Merlin and Ganieda

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MERLIN AND GANIEDA.

Sundry examinations of the twelfth-century Latin poem, the *Vita Merlini*,[1] now generally attributed by scholars to Geoffrey of Monmouth,[2] have shown that it is composed of material drawn from a great variety of sources blended with unusual freedom, and that a student should approach the separate incidents, hitherto undiscussed, somewhat sceptical of finding in them undistorted early tradition.[3] This is particularly true of three episodes, or rather parts, of the poem, that at first do not appear to be closely related, but in which there are to be detected traces of a fairy-mistress theme told of Merlin and Ganieda long before the time of the French prose romances, our earliest extant sources for the familiar story of Merlin's love for the fay Niniane.

The most direct indication of the fairy-mistress theme is found in an episode altogether disconnected with the rest of the poem.

Merlin is dwelling in retirement in the Caledonian forest, and has been enjoying a discourse on the wonders of the universe from the lips of the bard Telgesinus. A diversion is created by the appearance of a madman, whom Merlin recognizes as a companion of earlier days. He accordingly relates to Telgesinus the story of a love of his youth, a maiden with whom he had passed many years of happiness, but whose favors he had finally spurned. She sought revenge by placing beneath a tree beside a fountain that she knew he would pass, certain poisoned apples, the taste of which would arouse frenzy. Merlin came to the fountain with some companions, but before he tasted the fruit his comrades chanced to partake of it. Instantly they were cast into a state of brute-like madness; like dogs they began to bite and tear their own flesh, and dashed howling into the woods. One of the sufferers was Maeldinus, the madman whom the two prophets have met. Merlin bids him drink of the water of the fountain by the tree, and the draught immediately restores his reason.[4]

Transforming apples that are administered in revenge for spurned love have a place in folk-tales that are parallel in their main theme to this story. For example, in the modern Celtic tale, *The Three Soldiers*,[5] a soldier, John, by standing on a wishing towel is transported with a princess whom he loves to a fairy island, where while he is asleep, his love deserts him. He finds on the island two kinds of apples, "and when he would eat one sort of them they would put a deer's head on him; and when he would eat another sort of them, they would put it off him." He takes a supply of these apples with him from the island, in disguise seeks the princess, and gives her the dangerous variety of fruit. Her hand is promised by her father to him who shall remove the deer's head. John at once administers the apples that serve as an antidote, and then gives himself the satisfaction of refusing to marry the princess. In a parallel Celtic tale, *The Son of the Knight of the Green Vesture*,[6] one variety of apples is beautiful, the other ugly. The former makes the feet of the eater shake and his flesh melt from off his bones; the latter puts an end to these unhappy effects, and also has the power of healing. In still another version of the same theme, one kind of apples makes a wood of thatch grow about the eater's head; the other kind makes the wood vanish. Again the disastrous apples make the eater's nose grow through a forest and fifty miles beyond it.[7]

These modern Highland stories, then, which obviously could not have been influenced by the

[1] Ed. Michel and Wright, Paris and London, 1837.

[2] For a discussion of the authorship and date of this poem (ca. 1148), see *Vita Merlini*, pp. xcv ff; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, London, 1883–1893, I, 278 ff., 288; Mead, Introduction to *Merlin*, ed. Wheatley, London, 1875–1899, p. xciii; Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, XV (1899–1900), 332–336.

[3] See Ward, *Romania*, XXII (1893), 509; Lot, as above, 535; Brown, *Revue Celtique*, XXII (1901), 339 ff.

[4] Vv. 1386–1457.

[5] See Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, London, 1890, I, 181 ff.

[6] See MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, London, 1891, pp. 227 ff., and note.

[7] See MacDougall, as above, note; Campbell, *Popular Tales*, I, 195–198; Grimm, *Kinder- u. Hausmärchen*, Göttingen, 1856, III, 201 ff.; cf. MacInnes and Nutt, *Folk and Hero Tales*, London, 1890, pp. 87, 91.

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Vita Merlini, contain a theme that is substantially at least as old as the twelfth century; moreover, they are so much the more coherent that they evidently show a purer form of the narrative than that in the Latin poem, which, unlike the Celtic stories fails to satisfy dramatic justice. We should certainly feel that we were nearer original material in the *Vita Merlini*, if the maiden's apples had taken effect upon Merlin, and not upon the innocent Maeldinus.[8] An episode occurring in a much later source, an early thirteenth-century version of the Middle High German poem, *Wolfdietrich*,[9] shows us more plainly what the outline of the real conclusion doubtless was. Here Else, an uncouth maiden gifted with magic power, comes one night in a repulsive form to the hero Wolfdietrich, and begs for his love. In revenge for his scornful refusal, she drives him mad by means of a spell, and he henceforth lives like a beast in the woods. It is only by bathing in a certain enchanted fountain that he is restored to his former condition. Then he is prepared to love Else, who by a timely plunge into the same fountain has been transformed into the most beautiful maiden in the world.

These parallels naturally suggest, in the first place, that the apples of Merlin's revengeful love were originally not poisonous, but magic fruit; and in the next place that, since other-world fruit, as is well known,[10] if tasted by a mortal puts him at once under the fairy control, they were used, as the other-world maiden, Else, used her spell, by a fairy mistress who wished to compel her truant lover to yield her the love that she desired. The poet's justification for allowing the fickle Merlin to go unpunished is that, as we shall see, he has already been represented in the poem as in a state of frenzy from another cause; therefore if Geoffrey were using a source in which the faithless lover was the victim, it behooved him, rather than to

[8] For a similar Irish story cf. *Acallamh na Senorach*, *The Colloquy of the Ancients* (see *Silva Gadelica*, ed. and trans. O'Grady, London and Edinburg, 1892, II, 220, 221), which was probably composed in the thirteenth century, and embodies earlier material. One day as Finn and his warriors are assembled near a certain ford, a beautiful maiden draws near them, and tells Finn that she is of fairy birth and has come hither to seek his love. Finn promptly rejects her offer; whereupon she hands him a vessel of silver full of delicious mead, the taste of which casts him into a frenzy, and inspires him to taunt his comrades bitterly with all their mishaps in war. It is long before "the venom died out of Finn's tongue so that his sense and memory returned to him."

[9] *Ortnit u. die Wolfdietriche*, ed. Amelung and Jänicke, Berlin, 1871–1873, I, *Wolfdietrich B*, II, st. 308–343. For the date see Paul, *Grundriss der germ. Phil.*, Strassburg, 1901, II, i, 251. For a discussion of this episode see Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, ch. IX; cf. p. 212.

[10] An early example of the magic power of Celtic other-world fruit is found in the *Echtra Condla*, which contains material very much earlier than the twelfth century; see Zimmer, *Zs. f. deutsches Alterthum*, XXXIII (1889), 262 ff. See also *ib.*, 155, 156; Stokes and Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1884–1900, III, i, 203; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854, p. 425; O'Looney, *Trans. Ossianic Soc.*, IV (1856), 249; G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 50; Schofield, *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Boston, 1892–, V, 224; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, pp. 176, 177; Bugge, *Iduns Aebler*, in *Arkiv f. nordisk Filologi*, V, 1 ff.

Brandl has pointed out that the same kernel is contained in the incident from the *Vita Merlini* and in one that is told of the thirteenth-century Scottish prophet and bard, Thomas of Erceldoune, or Thomas Rhymer, in whose legend there are not a few parallels to that of Merlin, and whose name is associated with Merlin's in many collections of prophecies (see *Thomas of Erceldoune*, ed. Brandl, Berlin, 1880, pp. 23, 24; cf. further *ib.*, pp. 21–26; *Thomas of Erceldoune*, ed. Murray, London, 1875, pp. XXX ff.; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 328–337; Mead, Introduction to Wheatley's *Merlin*, p. lxxiv). "On a mery mornynge of Maye" Thomas, lying in the shade of a tree, was visited by the Elf Queen, to whom he lost no time in plighting his faith, and whom he gladly followed to her other-world abode. She led him to a fair garden, but as he put out his hand to pluck some of the fruit growing there in rich abundance, she forbade him, and warned him that if he should gather it his soul would go to the fire of hell (see vv. 187–192). For similar examples of other-world fruit see *Livre d' Artus, P.*, summarized by Freymond, *Zs. f. fr. Sprache u. Lit.*, XVII (1895), §§ 147, 211, 230, 235–242; Chrétien de Troies, *Erec*, ed. Foerster, Halle, 1890, vv. 5748 ff.; Renier, *Mem. della R. A. delle Scienze di Torino*, Serie 2, XLI, 445; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Boston and New York, 1882–1898, I, 319. In *La Mort Artus* (summarized by P. Paris, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1868–1877, V, 341; cf. Malory, Bk. XVIII, ch. 3; *Li Chantari di Lancellotto*, ed. Birch, London, 1874, pp. 14 ff.) we read of a poisoned apple destined for Gawain by a knight, Avalon, who wishes to take vengeance for a former wrong,—a story that, owing to the knight's other-world name, looks suspiciously like an account of an other-world apple, rationalized as the episode in the *Vita Merlini* has been.

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complicate Merlin's condition by twofold madness, to draw into his account another personage who should endure the effects of the magic fruit. Moreover Merlin has previously been restored to reason by a draught from a wonderful fountain. (On parallelism in incident as a characteristic of Geoffrey's method, see Fletcher, *Publ. of Modern Language Association*, XVI (1901), 472, n. 1.)

Ferdinand Lot in his recent study of the *Vita Merlini* calls attention to the fact that the name given to the madman, Maeldinus, brings to mind that of Maelduin, the hero of the other-world adventures related in the *Voyage of Maelduin*, an eighth or ninth century specimen of the Celtic *imrama* literature. "Que vient faire là ce nom," adds Lot, "on ne sait."[11] Maelduin in his famous voyage to the other world again and again comes across marvellous apples,[12] none of which, it is true, have the same quality as those of which Maeldinus partook to his sorrow. Once, however, when he tastes other-world fruit, he falls the principal victim to its power. On the twenty-ninth island that he visits, he and his comrades draw lots as to which one of their number shall test the qualities of some fruit that they find growing there; the lot falls on Maelduin, who after drinking of the juice of the fruit is cast into an enchanted slumber, and lies for some time in a druidic trance.[13] Quite possibly with this story in mind, Geoffrey, when induced by the exigencies of his narrative to give a new conclusion to the incident, named the special sufferer in his episode, Maeldinus. The introduction of the name gives some additional ground for assuming that Geoffrey did not have before him a simple tale of poisoned apples. In that case there would have been no special reason why the name of a famous hero of other-world adventure should have occurred to his mind; whereas, if his original were a story of fairy fruit, he might appropriately have thought of using Maelduin's name.

When we examine the story of Merlin's madness, to which I have referred above, we find that the details support, rather than controvert, the hypothetical fairy-mistress theme.

Merlin is represented as a prophet and king of the South Welsh, who at the time that the poem opens is fighting with allies against Guennolous, king of Scotland. The forces of Guennolous are routed, but in the contest many on the side of the allies fall, among others three brethren of the leader (*tresque ducis fratres*). Merlin bursts into violent lamentations at the sight. He buries the three brethren, then abandons himself to grief; he tears his hair, refuses food, and fills the air with his cries.

Et fugit ad silvas, nec vult fugiendo videri,
Ingrediturque nemus, gaudetque latere sub ornis;
Miraturque feras pascentes gramina saltus.
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu praeterit illas.
Utitur herbarum radicibus; utitur herbis;
Utitur arboreo fructu, morisque rubeti.
Fit silvester homo, quasi silvis editus esset,
Inde per aestatem totam; nullique repertus,
Oblitusque sui, cognatorumque suorum,
Delituit, silvis obductus more ferino.[14]

Merlin's madness and his life in the woods bring vividly to mind a very common situation in the romances and in much earlier material, that represents a hero, who is deprived of his reason subsequent to his loss of a fairy loved-one through some fault of his own, as fleeing to the forest, where he lives the life of a madman. The Celtic hero Cuchulinn, for example, is forced to renounce his fairy mistress, Fand, but when he has seen her depart from him, he becomes the victim of frenzy; he wanders in the mountains without food or drink, and is restored to reason only when the great enchanter, Manannan mac Lir, has shaken his cloak of forgetfulness between him and Fand.[15] After Partonopeus has been, as he thinks, finally separated from the fay Melior owing to his disregard of her will, he gives himself up to despair; he neither eats nor drinks, he wastes away from grief, and turning a deaf ear to the consolations of his friends, resolves to flee with the greatest secrecy to the Ardennes, and yield himself a prey to the monsters of the forest. Here he lives until he is found by Melior's sister and led back to his lady.[16] The young hero Florimont, too, when he has been separated from his loved-one, the fay of the Ile Celée, passes through a period of *folie* in the woods,

[11] *Annales de Bretagne*, XV, 533.

[12] See *Zs. f. deutsches Alterthum*, XXXIII, 155, 156, 169.

[13] *Ib.*, 168.

[14] Vv. 74–83.

[15] For the story of Cuchulinn and Fand, see the German translation of the *Serglige Conchulaind* (*Cuchulinn's Sick Bed*), by Zimmer, *Zs. f. vergleichende Sprachforschung*, XXVIII (1887), 595 ff.; the French by D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Epopéé Celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, I, 174–216.

[16] *Partonopeus*, ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1834, vv. 5319 ff., especially vv. 5367 ff.

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whence he emerges to enter upon a life of adventure in war.[17] After Yvain remembers that he has not kept faith with Laudine and realizes that he has lost her love, he falls a prey to a similar madness. He secretly escapes from his friends, eludes their pursuit, and flees far from them into the woods, *com hom forsenez et sauvage.* Here he lives, until he is cured by a magic balm applied by some kindly ladies who find him in his sorry plight.[18]

These examples show us that the despair and the experiences in the woods attributed to Merlin by Geoffrey may be features derived from the same type of narrative as they; such a madness, in fact, may well have had a place in the original fairy episode that we have just seen possibly lies behind Geoffrey's version of the poisoned apples. We should have reason to doubt such a theory, if Geoffrey assigned a more satisfactory cause to Merlin's madness. Lot[19] believes it probable that in several details and in two episodes of the *Vita Merlini* Geoffrey was using traditions concerning a mad prophet, Lailoken,[20] who had been guilty of stirring up strife among his countrymen, and in consequence by a decree from Heaven had been banished to the Caledonian forest, where he passed a solitary life. Lot points out that, while Lailoken's madness and banishment have been visited upon him as a punishment for his own misdeeds, and hence have a consistent place in his history, Merlin's madness is forced into the story of the *Vita Merlini.* Melancholy though the occasioning circumstances are, in an age of warfare and after a struggle that has ended successfully for his side, Merlin's frenzy and persistent refusal to resume the ways of men form an extravagance of narration that does not, like the madness of Cuchulinn, belong to an accepted type of story. There is no evidence that Merlin and Lailoken had been identified in any way previous to the *Vita Merlini,*[21] and if we accept Lot's view that the story of Lailoken probably influenced Geoffrey, we may with him regard the association as the product of the poet's own imagination. Common prophetic power might, of course, have given sufficient reason for Geoffrey to transfer to Merlin, king and prophet, events from the life of Lailoken, the frenzied inhabitant of the Caledonian forest; but if the Merlin tradition at the time when the *Vita Merlini* was being written already contained some tale of Merlin's madness in the woods, Geoffrey would surely have had a more natural point of departure for an association of the prophet with the mad Lailoken.

For further traces of a fairy-mistress theme we should turn to Ganieda.

Merlin's sister, Ganieda, wife of Rodarchus, king of the Cambrians, tries to induce her brother to give up his solitary existence in the Caledonian forest, but her words are all in vain, and except for two brief visits at court,[22] he spends his life in the woods. Ganieda shows great solicitude for his welfare; at his bidding she herself builds a house in the forest for him, and comes frequently

[17] Aimon de Varennes, *Florimont,* summarized by P. Paris, *MSS. franç. du Bibl. du Roi,* Paris, 1836–1848, III, 26 ff.

[18] Chrétien de Troies, *Yvain,* ed. Foerster, Halle, 1887, vv. 2774 ff. Cf. the madness of Fergus, Guillaume le Clerc, *Fergus,* ed. Martin, Halle, 1872, vv. 3636 ff. See also Löseth, *Le Roman de Tristan,* Paris, 1890, §§ 80, 101–104; Paris, *R. T. R.,* IV, 65 ff., 347, 348; *Sir Orfeo,* ed. Zielke, Breslau, 1880, vv. 329 ff.; Kittredge, *Am. Journal Phil.,* VII, (1886), 188.

[19] *Annales de Bretagne,* XV, 336 ff.

[20] Lailoken's life is known to us through two fragments from a Cottonian manuscript in the British Museum (*Titus A.* XIX, fol. 74–75), that have been published by Ward, *Romania,* XXII, 504 ff.

[21] See Lot, *Annales de Bretagne,* XV, 340, 343–347.

[22] On one of these occasions (vv. 198 ff.) after Merlin has come to court, he is so eager to return to the forest, that Rodarchus orders him to be put into chains. There upon Merlin sinks into the deepest gloom and refuses to speak a word or to smile, until he sees the king remove with a jest a leaf caught in the hair of Ganieda, who has entered the hall. At this Merlin smiles, and when he is begged by Rodarchus to give the reason, he explains that he smiled because the king is more faithful to Ganieda than she is to him; for the leaf had fallen on her hair, while she listened to the words of a lover whom she had met in a grove. The queen protests that the charge is false, and at once arranges a series of tests with the object of convicting her brother of untruthfulness.

An examination of this episode, will be more appropriate in my projected study of Merlin. For the present purpose, however, it should be noted that the story is incomplete so far as Ganieda is concerned, for, although her tests serve to show the infallibility of Merlin's words, nothing further is said about his charge against her, nor does she harbor resentment against him, apparently, because of it. In short we can derive little, if any, information as to Ganieda herself from the incident.

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with supplies of food to visit him. Later she takes up her abode with him in the woods. On one occasion she is represented as becoming inspired, and bursting into prophetic utterances. The poem closes leaving Ganieda and Merlin in their woodland retreat.

The same criticism that is true of the place occupied by Merlin's madness in the scheme of the poem may justly be made of Ganieda's part. She offers to leave her husband and the court, and to follow Merlin to the woods and dwell there with him—a state of affairs that is not given a sufficient motive anywhere in the story. At Merlin's suggestion Ganieda goes back to court, only to discover the truth of his prophecy that she will find her husband dead. Accordingly she decides to return to Merlin, and we cannot be blind to the fact that Rodarchus dies at a suspiciously felicitous time for the poet to bring Ganieda back gracefully to the forest.[23] Furthermore, Ganieda displays extraordinary architectural proclivities. Merlin bids her build for him a house in the Caledonian forest:—

> Tu quoque saepe veni, soror o dilecte, meamque
> Tunc poteris relevare famem potuque ciboque.
> . . . .
> Paruit ergo soror, nam iussam condidit aulam
> Atque domos alias, et quicquid iusserat illi.[24]

Moreover, the prophecy that is put into Ganieda's lips[25] is so political in its contents that she herself appears to be serving simply as a mouthpiece for utterances that the poet desired to make.[26] Her part in the story, resolved into its simplest elements, is that of a woman gifted with prophetic power, who builds a house in the forest for Merlin, supplies him with food and drink, and lives there happily with him.[27] This agrees exactly with the part of the fay in a very ordinary type of fairy-mistress story in Celtic and romantic material. A gallant young hero meets a beguiling maiden from the other world, who wins control over him and then builds for him a magic dwelling, where he finds mysterious supplies of food in accordance with his taste, and where his love remains ever with him, gratifying all his wishes and supplying all his needs.[28]

It may at first seem strange that if Geoffrey had before him a fairy-mistress story, he should have rationalized and distorted it in the manner indicated by the scattered passages from the *Vita Merlini* that I have noted. But one of the facts with which the student of fairy lore early becomes familiar is that the tendency of other-world material is regularly toward rationalization, and that a fay easily became in narrative a mortal woman gifted with certain unusual powers. Added to this, the *Vita Merlini* is, as I have said above, a heterogeneous poem, and an observation of the author's habitual methods shows that he adopts an independent treatment of popular material, which forbids us to look for a close adherence on his part to the versions that he had before him. In fact we know that Geoffrey in writing his *Historia Regum Britanniae* had cultivated the habit of combining material in a highly original fashion,[29] and therefore in a work that there is reason to believe came from his pen, we should expect just such combinations as we find in the *Vita Merlini*.[30] The author was in a receptive mood for tradition when he was writing his hexameters, but though he travelled far and wide for much of his material, at times he made some of it go a long way, and thriftily split up the doings of one original among several representatives. We are probably harboring no unjust suspicions, moreover, if we surmise that Geoffrey was governed on this occasion by a deeper reason than the mere pleasure of handling tradition boldly. He wrote the *Vita Merlini* with an eye to the ecclesiastical loaves and fishes at the disposal of Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln,[31] and it was

[23] See vv. 533–731. [24] Vv. 562 ff. [25] Vv. 1474–1517.

[26] See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 282; cf. *Romania*, XXII, 510.

[27] For an Anglesey tale to the effect that Merlin lived in a wild spot in the woods, where his sister kept house for him, see Rhŷs, *Hibbert Lectures*, London and Edinburgh, 1888, 159.

[28] See *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. Potvin, Mons, 1866–1871, vv. 22,645–22,781, an episode in which Philipot (*Romania*, XXV, 1896, 286 ff.) finds a parallel to the Merlin and Niniane story; see also *Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 13, pp. 208 ff.

For fays as builders of castles in romance, cf. also *Perceval le Gallois*, vv. 26,902 ff., 30,369 ff.

[29] See Schofield, *Publ. of Modern Language Association*, XVI (1901), 412 ff., 420.

[30] For further examples of Geoffrey's treatment of his material in the *Vita Merlini*, see Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, XV, 338–347; Brown, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 339 ff.; *Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 13, pp. 38 ff.

[31] See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 279–286.

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doubtless more discreet for him in composing a poem intended to attract a prelate's approval, to slip the fairy-mistress story out of sight under cover of prophetic frenzy, a solicitous sister, and a beautiful but dangerous love abandoned with the follies of youth.

In our only remaining source for early Merlin material beside Geoffrey's writings, namely the Welsh poems dealing with the bard Myrddin, we find nothing against the supposition that Geoffrey was responsible for the transformation of the fairy-mistress theme, and for making Ganieda Merlin's sister. These Welsh poems are of little assistance in an examination of the story with which we are concerned. Only the *Avallenau* [32] refers to a love of Myrddin's youth.

"Sweet apple-tree that luxuriantly grows!
Food I used to take at its base to please a fair maid,
When, with my shield on my shoulder, and my sword on my thigh,
I slept all alone in the woods of Celyddon.
. . . .
"Sweet apple-tree, which grows by the river-side!
With respect to it, the keeper will not thrive on its splendid fruit.
While my reason was not aberrant, I used to be around its stem
With a fair sportive maid, a paragon of slender form.
Ten years and forty, as the toy of lawless ones,
Have I been wandering in gloom and among sprites.[33]

In an interpolated text of the *Avallenau* [34] mention is made of a maiden with fair hair and pearly teeth, Gloywedd, to whose care the apple-garden is entrusted. These verses certainly give us meagre information, but they imply that with the bard Myrddin there was connected a love theme; furthermore, since we know that the shadow of an apple-tree is a favorite spot for other-world damsels to visit the mortal heroes of their choice, they also suggest that the maiden whom the bard met at the foot of an apple-tree was a fay.[35]

Neither are the Welsh sources liberal in their remarks about Myrddin's sister, Gwendydd, as they call her. From the *Avallenau* and the *Hoianau* [36] we gather that she is the wife of Rydderch, king of the Cambrians, and that her anger has been roused against Myrddin by the death of her son at his hands.[37]

Gwendydd loves me not, greets me not;
I am hated by the firmest minister of Rydderch; [38]
I have ruined his son and his daughter.
. . . .
I am not soothed with diversion, I am not visited by the fair.
Yet in the battle of Ardderyd golden was my torques,
Though I am now despised by her who is of the color of swans,[39]

In the *Kyvoesi*,[40] or *Dialogue between Myrddin and*

[32] Published with translation by Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Edinburgh, 1868, I, 370 ff., II, 18 ff. The poem is contained in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, which is dated by Skene (I, 3), probably in the reign of Henry II (cf. Mead, Introduction to *Merlin*, p. cvi); Lot (*Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 506, 507) dates the poem after 1150.

[33] Stanzas IV, VII.

[34] Published and translated by San Marte, *Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853, pp. 62–78; see stanza I.

[35] Lancelot is found sleeping in the shade of an apple-tree by three fays, who carry him away to a fairy castle, where they unsuccessfully invite him to select one of them for his *amie;* see Paris, *R. T. R.*, v, 303; *Lancelot*, ed. of 1513, summarized by Sommer, Malory, *Morte Darthur*, London, 1889–1891, III, 179; Malory, Bk. VI, ch. 3, 4; *Roman van Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1846–1849, I, vv. 13,635 ff. Tam Lin is found asleep under an apple-tree by the Elfin Queen, who takes him to her abode; see Child, *Ballads*, I, 350; cf. 340; IV, 456. See further Paris, *R. T. R.*, III, 326; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1900, p. 359; San Marte, *Sagen von Merlin*, p. 89; Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, II, 336, note on st. iv; Kittredge, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, VII, 190.

[36] Published and translated by Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 482 ff.; II, 21 ff. Skene regards the poem as a spurious production, written in imitation of the *Avallenau;* see *Four Ancient Books*, I, 223; cf. Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 508; De la Borderie, *L'Historien et le Prophète des Bretons*, Paris, 1884, p. 116.

[37] See Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 372, st. vi; 487, st. xv.

[38] Lot (*Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 521, note 1) explains these words as referring to Gwendydd.

[39] Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 371, st. v.

[40] Published and translated by Skene, *Four Ancient Books* I, 462 ff.; II, 218 ff. The poem is divided by Skene into three parts, composed respectively in the seventh, tenth, and twelfth centuries; it is dated by Stephens ca. 1077, by De la Borderie in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and by San Marte at an earlier date than the *Hoianau*, even if not than the *Avallenau;* see Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 512, 513, for citations of the above authorities, and a statement of their views; *ib.*, 518–520 for arguments in favor of assigning a date later than 1148.

A passing allusion is made to Gwendydd (*Servile is thy cry, thou Gwendydd*) in the *Gwasgardgerdd*, or *Fugitive Poem of Myrddin in his Grave* (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 481, xxvii), a poem of uncertain date, but regarded probably as belonging no earlier than the last third of the twelfth century; see Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, xv, 509 ff.

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his Sister Gwendydd, Gwendydd addresses Myrddin in flattering terms as her brother, and proceeds to examine him minutely in the history of North Wales.

None of these Welsh poems may with any assurance be said to antedate the *Vita Merlini*, and Lot has called attention to the fact that the influence of the *Vita Merlini* may be recognized in them. "Est-ce à dire que tout dans ces poèmes dérive de Gaufrei de Monmouth? Nous ne le pensons pas. Nous croyons au contraire que celui-ce a utilisé d'antiques traditions galloises, écrites ou orales, mais elles ne nous sont pas directement parvenues."[41] The suggestions that I have offered above in regard to Ganieda are altogether in harmony with such a view as this. Although with our present scanty knowledge of the true relation between the historic bard Myrddin and the Merlin of Geoffrey of Monmouth, we are treading here on debatable land, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in so far as the Welsh sources represent Gwendydd, wife of Rydderch, king of the Cambrians, as Myrddin's sister, they are using tradition which was started by Geoffrey's pen,[42] but that the maiden of the apple-tree doubtless belongs to the same early tradition which we have seen Geoffrey may have altered at his own discretion.

Whether Geoffrey found his story in a *bon lai Breton de Merlin*, such as we hear of in *Renart le Nouvel*,[43] we do not know; but of the contents of his original we may form a fairly clear idea. It doubtless told of Merlin's stay with an other-world maiden in a beautiful dwelling that she had herself built for him, of her anger against him because he had deserted her, forgotten her command, or disobeyed her will, of his frenzy at the knowledge that he was under the ban of her displeasure, and, probably, of his restoration by fairy agency to reason and to his loved-one's presence. Every striking alteration that Geoffrey makes in this material may be accounted for by the rationalizing tendency, by the introduction of popular story, by a moulding of the theme to fit the general structure of the poem, by his customary methods and personal aim. The early fairy-mistress story dies out of the extant Merlin material, and is succeeded by that of Niniane. Ganieda had been made Merlin's sister by Geoffrey's hand, and thus spoiled for romantic purposes. Under these conditions another fairy-mistress story, belonging to a popular type and developed along different lines, quite naturally took the place of that which Geoffrey had succeeded admirably in distorting.

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[41] *Annales de Bretagne*, XV, 520.

[42] Cf. *Ib.*, 520, 521, 533.

[43] See *Roman de Renart*, ed. Méon, Paris, 1826, II, vv. 2149, 2150.

PINDAR AND GOETHE.

Although it is almost universally admitted that the influence of Pindar may be traced in Goethe's early lyrics, there is much dispute as to the actual extent of this influence. W. Scherer[1] in referring to Goethe's odes of the years 1772–74 characterizes them as "gräzisierende Oden" and speaks of "gewaltsam schwungvoller Vortrag Pindarischer Gesänge." Loeper[2] finds the Pindaric influence manifested in *Wanderers Sturmlied* and in *Adler und Taube*. Düntzer admits[3] it only in *Wanderers Sturmlied*. A. Michaelis[4] believes that the poetical form of *Wanderers Sturmlied*, *Prometheus*, *Harzreise*, and *Ganymed* was derived from Pindar. The conclusions of Minor and Sauer,[5] who have given the most exhaustive discussion of the subject, may be summed up in the following four statements: 1, Goethe took Pindar, as he understood him, for his model in his odes *Wanderers Sturmlied* and *Adler und Taube*; 2, The diction of these odes is derived in part from Pindar; 3, Goethe borrowed from Pindar the run-on-line (enjambement) at the end of a stanza; 4, Pindar and Herder were the first to give him a clear conception of the importance of technical mastery of language for poetic purposes. We shall have occasion often to return to this treatise; it is again and again referred to as authoritative on the question at issue and on Goethe's early relations to Herder (cf. Weissenfels, *Goethe in St. u. Dr.*, 1894, p. 140, foot-note; R.

[1] *Geschichte der deutsch. Lit.*, 5. ed., 1885, p. 488.

[2] *Goethe's Gedichte*, 2d. part, 1883, pp. 320–21, 325.

[3] *Erläuterungen z. d. deutsch. Klassikern*, vol. 70–72, 1876, p. 321 ff.

[4] "Goethe u. d. Antike" in *Strassb. Goethevorträge*, 1899, p. 121.

[5] *Studien zur Goethe-Philologie*, 1880, pp. 42, 82–84, 99 ff., 102.

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