

Perceval abode in the Castle, except in so far as his toilsome life called him temporarily away, and there also were his Mother—who did not die at the beginning of his adventures, as in several of the other texts—and his Virgin Sister, till they were called at length from earth. The call came also to Perceval, but not in the guise of death. He was instructed, as we have seen in another branch of our inquest, (1) that the Grail would appear no more in the Chapel or Castle; (2) that Perceval should know well—after a brief space—the refuge into which it had been taken; (3) that he was to divide the other Hallows between certain Hermits who possessed the “building word” for Churches of all things holy and Houses dedicated to sanctity. But Perceval was still in the flesh, and it follows therefrom that the Grail in this story does not in reality depart, but is removed and remains—as it would seem—in some undeclared Sanctuary—somewhere in the “lands” or the “islands.” Perceval was not instructed, and made no disposition in respect of his Kingdom or the Castle; for there began the ringing of certain joyful bells, as if for a bridal. Into the harbour there entered a ship having white sails emblazoned with the Red Cross, and therein was a fair Priestly Company, robed for the celebration of Mass. The anchor was cast, and the Company went to pray in the Chapel of the Holy Grail, bearing with them glorious vessels of gold and silver, as if on the removal of those things which were without price in the order of the Spirit there were left, for a sign of goodwill, the external offerings of precious metals of this world. Perceval took leave of his household and entered the ship, followed by those whose high presence made his departure a pageant.¹ He went unto the Grail, and the Most Holy Grail received him.

There can be no question that in spite of several discrepancies this version of the Grail Legend is the most significant of all its renderings into the fair Language of Romance, that being excepted only which is the exalted Quest of all. I record in conclusion as follows: (1) That there is no genealogy given of the Grail Keeper; (2) that among the discrepancies, or as something that is out of reason, there must be included the allocation of the King's illness to the paralysed inquisition of Perceval;² (3) that so far as Enchantments of Britain are mentioned in this text, the LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL draws a certain reflection from the Lesser Chronicles; (4) that the final abrogation of the Question through the King's death in misease, and the winning of the Grail by the seeming chance of war are things which place this branch of the Grail literature apart from all other branches.

I should mention further that the Shield borne by Perceval is said to have been the Shield of that Joseph who “took down the Saviour of the world from hanging on the Rood”, and that Joseph set in the boss thereof a Relic of the Precious Blood, with a piece of the Seamless

¹ Potvin, *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 346–348; HIGH HISTORY, Branch XXXV, Titles 26, 27.

² The story demands this criticism, because in the absence of the King's illness there is presented no alternative use for a Question imposed on seekers who visited the Castle of Hallows.

Garment. It seems obvious that there is a reflection from the GRAND SAINT GRAAL concerning the Shield of Evalach; but we know otherwise that this was reserved for Galahad. In fine, as regards the Question, with all that followed in respect of the King's languishment, it should be noted—as a suggestion of deeper Mystery behind one unaccountable Mystery—that, on the evidence of King Fisher himself, he would have been whole of his limbs and his body, had he known that the visitor at the Grail Castle was Perceval, and his own nephew.¹

II

THE HUTH MERLIN

THE story of Balin and Balan, "two brethren born in Northumberland, good Knights"—so described at the termination of the Second Book of Malory's MORTE D'ARTHUR²—is a sufficient title to immortality on the part of the HUTH MERLIN, so called because it was once included among the treasures which enriched the Huth Library, long since dispersed. The text is otherwise alternate to the Vulgate version, replacing its unending, sanguinary battles with so-called Saxon Saracens by a sheaf of wild adventures, high enchantments and pageants marshalled gorgeously. After what manner this distinction appealed to those who came after is evident from the use which was made of the text by Malory. Among all and above all the sublime and terrible tale just cited constitutes its great outstanding contribution to Arthurian literature. An extrinsic interest attaches also to the question of its alleged authorship, though this has prompted here and there the wrath of scholarship. The Huth like the VULGATE MERLIN lays claim upon Robert de Borron, and in a much more express and recurring manner than the earlier medley. The claim is not only put forward with a clear personal note which is rare, if not unique, in Arthurian Romances, but we are introduced also to a supposed collaborator and kinsman, Hélie de Borron, to whom, in virtue of a putative concordat, the false Robert has reserved for himself unconditionally all that part of his subject-general which belongs to the High Scripture, to the Mystery of the Holy Grail.³

The period of the work as it stands, according to the first and only editors, Gaston Paris and J. Ulrich, is between 1225 and 1230,⁴ for which more recent critical speculation has substituted a more uncertain

¹ Potvin, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 131; HIGH HISTORY, Branch X, Title 11. In this manner the explanation of his languishment, given on the same page, is completely stultified.

² See the 1819 edition of THE BIRTH, LIFE AND ACTS OF KING ARTHUR, having the Introduction of Robert Southey, I, p. 69.

³ See MERLIN, ROMAN EN PROSE DU XIII^e SIÈCLE . . . D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT APPARTENANT À M. Alfred Huth, par Gaston Paris et Jacob Ulrich, 1886, II, pp. 57, 58, 172, 173, 198. On the other hand, that which leads up to and is connected with what is called the BRAINT DE MERLIN, the voice of his last testimonies, uttered from the tomb of his enchantment, is made over to Hélie de Borron.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, p. LXIX.

date " between the early thirties of the thirteenth century and 1250 ", with a disposition to favour " the second half of this period ".¹ It is divisible into five sections: (1) a prose version of Borron's JOSEPH OF ARIMATHÆA; (2) the redaction, also in prose, of Borron's Metrical Romance of Merlin; (3) that later History of Merlin which is exclusive to this manuscript; (4) a Quest of the Holy Grail, of which two fragments only remain in the French language;² and (5) *ex hypothesi* only, an addendum or epilogue containing a summarised form of the MORT D'ARTUS. As regards the fourth branch, we know that it was a Quest of Galahad, and we are enabled to check a few of its variations from the authentic Vulgate text, firstly by allusions in the HUTH MERLIN itself and secondly by those cited already from the VULGATE MERLIN. There are also the French fragments already mentioned, while those who desire to go further will find materials for their purpose in Portuguese and Spanish translations, as will be seen in due course. It may be accepted that the first part, as we have agreed to call it, offers no deviation of consequence from other texts of the LESSER HOLY GRAIL, and that it reflects therefore almost literally the Metrical Romance of Borron. It has not, however, been printed. In the second part also there are no important differences; but when Blaise is engaged by the Prophet to write the History of Joseph and therewith to incorporate his own proposed Records, it appears that the Custodians of the Grail had their independent memorials, to which access was possible apparently, and these also were to be embodied by the scribe.³ In other words, he kept the Minutes of the Mystery, and the claim is hence that there was a great Grail Book in the form of a general prototype. As regards the third part, with which we are concerned in the present section, our attention need be directed only to intimate things of the Sacred Vessel and the appurtenances thereof. Merlin moves through the story as an Ambassador rather than a Messenger of those who are the Guardians of the Grail; but the advertisements concerning it are still as of a Parnassus which is remote. About the time of a certain Tourney held in Logres, a great rumour passed over the land regarding the Blessed Reliquary and its location in Britain. Where it abode was unknown, for if Merlin spoke in season, he told little; but the grace of its discovery and the limit of the Adventurous Times were reserved for the Best Knight of the World. The Companions of the Round Table set themselves—as they do also in the VULGATE⁴—to follow the Quest of such Knight through many lands, and—as again they do therein—to report concerning any Good Knight unknown heretofore among them. If one were found, he was straightway led to the Court, his Chivalry was proved—as if a stranger

¹ J. D. Bruce, *EVOLUTION OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE*, I, 479 n.

² *Ib.*, p. 469.

³ *The HUTH MERLIN*, I, pp. 32, 33.

⁴ See *LESTOIRE DE MERLIN* in Sommers' *VULGATE VERSION OF THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES*, II, pp. 334, 335. Cp. the Early English Text Society's *MERLIN, OR THE EARLY HISTORY OF KING ARTHUR*, II, pp. 502, 503.

knocked for admission at a Lodge of the Craft Degrees—and on withstanding the tests, he was received into the Great Company. Each Knight who returned from the Quest recited his adventures; and these were reduced into writing by four clerks retained in the service of the Queen. In this manner they were transmitted to later times.¹ It was an age of Secret Chronicles, of their sealing and the breaking of seals. On the pre-viewed approach of his doom, and before finally parting from Blaise, Merlin indited that prophecy concerning the Times of the Quest, to which I have referred previously. It opened as follows: “This is the beginning of the adventures in the land of Britain, whereby the mighty Lion shall be overthrown: these adventures shall be taken to their term by a King’s Son, who shall be chaste, and the Best Knight of the World.” After this manner did he who instigated the Quest seem to encompass thereby rather than foresee the destruction of the Round Table, its King also and its Chivalry. It is said further—and still on the ground that he had not much longer to remain in the world—that Merlin engaged King Arthur to record all the occurrences which took place at the Royal Court, and that fifty clerks were set aside for this office.² Finally, as regards such memorials, another book was written by the own hand of the Prophet, giving before the event an account of the death of Arthur and of Gawain. It was in the keeping of Morgan le Fay; but with its contents she was not acquainted, because of the doom which would befall her or any other woman who, according to Merlin, should know of such deaths beforehand.³

The Hidden Life of the Holy House is a prolonged Mystery of the Ages through all the literature; and if one corner of the veil is lifted for a few moments by the VULGATE MERLIN in its unconcerted allusions to King Pelles, the Huth Manuscript does not compete with even this vague quality of candour, nor is there any certain ray of light cast upon the Grail itself. It is only the two great texts of Transubstantiation in the days of Quest which can claim to have drawn aside the Curtains of the Temple and to have manifested the Secret Things, though they continue to say that these should be kept covertly, and thus even in the unveiling they suggest that there is a deeper hiding. In the GRAND SAINT GRAAL Corbenic is not more accessible because it is portrayed so openly, and it is not perhaps more withdrawn because it is in nowise named by the HUTH MERLIN. This text has allusive and hinting methods which are particular to itself, and there is one among them which seems to suggest a wilderness of strange meaning behind its simple words. When Bademagus, like other of the Knights to whom no attainment was destined, was concerned for a period in the Quest, he found a branch of an Holy Herb, which was a sign of the SAN GREAL, and no knight came upon such token unless his life was good.

The Tradition of the Third Table is carried over from the EARLY HISTORY OF MERLIN, in which Robert de Borron narrates its Institution by Uther. The HUTH text, following the prose LANCELOT, represents

¹ HUTH MERLIN, II, pp. 97, 98.

² *Ib.*, p. 100.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 227, 228.

it as having passed into the charge of King Carmelide, the father of Guinevere. According to the *VULGATE MERLIN*, the Knights of the Round Table, being weary of the evil estate into which all the country had fallen, retired to the realm of Leodegan. It does not add what appears to follow from the text of the *HUTH MERLIN*, namely, that the material Table itself was in the Palace at Carmelide. The story of the Siege Perilous is given much after the usual manner, but with a few omissions and variations. Stress is laid upon the fact that each Knight on rising from the table finds his name inscribed miraculously upon the seat to him belonging—an incident which, according to the mind of the Romance, exhibits the high pleasure taken by God in the Institution of the Round Table.¹ Among the signs and tokens which go before, or are conterminous with the Quest, there is the appearance of that strange, nondescript animal, which is a combination of many creatures, and is called the Questing Beast, because within her there is a noise of hounds baying. In the *HUTH MERLIN* she appears, as if it were out of due season, during the reign of Uther, who is told by his great counsellor that she concerns one of the Adventures of the Grail.² It will be explained to him by Perceval le Gallois, the Son of a Knight who at that time is following the beast in question. As Perceval, however, is unborn and as Uther dies in his day, the prophecy does not come to pass; but it serves to introduce Pellinore, who is represented now as a King and again as a Knight, and he it is who follows the Questing Beast. After his death, we know from Malory that she was long sought by Palamedes, in both cases, to no purpose apparently, for nothing comes therefrom. It is in the *LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL*—as we have seen—that an allegorical interpretation of the interminable pursuit is given to Perceval himself.

I have said that Pellinore had not begotten a son in the days of Uther Pendragon; and though on his first introduction in the days of Arthur, his jousting seems to have constituted a kind of guerilla warfare against the Chivalry of the Court, he is married ultimately to one of the King's sisters, and when the Round Table is sent by Leodegan of Carmelide as his daughter's dowry,³ he is chosen by Merlin to fill one of two empty seats which had been left thereat by the prophet's ordinance. Moreover, when other seats fall vacant, owing to death, he assists the King to fill them, and he serves him also in warfare. Pellinore was slain in fine by Gawain, whose father had fallen at his hands. It should be added that the genealogy of Perceval, according to this Romance, makes void that of the Lesser Chronicles, as it does also the corresponding account in the *LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL*.

These things connect with the Holy Grail, though it is in a subsidiary sense only; but the root and centre of the story is the great device by which the *HUTH MERLIN* brings war upon the House of the Hallows, devastation on the surrounding country, and a living death upon one

¹ *HUTH MERLIN*, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 68.

² *Ib.*, I, p. 160. See also *ib.*, pp. 161, 177, 258.

³ *Ib.*, II, p. 62.

of the Hereditary Wardens by means of the Dolorous Stroke.¹ Of this fatality I have given some account already in a previous section, and I must speak of it here without covering precisely the same ground. The Romance shews that the Secret Powers of Avalon were hostile in respect of King Arthur even from the beginning. From those realms of dream and faërie the Lady Lilith or Lylle—otherwise a Lady of Avalon—brought a mysterious Sword to the Royal Court, then being held at London.² The weapon was her great encumbrance; but she was condemned to carry it till some Knight should succeed in unsheathing it. Arthur and all his Companions made the attempt in vain; but the poor Knight Balyn, who had just been released from prison, fulfilled the task easily. He refused to restore the Sword to the damosel; and though he was told that it would cause his own destruction, he agreed to take the risk. Thereupon a Lady of the Lake entered and demanded either the head of the Knight who had won the Sword or that of the maiden who brought it. Balyn, however, cut off her own head, saying that he had been in quest of her these three years past, she having slain his mother by her arts of enchantment.³ In this manner he saved the other damosel, though Merlin shewed that she was of evil ways and life, never appearing for good, but for great harm only. Here and thus begins the story of Balyn and Balan, as a tale of dole from the first, and such it remains to the end. But the Dolorous Stroke itself came about through a Knight who had the power to ride invisible, and thus had others at his mercy. Balyn was in chase of this Knight, to put an end to his evil deeds, and after the episode of the Sword he overtook him in the Castle of his Brother, who is the King Pellehan.⁴ There he destroyed him in open court at a festival, and he was pursued by the King from room to room of the building to avenge what appeared to be an act of wanton murder. They met in a richly dight bed-chamber, where there was a table of gold on four pillars of silver, and on the table a marvellous Spear, strangely wrought. Therewith Balyn smote his pursuer, who fell down in a swoon.⁵ The Castle roof and walls broke and caved in. Merlin appeared and prophesied that King Pellehan would remain sorely wounded for many years—that is to say, until Galahad healed him in the Quest of the Holy Grail. Merlin added that there was preserved in the Castle a part of the Precious Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which Joseph of Arimathæa had brought into this land, while the Spear was that of Longinus, and the King himself was nearly of Joseph's kindred. Balyn rode subsequently through fair lands and cities, of which many inhabitants were slain on all sides, while those who remained cried out piteously against him. Such was the visitation of the Grail—a strange and unheard-of enchantment. The story continues, multiplying dole and doom, with

¹ It is foretold that this stroke will initiate the marvels of the Holy Grail in Great Britain, obviously because the wounding of the Grail King brings about those Quests by which alone he can be healed. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 264.

² *Ib.*, p. 213.

³ *Ib.*, p. 219.

⁴ *Ib.*, II, pp. 23-31.

⁵ Britain henceforth is called *La Terre Gastée*, or *Terre Foraine*.

greater doom foretold, till the two Brethren, Bayln and Balan, destroy one another unwittingly—truly Adventurous Times, from which all might pray to be delivered.

The opening incidents of this story are found in the *CHEVALIER AS DEUX ÉPÉES*,¹ and, so far as these are concerned, it may have drawn from some unknown source which is common to both. On the other hand, the passing of Merlin through the arts of Vivien or Nivienne, that other Lady of the Lake who was the Foster-Mother of Lancelot, owes something to the Great Romance which is concerned with Lancelot's story.²

When the *HUTH MERLIN* ceases to speak of the Prophet's interment, it promises to be concerned henceforth only with the Grail; but in the imperfect state that we possess the text it ceases to speak at all. As a final word on my own part, the fact may be cited that the Knight Pelleas is said to be one of great worship and one also of those four who achieved the Holy Grail. It follows herefrom that the missing Quest of the *HUTH MERLIN* had grave variations from that with which we are acquainted, because it is not to be assumed that Pelleas was one of the Nine Knights, mostly unknown, who presented themselves, demanding and receiving admission, in the Temple of the Grail Castle at the term of the Holy Quest.

My readers must be dissuaded from supposing (1) that it is possible to pursue the question of these variations except in a study which would appeal only to scholarship, or (2) that for general purposes it would in any sense repay the task. The few words that I propose to offer on the subject will be reserved of necessity to a section on Spanish and Portuguese texts. We shall find that the Galahad of the false Robert de Borron is a caricature of the hero-in-chief of all the Holy Quests and that he shews in the same distorted light under which he appears in what is called the cyclic Romance of Tristram, to the consideration of which I proceed in the next but one section.

III

THE PROPHECIES OF MERLIN

THOSE who know—as should all literate persons—the ever famous Geoffrey of Monmouth and his *HISTORIES OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN*³—*HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIÆ*—will remember that Book VII of that enchanted Chronicle is concerned with the PROPHECIES OF MERLIN and that it incorporated a Latin tract which preceded the *HISTORIA* under the title of *LIBELLUS*

¹ A Metrical Romance of the early thirteenth century, edited by Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1877.

² She was the daughter of a King of Northumberland.

³ Readers who may shrink from the Latin original may be recommended the limpid translation of Dr. Sebastian Evans, which is available to all and sundry in *EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY*.

MERLINI. The magical birth of the Prophet is recited in Book VI; and in Book VIII, which contains some further Prophecies, we learn how Merlin's arts encompassed that meeting between Uther and Ygerne or Igrayne, Duchess of Tintagel, which led to the conception of Arthur. Thereafter we hear no more of Merlin in Geoffrey's story. But a mighty brood of Prophecies was generated in later years, and on the testimony of various Romances we owe their preservation to a long succession of *notatores* or Scribes. We may be content on our own part to remember Blaise of the Borron Grail Cycle, who is first and only in that group of texts.¹ Southey said long ago, with a touch of *naïveté*, that "the Prophecies of Merlin are usually sought for to accompany the Romance"—meaning the Vulgate version—and he cites a Rouen edition in his Preface to the MORTE D'ARTHUR of 1817. There is, however, the *editio princeps* of Paris, *anno* 1498, which was followed "with unimportant omissions or transpositions of chapters"² by the following later issues: (1) Paris, 1505, third volume of the ROMANCE OF MERLIN; (2) Paris, 1507, where the Prophecies are in the second volume; (3) Paris, n.d., but *circa* 1510, Prophecies in the third volume; (4) Rouen, *circa* 1520, also undated; (5) *Ib.*, n.d., but *circa* 1526; (6) Paris, 1526; and (7) *Ib.*, 1528, in the third volume.³ Miss Paton has given us an edition of extraordinary value and interest, "leaving nothing undone"—as Southey says of Sir Walter Scott. It is based on a manuscript in the BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE DE RENNES and is the most notable contribution to our textual knowledge of Arthurian literature which has appeared since Dr. Sommer produced his VULGATE VERSION OF THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES.

With the Prophecies, however, in any shape or form we are concerned only in so far as they may touch upon Grail matters; and from this point of view they can be examined and dismissed within a brief space. We hear (1) of the strange adventures which will take place in Great Britain in the time of King Arthur, *pour la venue du Saint Greal* (Miss Paton, I, 91); (2) of the Lady of the Lake commending chastity to Bors, then in his youth and a *biax enfes* (*bel enfant*), because he "will be chosen by our Lord Jesus Christ for one of those who shall behold the great wonders of the Holy Grail" (227); (3) that the Sister of Perceval will die a virgin in the service of the good Knights, that is, Galahad, etc. (237); (4) of the Coronation of Galahad in the City of Sarras (249); (5) of a certain Pentecost and the beginning of the "Festival of the Holy Grail" (323); (6) of a Tourney proclaimed by Arthur at the request of the Rich King Fisher, because he knew that on this occasion the Grail would be seen at the Royal Court—a glimpse for one moment behind the scenes of Corbenic and its Mystery (422); (7) of a Maiden sent by King Arthur to Pelles the Grail King, inquiring whether a particular valiant Knight "can be he who will fulfil the Adventures of the Grail", and of Pelles' reply "that he probably is not

¹ See Miss Paton's study on the Scribes in LES PROPHECIES DE MERLIN, II, pp. 301-327.

² *Op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

³ *Ib.*, I, pp. 39, 40—summarised in the text above.

himself the Grail Hero, but that he may beget him"—indicating the purpose beforehand on the part of the Grail King (434); (8) of the valorous Knight Segurant and his disenchantment by the power of the Grail—an episode otherwise unknown (442). Galahad, the Perfect Knight, appears on times and occasions but in connection with events that are more than familiar in the LANCELOT and the QUESTE. We hear, for example, (1) of the Sword fixed in the *perron*, a weapon which none could draw forth save he (I, 206); (2) of his beauty above that of all other Knights (226); (3) of a precious stone in the crown which Galahad is destined to wear when he is made King at Sarras (248); (4) of the wonders of Logres which are to be achieved by him (II, 132); but nothing is added even in the way of decoration, nor is there any suggestion which increases the significance of things and episodes. The Prophecies are also not without interest for the character and Quest of Perceval, mainly in connection with Galahad but also—by inference—for his own individual achievement, as recorded in the Didot-Modena texts. It is almost needless to say, having regard to the MERLIN in which the Prophecies are, so to speak, embedded, that the CONTE DEL GRAAL might never have come into being, so utterly is it set aside in depicting the Son of King Pellinor.¹ Perceval is *virgo intactus* throughout and always: he comes forth as such at his birth and so remains to the end, in order "to achieve the High Quest of the Holy Grail" *et s'en ira avecques le bon chevalier es parties de Jerusalem* (I, 237). Although tacitly rather than otherwise, Perceval is characterised by the same virtue in the Didot-Modena Quest, and Miss Paton cites an instance when the author of the PROPHECIES had this text in his mind, that is to say, when a certain *Sage Clerc* committed to Perceval a "valued book of Merlin", being the Record of those Prophecies which had been written down by the Hermit in question. This took place at the Court of King Arthur (I, 231), and subsequently the prayers of Perceval are instrumental in saving the *Sage Clerc* from destruction in some prolonged magical experiments which need not be specified here, as they do not belong to my subject, approximately or remotely (231-236). Readers of Southey's Preface, already cited, may remember his reference, by which it appears that the *Sage Clerc* "was a very remarkable personage, who travelled through the air, over land and sea, upon a huge stone, having a devil in its centre like the kernel of a nut. This devil was the unlucky fiend who had Merlin for his son; and it is to his credit that he speaks well of a son so unlike himself and all his father's family" (MORTE D'ARTHUR of 1817, pp. xiii, xiv). Occasional adventures and deeds of arms on the part of Perceval are to be found in other MSS. of the Merlin Prophecies, outside that of Rennes, and they are summarised by Miss Paton (I, 380-382, 387, 388, 390); but it would be idle to speak of them here.

The Prophecies contain no record of a Grail Quest achieved; Perceval

¹ Perceval is the son of Pellinor according to the Vulgate Cycle, but the son of Alain according to that of Robert de Borron.

is with us continually, but seldom to our real purpose, except in didactic description; Bors appears from time to time: we are present, for example, at his Knighting by a Son of the Rich Fisher who is dwelling in a Hermitage but has not yet assumed a Hermit's garb (I, 410-412, from Miss Paton's SUMMARIES OF EPISODES IN THE MSS. OF GROUP I). This has been brought about by the Lady of the Lake, who counts Lancelot, Lionel and Bors as her *trois enfants* (I, 485). It is the only episode that calls for mention here. As in the LANCELOT and QUESTE, Palamèdes follows the Questing Beast (I, 377, 435, and II, 260, 261) and might be following him still so far as the Prophecies are concerned, as he reaches no term therein. Joseph of Arimathæa is the "noble chevalier" who took "our Lord Jesus Christ from the true Cross" (I, 198), and the Lord sent him to England with the Dish—*escuelle*—containing His Precious Blood (307). Joseph II is Bishop of Sarras, consecrated by Christ Himself (198), and he accompanies his Father for the conversion of England, the overthrow of idols and the building of Christian Churches (307).

Miss Paton reminds us (II, 325) that, according to the Didot-Modena texts, Merlin had Perceval under his special protection; that he was throughout his "fairy guardian"; that he knew of him "long before his birth"; that he "created the Round Table and destined the Perilous Seat for him"; that he "guards him on his way to the Grail Castle" and leads him to achieve the Quest. But the Prophecies come out of the Vulgate Cycle and in all their Arthurian references return continually thereto. The Quest for them is therefore the Quest of Galahad, and they are for myself at least an eloquent testimony to the influence and importance of that crown of the Grail literature. This is their office, and it is for this reason that I have included the PROPHECIES OF MERLIN among the later texts of the general Grail Cycle. Miss Paton has proved that the Rennes MS. is of Italian origin and probably the work of a Venetian. In the present connection her text is the more interesting and significant on that account. By whomsoever written, it is certain that the author had a wide acquaintance with the Vulgate Chronicles, not to speak of the PALAMÈDES, or its main sections, MELIADUS DE LEONNOIS and GUIRON LE COURTOIS.

IV

THE GRAIL IN THE TRISTRAM LEGEND

THE PERLESVAUS and the QUEST OF GALAHAD are sealed with sanctity, whatever may be thought and felt and said of the ascetic element which rules therein. It was the way of the world to God in those old days, but other ways have opened. Having ceased to be a beaten track, we may see the path no longer; but about the quality of sanctity in these Romance Records there is no

doubt or question. So also Transubstantiation Doctrine illustrated by miraculous Masses may fill our souls with loathing, much as if we were called to witness and share in a cannibal feast; but behind such prohibitive *signacula* some of us, at least a few, may discern the authentic *signata*, and that after all the gross symbolism is seeking in its laidly manner to shadow forth the Mystery of Divine Communication to the soul of man. We have to look at this subject later on under other aspects and in another light. Meanwhile our study of texts having brought us to the high eminence of the Grail subject, we have to survey its decadence, and the development of the Tristram Legend must be offered for consideration in the first place, because it is the descent at its beginning, and there is still some vestige of the old atmosphere, the savour of incense in the Sanctuary.

My readers may be dissuaded from supposing that we are concerned with the Legend itself, with the workings of a sorcery philtre and the amours of Tristram and Iseult. It was in great vogue in those days, and in the hands of successive editors it became a cyclic Romance which incorporated material from all quarters of the Arthurian theme, including most especially the Cycle-general of the Holy Grail. It is of no consequence to our purpose that for those who know the texts the result is heterogeneous, that the elements do not mix. Our object is only to see what happens to the Grail itself, how it fares with the Galahad and Perceval of the authentic memorials, and what new spirit abides in the Hidden Church when those who bear witness concerning it are no longer the Priests of the Mystery but ministers of a carnal synagogue. The Cup of the Eucharist has no part in love-philtres and the Host hallowed in Heaven, or by those who come down therefrom, has no part in the love-scenes between Tristram and Iseult. The maxim appertaining thereto is: What God has set asunder let no man join together. He shall do it at the peril of the subject, and "a story told for one of the truest and holiest that is in this world" shall be recited henceforth in brothels and in an Alsatian den of thieves.

The Cyclic Romance¹ begins with the marriage of the Sons of Brons, in accordance with the counsel given by Joseph of Arimathæa, as if the story throughout were an integral part of the matter of the Holy Grail. That Helain le Gros, who is Alain of the Metrical Romance²

¹ It should be understood that the story of Tristram was told originally in verse, by Thomas, an Anglo-Norman poet, by Béroul his successor and by Chrétien de Troyes. There are fragments remaining of the first two, but the ISEUT LA BLONDE of the third is utterly lost. The prose Romance which followed some time in the thirteenth century is represented by numerous manuscripts and by several printed editions which appeared between 1489 and 1586. The evolution of the Tristram story has been studied by Dr. E. Löseth in his excellent and exhaustive analysis of twenty-six manuscripts and several of the published texts, under the title of LE ROMAN DE TRISTAN, &c., 1890. The work embodies also an examination (1) of the ROMAN DE PALAMÈDE, to which we are indebted for the Romance of MELIADUS DE LÉONNOIS, the father of Tristram, and GUIRON LE COURTOIS; (2) of the compilation by Rusticien de Pise, extracted from the unprinted and now imperfect PALAMÈDE. It is to be understood further that the prose TRISTRAM in all its forms is later than the Vulgate Arthurian Cycle and draws therefrom.

² I refer of course to the metrical JOSEPH of Robert de Borron, which is the root of all Grail Histories in the French Cycles and is presupposed by all their Quests.

and has declined to wed, is promised by Joseph the guardianship of the Vessel after his own death. It does not appear that this promise is fulfilled¹ and as a fact we hear no further concerning him. The subsidiary object is to shew that Tristram descends lineally from one of the twelve Sons, being he who is named Sadoc in the cyclic story. The early days of Tristram are recited and a version of the familiar Château Orgueilleux episode may be taken as the beginning of his adventurous life. Here as elsewhere it is the hold of Arthur's enemies, but is represented as having been demolished by Uther Pendragon and rebuilt subsequently. Its evil customs, being the treatment of prisoners belonging to the Round Table, are to be suppressed by Tristram, though only for the time being: it is foretold that the task will be resumed by Galahad and afterwards by Blioberis.² The Questing Beast, with whom most of us have made our acquaintance under the auspices of Malory, moves through the whole story and Palamèdes is represented as following it for fourteen years. We have seen that according to the HUTH MERLIN it connects intimately with the Grail and its Quest. On the other hand, the TRISTRAM unveils its pseudo-real story, which may be compared with the PERLESVAUS explanation. The monstrous creature is the progeny of King Ypomenes' daughter, who is enamoured of her own brother and, being repulsed by him, accepts the offers of a beautiful stranger who is in reality the devil in disguise and claims power to help her. The disgraceful episode may be left at this point adding only that all concerned therein come to an evil end.³

When Perceval appears on the scene he is the Squire of Agloval, who is represented as his brother. He is brought to the Court of King Arthur to receive the Order of Knighthood. This takes place accordingly and jousting follows, in which Perceval is elevated by the success that he attains and at the subsequent feasting he makes plain his ambition to occupy the Siege Perilous. At the end of a heated debate he is allowed to do so, with the result that the earth opens; the seat is suspended above the deep abyss, and he is saved vicariously in view of his genealogy and the valour of his father King Pellinor. This amazing episode is at issue with a later event, when the Silent Maiden of the other Perceval stories hails him in Arthur's Hall as Servant of Jesus Christ and as a Virgin Knight. She bids him take the Siege Perilous as one who is destined thereto and then leads him thither. When the silk which covers it is raised it is found that his name is inscribed upon it. She tells him also of another and greater occupant to come, when he—Perceval—will sit on the right-hand seat beside it

¹ We have seen elsewhere that the promise in question is not an invention of the TRISTRAM story. It seems obvious also from the JOSEPH poem that the logical heir of the Grail was Alain and not Brons.

² See *Op. cit.*, p. 56, where the forecast is furnished with details, but the task is undertaken by none of the Knights named, while nothing further is heard of the Castle itself.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 420.

and Bors upon the left.¹ Of such is the exaltation of Perceval ; and we hear little further concerning him—except that he is defeated on one occasion by Blioberis and is healed by the Holy Grail—till the hour of the Great Quest begins, which is that of Galahad and preserves the authentic lines, amidst commonising variants.

King Arthur knows beforehand that at the decreed Pentecost to come the great event will begin, for the consummation of the great marvels which obtain in the Kingdom of Logres and are mentioned everywhere in the texts but never described anywhere. As regards the early life of the palmary Quest Hero, it is the Fisher King himself who administers the potion to Lancelot on the night of Galahad's conception. King Pelles subsequently takes the child to an Abbey where he remains with an aunt till he is twelve years old. He is knighted by Lancelot in due course, is brought to the Court of King Arthur and occupies the Siege Perilous. Prior to this episode an election to the Round Table was made void if the name of the chosen Knight did not appear on the seat to him assigned. Galahad has many adventures, in the course of the Quest, which are unknown to the original text. They are chiefly concerned with combats in which he exhibits nothing but earthly prowess. His war-cry throughout is : CORBENIC, CORBENIC, which notwithstanding he is overthrown on one occasion ; on another the issue is doubtful ; on a third he defeats Lancelot no less than three times. He suffers imprisonment once, but is delivered speedily. To make an end of this tabulation, he does battle with two hundred knights, using one spear only and emerges victor. We hear soon after that—chronology having passed into abeyance—Charlemagne has a statue erected to the glory of Galahad. As regards the Quest itself, amidst a multitude of other adventures which do not belong to our purpose, Galahad, who just recently has prayed to behold the Secret Things of the Grail, pays a visit to King Pelles, when the latter is celebrating the anniversary of his coronation ; but nothing follows thereon, except that he meets Perceval's Sister and a Cousin of hers, who recovers her reason through the mere fact of his presence. After times and happenings he is again at Corbenic, where he heals Pelles, who is apparently the Maimed King in this version, solders the Broken Sword and asks his Grandfather to tell him the meaning of the Grail and the Bleeding Lance. The latter consents, and it will be seen that in this manner the object of the Galahad Quest is confused with that of the Perceval Cycles. King Pelles reminds him significantly that he knows it well already, which is obviously true, seeing that he was born in the Castle. The story which follows varies from the authentic version. It is a woman, for example, who receives the Precious Blood in the Paschal Dish when Christ is hanging on the Cross. The Saviour is represented also as appearing before his disciples, on the day of the first Pentecost,

¹ The base of this episode, as we have seen, is the DIDOT-MODENA PERCEVAL, which knows nothing, however, of the Silent Maiden in this connection and much less of the greater occupant to come of the Siege Perilous. See Hucher, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 426-428.

bearing the Grail and Lance. Afterwards he delivers them to Joseph, who brings them ultimately into Britain. Finally, Galahad meets his mother at Corbenic on the great day of consummation but repulses her caresses, as if she also represented that "deadly flesh" from which he desired to be released.

Tristram takes the pledge of the Quest in his own manner, swearing to maintain it like the others for a year and a day; but the account is disconnected, the pledge in his case seeming long subsequent to the Manifestation of the Grail at King Arthur's Court. He is delayed, moreover, by the accident of an imprisonment and thereafter falls ill. In any case he reaches Corbenic on two occasions, but to no purpose—*pour sa luxure*, as the text says. He cannot set foot in the Chapel of the Holy Grail on the first visit and on the second, when he is accompanied by Iseult, he is reproached for his disloyalty to King Mark. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that later on he bewailed the ill-starred Quest, about which it has been foretold already that it will cause his death. He dies with Iseult at the end of his story, but not on account of the Grail.

We may pray to be delivered assuredly from the Quest of Galahad according to the TRISTRAM codex; but other Grail versions await analysis, and one of them in contrast herewith is like darkness compared with moonlight.

V

SONE DE NAUSAY

IT has been settled by the most recent voice of scholarship—or "until the times do alter"—that the vast metrical recitation which passes under this name belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century. It seems the fashion in France and England to neglect or exclude Grail texts which are or may be *post* 1250 from the canon of Grail literature. Hence it follows that the SONE DE NAUSAY—VEL NANSAY¹—has suffered the same fate as DER JUNGERE TITUREL of Albrecht and has met with little attention, except from Miss Jessie L. Weston,² who adopted, developed and adapted an unconvincing thesis of Goldschmidt. He discovered supposed veridic traces of Kyot de Provence in the belated poem from the Netherlands. The SONE DE NAUSAY has been printed once only,³ and then in the

¹ Nansay is Miss Weston's variant, given without explanation in her *LEGEND OF PERCEVAL*, Vol. II, 1909, and in *ROMANIA*, Vol. XLIII, 1914. In reality, however, she is following Prof. K. Nyrop and his study of the poem in *ROMANIA*, Vol. XXXV, 1906. I observe that Dr. Bruce ignores the revised orthography in his *EVOLUTION OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE*, Vol. I, pp. 350–353. Cf. the poem itself, p. 2, ll. 41, 42, where the older spelling is in harmony with the terminal rhymes:

Terre ot en la marche d'Aussai,
Siens fu li castiaus de Nausay.

² See in particular the *LEGEND OF PERCEVAL*, Vol. II, which seems more dogmatic on the subject than the later contribution to *ROMANIA*, cited above.

³ *SONE VON NAUSAY*, edited by Moritz Goldschmidt. Tübingen, 1899.

forbidding form which is characteristic of German antiquarian output.¹ It is by no means so dull as it looks on the crowded leaves of a Tübingen octavo series, and is indeed of no little importance for reasons which have escaped official scholarship.

The poem derives indubitably from the GRAND SAINT GRAAL in its account of the Sacred Vessel. It embodies a Conversion Legend, and he who converted Norway—the scene of action—is Joseph of Arimathæa. But it would be difficult to exaggerate the distinction between Joseph in the Metrical Romance of Robert de Borron and his reflection in SONE DE NAUSAY, where he figures as a fond old widower who becomes enamoured of a pagan princess, and is pictured otherwise performing deeds of valour as a Knight-at-arms. It follows herefrom and is manifest in additional respects that as the developed Tristram Romance represents the decadence of the Quest and its heroes, so does this poem correspond to a vulgarisation of the Grail Mythos. It is to be observed in the first place that the Sacred Vessel is divorced from its old familiar setting. There is a maimed Warden or King in the person of Joseph himself;² but his healing is not postponed till some elect visitor arrives and asks an arbitrary Question which performs its work automatically. He is cured in fact by a Knight who has skill in medicine. In the second place the Grail and its future stewardship are not the term and crown offered to those who go on the Quest thereof. It is not a treasure in the hands of Hereditary Keepers belonging to a single family. It is set apart from the PARZIVAL absolutely by the fact that there are no TEMPLEISEN; otherwise, there is no Chivalry to guard the Talisman. It is in the charge of Monks with an Abbot at their head and is kept in an ivory box.

Norway is far outside the geographical field of Grail Romance, though the Hermit of the Prologue to the GRAND SAINT GRAAL is led thither by a strange beast when in search of the Book from Heaven which contains the Grail story and has been written by Christ Himself. The fact which has no consequence and means nothing in the Vulgate ESTOIRE may have suggested his unconvincing Conversion Legend to the author of SONE DE NAUSAY. For the rest, the Round Table and its Chivalry appear nowhere, nor is Arthur mentioned in the poem. The Hallows are four in number, being (1) the Sacred Vessel itself; (2) the Lance of Longinus; (3) one of the candelabra carried by Angels at the Nativity of Christ; and (4) a Processional Cross containing a True Cross Relic. As in Chrétien, the Grail in its manifestation gives forth a great light: *Tous le pays en raluma*. But it must be said of one

¹ It appeared as Vol. CCXVI of the BIBLIOTHEK DES LITTERARISCHEN VEREINS IN STUTTGART.

² He conquers Norway by the force of arms, converts the people by the sword, destroys the reigning monarch, becomes King in his place, baptises and marries his daughter, who remains a pagan at heart and hates her father's murderer. Divine punishment overtakes him for these follies; he is stricken with complete and painful incapacity, can neither feed nor help himself, and so becomes a *Roi Mehaigné*, in imitation of the other Romances. He takes refuge also in fishing and so becomes a Fisher King (l. 4823). His healing is accounted for, however, in a single colourless line, as if God proposes but man disposes.

and all these objects that the sense of mystery is removed.¹ They are exposed before the people for worship and the Grail itself is like any other Reliquary.

Nausay—otherwise, Nansai—is identified by Gaston Paris with Nambshain in Alsace. Sone=Suennsen in Old German, according to the same authority. The hero's ancestor was Count Anseis of Brabant, who married the daughter of the Count of Flanders, and their eldest son was Lord of Nausay, as if a hereditary fief or title. At the age of twelve years and five months the lad is not only a miracle of learning, who has been instructed by four masters, but is also so well-grown that, being at the Court of the Emperor, he falls wildly in love. However, he fares so badly therein that he sets forth on his travels or adventures, passing through England, Scotland and Ireland. From Ireland he proceeded to Norway—then in a state of siege—and performed great feats of arms, defeating and driving out the combined forces of the Kings of Ireland and Scotland, described as invading Saracens. Prior to the combat the King of Norway, whose name is Alain, takes him to the Holy Island of the Grail, which is four-square, with towers at each angle and the Castle in the centre. He sees the Hallows and is girt with a Sword of Joseph,² the latter being Alain's ancestor and Patron Saint of Norway. With the aid of this glaive Sone overcomes the King of Scotland and slays the Irish King. He goes forth again on his wanderings, revisiting Ireland, where the people rise up against him to avenge their Ruler's death. He finds sanctuary in a House of the Templars;³ but he comes into the presence of the Queen, who falls in love with him and ultimately bears him a son. This notwithstanding, the *wanderlust* returns and presently he is again in Norway. Alain has died and his daughter Odee is Queen in his place. The memory of Sone's valiant deeds is with her and with the Court about her. He weds Odee and himself ascends the throne. The Marriage and Consecration take place at the Grail Island, and after these Ceremonies there is a Solemn Exposition of all the Hallows. They are carried in Procession before an adoring crowd, the new King himself uplifting the Grail.

Three sons are born to the marriage and meanwhile Margon, the Master of the Irish Templars, brings to him the illegitimate boy who is the fruit of his amour with the Queen. She has attempted to destroy the child in her rage at Sone's desertion. The four are brought up together. When years have elapsed the Monarch is summoned by the

¹ Cf. Bruce: "The last veil of secrecy about the Grail has disappeared: the Grail Service is conducted in the sight of the whole people," etc. *Op. cit.*, I, 352.

² It is not any Sword which is included among Hallows of other texts but that with which Joseph defended his realm as King of Norway.

³ It is on this basis and one other episode mentioned below and arising herefrom that Miss Weston discerns a Templar element in *SONE DE NAUSAY* and compares it with that in the *PARZIVAL*. (See *ROMANIA*, *loc. cit.*, p. 412.) Obviously it is nothing of the kind in either case. The alleged element in the *PARZIVAL* is confined (1) to the name *Templeisen* and (2) to the fact that the Grail Chivalry is clothed like the Knights Templar, a simple matter of imitation from which nothing follows. On the other hand, the *SONE* shews only that there was a Templar Preceptory in Ireland and that the Master or Preceptor saved the life of a child.

forbidding form which is characteristic of German antiquarian output.¹ It is by no means so dull as it looks on the crowded leaves of a Tübingen octavo series, and is indeed of no little importance for reasons which have escaped official scholarship.

The poem derives indubitably from the GRAND SAINT GRAAL in its account of the Sacred Vessel. It embodies a Conversion Legend, and he who converted Norway—the scene of action—is Joseph of Arimathæa. But it would be difficult to exaggerate the distinction between Joseph in the Metrical Romance of Robert de Borron and his reflection in SONE DE NAUSAY, where he figures as a fond old widower who becomes enamoured of a pagan princess, and is pictured otherwise performing deeds of valour as a Knight-at-arms. It follows herefrom and is manifest in additional respects that as the developed Tristram Romance represents the decadence of the Quest and its heroes, so does this poem correspond to a vulgarisation of the Grail Mythos. It is to be observed in the first place that the Sacred Vessel is divorced from its old familiar setting. There is a maimed Warden or King in the person of Joseph himself;² but his healing is not postponed till some elect visitor arrives and asks an arbitrary Question which performs its work automatically. He is cured in fact by a Knight who has skill in medicine. In the second place the Grail and its future stewardship are not the term and crown offered to those who go on the Quest thereof. It is not a treasure in the hands of Hereditary Keepers belonging to a single family. It is set apart from the PARZIVAL absolutely by the fact that there are no TEMPLEISEN; otherwise, there is no Chivalry to guard the Talisman. It is in the charge of Monks with an Abbot at their head and is kept in an ivory box.

Norway is far outside the geographical field of Grail Romance, though the Hermit of the Prologue to the GRAND SAINT GRAAL is led thither by a strange beast when in search of the Book from Heaven which contains the Grail story and has been written by Christ Himself. The fact which has no consequence and means nothing in the Vulgate ESTOIRE may have suggested his unconvincing Conversion Legend to the author of SONE DE NAUSAY. For the rest, the Round Table and its Chivalry appear nowhere, nor is Arthur mentioned in the poem. The Hallows are four in number, being (1) the Sacred Vessel itself; (2) the Lance of Longinus; (3) one of the candelabra carried by Angels at the Nativity of Christ; and (4) a Processional Cross containing a True Cross Relic. As in Chrétien, the Grail in its manifestation gives forth a great light: *Tous le pays en raluma*. But it must be said of one

¹ It appeared as Vol. CCXVI of the BIBLIOTHEK DES LITTERARISCHEN VEREINS IN STUTTGART.

² He conquers Norway by the force of arms, converts the people by the sword, destroys the reigning monarch, becomes King in his place, baptises and marries his daughter, who remains a pagan at heart and hates her father's murderer. Divine punishment overtakes him for these follies; he is stricken with complete and painful incapacity, can neither feed nor help himself, and so becomes a *Roi Mehaigné*, in imitation of the other Romances. He takes refuge also in fishing and so becomes a Fisher King (l. 4823). His healing is accounted for, however, in a single colourless line, as if God proposes but man disposes.

and all these objects that the sense of mystery is removed.¹ They are exposed before the people for worship and the Grail itself is like any other Reliquary.

Nausay—otherwise, Nansai—is identified by Gaston Paris with Nambshain in Alsace. Sone=Suennsen in Old German, according to the same authority. The hero's ancestor was Count Anseis of Brabant, who married the daughter of the Count of Flanders, and their eldest son was Lord of Nausay, as if a hereditary fief or title. At the age of twelve years and five months the lad is not only a miracle of learning, who has been instructed by four masters, but is also so well-grown that, being at the Court of the Emperor, he falls wildly in love. However, he fares so badly therein that he sets forth on his travels or adventures, passing through England, Scotland and Ireland. From Ireland he proceeded to Norway—then in a state of siege—and performed great feats of arms, defeating and driving out the combined forces of the Kings of Ireland and Scotland, described as invading Saracens. Prior to the combat the King of Norway, whose name is Alain, takes him to the Holy Island of the Grail, which is four-square, with towers at each angle and the Castle in the centre. He sees the Hallows and is girt with a Sword of Joseph,² the latter being Alain's ancestor and Patron Saint of Norway. With the aid of this glaive Sone overcomes the King of Scotland and slays the Irish King. He goes forth again on his wanderings, revisiting Ireland, where the people rise up against him to avenge their Ruler's death. He finds sanctuary in a House of the Templars;³ but he comes into the presence of the Queen, who falls in love with him and ultimately bears him a son. This notwithstanding, the *wanderlust* returns and presently he is again in Norway. Alain has died and his daughter Odee is Queen in his place. The memory of Sone's valiant deeds is with her and with the Court about her. He weds Odee and himself ascends the throne. The Marriage and Consecration take place at the Grail Island, and after these Ceremonies there is a Solemn Exposition of all the Hallows. They are carried in Procession before an adoring crowd, the new King himself uplifting the Grail.

Three sons are born to the marriage and meanwhile Margon, the Master of the Irish Templars, brings to him the illegitimate boy who is the fruit of his amour with the Queen. She has attempted to destroy the child in her rage at Sone's desertion. The four are brought up together. When years have elapsed the Monarch is summoned by the

¹ Cf. Bruce: "The last veil of secrecy about the Grail has disappeared: the Grail Service is conducted in the sight of the whole people," etc. *Op. cit.*, I, 352.

² It is not any Sword which is included among Hallows of other texts but that with which Joseph defended his realm as King of Norway.

³ It is on this basis and one other episode mentioned below and arising herefrom that Miss Weston discerns a Templar element in *SONE DE NAUSAY* and compares it with that in the *PARZIVAL*. (See *ROMANIA, loc. cit.*, p. 412.) Obviously it is nothing of the kind in either case. The alleged element in the *PARZIVAL* is confined (1) to the name *Templeisen* and (2) to the fact that the Grail Chivalry is clothed like the Knights Templar, a simple matter of imitation from which nothing follows. On the other hand, the *SONE* shews only that there was a Templar Preceptory in Ireland and that the Master or Preceptor saved the life of a child.

Pope to drive out Saracens from Italy, after which he is crowned as Emperor. His four sons, the eldest being the offspring of his Irish adventure, become respectively Kings of Sicily, Norway and Jerusalem, while the fourth is elevated to the Throne of Peter. They appear to survive him, and he himself is succeeded at his death by the son of his elder brother.

The dream of a common source for the *SONE* and *PARZIVAL*, made evident by the poems themselves, is perhaps the most slender plea which has been yet put forward to substantiate the claim on Kyot de Provence advanced by Wolfram. It lies within the limits of two points, (1) the presence in both cases of the Swan Knight Mythos¹ and (2) the alleged analogy between the vengeance of Heaven which overtook Anfortas owing to his amour with the Lady Orgueilleuse and that which befel Joseph for his own second marriage. It has been well pointed out that the Swan Mythos was of general knowledge both in Germany and the Netherlands at the respective periods of the two poems; and for the rest that there is no real connection between the liaison of Anfortas and the espousals of Joseph, which were within the law and the order. Other supposed analogies are too flimsy to excuse enumeration. They are set out at full length by Miss Weston in her contribution to *ROMANIA*, already cited. She was preceded by Prof. Singer in Germany² behind whom is Goldschmidt, who glances at the subject briefly in an introduction to the poem which he edited.

VI

VESTIGES OF THE GRAIL IN ITALY

SOME of us remember to this day, after how many lustrums, and with a certain still joy, the first rumours which reached us of old folios, done in the sixteenth century and prolonged without let or hindrance through hundreds of black-letter leaves. Some of us saw excerpts, translated out of the old French, perhaps even a summary account, or were haunted by a mere title put into free English—as it might be, “The Most Elegant, Mellifluous and Delightful History of Perceforest, King of Great Britain.” Later on we were told, it may be, of that most excellent curator of a Paris Library who fled from the burning building with a single mammoth volume, crying in his triumph: *J’ai sauvé le Grand Perceforest*. We

¹ As regards the Mythos in the poem itself, it is never mentioned; but a son of Sone is said to have married a cruel Lady of Bohemia, named Matabrune, in connection with whom a prose summary of the work recites the Swan Story in three considerable paragraphs—not in eight or nine lines, as Bruce suggests. Whether the anonymous précis is by the same hand as the anonymous poem is another question; but it happens to be denied by Bruce, though he gives no reason. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 353. For the reference to Matabrune in the poem, see ll. 20807–20810, p. 538.

² See *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DEUTSCHES ALTERUM*, Vol. XLIV, 1900, pp. 330 *et seq.*

read also in his glorious English the introduction of Robert Southey to a certain edition of Malory's *MORTE D'ARTHUR*, and became rich in many names of books—*LANCELOT DU LAC*, *MELIADUS DE LÉONNOIS*, *GUIRON LE COURTOIS* and *LA QUESTE DU SAINT GREALL*. Were we not haunted long and even inspired perhaps when Southey told us that the last and best of these was the favourite book of Muno Alvarez Pereira, who "endeavouring as far as possible to imitate the character which he admired"—Galahad, namely—"became himself, the fair ideal of a perfect knight". It was long after, maybe, that we came to see these books, to find that the Holy Grail figures in the Romance of Perceforest¹ and to learn—let us say—at long last that *PERCEFOREST*, *MELIADUS* and *GUIRON*, though never drawn into English, have existed for centuries in old Italian versions. So did we serve our apprenticeship before making acquaintance more directly with Tales and Legends of Arthur in the Italian Peninsula, gathering from there and here, till the day came all recently when Professor Edmund G. Gardner has opened a door leading into almost plenary knowledge on this subject.² The *matière de Bretagne*, as it happens, was imported into Italy too late for it to have or acquire direct bearing on our theme, which is that indeed of Arthurian literature, but solely and only in so far as it connects with the Holy Grail. It happens also unfortunately that, according to Professor Gardner, the Grail story took no root in Italian soil: "Its mysticism was of a kind alien to the Italian genius".³ But this is not to say that we shall learn nothing to our purpose by glancing briefly at how it stood with the Mythos in that country. There is one poet and one only in the thirteenth century who could or did claim that he knew well the Lance and the Grail.⁴ The Italian *MELIADUS* and *GIRONE IL CORTESE* were printed in the sixteenth century but offer nothing to our subject, though we know from the French original that Guiron belonged to the lineage of Joseph of Arimathæa on his mother's side. These Romances are part of a *GRAND PALAMÈDE*, the report of which has sounded far back in our ears and is scarcely less talismanic than the *GRAND PERCEFOREST*;

¹ We are told how it comes into Britain in the care of Alain, its Keeper, and performs a miracle of healing, on which a conversion follows. Corbenic is already in existence as a Royal Palace of Castle; but the King of *La Terre Foraine*—otherwise, the new convert—builds a Chapel for the Grail within the precincts and is present at a Mass therein. He sees the Holy Grail, which is covered with red samite. Unaccountably enough, so far as the King is concerned, Mordrains is also brought in—he who is the Maimed King—lying on a rich bed, and he receives the Sacred Host at the hands of the Grail Bishop Gamiel, who is unknown in the Grail Cycles. As in these, Mordrains is waiting through the centuries the coming of him who is to fulfil the Adventures of the Holy Vessel and to behold its Mysteries unveiled. It will be observed that the King of *La Terre Foraine* is identical with him who became Alphesem in Baptism; but it does not appear that he is slain subsequently for sleeping in his own Castle. *PERCEFOREST* has been referred to *circa* 1350 and later. It was printed twice at Paris, in 1528 and 1531. An abridged Italian version appeared at Venice in 1556–1558. The Romance is concerned with an age of Chivalry preceding that of the Round Table.

² See *THE ARTHURIAN LEGEND IN ITALIAN LITERATURE*, 1930.

³ *Ib.*, p. 20.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32. The poet in question was Ruggieri Apuliese. It is affirmed further that he knew about the Round Table, Tristram and Iseult the Fair. He belonged to the second-half of the thirteenth century.

it has never been printed in full and does not exist at this day " as an organic whole ". It was used by Rusticiano da Pisa when compiling " the earliest Arthurian Romance written by an Italian ".¹ But of this there are fragments only. The Palamède was a source also for the French PROPHECIES OF MERLIN, a work—as we have seen—which is now shewn to have been written at Venice or at least by a Venetian, between 1274 and 1279.² It was laid under contribution by the TRISTANO RICCARDIANO towards the end of the thirteenth century, and this has been edited at Bologna in recent days.³ It is based on the French TRISTRAM, is unfortunately incomplete and contains no Grail allusions ; but readers of Malory⁴ will remember the Weeping Castle on an Island of Giants where Christianity was preached by Joseph of Arimathæa : it appears to derive in the TRISTANO from the French source used by Malory. An unprinted TRISTANO and LANCIOTTO PANCIATICHIANO of the early fourteenth century give part of the Galahad Quest and part of the MORT ARTUS. As regards the first of these, when the Holy Grail enters the Banqueting Hall of the King's Palace it is not borne by unseen hands but is set between the horns of a white stag which is led in with chains of gold by four men in white raiment. We may compare the memorable Procession of the Grail in the LIVRE D'ARTUS, where the Sacred Vessel is carried on the back of a white stag, having a red cross on its forehead and lighted tapers on its horns.⁵

The TAVOLA RITONDA belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century⁶ and is described as " the most important Arthurian Romance written in Italian,"⁷ a cyclic compilation which derives from Rusticianus da Pisa, the PALAMÈDE, the TRISTANO RICCARDIANO and other sources, and includes a Tristram form of the Galahad Quest, depending from the French text but shewing variations therefrom. This also is the Grail story in decadence.

VII

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE QUESTS

WE have seen that the migration of French Arthurian literature from its native soil into Italy is mainly of reflective interest. Possibly in the nature of things and certainly in the point of fact, it casts no light upon texts belonging to the source itself. Above all it does not help us to understand the originating mind of the Grail and its Mystery in France.

¹ It is, however, a compilation in French and is in fact the French MELIADUS, to which reference has been made previously.

² See the Introduction to Miss Paton's PROPHECIES DE MERLIN, 2 vols., 1926, 1927.

³ See IL TRISTANO RICCARDIANO, edited by E. G. Parodi, 1896.

⁴ See also MORTE D'ARTHUR, Book VIII, caps. 24, 25.

⁵ See Sommer's VULGATE VERSION OF THE ARTHURIAN ROMANCES, Vol. VII, pp. 244-246.

⁶ Gardner, *Op. cit.*, c. IX *passim*. The Italian text was edited by F. L. Polidori in 2 vols., 1864, 1865.

⁷ Gardner, *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

Moreover, Italian imagination bodied forth nothing on its own part which can be called of living consequence to our subject. Even the TAVOLA VECCHIA of the TAVOLA ROTONDA compilation, which has been termed "a peculiar feature of the treatment of the Arthurian Legend in Italy",¹ has its roots in the prose version of Robert de Borron's MERLIN. Dante has Arthurian motives;² the DITTAMONDO of Fazio has allusions which can be traced to their sources in the "matter of Brittany";³ Boccaccio has Arthurian connections;⁴ the spirit of the Arthurian and spirit of the Carolingian Cycles were fused together under the auspices of Boiardo and Ariosto.⁵ But these things belong to the great story of Italian literature and are not of our purpose otherwise.

The position is similar as regards the Spanish and Portuguese Cycles of Arthurian Romance: there is no original literature; there are translations and imitations only. Both are of great importance for the pseudo-Robert de Borron sequence of Grail texts, and especially for its lost Galahad Quest, which is known in its French original by two fragments only, as we have seen. The GRAND SAINT GRAAL, with slight abbreviations, certain extensions and omissions, is represented by a manuscript LIVRO DE JOSEP ABARAMATIA, which ends with the conversion of Evalach. A MERLIN Y DEMANDA DEL SANTO GRIAL is on record as appearing at Seville in the year 1500;⁶ but no known copy is extant. It is therefore a matter of speculation whether it was reprinted in LA DEMANDA DEL SANCTO GRIAL: CON LOS MARVILLOSOS FECHOS DE LANCAROTE Y DE GALOS SU HIJO, Toledo, 1515. It was divided into two parts, (1) EL BALADRO, which has been identified with a publication of Burgos in 1498,⁷ and this is described as "an incomplete version of the lost CONTE DEL BRAIT," ascribed by the HUTH MERLIN to Hélie de Borron. (2) A version of the Quest of Galahad.⁸ LA DEMANDA DEL SANCTO GRIAL appeared at Seville in 1535, a reprint apparently: in any case both texts are held to contain the Spanish version of the pseudo-Robert QUEST and MORT ARTHUR.⁹

Among Portuguese texts, the National Library of Vienna has a fifteenth-century manuscript entitled HISTORIA DOS CAVALLEIROS DA MESSA REDONDA ET DA DEMANDA DO SANTO GRAAL. It was partly printed by Carl von Reinhardstoettner in 1887: a complete edition has been long promised and expected. It is held to be the pseudo-Borron QUEST indisputably.¹⁰ There is also a sixteenth-century Lisbon

¹ Gardner, *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

² *Ib.*, p. 130 *et seq.*

³ *Ib.*, pp. 222-228.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 228 *et seq.*

⁵ *Ib.*, *cap.* XIII *passim.*

⁶ See THE ARTHURIAN LEGEND IN THE LITERATURES OF THE SPANISH PENINSULA, by William J. Entwistle, 1925, p. 153.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 160.

⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 146 *et seq.*

⁹ The Spanish DEMANDA DEL SANTO GRIAL was edited in 1912 by A. Bonilla y San Martín. There was also a previous edition under the same care, published at Madrid in the first of two volumes entitled: LIBROS DE CABALLEROS. The DEMANDA is itself in two parts, being (1) IL BALADRO DEL SABIO MERLIN and (2) the DEMANDA proper, specified as describing the feats of Lancelot and his Son, Galahad.

¹⁰ Bruce, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 470.

manuscript, referred in the text to 1313 and containing a Portuguese version of LIVRO DE JOSEP ABARAMATIA.¹ Finally there is a HISTORIA DE LANCELOTE in an unique Seville manuscript, but unprinted and undescribed, so far as my knowledge goes. We are therefore much in the same position concerning it as we are respecting a Spanish printed book called HISTORIA DE PERCEVAL DE GAULA, CABALLERO DE LA TABLA ROTONDO ET CULA ACABO LA DEMANDA Y AVENTURES DE SANTO GRIAL, of which no copy exists. It is said to have appeared at Seville in 1526, on the authority of Bonilla.² It was once thought to be based on the 1530 French prose version of the CONTE DEL GRAAL, but the settlement of the year of its publication in Spanish puts an end to this speculation.

It is to be understood that I am citing only texts belonging to the matter of the Holy Grail and am omitting therefore all reference to other Arthurian translations. The Tristram story was popular in Spain and Portugal and is represented by several manuscripts and more than one printed work.

I have shewn that the Galahad Quest, in so far as it enters into the cyclic version of the Romance of Tristram, is the Quest in decadence. That of the pseudo-Robert de Borron Cycle is in worse case, but I prefer to summarise its position on authority other than my own. According to Bruce, (1) the Grail theme practically disappears from view ; (2) Galahad differs from other Knights in being hardest hitter of all ; (3) Corbenic and its Spiritual Palace in the Vulgate text have lost their titles to the name ; (4) it is visited by Galahad as he might arrive at any other hospitable abode ; (5) the conception of the Grail and its Castle is cheapened further by establishing a Sorcerer in the latter ; (6) the episodes which make up the bulk of the work are like the most threadbare and extravagant among those encountered in the LANCELOT ; (7) the profoundly religious spirit of the Vulgate Quest has vanished from the imitation.³ The views of Mr. Entwistle are equally strong and searching. As regards the Castilian DEMANDA he describes the so-called Robert de Borron as " wholly insensible to the logic of the Legend " and repeatedly turning away from it " to lose himself in a catalogue of fantastic happenings and insensate battles ".⁴ The Quest is " a scatter-brained narrative which adds to the true Grail the Knight-errantries of Galahad, passages in detraction of Gawain and copious extracts from the Tristram and Palamèdes."⁵ In the Portuguese DEMANDA, " nobody cares for the Holy Vessel ; nobody has any purpose save cuffs and blows. Galahad is as absurdly pugilistic as any other Knight."⁶

It remains to be noted otherwise that the witness of the Holy Grail which reached the Spanish Peninsula was of Galahad and not another. The German TEMPLEISEN, the Stone, the Hierarchy of Fallen Angels

¹ Bruce, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 460 ; II, p. 289.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 470-472.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 149. See also pp. 151-153.

² *Ib.*, II, p. 291 ; Entwistle, *Op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁴ Entwistle, *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁶ Entwistle, *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

have no part therein. There would be a certain intellectual consolation in knowing that the Quest of Galahad passed into the life of Spanish and Portuguese Romantic Chivalry, were it not for the kind of version which drifted therein.

Before parting with the Spanish Peninsula, it shall be excused if I recur for a moment to the Provençal Kyot, for whom I have been looking all my life, since I knew anything of Wolfram, and whom I have placed among literary myths with an aching heart. We know that in 1820, on the evidence of Fr. Jayme de Villanueva, there were large collections of unedited Provençal poets in the archives of Spanish Churches. This is readily explained (1) by the intimate union between the Court of Provence and that of Barcelona; (2) by the union of the Crown of Provence and the Crown of Aragon in the person of Alphonso the Second; and it is Aragon that once at least was especially rich in such manuscripts; (3) by the popularity of Provençal poetry in Catalonia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A poem breathing the Provençal atmosphere and inspired by the Provençal spirit, whether written or not in the *langue d'oc* would have drifted surely into Spain from Provence and left some trace behind it: it is for this trace that I have followed a vain quest through so many years.

There was also at one period a great movement of literature from Southern to Northern France and through Northern France to England at the time of Henry II. He married Eleanor of Guienne, who is said to have brought Provençal poets in her train. Could we suppose therefore that Kyot de Provence and his poem antedated other Grail literature, as held by some in the past, when he was regarded still as an historical personality, it would be possible to account for the subsequent appearance of the Cycles in Northern French. He has faded, however, from the fore and the background, and were it otherwise the explanation has the disadvantage of fatal facility, for Kyot, *per se*, as we have heard concerning him, seems incapable of accounting for Grail Romance outside the one text which he is claimed to have influenced in Germany. It was on an illusory assumption of this kind that the Perceval Legend was classed as Celtic by Schulz but the Grail, on the other hand, as Provençal. The Grail of Kyot is not the Grail of Northern France. The marriage of Schulz's two classes is said to have been contracted about 1150; but it is difficult to believe that any Sacramental Mystery had developed at that or any approximate period in Southern Romance: in any case, only a shadow of the Eucharist is found in Wolfram. The value of such a possibility is shewn by the traditional hostility to the Church of Rome on the part of most Troubadours, while the comment at large hereon is the Albigensian Crusade. After all, the analogy of Troubadour poetry with Grail literature seems exceedingly slight: if we set aside the CONTE DEL GRAAL, the love element therein is only an accident of the Cycle; and it is totally absent from two of the highest texts. The mystical side of human love in poetry and its Provençal reflections are like a light of Moslem ecstasy.

VIII

THE DUTCH LANCELOT

WE shall find at a slightly later stage that Italian, Spanish and Portuguese texts of Arthurian Romance cast light upon those of Northern France as translations or imitations of variants now no longer extant, and that they are of importance for the same reason in respect of the Grail Cycles. As I am speaking of a great literature to those more especially who are unversed otherwise therein, it is not only desirable but needful to say something of all the branches, derivative as well as direct. The *DUTCH LANCELOT* demands a brief consideration from this standpoint and might indeed repay further treatment than it is possible to give here.¹ It is a compilation which is known only by a single text, and this is incomplete unfortunately, the first part out of four original divisions being now wanting. The authorship is unknown and the date of composition is speculative, though it lies somewhere between 1250 and 1350, with a preference on the part of Bruce for the second half of the thirteenth century. So far as we can judge of what is wanting, it may be said to have taken a most considerable field of Grail Romance for its province. The missing first volume must have contained, almost indubitably, the earlier life of Lancelot, while it may have included some part at least of the Quest and initial failure of Perceval at the Grail Castle. The second Book embodies adventures of Agravain, the brother of Gawain, a Knight of pride and violence; and this is the last division of the French Prose *LANCELOT*, presented in metrical paraphrase.² It is in this section that Lancelot pays his first visit to Castle Corbenic and that the conception of Galahad is encompassed. The poem reverts thereafter to dealings with Perceval and has vestiges of a Tradition which is not extant in the Romances of Northern France. There are variations, for example, in the development of the tasks proposed by the Messenger of the Holy Grail to the Knights of King Arthur's Court.³ Correspondences are traced (1) with diversities

¹ *ROMAN VAN LANCELOT*, edited by W. J. A. Jenckbloet, 2 vols., 1846, 1849. Described by Bruce as a "collection of Arthurian Romances." There are 87,296 lines extant.

² It contains in addition to its excerpt from the French *LANCELOT* (1) part of Chrétien's *CONTE*, being mainly that section which is devoted to the adventures of Gawain; (2) the Romance of *MORIEN*, which has been edited separately and translated into English by Miss Weston: it is not of importance for Grail purposes; (3) an account of Lancelot's combat with a Knight named Yder on account of a damsel's mantle: it connects with an old story of a mantle which serves as a test of chastity; (4) an account of Lancelot and Bohort rescuing a maiden who has been bound to a tree by a gang of evil knights; (5) a version of a French Romance entitled *RICHARS LI BAUS*, otherwise *LE CHEVALIER À LA MANCHE*; (6) a story of Gawain and Kay; and (7) a story derived from a supposititious French original, speculatively entitled *LANCELOT ET LE CERF AU PIED BLANC*. The second Book of the Dutch poem is the longest of all, comprising some 47,262 lines.

³ The reference is to the visit of the Laidly Damsel, who comes to denounce Perceval for not having asked the all-important Question at the Grail Castle.

in the Montpellier MS. of the CONTE DEL GRAAL ; (2) with the Vatican German Perceval ; and (3) with Wolfram's PARZIVAL, but at a long distance. The Quest of Galahad occupies the third Book, and the fourth brings all to its term in the MORTE D'ARTHUR. The Dutch Metrical Romance is an exceedingly composite work ; but a logical purpose seems to prevail throughout, combining the Perceval and Galahad Cycles of Northern France and shaping them towards a harmonious end. Among many other points there may be noted the fluidic analogy which it offers with the poem of Heinrich in its judgment on Perceval. Therein—as we shall see—the Lord of the Hallows and those by whom he was encompassed had great hopes of the latter ; but because he had entered the Castle and did not ask the Question he was discarded once and for all. As regards the episodic or biographical Romance of Morien, to which I have referred in a note, he is the son of Agloval and the nephew of Perceval, and is a Black Knight, recalling Feirfeis, who is Perceval's half-brother in the Romance of Wolfram. The correspondence once suggested to scholarship a lost French poem as the source of both. Unlike Feirfeis, however, Morien is a Christian when he arrives in the realms of the West in search of his father, to whom he is in fine united and whom he causes to marry his mother according to Christian Law. It is in the course of his story that we learn as follows concerning the Holy and Sacramental Mystery :—

(1) King Arthur—who here, as elsewhere, manifests his unfailing love and anxiety for Perceval—is represented as lamenting his loss because he has gone in search of the Grail and the Sacred Lance, and because there is no news regarding him. Now, the text states—and this is on the part of the King, as if by prophecy or foreknowledge—that he will never find them, that is to say, upon earth. (2) The same conviction may have entered into the zealous heart of the Widow Lady's Son ; but Sir Gareth, also a brother of Gawain, is he who announces the reason, which is not on account of his failure but because Perceval sinned in leaving his mother to die of grief at his absence. On this score he might search till the Kingdom which is above descends on the Kingdom which is below, but his pains would be his only meed. We see here that a responsibility which should be transient only and is such always in the French Cycles is pictured as permanent and insuperable : fortunately it proves in appearance only. (3) Perceval, on his part, has become convinced of his sin and has embraced the life of a hermit as the proper path of atonement. (4) But Arthur and Gareth notwithstanding, the intention of the tale is to restore Perceval forgiven to the Higher Life of Chivalry, and we have accordingly (5) a vision of Sir Agloval, who speaks of a Golden Staircase seen therein, which, by interpretation, is more than the sunbeam whereon the Grail enters in the Great Quest ; for it symbolises the Sacred Vessel as another Ladder of Jacob leading to the Throne and the Kingdom, and this is also for Perceval as the days of the life of him. It followed that he should yet have his place in the Quest, and it was affirmed that

in such high service he should pass to his reward on high. That which is foretold here is of course fulfilled to the letter in the part which follows thereafter—that is to say, in the QUEST OF GALAHAD.

The DUTCH LANCELOT is in some respects that which I indicated at the beginning, an attempt to harmonise all the cycles by dealing (1) with the Quest of Perceval and its initial failure ; (2) with that of Gawain, corresponding to the Montpellier intercalation of the CONTE DEL GRAAL ; and (3) finally with the union of Galahad, Perceval and Bors, according to the plenary inspiration of the Great Quest. The DUTCH LANCELOT offers the position of a text which had every opportunity to profit in universals and not in particulars only by the poem of Wolfram ; but, though it is under the obedience of the prototype created by the CONTE DEL GRAAL for the early history of Perceval, it redeems him only at the close, by a kind of *tour de force*, in its adaptation of the story of stories.

BOOK VII

THE GERMAN CYCLE OF THE HOLY GRAIL

THE ARGUMENT

I. THE PARZIVAL OF WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.—Its valuation by Recognised Criticism—Alleged Theological and Ecclesiastical Position—Evidence of the Surface Sense—Specific Analogies with French Romances of the Perceval Cycle—The Triad in the Keepership of the Grail—Geniture of Parzival—Of Gamuret and Herzeleide—Of Parzival's Cousin Sigune—At the Court of King Arthur—The Red Knight—The Brother of the Grail King—Queen Kondwiramur—The Marriage of Parzival—The Fisher King—The Castle of Mont Salvatch—The Pageant and Bewrayed Question—Of things which followed thereafter—Of Kundrie, the Grail Messenger—Parzival hardens his Heart—The Pilgrim Band—The Hermit's Story of the Grail—Parzival's Election—The King's Healing—Specific Distinctions from Romances of the French Cycle—The Morganatic Union of Gamuret—The History of Kundrie—The Magician Klingsor—Of Feirfeis, the Brother of Parzival—His Union with the Maiden of the Grail—Of Prester John—The Story of Lohengrin—The Grail in Wolfram's Poem—Its Quasi-Sacramental Connections—Its Feeding Qualities—Its Antecedent History—The Bleeding Lance—The King's Wounding—Of the Duchess Orgueilleuse—The Castle and its Chivalry—The Source of Wolfram—The Story of Kyot de Provence—The Judgment on Chrétien de Troyes—The LAPIS EXILIS—Of a Second Sense in the Parzival. II. THE QUEST OF KYOT DE PROVENCE.—The Testimony of Wolfram—The Story betrays itself—Alleged Evidence of the SONE DE NAUSAY for the existence of Kyot's Poem—Failure of this Testimony—Alleged Identity of Kyot de Provence and a Bishop of Durham—What follows therefrom—The Source of Chrétien—Chrétien as the Source of Wolfram—The Religious Position of Wolfram. III. THE CROWN OF ALL ADVENTURES.—The Quest-in-Chief of Monseigneur Gawain—Heinrich and Chrétien—Heinrich and the alleged Kyot—Keystone of the Story—The House of Glass—The Companions of the Quest—The House of Death—Its Dream of Splendour—The Banquet in the Castle—The Grail Vision—The King's Sustenance—Wine of Forgetfulness—The Question Asked—The Hidden Secret—The King's Release—The Vanishment of the Grail—Conclusion as to this Quest. IV. THE TITUREL OF ALBRECHT.—Literary History of the Poem—The Incorporations from Wolfram—Its Reversion to the Cycle of Northern France—The Grail as a Chalice—Pretensions of the Poem as a complete History of the Sacred Vessel and its Wardens—Religious and Ecclesiastical Aspects—Removal of the Grail to the Land of Prester John—Subsequent Removal of the Ancient Sanctuary—Parzival as the Heir of the Priest-King—The King's Legend—King Arthur's Search for the Grail. V. THE GRAIL IN DESECRATION.—How the Talisman became a Place—The Other World of Heroes—A Heathen Earthly Paradise—The Grail and Juno—The Grail and the Paradise of Venus—The Venusberg—The Grail Diabolised.

BOOK VII

THE GERMAN CYCLE OF THE HOLY GRAIL

I

THE PARZIVAL OF WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH

THOSE who in recent times have discussed the poem of Wolfram with titles to consideration on account of their equipment have been impressed not alone by the signal distinctions between this German poem and the Perceval Legends as we know them in Northern France, but by a superiority of spiritual purpose and a higher ethical value which are held to characterise the knightly epic. For the moment, at least, it can be said on my own part that we are in the presence of a poet whose work is full of gorgeous pictures, all rude diction notwithstanding, and all contemporary reproaches made upon that score. To me—but as one who on such subjects speaks with a sense of remoteness—the traces of Oriental influence seem clear in the poem, partly in its decorative character and partly in its allusions to places—after every allowance has been made for geographical confusions. Such traces are admitted, and they are referred to the source of Wolfram, about which I must say something in this section to introduce the separate inquiry which will follow hereafter. But we are asked in our turn to recognise that the PARZIVAL is the most heterodox branch of the whole Grail Cycle, though it has been said to be the work of an ecclesiastic. The major proposition is put forward in authoritative statements on the part of scholars who have scarcely produced their evidence, and in sporadic discursive remarks on the part of some other writers who could have been better equipped. In this manner we have (1) the negative inference drawn from a simple fact—as, for example, that the PARZIVAL does not exhibit such hostility towards Mohammedan people and things as characterised Crusading Times—but as much might be said about other texts of the Grail; (2) the positive opinion that the Chivalry of the Grail Temple resembles an association formed without the pale of the Church rather than within—which on the authority of the poem itself seems untrue, and this simply. Those who expound these views look for an explanation to the influences exercised theoretically by Knights Templar and the Sects of Southern France—which possibilities will be considered in their proper place in respect of all the

literature. As a preliminary, by way of corrective, I desire to record here that if the PARZIVAL is heterodox, its elements of this order have been imbedded below the surface, and then deeply; but whether it implies in this manner any secret religious claims which are not of normal Sect or Heresy is another question. On the surface it would be easy to make a tabulation of many points which manifest an absolute correspondence with Church Doctrine and Ordinance; but it will be sufficient for the moment to say that Mass is celebrated and heard as it is in the other Romances; that Baptism is the first gate to be opened by or for those who would see the Grail; that Confession is not less necessary; while so far as there is allusion in particular to dogmatic teaching, that it is of the accepted kind, as of the conditions and day of salvation: Mary is the Queen of Heaven, and the Lord Jesus dies as Man on the Cross; the Divinity of Three Persons is included in one God. Sometimes there is an allusion which looks dubious, but it is mere confusion, as when a Hermit speaks of a soul being drawn out of hell, where the reference is of course to the purgatorial state.

The story of the Quest in Wolfram may be considered in the interests of clearness under two heads, the first of which is designed to develop the specific analogies with other Romances of the Perceval Cycle, and especially the CONTE of Chrétien, while in the second there are exhibited the specific points of distinction. As regards the analogies, it is to be understood that I reserve the right to omit any or every episode which does not concern my ultimate purpose. It is to be understood further that all analogies are under their own reserve in respect of variation. Let it be recalled, in the first place, that the historical side of the Perceval Legend in the CONTE DEL GRAAL of Chrétien is in a certain state of confusion. That poet left so much to be desired on the score of clearness about the early life of his hero that another poet prepared some antecedent information; but he spoke according to tradition and forgot that the matter with which he intervened was not in complete accord with Chrétien's own account, so far as he had gone. All continuations of the CONTE were either too late for Wolfram or were for some other reason unknown by him: but it has been held that Wauchier and Manessier produced their romantic narratives following several prototypes, not of necessity connected with their character-in-chief, *ab origine symboli*. Gerbert was either under the obedience of a prototype peculiar to himself in the Northern French Cycles or he invented much and greatly, unless anyone can suffer at this day the suggestion that he derived from the dubious Kyot de Provence, of whom we shall hear shortly at length. In any case he knew something of the Lorraine Epic Cycle and its Legend of the Swan Knight. With the DIDOT-MODENA PERCEVAL Wolfram has only those points of concurrence which belong to any common primordial source, and with the PERLESVAUS or LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL his features of likeness are in so far as both texts stand together by themselves. Under these

qualifications, the salient lines of correspondence by way of likeness with the French Cycle may be collected as follows.

The genealogy in the *PARZIVAL* is simple: it is the triad, which is permanent on earth as the Holy and Undivided Trinity is eternal in Heaven. But in most texts the Trinity of the Grail Keepership is by way of succession and therefore the analogy is thin. Wolfram, on the other hand, ends with a perfect symbol in the union of those who have reigned with him who shall reign henceforward, whereas all other Quests of Perceval leave him alone in his kingdom at the end absolute of the great adventure. The German Kings of the Grail are Titurel, Frimutel and Anfortas. The first is the founder of the dynasty—in respect of the Grail Keepership—and he remains alive, like Brons in Robert de Borron, the maimed King Pellehan in the *QUEST OF GALAHAD*, and that nameless hidden sovereign who anteceded King Fisherman in the *CONTE DEL GRAAL*.¹ The second has died in war, which was not in the cause of the Grail, and it is partly for this reason that Perceval must intervene to renew the triad. The nearest analogy to this is in the *DIDOT-MODENA PERCEVAL*, which after the achievement of the Grail pictures the Questing Knight abiding in the place of the Hallows with Blaise and Merlin as two substituted Keepers, though at the close it detaches the prophet and puts him into mystic retreat, as if at the term of the ages—when Avalon gives up its exiles—he might again manifest and testify. There is also another analogy, but this is of the implied kind, for in the *PARZIVAL* and the *DIDOT-MODENA PERCEVAL* he who has achieved the Quest remains, and the Sacred Vessel—in apparent perpetuity—that is to say, in the House of the Hidden Hallows. Both Elect Knights—shadows of a single personality—arrived, that they might stay in fine.

The father of Parzival was a King's Son—as he is occasionally in the other Romances—and it is said in more than one place that he came of faërie lineage. In the natural order he was, however, a Prince of Anjou. It was on the Mother's side that the youth was by generation a Scion of the House, and entitled therefore, supposing that he was prepared otherwise, to return therein. She was Herzeleide, Sister of the Grail King and Queen in her own right of Wales and Norgales. The father—who had been married previously in the East—was named Gamuret; but in the course of Knightly Adventure he was slain shortly after the birth of his only Son in respect of the second union. That he may be saved from the violent end which in those days was involved by the Life of Chivalry, there follows—with many variations—the concealment of Parzival by his Mother in the wild places and woodlands. It does not appear what she did to insure the rule of her kingdoms, including the heritage of her Son, but the result was that the three countries fell into other hands. She who had been born an inbred Daughter of the Holy House might have acted better and more wisely to have reared her Son—in the spirit and intention at least—as a

¹ Potvin: *CONTE DEL GRAAL*, II, pp. 260, 261.

child of the Sacred Talisman instead of a wild boy of the woods, denied all knowledge of God in his early years. Far otherwise than she did the twice-born Hermit Nasciens, who had Galahad in his keeping; far otherwise did they of the White Abbey, among whom Galahad was found by Lancelot. But the fatality was working with greater power because she strove the more; Parzival met all the same with Knights of King Arthur's Court, and rode forth as usual—not with her consent indeed, but with the dangerous folly of her cautions—in search of the Order of Chivalry. Almost immediately after her parting with Parzival, she died in the grief of his loss. He, as in other stories, reached the pavilion of the Sleeping Lady, and he took not her ring only but also a buckle. In this instance she seems to have been unwilling throughout, and the youth behaved brutally.¹

Before reaching the Court of King Arthur he met with his Cousin Sigune, and it should be noted here that there is no Sister in this version of the Quest. Of her he learned his proper name and so much of his genealogy as was requisite to assure him that he was the legitimate King of North Wales, in the defence of which right there perished her own lover, whose body remained in her charge after the mad manner of the Romances.

As geographical names signify little or nothing, the Court of King Arthur was held at Nantes, and on the youth's arrival thither we meet with the old episode of the Maiden who could not laugh until she beheld the Best Knight in the World.² She was struck and insulted by Kay for paying this honour to one of Parzival's outlandish appearance, and a considerable part of the story is concerned incidentally—like the CONTE—with the youth's resolution to avenge her and a certain Silent Knight who, after the manner of the dwarfs, found speech to hail his advent and was also chastised. The Red Knight is on the scene, as in the CONTE, and Parzival—whom Arthur has knighted—obtains his armour. The story is the old story, that the Knight had taken a cup from the Round Table and spilt wine upon the robe of the Queen. But the secondary detail was a matter of accident and one regretted deeply, for in this story only the Red Knight is a hero after his own true manner: he is also the youth's kinsman, and his death—which occurs as previously—is a stain on Parzival rather than to the glory of his prowess.

So proceeds the story, and so far as it follows the long weariness of the worn way, even its decorations can lend it only a secondary interest. I think also, and it must be said, that even in his exaltation the hero kindles little sympathy, whereas Galahad enthrals for ever. The next incident in our scheme is Parzival's Instruction in Chivalry, which took place at the Castle of Gornemanz, who was a Brother of the Grail King, though this relation was not declared to his pupil. Like Gonemans de Gohort³ in the CONTE, he is responsible for the

¹ Cf. Potvin, *Op. cit.*, II pp. 62–67.

² *Ib.*, pp. 76 *et seq.*, to the death of the Red Knight.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

fatality of the unasked question, and in both cases there is the same want of logic on the surface, whether or not it covers a secret intention. The result otherwise of the instruction was that Parzival ceased from his folly.

The experience completed, he asked his teacher at their parting to give him his Daughter when he had done something to deserve her ; but it appears to have been more in conformity with her father's implied wish than through a keen desire of his own, and we hear nothing further of either. His next task brought him to Belrepaire—in siege by sea and land and wasted by famine. There he succoured the Queen Kondwiramour, who corresponds to Blanchefleur,¹ and there also he married her. We are now in that region which we know to have been travelled by Gerbert,² and as for him the espousals left the lovers in virginity, so, according to Wolfram, the marriage was not consummated till the third night. But—whereas a high motive actuated the two parties in the French Romance—in the German poem there was no mutual concordat but a kind of spurious chivalry on the hero's side which he overcame in the end. Few, however, were the days reserved to love : the voice of duty called the Son to see how it fared with his Mother, and Parzival set forth. But the Mother was dead ; the purpose fades away ; he meets with the Fisher King, whose Castle is close at hand, like all things that are greatest. As regards his qualifications for the visit, it would seem that, even in the Holy Place, he thought chiefly of knightly combats and wondered how he should find them in such surroundings. The Fisher King was Anfortas, the Maimed King, and the Procession was that which I have described previously, at needed length. The Castle was full of splendour and Chivalry, but it was full also of sadness : the story is one of suffering and sorrow. The relation between Host and Guest was that of Uncle and Nephew ; but as usual it did not transpire on this occasion. Parzival failed also to ask the vital Question ; but it should be noted that, although grievous sin is attributed to him on this account, he has not been warned so distinctly—either here or in the CONTE DEL GRAAL—that there would be a Question to ask as he is in the DIDOT-MODENA PERCEVAL. He went forth unserved from the Castle ; but there is no suggestion of any external enchantment, nor did he find that the whole country had been laid under a mysterious interdict which had rendered it utterly waste, or that the inhabitants were abandoned to various forms of distress. On account further of the normal offices of Nature, it is to be understood that he left the Castle as a Knight who has finished his visit—that is to say, he rode away : it was not the Castle which left him by a sudden process of vanishing.³ In the world outside he was reproached by his kinswoman Sigune, who still had the body of her lover.⁴

The familiar pursuant adventures must be mentioned briefly. The

¹ Cf. Potvin : CONTE DEL GRAAL, II, pp. 98 *et seq.*

² *Ib.*, VI, pp. 189-213. Cf. Miss Mary Williams' complete text of Gerbert, Vol. I, pp. 191-215, ll. 6225-7020.

³ See Potvin, *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 142-154.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 154-163.

Lady of the Pavilion was exonerated fairly by Parsifal¹ and sent with her vanquished spouse to the woman who could not laugh at the Court of King Arthur, where she proved to be the Knight's Sister, so that Kay was put to shame. Arthur rose up and set forth on the quest of Parzival, who was found in the love-trance of Chrétien's poem and brought to the royal tent. There he was made a Knight of the Round Table, and thither came the laidly Kundrie—that baleful messenger of the Grail, who was also God's minister—to curse and denounce him for his ill-fated course at the Castle.² She told him much which belongs to another branch of our subject, but also of his Mother's death, by which news he was overwhelmed, and by the shame of the messenger's wrath tempestuous. He departed from that Court as a man who had lost his faith, yet he went—*pro forma* at least—on the Quest of the Grail. After long wanderings he met again with his Cousin Sigune, whose lover had found a sepulchre, near which she lived as an anchoress and received food from the Grail, brought her by the Sorceress Kundrie. At a later period, Parzival, being still in his sins, and cherishing no thought of God, encountered the pageant of pilgrims on Good Friday; but his better nature did not return to him so quickly as in the other stories.³ In due course he reached the hold of a Hermit, who—here as there—was his Uncle, to whom he confessed everything and from whom he learned—subject to certain variations—the story of the Grail in full.⁴

When he is heard of next in the poem, the chance of war had brought Parzival in collision with Gawain, and they failed to recognise each other until the latter suffered defeat. The victor was restored in this manner to the Court of King Arthur, passing henceforth to and fro between that world and the more external world of adventure. To the Court on a certain occasion, with no preface or warning, again there came Kundrie, Sorceress and Messenger, carrying the news of Parzival's election to the Holy Kingdom of the Grail.⁵ Thereat he rose to his feet and recited the secret story of the Great Palladium, as he had learned it from the lips of the Hermit. He told how none could attain it unless he was called thereto; and in virtue of that calling, in his own case, he took leave of the Chivalry for ever. He reached the Consecrated Castle, beheld the Hallows therein, and asked the necessary question, to the King's healing and the joy of those who were delivered from the thrall of his long suffering.

I have left out of this summary all but one reference to Gawain, who occupies a third part of the whole story, and whose marriage is celebrated therein. He undertook the Quest of the Grail, and though much followed thereupon in the matter of High Adventure he did not attain the term. To say this is to indicate in one word an important point of difference between this text and the post-Merlin stories of the Vulgate Cycle. There are other variations, but I will mention this only, that

¹ Potvin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 163-185.

² *Ib.*, pp. 200-203.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 254-257.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 258-264.

⁵ Cf. the CONTE DEL GRAAL, Potvin, VI, pp. 149, 150.

I may have done with any extraneous matter ; it concerns the character of Gawain, which is one of knightly heroism and all manner of courtesy and good conduct. Wolfram knew nothing apparently of that later fashion of calumny which was set by the ROMANCE OF LANCELOT.

The reader is now in a position to understand how far this summary corresponds with the general outline of Chrétien and with the brief Quest in the DIDOT-MODENA PERCEVAL. At a later stage of our research, he will trace also certain salient analogies with the WELSH PEREDUR, and, in a lesser degree, with the English SYR PERCYVELLE. In fine, he will see that so far as the schedule reaches, it has no correspondence in adventure with the LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL, which is the second part only of a Knightly Quest or a supplement thereunto, though the two Romances converge—as suggested previously—in the path of their greatest divergence from other texts. We have now to establish the points of distinction in the PARZIVAL—which are a much more serious question—and I shall do so under three subdivisions, the first of which will deal with romantic episodes, the second with the Grail itself, including its concomitants in symbolism, and the third with the source of Wolfram, thus leading up to the considerations of my next section.

A morganatic union was contracted by the Father of Parzival, prior to his Marriage with Herzeleide, as one consequence of a journey Eastward in search of adventure. He was the means of salvation to a heathen Queen Belakané, whom he wedded and whose throne he shared for a period. It may be advanced that this union was not one which the Church would recognise ; but Gamuret is not exculpated, because it is quite clear that he had every opportunity to convert her and to lay the Christian Religion like a yoke on the neck of her kingdom. He would be responsible therefore for not making the attempt, an episode which does not correspond to a high sense of Christian duty at the period ; while his subsequent Marriage—which is not challenged by the poet—would be thought little less than disgraceful if the hypothesis of scholarship had not allocated the poem of Wolfram to so high an ethical level. The fruit of the first union was the pagan Prince Feirfeis, who, being born in the East under such circumstances, is harlequined—that is to say, is represented as half black and half white, to indicate his dual origin. The death of Gamuret was the result of a second visit to the East. He heard that Baruc the King of Bagdad was beset by the Princes of Babylon, and having served him in his youth he was impelled to go forth to his rescue. In one of the ensuing battles he took off his helmet and laid down for a few moments on account of the heat. A Pagan Knight poured thereon the blood of a he-goat, and that which was previously like diamond in its hardness became soft as sponge. The result was that the King of Alexandria cut with his spear through the helmet and penetrated the brain.

I have mentioned here the first point of distinction between the more narrative part of the poem and the other Quests of Perceval : the second concerns Kundrie, who acts as the Messenger of the Grail. She is

described as faithful and true, possessing all knowledge—according to the institutes of the period—and speaking all tongues. But she was repellent in appearance beyond the physical issues of Nature, as a combination indeed of gruesome symbolic animals. She was a Sorceress also, as we have seen, though this is perhaps a technical description of the period, expressing only the sense of her extraordinary knowledge. She is not, however, to be identified with the evil side of the powers of Avalon, concerning which we hear so much in the *LANCELOT* and later Merlin texts, nor is she exactly a Fay Woman—that is to say, the Daughter of a School of Magic—as conceived by the French Romances, since she does not practise Magic or weave enchantments. Her impeachment of Parzival at the Court of King Arthur turned mainly on his failure at the Grail, and was interspersed with prophecy which future events made void.¹ I must say that her discourse reads only as the raving of one distracted, and that by which she was distracted was the sorrow in the House of the Grail. As Parzival might have disarmed her by the simplest of all explanations—being that which he gave subsequently to the Round Table itself²—and as thus he had at least his personal justification reposing in his own heart—it is curious that he should take her reproaches so much more deeply into his inward nature than his counterpart in the *CONTE*, and that he held himself shamed almost irretrievably, though the Court did not so hold him. The effect was greater than this, for it hardened his heart against God and converted one who had never been ardent in faith, who had never so far experienced a touch of Divine Grace, into an utterer of open blasphemy. Other stories say that he had forgotten God, but in Wolfram he remembers and rebels.

The *PARZIVAL* does not give us an intelligible history of Kundrie ; it does not explain why the Messenger of the Grail was or had become unlovely ; or why it connects, however remotely, that Sacred Object with one whom it terms a Sorceress.³ We see only that she comes and goes as she pleases, or is commissioned thereby, in and about the Holy House : she carries the palliatives administered to the wounded King to a place where they become available for Gawain, and she brings—as we have seen—the Food of the Grail to Parzival's Cousin, Sigune, after her lover is buried and she has become a recluse in a hermitage beside his sepulchre.

¹ He was (1) sealed, signed and delivered to the hands of hell ; (2) the future horror of heroes ; (3) one who would be the scourge of happiness ; and (4) so diseased in honour that no physician will have the power to heal him. Cf. the "laidly Damsel" of the *CONTE DEL GRAAL*, from which all this is imitated and exaggerated. Potvin, *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 200-203.

² He cited, that is to say, the warning against loquacity and impertinent questions received from his instructor Gornemanz at the beginning of his career. There is no parallel justification offered in the *CONTE*.

³ It is said only at a later stage that she and her Brother, who is not less hideous than herself, were gifts to the Grail King on the part of a Queen Secundilla, the Pagan wife of Feirfeis, whose rivers flow with jewels and whose mountains are of gold.—*PARZIVAL*, Book X. Having regard to her Consecrated Office, it is obvious that this explains nothing and is indeed a hindrance rather than a help. Cf., however, the Prester John Mythos, which will be examined at a later stage.

The intervention of a problematical Magician named Klingsor in the story leaves us also in doubt as to what he represents in the scheme. He came of the race of Vergil—whom Mediæval Tradition presents as a potent enchanter—and was originally a duke of noble life till he was ensnared by unholy passion, for which he was visited heavily, being deprived of the instruments of passion. Those who know anything of Occult Traditions will be aware that this affliction would have been an almost insuperable barrier to his success in Magic ; but Wolfram, who knew only by hearsay, and then at a very far distance, says that he became a Magician by his maiming, meaning that he visited the Secret City of Persida, the Birthplace of Magic—on its averse side apparently—and received initiation in full, so that he could work all miracles. He erected a Keep of Wonders, which is a sort of contradiction, in terms of diabolism, to the Castle of the Holy Grail, as his own life is an analogy by travesty of that of the King of the Grail, who had sinned also in his senses, at least by the desire of his heart.¹ CHATEAU MERVEIL, however, seems to lack intention, for the Magic which built it was not proof against the personal bravery of Gawain, who put an end to the enchantments and became Lord of the fortress. It should be added that Klingsor himself does not appear in the poem, so that he is like a King in hiding.

There is little cause to delay over the history of Feirfeis, the brother of Parzival, who came with a great host Westward in search of Chivalry and his Father, only to learn that the latter was dead when he and Parzival had nearly slain each other. Feirfeis married before leaving his native land ; but as Wolfram von Eschenbach begins his knightly epic with one cruel adultery, so he ends it with another, eclipsing his previous record by uniting Feirfeis, within the sacred walls—after his Baptism—to the pure and wonderful Maiden who through all her virgin days had carried the Holy Grail. Now, I pray that God may preserve us from these high ethical values which we have known under rougher names. To make bad worse, when the wedded pair proceed on their journey Eastward, the news of his first wife's death is brought to Feirfeis, which soothes and gladdens the quondam Grail Lady, though it seems a poor satisfaction. I have read some weird criticisms which are designed to depreciate it, but—while God continues willing—I set my own heart on the QUEST OF GALAHAD. In fine, as regards this Marriage the issue was a Son, who received the name of John the Priest—that is to say, Prester John, the great, legendary, sacerdotal, Christian King of the farthest East, the rumour concerning whom went forth over Europe at the end of the twelfth century.

After the union of all the characters of the story—who are within the sphere of election—at the Castle of the Grail, which, as in Chrétien

¹ See *ante*, Book VI, sect. 1. As stated there, in my study of the PERLESVAUS, there is a curious correspondence between Klingsor, the Magician of Wolfram, and that King of Castle Mortal who sold God for money. It does not appear, however, that he was evil *ab origine* by Nature, like the Brother of the Rich Fisher in the particular French Romance.

so here also, is never the HOLY GRAIL, the poet passes to the history of Lohengrin—the Son of Parzival and Kondwiramour. He became the Knight of the Swan, whose Legend was transferred by Wolfram from what is termed the Lorraine Epic Cycle. We shall hear further concerning him and the transmission of the Sacred Talisman to Prester John in the YOUNGER TITUREL, of Albrecht. Kardeiss, the second of Parzival's twin Sons, was crowned in his infancy as King of those countries which were the more earthly heritage of his Father.¹

A few matters of lesser importance may be grouped here together : (1) There is an account of the Mother of King Arthur which is the reverse of the other Legends : it is related that she fled with a clerk who was versed deeply in Magic—one would have thought a reference to Merlin, who otherwise at least is unknown to Wolfram. The reference, as a fact, is to Klingsor. Arthur is said to have pursued them for three years.² (2) There is no Siege Perilous and no reference to Lancelot. (3) Parzival is elected to his Kingdom by the fiat of the Grail itself. (4) The mystic Question in Wolfram seems to be the most natural and ineffective of the literature, its words being : What aileth thee here, mine uncle ? (5) It is essential that this Question should not be prompted ; but Parzival's Uncle on the Mother's side gives him the information in full and so makes void the condition ; yet Parzival asks in the end, and all is well with the King.

I pass now to the matter of the Grail itself, to the Hallows—imputed or otherwise—connected therewith, and the subsidiary subjects, in so far as they have not been treated in the considerations of the Second Book. It will clear the important issues in respect of implicits if I say that in the German Cycle there are no Secret Words, there is no strange Sacerdotal Succession, while the religious side of the Mystery is distinct, and so utterly, from that of the French Romances. The Grail is not a Chalice—and much less a Chalice containing the Blood of Christ : it is a Stone, but this is not described specifically when it is first beheld by Parzival. It is carried on a green cushion and is laid on a jacinth table over against the Warden. It is called the Crown of all Earthly Riches, but that is in respect of its feeding properties, of which I shall speak presently. It is not termed a Stone, which is the current account regarding it, till the Knight hears its history from the lips of his Uncle Trevrezent. The names which are then applied to it are Pure and Precious, *Lapis exilis*³ (literally, *Lapis exilix*, but this is a scribe's mistake and is nonsense), and it is

¹ We do not learn how they came back into his possession.

² It came to nothing at the time ; but in Book XIII Arthur and his host reach the Keep of Wonders after its conquest by Gawain, and there the King meets his Mother, with no particular astonishment on either side. She has been long held in durance by Klingsor. It is to be noted that the root-matter of the Keep of Wonders, Château Merveil, is of French origin.

³ It may be noted that this title is given to the Stone of Alchemy in a citation under the name of Arnoldus. It is the only instance that I can remember in the literature of the subject. See Mangetus : BIBLIOTHECA CHEMICA CURIOSA, 1702, II, p. 88.

also that Stone which causes the phoenix to renew her youth. No man can die for eight days after he has seen it, and—although this virtue is forgotten in the case of Titurel, who is described as an ancient of days—those who can look on it daily remain in the appearance of youth for ever. It is subject, apparently to a periodical diminution of virtue, and it is re-charged like a Talisman every Good Friday by the descent of a Dove from Heaven carrying a Sacred Host : she deposits it thereon, and so returns whence she came. It follows that the Mystery of the PARZIVAL suggests an Eucharistic Mystery, although at a far distance, seeing that it never communicates Supersubstantial Bread. What it does distribute actually we have learned elsewhere ; for at the supper-table in the Castle it acts as an inexhaustible larder and superb hotch-pot, furnishing hot or cold, wild and tame, with the wine-cups of an eternal tavern. As a peace-offering to the rational understanding, there is a vague suggestion that the Stewards of the Castle provide the salt, pepper and sauces. Wolfram von Eschenbach describes this abundance as (1) earthly delight in the plenary realisation thereof, and (2) joy which he is justified in comparing with the glories of heaven's gold bar. Long researches dispose the heart towards patience—perhaps because of their weariness : let me be satisfied therefore with repeating the bare fact that this story is supposed, by those who know, to be the High Spiritual Quest of all, on which authority I am casting about me for the arch-natural side of an alderman's dinner. The writing on the Grail Stone might well be : *esurientes implevit bonis*.

The sacred character of this wonderful object—which solves for those who are called the whole difficulty of getting a material living—is explained by the antecedent part of its history. It was brought to this earth by a company of fallen angels, who gave it into the charge of certain baptised men, the first of whom was Titurel. In the Northern French Cycle the origin of the Sacred Vessel is explained in a manner which, within its own limits, is quite intelligible : it may be almost said to begin in Nature, though it ends in a Great Mystery. To the Cup used by Christ at the Last Supper no unusual qualities attach ; Robert de Borron says that it was *mout gent* ; but it is only in the sense of an utensil at the period. This is probably the earliest description which we have, and it is left by most of the later texts in similar comparative simplicity. The arch-natural character resided solely in the content. To sum up, the Paschal Dish of the Galahad Quest began on earth and was taken to Heaven ; but the history of the German Hallow is the converse of this : its origin is celestial, but in the end it is left on earth. Let it be remarked in conclusion that there is no reason assigned for the bringing of the Grail to earth, nor do we hear of its purpose or nature prior to this event.

The Lesser Hallows of the story have scarcely a title to the name, as they have no connection with the Passion of Christ or any other Sacred History. The Grail King was wounded in ordinary warfare by a poisoned spear, and this was exhibited in the Castle, but not as a

memorial or a symbol of vengeance to come, for the heathen who smote him died at his hands in the joust. We know already that the Lance has a prodigal faculty of bleeding ; but it is to no purpose. The Sword seems to be merely an ordinary weapon of excellent quality and temper ; it was used by the King before he fell into sickness ; it is given to Parzival—as a mark of hospitality apparently ; it will break in one peril and can be made whole by the virtues of a certain spring, which comes to pass later.¹ No Dish is specified as part of the Official Procession ; and the two silver knives, though they have a certain history, for they were made by the smith Trebuchet, serve only a surgical purpose in connection with the King's sufferings.

As regards these, we know that the sin of Anfortas, for which he has been punished full long and in which he awaits the help of the Mystic Question, was a sin of earthly passion. The Grail is an Oracle in Wolfram, as it is in Robert de Borron, but according to the latter it spoke, while here it writes only. In this manner it calls maidens and men from any place in the world to enter its service ; but the maidens it calls openly and the men in secret. It appoints also the Successor of the Reigning King and the Wife whom he must take unto himself. With his exception, a life of celibacy is imposed on all the Chivalry of the Castle. With the women it seems to have been different ; but those who married went out into the world. The sin of Anfortas, which led to his grievous wound, was—as I have just said—a sin of earthly passion, but not apparently of that kind which had been consummated literally in the term of service. There were expectations, however, in that direction, and hence the doom that followed. The Grail, moreover, had not announced that this Keeper should take a Wife, and he had gone before its judgment by choosing a Lady for his service, in whose honour he went beyond the precincts of his Kingdom in search of knightly deeds. She was the Duchess Orgeluse, who became subsequently the Wife of Gawain. In accepting the service of Anfortas, as later that of her future Husband, she was pursuing only a mission of vengeance on one who had destroyed the Prince to whom her love had been dedicated from the first days of desire. The King of the Grail was abroad on these ventures when he met in a joust with a heathen, who had come from the region about the Earthly Paradise and cherished the ambition of winning the Grail. We have seen that the unqualified aspirant after the secret knowledge died in the tourney, but Anfortas went home carrying the poisoned spear-head in his flesh, and thereafter he abode as a King in suffering and even in punishment. It follows that the cause of battle was honourable according to all Rules of Chivalry, but the motive which brought about the catastrophe was, I suppose, the root of offence, and for that he was bruised grievously. All the resources of healing were sought in the world of Nature and

¹ Cf. the corresponding episode in Gerbert—Potvin, *Op. cit.*, VI, pp. 168, 169, where the Sword broken by Perceval on the threshold of the Earthly Paradise is made whole by the smith who wrought it, but of course by the fire of his forge, instead of running water.

that of Magical Art: the Grail itself in vain; in vain the Waters of Paradise; the blood of the Pelican, the heart of the Unicorn; that Bough which the Sibyl gave to Æneas as a Palladium against Hades and its dangers; and the Magic Herb which springs from the blood of a Dragon—but these too in vain. Finally, the appeal was referred to the Sacred Talisman by Offices of Prayer, and a writing which appeared thereon announced the condition of healing—to wit, the visit of a Knight who should demand knowledge concerning the Woe of the Castle. It is the only version in which this Mystic Question is shewn to originate from the Grail itself. It is also the only version in which sin enters the Sanctuary; and it is therefore important to shew that it is a sin of sense in the least degree: it is rather a transgression of obedience. There are stated periods in the story for the increase of the King's suffering, being the close of the wandering of Saturn, causing frost and snow in summer on the heights where the Kingdom is situated. The cold is agony to the Keeper, and it is then that the Poisoned Spear is used to pierce him again: it re-opens the wound; but it keeps him alive, for it draws out the frost in crystals—which crystals are removed by the Silver Knives of Trebuchet.¹

The Castle of Wolfram is supposed to have been situated on a Northern slope of the mountains of Gothic Spain, while on the Southern side, or in Moorish Spain, was the Castle built by Klingsor—that is to say, the Keep of Wonders, containing the LIT MERVEIL of the other Romances. The name allocated to the first was that of the eminence itself—Mont Salvaage, Salvasch, or Salvatch. There is no account of the building or of the incorporation of the Chivalry; but (1) the Grail Knights are chosen, as we have seen, by the Grail itself as opportunity offers or circumstances seem to require; (2) they may be elected in childhood; (3) they constitute an aggressive Military Order, going sometimes on long missions; (4) they cannot be regarded as a perfect nor yet as an invincible Chivalry, for one of them is overthrown by Parzival in combat, when on his Quest of the Castle; and here, as in other respects, (5) they recall and are practically identified by Wolfram with the Knights Templar, having also the same Order name. Scholars who have investigated this part of the subject trace a connection between the House of Anjou and the Templar Brotherhood: it should be added that the lineage of Anjou is the subject of continual reference in Wolfram's poem, and Parzival is of that legitimacy.

At the beginning of his Chronicles Wolfram testifies to a single prototype from which alone he drew; he cites its authority several times in the course of his poem: in one place he gives a very full account of it; and he testifies concerning it at the end. He knew otherwise of Chrétien's version, but he suggests that it was the wrong story, with which the fountain-head might be reasonably indignant. The authentic text was the work of Kyot de Provence, and from that region it was

¹ When Parzival is called to become the King of the Grail and has reached its Castle the periodical crisis has attained its extreme height.—Book XVI.

brought into the German fatherland. It was not invented by Kyot, but was found by him under circumstances the account of which is in one respect a little out of harmony with itself. It lay rejected or forgotten in the city of Toledo, and being in the Arabic tongue, the first task of Kyot was to learn that language. This he accomplished by the sacramental grace of baptism and the holy illumination of faith. Without these aids to interpretation the tale would have remained in concealment, for, according to its own testimony, no pagan talents could have expressed the Great Mystery which reposes in the Grail. This is so far clear ; but the difficulty is that it was written in the first place by one who ranks as a heathen for Wolfram—that is to say, one who on the father's side was a worshipper of idols, though on the mother's, apparently, of the royal line of Solomon. This was in the days which preceded Christ, and the alleged Jew was the first in this world who ever spoke of the Grail. That which enabled him to do so was his gift of reading the stars, wherein he saw wondrous secrets ; for the story of the Grail was written in a celestial galaxy. On this basis the scribe wrote more especially concerning the descent of Angels to earth, carrying the Sacred Object, and concerning certain baptised men who were placed in charge thereof. This being the record attributed to a Son of Israel before the first dispensation had suffered supersession, no one will be surprised to learn that his name was Flegetanis, but here ends the account concerning him. Kyot may have been dissatisfied, reasonably or not, with the transcript from the starry heavens ; but he confesses only to anxiety about the identity of those who had been appointed the Wardens ; and after consulting old Latin works, he went in quest of their records through France, Britain and Ireland, but did not attain what he wanted until he arrived in Anjou, where he found the story of the Keepers faithfully and truly registered—that is to say, concerning Titurel, Frimutel and Anfortas. It seems clear therefore that the Jew of Toledo told the Early History of the Grail but gave no version of the Quest. I deduce from these data two conclusions, one of which is speculative and personal to myself at the moment : (1) The appeal of Kyot, like other Grail romancers, is to an antecedent authority and, like some of them, to a primordial text ; (2) the story of Flegetanis has suffered what is termed contamination by the introduction of extraneous matter, being all that which was not included in the record of the starry heavens, for which reason I set down as a tolerable presumption that neither Kyot nor Wolfram told the true story, however ample the evidence on which the version of Chrétien was condemned. I suppose that I shall be accused of fooling or alternatively of preternatural gravity ; but I mention these matters because of what will be said hereafter concerning a Lost Book of the Grail. Two points remain to be mentioned here : (1) Kyot seems to have cautioned those who reproduced his story to hide the chief matters until the end thereof, and this is cited by Wolfram, though it can be said scarcely that he carried out the injunction ; (2) if Wolfram followed Kyot, and

him only, it seems certain that Kyot himself recounted several adventures to which his translator alludes merely in passing: however, they do not concern us.

II

THE QUEST OF KYOT DE PROVENCE

IT was not in the least essential that the minstrels and prose writers who spoke and wrote of the Grail, as indeed of other matters, at the epoch with which we are dealing, should have their own names perpetuated in or with their stories. The note of such personal ambition is curiously wanting, as contrasted with our own ultra-self-conscious period. On the other hand, there was an unqualified need that the Sagas which they made and told should be accepted as very truth, to insure which they made innumerable claims on the past, appealing to its real or imagined archives. Chrétien de Troyes had a "best story" behind him; Robert de Borron cited a great book; later Merlin Romances had the Prophet's own memorials; while that which they told of the Grail came from the House of the Grail, to which a scriptorium was evidently attached. So also in the Palace of the King there was a driving of many pens to bring and keep up to date the Chronicles of the Round Table. The authorship of the PERLESVAUS is a concealed mystery for ever, because it must come forward forsooth under the auspices of him "who first consecrated the Body of the Lord".¹ Walter Map, writing to Giraldus Cambrensis, has a touch of regret in recording that want of time prevented him, the preacher, from putting many pens to paper, yet a whole Cycle of Romance passes under his name; while a pseudo-Robert de Borron and his kinsman, a supposititious Elias, are connected with another sequence.² It was desirable also on occasion that an alleged source and authority should be put back into the past at some considerable distance. I have given Wolfram's account of his Provençal Master Kyot apart from comment, except for foot-note references to corresponding episodes in the Perceval Myth of Chrétien. So far as the latter poet had carried his putative version of the *mellor conte qui soit contés en court roial*, he accounts for everything in the PARZIVAL; but Wolfram was going much further and must have a source behind his manifest pattern and original: otherwise he would be "making up" on his own part, instead of reproducing a real story drawn from

¹ *Cist hauz estoires nos tesmoigne et recorde que Joseph qui nos en fet remembrance fu li premiers prestres qui sacrefieat le cors Notre Seigneur, et por itant doit l'an croire les paroles qui de lui viennent.*—PERCEVAL LE GALLOIS: LE ROMAN EN PROSE. Potvin, I, p. 113. Cf. Sebastian Evans: THE HIGH HISTORY, Branch IX, Title 8.—"This high history witnesseth us and recordeth that Joseph, who maketh remembrance thereof, was the first priest that sacrificed the body of Our Lord, and forsomuch ought one to believe the words that come of him."

² See *ante*, Book VI, § 2, *s.v.* THE HUTH MERLIN. There was a disposition at one time to accept Hélie de Borron, possibly because of his alleged Kinsman's intriguing testimony to their companionship in arms and letters; but it became evident on later research that the "Kinsman" was a false Robert.

authentic regions. The great imaginative poet bent upon telling "things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme" created therefore Kyot de Provence, giving reins to his unbridled fancy for the greater exaltation of his theme. It was wholly insufficient that the said "illustrious Master" had himself invented: he appears as a channel only, having seen with his own eyes the Adventures of Parzival "written in a pagan tongue". Behind Kyot there was pictured Flegitanis, descended from the wise Solomon and one who was renowned¹ for his knowledge, especially concerning the stars, he being an astronomer above all things. It came about therefore that behind Flegitanis were all the starry heavens and that by his ability to read therein he became qualified to affirm the existence of a "prodigy" called the Grail. It has been said in the past by hostile criticism that Wolfram invented these things to conceal the fact that his sole source was Chrétien.² The explanation is futile. Wolfram was in search of a warrant for another and greater story than ever had entered into the thought of the Northern French poet, and hence Kyot, with all his celestial signs revolving in heaven above him. The Provençal poet is a glorious invention, but I would burn many candles to the Virgin at any Church of Toledo, would only the lost planet of his poem at length "swim into our ken".³ However, that poem is the PARZIVAL and Kyot is the Lord of Eschenbach. He could have done much better in one respect, unless indeed he intended to betray his own invention: he need not have made Flegitanis a pagan who worshipped a calf; he need not have put him far back into pre-Christian days; or he might have remembered in doing so that when a "legion of angels" brought the Grail to earth, they could not in the nature of things have gone about to discover "baptised" Guardians for the Talisman.⁴ It would be ridiculous to say that the story betrays itself, even at every point: it is a great betrayal throughout of the fact that Wolfram devised it out of his own head: that fact is written all over it, from A to Z.⁵ That a few in the past have hoped to find the poem somewhere in Southern

¹ Obviously in the sense of a "reader," and in the sense of the *astronomia* of Paracelsus, who theosophised thereupon.

² It has not been suggested that Wolfram knew the GRAND SAINT GRAAL; but Flegitanis is curiously reminiscent of that text and of its many references to a Duchess Flegetins, who was (1) the Sister of Evalac, who became Mordrains in Holy Baptism; (2) the Wife of Nasciens; and (3) the Mother of Celidoine.—Sommer, *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 51, 52, and elsewhere in several places. See *ibid.*, Supplementary Volume, being Index of Names and Places, *s.v.* Flegentine, Flegetine.

³ Toledo is specified because—as readers will remember—it was there that Kyot found the Arabic manuscript, written by the "great astronomer" and was able to understand as well as read it, by the virtues of Christian Baptism and a knowledge of Necromancy. Presumably Kyot evoked Flegitanis, as the Witch of Endor called up Samuel.

⁴ That he could have forgotten may seem incredible, were it not for the fatality or providence which insures, with almost unfailing precision, that forged documents and false ascriptions should always betray themselves, at some "unwatched portal of the wall."

⁵ We have only to consider for a few moments in summary form. It supposes (1) that Kyot, being a Provençal, wrote in French; (2) that there was a pre-Christian Arabic manuscript concerning the Grail; (3) that it was written by a Pagan of Jewish descent—apparently on the mother's side; (4) that, being an astronomer, he discovered by signs in heaven the existence of a prodigy called the Grail; (5) that it was brought to

France or in a Spanish Monastery is a testimony to the capacity for dreaming on the part of scholarship: so also is the learning which has identified Kyot laboriously with Guiot de Provins¹ and even with a Priest of the Church in Britain who died Bishop of Durham.²

It has been maintained also with zeal and enthusiasm that the *SONE DE NAUSAY* gives evidence of sources that were used previously by Wolfram, who did not therefore derive solely from Chrétien. The alleged evidence is of two kinds. There is firstly the fact that the Grail King—Joseph of Arimathæa—in *SONE DE NAUSAY*—was smitten by God because of his foolish marriage, while Anfortas, the third Grail King of the *PARZIVAL*, is maimed in the course of adventures undertaken to win and to keep the favours of Orgeluse, described as a Lady of Logres. It is said secondly that there are allusions to the fable of the Swan Knight in both poems. If these points survived the test of examination they would prove nothing, except that the anonymous author of the later text had borrowed from Wolfram, the latter belonging to the first decades and the former to the second half of the thirteenth century. The correspondences however are phantasmal. The visitation of Joseph is represented as Divine in its origin, while Anfortas is wounded in warfare. Joseph is healed by a Knight who has skill in medicine, but Anfortas was to wait through long years the advent of one who will ask him an arbitrary question. Joseph in fine is married to a pagan who has passed through the Rite of Baptism but remains a heathen at heart, while Anfortas has an illicit amour with a noble Christian Lady. As to the Myth of the Swan Knight, it does not exist in the *SONE DE NAUSAY*; but the author of a later prose summary attached to the poem recites the story briefly in connection with the text's account of a marriage between Sone's son and a Lady of Bohemia.³

The *PARZIVAL* of Wolfram emerges therefore with a debt to Chrétien which is not altogether unlike that of Shakespeare to the folk-story of Lear. It is a great creative and decorative poem, with an elaborate plot which is developed logically throughout. It is a work of imagination carried triumphantly to its term. For myself it seems too often overloaded and cloyed, decoration for the sake of decoration, spangles

earth by a legion of Angels, who then returned to the skies; (6) that they seem—for it is not stated definitely—to have placed it in the hands of certain baptised scions of a pure race, this amazing fact being noted apparently in the pre-Christian Arabic text; (7) that Kyot discovered this text lying neglected at Toledo; (8) that what with the illumination of faith, the grace of baptismal water and the most abhorred of occult arts, he contrived to read it; (9) that he went in search of the Grail Wardens through the Chronicles of various countries, including Britain, France and Ireland; (10) that at long last he learned in those of Anjou concerning Titurel, Frimutel, Anfortas and his Sister Herzeleide, who became the Mother of Parzival—a likely research indeed, a likely finding, altogether a likely tale.

¹ The hypothesis is that Kyot should be read as Guiot and that Wolfram mistook Provins for Provence. Guiot de Provins is famous for a satirical poem known as the *BIBLE GUIOT*, an attack on contemporary manners and vices.

² The Prelate in question is Philip of Poitiers, while the author of this proposition is Paul Hagen in *WOLFRAM UND KIOT*. See *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DEUTSCHE PHILOGIE* for 1906. Those who care to check the alleged evidence will find it in Bruce, *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 318, 319.

³ *SONE DE NAUSAY*, *Ed. cit.*, p. 554.

or gold everywhere, for all is not gold that glitters on its garish vesture. Pageant is for the sake of pageant, apart from further purpose. The fact is illustrated conclusively by the Grail Procession in the Banqueting Hall of the Grail Castle, largely a procession of supers carrying this and that, including the legs of a table, while there are others who bear nothing but merely swell the numbers. The Grail of Wolfram is perhaps the supreme unreason of the whole ornate device. It is (1) a family oracle which has no office whatever outside the family and (2) a family larder which provides food in season, ready-cooked and dressed, apart from cost or toil, except possibly that of a few hypothetical scullions in the kitchen of the King : these may wash the plates, the dishes and polish the jewelled goblets. What part has God therein, that God should send down the Grail ? What office has a Sacred Host, consecrated at some Mass in Heaven and thence conveyed, that the family may eat for ever ? What kind of life is led in the Grail Castle ? There is no Priesthood of the Grail and there are no Divine Offices. The life is not one of religion and the Chivalry called to the Service has only to guard the marches against all cowans and intruders. There is a suggestion, I think, in one place of services performed beyond ; but it leads nowhere.

It has been suggested—as we have seen—that there is a sub-surface hostility to Rome and all its ways, especially those of doctrine ; but it is difficult to agree so far as the open sense of the poem is concerned. There are no Priests in the Castle, but their ministry is available at the precincts. Baptism is an essential Rite, and in a notable case Feirfeis, the Brother of Parzival, cannot see the Grail till that ceremony has been performed upon him. Confession is also practised and Masses are heard occasionally, as for example by Parzival and Konduiramour towards the end of all. There is heresy here and there, but it suggests a layman's blundering rather than design. Trinitarian teaching would seem indispensable, as in the *PERLESVAUS*, and, as in that story, the three Divine Persons are held to be incarnate in Christ ; though in both cases I tend to infer that the respective authors would have been astonished to learn that this is not good Roman Theology. Stress has been laid on the fact that Saracens are not regarded with horror and are not evidently excluded from the Round Table ; but after all the respective positions of Moor and Christian are made clear enough in the case of Feirfeis.

It must be added that much of what has been said on the ethical value and pregnant significance of Wolfram's poem will have to be taken back. The repudiated marriages of Gamuret and Feirfeis are eloquent and in fact final on the first count. The test of value in respect of Christian faith is found in the conversion of the Pagan Prince. It was any profession and any belief and any manner of gods in order to possess the Grail Maiden, for whom also he would have been willing to put away any number of wives and favourites. The test of value also as regards the Grail object is provided by the kind

of transaction which bartered the Elect Virgin for the advantage of such a conversion enacted to the accompaniment of broken marriage vows. With reference to the second count, the *TEMPLEISEN* are not a Great Chivalry comparable to the historical Templars at their best and highest. They are family retainers belonging to a supposed branch of the House of Anjou which possesses a Magical Palace. The women of the Castle could go forth and be married as and when it was possible and if and how they pleased. The men, on the other hand, were pledged to celibacy, except the Grail King, but why so pledged there is no reason given and there is none in the nature of things.

It is to be noted also that after all the sufferings through his years of maiming Anfortas has been King of the Grail; but he is deposed as soon as he is healed on the reiterated ground of unworthiness, and Parzival reigns in his stead by the ordinance of the Grail itself. After this manner is a youthful indiscretion punished as if to everlasting. It would be unwise at this point to examine the titles of Parzival, whether they are valid or flimsy: it must be held sufficient to remember that Anfortas returns to a life of active Chivalry, by the hypothesis of the story, and for the rest that the royal dignity is merely titular to all intents and purposes. There is no obvious office, there is no special prerogative; Anfortas remains in the Castle. What does it signify which of them is called the King? Titurel also remains, with the weight of the years upon him and illustrated in particular by an unyielding form of gout. "Nothing to do and all one's life to do it in" seems the last inscription which might have been written on the Magian Stone: it has been primarily responsible for the supreme follies (1) of the Question that must be asked for the sake of the healing of Anfortas and (2) its antithesis, the Question which must not be asked if Lohengrin's wife is not to be deprived of her husband and left with no power to sue for the restitution of conjugal rights. The *PARZIVAL* is told grandly, but if ever a wrong story was proffered concerning the Grail, the case is that of Wolfram's epic.

III

THE CROWN OF ALL ADVENTURES

THE implicit, I must suppose, of every succeeding Quest was that some earlier singer of *le meilleur conte qui soit conté en cour royale* had told the wrong story, in one or another manner, and that a yet far higher flight of pure Romance must justify the material which came into the hands of each later poet—whether in the mode of records or that of the mind's imagining. The most interesting contrasted instance is the *LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL*, put forward as an alternative to the *QUEST OF GALAHAD*, as if by one who cleaved to the old Tradition concerning the Hero of

Achievement and yet had every intention of profiting by the high light of sanctity which overshadowed the symbol of Galahad. The least comprehensible contrasted instance is the competition instituted—*circa* 1220—in the name of Gawain by Heinrich von dem Türlin in his poem of *DIU CRÔNE*.¹ The ambition seems impossible after the *PARZIVAL* of Wolfram, but that poem was not appreciated—on account of its setting chiefly—by the general Profession of Minstrelsy. The instance further was, in its way, a certain exoneration of Chrétien, who was followed in several respects and often appealed to by Heinrich. That *DIU CRÔNE* justifies any claim to existence I do not think; but this notwithstanding it is a very curious Romance, so much under veils of enchantment that the whole action seems transferred into a Land of Faërie, while the gifts and dotations which are offered to the elect hero might have made any Quest of the Grail almost a work of superfluity on his part.² In place of the Castle of Maidens there is pictured a Wandering Island of the Sea wherein dwell Virgins only; and the Queen of this wonderful people, exercising a royal privilege, offers the possession of herself in marriage and the rule of her Kingdom to Gawain as her Chosen Knight; yet if this be incompatible with his purpose, she will tolerate their parting at need and will bestow upon him, as her token of goodwill, an elixir of unfading youth. The hero exercises his admitted power of choice in favour of the second alternative, and with good reason probably, since the island was doubtless one of those dreaming places where a thousand years are even as a single day, and after a moon of sorcery he might have issued bearing on his shoulders an age past all renewing, even by the Holy Grail.

The keynote of the story is in one sense the Disqualification of Perceval, who—because he had failed once—had forfeited his vocation for ever. The opportunity is transferred to Gawain, and Heinrich is indebted to Chrétien for the substance of those inventions by which he is covenanted to enter on the Quest of the Holy Grail. We, on the other hand, may be indebted to his own imagination for the aids that the Powers of Faërie combine to provide by means of telesmas and other wonder-working objects which safeguard the way of the Quest. Seeing that the failure of Perceval to ask the all-important Question is held insufficient as a warning in the case of Gawain, when he seeks to follow in his footsteps, he is reinforced by a particular caution at the Castle of Wonders. What he receives is indeed a dual counsel: he is not only to ask and to learn, but, in order that he may behold the Grail, he is urged to abstain at the table from all refreshment in wine. The Maiden—described as a goddess—who proffers this advice proves to be she who carries the Sacred Vessel in the Pageant at the Castle thereof. The analogy by opposition hereto is Wauchier's story of the trick played upon Perceval by the Daughter of the Fisher King when she carries off

¹ The poem is in Middle High German, and nothing seems known of the author. Bruce suggests that he was "probably of Steiermark" but offers no reason.

² We hear of draughts in cups which are proffered to test chastity, of those who may go invisible by means of girdles and of sleep produced by images.

the stag's head and basset to punish Perceval for not asking the Question.

We have had scant opportunity to appreciate Gawain's share in the great adventurous experiment within the horizon of Wolfram's poem: we have seen also in the *CONTE DEL GRAAL* how and why, as a part of his own vindication, he set forth to seek the Bleeding Lance; but the Quest proved a failure. Except the promiscuous proposal and fleeting undertaking in the Galahad Quest, Gawain does not figure as a Knight in search of the Grail in the French Romances till we come to the period of the *LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL*. Even in Wauchier the fullest account of his visit to the Castle of Hallows is apart from all note of intention, as he is simply a gallant of the period in attendance on Guinevere, who herself is awaiting the return of King Arthur after the reduction of Castle Orguellous. On the other hand, Heinrich's *DIU CRÔNE* pictures him expressly, and as if in real earnest, seeking to achieve the Grail, enduring also many adventures because of it.¹ After the poem of Wolfram, his success does not seem to improve upon his failure in the other stories; it is by way of superfluity, and it may be said paradoxically that Heinrich takes him for another, as he was hailed also for a moment in pseudo-Wauchier's poem.

In the course of his progress Gawain arrived at a bountiful and smiling land, as if it were the precincts of an Earthly Paradise, and on the further borders thereof he beheld a Vast Fiery Sword keeping the entrance to a Fortress with walls translucent as glass. I do not know, because it is difficult always to adjudicate in his case, why he should have regarded that wonder in the light of an evil omen; but this is how it impressed him, and he missed perhaps one among the highest Adventures when he retired so incontinently—whether it was a way of entrance into the Lower Eden guarded by Kerubim, or into the fascination of a False Paradise. Great as are the accomplished enterprises of Grail literature, I think that greater still are some of those which therein are hinted only, remaining unachieved or unrecorded. It seems clear that this Fortress, at no indefinite distance from the Grail Castle, is like unto that which Perceval would have entered in Gerbert's poem, and his incontinent eagerness contrasts favourably with the terror and the flight of Gawain.

The Knight continued to traverse a land flowing with milk and honey, and he rode for yet twelve days, when he came upon Lancelot and Calogrenant—another Companion of the Round Table—both in a manner on the Quest.² So these three shadows of those who should finish the experiment in utter reality came at last to their bourne. It

¹ Nutt suggests that Heinrich presents the most archaic form of the Unspelling Quest—*STUDIES*, p. 182. As a fact, Gawain undertakes to seek the Grail as the outcome of a Chessboard episode, in which he plays with a Maid and has to defend himself with the Board subsequently.

² The story of Queen Guinevere's abduction by Meleagant, Son of King Bademagus, and her rescue by Lancelot is reproduced in *DIU CRÔNE* from Chrétien's *CONTE DE LA CHARRETTE*. It may be noted also that Calogrenant appears in Chrétien's *YVAIN*.

may have been a region of Sorcery which encompassed that abode, which we know to have been a House of the Dead ; but it was assuredly like the intermediate region of occult speculation between the life of this world and the life everlasting. There are few things in literature which savour so strangely of that visionary astral region, full of great simulations and full of false joy, which does not attempt to conceal its bitter heart of sorrow. The Knightly Company depicted on a meadow without the burg, performing evolutions in pastime, was like the "midnight host of spectres pale" which "beleaguered the walls of Prague." But the places of death are not in this case, places of silence ; the burg itself had a noisy throng within it ; and so had the Castle or Palace—that Ghost's House and House of the Dead Alive. The Companions were brought under safe guidance into the Hall in chief, which was like the Kabbalistic Sphere of Venus—a pomp of external splendour, heavy with the crushed-out fragrance of heaped roses—as some mansion in an Eastern Fairyland. In the Hall of Roses there was seated the Host who was to receive them—another patient sufferer of the ages, diverted in his pitiful weariness by youths playing chess at his feet and jesting in the course of the game. That game is a feature which in one or another form is inevitable in all the stories till the highest of the high Quests intervenes and makes void so many of the old episodes. We know that it is played elsewhere by pieces having self-moving powers ; but here it is played by the dead, amidst shadowy sport and raillery : betwixt the one and the other there is perhaps suggested some vaguely mystical side of the old war in mimicry.

The Questing Knights had not been received to no purpose : there was a work which they were required to perform, supposing that they were prepared properly ; for the unspelling quest is followed even to the grave. Lord or Prince of the Castle, it is not said till the close whether the host is old or young ; he is not termed the Rich Fisher, and his genealogy is unknown. So also are most antecedents of the Hallows. The guests were treated royally and were entertained at a banquet ; but at that time the Master of the House neither ate nor drank. On his part, remembering the warning which he received, Gawain ate only, and this in spite of solicitations on his entertainer's side, the doom of whom seems to have been working more strongly, seeing that it drew to its term, and he was compelled to entreat that which would operate against his salvation. Lancelot and the other Companion quenched their thirst with wine, which overcame them immediately, as if it were nepenthe devised for that express purpose ; and they fell into heavy sleep. The Lord of the Castle fulfilled his office zealously, and again tempted Gawain ; but, finding no better success, he desisted, and thereafter began the high pageant, the foremost in which were maidens ; and she who was fairest among all—the Crowned Priestess who carried the Most Holy Vessel¹—was recognised as her

¹ It is borne on a cloth of samite and reposes on a jewel for its base, as a Reliquary may rest on an Altar—a suggestion of Dr. Bruce.

who had counselled Gawain previously—counselled him above all, like other wandering Messengers in the Romances of Perceval—not to forget the Question did ever he come to the place. If he could not be compelled therefore, he could at least be prompted, and the convention recalls that indelible word which *ex hypothesi* cannot be spoken or written and yet is communicated to the Initiate of many Mysteries, when he finds that he has been acquainted always therewith.

Before the Company—which was numerous within as without—had taken their places at the table, a page of the chambers brought in the Hallow of the Sword and laid it at the feet of the Master. The inference is that this was the fatal weapon which, in the midst of the strife of kinsmen, had somehow brought woe on the Castle—as we shall learn shortly; but the particulars are not given, and of itself the weapon would be nothing to our purpose, except that it is the antithesis of other Swords in the Legends. Not only was it perfect then but would so remain for ever: it was adjudged to the successful Quester and would break in no peril—an office of relaxed observance which shortened and simplified the Quest.

Now, the Company in the Castle had feasted gallantly, like the guests who sat with the Master; though dead, they yet spoke—and that, it would seem, volubly—interchanging questions and answers, as if in mockery of the Real Question; but the strong wine of the banquet had no effect on them, and the Lord of the plenty meanwhile, as I have said, had fasted. But the appearance of the Grail procession was the signal that he was to receive a certain shadow of nourishment—as if, after some Necromantic Supper, an astral Eucharist were communicated to one who had not partaken previously. We know already that the Vessel contained the semblance of a Host, as from the Lance there exuded Blood into a Salver—neither more nor less, in this case, than those three mystical drops which tincture all the Legends and connect them, as if undesignedly, with other and older Mysteries. In the story of Wolfram the first nourishment drawn from the Grail at the banquet in the Castle Hall is described as Bread, and Heinrich—as if profiting by a caution in respect of the Feeding Dish—converts the Sacred Object into a simple Ciborium. The Master of the Castle received therefore in Bread; but of the Bread he took only a third part, as if it were the efficient oblation at a Sacrifice of the Mass. He drank also the Blood from the Salver, no one but himself sharing in these Elements of a substituted Eucharist. He was fed sacramentally and super-substantially in some sense; for this his only nourishment was administered once in a year. Therefore Gawain arrived at a happy season, to see and to speak; and on contemplating these things, he overflowed in himself with the wonder and the mystery of it all, so that, acting on the spur of the moment, importunately he asked that which was vital to those who were suffering from death in life—namely, the Mystic Question, the most conventional of all formulæ: What does it mean?

There was no effect to begin with—no sudden change, I mean, from life to death or from death to life ; but if before there was the chaffer and light talk at a feasting, now it was the hubbub of a joy beyond suppression, as if the closing at last were taken in a Great Grade of Long Sorrow.

Gawain has asked indeed ; but as regards the Secrets of the Grail he is not told anything : it has come forth out of Mystery and it passes away therein. It is said to be God's Mystery—one of the Secrets of the King, and Heinrich has written about it : *abscondere bonum est*. Of the woe, the wasting and the endurance, when brother warred upon brother, he learned something, and we have heard enough ; of Perceval's failure and the deepened misery therefrom he was told also, and lastly the indispensable condition of release resident in the Question. But the King himself was guiltless, and so also were the Maidens ; he, however, was dead, with all the men of his household ; but they were alive in the flesh and they would go forth in the morning. When that dawned presently, the released speaker vanished, the Grail also with him, and its Mystery, never to be seen more.

The following points may be noticed in conclusion of this study : (1) There is no question anywhere of feeding properties in the Sacred Reliquary, except as regards the King—and him it feeds sacramentally ; (2) the Spear does not distil blood until it is laid on a table, with the head apparently over the Salver ; (3) the recession of the Grail seems to have been adjudged because it has performed its work of feeding the dead Master, keeping him in the semblance of life ; and once this office was perfected it went like a ghost. After what manner the variations which are introduced thus into the shifting pageant of the Legend can be said to elucidate its object will not be determined easily, if indeed at all. The doom that involves the dwellers in the Castle changes the symbolism but certainly does not exalt it. The Romance, for the rest, is the work of one who has resolved to give the palm to Gawain at the express expense of Perceval, to the Knight of This World in place of the Knight Celestial. It is the experiment of an inventor who possibly may have adapted some old materials to another purpose, at once indeterminate and undesirable.

The date ascribed to the poem is about 1220, and its ingarnering as a whole is regarded as a little chaotic. It reaches some 30,000 lines ; and though we hear generally concerning King Arthur's Court and the Round Table, Gawain is the hero-in-chief. After his completion of the Grail Quest, various pageants of Chivalry bring him back to his Uncle and the Fellowship, the story in this manner reaching its natural close.

IV

THE TITUREL OF ALBRECHT

THE Secret Doctrine of Kyot de Provence and the High Tradition of the Starry Heavens not only failed to convince the minstrel world in Germany concerning the titles of PARZIVAL—of which one example is Heinrich—but it failed to hold even those who had no alternative and more elect hero to offer—of which the example, within certain limits, is Albrecht.¹ It came about that towards the end of that century which had seen the light of Wolfram there arose the succeeding light of him who was to follow; and, having regard to the welcome which he received, the German world was looking evidently for another. He came to announce, like the French Romances before him, that the Grail had been taken away. Albrecht was an Austrian or Bavarian poet who wrote between 1250 and 1275, but of whom absolutely nothing is known. He undertook to carry the whole experiment to its term, which he did in a vast production of 45,000 lines, written in the obscure style of his predecessor-in-chief, whence—and for other reasons—the distinct individualities were confused for a considerable period. He incorporated various materials, first among which is the unfinished work of a completely anonymous and, if possible, more unknown poet than himself. Secondly, he appropriated and extended certain so-called TITUREL fragments which were the work of Wolfram himself. About the first author it can be said only that he is affirmed to have projected a complete Chronicle of the Grail and its Keepers, drawing for this purpose on the assumed source used by Wolfram. It is a matter of speculation at what point he broke off and for what reason; but his mantle fell upon Albrecht. The materials left by Wolfram are two in number, and the opening lines of the first fragment explain why they have been termed a TITUREL poem. They are really, by Wolfram's evidence, parts of the early history of Sigune and Schionatulander—respectively, the cousin of Parzival and her lover, who was his cousin also and whose embalmed body she carries with her so long in the PARZIVAL poem. It appears from the fragments that the lover met his death in satisfying a whim of his mistress, who desired to possess a Brackenseil.² Albrecht incorporated and extended these fragments,³

¹ There was once a disposition, now abandoned, to identify him with Albrecht von Scharfenberg, also in the thirteenth century, whose MERLIN survives in a very late redaction. Its sources are the MERLIN of Robert and the GRAND SAINT GRAAL.

² "Simrock has alluded already to the fact that Wolfram's TITUREL, were it finished, would form a curious contrast to the PARZIVAL, the hero of which pursues the highest adventure, whereas Schionatulander sacrifices his life for the possession of a Brackenseil." Franz Pfeiffer in GERMANIA, IV, pp. 298 *et seq.* Brackenseil, *i.e.*, a lead for a sporting-dog.

³ Writing in the Review GERMANIA for 1862, San Marte points out that Albrecht transfers from Wolfram (1) "all that relates to Sigune's youthful love"; (2) thence proceeding to depict her life after the death of her lover; and (3) changing "the passionate, sensuously loving woman into a religious devotee." There is, however, the PARZIVAL'S testimony that she became an anchoress and was fed by the Grail—surely an advanced instance of devotion to spiritual things. Albrecht is exonerated assuredly.

as I have said, and in many other ways the *YOUNGER TITUREL*, as it is called, covers much of the ground belonging to the earlier epic, carrying the History of the Grail to its final term. It has been explained that the lateness of the poem has excluded it in the mind of English scholarship from the canon of the Grail: alternatively it has been simply neglected; but German thoroughness has done it ample justice, and its consideration will help us better to understand the position and claim of the German Cycle. To that Cycle it makes a real contribution, and it differs in this respect from the Metrical Romance of *LOHENGRIN*, which is ascribed to the year 1300.

This is an important document for the Legend of the Swan Knight, but its allusions to the Holy Grail are of an occasional kind. It should be understood that *Lohengrin* issues from the House of the Great Talisman and that he returns in fine thereto. Here is the first point, and the second offers a revolution of the whole Arthurian Cycle respecting the close in disaster of all those chivalrous times. The star of the King's destiny does not set in blood and warfare—

“ In dark Dundagel by the Northern sea——”

owing to that frightful fatality by which Arthur begot Mordred on the body of his half-sister. Other stars intervened to avert the doom and vengeance for that which was done in ignorance. In place of the dubious mercy of healing at the hands of Morgan le Fay in the mystic island of Avalon, the King—at the head of his whole Chivalry—accompanies the Grail to India, where he and they are its presumable Guardians—as well as the *TEMPLEISIN*—at some remote, undeclared place of the Eastern world.¹

One important point with regard to Albrecht's share in the *TITUREL* undertaking is that he sets aside the antecedent history of the Holy Grail, bequeathed by his earlier German peer in poetry, and reverts for his thesis concerning it to the more orthodox Traditions of Northern France. In a word, the Sacred Object is no longer a Stone, whether that in the Crown of Lucifer or that which consumes the Phoenix and at the same time incubates the egg which the bird has laid. It is the Sacred Vessel of Joseph II, of the *GRAND SAINT GRAAL* and the Quest of Galahad, so that once again—and but once in the German Cycle—we can kneel in spirit where the Great Reliquary is exposed for veneration on the Second Mystical Table, while seeing that here as there the Paschal Dish is so connected with the Cup that it seems ever to dissolve therein, we may assist also at a Super-Efficacious Mass said in the Sanctuary, looking towards that time

¹ It may be noted that the *TITUREL* differs from a manuscript concerning Parzival and the Round Table which is preserved among the treasures of the Vatican, being the sole copy that is known. It was written a little earlier than the year 1336, and it incorporates Manessier's conclusion of the *CONTE DEL GRAAL* with materials derived from the *PARZIVAL* and Albrecht's *TITUREL*. It was composed by Nicholas Wisse and Philip Colim, a goldsmith of Strasburg. They dedicated it in 1336 to Ulric, Lord of Rappottstein in Alsace.

when we also, at the Words of Consecration, shall behold the five changes.¹

The TITUREL claims to provide the perfect and rectified History of the Vessel and its Wardens from the beginning to the end thereof. Considering that the first Grail King is the real centre of interest, an excessive space is devoted to Sigune and her Lover. At the inception there are given the generations of the Secret Dynasty from the days of Vespasian, when Berillus of Cappadocia, who had great possessions and was moreover of the Christian Faith, took service with the Roman General at the Siege of Jerusalem and followed in his train subsequently when he was called to the throne of the Empire. Berillus married Argensilla, the daughter of the Emperor, and a considerable part of France was assigned to him thereafter in fief. He had as issue Titurione, who married Elizabel of Arragon, and of her—after long years and precious offers in pilgrimage at the Holy Sepulchre, because of their childless condition—there was born Titurel, this name being a contraction of the parental designations. It will be seen that the genealogy takes back the so-called Angevin Dynasty to a very early period of the Christian centuries, as well as to the Holy Fields. The remaining succession in the Keepership follows the indications of Wolfram.

At this point it is desirable to establish the ecclesiastical position of DER JÜNGERE TITUREL. For San Marte, who was A. Schulz and who wrote on the subject in 1862, the PARZIVAL of Wolfram was the product of an anti-papal spirit which preceded the Reformation, the poet himself being "penetrated by an evangelical, apostolical spirit". From this point of view the earlier poet was at the poles asunder from Albrecht, who is "the Ultramontane Priest compared with the Gospel Knight". It will be observed that I have failed to read Wolfram or interpret him altogether on these lines. So far as the surface of his text is concerned and having regard more especially to his twice implied agreement with the Roman valuation of marital contracts between Christians and Pagans, he casts a dubious light on San Marte's thesis. On the other hand it is now seventy years since San Marte wrote, and it calls to be said that during the intervening period his view of the PARZIVAL has been approved implicitly by later scholarship: equivalent theses expressed in variant terms have been with us to this day. So far as Albrecht has remained a subject of critical judgment, I suppose that agreement continues on San Marte's TITUREL estimate, whether or not a survey of the text would make an opposite opinion difficult. For Albrecht (1) the Catholic Priesthood is "raised above every class"; (2) the Church as the teacher of true faith is "above the Grail"; (3) the Grail Temple is in fact a glorified Church, with "the

¹ When the anonymous poet who has been mentioned opens the story he follows Wolfram in his PARZIVAL and TITUREL fragments. The Grail, however, is carried by Angels instead of a human being, and it gives no written instructions. Afterwards messages appear on the surface of the Stone and a Maiden is the Grail-Bearer. It follows that Albrecht was content to remain at issue with the precursor whom he incorporated.

TEMPLEISEN as its custodians"; and (4) a solemn significance is assigned to all its parts. So also as regards Prester John, "who is known in Heaven by his great virtue and by his invincible power on earth". Fourteen crosses are carried before him when he goes forth to battle, while at table he is waited on by Kings and Princes, those who are seated with him being Archbishops and other Prelates of Holy Church. Here is a question of fact arising from the poem itself; but San Marte fails to observe that, all this notwithstanding, the Hierarchy in the person of its Eastern Vicar receives the Grail Messengers with the utmost humility and not alone does Prester John offer his crown to Perceval but he is dispossessed thereof by the written ordinance of the Grail. It follows in the logic of things that the Keepers of the Sacred Vessel are above the Church and its Custodians—a point to be marked for review at a later stage.

As regards the recession of the Grail, the TITUREL describes an evil time which fell upon things outside the precincts of the Temple in its mountain fastness between France and Spain; and it was in pursuance of their own counsels of prudence rather than by an instruction from without that the Keepers of the Holy Vessel convened in fine the cohort of the Templar Chivalry and that Parzival, accompanied by them and carrying the Hallows of the House, went in quest of his Brother Feirfeis, so reaching India.

The PARZIVAL of Wolfram indicates that Prester John was the issue of this Brother, but Albrecht represents him as an independent Ruler in the East, and gives such an account of himself and his wonderful kingdom that the reigning Keeper is minded to place the Grail in his care. When, however, Parzival came into his august presence, bearing the Holy Vessel, the Priest-King offered his realm and crown, as we have seen, to him who was the Grail-King. Parzival, however, desired to enter his Brother's service, for report had assured him that all material and spiritual riches abode with Prester John, even the Seven Gifts and the Twelve Fruits of the Divine Spirit of Counsel. It remains to be said that Parzival's decreed reign lasted for ten years only and was closed then by his death, the reason that it was not perpetuated for a longer period being his guilt in respect of his Mother's unhappy end. He was succeeded by the son of Feirfeis.

At the prayers of the Keeper, the Castle and Sanctuary of the Grail were transported in a single night to India, so that the Great Palladium had again its proper Asylum. It was this, I conclude, that led to the whole Chivalry remaining as they were in the East, whereas, if they had relinquished their trust, they might have returned whence they came.

It is to Ethiopia, Turkey, Armenia, the farther side of Persia and the yet more remote East that other Legends refer the retreat of Prester John, which really was "built in the unapparent". There is hence no need to co-ordinate rival versions, nor would such a task be possible in the cloud of conflicting accounts. To vary the issues of confusion,

I will mention only that, according to the DUTCH LANCELOT, the Priest-King appears to have been Parzival's Son. It is thought that the reticence of Wolfram on the whole subject is explicable by the fact that there were few materials at his period, while in the fifty subsequent years, the rumours of the Eastern Legend had extended and were available to Albrecht. But it should be remembered that the first rumour is referable to 1156,¹ and before the end of the twelfth century it had the support of Maimonides as well of the wandering Israelite, Benjamin of Tudela. The seat of Peter had done more than confess to an attraction when an Embassy was sent to Prester John bearing a written communication from Alexander III; and before 1180, or about this time, the Emperor of Constantinople, the Pope of Rome and St. Louis King of France are supposed to have received a celebrated letter in which the mysterious potentate announced his own existence with consummate grandiloquence. It was an impossible document in the worst style of false seeming; but it created great interest and great wonder.² It concerns us only because it may have provided certain materials both for Wolfram and Albrecht. The Palace of Prester John is like the Grail Castle of Mont Salvatch drawn out into a greater "wilderness of building"; and the PARZIVAL allusions to the Earthly Paradise are recalled by an account of that Spring which is three days' journey from the Garden of Eden. Whosoever can drink of its water will have, through all his later life, the aspect of thirty—precisely that appearance which was maintained by the Templar Chivalry owing to the presence of the Grail. The myth of Prester John has been noticed exhaustively by several writers: it never required exploding, but that work was done in the seventeenth century by Julius Bartolucci in his MAGNA BIBLIOTHECA RABBINICA.³

There is only to add concerning Albrecht and his TITUREL (1) that in the earlier part of the fourteenth century it was not alone allocated to Wolfram, as we have seen, but was held to be his master work; (2) that all assertions notwithstanding, the precarious hypothesis of Albrecht's acquaintance with the poem of Kyot has been abandoned some time since; (3) that the TITUREL represents King Arthur and his Knights as travellers in search of the Grail after it had been taken away. It was a vain journey, of which Parzival had calculated the probabilities beforehand when he took leave of the Round Table, and at long last the Chivalry returned whence it came. The Adventure, which seems to have extended through many countries, is the root-matter of that other fable which was conceived subsequently, as we have seen, by the author of the metrical LOHENGRIN.

¹ See the CHRONICLE of Otto of Freisinger, *sub voce* 1145.—*Lib.* VII, Cap. 33.

² Appendix I, Note 15.

³ *Ib.*, Note 16.

V

THE GRAIL IN DESECRATION

WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH died *circa* 1220, leaving the magnificent TITUREL fragments as his last witness on the Grail subject. We have seen that they were appropriated by the authors of a later TITUREL who carried the Grail to the East and the Land of Prester John. Albrecht, who completed this vast experiment, is supposed to have written between 1250 and 1275. Thereafter the fame of the Talisman assumed another aspect. My authority-in-chief on its subsequent disastrous story affirms that between the hostility of the Church—which naturally had no toleration for a Secret Knightly Order independent of itself and without ecclesiastical elements—and between the sensual attractions pictured in the Palace of the Grail, the mythos declined with great rapidity “from the level of the PARZIVAL to a significance which was purely carnal”.¹ For a time it was celebrated by German Minnesingers as the Other-World Home of heroes: when they were overtaken by death, it was said that they “went into the Grail”.² The Talisman became in this manner a place instead of a Stone. Later on it was adopted as the name of a heathen Earthly Paradise and (or) as “a symbol for those forbidden delights which in popular thought gave to that Paradise its great attraction”. The CHRONICLE OF MAGDEBURG gives account of a Festival held in that city, some sixty years after the death of Wolfram, namely, in 1281 under the title of Grail Festival. A certain learned man is said to have made a Grail, otherwise undescribed but alluding presumably to the staging of the feast itself. He invited many merchants of various cities to visit Magdeburg, if they wished to practise “the Knightly Art”.³ A beautiful woman, denominated Dame Feie, would be given to him who fought with most valour and manhood. The Grail was set up on a marsh amidst tents and pavilions. On the day of celebration, after the guests had heard Mass, it is said that they went before the Grail, to look thereon. Each was permitted to touch a visitor’s shield—these being hung on a certain tree—when its owner came forward and fought with him who had thus given the challenge. An old merchant, however, won Dame Feie and married her off, giving her enough to leave her wild life. About 1478 Gert van de Schuren says that the Knight Elyas “came out from the

¹ Philip Stefan Barto: *TANNHÄUSER AND THE MOUNTAIN OF VENUS*, New York, 1916, pp. 8, 9. Cf. B. ten Brink: *GESCHICHTE DER ENGLISCHEN LITERATUR*, II, p. 216.

“Back of the entire belief there seems to be the idea of a Mystical Church independent of the visible and established Church, a Church in fact which had its own apostles and servants.” Quoted by Barto.

² Barto, *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 113, citing F. von der Hagen, III, pp. 150, 151, 376, with Minnesinger extracts.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 9, 10, 114, 115, on the authority of the *CHRONIKEN DER DEUTSCHEN STÄDTE*, VII, pp. 168 *et seq.*, *sub anno* 1281.

Earthly Paradise which some call the Grail".¹ The last Minnesinger, Oswald van Wolkenstein, uses the term as a synonym for sexual pleasure. A fair lady, parting from her lover at daybreak, calls him her "highest Grail, which covers all my sorrows".² John Veldenaer, writing about 1480, says that according to certain Chronicles, the Knight of the Swan came out of the Grail, "as the Earthly Paradise was called".³ Johann Frisch quotes a work of the fifteenth century according to which the Grail meant a dance or carousal.⁴ Casper Abel terms it a sort of festival or game of a merry and ribald nature.⁵

These are like accidents of the subject in its gross degeneration; but it came about that popular tradition placed the Grail Paradise in the depths of a hollow mountain. Arthur is King of such a realm in the WARTBURGKRIEG.⁶ Many heroes were with him, as well as the goddess Juno and a daughter of the Sibyl. There is no need to say that this Other-World Faërie was under the ban of the Church or that any communication therewith was apostasy of the worst kind. In 1410 Dietrich of Neim speaks of a mountain in Italy, near Puteoli, and says that it was called the Grail by many deluded Germans, according to whom it was the abode of those who were "given over to dancing, to wantonness and the practice of Magic Arts".⁷ In 1583 Johann Fischart identified the supposed Paradise with the Mountain of Venus; but there is evidence that the mysterious realm began to be called by this name at an earlier period. It is first mentioned by Johann Nider, as one speaking from afar and asking whether there is any truth in the Mount of Venus story where men are said to be leading "a life of ease and lustful pleasure in company with beautiful women".⁸ A mountain of the Sibyl in the Appennines was known also by this title: in both cases it is to be understood that there was no Grail connection. It would seem also that as this denomination grew it displaced the old name, which moreover had not passed into Italy. But even in Germany, when the DEUTSCHE HELDENBUCH testifies that the famous Eckart is still in front of *frau Venus berg* and will be there till the crack of doom we hear nothing of the Grail in this familiar Saga. The task of Eckart is to warn those who would enter of that which awaits them and its dangers: it is presumably for this reason that he is called "the faithful Eckart".⁹ Its attractions are depicted with relish by Hermann von

¹ Barto, *Op. cit.*, p. 10. Cf. Blöte: ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DEUTSCHES ALTERTUM, XLII, p. 4.

² See Wolkenstein, edited by Schatz, No. 11.

³ W. Hertz: PARZIVAL, 1898, p. 465.

⁴ TEUTSCH-LATEINISCHES WÖRTERBUCH, *sub nomine* GRAL.

⁵ SAMMLUNG ETLICHER NOCH NICHT GEDRUCKTEN ALTEN CHRONICKEN, p. 56.

⁶ See Simrock's edition, stanzas 83-87. They are translated by Barto, pp. 11, 12. It appears that those who dwell in the mountain have flesh and bones, as when they lived on earth. Moreover, Knights are sent forth occasionally therefrom to the aid of Christendom.

⁷ We have Professor Gardner's authority that the Grail never took root in Italy, and the "deluded Germans" are responsible probably for the Grail ascription. The eminence in question was known as MONS SANCTÆ BARBARÆ, according to Schilter: THESAURUS ANTIQUITATUM, Vol. III.

⁸ Barto, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁹ This denomination is familiar in the PHANTASUS of Ludwig Tieck; but long previously Hans Sachs praised him as "true Eckart."

Sachsenheim, who tells of its many diversions, its harps and horns and pipes, its gold and precious stones, etc.¹ So also does Altswert in *DER TUGENDEN SCHATZ*.² Felix Faber, *circa* 1483, locates the Mountain in Cyprus, where it was sewn with lustful plants. There were caverns for the worship of Adonis and gardens for pleasure and revelry. He tells also of a Mountain in Tuscany where the Court of Venus was held. There is lastly his story of Danhuser, a noble Swabian, who was in the Mountain with Venus but being stirred by repentance, contrived to leave it and make his confession to the Pope. He was refused absolution and returned thereupon to the Mountain.³

It may be added that the Mount of Venus in Italy is mentioned by Paracelsus, who accepts the myth as literal.⁴ Later still German references thereto are found in the poems of Hans Sachs.⁵ The fable was hawked about by travelling scholars and became ultimately a theme of ribaldry. There is no occasion to multiply the stories further or to speak of the Tannhäuser Saga, which lies beyond my province. It is held to be of German origin, the tales of Tuscany and Cyprus notwithstanding.

Barto concludes thus his thesis of origin: "the Venusberg is of German birth and is but a later appellation for the ancient German Paradise, to which the first name attached was that of the Grail". He fails to shew, however, that the denomination is of real antiquity. All his citations of the term in connection with the Mountain of Venus are of a date posterior to the periods of Wolfram and Albrecht. In conclusion the German Grail may have come from Heaven and may have been carried subsequently to the Land of Prester John, but its last destination was the *descensus Averni* under the designation of Mount of Venus. In the French Cycle it was desecrated sufficiently under the auspices of the Tristram Legend and the pseudo-Borron Quest; but it was not diabolised.

¹ Barto quotes from a poem of Sachsenheim entitled *DIU MÖRIN*.

² He speaks of varied grace and beauty—a wondrous round—and testifies that one might travel far on earth to find such joys elsewhere.

³ Barto, *Op. cit.*, pp. 22, 122, 123.

⁴ The Strassburg collected edition is cited, but I know only that of Geneva, 3 vols. in folio. Paracelsus affirms that Venus is dead, the Mount of Venus notwithstanding, and that her Kingdom has perished with her. On the other hand, the Tannhäuser Legend is genuine and not a mere fiction.

⁵ Barto cites *NEUDRUCKE DEUTSCHER LITERATURWERKE*, IX, pp. 13, 16, 20.

BOOK VIII
WELSH AND ENGLISH TEXTS

THE ARGUMENT

I. THE WELSH PERCEVAL.—How it was held to have existed in an Earlier Form—Qualifications and Reversal of this Judgment—A Reflection from French Sources—Absence of the Grail Talisman—The Peredur of Wales as the Perceval of the Conte del Graal—Correspondences with the other Hallows—The Stone and Spear—The Bowl filled with Wine—The Question of the Story—Early History of Peredur—The Episode of the Tent—The Red Knight and the Golden Goblet—Peredur at the Court of King Arthur—The Dwarfs and Kay—Destruction of the Red Knight—Peredur is taught Chivalry by an Uncle—A Rich Fisher—Another Uncle in his Castle of Talismans—The Broken Sword and the Bleeding Spear—The Head swimming in Blood—Peredur asks nothing—He leaves the Castle next morning—He is Reproached by a Beautiful Maiden—A Besieged Maiden who corresponds to Blanchefleur in the Conte—An Unwelcome Suitor Vanquished—Peredur's Love Trance—Second Visit to the Court of King Arthur—A Third Visit—The Secret of a One-Eyed Lord—The Mound of Mourning—The Stone of Wealth—Peredur Conquers the Addanc—He is Entertained by an Empress for Fourteen Years—Returns to the Court of King Arthur—The Laidly Damosel—The Fatality of the Question—Peredur goes in search of the Lance and its Story—He is Upbraided for Bearing Arms on Good Friday—He Visits a Castle of Wonders—The Chess-Board Episode—Return to the Castle of Talismans—The Question is Forgotten and there is no Exhibition of Talismans—He is Commissioned to Destroy the Sorceresses of Gloucester—The Story left Unfinished. II. THE ENGLISH METRICAL ROMANCE OF SYR PERCYVELLE.—A Later Text than the Mabinogi of Peredur—Similar Claim to Antiquity made on its behalf—Same Result in Last Conclusions of Scholarship—Another Reflection from Chrétien—The Antithesis of Grail Romances—Absence of any Question and any Hallows—Perceval's Early History in this Text—Recurrence of the Red Knight Episode—Perceval at the Court of King Arthur—Death of the Red Knight—Destruction of his Mother—Perceval is Entertained at a Castle—A Messenger from the Maiden Land—Position of the Lady Lufamour—Perceval goes forth to her Rescue—His Battle in her Cause—Arrival of King Arthur and his Companions—Perceval is Knighted by the King—He Weds Lufamour and Becomes Ruler of her Country—He sets off to Find his Mother—Success of this Mission—He Brings her to the Maiden Land and she Abides therein—He goes to the Holy Land and Dies there in Warfare.

BOOK VIII
WELSH AND ENGLISH TEXTS

I

THE WELSH PERCEVAL

THIS is one of the two texts which have been held to offer independent proofs of a pre-Christian and pre-Grail period of the Quest ; but in their present state they are among the latest documents of the literature. It is perhaps more perilous to speak of the MABINOGI concerning Peredur, the son of Evrawc, than of anything extant among authentic Grail texts : its dimensions are small, but it has offered a field of debate for more than fifty years. The RED BOOK OF HERGEST, of which it forms one of the stories, is found in a Welsh manuscript which belongs probably to the beginning of the fourteenth century ; but the contents of the collection were long held to have existed in a much earlier form, now as usual unknown. The voice of criticism concerning the PEREDUR became less assured, however, as time went on, and has at length reversed its judgment. We are concerned in the first place with the story itself, admitting that the wildness of old Welsh manner and atmosphere might suggest to an unfamiliar mind its correspondence in essentials with the claims once made respecting it—or that it is among the oldest of the Quests. On the other hand, there is nothing to support the unimaginative and frigid panegyric which, because the plot turns on a conventional and not very purposeful vendetta, terms the narrative logical and straightforward. On the contrary, it is confused and disconcerting. It is indeed among the idlest of stories and leaves several of its episodes unfinished. There was in fact something to be said from the beginning for an alternative construction placed on the document, that instead of an intermediate between folk-lore and Grail literature, it is demonstrably a chaotic reflection from a single French source. It is, however, to all intents and purposes an undigested medley of several elements ; for while it derives in the main and beyond all contradiction from the CONTE of Chrétien, we must remember that behind that poem there is the almost world-wide Mythos of the Great Fool, that story of the half-wild boy who becomes a great hero. It follows that the earliest and unfinished Grail Quest has

this root in folk-lore. It must be remembered also that long after Chrétien, or *circa* 1227, Manessier's conclusion of the CONTE effects the healing of the Grail King by introducing the Vengeance Legend, which is another folk-lore element, though an almost ridiculous stress has been laid upon this fact on the part of scholarship.¹

The PEREDUR at its value is a version of the Great Fool Mythos and is also a tale of vengeance,² though the presence of the latter motive signifies as much and as little for explanatory values as does its absence from the PERLESVAUS, the Galahad QUEST and the DIDOT-MODENA PERCEVAL. It includes therefore some part of those elements which belong to the Grail literature, though much was abandoned when the Quest was carried into transcension.

Whether regarded as a Sacrament or Telesma, it is to be understood that there is nothing in the Welsh Perceval which answers to the Holy Grail, as this is described and manifested in any of the Grail Cycles; but it has been brought into the category of the literature for three palmary reasons: (1) Because it embodies the idea of a Quest; (2) because this Quest is connected with asking a Conventional Question concerning certain Talismans; (3) because these Talismans are in the House of a King or Lord who is maimed and whose healing would have resulted from the Question. Outside these specific correspondences, it is obvious that Peredur of Wales is the Percival le Gallois of the CONTE DEL GRAAL and some other Grail Romances, while, all variations notwithstanding, the History of the one, in a broad sense, is also the History of the other. As regards variations, some important points may be scheduled at once as follows: (1) The motive of the Quest does not enter into the story until nearly its very end; (2) the Question is never asked; (3) there is no record that the King is ever healed; (4) the one accredited Talisman of the whole story does not figure as that weapon which caused the maiming of the story.

It should be noted, however, with due consideration for what has been said to the contrary by criticism, that shadows of the characteristic Grail Hallows are to be found in the story for the further confusion of the issues; but they serve no purpose therein. (1) THE CUP: there are, in fact, two Cups, both filled with wine and presented with their contents to Perceval, on condition that he fights with their bearers. (2) THE BOWL, also filled with wine, and this passes on similar conditions. Perceval slays the bearers; and we shall see that he is afterwards entertained by an Empress for fourteen years. This incident has no analogy with anything in the other documents. (3) THE STONE, which is guarded by a serpent and is carried on the tail of the reptile.

¹ The vendetta motive belongs to folk-lore because it belongs to human history *ab origine* and will do so *ad sæcula sæculorum*. There is no excuse therefore for affirming that Manessier and Heinrich—who has also the vengeance motive—were indebted for the introduction to folk-lore, when they drew obviously from the wells of human nature. The Vespers of Palermo, for example, are not referable to folk-lore, nor are the records of Scotland Yard.

² There has been recognised also of comparatively recent years the fact that it represents an undigested amalgamation of three different stories.

The virtue of this Stone is that whosoever possesses it and holds it in one hand may have in the other as much gold as he desires. The analogy is therefore rather with the purse of Fortunatus than with a Feast of Good Things; but incidentally it recalls the latter. (4) THE SPEAR: this is of mighty size, with three streams of blood flowing from its point to the ground. It is the only so-called Talisman of the story, the only one which appears in the Castle of Talismans, and its purpose is to occasion the Question which, if answered, will lead to the King's healing. Why it is a spear and why it distils blood the story does not explain.¹ It has either been transferred from some other Legend, as, for example, a genuine Grail Romance, and placed without much reason in its present setting, or there is no better instance of such an alleged transfer in the whole Cycle. The Spear is seen once only, and on that occasion is accompanied by a large Salver in which is a man's head, surrounded with a profusion of blood.

The Question which Peredur should have asked was the meaning and the cause of these wonders. He is cursed the next morning by his foster-sister, but it is not because he forbears at the instance of his maternal uncle. It is only after long years that his silence is denounced by a boy disguised as a laidly woman; but at the end of the whole business the Question, as we have seen, is not asked. Apparently it is too late, and Perceval had only a single chance, as he had in the poem of Heinrich and, after another sense, in the LONGER PROSE PERCEVAL. The penalty of his original failure is (1) that "the lame king will have to endure battles and conflicts"; (2) that his knights will perish; (3) that "wives will be widows, and maidens will be left portionless." It does not appear that any of these disasters come to pass; but certain Sorceresses of Gloucester, who caused the King's lameness among other misdeeds, are destroyed, which does not heal the King, so that the Vendetta is a vain affair.

The father of Peredur was Evrawc, who owned the earldom of the North and had seven sons, with six of whom he was slain, for they began in the folly of tournaments and so ended.² Peredur, the surviving and youngest son, was taken by his mother into the wilderness, where he could see neither horses nor arms, lest he also should become a great warrior before the face of the Lord, and die in battle, with all that violence which signified the perfection of valour in those days of harsh adventure. His companions were the women of his mother, with some boys and spiritless men. In spite of such precautions he was destined, however, to depart from the house of his childhood in the wild and solitary ways, where the life which he led was like that of a savage hermit. He was the cutting of a fruit-tree and was sadly in need of grafting: grafted he was in the end on the Great Tree of Knighthood, yet he behaved throughout with the thoughtlessness of the impassioned

¹ There is no elucidation in Chrétien.

² I am reproducing the Early History at some length to make evident its substantial identity with the CONTE of Chrétien.