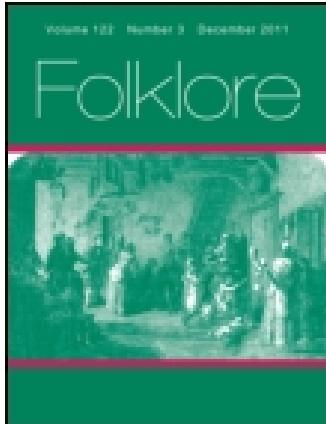


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THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

VIII. THE CELTS.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

PARTLY similar to the tale of Diarmuid at Dubhros, partly to that of Cod in the Forest of Wonders, is the old Highland poem by Blind O'Cloan entitled *Bàs Fhraoch* or 'The Death of Fraoch.'¹ It tells how Mai loved Fraoch but, becoming jealous of her own daughter *Geal-cheann* or 'Fair-head,' plotted his destruction.

A rowan tree stood in Loch Mai,
We see its shore there to the south ;
Every quarter every month,
It bore its fair, well-ripened fruit ;
There stood the tree alone, erect,
Its fruit than honey sweeter far ;
That precious fruit so richly red,
Did suffice for a man's nine meals ;
A year it added to man's life,—
The tale I tell is very truth.
Health to the wounded it could bring,
Such virtue had its red-skinned fruit.
One thing alone was to be feared
By him who sought men's ills to soothe :
A monster fierce lay at its root,
Which they who sought its fruit must fight.
A heavy, heavy sickness fell
On Athach's daughter, of liberal horn ;

¹ *The Dean of Lismore's Book* ed. with translation and notes by the Rev. T. M'Lauchlan Edinburgh 1862 pp. 54 ff. in English, 36 f. in Gaelic.

Her messenger she sent for Fraoch,
Who asked her what 'twas ailed her now.
Mai said her health would ne'er return,
Unless her fair soft palm was filled
With berries from the deep cold lake,
Gleaned by the hand of none but Fraoch.
"Ne'er have I yet request refused,"
Said Fithich's son of ruddy hue;
"Whate'er the lot of Fraoch may be,
The berries I will pull for Mai."
The fair-formed Fraoch then moved away
Down to the lake, prepared to swim.
He found the monster in deep sleep,
With head up-pointed to the tree. A sigh.

Fraoch Fithich's son of pointed arms,
Unheard by the monster, then approached.
He plucked a bunch of red-skinned fruit,
And brought it to where Mai did lie.
"Though what thou did'st thou hast done well,"
Said Mai, she of form so fair,
"My purpose nought, brave man, wilt serve,
But that from the root thou'dst tear the tree."
No bolder heart there was than Fraoch's,
Again the slimy lake he swam;
Yet great as was his strength, he couldn't
Escape the death for him ordained.
Firm by its top he seized the tree,
And from the root did tear it up:
With speed again he makes for land,
But not before the beast awakes.
Fast he pursues, and, as he swam,
Seized in his horrid maw his arm.
Fraoch by the jaw then grasped the brute,
'Twas sad for him to want his knife:
The maid of softest waving hair,
In haste brought him a knife of gold.
The monster tore his soft white skin,
And hacked most grievously his arm.
Then fell they, sole to sole opposed,
Down on the southern stony strand,
Fraoch mac Fithich, he and the beast,
'Twere well that they had never fought.
Fierce was the conflict, yet 'twas long,—
The monster's head at length he took.
When the maid what happened saw,

Upon the strand she fainting fell.
 Then from her trance when she awoke,
 In her soft hand she seized his hand :
 " Although for wild birds thou art food,
 Thy last exploit was nobly done."
 'Tis from that death which he met then,
 The name is given to Loch Mai ;¹
 That name it will for ever bear,
 Men have called it so till now. A sigh.

The rowan-tree bearing fruit of exceptional power, Mai's desire that Fraoch should pluck it, and Fraoch's consequent fight with a monstrous guardian of the tree, are features that recall the legend of Diarmuid. The knife of gold in Fraoch's hand, though used for attacking the monster not the tree, suggests the golden sickle with which the sacred olive of Zeus at Olympia was cut² or, to come nearer home, the golden sickle with which the druids cut the mistletoe,³ not to mention the new dirk with which the same plant was cut by the Hays at Errol.⁴ The location of the rowan-tree at the bottom of Loch Mai, like that of the Tree of Virtue at the bottom of the Lake of Wonders in the tale of Cod, or that of the Tree of the Green Cloth at the bottom of Loch Guirr,⁵ implies that Fraoch's exploit was in the nature of a visit to the Otherworld. Diarmuid too, according to a West Highland folk-tale,⁶ had sunk to the bottom of the sea in his quest for the daughter of King Under-waves and had there obtained for her the magic cup of King Wonder-plain, returning afterwards in safety to Erin. A more famous

¹ The Rev. T. M'Lauchlan *ib.* p. 54 n. 3 says: 'It is generally believed in Perthshire that the scene of Fraoch's death was in Glen Cuaich, a valley lying between those of the Tay and the Almond. We have a Loch Fraoch there . . . I cannot find any lake in Scotland now called Loch Mai, although Loch Fraoch may have been so called.'

² *Folk-lore* xv. 400.

³ *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 251.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 318 ff.

⁵ *Ib.* 347 n. 3.

⁶ J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 403 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 319 ff.

tale, that of *In Gilla Decair* or 'The Slothful Gillie,'¹ which can be traced back to about the year 1630,² contains an account of Diarmuid's visit to the Otherworld, in which a guarded tree is a prominent object. It may be summarised thus:—

One day Finn and some of his chiefs were in Munster, resting on the hill of Collkilla, when they saw approaching a hideous [black]³ giant with an equally hideous horse. The giant was trailing after him an iron club and dragging the horse along by main force. He explained that he was the Gilla Dacker, a Fomor of Lochlann, who wished to serve Finn for a year and then, according to custom, fix his own wages. Finn agreed to this proposal. But no sooner had the big man's horse been turned out to graze than it began to kick and maim the horses of the Fianna. In their efforts to restrain its vicious tricks Conan and fourteen [thirteen] [[twenty-eight]]⁴ other men mounted the beast at once and started thrashing it. At this the Gilla Dacker grew indignant and finally took his departure, followed at a terrible pace by his horse, from whose back the fifteen [fourteen] [[twenty-nine]] riders tried in vain to escape. Finn and his friends at once went in pursuit; and Ligan Lumina, one of the fastest of the Fianna, caught the horse by the tail just as it reached the sea-shore. But he too stuck fast and was drawn along in the water after it. Fergus Finnvel, the poet, now advised Finn to go to Ben Edar for a ship. On the way thither they met opportunely enough a certain Feradach, who undertook to make a ship by striking his joiner's axe thrice on his sling-stick [[to make a whole fleet by striking the harbour with a branch]], and with him his brother Foltlebar, who said that he could follow a track on sea as well as on land. Finn took them both into his service, and they were as good as their word. Fifteen warriors selected from a muster of the Fianna went on board the newly-made vessel with Finn. For some days they sailed towards the west and, after weathering a bad storm, reached a vast rocky cliff, which towered up to such a height that its head seemed hidden

¹ S. H. O'Grady *Silva Gadelica* i. 258 ff. Irish text from a MS. dated 1765, ii. 292 ff. translation, Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 327 ff., P. W. Joyce *Old Celtic Romances* p. 223 ff. Cp. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* p. 187 ff., A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 103 ff. I summarise from Joyce's version, which was made from a MS. written in 1728 with comparison of another written in 1795 (Joyce *op. cit.* p. xv).

² E. O'Curry *Manuscript Materials* p. 316 ff.

³ Words and sentences enclosed in square brackets are added from the version of *In Gilla Decair* given by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica* ii. 292 ff.

⁴ Words and sentences enclosed in double square brackets are added from the folk-tale *Fin MacCool, the Hard Gilla, and the High King* in J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* London 1894 p. 514 ff. (collected in county Kerry).

among the clouds. It rose sheer from the water and appeared to be as smooth as glass. [On it there abutted a rock, solid and cylindrical, having sides more slippery than an eel.] Thus far Foltlebar found the track of the Gilla Dacker, but no farther. The Fianna felt sure that he must live on the summit, and Fergus suggested that Dermat O'Dyna, who had been fostered from childhood by Manannan in Fairyland and by Angus at Bruga of the Boyne, should be able to climb the cliff and bring back tidings. Dermat thereupon arose, put on his armour, and leaning on his two long spears, the *Crann-boi* and the *Ga-derg*, swung himself from ledge to ledge up the rock. Having scaled the dizzy height, he looked inland and saw a flowery plain spread before him. He set out to walk across it and soon came to a great tree laden with fruit, over-topping all the other trees of the plain. It was surrounded at a little distance by a circle of pillar-stones; and one stone, taller than the others, stood in the centre near the tree. Beside this pillar-stone was a spring well, with a large, round pool as clear as crystal; and the water bubbled up in the centre, and flowed away towards the middle of the plain in a slender stream.¹ [From east and west, from south and north, Duibhne's grandson traversed the plain and, as he looked abroad, was aware of a vast tree with interlacing boughs and thickly furnished; hard by which was a great mass of stone furnished on its very apex with an ornamented pointed drinking-horn, and having at its base a fair well of water in all its purity.] Dermat stooped to drink, but ere he could do so heard the heavy tread of a warlike host and the clank of their weapons. He sprang to his feet and looked round; but the noise had ceased, and he saw nothing. Again he stooped to drink, and again he heard the same sounds, but louder and nearer than before. Casting his eyes round in some perplexity, he saw on the top of the tall pillar-stone a large drinking-horn, chased with gold and enamelled with precious stones. He took it down and drank without hindrance till he had slaked his thirst. But now there came against him from the east a tall wizard-champion (*gruagach*) in full armour with a scarlet mantle and a golden crown. He addressed Dermat in an angry voice, and demanded instant satisfaction for this intrusion upon his island and his well. Dermat and he fell to fighting, and fought on furiously till evening came, when the wizard-champion sprang suddenly into the centre of his well and disappeared. Amazed and disappointed, Dermat walked towards the nearest point of a great forest, speared a deer, roasted it on hazel spits before a fire, which he kindled beneath a tree, and washed down his meal with water from the drinking-horn. [[He made a hut of limbs, and slept quietly till dawn.]] Next morning he slew another deer and drank again from the horn. Then, repairing to the well, found the wizard-champion there before him, standing

¹ On wells connected with rude stone monuments see W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* ii. 645, iii. 765, 768 ff., W. G. Wood-Martin *Elder Faiths of Ireland* ii. 86, J. R. Walker in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1883 v. 209.

beside the pillar-stone, fully armed as before and more wrathful than ever. He charged Dermat with killing some of his speckled deer, and at once proceeded to take vengeance on the trespasser. All day long they fought together, and, when the dusk began to fall, the wizard-champion again leaped into his well and vanished. The self-same thing happened on the third day, and on the fourth. But when, on the evening of the fourth day, the wizard-champion was about to spring into the well, Dermat clasped him tightly and together they sank to the bottom [[passed through a passage in the side of the spring]]. Here Dermat found a lovely country with flowery plains and woods of red yew trees. Right before him lay a glittering city with a royal palace, into which the wizard-champion passed through a whole array of knights in armour. Dermat slew the knights till he was weary of slaying, and then fell asleep before the very door of the castle. He was awakened and rescued from his dangerous plight by a princely warrior, who carried him off to a splendid house at some distance and there entertained him most courteously for the night. On the morrow [after hospitality lasting for three days and three nights], in answer to Dermat's questions, his host replied: 'This country is Tir-fa-tonn [*tir fá thuin*, 'terra sub unda']; the champion who fought with you is called the Knight of the Fountain, and that very champion is king of this land. I am the brother of the king, and my name is the Knight of Valour. Good reason indeed have I to be kind to you, Dermat O'Dyna, for, though you do not remember me, I spent a year and a day [a year] in the household of Finn the son of Cumal.' He further explained that the Knight of the Fountain had seized on his patrimony [[the Knight of Valour being the rightful king]] and begged Dermat to help him to recover it. Dermat did so, slew the Knight of the Fountain, and established the Knight of Valour as king in his stead.

Meantime Finn and his men had met with somewhat similar adventures. Feradach and Foltlebar had made a long rope of the ship's cordage, had scaled the cliff, and had drawn up the Fianna. Following Dermat's track they too had reached the great fruit-tree. Here they were joined by a king on horseback, who welcomed them to his country and escorted them across the plain to his palace. That night he entertained them, and on the evening of the next day made them a great feast. His royal hospitality was continued for three days and three nights. Then, in answer to Finn's questions, he told them that his country was called Sorca [[that he was the King of *Sordch*, 'Light']]. A messenger now arrived to tell the king that a foreign fleet, some said the King of the World and his host [[the High King of the World]] [the king of the Greeks in prosecution of his conquests all the world over], had made a descent upon his shores. Finn volunteered his aid, and the Fianna together with the men of Sorca successfully attacked the invaders. [Oscar slew the king of Franks' son, who was in the Greek army. Feradach and Foltlebar slew the king of Afric's son. Finn himself slew the king of Greeks' son; whose sister

Taise *taebghel*, the ‘white-sided’ [[Teasa Taov Geal]], was enamoured of Finn, and that night stole away to him. A chief captain in her father’s host [[a champion called Lavran MacSuain]] undertook to recover her by waving a certain special branch of great beauty, the mere sound of which would throw all men into deepest slumber. Entering the green pavilion of Finn and the king of Sorcha, he thus lulled them to sleep and recaptured Taise for the king of the Greeks, who thereupon took himself off to Greece.]

Soon afterwards Finn and the king of Sorca were conversing, when a troop was seen approaching. It proved to be Dermat accompanied by the Knight of Valour, now king of Tir-fa-tonn. He, as Dermat explained, had found out by his druidical art that it was Avarta the Dedannan, the son of Illahan of the Many-coloured Raiment [Abar-tach, son of Allchad], who had taken the form of the Gilla Dacker and carried off the sixteen [fifteen] Fianna to the Land of Promise. Finn resolved to go thither in quest of them. He went back to his ship, and voyaged from island to island over many seas until at length he reached the Land of Promise. [He had sent Dermot, Goll, Oscar, and Fergus to Greece in pursuit of Taise. They sailed to Athens, where Fergus with his poet’s wand struck the city-gate and announced that they were travelling poets. While the king was away hunting, they carried off Taise and steered for the Land of Promise.¹] Dermat, as a fosterling of Manannan, would not let Finn lay waste the land: but Foltlebar and one other, sent on as heralds to the mansion of Avarta, demanded the restitution of Conan and the missing Fianna. Avarta came back with Foltlebar, concluded peace with Finn, and brought him and his company to the mansion, where they found their lost friends and all made merry together. Finn, in view of this friendly re-union, claimed no damages but gave Avarta the wages of his service [said that the wages due to Abar-tach were cancelled by the damages due to himself]. But Conan, remembering the discomforts of his own abduction, claimed that fifteen of Avarta’s men should make the return journey on the same monstrous horse, Avarta himself clinging to its tail [that fourteen of Avartach’s best women should return astride the horse, Avartach’s own wife at its tail] [[that the Gilla should return with the Fianna in their ship and

¹In the folk-tale (J. Curtin *op. cit.* p. 522 ff.) there is here a considerable divergence. The Knight of Valour tells Dyeermud that the Hard Gilla is a champion resident in his realm, who is keeping the Fianna safe and sound. After challenging and overthrowing the usurping King of Tir Fohin, Dyeermud and the Knight of Valour, now installed as the rightful king, repair to the Gilla’s castle, where they receive a warm welcome. Fin meantime, having helped the King of Sorach, waited in his castle till Goll, Oscar, and a druid had sailed to the land of the High King and brought back Teasa Taov Geal by force. The King of Sorach knew the Hard Gilla well and escorted Fin and his comrades to the Gilla’s castle, where they met Dyeermud and the missing thirty.

afterwards ride home on his own horse]]. Finn and the Fianna then sailed back to Erin, where much to their amusement and amazement Avarta and his fifteen, hideous horse and all, joined them at Knockainy, and on a sudden vanished into thin air. [[The Gilla, having returned with the Fianna in their ship, recrossed the sea on an invisible horse]]. [Finn married Taise at Almhain in Leinster.]

Prof. A. C. L. Brown,¹ commenting on this singular recital, points out that in all probability the Knight of Valour, who (though Dermat would not recognise him) had served Finn for a year and a day, was none other than the Gilla Dacker, who had agreed to serve Finn for a year; and that consequently it was this Knight of Valour who alone could reveal the true name and nature of the Gilla Dacker.² That revelation was to the effect that the Gilla Dacker was one form of *Avartach mac Allchaid Ioldathach*, 'Avarta, son of Allchad of the Many-coloured Raiment,' who had a mansion in the realm of Manannan. In short, the Gilla Dacker=the Knight of Valour=Avarta, a confessed shape-shifter. Prof. Brown³ further observes that this *Avartach mac Allchaid Ioldathach* appears among the Tuatha Dé Danann in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*⁴ as *Abhortach mac an Iol-dathaigh*, 'Abhortach, the son of the Many-coloured one,' along with *Ilbhreac mac Mhananáin*, 'The variously-spotted one, son of Manannan,' and suggests that this connexion with Manannan warrants us in referring the epithets *Ioldathach* and *Ilbhreac* to shape-shifting, or change of colour and form. Lastly, Prof. Brown⁵ writes: 'It would be natural to suppose that some connection must exist

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 107 f.

² This conclusion might be further supported by the folk-tale (J. Curtin *op. cit.* p. 522), in which the Knight of Valour says to Dyeermud: 'I am the man . . . that will find out the Hard Gilla for you. That Gilla is the best swordsman and champion in this land, and the greatest enchanter . . . He is a good friend of mine.'

³ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 106 n. 1.

⁴ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 117 ff.

⁵ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 108 n. 1.

between *Avartach* and *Avallac*, the Welsh name both for the Other World and for the King of the Other World, were it not that the phonetic change of Welsh *ll* to Irish *rt* is contrary to rule. The two names, however, as pronounced, would sound very nearly alike.'

The identification of the Gilla Dacker with *Avartach*, which is certain, and the identification of both with the Knight of Valour, which in some sense or other is highly probable, have an important bearing on our main thesis. The Gilla Dacker gave himself out to be a Fomor of Lochlann.¹ In that respect he resembles Searbhan Lochlannach.² And further investigation confirms the substantial similarity of the two figures. Both are hideous black giants armed with an iron club. Searbhan defends a sacred quicken-tree; and the Gilla Dacker, in so far as he is one with the Knight of Valour, has a great fruit-tree in his domain, defended by the Knight of the Fountain, who with a golden crown on his head is usurping the post of king. Again, the Gilla Dacker is expressly identified with *Avartach*, owner of a mansion in the realm of Manannan. If Prof. Brown is right in equating *Avartach* with *Avallach* (and we have ere now seen a yet stranger distortion of the latter word³), *Avartach* was lord of the Otherworld apple-tree, and derived his name from that fact.⁴ Thus Searbhan of the quicken-tree was strictly analogous to *Avartach* of the apple-tree. May we not suppose that, as the name *Avartach* meant in its original form 'He of the Apple-tree,' so the name *Searbhan* meant originally 'He of the Quicken-tree' (*sorbus aucuparia* L.), being in fact *Sorbanus from *sorba*, 'a quicken-tree'? However that may be, the Gilla Dacker, being one with *Avartach*, was likewise lord of an Otherworld apple-tree, so that we are enabled to offer a fair conjecture as to the species of the great fruit-tree guarded by the Knight of the Fountain.

¹ *Supra* p. 27.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 308 n. 2.

³ *Folk-lore* xvii. 439, 453.

⁴ *Ib.* 308 n. 3.

Moreover, we can now eliminate the Scandinavian element from this and other such tales. For it appears that the Gilla Dacker or Searbhan is the Scandinavian equivalent for the Celtic lord of the Otherworld tree—an inference that I shall hope to establish elsewhere. Finally, since the Knight of the Fountain acted as the royal champion of a fruit-tree (?apple-tree) belonging to the Gilla Dacker, alias *Avartach*, we obtain by analogy valid ground for believing what for other reasons we were already prepared to believe, *viz.* that Diarmuid, when he defended the quicken-tree of Searbhan at Dubhros, was indeed a king acting the part of a god.

Searbhan, 'He of the Quicken-tree,' and *Avallach*, 'He of the Apple-tree,' were alike perpetuated by the Christian saint Serf or Servanus, who drew his name from the one and his legend from the other. The berry of the quicken-tree, otherwise known as the fowler's service-tree,¹ was in Middle English *serf*, corresponding to an Anglo-Saxon *syrf-* in *syrf-trēow* (*i.e.* sirf-tree, service-tree),² while *Servanus* appears to be the Latinised form of *Searbhan* (Sharving). Like *Avallach* he had a sacred apple-tree; for the legend is that, when St. Serf on his way to Fife threw his staff across the sea from Inch Keith to Culross, it straightway took root and became the apple-tree called *Morglas*,³ 'the Great Green-one.' Again, St. Serf's island in Lochleven,⁴ like that of St. Mourie in his eponymous lake,⁵ may well have been the Christian successor of a pagan Otherworld abode. The counterpart of the spring

¹ E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* p. 108.

² W. W. Skeat *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* new ed. Oxford 1901 p. 476.

³ R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* p. 219.

⁴ A. Kerr 'Description of the ecclesiastical remains existing upon St. Serf's island, Lochleven' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1882 iv. 159 ff.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 331 ff.

belonging to the Gilla Dacker (*Avallach*) would thus be St. Serf's well at Monzievaird in Perthshire, or St. Servan's well at Alva in Stirlingshire, or St. Shear's well at Dumbarton in Dumbartonshire, all of which are accounted miraculous.¹ It is noteworthy, too, that at Culross it was a very ancient custom for the young men to go in procession through the streets carrying green boughs on July 1, the feast of St. Serf. The town cross (? the descendant of a sacred tree) was decorated with garlands and ribbons, and the procession passed several times round it before disbanding to spend the day in amusements.²

The mention of green boughs suggests an objection that might be taken to the position here assigned to Diarmuid. If he was indeed the foster-child of Manannan, privileged to visit the Otherworld tree, ought he not, like Bran or Cormac or Mael-Duin, to bear a branch in token of the same? Now we read in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*³ that Diarmuid had with him 'the Crann buidhe of Manannan,' which he used as a magic spear. But *crann buidhe* means literally the 'yellow branch,' the word *crann* denoting a 'tree' or 'branch.' It may, I think, be inferred that, just as the shaft of Duach's spear was formed of the yew of Ross,⁴ so the shaft of Diarmuid's spear was formed of Manannan's tree.

But it is time to turn from these Ossianic myths and enquire whether they, like the Ultonian myths, can be paralleled from the Arthurian cycle. Diarmuid fighting Searbhan beneath the quicken-tree of Dubhros, or attacking the Knight of the Fountain that belonged to the Gilla

¹ J. R. Walker in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* Edinburgh 1883 v. 201, Dom Michael Barrett *A Calendar of Scottish Saints* Fort-Augustus 1904 p. 96.

² Dom Michael Barrett *ib.* p. 96 f.

³ *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for 1855* iii. 87, cp. *ib.* 91 and 175 the *Ga buidhe*, or 'Yellow shaft.'

⁴ *Folk-lore* xvii. 69.

Dacker, finds in fact his nearest analogue in *Iwain* or *Owen*.¹ This will appear from a perusal of the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes and the *Iwein* of Hartmann von Aue side by side with *The Lady of the Fountain*, an Arthurian tale included in the Welsh *Mabinogion*.

Chrétien's poem is summarised as follows by Prof. A. C. L. Brown :²

'The story opens at Carduel in Wales, where Arthur is holding court. King Arthur and the queen have withdrawn to their chambers, and Calogrenant has begun a tale to the assembled knights, of whom *Iwain* is one. The queen enters to hear it also, and he begins again at her request. "About seven years ago," says Calogrenant, "I wandered all day through the Forest of Broceliande till I came to a strongly fortified place. The lord of the *forteresse* gave me a splendid welcome, and a fair maid disarmed me and entertained me in a meadow till supper. The supper was entirely to my taste because of the maid who sat opposite to me. I spent a pleasant night in that castle. In the morning I set out, and not far off I found fierce bulls fighting and a black creature with a head larger than a horse's, armed with a club, guarding them. Finding that this creature could speak, I asked him to direct me to some adventure. He showed me the path to a fountain, telling me also what I might do. I reached the fountain about noon. By it stood the most beautiful tree that ever grew on earth. I took a basin of gold that was attached by a chain to the tree, and, dipping up some water, I poured it on the rock. Forthwith there ensued a terrible storm of wind and rain; then a calm in which the birds sang sweetly on the tree. After this there appeared a knight on horseback, who attacked and overthrew me. I came home on foot like a fool and like a fool have told my story."

During the talk that follows, Arthur comes out of his chamber, hears the story repeated, and declares that he will go with his knights within a fortnight, namely just before St. John the Baptist's Day, to essay the adventure. *Iwain*, however, is anxious to try it alone; so he steals away secretly. He is entertained at night by the Hospitable Host; next morning he sees the Giant Herdsman, and he comes at last to the Fountain Perilous. He pours

¹ The similarity of the story of the Gilla Dacker to that of *Iwain* or *Owen* is pointed out by A. Nutt in *The Celtic Magazine* 1887 xii. 555, by Rhys Hibbert *Lectures* p. 186 ff., by F. Lot in *Romania* 1892 xxi. 67 ff., and by A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 103 ff.

² A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 13 ff. The most convenient text is that of W. Foerster—Kristian von Troyes *Yvain (Der Löwenritter)* ed. 2 Halle a. S. 1902 = *Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v.—with introduction, notes, and glossary. See also Foerster's large critical edition—Christian von Troyes vol. ii *Yvain* Halle 1887.

water on the rock. The storm follows. After this the armed knight appears and attacks Iwain. They fight till Iwain deals the knight a blow that cleaves his helmet and wounds him in the brain. The knight flees, pursued by Iwain, through the streets of a town and up to the gate of a palace. The knight rides under a sharp iron gate, which is arranged to drop like the fall of a rat trap if one touches the spring. Iwain follows hard after, and his horse accidentally touches the spring. The gate falls close behind Iwain and with its knife edge cuts his horse in two, cutting off the hinder part of the saddle and also the rider's spurs. Another gate at the same time descends in front, and Iwain is imprisoned in a *sale*. But a damsels, called Lunete, issues from a narrow door and recognises him as Iwain, son of King Urien. She was once sent on a message by her lady to King Arthur's court, and, perhaps because she was not so courteous as a damsels ought to be, no knight deigned to speak to her except Iwain. He honored and served her, and she is glad to recompense him now. She gives Iwain a magic ring that, when the stone set in it is enclosed in the hand, makes its wearer invisible, and she brings him food to eat. Presently men come with clubs and swords, seeking him who slew their lord, Esclados le Ros. They do not find Iwain, for the ring renders him invisible. Lunete's mistress, whose name is Laudine, a most beautiful lady, now enters, weeping for her lord, who is carried on a bier. When the corpse is brought into the hall where Iwain is, it begins to bleed. The men feel confident that the murderer must be hidden there, and they renew their search. When Iwain sees Laudine, he is smitten with violent love for her. He even watches the funeral, so as to catch a better glimpse of her. He refuses to go when Lunete offers to help him to escape. Lunete persuades her lady that she ought to feel no hatred against the knight who slew her husband. She reminds her that the Dameisele Sauvage has sent word that King Arthur is coming within a week to essay the Fountain. Laudine feels that a knight is needed to defend it. Lunete tells her that the knight who slew her husband would undertake to do it. When Laudine learns that his name is Iwain she consents. Iwain is terrified when ushered into Laudine's presence and says that anything she may lay upon him, even death, he will take without ill will. She receives him kindly when he promises to defend the Fountain. Iwain and the lady are speedily married, and there is great joy.

The wedding feast lasts till King Arthur comes to essay the adventure of the Fountain. Kay is assigned to the adventure. The king pours water on the rock, and presently Iwain appears mounted on a powerful horse and overthrows Kay. Iwain then reveals himself to Arthur and escorts him and his knights to the castle, where they are entertained for a week.

When Arthur departs, Iwain is persuaded to accompany him. Laudine does not give Iwain permission to go till he has promised to return within a year. If he does not come back by that time, "her love will turn to hate." She gives Iwain a ring that will protect him from imprisonment and be his shield and hauberk. A year has passed, and Iwain is busy in tournaments. Suddenly he recollects that he has overstayed his time. The same instant

a damsel rides up and calls him a hypocrite, and a thief who has stolen her lady's heart and forgotten his promise to return. She demands back the ring. When Iwain does not reply, she snatches the ring from his finger and departs. Iwain goes mad and runs into the forest, where he lives like a beast. A hermit supplies him with musty bread. At length one day a lady, accompanied by two damsels, finds a naked man asleep in the forest. One of the damsels recognizes Iwain by a scar on his cheek. At her request the lady allows the damsel to bring a box of ointment, a gift from Morgue the Wise, by means of which Iwain is cured of his madness. In return Iwain frees the lady from the oppression of a powerful enemy, Count Alier.

As Iwain is riding through a deep forest, he finds a serpent and a lion fighting. He succors the lion and slays the serpent. The lion kneels down before Iwain and indicates by his tears that he thanks him. After this the lion accompanies Iwain everywhere. Iwain comes to the Fountain Perilous and finds Lunete shut up in the little chapel near by. She tells Iwain a wicked seneschal has accused her of treason in persuading Laudine to marry Iwain. She is to be burned to-morrow unless a knight can be found who will fight the seneschal and two others, in order to prove her innocence. Iwain promises to undertake the combat but is obliged to go some distance before he finds lodgings for the night at a castle. This castle is beset by a giant, Harpin of the Mountain, who will kill the lord's sons or carry off the daughter of the house in the morning unless a champion can be found to fight him. Iwain promises to fight the giant if the latter appears early in the morning; otherwise he shall be obliged to go to keep his promise and save Lunete. In the morning Iwain waits till prime for the giant to appear, and, as he does not come, is distracted in his mind whether to go or stay. At last Harpin comes and Iwain subdues him, aided in the struggle by his faithful lion. Iwain rides hurriedly to the Fountain Perilous, and arrives in time to rescue Lunete by fighting at once the wicked seneschal and two others. The lion again helps Iwain. Laudine does not know who Iwain is. He calls himself the Knight of the Lion.

Iwain is met by a messenger from the younger daughter of the lord of La Noire Espine. The lord is dead, and the elder daughter has usurped all the land and secured Gawain to defend her claim. Iwain, who does not know that his opponent will be Gawain, agrees to fight for the younger daughter. He does not reveal his own name but is called the Knight of the Lion. Iwain and the messenger come to a place called the Castle of Ill Adventure and are advised not to enter. They do enter, however, and find three hundred girls behind a row of stakes. These girls are pale and thin and obliged to toil at working silk with thread of gold. It is explained that many years ago the King of the Isle of Maidens went like a fool in search of adventure. He fell into the power of two "fiz de deable" who own this castle. Being not yet eighteen years old, he ransomed himself as best he could by swearing to send each year thirty maidens as tribute till the monsters should be vanquished. Iwain is well entertained for the night by

the lord and lady of the castle, but in the morning he is obliged to fight the monsters. He overcomes them, with the aid of his lion, and frees the maidens. Iwain arrives at Arthur's court clad in armor and known as the Knight of the Lion. Gawain, too, is disguised by his armor, and the two friends fight a terrible battle. When night comes on, they grow tired, and reveal themselves to each other. There is great joy, and people are surprised to see how evenly they are matched.

Iwain soon returns to the Fountain Perilous and stirs up such a storm that the castle is almost destroyed. Lunete is sent to find out who is at the Fountain, and by her mediation Iwain is reconciled to Laudine. Now Iwain has peace and through joy the past is forgotten.'

Chrétien wrote his *Yvain* between 1164 and 1173.¹ Hartmann von Aue had completed his *Iwein* in 1204.² But since the latter poet appears to have been wholly dependent upon the former for his materials,³ his work need not be separately analysed. The same may be said of *Ywain and Gawain*, a Middle English metrical romance written probably in the first half of the fourteenth century by an unknown author, whose source was undoubtedly Chrétien's poem summarised above.⁴

No such dependence can be proved in the case of *The Lady of the Fountain*, which is found first in the White Book of Rhydderch, a Welsh manuscript older than the Red Book of Hergest⁵ written in the latter half of the fourteenth century.⁶ Prof. Foerster indeed holds that *The Lady of the Fountain* is merely a prose rendering of Chrétien's poem made in the fourteenth century;⁷ and that the 'kernel' of both is the theme of the Easily

¹ W. Foerster in *Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v. p. ix ff.

² Hartmann von Aue *Iwein* (*Der Ritter mit dem Löwen*) ed. by E. Henrici Halle a. S. 1891-1893 vol. ii. p. vi.

³ E. Henrici *ib.*: 'nur die geschichte vom raube der königin ist zugekommen, und auch diese wahrscheinlich aus Christians Karrenritter entlehnt.' See further Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Gawain* p. 67 ff.

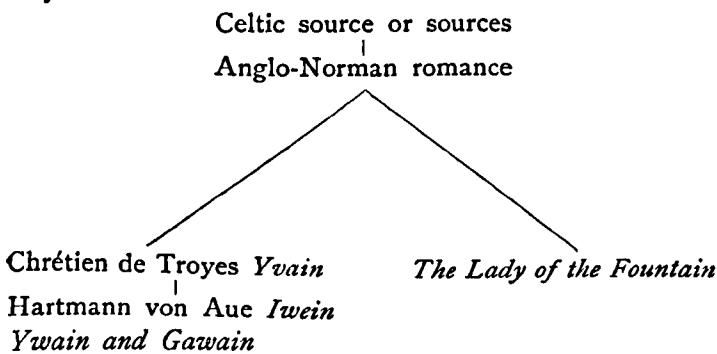
⁴ G. Schleich *Ywain and Gawain* Oppeln and Leipzig 1887 pp. xxiv, xxxix.

⁵ Rhŷs Hibbert Lectures p. 402 n. 1.

⁶ J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans *The Red Book of Hergest* Oxford 1887 i. p. xiii.

⁷ Christian von Troyes ed. W. Foerster vol. ii. *Yvain* Halle 1887 p. xix ff., Kristian von Troyes *Ywain* ed. 2 W. Foerster (*Romanische Bibliothek* vol. v.) Halle a. S. 1902 p. li.

Consoled Widow best known from *The Matron of Ephesus* in the writings of Petronius,¹ Phaedrus,² etc.³ But the views of this eminent scholar have been severely handled, not to say pulverised, by Mr. A. Nutt and Prof. A. C. L. Brown. Mr. Nutt,⁴ laying just stress on the clearer arrangement and far finer style of the Welsh tale, inclines to agree with M. Gaston Paris⁵ that behind *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* lies a lost Anglo-Norman romance, of which both extant works are but versions, the former in French poetry, the latter in Welsh prose,—a theory to a large extent identical with that put forward in 1869 by Dr. C. Rauch.⁶ And Prof. A. C. L. Brown,⁷ following in the steps of a whole series of scholars,⁸ has triumphantly demonstrated the essentially Celtic character of all the main incidents in the story. The resultant theory of the relations between *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* may be indicated thus :



¹ Petr. sat. III f.

² Phaedr. app. 13.

³ Christian von Troyes ed. W. Foerster vol. i. *Cligés* Halle 1884 p. xvi, vol. ii. *Yvain* Halle 1887 p. xxi, Kristian von Troyes *Yvain* ed. 2 W. Foerster Halle a. S. 1902 p. xvii ff.

⁴ Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* with notes by A. Nutt London 1904 p. 347 ff. ⁵ G. Paris in *Romania* 1881 x. 465 ff.

⁶ C. Rauch *Die wälische, französische und deutsche Bearbeitung der Iweinsage* Berlin 1869 p. 17 f. ⁷ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* passim.

⁸ See H. Goossens *Über Sage, Quelle und Komposition des Chevalier au Lyon des Crestien de Troyes* Paderborn 1883. So A. Nutt in *The Celtic Magazine*

On this showing it is obvious that, in order to get back to the ultimate Celtic basis of the tale, we must take into account not only Chrétien's *Yvain* but also *The Lady of the Fountain*.¹ It will be advisable first to resume the story and then to consider it in connexion with *Yvain*.

King Arthur, holding his court at Caerleon upon Usk, one day sleeps before his repast, after bidding Owain, Kynon, and Kai entertain each other with tales and good cheer. Kai provides meat and drink, while Kynon begins a tale. ‘I once set forth on a journey to discover whether any man was stronger than myself. I came to the fairest valley in the world, where stood a large and lustrous castle. Near it were two princely youths engaged in shooting, and a richly-clad man who brought me courteously to the castle. In it dwelt none save four and twenty beauteous damsels. They tended me and my horse, and we all made merry at a feast. After the feast I told the man who I was and what I sought. He bade me sleep there the night and go on my way the next morning. “A little way within the wood,” said he, “thou wilt meet with a road branching off to the right, by which thou must proceed, until thou comest to a large sheltered glade with a mound in the centre. And thou wilt see a black man of great stature on the top of the mound. He is not smaller in size than two of the men of this world. He has but one foot; and one eye in the middle of his forehead. And he has a club of iron, and it is certain that there are no two men in the world who would not find their burden in that club. And he is not a comely man, but on the contrary he is exceedingly ill-favoured; and he is the woodward of that wood. And thou wilt see a thousand wild animals grazing around him. Inquire of him the way out of the glade, and he will reply to thee briefly, and will point out the road by which thou shalt find that which thou art in quest of.” On the morrow I found the one-eyed giant, as directed, and asked him what power he held over the wild animals around him. Hereupon he took his club and struck a stag a great blow so that it brayed aloud, and at its braying the beasts flocked together. The giant bade them go and feed;

1887 xii. 555, G. Paris in *Romania* 1888 xvii. 334 ff., E. Muret in the *Revue Critique* 1890 xxix. 66 ff., A. Ahlström ‘Sur l’Origine du Chevalier au Lion’ in the *Mélanges dédiés à Carl Wahlund* Mâcon 1896 p. 289 ff., G. Baist in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1897 xxi. 402 ff., G. L. Kittredge in the *Nation* New York Feb. 24 1898 lxvi. 150 f. Cp. A. Mussafia in the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 1889 x. 220 ff.

¹Lady Charlotte Guest *The Mabinogion* London 1877 p. 3 ff., with notes by A. Nutt London 1904 p. 167 ff., J. Loth *Les Mabinogion* Paris 1889 ii. 1 ff. The best edition of the Welsh text is J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans *The Red Book of Hergest* Oxford 1887 i. 162 ff.

and they did homage to him as vassals to their lord. I then inquired of him the way; and he became very rough in his manner. However, when I disclosed my name and my errand, he directed me further. "Take," said he, "that path that leads towards the head of the glade, and ascend the wooded steep until thou comest to its summit; and there thou wilt find an open space like to a large valley, and in the midst of it a tall tree, whose branches are greener than the greenest pine-trees. Under this tree is a fountain, and by the side of the fountain a marble slab, and on the marble slab a silver bowl, attached by a chain of silver, so that it may not be carried away. Take the bowl and throw a bowlful of water upon the slab, and thou wilt hear a mighty peal of thunder, so that thou wilt think that heaven and earth are trembling with its fury. With the thunder there will come a shower so severe that it will be scarce possible for thee to endure it and live. And the shower will be of hailstones; and after the shower, the weather will become fair, but every leaf that was upon the tree will have been carried away by the shower. Then a flight of birds will come and alight upon the tree; and in thine own country thou didst never hear a strain so sweet as that which they will sing. And at the moment thou art most delighted with the song of the birds, thou wilt hear a murmuring and complaining coming towards thee along the valley. And thou wilt see a knight upon a coal-black horse, clothed in black velvet, and with a pennon of black linen upon his lance; and he will ride unto thee to encounter thee with the utmost speed. If thou fleest from him he will overtake thee, and if thou abidest here, as sure as thou art a mounted knight, he will leave thee on foot. And if thou dost not find trouble in that adventure, thou needst not seek it during the rest of thy life." Hearing this, I pressed on and found everything as the giant had told me. I charged the knight valiantly, but was overthrown. He rode off with my horse, leaving me where I was. So I returned in dejection by the way that I came, being derided for my pains by the giant, but entertained as before by my hospitable host and furnished with another palfrey. In truth I deem it strange that such an adventure should exist within King Arthur's dominions unknown to all save me.'

Arthur now wakes from his sleep and sits down to meat with his household. At dawn next day Owain takes up the quest. He too meets the hospitable host, the one-eyed giant, and the black knight, as Kynon had done. But, after breaking his lance, Owain strikes the knight so fierce a blow with his sword that he cleaves his helmet and wounds his very brain. The knight turns and flees into a great castle hotly pursued by Owain, whose horse is cut in two by the descending portcullis. The inner gate being closed, Owain finds himself caught in a trap. A damsels called Luned, on the ground that she has never seen one more faithful in the service of ladies, helps him in his distress. She gives him a ring conferring invisibility on its wearer, and promises to await him on the horse-block, where he is to place his hand upon her shoulder in token that he, though unseen, is present. When the people of the castle come to seek him, they find nothing but the half of his horse.

Owain follows Luned into a beautiful chamber, where he is feasted and put to sleep by her. At daybreak he witnesses the funeral procession of the knight whom he has slain and falls in love with the knight's lady. Luned describes her as 'the fairest, and the most chaste, and the most liberal, and the wisest, and the most noble of women,' but gives her no name but the Countess of the Fountain. While Owain sleeps again, Luned goes to woo the Countess for him. At first the Countess resents her words. But Luned argues as follows: 'Unless thou canst defend the fountain, thou canst not maintain thy dominions; and no one can defend the fountain except it be a knight of Arthur's household; and I will go to Arthur's Court, and ill betide me if I return thence without a warrior who can guard the fountain, as well as, or even better than, he who defended it formerly.' The Countess bids her go. She returns with Owain. The Countess detects in him the slayer of her lord. 'So much the better for thee, lady,' says Luned, 'for had he not been stronger than thy lord he could not have deprived him of life.' The Countess, having taken counsel of her assembled subjects, then marries Owain. And thenceforward, we read, 'Owain defended the fountain with lance and sword. And this is the manner in which he defended it: whenever a knight came there he overthrew him, and sold him for his full worth, and what he thus gained he divided among his barons and his knights; and no man in the whole world could be more beloved than he was by his subjects. And it was thus for the space of three years.'

At the end of that time Arthur and his household, guided by Kynon, set out to seek for Owain. They too come to the hospitable host, the giant, and a black knight. Kai obtains leave to essay the adventure, but is overthrown. Next day he tries again, but again is overthrown and sore wounded. After that, the whole household, man by man, attacks the knight with a like result. Gwalchmai and Arthur alone remain. Arthur is arming himself for the fray, when Gwalchmai begs permission to attempt the combat before him. Arthur consents; and all that day until the evening Gwalchmai and the black knight fight without either unhorsing the other. On the morrow they fight again with equal fortune. On the third day at noon they both are thrown, but rise and renew the struggle with swords till fire flashes from their weapons. One of Owain's blows discloses Gwalchmai's face. They recognise each other amid great rejoicings. The day following all repair to the castle of the Countess of the Fountain, where they are entertained with a banquet of three months' duration.

Arthur now induces the Countess to allow Owain to go with him to the Island of Britain. She gives him leave of absence for three months. But he stays away for three years. One day, as he sits at meat in Caerleon upon Usk a damsel rides up to him and, with taunting words, takes the ring from his finger. Owain then remembers his promise and roams the mountains in distress, feeding familiarly with wild beasts till he becomes too weak to bear them company. A widowed countess and her maidens find him exhausted in their park. The countess bids one of the

maidens anoint him with a flask of precious ointment and bring him a horse and clothing. In gratitude Owain rescues the countess from a young earl, who is oppressing her. He then resumes his wanderings through distant lands and deserts.

In a forest he comes upon a serpent and a black lion fighting. He kills the serpent and is followed by the lion, which forages for him. He next finds Luned imprisoned in a stone vault. She had defended his character, when two pages of the Countess of the Fountain had called him a deceiver. In two days' time they will put her to death, unless he himself appears to rescue her. Owain, without revealing his name, withdraws to a neighbouring castle for food and shelter. The earl who lives in this castle is downcast, because a man-eating giant of the mountain has seized his two sons and threatens to slay them on the morrow unless the earl's daughter is delivered up in their stead. Next morning Owain fights the giant and, thanks to his lion, is victorious. He now hastens away to protect Luned and arrives just as the pages are about to cast her into a great fire. He attacks them both at once, and again the lion comes to his aid and destroys the pair of them. Owain then returns with Luned to the Countess of the Fountain, whom he takes with him as his wife to Arthur's court.

Owain visits the court of the savage black man and fights with him. The lion does not quit Owain until he has vanquished his foe. In the black man's hall Owain sees four and twenty fair ladies in deep sorrow. The demon who owns the castle has slain their husbands and robbed them of their horses and raiment and money. Outside the castle Owain is saluted in friendly fashion by a knight, who is the savage black man himself. Owain attacks, overcomes, and binds him, as had been foretold, but grants him his life on condition that he becomes the keeper of an hospice. Next day Owain returns with the four and twenty ladies and their possessions to Arthur's court. 'And thenceforward,' says the tale, 'Owain dwelt at Arthur's court greatly beloved, as the head of his household, until he went away with his followers; and those were the army of three hundred ravens which Kenverchyn had left him. And wherever Owain went with these he was victorious.'

We are now in a position to reconstruct the lost Anglo-Norman romance that lies behind *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*. Confining our attention to the incidents that occur in both, we obtain the following outline:

While King Arthur is holding his court at Carduel in Wales (Caerleon upon Usk), his knights converse and one of them named Calogrenant (Kynon) recounts a tale. In search of adventure he had once come first to the castle of a hospitable host, then to a monstrous black herdsman armed with a club, and lastly to a wonderful tree standing beside a stone and a fountain, which fountain was guarded by a knight on horseback. Having unsuccessfully attacked the knight, he had returned home in dejection.

Iwain (Owain), on hearing this tale, departs by stealth to essay the same adventure. More successful than his predecessor, he deals the knight a mortal wound, and, though his horse is cut in half by a falling portcullis, and himself entrapped at the entrance, makes his way into the knight's palace. He is enabled to do so by the maid Lunete (Luned), who gives him a ring rendering him invisible and afterwards pleads his cause with her mistress Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain). Iwain (Owain) now weds the widow of the knight and undertakes to defend the fountain in his stead.

Arthur and his knights next come to the fountain. Kay (Kai) is deputed to attempt the combat, but is overthrown by Iwain (Owain). The latter reveals himself, and invites Arthur and the knights to a feast in the castle of Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

When Arthur leaves, she allows Iwain (Owain) to leave with him, but only on condition that he shall return within a year (three months). Forgetful of this condition, he overstays his time. A damsels rides up, abuses him, and carries off his ring. He roams in the wilderness, living the life of a beast. A lady with her damsels finds him exhausted on the ground and heals him by means of a magic ointment. In return he frees her from a powerful foe.

He sees a serpent and a lion fighting in a forest, slays the serpent, and thereby secures the services of the lion. He finds Lunete (Luned) imprisoned for taking his part and condemned to be burned next day (in two days' time). He seeks lodgings for the night in a neighbouring castle, beset by a giant of the mountain, who threatens to carry off the lord's sons or his daughter. Iwain (Owain) and the lion slay this giant. They then hasten on and rescue Lunete (Luned) by fighting and destroying her adversaries. Iwain (Owain) finally returns with Lunete (Luned) to Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

Prof. A. C. L. Brown¹ has gone far towards proving that the whole of this romance is based on a Celtic folk-tale of the Fairy Mistress type. He holds that the first half of the romance, down to the point at which Iwain (Owain) is cured by the magic ointment, reproduces a Celtic original comparable with *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain* (*Serglige Conculaind*),² and that the second half of the romance similarly rests on a Celtic tale resembling *The Wooing of Emer* (*Torchmarc Emere*), in which a lion guides and carries Cuchulain on his way

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Boston 1903 viii. 1-147, *id. The Knight of the Lion* in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* Cambridge Mass. 1905 xx. (N.S. xiii.) 673-706.

² *Folk-lore* xvii. 148 ff.

to the Otherworld.¹ The two halves would thus be complementary parts of one and the same myth. The first tells how a mortal is invited to fairyland, journeys thither successfully and weds a fairy queen, but disobeys her injunctions, loses her, becomes insane and has to be cured by a magic remedy. The second tells of a wondrous journey, in which the hero, aided by a helpful beast, fights his way through terrible dangers back into the Otherworld and so returns to live with his supernatural wife.

While accepting in the main Prof. Brown's conclusions, I would urge—and he would hardly deny it²—that the larger part of our romance is paralleled by *The Slothful Gillie* even more nearly than by *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain*. This will be readily seen from the following table of contents :

<i>The Slothful Gillie.</i>	<i>Yvain + The Lady of the Fountain.</i>
Finn and his chiefs assembled at Collkilla.	Arthur and his knights at Carduel in Wales (Caerleon upon Usk). The hospitable host.
The black club-bearing giant (Gilla Dacker).	The black club-bearing giant (giant herdsman).
Dermat comes to a great fruit-tree standing beside a pillar-stone and a spring.	Iwain (Owain) comes to a wonderful tree standing beside a stone and a fountain.
The hospitable host (Knight of Valour).	

¹ The tale exists in two versions, a longer (s. xi.) and a shorter (s. viii.). The text of the longer version was published by K. Meyer in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1901 iii. 229 ff., and an English translation by the same scholar in *The Archaeological Review* 1888 i. 68 ff., 150 ff., 231 ff., 298 ff.: cp. E. Hull *The Cuchullin Saga* London 1898 p. 55 ff., Lady Gregory *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* p. 21 ff. Text and English translation of the shorter version by K. Meyer in the *Revue celtique* xi. 434 ff.: French translation in D'Arbois *L'épopée celtique* p. 39 ff.

² In *Iwain* p. 103 ff. Prof. Brown himself lays stress on the resemblance of *Yvain* to *In Gilla Decair*. See *supra* p. 35 n. 1.

Dermat slays the champion (Knight of the Fountain) who guards the spring.

Finn and his chiefs come to the tree.

Meeting between Finn and Dermat.

Departure of Finn and Dermat.

Dermat, after a long voyage, recaptures Taise for Finn and joins him in the Land of Promise.

Iwain (Owain) slays the champion (the red or black knight) who guards the fountain.

Arthur and his knights come to the tree.

Meeting between Arthur and Iwain (Owain).

Departure of Arthur with Iwain (Owain).

Iwain (Owain), after a long journey, regains Laudine (the Countess of the Fountain).

So closely does *The Slothful Gillie* approximate to the common theme of *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*, that we may venture to explain several features of the Anglo-Norman romance by means of the Celtic folk-tale. To begin with, the Knight of the Fountain in *The Slothful Gillie* wears a scarlet mantle and a golden crown, posing as the king of Tir-fa-tonn. We may take it, then, that Esclados le Ros ('the Red') in *Yvain* and the black knight in *The Lady of the Fountain* were usurping the position of the Otherworld king.¹ Again, the hospitable host in *The Slothful Gillie*, who gives his name as the Knight of Valour, explains that he is the rightful king. Probably, therefore, the hospitable host in *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* was likewise the real king.² Moreover, we saw reason to believe

¹ A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 42 f. compares Esclados le Ros with Manannan: 'The diligent reader of Arthurian material must feel a certain probability in this parallel between Esclados le Ros and Manannán, the tricky magician and shape-shifter of the Celts. The mysterious red knight who encountered Iwain at the fountain has absolutely no character of his own. One cannot but fancy that he was, in an earlier form of the story, some one in disguise.' If I am right, his surname 'Red' is the one survival of his royalty.

² G. Baist in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1897 xxi. 403 acutely observes that the hospitable host and the giant herdsman may originally have had some more intimate connexion with the adventure than any that appears in *Yvain*. Cp. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 114: 'The Giant Herdsman, and probably therefore the Hospitable Host, must originally have been different appearances of the same Other-World being, a shape-shifter commissioned by the *fée* to guide the hero to her land.'

with Prof. Brown that the Knight of Valour was none other than the Gilla Dacker, or 'Slothful Gillie,' himself, who in turn was described as one form of Avartach, a dweller in the realm of Manannan. By parity of reasoning we may conclude that the hospitable host and the giant herdsman in the Anglo-Norman romance were but diverse forms of the same personage, presumably the human and the superhuman aspects of the Otherworld king. We have here to deal with a somewhat perplexing multiplicity of characters, *viz.* the hospitable host, the defender of the fountain, and the club-bearing giant, who all in a sense represent the Otherworld king. It may be surmised that, in the original Celtic source of the story, the hospitable host was the actual human monarch, living in his *dun* and characterised by that liberality which the Celts invariably ascribed to their ideal king,¹ while the champion of the tree and fountain undertook the woodland duties of his tabu-bound majesty, being related to him precisely as the king of the Fianna appears to have been related to the king of all Ireland.² As to the club-bearing giant or black man, whose dusky hue has in *The Lady of the Fountain* been extended to the woodland champion also, the analogy that I have already³ traced between the black club-bearing giant (the Gilla Dacker) in *The Slothful Gillie*, who came from Lochlann, and the black club-bearing giant (Searbhan) in *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, who bore the surname Lochlannach, makes it highly probable that we should here detect a trace of Scandinavian influence. The black-handed club-bearing giant slain by Cod, prince of Norway, was a similar Scandinavian figure.⁴ And in Donald MacPhie's version of *Manus the Athach*, another such monstrous giant, is sent by the king of Lochlann to

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 37 f., 46 f., 51 f., 167 f. ² *Supra* p. 6 f.

³ *Supra* p. 39 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 28 f.

guide Fionn and his company to the home of the Loch-lanners.¹ The association of a marvellous horse with the Gilla Dacker² points, I believe, in the same direction: a reminiscence of this horse perhaps accounts for Chrétien's black club-bearing monster, whose head is expressly said to have been larger than that of a horse.³

But if the Celtic folk-tale thus enables us to throw light on some obscure features of the Anglo-Norman romance, the converse process is no less useful. In *The Slothful Gillie* Dermat, according to all analogy, ought to have married the divine partner of the Knight of the Fountain: the existing, comparatively late, form of the story contains no such incident—at most we learn that Dermat recaptures Taise for Finn, whose name and fame have obviously ousted those of his follower. Prof. Brown⁴ remarks 'In the original form of the story . . . we must infer that Taise the *fée* fell in love with Diarmaid,' and suggests in a foot-note 'that a fairy mistress story about Finn has been worked into the *Gilla Decair*, and substituted for the original adventures of Diarmaid.'⁵ *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* have preserved the more primitive situation, in which Iwain (Owain), helped by Lunete (Luned), marries Laudine (the Countess of the

¹J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860-1862 iii. 364 ff., cp. *ib.* iv. 326 f. where a woodcut of a similar giant or *áchan* is given.

²*Supra* pp. 27, 30 f.

³Chrétien *Yvain* 295 f.

⁴A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 113.

⁵It is to be observed that in *The Daughter of King Under-waves* (J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* iii. 403 ff., Lady Gregory *Gods and Fighting Men* p. 319 ff.) Diarmaid, after admitting the *fée* to his couch, goes to live with her in a magic castle that she has raised above Beinn Eudainn, loses her by neglecting to follow out her injunctions, pursues her to *Rioghachd Fo Thuin* or 'Realm Under-waves,' recovers her of a sickness by giving her three draughts from the cup of King Wonder-plain, but in the end takes a violent dislike to her and returns home without her. Cp. *supra* p. 26, and see further G. H. Maynadier *The Wife of Bath's Tale* London 1901 p. 21 ff.

Fountain). Comparison with *The Voyage of Bran*,¹ *The Adventures of Connla*,² and the tale of *Oisin and Niamh*³ leads me to believe that the messenger sent to the hero was originally the goddess herself, in fact that Lunete is merely a doublet of Laudine. If so, her name may be significant. In the early Celtic tales the fairy mistress was, if I am right, a sun-goddess, the sun being feminine in Irish and in Old Welsh. The Anglo-Norman romance-writer, to whom the sun was masculine, the moon feminine, naturally changed the sun-goddess to a moon-goddess. Thus it comes about that, whereas Diarmuid's partner was properly *Grainne*, Iwain's partner was re-named *Lunete* from *la lune*, 'the moon.' Chrétien expressly describes Lunete and Gauvain as *la lune et le soloil*,⁴ thereby confirming at once my present contention that Lunete represents the moon and my past contention that Gawain represents the sun.⁵

The tree defended by the Knight of the Fountain in *The Slothful Gillie* was 'a great tree laden with fruit,'⁶ probably an apple-tree.⁷ In *Yvain* it is said to be a pine, the most beautiful that ever grew on earth:

Bien sai de l'arbre, c'est la fins,
Que ce estoit li plus biaus pins,
Qui onques sor terre creüst.⁸

The Lady of the Fountain makes it 'a tall tree, whose branches are greener than the greenest pine-trees.'⁹ Huon de Mery, who wrote his poem *Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit* shortly after the year 1234,¹⁰ takes his cue

¹ *Folk-lore* xvii. 144 f.

² *Ib.* xvii. 146 f.

³ *Ib.* xvii. 147 f.

⁴ Chrétien *Yvain* 2398.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xvii. 343.

⁶ *Supra* p. 28.

⁷ *Supra* p. 32.

⁸ Chrétien *Yvain* 413 ff. In 414 cod. G reads *hauz* ('tall') for *biaus* ('beautiful'), a reading adopted by Prof. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 83 n. 1.

⁹ *Supra* p. 35.

¹⁰ Huon de Mery *Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit* ed. by G. Wimmer (E. Stengel *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* lxxvi.) Marburg 1888 p. 11.

from Chrétien and speaks of the tree as a 'green pine':

Le bacin, le perron de marbre
Et le vert pin et la chaire
Trovai en itele maniere
Comme l'a descrit Crestiens.¹

Hartmann von Aue, who commonly agrees with Chrétien even in details, here unexpectedly mentions 'a lime-tree, the most beautiful ever seen':

des schirmet im ein linde,
daz nie man schoener gesach:
diu ist sin schat und sin dach.
si ist breit hōch und alsd̄ dic
daz regen noch der sunnen blic
niemer dar durch kumt.
irn schadet der winter noch envrumt
an ir schoene niht ein hār,
sine stē geloubet durch daz jār.²

In the Middle High German saga of *Ortnit* and *Wolf-dietrich* we more than once hear of a lime-tree in a context that recalls the story of *Yvain*.³ The Middle English metrical romance *Ywain and Gawain*, despite

¹ Huon de Mery 100 ff. The author of *The Fairy Mythology* London 1828 ii. 217, after stating that Huon de Mery visited the Fountain of Barenton and the Perron ('horse-block') Merveilleux, continues: 'He sprinkled the Perron from the golden basin that hung from the oak that shaded it, and beheld all the marvels.' But Huon distinctly says 'pine,' not 'oak,' though in describing the thunder-storm that followed he mentions oaks and beeches:

129 ff. La foudre du ciel descendoit,
Qui tronçonneoit et pourfendoit
Parmi le bois chenes et fous.

² Hartmann von Aue *Iwein* 572 ff.

³ *Ortnit und die Wolf-dietriche* ed. A. Ameling and O. Jänicke (*Deutsches Heldenbuch* iii.) Berlin 1871 *Ortnit* stanza 84 (the lime-tree near Lake Garda under which Ortnit finds Alberich, king of the dwarfs), *Wolf-dietrich B* stanza 350 ff. (the lime-tree near Lake Garda under which Wolf-dietrich fights and overcomes Ortnit: later, he marries Ortnit's widow and becomes king in his stead), *ib. stanza 807 ff.* (the lime-tree under which was a marble bench and a brass man, who by means of two bellows and a hundred golden pipes made a hundred birds to sing on the tree). See further A. C. L. Brown *Ywain* p. 140 n., *The Knight of the Lion* p. 679 n. 3.

its dependence on Chrétien's poem, describes the tree as a 'thorne':

Pare I fand þe fayrest thorne,
 Dat ever groued, sen God was born :
 So thik it was with leves grene,
 Might no rayn cum þarbytwene ;
 And þat gernes lastes ay,
 For no winter dere yt may.¹

Presumably the species of the tree varies according to the flora of the district in which the myth is localised.

The Anglo-Norman tale underlying *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* may be regarded as the source of several episodes contained in the old French prose-romance called the *Livre d'Artus*.² This work, which supplies us with a collateral version of Kalogrenant's adventure,³ confirms in a remarkable way several of the conclusions already drawn from a comparison of *Yvain* and *The Lady of the Fountain* with *The Slothful Gillie* and other definitely Celtic sources. The monstrous herdsman is here expressly said to be Merlin in disguise, who tells Kalogrenant that he is lord of the forest and that the fountain is defended by one of his relatives and friends. This to some extent supports my conjecture⁴ that the giant herdsman was originally a god, *viz.* the Otherworld king, whose human representative, king of the district, had a fighting deputy or champion at the fountain. Again, this champion is said in the *Livre d'Artus* to be Brehus-sans-pitié,⁵ a lover

¹ *Ywain and Gawain* 353 ff., cp. *ib.* 627.

² E. Freymond 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altfranzösischen Artusromane in Prosa' in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur* Berlin 1895 xvii. 1 ff. summarises the *Livre d'Artus* from a Paris MS. of the thirteenth century.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 53 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 47.

⁵ On whom see E. Freymond 'Zum *Livre d'Artus*' in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 1892 xvi. 125 f., E. Löseth *Le roman en prose de Tristan* Paris 1891 p. 500 f. s.v. 'Brehul(s), (Brun),' P. Rajna *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso* Firenze 1876 p. 106 ff.

of Lunete, Lunete herself being a cousin of Merlin's inamorata Niniane. Lunete has installed Brehus as defender of the fountain of Breceliande: he is to fight any knight who provokes the storm by pouring water from the basin on to the stone and is to take away his horse; if he is himself vanquished, the victor is to do with him what he pleases. In other words, Lunete here takes the place of Laudine or the Countess of the Fountain, whose doublet I hold her to be.¹ Lastly, instead of a pine growing by the fountain, we hear of a sycomore, to which the basin was attached by a chain,² though in another passage we are told that Kalogrenant fastened his horse to a pine standing beside the sycomore.³

These and other⁴ variations on the same theme all go back to one common Celtic myth, which itself, if I am not mistaken, implies a ritual practice strictly analogous to that of the *rex Nemorensis*. Curoi with his oak-branches foiled by Cuchulain, the Green Knight with his holly branch in the story of Gawain, King *Guromelans* 'of the Mistletoe-bough' beaten by Gawain and Perceval, Searbhan Lochlannach who guarded the quicken-tree of Dubhros, the Knight of the Fountain worsted by Diarmuid near the great fruit-tree of Tir-fa-tonn, Esclados le Ros vanquished by Iwain beside the pine-tree of Brocéliande, what are they all but mythic echoes of the woodland king whose business it was to fight all comers beneath his sacred tree?

Nay more, if we accept Mr. A. Nutt's⁵ acute suggestion

¹ *Supra* p. 49 f.

² *Livre d'Artus* 88 p. 56.

³ *Ib.* 94 p. 58. The same variant, *viz.* a sycomore for a pine, is found in Christian von Troyes *Erec und Enide* ed. W. Foerster Halle 1890 p. 210 line 5834: it occurs in the episode of *La joie de la Cort*, which is summarised by A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 133 f.

⁴ E.g. Bojardo *Orlando innamorato* I. I. 27 ed. Panizzi II. 8.

⁵ A. Nutt *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* p. 232 ff. Cp. A. C. L. Brown *Iwain* p. 26 n. 1.

that the typical heroine of the French Arthurian romances was derived essentially from the ancient Celtic *fée*, we should do well to supplement it by the belief that the typical hero of the same romances was likewise descended from the Celtic aspirant to the position of woodland king. On this showing the rule of the Arician priesthood, or rather its equivalent in the Celtic area, would be the very ground-work and foundation of that marvellous superstructure—mediaeval chivalry.¹

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

¹ The statement that Brehus-sans-pitié had to confiscate the horse of any knight who passed his way (*supra* p. 52) recalls the fact that Diana's grove at Nemi might not be entered by horses (*Ov. fast.* 3. 266). This connexion with horses is far-reaching and of peculiar significance, as I shall hope to prove elsewhere.