully. So King Harald

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[1] Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* II, 106—8.
[2] Horace, *Epodes* V, 37—8.
[3] Juvenal, *Satires* VI, 609—13.
[4] Pliny VIII c. 22. 42. IX, 25.
[5] Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars, Caligula*, ch. 67.
[6] Plautus, *Truculentus*, Act I, Sc. I, ll. 22—4.
[7] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, trans. W. Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon, London 1893, I, 119.

betrothed him to Snowfair and wedded her; and with such longing he loved her that he forgat his kingdom, and all that belonged to his kingly honor.

He will not leave her even when she is dead. Not until years afterward, when the worms crawl out of her body, is he freed from the spell and able to leave her side.

Love charms are frequently mentioned in Old Irish literature. In the *Conception of Mongán and Dubh Lacha's Love for Mongán*[1]:

And Mongan put a love-charm into the cheeks of the hag, and from the look which the king of Leinster cast on her he was filled with her love, so that there was not a bone of his of the size of an inch, but was filled with love of the girl.

He is so eager for her that he offers his own wife to Mongan in exchange for her.

In the *Rennes Dindshenchas*[2]:

Maer, wife of Bersa of Beramain, fell in love with Find son of Cumall, and she formed nine nuts of Segais with love-charms, and commanded Ibuirne son of Dedos to deliver them to Find, and told Find to cut and eat them. 'Nay', says Find, 'for they are not nuts of knowledge but nuts of ignorance, and it is not known for what they are, unless an enchantment for drinking love". So Find buried them a foot deep in the earth.

In the Irish saints' lives we find the theme under ecclesiastical treatment. In the *Life of St. Brynach*[3]:

She endeavored by every means to enthral the servant of God with her snares of alluring pleasure; and from the performance of better things she endeavored to allure him

[1] Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London 1897, I, 69. 82.
[2] *Rev. Celt.* XV, p. 334.
[3] *Cambro-British Saints*, ed. W. G. Rees, Landovery 1853, p. 291.

to luxurious habits; she mixed wolfsbane with lustful ingredients formally prepared, she ceased not to get it for him to drink; but she prepared the mixture in vain; the holy servant of God did not thirst for such a cup; but refused it and as the apostle advised, he avoided the assaults of fornication.

In the *Life of St. Brigit*[1]:

There was a certain man biding in Lassair's church, and his wife was leaving him and would not take bit nor sleep along with him; so he came to Brigit for a spell to make his wife love him. Brigit blessed water for him and said: 'Put that water over the house, and over the food, and over the drink of yourselves, and over the bed in the wife's absence'. When he had done this, the wife gave exceeding great love to him, so that she could not keep apart from him, even on one side of the house; but she was always at one of his hands.

The Old Irish law and medical tracts also contain provisions in regard to love charms[2].

The following passage from the *Heptads*, an Old Irish law tract, makes provision in the case of the administration of a potion for the separation of the parties when its influence abates[3].

There are with the Feinne seven women who though bound by son and security are competent to separate from cohabitation whatever day they like; and whatever has been given them as their dowry is theirs by right: . . . a woman to whom her mate has administered a philtre when entreating her so that he brings her to fornication . . . .

It was before entering into the law of marriage the philtres were given to her and it is when in the law of marriage *the effect* became *apparent* upon her (*sic*); and he pays the 'smacht' fine of cohabitation for it; and there are due

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[1] *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore,* ed. Whitley Stokes, *Anecdota Oxoniensia,* 1890, I, § 1478.

[2] *Ancient Laws of Ireland, op. cit. Senchus Mor* I, 176_5, 181.

[3] *Ancient Laws of Ireland* V, p. 293. 297. The *Heptads* are referred to in the *Senchus Mor* I, 252—3. For the age of the *Senchus Mor* cf. I .ix. Cf. O'Curry's trans., *Manners and Customs* I, clxxvff.

dowry and honour-price and body-fine to her, and *liberty* to separate from him; or 'eric' according to the nature of the philtres, and she has her choice either to separate or to remain in the law of marriage. And this is the second place in the Brehon law in which there is a 'smacht' fine of co-habitation paid by a person for the damage he did before coming into the law of marriage.

In some of these accounts the kindling of love is regarded as brought about by a simple aphrodisiac, in others by supernatural agency. In every case one person is desirous of influencing the will of another. In *Tristan and Isolt*, on the other hand, the two persons are equally victims in their passion for each other. The account of the drinking of the potion is intended to emphasize the irresponsibility of the lovers for their passion. The drink was brewed by the mother of Isolt to seal more firmly the bond of her marriage with Mark. By a fatality for which they are in no wise responsible, it seals upon Tristan and Isolt the fetters that should have bound her to her lord[1]. In the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne* also,

[1] It is clear that the poet who invented this passage desired to emphasize the fact that the lover's error was due to no weakness or evil intention, and that they were the innocent victims of an unkindly fate.

In France as in other European countries in the twelfth century it was part of the wedding ceremony to offer a drink to the couple after the consummation of the marriage. They are brought to the bridal bed by their friends and, after they have been left to themselves for a while, the nearest relatives, sometimes the whole company, enter the room and bring them a strengthening drink.

Isolt requests the custom of her country to be followed, and no lights to be in the room on her wedding night. It is frequently mentioned in the romances that a light was kept burning in the bed-chamber. In many cases, persons of different sexes slept in the same room. There are several allusions in Middle High German poems to the bridegroom's putting out the lights. For example, in the *Nibelungen Lied*, *diu lieht begunde bergen diu Gunthers hant* (l. 961), *diu lieht verbarg er schiere under die bettewat* (l. 1005).

both hero and heroine are victims of a supernatural influence.

We have found no other account in which, as in *Tristan*, the influence of a love-charm is described as lasting always, but as suffering a diminution in strength at the end of a certain number of years. This feature of the *estoire* seems to us to be a modification of the romance as first conceived. We should ascribe it to a redactor who wished to continue the story beyond the period where it originally ended — the return from the forest. In the *Elopement of Grainne with Diarmaid*, and in the *Elopement of Deirdre with Naisi*, as we shall see, the lovers are lured back from their exile by promises. On their return, Naisi is treacherously slain by King Conchobar, and Deirdre taken into his power. By similar trickery, Finn succeeds sooner or later in bringing Diarmaid from his hiding place and getting possession of Grainne. The continuator of the Tristan story brought the lovers back from the forest, but postponed the tragic ending. The *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne* is in a similar stage of development. Here also the lovers return from the forest under the king's pardon, and the tragedy is deferred.

Our own inclination is to attribute the origin of the idea of the love-charm in *Tristan and Isolt* to the people who sealed their tragic lovers with a similar mark. We should place Tristan and Isolt, not with Cligès and Soredamors, not with Parides and his empress in *Eracles*, but with Deirdre and Naisi, with Diarmaid and Grainne, and the company of those whose stories have been cherished for generations among the Celts.

The potion may have been introduced by a French redactor to replace a Celtic *motif*, such as the *geis*

or the *love-spot,* which would have been less suggestive to a French audience.

Old French literature is not without examples of magic drinks. Medea, in the *Roman de Troie,* and Thessala in *Cligès* are versed in sorcery. In Béroul and the first part of Eilhart the naïve popular conception of the potion is preserved. In the latter part of the *estoire* there are clear indications of an effort to bring the relation of the lovers into accord with a more courtly ideal. The poet is far from regarding love, as the Tristan narrative postulates it, as a baleful influence which may paralyze a man's powers and cripple his activity. In Thomas, in Gottfried, and in the French Prose Romance, the potion has become almost entirely symbolical of the idea of courtly love. The story of Lancelot and Guinevere, which draws its material to so large an extent from the Tristan tradition[1], probably owed its popularity, if not its origin, to the demand for an amorous hero better representative of this ideal than Tristan. It is no doubt due to the fact that Lancelot did not blindly drink the poison of love, but sought the cup of his own will, that he superseded Tristan in the favor of many twelfth century readers. The conception of love of the twelfth century French poets had no affinity with tragedy. Love was an activity for

'fins cuers et bone volontez[2]'

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[1] cf. e. g. *Mort Artu,* An Old French Prose Romance of the thirteenth century, being the last division of 'Lancelot du Lac', ed J. D. Bruce, Halle 1910.

[2] J. Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français,* Paris 1870—1871, p. 47, *Crestien de Troies* II, 24—34; cf. infra chapt. VI, E 2 b.

increasing a man's effectiveness, and quickening in him the desire to do noble deeds.

f) The life in the forest.

There are numerous passages in Béroul and Eilhart describing the life of Tristan and Isolt in the forest:

'Aspre vie meinent et dure:
Tant s'entraiment de bone amor
L'un por l'autre ne sent dolor.
. . . . . .
„Sire j'an Yseut a mervelle,
Si que ne dor ne ne somelle.
De tot est ja li consel pris:
Mex ain o li estre mendis
Et vivre d'erbes et de glan
Qu'avoir le reigne au roi Otran."
. . . . . .
Au bois se tient, let les plains chans.
Li pain lor faut, ce est grant deus;
De cers, de biches, de chevreus
Ocist asez par le boscage.
La ou prenent lor herbergage
Font lor cuisine e lor beau feu;
Sol une nuit sont en un leu'[1].

As a gloss in the *Amra Coluimb Chille,* which dates from the ninth century, we have a quatrain about Diarmaid and Grainne which might almost be put in the mouth of Tristan[2].

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[1] Béroul 1364 ff. 1401 ff. 1424 ff.; cf. also 1279 ff. 1636 ff.; Eilhart 4515 ff. 4566 ff. 4692 ff. 5647 ff.

[2] ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* XX, 264—5.

As Diarmaid said: Good is thy share, o Gráinne, better for thee than a kingdom, the dainty flesh (*sercoll*) of the woodcocks, with a drop of smooth mead.

There is another description of the life of two lovers in the forest in the *Elopement of Deirdre with Naisi*[1].

And for a long time they wandered about Ireland, in homage to this man or that; and often Conor sought to slay them, either by ambuscade or by treachery; from round about Assaroe, near to Ballyshannon in the west, they journeyed, and they turned them back to Benn Etar, in the north-east, which men today call the Mountain of Howth. Nevertheless the men of Ulster drove them from the land, and they came to the land of Alba, and in its wildernesses they dwelled.

Deirdre afterward alludes to their forest life as follows:

'Naisi, with mead of delicious hazel-nuts
(came), to be bathed by me at the fire,
Ardan, with an ox or boar of excellence,
Aindle, a faggot on his stately back.

Though sweet be the excellent mead to you
which is drunk by the son of Ness, the rich in strife,
there has been known to me, ere now, leaping over [a bank,
frequent sustenance which was sweeter.

[1] *The Elopement of Deirdre with Naisi* is extant in the story of the *Exile of the sons of Usnach,* contained in the *Book of Leinster,* a manuscript written before 1150. Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte* I, 67—82, trans. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Epopée Celtique en Irlande,* Paris 1892, p. 217 ff.; another version in Windisch, *Irische Texte* II, Heft 2, 109—84 with translation and bibliography by Stokes. The passage cited is from the translation of A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland,* London 1905, p. 95, based on the text of Windisch I.

When the noble Naisi spread out
a cooking hearth on hero-board of tree,
sweeter than any food dressed under honey
was what was captured by the son of Usnach.

Though melodious to you each month
(are the) pipers and horn-blowers,
it is my open statement to you today
I have heard melody sweeter far than these.

For Conor, the king, is melody
pipers and blowers of horns,
more melodious to me, renowned, enchanting
the voice given out by the sons of Usnach.

Like the sound of the wave the voice of Naisi,
it was a melodious sound, one to hearken to for ever,
Ardan was a good barytone,
the tenor of Aindle rang through the dwelling place'[1].

The remainder of the song is a lament for her lover Naisi.

In the *Sleep Song for Diarmaid*, a poem dating somewhere between the twelfth and sixteenth century, Grainne sings of the life with her lover in the forest[2].

O fold of valour of the world west from Greece, over whom I stay (?) watching, My heart will well-nigh burst if I see thee not at any time.

The parting of us twain is the parting of children of one home, is the parting of body with soul, hero of bright Loch Carmain.

Caoinche will be loosed on thy track: Caoilte's running will not be amiss: never may death or

[1] Leahy, *op. cit.* I, 187.
[2] *Duanaire Finn*, ed. Mac Neill, *Irish Texts Society, op. cit.* Text, p. 84, trans. p. 198.

dishonour (?) reach thee, never leave thee in lasting sleep.

This stag eastward sleepeth not, ceaseth not from bellowing: though he be in the groves of the blackbirds, it is not in his mind to sleep.

The hornless doe sleepeth not in the tops of the fair-curved trees: it is a noisy time there, even the thrush does not sleep.

The duck of numerous brood sleepeth not, she is well prepared for good swimming; she maketh neither rest nor slumber there, in her lair she does not sleep.

Tonight the grouse (?) sleepeth not up in the stormy heaths of the height: sweet is the sound of her clear cry: between the streamlets she does not sleep.

g) The splashing water.

It is unwillingly that Diarmaid leaves his uncle's court to follow his uncle's bride. He takes her away not because he desires to do so, but because he must choose between this and the loss of his honor. He takes his resolution: He will go with Grainne, but he will do Finn no wrong. When they are overtaken therefore, as overtaken they must be, she shall be returned to her husband unharmed. Grainne is, however, not content with this. She gives Diarmaid no peace, tempting him continually. The *Reproach of Diarmaid,* a poem in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore,* implies this[1]

'Thou hast ruined me, O Grainne.
thou hast brought shame on the son of Cumhall;
to be as I am in distress
is a load I cannot endure.

[1] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, 52—4. Italics indicate doubtful words

I left play and uproar
for a companion, which is more shameful;
I left women without an attendant,
and thou hast ruined me, O Grainne.

I left merriment and delight,
banquet and festive group and laughter;
I left the play of poets;
And thou hast ruined me, O Grainne.

Caoilte the *Swift* and Mac Lughach,
a pair never put to shame —
their anger was not very good toward us[1]
thou hast ruined me, O Grainne.

The unloverlike attitude of Diarmaid in this lay is not accounted for in what survives of tenth century tradition, unless by the mention, in the *Tochmarc Ailbe*[2] and in the *Amra Coluimb Chille*[3], that it was Grainne who set her love on Diarmaid. We may perhaps infer that Diarmaid was less eager than she for the elopement. A more complete explanation of Diarmaid's attitude is found in an incident which unfortunately has come down to us only in documents of a later date.

On their flight Diarmaid makes his bed at some distance from Grainne's, or puts a stone between them[4]. He leaves uncooked meat behind him at every resting place as a sign to Finn that his wife is un-

[1] Dr. W. J. Watson, *Celtic Review* VIII, 265, suggests *am faithche 'nuair ruaidheadh roinne,* on fields when points would be reddened.

[2] MS. H. 3. 17, p. 827—31. I am indebted to Mr. R. I. Best for the following lines from the beginning of the story: There was strife between Cormac and Finn, the cause being that Gráinne had come to hate Finn, and had set her love on Diarmaid son of O'Duibhne.

[3] cf. supra, VI D 3 *c.*

[4] cf. the incident of the separating sword in Tristan, infra, p. 430.

touched. Grainne taunts him with cowardice, and uses every means to tempt him. The following is a part of the account that appears in all the versions[1]:

> She took heart and began to walk by Diarmaid's side boldly. A light jet of water splashed up through the toes of her foot till it struck up to her thigh, and she said to herself softly and guardedly
>
> 'A plague on thee streaky splash,
> Thou art bolder than Diarmaid.'
>
> 'What is that you said, O Grainne?' asked Diarmaid.
> 'It is of no importance,' said Grainne.
> 'Not so', said Diarmaid, 'I shall not rest until I know it, for I think I heard part of it.'
> Then Grainne said timidly, shyly, and modestly: 'O Diarmaid, great as is thy valor and bravery in battles and encounters, methinks this light splash of water is bolder than thou.'
> 'That is true, O Grainne', said Diarmaid, 'and although I have been keeping myself from thee for a long time for fear of Finn, I will no longer endure thy reproaches. Truly it is hard to trust women.'
> It was then that Diarmaid first made a wife of Grainne, and took her into the thicket. He killed a wild deer that night, and they ate their meal then, their fill of flesh and pure water.

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[1] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, p. 47—8, from *R. I. A.* MS. 3 B. 8, f. 312 of the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne.* The *Ossianic Society* edition of O'Grady's manuscript gives a less detailed account, p. 108. The passage is not translated, p. 109. In the edition of the *Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language* the passage is entirely suppressed. I am indebted to Professor Kuno Meyer for calling my attention especially to this passage. R. Köhler has already noted the similarity between it and the Tristan incident, *Kleinere Schriften, op. cit.* II, 346—7. The incident appears invariably in the stories collected from oral tradition, cf. *West Highland Tales* p. 56: They went away, and they travelled together three days and three nights. They were crossing a river, and a little trout rose and struck her, and she said 'Thou art bolder than Diarmaid. If thou couldst go on shore!' . . . cf. *The Fians* 55: Grainne put her feet in a pool of water and some of it splashed on her. She said: 'I am so long a time going with the third best hero of the Fians, and he never approached so near'. Then Diarmaid left broken bread behind him.

This is from the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne*. The popular accounts are similar.

Singularly enough, as the reader will remember, the very same incident appears in Tristan[1]. But in Tristan it is told of Isolt of Brittany. There is no reproach upon the Isolt of the forest life, as upon Grainne, for having led the hero to his ruin. It is another Isolt whom Tristan resists, and who thus resents his indifference.

'eines tagis dô geschach
daz der koning und die koningîn
und Tristrant und daz wîp sîn
unde Kehenis dâ mete
ûf eime tîfen wege retin
zu Karahes nâ bî der stad.

Îsaldin pfert dô trat
in einen gereinetin pfûl
daz ir daz wazzir ûf vûr
bî dem knî undirz hemede.
sie sprach, „wazzir, dû bist vromede,
daz dir mûzze misselingen.
wie getorstestû î gespringen
sô verre undir mîn gewant
dar noch nî ritters hant
getorste komen, noch en quam?"

ir brûder Kehenis daz vornam
und sprach, des en wêre nît.
dô was der vrauwen leit geschît
daz her daz hâte gehôrt,
îdôch sô sprach sie die wort:
„daz ich sage, daz ist wâr"[2].'

[1] *OX* 6134 80.
[2] *OX* 6144—65.

The incident is slightly modified. The significant remark to the water is not made in the presence of the hero, nor intended for him. It is made by Isolt of the White Hands as she rides along with her brother. Only indirectly, if at all, does she hope to bring about a change in the attitude toward her of the man she loves. The cause for that attitude in *Tristan* is, moreover, entirely different from that in *Diarmaid and Grainne*. In the French romance it is due, as we have shown, to an idealization of unlawful love characteristic of the latter half of the twelfth century. In *Diarmaid and Grainne* it is due to the hero's loyalty to his friend and lord. In *Tristan* the incident is a mere bit of narrative technique to bring about the revelation of a secret[1]. In the Irish romance it is organic. It is an important link in the heavy chain of circumstance that binds the hero to his tragic fate. The frank expression of the woman sounds strange in the courtly French romance, following, as it does, the refinements of sentiment which explain the sham marriage, and preceding Isolt's homage to Tristan's dog. It belongs naturally to the more primitive attitude of mind reflected in *Diarmaid and Grainne*.

h) The harp and the rote.

There is another incident which illustrates Diarmaid's unwillingness to betray Finn. Although it is recounted at length only in late versions, it may have become attached to the story at an early date[2].

A stranger, who seems to be a supernatural being, enters the cave in which the lovers have taken refuge,

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[1] cf. supra. Ch. V B d.
[2] *WHT* 41. 55. 61; *F* 53. 55. 56; *LF* 153. 154.

and he and Diarmaid engage in a game of dice. Diarmaid loses, and the stranger demands Grainne as the stake. Diarmaid is compelled in honor to relinquish her and departs. Later he comes to the cave in the disguise of a beggar. Grainne recognizes him when he offers her the first piece of salmon he has roasted, for she knows that he is under a *geis*[1] never to eat or drink in the presence of a woman without offering her the first morsel. He engages in a struggle with the stranger, kills him, and leaves the cave. Grainne follows him, overtakes him at dawn on the mountain Sliabh Gaoil, and attempts to effect a reconciliation with him.

The Reproach of Diarmaid, a fifteenth century poem in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore,* of which we have already quoted several stanzas, seems to belong in this setting, and seems to refer to it in the following stanza[2]:

. . . . . cave . . .
it is no cause of laughter *to me;*
keeping a little cave;
thou hast ruined me, O Gráinne.

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[1] According to oral tradition, supported by the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne,* Diarmaid's *geasa* were the following: not to eat or drink in any place where there was a woman without giving her the first morsel, not to hear the cry of the hounds without following the hunt, not to watch a game without helping the losing player, not to refuse his comrades anything they should ask of him. *LF.* 153. 156; O'Grady, p. 78. 174—6. 144 (I § 23, II § 37, II § 22). Cf. *The Death of Diarmaid, Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, 162ff. Here Finn asks Diarmaid to measure the venomous boar against the bristle, and he does not refuse. Cf. *Rev. Celt. loc. cit.* 175 n. 5 and references: Diarmaid helps the losing chess player. Cf. *loc. cit.,* p. 172: Diarmaid insists on following the hounds. Cf. also *WHT* 57.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, p. 52. 54, stanza 7; cf. the suggestions of Dr. W. J. Watson, *Celtic Review* VIII, 265—6.

An elaborated version of this lay has the following[1]:

Diarmaid: Why should I take thee as a wife, O woman, although thy voice is soft, — the woman who forsook the king of the Fiann, And forsook me afterward as surely.

Grainne: Even though I did leave Finn . . . And although I forsook thee afterward, when I was altogether despondent,

I will never forsake thee now, But true love to thee forever growing, [shall be] like fresh branches on the bough. With gentle warmth throughout my life.

Diarmaid: Fulfil thy promise, O woman, [and] although thou hast tormented me with sorrow, I will accept thee as my wife, although thou didst choose the great giant.

The episode is found in numerous versions of the story of Diarmaid and Grainne. In some, it exercises an important influence on the story. In certain versions, the stranger, entering, attempts to embrace Grainne, and Diarmaid slays him. In these versions it is at this point that Diarmaid yields to Grainne, for she taunts him by comparing his boldness with that of the stranger[2].

In another version it is not through his own fault that Diarmaid, after the coming of the cave man, is unable longer to leave the uncooked meat as a sign to Finn. Grainne has given herself to the stranger. Diarmaid kills him when he discovers her dishonor, and remains to the end faithful to his lord. Finn, knowing nothing of this, and finding the sign no longer, believes that it is Diarmaid who has betrayed him. Accordingly, when he overtakes him, he brings about

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[1] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, p. 56, stanzas 19—22; Text *LF*, p. 153.

[2] *F* 54. 55. This is a variant of the taunt about the splashing water discussed above.

his death: Diarmaid's innocence is afterward discovered, and Grainne is buried alive[1].

The reader of Tristan will at once recognize the similarity of the story to the incident of the harp and the rote, lost in the version of Eilhart, but preserved in the *Folie Tristan* of the Berne manuscript, in the Prose Romance, and in Thomas. The account in the *Saga* is as follows[2]:

A stately ship arrives from Ireland, and the master of it, magnificently apparelled, enters the presence of the king and queen. The latter recognizes him at once, for he has long loved her, and has come hither for her sake. She tells the king his race and lineage, and bids him do him honor. The king invites him to eat from his own plate. The stranger says that he is a minstrel, and will on no condition part for a moment from the ornamented golden harp which he carries under his cloak. After the meal, the king asks him to play. The stranger refuses except for a reward. The king promises he shall have what he wills. He plays twice, and then demands Isolt. The king refuses; the stranger declares that a liar is unworthy to be king. He appeals to Mark's council, declaring that he is ready to maintain his right in

[1] *F* 57. Grainne is buried alive according to the following versions also: *LF* 162a, stanza 82. 164a, stanza 30, 164b, stanza 13; *F* 60. 2.

The *Pursuit* preserves in other contexts a few details which are found, in the oral versions, in connection with the episode of the stranger: the mention of Diarmaid's characteristic manner of dividing the fish, p. 80—1 (1 § 23); cf. *LF* 153b; the dwelling in the cave; Grainne asks Diarmaid for his knife, p. 96—7 (1 § 39); cf. *WHT* 42: 'Wouldst thou eat bread and flesh, Diarmaid?' [says Grainne]. 'Needful were I of it if I had it'. 'Here I will give it to thee. Where is a knife will cut it?' 'Search the sheath in which thou didst put it last', said Diarmaid. Grainne, ashamed, takes the knife out of the side of Diarmaid. She had aided the stranger against him. Similarly *LF* 153b.

[2] Kölbing I, 60, Cap. IL.

single combat. All advise Mark to keep his word; no one dares undertake the combat. The stranger carries the weeping queen to his ship, but the departure is delayed by the tide.

In the meantime Tristan returns from the hunt and, learning the news, disguises himself as a minstrel and hastens to the shore. He finds the stranger trying to divert the distressed queen. Tristan is promised a mantle and a good robe if he can dry her tears by his playing.

While Tristan plays, the stranger forgets that the tide is rising, and that it is time to set out. When the water has risen above the gang-board, Tristan offers to carry the queen to the ship on his horse. As soon as he has her safely up, he is off, flinging a taunt to the helpless stranger[1] for his folly.

The details in *Sir Tristrem*[2] and Gottfried[3] vary, but not in any way that we can perceive to be significant. The *Folie Tristan* of the Berne manuscript contains the following passage[4]:

'Po vos manbre de Gamarien,
Qui ne demandoit autre rien
Fors vostre cors qu'il en mena
Qui fu ce qui vos delivra?
. . . . . .
Resanble je point a celui
Qui sol, sanz aïe d'autrui,
Vos secorut a cel besoin
A Guimarant copa lo poin?'

[1] It is apparently by inadvertence that the *Saga* has represented the stranger as riding into Mark's court.

[2] Kölbing II, p. 50, CLXV ff.; cf. Bédier I, Ch. XXIX.

[3] l. 13 110 ff.; cf. *Folie Tristan*, Douce MS. ed. Bédier p. 45, l. 765 ff.

[4] ed. Bédier, p. 99, l. 380 ff.; cf. n. *Il n'y a qu'une ressemblance vague et probablement accidentelle entre son aventure et celle du harpeur d'Irlande.*

The incident appears in the Prose Romance in a greatly modified form[1].

In Old Irish romance we find analogues to the incident of the harp and the rote in which the details that are puzzling in the Tristan story[2] and in *Diarmaid and Grainne*, are perfectly appropriate.

We shall turn now to the analogues in Old Irish literature. One of them is the story of the *Wooing of Etain*[3]:

a) Etain the wife of Midir, king of the fairy folk of Bri-Leith, after being beaten about by the winds for a thousand years through the magic arts of the jealous Fuamnach, is reborn as the child of an

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[1] ed. Löseth, p. 36 § 43; Bédier II, 346.

[2] We have examined versions of the story in connection with Guinevere and other mediaeval heroines in Appendix IV.

[3] Section *a* exists only in the *Leabhar na h-Uidri* (*LU*), a manuscript written before 1106; section *b* is found in *LU* and in *Egerton* 1782, a fifteenth century manuscript; section *c* exists in *LU* and, in a modified form, in *Eg.* and in the *Rennes Dindsenchas*; section *d* is found in *Egerton*, the *Rennes Dindsenchas* and other fragmentary accounts. Cf. Nettlau, *Rev. Celt.* XII, p. 232—9. The texts of *Eg.* and *LU* have been edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte* I, 113 ff.; *LU* 130 b 19—132 a have been edited with interlinear translation by A. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London 1906, vol. II, p. 145 ff. A translation of the complete story, from *LU* and *Eg.*, is given by Leahy, *op. cit.* I, 3—33. We have printed in Appendix V a portion of Leahy's translation, p. 23—7. Ed. Müller, *Rev. Celt.* III, 350 ff. has edited the portion of *Eg.* corresponding to Windisch, *op. cit.* § 1—15 with an English translation. Stokes has edited, with an English translation, the *Rennes Dindsenchas* (prose), *Rev. Celt.* XV, p. 290—1 § 3, *Raith Esa.* Ed. Gwynn has edited, with an English translation, the *Metrical Dindsenchas, Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series* IX, p. 3 ff. *Rath Esa.* The *Togail Bruidne Da Derga, Rev. Celt.* XXII, 13—8, ed. Stokes, with an English translation, contains the courtship of Etain by Eochaid. L. C. Stern, *Zts. für celt. Philol.* V, 522 ff., edits fragments from a sixteenth century manuscript. Cf. A. Nutt, *Rev. Celt.* XXVII, 325. N[illegible], *Rev. Celt.* XII, 229 ff., gives an account of the manuscr[illegible]rity for the various portions of the story, and a highl[illegible] summary. Zimmer, *Zts. f. ver. Sprforsch.* XXVIII, 587 [illegible] detailed summary, based on a collation of the man[illegible]

Ulster warrior, and becomes the wife of Eochaid, king of Ireland. In her childhood, a mysterious and magnificent personage once appears to her, accosts her as the wife of Midir, and sings a prophetic song.

b) Again, shortly after her marriage, Midir appears to her three times mysteriously, and reminds her of their former relation and its tragic ending. She refuses to return with him unless he obtains her husband's consent.

c) Early one summer morning Midir approaches and greets Eochaid as he sits in his tower overlooking the country. He proposes a game of chess, and insists on playing for a stake of fifty horses. He loses the first game. For the second he suggests that the winner shall appoint the wager. He loses this time also, and is required by Eochaid to perform a number of difficult tasks. They play a third game on the same terms. Midir wins. He demands a kiss and his two hands about Etain. Eochaid asks a month's delay. On the day appointed the king sets guards within and without the house. At nightfall the stranger appears in the midst of the armed forces surrounding the queen, and demands her. He reminds the king of his promise, and her, in a touching song, of her pledged word, and the delights of his land. Eochaid concedes only the permission to embrace her in the presence of all. Midir takes his weapons in his left arm, and the woman under his right, on the floor before them. The heroes rise in indignation, but see only two swans, disappearing in the direction of the Fairy Hill. For a year the king seeks his wife in vain.

d) At last a druid finds out, by some tricks with ogam, that she is in the Fairy Hill. After a nine year's siege Midir is forced to surrender Etain.

In this story the stranger is a supernatural personage. The period of his possession of Etain in Fairyland is an important part of the story. The poet describes effectively the mysterious appearance of Midir to his lost wife. He dwells on his haughty dictation of terms to Eochaid. Representing the stranger as having paid two heavy losses without remonstrance, he leaves the king no pretext to refuse to pay his pledge. The poet dwells on his mysterious appearance, through locked doors, the ineffectual precautions of Eochaid, the song in which he reminds Etain of her life with him and the loveliness of his land, the transformation of both into swans. The mysterious character of his realm, which Eochaid seeks a year in vain, and finds, at last, only with the aid of magic, is another point by which his supernatural character is emphasized.

We include also the resumé of a similar story, told of Dubh Lacha, wife of Mongan[1]:

Mongan, king of Ulster, covets the kine of the king of Leinster. The latter refuses to give them to him except on condition of 'friendship without refusal'. Mongan agrees, and takes the kine home with him. Shortly after his arrival home, the king of Leinster appears and demands Dubh Lacha, Mongan's wife.

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[1] Edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, London 1895, I, p. 58 ff., from the *Book of Fermoy*, a fifteenth century manuscript. The list of historic tales in the *Book of Leinster* (written before 1150) mentions *The Love of Dubh Lacha for Mongan* among the tales that every poet is obliged to know. See E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the MSS. Materials*, p. 592. 243; cf. d'Arbois, *Catalogue*, 206. Mongan appears in the eighth century verse portion of Bran's voyage, and various fragments relating to him are found in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* (written before 1106) and other manuscripts. *The Book of Leinster*, p. 41 c, mentions him in a list of the kings of Ulster. The texts in which he appears are edited and translated by Meyer in *Bran* I, 42 ff. For a discussion of the Mongan cycle see Nutt, *Bran* I, 136 ff.

> Silence fell upon Mongan. And he said: 'I have never heard of anyone's giving away his wife.' — 'Though thou hast not heard of it,' said Dubh Lacha, 'give her, for honor is more lasting than life.' Anger seized Mongan, and he allowed the king of Leinster to take her with him[1].'

She obtains from the latter, however, the promise that he will not claim her body for a year. At the end of that time Mongan shifts his shape, and sets out for the wedding feast as the son of the king of Connaught. He brings with him a hideous hag whom he has transformed for the occasion into the shape of Ibhell of the Shining Cheek. By the power of a love-charm the king of Leinster falls in love with her and offers Dubh Lacha in exchange for her. Mongan craftily accepts, and departs with his wife on the swiftest steeds in the king of Leinster's stables.

A similar story is told of Mongan's mother[2]:

Fiachna Finn is losing great numbers of his army by a flock of venomous sheep let loose upon them by his enemy, the king of Lochlann. One day he saw a single tall warlike man coming toward him, wearing a green cloak of one color, and a brooch of white silver in the cloak over his breast, and a satin shirt next his white skin. A circlet of gold was around his hair, and two sandals of gold under his feet. And the warrior said: 'What reward wouldst thou give to him who would keep the sheep from thee?' — 'By my word', said Fiachna, 'whatsoever thou ask, provided I have it, I should give it.' — 'Thou shalt have it to give', said the warrior, 'and I will tell thee the reward'. — 'Say the sentence', said Fiachna. The stranger then demanded Fiachna's wife for the night, and revealed his identity. He was Manannan, son of the god Lir.

[1] *Voyage of Bran, op. cit.* I, 75.
[2] *Voyage of Bran, op. cit.* I, p. 72.

Here we have only the first portion of the incident. The supernatural being appears to the king, and induces him, in reward for a service, to promise an indefinite boon. But the demand is not based on any previous claim to the woman, and involves only the possession of her for a night.

A similar story is told in Welsh of Rhiannon, the bride of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved[1].

A stranger arrives at the wedding feast of Pwyll, salutes the company, and declares that he has come to make a request. Pwyll promises that it shall be granted, whatever it be. Having reminded him of the dishonor attaching to the breaking of one's pledged word, the stranger demands Rhiannon, the bride. He is Gwawl, son of Clut, a magnificent and powerful personage, to whom she has previously been promised to wife. Rhiannon reproaches Pwyll for his rashness, but declares that he must not break his word. She teaches him a ruse by which he may avoid losing her. She will obtain a year's respite. On the day set for her marrige with Gwawl, Pwyll is to enter the hall in the disguise of a beggar, and ask, as a gift, sufficient food to fill a little sack which she gives him. It is a magic sack and will remain empty, however much is put into it. Gwawl will remark that it is slow in filling. The beggar is then to advise him to press down the contents of the bag with his foot, and to declare that by this means alone it can be filled. Pwyll will then tie Gwawl

[1] *Pwyll, Prince of Dyvet*, one of the *Mabinogion*, ed. Rhŷs and Evans, Oxford 1887; trans. J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Paris 1889; Lady Charlotte Guest: *The Mabinogion*, numerous editions. For date v. J. Loth, *op. cit.* I, 9: *Ces quatre récits appartiennent au cycle gallois le plus ancien et sont sans doute un reste du patrimonie commun aux Gaëls et aux Bretons.*

in the bag, and signal to his men to enter from the wood.

All turns out as she has planned. Gwawl makes the rash promise and puts his foot in the sack. He is compelled to pledge himself to give up his claim to the bride and to pay a heavy ransom for his own release.

A similar story is told of Blathnad[1].

Cúroi engages with Cuchulainn and the heroes in an expedition to seize the treasures and the daughter of Mend, king of Falga. He promises to obtain entrance into the fortress on condition that his companions allow him his choice of the booty. 'Thou wilt get it', said Cuchulainn. — 'Then', replied he, 'Blathnad is my choice of the treasury'. Cuchulainn now attempts to modify the bargain, but Cúroi carries away the princess. Cuchulainn pursues and overtakes them. In the struggle that ensues, Cúroi is victorious. He succeeds in maintaining possession of Blathnad, and leaves Cuchulainn with shorn head, outraged, and bound head and heels. For a year Cuchulainn searches for Blathnad. He at last learns where Cúroi is concealing her. He attacks the fortress, and wins her back.

[1] *The Tragic Death of Cúroi Mac Dári* has been edited from the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, col. 776 (fac-simile ed. *R. I. A.*, p. 123) by R. I. Best, in *Ériu* II, 18. A shorter version, from MS. *Laud* (Oxford) 610 fol. 117a, has been edited by Kuno Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* VI, 187—8. *The Vision of Ferchertne*, relating the same story, has been edited (in part) from *Laud* 610, fol. 117b, by Kuno Meyer in *ZCP.* III, 40ff. *Egerton* 88, fol. 10aff. contains another, version printed by Best, *loc. cit.* The date of these versions is placed by Meyer, *ZCP.* III, 41, and Best, *Ériu* II, 18, as the tenth century. The various *Dindsenchas* of Findglais also record the recovery of Blathnad by Cuchulainn. Cf. *Silva Gadelica* II, 482. 530; *Rev. Celt.* XV, 448ff. There are other inedited accounts. The account of the abduction of Blathnad by Cúroi, forming as it does only a prologue, is merely sketched in the above narratives. Further details are given in Keating. v. O'Mahony's ed. p. 282. Cúroi is frequently mentioned in Old Irish literature.

Such stories of a woman won and lost by ruse between mortals and immortals seem to have been a favorite type among the Celts. The tale might go on indefinitely in a circle of loss and recovery, the distinction between loss and rescue depending on the point where the reader takes up the story, or on the sympathy of the story-teller with the mortal or the immortal lover. The ruse of Mongan to recover his wife from the king of Leinster is equivalent to Midir's ruse to reclaim his from King Eochaid. The first part of the Etain story has as much right to be termed a recovery as the last; it depends entirely upon whether we take Midir's or Eochaid's point of view.

The Celtic type, as represented by the Old Irish versions[1] and by Tristan, is as follows:

A magnificent and mysterious stranger appears to the king[2]. His race and lineage are known only to the queen, to whom he has a claim owing to some previous attachment[3]. He gives a display of skill, in recognition of which[4] the king promises him any boon he shall name[5]. He demands the queen[6]. The king hesitates, but, taunted with having compromised his honor, unwillingly accedes[7]. The stranger departs with the queen, no one daring to lift a hand to prevent him[8]. The husband later pursues and recovers the lady by ruse or magic[9].

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[1] The stories studied are referred to as follows: *T:* Tristan; *E:* Etain; *M:* Mongan; *P:* Pwyll; *C:* Curoi; *F*: Fiachna Finn.
[2] *TEF.*
[3] *TEP.*
[4] *TEMCF.*
[5] *TEMPCF.*
[6] *TEMPCF.*
[7] *TEMCF.*
[8] *TEMC.*
[9] *TEMPC.*

In Tristan and in some versions of the Guinevere story[1] it is the husband who rashly gives away his wife to the stranger, and her lover who afterward regains her.

The substitution of the lover for the husband as rescuer, and the consequent division of the interest between the stranger, the husband who loses, and the lover who rescues the lady, is foreign to the Irish stories. The development of it can be clearly traced on French soil in connection with Guinevere[2]. In the episode in *Diarmaid and Grainne* the loser and the rescuer are still the same person, but popular narrators have corrupted the details of a tradition which they did not understand. Owing to the variations in its interpretation in the corrupt versions that are alone extant, it is impossible to determine what was the bearing of the incident on the tenth century romance. It may have been, as we find it in Tristan, purely episodic.

To explain the Tristan version various hypotheses suggest themselves. Perhaps the most plausible is that the original context of the episode, in *Tristan* as in *Diarmaid and Grainne*, was the life in the forest.

Some French redactor, anxious to remove from Tristan the shade of odium that attaches to the loss of the lady, and with less concern for the character of Mark, would seem to have transferred the episode from its original context to the period of the king's possession of Isolt. The emphasis on the power of music in the incident of

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[1] v. Appendix.

[2] In Appendix IV we have given a detailed discussion of the incident of the *Harp and the Rote.*

the *Harp and the Rote* recalls the smile-strain, the sleep-strain, and the wail-strain of Old Irish romance[1].

i) The separating sword.

There is another trait in Diarmaid and Grainne which may throw light on a puzzling passage which occurs in all the Tristan texts. While he is with Grainne in the forest, Diarmaid always makes his bed at a distance from Grainne's[2]. When they are in a cave, he takes his place always at the farthest end. It is thus that the stranger is able to reach Grainne before him. In one version we are told that every night Diarmaid put a cold stone between himself and Grainne[3].

When Mark comes upon Tristan and Isolt sleeping in the forest, he finds a sword between them. Béroul does not account for Tristan's placing it there[4]. Eilhart declares that it was a habit of the lovers to sleep thus, and expresses his personal opinion that it was a strange one[5]. Gottfried explains that Tristan, having guessed, from the barking of the hounds on the preceding day, that Mark and his party are in the forest, places the sword in this position as a ruse to deceive anyone who may chance to discover them[6]. M. Bédier has shown that the version of Gottfried is posterior at this point[7].

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[1] cf. supra VI B 2 a 3.
[2] *WHT* p. 41. 43. 55; *F* 53. 56; O'Grady, 28.
[3] *The Fians, op. cit.* 56. In another Old Irish romance, *The Meeting of Liadain and Curithir,* a little boy sleeps between the lovers. Cf. App. V B.
[4] *B* 1805—6.
[5] *OX* 4581—93.
[6] ed. Marold 17 398—421.
[7] Bédier I, 244—5 n.

The incident is characteristic of the peculiar relation of Diarmaid and Grainne in their flight to the forest. In the Tristan story, on the other hand, it is incomprehensible. Every redactor from Eilhart to Swinburne has been embarassed by it. Why did Tristan place the sword between himself and Isolt? Eilhart's words are:

> 'Dô hâte Tristrant einen sete,
> des volgete im die vrauwe mete:
> swen sie sich gelegetin
> und mit ein andir redeten
> daz ez in dûchte genûch,
> sîn swert er ûz der scheide zôch
> und legete ez zwischin sich und sie;
> daz en wolde der helt nie
> dorch kein ding gelâzen.
> wan sie en soldin slâfen,
> daz swert en lêge zwischin in.
> daz was ein vromder mannes sin
> und quam im doch zu heile sît[1].'

The fact remains, however, that a poet who really meant us to believe that his hero had such a habit would have made for us another story, — the story of Diarmaid and Grainne perhaps — not the story of Tristan and Isolt. And perhaps it was a story like that of Diarmaid and Grainne that he really made; it may be the French redactors who have changed it[2]. The separating sword is perhaps a fossil of Celtic tradition[3].

[1] *loc. cit.*

[2] It is they who have brought it so well into accordance, in spirit and in matter, with French customs and feeling, that M. Bédier found in it but a few passages to which a French origin might not be assigned.

[3] v. supra Ch. V M, *The Substituted Sword.*

j) The dog in the forest.

There are several incidents of the life in the forest in the Tristan story, which appear there without any vital connection with the narrative. In the story of Diarmaid and Grainne similar incidents lead to the tragic conclusion.

After Tristan's departure, his dog grieves violently for him. He is let loose and follows the track of his master through the forest. The fugitives are terrified when they hear him approaching. Gorvenal insists on placing himself in the way to meet and kill the dog. Tristan and Isolt unwillingly withdraw. They all believe that the dog is followed by Mark and his men. When Gorvenal sees that the dog is alone, he takes him up on his horse, and sets out to join the lovers. Losing the way, he puts the dog down on the ground, and is guided by him to Tristan [1].

According to numerous versions of *Diarmaid and Grainne*, it is one of Diarmaid's *geasa* [2] never to hear the barking of the hunting dogs without following the sound. Finn knows this, and, coming to a district where he believes Diarmaid to be, lets loose the hounds on he track of a wild cat there. Diarmaid hears the sound, and in spite of the pleadings of Grainne, goes out and joins the hunt. By the treachery of Finn he meets his death [3].

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[1] Béroul 1437—1637; *OX* 4368—511; cf. the interesting suggestion of Röttiger, *op. cit.* p. 23, that this passage in Eilhart (ll. 4457—63) is connected with the passage in Béroul (1678—9. 1693—6) where Gorvenal, from the ambuscade of the tree, kills one of the three hostile barons. Cf. Muret, *Int.* Béroul, x—xii.

[2] cf. supra VI B.

[3] *LF* 158. 161; cf. *Zts. f. Celt. Philol.* V, 564—5; *F* p. 56ff.; *WHT* 43.

In the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne*, when Finn and his men are on the track of the fugitives, we read[1]:

> And Oisin (who is friendly toward Diarmaid), spoke: 'We are in danger lest Diarmaid and Grainne be yonder, and we must needs send him some warning; and look where Bran is, that is the hound of Finn Mac Cumhaill, that we may send him to him, for Finn himself is not dearer to him than Diarmaid ... And Oscar told that to Bran. Bran understood that with knowledge and wisdom, and went back to the hinder part of the host where Fiann might not see him, and followed Diarmaid and Grainne by their track until he reached Doire dha Bhoth, and thrust his head into Diarmaid's bosom, and he asleep.
>
> Then Diarmaid sprang out of his sleep, and awoke Grainne also, and said to her: 'There is Bran, that is the hound of Finn Mac Cumhall, coming with a warning to us before Finn himself.' — 'Take that warning', said Grainne, 'and fly'. — 'I will not take it', said Diarmaid, 'for I would not that Finn caught me at any [other] time, rather than now, since I may not escape from him'.

These passages are not sufficiently similar, and the texts of the Diarmaid and Grainne versions are too corrupt, to justify any conclusions as to the relation of the one to the other. They are interesting, however, as showing the general likeness of the elements that went to make up the two romances[2].

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[1] ed. O'Grady, p. 65; cf. *The Fians*, p. 55: 'Bran was sent after him, and he was caught. It was then he was sent to kill the boar and Finn made him measure it against the bristles.'

[2] There is another glimpse of the lovers in *Tristan and Isolt* which resembles a scene in the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne*.

One hot morning Tristan, returning weary from the hunt, lies down to sleep in the hut beside the sleeping Isolt. He lays his sword between them, but their lips touch, and his arm is around her neck. A forester, chancing to pass, catches sight of them, and hastens away to tell Mark what he has seen. (*B* 1774—1850; *OX* 4594—616).

In *The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne*:

As for Finn I will tell you [his] tidings clearly. He departed not from the tracking until he reached Doire dha bhoth, and he

k) The whittlings on the stream.

We have already discussed, in connection with his accomplishments, the incident of the chips which Tristan whittled so deftly and sent down the stream to Isolt[1]. In Tristan the incident has no important bearing on the narrative. In several versions of the Diarmaid and Grainne story, a similar incident is fraught with tragic consequences. One of the whittlings made by Diarmaid flows down the stream. Finn, who is hunting in the woods near, knows that it is Diarmaid who has made it; *for the speal curled round nine times, and it was . . . quarters long; there was none in Ireland that could do the like.* It is then, according to several of the versions, that Finn lets loose his dogs[2].

l) The continuation: stolen visits of Tristan to Isolt.

In the hunt introduced by the two incidents just discussed, Finn treacherously brings about Diarmaid's death.

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sent the tribe of Eamhuin in to search out the wood, and they saw Diarmaid and a woman by him. They returned back again where were Finn and the Fianna of Erin, and Finn asked of them whether Diarmaid and Grainne were in the wood. 'Diarmaid is there', they said, 'and there is some woman by him [who she is we know not]', for we know Diarmaid's track and we know not the track of Grainne' (ed. O'Grady, p. 289, Pt I § 18).

There is a similar scene in the story of Deirdre and Naisi:

Now one day the high-steward of the king went out in the early morning, and he made a cast about Naisi's house, and saw those two sleeping therein, and he hurried back to the king, and awaked him. (Leahy, *op. cit.* I, 96.)

The incident is, however, not of sufficient importance to be insisted upon. It might be found in romances entirely unrelated.

[1] Supra. Ch. VI B 2 a 7.

[2] *LF* 158 b. The reader will recall the versions of the complete incident cited above VI B 2 a 7.

We have said above that in the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne*, a version made by a redactor desirous of softening the old story in accordance with modern taste, Diarmaid is represented as making terms with Finn, returning from the forest, and living for some years in peace[1]. In the voluntary return of Tristan and Isolt from the forest and the following incidents of the Tristan story, it may be that we have an analogous literary phenomenon. The calamity was averted, the tragic ending of the story was postponed, in each case, by a redactor willing to meet the desire of his audience for a continuation. As an example of how easily the material which constituted these stories lent itself to continuations, one of the tenth century fragments of the *Diarmaid and Grainne* tradition referred to above might be cited. Here the hero's foster-father, Aonghus of the Brugh, appears at a crucial moment, and miraculously carries Grainne to a place of safety. The hero is able to save himself, and the lovers are thus preserved for further adventures. By such methods, a good story might be indefinitely prolonged in mediaeval romance as in popular tradition.

The incidents which form a considerable part of the continuation of the Tristan story, the stolen visits of Tristan to Isolt, are of a character to which we may find analogues anywhere in mediaeval fiction. The Celtic stories of this type are not more or less similar to Tristan, so far as we have been able to determine, than are those of any other literature.

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[1] cf. supra VI D 2b; ed. Meyer, *Rev. Celt.* XI, p. 125ff.: *Uath Beinne Etair (The Hiding in the Hill of Howth)*. The *Uatha, Tales of Hiding,* constitute a class of stories mentioned in the list in the *Book of Leinster*; cf. the *Aitheda, Tales of Elopement;* the *Imrama, Tales of Voyages,* discussed above.

We cite as a Celtic analogue to *Tristan Mönch* the following story from *The Conception of Mongan and Dubh Lacha's Love for Mongan* [1].

Mongan has lost his wife Dubh Lacha in consequence of a rash promise similar to that which we have discussed in connection with the harp and the rote. She is now queen of Leinster.

> 'And for that while Mongan was in a wasting sickness continually. . . . . .
> . . . . . .
>
> Mongan took on himself the shape of Tibraide (the priest), and gave Mac an Daimh the shape of the cleric, with a large tonsure on his head, and the ... on his back. And they go onward before the king of Leinster, who welcomed Tibraide and gave him a kiss, and 'Tis long that I have not seen thee, O Tibraide' he said, 'and read the gospel to us and proceed before us to the fortress. And let Ceibhin Cochlach, the attendant of my chariot, go with thee. And the queen, the wife of the king of Ulster, is there and would like to confess to thee'.... And Mongan went onward to the front of the fortress in which Dubh Lacha was. And she recognized him. And Mac an Daimh said: 'Leave the house all of ye, so that the queen may make her confession'.... And he closed the bower after them and put the glazen door to it, and opened the window of glass.... And Mongan sat down by her shoulder and gave her three kisses and carried her into bed with him and had his will and pleasure of her...'
>
> Mongan outwits his enemies and escapes safely. He makes repeated visits to Dubh Lacha, and succeeds repeatedly, by dint of the fertility of his wits, in gaining access to her in one disguise or another.

The similarity is not close. The lover who puts on a disguise in order to gain access to his mistress

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[1] Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* I, 58 ff. 70 ff. Translation p. 76 § 11. p. 77 § 15. § 16.

is familiar in many lands.[1] The incident lends itself easily to variations in detail. It is probable that similarities would be found in versions entirely independent of each other.

m) The conclusion in the poems[2].

The closing incident in the poetic versions is similar, as has been pointed out[3], to the ending of the story of Œnone, whom Paris loved before he knew Helen. When he is wounded by the poisoned arrows of Hercules, he sends for her to come and heal him. He dies on hearing that she has refused to come. When she hastens after the messenger with her herbs and simples, she arrives too late. She kills herself, and is buried with Paris in the same grave.

Into a story of this type the Tristan poet has introduced the theme of the signal of the sail and the fatal error, a theme which is familiar from the story of Theseus[4]. Theseus departs to carry tribute for the second time to Crete. Aegeus tells the pilot to take white sails with him and to hoist them on the return in case his son succeeds in killing the Minotaur. The expedition is successful, but Ariadne is stolen from Theseus by Bacchus. In his grief at her loss Theseus forgets the instructions of his father, and does not put up

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[1] We have spoken in our discussion of the *Harp and the Rote* (cf. *h* supra) of Diarmaid's coming to the cave in the disguise of a beggar. Cf. examples cited by Golther, *Die Sage von Tristan und Isolde*, München 1887, p. 18: Jänicke, *Deutsches Heldenbuch* IV, XL—XLII; Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle folkeviser* I, 271; III, 796; Landstad, *Norske folkeviser*, no. 59.

[2] E. Brugger, *Herrigs Archiv* CXXIX, 134, announces a forthcoming article, entitled *Zu Tristans Tod*.

[3] Golther (1907) 20—3.

[4] Bédier (II, 137—41; cf. Bédier, *Romania* XX, 485) believes the Tristan poet read the story in Servius, note to Bk. III, l. 74 of Virgils *Aeneid*.

the white sail. Aegeus, thinking his son dead, throws himself from the citadel.

Stories of the signal of a sail would naturally be found in all countries bordering on the sea. The device is simple enough, and the idea of making one color denote good news and the other bad, is not far to seek. It constitutes an essential element in an Irish folk-tale of which we have collected several examples[1]. In these stories the wrong sail is purposely hoisted in order to mislead the person on shore.

> Finn succeeds in engaging the services of a personage called the Lad of the Skins. The Lad's wife will not allow her husband to depart with Finn except on condition that the latter will bring him home alive or dead. The exploit on which the Lad sets out is successfully accomplished, but in returning home he is killed by an old sorcerer. Finn has promised the wife that he will indicate by the sails whether her husband is alive or dead. If her husband is dead, the intention of the woman is to sink the vessel by means of her magic arts before it touches the shore. But her husband is sincerely devoted to Finn. He therefore tells Finn that even in case of his death, he must hoist the sail that indicates his safe return. Thanks to this ruse Finn disembarks in safety[2].

[1] *Rev. Celt.* XXXII, 185—6 and notes 3 and 4.

[2] The following Irish folk-tale offers more striking similarities to the Tristan story, but since it is the only example we have, and since we have not been able to trace it to older Irish literature, we offer it with reservations. A maiden is called from the side of her lover, whose wounds she is tending, to visit her dying father. The wounded man sends a messenger day after day to the top of the highest hills to look for the ship which is to bear her back. His enemy, who has introduced himself into the household in disguise, offers to go out to meet the ship which is to bring her, and to raise a signal, red, if all is well, and black, if the princess is dead. When he reaches the boat he persuades the princess to raise the death signal, saying that her lover will have the greater joy to see her living. On seeing the signal, the prince kills himself in despair. The enemy, rejoicing, kills the princess also. *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* V, *Argyllshire series,* ed. A. Campbell, London 1895, p. 76.

n) The conclusion of the French Prose Romance and of the Old Irish stories. The eye at the window.

The French Prose Romance of Tristan preserves an ending different from that which we find in the poems.

> Or dit li contes que un jour estoit Tristans entrés es chambres la royne et harpoit un lay qu'il avoit fait. Audret l'entendi et le vint conter au roy Marc; Tristans estoit désarmés, si que le roy le ferist mortelment parmi l'eschine d'un glaive envenimé que Morgain li ot baillié ... Tristans congnut bien que il estoit féru à mort; il ne pot le roy ateindre et, pour ce, s'en vint d'autre part en la court à val et monta le premier cheval qu'il trouva; si s'en fuit de Tintaguel et s'en vint au chastel de Dinas[1]. . . . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Quant Tristans vit apertement qu'il estoit à la mort venus, il regarde entour soi et dist: Seigneur, je muire, je ne puis plus vivre; à Dieu soyés tout commandé. Quant il ot dite ceste parole, il dist à la royne Iseult: Amie or m'accolés, si que je fine entre vos bras. Si finerai adonc à aise, ce m'est avis. Iseult s'incline sur Tristan, quant ele entent ceste parole; ele s'abaisse seur son pis. Tristans la prent entre ses bras, et quand il la tint seur son pis, il dist si haut que tuit cil de léans l'entendirent: Des ore ne me chaut quant je muire, puis que je ai ma dame avoec moy. Lors estraint la royne de tant de force que il li fist le cuer partir, et il méesmes morut en tel point. Si que bras à bras et bouche à bouche moururent li dui amant, et demourèrent en tele manière embraciés. Mort sont amdui et par amour, sans autre comfort[2].

The Prose Romance, for all its modifications and interpolations, seems to us to preserve in this ending a tradition, if not older than that of the poems, at least independent of them[3]. It is difficult to believe

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[1] P. Paris, *Les manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du roi*, Paris 1836, I, 200 ff.

[2] *op. cit.* 208 ff.; cf. Löseth § 546 ff.

[3] cf. *supra* Ch. I, pp. 9—10.

that it was written by a poet who was acquainted with the version of the poems. It represents a much simpler stage of the story, involving only the three main characters — the husband, the wife, and the lover. The vengeance comes, as in the Celtic stories, from the injured husband. In this account there is no trace of the second Isolt. It is striking also that this redactor does not attribute to Isolt the extraordinary powers of healing credited her by the poems. It has been seen in our examination of the fusing of the episodes of the voyage for healing and the quest of Isolt, that these were originally distinct. It is impossible to tell in what order the parts which now constitute the narrative were assimilated. It may be that the ending of the Prose Romance goes back to a period of the tradition before the second Isolt, or perhaps even the story of the voyage for healing, had been introduced into it. It is hardly conceivable that this ending should have taken the place of the one we have in the poems after the tradition of Isolt's healing powers had become established by the incident of the rudderless voyage, and after the second Isolt had come to constitute an element in the story.

There are some curious additional traits in the version of this incident in the *Tavola Ritonda*. Here it is Andret who first finds the lovers together. Mark, peering into the window, sees Tristan and Isolt bent over the chess board [1].

> Trapassata che fu la notte e venuto il giorno, e Tristano e Isotta stando in tanta allegrezza, e giucando a scacchi e cantando sotto boce uno sonetto, lo quale sonetto Isotta fatto

[1] *La Tavola Ritonda (Collezione di opere inedite o rare*, vol. 8), ed. F. L. Polidori, Bologna 1864, I, 495 ff.

avea in quel punto per Tristano; e lo sonetto dicea cosi: . . . E cantando e giucando gli due leali amanti, e stando in tanto diletto, sì come volle la disavventuranzia, Adriett, nipote dello re Marco, passa quindi e, udendo il canto, conobbe la boce di Tristano, e allora, correndo, se ne va allo re Marco e si gli conta la novella. E lo re Marco, si come uomo irato, sanza niuno provvedimento, si tolse i'mano lo lanciotto che la fata mandato gli avea, e vassene alla camera: e mirando per una finestra ferrata, e vedendo Tristano ch' era i' giubba di seta, ed era inchinato al giuoco ch' egli facea con Isotta, lo quale molto gli dilettava; allora lo re, per mal talento, si gli lanciò la lancia e ferillo nel fianco dal lato manco.

The continuation of Béroul breaks off with a similar scene[1].

Gondoïne, one of the hostile barons, peers into the window of the chamber where Tristan and Isolt are together. Isolt perceives the head at the window. She pretends to be curious to know how to manipulate Tristan's bow and arrow. When her lover has drawn the bow and put the arrow in place, she directs her eyes to the window. Tristan follows her with his gaze, and sees the head of Godoïne. The bow is ready, and the arrow flies. It enters the head of the spy.

In some earlier version of Tristan, this incident in the continuation of Béroul may have been a prelude to the tragic ending preserved, with characteristic modifications, in the late and courtly version of the Prose Romance. There is a striking similarity between it and the incident which introduces the catastrophe in a version of *The Elopement of Deirdre with Naisi*[2]:

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[1] Béroul 4413—87.

[2] ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte* II, 138, l. 403—20, trans. p. 167, l. 405 ff. Cf. d'Arbois, *Epopée*, p. 272. This incident does not occur in the *Book of Leinster*, cf. supra VI D 3 f n. 2. The manuscript in which it is contained, the *Glenn Masáin*, Advocates Library, Edinburgh, was probably written in the fifteenth century.

And Trén-dorn moved forward, and came to the hostel, und found the doors and the windows shut; and dread and great fear seized him, and this he said 'There is no proper way to approach the sons of Usnech, for wrath is on them.' And after that he found a window unclosed, in the hostel, and he began to look at Naisi and Deirdre through the window. Deirdre looked at him, for she was the most quick-witted there, and she nudged (?) Naisi, and Naisi looked after her look and beheld the eye of that man.

And thus was he himself, having a dead man of the men of the draught-board, and thereof made he a fearful successful cast, so that it came to the young man's eye .... interchange was made between them, and his eye came on the young man's cheek, and he went to Conchobar having only one eye, and told tidings to him from beginning to end.

o) Conclusion.

The conclusion of the Prose Romance is closely allied with the conclusion of the Old Irish stories which we have examined. The Celtic elopement tale out of which the French redactor made the story of Tristan and Isolt may have represented the lovers as lured back from the forest under promises from Mark, and Tristan as treacherously slain by the jealous king on their arrival. Let us compare the scene of the return from the forest in Béroul, with that in the story of Naisi and Deirdre.

In Béroul, Tristan receives the promise of Mark that he may bring back Isolt, and that they will be received on friendly terms[1]:

'D'ui en tierz jor, sanz nul deçoivre,
Est li rois prest de lié reçoivre.

[1] Béroul 2767—82.

Devant le Gué Aventuros
Est li plez mis d'eus et de vos:
La li rendroiz, iluec ert prise.'

The description of the scene of the return in Béroul is as follows[1]:

'Seignors, au jor du parlement
Fu li rois Marc a mout grant gent.
La out tendu maint pavellon
Et mainte tente de baron:
Loin ont porpris la praerie.
Tristran chevauche o s'amie;
Tristran chevauche et voit le merc.
Souz son bliaut ot son hauberc;
Quar grant poor avoit de soi,
Por ce qu'il out mesfait au roi.'

The description of the return in the story of Deirdre and Naisi:

The men of Ulster urge King Conor to recall the sons of Usnach from their exile[2].

'Let them come to us then', said Conor. . . . The news was brought to them.

'This is welcome news for us', they said; 'we will indeed come' . . . And the sons of Usnach went on, accompanied by Fiacha, Fergus' son; until they came to the meadows around Emain. . . .

The sons of Usnach stood upon the level part of the meadows, and the women sat upon the ramparts of Emain. And Eogan came with his warriors across the meadow, and the son of Fergus took his place by Naisi's side.

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[1] Béroul 2767—77.

[2] A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London 1905, I, 97. Leahy writes *Conor*. Other translators retain the Irish orthography *Conchobar*.

In the Old Irish romance the tragic conclusion immediately follows. What Tristan merely feared that day when he put on his hauberk to meet Mark at the Gué Aventuros, here comes to pass.

> And Eogan greeted them with a mighty thrust of his spear, and the spear brake Naisi's back in sunder, and passed through it. The son of Fergus made a spring, and he threw both arms around Naisi, and he brought him beneath himself to shelter him, while he threw himself down above him; and it was thus that Naisi was slain, through the body of the son of Fergus. Then there began a murder throughout the meadow, so that none escaped who did not fall by the points of the spears, or the edge of the sword, and Deirdre was brought to Conor to be in his power, and her arms were bound behind her back[1]. . .
>
> Deirdre lived on for a year in the household of Conor; and during all that time she smiled no smile of laughter; she satisfied not herself with food or with sleep, and she raised not her head from her knee[2]. . . .
>
> Now upon the morrow they went away over the festal plain of Macha, and Deirdre sat behind Eogan in the chariot; and the two who were with her were the two men whom she would never willingly have seen together upon the earth, and as she looked upon them, 'Ha, Deirdre', said Conor, 'it is the same glance that a ewe gives when between two rams that thou sharest now between me and Eogan!' Now there was a great rock of stone in front of them, and Deirdre struck her head upon that stone, and she shattered her head, and so she died[3].

In *Diarmaid and Grainne* also, as we have seen, the lover is treacherously killed in a similar way by the jealous king. In some versions Finn takes back Grainne.

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[1] *op. cit.* 97.
[2] *op. cit.* 98.
[3] *op. cit.* 102.

In *Liadain and Curithir*, another Old Irish story of tragic love, the woman survives her lover, and at last dies of grief[1].

It seems to us probable that the popularity of the Tristan story led some redactor to defer the tragic conclusion by bringing the lovers back safely from the forest to the court of Mark. Further adventures were added, most of them dictated by ideals of courtly love. The scant account which the Celtic elopement story gave of Tristan's birth and childhood was supplemented from various sources. The tragedy was complicated by the introduction of the second Isolt, and a new tragic ending was substituted for the old.

This new ending is probably the work of a French poet. As we have indicated in Chapter IV, there seems to have been a tradition that Tristan delivered the land of Howel and received his daughter as a reward[2]. It must have been a French poet, and it seems to have been a poet of genius, who, for an audience deeply imbued with the theories of courtly love, rendered this incident significant by representing Tristan as remaining true to Isolt in spite of his marriage. It was perhaps the same poet who gave us the catastrophe which we find in the poems, with its echoes of the voyage for healing and of the unconsummated marriage.

The most important stages of the tradition of Tristan previous to the extant versions seem to us to be roughly as follows:

A. A Celtic *Aithed* similar to the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne*. Its ending, similar to that of the French

[1] cf. infra, Appendix V.
[2] cf. supra p. 160ff. and infra Appendix III.

Prose Romance, was on the return of the lovers from the forest.

B. The first French romance, modifying *A* for a French audience and incorporating new material, some of it, perhaps, from Celtic sources.

C. The *estoire*, a redaction of this version, reproducing *B* and incorporating more new material. To this belong, perhaps, (1) a fuller account of the birth and childhood of Tristan; (2) a number of episodes from the general fund of mediaeval fiction; (3) a continuation containing incidents that illustrate the doctrines of courtly love; and (4) a new ending, the messenger sent to the healing Isolt, and the story of the sails.

E. THE TRAGIC CONFLICT IN *TRISTAN AND ISOLT* AND IN OLD IRISH ROMANCE.

1. UNLAWFUL LOVE IN OLD FRENCH LITERATURE.

Accusations, true and false, of unlawful love, serve to fill out many a mediaeval romance, besides the considerable number to which they furnish a central theme. The punishment threatened, and in some cases inflicted, is burning at the stake[1]. The woman

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[1] cf. Pio Rajna, *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso*[2], Florence, 1900, pp. 154 ff.; F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, II, 113; J. D. Bruce, *Mort Artu*, Halle a. S. 1910, p. 283 note to p. 108 ll. 27 ff.

is given an opportunity to justify herself, either by a champion, in judicial combat, or by an ordeal.

Adultery occurs frequently in episodes in the *chansons de geste*, it is frequently mentioned in the *fabliaux*, and it forms one of the favorite themes of courtly romance. In all of these we find the admirable husband who is indulgent toward his unfaithful wife just as often as the old and jealous husband, ridiculous in his misfortune. The version of Eilhart presents Mark in the one character, and the French Prose Romance in the other.

The love of a gifted vassal for the lady of his lord is the frequent theme of the lyrics of the troubadours. The story of Tristan is the oft-repeated tale which we read in the biography of Bernard de Ventadour, fabulous if you will, but no less important for literary history[1].

> E Bernart venc bels hom et adreitz, e saup ben trobar e cantar et era cortes et enseignatz. E'l vescoms de Ventedorn, lo sieus seigner, s'abellic mout de lui e de son trobar e de son chantar, e fetz li grand' honor. E'l vescoms de Ventedorn si avia moiller bella e gaia e ioven e gentil; et abellic se d'en Bernart e de las soas chanssos, et enamoret se de lui et el de lieis, si q'el fetz sos vers e sas chanssos d'ella, de l'amor q'el avia ad ella, e de la valor de la dompna. Mout duret lonc temps lors amors anz qe'l vescoms, maritz de la dompna, ni las autras gens s'en aperceubessen. E qan lo vescoms s'en fo aperceubutz, en estraigniet en Bernart de si, e pois fetz la moiller serrar e gardar. Adoncs fetz la dompna dar comiat a'n Bernat, e fetz li dir qe ·is partis e ·is loignes d'aquella encontrada.

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[1] Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, Leipzig 1907, 189—90.

2. THE ATTITUDE TOWARD UNLAWFUL LOVE IN *TRISTAN AND ISOLT.*

a) In the part of the estoire *previous to the return from the forest.*

On close examination it appears that the various extant redactions reflect important variations of moral sentiment. Even in the same redaction it is often clear that different series of events were conceived under widely different moral premises. There are three sharply defined conceptions of the potion to be distinguished in the earliest Tristan texts. The first is that of the portion of the Béroul-Eilhart version previous to the return of Isolt to Mark and the exile of Tristan. The second is that of the Eilhart version from the return from the forest to the end of the romance. The third is that of Thomas [1].

In Béroul and Eilhart the passion of the lovers is the direct effect of a potion. It dominates their entire being, making them indifferent to their infidelity to Mark, indifferent to the sinfulness of their love, indifferent to their social ruin, indifferent to danger, indifferent to every consideration except the means of maintaining their relation. With all the orthodox

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[1] We have already discussed the diminution in the influence of the potion at the expiration of a certain period, a trait which appears in Béroul, Eilhart, and the *Folie Tristan* of the Berne manuscript, but which is lacking in the version of Thomas and the Prose Romance. In Béroul, as the reader will remember, the abatement of the potion's influence is related in two long monologues and a dialogue. Their change of sentiment, although developed at less length, is apparent in Eilhart and in the *Folie* also. It has already been shown that these versions are here faithfully following their source, whereas Thomas, who avoids this lessening of the power of the potion, is revising it. Cf. supra Ch. III, p. 72—84; cf. *Rom.* XL, 277—97.

Christian horror of their sin, they feel themselves, as a result of the potion, under a diabolical compulsion.

The more closely we examine the attitude of Béroul and Eilhart, the more forcibly we are struck with their anxiety to emphasize the fact that the lovers are not responsible for their conduct. We are told that Tristan's deception of Mark in lying with Isolt on her wedding night while the unsuspecting king was with the servant Brangien was *nichein untrûwe*[1] but, like his *grôzen unmâze*[2] in leaping across the flour on the floor, was *âne sînen dang*[3] and all due to *der vil unsêlige trang*[4]. Mark himself acknowledges this when he learns of the potion, after the lovers' death[5].

This idea is most strongly emphasized toward the close of the life in the forest[6], in the passage in which the overwhelming influence of the potion is represented as expiring. Completely dominated by the fatal drink, the lovers had been unconscious of their suffering and privations. When the good hermit had urged them to repentance, Tristan had replied[7]

> 'Sire, par foi,
> Se ele m'aime (en bone foi,
> Vos n'entendez pas la raison),
> S'el m'aime, c'est par la poison.'

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[1] *OX* 2838—48.
[2] *OX* 3918.
[3] *OX* 2843. 9490. Also 2367 cf. *OP* 57,10: 'Doch mag es rechtlich nit betrieglikeit sein, weil er solichs nit aus eignem mutwillen und frefel geton hat, sunder aus schickung und würkunge materlicher kunst, vor offt genent.'
[4] *OX* 2844. 3915. Also 2368; cf. *OP* 82,16: 'nit aus schickung und ordnung der natur, sunder aus krafft und würckung des getrancks, das sy getruncken hetten.'
[5] *OX* 9490.
[6] cf. supra Ch. III, p. 72—5.
[7] Béroul 1381—4.

Isolt had likewise declared[1]:

'Sire, por Deu omnipotent,
Il ne m'aime pas, ne je lui,
Fors par .i. herbé dont je bui,
Et il en but: ce fu pechiez'.

As Tristan expresses it in the Czech translation of Eilhart[2]: 'It is laid on us by God; we are powerless to resist it.' They had departed from the hermit without absolution. But now that the term appointed is complete, the compulsion is lifted. The other values of life — the emoluments of knight-hood, their relations with the world, their duty to Mark, and their affection for him — take on again their normal significance. The lovers proceed in the orthodox manner to seek from the pious hermit remission of their sins, absolution, and counsel for amendment[3].

'Por qoi la joie pardurable
Porron ancore bien merir'[4].

b) In the part of the estoire *subsequent to the return from the forest.*

The attitude toward the relation of the lovers which we find in the continuation of the romance which appears in the *estoire* is entirely different. The account of Tristan's refraining from consummating his marriage, and of the displeasure of Queen Isolt against him on account of his supposed

[1] Béroul 1413—7.
[2] *OČ* 224,6 (*ZfdA.* XXVIII, p. 321). Similarly *OX* 4720—9; *OP* 101,25—102,4.
[3] Béroul 2265—89.
[4] Béroul 2276—8.

failure to respond to a request made in her name[1] illustrates a conception of love of an entirely different order from that which we have found in the first part of the romance. The author of the *estoire* tried to veneer the first part to make it correspond with the second. But the poet who conceived the second part, if he had been free to deal with the story as a whole, would have suppressed the love-potion and effaced the lovers' repentance and voluntary return from the forest.

The treatment of the potion and of the expiration of its influence in the *estoire* is the work of a poet to whom the love of Tristan and Isolt was an unlawful and unholy thing, a passion explicable and capable of commanding sympathy only from the fact that it was due to a malign influence for which the lovers were not responsible. This attitude is still apparent in some passages of Béroul and Eilhart. It even survives in the poem of Gottfried. When Brangien discovers that the lovers have drunk the potion, and realizes the cause of their illness, she says to Tristan[2]

> 'lât diz laster under uns drîn
> verswigen unde beliben sîn'.

The feeling that the love of Tristan and Isolt is *laster*, is *pechié*[3], *puterie*[4], is never quite effaced from the story. It is most strongly emphasized, as we have said, in the account of the return from the forest in Béroul and Eilhart. What follows in the Eilhart version is the expression of an entirely different attitude. Here Isolt is represented as exacting from

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[1] cf. supra Ch. IV.
[2] Gottfried, ed. Marold 12147—9.
[3] Béroul 700.
[4] Béroul 407.

Tristan an obedience so exaggerated that she treats him with the greatest severity because he appears to have refused a request made in her name. Here Tristan is represented as refraining from accomplishing his marriage on account of a scruple for which we may search in vain outside the peculiar idealization of illegitimate love which we find in the circle of *Cligès* and *La Charrette.* Here, finally, Tristan is represented as losing his life in furthering Kaherdin's *amour* with Gargeolain the wife of Bedenis, an enterprise for which neither hero nor poet feels any moral compunction. This portion of the *estoire* is dominated by a conception of love — whether legitimate or illegitimate — as invading the hero through his eyes, arousing in his heart a noble aspiration to be worthy of the beauty which he beholds, and awakening in him valor and courtesy. The service of love is a voluntary service, which the lover joyfully accepts with his whole mind. As Gottfried expresses it[1]:

'Liebe ist ein alsô saelic dinc,
ein alsô sæleclîch gerinc,
daz nieman âne ir lêre
noch tugende hât noch êre.
sô manecwert leben, sô liebe frumet,
sô vil sô tugende von ir kumet,
owê daz allez, daz der lebet,
nâch herzeliebe niht enstrebet'.

To poets with this ideal of love, the treatment of the potion in Béroul and Eilhart is not only unsympathetic, it is actually repugnant. It degrades a deity. The following lyric expresses Crestien's attitude[2].

[1] ed. Marold 187—94.
[2] J. Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français,* Paris 1870—1, p. 47.

'Onques del bevrage ne bui
Dont Tristans fuz enpoisonez,
Mais plus me fait amer que lui
Fins cuers et bone volentez.
Si ne m'en doit savoir mal gré
Quant de rien efforciez n'en fui
Fors de tant, que mes eus en crui,
Par qui sui en la voie entrez,
Dont ja n'istrai, n'ains n'i recrui.'

Heinrich von Veldeke also feels that the potion detracts from the merit of love, which should be a voluntary service[1].

'Tristrant môste sonder danc
stâte sîn der koninginne,
want hem poisûn dartoe dwanc
mêre, dan die kracht der minne.
des sal mir die gôde danc
weten, dat ich nien gedranc
alsolhen wîn, end ich si minne
bat dan he, end mach dat sîn.
wale gedâne,
valskes âne,
lâ mich wesen dîn,
ende wis du mîn.'

The second part of the *estoire*, together with Crestien's *Cligès* and *La Charrette*, form the three most curious expressions of the courtly ideal of love. Each is the treatment of a problem in the new system of ethics which the new ideal involved. In *La Charrette* unlawful love is put before chivalric honor: Lancelot courts ignominy in the tournament at his

[1] Piper, *Höfische Epik, Deutsche National-Literatur* I, 69.

lady's command. In *Cligès* unlawful love is put before the duty of wife to husband: Fenice, married to Alix, preserves her virginity for her lover. In *Tristan* it is put before the duty of husband to wife: Tristan refrains from consummating his marriage with Isolt of the White Hands for the sake of a hopeless and forbidden love.

c) In Thomas.

Thomas modified to some extent this exaggerated expression of the courtly ideal. He suppressed Isolt's anger against Tristan for not submitting to unreasonable demands made in her name, although it was necessary for him to change the narrative considerably in order to do so[1]. His attitude toward love is still, however, in marked contrast to that which we find in the treatment of the return from the forest in Eilhart and Béroul. To him the potion is not the instrument of destiny to which the lovers submit against their will; it is the symbol of Amors, a divinity worshipped and blessed. Thomas' lovers, if we are to believe Gottfried, accept and rejoice in their fate. In the first part of the *estoire*, on the other hand, their passion is not only forbidden by society; it is felt by the lovers themselves to involve the infringement of a moral law. This moral law the poet accepts without question. In Thomas and Gottfried, on the contrary, there is no law but love. There is a social order, to be sure — there is honor in the eyes of the world (*êre*),

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[1] cf. supra Ch. IV, p. 128—32; cf. Bédier II, 270—6. Thomas does not allow Isolt to believe the accusation against Tristan. He shifts the quarrel to the subordinate characters, Brangien and Kaherdin.

and there is Tristan's faith to Mark (*triuwe*). Love, however, is a more powerful deity[1]:

'in muoten harte sêre
sîn triuwe und sîn êre
sô muote in aber diu Minne mê,
diu tete im wirs danne wê:
si tete im mê ze leide
dan Triuwe und Êre beide'.

Even Mark bows to the lovers' passion and gives them his permission to go together to the forest[2]:

'sît ich nu an iu beiden sihe,
daz ir ein ander alle zît
wider allem mînem willen sît
lieber dan ich iu beiden sî,
sô weset ouch beide ein ander bî,
als iu ze muote gestê:
durch mîne vorhte lât nimê'.

Here Thomas departs widely from the tradition in which the lovers escaped to the forest from worse than death, and Mark could find no punishment cruel enough for their crime.

3. TRISTAN'S DISLOYALTY TO MARK.

With the first coming of Tristan to Mark's court the poet of the *estoire* begins to prepare for the tragic struggle which is to form the theme of his narrative. Mark receives the stranger youth graciously and treats

[1] ed. Marold 11 771—6.
[2] ed. Marold 16 596—63.

him with generous kindness. He grants his request for arms, although it is premature; he is so fond of him that he is unwilling to allow him to undertake the combat with the Morholt; his distress is increased when he learns that the young knight is his sister's son. When the others desert Tristan on account of his wound, Mark remains with him. He is grief-stricken when his nephew insists on setting out alone on the sea; he is overjoyed when he returns in safety. He makes every effort to withstand the barons' demand that he shall marry, and when he can refuse them no longer, he submits on condition that they bring him a princess impossible to obtain. His purpose of resistance is unexpectedly thwarted by Tristan himself, who insists on undertaking the quest. He makes every effort to dissuade his nephew from the enterprise which is to bring such direful consequences upon them both. At every point the poet dwells upon the tenderness of Mark toward Tristan, and on the relation of confidence and affection that exists between them.

The tragedy of Tristan and Isolt in the *estoire* is thus not merely a conflict of human passion with the laws of an organized society. It is not only inquietude as long as the lovers successfully keep their relation secret. It is not only danger when they maintain it in defiance of society and of its most powerful member. The situation has a tragic quality deeper than that of a war with society, more poignant than that of the transgression of moral law. It is the tragedy of outraged friendship. It is man's love for woman at war with man's loyalty to man.

It has already been pointed out that in many cases the effort of Thomas to rationalize the story is successful at the expense of the character of Mark.

In order to suppress the incredible account of the swallows' hair in the story of the *Quest*, Thomas effaces the point which had been made with so much care in his source, namely that Mark had recourse to this resolve as a strategem to evade the demands of the barons[1]. While appearing to be willing to accept a bride, he demands one impossible to obtain, the Princess of the Swallows' Hair. The reply which Mark gives the barons in Thomas is that he will marry if they find him a fitting wife. To be sure the king none the less arouses their antagonism by his preference for Tristan and his evident unwillingness to marry. In the account of the footprint on the floor, the ambiguous oath, the banishment of the lovers, and the discovery in the garden, the character of Mark suffers constantly from Thomas' modification of his source. The king appears vacillating and inconsistent, now suspicious and now foolishly trustful, as the narrative demands. The character clearly defined in Eilhart and blurred in Thomas is entirely distorted in the French Prose Romance. In this version Mark is the personification of cowardice and perfidy. In the episodes which constitute the continuation of Béroul and in the other fragments of Tristan tradition, the character of Mark is determined, as we might expect, by the narrative which the poet is exploiting.

In Eilhart alone we have a clearly marked development in Mark's feeling for Tristan. His tenderness and loyalty struggle against the increasing weight of evidence until his nephew's guilt is proved beyond possibility of doubt. From that moment he is unrelenting. The Mark of Eilhart is long in being convinced. At first he is passionately loyal, and

[1] Bédier II, 215—8; supra Ch. III, 84—8.

unwilling to listen to the voice of suspicion. When he surprises his nephew and the queen in each other's embrace, he is quick to anger, but when he hears their conversation under the pine-tree he is no less quick to acknowledge that he has misinterpreted an innocent affection. The footprint on the floor is at last absolute proof. From that instant Mark is implacable. No punishment seems to him severe enough[1]:

'he sprach, daz he ir minne
gerne sô gar zubrêche
daz man dar von sprêche
die wîle die welt wêre'.

He cannot wait until the dawn to punish. He is deaf to entreaties[2].

'der koning von zorne nedir saz
und begunde burnen als ein kole'.

When Tristan escapes him, by the leap from the chapel[3],

'dô wolde der koning sînen mût
irkûlen an der vrauwin'.

When the leper suggests that life with his band would be more horrible for Isolt than burning at the stake, he does not hesitate to give her the worse fate[4]. He even takes revenge upon Tristan's dog, commanding the wretched animal to be hanged[5].

Eilhart tells us that Mark's punishment of Isolt was looked upon with disfavor in the land[6], but he

[1] *OX* 3962—6.
[2] *OX* 4036—8.
[3] *OX* 4246—8.
[4] 4256—92.
[5] 4368—85.
[6] 4296—302.

does not indicate that the king ever regretted it. To be sure Mark stays his hand when he finds the lovers sleeping in the forest. The poet gives us no clue to Mark's feelings, and the scene is a puzzle[1]. So much, however, is clear: the sword between the pair does not convince him of their innocence, and Tristan makes no attempt, even in the letter written by Ogrin, so full of protestations of innocence in Béroul, to persuade the king that he is not guilty[2]. Before his counsellors Mark defends the innocence of his wife, and he is willing to take her back. But he will not permit Tristan to remain in the land[3]. Tristan pleads[4]:

'nû vorgebit mir die missetât
daz ûch got von himele lône!'
'so muste mich got hônen,
ab ich ez tête umme daz.
ja ist ûch mîn herze sô gehaz,
daz ich ûch nî mê mag werdin holt'.

Tristan continues his pleading, but Mark is inexorable[5].

'ûwers dînstes begere ich nît.'
'war umme, hêre?' 'daz wil ich sagin:
dâ habe ich lastir unde schadin
vil von ûch gewonnen.'

Tristan insists[6]

'wolt ir mir nicht gonnen
daz ich in ûwerm lande sî?'

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[1] cf. supra Ch. V, 261—5.
[2] 4844—61.
[3] 4863—90; cf. 4915—30.
[4] 4930—6.
[5] 4940—4.
[6] 4944—6.

Mark's reply is[1]

'nein, ir wêret mir zu nâhe bî.
ir mûzet ûch enweg haben:
ich wil ûch wol vorclagen.'

In Eilhart's poem these are Mark's last words to Tristan. His character is rigorously consistent — tender, generous, loyal, quick to anger, and quick to forgive anger suddenly roused. But he is terrible when once convinced that he has been betrayed, and unrelenting. The love of the betrayed husband for the betrayer forms as important an element in this tragic treatment as the passion of the lovers for each other.

The treatment of this passion as in itself tragic is unique in Tristan among twelfth century French romances. To understand its appearance there, let us study the development of the moral and social ideal of which the love of Tristan and Isolt is a violation.

4. THE ATTITUDE TOWARD UNLAWFUL LOVE IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.

Promiscuous as may seem to us the practices of primitive tribes in sexual relations, one principle is clearly distinguishable: the wife is the property of the husband. He who has bought her has the right to use her or to dispose of her as he wills. Wives are lent or rented in the same manner as horses and fields. A man who owns a field may make a contract with his neighbor by which he gives him the privilege of cultivating it and enjoying the produce. But if the neighbor undertakes to cultivate

[1] 4946—9.

the field without the owner's consent, the action is considered theft, and the owner demands an indemnity. A man demands a fine for the infringement of his right to the exclusive use and disposal of his wife in the same way that he demands a fine for the unauthorized use of his fields for cultivation or of his cattle for breeding purposes[1].

Primitive law-books offer suggestions of what might be an equitable settlement of differences[2] arising from the violation of these rights. It appears that there was no machinery to enforce such a settlement. If the injured person was not satisfied with the fine designated, or if the offender was unwilling to pay it, the former might satisfy himself by what means he could. He must expect, however, that the latter, in his turn, might employ a similar procedure. In the case of adultery on the part of a wife, it seems to have been generally recognized that it was just for the husband to kill the thief. If he desired to sacrifice his property to his passion, he was of course at liberty to kill his wife also.

5. THE ATTITUDE TOWARD UNLAWFUL LOVE IN OLD IRISH LITERATURE.

The earliest extant Irish literature reflects in most instances the customs of a society in this stage of development. The accounts of the conceptions and

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[1] cf. O. Schrader; *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, s. v. Ehebruch; E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London 1906–8, I, Ch. XXVI. II, p. 446–51.

[2] cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Etudes sur le droit celtique*, Paris 1895, I, Ch. I.

births of the Old Irish heroes, and the *Aitheda*[1], the elopement stories of which we have spoken, are for the most part uninfluenced by Christian standards of sexual morals. The Old Irish saints' lives frequently betray a similar pagan attitude. All manner of relations which Christian morality stamps as unlawful and unnatural, are recounted of the saints and of their parents with apparent unconsciousness of their inappropriateness[2]. In the Old Irish epic, as in the primitive societies we have just discussed, adultery is considered by the husband as an infringement of his property rights, which he tolerates or punishes according to his convenience. The husband may find it preferable, if his wife's lover is useful to him, to spare him. For example, Ailill, although he knows that there is a liaison between his wife Medb and the Ulster outlaw Fergus, makes no effort to punish the offender. On one occasion he satisfies himself that his suspicions are correct by sending a spy to bring him a token of the fact. The spy finds the couple sleeping. He takes the lover's sword from his side, and, stealing away silently, brings it to the king[3]. Ailill then taunts Fergus, and refuses for a time to return him the sword. It is not until he can do so conveniently that he avenges himself[4].

> Now on a certain day the whole host went into the lake to bathe. 'Go down, O Fergus', said Ailill, 'and drown the men'. — 'They are not good in water', said Fergus,

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[1] cf. supra Ch. VI D.

[2] cf. Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXXIII, p. 283—5 n.

[3] W. Faraday, *The Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, London 1904, p. 44. 51. 134, translation from the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri version;* cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville's translation, *Rev. Celt.* XXIX, p. 163. XXX, 162; cf. ed. Windisch, Leipzig 1905, p. 414, cf. p. 858, from the *Book of Leinster* version; cf. supra.

[4] Kuno Meyer, *The Death Tales of the Ulster Heroes, R. I. A., Todd Series* XIV, 32—5.

Nevertheless he went down. Medb's heart could not bear that, so that she went into the lake. As Fergus entered the lake, all there was of gravel and of stones at the bottom of the lake came to the surface. Then Medb went till she was on the breast of Fergus, with her legs entwined around him, and then he swam around the lake. And jealousy seized Ailill. Then Medb went up.

'It is delightful what the hart and the doe are doing in the lake, O Lugaid', said Ailill. — 'Why not kill them', said Lugaid who never missed his aim. — 'Do thou have a cast at them'! said Ailill. — 'Turn my face towards them', said Lugaid, 'and bring a lance to me!' Fergus was washing himself in the lake, and his breast was towards them. And his chariot is brought to Ailill, so that it was near him; and Lugaid threw the lance, so that it passed out through his back behind. 'The cast has gone home'! said Lugaid.

It is related that when the son of the high king made a royal progress through Ireland, the wife of a different chieftain was offered him each night [1].

The elements of the tragedy of Tristan and Isolt are present, however, among the Irish as among the most primitive societies, in the fear of vengeance from the husband, and in the sense of dishonor, developing from this fear, attaching to the prohibited relation.

6. THE ATTITUDE TOWARD UNLAWFUL LOVE IN OLD IRISH LITERATURE UNDER CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE.

In sharp contrast to this pagan attitude, we find in Old Irish narratives dating from a very early period, side by side with such accounts as we have

[1] Cited by Zimmer, *ZfdA*. XXXIII, 284 n, from *LL* 299 a, 35 ff. The *Bóroma*. Ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* XIII. 54.

mentioned, an attitude of mediaeval Christian asceticism toward questions of sexual intercourse. We shall consider only the question of adultery. The punishment of the woman is usually burning. We cite a few examples[1]:

Cormac's *Glossary*, a document of the eighth or ninth century, gives the following etymology of the word *druth:* 'harlot', *dír-aedh* is she, *i. e.* to burn her were right, because *aedh* is 'fire'.

In the *Book of Leinster*, written before 1150, we read that it was customary to burn any woman who violated her betrothal[2]. Various other documents show the prevalence of this punishment. In a passage of the Old Irish laws, the judge says to the woman accused of adultery: 'Your crime is proved and you are found guilty. I will not put you to death, but I adjudge you a dishonored grave with the three shovelfuls of disgrace upon your body'[3].

There is the following account in the *Adventures of Art, son of Conn, and the Courtship of Delbchaem*[4].

> It was on that very day the Tuatha de Danann happened to be gathered in council in the Land of Promise, because of a woman who had committed transgression, and whose name was Bécuma Cneisgel, daughter of Eogan Inbir, that is, the wife of Labraid Luathlam-ar-Claideb. And Gaidiar, Manannan's son, it was that had committed the transgression. And this was the sentence passed on her as regards herself: to be driven forth from the Land of Promise, or to be burned according to the counsel of Manannan, and Fergus Findliath, and Eogan Inbir, and Lodan son of Lir, and Gaidiar, and

[1] *Cormac's Glossary*, ed. Stokes, Calcutta 1868, p. 59.
[2] *LL* 287 b 7. Cf. Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, Halle 1906, s. v. *Airnaidm.* I am indebted to Professor Bergin for this reference.
[3] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs* I, p. cccxxiii, n. 561.
[4] *Eriu* III, p. 150—3.

Gaei Gormsuilech, and Ilbrec son of Manannan. And their counsel was to banish her from the Land of Promise. And Manannan said not to burn her lest her guilt should cleave to the land or to themselves.

7. UNLAWFUL LOVE AS A TRAGIC *MOTIF* IN OLD IRISH LITERATURE.

Old Irish romance is rich in stories of tragic love. Only through an intimate acquaintance with the great body of imaginative literature that has been edited in the past thirty years is it possible to form an idea of the persistence with which this theme recurs. No more than a small fraction of the wealth of romance that existed in Ireland previous to the tenth century has survived, but in what we have, the note of tragic passion is sounded with a hundred variations. Students of mediaeval romance are disposed to look upon French literature, from its superiority to that of the neighboring peoples, as highly developed. They are disposed to consider that, whatever tradition of Tristan the Celts may have had, it must have been of a rudeness of sentiment corresponding to the primitive character of their material civilization. There could be no greater error. Ireland possessed in the tenth century a literature of romantic love of a depth and refinement of sentiment of which France had not dreamed.

In Appendix V we have printed passages from several Old Irish stories of tragic love. The narrative rests in many cases on beliefs and customs that are strange and frequently unintelligible to us. But even with this immense disadvantage, the reader cannot fail to be impressed by the depth and purity of their tragic quality. Only the chief points of the stories seem to have been written down, apparently merely

to aid the memory in oral narration. But even these synopses are in the grand style.

In the story of Deirdre and Naisi, *The Exile of the Sons of Usnech*[1], the elements of the tragic conflict are on the one hand the passion of the lovers, and on the other the social order. Naisi takes Deirdre from Conchobar in defiance of the laws of feudal society, and brings upon himself the enmity of its most powerful member.

In *Liadain and Curithir*[2] the struggle is not with outward circumstances. It is a struggle of love and conscience. Liadain has already taken the vows when her lover comes to her. Saint Cummine, to whom they turn for direction, endeavors to resolve the conflict by uniting them in one of those spiritual marriages dear to the church. His effort fails. Curithir must therefore depart. Liadain follows him, full of remorse now for having denied him. When he hears that she is coming, he sets out in a rudderless boat on a pilgrimage upon the sea. She returns and ends her life in grief and prayer for him.

In the *Sickbed of Ailill*[3] we have again a story of unlawful love in which the tragedy is in the transgression of a moral law. This story involves in a curious way the theme which we have discussed in connection with the incident of the harp and the rote. Ailill is stricken with love for the wife of his brother Eochaid, the high king of Ireland, and falls into a wasting sickness. When Eochaid goes on his royal progress through Ireland, he leaves his wife behind to take care of his brother, who is near death. When she at last discovers the cause of his illness,

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[1] Appendix VA, infra.
[2] Appendix VB, infra.
[3] Appendix VC, infra.

she resolves to heal him[1]. Here, as in Tristan, the lover struggles between his passion for the woman and his loyalty to her husband. By the intervention of Midir, who corresponds to the stranger in the story of the harp and the rote, Ailill is cured of his sickness without the loss of her honor.

In the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne*, there is an added element of tragedy: Diarmaid, like Tristan, is deeply attached to the husband whom he betrays. The lovers suffer, not only from the hostility of the social order which their passion sets at defiance, not only from the vengeance of the most powerful of its members, but from the consciousness of having violated an inner law, of having broken their faith to one whom they love. Even in the mutilated fragments of *Diarmaid and Grainne* which have come down to us, and even in the corrupt versions drawn from oral tradition, this element still survives. In the lay in the *Dean's Book* from which we have already quoted, Diarmaid laments[2]:

'Thou hast ruined me, O Gráinne.
thou hast brought shame on the son of Cumhall;
to be as I am in distress,
is a load I cannot endure.

. . . . . .

From Finn himself of joyous heart —
from him *we used to get* welcome;
I *left* the delight of his house,
and thou hast ruined me, O Gráinne'.

[1] At this point the narrative has been interpolated by a later redactor whose attitude toward adultery is similar to that which we find in Béroul and Eilhart. When Etain appoints the tryst she says: ''Tis tomorrow it shall be', and he adds 'but it shall not be in the abode of the lawful monarch of the land that this felony shall be done'.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, 52—4. The son of Cumhall is of course Finn. The words in italics are uncertain.

In a later version of the same lay[1]:

> I am like a deer or a stag, Passing my days along remote glens. None desires to see me, Of all who were kin to me in the house of hosts.
>
> I have forsaken all my people, Those who were brighter in nature than snow on the hillside. Their hearts were loving and generous to me, Like the sun high in the sky.
>
> But now they have become full of hatred toward me, Like an ocean that does not ebb, Since thou didst beguile me, O Grainne. O, thy love hath been of ill omen to me!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I can never again return To the Fianna of Erin *whose companies were great;* My character is more hateful to Finn Than the terror of a monster of sharpest *bristles.*

It is related in some of the oral versions that Grainne tried for a long time without success to prevail upon Diarmaid to elope with her. She taunted him so far that Diarmaid went to Finn himself, and put to him the question: 'Is it best to bear reproach, or decay'? Finn's answer was: 'Do not decay while you live, my sister's son.' It was some time after this, says the narrator, that Diarmaid went off with Grainne[2], 'but where he passed the night he left unbroken bread to show that he was still blameless'.

The services of Diarmaid to Finn, the many exploits which they undertook together, and the many times that Diarmaid saved Finn from a situation of great peril form an important body of the stories of the Fianna[3]. The theme is a favorite one in oral tradition to this day.

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[1] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, 55; cf. text, J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne*, London 1872, p. 153; cf. suggestions of W. J. Watson, *Celtic Review* VIII, 265.

[2] J. G. Campbell, *The Fians, op. cit.*, p. 53. 55 — 6.

[3] cf. e. g. *Silva Gadelica* I, 265 ff.; II, 300 ff.; *Rev. Celt.* XXXII, 188 ff. 191 ff.

In the lay of the *Death of Diarmaid*, extant in numerous versions, Diarmaid, as he lies dying, reminds Finn of some of these services[1].

> 'One drink from thy cup, O Finn, O man of sweet and pleasant words, Since I have shed much of my blood, Bring me a drink from the well.' . . . .
>
> 'I have never injured thee, Yonder or here, from east or from west, But (it was) Grainne who carried me off captive, when she caused me to break my word.' . . . .
>
> 'If thou didst remember the day of Suibhne. There is no need to be recalling it; I killed eight hundred and three men for thee', ...
>
> 'In Bruidhen Caorthainn thou wast prisoner, O Finn, I was good to thee, When the White-toothed one was wounding thee, And thou wast in distress and in *combat*. . . .
>
> 'Another day I was of service to thee, In Tara when thou wast in distress, I was victor in the house, Protecting thee from every combat. . . .
>
> 'Three king's sons of Inis Tire-fo-thuinn, I killed them all in spite of their resistance; and I washed thee in their blood, Though thou hast overcome me with cruelty'. . . .
>
> 'If thou didst but remember the day of Conall . . . [When] Cairbre and his people were before thee, Thyself and thy Fenians in thy train, O sad is my face toward Ben Gulbain!'

8. CONCLUSION.

Our study of the traces of Celtic elements in the earliest extant versions of the Tristan story leads us to a conclusion that reconciles the opposing views of Gaston Paris and M. Bédier. The story of Tristan as it was first conceived, and conceived in no less of tragic beauty than in the forms in which we now have it, *was* Celtic. Gaston Paris, in the glowing pages in which he discusses it, speaks to us of the story as it

[1] *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, p. 173—5; text, *Leabhar na Feinne*, p. 158b.

was[1]. The story of Tristan as we have it, in Eilhart, in Béroul, and in Thomas, *is* French, and M. Bédier, in his discussion of it, speaks to us of the story as it *is*[2].

In the present study we have tried to show, by examining in detail Celtic romances of a character similar to Tristan, that the stories current among the Celts in the twelfth century not only reflect a *milieu* entirely different from that with which the twelfth century French poets were familiar, but that they imply sentiments, emotions, conceptions of honor, moral ideas — an entire psychology, different from that of the French. A Celtic story would have to be altered, in fact almost transformed, before it could be presented to a French audience. The poet must infuse into the Celtic lovers the spirit of French chivalry. He must supply them with a French background. He must adapt them to French life. He must complete their story according to French ideas. He must connect them with the literary figures familiar to a French audience. He must modify, efface, transform, supplement, create.

Such seems to have been the work of the poet who first conceived the idea of presenting the story of Tristan to a French audience. Such seems to have been the work of the poet of the *estoire*. Such was the work of the poets whom we find telling the story in the latter part of the twelfth century. Such has been the work of every poet that has told it to this day[3].

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[1] *Revue de Paris*, April 1894, p. 152 ff.

[2] II, 186—8.

[3] Macpherson and the modern Anglo-Irish poets have attempted to do something similar for other Celtic heroes. They have made them interesting to their contemporaries by infusing into them the spirit of their own time. A translation of the stories as the Old Irish poets told them would have been incomprehensible to the eighteenth century. The naïve objectivity of the original narratives would fail to charm the readers of today who are ravished by the poems of William Butler Yeats and Fiona Macleod.

VII. CONCLUSION.

The romance of Tristan, as far back as we can trace it in France, had already enjoyed a considerable period of popularity. Its nucleus is a Celtic elopement story. In the earliest extant texts this story has been almost transformed in accordance with French taste. The few biographical details it may have contained have been supplemented from sources generally accessible to French *conteurs*, and numerous incidents have been added. Fragments of the Celtic elopement story have been taken out of their original setting and introduced in contexts where they illustrate more effectively the conception of a French poet of the latter half of the twelfth century. Among these are the splashing water, the chips on the stream, the harp and the rote, the hazel on the highroad, and the twigs in the wall.

In appropriating the Celtic romance, the French poets had re-created it in terms of their own imagination and feeling, giving it as a background the social conditions with which they were familiar, and introducing details from the life around them. Each successive redactor had brought it more perfectly into accordance with French ideas. In the incident of the anger of Isolt against Tristan and her penance of the hair shirt, and in the account of the unconsummated marriage with Isolt of the White Hands,

we can see how conceptions of love peculiar to the French poetry of the latter half of the twelfth century had become an integral part of the once Celtic story.

Since we have no information as to his source, it is hazardous to attempt to define too accurately what was the contribution of the poet who composed the *estoire*. The parts are still discernible — the Celtic elopement story, which had already been adapted for French hearers, some supplementary French and Celtic material in regard to Tristan's birth and youthful exploits, some episodes, among them those about Brangien, and the incidents from the return from the forest to the end of the romance. This last portion is the work of a very recent court poet. In the *estoire* these materials are still very imperfectly assimilated. The story of the potion and of the return from the forest is rebel to the courtly poet's purpose of representing Tristan and Isolt as perfect servants of love. The bridge between it and the courtly continuation is very imperfectly built. The incidents from popular tradition, which constitute a considerable part of the romance, have been very slightly modified; the redactor has introduced them into the biography almost exactly as he found them, merely suppressing, in each, the one or two traits of the independent folk-tale which were in contradiction with other passages of the narrative.

The reader will recall a characteristic example of the use of this method. Where we find in popular tradition the story of the healing of the hero at the hands of his enemy, the cure is performed in person. In Tristan, however, where this story and the story of the quest of an unknown princess are placed in juxtaposition and credited to the same hero, this trait must be

suppressed; it would completely alter the character of the second tale if the Princess of the Swallows' Hair were at once known to be the princess of hostile Ireland. In the popular versions of the story of the quest for the princess, the wooer ascertains her identity before setting out. The poet of the *estoire* suppresses this trait; for, in a combination of the quest story with the story of the voyage for healing, he could have preserved it only at the expense of more important traits in the traditional form of the story. Thomas, on the other hand, does not hesitate to sacrifice the more important elements. To avoid the awkward device of having Isolt heal Tristan by a messenger, he abandons the story of the Swallows' hair. He allows Tristan to see Isolt on the first visit, and to set out to obtain her rather than in quest of an unknown princess. Throughout the romance we have seen similar instances of the conservatism of the *estoire* and of the bolder treatment of Thomas.

That the author of the *estoire* was not Crestien de Troyes seems sufficiently clear from a comparison of the literary technique of the former with that of the poet of Champagne[1]. It is possible that Crestien had some hand in the composition of the latter part of the romance. The unconsummated marriage, the story of Tristan's boast, the dog which Isolt carries in state, her anger against a lover who fails to turn his horse when the request is made in her name, the penance of the hair-shirt, are such as may indeed be the work of Crestien. It may be that his patron ordered a continuation of the romance, and that

[1] cf. supra. Ch. V.

'Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide

. . . . . .

et del roi Marc et d'Iseut la blonde[1]'

is responsible for some of the incidents preserved in the *estoire*.

Such theories are interesting, but have no objective value. We know nothing of the character of Crestien's

'del roi Marc et d'Iseut la blonde.'

His *Cligès* seems to be an effort to remodel the Tristan story according to a different moral ideal. The particular version on which it is based is a matter of dispute[2]. It seems to us impossible to affirm more than that Crestien was acquainted with a version of the Tristan romance that presented the same general outlines as the portion of the *estoire* previous to the return from the forest. No distinct resemblances to the portions we have discussed in Chapter IV are noticeable in it.

We have endeavored to show that the *estoire* and *La Charrette* belong together as being the most striking expressions of the twelfth century idealization of unlawful love. In *La Charrette*, Lancelot holds so highly his love for the wife of Arthur that he kneels at her bed before he enters it, and sacrifices his chivalric reputation for her whim. In the *estoire*, Tristan holds so highly the unlawful love of a woman whom he can never see again nor ever hope to possess, that he regards his wife as a temptation, and refrains from consummating his marriage.

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[1] *Cligès*, ed. W. Foerster, *Romanische Bibliothek*, Halle 1910, l. 1—6.

[2] *Cligès, op. cit.* Int. (ed. 1901); cf. G. Paris, *Journal des savants* Feb., June, August, November 1902; A. G. van Hamel, *Cligès et Tristan, Romania* XXXIII (1904), 465—89; cf. Foerster *Cligès* [3], Halle 1910, Int.

The question of the relation of Marie de France to the Tristan tradition is another problem which it seems impossible to solve on the evidence available. As we have shown in our study of *Chievrefoil*, that lay presents, in a simpler form, an incident which appears in the *estoire* combined with another of Marie's lays. It has been suggested that Marie was acquainted with the *estoire*, and that she purposely simplified the incident[1]. This explanation is of course possible, but we are inclined to reject it; the opposite tendency is constantly to be observed in the development of the tradition.

Another mooted question is the interpretation of the passage in Thomas in regard to Breri[2]. We agree with M. Bédier in seeing in this a mere device on the part of Thomas to cover his modifications of the tradition by citing as his source a name which, it appears, enjoyed no slight reputation among his hearers as an authority on Arthurian romance[3].

On the question of the channel of transmission of the tradition from the Celts to the French, it seems to us premature, in our present knowledge of the history and literature of the Celtic countries in the Middle Ages, to pronounce[4].

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[1] Foulet, *Zts. für rom. Philol.* XXXII (1908) 278—89. Cf. *Rom.* XXXVIII (1909), 196—207.

[2] Bédier I, p. 377, l. 2107—24.

[3] Bédier II, 95—9; cf. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval* I, 288—93; Edw. Owen, *Rev. Celt.* XXXII, p. 5 ff.; W. J. Gruffidd, *Rev. Celt.* XXXIII, 180—3.

[4] It is because Ireland is the only Celtic country of which we have any considerable literary remains that we have drawn so largely from mediaeval Irish romance in our search for analogues to the Tristan story. This literature seems to have been considered by the Scotch Gaels, whose language was practically identical with that of the Irish, as their own. The few fragments of Welsh romantic literature that are preserved are similar in character. Of the other Celtic peoples there is no romantic literature extant.

APPENDIX I.

THE VALUE OF THE EXTANT REDACTIONS OF EILHART VON OBERGE'S *TRISTRANT* AS REPRESENTING THE *ESTOIRE*.

A. INTRODUCTION.

The original text of Eilhart's poem is not extant. We have fragments of two twelfth century manuscripts (*R* and *M*), comprising 611 lines[1]. Of the complete poem we have three redactions. One (*X*) in German verse, made in the thirteenth century, is represented by two fifteenth century manuscripts (*D* and *H*). It comprises about 9500 lines and, compared with the fragments, shows the effort to improve the imperfect rhymes of the original. The close of the poem of Eilhart is also found in a more diffuse redaction (*B*) as a continuation to Gottfried in one manuscript[2]. A second complete redaction (*P*) is the prose version, of which the oldest text is the print of 1484[3]. Finally

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[1] ed. F. Lichtenstein, *Quellen und Forschungen* XIX, p. 1—25.

[2] ed. F. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*; cf. Int. See also E. Gierach, *Zur Sprache von Eilharts Tristrant, Prager Deutsche Studien* IV, Prag 1908.

[3] ed. F. Pfaff, *Tristrant und Isalde, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* CLII, Tübingen 1881. On the prose texts see *Schlusswort des Herausgebers*, p. 203 ff. Also Gierach, *op. cit.* p. 3 n. 1.

we have a Czech poem (*Č*), which translates the version of Eilhart as far as the wedding night of Mark and Isolt[1].

In a study in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* of Vienna (1882, vol. 101, p. 319—438)[2] Knieschek endeavored to show that the Czech redactor worked on a model superior to *D* and *H*. He even considered the model of *Č* superior in certain cases to that of the twelfth century fragments *R* and *M*. Dr. Gierach has pointed out that Knieschek was mistaken in preferring *Č* at any point to the twelfth century fragments[3].

B. A COMPARISON OF *Č* AND *X* WITH THE TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.

That our readers may form an opinion of the characteristics of *Č* and *X*, we print in parallel columns the passages of those versions corresponding to the extant twelfth century fragments[4].

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[1] Translated into German by Knieschek, *ZfdA.* XXVIII, 261—358.

[2] Cited *WSB.*

[3] *op. cit.* IV (1908) p. 5 – 9.

[4] Italics emphasize modifications introduced by the redactor. Space in brackets calls attention to omissions on the part of the redactor. Words enclosed in brackets are supplied by Lichtenstein in his edition.

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
I (*R* 1*a*).	*X* (= *D* + *H*) 1608 — 1622.	*Č* 57_{21} — 58_{20}.
1 dâ wart abir wol schîn	da wart abir wol schîn	da wart *wider* offenbar,
2 daz der hêrre Tristrant	daz *die unvorvêrte* Tristrant	*dass dem Tristram das gar nicht* [*furchtbar war*
3		*und dass der weise mann*
4 was ein chuone wîgant.	was ein kûner wîgant.	war aller tapferkeit voll.
5 er gedâhte, er wolde sînen lîf	he dâchte he wolde sînen lîp	er gedachte bei sich *und sagte*:
6 wâgen umb daz magedîn	wâgin um daz *selbe wîp*,	*'ich will* wagen *mein* leben [ ]
7		und *will mich deshalb der not* [*unterziehen*,
8 und joh durh den willen	und ouch durch den willen,	*ob ich* könnte *meine* genossen [befreien
9 daz die sîne gesellen	daz die sîne gesellen	*vom tode und von dieser grossen* [*not*
10		*und von mancherlei arbeit.*
11 des baz gedingen muosen:	mochten alsô *genesen*;	*das will ich gutwillig lieber tun*;
12 und sold er den lîp verliesen,	und *dâchte im sulde* lîbir *wesin*,	denn es wird mir auch zu [sterben lieber sein

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
I (*R* 1*a*).	*X* (= *D* + *H*) 1608—1622.	*Č* 57_{21}—58_{20}.
13 daz taete er vil gerner von [dem wurme[1]	daz he von dem worme *vor-* [*torbe,*	*im kampfe mit* diesem schlim- [men wurme,
14 den er âne wer sturbe.	den daz he âne wer irstorbe.	als dass ich hier ohne kampf [würde *schmählich* getötet.'
15 Zehant des morgenes vruo	Zu hant des morgenes vrû	gleich morgens sehr früh
16		*seine rüstung ward zugerichtet*;
17 dô wâfenôt er sih dar zuo	wâpente he sich dar zû	mit dieser rüstete er sich tüch- [tig zu
18 *Tristrant der helt guot*		
19 vil harte vlîzichlîche.	gar vlîziclîche	
20 und reit vil manlîche:	und reit *vormezzenliche*	und ritt dorthin sehr tapfer.
21	*dâ he grôzen prîs gewan.*	
22 wan er was ein chuone [degen.	[ ]	*und wie* er war ein tapferer [mann:

[1] Knieschek (p. 336) considers that lines 13 and 14 are best preserved in *Č* and *H* (1617 *daz he von dem wurm sturb* | *wann ön wer so verdurb*). Gierach (p. 5) shows that Lichtenstein was right in preferring *D* to *H* as representing *X*, and that *R* is nearer the original than *Č*. Both *X* and *Č* derive from a model in which the imperfect rhyme of *R wurme : sturbe,* had been suppressed.

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
I (*R 1a*).	*X* (= *D* + *H*) 1608—1622.	*Č* 57_{21}—58_{20}.
23 al eine reit er after [wegen]	[ ]	dorthin ritt er auf diesen weg [allein,
24		*keine hilfe er mit sich nahm.*
Fragment breaks off	. . . . .	. . . . .
II (*R 1b*).	*X* 1655—1677.	*Č* 60_{11}—61_{12}.
1 . . . . . swert in der hant;	dô hâte he sîn swert in der hant.	[ ]
2 joh brante der serpant	[joch] brante im der serpant	so verbrannte ihm *Sarpand* der [drache
3 das ros undir im ze tôt.	sîn ros undir im tôd.	sein *gutes* pferd, *dass er allein* [*stand,*
4		*dass er da unter ihm auf der* [*stelle* starb,
5		*weshalb er vil übles litt.*
6 an lief in der helt gôt,	an lîf in der helt gût,	*zu fuss* lief *auf den drachen* der [held wacker

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
II (*R 1 b*).	*X* 1655—1677.	*Č* 60_{11}—61_{12}.
7	*wen he sînes libes gerte.*	
8 er hiu in vil vaste	her heu in [ ] *mit dem swerte*	und *verwundete* ihn mit dem [schwerte *sehr*,
9 mit dem besten sahse		dem *aller*besten *allerschärf*- [*sten* —
10		*man hätte es ihm nicht mit rotem* [*golde bezahlt*
11 daz inchein sîn genôz [truoch.	daz *he an sîner hant* trûg:	wie kein mann ein so gutes [hatte,
12 swâ man iz mit zorne [sluoch,	swâ *he* ez mit zorne slûg,	*mit dem man so hauen konnte.*
13		*denn rasch vertilgte er den* [*drachen*
14		*und verwundete ihn mit dem* [*schwerte an der seite.*
15 dar ne mohte niuht vor be- [stân.	dar en mochte nicht vor be- [stân.	es konnte vor ihm nichts be- [stehen.

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS. *II* (*R 1 b*).	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION. *X* 1655—1677.	CZECH TRANSLATION. *Č* 60_{11}—61_{12}.
16		*es musste alles auseinander* [*gehen.*
17 der helt dô den sich genam:	[der helt dô den sige genam]	da nahm der herr Tristram den [sieg,
18	*an dem trachin, der was grôz.*	
19	*swie vele her des sint genôz,*	
20 den chouft er vil tiure,	her kouftez doch vil tûre	doch es kam ihm dies [ ] teuer;
21 wan er was von dem fiure	wan he was von dem vûre	denn von dem feuer *dieses* [*drachens*
22 nâh ze tôde verbrunnen.	nâ zu tode vorbrunnen.	war er beinahe zu tode ge- [brannt.
23	*den sege hâte he gewunnen*	
24	*mit menlîchir deginheit.*	
25 er sneit im ûz die zungen	die zungin her im ûz sneit.	dann schnitt er ihm aus *dem* [*rachen* die zunge
26 und stah si in sîn hosin.	her stackte sie *an sine hûte;*	und steckte sie *in die tasche in* [*den beutel.*

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
II (*R 1 b*).	*X* 1655—1677.	*Č* 60_{11}—61_{12}.
27	*und ist ûch wol zu mûte,*	
28	*sô mogit ir daz gerne losen:*	
29 dô chêrt er gegen einem [mose,	dô kârte he zu einem mose,	und es wandte sich *der held* [zum wasser,
30 dâ wold er sih chôlen:	dâ wolde he kûlen sich.	*damit er von diesem brande nicht* [*käme zu schaden.*
31 dô wart der schône	dô was der degin herlich	da ward der held *so verbrannt.*
32 von dem fiure		
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_{1}—68_{15}.
1 im gaebe sîne tohter.	*he solde* sîne tochtir *hân.*	dass er ihm seine tochter wolle [geben.
2	*dô sprach der koning rîche*	
3 der ch[un]ich erne mohte	*'ich welde denne tûn bôslîchen,*	*er gab ihm darauf die antwort,*

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
des niht wol wider chomen,	*sô mag ich* des nicht wedir komen;	*dass er ihm das alles erfülle,*
joh hêt er gerne baz ver- [nomen,	doch hête *ich* gerne baz vor- [nomen,	aber der könig *wollte* gerne [sicherheit *gewinnen,*
wer den trachen slûge.	wer den trachen slûge.'	wer den drachen mochte er- [schlagen.
'daz waere vil ungevûge'	'daz wêre [ ] ungefûge'	da sagte der *treulose* schaffner:
sprah der truhsêze	sprach der truchsêze	'das wären wunderbare nach- [richten,
'daz ih mih des vermêze,	'daz ich mich des vormêze	dass ich dürfte je sagen
ob iz waere gelogen'.	daz doch wêre gelogen.'	eine lüge *und dies als wahrheit* [*erzählen.*'
den hêrren hêt er nâh be- [trogen:	den koning hête he nâ be- [trogin;	und *damit* teuschte er *den könig* [*so,*
er wan[*de daz ez*] wâr waere.	he wânde daz ez wâr wêre.	dass er glaubte es wäre wahr- [heit.
der chunich dô daz maere	der koning dô daz mêre	da begann der könig diese [märe

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725 — 1843.	*Ċ* $63_4 - 68_{15}$.
14 sîner tohter selbe sagete,	sîner tochter selbe sagete,	selbst seiner tochter sagen,
15 daz der truhsatze habete	*wie* der trogsêze habete	dass der schaffner *sein dienst-* [*mann*
16 si gewunnen ze wîbe	sie gewunnen ze eime wîbe	sie *von ihm* erworben habe als [frau.
17 mit sîn selbes lîbe	mit sîn selbis lîbe	[ ]
18 vil harte mänlîche,	gar harte menlîche,	[ ]
19 und sprah offenlîche,	und sprach offenlîche,	und er begann offen zu sprechen [zu ihr,
20 er solde si im ze wîbe geben.	[he solde sie im] zu wîbe gebin:	dass er sie solle haben zur frau
21 ouch mohte sî in gerne [nemen,	daz mochte sie vil gerne *lebin*	und sie ihn könnte gerne [nehmen;
22 wan er hêt erslagen den [serpant.	dorch daz he irslûg den serpant.	denn er habe *sich nicht ge-* [*fürchtet,*
23		diesen drachen *zu töten.*
24 dô sprah diu vrowe al zehant	dô sprach die vrauwe al zuhant	es zögerte darauf die jungfrau [nicht, zu antworten:

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4 — 68_{15}.
25 'vater, daz geloube mir,	'vatir, daz geloube mir,	'König, vater! du kannst das [wol glauben,
26 er ne hât niht rehte gesaget [dir.	he hât nicht rechte gesaget dir.	dass er *ihn selbst nicht getötet;*
27 jo begieng er nie dehein vru- [micheit:	her begîng doch nî vromigheit.	*denn* er begieng nie eine tüch- [tigkeit.
28 wâ nam er nû die manheit	wâ nam he nû die manheit,	*wie durfte* er nun diese *mannes-* [*tat verrichten*
29 daz er in torste bestân?	daz her in torste bestân?	*und den wilden drachen* be- [stehen?
30 nû lâ dînen muot zigân	lâz dînen mût zugân	lass jetzt deinen gedanken [fahren
31 und vernim die wârheit [rehte:	und vornim die wârheit rechte:	und vernimm die wahrheit [recht
32 sage dem guoten chnehte	sage dem gûten knechte	und sage dem guten knechte,
33 daz er bîte biz morgen vrô.'	daz he beite biz morgen vrû.'	dass er bis morgen lasse seine [frist.'

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R* 2 *a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
34 dô tet der chunich alsô.	*der koning sprach*, 'ich wil [daz tû.'	so tat der könig ihm das
35		*und keine antwort gab er [darauf.*
36	*Dô diz was irgangen,*	
37	*do begunde harte irlangin*	
38	*deme trogsêzin, sundir wân.*	
39 Der truchsatze manete	den koning manete he *sân,*	dann begann der schaffner den [könig zu mahnen,
40 den chunich des er habite	*sînen hêren*, daz he *tête*	was er ihm versprochen,
41 gelobet mit sîner wârheit:	als he gelobit *hête* bî sîner rechtin wârheit.	*dass er ihm wolle erfüllen.*
42 im was inneclîche leit	[ ]	das war ihm *zu hören* leid;
43 daz er iz sô lange vriste.	[ ]	*denn* er sollte ihn so lange [trügen [1].

[1] The translation given in *ZfdA* 64_{16} is: *denn er sollte sie nicht so lange betriegen.* In his study in *WSB*, *loc. cit.*, Knieschek gives the line as we have printed it, corresponding to *R*.

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
nû vernemet, mit welhen	[ ] vornemet, mit welchir	nun vernehmet das alle,
[listen	[*wîsheit*	
		wie mit *sehr grosser* list
vrowe Ŷsalde dô ervûre,	[frauwe Îsolde dô ervûre]	die jungfrau *Izalda* das erfuhr,
ob er den trachen slûge	*wer* den trachin irslûge!	ob er den drachen erschlug. sie
		[sagte
si sprach zuo Peronîse	sie sprach zu Perenîse	zu *Permenys, ihrem kämmerer,*
daz er braehte lîse	daz he brêchte lîse	dass ihr *die* pferde *wären bereit,*
		wenn es sein wird morgen sehr
		[*früh,*
driu phärith als iz tagete.	*die* pfert, swenne ez tagete.	wenn es schon tag würde.
Brangênen sî dô sagete,	Brangênen sie sagete,	Zu Brangenen*a,*
einer ir junchvrouwen,	[ ] irer juncfrauwin,	[ ] ihrer kammerfrau, sie
		[sagte:
		‘*ob der schaffner den drachen*
		[*erschlug, das weiss*
		[*ich nicht,*

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
56 si wolde selbe schouwen,	sie wolde *balde* schauwin,	doch will *ich* das selbst *morgen* [sehen,
57 wie der wurm gewunt [waere.	wie der worm gewunt wêre.	wie dieser drache *erschlagen* [wäre.
58 Peronîs der chameraere	Perenîs der kemmerêre	Per*m*enis [ ]
59 der brâhte diu pharit frô.	brâchte ir die pferd vrô.	brachte der frau die pferde früh,
60 ûf sâzen sî dô	ûf sâzin sie dô	auf die *er mit Brangenena* sich [setzte.
61 und rîten gelîche.	und retin *îlentlîchin*.	und sie ritten hin *ganz heimlich*, [*wo dieser drache lag.*
62 diu schône vrouwe rîche	*zu hant* die vrauwe rîche	die jungfrau, *des königs reiche* [*tochter*,
63 Tristrandis slâwe dô gesach;	Tristrandes slâwe dô gesach.	verfolgte Tristrams spur,
64		*und als sie dieselbe ganz er-* [*blickte*,
65 ze Peronîse sî dô sprah	*Brangênen* sie dô zû sprach	sagte sie zu *Brangenena* unver- [züglich:

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
66 'sî wâ diz ros was beslagin	'sich, wie daz ros was beslagin.	'sieh, wie war dies pferd be-
67 daz den helt hâ[t her] ge-	daz hât den helt her getragin,	[schlagen, auf dem hieher *gekommen* war
[tragen		[der heldenhafte mann,
68 der den trachin bestunt!	der den trachin *irslûg.*	der den drachen bestand.
69		*und ihn des lebens beraubte.*
70 daz ist uns allen wol	*merke ebin den gevûg*	doch uns ist das wol bekannt:
[chunt:		
71 man besleht niht diu ros hî.	die ros man hîr nicht besleit	*so* beschlägt man bei uns die
		[pferde nicht.
72	*als an desir slâwen geit.*	
73 swanne sô er chomen sî,	[ ]	woher er immer gekommen ist
74 dirre der hie geriten is,	desir die hîr geretin is,	der, der hier geritten ist,
75 des sît ze wâre gewis,	des wes sichir und gewis,	[ ]
76 der h[â]t geslagen den ser-	der hât irslagin den serpant'.	der hat diesen drachen er-
[pant.'		[schlagen
77		*und ihn seines lebens beraubt.'*

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	X 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
78 dô quâmen die vrouwen al [ze[h]ant	dô quâmen die vrauwin al zu [hant	und es ritten gleich die jung- [frauen dorthin,
79 dâ der trache lach tôt.	dâ der trache lag tôt.	wo des drachen *toter leib* lag.
80 dô vunden sî den schilt [gôt	dô vundin sie einen schilt *rôt*	da fanden sie einen schild [gut,
81 v[e]rbrunnen alsô garwe,	besengit alsô garwe	*vom feuer* sehr verbrannt,
82 daz si in bî der varwe	daz sie ihn bî der varwe	und sie konnten nach seiner [farbe
83 nemohten niht erchennen.	nicht mochtin irkennen;	nicht haben eine unter- [scheidung,
84	*die was doch eteswenne*	*wessen schild das mochte sein*
85	*gewesen lîcht und tûre.*	*oder woher er mochte dorthin* [*kommen.*
86 ouch lach daz ros besenget,	ouch *vunden sie von dem vûre*	und auch *erblickten sie dort*
87	ein ros vorbrant *vil gare,*	sein verbranntes ross,
88	*des nâmen sie ernstlîchen ware.*	
89 daz si chûme erchanden	*îdoch* sie *wol* erkandin	dass sie es kaum unterscheiden,

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
90 daz iz in dem lande	daz es in den landin	dass in diesem lande das pferd [nicht war
91 niht was *gezogen.	nicht gezogen *noch gevallen* [was,	aufgezogen, *noch wussten wo-* [*her es gekommen wäre.*
92	*als ich in dem bûche las;*	
93	*ouch habe ich die rede ver-* [*nomen:*	
94 'owî, war ist der helt [chomen	'owê, wâ ist der helt hen komen	*und sie sagten:* 'o weh! wohin [ist der held gekommen,
95 der ditze ros her reit?'	der diz ros her reit?'	der dieses pferd *hatte?*
96 sprah diu frowe gemeit	sprach die vrauwe gemeit	[ ]
97 'wie gern ih daz wiste!'	'wie gerne ich daz erfunde,	*weh mir!* wie gerne wüsste [ich das[1]
98 sie sprah aber enrihte	*ab ich in vinden kunde.*	*wenn ich ihn wo lebend träfe!*

[1] We substitute here the reading given by Knieschek *WSB* 326, cf. n. 2. The reading given in *ZfdA* is *wie gerne würde ich ihn sehen.*

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
99 'in habent die mordaere [erslagen,	die mordêre habin in irslagin.	*vielleicht* haben ihn diese treu- [losen getötet
100 er liget hie etteswâ bi- [graben.'	he lît hîr eteswâ begrabin.'	und irgendwo *heimlich* be- [graben.'
101 Zuo Peronîse sî dô sprah,	Di vrauwe Perenîsin bat,	zu Per*m*enis sie begann zu [reden,
102 daz er sûhte daz grab,	daz he sûchte daz grab.	dass er wollte das grab suchen,
103 ob er iz vinden mohte.	[ ]	ob er es wo möchte finden[1].
104 sie sprah, swer sô sôhte	[ ]	[ ]
105 daz er funde den degen,	ab he vunde den degin,	und wenn er ihn irgend fände,
106 sie wold ihn hundirt mark [geben.	sie welde im hundirt mark [gebin.	dass *er* dafür *ein grosses ge-* [*schenk erhalte,*
107		*sie wollte ihn reich machen,*
108		*dass er ihr müsse dafür* [*danken.*

[1] *WSB* 327. The translation given in *ZfdA* is *ob er ihn möchte wo finden.*

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
109 dô ne sôhten sî niht lange,	dô sûchtin sie nicht lange.	da suchten sie ihn [ ] *sehr* [lange,
110		*bis sie suchend zur seite aus-* [*einanderliefen.*
111 ê Brangêne cham gegangen	[ ] Brangêne quam gegangin	*dann* lief Brangene*na* dorthin
112 zuo dem mose dô er lach.	zû dem mose dâ he lag.	zum sumpfe, da wo Tristram lag.
113 diu junchvrowe in gesah,	dô die juncvrauwe ersach	da erblickte ihn die jungfrau [*bald*
114 den helm glîzen	den helm glîzen sô ein *glas,*	und sah den helm leuchtend [wie *gold.*
115 sam ein carbuncel wîze.	*schîre sie dar komen was.*	*bald kam sie dorthin zu ihm*
116	*ir dûchte daz her sich regete,*	*und fand ihn noch lebend.*
117		*zu ihrer frau sie eilte,*
118		*keine verzögerung sie tat*
119	*zu der vrauwin sie dô redete*	*und sagte zu ihr:* ich habe
120 'ih hân den helt funden	'ich habe den helt vundin	diesen helden gefunden
121 vil harte ungesunden.	vil harte ungesundin.	und gar sehr ungesund:

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_4—68_{15}.
122 nû chomit îlande here,	nû komet bald îlende here,	darum eile bald *zu ihm,*
123 ob ir in mohtet ernern',	ab ir in mochtet irneren'	wenn du ihm gesundheit [gönnen willst,
124 sprah diu guote Brangêne.	sprach Brangêne die gûte.	[ ]
125		*ob wir ihn irgendwie heilen [können*
126		*und damit seine gesundheit [verlängern.'*
127 der vrowen wart vil lêve:	der vrauwen wart wol zu [mûte:	der jungfrau war dies sehr [lieb
128		*und auf alle weise war ihr das [angenehm.*
129 dô sî des siechen wart [gewar,	dô sie des *hêren* wart geware,	und als *ihn* die jungfrau er- [blickte,
130 vil schiere cham si dar,	sie quam vil schîre dare.	sprang sie zu ihm sehr bald,
131 den helm sî im abe bant.	den helm sie im abe bant.	seinen helm band sie ihm vom [kopfe los

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
III (*R 2 a*).	*X* 1725—1843.	*Č* 63_1—68_{15}.
132		*und mit weisser hand verband*
		[*sie seine wunden.*
133 do gehôrte wol Tristrant	do irhôrte wol her Tristrant	das hörte herr Tristram wol,
134 daz dâ wâren vrôwen:	daz dâ wârin vrauwin:	dass dies *jung*frauen wären,
135 ûf warf er die ôgen	he begunde *sie schauwin*	[ ]
136 und vrâgete wer dâ waere	und vrâgete wer dâ *quême*	und fragte sie, *weshalb*
137		*sie zu ihm gekommen wären*
		[*aufblickend*
138		*und warum sie zu ihm ge-*
		[*kommen wären*
139 der im den helm naeme.	der im den helm abe nême.	*und* den helm ihm vom kopfe
		[*genommen.*
140 Diu vrowe antwurt im dô	Di vrauwe im dô antworte	die jungfrau ihm da ant-
		[wortete:
141 ne habe neheine vorhten nû.	'nu en habe, helt, keine vorte,	'hab keine furcht, *das wisse,*
142 er wirt	he wirt dir vil wol wedir.'	dass dein helm dir wird gegeben
Fragment breaks off	. . . . .	. . . . .

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
IV (*M 1 a*).	*X* 2811—2853.	*Č* 104 $_{20}$—106$_{3}$.
1 [des] ûch diu frowe heizit [biten,	des ûch mîn vrawe lêst betin,	'*du kannst das tun wol,*
2		was sie dich bitten *wird,*
3		*das kann dir nicht schaden,*
4		*dass du ihr das zu liebe tust*
5 daz ir irn [lantsite]	das ir iren lantsetin	und ihres landes sitten *nicht* [*veränderst.*'
6 [mit] ir wellent begân.'	mit ir wollit begân.'	[ ]
7 dô vrâgite der cuon[ing [sân,]	dô vrâgete der koning sân,	da fragte ihn der könig,
8		*dass er ihm das zeige,*
9 [waz sitis] ir lant habite?	waz setis ir land hête?	welche gewohnheit das *sein* [*sollte*
10		*der er sich sollte unterziehen.*
11 Tristrant ime sagete,	dô sprach *der held* stête,	da sagte ihm Tristram:
12 da [ensolde niht] lîhtis sîn,	*bî dem bette* solde nicht lîchtes [sîn,	'es soll da kein licht sein, *das* [*weiss ich,*

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
IV (*M 1 a*).	*X* 2811—2853.	*Č* 104_{20}—106_{3}.
13 suwenne sô diu cuonigîn	swenne sô die koningîn	wo *meine* jungfrau *mit dem* [*manne liegen soll*
14 [zu dem êrsten bî im lêge],	zu dem êrsten bî im lêge,	*und* das erste nachtlager mit [ihm soll haben,
15 durh daz si nieman ne [sêge	daz sie nîman gesêge	damit sie niemand sehe,
16 bis [siu morgens ûf ge]- [stunde.	bis des morgens daz sie ûf [stunde.	*dass sie sich davon nicht schäme* [ ]'.
17 wie wol er ir des gunde!	wie wol he ir des gunde,	[ ]
18 spra[ch der cunig ze] sîneme neben:	sprach der koning zu sînem [nebin	es sprach der könig zu seinem [neffen,
19		*indem er ihm darauf seine* [*hand gab:*
20		*diese gewohnheit will ich nicht* [*ändern*
21 er wolt im den gew[alt [geben]	[ ]	[ ]

TWELFTH CENTURY FRAGMENTS.	THIRTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN REDACTION.	CZECH TRANSLATION.
IV (*M 1 a*).	*X* 2811—2853.	*Č* 104_{20}—106_{3}.
22 [daz er] selbe wêre	[ ]	[ ]
23 des nahtis kamerêre,	und hîz in kemmerêre wesin,	und *du sei* ihr kämmerer
24 daz [er die lîht leschte,]	daz er die lîcht leschte,	und lösche das *brennende* licht.
25 wande er wol weste	wen her wol weste	[ ] Tristram wuste wol von [dieser sache:
26 wie iz gescien solt[e]	wie ez [gescîn] solde,	[ ] das muste alles sein,
27 [und suwaz] diu vrowe [wolte,	und swaz die frauwe wolde	[ ] was der frau gefallen [mochte.
28 daz er daz alliz tête,	daz her daz alles tête,	[ ] das *tat* er alles
29 [mit vlîze er in des bête]	mit vlîze er in des bête.	[ ]
30		*uf keine weise er daz änderte.*
31 Der kamerêre Tristant	Der kemmerêre Tristrant	Der kämmerer Tristram da
32 sich der kameren under-want,	der kemenâtin sich undirwant,	der kammer selbst sich unter-[wand.
33 dô der cuo[ning slâfin solde.]	dô der koning slâfin solde;	als der könig sollte schlafen [gehen
. . . . .	. . . . .	*Č* breaks off.

As a result of his comparison of these versions Knieschek believes that we are justified in relying on the Czech version throughout[1]. In the portions of the poem not covered by the fragments[2], he accordingly attributes to an interpolator all traits in *X* and *P* that are not corroborated by *Č*. His conclusions have been generally accepted[3].

In the portions of the poem for which twelfth century fragments are available for comparison, *Č* and *X* present no variants on which our study would throw light. It may, however, be of assistance to the critic who next takes up the problem of the relation of the extant texts to express here the doubts that have occurred to us in the course of our work on the *estoire*, as to the correctness of Knieschek's conclusion for the following portions of the poem.

C. A COMPARISON OF *Č* AND *X* IN PORTIONS OF THE STORY FOR WHICH NO TWELFTH CENTURY TEXT IS EXTANT.

1. The harp on the rudderless voyage.

We shall first discuss the cases in which Knieschek rejects traits given in *X* and *P*, and lacking in *Č*.

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[1] Knieschek concluded that *Č* used an original text of Eilhart, not a redaction. *WSB* 340—1. Gierach (*op. cit.* 5) pointed out that the model of *Č* was not an original text, but considered it a redaction distinctly superior to that used by *X*.

[2] We are discussing only the portion of the poem translated by the first Czech redactor, not the continuation.

[3] Schroeder, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1883, col. 154; Pfaff, *Literaturblatt für rom. u. germ. Philol.* 1884, col. 3; Lambel,

Knieschek rejects the trait, given in *X* and *P*, that Tristan took his harp with him in the rudderless boat[1]. The passage in *X* is as follows:

'do bat der hêre nicht mê
mit im an daz schif tragin,
wen sîne harfin, hôrte ich sagin,
und sîn swert des he begerte[2].'

The passage in *P* is:

Hiemit ward er getragen in das schiflin mit grosser klage, mitt im sein schwert unnd ein härpffen[3].

When questioned by the king of Ireland, Tristan says:

'ich was ouch ein speleman[4]'

and in the prose redaction:

'unnd bin ein spilman[5].'

In *Č* we have only:

'er hiess sich auf das schiff bringen schwert
und rüstung[6].'

Knieschek believes that the mention of the harp is the work of an interpolator under the influence of Gottfried von Strassburg. Gottfried says

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Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, XXII, 226; E. Muret, *Romania,* XVI, 293; E. Gierach, *Zur Sprache von Eilharts Tristrant, op. cit.* 9.

[1] *WSB* 407.
[2] *OX* 1134—8.
[3] *OP* 18_{27}.
[4] *OX* 1186.
[5] *OP* 19_{19}.
[6] *OČ* 37_{15}.

'sîne harpfen er besande,
die fuorte er ouch von lande
und sînes dinges nie niht mê[1]'

and Tristan, in accounting for himself to the king of Ireland

'ich was ein höfscher spilman[2].'

Let us examine the other redactions of the *estoire* to see if they contain this trait. In the French Prose Romance Tristan plays the harp when he finds himself cast upon the Irish coast. The king hears the melody, thinks it *faerie*, and goes down to the shore to investigate[3]. The German redactions *X* and *P* have the same situation, except that we are not told how the king's attention was attracted to the little boat[4]. In the *Folie Tristan* of the Oxford manuscript, and in the version of Thomas, Tristan attracts attention in the harbor by playing on the harp, and the report of his skill reaches the ears of the queen.

In the former text Tristan recalls his landing in Ireland as follows:

'Mais jo fu naufrez e chitifs.
Od ma harpe me delitoie,
Je n'oi confort, ke tant amoie.
Ben tost en oïstes parler
Ke mult savoie ben harper;
Je fu sempres a curt mandez
Tut issi cum ere navrez[5].'

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[1] ed. Marold 7363—5.
[2] ed. Marold 7564.
[3] ed. Löseth § 29.
[4] The redactor also neglects specifically to mention the fact that Tristan produced the tongue to disprove the seneschal's boast. *OX* 2165 ff. He also fails to specify that Tristan returned by boat from the island after the combat with the Morholt. Cf. infra.
[5] Bédier, *La Folie Tristan*, p. 29, l. 352 ff.

All the redactions of Thomas contain the trait. According to the *Saga*[1]:

> 'Now Tristan began to play the harp and to display the other courtly arts in which he was master, and rumors of his beauty and accomplishments soon spread abroad.'

According to *Sir Tristrem*[2]

> 'In his schip was that day
> Al maner of gle
> And al maner of lay,
> In lond that might be.
> To the quen tho seyd thay,
> Morauntes soster, the fre,
> Ywounded swiche a man lay,
> that sorwe it was to se
> And care.'

According to Gottfried[3]

> 'wan daz diu jugent Tristanden
> mit munde und ouch mit handen
> ir zeiner kurzewîle twanc,
> daz er ir harphete unde sanc.'

Since the trait is preserved in all the redactions except the Czech translation of Eilhart, it would seem probable that in the *estoire* Tristan was represented as taking the harp with him on his rudderless voyage. The poem of Eilhart, like the other versions of the *estoire*, probably contained the trait, *X* and *P* preserved it, and *Č*, or its model, suppressed it.

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[1] ed. Kölbing, *op. cit.* I, p. 38_{6-8}.
[2] ed. Kölbing II, 1189 ff.
[3] ed. Marold 7541—5.

2. The combat on the island.

Knieschek includes the description of the island combat of Tristan with the Morholt among the interpolations made by a redactor whose version was the source of *X* and *P*[1].

The reasoning by which Knieschek arrives at the conclusion that the description of the island combat is an interpolation is the following: *Č* three times asserts that the combat took place upon a mountain; there is no allusion whatever to a ship. In other cases in which *Č* misunderstands the original, he involves himself in a net of inconsistencies. Since he does not do so in this case, it must be that he preserves the original reading. The presence of the boat in *PX* must accordingly be due to the influence of *G*. The incident of Tristan's pushing off the boat into the sea when he disembarks on the island, is consistently carried out in *G* by Tristan's return in the Morholt's bark. It is left incomplete in *OX* 932, *OP* 16_6. The lines in *X* 'do wart geholt Tristrant mit vrouden und mit gesange, ouch beiten nicht lange die Morolden man' represent an original account in which there had been no question of an island. There is the following verbal similarity between *G* and *XP*. In Gottfried: 'sin schiffelîn er iesa nam zuo dem stade hafte er daz'. *G* 6746. In the prose redaction of Eilhart: 'Morholt kam im entgegengefahren. der hefft sin schif.' 14_7. In *OX*, this is corrupted to 'sin schif gar harte hefte,' 795. This similarity of *X* and *P* to *G* cannot be due to chance. *Č* does not abridge. Hence we must suppose *X* and *P* dependent upon a redaction made posterior to *G*, hence in the thirteenth century.

These arguments seem to us to be open to the following objections: We have no proof that *Č* is incapable of abridging. It is hardly to be doubted that Gottfried knew and utilized Eilhart (cf. Piquet, *op. cit.*). The fact that *Č* mentions a mountain not once but several times is no proof that he is correctly translating his original. Lichtenstein's suggestion (*ZfdA.*, *Anzeiger* 10, p. 11) that *Č* read *berc* for *wert* is entirely plausible. If he misunderstand (or changed) the

[1] *WSB* p. 408—10.

word *wert* once, he would misunderstand (or change) it again. Knieschek rejects the possibility that *Č* has modified his source on the ground that he was incapable of carrying out such a change without involving himself in inconsistencies. But, as we shall see, his account is full of inconsistencies.

The significant points in which *P* differs from *Č* in this passage are in the mention of *island* in three places where *Č* has *mountain*[1], and in the additional words

'der hefft sein schif, und stiess her Tristrant seins ferr hindan[2]'

The first point is explained by Lichtenstein's suggestion that *Č* read the *wert* of his Bavarian or Austrian original as *berc*[3]. The other differences are the inevitable results of this misunderstanding.

In every case in which it differs from *PX* the reading *Č* is unsatisfactory: *Č* has the reading

'dann ging der held zu seinem speere[4]'

where *P* has

'Hiemit ging herr Tristrant zu schiff[5].'

In *X* and *P* the Morholt inquires in surprise why Tristan has pushed off the boat. Tristan replies

'wir sîn beide here komen
durch schaden und durch vromen
die wir hie mogen gewinnen.
ir komet wol hinnen
in einem schiffe der helt
dem der sege hie wirt gezelt[6].'

[1] *OP* $24_{8, 25}$; 25_{14}.
[2] *OP* 14_{7-9}. MS. *A*.
[3] *ZfdA., Anzeiger* X, p. 11.
[4] *OČ* 25_{12}.
[5] *OP* 14_{4}, similarly *OX* 787.
[6] *OX* 801—7.

P is less clear. The phrase *in einem schiffe* is implied:

> 'Wir seyen beyd herkommen, das wir schaden oder frummen hie holen wollen. Ey, sprach Tristrant, er kommet wol von hinnen, wer den syg behelt, ich weys fürwar[1].'

In *Č* the Morholt asks Tristan why he has come alone[2].

> 'sprach er: „sage mir, lieber jüngling,
> warum bist du so heldenhaft allein gekommen?"
> der held Tristram gab ihm die antwort:
> „wegen nichts anderem, als weil wir zusammen [geladen sind,
> damit irgend einer vorteil oder schaden nehme,
> wem gott zu siegen gönnen wollte".'

In *X* and *P* the Morholt is surprised to see Tristan pushing off the boat, and asks him why he has done it. Tristan replies that each has come to vanquish or be vanquished, and that one boat will suffice the victor. The passage in *P* seems to us to be a less clear expression of the idea we find in *X*. *Č*, who, whether intentionally or not, has suppressed the traits in regard to the island, does not even preserve the implication which we have in *P*.

There is a further indication that in Eilhart the combat was localized on an island: Gottfried has borrowed from Eilhart the offer of friendship which the Morholt makes to Tristan immediately upon perceiving this act of reckless courage[3], before recounting the similar offer which, in his model Thomas, the Morholt

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[1] *OP* 14_{9-12}.
[2] *OČ* $25_{16}-26_{1}$.
[3] 6799—837.

makes after wounding Tristan[1]. The fact that the first offer is not found in Thomas, that Gottfried's description of the combat betrays the influence of Eilhart at other points[2], and that all the extant redactions of Eilhart contain it, would indicate that it was in the original German poem. It is difficult to believe that *Č*, in which alone the speech is inexplicable, being unmotivated by the pushing off of the boat, should represent the original setting for it. In the other four texts, in which it is clearly motivated, it is inextricably bound up with the island combat. It would seem therefore that the island combat was found in the original text.

Knieschek considers the fact that the boat is not alluded to in *XP* in connection with the return, to mean that the previous mention of it in these texts is due to an interpolation. It really means that in a description familiar to the readers, the details were not insisted upon. This is shown by a comparison of the description of the return in Tristan with that in other island combats in contemporary romance in France and England.

In a few of them, as in *Sir Tristrem*[3] and *Gottfried*[4], mention is made of a boat.

La chanson du chevalier au cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon[5].

'Li sodans a tost fait une nef aprester,
S'i a envoié outre por ax .ii. amener.
Quant orent fait la barge d'autre part ariver,
L'Aupatris i entra, n'ot cure d'arester;
Et cil les aconduirent, n'i volrent demorer.'

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[1] 6935—80.
[2] cf. Piquet, *op. cit.* ch. X *et passim.*; Bédier II, 81—6; Lichtenstein cxcv—cxcviii.
[3] ed. Kölbing II, l. 1096 ff.
[4] ed. Marold, l. 7090 ff.
[5] ed. Hippeau, *op. cit.*, Paris 1874—6, II, 5147.

Guy of Warwick (couplets)[1],

'Wyth the boot he came passynge
And caste hyt to Tryamowre the kynge.'

Guy of Warwick (Auchinleck)[2],

'Ouer the water he went in a bot,
& present ther-with fot hot
the king, sir Triamour.

Torrent of Portyngale[3],

'He said: „Lordys, for charite,
A bote that ye send to me,
It is nere hand nyght!"
They Reysed a gale with a sayll,
The Geaunt to lond for to trayll,
All men wonderid on that wight.
Whan that they had so done,
They went to sir Torent ful sone,
And shipped that comly knyght'.

In some of them, as in P^4 and X^5 of Eilhart, the return is alluded to, but the means of transportation is not mentioned:

Le roman de Girard de Viane[6],

'Le Dus Rollant est fors de l'ile issus
. . . . . .
Dedans Viane est Oliviers venus;
Ce grant bernaige est encontre venus.'

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[1] ed. Zupitza, *op. cit. EETS*, London 1875—6, 8313.
[2] ed. Zupitza, *op. cit. EETS*, London 1883. 1887. 1891, 134, 1.
[3] ed. E. Adam, *EETS*, London 1887, 1310ff. Similarly in *Sone von Nausay*, ed. M. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.* 5254 ff.
[4] *OP* 16_5.
[5] *OX* 932—6.
[6] ed. Tarbé, Rheims 1850, 156, l. 33; 157, l. 31.

Layamon's *Brut*[1],

'Ardur the riche
wende to londe.'

In other versions the narrator does not even stop to mention the return. He trusts the audience to take it for granted[2].

Let us review the treatment of the place of combat in the Tristan texts: The French Prose Romance and the *Folie Tristan* of the Berne manuscript both relate that the combat took place on an island. Two redactions of Thomas (Gottfried and *Sir Tristrem*), localize the combat on an island[3]. The *Saga*, which is a more condensed version, gives no details further than that the combat took place on a shore[4]. In two redactions of Eilhart (*P* and *X*) the combat takes place on an island; the localization on the island is lacking in the third, *C*. That the omission of the details about the place of combat would suggest itself to a redactor as a means of abridging the narrative is seen by a comparison of the Caius MS. of *Guy of Warwick* with the Auchinleck MS.[5]

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[1] ed. Madden, London 1847, 23. 992.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed San Marte, Halle 1854, 130_{53}; *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen 1836, 10. 353; von Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur* etc., *Chevalier au Cygne op. cit.* 2043, *Guy* of Warwick (couplets) 10. 369; *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.* ed. Hales und Furnivall, London 1868, II, *Guy and Colebrande* 393.

[3] cf. supra.

[4] ed. Kölbing I, ch. XXVII [36], p. 34, l. 4.

[5] Both edited by Zupitza, London 1883. 1887. 1891. Auchinleck MS. 96, 7 ff.; Caius MS. 8157 ff.

Auchinleck	Caius MS.
Þan loked þai it schuld be	
In a launde under þe cite:	
Þider þai gun hem lede.	
Wiþ a riuer it ern al about:	
Þerin schuld fiȝt þo kniȝtes [stout.	
Þai miȝt fle for no nede.	
Ouer þe water þai went [in a bot,	Forth they wente to that [bateyle
On hors þai lopen fot hot,	Hastily, with-oute fayle,
Þo kniȝtes egre of mode.	In a feld with-owte the [Cyte:
	Ther was hyt ordeyned [to be
	. . . . .
	When they com there they [schuld fyght.

The desire for abridgment probably explains the version of the *Saga*. To explain that of *Č* we would suggest the misunderstanding of *wert* as *berc* and the unfamiliarity of the Czech redactor with island combats. There is hardly room for doubt that the trait was contained in the *estoire*. It seems probable also that it was preserved in Eilhart.

3. The love-monologue.

There is a third important point in which Knieschek considers that the versions *X* and *P* show the work of an interpolator[1]. They develop at greater length than does *Č*, the monologue in which Isolt, on

[1] *WSB* 410ff.

feeling the effects of the love-potion, reasons with herself as to the cause of her sudden passion. Of this monologue as given in *XP*, lines 2436—551 are lacking in *Č*.

Lichtenstein had called attention to certain striking verbal similarities between these lines and the love monologue in Veldeke's *Eneide*[1]. He had seen in them a proof that Veldeke was acquainted with Eilhart's poem; for it appeared to him impossible that a poet acquainted with Veldeke should have ventured to use the imperfect rhymes which we find in *X*. Behaghel, editing Veldeke's poem some years later, argued from what he considered the more perfect adaptation of the passages in question to the context of Veldeke, that in the *Eneide* they were in their original context[2]. Knieschek takes the absence of the passage in *Č* to be proof that it was not in the original version of Eilhart, but is borrowed, by the redactor of *XP*, from Veldeke's *Eneide*[3].

Let us compare the portions of the monologue preserved in *Č* with the corresponding passages in *X* and *P*.

With the beginning of Isolt's reflections, *Č*'s inability to follow the delicate thread of the thought becomes manifest[4]. Their trend in *X* is as follows[5]: She declares that her heart is disturbed on account of the loved foe Tristan. Having spoken the word *foe* she regrets it, reminding herself that it is this foe's love alone that would make her happy. She reflects on her desire for him, then on her need of him. This leads her to

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[1] *op. cit.* clxxxviii.
[2] Behaghel, *Eneide,* Heilbronn, 1882, Int. clxxxviii—cxcvii.
[3] *WSB* 412.
[4] In two places *Č* has grossly misunderstood the original. *OX* 2374—7; cf. *OČ* 90_{3-6}; *OX* 2380—3; cf. *OČ* 90_{7-11}.
[5] *OX* 2400—20.

the thought that he may disdain her. If he disdains her, can she be well-disposed toward him? Yet how could she be *ill*-disposed to one of such valor?

The connection between these ideas is just such as we find habitually in similar monologues in French courtly romance. In each new sentence a word of the preceding one is taken up, questioned, and refined upon. *Č* has lost the delicate filaments of transition. It is only upon supplying them from *X*, as indicated by the italics of the following reconstruction, that *Č*[1] becomes coherent. It is also necessary to suppress the portions of *Č* which we have enclosed in brackets[2].

> O weh! weh mir armen, welches leid habe ich in meinem herzen um diesen *lieben leiden* mann Tristan, [dass mir nicht geziemt zu sagen diesen Not, doch]. *Ach, wie torste ich sprechen so, ja* ich wäre dessen froh, wenn ich wüsste ob ich ihm bin lieb. Ohne ihn ist mein tod. Er benimmt mir essen und trinken. *Wie mag ich ihm denne holt sîn? Holt, warumme spreche ich daz? Wie mochte ich im sin gehass?* Was kann zwischen himmel und erde besseres sein und in aller schöpfung, als der mann überaus stark.'

Isolt asks herself how it has befallen her to love one who has refused to take her from her father except for another. According to *PX*, she asks herself what means she shall take to turn her thoughts from him[3]. According to *Č* she considers what *person* she can find to deliver her[4]. It appears from what follows in both that the version of *X* is the correct one.

Isolt tells herself that, since Tristan does not love her, she must overcome her love for him. But to over-

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[1] *Č* 91_{9-22}; cf. *OX* 2400—20.

[2] The passage is from Knieschek's translation. Brackets indicate passages where *Č* seems to us to bungle his original. Italics represent passages which we have supplied from *OX*.

[3] *OX* 2439—52; *OP* 48_{20-23}.

[4] *OČ* 92_{21}—93_{2}.

come it means death to her. Rather than die she will tell him. But if she tells him he will think ill of her, and if he thinks ill of her she will lose life and honor too. Since she must lose life in either case, she will die silent. No, life is too precious; she will tell him. He is not hard hearted; he will pity her. In this passage also *Č* gives a garbled version which becomes intelligible with the aid of *X*[1].

> [Mein liebes] herz, gedenke nicht mehr an diesen held; denn ich will meinen [leidvollen] sinn abwenden von ihm [mit Schande] *wie mochte ich daz vulenden daz ich mich von im zoge*'? *ich vorchte daz es mir nicht entoge, ab ich des wolde beginnen;* [doch] mir scheint es besser dass ich ihn liebe, als dass ich darum mein leben gebe *wen worde ich nicht sîn wîp, so bin ich sichirlîchin tôd. eia, wiste he nû mîne nôd die ich nâch sîme lîbe hân! wie sal ich ane vân daz he vorneme mine clage?*' [und] so wähne ich dass ich es [selbst] sagen muss.' Und sie sagte zu sich: '*Owê* wie soll ich es tun? [Er kann übel denken von dieser meiner rede. Es kann ohne zweifel, mich dunket es gut, wenn es mir auch schädlich ist]. *waz ab he obele dar zû gedenke, sô her wol mag, sô vorwinne ich den tag wedir in nû noch nimmer mêre. ich wêne daz ich mîn êre wage', sprach daz schône wîp.* Ich will [selbst] meine ehre bewahren, wenn ich auch sollte mein leben geben, ehe ich es ihm sage. [doch sicherlich, davon nähme ich schaden; mein leben ist mir lieb. fürwahr, vielleicht ist er geneigt zu verstehen mein minnen, [Er ist kein heide] ich will es lassen an das glück und sage ihm, wie es mag um mich sein. Wer weiss, wie es sich wendet.'

At the two points of the monologue at which *Č* does not present passages which appear in *X*, we have the following hints that the Czech redactor is omitting something from his original. *Č* remarks

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[1] *OČ* 93_3—94_6; cf. *OX* 2564—97.

'wozu der rede mehr
lassen wir davon und schweigen[1]'

where X has 2422—35. $\check{C}$ remarks

'dann ein wenig zögernd[2]'.

where X has 2439—551.

Whether or not we consider the passages interpolated which we find in XP and which are lacking in $\check{C}$, it is difficult to suppose that the garbled form of the portion given by $\check{C}$ represents the original. A poet sufficiently interested in the psychological aspect of the occasion to make an analysis of it at all, would hardly have introduced it in the form in which we find it there. The Countess Mathilda must have been easily satisfied if she allowed the German poet to treat it as the Bohemian has done.

4. Minor differences.

Knieschek considers that X has suffered other interpolations besides those in which it is supported by P. As interpolations peculiar to X, Knieschek cites Tristan's departure for Loonois (lines 244—64), the arming of Tristan for the combat with the Morholt (737—78), and the adorning of Tristan's companions to honor the proxy wooer at the Irish court (2064—87). He bases his conclusion that these passages were interpolated by X on the fact that they appear in a shorter form in both P and $\check{C}$[3].

Let us take up in detail the passages in question. If we examine P closely we find that the absence

[1] 92_{7-9}.
[2] 92_{11}.
[3] *WSB* 417 ff.

of the mention of putting the horses into the ship (*X* 259—64) is a mere momentary oversight; a few lines below ($P\,5_{18}$) the prose redactor tells us that on disembarking in Cornwall, Tristan and his followers mount their horses and ride to the court of Mark.

The description of hoisting the sails, which Knieschek considers an interpolation made by *X* under the influence of Veldeke, is an almost inevitable detail in French romances of the character of Eilhart's source. We find in the *Roman de Troie*[1]

'Les nes furent apareilliees
E de la terre en mer veiliees.
Vint e dous furent e non plus:
Mout lor venta dreit Eürus.'

Likewise in the *Tristan* of Thomas[2]

'Le batel i esteit tut prest,
E la reïne entree i est.
Nagent, siglent od le retrait;
Ysnelement al vent s'en vait.
Mult s'esforcent de l'espleiter:
Ne finent unques de nager,
De si la qu'a la grant nef sunt;
Levent le tref e puis s'en vunt.
Tant cum li venz les puet porter
Curent la lungur de la mer,
La terre estrange en costeiant
Par devant le port de Witsant,
E par Buluingne e par Treisporz.
Li vent lur est portanz e forz
E la nef legere kis guie.
Passent par devant Normendie,

[1] ed. L. Constans, Paris 1904, l. 4169—73.
[2] Bédier I, 2795—813.

Siglent joius e leement,
Kar oré unt a lur talent.'

Eneas[1]:

'Troïën tornent de Cartage,
a lor nes vienent al rivage,
lor chose aveient apresté
et molt aveient buen oré;
traient lor ancres, flotent nes,
li alquant traient sus lor tres.'

Cligès[2]:

'Au port truevent lez la faloise
Les mariniers dedanz les nes.
La mer fu peisible et soés,
Li vanz douz et li ers serains.'

Even those who consider that *Č* correctly represents the German poet in omitting this detail, would hesitate to assert that it was lacking in the *estoire*, a product of the same school as *Eneas*, *Troie*, and *Cligès*.

K. considers that the description of the preparations for the Morholt combat (*X* 737—78) are interpolated under the influence of Gottfried. The fact of their absence in *Č* leads him to this conclusion. Since *Č* omits all indications that the combat took place on an island, the omission of lines 737—749 is not remarkable. The description of the arming of the hero (*X* 749—78) as well as of the spectators gathered along the shore (737—749) is one of the stereotyped features of the accounts of island combats in French

[1] ed. J. Salverda de Grave, *Bibliotheca Normannica* IV, 1869.
[2] ed. W Foerster, l. 242—6.

romance. It is almost inevitable that both should be given in the *estoire*, as we find them in *X*. That they were indeed given there is shown by the fact that they appear in the account of the incident given by the French Prose Romance and in Thomas.

It is not surprising that Eilhart and Gottfried should be similar; both versions are derived from the same source, Eilhart directly, and Gottfried through the intermediary of Thomas. Besides, it appears frequently that Gottfried, although he followed in general the poem of Thomas, introduced additional details from Eilhart[1].

D. CONCLUSION.

Our own inclination is to interpret the evidence in the cases we have discussed as indicating that *X* preserves traits of Eilhart's version that *Č* has lost. There may be others who would interpret the facts as follows: *XP* has restored, from acquaintance with other derivatives of the *estoire*, traits which Eilhart had suppressed. For the purposes of the present study it is immaterial which of the two hypotheses is correct[2]. Even those scholars who, like Knieschek, consider that the text of Eilhart which the Czech redactor had before him was superior to that followed by the German redactors, will agree

[1] cf. Piquet, *L'originalité de Gottfried von Strassburg* Lille 1905, passim.

[2] In speaking of the methods of the Czech redactor of certain mediaeval saints' lives, Jan Jakubec (*Geschichte der čechischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1907, p. 12) says: 'Der cechische Dichter weicht in der Bearbeitung von seinen Vorlagen namentlich darin ab, wo er die fremden Verhältnisse dem čechischen Leser zu entfernt findet.' — The Čech redactor of the *Alexander* seems to have treated his source in a similar manner.

that in the traits we have mentioned, as indeed throughout, the redaction in German verse represents better the French original. They will therefore understand our reasons for placing at the opening of our study of the *estoire* an outline of the redaction edited by Lichtenstein.

APPENDIX II.

POINTS IN WHICH M. BÉDIER'S RECONSTRUCTION DIFFERS FROM THE VERSION OF EILHART.

For the convenience of the reader we append a list of the traits given by M. Bédier in his reconstruction of the common source on the authority of other versions than that of Eilhart. We have indicated by italics the passages that we have discussed.

A. Points in M. Bédier's reconstruction which do not seem to us to represent the *estoire.*

1. p. 258. On awakening and finding the substituted sword the lovers are terrified at first, fearing that the king has gone to bring help. *However, they soon understand his clemency and realize that it will be possible to arrange a reconciliation with him (OBT).* Negotiations (*OBT*) . . . . Mark takes back Isolt, and Tristan remains exiled from the court (*OBR*), by the terms of an

agreement with the king (*OB*). Cf. supra, p. 72—84. We have shown that the return from the forest in the *estoire* is due to the abatement of the influence of the potion.

2. p. 207. *Tantris.* M. Bédier has adopted the heading for this chapter from Thomas. Cf. supra Ch. III, p. 84—9.

3. p. 209. Tristan pretends that his name is *Tantris RTF.* Cf. supra Ch. III, p. 88—9.

4. p. 210. The daughter of the king, Isolt, *undertakes to heal him.* She finally discovers the poison, combats it by herbs, and cures the stranger (*OTRF*). Cf. supra, Ch. III, p. 84—8. We have shown that Isolt heals Tristan by messenger.

5. p. 221. Restored to consciousness, *he confesses that he is Tantris (TR).* Cf. supra Ch. III p. 84—8.

B. Points in which M. Bédier's citation of his sources is incomplete. He might have added Eilhart to the versions he mentions as supporting the following traits in his reconstruction.

1. p. 196. *Loved by all the court,* the young Tristan is now almost of age to be dubbed knight (*TR*). Cf. supra, Ch. III, p. 90.

2. p. 209. Driven toward the coast of Ireland *Tristan played his harp as he neared the shore* (*R* and in part *T*). Cf. supra, Ch. III, p. 90—1.

3. p. 218. The Irish king offers *half of his lands,* in addition to his daughter, to

anyone who will deliver the country from the dragon *(TR)*, cf. supra, Ch. III, p. 91.

4. p. 233. Such was the virtue of the potion that those who drank it together must love each other *always*, cf. *OX* 2285—8. Cf. supra, Ch. III, p. 91.

5. p. 234. *Or sont entrez en la rote qui jamais ne leur fauldra jour de leurs vies, car ils ont beu leur destruction et leur mort*, cited by M. Bédier from the Prose Romance, of the fatal effects of the potion. Cf. supra, Ch. III, p. 90.

6. p. 249. The dwarf spreads the flour on the floor and *steals away* (*TB*), cf. Ch. III, p. 92.

7. p. 249. *Unperceived by him, Tristan's blood stains the clothes as he lies in Isolt's bed, and when by a new leap he regains his own, the sheets of his bed are stained in turn* (*TB*), cf. Ch. III, p. 91.

8. p. 250. *The dwarf sees the two beds stained with blood (BT)* cf. Ch. III, p. 91.

9. p. 258. *At the moment of parting, Isolt gives Tristan a ring to keep in memory of her; whenever he wishes to send her a message, let him send her this ring, and she will fulfil his wishes* (*BTF*), cf. Ch. III, p. 92.

10. p. 267. *His attention is drawn by chance to the ring which Isolt gave him at parting* (*T.* Heinrich von Freiberg). There is insufficient justification for the acceptance of this trait. There is no evidence that Heinrich von Freiberg had access to

the common source. Cf. Bédier II, 268; Golther, *op. cit.* 1907, 89—90 and bibliog. Thomas may here represent the common source, but we have no evidence to prove it.

11. p. 268. *The news of the marriage of Tristan reaches Cornwall. Grief of Queen Isolt* (*TR*), cf. Ch. III, p. 93.

12. p. 298. He is admitted to the presence of Queen Isolt, in order to show her his merchandise (*RT*), cf. *OX* 9330 *und fûr mit dem koufman.*

13. p. 300. *Tortured by jealousy,* Isolt of Brittany tells the dying Tristan that the sail is black (*RT*), cf. Ch. III, p. 93—8.

C. Points in which there is little data available for determining the version of the *estoire.* M. Bédier has followed other versions than Eilhart. It seems to us that, if there is any choice, the version of Eilhart is preferable, cf. Ch. III, p. 98—100.

1. p. 234. *Brangien makes a mistake* (*F.* Escoufle, and in part *R*), cf. Ch. III, p. 98—9.

2. p. 299. *He charges the daughter of his messenger from now on to watch for the approach of the boat; he confides his secret to her: 'if your father brings my lady Isolt, the sail of his boat will be all white; if he does not bring her, it will be all black'. Isolt of the White Hands wonders to see the frequent conversations between the young girl and Tristan, and this constant watch at the shore.* (*R* only), cf. Ch. III, p. 99.

D. Points in which *T* and *R* agree in giving details not in Eilhart. These points may represent omissions on the part of the German redactor. Cf. Ch. III, p. 100—2.

1. p. 195. The child was given the name Tristan *in memory of the circumstances of his birth* (*TR*).
2. p. 199. The Morholt bases his demand of the tribute on the ground of *ancient custom (TR).*
3. p. 204. *The queen of Ireland, sister of the Morholt,* and Isolt his niece, take the piece of steel from the Morholt's skull (*TR*).
4. p. 219. Tristan kills the dragon *by one blow which penetrates the jaw to the heart* (*TR*).
5. p. 220. She takes *her mother with her,* and the two go out secretly from the castle *(TR).*
6. p. 223. Isolt's *mother,* when informed of the discovery that they owe the delivery of Ireland to the slayer of the Morholt, also makes peace with Tristan on condition that he will deliver them from the seneschal (*TR*).
7. p. 240. Isolt prevails upon *two serfs* to lead Brangien into the forest. In Eilhart it is two poor knights.
8. p. 241. Isolt feigns illness, and sends Brangien to seek healing *herbs* in the *forest.* The two serfs will accompany her (*TR*). In Eilhart Brangien is to draw water at the fountain.

9. p. 241. They tie her to a tree and leave her there (*TR*). In Eilhart one of them remains to guard her.

10. p. 244. M. Bédier thinks it impossible to decide whether or not the common source contained the episode of the *Harp and the Rote (TR)*.

11. p. 299. While Isolt is on her way to Brittany to bring healing to the dying Tristan, *he has himself carried each day to the sea shore* and looks out upon the horizon (*TR*).

E. Points in which Béroul and the Prose Romance agree in giving details not in Eilhart. These points may represent omissions on the part of the German redactor. Cf. Ch. III, p. 102.

1. p. 247. Returning to the castle after the tryst under the tree, *the queen tells Brangien what has occurred, and congratulates herself on having escaped the danger and reassured the king* (*BR*).

2. p. 253. *Lamentations of the people when Tristan is condemned to death, his guilt having been proved by the flour on the floor. They recall the anguish that Tristan suffered to free Cornwall when the Morholt came, and they deplore the ingratitude of Mark* (*BR*).

3. p. 253. Tristan leaps from the chapel window and falls on the rock which since that time is *called Tristan's Leap* (*BR*).

4. p. 254. The lovers take refuge in the forest of *Morois* (*BR*).

F. Points in which two other versions agree in giving a detail not in Eilhart. These details may possibly represent omissions on the part of the German redactor. Cf. Ch. III, p. 102—5.

1. p. 201. The island on which the combat between Tristan and the Morholt is fought is *called St. Samson* (*RF* Erec).
2. p. 222. *At last he appeases her with the account of the Swallows' Hair. He tells her that king Mark of Cornwall has fallen in love with her and wishes to marry her* (*F* in part, and *T* in part).
3. p. 265. M. Bédier considers it impossible to determine whether the episode of the *Ambiguous Oath* was contained in the common source or is a parasitic growth. It is contained in *T* and in the continuation of *B*. The source of the latter is unknown.

APPENDIX III.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SECOND ISOLT.

The idea of rejecting, on account of moral scruples, a woman offered him in reward for an exploit, would not occur to a hero of primitive tradition[1]. Genuine popular tradition implies a society in which a multiplication of such rewards causes no difficulty. The

[1] cf. *Gold Tree and Silver Tree*, a folk-tale to which Alfred Nutt called attention in connection with *Eliduc* (*Folk-Lore* III 1892), p. 32. The hero keeps both women assigned him by the story, and they live happily together.

prejudice against accepting more than one is a late social and literary development.

The offer of a second lady in *Horn, Bevis,* and *Guy* is perhaps due to the accretion of two independent traditions. The twelfth century poet accepts both, and combines them as best he can. Marie de France and Gautier d'Arras appropriate the situation for the very sake of the dilemma which it presents. We should classify the stories mentioned in the text (Ch. IV, p. 158—77) as follows:

1. Romances in which the situation of the hero who is offered a second lady is the result of an accretion of traditional incidents.

The hero refuses her. Loyalty is stronger than ambition or fear:

Horn,
Bevis of Hampton,
Guy of Warwick.

2. Romances in which the situation is appropriated by a poet interested in the conflict for which it offers an opportunity.

In spite of Ambition, Fear, Duty, Pity, and the resemblance of the other woman to the one he loves, the hero does not falter. *Amor vincit omnia.*

Love is stronger than Duty: *Eliduc.*
" " " " Ambition, Fear, and Pity: *Ille et Galeron.*
" " " " Love's very counterpart: *Galerant.* *Freisne.*
" " " " all these as well as physical desire: *Tristan.*

Previous investigators have dwelt upon the question of marital fidelity and the question of providing for the rejected lady as the chief points of interest in these stories[1].

These do not seem to us vital. Whether the lover is or is not married, and whether the woman loved is the first or second that has come into his life, is of secondary interest to the poet. The important point is that she is the one chosen by *Amors*. It is a mere chance that it is only in *Eliduc* that *Amors* is on the side of the second woman. Constancy and Marriage, like Pity, Ambition, Fear, and Duty, are looked upon by the poet as distinctly secondary considerations. Violation of any of them may be difficult, may be regrettable, but deference to any of them in opposition to Love would be unpardonable.

The provision for the rejected lady in the *dénouement* of the stories in groups 1 and 2 is interesting only as it illustrates the poet's loss of interest in his secondary characters when they cease to serve

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[1] *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* XV (1887) 571—86; A Nutt, *Folk-Lore* III, 26—48; J. E. Matzke, *Modern Philology* IV, 471—9, V, 211—39.

Matzke (*op. cit.* V, 226—7) groups the texts, with reference to the attitude of the hero and the *dénouement*, as follows:

1. 'The knight is not married to the first maiden but succumbs to the resemblance to her which the appearance of the second maiden suggests. *Lai du Fraisne, Galerant,* and *Tristan*. It will be noted that the exile formula as such is absent here and that the stories are based solely on the resemblance theme.

2. The knight is not married to the first maiden and remains true to her, illustrated by the song of *Horn*.

3. The knight is married to the first maiden and succumbs to the charms of the second, illustrated by *Eliduc*.

4. The knight is married to the first maiden and remains true to his vows. Here belong *Ille et Galeron,* the lost lay from which it derives, and the episodes from *Bueve de Haumtone*.'

his hero. We find several methods of getting rid of the superfluous lady. The redactors whose audience insisted on monogamy had two alternatives. In *Bevis* and *Le Fraisne* the rejected lady is given another husband. In *Eliduc* she goes into a nunnery. The disappointed women in *Horn* and *Galerant* also enter convents. Galeron, after being reunited with Ille for some years, decides to take the veil. The hero is thus free to console Ganor by making her his wife. This compromise is in deference to the readers whose sympathy has been on the side of Ganor. Out of regard for the moral sensibilities of those who have been shocked by Fortune's — or the poet's — kindness to Eliduc and Guilliadun, we are told that after a time the lovers decide to enter a convent. The *dénouement* is merely a means of putting an end to the story. Its interest concluded for the poet with the solution of the psychological conflict.

A few centuries later we have examples of the story in which the interest is concentrated on the *dénouement.* This constitutes a third group.

3. Stories in which the situation is appropriated from an interest in the question of bigamy.

During his stay in the East, the Count of Gleichen has been saved from death on the condition of accepting the hand of a Saracen lady. The fact that he has a wife already has not been considered a valid excuse. On his return, a dispensation from the pope relieves the hero's embarassment. He brings the second lady to his home, and the two wives live happily together. The story was perhaps suggested by a tombstone representing a knight reclining between two ladies. It has been supposed that this sixteenth century revival of interest in the *Eliduc* theme was due to

Philip of Hesse, who was encouraged by Luther and Melanchthon in his effort to obtain a dispensation in favor of bigamy. Henry VIII had desired this privilege as a solution for his marital difficulties. A similar story was told in France in the fifteenth century of Gilles de Trasignies[1].

The popularity, in the twelfth century, of the story commonly referred to as that of *The husband with two wives*, and the occurrence, in several contemporary romances, of similar psychological treatments of it, sufficiently account for the second Isolt of the Tristan romance[2].

APPENDIX IV.

THE HARP AND THE ROTE: THE STORY TOLD OF GUINEVERE AND OTHER TWELFTH CENTURY HEROINES[3].

A. GUINEVERE.

The same story which we find in Tristan in the incident of the Harp and the Rote is fre-

[1] cf. G. Paris, *op. cit.*, 575—8.

[2] Cf. supra. Ch. IV, 158—77. It is unnecessary to seek for a more recondite explanation, as do M. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands, Cöthen* 1906, p. 174 n.; E. Muret, *Zts. f. franz. Sp. u. Lit.* XXXVII, *Referate und Rezensionen*, 173. Similarly J. Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris 1912, p. 110: *C'est, à mon avis, de la juxtaposition en Cornwall des deux légendes, cornique et armoricaine, et d'un compromis entre les deux, que vient la création des deux Iseuts.*

[3] Gaston Paris has made an exhaustive study of the abduction of Guinevere in *Rom.* XII, 459 ff. He establishes the fact that 'Le conte breton que Crétien a connu sous une forme très altérée avait un fond mythologique: il racontait à l'origine l'enlève-

quently related in connection with Guinevere. The

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ment d'une reine par le dieu des morts et sa délivrance par son époux. Par la suite des temps, on avait identifié l'époux avec Arthur, et la reine enlevée avec Guanhumar sa femme. Plus tard encore, le dieu des morts reçut le nom de Melwas, et, confondu sans doute avec un personnage historique, perdit en grande partie son caractère surnaturel; mais la trace de l'ancienne conception persista dans le nom d'„île de verre" et de „pays dont nul ne retourne" donné à son royaume, et dans la description du „pont de l'épée" qu'il faut franchir pour y pénétrer' (*op. cit.* p. 533). For a discussion of the 'pont de l'épée', see an article by Miss Laura Hibbard in the *Romanic Review*, 1913 (in press).

John Rhys (*The Arthurian Legend*, Oxford 1891, p. 64), mentions the *Wooing of Etain* in connection with a Welsh dialogue which he believes to refer to the abduction of Guinevere by Melwas, suggesting that Crestien had two distinct versions of 'the same mythic incident' to work upon.

G. L. Kittredge (*Harvard Studies and Notes* VIII, 190 n. 2) makes the suggestion that the episode of the abduction of Guinevere is a rationalized version of a story of the same general character as the *Wooing of Etain.*

K. G. T. Webster (*Englische Studien* XXXVI [1906], p. 340) gives a resumé of an unpublished study in which he has developed Professor Kittredge's suggestion. He also points out that in the Middle English *Ballad of King Arthur and King Cornwall,* a relation similar to that between Etain and Midir seems to exist between Guinevere and Cornwall.

W. H. Schofield, in an article on the *Franklyn's Tale, (Modern Language Publications* XVI, 405 ff.) cites as parallels in faithfulness to a rash promise, the *Mabinogi of Pwyll,* the *Wooing of Etain,* the story of *Mongan, Sir Orfeo,* Gottfried's *Tristan, Sir Tristrem,* the episode of Isolt's rash promise to Palamedes in Malory, Hartmann's *Iwein,* and other versions of the abduction of Guinevere. He considers the theme of the *Franklyn's Tale* to be of the same character.

G. L. Kittredge, in an article on *Sir Orfeo* (*American Journal of Philology* VII, 176 ff.), suggests that the non-classical elements of this poem may conceivably be derived from the *Wooing of Etain.* He also calls attention to the marked similarity between the second part of *Orfeo* and the first part of the *Harp and the Rote* episode in *Tristan.*

J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Gawain,* London 1897, p. 67 ff., and *The Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac,* London 1901, p. 40 ff., has chapters on *Le Chevalier de la Charrette.*

We have already devoted a brief discussion to the incident of the *Harp and the Rote* in connection with the tradition of Diarmaid and Grainne in the *Revue Celtique* XXXIII, 48. 51.

The present study offers some new material and seeks to bring the results of previous investigations of the *Guinevere, Orfeo,* and *Franklyn's Tale* episodes into relation with the episode in

oldest version is in a Latin saint's life, the *Vita Gildae*[1].

Gildas ... entered Glastonbury. Melwas was the reigning king at that time in Somerset, that is the City of Glass; for it took its name from glass, and the

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Tristan. The Cúroi, Manannan, Garel, Cormac, and Diarmaid texts have not, so far as we know, been previously mentioned in this connection.

E. Brugger, *Zur Harfnerepisode, Herrigs Archiv* CXXIX, 375—87 appeared while the present study was in the press.

For discussions of the various Tristan texts see Bédier I, 168—75; II 244; Piquet, *op. cit.* 243—45.

The theme under discussion is essentially identical with one that has already been discussed in connection with Celtic and chivalric romance — the mortal loved by a fee and lured by her to the Other World. Here, however, the sexes being reversed, the mortal is not lured, but carried off, and masculine initiative gives the tale a more virile character throughout. See Nutt and Meyer, *Voyage of Bran;* A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain,* [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* VIII; cf. Windisch, *Táin bó Cúalnge, Irische Texte* V, p. xxxiii, l. 12 and note, p. xc.

[1] *Vita Gildae,* ed. *Mon. Ger.* XIII, p. 109 (Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII). For the date see G. Paris, *Rom.* X, 490; Sir T: D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of materials relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland,* London 1862, I, p. 151 ff.; Stevenson's Gildas, Int.; E. A. Freeman in *Macmillan's Magazine* XLII, p. 463; Rhys, *Arthurian Legend,* p. 52; T. Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.* I, p. 119. 120, II, 166; F. Lot, *Rom.* XXVII, 566; Zimmer, *Zts. f. f. Sp. u. Lit.* XII, p. 248; de la Borderie, *Etudes historiques bretonnes* I, 356. Wright and Lot consider the document as the work of Caradoc of Llancarfan (Lancarvan), and date it between 1145 and 1660. Stevenson and de la Borderie consider it a forgery. The Celtic connections of the document are obvious.

Gildas ... ingressus est Glastoniam ... Melvas rege regnante in aestiva regione ... Glastonia, id est Urbs Vitrea, quae nomen sumsit a vitro, est urbs nomine primitus in Britannico sermone. obsessa est itaque ab Arturo tyranno cum innumerabili multitudine propter Guennuvar uxorem suam violatam et raptam a praedicto iniquo rege et ibi ductam propter refugium inviolati loci propter munitiones arundineti et fluminis ac paludis causa tutelae. Quaesiverat rex rebellis reginam per unius anni circulum, audivit tandem illam remanentem. illico commovit exercitus totius Cornubiae et Dibneniae; paratum est bellum inter inimicos. Hoc viso abbas Glastoniae comitante clero et Gilda Sapiente intravit medias acies, consuluit Melvas regi suo pacifice, ut redderet raptam. reddita ergo fuit, quae reddenda fuerat, per pacem. et benivolentiam. his peractis duo reges largiti sunt abbati multa territoria.

city was called in early times by that name in the British tongue. Now this city was besieged by King Arthur with a great host, because of his wife Guennuvar, outraged and stolen by the aforesaid wicked king, and brought hither for the refuge of an impregnable fortress; impregnable because of the fortification of the marshes und river and swamp which were to it a cause of safety. The king had been seeking to get the queen from the rebels for about a year. He heard finally that she was there. Thither moved the whole army of the men of Cornwall and of Devon. Battle between the foes was imminent. Seeing this, the abbot of Glastonbury, accompanied by a clerk and Gildas the Wise, went into the midst of the line of battle, and with peaceful intent advised Melwas to return the stolen queen; thus peacefully and amicably she was restored who should have been restored. After this the two kings presented the abbot with broad lands.

Here the episode is presented in bare outlines very closely corresponding to those of the *Wooing of Etain,* although the assistance in the rescue is given by a pious abbot instead of a magician. It should be noted that here, as in the Irish versions, it is the husband who is the rescuer.

Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*[1] relates the incident of the abduction of Guinevere as follows:

[1] Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Lanzelet,* ed. K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt a. M. 1845, l. 4972—5360, 6710—7423. 'The German poem, which may be dated about 1194, is a translation of a French biographical romance of Lancelot, which must have been written before Crestien's *Charrette,* that is before 1170.' Webster, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVI, 348. Paris, *La Littérature française au Moyen âge*[2], p. 247, dates it 1160. For contrary view see W. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter,* Halle 1899, Int. XLVI, LXXIX. On the Celtic character of the poem, cf. Paris, *Rom.* X, 476—8; Paris, *art. cit.,* p. 471 ff. and Weston, *Sir Lancelot du Lac,* 8 ff. give synopses of the entire romance.

King Valerin, the owner of a marvellous shining castle, made impregnable by a hedge of *grozem ungezibele* guarded by dragons, appears at the court of Arthur, and declares *er solde Ginoveren billichher hân danne Artûs ane wân, wan siu im gemehelet waere, ê siu wurde hîbaere.* Arthur declares he knows nothing of a previous betrothal of Guinevere, but the stranger says he will establish his claim by a single combat, giving Arthur a week's time to appoint a champion. He is, however, defeated by Lancelot in the ensuing duel.

A year afterward he attacks and overcomes Arthur and his men while hunting, and takes the queen. The king pursues him to his castle, but the united efforts of all his knights and men cannot prevail against it. At last, by the advice of Tristan, Arthur seeks the magician Malduck. With great difficulty they succeed in penetrating the mysterious country that surrounds Malduck's castle, cross the dangerous bridge which leads to it, and prevail upon him to help them. By his magic he sinks into a heavy sleep the inhabitants of Valerin's fortress and the dragons which guard it. Arthur and his army are thus enabled to enter the castle, to kill all within, and rescue the queen.

The reader may wish to compare the incident as it occurs in Crestien's *La Charrette*[1].

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[1] Christian von Troyes, *Der Karrenritter* (*La Charrette*) *und das Wilhelmsleben (Guillaume d'Angleterre)*, ed. W. Foerster, Halle 1899. For the date see Foerster, *op. cit.* xix, who places it about 1170; cf. G. Paris, *Rom.* XII, 463, who places it between 1164 and 1172; cf. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, Nov. 1901, p. 702, where he dates it 1172. On the Celtic elements see Paris, *Rom.* XII, 498 ff. Paris suggests Welsh connections. Foerster combats the views of Paris in this regard in *Karrenritter* xxxiii ff. Our study leads us to believe that Lancelot, the abduction of Guinevere, and the *Ehebruchsmotiv* were first combined by Crestien.

A stranger, Meleagant, appears at Arthur's Pentecost feast and declares that he holds many ladies and knights of Arthur's realm captive in his kingdom. He declares that if one of Arthur's knights can overcome him in single combat in the neighboring wood, he will give up all the prisoners. If he wins, however, Guinevere must be added to his spoils. At this point Kay demands a boon of the king, threatening to quit his service if he is refused. At the queen's intercession Arthur promises to grant the request. What Kay asks is permission to accept the stranger's challenge. Arthur hesitatingly complies, and Kay departs, accompanied by the queen, for the place of combat. Gawain reproaches Arthur, and proceeds to follow them. On the way he meets Lancelot, whom he does not recognize, and lends him one of his horses. Shortly afterward he reaches the wood, and finds bloody traces of the combat. He meets Lancelot, unhorsed, following a cart driven by a dwarf. The latter promises Lancelot to bring him to the queen the next morning on condition that he will mount the cart. After a moment's hesitation he complies. Gawain follows on foot. The two knights overcome various difficulties in the approach to the land of Meleagant, Lancelot reaching it by crossing a bridge made of a sword blade, and vanquishing lions by gazing on his magic ring. He sustains a combat with Meleagant, and delivers the queen. He had been separated from Gawain when they decided to approach the castle by different bridges, and he now sets out in search of him. He is lured off, however, by a false message, and treacherously taken captive by Meleagant. It is Kay and the others who rescue Gawain from drowning, and set off with Guinevere to Arthur's court. They have been led by Meleagant to believe that Lancelot

has already arrived. Lancelot succeeds in freeing himself and killing his enemy [1].

The outlines of the Celtic type, preserved in the

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[1] We have examined a number of other versions of the abduction of Guinevere. In order not to make our exposition too long we shall confine our references to them to the notes.

Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein der Ritter mit dem Löwen*, ed. E. Henrici, Halle 1891, ll. 4530—725. The work of Hartmann, written before 1204 (Henrici, p. vi) is a translation of Crestien's *Chevalier au Lion*, and, though rather more diffuse, follows its source closely. Cf. Piquet, *Etude sur Hartmann d'Aue*, Paris 1898, 99—144.

The Pleier, *Garel von dem blühenden Tal*, ed. M. Walz, Freiburg 1892. As this edition has not been accessible to us we have followed the resume in P. Piper, *Höfische Epik* II, 306. 317. The date of the work is c. 1260—1290. It seems to be a redaction of the Stricker's *Daniel vom blühenden Tal*. The portion referring to the abduction of Guinevere is not found in the Stricker.

Li Romans de Durmart le Galois, ed. E. Stengel, *Bibliothek des lit. Ver. in Stuttgart*, cxvi, Tübingen 1873, l. 4185—340. A late romance.

Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthure*, ed. H. O. Sommer, London 1889, Bk. XIX, ch. 1—6, p. 772.

Diu Crône, ed. G. H. F. Scholl, *Bibliothek des lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, XXVII, Tübingen 1852, ll. 3356—5370, 10113—12588. The assumption of a French source for most of *Diu Crône* is general. See Scholl's introduction, p. xi; cf. O. Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, p. 120; cf. Webster, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVI, 346, n. 3. Scholl (p. xi) gives the date of the German poem as c. 1220. Its version of the abduction of Guinevere is more archaic than that of Crestien, according to Paris, *Rom.* XII, p. 506.

King Arthur and King Cornwall in F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* I, p. 279. For a discussion of the similarity of the relation between Guinevere and King Cornwall, and that between Etain and Midir, see Webster, *Eng. Stud.* XXXVI, p. 337 ff.; esp. pp. 347—51.

Livre d'Artus, see Freymond, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altfranzösischen Artusromane in Prosa*, *Zts. f. fr. Sp.* XVII, p. 1 ff. — P. 21 ff. gives the contents of version *P.* from a thirteenth century manuscript. The passage relating to the abductions of Guinevere are 1. p. 34, § 37; 2. p. 35, § 40; 3. p. 45 § 67 and note.

Prose Romance. Cf. Foerster, *Karrenritter*, xxiii, for bibliography; for a discussion of the portion dealing with the abduction and for the date (probably after 1170) see also Paris, *Rom.* XII, p. 485 ff. 497. 534. The source is Crestien's *Charrette*.

Guinevere stories which we have examined[1] and paralleled by Tristan, are as follows:

1. A magnificent and haughty stranger appears to the king[2].
2. He has previously known the queen, and has a claim to her[3]. He has long loved her[4].
3. He demands her, and secures her through the response, on the part of his hearers, to a conception of honor universally recognized by his hearers, (1) Fidelity to an indefinite promise, however rashly given and, however, unreasonably interpreted[5]; (2) the right of anyone to demand that his claim be submitted to the issue of wager of battle[6].
4. An ineffectual attempt is made to check the stranger's purpose[7].
5. The stranger is with difficulty pursued to his realm[8].

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[1] The texts considered in relation to Guinevere are referred to as follows: *V* = *Vita Gildae*; *Z* = Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*; *HI* = Hartmann's von Aue *Iwein*; *CC* = Crestien de Troyes *La Charrette*, the Prose *Lancelot*, Crestien's *Iwain*, *Livre d'Artus*; *GP* = *The Pleier's Garel*; *D* = *Durmart le Galois*; *HC* = Heinrich von Türlin's *Diu Crône*; *MM* = Malory's *Morte Darthur*; *AC* = *The Ballad of King Arthur and King Cornwall*; $A_{1, 2, 3}$ *Livre D'Artus*; $L_{1, 2, 3}$, episodes in the Prose *Lancelot*. Cf. the abbreviations used to refer to the Old Irish stories, Ch. VI D 2*h*; *T* refers to Tristan.

[2] *E, M, F, P, — V, Z, HC, HI, GP, CC, — T.*

[3] *E, P — Z, HC, AC.*

[4] *D, M — T.*

[5] *E, M, F, P, C — GP, HI, CC, — T.*

[6] *Z, CC, HI, HC.*

[7] *E, C, — CC, HI, HC.* In *Z* Lanzelet is allowed to win the combat. — *T.*

[8] *E, C, — V, CC, Z, D, M.*

6. The queen is won back: (1) with the help of an army and a magician[1]; (2) by single combat[2]; (3) by a ruse[3].
7. The rescuer is: (1) the king[4]; (2) his devoted vassal[5]; (3) the queen's lover[6].

The typical traits preserved in the Guinevere versions and lost in Tristan are the following. The stranger is the possessor of a mysterious realm. He has been the husband or the betrothed husband of the queen. He is pursued to his domain. It is the husband who achieves the rescue.

One trait which occurs frequently in the Celtic versions appears in Tristan but not in Guinevere: The stranger gives a display of skill, in recognition of which the king promises to grant him any boon he may name.

It is impossible to classify the versions of Guinevere's abduction. Some have undergone greater modifications in some parts, others in others. We might arrange them roughly in some such groups as the following, to show the gradual disintegration of a primitive trait:

(1) Versions in which the taking away of the queen is made dependent upon an indefinite boon: Hartmann's *Iwein*, *Garel*. (2) Versions in which the taking away of the queen is made dependent upon a wager of battle: *Lanzelet*, Crestien, *Diu Crône*. (3) Versions in which the queen is simply abducted: *Lanzelet*, Malory, *Durmart*.

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[1] *E, C* (army only), — *V* (an abbot) *Z*.
[2] *CC, HC, D, MM*
[3] *M, P*, — *T*.
[4] *E, M, P, C* — *V*.
[5] *HC, D, HI*.
[6] *CC, GP, T*.

But if we arrange them according to some other apparently primitive trait, the earlier and later stages of development are represented by an entirely different grouping of the versions. If we classify them according to Guinevere's previous relation to the stranger, we get the following grouping. (1) Versions in which Guinevere was the stranger's wife: *Diu Crône.* (2) Versions in which Guinevere was the stranger's betrothed: *Lanzelet.* (3) Versions in which Guinevere was the stranger's paramour: *King Arthur and King Cornwall.* (4) Versions in which Guinevere has been loved by the stranger: Malory, *Durmart,* Crestien (?). (5) Versions in which no relation is mentioned: Crestien (?), Prose *Lanzelot, Garel,* Hartmann's *Iwein.*

Again, if we arrange the versions according to the character of the rescuer, we get the following classification: (1) The rescuer is the king: *Vita Gildae, Lanzelet.* (2) A knight performs the feat in the service of the king: *Diu Crône,* Hartmann's *Iwein, Durmart.* (3) The queen's lover is the rescuer: Crestien, *Garel,* Malory.

Next to the *Vita Gildae,* Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet* corresponds most closely to the Etain story. In his version, however, the relation of the stranger to the queen is weakened to betrothal, and the test of his claim by wager of battle is substituted for the rash boon. It is interesting to notice that Ulrich cannot bring himself to allow the combat to result to the disadvantage of Arthur's knights. Lanzelet is made to win it. As a result of this modification the stranger goes away empty handed.

Instead of the test of skill, followed by the unexpected demand of the queen as the promised reward, the stories of Guinevere usually substitute a wager of battle, sometimes retaining the rash

promise in a subordinate position. The latter is the case in Hartmann's *Iwein* and the *Pleier's Garel*. In these two versions as well as in Crestien, where it is transferred to Kay, the *motif* of the rash boon is feebly handled. The single combat is of course more intelligible to a chivalric audience. The inability of Arthur's knights to compel the stranger to withdraw his claim puts them in a bad light, but it is unavoidable unless the whole first part of the story is to be abandoned. Ulrich retains it, as we have seen, at considerable expense. He makes Arthur's knight win in the single combat, and represents the stranger as appearing afterward and abducting the queen. Most of the chivalric poets prefer to abandon the rash boon entirely, and represent the stranger as abducting the queen at a moment when she is insufficently guarded. The interest of the story is thus entirely concentrated on the rescue of the queen.

The treatment of this rescue in the different versions reflects perhaps as clearly as any other element of the story the development of custom in romance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A single combat between the stranger and the rescuer[1] replaces the siege by the combined forces of the king[2]. The shifting of the role of rescuer from Arthur to Lancelot can be traced by gradual stages. As long as the stranger was a mysterious personage whose previous relations to the queen constituted an important trait of the story, as in *Etain*, it is impossible to conceive of its containing any further complication than that of the struggle between him and the husband. In *Diu Crône, Iwein,*

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[1] *HC, HI, CC, GP, D, MM, A* 1, 2, 3, *L*, 1, 2, 3, 4.
[2] *V, Z.*

Durmart, and Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet* the situation remains the same as in the *Vita Gildae*, although the tendency to relegate Arthur to the background forbids the king to achieve the rescue in person. In these versions the hero is Gawain or Durmart, and his motive is disinterested knightly honor. Lanzelet undertakes the duel with Valerin from the same motive. This group offers an easy transition to Crestien and his followers, who make the rescuer the queen's lover. By this time the supernatural character of the stranger and his previous relations with the queen[1] are almost forgotten.

Variations of style in romance are likewise reflected in the difficulties which constitute the interest of the rescue. In *Etain*, *Lanzelet*, and the *Vita Gildae* they consist chiefly in storming the abductor's castle; in Crestien the reader's concern is centered in the dangerous approach to the stranger's territories, although the single combat, here as in *Diu Crône*, comes in for a share of his interest. The difficult passage of the water surrounding the stranger's realm[2] seems to present a Celtic detail.

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[1] We may interpret as an allusion to them, the passage in MS. *C*, l. 210—13 of *La Charrette*, where the queen, when she is being led off by the stranger, says,

'an bas por ce qu'an ne l'öist.
„Ha, rois! se vos le sëussiez
Ja, ce croi, ne me leississiez
Sanz chalonge mener un pas"!

and Malory's mention of the fact that the stranger has loved her long.

[2] For a discussion of the realm of Melwas in romance literature, see Paris, *Rom.* X, 490 ff.; XII, 508 ff.; F. Lot, *Rom.* XXIV, 327 ff.

The entrance to the other world in Etain, as in *Sir Orfeo*, is by a hill or rock. There seems to have existed in the earliest Irish literature, in addition to the conception of the other-world

The story of the Harp and the Rote, and the stories of the abduction of Guinevere seem to be independent developments of a Celtic type. Each presents primitive characteristics of that type which are lacking in the other. The *Guinevere* stories are interesting in connection with the *Tristan* accounts as showing the gradual effacement of the relation between the stranger and the queen, the gradual displacement of the rash boon, and the gradual shifting of the role of rescuer from husband to lover. The two last processes, as we have seen, have already taken place in *Tristan*. On the other hand the *Tristan* version represents from the point of view of the rash boon, a more perfect form of the inception of the incident, than any of the *Guinevere* versions. In the Guinevere versions the rash boon is modified little by little until it completely disappears. Minor points, such as the mysterious character of the stranger and the journey to his marvellous realm, appear in a more primitive form in certain versions of the Guinevere story than in Tristan[1].

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lying within the *sid* or fairy hills, another conception in which it is a mysterious island beyond the sea.

The adoption of this latter idea is familiar to readers of Arthurian romance in Crestien's *Erec*, l. 1946 ff. as the Isle de Voirre; in the description in the *Vita Merlini* of Glastonbury as the Insula pomorum, 908—17.

For the same idea of the land of 'âventiure' as shut off by mountains and water, and inaccessible except by a single entrance, the passage of which is very difficult, see the Strickers *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal*, ed. G. Rosenhagen, Breslau 1894, Weinhold und Vogt, *Germanistische Abhandlungen* No. 9 l. 508 ff. and note.

For discussions of the character of the Celtic other world see Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* I; cf. O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, 504—5; d'Arbois, *Le Cycle Mythologique*, 140 ff.; *Folk Lore* XVIII, 339—40; E. Hull, *Folk Lore* XVIII, 121—66; A. Nutt, *Folk Lore* XVIII, 445—8; H. Zimmer, *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 257 ff.; Kuno Meyer, *Cath Finntraga*, Oxford 1885, *Int.* p. xiii, xi; Kittredge, *Amer. Journal Philol.* VII, 195.

[1] It is our intention to investigate in a later study the development of the entire tradition of Lancelot.

B. HEURYDYS.

An analogue to the incident of the Harp and the Rote is also found in a Middle English poem, *Sir Orfeo*[1]:

The wife of Sir Orfeo falls asleep in her orchard under an 'ympe tree', and dreams that she is approached by two knights who summon her to the presence of their king. When she refuses, the king appears, followed by a noble train of knights and ladies robed in white and riding snow-white horses. He bids her be in the same place the following day, and declares that he will take her to his beautiful realm, of which he shows her the fair castles and forests and fields. He threatens her with torments if she fails to comply willingly.

The next day Sir Orfeo surrounds the place with guards, but in spite of all his efforts, his wife is borne away mysteriously, and no one knows whither.

The despairing Orfeo abandons his kingdom and, taking his harp, wanders disconsolate in the forests, charming the wild things with his melodies. Sometimes, in the hot summer days, he sees the king of the fairies, hunting or hawking with his rout. At last he approaches them, and recognizes among them his lost wife Heurydys. But she is hurried away

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[1] *Sir Orfeo*, ed. O. Zielke, Breslau 1880. I have had access only to the edition of Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, London 1802, II. The English poem dates from the end of the thirteenth century. It is probably a translation from a French version of a Breton lay. See Kittredge, *Amer. Journal of Philol.* VII, 177. Cf. the *Ballad of King Orfeo*, Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Boston 1882. I, 215.

The position of Orfeo, with its fusion of Celtic and classic elements, has been carefully worked out by Professor Kittredge, *loc. cit.*

from him by the others. He follows, and enters after them into the rock leading to their marvellous realm. He knocks at the gate of the castle and receives admittance. The king, having listened to his harping, declares that he will reward him with anything he may demand. Orfeo asks for his wife. The king refuses at first, but he assents when Orfeo reminds him of the dishonor attached to breaking his word. Orfeo leads his wife to his own country, and takes his place again as king.

The outlines of the Celtic type preserved in *Sir Orfeo* are as follows:

A magnificent and haughty stranger appears to the queen, declaring that he has a claim to her[1]. He comes later to take her away, and does so in spite of the armed band set by the king to guard her[2]. The stranger is with difficulty pursued to his realm[3]. The husband, whose identity is unknown to the stranger, gives a display of skill, in recognition of which the king promises to grant him any boon he shall name[4]. He demands the queen[5].

The traits preserved in *Sir Orfeo*, and not found in *Tristan* or in the *Guinevere* episodes, are:

The stranger appears to the queen, represents to her the beauty of his land and demands that she come thither. The stranger appears mysteriously at a time appointed, and carries off the queen from the midst of the king's guards.

The traits preserved in *Tristan* and not found in *Sir Orfeo* are:

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[1] *E, O.*
[2] *E, O.*
[3] *E, O.*
[4] *E* (in connection with the inception of the incident) *O, T.*
[5] *E* (in connection with the inception of the incident) *O, T.*

The stranger has previously known and loved the queen. He gives a display of skill in recognition of which the king promises to grant him any boon he may name. He demands the queen. The king hesitates, but taunted with having compromised his honor, unwillingly accedes.

The traits preserved in the *Guinevere* episodes and not found in *Sir Orfeo* are:

There has been a previous relation between the stranger and the queen. The stranger demands and secures her through the response, on the part of his hearers, to a current conception of honor.

It appears from the preceding analysis that *Sir Orfeo* is another example of the Celtic type we have discussed. It is strikingly similar to Etain in the scene where the stranger reappears at the appointed time, suddenly and mysteriously, in the midst of the guards with which the king has surrounded the queen. Unable, if indeed they see the fairy prince, to resist his occult influence, they allow him to carry her off, nobody knows whither. The previous scene, where Midir appears to Etain in a vision, and, reminding her of her former relations with him, exacts from her a conditional promise to follow him to his land, corresponds to the scene in *Orfeo* where the fairy king appears to Heurydys and tells her that she must come with him on the morrow. But the important section lying between them first finds its parallel in the second part of *Orfeo*, where the king of Fairy-land loses his prize in a way very similar to that by which, in Etain, he wins her — namely by entering the court of his rival, inducing him to promise an indefinite boon in reward for a display of his skill (in chess in *Etain*, in playing the harp in *Orfeo*), and then demanding his wife. The rash

king hesitates, but, reminded of his honor, reluctantly accedes.

It is interesting to note that in *Sir Orfeo* the scene of the rescue is exactly the same as the scene of the abduction in the *Tristan* story[1].

C. STEINGERD.

One might be tempted to see another analogue in the following incident in the *Cormacssaga*[2], an Old Norse story of tragic love which presents numerous points of resemblance to the Tristan story.

Thorvaldr Tinteinn's ship is attacked, and Steingerd (his wife) is stolen. Cormac, the lover of Steingerd, overtakes the ship of Thorvaldr, and learning the news, pushes on to rescue her. He reaches the Viking ship, which is moored for the night, and overcomes the robber. He leaps into the water with Steingerd and swims to land. When he brings her back to her husband the latter orders her to follow Cormac, since he has rescued her so valiantly. Cormac says that he wishes it. But Steingerd refuses. Cormac then angrily gives her up to her husband.

The episode offers the following points in common with the Celtic type: A stranger departs with the

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[1] cf. *Sir Tristrem* 1827—44; cf. *Sir Orfeo* 410—35.

[2] *Kormaks saga* ed. T. Möbius, Halle 1886, § 26; cf. Vigfússon, *Origines Icelandicae, op. cit.* II, 315 ff.; *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* II, p. 32 ff. 66 ff. The story of Cormac and Steingerd, one of the oldest of the Norse sagas, is another tradition of a pair of star-crossed lovers. Cormac is a passionate and ill-fated bard. He and Steingerd love each other, but hostile persons are at work against them, and he loses her. She becomes the wife of Bersi, and afterward of Tinteinn. Cormac returns again and again to see her. He dies at last in a strange land with her name on his lips. The story is handled with the characteristic realism and restraint of the sagas. It is characteristic of the Norse treatment that the elements of the tragedy lie in the hero's own nature.

lady, and no one attempts to prevent him. He is pursued, and the lady is recovered. Even taking into consideration the fact that the *saga* presents characteristics that point to Irish influence, the family of the hero, for example, and Cormac's fight with the eels in bringing Steingerd to shore, the similarity in this episode does not seem close enough for us to associate it with the Irish type under consideration. Its similarities to the Tristan episode are more striking. The stranger comes by ship; the scene of the rescue is a ship at anchor. The lover, absent at the time of the abduction, learns the news, and sets out in pursuit. He rescues the lady and turns her over to her husband.

APPENDIX V.

TRAGIC LOVE STORIES IN OLD IRISH LITERATURE.

A. EXTRACTS FROM THE STORY OF THE *ELOPEMENT OF DEIRDRE WITH NAISI*[1].

There was a prophecy before her birth that Deirdre would bring woe to the warriors of Ulster. The warriors would have had her slain, but Conor, the king, declares that she shall be set apart to be his wife[2].

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[1] cf. bibliography in note supra VI D 2f. The story is mentioned in the tenth century list of tales in the *Book of Leinster*.

[2] By the translator's kind permission, the following is from A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London 1905, I, 94 ff.

'The maiden was reared in a house that belonged to Conor, and she grew up to be the fairest maid in all Ireland. She was brought up at a distance from the king's court; so that none of the men of Ulster might see her till the time came when she was to share the royal couch: none of mankind was permitted to enter the house where she was reared, save only her foster-father, and her foster-mother; and in addition to these Levorcham, to whom naught could any refuse, for she was a witch.

Now once it chanced upon a certain day in the time of winter that the foster-father of Deirdre had employed himself in skinning a calf upon the snow, in order to prepare a roast for her, and the blood of the calf lay upon the snow, and she saw a black raven who came down to drink it. And 'Levorcham', said Deirdre, 'that man only will I love, who hath the three colors that I see here, his hair as black as the raven, his cheeks red like the blood, and his body as white as the snow.' 'Dignity and good fortune to thee!' said Levorcham; 'that man is not far away. Yonder he is in the burg which is nigh; and the name of him is Naisi, the son of Usnach.' 'I shall never be in good health again', said Deidre, 'until the time come when I may see him.'

It befell that Naisi was upon a certain day alone upon the rampart of the burg of Emain, and he sent his warrior-cry with music abroad: well did the musical cry ring out that was raised by the sons of Usnach. Each cow and every beast that heard them, gave of milk two thirds more than its wont; and each man by whom that cry was heard deemed it to be fully joyous, and a dear pleasure to him. Goodly moreover was the play that these men made with their weapons; if the whole province of Ulster had been assembled

against them in one place, and they three only had been able to set their backs against one another, the men of Ulster would not have borne away victory from those three: so well were they skilled in parry and defence. And they were swift of foot when they hunted the game, and with them it was the custom to chase the quarry to its death.

Now when this Naisi found himself alone on the plain, Deirdre also soon escaped outside her house to him, and she ran past him, and at first he knew not who she might be.

'Fair is the young heifer that springs past me!' he cried.

'Well may the young heifers be great,' she said in a place where none may find a bull.'

'Thou hast, as thy bull,' said he, 'the bull of the whole province of Ulster, even Conor the king of Ulster.'

'I would choose between you two,' she said, 'and I would take for myself a younger bull, even such as thou art.'

'Not so, indeed,' said Naisi, 'for I fear the prophecy of Cathbad.'

'Sayest thou this, as meaning to refuse me?' said she.

'Yea indeed', he said; and she sprang upon him, and she seized him by his two ears. 'Two ears of shame and of mockery shalt thou have', she cried, 'if thou take me not with thee.'

'Release me, O my wife!' said he.

'That will I.'

Then Naisi raised his musical warrior-cry, and the men of Ulster heard it, and each of them one after another sprang up: and the sons of Usnach hurried out in order to hold back their brother.

'What is it,' they said, 'that thou dost', let it not be by any fault of thine that war is stirred up between us and the men of Ulster.'

Then he told them all that had been done; and 'There shall evil come on thee from this', said they; 'moreover thou shalt lie under the reproach of shame so long as thou dost live; and we will go with her into another land, for there is no king in all Ireland who will refuse us welcome if we come to him.'

Then they took counsel together, and that same night they departed, three times fifty warriors, and the same number of women, and dogs, and servants, and Deirdre went with them. And for a long time they wandered about Ireland, in homage to this man or that; and often Conor sought to slay them either by ambuscade or by treachery; from round about Assaroe, near to Ballyshannon in the west, they journeyed, and they turned them back to Benn Etar, in the north-east, which men today call the Mountain of Howth. Nevertheless the men of Ulster drave them from the land, and they came to the land of Alba, and in its wildernesses they dwelled. And when the chase of the wild beasts of the mountains failed them, they made foray upon the cattle of the men of Alba, and took them for themselves; and the men of Alba gathered themselves together with intent to destroy them. Then they took shelter with the king of Alba, and the king took them into his following, and they served him in war. And they made for themselves houses of their own in the meadows by the king's burg: it was on account of Deirdre that these houses were made, for they feared that men might see her, and that on her account they might be slain.

Now one day the high-steward of the king went out in the early morning, and he made a cast about

Naisi's house, and saw those two sleeping therein, and he hurried back to the king, and awaked him: 'We have', said he, 'up to this day found no wife for thee of like dignity to thyself. Naisi the son of Usnach hath a wife of worth sufficient for the emperor of the western world! Let Naisi be slain, and let his wife share thy couch.'

'Not so!' said the king, 'but do thou prepare thyself to go each day to her house, and woo her for me secretly.'

Thus was it done; but Deirdre, whatsoever the steward told her, was accustomed straightway to recount it each even to her spouse; and since nothing was obtained from her, the sons of Usnach were sent into dangers, and into wars, and into strifes that thereby they might be overcome. Nevertheless they showed themselves to be stout in every strife, so that no advantage did the king gain from them by such attempts as these.

The men of Alba were gathered together to destroy the sons of Usnach, and this also was told to Deirdre. And she told the news to Naisi: 'Depart hence'! said she, 'for if ye depart not this night, upon the morrow ye shall be slain!' And they marched away that night, and they betook themselves to an island of the sea.

Now the news of what had passed was brought to the men of Ulster. 'T is pity, O Conor!' said they, 'that the sons of Usnach should die in the land of foes, for the sake of an evil woman. It is better that they should come under thy protection, and that the (fated) slaying should be done here, and that they should come into their own land, rather than that they should fall at the hands of foes.' 'Let them come to us then', said Conor, 'and let men go as securities to them'. The news was brought to them.

'This is welcome news for us', they said; 'we will indeed come, and let Fergus come as our surety, and Dubhtach, and Cormac the son of Conor'. These then went to them, and they moved them to pass over the sea.

But at the contrivance of Conor, Fergus was pressed to join in an ale-feast, while the sons of Usnach were pledged to eat no food in Erin, until they had eaten the food of Conor. So Fergus tarried behind with Dubhtach and Cormac; and the sons of Usnach went on, accompanied by Fiacha, Fergus' son; until they came to the meadows around Emain.

Now at that time Eogan the son of Durthacht had come to Emain to make his peace with Conor, for they had for a long time been at enmity; and to him, and to the warmen of Conor, the charge was given that they should slay the sons of Usnach, in order that they should not come before the king. The sons of Usnach stood upon the level part of the meadows, and the women sat upon the ramparts of Emain. And Eogan came with his warriors across the meadow, and the son of Fergus took his place by Naisi's side. And Eogan greeted them with a mighty thrust of his spear, and the spear brake Naisi's back in sunder, and passed through it. The son of Fergus made a spring, and he threw both arms around Naisi, and he brought him beneath himself to shelter him, while he threw himself down above him; and it was thus that Naisi was slain, through the body of the son of Fergus. Then there began a murder throughout the meadow, so that none escaped who did not fall by the points of the spears, or the edge of the sword, and Deirdre was brought to Conor to be in his power, and her arms were bound behind her back.

Now the sureties who had remained behind, heard what had been done, even Fergus and Dubhtach, and

Cormac. And thereon they hastened forward, and they forthwith performed great deeds. Dubhtach slew, with one thrust of his spear, Mane a son of Conor, and Fiachna the son of Feidelm, Conor's daughter; and Fergus struck down Traigthren, the son of Traiglethan, and his brother. And Conor was wroth at this, and he came to the fight with them; so that upon that day three hundred of the men of Ulster fell. And Dubhtach slew the women of Ulster; and ere the day dawned, Fergus set Emain on fire. Then they went away into exile, and betook them to the land of Connaught to find shelter with Ailill and Maev, for they knew that that royal pair would give them good entertainment. To the men of Ulster the exiles showed no love: three thousand stout men went with them; and for sixteen years never did they allow cries of lamentation and of fear among the Ulstermen to cease: each night their vengeful forays caused men to quake, and to wail.

Deirdre lived on for a year in the household of Conor; and during all that time she smiled no smile of laughter; she satisfied not herself with food or with sleep, and she raised not her head from her knee. And if anyone brought before her people of mirth, she used to speak thus[1]:

'Though fair to you seems the keen band of heroes
who march into Emain that they lately left
more stately was the return to their home
of the three heroic sons of Usnach.

Naisi, with mead of delicious hazel-nuts
(came), to be bathed by me at the fire,
Ardan, with an ox or boar of excellence,
Aindle, a faggot on his stately back.

[1] We give the literal rendering of the verses, Leahy, *op. cit.* 187.

Though sweet be the excellent mead to you
which is drunk by the son of Ness, the rich in
[strife,
there has been known to me, ere now, leaping over
[a bank,
frequent sustenance which was sweeter.

When the noble Naisi spread out
a cooking-hearth on hero-board of tree,
sweeter than any food dressed under honey
was what was captured by the son of Usnach'.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .[1]

'Whom dost thou hate most', said Conor, 'of those whom thou now seest?'

'Thee thyself', she answered, 'and with thee Eogan the son of Durthacht.'

'Then', said Conor, 'thou shalt dwell with Eogan for a year'; and he gave Deirdre over into Eogan's hand.

Now upon the morrow they went away over the festal plain of Macha, and Deirdre sat behind Eogan in the chariot; and the two who were with her were the two men whom she would never willingly have seen together upon the earth, and as she looked upon them, 'Ha, Deirdre', said Conor, 'it is the same glance that a ewe gives when between two rams that thou sharest now between me and Eogan!' Now there was a great rock of stone in front of them, and Deirdre struck her head upon that stone, and she shattered her head, and so she died.

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[1] The prose is resumed *op. cit.* 101—2.

B. THE MEETING OF LIADAIN AND CURITHIR[1].

Liadain of the Corco Dubne[2], a poetess, went visiting into the country of Connaught. There Curithir Otter's son[3], of Connaught, himself a poet, made an ale-feast for her.

'Why should not we two unite, Liadain?' saith Curithir. 'A son of us two would be famous'.

'Do not let us do so', saith she, 'lest my round of visiting be ruined for me. If you will come for me again at my home, I shall go with you'.

That fell so. Southward he went, and a single gillie behind him with his poet's cloak in a bag upon his back, while Curithir himself was in a poor cloak. And there were spear heads in the bag also. He went till he was at the well beside Liadain's court. There he took his crimson cloak about him, and the heads were put upon their shafts, and he stood brandishing them.

---

[1] 'The story has reached us in two late MS. copies only (Harl. 5280, p. 26a—26b [Ha] and H. 3. 18, p. 759). But that it nevertheless enjoyed some popularity in earlier times I conclude from the fact that in the introduction to the song of the Old Woman of Beare, Liadain is mentioned as one of the celebrated women of Corkaguiney (see *Otia Merseiana* I, p. 121) and that one of the quatrains contained in our story is quoted as an example of its metre (treochair) in a metrical treatise of the tenth century (v. *Irische Texte* III, p. 16 § 39 and p. 45. § 63.' K. Meyer: *Liadain and Curithir, An Irish Love-story of the ninth century*, London 1902, p. 8—9. I am deeply indebted to Professor Meyer for permission to reprint the story as a whole. The few slight changes from the published translation are made by him. The reader is referred to the preface of his edition for the linguistic reasons for dating the poem in the ninth century. The notes, except those in brackets, are Professor Kuno Meyer's.

[2] A barony in county Kerry, now Corkaguiney.

[3] The name of the father of Curithir, Doborchu, means 'Otter' (Welsh Dyfrge).

Then he saw Mac Da Cherda[1] coming towards him, a fool, the son of Maelochtraig, son of Dinertach, of the Dessi of Munster. He would go dryshod across sea and land alike. Chief poet he was and the fool of all Ireland.

He went up to Curithir.

'Well met!' said Mac Da Cherda.

'So be it!' said Curithir.

'Are you the owner of the court?'

'Not I', said Curithir; 'whence are you yourself?'

'I am the poor fool of the Dessi, Mac Da Cherda is my name.'

'We have heard of you', said Curithir. 'Will you go into the court?'

'I will', said he.

'Do me a favour', said Curither. 'The tall woman who is there, tell her, using your own wits, to come to this well.'

'What is her name?'

'Liadain.'

'What is yours?'

'Curithir, Otter's son.'

'Right!' quoth he.

He goes into the house. She was there in her bedroom with four other women. Down he sat, but no notice was taken of him.

'T was then he said:

'The mansion
Which the pillars support —
If any there be who have made a tryst,
The behest for them is till sunset.

[1] As to this character, see the *Vision of Mac Conglinne*, ed. K. Meyer, London 1892, p. 131, and Todd, *Book of Hymns* I, p. 88. He was called 'Boy of Two Arts', 'quia nempe nunc extreme fatuus, mox summe prudens' (Colgan).

O well which art before the house,
It were time some one should visit thee,
Around it larks
Fair, hesitating (?), take flight.

Darkness is on my eyes,
I make nothing of indications,
So that I call Liadain (the Grey Lady)
Every woman whom I do not know.

O woman with the firm foot,
Thy like for great fame I have not found:
Under nun's veil will not be known
A woman with more sense.

The son of the beast[1]
That stays at night under pools,
As he waits for you,
Pale-grey feet with points support him.'

It is after this she went with Curithir, and they put themselves[2] under the spiritual direction[3] of Cummine the Tall, the son of Fiachna.

'Good', said Cummine. 'It is many of my morsels that are offered up. The power of soul-friendship be upon you! Whether for you shall it be seeing, or talking together?'

'Talking for us!' said Curithir. 'What will come of it will be better. We have ever been looking at each other.'

So whenever he went around the grave-stones of the saints, her cell was closed upon her. In the

[1] A play on Curithir's patronymic Mac Doborchon, i. e. Otter's son.
[2] She put herself, *Ha.*
[3] Literally, 'soul-friendship.

same way his would be closed upon him whenever she went.

'Tis then she said:

'Curithir, once the poet,
I loved; the profit has not reached me:
Dear lord of two grey feet,
It will be alas to be without their company [1]
[for ever!

The flagstone to the south of the oratory
Upon which is he who was poet once,
It is there I often go each day,
At eve after the triumph of prayer.

He shall have neither cow
Nor yearlings nor heifers [2],
Never a mate shall be [3]
At the right hand of him who once was
[a poet.'

Curithir says:

'Beloved is the dear voice that I hear,
I dare not welcome it!
But this only do I say:
Beloved is this dear voice!'

Says the woman:

'The voice which comes to me through the
[wattled wall,
It is right for it to blame me:
What the voice does to me, is
It will not let me sleep.'

---

[1] Without his company, *H.*

[2] i.e. he shall have neither wife nor children, male or female.

[3] Literally, 'there shall be no thigh bone'.

[She expostulates with Cummine and exculpates herself.]

'Thou man, ill it is what thou dost,
To name me with Curithir:
He from the brink of Lough Seng[1],
I from Kil-Conchinn[2].'

'Sleep by each other to-night!' said Cummine. 'And let a little scholar[3] go between you lest you do any folly'.

It was then Curithir said:

'If it is one night you say
I am to sleep with Liadain, —
A layman who would sleep the night
Would deem it a great thing: the night
[would not be lost.'

It was then Liadain said:

'If it is one night you say
I am to sleep with Curithir, —
Though we gave a year to it,
There would (still) be something about
[which we might talk.'

They sleep by each other that night. On the morrow the little boy is brought to Cummine to be examined on soul and conscience.

'You must not conceal anything', said Cummine; 'I shall kill you if you do.'

---

[1] A lake in Connaught.

[2] The Ui Maic Iar-Conchinn are mentioned as a tribe in Corkaguiney. v. *Otia Merseiana* I, p. 121.

[3] Literally 'a little reader' or 'student' [cf. supra, VI D 2 i].

It is indifferent to him how he dies: — 'I shall flog him if he confess.'

After that Curithir was taken to another church. It was then he said:

'Of late
Since I parted from Liadain,
Long as a month every day,
Long as a year every month.'

Liadain says:

'If Curithir to-day
Is gone to the scholars,
Alas for the sense he will make
To any who do not know him.'

Cummine says:

'What you say is not well,
Liadain, wife of Curithir.
Curithir was here, he was not mad,
Any more than before he came.'

[Liadain repudiates the term 'wife'.]

'That Friday[1]
It was no camping on pastures of honey[2],
Upon the fleeces of my white couch[3]
Between the arms of Curithir.'

He however went on a pilgrimage until he came to Kil-Letrech in the land of the Dessi. She went seeking him and said:

---

[1] This stanza seems to refer to the night she was allowed to spend with Curithir.

[2] Literally, 'out-spanning on a honey-field'.

[3] Literally 'little skin, rug'.

'Joyless
The bargain I have made!
The heart of him I loved I wrung.

'Twas madness
Not to do his pleasure
Were there not the fear of the king of
[Heaven.

To him the way he has wished
Was great gain,
To go past the pains of Hell into Paradise.

'Twas a trifle
That wrung Curithir's heart against me.
To him great was my gentleness.

I am Liadain
Who loved Curithir:
It is true as they say.

A short while I was
In the company of Curithir:
Sweet was my intimacy with him.

The music of the forest
Would sing to me when with Curithir,
Together with the voice of the purple sea.

Would that
Nothing whatever of all I might do
Should wring the heart of Curithir
[against me!

Conceal it not!
He was the love of my heart,
If I loved every other.

A roaring flame
Dissolved this heart of mine, —
Without him surely I shall not live'.

But how she had wrung his heart was the haste with which she had taken the veil.

When he heard that she was coming from the west, he went in a coracle upon the sea, and took to strange lands and pilgrimage, so that she never saw him more. 'Now he is gone!' she said.

The flagstone upon which he was wont to pray, she was upon it till she died. Her soul went to Heaven. And that was the flagstone that was put over her face.

Thus far the meeting of Liadain and Curithir.

C. THE STORY OF AILILL AND ETAIN[1].

Now a year after Eochaid (Airemon) had obtained the sovereignty, he sent out his commands to the men of Ireland that they should come to Tara to hold festival therein, in order that there should be adjusted the taxes and the imposts that should be set upon them, so that these might be settled for a period of five years. And the one answer that the men of Ireland made to Eochaid was that they would not make for the king that assembly which is the Festival of of Tara until he found for himself a queen, for there

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[1] Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte* I, 113 — 33. The story is mentioned in the tenth century list of tales in the *Book of Leinster*. It is contained in the *Leabhar na hUidhri*, a manuscript written about 1100. By the kind permission of the translator the following extracts are from A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, *op. cit.* I. 23 — 32.

was no queen to stand by the king's side when Eochaid first assumed the kingdom.

Then Eochaid sent out the messengers of each of the five provinces to go through the land of Ireland to seek for that woman or girl who was the fairest to be found in Erin; and he bade them to note that no woman should be to him as a wife, unless she had never before been as a wife to any one of the men of the land. And at the Bay of Cichmany a wife was found for him, and her name was Etain the daughter of Etar; and Eochaid brought her thereafter to his palace, for she was a wife meet for him, by reason of her form, and her beauty, and her descent, and her brilliancy, and her youth, and her renown.

Now Finn the son of Findloga had three sons, all sons of a queen, even Eochaid Fedlech, and Eochaid Airemm, and Ailill Anguba. And Ailill Anguba was seized with love for Etain at the Festival of Tara, after she had been wedded to Eochaid; since he for a long time gazed upon her. And, since such gazing is a token of love, Ailill gave much blame to himself for the deed he was doing, yet it helped him not. For his longing was too strong for his endurance, and for this cause he fell into a sickness; and, that there might be no stain upon his honor, his sickness was concealed by him from all, neither did he speak of it to the lady herself. Then Fachtna, the chief physician of Eochaid, was brought to look upon Ailill, when it was understood that his death might be near, and thus the physician spoke to him: 'One of the two pangs that slay a man, and for which there is no healing by leechcraft, is upon thee; either the pangs of envy or the pangs of love.' And Ailill refused to confess the cause of his illness to the physician, for he was withheld by shame; and he was

left behind in Frémain of Tethba to die; and Eochaid went upon his royal progress throughout all Erin, and he left Etain behind him to be near Ailill, in order that the last rites of Ailill might be done by her; that she might cause his grave to be dug, and that the keen might be raised for him, and that his cattle should be slain for him as victims. And to the house where Ailill lay in his sickness went Etain each day to converse with him, and his sickness was eased by her presence; and, so long as Etain was in that place where he was, so long was he accustomed to gaze at her.

Now Etain observed all this, and she bent her mind to discover the cause, and one day when they were in the house together, Etain asked of Ailill what was the cause of his sickness. 'My sickness', said Ailill, 'comes from my love for thee'. — 'T is pity', said she, 'that thou hast so long kept silence, for thou couldst have been healed long since, had we but known of its cause.' — 'And even now could I be healed', said Ailill, 'did I but find favor in thy sight.' — 'Thou shalt find favor', she said. Each day after they had spoken thus with each other, she came to him for the fomenting of his head, and for the giving of the portion of food that was required by him, and for the pouring of water over his hands; and three weeks after that, Ailill was whole. Then he said to Etain: 'Yet is the completion of my cure at your hands lacking to me; when may it be that I shall have it?' — 'T is tomorrow it shall be', she answered him, ('but it shall not be in the abode of the lawful monarch of the land that this felony shall be done)[1]. Thou shalt come', she said, 'on the morrow to yonder

[1]) Interpolation.

hill that riseth beyond the fort: there shall be the tryst that thou desirest.'

Now Ailill lay awake all that night, and he fell into a sleep in the hour when he should have kept his tryst, and he woke not from his sleep until the third hour of the day. And Etain went to her tryst, and she saw a man before her; like was his form to the form of Ailill, he lamented the weakness that his sickness had caused him, and he gave her such answers as it was fitting that Ailill should give. But at the third hour of the day, Ailill himself awoke: and he had for a long time remained in sorrow when Etain came into the house where he was; and as she approached him: 'What maketh thee so sorrowful?' said Etain. — 'T is because thou wert sent to tryst with me', said Ailill, 'and I came not to thy presence, and sleep fell upon me, so that I have but now awakened from it; and surely my chance of being healed hath now gone from me.' — 'Not so, indeèd', answered Etain, 'for there is a morrow to follow to-day.' And upon that night he took his watch with a great fire before him, and with water beside him to put upon his eyes.

At the hour that was appointed for the tryst, Etain came for her meeting with Ailill, and she saw the same man, like unto Ailill, whom she had seen before; and Etain went to the house, and saw Ailill still lamenting. And Etain came three times, and yet Ailill kept not his tryst, and she found the same man there every time. 'T is not for thee', she said, 'that I came to this tryst: why comest thou to meet me? And as for him whom I would have met, it was for no sin or evil desire that I came to meet him; but it was fitting for the wife of the king of Ireland to rescue the man from the sickness under which he

hath so long been oppressed . . . . Why', said she, 'what is thy name?' — 'T is easy to say', he answered, 'Midir of Bri Leith is my name. . . . It was indeed myself', said Midir, 'who long ago put beneath the mind of Ailill the love that he hath felt for thee, so that his blood ceased to run, and his flesh fell away from him: it was I also who have taken away his desire, so that there might be no hurt to thine honor . . .'

After all this Etain departed to the house. 'It hath indeed been good, this our tryst', said Ailill, 'for I have been cured of my sickness; moreover, in no way has thine honor been stained.' — 'T is glorious that it hath fallen out so', answered Etain.

And afterwards Eochaid came back from his royal progress, and he was grateful that his brother's life had been preserved, and he gave all thanks to Etain for the great deed she had done while he was away from his palace.

END.

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ERRATA.

Page 20, line 23: part read past.
„ 38, „ 29: hermit „ priest.
„ 40, „ 30: delete King.
„ 43, „ 34: „ of Montrelles.
„ 194, last line: *Tantris* read Pro.
„ 206, note 1, and page 258, note 1: *untergeschobenen* read *unterschobenen.*
„ 261, line 22: delete and Eilhart.

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