

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

CLASS _____

CALL No 398.22 Har

Rs. 22-50



THE DWARFS OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE
AND CELTIC TRADITION

THE DWARFS OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE AND CELTIC TRADITION

BY

VERNON J. HARWARD, JR

28791



398.22
Harr

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1958

MUNSHI RAM LAL ANOCHAR LAL
Oriental Book & Book-Sellers
P.B. 1162; Nai Sarok, DELHI-6

CENTRE OF HINDUOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 28791

Date 15/10/60

Call No. 398.22/Har

Copyright 1958 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means without written permission from the publisher, except for purposes of review.

CORRECTION:

The last sentence in the first complete paragraph on page 40, and note 45 which accompanies it, should be ignored, since R. S. Loomis has withdrawn the tentative translation in his *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff, 1956), p. 165.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

TO MY WIFE
MARION HARWARD
IN AFFECTIONATE GRATITUDE
FOR HER PATIENCE
AND CONSTANT ENCOURAGEMENT

PREFACE

This study was accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University in 1953 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Its purpose and its indebtedness to previous scholarship will appear in the introductory chapter and the footnotes, but I am happy here to acknowledge other aid which I received in its preparation.

I am indebted most to Roger Sherman Loomis, now Professor Emeritus of English at Columbia, for his firm and friendly guidance over a period of years and, indeed, for much of what I know of medieval literature. I also express my sincere thanks to the two other members of my dissertation committee, Professor E. V. K. Dobbie and Professor Lawton Peckham, for the painstaking attention which they gave to the manuscript and for their many suggestions by which I profited. I add that any errors which may be found herein are wholly my own.

I am grateful to a number of other persons for their very real help at various stages: Laura Hibbard Loomis, who is, like her husband, a wise and generous medieval scholar; Paula von Haimberger and the late Helmut Baerwald, who patiently checked some of my translations of German texts; Mrs. Alice J. Jones and Professor John Hutchins, who cheerfully joined me in the tedious task of proofreading; and Professors William Nelson, Carl Bayerschmidt, Maurice Valency, and R. A. Fowkes, who offered perceptive suggestions at my defense of dissertation.

I should also like to acknowledge that part of the expense of publication has been met by a research grant from the City College.

VERNON J. HARWARD, JR.

College of the City of New York
October 31, 1957

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I Introduction	1
II The Dwarfs of Celtic Tradition	6
III The Court Dwarf	21
IV The Appearance of the Romance Dwarfs	28
V Bilis, King of the Antipodes	33
VI Pelles	43
VII The Truculent Dwarf and His Giant Kinsman	51
VIII Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberon	62
IX Morgain la Fée and the Dwarfs	74
X The Dwarf King in the Dutch <i>Lancelot</i>	82
XI Teodelain	88
XII <i>The Turk and Gowin</i>	90
XIII Milocrates and the Elf King	99
XIV Evadeam	102
XV The Spying Dwarf	106
XVI The Mount of the Dwarf	111
XVII The Strength of the Dwarfs	117
XVIII Conclusion	120
APPENDIX	124
INDEX	144

ABBREVIATIONS

FL	Folk-Lore
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
RC	Revue celtique
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RR	Romanic Review
RTP	Revue des traditions populaires
ZCP	Zeitschrift für celtische philologie
ZFSL	Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur
ZRP	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For the last three-quarters of a century many scholars have explored the sources of the Arthurian legend, and with convincing accuracy have traced characters, names, story patterns, even landscape features back to their origins in Celtic history, myth, and folklore. This study proposes to investigate the dwarfs who play significant parts in the Arthurian romances and to show that they too had their origins in Celtic tradition.

As early as 1901 the eminent folklorist Sir John Rhys surmised: "The uncanny dwarf of Celtic story would seem to have served, in one way or another, as a model for other dwarfs in the French romances and the literature of other nations who came under the influence of those romances . . ." ¹ His conjecture was sound, as we shall see, but he pursued the question no further. In 1906, Fritz Wohlgemuth attempted a survey of the dwarfs of French romance, ² but his work was inadequate for several reasons. First, he confined his brief remarks to the dwarfs in only nine Arthurian works. ³ Second, he showed little knowledge of Celtic literature and scholarship, a lack not wholly excusable since already available were Miss Lucy Allen Paton's *The Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* and Carl Voretzsch's *Die Composition des Huon von Bordeaux*, both of which point out Celtic influence on Arthurian dwarfs. Third, Wohlgemuth concluded that most of the dwarfs of the French romances are patterned after real court dwarfs, ⁴ but he failed to produce any specific evidence for the latter. In 1911, August Lütjens more competently surveyed the dwarfs of medieval German literature and pointed out most of the dwarfs in

¹ *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* (Oxford, 1901), II, p. 674.

² *Riesen und Zwerge in der altfranzösischen erzählenden Dichtung* (Stuttgart, 1906).

³ Chrétien's *Erec*, *Yvain*, and *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*; Bérout's and Thomas' versions of the *Tristan*; *Durmart le Gallois*; Raoul de Houdenc's *Vengeance Raguidel*; *Le Chevalier du Papegau*; and *Huon de Bordeaux* (for Auberon). He gives less than twenty pages to the dwarfs in these.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 98-9.

German Arthurian romances.⁵ Disagreeing with Wohlgemuth, he minimized the influence of court dwarfs⁶ and predicted that further study of Celtic tradition would reveal the antecedents of many dwarfs in the romances.⁷ He himself did little with this hypothesis, however. In the intervening years, several scholars — notably G. L. Kittredge, A. H. Krappe, and R. S. Loomis — have shown that one or more dwarfs in Arthurian romance owe their origin or characteristics to Irish or Welsh prototypes. Still, there has been no comprehensive treatment of the subject, and I hope that this study will provide one.

Although there are now few medievalists who deny altogether the Celtic origin of Arthurian *matière*, it would be well to review briefly the stages through which so many elements passed before they appeared in the twelfth-century romances. Such a summary will have the advantage of supplying a historical and geographical framework to which frequent reference must later be made.⁸

Many striking parallels to Arthurian romance have been provided by research in medieval Irish literature. Most of the important elements of *Gawain and the Green Knight*, for example, can be found in the *Feast of Bricriu*.⁹ The love affair of Tristan and Isolt had one of its sources in Irish *aitheda* like that of Diarmaid and Grainne.¹⁰ Both the unspelling and vengeance quests in the Grail legend apparently owe their ultimate origins to Irish saga.¹¹

These Irish elements and many more came across the Irish Sea through migrations and trade in a series of waves from the second through the eleventh centuries to Wales,¹² "the birthplace and the early home of Arthurian romance."¹³ Here, mixed Irish and Welsh elements appear in the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* and in

⁵ *Der Zwerg in der deutschen Heldendichtung des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1911), pp. 2-21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸ The interested reader will find a more detailed account in the work of Professors Loomis and Newstead: R. S. Loomis, MP, XXXIII (1936), 225-38; *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* (New York, 1949), pp. 12-32; Helaine Newstead, *Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1939), pp. 3-12.

⁹ G. L. Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916); Alice Buchanan, PMLA, XLVII (1932), 315-38.

¹⁰ Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfurt and London, 1913).

¹¹ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 374-85, 394-414; *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 415-26.

¹² Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 27; MP, XXXIII (1936), 228-9; C. O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), pp. 35-80.

¹³ The phrase is Loomis', *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 20.

Culhwch and Olwen, and both works contain elements to be found in continental romances.¹⁴ Welsh tradition made important contributions to the Grail legend¹⁵ and to the development of *Gawain and the Green Knight*.¹⁶ Not only was Arthur himself a British hero, but to Welsh forms can be traced many personal names in the French romances: Arthur, Kay, Guinevere, Gawain, Merlin, and Bron, to mention only a few.¹⁷ Also here in Wales there merged with Irish and native traditions certain contributions from the Celts of North Britain and Cornwall. From the former came several personal and place names and some of the youthful adventures of Tristan. The Cornish supplied names also, the person of King Mark in the Tristan legend, and probably the traditions of Arthur's birth and last battle.¹⁸

How, then, did this mass of tradition, of which only a few illustrative elements have been cited, reach the French? The theory advanced by some scholars that the transfer occurred through the Anglo-Normans has been discredited.¹⁹ But as early as the fifth or sixth century, British refugees from the Anglo-Saxon invasions colonized Brittany, and over the succeeding centuries maintained contact with their kin across the Channel.²⁰ The Bretons therefore spoke a language similar to that of the insular Brythons, and by the tenth century the Bretons who lived closest to Normandy could also speak French.²¹ Probably by 1000 the Bretons had taken up the British Arthurian legend,²² and consequently there are ample signs of their contributions, of which only a few need be mentioned. Chrétien de Troyes uses as a setting the Forest of Broceliande. The name of Winlogée on the Modena sculpture, dated 1099-1106, is an intermediate form between the Breton Winlowen and the French Guinloie. The Tristan legend contains several Breton names and depicts the birth and death of its hero in Brittany.²³ By the twelfth century the bilingual Breton conteurs had become the most popular entertainers in western Europe as they recounted the stories of Arthur to courtly audiences.²⁴ Their associa-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27; MP, XXXIII (1936), 228-9; W. J. Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff, 1928).

¹⁵ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 385-93, 413; Newstead, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Loomis, JEGP, XLII (1943), 170-83.

¹⁷ Loomis, PMLA, XLV (1930), 416-43.

¹⁸ Loomis, MP, XXXIII (1936), 230-1.

¹⁹ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 27-32.

²⁰ Loomis, RR, XXXII (1941), 37.

²¹ H. Zimmer, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, Oct. 1, 1890, 802-4.

²² Loomis, RR, XXXII (1941), 37.

²³ Loomis, MP, XXXIII (1936), 233-4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 235.

tion with the Normans and Anglo-Normans aided a great deal in the spread of the legend through France and through England, into which they swarmed immediately after the Norman Conquest. They also appeared in the Norman courts of Sicily and of Apulia in southern Italy,²⁵ a fact to which we shall later refer. One should not, however, overestimate the importance of the association of the conteurs with the Normans. Once the Bretons could speak French, they possessed the keys to the courts of western Europe. It was in oral, prose recitations or written forms of them that the tales of the conteurs reached such early writers of romances as Chrétien.

So brief a summary of the stages of development has the disadvantage of implying that the search for Celtic sources should be simple. But this is far from being true, and there are several difficulties to be met in this particular study.

First, the traditions of Celtic dwarfs are imperfectly and partially preserved in folklore and myth. Medieval Welsh sources, which are most important for this essay, survive only in fragments of what was once a much larger body of material. Consequently, it will be necessary and helpful not only to use traditions recorded in the twelfth century and earlier, but also to adduce folklore and folktales collected in the last century and a half in the British Isles and Brittany. Certainly the use of such material can be abused, but when recently recorded folk-superstitions and tales are obviously primitive in nature or when they furnish specific correspondences to other traditions over seven hundred years old, they may be used with profit.

Second, the traditional development of the Arthurian legend through several stages and languages inevitably causes certain difficulties such as the fading of detail, and the corruption, loss, or substitution of names. Particularly noticeable in this study will be the tendency of the composers of the romances to reduce or to eliminate the supernatural attributes of the Celtic dwarfs. Similar tendencies are well illustrated, for instance, in Miss Newstead's excellent study of the gigantic Welsh god of the sea, Bran the Blessed, who appears in the romances as the Fisher King and as a large wounded knight, to mention only two of his disguises.

Third, the existence of real dwarfs at medieval courts offered the hardheaded writer of romance a convenient role which he could assign to a Celtic dwarf whose extravagant powers and possessions might offend the reader's sense of realism. On more than one occasion we

²⁵ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 19-20.

shall look closely to find that a dwarf retainer had as his prototype a Celtic dwarf king.

Finally, the material in both Celtic tradition and the romances presents a considerable problem in that the dwarfs are very numerous and their characteristics diverse. Certain attributes of the dwarfs like appearance and strength are uniform enough to supply material for separate chapters. In the main, however, the study will evolve into chapters which specifically or tentatively identify important Arthurian dwarfs with their Celtic prototypes. In the process of these identifications, I shall try to indicate general correspondences in such attributes as dwellings and supernatural possessions. Again, I have limited the discussion usually to those romance figures who actually appear as dwarfs, although there will be some occasion to see that Celtic dwarfs have been given normal stature in the romances. Lastly, since the Arthurian dwarfs are so numerous, I shall ordinarily give chapters only to those who play important parts. It has been necessary to relegate to an appendix those who cannot be included in an orderly development of the text, some who cannot with fair certainty be traced to Celtic tradition, and many whose parts are simply insignificant.

As a logical first step, let us investigate the dwarfs of Ireland, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany in order to establish a composite Celtic tradition and to present a considerable body of material for later reference.

CHAPTER II

THE DWARFS OF CELTIC TRADITION

Medieval Irish literature in the tale *The Journeys of the Tuath Luchra and the Death of Fergus*¹ affords a full and striking description of a dwarf king and his subjects. Fergus mac Leide was one of the famous legendary kings of Ireland, but most of the story is given to the visit of the king of the Tuath Luchra, or leprechauns,² to Fergus' court. The tale is preserved in a form of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but must go back in part to the eleventh.³

At a grand banquet in his magnificent hall, Iubdan, king of the leprechauns, proudly boasts, "Have you ever seen a king that was better than myself? Horses or men of battle have you ever seen better than they who tonight are in this house?" His poet Esirt answers, "I know of a province in Ireland, one man of which could take hostages and captives from all four battalions of the Lupracan." Iubdan angrily orders Esirt to be seized, but then permits him to depart for the court of Fergus to bring back proof for his assertion. After three days there he returns over the ocean bringing with him Aed, dwarf poet of Fergus. Under a taboo imposed by Esirt, Iubdan then journeys with his wife to the court of Fergus. There he falls into the porridge pot, but is rescued by Fergus. The little king becomes such a favorite of the court that he is not permitted to depart, although an army of loyal leprechauns blights the crops and waters of the land. Finally Iubdan regains his freedom by giving to Fergus his most precious possession, shoes of white bronze which travel alike on land and sea. The remainder of the story deals with the death of Fergus in his fight with a water monster.

¹ T. P. Cross and C. H. Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* (New York, 1936), pp. 475 ff.; R. Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle, 1921), pp. 451 ff.

² *Leprechaun* or *leprecan* is derived from the Middle Irish *luchorpán*, which literally means "wee body" (Whitley Stokes, RC, I [1870-72], 256). As will be apparent below, the name is applied rather freely to different types of Irish dwarfs.

³ Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, pp. 539, 541; Cross and Slover, *op. cit.*, p. 475. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 134-8, shows that the king's boast in this tale is traditional and appears in various Arthurian romances.

Iubdan shows himself to be the noble king of noble subjects and has never told a lie. He reveals wholesome respect for a god, presumably Christian, when he asserts to Fergus, "Man talks, but God sheweth the outcome . . . All that which Thou, Monarch of the elements, hast ordained must be right." The size of the leprechauns does not exceed that of Esirt, to whose thigh the cropped grass reaches; but their beauty, epitomized in Iubdan, is striking: "His is a voice clear and sweet as copper's resonance, like the blood-coloured rowan-berry is his cheek; his eye is bland as it were a stream of mead; his colour like that of the swan or of the river's foam . . ." Iubdan alone is dark; all others possess curling fair hair. In the rich island kingdom and splendid palace all are immortal, and both Iubdan and Esirt have the power of foresight. All the articles of the king's clothing and armor are rich or magically endowed, including a shield behind which the bearer may not be wounded, a spear that is a match for a hundred opponents, a bathing vat which triples life, a caldron which turns stones into princely meat, and a timpan which plays melodiously by itself. Presumably his variegated horn also has magic properties. Especially notable is his horse, mistaken at first sight by Aed for a "russet-clad hare . . . two fierce flashing eyes he had, an exquisite pure crimson mane, with four green legs and a long tail that floated in wavy curls. His general color was that of prime artificer's gold work, and a gold-encrusted bridle he bore withal."

The leprechauns appear again in an anecdote about Fergus to be found in the ancient *Senchas Mor*.⁴ While sleeping one day on the seashore, Fergus is lifted by the leprechauns and carried to the sea. The hero awakes at the touch of the water and catches three of the kidnappers. He spares their lives for the granting of three wishes, one of which is the power to pass under lochs, linns, and seas. They then provide herbs for his ears and lead him on an underwater journey.⁵ Apparently some leprechauns, like some of the Welsh dwarfs later to be discussed, dwell under water. This characteristic finds confirmation in a brief passage in the *Colloquy of the Ancients*, dated 1142 to 1167.⁶ Here the sea god Manannan meets three heroes and

⁴ Stokes, *loc. cit.*, 256-7; Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, pp. 539-40.

⁵ A similar tale, collected in the last century but obviously from the same ancient tradition, appears in Jeremiah Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland* (London, 1894), pp. 438-62.

⁶ S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London, 1892), II, p. 199. For date, see E. J. Gwynn, *Eriu*, X (1926), 74.

guides them to his stone fort, where they are splendidly entertained. Near by is the *loch luchra*, or "loch of the dwarfs."

Also in the *Colloquy* appears another interesting dwarf.⁷ In response to the questions of St. Patrick about the Fianna of old Ireland, Caeilte, the ancient one, tells of the finest musician in Scotland or Ireland. *Cnu dheireoil* ("Diminutive Nut") was a dwarf of only four fists' height found by Finn on a burial mound. The player of fairy music that would not admit of indifference, he had left the Tuatha De Danann because other musicians had grown jealous of his skill. From his association with the Tuatha his immortality can be inferred, and from his long yellow hair his great beauty. Finn procured a dwarf wife for his harpist, and the two foresaw and announced to the Fianna all future good and evil events.

A similar dwarf musician appears in the short tale "The Meeting of Cuchulainn with Senbecc," dated in the eleventh century.⁸ On the River Boyne, Cuchulainn plucks from a boat of bronze a little man richly dressed in purple. As ransom the dwarf offers a magic shirt and coat which protect the wearer from burning or drowning and a shield and spear which guarantee the bearer against wounds and defeat. When Cuchulainn declares himself still unsatisfied, Senbecc begins to play his tiny harp and at will makes Cuchulainn laugh or weep. Finally he lulls the hero to sleep and departs.

The Irish dwarf is generally obliging or tractable in his relations with men and heroes, but one interesting if cryptic story from the *Book of Leinster*, dated 1160 to 1170, indicates a contrary role:

Aitherne the Importunate . . . is the most inhospitable man that dwelt in Erin. He went to Mider of Bri Leith and took the dwarfs of denial and churlishness away from him surreptitiously . . . that no man of Erin should visit his house for hospitality or mendicancy. "Do not come, not come," says the first dwarf. "Get away" says her mate. "(Go) past the house, past the house," says the third dwarf. Any man . . . who should see them would not betake himself to his engagement to fight that day.⁹

⁷ O'Grady, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 115 ff.

⁸ Kuno Meyer, RC, VI (1885), 182-4. For other versions and for date, see Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

⁹ For date, see *ibid.*, pp. 33-6. I use the translation of John Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 2d ed. (London, 1886), pp. 331-2. One Irish word *corr* means "crane"; another with the same spelling means "dwarf." In *Hibbert Lectures* Rhys' translation employs the former. Later, however, in his *Celtic Folklore*, II, p. 681, he changes to the interpretation of "dwarf," and I have accordingly substituted "dwarfs" for "cranes" throughout the passage. Kuno Meyer in *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*

These dwarfs are characteristically rude and hostile; they act as servants and guards. Since Bri Leith is an elf mound in which Mider has one of his magnificent palaces,¹⁰ their original home was underground, a characteristic which they share with *Cnu dbeireoil* and some dwarfs in recent Irish folklore.¹¹ Since a man going to battle purposefully avoids seeing them, they possess a frightful appearance and perhaps some sort of evil eye. This ugliness in some Irish dwarfs is confirmed by a brief passage in the *Book of the Dun Cow*, dated about 1100: "... from the accursed Ham are descended *Luchorpain*, *Fomorraig* ["Fomorians"], *Goborchinn* ["Horse-Heads"], and every human being of unshapely appearance..."¹²

This completes evidence for the medieval Irish dwarf, but across the sea in Wales the findings are richer. Two stories written in the late twelfth century are so important as to be worth quoting almost in their entirety. The first was written by Walter Map about 1183¹³ in his *De Nugis Curialium*. It seems to be ultimately a Breton tale which has been localized in Britain;¹⁴ but that the dwarf king, his realm, and his subjects are traditionally Welsh will become clear in subsequent analogues.

Herla, a king of the very ancient Britons, was led into a compact by another king, seemingly a pigmy in the lowness of his stature, which did not exceed that of an ape. As the story hath it, this dwarf drew near, sitting on a huge goat, — just such a man as Pan is pictured, with glowing face, enormous head and a red beard so long that it touched his breast (which was brightly adorned with dappled fawn skin), a hairy belly, and thighs which degenerated into goat feet. [The dwarf king, claiming kinship with Herla, announced that he was the king of many kings and peoples and that he had been sent to conclude an agreement: he would attend Herla's wedding, which he foretold as near, if Herla would reciprocate a year later. Upon Herla's consent,

(Halle, 1906), I¹, lists both words, notes Aitherne's creatures as cranes, but gives no reasons. The characteristics of such hostile dwarfs fit well with other Irish and Welsh traditions, as Rhys pointed out (*Celtic Folklore*, II, pp. 680-1). I think that the interpretation used in the text above is the correct one.

¹⁰ Cross and Slover, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹¹ See, for instance, Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts* (London, 1866), pp. 100 ff.

¹² Quoted from Stokes, *loc. cit.*, 257.

¹³ Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 301.

¹⁴ Cf. the nineteenth-century Breton folktales about the palace of a figure who combines characteristics of gods of the sun and death (F. M. Luzel, *Contes populaires de Basse-Bretagne* [Paris, 1887], I, pp. 3-65; RC, II [1873-75], 289-320). None of these stories depict Sun-Death as a dwarf. See Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 166-7, for a detailed analysis of the Breton tales and a comparison of those with the story by Map.

he vanished quickly. The British monarch learned almost immediately to his amazement that messengers from the king of France offered him the princess to wed. On the day of the wedding feast the pigmies suddenly appeared in a great host bringing with them sumptuous provisions for the feast.] . . . servants sprang forth with vases made of precious stones, perfect in form and fashioned with inimitable art, and they filled the palace and pavilions with gold and crystal vessels.... The pigmies were everywhere, winning everyone's thanks, aflame with the glory of their garments and gems, like the sun and the moon before other stars, a burden to no one in word or deed, never in the way and never out of the way. Their king in the midst of the ministrations of his servants thus addressed King Herla: "O best of kings, the Lord is my witness that, according to our compact, I am present at thy wedding. But if anything that thou cravest besides what thou seest here can be asked of me, I shall willingly supply it; but, if not, thou must not put off thy requital of this high honor when I shall ask for it." [He left with his people about the time of cock-crow, but reappeared a year later to lead Herla to his own kingdom.] He [Herla] and his guide entered a very lofty cliff and after a space of darkness they passed into the light, seemingly not of the sun but of many lamps, like the palace of the sun in Ovid's description. Having celebrated there the marriage, and having discharged his debt to the pigmy, Herla, with the sanction of his host, withdrew laden with gifts, and with presents of horses, dogs, hawks, and all things befitting venery and falconry. The pigmy conducted his guests to the darkness and at parting gave them a small bloodhound, to be carried in arms, strictly forbidding any one of Herla's whole company to dismount until the dog should leap forth free from his bearer. [When Herla returned to his own world, he learned that what had seemed only three days' visit had been two hundred years or more. The dog never leaped forth, and those who dismounted crumbled to dust.] Hence the story hath it that King Herla, in endless wandering, maketh mad marches with his army without stay or rest.¹⁵

Here, then, is a noble dwarf king who faithfully keeps his promises, who swears by God, and who is hospitable to human visitors. He is the powerful overlord of many sub-kings and numberless people who like him are noble and generous. His kingdom, significantly, is dimly lighted and located underground, and in it are a magnificent palace and boundless riches. Part of this wealth appears in the costly cups and serving vessels which he supplies for the wedding of Herla. This characteristic finds further support in Welsh tradition in *Culhwch and Olwen*,¹⁶ generally dated in the first quarter of the twelfth cen-

¹⁵ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Oxford, 1914), pp. 13-5; trans. F. Tupper and M. Ogle (London, 1924), pp. 15-8.

¹⁶ Loomis, RR, XXXII (1941), 15-6.

tury and conceded to embody fragments of older material.¹⁷ Here Yspaddaden Penkawr demands that Culhwch procure for him "the bottles of Gwyddolwyn Gorr (the Dwarf), which preserve the heat of the liquor that is put into them in the east until one reaches the west."¹⁸

Herla's dwarf does not share the beauty of Iubdan. Not only does he ride a goat, a fact to which we shall later refer, but he himself is goat-footed, hairy, large-headed. Another chapter will discuss the ugly dwarf in detail; but we have already seen some evidence for hideous Irish dwarfs, and brief reference to recent folklore establishes the fact that the physical attributes of Herla's friend also belong to Celtic tradition. An early nineteenth-century story from the County of Monmouth reports a hairy *coblyn* or "goblin," one of the Welsh dwarfs who frequent mines and other underground regions, as having a "grim, copper-coloured countenance and a fierce look";¹⁹ and the Welsh *bwbach*, a domestic goblin, is usually brown and often hairy.²⁰ The dwarf king's goatish limbs are duplicated in Breton folklore. The *korrigans* in the caves of Côtes-du-Nord have goatish legs with hoofs of iron;²¹ and in upper Brittany the goblin Mait' Jean is believed to have the limbs of a he-goat.²² It is worth noting that in Map's story neither the lack of beauty nor the goat mount detracts in the slightest from the dignity or character of the pigmy monarch.²³

A story similar in many respects to Map's is found in the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, written about 1191²⁴ by Giraldus Cambrensis. He relates that in the neighborhood of Swansea, the priest Eliodorus confessed to Bishop David II (1148-1176)²⁵ a strange experience of

¹⁷ Loomis, MP, XXXIII (1936), 228-9.

¹⁸ *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth, 2d ed. (Paris, 1913), I, p. 309; *The Mabinogion*, trans. Gwyn and Thomas Jones (London, 1949), p. 117.

¹⁹ Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins* (Boston, 1881), pp. 27-9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹ Paul Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France* (Paris, 1904-07), II, p. 124.

²² *Ibid.*, III, p. 114.

²³ The mad marches of King Herla belong to the legend of the Wild Hunt or Furious Host to be found in various versions throughout western Europe. For further parallels see J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 4th ed., trans. J. S. Stallybrass (London, 1880-88), II, pp. 446 ff., and III, pp. 918 ff.; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (Heilbronn, 1879), pp. 29-52; Sébillot, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 165 ff. On the supernatural loss of time in fairyland, see E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891), pp. 161 ff.

²⁴ Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 294.

²⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series (London, 1868), VI, p. 104, n. 1.

his boyhood. While playing truant from school and hiding under the bank of a river,

... two little men of pigmy stature appeared to him, saying, "If you will come with us, we will lead you into a country full of delights and sports." Assenting and rising up he followed his guides through a path at first subterraneous and dark into a most beautiful country, adorned with rivers and meadows, woods, and plains, but dim and not illuminated with the full light of the sun The boy was brought before the king and introduced to him in the presence of the court These men were of the smallest stature, but very well proportioned in their make; they were of fair complexion with luxuriant hair falling over their shoulders like that of women. They had horses adapted to their small stature, equal in size to greyhounds They never took an oath; they detested nothing so much as lies. As often as they returned from the upper hemisphere, they reprobated our ambitions and our inconstancies; they had no form of public worship, being strict lovers and reverers, as it seemed, of truth Advised by his mother to bring her some time a present of gold, with which that region abounded, he stole, while at play with the king's son, the golden ball with which he used to divert himself, and ran back in haste with it to his mother by the usual path. And when he reached the door of his father's house, but not unpursued by that people, and was entering it in a great hurry, his foot stumbled on the threshold, and he fell down into the room where his mother was sitting; two pigmies who had followed his tracks seized the ball which had dropped from his hand, and departed emitting spittle, contempt and derision When he prepared to return by the accustomed way, and when he had reached the waterfall and the underground passage, no entrance whatever was visible. ²⁶

This story confirms several features of Map's tale. These hospitable dwarfs have a king; they are truth-loving and noble-minded; they possess great riches and live in the same dimly lighted, subterranean kingdom; and they have steeds adapted to their size. They also boast great beauty in their fair complexions and long hair, which recall similar features in wealthy and noble Irish dwarfs.

Recently recorded Welsh folklore furnishes some close parallels to the friends of Eliodorus. The *Tylwyth Teg* in stories collected at the end of the last century by Rhys are generally small, beautiful, and wealthy. Honest and friendly toward mortals, they are quick to resent

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-7. Trans. Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 295, n. 31, and R. C. Hoare, *The Itinerary through Wales and the Description of Wales* (London, 1908), pp. 68-9. W. Y. E. Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries* (London, 1911), p. 149, quotes a modern version of the story, and on p. 161 a similar beginning.

any theft.²⁷ Most are said to live underground in pits or caves or under mountains, and there they frequently guard treasure.²⁸ The entrance to their realm sometimes lies under the hollow banks that overhang the deeper parts of lakes or rivers, so that mortals cannot follow.²⁹

Another race, very similar, are the *Plant Rhys Ddwfn*, or "Children of Rhys the Cunning," about whom evidence was gathered in the middle of the nineteenth century. They are a very small, handsome race noted for their noble character and complete community harmony, which they attribute to the teachings of their patriarch. Skillful traders, they possess treasures from all countries under the sun, and a man for whom they conceive a liking is showered with gifts on a visit to their country. They live in several places, but one of their kingdoms lies in Cardigan Bay on an island from which there runs a subterranean gallery to the mainland.³⁰

Still another tradition of the Welsh dwarf, that of the *afanc*, can be introduced only by summarizing an incident from *Peredur*, an Arthurian romance of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.³¹ But since it retains and has been supplemented by native Welsh elements,³² since the specific incident of the *afanc* does not appear in other continental Grail romances, and since medieval and later Welsh folklore confirms the characteristics of the *afanc*, we may properly present the story at this point:

From the Black Oppressor, whom he has just defeated, Peredur receives directions to the Mound of Mourning. On the way he must pass the palace of the Sons of the King of Suffering, so called because the Afanc of the Lake slays them daily. At the palace Peredur observes how the three knights are resurrected each day by the ministrations of their sisters. Refused permission to accompany the knights the next day, he follows at a distance until he meets a fair lady who instructs him how to kill the Afanc: "He has a cave, and there is a stone pillar

²⁷ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, pp. 82-3; William Howells, *Cambrian Superstitions* (London, 1831), pp. 142-3.

²⁸ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, pp. 82, 206, 212-3, 251-4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-1, 168-9; Y Cymmrodor, V (1894), 114-7; Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³¹ M. R. Williams, *Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur* (Paris, 1909), p. 28.

³² W. J. Gruffydd, "Welsh Literature," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed. (London and New York, 1929), XXIII, 505.

in the entrance of the cave, and he sees all who come inside, but never a one sees him. And with a poisoned stone-spear from the shelter of the pillar he kills every one. And wert thou to pledge thy word to love me best of women, I would give thee a stone so that thou shouldst see him when thou went inside, but he not see thee." Peredur quickly agrees; the lady presents the stone and then vanishes. Peredur reaches the cave and enters, carrying the stone in his left hand and his lance in his right. He perceives the Afanc, pierces him, and cuts off his head. The sons of the King of Suffering greet the victor at the entrance of the cave and announce that it has been prophesied that he would slay the Afanc.³³

The *afanc* appears here, then, as a hostile creature whose cave is in or by a body of water. He is a powerful antagonist who probably has the power of rendering himself invisible. The three victims whom he kills each day seem to represent sacrifices, for which his *llechwaw*, a primitive, stone-tipped spear,³⁴ is appropriate.

Rhys points out that the word *afanc* is the etymological equivalent of the Irish *abacc*, "dwarf," and asserts, "...till further light is shed on these words one may assume that at one time *afanc* also meant 'pigmy' or 'dwarf' in Welsh."³⁵ J. A. MacCulloch agrees.³⁶ For such a theory we have evidence in medieval and recent folklore. Two medieval Welsh poems refer to the *pegorau*, "pigmies" or "dwarfs," great numbers of whom inhabit some underwater world. In the *Book of Taliesin*, dated about 1275,³⁷ the poet claims:

I know (what sort of) pigmy
There is beneath the sea.
I know their kind,
Each in his troop.³⁸

The following lines from a twelfth-century manuscript, the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, reveal a similar belief:

³³ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 91-6.

³⁴ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, p. 689, n.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 431; Meyer, *Contributions*, p. 4. For arguments that *afanc* may have meant "beaver" see Loth, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 92-3, n. 2; T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk Custom* (London, 1930), p. 105.

³⁶ *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 190.

³⁷ Gruffydd, *loc. cit.*, 505.

³⁸ Trans. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, p. 431; *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*, ed. T. G. Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910), p. 21, ll. 25-6.

And every dwarf
 There is beneath the sea
 And every winged thing
 The Mighty One hath made,
 And were there to each
 Thrice three hundred tongues —
 They could not relate
 The powers of the Trinity.³⁹

We have already noted above that the homes of the *Tylwyth Teg* and the *Plant Rhys Ddwfn* are often near the water; another Welsh tale soon to be cited will confirm this.⁴⁰

Admittedly, in the centuries since *Peredur*, other features have corrupted the tradition of a dwarf *afanc*. In a late and perhaps unreliable triad, one of the three mighty works of the Isle of Britain was performed by Hugh the Mighty's oxen, which pulled the *afanc* from his pool to the shore.⁴¹ More recent stories, collected in the last century, tell of a water creature, sometimes a "huge hairy monster of hideous aspect,"⁴² who can cause the lake or pool in which he lives to overflow and flood the countryside.⁴³ In many versions, however—notably that of the triad—specific details about his size are either lacking or indefinite. The consistent characteristics are enormous strength and the water habitat—not gigantic size—and Rhys' conjecture that the *Peredur afanc* was a dwarf seems sound although the ultimate etymology of the word is not entirely clear.⁴⁴

³⁹ Trans. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, p. 432; *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, ed. T. G. Evans (Pwllheli, 1906), fo. IXb.

⁴⁰ For beliefs that Welsh fairies haunted wells and controlled the supply of water, see Margaret Eyre, *FL*, XVI (1905), 176-7.

⁴¹ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 323, no. 150. This triad is in the third series (*ibid.*, p. 224).

⁴² Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, pp. 18-9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 18-9; II, p. 429.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 689, n.

Professor R. A. Fowkes informs me that *afanc* is probably cognate with the Welsh *afon*, "river."

There are other British dwarfs who resemble the *afanc*, but their Celticity is somewhat questionable because they may have been fused with traditions brought into Britain by Germanic invaders. Folk beliefs about water dwarfs in Aberdeenshire wells and lochs were collected before 1892. Close by a "Well in the Wood" in a small knoll lives the "Little Grey Man," who demands payment for every drink by threat of attack. In a small loch between Gogariff and Tomintoul are supposed to have drowned many persons whose bodies have never been recovered because of a hostile water creature who delights in human sacrifice. When the natives once started to drain the loch, a dwarf arose to the surface, seized some of the workmen, and plunged back into the water, now boiling and red as blood. Into a certain "Lamb's Loch," each shepherd of the neighborhood annually throws a lamb as

Another Welsh water dwarf is as gracious as the *afanc* is hostile. In a nineteenth-century tale:

*A young man falls into Llyn Cynnwech, a deep lake in the parish of Llanfacreth. He continues to drop through the water and observes that it becomes clearer the further he descends. He finally alights on a level spot where everything looks much as it does on dry land. A "short fat old gentleman" welcomes him and entertains him delightfully for a month which seems like only three days. Since the lake is so deep, the inhabitants finally lead him back by the way of a stone which opens out on the earth further down the mountain.*⁴⁵

In still another Welsh tale, recorded in the middle of the eighteenth century:

*A young shepherd lost in the mountains meets a "little fat old man with merry blue eyes" who offers to befriend him. The dwarf leads the way to a stone, which rises after three taps, and down a narrow stairway illuminated by "a sort of whitish light" into a fine country. There the shepherd is splendidly entertained in a magnificent palace and is married to his host's daughter. Eventually he returns with her and with great wealth to the upper world.*⁴⁶

The two dwarfs are certainly identical, and through them we have returned to the same wealthy, dimly lighted underground kingdom ruled by hospitable dwarfs seen above in the stories of Map and Giraldus.

Fragmentary but tantalizing evidence of other dwarfs in medieval Welsh tradition is afforded by the epithet *Corr*, "the Dwarf," in

sacrifice to a spirit dwelling there. During an attempt to drain the pool, the natives saw their work undone by hundreds of black dwarfs who issued from the loch (Walter Gregor, *FL*, III [1892], 67-73). These dwarfs may ultimately be Scandinavian water trolls; but, like the *afanc*, they live in the water or near the water in an underground dwelling, and the Gogarff-Tomintoul dwarf is enormously strong. He and the spirit of Lamb's Loch—apparently a dwarf—enjoy sacrifices as does the *afanc* in *Peredur*. In the traditional ballad of "The Wee, Wee Man", a hideous dwarf appears by the river and leads a human to a splendid subterranean hall peopled by beautiful dwarfs (F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Boston, [1884], I, pp. 329-84). He may be in part Germanic; but, like the *afanc*, he is met near water, is supernaturally strong, and can render himself invisible. Like the Welsh dwarfs of Map and Giraldus and other figures about to be cited, he leads a human to a magnificent dwelling, of which he is apparently king.

⁴⁵ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, pp. 135-6.

⁴⁶ Rhys, *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1894), 81-4.

several of the early triads. Among the three chief magics of the Isle of Britain is that of Ruddlwm Gorr, who taught it, in one version, to Eiddilic Gorr.⁴⁷ In a variant triad,⁴⁸ Ruddlwm Gorr is replaced by Gwydelyn Gor, who is Gwyddolwyn Gorr, mentioned above as the possessor of magic vessels in *Culhwch*. In the same tale, one of those persons in whose names Culhwch asks his boon is Eurolwen, daughter of Gwyddolwyn and apparently a member of Arthur's court.⁴⁹ Again, Eiddilic Gorr is named as one of the three men of magic and metamorphosis in Britain,⁵⁰ and Dafydd ap Gwilym calls Eiddilic Gorr the Gael one of the three masters of magic.⁵¹ In the triads cited, Gwyddolwyn, Eiddilic, and Ruddlwm appear with various other Welsh characters, but notably with Math son of Mathonwy and Menw son of Teirgwaedd, figures whose place in genuinely old Welsh tradition is made clear from details supplied in the fourth branch of the *Mabinogi* and in *Culhwch*. It is not too much, then, to suggest that these three dwarfs may have occupied a similarly important place in Welsh tradition. Their magic powers are typical of those of other Welsh dwarfs.

Finally, even more cryptic are references to the *Korranyeit* or *Corranaiid*, who appear in a triad as among the most oppressive invaders of Britain.⁵² In the old tale of *Lludd and Llefelys*, which appears in the *Red Book of Hergest* (c. 1375-1425) but which contains much older elements,⁵³ they are the first of three plagues on Lludd's kingdom of Britain. No harm may be done to them because they can overhear any speech which meets the air. Lludd finally destroys them by sprinkling on them a magic mixture of water and crushed insects. I can find no explanation for the magic water, but Rhys has observed that the name of these creatures is to be derived from the Welsh *corr*, "a dwarf."⁵⁴ They are malignant like other Celtic dwarfs; their supernatural power of hearing is paralleled in Welsh fairy lore of the last century⁵⁵ and by a similar characteristic

⁴⁷ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 252, no. 25. For the early date of these and following triads, see *ibid.*, pp. 223 ff.

⁴⁸ W. F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868), appendix II, p. 460.

⁴⁹ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 284.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 280, n. 75.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 173.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II, p. 280, no. 74, and p. 298, no. 110.

⁵³ Gruffydd, *loc. cit.*, 504; G. J. Visser, *Études celtiques*, I (1936), 261.

⁵⁴ Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 606; *Celtic Folklore*, II, pp. 674-5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 196.

of the Irish leprechauns.⁵⁶ This is not to say that the tribe in *Lludd and Llefelys* are dwarfs: according to Rhys, dwarf characteristics and powers "have been induced on a real people."⁵⁷ One need only take this evidence, slight though it is, as further testimony to the importance of the dwarfs in medieval Welsh tradition.

The recorded medieval literature of Cornwall furnishes no descriptions of dwarfs like those in Ireland and Wales, but nineteenth-century folk beliefs about the piskies are probably survivals of medieval traditions. They are little folk, sometimes seen as only eighteen inches high, and handsome with their curling, blond hair and in their rich attire. They are generally feared because they play cruel tricks on mortals and often carry away children and even adults to a life of eternal servitude in fairy land. Their pleasant, summery realm is found on an enchanted island in the middle of bogs or is reached through a subterranean passage from a deep glen. They amuse themselves with hurling a silver ball and dancing and feasting sumptuously to the strains of fairy music.⁵⁸ The resemblances of these traditions to those of the Welsh dwarfs are obvious.

In Brittany too there are folk beliefs which seem to have had their origins in the Middle Ages. Inhabitants of the isle of Ouessant off the coast of Armorica in the last half of the nineteenth century believed in a race of *Morganed*, little pagan people with blue eyes, blond hair, and rosy cheeks, very fair to see. In their realm beneath the sea they are ruled by a wealthy king who lives in a magnificent palace. The gems which they collect from the ocean they often give to mortals.⁵⁹

The second tradition is that of the *korrigans* already mentioned in connection with Map's dwarf king. Usually conceived as hideous little black creatures, they possess foresight as well as other supernatural powers, which they frequently use to discomfit men. They dwell in various places, sometimes under the surface of the earth or ocean. One tale collected in the last century as a Breton *récit* employs the theft from fairyland theme seen earlier in the story by Giraldus.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ See above, n. 5.

⁵⁷ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, p. 675.

⁵⁸ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (Penzance, 1873), pp. 73-6, 96-102.

⁵⁹ F. M. Luzel, *Contes*, II, pp. 257-69, 271; L. A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston, 1903), p. 251, n. 2.

⁶⁰ Sébillot, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123, and see under "Korrigans"; *Légendes locales de Haute-Bretagne* (Paris, 1899), p. 51. See also R. F. LeMen, RC, I (1870-72), 226 ff.

A salt-marsh worker was shown the entrance to a korrigan grotte and was rendered invisible by a friendly sorceress. He entered and came to "une salle immense où brillaient partout l'or et les pierreries." There a multitude of "petits hommes noirs, aux pieds de boucs, à la tête cornue, s'agitait dans le palais, où le roi assis sur son trône, faisait l'inventaire de ses trésors." The intruder filled a sack with treasure, cached it outside, but after a second trip was unable to escape. When he became visible, he was captured, sentenced by the king, but finally delivered by the sorceress.

This brief review of the *Morganed* and the *korrigans* is enough to show a rich subterranean or subaqueous realm peopled by dwarfs and ruled by a king. That a close relationship between the *korrigans* and the modern British goblins has been conceded ⁶¹ is hardly surprising, for a summary at this point will make clear that the medieval Celts and their descendants in Ireland, Britain, and Brittany share remarkably homogeneous traditions about the dwarfs.

1. The dwarfs are sometimes strikingly handsome or beautiful, sometimes grotesquely ugly.

2. Their realms are variously located—on islands, under lakes or seas, and under the earth. Usually these kingdoms are markedly wealthy. Those located underground are frequently dimly lighted.

3. Their social organization is much like that of their human contemporaries. The kings enjoy lordship over populous courts and kingdoms.

4. Their wealth appears in splendid dress and in such possessions as precious or magic vessels and supernatural weapons.

5. They ride small steeds adapted to their size.

6. They boast several supernatural attributes: strength, the ability to disappear, immortality, clairvoyance, and musical skill which charms the listener.

7. They play various roles. Often they are noble in character and friendly and generous toward mortals whom they conduct to their kingdoms. Sometimes they are equally hostile.

8. Although the dwarfs are small in stature, they are certainly not pigmies or dwarfs in the scientific sense. Indeed, their diminutive size, splendid kingdoms, immense wealth, magic possessions, and supernatural powers all relate them rather to the fairy tradition.

⁶¹ Wentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 206 ff. On the Breton *lutins*, or "hobgoblins," see Sébillot, RTP, IV (1889), 612-4; C. Sauv , RTP, V (1890), 101-4.

9. Finally, despite their probably ancient origin, the dwarfs have already acquired in folklore and saga many courtly attributes. Their social organization has been noted above. Iubdan and Map's dwarf king are Christians. Iubdan and Senbecc possess the armor and weapons of a medieval warrior, and Map's dwarf king bestows gifts for the sports of venery and falconry. Iubdan has Esirt for a court poet just as Fergus has the dwarf Aed. Such a refinement would be both natural and easy because of the wealth and frequently high ethical standards of the dwarfs. Evidently, even before they are subjected to the influence of the romances, they have some courtly characteristics.⁶²

⁶² It is outside the province of this study to attempt to explain the origins of fairies and dwarfs in folklore. Indeed, the disagreement among eminent folklore scholars discourages such a venture. Fairest and most convincing discussions are: J. A. MacCulloch, "Fairy," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1908-27), V, 678-87; FL, XLIII (1932), 362-75; Hartland, *op. cit.*; Carl Voretzsch, "Fee," *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930-34), II, 74-82; R. U. Sayce, FL, XLV (1934), 99-143. For an inadequately supported treatment asserting their origin in the dead, see A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folklore* (London, 1930), pp. 87 ff. Wentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 397 ff., gives comprehensive reviews of existing theories, but collapses in an attempt to prove the existence of fairies scientifically.

CHAPTER III

THE COURT DWARF

Any treatment of the Arthurian dwarf would have to consider not only his parallels in folklore but also his counterpart in real life, the court dwarf. Wohlgemuth, indeed, believes that "die meisten der höfischen zwerge nicht sowohl auf mythologische gestalten zurückzuführen sind, als vielmehr auf die wirklich existierenden missgestalten und kretins, die grosse herren sich zur kurzweil hielten."¹ Friedrich Nick in *Die Hofnarren, Possenreisser und Volksnarren* gives essentially the same opinion: "Überhaupt machten die Romanzendichter jener Zeit viel Gebrauch von den Zwergen, weil diese damals wirklich Mode waren."² Unfortunately, both scholars fail to cite any evidence for medieval court dwarfs. Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, after surveying several items of evidence which will be acknowledged later, states: "[It is unnecessary to suppose that the writers we have quoted, Irish, French, or German, had even a very vague idea of the mythological connections of the dwarfs of which they wrote.] Their descriptions seem to us to be based wholly on the contemporary custom of maintaining a court dwarf in somewhat the same capacity as a court fool."³

Wohlgemuth and Nick have not been alone in facilely assuming a widespread custom of maintaining dwarfs in the Middle Ages. Even so careful a scholar as E. K. Chambers glibly says that "...the 'natural,' genuine, or assumed fool, was, like his fellow the dwarf, an institution in every mediaeval and Renascence palace,"⁴ citing as proof Joseph Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*. Strutt does once list dwarfs among the typical performers in English pageants but does not give any evidence;⁵ and the admirably thorough study of English pageants by Robert Withington does not reveal a single dwarf in medieval performances.⁶ Similarly, both Dreux DuRadier and Paul Lacroix assert that French kings in the Middle Ages kept

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

² *Die Hof- und Volks-Narren* (Stuttgart, 1861), I, p. 588.

³ *Tristan and Isolde*, I, pp. 248-9.

⁴ *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), I, p. 386.

⁵ *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, 1810), p. xxiii.

⁶ *English Pageantry, an Historical Outline* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918).

dwarf jesters and servants, without citing a single occurrence before 1500.⁷ Alwin Schultz in *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* makes similar claims and offers one piece of evidence which we shall note below. For the most part, however, he relies on the highly questionable method of assuming that incidents in the romances accurately reflect court customs.⁸

What evidence is there, then? Undoubtedly dwarfs were kept as servants and entertainers in the courts of nobles and homes of the wealthy from the times of ancient Egypt through the late Roman empire,⁹ and there are ample records of dwarfs in Renaissance courts.¹⁰ However, that this custom continued on a wide scale in western Europe during the interim is not clear. Miss Schoepperle's opinion is based, in part, upon several figures whom we noted in the last chapter: *Cnu dbeireoil*, Senbecc, the dwarfs of Mider and Aitherne, and the leprechauns. In each instance, however, the dwarfs themselves have supernatural powers and are attached to legendary heroes.

A figure which has been assumed to be a dwarf retainer of William the Conqueror appears in the Bayeux Tapestry under the inscription:¹¹

VBI:NVNTII:VVILLELMI:DVCIS
 VENERVNT:AD VVIDONE
 TVROLD

He holds the horses for two knights sent by William to demand Harold from Count Guy. The name of Turolde is actually attached to the knight on the left; he was a vassal of Bishop Odo and appears on

⁷ Dreux DuRadier, "Des fous en titre d'office des rois de France," *Collections des meilleurs notices et traités relatifs à l'histoire de France*, VIII (Paris, 1838), 185; Paul Lacroix, *Mœurs, Usages, et Costumes au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1877), p. 247.

⁸ *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* (Leipzig, 1889), I, pp. 270 and n. 4, 500 and n. 6.

⁹ Nick, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 589 ff.; E. J. Wood, *Giants and Dwarfs* (London, 1868), pp. 240 ff.; C. J. S. Thompson, *The Mystery and Lore of Monsters* (New York, 1931), pp. 186 ff.; H. Rischbieth and Amy Barrington, *Eugenics Laboratory Memoirs*, XV (London, 1912), 357 ff.; Warren Dawson, *Annals of Medical History*, IX (1927), 315-26.

¹⁰ Nick, *op. cit.*, pp. 589 ff.; DuRadier, *loc. cit.*, 172 ff.; Lacroix, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 ff.; Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 258 ff.; Erika Tietze-Conrat, *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art*, trans. Elizabeth Osborn (London, 1957), esp. the illustrations.

¹¹ Erec MacLagan, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, 1949), plate 11; André Lejard, *La Tapisserie de Bayeux* (Paris, 1946), p. 26.

other occasions in the tapestry.¹² The apparently short stature with which the holder of the horses is depicted may be an attempt at perspective¹³ or an indication of his menial station. I do not believe that he is a dwarf at all.

Again, Lütjens and Miss Schoepperle cite passages in the Strassburg *Alexander* and the Basle *Alexander*, composed in the later twelfth century. Here, five hundred dwarfs, richly dressed in the Strassburg version, accompany Queen Candacis in her train.¹⁴ These two romances are independent redactions, several times removed, of Lamprecht's German *Alexander*, dated 1120 to 1130; and Lamprecht's version itself is a redaction of the romance by the French Albéric de Pisançon. Corresponding portions of the two earlier romances are missing; versions preceding Albéric do not mention the dwarfs. It is possible, reasons Lütjens (and Miss Schoepperle does not contradict him), that the dwarfs were inserted by either Lamprecht or Albéric, whose work has been dated as early as the late eleventh century. He reluctantly concludes that either Lamprecht or Albéric knew contemporary real court dwarfs because at the time the Celtic dwarf could hardly have furnished the model. Yet, we need not accept his argument. First, recent scholarship finds no indication that Albéric or Lamprecht treated the Candacis episode.¹⁵ Second, as was noted in Chapter I, probably by the year 1000 the insular Arthurian legend had passed over to the continent, and before 1100 the Breton *conteurs* had begun to spread the *matière de Bretagne*, which would have included dwarf-lore. It is possible, then, that the *Alexander* dwarfs could have come from Celtic tradition.¹⁶ Finally, the preposterous number of five hundred atten-

¹² W. Tavernier, *Archeological Journal*, LXXI (1914), 174 ff.; A. Levé, *La Tapisserie de Bayeux* (Paris, 1919), p. 43; Loomis, *Art Bulletin*, VI (1923), 5-6; MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹³ Tavernier, *loc. cit.*, 173-4 and n.; Levé, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3; F. F. L. Birrell, *Guide to the Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1914), p. 13.

¹⁴ *Strassburger Alexander in Lamprechts Alexander*, ed. Karl Kinzel (Halle, 1884), II, 6063-4; *Die Basler Bearbeitung von Lamprechts Alexander*, ed. Richard Werner (Tübingen, 1881), I, 3805; Lütjens, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-9; Schoepperle, *op. cit.*, I, p. 246. For dates and relations among the romances, see U. T. Holmes, *A History of Old French Literature from the Origins to 1300* (New York, 1938), p. 142; Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, II² (Munich, 1922), pp. 237 ff.; Alfred Foulet, *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre* (Princeton, 1949), pp. 6 ff.

¹⁵ Foulet, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ A somewhat similar attachment of Celtic dwarfs to an Oriental figure appears in a nineteenth-century superstition from the isle of Guérandaise that an army of *korrigans* guards the tomb of King Solomon (Sébillot, *Le folklore de France*, II, p. 58).

dants and the legendary figure of Candacis herself would indicate that we have here to do with just such fantastic material, whether Celtic or not.

Some solid references to real court dwarfs do survive. In the *Chronica* of a certain Johannes de Oxenedes, probably a monk at the Norfolk monastery of St. Benet,¹⁷ appears the following entry under the year 1249: "At the same time there was a certain mannikin named John, nineteen years old but scarcely three feet high, whom the queen led with her as a prodigy."¹⁸ The queen is Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III. The *homuncio* is evidently a dwarf and accompanies the royal suite on its frequent journeys. The fact that his appearance with the queen's train is considered worthy of note by the chronicler may indicate that such dwarfs were not common in England.¹⁹

Much fuller detail about several similar dwarfs is supplied by the household records of Mahaut, Countess of Artois and Bourgogne from 1302 to 1329.²⁰ When her father, Robert II, died in 1302, she assumed responsibility for his dwarf, Calot Jean, whom he had brought from Sicily some time before to become one of his most loyal valets. Mahaut bestowed on Jean a lifetime annuity of twenty livres and guaranteed him a permanent home with her household. In 1304 he married, but his wife soon died. He remained with the countess until 1322, when he retired to the Abbey of Maubuisson. He died there in 1328.²¹

Between 1310 and 1312 there appears in the household records a certain Perrinet, sometimes called "le petit nain." Since he is not listed among the valets and since he is also referred to as "le petit folet," he was Mahaut's jester. He frequently received gifts of apparel, one of which was a bishop's costume, probably to enable him to take the role of the Bishop of Fools in a court entertainment. Another such present was the specially made outfit of a knight — "...une cote gamboisie, une haubregon, unes grieves, une cuissos et un bacinet..."²² After 1312

¹⁷ T. F. Tout, "Oxenedes or Oxnead, John de," *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV (London, 1921-2), 12.

¹⁸ Johannes de Oxenedes, *Chronica*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1859), p. 180: "Tempore sub eodem quidam homuncio aetatis habens annorum xviii staturae fuit vix tripedalis, nomine Johannes, quem quasi prodigium regina secum duxit."

¹⁹ Lütjens, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁰ Jules Marie Richard, *Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis, Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1887); Lütjens, *op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 1; Schoepperle, *op. cit.*, I, p. 246.

²¹ Richard, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 111.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 11, n. 2.

Perrinet disappears from the records, but from 1319 on, his place was apparently taken by Jeannot "le folet" or "le petit folet." For the latter Mahaut bought various equipment including military dress and a wooden horse. At Conflans in 1321 he tilted at a quintain: "Pour la quintaine qui fu faite a Conflans pur le folet et pur les lances..."²³ Furthermore, in 1308 Mahaut purchased a fine robe of vair as a gift to the dwarf of the queen of Navarre.²⁴

Another dwarf appears in the court of King René of Anjou. In 1446 that monarch, justly famous for his devotion to the practices of chivalry, held jousts in imitation of the traditions of King Arthur's court.²⁵ On the plain of Launay near Saumur, René had a wooden castle built, which he called "le Chateau de la Joyeuse Garde," and stayed there with his court for forty days. Preliminary to the jousts there came from the castle a splendid procession which included "...un nain vestu à la turque, sur un beau cheval richement caparaçonné, portant l'escu de la devise que le roy René avoit choisie en cette occasion... à la porte [of a very rich pavilion] s'assit le nain, vestu à la turque, sur un riche oreiller...les jambes passées l'une sur l'autre en sautoir, ayant esté mis la pour remarquer tout ce qui se passeroit." The jousts then proceeded.

Another dwarf or other dwarfs appear in a similar imitation of Arthurian romance in the *Roman de Hem*, written by a certain Sarasin in 1278. This curious poem describes a tourney held in that year at Ham-Monacu between Péronne and Bray, in which Arthurian names and roles were assumed by French noblemen and ladies.²⁶ In one episode acted out, a lady playing Soredamors entered the court to ask help for delivering her imprisoned lover. She rode on a hackney led by a dwarf.²⁷ In another adventure, a maiden entered on a hackney, followed by a scolding dwarf who whipped her at the instruction of his master, a knight who was incensed because she had insisted that

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 111, n. 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

²⁵ *Oeuvres complètes du roi René*, ed. Le Comte de Quatrebarbes (Angers, 1849), I, pp. LXXVI-VII. This text is not available to me; I have used quotations in Vulson de la Colombière, *Le Vray Theatre d'honneur* (Paris, 1648), pp. 82-6. On this incident see Loomis, "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations of Arthurian Romance," *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 89 ff.

²⁶ *Du Tournoi de Ham* in *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*, ed. Francisque Michel (Paris, 1840); Loomis, "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations," 92-4. *Le Roman de Hem*, ed. Albert Henry (Paris, 1939), is a more recent edition, but is unavailable to me.

²⁷ *Du Tournoi de Ham*, pp. 234-6.

"Genievre's" knights were the best in the world. One of these then challenged and defeated the cruel knight.²⁸ Although these two episodes were dramatically presented, the person or persons who played the parts of the dwarfs were in all probability real court dwarfs. The first dwarf, for instance, rails against all women, at one point, with the impudent wit of a court jester.²⁹

This is all the solid, specific evidence which I have been able to find,³⁰ but it is enough to warrant several conclusions. Court dwarfs most certainly existed during the Middle Ages, but in what numbers it is difficult to tell. Although it is dangerous to make negative assertions, I suggest that the paucity of evidence indicates that they were relatively rare, at least in the earlier part of the Middle Ages. Certainly they were not to be met with accompanying every noble lady on a journey, standing at the gate of every castle, jesting at the elbow of every king.

When they did exist, of course, as trusted servants they would accompany their lords and ladies on journeys as did the *homuncio* John in England. As entertainers they would probably play a number of roles. In the tradition of the jester, like Lear's fool they would enjoy considerable favor from their masters and would be sharp of speech. Like other court entertainers of the time they would have some skill in music and story-telling. Finally, they would imitate the costume and activities of chivalry.

To what extent they affected the portrayal of the numerous dwarfs in the romances poses an important problem. The opinions of Wohlgemuth, Nick, and Miss Schoepperle have already been stated. Lütjens, on the other hand, minimizes the influence of such real dwarfs, but does not substantiate in detail his claim for Celtic derivation of the romance figures. Actually, the problem can be answered satisfactorily only with just such detailed evidence. We may note now, however, that all genuine evidence for court dwarfs appears relatively late in the development of Arthurian romance. Again, the medieval romance, no matter how artificial, not only drew upon contemporary life but in turn affected the society that produced it. This is attested by the dwarfs at Saumur and at Ham, who appear in situations where they

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 324-32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³⁰ As the book goes to press, I discover the mention of three other real court dwarfs in France in the fifteenth century, but the details about them add nothing significant to the foregoing discussion (Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* [Haarlem, 1928], pp. 27-8 and n.).

and their masters are openly imitating traditions of Arthurian romance.

Some influence from the court dwarf will later be detected. Specifically, the spying dwarf who betrays Tristan and Isolt can be traced in part to the court dwarf; and the appendix will list many dwarf menials with roles of little or no importance. Most of the investigation will show, however, that the opposite process occurs and that the traditional Celtic dwarf furnishes the pattern.

CHAPTER IV

APPEARANCE OF THE ROMANCE DWARFS

That the little figures who appear throughout the romances are properly dwarfs is usually clear because they are called "dwarfs," "nains," or "zwerge." Usually also they are described as short and small. The dwarf of the Marvelous Forest in *Li chevaliers as deus espees* is "petis a desmesure,"¹ and a dwarf in Raoul de Houdenc's *Meraugis* is "bas."² In the Dutch *Roman van Lancelot*, Gawain meets a dwarf king the size of a five-year-old boy.³ Many figures not specifically labelled dwarfs can be easily identified by their epithet or by pointed reference to their size. Chrétien in *Erec et Enide* gives Guivret the epithet "li petiz,"⁴ and also states that he is "mout de cors petiz."⁵ The Turk in *The Turk and Gowin* "... was not hye, but he was broad, / & like a Turke he was made . . ."⁶ Although no romance dwarfs are so fantastically small as Iubdan, king of the leprechauns, the correspondence in stature with the folklore dwarfs of Chapter II hardly needs pointing out. Some romance figures not immediately recognizable as dwarfs will be identified as they are encountered.

Clear at once also is the agreement between the handsome dwarfs of folklore and several figures in the romances. In *Huon de Bordeaux* Auberon is described:

"... I . nains, par vreté,
Si n'a de grant que . III . piés mesurés;
Mais tout a certes est moult grans sa biautés,
Car plus est biaux que solaus en esté."⁷

¹ Ed. Wendelin Foerster (Halle, 1877), l. 10,448.

² Ed. M. Friedwagner (Halle, 1897), l. 1424.

³ Ed. W. J. A. Jonckbloet (the Hague, 1846-49), III, ll. 12,685.

⁴ Ed. Wendelin Foerster (Halle, 1890), l. 3638.

⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 3679.

⁶ In *Sir Gawayne: a Collection of Ancient Romance Poems*, ed. Sir Frederic Madden (London, 1839), ll. 13-4.

⁷ Ed. F. Guessard and C. Grandmaison (Paris, 1860), p. 94. This work is usually classified as a *chanson de geste*, but is commonly conceded to owe so much to Arthurian *matière* that we may properly use its fairy king. See Chapter VIII.

In the first continuation of the *Conte del Graal*, the Petit Chevalier

... ne sanbloit c'une faiture;
 N'estoit mie fais come nains.
 Piés et jambes et bras et mains
 Et teste et ex et bouce et vis
 Ot trop bien fait, ce vos plevis,
 Tot ensi com li covenoit
 A le grandor que il avoit.
 Trop ert bien fais de sa maniere,
 De cors, de membres et de chiere.⁸

In the second continuation of the same romance appears the Chevalier Petit:

Li chevaliers ki là venoit
 Ert moult petis à desmesure;
 Mais onques nule créature
 D'oume et de fame ne fu née
 Dont on fesist ains renommé
 Ne fu si bele, au mien espoir;
 Se jou dire vous voel le voir,
 Cheviaus ot blons recerclés,
 Iols et menton et bouce et nes,
 Avoit aussi com souhaidiés;
 Moult belement ert atornés....⁹

Tidogolains in Renaud de Beaujeu's *Le Bel Inconnu* is "...cortois et bien apri, / gent ot li cors et bel le vis..."¹⁰ Teodelain, the corresponding figure in the Middle English *Libeaus Desconus*, is likewise handsome and has a beard "ȝelow as wax."¹¹ The characteristics emphasized are beauty or handsomeness of countenance, excellent proportion of body and limbs, and, twice, fair hair. These, of course, are the same characteristics made much of in the descriptions of Iubdan's leprechauns, Giraldus' dwarfs, their more recent counterparts, and the *Morganed*.

A far greater number of romance dwarfs are ugly. From the castle of Brun de Morois in *Durmart le Gallois* comes

⁸ Ed. William Roach, *The Continuations of the Old French Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes*, I (Philadelphia, 1949), ll. 14,606-14. The author later calls him a *nain* (l. 15,059).

⁹ *Perceval le Gallois ou Le Conte du Graal*, ed. C. Potvin (Mons, 1866-71), V, ll. 31,682-92.

¹⁰ Ed. G. P. Williams (Paris, 1929), ll. 155-6.

¹¹ Ed. Max Kaluza (Leipzig, 1890), l. 139.

I petit gocet et cort,

 Il estoit chaves et bochus.
 La teste ot grosse et plat le nes
 Et cort col et vis rebole,
 Lentilloz estoit et rosses 12

At the entrance of a tent in a forest glade, the hero of *Fergus et Galiene* encounters a hideous black-skinned dwarf three feet high and humped like a camel. He has a large head, flat forehead, catlike nose with flaring nostrils, and bristly black hair.¹³ In *Lestoire de Merlin Evadeam*, whose transformation into a handsome knight we shall later discuss, first appears as a lean, hideously deformed dwarf, hunched in front and back. He has large hands with short fingers, short legs, and high shoulders. His nose is flat, his mouth huge, and his hair black and matted. His long red beard reaches his feet.¹⁴

All these ugly features — the flat or "camus" nose, large head, unkempt hair and beard, abnormal color, hunched back, and warped limbs — are repeated so often¹⁵ that to prolong the descriptions would be tiresome. The repetitions show, of course, that the writers of romance follow a pattern; the important thing to do is to indicate the source of that pattern. Wohlgemuth, after descriptions of several ugly romance dwarfs, concludes that they are fashioned after real "missgestalten und kretins," who were kept as court dwarfs.¹⁶ Although he does not supply supporting evidence, the conjecture deserves attention.

Modern medical research distinguishes many types of dwarfism and infantilism according to the causes which produce these conditions.¹⁷ For our purpose, however, only three general types of dwarfs are

¹² Ed. Edmund Stengel (Tübingen, 1873), ll. 4468-73.

¹³ Ed. Ernst Martin (Halle, 1872), ll. 2819 ff.

¹⁴ H. O. Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, 1908-16), II, p. 422.

¹⁵ See, for example, Nogant's dwarf in *Durmart*, ll. 1775 ff.; the dwarf who drives Bohors in the cart in Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 215; Colivre's dwarf in Gerard d'Amiens, *Escanor*, ed. H. Michelant (Tübingen, 1886), ll. 8984 ff.; and Druidain in Raoul de Houdenc, *Vengeance Raguidel*, ed. M. Friedwagner (Halle, 1909), ll. 4233 ff.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

¹⁷ Best single discussion is that by H. Gardiner-Hill, "Dwarfism and Infantilism," *British Encyclopaedia of Medical Practice* (London, 1937), IV, 277-312. See also Rischbieth and Barrington, *loc. cit.*; P. H. Fletcher, *Giants and Dwarfs, a Study of the Anterior Lobe of the Hypophysis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933); Hastings Gilford, *The Disorders of Post-natal Growth and Development* (London, 1911); J. E. Cottrell, *Medical Clinics of North America*, XV (1931), 527-39.

important: the one of normal proportions; the dwarf deformed by pathological factors or by defective functioning of internal glands; and hunchbacked dwarfs. The first type is a simple, hereditary dwarf, best exemplified in the pigmy of Central Africa. The condition of subnormal height carries with it no disproportion and is not uncommon in individual families in Europe and elsewhere "in its lesser grades."¹⁸ By ordinary observation, however, well-proportioned adults the height of five-, six-, or seven-year-olds are rare, to say the least. A survey of eighty-four dwarfs collected at the Chicago Exposition of 1933-1934 shows not a single simple hereditary dwarf.¹⁹ The second type, the deformed dwarf, shows a wide range of malformation from several causes: rickets and similar diseases; disturbances in the thyroid and sexual glands; or subnormal secretion of the pituitary gland. The usual symptoms are not only a restriction of growth, but also — in various combinations — premature senility; the loss of strength, skin color, and hair; short and deformed arms and legs; frequently obese trunk; large head; and flattened nose.²⁰ The third type, the hunchbacked dwarf, is born deformed or suffers when young from tuberculosis of the spine; his appearance needs no description. Court dwarfs must in the main have been of the deformed and hunchbacked types; and the writers of romance, it is obvious, attribute features of these two to the ugly dwarfs of the romances.

Our subsequent investigation, however, will show that the Arthurian dwarf owes so many traits to his Celtic background — his roles, his strength, other supernatural powers manifest or vestigial — that it is important to see whether ugly Celtic dwarfs may have supplied the pattern here too. Chapter II showed that Ireland, Wales, and Brittany knew a tradition of hideous dwarfs. Especially remarkable was King Herla's friend with his red face, long beard, large head, and goat legs. Parallels from recently collected folklore have already been cited, but let us look at a nineteenth-century description of Cornish mine goblins: "They were miserable, little, withered, dried up creatures — the tallest no more than three foot six . . . with shanks like drumsticks and their arms as long or longer than their legs. They had big, ugly heads with red or grey locks, squintan [*sic*] eyes, hook

¹⁸ Gardiner-Hill, *loc. cit.*, 290.

¹⁹ C. W. Dupertuis, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, III (1945), 111-27.

²⁰ Gardiner-Hill, *loc. cit.*; Rischbieth and Barrington, *loc. cit.*, 365 ff.; Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.; Gilford, *op. cit.*, pp. 585-90, 637 ff.; Cottrell, *loc. cit.*, 534-7.

noses, and mouths from ear to ear.' " ²¹ Welsh mine goblins are often described as having black or copper-colored faces.²² Finally, L. F. A. Maury summarizes the appearance of the Breton *korrigans* in early nineteenth-century folk superstition: "... ils existent des génies de la taille des pygmées, doués, ainsi que les fées, d'un pouvoir prophétique. Mais... ils sont noirs, velus, et trapus; leur mains sont armés de griffes de chat et leur pieds de cornes de bouc; ils ont la face ridée, les cheveux crépus, les yeux creux et petits..." ²³ The correspondences between the ugly dwarfs of Celtic tradition and those of the romances are fairly close, in the distorted heads and limbs, hairiness, and black or ruddy skin. The last two features are particularly noteworthy since medical research does not show any such traits in the real dwarf. On the other hand, these same characteristics and the animal features would forestall any suspicion that the folklore figures themselves are patterned after real dwarfs.

In all probability, then, the romance writers, finding in their sources certain hideous dwarfs, eliminated such fantastic characteristics as the animal paws, hoofs, and horns and simultaneously added features like the "camus" nose and hunched back from dwarfs met in real life.

²¹ Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p. 188.

²² Sikes, *British Goblins*, p. 133.

²³ *Les fées du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1843), p. 81.

CHAPTER V

BILIS, KING OF THE ANTIPODES

In Chapter II, in the stories by Map and Giraldus, we found that twelfth-century Welsh folklore knew a tradition of high-minded dwarfs who inhabited a splendid, dimly lighted subterranean kingdom. Let us remember that the realm of Giraldus' dwarfs was regarded as being located in another hemisphere: the small folk returned "de superiori hemisphaerio," and Eliodorus frequently ascended "ad nostrum hemisphaerium."¹

A tale similar in several respects is told by a contemporary, Gervase of Tilbury, in his *Otia Imperialia*. Just as Giraldus cites Bishop David II as his source, Gervase takes pains to cite as a reliable ecclesiastical authority Robert, prior of Kenilworth (1160-1180), so that although Gervase's work was not written until about 1211, the story itself is considerably older.² Significantly entitled "De antipodibus et eorum terra," the tale concerns a careless swineherd of William Peverell of Peak Castle in Derbyshire, who lost a pregnant sow:

He thought within himself whether the sow by chance had entered that famous hole of the Peak, hitherto unexplored He entered the cave at a time when it was undisturbed by any wind, and when he had long proceeded on his way, he at length came out of the darkness into a bright place, opening out into a wide plain of fields Among the drooping ears of grain, he recognized the sow, which had littered many pigs. Then the swineherd marvelled and rejoiced that he had made good his loss. He told what had happened to the lord of that land [*praeposito terrae illius*], received the sow, and, dismissed with joy, he led her back to the herd of swine. Wondrous to relate, though he came from the subterranean folk at harvest, he found winter cold prevailing in our hemisphere [*byemalia frigora videt in nostro hemisphaerio perseverare*].³

¹ Giraldus, *Opera*, VI, p. 76.

² Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 295-6.

³ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. F. Liebrecht (Hanover, 1856), p. 24, trans. Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 296, n. 33. See also C. C. Oman, FL, LV (1944), 9-12.

The lord of the land ⁴ resembles the dwarf kings in twelfth-century and recent folklore in that he is the ruler of a fertile subterranean kingdom and he is kind to a human visitor. Although he is not portrayed here as a dwarf, a Derbyshire folktale of the last century tells how a man descended the same cavern until he came to the dwelling place of the Peak dwarfs, a pretty people "no bigger than cocks and hens." ⁵ This underground world of Gervase's tale, like that of Giraldus', is in another hemisphere, has seasons opposite to those of the upper world, and is called the land of the Antipodes.

If we note briefly the medieval conception of the Antipodean realm, it will become obvious that the Welsh have identified that region with their own traditional dwarf land. Properly speaking, the Antipodes are those inhabiting the region lying on the opposite side of the earth, or the other hemisphere. This concept originated early among the Greeks in the theories of Crates of Mallos (second century B.C.); adopted by Martianus Capella (fourth or fifth century A.D.), it passed on to the West. At various times during the classical and early medieval periods, the true Antipodean land became confused with the fourth or austral continent below the equator, with Taprobane or Ceylon, and, by some classical authors, with the land of the dead. Writings of Martianus and Lambert of St. Omer (*ca.* 1120) speak of the reversal of seasons in the two hemispheres. They with Macrobius and others believed that these regions were inhabited. ⁶ The references of Giraldus and Gervase now become plain: the traditional underground kingdom of noble dwarfs has been conceived in terms of twelfth-century science as the Antipodean land. Although Map does not furnish the specific terms, the realm and inhabitants which he describes would naturally be subject to the same fusion of traditions.

It is not so easy to understand precisely why they were thus confused. A. H. Krappe makes an interesting case for the theory that from confusion of the Antipodean land with the austral continent *below* the equator there arose the idea of a hemisphere "inférieur." ⁷

⁴ G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1919), p. 536, translates *praeposito terrae illius* as "to the reeve of that field." Oman, *loc. cit.*, 9, agrees with Loomis' translation.

⁵ Sidney Addy, *Household Tales and Other Traditional Remains Collected in the Counties of York, Lincoln, Derby and Nottingham* (London and Sheffield, 1895), p. 135.

⁶ J. K. Wright, *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), pp. 158-60, 385, n. 58; Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 296, n. 34; J. S. P. Tatlock, MP, XXXI (1933), 12 ff.; A. H. Krappe, MLN, LIX (1944), 441-7.

⁷ Krappe, *loc. cit.*, 446-7.

The most logical explanation of the identification seems to be that after some such etymological process as that described by Krappe — or without it — the Welsh and others acquainted with their traditions found it easy to equate two marvelous regions beneath the surface of the earth. Such an identification would result in peopling the Antipodean region with the noble Welsh dwarfs believed to inhabit a subterranean realm.⁸

It should not be surprising, therefore, to find in Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*, generally dated 1168 or earlier,⁹ the figure of a dwarf as king of the Antipodeans. Summoned for Erec's wedding are Arthur's many noble vassals.

Li sire des nains vint après,
 Bilis,¹⁰ li rois d'Antipodés.
 Cil rois don je vos di fu nains
 Et fu Briën¹¹ frere germain.
 De toz nains fu Bilis li maindre,
 Et Briëns, ses frere, fu graindre
 Ou demi pié ou plainne paume,
 Que nus chevaliers del reaume.
 Par richesce et par seignorie
 Amena an sa conpaignie
 Bilis deus rois qui nain estoient
 Et de lui lor terre tenoient,
 Grigoras et Glecidalan;¹²

⁸ Krappe, *loc. cit.*, 446-7, proposes two sources for the belief in dwarf inhabitants of the Antipodean land. The one he claims in ancient Greek and Roman geographers who knew of dwarfs in southern Asia and Ceylon can be seriously questioned. It is better to assume that Giraldus and others are simply reflecting a widely held folk belief of the Welsh instead of the all but inaccessible writings of classical traditions. Krappe's other theory is that Celtic dwarfs are "sans exception des êtres chthoniens, les ancêtres divinisés." The reader may accept or reject this broad assertion. My research does not support it, but cf. Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore*, pp. 87 ff. Professor Loomis has suggested to me that the Welsh conceived of the inhabitants of the subterranean world as dwarfs because the entrances to the caves which supposedly led to such a realm were low in height. Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, pp. 139, 238; II, p. 467. But Chapter II has already shown that the Irish and Bretons — as well as the Welsh — believed in populous dwarf realms, some of which were beneath the sea or on an island, rather than underground.

⁹ J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Baltimore, 1923), I, p. 102; Wendelin Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes, Wörterbuch* (Halle, 1914), p. 34; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 8; D. C. Cabene and U. T. Holmes, ed., *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature*, I (Syracuse, 1947), items 1090-1100.

¹⁰ Variants: Bylis, Belins, Bilius: Mss. C, BA, V.

¹¹ Variants: Blianz, Brihans: Mss. C, H; Bliant: Ms. C.

¹² Variants: Gleodalen, Glodoalan: Mss. H, C. The first variant is supplied by Professor Jean Misrahi, who is preparing an edition of *Erec*.

Mervouilles les esgarda l'an.
 Quant a la cort furent venu
 Formant i furent chier tenu.
 A la cort furent come roi
 Enore et servi tuit troi;
 Car mout estoient jantil home. ¹³

The identity of Bilis with the dwarf kings of Map and Giraldus seems likely since his Antipodean kingdom has been equated with the subterranean realm of Welsh folklore. ¹⁴ Bilis and his dwarf companions also possess the same nobility and wealth as their Welsh counterparts. Like Herla's friend, Bilis is the overlord of other kings and appears at a wedding in the court of the king of Britain. It is probable too that the figure of Glecidalan, Gleodalen, or Glodoalan is identical with the Welsh Gwyddolwyn Gorr, whose heat-preserving vessels are demanded for the wedding in *Culhwch and Olwen*. ¹⁵ That Arthur himself is here conceived as overlord of Bilis and his Antipodean kingdom is a point to which we shall later refer.

When Hartmann von Aue adapted Chrétien's work in his own *Erec* near the end of the twelfth century, he followed closely the passage quoted above. ¹⁶ The same dwarf king, with his brother and two sub-kings, appears in Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*, written about 1220. ¹⁷ In the long series of those who try the testing cup are

... Wilis von Dantipades
 Und Briân li meindres
 Glotigaran und Gligoras . . . ¹⁸

Although Heinrich has drawn the four figures from either Chrétien or Hartmann, he does not here recognize three of them as dwarfs. The epithet "li meindres" has been given least appropriately to Brian. Later on, however, when the dwarf messenger from King Priure prepares to fight the bellicose Keii, he cannot fit into the armor of King Brian, which was made for him by

¹³ *Erec*, ll. 1993-2011.

¹⁴ F. Lot, *Romania*, XLVI (1920), 45, believes mistakenly that Bilis owes his appearance as king of the Antipodes to Chrétien's confused memory of Isidore's *Etymologies*. As we shall see, Chrétien is writing from genuinely Celtic tradition.

¹⁵ See above, p. 11.

¹⁶ Ed. A. Leitzmann (Halle, 1939), ll. 2086-2117. For date, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124.

¹⁷ Ed. G. H. F. Scholl (Stuttgart, 1852). For date, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 347.

¹⁸ *Diu Crône*, ll. 2341-3.

... Bilis der klein man,
Ein richer künec und ein twerc . . . 19

Anonymously Bilis or one of his counterparts appears in a version of the mantle test in the Norse *Skikkju Rimur* of the fifteenth century. To a royal celebration come the King of the Land of Dwarfs and his fair wife, and she fails in the mantle test.²⁰ The presence of the dwarf king at such tests was apparently traditional.²¹

Let us concentrate now, however, on the dwarf king of the Antipodes; for complex but consistent evidence identifies Bilis and his brother Brien with the Welsh figures Beli and Bran. Immediately obvious are the close correspondences in names. Since Chrétien's more immediate source was a long narrative in French prose based on contemporary tales of the Breton conteurs,²² the name Bran could have been replaced by Brien, a common Breton name, and later corrupted into Blianz or Brihans. The similarity between Beli and Belins would have made easy a similar transition to Bilis.

In his *Historia regum Britanniae*, Geoffrey of Monmouth tells the story of two brothers, Belinus and Brennius, kings of ancient Britain, who struggle against each other for control of the realm until they are reconciled by their mother.²³ Geoffrey has modelled part of the tale about Brennius upon the career of Brennus, who led the Gauls in their sack of Rome in 390 B. C., but there is no antecedent in history for the brother Belinus or for their rivalry.²⁴ Significantly, Welsh redactions of the *Historia* name the royal brothers Beli and Bran,²⁵ and authorities in Celtic mythology agree that Geoffrey's Belinus and Brennius are ultimately derived from Beli and Bran, two old Welsh gods euhemerized into kings of Britain.²⁶ With characteristic facility

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 2897-8.

²⁰ G. Cederschiöld and F.-A. Wulff, *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, XIII (1876-77), 54, 67. On such virtue-testing objects and their Celtic origins, see Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 85-100; O. Warnatsch, *Der Mantel in Germanistische Abhandlungen*, II (1883); T. P. Cross, *MP*, X (1913), 289-99. E. K. Heller, *Speculum*, IX (1934), 38-50, gives a helpful survey of versions, but his premise that the horn test originated in German tradition is fallacious.

²¹ See below, pp. 84-5.

²² Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 7 ff., 463.

²³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. Acton Griscom (New York, 1929), pp. 276 ff.

²⁴ Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 346-7; E. Faral, *La Légende arthurienne* (Paris, 1929), II, pp. 135 ff.

²⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *op. cit.*, p. 276; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 346.

²⁶ Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 90-1, 274, 643-4; Rhys and J. Brynmor Jones, *Welsh People* (London, 1909), pp. 41-2; E. Anwyl, *Transactions of the Third Inter-*

Geoffrey has superimposed the story of the historical Brennus on a tradition about them which has been lost.²⁷

Other evidence tends to confirm this theory. In old Welsh poetry, Gwynedd, or Northwestern Wales, is called "the land of Beli" and Gogledd, or Northeastern Wales, "the land of Bran."²⁸ This tradition may be the source of Geoffrey's story about the territorial rivalry between Belinus and Brennius, who divide the kingdom of Britain between them.²⁹ In the mabinogi of *Branwen the Daughter of Llyr*, Beli is alluded to as uncle and grandfather of Bran.³⁰ Moreover, whereas Bran was originally a Welsh god of the sea,³¹ there are indications that Beli may have been a similar divinity. The phrase *biw Beli* ("the cattle of Beli") from the *Gododdin* has been interpreted as "the waves"; and the phrase *Beli wirawt* ("the liquor of Beli") as "the brine."³² It was remarked in Chapter II that the medieval Welsh knew of great numbers of *pegoran* who dwell beneath the sea and that the *afanc* and other Welsh dwarfs live in or beneath the water.³³ It is not essential for this study that Beli be labelled a god of the sea, but such a hypothesis may stand until a better is put forward. Old Welsh tradition, then, closely associates Beli and Bran, sometimes as royal kinsmen, just as King Bilis is brother to Brien in Chrétien's *Erec*.

The tall stature attributed to Brien seems clearly a rationalization of the gigantic size of Bran, who is described in *Branwen* as so immense that no house or ship can contain him.³⁴ Although the references to Beli which survive in Welsh tradition do not explicitly call him a dwarf, there is evidence that he was known as the diminutive king

national Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908), II, 237; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 102 ff., 112 ff.; "Celts," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, III, 288 ff.; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 346. Newstead, *Bran the Blessed*, pp. 163-7, has shown that Brennius has certain characteristics traditionally ascribed to Bran.

²⁷ *Idem*.

²⁸ Anwyl, *loc. cit.*, 236-7; Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy*, pp. 185-6.

²⁹ Newstead, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

³⁰ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 121-2, 146-7.

³¹ Newstead, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³² Anwyl, *loc. cit.*, 237; MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 290; Loomis, PMLA, LVI (1941), 921; Newstead, *op. cit.*, p. 165. T. Jones, in his review of Miss Newstead's work, questions these interpretations (MLR, XXXV [1940], 404).

³³ Furthermore, the habitats of other dwarfs—those of Giraldus, the *Tylwyth Teg*, the *Plant Rhys Dwfyn*—are associated with water through locations on an island or through subaqueous approaches.

³⁴ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124.

of a supernatural realm just as Bilis is the dwarf monarch of the Antipodean land. It has already been shown how the splendid subterranean land of the dwarfs in twelfth-century folklore came to be identified with the Antipodean land; the stories of Map and Giraldus indicate that the Welsh conceived in similar terms their Annwn, the happy otherworld. A typical description is to be found in the mabinogi of *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed*, when Pwyll is led to Annwn by Arawn:

He [Pwyll] made for the court. And in the court he could see sleeping-rooms and halls and chambers and the greatest show of buildings any one had ever seen And the hall was made ready. Here he could see a war-band and retinues entering in, and the most comely troop and the best equipped any one had seen, and the queen with them, the fairest woman any one had ever seen, dressed in a robe of shining gold brocaded silk. And thereupon they went to wash and drew near the tables And they passed their time with meat and drink and song and carousal. Of all the courts he had seen on earth, that was the court best furnished with meat and drink and vessels of gold and royal jewels.³⁵

The inhabitants of Annwn are consistently noted here for their beauty, hospitality, feasting, and costly serving vessels,³⁶ all characteristics of the noble dwarfs to be found in the stories of Giraldus or Map. The locations of Annwn are various: sometimes a fairy castle in a terrestrial setting as in *Pwyll*, sometimes an Elysian isle, and, what is important here, sometimes as a realm beneath the earth. In poem VII of the *Book of Taliesin* appears the phrase, "in Annwn below the earth, in the air above the earth."³⁷ Dafydd ap Gwilym, fourteenth-century Welsh poet, speaks of the fox's dwelling "toward Annwn"³⁸ and remarks that Annwn and the upper world have different seasons.³⁹ He is following that earlier tradition in which the Welsh identify the underground kingdom of the dwarfs with the Antipodean land. Chiefs of Annwn are also various, and include Arawn and Gwynn ap Nudd.⁴⁰ Now although there is no indication that in Welsh tradition Arawn is conceived as a dwarf, an episode from the Dutch *Lancelot*, which we shall analyze later, produces a dwarf king

³⁵ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87; trans. Jones and Jones, p. 5.

³⁶ For the most recent and detailed discussion of Annwn, see Loomis, *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 893 ff.

³⁷ *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*, ed. Evans, p. 20, ll. 7-9.

³⁸ *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1930), p. 100, n. 35.

³⁹ E. Anwyl, *loc. cit.*, 239.

⁴⁰ Loomis, *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 894.

who plays the role of Arawn.⁴¹ In the sixteenth-century *Buchedd Collen Sant*, Gwynn appears as the chief of Annwn and of the *Tylwyth Teg*, the Welsh fairies.⁴² Though the *Tylwyth Teg* do not appear here as dwarfs or small folk, Chapter II has already shown that later folklore just so pictures them and that they seem identical in many respects with the dwarfs of Giraldus' tale.

In *The Spoils of Annwn*, a poem found in the thirteenth-century *Book of Taliesin* but believed definitely pre-Norman in composition,⁴³ Arthur and his warriors raid an insular Annwn to capture its caldron and other treasures. A tentative translation by Loomis finds that there "Noonday and jet-blackness are mingled."⁴⁴ This phenomenon parallels exactly the dim light of the dwarf-inhabited subterranean kingdom described by twelfth-century writers. In the same poem another tentatively translated line reads: "Save seven none returned from the Fortress of the King-Dwarf."⁴⁵

One medieval Welsh conception of Annwn, then, was a dimly lighted, often subterranean kingdom peopled by high-minded and hospitable dwarfs, who were ruled by a king and who possessed great wealth. *The Spoils of Annwn* leaves the dwarf king nameless, but the twelfth-century commentary of Johannes Cornubiensis on Geoffrey's *Prophetia Merlini* has preserved the information that this monarch was none other than Beli. Johannes speaks of a *fatale castrum* at Ashbury camp in Cornwall which the natives call Kair Belli.⁴⁶ Since *fatale castrum* means "fairy castle," it is the Latin equivalent of *Kaer Siddi*, which appears twice in the first stanza of *The Spoils of Annwn* as synonymous with Annwn.⁴⁷ Beli's kingship of this otherworld is consistent with what we already know of him. Not only is his kinsman Bran apparently one of the chiefs of Annwn,⁴⁸ but Beli is linked through his descendants with the Welsh otherworld. Professor Loomis has accumulated the evidence:⁴⁹

⁴¹ See below, Chapter X.

⁴² S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints* (London, 1913), IV, p. 377; Loomis, PMLA, LVI (1941), 893-4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 887.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 890, stanza III, l. 3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 891, stanza III, l. 6.

⁴⁶ Whitley Stokes, RC, III (1876-78), 104-5: "...*fatale castrum* dicit illud municipium in partibus nostris quod in anglico dicitur: Aschbiri, in britannico, *Kair Belli*..."

⁴⁷ Loomis, PMLA, LVI (1941), 889, ll. 3, 10.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 903-5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 920.

Welsh genealogical tradition, extending back to the tenth century, makes Beli Magnus (Beli Mawr) . . . the father of Avallach⁵⁰ and therefore the father of one who gave his name to Ynis Avallach, the Isle of Avalon. And we have already seen that the traditions of Avalon notably resemble those of Kaer Siddi. Avallach was the father of Modron,⁵¹ and his Arthurian counterpart, Rex Avallo, was demonstrably the father of Morgen and her eight sisters, whom we have identified above⁵² with the nine maidens who kindled the caldron of the Chief of Annwn. Avallach was the grandfather of Owain and Morvudd, through his daughter Modron,⁵³ and the mother of Owain and Morvudd in a sixteenth-century story declares that she is the daughter of the King of Annwn.⁵⁴

If Beli was brother to Bran as was Bilis to Brien; if Annwn was conceived as sometimes subterranean, sometimes dimly lighted as was the realm of the Antipodean dwarfs; if Beli was a chief of Annwn as Bilis was king of the Antipodes — then Bilis is Beli, and, like Brien, goes back through genuinely Celtic tradition to Welsh mythology.

Unfortunately, surviving Welsh tradition tells little more about Beli;⁵⁵ but since he is the prototype of many other dwarfs in the romances, it will be helpful to emphasize several points deduced from the evidence just cited. First, he is associated with a fairy castle and with Annwn, abode of former gods, and Annwn itself has been equated with the realm of the dwarfs. Second, Beli is kinsman to the gigantic Bran; and although Welsh evidence for Beli as a dwarf is slight, he certainly appears as just such a figure with Bran in the romances, a point to be confirmed again and again in subsequent chapters. Third, Beli is related through Avallach to Modron, Welsh prototype of Morgain la Fée. Finally, it has been largely through his name that we have identified Beli and Bilis. In later chapters, similar refe-

⁵⁰ John Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 335-7; Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 336; J. G. Evans, *Y Cymmrodor*, VIII (1887), 85; Egerton Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, IX (1888), 170 and n. 5, 174.

⁵¹ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 284, no. 80; Loomis, RR, XXIX (1938), 176-7.

⁵² Loomis, PMLA, LVI (1941), 907-9.

⁵³ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 284.

⁵⁴ Gwenan Jones, *Aberystuth Studies*, IV (1922), 105-9; J. G. Evans, "Peniarth Manuscript 147," *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (London, 1899), part II, 911. For an analysis of this story, see Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 194-5.

⁵⁵ He is perhaps to be identified ultimately with the Gaulish Belenos or Belinos, a god who was equated with Apollo and who was probably a deity of the sun (MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 25-7; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 231 and index, see under "Belinos," "Belinus").

rences to Beli, Belin, and Beli Mawr or Uawr (pronounced Vawr) ⁵⁶ — all forms of his name in Welsh — will help to find some of his other counterparts in the romances.

⁵⁶ See above, n. 50; Loth, *op. cit.*, II, index, see under "Beli Mawr," "Belin"; *Annales Cambriae*, ed. John Williams (London, 1860), p. 6; *Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys*, ed. Ifor Williams (Bangor, 1922), p. 1; *White Book Mabinogion*, ed. T. G. Evans (Pwllheli, 1907), col. 191. Professor E.V.K. Dobbie informs me that in Old and Middle Welsh Beli Mawr was pronounced Beli Vawr although the spelling of Mawr was sometimes retained.

CHAPTER VI

PELLES

Any investigator who enters the thorny forest of the Grail legend finds a bewildering tangle of figures and motifs whose identities and relationships may never become completely clear. In this chapter I have no wish to follow the circuitous route of Perceval, who wandered for five years before finally meeting and learning the identity of his hermit uncle. I propose to explore only one small part of the Grail complex and to identify Pelles, the hermit uncle of Perceval and elsewhere king of the Grail castle, with Beli.

Let us as a first step note that the Fisher King, the father or brother of Pelles, is to be traced to Bran, whom we have already seen as a relative of Beli. The evidence for identifying the Fisher King with Bran has been accumulated by a long line of scholars¹—most recently by Professors Newstead and Loomis.² It is so overwhelming that it may be summarized here in its essentials.

In the *Didot Perceval* the Fisher King is named Bron.³ The epithet "Fisher King" or "Rich Fisher" and his appearance as a fisherman on the water near the Grail castle⁴ are best explained as a rationalization of Bran as god of the sea and of his probable appearance in a boat in stories now lost.⁵ The wound⁶ or languor⁷ which afflicts the Fisher King is to be traced to the wound in the foot suffered by Bran in *Branwen*.⁸ Just as the Fisher King is consistently noted for magnificent banquets,⁹ so Bran held many banquets and was noted for his hospi-

¹ See Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 386, n. 45, for bibliography.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 386 ff.; Newstead, *Bran the Blessed*, esp. Chapters II-V, VII.

³ Ed. William Roach (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 150-1, 305 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff.

⁴ For example, Chrétien, *Le Conte del Graal*, ed. Alfons Hilka (Halle, 1932), ll. 2998 ff., 3518 ff.; *Didot Perceval*, p. 205.

⁵ Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 187; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 391-2.

⁶ For example, Chrétien, *Le Conte del Graal*, ll. 3509-13.

⁷ For example, *Didot Perceval*, pp. 150, 207.

⁸ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 144; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, 188.

⁹ For example, Chrétien, *Le Conte del Graal*, ll. 3310 ff.

tality.¹⁰ In the *Metrical Joseph* of Robert de Boron, Bron is instructed by an angel to travel to the west with his followers;¹¹ in *Branwen*, Bran's followers, in the company of his head, journey to Gwales, westernmost island of Wales.¹² Bron in *L'Estoire del Saint Graal* is the ancestor of a line of holy descendants who guard the Grail;¹³ and two Welsh triads, late but revealing no signs of contamination by romance tradition, show that Bran was assimilated to Welsh ecclesiastical tradition.¹⁴ One states that Bran was the first to bring the Christian faith to the Cymry;¹⁵ the other names the lineage of Bran as one of the three holy lineages of Britain.¹⁶ The Grail itself has its closest counterpart in a similar vessel of plenty in Welsh tradition, the *Dysgl* ("Platter") of Rhydderch, which in all probability belonged originally to Bran, since his horn is a vessel of plenty and both objects appear among the Thirteen Treasures of the Isle of Britain.¹⁷ Corbenic, the name of the Grail castle in the *Estoire*, *Queste*, and *Vulgate Lancelot*, is explicable as the result of a manuscript corruption of the *Cor Beneit* ("Blessed Horn") of Bran.¹⁸ There are still other correspondences, but these more than suffice to prove that the original of the Fisher King is Bran son of Llyr.

Now, as we have already noted, Beli appears as the relative of Bran in old Welsh tradition: in *Branwen* he is grandfather and uncle to Bran, and Welsh redactions of Geoffrey's *Historia* give the names Beli and Bran to the brothers Belinus and Brennius. Furthermore, the dwarf Bilis and his gigantic brother Brien in Chrétien's *Erec* are to be traced to the same two Welsh figures. Since Pelles is the son or brother of the Fisher King in the romance incidents to be analyzed below, there is a strong antecedent probability that we are again dealing with the Welsh dwarf god. The corruption of the name is easily accounted for. The Welsh Beli plus the Old French nominative

¹⁰ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 124, 146 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20, 189.

¹¹ Robert de Boron, *Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, ed. William Nitze (Paris, 1927), II, 3289-416.

¹² Loth, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 144 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 24-5; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 386; PMLA, LVI (1941), 903-5.

¹³ Sommer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 251, 289-90.

¹⁴ Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2.

¹⁵ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 308.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

¹⁷ R. S. Loomis and Jean S. Lindsay, RF, XLV (1931), 70-1; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 172-3, 387-9; PMLA, LVI (1941), 911-13; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 89 ff.; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 173-4.

ending of *s* becomes Bilis or Belins as in *Erec*. There remains only the change of the voiced *b* to voiceless *p* to produce Pelles.¹⁹

Let us now turn to Pelles in the romances, where he appears in two roles. We shall first observe him as the hermit uncle of Perceval and later as king of the Grail castle. It will become clear in the course of the investigation that the two are identical.

In *Perlesvaus*,²⁰ Pelles "li Rois Hermites,"²¹ is the brother of the Fisher King.²² In Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*, the hermit uncle is nameless, but he is brother to the father of the Fisher King,²³ and since this father is simply a double of the Fisher King,²⁴ the brotherhood relationship holds firm. In the *Didot Perceval*²⁵ the nameless hermit uncle of Perceval is a son of Bron, the Fisher King.²⁶ Finally, in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*,²⁷ Trevrizent, obviously identical with the hermits above, is the brother of Anfortas, the Fisher King.²⁸ The close kinship with the counterpart of Bran confirms in detail our hypothesis of Pelles as a figure derived from Beli.²⁹

Although neither Pelles nor a corresponding hermit is explicitly called a dwarf, there are convincing signs of Pelles' original dwarf nature. In *Perlesvaus* Pelles is given the epithet "Rois de la Basse Gent."³⁰ The word *basse* refers to dwarf stature, for in *Meraugis* we

¹⁹ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 143. With the opinions of J. D. Bruce on Pelles, we shall deal later in this chapter. Several other scholars have attempted to derive Pelles from Pwyll in the mabinogi of Pwyll Prince of Dyfed: Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 25; William Nitze, "On the Origin of 'Pelles,'" [Kastner] *Miscellany of Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures* (Cambridge, 1932), 361-3; J. Neale Carman, *The Relationship of the Perlesvaus and the Queste del Saint Graal* in *Bulletin of the University of Kansas Humanistic Studies*, V (1936), 20-3. But none of these nor the most recent effort in this direction (*Perlesvaus*, ed. William Nitze, T. A. Jenkins et al. [Chicago, 1932-37], II, pp. 92-3) accounts convincingly for the derivation of the two syllables of Pelles from the one of Pwyll or for the epithet "li Rois de la Basse Gent" given to Pelles in *Perlesvaus*, I, ll. 37-8. See Loomis, RR, XXVIII (1937), 354-5.

²⁰ For date, 1191-1212, probably soon after 1200, see *Perlesvaus*, II, pp. 73-89.

²¹ *Perlesvaus*, I, ll. 1974, 2401, 3567.

²² *Perlesvaus*, II, p. 190.

²³ *Le Conte del Graal*, ll. 6415 ff.

²⁴ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 432; Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 261 ff.

²⁵ Dated 1190-1212 by Roach, *Didot Perceval*, pp. 125-30.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

²⁷ Dated shortly after 1200 by Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124; M. V. Richey, *The Story of Parzival and the Grail* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 7-8.

²⁸ Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival und Titarel*, ed. Ernst Martin (Halle, 1900), 477, 19. Or see the genealogical tables at the end of Richey, *op. cit.*

²⁹ For an explanation of how Pelles came to assume the role of hermit, see Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 430-1.

³⁰ *Perlesvaus*, I, ll. 37-8.

read: "la noif est haute et li nains bas." ³¹ Pelles, then, is King of the Short Folk, the dwarfs. Since the king of the dwarfs was traditionally a dwarf himself, as we saw in the stories of Map and Giraldus and in the appearance of Bilis in *Erec*, we should not be surprised to detect vestiges of Pelles' own dwarf stature. In the *Didot Perceval* the hero and his sister approach the hermitage of the uncle: "...mais lor ceval demourerent par defors car il ne porent entrer en le maison car li huis estoit si bas que il covint Perceval a baissier a l'entrer ens." ³² In *Perlesvaus*, Gawain on his way to the Grail castle stops at a hermitage whose inhabitant, though unnamed, must be ultimately identifiable with Pelles: "...ert sa meson si basse que cheval n'i pooit entrer, et sa chapele n'ert pas graindre" ³³ No such traces survive in the *Conte del Graal*, but the hermitage of Trevrizent consist of two caves, typical dwelling of the dwarfs in tradition, and much is made of tethering Parzival's horse outside. ³⁴ Both Pelles and his people, then, were notably short and hence dwarfs.

Furthermore, two roles played by Pelles link him to dwarf tradition. First, the fare of the hermit is properly humble, but he is markedly hospitable to his nephew and, in *Perlesvaus*, to Lancelot. ³⁵ The traditional hospitality of the dwarf kings of Map and Giraldus and their counterparts in more recent folklore was pointed out in Chapter II, and in Chapter VIII we shall trace other hospitable dwarf kings to Beli.

Second, in *Perlesvaus* the hero recovers his health in the hermitage under the care of Pelles and a damsel who is Pelles' cousin. ³⁶ When *Perlesvaus* and Lancelot, unknown to each other, later engage in combat, Pelles stops the fight, leads them to the hermitage, and entrusts them to the ministrations of the damsel. ³⁷ That this kinswoman of a dwarf is a counterpart of Morgain la Fée we shall see in Chapter IX; but we may remember now that Modron, the Welsh

³¹ *Meraugis*, I. 1424; cited by Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 142. Carman, *op. cit.*, p. 21, and—less decisively—Nitze et al., *Perlesvaus*, II, p. 192, have attempted to interpret the term as "King of the Lower Folk," i.e., king of the inhabitants of an Annwn beneath the earth. This is ingenious, but Beli will emerge clearly as the prototype of Pelles, and my interpretation of *basse* is to be confirmed below.

³² *Didot Perceval*, p. 181.

³³ *Perlesvaus*, I, p. 112.

³⁴ *Parzival*, 458, 13-459, 22.

³⁵ *Perlesvaus*, I, p. 142.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 117-8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-42.

prototype of Morgain, was variously related to Beli, and later in this chapter we shall find Pelles and his daughter caring for the sick Lancelot in the Grail castle.

It must be more than a coincidence that in *Fergus et Galiene* there appears a dwarf who is a hermit and who shows other resemblances to Pelles:

*Still searching for Galiene, Fergus finds in a forest a marvelous fountain near a chapel. The waters would cure the drinker of depression and all illness. Fergus drinks and is marvelously revived in body and in courage. In the chapel lives a dwarf who foretells the future of all who quaff from the spring. He predicts that Fergus will succeed in his quest and instructs him first to wrest the magic shield from the castle of Dunostre.*³⁸

Like Pelles in *Perlesvaus*, the helper of Fergus is a hermit. Like Pelles, he has a part in the revival of the hero since he is the guardian of the magic fountain, the counterpart of which appears in *Parzival* as the "Fontane la Salvatsche," by which Trevrizent lives.³⁹ He counsels Fergus how to achieve his quest, as Pelles and other hermits counsel Perceval. More specifically, he predicts success for Fergus, as Pelles does for *Perlesvaus* when the hero sets out for Castle Mortal⁴⁰ and as the hermit in the *Didot Perceval* does for Perceval on his first visit.⁴¹ Most significantly for us, he is a dwarf.

Let us turn now to King Pelles of Corbenic, the Grail castle, in the *Vulgate Lancelot* and *La Queste del Saint Graal*. Because the incidents involving him are dispersed and because they are not so well known in detail as Perceval's visit to the hermit uncle, it will be appropriate to summarize them:

Near Corbenic, Lancelot delivers the maiden from the scalding bath and kills the serpent of the tomb. Pelles, the king of Corbenic, greets Lancelot as a knight long-awaited, for as the son of King Ban, Lancelot—or someone close to him—will deliver the country. While they speak, the daughter of Pelles enters from an adjacent room bearing the Grail. The tables are filled with the finest food that one could desire. That night Lancelot, deceived by Brisane into believing that

³⁸ *Fergus et Galiene*, pp. 100-5. The romance is usually dated in the first quarter of the twelfth century; see Joan Greenberg, *PMLA*, LXVI (1951), 525, n. 6.

³⁹ *Parzival*, 456, 1-9.

⁴⁰ *Perlesvaus*, I, pp. 259-62.

⁴¹ *Didot Perceval*, p. 182.

he sleeps with Guinevere, sleeps with Pelles' daughter and so begets Galahad. Upon waking, Lancelot departs angered and remorseful. Some time later, Bohors comes to Corbenic, is hospitably entertained by Pelles, and sees Galahad, now two years old. With Pelles' reluctant permission, Bohors that night witnesses the wonders of the castle. He is wounded but is healed by the Grail. After another interval of time, Pelles' daughter comes to a great court summoned by Arthur at Camelot. Brisane again tricks Lancelot into sleeping with her mistress, and he, now spurned by Guinevere, leaves the court and commences his demented wanderings. Finally he comes to Corbenic. So changed is he that only after some time does Pelles' daughter recognize him. She and her father have him conveyed to the Adventurous Castle, where he is healed by the Grail. Lancelot asks that he remain unknown, and Pelles obligingly readies for him a castle on an island and sends him there with his daughter and her damsels. On this plentiful "*ille de joie*," so called because of the happy life led by the women, the sorrowful Lancelot hangs his shield on a pine and successfully challenges many knights who would joust with him. Eventually he learns from Hector that the queen wishes his return to court and so departs for Logres. Years later, Galahad makes his dramatic arrival at Arthur's court, and the quest for the Grail begins. After diverse wanderings, Lancelot finally comes to Corbenic, sees the Grail, though it is covered, and is struck into a trance for his presumption. He is hospitably treated by Pelles upon his recovery. Finally, Galahad, with Bohors and Perceval, arrives at Corbenic, is greeted joyfully by Pelles, and is joined by nine other knights qualified for the achievement of the quest. Pelles withdraws, and the quest is consummated with Christ's appearance and feeding of the knights. Before departing as guardian of the Grail, Galahad anoints the Maimed King.⁴²

That this Pelles is identifiable with the hermit uncle and hence with Beli is clear enough. First, he shares the name of Pelles with the "*Rois de la Basse Gent*" in *Perlesvaus*. Second, he is the royal kinsman — the son — of the Fisher King, or Bran. After Bohors spends the night in the Grail castle, Pelles asks him the following morning whether he has seen Pelles' father, "*li roys mahaingnes que on apele le roy pescheor.*"⁴³ The romances cited earlier in this chapter know

⁴² Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 105-12, 294-303, 378-81, 399-408; VI, pp. 4 ff., 178-84, 187-91.

⁴³ Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, p. 303.

conflate traditions of Pelles as kinsman of the Fisher King and the hermit uncle of Perceval. The *Vulgate Lancelot* and *Queste* know only the former.

There are still other links between Pelles of Corbenic and the dwarf Beli. The king of the Grail castle is notably hospitable to visitors, and one remembers that such hospitality is a traditional trait of noble Welsh dwarfs. Pelles of Corbenic lends his help to his daughter in healing the hero; and as we shall see later, she is another counterpart of Morgain, whose Welsh prototype is Modron. The first episode to be analyzed in the next chapter will show that on one occasion Pelles appears as a dwarf in the Grail castle; and another incident in the *Vulgate Lancelot* produces a dwarf who is identifiable with Pelles of Corbenic:

*On his wanderings before he reaches Corbenic, the insane Lancelot finds a pavilion and seizes a sword hanging outside it. A dwarf rushes out to disarm him, but Lancelot throws him to earth. Summoned by the cries of the dwarf, his master Bliant now comes out, realizes that Lancelot is insane, and kindly decides to nurse him back to health. After Lancelot has spent his rage, Bliant confers with his brother Elinan and has the unconscious knight conveyed to his castle. There Lancelot is kindly treated for a year, but still does not recover his mind. Eventually he leaves on the pursuit of a boar.*⁴⁴

The clue of the names serves to indicate that this is only a preliminary version of the traditional healing of the hero at the hands of Pelles in Corbenic. Bliant is a corrupted form of Bran, for it appears as a variant of Brien in Chrétien's *Erec*.⁴⁵ The name of his brother Elinan (variant: Selinan)⁴⁶ seems a corruption of some such name as Beli Nain. In an episode to be analyzed in the next chapter, a figure unmistakably traceable to Beli is named Belias, Helias, or Elias.⁴⁷ The omission of the initial letter of names is a commonplace of manuscript corruption.⁴⁸ The dwarf servant of Bliant has come from the fission of the original dwarf counterpart of Pelles and Beli into dwarf attendant and knight of normal stature.

There remains only the task of contending with the theories of the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-8.

⁴⁵ See above, p. 35, n. 11.

⁴⁶ Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, p. 395, n. 3.

⁴⁷ See below, p. 53.

⁴⁸ Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, p. 131, n. Cf. also Elis, Eslis who appears with Brien in Chrétien's *Erec*, l. 1705.

late Arthurian scholar J. D. Bruce, who claimed that Pelles of Corbenic was the creation of the author of the *Queste* or one of the authors of the *Vulgate Lancelot*; that this Pelles is the Fisher King; and that the author of *Perlesvaus* took the name of Pelles from the Fisher King, gave it to the anonymous uncle of the *Conte del Graal*, and combined the figures of the Fisher King and Maimed King.⁴⁹ Let me deal briefly with these arguments. First, in no passage in the *Vulgate Lancelot* is Pelles identified as the Fisher King. Indeed, Pelles speaks of "the Maimed King who is called the Fisher King" as his father. In the *Queste*, Pelles is once spoken of as the Maimed King; but two manuscripts are free of this inconsistency, and at the climactic achievement of the quest by Galahad, it is quite clear that Pelles and the Maimed King are separate personages.⁵⁰ Second, Bruce's whole case collapses if one disproves that the *Perlesvaus* author borrowed his King Pelles from the *Queste*; and J. Neale Carman, after a detailed comparison of the two romances, has shown an "overwhelming probability that *Perlesvaus* was written before the *Queste*."⁵¹ Third, the derivation of the name of Pelles from Beli has already been shown and then confirmed by observing the kinship of Pelles to the Fisher King and by noting the traditional characteristics of Pelles.⁵² Bruce's article is learned and helpful, but I think that there can be no reasonable doubt that Pelles is a traditional figure who owes his origin to the Welsh Beli.

⁴⁹ MP, XVI (1918), 113-28.

⁵⁰ Sommer, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 150, n. on Mss. M and R, and pp. 187-91. I have followed Sommer's text in passages where the relation of Pelles to the Fisher King is confused because I think that at such points it is more accurate than the more recent text of Alfred Pauphilet (Paris, 1923). But cf. J. Neale Carman, *Romance Philology*, III (1950), 272-5.

⁵¹ Carman, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Cf. Loomis, RR, XXVIII (1937), 351 ff.

⁵² Pelles is the Maimed King in the *Prose Tristan*, ed. E. Löseth (Paris, 1891), and elsewhere so are Pellinor and Pellean (Bruce, *loc. cit.*, 337-50). The whole matter became greatly confused, not an unusual phenomenon in the Grail complex. Loomis has suggested that Pellinor and Pellean are to be derived ultimately from Beli Mawr and Belin (*Arthurian Tradition*, p. 433 and n. 9, 143), and I am inclined to agree. But these personages show no dwarf characteristics, so I do not pursue the problem here.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRUCULENT DWARF AND HIS GIANT KINSMAN

Even though Beli in his role as Pelles has so far acted graciously toward those who come to the Grail castle or to his hermitage, there is strong evidence in several other romance episodes that there existed a tradition in which figures derived from Beli and Bran appear as a dwarf and his large kinsman or master who are hostile to intruders. As a first step let me summarize an incident which occurs earlier in the *Vulgate Lancelot* when Gawain visits Corbenic:

The knight is greeted very hospitably by the inhabitants and by a man evidently the Maimed King, who appears as "uns grans chevaliers qui se faisoit aporter a .iiij. sergans." The Grail is brought in, but while others bow their heads Gawain has eyes only for the beautiful damsel who bears it. After the feast everyone else departs, and Gawain finds the doors to the hall locked. There then comes from one of the chambers a dwarf, who reviles Gawain and bids him flee and hide. He attempts to beat the knight, but Gawain wrests away the baston. The dwarf predicts great shame for Gawain. The knight then undergoes the several adventures of the castle. One of these is a fierce combat with a knight who bids him leave. They fight until they are exhausted. Gawain departs the next morning in a cart, bisped and pelted by the people of the town.¹

Here the host in Corbenic is played by the Maimed King, counterpart of the huge, wounded Bran. The name of Pelles, who usually assumes the role of host, is conspicuously absent. But since we have come by this time to expect to find the Maimed and/or Fisher King associated with his kinsman Pelles, the anonymous dwarf can be no one but Pelles himself. It is surprising, of course, that the usually benign Pelles insults and attempts to strike the visitor, but we are about to see that such truculence was a traditional characteristic of certain counterparts of Beli. As the Grail legend became Christianized, the combativeness of Pelles was incongruous with the hospitality appropriate to Corbenic and the hermitage. Equally incongruous, of

¹ Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 343-7.

course, was the dwarf stature of Pelles. The author or redactor of this episode therefore left Pelles nameless, deprived him of his regal station, and leaving him his truculence and dwarf stature, assigned him a place at the beginning of the mysterious adventures of the night. One cannot be so sure that the huge knight² with whom Gawain fights is another counterpart of Bran. Yet Professor Newstead has observed after careful study that this figure "appears to belong to the Bran story....,"³ and in episodes to follow, figures identifiable with Bran fight with the hero after his encounter with a dwarf under similar circumstances.

In the first continuation of the *Conte del Graal* (dated 1180-1210), the knight Garahes has a strange adventure with a dwarf who was noted in Chapter IV:

*By a great river Garahes finds a beautiful marble castle decorated with precious stones. He enters but finds no one. Finally, looking from a window, he sees in the garden below two rich pavilions, into one of which a richly dressed dwarf carries a silver hanap. Garahes descends and enters the tent. On a notably splendid bed a tall wounded knight clad in purple is being fed from precious vessels by the dwarf and a damsel. The knight is so angered by Garahes' intrusion that his wounds break open, and the dwarf warns that "li petis chevaliers" will come to wreak vengeance. Soon the Petit Chevalier, tiny but strikingly handsome, rides into the tent on a small horse. Insulting Garahes, he strikes him with a dart and provokes the reluctant knight to fight. With amazing prowess that has conquered five hundred others, the dwarf defeats Garahes and tells him that he must return in a year and choose between becoming a weaver with many other captives, fighting again, or losing his head. Garahes agrees to return and then departs, jeered and pelted with offal by the people who now fill the castle. At the end of the year he returns to the castle and garden and kills the Petit Chevalier. Greatly angered at the death of "his dwarf" (l. 15,087), the tall knight has himself mounted and armed, but is also killed by Garahes.*⁴

Professor Newstead has already shown that the master of the Petit Chevalier is to be identified with Bran.⁵ The splendid castle by the

² In this episode he is not described as large, but when Bohors later undergoes the same experience, his opponent is "moult grant de cors...." (V, p. 298).

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 102-4.

⁴ Roach, *Continuations*, I, ll. 14,433-900, 15,057-100.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-6.

river, the huge wounded knight clad in purple, the feeding from the silver hanap—all attest that Bran appears here as the Maimed King, as surely as he did in Corbenic in the episode discussed above. Like the Corbenic dwarf, the Petit Chevalier is left nameless and is not called a kinsman of the wounded lord; but he is the same combative dwarf and this time shows great prowess. That both are counterparts of Beli⁶ is clearly confirmed by another incident in the *Vulgate Lancelot*:

*Led by a squire, the knight Sarras comes to a fine, strong castle. Before it are two rich pavilions pitched by "the fountain of the two sycamores." Sarras tells the boastful dwarf who meets him that he has come to encounter the formidable Belias le Noir, reputedly the vanquisher of Gawain and three other knights of the Round Table. When the dwarf blows an ivory horn, Belias issues from one of the tents, easily unhorses Sarras, and leads his steed away. Sarras mounts that of the squire and endures jeers and stones from the spectators. Lancelot, who has followed secretly, now challenges Belias and with some exertion overthrows him. Despite the warning of the dwarf, Lancelot remains to fight Bridan, brother of Belias. Severely wounded, Bridan flees into the castle. Lancelot finds and frees Mordret, who is chained in a garden. He learns from a grieving maiden that he has slain Belias and has mortally wounded Bridan.*⁷

Here Bridan⁸ is a counterpart of Bran. Belias le Noir⁹ is probably a corruption of some such name as Belias le Nain, and although he is not presented as a dwarf, he is the brother of Bridan and certainly identical with the Petit Chevalier and the dwarf of Corbenic. All three, then, are counterparts of Beli. The author, or his source, reluctant to let a knight like Sarras be overthrown by a midget, has elected to divide a single dwarf figure like the Petit Chevalier into a normalized knight of great prowess and a boastful dwarf servant.

Still another pertinent incident comes from the *Vulgate Lancelot*:

Agravain comes to a pavilion in which he finds two brother knights, one dead and the other wounded. They have been the victims of the powerful Druas, who guards a fountain on the top of a hill near by.

⁶ R. E. Bennett, *Speculum*, XVI (1941), 48, underestimates the significance of the dwarf in this incident.

⁷ Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 251-4, 263-8.

⁸ For this form of the name, see *ibid.*, p. 268, n. 2.

⁹ Variants: Helyas, Elias, Delias (*ibid.*, p. 252, n. 1).

*Agravain ascends, overthrows Druas, and cuts off his head. He takes the head back to the pavilion, then remounts the hill to find a grieving maiden and a dwarf. Despite the warning which he has received from the wounded knight, Agravain accepts the dwarf's challenge to blow an ivory horn. In a castle not far away, Sornehan hears and understands that his brother Druas has been slain. Mad with rage, he rises from his sickbed and arms himself. Meanwhile the dwarf predicts a dire fate for Agravain. The powerful Sornehan arrives and defeats Agravain, whose life he spares at the request of a maiden, apparently his niece, but he swears to keep Agravain a prisoner forever. He builds a wall around the hill and leaves but one gate, near which he places a warning on a cross that he will fight anyone who intrudes. Several days later Guerrehes mounts the hill and meets the dwarf, evidently by the gate. The little servant blows for his master, and Sornehan defeats and imprisons the second knight. Soon Gaberiet also comes, meets the horn-blowing dwarf, and overcomes Sornehan, whom he permits to live. He finds and releases his brothers, who have been cared for by Sornehan's niece.*¹⁰

There are several striking correspondences with the preceding episodes. Druas and Sornehan are brothers like Belias and Bridan and like other counterparts of Beli and Bran. They forcibly resist intrusions like the dwarf and huge knight in Corbenic, the Petit Chevalier and his master, and Belias and Bridan. Sornehan rises from his sickbed to avenge Druas, whereas the master of the Petit Chevalier is first found lying ill in bed and then later tries to avenge his dwarf, and Bridan comes from his castle to attack the knight who has fatally wounded his brother. Finally, a warning dwarf proffers the horn which summons Sornehan, and the dwarf of Belias blows a horn to summon his master. We are entitled to assume that this dwarf, like that of Belias, originated from a splitting of the dwarf prototype and that despite the lack of onomastic evidence, the Druas-Sornehan incident is a clear analogue to the story of the hostile dwarf and his giant kinsman.

The four episodes already analyzed now afford the key to a curious incident in the *Vulgate Lancelot*:

A friar tells Lancelot that in a forest near by is the Tertre Devee. Twenty years before, to protect his new bride, the cruel and powerful Clochides built a strong castle on the top of the hill and enclosed it

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-7, 33-5, 48-50.

with a stockade so that it could be reached by only one path. On a cross he placed a warning to all trespassers and customarily killed all who intruded except knights of the Round Table, whom he imprisoned. Lancelot comes to the hill and ascends to the top, where he finds a fine sycamore and a rich pavilion. "*Et quant il est uenus si trueue vn nain seant sour .j. lit ki estoit moult biaux & mout rices*" (p. 237). The dwarf is so enraged at the intrusion that he leaps up and strikes Lancelot with a baston. The knight easily takes the stick away, for the dwarf "*moult estoit foibles et de poure vertu*" (p. 237). He predicts great shame for Lancelot, and the knight replies, "*...ains en ai grant honour quant si haute persone comme vous estes a mis main a moi*" (p. 237). When Lancelot asks to see the dwarf's master, he is told to blow the ivory horn hanging from the sycamore. The blast summons Lancelot's antagonist; in the ensuing fierce struggle Lancelot learns that his opponent is Bohors. Lancelot identifies himself, and they embrace with affection. Bohors tells how he attempted the adventure of the hill some time before, but was forbidden entrance until he swore that if victorious he would defend it until defeated and kill all victims except relatives and friends. He killed his opponent and then kept his promise. In three months he has killed more than sixty knights and has imprisoned fourteen knights of Arthur, including Gawain. The two cousins now go to reveal themselves to their friends.¹¹

In this *mélange* we may still detect something of the pattern of the truculent dwarf and his kinsman. The hero comes to a hill fortified and forbidden to trespassers like the hill of Druas and Sornehan. Imprisoned there are knights of Arthur as they are in the castle of Sornehan and of Belias and Bridan, and as many people are held as captive weavers in the castle of the Petit Chevalier's master. There appears a truculent dwarf who strikes the hero as do the dwarf of Corbenic, the Petit Chevalier, and Belias. Warning that the hero will suffer disgrace, he provides a horn to summon his master as does the little servant of Druas and Sornehan and as Belias' dwarf blows for his master.

The counterpart of Bran who has been present in previous episodes is missing, but as Ferdinand Lot pointed out,¹² this incident uses the motif of the Priest of Nemi, the figure who slays his predecessor and

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-42.

¹² *Étude sur le Lancelot en prose* (Paris, 1918), p. 447, n. to p. 187.

then rules as king until he himself is overthrown by another. In the process of grafting this theme to what I suspect was originally a story of the hostile kinsmen, the author would have had to dispose of the counterpart of Bran before he could progress to the happy climax of combat, recognition and reunion demanded by romance convention. Indeed, it is possible that Bohors is a deliberate substitution for some such name as Brons. This would account for the knight's unchivalrous conduct in imprisoning his fellows of the Round Table and for his connection with the dwarf.¹³ The combative little counterpart of Beli, now both a superfluous and unsuitable opponent, was deprived of his prowess but was retained as what we shall soon see as the traditionally truculent porter. That the original story has undergone a transformation something like this is supported by two curious facts. One, Lancelot's reaction to being struck shows an odd deference: "I am honored to be touched by so high a person as you are." It would be understandable if the dwarf, like Pelles, were originally of high station.¹⁴ Two, the dwarf seems to have inherited the feebleness of the Maimed King. He is met in the same circumstances as the master of the Petit Chevalier: he is lying enfeebled on a splendid bed in a secluded tent and starts angrily at the intrusion of the hero. If this transfer of an attribute belonging to Bran seems unreasonable, it should be remembered that in the *Prose Tristan* Pelles is the Maimed King.¹⁵

Still another analogue appears in *Wigalois*, a German romance composed before 1210 by Wirnt von Gravenberc.¹⁶ The association of a dwarf with a giant knight traceable to Bran again furnishes the key, and then the dwarf shows himself by his role and characteristics to be another counterpart of Beli.

Wigalois sets out to vanquish a heathen magician, Roaz von Glois, who is persecuting the hero's love. After crossing a river, he mounts a steep path which opens on to the road to the castle. There he encounters a certain Karrioz the Bold, who guards the way. Very richly dressed and armed, he is a "kurze man" (ll. 6594, 6685, 6730), and "gröze arme und kurziu bein | hêt er nâch der getwerge sit" (ll.

¹³ I am indebted to Professor Loomis for this suggestion.

¹⁴ Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 109, observes this oddity, but is mistaken in thinking that the dwarf may be a counterpart of Curoi.

¹⁵ See above, p. 50, n. 52.

¹⁶ Ed. J. M. N. Kapteyn (Bonn, 1926). On date, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, p. 295. Lütjens, *op. cit.*, p. 56, gives a superficial and inconclusive paragraph to this figure.

6590-1). *He is an extraordinarily powerful knight and in the fight with Wigalois shows himself stronger though not so skillful. When fatally wounded by Wigalois, he flees toward Glois, raising so much dust that the hero loses sight of him, and escapes into a pitchblack mist where he dies. Wigalois proceeds through the mist, arrives at the castle, and overcomes a fiery monster and other obstacles. In the marble castle fretted with gold and precious stones, he finds great treasure. The gigantic Roaz enters in a cloud, but Wigalois with the sign of the cross causes him to stand forth revealed and they begin their combat. After fighting all night, the young knight finally kills his adversary.*¹⁷

First, Professor Newstead has already collected the evidence to prove that Roaz is to be traced, in considerable part, to Bran.¹⁸ The name Roaz may have resulted from a scribal corruption of Brauz, itself a variant of the name of Bran in other romances. Roaz's giant stature, his rich castle by the river, the fight with a fiery monster, and other clear parallels with various romance analogues leave no doubt. Second, there are significant correspondences with the episodes previously analyzed in this chapter. As the hero approaches or enters the domain of a counterpart of Bran, he encounters a hostile dwarf with whom he struggles. After overcoming the dwarf, he fights and overcomes the dwarf's kinsman or master. Third, more clearly than his counterparts in this chapter, Karrioz shows several characteristics which we have come to associate with traditional Celtic dwarfs. He is met by a body of water.¹⁹ He is accoutred with notable splendor.²⁰ He evidently has the power to render himself invisible,²¹ though this faculty is rationalized, and he possesses supernatural strength.²² The association with a counterpart of Bran, other correspondences to previously analyzed episodes, the attributes of the traditional Celtic dwarf—all join to show that Karrioz is to be identified with Beli.

A final and striking analogue is to be found in a Breton folktale. Although the story was collected in 1874 and although it is overlaid with repetition of character and incident, it is apparently the surviving form of one of those tales which the Breton conteurs adapted from the

¹⁷ *Wigalois*, ll. 6529-8565.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-4; Loomis, PMLA, LIV (1933), 1018-21.

¹⁹ See above, pp. 8, 12-6.

²⁰ See above, pp. 7, 8, 10.

²¹ See above, pp. 13-4.

²² See above, pp. 13-4, 15-6, n. 44.

traditions of their Welsh cousins and then spread throughout Europe.

*Hervé goes searching for his sister, who has been abducted by the magician Ferragio. He sails a great distance to a bountiful island where orange trees grow. At the end of an avenue sprinkled with gold, he comes to a crystal castle with a door of gold. When he knocks, a vile, ugly dwarf insolently asks him what he wants; to get in, Hervé will have to overcome him. With difficulty the hero defeats the powerful porter and decapitates him. Immediately there appears a seventeen-foot giant who reproaches Hervé for having killed his brother. Hervé slays him and then a second giant brother. Inside the palace he and his companions are served at a magnificent table and guided to splendid beds by invisible hands. Later Hervé secretly follows the resurrected dwarf through a stone trapdoor down a marble stair "dans obscurité" to an even finer castle. After again killing the dwarf at the gate and two more giants, Hervé slays Ferragio and later at another castle, a brother magician Trubardo. The hero frees the Princess of Spain, whom he marries, and his sister.*²³

This distant, southern land where orange trees grow is the realm of the Antipodes, for we saw in Chapter V that that region was sometimes conceived as the southern hemisphere or austral continent.²⁴ The dwarf and giant brothers are Bilis, king of the Antipodes, and Brien, his giant brother, figures whom we have already traced to Beli and Bran by identifying the Antipodean land with the Welsh Annwn. The insular and subterranean dwellings, the splendor, and the bountiful hospitality of the folktale setting parallel various features of Annwn.²⁵ It is even possible that the "obscurité" of the descending stairway is the crepuscular light noted in *The Spoils of Annwn* and analogous subterranean realms of the Welsh.²⁶ The counterparts of Beli and Bran who appear in *Erec* as gracious guests of Arthur now appear as fierce guards of a fabulous otherworld realm. Most significantly, in the previous episodes of this chapter we have seen just such dwarfs and giants who are likewise traceable to Beli and Bran and who similarly resist the intrusion of the hero.

After matching the threads of seven analogues, we have begun to detect the pattern of our tapestry. It is by no means complete or wholly clear, but the main outlines have emerged. In one tradition of

²³ Luzel, *Contes populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, I, pp. 241-58.

²⁴ See above, pp. 34-5.

²⁵ See above, pp. 39-40.

²⁶ See above, pp. 10, 12, 16.

Beli and Bran, the hero approached what would have been their otherworld abode. Traces of appropriate splendor survive in the castles of Corbenic, of the master of the Petit Chevalier, of Roaz, and of Ferragio. The hero's intrusion was forcibly resisted, first by the dwarf king, whom he overcame, and then by the dwarf's giant kinsman, whom the hero also defeated. Note that the encounter of Lancelot with Bliant and his dwarf, which is a preliminary version of Lancelot's arrival at Corbenic to be healed, follows the same essential pattern, although it is the knight's madness which provokes the struggle with the dwarf and his master.²⁷ In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, the tradition of the truculent dwarf and his giant kinsman has been merged with the Grail complex.

We need not be troubled that the benign Pelles and the Fisher King, on the one hand, and the hostile dwarf and giant, on the other, are to be traced to the same prototypes. For some time in Arthurian scholarship, Beli and Bran have been recognized in their gracious roles in the romances, and Professor Newstead's admirable study acknowledged that Bran appears in several evil roles as well, especially as Brandus des Illes, Bran de Lis, and Roaz von Glois. She attributed the villainy of Brandus to a denigration of him as captor of knights of the Round Table,²⁸ and the evil nature of Bran de Lis and Roaz to a fusion of Bran with Curoi²⁹—all quite rightly I think. Yet she found that the counterparts of Bran "were usually endowed with the benevolent characteristics implicit in his epithet 'the Blessed.'"³⁰ The analyses presented in this chapter indicate a stronger tradition for a hostile Bran than she suspected. About the tradition of a hostile Beli there can be no doubt at all.

Working with such different traditions, the conteurs and writers of romance inevitably made the benevolent counterparts of Bran and Beli more saintly still, and the hostile ones more villainous. When they worked with stories in which the figures showed both benign and evil natures, they naturally suppressed Jekyll and elaborated Hyde, or vice versa. Again, they could divide the character, and so Pelles appears as both the gracious host at Corbenic and as a nameless dwarf attacker of a visiting knight.³¹ Finally, the medieval author could

²⁷ See above, pp. 49.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-84, 153-4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³¹ Loomis, PMLA, LVI (1941), 923-4, has made out a good case for regarding the evil Black Hermit in *Perlesvaus* as a similar double for Pelles the King Hermit.

give both roles to the character and rationalize the discrepancy in terms of events. Just such a practice we shall see in the characterization of dwarf kings like Guivret in *Erec* and Auberon in *Huon de Bordeaux*.

Nor, as should be clear by now, should we be troubled by various transformations which the dwarf Beli undergoes in the romances. Let us review them for a moment.

First, not only may the name Beli be corrupted; it may be lost or even completely changed. Bilis, Pelles, Elinan, the Petit Chevalier, Belias, Druas, the dwarf of Tertre Devee, Karrioz—all are traceable to Beli.

Second, he may lose his kinship to a counterpart of Bran as have, for example, the Petit Chevalier and Karrioz.

Third, he may be divided into two characters: a knight of normal size and a dwarf servant. Such a separation occurred to produce Elinan, Belias and Druas, and their respective dwarfs.

Fourth, and very important for the concluding argument of this chapter, he may remain a dwarf and become an inferior or even a servant. This change was indicated in Chapter VI in the nameless attacker of Gawain at Corbenic and in the dwarf servant of Bliant. It was confirmed in the Garahes incident, where the Petit Chevalier is called "his [the wounded knight's] dwarf," and it has been shown, less emphatically, in the Tertre Devee and Karrioz episodes. This change furnishes the key to a number of romance episodes in which there appears a truculent or insolent or presumptuous dwarf porter or guard for the castle or pavilion of a hostile knight. Some will be relegated to the appendix, but let us note three here.

In Fergus et Galiene:

The hero comes to a tent which belongs to the belligerent lord of the glade. A hideous dwarf (whose description has already been noted in Chapter IV) guards the entrance of the pavilion. He haughtily warns that Fergus will lose his head if he proceeds further, then strikes the hero's horse with his baston. Fergus retaliates by thrashing the creature. The dwarf's cries summon his master, who rises from his bed, comes out with a club, and demands that Fergus stop. The lord is then armed by his mistress and in the subsequent fight shows himself a powerful warrior. Fergus finally overcomes him and sends him to Arthur's court. 32

³² *Fergus*, II. 2804-3111.

In the *Vulgate Lancelot*:

Hector and Lionel reach a fine castle and decide to seek hospitality. As they approach the gate, they ask a hideous dwarf armed with a baston how to gain entrance. He angrily strikes Hector's horse, berates the knight for his pride, and predicts that his master Zelotes will reduce him to shame. Controlling his temper, Hector repeats his question and learns that he must overcome three opponents and then Zelotes himself. If he loses, he will forfeit his right hand, spurs, and horse. The dwarf orders a serjeant to open the gate. Hector vanquishes the first three attackers, then Zelotes himself, whom he beheads. He and Lionel free the maiden Perse, whom Zelotes has kept imprisoned.³³

In *Escanor* by Gerard d'Amiens:

Kay approaches a tower surrounded by a deep black foss which he cannot cross. He hears a horn, and a dwarf lowers a drawbridge hitherto concealed. He is "Hideuz Noire Pance," a slandering creature hated by all, and his master Colivre is just as evil. The dwarf peremptorily demands Kay's horse and when the knight angrily refuses, strikes the animal with his baston. Kay seizes him to throw him into the foss. When Colivre issues forth on his horse, Kay releases the dwarf and kills the master while the dwarf escapes. A young lady then comes out; she has been the prisoner of Colivre, who killed her father and abducted her.³⁴

The agreement with the general pattern is obvious, and there are even some detailed correspondences with episodes discussed earlier in the chapter. Fergus' opponent is found in his tent attended by a damsel like the huge master of the *Petit Chevalier*; Zelotes and Colivre keep prisoners like several other counterparts of Bran; all three masters are powerful fighters; all three dwarfs insultingly warn the hero and those in *Fergus* and *Escanor* are so truculent that the hero grapples with them. But these parallels are so faded that they are no longer important. For it is neither necessary nor accurate to say that these dwarfs and their masters are Beli and Bran. All that one need concede is that the writers of romance are using a stock episode and that the source of it—I can find no other—is apparently the tradition which we have analyzed in this chapter.

³³ Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 242 ff.

³⁴ *Escanor*, ed. H. Michelant (Tübingen, 1886), pp. 236 ff. For date, c. 1280, see Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, p. 275.

CHAPTER VIII

GUIVRET, THE CHEVALIER PETIT, AND AUBERON

Three noble dwarfs who play roles of considerable importance now claim our attention: Guivret in the *Erec* of Chrétien and in two cognate romances; the Chevalier Petit in the second continuation of the *Conte del Graal*; and Auberon in *Huon de Bordeaux*. Detailed comparisons will show that all three are drawn from the romance tradition of a high-minded and powerful dwarf king who owes his essential characteristics to Celtic, and more specifically Welsh, tradition. Furthermore—and it will not come as a surprise by now—we shall see that the three dwarfs are ultimately derived in large part from Beli.

Guivret appears not only in Chrétien's poem but also in the Welsh *Geraint Son of Erbin* and the *Erec* of the German Hartmann von Aue. The relationship of *Geraint* to Chrétien's romance has been part of the long and acrimoniously debated *Mabinogionfrage*, but it now seems certain that the Welsh and French authors relied on a common original written in French.¹ Rudolf Zenker, one of the foremost contributors to the controversy, has also produced good arguments for the hypothesis that Hartmann had access to a version of *Erec* which dealt in greater detail with Guivret than did Chrétien.² All three accounts of this little king are in substantial agreement, so I shall summarize that of Chrétien and then in subsequent analysis point out significant additions in the Welsh and German texts.

As Erec and Enide pass near a great tower, they are espied by a very small but courageous knight, whose custom it is to challenge every knight who passes. He arms himself and rides against Erec. After a long and fierce combat, Erec disarms the dwarf, who then surrenders reluctantly and reveals that he is Guivret le Petit, the wealthy and powerful king of that country. When Erec identifies himself, Guivret becomes his sworn friend and vows to come to his aid in time of need. In vain the little king proffers the hospitality of his castle near

¹ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 32 ff., reviews the significant evidence.

² ZFSL, XLV (1919), 47 ff.; ZFSL, XLVIII (1925-26), 30 ff.; RF, XLV (1931), 100 ff.

by for the treatment of Erec's wounds, but they part with great affection. Later in the poem, after the badly wounded Erec has won his freedom and Enide's from the Count of Limors, he encounters Guivret again. The dwarf, having heard the rumors of the death of Erec and the abduction of Enide, is hastening with a thousand men to bring aid. The friends meet in the dark; Guivret unhorses the weakened Erec but then learns his identity. Now he pitches his tent for Erec and provides him with pasties and with wine from a store of six casks. The next day Guivret conducts Erec and Enide to his fine, strong castle. There his two sisters, skilled in healing, care so well for Erec that he recovers in a fortnight. When the hero announces his intention to depart for Arthur's court, Guivret decides to come also. He gives Enide a brilliantly parti-colored palfrey. As the trio near the stronghold of Brandigan, Guivret warns Erec against the perilous adventure of the "Joy of the Court." Erec is triumphant, however, and all three arrive eventually at Arthur's court. There, Guivret is affectionately greeted and is persuaded by Arthur to stay.³

In the second continuation of the *Conte del Graal*, Gawain sets forth to find Perceval and the castle of the Fisher King.

Riding through a great forest, he comes to a thick-foliaged tree from which there hangs a silver shield. Close by is a fountain by which a beautiful maiden is combing her hair. As Gawain makes himself known to her, there suddenly appears on horseback a knight so small that he could be taken for a child of seven years but possessed of a beauty unmatched in all the world. After introducing the damsel as his sister and graciously inviting Gawain to be his guest, the little knight blows his ivory horn. Immediately servants appear with a dazzlingly white mule for the maiden and with rich apparel. To Gawain's questions about the shield, the dwarf replies that it can be borne only by a most virtuous knight whose "bele amie" is completely faithful. For such a knight the shield would double the bearer's strength; for a pretender it would only insure immediate defeat. The little knight has successfully defended it against all comers. Gawain is treated with magnificent hospitality at the splendid castle. A messenger arrives from Arthur's court with an invitation to bring the shield to a tournament, and the dwarf accepts. In response to further questions, he tells Gawain that he is "li Chevaliers Petis | Del castel de la forest grande" and that his sister is named Tanree. While the

³ Erec, ll. 3663-930, 3439-5446, 6411-67.

*Chevalier Petit guards the shield that afternoon, Gawain makes love to Tanree. At the tournament the dwarf shows great prowess, and only Gawain bears the shield without defeat. They return to the castle in the forest; then Gawain, despite the pleas of his host and the anguish of Tanree, takes his departure.*⁴

Auberon plays an important part throughout most of *Huon de Bordeaux*. This work, written in the last decade of the twelfth century or the first of the thirteenth,⁵ is generally classified as a *chanson de geste*, but it is commonly conceded that so much of its material is Arthurian⁶ that we are justified in analyzing its fairy king.

The young hero Huon is condemned by Charlemagne to the almost certainly fatal quest of demanding an enormous tribute from the emir of Babylon, including a handful of his beard and four of his greatest teeth. After traversing many countries, Huon, despite the warnings of his companion Jerome, chooses the shorter road to Babylon through the forty-league forest of Auberon, a fairy king and the son of Morgain la Fée and Julius Caesar. Within the forest they are accosted peremptorily by the beautiful but hunchbacked little king, but Huon resists his commands to speak. After Auberon fails in his attempts to cow the hero by conjuring up storms and a mighty river, he summons an army of his fairy knights to kill the trespassers, but is persuaded finally to show them mercy. The little king, who already knows of Huon's quest, proceeds to profess his great affection for the hero for his truthfulness and loiauté. Vowing to help Huon accomplish his difficult quest, he makes gifts of his magic horn and cup with the warning that any untruthfulness will dissolve their friendship, and creates a fairy castle replete with food and drink for Huon's whole company. Proceeding on his way to Babylon, the hero stops at the castle of Dunostre to kill its guardian giant and to win a magic hauberk originally belonging to Auberon. With the aid of the

⁴ Potvin, *op. cit.*, V, ll. 31,531-32,847.

⁵ Holmes, *History of Old French Literature*, pp. 83-5. The question of the date is not yet settled. E. Brugger, *MLR*, XX (1925), 158-73, argues for the indebtedness of *Huon to Fergus*. The latter is usually dated in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. See Joan Greenberg, *PMLA*, LXVI (1951), 525, n. 6, for bibliography.

⁶ Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-5; Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, pp. 124 ff.; Gaston Paris, *Poèmes et légendes du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1900), pp. 73 ff.; Carl Voretzsch, *Die Composition des Huon von Bordeaux*, volume I of *Epische Studien* (Halle, 1900), pp. 124 ff.; E. Brugger, *The Illuminated Tree in Two Arthurian Romances* (New York, 1929), pp. 25 ff.; A. H. Krappe, *ZRP*, LIV (1934), 68-88. Zenker, *ZFSL*, XLVIII (1925-26), 30 ff., and Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, chapter XX, have compared the three dwarfs of this chapter.

hauberk and of Auberon, whom he can summon instantly with a blast of the horn, Huon eventually accomplishes his quest and wins for his love Esclarmonde, daughter of the emir. Twice, however, Auberon abandons the hero—once when Huon pretends that he is a Saracen in order to gain entrance into the emir's palace and again when he breaks his promise to Auberon not to embrace Esclarmonde before marriage. Each time Auberon at first ignores Huon's call of distress but finally comes to his aid in the nick of time. At the story's climax, Huon, victim of a plot by his treacherous brother, is about to forfeit his life to Charlemagne for failure to produce the emir's beard and teeth. Auberon appears at the court to confound the emperor and the whole conspiracy against the hero.⁷

Let us note the numerous specific correspondences, some shared by two of the dwarfs and several shared by all three.

Guivret and Auberon are powerful kings who command armies;⁸ and although the Chevalier Petit is never called a king, he is the wealthy overlord of a great forest and castle and the master of numerous servants. As Chapter II has shown, Celtic tradition knew such dwarf kings. In *The Journeys of the Tuath Luchra*, Iubdan is the king of the leprechauns, and an army of his dwarfs tries to deliver him from captivity.⁹ In Map's tale the friend of Herla is king over countless subjects,¹⁰ and in Giraldus' story the dwarfs who befriend Eliodorus are ruled by a king.¹¹

The Chevalier Petit is the owner of the splendid "castel de la forest grande";¹² Auberon is king of a forty-league forest and there conjures up a similarly magnificent and bountiful palace.¹³ Chrétien does not make much of Guivret's castle, Penevric; it is "...un fort chastel, / Qui mout seoit et bien et bel."¹⁴ The author of *Geraint* describes the stronghold of Gwiffert simply as a "walled town, the fairest in the world."¹⁵ Hartmann, however, working from what Zenker believes to have been a more detailed source, has much more to say.¹⁶ Gui-

⁷ *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. Grandmaison and Guessard (Paris, 1860).

⁸ *Erec*, ll. 4960-8. *Huon*, p. 101.

⁹ See above, p. 6.

¹⁰ See above, p. 9.

¹¹ See above, p. 12.

¹² Potvin, ll. 31,876 ff., 32,087-8.

¹³ *Huon*, pp. 94, 108.

¹⁴ *Erec*, ll. 5185-6.

¹⁵ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 167.

¹⁶ Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, ed. Albert Leitzmann (Halle, 1939), ll. 7123-7200; Zenker, ZFSL, XLVIII (1925-26), 30-1.

vret's castle is situated in a large forest, the several parts of which hold all kinds of game for hunters. In the castle itself is all the food and drink that one could desire. Equally splendid dwellings belong to Iubdan, the dwarf king of Map, and the dwarf monarchs of more recent Welsh folktales.

The unearthly beauty of the Chevalier Petit is shared by Auberon,¹⁷ even though the latter is disfigured by a hump bestowed by a malignant fairy. The former is compared in size to a child of seven years, the latter to a child of five.¹⁸ Guivret is simply described as "mout de cors petiz,"¹⁹ and although he is not depicted as strikingly handsome, he is given no disfiguring features or proportions. Chapter IV has already shown that the prototypes of marvelously beautiful dwarfs are to be found in Celtic tradition.

Both Guivret and the Chevalier Petit are marvelously strong. Erec triumphs over his tiny antagonist only after a fierce six-hour combat.²⁰ At the tournament before Arthur the Chevalier Petit strikes down the brash Kay and others.²¹ In *Huon*, Auberon's might appears in a number of supernatural powers by which he attempts to frighten the hero at their first encounter and in the army of one hundred thousand which he commands,²² but in the fourteenth-century Prologue to *Huon*, Auberon like the Chevalier Petit displays great prowess in a tournament before Arthur.²³ The supernatural strength of the dwarfs of romance will be treated in Chapter XVII, but we have already noted that attribute in the Welsh *afanc*.²⁴

Both Guivret and Auberon are at first hostile to the hero when he trespasses on their domains. The Chevalier Petit, of course, heartily welcomes Gawain, but he overthrows all who brashly come to challenge him for the shield.²⁵ Though most of the dwarfs of tradition are kind to human visitors, Chapter II noted the *afanc* who kills all intruders until he himself is slain,²⁶ and even the dwarfs in Giraldus' tale become hostile when affronted by Eliodorus' theft.

¹⁷ See above, p. 28, and *Huon*, p. 94.

¹⁸ Potvin, I. 31,697. *Huon*, p. 102.

¹⁹ *Erec*, I. 3679.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 3680-822.

²¹ Potvin, II. 31,729 ff.

²² *Huon*, pp. 97 ff.

²³ Arturo Graf, *I Complementi della Chanson d'Huon de Bordeaux* (Halle, 1878), II. 2217-47.

²⁴ See above, pp. 13-4.

²⁵ Potvin, II. 31,832 ff., 32,228.

²⁶ See above, pp. 13-4.

After their initial hostility, both Guivret and Auberon become the friend of the hero,²⁷ and both are generous with gifts.²⁸ This lavish hospitality is a notable characteristic of Celtic dwarfs, particularly of Map's dwarf king; the *Plant Rhys Dwfn*, and the *Tylwyth Teg*.²⁹

All three dwarfs have certain supernatural possessions. Guivret bestows on Enide a lavishly caparisoned palfrey whose body is the color of gold and whose head is part white and part black with a brilliant green stripe between.³⁰ Hartmann, describing the animal as even more floridly colored, says that it has a silent trot and was taken from a dwarf who had found it at the mouth of a cave.³¹ Chapter XVI will deal with the mounts of the dwarfs, but this particular steed immediately recalls the golden and crimson and green horse of Iubdan in the Irish saga.³² I suspect also that the mule "qui ert plus blanc / Que la nois..." provided by the Chevalier Petit for his sister,³³ is a similar fairy animal.

Auberon presents his magic horn and cup to Huon.³⁴ Made of ivory by fairies on an island in the sea, the horn possesses many marvelous powers in its sound: it can heal anyone who is ill; satisfy completely the greatest hunger and thirst; make dance any person no matter how unhappy; summon Auberon any distance from his kingdom of Monmur.³⁵ Furthermore, by striking the horn with his finger, Auberon can produce a great tempest. The goblet can fill itself with wine enough for both the living and the dead, provided it is in the hands of a good man, for no one can drink from it unless he is pure and sinless.³⁶ All the characteristics of the horn and cup can be paralleled by those of similar objects in Celtic tradition or in romances clearly drawing from that tradition.³⁷ What is more pertinent here is

²⁷ *Erec*, ll. 3890-3902. *Huon*, p. 104.

²⁸ *Erec*, ll. 5212-17, 5316-58. *Huon*, p. 111; Graf, *op. cit.*, ll. 2179 ff.

²⁹ See above, p. 12-3.

³⁰ *Erec*, ll. 5316-58.

³¹ Hartmann, *op. cit.*, ll. 7285 ff.; Zenker, ZFSL, XLVIII (1925-26), 37 ff.

³² See above, p. 7.

³³ Potvin, ll. 31,757-8.

³⁴ *Huon*, p. 111.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

³⁷ When the horn in Robert Biket's *Le Lai du Cor* is tapped with the finger, it produces such music that whoever hears it forgets all sorrow (ed. Heinrich Dörner [Strassburg, 1907], l. 63). In the *Tristan* of Thomas of Britain, the fairy dog Petitcrû wears about his neck a bell whose sound so soothes the mind that it forgets all grief and sorrow (ed. Joseph Bédier, I [Paris, 1902], p. 219). The power of Auberon's horn to produce a storm may be reminiscent of the basin by the Perilous

that traditional Celtic dwarfs possess similar supernatural objects. Iubdan possesses a timpan which plays fairy music by itself, and *Cnu dheireoil* and Senbecc enchant all listeners with the music of their harps.³⁸ Gwyddolwyn Gorr in *Culhwch* owns magic *bothen* which preserve the heat of liquor put into them, and Map's dwarf king furnishes many vessels of gold and silver and precious stones from which the wedding guests are bountifully served.³⁹ Also, there are close correspondences between the attributes of Auberon's horn and cup and those of the Grail.⁴⁰ Like the Grail, his horn heals sickness and assuages hunger and thirst. Like the Grail, his goblet is inexhaustible, requires the sign of the cross, and serves only the righteous. A guardian of the Grail, as we have seen, is Pelles, a dwarf king ultimately traceable to the Welsh Beli. To this point we shall recur later in this chapter, but it may be noted now that this association of Pelles, a dwarf, with a holy vessel of plenty makes it quite improbable that the author of *Huon* on his own attributed the magic powers to Auberon's horn and cup. Rather, in the tradition which he used he found dwarfs possessing such objects.⁴¹

Like his goblet, Auberon's hauberk tests the virtue of the user; it can be worn only by him who is without sin and whose mother is blameless.⁴² Strikingly similar is the shield of the Chevalier Petit, which can be borne only by him who possesses to a great degree "...sens, force et vigor, / Largece, frankise et honor" and who has an *amie* wholly faithful in love.⁴³ This parallel brings us to still another significant comparison of the three dwarfs: all are remarkably noble in character. Guivret, once he has become the sworn friend of Erec, faithfully

Fountain in Chrétien's *Yvain*, ed. Wendelin Foerster (Halle, 1887), II. 386 ff., or its counterpart in twelfth-century legends of the Forest of Broceliande (Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 292 and n. 15). The definitive article on the Celtic horn and cup is that by Loomis and Jean Stirling Lindsay, *RF*, XLV (1931), 66-94.

³⁸ See above, pp. 7, 8.

³⁹ See above, pp. 10-1.

⁴⁰ Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-8, first detected this.

⁴¹ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 142, suggests that the wine casks of Guivret may be connected with the *bothen* of Gwyddolwyn Gorr.

⁴² *Huon*, pp. 136-7.

⁴³ Potvin, II. 31,807 ff. Note that there are other magic properties to these pieces of armor. Auberon's hauberk protects the wearer from drowning and from burning (*Huon*, pp. 136-7). The Chevalier Petit's shield doubles the strength of one qualified to carry it (Potvin, II. 31,822 ff.). Such powers are reminiscent of similar possessions of Iubdan and Senbecc (see above, pp. 7, 8) and are common in Celtic literature (E. Ettlinger, *FL*, LVI [1945], 295-307).

keeps his word by rushing to the rescue of the hero and his wife.⁴⁴ The Chevalier Petit possesses a shield whose ownership demands the highest probity. Auberon's nobility becomes even more conspicuous in his ardent Christianity: he ascribes his powers to the grace of Jesus⁴⁵ and prefers his appointed place beside God to all the joys of fairyland.⁴⁶ Huon receives the horn and cup only because he has shown himself worthy, somewhat as Gawain bears the shield of the Chevalier Petit only because he qualifies by his virtue and the faithfulness of his *amie*. It is for Huon's "grant loiauté" that Auberon loves and befriends him.⁴⁷ The fairy king often emphasizes that virtue throughout the poem,⁴⁸ and for Huon's failure to exemplify it, he twice abandons him. Just such noble dwarfs we have already seen in Chapter II. Most notable were the friends of Eliodorus who "detested nothing as much as lies...being strict lovers and reverers...of truth..." and who rejected the boy from their favor when he broke faith by stealing.⁴⁹ Iubdan is the noble king of noble subjects and has never told a lie.⁵⁰ Both he and Map's dwarf king swear by God as Auberon frequently does.⁵¹ The *Huon* poet, then, in making Auberon a devout Christian, is not so original as Gaston Paris believed.⁵² Auberon shares a remarkable nobility with his two counterparts, and this is an inheritance from their ancestors, the high-minded dwarf kings of Celtic tradition.

Finally, Guivret warns Erec of the dangers of the castle of Bran-

⁴⁴ *Erec*, II, 5953-71.

⁴⁵ *Huon*, pp. 109, 111.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 309-10.

⁴⁸ Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 130, n. 1, has collected these passages. See *Huon*, pp. 107, 110, 111, 305, 309-10.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 12.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 7.

⁵¹ See above, pp. 7, 10.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 94. Completely untenable is the hypothesis advanced by Krappe, ZRP, LIV (1934), 82, that the tradition of the alleged dwarf stature of Jesus may have survived in Celtic churches until the Norman invasion; that it may explain the figures of the "Children in the Tree"; and that Auberon's Christianity may be explained by the same tradition. Krappe punctures his own case: "Nur unter der Voraussetzung des unendlich naiven Christentums der Kelten des frühen Mittelalters wird eine solche Gleichsetzung des einheimischen Zwerges und Waldgeistes mit Christus verständlich." On the "Children in the Tree," who appear in the *Conte del Graal*, *Didot Perceval*, and *Durmart*, and their relation to Auberon and perhaps other Celtic dwarfs, see Brugger, *op. cit.*, and Sarah Greenhill, "A Legend of the Terrestrial Paradise in Wauchier's Continuation of the *Conte du Graal*," unpublished master's essay (Columbia University, 1945), esp. pp. 106 ff.

digan and counsels him to pass it by, whereas Auberon warns Huon of the perils of the castle of Dunostre and counsels him not to undertake the adventure.⁵³ In accordance with their previous promises, both dwarfs come to the aid of the hero, Guivret once, Auberon twice.⁵⁴

There are still other correspondences,⁵⁵ but the comparison needs no laboring. Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberon are ultimately identical and derive most of their significant characteristics from the dwarfs of Celtic tradition. We have observed correspondences with both Irish and Welsh dwarfs, but the latter seem to have contributed more, and this hypothesis is supported by two pieces of evidence. In *Geraint*, the hero asks a passing knight about the owner of the fair valley and walled town which they are passing. The man replies: "...the French and the Saxons call him Gwiffert Petit, and the Cymry call him the Little King."⁵⁶ The Welsh redactor of the common source for *Geraint* and *Erec* did not recognize the name Guivret; he did, however, obviously recognize the traditional dwarf king of Wales whom we have already seen in the tales of Map and Giraldus. Again, just before the author of the second continuation of the *Conte del Graal* describes the Chevalier Petit, he cites as his authority the conteur Bleheris, who was born in Wales and who told his story to the Count of Poitou.⁵⁷ Several other references in the romances supply ample testimony that this Bleheris was a professional teller of Arthurian tales who flourished between 1100 and 1140 and who was well known in both Wales and France.⁵⁸ Apparently his stories were not exclusively Welsh, but rather reworkings of the repertory of contemporary Breton conteurs. But it is probably more than a coincidence that he was a Welshman; that he told the story of the Chevalier Petit, who is patterned after the Welsh dwarf king; and that Giraldus Cambrensis, a good twelfth-century authority on Welsh

⁵³ *Erec*, ll. 5387-5446. *Huon*, pp. 136 ff.

⁵⁴ *Erec*, ll. 4951-69. *Huon*, pp. 198, 303.

⁵⁵ After *Erec* has fought at Limors, Guivret provides a tent, food, and wine for him (*Erec*, ll. 5127-67); after Gawain has fought at the tournament, he goes with the Chevalier Petit to the latter's lodge, where they dine on fine wine and food (*Potvin*, ll. 32,617-27). Both Guivret and Auberon go alone to challenge the hero when he trespasses on their domains (*Erec*, l. 3771. *Huon*, p. 98). Both the Chevalier Petit and Auberon use horns to summon their retainers (*Potvin*, ll. 31,744-55. *Huon*, p. 101).

⁵⁶ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 168.

⁵⁷ Jessie L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval* (London, 1906), I, p. 288.

⁵⁸ Loomis, *RR*, XXXII (1941), 16-19, and see 16, n. 77, for bibliography; *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 18 ff.

folklore himself and teller of the story of Eliodorus and the dwarfs, cites the same Bledhericus as the authority for another tale.⁵⁹

Chapter V showed good reason for believing that the prototype of the dwarf kings of Map and Giraldus was Beli. That conjecture had to stand only as a probability, however, because surviving Welsh tradition tells us little about Beli himself. In the intervening chapters on Pelles and the truculent dwarf, we have been able to identify several Arthurian dwarfs as counterparts of Beli and to show conclusively that Beli was a dwarf. Since Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberon show strong signs of Welsh origin, let us see whether they also may be traced in the main to Beli through his counterparts.

There is no correspondence in names, but Chapter VII has already shown that this need not be an insurmountable obstacle. So far as I have been able to find, the name of Guivret never appears in the romances except where the influence of Chrétien is certain or probable.⁶⁰ Although Auberon has inherited his name from the dwarf Alberich of German tradition, the preceding analysis has attested how much he owes to Celtic antecedents.⁶¹ The Chevalier Petit has been left nameless like the Petit Chevalier in the first continuation of the *Conte del Graal*.⁶² We may compare the dwarfs of this chapter, then, with other figures already established as counterparts of Beli.

1. Guivret and Auberon are kings like Bilis, king of the Antipodes, and Pelles, King Hermit and king of Corbenic.
2. Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberon are invited to Arthur's court just as are Bilis and his companions.

⁵⁹ Giraldus, *Opera*, VI, p. 202.

⁶⁰ The name is probably Breton, for it is found in such place-names as Lan-Guivret and Lan Wivret (Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 485, see under "Guivret"; E. Brugger, ZFSL, XLIX [1927-28], 452). "Guivers li petis" is mentioned in the second continuation of the *Conte del Graal* (Potvin, V, l. 31,374), but the passage draws on Erec (Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 141, n. 30). The dwarf king "Givreiz" appears in Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Lanzelet*, trans. K. G. T. Webster and R. S. Loomis (New York, 1951), p. 107, but Ulrich is drawing on Hartmann's Erec (*ibid.*, p. 213, n. 193). "Guivres li Blons," a squire, guides the hero to a tournament in *Durmart*, ll. 5869 ff.; the date of composition—second quarter of the thirteenth century—makes indebtedness to Chrétien likely. For an episode which parallels Erec's adventures with Guivret in many details, but which gives the counterpart of the dwarf the name of Riwalin and normal stature, see *Diu Crône*, ll. 5775 ff.

⁶¹ Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff., esp. p. 265, n. 2. Cf. Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.; Krappe, ZRP, LIV (1934), 76.

⁶² See above, pp. 52-3.

3. The Chevalier Petit and Auberon are strikingly beautiful; the Petit Chevalier is remarkably handsome.

4. The marvelous strength of all three dwarfs of this chapter corresponds to that of counterparts of Beli in Chapter VII, notably of the Petit Chevalier and Karrioz.

5. Guivret challenges the passing Erec and fights fiercely against him; Auberon almost has the trespassing Huon killed. In Chapter VII the truculent counterparts of Beli fight the intruding hero. Guivret and Auberon then become sworn friends of the hero, and they and the Chevalier Petit play the gracious hosts. Pelles the hermit and Pelles of Corbenic are similarly hospitable to Perceval and other knights. Chapters VI and VII showed that the roles of both graciousness and truculence must have belonged to Beli and that the authors of romance took care of this discrepancy in two ways. Sometimes they suppressed the graciousness and emphasized the truculence. Again, they eliminated the truculence and emphasized the graciousness, and this is what Bleheris or another probably did with the Chevalier Petit. *Erec* and *Huon* represent successful attempts to reconcile the conflicting roles by presenting the dwarf king first as hostile, then benign.

6. As has already been noted, the most important powers of Auberon's horn and cup are paralleled by those of the Grail; and in the *Vulgate Lancelot* and the *Queste* the guardian of the Grail is Pelles of Corbenic.

7. The three dwarfs are remarkably noble as are Bilis and Pelles, and even the ardent Christianity of Auberon is matched by that of Pelles of Corbenic (in the *Queste*) and Pelles the hermit uncle.

8. The skillful sisters of Guivret heal Erec, whereas Pelles' daughter and the cousin of the hermit are instrumental in the healing of Lancelot and Perceval.

These points provide very strong evidence, I think, that the three noble dwarfs of this chapter are derived in the main from the Welsh dwarf Beli.

There remain two questions to deal with. The role of supernatural helper played by Auberon does not belong to any of the counterparts of Beli who have been analyzed. As Voretzsch has pointed out, Auberon apparently owes his name to the German Alberich, and *Huon* resembles the Middle High German *Ortnit* in three important respects: "erstens auf der person Alberich-Auberons an...ihrer function als schutzgeist des helden; zweitens auf dem grundmotiv der handlung: einer echten brautfahrt hier [*Ortnit*], eines verschleierten braut-

fahrttypus dort [*Huon*]; drittens auf der verbindung der beiden motive." ⁶³ Although Chapter XIII will produce a type of Celtic folktale in which a dwarf helper accompanies the hero on a dangerous quest on which he sometimes wins a bride, the correspondences are not so close in these respects as those between Auberon and Alberich. Presumably, then, for this role and their names, Auberon and Alberich are indebted to a common ancestor in German or Frankish tradition. This concession in no way modifies my belief in the much greater indebtedness of Auberon to Beli and his counterparts. ⁶⁴

Second, Bran, whose counterparts we have been accustomed to find with Beli, does not appear with Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, or Auberon. But we shall have clinching evidence for Beli as the prototype of these three dwarfs in the next chapter. There it will become clear that Guivret's sisters and Tanree, sister of the Chevalier Petit, show strong signs of identity with Morgain la Fée, the mother of Auberon; and Morgain's Welsh prototype was Modron, traditional kinswoman of Beli.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁶⁴ Nor does this concession mean that I agree with Voretzsch on the extent of Auberon's indebtedness to German dwarf tradition. Auberon derived from Celtic dwarfs—not the German *lichtelben* (*ibid.*, pp. 267-8)—his small stature, childlike appearance, and great beauty. Again, Voretzsch believed that Auberon's kinship with Morgain was an arbitrary invention by the French poet, and we are about to see that this relationship is an old and genuinely Celtic tradition of the Arthurian dwarf king.

CHAPTER IX

MORGAIN LA FÉE AND THE DWARFS

After his encounter with Morgain la Fée, Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee commented wryly, "I have seen a good many kinds of women in my time, but she laid it over them all for variety." And investigators of the Arthurian legend will agree. In bewilderingly diverse roles, the ubiquitous fairy wields her powers not only under her own name but, as modern scholarship has shown, as a nameless fairy mistress or benign foster-mother. The interested reader may pursue elsewhere the fascinating evolution of Morgain in the traditions of Ireland, Wales, and Brittany and the relations of her prototypes to old Celtic goddesses.¹ The purposes of this chapter are much more limited. First, it will become clear that the kinswomen of various dwarfs traceable to Beli are to be identified with Morgain la Fée. Since the Welsh prototype of Morgain was Modron and since Modron was related to Beli, such identifications will furnish the final evidence that Pelles, Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberón are derived from that Welsh dwarf. Second, it will then be possible to suggest that other dwarfs in the romances may owe their association with Morgain to the traditional kinship between Beli and Modron, even though these dwarfs have been reduced in station to servant or messenger.

There is clear testimony that Morgain is to be identified with the Welsh Modron. In various texts Morgain is the daughter of Avallo or Avaloc² and the mother of Ywain by King Urien.³ In Welsh tradition Modron is the daughter of Avallach and the mother of Owein by King Urien.⁴ Furthermore—and very important for the discussion

¹ Paton, *op. cit.*, Zenker, ZFSL, XLVIII (1925-26), 82-92; Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 183-203; MP, XLIII (1945), 63-71; *Arthurian Tradition*, index, see under "Morgain," "Modron," "Morrigan."

² Loomis, RR, XXIX (1938), 176-7; E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), p. 266; Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

³ *Huth Merlin*, ed. Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich (Paris, 1886), I, pp. 201-2.

⁴ Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 284; Gwenan Jones, *Aberystwyth Studies*, IV (1922), 105-9; Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 194; MP, XLIII (1945), 67-8.

to follow—Modron is the granddaughter of Beli, since in Welsh genealogical tradition going back to the tenth century, Beli Magnus is the father of Avallach.⁵ Unfortunately, Welsh tradition tells little more about Modron;⁶ but her identity with Morgain and her kinship to Beli prompt a second look at the kinswomen of Pelles, Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberon.

In the *Vulgate Lancelot*,⁷ the daughter of Pelles is hopelessly infatuated with the reluctant Lancelot, makes him her lover only by trickery, and provokes the jealousy of Guinevere. The damsel of Corbenic accompanies Lancelot to an island castle, the summery "ille de joie," where she and her ladies-in-waiting make merry each day. Now, it is Morgain who frequently beseeches Lancelot and other heroes for their love, who is rebuffed or taken as mistress only with reluctance, and who is the jealous rival of Guinevere.⁸ Her island kingdom is one of eternal summer and there she lives with her eight sisters.⁹ Furthermore, Pelles' daughter is instrumental in the healing of Lancelot since she was at one time the guardian of the Grail which brings about his recovery, and the female cousin of Pelles the hermit is the skilled nurse of both Lancelot and Perceval.¹⁰ Morgain, from the early description of her in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*, is renowned in healing, and in the romances often practices her skills either in person or with a magic balm or horn.¹¹ Pelles' daughter, then, is to be identified with Morgain, and she probably owes her kinship to Pelles to Modron's original relationship to Beli. Though one sees little of the nameless cousin of Pelles the hermit, she too would seem to owe her role as healer and her kinship to the hermit to the same tradition.

It is not simply coincidence, then, that the two sisters of King Guivret also show themselves very adept practitioners by healing the badly wounded Erec within a fortnight. To be sure, their methods are quite orthodox: removal of dead tissue, frequent baths, a bland

⁵ See above, p. 40-1.

⁶ Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 194-7, has accumulated the available material and has shown that Modron probably survived as a nameless fairy in Welsh folklore until the last century.

⁷ See above, pp. 47-8. Cf. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 144.

⁸ Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 183-7; Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff., 60 ff.

⁹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Vita Merlini*, ed. J. J. Parry in *Illinois University Studies*, X (1925), ll. 908-21.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 46-7.

¹¹ *Vita Merlini*, ll. 918-21, 929-38; Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and index, see under "Morgain, balm of"; Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 195-6.

diet, and the application of an *antret* ("plaster") to his wounds.¹² An earlier passage, however, supplies a clue that their medical skill had a supernatural origin. After Erec has been wounded by Guivret, King Arthur gives to his knight an *antret* of marvelous virtue and advises him to take a convalescence of a fortnight.¹³ Significantly, this *antret* came to Arthur from Morgain, whom we already know as a traditionally renowned healer. It is hence very likely that one of the sisters of the dwarf Guivret is Morgain or that the two of them are simply doubles for the fairy. Guivret, in turn, is confirmed again as a figure derived from Beli.

The author of *Huon* states flatly that Morgain la Fée was the mother of Auberon,¹⁴ and the fourteenth-century *Ogier le Danois* says that she is Auberon's sister.¹⁵ Furthermore, according to the Prologue to *Huon*, Auberon's horn, whose sound can cure the sick, at one time belonged to Morgain;¹⁶ and the healing skill of Morgain, Pelles' daughter, and Guivret's sisters has already been noted. Voretzsch mistakenly believed that the relationship of Morgain to Auberon was an arbitrary addition by the *Huon* poet.¹⁷ Miss Paton was closer to the truth when she pointed out that the kinship could have come about because both Morgain and Auberon have truth-testing drinking vessels.¹⁸ It should be clear by now that the author of *Huon* is simply following the tradition which related Morgain, counterpart of Modron, to Auberon, largely a counterpart of Beli.

The identification of Tanree, sister of the Chevalier Petit, requires somewhat more effort. One analogue to Gawain's encounter with her is found in Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore*. I quote the summary of Professor Loomis, to whose investigation of Tanree most of the following discussion is indebted:

A Briton knight met in a forest a lone damsel sitting on a caparisoned steed. She was most beautiful and had preternatural knowledge of his errand, for she informed him that his lady had imposed as a condition of her favor that he should win a hawk in Arthur's palace and prove in combat that he enjoyed the love of a more beautiful damsel than did any other knight. He agreed to undertake the adventure if the lone

¹² *Erec*, ll. 5188-5223.

¹³ *Ibid.*, ll. 4214-88.

¹⁴ *Huon*, pp. 1, 104.

¹⁵ J. Dunlop, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, trans. F. Liebrecht (Berlin, 1851), pp. 141, 535, n. 20.

¹⁶ Graf, *op. cit.*, ll. 1221-6, 1459-65.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

damsel would allow him to fulfill the condition by claiming his enjoyment of her love. She consented to grant him his desire, gave him the kiss of love, and bestowed on him her own steed, declaring that it would take him to his destination. After surmounting various trials of prowess, the Briton knight won the hawk and returned to find the damsel at the same place. She rejoiced over his victory, gave him thirteen kisses, and dismissed him with the promise that as often as he sought her alone in that place, she would always be with him.¹⁹

If one recalls the episode in the second continuation of the *Conte del Graal*, several parallels become apparent. Both damsels seem to be fairies: Tanree because in beauty she "resembloit fee" and because she is met alone in the forest combing her hair by a fountain; the damsel in Andreas' tale because she too is very beautiful, is met alone in the forest, and possesses clairvoyance. In both stories, the hero promptly wins her love or a promise of her love; he then displays great prowess before Arthur and acquires a talisman which affirms her love for him; he is welcomed by the damsel, then leaves her.

The Middle English *Sir Launfal* corresponds in several respects to the episode by Andreas.²¹ The hero meets the daughter of the King of Faerye and quickly gains her love. She gives him a magic horse and they meet again, several times. He fights for her beauty and reputation, thereby acknowledging her as his love. She gives her name as Tryamour, but the Isle of Olyroun which she names as her home is only a substitute for Avalon, as Kittredge has shown,²² and variant versions of the romance confirm the name of Avalon for the fay's realm.²³ As "kinges doughter of Olyroun"²⁴ and as daughter of the "king of fayrye,"²⁵ she is, then, Morgain la Fée, daughter of Avallo, king of Avalon. The same identity can be predicated for the forest fay of Andreas and, in all probability, for Tanree.

Tanree shows two other and more direct links to Morgain. First, Gawain meets her by a spring much as Guingamor meets his fairy mistress in the lai of *Guingamor*;²⁶ Chrétien testifies in *Erec* that

¹⁹ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 87, 85-96; Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. and trans. J. J. Patry (New York, 1941), pp. 177-84.

²⁰ Potvin, V, l. 32,055.

²¹ *Middle English Metrical Romances*, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale (New York, 1930), pp. 352-9.

²² G. L. Kittredge, *American Journal of Philology*, X (1889), 13 ff.

²³ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 88.

²⁴ *Sir Launfal*, l. 278.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 280.

²⁶ *Le lai de Guingamor*, ed. Erhard Lommatzsch and Max Wagner (Berlin, 1922), ll. 422 ff.

Guigamor is king of Avalon and the lover of Morgain.²⁷ Second, Professor Loomis has already gathered the evidence to show that Morgain is traditionally the heroine of the Sparrow-Hawk Adventure, in which her beauty enables her champion to carry off the prize.²⁸ In the story of Tanree it is apparently her faithful love which enables Gawain to bear away the talismanic shield. The evidence for identifying Tanree with Morgain is not so decisive as one could wish, but at least "she reveals in several ways a common origin with Morgain."²⁹

To sum up, the accumulated evidence goes to show that the noble dwarf king of Arthurian romance has Morgain or one of her counterparts as his daughter, mother, or sister. This consistent kinship is best explained by the fact that Beli and Modron are related in old Welsh tradition, and in turn constitutes the final evidence for tracing Pelles, Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberon to the Welsh dwarf Beli.

The main task of this chapter completed, we may note that counterparts of Morgain are associated with dwarfs in two other episodes. In Ulrich's *Lanzelet*:

*Before the castle of Pluris a mounted dwarf beats the hero with a whip. Later, still smarting under the insult, Lanzelet returns and undertakes to overthrow the hundred knights whose shields hang in the blooming meadow before the castle. The dwarf delivers his challenge to each of the hundred warriors. Lanzelet defeats them all and so must marry the queen of the castle. She takes away his weapons and keeps him under strict guard so that he, longing for his real love, will not escape. Walwein and three other knights set out to free him. Lanzelet obtains permission from the queen to arm and joust on condition of a promise to return. He breaks his pledge and escapes, leaving his enraged and sorrowing spouse.*³⁰

In Chrétien's *Le Chevalier de la Charette*:

In the Elysian land of Goirre, a mounted dwarf with a scourge persuades Lancelot to follow him into an ambush. Lancelot is imprisoned in the custody of the wife of Meleagant's seneschal. Learning of a

²⁷ Erec, ll. 1954-8. For further evidence that Morgain often appears as a fountain fay, see Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 305-7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-100.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³⁰ Trans. Webster and Loomis, pp. 30-1, 99-114.

great tournament at which Guinevere is to be present, he persuades his jaileress to provide him with horse and arms and to let him attend on condition that he return and grant her his love. After triumphing in the two-day tourney, he returns to his prison. Gawain has meanwhile organized a search for him. Later Lancelot is able to escape.³¹

The correspondences between the two episodes are close enough to indicate that they go back to a common source:³² the hostile dwarf who is instrumental in bringing the hero to imprisonment; the enamored jaileress; the performance of feats of arms; the searching party; the eventual deliverance. The lady enamored of Lancelot in both episodes betrays her identity with Morgain. Three times in the *Vulgate Lancelot*,³³ Morgain, appearing under her own name, imprisons Lancelot, twice in an effort to win his love. Twice Lancelot escapes in order that he may attend a tournament. The third time Morgain herself permits him to leave on condition that he return.

Since Morgain and her counterparts appear in other romances with dwarfs derived from Beli, one suspects that the creatures in *Lanzelet* and *Charrette* are to be identified with the same Welsh dwarf; and complex but solid evidence for confirming this suspicion is supplied by Gerard d'Amiens' *Escanor*. In this romance, the fairy Esclarmonde presented the supernatural horse Gringalet to Escanor, whom she loved.³⁴ There is ample evidence in other romances that Morgain, or a lady identifiable with her, traditionally possesses such a steed.³⁵ Usually she presents the animal to her lover as Morgain bestows the marvelous Galatee on Hector in the *Roman de Troie*.³⁶ Furthermore, for another lover Esclarmonde made a chamber beautifully painted with scenes of the legend of Troy,³⁷ and such a room appears several times in castles of Morgain.³⁸ Finally, Esclarmonde learned her skills in magic from Virgil³⁹ much as Morgain learned

³¹ Ed. Wendelin Foerster (Halle, 1899), ll. 5077-101, 5187-256, 5443-6078, 6395-728.

³² K. G. T. Webster, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, XVI (1934), 208 ff.

³³ Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 123-8; V, pp. 91-3, 215-8. Cf. Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 186.

³⁴ Ed. H. Michelant (Tübingen, 1886), pp. 507-8.

³⁵ Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 183-92; *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 88-91.

³⁶ Benoît de Ste.-Maure, *Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans (Paris, 1904), I, pp. 434 ff.; Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 183-5.

³⁷ *Escanor*, pp. 411-27.

³⁸ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 94, 157; R. S. Loomis and Laura H. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York and London, 1938), pp. 24 ff.

³⁹ *Escanor*, p. 420.

hers from Merlin.⁴⁰ The amorous fay in *Escanor*, then, is to be identified with Morgain,⁴¹ and it is very significant that she sends Gringalet to Escanor, whom she loves, by a certain dwarf called Belinor.⁴² The name would seem to be a corruption of Beli Mawr or Belimor, and the dwarf must be a counterpart of Beli. The nameless dwarf retainers in *Lanzelet* and *Charrette*, who are likewise associated with amorous counterparts of Morgain, are in all likelihood to be identified with the same Welsh dwarf.⁴³

There are several other episodes in which Morgain or her probable counterpart is associated with a dwarf, but either the role of the dwarf is unimportant or the identity of his mistress with Morgain not wholly certain.⁴⁴ It should be clear enough in conclusion, however, that the original kinship of Beli to Modron in Welsh tradition persists in the

⁴⁰ Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

⁴¹ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 157.

⁴² *Escanor*, ll. 19,251-7.

⁴³ Also, it is probably significant that the episode of the "Isle of Joy" in the *Vulgate Lancelot* (Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 401-7) is parallel in several respects to the *Lanzelet* and *Charrette* incidents. The sorrowing Lancelot goes to a castle with Pelles' daughter, whose reluctant lover he has been; he performs mighty deeds of arms; a group of knights from Arthur's court comes searching for him; at the news that Guinevere wishes his return, he is "delivered" and departs from the daughter of Pelles. It is Pelles, counterpart of the dwarf Beli, who provides the Isle of Joy and who is hence instrumental in bringing about Lancelot's stay with the lady.

⁴⁴ In *Diu Crône*, ll. 7664-9128, Gawain comes to the castle of Amurfina, who wants to enlist his aid against a sister whom she has disinherited. She takes Gawain as her lover and gives him a magic potion which deprives him of his memory, somewhat as Morgain in Malory's Book of Sir Trystram drugs Alixandre whom she wishes for her lover (*Works*, ed. Vinaver, II, pp. 641 ff.). Eventually Gawain regains his memory and on departing gives a pledge to return which he does not keep. This portion of *Diu Crône* and its sequel are a version of the motif of the Rival Sisters (Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 251 ff.; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 110-17; *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 319-20), and Amurfina is in all likelihood a composite figure. But in her roles as the giver of a potion to one whom she desires as a lover and as the amorous mistress who is abandoned on the hero's promise to return, she resembles Morgain. She is served by the dwarf Karamphiet, who enjoys a considerable position in the castle and who presents a sword from his mistress to the departing Gawain. In the *Huth Merlin*, Morgain sends a dwarf messenger to her lover Accolon. He brings from her the sword Excalibur with which Accolon is to try to slay Arthur the following day (*Huth Merlin*, II, 174 ff.; Malory, *Works*, I, pp. 133 ff.). In the *Chevalier as Deus Espees*, ed. Wendelin Foerster (Halle, 1877), pp. 15-6, a dwarf comes to the court of King Ris. He brings a golden chain from the mistress of Ris, the damsel of Yseland, and tells Ris to carry out his promise to her—to send Arthur as prisoner. The traditional hostility of Morgain toward Arthur and the similarity to the episode noted just noted above make it likely that the damsel of Yseland is Morgain. See also Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 306-8, and Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 183 and n. 92.

romances as the kinship between various noble dwarfs, who are traceable to Beli, and Morgain, whose Welsh prototype is Modron. Furthermore, it seems probable that as Morgain acquired various roles in the romances, counterparts of Beli faded to the status of servants. This seems certainly to have occurred with Esclarmonde and her messenger Belinor; it seems very likely in the episodes involving dwarfs in *Lanzelet* and *Charrette*.

CHAPTER X

THE DWARF KING IN THE DUTCH *LANCELOT*

The Dutch *Roman van Lancelot*, compiled in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, presents a dwarf king who shows himself in attributes and roles to be a curiously composite figure. The pertinent passage is probably a translation or condensation of a French romance, no longer extant, of the thirteenth century or earlier.¹

*Taunted by Kay because of the excessive popularity of his amie Ydain, Gawain sets out to learn "what women think." Coming to a forest, he hears the noise of a hunt and soon encounters a pack of diminutive white hounds hardly larger than rats. When he picks one up with the intention of taking it to the queen, a knight the size of a five-year-old boy appears to reproach him for stealing his hound. The dwarf declares that he is king of the country and commands the services of five hundred knights. To demonstrate his power, he blows in Gawain's face, reducing him to a dwarf while he himself assumes normal stature. Immediately, then, he restores the dismayed Gawain to his proper size, and the two become friends. After they complete the hunt together, the king invites Gawain to his castle. On the way Gawain tells him the nature of his quest, which the dwarf declares will be difficult to accomplish. At the castle, Gawain learns that the dwarf has condemned his wife to eat alone in a separate room because he has found her unfaithful. Gawain agrees to his host's proposal that together they go in the form of dwarfs to Arthur's court. There they are entertained by Ydain and Guinevere. Gawain proposes a game of chess, the winner of which is to have the loser at his will, and Ydain agrees. He wins, demands that she sleep with him, and secures from her a ring which he himself has formerly given. The two companions leave the court, and the dwarf restores Gawain to his proper form. When Gawain returns to court, he reproaches Ydain for the loss of the ring, but she effects a reconciliation by feminine wile.*²

¹ R. E. Bennett, *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 68.

² *Roman van Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, III, ll. 12,621-13,055. Bennett, *loc. cit.*, summarizes the episode.

R. E. Bennett has traced various elements of the episode to Irish sources, but he makes no analysis of the dwarf himself, and none of the analogues which he points out explains the presence of the dwarf.³ We may perceive at once, however, that the little monarch shows several clear correspondences to Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, and Auberon. He is likened in size to a boy of five years, whereas Auberon is compared with a child of five, the Chevalier Petit with one of seven. Like Guivret and Auberon, he is a king and has a large company of armed men at his command. Like Guivret and Auberon, he is alone when he encounters the hero; and like the Chevalier Petit and Auberon, he meets the hero in a forest. Like Guivret and Auberon, he is at first hostile to the hero; then, like all three other dwarfs, he becomes the friend of the knight and entertains him as a guest. Like Guivret and Auberon, he accompanies or aids the hero on an adventure, and like the latter uses his supernatural powers to help the hero accomplish his quest. Like all three other dwarfs, he comes to Arthur's court. These parallels are surely sufficient to show that the original author of the episode was drawing upon the romance tradition of the dwarf king as represented by the dwarfs discussed in Chapter VIII.

Much of the episode is still to be accounted for, and strangely enough, the key is furnished by the opening incident of the mabinogi of *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed*:

*Riding through the forest, Pwyll comes upon a pack of brilliantly white hounds dragging down a stag. He drives them off and sets his own dogs upon the quarry. The master of the white hounds arrives and reproaches him. He identifies himself as Arawn, king of Annwn, and agrees to a bond of friendship with Pwyll. He changes Pwyll into his own shape, and he takes that of Pwyll. Each goes to the palace of the other. Pwyll is received into the bed of Arawn's wife but does not embrace her. At the appointed time he successfully fights Arawn's combat for him against King Hafgan, Arawn changes Pwyll and himself to their proper forms, and each returns to his own court.*⁴

The correspondences are again clear. The hero encounters fairy hounds in the forest; there appears a supernatural hunter king who becomes belligerent at the treatment of his dogs; the hunters become reconciled; the hero is changed into a form similar to that of his friend; this transformation permits him to lie with a lady. In the

³ *Loc. cit.*, 60 ff.

⁴ *Loth, op. cit.*, I, pp. 81-91.

Welsh tale, of course, Pwyll and the wife of Arawn remain innocent, but the circumstances are so compromising that it was inevitable that the lady of Arawn should become suspect. In other romance episodes which use the Welsh story, counterparts of Arawn's wife are adulterous, or play the wanton as does the wife of Bercilak, who is derived in part from Arawn, in *Gawain and the Green Knight*.⁵ This development helps to explain in the Dutch *Lancelot* both the unfaithfulness of the dwarf's wife and the success of Gawain's ruse with Ydain.⁶

Still unexplained, however, is the fusion of the dwarf with Arawn. There are two possible explanations, and although neither is conclusive, an exploration of the second will have the advantage of indicating a romance convention concerning the dwarf and of reopening the interpretation of an episode in the *Tristan*.

First, it is conceivable that the identification of the dwarf king and Arawn may have resulted from the facts that Arawn was king of Annwn and that the Welsh equated Annwn with the subterranean realm peopled by dwarfs.⁷ But nowhere else do I find Arawn or a counterpart described as a dwarf either in Welsh tradition or in the romances.

Second, there is some evidence for a convention in the romances which found the dwarf an inadequate husband or lover and his wife or mistress unfaithful. If such a convention did exist, it would account for the fusion of Arawn and the dwarf, both the victims of infidelity.

In a redaction of the mantle test to be found in the fifteenth-century Norse *Skikku Rímur*, an unnamed dwarf king, probably Bilis, arrives at Arthur's court with his queen and a great retinue from the land of dwarfs. The wife of the dwarf king fails ignominiously in the test.⁸ Likewise unworthy when she tries the testing cup in *Diu Crône* is a certain "Neini diu twerginne,"⁹ who must have had a dwarf as her lover or husband.¹⁰ The most explicit evidence comes

⁵ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 120 ff.; JEGP, XLII (1943), 170-83. Professor Loomis has also detected the identity of this dwarf king with Arawn; I came to the conclusion independently in my master's essay, "The Dwarf King in Celtic Folklore and Arthurian Romance" (Columbia University, 1947), 66.

⁶ But cf. Bennett, *loc. cit.*, 70 ff.

⁷ See above, pp. 39-40.

⁸ Cederschiöld and Wulff, *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, XIII (1876-77), 54 ff.; Warnatsch, *loc. cit.*, 72 ff.

⁹ *Diu Crône*, I, 1603.

¹⁰ Cf. the wife of Iubdan (see above, p. 6); the wife of *Cnu dbeireoil* (see above, p. 8); the wife, not described but presumably a dwarf, married by the

from the mantle test in *Lanzelet*. When King Gyvreiz leads his lady-love to try on the mantle, she too fails. The damsel who brought the testing garment to Arthur's court then comments: "This signifies that the lady hates her husband because he is of insignificant size . . ." ¹¹ The participation of the wife or *amie* of the dwarf king in various chastity tests must have been traditional, and traditional too apparently was her failure.

Further testimony for a dwarf whose wife is unfaithful may be found in the *Tristan*. The Middle High German version of Eilhart von Oberge and one manuscript of the *Prose Tristan* tell substantially the same story:

Kaberdin [in the prose version Runalen] has long loved a certain Gargeolain, the wife of a very jealous king or knight. With Tristan's help and with her cooperation, Kaberdin comes to her while the husband is away hunting. The husband later returns, detects that someone has visited his wife, forces her to confess her infidelity, and then pursues Tristan and Kaberdin. He kills Kaberdin and with a poisoned spear gives Tristan a wound which eventually proves fatal. ¹²

In Eilhart the cuckolded husband is named Nampêtenis; in the prose version he is called Bedalis. In Thomas' romance, the knight who seeks Tristram's aid in rescuing his wife is Tristram le Naim, or Tristram the Dwarf. His wife has not been unfaithful; she has been carried away by another knight. But in the subsequent fight to rescue her, Tristram of Brittany receives the wound from a poisoned sword which causes his death. ¹³

Bédier deduced that in the *estoire*, the original version of the *Tristan* no longer extant, the cuckolded husband's name was "le Nain Bedenis" and that this name was badly pronounced by Eilhart and so became Nampêtenis in his version. ¹⁴ The French scholar believed that the outraged husband was originally a dwarf but could offer no

dwarf king in Map's story (see above, pp. 9-10); the wife of the marooned dwarf in *Le Chevalier du Papegau*, p. 80; the male and female dwarfs, apparently married, in *Pereur* (Loth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36); the dwarf damsel chosen as wife by the dwarf in *Meraugis*, ll. 2046 ff.

¹¹ *Lanzelet*, p. 107.

¹² Eilhart von Oberge, *Tristant*, ed. Franz Lichtenstein (Strassburg, 1877), ll. 5986 ff., 7865 ff., 9033 ff.; *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, sections 535a, 540a, 541a.

¹³ Thomas of Britain, *Le roman de Tristan*, ed. J. Bédier (Paris, 1902), I, ll. 2176 ff.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 135-7.

satisfactory explanation.¹⁵ Miss Schoepperle accepted the evidence of the names, but dismissed the possibility that Bedenis le Nain may have been a dwarf by pointing to Thomas' express statement that Tristram the Dwarf is of goodly stature. Both Thomas and Eilhart, she believed, used the epithet "dwarf" ironically.¹⁶ The implication would be that so did the poet of the *estoire*.

The problem is difficult and complex, but several points should be considered. Actually, there is no assurance that the *estoire* poet or Eilhart used the epithet ironically. From the corruption of the name to Nampêtenis, it would appear that Eilhart may not even have recognized the epithet for what it was. In any case, although the German poet depicts Nampêtenis as a powerful knight and does not describe him as a dwarf, he does not, like Thomas, expressly describe him as a large knight.¹⁷ Several times, we have had occasion to see that the authors of the romances tended to ignore or to increase the diminutive stature of figures who were originally dwarfs. Whether Eilhart or the *estoire* poet did this, we shall probably never know, but the possibility that either may have done so must be admitted. Furthermore, the allegedly ironical epithet of Thomas need carry no decisive weight in deducing the nature of the outraged husband in the *estoire* or the circumstances under which he lost his wife. In all my research I have not come upon one other ironical use of the epithet "dwarf." More important still, it seems reasonably clear that Eilhart's version of this episode must have been closer to that of the *estoire* than Thomas'. Miss Schoepperle has shown that the incident in Eilhart is characteristic of the popular *chanson de mal mariée*, in which a jealously guarded wife succeeds in having an adulterous tryst with her lover.¹⁸ Apparently, Thomas changed the original adultery to the kidnapping of the wife and substituted the name of Tristram for Bedenis or its equivalent. Surely, Eilhart and the author of the prose version did not independently change the abduction to adultery and discard the name of Tristram for forms of Bedenis. The evidence is admittedly not conclusive, but I think there are strong odds that in the *estoire* the adulterous wife was unfaithful to a dwarf husband,

¹⁵ He suggests that the episode may be reminiscent of Theseus' descent into Hades for Persephone, who is desired by Theseus' friend Pirithous, and that the dwarf intervenes in the *Tristan* as a sort of subterranean divinity. But this is sheer guesswork, and Bédier admits as much.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 135-7.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 5986 ff.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 124-8.

just as the wife or mistress of the dwarf shows herself unfaithful in the chastity tests and in the episode in the Dutch *Lancelot*.

It is easy to understand why a dwarf would be assigned such a role. Because of his diminutive size, he would become an inevitable candidate for cuckoldry or betrayal. I find no Celtic antecedent for this element; such a convention smacks of the earthy cynicism of the fabliau or of the sophistication of the court.¹⁹

¹⁹ For the converse of such a convention—the dwarf taken as lover by a perversely lecherous woman—see the appendix, pp. 132-5.

CHAPTER XI

TEODELAIN

In four cognate romances—the Middle English *Libeaus Desconus*, Renaud de Beaujeu's *Le Bel Inconnu*, Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois*, and the Italian *Carduino*—a dwarf accompanies to Arthur's court a damsel who seeks help for her beleaguered mistress. The hero of each romance, an untried knight, is granted the quest despite the sharp-tongued objections of the damsel. On their journey, the knight, lady and dwarf encounter several adventures, in all of which the hero is victorious. He finally accomplishes the quest and wins a bride.¹ All four stories apparently go back to what Loomis calls the "grand conte" of the Damoisele Maudisante.² In turn, the conte probably goes back to certain Irish tales like *The Sickbed of Cuchulainn*, in which the hero is summoned by a fairy woman to succor her sister.³ A discussion of these sources is not pertinent here except that none furnishes the accompanying dwarf. There are, however, several clues which lead back to Celtic tradition and which indicate that the dwarf was not arbitrarily inserted as a mere menial patterned after real court dwarfs.

First, the dwarf in *Libeaus* is named Teodelain and in *Le Bel Inconnu* Tidogolain⁴ (the other two dwarfs are nameless). The name of the first, and hence of the second, seems to be derived from that of Gleodalen, the dwarf king from the Antipodean land who accompanies Bilis to the court of Arthur in *Erec*. The difference can be

¹ *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. Max Kaluza, volume V of *Altenglische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1890); dated first quarter of the fourteenth century. *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. G. Perrie Williams (Paris, 1929); dated c. 1190. *Wigalois*, ed. Kapteyn, dated before 1210. *I Cantari di Carduino*, ed. Pio Rajna (Bologna, 1873); dated 1375. The last text is unavailable to me, so I have used the summary by W. H. Schofield, *Studies on the Libeaus Desconus* (Boston, 1895), pp. 4-53. For dates, see *ibid.*, pp. 1-2, except that Schofield's date of c. 1350 is too late for *Libeaus*. His study also furnishes a minute comparison of the four romances.

² *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 438-40, 79-82.

³ A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland* (London, 1905), I, pp. 59-85. Cf. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, Chapter L.

⁴ *Libeaus*, I, 145. *Le Bel Inconnu*, I, 260.

accounted for as the result of manuscript corruption: the loss of the initial letter and the subsequent mistaking of *l* for *t*.⁵ Moreover, Gleodalen seems to have inherited his name from Gwyddolwyn the Dwarf in *Culhwch*.⁶ Second, like certain Welsh dwarfs, Teodelain and Tidogolain are notably handsome, and the former has long, fair hair.⁷ Third, Teodelain is highly skilled in music, and the nameless dwarf in *Wigalois* sings so beautifully that listeners forget themselves.⁸ One is reminded of the Irish dwarfs *Cnu dheireoil* and Senbecc, whose music enchants all those who hear.⁹ Fourth, Teodelain warns the hero against a dangerous adventure,¹⁰ and it has already been noted that both Auberon and Guivret counsel the hero similarly.¹¹ Finally, Teodelain serves the knight and damsel "Of all, that nede was," and Renaud makes much of the service of wonderful viands by Tidogolain.¹² But even these menial services take on significance when one recalls that Guivret similarly supplies and cares for Erec and Enide on their way to Penevric, that one of Auberon's first hospitable acts is to produce food and drink for Huon in the midst of the forest, and that the Chevalier Petit provides a bower and splendid viands for Gawain during their journey to the tournament.¹³ And there is nothing of the menial about these three noble dwarfs.

Teodelain and his counterparts show several traditional characteristics, then, and apparently their prototype was a composite figure. Exactly how or why he came to be assigned the role of companion and servant I do not know, but we may note once again that a Celtic dwarf of royal lineage has been stripped of his noble station and demoted to a menial in the romances.¹⁴

⁵ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 142.

⁶ *Idem*.

⁷ See above, p. 29.

⁸ *Libeaus*, ll. 148-50. *Wigalois*, ll. 1727-31.

⁹ See above, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Libeaus*, ll. 793 ff.

¹¹ See above, pp. 69-70.

¹² *Libeaus*, ll. 479-80. *Le Bel Inconnu*, ll. 937 ff.

¹³ See above, pp. 62-3, 70, n. 55.

¹⁴ The dwarf of Gareth appears in a similar role of course, not as companion to the damsel, but as Gareth's own dwarf (Malory, *Works*, I, pp. 293, 297 *et passim*). He serves the hero and lady (p. 318), but he is nameless and little more detail is given about him. At one time he is kidnapped, and Gareth rides hotly in pursuit. For other mistreated dwarfs rescued by the hero, see appendix, pp. 134, 137-9.

A similar dwarf accompanies a damsel who seeks help at Arthur's court in *Le Livre d'Artus*, but they return to the castle of their mistress ahead of Gawain (Sommer, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 77-101).

CHAPTER XII .

THE TURK AND GOWIN

In *The Turk and Gowin*, a Middle English romance of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, a dwarf leads Gawain from Arthur's court to the Isle of Man. There he brings the knight safely through a series of harrowing dangers by performing prodigious feats of strength.¹ Because the dwarf is a composite figure, it will be advisable to postpone the summary of the romance and to point out Celtic analogues for his role as supernatural helper. Tales of such helpers appear in literatures throughout the world, and the circumstances under which they perform their services vary greatly. Sometimes they help the hero to accomplish a dangerous quest or to find a bride. Again, they may simply guide him to fairyland or the other world. Finally, they may appear in one of several forms: a bespelled human being, a "grateful dead man," an animal, or—what is important for this chapter—as a dwarf or another being grotesque in appearance.² Ireland and Gaelic Scotland have preserved several tales which, when taken together, will indicate the source of the story of *The Turk and Gowin*.

1. In the nineteenth-century Irish folktale of *Fin MacCool, the Three Giants and the Small Men*:

Fin meets eight small men on the shore and secures their services for a year and a day. Each has a special skill: one is so strong that he cannot be moved even by Fin; another can hear a whisper from the Eastern World; another foreknows all that will happen. With these extraordinary powers they perform two seemingly fatal tasks. At the

¹ *The Turk and Gowin* in *Sir Gawayne: a Collection of Ancient Romance Poems*, ed. Sir Frederic Madden, pp. 243-55. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 118 ff., 274 ff., analyzes the romance and so dates it.

² See Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, sections F 451.5.1 (Helpful dwarfs), F 601.1 (Extraordinary companions perform hero's tasks), H 310-346 (Suitor tests), N 810-816 (Supernatural helpers); *The Folktale* (New York, 1946), pp. 50-5, 105 ff. Thompson's bibliography in both works is weak in Celtic material. Especially helpful to me in this chapter has been Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 231-81.

*summons of the King of the Big Men, they slay a gigantic witch and rescue three princes whom she has stolen. Later, they transport Fin to the realm of the King of the Eastern World, the father of three giants who are about to destroy the Fenians, and steal the caps which bring about the death of the marauders. On these adventures they carry the hero over the sea in a magic ship. When their term of service is over, they vanish abruptly with their vessel.*³

These dwarfs are certainly the same seven "young lads" who become the servants and extraordinary companions of Feunn MacCúail in a nineteenth-century Highland tale. He meets them by the shore; they provide a magic boat and prevent the kidnapping of the King of Lochlann's son. When Feunn pays them their wages, they depart.⁴ In all likelihood, both sets of helpers are to be identified with the leprechauns in the ancient *Senchas Mor*, whom we noted in Chapter II. Fergus meets them on the strand, and they grant him three wishes, one of which is the power to pass under lochs, linns, and seas.⁵

2. *Osgar, the Son of Oisín*, another tale of the supernatural dwarf helper, was collected in the West Highlands in the middle of the nineteenth century:

*The hero Osgar kills a giant and frees an imprisoned princess. Some time later, he and his band are trapped in a glen by a wild giant who orders that they boil his dinner. A strange "shaggy little man" comes up, and the giant wakes to find the caldron icy. He smites the dwarf and would have killed the others, but the dwarf rises and singlehanded slays the giant. On the way home, Osgar's company meets the little man, who has now been transformed into the handsome son of the King of Greece. He was enchanted by the giant and needed the presence of others to kill his captor. It is his sister whom Osgar delivered from the other giant. Now she and Osgar marry.*⁶

This dwarf helper possesses enormous strength and protects the hero from the assault of a murderous giant. Significantly, he has been condemned by enchantment to his grotesque shape and at the conclusion of the adventure assumes his rightful form.

³ Jeremiah Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, pp. 439-62.

⁴ D. MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales* (London, 1890), pp. 58-67.

⁵ See above, p. 7.

⁶ J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1862), III, pp. 295-300.

3. A similar helper appears in the nineteenth century Irish tale of *Bioultach*:

*At the island home of a malignant giant who has kidnapped his brother, the prince Bioultach accepts the aid of a "ragged green man." The creature four times overthrows and binds the giant for Bioultach and his companions and finally delivers Bioultach's brother. They then roast the giant. Returning from the adventure, Bioultach finds that a hag who previously helped him has turned into a most beautiful lady and that the ragged green man has become a handsome prince. They had been bespelled by the giant. Bioultach and the lady marry.*⁷

Parallels to the tale above are patent.

4. In *A King of Albainn*, a nineteenth-century Highland story:

*A "big, ugly lad" demands that he be taken as servant by the young King of Albainn. Before he guides the king on a series of adventures, the servant changes himself to a handsome youth. They first go to the dwelling of a giant who has kidnapped the king's sister. The servant handily kills the giant, and they proceed. Later, the helper leads his master into a cave of giants, beats the monsters at their deadly game of hurling a venomous apple, and then roasts the chief giant. When they return home, he leaves the King of Albainn and his sister.*⁸

The disenchantment early in the story seems to be a misplaced event: normally it should follow the accomplishment of the adventures.⁹ But the tale is clearly a pertinent analogue in that it produces the grotesque supernatural helper who undergoes metamorphosis and who overthrows hostile giants.

5. *The King of Ireland's Son*, collected near the turn of the century, utilizes the motif of the "grateful dead,"¹⁰ but makes the helper a dwarf in accordance with the type of folktale being investigated:

The son of the King of Ireland sets out to take for his bride a uniquely beautiful lady who lives in the Eastern World. Shortly after paying a debt for a dead man being borne by his family to the grave, he encounters a "short green man" who offers his services and who asks only that he be given the first kiss from the bride. In quick

⁷ William Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances* (London, 1898), pp. 50-63.

⁸ MacInnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-93.

⁹ Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 275.

¹⁰ See Thompson, *The Folktale*, pp. 50 ff.

succession the prince acquires several other extraordinary helpers—not dwarfs—and they proceed, guided by the dwarf. On the three nights of the journey they are able to find lodging at the castles of giants because the dwarf cows the monsters into hiding by increasing his size at will. When they arrive at the palace of the lady, she sets seemingly impossible tasks for the prince. The dwarf himself performs some of these and kills the villainous consort of the lady. He directs the helpful companions in the accomplishment of the rest. When the reluctant lady finally marries the prince, the dwarf claims the first kiss and extracts from her the poisonous serpents which would have slain his master. Departing, he reveals himself to be the thankful dead man for whom the prince once paid the debt.¹¹

6. One more analogue, this one collected in western Ireland in 1887, furnishes a dwarf who will be of specific importance in later discussion. In *Fin MacCumbail and the Knight of the Full Axe*:

*Badly wounded from a strenuous victory over a giant, Fin lies in the bottom of his boat, drifting at sea. One day a blackbird alights, takes three bites from Fin's entrails, and then changes into "a little man not more than three feet high." The dwarf reveals that he was doomed by a Druidic priest to the form of a blackbird until he should have the bites from Fin's intestines. He restores Fin to health immediately with a magic ointment and then persuades the reluctant hero to accompany him to a kingdom near by where he plans to prevent the impending marriage of the princess. At the house of the king's cannibal giants, the dwarf slays all and secures the best food and drink for his companion. After kidnapping the princess, he loses his axe in an impulsive throw and confesses to Fin that all his strength is in his axe. Fin recovers the weapon and they depart. As they approach Erin, the dwarf bids his friend goodbye.*¹²

The stories vary somewhat in detail, but no one who has explored the ways of folktale will be surprised at this, and the general pattern is pretty consistent. The hero undertakes a dangerous adventure and is joined by one or more grotesque helpers. In four of the stories (1, 2, 5, 6), these companions are dwarfs; and in all, they possess supernatural strength. They guide the hero to the scene of his adventures, sometimes providing food for him en route (stories 3, 4). In

¹¹ Douglas Hyde, *Beside the Fire* (London, 1910), pp. 18-47.

¹² Jeremiah Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* (Boston, 1890), pp. 232-43. Krappe, ZRP, LIV (1934), 79, argues well for the early origin of this tale.

the course of the adventures, the helper protects the hero and performs some or all of his tasks for him. The antagonists are consistently giants (all but story 5), and in three stories (2, 3, 5) the hero wins a bride. Always the tasks are accomplished and the dangers overcome. In four tales (2, 3, 4, 5) the helper reveals that he has been enchanted and assumes a handsome or less grotesque form. At the end of the adventures, the hero and his helper usually separate (stories 1, 4, 5, 6).¹³

Let us turn now to *The Turk and Gowin*:

*Into Arthur's court he comes, a short man but broad in leg and thigh like a Turk. Challenging Gawain to a game of buffets, he accepts a blow but then demands that he give the return buffet elsewhere. He leads the reluctant Gawain northward for two days. When the knight complains of hunger, the Turk leads him into the side of a hill where "The merke was comen, & the light is gone."*¹⁴ *They arrive at a richly decorated castle in which is set a board with all manner of meat and drink. The Turk denies this food to his companion but brings him other viands. Leaving the castle, they sail by ship to the Isle of Man as the Turk predicts great dangers but promises to help Gawain. The King of Man, openly hostile to all knights of Arthur, calls for a brass tennis ball and nine giants whose sport it will be to beat out Gawain's brains in a friendly game. Part of the text is missing here, but it may be inferred that the Turk beats the giants at their own sport. He then performs other deeds of strength, including swinging a glowing brazier about his head. When the King of Man threatens Gawain with death in a caldron of boiling lead, the Turk throws in the giant cook. Gawain gives the king his choice between death and Christianity, but he spits upon Gawain. The Turk throws their host into the fire. While performing this last feat, "The Turke was clad in invissible gay [apparently "invisible gray"], [No man could see him withouten nay . . .]";¹⁵ and twice he is referred to as*

¹³ It is worth noting that tales somewhat similar are to be found in Britain. Addy, *Household Tales*, pp. 50-3, records a Derbyshire story of the last century in which a "hairy little red man" leads the hero to a subterranean world. The youth kills three giants and marries a princess, but the dwarf only guides him. *Culhwch and Olwen* (Loth, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 243-346) furnishes any number of supernatural helpers for the hero in the dangerous tasks assigned. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, p. 672, suspected that one of the helpers, Menw son of Teirgwaedd, is a dwarf, but his arguments are largely conjectural.

¹⁴ *The Turk and Gowin*, I, 179.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 231-2.

Gawain's "boy."¹⁶ In another gap in the manuscript, the Turk apparently returns the buffet. He then asks that Gawain strike off his head and bleed him into a golden basin. The hero reluctantly complies, and the Turk is transformed into a stalwart and handsome Sir Gromer. Gawain and he now free many captives, including seventeen ladies. They return to Arthur's court, where Sir Gromer is granted the kingdom of the Isle of Man.

The Middle English romance is basically the type of *märchen* presented above, adapted to Arthurian romance. Gawain is drawn into a dangerous adventure by a grotesque dwarf who possesses supernatural strength. He guides the hero to the scene of the adventure, providing food for him en route. He protects Gawain from hostile giants, performs his tasks for him, and kills the chief antagonist. One may even note detailed correspondences in the battles with the giants: in story 4 the helper plays at the game of the venomous apple, here with a brazen ball; in stories 3 and 4 the giant is roasted, here the cook is boiled in lead and the King of Man thrown into the fire. The Turk has apparently been under enchantment like several of the grotesque helpers of the folktales, and he assumes a handsome form. It is even possible that in an earlier version of *The Turk and Gowin* the hero found a bride, perhaps Gromer's sister, among the imprisoned ladies.¹⁷ At the end of the poem, Gawain and Gromer are to separate when the latter assumes the throne of Man.

Now, Professor Loomis showed some years ago that in all probability the Turk is also to be identified in considerable measure with Curoi, the Irish sun and storm god.¹⁸ In Keating's version of the *Attack upon the Men of Falga*:

The champions of the Craobh Ruadh went to pillage an island in the ocean near Alba called Manainn And when Curoi heard that the champions were setting out on that expedition, he put on a disguise by magic, and went out with the party; and when they were about to plunder the island in the guise of jugglers, they apprehended great difficulty in seizing on the dun, . . . both on account of its strength and of the great skill in magic of those who were defending it. Then Curoi, who was disguised as a man with a *grey cloak* [*italics mine*], said that if he got his choice of the valuables in the dun he would capture it for them. Cuchulainn promised him this; and thereupon they attacked the dun with the man in the grey cloak at their head. He . . . enabled all to

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 249, 252.

¹⁷ Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 122.

¹⁸ *Celtic Myth*, pp. 100-4, 49-51, 68 ff.

enter; and they all plundered the dun, and took from it Blanaid and all the precious valuables it contained.¹⁹

In another version of the same incident: "Finally Cuchulinn went. As he stepped into the boat, a young man overtook him, of rude appearance: a grey tunic, a grey mantle, a copper fibula in his mantle . . ." ²⁰ In still another account, though Curoi is not present, the Men of Falga are equated with the Men of the Isle of Man, and Cuchulainn himself overcomes the King of Man.²¹ Finally, in the *Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*, three men of Falga are depicted as giants.²²

There are, then, several important and detailed correspondences between *The Turk and Gowin* and various versions of the *Attack upon the Men of Falga*. In the romance the hero is Gawain; in the saga, he is Cuchulainn, the Irish prototype of Gawain.²³ In both stories the hero sets out upon a dangerous expedition accompanied by a small, young man clad in gray or a young man clad in gray. This expedition is to the Isle of Man. There are hostile giants. The helper brings about the success of the quest. The King of Man meets his death.

There is still other evidence to support the identity of the Turk with Curoi. I quote from Kittredge's account of an incident in *Cor-mac's Glossary*, which can be dated in the tenth century or earlier:

Senchán with his retinue of poets and students visits the Isle of Man A frightfully ugly youth asks permission to accompany them and climbs into the boat On their arrival they find an old woman on the strand She asks an answer to a problem and it is unwarily promised. She then speaks two verses of poetry and calls for the other half of the quatrain. All the poets are nonplussed. The ugly lad springs forward and supplies the missing lines Senchán recognizes her as a lost poetess for whom there has been much searching. [All return to Ireland.] "When they came to Ireland they saw the aforesaid youth before them; and he was a young hero kingly, radiant; a long eye in his head; his hair golden yellow: fairer than the men of the world was he, both in form and dress. Then he goes sunwise round Senchán and his people, *et nusquam apparuit ex illo tempore*."²⁴

¹⁹ Geoffrey Keating, *The History of Ireland*, trans. Patrick Dineen (London, 1908), I, p. 223.

²⁰ Rudolf Thurneysen, ZCP, IX (1913), 194.

²¹ Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 430.

²² Whitley Stokes, RC, XXII (1901), 303, 305.

²³ Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 51 ff.

²⁴ *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 276.

This is fundamentally a tale of the supernatural helper; the aid given is that of answering a riddle, a common folk-motif. The youth himself, who acts as helper on an expedition to the Isle of Man, who changes into a radiant man with golden hair, and who goes sunwise around the assembled people, is again probably Curoi, sun god and shape-shifter.²⁵ The Turk likewise acts as helper on an expedition to the Isle of Man and changes from a squat, deformed dwarf to a handsome knight.

The Turk's metamorphosis is accomplished specifically by decapitation, and in this too he resembles Curoi. Counterparts of Curoi are decapitated in the two versions of the Beheading Game in *Bricriu's Feast*, and these furnished the source for the same motif in *Gawain and the Green Knight*.²⁶ In another Middle English romance, *The Carl of Carlisle*, the hideous host, another counterpart of Curoi, demands that Gawain cut off his head and then rises as a man of normal size.²⁷

There need be no difficulty in believing that the Turk is derived both from a folktale dwarf and from Curoi. Probably, Irish storytellers found that Curoi, in his roles as supernatural helper and shape-shifter, fitted well into the folktale of the supernatural dwarf helper on the dangerous quest. There may be some confirmation for this theory in the story of *Fin MacCumhail and the Knight of the Full Axe*. Like the Turk and Curoi, the Knight accompanies the hero on a dangerous but successful quest to an island peopled by hostile giants. Like both, he undergoes metamorphosis. Moreover, he resembles Curoi in two more specific ways. First, as Curoi is instrumental in the *Attack upon the Men of Falga* in the abduction of Blathnat, so the Knight helps to kidnap a princess. Second, the dwarf carries an axe, the weapon frequently borne by Curoi in his numerous appearances in Irish saga and Arthurian romance as a strong, hideous churl.²⁸ It is possible, then, that the Knight of the Full Axe is a combination of Curoi and the supernatural dwarf helper and that the folktale in which he appears represents just some such fusion as has been postulated for the source of *The Turk and Gowin*.

Only one part of the romance remains to be accounted for. On their journey northward, the Turk leads Gawain into a splendid

²⁵ Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 103.

²⁶ Alice Buchanan, PMLA, XLVII (1932), 315-38.

²⁷ Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 301, 85-9, 257-73; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 98-100; PMLA, XLVIII (1933), 1002-9.

²⁸ Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 50, 105-8, 112. Krappe, ZRP, LIV (1934), 79, has erroneously taken this axe as a sign of identity between the Knight and Merlin.

castle located in some sort of dimly lighted underground realm. There he forbids Gawain to dine from the lavishly set board, then brings him other food. Dwarfs who guide a human to a wealthy subterranean fairyland that enjoys a curious twilight have already been seen in Chapter II in the stories of Map and Giraldus and in the eighteenth-century Welsh folktale of the lost shepherd.²⁹ The taboo against eating the food of fairyland is a commonplace of folklore.³⁰

It seems probable, as Kittredge believed, that *The Turk and Gowin* is fundamentally "an Irish folktale which made its way into English *via* Celtic Scotland and became attached to the Arthurian saga...."³¹ There are no signs of a refining French stage, and a direct transmission from Ireland to Britain would explain the extravagance of the Turk's exploits and the fidelity with which the brief romance preserves the attributes of the dwarf helper and of Curoi. In Britain, perhaps in Wales, was added the incident of the visit to the underground realm.

²⁹ See above, p. 16.

³⁰ Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 41-8.

³¹ *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 280.

CHAPTER XIII

MILOCRATES AND THE ELF KING

Two more Arthurian dwarfs are apparently remote counterparts of Curoi. The first appears in an episode of *De Ortu Waluuanii*, a romance written in Latin prose in the last part of the thirteenth century by an anonymous Englishman:¹

Gawain embarks from Rome with one hundred horsemen for the holy war at Jerusalem. His fleet comes to a populous Aegean island whose cruel and lustful inhabitants are feared by everyone. Not over three cubits in stature, these people possess great wealth and are remarkable for their fecundity. Milocrates, their king, has carried off the emperor's niece and forced her to marry him. During a series of reconnaissance missions, Gawain gains access to the queen in the palace of Milocrates. She promises to admit a party to set fire to the city and gives Gawain Milocrates' sword and armor, on which there rests the charm that whosoever first wears them besides Milocrates will be the doom of the king. In the ensuing battle, Milocrates despairs of victory when he sees Gawain in possession of the fateful arms, but fights fiercely until Gawain overcomes and beheads him with the sword.

The episode may be compared to one in the *Vulgate Lancelot*:

The gigantic Carado has abducted a damsel from her lover and has carried her off to his castle. Leading a large army, Lancelot later attacks the stronghold. During his combat with Carado, the damsel gives to Lancelot the sword by which alone her captor can be slain. Carado foresees his doom and cries, "Alas, I am slain by that which I loved best in the world!" Lancelot beheads him with the fateful weapon.²

¹ *Historia Meriadoci* and *De Ortu Waluuanii*, ed. J. D. Bruce (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 62-72. For a discussion of the author of both romances, see William Mullen, "A Critical Study of the *Historia Meriadoci*," doctoral dissertation (Columbia University, 1951; available also on microfilm), Chapter II. Mullen's dating of the romances at about 1200 is too early. Professor Loomis informs me.

² Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 114, 135-7.

Both stories apparently go back to the eighth- or ninth-century Irish saga of *The Violent Death of Curoi*:

*The gigantic Curoi abducts Blathnat from her lover Cuchulainn and keeps her in his splendid fortress. After a year's search, Cuchulainn finds her, contrives to visit her in secret, and arranges to lead an army to attack the hold. During the battle, Blathnat betrays Curoi by handing over to Cuchulainn the sword by which alone Curoi can be slain. Foreseeing his doom, he cries, "No secret to women!" Cuchulainn beheads him.*³

The common elements are obvious: the abducted maiden, the abductor whose life can be taken only by a fateful sword, the attack by the hero and his army, the damsel's betrayal of her captor, and the final beheading. Just why Milocrates as a counterpart of Curoi is depicted as king of the dwarfs and is presumably a dwarf himself, I do not know. That he is the dwarf king of numerous peoples who inhabit a wealthy island might indicate some indebtedness to similar traditions about the Welsh dwarfs, but I think it unlikely.

It is curious but probably coincidental that in another story which seems to be derived from the abduction of Blathnat, the captor is an elf king and probably a dwarf. The Scottish tale of *Childe Rowland*, told in the late eighteenth century, probably goes back through a traditional ballad to a lost Arthurian romance.⁴

Burd Ellen, the daughter of King Arthur, is abducted by fairies to the dwelling of the king of Elf Land. The two older sons of Arthur fail to carry out the instructions of Warluck Merlin and fall captives to the Elf King. The youngest son, Childe Rowland, obeys the counsel of the magician and is more successful. After a long search, he meets various henchmen of the Elf King, and they direct him onward. He arrives at the entrance to the realm in a terraced green hill which opens at a special incantation. Once inside, Rowland proceeds through a long, warm passage, dimly lighted from an unknown source. He finally comes to a bright hall which is decorated with jewel-encrusted pillars of gold and silver. From its ceiling hangs a great pearl which sheds the mild light for the whole kingdom. Rowland finds his

³ Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage*, pp. 432-5, 441-4. Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, pp. 12-15, summarizes versions of the saga. It had considerable influence elsewhere in the romances (*ibid.*, pp. 15-22; JEGP, XLII [1943], 155 ff.; Alice Buchanan, PMLA, XLVII [1932], 327 ff.; Mullen, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-2).

⁴ Joseph Jacobs, FL, II (1891), 182-8; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 22, n. 6.

captive sister but resists the temptation of eating fairy food to which his brothers succumbed. The Elf King enters. In a furious combat Rowland finally fells him with Excalibur, which never strikes in vain. The hero spares the elf on condition that he restore the brothers to life. With bright red liquor from a small crystal phial, the Elf King anoints and resurrects them. The brothers and sister leave for their father's court.

The tale is not so close as the *De Ortu Walwani* episode to the Irish saga, but the correspondences seem sufficient: the abduction of the damsel to a rich stronghold, the search by the hero, the meeting first with the damsel and then with her captor, the combat and the hero's victory with an infallible weapon, the deliverance of the abducted damsel. The Scottish story does not explicitly describe the abductor as a dwarf, but the epithet "elf" probably implies his small stature, and he rules a fabulous, dimly lighted subterranean realm like other dwarf kings of Celtic tradition.⁵ It is impossible, of course, to say at just what point during the tale's long development from saga through romance and ballad to folktale, this counterpart of Cu Roi became king of the fairies and elves and of the traditional underground kingdom.

Both Milocrates and the Elf King, however, are at least partially Celtic figures.

⁵ Cf. the realms of Map's and Giraldus' dwarf kings, of the dwarf host of the Welsh shepherd, and of the Wee, Wee Man—another ballad king of the fairies who displays great strength (see above, pp. 10, 12, 16 and n. 44).

CHAPTER XIV

EVADDEAM

In the *Vulgate Merlin* appears the dwarf Evadeam, who, like the little king in the Dutch *Lancelot*, is apparently a composite figure.

*A very beautiful maiden comes to Arthur's court, gently carrying an aged and hideously deformed dwarf. She asks that Arthur make her ami a knight, for he is valiant and nobly descended. The king consents. Two squires bring the dwarf the richest of armor and a little destrier, and Arthur confers knighthood. The dwarf is to be the knight of the damsel, and they leave in search of adventure. Merlin later tells Blaise that the little knight was enchanted for a term of twelve years by a lady to whom he refused his love; before his transformation he was the most beautiful of creatures. Soon the spell will be lifted. Meanwhile the dwarf and damsel meet the knight Tradelmant, who tries to take her away. The dwarf overcomes his opponent with ease and spares his life on condition that he surrender himself at Arthur's court. Tradelmant, who knows the story of the dwarf, tells Arthur about the disfiguring enchantment and reveals that the dwarf is named Evadeam. He is the son of King Brangoire "de la terre destrangorre" and was named after Tradelmant's own father. The court praises the maiden for her faithfulness to the dwarf. Meanwhile, he and the maiden have again been attacked; this time by five knights, but single-handed he overcomes all of them while Yvain and other knights of Arthur watch in admiration. Not far away, Gawain has offended a damsel, who is riding alone in the forest, by failing to salute her. As a penalty for his discourtesy she condemns him to take the shape of the first person whom he meets. Gawain soon encounters Evadeam; shortly afterwards he becomes a dwarf and Evadeam resumes his proper stature and age. He and the damsel are welcomed at court, and Evadeam is received into the fellowship of the Round Table. Gawain is eventually transformed into his rightful shape by the enchantress whom he offended.*¹

As Chapter IV has already shown, Evadeam's hideousness as a dwarf is traditional. The elaboration of his repulsiveness² is probably

¹ Sommer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 422-4, 451-64.

² "Car il estoit camus & remuses & auoit les sorciels rous & recokillies & la barbe rousse & si longhe quele li batoit jusques pies . si ot les cheuels gros & noirs &

deliberate, as we shall soon see. Traditional also is his prowess, in which he resembles several other dwarfs already discussed, Guivret and the Chevalier Petit, for instance; and Chapter XVI will show that his little horse is also a Celtic inheritance.

Can anything more specific about him be traced to Celtic tradition? The name Evadeam furnishes no help, but that of his father Brangoire does. In the *Vulgate Lancelot* there appears a King Brangor or Brangoire, whom Professor Newstead has already shown to be a counterpart of Bran.³ Brangor is almost the precise equivalent in sound of the Welsh Bran Gawr, "Bran the Giant," and the mabinogi of *Branwen* and various romance episodes preserve the tradition of Bran's giant size.⁴ Now, as we have already seen on several previous occasions, the royal kinsman of Bran is the dwarf Beli. In the *Didot Perceval* the nameless hermit uncle identifiable with Pelles is the son of the Fisher King Bron;⁵ in the *Vulgate Lancelot* and *Queste*, Pelles is the son of the Fisher King.⁶ Pelles, as we know, is derived from Beli, just as the Fisher King is derived from Bran. Then, it is both significant and consistent that in the *Mort Artu* there appears a Belimor, son of the king "des Estranges Illes";⁷ for Belimor is only a slight corruption of Beli Mawr, "Beli the Great." Though Belimor is not explicitly described as a dwarf, like Evadeam he is a knight of great prowess and is given a seat at the Round Table. One remembers that other counterparts of Beli—Bilis, Guivret, the Chevalier Petit—visit Arthur's court and are hospitably treated. The dwarf Evadeam, then, is in part traceable to the dwarf Beli through his royal father, a counterpart of Bran, and Evadeam shares with other counterparts of Beli the trip to Arthur's court and hospitable reception there.

The rest of the story—Evadeam's transformation into a hideous dwarf for refusing his love to a lady, the faithful attendance and love of his true *amie*, his final disenchantment—seems to be a *mélange* of

fais melles & les epaules hautes & corbes & vne grose boche... & auoit les mains grosses & les dois courts & les iambes courtes & leskine longue & ague" (*ibid.*, p. 422).

³ Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 264-70; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-4 and index, see under "Brangor"; Loomis, MLR, XXIV (1929), 420-3; *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 241-2 and index, see under "Brangorre."

⁴ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-4; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 217; MLR, XXIV (1929), 422.

⁵ See above, p. 45.

⁶ See above, p. 48.

⁷ *La mort le roi Artu*, ed. Jean Frappier (Paris, 1936), pp. 113-4. The spelling Belimor comes from one manuscript; variants are Belyor, Belynon, Belinor, Alienor (*ibid.*, p. 113, n. 14).

folk-motifs which survive throughout Europe and which appear most coherently in manifold versions of *The Beauty and the Beast*. A young prince is changed by an enchantress into a monstrous form—serpent, toad, swine, or bear. Ultimately, he is disenchanted by a maiden whose love or pity overcomes her revulsion. Sometimes the critical act in disenchantment is a form of physical contact like the kiss, but it can result simply from the faithful love of the damsel or the fidelity with which she keeps a promise. When the prince resumes his handsome form, the two live happily in marriage.⁸

The stuff of folktale—particularly one so widespread and varied as this one—is malleable to the point of treacherousness; but without claiming direct antecedents at all, let us notice some analogues in traditional literature. In the traditional ballad of "Allison Gross,"⁹ a witch condemns to the form of an ugly worm the young hero who refuses her his love. He is attended by his faithful sister until a fairy queen disenchant him. In a nineteenth-century Greek tale,¹⁰ a fairy woman turns a youth who refuses to marry her into a loathsome serpent, and he remains in this form until a woman who is as beautiful as the enchantress comes to love him. Tam Lin in the ballad of that name is about to pay the penalty of going to Hell for having lived with the Elf-Queen. He is saved when his faithful human mistress pulls him from the fairy procession and faithfully holds him while he changes through several loathsome forms—snake, frog, dog—before resuming his rightful shape.¹¹ In the ballad of "The Queen of Scotland,"¹² the story of which goes back at least in part to the early thirteenth century or before,¹³ Troy Muir rebuffs the Queen's

⁸ See Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, centenary ed. (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1912), pp. 1-4; Johannes Bolte and Georg Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* (Leipzig, 1913), I, pp. 1-9; P. Saintyves, *Les contes de Perrault et les récits parallèles* (Paris, 1923), 407-10; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, D 735.1 (Beauty and the Beast) and cross-references.

⁹ Child, *op. cit.*, II, 313-5.

¹⁰ Bernhard Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 88-91. Child, *op. cit.*, II, p. 314, cites a number of Scandinavian ballads in which an elf-woman or mermaid vainly asks the hero's love, but the youth does not suffer for his refusal.

¹¹ Child, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 335-58.

¹² Child, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 176-7.

¹³ Compare the analogue in the first continuation of the *Conte del Graal*, ed. Roach, I, ll. 6033-8201. Because Carados humiliates his mother's lover, she causes an enchanted serpent to fasten itself on his arm so that in two years he will die. His faithful love Guignier agrees to the only method of deliverance. Carados and

attempt to seduce him. In revenge she causes him to be encircled by a deadly serpent. A passing maiden sacrifices her pap to free him, and the two are happily married.

Although in none of the ballads or tales of this type which I can find is the hero turned into a dwarf for his refusal of love, we have already seen dwarfhood as a form of disfiguring enchantment. In the Highland folktale of *Osgar, Son of Oisin*, the "shaggy little man" was so bespelled; he turns into a handsome prince.¹⁴ Presumably, though we are not told so, in *The Turk and Gowin* Sir Gromer was previously enchanted to dwarf stature. King Auberon's deforming height and hump were given him by a vengeful fairy, who later tried to ameliorate the curse by making him the most beautiful creature in the world.¹⁵

If I may risk what is admittedly a conjecture, the episode of Evadeam may have had its origin in some such fashion as this. The original author knew some tale of a royal youth who, for his refusal to grant love to a witch or fairy, was changed by her into a monster, perhaps a dwarf. The enchanted youth was finally delivered by the loving attentions of a faithful maiden. The author knew, on the other hand, the tradition of a royal dwarf who had great prowess at arms, who visited Arthur's court, and who joined the Round Table. The common factor of disfiguring shape suggested the joining of the stories and prompted the author to elaborate the hideousness of the hero. The resulting fusion makes adequate narrative except for the excrescence of Gawain's enchantment and disenchantment.¹⁶

she are placed in adjacent tubs. When the serpent leaps from one to the other, Carados kills it with his sword, but in doing so cuts off the tip of Guignier's breast. Carados marries Guignier. The prototype for Guignier was the Welsh Tegau Eurvron, famed for fidelity to her husband Caradawc. Cf. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, p. 98.

¹⁴ See above, p. 91.

¹⁵ *Huon*, p. 105.

¹⁶ The author is not clear about Evadeam's disenchantment. Merlin says simply that the spell was to last for twelve years and the time of expiration is imminent. Evadeam himself attributes it to the greeting Gawain gave him in passing, "God give you joy." Such Christian expressions often appear in the ballads as counter-charms (L. K. Wimberly, *Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads* [Chicago, 1928], pp. 377-8). At any rate, both from the folktale and ballad parallels and the emphasis on the faithfulness of Evadeam's *amie*, it seems likely that in such an original version as I have suggested, she was essential to the disenchantment. The damsel who bespells Gawain is obviously a fay: she is lavishly dressed and rides in the forest on a very beautiful palfrey (Sommer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 458-9). Gawain affronts her, not by refusing his love, but by the lesser insult of not saluting her. It may be that this encounter is only a second version of Evadeam's enchantment.

CHAPTER XV

THE SPYING DWARF

Although Chapter III with good reason minimized the influence of real dwarfs as prototypes for those in the romances, there is good reason for tracing at least one important dwarf in romance to the custom of maintaining dwarfs at court. He is the spying dwarf who betrays Tristan and Isolt. I shall summarize the incidents in which he appears from Eilhart's *Tristan* and later point out any significant differences between this account and others:

*Andret brings to the jealous and suspicious Mark a dwarf named Aquitain, who lives near by and who can read all the present and the future in the stars. Wagering his head that Tristan is indeed Isolt's lover, he leads the king to the linden tree, and they climb up to await the lovers' tryst. Tristan espies them by their reflection in the water and thereby spoils the plot. Mark in anger attempts to kill the dwarf, but he escapes. Dynas later finds the creature in the forest, and, not knowing that he has lost the king's favor, brings him back and obtains pardon for him from Mark. Reinstated in the king's graces, the dwarf proposes another scheme. He spreads flour on the floor between the queen's bed and Tristan's, stations Mark with guards outside the door, and hides himself beneath the bed. Tristan is unable to resist his desire; the exertion of his leap to Isolt's couch opens his wound and he stains the bedclothing with blood. At a signal from the dwarf the guards hasten in, and Tristan in the leap back to his own bed touches the flour with his foot. At Mark's orders he is seized, and both he and Isolt are condemned.*¹

A. H. Krappe, to whom this discussion is much indebted, points out inconsistencies in Eilhardt's account.² When Dynas brings Aqu-

¹ Eilhart von Oberg, *Tristan*, ed. Lichtenstein, ll. 3389-3626, 3772-3862; the name appears in l. 3931. In Bérout, *The Romance of Tristan*, ed. A. Ewert (Oxford, 1939), ll. 320, 470, 645, 1328, he is called Frocin. In Thomas he is given no name. In Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolt*, ed. F. Ranke (Berlin, 1930), l. 14,240, he is called Melot petit von Aquitain. For a discussion of the names, see Schoepperle, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 241-2.

² RF, XLV-VI (1931), 95-6.

tain back, the dwarf "regains" the king's favor, which actually he has not yet enjoyed. Furthermore, if he has some sort of home near by, his wandering in the forest does not seem logical. These contradictions seem due to some misunderstanding on the part of Eilhart. It is likely, then, that in the *estoire*, as in the versions of Béroul, Thomas and Gottfried, the dwarf belonged to the court and to Mark.³ Gottfried indicates that the creature is some sort of court entertainer by describing him as "clever and ready of speech."⁴ Like Eilhart, Béroul emphasizes the dwarf's ability to read the stars and gives him a short, hunchbacked body and large head,⁵ realistic physical characteristics of dwarfs. Gottfried records the tradition of the dwarf's astrological skills, but with skepticism;⁶ Thomas, as Bédier deduced, has deliberately divested the creature of his occult powers.⁷ These rationalizations, however, do not prohibit the premise that Aquitain in the *estoire* was a court entertainer who enjoyed the confidence of the king and who possessed highly respected powers of divination.

Aquitain, then, would seem to be patterned after two traditions. Chapter III showed reason to believe, despite the paucity of evidence, that medieval courts knew the custom of retaining dwarfs as fools, who entertained the court and who probably enjoyed considerable liberty of speech and perhaps the confidence of their masters. The clairvoyance of Aquitain, on the other hand, is a power which seems to be derived from supernatural dwarfs of Celtic tradition. One may remember, for instance, the foresight of the Welsh dwarf king who foretells Herla's wedding⁸ and that of the dwarf hermit in *Fergus*,⁹ who has been shown to be a Celtic figure in another connection. More pertinent still are some of the Irish dwarfs discussed in Chapter II. In *The Journeys of the Tuath Luchra*, Aed, the court dwarf of Fergus, is a "poet and man of science,"¹⁰ a great favorite of the king and the Ulstermen; he may have the same powers of vision attributed to the leprechaun Esirt, who is bard and seer for King Iubdan. *Cnu dbeireoil* is a dwarf whom Finn takes with him to his court. There

³ Béroul, *op. cit.*, ll. 320 ff. He is called Mark's dwarf in l. 385. Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 195 ff. Gottfried, *op. cit.*, ll. 14,238 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 14,246-9.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, ll. 320 ff., 1329.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, ll. 14,241 ff.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 195 ff., esp. pp. 196-7, n.

⁸ See above, pp. 9-10.

⁹ See above, p. 47.

¹⁰ Cross and Slover, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

the dwarf plays enchanting music and, with his wife, foresees and announces to the Fianna all future events.¹¹ Aquitain comes closest to these Irish dwarfs in that he combines supernatural power with an official court position.

Cormac's Glossary, compiled in Ireland in the tenth century,¹² contains the story of a court fool who like Aquitain betrays the adulterous wife of his king:

Finn, grandson of Baiscne, had as his fool Lomna the Coward.... Once... it happened that Finn was in Teffla with his Fiann, and he went on a hunting excursion. Lomna stayed at home. While he was walking outside he found Coirpre, a champion of the Luigni, lying secretly with Finn's wife. Then the woman entreated Lomna to conceal it, but indeed it was grievous to him to betray Finn. Then Finn comes back. [Lomna cut an ogham on a four-cornered rod which revealed the truth to Finn].... Then Finn understood the story, and he became disgusted with the woman. So the woman knew that it was from Lomna, and she went to Coirpre that he might come and kill the fool. That then was done, and the fool's head was cut off, and Coirpre took it away with him. Finn, at close of day, comes back... and found the headless body. "A body here without a head," says Finn, "whose is the body?" Then Finn put his thumb into his mouth, and he chanted by... "illumination of song," and he said: "...This is Lomna's body.... His enemies have taken the head from him." [The murderers are soon caught and killed.]¹³

Finn's failure to recognize the headless body immediately means that Lomna is no dwarf. But neither this factor nor the reversal of sympathy to the side of the lovers in the *Tristan* story obscures the connections between the Irish and the romance episodes. Lomna fulfills the same general function for Finn as Aquitain does for Mark. Although Lomna is no dwarf, other Irish dwarfs were traditionally known as such entertainers. Both Lomna and Aquitain reveal to their masters how their wives have been unfaithful. It is possible also that in the *estoire* the Tristan dwarf, like Lomna, was killed; and indeed in Bérout's version he does die, beheaded like Lomna, but by Mark himself.¹⁴ It is unnecessary to claim that the ancient Irish tale is

¹¹ See above, p. 8.

¹² Whitley Stokes, *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1891-94), 149; Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

¹³ Stokes, *loc. cit.*, 176 ff.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, II. 1327-50. Frocin is killed because he gives away the secret of Mark's ears. On this incident see Helaine Newstead, *Romance Philology*, XI (1958), 246 ff.

the direct source of the *Tristan* episode, but surely that source was Celtic and probably Irish.

A dwarf similar to Aquitain is to be found in *Floriant et Florete*, a French romance dated in the third quarter of the thirteenth century: ¹⁵

In an orchard near the walls of Palermo, Floriant and Gawain have been holding assignations with Florete, daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, and Blanchandine. One night the Emperor's dwarf, noted for his slander, spies them. He rushes immediately to the palace and wakes his master with the news, but the lovers escape to Arthur's camp. ¹⁶

The episode bears resemblances to that in the *Tristan*. The dwarf of a royal court spies upon the tryst of lovers in an orchard or garden and informs his master. In *Floriant* the lovers flee from the Emperor to Arthur, whereas in the versions of Eilhart and Béroul, the lovers flee from Mark to the forest. ¹⁷ Since *Floriant* is of comparatively late date, it is possible that the author has loosely adapted the *Tristan* episode to his own purposes.

Another figure analogous to the *Tristan* dwarf appears in an incident in *Perlesvaus*:

Gawain comes to a strong hold in the forest and is effusively welcomed by a dwarf, whose high station in the castle is attested by his command over the squires whom he orders to care for the guest. The mistress of the castle welcomes Gawain, but is distraught because her absent husband, "Marins li jalous," hates Gawain and has warned his wife against loving the knight — even though she has never seen him. She entertains Gawain courteously, and although he is powerfully attracted to her, he does not attempt to win her love. That night the dwarf makes his bed at Gawain's feet, but later when all others are asleep he rows up the river to his master's lodge and accuses the lady of adultery with Gawain. When she misses the dwarf in the morning, the lady suspects his treachery and beseeches Gawain to remain close by. In a jealous rage Marin returns, has her led to a cold spring, and beats her with rods until Gawain comes out of concealment to protest their innocence. Marin promises to believe his wife

¹⁵ Ed. H. F. Williams, *Floriant et Florete* (Ann Arbor, 1947). For date, see Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, II, p. 254.

¹⁶ *Floriant*, ll. 4444 ff.

¹⁷ Eilhart, *op. cit.*, ll. 4368 ff. Béroul, *op. cit.*, ll. 1271 ff.

guiltless if Gawain overcomes him in combat; but as they ride toward each other, the husband swerves, runs her through with his lance and escapes into the castle. Gawain catches the fleeing dwarf and tramples him to death.¹⁸

It has been shown elsewhere that in earlier versions of this episode Marin probably had ample cause for jealousy and that Gawain was the lover of the lady.¹⁹ The *Perlesvaus* incident itself suggests that it has been expurgated. The circumstances under which Gawain spends the night at the castle are compromising: the husband is away and the knight is strongly drawn toward the lady. The husband's name seems a misunderstanding of some such term as "li maris, li jalous,"²⁰ and it is odd that he has apparently acquired this designation from his jealousy of a knight whom neither he nor his wife has ever met before. At any rate, Marin's dwarf resembles the type of figure represented by Aquitain and Lomna: the trusted retainer who accuses his master's wife of adultery and who suffers death for his part in the intrigue. Whether he shared a common origin with the *Tristan* dwarf is impossible to say.

¹⁸ *Perlesvaus*, I, ll. 1234-1349.

¹⁹ Loomis, PMLA, XLV (1930), 432-8, esp. 435-7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 436.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MOUNT OF THE DWARF

Dwarfs in the romances very often appear on horseback, and usually there is nothing extraordinary or significant about the steeds on which they ride. In a few instances, however, they are associated with supernatural or with curious mounts which it will be interesting to note.

In Chapter IX we have already seen that in *Erec* Guivret bestows upon Enide a beautiful palfrey whose body is the color of gold and whose head is part white, part black with a bright green stripe between. We also learned that in *Escanor* the marvelous horse Gringalet, which Gawain wins, was originally presented to the knight Escanor by the dwarf Belinor as a gift from the fairy Esclarmonde. Gringalet is not brilliantly parti-colored like the palfrey in *Erec*, but in Wolfram's *Parzival*, the Gringulet given to Gawain has red ears.¹ Guivret has already been identified in large measure with the dwarf Beli, and the dwarf Belinor shows by his name that he is a counterpart of the same Welsh figure. It appears likely, however, that the supernatural horse did not actually belong to Beli himself in tradition. Guivret's sisters, who are counterparts of Morgain, owned the palfrey in Hartmann's *Erec*;² Esclarmonde, who indicates in several ways that she too is a counterpart of the famous *fée*, owned Gringalet; in other romances Morgain or her counterpart owns a similar supernatural steed.³ Guivret and Belinor, then, may owe their association with the palfrey and with Gringalet to Beli's original kinship with Modron, the Welsh prototype of Morgain. In any event, both marvelous animals are indisputably Celtic. A good case has been made out for the derivation of Gringalet or Guingalet from the Old Welsh compound *guin-calet*, "white and hardy."⁴ Several of the steeds in the Welsh *Dream of Rhonabwy* are marvelously colored; that of Iddawg,

¹ *Parzival*, 339, 26-9.

² Hartmann, *Erec*, ll. 5188-5223.

³ Loomis, *Speculum*, XX (1945), 183-92; *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 88-91.

⁴ *Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon (Oxford, 1925), pp. 90 ff.; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 158-9. The compound is not recorded in extant Welsh literature, but it probably existed and would have been, according to Professor Tolkien, some such mutated form as Gwyngalet.

for example, has a yellow body and legs partly green.⁵ In *The Journeys of the Tuath Luchra*, Iubdan owns a gold-colored horse with a crimson mane and green legs,⁶ and two other Irish sagas describe supernatural white cows or heifers with red ears.⁷

Another unusual mount is that of the Petit Chevalier in the first continuation of the *Conte del Graal*. His destrier on first appearance "fu petis a desmesure."⁸ Later, when Garahe starts back to fight again with the dwarf, he looks down the road and sees his antagonist approaching on his horse; the Petit Chevalier "sambla singe sor levrier."⁹ In the *Vulgate Merlin*, Evadeam, another dwarf who accomplishes great feats at arms, rides on a "petit destrier."¹⁰ These small steeds might be dismissed simply as the invention of the authors of the romances were it not for the fact that Celtic folklore produces horses similarly adapted to the size of their dwarf riders. Of the dwarf hosts of Eliodorus in Giraldus' tale it was related: "Equos habebant suae competentes modicitati, leporariis in quantitate conformes."¹¹ More recent Welsh and Cornish folklore describes the horses of fairies as being the size of dogs or hares,¹² and the horse of Iubdan in the Irish saga is mistaken at first sight for a hare.¹³ The two little horses of the romances, then, are traditionally Celtic animals.

The most curious mount of all appears in *Diu Crône*:

The knights and ladies of Arthur's court try on a glove which tests the virtue of one who dons it. If the wearer is free of all blame, the glove renders the right half of the body invisible. All but Arthur and Gawain fail. There enters a beautifully dressed knight riding on a "steinbock." He brings the second magic glove from Frau Saelde and proposes to counsel Gawain for his coming journey to the Grail by demonstrating the use of the ring of Frau Saelde, the jewel from the girdle of Finbeus, and the two gloves. Arthur consents despite the

⁵ Loth, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 352-3, 355, 357.

⁶ See above, p. 7.

⁷ Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran* (London, 1895), I, pp. 71, 75; A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland* (London, 1906), II, p. 138. For other brilliantly colored supernatural horses and similar animals from Celtic sources, see Zenker, *ZSFL*, XLVIII (1925-26), 39 ff.; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 90-1.

⁸ Ed. Roach, I, ll. 14,604-5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 15,062.

¹⁰ Sommer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 423.

¹¹ Giraldus, *Opera*, VI, p. 76.

¹² Thomas Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk Custom* (London, 1930), p. 56; Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p. 74.

¹³ See above, p. 7.

warning of a young maiden who prophesies impending danger. When the "ritter mit dem bock" pulls on both gloves, he disappears. A vain search is begun for him under tables and benches and beneath the skirts of the women. Finally, still invisible, the knight calls from the courtyard to deride the searchers. He is now going to return the treasures to Finbeus, from whom they were unjustly taken. All the gates and doors are bolted, but to no avail. The knight suddenly appears on his "steinbock" and spurs his mount to a tremendous leap over the heads of all to freedom.¹⁴

That the "ritter mit dem bock" is a dwarf is evident from the search for him beneath furniture and the skirts of the women. That he is a Celtic dwarf from Heinrich's French source is indicated by the specific mention of his addressing Arthur in French. Furthermore, it is surely significant that several other dwarfs appear in the romances bearing talismans for similar tests, since such tests are Celtic in origin.¹⁵ Earlier in *Diu Crône*, a dwarf the size of a six-year-old brings to Arthur's court the cup which tests faithfulness in love.¹⁶ The Chevalier Petit possesses a shield which tests the probity of him who fights with it.¹⁷ In the *Chevalier du Païegau*, it is a dwarf who brings the popinjay to be presented to the most beautiful damsel,¹⁸ and in *Wigalois* a dwarf accompanies the bird which is similarly awarded.¹⁹ In the English ballad of "The Boy and the Mantle," which apparently goes back to an earlier, Arthurian version of the mantle test, the bearer of the testing mantle, knife and cup is a "little boy" or dwarf.²⁰ The "ritter mit dem bock" is, then, a dwarf from Celtic tradition; and although the agile "steinbock" which he rides is a German animal,²¹ there is good reason for believing that this curious mount may be Celtic too.

¹⁴ Heinrich von dem Türlin, *op. cit.*, ll. 22,990-25,549.

¹⁵ Warnatsch, *Der Mantel*, esp. p. 58; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 85-100; T. P. Cross, MP, X (1913), 289-99.

¹⁶ Heinrich, *op. cit.*, ll. 946 ff. This dwarf too rides a curious mount, a horse which is part fish. This feature would seem to be an invention of the poet, but see below, p. 118, n. 7.

¹⁷ See above, p. 68.

¹⁸ Ed. Ferdinand Heuckenkamp (Halle, 1896), p. 7.

¹⁹ Wirnt von Gravenberg, *op. cit.*, ll. 2571 ff.

²⁰ Child, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 271 ff.

²¹ Although he failed to recognize this figure as a dwarf, Lütjens, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-8, gives a brief treatment of the mounts of other German romance dwarfs. Several, including Alberich, Laurin, and Antilois, ride steeds whose size is compared to that of *Reben* or *Hirschen*, and once to that of "ein geiz" (*Laurin*, ed. G. Holz

We have just seen that some medieval Irish and Welsh dwarfs ride upon mounts adapted to their size. More important still is the dwarf king of Map's story, a figure to whom we have referred time and again as a prototype of Arthurian dwarfs. Like the *Diu Crône* dwarf, he rides into a royal court mounted upon a goat.²² Nineteenth-century Welsh, Cornish, and Breton folklore testifies that dwarfs and fairies are often associated with goats and that they even assume the form of goats.²³ One Cornish folktale collected half a century ago describes the piskies, a type of diminutive fairy, as riding wild goats down the sides of the rocky carns of Cornwall.²⁴

Striking confirmation for the goat as a traditional mount of Celtic dwarfs is afforded by a unique mosaic in the cathedral of Otranto in southern Italy. Laid in marble and colored stone in 1165, it depicts a man labeled "Rex Arturus" riding on an animal instantly recognizable as a goat.²⁵

To be sure, Arthur is never depicted as a dwarf; but just as he assumed the roles of other supernatural kings—the lord of Avalon, the Maimed King, the king sleeping in the hollow mountain²⁶—he also became the king of the Antipodes, who, according to one tradition, were dwarfs. In Chrétien's *Erec*, Arthur appears as the overlord of Bilis, dwarf king of the Antipodes.²⁷ The *Normannicus Draco*, written by Étienne de Rouen 1167-1169, relates an imaginary correspondence among King Henry II, the Breton leader Rollandus, and Arthur King of the Antipodes.²⁸ The *Gesta regum Britanniae*, written about 1235 perhaps by Guillaume de Rennes, condemns Mordred's rashness in attacking Arthur, "quem totus metuit mundus,

[Halle, 1897], I, 342). Lütjens conjectures that such dwarfs were originally nature spirits riding on just such animals and that the authors employed the weaker form of a comparison to indulge courtly tastes. Heinrich may have been aware of such a tradition; but with the strong indications that the dwarf himself is a Celtic importation, it seems likely that the German poet found the goat in his French source and then adapted it to German tradition, changing the French *bouc* to *steinbock*.

²² See above, p. 9.

²³ Marie Trevelyan, *Folklore and Folk-Stories of Wales* (London, 1908), p. 80; Sikes, *British Goblins*, pp. 53-5; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, I, p. 82; Bottrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9; Sébillot, *Le folklore de France*, I, pp. 266, 161.

²⁴ Enys Tregarthen, *Piskey Folk* (New York, 1940), pp. 117 ff.

²⁵ Émile Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Rome, 1904), I, pp. 488-90; Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, p. 36, figures 9 and 9a.

²⁶ Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 29, n. 1, 2, 3.

²⁷ See above, Chapter V.

²⁸ Ed. R. Howlett (London, 1885), II, pp. 696-707. Cf. J. S. P. Tatlock, MP, XXXI (1933), 1-18, 113-25; Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 289 ff.

quem totus obhorret Antipodum populus." ²⁹ Furthermore, in a nineteenth-century Welsh folktale, Arthur is depicted as the sleeping guardian of a treasure in a cave, from which his warriors drive out a man who attempts a theft. ³⁰ This story significantly parallels the tale of Giraldus in which Eliodorus was excluded from the realm of the dwarfs because he attempted a theft from the king's son; and Chapter V has already identified that realm with that of the Antipodes. Finally, in a tale evidently carried into Sicily by the Breton conteurs and picked up there by Gervase of Tilbury in 1191, a groom who has followed a runaway palfrey into a beautiful subterranean country within Aetna finds Arthur there as king. ³¹ Arthur restores the horse to the groom just as the lord of the land within the Derbyshire Peak restores a sow to another human visitor in another story by Gervase, already noted in Chapter V. That subterranean realm also was identified with the country of the Antipodes.

Arthur, then, was a traditional king of the Antipodes; and as Chapter V showed, their land was clearly identified by the medieval Welsh with the subterranean realm peopled by noble dwarfs. Arthur's goat mount in the Otranto mosaic must have been acquired by him when he took over the lordship of the Antipodean land in which the goat was a traditional mount of the dwarfs. This legend about the British monarch was evidently carried to southern Italy by Breton conteurs accompanying the Normans, who had swarmed into Apulia in the second decade of the eleventh century and who had established a dominion there by 1052. ³²

If there were a strong tradition for such a mount for Celtic dwarfs—and the Otranto mosaic so implies—why has it survived only in Map's story, the episode from *Diu Crône*, and a late Cornish folktale? The amorousness of the goat led to his association in classical and Teutonic mythologies with fertility gods and their rites. ³³ Encroaching

²⁹ Ed. F. Michel (London, 1862), p. 151.

³⁰ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, pp. 458-66, 492-7; Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 296-7.

³¹ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 12; Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 288-9; Arturo Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizione del medio evo* (Turin, 1892-93), II, pp. 303 ff.; Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, n. 1, 250 ff.; Oman, FL, LV (1944), 13; E. G. Gardner, *Arthurian Legend in Italy* (London, 1930), pp. 11-4; J. A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable* (London, 1932), pp. 98 ff.

³² *Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. C. W. Previté-Orton (Cambridge, 1952), I, pp. 507 ff.; J. W. Barlow, *A Short History of the Normans in South Europe* (London, 1886), pp. 61-2.

³³ N. W. Thomas, "Animals," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 517-8; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed. (New York, 1945), pp. 390-1, 454-5, 477.

Christianity tended to identify such deities with Satan. With them, the goat passed into the service of the devil, and the same amorousness which had exalted him before then made him into a medieval symbol of lechery and general evil.³⁴ It is not hard to imagine why the legend of the noble Arthur riding upon a goat survives only in the permanent form of a mosaic or why the writers of romance found it distasteful to mount noble and richly dressed dwarf kings upon the backs of goats.³⁵

³⁴ J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), I, p. 594; *Ancren Riwele*, trans. James Morton (London, 1926), p. 76; A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Vices and Virtues in Medieval Art* (London, 1931), p. 61.

³⁵ I have dealt fully with the Otranto mosaic in "The Dwarf King in Celtic Folklore and Arthurian Romance," unpublished master's essay (Columbia University, 1947), Chapter IV. Cf. also Loomis, MP, XXXVIII (1941), 289-302.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STRENGTH OF THE DWARFS

Many of the dwarfs presented in the preceding chapters show amazing strength. Obviously the authors of romance did not find such prowess in court dwarfs though such real dwarfs apparently entertained their masters by emulating knightly exercises.¹ Instead, it has been pretty clear that each of the strong dwarfs ultimately derives his strength from one or more Celtic prototypes. The prowess of Milocrates and the Elf King seems to have come from Curoi, and the extravagant strength of the Turk from Curoi or from the supernatural helpers of Celtic folktale or from both. Presumably, the numerous powerful counterparts of Beli like the Petit Chevalier and Evadeam, for instance, derive their prowess from that Welsh figure. Since Beli was originally a god,² in all probability he possessed supernatural strength, and this supposition is confirmed in a Welsh poem by Madog Dwygraig (fl. 1320), who praises a patron as "a mighty man with bloody spear like the sweep of Beli Mawr."³

There are some other powerful dwarfs in the romances. In Raoul de Houdenc's *Vengeance Raguidel*, the dwarf Druidain fights Gawain for the favor of Ydain, and although he loses the combat, gives a good account of himself.⁴ In *Diu Crône*, the dwarf messenger who brings the testing cup to Arthur's court overpowers the spiteful Kay and thoroughly humiliates him.⁵ In the traditional ballad of "The Boy and the Mantle," the dwarf kills a wild boar with only the aid of a knife.⁶ The prowess of these three may have been copied from that of the numerous Arthurian counterparts of Beli or may have come

¹ See above, pp. 24-5.

² See above, pp. 37-8.

³ Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy*, pp. 176-7, shows that the Welsh tradition of a powerful Beli was widespread, but other citations quoted by him may apply to other Belis, of which there were several (*ibid.*, pp. 172 ff.; Loomis, PMLA, LVI [1941], 920, n. 191).

⁴ Ed. M. Friedwagner (Halle, 1897), ll. 4812-31.

⁵ *Diu Crône*, ll. 3028-41.

⁶ Child, *op. cit.*, I, p. 273.

from such Celtic dwarfs as the *afanc* in *Peredur*.⁷ At any rate, supernatural strength was a traditional attribute of many Arthurian dwarfs, and the source of that attribute was Celtic.

That the authors of romance did not on their own initiative give such prowess to Arthurian dwarfs is proved by their attempts to disguise or reduce it. To let the hero be humiliated in combat by a midget was not unthinkable—in their first fight the Petit Chevalier overthrows Garahes and plants his foot on the knight's neck—but such an episode risked bringing an incredulous sneer to the face of a lord who was weary and sore from the buffets of a day's jousting with stout six-footers like himself. It was better, for example, to give normal stature to the powerful Belias le Noir, the victor over Sarra in the *Vulgate Lancelot*, and to give dwarf stature to a boastful dwarf retainer. Similarly, the dwarf counterpart of Pelles who attacks Gawain at Corbenic has had his strength reduced to brashness and insulting speech, and his weapon to a *baston*.

This apparent tendency to disguise or to reduce the supernatural strength of the dwarfs would seem to offer a plausible explanation for the fact that a number of dwarfs in the romances launch an attack of force or insult without provocation or motivation. Let us recall the three analogous episodes from *Fergus*, the *Vulgate Lancelot*, and *Escanor* which were summarized at the end of Chapter VII: the hero comes to a pavilion or castle where he encounters a dwarf who reviles him and who strikes his horse with a *baston*—for no apparent reason at all. In *Fergus* and *Escanor* the dwarfs are thrashed for their conduct by the hero. Similarly truculent or insulting dwarfs appear on a number of other occasions. In *Lanzelet*, as we noted in Chapter IX, the dwarf before Pluris abruptly strikes with his whip first the hero's horse, then the hero himself. Lanzelet disdains to fight with one of so low a station. In Chrétien's *Erec*, Yder's spiteful and insulting dwarf uses a scourge to strike Guinevere's damsel and then Erec.⁸ In *Yder*, the hero escorts a damsel into a strange castle and finds there a surly

⁷ See above, pp. 13-4. In a curious episode in the *Queste*, Lancelot on his search for the Grail castle comes to the gloomy Lake Marchoise. Suddenly a mounted knight dressed in black armor rises from the water, kills Lancelot's horse, and then vanishes (Sommer, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 104). The attacker is not described as a dwarf, but one is reminded of the dwarf who brings the testing cup in *Dieu Crône*, II, 946 ff. Sent by the King of the Sea, the little messenger is covered with fishscales and rides a horse which is partly a fish. He too displays great prowess in overthrowing Kay. The knight from Lake Marchoise is also reminiscent of the *Peredur afanc*, who lives in or by the water and who is similarly hostile and strong.

⁸ *Erec*. II. 155-233.

dwarf who insults the lady and tries unsuccessfully to hit Yder with the spit.⁹ In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, the dwarf Groadain without provocation reviles Gawain and wounds his horse with a sword.¹⁰ In *Hunbaut*, that knight and Gawain arrive at the castle of the King of the Isles and find by the gate a hideous dwarf whose custom it is to wager four insults with every newcomer. He blackguards the two knights until Gawain kills him.¹¹ There are other dwarfs who act similarly,¹² but these are enough to show the romance convention of a dwarf who without provocation attacks the hero, his horse, or an accompanying damsel and who reviles the hero with an insolence likewise unprovoked. I suspect that such apparently unmotivated behavior is the result of the tendency to reduce or conceal the supernatural strength with which elsewhere hostile Celtic dwarfs and their Arthurian counterparts like the Petit Chevalier fight the hero and show their traditional prowess. Certainly the writers of romance did not find the model for such outrageous conduct in real court dwarfs. No matter how great a freedom of speech and action was allowed them by indulgent lords, it is manifestly absurd to believe that they were able to amuse themselves and their masters by unprovoked attacks on visitors or strangers.

⁹ Ed. Heinrich Gelzer (Dresden, 1913), ll. 3770 ff.

¹⁰ Sommer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 281.

¹¹ Ed. Hermann Breuer (Dresden, 1914), ll. 1558 ff.

¹² Malory, *Works*, I, p. 108; *Didot Perceval*, pp. 156 ff.; Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 359; Chrétien, *Yvain*, ll. 4103 ff.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

All the dwarfs who play important parts in the romances have been presented, with the exception of a few better relegated to the appendix. Reference to Celtic tradition and specific identifications have shown, I hope, how much the Arthurian dwarfs owe their Celtic forebears: their beauty or hideousness; their extraordinary mounts; their preternatural strength; their royal or noble station and the concomitant realm and castle; the characteristic roles of gracious host, combative opponent, truculent servant, supernatural helper,¹ abductor, seer and betraying spy; their association with magic vessels like the Grail and with testing talismans. Once again the Celtic origin of the *matière de Bretagne* is confirmed.

Especially striking has been the contribution of Wales, and this mainly in the figure of Beli. The specific evidence surviving about him in Wales is scant. Apparently he was a Celtic god euhemerized into a king of Britain, as he appears in *Lludd and Llefelys* and in genealogical tradition. But his name, his association with Annwn, and his relatives Bran and Modron permitted us to trace him to the romances and to show that he was originally a dwarf, a fact confirmed by the analogous dwarf kings in the tales by Map and Giraldus. The number of Beli's counterparts and the diversity of their roles are extraordinary. He appears as the benign hermit uncle of Perceval and as the usually hospitable Pelles, king of Corbenic. He appears as a hostile, combative dwarf—or his normal-sized double—in the figures of Pelles again, the Petit Chevalier, Belias le Noir, Druas, the Tertre Devee dwarf, and Karrioz. He appears as a noble dwarf, usually a king, in the characters of Bilis, Guivret, the Chevalier Petit, Auberon, the dwarf king in the Dutch *Lancelot*, Evadeam, and Belimor. In *Escanor*, as the dwarf Belinor he acts as a servant for his mistress, and there is reason to suspect that some other dwarf menials may ultimately owe their existence to him: several truculent dwarf porters who insult the hero and strike his horse before the tents or castles of

¹ Except for Auberon.

hostile lords, and the messengers and servants associated with Morgain la Fée and her counterparts. The influence of Beli on the dwarfs of the romances was strikingly extensive and testifies once again to the importance of the Welsh stage in the development of the Arthurian legend.

The changes which the Celtic dwarfs underwent as they became part of romance *matière* are interesting in themselves and informative of the ways of popular transmission. First, a number of Arthurian dwarfs represent a fusion of two or more prototypes. The dwarf in *The Turk and Gowin* is a combination of three: Curoi, the supernatural dwarf helper, and the Welsh dwarf who conducts his guest to a subterranean realm. The dwarf king in the Dutch *Lancelot* appears to be derived from Arawn, from the dwarf king of the romances—in turn traceable to Beli—and perhaps from the cuckolded dwarf. Evadeam is a counterpart of Beli and seems also to have been given the role of a youth enchanted by a sorceress for the refusal of his love. Auberon owes most of his characteristics to Beli and to Celtic tradition, but he apparently inherited his name from the German dwarf Alberich and his role as supernatural helper from their common ancestor. Teodelain and Tidogolain owe their names to Gleodalen, a sub-king of Bilis, and ultimately perhaps to Gwyddolwyn Gorr; their handsomeness and musical skill to dwarfs of Welsh and Irish tradition; and their roles as companion and provider to similar parts played by the romance dwarf king.

Second, in dealing with the counterparts of Beli, the conteurs and authors of romance were faced with the problem of diverse roles. The fact that in the *Vulgate Lancelot* Pelles appears to visiting knights as both a reviling, combative dwarf and the gracious host indicates that the Grail complex attributed both roles to the counterparts of the Welsh dwarf. The solutions to this embarrassing discrepancy were several. One was simply to concentrate on one role and to ignore the other. The hermit uncle in the *Didot Perceval*, for instance, is wholly benign; the Petit Chevalier shows nothing but hostility toward the intruding Garahe. Another solution was to split the single character in two and assign a role to each. The author of the *Vulgate Lancelot*, for example, leaves the truculent dwarf in the Grail castle nameless and turns to elaborate the nobility of Pelles in the latter part of the romance. Again, attempts were made to assign both the hostile and gracious roles of Beli to one character and to reconcile the discrepancy in terms of events. Hence, Guivret, Auberon, and the

dwarf in the Dutch *Lancelot* are at first hostile toward the hero, then become his fast friend.

Third, and what is perhaps most interesting, are the ways in which the supernatural attributes of Celtic dwarfs have been reduced or obscured. Auberon, the dwarf of the Dutch *Lancelot*, Evadeam, and the Turk preserve in varying degrees their strongly supernatural characteristics, but many others do not. The clairvoyance of the Irish ancestors of Aquitaine has been changed to astrological skill in the versions of Eilhart and Béroul and to spiteful cleverness by the skeptical Thomas and Gottfried. Although some dwarfs like the Turk, Evadeam and the Petit Chevalier retain great strength, such prowess has been reduced in many other dwarfs for what would appear to be the demands of realism. Even Guivret, who retains notable strength at arms, is permitted to overthrow Erec only by error in the dark and only because of the hero's weakened condition. Another device for rationalizing the strength of the dwarfs was that of fission. Belias le Noir and Druas have each been divided into a powerful warrior of normal stature, who overthrows a knightly opponent, and a dwarf servant. Still again, the dwarf might be reduced in station to a nameless inferior or menial. Then, what seems originally to have been a bloody struggle with the dwarf or even a victory for the dwarf as in the Petit Chevalier episode becomes only a futile attack with a *baston* like that of the dwarfs at Corbenic and Tertre Devee or an attack against the hero's horse or merely reviling speech. Likewise rationalized or simply faded are the magnificent realms of the Celtic dwarfs. The fabulousness of Annwn or *Kaer Siddi* survives as notable splendor in the castles of Pelles, of the Petit Chevalier, and of the wounded knight, of Hartmann's Guivret, and of Auberon. The innumerable subjects of Map's dwarf king are Bilis' by implication; for Auberon they have become an army of one hundred thousand; for Guivret a force of a thousand and an unspecified number of liegemen; for the Dutch *Lancelot* dwarf a company of five hundred knights. Celtic horses adapted to the size of their dwarf riders appear only in the mounts of the Petit Chevalier and Evadeam, and the probably traditional goat mount only in the *Diu Crône* episode and in the Otranto mosaic. Some of these reductions of the supernatural may have been due simply to fading, but most would seem the result of efforts to adapt fantastic Celtic dwarf lore to demands of courtly taste and realism.

Despite these several modifications of the original material, the

patient reader has been convinced, I hope, of the Celticity of Arthurian dwarfs and the identifications which I have proposed. The important dwarfs of Arthurian romance owe their existence not to the sheer inventiveness of the writers of romance or to those dwarfs retained by noble houses, but to those occasions centuries earlier when Celtic bards recited their tales to their kings and when at humbler gatherings gifted Celtic peasants added imaginatively to old myths and legends.

APPENDIX

THE DWARF WHO DRIVES THE CART

In Chrétien's *Charrette*, Lancelot, who has lost his horse, meets a cart of the type used to expose criminals to the public. He asks the driver, a taciturn dwarf who carries a long goad, for news of Guinevere. The dwarf replies that if the knight will climb into the cart, he will have news of the queen on the morrow. Lancelot hesitates, then gets in. After riding through a town where the citizens shout taunts at the knight, they come to a tower. There Lancelot and Gawain, who has followed, are splendidly entertained by the mistress. She shows her guests three beds, one more splendid than the others, which Lancelot insists upon taking despite the warning of the lady that he will suffer for his presumption. At midnight a flaming lance comes down from the rafters and grazes Lancelot's side. He extinguishes the fire and then goes back to sleep. The next morning the two knights depart.¹

This incident should be compared with two others in which there appear truculent dwarfs who have already been identified as counterparts of Beli. In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, Gawain arrives at Corbenic, sees the Maimed King, attends a sumptuous feast, and then is left alone. A reviling dwarf enters, tries to beat the knight with a *baston*, and predicts great shame for him. A damsel comes in to advise him not to lie upon a certain splendid bed unless he is armed. As soon as Gawain reclines upon the bed, a flaming lance smites him in the shoulder, then vanishes. Later, he fights a fierce combat with a mysterious knight and swoons. The damsel heals Gawain with the Grail, but he is seized by many persons and bound to a cart in the courtyard. On the morrow, an old woman drives the cart through the town, and the inhabitants hurl insults and offal at the departing knight.²

In the episode of the Petit Chevalier in the first continuation of the *Conte del Graal*, Garahes enters a splendid, empty castle. He finds three fine beds in one chamber and sits upon one of them; in another room is the largest bed he has ever seen, richly covered with silk. In a garden he later encounters the huge, wounded knight, a counterpart

¹ *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, ll. 347-542.

² Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 343-7. See above, pp. 51-20.

of Bran in his role as Maimed King. The Petit Chevalier appears, strikes Garahes with a dart, and provokes him to fight. In the combat he overthrows Garahes, but permits him to depart on condition that he return to fight in a year. As Garahes leaves, the people who now throng the streets mock him and pelt him with offal.³

Apparently, all three stories are variant versions of an episode which included a visit to the Grail castle, the adventure of the Perilous Bed, the hero's encounter with a hostile dwarf, and the hero's humiliation. The original story is most clearly preserved in the *Vulgate Lancelot*, least clearly in *Charrette*. In Chrétien's version, the dwarf, who in the other two episodes is clearly a counterpart of Beli, has been substituted for the old woman who drives the cart away from Corbenic in the *Vulgate Lancelot*. The author of Chrétien's source took the incident from its original context and used the ride in the cart and the consequent humiliation as a test of Lancelot's devotion to Love and to Guinevere.⁴

GROADAIN

The dwarf Groadain appears as one of the central figures in a long-winded episode in the *Vulgate Lancelot*.⁵ Apparently the author of the romance attempted with little success to combine several separate motifs. The resulting story, as will be apparent, is so poorly motivated and is so much a *mélange* that I have kept it for the appendix and even here will try to treat it as briefly as possible.

Gawain and several companions of the Round Table come to the Fountain of the Pine, where a strange knight alternately weeps and laughs at the sight of a shield hanging on the tree. After several of Arthur's knights make inquiries and are unhorsed for their curiosity, a fat, hunched dwarf, whose name is later revealed as Groadain, rides up and belabors the strange knight with an oak stick. The knight meekly submits and follows the dwarf away. Gawain follows and comes upon a rich pavilion which houses a beautiful damsel. Groadain abruptly appears and kills Gawain's horse with a sword. Gawain

³ *Continuations*, ed. Roach, I, ll. 14,433-826. See above, p. 52.

⁴ Professor Loomis has analyzed the *Charrette* episode in more detail in *Arthurian Tradition*, Chapter XXX, and has pointed out the Irish analogues for the Perilous Bed adventure and for the cart itself. The author of the *Vulgate Lancelot* uses Chrétien's version of the cart incident (Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 163-7) and later invents a spurious episode which sends Bohors and the Damsel of the Lake to Arthur's court in the same dwarf-driven cart (*ibid.*, pp. 215-7).

⁵ Sommer, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 277-309.

angrily seizes him, but the dwarf continues to spit insults. Threatened with death unless he tells the secret of the strange knight, the dwarf dispatches a servant to bring the knight from a cave beneath the earth and explains the incident at the fountain to Gawain. Groadain is the uncle of the beautiful damsel. When her father, a knight of high lineage, was on his deathbed, he intrusted her and his great lands to Groadain his brother. The damsel and the knight, who is Hector, love each other, but Groadain has made them promise to wait for a year in complete obedience to him. Meanwhile Hector longs to fight a certain Segurades who is besieging the Lady of Roestoc, but his fiancée has exacted a promise that he will not fight without her permission. Hence, when Hector went earlier to the Fountain of the Pine in hopes of encountering Segurades, Groadain followed to chastise him for his disobedience, and Hector meekly submitted because he fears the dwarf above all other men.

Let us pause for a moment to note that Groadain's various characteristics and roles are traditional although the author has apparently drawn from several different sources. The dwarf's underground dwelling is a curiously archaic feature certainly inherited from tradition. The ill-temper and truculence with which he belabors Hector, kills Gawain's horse, and insults the latter knight are characteristic of many other Arthurian dwarfs; and so are his wealth and apparent high station. That he had as a brother a lord of great wealth and noble descent may possibly be reminiscent of the similar kinship of various counterparts of Beli to Bran. Finally, his being guardian to his niece and the arbiter of her relations with Hector seems to have been a tradition of romance. In a Norwegian version of the lost *Lay of Gurun*, the hero falls in love with the niece of the queen and asks for her hand. The damsel refers his request to a dwarf whom her late father reared as a foster son and to whose counsel her father bound her to listen. The dwarf is at first obstinate, then later agrees to the marriage.⁶ In *Perlesvaus*, Gawain seeks the hospitality of the lord of the Castle of the Ball, who has two daughters. When the maidens wait upon Gawain, a dwarf who is their uncle enters and scourges them. Their father tells Gawain that the dwarf is master of them all and that he is angry because Gawain slew his brother, the dwarf of Marin.⁷ Whatever the origin of Groadain as arbitrary uncle of

⁶ H. M. Smyser and F. P. Magoun, *Survivals in Old Norwegian* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 40-5.

⁷ *Perlesvaus*, I, pp. 107-8.

Hector's fiancée, the relationship was probably traditional since similar dwarf uncles appear in another romance and in the redaction of an Arthurian lai.

To resume the summary: a messenger comes from the Lady of Roestoc asking Groadain to secure Gawain to fight for her. The dwarf says that Gawain is too hard to find, but sneers that he will bring this sorry knight to her. Gawain has still not revealed his identity and remains silent as all start for Roestoc. En route they encounter three groups of hostile knights, but with the permission of the damsel Hector overthrows them all. At every opportunity Groadain continues to insult Gawain as the worst knight in the world. When Gawain meets the Lady of Roestoc, he agrees to fight Segurades but still does not reveal his name. On the appointed day, he defeats his opponent, then rides away to the sorrow of the lady whom he has delivered. When she learns of Groadain's discourtesy to her champion, she decides to punish the dwarf and starts for Arthur's court, binding the creature to the tail of her palfrey whenever they enter a castle. At the court of the king, after much dissension too tedious to rehearse, the Lady of Roestoc pardons the dwarf on condition that Hector's damsel permit him to go searching for Gawain.

This latter portion of the story seems to be an awkward, truncated version of the *Damoisele Maudisante*, which is told more coherently in *Libeaus Desconus*, *Le Bel Inconnu*, *Wigalois*, *Carduino*, and Malory's *Book of Gareth*.⁸ An untried Arthurian knight who conceals his name is summoned to deliver a besieged lady; en route he is berated for his unworthiness; he overcomes his adversary; his name is finally revealed. In the more authentic versions, the knight accompanies a sharp-tongued damsel and a dwarf, but in the *Vulgate Lancelot* the summoning damsel has been omitted and Groadain the dwarf assumes the berating role. Evidently the author grew weary of this ill-conceived mixture, for although Hector finally returns to court with Gawain and is reunited with his love, we hear no more of the Lady of Roestoc or of Groadain.⁹

OTHER TRUCULENT DWARFS

The concluding pages of Chapter VII summarized incidents from *Fergus*, the *Vulgate Lancelot*, and *Escanor*, which are versions of a stock episode in the romances: the hero comes to a tent or castle; a

⁸ See above, p. 88.

⁹ Sommer, *op. cit.*, III, p. 428.

reviling dwarf strikes his horse, and in *Fergus* and *Escanor* is beaten for his brashness; the hero then encounters the hostile master of the dwarf and overcomes him in combat.¹⁰ I have suggested that these may be very faded versions of the visit of the hero to the dwelling of the truculent dwarf and his giant kinsman, counterparts of Beli and Bran. Whether this be true or not, there are several other similar incidents. In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, as Mordred approaches two beautiful pavilions, a dwarf shoots and kills his horse with an arrow. The knight seizes the creature by the hair and drags him. At the dwarf's cries, a knight comes out of one of the tents and protests. In the subsequent combat he is killed by Mordred.¹¹ In the *Huth Merlin* and in Malory, as Sir Torre rides out on a quest, a dwarf abruptly appears, strikes his horse, and demands that Torre fight two knights who are in pavilions near by. Torre refuses, but the dwarf blows a horn and summons his masters. Torre defeats them both.¹² In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, another dwarf retainer blocks the way of two knights of the Round Table and insists that they fight for their passage with knights who reside in adjacent pavilions.¹³ It is apparently some version of this stock episode that the author of the *Vulgate Lancelot* has inserted in his redaction of Chrétien's *Charrette*. In the latter romance, Gawain is hauled ashore into Goirre after he has fallen from the Water Bridge. Shortly before, Lancelot was led away from the same spot by the dwarf who betrays him into ambush and imprisonment.¹⁴ In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, as Gawain crosses the submerged bridge, a dwarf before a pavilion on the other side blows his horn, and a knight comes forth to push Gawain back into the water. When Gawain finally clammers ashore, they fight a long, bloody combat which Gawain wins.¹⁵ Still another truculent dwarf appears in the *Didot Perceval*. The knight Hurganet and a damsel hear great rejoicing in a pavilion and enter. A lady warns them to leave lest they be killed by "Orgelleus de la Lande." A cruel, hideous dwarf carrying a whip now enters, strikes Hurganet's damsel, and collapses the tent. The couple leave, but Orgelleus overtakes them and kills Hurganet. Later, the damsel brings Perceval to the tent. The same dwarf enters,

¹⁰ See above, pp. 60-1.

¹¹ Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 359.

¹² *Huth Merlin*, II, pp. 101 ff.; Malory, *Works*, I, pp. 108 ff. The dwarf then takes service with Torre.

¹³ Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 27-8.

¹⁴ *Charrette*, II, 5077 ff.

¹⁵ Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 192-3.

strikes the damsel again, and is knocked by Perceval to the ground. The creature predicts shame for the knight and fetches his master, who is enraged at the intrusion into his tent and the treatment of his dwarf. Perceval then overcomes Orgelleus in combat.¹⁶

A similar ill-tempered, combative dwarf appears in *Yder* in an episode already noted in Chapter XVII. Yder and a damsel come to a very strong hold and enter to find no one except a dwarf who is turning a crane on a spit. The creature refuses to answer the questions of the knight, insults the damsel, and tries unsuccessfully to strike Yder with the spit. Although the knight does not strike his assailant, the dwarf runs to bring his master Cliges, who is very indignant at the alleged mistreatment of his dwarf. There is no fight, however, between Cliges and Yder.¹⁷ An analogue of this incident occurs in the first continuation of the *Conte del Graal*. Sent by King Arthur to forage for food, Kay enters a great tower and finds a taciturn dwarf roasting a pheasant upon a spit. The little creature insultingly refuses to give the bird to Kay, and the knight hurls him against the chimney. The dwarf's large master, Yder le Bel, is summoned by his servant's cries and thrashes Kay with the spit.¹⁸

Still other hostile dwarfs have been cited in Chapter XVII: the one who scourges the hero before the castle of Pluris in *Lanzelet*, the one who strikes Erec and the damsel in Chrétien's romance, the black-guarding porter of the King of the Isles in *Hunbaut*. I have proposed that such unmotivated behavior of various dwarfs might originally have taken the form of a fight against the hero like those combats between various counterparts of Beli and intruding knights. The incidents just noted are too faded or confused to contribute significantly to that hypothesis, but at least they show a widespread convention of an insulting, combative dwarf in the romances. I reaffirm my opinion that this traditional behavior of dwarf retainers could not have been copied from the conduct of actual court dwarfs.

THE DWARF KING OF THE BURNING CITY

In a curious incident in *Perlesvaus*, Lancelot comes to a fair city in a plain. He sees a large crowd of people issue from the gates to the joyous music of many instruments. They welcome the knight

¹⁶ *Didot Perceval*, pp. 155-63.

¹⁷ *Yder*, ll. 3770 ff.

¹⁸ *Continuations*, ed. Roach, I, ll. 9251 ff.

effusively and tell him that the celebration is in his honor. Their city began to burn when their last king died, and the fire cannot be extinguished until they have a new monarch. At the end of the year he will be crowned and will jump into the fire, which only then will subside. Lancelot declines the offer to make him king, but is led into the city. As he passes through the streets, some people regret that so handsome a knight will die; others rejoice that the fair city will be saved by his death. Prayers will be offered for his soul forever. Lancelot is brought to the magnificent palace, and the lords of the city appear to do him homage; but the knight firmly refuses the honor. At this moment a dwarf leading a beautiful lady enters the city. When he learns the reason for the joy and the murmuring, he offers to become king and follow the instructions of the provosts. He is accepted and crowned as Lancelot gratefully departs.¹⁹

Miss Mary Williams has already discerned that this incident is a confused version of a ceremony celebrating the end of the old year and the beginning of the new. It seems likely that in the original rites a handsome youth was selected to serve as divine king for the year and then sacrificed in fire to symbolize the death of the vegetation god. Another candidate was then crowned to represent the resurrection of the god and lived as king until the ceremony was repeated at the end of the year.²⁰

It is possible that the surviving accounts of various ancient ceremonies of the Indians in Mexico can furnish parallels. A young man, usually a handsome slave, was chosen as divine king and representative of the god and was treated with great respect for a year. At the end of that time, he was sacrificed amidst great celebration; and then the slain god came to life in the person of another human being so selected. Some of these ceremonies occurred in the spring, but others in the twelfth month of the year. In some year-end rites, victims were hurled into sacrificial fire.²¹

That similar ceremonies were observed in ancient and medieval times by the Celts of Ireland and Britain is attested by several pieces of evidence. Keating has recorded that in old Ireland on the eve of Samhain, the Irish New Year, the druids of the land assembled to burn their sacrificial victims at the Fire of Tlachtgha.²² In Britain

¹⁹ *Perlesvaus*, I, pp. 161-3.

²⁰ *FL*, XLVIII (1937), 263-6.

²¹ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 587-92.

²² *The History of Ireland*, II, p. 247.

and elsewhere during the Middle Ages, mock kings were chosen by popular custom at winter festivals, usually around the turn of the year.²³ At the beginning of this century, vestiges of the kind of ceremony which appears in *Perlesvaus* persisted in several places. In Aberystwyth, Guy Fawkes Day, November 5th, was celebrated with a torchlight procession to music and the carrying of the effigy of the "Guy" to the seashore. There the effigy was placed upon a pyre of burning wood and tar, and the crowd remained until the mass had burned itself out. Miss Williams, who reports this custom as a memory of her childhood, has proposed that the ceremony was originally observed on November 1st, the ancient Celtic New Year's Day, and then moved to November 5th after the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. The effigy, which had previously represented the old god, then became a symbol of Fawkes.²⁴ A somewhat similar ceremony, uncontaminated by a historically inspired celebration, occurred in a seaside village in Connemara on New Year's Day. After the burning of an effigy on the strand, a young man dressed in a white shirt was led in triumph back to the village.²⁵ In Cardigan on November 1st, a large ball of tar-soaked sacking was fired and kicked up and down the main street while the rest of the townsfolk watched.²⁶ Apparently the ball was originally the effigy of the old god to be destroyed by burning. Of similar origin would have been the "Clavie" used in a curious celebration on the southern shore of Moray Firth on the evening of December 31st (old style). The natives ceremoniously prepared a pitch-filled cask which they lighted and carried through the streets. Finally, they destroyed it. The ceremony was regarded as essential to a prosperous coming year.²⁷

It seems fairly certain, then, that the odd and extraneous incident introduced by the author of *Perlesvaus* had a traditional origin, probably Celtic, in archetypal rites. The handsome Lancelot is chosen to be crowned king for a year, at the end of which time he is to perish in fire for the good of the country. The community rejoices, and the inhabitants vow that they will pray for him, as originally they

²³ W. C. Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore* (London, 1905), I, p. 34; E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, pp. 260-2.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 264.

²⁵ *Idem.*

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*, 266.

²⁷ R. Chambers, *The Book of Days* (Philadelphia, 1899), II, pp. 789-91. Cf. Mary Williams, RC, XLVI (1929), 198-9.

might have prayed to the god whose representative he would become. The burning of the land itself seems to be some form of the Wasteland motif which has been adapted to the description of the ceremony. Miss Williams believes that Lancelot is able to escape his fate because between the earliest stage of the ceremony and a later one when the effigy was used, "...the victim was no doubt allowed to find a substitute." I myself am not so sure of this explanation as she, and why the substitute is a dwarf is also not clear. Possibly the author recalled the dwarf *king* of Celtic tradition and arbitrarily picked him to become *king* of the burning city.²⁸

THE DWARF AS LOVER

In several Arthurian episodes, the role of lover is assigned to a dwarf. The mistress whom he takes or desires or with whom he is accused of consorting is not dwarfed like himself but is apparently a comely woman. The point of such episodes seems to be that the woman is perversely lecherous in taking so hideous a creature for her lover.

One incident of this type occurs in Malory's Tale of Gawain, Ywain and Marhalt and in his French source. Gawain is watching at the edge of a glade where strange adventures occur. From one side rides an armed knight; from the other comes an armed dwarf, short and hideous. They have met to learn who will win the favors of a certain lady whom they both love. When she arrives, the knight at first disdains to speak to the dwarf; then he contemptuously declines to fight their quarrel out. Finally, the lady herself chooses the dwarf because, she claims, the knight has been unfaithful to her. Left alone, the sorrowing knight turns to Gawain and vows that he has loved only that lady all his life. It is only a woman, replies Gawain, who could do so "grant deablerie" and who could leave the knight and take the "faiture."²⁹

In Raoul de Houdenc's *Vengeance Raguidel* is an episode in which a wanton damsel is given to a dwarf who wants her favors. Gawain

²⁸ Probably connected with the rites reflected in *Perlesvaus* is a brief passage in Philippe de Novare, *Des quatreteuz d'aage d'ome*, ed. M. de Fréville (Paris, 1888), pp. 53-4, which relates how a king loses everything at the first of the year, retires stripped of his possessions to an island, and dies there in shame. For other traditions about fire as a medium for sacrifice, see MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 261 ff.

²⁹ Malory, *Works*, I, pp. 164-5; II, p. 1352, n.; *Die Abenteuer Gawains, Ywains et Le Morholts mit den drei Jungfrauen*, ed. H. O. Sommer in *Beihäfte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XLVII (1913), 20-22.

rescues Ydain from a would-be ravisher. The knight and damsel are immediately attracted to each other and soon consummate their love. When they later arrive at Arthur's court, Kay mocks Gawain by predicting that Ydain will probably prove unfaithful like all other women. Just then there arrives at the court the grotesque knight Druidain. Although he has long blond hair, a fair beard, and well-proportioned arms and legs, his very short trunk is hideously hunched in front and back. He requests a boon, and Arthur grants it before knowing what it is. When Druidain then asks that Ydain be given to him, Gawain angrily proposes to prevent the fulfillment of the boon by force of arms. Druidain consents to fight at once with any knight but Gawain—with him he will fight a month hence at the court of Baudemagus. As Gawain and Ydain travel to the appointed combat, they encounter a knight (who is not a dwarf) who demands that Ydain be given to him. When the men agree to let the lady choose between them, Ydain pretends to be angry with Gawain and gives herself to his rival. Her actual motive is lechery: she knows that the rival knight is an adept lover. After Ydain has journeyed some way with her new escort, she sends him back to recover her two dogs from Gawain, but the latter refuses to give them up and kills the knight in the combat which follows. Ydain now tries to win Gawain back with a great display of affection and disparages the dead knight. Gawain is cool to her blandishments and forces her to ride ahead of him. He defeats Druidain in combat, but spares his life and gives him Ydain on condition that the dwarf carry her to Arthur's court. The implication is that the disfigured Druidain is a fitting lover for one as lecherous as Ydain.³⁰

Although the precise relationship between these two episodes is not clear, it is quite possible that in an earlier version it was not a normal-sized knight whom Ydain selected, but the deformed dwarf. In both incidents, when a fickle woman is given her choice, she deliberately rejects the knight who truly loves her, chooses another out of perverseness or sheer lechery, and becomes the mistress of a hideous dwarf.

There are still other traces of this motif in Arthurian romance. In

³⁰ Raoul de Houdenc, *Vengeance, Raguidel*, ed. M. Friedwagner (Halle, 1909), pp. 120-37. Druidain's combination of beautiful and repulsive features is probably a deliberate device of Raoul's (*ibid.*, p. 278, n.). Druidain's name comes from a verbal play upon the name of Ydain: Druidain = *drus Ydain* (*ibid.*, p. 123; Wohlgemuth, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

one manuscript of the *Prose Tristan* which Löseth only summarizes, a lady who loves a hideous dwarf knight betrays Guiron into captivity.³¹ In *Claris et Laris*, the knight Galegantín meets a dwarf who has been ousted by his lord because the latter believes that the dwarf has cuckolded him. Galegantín is able to persuade the angry master that the accusation is false.³² In *Escanor*, when Kay fails to salute a damsel, her ugly dwarf accosts the knight with insults. Thoroughly angered, Kay throws the creature into a fountain and accuses the damsel of lecherous relations with him.³³

The theme of the dwarf as lover of the perversely concupiscent woman was traditional, then, in French romance. It was not Celtic in origin, for it appears in other works not influenced by the *matière de Bretagne*. It occurs in a somewhat modified form, for instance, in *Macaire*, where the queen of Charlemagne is falsely accused of taking as her lover an ugly dwarf who creeps into her bed in a plot to defame her.³⁴ It appears more clearly in widespread versions of a legend concerning the Emperor Constantine. The empress takes as her lover a hideous dwarf, hunchback or cripple; when the adulterers are discovered, they are killed. The interrelations of the several versions and their influence on the *Walthersaga* and other works are too complex to review here. It seems likely, however, that the origins of the theme are to be found in varying versions of an oriental tale, *The Ungrateful Wife*.³⁵ Two Hindu analogues must suffice. In one from the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, a Brahmin prince marries the daughter of a wealthy merchant. When he sees his wife slip away one night, he follows her to an almshouse where he watches her fulsomely embrace a loathsome beggar. The prince abandons her to her wickedness and her lover. When she later learns that she has been detected in her infidelity, she dies.³⁶ In a version from the *Panchatantra*, a Brahmin

³¹ *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 442, n.

³² *Claris et Laris*, ed. Johann Alton (Tübingen, 1884), pp. 696-700.

³³ Gerard d'Amiens, *Escanor*, pp. 17 ff.

³⁴ *Macaire*, ed. M. F. Guessard (Paris, 1866), pp. 21-49; Krappe, RF, XLV (1931), 97.

³⁵ A. Wesselovsky, *Russische revue*, VI (1875), 178-207; Richard Heinzel, *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CXVII (1889), 90; Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 276-7, 625; Gaston Paris, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIII (1903), 1-24, esp. 10, n. 3; Bolté and Polivka, *Anmerkungen*, I, pp. 129-30; A. H. Krappe, MLN, XXXVIII (1923), 164-6.

³⁶ *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, trans. C. H. Tawney, ed. N. M. Penzer as *The Ocean of Story* (London, 1924-28), II, pp. 129-32.

takes his dearly beloved wife on a journey. One day she encounters a hideous cripple and vowing that otherwise she will die, she gives herself to him. Later the pair try to murder the Brahmin, but he escapes, reveals his wife's infidelity, and brings about her death.³⁷

The Arthurian versions, represented most clearly in the two episodes first cited, vary from the oriental analogues, but this is hardly surprising, and the common elements seem clear enough: the devoted lover or husband; the fickle, lecherous wife or mistress; the loathsome or deformed creature whom she perversely chooses. This oriental motif with its disparagement of women apparently came into the romances by way of the same cynicism which may have fostered the converse convention of the cuckolded dwarf of Chapter X. And indeed, it can hardly be coincidental that the compiler of the source of the Dutch *Lancelot* combined both themes. In the middle of the redaction of the Druidain episode, he inserted the story of how Gawain encounters the dwarf king, who has found his wife in the arms of the vilest of his servants, and how Gawain in the form of a dwarf spends the night with the lecherous Ydain.

MISCELLANEOUS DWARFS

In *Le Chevalier as Deus Espees*, Gawain and the hero, who is to be identified as Meriadeus, come to a glade in a great forest. There they see a great herd of animals being led to a fountain by a dwarf. Very small but handsome, he is dressed in magnificent attire and leads a large dog by a silken tether. When he sees the two knights, he and his herd of animals vanish immediately without a sound.³⁸ The dwarf's handsomeness and splendid dress indicate that he is probably a traditional figure, and one may suspect that the dog which he leads is his mount. Furthermore, he is encountered alone at a fountain or spring as is the dwarf hermit in *Fergus*, a dwarf who shows several correspondences with Pelles.³⁹ It must be more than a coincidence, then, that in the sequel to this incident appears a figure closely resembling Bran. Servants come into the same glade and prepare a splendid tent. A wounded knight in a litter appears and is borne by attendant damsels to a fine bed within the pavilion. Gawain and Meriadeus are greeted by a lady who tells them that Gaus, the

³⁷ *The Panchatantra*, trans. A. W. Ryder (Chicago, 1925), pp. 405-8.

³⁸ *Le Chevalier as Deus Espees*, pp. 323-4.

³⁹ See above, pp. 47.

wounded knight, suffers from a wound which can be healed only by a blow from the sword which originally inflicted it. This blow must be struck by a certain unknown knight. Meriadeus volunteers, and when he strikes, heals Gaus and finds his own name on the weapon.⁴⁰ Professor Loomis has already shown that various other wounded knights who seek healing at the hands of the hero are counterparts of Bran.⁴¹ Hence, although the dwarf of the glade is not explicitly connected with Gaus, it seems probable that he is ultimately a counterpart of Pelles or Beli.

In *La Mule sanz Frain* and an episode from *Diu Crône*, which probably go back to a common French source, a nameless dwarf retainer appears briefly.⁴² Gawain enters a whirling castle and encounters the dwarf, who immediately hurries away. The hero then plays the beheading game, in *La Mule* with a great *vilain*, in *Diu Crône* with the magician Gansguoter. Gawain then heals a wounded knight by the act of challenging him, wins the subsequent combat, and cuts off his antagonist's head. After other adventures, on which he is accompanied by the *vilain* or Gansguoter, Gawain is summoned by the dwarf. In *La Mule* the knight is taken to the mistress of the castle and the dwarf and *vilain* serve them. In *Diu Crône* the dwarf tells Gawain that his mistress Amurfina awaits him at Arthur's court. Professor Newstead has already identified the wounded knight with Bran,⁴³ and it is possible that the dwarf originally found his way into the tale as the knight's kinsman or servant. But the little retainer is more closely associated with the damsel. Though he is not named in *Diu Crône*, he is probably the dwarf Karamphiet, who appears earlier in the romance with Amurfina.⁴⁴

In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, as Sagremor approaches a rich pavilion, an ugly dwarf strikes his horse. Sagremor throws the midget to the ground and rides over him. At the dwarf's cries, a beautiful damsel comes out and reproaches the knight. Sagremor, smitten by her beauty, enters the pavilion, finds Calogrenant a prisoner there, and blows a horn proffered by the damsel. There enters a large knight in red

⁴⁰ *Le Chevalier as Deus Espees*, pp. 325 ff.

⁴¹ *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 242 ff., 434 ff.

⁴² Paiens de Maisieres, *La Mule sanz Frain*, ed. R. T. Hill (Baltimore, 1911), ll. 480-9, 896 ff.; Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crône*, ll. 12,996-13,003, 13,605-10; L. L. Boll, *The Relation of Diu Krône of Heinrich von dem Türlin to La Mule Sanz Frain: a Study in Sources* (Washington, 1929), p. 122 ff.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 81-3.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 80, n. 43.

armor, and he and Sagremor fight an inconclusive combat.⁴⁵ Another version of the same incident occurs later in the romance. In a pavilion Lancelot finds a beautiful damsel attended by a hideous dwarf. The knight asks hospitality, but she refuses because her *ami* would shame her. When two knights enter and bid Lancelot leave, he kills one and defeats the other.⁴⁶ Professor Loomis has already shown that the Damsel of the Tent, who appears under similar circumstances in several other romance episodes, is probably to be identified with Morgain la Fée.⁴⁷ Whether the dwarf servant had his origin in the kinship between Modron and Beli is uncertain.⁴⁸

In *Perlesvaus*, a dwarf spies Lancelot riding through the forest and hurries to warn a damsel that the knight who helped to kill her uncle and cousins is approaching. The damsel lures Lancelot into a small hold but cannot persuade him to disarm. After Lancelot falls asleep, the dwarf rides to bring five robber knights with whom he and the damsel are in league. Lancelot awakes and kills the damsel, the dwarf, and four of the robbers.⁴⁹ A similar incident occurs in *Claris et Laris*. The two friends meet a dwarf who greets them smoothly and persuades them to follow him in search of adventure. He treacherously leads them to a stronghold and closes the gate after they enter. The two knights kill six robbers who attack them, free Yvain and his *amie*, and later in the forest beat off thirty other robbers whom the dwarf has summoned. They hang the dwarf.⁵⁰ Since *Claris et Laris* was begun in 1286,⁵¹ the incident just summarized is close enough to that in *Perlesvaus* to indicate that the latter furnished the source.⁵² The malignity and treachery of the dwarf are traditional, and one may compare him, for instance, with the one who leads Lancelot into imprisonment in *Charrette*. I cannot find any close parallel in Celtic literature, however, for his specific role as a misleader and an ally of robbers.

In *Meraugis*, a mounted dwarf enters Arthur's court and reminds the king that a search should be made for Gawain. Meraugis is granted the quest and sets out accompanied by Lidoine. They soon come upon

⁴⁵ Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 306 ff.

⁴⁶ Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 303 ff.

⁴⁷ *Arthurian Tradition*, Chapter XVII.

⁴⁸ See above, Chapter IX.

⁴⁹ *Perlesvaus*, I, pp. 201-6.

⁵⁰ *Claris et Laris*, pp. 13 ff.

⁵¹ Bruce, *op. cit.*, II, p. 264.

⁵² *Perlesvaus*, II, p. 261.

the dwarf; he is now on foot because an old woman has taken his horse from him, and he demands that the knight recover the steed. The woman agrees to give up the horse if Meraugis will knock down a shield hanging by an adjacent pavilion. The hero complies as the dwarf mounts his horse and leaves abruptly. When Meraugis hears lamenting within the tent, he enters, finds three damsels, and is told that he will suffer for having knocked down the shield. Later he learns that the shield belongs to a knight called "l'Outredoté," who will try to kill him for his presumption. When they eventually meet, Meraugis wins the combat.⁵³ Cäsar Habemann and William Roach have already pointed out the detailed correspondences between this episode and that of Perceval and Orgelleus summarized above from the *Didot Perceval*.⁵⁴ Apparently, either Raoul de Houdenc adapted the Orgelleus incident, or both episodes go back to a common source. If there were such a common source, the *Didot Perceval* version, more logical and coherent, would seem to have preserved it better. There the dwarf is attached to the hostile Orgelleus and acts with a truculence to be found in several other counterparts of Beli. It seems likely that Raoul took this figure or his counterpart and spun out his part by giving him various other traditional roles. The act of summoning the hero to a quest may be derived, for instance, from the dwarf who accompanies the Damoisele Maudisante on a similar errand to Arthur's court.⁵⁵ The mistreatment of the *Meraugis* dwarf by the old woman corresponds very closely to an episode in the *Vulgate Lancelot*. When Yvain demands the release of a dwarf whom an old woman is dragging by the hair, she asks that the knight in return beat upon a shield in a pavilion near by. Yvain complies and thus angers the absent owner, a giant named Maudit, who ravages the surrounding country until Bohors finally kills him.⁵⁶ Later in *Meraugis*, the hero again encounters the dwarf at a crossroads,⁵⁷ and the creature beats the knight's horse with traditional insolence. He excuses his conduct

⁵³ Raoul de Houdenc, *Meraugis*, pp. 51 ff., 171 ff.

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 128-9; Roach, *Didot Perceval*, pp. 50-2; Cäsar Habemann, *Die literarische Stellung des Meraugis* (Göttingen, 1908), pp. 44-9, 51.

⁵⁵ See above, Chapter XI.

⁵⁶ Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-31, 203. The relationship between Raoul's episode and that of the *Vulgate Lancelot* is not entirely clear. But Meraugis speaks of a giant owner of the tent before any such personage has been mentioned (pp. 64-5), whereas the *Vulgate Lancelot* shows no such inconsistency. The odds, then, are in favor of Raoul's having derived his story from the *Vulgate Lancelot*, rather than *vice versa*.

⁵⁷ *Meraugis*, pp. 84 ff.

by predicting disaster if Meraugis pursues his way into the forest and leads him instead to a tournament. The knight wins the contest and with it the right to choose husbands for all the damsels of the kingdom. The dwarf is permitted to take for his mate a dwarfed damsel as ugly as himself. Although she is of high station, he declares himself to be of royal lineage.⁵⁸ Meraugis then pursues his quest alone.

In the *Vulgate Lancelot*, Hector almost rides over a severely wounded knight lying in the lap of a grieving maiden, but a squire stops him by striking his horse with a stick. The apologetic Hector then accompanies the maiden to avenge her lover, whose name is Ladomas. He was falsely accused of sleeping with the *amie* of Guinas and nearly killed by him. Hector vanquishes Guinas and forces a reconciliation between him and his lady. Some time later, Hector comes upon a bier carried by a lamenting crowd, and he questions a surly dwarf riding upon a hack. The dwarf refuses at first to answer, then strikes Hector's horse with his *baston*. Hector kicks him to the ground, and the dwarf, predicting death for his assailant, reveals that the people are carrying the corpse of Mathaliz—a knight whom Hector has killed in an earlier adventure. When the dwarf suddenly shouts that Hector is the murderer, the knight defends himself against his attackers until Ladomas happens to pass by and deliver him, though he grieves to learn that Hector has killed his brother. The dwarf, however, dispatches a squire to intercept Hector, mislead him to a fountain, and then steal his horse. The ruse works successfully; Hector pursues the squire on the latter's nag until he arrives at the castle of Mathaliz's father. The squire denounces him as the murderer, and Hector is saved a second time only by the intervention of Ladomas.⁵⁹ This episode seems to be a very prolix version of an incident in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*. Gawain comes upon a wounded knight, Greoreas, who is tended by a mourning damsel. He warns Gawain against proceeding further, but the latter pursues his way. Later, Gawain returns and heals Greoreas. A hideous, shaggy squire, mounted on a nag, now appears and for his insolence is knocked to the ground by Gawain. Recognizing Gawain as one who once accused him of rape, Greoreas rides away on Gawain's horse and leaves him to mount the squire's nag. When Gawain approaches the Castle of Ladies, he encounters a knight mounted on his own horse, who has been sent by Greoreas

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95, ll. 2473-5.

⁵⁹ Sommer, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 321-7, 352-7.

to kill him. Gawain is victor in the combat.⁶⁰ Professor Loomis, in an analysis too complex to be reproduced here, has already shown that Greoreas and the hideous squire are counterparts of Bran and Beli.⁶¹ Here Beli has been given normal stature, but retains the ugliness typical of many dwarfs and the truculence which is one of his characteristic roles. The *Vulgate Lancelot* episode, despite the proliferation of incident and fission of characters, is based on essentially the same pattern: the wounded or dead knight, the attendant maiden, the alleged rape (now fornication), the theft of the horse, the useless pursuit. The truculent dwarf has been divided into three characters. He appears first as Ladomas' squire who strikes the horse of Hector; second, as Mathaliz's poorly mounted and insulting dwarf who strikes the hero's horse; and third, as the anonymous squire who steals Hector's mount and leaves his nag for the hero.

In Chrétien's *Yvain*, the giant Harpin de la Montagne is accompanied by a hideous dwarf who spitefully beats the giant's prisoners with a knotted scourge.⁶² The dwarf's ugliness and cruelty are traditional, but I cannot find any other specific links to Celtic sources.

In *Perlesvaus* are three more dwarfs who play unimportant roles and who, so far as I can discover, have been arbitrarily inserted as menials or entertainers. Gawain spends the night in a rich pavilion where two beautiful damsels are served by a dwarf. On the morrow Gawain has to fight two knights who are angry at his having slept there. He kills both of them, but refuses the opportunity to select one of the damsels for his mistress.⁶³ In another passage, Lancelot enters a cemetery and passes by a dwarf who is digging a grave. The creature hates Lancelot for having slain three knights who are to be buried there. He incites two more knights to attack Lancelot, but the latter suffers no harm.⁶⁴ Lancelot later encounters the same dwarf, who now accompanies a damsel. She too hates Lancelot because he forced her lover to marry another lady and because the three dead knights at the cemetery were her kinsmen.⁶⁵ The third dwarf serves a certain Knight of the Galley, who has killed two knights because they were Christians and who has ordered a damsel to watch the

⁶⁰ Chrétien, *Conte del Graal*, ll. 6519-656, 6904-7144, 7285-363.

⁶¹ *Arthurian Tradition*, pp. 433-7.

⁶² *Yvain*, ll. 4103-11.

⁶³ *Perlesvaus*, I, pp. 93-9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.

hanging corpses for forty days. Meliot delivers her from her gruesome task and kills both the Knight of the Galley and his dwarf. ⁶⁶

The author of *Durmart le Gallois* introduces several dwarfs into his work, but all of them are menials. The one belonging to Nogant is a hideous creature, but waxes indignant when Durmart addresses him as "figure." ⁶⁷ He later provides Durmart, Fenise, and Nogant a bountiful meal on a service of gold and silver. ⁶⁸ The dwarf of Brun de Morois is also remarkably ugly, and he resents the mockery of Durmart and Yder. He is accompanied by an ape, and this fact and his assertion that he is a man indicate that he is probably modelled after a court entertainer. ⁶⁹ When the handsome knight Gladain enters Arthur's court and challenges Durmart to combat, he is accompanied by five mounted dwarfs who are dressed in green like their master and who carry his lances. Two of them play the flute while the other three sing loudly. ⁷⁰ These performances may be reminiscent of the musical skill of the Irish dwarfs *Cnu dheireoil* and *Senbecc* or of Teodelain and his counterpart in *Wigalois*. ⁷¹

Two dwarf kings appear in *Diu Crône*, but their origins are not clear. Among the guests at Arthur's Christmas festivities is "... der künec Arab li nains," ⁷² who may be a counterpart of Bilis who has been arbitrarily assigned another name. He is not mentioned again. The second dwarf appears in a fantastic experience which Gawain has on his way to the Grail castle. ⁷³ In a field covered with beautiful roses, he comes upon a handsome youth who is pierced through the eyes with an arrow and who wields a fan which produces a withering wind. On the bed to which he is chained lies a beautiful dead damsel. In her arms she holds a small, richly dressed dwarf wearing a crown made from a single immense jewel. Also on the bed is a knight, black as a Moor, with a wound in his heart. Heinrich refers in this passage to a source which he is following, ⁷⁴ so the chances are that he did not create this surrealist episode out of his imagination. But he does not understand the meaning of these marvels, nor do I. Possibly, they

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 377-80.

⁶⁷ *Durmart le Gallois*, pp. 50-1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-6.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80.

⁷¹ See above, pp. 8, 89.

⁷² Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crône*, I. 597.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II. 14,323-407.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 14,378.

are a confused version of the marvels of the Grail castle, where Gawain finds the Maimed King, who is actually dead, being ministered to by a damsel in a hall made fragrant by strewn flowers.⁷⁵ There is no dwarf, however, in Heinrich's description of the Grail castle.

The *Chevalier du Papegau* presents two dwarfs. One of these is undoubtedly Celtic in origin because he brings the talismanic bird to be contested for just as the Chevalier Petit brings his talismanic shield to a tourney, and because such tests of beauty and virtue seem Celtic in origin.⁷⁶ The dwarf takes service with Arthur and accompanies him through a series of adventures somewhat as Teodelain and his counterparts accompany the hero.⁷⁷ The *Papegau* dwarf is treated humorously. A timid creature, he runs away when Arthur prepares to fight the Fish Knight, and the indignant popinjay then spurns his services.⁷⁸ Later, when their ship is in danger of foundering in a storm, the popinjay demands that he be let out of the cage to fly to shore. The dwarf refuses, declaring that the bird should share the fortunes of his companions.⁷⁹

When Arthur is cast with his companions on a strange island,⁸⁰ he discovers an old dwarf who was left there forty years before by his master, the "Chevalier des Estranges Illes."⁸¹ The dwarf, his pregnant wife, and his master were on their way to Arthur's court when the wife was seized with labor. The two dwarfs were put off on the island with provisions, and a strong wind drove the ship away. The woman died giving birth to a son, who was nursed by a unicorn and who has grown into a powerful, stupid giant. The dwarf welcomes the chance to escape from the island; he and his son embark with Arthur's company and all return to Britain. It is barely possible that the marooned dwarf originated in Beli, since his master, the Chevalier des Estranges Illes, may be identifiable with the king "des Estranges Illes" in *Mort Artu*, the father of Belimor and hence a counterpart of Bran.⁸² But the author of *Papegau* takes a good deal of liberty with his sources, and he may have invented the whole episode.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 14,615 ff.; Newstead, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-4.

⁷⁶ See above, p. 113.

⁷⁷ *Le Chevalier du Papegau*, pp. 11 ff.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 79 ff.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁸² See above, p. 103.

There are a number of other Arthurian dwarfs, but their appearances are so brief and sometimes so cryptic that no purpose would be served by further summaries.⁸³

⁸³ Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Die Crône*, ll. 18,779-803.

Le roman de Balain, ed. M. D. Legge (Manchester, 1942), pp. 22-3; Malory, *Works*, I, p. 71.

Malory, *Works*, III, p. 1212.

Raoul de Houdenc, *Meraugis*, ll. 2828 ff.

Raoul de Houdenc, *Vengeance Raguidel*, ll. 4975 ff.

Vulgate Lancelot: Sommer, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 349. *Ibid.*, p. 252. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-4.

Sommer, *op. cit.*, V, p. 15. *Ibid.*, p. 29. *Ibid.*, p. 42. *Ibid.*, pp. 124 ff. *Ibid.*, pp.

223-4. *Ibid.*, p. 244. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-60. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-6.

Queste del Saint Graal: Sommer, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 172-3.

Durmart le Gallois, ll. 3475-6.

Gerard d'Amiens, *Escanor*, p. 529.

Sir Degarre, ed. Gustave Schleich (Heidelberg, 1929), ll. 780 ff. Cf. *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. Kaluza, p. CLIV.

INDEX

No attempt has been made to list the titles or authors of modern scholarly works. Works of literature are indexed by title rather than by the name of the author, with the exception of the work of Malory.

- Aberdeenshire dwarfs, 15 n.
 Abodes of dwarfs: *see* Castle or palace inhabited by dwarfs; Island, dwarfs dwelling on; Underground, dwarfs dwelling; Water, dwarfs dwelling under or by
 Accolon, 80 n.
 Aed, 6 ff., 107
Afanc, 13 ff., 38, 118
 Agravain, 53 ff.
 Aitherne, 8
 Alberich, 71 ff., 113 n., 121
Alexander, 23 ff.
 "Allison Gross," 104
 Amurfina, 80 n., 136
 Anfortas, 45
 Annwn, 39 ff., 83 ff., 122
 Antilois, 113 n.
 Antipodes, 33 ff., 58, 114 ff.
 Apulia, Arthurian legend in, 4, 114
 Aquitain, 106 ff., 122
 Arab li nains, 141
 Arawn, 39, 83 ff., 121
 Armor and weapons of dwarfs, 99: *see also* Axe; Hauberk; Shield; Spear; Sword
 Arthur, 3, 36, 40, 48, 76, 80 n., 100, 112, 114 ff.
 Arthurian legend, origins of, 2 ff.
Attack upon the Men of Falga, 95 ff.
 Auberon, 62 ff., 83, 89, 105, 121 ff.
 Avallach, 41, 74
 Avallo, 41, 74, 77
 Avaloc, 74
 Avalon, 41, 77
 Axe, magic, 93, 97
 Bayeux Tapestry, 23 ff.
 Beautiful dwarfs, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16 n., 18, 28 ff., 63 ff., 89
Beauty and the Beast, 104 ff.
 Bedalis, 85 ff.
 Belenos, 41 n.
 Beli (Beli Magnus, Beli Mawr), 33 ff., 44 ff., 51 ff., 71 ff., 74 ff., 103, 117, 120 ff., 126, 128, 136, 140, 142
 Belias, 53 ff., 118, 122
 Belimor, 80, 103, 142
 Belin, 42, 50 n.
Bel Inconnu, 29, 88 ff.
 Belinor, 80, 111
 Belinos, 41 n.
 Belins, 35 n., 37, 45
 Belinus, 37 ff., 41 n., 44
 Bercilak, 84
 Bespelled dwarfs, 91, 93 ff., 102 ff., 105
 Betraying dwarfs, 78 ff., 137
 Bilis, 33 ff., 44 ff., 58, 71 ff., 84, 141
 Bilius, 35 n.
Bioulach, 92
Black Book of Carmarthen, 14 ff.
 Bledhericus, 71
 Bleheris, 70
 Bliant, 35 n., 49, 59
 Blianz, 35 n., 37
 Bohors, 55 ff.
Book of Leinster, 8 ff.
Book of Taliesin, 14, 39, 40
Book of the Dun Cow, 9
 "Boy and the Mantle," 113, 117
 Bran de Lis, 59
 Brandus des Illes, 59
 Bran Gawr, 103
 Brangoire, 102 ff.
 Brangor, 103
 Brangorre, 103 n.
 Bran the Blessed, 4, 43 ff., 49, 51 ff., 103, 125, 135 ff., 140, 142
Branwen the Daughter of Llyr, 38, 43 ff., 103
 Brauz, 57
 Brennius, 37 ff.
 Brennus, 37
 Breton contributions to Arthurian legend, 3 ff., 9, 11, 18, 32, 57 ff., 114
 Brian, 36

- Bricriu's Feast*, 2, 97
 Bridan, 53
 Brien, 35 ff., 58
 Brihans, 35 n., 37
 Broceliande, 3
 Bron, 3, 43 ff., 103
 Brons, 56
 Brun de Morois, 141
Buchedd Collen Sant, 40
Bwbach: see Goblins
 Bylis, 35 n.
- Caeilte, 8
 Caldron, magic: see Vessel, magic
 Calot Jean, 24
 Candacis, 23
 Caradawc, 105 n.
 Carado, 99 ff.
 Carados, 105 n.
Carduino, 88 ff.
Carl of Carlisle, 97
 Cart, dwarf who drives, 124 ff.
 Castle or palace inhabited by dwarfs, 7 ff., 10, 16, 40, 52 ff., 57, 62 ff., 82, 99, 122
 Caves: see Underground, dwarfs dwelling
Chevaliers as deus espees, 28, 80 n., 135 ff.
Chevalier de la Charrette, 78 ff., 124 ff.
Chevalier des Estranges Illes, 142
Chevalier du Papgau, 85, 113, 142
Chevalier Petit, 29, 62 ff., 83, 89
Childe Rowland, 100 ff.
 Children in the Tree, 69 n.
Chronica (Johannes de Oxenedes), 24
Claris et Laris, 134, 137
 Cliges, 129
 Clochides, 54 ff.
 Clothing, magic, 8
Cnu dheireoil, 8, 107 ff.
Coblyn: see Goblins
 Colivre, 61
Colloquy of the Ancients, 7 ff.
 Constantine, 134
Conte del Graal (Chrétien de Troyes), 45 ff., 50, 139 ff.
Conte del Graal (first continuation), 29, 52 ff., 104 n., 112, 124 ff., 129
Conte del Graal (second continuation), 29, 62 ff., 69 n., 71 n.
 Conteurs, 3 ff., 23, 37, 57 ff., 115
 Corbenic, 44, 47 ff., 51 ff., 124 ff.
Cormac's Glossary, 96 ff., 108 ff.
- Cornish contributions to the Arthurian legend, 3, 18, 31 ff., 40, 114
Corranaiad, 17 ff.
 Court dwarfs, 1, 4 ff., 21 ff., 106 ff., 141
 Crates of Mallos, 34
 Crepuscular light of dwarf realms, 10, 12, 16, 40, 58, 94, 97, 100
 Cuchulainn, 8, 95 ff., 100
 Cuckolded dwarfs, 84 ff., 135
Culhwch and Olwen, 3, 17, 36, 89, 94 n.
 Cup, magic, 64 ff., 67 ff.: see also Vessel, magic; Grail
 Curoi, 59, 95 ff., 99 ff., 121
- Dafydd ap Gwilym, 17, 39
 Damoisele Maudisante, 88 ff., 127, 138
 Damsel of the Tent, 136 ff.
De Amore, 76
 Delias, 53 n.
De Nugis Curialium, 9 ff., 114
De Ortu Waluani, 99 ff.
Des quatreiz d'aage d'ome, 132 n.
Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel, 96
Didot Perceval, 43, 45 ff., 69 n., 103, 119 n., 128 ff., 138
 Disenchantment from dwarfhood, 82, 91, 95, 102 ff.
Diu Crône, 36 ff., 71 n., 80 n., 84 ff., 112 ff., 117, 118 n., 136, 141 ff., 143 n.
 Divine king, 130 ff.
 Dogs associated with dwarfs, 82 ff., 135
Dream of Rhonabwy, 111 ff.
 Druas, 53 ff., 122
 Druidain, 117, 132 ff.
Durmart le Gallois, 29 ff., 69 n., 71 n., 141, 143 n.
 Dutch Lancelot: see Roman van Lancelot
 Dwarfism (as physiological condition), 30 ff.
 Dwarf king, 7, 9 ff., 12, 16 n., 18, 19, 33 ff., 40, 45 ff., 62 ff., 82 ff., 99 ff., 129 ff.
Dysgl, 44
- Eiddilic Gorr, 17
 Eleanor of Provence, 24
 Elf King, 117
 Elias, 53 n.
 Elinan, 49
 Eliodorus, 11 ff., 33
Erec (Hartmann von Aue), 36, 62, 65 ff., 111

- Erec et Enide* (Chrétien de Troyes), 28,
 35, 44 ff., 62 ff., 77 ff., 88 ff., 111,
 114, 118, 129
Escanor, 30 n., 61, 79 ff., 111, 134, 143 n.
Esclarmonde, 79 ff., 111
Esirt, 6 ff., 107
Estoire del Saint Graal, 44
Eurolwen, 17
Evadeam, 30, 102 ff., 112, 121 ff.

Fergus et Galiene, 30, 47, 60 ff., 64 n.
Fergus mac Leide, 6 ff.
Ferragio, 58
Finbeus, 112 ff.
*Fin MacCool, the Three Giants and the
 Small Men*, 90 ff.
*Fin MacCumbail and the Knight of the
 Full Axe*, 93, 97
Finn grandson of Baiscne, 108 ff.
Fisher King, 4, 43 ff., 59, 103
Floriant et Florete, 109
Fools, 21 ff.
Foresight, dwarfs possessing, 8, 18, 32,
 47, 90, 106 ff., 122
Four Branches of the Mabinogi, 2 ff.:
see also individual branches
Furious Host: see Wild Hunt

Galahad, 48, 50
Galatee, 79
Garahes, 52 ff., 124 ff.
Gareth, 89 n., 127
Gargeolain, 85
Gaus, 135 ff.
Gawain, 3, 51 ff., 63 ff., 80 n., 90 ff., 97,
 99, 102 ff., 109 ff., 112, 125 ff., 132,
 135 ff., 139 ff.
Gawain and the Green Knight, 2 ff., 84
Geraint Son of Erbin, 62 ff., 70
Germanic dwarfs, 15 n., 71 ff., 113 n.
Gesta regum Britanniae, 114 ff.
Giant associated with dwarf, 35 ff., 51 ff.,
 140, 142
Givreiz, 71 n.
Gladain, 141
Glecidalan, 35 ff.
Gleodalen, 35 n., 36, 88 ff., 121
Gligoras, 36
Glodoalan, 35 n., 36
Glorigaran, 36
Goats associated with dwarfs, 9, 11, 112 ff.
Goblins, 11, 31 ff.
Gododdin, 38

Gogledd, 38
Grail, 44, 47 ff., 68, 72, 124
Grail legend, 2 ff., 43 ff., 51 ff.
Grateful dead man, 90, 92 ff.
Greoreas, 139 ff.
Grigoras, 35
Gringalet, 79 ff., 111
Gringulet, 111
Groadain, 119, 125 ff.
Guigamor, 78
Guignier, 105 n.
Guinevere, 3, 48
Guingalet, 111
Guingamor, 77 ff.
Guinloie, 3
Guiron, 134
Guivers, 71 n.
Guivres, 71 n.
Guivret, 62 ff., 83, 89, 122
Guy Fawkes Day, 131
Gwiffert Petit, 70
Gwyddolwyn Gorr, 17, 89, 121
Gwydelyn Gorr: see Gwyddolwyn Gorr
Gwynedd, 38
Gwynn ap Nudd, 39 ff.
Gyvreiz, 85

Hafgan, 83
Hauberk, magic, 64 ff., 68
Hector, 126 ff., 139
Helyas, 53 n.
Herla, 9 ff.
Hermits, dwarfs as, 45 ff.
Hervé, 58
Hideuz Noire Pance, 61
Historia regum Britanniae, 37 ff., 44
Horn, magic, 7, 64 ff., 67 ff.
Horses of dwarfs: see Mounts of dwarfs
Hospitable dwarfs, 10, 12, 13, 16, 33 ff.,
 40, 46 ff., 49, 62 ff., 83
Hostile dwarfs: see Truculent dwarfs
Hugh the Mighty, 15
Hunbaut, 119, 129
Hunchbacked dwarfs, medical analysis of,
 31
Huon de Bordeaux, 28, 62 ff., 76
Hurganet, 128 ff.
Huth Merlin, 80 n., 128

Infantilism, 30 ff.
Invisibility, dwarfs able to assume, 13 ff.,
 57, 94 ff.

- Irish contributions to Arthurian legend, 2, 6 ff., *et passim*
 Irish dwarfs, 6 ff., 90 ff.
 Island, dwarfs dwelling on, 7, 13, 18, 39, 99, 142
Itinerarium Cambriae, 11 ff., 33, 112
 Iubdan, 6 ff., 112
- Jeannot le folet, 25
 Jesters: *see* Fools
 Johannes Cornubiensis, 40
Journeys of the Tuath Luchra, 6 ff., 107, 112
- Kaer Belli, 40
Kaer Siddi, 40 ff., 122
 Kaherdin, 85
 Karamphiet, 80 n., 136
 Karrioz, 56 ff.
Kathā Sarit Sāgara, 134
 Kay, 3, 129, 134
King of Albainn, 92
King of Ireland's Son, 92 ff.
 Knight of the Galley, 140 ff.
Korranyeis: see Corraniald
Korrigans, 11, 18 ff., 23 n., 32
- Lai du Cor*, 67 n.
 Lambert of Saint Omer, 34
 Lancelot, 46 ff., 53, 75, 78 ff., 118 n., 124 ff., 129 ff., 137, 140
Lanzelet, 71 n., 78 ff., 85, 118, 129
 Laurin, 113 n.
Lay of Guron, 126
 Leprechauns, 6 ff., 18, 91
Lestoire de Merlin, 30
Libeaus Desconus, 29, 88 ff., 143 n.
Livre d'Artus, 89
Lludd and Llefelys, 120
 Lover, dwarf as, 102 ff., 132 ff.
 Lomna, 108 ff.
Lutins, 19 n.
- Macaire*, 134
 Macrobius, 34
 Magic possessions of dwarfs: *see* Axe; Clothing; Cup; Hauberk; Horn; Music, dwarfs skilled in; Mounts; Shield; Spear; Sword; Vessel
 Mahaut, Countess of Artois and Bourgogne, 24 ff.
 Maimed King, 4, 43, 48 ff., 50 and n., 51 ff., 114, 125, 136 ff.
Mal mariée, Chanson de, 86 ff.
- Malory, 80 n., 89 n., 127 ff., 132 ff., 143 n.
 Manannan, 7 ff.
 Mantle test, 37, 85
 Marin, 109 ff., 126
 Mark, 106 ff.
 Martianus Capella, 34
 Mathaliz, 139
 Math son of Mathonwy, 17
 "Meeting of Cuchulainn with Senbecc," 8
 Meliot, 140 ff.
 Melot Petit, 106 n.
 Menw son of Teirgwaedd, 17, 94 n.
Meraugis de Portlesguez, 85 n., 137 ff., 143 n.
 Meriadeus, 135 ff.
 Merlin, 3, 80, 100, 102 ff.
 Mider, 8 ff.
 Milocrates, 99, 117
 Mock king, 131
 Modron, 41, 46 ff., 74 ff.
 Mordred, 128
 Morgain la Fée, 41, 46 ff., 64, 73 ff., 111, 136 ff.
Morganed, 29
 Morgen, 41
Mort le roi Artu, 103, 142
 Morvudd, 41
 Mounts of the dwarfs, 7, 9, 12, 25, 52, 63, 67, 111 ff., 118 n., 135
Mule sanz Fraim, 136
 Music, dwarfs skilled in, 7, 8, 89, 141
- Nampeténis, 85 ff.
 Noble dwarfs, 7, 10 ff., 35 ff., 62 ff., 68 ff.
 Nogant, 141
Normannicus Draco, 114
- Ogier le Danois*, 76
 Olyroun, 77
 Origins of belief in dwarfs, 20 n.
Ortnit, 72
Osgar the Son of Oisín, 91, 105
Otia Imperialia, 33 ff., 115
 Otranto mosaic, 114
 Owain, 41
 Owein, 74
- Panchatantra*, 134 ff.
Parzifal, 45 ff., 111
Pegorau, 14 ff., 38
 Pelles, 43 ff., 50 n., 51 ff., 59, 68, 71 ff., 80 n., 103, 121, 135

- Pellinor, 50 n.
 Perceval, 43 ff., 128 ff.
Peredur, 13 ff., 85, 118
Perlesvaus, 45 ff., 50, 109 ff., 126, 129 ff., 137, 140 ff.
 Perrinet, 24 ff.
 Petit Chevalier, 29, 52 ff., 112, 118, 122, 124 ff.
 Petitcrû, 67 n.
 Piskies, 18, 114
Plant Rhys Ddwfn, 13
 Priure, 36
Prophetia Merlini, 40
Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, 39, 83 ff.
- "Queen of Scotland," 104
Queste del Saint Graal, 44, 47 ff., 103, 118 n., 143 n.
- Real dwarfs: *see* Court dwarfs
 René of Anjou, 25
 "Ritter mit dem bock," 112 ff.
 Rival Sisters, 80 n.
 Riwalin, 71 n.
 Roaz, 56 ff., 59
Roman de Balan, 143 n.
Roman de Hem, 25 ff.
Roman de l'Estoire dou Iraal, 44
Roman van Lancelot, 28, 39 ff., 82 ff., 121, 135
 Roestoc, Lady of, 126 ff.
 Ruddlwm Gorr, 17
 Runalen, 85
- Sacrifice, dwarfs associated with, 14, 15 n., 129 ff.
 Saelde, 112 ff.
 Sagremor, 136 ff.
 Saint Patrick, 8
 Samhain, 130
 Sarras, 53 ff.
 Scandinavian trolls, 16 n.
 Segurades, 126 ff.
 Selinan, 49
 Senbecc, 8
Senchas Mor, 7, 91
 Servants, dwarfs as, 9, 49, 53 ff., 60 ff., 74, 88 ff., 127 ff., 136 ff., 140 ff.
 Shapeshifting dwarfs, 82 ff., 91 ff., 102 ff.
 Shield, magic, 7, 8, 63 ff., 68
 Sicily, Arthurian legend in, 4
Sickbed of Cuchulainn, 88
Sir Degarre, 143 n.
- Sir Launfal*, 77
Skikkju Rimur, 37, 84
 Sornehan, 54
 Spear, magic, 7, 8, 14
Spoils of Annwn, 40
 Spying dwarfs, 106 ff.
 Subterranean dwarfs: *see* Underground, dwarfs dwelling
 Supernatural elements, reduction or loss of, 4, 118, 122
 Supernatural helpers, dwarfs as, 72 ff., 90 ff., 117, 121
 Supernatural loss of time in fairyland, 10, 11 n.
 Strength of dwarfs, 14 ff., 15 n., 16 n., 52 ff., 56 ff., 62 ff., 90 ff., 100 ff., 117
 Supernatural powers of dwarfs: *see* Foresight; Invisibility; Shapeshifting; Strength
 Sword, magic, 99 ff.
- "Tam Lin," 104
 Tanree, 63 ff., 73, 76 ff.
 Taprobane, 34, 35 n.
 Tegau Eurodon, 105
 Teodelain, 29, 88 ff., 121
 Tertre Devee, 54 ff.
 Theft from fairyland, 12, 13, 18 ff., 115
 Tidogolains, 29, 88 ff., 121
 Torre, 128
 Trevrizent, 45 ff.
 Triads, 15, 17, 44
 Tristan, 85 ff., 106 ff.
Tristan (Béroul), 106 ff.
Tristan (Thomas of Britain), 67 n., 85 ff., 106 ff.
Tristan (Prose), 50 n., 56, 85 ff., 134
Tristan und Isolde (Gottfried von Strassburg), 106 ff.
Tristan (Eilhart von Oberge), 85 ff., 106 ff.
 Tristram le Naim, 85 ff.
 Truculent dwarfs, 14, 15 n., 17, 25 ff., 50 ff., 66, 78 ff., 83, 99, 118 ff., 124 ff., 136 ff., 140
 Tryamour, 77
 Turk, 28, 117, 121, 122
Turk and Gowin, 28, 90 ff., 105, 121
Tylwyth Teg, 12 ff., 40
- Ugly dwarfs, 8 ff., 16 n., 18, 31, 102 ff., 107, 133, 141
 Uncle, dwarf as, 126 ff.

- Underground, dwarfs dwelling, 8 ff., 12, 13 ff., 16 and n., 18, 33 ff., 35 and n., 39, 46, 94, and n., 98, 100, 126
- Ungrateful Wife*, 134 ff.
- Unspelling quest, 2
- Urien, 74
- Vengeance quest, 2
- Vengeance Raguidel*, 30 n., 117, 132 ff., 143 n.
- Vessel, magic, 7, 10 ff., 40 ff., 44, 67 ff.:
see also Cup; Grail
- Violent Death of Curoi*, 100
- Virtue-testing objects, 37 and n., 63 ff., 67 ff., 84 ff., 112 ff., 142
- Vita Merlini*, 75
- Voyage of Bran*, 112 n.
- Vulgate Lancelot*, 44 ff., 51 ff., 59, 61, 75, 79, 80 n., 99 ff., 103, 119, 124 ff., 128, 136 ff., 143 n.
- Vulgate Merlin*, 112
- Wasteland, 132
- Water, dwarfs dwelling under or by, 7 ff., 13 ff., 15 n., 16, 18, 38, 57, 118 n.
- Weapons of dwarfs: see Armor and weapons
- "Wee, Wee Man," 16 n., 101 n.
- Welsh contributions to Arthurian legend, 3, 9 ff., 43 ff., 74 ff., 83 ff., 114 ff., 120 ff., *et passim*
- Wigalois*, 56 ff., 88 ff., 113
- Wild Hunt, 11 n.
- Winlowen, 3
- Wives of dwarfs, 8, 10, 37, 82 ff., 139, 142
- Wounded knight: see Maimed King
- Ydain, 82 ff., 133
- Yder*, 118 ff., 129
- Yvain*, 68 n., 119 n., 140
- Ywain, 74
- Zelotes, 61

NSC
2873/78

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.

B. B. 148, N. DELHI.