ARTHUR AND GORLAGON

BY

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE

Reprinted from
STUDIES AND NOTES IN PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE
Vol. VIII

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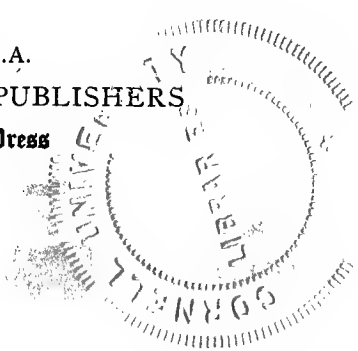

ARTHUR AND GORLAGON.

THE following text, which is here edited for the first time and seems to have eluded all investigators of Arthurian tradition,[1] is contained in Rawlinson MS. B. 149 (parchment) in the Bodleian Library. The manuscript is of the end of the fourteenth century,[2] and its contents, as catalogued by Macray,[3] are as follows:

1. Historia trium Magorum.
2. Narratio de Arthuro Rege Britanniae et Rege Gorlagon lycanthropo.
3. De "Tirio Appolonio" narratio.
4. Historia Meriadoci Regis Cambriae.[4]
5. "Liber Alexandri Philippi Macedonum qui primus regnavit in Grecia et de preliis ejusdem."
6. Tractatus, Aristotelis dictus, de regimine sanitatis, libris decem.

Arthur and Gorlagon occupies pp. 55–64, and has no title. It is written in two hands, the second hand beginning with *seminecem* in the last line of p. 60. I have expanded the numerous contractions of the manuscript, have regulated punctuation, capitals, and the separation of words, have divided the tale into paragraphs, and have numbered the sections. All other changes are indicated in the notes or by brackets in the text.

There is no clue to the authorship of *Arthur and Gorlagon;* but it was not written by the author of the *Vita Meriadoci* and the *De*

[1] It is possible that this was one of the "five Latin romances" known to Sir Frederic Madden (*Syr Gawayne, Introd.*, p. x, note).

[2] Or the beginning of the fifteenth (Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, II, 392).

[3] *Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, p. v, fasc. 1, cols. 500–501 (1862).

[4] Edited by Bruce (from the Cotton MS., Faustina B. vi) in *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Association of America*, XV, 326 ff. (1900). The copy of *Meriadocus* in the Rawlinson MS. escaped Professor Bruce's notice.

Ortu Waluuanii.[1] The style is enough to make that point certain, and the whole character of the tale differs widely from those long-winded romances. The Rawlinson copy is pretty accurate; but it shows a number of errors and at least one omission. These blunders are enough to prove that it is not the author's autograph, even if this were not immediately clear from the fact that it is the work of two different scribes.

[ARTHUR AND GORLAGON.]

1. APUD Vrbem Legionum[2] celebre festum diei Pentecostes rex Arturus agebat, ad quod totius sue dicionis magnates et nobiles inuitabat, peractisque de more solemnijs, ad instructum[3] cum omnibus pertinentibus conuiuium. Quibus copia affluente dapum summa cum leticia prandentibus, Arturus, in nimiam effusus leticiam, reginam sibi considentem iniectis brachijs amplexatus est, amplexusque cunctis intuentibus strictissime osculatus est. Ad hec autem illa obstupefacta simulque rubore suffusa, ipsum respexit, et cur se loco et hora insolita osculatus fuisset quesiuit. *Arturus*. Quia nichil mihi in diuicijs gratius, nil in delicijs te constat suauius. *Regina*. Si quam asseris me adeo diligas, mentem et voluntatem meam te scire patenter existimas.

Arturus. Tuam mentem erga me beneuolam habere non dubito, tuamque voluntatem mihi prorsus patere certus existo. *Regina*. Arture, falleris sine dubio; quippe agnoscas te nunquam uel ingenium mentemue femine comperisse. *Arturus*. Omnia celi obtestor numina, si me actenus latuere, dabo operam, nec labori indulgens nunquam cibo fruar donec ea me nosse contingat.

2. Finito itaque conuiuio, Caium dapiferum suum Arturus aduocat atque "Kai," ait, "tu et Walwainus nepos meus ascendite et ad negotium quo propero me[c]um venite. Ceteri omnes remaneant, meos conuiuas mei loco usquedum rediero letificate." Nec mora, iussi equos ascendunt et ad regem

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[1] Edited by Bruce (from the same manuscript that contains the *Meriadocus*) in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIII, 365 ff. (1898). Professor Bruce (XIII, 388–389; XV, 338–339) refers the *Meriadocus* and the *De Ortu Waluuanii* to the second quarter of the thirteenth century (the Cotton MS. is of the early fourteenth) and ascribes them to a single author.

[2] legionē *MS*. [3] instrictū *MS*.

quendam sapientissimum in confinio regnantem, Gargol[1] dictum, cum Arturo ipsi duo tantummodo properantes, die tercia in quandam vallem lassi deuenerunt, — postquam enim a domo discesserant nec cibum nec sompnum ceperant, sed noctes diebus continuantes semper equitauerant. E regione autem aduersa ipsius vallis mons arduus extabat, ameno nemore constitutus, in cuius recessu fortissimum ex politis lapidibus eminebat castellum. Quod vbi Arturus eminus intuitus est, Caium cursim precedere imperat et cuius esset illud opidum renunciare festinet. Citato igitur sonipede, Caius accelerauit, intrauit, et iam vallum exterius subeunti in redeundo Arturo occurrens, regis Gorgol ad quem tendebant municipium fore renunciauit.

3. Fortuitu autem rex Gorgol tunc mense pransurus consederat; ante quem Arturus equo vectus ingressus eum lepide cum conuiuantibus salutabat. Cui rex Gorgol "Quis es," ait, "et vnde, et que causa te tam precipitem nostro ingessit conspectui?" *Arturus.* "Arturus sum" respondit, "rex[2] Britannie; artem et ingenium mentemque femineam a te discere desidero, quem in rebus huiusmodi peritum sepissime expertus sum."

Gorgol. Arture, magnum est quod queris, et perpauci sunt qui illud nouerunt; sed crede nunc consilio meo, descende et comede et hodie quiesce, quia itinere et labore te vexatum video, et cras quod inde sciero indicabo tibi.

Negauit Arturus, se nunquam comessurum constip[u]lans nisi prius quod querebat didicisset. Tandem tum[3] rege et conuiuantibus socijsque instantibus annuit et descendit sedeque locata ante regem discubuit. Primo autem diluculo[4] Arturus, pacti non immemor, regem Gargol adijt atque "O mi rex," ait, "insinua quod te mihi hodie dicturum heri spopondisti." *Gorgol.* Arture, stulticiam ventilas; sapientem te actenus reputabam. Ars ingenium et mens femine nullius vnquam patuere noticie, nec [p. 56] ego te scio quidquam docere. Sed est mihi frater, rex Torleil[5] dictus, vicinitate regni coniunctus, me senior et sapientior, quem latere profecto non[6] autumo, si aliquis huius rei peritus habetur, quam adeo scire affectas; hunc pete et ut tibi indicet quod inde nouerit mea ex parte edicito.

4. Regi igitur Gorgal valedicto, Arturus discessit, iter arripuit, et quatriduano confecto itinere ad regem Torbeil peruenit, ipsumque casu prandentem inuenit. A quo resalutatus et quis esset inquisitus, se Arturum regem

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[1] Gargolū (ū *nearly erased*) *MS.* *On the variations in the names of the characters, see pp.* 201, 203.

[2] *respo*ndit rex *in margin, with a caret in text after* sum.

[3] tū *repeated in margin, the* ū *being blotted in text.*

[4] dilicto *MS.* [5] *See p.* 201. [6] nec *MS.*

Britannie esse respondit, et ad eum a fratre suo rege Gorgal missum venisse, ut illud sibi panderet cuius ignorantia [1] se illum adire compulerat.

Torleil. Quid est illud? *Arturus.* Artem ingenium et mentem femine indagare mentem adhibui, sed neminem qui ea mihi doceat inuenire potui. Tu igitur ad quem missus venio hijs me instrue, nec a me si tibi nota sint velis conculcare. *Torleil.* Arture, magnum est quod queris, et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt. Vnde, quia super hijs tempus nunc non est disserere, descende et comede, et hodie quiesce, et cras quod inde sciero indicabo tibi. Arturus ait: "Satis potero comedere. Per fidem meam, nunquam comedam donec quod quero didiscero." Insistente tum huic rege et etiam omni discumbentium multitudine, vix ut descenderet tandem concessit, et ex aduerso regi mense consedit. Mane autem facto ad regem Torliel venit et ut sibi quod promiserat indicaret rogare incepit. Gorliel autem se penitus nescire confessus est, et ipse Arturum ad tercium fratrem evo maiorem regem Gorlagon dirigit,[2] procul dubio ei affirmans ipsum eorum que querebat pollere scientia, si aliquem ea scire constabat.

5. Arturus autem nil moratus quo destinatus fuerat accelerauit, et post biduum vrbem qua rex Gorlagon morabatur attigit, quem sibi, ut ceteros, casus prandentem obtulit. Salutatisque sibi inuicem, Arturus quis esset causamque aduentus insinuat, et ut se ea pro quibus venerat doceret rogitando, cui a rege Gorlagon responsum est: magnum esse negocium quod querebat; descenderet et comederet, et sibi in crastinum inquisita indicaret. Arturus autem se illud facturum omnino negauit; iterumque ut descenderet[3] rogatus, iure iurando se nullius precibus ad hoc flectendum affirmauit, donec que querebat didicisset. Videns autem rex Gorlagon eum sibi ut saltem descenderet nullo modo adquiescere, "Arture," ait, "quando sic animo perstitisti te nunquam cibum sumpturum nisi ea cognoueris que inquiris, licet sit magnus labor narrandi et parua vtilitas, tamen cuiusdam rei euentum tibi referam, quo artem et ingenium mentemque femine experiri poteris. Verumptamen dico tibi, Arture, descende et comede, quia magnum est quod queris et pauci sunt qui illud[4] agnoscunt, et cum tibi retulero parum inde doctior habeberis." *Arturus.* Narra ut proposuisti, et de meo esu ne quidquam loquaris. *Gorlagon.* [p. 57] Vel socios tuos sine ut descendant et comedant. *Arturus.* Faciant.

Quibus discumbentibus, "Arture," ait rex Gorlagon, "quia huius negocij adeo teneris auidus, aurem igitur adhibe, et que tibi dixero mente retine."

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[1] ignorantiā *MS.*
[2] *Interlined; also inserted in margin.*
[3] *Interlined.*
[4] id̄ *MS.*

INCIPIT DE LUPO.

6. "QVIDAM rex mihi bene cognitus extitit, nobilis lepidus opulentus, iusticia et veritate famosissimus. Hic sibi amenum et incomparabilem ortum parauerat, in quo omnia genera arborum, pomorum, fructuum, et specierum aromatum conseri et plantari fecerat; cuius inter cetera virgulta virga pulcra et ad mensuram ipsius regis stature in altum habebatur porrecta, que eadem nocte et hora qua ipse natus fuerat e terra prorumpens crescere ceperat. De hac autem virga fatatum erat, quod quicunque eam ab[s]cidisset, et graciliori parte ipsius[1] virge sibi caput percutiens diceret 'Sis lupus, et habeas sensum lupi!' statim lupus fieret et sensum lupi haberet. Ob quod magna cura magnaque diligentia[2] ipsam obseruabat, de qua statum sue salutis pendere non dubitabat; ipsumque ortum forti et prorupto muro circumdans nullum preter eiusdem orti custodem, et hunc sibi familiarissimum, in eo admitti sinebat, moreque cotidie habebat illam virgam ter uel quater adire, nec ante cibum capere, licet usque ad vesperam ieiunasset, donec eam viseret. Vnde sibi soli huius rei patebat noticia.

7. "Huic autem regi erat vxor valde decora, sed quia pulcra vix inuenitur casta, ipsa suo decore nimis est sibi effecta perniciosa. Diligebat enim quendam iuuenem, filium cuiusdam regis pagani, cuius amorem amori[3] sui domini preferens, operam et studium dederat ut suum coniugem alicui discrimini traderet quo iuuenis posset licite cupitis potiri amplexibus. Que regem prefatum pomerij ortum die totiens ingredi aduertens, causamque scire cupiens, illum quidem sepius inde percuntari proposuit, sed nunquam ausa fuit. Tandem vero die quadam dum rex venatu serius redisset, et solito virgultum solus intrasset, ipsa adhuc ieiuna non amplius hoc sibi celari ferens, vt moris est femine omnia noscere velle, ipsum regressum et iam discumbentem fraudulenta subridendo interrogat cur totiens cotidie etiam tunc usque ad uesperam ieiunus ortum adisset. Cui cum rex[4] responderet, hoc ad se minime pertinere inquirere, nec ipsum sibi illud propalare debere, illa in furorem conuersa et inconueniens suspicata scilicet[5] illum in orto rem solitam habere cum adultera, 'Omnia' exclamat 'celi obtestor numina me nunquam amodo commesturam, donec mihi causam indicabis,' confestimque surgens a mensa thalamum callida adijt simulata egritudine. Lecto per triduum nihil omnino cibi sumens decubuit.

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[1] ip*sius interlined.*
[2] diligentiā *MS.*
[3] amore *MS.*
[4] *After* rex *the MS. has* s *cancelled.*
[5] s, *apparently for* scilicet, *MS.*

8. "Tercia[1] autem die videns rex mentis ipsius obstinaciam, timens ne huius rei causa mortis discrimen incurreret, dulci eam precari et ortari cepit affamine ut surgeret et comederet, dicens rem esse secretam quam nulli unquam ausus confiteri fuisset. E contra illa, 'Nil te a tua coniuge [p. 58] decet habere secretum. Nouerisque pro certo me malle mori quam uiuere, dum me a te tam parum amari perpendo,' nulloque modo ut se reficeret persuad[er]i poterat. Tunc nimis leuis et inconstans nimiumque muliebri amori deditus et expositus negocium ut erat ei exposuit, fidei sacramento ab ea accepto,[2] se nulli aliquando hoc prodituram ipsamque virgam ut propriam conseruaturam salutem. Illa autem, quod omnibus votis optauerat ab eo exacto, fidem ei cepit et maiorem amorem spondere, que iam fraudem in mente conceperat qua scelus quod diu deliberauerat ad effectum perduceret. Sequenti namque die, rege venandi gratia siluas adeunte, illa, securim statim arripiens, ortum subijt, virgam solo tenus[3] abscidit, abscissam secum abstulit. Atque vbi regem redire comperit, ipsam virgam sub sua manica, que longa et diffusa pendebat, occulens, in eius obuiam usque ad limen hostij processit, eumque quasi osculatura iniectis brachijs amplexa, subito virgam e manica exeruit, semel et iterum ei caput percelluit, 'Sis lupus, sis lupus' vociferans; 'habeasque sensum lupi' volens adicere, 'sensum hominis' adiunxit 'habeas.' Nec mora; fit ut ipsa dixerat, canibusque ab ea incitatis eum insequentibus ad siluas concitus fugit, sed humanus sensus ei[4] ex integro remansit.

9. "Arture, ecce artem et ingenium mentemque mulieris partim didicisti. Descende nunc et comede, et postea quod reliquum est tibi latentius referam. Magnum est enim quod queris et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt, et cum inde tibi retulero parum inde doctior habeberis." *Arturus.* Res multum bene vadit multumque mihi placet. Prosequere, prosequere quod incepisti. *Gorlagon.* Que secuntur audire places. Sedulus esto, prosequar.

10. Regina igitur, viro legitimo fugato, iuuenem predictum absque mora accerciuit, regni gubernacula ei tradidit, vxorque eius effecta est. Lupus uero interiores siluas ad quas fugerat per biennium frequentans se lupe agresti coniunxit, duosque ex illa catulos progenuit. Qui, non immemor[5] nequicie sibi a sua coniuge illate, ut ille cui humanus inerat animus, anxie cogitabat si aliquo modo se de ea vlcisci[6] valeat. Iuxta illam siluam autem[7]

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[1] Terciā *MS.* [2] *Letter blotted out between* p *and* t.
[3] asc *or* asci *crossed out before* abscidit *MS.*
[4] ei *inserted in margin, with a caret in text.*
[5] sue (*cancelled by a line*) *before* nequicie.
[6] vlcissi *MS.* [7] *MS.* aū *or* aⁿ (ante, *which makes no sense*).

quoddam castellum extabat, apud quod regina vna cum rege maxime perhendinare solebat. Humanus itaque ille lupus, sibi oportunitatem preuidens, quodam vespertino tempore lupam cum catulis suis secum assumpsit, in opidum inopinatus irruit, duosque paruulos, quos prefatus iuuenis de sua coniuge genuerat, forte sub turri ludentes sine custode reperiens, inuadit inuasosque crudeliter discerpens interimit. Quod quidem circumstantes sero aduertentes eos cum vlulatu insequuntur. Sed, facinore patrato, fugam accelerantes salui euaserunt. Regina autem infortunio nimis mesta diligenti custodia eorum reditum obseruare suis imperat. Non multum temporis effluxerat et lupus, non sibi adhuc satisfactum existimans, opidum cum socijs repetit, duosque nobiles comites, fratres regine, in ipsis valuis pirgis ludentes offendens, eos extractis visceribus neci horrende tradidit; ad quorum tumultum officiales concurrunt, valuas claudunt, catulosque cum suo compari intercipientes laqueo suspendunt. Ipse autem astutior ceteris, e manibus se tenentium elapsus, illesus aufugit. Arture, descende et comede; magnum est quod queris, et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt, et cum tibi retulero [p. 59] parum inde doctior habeberis.[1]

11. *Gorlagon.* Lupus igitur amissis catulis maximo merore constrintus,[2] et pre doloris magnitudine in rabiem conuersus, nocturnis excursibus in domesticas pecudes illius prouincie tanta cede grassatus est ut omnes comprouinciales, canum collocata multitudine, ad eum inuestigandum et capiendum conueniunt, quorum cotidianas vexaciones lupus minime perferre prevalens finitimam regionem pecijt; solitasque cedes in ea agere cepit, a qua ab accolis statim fugatus terciumque regnum adire compulsus iam non tantum in pecudes sed etiam in homines impacabili rabie seuiebat. Illius autem regionis quidam rex ceptra regebat, euo iuuenili, animo mansuetus, sapiencia et industria preclarus. Cui dum innumerabiles strages tam hominum quam pecudum a lupo illate relate fuissent, diem statuit qua ipsum cum venatorum canumque copia[3] indagare et prosequi aggrederetur. Tanta quippe lupi omnes tenebantur formidine, quod nullus circumquaque auderet quiescere, sed nocte tota contra eius incursus peruigiles manebant. Contigit autem, dum lupus ad quendam vicinum pagum cedibus inhians noctu peruenisset, et sub cuiusdam domus stans protecto[4] intus fabulantes intencius a[u]scultaret, quod a suo proximo audiit referri quid rex die sequenti querere et inuestigare proposuisset, multa de clementia et mansuetudine regis adicientem. Quod vbi lupus percepit, ad siluarum latibula redijt tremebundus, deliberans apud se quid sibi factu foret vtilius.

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[1] *Arthur's refusal should follow, but there is no blank in the MS.*
[2] *con*str*i*nit*us* *MS.* [3] copiā *MS.* [4] p̂cto *MS.*

12. Mane autem facto ecce venatores et regalis familia cum canum immensa numerositate siluas subeunt, tubarum strepitu clamoreque omnia replentes tumultu; quos cum duobus socijs familiaribus rex moderatiori gressu sequebatur. At lupus, iuxta viam qua rex transiturus erat delitiscens, omnibus pretergressis ubi regem aduenire conspexit, ex ipso vultu regem esse coniiciens, dumo exiliuit, ceruice demissa[1] ad eius vestigia cucurrit, suisque pedibus dextrum ipsius pedem amplexus, suppliciter deosculaturus acsi gemitibus quibus valebat veniam petens. Duo autem proceres qui regis latus vallabant, immanem illum lupum videntes (nunquam enim aliquem tante magnitudinis viderant), "Domine, ecce" exclamant "quem querimus! ecce lupus quem querimus! percute, interime, ne nobis infesta nos invadat bellua." Lupus vero nichil penitus eorum vocibus pauescens, regis stringebat vestigia, ac dulcia imprimebat oscula. Rex autem mire motus, eum diutius contemplatus, nilque in eo feritatis aduertens sed potius similem indulgentiam supplicanti, miratus suis omnibus interdixit ne quis ei[2] quicquam auderet inferre discriminis, quiddam in illo humani sensus se deprehendisse contestans; dextraque ad lupum demissa ei blandiendo caput et aures leniter palpabat et vngulabatur. Deinde in hijs correptum eum ad se conabatur erigere. Lupus vero manum se volentis erigere sentiens mox se saltu sustulit, ac super sonipedis collum ante regem letabundus consedit. Rex autem reuocato excercitu domum iter conuertit.

13. Nec multum processerat et ecce erectis cornibus ceruus ei mire magnitudinis in saltu occurrit. Tunc rex "Experiar," ait, "si quid meo lupo inest probitatis et virium, et an meis assuescat obsecundare[3] imperijs." Voceque emissa lupum in ceruum [p. 60] incitabat[4] manuque a se repellebat. Lupus vero huius prede capiende non inscius, saltu dato[5] ceruo insequitur, anticipat et invadit, guttureque comprehensum ante regis obtuitus mortuum prosternit. Quo facto, rex eum reuocat, atque "Nempe seruandus es," ait, "non necandus, qui talia scis nobis exhibere obsequia." Lupumque secum ducens domum regressus est. Arture, descende et comede. Magnum est quod queris et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt; et cum tibi inde retulero, parum inde doctior habeberis. *Arturus.* Etiam si omnes dij de celo clamarent: "Arture descende et comede!" nec descendam nec comedam donec quod restat agnouero.

14. *Gorlagon.* Lupus igitur cum predicto rege remanens, maximo amore ab eo habitus est. Quidquid ei ab eo imperabatur perficiebat. Nunquam cuiquam aliquid uel feritatis ostendit uel lesionis intulit. Cotidie ad

[1] dimissa *MS.*
[2] *Above the line, with a caret.*
[3] *A letter blotted out here.*
[4] ta *above the line.*
[5] *After* dato *MS. has* s *cancelled.*

prandium prioribus erectis brachijs ante regem ad mensam stabat, de pane eius comedens, et de eodem calice bibens. Quocumque rex pergebat semper se ei comitem exhibebat, ut eciam noctibus nusquam nisi ante lectum vellet quiescere. Accidit autem regem extra suum regnum ad colloquium alterius regis longius et ideo expedicius debere proficisci, quod minus denvm spacio dierum minime posse reuerti. Reginam aduocans, "Qui[a],[1]" ait, "me hoc itinere expedicius oportet pergere, hunc tue tutele lupum commendo, et ut eum mei loco, si remanere voluerit, conserues et necessaria ministres impero. Ignoro enim an me abeunte[2] remanere voluerit." Illa autem iam lupum habens odio propter magnam sagacitatem, quam in eo deprehenderat,[3] quia multociens mulier odit quem maritus diligit,[4] "Domine," ait, "timeo ne te absente, si solito loco iaceat, me nocte inuadat, cruentamque me relinquat." Cui rex: "De hoc tibi metus[5] ne sit aliquis, in quo[6] tanto tempore nil simile deprehendi. Verumtamen, si inde dubitas, cathenam faciam fieri, et eum ad mei strati suppedanium[7] ligari." Aureamque cathenam rex parari imperat, qua lupo ad scansile ligato, ad destinatum negocium properat. Arture, descende et comede, magnum est quod queris et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt, et cum inde tibi retulero parum inde doctior habeberis. *Arturus.* Si vellem comedere, vtique non me sepius ut comederem inuitares.

15. *Gorlagon.* Rege igitur proficiscente[8] lupus cum regina remansit. Sed non debita eum diligentia curauit. Semper enim[9] interim nexus iacebat cathena, cum rex tantummodo ut noctibus cathenaretur mandaret. Regina vero regis dapiferum illicito amore diligebat, quem quotiens rex deerat frequentabat. Octaua igitur die profectionis regis in thalamo meridie conueniunt, atque ipsam lecticam pariter ascendunt, parui per[p]endentes lupi presentiam. Quos ille intuens nefandis irruentes amplexibus, oculis rubentibus, iubis extantibus, furore exarsit, et quasi iam in eos impetum facturus se agere cepit, sed retinente cathena retentus est. Vnde vbi eos a cepta nequicia nolle aduertit desistere, tunc dentibus infremuit, terram pedibus effodit, totoque corpore cum diro vlulatu seuiens, tanta vi cathenam distendit, ut duas in partes dissiliret confracta. Solutus autem in dapiferum furibundus irruit a lecto deiectum, eaque seuicia discerpsit, qua eum | [10] seminecem dereliquit. [p. 61] Regine vero nil mali intulit omnino, illam tantum-

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[1] *MS.* qi ait (*haplography*).

[2] *A letter or two blotted out.*

[3] deprehenderet *MS.*

[4] This observation is from *Catonis Disticha*, i, 8: "Semper enim (*var.*: Saepe etenim) mulier quem coniux diligit odit."

[5] *After* metus *one letter* (s?) *cancelled in MS.*

[6] quē *MS.*

[7] *MS. repeats* eū *here.*

[8] profisciscente *MS.*

[9] *Two or three letters blotted out after* enim.

[10] *Second hand begins and continues to the end.*

modo toxi[c]o lumine intuitus. Ad lugubres autem gemitus dapiferi, auulso cardine, irruunt famuli; quibus causam tanti tumultus inquirentibus illa versipellis, fraude composita, lupum respondit suum deuorasse filium, atque dum paruulum inter[itu conar]etur eripere,[1] ita laniasse dapiferum; idem sibi eum fecisse asserens nisi sibi cicius suppeciaturi aduenissent. Dapifer igitur semiuiuus ad hospicium deducitur. At regina nimis metuens ne rei quoquomodo pateret veritas, seque de lupo vindicare deliberans, infantem quem ab ipso deuoratum dixerat in quadam ypogea ab omni accessu remota cum nutrice inclusit, vniuersis eum a lupo deuoratum autumantibus. Arture, descende et comede; magnum est quod queris, et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt; cum tibi retulero, parum inde doctior habeberis. *Arturus*. Jube, queso, mensam auferri, quia fercula tibi apposita tociens nostra interrumpunt colloquia.

16. *Gorlogan*. Hijs ita gestis, regine celerius quam putabatur regis reditus nunciatur. Cui illa fraudulenta et subdolositate plena, scissis comis, laniatis genis, sanguine veste conspersa, occurrens: "Heu, heu, heu, me miseram, domine, me miseram!" exclamat. "Quanta in tui absencia incurri discrimina!" Ad hec rex obstupefactus et quid haberet sciscitans: "Tua, tua," respondit, "nefanda illa bellua, mihi hactenus nimis vere suspecta, tuum meo in gremio natum consumpsit; tuum dapiferum subsidium ferre nitentem usque ad necem pene discerpsit, michimet idem facturus nisi famuli ad nos irrupissent. Ecce rei testis sanguis paruuli nostris conspersus vestibus." Vix ipsa hec verba compleuerat, et ecce lupus, audito regis aduentu, cursim e thalamo prosilijt, in regis amplexus vt bene meritos ruit, gaudens et tripudians, et nuncquam maiori leticia exultans. Ad hec rex, per diuersa mente distractus, quid ageret dubitabat, hinc suam coniugem sibi reputans falsa nolle proferre, illinc tanto in se[2] commisso facinore lupum sibi cum tanto tripudio procul dubio non audere occurrere. Fera namque veretur illum quem se scit offendisse. Dum igitur super hijs mens nimium sibi fluctuaret, et se reficere renueret, lupus iugiter assistens ei, pedem suo pede leuiter tetigit, horam ipsius clamidis ore accepit, et vt se sequeretur nutu capitis innuit. Rex autem, illius nutus solitos non ignorans, surrexit atque per diuersos thalamos eum ad ypogeam qua puer latebat secutus est. Cuius hostium obseratum offendens, lupus terque quaterque pede percussit, vt sibi aperiretur insinuando. Sed dum in querendo clauem mora fieret, — regina eam penes se absconderat, — lupus moras non ferens se parum retro retraxit, pedumque suorum quatuor vngularum protensis aculeis in hostium preceps irruit, impulsumque media area fractum et quassatum deiecit;

[1] interetur eripere *MS*. [2] se in *MS*.

precurrensque infantem e cunabulo inter hispida brachia accepit, atque ori regis osculandum suauiter applicuit.

17. [p. 62] Miratur rex atque "Aliquid aliud," ait, "superest, quod mee non patet noticie." Deinde egreditur, precedentemque lupum subsequens, ad dapiferum languentem ab eo educitur. Quem lupus vt vidit, vix a rege retentus est quin in eum irruisset. Rex autem, ante eius lectum considens, infirmitatis causam euentumque vulnerum ab eo sciscitabat. Sed nihil aliud fatebatur nisi quod in eripiendo puerum a lupo ea [1] incurrisset, testem reginam adhibens. Econtra rex "Mentiris," ait, "plane: meus filius viuit; nequaquam mortuus est. Et quia te et reginam erga me inuento [filio] [2] falsitate conuictos michimet commenta finxisse deprehendo, aliud quod ne [falsum] [2] sit timeo; causam fuisse agnosco, qua lupus, pudorem domini non ferens, in te tam crudeliter insolito seuierit; cicius igitur rei veritatem mihi confitere. Aliter summi maiestatem obtestor numinis quod te flammis vrentibus tradam." Lupusque in eum impetum faciens iugiter insistebat, iterumque dilacerasset, nisi a circumstantibus retentus fuisset. Quid multa? Insistente rege tum minis tum blandicijs dapifer commissum confitetur facinus, vt sibi indulgeret suppliciter exorans. Rex autem nimio succensus furore, dapifero carcerali mancipato custodie, illico tocius sui regni principes coadunauit, a quibus super tanto scelere iudicium exigit. Sentencia datur; dapifer viuus excoriatur, et laqueo suspenditur. Regina menbratim ab equis distracta ignium globis traditur. Arture, [3] descende et comede. Magnum est quod queris, et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt; cum tibi retulero, parum inde doctior habeberis.[3] *Arturus.* Nisi te pigeret comedere, me parum curares diucius ieiunare.

18. *Gorlogan.* Postquam hec gesta sunt, rex super incredibili sapiencia et industria lupi cepit cedula mente vehementique studio cogitare et cum viris sapientibus inde propensius tractare, asserens illum humanum sensum habere cui tantam intelligenciam constiterit inesse, "quia nullus vnquam in irracionabili pecude tantam sapienciam re[p]perit, tantamque fidem alicui exhibuisse, quantam mihi iste exhibuit. Quecunque namque ei loquimur bene intelligit; sibi imperata perficit; vbicunque fuero, mihi semper assistit; me gaudet gaudente, dolet dolente. Et qui meam iniuriam tanta seueritate ultus est hominem esse et magne sagacitatis et potencie procul dubio fuisse sciatis, atque aliqua incantacione uel transmutacione lupinam formam

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[1] ea *written twice, but first* ea *crossed out.*

[2] *Supplied by conjecture. Blot in MS.*

[3] *Abbreviated as follows in MS.:* d. &. 9. m. e*st* q*uod* q. &. p. s. q*ui* illu*d* a. cu*m* ti*bi* re. p. i. d. h.

induisse." Ad hec verba lupus ei assistens ingenti se gaudio agebat, manusque et pedes regis deosculans et genua eius constringens, vultu capitis et gestu tocius corporis eum vera dixisse ostendebat.

19. Tunc rex ait: "Ecce quanta hillaritate mihi loquenti annuit, meque vera locutum certis notat indicijs. Jamque vlterius quid hoc fuerit dubitari non poterit atque o vtinam etiam cum mearum rerum dampno cum mee etiam vite periculo mihi indagandi daretur facultas si qua arte aut ingenio eum ad pristinum statum possem reducere." Consilio igitur super hoc diucius inter eos habito, hec tandem regi sentencia placuit, ut lupus dimitteretur precedere, et quo vellet terre marive abire. Affirmabat uero eum propriam tellurem petiturum; promittebat quod cum suis in eius subsidium eum quocunque pergeret subsecuturum. "Forsitan quippe," ait, "si eius patriam possemus attingere, et rem gestam ag[p. 63]nosceremus, et ei aliquod remedium inueniremus." Lupus uero quo vellet, omnibus eum sequentibus, ire sinitur. Qui statim mare pecijt, et quasi vellet transire se vndis marinis impetuose ingessit. Ipsius uero patria illi regioni e latere mari interfluente coniungebatur, licet alias terrestri sed longiori itinere inde adiri posset. Rex autem eum videns velle transire, classem continuo eo deduci miliciamque imperat conuenire. [1] Arture, descende et comede. Magnum est quod queris, et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt; cum tibi retulero, parum inde doctior habeberis.[1] *Arturus.* Lupus transfretare cupiens astat in litore. Timeo ne si solus relinquatur desiderio transeundi vndis mergatur.

20. *Gorlogan.* Rex igitur, imperato nauigio excercitúque armis instructo, cum ingenti militum copia equor aggreditur; dieque tercia ad patriam lupi prospere applicatur, quibus in continenti nactis, lupus prior omnibus e rate prosilijt, atque solito nutu et gestu illam sui esse patriam euidenter intimauit. Tunc rex, suorum quibusdam secum assumptis, ad quandam vicinam ciuitatem clam properat, excercitui imperans se nauibus continere donec negocio inuestigato ad eos redisset. Sed vix vrbem intrauerat, et rei euentus ordine quo euenerit ei innotuit. Omnes uero nobiles et ignobiles prouincie illius regis qui lupo successerat importabilem gemebant tirannidem, suumque dominum fraude et dolo sue coniugis transmutatum vtpote benignum et mansuetum vna voce conquerebantur. Re itaque quam querebat cognita, et quo rex illius prouincie eo tempore degeret comperto, rex ad naues ocius redijt, acies educit, et cum excercitu super eum improuisum et inopinatum irruens, illius omnibus propugnatoribus cesis et fugatis, eum cum regina cepit sueque dicioni mancipauit. Arture, descende et comede. Magnum est quod

[1] *Abbreviated:* Ar. de. &. 9. m. e*st.* q*uod* que*ris* &. p. s. q. i. a. cu*m* ti*bi* retulero. p. i. d. h.

queris, et pauci sunt qui illud agnoscunt, et cum tibi retulero, parum inde doctior habeberis.[1] *Arturus.* Tibi mos extat cithariste qui, melodie pene peracto concentu, dum nemini succinit, reciprocas clausulas interserendo sepius repetit.

21. *Gorlogan.* Igitur rex, fretus victoria, regni nobiliumque coadunato consilio, in conspectu omnium reginam constituit atque "O," ait, "perfidissima et nequissima feminarum! que te demencia tuo domino tantam fraudem machinari compulit? Sed nolo diucius tecum verba disserere, que digna nullius censeris colloquio, rem quam a te inquisiero mihi cicius notifica, aut certe fame et siti inexquisitisque te faciam interire tormentis, nisi illam" ait "virgam qua eum transformasti quo lateat manifestes. Forte uero quam perdidit humanam formam recuperari poterit." Ad hec illa quo virga esset se iurat nescire, quam in frusta[2] confractam se igne constabat cremasse. Verumtamen fateri nolentem rex illam tradidit tortoribus, cotidie torquendam, cotidie supplicijs exanimandam, nichil cibi uel potus ei prorsus indulgens. Tandem penarum coacta angustijs virgam protulit regique porrexit.

22. Qua accepta, rex letus effectus lupum in medio adduxit; maiori parte virge ei caput percussit atque " Sis homo hominisque sensum habeas " intulit. Nec mora: ipsius verba rei effectus sequitur. Fit homo ut ante fuerat, licet longe pulcrior atque decencior, tanta iam venustate preditus vt etiam ab inicio vir magne nobilitatis deprehenderetur. Videns autem rex hominem ex lupo reformatum [p. 64] tanti decoris ante se[3] consistere, cum ingenti gaudio tum ab eo perpessas miseratus iniurias, eius in amplexus irruit, osculatur et plangit, lacrimas effundit. A quibus inter mutuos amplexus tot prolata suspiria tanteque lacrime effuse sunt, vt omnem circumstantem multitudinem ad fletus compungerent. Hic gracias agebat, de sibi innumeris ab eo impertitis beneficijs. Ille indignius quam decebat se eum tractasse conquerebatur. Quid vltra? incredibilis vniuersis exoritur leticia. Rexque, antiquo iure principibus sibi submissis, suo potitur imperio. Deinde adulter cum adultera in eius presencia ducitur, atque quid de illis fieri censeret[4] consulitur. Ille autem paganum regem capitali sentencia dampnauit; reginam a suo coniugio tantum amouit, sed vitam quam non meruerat pro sua ingenita clemencia ei indulsit. Alius vero rex magnis ut decebat ditatus et honoratus muneribus ad propria reuersus est. Ecce, Arture, mentem et ingenium femine didicisti. Caue tibi si inde sapiencior haberis. Descende nunc et comede, quia ego narrando et tu audiendo cibum bene meruimus.

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[1] *Abbreviated:* Ar. d. & 9. m. e*st* q. q. & p. s. q. i. a. &. *cum. tibi* re. p*ar.* inde d. h.
[2] frustra *MS.* [3] se *above the line with a caret.* [4] senseret *MS.*

23. *Arturus.* Nequaquam descendam donec quod interrogauero mihi indicaueris. *Gorlogan.*[1] Quid? *Arturus.* Quenam est illa femina contra te opposita facie tristis, humanumque caput sanguine conspersum ante se in disco continens, que etiam tociens fleuit quociens risisti, tociens cruentum caput osculata est quociens tu tue coniugi, dum predicta referres, oscula impressisti? *Gorlogan.* "Si hoc," inquit, "Arture, mihi soli pateret, tibi nequaquam referrem; sed quia omnibus mihi considentibus hoc notum est, non pudor erit tibi etiam illud intimare. Illa femina que mei ex aduerso residet, ipsa extitit que tantam, ut tibi superius retuli, nequiciam in suum dominum, jn me scilicet, operata est. Me autem illum lupum noueris, quem ab humana in lupinam et a lupina in humanam formam transmutatum audisti. Lupus autem factus, regnum quod primum adij, fratris mei medij, regis Gorleil, constat fuisse. Ille vero rex qui tantam diligenciam mee cure adhibuit, fratrem meum iuniorem, regem Gorgol, ad quem primum venisti, extitisse ne dubites. Cruentum quoque caput, quod illa femina mihi ex aduerso residens in disco ante se amplexatur, illius iuuenis extitit cuius amore tantam in me exercuit nequiciam. In propriam namque reuersus ymaginem, ea[m] vita[2] donans, hac sola dumtaxat pena puniui, ut semper illius caput pro oculis habeat, et me aliam sibi subductam osculante coniugem, ipsa eadem[3] oscula imprimat cuius gracia illud nefas commiserat. Quod etiam condi feci balsamo ut imputribile perseueret. Sciui quippe quod nulla sibi grauior foret punicio quam in conspectu omnium tanti sceleris iugis representacio.

24. "Arture, nunc descende, si descendere volueris, quia ibi pro me amodo imprecatus remanebis." Descendit igitur Arturus et comedit; dieque sequenti, super hijs que audiuerat valde miratus, domum itinere dierum nouem redijt.

EXPLICIT.

I. THE FOUR VERSIONS OF THE WEREWOLF'S TALE.

The reader will at once perceive that the text here printed is closely related to two well-known Old French poems, both "Breton lays" (whatever that may mean), — the *Lai de Bisclavret* of Marie de France and the anonymous *Lai de Melion.* Before we proceed to compare these three documents, however, we must familiarize ourselves with a fourth, — a popular tale widely current in Ireland at the present day. This Irish *märchen* resembles *Arthur and*

[1] Gorlogam *MS.* [2] vitā *MS.* [3] eadam *MS.*

Gorlagon in a remarkable manner, and must therefore be summarized at the outset, even at the risk of repetition by-and-by. Several versions have been printed, all of which we shall have to examine sooner or later. The summary that follows is based upon the version published by Mr. Larminie in his *West Irish Folk-Tales.*

Morraha.

Morraha sees a currach, short and green, coming toward the shore, and in it is a young champion, playing hurly with a hurl of gold and a ball of silver. Landing, he challenges Morraha to a game at cards [clearly it should be *hurly*]. Morraha wins, and the champion pays what he demands. The same thing happens on the next two mornings, and Morraha wins a splendid castle, and the fairest of women for his wife. On the fourth morning he goes out to play again, contrary to the advice of his wife, and is beaten. Says the champion: "I lay on you the bonds of the art of the druid, not to sleep two nights in one house, nor finish a second meal at the one table, till you bring me the sword of light and news of the death of Anshgayliacht." [O'Foharta's version has "the sword of light and *the knowledge of the cause of the one story about women.*" This is certainly right (see p. 218).]

Acting according to the instructions of his [fairy] wife, Morraha secures a talking mare, which carries him to the "land of the King of France" [really, the Other World], who is his wife's father. He is well treated, and furnished with another horse. The queen bids him ride to the house of Rough Niall of the Speckled Rock, turn his horse's head away from the door, and ask for the sword and the news of Anshgayliacht's death. This he does on three successive days, barely escaping with his life. Then Niall goes to sleep, thinking all danger is past, and Morraha slips in and secures the sword.

Morraha then threatens Niall with death if he will not tell him the news of the death of Anshgayliacht. At first Niall prefers to lose his head, but at last his wife, who is present, persuades him to tell the story. "I thought no one would ever get it," says he, "but now it will be heard by all."

"I knew the language of birds," says Niall, "and one day I heard the birds arguing, and one of them declared that three rods of magic and mastery grew on his tree. Then I laughed, and my wife thought I was laughing at her, and to quiet her, I was obliged to tell her what the birds were saying. She secured one of the rods and changed me to a raven and did

her best to have me killed. Later she changed me to a horse, and gave out that I was dead. After that she changed me to a fox and finally to a wolf.

"I went to an island, where I passed a year, and from time to time I killed sheep. A pursuit was made after me. And when the dogs came near me there was no place for me to escape to from them; but I recognized the sign of the king among the men, and I made for him, and the king cried out to stop the hounds. I took a leap upon the front of the king's saddle. The king took me home with him and treated me well, saying that I had been well trained.

"This king had lost eleven children, all of whom were stolen the same night they were born. When the twelfth child was born, I was appointed as its guardian. A coupling was put between me and the cradle. One night a hand came down the chimney and seized the child. I bit off the hand at the wrist and laid it in the cradle with the child. Then I went to sleep, and when I awoke, I had neither child nor hand. I was covered with blood, and everybody said that I had eaten the child. But the king refused to believe it. 'Loose him,' said he, 'and he will get the pursuit himself.'

"When I was loosed, I followed the scent of the blood till I came to the door of the room where the child was. I went to the king, and took hold of him, and went back again and began to tear at the door. The king followed me and asked for the key. A servant said it was in the room of the stranger woman [the Werewolf's false wife[1]]. But she could not be found. The king then broke down the door. I went in and went to the trunk.[2] The king broke the lock of the trunk and opened it. There were the child and the hand, side by side, and the child was asleep.

"After that, I was not tied any more. I cared for the child constantly. When he was three years old, a silver chain was put between me and the child. One day the child loosed the chain and ran away and could not be found. Then I was out of favor and neglected. When summer came, I swam back to my own country. I hid in my own garden. In the morning, I saw my wife out walking, and the child with her. The child cried

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[1] Her presence at the king's court is not explained, but may be cleared up by comparison with other versions (see p. 178).

[2] No trunk has been mentioned. Such imperfections as this are due to the laudable fidelity with which Mr. Larminie has reproduced the words of his reciters.

out: 'I see my shaggy papa!' I hid, and the woman took the child into the house. Early the next morning, I saw the child in the house and entered through the window. He began to kiss me. I saw the rod of magic in front of the chimney, jumped at it, and knocked it down. The child took it up, but did not hit me with it as I had hoped he would. So I scratched him and made him angry. Then he struck me a light blow with the rod, and I came back to my own shape again.

"When my wife came in, she offered to drown herself. But I said to her, 'If you yourself will keep the secret, no living man will ever get the story from me till I lose my head.' Many a man has come asking for the story, but I never let one return. Now everybody will know it.[1]

"Then I took the child back to his father in a ship. On the voyage I came to an island, in which there was but one habitation, a court dark and gloomy. I entered, and found no one within but a frightful hag. I heard somebody groaning. She said it was her son, whose hand had been bitten off by a dog,— in another country, twelve years before. I offered to cure him, and was left alone with him in an inner room. He had but one eye, and that was in the middle of his forehead. I had heated an iron bar, pretending that it was to burn away the corrupt flesh, but I plunged it into his eye as far as I could. He tried to catch me, but I got out of the chamber and shut the door. I told the hag that he would be quiet presently and would then sleep a good while. She gave me the reward that she had promised, — eight young lads and three young women, who, she informed me, were the sons and daughters of the king and had all been stolen by her son.

"I took ship again, sailed to the king's country, and restored the twelve children to him and his queen. The king gave me the child whose keeper I had been. I spent a time, till my visit was over, and I told the king all the troubles I had been through; only I said nothing about my wife.

"And now you have the story. Go home, and when the Slender Red Champion asks you for the news of the death of Anshgayliacht and for the sword of light, tell him how his brother was killed, and say you have the sword. When he asks for the sword, say to him that you promised to bring it *to* him but did not promise to bring it *for* him. Then throw the sword into the air, and it will come back to me."

Morraha went home, and did as he was bidden, and the sword returned to Blue [*sic*] Niall.

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[1] The parallelism between *Arthur and Gorlagon* and the Irish *märchen* ceases at this point.

Of this complicated Irish *märchen* eight versions have been printed: (1) **K**, Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, 1866, pp. 255 ff.; (2) **J**, P. O'Brien, *The Gaelic Journal*, IV (1889–90), 7 ff., 26 ff., 35 ff.; (3) **L** (summarized above), Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, 1893, pp. 10 ff.[1]; (4) $\mathbf{C}_1$, Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, 1894, pp. 323 ff.[2]; (5) $\mathbf{C}_2$, the same, pp. 356 ff.; (6) **O'F**, O'Foharta, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, I (1897), pp. 477 ff.; (7) **H**, Hyde, *Annales de Bretagne*, XV (1899–1900), 268 ff. (with translation by Dottin), also in his *An Sgéaluidhe Gaedhealach*, London, [1901,] pp. 400 ff.; (8) **S**, J. G. Campbell, *Scottish Celtic Review*, no. 1, March, 1881, pp. 61 ff.[3] (cf. no. 2, November, 1881, pp. 140–141).

K, **L**, $\mathbf{C}_1$, and $\mathbf{C}_2$ are published in an English translation only; of **O'F** and **H**, we have the Irish, and of **S** the Scottish Gaelic text, with a translation in each case; **J** is in Irish, untranslated. **K** is translated from a manuscript; all the other versions are from oral tradition. Mr. Larminie had two complete versions, one from County Mayo and the other from County Galway; his translation (our **L**) uses the Mayo version for the frame-story and the Galway version for the wolf story proper. In his notes, however, he records all the important differences, so that there is no confusion. It appears that the Mayo and the Galway version were substantially identical. Whenever there is occasion to mention their differences, we may designate the complete Mayo version as $\mathbf{L}_1$ and the complete Galway version as $\mathbf{L}_2$. Larminie also knows of the tale as existing in Donegal,[4] from which county Hyde's version comes. **J** is from West Munster. Curtin's first version ($\mathbf{C}_1$) is from County Kerry; his second ($\mathbf{C}_2$) from Galway (Connemara). O'Foharta's version (**O'F**) is from "Foreglas." Campbell's Highland version (**S**) was written down in Gaelic from the dictation of a native of Tiree; the editor mentions other versions[5] and says that "the tale was at one time well known." Thus it appears that our *märchen*

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[1] Reprinted by Jacobs, *More Celtic Fairy Tales*, 1895, pp. 80 ff.

[2] Being the second part of Curtin's *Art and Balor Beimenach* (pp. 312 ff.); the first part is really a distinct tale, and we need give it no further attention.

[3] The four numbers of *The Scottish Celtic Review* (March, 1881, to July, 1885) were collected into a volume and issued with a title page dated Glasgow, 1885.

[4] *Introduction*, p. viii.

[5] At p. 141 Campbell gives an important variant taken from one of these.

is still told in at least five counties of Ireland, and that it had passed over to Scotland and was current in the West Highlands a generation ago.

The eight versions of the Irish tale (**KJLC$_1$C$_2$O'FHS**) differ considerably, but they are all merely variants of a single Irish version (which we may call **I**). This needs no demonstration; a cursory reading of the eight texts establishes it beyond a shadow of doubt.

Thus we have four extant forms of *The Werewolf's Tale:* (1) Marie's *Lai de Bisclavret* (**B**); (2) the *Lai de Melion* (**M**); (3) the Latin *Arthur and Gorlagon* (**G**); and (4) the Irish *märchen* (**I**) extant in eight published variants. A comparative study of these four versions ought to throw some light on certain vexed questions of mediæval literature. [See Additional Note, p. 274, for a ninth Irish version.]

II. RELATIONS OF THE FOUR REDACTIONS.

As we compare the four versions of *The Werewolf's Tale* one fact becomes clear immediately: all four (**B, M, G,** and **I**) are derived in some manner from a single original.

Further, certain relations between the four versions (**B, M, G,** and **I**) are easily discernible. *Gorlagon* (**G**) and the Irish (**I**) make a group by themselves and must be referred to a common source. In both, the werewolf tells his own story, sorely against his will, to a quester who is under bonds to learn it, and in both the revelation takes place in the presence of the faithless wife who is to blame for her husband's transformation. In **I**, the quester has been compelled by a supernatural being to discover "the cause of the one story about women"[1]; in **G**, King Arthur has taken a great oath to find out the "ingenium mentemque feminae." Thus the frame into which *The Werewolf's Tale* is inserted is practically identical in **G** and **I**.[2] In **B** and **M**, on the contrary, there is no frame at all, nor is the story told by the Werewolf himself. Again, an entirely independent anecdote (*The Defence of the Child*) has been incorporated into the Werewolf's adventures in both **G** and **I**,[3] but is lacking in **B**

[1] See pp. 212, 218.

[2] For further discussion of the frame-story, see pp. 209 ff.

[3] See pp. 222 ff.

and **M**. These special resemblances in features which cannot have been present in the original *Werewolf's Tale* are enough to establish the group **GI**, in the absence of evidence to the contrary; and the correctness of the inference is abundantly supported by agreements in detail, which will come out as the investigation proceeds. That **G** is not derived from **I**, or **I** from **G**, but that the correspondences in question are due to a common original, is also certain, and will appear with sufficient clearness as we go on. For convenience we may designate the common original of **G** and **I** by the letter **y**.

The relation of the *Lai de Melion* (**M**) to Marie's *Bisclavret* (**B**), on the one hand, and to **y** (the common original of **G** and **I**), on the other, remains to be determined. There is slight difficulty in settling the question. **M** cannot be derived from **y**, for it resembles **B** in lacking certain characteristic features of **y** which were no part of the original *Werewolf's Tale*, namely, the frame in which **G** and **I** are set, and *The Defence of the Child.* Furthermore, **M** is (like **B**) a poem, whereas **G** and **I** are in prose,[1] and (like **B**) it professes to be a lay of the Bretons.[2] On the other hand, the resemblances between **M** and **GI** (**y**) in points in which both **G** and **I** differ from **B** are numerous and extend to matters of detail. They prove beyond a shadow of doubt either (1) that **y** is derived from **M**, or (2) that **M** and **y** go back to a common source distinct from **B**. The former alternative is excluded by a decisive piece of evidence: in **M** the hero is one of King Arthur's knights, and the plot is more or less complicated by this circumstance. In particular, the rôle of the king who (in **B**, **G**, and **I**) hunts the wolf and afterwards befriends him, is in **M** shared between two persons, — the King of Ireland and Arthur. **M** thus presents an elaboration of the narrative which is found in neither **B** nor **y** and which puts it in a category by itself. Hence **y** cannot come from **M**. We are therefore forced to

[1] There is nothing to indicate that **G** and **I** are prose versions of a poetical text. On the contrary, the style and the general air of the narrative seem to preclude this possibility. Notice particularly the recurring formulæ in *Gorlagon* ("Arture, descende," etc.) and Larminie ("Here she is herself").

[2] The statement is not made in plain terms in **M**, but the implication is clear. Should we read "li Breton" for "li baron" in v. 598? Whether Great or Little Britain is meant is of no consequence at this stage of the investigation.

adopt the second alternative: **M** and **y** go back to a common source (**x**) distinct from Marie's lay. This conclusion is supported by other evidence, which will emerge as we proceed.

It remains to inquire whether Marie's lay (**B**) is derived from **x** (the source of the group **My**), or **x** from **B**, or whether both **x** and **B** go back independently to an older form of the tale.

The first of these three hypotheses is manifestly untenable: **B** is not from **x**, for **B** preserves the werewolf superstition in a simpler and purer form than that afforded by any other redaction.[1] In **B** the hero is a born *loup-garou.* His transformation from man to wolf is not brought about by his wife's act. It takes place in obedience to a necessity of his nature,[2] and is periodic.[3] He is compelled to spend three days of every week in the form of a wolf. Thus he belongs to that great class of uncanny creatures who are doomed to pass a definite portion of their lives in animal likeness, — a category exemplified by the many heroes and heroines of popular or romantic story who are mortals by night but beasts or monsters by

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[1] On werewolves in general, see Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, Stuttgart, 1862; Baring-Gould, *Book of Were-Wolves*, London, 1865; Leubuscher, *Ueber die Wehrwölfe*, Berlin, 1850; Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia*, pp. 161 ff.; Rolland, *Faune pop. de la France*, I, 153 ff.; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 3d ed., I, 113 ff., 308 ff. (references, p. 314, note); Sloët, *De Dieren in het germaansche Volksgeloof en Volksgebruik*, pp. 43 ff.; *Ons Volksleven*, II, 101–102; IV, 150 ff.; Immerwahr, *Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, I, 10 ff.; Roscher, *Das von der "Kynanthropie" handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side*, in *Abhl.* of the Saxon *Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, Philol.-hist. Classe, 1897, XVII; etc., etc. On were-tigers, see Landes, *Contes et Légendes Annamites*, p. 23; Crooke, *Pop. Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, pp. 320 ff. (2d ed., II, 210 ff.); Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 160 ff. Werewolf stories were known in Ireland (see p. 257).

[2] Marie does not expressly say that the knight is actually forced to become a wolf at certain times; but it is clear that such is the case. Perhaps she did not quite understand the situation. What we know of the werewolf superstition, however, leaves no doubt about the matter. Here, as in other instances, Marie's silence, or lack of definiteness, is a guaranty of good faith. She may tell the tale imperfectly, but she is not inventing.

[3] On such periodicity, see Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, p. 133: "Allen jenen ältesten Ueberlieferungen gemeinsam ist die periodische Dauer der Verwandlung." One of the oldest recorded instances of lycanthropy, that of the Neuri in Herodotus, iv, 105, is periodic ("once a year for a few days").

day.[1] In **B** the metamorphosis is accomplished in the simplest manner. The knight puts off his clothes and becomes a wolf; at the end of his three days, he puts them on again and resumes his human shape. In all this, **B** agrees with what we know of werewolves and must be close to the original form of the story.[2]

In **M**, **G**, and **I** we have another state of affairs. The original *Werewolf's Tale* has been influenced by a different type of story: that in which an enchanter transforms a man into bestial shape by means of external magic. The rôle of the magician is played by the faithless wife, as in many tales of the type just mentioned.[3] This

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[1] For examples, see Child, *Ballads*, I, 290–291, 295; IV, 454, 495; V, 39–40; Maynadier, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, pp. 201 ff.

[2] Properly no deuteragonist is necessary to enable or force a natural werewolf to assume his animal form. Sometimes he puts on a wolfskin, which he takes off when he returns to human shape. This is a very primitive idea, corresponding to the belief in swan-maidens, serpent-men, seal-men, mermaids, and so on. The importance attached to the Bisclavret's clothes may be regarded as the converse of this doctrine. The clothes are taken away and hidden, and the knight is obliged to remain a wolf till he recovers them. Compare the famous werewolf story in Petronius, 62, where the clothes of the *versipellis* are apparently turned to stone, perhaps to prevent any one from stealing them! According to still another belief, werewolves change from man to wolf and *vice versa* at will, without ceremony and without any condition either of periodicity or of garb (see p. 258). Here, too, no deuteragonist is required.

[3] A typical instance is the story of Sidi Numan in *The Arabian Nights* (cited by Köhler in Warnke, *Lais*, 2d ed., p. cvi). Sidi Numan discovers his wife with a ghoul, devouring a corpse. He speaks of the occurrence to her. She sprinkles him with water and transforms him into a dog. She attempts to kill him, but he escapes. A baker takes him into his house and makes a pet of him. He astonishes everybody by his intelligence as a detector of false coin. A woman hears of his fame and thinks he must be a man in beast shape. She takes him home. Her daughter, who is an enchantress, sprinkles him with water, saying: "If you were born a dog, remain a dog; but if you were born a man, resume the form of a man by the virtue of this water." Sidi Numan then transforms his wife into a mare by means of water and a formula which he receives from the enchantress (*Les Mille et Une Nuits*, ed. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Paris, 1838, pp. 545 ff.; Galland, ed. 1832, VII, 294 ff., ed. Janin, 1881, IX, 4 ff.; Forster, 1802, V, 71 ff.; Scott, 1811, V, 68 ff.; Habicht and von der Hagen, 1840, nights 360–363, VIII, 166 ff.). Galland derived the story from recitation in 1709, and it is not, strictly speaking, a part of the *Arabian Nights:* see Zotenberg, *Hist. d' ʿAlâ al-Dîn*, pp. 29, 33; Payne, *Alaeddin, Introd.*, pp. vii ff. Cf. p. 177, note 3. This is the same

modification of the original idea has gone farthest in **I**, in which the hero is not a natural werewolf at all, but is subjected to successive transformations at the hands of his wife, who employs a magic rod. **G** also has the rod, but retains a distinct trace of the hero's werewolf nature. In his garden there is a certain wand (*virga*), which sprang up when he was born and has grown with his growth, so that it exactly corresponds with his stature. If he is struck with the slender end of this rod and a certain formula is pronounced, he must become a wolf. *Per contra*, a blow with the thicker end will restore him to his proper guise. To avoid danger, he keeps the existence of the wand a secret and guards the tree with the utmost care.

In this shoot we immediately recognize the life-tree or life-plant of story and custom. Such trees or plants sometimes spring up at the moment of the hero's birth or soon after, or they are planted when he is born. In either case, his life and safety are mysteriously bound up with the plant. If the plant is cut down, the hero perishes, or, conversely, the plant acts as a "life-token," withering or drooping when he is in peril.[1] The use which the author of *Gorlagon* makes of the belief in life-trees is peculiar. The shoot is not bound up with the hero's existence; it serves as a magical rod of transformation. His wife extorts the secret from him and uses the rod to get rid of her husband.

In **M** there is no life-tree. The magical implement is a ring which the hero wears. It contains a white and a red stone. If he undresses, and is struck on the head with the former, he must become a wolf; the latter will undo the spell. Importuned by his wife to procure her a piece of the flesh of a certain stag, Melion gives her the ring, informs her of its properties, and allows her to change him into a wolf. When he returns with the meat, the lady has fled. The ring is obviously a congenital talisman,[2] like the

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tale as the *Story of Vāmadatta and his Wicked Wife* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, bk. xii, chap. 68 (Tawney's translation, II, 134 ff.); cf. also chap. 71 (Tawney, II, 167–168).

[1] On life-trees, life-plants, and so on, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2d ed., III, 391 ff.; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, chaps. ii and iii (vol. I), viii (vol. II); Mannhardt, *Wald- u. Feldkulte*, I, 45 ff., 50.

[2] The author of **M** does not make this clear. Perhaps he did not understand it himself. He neglects to inform us how Melion came by the magic ring.

necklaces in the *Knight of the Swan*,[1] so that **M** (as well as **G**) preserves a trace of that genuine werewolf nature which comes out so plainly in **B** and is completely lost in **I**. The trace, however, is not so obvious as in **G**. On the other hand, **M** attaches importance (like **B**) to the guarding of the hero's clothes,[2] — a feature which **G** and **I** have lost, for obvious reasons.[3]

From what precedes it is evident that **B** cannot come from **x** (the common source of **M** and **y**). For **B** preserves a simple form of the werewolf superstition, whereas **x** has modified this by substituting a congenital talisman, which appears in **M** as a ring with two gems and in **G** as a life-tree, and which in **I** has become a simple rod of magic.[4]

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[1] See Joannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos*, ed. Oesterley, pp. 74 ff.; Herbert's *Dolopathos*, vv. 9368 ff., ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, pp. 324 ff.; Todd, *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, IV, ii ff. Compare the head-jewel of the heavenly maiden Mandharā in the Thibetan *Kahgyur* (Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, transl. by Ralston, no. 5, pp. 54, 58, 61–62). In werewolf tales the talisman is usually a wolfskin (or a girdle of that material), as in the case of other animal transformations (of swan-maidens, serpent-princes, and the like). Instances are countless.

[2] See p. 178, and note 1.

[3] The transformation in **G** and **I** is not expected by the hero. Hence his undressing for the purpose is out of the question.

[4] The reason for the modification which **M**, **G**, and **I** have undergone is plain enough. Marie's hero is a terrible monster, and his wife is excusable for wishing to be rid of him. We are expressly told that she was afraid to live with him when once she had learned his frightful secret (vv. 97 ff.). That **B** takes sides with the Werewolf and shows no sympathy whatever for the wife is precious testimony to its antiquity. *The Werewolf's Tale* goes back to a conception of the world (familiar to all savages and mirrored in countless traditions) in which such husbands were not regarded as repulsive or horrible. Marie's contemporaries must have felt the difficulty in her story. Perhaps she felt it herself. But she was a faithful reporter of her original and did not try to soften its barbarity. In the other versions, on the contrary, we have a pretty successful attempt to deprive the wife's conduct of all excuse. Melion is not in the habit of changing himself into a wolf. It does not appear that he has ever before taken that shape. He allows his wife to transform him, that he may do her a particular favor. For this she owes him gratitude; certainly she has no ground for alarm or abhorrence. In **G** it is the worst fear of the husband that he may be subjected to the influence of his rod, and the lady transforms him against his will, in order to enjoy the society

The second hypothesis — that **x** (the common source of **M** and **y**) is derived from **B** — is possible, but does not seem likely. The impression that one gets from reading **B** and **M** together is that they are independent redactions of the same saga, and this appears to be the view of most scholars.[1] The comparison is now pushed one step farther back; for the question is not whether **M** is derived from **B**, but whether a lost **x**, the common original not only of *Melion* but of the Latin and the Irish redaction, is to be sought in Marie's lay. The probability of independent derivation from the original is manifestly increased. The case is considerably strengthened by certain points in **B**. The *Lai de Bisclavret* is no doubt a faithful rendering of *The Werewolf's Tale* as it was told in Brittany in Marie's time.[2] The Breton version which Marie followed, wherever it originated, had certainly been localized in Armorica.[3] The king is King of Brittany. The Bisclavret is one of his vassals. The lady's lover is another knight attached to the same king. The wolf ranges a forest near home, both during his periodical fits of lycanthropy and after his wife has betrayed him. The lady marries her lover and continues to reside on her husband's fief. The hunt takes place in the woods near the Bisclavret's home. The wolf becomes the pet of his liege lord. He attacks the lady's second husband at a court held by the king. Later, he tears off his wife's nose when she is waiting on the king, with homage and rich presents, at a *hostel* near her abode. The lady is banished from the country and her lover accompanies her. They have many children, and their descendants are still alive; but the women of the race are occasionally born without noses. All this has the air of a folk-tale which has been pretty thoroughly

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of her lover. In **I** the werewolf nature of the hero has entirely vanished, and the wife has become a wicked enchantress, as we have seen. Thus there has been a steadily operating tendency to deprive the wife of all excuse for her treacherous act, in order that the reader's sympathies may remain with the husband.

[1] See Köhler in Warnke, *Lais der Marie de France*, 2d ed., pp. ciii–civ.

[2] Despite the arguments of Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV, 515, note 1.

[3] For werewolves in Brittany, see Warnke, *Lais*, 2d ed., p. xcix (where the editor cites *Revue Celtique*, I, 420; VIII, 197; XI, 242); Sébillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 289 ff.; II, 111; id., *Contes pop. de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 294 ff.; Luzel, *Contes pop. de Basse-Bretagne*, I, 306 ff., 318 ff.

localized, abandoning the indefinite geography of the *märchen* and fitting itself to the conditions of a limited district. The tradition of the noseless ladies is particularly significant. It is found in **B** alone, and looks like a bit of Breton family legend, originally unconnected with the story. All the conditions of the problem are satisfied if we suppose that *The Werewolf's Tale* (wherever it originated) was utilized in Brittany as a kind of *pourquoi*, to explain the flat noses hereditary in a particular family.[1] So the ferocity of Richard I was accounted for by attaching to his father a well-known type of popular story;[2] and something similar may be conjectured with regard to the shoulder of Pelops and the golden breast of Caradoc's wife. Other examples will occur to every student of folk-lore. Such considerations tend to exclude the hypothesis that **B** is the source of **x**, that is, of all the other versions of *The Werewolf's Tale*, — French, Latin, and Irish. A trace of the looseness with which the trait of the noseless ladies has been attached to *The Werewolf's Tale* may be detected in one particular. The faithless wife and her second husband are banished, and we should expect to hear no more of them. How can the fact that their descendants sometimes have no noses be known to the narrator unless they remain in Brittany? The inconsistency is slight, but significant.[3]

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[1] This particular hypothesis need not be insisted on. The nose-biting may have got into the story in other ways. On cutting off the nose as a punishment (especially for adultery), see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chap. 61 (Tawney, II, 54); Jacob, *Hindoo Tales*, p. 263; Landau, *Quellen des Dekameron*, 2d ed., pp. 132–133; Brown, *Studies and Notes*, VII, 188, note 1; cf. *Pañcatantra*, transl. Benfey, II, 41, and the remarks of the editor, I, 140 ff., 441; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chap. 58 (Tawney, II, 15); passage quoted by Lecoy de la Marche, Étienne de Bourbon, p. 23, note 3; A. Bugge, *Contributions to the Hist. of the Norsemen in Ireland*, pp. 16–17 (Schofield). Noses are sometimes bitten off in popular tales: see, for example, Æsop, ed. Coray, no. 48, p. 30 (with the notes of Oesterley, *Schimpf u. Ernst*, no. 19, p. 475, and Jacobs, *Caxton's Æsop*, I, 258); Étienne de Bourbon, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 52; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chap. 77 (Tawney, II, 248); Benfey, as above, I, 140 ff.

[2] See p. 194, note 2.

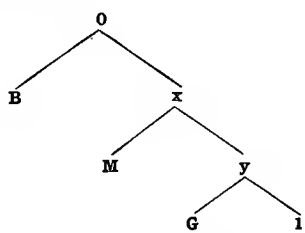
[3] The story of Arthur's knight Biclarel in *Renart Contrefait* (Tarbé, *Proverbes Champenois*, pp. 138 ff.) is certainly derived from Marie's lay (see Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, p. 93; Köhler, in Warnke, 2d ed., pp. xcix ff.) and need not detain us. It represents the lady as having a lover and omits the nose-biting, but these changes have no significance for our problem.

Again, the *éclaircissement* is not well managed in **B**. It is incredible that the guilty wife should so carelessly expose herself to the attacks of the wolf. Her husband had already been assailed by the creature on a visit to the court, and the occurrence had excited wondering comment. He had returned home and must have told his wife of his adventure. There can have been no question in the lady's mind as to the identity of the animal; yet she visits the king soon after with complete *sang froid*, only to have her nose bitten off and to be arrested and put "en mult grant destresce" till she confesses. This is rather the inconsistency that results from corruption than primitive simplicity of plot.

To all these considerations we may add the fact that in **x** the wife is a *fée* (see p. 176, below), but that she is a mere woman in **B**. This goes far toward proving that **x** is not from **B**.

On the whole, then, we may safely reject the hypothesis that **B** is the source of **x**. This leaves only the third hypothesis, — that **B** and **x** are independent derivatives of the original *Werewolf's Tale*, — a view which has nothing against it.

It is now clear how our four redactions (**B**, **M**, **G**, **I**) are related. They fall into two groups: **B** and **MGI**. The group **MGI** is likewise divisible into **M** and **GI**, and **G** and **I** are neither of them derived from the other. Thus, —



This genealogy is sufficiently established by what precedes, in the absence of evidence to the contrary. A further comparison of the different versions will show not only that there is no such evidence,[1] but that corroborative testimony is abundant.

[1] With the exception of one very small matter, easily accounted for (p. 179, note 1).

III. RECONSTRUCTION OF x (THE SOURCE OF MGI).

We may now proceed to a reconstruction of **x**, the lost source of **MGI**.

1. *The wife is a fée or a visitant from the Other World* (**MI**).

This is perfectly clear in **I**.[1] In **M** the false wife is actually the daughter of the Irish king, while Melion is one of Arthur's knights. The way in which Melion makes her acquaintance, however, leaves no doubt in our minds as to her true character. He is hunting in a wood in Britain when a beautiful woman meets him and tells him that she "has come to him from Ireland." She protests that she loves but him alone and has never loved before. Her declaration falls in with a vow that he has made, not to have an *amie* who had ever loved another, and accordingly he takes her to wife. The meeting in the wood is a close parallel to the situation in *Desiré*, *Lanval*, *Graelent*, and the legend of Gerbert and Meridiana,[2] to say nothing of countless other tales of a fairy mistress. The author of **M** has rationalized the narration and represents the *fée* as a mortal, but his euhemerism (or misconception) cannot possibly mislead us. In **G** there is complete rationalization; the lady is a mere woman.[3]

M alone has this introductory incident, but something of the kind doubtless stood in **x**. An account of the hero's first interview with the *fée* was a plain necessity.[4] The encounter in the forest is a

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[1] This appears from C_1, in which she is the daughter of King Under-the-Wave, and from **KJ**, in which she is the daughter of the King of Greece, himself described as a magician (**K**). Greece stands for the Other World in many Irish tales. In **O'F**, by a turn-about, the hero is the son of a fairy potentate and his wife is a mortal. **L** is reconcilable with KJC_1, though not quite clear as it stands. C_2H give no information as to the wife's parentage. In **S** a wicked stepmother replaces the faithless wife.

[2] Walter Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, iv, 11, ed. Wright, pp. 170 ff.; cf. J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, I, 181; II, 233 ff.

[3] One reason for this procedure on the part of **G** will appear later (p. 249). We shall find that **G** has been affected by an entirely independent tale, *The Dog and the Lady*, — a cynical Eastern anecdote in which the wife is, and must be, a mortal and nothing else.

[4] **G** and **I** do not tell us how the hero made his wife's acquaintance, except for **KJ**, in which he meets her at her father's court in Greece (i.e. the Other World).

stereotyped incident in such cases, as we have seen, and **x** may well have contained it. It is also likely that Melion's rash vow (not to have a love who had ever loved another) was a feature of **x**; but this question must be deferred for the present. The evidence, which is very curious, will be presented at a later stage of the investigation.[1]

2. *The hero possesses a congenital talisman capable of transforming him into a wolf and of restoring him to human shape* (**MG**).[2] *His wife teases him till* (**GI**) *he confides the secret to her* (**MGI**), *when she strikes him* (*on the head* **MG**) *with it, and he becomes a wolf* (**MGI**).[3] *She keeps the talisman and never intends to release him* (**MGI**).

What the talisman was in **x** we cannot be sure; perhaps a ring with two stones, as in **M**. In **y** it was a rod (**GI**). At all events, in **x** the hero had to be naked (as in **B**) when he was struck (**M**),

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[1] See pp. 190 ff.

[2] **M** does not say that the talisman was congenital, but this is clear from **G** and is quite consistent with **M**. See next note.

[3] Here the influence of a distinct type of story has been operative in **x**: that in which an enchantress transforms her husband to animal shape by the aid of external magic (see p. 170, and cf. Köhler in Warnke, *Lais*, 2d ed., p. cvi). **I** has gone farthest in this direction, losing all trace of the hero's wolfish nature. Yet in some versions of **I** a faint trace of the congenital talisman remains. In C_2 the husband owns the rod, having found it by accident, but it does not appear how his wife learned of its powers. In C_1 the rod is not said to belong to the husband, but in other respects this part of the story agrees so closely with C_2 that it must once have coincided with it in this point also. **L** has here annexed a portion of the well-known tale of *The Language of Animals* (studied by Benfey, *Orient u. Occident*, II, 133 ff., Frazer, *Archæological Review*, I, 81 ff., 161 ff., and Basset, *Nouveaux Contes Berbères*, pp. 119 ff., 327 ff.; cf. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme*, VI, 250 ff.). The hero learns from a dialogue between two birds that there are three "rods of magic and mastery" growing on a certain tree. He laughs, and his wife thinks he is deriding her (a characteristic feature of *The Language of Animals*). To pacify her, he tells her what the birds are talking about, and she gives him no rest till he has procured a rod for her. (For birds boasting of their trees, as in **L**, cf. Stumme, *Märchen der Schluh*, p. 90.) In **K** the rod is stolen by the wife from her father, the wizard King of Greece; in **J** it is given to her by the king. In **O'F** the rod seems to be in the wife's possession; in **S** it of course belongs to the wicked stepmother. In **H** the wife has a magic ring instead of a rod (cf. p. 257).

and his clothes were (as in **B**) of importance for his restoration (**M**).[1] In **y** these last two points had disappeared (**GI**).[2]

3. *The wife, after turning her husband into a wolf, goes back to her father, taking one of her husband's servants with her, — the attendant who is present when the transformation takes place* (**MI**).[3] *The wolf follows his wife to her father's country* (**MI**), *apparently by swimming* (**I**; traces in **MG**).[4] *He becomes the leader of a band of wolves, and they commit great depredations* (**MGI**), *destroying cattle or sheep* (**MGI**) *and killing men* (**MG**). *The king* (*who is the wolf's father-in-law*, **MI**) *leads a great hunt* (**MGI**) *against them, accompanied by his daughter* (**MI**). *All the wolves are killed except the werewolf* (**MGI**).

The return of the lady to her father's kingdom is what we should expect if she is a *fée*. Like all creatures of the Other World, — mermaids, swan-maidens, and the rest, — when she abandons her husband she should go back to the mysterious realm from whence she came. The Irish versions have all suffered here and exhibit considerable variety, but comparison shows that **I** once agreed with **M**.[5] **G** is quite different. The lady remains at home with her lover,

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[1] **M** shows alteration in the matter of the clothes. These are to be guarded (as in **B**), but the author forgets their importance, for Melion recovers his shape "durch die einfache Kraft des Rings, . . . ohne dass gesagt wird, er habe seine Kleider in Irland wieder bekommen" (Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, p. 96, note).

[2] For the relation between **x** and **B** with regard to the transformation scene, see pp. 183 ff.

[3] The question whether the attendant is her lover will be discussed presently (see pp. 187 ff.).

[4] The swimming is an easy inference from **L**, in which the wolf returns from the island in this way (though it is not said how he got there in the first place), and from **G**. In **G** the wolf journeys to the foreign country by land, but when he is about to return, he plunges into the sea "as if to swim." The author explains that the shortest route was by water. The king fits out a fleet and sails to the wolf's country, taking the wolf with him. Obviously the story has been rationalized. In **M**, the wolf, abandoned by his wife, gets passage to Ireland as a stowaway. Clearly the swimming (in **x**) was too much for the authors of **M** and **G** to credit. They would have found a good deal of difficulty with the swimming match between Béowulf and Breca!

[5] In **L** the wolf flees from his country to an island, and the king of the island leads the hunt against him. The false wife is present at the hunt and urges the king to slay the wolf. How the wife got there is not explained; but we must

whom she marries.[1] The wolf, after ravaging the country till it becomes too hot to hold him, seeks refuge in a foreign land, where he continues his depredations till the king of that domain goes out

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remember that **L** gives no account of the lady's parentage. **K**, if compared with **L**, makes the case better. The leader of the hunt is the King of Greece, the wolf's father-in-law, who is on a visit to his daughter. Here the wife and the wolf have both remained in the wolf's own land, to which the father-in-law has come. No doubt **K** (which is very brief here) has reversed the localities. The argument is clinched by C_1, in which King Under-Wave, the wolf's father-in-law, is among the hunters, spares the wolf, and takes him home. "*My wife*," continues the narrative, "*was at her father's that day, and knew me. She begged the king to kill me.*" What follows in C_1 takes place in the land of King Under-Wave. In other words, C_1 represents the lady as residing in the land of her husband, but the original idea (in **x**) that she has returned to her father and been followed by the wolf, shows through. The narrative in C_1 clumsily accounts for the situation by making the lady a temporary visitor at her father's castle. (On a subsequent occasion in C_1 the formula is repeated, p. 332: "My wife was at her father's castle that night.") **O'F** is also of assistance. Here the wolf kills his wife's sheep. "She *visited her father* and said that there was a wolf on the hill killing her sheep, telling him he should gather the hounds and set the hunt on him. He took the hounds with him and went on the hunt in the hope of killing me. As there was the sense of a human creature in me, when the hounds were coming up with me, I went on my knees in the king's presence. He lifted me up between his arms and did not allow the hounds to kill me. Then he took me with him to his own house. At this she was quite beside herself with him, when he did not kill me at once." Here the lady and her father (the wolf's father-in-law) simply occupy adjacent estates; they are neighboring gentlefolk who can visit. This vulgarization necessitates some change in the story, but the original situation is clear. **H** agrees in the main with **O'F**, except that the king is the Werewolf's father and there is no vulgarization. C_2 has suffered such alteration as to afford little evidence at this point. The reconciliation between the wolf and the hunting king (which is in all other versions, **BMG** and **LHKJ**C_1**O'FS**) has quite vanished. Yet even C_2 assists us slightly: the wolf escapes to an *island* (p. 368). In **S** the wife has been replaced by a stepmother, as we have had occasion to remark before. **J** agrees pretty closely with **K**.

[1] Here **G** agrees with **B** (against **x**), but the agreement must be fortuitous. We have found that in some of the Irish versions the lady also remains at home instead of returning to her father, but such was not the case in **I**, and no one would think of making a cross-line from **I** to **B** on the strength of this variation. This is the only point which interferes in the slightest with the genealogy indicated on p. 175. Everything else confirms the pedigree there set forth.

to hunt him down.[1] This king is not his father-in-law, but, as afterwards appears, his brother. The original form of **x**, as preserved by **M** and **I**, shows through, despite the alterations of **G**. The depredations of the wolf are emphasized in **MGI**,[2] but are not mentioned in **B**. They appear to be of some importance from the point of view of folk-lore. It is common for a bespelled animal to make his existence felt in this way, in order to bring about his restoration to human form.[3] We may conjecture that these ravages were a feature of the original story.[4] The band of wolves takes a curious form in **G**. The bespelled Gorlagon consorts with a she-wolf,[5] and two whelps, their offspring, join him in his raids. The whelps are killed, and Gorlagon becomes fiercer than ever.[6]

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[1] The hunt is instigated by the lady in **KJHO'FC$_1$C$_2$** (by the henwife in **S**), but not so in **B** or in **MG**. This point, then, may pass for a peculiarity of **I**. In **MGI** the hunt is undertaken for the express purpose of ridding the country of the wolf. In **B** this is not the case: the king goes hunting in the forest where the Bisclavret dwells, and the dogs fall in with the beast and run him hard all day.

[2] The depredations occur in most versions of **I** (**LHO'FC$_1$S**), but the *band* is found only in **HC$_1$S**. It is, however, a feature of **M** and **G**, and was certainly present in **x**. The correspondence between **C$_1$** and **M** is very close here. It is even possible that there were two hunts in **x** (as in **C$_1$**), one of which is replaced in **M** by the wolf's encounter with King Arthur, but the point is trivial.

[3] See Nutt, *Scottish Celtic Review*, pp. 139–140, and *Folk-Lore Record*, IV, 25, note.

[4] If so, we have another argument against the derivation of **x** from **B**.

[5] In **C$_2$**, which has been much changed by amalgamation with a distinct story, the wolf finds a she-wolf in the island to which he flees. She is a woman, transformed by enchantment long years before when within a week of her time, and has been pregnant ever since. The Werewolf accidentally wounds her with his teeth, and her son is born. The son subsequently pursues the hero for causing his mother's death. All this has little or nothing to do with **G**, but is part of quite another type of story. On long pregnancy and the full size at which the children are born under such circumstances, see Child, *Ballads*, I, 82–87, 489; III, 497; V, 285.

[6] In **S** the hero and his two brothers are turned into wolves by a witch at their stepmother's instigation. Their ravages result in their being driven to an inaccessible rock. They are dying of hunger, and twice cast lots to see who shall be killed to feed the others. The hero of the story is the last survivor. He swims out towards a passing ship and is taken on board by the captain, who replaces the king in the incidents that follow.

4. *Seeing that there is no escape, the wolf approaches the king and makes submissive signs* (**BMGI**). *The king, observing his tameness, forbids his followers to injure him* (**BMGI**). *The false wife* (*the king's daughter*) *urges her father to kill the beast* (**I**; trace in **M**), *but he takes the wolf home and treats him as a pet* (**BMGI**). *The wolf eats meat and drinks wine* (**MI**) *and so conducts himself that it is inferred that he has been domesticated. He never leaves the king, and sleeps in his bedchamber* (**BM**; **I** in part).

In these features all the versions (**B** as well as **MGI**) are in substantial agreement, except for a special development in **M**, to be discussed in a moment. In **B**, of course, the lady is not present at the hunt, and the same is true of **G** (see p. 185).

The peculiar development in **M** just referred to is the result of the attachment of that version to the Arthurian cycle. The wolf escapes from the hunt led by his father-in-law, and the false wife, who is present, expresses her regret that he has not been killed.[1] At this point Arthur intervenes in the plot. Arthur visits Ireland, and, before he reaches the king's court at Dublin, is obliged to spend the night at a certain house. The wolf visits him, falls at his feet, and so conducts himself that the king decides that he is tame and takes him as a pet. The wolf sticks to Arthur's side and sleeps at his feet that night. Next day the Irish king goes to meet Arthur and conducts him to Dublin. The wolf goes, too, never leaving King Arthur, and, when the two kings sit in state, he lies at the feet of his protector. The rôle of the king who hunts the wolf has, then, been divided in **M** between the King of Ireland and Arthur. We have already observed that this peculiarity of **M** proves that **M** cannot be the source of **GI**.

Certain picturesque details of the scene at the hunt may be claimed for **x**. In **G** the king takes hold of the wolf as if to lift him up, and the creature leaps upon the horse in front of the king like a dog. The incident occurs also in **L**,[2] but nowhere else, though there is something similar in **O'F**: "I went on my knees in the

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[1] This corresponds with her urging the king to kill him in **I**.

[2] "The king cried out to stop the hounds. I took a leap upon the front of the king's saddle" (p. 20).

king's presence. *He lifted me up between his arms* and did not allow the hounds to kill me." We may confidently ascribe the incident to **I**, and therefore to **y**; but it is not certain that it stood in **x**, since there is no trace of it in **M**.

Another curious detail is found in **L**, but in no other Irish version; its presence in **M**, however, makes it secure for **x**. It affords one of the strangest cases of the way in which this, that, and the other version preserve details in this extraordinary farrago of redactions. In **M** Arthur not only feeds the wolf with bread and *lardé*, which he eats with such relish that the king and his knights think that he is tame and disnatured (*privés, tous desnaturés*), but he drinks wine from a basin which the king causes to be set before him. In **L** the same idea is carried out in modern style. The wolf will not eat without a knife and fork: "The king gave orders to bring him drink, and it came; and the king filled a glass of wine and gave it to me. I took hold of it in my paw and drank it, and thanked the king. 'Oh, on my honor, [said the king,] it is some king or other has lost him . . . ; and I will keep him, as he is trained."[1]

In **G**, immediately after the king has taken the wolf upon his horse, a great stag comes into view. The king makes signs to the wolf to pursue him, and the creature brings down the deer. In **M**, it will be remembered, a similar incident occurs in another place. Melion is hunting, and his wife is with him. She longs to eat of a certain stag, and Melion, in order to procure the flesh for her, causes her to turn him into a wolf. In this shape he hunts down the stag. There is no trace of the incident except in **G** and **M**, but its presence in those two versions proves that it stood in **x**. It has dropped out of **I** because in **x** it was a mere detail. The author of **M**, however, utilized it to give a new motive for the hero's metamorphosis, not

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[1] In **B** the wolf takes hold of the king's stirrup and kisses his feet. The king remarks that the beast "a sen d'ume" and that he "merci crie"; "ceste beste a entente e sen"; "a la beste durrai ma pes" (cf. **L**: "He knew me; he must be pardoned"). He takes the wolf home with him and gives orders that "bien seit abevrez e peüz," but nothing is said of wine. In **K** the wolf imitates the human voice, holds up his fore-paws, and weeps big tears (cf. **J**). In **O'F** he "goes on his knees in the king's presence." In **H** he throws himself at the king's feet.

being satisfied with what he found in his original (**x**).[1] What the motive in **x** was, we have not yet considered. The question must be left in abeyance till we study the catastrophe of *The Werewolf's Tale.*

5. The *éclaircissement* varies greatly in the several versions. In **B**, as we have already seen, it is rather clumsily managed. The lady's second husband, who had assisted her in the plot against the Bisclavret, goes to court and is attacked by the wolf. Soon the king chances to lodge in a house near the lady's residence. Regardless of her husband's experience, which must have reached her ears, she visits the king to do homage. The wolf springs at her and tears off her nose. The husband is arrested [but nothing is done to him]. The lady is put "en destresce," confesses everything, and produces the Werewolf's clothes. These are laid before the wolf, but he pays no attention to them. A wise courtier suggests that the beast be left alone with the garments.

> Cist nel fereit pur nule rien,
> Que devant vus ses dras reveste
> Ne mut la semblance de beste.
> Ne savez mie que ceo munte.
> Mult durement en a grant hunte.
> En tes chambres le fai mener
> E la despueille od lui porter;
> Une grant piece l'i laissuns.
> S'il devient huem, bien le verruns.

The advice is accepted, and after a time the king, entering the chamber, finds the knight asleep on the bed. The lady is banished, and her lover goes with her. They had children enough and

> Plusurs des femmes del lignage,
> C'est veritez, senz nes sont nees
> Et si viveient esnasees.

In **M** there is no nose-biting and the whole seems better managed. Probably **M** is very near to **x** in this place, if we allow for the

[1] It is conceivable that **M** here represents **x** correctly and that **G** has transferred the incident to a new position; but the other hypothesis is far more probable.

changes made to accommodate the plot to Arthurian romance: Arthur and the Irish king are sitting together, and the wolf is with them. He sees the servant who had carried off his wife, and attacks him forthwith. The bystanders would have killed the beast, but Arthur says he is *his* wolf. Ydel, son of Urien, avers that the wolf must have some cause of anger against the man, and Arthur declares that the fellow shall confess or die. He confesses to Arthur, who calls upon the king of Ireland for the ring. The latter goes to his daughter's chamber, induces her to give it to him,[1] and hands it over to Arthur. The wolf sees the ring and kisses Arthur's feet. Arthur is about to touch him with it when Gawain interposes:

> "Biaus oncles," fait il, "non ferés,
> En une chambre l'en menrés
> Tot seul a seul privéement,
> Que il n'ait honte de la gent."

Arthur, Gawain, and Ydel then accompany the wolf into a private room, where the transformation is accomplished. The king of Ireland then delivers up his daughter to Arthur for punishment. Melion is about to touch her with the ring; but Arthur declares he shall not do it, — for his children's sake. Melion consents to spare the guilty woman. Arthur returns to Britain, taking Melion with him. The lady is left in Ireland. Melion would have had her hanged or burned before he would have taken her again to wife.[2]

If we eliminate Arthur and his knights from the account in **M**, restoring the rôle of deliverer to the Irish king, to whom it rightfully

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[1] Tant le blandi et losenga
Qu'ele li a l'anel doné (vv. 536–537).

[2] In *Guillaume de Palerne* the guardian and constant helper of the hero and heroine is a Spanish prince who has been changed into a wolf by the magic power of his stepmother. The enchanted prince's interview with his father (vv. 7207 ff., ed. Michelant, pp. 209 ff.) reminds one of that between the Werewolf and his father-in-law in our tale, and there are other resemblances (see vv. 7629 ff., 7731 ff., 7759 ff.). There may or may not be some connection between *Guillaume de Palerne* and *The Werewolf's Tale*. Paris (*Litt. franç. au Moyen Age*, § 67) inclines to the affirmative; Ahlström (*Studier i den fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, p. 81) and Warnke (*Lais*, 2d ed., p. civ) oppose.

belongs, we have a narrative which must resemble closely that which stood in **x**. It is very near to **B**, but has none of the difficulties which confront us in that version. The lady does not expose herself to the attack of the wolf after her lover has been assailed.

In **G** there are many changes, occasioned by a modification in a previous part of the plot. The king who protects the wolf is not his father-in-law, and the false wife has remained at her husband's home with her paramour. [This is a variation both from **x** and from **y**, as is shown by the condition of things in **M** and **I**: see p. 178.] The actions of the wolf at the king's own court (in an incident[1] which has nothing to do with the false wife) convince the king that he is a man under enchantment. He holds a council (cf. the *prud'homme* in **B** and Ydel in **M**) and declares his opinions. The wolf indicates the shortest route to his native land, and the king leads an expedition thither to right Gorlagon's wrongs. He takes captive the lady and her lover (now her husband). Then he informs the wicked queen that she must produce the rod. [Here is a manifest flaw. The king knows nothing of the rod. He feels sure that the wolf is an enchanted man, but he has not yet learned the details of the metamorphosis. He should have extracted the truth from the lady's lover, as in **M**. The incident may have been left out by the scribe, who has omitted at least one other passage from the manuscript.[2] Perhaps, however, it is chargeable to the author of **G**. Earlier in the story he has complicated the plot by introducing an intrigue between a steward and the king's wife.[3] To this intrigue he has transferred some of the occurrences that should come in at the end of the story: the wolf has attacked the steward, and the king has forced the guilty man to confess. This circumstance may have led the author of **G** to omit the forced confession of the wolf's rival in the place where it properly belongs.] The lady avers that the rod has been destroyed, but she produces it when tortured.[4] The king then strikes the wolf with the larger end of the rod in the presence

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[1] To be discussed later (see pp. 234–5, 246 ff.).

[2] See p. 155, note 1.

[3] See pp. 246 ff. for proof that this is an insertion.

[4] Compare the similar treatment of the Bisclavret's wife in Marie.

of all, and he becomes a man, — no other than King Gorlagon, the narrator. Gorlagon puts his wife's lover to death, but spares the lady. He divorces her, however, and weds another. His first wife is doomed to sit at all feasts, having the embalmed head of her lover before her on a plate. This concluding piece of barbarity we may here disregard, as being peculiar to **G**; we shall return to it in due time.[1]

The Irish version affords us little assistance in reconstructing the disenchantment incident in **x**; for it has been specially influenced by another story, which we shall have to consider by-and-by.[2] It preserves, however, one important point: the king who befriends the werewolf is his father-in-law; the disenchantment takes place at his court and (though somewhat remotely)[3] through his instrumentality. Thus **I** agrees, in part, with what **M** records if we ignore (as we must) the Arthurian element in the latter. At the very end of the story, however, **I** gives us some help. The lover is burned by order of the hero's father-in-law, but the wife is spared at her husband's request.[4] He even takes her back, promising never to mention her crime. This corresponds pretty well with **G**, in which the guilty woman is also spared and is kept at Gorlagon's court, though no longer as his wife.[5] We shall be forced to scrutinize the condonation incident with some care in a moment.[6]

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[1] See pp. 245 ff.

[2] See pp. 235–6.

[3] It is not easy to decide what is the correct form of **I** here. The versions differ a good deal.

[4] So in KC_1. In **L** it does not appear what becomes of the lover, but the husband takes his wife back. In **K** the King of Greece takes his daughter home with him, and the hero hears no more of her (in this version, it will be remembered, localities are reversed [see p. 179], and the disenchantment occurs while the hero is on a visit to his daughter). **O'F** is imperfect at the end, containing no account of what happens after the hero is released from the spell. In C_2 (which has suffered many changes) the hero strikes his wife with the rod (as Melion threatens to do with the ring) and "she springs over the wall, a gray wolf, and runs off through the pastures." The lover he turns into a sheep, hoping that the gray wolf may devour him. In **H** the lover departs and the wife is taken back.

[5] See p. 162.

[6] See p. 189.

On the basis of what has been said, it is now possible to reconstruct, with some degree of positiveness, the conclusion of **x**, as follows:

One day, at the court of his father-in-law, the wolf catches sight of his wife's lover and attacks him furiously. Everybody is surprised, since the creature has hitherto been as gentle as possible. A wise man remarks that the wolf must have some cause for his enmity. The lover is threatened (or tortured) and confesses. The king compels his daughter to give up the talisman and is about to strike the wolf with it in the presence of the whole household. The wise counsellor suggests that the disenchantment should take place in private, and the king accordingly takes the wolf into a chamber and restores him to human form. The lover is put to death, but the lady is spared, and her husband receives her once more as his wife and returns with her to his own country.

Two details of this reconstruction require to be justified: (1) the statement that the squire is actually the lady's lover, and (2) the condonation of the faithless wife.

In **M** there is nothing said of the relations between the wife and the person with whom she flees to her father's court. He is simply a squire who was with Melion at the time of the transformation. As soon as Melion becomes a wolf and goes in pursuit of the stag, the lady remarks to the squire: "Let him have his fill of hunting," mounts her horse, and rides with the squire to the port, whence she takes ship for Ireland.[1] At Dublin the squire enters the service of the Irish king, the lady's father, and is acting in that capacity when the wolf recognizes him and attacks him. **G** and **I**, however, make it clear that he was the lady's lover before the transformation, and this is confirmed by **B** (for **O**).[2] In **G** the lady is in love with a neighboring

[1] La dame dist a l'escuier:
"Or le laissons assés chacier."
Montée est, plus ne se targa,
Et l'escuier o lui mena (vv. 191 ff.).

The abruptness of **M** at this point is highly significant. The lady simply speaks one line, and the squire goes off with her without a word.

[2] In **B** the lady, on learning her husband's terrible secret, summons a knight who has long sought her love in vain and promises to accept him if he will assist

prince, for whose sake she is glad to be rid of her husband. In **I** the lady's lover is a strange figure. He is a wild man whom her husband has found in the woods and whom he has taken into his service. The husband discovers the guilty pair together.[1] The transformation follows, and the lady returns to her father's court, taking her lover with her, as in **M**.

We are now able to answer a question which has so far been ignored, but which must already have occurred to the reader: How was the transformation to wolf form motivated in **x**? In **B** no motivation is necessary: the Bisclavret becomes a werewolf by his very nature; his wife is horror-struck by the secret which she has wrung from him, and summons a rejected lover to her aid. In **x** the hero,

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her by getting possession of the Bisclavret's clothes and thus preventing him from leaving his wolfish form. This looks like a slight change made by Marie under the influence of the institution of chivalric love. It is quite in accordance with popular story that the lady should turn for aid to one of her husband's squires or servants and should promise him her love, or her hand, as a reward. We may compare the Lombard saga of Rosemunda (Paulus Diaconus, ii, 28), to say nothing of the countless tales in which a queen is accused of loving a servant, a beggar, a leper, etc. (see next note).

[1] The lover occurs in most Irish versions ($KL_1HO'FC_1C_2$) but not, of course, in **S**, which has substituted a stepmother for the wife. In **K** and L_1 he is a wild man whom the husband has caught and made a servant of. In C_1 he is a cripple who has lived at the hero's castle for years. In **K** he appears to be beautiful but near the end is compelled to resume his true form — that of a humpback (see below). In C_2 he is a "dark tall man." In **H** he is a dark man of the wife's country who has put her under a spell. In **O'F**, which has been more or less vulgarized, he is the swineherd. In $KL_1C_1C_2$ the husband discovers the pair together.

The cripple or humpback (KC_1) is certainly to be ascribed to modern sophistication of **I**, brought about by the influence of a large class of stories in which a woman loves (or is accused of loving) a cripple, a mutilated man, a leper, etc. See especially the Oriental story *How a Woman Rewards Love* (see p. 251, note 2); cf. Natesa Sastri, *Dravidian Nights Entertainments*, pp. 279 ff.; *Kathā-saritsāgara*, chap. 64 (Tawney, II, 97–98); the ballad of *Sir Aldingar* (Child, no. 59, II, 33 ff., with the editor's remarks). The Oriental tale of the woman who fell in love with a cripple or deformed man who had a peculiarly sweet voice (see especially Benfey, *Pant., Einl.*, I, 441–442; cf. the fairy man's singing or horn-blowing in Child, I, 22 ff.) has made its way to Ireland, as may be seen from Kennedy, pp. 74 ff. (a version of the Perilous Princess in which a deformed bard replaces the giant or other monstrous lover: see p. 250, below).

as we have seen, does not suffer a periodical change of form; he merely possesses a congenital talisman, which is capable, in the hands of another, of working the transformation. His wife gets the secret out of him, and transforms him. Why? The answer is suggested by G and I (assisted by comparison with B): She has a lover whose society she wishes to enjoy without molestation. The author of M has cut out this motive, which he found in his original (x), and has substituted the curious incident of Melion's stag-chase, which he found as a mere detail at a subsequent point of the story (where it is preserved by G).[1] The operation has left a scar: M neither gives nor suggests any explanation of the lady's act in deserting her husband and fleeing to Ireland with the squire, or of the squire's treachery in consenting to betray his master.

We may now take an important step under the guidance of I (assisted in part by other features of M). In x, as we have seen, the lady is a *fée*, a visitor from the Other World (MI[2]). Clearly her lover has followed her from the same region. The wild man of I was manifestly the lover (or husband) of the lady in the Other World, whom she has forsaken for a mortal and who has pursued her. He wins her again and takes her with him to the land of faerie. Incidentally, her mortal husband is transformed into a wolf to prevent his following. Yet, in spite of all, he makes his way to the Other World and wins back his fairy wife, whom he receives again on the old terms. These considerations put a new face on the condonation of the faithless wife. The incident might seem unnatural if she were a mere woman,[3] but *fées* are not subject to the laws of human society. The mortal husband regularly loses his fairy wife and has a hard time to recover her. If his quest is successful, he never searches too curiously into her conduct during her absence. He is satisfied to win her back. Her temporary reunion

[1] See p. 182.

[2] Though M does not state this in plain terms, perhaps from misapprehension, it still affords abundant evidence on the subject.

[3] Though not necessarily so, as romance and observation alike instruct us. Many of the runaway wives of romantic story, however, are daughters of the gods, — perhaps most of them, — enough, at all events, to raise the present contention to a high pitch of probability.

with her heavenly lover leaves no stain, or, at all events, is no bar to her joyful reception by the happy mortal whom she has honored with her alliance.

We are now able to see a special significance in one particular point in **M** which has hitherto attracted no attention, — the hero's boast that he would never have wife or *amie* who had loved another. The *fée* whom he meets in the wood is clearly aware of this boast[1] and professes to fulfil the requirement. Her words are true, so far as mortals are concerned; but we now see that she has had a lover nevertheless, — a fairy man, who pursues her into this world. The misfortunes which come upon the hero are of the nature of a rebuke to his pride. The reason why the author of **M** has suppressed the fact that the squire with whom the lady fled was an old flame becomes immediately evident. He did not understand fairy ethics, and the delicious irony of the situation seemed to him a flat contradiction. Accordingly he reduced the lover to the rank of an accidental supernumerary and left the lady's conduct in abandoning her husband quite unmotivated.

The vicissitudes of the lady's love affairs in **x** may be compared with one of the most famous of ancient Irish stories, — *The Wooing of Etain*, which is preserved in a manuscript of about 1100 and is well known to be centuries older than that date. Etain was a *fée* and the wife of the fairy prince Mider. She was reborn as a mortal and married King Eochaid Airem of Ireland. Mider endeavored to recover her and finally succeeded in carrying her off to his Other-World abode. King Eochaid pursued her thither and won her back again. The parallel between **x** and the *Tochmarc Etaine* in the general outline of the saga is too obvious to need emphasis.[2]

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[1] The author does not tell us how. If she is a mortal (as **M** makes her out), this is a question to be asked; if she is a *fée*, however, no explanation is needed.

[2] In Arthurian romance we have the abduction of Guinevere by a person (clearly of supernatural antecedents) who claims to have been her lover or husband in former days, and her recovery by Arthur or one of his knights. The Arthurian legend has lost much of the supernaturalism which it once must have had and which the *Wooing of Etain* still keeps in its entirety, but its general character is still recognizable. For the abduction of Guinevere, see *Vita Gildae;* Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Lanzelet;* Chrétien, *Chevalier de la Charrete;* Heinrich

But the resemblance between **M** and the *Tochmarc Etaine* is not confined to the general outline. There is a very striking parallel between the introductory incident in **M** and a particular passage in the ancient Irish tale. To appreciate this parallel we must undertake a somewhat closer study of the first part of **M** than we have yet made.

Melion is a *bacheler* of Arthur's court. He makes a vow which has disastrous consequences:

> Il dist ja n'ameroit pucele,
> Que tant seroit gentil ne bele,
> Qui nul autre home[1] eüst amé,
> Ne qui de nul eüst parlé (vv. 19 ff.).[2]

His vow is widely reported, and he becomes an object of bitter hatred to the maidens of the court.

> Celes qui es canbres estoient
> Et qui la roïne servoient,
> Dont il en i ot plus de cent,
> En ont tenu un parlement:
> Dient jamais ne l'ameront,
> N'encontre lui ne parleront.
> Dame nel voloit regarder,
> Ne damoisele a lui parler (vv. 29 ff.).

Melion is much distressed. He abandons the quest of adventures and takes no heed to arms. To cheer him up, King Arthur gives him a fief, — a castle on the coast, — with a great forest. Melion takes up his residence there with a hundred knights, and has much pleasure in hunting.

If we leave out the Arthurian paraphernalia (and the machinery of courtly love), which were no part of **x**,[3] we shall at once recognize the startling likeness of the situation to that in the *Tochmarc Etaine.*

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von dem Türlîn, *Krône;* cf. *Arthur and Cornwall* (Child, *Ballads*, no. 30, I, 274 ff.); see Paris, *Rom.*, X, 471 ff.; XII, 459 ff.; Rhŷs, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 49 ff.; Foerster, *Karrenritter*, pp. xx ff.; Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Gawain*, pp. 67 ff., and *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, pp. 40 ff.

[1] Both MSS. have *que* and *home;* Horák reads *hom.* Cf. also vv. 111 ff.

[2] So the older MS. (with *que* for *qui*). Horák reads (with the Turin MS.): "Ne de qui nus eüst parlé."

[3] See p. 181.

Eochaid, king of Erin, appointed a great feast in the first year of his reign; but the men of Erin refused to attend it, since he had no queen.[1] Then Eochaid sent his messengers throughout Erin to seek for him the most beautiful woman among the maidens of Erin. *Also he declared that he would marry no woman whom any one of the men of Erin had known before him.*[2]

The resemblance between Melion's vow and Eochaid's needs no emphasis. The one might almost be a translation of the other. But the parallel does not stop here.

One day, while hunting in the woods, Melion sees a maiden riding towards him. She is richly dressed and of surpassing beauty. He salutes her and asks her of what kindred she is and what brings her thither:

> Dites moi dont vos estes née
> Et que ici vos a menée (vv. 103–104).

Compare the *Tochmarc Etaine:*

King Eochaid's messengers traverse all Erin until they learn of a maiden who is a fitting match for him.[3] They return to Tara with their report,

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[1] Of course the king was disgraced by this refusal, as Melion was by the ladies' sending him to Coventry.

[2] The original may be added on account of the significance of the passage: "Al asbert, ní bíad ina farrad acht ben nad fesser nech do feraib hErend ríam" (*Lebor na h-Uidre*, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 119). The version in Egerton MS. 1782 (Windisch, *ibid.*) has the same requirements, but includes also the proviso that the woman shall be Eochaid's equal "in form and beauty and family." The version prefixed to the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* (Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 13 ff.) omits Eochaid's feast and his vow, and begins with his meeting with Etain at Brig Leith. A part of the *Tochmarc Etaine* is translated by Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, pp. 77 ff.

[3] What follows is not in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*, which concludes the first episode of the *Tochmarc Etaine* with the bald statement (immediately following the king's declaration, just quoted): "There was found for him [one], at Inbir Chichmaine, namely, Etain, daughter of Etar, and Eochaid took her home then, and she was a match for him in shape and form and family," etc. (Windisch, I, 119). It then proceeds directly to the love of Ailill for the queen. The details of Eochaid's meeting with Etain are preserved not only in Egerton MS. 1782 (edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 113 ff.), but in three manuscripts of *The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel* (*Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*), including the *Yellow Book of Lecan* (see the edition and translation of Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXII,

and the king sets out to win her. He finds the damsel at Brig Leith, on the margin of a spring. Her beauty and the splendor of her attire are described in florid language. The king accosts her with these words: "Whence art thou, maiden, and whence comest thou?"[1]

Let us return to **M** for a moment:

Cele respont: "Jel vos dirai,
Que ja de mot ne mentirai.
Je sui assés de haut parage,
Et née de gentil lignage;
D'Yrlande sui a vos venue;
Sachiés que je sui mout vo drue;
Onques home fors vos n'amai,
Ne jamais plus n'en amerai.
Forment vos ai oï loer;
Onques ne voloie altre amer
Fors vos tot seul, ne jamais jor
Vers nul autre n'avrai amor" (vv. 105 ff.).

Melion takes the lady with him to his castle and marries her.

Again we must compare the *Wooing of Etain:*

"It is not hard [to reply to thy question]," the maiden answers. "I am Etain, daughter of the king of the horsemen, from the *síde* [i.e. the fairy folk]." "Shall I lie with thee now?" asks Eochaid. "For that have I come here into thy protection," says the maid. "It is twenty years since I was born in the *síd* [i.e. fairy hill], and men of the *síd*, both kings and fair men, a-wooing me, and no man of them has known me, because I have loved thee and set affection and desire upon thee since I was a child and capable of speech, on account of thy fame and thy glory; and I have never seen thee before this time, and I recognized thee immediately by thy

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9 ff.). Though Egerton 1782 and the *Dá Derga* manuscripts are later than the *Lebor na h-Uidre*, there is no doubt that they afford us a very old version. According to Stokes, the *Yellow Book* "preserves some Old-Irish forms which have been modernised in the elder copy" (i.e. in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*). The *Lebor na h-Uidre* copy seems to have been condensed at this point. Compare the relation between the longer and the shorter version of *The Wooing of Emer* (*Tochmarc Emire*): K. Meyer, *Archæological Review*, I, 68 ff., etc.; id., *Revue Celtique*, XI, 442 ff.; Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 55 ff.

[1] "'Can deit iarum a ingen,' ar Eochaid, 'ocus can dollot?'" (*Irische Texte*, I, 120, l. 16); cf. *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 16–17.

description, and it is thou to whom I have come." The king promises to forsake all other women and have her for his sole wife, and she goes to Tara with him, where she is warmly welcomed and the feast takes place.[1]

The parallels just given sufficiently justify the conjecture (p. 176) that **x** contained a passage corresponding to the introductory incident in **M** and including the rash vow of the hero,[2] his meeting with

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[1] *Irische Texte*, I, 120; Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 16–17 (except the last sentence).

[2] King Adler, in a curious little poem (midway between romance and ballad) found only in the Percy MS. (Hales and Furnivall, II, 296 ff.), declares:

> There were not that woman this day aliue,
> I kept [i.e. *should care*] to bee my wedded wiffe,
> Without she [MS. *thé*] were as white as any milke
> Or as soft as any silke,
> And the(y) royall rich wine ran downe her brest bone,
> And lord! shee were and a leal [MS. *leath*] maiden (vv. 5 ff.).

He is informed that King Estmere has such a paragon, and proceeds to win her, against heavy odds. The story, as Professor Child has noted (*Ballads*, II, 50), is that of Hugdietrich in the *Heldenbuch* (von der Hagen, 1855, I, 169 ff.; Amelung and Jänicke, I, 167 ff.), and there is some relation between *Kinge Adler* (as the romance is called in the manuscript) and the superb ballad of *King Estmere* (Child, no. 60, II, 49 ff.). The impossible tasks in *King Adler* are like those which adventurers must undertake in *märchen* (and elsewhere) to win the daughters of supernatural beings.

It seems to be the rule that mortals who make vows of this kind win *fées*, and sometimes have trouble with them. See, for example, *Richard Coer de Lion*, vv. 43 ff. (Weber, *Metrical Romances*, II, 5 ff.), with regard to the demon wife of Henry II (and cf. Child, *Ballads*, IV, 463).

I take this opportunity of comparing Richard's eccentric method of killing the lion (*Richard Coer de Lion*, vv. 1063 ff., Weber, II, 43–44) with that followed by Cuchulinn in disposing of the sea-monster in the *Fled Bricrend* (§ 86, *Irische Texte*, I, 298; Henderson, pp. 106–107) and of Conall's hound Conbél in the *Aided Guill ocus Aided Gairb*, 40 (edited and translated from the *Book of Leinster* by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XIV, 422–3; cf. also *The Pursuit after Diarmuid*, ed. O'Grady, *Ossianic Soc. Trans.*, III, 102–103). The incident, as well as the account of King Henry's demon wife, occurs in a part of the poem which is foreign to the Auchinleck text and which Paris thinks has no French source (*Rom.*, IX, 542 ff.; XXVI, 356–7, note 3).

the *fée*, and a conversation between them much like that preserved in **M**. Thus these parallels enable us to supply certain significant details in our reconstruction of **x**, the common source of **M** and **y** (**GI**).

The resemblance between the general outline of **x** and that of the *Tochmarc Etaine*, as well as the particular correspondences which present themselves in so remarkable a manner, suggests the next step in our investigation and enables us to take it with a feeling of security. We are now in a position to understand the make-up of **x**, the source of all our versions except **B**. It was manifestly a complex tale. In its main outlines, it was a fairy mistress story of the type exemplified in ancient Irish literature by the *Wooing of Etain*. A *fée* abandons the Other World and marries a mortal. Her fairy lover or husband follows her and takes her back with him. Her mortal husband visits the Other World and recovers his wife. Into a story of this type has been worked an anecdote of an entirely different character, — *The Werewolf's Tale* proper. In this the hero was a born werewolf, forced by his very nature to spend a definite portion of his life in the shape of a wolf. His wife induced him to disclose his secret, and, with the help of her lover (or of a rejected suitor whom she promised to reward with her hand), forced the hero to retain his wolfish shape for a long time. At last, however, he took refuge with a certain king, who disenchanted him. The faithless wife was discarded, and her lover was punished.

The result of combining these two stories has been to disguise somewhat the original plot of the former; yet we can still recognize the character of that plot in two versions of the composite story, — the "Breton lay" of *Melion* (**M**), and the *märchen* **I**, still current throughout a large part of Ireland and well known, until recently, in the Scottish Highlands.

Where did this amalgamation take place? The almost inevitable answer is, — *in Ireland*. There, and nowhere else, the composite in question is still thoroughly at home and in active circulation as a folk-tale. There, too, we find the *Tochmarc Etaine*, with its startling correspondences to the *Lai de Melion*, preserved (in part) in a manuscript of about 1100 (nearly a century earlier than Marie's time), and

antedating by two or three hundred years the manuscript that contains it.[1] We need not hesitate, then, in pronouncing for Irish as the language of **x**, and for Ireland as the country in which that version originated. This Irish **x** was not a mere floating folk-tale, in all probability; it was a pretty definite piece of literary work (oral or written), composed at a time considerably antecedent to the earliest French versions of Arthurian romances. We should never forget that the Irish legends which we know from the *Lebor na h-Uidre* (c. 1100), and others of similar character, are simply the débris of a great literature, often betraying centuries of redaction by the form in which we find them at that early time. Fixation by literary means is a sufficient

[1] The *Tochmarc Etaine* is not cited as one of the sources of our tale, but merely as an extant and very early example of a type of Irish saga to which that tale owes its outline (exclusive of the werewolf material) and a number of its details. At the same time, in view of the surprising correspondences which we have just been studying, one cannot deny the possibility that **x** may actually go back to the *Tochmarc Etaine* for some of its material. The *Tochmarc Etaine* was one of the most famous of Irish tales. We are expressly informed that Etain's beauty was a proverbial standard of comparison (*Irische Texte*, I, 120; *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 15–16). In one version of the burlesque *Vision of Mac Conglinne*, a wise cleric has the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* and the *Bruiden Dá Derga* in his right shoe and the *Tochmarc Etaine* and the *Tochmarc Emire* in his left (ed. Meyer, p. 152). It was one of the *prímscéla* or "stories of capital importance" that every good poet was expected to know, according to the list in the *Book of Leinster* (R. I. A. facsimile, p. 189, col. 3, l. 11; cf. O'Curry, *Manuscript Materials*, pp. 243, 584 ff.). Undoubtedly it would have been familiar to any Irish minstrel or *raconteur* who was enterprising enough to seek his fortune in a foreign land. With this in view, I ventured to suggest, some fifteen years ago, that the non-classical elements in the Middle English *Orfeo* might conceivably be derived from the *Tochmarc Etaine* (*Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, VII, 176 ff.). On this suggestion (which was made very guardedly, as I should still wish to make it), cf. Brandl, Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 630; Bugge, *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, VII, 108; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 2d ed., pp. 361–362. An Irishman, it should be remembered, is described in the *Lai de l'Espine* as playing the *Lai d'Orphée* on a rote at the court of a king of Brittany (vv. 176–181, ed. Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie*, I, 556; ed. Zenker, *Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 246), and the English *Orfeo* professes to be a "lay of the Britons." (Cf. p. 197, note 2.) On the *Tochmarc Etaine*, see (besides Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 11 ff.), O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, II, 192 ff., III, 189 ff.; Zimmer, Kuhn's *Ztsch.*, XXVIII, 585 ff.; d'Arbois, *Cours*, II, 311 ff.; Nettlau, *Revue Celtique*, XII, 229 ff.; Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 175 ff.; II, 47 ff., 54 ff.; Rhŷs, *Arthurian Legend*, chap. ii.

explanation for the close correspondence in detail which we have found among the different versions of our story.

The simple *Werewolf's Tale*, uncombined with the story of a fairy mistress and her alternate loss and recovery, doubtless passed from Ireland into Brittany at an early date.[1] There it became localized and attached to itself specifically Armorican features (in particular the anecdote of the noseless ladies[2]), without, however, losing its substantial integrity. It was made the subject of a Breton lay, and is preserved to us in Marie's *Bisclavret*, which must be accepted as a faithful rendering of the Breton version. Marie's translation was made in England, about 1180, for the entertainment of the English court.

The Irish **x** (a combination of a fairy mistress story with *The Werewolf's Tale* proper) also made its way into Brittany, became the subject of a *lai*, and was rendered into French by an anonymous poet, who attached it to the Arthurian cycle. The result of his efforts is the *Lai de Melion*, which preserves, in its remarkable resemblances to the *Tochmarc Etaine*, convincing evidence of its ultimate derivation from an Irish source. That the story should have passed from Ireland in both a combined and an uncombined form at different times (not necessarily very far apart) is nothing extraordinary. We

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[1] Probably through Wales, since that country was the natural medium for such communication. It is possible, however, that the tale was carried from Ireland to Brittany by some Irish minstrel or story-teller (compare what is said of the *Lai d'Orphée*, p. 196, note 1).

[2] See p. 174. It may be held that the anecdote of biting off the nose is not Armorican in origin and that the explanation suggested at p. 174 (the *pourquoi*) is whimsical. This objection, if admitted, will not particularly affect the argument. It may still be maintained that the anecdote was added after the Irish **x** had reached Armorica, even if the anecdote itself be regarded as of Oriental origin. Breton lays were under no greater obligation to refuse foreign matter than other mediæval fictions were. Marie's *Dous Amanz* is in some way related to a Persian tale (*Ztsch. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XVI, 527, cited by Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 108; see Köhler, in Warnke, 2d ed., p. cxxii; on the story, cf. the very learned study of Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 272 ff.). The *Lai d'Orphée* should also be remembered (see p. 196, note 1). Dr. Schofield has argued powerfully for the view that Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* (which professes to be a lay of the "olde gentil Britouns") is founded on a Celtic story that had been affected by Eastern tales (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, XVI, 405 ff.).

have duplicate *lais* in three other instances: Marie's *Lanval* and the anonymous *Graelent*[1]; Marie's *Milun* and the anonymous *Doon*[2]; Renaut's *Ignaure* and the lost *Guiron* described in Thomas's *Tristan*.[3] Our extant text of the *Lai de Melion* is in the Picard dialect and is found in two manuscripts.[4] Neither of these presents a perfect text, and the Picard version may therefore be put back some time. Probably it is not much later than Marie herself.[5] It is impossible to say whether the Picard poet made his translation directly from the Breton or whether he worked over an earlier French (Norman?) rendering. The considerable differences between **M** and its source **x** may perhaps favor the latter hypothesis.

The passage of **x** into Brittany naturally had no effect on its continued existence in Ireland, where, indeed, it has survived in full vigor to the present day. The Irish **x** developed considerably in its native land (unattached, of course, to the Arthurian cycle) and assumed the form **y**, still in the Irish language. In **y** the story of **x** was complicated by being set in a frame: the Werewolf is made to tell his own story to a quester who is under bonds to learn it. This **y**, like **x**, was a prose tale, which may have developed at a very early date, even before the passage of **x** into Brittany.[6] It is the source

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[1] See particularly Schofield, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XV, 121 ff.; XVI, 423–424.

[2] See Warnke, *Marie de France u. die anonymen Lais*, pp. 22–23; Köhler, in Warnke's *Lais de Marie*, 2d ed., pp. cxxxiii ff.

[3] Michel, *Tristan*, III, 39; cf. Schofield, *Publ.*, as above, XV, 122 ff.

[4] Arsenal MS., P. 283, of the last quarter of the thirteenth century, described in Monmerqué and Michel, *Lai d'Ignaurès*, etc., pp. 35 ff.; Turin MS., of the late fourteenth century, described by Michelant, *Meraugis de Portlesguez*, pp. 257–258; Friedwagner, *Meraugis*, pp. xx–xxi; on the Picard dialect, see Horák, *Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 103 ff.

[5] Though Marie wrote her *Lais* about 1180, there is no manuscript earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century. Compare the date of the Arsenal MS. of *Melion*. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, i, 598, refers *Melion* to the first half of the thirteenth century.

[6] For of course the travels of **x** had nothing whatever to do with the growth of **y**. There was nothing to prevent **y** from developing, and existing side by side with **x** for a long time, before **x** became known outside of Ireland. Indeed, the development of **y** may even have preceded the passage of the uncompounded Irish *Werewolf's Tale* (the source of **B**) out of that country. We should be careful

of our Latin version G, now published for the first time. G, however, is not a translation from Irish, but apparently from the Welsh, as appears from the names *Gorlagon*, *Gorgol*, and *Gorbeil* (?), given in G to the Werewolf and his two brothers. We must suppose, therefore, that the Irish y passed into the sister island, where it was rendered into Welsh. The Welsh version is lost, like a great many other Welsh tales, but it was translated into Latin, and this Latin text is preserved to us, by a happy accident, in a single manuscript of the late fourteenth century. Either the Welsh author,[1] or the translator to whom we owe the Latin adaptation (G), attached the story to the Arthurian cycle by making Arthur the quester who is forced to learn the Werewolf's tale. The attachment is very loose, and has nothing whatever to do with the Arthurian coloring of M. Its precise character and its relation to the frame of y may best be studied later, in connection with I.[2]

The passage of y into Wales could have no effect on the further history of that version in Ireland. Here the story has continued to exist and is not yet extinct among the people, having been taken down within the past fifty years in at least four different counties, as well as in the West of Scotland.

One peculiarity of y, as we have seen, which distinguishes it from x, is the ascription to the Werewolf of an adventure which we may call *The Defence of the Child.* This appears, as it should, in G, though in a considerably modified form and an unusual setting. Version I expanded this anecdote in a manner quite out of proportion to the modest place which it occupied in y. The expansion is one of the peculiarities of I as distinguished from all other versions. Two other such peculiarities are: (1) the complication of the anecdote

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to observe that the actual development of the various versions in Ireland does not determine the time when they were carried abroad. An older version could be exported later than a younger one. Chance alone would govern; for a younger version need not immediately (or ever, for that matter) crowd an older out of existence. These facts are commonplaces, but they are too often ignored by investigators, who sometimes forget that a story, unlike a human traveller, may be in two places at the same time.

[1] The forms *Caius* and *Walwainus* (c. 2) would then be due to the Latinizer.

[2] See p. 212.

which frames the tale, and (2) the succession of metamorphoses through which the hero passes. To these points we shall direct our attention presently.[1] Meantime we must revert to G and its Welsh original.

IV. THE WELSH *GORLAGON.*

In the preceding chapter we have provisionally inferred, on the basis of the proper names *Gorgol*, *Gorbeil*(?), and *Gorlogan*, that the immediate source of the Latin G was a Welsh version of y. This inference must now be scrutinized with some particularity.

In G, Arthur visits successively three brothers, Gorgol, Gorbeil, and Gorlagon, in his search for knowledge of the "ingenium mensque feminae." Gorgol is at table when Arthur arrives. He asks him to dismount and eat, and promises to answer the question in the morning. Arthur consents, transgressing his vow. When morning comes, Gorgol declares that he knows nothing about the problem and sends Arthur to Gorbeil, who tricks him in the same way and passes him along to Gorlagon. But by this time Arthur is on his guard; he refuses to "dismount and eat," and Gorlagon is obliged to tell the story that the quester demands. Gorlagon interrupts his own narrative with constantly recurring invitations, always couched in the same terms ("Descende, Arture, et comede," etc.), but the king is proof against temptation and does not join in the feast till he has ascertained everything that he wishes to know.

It is to be noted that Arthur sets out from his capital with the express purpose of visiting *Gorgol*, from whom he expects the solution of his problem.[2] Apparently he has never heard of Gorbeil and Gorlagon. Now we have seen that in the group GI (and therefore in its source y) there was a quester (not Arthur) who set out to

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[1] See pp. 213 ff.

[2] There is an inconsistency in G. Arthur visits Gorgol because he has often found him skilled in such problems ("quem in rebus huiusmodi peritum sepissime expertus sum," cap. 3). Yet when he reaches Gorgol's castle, he fails to recognize it, nor does Gorgol seem to be acquainted with Arthur ("Quis es," is his greeting, "et unde?"). This confusion indicates that the author of G as we have it (probably the Latinizer) did not understand the identity of the three mysterious "brothers."

learn "the cause of the one story about women."[1] There can be little doubt that in **y** the quester was to go to a certain person who knew that "one story" because he was himself the hero of it. A trace of this situation may be seen (in **G**) in Arthur's determination to go to Gorgol and interrogate him. It is clear, too, that Gorgol knows the werewolf story, and would have told it if Arthur had not disregarded his vow and joined in the feast; and so of Gorbeil. We may safely infer that Gorgol, Gorbeil, and Gorlagon are but three manifestations of the same person, — in accordance with a feature well known in Irish tales.[2] The restored Werewolf is very loath to tell his story, and deludes the quester by thus meeting him at three different places and under three different names.[3] The similarity of the names in question supports this hypothesis.

The names *Gorgol*, *Gorbeil*, and *Gorlagon* are peculiar to **G**. The form *Torleil* seems to be corrupt; one expects the name to begin with *Gor-* like the others. In the part of the manuscript written in the first hand, this name occurs six times on p. 56 and always begins with a capital. It is spelled *Torleil* three times, *Torbeil* once, *Torliel* once, and finally — the last time it occurs, we actually find it as *Gorliel*. The scribe was obviously doubtful or confused. Further, the first, second, and fourth times, the initial *T* is not made in the scribe's ordinary manner, but is a capital *G* changed into a *T* by means of a stroke over the top. In the part of the manuscript written in the second hand, the name occurs but once (cap. 23) and is written *gorleil*. We have good reason, then, since we know that the manuscript is a copy, not an autograph, for regarding the proper form of the second brother's name as *Gorleil*, *Gorliel*, or *Gorbeil*, though we cannot be quite certain of the second syllable.

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[1] So in **I**. The vaguer quest (to learn the "ingenium mensque feminae") is less in the popular vein and shows a fading of the older motive, though the identity of the two is an inevitable inference.

[2] See A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, pp. 101 ff., above.

[3] The sending-on of an adventurer from one person to another is common enough in folk-tales. So is the existence of a succession of brothers, commonly three, each of whom must be visited. So also is the succession *old*, *older*, *oldest* (typically, however, of son, father, and grandfather). But these facts do not make against the identity here suggested.

These three names in *Gor-* are certainly not Irish. One of them, however, is immediately recognizable as a well-established Welsh-Breton name. In Welsh we have in charters: "*Guruol* sacerdos filius Merchion" (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 162[1]), "*Guorguol* filius Clemuis" (id., p. 164), *Gurguol* (p. 166), and *Gurgal* (p. 167). In Breton, *Uuruual* and *Uurgual* occur in ninth-century charters (Redon Cartulary).[2] This *uur-* later becomes *gur-*,[3] so that *Gurgual* would be a perfectly good Breton form. In the first syllable of this Welsh-Breton name, we have doubtless the stem *vero-* (Latin *vir*, Goth. *wair*, A.S. *wer*), "man" (modern Welsh *gwr*).[4] The second part of the compound (*-uual*, *-gual*) is very uncertain. It is common in Old Breton names.[5] Rhŷs has suggested that it is cognate with the Germanic *wolf*.[6] He equates the Welsh *Catgual* with *Hathowulf*,[7] the Welsh *Tutgual* (*Tudwal*) with *Theudulf*,[8] and the Welsh

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[1] Ed. Evans and Rhŷs. The *Book of Llan Dâv* is in various hands, but the portion that here concerns us is the oldest part of the manuscript and dates from c. 1150. The charters, however, are copies of much older originals.

[2] Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne*, I, 171, 180, cf. 207. The name occurs as follows in De Courson's edition of the Cartulary: *Uuruual*, pp. 168 (no. 218), 171 (no. 221, misprinted *Uruual*), 173 (no. 224); *Uurgual*, p. 78 (no. 104).

[3] See Loth, *Chrestomathie*, I, 210–211.

[4] Modern Breton *gour;* Cornish *gor*, *gour;* Irish *fer*. Confusion with the Celtic prefix *ver-* (Breton *uuor-*, *uur-*, *gur-*; Welsh *gor-*; Irish *for-*) has occurred in some names (Loth, I, 178, note 3).

[5] De Courson, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon*, indexes; Loth, I, 171, 207. Note the Latin genitives CVNOVALI, CLOTUALI (cf. Breton *Conuual*, *Clutuual*, Loth, I, 171) in inscriptions found in Cornwall (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th Ser., XII, 55).

[6] *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 2d ed., 1879, pp. 379, 406. Loth (*Chrestomathie*, I, 171, note 2) speaks respectfully of Rhŷs's theory, but in *Revue Celtique*, XV. 224, suggests an etymology of his own. He regards Breton *-uualart*, Welsh *-waladr* (in *Cat-uualart*, *Cat-waladr*, etc.) as cognate with Old Norse *Val-faðir*, a name of Odin, and as coming from a form **valŭ-(þ)atir*. This would make *-uual* cognate with the Germanic **walu-* (O.H.G. *wal*, seen in Ger. *wahlstatt;* A.S. *wæl;* O.N. *valr*, *val-kyrja*). Stokes (Bezzenberger's *Beitr.*, XXIII, 41) mentions Loth's equation of *-uualart* and *Valfaðir*, but without committing himself. It is impossible, however, to attach any weight to Loth's etymology. It is altogether improbable that the Scandinavian *Valfaðir* is old enough to be cognate with the Celtic *-waladr*, and there are other difficulties.

[7] Förstemann, 2d ed., col. 799.

[8] Id., col. 1453.

Gurguol with *Waraulf*.[1] These correspondences[2] make out a strong case, in the lack of any other satisfactory explanation. If Rhŷs's etymology of *uual* (*gual*) is correct, the name *Gorgol* in our Latin text not only means "werewolf" but is etymologically identical with that word.[3] If it is not correct, we are face to face with an amazing coincidence: more than twenty years ago, on linguistic grounds alone, Professor Rhŷs equated *Gurgual* with *werewolf*, and now the name turns up as that of an actual werewolf (or his brother) in the Latin text which we are studying.[4]

Let us turn to *Gorlagon*.[5] This word occurs also in the prose *Perceval*, in the forms *Gorgalan*, *Gurgalain*, etc.,[6] as the name of a heathen king of "Albanie." Its etymology is not beyond conjecture.

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[1] Id., col. 1537.

[2] Rhŷs also equates the Welsh *Budgual* [Breton *Butgual*] with *Botolf*, but this is an error. *Botolf*, *Badulf* (Förstemann, col. 230) are from O.H.G. *badu-*, A.S. *beadu*, "battle," which is not cognate with Breton *but-*, *bud-*, Irish *buaid*, "victory." On *Butgual*, cf. Zimmer, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sprache*, XIII, 51. In sense, however, *Butuual* (*-gual*) may be compared with A.S. *Sigewulf*.

[3] On *werewolf* as "man-wolf," see the decisive remarks of Mogk and Napier (Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, XXI, 575–576; XXIII, 571 ff.) in reply to Kögel (Paul's *Grundriss*, 1st ed., I, 1017, note).

[4] No one, it is to be hoped, will maintain that *Gorgol* is a corruption of *Garulf*, which Marie gives as the Norman equivalent of *bisclavret* ("*Garulf* [var. *garwal*] l'apelent li Normun"). This would doubtless be maintained by any one who wished to derive G from Marie's lay. Such a theorist, however, would have to account not only for G, but for M and I; for it has been proved, beyond cavil, that G and I have a common source (y) and that y and M have a common source (x). In other words, the theorist in question would have to derive x from B. This hypothesis would encounter many difficulties, already pointed out in the course of the argument, and finally, it would force its upholder to explain why *Gorgol* occurs (or something that may certainly be identified with it) as the name of certain actual Welshmen in the twelfth century and of actual Bretons in the eighth and ninth. To be sure, *Gorgol* shows some similarity to *Garulf*, but that is not strange if Rhŷs's theory of the Welsh name *Gurguol* as = *werewolf* is correct, for *garulf* is the Germanic *wariwulf*.

[5] The MS. has both *Gorlagon* and *Gorlogan*, and *Gorlogam* occurs once (c. 23).

[6] *Gurgalanz* (Potvin, p. 65), *Gurgalain* (p. 72), *Gorgalan* (pp. 73, 74), *Gorgaranz* (p. 74). The episode is curious. Gorgalan has the sword with which John the Baptist was beheaded. Many have sought to win it of him, but nobody has ever returned. Gawain essays the quest at a favorable moment, when Gorgalan's

Side by side with Breton *-uual* (*-gual*), which does not occur out of composition, we have the form *Uuallon*, which is found a good many times in the Redon Cartulary both as a proper name by itself[1] and as the second part of compound proper names. It corresponds exactly to the Welsh *-guallaun*. We may cite the following pairs[2]:

Breton		Welsh	
. . . . .	Cat-uuallon	Cat-gual	Cat-guallaun
Drid-uual	Drid-uallon		
Dum-uual	Dum-uallon	Dum-gual	Dun-guallaun
Iarn-uual	Iarn-uallon		
Iud-uual	Iud-uallon	Iud-gual[3]	Iud-guallaun
Iun-uual	Iun-uallon		
Tut-uual	Tut-uallon	Tuta-gual (Tut-wal)	. . . . .

Clearly *uuallon* (Welsh *-guallaun*) is a derivative of *-uual* (Welsh *-gual*), probably with the adjective suffix *-lon* (Welsh *-laun*),[4] or, at all events, *uuallon* was early associated with *-uual* in the Welsh-Breton etymological consciousness, and names in *-uallon* (*-guallaun*) were

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son has been carried off by a giant. Gawain recovers the son's body, which is then cooked by the king and eaten by his men. The grateful heathen gives Gawain the sword and receives baptism. Evidently something pretty savage has been imperfectly toned down. I do not know of the name elsewhere in French. *Gorgalians* (nom.), the name of a brother of Julien li Gros (prose *Perceval*, ed. Potvin, p. 3) is perhaps a different word. *Gargeolain* is the name of Ruvalen's *amie* in an intensely Celtic episode in the prose *Tristan* of *MS. Bibl. Nat. fr.* 103. But this is still another name. Eilhart, who draws from the same source (Béroul) as MS. 103, calls the lady *Gariôle*. See Bédier's edition of a long passage from the manuscript, *Romania*, XV, 496 ff. (especially p. 484). I cannot refrain from comparing Tristan's sport with the rushes in this episode with Cuchulinn's needle-feat in the *Fled Bricrend*, 65 (Windisch, I, 286–287; Henderson, p. 82).

[1] See De Courson's index, and cf. Loth, *Chrestomathie*, I, 171–172, 207–208. There is also a name *Uuallonic*.

[2] The Breton forms are from the Redon Cartulary (see De Courson's index, and cf. Loth, I, 171–172); the Welsh forms are from the genealogies in MS. Harl. 3859 (end of 11th or beginning of 12th century), thought to have been collected in the 10th century, ed. Phillimore, *Cymmrodor*, IX, 169 ff. (see Anscombe's index, *Archiv f. Celtische Lexicographie*, I, 187 ff.), or from charters in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Evans and Rhŷs.

[3] Cf. Loth, *Revue Celtique*, XI, 145.

[4] See, however, Glück, *Die bei Caesar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen*, pp. 49, 164–5, 178 ff.; cf. Kossina, *Idg. Forsch.*, II, 181.

freely formed from those in *-ual* (*-gual*). Nothing hinders us, therefore, from adding to the pairs already cited:

BRETON: — Uur-uual, Uur-gual:	* Uur-uallon.
WELSH: — Gurgal, Guorguol, Guruol, Gurguol:	* Gur-guallaun.

Thus the *Gorlagon* (*Gorlogan*) of our version G appears to be an easy metathesis for **Gorgolan*, corresponding to the *Gorgalan* of the prose *Perceval* and to a lost Welsh **Gurguallaun*. And if *Gorgol* means "werewolf," *Gorlagon* (**Gorgolan*) means practically the same thing.

The other name *Gorbeil*, *Gorleil*, or *Gorliel* has so uncertain a form that it is idle to dogmatize about it. The second syllable, *-beil*, is conceivably a corruption of Welsh *Beli* (Breton *Bili*, *-bili*, *-uuili*), in which case *Gorbeil* may be compared with the Breton name *Uuoruuili* (*Guor-uili*, *Uur-uili*).[1] Another possibility is that we have in the second syllable (*-beil?*) a corruption of the Welsh *bela* (*bala*), "wolf," "wolf's cub."[2] This would give us "werewolf" as the meaning of *Gorbeil* as well as of *Gorgol* and *Gorlagon*, and the condition of things would agree exactly with our inference (made on other grounds than those of etymology) that the "three brothers" of G were originally three separate manifestations of one and the same person. But *Gorbeil* is a rather dubious reading to operate with, and the case is good enough without it.

Whether the etymologies suggested for *Gorgol*, *Gorbeil* (?), and *Gorlagon* are right or wrong, the names are unquestionably not Irish, and therefore cannot have stood in y. They are either Welsh or Armorican. Between these two languages it is impossible to decide on the basis of the forms preserved in the Latin G. G is certainly rendered from a prose text, either Welsh or Breton, which was similar in style and general character to the "Four Branches" of the Welsh

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[1] For these names, see De Courson's indexes; Loth, I, 110, 178 (cf. 191, note 2); index to *Book of Llan Dâv; Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhŷs and Evans, II, index.

[2] So defined by Silvan Evans, *Dictionary*, following Owen Pughe. The word is rare, however, and its meaning doubtful. Professor Robinson refers me to Loth's discussion of *bala* (*Archiv f. kelt. Lexicographie*, I, 457–458), where "fox" is suggested.

Mabinogi. No such texts are preserved in Armorican. The passage from the Irish **y** to Wales would be a shorter journey than the passage from **y** to Brittany; indeed, the latter itinerary would involve, in all likelihood, an actual transit through Wales. It is, then, much easier and more natural to regard the immediate original of the Latin **G** as a Welsh than as an Armorican version of the Irish **y**; and accordingly I have adopted that hypothesis. It accords with the well-known influence of Irish literature upon that of Wales.

The Welsh hypothesis may perhaps be strengthened by certain special considerations. The rationalization of **G** in one significant particular has already been mentioned and accounted for. In **x** the wife was certainly a *fée* and she was not punished for abandoning her mortal husband. These features were not abandoned by **y**, as is shown by their preservation in **I**. In **G**, however, the insertion of an Oriental tale, *The Dog and the Lady*, has necessitated a complete change in the lady's nature, — she is no longer a *fée*, but a mere woman, conceived after the cynical manner of the East. The insertion of this tale and the consequent rationalization of the story may be ascribed to the Latin translator, who was doubtless a clerk,[1] and therefore likely to be familiar with such material; *The Dog and the Lady*, we should remember, was afterwards made a part of the *Gesta Romanorum*,[2] a monkish collection of *exempla* for the use of preachers. In the Welsh text, then, of which **G** is a translation, the Other-World character of the lady was probably preserved. With this in view, it is pleasant to find in the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll Prince of Dyvet* a tale which resembles, in general outline, as well as in some particular features, the fairy mistress story of **x** and **y**. Rhiannon, Pwyll's wife, is certainly a *fée*, and his first interview with her is similar to Melion's with the (fairy) Princess of Ireland and Eochaid's with Etain of the *síde*. Pwyll sees Rhiannon as the result of sitting on a marvellous mound (or seat).[3] He asks whence she comes, and why, and who she is. She replies that she has come to seek him, mentions her parentage, and adds: "Je n'ai voulu d'aucun homme, et cela par amour

[1] Note his quotation from *Catonis Disticha* in chap. 14 (see p. 157, above).

[2] See p. 247, below.

[3] Lady Guest, *Mabinogion*, III, 46; Loth, I, 38 ff.

pour toi, et je ne voudrai jamais de personne, à moins que tu ne me repousses." This is remarkably like the *Tochmarc Etaine* and the *Lai de Melion*. We may also compare Pwyll's reply with that of Eochaid: "If I had my choice of all the women and maidens in the world," says Pwyll, "it is thou that I should choose."[1]

Nor does the parallel end here. Pwyll is subsequently deprived of Rhiannon by Gwawl, an old suitor of hers, but follows her to Gwawl's abode and wins her back. All these correspondences between the *mabinogi* on the one hand and **M** and the *Tochmarc Etaine* on the other, point to such a resemblance between native Welsh fairy-literature and the Irish story of which **y** was a version as would have made the naturalization of **y** in Wales (according to our hypothesis) the simplest thing imaginable. Add to all this the fact that the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll* likewise contains the incident of the *Hand and the Child* (which, as we have seen,[2] stood in **y**, though not in **x**) and the hypothesis that favors a Welsh (rather than an Armorican) translation of **y** as the immediate source of the Latin **G** must be admitted as extremely probable.[3]

Finally, the resemblance between extant Welsh literature and the story that we are investigating extends even to some of the werewolf elements.

In the fourth branch of the *Mabinogi* (*Math, Son of Mathonwy*), Math strikes with his enchanted ring his nephews Gwydyon and Gilvaethwy, sons of Don, and transforms them successively into a doe

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[1] Lady Guest, III, 51; Loth, I, 44. With the year's postponement in *Pwyll*, cf. *Tochmarc Emire, Arch. Rev.*, I, 304; Haupt's *Ztsch.*, XXXII, 240–241; Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 82.

[2] See p. 168; cf. pp. 222 ff.

[3] It might even be contended that the elements in *Pwyll* which we have been comparing with **x** and **y** are borrowings from Irish (perhaps from **y** itself). This, however, is not my opinion (except, perhaps, with reference to the *Hand and the Child*). For our immediate purpose, the point is of no moment. The presence in Welsh literature of these close parallels to the remoter original of **G** must certainly give us confidence in choosing between Wales and Armorica as the country in which the immediate original of **G** was written, — it being remembered that the proper names in **G** (which cannot have stood in the Irish **y**) point *either* to Brittany or to Wales. On the resemblance between the story of Rhiannon and the *Tochmarc Etaine*, cf. Anwyl, *Ztsch. f. celt. Phil.*, I, 288–289.

and a deer, a boar and a sow, a pair of wolves.[1] Each transformation is accompanied by a speech, in terms practically identical, and always including the provision that they shall have the instincts of the animals in question: "Vous aurez les instincts des animaux dont vous avez la forme"; "Vous aurez les mêmes instincts que les porcs des bois"; "Ayez les instincts des animaux dont vous avez la forme." Compare the formula in *Arthur and Gorlagon:* "Sis lupus et habeas sensum lupi" (c. 6). Math restores his nephews to human form with a stroke of the same magic ring.[2]

In view of what has been said, the fact that G is a translation or adaptation from the Welsh can hardly be denied. The lost Welsh document, if we had it, would prove to be very similar to some of the tales in the extant *mabinogion.* It may almost be described as a lost "branch" of that collection, though actually it was a translation or adaptation from the Irish, like some things in the extant *mabinogion*

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[1] Loth, *Mabinogion*, I, 132 ff. On the remark "vous avez eu la grande honte d'avoir des enfants l'un de l'autre" (I, 134), cf. *Lokasenna*, sts. 23, 33; *Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*, sts. 38, 39 (Bugge); *Hyndluljóð*, st. 40 (Bugge); *Gylfaginning*, c. 42. Observe that the hero consorts with a she-wolf in G and that the pair, and their two whelps, correspond to the band of wolves in M and in some versions of I (see p. 180). Probably G here preserves an old incident which has been softened or suppressed in all other versions. Doubtless it stood not only in y and x but in the Irish *Werewolf's Tale* proper (O), the source of B. In B, however, there is no mention of a band of wolves. This may be taken as further testimony that x is not derived from B, if more evidence is needed.

Paris has subjected the ignominious punishment inflicted on the enchanter Éliavrès by the elder Caradoc to a learned and ingenious examination, with happy results (*Rom.*, XXVIII, 217, note). He has overlooked, however, the excessively curious episode in the *mabinogi* of *Math Son of Mathonwy*, which furnishes a striking parallel. In the *mabinogi*, as in the *Perceval*, the initial offence is an intrigue with the prince's favorite or wife. All this may go to support the present text of the *Livre de Caradoc* and to vacate Paris's conjecture that the incident has been transferred from an earlier portion of the poem and shifted from Caradoc Senior to Éliavrès. At all events, though no one would think of deriving the incident in *Math* from that in the *Perceval*, or *vice versa*, the parallel certainly aids in establishing not only a Celtic but a specifically Welsh source as that from which the adventures of Caradoc (or some of them) made their way into French, and so confirms the arguments of Lot (*Rom.*, XXVIII, 578); see also Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, II, 689–690, 694 (note to pp. 579–580).

[2] There is also a werewolf incident in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (Loth, I, 266).

themselves.[1] Whether the Arthurian elements were added by the Welsh redactor or by the author of the Latin **G** cannot be determined, — very likely by the latter.

The date at which the Welsh version was made cannot be fixed. If *Gorgol* means "werewolf," however, the Welsh version must have arisen before the etymological signification of the term had lapsed from the Welsh consciousness, since the name was the insertion of the Welsh redactor. We do not know how early this sense was lost, but, on the other hand, nothing prevents our putting the Welsh version pretty far back. The Latin text itself is preserved in a manuscript of about the age of the *Red Book of Hergest.*

V. THE FRAME-STORY IN VERSION **y**.

The most striking distinction between **x** and **y** is, as we have seen, the fact that in **y** *The Werewolf's Tale*, which stands by itself in **x** (see **M** and cf. **B**), is told by the Werewolf, under compulsion, to a quester who is in duty bound to learn it. This method of introducing a story is not unexampled. It is familiar to all readers of Irish *märchen.* Nor are instances wanting in which a tale occurs both without such an introduction (like **B** and **x**) and with it (like **y**). An excellent example is the favorite Irish story called *The Fairy Palace of the Quicken Trees.* This is found without the frame in no less than fourteen versions.[2] In five

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[1] See p. 245, below.

[2] (1) J. F. Campbell, *Revue Celtique*, I, 193 ff.; (2) MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 56 ff.; (3) MS. of 1600 in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, cited by MacDougall, p. 270; (4) Dunstaffnage MS. of 1603, in the same, cited *ibid.*, p. 271, printed by J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*, pp. 86 ff., and imperfectly summarized by the same, *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, II, 187, and fully by MacDougall, pp. 271 ff.; (5) J. F. Campbell, *Pop. Tales*, II, 168 ff.; (6) another MS. in the Advocates' Library, cited by MacDougall, p. 271; (7) Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 177 ff., from three Irish MSS., of 1733, 1766, 1841 (p. xiv); (8) Curtin, *Hero-Tales*, pp. 407 ff.; (9) J. G. Campbell, *The Fians*, pp. 233 ff.; (10) the same, p. 74 (summarized); (11) Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore*, pp. 221 ff.; (12) the same, pp. 281 ff.; (13) the same, pp. 292 ff.; (14) Kennedy, *Bardic Stories of Ireland*, pp. 116 ff. Cf. also *The Chase of Slieve Fuad*, Joyce, pp. 362 ff. (and the poem published by O'Daly, *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, VI, 20 ff.).

versions,[1] however, it has precisely the kind of introduction that we are investigating: a quester is compelled to discover "what has kept the King of Erin cheerless and laughterless for the last seven years" (or the like); the king objects to telling his story, since it involves the disclosure of a disagreeable and humiliating experience, but he yields to *force majeure.*

The pressure exerted to elicit the story may be physical, or consist in threats of death or violence. On the other hand, it may assume a finer form (as in G).[2] King Arthur comes upon Gorlagon at table, but refuses to dismount and join in the feast until he gets the story.[3] Gorlagon pauses several times in his narrative to repeat his invitation: "Arture, descende et comede," but to no purpose; he is forced to continue. The compulsion is involved in the disgrace that befalls a host whose hospitality is rejected.[4] It is a kind of ceremonial interdict: he must not go on with the banquet till his guest is content to share it. A striking instance of this method of moral suasion may be seen in one of Larminie's West Irish tales[5]: A great feast has been prepared for Finn by Pampogue, but he declares that "he will not eat a bit until Pampogue grants him a request." Pampogue replies that she "will grant any request except to let her husband go to fight with the Blauheen Bloyë," — an expedition which she is sure will be his death. "Unless you grant me that," says Finn, "I will not eat any food." "Sooner than you should be without eating, I

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[1] (15) MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 72–73; (16) Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore*, pp. 121 ff.; (17) the same, pp. 256 ff.; (18) the same, pp. 428 ff.; (19) the same, *Hero-Tales*, pp. 477 ff.

[2] For other instances of extorted stories, see Larminie, pp. 45, 151, 171.

[3] For the heroic lengths to which a king might be expected to go when his hospitality was impugned, see *The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel*, cap. 63, ed. by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 60, 61.

[4] The mounted messenger (or the like) riding into the hall and refusing to get off his horse till his boon is granted is a familiar figure in Arthurian romance. We should also remember King Arthur's habit of refusing to eat, on a high day, until some adventure had happened (Child, *Ballads*, I, 257, note ‡; III, 51, and note §). There is a striking Irish parallel in the shorter *Fled Bricrend* (from the *Yellow Book of Lecan*), Windisch, *Irische Texte*, II, i, 174, 188: "It is not fitting to consume this feast of mine without a brave deed of the Ulstermen in return for it."

[5] *West Irish Folk-Tales*, pp. 76–77.

will grant even that," replies Pampogue. A stronger instance, or one more thoroughly Celtic, could hardly be required.[1]

We may safely infer that in **y** the compulsion exerted to get the story from the Werewolf consisted in refusing his hospitality (as in **G**).[2] This accords with the quester's vow not to eat (in **G**) — and with the requirement (in **I**) that he shall not eat twice at the same table — until he has learned what he wishes to know.

King Arthur's adventures on his way to the abode of Gorlagon have already been described: he visits successively Gorlagon's younger brothers, Gorgol and Gorbeil (?), and is cajoled by them both. We have seen reason to believe that Gorgol, Gorbeil, and Gorlagon are really one and the same person, — the Werewolf, who, to avoid telling his story, attempts to delude Arthur by meeting him at three different times and under three different names, — a device common in Irish legend (p. 201). In these preliminary adventures, **G** probably follows the plot of **y**,[3] though the actual names of the masquerading Werewolf must first have made their appearance in the Welsh (p. 205). The similarity of the names may indicate that the Welsh redactor, who is responsible for them, understood the identity of the three "brothers"; and if all three of the names (or even two of them) mean "werewolf,"

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[1] A very curious instance of moral pressure is in *Coise Céin* (*Kian's Leg*), MacInnes, pp. 235 ff. Here the hero refuses to allow his broken thigh to be treated until he has elicited story after story from the would-be healer. "Stretch forth your leg, Kian, that I may apply to it leaves of herbs and healing. Pressure and business are upon me; and I am under the necessity of going to the big church of Rome to-morrow to listen to joy." "I will not stretch forth my leg . . . until you tell me why . . . ." And so on, time and time again, in this extraordinary conglomerate of stories. See J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 132.

[2] In **I** the quester first steals the sword of light and then threatens to kill the Werewolf with it unless he shall tell the story. The sword of light (as we shall see presently) was not in **y**. **I**, then, has certainly departed from **y** in its account of the means which the quester adopts to make the Werewolf answer his question. In **J** the Werewolf gives up the sword and tells the story readily enough when the quester has passed two dragon guards.

[3] **I** here leaves us in the lurch. It has taken in an independent tale, *The Sword of Light* (see pp. 213 ff.), and the combination obscures the original course of the narrative. Yet even **I** affords a trace of the situation in **y**: in **KJ**, the Werewolf is the brother of the quester's father-in-law and of the challenger.

there can be no doubt that he comprehended the situation perfectly. The Latin translator, however, failed to grasp the device. He took the three "brothers" for three distinct characters, and accordingly equated Gorgol with the king who befriended the Werewolf[1] and effected his restoration to human form.

In both G and I the faithless wife is present while the tale is told. Much is made of her presence in I, and it was doubtless a feature of y.[2]

The occasion of the quest for "the cause of the one story" in y must remain a matter of conjecture. In I the adventurer is required to learn the story as the penalty for losing a game to a supernatural challenger. This is an excellent Irish incident, but the evidence of I is worthless here, since the gambling incident is borrowed from a distinct tale which I combines with y to make the frame-story.[3] In G we find an exceedingly lively and picturesque introduction:

Arthur is holding his Pentecostal feast at Caerleon. After dinner, in the joy of his heart, he throws his arms about his wife, as she sits by his side, and kisses her in the presence of the assembled court. Scandalized at such a breach of decorum, the queen blushes furiously and asks the reason for his undignified behavior. "Quod nichil mihi in diuiciis gratius," "nil in deliciis te constat suavius," is the amatorious response. "If you love me so much," rejoins the queen, "you must believe yourself well acquainted with my mind and will." Says Arthur, "Your mind, I am confident, is well-disposed towards me, and I am sure I understand your will." "You are mistaken!" she replies, "You have never known a woman's nature (*ingenium*) or her mind." "Omnia celi obtestor numina," cries the angry king, "if I have hitherto been ignorant of these matters, I will never taste food till I discover them!" And he sets out, with Kay his steward (*Caius*) and Gawain (*Walwainus*) his nephew, to visit King Gorgol and learn the secret.

This reminds one of the introductory incident in the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*,[4] but it would be overhasty to infer that it is borrowed

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[1] Cap. 23, p. 162. [2] See p. 220. [3] See pp. 214 ff.

[4] The *Pèlerinage* is here (as elsewhere) closely parallelled by the fragmentary English ballad of *King Arthur and King Cornwall* (Child, no. 30, I, 274 ff.). Child at first regarded the ballad as "an imitation or a traditional variation" of the French *chanson* (I, 274), but was induced to change his mind and to refer the

from that poem. In the first place, we are not to suppose that the feature in question first came into existence when the *Pèlerinage* was composed. It is rather an incident which the author of the poem knew independently of the story of the *Pèlerinage* and which he utilized (with superb effect) to motivate Charlemagne's journey.[1] And, in the second place, there is considerable difference between the incident in the *Pèlerinage* and that in *Arthur and Gorlagon.* The two incidents simply belong to the same general type of popular legend.

VI. PECULIARITIES OF THE IRISH VERSION (I).

We have seen that the Irish *märchen* (I) is distinguished from all other versions in three ways: (1) the husband passes through a succession of metamorphoses[2]; (2) the frame-story is complicated by a quest for the Sword of Light, and (3) the incident of the *Defence of the Child* is expanded in a manner quite out of proportion to the modest place which it occupied in **y**. The first of these peculiarities needs no discussion; it is an easy and natural elaboration of the single transformation which stood in **y**. The other two special features of **I**, however, require particular study.

VII. THE QUEST FOR THE SWORD OF LIGHT.

In **y**, as we have seen, *The Werewolf's Tale* of **x** was inserted in a frame-story: a quester is required to learn the "cause of the one

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two to a common source by the arguments of Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 110–111 (see *Ballads*, III, 503). More recently, Dr. W. D. Briggs has argued strongly in favor of Professor Child's first opinion (*Journ. of Germanic Philology*, III, 342 ff.). For parallel stories see Paris, *Romania*, IX, 8 ff., and *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 94; Child, I, 279, 282–283. In the unpublished French *Rigomer* and in Heinrich von dem Türlîn's *Crône* (vv. 3313 ff.), there is a somewhat similar scene attached to the Arthurian cycle. Dr. K. G. T. Webster, who is investigating the history of Guinevere, has subjected *Arthur and Cornwall* to a searching examination and finds new grounds for referring it and the *Pèlerinage* to a common source; but I must not anticipate his results.

[1] Paris (*Rom.*, IX, 8) has pointed out that the *Pèlerinage* combines two stories, originally distinct,—(1) the king who visits his rival, and (2) the pilgrimage proper.

[2] So in **KJLHO'FC$_1$C$_2$**, but not in **S**.

story about women," or he puts himself under bonds to learn it. In **I** this frame-story is complicated by an additional quest, — the adventurer must secure the Sword of Light. This weapon turns out to be in the possession of the same person who knows the story. The quester secures the sword first, and uses it as a means of compelling the Werewolf to tell the tale.

Fortunately, *The Quest for the Sword of Light* occurs,[1] in a form almost identical with that in **I**, but quite out of connection with *The Werewolf's Tale*, in a Scottish Gaelic *märchen*. Two versions of this *märchen* have been printed, both in Gaelic and in English: J. F. Campbell's *Young King of Easaidh Ruadh* (**c**)[2] and MacInnes's *Herding of Cruachan* (**m**).[3]

The hero plays (shinty **m**; a game not specified **c**) with a wizard-champion (*gruagach*). He wins the first game and takes as his prize a "little untidy, swarthy woman cleaning the byre" ("cropped rough-skinned girl behind the door" **c**: in **c**, but not in **m**, she becomes beautiful when she reaches his house). The second time he wins and takes a "dun shaggy filly." The third day he goes to play (against his new wife's advice, who has informed him that his opponent is her father **c**) and loses. The wizard-champion requires him to get "the white sword of light that the King of Sorcha has" ("the Glaive of light of the King of the Oak Windows" **c**).[4]

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[1] Sword-quests occur everywhere, and the Sword of Light is a familiar weapon in fairy-tales. We are here concerned, however, with a particular form of this quest. Still, it may be worth while to compare Larminie, pp. 206 ff.

[2] *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, no. 1, I, 1 ff. In another version still, summarized by J. F. Campbell, I, 18 ff., the *Quest of the Sword* is wanting, probably from a lapse of memory. It is barely possible, however, that we have in this version the tale as it existed before the Quest of the Sword was compounded with it. The recovery of a stolen wife from a giant whose soul is out of his body, and the capture of the soul by the aid of animals, form a well-known incident in folk-literature. See, for example, Nutt's note to MacInnes, pp. 455 ff., and Köhler's remarks in *Orient and Occident*, II, 101–102.

[3] *Folk and Hero Tales*, no. 4, pp. 94 ff. Curtin's *Son of the King of Erin and the Giant of Loch Léin*, *Myths and Folk-Lore*, pp. 32 ff., begins as if it belonged to this set, but goes on later with a different type of story (MacInnes's no. 1, pp. 2 ff.; see Nutt's note p. 431).

[4] "Claidheamh soluis righ nan uinneagan daraich" (Campbell, p. 13); "Claidheamh geal soluis a th' aig rlgh na Sorcha" (MacInnes, p. 102).

From this point the order of events differs in **c** and **m**, though the incidents themselves are the same to all intents and purposes. I follow **c** first, returning to **m** later.

His wife consoles him, and he sets out on the filly, who, the lady tells him, will give him all necessary instruction. The filly carries him to the castle of the King of the Oak Windows and tells him what to do. The king is at dinner, and the sword is in his chamber. The hero steals the sword, which gives a sort of *sgread* as it comes out of the sheath. There is a great pursuit, but all fall behind except the King of the Oak Windows, mounted on the brother of the filly, who is swifter even than she. As the pursuer is passing, the hero, acting under his filly's instructions, strikes off his head with the sword. He then mounts the swifter horse, the filly follows, and they reach home in safety.

His wife receives him gladly and tells him what to do when he meets the *gruagach* on the morrow. The *gruagach* is the brother of the King of the Oak Windows. He will ask the hero how he got the sword. The latter must answer: "If it were not the knob that was on its end, I had not got it." When the *gruagach* "gives himself a lift" to look at the alleged knob, the hero will see a mole on the right side of his neck, and he must then stab the *gruagach* in the mole. The hero does as he is told, and the *gruagach* falls dead.

When the hero returns home after this encounter, he finds that his wife and the two horses have been carried off by a giant. He sets out in pursuit, and falls in successively with a dog, a hawk, and an otter, who direct him on his way.[1] At last he finds his wife and the horses in a chasm [which is the giant's den]. The woman hides her husband and cajoles the giant when he returns and smells human flesh. She induces the giant to tell her where his soul resides [for it appears that he is one of those monsters, familiar in folk-lore, who have no soul in their body].[2] There is a flagstone under the threshold; under the stone is a wether; there is a duck in the wether's belly, and an egg in the belly of the duck; in the egg is the giant's soul. The hero and his wife remove the stone. They catch the animals and get the egg, by the help of the dog, the hawk, and the otter. The lady crushes the egg, and the giant, who is on his way home, falls dead. Then the couple return to their own country, taking with them much of the giant's gold and silver.

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[1] I have condensed the tale very much at this point.

[2] Here, too, I have condensed. It takes three days to carry out the lady's plot. The details follow a well-known type of *märchen* (see p. 214, note 2).

MacInnes's *Herding of Cruachan* (**m**), as I have already observed, has the adventures in a different order:

When the hero returns after his third game with the wizard-champion, he finds that "the big giant, King of Sorcha," has stolen his wife and the filly. Consequently the quest for the Sword of Light and the search for the stolen wife are included in a single journey. The hero is assisted by animals (as in Campbell): four, however, instead of three, — a hawk, a duck, a fox, and an otter, each of whom inhabits a little house. The concealment of the giant's soul is more elaborate than in **c**, and all four of the helpful animals, as well as one of the giant's horses (which seems to correspond to the swifter of the two steeds in **c**), are needed to get it. When the giant is dead, the hero and his wife return home, taking with them "all the gold and silver that the giant had, his white sword of light, the big dappled horse, and the shaggy dun filly."

On their reaching home, the hero's wife tells him how to outwit the wizard-champion. He is to give him the sword. The champion will then boast of the weapon, and the hero is to reply that it has a flaw. The wizard-champion will say, "Show me the flaw." The hero is then to take the sword and cut off the champion's head, with the remark "This is the flaw that it has." The programme is duly carried out. Thus the outwitting of the champion comes at the end of the tale in **m** and not (as in **c**) in the middle.

This story, whether in Campbell's version or in MacInnes's, manifestly consists of two independent tales, more or less skilfully welded together: (1) *The Quest for the Sword of Light*, and (2) *The Abduction of the Wife*, and her rescue, with the death of the giant. It is the first of these that furnished **I** with the frame in which *The Werewolf's Tale* is set.[1]

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[1] Whether the author of **I** (that is, the person who inserted in **y** *The Quest of the Sword of Light*) knew *The Quest* in combination with the *Abduction of the Wife* (substantially as in Campbell and MacInnes) is not to be determined. Probably he did not; at all events, he did not utilize the *Abduction*. One version of **I** (O'Foharta's) shows practically the whole of the combined *märchen* (*Quest of the Sword* plus *Abduction of Wife*). **O'F**, indeed, affords a version of this tale which is in some respects better preserved than either Campbell's *Young King* or MacInnes's *Herding of Cruachan*, for it motivates the gratitude of the beasts. It also shows a trace of an incident found elsewhere in MacInnes (p. 111) only, — the dancing of the helpful animals (p. 488). It is clear, however, that **O'F** departs from

The manner in which *The Quest for the Sword of Light* has been utilized to complicate the frame-story of *The Werewolf's Tale* in **I** is rather ingenious. The introductory incident of the *Quest* is adopted in its entirety.

The hero [1] is thrice victorious in gaming with a mysterious stranger: he wins a beautiful wife, a magic horse, a castle, etc.[2] He loses the fourth game, and the stranger requires him, as a penalty, never to eat two meals

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I in thus including the *Abduction of the Wife*, for the inclusion disorders the story. We may infer that **O'F** was made up by some reciter who knew **I** (*The Werewolf's Tale* combined with the *Quest of the Sword*) and was also familiar with the double *märchen* represented by Campbell's *Young King* and MacInnes's *Herding* (*Quest of Sword* combined with *Abduction of Wife*), and who chose (or chanced) to increase the complexity of **I** by including the whole of the double *märchen*.

[1] In **L** the hero is called Morraha (cf. p. 254, note 1); in **O'F** he is Murrogh, son of Brian Boru; in C_1, he is "Art, the king's son"; in C_2, Arthur, a cotter's son; in **HS** he is son of the king of Ireland (but no name is given him); in **KJ** he also has no name but is described as a *sgológ* or "small farmer."

[2] The versions of **I** differ slightly. In **S** there are two winning games, the prizes being the woman who is riding behind the challenger, and the horse; the third game is lost. **S** agrees pretty closely here with Campbell's *Young King* and MacInnes's *Herding of Cruachan*, and may perhaps be more correct than the other versions of **I**; three games in all, two won and one lost, seem to accord with reason and symmetry. It is not impossible that this gambling adventure was in some form a part of **y**; it presents a striking parallel to the chess-play between Mider and Eochaid in the *Tochmarc Etaine*. See d'Arbois, *Cours*, II, 315 ff. In **L**, the hero wins sheep on the first day, cattle on the second, a castle and the fairest of women on the third; the horse he procures by shaking a magic bridle which belongs to his wife. **K** agrees substantially, but lacks the incident of the bridle; the horse comes with the woman. C_2 is much the same, but the horse is replaced by a hound. In **O'F** he wins riches, castle, and lady, all in one game, and loses the second game. In C_1 he wins "the finest woman on earth, with twelve attendant maidens and thirteen horses," in the first game and loses the second. In **H** he wins his wife by the first game (the magician takes him to his castle and gives him his choice of many beauties, but he takes a girl from the kitchen at her own suggestion; she becomes beautiful while they are riding home); cattle by the second (but he loses them by a trick); by the third, cattle *that remain;* his choice of horses by the fourth (he chooses a poor-looking mare); he loses the fifth game. In **J** he wins money by the first game, the fairest of women by the second, and loses the third; his wife procures the horse by means of a magic thread (cf. **L**). C_1, it should be noted, is the second adventure in a long composite.

off one table and never to sleep two nights in the same house[1] till he brings him the sword of light and "the knowledge of the cause of the one story about women."[2]

Version **y**, as we have already seen (p. 200), must have contained the requirement to bring "the cause of the one story"; to this is added, in **I**, the demand for the Sword of Light, and thus the

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[1] So **KLC$_2$O'F**, in almost identical words. In **O'F**, however, the requirement is laid upon the hero on another occasion (p. 216, note). In **H** the challenger uses a different formula. In **C$_1$** the formula is missing: the challenger says simply, "You are to bring me the sword of light and the story of the man who has it." For **S**, see note 2. Observe that **G** shows a trace of the formula that is found in **KLC$_2$O'F**: King Arthur swears a great oath "nunquam cibo fruar donec ea me nosse contingat." Some such formula must, therefore, have stood in **y**. We cannot tell how the requirement came to be laid upon the hero in **y** (see p. 212); perhaps **G**, with its undignified kissing in public, is a good representative of **y**.

[2] The words quoted are from **O'F** (*fios fáth an aon sgéil ar na mnáibh*), but **K** has almost the same thing (*fios fath an aon sceil*, i.e. "the knowledge of the cause of the one story"; mistranslated by Kennedy "perfect narrative of the unique story"). The similarity of **G**, in which King Arthur sets out to discover the "ingenium mensque feminae," is evidence enough that **O'F** is here close to **y**, except for the sword of light, which is peculiar to **I**. **L** and **S** both show a corruption. **L** has "till you bring me the sword of light and the news of the death of Anshgayliacht." This strange name (which Larminie, p. 252, interprets as *an sjgeeliaxt*, "the Story-Telling") obviously contains the Irish word *scél* ("story") preserved in **O'F** and **K**. In **H** the hero is to "bring the sword of light of the son of the King of the Speckled Peak and the story, who killed the Antichrist (*sgeula cia mharbh an t-An-Chrìosdaigh*)." *An-Chrìosdaigh* (like *Anshgayliacht* in **L**) is the name of the monster who has stolen the children. **H** is farther gone in corruption than **L**. **S** has "I lay as crosses and charms upon you that water leave not your shoe till you find out how the Great Tuairisgeul was put to death (*ciamar a chaidh an Tuairisgeul Mòr a chur gu bàs*)." *Tuairisgeul* (which J. G. Campbell glosses "description, report, calumny") is a compound of *sgeul* (the Scottish Gaelic form of Ir. *scél*, "story"). Thus **LHS** support **O'FK**. **LHS** form a group by themselves, since in them the title of the story is made into the name of a person and that person turns out to be the monster that stole the children. **LS** also agree in the shaking of the bridle, though the circumstances differ (see p. 217, note 2). For **C$_1$**, see note 1. **C$_2$** differs from all other versions in requiring the hero to find "the birth that has never been born, and that never will be." This comes from contamination with another story, — the tale of a champion who was, like Macduff, "not of woman born." **C$_2$** lacks the Sword of Light, as does **S** (but see p. 220, note 4). For the requirements in **J**, see p. 268.

independent *märchen* of the *Quest* for that weapon is incorporated in the frame-story of *The Werewolf's Tale.* I continues as follows:—

The hero fulfils his tasks by the aid of the horse which he has won with his (fairy) wife. This horse carries him (across the sea[1]) to his father-in-law,[2] who receives him well and tells him what to do. Three times he rides, on three different horses (furnished by his father-in-law), to the residence of the terrible enchanter[3] who has the sword and knows the story, summoning him to give up the one and tell him the other. He rides off as swiftly as possible after each summons, pursued by the enchanter. The first time, the enchanter cuts his horse in two; the second time, he cuts off his horse's hind-legs; the third, his blow is harmless.[4] The enchanter is now weary,

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[1] So in **KHJ**; through a loch **S**; through the sea (a road opening to King Under-the-Wave's realm) C_1; over three miles of fire, three miles of hill covered with steel thistles (or needles, Larminie, p. 253), and three miles of sea **L**. C_2 lacks the horse (see next note).

[2] The father-in-law is manifestly a prince of the Other World. In **L** he is called King of France (Greece **KJ**). In **H** he is King of Speckled Peak in the Eastern World. In C_1 he is King Under-the-Wave (a well-known Celtic character). In C_2 the hero goes to the "castle of the son of the King of Lochlin" and becomes his retainer. He performs great services for his master (which have nothing to do with our tale) and finally brings back the wife of the king's son from a giant who had abducted her. In return he asks the solution of his problem. The king's son then brings out the old King of Lochlin, who has long been in hiding, and asks him for the answer. The king twice refuses to tell, but yields at last to the persuasion of a hot griddle. His story is a version of our *Werewolf's Tale.*

[3] Rough Niall of the Speckled Rock **L**; the son of the King of the Speckled Peak **H**; Fiach O'Duda **K**; the Young Champion **J**. He turns out to be the Werewolf. In **KJ** he is one of three brothers, the other two being the hero's father-in-law and the person who sends the hero on the quest. In **HO'F** he is the brother of the hero's (fairy) wife. In C_1 he is Balor Beimenach and is a son-in-law of the hero's father-in-law, King Under-the-Wave. In C_2 (which has been much changed by contamination) he is the King of Lochlin, the father of the personage to whom the hero is sent; but C_2 has nothing of the Sword of Light. In **S** he is an "old grey man" who lives on the farther side of a loch; nothing is said of his relationship to the other characters. In **L**, Anshgayliacht (see p. 218, note 2) is the brother of the gamester (but this must be an error).

[4] So in **K**. In **L** the enchanter (1) cuts the horse in two, (2) cuts off half the horse and half the saddle, (3) cuts away the saddle from under him and the clothes from his back. The second stroke in **L** will not do; there should be a steady decrease in the damage done. But perhaps the third stroke in **L** is more nearly right than in **K**. In C_1 the first blow cuts the horse in two behind the saddle; the

having been on the watch for three days and three nights, and falls asleep.[1] The hero returns, creeps into the bedroom, and steals the sword. He then rouses the enchanter and demands the story. The enchanter at first refuses; but his wife persuades him to tell it to save his head.[2] She is present while the story is told.[3] When the story is finished, the hero returns to his own home with the sword.

The conclusion of *The Quest for the Sword of Light* is now utilized to bring **I** to a fitting end.

The hero takes the sword to the person who had sent him on his perilous journey, and tells him the tale.[4] He does not deliver up the

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second, just at the saddle; the third, with a piece of the saddle: that is, the blows increase in effectiveness. **O'F** agrees with **K** and **L** as to the first stroke; the second time the horse's tail is cut off (cf. **K**); the third time the hero finds the enchanter asleep and steals the sword. The owner follows him to the house of the hero's father-in-law. **H** resembles **O'F**, but there is no damage done to the hero's horse: the enchanter pursues him to the king's house on the first two nights, but on the third the sword is stolen. C_2 of course lacks the incident (see p. 219, note 2). In **J** dragons guard the castle and the occupant does nothing.

[1] So in **L** (but confused). In **K** the hero puts the enchanter to sleep with a magic harp, but **K** is very much elaborated at this point. In **H** the guards sleep only three nights every seven years; they are awakened on the first two nights by the shriek which the sword gives (cf. J. F. Campbell's *Young King*, p. 215, above), but on the third night the sword is in the hero's hand before it cries out. In **J** the guardian dragons are asleep on the third night.

[2] So in L_1. In **HKJ** the enchanter submits without parley. In **O'F** he requires the presence of his wife and imposes an extraordinary condition (for which cf. another story in Larminie, p. 74).

[3] The presence of the wife while the story is told is an important feature, for it is common to **I** and **G** (see p. 212). It occurs in **LJHO'F** (**LO'F** are extremely racy here), but not in **K**. It must once have stood in C_1, which should here be compared with **O'F**. In C_2 and **S** it is of course lacking, on account of other changes.

[4] What follows is given according to LC_1, in which the hero acts in accordance with the directions of the owner (the Werewolf). In **H** also the owner of the sword tells the hero what to do. The challenger will take the sword and will ask the hero if there is another so beautiful in the world; the hero is to assent conditionally: "It is beautiful, *but for* —." "What means your *but for?*" will be the reply; and the hero is to explain by taking the sword and cutting off the challenger's head; he is then to throw the sword into the air, as in **L**. In **K** the hero says "How shall I give you the sword?" and when the challenger replies "As you like," the hero cuts off his head with it (cf. J. F. Campbell's *Young King*

sword,[1] however, but quibbles as in Campbell's *Young King* and MacInnes's *Herding of Cruachan*. "I promised to bring the sword; I did not promise to give it to you." Then he throws the weapon into the air, and it returns to its owner.

[1] We may infer that, if he had done so, he would at once have been slain with it.

and MacInnes's *Herding of Cruachan*); this may be nearer the original. **O'F** ends with the conclusion of *The Werewolf's Tale;* the Werewolf says "So now you have the story of the Shining Sword and the knowledge of the cause of the one story about women," and there is nothing further. In **J** the challenger dies before the hero's return (cf. **S**, below); the hero keeps the sword. $\mathbf{C_2S}$ lack the sword.

The conclusion of **S** deserves attention. When the challenger "lays crosses and charms" on the hero to discover "how the Great Tuairisgeul was put to death," the latter (as his wife has bidden him) replies: "I lay the same charms upon you that you leave not this hillock till I return." On reaching home with the story, the hero is instructed by his wife to go to the hill and recount it to the challenger. "What is the good of it," he replies, "when the one bone of him does not stick to another to-day?" But the woman insists and the hero obeys. When the story is finished, the challenger "rises alive and well from the hillock." This cannot be quite right, for the hero should in some manner baffle or discomfit the challenger, as the other versions show. It is therefore fortunate that Mr. J. G. Campbell has put on record an additional incident, apparently from another reciter (*Scottish Celtic Review*, I, 141): "It is an addition to the tale that the one who imposed upon the Son of the King of Ireland the task of finding out how the great Tuairisgeul was put to death, and over whose place of decay and disappearance the King's son — by his wife's instructions — recounted . . . the manner of the Giant's death, was himself a son of the Great Tuairisgeul, and that as the story was being told he gradually rose out of the ground. Also, by the wife's instructions, his head was cut off before he got entirely clear of the ground, for then no one could withstand the young Giant's prowess." This may perhaps be taken as evidence that the Sword of Light was once present in **S** (as in $\mathbf{LKJHO'FC_1}$). With **S** should be compared the beginning and the end of *Mac-Cool, Ceadach Og, and the Fish-Hag* (Curtin, *Hero-Tales*, pp. 463 ff.). Here Fin loses a game of chess to the Fish-Hag. She says to him: "I place you under sentence of weighty druidic spells not to eat two meals off the one table, nor to sleep two nights in the one bed, nor to pass out by the door through which you came in, till you bring me the head of the Red Ox, and an account of what took the eye from the Doleful Knight of the Island, and how he lost speech and laughter." Fin then places the hag under spells "to stand on the top of that gable, . . . to have a sheaf of oats fixed on the gable beyond you, and to have no earthly food while I 'm gone, except what the wind will blow through the eye of a needle fixed in front of you." When Fin returns, he finds the hag alive. She

This ends our discussion of the frame-story in **I**. We have found that the greater complication of **I** in this matter is not due to the loss of material in **G**, but to the inclusion in **I** of extraneous material which was not in **y**.

VIII. THE DEFENCE OF THE CHILD.

One of the main peculiarities of the group **GI** is its inclusion of an episode (not found in **B** or **M**) which we may call *The Defence of the Child*. This episode must have stood, in some form, in **y**, but not in **x**. It is a combination of two distinct tales, both of which exist, in many versions, independently of *The Werewolf's Tale*: (1) the exemplary anecdote of *The Faithful Dog* and (2) the wild narrative of *The Hand and the Child*.

The Faithful Dog is best known to English readers through the Hon. W. R. Spencer's poem, *Beth Gêlert, or the Grave of the Greyhound* (written in 1800), which localizes the adventure at the Welsh village of Bedd Gelert. This localization, however, cannot much antedate Spencer's poem. The tale occurs in *The Seven Sages* and

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asks for the head, which he refuses to give her: "If I was bound to bring it, I was not bound to give it." On hearing this answer "the hag dropped to the earth, and became a few bones." Another version of this same story forms the second adventure in Curtin's *Fin MacCumhail, the Seven Brothers, and the King of France* (Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, pp. 270 ff.). Fin's task is to bring "the head of Curucha na Gras and the sword [note this!] that guards his castle." He dooms the hag to fast under conditions similar to those just described. A companion tells Fin how to act. He is not to give the head and the sword to the hag, but only to show them to her. When she opens her mouth with delight, he is to strike her on the breast with the head. This is done and the hag falls dead. The first adventure in the tale has nothing to do with the second, though the two are artificially connected at the end; it is a version of *The Hand and the Child* and will be discussed presently (no. 5, p. 223, below). With the sentence passed on the hag by Fin cf. Curtin, *Hero-Tales*, p. 493. For the counter-spell imposed by the quester, see p. 255, note 3. Other cases of quibbling as to the fulfilment of conditions may be seen in Larminie, p. 205; Hyde-Dottin, *An Sgéaluidhe Gaedhealach*, p. 41. It is a common device in popular fiction. With the gradual rising of the dead man from the ground in **S** cf. Miss Dempster, *Folk-Lore of Sutherlandshire*, *Folk-Lore Journal*, VI, 160–1.

the Anglo-Latin and Middle English versions of the *Gesta Romanorum*, is extant in various Oriental forms (in the *Kalîlah wa Dimnah*, the *Hitopadeça*, the *Pañcatantra*, and elsewhere), and is commonly regarded as of Eastern (perhaps Buddhistic) origin.[1] It is briefly as follows:

A favorite animal (weasel, ichneumon, dog) protects its master's child from the attack of a serpent or wolf and slays the assailant. The master, returning to his house, is met by the faithful creature, which is covered with blood, and, rashly assuming that it has destroyed the child, he kills it on the spot. Entering the chamber, the master finds his child safe and sound and discovers the dead body of the monster. Too late he repents of his hasty act.[2]

The second story, which I have called *The Hand and the Child*, is much more elaborate. We may first consider a group of six Celtic versions (nos. 1–6) which ascribe the adventure to Finn and are manifestly variants of a single highly elaborated tale. These are: —

(1) MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, no. 1, pp. 1 ff. (*How Finn Kept his Children for the Big Young Hero of the Ship, and how Bran was Found*); (2) J. G. Campbell, *The Fians*, pp. 204 ff. (*How Fionn found Bran*); (3) MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, no. 2, pp. 32 ff. (*Feunn Mac Cüail and the Bent Grey Lad*)[3]; (4) Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, pp. 227 ff. (*Beanriogain na Sciana Breaca*[4]); (5) Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, pp. 270 ff.

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[1] See Benfey, *Pantschatantra, Einleitung*, § 201; Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 134 ff.; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 166 ff.; id., *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, pp. 206 ff., 509–510, 513 ff.; id., *Book of Sindibād*, pp. 56 ff., 236 ff.; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmîr*, pp. 429–430; Jacobs, *Celtic Fairy Tales*, pp. 259 ff.; D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert, its Facts, Fancies, and Folk-Lore*, Portmadoc, 1899, pp. 56 ff. (cf. P. H. Emerson, *Welsh Fairy Tales*, pp. 19 ff.; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, II, 567; Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, 421–2).

[2] I have used the simpler form of the story, omitting the elaborations found in the Occidental *Seven Sages*. For further particulars see Additional Note, p. 269.

[3] The tale consists of two parts, originally separate stories, which we may call (1) *The Bent Grey Lad*, and (2) *The King's Children*. Only the second part concerns us.

[4] "The Queen with the Speckled Dagger"; or, "The Queen of the Many-Colored Bedchamber." From a MS.

(*Fin Mac Cumhail, the Seven Brothers and the King of France*)[1]; (6) Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, pp. 438 ff. (*Fin Mac Cool, the Three Giants, and the Small Men*).[2]

MacDougall's version (no. 1)[3] is here summarized:

A Big Young Hero sails to shore and salutes Finn. He has been losing his children, he says, and it has been told him that there is not a man in the world who can keep them for him but Finn. He lays crosses and spells on Finn to be with him before eating, drinking, or sleeping. Thereupon he departs in his ship, leaving Finn ignorant of his abode. Finn walks along the shore and soon falls in with seven skilful companions: a Carpenter, a Tracker, a Gripper, a Climber, a Thief, a Listener, a Marksman. He takes them all into his service. The Carpenter makes a ship by striking an alder-stock thrice with his axe. The Tracker guides Finn across the sea to the house of the Big Young Hero. Finn lets his seven companions sleep and watches with the Hero's wife, who is about to be delivered of her third child. The first two have been taken away as soon as they were born by a great hand that came down the chimney. Finn keeps himself awake by means of a hot bar of iron. About midnight the child is born and the Hand descends. The Gripper seizes the hand, and after a severe tussle pulls it off at the shoulder. "But the big giant outside put in the other hand, and took the child with him in the cap of the hand."

At daybreak Finn and his seven comrades give chase in the ship. That night they come to a rock in the sea, on which stands a castle thatched with eelskins. The door is in the top of the castle. The Climber scales the roof and sees a sleeping giant within, having an infant asleep in the cap of his hand. There are two boys playing shinty on the floor. By the fire lies a great deer-hound bitch suckling two pups. The Climber then carries the Thief up to the door. The Thief enters the castle, and hands

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[1] Curtin's tale has a second part, — an adventure of Fin with a hag. It has nothing to do with *The Hand and the Child*, but is attached to it by making the hag the giant's sister. She apparently comes for vengeance on Fin, though this is not brought out, and indeed is contradicted by something in the second part. The continuation is interesting in connection with the episode of Béowulf and Grendel's Mother and its motivation.

[2] This consists of two quite independent stories, loosely attached. The first alone is to our present purpose.

[3] MacDougall (p. 259) notes that the tale was known to two Highlanders of his acquaintance besides the one from whose recitation he derived it.

out the baby, the two boys, and the pups,[1] and escapes without waking the giant.

Finn puts to sea. Soon the Listener hears the giant awake, and send the bitch in pursuit. They throw a pup to the bitch, who returns to the rock with it. Soon after the giant himself appears, wading through the sea. Finn puts his finger under his "knowledge-set of teeth" and finds that the giant is "immortal, except in a mole that [is] in the hollow of his palm." This the Marksman hits, and the giant falls dead.[2]

Now they sail back to the giant's castle, and the Thief steals both pups. Returning to the home of the Big Young Hero, Finn restores the three children to their parents, asking no reward except one of the pups. This grew up to be Finn's dog Bran, so famous in Fenian saga. There is a feast for a year and a day [after which we may infer that Finn returns to Erin].

No. 2 (J. G. Campbell's version) corrects No. 1 in certain details. The sleepiness of the watchers is caused by magical music,[3] — a familiar feature in Celtic story. The giant[4] leaves his arm behind (which is not expressly stated in No. 1).[5] There is but one visit to

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[1] He also steals "the silk covering that was over the giant and the satin covering that was under him," — a familiar trick of the Master Thief.

[2] Cf. MacDougall, pp. 160–161.

[3] So also in 3. In 3 (as in 1) it is Feunn alone who keeps awake (by holding a hot poker under his chin: good folk-lore!), and he rouses Firm-Holder at the moment of peril. In 6 nobody is sleepy. In 5 Finn goes to sleep deliberately and the Skilful Companions watch; so in 4, except that Finn's sleep is druidic. In 2 all are kept awake by one of the Skilful Companions, whose specialty is that he never sleeps: this reminds us of the Old French proverb: "Qui ne dort pas, n'est pas d'ome" (see *Lai de Tydorel*, *Rom.*, VIII, 67). For soporific music see Child, *Ballads*, I, 55; II, 137, 139 f., 511 f.; IV, 18 ff.; V, 220, 293; add Hyde-Dottin, *Sgéaluidhe Gaedhealach*, pp. 188–189.

[4] The robber is a giant in 1, 2, 5; a hag in 4, 6; 3 is indeterminate. Clearly he (or she) was originally a water-monster of some kind: in 1 (cf. 2) the giant's castle is on a rock in the sea, is to be entered only at the top, and is thatched with eelskins. In 4 the hag inhabits a whirling castle, which is reached by boat and has its entrance in the top. Compare the subaqueous abode of Grendel and his mother in *Béowulf*. In 2 and 6 the giant (hag, 6) has but one eye (in the forehead) and is killed by an arrow which pierces this eye. In 1 the giant is "immortal except in a mole that was in the hollow of his palm." On whirling castles see A.C.L. Brown, *Iwain*, pp. 80–81, above.

[5] In 5 the robber leaves both his arm and the child. This is probably correct (see p. 227). In 2 and 6 the hand is left but the child is taken; in 4 both hand and child disappear.

the giant's castle. Three pups are taken; two are thrown to the pursuing bitch, the third is saved. *Three* must be right; it makes the number of the pups correspond to that of the children.[1] This point may turn out to be of some significance.[2] Nos. 3–6 make no mention of the bitch and her pups. No. 3 is incomplete, lacking the visit to the giant's castle in the sea.

We at once recognize this story as a composite. It has assimilated nearly the whole of a widespread *märchen* known as *The Skilful Companions*, which has been studied by Benfey and other distinguished scholars,[3] and which has nothing whatever to do with *The Hand and the Child.* In *The Skilful Companions* —

Three or more brothers (or comrades) are suitors for the hand of a beautiful girl. While her father is deliberating, the girl disappears. The companions undertake to recover her. One of them, by contemplation (or by keenness of sight), finds that she has been stolen by a demon (or dragon) and taken to his abode on a rock in the sea. Another builds a ship by his magic (or possesses a magic ship) which instantly transports them to the rock. Another, who is a skilful climber, ascends the castle and finds that the monster is asleep with his head in the maiden's lap.[4] Another, a master thief, steals the girl without waking her captor. They embark, but are pursued by the monster. One of the companions, an unerring shot, kills the pursuer with an arrow. The girl is restored to her parents.

We are not here concerned with the origin or history of *The Skilful Companions*, which, as every one knows, is a corner-stone of

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[1] In 3 and 5, three children have already been lost, making four in all; but this can hardly be right. In 1, 2, 4, 6, the whole number is three. [2] Cf. pp. 238–9.

[3] See Benfey, *Das Märchen von den* "Menschen mit den wunderbaren Eigenschaften," *Ausland*, 1858, pp. 969 ff. (*Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, 94 ff.); Wesselofsky, in Giovanni da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, 1867, I, ii, 238 ff.; d'Ancona, *Studj di Critica e Storia Letteraria*, 1880, pp. 357–358; Köhler-Bolte, *Ztsch. des Ver. f. Volkskunde*, VI, 77; Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 192 ff., 298 ff., 389–390, 431, 544; II, 591; Cosquin, *Contes pop. de Lorraine*, I, 23 ff.; Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, p. 67; Nutt, in MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 445 ff.; Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 357 ff.; Steel, *Tales of the Punjab*, pp. 42 ff.; Jurkschat, *Litauische Märchen*, pp. 29 ff.; etc.

[4] The number and functions of the skilful companions differ considerably in the several versions. The climber, in particular, is by no means a constant quantity.

Benfey's theory of Oriental origins. The story is found in the East and, in varying forms, in almost every country in Europe. Its identity with a considerable portion of *The Hand and the Child* in the Highland versions which we are studying is evident. To reduce *The Hand and the Child*, therefore, to something that approaches its original condition we must first of all eliminate those incidents which belong to *The Skilful Companions*. Such an elimination leaves the following plot:

A certain king has already lost two children, who have been carried off as soon as they were born. [Apparently no one knows what has become of them, for all the watchers are overcome with sleep.] The queen is expecting a third child.[1] A hero of extraordinary strength visits the king [perhaps by invitation], and undertakes to watch. The child is born. The hero resists the soporific magic, to which all others yield, grasps the gigantic hand that descends through the smoke-hole (or window) to seize the child, and tears it off at the shoulder. The monster escapes, leaving behind the child and the arm.

The Hand and the Child belongs, obviously enough, to the type of which the adventure of Béowulf with Grendel is the most famous representative.[2] The similarities are striking; but, before one infers

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[1] Possibly we should omit the two children previously lost; but it seems likely that the ravages of the monster had lasted for some time before he was finally checkmated. We have a good parallel in the *Béowulf*, in which Grendel has carried off and devoured many of Hróðgár's men before Béowulf undertakes the defence of the hall Heorot and pulls off the monster's arm. See also the stories from Cashmere and California and compare the Japanese legend (p. 228, below).

[2] See Herrig's *Archiv*, CIII, 154, where Professor Cook notes the similarity between *Béowulf* and Kennedy's version (our no. 4). Zimmer (Haupt's *Ztsch.*, XXXII, 331–332) detects the influence of Béowulf's encounter with Grendel in Cuchulinn's combat at Curoi's fort in the *Fled Bricrend* (cf. Andler's strange book, *Quid ad Fabulas Heroïcas Germ. Hiberni contulerint*, pp. 75–76), but I find it impossible to agree with him. Fergus's fight with the sea-monster (*Senchus Mōr*, *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, I, 74–75) or Cuchulinn's feat of swimming (*Siaburcharpat Coinculaind*, or *Phantom Chariot of Cuchulinn*, Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 284–285; cf. Haupt's *Ztsch.*, XXXII, 250, 254) would have afforded him an equally striking parallel. Resemblances between *Béowulf* and the Icelandic *Grettissaga* (Grettir cuts off a monster's arm, etc., etc.) were observed by Vigfússon (*Sturlunga Saga*, *Prolegomena*, I, xlix; *Icelandic Reader*, p. 404; *Corpus*

historical or literary connection between the Celtic tale and the Anglo-Saxon epic, there are several phenomena to be reckoned with. The child-stealing motive is no part of the *Béowulf*, nor of a Japanese legend [1] which resembles *Béowulf* in the most striking

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Poeticum Boreale, II, 501 ff.). That distinguished scholar held that the author of the saga knew the *Béowulf*, and his opinion has met with some favor, but the case is by no means clear (see Gering, *Anglia*, III, 74 ff.; Garnett, *Amer. Journ. of Philol.*, I, 492; Bugge, Paul u. Braune's *Beiträge*, XII, 57 ff.; ten Brink, *Béowulf*, p. 185; Symons, in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, 21; 2d ed., III, 649; Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 27 ff; Boer, *Ztsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, XXX, 1 ff.; Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldisl. Litteraturs Historie*, II, 751, note).

The story of *The Hand and the Child* reappears in a modern Icelandic *märchen* (Árnason, *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og Æfintýri*, II, 471 ff., translated by Poestion, *Isländische Märchen*, pp. 285 ff.). The Icelandic version is strikingly similar to the tale as it occurs in L (including the pretended leeching of the monster) and is doubtless derived from Irish (or Scottish Gaelic). The watcher resists the soporific magic and cuts off the kidnapper's arm. Laistner, who compares Poestion's translation with *Béowulf* (*Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 26 ff.), has not observed that the part of the tale which coincides with *The Skilful Companions* must be left out of account.

[1] "At the beginning of the eleventh century, when Ichijô the Second was Emperor, lived the hero Yorimitsu. Now it came to pass that in those days the people of Kiyôto were sorely troubled by an evil spirit, which took up its abode near the Rashô gate. One night, as Yorimitsu was making merry with his retainers, he said, 'Who dares go and defy the demon of the Rashô gate, and set up a token that he has been there?' 'That dare I,' answered Tsuna, who, having donned his coat of mail, mounted his horse, and rode out through the dark bleak night to the Rashô gate. Having written his name upon the gate, he was about to turn homewards when his horse began to shiver with fear, and a huge hand coming forth from the gate seized the back of the knight's helmet. Tsuna, nothing daunted, struggled to get free, but in vain, so drawing his sword he cut off the demon's arm, and the spirit with a howl fled into the night. But Tsuna carried home the arm in triumph, and locked it up in a box. One night the demon, having taken the shape of Tsuna's aunt, came to him and said, 'I pray thee show me the arm of the fiend.' Tsuna answered, 'I have shown it to no man, and yet to thee I will show it.' So he brought forth the box and opened it, when suddenly a black cloud shrouded the figure of the supposed aunt, and the demon, having regained its arm, disappeared." Mitford, *Tales of Old Japan*, ed. of 1890, p. 105. Professor York Powell gives the same story, in outline (from the vulgate version in "the Japanese children's picture-books of this century, and the colour-prints by Hokusai" and others) and compares it with *Béowulf:* see his note in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, 1901, pp. 395–396.

way, nor of an episode in the *Perceval* which should also be compared.[1] *Per contra*, there is a story from Cashmere which resembles *The Hand and the Child* in the matter of the child-stealing, but in which the ogress, though overpowered, does not lose her arm.[2] Finally, the loss of the hand and the stealing of the child occur,

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[1] The Demon Hand is found in the second continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval* (by Gaucher de Dourdan). Perceval enters a solitary chapel at night. There is no one in the chapel, but a slain knight is lying on the altar. One candle is burning before him. Suddenly a great light (*clarté*) fills the chapel, and as suddenly disappears. A crash (*escrois*) follows, as if the chapel were falling to pieces (vv. 34,434–469, ed. Potvin, IV, 133–134). Then

> Une noire mains jusqu'al couste
> S'aparut derrière l'autel;
> La candoile ki ardoit cler
> Estaint ensi c'on n'i vit goute (vv. 34,470–473).

Perceval leaves the chapel in haste. A lame explanation of these phenomena is given (in the conclusion written by Mennecier) by the Roi Pesceor. The chapel was built by Brangemore of Cornwall, mother of King Pinogrès. She became a nun and was beheaded therein by her cruel son. She was buried under the altar, and since then not a day has passed without a knight's being killed there by the Black Hand; more than four thousand have lost their lives (vv. 35,397 ff., IV, 166 ff.). Later Perceval visits the chapel again and has a terrific struggle with the Black Hand, which comes in through a window. He overcomes the devil to whom it belongs, not with the sword, which is powerless against him (cf. Grendel), but by means of the sign of the cross (vv. 39,790 ff., IV, 304 ff.). Apparently we have here the story of the Demon Hand worked over in a Christian sense. In view of the wide currency of the incident, it would be venturesome to ascribe this particular example of it to a Celtic source; but, since the incident does occur in Celtic, it would be equally credulous to deny the possibility of such a derivation. Of course nobody will hold that Gaucher drew from Celtic *directly*. The fight with the hand, we should observe, is Mennecier's contribution. Did he know the whole story, left incomplete by Gaucher, or was he simply inventing a *dénouement?*

[2] In *The Tale of a Princess*, Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmír*, p. 59: A princess, disguised as a man, entered the service of a merchant. "This merchant had three wives, but no son. The reason of this was, that the night after any of his wives gave birth to a son a *ḍáḍin* [ogress] appeared and devoured it." A son was born to the merchant. The merchant asked his new servant to watch by the bedroom door and ward off the ogress. The *ḍáḍin* tried to burst open the door, but the servant prevented her, whereupon she made a dash at him. The servant seized her by the hair and threw her down, but spared her life on her promising to trouble that house no more.

in combination, in a North American Indian tale from California [1] and in the Welsh *mabinogi* of *Pwyll*, to which we shall presently return.[2] We must put behind us the temptation to genealogize. One fact is clear: the defence of a hall or a hut against the demon that haunts it is a simple theme, to which the theory of "independent origins" must apply if it ever applies to anything. That the defence should result in the demon's losing his arm seems a not unnatural development: at all events, this feature is found in Ireland, in Wales, in England, in Japan, and in California.[3] The other main element in our story — the kidnapping of the children — is too commonplace to make any trouble. All manner of uncanny beings are charged with carrying off infants, and everybody knows that the moment of birth, like the moment of death, is a mysterious time and full of strange peril from the darker powers. The genesis of *The Hand and the Child*, then, is not hard to conjecture. It is an easy combination of two *motifs*, (1) the Defence of the Hall and (2) the Child-stealing Monster, to which (in the Highland tales summarized above, pp. 223 ff.) other familiar bits of folk-lore (the Skilful Companions, for instance, and the One-eyed Giant [4]) have associated

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[1] Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, p. 558, gives part of an Indian tale from California in which a supernatural hag is in the habit of stealing children. She reaches down through the smoke-hole to take one; five or six men seize her arm and try to pull her down, but in vain. "One man chopped her arm right off with a flint knife, and threw it out; she fell to the ground where her arm was, she picked it up, and ran home."

[2] See pp. 240 ff.

[3] We may compare also the cutting off of the ghoul's leg in Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, pp. 358–359. The house-haunting goblin in *Jataka*, ii, 155 (Cowell, II, 12), is subdued in a more recondite manner. So is the hand that rises from the sea and steals men in the *Peregrinaggio di tre Giovani, Figliuoli del Re di Serendippo*, ed. Gassner, *Erlanger Beiträge*, X, 23–24, 28 ff.; cf. the parallels cited by Huth, *Zt. f. vergl. Litteraturgesch.*, N.F., III, 313–314. Cf. also the Demon Hand in Miss Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 113. In a Greek *märchen* (Hahn, *Griech. u. alban. Märchen*, II, 50) a Hand robs the king's apple-tree; the prince shoots into a cloud and draws blood (cf. Cosquin, *Contes pop. de Lorraine*, I, 12).

[4] It is an easy process to derive from the *Odyssey* all monocular giants who meet the fate of Polyphemus; but such hand-to-mouth methods are more dangerous than they seem. See Laistner's interesting chapter on Polyphemus (*Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, 1 ff.).

themselves. The whole, in a highly elaborated form, has become a part of the Finn cycle, and is used to explain how Finn procured his famous dog Bran.

The story of *The Hand and the Child* is doubtless quite independent of *The Faithful Dog*. Indeed, the tales differ from each other in almost every respect; they show but one element in common: the successful defence of an infant. In *The Faithful Dog*, however, the assailant is not a hobgoblin, but a natural creature (wolf or serpent); the defender is not a hero, but an animal (ichneumon, weasel, dog), which fights with the beast and kills it in accordance with common sense and everyday experience; the danger is unforeseen (not watched for, as in *The Demon Hand*). Finally, the central point of *The Faithful Dog* — the fatal mistake, the overhasty judgment which prompts the master to strike down his friend and benefactor — is necessarily wanting in *The Hand and the Child*. *The Faithful Dog* is an *exemplum*, enforcing the danger of precipitate judgments; its motto might well be King Lear's "Woe that too late repents!" *The Hand and the Child* has no moral and is hardly susceptible of one, even at the hands of the melancholy Jaques.

Yet nothing was easier than for these two stories to come together. Their common element — the defence of the baby in the cradle against some hideous danger — was almost certain to unite them sooner or later.[1] Accordingly they do, in fact, combine to produce an incident somewhat different from either, yet preserving plain traces of both. In this incident *an animal defends the baby from the giant that seeks to steal it, biting off the hand which he stretches into the room; the animal is accused of killing the baby, but is exonerated.*[2]

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[1] A Mongolian version of *The Faithful Dog* (Benjamin Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien*, I, 102, cited by Benfey, *Pant.* I, 481) approaches the type of *The Hand and the Child* in a curious way. A woman has had several children but has lost them all. She is again with child when a polecat (*Iltis*) comes to her and promises that she shall lose no more children if she will take him into her service. The mother thinks the talking polecat must have magical powers, and assents. The animal defends the baby from a snake and is killed by the mother.

[2] Perhaps there was a version of *The Hand and the Child* in which the defence of the child against the Demon Hand was transferred to a dog (a fairy dog, it may be, or a bespelled mortal) before *The Hand and the Child* came into contact with

In some such form as this, the incident has entered *The Werewolf's Tale.* It is not found, as we have already seen, in Marie's *Bisclavret* or in the *Lai de Melion*, but its presence in **I** and **G** proves it for **y**

The Faithful Dog (the "Gelert story"). Such a version, if it ever existed, would easily have become contaminated with *The Faithful Dog*, and the resultant tale would with equal facility have entered version **y** of *The Werewolf's Tale.* These are details that cannot be determined and that do not affect the essentials of our reconstruction. We may note, however, that in an incomparably wild Highland tale a (fairy) dog does actually defend his master, in a cave at night, against a monster that reaches for him through a hole in the roof, and that the monster's arm is bitten off at the wrist. This is the tale of *Mac Phie's Black Dog*, taken down by J. G. Campbell from recitation in 1863 and published (with an English translation) in the *Scottish Celtic Review*, pp. 262 ff. A revised translation is printed in the same writer's posthumous work, *Superstitions of the Highlands and the Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), pp. 109 ff. (with four other versions, all from oral tradition). I give a bare outline, which does scant justice to the impressiveness of this extraordinary story.

Mac Phie of Colonsay owns a great black dog, presented to him under strange circumstances, which, according to the prophecy of the giver (obviously a fairy man), "will never do service for him but the one day." The dog always skulks when his master calls him to the hunt, and Mac Phie has often been urged to kill him. "Let him alone," is Mac Phie's reply; "the black dog's day will come." One morning, when Mac Phie and other gentlemen are setting out for Jura to hunt, the dog is the first creature in the boat. "The black dog's day is drawing near us," says Mac Phie. On the second night of their excursion, when they are all together in a great cave in Jura, Mac Phie's companions are destroyed by certain ghoulish women [lamiæ, or lustful demons, we may be sure: cf. a Sutherland tale communicated by Miss Dempster, *Folk-Lore Journal*, VI, 162–163], but the black dog, who lies at his master's feet, springs up when one of the women would approach Mac Phie, and drives them from the cave. Soon a man's hand comes down through a hole in the roof and clutches at Mac Phie. What followed must be given in Mr. Campbell's own words: "The black dog gave one spring, and caught the hand between the shoulder and the elbow, and lay on it. The play began between the hand and the black dog. Before the black dog let go his hold, he chewed the hand till it fell on the floor. The thing that was on the top of the cave went away.... Out rushed the black dog after the thing that was outside. This was not [the] time at which Mac Phie felt himself most at ease, when the black dog left him. When the day was dawning, what but that the black dog had returned. He lay down beside Mac Phie. In a few minutes he was dead." Mac Phie took the hand home "that men might see what horror he had met with that night he had been in the cave. No man in Isla[y] or Colonsay had ever seen such a hand, or had ever imagined that such could have existed."

(their common original),[1] which we have seen reason to believe was Irish.[2] The precise form of the episode in **y** is not easy to determine, but we may come pretty near it by a process of comparison. Let us begin with the condition of the episode in **I**.

In **LHO'FS** we find practically the whole of *The Hand and the Child* (as described on the basis of nos. 1–6, pp. 223 ff., above), modified by two features from *The Faithful Dog:* (1) the substitution of the tame werewolf for the hero, and (2) the suspicion against the animal. We may take **L** as the basis of our comparison with *Gorlagon* (**G**), since, though it is somewhat disordered, it preserves a number of highly significant details.

In **L** the king who befriends the Werewolf had lost eleven[3] children, all of whom "were stolen the same night they were born." He sets the wolf to watch the twelfth. One night[4] a hand comes down the chimney and seizes the child. The wolf bites off the hand,[5] lays it in the cradle with the baby, and falls asleep. In the morning both hand and child are gone. The wolf is covered with blood, and everybody[6] says the wolf has eaten the baby. But the king refuses to believe this.[7] "Loose him," says the king, "and he will get the pursuit himself."

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[1] See the diagram on p. 175. [2] See p. 198.

[3] Plainly an exaggeration of the reciter; *two* is the correct number, as in **HS** (and *The Hand and the Child* in general, see p. 226, note 1); in **O'F** it is *three*. C_1 says nothing of the king's previous losses. C_2 lacks the whole adventure.

[4] This should properly be the birth night (as in **O'F**). Nobody knows what has become of the other children (implied in **L**, expressly stated in **H**). In **H** the nurses are put to sleep by a magic song when the third child is stolen (cf. p. 225, above). In **S** the wolf is present on all three occasions, but apparently he is awake on the third only; the midwives sleep. In **KJ** there is no Hand; the lady smears her own sleeping child and the wolf with blood and then accuses the wolf.

[5] In **HO'F** he pulls it off (cf. p. 227). In C_1 a serpent comes down the chimney and is killed by the wolf. Thus this particular version reverts in part (whether by accident, or by specific modern influence) to the Oriental form of the Gelert story.

[6] The specific accusation should come from the Werewolf's wife (so **KJHO'F**C_1). In **S** the midwives are the accusers (cf. *Pwyll*, p. 240, below) on the first two occasions; but this version has substituted a cruel stepmother for the unfaithful wife. On the third occasion in **S** the wolf pursues the monster without delay and there is no opportunity for slander. C_2 has been too much changed to be of much use here.

[7] In **H** the king credits the accusation, but is undeceived by the discovery of the hand. In C_1 the disenchantment comes immediately after the false charge.

[The werewolf's false wife[1] has concealed the child and the hand in a (secret) room.[2]] The wolf follows the scent of the blood to the door of this room, goes back to the king, takes hold of him, and then, returning to the door, begins to tear at it. The king follows,[3] and calls for the key. A servant says it is in the room of the stranger woman [i.e., the Werewolf's wife]. She cannot be found, and the king breaks down the door. The wolf runs in and goes to the trunk. The king breaks the lock of the trunk: there lie the child and the hand, side by side, and the child is asleep.

Here we must pause a moment to compare the *Gorlagon* (**G**).

In **G** the incident has been considerably changed by the general modification which the tale has received at this point:[4]

Instead of defending the child against a giant or hag, the wolf assails the king's steward, who is dishonoring the royal bed, and mangles him frightfully. The queen removes her child to an underground room, and accounts for all the circumstances by alleging that the wolf has devoured it and that the steward has been wounded in opposing the wolf.

G, we observe, omits the Demon Hand and inserts an amour between the queen and her steward: the wolf does not defend the baby against an assailant; he attacks the queen's lover, out of

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[1] **L** does not explain how she came to be at the court, but we have already seen that she is really the king's daughter (a point which **L** has not preserved, but which is assured for **I**, being found in **KJO'FC**$_1$) and has returned to her father after betraying her husband. Indeed, this relationship (as well as the return) is present also in **M**, and is thus established for **x** (the common source of **My**): see p. 178. In **H** the whole scene is laid at the castle of the Werewolf's father, and the stolen children are the Werewolf's brothers.

[2] This is implied in **L**, and comparison with **G** establishes the incident for **y**. **O'F**, though somewhat confused here, supports **L** in the main. In **HS** the giant carries off the child but leaves the hand behind (cf. p. 225). **HC**$_1$ preserve an important link in the story: the lady wakes first in the morning and finds the hand (the serpent and the child **C**$_1$); thus she is enabled to arrange the details of her plot before the household is stirring. In **H** she buries the hand in the woods; in **C**$_1$ she hides the child in her chamber. Taken together, then, **HC**$_1$ support **L**, as **O'F** does, and the course of events in **I** can be made out perfectly.

[3] In **H** the Werewolf leads the king to the place where the lady has buried the hand. In **C**$_1$ he conducts him to the chamber where the child is hidden. **O'FS** lack the incident.

[4] See p. 185, above.

loyalty to his master. These features are peculiar to **G**, and it is clear that in them **G** departs from **y**.[1]

To continue our analysis of **G**:

The king refuses to believe in the animal's guilt. The wolf touches the king's foot with his paw, seizes the edge of his mantle in his mouth, and nods his head in sign that he wishes the king to follow him. He leads the king to the underground chamber where the child is concealed, and strikes the door with his paw. The queen has hidden the key, but the wolf, impatient at the delay, breaks the door down, and, rushing into the room, brings out the child and presents it to the king. He then leads the king to the chamber where the steward lies, and the guilty man confesses the truth.

The similarity in detail between **L** and **G** is most striking, and is highly significant as to **y**. We must now return to **L**:

After the rescue of the child, the wolf is its constant companion. One day, the child, then three years old, runs away from home and cannot be found. [It transpires, later, that the Werewolf's wife has him at her house.] When summer comes, the wolf swims back to his own country and hides in his own garden. He sees his wife out walking, and the child with her. Next day, the wolf enters the house and finds the child alone. The boy recognizes his old favorite and begins to kiss him. The magic rod is "in front of the chimney." The wolf jumps at it and knocks it down. The child picks it up. Then the wolf scratches the child, and the boy, in anger, strikes him a light blow with the rod and thus restores him to his human shape.

The Werewolf (now a man again) takes the child back to the king in a ship. On the way, he comes to an island, where there is but one habitation. Entering, he finds a frightful hag. Her son lies groaning in an inner room. "His hand," says the hag, "was bitten off, twelve years before, in another land." The hero pretends to be a physician, shuts himself up with the hag's son, and burns out his eye (he has but *one*, in the middle of his forehead)[2] with a hot iron, pretending that he wishes to cauterize the corrupt flesh. The deluded hag gives the hero the reward she has promised, — eight lads and three girls, who, she informs him, are

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[1] This appears at once from comparison. Positive evidence that the inference is correct will be given later, when we discuss the punishment of the Werewolf's wife in **G** (see pp. 245 ff).

[2] See p. 230 and note 4.

the sons and daughters of the king and have all been stolen by her son. The hero takes ship, returns to the king's court, and gives him back the children.[1]

There is nothing of all this in **G**. It is peculiar to **I**, and will be instantly recognized as the concluding adventure in *The Hand and the Child* (see nos. 1–6, pp. 223 ff.), modified so as to fit it to the exigencies of *The Werewolf's Tale* and, in particular, so as to bring about the disenchantment of the hero. That this adventure was not in **y** (the common source of **G** and **I**) is at once clear. In **G** the restoration of the Werewolf is effected in a very different way, and **G** is, in this part of the story, in substantial agreement with **M** and **B**. Hence we may be sure that the rescue of the king's other children (and probably also the incident of their loss) was not in **y**, and *a fortiori* not in **x**. It was not added to the story until **G** and **I** had parted company.

It is now easy to reconstruct the episode of *The Rescue of the Child* in substantially the form which it must have had in **y** (the common original of **G** and **I**):

The scene is laid at the court of a king, the wolf's father-in-law, whither the false wife has fled after the transformation of her husband. She wishes to get rid of the wolf, whom she recognizes and of whom she is very naturally afraid. The wolf defends the king's child and bites off the monster's arm; the monster flees, leaving his hand behind him, and is heard of no more. The false wife takes advantage of the situation to remove the hand and the child to a secret chamber, and accuses the wolf of devouring the infant. The king refuses to believe the charge, and the wolf leads him to the secret room. Several of the details of the scene may be inferred from the wonderful agreement between **G** and **L**: the wolf's seizing the king's robe in his teeth and guiding him to the room;

[1] The different versions of **I** show considerable variety in details in this part of the story, but **LHO'F** agree in the main. **LH** have the pretended medical or surgical treatment of the monster. **LO'F** show Polyphemus incidents (putting out the eye **LO'F**; dressing in goatskins **O'F**). By a special elaboration, **H** makes the Werewolf get the Sword of Light in the giant's island. **S** is much condensed here. **KJC**$_1$ of course lack the rescue of the elder children, since they say nothing of the king's having lost his sons. In **LH** the rescue follows the Werewolf's disenchantment; in **O'FS** the disenchantment follows the rescue.

the locked door; the concealment of the key by the lady; the breaking down of the door (by the king in **L**, by the wolf in **G**). In the room is found a chest (or cradle), in which the child lies sleeping; the hand is with him. The king is convinced that the wolf is a man under spells, compels his daughter to confess, and reverses the charm.

This reconstruction, every detail of which is extant either in **G** or in **I**, is a manifest compound, formed, as I have already suggested, by uniting *The Hand and the Child* and *The Faithful Dog*. All the divergences which **G** shows from the incident as thus reconstructed are accounted for.

Four versions of **I** (**LHO'FS**) contain also the second adventure of *The Hand and the Child*, — the rescue of the king's other children from the giant's castle. Its presence is easily explained. Some story-teller, familiar with *The Hand and the Child* in its most developed form (substantially as in nos. 1 and 2, pp. 224–5), felt that version **I** of *The Werewolf's Tale* was incomplete because it did not contain this second adventure, and appended it accordingly. Nothing could be more natural. It was simply a case of *going on*. Version **I** already contained the *Defence of the Child* against the demon hand; the narrator continued with the second adventure, the rescue of the king's other children, which seemed to him a necessary sequel. This addition to **I** may have been made in very recent times, — even as late as the eighteenth century. There is no certain evidence on that point. The *first* insertion of *The Defence of the Child* in *The Werewolf's Tale* is quite another matter. This must have taken place pretty early, since the incident stood in **y**.

There is another Irish story which throws light on version **y** of *The Werewolf's Tale*. It is extant as an episode in *The Festivities at the House of Conan*, a late text edited by O'Kearney from an eighteenth-century manuscript,[1] and runs as follows in O'Kearney's translation:

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[1] *Feis Tighe Chonain Chinn-Shleibhe; or The Festivities at the House of Conan of Ceann-Sleibhe*, edited by N. O'Kearney from a MS. of Foran of Portlaw (1780), in the *Transactions of the Ossianic Society* for 1854 (Dublin, 1855), pp. 160–67.

Fionn's mother's sister, Tuirreann, became the wife of Iollann Eachtach. She became pregnant. Iollann's *leannan sighe*, from jealousy, transformed her into a greyhound and brought her to the house of King Feargus Fionnliath, presenting her as a present from Fionn. "The wife of Feargus . . . gave birth to an infant the same night that the hound whelped two puppies, a male and a female. It so happened during the previous seven years, that whenever Fergus's wife was confined, a Fomorach used to come that same night, and carry away the infant. However, Eithleann [unknown person] met Fionn at the end of a year, and having arranged a hospitable meeting at the house of Feargus Fionnliath, they delivered Fergus from the plague of the Fomorach."

Fionn learned that his aunt was no longer living with Iollann and insisted on her being restored to *him*. Iollann required her of his *leannan sighe*. She went to Feargus's House and got the bitch and restored her to human shape. She then brought her to Fionn and told of the two puppies, giving him his choice to have them as dogs or human beings. He chose the former and these are Bran and Sceolaing.[1]

This is vague and prosaic, but it is plainly a somewhat condensed account of a version of *The Hand and the Child*.[2] The demon hand has evaporated in the process of condensation. Instead of details, we have a bald general statement: "Having arranged a hospitable meeting at the house of Feargus Fionnliath, they delivered Feargus from the plague of the Fomorach." The bitch and her pups, of which we have already heard in several versions of *The Hand and the Child*, play an important, if not quite intelligible, part in the present text. One fact comes out clearly: there is a mysterious congenital relation between the children and the pups. This we have already suspected, on the basis of the other versions and of general folk-lore. Comparing the *Feis Tighe Chonain* with versions 1 and 2 of *The Hand and the Child* (pp. 224 ff.), we may infer that, in the correct

[1] The same story (without the robbery of the children) may be found in Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions*, pp. 174 ff.

[2] Like all the versions noted above (nos. 1–6, pp. 223 ff.) that in the *Feis Tighe Chonain* has been attached to the Finn cycle, and, like nos. 1 and 2, it undertakes to explain "how Finn found Bran," his famous dog. Of course there is no occasion to suppose that the tale was connected with Bran in the beginning. There are other accounts of Finn's discovery of Bran (see MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 263–264).

form of the fully developed story,[1] the bitch-hound was not at the giant's castle in the sea, but rather in the chamber where Finn watched; that the birth of the child and the whelping of the bitch always took place at the same moment; and that the giant stole both the baby and the whelp. This had already happened twice before, so that when the rescuers visited the giant's castle, they found three children and three dogs.

The *Feis Tighe Chonain* shows a special resemblance to *The Werewolf's Tale* which we have not found in other versions of *The Hand and the Child:* the bitch is a transformed mortal, like the Werewolf. There is even a certain likeness in the cause of transformation. In G and I the lady changes her husband to a wolf because she is in love with another; in the *Feis*, the mistress of Iollann changes her lover's wife into a bitch in order to keep him for herself. Note also that Iollann's mistress is a *leannan sighe*,[2] — a fairy mistress; and that we have seen reason to regard the lady in *The Werewolf's Tale* as originally a *fée*.[3] These resemblances need not be pressed. They suffice, however, to show how easy it was for a tale like *The Hand and the Child* to become inserted in *The Werewolf's Tale* in Irish story-telling.

A remarkable variant of the episode in the *Feis Tighe Chonain* is thus tantalizingly recorded by O'Kearney in a note:[4]

"It is . . . recorded in tradition that she [read *it*] was the enchanted hound [i.e., Finn's aunt] that rescued the infant from the grasp of the giant by gnawing off his arm, and that she preserved it until morning. When Feargus and his people found the chamber, in which she kennelled, full of blood, they were on the point of killing her, under the supposition that she had murdered the child; but they fortunately discovered their mistake in time . . . The same authority relates that the hound led Feargus and his people to the giant's cave, where they succeeded in killing him, and also recovered the seven children that had been previously kidnapped by him."

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[1] That is, the story made by combining *The Hand and the Child* with *The Skilful Companions*, — a combination seen in nos. 1 and 2 (see pp. 224–6).

[2] Cf. J. F. Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, II, 70.

[3] See pp. 176–7, 189 ff.

[4] P. 164, note 2. I have corrected an obvious misprint.

This approaches *The Werewolf's Tale* still more closely, in that it is not a hero in human shape that defends the baby, but an enchanted animal. It affords positive testimony that such a version of *The Hand and the Child* as that inferred at p. 231 has actually existed, out of combination with *The Werewolf's Tale.*

Good evidence of the antiquity of *The Hand and the Child* on Celtic soil is furnished by the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll Prince of Dyvet*, one of our most precious relics of genuine Welsh tradition. *Pwyll* preserves the story in a remarkable shape :[1]

Rhiannon's child has just been born, and six women are watching. All six fall asleep about midnight, as well as the mother. At dawn the women awake, but the baby has disappeared. Rhiannon is still asleep. There is a bitch hound with her young in the chamber. They kill some of the puppies, smear with blood the face and hands of Rhiannon, and put some of the bones before her. When she wakes and calls for the child, they declare that she has devoured it. The nobles urge Pwyll to divorce his wife. He refuses: "If she has committed a sin, let her do penance." Rhiannon decides to accept penance rather than to dispute the question with the lying nurses. Her penance is, to remain seven years at the court, to take her seat each day beside the horse-block at the entrance, to tell her story to all comers, and to carry them on her back, if they will allow it, from the horse-block to the court.[2] So she passes a part of the first year.

There is a lord at Gwent named Teyrnon, who has a very beautiful mare. Every year she drops a foal in the night of the calends of May,[3] but no one knows what becomes of it. This time Teyrnon resolves to watch. The foal is born, and Teyrnon is admiring its beauty when he hears a great noise. Immediately a claw comes through the window of the house and seizes the foal by the mane. Teyrnon draws his sword and cuts off the monster's arm at the elbow, so that the forearm and the foal remain inside the window. There is a great noise outside. Teyrnon rushes out and runs in the direction of the noise, but it is so dark that he sees nobody. Returning, he finds just outside the door a little child. Taking it up, Teyrnon goes into the house, shuts the door, and learns that

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[1] *Mabinogion*, translated by Lady Guest, III, 60 ff.; by Loth, I, 52 ff.

[2] Cf. Rhŷs, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 641; id., *Arthurian Legend*, p. 284.

[3] Cf. Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, I, 226.

his wife has slept through everything. Teyrnon and his wife adopt the child, and the foal is reserved for him against the time when he shall be able to ride. After a time, Teyrnon hears of what has happened to Rhiannon. He takes the child to the court and all is well.

In the episode just summarized, *The Hand and the Child* has been modified by contamination with a story of a different type, into which it has been worked, — namely, *The Calumniated Wife.*[1] In this type[2] the wife is accused (usually by her mother-in-law or by a rival) of bearing an animal or a monster[3] (or of having devoured her offspring); the child is spirited away (or slain) by the calumniator; the wife is repudiated or subjected to terrible penance; at last the child is restored and the wife vindicated. In the *mabinogi* the *motif* of the Hand is utilized to remove the child.[4] A good old example

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[1] Cf. Nutt, *Scottish Celtic Review*, p. 140.

[2] *The Calumniated Wife* has been studied by many scholars. See, for example, Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Prosadichtungen*, pp. 265–266; Hahn, *Griechische u. Albanesische Märchen*, II, 292 ff.; D'Ancona, *La Rappresentazione di Santa Uliva*, Pisa, 1863; the same, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, III, 235 ff.; Wesselofsky, *Novella della Figlia del Re di Dacia*, Pisa, 1866; Todd, *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, IV, no. 3, pp. ii ff.; Temple, note in Mrs. Steel, *Tales of the Punjab*, pp. 364–365; Puymaigre, *Folk-Lore*, pp. 253 ff., 325–326; Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 17 ff.; Cosquin, *Contes pop. de Lorraine*, I, lxiii, 190; Suchier, *Œuvres poétiques de Philippe de Remi*, I, xxiii ff.; Nutt, *Celtic Magazine*, XII, 549–550; *Mélusine*, III, 212, 253 ff., 527–528; Clouston, *Variants and Analogues of the Tales*, in vol. III of Sir R. F. Burton's *Supplemental* [*Arabian*] *Nights*, pp. 617 ff.; id., *Book of Sindibād*, pp. 372 ff.; Köhler-Bolte, *Ztsch. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, VI, 60–61; Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 71–72, 256–257; Skeat's Oxford *Chaucer*, III, 409 ff.; Macaulay's *Gower*, II, 482 ff.; Köhler, *Mélusine*, I, 213–214; the same, in Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, pp. xxi ff.; Paris, *Romania*, XIX, 316, ff.; Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, i, 576; Suchier, *Romania*, XXX, 519 ff.

[3] In a more primitive form of the type, the wife actually bears children in animal form (being herself a swan-maiden or the like) and they are subsequently transformed into human shape, but this does not concern us here.

[4] The *motif* of the Hand Down the Chimney is similarly utilized in an Irish tale, *The White Hound of the Mountain* (O'Foharta, *Ztsch. f. Celt. Phil.*, I, 146 ff.). This tale belongs to that special form of the *Cupid and Psyche* type in which the wife's children are stolen as soon as they are born (cf., for example, Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, pp. 58 ff.) and which seems to have its origin in a combination of the *Cupid and Psyche* type proper with a variety of *The Calumniated Wife.* The *Griselda* novel is perhaps a rationalized development of some

of the type occurs in the *Dolopathos* of Johannes de Alta Silva (written about 1190),[1] in which the wife is accused of bearing animals. Two examples in *märchen* taken down from recitation in our own day are a Gypsy tale in Groome's collection[2] and an Irish tale in Larminie's,[3] in both of which the heroine is suspected of having killed her children, and in the latter of having eaten them. The type of *The Calumniated Wife* has been very productive, and the published versions differ infinitely in detail.

The changes wrought in *The Hand and the Child* by its assimilation to *The Calumniated Wife* are clear for the most part. The loss of the two former children has been suppressed; therefore the attack of the Hand is unforeseen, and there is no hero on the watch; hence nobody knows what has become of the infant. These alterations are necessary if Rhiannon is to be accused of devouring her child. Even as the *mabinogi* stands, however, there are traces of the incidents that have been superseded. The sleep of the nurses points back to the magic slumber which the abductor sends upon the watchers in *The Hand and the Child*. Teyrnon keeping guard over his foal represents the hero who resists the soporific effect of the abductor's magic and pulls (or hews) off the Hand. In *Pwyll*, however, this adventure of Teyrnon's takes place some months after the birth of the child and in a different part of the country. The reason for the postponement and the change of place is obvious. In *The Hand and the Child* the baby is either left behind by the monster or is recovered next day. This arrangement does not fit the *motif* of *The Calumniated Wife*, which requires the continued absence of the child in order that the calumny may gain credit and Rhiannon may undergo her penance. Hence Teyrnon is represented as ignorant of what has taken place at Pwyll's court, as finding the child at his own door (where the Hand has left it),

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such tale, as I hope to show before long in another paper. The peculiarity of *The White Hound of the Mountain* consists in the means adopted to carry the children away from their mother.

[1] Ed. Oesterley, pp. 74 ff.; cf. the Old French adaptation by Herbert, vv. 9299 ff., ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, pp. 321 ff.

[2] *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. 256.

[3] *West Irish Folk-Tales*, pp. 185–186.

and as giving it to his wife to bring up as her own. Thus, while still retaining the rôle of the hero in *The Hand and the Child*, he has assumed also the part of the person (hermit, miller, baker, or the like) who, in *The Calumniated Wife*, accidentally finds the exposed children and adopts them. Later, still in this latter character, he restores the child to its parents and clears up the plot. This is not till Rhiannon has undergone her penance for some time. The penance itself is a characteristic feature of *The Calumniated Wife*. It is much softened in the Welsh and its duration is shortened, but it is easily recognized as parallel to that described, for example, in the *Dolopathos*.[1] Of course it has no place in *The Hand and the Child*.

The combination of two characters in Teyrnon, just noted, is not very skilfully accomplished in the *mabinogi*. If the monster succeeds in stealing the child, he should of course go directly to his den (or castle), and it is absurd that he should take the baby with him when he sallies forth, months later, to steal Teyrnon's newborn foal. Yet so it is in *Pwyll:* Teyrnon finds the child at his door when he returns from pursuing the monster after hewing off his hand. The signs of patching are manifest here.

There are two possibilities with respect to the episode of Teyrnon and his foal: it may have been added when the tale was made over to fit *The Calumniated Wife* or it may simply have been modified somewhat, by postponement and change of locality. If the former hypothesis is correct, it is simply an adaptation of the usual incident of watching for the Hand that is to take the newborn child,

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[1] Johannes de Alta Silva, ed. Oesterley, p. 75; Herbert, ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, vv. 9508 ff., pp. 328–329. There is substantially the same penance in Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, pp. 94–95; Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, I, 21; Hahn, *Griechische u. albanesische Märchen*, II, 288 (cf. II, 40 ff.); Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 69–70; Socin, *Ztsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XXXVI, 261; A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, pp. 90 ff.; Comparetti, *Novelline pop. italiane*, I, 119; Kremnitz, *Rumänische Märchen*, p. 35; Imbriani, *Novellaja Fiorentina*, p. 86. The penance is milder (but still recognizable as the same in origin) in various versions: for example, Comparetti, p. 24; cf. Grenville Murray, *National Songs and Legends of Roumania*, 1859, p. 107 (imprisonment); Mme. Mijatovies [Mijatovich], *Serbian Folk-Lore*, ed. Denton, pp. 240–241.

— an incident which had to be omitted in its proper place in order to provide for the calumniation of Rhiannon. If the latter hypothesis is preferable, then the foal was, in an earlier form of the tale, born at the same time as the baby and belonged to the well-known class of "congenital animal companions."[1] In this case, the Hand attempted to steal them both in the same night. This does not seem so probable as the first supposition, for we should observe that the *mabinogi* is already provided with "congenital animals," — namely, the pups which are in Rhiannon's chamber. These correspond to the pups in the Irish and Highland stories of *The Hand and the Child*, which, as we have already conjectured, should properly be taken away by the Hand which seizes the children.[2] The attempt to steal Teyrnon's foal tends to confirm this conjecture. The presence of the whelps in the bedchamber was an element common to both *The Hand and the Child* and *The Calumniated Wife*, and hence it facilitated the combination which we find the *mabinogi* has made.[3]

Thus the episode of the *Persecution of Rhiannon* in the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll*[4] appears to afford an easily reconstructed version of *The Hand and the Child*. The *White Book of Rhydderch*, which contains the *Mabinogion*, is of the end of the thirteenth century.[5] We may

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[1] On such animals, see the references in Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, III, 191 ff. Rhŷs, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 501–503, compares one version of the *Birth of Cuchulinn* (*Compert Conculaind:* see Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 134 ff.; Zimmer, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVIII, 419 ff.; Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 39 ff.).

[2] See p. 239.

[3] Nutt, *Scottish Celtic Review*, I, 140, suggests that "the Welsh Gellert story may possibly be related to" the story of Rhiannon and to S or "at all events have been influenced by a similar version of the calumniated wife." The ease with which the calumniation of the wife and the master's suspicion of his dog (in *Gelert*) might influence each other is shown by a curious incident in an Italian version of *The Calumniated Wife*, — the miracle play of *Santa Uliva* (ed. d'Ancona, 1863, pp. 24–25; the same, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, III, 263).

[4] One of the genuine *mabinogion*, containing no Arthurian material. No one has ever suggested that *Pwyll* was influenced by French in any particular.

[5] J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, I, ii, 305. The *Red Book of Hergest*, which also contains the *Mabinogion*, is of the latter half of the fourteenth century.

safely infer that *The Hand and the Child*, in a form substantially identical with that which it bears in the Celtic stories which we have been studying, was known to the Welsh before 1300, and probably a good deal earlier.[1] Its presence in the Irish **y**, which must considerably antedate **G**,[2] suggests that it came to Wales from Ireland, as some of the material in the *Mabinogion* certainly did,[3] and this suggestion is supported by what is known of the influence of Irish literature upon Welsh at an early date.

IX. THE CONCLUSION IN *ARTHUR AND GORLAGON.*

We must now examine the closing incident in *The Werewolf's Tale* in **G**.

King Arthur has learned all that he can expect to know of the "ingenium mensque feminae," yet, when Gorlagon again asks him to "dismount and eat," he refuses once more. "I will in no wise dismount," he declares, "until you tell me who that sad-faced woman is who sits opposite you [at the table], having a bloody human head on a plate before her. As often as you have laughed, she has wept, and she has kissed the bloody head whenever you, in telling the story that you have related, have kissed your wife." "If I alone knew the facts," answers Gorlagon, "I should decline to tell them; but since they are known to all who sit here with me, I need feel no shame in informing you. I am the man who was transformed into a wolf. This woman is my faithless wife, and the head is that of her lover, which I have had embalmed. Her punishment is to have this always before her eyes and to kiss it whenever I kiss the wife whom I have married in her place. Dismount now, if dismount you will." Arthur then joins the feast, and on the next day he sets out for home, — a journey of nine days.

This punishment of the wife is peculiar to **G**. In **y**, as we have seen, she is forgiven, and received again by her husband, and so probably in **x**.[4] In **G** she continues to live at her husband's court,

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[1] The resemblance between *Pwyll* and **S** was noted by Nutt in 1881: "The close agreement between *Pywll* and the Highland tale makes it not improbable that a genuine folk-tale, constructed on precisely the same lines as the latter, existed formerly in Wales" (*Scottish Celtic Review*, p. 140).

[2] See p. 199.

[3] See Loth, *Revue Celtique*, XI, 345 ff. (cf. X, 354 ff.).

[4] See p. 187.

but not as his wife, and is the object of the savage vengeance just described. That G is departing from y at this point is not a mere inference. We can designate the very tale which supplied G with this incident, and we shall find that the same tale is also the source from which G derived another incident, earlier in the plot. Let us turn for a moment to the curious form in which G presents the episode that we have called *The Defence of the Child*, — a point in which, as we have already inferred on other grounds, it varied from its original, y.[1] In G —

The king who has befriended the wolf is obliged to visit another country. He charges his wife to take good care of the wolf, but she neglects him, "for women often hate what their husbands love." A week after the king's departure, the queen receives her lover, the steward, in the royal chamber, where the wolf is tied. Breaking his chain, the wolf assails the steward and leaves him half-dead. The queen declares that the wolf has eaten her baby, and that the steward received his wounds in coming to the rescue. She conceals the child in an underground chamber. On the king's return, the wolf leads him to this chamber (for details, see p. 235), and thence to the room where the steward lies suffering from his injuries. The king forces the guilty man to confess, and both he and the queen are put to death.

These two incidents, the Attack on the Steward and the Wife's Penance, are peculiar to G, and they both come from a single story, which we may call *The Dog and the Lady* and which is quite distinct from *The Werewolf's Tale*. We may first examine a version found in *The Forty Viziers*.[2]

A merchant spends the night at a rich man's house in Persia. At supper time he observes, with astonishment, a beautiful woman who sits in a corner and eats with a dog. He asks his host the reason and insists upon knowing, though he is told that the matter is never spoken of. "That was my well-beloved wife," replied the rich man. "She loved a negro slave of mine and they plotted to put me out of the way. One day she led me to a lonely place, under some pretext, and she and the slave attacked me. My

[1] See pp. 234–235.

[2] Behrnauer, *Die Vierzig Viziere*, pp. 325–326 (tale of the 39th Vizier); Gibb, *Forty Vezirs*, pp. 331 ff. (tale of the 34th Vizier).

dog had followed me from the house. He assailed the slave and pulled him off me. I killed the negro, but I spared the woman's life, and this is her punishment."

The same story occurs in the *Gesta Romanorum* in a somewhat different shape:

A certain prince, while out hunting, falls in with a merchant and invites him to spend the night at his castle. At supper the merchant sits by the prince's wife. All the company are served in silver plates, but before the lady and the merchant are placed "cibaria optima in capite unius defuncti." That night he is well lodged, but sees two dead men hanging by the arms in a corner of his chamber. Next morning the prince summons him and asks how he is pleased with him. "Everything pleases me," replies the merchant, "except that I was served in a dead man's skull and saw two corpses hanging in my chamber. For God's love, let me go!" The prince answers: "Carissime, vidisti uxorem meam nimis pulchram et caput defuncti ante eam. Racio est talis: iste enim cujus erat caput fuit quidam dux nobilis, qui uxorem meam sollicitavit et cum ea concubuit et pariter adinvicem commisceri perspexi, gladium arripui et caput ejus amputavi, unde in signum verecundie singulis diebus illud caput ante eam pono, ut ad memoriam reducat peccatum quod commisit." He then goes on to explain the corpses, which do not concern us here.[1]

With *The Dog and the Lady* as it appears in *The Forty Viziers* and in the *Gesta Romanorum* we should compare a version in the Tamil

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[1] This story is in the vulgate text of the Latin *Gesta* (eds. of 1480 and 1499, fol. xxv; Keller, I, 81 ff.; Oesterley, pp. 355–356, from the *editio princeps*, c. 1472; Swan's translation, 1824, I, 183 ff.; the same, revised by Hooper, 1877, pp. 93 ff.; Grässe, I, 87 ff.). It is cap. 54 in *Le Violier des Histoires Romaines*, ed. Brunet, pp. 125 ff. It is missing in a great many MSS. Of those enumerated by Oesterley it occurs as no. 42 in xv (15th century; see *Einl.*, p. 64), as no. 7 in xxxii (15th century; see p. 112), as no. 47 in lxii (1628; see p. 167); as no. 49 in lxxi (14th century; see p. 178). It does not occur in the Innsbruck MS. of 1342, printed by W. Dick, 1890 (Varnhagen's *Erlanger Beiträge zur engl. Phil.*, VII), nor in the four Munich MSS. (Oesterley's liii, lvii, lviii, lxvi) which Dick regards as derived from the Innsbruck MS. (see his *Einl.*, p. xx). It is not found in the Middle English version edited by Madden (1838) and Herrtage (E. E. T. S., 1879), nor in the German translation edited by Keller from a fifteenth-century manuscript (*Bibl. der gesammten deutschen Nat.-Lit.*, XXIII).

Story of Alakēsa,[1] which is remarkably close to G in the adventure with the steward.

A merchant who possesses a fine dog is called away from home by business. He charges his wife to feed the dog well, and for a few days she heeds his instructions. But the wife has a lover, "a wicked youth of the Setti caste," who visits her constantly in the merchant's absence. One night, as the lover is leaving the house, the dog springs at his throat and kills him. The woman buries the body in the garden. Henceforth she hates the dog. She no longer feeds him, and he is nearly starved. When the merchant returns, the dog runs to meet him, rolls at his feet, and, seizing his garments, drags him to the spot where the youth's body is hidden and begins to scratch the ground. The merchant discovers the corpse; the wife confesses and is turned out of doors. The dog is fed with milk, rice, and sugar.[2]

In the *Story of Alakēsa* and *The Forty Viziers*, it will be seen, we have the faithful dog and the faithless wife, and in the latter the wife's punishment is to eat with the dog. In the *Gesta* there is no dog, and the wife's punishment is to eat from the skull of her lover. The version of *The Dog and the Lady* used by the author of G must have agreed (substantially) with that in the *Gesta* in the punishment of the wife, and with that in *The Story of Alakēsa* (less closely with that in *The Forty Viziers*) in the account of her amour. The latter incident appears in G in a different part of the story, — at the place where y had the *Rescue of the Child* from the Demon Hand. Here, it will be remembered, the Hand has disappeared from the tale in G. The wolf, instead of defending his master's child (as in I), defends his master's honor by attacking the steward, the queen's lover, who is

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[1] *Alakēsa Kathā* (ascribed to the sixteenth century) as translated by Pandit Natēsa Sāstrī in Clouston, *A Group of Eastern Romances*, 1889, under the title of *The King and his Four Ministers*. Cf. Benfey, *Pantsch.*, I, 484–5.

[2] Clouston, pp. 207 ff. The tale is here combined with a peculiar version of *The Faithful Dog* (the Gelert story), with which, however, it has nothing to do originally. Three other cases of this peculiar version of the Gelert story are cited by Clouston, pp. 507, 513 ff.: (1) Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmír*, pp. 36 ff., cf. 425 ff.; (2) *Asiatic Journal*, New Ser., XV, pt. ii, Oct., 1834, p. 78; (3) G. H. Roberts, *Indian Notes and Queries*, 1887, p. 150. In none of these is it combined with *The Dog and the Lady*. Cf. also *Panjab Notes and Queries*, III, 94–95.

dishonoring the royal bed. Thus we have practically the whole of the tale of *The Dog and the Lady* (as exemplified by *The Story of Alakēsa*, *The Forty Viziers*, and the *Gesta*) embodied in G, and the inference which we have already drawn as to the variation of G from y in the incident of the *Defence of the Child* (see p. 235) is raised to the rank of a proved fact.

The connection of G with *The Dog and the Lady* not only establishes our previous inference that the Attack on the Steward and the Wife's Penance (both peculiar to G among the different redactions of *The Werewolf's Tale*) were no part of y: it also accounts for the complete rationalization of G in an important particular. In y, as we have seen, the lady was a *fée;* her lover was a fairy man, who had been her husband in the Other World and who pursued her into the abode of mortals and won her back; her mortal husband recovered her, and her apparent infidelity to him was condoned. In G, the insertion of *The Dog and the Lady* has necessarily changed all this, reducing the lady to the condition of a mere woman, and consequently eliminating the condonation of her offence.[1] Thus practically all the features in which G differs from y are immediately explained by the influence of *The Dog and the Lady* upon G, and the accuracy of our reconstruction of y is demonstrated.

We can even see a reason for the insertion of *The Dog and the Lady* into G: *The Dog and the Lady* had a frame-story which somewhat resembled that of *The Werewolf's Tale* in version y. In both y and *The Dog and the Lady* a traveller is entertained by a powerful man (or visits him) and induces (or compels) him to tell his tale — a tale, it transpires, of a faithless wife who tried to compass her husband's death. The host is reluctant to disclose the secret, but is prevailed upon by his insistent guest. In both, the wife has been spared and is present when the tale is told.[2] The difference is that

[1] The ingenious cynicism with which G enforces the lesson of feminine infidelity merits a word. G introduces us to *two* faithless wives instead of *one*, — attaching the amour with the steward to the wife of the king who befriended the Werewolf.

[2] The frame in question is found in both *The Forty Viziers* and the *Gesta Romanorum*. Its disappearance from the version in the *Alakēsa Kathā* (a sixteenth-century text) is accounted for by the fact that in that collection *The Dog and the Lady* has been inserted into a form of *The Faithful Dog* (the Gelert story):

in y the guest is a quester who is under bonds to learn this particular narrative, whereas in *The Dog and the Lady* he is a chance visitor whose curiosity is excited by what he sees at his host's. It is possible that one of the features that G does not share with I (and which we therefore cannot safely claim for y) was introduced into G from *The Dog and the Lady*, — namely, the telling of the story at a feast. This, however, cannot be decided and is of slight consequence.[1]

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see p. 248, note 2. This combination also accounts for the loss of the Wife's Penance in the *Alakēsa Kathā;* there is no place for it in the combined tale, as a glance at that text will show. In a modern Tunisian version of *The Dog and the Lady* (Stumme, *Tunisische Märchen*, II, 110 ff.) the frame has been considerably elaborated under the influence of the Arabian Nights (see Lidzbarski, *Ztsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XLVIII, 669): see also p. 253 (bottom).

In a complicated Oriental tale given by von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia*, I, 326 ff., we find a good version of *The Dog and the Lady* (see Benfey, *Pantsch., Einl.*, I, 445 ff.), set in a frame which gives it a rather striking resemblance to G in certain particulars. The betrayed husband tells his experiences to a quester who must learn them or die; he tells them, moreover, with extreme reluctance, and informs the quester that he who hears the narrative must be put to death. There is, however, no werewolf in the story. The false wife turns out to be the same perilous princess who had sent the quester on his mission. She belongs to that extensive class of ladies who are in love with a giant or other monster (cf. the Grusinian legend of Solomon, reported by Wesselofsky, *Archiv. f. slav. Phil.*, VI, 574) and who set their suitors apparently impossible tasks (or riddles) in order to avoid marrying anybody. Such tales are common everywhere and require a special study to untangle their perplexed relationships. In some versions, the lady is not to blame for her amour, since she is under enchantment. When this is the case, we have an approximation (often very close) to the Tobit-Amadas type, and the *motif* of the Thankful Dead Man occasionally appears. The head of the monstrous lover is sometimes brought to the princess. Perhaps this last incident may have had its influence on the lady's penance in *The Dog and the Lady*. For Irish *märchen* which would have to be included in any study hereafter made of the kind of tale represented by von Haxthausen's narrative see Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions*, pp. 74 ff., 38–39; Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales*, p. 46, pp. 155 ff.; Curtin, *Myths*, pp. 186 ff.; id., *Hero-Tales*, pp. 122 ff., 312 ff.; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, pp. 19 ff. (cf. p. 153) — all of which have come in some manner from the Orient. For the Tobit-Amadas legend see especially Hippe, Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXI, 141 ff., to whose extensive material large additions might now be made.

[1] It is a commonplace of mediæval romance that adventures happen or questers arrive precisely at the moment when a feast is about to begin or is

We have compared the version of *The Dog and the Lady* that is embedded in G with the *Forty Viziers*, the *Alakēsa Kathā*, and the *Gesta Romanorum*. We should remember, however, that our MS. of G was written at the end of the fourteenth century, and is therefore much older than the *Alakēsa Kathā* (ascribed to the sixteenth century) and considerably older than the only extant version of the *Forty Viziers*, — the Turkish, which dates from 1421–1451. The manuscript of G is also older than any known *Gesta* manuscript that contains *The Dog and the Lady*. Our Latin story G is no doubt a good deal older than the manuscript that has preserved it[1]; but even if we take the date of the manuscript as the date of G itself, we find that we have in G the oldest record yet discovered of (1) *The Dog and the Lady* with the dog in it and of (2) the same with the death's head. Further, our text (in G) is the only known version that contains *both* the dog and the head (or skull). There is little doubt that *The Dog and the Lady* came from the Orient.[2] If,

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in progress. This is found not only in numerous Arthurian stories preserved in French, but is familiar in Celtic tradition also. There is a well-known case in the Welsh *Kulhwch and Olwen*, and we have an instance antedating any French romance of the Round Table in the closing adventure of *Bricriu's Feast* (*Fled Bricrend*, chap. 16, § 91, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 301; Henderson, p. 117; K. Meyer, *Revue Celtique*, XIV, 450). Here the Strong Man (the original of the Green Knight in the superb Middle English romance) presents himself at Emain when the host of Conchobar are seated in the Red Branch, Conchobar's Court, after the sports of the day. It is not expressly said that they were feasting, but the circumstances make it clear that they were. The relation of the *Fled Bricrend* to *Gawain and the Green Knight* will be discussed in a volume which I hope to publish in a few months.

[1] This is true of the other contents of the manuscript (*Apollonius of Tyre*, *Historia de Preliis*, etc.). See p. 149.

[2] The repulsive Oriental story *How a Woman Rewards Love* (*Pañcatantra*, iv, 5, Benfey, I, 303 ff.) seems to be quite distinct from *The Dog and the Lady*, though Benfey (*Pantschatantra*, *Einl.*, § 186) regarded them as variants of the same tale. For the former, add to Benfey's references *Kathāsaritsāgara*, ch. 65 (Tawney, II, 101 ff.), and the close parallel in the Thibetan *Kah-gyur* (Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, transl. by Ralston, no. 21, pp. 291 ff.); both resemble *Daçakumāracarita* (i.e. *The Adventures of Ten Princes*), ed. Wilson, p. 150 (as translated by Benfey, I, 436 ff., and Jacob, *Hindoo Tales*, pp. 261 ff.) even more closely than they do *Pañcatantra*, iv, 5. It is noteworthy that in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* the

as Benfey not improbably conjectures,[1] the Penance with the Skull was substituted for Eating with the Dog after the tale reached Europe, then **G**, — which keeps the Dog's Attack on the Lover

[1] *Pantschatantra, Einl.*, § 186, I, 450. In his comment on the *Gesta*, ch. 56., Warton (*History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 254) compares the wife's penance in the *Gesta* with the famous story of Alboin and Rosemunda (Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Lombardorum*, ii, 28, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, in *Scriptores Rerum Lombard.*, 1878, p. 88); Grässe, in his edition of the *Gesta*, II, 263, refers to the history as the source of the tale in the *Gesta;* and Benfey calls the punishment in question an occidental addition to the story, derived from the Lombard saga and "aus analogen Anschauungen." With the punishment of eating from a lover's skull may be compared that of eating the lover's heart (or drinking from a goblet containing it), well known both in the East and the West (*Decameron*, iv, 1; id., iv, 9; *Guillem de Cabestanh; Lai d'Ignaure; Châtelain de Couci; Herzmäre; Rājā Rasālu*, etc.). See the references in Child, *Ballads*, V, 29 ff., 303, and add the American Indian tale in *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, V, 11 (in which a husband gives his wife soup made of the blood of her serpent-paramours) and the extraordinarily savage story in Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 83–84.

unfaithful wife is punished by the amputation of her nose and ears, — something that occurs in none of the other versions (cf. p. 174).

In the *Daçakumāracarita* version of *How a Woman Rewards Love*, the wife is punished by degradation to the rank of a "Dog-cooker" (*çvāpācikā*). Benfey conjectures that, when the story passed out of India but while it was still in the East, this incident was misunderstood and gave rise to the wife's penance of Eating with the Dog (as in the *Forty Viziers*). Since this was a strange punishment, he continues, a motive had to be found for it, "und so führte dann die charakteristische Treue der Hunde die weitere Ausspinnung herbei, dass dieses Hündchen den Herrn gerettet habe" (*Pantsch., Einl.*, I, 445). Thus he derives *The Dog and the Lady* from the other story (*How a Woman Rewards Love*). But the probabilities are all in favor of two distinct stories. We should observe that we find the penalty of Eating with the Dogs elsewhere, under circumstances that preclude the possibility of any such misinterpretation of Sanskrit. See *Robert le Diable* in various versions; cf. Étienne de Bourbon, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 146; *Sir Gowther*, sts. 25 ff., vv. 276 ff., ed. Breul, pp. 146 ff. (also in [Utterson,] *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, I, 173 ff.); the Middle English *Roberd of Cisyle*, vv. 163 ff., ed. Nuck, p. 42; *Dit de Trois Chanoines* (quoted by Du Méril, *Études sur quelques Points d'Archéologie*, etc., p. 313); Francesco Bello (called Il Cieco da Ferrara), *Mambriano*, xxv, Rua, *Antiche Novelle in Versi*, p. 60 (eating with the cats: cf. Rua, *Novelle del Mambriano*, p. 103, note

(lost in the *Gesta*), but which (like the *Gesta*) has rejected the incident of Eating with the Dog in favor of the Penance with the Skull, — must represent the oldest occidental form of *The Dog and the Lady*. G, in other words, preserves substantially that form of the tale in question that underlies (by several strata, perhaps) the fifty-sixth chapter of the vulgate *Gesta Romanorum*.[1]

The insertion of *The Dog and the Lady* into *The Werewolf's Tale* may probably be ascribed to the Latin translator of the Welsh G, who was doubtless a cleric and as such was familiar with the anecdotical literature of his time. Since *The Defence of the Child* was already in y, and since that incident concerned a faithful wolf acting as a watch-dog, it was natural that the Latin redactor should

[1] The lady's penance in G does not consist in eating from her lover's skull, but in sitting at table with his embalmed head before her on a platter. This may be a modification introduced by the author of G to soften the barbarity of the punishment. In Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, no. 223 (ed. Oesterley, p. 149), — a tale derived from chap. 56 of the vulgate *Gesta*, — the head in the dish has also been substituted for the skull-dish.

2, where a similar case is cited from Sabbadino delli Arienti, *Porretane*, nov. 18, ed. Veron., 1540). There is also the historical penance of the Templar Adam de Vallencourt, who "fecit penitenciam solempnem per annum et diem, comedendo in terra omnes sextas ferias illius anni" (document of 1310, in Michelet, *Procès des Templiers*, I, 204). It is likewise important to compare the modern Tunisian version of *The Dog and the Lady* (Stumme, *Tunisische Märchen*, II, 110 ff.; cf. p. 249, note 2, above) with *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chap. 61 (Tawney, II, 53–54). In the Sanskrit the husband is tied to a tree by the lover; he prays to a goddess, who appears "and grants him a boon, so that he escapes, and cuts off the head of the [lover, who is asleep,] with his [the lover's] own sword." In Stumme, where the situation is very similar, a faithful dog bites the bonds asunder. Surely Stumme's version (late as his text is in comparison with the twelfth-century *Kathāsaritsāgara*) seems more primitive and *märchenhaft* here (cf. the fable of *The Mouse and the Lion*). The version in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is not a little remarkable. It is essentially *The Dog and the Lady*, but it shows contamination (at the end) with *How a Woman Rewards Love*, — a story which is actually contained in the same collection in another place (ch. 65, Tawney, II, 101 ff.) and which Somadeva certainly regarded as a distinct tale. Another cynical story from the East illustrating the comparative fidelity of dogs and wives is in the *Dolopathos*, pp. 52 ff., and the *Gesta*, ch. 124 (ed. Oesterley, pp. 473 ff., cf. p. 732). Still another, which may also be of Oriental origin, occurs in the *Chevalier à l'Espée*, vv. 959 ff. (Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, I, 157 ff.; ed. Armstrong, pp. 29 ff., cf. p. 63).

be reminded of another faithful dog, known to him in the cynical *exemplum* of *The Dog and the Lady*. This seems better than to ascribe the insertion to the Welsh translator of the Irish **y**.

X. THE WEREWOLF'S TALE IN MALORY.

Sir Thomas Malory, or rather one of his French authorities, knew a version of our *Werewolf's Tale* which, like the *Lai de Melion*, had become attached to the Arthurian cycle. In a long list of knights who "searched" Urrë's wounds, Malory mentions "Sir Marrok the good knyghte that was bitrayed with [i.e., by] his wyf, for she made hym seuen yere a werwolf."[1] It would be idle conjecture to speculate as to the precise relation between the lost story of Marrok and the versions that are preserved. Malory certainly drew this incident of the wounded Urre from a French source. He expressly refers to "the French book" several times,[2] and it was manifestly a Lancelot romance.[3] The source of the Urre episode has not

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[1] *Morte Darthur*, bk. xix, ch. 11, ed. Sommer, p. 793. Sir Marrok is also mentioned in bk. v, ch. 8 (p. 172), as a knight of the Round Table. Miss Weston (*Four Lays*, p. 101) suggests that *Morraha* (in version **L** of *The Werewolf's Tale*) and *Marrok* are the same name; but this is incredible. "Alfredus (Affredus) filius *Marroci* de Vilarblez" is grantor in a twelfth-century charter of Redon (De Courson, no. 336, p. 287). *Marrok* is the false steward's name in *Sir Tryamoure* (ed. Halliwell, Percy Soc., p. 2, and *passim*; [Utterson,] *Select Pieces*, I, 6, etc.; *Percy MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, II, 81, etc.). I owe the following citations to Dr. Alma Blount's collections for an Arthurian onomasticon. *Mauruc* (*Maurut*) *de la Roche* is one of Arthur's knights in the vulgate French prose *Merlin*, ed. Sommer (from Add. MS. 10,292 in the British Museum), pp. 110, 119, 123, 157. Dodineel overcomes one *Maroc*

> Vander Ynsen roken, diemen seget
> Da tusschen Irlant ende Scollant leget

in the Dutch *Lancelot*, vv. 1216–1218 (ed. Jonckbloet, I, 9), and sends him to the queen (cf. Miss Weston, *Lancelot*, p. 216). *Maruc* (*Marec*) is a knight of Arthur's in the Middle English *Arthour and Merlin*, ed. Kölbing, vv. 3595, 3953, 5431.

[2] Ch. 10, p. 788, l. 16; p. 789, l. 6; ch. 11, p. 791, l. 29.

[3] Cf. also p. 796.

been discovered.[1] Though the list of knights probably contains some additions of Malory's own, we have no reason to doubt that the remark about Sir Marrok (with or without that name) was in "the French book."

XI. AN ICELANDIC PARALLEL.

A curious story, which may or may not be related to *The Werewolf's Tale*, is found in the Icelandic *Álaflekkssaga*, chaps. 6 and 7.[2]

Áli is visited on his wedding night by a wizard, who dooms him to become a wolf in the woods, to kill men and cattle, to lay waste his wife's country, and then to ravage that of his own father. He is not to escape death unless some one asks pardon for him when he is taken. Áli lays upon the wizard a counter-spell,[3] leaps out of bed, takes to the woods, and turns into a wolf. His depredations are so extensive that the king his father leads a hunt against him, but he breaks through the circle of hunters. That night he visits the garth of his foster-parents, Gunni

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[1] See Sommer, III, 248; Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, pp. 187, 237. Dr. Schofield notes: "In *Richard Coer de Lion*, v. 6665 (Weber, II, 261) the romance of *Ury* is mentioned in a list of romances of all sorts, in the same line with *Octavyan* and just after *Beves* and *Guy*, — good evidence of the existence of a separate romance which was taken into some version of the *Lancelot*."

[2] An extract from the saga, including these chapters, is printed by Jiriczek (from a seventeenth-century manuscript) in *Ztsch. f. deutsche Philol.*, XXVI (1894), 17 ff. According to Jiriczek, there are numerous manuscripts of the saga, — among them, parchment fragments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[3] This counter-spell, which forces the magician to remain in a very uncomfortable situation so long as Áli is a wolf, reminds one of a feature in S (in the frame-story) and other tales (see p. 221, note). There is a curious parallel in the Middle Dutch *Walewein*, a romance which, though it is essentially a mere expansion of a *motif* well-known in *märchen* (the quest which proceeds from task to task: see Ker, *Folk-Lore*, V, 121 ff.), is yet, in its present form, almost a compendium of mediæval romantic fiction. A king's son, after a scene resembling the "Potiphar's wife incident" in the *Seven Sages*, is changed into a fox by his stepmother (vv. 5696 ff., ed. Jonckbloet, I, 189–190). He is to retain this shape until he shall be in the company of King Wonder, King Wonder's son, princess Assentijn, and Walewein, all at the same time, — and this, the queen thinks, will never happen. Thereupon the prince's aunt transforms the queen into a toad, and in that guise she remains under the doorsill till the fox is released from the charm (vv. 5736 ff., 10,942 ff.).

and Hildr, but does no damage. The carline says to her husband: "No eyes have I seen more like than those in this wolf and those that were in Áli's head." She feeds the wolf, who departs refreshed, and that night kills three of the king his father's men. Again there is a hunt, and this time Áli is captured by the king's own hand.[1] While the captor is deliberating what death the wolf should die, Hildr comes and asks *grith* for him. It is granted and she takes the wolf home with her. That night she watches over the wolf, but falls asleep at midnight. When she wakes, Áli is lying in the bed, and a wolfskin is on the floor by her side. She rouses her husband and he burns the wolfskin. In the morning, they go to the king's hall and Hildr tells the story. The wizard is hanged.

The differences between this saga and our *Werewolf's Tale* are marked, but so are the resemblances, some of them in details. There is little call for dogmatizing, but I am inclined to regard the Icelandic story as an offshoot of the Irish **x**. The relations between Irish and Scandinavian are wellknown, and though the *Álaflekkssaga* is pretty late, there is no reason why this particular episode should not be of considerable antiquity.[2]

XII. A JUDÆO-GERMAN VERSION.

An extraordinary Judæo-German tale, summarized by Köhler,[3] is clearly an oriental story related to that of Sidi Numan,[4] but greatly modified by incidents from some version of *The Werewolf's Tale*. The Yiddish *Maasæhbuch*, our sole authority for this Hebraized legend, was compiled in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Perhaps the author knew a text resembling our **G**. An incident like that of the Werewolf's pulling down a stag for the king (which occurs in **G** and **I** and has left traces in **M**) is found in the Judæo-German

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[1] Apparently he could have broken through the ring of hunters again if he had been willing to attack his father.

[2] Jiriczek, p. 17, designates it (judiciously) as "eine alte Werwolfssage."

[3] In Warnke's *Marie*, 2d ed., pp. civ ff., from Christopher Helwig's *Jüdische Historien*, Pt. I, pp. 1 ff. Helwig's book consists of two parts, which appeared at Giessen in 1611 and 1612 according to Köhler. Both parts are dated 1612 in the copy in the Harvard College Library.

[4] See p. 170, note 3, above.

version. The talisman that transforms the hero is a magic ring which effects whatever the owner wishes. Such talismans are so common, however, that we have no right to insist on this (probably fortuitous and not very close) resemblance to **M.** The use of a ring may be due to the Jewish writer's acquaintance with Oriental literature, — particularly with legends about Solomon.

XIII. WEREWOLVES IN IRELAND.

Reference has already been made to the existence of werewolf stories in Ireland.[1] The importance of the matter in the present argument demands a somewhat more extended treatment of the evidence.

Giraldus Cambrensis[2] tells of a priest who was spending the night in a wood on the borders of Meath (*Media*):

A wolf came up to his camp fire and gave a strange account of himself in human language. He said that he belonged to a certain race of Ossory. Every seven years, two members of this race, a man and a woman, were compelled, in accordance with a curse of St. Natalis, to become wolves and leave their country. After seven years they returned to their human form, and two others took their place. The wolf's mate was sick unto death and needed the last rites of the Church. The priest being still in doubt, the wolf, "pede quasi pro manu fungens, pellem totam a capite lupae retrahens, usque ad umbilicum replicavit: et statim expressa forma vetulae cujusdam apparuit." After the host had been administered, the wolfskin "priori se formae coaptavit." The wolf spent the rest of the night by the priest's fire, directed him on his way next morning, and prophesied the success of the English invasion.

This adventure is dated by Giraldus about three years before the arrival of Prince John.[3] He adds a brief dissertation on the changing of men into animals, making several quotations from

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[1] See p. 169, note 1.

[2] *Top. Hib.*, ii, 19, *Works*, Rolls Series, V, 101 ff.

[3] In the *Expugnatio* (ii, 23, *Works*, V, 356) he mentions the same story (with a reference to the *Topographia*) in a way that makes it possible to date the occurrence in 1182 or 1183.

St. Augustine, the most interesting of which is the well-known passage on Arcadian werewolves.[1] The werewolves of Ossory are a regular feature in other lists of the Wonders of Ireland.[2] Accounts vary. According to some of them,[3] the men become wolves whenever they wish; according to others,[4] they are forced to undergo this transformation at a certain time. Giraldus alone speaks of a single pair as the victims, and the highly colored narrative of the interview with a priest is his exclusive property.

The *Cóir Anmann* (or *Fitness of Names*) contains the following passage:[5]

> Laignech *Faelad*, that is, he was the man that used to shift into *faelad*, i.e. wolf-shapes. He and his offspring after him used to go, whenever they pleased, into the shapes of the wolves, and, after the custom of wolves, kill the herds. Wherefore he was called Laignech *Fáelad*, for he was the first of them to go into a wolf-shape.

The word *faelad*, here explained as meaning *wolf-shape*,[6] is used for the ravages of robbers in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* (or *Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel*), where Stokes translates the passage: "When they were were-wolfing in the province of Connaught."[7]

In the *Acallam na Senórach* there is a story of three she-wolves that issue every year from the Cave of Cruachan and devour sheep. They are women who find it "easier to plunder as wolves than as

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[1] *Civ. Dei*, xviii, 17, from Varro. See Immerwahr, *Die Kulte u. Mythen Arkadiens*, I, 11, 13 f. Cf. p. 169, note 1, above.

[2] See the *Mirabilia* published by Todd in the Appendix to his edition of the Irish Nennius, pp. 204–205 (with Herbert's note), the *Mirabilia* in the Norse *Speculum Regale* (K. Meyer, *Folk-Lore*, V, 310 f.), and the Latin poem *De Rebus Hiberniae Admirandis*, edited by Thomas Wright, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II, 105. Ossory is not mentioned in the *Speculum* and the poem.

[3] The Irish text and the Latin poem.

[4] The *Speculum Regale* and Giraldus.

[5] § 215, ed. and transl. by Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, 376–377. Stokes refers to the Irish Nennius, p. 204, and to Giraldus Cambrensis, *Top. Hib.*, ii, 19. He adds that there was a special name for a female werewolf (*conel*); see Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, II, 202–203 (a reference which I owe to Professor Robinson).

[6] "Fri faeladh. i. i conr[e]achtaibh."

[7] "Intan badar oc faelad i crich Connacht" (chap. 20, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 29–30).

human beings." They are induced to become women in order to listen to music the better, and are then slain by one spear-cast.[1] These may be regarded as identical with the "three cats (*caittini*) from the Cave of Cruachan, i.e. three beasts of magic" that attack the heroes in the *Fled Bricrend*.[2]

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[1] Lines 7676 ff., ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, IV, i, 214 f., 264 f.

[2] Chap. ix, § 57, ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 282; ed. Henderson, pp. 72, 73. § 57 is lacking in the later MSS., but is found in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*. Though the episode of the Three Cats was a part of one version of the *Fled Bricrend* long before the year 1100, it obviously enshrines a bit of local legend about the Cave of Cruachan that existed independently of the story of Bricriu's Feast and of any form of the contest for the hero's portion (cf. Henderson, pp. xxxiii, xxxvii–xxxviii, with Zimmer, Kuhn's *Ztschr.*, XXVIII, 633 ff.). The passage in the *Acallam* must, then, be regarded as independent evidence for the existence of this local legend, since the insertion of the tale into the epic saga would of course have no effect on its continuous tradition as a local legend. The compiler of the *Acallam* represents the three she-werewolves as "three daughters of Airitech, of the rear of the Oppressive Company" (*tri hingena Airitig do deired na tromdáimi*, ll. 7682–7683). This, however, is a mere attempt to attach them to the famous story of the *Tromdam* or Oppressive Company (of Bards), and was perhaps suggested by the susceptibility that they show to concord of sweet sounds (or may, indeed, have itself suggested that susceptibility). On the *Tromdam* see especially Zimmer, Kuhn's *Ztschr.*, XXVIII, 429 ff. It was edited, mainly from the *Book of Lismore*, by Connellan for the Ossianic Society (*Transactions*, V, under the title *Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe, or Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution*). For demon cats in Irish folk-lore Henderson, p. xxxiii, cites Lady Wilde's story of *The Demon Cat, Ancient Legends, etc., of Ireland*, II, 16 ff. [reprinted by W. B. Yeats, *Irish Fairy and Folk Tales*, pp. 229 ff.], with Yeats's brief note, p. 325. Many other references to such cats might be added from Irish and Highland story: see Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, p. 234; id., *Fireside Stories*, p. 149 f.; Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales*, pp. 72, 101, 102, 153; Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, pp. 216, 321; id., *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, pp. 54 ff., 102 ff., 498; *Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution*, ed. Connellan, *Ossianic Society Transactions*, V, 81 ff.; O'Kearney, *Ossianic Soc. Trans.*, II, 34 ff.; *Celtic Magazine*, XIII, 542 ff.; [W. G. Stewart,] *Pop. Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland*, pp. 189 ff.; Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, II, 122 ff. Compare "Cairbre Cathead" (*Coirpri Cind cait*), *Cóir Anmann*, chap. 241 (Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, 384–385, with the editor's note, p. 422). Arthur's fight with the Cat should not be forgotten (Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, XXX, 219–220; Baist, *Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 275; *Folk-Lore*, I, 251 f.; Freymond, *Artus' Kampf mit dem Katzenungetüm*, in the *Gröber-Festgabe*, 1899, pp. 311 ff.; Rhŷs, in the Dent

Lady Wilde[1] prints a tale of certain grateful werewolves. A farmer named Connor, in search of two missing cows, was benighted on a desolate heath. He knocked at the door of a rude shieling. It was opened by an uncanny old man, who invited him to enter, and introduced him to an equally uncanny old woman, his wife. They sat down to supper. Soon a black wolf was admitted, who went into an inner room, whence soon appeared a handsome youth, who took his place at the table. A second time this happened. Connor was bidden to tell his errand. The elder son reminded Connor how he had once befriended a young wolf, and said that *he* was that wolf. He promised to help Connor, and they all feasted merrily. Next morning Connor awoke in his own field, and espied three beautiful cows. He tried to drive them away, but a young wolf drove them back. Connor grew rich and prospered, but he could never again find the wolves' shieling.

On the whole, we need not hesitate to pronounce werewolves quite as much at home in Ireland as in Wales or Brittany.[2]

XIV. CONCLUSION.

In conclusion it may be well to sum up our long and somewhat complicated investigation and to specify its main results.

We have had to deal with two distinct Irish stories: *The Fairy Wife* and *The Werewolf's Tale* proper.[3] *The Fairy Wife* was similar

Malory, 1893, pp. xxviii–xxix; id., *Celtic Folklore*, II, 504–505, 507; Newell, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVII, 277). See also Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 90; II, 1 ff., 35–36; Mannhardt, *Wald- u. Feldkulte*, I, 136; II, 172–175.

[1] *Ancient Legends of Ireland*, Boston, 1887, I, 31 ff.; cf. *Celtic Magazine*, XIII, 486 ff., 496.

[2] See also Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, II, 118 ff.

[3] It is open to anybody to contend that *The Werewolf's Tale* proper is of Oriental origin. It may be argued that it is merely the Eastern story of the man whose unfaithful wife, being an enchantress, changes him into an animal (the type already referred to as represented in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and by *Sidi Numan:* see p. 170, note 3), modified to suit the werewolf superstitions current in the West. I am not concerned to refute such theories as this. It should be noted, however, that they in no way affect the facts and arguments set forth in the present paper. The original home of a story is a difficult matter to settle, and no such task is essayed in these investigations. For our purposes, *The Werewolf's Tale*, wherever it originally came from, is Irish if it became a part of Irish legend at a date early enough to have served as the source of Marie's *Lai de Bisclavret*.

to the *Tochmarc Etaine*, both in outline and in several details. It may even have been a version of that famous saga. A *fée* becomes the wife of a mortal, who has vowed that he will never marry a woman who has loved another. The *fée* has had a husband in the realm of faerie. He seeks her and wins her away from her mortal husband. The latter follows her into the Other World and recovers her. Her return to faerie with her immortal partner is not regarded as an offence, and she is not liable to punishment for unfaithfulness.

The Irish *Werewolf's Tale* proper was a story of another sort. It was a kind of *exemplum*, illustrating the fickleness of women. A man is a natural werewolf, forced to spend a part of his time in wolfish shape. His wife, who has a lover, learns his secret and compels him to remain in his beast-form by removing from his control the means of disenchantment. The wolf commits great depredations. A hunt is organized, and he makes his submission to the king, who disenchants him. The wife and her lover are punished. Presumably the Werewolf is freed from his curse forever.

The second of these tales passed from Ireland to Brittany, where it became localized. The Breton story is faithfully preserved in Marie's *Lai de Bisclavret*, written in England about 1180. It shows no intermixture of *The Fairy Wife*.

In Ireland, the two stories (*The Fairy Wife* and *The Werewolf's Tale*) were combined into a single saga. The combination was made by inserting the latter into the former and by some adaptation of details. The wife is still a *fée*, and the end of the tale records her recovery. The werewolf anecdote is utilized as a means of procuring her escape from her mortal husband when she returns to the Other World with her fairy mate. The husband pursues in the form of a wolf. The king who disenchants him is his supernatural father-in-law. The whole machinery of the hunt is from *The Werewolf's Tale* proper, and so are the details of the disenchantment. The wife is restored to her mortal husband, who takes her home with him and has no thought of punishing her.

This combined tale, the Irish **x**, passed into Brittany and became the subject of a Breton lay. It was rendered into French, and the first French version was somewhat modified by a Picard poet, the

author of the extant *Lai de Melion.* The *Lai de Melion*, in its present form, rationalizes the story a good deal. The lady is no longer a *fée*, and her mortal husband refuses to take her back. The fairy lover, too, has been reduced to a very shadowy figure, of no great importance in the plot. Yet, rationalized as it is, the French *lai* keeps manifest signs of its original character. The circumstances under which Melion wins his wife, Melion's vow, their meeting in the wood, the conversation, are so close to the Irish *Tochmarc Etaine* that one text might almost be regarded as a translation of the other. The return of the lady to her father's realm across the sea, accompanied by the squire, is also significant. In the werewolf part of the story, **M** is pretty close to its source **x**, except that the rôle of the rescuing king is divided between two personages, — the Werewolf's father-in-law and King Arthur. This attachment to the Arthurian cycle is a clear departure from **x** on the part of **M**. It may have been effected by the French poet or may have stood in his Breton source: decision is impossible. In **M** the Werewolf is no longer forced by his nature to spend a part of his time in wolfish shape; the transformation is brought about by means of a [congenital] talisman, — a ring which he wears and with which another must strike him in order to effect the change. This shows the influence of a different type of story (that in which a man is married to an enchantress: cf. *Sidi Numan*), but the influence has not gone far in the *Lai de Melion.* Finally, in making the Werewolf's father a king of Ireland, and in locating the scene of the creature's ravages and disenchantment in that country, the *lai* preserves a manifest sign of its ultimate origin. The present text of the *Lai de Melion* is preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript, but the lay may be considerably older, even in French. If a Norman version preceded the Picard text that we have, that version was probably nearly or quite as old as Marie's time.

The Irish **x** had a further development (to **y**) in its native land. The changes, which may have taken place at different times, were the following: — (1) The story is set in a frame. A quester puts himself under bonds (or is required by an outside power) to discover "the cause of the one story about women." He sets out to find the person who is supposed to know this mysterious tale. He

falls in with him thrice, under different forms, but in similar circumstances. On the first and the second occasion he is cajoled, but on the third he insists on hearing "the one story" before he will join the feast that is in progress. The host tells *The Werewolf's Tale*, substantially version **x**. He is, in fact, the Werewolf himself, and is very loth to reveal his unpleasant experience. The compulsion exerted is that of refusing to eat until the guest's request is granted. The false wife is present while the story is told, and much is made of her presence. In **y** the fairy nature of the wife and her lover was still clear enough, though perhaps not so clear as in **x**. The frame-story was simple, belonging to a well-known type of quest-adventures, with which Perceval's neglect to ask the Grail question may be compared. (2) The congenital character of the Werewolf's nature may have been as clearly preserved as in **x**, but it is not unlikely that the progress in the direction of external magic had been perceptible. (3) A particular modification consists in the insertion of *The Defence of the Child* into **y**. This curious incident is a compound of *The Hand and the Child* (an incident still preserved, independently of *The Werewolf's Tale*, in Irish and in Scottish Gaelic) and *The Faithful Dog* (an Oriental story, — *The Brahmin and the Weasel*, etc., best known as *Gelert*). The child is a son of the king who befriends the Werewolf. The wolf bites off a hand that comes to seize the child. The false wife conceals the child and the hand and accuses the wolf of devouring the infant. The wolf, however, conducts the king to the place of concealment, and, as a result, his human nature becomes obvious to the king. The introduction of this adventure, which emphasizes the infidelity of the wife, would facilitate the rationalization of her character. But, despite all, she remains a recognizable *fée* in **y**, though her glory is obscured.

The Irish **y** has remained in circulation in Ireland to this day, always taking to itself new elements. In the form which we have sketched, however, it made its way into Wales, as a part of that body of influence which Ireland is known to have exerted on the literature of the principality. In Wales it was well received, for it was in entire accord with various native material (such as we still find in the *mabinogion* of *Pwyll* and *Math*, — fairy wife won,

lost, and won again; conversation between mortal and *fée;* hand that seizes the child; werewolf transformation), and became naturalized as a tale extremely similar to the extant *mabinogion.* The Werewolf was fittted out with Welsh names for his three manifestations, — Gorgol, Gorbeil(?), and *Gorgalon, — each of which seems to mean *werewolf,* and the first (at least) of which may be cognate with that Germanic word. The meeting in the woods and the winning back of the fairy wife were too similar to incidents in the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll* not to have been preserved.

This Welsh *mabinogi,* as we may venture to call it, is lost in the original, but is preserved in a Latin redaction (**G**), — now first published. The Latin can hardly be dated later than the thirteenth century, though it is preserved only in a manuscript of the late fourteenth. This Latin version (**G**) has lost all trace of the wife's fairy nature and has become an extremely drastic anecdote in which the fickleness and deceit of woman are painted in the darkest colors. The loss of the fairy character of the lady is caused by the weaving into the tale of an Oriental anecdote, *The Dog and the Lady,* found in various versions in the East and the West. This has modified the *Defence of the Child* and has also given a new *dénouement* of the tale: the wife is no longer received back into her husband's favor; she is supported at his court, but is forced to sit at table with her lover's head on a plate before her. Of course the insertion of this anecdote destroyed entirely the fairy character of the lady.

In the Latin story, the quester who learns *The Werewolf's Tale* is King Arthur, and the cause of his quest is a scene between him and the queen at a Pentecostal Feast. Whether this scene was in the Irish **y** (of course without the names), or first appeared in the Welsh, or was first added by the Latin redactor, is hard to say. It is essentially a "popular" scene, reminding one of the introduction to *Charlemagne's Pilgrimage,* but certainly not derived therefrom. For the congenital talisman of **y**, **G** (whether in Welsh or in Latin) substituted a "life-tree."

The Irish **y**, as has already been often remarked, has never become extinct in its native island. It is still current there in several counties in a highly developed redaction which we have called **I**. We have seven Irish versions of **I** (**KJLHO'FC$_1$C$_2$**) besides an eighth (**S**),

which comes from the island of Tiree in the West Highlands of Scotland. These eight texts exhibit such variation as might be expected, but are all derived from a common source (**I**). **I** still preserves traces of the fairy character of the lady and represents her as taken back and forgiven by her lord. It keeps the fairy lover in an easily recognizable form. In these particulars, it has departed less widely from **y** than the Latin **G**. The characteristic features of **I** consist in those other tales or incidents which it has taken in since it parted company with **G**. All these we have studied. They are (1) *The Quest for the Sword of Light*, which has been used to elaborate the frame-story of **y**, *The Quest for the Knowledge of the One Story about Women;* (2) the multiplication of the hero's metamorphoses; (3) *The Rescue of the King's Children* (belonging to the type of *The Skilful Companions*), appended to *The Defence of the Child* and serving to change the manner of disenchantment. In **I** the natural werewolf character of the hero has disappeared, except for faint traces, and the influence of the *Sidi Numan* type (requiring external magic for the transformation) has become stronger. Despite all the confusion of **I**, however, and the new elements which it has absorbed, that version preserves old features in abundance, and actually exhibits correspondences with **G** in surprising detail.

If it were not for **G**, which we know to be as old as the fourteenth century and which we may feel confident is much older, even in its Latin form, we might not dare to use **I** as evidence in elucidating the history of documents so venerable as the Breton *lais* and the Welsh *mabinogion*. If we did, we should surely be taken to task in certain quarters in which the mere fact that a *märchen* was first written down in the nineteenth century stamps it as a late document in all respects. Our experience in the present case should give us courage. The preservation of **G** is a mere accident: it does not change the facts with regard to **I**; it merely enables us to prove that they are facts.

The results of our investigation certainly throw some light on mediæval literature in one of its most perplexing departments, — the Matter of Britain. The discussion, then, does not concern itself merely with prehistoric ethnological movements or with the rude beginnings of certain more or less entertaining poems. Something

produced a great change in the literature of France in the twelfth century, — that is to say, in the literature of the western world, for at no assignable time could French literature have been changed with more momentous consequences to the course of European literary history. That *something* professes to be the emptying into French literature of a large body of Celtic material, — not a little leaven, but a huge mass, operating with extraordinary rapidity and with an effect still traceable not only in subtle ways but even in such obvious phenomena as the externals of plot and dramatis personæ. Was this material Celtic, and if so, how did it come and whence? The answer to these questions cannot be rendered with confidence until a large number of individual documents have been particularly studied. The details may seem to be trivial, and the effort expended may appear disproportionate to the importance of the individual document that is under consideration. But this is a narrow and uninstructed view. It ought not to be necessary always to repeat, in connection with such studies, that they are merely contributions to a large induction which aims to determine the position of Celtic popular literature in the letters, and consequently in the life and culture, of the civilized world. To this large induction it is the purpose of the present paper to contribute materials in some degree. The specific results of our study are to emphasize once more the importance of Irish material (and even of "modern Irish" folk-lore) in settling these questions. They fall in with what is coming to be more and more recognized as the correct view, — the opinion that a considerable amount of the Celtic material that made its way into France actually came from Ireland, and further, that the function of Wales as an intermediary must not be overlooked simply because early Welsh traditions are sparingly preserved. Finally, the hospitality of the Celtic mind to foreign influences also comes out with complete clearness. Ireland was open to foreign influences from the East. The mere fact that a story is Oriental in its ultimate origin is no reason for refusing to regard it as Celtic if it once made its home among the Celts and came from them, charged with their peculiar genius, to fructify the literature of France and of the world.

G. L. Kittredge.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

(P. 166.)

Since the Irish version J is not very accessible and has never been translated, some further account of it may here be given. It is entitled "Adventure concerning the Farmer and the Red Gruagach" (*Eachtra air an Sgolóig agus air an nGruagach Ruadh*). Mr. O'Brien, who communicated J to *The Gaelic Journal*, does not say whether he took the story from a manuscript or from oral tradition, but we may safely assume that he got it from recitation. J is more closely related to K than to any other version. There are even many striking correspondences in phraseology, though J is in Irish and we have K in a (free?) English translation only. KJ are peculiar in representing the hero of the frame-story as a *sgológ*, or small farmer, and in giving an account of his father's saving habits and his own profuseness. The incident of his discovering a hidden bag of money when in great straits is found only in KJ. There are also special resemblances between K and J in the gambling scenes, in the coming of the fairy wife and the attendant conversation, in the hero's reception by his father-in-law (note particularly the ring dropped into the cup, as in *King Horn*), and in the king's account of himself and his two brothers. In J, as in K, the hero's father-in-law is a brother of the challenger and of the owner of the Sword of Light.[1]

The Werewolf's Tale proper in J is substantially identical with the narrative in K except with regard to the Ship of Gold, to which we shall return in a moment. In both K and J the Werewolf meets his future wife while on a visit to her father, the King of Greece, marries her at her father's court, and takes her home with him. In both, the magic rod belongs to the king: in K the wife steals it; in J the king gives it to her. K tells of the lady's lover (cf. p. 188, above), but he is not mentioned in J. In J the hunt immediately follows the transformation: the wife sets the dogs upon the wolf; they are about to tear him to pieces when the King of Greece comes up and saves him (it does not appear how the king happened to be in the Werewolf's country; K says he was on a visit to his daughter). In

[1] The names differ. In K the challenger is *Lassa Buaicht*, the owner of the sword is *Fiach O'Duda*, and the hero's father-in-law is unnamed. In J the challenger is the Red Gruagach, the owner of the sword is the Young Champion (*Gaisgidheach Óg*), and the father-in-law is unnamed. *Athach* (not *Fiach*) *O'Dubhda* (*Dúda*) occurs in J in a different capacity (see p. 268, below).

both **K** and **J** the calumniation of the Werewolf appears in a peculiar form: there is nothing said of the Demon Hand. In **J** the wife finds her child and the wolf asleep in a chamber, smears them both with blood, and accuses the wolf of attacking the child. In **K** the wolf is not asleep; the wife "brings a druidic sleep on" the child, sprinkles him and the wolf with blood, and charges the creature with killing the baby. What follows is different in the two versions. In **K** the king restores the child to consciousness by means of the rod and a muttered charm, finds that it is not wounded, calls the wolf, and says: "I command you by my druidic power to take on your natural shape, if you be not a true *madralamh*" (i.e. wolf). The wolf immediately becomes a man; the lover is burned to death; and the wife, spared at her husband's request, is taken to Greece by her father. In **J** the king apparently believes the accusation of attacking the child; but he gives orders that the wolf shall not be killed but shall be sent away (cf. **O'F**). This is done, and the wolf runs to the seashore, in search of fish or other food. Here he meets with an adventure which occurs in no other version (though it slightly resembles an incident in **S**). He sees a fine ship not far from the shore and swims out to it, hoping to get something to eat. "On coming near to the ship, I perceived a fisherman's rod held by some man on board, and he a-fishing intently. I turned to the stern of the ship, where the rod was, but no sooner was I under it [i.e., the rod] than my form and my natural shape itself came on me again. I cried out in a loud voice to rescue me from the water. A line was thrown to me; I grasped it and was drawn in on board of the ship." There are but three persons on board, the Giant (*Athach*) O'Dúda and his two sons. Thinking their visitor a robber, they attack him, but he kills Athach O'Dúda and takes his two sons to their own country. In rummaging about the ship he finds the Sword of Light. He then returns to his wife and informs the King of Greece what she has done. She falls at her husband's feet and beseeches him to forgive her. He grants her request, receives her again as his wife, and she gives him no further trouble; she is present while the story is told. [Here **J** is manifestly superior to **K**: see pp. 189–190, 212, 220, above.] Many have tried to get the Sword of Light from him, especially his brother, the Red Gruagach (the challenger), but nobody has succeeded before. He appears to be quite willing that the *sgológ* should take it with him.

The adventure with the ship brings us back to the task which the challenger imposes upon the *sgológ* in **J**: it is "to get knowledge for me who stole the ship of gold, who killed the Giant O'Dubhda, and to bring me within a year and a day the Sword of Light which is in the possession of the Young Champion in the World of the East" (*fios d'fhaghail dam cia*

ghoid an long óir, cia mharbh an t-Athach ÓDubhda, agus an cloidheamh soluis tá ag an nGaisgidheach Óg anns an Domhan t-Soir do bheith agat romham air an láthaireach so lá agus bliadhain ó n-diu). If we compare p. 218, note 2, above, we shall see that **J** presents a curious resemblance at this point to **LHS**. The requirement to learn who stole the Ship of Gold, however, is the peculiar property of **J** and may be confidently regarded as a late addition (not in **I**). The name *Athach O'Dubhda* (*Dúda*) resembles that of the owner of the sword in **K** (*Fiach O'Duda*).

K, as we have seen, has no trace of the second adventure of *The Hand and the Child*, — the rescue of the other children (found in **LO'FHS**: see pp. 233–237). **J**, however, seems to preserve a confused reminiscence of this sequel in the remark of the Werewolf, that, after killing Athach O'Dúda, he took Athach's two sons home to their own country. This transportation must have been by means of the ship, and we may compare **LHS**.

When the *sgológ* returns to Ireland with the sword, he finds that the Red Gruagach is dead (cf. **S**). The trick by which the hero kills the challenger and the return of the sword to its owner are lacking in **J** (though present in **K**).

(P. 222.)

Most versions of *The Faithful Dog* may be conveniently grouped under four heads.

A. *The Brahmin and the Ichneumon*, found, with unimportant variations, in the *Pañcatantra* (v, 2, Benfey, II, 326–327), the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ch. 64, Tawney, II, 90–91), the *Hitopadeça* (iv, 13, Müller, p. 178; Lancereau, 1882, pp. 267–269), the *Alakēsa Kathā* (Clouston, *Group of Eastern Romances*, pp. 211–214), and in the different redactions of the so-called *Fables of Bidpai* (for example, the Syriac *Ḳalīlag wa Damnag*, Bickell and Benfey, pp. 53–55; the later Syriac, Keith-Falconer, pp. 170–171; the Arabic, Knatchbull, pp. 268 ff.; the Hebrew, Derenbourg, pp. 144–149; John of Capua, *Directorium*, k 4, Derenbourg, pp. 216–220, Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, [V,] 259–261; the Persian *Anvār-i-Suhailī*, Eastwick, pp. 404–413). Version **A** has also been discovered by Beal in a Chinese work of about 412 A.D. (from an Indian source): see his translation, *Academy*, Nov. 4, 1882, XXII, 331 (reprinted by Clouston, *Pop. Tales and Fictions*, pp. 184–185; cf. Benfey, *Pantsch.*, II, 547–548).

B. The version in the Oriental *Seven Sages*, — the Syriac *Sindban* (Baethgen, pp. 25–26), the Greek *Syntipas* (Boissonade, pp. 60–62; Eberhard, *Fabulae Romanenses*, I, 46–48), the Hebrew *Mischle Sindbad* (Cassel, p. 274), the Old Spanish *Libro de los Engannos* (ch. 13, Comparetti, *Ricerche intorno al Libro di Sindibâd*, pp. 45–46; Coote's translation,

Researches, etc., pp. 94, 140–141), the Persian *Sindibād Nāma* (Clouston, *Book of Sindibād*, pp. 56–57).

C. The version in the *Dolopathos* of Johannes de Alta Silva (ed. Oesterley, pp. 42–44) and in the Old French translation of Herbert (ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, vv. 4838–5154, pp. 168–178).

D. The version in the Occidental *Seven Sages*, — *Sept Sages*, vv. 1163–1378, ed. Keller, pp. 46–54; Leroux de Lincy, *Roman des Sept Sages* (appended to Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*), pp. 17–21; G. Paris, *Deux Rédactions*, pp. 6–9, 76–78; *Sept Sages*, pp. 8–9, ed. Plomp (as appendix to his dissertation *De Middelnederlandsche Bewerking van het Gedicht van den VII Vroeden van binnen Rome*, Utrecht, 1899); *Seven Sages*, vv. 726–885, ed. Wright, Percy Soc., pp. 26–31; *Seven Sages*, vv. 715–850, Weber, *Metrical Romances*, III, 29–34; *Historia Septem Sapientum*, ed. Buchner, pp. 16–18; *Scala Celi*, ed. Ulm, 1480, fo. 88 a–b (ed. Lübeck, 1476, fo. 127 a–b, as reprinted by Goedeke, *Orient und Occident*, III, 405–406); Latin *Versio Italica*, Mussafia, Vienna Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, *Phil.-hist. Cl.*, LVII, 100; *Sette Savi*, ed. Roediger, 1883, pp. 5–7 (= *Storia d'una Crudele Matrigna*, ed. Romagnoli, *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, XIV, 14–15); *Sette Savi*, ed. Cappelli, *Scelta*, LXIV, 8–10; *Storia di Stefano*, canto ii, sts. 1–20, ed. Rajna, *Scelta*, CLXXVI, 35–41; *Amabile di Continentia*, ed. Cesari, pp. 26–28; *Sette Savj*, ed. D'Ancona, Pisa, 1864, pp. 14–18; Varnhagen, *Eine ital. Prosaversion*, pp. 5–6; Catalonian metrical version, vv. 592–741, ed. Mussafia, Vienna Academy, *Phil.-hist. Cl.*, *Abhandl.*, XXV; Welsh *Seith Doethion Rufein*, chaps. 8–9, Williams and Jones, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, II, 303–304, 649. The relations of the Occidental versions of *The Seven Sages* to the Oriental versions and to each other have been recently discussed, with a convenient digest of previous investigations, by A. Cesari (*Amabile di Continentia*, Bologna, 1896), Killis Campbell (*A Study of the Romance of The Seven Sages*, Baltimore, 1898, reprinted from the *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIV), and A. J. Botermans (*Die Hystorie van die Seven Wijse Mannen van Romen*, Haarlem, 1898). **D** has passed from the Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum* (itself a translation from the French, see Paris, *Deux Rédactions*, pp. xxviii ff.) into the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum* (Harl. MS. 2270, cap. 32; Douce MS. 101, cap. 50: see Oesterley, pp. 189, 194) and thence into the Middle English *Gesta* (ch. 26, Madden, pp. 85–87, Herrtage, pp. 98–99).

A and **B** are closely related. They give the tale in a simple form, which I have followed in the brief analysis in the text. **C** stands midway between **AB** and **D**. **D** is much more elaborate than **AB**. The child is left with the

nurses, who, in their eagerness to witness a tournament (or bear-baiting), prove false to their trust, and the conflict between the dog and the serpent takes place in their absence. On returning, the nurses infer from appearances that the hound has devoured the child, and take flight. They meet the mother and tell her what they suppose has happened. The father then comes up and hears the story from his distracted wife. Hastening into the house, he sees the evidence of the struggle and is received with joyful demonstrations by the dog, who is covered with blood. In his anger, he kills the faithful creature with his sword. Only in **D** does the wife accuse the dog to her husband, and this circumstance might tempt us to recognize in **D** (or in some lost predecessor) the version of *The Faithful Dog* that has combined with *The Hand and the Child* to produce *The Defence of the Child* in **y** (cf. "Tua nefanda illa bellua . . . tuum . . . natum consumpsit," **G**, cap. 16, with "Mon jouene enfant . . . Que vostre leurier m'a occis," Keller, vv. 1327–8). But a moment's consideration shows that the accusation of the dog by the wife need not have stood in that version of *The Faithful Dog* which combined with *The Hand and the Child.* The calumniating rôle of the woman in **y** is a necessary development of the situation in that version of *The Werewolf's Tale*, in which the Werewolf's wife is eager to have her transformed husband (the king's pet) put to death. Indeed, the only purpose of the insertion of *The Defence of the Child* in **y** is to give her the opportunity for such a calumniation. The language used by the woman in **y** and **D** is, in each case, the natural and almost inevitable expression of her thoughts, and no argument can be based on the resemblance in phraseology. Accordingly, I have used in the reconstruction of **y** the simpler form of *The Faithful Dog* (**AB**), which affords every detail that is needed for the solution of the problem. *The Faithful Dog* (or *Weasel*), we should remember, is a complete and well-rounded tale, which existed before any version of *The Seven Sages* was composed and doubtless before any of the Oriental collections that contain it were put together. It was and is perfectly capable of circulating by itself, and its presence in the Irish **y** by no means implies a knowledge of *The Seven Sages* (still less of the special Occidental version of that work) on the part of the author of **y**. The circulation of *The Faithful Dog* (or other animal) as an orally transmitted tale is a matter of fact. Pausanias (x, 33, 5) reports the story as told by the inhabitants of Amphicleia in Phocis in the second century of our era. The defender is a serpent (*δράκων ἰσχυρός*), and the father finds him twined round the *ἀγγεῖον* in which the child lies. He throws his javelin at the serpent and kills both it and the boy. Being then informed by certain shepherds that he has destroyed his son's protector, he burns the two

bodies on the same pyre. The site of the pyre was still shown in the time of Pausanias, and the inhabitants said that the city was named *Ophiteia* ἀπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου. [This passage was first noted by Liebrecht in 1861 (*Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Litteratur*, III, 156), but, though mentioned, with due credit, by D'Ancona (*Il Libro dei Sette Savj*, Pisa, 1864, p. 106), had so dropped out of sight that Mr. Hartland, in 1892, supposed himself to be citing it for the first time (*Folk-Lore*, III, 127); Mr. Frazer (*Pausanias*, V, 422) also credits the reference to him.] Étienne de Bourbon (who died about 1261) found a dog worshipped under the name of St. Guinefort at Villeneuve-en-Dombes, in the diocese of Lyons, and heard in explanation a story practically identical with that found in the Occidental *Seven Sages* (*De diversis Materiis*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes Historiques*, etc., pp. 325–328; Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I, 193; cited by Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux*, 3d ed., 1829, I, 359). Mr. Hartland, citing Pausanias, Étienne, and the Welsh Gelert story, remarks very cogently, "There were versions known in Europe — at least there was one version — independent of the literary current through which the apologue is generally traced" (*Folk-Lore*, III, 129).

The protecting animal is regularly an ichneumon (mongoose, weasel) in **A**; but it is an otter in the *Hitopadeça*, and a dog in the Hebrew *Kalīlah and Dimnah* and in John of Capua. In **BCD** it is a dog, except in the Persian (cat). In all four versions the enemy is a snake. It is a wolf, however, in Pausanias, in the Welsh tradition (old or young) versified by Spencer, and in an unprinted Italian version of the *Seven Sages* summarized by Cesari, *Amabile di Continentia*, p. lxiii.

When and how the story of *The Faithful Dog* entered Wales it is impossible to determine. Mr. Jacobs (*Celtic Fairy Tales*, pp. 260–261) thinks that the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum* was the intermediary. But this conjecture is untenable. There is an extant Welsh prose version of *The Seven Sages* (doubtless from the French) which is preserved in a manuscript of the fourteenth century[1] and which therefore makes an appeal to

[1] The famous Red Book of Hergest in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford, cols. 527 ff. (see Coxe, *Catalogus*, p. 37). The same version is found in Jesus College MS. 3 (formerly xx) of the beginning of the fifteenth century (see Coxe, p. 7; Lhuyd, *Archæologia Britannica*, 1707, p. 261; note of G. Hartwell Jones, in Williams and Jones, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, II, 754). The text in the late eighteenth-century Peniarth MS. 180 (formerly Hengwrt MS. 350) is copied from Jesus MS. 3 (J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, I, ii, 730), and this copy is printed by Williams and Jones, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, II, 301 ff. (translation, II, 647 ff.). *The Faithful*

the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* unnecessary. Further, the Welsh fable cited by Mr. Jacobs (from *Iolo MSS.*, Welsh MS. Society, p. 561 ; cf. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, pp. 57–58) resembles the Oriental stories (**AB**) in several particulars not found in the *Gesta* or in the Occidental *Seven Sages*. Thus, the wife leaves her husband alone with the child, as in the Syriac *Sindban*, the Greek *Syntipas*, the Old Spanish *Libro de los Engannos*, the *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, the "Southern *Pañcatantra*" (Dubois), the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and the *Hitopadeça*. In the last four collections, her errand is to perform purificatory ablutions after childbirth, and this feature seems to reappear in the Welsh fable ("His wife had gone to attend her devotions"). Finally, in the Welsh, the man's motive in leaving the child in his turn is to get the toll due him from certain hunters, — a feature which reminds one of the Brahmin's motive (to receive presents or alms) in Dubois's *Pañcatantra*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and the *Hitopadeça* (cf. also the Chinese story translated by Beal). On the other hand, the Welsh fable shows certain resemblances to the Occidental *Seven Sages* in points which do not occur in the Oriental forms of the apologue (the overturned cradle, etc.). In other words, it cannot be derived from any single extant version of *The Faithful Dog*, Oriental or Occidental. In its present form, it is one of a random collection of apologues labelled, in the printed volume, *The Fables of Cattwg the Wise*, which is said to be "a production probably of the sixteenth century" (see Jacobs, p. 261), but the fable itself seems to rest on a localized tradition ("There lived formerly at Abergarwan a man and his wife," etc.), and the actual date of the collection in which it is preserved may be of no particular significance.

Dog is capp. 8–9 of this edition (II, 303–304, 649); it agrees in all essentials with the French prose version known as *A*, but is much condensed and omits the nurses. The Welsh *Seven Sages* is derived from some French version closely related to *A*, if not from *A* itself. The first six tales come in the same order as in *A* (*arbor, canis, aper, medicus, gaza, puteus*) ; the ninth, eleventh, and fifteenth also agree with that version (*Virgilius, sapientes, vaticinium*) ; the tenth (*vidua*) corresponds to the twelfth, the twelfth (*inclusa*) to the fourteenth ; the thirteenth and fourteenth (*senescalcus, tentamina*) correspond to the seventh and eighth in *A*. As the seventh tale the Welsh has a story unknown to all other versions of *The Seven Sages* (a man refuses to have a certain branch lopped from his tree ; thieves climb the tree by means of the branch and steal the fruit). As the eighth tale the Welsh has a confused and defective form of *Roma* (thirteenth in *A*) followed by the fable of the foolish shepherd who binds his dogs and delivers them up to the wolf (not found in any other version of the *Seven Sages*). *Avis* is omitted altogether. The work as a whole exhibits a pretty skilful condensation of the French prose.

After the preceding pages were in type, vol. II, part i, of Mr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 1902, came to hand. Mr. Evans catalogues two other copies of the Welsh *Seven Sages*, both in manuscripts of the sixteenth century: (1) Cardiff MS. 5 (formerly Phillipps MS. 10823), *Report*, p. 101; (2) Cardiff MS. 6 (formerly Phillipps MS. 17171), *Report*, p. 106. For the *Red Book of Hergest*, see pp. 3–4; for Jesus College MS. 3, see pp. 33–34 of the same *Report*. I owe these references to Professor Robinson.

(P. 166.)

Professor Robinson, to whom I am much indebted for information and counsel, has found a ninth version of I, entitled *An Bacach Mór* (i.e., *The Great Giant*) in Mr. Josephs Lloyd's *Sgéalaidhe Fearnmhuighe*, Dublin, 1901, pp. 25 ff., a collection of tales taken down from recitation in Farney in the upper part of Ulster, near the boundary of Co. Meath, and published (without a translation) by the Gaelic League. The hero of the frame-story is a king's son, who plays three games of cards with a "slender red *buachaill*." In the first game he wins a castle; in the second, the fairest of women; he loses the third game, and is required to bring "the sword of light which the Great Giant, King of Sorcha, has, and the knowledge of Mianach (or Mian) an Anóglaigh (*an claidheamh soluis t' aige an mBacach Mór, rígh na Sorcha, agus fios Mhianach an Anóglaigh*). The last-named personage turns out to be the monster that has stolen the children (as in **LHS**; cf. p. 218, above, note 2). The quester is befriended by his father-in-law, whose brother the Bacach is. The Bacach cuts three horses in half on three successive days, but on the fourth the quester finds him in bed, seizes the sword, and threatens to behead him, whereupon the Bacach, who reveals himself as the brother of the quester's father-in-law, offers to tell his story (*The Werewolf's Tale*). The motive of the Bacach's wife in metamorphosing him is her love for a wild man whom he has brought home and treated kindly. The instrument is a "rod of druidism." There is a series of transformations. Much is made of the fact that the enchanted beast "has the sense of a man" (cf. G). The band of wolves occurs. The king who protects the werewolf is not said to be related to the false wife, nor is there any account of the latter's punishment. A baby is born in the king's house. A great hand had taken every child that had been born to the king before. The king leaves the wolf to guard the child. The wolf tears off the arm at the shoulder and leaves it beside the cradle. The false wife does not intervene, and the wolf is not calumniated. The king sends two men (with the wolf, apparently) on the track of the blood,

and they find a house in the wood, in which are the king's three children, and the kidnapper, who is dead. The eldest of the three gets upon the wolf's back, and the wolf, seeing the rod in his hand, bites him in the leg. The boy, in anger, strikes the wolf with the rod, and he is restored to human shape. Returning home, the transformed werewolf throws the wild man out of doors; so far as appears, nothing is done with the woman. In concluding his narrative the Bacach says, "That is the kind of life I had with my wife." He directs the quester to take the sword home with him, and here the whole story ends abruptly. The frame-story, therefore, is incomplete, since it lacks the final interview with the challenger.

(Pp. 238–239.)

It turns out that O'Kearney's text of the *Feis Tighe Chonain* omits an important sentence, in which we are informed that the Giant came "on that night," and thrust his hand "through the top of the house," and took the child, and then reached in again and took the puppies. This substantiates what is said of the relation between the whelps and the child on p. 239, above. I subjoin the passage, as communicated to me by Professor Robinson from a nineteenth-century Irish MS. in the Harvard College Library (press-mark "ARf. 4. 46. 9") containing the *Feis Tighe Chonain* and other pieces. "Et do tháinigh an oidhche sin gur chuir a lamh fhada fheidhimtheach tré mhullach an tighe go rug an leanbh leis, agus do shín an lamh cheadhna go rug an da choilleán leis don chor san." This sentence follows that which tells of the giant's habit of carrying off the children of Feargus and precedes the vague sentence about Eithleann (both of them in O'Kearney).

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