

Mabinogi Rhiannon

*gwraig o rym a'i theulu;
safbwyntiau llenyddol, gwleidyddol, thealogaid, celfyddydol a strwythurol*

woman of power & her kindred;
literary, political, theological,
arts, & structural perspectives

Shân Morgain (2025)



'Rhiannon' giantess parade puppet created 2010 Nathan Sheen supported by my consultancy. She was dressed by Millbrook primary school children, Newport. Photo Andy O'Rourke, permission 30/12/2021. My family also performed 'Rhiannon' (PKM1) for Gaer School. Both giant puppet and school performance were part of Newport city's celebration of Welsh mythology organised by Andy O'Rourke, multidisciplinary, community artist in consultation with me. I had been a storyteller for almost 30 years, but our family 'Rhiannon' performance affected me considerably. Much reading, research and meditation followed, culminating in PhD registration for this study October 2013. See Ch. II.3. Performance, final passages. (URL pics Bibliography)

***CYFROL I Ffurfioldebau, Cydnabyddiaethau,
Rhestrau Cynnwys, Darluniau, Rhagymadrodd***
VOLUME I Formalities, Acknowledgements,
Contents lists, Illustrations, Introduction

Datganiadau/ Declarations

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed ***Shân Morgain*** (candidate)

Date **31/03/2024**

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed ***Shân Morgain*** (candidate)

Date **31/01/5**

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for electronic sharing.

Signed ***Shân Morgain*** (candidate)

Date **31/05/2025**

Crynodb/ Abstract

The study asks 'Who is Rhiannon?', building a portrait of her personage, through multiple perspectives across centuries.

Rhiannon sources in the pioneering prose revolution *Pedeir Cainc y Mabinogi*, c. 1100. In this work of genius 'Mabinogi Rhiannon' develops from oral traditions through manuscripts, print format and 21stC electronics; gaining mythological, literary, and arts interpretations along with political implications. As a leading Mabinogi protagonist, Rhiannon functions as a substantial Mabinogi spine, or 'tour guide'.

Three principles govern the study.

1. It benefits from the 1970s/1980s paradigm shift, approaching the Mabinogi as predominantly coherent; an intricately layered literature. 'Trusting the text' is primary: commentary is 'unfolding', not reconstruction.

Feminist perspectives, emergent in the same period, are routine.

2. Multiple perspectives draw on broad, supplementary data, building not a monomyth but a mosaic of political, economic, psychological, literary, arts, mythological and structural approaches.

3. The Mabinogi is regarded as invaluable Welsh heritage of international significance. Rhiannon as Welsh is respected by plentiful Welsh content: title, subtitles, key terms, and quotes.

Rhiannon's romance is deconstructed to an elite *marchoges*/ equestrian noblewoman of pragmatic ambitions. Her speech and acts analysis finds dominant assertiveness in her *negessau* /purposes, but also intense maternal vulnerability. Characteristically embedded in relationships (hybrid personal/political), Rhiannon is male oriented. Her 'maternal dyad' is found central to her narrative, and to Desolation aetiology.

Rhiannon is presented as a Mabinogi Magician with three paradoxical *hudiau*/ enchantments. Rhiannon *Duwies*/ Goddess appears rich in theologies: Horse-, Mother-, Sun-, Muse-, Initiation-Goddess; Descent cycle, *bodhisattva*, ambivalence and symbiosis.

Structural analyses array a wealth of interlacings and triplicities. Modern adaptations inspire young women with Rhiannon's strength, reflecting my suggested interpretation of *mabinogi* as 'about the young'.

Deconstruction done, Rhiannon remains romantic, a 'strong woman', a plausible divinity; above all a mediaeval Welsh noblewoman and a mother.

Cydnabyddiaethau/ Acknowledgments

John Davies My bloke, who shoulders the blame for this project. He brought me to Wales in 1989, and courted me by exploiting his unfair advantages in being Welsh.

Heartfelt thanks for making me an honorary Welshwoman, and the shared inspiration from these tales. For the 'dirty science' of political economy, for insider insight about y/our people, for psychology and plot discussion, for practical data on historical travel, for frequent driver services, for photography, for shared courage and pragmatism during each our cancers (my thanks to Dr Parry-Jones] who kept you alive for me against the odds, and her kind interest in my work). For 1,000s of breakfasts, suppers, bath, walking help, fetching things, morale strength; not least the wacky bits.

I could *not* have done it without you John.

Taliesin 'Tal' Morgan My Prince of the Plum Trees'. For being beautiful. For stoic patience with his eccentric matriarch. For all the shopping, the treats, and lovely suppers. For many herculean manual stair lifts and beautiful beds. For fetching. For strong arm when walking. For courage and maturity during the cancer journey both parents in series. Most of all for laughter, millions of adorable pictures, net humour, lifting and supporting me. For his own unique zen, holding me. For respecting my work, research help, total bibliog checking, sharing his own angles on issues. For the pats.

Etsaana the Empress Loyal companion, at my side almost 24/7, dark hole in the universe, sleek, solid, endlessly elegant, passionately affectionate prima donna, gracefully sharing my lap with the laptop. For the purring (research proved to steady my health), for her assiduous nursing passages, for her unique singing. For her ineffable beauty and love. For her predecessors Sws, Tissy, Theia, Cija who taught and trained me.

Yr Athro Emerita Christine James

My first supervisor 2013- 2020. Before I met her, as Wales' ArchDruid she scared me, but she swiftly quashed that and drew me into a nourishing liaison. I was a late-life contemporary, a mature, professional writer, an acutely anxious perfectionist, and a pigheaded temperament sometimes taking very different routes to my results to what she would have chosen. This would all be far beyond most supervisors. Christine's wisdom and compassion brought us through many barriers. Her patience as I floundered in her native language has been extraordinary. Her meticulous scrutiny of my text, many generous gifts of research resources, firm but gentle critique, make this a collaboration deserving a traditional eulogy; but alas I am no bard.

Professor Liz McAvoy Liz performed the sacred messenger role with notable kindness, conducting me to Christine James, October 2013. She has made a series of vital interventions and rescues, guiding me in the bureaucratic maze, encouraging me when it was all too much. I treasure her golden words of praise which fed my strength. If there is anyone more efficient on the planet it would surprise me. She has critically assisted with structural concerns, and of course feminism which as she said when we first met, is everywhere.

Yr Athro Alan Llwyd took over a shocked, traumatised me, having lost Christine. I was rude and unpleasant. Alan was unfailingly courteous and patient, gradually winning my trust. I came to see I am lucky to have his eminent expertise on the PhD cult. His generous praise for my work has time and again lifted me from the pit as I struggled with cancer terrors, NHS bureaucracy, and the inevitable anxiety of final completion. He is one of the greatest poets of Wales, but more than that he is a greathearted man.

Professor Kirsti Bohata my thanks for calmly, efficiently, managing the horrors of bureaucracy to keep me going.

Academic and other assistance, particular thanks (A-Z).

Appreciation for artists is noted in the Illustrations list.

Douglas A. **Anderson**, for sharing his research and answering queries on Evangeline Walton and Kenneth Morris.

Edward **Anwyl**, for his pioneering research.

Kirsti **Bohata**, second supervisor, late stage in my PhD for bureaucratic guard.

John K. **Bollard**, his pioneering paradigm; his version of the Mabinogi, and many insights. Gift of PDF of his book.

Andrew **Breeze**, for many queries and kind attentions.

Rachel **Bromwich**, for her mass of relevant materials.

Samuel **Caronwen**, Senior Access Assistant NLW, series of queries.

Gwenllian **Carr**, *Cyfarwyddwr Strategol*/ Strategic Director, *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru*. Photo credit.

Daniel **Cohen**, *Wood and Water*, gentle, kindly support over many years.

Mary-Ann **Constantine**, for kind tech rescue of my conference presentation.

Timothy **Cutts**, Rare Books Librarian, NLW, a very nice 'young man'.

Robin **Darwall-Smith**, Archivist, Jesus College Oxford, re Tegid and Llyfr Coch.

John **Davies**, political economics (PPE) countless support dialogues, insights.

Dr. Roy **Davies**, Narberth, his amazing gift of the Stockburn 'Rhiannon' painting when we both wanted to acquire it. See Gallery.

Rhiannon Mary **Davies**, for helpful discussion of her thesis.

Manon **Eames**, kind provision of draft section script, her play Magnificent Mabinogi.

Shai **Feraro**, for copies of his works and help with queries 20thC Goddess.

Patrick K. **Ford**, *Welsh Tales*, major part in bringing me to becoming an honorary Welshwoman, provision of Welsh text, and queries. See my Intro on his *Cyfranc*.

Helen **Fulton**, for agreeing my request to be my External Examiner.

Jost **Gippert**, for providing PKM text online and friendly correspondence.

Ian **Glen**, Librarian, Swansea University, for many rescues and advices.

Charlotte **Guest**, for pathfinding.

Jessica **Hemming**, for kind provision of article copy.

Meinir **Heulyn**, Alaw Music, provision of copy re Edward Jones, Bardd y Brenin.

Kris **Hughes**, for material and notes on Epona and Rhiannon.

Lis **Hughes Jones**, Dir. Brith Gof, info on their Japanese Noh style play, and her Rhiannon dance solo tour.

Maredudd ap **Huw** (NLW) and Ann Parry Owen (CAWCS) for kind advice on forthcoming content Huws *Manuscripts*.

Daniel **Huws**, for very kind provision of pre-publication copy excerpt from his updated *Manuscripts*. See Maredudd ap Huw (NLW) and Ann Parry-Owen (CAWCS) for kind advice on forthcoming content.

Christine **James**, many many personal discussions, creative ideas, critique, the Cymraeg, formatting refs. personal support above and beyond duty required over seven years.

Angela V. **John**, Welsh historian, for provision of presentation notes and hospitable visit to view her commemorative tabletop.

John R. **Kenyon**, Research Fellow, National Museum Wales, on castles.

Ursula **King**, generous patronage and support for my Goddess research.
 John **Koch & editorial team**, for the *Celtic Encyclopedia*. As I moved towards this thesis I read every article of Welsh relevance, a wonderful grounding.
 Dr Valentina **Lefemine** & team for patience beyond normal to get me through breast surgery to survive and do this thing.
 Asphodel **Long**, author, outstanding sisterhood and loyalty.
 Diana **Luft**, for copies of her papers but most of all her unique and thorough research.
 Alan **Llwyd**, triple chaired Eisteddfod poet, my supervisor in late stage PhD, much help with poetry and the Cymraeg. Warm, generous support.
 Jennifer **MacCormack**, for her lively Mabinogi discussion forum, now sadly defunct.
 Bernhard **Maier**, for kind summary of his German article, by email.
 Ruth **Mantin**, for early encouragement and hospitality.
 Liz **McAvoy**, second supervisor in first stage PhD, key help on structure and crucial encouragement.
 Janet **McCrickard**, for long ago shared inspiration re Brighde.
 Owen **McKnight**, College Librarian & Acting Archivist, Jesus College, Oxford, re Llyfr Coch.
 Geoffrey **McVey**, Celticist, for friendly exchanges about the Onyx Path project.
 Robin **Morgan**, 'Monster' profound founding inspiration my Radical Feminism.
 Taliesin **Morgan**, for many useful comments and critique, research assistance, sub-editing, in addition to crucial personal support.
Museum of Witchcraft and Magic, Boscastle, Cornwall, access Madrian booklet.
NLW staff for many queries, patience with my fussy details.
 Will **Parker**, his Mabinogi work originally inspired me, and for many helps since.
 Dr Nilima **Parry Jones** for keeping John alive against the odds of aggressive blood cancer because I could not have done this without him
 Ann **Parry Owen** for providing text via Alan Llwyd; and with Maredudd ap Huw for kind advice on forthcoming content Huws *Manuscripts*.
 Gwri **Pennar**, for the incomparable gift of copy of his father's lost thesis.
 Alan **Phillips**, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, for sharing his diary data re Ken Rees.
 William Owen **Pughe**, for his long efforts and pioneering Mabinogi publications.
 Melissa **Raphael**, for inspiration.
 Paul **Remfry**, on Welsh castles.
 Simon **Rodway**, Aberystwyth, for a common journey, many kindly attentions.
 Emrys **Rhys**, admin. of *Barn* for providing copy issue.
 Mark Antony **Strong**, NLW Enquiries, identifying specific Guest volumes.
 Charles William **Sullivan III**, *Essays*, key chronicle of new paradigm, and particular helps.
Swansea University Library staff, unfailingly patient and efficient.
 Jhenah **Telyndru**, shared hybrid identity, enlightenment re the Avalon problem.
 Josef Johann **Wittgenstein**, for killing the monomyth.

Technical supporters

Academia.edu open access host academic papers.
Alternative Software, finding the right tool using comparisons.

Atlantis Word Processor, marvellously flexible customisable.
AVG Antivirus, guardian.
Bookfinder, searches millions of book sources, finds cheapest, accessible.
CCleaner, cleans clutter.
John **Davies**, photography.
Ebay for laptops, key drives, mice, books and pleasure items.
Firefox browser, open source.
Discord messenger connecting my core support web.
Gmail, massive archive of communications over the years, good spam guard.
Google Image search
Google Scholar search
Google Translation, better than its reputation.
GPC sterling Welsh dictionary.
Irfanview art editor, quick powerful good interface, veteran software.
Kindle reader, saves lots of money and trees, links to dictionary.
Taliesin **Morgan**, many tech rescues, and setting up Discord.
MultiCommander, parallel explorer windows for backups.
Online OCR net, essential for old PDFs, images of text.
Pyramids, sanity saver little game.
Slimjet browser Chrome derivative, recommended.
Solsuite Solitaire, sanity saver with kittens.
Thesaurus .com online many many helps with wordcraft.
Toshiba Portege laptop design, extra lightweight for this weak, disabled user.
Beth **Williams**, tech training and later support.
Wordpress, my research website.

... and of course,
Rhiannon.

Mabinogi Rhiannon: Cynnwys

Mabinogi Rhiannon: Contents

CYFROL I /VOLUME I

Wynebddarlun/ Frontispiece * *Tudalennau teitl*/ Title
Cyflwyniad/ Dedication * *Datganiadau*/ Declarations *
Crynodeb/ Abstract * *Cydnabyddiaethau*/Acknowledgements

CYNNWYS/ CONTENTS (This page)

Chapters (detailed Contents list)

Mapiau, Diagramau, Lluniau, Tablau/ Maps, Diagrams, Illustrations, Tables
 Glossary & Abbreviations are at the end of Volume III

RHAGYMADRODD/ INTRODUCTION

Cyrol II: Penodau/ Volume II: Chapters

In the Chapters list below the number of Chapters in each section is (bracketed).

Cyflwyniad/ Introductory

I Mabinogi Rhiannon: testunau/

Mabinogi Rhiannon: text perspectives (7) **1- 42**

II Stori 'r Stori: safbwyntiau hanesyddol/

Story of the Story: historical perspectives (9) **43-139**

III Y Farchoges, Ei Byd: safbwyntiau economaidd-wleidyddol

The Horsewoman, Her World: political economy perspectives (7) **140-89**

Rhiannon a'i Phobl/ Rhiannon and her People

IV Rhiannon ei hun: ei safbwyntiau/

Rhiannon herself: her perspectives (2) **190-211**

V Ei Charennnyd: safbwyntiau perthynol/

Her Kindred: relational perspectives (15) **212-355**

Safbwyntiau Syniadol/ Conceptual Perspectives

VI Rhiannon 'Rywedawt': safbwyntiau hud/

Rhiannon the Marvellous: magical perspectives (6) **356-414**

VII Rhiannon Duwies/ Goddess Rhiannon (5)

415-507

VIII Safbwyntiau Strwythurol/ Structural perspectives (7)

508-527

IX Safbwyntiau Celfyddydol/ Arts perspectives (2)

528-535

X Casgliadau/ Conclusions

568-601

CYFROL III/ VOLUME III

Atodiadau/ APPENDICES (17) * *Llyfryddiaeth*/ BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mynegai Tudalen/ PAGE INDEX Concordance of topics, pages, footnotes

Dyfyniadau PKM/ PKM Quotes narrative order *Geirfa Cymraeg* / Glossary

Cymraeg * *Byrfoddau* / Abbreviations

(CYFROL I/ VOLUME I)

I RHAGARWEINIOL/ INTRODUCTORY (7ch) pp. 1–42

I.1. Aralleirio Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon Paraphrase pp. 2-3

I. 2. Dramatis Personae p. 4

I. 3. 'Riannon ... wyfi', Etymoleg/ 'I am ... Rhiannon', Etymology pp. 5-10

MS. a chyhoeddiad print/ MS. & print publ. Enghreifftiau Mabinogi / Mabinogi instances Sillafau / Syllables. Rhagddodiad RHI-/Prefix RHI-. Ôl-ddodiad -ON/ Suffix - ON

I. 4. Dyfodiad Rhiannon/ Advent of Rhiannon pp. 10-23

Testun/ Text. 1. Ac wal y / bydynt yn eisted / 'And as they were sitting ...' 12-13

2. wynt a welynt/ 'they could see ...' 14 3. gwreic/ 'a woman ...' 15-16

4. [who is anonymous] 16 5. ar uarch/ 'on a horse ...' – canwelw/ pale-white – mawr/ great – aruchel/ noble, supreme ...' 17-20 6. a gwisc eureit, llathreit/ with a shining golden garment ...' 20-21 7. bali/ 'silk brocade about her, ...' 21-22 8. prifford/ 'coming along the highway ...' 22 9. orssed/ 'past the mound.' 22-23

I. 5 Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text pp. 23-33

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction. Y dechrau/ The beginning. Y diwedd/ The ending.

Narratif craidd ac estynedig/ Core and extended narrative 29-30.

Ford 'Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab' 30-32

I. 6 Rhiannon mewn Ffynonellau eraill/ Other Rhiannon Sources pp. 33-35

1) Lost 'Rieni' Triad? 2) Culhwch ac Olwen. 3) Awdl, anonymous. 4) Jaufre Rudel. 5) Owein. 6) Goronwy Gyriog. 7) Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch. 8) Ystoria Taliesin.

I. 7 Rhiannon fel Gwraig o Gyfarwydd/ Rhiannon, Lady of Prose Story-telling 36-42

Rhyddiaith a barddoniaeth / Prose and poetry. Mabinogi Rhiannon

II STORI'R STORI / STORY OF THE STORY (9 ch) pp. 43-139

II.1. Amserlin (graffig) / Timeline (graphic) p. 44

II.2. Crefft y Cyfarwydd/ The Storyteller's Craft pp. 45-49

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction. Strwythur/ Structure. Cymeriadaeth/ Characterisation. Arddull / Style 47-49

II.3. Mae'r Perfformiad yn Parhau/ The Performance Continues pp. 50-56

Canoloesol – 1975 / Mediaeval – 1975. Theatr Gymraeg / Welsh theatre. Mudiad adrodd straeon / Storytelling movement. Cyfochrog cainc / Parallel streams. Cydgyfeiriant / Convergence

II.4. Llawysgrifau/ Manuscripts pp. 57-62

Tair llawysgrif/ Three manuscripts. Peniarth 6. Tarddiad / Provenance. Cyd-destun Gwleidyddol / Political Context. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch/ White Book of Rhydderch. Llyfr Coch Hergest / Red Book of Hergest

II.5. Dadeni Cymru/ Welsh Renaissance pp. 62-104

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction 62 Edward Lhuyd 62-64 Moses Williams 64-65 Lewis

Morris, 'Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn' 65-67 William Owen Pughe, 'Idrison' 67-78

Edward Jones 79 John Jones, 'Tegid' 79-81 Thomas Price, 'Carnhuanawc' 81-85

Charlotte Guest 85-99 Thomas Stephens, 'Casnodyn', 'Gwrnerth', 'Caradawg' 99-101

Rhamant/ Romance 101-04

II.6. Academia Gymreig/ Welsh Academia pp. 105-118

Matthew Arnold 105-06 John Rhys 106-08 Edward Anwyl 108-11 William John

Gruffydd (WJG) 111-16 Ifor Williams, Pedeir Cainc y Mabinogi 116-17 Folklore: Kenneth Jackson, Juliette Wood 117-18 Rachel Bromwich TYP 118

II.7. Y Patrwm Cydlyniant 1970-1995/ The Coherence Paradigm 1970-1995

pp. 118-139

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction 118-19 Four Accounts 119-21 Rhyngwau/ Interlacing

121-23 Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism 124-39 Feminism and mediaeval text 125-

26 WLM 126-28 Andreas Pennar, obscured feminist 128-29 'Rob' Valente Pioneer feminist 130-31 Feminist theory & Rhiannon 131-33 Beauty 133-34 Agency 134-35 21stC Technology 135-39

II.8. Mabinogi Rhiannon a Ffeministiaeth/ Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism pp. 124-135

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction. Ffeministiaeth a thestun canoloesol / Feminism and mediaeval text. Dadeni Cymru, Academia Gymreig / Welsh Renaissance, Academia. Mudiad Rhyddhad Merched (WLM) a'r Paradigm Cydlynaiad / Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) and the Coherence Paradigm. Andreas Pennar. 'Rob' Valente. Modelau damcaniaethol ffeministaidd a Rhiannon/ Feminist theoretical models and Rhiannon. Harddwch/ Beauty. Asiantaeth / Agency.

II.9. 21st Century Rhiannon pp. 135-39

III Y FARCHOGES, EI BYD/ THE HORSEWOMAN, HER WORLD (7ch) 140-89

III.1. Map Mabinogi p. 141

III.2. Yr Ynys Hon / This Island (Britain) pp. 142-47

Ynys unedig / Unified island. Cymru / Wales. 'Ynys hon' / 'This island' (Britain).

III.3. Hierarchiaeth, economeg / Hierarchy, Economics pp. 147-57

Daearyddiaeth / Geography. Dyfed. Llysoedd y Cylchiau / Courts and Circuits. Pendefigau a arglwyddhau / Princes and lords. Cyngorau / Councils.

III.4. Digwyddiadau Ceffylau, Marchogion / Equine Events, Equestrian Nobility pp. 157-64

Enghreifftiau o geffylau (tabl) / Equine instances (table) 157-59. Marchogion 157-62 Marchogion Magu ceffylau / Horse breeding 162-63. Hela a merched / Hunting and women 163-64

III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd / Law, Land & Women (LLW) pp. 164-77

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction 164. Tiriogaeth, hunaniaeth a sarhaed / Territory, identity and sarhaed 165-66. Gwragedd ac enwau / Women and names 166-67. Priodas/ Marriage 167-69. Cydsyniad / Consent 170. Mamu / Mothering 171-72. Cwnselwyr / Counsellors 172. Gwleddoedd/ Feasts 173-74. Ysgariad / Divorce 175. Morwynion / Girls 176. Cyngorau / Alliance 176-77

III.6. 'Tryded Prif Rien' / 'Three Chief Rien' pp. 177-83

Y ddau destun / The two texts. Wedi colli Triad? / Lost Triad? Ystyr / Meaning 181-82. Rhiannon, Branwen, Arianrhod 182-82

III.7. Cyflin Gwleidyddol / Political parallels pp. 183-89

Hywel Dda 183-85. Eingl-Normanaidd Anglo-Norman 185-88. Britain, Dyfed, Gwynedd 188-89

IV HI EI HUN/ HERSELF (2 ch) pp. 190-211

1 Llais Rhiannon/ Voice of Rhiannon pp. 191-205

Sgwrs Rhiannon / Rhiannon's converse. TABL: Areithiau / TABLE: Speeches (1-33) 190-95 Mathau o araith / Types of speech. Cyngor a Cheryddon / Advice and Rebukes. Canghennau, diflaniad / Branches, disappearance. Naratif: y farchoges #1- #7 / Narrative: the horsewoman #1- #7 pp. 198-99. Naratif: priodasau #8- #17 / Narrative: weddings #8- #17 pp. 199-201 Naratif: mamolaeth/ Narrative: mothering #18- #25 pp. 201-03 Naratif: carennydd #26- #30 / Narrative: kindred #26- #30 pp. 203-04. Naratif: y Diffeithwch #31- #33 / Narrative: the Desolation #31- #33 pp. 204-05

2 Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts pp. 205-11

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction. Trosolwg strwythurol / Structural overview. Sgript ddrama: Mabinogi Rhiannon / Playscript: Mabinogi Rhiannon. Asiantaeth: Actif -

Dadansoddiad Goddefol / Agency: active – passive analysis. *Paradocsau* / Paradoxes 209-10. *Crynodeb* / Summary

V EI CHARENNDYD/ HER KINDRED (15ch) pp. 212-355

V.1 Diagram Achyddiaeth/ Genealogy Diagram p. 213

V. 2 Brenhines/ Queen pp. 214-18

V. 3 Merch Hyfaidd Hen/ Daughter of Hyfaidd Hen pp. 218-29

Hyfaidd a phriodoldeb / Hyfaidd and propriety. *Pwy yw Hyfaidd Hen?* / Who is Hyfaidd?

V. 4 Gwawl fab Clud/ Gwawl son of Clud pp. 229-37

Proffil, statws, enw / Profile, status, name. *Gwrthdaro* / Conflict. *Broch* / Badger.

Aghynghor / Bad counsel 236-37

V. 5 Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon pp. 238-75

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction p. 238. *Pwysigrwydd Pwyll*/ Pwyll's importance pp. 238-

40. *Cymhlethdod*/ Complex Relationship pp 240-41.

Dewis Rhiannon/ Rhiannon's choice pp. 241-46. *Argraff gyntaf*/ First impression pp. 246-

47. *Pwyll y penbwl*/ Pwyll the fool pp. 247-60 *Yn Annwfn*/ In Annwfn 249-54. *Rhybudd yr*

Orsedd/ Gorsedd warning 255. *Cerydd ynghylch y march*/ Horse Rebuke (I) 256-7. *Cerydd*

priodas/ Wedding rebuke (II) 258-59. *Sofraniaeth*/ Sovereignty 259-60.

Partneriaeth / Partnership pp. 260 -63. *Cynllwyn y briodas*/ Advent plot p. 263.

Cydradwriaeth priodas/ Wedding plot 264-67 *Cynllwyn y penyd*/ Penance plot pp. 268-

72. *Llinellau bywyd*/ Lifelines pp. 272-75 Diagram 274.

V. 6 Y Gwageddau/ Maids pp. 275-78.

V. 7 Teyrnon Twrwr Lliant pp. 279-87

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction. *Teyrnon Twryf Lliant*, Gwent-Is-Coed 281-84. *Hud twrf*/

Noisy enchantment 284-05. *Teyrnon, y gwarcheidwad tyner*/ Teyrnon, the gentle

guardian 285-87.

V. 8 Gwraig Teyrnon/ Teyrnon's Wife pp. 287-90

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction. *Pedwar deialog* / Four dialogues.

V. 9 Pendaran Dyfed pp. 291-95

V. 10 Pryderi fab Pwyll/ Pryderi son of Pwyll (1-10) pp. 295-323

Cyflwyniad, ffynonellau eraill/ Introduction, other sources. 295-96 *Bachgendod*/

Boyhood 296-302. *Cysylltiadau anifeiliaid* / Animal affinities 302-03. *Pryderi y tywysog*/

Pryderi the prince 303-05. *Pryderi y gŵr* / Pryderi the husband 305-06 *Pryderi a*

Manawydan/ Pryderi & Manawydan 306-10 *Pryderi, menter*/ Pryderi initiatives 315-16

Pryderi, Rhiannon 316-21 *Dyad mamol* / Maternal dyad 322-28 Desolation 324-28

V. 11 Cigfa ferch Wynn Gohoyw/ Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw pp. 328-35

Achau, priodas/ Genealogy, marriage 329-30

Mam-yng-nghyfraith / Mother-in-law 330-31 *Manawydan* 331-35

V. 12 Manawydan fab Llŷr/ Manawydan son of Llŷr pp. 335-45

Naratif Manawydan/ Manawydan narrative 335-36 *Enw*/ Name 336-37

Cefndir Manawydan / Manawydan's background 337-39 *Cyfaill Pryderi*/ Pryderi's friend

339-40 *Priodas a Rhiannon*/ Marriage to Rhiannon 340-41

Gŵr rhinweddol / Man of virtue 341-45

V. 13 Lady Mouse pp. 345-47

V. 14 Llwyd Cil Coed pp. 347-50

V. 15 Gwydion pp. 350-55

VI RHIANNON 'RYWEDAWT'/ RHIANNON THE MARVELLOUS (6ch) pp. 356-414

VI.1. Hudau y Mabinogi / Mabinogi Enchantments pp. 357-80

Hud canoloesol / Mediaeval magic. *Diffiniad: hud*/ Definition: hud. *TABL Hud Categorïau*

/ TABLE Hud Categories. *Anifeiliaid* / Animals. *Lliwiau* / Colours. *Effeithiau arbennig* /

Special effects. *Lleoliadau* / Locations. *Newid siâp* / Shapeshifting. *Gwrthrychau a*

lluniadau / Objects & constructs. *Dimensiynau (maint, pellter, amser)* / Dimensions (size, distance, time). *Ddewinau* / *Hutlach* / Wand. *Araith* / *Rhwymiadau* / Bindings. *Trais, dial* / Violence, vengeance. / Annwfn 369-80.

VI.2. *Perlewyg y Mabinogi* / Mabinogi Trance pp. 381-87

VI.3. *Rhiannon y Ddewines* / Rhiannon as Magician pp. 387-95

VI.4. *March Rhiannon* / Rhiannon's Horse pp. 395-400

VI.5. *Cod Rhiannon* / Rhiannon's Bag pp. 400-406

VI.6. *Adar Rhiannon* / Birds of Rhiannon pp. 407-14

VII RHIANNON DUWIES / GODDESS RHIANNON (5 ch)

pp. 415-507

VII.1. *Mytholeg Duwies* / Goddess Mythology pp. 416-32

Map/ Inanna 418-20 Isis 421 Hera 422 Demeter 417-24 Athena 425-26

Epona 426-29 Modron 429-30 Macha 430-31 Mongán's Mother 431

Mari Llwyd 432-34 Comparisons (Table) 435 Analysis, notes 435-36

(Summary 436-37)

VII.2. *Duwies cyn 1900* / Goddess pre-1900 pp. 437-43

Christianity 438-42 Ancient Goddess 442-46 Celtic Goddess 446-48

VII.3. *Duwies yr Ugeinfed Ganrif* / Twentieth Century Goddess pp. 448-63

Anwyl 448-49 Occultism 450 Sovereignty Goddess 450-01

Evangeline Walton 451-452 Graves & Laura Riding 452-53 The Craft 453-54

Iseum Rhiannon, Madrians 454 Ford: hippomorphic aspect 455-58 Feminists 458

Triadic Goddess Model 458-61

Goddess pre-1900 & 20thC Summary 461-62

VII.4. *Temlau* / Temples pp. 463-66

Iseum Rhiannon. Madrians 463-64 House of the Goddess 464-68

Pagan Federation 468-69 'Goddess Temple', Glastonbury 469-71

VII.5. *Duwiesyddiaeth Rhiannon* / Rhiannon Theologies pp. 471-502

'Theology' 471-72 Great Goddess 472-73 Background (review) 473-4

Anwyl 474-76 Sovereignty Goddess 476-78 Giraldus' Irish horse ceremony 479-81

Evangeline Walton 381-84 Graves, Riding 484-86 'The Craft' 487

THEMES *Duwies March* / Horse Goddess 487-88 *Duwies Priodas* / Marriage Goddess 489

'Avalonian Rhiannon' 490-93 *Mam Dduwies* / Mother Goddess 493-96

Duwies Haul / Sun Goddess 497-99 Muse Goddess 499-501

'Damh the Bard' 502 Jhenah Telyndru 502-05 Kris Hughes 505

(Crynodedb/ Summary 506-07)

VIII ADEILWEITHIAU / STRUCTURES (1ch) pp. 508-527

Diagram 'Rhiannon Interlace' & Introduction 509

Four Branches 510-12 Paradoxes 512 Ford, 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab' 512-13

INTERLACINGS 513-21 1) Rhiannon-Arawn 514-15 2) The Golden Thread 515-16

3) *March* / Horse 516-17 4) Rhiannon Pwyll dialogue 517-18 5) Teyrnnon's Wife 518

6) Small bag 518 -19 7) The Third Branch 519-20 8) Exiles and Pursuits 520-21 Triadic

Patterns 521-23 The Three Anons 524-25 Hegelian Dialectic 525-27

IX ARTS (2ch) pp. 528-535

1. *Oriel* / Gallery pp. 529-58

2. *Rhiannon Ddychmygol* / Rhiannon Imaginary (Fiction) pp. 559-66

X CASGLIADAU / CONCLUSIONS pp. 568-601

Contents 567

Main text 568-97
Portrait 598-99
Postscript 599– 601

[CYFROL II/ VOLUME II]

ATODIADAU / APPENDICES

Atodiad: Dyddio'r Mabinogi / Appendix: Dating the Mabinogi

Atodiad: Cyfieithiadau Mabinogi o'r Mabinogi (Saesneg) /

Appendix: Mabinogi Translations (English)

Atodiad: y Trioedd a'r Mabinogi / Appendix: Triads and the Mabinogi

Atodiad: Meirch a'r Mabinogi / Appendix: Horses in the Mabinogi

Atodiad: 'Rhiannon' gan Stevie Nicks / Appendix: Stevie Nicks' 'Rhiannon' (1975)

Atodiad: Cydnabyddiaethau Llawn / Full Acknowledgments

LLYFRYDDIAETH/ BIBLIOGRAPHY

MYNEGAI TUDALEN/ PAGE INDEX

GLOSSARY

Lluniau, Mapiau, Diagramau, Tablau

Illustrations, Maps, Diagrams, Tables

Artworks, Photos, Screenshots (SCR)

All art sources were approached for permission. A few have not replied but the work is publicly displayed and publicly owned.

FRONTISPIECE Photo. 'Rhiannon', Newport (2010) giantess parade puppet.

Created by Nathan Sheen supported by my consultancy. She was dressed by children of Millbrook Primary School. Photo Andy O'Rourke team. Permission Andy O'Rourke 30/12/2021.

FRONTISPIECE p. i, and Ch. II.3. Performance, p. 57, and Gallery p. 548 (24).

SCR excerpt: Edward Jones, ed. 1802. *Mabinogi, Part the First; the Juvenile Adventures of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, in *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature; and Other Admirable Rarities; Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical, and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids. Bardic Relicks series*, vol. 2 of 3 (London, Printer St.: A. Straban for the author), p. 30. (URLs text PDF and more, Bibliography). Ch. I.3. Etymology, **p. 5**.

3 SCR excerpts. Pughe. 1803, 1803, 1818.

1) William Owen [Pughe]. 1803. *Geiriadur cenhedlaethol, cymraeg a saesneg*. A dictionary of the Welsh language, explained in English; with numerous illustrations from the literary remains and from the living speech of the Cymry, II of 3 (London: E. Williams), 'Rhianon' entry, p. 466.

2) *ibid.* 1803. *The Cambrian Biography: Or, Historical Notices of Celebrated Men Among the Ancient Britons* (London: E. Williams, 11 The Strand), p. 290. (URL text Bibliography).

3) William Owen Pughe. 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 231. (URL text Bibliog). Ch. I.3. Etymology, **pp. 5-6**.

SCR NLW MS. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch c. 1350, excerpt Peniarth MS 4. digitised version NLW, (14/05/19). Online 2004. (URL Bibliography).

Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon, **p. 10**.

SCR NLW MS. Diana Luft, Peter Wynn Thomas, and D. Mark Smith. 2007. 'NLW MS. Peniarth 4: Y Gainc Gyntaf (First Branch)', *Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425, Welsh Prose 1300 -1425*, p. 4v, 15, Lines 12-16. (URL text Bibliography). Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon, **p. 11**.

SCR William Owen [Pughe]. 1799. 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II, p. 323. SCR slightly edited to clean print showing through from other side of page. Square brackets [Pughe] indicate additional name adopted 1806 onwards; see Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe: pp. 76-77.

Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon, **p. 11**.

Alan Llwyd, Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru. Photo credit: Aled Llywelyn, Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru. Permission: Gwenllian Carr, *Cyfarwyddwr Strategol*/ Strategic Director, EGC 28/02/2024. Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon: #1 'sitting', **p. 13**.

NLW, Sketch. Pughe attributed illustration c. 1826: the first Rhiannon image of the Gorsedd rider on record, for Pughe's planned Mabinogion publication. Pughe (attributed). c. 1826. Nine Sketches illustrating the First Branch. Pen and ink, NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc., 1826 – 1831 Formerly known as Mysevin 22. Image and comment Ch. IX. Gallery.

Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon: #2 'see', **p. 14.**

Photo. Uffington White Horse, aerial view. Wikipedia public domain image uploaded: 30/06/2008. Geographical location: 51° 34' 39.8" N, 1° 33' 59.75" W, Berkshire. (URL Bibliography). Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon: #5 'horse', **p. 18.**

National Museum of Wales. 3/05/2007. 'The Llan-gors textile: an early medieval masterpiece.' (URL text Bibliography). 'Llan-gors textile' discovered 1990 near Brecon, lake village. Photograph of the original textile. Here, further enlarged and clarified.

Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon: #7 'silk', **p. 22.**

Two Photos. C. S. Lewis Family Wardrobe (Christine James, USA trip 2019, my slight edit background.) Handmade Welsh Oak. Image evokes 'doors' into the tales, and the intricate craft of the tellers.. See also Lewis, Lewis Family Wardrobe, Bibliography for detailed information. Provenance Wade Center museum, Wheaton College, USA (URL source Bibliography)

Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*, **p. 32.**

Three Photos from our family's local 'Rhiannon' performance (Millbrook School, Newport 2010). Cf. Frontispiece, same town festival. Ch. II.3.

Performance, **p. 55.**

Photo. 'Rhiannon', Newport (2010) giantess parade puppet created by Nathan Sheen on my consultancy. Photo Andy O'Rourke.

Ch. II.3. Performance, p. 57. Also shown as Frontispiece p. i, and Ch. II.3.

Performance, **p. 57**, and Gallery **p. 544** (24).

Poster. Rowan Matthiessen, 'Narberth's Mabinogion Carnival Queen Rhiannon!' (Tenby, 2016). Permission Rowan Matthiessen, Span Arts 28/11/2016.

Ch. II.3. Performance, **p. 56.**

Edward Lhuyd. From cover illustration: Derek R. Williams. 2011. Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) *A Shropshire Welshman* (Oswestry & District Civic Society).

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lhuyd, **p. 62.**

SCR excerpt. Archaeologia Britannica, p. 262. Scanned excerpt showing start of the passages on the Mabinogi.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lhuyd, **p. 64.**

Lewis Morris. Wikimedia Commons, 'Category: Lewis Morris (1701–1765)'. (URL Bibliog)

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris, **p. 65.**

William Owen at 42 with his wife, Sarah Elizabeth [Harper], their children, Aneurin, Ellen, Isabella. B/W photo of original watercolour drawing, c. 1792. NLW Original Drawing Volumes (57, p. 38).

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

T. George, 'Pughe', Frontispiece, Geiriadur, 2nd ed. (1832), at 73.

See also T. Hodgetts, 'Idrison' [Pughe], steel engraving, NLW Archives (1822). (URL Bibliography).

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe, **p. 67.**

Daniel Maclise, 'Portrait of W. Owen Pughe D.C.L., F.A.S', watercolour (NLW 4671832). Pughe awarded the honorary Oxford degree DCL (1822) at 63. (URL Bibliography, NLW Portrait Collection)

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe, **p. 67**.

SCR excerpt. Anonymous Gorsedd rider, *Cambrian Register* II (1799), p. 323 text excerpt.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe, **p. 72**.

Photo Carnhuanawc (TOP CENTRE). Emmanuel Giaconia. c. 1826. Photo of oil portrait, Founders Library, University of Wales Trinity Saint David. From date, he is aged under 40.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc, **p. 81**.

Carnhuanawc (LEFT). Charles Augustus Mornewick. 1846. 'Reverend Thomas Price of Llanfihangel Cwmdy (1787–1848)', Oils portrait(1846), at age 59, two years before he died. NLW accession PZ03573.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc, **p. 82**.

Carnhuanawc (RIGHT). William Meredyth Thomas' (sculptor). c. 1848. Bust of Thomas Price 'Carnhuanawc', post mortem, from memory of meeting Carnhuanawc at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod that year. See his brother John Evan Thomas' poignant account in: Jane Williams. ed. 1855. *The Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc*, II (Llandovery: Rees; London: Longman), pp. 391–92. John Dillwyn Llewelyn's photo of the bust is shown as frontispiece. It or a plaster copy is kept at Llanover College. (URL text Bibliography)

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc, **p. 82**.

'Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie Guest', Welsh Outlook, Vol. 3, no. 4 (April 1916).

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, **p. 87**.

Hsiao-Ron Cheng, 'Charlotte Guest', 9/04/2014 imaginative interpretation from the (2012) Welsh Outlook portrait above. Illustration for Jason Ward, ed. 'Lady Charlotte Guest', biographical article, in his 'Oh Comely' online magazine, no. 21. (URL Bibliography, but illustration has since been removed). Permission Jason Ward, editor 'Oh Comely!' sent 14/02/2017.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, **p. 87**.

Samuel Williams, 'Rhiannon', foremost engraver of the day, evidently appointed because of his pre-eminence. Illustration Guest, *Mabinogion*, vol. 5. Probably the most well known artwork of Rhiannon, freely available online (URL Bibliog). It inspired the John Cleal artwork (1989) see Ch. IX Gallery.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, **p. 89**.

Photo, Left. Guest, The Mabinogion, 7 vols. (1838–45). First edition, Heritage Books.

Photo Paul Motschall. With permission from Ben Weinstein email (21/09/2015). Heritage Book Shop, 9024 Burton Way., Beverly Hills, CA 90211, USA. (URL Heritage Books, Bibliography).

See footnote for provenance data.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, **p. 90**.

Photo, Right: Guest, The Mabinogion, 2nd ed, 3 vols. (1849). Parnassus Book Service, Inc.

Photograph with permission from Sarah Romano, email 21/09/15. Parnassus Book Service Inc, YarmouthPort, MA, U.S.A.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, **p. 90**.

Thomas Stephens, Frontispiece, *Literature of the Kymry* (1849). Bust by J. Edwards YarmouthPort, MA, U.S.A.

Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens, **p. 100**.

Photo, Edward Anwyl, Welsh Portrait Collection, NLW. Early 1900s.

Photograph by H. H. Davies & Son, Pier St. Aberystwyth. Public domain, Wikidata. Wiki Commons:

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Edward_Anwyl_%285292061%29.jpg> [Accessed 25/02/2024]

Ch. II.6. Academy: Anwyl, **p. 108**.

Book cover. Robin Morgan, ed. 1970. *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (NY: Random House). Most of its contributors were, or were becoming, notable 'influencers', though that term came later; we would have called them 'activists'. Contents: (URL Bibliography)

Ch. II.8. Feminism, **p. 127**.

Two SCR Jansen, 'Miss Gien'. 1999. 'The Mabinogion: The Welsh Mythology' (Netherlands). Arthurian site, edits text into parts. Site now closed, but may be accessed via Internet Archive, Wayback Machine. (URL Bibliography).

Ch. II.8. 21stC Rhiannon, **p. 136**.

Map. Map yr Mabinogi/ Map Mabinogi. Shân Morgain, Map Mabinogi (2015). With thanks to Christine James and John Davies. For Mabinogi site photography, see John Bollard. 2006. Landscape. This is a simple map, for a richly imagined alternative see Mair Jones. 2006. 'Poster y Mabinogion: A2 Poster of Wales Based on the Tales of the Mabinogi' (Y Lolfa). Below Ch. III.3. Hierarchy.

Ch. III.1. Map Mabinogi, **p. 141**.

Poster. Mair Jones, 'Poster y Mabinogion: A2 Poster of Wales Based on the Tales of the Mabinogi' (Y Lolfa, 2006). Still in publication. (URL Bibliography) Illustrator of 'Jones and Jones'. 1949. Mabinogion, Everyman 97 (London: J. M. Dent) and successive editions. Permission Sonia Hughes, Y Lolfa, 29/02/2024. Y Lolfa: <<https://www.ylolfa.com/products/100000000159/poster-y-mabinogion>> [Accessed 29/02/2024]

Ch. III.3. Hierarchy, economics, **p. 148**.

Diagram. Shân Morgain, 'Active/ Passive modes', bar chart (2017)

Ch. IV.2. Acts/ Active-Passive Analysis **p. 208**.

Diagram. Shân Morgain, 'Three Kindreds of the Mabinogi Rieni', (2017)

Ch. V.1. Genealogy, **p. 213**.

SCR. MS. Llyfr Coch Hergest, incipit letter P. © Jesus College Oxford.

Reproduced under a Creative Commons Attribution licence. Advised by Owen McKnight, College Librarian, 04/03/2024.

Ch. V.5. Pwyll and Rhiannon, **p. 238**.

Jane Starr Weils. 2018. 'Rhiannon's Birds', painting. Print available Etsy, and Redbubble; design on poster, Tshirt, mouse mat, laptop bag and cover, cards.

Weils envisages sparrows which in outline are similar to my proposed skylarks, below 'Species'. Permission by Weils 25/11/2018.

Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon, **p. 407**.

Venus of Willendorf, one of the most famous Palaeolithic figurines. Small, 4.4 ins./ 11.1-centimetres tall, dating c. 30,000 BCE. Carved of oolitic limestone not local to the area, tinted with red ochre. Discovered on an archaeological site near Willendorf, Austria, 1908. Conserved Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 417**.

Map. Shân Morgain. 2015. Map of Goddess Myths. Inanna, Isis c. 3,000 BCE. Greek deities, Isianism and Epona spread through the Roman Empire. With thanks for advice on marine navigation by John Davies.

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 418.**

Photo. Cuneiform. Akkadian version of Ishtar's Descent into the Underworld from the Library of Assurbanipal, currently held in the British Museum, London.

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 419.**

Photo. Inanna Ishtar. From an Akkadian cylinder seal depicting Inanna resting her foot on the back of a lion, c. 2334 – c. 2154 BCE, Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, p. 92. Illustration online (URL Bibliography).

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 419.**

Photo. Statuette of Isis suckling Horus. Late Period, ca. 664-332 BC. Bronze and gold leaf. From Saqqara or Abusir. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. JE 91327. (Cropped at knees)

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 421.**

Hera, statue at Rotunda of Altes Museum, Berlin. Wikimedia commons, uploaded by 'Yair Haklai' 27/07/2019.

Wikimedia: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hera-Rotunda_of_Altes_Museum.jpg> [Accessed 29/02/2024]

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 422.**

Demeter and Kore, Hellenistic period. British Museum (C529/ Greek and Roman 1885,0316.1). Terracotta 21cm. Excavated Myrina, Turkey. Purchased from: Charles Merlin 1885. Permission 29/02/2024.

British Museum: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1885-0316-1> [Accessed 29/02/2024]

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 423.**

Photo. Perseus, Athena. Mixing bowl (bell krater) with Perseus, Athena, and Hermes (cropped). Classical Period c. 400–385 B.C. Apulia, Italy. Ceramic, red figure, 30.5 cm. attributed to the Tarporley Painter. No. 1970.237. Gift of Robert E. Hecht, Jr. 11/03/1970. Viewable George D. and Margo Behrakis Gallery 207. © Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) Boston. Permission Carolyn Cruthird, MFA Images, 29/02/2024. (URL see Illustrations list)

Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) Boston:

<<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/154107>>

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 425.**

Epona. Wikimedia (CC BY-SA 4.0) uploaded by ibex13, 11/08/2016, 11:58:43 'lavoir de Fontenilles'.

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 429.**

Photo, Mari Llwyd. Liz Day. 3/01/2015. "It is surprisingly easy to come by a horse skull': Meet a group keeping the Welsh midwinter tradition of the Mari Llwyd alive', *Wales Online*. (URL text Bibliog.)

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 432.**

Four Photos, Mari Llwyd at Chepstow, 2018. Photos by Mark Lewis. South Wales Argus. 20/01/2018. 'Horse skulls, morris dancing, and banter on the bridge - Chepstow celebrates its annual wassail and Mari Llwyd', photos by Mark Lewis. (URL text Bibliography).

Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths, **p. 434.**

SCR excerpt. Pughe. 1803. Geiriadur, p. 466.

Ch. VII.2. Pre-1900, **p. 445.**

Photo, Evangeline Walton Ensley pre-1950. Lower portion cropped by me. According to Douglas A. Anderson, her executor, it first appeared, cropped, without credit, on the rear dust-wrapper of her novel *The Cross & the Sword* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956). Uploaded to wikicommons by her heir Debra L Hammond, marked 1940s. Anderson estimates 1950 or before. (This was approximately the period when Walton was drafting most of the Mabinogi novels.) Anderson provided provenance 28/02/2024.

Ch. VII.3. 20thC, **p. 451.**

Diagram. Quartered Circle mandala. Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 1994. 'Circle of the Elements' diagram, in her *Circlework*, p. 38. Inserted sketch elements by Terry.

Ch. VII.3. 20thC, **p. 461.**

Photo 'Traveller's Rest' Surrey; a favourite local, meditation spot for Violet Hillman who co-founded the first Iseum of the Fellowship of Isis, dedicated to Rhiannon. Photo is from an FOI webpage, see Fellowship of Isis in Bibliography.

Ch. VII.4. Temples, **p. 464.**

Sketch. Moon symbol of Triple Goddess, popular among modern Goddess practitioners. Obscure provenance 1970s, common circulation.

Ch. VII.5. Thealogies, **p. 486.**

Photo. 'Rhiannon Room', Goddess House, Glastonbury.

Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Avalonian Rhiannon, **p. 492.**

Album cover, Damh the Bard. 26/09/2017. 'Y Mabinogi: The First Branch', Pagan Music. (URL Illustrations list. Tracklist & detail, URLs incl. sound files, Bibliography).

Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Damh the Bard, **p. 499**

Diagram. Shân Morgain. Feb. 2015. 'Rhiannon Interlace', prepared for presentation to MEMO, Swansea. Numbers backed brown indicate the Branch'es in which the character appears.

Ch. VIII. Structures, **p. 509.**

Ch. IX.1. RHIANNON GALLERY

Listed, numbered in order of display.

#1 **Phil Forder. 2007. Large, Welsh oak wall-plaque.** Narrative panel, one of six hung above head height at the Rhosygilwen arts centre, near Cilgerranin, in a magnificent Welsh oak hall. Photo John H. Davies. **p. 531.**

#2 **Maria Hayes. 2015. artist in residence at Peter Stevenson's 'Prosiect Mabinogi'.**

'First Branch' session Mar. 14, 2015. Live illustration in storytelling. **p. 532.**

#3 **Muriel Delahaye. 2017. 'Narrative from Y Mabinogion** with the characters Blodeuwedd, [mostly] Rhiannon and Taliesin.' Pastel, 59 x 83 cm. Follow the liquid pathways which mark narrative development. **p. 532**

#4 **William Owen [Pughe] (attr.), 'Lady Rider at Gorsedd Arberth'** (my title), pen and wash, from Nine Sketches illustrating the First Branch (c. 1826). NLW, Aberystwyth. NLW: MSS. 1826-31. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826-1831), 1326 pp. Formerly Mysevin 22. Scenes from the entire first Branch, evidently intended as illustrations, (1 in pencil, 8 pen & wash), pp. 45- 53. Copy supplied on application May 2016. **p. 533.**

#5 **Samuel Williams. 1843. Rhiannon rides at Gorsedd Arberth, illustrating Guest, 'The tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved', Vol. 5, The Mabinogion'. Romance**

style. Guest's perfectionism selected Williams as the foremost engraver of the times, then at the peak of his career. Also inspired Alan Lee's superb illustration for the Jones and Jones, and Guest Mabinogion versions (1982, 2001). **p. 534.**

#6 John Cleal. 1989. Tabletop: Rhiannon rides at Arberth (Workshop Wales, Fishguard), painted leather, Tabletop embellished with gold highlights and including Rhiannon Advent text from PKM1. Commissioned by Angela John to celebrate publication of *Lady Charlotte: A Biography of the Nineteenth Century*; 2nd abbreviated ed. *Extraordinary Life* (2007). **p. 535.**

Photo by John Davies (April 2017), enabled by kind hospitality of Angela John. Permission: Mitchell Cleal, John Cleal's son and heir (28/03/2017).

#7 John Cleal, excerpt, tabletop, above. Main focus area. **p. 536.**

#8 Toin Adams. 2012. 'Rhiannon's Eyes'. Proposed 27-metre-high metalwork sculpture, 30 metres along the horse tail to nose, envisioned to stand on an earth mound on the A465 at Dowlais where Guest lived and translated The Mabinogion. One of two finalists, Landmark Wales. **p. 536.**
Wales Online: <<https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/its-a-guest-appearance-2248333>>

#9 Rowan Matthiessen. 2016. 'The Beastly Procession'. Carnival Queen poster. Span Arts, Narberth. The event's competition emphasised strength of character. **p. 537.**

Tenby Observer: <<http://www.tenby-today.co.uk/article.cfm?id=105171&headline=Join%20the%20search%20for%20Narberth%E2%80%99s%20Mabinogion%20Carnival%20Queen%20Rhiannon!&sectionIs=news&searchyear=2016>> [Accessed 16/10/2021]

#10 Rebecca Jane Stockburn. Jan. 2016. 'Rhiannon'. Large painting touched with gold.

Permission 25/10/2016 with personal note by the artist; 'She came to my mind in this way when reading the passage in the book, a vision of white and gold, of stillness within movement, mischievous, freedom, and wildness. In some paintings she is interpreted as perfect, cold or warrior like, for me she felt 'flawed', warm and gentle. Painting for me is a meditation process and things appear progressively and subconsciously (the reflection comes as I am drawing/painting, I don't prepare or plan them with pages of sketches). Sometimes the composition and images appear to me in dreams. I imagined her almost like a gust of wind.' Personal communication (25/10/2016). Painting generously purchased for this author by Dr. Roy Davies of Narberth when we clashed in our desire to buy it. See his Rhiannon as mother, life sized statue below. **p. 538.**

#11 Humphrey Milford attr. 1914, 1920. Pursuit. Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 23. **p. 539.**

#12 Pughe, attr. c. 1826. Rhiannon Pwyll meeting. NLW MSS. 1826–31 see 'Lady Rider', above. **p. 539.**

#13 Wenzel Franziska. 2006. Rhiannon Pwyll meeting. (deviantART). Wenzel said diffidently, 'the picture is very old and does not reflect my current technical skill level'. She did it while at school 'for fun'. Personal communication 2017. **p. 540**

#14 Signe Fuchs 2014. Rhiannon Pwyll meeting. Illustration from her *Mythology of the Celts: A comprehensive Survey* (Createspace, and Kindle). She says 'I meant to show the moment when Pwyll sees her first, amazed and

enraptured, before he started to follow her'. Permission & personal communication May 2016. **p. 541.**

#15 Reginald Machell. 1914. Wedding. Woodcut illustrating his fellow Theosophist Kenneth Morris, (Cynedd Morus), *The Fates of the Princes of Dyfed* (Point Loma, California: Aryan Theosophical Press. **p. 542.**

#17 Humphrey Milford, attr. 1914, 1920. Rhiannon's Bag. Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 31. **p. 543.**

#18 Dr. Roy Davies (commissioner). 1994-2017. Rhiannon and Pryderi. Life-size sculpture commissioned by Dr. Roy Davies of Narberth.

In 1994 Dr. Roy Davies raised funding to buy the Narberth medical centre, to expand and improve it. Deeply touched by maternal loss he observed, he felt mothering truest inspiration for good medical practice. He also loved the Rhiannon tales. The statue was commissioned in China and the medical centre named Medyggfa Rhiannon. Twenty years after dreaming it the statue arrived. (Personal communication, 2017). See also 'Pembrokeshire Life' magazine, Article 5 in my series of 12 on the Mabinogi. **p. 544.**

#19 Alex Robertson. Set design. 2008 for Manon Eames' play 'The Magnificent Mabinogi'. Entire Mabinogi staging, Greek style chorus, slightly bilingual. Ch. IX.1. Gallery, p. 539 (15) **p. 545.**

Milford, Humphrey, attr. Maids at dawn. 1914, 1920. Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 35. **p. 546.**

#20 Gini Wade 2015. 'The Accusation'. Lithograph, Idiosyncratic style. A rare topic choice dramatically rendered with a bloody red focus points. Compare Milford's interpretation a century earlier in archaic Celtic style, above. Permission 3/04/2017. **p. 536.**

#21 Humphrey Milford, attr. 1914, 1920. Her penance. Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 38. **p. 537.**

#22 Owen [Pughe] attr. c. 1826. Rhiannon meets Gwri, Gates of Arberth', One of Nine Sketches. NLW. MSS. 1826–31, see 'Lady Rider', above. **p. 538.**

#23 Jane Starr Weils. 2018. 'Birds of Rhiannon'. Weils intuitively saw them as sparrows. 'The birds to me felt very sparrow like. I did try to research what I could (would love to see your research!) and the rest was intuitive. One day I do hope to paint Rhiannon herself'. Personal communication 21/11/2018, and permission 25/11/2018. **p. 539.**

#24 Humphrey Milford, attr. 1914, 1920. Pryderi approaching the tower. Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 90. **p. 550.**

#25 Samuel Williams. 1845. Trapped at the tower, illustration for Guest publication. **p. 551.**

#26 Haz John. 2019. Golden Bowl. Strikingly original interpretation taking us into the narrative as participants. We look downward into the Bowl and (our) hands attached to it. Permission 2019. **p. 551.**

#27 Humphrey Milford, attr. 1914, 1920. Manawydan and Mouse. Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 103. Also Manawydan and the Scholar, p. 98; Gwydion herding pigs, p. 113. **p. 552.**

#28 Ernest Charles Wallcousins. 1905, 1920. 'Gwydion Conquers Pryderi'. illustrator for Carlton Illustrators. Charles Squire, *The Mythology of the British*

Islands: An Introduction to Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance (Blackie & Son, 1905), p. 119. Repr. as *Celtic Myth and Legend* (1920). Wikimedia Commons. p. 553.

#29 **Humphrey Milford, attr. 1914, 1920.** Death of Pryderi', Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*. p. 553.

#30 **'Rhiannon'. 2010. Giantess parade puppet created by Nathan Sheen and dressed by Millbrook primary school, Newport,** where my family performed 'Rhiannon' (PKM1). Both giant puppet and school performance were part of Newport city's celebration of Welsh mythology organised by Andy O'Rourke, multidisciplinary, community artist. (URL pics Bibliography). Ch. IX.1. Gallery, p. 547 (22). Also Frontispiece p. i, and Ch. II.3. Performance, p. 57. p. 554.

#31 **Emily Brunner. 2016. (Tarot Empress) 'Rhiannon: Lady of the Other(world)',** for The Avalonian Oracle. A well circulated version promoting ancestral origins in a stone circle. She sits enthroned, like the other Tarot featured here as the Empress card, the archetypal [sic] Mother and Queen. Her Horse is well to the fore. Walton's influence presents the Adar over her head. Her robe is red in accord with the aberrant Avalonian tradition, see Ch. VI.5. Theologies: Avalonian Rhiannon. Permission 2021. p. 555.

#32 **Anne Marie Ferguson. 2006. (Tarot Empress) 'The Llewellyn Tarot: Empress'.** Llewellyn Publications). Permission 10/01/2017. Rhiannon is here the enthroned Great Mother, golden and green, fecund and abundant, with symbolic Horse and Adar presence. Ch. IX.1. Gallery p. 556

#33 **Angela-Michelle Hatheway (RaNuit on DeviantArt)'Reflections of Epona: Rhiannon'.** Included to represent the abstract aspect of Rhiannon divinity, such as her paradoxes; see Ch. VIII. Structures: Paradoxes. p. 557.

#34 **Hrana Janto. 1990. 'Rhiannon'** painted for Llewellyn, 1992 'Goddess Calendar'. Included in 2001, The Goddess Oracle, Amy Sophia Marashinsky (U.S. Games Systems. Repr. 2006).
Hrana Janto: <<http://www.hranajanto.com/goddessgallery/GGF-home.html>> [Accessed 16/03/2024]. Well known image. The Adar presence suggests Walton influence. The cornucopia horn (cornucopia) is not canon as Rhiannon's bag takes but does not give. (Noted Ch. VI.5.. Bag) However the golden Sun Goddess look particularly presents Rhiannon affinity to gold and abundance so artistically the image fits. p. 558.

#35 **Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 1984. 'Goddess Calendar',** A4 photocopied on Conqueror vellum, coloured parts handpainted 13 watercolours (1984).

Mapiau, Diagramau/ Maps, Diagrams

MAP. Shân Morgain. 2015, updated 2019. 'Map Mabinogi' (Ch. III.1) with thanks to Christine James, John Davies, p. 141.

MAP. Shân Morgain. 2015 Basic geography Dyfed and Gwynedd, Maphill: 'Physical Map of Wales'. The names 'DYFED' and 'GWYNEDD' added. p. 147.

MAP. Margaret Jones. 2006. 'Poster y Mabinogion' p. 148.

MAP. Cleddau river showing Llawhaden/ Wiston area, navigable limits for larger shipping. Extract from Streetmap, p. 187.

DIAGRAM (bar chart). Active/ Passive modes, Ch. IV. Acts, p. 208.

DIAGRAM. Shân Morgain. 11/09/2017. 'Three Kindreds of the Mabinogi Rieni: genealogies, actors and friendships' also feuds, Ch. V.1. p. 213.

DIAGRAM: Shân Morgain. Approximate lifelines, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, p. 274.

MAP. Widescale, Maes Hyfaidd, p. 225.

MAP. Close-scale, modern name New Radnor. 'New Radnor' search: Streetmap: <streetmap.co.uk> original. The close scale map (unedited), shows the modern name. Its location has been added as 'Maes Hyfaidd' to the widescale map at disproportionate size. 'New Radnor' search: Streetmap: <streetmap.co.uk> original. The close scale map (unedited), shows the modern name. Its location has been added as 'Maes Hyfaidd' to the widescale map at disproportionate size. Both maps p. 225.

MAP: Arberth & Afon Cych, with some modern place names for orientation. Afon Cych runs 9 miles, joins Afon Teifi at Abercych. p. 379.

MAP: Afon Cych & forests, detailed footnote, p. 380.

MAP. Shân Morgain. 2015. Map of Goddess Myths. Inanna, Isis c. 3,000 BCE. Greek deities, Isianism and Epona spread through the Roman Empire. With advice on sea routes: John Davies, yacht transat, naval history researcher. p. 418.

DIAGRAM. Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 1994. 'Circle of the Elements' mandala diagram, in her *Circlework*, p. 38. Ch. VII.3. 20thC, p. 461.

DIAGRAM. Moon symbol of Triple Goddess, popular among modern Goddess practitioners. Obscure 1970s provenance. p. 486.

DIAGRAM. Shân Morgain. Feb. 2015. 'Rhiannon Interlace', prepared for presentation to MEMO, Swansea University, p. 509.

Tablau/ Tables

Lists in note form, some quotes

TABLE 1 Comparison of namings, p. 7
TABLE 2 Spread of name instances, p. 7
TABLE 3 Nine Additional Rhiannon Sources: historical order, pp. 33-34
TABLE 4 Weak /absent Mabinogi Rhiannon characters in <i>Trioedd</i> , poetry, p. 39
TABLE 5 Timeline, p. 44
TABLE 6 Pughe's Mabinogi related publications, pp. 69-70
TABLE 7 Guest series contents, p. 86
TABLE 8 1880s -1990s: stages of development, p. 119
TABLE 9 Equine instances, pp. 157-59
TABLE 10 Compilation of counsels, p. 172
TABLE 11 Speeches (1-33), pp. 192-95
TABLE 12 Thematic Categories, p. 195
TABLE 13 Mabinogi Rhiannon: Summary of Acts & Scenes, p. 205
TABLE 14 Queen narrative, p. 214
TABLE 15 Hyfaidd 15 narrative references, p. 218
TABLE 16 Dyfed/ Deheubarth genealogy, p. 223
TABLE 17 Gwawl narrative, p. 229
TABLE 18 Chapter sections (Pwyll), p. 238
TABLE 19 Pwyll narrative,, p. 238
TABLE 20 Rhiannon's wealth, p. 244
TABLE 21 Pwyll as Fool, p. 247
TABLE 22 Maids' narrative, p. 275
TABLE 23 Teyrnnon narrative, p. 279
TABLE 24 Dialogues Teyrnnon and Wife DI p. 287 DII, DIII, DIV p. 88
TABLE 25 Dialogues' structure,, Teyrnnon-Wife p. 289
TABLE 26 Chapter sections (Pryderi), p. 295

TABLE 27 Pryderi narrative, p. 295
TABLE 28 Pryderi's Initiatives, p. 316
TABLE 29 Maternal Dyad (Structural Balance), p. 322
TABLE 30, Cigfa narrative, p. 322
TABLE 31 Manawydan Narrative, p. 335
TABLE 32 Rhiannon and Manawydan narrative, p. 340
TABLE 33 Rhiannon Llwyd polarities, p. 350
TABLE 34 Gwydion narrative, p. 350
TABLE 35 Types of mediaeval religion, p. 358
TABLE 36 Mabinogi <i>Hud</i> Categories, p. 360
TABLE 37 Mabinogi Magicians, p. 387
TABLE 38 Bag Interlacing, p. 403
TABLE 39 Adar Rhiannon (Welsh) elements (9), p. 408
TABLE 40 Comparison of Goddesses, p. 435
TABLE 41 Triadic Model of Western Goddessing, p. 458-59
TABLE 43 Four Dialogues (Teyrnnon-Wife), p. 512
TABLE 42 Interlace: Advent of Rhiannon, Arawn, p. 515
TABLE 44 PKM3 Interlacings, p. 520
TABLE 45 Exiles & Pursuits, p. 521
TABLE 46 Sample Triplicities, p. 522
TABLE 47 Gender Triangles, p. 523
TABLE 48 Dialectic: simplified model, p. 525
TABLE 49 Mabinogi Rhiannon: Dialectical Syntheses, p. 526
TABLE 50 Triple Dialectics: analysis, p. 526
TABLE 51 Triple Dialectics: time & distance, p. 526
TABLE 52 Triple Dialectics: interlacings, p. 527
TABLE 53 Art Style Categories, p. 530

She said "Tell my story."

For John

Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction

Aims & Sources. Research Questions. Overview.
Focus. Structure. 'Trusting the Text'. Feminism. Cymraeg.
Translations. Genesis of the study.

The aim of Mabinogi Rhiannon is to build a portrait of the personage 'Rhiannon', who originates almost exclusively in the prose literature *Pedeir Ceinc y Mabinogi* ('the Mabinogi', or 'PKM').¹ Other mediaeval sources for 'Rhiannon' were found to be slight, adding very little to her Mabinogi narrative, though some material is extant about associated Mabinogi characters, e.g. Teyrnon.² Mythological material on goddesses resembling 'Rhiannon' is more substantial.³

Mabinogi Rhiannon provides a rich, detailed account of 'Rhiannon' developments from pre-12thC oral origins to the present day.⁴ 'Rhiannon', initially assumed as a protagonist of the First and Third Branches (of the Mabinogi) only, was found to operate as a 'tour guide' to almost all the Mabinogi.⁵

When reading this main file it may be helpful and enjoyable to keep open the separate documents using Volume II Bibliography, Index and Glossary for consults.

Cwestiynau Ymchwil/ Research Questions

The questions my study looks to answer are as follows.

1. Who or what is 'Rhiannon'? (the starting point).

¹ **'Portrait of Rhiannon' forms the key part of Ch. X *Casgliadau* / Conclusions pp. 562-96. Williams' 1930 PKM text is a composite of the texts from all three extant mediaeval manuscripts and is commonly used when making line references. Ifor Williams ed. 1930. Repr. 1951, 1994 hardback, 1996 softback. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, Allan o Lyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (PKM) (Cardiff: UWP).**

Ch. II.4. *Llawysgrifau* / Manuscripts pp. 57-62.

² Ch. I. 6 *Rhiannon mewn Ffynonellau eraill* / Other Rhiannon Sources pp. 33-35. **Teyrnon**

³ VII.1. *Mytholeg Duwies* / Goddess Mythology pp. 416-32.

⁴ Ch. I. 7 *Rhiannon fel Gwraig o Gyfarwydd* / Rhiannon, Lady of Prose Story-telling, pp. 36-42; II *Stori'r Stori* / Story of the Story, 9 chapters pp. 43-139. Three chapters Rhiannon *hud*: VI.4. *March Rhiannon* / Rhiannon's Horse pp. 395-400, VI.5. *Cod Rhiannon* / Rhiannon's Bag pp. 400-406, VI.6. *Adar Rhiannon* / Birds of Rhiannon pp. 407-14; VI VII *Rhiannon Duwies* / Goddess Rhiannon, 5 chapters pp. 415-507.

⁵ Shân Morgain. 19/02/2015. 'Rhiannon as Mabinogi Tour Guide'. Presentation for MEMO (Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Research), Swansea University. Dir. Daniel Williams.
Ch. I. 5 *Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon* / Mabinogi Rhiannon text, pp. 23-33.

2. What is the story of her story, from mediaeval to modern, in different media and genres?

How do these developments affect understanding 'Rhiannon'?

3. What is 'Rhiannon's' world like, as seen principally in the Mabinogi?

How does she situate within it?

4. What kind of woman is 'Rhiannon'?

What is her character and her relationships?

5. Is it valid to regard 'Rhiannon' as a Goddess? or a Magician? If so, what kind?

What are her *hud*/ enchantment aspects like? What might be her theologies?

Overview

The title 'Mabinogi Rhiannon' inevitably evokes Gruffydd's 1953 *Rhiannon*, but the two works are extremely different, almost diametrically opposed. WJG builds variant 'edifices' out of perceived broken myth. I unfold the text without violating character or plot ('Trusting the Text', below). I belong to the later paradigm post 1970s, seeing the Mabinogi as coherent and intricate ('Coherence Paradigm'). I liberally explore its structural analysis, finding many triplicities and interlacings, and suggesting their meanings. To reinforce distance from WJG I place 'Rhiannon' mythologies towards the end of my study, ensuring realism, politics, economics and psychology take precedence (though I too delight in Rhiannon mythology).

I deconstruct 'Rhiannon' romance to reveal her alternate as a ruthless strategist, concerned with her wealth and foodstocks, in partnership with her loyal executive Pwyll. I dismantle 'Pwyll the fool' needing lordship training, to reveal him as Rhiannon's wise and worthy consort. In exploring 'Rhiannon's Choice' I offer an alternative, feminised route to solving the 'disconnection' of *Pwyll I* (the Annwfn tale).

I emphasise the centrality of 'Rhiannon' as mother. Her maternal vulnerability deepens her characterisation as a mere 'strong woman'. I outline a structural 'Maternal Dyad', a woven *cainc* narrative of mother and son, which extends to their joint responsibility for the Desolation of Dyfed.

Rhiannon is *marchoges*, a mediaeval Welsh noblewoman, unique to a Welsh literature. Aware of how translation and English writing coopts, I use

various simple techniques to enable a *Gwead Cymreig*/ 'Welsh weave' for my work. I also assert a period of Mabinogi development for 150 years or more, pre 1860, when Welsh scholars studied the Mabinogi and published parts of it, without the later concept of broken myth. Instead the focus was ancestral history and the Mabinogi as the origin of European Romance.

I address each of 'Rhannon's' *hudiau* in turn: horse, bag and *Adar*, finding Rhiannon as Magician with spatial and temporal distortions, and a theme of synergy. Seeking comparisons led to Perseus' *kibisis*, and many other Perseus shared components. Comparing Goddesses surprisingly offered an equally rich comparison with ancient Inanna of Sumer. In 'Rhiannon's'; theologies I array Horse Goddess, Mother Goddess, Muse-Goddess, and add Sun Goddess.

I have compiled outlines of 'Rhiannon' artworks in categories with graphics to illustrate; and commented on her imaginary in fiction, film, music and performance.

Scholars who have inspired, influenced and serviced me are Pughe, Anwyl, Ifor Williams, Bromwich, Ford, Pennar, Bollard, Valente, Walton, S.Davies, J.Davies, Parker, Luft, Sullivan and Rodway. I have especially critiqued WJG, Jones & Jones, Mark Williams, Hutton, and the cult of 'Avalonian Rhiannon'.

Focus of the Study

My study stresses the Mabinogi as a work of genius, complex, layered, structurally, politically, psychologically rich. To do justice to all that with any depth focus on the other prose tales as well would overload the project.⁶ Other mediaeval Welsh, prose tales (*The Mabinogion*) and other cultures' literatures (e.g. Irish) are generally not treated in depth.

The Mabinogi is not only a revolutionary, sophisticated, and complex literature when it was compiled, its interpretations span centuries and encompass many different social categories and genres. There are therefore many and diverse perspectives to consider, as reflected in the subtitle of the study: *safbwyntiau llenyddol, gwleidyddol, thelogaidd, celfyddydol a strwythurol*/

⁶ It has been powerfully argued in any case that the Mabinogion tales have little connection with each other. John Kenneth Bollard, 'What Is The Mabinogi? What Is "The Mabinogion"?' (online, 2007). Argues confused identity, overlay of modern perceptions. (URL text Bibliography)

'literary, political, theological, arts, & structural perspectives'. Addressing the Mabinogi itself, my investigations are consequently wide-ranging, especially regarding material life, politics and psychology, then and since. Many new pieces of theory emerge in many different spheres. My conscious hope is that the scope of my study will service other scholars as a well-organised compendium to dip and plunder.

The 'sprawling' character of my study is especially apparent in the earlier chapters. As the work progresses the focus gradually tightens. The 'Conclusions' chapter draws the materials together; summarising the main points in four main perspectives, particularly presenting my many original insights.⁷ I have not imposed any artificially narrow focus, as in a 'universal' model favoured by 19thC scholars (Bachofen, Frazer, Rhÿs, and their chief Mabinogi heir, William John Gruffydd). This paradigm was of course uprooted by Wittgenstein's radical U-turn (1953).⁸ which generated 'post-modernism'.

However I do compose a tightly focused finale. A closing distillation of extreme brevity gives an intensely condensed summary of the foregoing extended conclusions in 500 words:

'V Portread o Rhiannon gwraig o rym, o Gymru'r oesoedd canol i'r byd ehangach /
V Portrait of Rhiannon woman of power, from mediaeval Wales to wider worlds'.

Strwythur yr Astudiaeth / Structure of the Study

The first seven chapters are introductory, offering different avenues into the project: Ch. I.1. a succinct paraphrase of Rhiannon's narrative; I.2. a *Dramatis*

⁷ I *Camau paradigmatic: cysyniadau a dadansoddiad dominyddol* / I Paradigmatic stages: dominant concepts and analyses. II *Ffeministiaeth mewn cyd-destun cymdeithasol* / II Feminisms in social context

III *Hudoliaethau a duwiesyddiaethau* / III Enchantments and theologies

IV *Dadansoddiad strwythurol* / IV Structural analysis

Brief note-form summaries of these approaches are given as a Contents page: Y CASGLIADAU / The Conclusions, p. 567.

⁸ Josef Johann Wittgenstein; C. K. Ogden, trans. 1922. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner; NY: Harcourt, Brace). Josef Johann Wittgenstein; G. E. M. Anscombe, trans. 1953, posthumously. *Philosophical Investigations* / originally *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (posthumously, Wiley-Blackwell).

The *Tractatus* gave just the tightly organised, overarching system of logic yearned by philosophers. A man of 8integrity, Wittgenstein retired from his Oxford professorship, because he had finally solved the core issues of logic. The same integrity brought him back in the 1940s to write *Philosophical Investigations*, rejecting the whole premise of *Tractatus* to universal, tightly focused answers. The non-linear *Investigations* pioneered what became known as post-modernism.

Personae; I.3. some etymology on her name; I.4. analysis of her initial appearance text (her advent), creating a mini portrait; I.5. delineation of the relevant 'Mabinogi Rhiannon' text; I.6., list of other sources with brief notes on them; I.7. Mabinogi Rhiannon as a prose text.

The second section of eight chapters addresses research question 2; the story of the story over time, and how the scholars who sustained 'Mabinogi Studies' affected Rhiannon (see below for a brief summary). This includes issues of Rhiannon and feminisms.

The third section of seven chapters responds to research question 3, outlining the world of the Mabinogi, its legendary geography, politics and economics, and Rhiannon positions within it. An important chapter III.5. 'Land, Law, Women', looks at the place of women in this society.

These three sections I-III comprise a substantial introductory infrastructure for the study.

The fourth and fifth sections respond to research question 4, moving into close focus upon Rhiannon.. Ch. IV.1. tabulates all her speeches, direct, indirect, single and joint. It includes the Adar Rhiannon occurrence. These 33 speeches are analysed into types, and some of their language considered in how it reflects Rhiannon's character. Ch. IV.2. examines Rhiannon's acts as the Acts of a playscript, sustaining Mabinogi origins in live performance. The major analysis here is agency, her active and passive modes, how these shape throughout the narrative. There is also some structural analysis on how the Acts and scenes show regular patterns in their locations.

Section V is lengthy, with fifteen chapters, each centred on a particular Mabinogi character in relation to Rhiannon. Not all have direct relations with her e.g. the queen in Annwfn, and Gwydion; but comparing them with Rhiannon is instructive on her character. Some chapters here are very brief when considering secondary characters; two on primary characters (Pwyll, Pryderi) are long.

The sixth and seventh sections approach the mythological aspects of Mabinogi Rhiannon, in response to research question 5. Section VI with six chapters considers Mabinogi enchantments, possible passages of trancework, Magicians and Rhiannon as Magician. Then three chapters address Rhiannon's three particular enchantments: her horse, her bag, and Adar Rhiannon. Section

VII with five chapters explores Goddess Rhiannon in the context of some historical Goddess myths, Western Goddess development, 19thC and 20thC Mabinogi Goddess concepts, examples of key 20thC temples, and finally, Rhiannon theologies both already developed and plausible.

Additional sections collect and comment on some of the plethora of structural patterns in Mabinogi Rhiannon narrative, and applications of its narrative in arts, fiction and other media.

Egwyddorion/ Principles

Egwyddorion: Ymddiried yn y Testun/ Principle: Trusting the Text

To anyone acquainted with Mabinogi literature, a new study of Rhiannon recalls William John Gruffydd's (WJG) *Rhiannon* (1953).⁹ The two works could not be more different. WJG was working in a different historical period as the leading light of Celticity and Mythological Reconstruction (above). A chorus of late 20thC criticism of WJG is reviewed here, but he is also here sympathetically placed within the context of his time. He is seen as a visionary, a Welsh nationalist seeking to unearth a universal, ancestral myth to service that vision: a Celtic pantheon. It seems less well known that his 'reconstructions' developed from the initiative of his 19thC teacher John Rhŷs (1888).¹⁰

My study situates in the mature Coherence Paradigm. Unlike WJG's *Rhiannon* my Mabinogi Rhiannon is not primarily focused on Mabinogi mythology, albeit this is substantially presented. Placing the mythic perspectives very late in the study sequence helps to emphasise my priority of politics, economics, and literary psychology, which precedes.¹¹ WJG cast a long shadow which I felt needs such clearance.

But even more important than the simple focus on the Mabinogi as prose literature, is validating its skilled coherence. I call this 'trusting the text'.¹²

⁹ William John Gruffydd. 1953. *Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origin of the First and Third Branches of the Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press). Five lectures presented October 1951.

¹⁰ Ch. II.6. *Academia Gymreig/ Welsh Academia*: John Rhŷs, and William John Gruffydd (WJG).

¹¹ Section VI: 'Rywedawt', Ch. 1–6. Section VII: *Rhiannon Duwies/ Goddess Rhiannon*, Ch. 1–5.

¹² Shân Morgain. May 2016. 'Trusting the text of the Mabinogi, tracing interlacings into intricacy'. Seminar handout on the Coherence Paradigm, 3pp. of organised notes supporting Christine James'

Mythological Reconstruction views Mabinogi text as in very poor shape, sadly broken remains of myths which must be radically reworked in order to be comprehensible and reveal their former 'glory'.¹³ Inconsistencies and oddities supposedly abound. Frequently recourse must be made to the myths of another culture to remedy *lacunae* or peculiarities, or pre-set theory must be imposed to achieve clarity.

In radical contrast, following the Coherence Paradigm, my default position is that the Mabinogi composer knew what they were doing: the text generally makes sense in its own right.¹⁴ Ford said 'Everything known to me that came from the quills of medieval Welsh scribes served a purpose, be it aesthetic, moral, political, or social in some other context.'¹⁵ In drawing out inferences I have only twice suggested a (small) narrative change viz. that an event might be prepared in advance. This does not contradict or distort the source.¹⁶

Addressing 'inconsistencies' proposed by others it is generally found possible to see how the point can be clarified without violating the text.¹⁷ 'For example Pendaran (PKM1) is a mature prince but Pendaran (PKM2) is *mab*/ a young boy. I have pointed to the long time gap between them, Pryderi's growing up period and early rule, so the second person might be an heir, and 'Pendaran' possibly a title not a personal name.'¹⁸ 'Trusting the text' like this suggests a self-fulfilling prophecy. If you think in terms of inconsistencies a) you will find them, and b) not find it easy to see solutions. Contrariwise if like me you think in terms of trusting the text, you are likely more able to perceive what apparent 'inconsistencies' might mean. Ned Sturzer, as late as 2003, finds nine significant 'inconsistencies' to deplore in the Mabinogi.¹⁹ Only two are not completely

course, '*Crefft Y Cyfarwydd*' (CY-344), Swansea University, Dept. Welsh.

¹³ WJG. 1912. 'Mabinogion', p. 41. He is quoting from William Wordsworth without saying so. Quoted excerpt Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: William John Gruffydd (WJG).

¹⁴ I use 'they' to refer to the Cyfarwydd, advisedly. Generally assumed to be a male composer, there are some grounds to argue a female one as Andrew Breeze does (see Bibliography). Myself I imagine a female-male partnership or even a family project.

¹⁵ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 199.

¹⁶ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Wedding plot. Ch. V.6. Maids and V.9. Pendaran Dyfed.

¹⁷ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Wedding plot, n. 379 enumerated list.

¹⁸ Ch. V.9. Pendaran Dyfed.

¹⁹ Ned Sturzer. 2003. 'Inconsistencies and Infelicities in the Welsh Tales: Their Implications', *Studia Celtica*, 37, pp. 127–42. Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Anglo-Norman on Lloegr towns. Ch. V.7. Teyrnon, Gwent distance, and Pwyll's reputation. Ch. III.4. Equine: Marchogion, no. of Irish horses. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, on love at first sight, portraits. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Wedding plot, n. 379 enumerated list.

explicable within the narrative. Oddly he does not list the often cited 'disconnected' *Pwyll I*, which this study supports as an integrated Preface.²⁰

'Unfolding', or expanding Mabinogi text, is accepted and welcomed here, but not rewriting it.²¹ When looking to a tale or myth elsewhere this is done to make interesting comparisons, sometimes to suggest a possible narrative context, but the other material is never treated as determinant or superior.

Egwyddorion: Ffeministiaeth / Principle: Feminism

The Mabinogi stretches gender codes with Rhiannon as an exemplar. Gwydion takes such stretching a long way, though recent 'non-binary' perspectives are not explicit in the text.²² Original 'Rhiannon' may therefore be classified as conventionally female, so it is unavoidable in my cultural context to consider feminist approaches. The issue of applying them as an (apparently) modern ideology to a mediaeval protagonist and her associates, is addressed.²³

There are three Mabinogi Rhiannon characters who are anonymised as wives. Mediaeval Welsh women's named identity subordinates to fathers, with a seven year transition period into full marriage, then they subordinate to husbands; this is explained here as consequent to the bar on female land ownership. Married women today still predominantly follow the same custom in Welsh society and elsewhere, e.g. 'Mrs. Jones'.²⁴ The 'three anons' are here given courtesy titles for convenience, but also admittedly due to my feminist aversion to nameless women. They are here 'the Queen' (Arawn's wife), 'Teyrnon's Wife',

Ch. I.5. Text: Prologue; I note Sturzer does not include the *Pwyll I* disconnect issue, my n. 146.

²⁰ *Pwyll I* resolved: Ch. I.5. *Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon* / Mabinogi Rhiannon text: *Narratif craidd ac estynedig* / Core and extended narrative. Ch. IV.2. *Ei Gweithredoedd* / Her Acts (playscript); and Ch. V.5. *Dewis Rhiannon* / Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice.

Mac Cana adds Efnysien's violent reaction (PKM2) as inconsistent because he was present at the Branch opening so he knew about the agreement. Proinsias Mac Cana. 1977. *The Mabinogi*. (University of Wales Press), p. 38.

²¹ I am indebted to Liz McAvoy, one of my first Supervisors, for the lovely concept of 'unfolding', personal communication (2020). A similar dedication to my 'Trusting the Text', is stated by Evangeline Walton, perhaps the most famous creator of Mabinogi fantasy; see Ch. VII.5. Rhiannon Theologies: '(1940s/ 1970s) Walton: *'agwedd' ar Modron* / Walton: an 'aspect' of Modron', pp. 498–501.

²² Valente and others find gender disruption in PKM4. Roberta Louisa ('Rob') Valente. 1988. 'Gwydion and Aranrhod: Crossing the Borders of Gender in Math', BBCS, 35, pp. 1–9. Ch. V.15. *Gwydion y Gwenwyn* / Gwydion the Killer.

²³ Ch. II.8. *Mabinogi Rhiannon a Ffeministiaeth* / Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism.

²⁴ Ch. III.5. *Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd* / Law, Land & Women.

and 'Lady Mouse' (Llwyd's wife).²⁵ I am not the only scholar anxious to attend to the less prominent Mabinogi females, though I am probably the special champion of Lady Mouse.

It is a helpful feminist habit to avoid initials when citing scholars, so as not to obscure the presence of female scholarship. First names are therefore given whenever possible in first instance referencing and the Bibliography. In some cases an initial is used in subsequent occurrences to differentiate a common surname, e.g. 'SDavies', 'RhDavies'. For consistency this is also applied to male scholars, 'JDavies'. Some apparently non-standard usage occurs, e.g. 'Guest' designates 'Charlotte Guest'. When a couple are mentioned their surname alone has historically referred to the male as default. In Mabinogi discourse it is Charlotte Guest who is central as the first publisher and translator of the (complete) text; her husband is secondary and (creditably) supportive.²⁶

I was trained in late 20thC feminist codes which require me to 'situate' myself, so that my reader can adjust what I say in terms of my perspectives and theirs. I am female (she); Caucasoid, middle class professional, an elder in my 70s, educated in formal academic Philosophy, often bedridden. I had a country childhood, lived until 40 (1989) as a Londoner, thereafter in Wales. I am not a modern Welsh 'speaker' (I have some reading). I am very proud to be 'adopted Welsh'.

Egwyddorion: Gwead Cymreig/ Principle: Welsh Weave'

The Mabinogi was composed in *Cymraeg Canol*/ 'Middle Welsh' (MW). Translations greatly widened its reach, as have adaptations. Like many others who grew up outside Wales, first language English, my Mabinogi acquaintance was for decades with English translations, until this study. It is a key regret my Welsh language learning has not progressed beyond basics, due to living in English language dominated areas of Wales, and my health restricting available energy.

²⁵ Ch. V.2. *Brenhines*/ Queen. Ch. V.8 *Gwraig Teyrnnon*/ Teyrnnon's Wife. Ch. V.13 *Llygoden Arglwyddes*/ Lady Mouse.

²⁶ Ch. II.5. *Dadeni Cymru*/ Welsh Renaissance: Charlotte Guest.

Nonetheless, my first supervisor Christine James gently but firmly insisted I must learn to work centrally with the Middle Welsh text: Ifor Williams' *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (PKM). What began very nervously gradually became a pleasure. I even came to glimpse a little Mabinogi wordplay.

I have introduced as much of the *Cymraeg* into my text as I could, because once prompted to the familiarisation effort, my politics directed respect for the native source. I understand how translation can coopt, and I suggest how this seems to develop an Anglocentric line from Edward Jones (1802) to Guest; then Walton, and 'Avalonian Rhiannon'.²⁷ This is part of a colonial history.

I quote PKM liberally in my main text, with John Bollard's English translation footnoted, so the Welsh source text is prioritised.²⁸ Titles and subtitles, are bilingual *Cymraeg*/ English, even though this impacts the wordcount a fair amount. Regrettably it was found too cumbersome, obstructing reader absorption, to footnote these full, bilingual titles in cross references, so these reverted to an abbreviated English format.

Priority is given to Welsh names unless quoting; e.g. '*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*' rather than 'White Book of Rhydderch'. Key Welsh terms are frequently used in the main text, e.g. *neges*/ 'purpose, errand', with GPC translation when introduced, and listed in the *Geirfa*/ Glossary. Examples outside the Mabinogi are Welsh where possible without warping meaning. Indexing is Welsh alphabetical order (e.g. Ll follows L).

I do not claim that my Welsh priority usage is slavishly, 100% consistent; some degree of variation to me represents a fluidity characteristic of bilingual praxis. My family and friends' converse for example, is mainly English language, but woven with Welsh vocabulary – or not, as preferred. Living language usage is not tidy, as the later Wittgenstein taught us.²⁹

This is still an English language study, but it does try to honour the Welshness of its primary sources. It also promotes the pre-eminence of the Mabinogi as a work of *Welsh* genius. One of the strong themes of Mabinogi

²⁷ Anglocentric line from Edward Jones, to Guest, Ch. II.5. *Dadeni Cymru*/ Welsh Renaissance. Walton and 'Avalonian Rhiannon' Ch. VII.5. *Duwiesyddiaethau Rhiannon*/ Rhiannon Theologies.

²⁸ Bollard, *Landscape of the Mabinogi*. Default translation (below).

²⁹ Josef Johann Wittgenstein. 1953, posthumously. *Philosophical Investigations* / originally *Philosophische Untersuchungen*. Trans. by G. E. M. Anscombe (Wiley-Blackwell) (URL text Bibliography)

Rhiannon is that she is a *Welsh* mediaeval noblewoman, *marchoges*, not a 'Celtic' princess.³⁰

Cyfieithu Rhagosodedig/ Default Translation

The choice of default translation was of course difficult; I was spoilt for choice. It had to be reasonably modern and familiar, so while I found Ellis and Lloyd (1929) usefully literal, and Parker's online compilation (2003) very convenient for text searches, the chief candidates were Ford (1977), Bollard (2006), or Davies (2007). These all have maps and glossaries and overviews.³¹

Ford, *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (1977) had been my constant companion for 35 years. I liked how he selected out the native tales, explained so much in his 'Introduction', and achieved a comfortable balance between archaic and modern language. He inspired the scope of my Mabinogi Rhiannon narrative by his *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*.³² But the other two works are obviously more 'up to date' as there has been lots of new research in the half century since Ford's admirable version.

Bollard's *Landscape of the Mabinogi* (2006) exclusively focuses the Mabinogi, with long, helpful sections before *and* after its translated text, summarised explanation on context, politics, language, as well as neatly placed inline notes, and a lucid translation style. It comes from the foremost architect of the Coherence Paradigm.³³

Sioned Davies' *The Mabinogion* (2007) seemed the most accessible volume for readers (though Ford has since helpfully gone into Kindle, and Bollard recently posted a free PDF to Academia).³⁴ Davies' is lively and conversational,

³⁰ Critiques of 'Celtic Mythology': John Davies. (1993). *Three Things There Are ...* (HOG). Myself (as Jayran). 2001-05. 'Duwies Cymru'. (online, now defunct, see Appendix. Myself (as Morgain). 2017. 'Mabinogi enchantment and politics', and Simon Rodway. 8/07/2017. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology', presented at 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', Sioned Davies, dir. (School of Welsh, Cardiff). Rodway. 2018. 'The Mabinogi and the Shadow of Celtic Mythology'. *Studia Celtica*, 52, pp. 67-85.

³¹ See Appendix: Translations. For the major translations their Contents are given in the Bibliography.

³² Ford, *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab* (Intro. *Welsh Tales*): its scope compared to Mabinogi Rhiannon, Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*.

³³ Bollard's 'Afterword', to his *Landscape*, pp. 110-122, is in my opinion, the best Mabinogi overview.

³⁴ Bollard. 2006. *Landscape*; online PDF 2021, Academia: <https://www.academia.edu/27202196/Landscapes_of_The_Mabinogi?email_work_card=view-paper> [Accessed 27/05/2023]

reflecting her oral tradition research. As the most recent version (by a year), well publicised, the easiest to obtain and cheapest (at the time), Davies seemed the logical choice. What swung the choice was I felt my study addresses the main, modern experience of *reading* the tales, not primarily their living performance; while Davies' version follows her researches on live performance.

So I opted for Bollard. He rapidly became my stalwart support. He even sent me a PDF of the entire work several years before making it generally available, which made my constant searches for references a lot faster and easier.³⁵ Thank you JKB.

Genesis yr astudiaeth/ Genesis of the study

I came to this study late in life, benefiting from two major, free gifts. My first ten years of childhood was on a 1950s farming estate. Politically it was feudal, five different types of farms centred around the Lord de Rougemon's manor house. Hierarchy was absolute. At four years old I was curtsying to our amiable Lord Denis in his muddy landrover. Heating was wood fires, food was mostly our own produce. We lived closely with the Lord's horses, cows, pigs, chickens, working dogs. Animals' body needs were our clocks, and the harvest governed our year. I have found that many academic works lack this physical, 'smelly' knowledge my childhood gave me. My stepfather faced down the local Hunt alone with a rifle, cleaning it at night on one side of the fireplace, while mother and I darned socks, patched or knitted, on the other side. That childhood has helped greatly to imagine Rhiannon's world, the class structure, its violence, physicality of animals, and gender polarity.

Secondly, as Rhiannon did, I came to Pembrokeshire, Wales, to visit someone who later became my life partner. For unforgettable, golden days, he conducted me around the lanes and hills of his beautiful native land.³⁶ To John, Rhiannon and Pwyll were childhood friends, and Mabinogi places were boyhood familiar. It has ever since been a fond joke that he had 'unfair advantages' (Wales)

³⁵ PDF kindly emailed to me 20/08/2020. It was then posted to Academia March 2021.

³⁶ John Bollard's *Mabinogi* (my default translation) is liberally illustrated with landscape photography of Mabinogi locations by Anthony Griffiths, as well as maps, and manuscript images. *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2006).

which won my heart. Our Rhiannon–Pwyll parallel was evident to us both.³⁷ Very likely if he had not shown me his Welsh splendour this study would never have happened. I inherited his matriarch aunt Phyl Davies' *Mabinogion* (Everyman, 1906); she would have liked this study.³⁸ John's intently focused discussions, especially his expert knowledge of politics and economics, marine navigation, and subsistence living 'off grid', have been as important as his constant support for my physical limitations.³⁹ Together we coordinated Mabinogi study groups.⁴⁰ Finally in 2013 I made room in a busy professional life for advanced study: this doctoral research began April 2014.⁴¹

My first, intuitive image of the project was its multiple perspectives. I saw myself as it were, at the top of a high tower with many windows. Each gave a different view of Rhiannon and her world. The metaphorical message resembled the famous tale of blindfolded Hindu sages touching different parts of an elephant, with diverse conclusions. I would try to array my tower views, integrating them where possible, but without artificially forcing a unified system.⁴²

Focusing only one literary protagonist I felt merrily reassured I need only examine part of the Mabinogi text. I knew Rhiannon appears in only two of its four Branches, with rare glimpses in other literature. However Rhiannon quickly

³⁷ I wrote this tale as part of a year's series on the Mabinogi. *Shân Morgain*. Jan. –Dec. 2017. The Welsh Year of Legends. *Pembrokeshire Life*, ed. by Keith Johnson. --June 2017. 'Mabinogi love stories old and new'. Part 6, illust., pp. 38–40. The parallels are also further explored here as a 'living text', Ch. VII.5. *Duwiesyddiaethau Rhiannon/ Rhiannon Theologies*.

³⁸ Phyl Davies (1912 -2006) was a redoubtable matriarch well known in Pembroke. Her husband was the locally famed Harry Davies, the last traditional wheelwright, whose workshop was literally beneath the castle wall on the quay. He was a tough man of principle. They were held in such awe her poor undertakers bearing her coffin were sheet white, trembling for fear they might slip when carrying such a VIP. It took many years for me to win Phyl's regard but she eventually accepted me as her niece, and I was given her copy of the *Mabinogion*.

³⁹ John Davies, MA Oxford PPE (Politics, Philosophy, Economics). Open University lecturer, politics and economics.

⁴⁰ Our (1990s) London study groups also led by Bethan Williams, were themed on 'Celtic Myth' but were Welsh and Mabinogi centred. Several key ideas from those discussions resurface here, e.g. questioning the standard view of Pwyll's foolishness, and his Annwfn chastity as virtuous. An online forum was Celtic and Goddess themed, though in practice, 'Welsh Celtic'. <housemorgain.co.uk> (Defunct.)

⁴¹ I wrote of my early encounters with Prof. Christine James in 'Here Be Dragons! An experiential account of working between two linguistic worlds.' Presented at 'Dwy Iaith, Dau Ddiwylliant? Two Languages, Two Cultures?', (Sept. 2014), CAWCS, NLW, Aberystwyth. Dir: Dr. Mary-Ann Constantine.

⁴² The tower perspectives metaphor was the basis of my proposal to Swansea, Cardiff, Bangor and Aberystwyth, Oct. 2013. On the Perspectives methodology see above.

became a 'tour guide' leading into ramifications throughout most of the Mabinogi.⁴³ Fond hopes of a restricted study area had to be abandoned.⁴⁴

This study has taken me into widely varied places: meeting a very solid, Welsh cob mare called Bramble;⁴⁵ finding why hill sheep produce inferior parchment;⁴⁶ the mediaeval silk cartel politics of Byzantium,⁴⁷ a 19thC mysterious manuscript disappearance,⁴⁸ a *cornucopia* of Rhiannon artworks,⁴⁹ Welsh nationalist poetry,⁵⁰ and of course struggles with the Cymraeg.⁵¹ I have had great joy from it though Rhiannon is a tough mistress.

Shân Morgain

Casnewydd/ Newport

February 2024, January 2025

End of Volume I

⁴³ Diagram: Shân Morgain. Feb. 2015. 'Rhiannon Interlace' prepared for presentation to MEMO, Swansea,

⁴⁴ Shan Morgain. Feb. 19/02/2015. 'Rhiannon as Mabinogi Tour Guide'. MEMO (Centre for Mediaeval and Early Modern Research), Swansea University. Director. Prof. Daniel Power, dir. Rhiannon as a structural, organising principle of the Mabinogi. Handout PDF 'A Mabinogi Briefing' (URL text Bibliography)

⁴⁵ I visited Bramble 3/05/ 2014 as experiential research. Rosie Withey, 'Horses as Teachers' nr. Bristol. Photograph by John Davies, Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse, end of chapter.

⁴⁶ Ch. II.2. *Mabinogi Canoloesol*, Mediaeval Mabinogi. MSS. production in context.

⁴⁷ Ch. I.5. *Dyfodiad*, Advent: Silk. Ch. III.2. *Y Marchoges*/The Horsewoman/ Silk. Political economy.

⁴⁸ Ch. II.4. *Llawysgrifau*/ Manuscripts: Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, p. 64.

⁴⁹ Ch. VIII.1. *Rhiannon Arlunwaith*/ Rhiannon Artworks, (selection).

⁵⁰ Ch. VII.6. *Adar Rhiannon*/ Birds of Rhiannon.

⁵¹ There has been a history of classes, tutors, self study materials, but also ill-health limitations. I very much regret my inadequacy here but (above) have attempted to honour the source text.

MABINOI RHIANNON: INTRODUCTORY

I.1. *Aralleirio Mabinogi Rhiannon*

Mabinogi Rhiannon Paraphrase

I.2. *Dramatis Personae*I.3. *'Riannon ... wyf i', Etymoleg*

'I am ... Rhiannon', an Etymology

I.4. *Dyfodiad Rhiannon*

Advent of Rhiannon

I.5. *Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon*

Mabinogi Rhiannon text

I.6. *Rhiannon mewn Ffynonellau eraill*

Other Rhiannon Source References

I.7. *Rhiannon fel Gwraig o Gyfarwydd*

Rhiannon, Lady of Prose Story-telling

I Mabinogi Rhiannon, Cyflwyniad/ Mabinogi Rhiannon: Introductory

I.1. *Aralleirio Mabinogi Rhiannon/* Mabinogi Rhiannon Paraphrase

A woman rides past *Gorsedd Arberth/* Mound Arberth: pale-white, great, noble, arrayed in gold silk.¹ Prince Pwyll of Dyfed, acclaimed '*Pen Annwfn*', with his court have waited; forewarned to expect '*rywedawt*'/ a marvel. He sends two men after the rider to discover her *neges*/ purpose; but they cannot reach her 'slow' pacing. Pwyll finally pursues her, unsuccessfully, until he begs her to stop. She rebukes him for overriding his horse, identifies herself as Rhiannon, explains her *neges* is to marry him, but she has an unwanted contract. Entranced, Pwyll accepts. Rhiannon provides their wedding feast. A young, princely guest requests a boon which Pwyll expansively grants. Gwawl the unwanted, demands Rhiannon. She rebukes Pwyll for rash speech, but commands he honourably give her to Gwawl, and she will ensure he cannot have her. She provides Pwyll with detailed instructions for using her *cot uechan*/ small bag.

Rhiannon provides a second wedding feast. Pwyll attends disguised as a beggar. He begs a boon of bridegroom Gwawl, who cautiously agrees to fill the *cot uechan* with food. But it cannot be filled until a wealthy land-holder steps into it. When Gwawl does so Pwyll drags the bag over his head, trapping him. Pwyll calls his hidden company who take control of the hall, beating the trapped man like a badger, until he agrees to Rhiannon's advice: a contract to relinquish both her and revenge.

Rhiannon and Pwyll rule jointly for three anxious years before Rhiannon bears a son. Waking, she finds her baby gone, her face smeared with blood. Her six Maids accuse her of infanticide and cannibalism. Her appeals to God and truth, her assurances of protection, achieve nothing. Rhiannon accepts the penance Pwyll sets, to wait daily by the Arberth horse block, telling her crime to strangers, offering to bear them on her back.

In Gwent-Is-Coed the lord Teyrnnon rescues a foal and human baby from a monster, amidst *twrwf*/ tumult. His Wife agrees to foster the boy who loves

¹ This Mabinogi Rhiannon paraphrase is from Rhiannon's perspective; unreferenced except for marking the Branches.

horses, so they bestow the foal upon him. From Rhiannon's spreading tale, and the boy's appearance, Teyrnon realises this is the lost Dyfed heir. His Wife counsels restoring the boy, so Teyrnon takes him to Arberth. Rhiannon's punning exclamation she is delivered from *pryder*/loss, anxiety, constructs his name. Pryderi, perfect prince, inherits Dyfed from his father, doubles its territory, and marries Cigfa.²

Pryderi joins Britain's war with Ireland, which originated in a ghastly insult of horse mutilation. As Pryderi returns Rhiannon sends her *Adar*/ Birds, to comfort him and his companions.³

Rhiannon marries Pryderi's dearest friend Manawydan. Mother, son, and their consorts sit on *Gorsedd Arberth*. Tumultuous mist desolates Dyfed of all animal stocks and other humans. After survival by hunting the four royals become exiles in English towns, but their craftwork success causes dangerous envy. They return to Dyfed. Pryderi and Manawydan hunt a white boar, leading them to a new-built tower. Pryderi enters to fetch his hounds. Manawydan reports his disappearance to Rhiannon, who rebukes his failure of friendship. Attempting rescue, she, like Pryderi, is paralysed speechless by a golden bowl. The tower disappears in tumultuous mist. Manawydan attempts farming. Mice plunder his fields but he captures a pregnant one. Three clerical men offer bribes for it. He refuses, forcing the third to reveal all. He is Llwyd, Magician desolator of Dyfed, captor of Rhiannon and Pryderi, avenger of Gwawl. He restores all to save his wife, the shapeshifted 'Lady Mouse'.⁴

Pryderi has exceptional Annwfn pigs. Gwydion, Magician-lord of Gwynedd, deceives him into forswearing his contract on them, exchanging them for beautiful (fake) horses and hounds. Pryderi wars with Gwynedd to avenge his honour, dying in a duel with Gwydion. The war was Gwydion's game to achieve the rape of a girl. Math, lord of Gwynedd, punishes Gwydion and his brother with bestial shapeshifts.⁵

~ * ~

² END OF FIRST BRANCH.

³ END OF SECOND BRANCH.

⁴ END OF THIRD BRANCH.

⁵ END OF FOURTH BRANCH episode, ends Mabinogi Rhiannon. Branch cont. with consequences.

I Mabinogi Rhiannon, Cyflwyniad/ Mabinogi Rhiannon: Introductory

I.2. Dramatis Personae⁶

RHIANNON *ferch Hyfaidd Hen*/ daughter of Hyfaidd the Old.

March Rhiannon/ Rhiannon's Horse.

Hyfaidd Hen/ 'Old One', her father.

PWYLL *pendefig Dyfed*/ prince of Dyfed. Husband no. 1.

Arawn brenin Annwfn/ king of Annwfn, ally.

Queen, Annwfn. (Anon)

Hafgan brenin Annwfn/ king of Annwfn, antagonist.

Gwawl ap Clud/ 'son of Clud', rejected suitor, antagonist.

Gwri Gwallt Eurnyn/ 'Golden Hair', her son (childhood).

PRYDERI *arglwydd Dyfed*/ lord of Dyfed, her son.

Her **Maids** (6).

Teyrnnon *Twrwf Lliant, arglwydd Gwent-Is-Coed*/

'Tumultuous Waters, lord of Gwent-Below-Forest'. Pryderi's foster father.

Teyrnnon's Wife (Anon) foster mother.

Pendaran Dyfed, Pryderi's other foster father.

Cigfa ferch Wynn Gohoyw/ 'daughter of Gwynn Gohoyw', daughter-in-law.

Bendigeidfran uab Llŷr, *brenin ynys hon*/ 'son of Llŷr, king of Britain'.

Branwen ferch Llŷr, 'daughter of Llŷr'.

Matholwch brenin Iwerddon/ 'king of Ireland'.

Efnysien uab Euroswydd/ 'son of Euroswydd' and Llŷr'; horse mutilator.

Adar Rhiannon/ 'Birds of Rhiannon'.

Caswallawn uab Beli/ 'son of Beli', usurper king.

MANAWYDAN *fab Llŷr*/ 'son of Llŷr'. Husband no. 2.

Llwyd Cil Coed/ of the backwoods, Magician antagonist.

Lady Mouse/ *Llygoden-wraig* (Anon), Llwyd's wife.

Math uab Mathonwy, arglwydd Gwynedd/ 'son of Mathonwy, lord of Gwynedd'.

Goewin ferch Pebin/ 'daughter of Pebin', footholder to Math.

Gwydion uab Beli/ 'son of Beli', Pryderi's killer.⁷

~ * ~

⁶ Approx. narrative order of first occurrence. Some names appear first as patronymics. Translated epithets are to my preference, often subject to variable translations, see relevant chapters for detail. Perspective V. Kindred. References are footnoted at the end of this list.

Mabinogi Rhiannon is structurally analysed as a playscript Ch. IV.2. Acts of Rhiannon pp. 206-13.

⁷ **PKM1**: Rhiannon predicted PKM1 9.4-7. JKB 25.1-2. Anon. with Horse, PKM1 9.11-13. JKB 25.2. Named with Hyfaidd patronymic PKM1 12.23. JKB 28.1. Pwyll PKM1 1.1. JKB 19.1. Arawn anon, PKM1 2.3. JKB 21.1, named 2.26. JKB 21.1. Queen referred PKM1 3.9. JKB 21.2, appears 4.14. JKB 22.2. Hafgan referred PKM1 2.28-3.2, appears 5.19. JKB 21.2. Gwawl referred PKM1 12.23-24, 28.1; anon. 13.27-28, 28.2; named 14.16-17. JKB 29.1. Pryderi birth PKM1 20.3-4. JKB 33.2. Named Gwri 21.16. JKB 36.2. Named Pryderi 26.9-10. JKB 38.1. Styled *arglwydd Dyfed* PKM4 67.2-3. JKB 79.1. Maids PKM1 20.6. JKB 33.2. Teyrnnon PKM1 22.1-3. JKB 35.1. Wife, PKM1 22.6-7. JKB 35.2. Pendaran PKM1 26.11. JKB 38.1. Cigfa PKM1 27.24-25. JKB 40.1.

PKM2-4: Bendigeidfran PKM2 29.1-2. JKB 43.2. Matholwch PKM2 30.14. JKB 44.2. Branwen appears 21.16. JKB 45.2. PKM2 30.20, as *rieni* 31.1. JKB 46.2. Efnysien PKM2 29.7. JKB 43.2. Adar ref. PKM2 45.2-4. JKB 55.2; appear 46.13-15. JKB 58.1-2. Caswallawn PKM2 45.25-26. JKB 57.1. Manawydan PKM2 29.5-6. JKB 43.2. Llwyd disguised PKM3 61.17. JKB 73.1. Named 64.5-6. JKB 75.1. Lady Mouse PKM3 60.15. JKB 73.1. Identified PKM3 64.3. JKB 75.1. Math PKM4 67.1. JKB 79.1.. Goewin PKM4 67.8-9. JKB 79.1. Gwydion PKM4 67.12. JKB 79.1.

I *Mabinogi Rhiannon, Cyflwyniad*/ Mabinogi Rhiannon: Introductory

1.3. 'Riannon ... wyf i', Etymoleg/ 'I am ... Rhiannon', Etymology

This chapter addresses Rhiannon's name. After appearing as an anonymous rider at Arberth, Rhiannon identifies herself in dialogue with Pwyll.⁸

'Dywedaf, Arglwyd,'
heb hi. 'Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf I'⁹

This is the first *narrative* instance of her name extant (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, c. 1350).¹⁰ The earliest *historical* instance of her name occurs in a Peniarth 6 fragment (c. 1225, Rhiannon's PKM3 rebuke to Manawydan).¹¹ The first instances of naming her in print format are Edward Jones' English translation (1802); William Owen [Pughe's] *Dictionary*, and his *Cambrian Biography*, (1803).¹²

30 THE JUVENILE ADVENTURES OF PWYLL, PRINCE OF DYVED.
Will you inform me who you are?" "Yes," said she; "I am *Riannon*, the daughter of *Eveidd Hen*; they are going to give me away to a man against my will, and I have refused every one for the love I bear to you; and am still resolved to have no other, if you refuse me not; and to know your mind am I come."

Edward Jones, 1802

Rhianaid, a. (rhian) Feminine; lady-like.
Rhianon, s. f. (rhian) A paragon of the female
sex; a goddess, a mythological person.
El phryd a guddiwyd a phridd;
Dyga gofod rhianon rodd!

[Pughe], *Geiriadur*, II (1803)

⁸ Anon, across four pages of PKM text, 1,032 words; PKM 9.11– 12.6. JKB 25.1– 27.2. Her appearance is advised/ warned in advance PKM 9.4–7. JKB 25.1.

⁹ PKM1 12.22–23. I will tell you, my lord,' she replied. 'I am Rhiannon, daughter of Hefeydd the Old'. JKB 28.1. (MS. Llyfr Gwyn 5r: 18, L 20-29. cited from PKM, p. 12.). Ch. IV.1. Voice #4.

¹⁰ Ch. II.4. Manuscripts: White Book of Rhydderch, pp. 61-62, and context rest of chapter.

¹¹ G. R. Isaac, Simon Rodway, Silvia Nurmio, Kit Kapphahn, and Patrick Sims-Williams, eds. 2010. '*Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13eg Ganrif Fersiwn 1.0*' ('13th Century Welsh Prose Manuscripts Version 1.0'); Peniarth 6. (URL Bibliography).

¹² SCR excerpt: Edward Jones. ed. 1802. *Mabinogi, Part the First; the Juvenile Adventures of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, in *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature; and Other Admirable Rarities; Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical, and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids*. Bardic Relicks series, vol. 2 of 3 (London, Printer St.: A. Straban for the author), p. 30. (URLs text PDF and more, Bibliography).

SCR excerpt: William Owen [Pughe]. 1803. *Geiriadur cenhedlaethol, cymraeg a saesneg. A dictionary of the Welsh language, explained in English; with numerous illustrations from the literary remains and from the living speech of the Cymry*, II of 3 (London: E. Williams). 'Rhianon' entry, p. 466. (Here Ch. II.5. Pughe p. 73) The construct [Pughe] reflects his addition of this surname 1806; previously 'William Owen'. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe, p. 68 n. 156.

SCR excerpt: *ibid.* 1803. *The Cambrian Biography: Or, Historical Notices of Celebrated Men Among the Ancient Britons* (London: E. Williams, 11 The Strand), p. 290. (URL text Bibliography).

**RHIANON, the daughter of Henevydd Hên,
only known as an heroine of the Dramatic Tales.**

Cambrian Biography (1803)¹³

“ Dywedav, arglwyd,” y “ I will, my lord,” she re-
gwrtheb hi : “ Rhianon, verch plied : “ Rhianon,* the daugh-
Hyvairt Hên, wyv vi: ac ym ter of Hyvaird Hên,† am I :

* Which may be rendered the *paragon* or *supreme* among women.

† That is, *Aptly-daring* the Aged.

Cambrian Register, III (1818)

Mittleman and Jones' detailed review of the name 'Rhiannon' in literature and usage, finds it historically unique to the Mabinogi cf. Pughe above.

In pre-17th century history, Rhiannon itself appears to be unique to the legendary/divine character who appears in two of the branches of the Mabinogi. ... one can hypothesize that the name's original intent was "great divine queen". We know no evidence that it was used by any historical person. ...

Rhiannon is found outside literature only in modern times.¹⁴

The name seems to have remained (almost) exclusive to Welsh literary circles, until the 20thC.¹⁵

Enghreifftiau Mabinogi/ Mabinogi instances

The name 'Rhiannon' appears 47 times in the Mabinogi.¹⁶

¹³ SCR excerpt: William Owen Pughe. 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 231.(URL text Bibliography).

¹⁴ Josh Mittleman and Heather Rose Jones. 1998, 1999, last updated 23/07/1999. 'Concerning the Names Rhiannon, Rhian, and the Like', Medieval Names Archive: Problem Names Project. On the "great divine queen" hypothesis, they cite R. L. Thomson. 1986. *Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet* (Dublin: DIAS), p. 33. (URL text Bibliography).

Two instances naming Rhiannon in 14thC mediaeval Welsh poems, Ch. I.6. Other Sources: 6) p. 33 & 7) p. 34; some allusions without naming her. None add content to her Mabinogi narrative.

¹⁵ Guest's publications would have had English readers. Charlotte Guest's youngest daughter was named 'Constance Rhiannon' b. 17/11/1844. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, p. 99.

In the 20thC Robert Graves refers to Rhiannon many times, identifying her as 'Mare Goddess' and 'MuseGoddess'. Ch. VII.5. Theologies pp. 478-79. Robert Graves. *The White Goddess: a historical grammar of poetic myth* (Faber & Faber; corrected, revised and enlarged edns. 1952 and 1961). (URL text Bibliography) The name was internationally broadcast by Stevie Nicks and Fleetwood Mac. 1975. 'Rhiannon'. Ch. II.3. Performance p. 51; and Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

The tiny Pembrokeshire village, Llanrhian, does not seem to be derivative. Kathleen Lewis. 1962. 'In the Steps of St. Rhian: A History of the Church and Parish of Llanrhian' (Author published)

¹⁶ 'Rhiannon' is modernised orthography since PKM (1930). Pughe gives 'Rhianon', above.

'Riannon' appears in PKM 47 times. LIST: *PKM1 Ep.2. total 14* (1) 12.23 JKB 27.2. (2) 13.23. JKB 28.1 (3,4) 14.6,13. JKB 29.1,1. (5) 15.21. JKB 29.2. (6,7) 16.5,25. JKB 30.1 & 2. (8,9) 17.20,27. JKB 31.1. (10,11,12) 18.8,20 23. JKB 31.1 & 2 & 2. (13,14) 19.7,15. JKB 31.2. (*Ep.3. total 13*) (15,16,17) 20.6,19,23. JKB 33.2,34,34.1. (18,19) 21.1,19. JKB 34.2,35.1. (20,21,22) 24.10,14, 25. JKB 36.2,37.1,1. (23,24,25) 25.1,11,20. JKB 37.1,37.2,2. (26,27) 26.9,13. JKB 38.1,1. *PKM2 total 2* (28) Adar 45.3 JKB 55.2 (29) Adar 48.17 JKB 60.1. *PKM3 total 18* (30) 49.18 JKB 63.1 (30,31.33,34,35,36,) 50.1,6,14,16,20,23 JKB 63.2,2. 64.1,1. 64.2,2 (37) 51.2 JKB 65.1. (38) 56.24. JKB 70.1. (39) 56.26. JKB 70.2. (40) 58.26. JKB 71.2 (41) 63.26. JKB 75.1 (42,43) 64.19,27 JKB 75.2 (44,45) 65.4,6. JKB 75.2,2. (46,47) 65.17,19. JKB 76.1.1.

TABLE 1 Comparison of namings¹⁷

'Pwyll' 75.¹⁸ 'Pryderi' 60.¹⁹ 'Rhiannon' 47.²⁰ 'Gwydion' 47. 'Manawydan' 38.²¹
 'Bendigeidfran' 27. 'Math' 25. 'Teyrnon' 23. 'Lleu' 18. 'Gwawl' 13.
 'Branwen' 10. 'Arawn' 8. 'Arianrhod' 8. 'Blodeuedd' 8. 'Efnyisien' 6. 'Llwyd' 1.

On this simple criterion Rhiannon is one of the five leading Mabinogi protagonists (Line 1); and the only female on that level. These are also the protagonists of Mabinogi Rhiannon. Across her three core narratives, *Pwyll* II, *Pwyll* III, and PKM3, the spread of 'Rhiannon' instances is fairly even.²²

TABLE 2 Spread of name instances

PKM1:

Pwyll I none***Pwyll* II 14*****Pwyll* III 13**PKM2 (2, Adar)²³**PKM3: 18**

Sillafau / Syllables

The name 'Rhiannon' has three syllables: second syllable stressed:

***Rhi-* / -an- / -(n)on.**

The prefix *Rhi-* is an ancient, Indo-European root, with strongly political meanings about rulership. The first two syllables together *Rhian(e)* are Brittonic, gendered exclusively female. The suffix *-on* is generally considered to mean divinity. Together they blend political and religious authority, gendered female. Rhiannon's self naming (above) resounds with informative impact.

Rhagddodiad RHI- / Prefix *RHI-*

rhi – king, prince, lord, ruler, chieftain, also fig. (GPC).

¹⁷ This little headcount exercise does not include key anonymised persons: Queen, Teyrnon's Wife, Lady Mouse; but these do not affect the balance. The exercise does extend to pronoun references. See next footnote re *Pwyll*.

¹⁸ *Pwyll* is anonymised in *Pwyll* I. Arawn offers his *lle*, 'place' lit. territorial position, or 'stead'. *Pwyll* agrees to take it, PKM1 3.4–8. JKB 21.2; and PKM1 3.23–26. JKB 21.2–22.1 Hafgan duel: *y/gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*, PKM1 5.20–21. 'the man-in-Arawn's place', JKB 23.1, and again, PKM 6 JKB 23.2. *Pwyll* orders the new united realm: *y gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*, PKM1 6.6. 'the man in the place of Arawn', JKB 23 fouinr.2.

¹⁹ 'Pryderi' in individual Branches: (PKM1) 6 + (PKM2) 1 + (PKM3) 35 + (PKM4) 18 = total 60.

²⁰ Breakdown across Branches given in the next Table, below.

²¹ 'Manawydan' (PKM2) 8 + (PKM3) 30 = total 38.

²² On Mabinogi Rhiannon core and expanded narrative, Ch. I.5. Text, pp. 29–30.

²³ *Adar Rhiannon*, PKM2 45.3. 'birds of Rhiannon', JKB 55.2. *tri ederyn*, PKM2 46.14. 'three birds', JKB 58.1. *Ganyat Adar Riannon*, 48.17. 'Singing of Rhiannon's Birds', JKB 60.1.

Mabinogi kings are titled '*brenhin*', not *rhi*.²⁴ T.M. Charles-Edwards distinguishes *rhi* as an older, *poetic* form; more flexible status than *brenhin*.²⁵ Perhaps this gave '*Rhi-annon*' an archaic connotation at the time of composition.

Rhi– Indo-European root, cognate forms Old Irish, Gaulish, Latin, Proto-Celt, Middle Eastern and Indic cultures (EIEC):²⁶

KING

From **h3réǵ-on-* we have: OIr [Old Irish²⁷] *rīgain* (DIL *rīgan*) 'Queen'. Wels²⁸ *rhiaîn* 'maiden' (< Proto-Celt **rīganī-*). Lat *rēgīna* (< **rēgni-nā-*) 'queen', (< **rēgni-nā-*) 'queen', Khot²⁹ *rrāysan-* 'lord, ruler' ('king' is a different word), *rrīna* 'queen'. OInd³⁰ *rājan-* 'king, *rājni-* 'queen', *sam-rājni* 'wife of an overlord', *rājanyā-* 'royal'. Other widespread derivatives are **h3réǵ-jo-m* 'kingdom, power' [IEW³¹ 855-856 (**rēǵiom*)] in OIr *rīge* 'kingdom', Khot *rāśa-* (< **rāzya-*) 'power, might' ...

The traditional and still majority view is that in the word for 'king' we have an agent noun derived from **h3reǵ-* 'stretch out the arm; direct' (cf. the derived **h3reǵros* 'right, correct').³²

This rulership concept is evidently not primarily an abstract power, nor based on knowledge or skill; albeit it has derivatives as 'right, correct'. It is at root concrete power over territory: thus 'kingdom'; and to 'stretch out the arm' over land or persons, controlling space. Julius Pokorny gives lists of Old English

²⁴ PKM instances 22 *brenhin*, *urenhin*/king. PKM1 [7]: Arawn identifies himself, PKM1 2.23. JKB 21.1; and PKM1 2.26. JKB 21.2. Arawn refers to Hafgan, PKM1 3.2. JKB 21.2. Two kings duel, PKM1 5.14 and 19. JKB 23.1. The man in Arawn's place recognised king of all Annwfn, PKM1 6.9. JKB 23.2. Arawn awaits Pwyll's return, PKM1 6.17. JKB 23.2. PKM2 [13]: Bendigeidfran introduced as king, PKM2 29.1. JKB 43.2. Bendigeidfran again referred as king. PKM2 29.8, JKB 43.2. PKM2 30.9 and 10. JKB 44.2. PKM2 30.15; and 18. JKB 45.2. PKM2 31.8. JKB 45.2. Matholwch, king of Ireland, PKM2 30.14. JKB 44.2. PKM2 31.23. JKB 46.1. Branwen daughter of a king, PKM2 32.28. JKB 46.2. Gwern as king of Ireland. PKM2 43.19 JKB 54.2. Caswallawn now king of Britain, 45.26. PKM3 [1]: Caswallawn as king of Britain, 49.10. JKB 57.1. PKM4 [1] Arawn king of Annwfn sent gift to Pryderi, PKM4 68.23. JKB 80.2.

²⁵ Thomas Mowbray Charles-Edwards. 2013. *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (OUP), p. 320. *Brenhin* as normal 12thC prose, *rhi* older, used in poetry, *rhi* as a component in personal names, e.g. *Tudyr*, *Tudir*, *Tudri*, also early Gaulish names e.g. *Vercingetorix*. p. 319. Alexander Falileyev lists no clear earlier equivalent for *rhi* or *brenhin* in Old Welsh. 2000. *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh* (Tubingen: Max Vermeier), pp. 135-36.

²⁶ (EIEC) James P. Mallory and Douglas Q. Adams. eds. 1997. *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (London & Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers), pp. 328-29.

²⁷ OIr = Old Irish, the Celtic language attested in Ireland from c. 600 to 900 AD (from which New Irish, Scots Gaelic and Manx are all descended). *EIEC*, Abbreviations, p. xxi. I have expanded abbreviations for clarity, here and in notes below.

²⁸ Wels = modern Welsh, a Celtic language of the Brittonic branch of Celtic, most closely related to Cornish and Breton, spoken in Wales and attested from the latter half of the first Christian millennium to the present. Forms cited as Wels are in Modern Welsh, the language attested since c 1500 AD. *EIEC*, Abbreviations, p. xxiv.

²⁹ Khot = Khotanese, an Eastern Iranian language spoken along the southern rim of the Tarim Basin in Xinjiang. *EIEC*, Abbreviations, p. xviii.

³⁰ OInd = Old Indic, also known as Sanskrit, the oldest attested stage of the Indic branch of IE, from roughly 1500 BC to 600 BC. *EIEC*, Abbreviations, p. xxi.

³¹ (IEW) citations from Julius Pokorny. 1959. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*., in 2 vols. (Bern & Stuttgart, Francke Verlag). Cited *EIEC*, Abbreviations p. xviii.

³² *EIEC*, pp. 328-29.

derivatives from **reg-* which stress straightness, directness, rule.³³ Later cognates of interest are the French *reine*/ 'queen', (with Rhiannon assonance) via Latin, *regina*/ 'queen'.³⁴

'RHIAN'

Pughe in his *Dictionary*, (1803) lists 'Rhian' as a mature woman, and *Rhiant* as parent.³⁵ GPC:

rhianaidd, gw. **rhieinaidd**. **rhieinaidd**, **rhieiniaidd**, **rhianaidd**.

pertaining to, befitting, or like a (?noble) young woman, feminine, effeminate, virgin(al), chaste.³⁶

rhiangerdd (**rhiein/gerdd**) – poem in praise of a (?noble) young woman, love poem.

rhieingylch [rhiaïn+cylch] – occasional progress of a queen or a king's daughter through the country, payments or food provided on the progress.

rhiaïn – (young) woman, girl, damsel, lass, maiden, virgin; queen, noble girl, lady, effeminate.³⁷

'Rhiaïn' femininity is an ideal of elite nobility and chastity. Its life stages are from young (virgin) girl to reigning lady, evident in Rhiannon's PKM1 narrative stages.³⁸ The 'Rhiaïn' range of an elite, courtly, conventionally feminine character, fits Rhiannon's femininity well.

³³ Pokorny, IEW, vol. 1. *reg-*, p. 854. He uses the abbreviation OE = Old English. Cf. also Old English *rice*, 'strong, powerful; great, mighty; of high rank', later 'wealthy'. Online Etymology Dictionary: 'rich'. (URL text Bibliography)

³⁴ Assonance observed by Gabriella Valentino, conference panel 'Harmony and Discord', Swansea University, 14/10/2016, when I presented 'Tair Cainc Mabinogi: three analyses of conflict and discord; the 12thC speaks today.'

Cf. also Hartmut Scharfe notes 'OInd [Old Indic, Sanskrit-] raj- [may not mean] 'king'; it is possible that this word is a feminine abstract meaning "strength, power". Hartmut Scharfe. 1985. 'The Vedic word for "king"', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105, pp. 543-548. Cited *EIEC*, p. 328-29.

³⁵ *Rhian*, s. f. –pl. t. edd (rhi) A woman in the prime of life; a dame, a lady. *Rhiant*, s. m. —pl. *rhiaint* (rhi) A parent. On the same page as 'Rhianon', above. [Pughe], *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol*, II (1803), p. 466.

³⁶ The Mabinogi pays as much attention to male chastity and virginity as it does female. Compare Pwyll, Manawydan, with Goewin, Arianrhod. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn, pp. 251-53. Also Ch. V.2. Queen.

³⁷ GPC 'effeminate' appears anomalous. One reading of it might be extreme or powerful femininity in control, overcoming masculinity: not incompatible with Rhiannon in her earlier narrative.

³⁸ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 271-74 DIAGRAM. Shân Morgain. 2024. 'Approximate lifelines', p. 274. Miranda Green constructs a speculative linguistic analysis of 'Rhiannon' as a combination of Welsh Rhiaïn, 'maiden', and Annwn as, 'Underworld'; suggesting her as Goddess of the Underworld, perhaps represented in the key occasionally found in iconographic representations of Epona. Miranda J. Green. 1998. *Celtic Goddesses: Warriors, Virgins and Mothers* (British Museum Press), p. 50. Rhiannon occurrences pp. 14, 26, 47-53, 55-58, 63-64, 66, 87, 117, 169, 176.

Ôl-ddodiad –ON/ Suffix – ON

The Welsh suffix *–on*, is generally considered to indicate deity status, cf. *Dôn*, *Amaethon/ Amaethaon*, *Gofannon*, *Gwydion*, and *Teyrnnon*; also *Maponos/ Mabon*, *Modron*.³⁹ On *Rhiannon* as divinity see VII. Ch. 1–5, pp. 409–503.

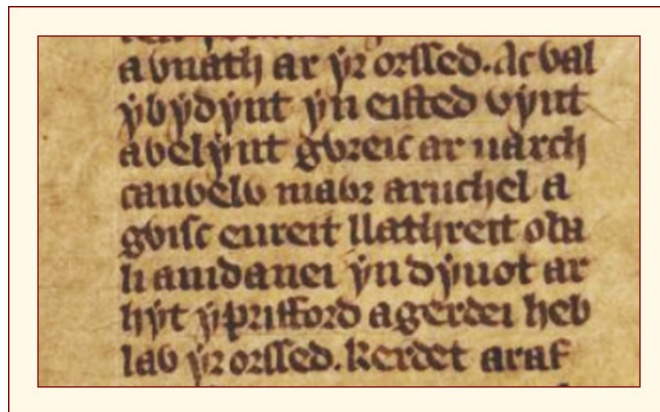
~ * ~

I Mabinogi Rhiannon, Cyflwyniad/ Mabinogi Rhiannon: Introductory

I.4. *Dyfodiad Rhiannon/ Advent of Rhiannon*⁴⁰

This chapter analyses *Rhiannon*’s ‘advent’ text, her first narrative appearance in the *Mabinogi*, as a miniature, previewed profile of her initial *persona*.⁴¹

Testun/ Text



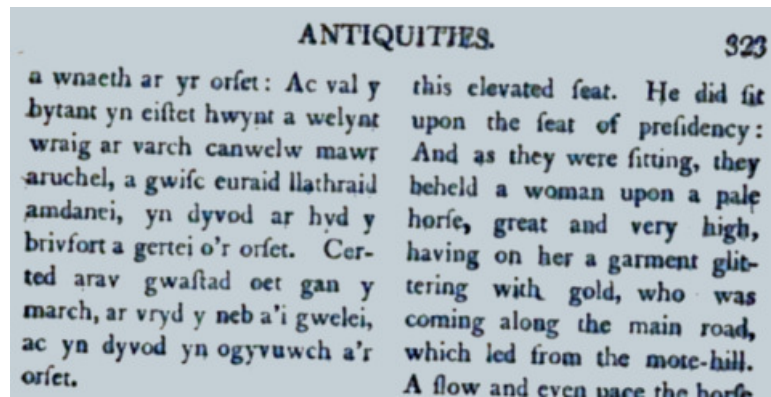
Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch c. 1350, digitised version NLW.⁴²

³⁹ Rhys talks of *Dôn* and her Gwynedd matriline, including *Dôn*, *Amaethon/ Amaethaon*, *Gofannon*, *Gwydion*. 1888. *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*. Hibbert Lectures series, III of four (London & Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate). Anwyl refers to a possible connection between *Rhiannon* and the ‘Don-cycle’ due to her name; ‘Four Branches’, IV, p. 133; and via places mentioned (Harlech, Maentwrog), *ibid.* p. 124. Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900: Rhys pp. 106–08. Anwyl pp. 109–10; Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Anwyl pp. 448–63.

⁴⁰ This was the first chapter drafted for my study (1/04/2013) a little edited since.

⁴¹ Advent text: PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. Another such miniature profile can be seen in her first dialogue, analysed Ch. IV.1. Voice. For *Rhiannon*’s advent logistics viewed as a conspiracy Ch. V.5. *Pwyll*: Advent plot. Also Appendix 2: Advent translations, text versions, Cymraeg and English, 1799 – 21stC. Main translation references below.

⁴² SCR NLW, ‘The White Book of Rhydderch, Peniarth MS 4. NLW digitisation 14/05/19. Online 2004. (URL Bibliography). For more on the MSS. Ch. II.4. Manuscripts.



[Pughe], 'Mabinogion' II (1899)⁴³

L11

Ac wal y

L12 *bydynt yn eisted, wynt a welynt gwreic ar uarch canwelw*

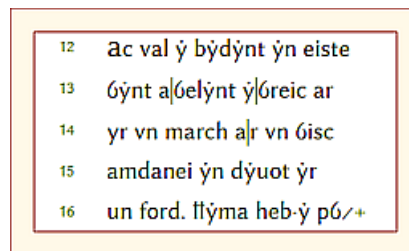
L13 *mawr aruchel, a gwisf eureit, llathreit, o bali amdanei,*

L14 *yn dyuot ar hyt y prifford a gerdei heb law yr orsed.*

(PKM, 1930)⁴⁴

And as they were sitting, they could see a woman on a great tall pale white horse, with a shining golden garment of silk brocade about her, coming along the highway which went past the mound.

(Bollard, 2006).⁴⁵



Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, online text (2007)⁴⁶

The PKM 'advent' excerpt above is analysed below through its vocabulary components.⁴⁷

1. *Ac wal y* / *bydynt yn eisted* / 'And as they were **sitting** ...'
2. *wynt a welynt* / 'they could **see** ...'
3. *gwreic* / 'a **woman** ...'
4. [who is **anonymous**]⁴⁸
5. *ar uarch* / 'on a **horse** ...'

⁴³ SCR William Owen [Pughe]. 1799. 'The Romantic Tales called *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II, p. 323. SCR slightly edited to clean print showing through from other side of page. Square brackets [Pughe] indicate additional name adopted 1806 onwards; Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe: pp. 76-77.

⁴⁴ Ifor Williams. 1930. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (PKM), p. 9, lines 11-14. (JKB 25.2.)

⁴⁵ Bollard. *Mabinogi Landscape*, p. 25.2, para. 3. (JKB 25.2) Default translation for this study, see Introduction.

⁴⁶ Diana Luft, Peter Wynn Thomas, and D. Mark Smith. 2007. 'NLW MS. Peniarth 4: Y Gainc Gyntaf (First Branch)', *Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425, Welsh Prose 1300-1425*, p. 4v, 15, Lines 12-16. (URL text Bibliography).

⁴⁷ Advent excerpt: PKM1 9.11-14. JKB 25.2.

⁴⁸ This is not an explicit vocabulary component like the others. It is however, a crucial, albeit implicit element.

- *canwelw*/pale-white – *mawr*/ great – *aruchel*/ noble, supreme ...'
- 6. *a gwisg eureit, llathreit*/ with a shining golden garment ...'
- 7. *bali*/ 'silk brocade about her ...'
- 8. *prifford*/ 'coming along the highway ...'
- 9. *orssed*/ 'past the mound.'

1. *Ac wal y bydynt yn eisted*/ 'And as they were sitting'⁴⁹

The seated, waiting group is Pwyll, *pendefig Dyfed*, prince of Dyfed, and his court.⁵⁰ He has led this large company to the mound of Gorsedd Arberth after dining together.⁵¹ Simultaneously we are placed as meta-audience, sharing the court's perspective. We all view the anticipated object as the Other.⁵² The Cyfarwydd (composer) places the audience in keen anticipation using the consuetudinal imperfect tense for suspense.⁵³

Pwyll three times summons his court to this *eisted*/ sitting, a fateful triad.⁵⁴ A year later Pwyll's rival Gwawl in power play refuses to *sit* at Pwyll's courteous invitation.⁵⁵ Four years later Rhiannon herself will *sit* daily for four years at this same court's gates in formal penance.⁵⁶ She and her adult son will repeat Pwyll's Gorsedd *sitting*, with dire consequences (PKM3).⁵⁷

⁴⁹ PKM1 9.11-12. JKB 25.2. *eisted* [Mod.W. *eisteddaf*: *eistedd*, *eiste*] to sit, be seated, kneel (occas. in Medieval Welsh); exercise judicial authority, &c., sit in judgement; be in session (of law-court, &c.); rest, be still; ... (GPC).

⁵⁰ *Pwyll pendefig Dyfed*, Pwyll prince of Dyfed. He is presented like this in the first words of the Mabinogi, PKM1 1.1. JKB 19.1. On the political status of princes, Ch. III.3. Hierarchy, pp. 155-56. Also Ch. V.5. Pwyll: p. 240, his lordship.

⁵¹ Cf. his unexplained, apparently intuitive act at the opening of the Mabinogi when he desires to hunt. PKM1 3-4. JKB 19.1.

⁵² The rider as a distant 'other' features in a significant number of artworks of the scene; Ch. IX.1. Gallery. Distanced othering will feature again when her Maids plot against her, which pivots her drama. PKM 20.6-21.14. JKB 33.2-34.1. Pivot Ch. IV.2. Acts p. 209; Ch. V.6. Maids pp. 275, 277.

⁵³ Consuetudinal imperfect/ habitual imperfect.

'Y Cyfarwydd' is the title of respect by this study for the Mabinogi composer. Introduction.

⁵⁴ Pwyll's triad of calls. PKM1 9.3-4. JKB 25.1. PKM1 10.15-16. JKB 26.1.; PKM1 11.17-19. JKB 27.1. Oral tradition triads, Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft; Ch. IX Structures.

⁵⁵ Gwawl refuses, PKM1 14.1-3. JKB 28.2. Analysis of Gwawl's power play, Ch. V.4. Gwawl, p. 232.

⁵⁶ More examples of *eisted*/ sitting in Mabinogi Rhiannon: in *Annwfn*, PKM 4.17-18. JKB 22.2. in Rhiannon's penance seated at the horseblock, PKM1 21.22-24. JKB 35.1. and crucially during the penance period when she still sits with Pwyll, PKM 25.22-25. JKB 37.2. Also list of Councils, Ch. III. 3. Hierarchy: TABLE 10 Compilation of counsels, p. 172. At Rhiannon's homecoming feast for Pryderi, they sit with Manawydan, PKM3 50.12-18. JKB 64.1-2. PKM4 does not employ the sitting description for Math though he clearly sits in judgement several times, however he probably 'reclines' with feet up due to his peculiarity, PKM 67.4-8. JKB 79.1. For calculation of time periods such as the penance as served, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, pp. 271-74.

⁵⁷ Pryderi, Pwyll's son, his wife Cigfa, Rhiannon his mother, and her second husband, PKM3 51.22-52.3. JKB 65.2-66.2. This is a key structural interlace linking PKM1 and PKM3. More interlacing studies Ch. IX Structures: Interlacing.

Seating at Mabinogi feasts is hierarchical, methodically specified in Mabinogi narrative, following *Cyfraith Hywel*, native Welsh Law.⁵⁸ Ritual seating, enthroning, traditionally privileges kings and rulers. The largest arts festival in Europe today is a 'sitting': *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru*/ the National Eisteddfod of Wales. Its chief poetry prize is a uniquely crafted chair.⁵⁹

An apparently merry *seated gathering* thus bears considerable *gravitas*.⁶⁰



Alan Llwyd, (2023)⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Cyfraith Hywel*. Ch. III.5. LLW: Territory, identity and *sarhaed*, pp. 165-66.

⁵⁹ 'the elaborate *Seremoni'r Cadeirio* (chairing ceremony). A unique chair, or throne, created by a local carpenter, is awarded for the best poem written in a traditional form of Welsh verse using a strict metre known as *cynghanedd*.' Sioned Davies. 1993. *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi*: Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press), p. 11. Sian Williams, 'What is an Eisteddfod?', BBC. (URL Bibliography). My thanks to John Davies for a timely reminder about the Eisteddfod chair.

Seating and status combine in the English concepts: of 'sittings' of Courts and Parliaments. English usage dates to c. 1400: 'a meeting of a body', i.e. organisation. Online Etymology Dictionary: Sitting. (URL Bibliography).

The cognate 'sit- uate', and its Latin source, *sedere*, to sit, speaks of place, location, home, and further back to PIE root **tkei-* "to settle, dwell, be home". Online Etymology Dictionary: (URL Bibliography).

⁶⁰ Cf. Geoff Moore, 1983. 'The Mabinogi', Moving Being, with Robin Williamson's songs and music (Caernarfon Castle). A video clip of this scene shows Pwyll and two male friends fooling about in horseplay on a grassy bank as they wait. (URL Bibliography)

⁶¹ *Cambrian News*. 11/08/2023. 'Dolgellau-born poet wins Eisteddfod chair for third time.' Alan Llwyd seen in the oak Chair by craftsman Stephen Faherty, made from a large piece of oak tree planted on the edge of Y Lon Goed over 200 years ago. (URL Bibliography) Photo credit: Aled Llywelyn, Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru. Permission from Gwenllian Carr, *Cyfarwyddwr Strategol* | Strategic Director, EGC 28/02/2024.

2. *wynt a welynt/* they could see ⁶²

The court (and we) *see* what happens.⁶³ Visual imagery is primary in this passage (cf. 5, 6, 7, below). No sound is narrated, although a large, heavy horse is ridden over a hard roadway (cf. 5, 8). The effect is trancelike noiselessness.⁶⁴ The rider is a gliding Other, seen from afar.⁶⁵



Pughe attr. (1826)

Sight is the sharp, distanced faculty of the predator, and this approaching Other will be pursued by three military men, expert riders and hunters, for three days.⁶⁶ The two sides sustain a long, dramatic balance (below).

⁶² PKM1 9.12. JKB 25.2. *gweled*, to see. (GPC). Guest introduces Pwyll as a single key observer in the first phrase, but immediately switches to a plurality: 'And while he sat there, they saw ...', Charlotte Guest. 1877. *The Mabinogion, From the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest (The Red Book of Hergest) in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford Translated, with Notes*, 3rd edn, 1 vol. (London, 15 Piccadilly: Bernard Quaritch), p. 344. (URL text Bibliography). Appendix: Advent translations.

⁶³ Meta-audience comment, above, p. 12.

⁶⁴ Ch. VI.2. Trance, pp. 381-87, excerpt quotes Jaufré Rudel's poems p. 385 dreaming his unattainable lady, possibly alluding to Rhiannon's ride Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #4, p.33

⁶⁵ Pughe (attributed) illustration c. 1826: the first advent image of the Gorsedd rider on record, for Pughe's planned *Mabinogion* publication. Pughe (attributed). c. 1826. Nine Sketches illustrating the First Branch. Pen and ink, NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc., 1826 – 1831 Formerly known as Mysevin 22. Image and comment Ch. IX. Gallery.

Most others following also show Rhiannon distantly from the view of Pwyll and his court. A few recent artists bring us close to the rider (Alan Lee, 1982, 2001; Anita Fuchs, 2014; Rebecca Stockburn, Jan. 2016). Ch. IX.1. Gallery.

⁶⁶ Cf. the opening of the Mabinogi with a tale of hunting. The hunting theme is frequent in Mabinogi Rhiannon. Ch. III. 4 Equine: Hunting and Women pp. 163-64. Sioned Davies views these horse pursuit scenes as a hunt. 'The hunt is often used in medieval French and English tales and romances as well as in the Mabinogion as a precursor to an encounter with the supernatural.' Mabinogion, p. 227.

3. gwreic, a woman ...⁶⁷ The rider's femaleness is core to her identity; it remains so as bride, co-ruling wife, mother, widow, goddess.⁶⁸ Pwyll declared himself safe among his *teulu*/ 'company', which includes trained warrior males.⁶⁹ She is alone, to be revealed as young and lovely: singularly brave to face a company of armed, very likely inebriated men.⁷⁰ The great wealth and status she displays (5, 6, 7) might possibly serve to protect her, signalling her immense *sarhaed*/ penalty price, on anyone who harmed her.⁷¹ Conceivably her own guards might watch nearby.⁷²

Her gender raises the major issue of her agency. She will announce her *choice* to come here, her own *neges*/ purpose, in coming, which Pwyll fully

⁶⁷ *gwraig*: b. woman, maiden. (GPC). She is not termed *morwyn*/ maiden, except once when Pwyll first addresses her. PKM 12.7. JKB 27.2. Possibly she was not so very young (Christine James, speculative comment).

Pughe, historically the earliest Mabinogi translator, gives 'woman'. [Pughe], ed. trans. 1799. '*Mabinogion*', p. 323. His contemporary Edward Jones gives 'lady'. Edward Jones, ed. trans. 1802. *Mabinogi*, I, p. 29. Significantly Jones was *Bardd y Brenin*, harpist at the English royal court, involved in and dependent upon English class elitism. The English Charlotte Guest, gives 'lady': herself self-consciously an aristocrat of the highest degree. Guest, ed. trans. 1845. *The Mabinogion; from the Llyfr Coch o Llargest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes*, VI. Illust. Samuel Williams, foremost engraver of the day (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, London; simultaneously), p. 46. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe/ Guest. Ellis and Lloyd's translation, and Jones and Jones, give 'lady'; the class system was strongly dominant in that period; Thomas Peter Ellis and John Lloyd. eds. trans. 1929. *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd*, in 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 17. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, eds. trans. 1949. *The Mabinogion*, Everyman series No. 97 (London: J. M. Dent; first published Golden Cockerel, 1948), p. 8. Gantz and Ford give 'woman'. By their time the 1970s international Women's Movement was forcefully asserting the sisterhood of all 'women', rejecting division between class groups; Ch. II.9. Feminism. Jeffrey Michael Gantz. ed. trans. 1976. *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books), p. 52. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 41. In the 21stC Parker, Bollard and Sioned Davies also give 'woman', though Parker also uses 'lady'. Will Parker. ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Pwyll', Mabinogi.Net (URL text Bibliography). Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 25.2. quotation above in main text. Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 8. Appendix: Translations, for full quotations of this excerpt.

⁶⁸ Ch. III.3 Hierarchy pp. 151-52; Ch. III. 5. Law Land Women pp. 167-69 marriage contracts, advisory role, feasting economics, mothering. Rhiannon wife, co-ruler, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260-63, Ch. V.12. Manawydan pp. 340-41 Rhiannon as mother, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 322-28. Ch. II.8. Feminism pp. 130-31. Mother Goddess, Ch. VII.2-5, pp. 493-96.

⁶⁹ *teulu*: b. royal, &c., retinue, retainers, or entourage, *comitatus*, bodyguard, household troops, war-band; host, crowd, people. (GPC).

⁷⁰ When warned of the Arberth *kynneddyf*/ characteristic, risking *kymriw neu archolleu*, PKM1 9.4-8. 'a wound or blows', JKB 25.2 Pwyll declares he does not fear as he is among a great number of his people. PKM1 9.8-9. JKB 25.2. They had just feasted, including drinking. Ch. III.3. Hierarchy on feasting pp. 153-54. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool, this critique countered pp. 254-55.

⁷¹ Ch. III.5. Law Land Women outline of *sarhaed* pp. 165-66. Her vulnerability Ch. IV. Voice pp. 201-03; Ch. IV. Acts p. 210; Ch. V.6. Maids pp. 276-77; Ch. V.10. Pryderi pp. 301-02. Ch. VIII. Lady Mouse parallel p. 524.

⁷² She directs Pwyll's men to wait in the orchard. PKM1 14.29 - 15.1-2. JKB 29.2. Her foresight on that later occasion suggests something similar might be relevant now.

recognises.⁷³ In parallel, Pwyll's choice was to sit the mound, activating the 'rywedawt'/wonder, of her advent.⁷⁴ He will pursue/hunt her, first by proxy then directly: yet she takes control.⁷⁵ The balance of agency here demonstrates a complex binary, previewing their dynamic balance.⁷⁶

4. [who is anonymous]

Anonymity makes the woman rider mysterious, Other, as befits 'rywedawt'/a marvel. She names herself after long 'prefacing' sequences (pursuits) developing suspense, building her as a pre-eminent protagonist. Her substantial anonymity is four pages of PKM1, 1,032 words. (Cf. three Mabinogi, female 'anons'.)⁷⁷

⁷³ Seven references to her *neges/ystyll* (synonyms)/purpose, in the pursuits and first encounter with Pwyll; Ch. I.5. Text: Prologue, p. 26-27 n. 149.

⁷⁴ 'rywedawt' (Mod.W. *rhyfeddod*): strange or wonderful person or thing, wonder, marvel, prodigy, miracle; wonderfulness, tremendousness, remarkableness, singularity; wonderment, astonishment, surprise. (GPC). Translators vary. Pughe, 'a miracle', Pughe, ed. trans. 'Romantic Tales', II, p. 322. Edward Jones, Guest, Ellis and Lloyd, Jones and Jones, Gantz, all translate 'a wonder'. Edward Jones, *Bardic Relicks*, p. 29. Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. 344. Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 17. Jones and Jones, *Mabinogion*, p. 8. Gantz, *Mabinogion*, p. 52. Ford gives 'a marvel', (ed. trans.), *Welsh Tales*, p. 42. Bollard 'a wonder', (ed. trans.) *Landscape*, p. 25.2. Sioned Davies 'something wonderful', (ed. trans.) *Mabinogion*, p. 8.

The contemporary meaning would be socially embedded with a rich heritage from local tales, myth, faerie, saints, miracles, monstrosities, ranging -from the sacred to tourist spectacle. The modern English 'marvel', 'wonder', is secular, imbued with Hollywood pow-zap spectacle, which is only part of 'rywedawt'. I therefore usually use the original Middle Welsh term, in quotes.

⁷⁵ Rhiannon's choice, stated purpose, PKM1 12.19-20. JKB 28.1. Seven references in this passage, Ch. I.3. Text: Prologue, p. 27. Pwyll's instigation PKM1 9.2-11. JKB 25.1. Pursuits as hunting, Ch. V.5. Pwyll, especially Sioned Davies' quotation 14n.66. As noted above the 'pursuers' are expert hunters typical of their class: a pursuit is a hunt. Ch. IX. Structures: Rhiannon-Arawn interlace p. 508-09. For 'rywedawt' see note immediately above; & Ch. VI.1. Enchantment pp. 353, 357-58, 389

⁷⁶ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership more on their balance of power pp. 260-62 & Plots pp. 263-71

⁷⁷ Prefacing: PKM1 9.11- 12.22. (JKB 25.1- 27.2.). PKM 4 pages, 94 lines of prefacing. PKM1 p. 9 (part) = 180 words; PKM1 p. 10 = 309 words; PKM1 p. 11 = 292 words; PKM1 p. 12 = 251 words. Total 1,032 words. The whole *Pwyll II* episode (PKM1 8.27-19.16) is 10 pages, 299 lines; so this Rhiannon prefacing excerpt is just under a third of it. In trans. the prefacing is 125 lines, JKB 25.2 [Line 16]-28.1 [Line 36]. The episode is 412 lines of translation, short lines, very similar to PKM. The prefacing excerpt in English is just over 30% of the episode. Ch. V.3. Gwawl's (much shorter) prefacing, compared; and Ch. IX Structures, including a Rhiannon-Arawn interlace case study. Three anonymous females, Introduction: Feminism. Ch. V.2 The Queen, V.8. Teyrnon's Wife, V.13. Lady Mouse, constructed name-titles for this study. Also Ch. IX Structures: Three Anons, p. 520.

5. *ar uarch/* on a *horse*

The first thing we are told about Rhiannon after her gender, is she rides a (remarkable) horse. Both she and Pwyll are 'high' in two senses. They are *marchogion/ marchogesau/* equestrian nobility.⁷⁸ Rhiannon the rider is physically high, dominant over pedestrians, while Pwyll sits on a mound.⁷⁹ Their spatial balance embodies their parallel balance of agency in initiating their drama (above, 3). Rhiannon would be riding on-the-side, not sidesaddle, which was a 16thC invention.⁸⁰

Sioned Davies selects this Advent text as exemplar of 'highly formulaic' descriptions of riders across thirty six *Mabinogion* texts; an ordered sequence functioning to profile the rider's character.⁸¹

Welsh prose writers have an established technique for describing horses the animal is always closely integrated with the rider, he is identified mainly by colour, while further allusions may refer to size, pace, spirit, and finally armour.⁸²

- i. *ef ar welei/ nachaf* ('he saw', 'he could see' / 'behold');
- ii. Personal name/type of character
e.g. Peredur/ a rider/ woman/young lad;
- iii. 'y', 'ar', 'on';
- iv. type of horse.
- v. adjectives (mainly compound),
colour, size/ other physical features/ pace/ spirit.⁸³

⁷⁸ Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion*, pp. 159-62.

⁷⁹ Jürg Gassmann claims that while mediaeval humans were not significantly shorter than they are today, their horses were somewhat smaller. Jürg Gassmann. 2018. 'Combat Training for Horse and Rider in the Early Middle Ages', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 6, 1, p. 65.

Below, No. 9; *orssedd, gorsedd* as both mound and throne.

⁸⁰ Richard Almond. Feb. 2012. 'The Way the Ladies Ride', in *History Today*, 62, 2. (URL text Bibliography) Mediaeval ladies rode pillion, or on-the-side (cf. Epona Ch. VII.1. Myths: Epona), but astride for hunting. The sidesaddle was not invented until late 16thC.

⁸¹ Sioned Davies, 'Horses in the *Mabinogion*', in Davies, Sioned and Nerys Ann Jones, eds. 1997. *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: UWP), pp. 123-125. Rhiannon's horse is her exemplar. Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft, Davies' on formulaic style pp. 47-48.

⁸² Davies,, 'Horses', p. 137, my underline; continuing 'Moreover a combination of compound adjectives is favoured by some authors, resulting in a rhythmic pattern which in itself echoes the movement of the animal.' Cf. Brynley Roberts below, *Studies*. This theory is helpful in subsequent chapters, referred as 'Davies horse-rider integration' or similar.

Davies is careful to say that the full formula of integration does not appear in all descriptions, but 'the general order is usually apparent'. Davies,, 'Horses', p. 125.

⁸³ Davies, 'Horses', p. 123. Horse terms we know, palfrey, warhorse, steed, do not appear in vocabulary until after Mabinogi composition, but a heavily equine society would have had a similar vocabulary to distinguish usage.

Colour adjectives are the most consistent feature of horse descriptions in poetry and the *Trioedd*.⁸⁴ Size and build follow; spirit is often conveyed by its movement.⁸⁵ Rhiannon's horse is described as *canwelw mawr aruchel*, its pacing follows (below).⁸⁶ '[A] striking and consistent feature [across the prose tales] is the use of composite adjectives'.⁸⁷ Brynley F. Roberts identifies a 'rhetorical pattern' of unstressed syllables bracketing a central stressed syllable, making a rhythm reflecting highly charged movement or emotion: here *canwelw* and *aruchel*.⁸⁸

canwelw/ pale-white, whitish (GPC).⁸⁹



Uffington White Horse, c. 3,000 yrs old.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Davies, 'Horses', p. 125.

Trioedd/ Triads. Brief, named profiles of persons and other literary components, in sets of three, for inspiration or comparison. Some pre-date the Mabinogi. Collected in Rachel Bromwich, (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP, 1961). (URL text Bibliography).

⁸⁵ Davies, 'Horses', p. 127. The size, greatness, of the horse has political implications, Ch. III.5. LLW. Davies, gives Pwyll's horse as her example of horse 'spirit', below.

⁸⁶ *canwelw*/ pale-white; *mawr*/ great; *aruchel*/ noble, supreme. PKM1 9.12–13. JKB 25.2. The horse also has anomalous pacing which dominates the triad of pursuit scenes which follow, but this is not in the excerpt under discussion. For this important aspect, see Ch. VI.3. Magician p. 388, 390, 393, 394; and Ch. VI. 4. Rhiannon's Horse pp. 395-400.

⁸⁷ Sioned Davies, 'Horses', p. 125. My insertions. Examples given are Rhiannon, Arawn.

⁸⁸ Brynley Roberts. 1992. *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (Edwin Mellon), p. 87. Bromwich and Evans agree this resembles phrases in *Gogynfeirdd* poetry; Rachel Bromwich and Simon D. Evans, eds. 1988. *Culhwch ac Olwen: Testun Syr Idris Foster; wedi ei olygu a'i orffen gan RB a DSE* (Cardiff: UWP), pp. lxxxiii, cited Sioned Davies, 'Horses', p. 132.

⁸⁹ Translations vary until a consensus sustains 'pale-white' (Ellis and Lloyd, Jones and Jones, Ford, Parker, Bollard, Sioned Davies; above for page references). Pughe makes the horse: 'pale'. Jones, Gantz, 'grey', perhaps influenced by English equine speech (below). Guest, 'pure white', suggestive of her Arthurian interests.'. The Welsh term does not mean simply 'white'. Appendix 2: Advent translations for more detail.

⁹⁰ Uffington White Horse. Uploaded: 30/06/2008. Wikipedia public domain image .Geographical location: 51° 34' 39.8" N, 1° 33' 59.75" W, Berkshire. (URL Bibliography). Patrick K. Ford notes a

A pale-white animal signals a supernatural aspect,⁹¹ cf. *Cŵn Annwfn*/Hounds of Annwfn, who sign Pwyll's Annwfn adventure; and the white boar which entices Pwyll's son.⁹² According to Davies' 'integration' theory Rhiannon's pale-white horse suggests her superhuman aspect.⁹³ Pale horses marked on chalk hills attest a luminous icon over millennia of British prehistory.⁹⁴ British equine usage respectfully refers to a 'white' horse as a 'grey'. Britain has a fluctuating taboo on hippophagy (eating horsemeat), suggestive of wariness or awe.⁹⁵

The term *canwelw*, following Davies' theory of horse-rider integration might imply Rhiannon has a pale complexion. Among nobles, especially ladies, paler skin evidences a protected life without weathered skin from outdoor labour. The integration might support Rhiannon as fair-haired, especially as she later has a fair haired son.⁹⁶

mawr (fawr)/ great, large (GPC).⁹⁷

'Greatness' can mean size, or powerful achievement; for the latter cf. Rhodri Mawr, Llewelyn Fawr; in English, Alexander the Great. This rider is by implication, a person of great status.⁹⁸ She may also be a large, strong looking woman (cf. Davies' integration, above). Fiona Winward observes her supposedly titanic struggle with her Maids, her penance bearing people on her back, and her unfeminine hunting, suggesting considerable physical strength.⁹⁹ Rhiannon's son is also said to grow exceptionally large as a child.¹⁰⁰

possible Rhiannon connection, 1988. 'Celtic Women: The Opposing Sex', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 19, p. 426.

⁹¹ Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Colours, p. 361.

⁹² Pwyll sees the *Cŵn Annwfn* colours, PKM1, 1.20-24. JKB 20.2. Ch. V.5. Pwyll. Pryderi and Manawydan meet the *uaed ...claerwynn*, PKM3 55.14. 'a shining white wild boar', JKB 68.2.

⁹³ Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse, pp. 395-400.

⁹⁴ Mark Hows. Undated. 'Uffington White Horse'. Detailed history in context, many images. (URL text Bibliography)

⁹⁵ Hippophagy. Mark A. Jobling, 2013. 'Flogging a dead horse', *Investigative Genetics*, 4, Article 5 (URL text Bibliography).

⁹⁶ Gwri, PKM1 23 16-17. JKB 36.2.

⁹⁷ Translations vary. [Pughe], 'great'. 'Romantic *Mabinogion*, p. 323. Guest 'large'. *Mabinogion*, V, p. 344. Ellis & Lloyd, 'big, fine', *Mabinogion*, p. 17. Ford 'great'. *Welsh Tales*, p. 40. Parker, 'large'. 'Mabinogi of Pwyll'. Bollard, 'great'. *Mabinogi Landscape*, p. 25.2, para. 3. Sioned Davies 'big'. *Mabinogion*, p. 61.

⁹⁸ Fran Lynghaug. 2009. *The Official Horse Breeds Standards Guide: The Complete Guide to the Standards of All North American Equine Breed Associations* (Voyageur Press), p. 347. The 'Great Horse' would soon name a superior heavyweight breed to bear elite armoured fighters.

⁹⁹ Fiona Winward. 1997. 'Some Aspects of the Women in The Four Branches'. *CMCS*, 34, pp. 83-84. Maids: PKM1 20.24-29. JKB 34.2. Penance: PKM1 21.21-27. JKB 35.1. Hunting: PKM3 58.24-27. JKB 72.1. Further on Rhiannon's looks Ch. V.5. Pwyll: First impression pp. 246-47.

¹⁰⁰ Gwri, PKM1 23 19-24. JKB 36.2.

aruchel/ high, tall, lofty, elevated; exalted, supreme,
splendid, majestic (GPC).¹⁰¹

Translators struggle to condense all this, together with *mawr*/ great.¹⁰²

The term (cf. Davies' integration) may imply Rhiannon is 'tall' and 'majestic'. On a peacetime mission Rhiannon would not ride a war horse, so her mount was probably a large, highly bred *palfrey* type.¹⁰³

Her exalted horse attests the elite status, wealth and splendour of its rider.

6. *eureit*/ *gold* (GPC).

llathreit/ bright, brilliant, resplendent, glittering, *shining* (GPC).

Gold needs little comment, bearing ancient connotations of nobility, wealth, and beauty. 'Golden' connotes luck, happiness, and success.¹⁰⁴ Rhiannon might perhaps be imagined wearing jewellery from Dolgellau or Dolaucothi, native Welsh gold mined since pre-Roman times.¹⁰⁵

Llathreit refers to her shining clothing.¹⁰⁶ Until the later 20thC pale garments and household fabrics were upper class perquisites maintained by an army of cheap, servant labour.¹⁰⁷ In a world of dun, mud, manure, dust, and

¹⁰¹ Many other Welsh words also root in the word family of *uchel*:-: connoting a broad scope of splendour, magnificence, glory, superiority, supremacy, exalted, excellent, stately, arrogant, highborn, pedigree, ambition, authority, high status, privilege, high office, high place, high ground, upland, tallness and height. (GPC composite)

¹⁰² Translations, n. 97 above for references. Pughe, 'very high'. Guest 'large', Ellis and Lloyd, 'big, fine'. Gantz gives no additional descriptor to 'great', which presumably translates '*fawr*'. Ford 'majestic'; Parker 'stately'; Bollard 'tall'; Davies 'tall'. Appendix 2: Advent translations.

¹⁰³ Ch. III.4. Equine: Horse breeding, p. 163 n. 177; and Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd, p. 227, for the fame of mediaeval Welsh horse breeding and export. The terms *destrier* (war horse), *palfrey* are not used in the Mabinogi. First examples appear 13thC (GPC). But the distinction between a war and riding horse is fundamental to an equestrian society.

¹⁰⁴ 'Gold is a valuable aesthetically attractive metal. The term gold is much used in positive evaluations like golden age, and compliments such as a golden boy ...', K. Allan. 2000. 'The connotations of English colour terms: Colour-based X-phemisms', s. 10. metallic colours, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, pp. 635-6. Cf. Gwri's childhood name Gwri *Gwallt Euryn*.

Ch. VIII Structures: Interlacing #2 Golden Thread, pp. 515-16 for gold theme in Mabinogi Rhiannon. See #7. Silk, below for connotations of Rhiannon's wealth.

¹⁰⁵ Dolgellau gold. J. P. Northover. 2013. 'Bronze Age Gold in Britain' in *Prehistoric Gold in Europe: Mines, Metallurgy and Manufacture*, NATO ASI Series, 280 (NSSE), pp. 515- 531. Case study of Welsh gold mining.

National Trust in Wales, Intermediate Report. April 2000. 'The Dolaucothi Gold Mines, Carmarthenshire (Wales, U.K.)', Archaeological Appraisal, Franco-British Team. (URL text Bibliography).

¹⁰⁶ Feminine form preposition, *amdanei*. The Welsh construction *gwisc ... amdanei*, means literally to 'dress ... around', as in to wrap around.

¹⁰⁷ Brightness so routine today in textiles, metals, plastics, paints and lasers reaches back to Fritz Henkel's invention 'Wasch und Bleich-Soda' (Germany 1878, later 'Persil'). Herbert M. Meyers, and Richard Gerstman, eds. 2014. *The Visionary Package*, Ch. 3. (Palgrave MacMillan), p. 31.

sacking, Rhiannon shines a golden blaze, claiming instant, unmistakable affinity of status with Pwyll's similarly elegant court.

7. *bali (pali)/ silk*, brocade silk, a loan word (GPC).¹⁰⁸

Her golden silk would both shine beautifully and also blaze 'a symbol of authority', so costly only the highest elite of European royalty and bishops could (historically) buy it.¹⁰⁹ Originally an ancient Chinese monopoly, by the 12thC silk was imported from Byzantium, rationed by

a complicated machinery of regulation. Imperial guilds, private guilds,
... fixed by law,
... controlled all sales of precious fabrics, especially sales to aliens¹¹⁰

No foreigner could buy a specialist slave skilled in silk production.¹¹¹ Checkpoints on main roads enforced sales taxes. Even ambassadors had military escorts. Silk was key to keeping western Europe in economic isolation until the 14thC.¹¹²

Besides its beauty, silk is practical, delicate yet tough, summer cool yet unparalleled for conserving body heat in winter. Not until 21stC 'spider silk' technology has it been surpassed.¹¹³ The better off could bulk in wools and furs, but mediaeval grandees like Rhiannon could move freely and comfortably, colourful, sleek and shapely in their glossy silks. Silk was thus a political weapon to bedazzle and overawe, to appear transcendently above commoners.¹¹⁴

Female craft traditions employed silk as embroidered overlay. *Brocade* wove patterns in the silk fabric itself, a magical effect. A uniquely Welsh technique developed a hybrid, extant from Llan-gors. Silk thread was threaded into the weave of fine linen, mimicking brocade. Its skilful cunning witnesses Welsh aspiration in the cultural elitism of silk.

¹⁰⁸ GPC gives *pali* as a borrowing from Old French. *Pali* is one of only three definitely Anglo-Norman words in the Middle Welsh of the Mabinogi. The other two are *cordwal* (fine Spanish leather) and *swmer* (baggage). All three can be attributed to trading context. Appendix: Dating.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Sabatino Lopez, Jan., 1945. 'Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire', *Speculum*, 20, 1, p. 2. Other key Mabinogi characters also wear silk: Pwyll in Annwfn, PKM1 4.11. JKB 22.2; the Queen, PKM1 4.10–11. JKB 22.2; Gwawl, PKM1 13.27–28. JKB 28.2. Baby Gwri, PKM1 23.9. JKB 36.1. Baby Lleu, PKM4 77.19. JKB 94.1. Structural analysis Ch. IX Structures: Golden thread, p. 511.

¹¹⁰ Lopez, 'Silk Industry', p. 3.

¹¹¹ Lopez, 'Silk Industry', p. 23.

¹¹² Lopez, 'Silk Industry', p. 26.

¹¹³ 'Bigger proteins, stronger threads: Synthetic spider silk: Engineering scientists use bacteria to create biosynthetic silk stronger and more tensile than before'. Fuzhong Zhang. 21/08/2018. *Science Daily*. School of Engineering & Applied Science, Washington University. (URL text Bibliography).

¹¹⁴ Lopez, 'Silk Industry', p. 2.



Llan-gors textile 9thC.¹¹⁵

8. prifford/ highway¹¹⁶

The road along which she rides passes near Arberth, *priflys*/ (a) chief court, of Dyfed.¹¹⁷ Two modern locations are candidates. Nant Arberth near Cardigan,¹¹⁸ is in the most politically contested, mediaeval border zone of SW Wales.¹¹⁹ Southerly Narberth lies at the intersection of east-west and north-south trade routes, in easy reach of southern trade ports. The latter seems more plausible.¹²⁰

Rhiannon's advent took place later in the day, after feasting.¹²¹ Only if riding west would she show a blaze of gold as described; otherwise she would present a silhouette against the declining sun.

9. gorsedd, orssed/ a. mound. b. throne. c. judicial assembly (GPC).

The 'mound' where Pwyll 'sits' to await the '*rywedawt*'/ marvel, is thought to mean an ancestral burial mound; thus a sanctified, tradition enriched location.¹²²

¹¹⁵ National Museum of Wales. 3/05/2007. 'The Llan-gors textile: an early medieval masterpiece.' 'Llan-gors textile' discovered 1990 near Brecon, lake village. Photograph of the original textile. Here, further enlarged and clarified. (URL Illustrations list)

¹¹⁶ *prifford*, *priford* – highway, (main road), street, path. (GPC)

¹¹⁷ Arberth, *priflys*, chief court At the start of the Mabinogi Arberth is introduced as *priflys*, PKM1 1.3. 'a chief court', JKB 19.1. The lack of indefinite article in Welsh leaves it unclear in translation whether Arberth was (the) chief court or (a) chief court. From the custom of *cylch* circuit taxation (a) chief court is likely. But also see PKM3 which implies a pre-eminence. *Arberth, canys prif/ lys oed, ac o honei y dechreuit pob anryded*. PKM3 51.17–18. 'Arberth, since it was a chief court and all honour originated from there', PKM3 JKB 65.1. Ch. III.3. Hierarchy p. 153 n. 86.

¹¹⁸ Nant Arberth grid refs. SN 2260447182 or SN 22604 47182. (URL source Bibliography).

¹¹⁹ Cardigan Castle. Undated. Gatehouse Gazetteer, 'The comprehensive gazetteer and bibliography of the medieval castles, fortifications and palaces of England, Wales, the Islands'. (URL Bibliography).

¹²⁰ Narberth, Grid ref. SN10971459. Coflein: The online catalogue of archaeology, buildings, industrial and maritime heritage in Wales. (URL source Bibliography). Ch. III.2. Britain, on Mabinogi geography, Arberth's location p. 149 n. 54.

¹²¹ *A guedy y bwyta kyntaf, kyuodi y orymdeith a/ oruc Pwyll*, PKM1 8.2-3. 'And after the first serving, Pwyll arose', JKB 25.1.

¹²² Bollard on Otherworld: 'another world, either one beneath the Earth entered through mounds, hills, caves, or lakes as in much Celtic folklore'. *Landscape*, p. 20, side panel

Alternatively, 'throne' or 'judicial assembly' connotations reinforce the *gravitas* already noted for this event.¹²³

~ * ~

I Mabinogi Rhiannon, Cyflwyniad/ Mabinogi Rhiannon: Introductory **I.5. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text**

As the previous chapter indicated, Rhiannon's original narrative is virtually all in 'Y Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi' / 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi'.¹²⁴ Of nine other, possible mediaeval references to her, only one adds any information.¹²⁵ The Mabinogi consensus date is c. 1100, from earlier development via oral tradition.¹²⁶ Place names and political content suggest west Wales origins.¹²⁷

This chapter addresses Mabinogi Rhiannon within the *Pedair Cainc* text, addressing structural queries.

Where does Mabinogi Rhiannon begin?

Where does it end?

Does it encompass *all* Mabinogi text between those two points?

Two versions of Mabinogi Rhiannon are outlined. The *core* version is mainly Rhiannon's textual presence.¹²⁸ An *extended* version includes other passages in her absence, relevant to her narrative: this latter is the scope of this study. The chapter takes a fresh look at the *Pwyll* I 'disconnection' issue, and

¹²³ Above #1 for notes on Sitting', throning.

¹²⁴ Anwyl (1897) refers to 'Pedair Caingc' multiple times.; also 'Pedair Caingc y Mabinogi'. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', I, pp. 277, 278. (Note, the online download is poor quality and makes the final 'c' look like an 'e'.) 'The Mabinogi. of which we have here the four branches', *ibid.*, p. 278; 'the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *ibid.* pp. 279, 280, 288; III 127, 130, 133. IV, 123, 124, 127, 130. Ifor Williams later established the title which helpfully disambiguates 'Mabinogi' from *The Mabinogion*, although almost a century later the two terms are still often confused.. Ifor Williams, ed. 1930. *Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi*.

¹²⁵ Adar Rhiannon powers to lull or wake, from *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Ch. I.6. Sources: #2, p. 33.

¹²⁶ Ch. II. 2. Storytelling Craft pp. 47-49, oral background, style of the tales. Appendix: Dating.

¹²⁷ Ch. III.1. Map Mabinogi, p. 141. Ch. IV.2. Acts p. 206, tracing a structural symmetry, alternating between native Welsh and 'other' locations. Two names for 'Britain', differentiating speech by natives at home, or speech from a foreign standpoint (i.e. natives when abroad, or foreigners' speech): Ch. III.2. Britain: This island, pp. 145-46. For the special case of Annwfn, Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Annwfn, pp. 369-80.

¹²⁸ Core narrative: PKM1 8.27-19.16. JKB 25.1-31.2. PKM3 49.1-65.24. JKB 63.1-76.1. The two major examples of Rhiannon's absence during a passages which obviously affect her, are the Gwent episode, PKM 22.1. JKB 35.1.- PKM 25.10. JKB 37.2; and Manawydan's activities during her captivity. PKM3 57.13. JKB 70.2- PKM3 65.6. JKB 76.1.

ends with comparing Mabinogi Rhiannon and Patrick K. Ford's *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*.¹²⁹

Y dechrau/ The beginning

There are several possible 'beginning points' for Rhiannon's story.

*A nameless woman rider appears, moving past Gorsedd Arberth (advent).¹³⁰

*Pwyll decides to take his court to Gorsedd Arberth to sit, invoking its characteristic '*rywedawt*'/ wonder.¹³¹

*Rhiannon declares who she is and her purpose.¹³²

The anonymous rider's first appearance is pivotal, a dense literary moment. Its twenty-two succinct words 'preview' Rhiannon: its power and beauty magnetise artists.¹³³ The moment builds its impact and meaning from lengthy prefacing. *Pwyll pendefig Dyfed*/ Pwyll prince of Dyfed, makes his fateful decision to take the challenge of Gorsedd Arberth, and three days of pursuits' drama follow.¹³⁴ This advent moment has double agency, arising equally from Rhiannon's explicit decision elsewhere, to ride to Gorsedd Arberth to court Pwyll, and his decision to take the/ her Gorsedd challenge.¹³⁵

A third possible beginning is when Rhiannon reveals who she is, after lengthy anonymous passages.¹³⁶ Given the weighty impact of her 'advent' this is superseded, nonetheless it is a key moment in her opening drama.¹³⁷

Rhiannon unambiguously states her *neges*/ purpose.

*'Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf i, a'm rodi
y wr o'm hanwod yd ydys. Ac ny mynneis innheu un
gwr, a hynny o'th garyat ti. Ac nys mynnafetwa, onyt
ti a'm gwrthyt. Ac e wybot dy attep di am hynny e*

¹²⁹ Patrick K. Ford, '*Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy', in his 'Introduction'; Ford. *Welsh Tales*, pp. 3–14.

mab– boy, son, infant, child (of either sex), minor, youth; descendant; man, male; also fig. (GPC)

¹³⁰ PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. Ch. I.4. Advent: #4 anon, p. 16.

¹³¹ PKM1 8.27 – 9.11. JKB 25.1. Ch. VI. 1–6.

¹³² PKM1 12.23. JKB 28.1. Ch. I.3. 'I am ... Rhiannon'.

¹³³ Ch. I.5. Text, p. 24; and Ch. IX.1. Gallery: Maiden of Gorsedd Arberth, advent pp. 533–38.

¹³⁴ Pwyll is introduced at the start of the Mabinogi as *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed*, a oed yn arglwyd ar seith/ cantref Dyfed. PKM1 1.1–2. "Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, was lord of the seven cantrefs of Dyfed." JKB 19.2. Pursuits 'prefacing', PKM1 9.11–12.6. JKB 25.2–27.2.

¹³⁵ Pwyll, PKM1 9.9–11. JKB 25.1– PKM1 12.8. JKB 27.2. Rhiannon declares her purpose, PKM 12.23–27. JKB 28.1. Their balanced power in this moment, spatially and in agency, is given Ch. I.4. Advent #3 pp. 15–16, #5 p.17.

¹³⁶ PKM1 9.11 – 12.22. Four pages of PKM1, 1,032 words. Ch. I.4. Advent #4 'Anonymous', p. 16 detailed analysis n. 77. The prefacing pursuits comprise just under a third of the *Pwyll II* Episode.

¹³⁷ Ch. I.3. Etymology pp. 5–10 for substantial analysis of her name.

*deuthum i.*¹³⁸

Rhiannon offers no explanation here, or anywhere, on *why* she is determined to have Pwyll, just that she loves him. Yet her decision, her desire for him, is the origin and fundament of her whole narrative.¹³⁹

*Ac ny mynneis innheu un
gwr, a hynny o'th garyat ti. Ac nys mynnaf etwa, onyt
ti a'm gwrthyt.*¹⁴⁰

It appears her motives are obvious to her contemporary audience, needing no explanation: not so to us.

Just before Pwyll takes his court to Gorsedd Arberth and meets Rhiannon, the previous episode ends:

*Ac o achaws i drigiant
efy ulwydyn honno yn Annwuyn, a gwledychu o honaw
yno mor lwydannus, a dwyn y dwy dyrnas yn un drwy y
dewred ef a'y uilwraeth, y diffygywys y enw ef ar Pwyll,
Pendeuic Dyuet, ac y gelwit Pwyll Penn Annwuyn o
hynny allan.*¹⁴¹

Pwyll I, this first episode of *Pwyll*,¹⁴² has been strongly problematised as disconnected from the rest of the Branch, by Rhŷs, Anwyl, WJG, Ellis and Lloyd, Ford, and Jarman. Rhŷs suggests it explains Pwyll's two names. Anwyl specifies the episode 'has no immediate connection with the story of Rhiannon'.¹⁴³ WJG declares forcefully

there is no connection between Part I of *Pwyll* and Part II in their present form. Part I describes one independent incident in the life of the Lord of Dyfed, which has no connection, whether stated or implied, with the latter portion beyond the fact that the same protagonist appears in both.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ PKM1 12.23-27. 'I am Rhiannon, daughter of Hyfeydd the Old, and I am being given to a man against my will. But I have not desired any man, and that is for love of you. And I will not desire it even now, unless you reject me. And I have come to find out your response to that.' JKB 28.1.

¹³⁹ Her *neges*/ purpose, decision here leads to her marriage to Pwyll, mothering Pryderi, her penance, and vindication; PKM2, PKM3 give her further mothering. Ch. I.1. Paraphrase pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁰ PKM1 12.24-26. 'But I have not desired any man, and that is for love of you. And I will not desire it even now, unless you reject me.' JKB 28.1.

¹⁴¹ PKM1 8.21-26. 'And because of his stay that year in Annwn, and ruling there so successfully, and the uniting the two kingdoms as one through his bravery and his prowess: his name Pwyll Prince of Dyfed fell out of use and he was called 'Pwyll Head of Annwn' from then on.' JKB 25.1.

¹⁴² *Pwyll I*: PKM1 1.1- 8.26. JKB 19.1 - 25.1.

¹⁴³ Rhŷs: 'partly based on an attempt to explain why Pwyll was known as "Pendefig Dyfed" as well as "Pen Annwn"'. 1891. *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Clarendon), p. 282. Anwyl. 1897. 'Four Branches', I, ZCP, 1, p. 289.

¹⁴⁴ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 22.

To Ellis and Lloyd, the episode is 'loosely joined'. Ford is multiply dismissive, finally resorting to Pwyll's Annwfn status,¹⁴⁵ Jarman likewise.¹⁴⁶

There are signs of an alternative. Anwyl's later analysis identifies a 'prelude' to a 'Rhiannon-cycle', though she is not its agent. Similarly Ford recognises a 'prelude' in his PKM1 paraphrase, but omits Rhiannon's participation. Proinsias Mac Cana observes a 'prelude' to Rhiannon's divinity, as does Catherine McKenna, for whom Rhiannon is a prize-giver of sovereignty. Bollard sees the episode's Annwfn alliance structurally connecting 'considerable implications' in PKM4's pig tragedy.¹⁴⁷

Pwyll I as 'prelude' above, equipping Pwyll for subsequent drama, selects a masculine agenda. Rhiannon's feminine agency is ignored. Patrick K. Ford recognises it: 'It is clear from her first entrance that she will accomplish her ends'.¹⁴⁸ It is prolifically stressed by seven references to her *neges/ystyr*/ purpose, as *Pwyll II* begins.¹⁴⁹ Given Rhiannon's purpose is so strongly

¹⁴⁵ 'The story of Pwyll contains two distinct parts, loosely joined', Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 2. 'It is difficult to see what this episode has to do with the rest of the tale.' Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 22. 'It is difficult to account for the lack of continuity once Pwyll has received his new title *Pen Annwfn* "Lord of the Otherworld", the storyteller shows no further interest in Arawn or Annwfn, and the story seems to begin to [sic] anew, as *Pwyll II* opens.' Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 36. Cf. Rhys: 'Except for the sake of enrichment, there is no need to seek for any meaning in the first episode other than what we have considered; put simply, the events establish Pwyll's identity with the Head of the other world: Pwyll, Pen Annwfn.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 202.

Ned Sturzer might be expected to address the *Pwyll I* disconnect in his article, 'Inconsistencies'. This is particularly so as he aims to 'take a closer look at the *Four Branches* and inconsistencies internal to a given branch.', *ibid.* p. 134. But he does not include this case.

¹⁴⁶ *Nid oes iddo ar yr wyneb unrhyw gysylltiad â'r rhannau o'r chwedl sy'n dilyn, ac eithrio ei fod yn esbonio teitl newydd Pwyll a ddefnyddir yn gyson o hyn ymlaen.* A. O. H. Jarman, *Y traddodiad rhyddiaith yn yr oesau canol*. 'On the surface it has no connection with the parts of the legend that follow, except that it explains the new title of Pwyll that is used constantly from now on.' (My trans.) A. O. H. Jarman. 1974. 'Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. by Bowen, Geraint (Gomer), p. 59

There is a linguistic ground for a disconnect analysis; the start of *Pwyll II* echoes the PKM1 opening: *A threigylgueith yd oed yn Arberth*, PKM1 8.27. 'And once upon a time he was at Arberth, JKB 25.1. *Pwyll III* does not do the same but runs continuously from *Pwyll II*. It could be said that *Pwyll II* and *III* are one Rhiannon narrative.

¹⁴⁷ Anwyl. 1901. IV, *ZCP*, 3, pp. 125, 127. Anwyl's 'Rhiannon-cycle' does not see Rhiannon's choice as its aetiology. Ford sees 'a prelude' to Pwyll's marriage, 'what his credentials were', No mention of Rhiannon's choice, Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 205. Proinsias Mac Cana. 1977, 1992. *The Mabinogi* (UWP), p. 34. Catherine McKenna, 'The Theme of Sovereignty in Pwyll', *BBCS*, 29 (1980), pp. 35–52. Repr. Sullivan, *Essays*, this citation p. 326. Bollard. 1983. 'Role of Myth and Tradition', pp. 67–86; in Sullivan, *Essays*, quotation p. 284.

¹⁴⁸ Ford. *Welsh Tales*, p. 37.

¹⁴⁹ *neges*: errand, mission, affair, matter, business, office, task, purpose (GPC)

Rhiannon refers to her *neges*/ purpose, PKM1 12.14 and again PKM1 12.21. JKB 28.1. Pwyll's *neges*, to sit the mound, PKM1 9.10–11. JKB 25.2. He recognises meaning/ purpose, *ystyr*, PKM 10.10. 'intent', JKB 26.1. After the second horse pursuit he recognises she has a specific *neges* relating to someone in his company, PKM1 11.10., 'errand', JKB 26.2 When they meet he asks her

emphasised, *Pwyll I* may be conjectured as equipping Pwyll gloriously so *that Rhiannon chooses him*, riding forth to Arberth in her own glory to win him. On his part, taking a large company up the Gorsedd was no minor amble after dinner.¹⁵⁰ They then share the three days of pursuits, an extended and joint determination. The two *negessau*, feminine and masculine, meet in intense balance.

The feminine perspective, Rhiannon's choice, may solve the old *Pwyll I* puzzle. Ch. IV.2. Acts displays it as a necessary Prologue in its Mabinogi Rhiannon playscript.¹⁵¹ Mabinogi Rhiannon begins with balanced power between Rhiannon and Pwyll, which it will be argued, is sustained.¹⁵²

Y diwedd/ The ending

The last narrative moment of Rhiannon presence as a distinct, active character, is her attempt to rescue her adult son Pryderi from enchanted captivity (PKM3). She too becomes captive, by touching the enchanted golden bowl.¹⁵³ Its *hud* paralysis continues, as it were, for Rhiannon does not speak or initiate action again in her own right, although she is name-checked three times. Manawydan her husband expresses nostalgia for hunting with her; she is released; and her captive humiliation is described.¹⁵⁴

This ends the core Mabinogi Rhiannon, also ending PKM3. There is no Rhiannon at all in PKM4. However her PKM3 ending fails to complete a central theme of Rhiannon narrative: her motherhood. Once married her narrative is invariably *about* or *with* her son.¹⁵⁵ Omitting her motherhood would leave just

what it is: twice. *yssyd*, PKM1 12.13. 'journey', JKB 27.2. *negessau*, PKM1 12.18–19. 'errands', JKB 28.1. Then he applauds her *neges*, PKM1 12.21. 'errand', JKB 28.1.

neges – errand, mission, affair, matter, business, office, task, purpose, point, request, petition.

(GPC) I prefer translating this as 'purpose', because the English 'errand' has strong associations of popping out to local shops. Synonym *ystyr* – meaning, reason, purpose (GPC). The repetition of the concept here hammers its importance: *neges* or *ystyll*, 7 times out of the total of 8 references to the theme. See above, for quotation when Rhiannon declares her *neges*.

Overlooking female agency has been a common Mabinogi refrain, cf. Valente. 1986. '*Merched*', pp. 5–7. Pioneering critique. Ch. II. 8. Feminism: 'Rob' Valente, pp. 129–31.

¹⁵⁰ Pwyll speaks of being on the mound among a great number of his people. PKM1 9.9 JKB 25.2.

¹⁵¹ Detailed analysis of Rhiannon's Choice, Ch. V.5. Pwyll, under that subtitle, pp. 241–46.

¹⁵² Themes through Ch. I.4. Advent, and again Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership, pp. 260–63.

¹⁵³ Bowl: PKM3 57.7–10. JKB 70.2.

¹⁵⁴ PKM3 Manawydan remembers hunting: PKM3 58.26. JKB 72.1. Release: PKM3 65.3–6. JKB 75.2. Captivity (*Mynweir a Mynord*): PKM3 65.19–24. JKB 76.1. Ch. V.13. Manawydan, p. 340.

¹⁵⁵ When she arrives in Dyfed as a married woman she distributes gifts; this is her bridal bestowal ending *Pwyll II*, PKM1 19.11–16. JKB 31.2. Marriage and motherhood ensue with tension about barrenness, and her loss and restoration, *Pwyll III*, PKM1 19.18–27.28. JKB 31.2–40.1. Her PKM2 Adar Rhiannon may be argued as extending maternal care pp. 319, 322, comforters 409. Ch. V.11.

courtship, weddings, co-ruling, and widowhood. Her second marriage even occurs *because* of her motherhood, by Pryderi's agency.¹⁵⁶ It is arguable that Rhiannon-as-mother provides narrative depth, as well as greater scope, beyond a simple 'strong woman'.¹⁵⁷

If Pryderi's presence also ended with the PKM3 restoration, Mabinogi Rhiannon could acceptably end there too; but Pryderi continues into PKM4.¹⁵⁸ However, without Rhiannon, Pryderi continues only as his death tale.¹⁵⁹ Allusion and interlace integrate this death tale with previous events: the Annwfn duel, Annwfn's alliance and gifts, horse and hunting themes, trickery furthering ruthless determination, and magic.¹⁶⁰ The death tale (up to Dyfed men's departure), is the length of a significant episode, comparable to *Pwyll I*.¹⁶¹

Math, *arglwydd* and high judge of Gwynedd, explicitly declares the wrongdoings of Gwydion as betrayer and killer, and his brother Gilfaethwy. Math itemises his losses of men and arms, his unresolvably shamed honour, the loss of his close friend Pryderi.¹⁶² Math imposes three years' penance then restores his nephews to his court with a completion phrase: *A hynny a berit udunt*.¹⁶³ A new cast of characters appear. Some may feel Pryderi's death is a preferable ending to

Pryderi. PKM3 opens with Pryderi and Manawydan travelling to the welcome feast she provides for them, starting PKM3 49.1; the feast PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.1–64.1. They are together the rest of the Branch. Manawydan's PKM3 nostalgia for hunting with Rhiannon embraces Pryderi too, PKM3 54.24–27. JKB 72.1. Rhiannon and Pryderi are captives and liberated together, PKM3 57. 6. JKB 70.2. PKM3 65. 6. JKB 75.2.

¹⁵⁶ First marriage: courtship PKM1 8.27–19.16. JKB 25.1–31.2. Its weddings PKM1 13.6–19. 16. JKB 28.1–31.2. Widowed PKM1 27.17. JKB 40.1. Ch. V.5. Pwyll. Second marriage: PKM3 50.11–26; by Pryderi's arrangement PKM3 49.17–50.2. JKB 63.1–2. For her possible reasons for approving Manawydan see Ch. V.13. Manawydan's Background, pp. 337–39; and Marriage to Rhiannon, pp. 340–41.

¹⁵⁷ Ch. IV. 2. Voice: Narrative: mothering, pp. 201–03. Ch. V.10 Pryderi: Rhiannon pp. 316–18, 320, Maternal Dyad pp. 320–28. Ch. VII. 5. Theologies: Mother Goddess, pp. 493–96.

¹⁵⁸ The Third Branch ends: PKM3 65.24. JKB 76.1. Pryderi's death tale: PKM4 68.15–73.21. JKB 80.2–89.1.

¹⁵⁹ Ch. I.1. Paraphrase, pp. 2–3.

¹⁶⁰ Two duels: PKM1 5.8–6.5. JKB 23.1–2. and PKM4 72.24–73.17. JKB 88.1–89.1. Annwfn gifts: PKM1 8 18–21. JKB 24.2–25.1. PKM4 68.16–25. JKB 80.2.. Triad 26, TYP, p. 50. Horse instances, Ch. III.4. Equine: pp. 157–59. Hunting pp. 163–64. Trickery furthering ruthless determination: bag speech PKM1 14.23–15.17. Gwydion's fakes PKM4 70.3–26. JKB. Ch. V.13 Gwydion: similarities Rhiannon, pp. 352–53; contrasts pp. 353–55.

¹⁶¹ Pryderi's death tale is a quarter (213 lines, 6 pages of 25) PKM4 68.15–73.21. JKB 80.2–89.1. *Pwyll I* is 219 lines, 8 pages in PKM1, 1.1–8.26. JKB 19.2–25.1.

¹⁶² Math declares, PKM4 73.26–27. JKB 91.2.

¹⁶³ PKM4 77.2. 'And that was done for them'. JKB 92.2. Y Cyfarwydd statement.

Math's shape-shifting justice. Alternatively that justice may be the fullest conclusion of Mabinogi Rhiannon, as final consequences for her son's killer.¹⁶⁴

Naratif craidd ac estynedig/ Core and extended narrative

Core Mabinogi Rhiannon may now be seen as Rhiannon's presence, from her PKM1 Gorsedd Arberth advent, to her PKM3 restoration from captivity.¹⁶⁵ An extended Mabinogi Rhiannon draws in the Pwyll *Pen Annwfn* prologue, grounding Rhiannon's pivotal *neges*; and extending to the death of her son to complete her maternal narrative (perhaps including Math's restorative justice which avenges him). This study investigates the extended version.¹⁶⁶

However, that extended text holds matter not primarily relevant to Rhiannon. Culling matter after PKM1, Mabinogi Rhiannon could conceivably skip PKM2 to join the mature Pryderi opening PKM3 on his return from the great Irish War.¹⁶⁷ Yet PKM2 makes important contributions, most obviously the Adar Rhiannon.¹⁶⁸ The Irish War triggered and sustained by Efnysien, separates Rhiannon and her son for many years, reshaping their world, not least by bringing Rhiannon a second husband. PKM2 develops Manawydan's character, cf. *Pwyll I* prefacing her first marriage.¹⁶⁹ Caswallawn's usurpation of the throne sets

¹⁶⁴ It might be argued that Arianrhod and Blodeuedd's tales (the rest of PKM4), occur because of Goewin's rape and the war which enabled it, which killed Pryderi. From the point of view of Dyfed and Pryderi, the Gwynedd drama is incidental. It suffices that Gwydion took Pryderi's pigs. The subsequent Arianrhod-and-son narrative is independent: Math needs a new footholder, and so a new narrative opens. Unlike *Pwyll I* as a Prologue (above), Pryderi's death tale and the war, are among various possibilities which might leave open the footholder vacancy. Goewin might sicken, die, or vacate to marry. By contrast *Pwyll I* is essential to the main Rhiannon narrative, to equip Pwyll so as to meet Rhiannon's assessment as alpha male. Looking at Arianrhod-and-son, and Rhiannon-and-son, can be an informative comparison, but the Arianrhod narrative does not complete the Rhiannon narrative.

¹⁶⁵ Extended Mabinogi Rhiannon: PKM1 1–27. JKB 19.1–40.1; and PKM2 45.2–4. JKB 55.2, and PKM2 46.13–18. JKB 57.1–58.2. (Adar); and PKM3 49.1–65.24. JKB 63.1–76.1. and PKM 67.1–73.21. JKB 79.1–89.1. If Math's justice passage is included this extends to PKM4 77.2. JKB 92.2. Some other excerpts from PKM2 are relevant, e.g. on Manawydan's character; such texts are referred as appropriate in the chapters.

¹⁶⁶ There is little need for attention here to Math's justice passages.

¹⁶⁷ 'There is no reason ... to believe that there were originally four branches, especially when we remember the importance of triadic groupings in early Welsh society.' Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 17.

'Irish War' is a constructed name used in this study; it does not appear in the Mabinogi, nor in other commentaries.

¹⁶⁸ Predicted, PKM2 45.2–4; and actual event. 46.13–15. JKB 55.2., and 60.1. Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon/ Birds of Rhiannon, showing they are closely in affinity with Rhiannon, not merely named for her.

¹⁶⁹ Includes the Seven Survivors. Bendigeidfran instructs/ prophesies, PKM2 44.25–45. 11. JKB 55.2. Following the enchantment sequences Harlech, Gwales, PKM2 46.11. JKB 58.1. head burial

the political context of PKM3.¹⁷⁰ The War originates in an extreme *equine* event: mutilation of an entire royal horse herd, congruent with Rhiannon's powerful horse theme.¹⁷¹ These PKM2 excerpts are here treated selectively at need. Some substantial material seems of little interest here such as the PKM2 Cauldron tale, and the long, onomastic journey with PKM4 stolen pigs.¹⁷²

'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab'

Patrick K. Ford's *Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab*, is remarkably close in textual scope to Mabinogi Rhiannon.¹⁷³ Its schema runs from Pwyll marrying Rhiannon;¹⁷⁴ through parallel parenting episodes (Dyfed, Gwent);¹⁷⁵ the PKM2 horse mutilations, to Math's PKM4 justice on his nephews.¹⁷⁶ I acknowledge my debt.¹⁷⁷

Ford's title consciously derives from Teyrnnon:

enacted, PKM2 47.18–21. JKB . 60.1. Manawydan character development, Ch. V.12. Manawydan.

¹⁷⁰ Caswallawn usurper, PKM2 46.25–47.21. JKB 57.1.

¹⁷¹ PKM2 32.2–6. Ch. III.4. Equine: TABLE 9 Equine instances, pp. 157–59. I have pondered Efnysien's motives for this and his later two violent acts, concluding he is neither mad nor evil. His acts consistently obstruct the British-Irish alliance. Matholwch's weakness and treachery bears out his antipathy. Cf. my suggestion of family faction Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen, pp. 220–21. Detailed analysis of the horse mutilations, Jenny Rowlands. 1988. 'The Maiming of Horses in Branwen', *CMCS*, pp. 51–70.

¹⁷² Pig journey, PKM4 70.27 – 71.18. JKB 85.1–87.2. For the full list of Mabinogi Rhiannon passages, Ch. IV.2. Acts of Rhiannon: playscript schema, pp. 206–07.

¹⁷³ 'Adventure of the Mare and the Boy', *Welsh Tales*, (1977), title introduced p. 5. Explored pp. 4–14 with Epona pp. 4–5, Irish comparisons, pp. 7–8. Epona, Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths. Ford's tale title and some content is close to C. S. Lewis novel. 1957. *The Horse and His Boy* (Macmillan). Content comparison, below. Ford may have been influenced by his childhood reading, consciously or otherwise. His later 1981 'Prolegomena' transposes his *Welsh Tales* terms in translation to 'Adventure of the Boy and the Mare', p. 206. Either Lewis' memory had receded, or it is just a casual swap of familiar elements.

¹⁷⁴ 'Pwyll succeeds in winning her [Rhiannon's] hand in marriage'. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 5. This male perspective exaggerates Pwyll's achievement, omitting Rhiannon's initiative and strategy. Comment with quotation on Ford's more masculine perspective compared to mine, below, n. 180.

¹⁷⁵ Parallel parenting. Dyfed, PKM 20.2– PKM 21.28. JKB 33.2.–35.1. Gwent, PKM 22.1–25.8. JKB 35.1– 37.1. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, pp. 5–6.

¹⁷⁶ Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 13. Horse mutilations, PKM2 31.17–32.6. JKB 46.1– 46.1. Immediate uproar, the War, and aftermath, extends to the end of the Branch, PKM2 47.27. JKB 60.1. Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion*, p. 159, n. 153. Math's justice, PKM4 73.22 –77.2. JKB 89.1–92.2.

¹⁷⁷ Looking back four decades to my first encounter with Ford's *Welsh Tales* (1977), his *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy, seeded my concept of Mabinogi Rhiannon, though strangely I have only just realised it in writing the final stages of this study. I read Ford in 1979, very soon after it was published, and owned a series of battered copies over the decades. Thank heavens for the new Kindle. Ford showed me the distinctive maturity of the Mabinogi. From his decades of influence I won a teaspoon of respect from my first, august, PhD supervisor when I commented 'The Welsh tales are not just sword swingers, but complex, mature literature' (Nov. 2013). I began with Ford as my beloved, default text, then with great reluctance decided to match my 21stC study with a 21stC translation (Bollard, *Landscape*, which I quickly came to love as dearly). My heartfelt thanks are due to Patrick K. Ford for his part in bringing me to becoming an honorary Welshwoman. His kindness during this study is greatly appreciated.

*Sef ymdidan/
a uu gan Teirnon, menegi y holl gyfranc am y gassec ac/
am y mab, a megys y buassei y mab ar y hardelw wy/
Teirnon a'e wreic, ac y megysynt.*¹⁷⁸

Ford initially excludes *Pwyll I* as disconnected, though later work dubs it a 'prelude'.¹⁷⁹ There is divergence on gender, as Ford's First Branch perspective (1981) is masculine.

The First Branch, Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, deals essentially with Pwyll's exchange with Arawn, a king of the other world (Annwfn), and subsequently, the birth, loss, and restoration of his son Pryderi.¹⁸⁰

The other main difference to this study is Ford's greater concern with mythology. He presents Rhiannon almost entirely in her 'hippomorphic' aspect; 'a literary

¹⁷⁸ PKM1 25.26– 27.2. 'This was Teyrnon's conversation – he related the whole adventure of the mare and of the boy, and how the boy had been under their care, Teyrnon and his wife, and they raised him.' JKB 37.2. Underlining is mine, both source text and translation.

My thanks to John Davies for alerting a similarity in C. S. Lewis' title, *The Horse and His Boy*, Narnia fantasy series. (Personal communication 15.02/21) Investigation identified Lewis, partly Welsh, seemingly drawing upon Teyrnon and basic PKM1 content; preceding Ford's 'Mare and the Boy' by 20 years. The boy Shasta discovers his father is not his father. In a stable, Bree, a Talking Horse, captured very young, befriends him. They escape and meet Aravis, a forceful, aristocrat girl riding another Talking Horse, fleeing an arranged marriage. Shasta is finally recognised as a lost prince kidnapped as a baby. The parallels are evident. Ford analyses Pryderi's paternity complexity: 'Prolegomena', pp. 214-215. Lewis: 'I'm more Welsh than anything, and for more than anything else in my ancestry I'm grateful that on my father's side I'm descended from a practical Welsh farmer. To that link with the soil I owe whatever measure of physical energy and stability I have. Without it I should have turned into a hopeless neurotic.' Cited by George Sayer. 1988. *Jack: C. S. Lewis and His Times* (Macmillan), p. 21. Opening paragraph Lewis' autobiography: 'My father ... His grandfather had been a Welsh farmer.' 1955. *Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life* (Geoffrey Bles). Photos below of 'The Lewis Family Wardrobe', crafted by Lewis' Welsh great-grandfather, a central feature of the most famous Narnia novel. 1950. *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (Bles and The Bodley Head).

¹⁷⁹ Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 36. Also 'Prolegomena', p. 202. Above full PKM quote of Pwyll acclaimed Pen Annwfn, p. 25. trans. n. 141. In addition to the brief summary account of *Pwyll I* integration above, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, p. 241ff.

¹⁸⁰ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 200. Also: 'The analysis attempted here shows that the First Branch and part of the Third Branch of the Mabinogi are concerned, among other things, with the birth of Pryderi and his loss and return, the latter events paralleled by loss and restoration of fertility in the land.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 214. My perspective of *Pwyll I* as a female focused Prologue, Ch. IV.2. Her Acts; and Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, p. 241-71.

It is helpful to situate this gendered assessment by comparing myself and Ford at the time (1970s). As noted above I first read his *Welsh Tales*, when young c. 28. I was already a Radical Feminist activist, working at the Women's Liberation Workshop, London, a veteran separatist, about to launch my own women's centre London UK. Ford, 14 years my senior, was established in the prestige, male-saturated sphere of professional academia, USA. We were worlds apart, but the tales linked us. My study here almost 50 years later situates when feminism is a routine, world discourse. Ford's views may differ now. Ch. II.9. Feminism, pp. 123-35.

version of the horse goddess, Epona'.¹⁸¹ Valente's critique on how goddesses block Mabinogi women came later (1986).¹⁸²

Ford developed a powerful structural analysis of the Dyfed – Gwent parallels.¹⁸³ Due to his double priorities, mythological and structural, Ford seems a valuably bridge between Mythological and Coherence paradigms.¹⁸⁴

In summary, Mabinogi Rhiannon, in its core version, is presented here as Rhiannon's presence in Mabinogi text.¹⁸⁵ It starts with the Gorsedd Arberth advent and ends with the PKM3 restoration. The extended version has *Pwyll I* as a causative Prologue; some relevant PKM2 material, includes all PKM3, and the first third of PKM4. The extended version demonstrates Rhiannon as a 'tour guide' to the majority of the Mabinogi.¹⁸⁶ There is considerable similarity with Ford's *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab* in textual scope, but differences in *Pwyll I* treatment, gendered agency, and mythological priority.



'The Lewis Family Wardrobe'. Handcrafted Welsh oak,¹⁸⁷

¹⁸¹ 'hippomorphic', Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 13. 'Prolegomena', p. 210. Epona, *Welsh Tales*, pp. 4, 5, 10, 12, 26, 36, 75. 'Prolegomena', pp. 206-207. Ford's *Cyfranc* as structural analysis reviewed Ch. IX Structures, pp. 512-13.

¹⁸² 'Rob' Valente 1986. 'Merched y Mabinogi: Women and the Thematic Structure of the Four Branches' (unpub doctoral dissertation, Cornell University), pp. 5-7. Nine years after Ford's *Welsh Tales* (1977), 5 years after his 'Prolegomena' (1981). Ch. II. 8. Feminism: Valente pp. 130-31.

¹⁸³ Ch. IX. Structures: *Cyfranc*, pp. 512-13.

¹⁸⁴ He cites Jones and Jones on a 'mythology in decline' but continues 'Structural analysis suggests that the myths reflected in these tales were very much alive', *Welsh Tales*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ With certain passages of her absence which are obviously crucial to her drama, like the Gwent episode, and Manawydan during her captivity, above.

¹⁸⁶ Introduction. Morgain. First presented 19/02/2015. 'Rhiannon as Mabinogi Tour Guide'.

¹⁸⁷ PHOTOS C. S. Lewis Family Wardrobe. Handmade Welsh Oak. Photo Christine James, her USA visit 2019 my slight edit background. Image evokes 'doors' into the tales, and the intricate craft of the tellers. Lewis, Lewis Family Wardrobe, Bibliography for detailed information. Provenance Wade Center museum, Wheaton College, USA (URL source Bibliography)

I.6. Ffynonellau Eraill ynglŷn â Rhiannon / Other Rhiannon Sources

This chapter identifies nine extant, mediaeval sources for Rhiannon, outside the Mabinogi.

TABLE 3 Nine Additional Rhiannon Sources: historical order

- 1) **Lost 'Rieni' Triad?** PKM2 inference. May predate PKM; Rhiannon as *rieni*.¹⁸⁸
- 2) **Culhwch ac Olwen.** Contemporary prose tale, *Adar Rhiannon* as prize.¹⁸⁹
- 3) **Awdl, anonymous.** Contemporary; names Teyrnon, refers 'gellast'.
Possible indirect allusion to Rhiannon's framing as a criminal.¹⁹⁰
- 4) **Jaufre Rudel.** Early 12thC, Occitan troubadour. Poem, courtship pursuits.¹⁹¹
- 5) **Owein.** Early 12thC, prose Romance.
Possible inversion of Rhiannon's advent; Adar, Desolation, Pryderi's bowl.¹⁹²
- 6) **Goronwy Gyriog.** 14thC court elegy, names Rhiannon,

¹⁸⁸ *Rieni*, a cryptic, elite, female status attributed to Branwen. PKM2 30.29–31.1. JKB 35.2; and PKM2 32.27. JKB 46.2. Ifor Williams suggests Rhiannon as *Rieni*, 'Nodiadau', PKM, p. 167. TYP, pp. lxxi–lxxii. h. Ch. III.6. 'Rieni', pp. 177–83.

Y Trioedd / The Triads, a bardic collection of concise, tripartite descriptions of important personages and events in medieval Welsh literature and history. The chief research resource is Bromwich. 1961. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. (URL text Bibliography).

¹⁸⁹ "Adar Rianhon y rei a duhun y marw ac a hun a byw a wynhafy'm didanu y nos honno." Rachel Bromwich, and D. Simon Evans, eds. 1988. *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Cardiff: UWP), p. 24, line 632. Trans. 'the ones that rouse the dead and make the living sleep – to entertain me that night.' Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 139. Referred PKM2 45.2–4. JKB 55.2; appearing PKM2 46.13–15. JKB 58.1–2. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Pryderi, Rhiannon, p. 319; and Ch. VI. 6. Adar, pp. 407–14.

¹⁹⁰ *Awdl* honouring Hywel ap Goronwy, king of Ystrad Tywi. R. Geraint Gruffydd, and Brynley F. Roberts. 1980–81. 'Rhiannon Gyda Theyrnon yng Ngwent', *Llên Cymru*, XIII, pp. 289–291. Ch. V.7. Teyrnon, as gentle guardian, pp. 280 n. 468.

awdl – (long) poem, ode, song, stanza; monorhyme poem (or section of poem), poem composed of a series of monorhyme stanzas, poem using one metre, poem using one or more of the twenty-four traditional Welsh metres (GPC). *gellast* – staghound-bitch (GPC).

¹⁹¹ Jaufre: Aubrey Burl. 2008. *Courts of Love, Castles of Hate: Troubadours and Trobairitz in Southern France 1071–1321* (History Press), p. 70, Poem I, stanza 2. (URL text Bibliography) Possible allusion to Rhiannon pursuit passages, PKM1 9.11–12.6. JKB 26.1–27.2. Jaufre two quoted excerpts Ch. VI.2. Trance, p. 385.

¹⁹² *Owein*: Robert Leith Thomson. 1968. *Owein, or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* (Dublin: DIAS). Dating, pp. xvi–xxi. Though Rhiannon is not named, the Mabinogi Rhiannon correspondences are substantial: pp. 7–9, lines 145–92. *Owein* and Pryderi both, after warnings of danger, discover marbled wells, with a bowl hung on chains, *Owein*'s silver, Pryderi's golden; *Owein*, p. 7, lines 145–150; and p. 8, lines 167–8; PKM3 56.14–19. JKB 70.1. A *twrwf mawr* / tumultuous noise, PKM3 57.11. JKB 70.2. *Owein* p. 7, line 151; *twrwf* / tumult, line 152 (twice); *twryf*, p. 8, line 170, 171, inflicts wholesale destruction of man and beast by *kawat* (*cawad*) *adoer* / a freezing shower. *Owein* p. 7, lines 152–53, p. 8, lines 171–174, and p. 9, lines 186–87: cf. the Desolation of Dyfed; PKM3 51.22–52.3. similarly conveyed by *twrwf* and *gawat o nywl*, a shower of fog, PKM3 51.23. JKB 65.2 *Owein* birds arrive, not explicitly named as Rhiannon's, as in *Culhwch* and PKM2 (n. 189 above), but their incomparable song suggests their identity; *Owein*, predicted, p. 7, lines 155–57, occurrence p. 8, lines 180–3. The *adar* / birds calm the tumult cf. *Culhwch* soothing, but a horseman arrives in *purdu* / pure black silk, on a pure black horse, resulting in rapid, violent fighting, *Owein*, p. 9, lines 189–92; closely inverting Rhiannon's slow pacing, whiteness, and peaceful encounter at her advent; PKM1 9.11–13. JKB 25.2. Both arrivals are prefaced by prediction. Cf. Ch. I.4. Advent #4 p. 16; and Ch. VI.6. Adar p. 408 n. 117.

Sioned Davies briefly notes some of these *Owein* –PKM correspondences. Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 234, n. to p. 120.

- bardic patroness exemplar, cf. Pughe.¹⁹³
- 7) **Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch**. Later 14thC, names Rhiannon, *Awdl y Breuddwyd*.¹⁹⁴
- 8) **Dafydd ap Gwilym**. Later 14thC, allusions to Gwawl, Pwyll, Pryderi.¹⁹⁵
- 9) **Ystoria Taliesin**. 16thC MS., clearly much older. Possible allusion wedding plot.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Rhiannon's generous gift giving: the verse seems to refer to its poet remembering a gift from Gwenwyfar, which he is comparing to Rhiannon's generosity.. *Dyhir hundy gwedy gwedd/ A phryd a guddiwyd â phridd;/ Dygn gofion Rhiannon rhodd Digofaint bun deg ufydd*. Paraphrase: *Blin yw['r] bedd wedi['r] wedd/ A['r] pryd a guddiwyd â phridd;/ Atgofion dolurus am [un a'i] rhodd [fel] Rhiannon,/ Tristwch am [y] ferch deg wylaidd*. Mourning elegy for Gwenhwyfar, young wife of Hywel ap Tudur of Anglesey by Goronwy Gyriog aka Gronw Cyriog (fl. c. 1310-1360) in Llyfr Coch Hergest. Rhiannon Ifans, Ann Parry Owen, W. Dyfed Rowlands, and E. H. Rheinallt, eds. *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog, Mab Clochyddyn, Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch ac Ithel Ddu* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1997), p. 15, poem 2. A possible translation might be: 'A memorial of deep grief to one so like Rhiannon in endowment'. Hanna G. Hopwood's study of the poem notes the Rhiannon comparison as rare. 2013. *Uchelwragedd y beirdd: astudiaeth o'r canu mawl i uchelwragedd (1300-1500)*, Unpublished master's thesis, Caerdydd, p. 23, n. 28, quoting the Rhiannon line from Ifans *et al*. Her full examination is pp. 11-68.

Ifans *et al* link this text to Rhiannon's wedding morning at Llys Hyfaidd, *ibid*. p. 28; PKM1 18. 21-24. JKB 31.2. Ian Hughes comments this is 'reminiscent of the gifts which Rhiannon gives to all those invited to her wedding with Pwyll', p. 159. 2006. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi and Medieval Welsh Poetry', *Studi Celtici*, 4, p. 159. (URL text Bibliography). Strictly, Rhiannon advises Pwyll who executes gifts to all who desire them, i.e. suppliants; not a general largesse to all. PKM1 18.23-28. JKB 31.2. A second reference to Rhiannon's strong concern with entertainers occurs earlier in the narrative, when she forces Gwawl to pay the costs of the second wedding's minstrels. PKM1 17.20-21. JKB 31.1. The reference to Gwenhwyfar's grave (resting place) might possibly nuance a contrast with Rhiannon's marital bed. My thanks to Ann Parry Owen for providing text via Alan Llwyd (11/11/20).

The Goronwy reference was noted by William Owen Pughe in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 169. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe, p. 75.

¹⁹⁴ 'Dream Awdl'. Hughes associates this line with 'her song, presumably that of her renowned birds' Hughes, 'Poetry', p. 159. *A thwfcymedrol, ddwysol, ddison,/ Gwawdudd, rheinaidd Rhiannon,/ A bysedd hwyrwedd, hirion, - a'i Gwynedd/ Mal y bydd bunedd boneddigion*. Paraphrase *A thwfcymesur, cadarn, tawel,/ Arglwydd[es] cân, rheinaidd fel Rhiannon,/ A bysedd tyner, hirion, a'i gwynder/ Fel y bydd [gwynder] merched pendefigion*. Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch, later 14thC, *Awdl y Breuddwyd/ Dream Awdl*. Ifans *et al*. *Gwaith*, p. 120, poem 8, line 30. Rhiannon is here associated with *rheiniaidd*, feminine poetics, especially young women; her *gwynder* refers to her whiteness, or radiance. Cf. deriving her pale complexion from PKM1 9.12-13. JKB 25.2, via Sioned Davies rider-horse integration theory, Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 horse, pp. 17-19.

¹⁹⁵ Dafydd ap Gwilym, several poems may allude to Mabinogi Rhiannon personages. *Mawl i'r Haf*, 'In Praise of Summer. Poem #35; shapechanging, Annwnfn. *Y Deildy*, 'House of Leaves'. Poem #37; dreamlike love, also *Y Breuddwyd*, 'A Dream from Annwn'. Poem #79; cf. Jaufré Rudel #4 above. *Ddoe*, 'Yesterday'. Poem #110; *Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym a Gruffudd Gryg*. Poem #28; Gwawl, badger bag. *Moliant Llywelyn ap Gwilym*. Poem #5; *Ail Gywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym*. Poem #26; citing Pryderi. *Offeren y Llwyn/ 'The Woodland Mass'*. Poem #39; Adar Rhiannon. (URLs to poem texts Welsh and English, see Bibliography)

Alan Llwyd observes 'Dafydd ap Gwilym has several allusions to Mabinogi characters is not at all surprising when we consider the fact that Dafydd and Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd were very close friends, and that one of Dafydd's cywyddau is a mock elegy to Rhydderch. Dafydd had obviously read the Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch version of the Mabinogi'. (Personal communication 12/03/ 2024)

¹⁹⁶ May allude the second wedding, PKM1 14.23-15.17. JKB 29.1-29.2. *Saith awr y buan/ yn cadw y berllan/ cyn cyfrdan Satan,/ syttiwr tartara*. Ifor Williams. 1931. *Gwyneddion 3* (Caerdydd), p. 267. *Saith awr J buan/ynn kadw y berllan/ Ky[n] kyuyrdan Sattan/ suttwiwr taeyraf*. Patrick K. Ford, ed. 1992. *Ystoria Taliesin* (UWP), p. 83, ll. 626-29. My thanks to Prof. Ford for kind provision of his Welsh version (12/11/20). Trans. 'Seven hours they/ Tended the Orchard/ Before Satan's strife/ Most insistent suitor.' 'One of the Four Pillars of Song', verse 3, in Ford. *Welsh Tales*, p. 178. Also an apparent political restoration prophecy, verse 29, cf. PKM3 ending, Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Anglo-Norman, pp. 185-88. My underlining throughout.

In narrative order the above (may) reference Rhiannon's elite status (1), advent (5), elusive courtship (4, 8), wedding ambush (7, 8*), patronage (6*), calumny (3), Adar (2*,5), the Desolation (5), golden bowl (5).¹⁹⁷ Nothing outside the Mabinogi survives about her feast ownership and organisation, her rôle as legalistic adviser, joint rule of Dyfed, motherhood, penance and vindication, widowhood, second marriage, second joint rule, emigration, captivity and restoration.¹⁹⁸

The meagre cluster of these 'other sources' adds no information except the powers of the *Adar* (2). The handful presents a partial, romantic, youthful stereotype,¹⁹⁹ with only two sources naming her of late date: 14thC poems idealising her bardic patronage (6) and her literary femininity (7). Other Mabinogi protagonists do appear in *Trioedd* and poetry, markedly contrasting Rhiannon's lack.²⁰⁰ Rhiannon's singular Mabinogi provenance is observed by Pughe her first print format publisher (he notes her bardic patronage); and by Anwyl the first Rhiannon theorist.

RHIANON, the daughter of Heveydd Hen, only known as the heroine of the Dramatic Tales. [Pughe]²⁰¹

~ * ~

I Mabinogi Rhiannon, Cyflwyniad/ Mabinogi Rhiannon: Introductory

¹⁹⁷ * = Explicitly named. Numbers in brackets refer to the Table above.

Bromwich and Evans, *Culhwch*, p. 24, Line 632. Above for quotation.

¹⁹⁸ Hughes notes Rhiannon references in *Culhwch*, #2, above; and the two *Cywyddwyr*, #6, #7, above; concluding: 'There are no references to Rhiannon anywhere else in medieval Welsh poetry nor in the Triads.' 'Poetry', p. 159. He is explicit at the start of his article he addresses *named* references, *ibid.* p. 155; which explains his two instances against the eight instances here. Anwyl had remarked an 'accidental absence of any reference to Rhiannon in the Book of Taliesin', 'Four Branches', IV, p. 124. Rhiannon's lack of Triadic presence is total; Ch. I.5. Lady of Prose, for the related but divergent traditions of poetry and prose.

¹⁹⁹ Hughes finds it 'worth noting that there is no reference to Rhiannon's second marriage to Manawydan anywhere outside the Third Branch of the Mabinogi.' 'Poetry', p. 159. Similarly Anwyl finds Rhiannon & Manawydan absence odd; 'Four Branches', IV, p. 124, quoted Ch. II.6.: Anwyl, p. 109. Possible Desolation, Pryderi's bowl allusions (5) relate to a young male hero, Owein, a parallel to Pryderi, rather than Rhiannon herself. On the youthful Rhiannon, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, & Ch. IX.2. Gallery focus. *Ystoria Taliesin* is possibly making political allusions to the PKM3 restoration, #9 above, but this is very inferential, only from the verses' structural sequence. Adar allusions (2*, 5) can relate to Rhiannon's older, maternal life, seeming strongly connected, acceptable as extensions of her voice (SDavies integration theory), they are not unambiguously *her*. However see symbiosis suggested, Ch. VI.4. Horse, p. 399.

²⁰⁰ This chapter only gives Rhiannon sources. Re other characters Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose, pp. 37-43.

²⁰¹ [Pughe], *Biography*, p. 323. Decades later Pughe does note the Goronwy Gyriog reference #6 above. 'the Welsh poets complimented a lady for superior endowments by comparing her to Rhianon', naming Goronwy Gyriog. 1828. 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed. by Croker, Thomas Crofton (London: John Murray), p. 169.

I.7. *Rhiannon fel Gwraig o Gyfarwydd*/ Rhiannon, Lady of Prose Story-telling

Rhyddiaith a barddoniaeth/ Prose and poetry

The convention in most IndoEuropean countries was that a story should be narrated in verse. ...

Celtic narrative literature follows a totally different pattern, for in Ireland and Wales the earliest surviving narrative texts are in prose.²⁰²

The previous chapter identifies Rhiannon as distinctively a Mabinogi prose, protagonist; with scant poetic presence and complete absence from the *Trioedd*. This chapter expands that outline in the context of the prose and poetic traditions of mediaeval Wales.

The Mabinogi composition and manuscripts period (c. 1100 – 1400) broadly corresponds to the time of the *Gogynfeirdd*, or *Beirdd y Tywysogion*/ Poets of the Princes.²⁰³ These were professional, pensioned poets, paid to produce elegies and eulogies for their royal patrons.²⁰⁴ No narrative poetry, if it existed in that time, has survived.²⁰⁵ Sophisticated poetic traditions provided the *beirdd* with disciplined aids of rhythm, rhyme, alliteration and assonance, with tightly set line patterns as structural support.²⁰⁶ *Trioedd*/ Triads provided a mnemonic 'database'.²⁰⁷ 'The *Trioedd* affirm a connection between *cyfarwyddyd* [story, lore] and *barddoniaeth*/ 'poetry'.²⁰⁸ Few *Trioedd* allusions appear in the

²⁰² Sioned Davies. 1992. 'Storytelling in Medieval Wales', *Oral Tradition*, 7, p. 232. She gives key examples of narrative verse: 'The *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and Virgil's *Aeneid* are metrical narratives; the bulk of Anglo-Saxon literature was in alliterative verse—the epic *Beowulf*, the shorter epic *Waldhere*, the heroic poems of *Finn*, *Deor*, and *Widsith*. ... The *Song of Roland* ... A common tradition for elegy and eulogy spanned Ireland, Wales, Scandinavia.' *Ibid.* p. 10.

²⁰³ Ch. II.1. 'Mediaeval Wales', timeline p. 44; and Appendix: Dating.

²⁰⁴ Davies, 'Storytelling', p. 232.

²⁰⁵ There are some suggestions of narrative context in earlier, *Cynfeirdd* poetry, for example in Aneirin's *Gododdin* poem, and in the *englynion* cycles associated with the names of Llywarch Hen and Heledd, set against a background events not made explicit in the extant texts. Brynley F. Roberts. 1988. 'Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature: A Description and Survey', *Oral Tradition*, 3. 1–2, p. 63..

²⁰⁶ Strict metrical system known as *cynganedd*. My thanks to Alan Llwyd for reminder. (Personal communication 12/03/2024)

²⁰⁷ Brief, named profiles of persons and other literary components, in sets of three, for inspiration or comparison. Collected in Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. (TYP'), pp. I.7.

²⁰⁸ Sioned Davies, 'Storytelling', p. 232. The definition of *cyfarwyddyd* here is a working approximation, profiled a bit more p. 40. Also Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft pp 45-49.

Mabinogi.²⁰⁹ Sometimes Mabinogi and Triad versions contradict each other,²¹⁰ e.g. Annwfn gifts Pryderi pigs (PKM4) on which he fails his guardian contract, but Triad 26 acclaims him *Gwrdueichyat*/ Powerful Swineherd.²¹¹

Mabinogi Rhiannon

Some Mabinogi Rhiannon characters do feature in *Trioedd*: Rhiannon's two husbands Pwyll and Manawydan, her son Pryderi, Pendaran, Bendigeidfran, Caswallawn, Math, and Gwydion. Branwen and Arianrhod *Trioedd* indicate Rhiannon is not excluded due to misogyny.²¹² The Mabinogi characters missing from the *Trioedd* are Arawn, Hafgan, Rhiannon, Hyfaidd, Gwawl, Gwri, Cigfa, Efnysien, Adar Rhiannon, Llwyd and Blodeuedd.²¹³ Although perhaps reflecting what is extant, of these eleven all except Blodeuedd are Mabinogi Rhiannon characters (91%). Not only is Rhiannon herself strongly situated as lady of prose, her *Dramatis Personae* is overwhelmingly prose predominant.²¹⁴

The lack of Adar Rhiannon in the *Trioedd*, *pace* the extant issue, is strange as they are presented as entertainers, so might be expected to serve as an

²⁰⁹ E.g. Manawydan's PKM3 material, two *Trioedd*. Triad 8. *Tri Lledyf 6nben Enys Prydein*/ 'Three Prostrate ('Humble') Chieftains of this Island', TYP, p. 15-16. Pryderi seems to refer to it, PKM3 49.12. JKB 63.1.

Triad 67. *Tri Eur Gryd Ynys Brydein*/ 'Three Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers of this Island', TYP pp. 185-88. PKM3 54.6-8. JKB 67.2- 68.1. Hughes notes Triad 8 on Manawydan's character, predates PKM3. But the PKM3 shoemaking narrative predates Triad 67 and probably influenced it. Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 173-74. 'It is not at all clear if the use of the Triads in the Four Branches is traditional, innovative, or satiric.' Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan. 2004. 'Medieval Welsh Tales or Romances? Problems of Genre and Terminology', *CMCS*, XLVII, 47, pp. 41-58.

²¹⁰ TYP pp. lxii- lxiv.

²¹¹ Triad 26, *Tri Gwrdueichyat Enys Prydein*/ Three Powerful Swineherds of Britain, TYP pp. 50-58. PKM4 69.17-70.27. Ch. V.10. Pryderi. Another example, Triad 53 has Matholwch strike Branwen direct, not his cook; and as a single disastrous act, not the Mabinogi daily abuse., *Teir Gwith Balauawt*/ Three Sinister (ill-omened) Hard Slaps, TYP pp. 150-152, and p. lxxiii.

²¹² *Trioedd* related to Mabinogi Rhiannon. Pwyll (TYP 26) pp. 50- 58; Manawydan (TYP 8, 67) p. 15-16, pp. 185-88; Pryderi (TYP 26, cf. Mabon TYP 52) pp. 50- 58, cf. pp. 146-49; Pendaran (TYP 26) pp. 50- 58; Bendigeidfran (TYP 37) pp. 102-104; Caswallawn (TYP 38 horse, 67 also 36) pp. 105-106, pp. 185-88, also pp. 90-102; Math (TYP 27, 28) pp. 59-60, p. 61; Gwydion (TYP 28, 67) p. 61, pp. 185-88. Hyfaidd, possible but unlikely (TYP 68) p. 189-91.

Also Mabinogi related: Llŷr (TYP 52) pp. 146-49; Eurosdydd (TYP 52) pp. 146-49; Matholwch (TYP 53) pp. 150-152; Branwen (TYP 53, 95, *Rieni*, cf. TYP 56, 78) pp. 150-152, p. 242, pp. 161-63; cf. pp. 161-163, p. 208; Caradawg mab Bran (13, 38 horse, 95) pp. 105-106, pp. 25 -27, p. 242; Goronwy (TYP 30) pp. 65-69, contra (TYP 29) pp. 62-64; Beli (TYP 34, 35, 67) pp. 79-80, pp. 90-93, pp. 185-88; Don (TYP 35, 67) pp. 90-93, pp. 185-88; Ar(i)anrhod (TYP 6, 35, 67, 78) pp. 90-93, pp. 185-88, p. 208; Lleu (TYP 20, 38, 67) pp. 39-40, pp. 105-106, pp. 185-88; Mabon (TYP 52) pp. 146-49; Modron (TYP 70) pp. 195-98.

²¹³ Arawn, Hafgan, Hyfaidd, Gwawl, Gwri, Cigfa, Efnysien, Adar Rhiannon, Llwyd, Blodeuedd. Hughes' complete treatment list n. 218 below.

²¹⁴ Ch. I.2. *Dramatis Personae* p. 4.

inspirational model for the *beirdd*.²¹⁵ Efnysien's omission is notable; *pace* the extant issue: his horse mutilations are pivotal to PKM2, and to the consequent world of PKM3. The *Trioedd* imaginary reflects the central importance of the horse politically and economically in a cluster of twelve *Trioedd March*/ Triads of the Horses.²¹⁶ Yet Rhiannon's remarkable horse is not among them: nor does Triad 38, *T)ri Rodedicuarch*/ Three Bestowed Horses, mention Gwri/ Pryderi's colt.²¹⁷

Ian Hughes summary of relations between the Mabinogi and mediaeval Welsh poetry notes the Rhiannon allusions by Goronwy Gyriog, 14thC, and Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch, later 14thC; proceeding to a strong statement.

There are no [named] references to Rhiannon anywhere else in medieval Welsh poetry nor in the Triads.²¹⁸

Hughes repeatedly marks absence or extremely weak poetic presences for Mabinogi Rhiannon characters.²¹⁹ As a major Mabinogi protagonist Pwyll's weak poetic presence is remarkable; he is named with Pryderi in *Preiddu Annwfn* but

²¹⁵ Explicit function as entertainers, their incomparable song, and the object of a quest to acquire them, *Culhwch*, Ch. I.2. Other Sources #2, p. Q33n189. Ch. VI.6. Adar, Welsh nationalist poets who invoke the Adar Rhiannon, 20thC nationalist poetry pp. 410-12.

²¹⁶ *Trioedd* 38-46C, TYP pp. 105-32. For the centrality of the horse, Ch. III.4. Equine pp. 157-64.

²¹⁷ TYP p. 103. It features Lleu and Caswallawn. Gwri/ Pryderi's bestowed colt PKM1 21.22-24.8. JKB 36.2.

²¹⁸ Hughes, 'Poetry', p. 159, my insertion. Hughes compiles named Mabinogi characters with their poetic and Triadic appearances in narrative order. Pwyll, p. 157. Arawn, *ibid.* p. 158. Rhiannon, *ibid.* p. 159. Gwawl, *ibid.* p. 159. Teyrnon, *ibid.* pp. 159-61. Gwri, *ibid.* p. 161. Pryderi, *ibid.* pp. 161-63. Pendaran, *ibid.* p. 163. Bendigeidfran, *ibid.* pp. 164-65. Branwen, *ibid.* p. 165. Nysien, Efnysien, *ibid.* p. 167-8. Euroswydd, *ibid.* p. 167. Matholwch, *ibid.* pp. 168-69. Caradog, *ibid.* pp. 169-70. Caswallon, *ibid.* pp. 170-71. Manawydan, *ibid.* pp. 173-74. Cigfa, *ibid.* p. 174. Llwyd, *ibid.* p. 174. Math, *ibid.* pp. 174-76. Goewin, Gilfaethwy, *ibid.* p. 176. Dôn, pp. 177-8. Gwydion, *ibid.* pp. 178-81. Arianrhod, *ibid.* pp. 181-82. Dylan, *ibid.* p. 182-83. Gofannon, *ibid.* p. 183-84. Lleu, *ibid.* pp. 184-85. Blodeuedd, *ibid.* p. 185-86. Gronwy, *ibid.* p. 186. (Hughes' spelling) SUMMARIES: PKM1, pp. 186-87. PKM2, p. 187. PKM3, p. 188. PKM4, pp. 187-88. Other characters with scanty external references or none are Mabinogi secondaries: Gwri, Cigfa, , Efnysien, Llwyd, Goewin, Gilfaethwy. Hughes concludes the poets seem much less familiar with PKM1 and PKM3, his Summaries, *ibid.* pp. 186-88.

²¹⁹ He does not define them as Mabinogi Rhiannon.

'Arawn's name is not found anywhere else in medieval Welsh tradition as such.' although a case can be made for an allusion in *Cad Goddam*/ Battle of the Trees. There are '... no references to Gwawl fab Clud outside Pwyll and Manawydan except for one brief reference to him by Dafydd ap Gwilym, DG 92:26. Gwri Wall Euryn is known to Dafydd ap Gwilym as a name but without information about him (GDG 12:35) Pendaran 'is not named anywhere else in medieval Welsh sources' other than Triad 26. There are '... no references to Cigfa anywhere in medieval Welsh poetry.' Efnysien is not 'to be found anywhere else in medieval Welsh literature.' Also '... there are no references to Llwyd fab Cilcoed anywhere in medieval poetry with one exception: Dafydd ap Gwilym refers briefly to Llwyd's magic powers in one poem, GDG 84:46'. Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 158-63.

without narrative.²²⁰ Pryderi occurs in *Gogynfeirdd* poems as word-play, without narrative,²²¹ and is mentioned with Manawydan in Caer Siddi unaffected by age or disease.²²² Hughes finds Manawydan's absence 'a very remarkable lack'.²²³

**TABLE 4 Weak /absent Mabinogi Rhiannon characters
in *Trioedd*, poetry**

FULL LIST: Arawn Hafgan Hyfaidd Rhiannon Gwawl Gwri Pendaran Cigfa
Efnysien Adar-Rhiannon Manawydan Llwyd

TRIOEDD: Arawn Hafgan Hyfaidd Rhiannon Gwawl Pwyll Gwri Cigfa
Efnysien Adar-Rhiannon Llwyd

POETRY: Arawn Rhiannon Pwyll Gwawl Gwri Pendaran Cigfa
Efnysien Manawydan Llwyd.

WEAK: Arawn Rhiannon Gwawl Pwyll Gwri Pendaran Manawydan Llwyd

ABSENT: Hafgan Hyfaidd Cigfa Efnysien Adar-Rhiannon

Teyrnnon is an exception, praised for military prowess and wisdom in several Llyfr Taliesin references, and seven *Gogynfeirdd*.²²⁴ Compare the otherwise weak/ absent Mabinogi Rhiannon *personae* with Bendigeidfran's three *Gogynfeirdd*; eleven *Cywyddwyr*;²²⁵ Branwen's seven *Cywyddwyr*;²²⁶ Matholwch's two *Gogynfeirdd*, two *Cywyddwyr*;²²⁷ Math's nine references, three Llyfr Taliesin

²²⁰ Pwyll's name occurs much more often in the Mabinogi than any other significant character: 75 instances, Ch. V.5. Pwyll Pwyll's importance; pp. 238-40. Ch. I.3. Etymology, Table, p. 6, compares frequency of leading Mabinogi characters' names.

²²¹ Word play on *pryderi*, *pryderi*/ worry; anxiety; or *tir Pryderi* and *gwlad Pryderi*, names for Pembrokeshire. Cynddelw CBT III, 21:67; Einion ap Gwalchmai CBT I, 26:38; Hywel Foel ap Griffrri CBT VII, 23:18) and those of the *Cywyddwyr* (Dafydd ap Gwilym GDG 12:40 and 150:32; Lewys Glyn Cothi GLGC 16:120 and 223:75; Guto'r Glyn, GGGI XIII:10). Pryderi material relating to PKM2 and PKM4, Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 161-63.

²²² *Preiddeu Annwfn* in the Llyfr Taliesin (BT 54:19; Haycock 1983/4. 60 and 62). Caer Siddi in the Llyfr Taliesin, (BT 34:9-10). Hughes, 'Poetry', p. 172. Cf. their PKM2 enchanted suspension, PKM2 45.2-7. JKB 55.2; and PKM2 46.11-20. JKB 57.1-58.2.

²²³ Hughes, 'Poetry', p. 173.

²²⁴ Teyrnnon, anonymous 12thC poem, praising his generosity CBT I 1:46. Cynddelw, three references to valour CBT IV 4:222, & 6:239, & 9:145. Similarly Prydydd y Moch CBT V 2:23, & 3:7, & 4:24, also for wisdom and valour. Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 160-61.

²²⁵ Bendigeidfran. 1991-6. *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*, Vols. I-VII, series ed. by Gruffydd, R.; Geraint; Williams, J. E. Caerwyn, (Cardiff: UWP). Cynddelw, CBT III, 7:17 & IV, 17:71-2. Prydydd y Moch, CBT V, 11:25-28 & 20:37-38, & no. 1.91n., also cited TYP p. lxi, n. 75. These two are general references to Bendigeidfran's 'bravery and ferocity in fighting', Bleddyn Fardd: (c. 1257 - c. 1283) whose famous elegy to Llewellyn ap Gruffudd's death, aligns with the deaths of Llywelyn Fawr, 'Benigeitran', and Arthur, CBT VII, 51.5 -6n, & TYP 291. Dafydd ap Gwilym (GDG 15.9), Hywel ab Einion Lygliw (GGLI 1.24, 28, 32, 36), Gruffudd Llwyd (GGLI 12.29-34), Ieuan Llwyd Brydydd (GILIF 13.20), Dafydd Llwyd (GDLI 27.32-6), Tudur Penllyn (GTP 4.56), Lewys Glyn Cothi (GLGC 37:22; 45:3; 210:23-4), Deio ab Ieuan Du (GDID 10.65), Siôn Ceri (GSC 22.36), Lewys Morgannwg (GLMorg 76.64) and Siôn Tudur (GST 88.15) as Brân, Bendigeidfran or Bendigeidran. Listed by Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 164-65.

²²⁶ Branwen. Siôn Tudur GST 128:12-14, & 128:16-18. Tudur Penllyn GTP 16:47-8. Dafydd Llwyd GDLI 38:16. Maredudd ap Rhys GMRh 23:27). Lewys Glyn Cothi GLGC 91:33. Lewys Morgannwg GLMorg 3:35, 9:16, 29:33, & GLMorg 78:43-8), & Branwen's nephew Caradog fab Brân (GLGC 178:46). Yr Ustus Llwyd briefly BUL 52-5. Listed by Hughes, 'Poetry', p. 165.

²²⁷ Matholwch. *Gogynfeirdd*, Cynddelw (CBT IV 9:154) and Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 1:91), as an older form Mallolwch, referencing his anger, BUL 213-25; and two *Cywyddwyr* know him. Tudur

namings, four *Cywyddwyr* Magician references; Arianrhod's variant footholder tale via Lewys Môn and Tudur Aled. 'Gwydion is known to poets throughout all periods of the Middle Ages in Wales'; twelve references, usually as a great Magician.²²⁸ From his detailed comparison Hughes concludes the poetic/ *Trioedd* tradition appears unfamiliar with PKM1 and PKM3 and more research is needed on 'this silence on the part of the poets',²²⁹ i.e. on Rhiannon's core narrative.

Bromwich outlined how the traditions of Mabinogi *cyfarwyddiaid*/ storytellers and the *beirdd*/ poets hold distinct, though overlapping traditions.²³⁰ Without direct evidence regarding their relationship,²³¹ they may be broadly polarised:

BEIRDD	CYFARWYDDIAID
1 named	anonymous;
2 elite educated	vernacular;
3 pensioned court officers	mobile pieceworkers;
4 disciplined wordsmiths	loose prose performers;
5 artistic creators	lore servicers.

On (2) the *Cyfarwydd* of the Mabinogi seems to be well educated.²³² On (4) *Cyfarwyddiaid* used structural and linguistic disciplines derived from oral traditions;²³³ and on (5) *Beirdd* preserved traditional poetry.²³⁴ Without evidence

Aled references the payment of horses to Matholwch GTA CV 33–4, cf. BUL 143–6; and Iolo Goch uses *gwlad Fatholwch*/ the land of Matholwch', i.e. Ireland IGP 20:119. Listed by Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 168–69.

²²⁸ Gwydion. Llyfr Taliesin. Kat Godeu, two references to his magic wand BT 24:1–3, & 26:1; an unnamed poem fighting alongside Lleu in battle, BT 33:23–5; in *Ymddiddan rhwng Taliesin ac Ugnach*/ Dialogue between Taliesin and Ugnach, Black Book of Carmarthen, BBC 102:2–3; Jarman 1982, pp. 36:13–15; Rowland 1990, pp. 463–64 and 507–08). In Prif Gyuarth Geluyd, Red Book of Hergest. Gwydion and Lleu are *keluydon*, 'skilled men', who knew book learning (RBP 1054:16–17). *Gwlad* Gwydion often in poetry, to mean Arfon (BT 68:11–12). In 'Echrys Ynys', Gwydion is named with Math and Amaethon son of Dôn (BT 68:14–16; Gruffydd 1999, pp. 44–45, ll. 10–11). Kadeir Kerrituen refers to Gwydion making a woman out of flowers, horses and their harnesses, stealing pigs from the south (BT 36:3–7. Haycock 2003, 159:13–22) hailed a great warrior (BT 36:11–13, Haycock 2003, 159:28–9), and as Gwryon, possibly Gwydion (BT 34:1–2 and BT 61:7). Five *Cywyddwyr*. Lewys Glyn Cothi refers to Gwydion's sister, presumably Arianrhod (GLGC 79:17). Lewys Môn refers to Gwydion and Caer Arianrhod/ Arianrhod's Fort (GLM II:75–7). Iorwerth Fynglwyd has Gwydion roasting pigs (GIF 41:29–32). Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch has Gwydion's magic (GGrG 8:2) and Gwydion's land, presumably Gwynedd (GGrG 8:59). Dafydd Llwyd refers to Dôn's son, presumably Gwydion (GDLI 55:29). Ieuan Dyfi (17thC) refers to the search for his son (GHCLI LVII:61–2). Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 178–81Ch.

²²⁹ Hughes, 'Poetry', p. 188. Anwyl much earlier observed Rhiannon's absence in poetry as strange. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 124, quoted Ch. I.5. Academia: Anwyl, p. 109 n. 23

²³⁰ Rachel Bromwich. 1961. (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP), pp. lxii–lxiv.

²³¹ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 10. TYP pp. lxix–lxx.

²³² The sophistication and intricacy of the Mabinogi as literature, was asserted in the Introduction, marked by Coherence Paradigm scholars, and continues as a refrain through this study.

²³³ Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft.

cyfarwyddiaid composed new work it is generally assumed tales developed incrementally over generations.²³⁵ But extant tales are few, so lost material failing to sustain favour may have included new creations.

If prose tales did hold to traditional material, it may have been a strategy to gain acceptance for this radically new, inevitably controversial, prose presentation. The story-tellings have a 'natural' flow, conversational style, including much lively dialogue.²³⁶ It would open access beyond highly educated audiences, threatening bardic elitism: cf. 20thC widenings by paperbacks, television, and internet. But 'natural' prose would also be wide open to critique as undisciplined dross.²³⁷ By drawing upon ancestral tradition the *cyfarwyddiaid* might counter balance their radical innovation.²³⁸

Brynley Roberts notes all traditional Welsh literature survives in very few MSS., often single texts, because orality coexisted with fixed, written forms until quite late.²³⁹ Within this narrow rivulet, Rhiannon, and almost all her associated

²³⁴ The *Gogynfeirdd*/ Less Early Poets, contemporary with the Mabinogi, conserved the work of the *Cynfeirdd*/ Early Poets, including Taliesin, Aneurin, the *Llywarch Hen* and *Heledd* works, and the *Gododdin*.

²³⁵ Anwyl. 1897-1901 'Four Branches' repeatedly refers to Mabinogi composition as collecting and editing local tales, but without specifying centuries of development. Bromwich speaks of the oldest stratum of *Trioedd* as 'a parallel oral version' of the tales. TYP p. lvii. Sioned Davies asserts the tales developed for 'centuries, storytellers had presumably selected and rationalised the oral material 'as the product of 'many heads and hands', *Four Branches*, p. 12, also p. 9.

²³⁶ Some key dialogue examples are Pwyll & Arawn PKM1 2.7-4.5. JKB 21.1-22.1. Queen & Arawn, PKM1 7.8-8.3. JKB 24.1-24.2; Rhiannon & Pwyll, PKM1 12.10-13.11. JKB 21.1-22.1; Maids' discussion, PKM1 20.11-23. JKB 34.1; Teyrnon & Wife, PKM1 22.7-11. JKB 35.2. PKM1 23.2-14. 36.1-36.2. PKM1 23.24-24.4. JKB 36.2. PKM1 24.22-25.5. JKB 37.1. The use of 'natural' here is in quotes to indicate the prose is not truly natural, but a contrived 'natural' as any literary dialogue must be, even a transcript; but nonetheless much closer to ordinary conversation than the tightly controlled, often cryptic style of poetry.

²³⁷ The Mabinogi have been seen as mere fantasies, children's stories, broken remains of myths. Their status as literature was asserted by Stephens. 1849. *Literature of the Kymry* and Anwyl. 1897-1901. 'Four Branches' but not firmly established until the late 20thC. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance pp. 62-104, II.6. Academia, II.7. pp. 105-18 Coherence Paradigm pp. 118-23.

²³⁸ Ifor Williams suggested *Canu Llywarch Hen* and *Canu Heledd* were originally plays, both prose and poetry, but only poetry has survived. 1935, 1953. *Canu Llywarch Hen*, (UWP Cardiff), p. xxxvii. Referenced in Bromwich, ed. 1980. *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, 2nd edn. (Cardiff, 1980); and Jenny Rowland's discussion in her Intro. to 1990. *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge). Simon Rodway favours serious caution on this concept of 'saga poetry' (Personal communication email 20/03/2023).

²³⁹ 'Traditional Welsh literature achieves written form comparatively late, in few manuscripts and in single versions of texts' because 'orality... can co-exist with fixed forms and memorizing ... adjacent to a literate book-based society.' Early poetic works 'exist in single manuscripts and the works of the court poets in only two collections, while there are scores of copies of translations of religious and historical works and of the laws.' Roberts, 'Oral Tradition', p. 66.

characters have an even narrower trickle: Mabinogi prose.²⁴⁰ It functions as an enclave, protecting Rhiannon's narrative from version contradictions suffered by other Mabinogi personages across *Trioedd*, poetry, and tales. But it is also fragile, affording only that one thread of survival. So Rhiannon survived four centuries in only two MSS *compendia*, and two fragmentary pages.²⁴¹

~ * ~

²⁴⁰ The statement in this paragraph is not intended to ignore the scanty references to Rhiannon and her people noted above, nor the exception of Teyrnnon, but those are not substantial.

²⁴¹ Ch. II.4. Manuscripts, pp. 57-62. Fragile survival particularly in the 19thC when there was only one source MS. (Llyfr Coch Hergest) available to antiquarians. Ch. II.4. Manuscripts: Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, p. 61. There is a small presence of Rhiannon's name for Welsh daughters after Pughe and Guest. Also a discreet naming of Guest's 4th daughter 'Constance Rhiannon' (second name); Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, p. 99.

Mabinogi Rhiannon II

STORI 'R STORI

STORY OF THE STORY

II.1. *Amserlin*

Timeline (graphic)

II.2. *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*

The Craft of the Cyfarwydd

II.3. *Mae'r Perfformiad yn Parhau*

The Performance Continues

II.4. *Llawysgrifau*

Manuscripts

II.5. *Dadeni Cymreig*

Welsh Renaissance

II.6. *Academia Gymreig*

Welsh Academia

II.7. *Y Patrwm Cydlyniant*

The Coherence Paradigm (1970-1995)

II.8. *Mabinogi Rhiannon a Ffeministiaeth*

Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism

II.9. *21ainC/ 21stC*

II *Stori'r Stori/ Story of the Story*

II.1. *Amserlin/ Timeline*¹

- 1stC Silures War 25 yrs. Roman occupation 'Britannia Prima'. Horse auxiliaries Epona religion.
 410 Emperor Honorius withdraws Roman army. Tribal kingdoms reasserted.
 9thC –mid 11thC Vikings. **10thC Hywel Dda d. 950**. Dyfed -Deheubarth. 930 *Armes Prydein*.
 c. 945 *Cyfraith Hywel/ Welsh Laws* reputedly collated at Whitland.
 1018 Llewelyn ap Seisyll rules all 'Wales'. 1047 Gruffydd ap Rhydderch Gwent, king of Deheubarth killed 1055 by Gruffydd ap Llywelyn of Gwynedd d. 1063.
c. 1050 - 1120 MABINOGLI COMPILATION PERIOD cited as 'c. 1100' Middle Welsh begins.
 1090 Guillaume le Bâtard pilgrimage/ incursion to St. David's. Dyfed clearances. 'The March'.
 1096 Oxford Univ. 1100 *Gogynfeirdd/ Beirdd y Tywysogion/ Poets of the Princes* –1400.
 1130s Cistercian monasteries' scriptoria. 1155 – 1197 Rhys ap Gruffydd rules Deheubarth.
 c. 1173 Llywelyn Fawr/ Llywelyn mab Iorwerth) rules Gwynedd d. 11 April 1240.
 1176 First Eisteddfod, Cardigan Castle, sponsored by Rhys d. 1196.
 1200 –1240 Llewelyn Fawr (Llewelyn ap Iorwerth) of Gwynedd.
Post-1250 Peniarth 6 MS. 4 MABINOGLI pages. Most *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* written.
 1282 *Llywelyn Ein Llyw Olaf/ Llywelyn ap Gruffudd* killed. Formal end native independence.
 1349-50 Black Death kills 25% pop. **c. 1350 Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch MS.** c. 1350/1370 Dafydd ap Gwilym d. 1380s Glyndŵr Rising. **Post-1382 Llyfr Coch Hergest MS.** c. 1425 Rising ends.
1707 Lhuyd essay MABINOGLI Latin. 1715 Soc. Antient Britons 1751 Cymmrodorion
 1770 Gwyneddigion Soc. **1795 Pughe first print format MABINOGLI text (Pwyll I) bilingual.**
 1799 Pughe II. 1818 Pughe III. 1825-30s Pughe's *Mabinogion* prep printing incl. 9 sketches.
 1835 Pughe d. June 4. Autumn Guest mentions book of legends. 1837 Dec. Guest begins.
1838-45 Guest first ed. complete Mabinogion bilingual 7 vols. 1845/ 46 Mabinogi vols 5/ 6.
 1849 Guest 2nd ed. 3 vols. bilingual. 1877 Guest 3rd ed. 1 vol. Eng. trans. only.
 1861 Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*. 1867 Arnold, broken remains of myth.
 1872 Aberystwyth Univ. College. 1887 Golden Dawn. Gwenogvryn Evans, Llyfr Coch text.
 1888 Rhys *Lectures* Oxford. 1890s Shedlock professional storytelling USA Britain Europe.
1897 Anwyl, 'Four Branches' series ZCP (I & II). 1899 (III). 1901 (IV).
 1899-1905 Evans *Reports MSS*. 1906 Guest Everyman. 1907 NLW Peniarth MSS. Evans Llyfr Gwyn.
 1912 WJG 'Mabinogion' (cf. 1953). 1912 Swansea Mabinogion Society (Phillips). 1914 Anwyl d.
 1914 Morris' Mabinogi novel cf. 1933/ 1970s Walton. 1929 Ellis & Lloyd trans. *Mabinogion*.
1930 Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi (PKM)* combines MSS sources.
 1946 Graves *White Goddess*. 1949 Jones & Jones trans. *Mabinogion*.
 1950s Nationalist poets Adar Rhiannon. 1952 Lewis, 'Gan Pwyll', play.
 1953 WJG *Rhiannon* mythological reconstruction. 1954 Gardner *Witchcraft Today*.
 1961 Bromwich *Trioedd* (TYP) 1978 Valiente *Witchcraft Tomorrow*.
1970s/ 1980s Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). 1970-72 Walton's *Tetralogy Fantasy*
1974 Bollard, 'Structure' pioneered literary unity & structural analysis.
 1975 Pennar 'Women'. Stevie Nicks 'Rhiannon' rock song international reach.
 1976 Matriarchy Study Group 'Goddess' *Shrew*. 1977 Ford trans. 'Native Tales'.
 1979 Starhawk *Spiral Dance* bestseller. 1981 Ford 'Prolegomena'. 1981-92 Brith Gof & Moving Being theatre. 1983 RM Jones 'Structure' doublets. 1985 House of the Goddess London- 2001
 1986 Valente 'Merched'. 1987-94 Asphodel Long 'Female Deity' college courses.
 1989 Sioned Davies, *Pedeir Keinc*. 1993 *Four Branches* English version.
1996 Sullivan (ed.) *Mabinogi Essays* anthology chronicles paradigm shift 1970s-90s.
 1996 Glastonbury Goddess Conference. 1998 Parker 'Bibliographic Essay' / online 2002.
 1999 'Miss Gien' first Mabinogi/on text online. 2002 Goddess Temple Glaston. S4C film.

¹ Schematic note form; some entries are inevitably open to debate.

General sources: John Davies. 1993. Revised edn. 2007. *History of Wales* (NY: Penguin); Robert Rees Davies. 1987. *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063 -1415* (OUP); David Walker. 1990. *Medieval Wales* (CUP); Anthony D. Carr. 1995. *Medieval Wales* (Macmillan Press.); Will Parker. 1998, online 2002. 'Bibliographic Essay. The Four Branches of the Mabinogi, A Medieval Celtic Text; English Language Scholarship 1795-1997' (MSc. Information Science thesis in literary summary, City University, London, now UCL) (URL text Bibliography); Shân Morgain. 2012, online 2013 ongoing. 'The Mabinogi Bibliography'. Over 2,000 entries, key or obscure items annotated. Includes items on historical context, arts, fiction adaptations, and *Mabinogion*. Tagged categories, searchable. The Zotero version can be downloaded and synched to update with the online version; searches can be re-ordered e.g. by date to construct timelines. (URL link Bibliography) My thanks to Taliesin Morgan for technical aid (10/12/2021:01.29).

II *Stori'r Stori*/ Story of the Story

II.2. *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*/ Storyteller's Craft

This chapter briefly sketches the prose craft of the *Cyfarwydd*/ Storyteller of the Mabinogi, relating to Rhiannon's narrative.²

Proinsias Mac Cana considers Mabinogi style 'has many of the characteristic features of oral narrative'.³ Sioned Davies finds the written text provides insight into the narrative techniques and oral performance of the *cyfarwydd*. Authors 'had inherited these techniques' and presented to 'a hearing public'.⁴

Mabinogi oral techniques can be approximated to three categories:

Structure.

Characterisation (especially dialogue).

Linguistic style (chiefly formulas).⁵

Strwythur / Structure

Prose tales follow clear chronological lines, with explicitly described intervals (interstices).⁶ Episodes (subtales) enable manageable units: Mabinogi episodes average 10–11 *Llyfr Gwyn* columns: Davies considers oral performance tends to symmetry.⁷ Standard length might derive from audience's attention span; also

² Rhiannon is a Lady of Prose, with virtually no poetic tradition; and Welsh prose narrative was a huge literary innovation. Ch. I.6. Other Sources pp. 33–34 lists the very few other Rhiannon items outside the Mabinogi, plus that those few are derivative, except a little data about Adar Rhiannon in *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose outlines the distinctiveness of the prose tradition, its innovation; and how PKM1, PKM3 (Rhiannon's core narrative) are particularly exclusive to prose.

³ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 45. Also Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 13.

⁴ Sioned Davies 1998. 'Written Text as Performance: The Implications for Middle Welsh Prose Narratives', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. by Huw Pryce (University of Wales Press), Ch. 7, p. 145

⁵ The summary following draws heavily on Davies, *Four Branches*. The triadic categorisation to summarise her material is mine; the three types do overlap on some examples.

⁶ Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 29–30. Davies, 'Written Text', p. 138, where she quotes Rosenberg comparing folk sermons; Bruce A. Rosenberg. 1990. 'Oral Literature in the Middle Ages', in *Oral Traditional Literature*, ed. by Foley, John M. (Slavica), pp. 440–50. Interstices, for example, between pursuits of Rhiannon are explicit with similar phrasing: PKM1 10.11–16. JKB 26.1; and PKM1 11.13–18. JKB 26.2.

⁷ Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 24. Episode list pp. 23–24. Each largely independent episode averages 10–11 cols. cf. Jones' division, 'Narrative Structure' in *Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, p. 226. PKM1 (3 episodes): Pwyll and Arawn 11.75 cols. Pwyll meets, marries Rhiannon 14.5 cols. Pryderi's birth, loss, return 11 cols. PKM2: Matholwch in Wales 10 cols. Troubles in Ireland, Head 13.25 cols. PKM3 (2 episodes): Four friends 10 cols. Manawydan & Cigfa 10 cols. PKM4 (3 episodes): Gwydion & Gilfaethwy treason, punishment 11.5 cols. Arianrhod's three curses 8.5 cols. Blodeuedd 10 cols. Davies suggests four reasons: coincidence (her preference); the size of MS; section length suitable for public reading *Four Branches*, p. 24. James queries if oral practice used symmetrical composition; Christine James. 1991. 'Ym Myd y Mabinogi', *Barn* ('Opinion'), p. 37; a

aided by 'prefacing' when 'events closely follow' a speaker's detailed prescription.⁸ Aural audiences cannot 'glance back a few pages' to refresh memory;⁹ Rhiannon's bag strategy is a prime example.¹⁰

Triadic patterns are very common, particularly in Rhiannon narrative.¹¹ 'Doublets' duplicate events across episodes or Branches.¹²

Cymeriadaeth/ Characterisation

Walter I. Ong identifies oral characters as 'monumental, memorable', aiding performer memory and audience impact.¹³ Valente's and Winward's studies mark Mabinogi women as 'memorable': already evident here regarding Rhiannon.¹⁴

Davies observes Mabinogi characters

become more complex ... motives and feelings are analysed..
[But they] express themselves by means of their actions and words

review of Davies' 1989. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Gomer Press). My thanks to Emrys, editor of *Barn* for providing copy (07/12/2021).

⁸ Davies calls this 'redundancy' speech, giving Bendigeidfran's Head prophecy as her exemplar. Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 27; citing Walter Ong. 1982. *Orality and Literacy* (Methuen), pp. 39-41. Her chosen naming makes it seem unnecessary, which seems unintentional: 'prefacing' demonstrates who orchestrates the event, so seems more explanatory; adopted by this study.

⁹ Davies, 'Written Text', p. 135.

¹⁰ PKM1 14.21-15.17. JKB 29.1-2. Besides Rhiannon's lengthy bag strategy speech, Arawn's induction of Pwyll to Annwfn is another powerful example of prefacing; PKM1 3.4-4.5. JKB 21.2-22.1. Ch. IX Structures: Interlacing: Rhiannon Arawn, pp. 514-15.

¹¹ 'Nothing distinguishes the great bulk of folk narrative from modern literature and from reality as much as does the number three.' Axel Olrik; Jeanne P. Steager, trans. 1965. 'Epic Laws of Folk Narrative', in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. by Dundes, Alan and Englewood Cliffs (N.J.: Prentice-Hall), p. 133. From Axel Olrik. 1908. 'Episke love i folkedigtningen', *Danske Studier*, 5 pp. 69-89. Ch. IX Structures: Triadic Patterns, pp. 521-23 which finds triplicity prolific in Mabinogi Rhiannon, .

¹² Ch. IX Structures: Interlacing, pp. 513-27. for examples, including a sampling of case studies, and doublets across PKM1, PKM3, p. 516.

¹³ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p. 70; quoted Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 66.

¹⁴ Valente selects the 'women of the Mabinogi ... [as] among the most vivid characters in the world of the Four Branches', 'Merched', p. 283, my insertion. Winward likewise, 'the women in The Four Branches are so much more memorable than their male counterparts.' 'Aspects', p. 78. For Rhiannon's memorable first appearance, Ch. I.4. Advent, pp. 10-23.

rather than descriptions.¹⁵ Dialogue features prominently.¹⁶ Davies notes branches average 40% dialogue.¹⁷ Characters admire skill in *ydddiddanaf/* ‘converse’ as ‘a great virtue’.¹⁸ Nobles entertain each other with skilful anecdotes.¹⁹ Rhiannon is a mistress of the art; even her penitential voice has been described as storytelling.²⁰

Arddull / Style

Mabinogi language is markedly oral. Sentences are simple,²¹ an art of ruthless control. Visual layout and descriptive detail in writing is absent: oral description is generally minimal, embroidered by synonyms and repetition, especially triplicity.²² Constant *heb ef/ heb hi*, matches ordinary oral habits,²³ similarly ‘additive style’ (connectives like ‘and’).²⁴

¹⁵ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 66. Ch. IV.1. Voice pp. 191-205, and Ch. IV.2 Acts pp. 205-11, analyse two major evidences of Rhiannon. Spare style of Mabinogi, character and plot through action, lending itself easily to a (re? constructed) playscript, Ch. IV.2 Acts. Byfield identifies four techniques of Mabinogi characterisation: ‘authorial voice’; character actions; interplay; and dialogues. Catherine Byfield. 1993. “Character and Conflict in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi”, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 40, p. 2. (Revised Academia, pp. 1-23, pagination used here)

¹⁶ Rhiannon’s assertive dialogue with Pwyll culminating her courtship episode. PKM 12.7– 13.11. JKB 27.2–28.2. Ch. IV.1. Voice pp. 198-99. Also Teyrnon and his Wife express themselves most via dialogues, as does Cigfa. Ch. V.8 Teyrnon’s Wife: Four Dialogues, pp. 287-88; Ch. V.11. Cigfa, pp. 331-34 (refrain subtext p. 333). The Maids’ consultation between themselves is a powerful plot vignette with four distinct voices. Ch. V.6. Maids, pp. 275-76.

¹⁷ Direct speech: *Pwyll* 42%. *Branwen* 39% *Manawydan* 43% *Math* 37%. She notes PKM1’s particular ‘liveliness and wit’. Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 49. Cf. analysis Ch. IV.1. Voice.

¹⁸ Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 42 Dialogue analysis pp. 42-49.

¹⁹ Teyrnon recounts his PKM1 rescue and restoration narrative. PKM1 25.26–27.7. JKB 37.2. Llwyd tells the tale of his PKM3 Desolation. PKM3 64.5–20. JKB 75.1–2. Gwydion spins his seductive *cyfarwyddyd/* ‘tales’ on PKM4 Pryderi. PKM 69.3–19. JKB 80.2–81.1.

²⁰ She is praised for it by her adult son, PKM3 50.7–8. JKB 63.2. Ch. IV.1. Voice analyses all her 33 speeches. On her penance voice, Emma Watkins. 2019. ‘Calumniated Storytellers: Female Re-Telling in the Mabinogi’, presented at the XVIth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bangor University), noted Ch. II. 3. Performance, p. 54 Ch. VI.2 Trance p. 386.

²¹ Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 30.

²² Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 41-42; e.g. *kymriw neu archolleu*, PKM1 9.7. ‘either a wound or blows’, JKB 25.1. *cymriw* – bruise, wound. *archoll* (pl. *archolleu*)– wound, cut, hurt, gash, injury. (GPC) Synonyms are alternate descriptive words used in a phrase, not to be confused with ‘doublets’ which are duplicated events. Triplicity: Olrik, ‘Epic Laws’, p. 137. Bennison Gray. 1971. ‘Repetition in Oral Literature’, *Journal of American Folklore*, 84, pp. 289–303; both cited by Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 26. For many examples of triplicity in Mabinogi Rhiannon, Ch. IX Structures: Triadic Patterns, pp. 517-22..

²³ ‘he said/ she said’. Welsh Folk Museum recordings show the same contemporary custom, also other refs. Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 44–46. She gives as example the dialogue between Arawn and Queen, PKM 7.13–26. JKB 24.1–2. as replete with these tags; and the dialogue between Manawydan and ‘priest’ as a rare example which lacks them; PKM3 62.18–63.5. JKB 74.1–2.

²⁴ Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 30-31 Her example is Pwyll meeting the *Cwn Annwfn*. PKM1 120–2.7. JKB 20.2– 21.1. Davies notes modern school education teaches to avoid this, *ibid.* p. 30. It could be said the ‘running on’ of connectives constructs an immediacy in the present moment (even if verbs are past tense).

Davies' orality research methodically identifies 'formulaic' patterns,²⁵ Brynley Roberts cautions the Mabinogi is 'not markedly formulaic' though phrase patterns show 'more than chance combination'.²⁶ Davies categorises three types: *verbatim* formulas, set phrases for greetings and oaths;²⁷ *variable* formulas, set phrasings but elements are inserted to individualise them; and *doublets*.²⁸ Variable formulas are openings and endings of Branches;²⁹ characters' and buildings' appearance;³⁰ comparatives and superlatives;³¹ giving counsel;³² feast

²⁵ Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 32–42. Davies says she prefers 'traditional pattern' rather than 'formula' to avoid the latter connotations, p. 34, though she frequently uses 'formula/ formulaic'. She reviews Lord and Parry's comparison of 'ready-made' phrasings as *aide memoires* by Homeric and 20thC Slavic oral performers. *Four Branches*, pp. 32–33; reviewing Albert Lord. 1960. *The Singer of Tales* (Harvard Press); Milman Parry and Adam Parry, eds. 1971. *The making of Homeric Verse, the Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Clarendon Press). There seems to be a possible similarity to *Trioedd* culture here.

²⁶ Brynley F. Roberts. 1984. 'From Traditional Tale to Literary Story: Middle Welsh Prose Narratives', Ch. 7. in *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics* ed. by Arrathoon, Leigh A. (Rochester: Solaris Press), p. 216.

²⁷ Greetings; A formal phrase by one speaker expresses welcome. This first speaker is in the position of supplicant or inferior, on whom the other confers the blessing. Davies notes the power play when Pwyll meets Arawn, who speaks first but explicitly refuses to offer welcome; instead rebukes Pwyll. Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 34–35, referring to PKM 2.7–10. JKB 21.1. Ch. V.5. Rhiannon's impregnable rides manoeuvre Pwyll into speaking to her first, i.e. games him into the inferior position. PKM 12.7–8. JKB 27.2.

Oaths; Davies lists ten different Mabinogi oaths, remarking they are verbatim phrases not variable formulae. Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 35–36. Ch. VII. 3. 20thC Goddess Pre-1900, p. 439.

²⁸ Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 36 (immediately below the subtitle 'Variable Formulas'). Davies' 'doublets' mean 'a combination of two words, ... synonyms .. very often bound together by alliteration'. One example given is Teyrnon's Wife confirming her welcome of the baby, *ibid.* p. 41. *digrifwch a didanwch*, PKM1 23.11. 'a joy and a comfort', JKB 36.1. However it should be noted the term 'doublet' is also used structurally, meaning two similar events from two different passages (episodes, Branches) which function to unify the whole narrative. Ch. IX. Structures: Doublets.

²⁹ Openings of Branches: short formula = name of lord + name of land + location in time. PKM3 lacks this *incipit* formula 'which may imply that PKM2 and PKM3 were one Branch originally. Davies; , *Four Branches*, p. 39. Endings of Branches have no exceptions, though PKM2 uses *llyma* instead of *yuelly*, possibly a later insertion in what had been a continuity, *ibid.* p. 40. Similarly in *Owein*, *ibid.* beginning, p. 39; ending p. 40.

³⁰ Descriptions of characters' physical appearance are few, not detailed, with few adjectives; but enough to suggest a variable formulaic convention: noun + descriptive element/s - dress, hair colour, prefaced by the verb *gweld* (to see); example given is Gwawl: *wynt a/ welynt yn dyuot y mywn, guas gwineu, mawr, teyrneid, / a guisc o bali amdanaw*. PKM1 13.26–28. 'they could see coming in a large, regal, auburn-haired youth, with a garment of silk brocade about him.' JKB 28.2. (Also Davies' horse– rider integration theory, Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse.). PKM1 descriptions 'more developed'; PKM3 none. Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 36–37. Cf. Davies. 1988. 'Pryd a Gwedd in y Mabinogion', in *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, 14, ed. by Caerwyn-Williams, J. E. (Gee), pp. 115–33. Descriptions of approaching buildings also prefaced with the verb *gweld* (to see), through the eyes of the protagonist. Example given, Rhiannon at the tower. *A chan y geir hwnnw mynet allan, ac y traws y/ managassei efuot y gwr a'r gaer, kyrchu a wnaeth/ hitheu./ Porth y gaer a welas yn agoret; ny bu argel/ arnei. Ac y mywn y doeth, ac y gyt ac y doeth, arganuot*, PKM3 57. 1–5. 'And with that word, she went out, and she set out in the direction that he had said the man and the fort were. She saw the gate of the fort open; there was no concealment on it. And she came in, and as she came, she beheld', JKB 70.2. Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 38–39. She cites two authors. W. L. Evans' concept of an observing eye technique. W. L. Evans. 1960. 'An Examination of Narrative

seating;³³ journeys, and interstitial time.³⁴ Finally Davies identifies a distinctive variable formula of horse-rider integration: horse characteristics convey its rider's characteristics; her exemplar is Rhiannon's horse.³⁵ This significantly amplifies the centrality and intimacy of the horse to Rhiannon and her *marchoges*/ equestrian class.³⁶

~ * ~

Methods Employed in Selected Welsh Texts' (unpublished B.Litt. dissertation, Oxford), pp. 109, 143–47. Brynley Roberts, a TV camera panning and finally centring. 'From Traditional Tale', p. 218.

³¹ Comparatives and superlatives are short set formulae, with a variable descriptive term. Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 40–41. They assert supreme status. Rhiannon's face: *Ac yna medyllyaw a wnaeth, bot yn diuwyn/ ganthaw pryt a welsei o uorwyn eiroet, a gwreic, y wrth y/ ffryt hi*. PKM1 12.16–18. 'And then he thought that unlovely to him was the face of every maiden and woman he had ever seen, compared to her face.' JKB 28.1.

³² Counsel; Davies notes this very briefly; that counsel was taken, followed by what the recipient was advised to do. Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 41. TABLE 10 Compilation of counsels, p. 172

³³ Feasts. Convention gives a) a welcome and preparation, b) sitting placement, c) the beginning of the feast. The example given is Branwen's Aberffraw feast, Davies, *Four Branches*, 38. An example relevant here is Rhiannon's first wedding. *Efa aeth ryngtaw a llys Eueyd Hen, ac ef/ a doeth y'r llys, a llawen uuwyrt wrthaw, a dygyuor a/ llewenyd ac arlwy mawr a oed yn y erbyn, a holl uaranned/ y llys wrth y gynghor ef y treulwyrt. Kyweiryaw y/ neuad a wnaethpwyt, ac y'r bordeu yd aethant. Sef/ ual yd eistedysont, Heueyd Hen ar neill law Pwyll, a/ Riannon o'r parth arall idaw; y am hynny pawb/ ual y bei y enryded. Bwyta a chyuedach ac ymdidan a/ wnaethont*. PKM1 13.17–25. 'He went to the court of Hefeydd the Old. And he came to the court, and they welcomed him, and a great gathering and gladness and provisions were there to greet him, and all the treasures of the court were dispensed according to his counsel. The hall was prepared and they went to the tables. This is how they sat – Hefeydd the Old on one side of Pwyll and Rhiannon on his other side; after that, each one according to his rank. They ate and drank and conversed.' JKB 28.2.

³⁴ Journeys are a short, simple formulae which illustrates the importance of interstitial time. The example used is Rhiannon's family returning to Dyfed. *Byhyt bynnac y buant ar y fford, wynt a doethant y/ Dyuet*, PKM3 55.3–4. 'However long they were on the road, they came to Dyfed', JKB 68.1. Pryderi and the Survivors is another example: *Pa hyt/ bynnac y bydynt ar y ford, wynt a doethant hyt yn/ Llundain*, PKM2 47 19–21. 'However long they were on the road, they reached London', JKB 60.1. Generally there are simple statements of travelling to a named destination; (Davies' formula is drawn from the whole body of prose tales).

Interstitial time between important events is almost always filled. Between one day and the next this employs *treulaw/ dilit*, 'spend/ follow', *cysgu*, 'sleep', *trannoeth*, 'following day'. Example given is Rhiannon's wedding night Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 39–40, also p. 30. It might also be argued this is an 'important event' in its own right.

³⁵ Sioned Davies, 'Horses in the *Mabinogion*', pp. 121–40. Detail, Ch. I.4. Advent: Horse, pp. 17–19.

³⁶ Ch. III.4. Equine; and her intimate horse relationship, Ch. VI.5. Rhiannon's Horse, pp. 398–99.

II *Stori'r Stori/ Story of the Story*

II.3. *Mae'r Perfformiad yn Parhau/ Performance Continues*

This chapter traces the Mabinogi as live performance art.³⁷ Medieval authors 'viewed their written texts as performances for a hearing public'.³⁸ The Mabinogi then became an antiquarian interest until 18thC and 19thC print publications.³⁹ Thomas Stephens (1849) considers its

powerful use of dialogue [demonstrates] a 12thC dramatic performance art.⁴⁰

There is no data (yet) on pre-20thC performances. Readings, storytellings might have occurred in Pughe's circle, the regional *eisteddfodau*, Augusta Hall's Llanover House.⁴¹ Charlotte Guest mentions reading the tales aloud to family and colleagues (1843).⁴² More possibilities might attach to Rhys (Oxford); Anwyl (Aberystwyth),⁴³ Phillips' 'Swansea *Mabinogion* Society' (1912).⁴⁴ Ifor Williams'

³⁷ The focus is live performance, as the mediaeval storytellers might recognise it. Performance presented by technical media is addressed Ch. II. 9. 21stC Rhiannon, pp. 135-39. The division can seem somewhat artificial. For example Stevie Nicks' rock song inspired by Rhiannon became world famous in 1975 (p. 51 below). It toured the world in physical performance, but the majority of its fan base experienced it through technical media.

³⁸ Sioned Davies, 'Written Text', p. 145. 'Analysis of performance is essential for understanding and appreciating medieval narratives because they are *intended* for performance.' Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence, eds. 2005. *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Brewer). p. 5. Original emphasis.

³⁹ First publication of Mabinogi text was 1795 although Welsh scholars had studied it previously; with previous publication projects. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams; Lewis Morris..

⁴⁰ Thomas Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 71. My insertion. 'The *Mabinogion*' is treated mainly Ch. II, s. IV, pp. 396 -426. Prefigures the late 20thC work of Brynley Roberts and Sioned Davies, below. (URL text Bibliography).

⁴¹ Hywel Teifi Edwards. 1990 2nd edn. and Kindle 2016. *The Eisteddfod* (UWP).

Marion Löffler. 2016. 'HALL, AUGUSTA, Lady Llanover ('Gwenynen Gwent') (1802-1896), patron of Welsh culture and inventor of the Welsh national costume', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. (URL text Bibliography; under Biography Wales).

⁴² In her journal Guest records reading from her *Mabinogion*, to Ivor and Maria, her eldest children. 'I never saw anything equal to their delight. ... sufficient to repay me for all time and trouble' (18/02/1843). David Rhys Phillips. 1921. *Lady Charlotte Guest and the Mabinogion; Some Notes on the Work and Its Translator, with Extracts from Her Journals* (Carmarthen: W. Spurrell & Son), p. 35. (URL text Bibliography). Sioned Davies notes she read her text aloud to Carnhuanawc. 2004. 'A Charming Guest: Translating the Mabinogion', *Studia Celtica*, 38. 1, p. 171 He routinely corrected her translation but reading aloud was not necessary for this, and suggests they were well aware of it as voiced text. Saenger argues that reading aloud, therefore shared reading, was the norm until the late Middle Ages. Paul Saenger. 1997. *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford University Press). Limited literacy sustained a culture of shared readings until the circulating schools of 18thC Wales, 19thC dame schools, and 20thC State education increasingly developed individual skill.

⁴³ For John Rhys and Edward Anwyl, Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhys pp. 106-08, Anwyl pp. 108-11, but without further comment on this possibility.

PKM textbook (1930) may have generated small-scale school performances.⁴⁵

The earliest extant playscripts are by Saunders Lewis (1948, 1952).⁴⁶

In 1975 Stevie Nicks of 'Fleetwood Mac', a leading international rock band, composed and performed her song 'Rhiannon'.⁴⁷ It spread Rhiannon's name internationally, though largely without Mabinogi context.⁴⁸

The 1980s saw strong Welsh theatrical development. Brith Gof radical theatre adapted 'Rhiannon' as a Japanese Noh play (1981), and all four Branches various styles. Director Lis Hughes toured a solo Rhiannon narrative dance theming 'the mythic female' (1991-92).⁴⁹ 'Moving Being' staged the entire Four Branches outdoors, Cardiff Castle (1981), Caernarfon Castle (1983) with Robin

⁴⁴ On London Welsh Societies, mention under Pughe, below. The Swansea *Mabinogion* Society was originally the 'Welsh Reading and Antiquarian Circle'. Phillips, *Guest Extracts*, NLW archives, 'Fonds GB 0210 DRHYSIPS - D. Rhys Phillips Papers', may contain evidence of readings.

⁴⁵ Cf. description of a small classroom performance of 'Rhiannon' I scripted and staged (28/01/2010); below, pp. 55-56 incl photos.

⁴⁶ Saunders Lewis. 1948. 'Blodeuwedd', written 1923 for the Chwaraewyr Theatr Garthwin/Garthwin Players, revised, and first performed 15 and 16 Oct. 1948. BBC Wales broadcast it 1972, commissioned by Aneirin Talfan Davies. I. M. Williams, ed. 1996. *Dramâu Saunders Lewis: Y Casgliad Cyflawn*, Part I (UWP), p. 223. Still occasionally staged 21stC. Saunders Lewis. Staged 3/03/1952. 'Gan Pwyll', a Pwyll and Rhiannon comedy. I. M. Williams. *Dramâu Saunders Lewis*, I, p. 423. 'Blodeuedd' was written c. 1923 for the same company; 'Branwen' was published in Saunders Lewis. 1975. *Dramâu'r Parlwr* (Llandybïe: Christopher Davies).

⁴⁷ Stevie Nicks. 1975. 'Rhiannon', on the eponymous album 'Fleetwood Mac'. Lyrics © Kobalt Music Publishing Ltd. The album initially sold three million copies thanks to its songs "Landslide," "Say You Love Me," and "Rhiannon." Sonya Shelton, c. 2013. 'Stevie Nicks Biography' from Comments below main article), (URL text Bibliography). Youtube videos of 'Rhiannon' often appear but are also frequently hacked. Detail, Appendix: Stevie Nicks. Evangeline Walton. 1972. *The Song of Rhiannon* (Ballantine Books); *ibid.* 1974. *Prince of Annwn* (Ballantine Books) slightly predated Nicks' song but did not inspire or influence it. Walton later published her series of four novels 2012. in *The Mabinogion Tetralogy* (Gerald Duckworth & Co.). Walton sections Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess pp. 448-49, Ch. VII.5. Theologies, pp. 478-81; Ch. IX. I. Imaginary: pp. 529-30.

⁴⁸ Of the millions who gloried in the song intensely but vaguely, some looked further. In the following decade Rhiannon appeared in Goddess texts derived from Walton, and Graves. 1948. *White Goddess*; his 'Muse' boosted by Nicks' song. Ch. VII.5. Theologies, p. 482.

⁴⁹ Brith Gof theatre company, NLW Fonds GB BRIGOF – Brith Gof Archive, [1974] – [2007] / [Sub-fonds] P. Site specific and theatre production and projects [1974] – [2000]. [File] PA/4. - Rhiannon text, Gaeafdaith: texts and scenarios,, [1981]. A handwritten copy of the production text and also including notes regarding the production structure and imagery and copies of poems. Also PA/1 and PA/2. Branwen materials; PB. Manawydan. (URL data Bibliography).

Lis Hughes Jones, co-founder and director of Brith Gof theatre company, kindly directed me to the NLW archive, adding that the company staged all four Branches entirely in Welsh, each Branch in very different style (1981-83). 'Rhiannon' was interpreted as a Japanese Noh play, in collaboration with drama dept. students UCW, Aberystwyth, performed in the Old College, Aberystwyth. 'Branwen', staged at Harlech Castle, also student collaboration (1981). 'Manawydan' collaboration with Cwmni Cyfri Tri (1982). 'Blodeuedd' touring village halls, school halls etc. (1982-83). Hughes Jones toured her solo 'Rhiannon', narrative dance, original songs, bilingual English and Welsh, low tech, exploring the mythic female. Cardiff, Belgium, parts in Aberystwyth (1991-92). Personal email communications X 3 (4/07/2016).

Williamson's music, and Rhiannon in gold, riding a large white horse.⁵⁰ Manon Eames staged her 'Magnificent Myths of the Mabinogi' (2008); deploying Greek style chorus for very Welsh style commentary, successfully blending Welsh and English, historical/ present time, with humour and poignancy.⁵¹

Live storytelling revived within a nationalistic folklore movement transforming 'fairy tales' for children (Perrault, 17thC France)⁵² via Macpherson's *Ossian* (Highlands, 1760); Herder's 'romantic nationalism' in 'old wives' tales' (Germany, 1778);⁵³ brothers Grimm (Germany 1812–1858),⁵⁴ Andersen (Denmark)⁵⁵, and Campbell (Highlands, 1862).⁵⁶ Marie Shedlock, an American librarian, pioneered professionally paid storytelling, (USA, Europe, from 1890).⁵⁷ Ken Livingstone's GLC funded many professional community projects (1980s),⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Geoff Moore, Dir. 1981. 'The Mabinogi' (Moving Being, Cardiff Castle). *ibid.* with Robin Williamson music. 1983. 'The Mabinogi' (Moving Being, Caernarfon Castle., 1983). Geoff Moore. 1990. *Moving Being: Two Decades of Theatre Ideas* (Cardiff: Moving being Ltd.). Robin Williamson. 1983. *Cerddoriaeth Ar Gyfer Y Mabinogi*/'Music for the Mabinogi', vinyl LP (Flying Fish, Claddagh Records); full tracklist in Bibliography. Williamson at the time was developing repertoire with the traditional Welsh harp.

⁵¹ Manon Eames. Sept. 2008 'Magnificent Myths of the Mabinogi', Youth Theatre of Wales (Aberystwyth). All four Branches. Partial, late draft script kindly supplied to me 5/11/2015. Jill Williams staged Eames script, slightly abridged, 2009. 'Magnificent Myths of the Mabinogi' (Pontardawe Arts Centre), performed by Williams' drama students. URLs Bibliography.

⁵² Simon R. Heywood. May 2001. 'Storytelling Revivalism in England and Wales: History, Performance and Interpretation', (unpublished doctoral. thesis, The National Centre for English Cultural Tradition, University of Sheffield), p. 231. (URL text Bibliography).

⁵³ Heywood, 'Storytelling Revivalism', p. 226–27. Also re Herder, Kristina Jaremko-Porter, Chapter 9, 'The Latvian Era of Folk Awakening: From Johann Gottfried Herder's 'Volkslieder to the Voice of an Emergent Nation', in Matthew Campbell and Michael Perraudin, eds. 2012. *The Voice of the People: Writing the European Folk Revival, 1760–1914* (Anthem Press), pp. 141 - 156.

⁵⁴ 'The brothers Grimm (Jakob (1785 - 1863) and Wilhelm (1786 - 1859) were only the most notable of the many who responded to Herder's call.' Heywood, 'Storytelling Revivalism', p. 227. Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm. 1812, 1814. *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, 'Children' and Household Tales', commonly known as *Grimms' Fairy Tales*, in 2 vols.

⁵⁵ 'the working-class Dane Hans Andersen (1805 - 1875), rooted in the oral storytelling traditions of his own "superstitious and virtually illiterate" background, met them as it were coming the other way, producing original literary fairy tales for a middle-class readership.' Heywood, 'Storytelling Revivalism', p. 228. Hans Andersen. 1847, first publ. German 1835 –1872. *Tales for the Young* (James Burns).

⁵⁶ John Francis Campbell. 1860-62. *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh). Alexander Carmichael was one of the main contributors.

⁵⁷ Shedlock performed, and trained other storytellers. Heywood, 'Storytelling Revivalism', pp. 234–35. Cecil Sharp (Herderian nationalist conservative) and Raymond Williams (Marxist), led a folk arts revival: their polarity continued to shape later storytelling. Heywood, 'Storytelling Revivalism', p. 230. Waldorf Steiner began using sophisticated storytelling to mould young minds to an otherworldly agenda (1919). Heywood, 'Storytelling Revivalism', pp. 236–37. Rudolf Steiner. 1910. *An Outline of Occult Science* (Theosophical Publishing Society), originally published in German as *Die Geheimwissenschaft Im Umriss*.

⁵⁸ GLC: Greater London Council, London wide authority which provided funding and expertise to all Borough Councils. LEA: London Education Authority, GLC education dept. a pool of shared expertise which also grant aided both Borough depts. and individual students.

developing 'Beyond the Border' an international storytelling festival (1993).⁵⁹ Director David Ambrose views storytelling as 'the performance of traditional stories – but not necessarily a faithful or rigid retelling.'⁶⁰ Brynley Roberts (Swansea),⁶¹ and Sioned Davies (Cardiff),⁶² researching the canonical Mabinogi as storytelling tradition do not mention the contemporary storytelling movement, suggesting two streams London and Wales.⁶³

The 21stC brought convergence. Sioned Davies presented a practical workshop for storytellers at the popular Chapter Arts centre, Cardiff (2013).⁶⁴ Peter Stevenson's '*Prosiect Mabinogi*' (2015) combined storytellings and lectures, including Sioned Davies' address. Stevenson's second festival included Simon Rodway and myself, both critiquing 'Celtic myths', and non-canonical creativity.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ The College of Storytellers, established by Idries Shah, Hampstead, London (1980), collaborated with Common Lore, and WLSU (West London Storytelling Unit), as the foundation of the 1980s storytelling revival. Daniel Morden and Ben Haggerty led the famous London Crick Crack Club (est. 1988) developing the team which founded 'Beyond the Borders: Wales International Storytelling Festival' at St. Donat's, South Wales. A four-part Channel 4 TV documentary reached more than two million viewers. Mary Medlicott. 1990. 'By Word of Mouth', Channel 4. TV documentary in 4 parts. The festival recently relocated to Dinefwr.

⁶⁰ Writers' Corner Cymru. 10/01/2013. 'David Ambrose: Storytelling and festivals'. (URL text Bibliography). Contemporary Goddess Movement champions personal vision as primary, with strong divergence from Mabinogi texts, Ch. VII.5. Theologies: 'Avalonian Rhiannon', pp. 487-90.

⁶¹ Brynley Roberts, Professor of Welsh Language and Literature, University of Wales, Swansea (1978-85).

Gruffydd and Roberts, 'Rhiannon Gyda Theyrnon yng Ngwent'. Brynley F. Roberts, 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi, Ch. V and 'Characterization in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. VI in *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), pp. 95–104; *ibid*, 'Middle Welsh Prose Narratives'. Also "Penyd Rhiannon" / 'Rhiannon's Penance' my trans., *BBCS*, 23 (1968), pp. 325–27.

⁶² Sioned Mair Davies. 1982. 'A Study of Narrative Methods in the *Mabinogion*' (unpublished D. Phil., Oxford). She then joined the Cardiff faculty, 1986. 1993. *Four Branches* (1993). 2006. *Mabinogion*. Bibliography for more.

⁶³ Previously two Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft. The two streams were united in Stvenson's Mabinogi festivals: 'Prosiect Mabinogi' 2015 and 'Pumed Gaiac' (2017). Sioned Savies gave a talk at the former. Both Rodway and I presented at the latter. See Bibliog.

⁶⁴ Sioned Davies. 17/07/2013. 'Performing the *Mabinogion*', a practical workshop for storytellers at Chapter Arts, Cardiff. Its publicity described content as a very brief introduction to the *Mabinogion* and to the medieval Welsh storyteller; a discussion of what makes a good storyteller, drawing on techniques found in the tales themselves; guidance regarding pronunciation of Welsh personal names; a discussion regarding how we can re-invent these tales (or individual episodes) for a modern-day audience. Participants were invited to bring along with them examples of specific problems/challenges that they have found when re-telling the tales of the *Mabinogion*. (URL Bibliography).

⁶⁵ Peter Stevenson, dir. 13–14 March 2015. '*Prosiect Mabinogi*' (Aberystwyth). *ibid*. 9–12 March 2017. '*Pumed Gaiac* A Fifth Branch: Looking Back towards Tomorrow' (Aberystwyth). (URLs in Bibliography). Shân Morgain,, 'Mabinogi enchantment and politics: once and future hope in co-, creation', presented at 2017. *Prosiect Mabinogi*, Aberystwyth (2017), Peter Stevenson, dir. Simon Rodway, 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology', presented at 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff 8/07/2017), Sioned Davies, dir.. Rodway. 2018. 'The Mabinogi and the Shadow of Celtic Mythology', *Studia Celtica*, pp. 67–85 (Hollywood

Sioned Davies hosted a 'Mabinogi Symposiwm' at Cardiff (July 2017); Wood presented 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess'; Margaret Lloyd read her newly published poem 'Travelling on My Own Errands' speaking Rhiannon's voice.⁶⁶ An intriguing musical play 'Trailing Rhiannon' was scripted bilingually by Emma Watkins, Princeton (2018);⁶⁷ later performed at Chapter Arts, Cardiff (2019).⁶⁸ Watkins has theorised Rhiannon herself as a storyteller, from her penance retellings.⁶⁹

My own family presented 'Rhiannon' for 45 wide-eyed juniors at a local Newport school (2010).⁷⁰ Masks, songs, bodhran drumming, costumes, and we three performers, fitted in 10ft square (3.5m) space, by the blackboard. I narrated (veiled, gold silk), and enacted Rhiannon. John was a long-haired, heroic Pwyll, but also the fearsome black-draped Monster with 9" (23cm) bone-white claws. Our teenage son was Gwawl in scarlet and gold, also hero Teyrnon fighting the Monster with wrought-silver, Celtic sword: terrifying noises from both and much excitement for all.

Celt). Cf. John Davies. First published 1993, 'Three Things There Are ...' (House of the Goddess). Diatribe against 'Celtic' bowdlerisation of Welsh traditions by spiritual tourism ('spiritual strip mining').

Daniel Morden of London's Crick Crack, and Beyond the Border, toured his own Mabinogi interpretation 2017. 'Tree of Leaf and Flame'. Hugh Lupton, another English 1980s storyteller, published 2018. *The Assembly of the Severed Head: A Novel of the Mabinogi* (Propolis), a novel about the Cyfarwydd.

⁶⁶ Sioned Davies, dir. 8/7/2017. 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', School of Welsh (Cardiff University). (URL Bibliography). Programme: Simon Rodway (Aberystwyth) 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology'; Brynley F. Roberts (Swansea) 'Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi – Tybed?'; Juliette Wood (Cardiff) 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess'; John Bollard (Harvard) 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now'; Sioned Davies 'Gair, *Delwedd ac Ideoleg: Mabinogi Oes Fictoria*' ('Word, Image and Ideology: The Victorian Mabinogi', my trans.); Diana Luft (Cardiff) 'The Eighteenth-century Rehabilitation of the *Mabinogion*'; Margaret Lloyd reading from her *Travelling on My Own Errands - Voices of Women from the Mabinogi* (Llanrwst, Conwy: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2017). Poetry collection; 'Rhiannon', pp. 1-27. (URL Bibliography).

⁶⁷ Emma Watkins, 'Trailing Rhiannon', Unpublished BA performance thesis, musical play. Lewis Center for the Arts, Princeton University, 2018). Folklore, feminist music theatre, and environmental studies. (URL Bibliography).

⁶⁸ Emma Watkins, and Gruffudd Eifion Owen. 2019. 'Trailing Rhiannon', bilingual Welsh/ English, unpublished musical play (Little Minute Productions, Chapter Arts, Cardiff, 2019). (URL Bibliography).

⁶⁹ Watkins, 'Calumniated Storytellers: Female Re-Telling in the Mabinogi' ((2019).

⁷⁰ I give detail of this event because it illustrates the kind of ephemeral local project likely to have occurred many times elsewhere, but its small scale, and lack of commercial/ academic promotion, it quickly becomes lost to history. Shân Morgain, John Davies, Taliesin Morgan. 28/01/2010. 'Rhiannon', performed at Gaer Junior School, Gaer Road, Newport NP20 3GY. Production and script by Morgain.



71

Our small drama fed into our Newport city festival with giant street puppets including a resplendent Rhiannon.⁷²

⁷¹ Three photos from our small 'Rhiannon' performance (Millbrook School, Newport 2010).

1) beggar with bag. 2) Monster steals baby. 3) Finale: Pwyll/ John, Pryderi/ Tal, Rhiannon/ Shân.

⁷² Newport city celebration of mythology organised by Andy O'Rourke, multidisciplinary, community artist, Newport, 2010. Our own performance was aimed to inspire the children to array the giant myth-puppets for the Newport city festival parade.

I had been a storyteller for almost 30 years since 1982, but this performance affected me considerably. Much reading, research and meditation followed, culminating in PhD registration 2014 for this study.



'Rhiannon', Newport (2010)⁷³

Rhiannon was also celebrated as Carnival Queen, Narberth, Pembrokeshire (2017). A striking Rhiannon poster heralded a woman dressed in gold walking in procession with a pale horse.⁷⁴



~ * ~

⁷³ 'Rhiannon' giantess parade puppet created by Nathan Sheen and dressed by Millbrook primary school, Newport, where my family performed 'Rhiannon' (PKM1). Both giant puppet and school performance were part of Newport city's celebration of Welsh mythology organised by Andy O'Rourke, multidisciplinary, community artist. (URL pics Bibliography)

⁷⁴ Rowan Matthiessen, 'Narberth's *Mabinogion* Carnival Queen Rhiannon!' (Tenby, 2016). The competition judged on 'strength, creativity, passion and determination... not forgetting the willingness to have a go. This is definitely not a beauty pageant!' *Tenby Today* (16/06/2016). (URL text Bibliography). Cf. Rhiannon 'strong woman' Ch. IV.2. Acts: Agency, pp. 208-09; Ch. IX.2. Imaginary (fiction) esp girls, pp. 563-65.

II *Stori'r Stori*. Story of the Story

II.4. *Llawysgrifau*/ Manuscripts

Tair llawysgrif/ Three manuscripts

This chapter gives a basic overview of the three extant manuscripts containing Mabinogi Rhiannon text.⁷⁵ MS. Peniarth 6 takes priority,⁷⁶ because it is

- a) historically the earliest extant Rhiannon text;
- b) crucial for dating the Mabinogi compilation; and
- c) receives little attention compared to the other two MSS.

Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan observes 'many texts copied in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are far older than their earliest written witnesses.'⁷⁷ John Gwenogvryn Evans, (1899) thought these 'earliest known remnants of the *Mabinogion* invests them with considerable interest.'⁷⁸ Daniel Huws considers Peniarth 6 pivotal as a *terminus ante quem* of 1250 for the Mabinogi compilation.⁷⁹ Simon Rodway likewise concludes:

This is the only fixed point. Various dates in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries [for the Mabinogi] have been proposed on circumstantial evidence, but none are conclusive.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Dating is from Daniel Huws. 2000, repr. 2002. *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff: UWP); and Simon Rodway. 2013. *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications), pp. 5–13. On other data I am most grateful for pre-publication access to the passages on the three MSS in Huws new work. 2022. *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes c.800–c.1800*, 1 of 3 (NLW and CAWCS). This was unpublished at the time I was working this chapter but Daniel Huws as author; Maredudd ap Huw (NLW) and Ann Parry-Owen (CAWCS) gave me kind advice on forthcoming content; my thanks.

⁷⁶ Previously catalogued as 'Hengwrt 540'. '(ii) pp. 3–4. A leaf from *Branwen*, and (ii) a leaf from *Manawydan*, both from the same manuscript, by the same scribe.' Huws, *Repertory*.

⁷⁷ Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan. 2009. 'Migrating Narratives', in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. by Fulton, Helen (Blackwell), p. 131. Whether Peniarth 6 ever held a complete version of the Mabinogi, like the other two MSS. is possible but not known. If there was a such complete written text of the Mabinogi at this date, or earlier, we cannot assume it was all identical to the later MSS.

⁷⁸ Evans' dating of 1225 has now been revised to 1250.

'MS, 6, Fragments of the *MABINOGION* and of the ROMANCE of GERAINT AP ERBIN, in four parts; vellum; xiiith century.

Parts i. and ii. = Hen. 540a. Fragments of *BRANWEN* (2 pages) and of *MANAWYDAN* (2 pages); 6 1/4 X 5 inches; circa 1225. ... The fact that these two fragments are the earliest known remnants of the *Mabinogion* invests them with considerable interest.'

John Gwenogvryn Evans. 1905. *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, Peniarth., 1 of 3 (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission), p. 316.

⁷⁹ *Terminus ante quem* for PKM2, PKM3 at least; it might be assumed Peniarth 6 once had a complete version of the Mabinogi, but only fragments of PKM2 and PKM3 are extant so certainty can only apply to those Branches (below). Dating, Huws, 'Table of Welsh Vernacular Manuscripts', in *Manuscripts*, p. 58.

⁸⁰ Rodway, *Dating Medieval Welsh Lit*, p. 58.

The complete Mabinogi text which survives was scribed c. 1350 in *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*/ 'White Book of Rhydderch': heretofore 'Llyfr Gwyn'.⁸¹ This is 'the earliest major compilation of Welsh secular narrative prose'. As 'Peniarth 4', it is conserved at NLW together with Peniarth 6.⁸² A second complete Mabinogi text is extant: *Llyfr Coch Hergest*/ 'Red Book of Hergest', heretofore 'Llyfr Coch', dated 1382- 1410; conserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford as 'MS Jesus 111'.⁸³ These three MSS texts are not significantly different textually; they are perceived as derived from an earlier common source rather than a copied sequence.⁸⁴ An enlarged capital marks the start of each Branch, its *incipit*.⁸⁵ Llyfr Gwyn and Llyfr Coch contain other texts relevant to Rhiannon.⁸⁶

Peniarth 6

Two surviving MS pages give Pwyll and Manawydan's hunting the white boar, Pryderi's captivity, and Rhiannon's reactions.⁸⁷ Thus Rhiannon's first *historical* appearance is her last active *narrative* appearance in the Mabinogi.

pan da6 y my6n sef a wnaeth riannon edrych arna6 mae
hep hi **dy gedymdeith dy ath g6n; llema hep enteu y**
kyfranc ar damwein ae dadcanu oll. Dyoer hep y riannon
ys dr6c a gedymdeith **fuosti ac ys da a gedymdeith a**
golleisty. A chan y geir h6nn6 myned allan. Ac ar y tra6s
y managassei ef uod y gaer **kyrchu a wnaeth hitheu.**

⁸¹ Huws, *Manuscripts*, p. 59.

⁸² Now bound in two volumes, Peniarth 4 and 5, the Mabinogi is in Peniarth 4, previously catalogued as Hengwrt 4. 'Originally a single book ... Its later binding history, in two volumes, again in one, again in two, has been complicated, and causes confusion in reference to folios, numbers and columns. The last binding, at NLW in 1940, was in two volumes.' Mabinogi text was 'written by scribe D ... in two columns ... [who] can perhaps be regarded as its editor [i.e. of the whole MS]. The White Book appears to have been compiled for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd [he died in the 1390s, pp. 247–54]'. Huws, *Repertory* (pre-publ. copy), citing his *Middle Welsh Manuscripts*.

NLW = *Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru*, the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth.

⁸³ Huws, *Manuscripts*, p. 60.

⁸⁴ Huws, *Manuscripts*, p. 155, nn. 55 and 56. Ian Hughes. 2013. Introduction, *Math Uab Mathonwy:: the fourth branch of the Mabinogi* (Dublin: DIAS), p. xii.

⁸⁵ *Incipit*, (Latin: "here begins") the opening word or words of a medieval Western manuscript or early printed book. In the absence of a title page, the text may be recognized, referred to, and recorded by its incipit.' Britannica: 'Incipit'. (URL text Bibliography)

From Latin *incipere*, to begin, start; 3rd. pers. sing. literally 'it begins'.

⁸⁶ *Culhwch; Owain; some Trioedd*; and some poetry. Ch. I.6. Other Sources.pp. 33-34

⁸⁷ CONTENTS Two pages from PKM3: Peniarth 6ii t.3 & t.4. PKM3 55.14- 57. 7. JKB 68.2- 70.2. Two other pages are PKM2, Bendigeidfran's 'bridge' metaphor passage, Peniarth 6i t.1 & t.2. PKM2 40.L -42.L JKB 53.1- 54.1 The latter material is from the prose Romance tales *Gereint uab Erbin*, and *Peredur*, respectively. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts*, p. 316.

porth y gaer a weles en egored ny bu argel arnei ac e
me6n y deuth ac y gyd ac y doeth arga.⁸⁸

Her first words on historical record are here,⁸⁹ asking after her son and rebuking Manawydan for failing his friend.⁹⁰ The fragment breaks as she discovers Pryderi trapped, and begins to greet him.⁹¹ It leaves Rhiannon eternally on the threshold of the dreadful *caer*/ tower, gripped with her maternal *pryder*/ anxiety.⁹²

Tarddiad / Provenance

Peniarth 6 is bicolonnar, by an unknown sponsor and scribe. It may be a monastic or secular production. Cistercian abbeys like Whitland and Strata Florida established 1130s onward, originally Norman, quickly coming under Welsh governance with new daughter houses supporting teams of scribes.⁹³ Wales had no university,⁹⁴ but Huws observes native students probably returned to Wales from Oxford,⁹⁵ and Paris,⁹⁶ so ‘an increasingly commercialised book-trade employed lay scribes, developed by the stationers in university towns.’ In the mid-13thC ‘a flurry’ of Welsh books appear.⁹⁷ Huws considers ‘Welsh is

⁸⁸ The ‘6’ numeral is commonly used to represent /u/ or sometimes /v/ in Middle Welsh. Isaac, and Rodway, *et al*, eds. ‘Peniarth 6ii t. 4, p. 345. (URL download PDF, Bibliography). Close comparison with PKM3 56.23–57.5, shows no significant variation of text; only PKM modernisation and consistency edits of spelling and capitalisation.

Trans. Rhiannon excerpt, JKB 70.1–2 follows.

‘When he came in, this is what Rhiannon did – she looked at him.

“Where,” she said, “is your friend, and your hounds?”

“Here,” he answered, “is my tale,” and he related it all.

“God knows,” said Rhiannon, “a bad friend have you been, and a good friend have you lost.”

And with that word, she went out, and she set out in the direction that he had said the man and the fort were. She saw the gate of the fort open; there was no concealment on it. And she came in, and as she came, she beheld Pryderi grasping the basin and came to him. “Alas, my lord,”

⁸⁹ These are not her first words in the Mabinogi narrative. Here I refer ‘first’ as physical, historical chronology.

⁹⁰ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Desolation, p. 204; and Ch. V. 12. Manawydan: Marriage, p. 343–35.

⁹¹ Ends PKM3 57.7. JKB 70.2.

⁹² The implication here, ‘*pryder*’, refers to Rhiannon’s naming of her son ‘Pryderi’, expressing her years of maternal loss and anxiety, which is reactivated by his PKM3 disappearance. PKM1 37.2–19. JKB 38.1–2. Peniarth 6 is not at all well known so it was a poignant research discovery for me to find Rhiannon in this earliest Mabinogi source.

Caer = fort, fortress, enclosed stronghold, castle, citadel, fortified town or city. (GPC)

⁹³ Whitland was founded 1140, Strata Florida 1164. Huws, *Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 14. Margam abbey catalogue, early 13thC approximately contemporary to Peniarth 6, lists 242 titles and fifteen scribes: the ‘fullest monastic archive to have survived in Britain’. Huws 2000, p. 11.

⁹⁴ Huws, *Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 12.

⁹⁵ Huws, *Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 163. Oxford was establishing teaching 1096–1167, Paris 1200.

⁹⁶ Huws, *Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 48.

⁹⁷ Huws, *Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 13. For poetry Ch. 1.6. Sources. For further context contemporary to Peniarth 6, the theologian Thomas Aquinas was teaching and wrote an integration of natural

already a developed literary medium, almost free of the colouring of local dialect', but Brynley Roberts detects a southern Welsh orthography.⁹⁸

Cyd-destun Gwleidyddol / Political Context

The dating 1250 or later places Peniarth 6 in a powerful period of native independence: *Oes y Tywysogion*/ Age of the Princes. Rhys of Deheubarth/ 'The South' (1155 – 1197), and Llewelyn Fawr of northern Gwynedd (1200 – 1240),⁹⁹ provided lengthy periods of comparative stability. This, and Anglo-Norman incursions intensifying pride in native traditions, suggest a plausible context for a heritage MS project.

After the Glyndŵr Rising ended (1420s),¹⁰⁰ antiquarian dedication preserved some MSS. By the 16thC Peniarth 6 was in Robert Vaughan's famous Hengwrt library (catalogued 'Hengwrt 540'). His descendant bequeathed the library to the Wynne family of Peniarth (1859). Gwenogvryn Evans unified the Hengwrt and Peniarth catalogues, opting for the name Peniarth 6.¹⁰¹

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch / White Book of Rhydderch

This first vehicle of the complete, written Mabinogi was probably commissioned by *uchelwr* Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd (c. 1325–1400).¹⁰² His Ceredigion family were historic patrons of native literature; he was an authority on native law, and held high posts in the English political hierarchy.¹⁰³ The tension in his loyalties is evident.

and eternal law in Paris c. 1256. Mechthild of Magdeburg was producing "*Das fließende Licht der Gottheit*." A collection of hagiographies, *Legenda aurea* or *Legenda sanctorum* (*Golden Legend*) by Jacobus, was a huge bestseller in 1263, as well as an admired life of St. Francis by Bonaventure. 'Lives' of Welsh saints.

⁹⁸ Huws, *Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 13. Brynley Roberts. 2001. 'Where Were the Four Branches of the Mabinogi Written?', in *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook, 1, ed. by Nagy, Josef F. (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 61-73.

⁹⁹ The Lord Rhys of Deheubarth ('The South'); Llewelyn the Great of Gwynedd (in the north).

¹⁰⁰ Gideon Brough. 2017. *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr: England, France and the Welsh Rebellion in the Late Middle Ages* (London, NY: I.B.Taurus), pp. 217–29.

¹⁰¹ Robert Williams Vaughan of Nanneu, Hengwrt, Merionethshire bequeathed collection to close friend William Watkin Edward Wynne (1801-1880); a major part of Wynne's Peniarth collection (1859)., Gwenogvryn Evans unified the catalogues, privileging Peniarth numbering.

¹⁰² *uchelwr* – landed proprietor, freeholder, franklin, landlord, gentleman, nobleman, aristocrat; a superior (GPC) After 1282 the Princes were no more and the local gentry took over the patronage support of bards and minstrels. This changed the latter from pensioned court functionaries to travelling entrepreneurs.

¹⁰³ NLW, 'The White Book of Rhydderch: Peniarth 4'. (URL text Bibliography).

Llyfr Gwyn with Peniarth 6 passed to Robert Vaughan's Hengwrt collection, then the Wynne family's Peniarth library. When 19thC scholars asked to see Llyfr Gwyn they were told it was 'fragmentary'.¹⁰⁴ The substantial Llyfr Gwyn seems confused with the Peniarth 6 'fragments'.¹⁰⁵ In the 1880s Gwenogvryn Evans was transcribing Llyfr Coch at Oxford and determined to investigate Llyfr Gwyn. After frustrated attempts to access the owner, a chance encounter on a train brought an introduction, and an exciting rediscovery.¹⁰⁶ Negotiations to acquire this incomparable treasure determined the location of the new National Library Glyndŵr had planned 500 years before. NLW opened at Aberystwth in 1907, with Llyfr Gwyn the star of its collections.¹⁰⁷

Llyfr Coch Hergest / Red Book of Hergest

This, 'the richest single manuscript compilation of medieval Welsh literature',¹⁰⁸ was triumphantly created in a time of renewed native independence: the Glyndŵr Rising (1385-1425). Its patron, southern *uchelwr* Hopcyn ap Tomas, reputedly met Glyndŵr as an adviser. Taxes diverted to a Parliament at Machynlleth (1404), where Glyndŵr was crowned Tywysog Cymru/ Prince of Wales, planning a National Library and University. His Tripartite Indenture contracted to split England between Wales, the English Percys, and France. It was almost successful, but aborted, probably due to the failure of French support.¹⁰⁹

Hopcyn's heirs forfeited their library for loyalty to Jasper Tudor: Llyfr Coch passed to the Vaughans of Hergest.¹¹⁰ Edward Lhuyd was given it for

¹⁰⁴ 'The White Book was so little known in the year 1884 that I was assured, by those who professed to have examined it, that its text was so fragmentary as to be of no account.' John Gwenogvryn Evans. 1907. *The White Book of Mabinogion: Welsh Tales & Romances Reproduced from the Peniarth Manuscripts, Series of Welsh Old Texts*, VII (Pwllheli: Private subscription), p. vii. (URL text Bibliography)

¹⁰⁵ Both Pughe and Guest p. 86 (her title n. 268) cite it as their source Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance Pughe p. 68. n. 151; Tegid, p. 80.

¹⁰⁶ Evans, *White Book*, p. vii.

¹⁰⁷ Gildas Tibbott. 1943. 'Brief History of the Hengwrt-Peniarth Collection,' Introduction, Handlists of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales, 1. *NLWJ*, Suppl. Ser. 2, p.98. (URL text Bibliography)

¹⁰⁸ Ceri Lewis. 1971. 'The Literary Tradition of Morgannwg down to the middle of the Sixteenth century' in T. B. Pugh (ed.) *Glamorgan County History*, 3 (Cardiff, UWP), p. 481.

¹⁰⁹ Gideon Brough, *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 108-09.

¹¹⁰ There were two Vaughan families: Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt who held Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch; and the Hergest branch which held Llyfr Coch Hergest.

rebinding (late 17thC), catalogued it, and died with it in his Oxford rooms.¹¹¹

After some dispute on ownership due to his debts, it was gifted to Jesus College, Oxford, by the Wynne family in 1709,¹¹² so *Llyfr Coch* remained accessible to Welsh scholars, who traditionally attended Jesus College. Copies serviced the first Mabinogi publications in print format.¹¹³

~ * ~

II *Stori'r Stori*/ Story of the Story

II.5. *Dadeni Cymreig*/ Welsh Renaissance

This chapter prioritises the native Welsh tradition of scholarship of the Mabinogi (1707 –1850s). Pioneering, print-format texts produced are typically bilingual Welsh texts translated into English, with some notes. Standard accounts of the first Mabinogi/on print publication generally start with Charlotte Guest: here she is an end-point.¹¹⁴ The chapter concludes profiling 'Romance', the key theme of the period.

1 Edward Lhuyd (1660 – 30 June 1709)

Botanist, geologist, antiquary, and philologist.



Edward Lhuyd¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ The story here is somewhat scandalous as Lhuyd died deep in debt, triggering quarrels between Oxford and the MS. owner about who had rights to it.

¹¹² 'Oxford Jesus College MS. 111'.

¹¹³ Ch. II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Pughe p. 68, Tegid, pp. 80-81.

¹¹⁴ The Welsh Renaissance is usually defined as 18thC. In terms of Mabinogi development this may be extended through Pughe's career, and Guest, until the mid- 19thC. Guest was not Welsh but may be grouped with the Welsh Mabinogi Renaissance because she was taught and mentored by Welsh scholars and faithfully reproduced their approaches (below).

¹¹⁵ Engraving, from cover illustration. Derek R. Williams. 2011. *Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) A Shropshire Welshman* (Oswestry & District Civic Society).

Lhuyd graduated Jesus College, Oxford, becoming Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum (1690).¹¹⁶ In 1701 he settled in Oxford, preparing a single volume of *Archaeologia Britannica* in Latin, the formal scholarly language of his time,¹¹⁷ including the first printed account of the Mabinogi.¹¹⁸

Mabinogi Studies generally dismisses Lhuyd; if mentioning him, only citing a brief comment on the Mabinogi as mere *fabulosas*/ fables.¹¹⁹ Closer examination shows Lhuyd observes fictional accounts of historical British leaders.¹²⁰ He devotes a full page column to a Mabinogi paraphrase, outlining each of the four Branches separately and accurately.¹²¹ Rhiannon is neither named nor narrated, though PKM3 'Mynweir and Mynordd' are mentioned.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Between 1697-1701 Lhuyd toured every county of Wales for his researches; also visiting Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall, Brittany. Introduced concept of 'Celtic' family of languages.

¹¹⁷ Thomas Jones. 1959. 'Lhuyd, Edward (1660 - 1709), botanist, geologist, antiquary, and philologist', Dictionary of Welsh Biography (URL text Bibliography).

¹¹⁸ Edward Lhuyd. 1707. *Archaeologia Britannica Giving Some Account Additional to what Has Been Hitherto Publish'd, of the Languages, histories and customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain* (Oxford: the Theater for the author). Account of the Mabinogi, p. 262. *Archaeologia Britannica* was intended to be the first in a series. (URL text Bibliography). Also note on Lhuyd's post-mortem involvement in the ownership conflict about Llyfr Coch, previous chapter.

¹¹⁹ Rachel Bromwich, 'The Mabinogion and Lady Charlotte Guest', Repr. 1996, 2015 and Kindle, in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. by. Charles William Sullivan III (NY: Garland Publications; Routledge and Kindle), p. 5.

¹²⁰ Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 2, of 19pp.

¹²¹ Mabinogi. L. K. H. 710. *Hoc vocabulum quid filii velit, hodie non constat*. This name which comes from 'son' is not clear. *Libellus autem sic inscriptus fabulosas quasdam Historiolas tradit de Optimatibus aliquot Britannis antiquioribus*. 'The book records fabulous stories which report on the leaders of the ancient Britons.' *Quod vidimus exemplar in quatuor partet distributum est, quas totidem Mabinogii sui Ramos appellat author velexscriptor*. 'What we see demonstrated is divided in four parts:, which the author calls or copies as Mabinogi Branches.' *Pars prima sic incipit*: 'Part One begins thus:' (My translations) Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, p. 262.

The occasionally quoted *fabulosas* emerges not as a noun, i.e. fables, fantasies, but an adjective 'fabulous stories' which is squarely within the Welsh Renaissance tradition of the prose tales as Romances, see final section of this chapter II.5.10. Romance.

¹²² *Mynweir a Mynordd*: PKM3 65.23. JKB 76.1. This appears at the end of the Third Branch. referring to humiliations suffered by Rhiannon and Pryderi in captivity.

Mabinogi. L. K. H. 710. Hoc vocabulum quid sibi velit, hodie non constat. Libellus autem sic inscriptus fabulosas quasdam Historiolas tradit de Optimatibus aliquot Britannis antiquioribus. Quod vidimus exemplar in quatuor partes distributum est, quas totidem Mabinogii sui Ramos appellat author vel exscriptor. Pars prima sic incipit: *Archaeologia Britannica*, excerpt¹²³

2 Moses Williams

(1685 - 1742), cleric and scholar.

Oxford graduate Moses Williams was assistant Librarian to Lhuyd at the Ashmolean,¹²⁴ later at the Bodleian.¹²⁵ He travelled all over Wales, visiting family libraries to copy MSS.¹²⁶ Luft observes Moses Williams and associate William Thomas were interested in the history of the ancient Britons, and turned to the Four Branches to find it.¹²⁷

Moses and his father Samuel transcribed parts of Llyfr Coch Hergest, (c. 1715–17).¹²⁸ Two Mabinogi copies survive: Llanstephan 90,¹²⁹ and Llanstephan

¹²³ *Archaeologia Britannica*, scanned excerpt showing start of passages on the Mabinogi; p. 262.

¹²⁴ He contributed to Lhuyd's *Archaeologia*. Mary Ann Constantine. 2019. 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', Ch. 14, in *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. by Evans, Geraint; and Helen Fulton (Cambridge University Press), p. 268.

¹²⁵ Ordained Fulham 1714, he was vicar of Devynnock (1716); then Bridgewater (1732). Following his father Samuel's lead (c. 1660 - c. 1722), Moses translated many works into Welsh, publishing some, though many more are unpublished. See Llanstephan MSS. references, below.

¹²⁶ Geraint Bowen. 1959. 'Williams, Moses (1685 - 1742), cleric and scholar', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. (URL text Bibliography). Also John Davies. 1937. *Bywyd a Gwaith Moses Williams (1685-1742)* (Cardiff); Brynley F. Roberts. 2004. 'Williams, Moses (1685-1742)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP).

¹²⁷ Diana Luft, 8/7/2017. 'The Eighteenth-Century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion', p. 7. Presented at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff). Presentation script 19pp. close to publication level, kindly supplied by author 12/07/2017.

¹²⁸ NLW MSS Llanstephan 90, 91, 93, 126.

¹²⁹ The Mabinogi is in the hand of Samuel Williams (1717). *Culhwch ac Olwen* was begun by Moses, completed by Samuel. Moses added notes to these texts giving interpretations of difficult words, often referencing John Davies of Mallwyd, and Thomas Williams, eds. 1632. *Dictionarium Duplex Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Nunc vulgo dictae Cambro-Britannicae, a suis Cymraecae vel Cambricae, ab aliis wallicae, et Linguae Latinae, Dictionarium Duplex*, 1 (London: R Young, Joan Davies, impensis J. Davies). (URL text Bibliography). Bendigeidfran given as *bendigaid* (*Benedictus*,/ 'blessed'); *wynebwerth*/ 'honour'. Matholwch's recompense; a note 'Dr D. satisfactio'. Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 4.

126.¹³⁰ William Thomas, annotated connections with the Welsh Laws (1717).¹³¹ Moses' publicity indicates intent to publish.¹³² Specimen *Trioedd* and a mock-up title page for *Lludd a Llefelys* were included in Llanstephan 91. These preparations suggest the Mabinogi would have been included.¹³³

~

3 Lewis Morris, 'Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn' (1701 - 1765)

Hydrographer surveyor, antiquary, poet and lexicographer.



Lewis Morris.¹³⁴

Lewis was the eldest of the four Morris brothers of Anglesey. His *Celtic Remains* completed 1757, but funding delayed publication until 1878.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ A copy of the Mabinogi is in the hand of an amanuensis (1715), then checked against the MS. by Samuel Williams (1719). Facing-page modernised text of the beginning of the/ First Branch by Moses Williams, proper names have been underlined, and the manuscript closes with an index of these names. Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', pp. 4-5.

Another pre-Pughe copy of Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch is extant, by Roger Morris of Coed-y-Talwrn: NLW 3043. Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 4.

¹³¹ Diana Luft. 2012. 'Lewis Morris and the *Mabinogion*', *Electronic British Library Journal*, p. 7. (URL text Bibliography) On William Thomas' background, see Llewelyn Davies. 1959. 'Thomas, William (fl. c. 1685? — c. 1740?), secretary to Robert Harley, 1st earl of Oxford', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1959). (URL text Bibliography). Cf. Ellis connecting the Mabinogi with Cyfraith Hywel; Ellis, Thomas Peter. 1928. 'Legal References, Terms, and Conceptions in the *Mabinogion*', *Cymm.*, XXXIX (1928), pp. 86–147. Also Robert Humphries. 2008. 'The Limits of the Law: Sarhaed, Kinship and Honour in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished masters thesis paper, University of Wales, Trinity St. Davids). (URL text Bibliography).

¹³² Moses Williams. 31/07/1719. 'Proposals for Printing by Subscription A Collection of Writings in the Welsh Tongue, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century', cited Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 7. He complains of difficulties accessing distant libraries, MSS disintegration, and embezzlement. Constantine, 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment', p. 268.

¹³³ Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 7.

¹³⁴ Wikimedia Commons, 'Category:Lewis Morris (1701–1765)'. (URL Bibliog)

¹³⁵ Lewis' career as a professional surveyor was fraught by land disputes. A boastful, bad tempered patriot, northern Welsh biased. Robert Thomas Jenkins. 1959. 'Morris, Lewis (Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn; 1701 - 1765), poet and scholar', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1959). (URL text Bibliography).

Lewis Morris. 1878. *Celtic Remains* (London: Cambrian Archaeological Association). (URL text Bibliography). Note the work was completed 1757 not published until 1878. Its concept of broken

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannia*,¹³⁶ with its legendary Trojan prince Brutus as founder of Britain, was a staple source for the reclamation of native British history.¹³⁷ Luft contends that after challenges to its credibility,¹³⁸ Morris and other 18thC scholars considered other historical resources, including the Mabinogi,¹³⁹

in which Welsh kings ruled over the whole Island of Britain, their power made manifest through supernatural events.¹⁴⁰
[This] laid the groundwork for the [later] explosion of *Mabinogion* scholarship.¹⁴¹

Morris may have included the Mabinogi in a planned literature and history publication (1745).¹⁴² Like Lhuyd, and later Pughe, Morris interpreted some Mabinogi characters as fictional (using the generic term *ystoria*/ story) about Iron Age tribal leaders.¹⁴³ His description of Annwfn is a 'fairy land',¹⁴⁴ cf.

'remains' was very influential later 19thC and much of the 20thC; see John Rhŷs (Matthew Arnold), and William John Gruffydd, below.

Morris' completion point 1757 was the same year his brother Richard Morris founded the Cymmrodorion Society in London. Alun R. Jones. 2004. *Lewis Morris* (UWP), p. 121. Robert Thomas Jenkins and Helen Ramage. 1951. *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Gwyneddigion and Cymreigyddion Societies (1751-1951)* (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion).

¹³⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth. c. 1136. *Historia Regum Britannia* ('History of the Kings of Britain', originally *De gestis Britonum*/ On the Deeds of the Britons, in Latin, French. Also known as Galfridus Monemutensis, Galfridus Arturus, and (Welsh) Gruffudd ap Arthur.

¹³⁷ Brynley F. Roberts. 1976. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 20, pp. 29–40; and *ibid.* 1991. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*', in *The Arthur of the Welsh The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*, ed. by Bromwich, Rachel, et al. (Cardiff, UWP), pp. 97–116. Anthology Ch. 5 on Geoffrey's *Historia* reception in Wales. Trojan emigration here not implausible; cf. my Map p. 415

¹³⁸ Henry Ellis, ed. 1846. *Polydore Vergil's English History from an early translation preserved among the MSS. of the old Royal library in the British Museum* (Printed for the Camden Society by John Bowyer Nichols and Son), p. 33. William Wynne. 1899. 'Letter to Lewis Morris, Feb. 28, 1745', *The Cambrian Register*, II, p. 535.

¹³⁹ Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 2. Cf. Pughe refers to the tales as a valuable historical resource, and distinguishes historical and mythological personages; Rhiannon as the latter. Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe, p. 74 n. 192. Complains of lack of discrimination, quoted p. 73, n. 184.

¹⁴⁰ Diana Luft, 'Commemorating the Past After 1066: Tales from The *Mabinogion*', Ch. 4, in Geraint Evans, and Helen Fulton, eds. *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 73–92.

¹⁴¹ Diana Luft, 'Lewis Morris and the *Mabinogion*', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2012), p. 7. (URL text Bibliography).

¹⁴² Wynne, 'Letter to Lewis Morris 1745', pp. 534–35.

¹⁴³ Lewis Morris, *Celtic Remains* (1757, published 1878) Entry: 'Bran the Blessed, or St. Bran, son of Llŷr, called by the Romans Asclepiodotus ... burial of Brân's head in London based on ... the Triads.' TYP 94-102. Caradawg is also listed. Luft, 'The 18thC', p. 7.

Morris names PKM1 *Ystoria Pwyll arglwydd saith gantref dyfed a Phryderi ei fab*/ 'The story of Pwyll lord of the seven cantreds of Dyfed and Pryderi his son'. PKM2: *Ystoria Bendigeidfran vab llyr a Branwen ei chwaer a matholwch o Iwerddon ei gwr hitheu*/ 'The story of Bendigeidfran son of Llŷr and Branwen his sister and Matholwch of Ireland her husband'. PKM3: *Manawydan a*

Rhiannon later perceived as 'fairy'.¹⁴⁵ His notebook, 'Collections in relation to the British History', thoroughly describing the Mabinogi,¹⁴⁶ places it alongside historical treatises and genealogies; likewise an account of Mabinogi text (1764) in Mostyn MS. 79.¹⁴⁷ Morris gives 'the only sustained eighteenth-century commentary on these texts ... before William Owen Pughe',¹⁴⁸ and perhaps the first definition of the prose texts as 'romance'.¹⁴⁹

~

4 William Owen Pughe, 'Idrison' (7/08/1759 – 4/06/1835)

Antiquary, lexicographer, grammarian, editor, engraver



William Owen Pughe.¹⁵⁰

Phryderi/ 'Manawydan and Pryderi; and PKM4: *Ystoria Math vab Mathonwy*/ 'The story of Math son of Mathonwy'. 'Collections', notebook. Luft, 'Morris', p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ Luft, 'Morris', p. 6.

¹⁴⁵ Pughe, in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 169 (quoted below, Pughe). Cf. Rhys, Anwyl, WJG. Jessica Hemming. 1998. 'Reflections on Rhiannon and the Horse Episodes in "Pwyll"', *Western Folklore*, 57, pp. 19–40, Michael A. Faletra. 2014. *Wales and the Medieval Colonial Imagination*, (Epilogue), New Middle Ages series (Palgrave Macmillan).

¹⁴⁶ BL, Add. MS. 14924. Luft, 'Morris', pp. 1–2.

¹⁴⁷ 'Quarto 79', Sir Thomas Mostyn's 1744 catalogue: quarto paper MS. bound in vellum, numbered 79, containing texts *Peredur*, *Bown de Hamtwn*, and the Mabinogi. Luft, 'Morris', p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Luft, 'Morris', p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Luft, 'Morris', p. 3. But Lhuyd frames the Mabinogi as *fabulosas quasdam Historiolas*/ 'some fabulous stories' very similar meaning. Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, p. 262. My translation.

¹⁵⁰ 1. William Owen at 42 with his wife, Sarah Elizabeth [Harper], their children, Aneurin, Ellen, Isabella. B/W photo of original watercolour drawing, c. 1792. NLW Original Drawing Volumes (57,

William Owen [Pughe] was the first publisher of Mabinogi text in modern print format: therefore, of Mabinogi Rhiannon text. His declared source is 'the Red Book of Jesus College, Oxford.'¹⁵¹ He 'was regarded as the principal authority on the Welsh language and on everything relating to Welsh scholarship',¹⁵² particularly for his Welsh-English *Geiriadur*/ Dictionary,¹⁵³ the *Myvyrian Archaology*,¹⁵⁴ and *Cambrian Biography*.¹⁵⁵ His patron Owen Jones 'Owain Myfyr' founded the Gwyneddigion Society (1770): with Iolo Morganwg they formed a powerful collaborative triad during William Owen's peak period 1790–1807.¹⁵⁶ He was esteemed among international *literati*, to whom he formally presented

p. 38).

2. Daniel Maclise, 'Portrait of W. Owen Pughe D.C.L., F.A.S', watercolour (NLW 4671832). Pughe awarded the honorary Oxford degree DCL (1822), at 63. (URL Bibliography, NLW Portrait Collection)

3. T. George, Frontispiece, Pughe, *Geiriadur*, 2nd ed. (1832) at 73, full ref. below n. 153.

See also T. Hodgetts, 'Idrison' [Pughe], steel engraving, NLW Archives (1822). (URL Bibliography).

¹⁵¹ In the opening notes William Owen [Pughe] 1795. 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *Cambrian Register*, I (London: E & T Williams), p. 177. Full text of intro. notes. 'There are in the Welfh language feveral romantic Tales ; fome of which are preferved in old manufcripts, and others are recited from memory by the common people. They are variously denominated *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amufements, *Y Ftoriau*, or Tales, and *Hen Yftoreuon*, or old Stories. The following one is from the *Red Book* of Jefus College, Oxford. With refpect to *Pwyll*, the hero of this and two or three other Tales, who it ftilled Prince of *Dyved*, or Demetia, nothing of his hiftory remains, except that he may be cafually mentioned in the pedigrees of the country.'

See Tegid section below, possible source copy c. 1815, pp. 80-81.

¹⁵² Dictionary of Welsh Biography. See also Glenda Carr, revised E. Lloyd version. 2004. 'Pughe, William Owen [pseud. Idrison] (1759–1835)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (URL text Bibliography). Detailed, with good bibliography.

¹⁵³ William Owen [Pughe]. I, 1793; I & II, 1803. *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Caesneg: A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, in 2 vols. (London: E. Williams). (URLs text Bibliography). Pughe's Welsh orthography and grammar was prescriptive, aimed to restore Welsh as an original, ancient, divine language. He was much influenced by Rowland Jones. 1764. *The Origin of Languages and Nations, Hieroglyphically, Etymologically, and Topographically defined and fixed, after the Method of an English, Celtic, Greek, and Latin English Lexicon* (J. Hughes). The Third edition of Pughe's *Geiriadur* had corrected orthography by Thomas Stephens. Pughe, 3rd edn. 1866. *Geiriadur* [etc.] ed. by Pryse, Robert John. On Stephens see section below.

¹⁵⁴ William Owen [Pughe], Owen Jones, Edward Williams, eds. 1801, 1807. *The Myvyrian Archaology of Wales: Collected Out of Ancient Manuscripts*, I I. Poetry;. II. Prose (London: Longman & Rees; T. Williams; & Richard Box.). William Owen [Pughe] was the principal editor. Vol. III would have included the prose tales, but was never published. In the same period William Owen [Pughe] edited the journal *Y Greal* (1805-1807), 9 issues (URL text Bibliography)

¹⁵⁵ [Pughe], *Cambrian Biography*. (URL text Bibliography). See below for list of Mabinogi personages in it.

¹⁵⁶ His name for 47 years was 'William Owen'. The above major publications and others, were published under that name. In 1806 he added the name 'Pughe'. This is often overlooked, or footnoted, then ignored in main text, which does not convey the radical shift which occurred in his life. Nor does it aid research, as locating data about him requires searching for the name used at a particular time. Therefore in matters before 1806, he is here referred to as 'William Owen', and pre-Pughe publications are marked '[Pughe]'.

the *Mabinogion* tales as Romances.¹⁵⁷ His linguistic ‘Pughisms’ were later pilloried by the 1890s Oxford Welsh Movement,¹⁵⁸ which by the 20thC rendered him obscure.¹⁵⁹

TABLE 6 Pughe’s *Mabinogi* related publications

- 1795** *Pwyll*, Part 1. PKM1 Annwfn tale, Welsh/ English.¹⁶⁰
1799 *Pwyll*, Part 2, Anonymous courtship rides, Welsh/ English.¹⁶¹
1802 ‘Ancient Welsh Manuscripts’ lecture, English, Romance concept.¹⁶²
1803 *Geiriadur*/ Dictionary lists ‘Rhianon’ entry and others.¹⁶³
1803 *Cambrian Biography* lists Rhiannon and others: historical or mythological.¹⁶⁴
1818 *Pwyll*, Part 3, *Pwyll*–Rhiannon dialogue, loss of their child,

¹⁵⁷ William Owen [Pughe]. 21/02/1802., publ. 1808. ‘Account of the Ancient Welsh Manuscripts’, in *Archaeologia: Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, XIV (London: Society of Antiquaries), pp. 211–20

¹⁵⁸ Rhys Kaminski-Jones. 2017. ‘Tavlu’r Iaith Gynmraeg yn Bendramwnwg’ [‘Throwing the Welsh Language Head-over-heels’, my trans.]: ‘William Owen Pughe and the Ancient British Language’, unpublished doctoral thesis (CAWCS, University of Wales) placing Pughe’s linguistics in political context. Ch. 3, ‘True Britons: Ancient British Identity in Wales and Britain, 1680–1815. (URL Bibliography). See below, section on Tegid, who defended Pughe’s position (1820), pp. 80–82.

¹⁵⁹ Considering Pughe’s historical impact there are only two books: Pierce 1914, Carr 1983; cf. Guest has five. Thomas Mordaf Pierce. 1914. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe* (Caernarfon: Swyddfa Cymru), was an unsuccessful attempt to rescue Pughe from the Oxford Welsh Movement’s hostility. Pughe’s biographer, Glenda Carr, expressed surprise her 1983. *William Owen Pughe* (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru) not been updated or superseded. Personal communication Oct. 2015. His Welsh Biography entry dates to 1959 without update. Bromwich gives a good account in her 1996. ‘Mabinogion’ and Lady Charlotte Guest’ in Sullivan’s *Essays*. ‘CAWCS, and Rhys Kaminski-Jones. 2017. ‘Pughe and the Ancient British Language’, Ch. 3., unpublished doctoral thesis (University of Wales), pp. 139–43, situates the language issues in context. Arthur Johnston collected useful archive data on Pughe but his swingeing condemnation is simplistic, discussed below pp. 76–78: 1957. ‘William Owen-Pughe and the *Mabinogion*’, *NLWJ*, 10. 3, pp. 323–28. The same year as Carr, Prys Morgan gives a fair perspective on Pughe as part of his times; 1983. ‘From a death to a view: the hunt for the Welsh past in the Romantic period’, in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger (CUP), pp. 43–100. I felt the lack of due attention to Pughe, so my research site featured him as one of its first articles: Shân Morgain, ‘Pughe, William’ (2013). *Mabinogi Study*. (URL text Bibliography). In this century some CAWCS research on Iolo Morgannwg includes Pughe: Geraint H. Jenkins, Mary-Ann Constantine, Marion Löffler. 2001–08. ‘Iolo Morgannwg and the Romantic Tradition in Wales 1740–1918’ (CAWCS). (URL text Bibliography).

¹⁶⁰ [Pughe]. 1795. ‘The *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances’. Text is *Pwyll I*, bilingual Welsh & English facing pages, bicolumnar pages. Equivalent. PKM1 1.1–8.26. JKB 19.1–25.1. Sometimes listed with printing date 1796. Available online, URL see Bibliography.

¹⁶¹ [Pughe], ‘The Romantic Tales called *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements’, *The Cambrian Register*, II, pp. 322–27. Cont. from CR.I. (1795). Bilingual Welsh & English text, bicolumnar pages. Title page shows ‘1796’, with ‘1799’ at the bottom; presumably as it continues Vol. I, 1795/96. Text equivalent. PKM1 8.27– 12.6. JKB 27.2. He appeals for help to access more source transcript so as to continue, p. 327; see quote below. Available online, NLW, or google books., URL see Bibliography.

¹⁶² William Owen [Pughe], ‘Ancient Welsh Manuscripts’.

¹⁶³ William Owen [Pughe]. 1803. *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol*. ‘Rhianon’ entry p. 466. See illustration Ch. I.3. Etymology, p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ [Pughe], *Cambrian Biography*. For list of *Mabinogi* characters given, see n. 191, below. See screenprint illustration Ch. I.3. Etymology, p. 6.

Welsh/ English.¹⁶⁵

1821 *Pwyll*, Part 1, repeat, English.¹⁶⁶

1828 (Croker) Long article on Mabinogi; English. Branch outlines.¹⁶⁷

1829, 1833 *Math*, Welsh/ English.¹⁶⁸

1833, 2 parts *Taliesin*, Welsh/ English.¹⁶⁹

Between 1826–31 Pughe prepared a complete *Mabinogion*, including nine sketch illustrations, and arranged printing, but he died before it was sent to press.¹⁷⁰ His son Aneurin Owen assisted his final years, but did not further a *post-mortem* publication.¹⁷¹

Adult Owen looked back to little boy William, sent far from home to an English boarding school

when about seven years old; and, for the first time, to begin an acquaintance with the English tongue which then sounded passing strange in my ears.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ William Owen Pughe. 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the *Mabinogion*', *The Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 230–46. Bilingual Welsh English text, bicolumnar pages. Cont. from CR.I. and II. Text equivalent PKM1 12.7–20.12. JKB 27.2.– 34.1. See possible Tegid MS. connection, below. Available as facsimile hardback; viewable online NLW, or google books URL see Bibliography.

¹⁶⁶ William Owen Pughe, 'The Tale of Pwyll', in Parry, John Humffreys, ed. 1821. *Cambro-Briton Journal*, II, pp. 271–75. English only. (URL text Bibliography) Not explicitly attributed to Pughe but the translation matches his *Cambrian Register I* (1795) almost entirely.

¹⁶⁷ William Owen Pughe. 1828. 'The *Mabinogion*, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends*, ed. by Croker., Thomas Crofton, pp. 189–90. Includes 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran'. Substantial, total c. 40 pages. CONTENTS: Title page plus Introduction by Croker to Pughe's trans. (pp. 158 – 63). Letter from Pughe about the *Mabinogion* (pp. 163 – 76) Pughe, *Pwyll I*, cf. 1795; with notes (pp. 177– 82). 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran'. Includes Branwen's advice dialogue re British ships (pp. 189–90); other speech is reported. Probably drafted by Pughe, or possibly Croker from Pughe's MS. cf. Gunn draft notes 1819 (p. 183–91). 'Mythological Persons' lists pp. 192–99.

¹⁶⁸ William Owen Pughe. April 1829. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, Literally translated by Idrison', *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, I, 2, pp. 170–79. Bilingual English Welsh, bicolumnar, text ends at Pryderi's grave, equivalent. PKM4 73.17. JKB 88.2. Cont. I, 3 (July, 1833), pp. 395–410 (note pp. 405 onward are incorrectly numbered). Bicolumnar English/Welsh, ends at Math's gift of territory, equivalent PKM4 84.6. JKB 100.2. Ref. Bardism, Druidism, 'romantic narratives, which ... constituted the favourite reading of Europe.' p. 170. Available online NLW (URL see Bibliography).

¹⁶⁹ William Owen Pughe. April 1833. 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin', *Cambrian Quarterly*, V, 18, pp. 200–214., Bilingual English Welsh, bicolumnar. Tale of Keridwen, incl. Taliesin's enchantment of the bards. Intro. repeatedly as a 'romance' by Hopkin c.1370, p. 200, but not the composition of the historical Taliesin, bard of Urien Rheged, p. 201. Cont. July, 1833. Vol. V, 19, bilingual English Welsh, bicolumnar. Ends at Taliesin making predictions, not specified, pp. 366–82. Available online NLW, (URLs see Bibliography).

¹⁷⁰ d. 4/06/1835. *Mabinogion* NLW MS 13242B. '*Mabinogion*', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp. Formerly Mysevin 22. Transcripts and English translations by William Owen Pughe. Includes 9 sketch illustrations. See Ch. IX.1. Gallery. The arranged printer was Thomas Gee of Denbigh.

¹⁷¹ See analysis of likely reasons below p. 79.

¹⁷² [Pughe], *Geiriadur*, I, pp. iv–v. According to 'Welsh Biography', at Altrincham, near Manchester, though Carr queries this location 'there is no definite proof', Lloyd & Carr, 'Pughe', *Oxford Dictionary of Biography*.

In his loneliness William survived by self-educating in Welsh literature; at 14 reading mediaeval Welsh poetry.¹⁷³ At 17 he went to London (May, 1776), lived in clerical poverty, then at 23, found fellowship in the Gwyneddigion Society.¹⁷⁴ Owain Myfyr, its founder, quickly adopted him as *protégé*. Their 'friendship' and 'confidence' was lifelong:

he has extended greater patronage towards preserving the literary remains of Wales than any other person in ancient or modern times.¹⁷⁵

At 30 William Owen became the society's President, assisting Owain Myfyr to edit *Dafydd Ab Gwilym*.¹⁷⁶ He married Sarah Elizabeth Harper (1790); their son Aneurin was born (1792),¹⁷⁷ and *Llywarch Hen* published in collaboration with Iolo Morganwg's druidic inspiration.¹⁷⁸ Proud of the Society's collection of 1,000 MSS., he mourns the loss of 2,000 more due to 'neglect'.¹⁷⁹

Owen's *magnum opus*, his *Geiriadur Dictionary* (1793), 80,000 entries, 12,000 quotations, refers to 20 years hard labour from boyhood: 'collecting

¹⁷³ Rhys Jones. ed. 1773. *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* / 'Magnificence of the Bards' my trans. (Shrewsbury). Noted [Pughe] *Geiriadur Dictionary*, p. v.

¹⁷⁴ [Pughe]. 1793. *Geiriadur*, I, p. v. He met the poet Robert Hughes, 'Robin Ddu o Fôn', in 1782 who introduced him to the Society. He was also active in the *Cymmrodorion* society. Invitation 2/10/1784 to a meeting of the *Cymmrodorion* Society addressed to Mr. (William) Owen (p. 108); printed ticket 29/05/1784 to the St. David's Day meeting of 'Cymdeithas y Gwyneddigion'. Notice of a meeting of the *Cymmrodorion* Society, addressed to Mr. (William) Owen, p. 109. NLW MS 13225C. Misc. poetry and prose (1779–1835). Formerly Mysevin 5.

NLW MS 13225C. Misc. poetry and prose (1779–1835). Formerly Mysevin 5. (URL Bibliography).

¹⁷⁵ [Pughe], *Geiriadur*, p. v. Pughe also expresses esteem for the late antiquarian Paul Panton of Mona; Thomas Johnes, MP Cardigan, who had long correspondence with him; likewise Sharon Turner, poet, historian; George Chalmers, historian; George Ellis, literary scholar, and others.

¹⁷⁶ Owen Jones. 1789. *Barddoniaeth Dafydd Ab Gwilym* (London: H. Baldwin). Pughe's patron aka 'Owain Myfyr'.

¹⁷⁷ 9/08/1790, St. Marylebone, Middlesex. Sarah 'Sal' Elizabeth born in that parish, 25/02/1771, d. Jan. 1816. Sarah and their three children Aneurin, Elin, Isabella, all used the surname 'Owen'. SON Aneurin Owen (23 July 1792– 17 July 1851) b. London. m. Jane Lloyd of Nantglyn (8 May 1820) in Liverpool. 1816 Rented the estate from his father. d. Trosyparc, near Denbigh, 58 yrs. Children: William Owen 1821. Ellen Owen 1823. Catherine Myvanwy Owen 1824, Ivor Owen 1826, Ithel Owen 1829, Meilir Owen Meilir (1830-1894); DAU. Elen / Ellen Owen (c. 1795 - 1843 Manorowen) m. John Fenton of Pembs. at St. Pancras, Middx, 24/01/1814. 7 surviving children. John Fenton son of Richard Fenton, Pembs. author DAU. Isabella Owen c. 1796 – d. Jan. 1816.

¹⁷⁸ William Owen [Pughe]. ed. *The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces of Llywarch Hen* (London: J. Owen). Possibly largely Iolo Morgannwg's work: Iolo was twelve years Owen's senior.. Iolo's radical politics placed him under Government surveillance, unable to publish in his own right. This included a lengthy, transparently Ioloic, treatise on Bardism descended from ancient Druids. Geraint H. Jenkins. 2011. *Bard of Liberty: The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (UWP), p. 205. See also Rhys Kaminski-Jones, Oct. 2021. 'William Owen Pughe and Romantic Rewritings of the Poetry of Llywarch Hen', *Review of English Studies*.

¹⁷⁹ *Geiriadur Dictionary*, p. vii. Cf. Moses Williams, above p. 66, n. 132.

together the words of a nearly expiring language'.¹⁸⁰ Structurally the model is not dissimilar to Johnson's smaller English *Dictionary*: 50,000 entries (1746–73).¹⁸¹ The *Geiriadur* defines nine categories of 'ancient British writings'.¹⁸²

The *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements, are a species of dramatic tales ... the origin of romance in Europe.¹⁸³

ANTIQUITIES.		323
Ac val y		
bytant yn ciftet hwynt a welynt	And as they were fitting, they	
wraig ar varch canwelw mawr	beheld a woman upon a pale	
aruchel, a gwifc euraidd llathraid	horse, great and very high,	
amdaneu, yn dyvod ar hyd y	having on her a garment glit-	
brivfort a gertei o'r orfet. Cer-	tering with gold, who was	
ted arav gwaftad oet gan y	coming along the main road,	
march,	which led from the mote-hill.	
	A slow and even pace the horse	
	appeared to have,	

1st Rhiannon in print

¹⁸⁰ [Pughe], *Geiriadur/ Dictionary*, p. iii. It includes various character names from the Mabinogi, as concepts: e.g. Pwyll, p. 441; Rhianon, p. 467 for the latter see excerpt illustration, Ch. I.7. Etymology. He catalogues a long list of sources, small dictionaries and glossaries, pp. iv–vii, noting especially the antiquarian John Jones' 40 years work from the MSS. of Hengwrt, p. vi. Also NLW MS 13225C. Miscellaneous poetry and prose (1779x1835). Formerly Mysevin 5. Drafts of two letters in the hand of William Owen [-Pughe], on perusal of MSS and the compilation of his dictionary, pp. 35 and 37–38; notes on bards and bardism, p. 39; draft proposals, dated 1/02/1789, for printing a Welsh -English Dictionary, p. 56; list of Welsh words, some followed by phrases and couplets illustrating meaning, p. 59; draft proposals in English and Welsh for a guide to the Welsh language, p. 78; and much else to context the project. (URL Bibliography).

¹⁸¹ Samuel Johnson. 1746–73. *A Dictionary of the English Language, in which the Words are deduced from their Originals, Explained in their Different Meanings, and Authorised by the Names of the Writers in whose works they are found. To which is prefixed an English Grammar* (London: by W. Strahan, for J. and P. Knapton; T. and T. Longman; C. Hitch and L. Hawes; A. Millar; and R. and J. Dodsley).

The 50,000 entry count is from Arthur Preuss. 1913. 'About English Dictionaries', *The Fortnightly Review*, 20, p. 245.

¹⁸² Poetry, Bardic Institutes, Laws, History, Theology, Ethical Triads and Proverbs, Dramatic Tales, Grammars. *Geiriadur Dictionary*, p. viii. Nine categories, a druidic number, Cf. Stephens' five categories, below, Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Stephens, p. 102.

¹⁸³ 'The MABINOGION, or Juvenile Amusements, are a species of dramatic tales, very singular and curious in many respects; and they are highly valuable, on account of the numerous traits of original manners, and of ancient British mythology, which they display. These, as I am induced to suppose, for several reasons, were the origin of romance in Europe; and I lament also that, owing to the credulity of our early chroniclers, or perhaps to their ignorance, in not being able to discriminate, the mythological incidents and high colouring of these tales were suffered to pervade our national history: and, hence it is that the Arthur of mythology, and the hero of the sixth century, who assumed that appellation, are represented as one and the same character. Many of these interesting productions are preserved. "The Red Book of Hergest," before noticed, contains several; and there is a splendid collection of them at Hengwrt.' *Geiriadur*, 1, p. ix.

1) Cf. Luft on Welsh scholars' new valuation of the tales as historical evidence, Ch. II.5. Renaissance: pp. 63–65 2) Romance theme, Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Romance pp. 101–04. 3) Mythology distinguished from historical data, cf. domination of Mythological Reconstruction, Ch. II.6. Academia: Arnold, Rhŷs pp. 106–08; WJG, pp. 111–16. Valente challenge Ch. II.8. Feminism pp. 32n.182; pp. 130–32.

His Rhiannon in Mabinogi text, first appears in modern print format as the anonymous Gorsedd Arberth rider, in Pughe's *Cambrian Register* II (1799).¹⁸⁴ Owen appeals for help to source relevant MS text, to continue.¹⁸⁵ It would be almost 20 years before he did so.

Meanwhile Edward Jones' *Bardic Museum* (1802) added Rhiannon's meeting with Pwyll when Rhiannon names herself, to the public narrative (English translation only).¹⁸⁶ Jones introduces Pwyll as historical, c. 50 BCE, describing

[...] romantic narratives, or ancient histories of this kind, preserved in Welsh manuscripts, which are called *Mabinogion* [...]

winter entertainments conveying historic social customs, perhaps moral models for youth.¹⁸⁷

The following year (1803) William Owen names Rhiannon in two major publications.¹⁸⁸

Geiriadur

Rhianon, s. f. (**rhian**) A paragon of the female sex; a goddess, a mythological person.¹⁸⁹

Biography

¹⁸⁴ [Pughe], 'Mabinogion', II, p. 323. A small part of the text at the top of each column has been whited out to enable focus on Rhiannon text. The scan is from google books archive, meticulously checked for content, letter by letter, and cleaned of smudges, Cleaning may have 'photoshopped' somewhat, as 'smudges' may be ink bleed on the original. But my own first edition *Cambrian Register* (1795) has clean pages, with sharp typeface. Paper quality is heavy, and other features such as the cover, and hand coloured lithographs, suggest quality was a top priority. I venture to suggest that the original of *Cambrian Register* (1799) was close to what I show here.

Detailed text analysis see Ch. I.4. Advent, pp. 10-23.

¹⁸⁵ 'The manuscript from whence so. much of the Story is taken, has not got the remainder: Perhaps some correspondent may have a complete copy of it; and who, as a well-wisher to the Cambrian Register, will have the goodness to send the conclusion for the next volume.' Owen [Pughe], *Cambrian Register*, II, p. 327.

¹⁸⁶ Compare *Geiriadur*, p. ix; SCR image of quote, Ch. II.7. Etymology, p. 5. Edward Jones, 'Mabinogi, Part the First, 2 of 3, p. 30. The passage ends when Rhiannon and Pwyll part. PKM1 13.13. JKB 28.2. A footnote describes the text as 'faithful translation from a Welsh manuscript in the Author's collection; and a great part of the British original may also be found in the Red Book, in the archive of Jesus College, Oxford', p. 30.

¹⁸⁷ 'romantic narratives, or ancient histories of this kind, preserved in Welsh manuscripts, which are called *Mabinogion* or Juvenile Adventures, or Amusements: *Hên Ystoriau*, or Old Stories: and *Hên Chwedlau*, Ancient Tales, or Narrations.' He speaks of oral tradition among common people, as winter evenings' entertainment. 'Some of them are of the moral and devout kind, and perhaps intended for youthful instructions, and as an incentive to imitate them. ... all founded on real histories, (though perhaps somewhat embellished) ... they convey to us the romantic magnificence, customs, and incidents of times, which were as remote from the period, as the state of modern manners.' Jones, 'Mabinogi, Part the First, p. 27. SCR excerpt Ch. I.3. Etymology, p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ See Ch. I.3. Etymology, graphics, pp. 5 and 6.

¹⁸⁹ [Pughe], *Geiriadur*, p. 466.

RHIANON, the daughter of Heveydd Hen, only known as the heroine of the Dramatic Tales.¹⁹⁰

He categorises named persons as historical or legendary: 'Rhianon' as a mythological heroine and goddess.¹⁹¹ His *Cambrian Register*, III (1818) brought Rhiannon's weddings and tragic motherhood.¹⁹² In Croker's *Fairy Legends* (1827), Pughe profiles Rhiannon as an exemplary patroness.

The name Rhianon implies the queen, or paragon of the fair sex; and the Welsh poets complimented a lady for superior endowments by comparing her to Rhianon

quoting Goronwy Gyriog (14thC).¹⁹³ The long wait to continue Rhiannon's narrative from 1799–1818 reflects Rhiannon's lengthy courtship pursuits,¹⁹⁴ but without a similarly happy conclusion.

Yet the 19thC opened with William Owen at his peak. A powerful financial and literary circle supported his *Mabinogion* project, notably the wealthy, influential George Ellis. It was very close to completion (31/12/1799).¹⁹⁵ His lecture to the prestigious Society of Antiquaries, London (1802), promoted the prose tales as Romances.¹⁹⁶ His grand publications were completing: *Geiriadur*

¹⁹⁰ [Pughe], *Biography*, p. 323.

¹⁹¹ Mabinogi personages listed in the *Cambrian Biography*: (M) Mythological. Arianrhod, pp. 11-12; Bran, p. 26-27; Branwen, p. 27; Caradog, p. 39-40; Caswallon, pp. 42-45; Cilfathwy (Tales), p. 50; Don (M), p. 90; Goronwy Bevy, p. 141; Gwdion (M), p. 155; Havgan (M), p. 174; Llew Llawgyfes, p. 217; Manawydan, pp. 237-38; Math (M), p. 240; Pendaran Dyved (M), p. 282; Pryderi (?), p. 288; Pwyll, pp. 288-89; Rhianon (M), p. 290; Hyfaidd Hen as Rhiannon's patronymic. Inclusions, omissions, content, indicate sources were mainly the *Trioedd*.

Similar categorisation by Pughe in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 169.

¹⁹² Pughe, 'Romantic Tales', *Cambrian Register*, III, p. 230.

¹⁹³ Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 169. Also notes Adar Rhiannon, and the Goronwy Gyriog reference to Rhiannon see Ch. I.6. Other Sources #6 quoted pp. 33-34 n.193

¹⁹⁴ 1799. *Cambrian Register* II gave the courtship pursuits, p. 73 above.

¹⁹⁵ Arthur Johnston gives copious detail. 'Pughe and the *Mabinogion*'.

NLW MS 13244B. 'Peredur', translation, [1800] MS. volume, formerly Mysevin Ms. 24. (original foliation 1-117) 240 pp. Bound in half leather with marbled paper sides. p. 235: 'Finished Dec. 31 1800, 9 o'clock at night - 3 hours before end of the 18th. century - Wm. Owen'. Written front fly-leaf medical recipe for 'Sore throat ulcerated' ... the name 'W. Owen No. 40 Penton Street, Pentonville'. (URL NLW Bibliography).

NLW: MS 13243B. *Mabinogion* [1801-1815] 232 pp. Formerly Mysevin 23. Almost all Four Branches material. MS. volume 'MABINOGI PWYLL' gold lettering on spine. Written throughout by William Owen [-Pughe]. Transcripts, probably from 'Llyfr Coch Hergest', and English translations: 'Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed' (pp. 11-79), 'Branwen ferch Llyr' (pp. 80-1153) also synopsis (pp. 227-8), synopsis 'Manawydan fab Llyr' (pp. 154-217), 'Math fab Mathonwy' beginning only (pp. 218-23) Also Math #NLW MS 13242B, see n. XX. Cf. Handlist Vol. IV. (URL NLW Bibliography).

NLW: MS 13245B. 'Mabinogi Geraint', MS. volume, [1802x1830] [1802] 112 pp. (URL NLW Bibliography).

¹⁹⁶ William Owen [Pughe], 'Ancient Welsh Manuscripts', pp. 211-20.

(1803); *Biography* (1803); *Myvyrian Archaiology* (1801, 1807). Owain Myfyr, his patron and friend, provided a salary and rent-free house.¹⁹⁷

Owen met the prophetess Joanna Southcott (1803), and became an Elder of her millenarian sect.¹⁹⁸ She was 'one of the most popular writers of her time',¹⁹⁹ attracting tens of thousands of followers, internationally.²⁰⁰ 'Owen thinks of nothing now but Joanna Southcote he has mixed up her roguery with his own Bardism' (1804).²⁰¹ Iolo Morgannwg, at first approving Southcott doctrines resembling his druidism, became jealous. He was a difficult friend, due to temperament and laudanum. By 1806 the friendship had abraded, though Owen remained loyal to Iolo's Gorseddau.²⁰² Arthur Johnston condemns Owen.

But for the peculiar temperament of Owen a text and translation of the *Mabinogion* would have been published thirty years before Lady Charlotte Guest's appeared.²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ Owain Myfyr supported him with a salary of £100 p.a. and a rent free house (1804-06). Welsh Biography.

¹⁹⁸ Carr, *Pughe*, p. 133. Southcott had just moved to London from Devon. Carr quotes Pughe's note on going out to see Southcott 1/06/1803: 'Myhevin 1 1803 eis i * 30 i weled Joanna Southcot [sic] Mr Sharp Mr Foley', marking his misspelling of her name as suggesting it is new to him. MS NLW 1321[E], p. 597. By the end of 1804 he is an enthusiast: 'Perhaps you may not have heard anything about the divine Mission of Joanna Southcott the prophetess of Exeter ; but it is a very remarkable circumstance that the great leading points of theology in her writings agree exactly, and often in the very expression, with our Druidical Triads of Divinity.' Letter to Wm. Gunnington, Heytesbury, Dec. 21, 1804. In Evans, *Cymm*, Vol. 39, (1928), p. 202. At the Trial of Southcott, 11-18/12/1804, recorded by Jane Townley, William Owen is listed as leading witness supporter. Pughe witnessed Southcott's Will, 26 June 1813. R. S. Kirby. 1820. *The Wonderful and scientific (eccentric) museum*, 5 (R. S. Kirby), p. 357 (full title Bibliography). See also Glenda Parry-Williams (later Carr), 'Yr ysgolhaig a'r broffwydes' / 'The scholar and the prophet' (my trans.), *Y Traethodydd*, Cyf. CXXII (XXXIV) (1966), pp. 518-521.

¹⁹⁹ Widely popular, 108,000 copies of her works were 'published and circulated 1801- 1814, making her one of the most popular writers of her time'. Sylvia Bowerbank, 'Joanna Southcott (1750-1814) Prophet and Writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004-13).

²⁰⁰ Matthew Niblett. 2015. *Prophecy and the Politics of Salvation in Late Georgian England: The Theology and Apocalyptic Vision of Joanna Southcott* (London-NY: I. B. Tauris).

²⁰¹ The English poet Robert Southey writing to William Taylor. J. W. Robberds: 1843. *A memoir of the life and writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich: Author of 'English Synonyms Discriminated' 'An Historic Survey of German Poetry' etc. Containing his correspondence of many years with the late Robert Southey Esq. and original letters from Sir Walter Scott, and other eminent men* (London: John Murray), p. 130.

²⁰² Iolo suffered from arthritis, treated it with laudanum (opiate) which stimulates the imagination but also volatile states. Glenda Carr. 2005. 'An Uneasy Partnership: Iolo Morganwg and William Owen Pughe', in *Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg*, ed. by Jenkins, Geraint (Cardiff, UWP), pp. 443-60. Ffion Mair Jones. 2010. 'The Bard is a Very Singular Character' in *Iolo Morganwg, Marginalia and Print Culture*, ed. by Jones, Ffion Mair (UWP, later Kindle), with an appendix listing letters between Iolo, Pughe, Owain Myfyr and others. When Iolo could mentor the younger Owen the relation worked well, but when Owen Pughe became eminent, and Southcott was a rival for mystic authority, less so. See NLW MS. 21285E, Letter 880, Iolo to Owain Myfyr 5/04/1806, pages of angry resentment.

²⁰³ Johnston, 'Pughe *Mabinogion*', p. 323.

The saddest comment on the story is the existence of the eight volumes of Owen [Pughe] manuscripts (N.L.W. MSS. 13254-61) devoted to affairs of Joanna Southcott.²⁰⁴

Johnston gives another huge factor barely a sentence.²⁰⁵ In 1806 William Owen inherited his distant relative Rice Pughe's estate in Nantglyn, Denbighshire; a lifelong financial independence and security. He adopted the name 'Pughe' in gratitude.²⁰⁶ With no knowledge whatsoever of land management, the steep learning curve, and resentful Pughe relatives, accounts for as much preoccupation as the prophetess.²⁰⁷ Johnston also references triple bereavement extending the hiatus not at all. Pughe's beloved Owain Myfyr, and Southcott, both died late 1814.²⁰⁸ His adored wife died January 1816.

Perhaps the most powerful and moving entries in the diary are those describing the death of Pughe's wife, Sarah, or Sal, in January 1816.²⁰⁹

Pughe's literary productivity 1792-1807 was extraordinary. The eight year disruption was due to Southcott devotion, massive challenge from learning estate management, and three major bereavements in less than 18 months. A further 20 years' work totals 35 productive years, a solid career by any standard.

He returned to London, and the *Mabinogion*,²¹⁰ publishing *Pwyll* Part 3 (1818), naming Rhiannon, narrating her motherhood. There were repeated

²⁰⁴ Johnston, 'Pughe *Mabinogion*', p. 328. Final remark.

See Pughe Transcripts NLW Archives #13255A (1810-11); #13257B (1801-15); #13261B (1801-35); #13258B (1802-35); #13259B (1802-35); #13262B (1802-35); #13260B (1803-35, 1927); #13256B (1810-20). (URL Bibliography).

See also Pughe's '*Dyddgoviant*'/ 'Diary', data below, n. 209.

²⁰⁵ A part sentence only 'The management of his newly inherited estates in Denbighshire and Merionethshire took up much of his time, ...' Johnston, 'Pughe *Mabinogion*', p. 326.

²⁰⁶ Sarah Elizabeth, his wife; Aneurin his son; his two daughters Ellen and Isabella, continued as 'Owen'.

²⁰⁷ See Pughe's '*Dyddgoviant*'/ 'Diary' for this period n. 209 below.

²⁰⁸ Owain Myfyr d. 26/09/1814. Joanna Southcott d. 27/12/1814. Her claims of divine pregnancy inevitably discredited her, and released most devotees from sect affinity at her death.

²⁰⁹ William Owen Pughe, '*Dyddgoviant*'/ 'Diary', Two vols. NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811- 13/04/1835), 736pp. Formerly Mysevin 28. Domestic news, weather, Southcott's final days, and her death (pp. 103-108), development of her sect over succeeding years. Frequent reference by Pughe to his extremely laboured translation of Milton's *Coll Gwynfa*/ Paradise Lost, (1819), dismissed by Iolo Morganwg as 'Milton lost! Diary written in a very small neat hand, in the eccentric orthography devised by Pughe himself; (e.g. Welsh letter 'ch' is represented by ç, and 'f' by v). Data available to view online, see URLs Bibliography.

²¹⁰ Tegid, below, pp. 79-80; possible copy MS. source for Guest's *Mabinogion*.

Pughe rented the estate to his son Aneurin Owen aged 24 (1816). MS. GB 0210 DOLYCAE Dôl y Cae (Tal-y-Llyn) Deeds and documents (1598-1856), including a lease from William Owen Pughe and his brother Richard to his son Aneurin Owen Pughe (1816). NLW MS., URL in Bibliography (MSS).

appeals for *Mabinogion* finance; notably 40 pages' promotion in Croker's *Fairy Legends* (1827).²¹¹ Funding was no longer a few wealthy backers, but required recruiting many subscribers. Response was disappointing. Major publisher John Murray rejected his book project (1825),²¹² and Pughe's reformed Welsh was under mounting critique.²¹³ A new generation of Welsh *literati* was emerging from the regional *Eisteddfodau*, led by Carnhuanawc and the Halls of Llanover, SE Wales.²¹⁴ Carnhuanawc's new *Cambrian Quarterly* published Pughe's *Math* (1829, 1833), and *Taliesin* (1833), a sign the hub of Welsh literature had shifted away from Pughe's London base.

From 1825 Pughe increasingly stayed at Nantglyn, in poor health though working with his son Aneurin as amanuensis.²¹⁵ Letters to Arthur Johnes tell the final tale. From Aneurin, 'the work is complete' (1830).²¹⁶ Aneurin, gloomy at low *Mabinogion* subscription: notes the 'risk' in a Cymmrodorion loan, and previous loss from another publication (1831).²¹⁷ Pughe is evidently very ill (1834):

²¹¹ Contents above, see TABLE 6 Pughe's Mabinogi related publications, pp. 69-70.

²¹² John Murray, London, the publisher of Croker, 1821. *Fairy Legends*. Letter E. Protheroe of Hemel-Hempstead to Owen, 24 July 1825 (NLW. MS. 13263)1. Owen offered a work to publisher Murray, who declined it 'for pecuniary reasons alone'. Protheroe's postscript, 'There is no question but our Welsh Societies if there be the smallest speck of worth or sense in them should publish the *Mabinogion* as edited by you- we should turn our heads to good sense'. This suggests that the work offered to Murray was Pughe's *Mabinogion*. Johnston, 'Pughe *Mabinogion*', p. 327.

²¹³ Tegid, p. 79 nn225, 226; dispute raged through 1820s, ended in Pughe's discredit by 1830.

²¹⁴ Augusta Hall, Baroness Llanover (21/03/1802 – 17/01/1896), b. Augusta Waddington, was a Welsh heiress and leading patron of Welsh arts. She and her husband Benjamin Hall built Llys Llanover (1837) as an arts centre and stately home. Closely associated with Carnhuanawc, Tegid, Guest (below); powerful patrons of the regional *Eisteddfodau*. Marian Löffler. 2016. 'HALL, AUGUSTA, Lady Llanover ('Gwenynen Gwent') (1802-1896), patron of Welsh culture and inventor of the Welsh national costume'. Dictionary of Welsh Biography (URL in Bibliography).

²¹⁵ NLW MS 13242B. '*Mabinogion*', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp. Formerly Mysevin 22. Transcripts and English translations by William Owen Pughe. Most of the transcripts appear to have been made between 1826 and 1831, the complete work prepared for the press in 1834 but never published. Mabinogi, Culhwch, Iarlles y Ffynnon', 'Breuddwyd Macsen', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy, Lludd, also Trioedd, poetry discussion. Incl. Mabinogi 9 SKETCHES see n. Handlist IV. '*Mabinogion*' and other medieval prose texts divided in three groups. (a) 'Math ab Mathonwy' (1805); (b) In three series, I 'Pwyll' (two copies, one incomplete), 'Bran the Blessed' (= 'Branwen ferch Llyr'), 'Manawydan', 'Math', II 'Culhwch' (see also NLW MS 13232E, item 26), 'Peredur', 'Geraint fab Erbin', III 'Iarlles y Ffynnon', 'Breuddwyd Macsen', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', 'Lludd a Llefelys'; (c) 'Lludd a Llefelys', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', 'Saith Doethion Rhufain', an introduction to the prose texts, 'Trioedd', Welsh poetry between 540 A.D. and 1600. A note (p. 124) suggests that the transcript was made from 'Llyfr Coch Hergest'.

9 SKETCHES by William Owen Pughe. Scenes from the first Branch, evidently intended as illustrations, (1 in pencil, 8 pen & wash), pp. 45- 53. URL in Bibliography. See Ch. IX.1. Gallery

²¹⁶ LETTER 1830 Sept. 4. Aneurin Owen to A. J. Johnes. Egryn.

²¹⁷ LETTER 1831 Feb. 15. Aneurin Owen to A. J. Johnes. Egryn, (Johnes, 1809-71. *NLWJ*), 'list of the Subscribers hitherto which is not a very encouraging one ... my father ... intends to have printed at Denbigh under his own inspection, & I suppose at his own risk. The Cymrodorion voting ... loan .. but a loan is not the requisite, because the books may be on hand for years. ... The great evil I

I have—I break off, dear friend, finding myself unable to proceed with the necessary application ... Farewell!²¹⁸

He died 4/06/1835. Aneurin Owen did not complete the *Mabinogion* publication. He was averse to 'risk' (n. 218), a civil servant protected since childhood by the comfortable Pughe inheritance. From 1825–41 he was preparing his monumental *Laws of Hywel Dda*.²¹⁹ He may also have felt uncomfortable about Pughisms, as he seems to have declined to pass Pughe's papers on to others.²²⁰

Pughe was both honoured and critiqued during the 19thC, until the Oxford Welsh Reform group (1890s) led by John Morris-Jones, demonised him with bardic style satire.²²¹ Morris-Jones' own *Welsh Grammar* was published (1913). Pierce' positive biography (1914) did not succeed in reclaiming Pughe's reputation.²²²

anticipate is a large stock of the publication remaining on hand after the first call is satisfied. ... we have sad experience in regard to the Coll Gwynfa'. He is referring to Pughe's 1819 translation into Welsh of 'Paradise Lost'. NLW MS 13249B I-II. File (1818-1819) 'Coll Gwynfa', Mysevin MS. Two holograph copies of a Welsh translation by William Owen-Pughe of Milton's 'Paradise Lost'. (URL in Bibliography)

²¹⁸ LETTER 1834 May 24. Pughe, Denbigh, to Arthur Johnes. Flattered by Mr. Johnes's intention of dedicating his translation of Dafydd ap Gwilym to writer. Mr. Johnes was welcome to make any use he desired of the prefatory material in his own edition of the poet's work. 'I have—I break off, dear friend, finding myself unable to proceed with the necessary application as a few minutes of either reading or writing causes me much fatigue about the back and loins ... I suffer no pain, except feeling the fatigue ... Farewell! Wm OWEN PUGHE.' Written on the back 'I live by agitation: came from Lond. last May home, 24om. by Mail. No stops: not tired: 10 hours even in bed kills me. Much less 23.' (URL in Bibliography)

²¹⁹ The first modern edition of the Welsh Laws. Aneurin Owen. 1841. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales; Comprising Laws Supposed to be Enacted by Howel the Good, modified by subsequent regulations under the native Princes prior to the conquest by Edward the First: and Anomalous Laws consisting principally of the institutions which by the Statute of Ruddlan were admitted to continue in force: With an English Translation of the Welsh Text: to which are added a few Latin Transcripts, containing digests of the Welsh Laws, principally of the Dimetian Code, with Indexes and a Glossary*, in 2 vols. (London: Commissioners on Public Records).

²²⁰ The Welsh Manuscripts Society sent Johnes to request the MS. and notes (17/10/1837) unsuccessfully. Guest Journals, Sioned Davies, 'A Charming Guest: Translating the *Mabinogion*', *Studia Celtica*, Vol. 38.1 (2004), p. 171, n. 87.

²²¹ NLW: MS 13059E. *Marwnad* William Owen Pughe, MEMORIAM POEM (1836)] 'Galarnad ar farwolaeth W. O. Pughe, Yswn, D.C.L., F.A.S.'; elegy (206 lines) on the death of William Owen Pughe by 'Ywain Cyfeiliog'.

(URL in Bibliography) H. Paul Manning. April 2004. 'The geology of railway embankments: Celticity, Liberalism, the Oxford Welsh reforms, and the word order(s) of Welsh', *Language & Communication*, 24, 2, pp. 135–163. The Oxford group exaggerated Pughe's reforms, so their work could be presented as repairs, p. 78, n. 221 above. On Pughe's *Geiriadur*, p. 72, n. 181 above. Also Kaminski-Jones' CAWCS project, p. 102, n. 371, below.

²²² John Morris-Jones. 1913. *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative: phonology and accidence* (Clarendon). The same year a memorial was erected at Cae Athro, photo NLW (URL in Bibliography). The positive biography by Pierce was not an effective counterbalance: Pierce, 1914. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe*.

~

5 Edward Jones, 'Bardd y Brenin'

(1752– 1824) Harpist, composer, historian, antiquarian.

Edward Jones settled in London (1775), associated with the leading musicians of Europe, becoming Royal Harpist (1820). He published *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1794), a large work of salvage.²²³ His *Bardic Museum*, 2 (1802) presented part of PKM1 translated to English, taking published Mabinogi text up to Rhiannon's meeting with Pwyll, further than Pughe at that time.²²⁴

~

6 John Jones, 'Tegid'

(1792 - 1852) Cleric, Hebraist, poet, writer, Pughe enthusiast.

Oxford graduate (1818) Jones became chaplain of Christ Church; MA. (1821); Precentor (1823). Application of Pughe's controversial orthography and etymology to the Welsh Bible and Prayer Book caused outrage. His defensive tract (1820),²²⁵ was discredited (1823).²²⁶

When Charlotte Guest published the first complete *Mabinogion*, Tegid was her guide and amanuensis. He prepared modernised Welsh pages from Llyfr Coch

²²³ Ann Griffiths. 2004. 'Edward Jones – Bardd y Brenin (1752-1824)', in *Clasuron Edward Jones: Aawon Cymru (Edward Jones Classics: Welsh Melodies)*, 6 solo harp pieces, ed. by Heulyn, Meinir (Alaw Music), unnumbered front page, 3pp. after title page. Welsh and English text. (URL text Bibliography) With thanks for kind gift from Meinir Heulyn. See also Dictionary Welsh Biography, 'Jones, Edward'.

²²⁴ Jones, *Bardic Museum*, pp. 27–30. (Detailed reference, incl. PDF URL, Bibliography) More on this is placed under Pughe (above) to construct the Mabinogi publication sequence and context at the time more clearly: Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe, p. 74.

²²⁵ John Jones (Precentor of Christ Church, Oxford). 1821. *Traethawd ar Gadwedigaeth yr Iaith Gymraeg*/ Essay on the Preservation of the Welsh Language (Caerfyrddin, J. Evans). Further publications in the controversy: a reply to Roberts (1829), a Welsh tract on 'the correct spelling of Welsh' (1830), and a reply to Knight (1831). See Robert Thomas Jenkins, 'Jones, John (Tegid — less usually Ioan Tegid; 1792 - 1852), cleric and man of letters', Dictionary of Welsh Biography (1959). URL Bibliography.

²²⁶ John Roberts. 1825. 'Reasons for rejecting the Welsh Orthography, that is proposed and attempted to be introduced, with a view of superseding the system that has been established since the publication of Dr Davies's Grammar and Dictionary and Bishop Parry's edition of the Welsh Bible, and that of 1630', Essay 3 in *Three Essays, on the Subjects Proposed By the Cambrian Society in Dyfed, Which Gained the Respective Prizes, at the Eisteddfod, Held at Caermarthen, in September 1823*, ed. by Dyfed Cambrian Society (Jonathan Harris, Dark Gate, Caermarthen). WorldCat only lists 3 UK copies, Bangor, University of Wales, and British Library. W. Bruce Knight (Dean of Llandaff). 1830. *Remarks Historical and Philological on the Welsh Language and A Critical Review of John Jones' Reply* (Cardiff: W. Bird, Duke St.), l.

for her research and translation.²²⁷ He secured Justice Bosanquet's transcript of Llyfr Coch Hergest on loan for her (1837).²²⁸ Guest notes Tegid originally made a Llyfr Coch transcript for Bosanquet 'twenty years ago'.²²⁹ His transcript is extant (NLW MS. 5271B), evidencing him making the Bosanquet transcript March 1815–1817.²³⁰ According to Jesus College's current Archivist, undergraduate Tegid would have accessed it on a reference basis, leaving no specific record.²³¹ He is however active in the borrowers register LI.7. (1815–20).²³²

Pughe was restarting his own *Mabinogion* project in 1816 after his long hiatus, publishing his third Mabinogi instalment in 1818.²³³ Pughe, Tegid, and Bosanquet were part of the Welsh literary network; Bosanquet and Pughe in

²²⁷ Phillips, *Guest ... Journals*, p. 19.

²²⁸ 'I was indebted to the learned labours of the Rev. John Jones (Tegid), Fellow of that College, and to the courtesy of the late Mr. Justice Bosanquet, for whom the transcript in question was originally made.' Guest, *Mabinogion*, Preface, p. vii. 'Justice Bosanquet' = John Bernard Bosanquet, KS PC, of Dingestow (2/05/1773 – 25/09/1847).

²²⁹ 30/11/1837. Guest and John, *Charlotte*, p. 101. See also Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 12.

²³⁰ NLW: MS 5271B - *Y Mabinogion*, &c [1815-17] aka Dingestow 11. Containing C 'Pedair Ceinc y Mabinogi', 'Chwedlau y Saith Doeth', 'Breuddwyd Ronabwy', 'Iarlles y Ffynawn', 'Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys', 'Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig', 'Ystori Geraint ab Erbin', 'Ystori Culwch ac Olwen', and 'Cedgymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic'. (URL NLW Bibliography).

'I checked the original manuscript and on the back of page 2 the following is written: "Copied from the Llyvyr Coch o Hergest at Jesus College Oxford by Mr Jones. March 1815", and on page 96, this being the title page, (Chwedleu y Saith Doeth allan o'r Llyvyr Coch Hergest. Gan John Jones. Rhydychain), is dated 1817.' My enquiry 22/01/2020 on dating evidence for NLW MS 5271B. Question #15189481; reply Caronwen Samuel, Uwch Gynorthwy-ydd Mynediad/ Senior Access Assistant, (6/02/2020).

²³¹ Only Oxford Fellows could take such rare Library items out of the Library, for security reasons (Darwall-Smith, see next note). Probably due to the Lhuyd *post mortem* scandal in the first decade of the century; the MS. was in Lhuyd's rooms when he died, causing uncertainty and conflict about its ownership (Lhuyd, above).

²³² Robin Darwall-Smith, Archivist, Jesus College Oxford, personal email 16/01/2020, noting specific dates 7/12/1817, and 27/05/1819. He further notes the college Principal, David Hughes, had borrowed "Llyvyr Coch – Collection of Poetry", several other Welsh texts, and a Welsh grammar, from 15–18th May 1815. He surmises this is likely to be a check in response to an outside enquiry, such as Bosanquet. Young Tegid might then be recruited to do the transcription. Senior Bursar's Accounts (1769) 'BU.AC.GEN.7, Outgoings, Various Expenses: payment of five guineas to a 'plebeian' graduate, John Jones, "for making out the contents of Llyfr coch [the Red Book]".' John Jones, "Tegid" not to be confused with an earlier John Jones, of Denbighshire, later Rev, of Shipston-on-Stour. Nor John Jones, Glamorgan, contemporary to Tegid. Personal communication, Owen McKnight, College Librarian & Acting Archivist, Jesus College, Oxford (29/10/2015).

²³³ Pughe. 1818. '*Mabinogion*', *Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 230–46. Text equivalent. PKM1 12.7–20.12. JKB 27.2.–34.1.

London at the time.²³⁴ It would be unsurprising if the helpful Bosanquet had lent his Tegid transcript to Pughe.²³⁵

~

7 Thomas Price, 'Carnhuanawc'
(1787 – 1848), historian, antiquary, translator,
engraver, musician and orator.



²³⁴ Checks to date on extant correspondence do not establish connections before 1817; later letters probably relate to Tegid's defence of Pughe's orthography (Tegid to Bosanquet poss. 1817; Pughe to Bosanquet 1821; Pughe to Tegid 1819-21; see NLW Archives, this note). Both Pughe and Bosanquet were located in London when Tegid was making the Llyfr Coch transcript. In 1814 Bosanquet was appointed Serjeant at Law. This was an elite position admitting him to argue at the Court of Common Pleas, Westminster. As two eminent antiquarians in London they would have met via the Welsh Societies circle. (URL Bibliography: Oxford Dictionary of Biography). NLW Archives: Two letters John Jones ('Tegid') to Bosanquet mentioning Llyfr Coch, one possibly dated 1817; and three letters from Pughe though these are 1821. NLW MS 5275E [RESTRICTED ACCESS]. Formerly Dingestow MS 15. Title: 'Poems, letters, &c'. Detail re Tegid's two letters, my query 17/01/2020 Question #15178527, Reply Caronwen Samuel, Senior Access Assistant (24/01/2020). Another folder's letters Pughe to Tegid 1819-1821. NLW MS 1884B - Copies of letters 19thC from William Owen [-Pughe] to John Jones (Tegid). Eng./ Welsh. Crosswood MSS. URLS. see Bibliography.

²³⁵ This may even have been the reason why Bosanquet commissioned the Tegid transcript, to benefit Pughe's *Mabinogion*.

Carnhuanawc.²³⁶

Ordained a priest (12/09/1812), later based at Crickhowel (1813– 1841), he frequently wrote for Welsh journals; co-founding the *Cambrian Quarterly* (1829).²³⁷ He won top prizes and judged panels in the new, provincial *eisteddfodau*. His greatest work was *Hanes Cymru* (1836–42).²³⁸ He particularly cultivated Breton–Welsh cultural links.²³⁹

The 'great Carnhuanawc',²⁴⁰ was 'first and foremost',²⁴¹ 'invaluable' to Guest's *Mabinogion*.²⁴² He recruited Welsh scholars to support her, such as Tegid

²³⁶ TOP CENTRE. Emmanuel Giaconia. c. 1826. Photo of oil portrait, Founders Library, University of Wales Trinity Saint David. From date aged under 40.

LEFT. Charles Augustus Mornewick. 1846. 'Reverend Thomas Price of Llanfihangel Cwmdru (1787–1848)', Oils portrait(1846), at age 59, two years before he died. NLW accession PZ03573. RIGHT. William Meredyth Thomas' (sculptor). c. 18.48. Bust of Thomas Price 'Carnhuanawc', *post mortem*, from memory of meeting Carnhuanawc at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod that year. See his brother John Evan Thomas' poignant account in: Jane Williams. ed. 1855. *The Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc*, II (Llandovery: Rees; London: Longman), pp. 391–92. John Dillwyn Llewelyn's photo of the bust is shown as frontispiece. It or a plaster copy is kept at Llanover College. (URL text Bibliography)

²³⁷ Pughe's publications: I & V, 'Math' (1829, 1833), and 'Taliesin', V, (1833); see TABLE 6 Pughe's Mabinogi related publications, Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe, pp. 70-71.

²³⁸ Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc). 1836–42. *Hanes Cymru, a chenedl y Cymry, o'r cynoesoedd hyd at farwolaeth Llewelyn Ap Gruffydd : ynghyd a rhai cofiaint perthynol i'r amseroedd o'r pryd hynny i waered* / 'A History of Wales, and of the Welsh nation, from the earliest Ages to the Death of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, with some notices related to the subsequent period' (my trans.). Cymraeg, in 14 parts (Llandovery: William Rees; and London: Longman & Co.).

²³⁹ Brinley Rees. 1959. 'Price, Thomas (Carnhuanawc; 1787 - 1848), historian and antiquary', Dictionary of Welsh Biography. (URL in Bibliography)

²⁴⁰ Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 12. Charlotte Guest kept journals most of her life 1818-95, with very few breaks. Manuscript archive: NLW Fonds GB 0210 GUEST - Lady Charlotte Guest Manuscripts. MSS III, VI–XXXI. Chief published sources are Phillips (1921); Ponsonby (1950); Bromwich (1986) largely derived from Phillips; Sioned Davies (2004); Revel Guest and Angela John (1989, 2nd abridged edn. 2007).

²⁴¹ Bromwich, "'Mabinogion" and Guest', in Sullivan, *Essays*, p. 8.

²⁴² Revel Guest and Angela V. John. 1989. *Lady Charlotte: A Biography of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson), p. 106. Later paperback edition, abridged: *ibid.* 2007. *Lady Charlotte Guest: An Extraordinary Life* (History Press), p. 102.

and Walter Davies 'Gwallter Mechain'.²⁴³ Mentor, critical editor, in a 'relationship of pupil and teacher', he was unswayed by her aristocratic status;²⁴⁴ her 'chief helper and trusted friend'.²⁴⁵ Guest found Welsh translation 'extremely difficult',²⁴⁶ so Carnhuanawc was especially active in final edits.²⁴⁷

usually a guest at Dowlais House for one or more days preceding the dispatch to press of each number of the *Mabinogion* ...²⁴⁸

Carnhuanawc met Charlotte Guest 28/08/1833, at Llys Llanover,²⁴⁹ and via *Cymdeithas Cymreigyddion y Fenni* (CCF) meetings he established later that year.²⁵⁰ Carnhuanawc was an acclaimed, senior scholar of 46: Guest a very new, incomer bride of 21.²⁵¹ On first meeting he greatly impressed her with

... a sort of universality ... conversant on whatever subject was started Mrs Hall [Lady Llanover] and he were praising Wales and the Welsh and maintaining the language as beautiful. ... the calm deliberate reasoning of Mr Price ...²⁵²

His good looks and eloquence were powerfully charismatic.²⁵³ She seems to voice his vision.

²⁴³ Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 99, 107. Guest's journal excerpt as she vows herself to the project referring to her Welsh guides. Dated November 30 1837, quoted below 'Charlotte Guest', Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Guest, p. 88 at n. 282.

²⁴⁴ Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 12. Description, Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 113. Davies' 'Charming Guest', refers to Journal entry 13/03/1843, p. 169, n. 76, and the NLW Guest's Deed Box. Cont. same page, noting ongoing correspondence; p. 171, also she read text aloud to him.

²⁴⁵ Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 12.

²⁴⁶ Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 102.

²⁴⁷ Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 12. Bromwich, 'Guest', p. 8. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 99, 113, 116. This reduces after 1839. Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 12. Journals show many Carnhuanawc visits and cordial collaboration during 1838 working on the first volume in the series. 7/02/1838: Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 20; Davies' 'Charming Guest', p. 165 & p. 170. 2/05/1838: Phillips, p. 20. 2/05/1838: Phillips, p. 12. 10/12/1838: Phillips, p. 21. 11/12/1838: Phillips, p. 21-22. 12/12/1838: Phillips, p. 22. 15/12/1838: Phillips, p. 22. 17/12/1838: Phillips, p. 22; Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 109. 22/12/1838: Phillips, p. 22. [See below Villemarque dispute begins 31/01/1839] Carnhuanawc collaboration cont. 5/05/1839: Phillips, p. 25. Davies, p. 168, she complains of not enough help from him. 18/12/39 & 19/12/1839: Phillips, p. 26. 29/02/1840: Phillips, p. 26. 29/07/1840: Phillips, p. 27. 5/10/1841 & 6/10/1841: Phillips, p. 30.

²⁴⁸ She trusted him to correct her proofs in her absence. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 107. He was an engraver and may have been involved with the *Mabinogion* illustrations; Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 106.

²⁴⁹ Sioned Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 171. 'Abergavenny Welsh Society'. Augusta Hall & husband were also founding members.

²⁵⁰ 'Abergavenny Welsh Society'. Journal, 22/11/1833. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 105.

²⁵¹ She had arrived in Wales only two weeks previously, 15/08/1833. Sioned Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 170. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 102.

²⁵² Sioned Davies, 'Charming Guest', pp. 170-71. Noted with less quote, Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 113-14.

²⁵³ Brinley Rees, 'Price, Thomas (Carnhuanawc; 1787 - 1848), historian and antiquary', Dictionary of Welsh Biography (1959). URL in Bibliography.

Why should we disregard our own traditions . . . because they have not been handed down in Greek or Latin? For my own part, I love the old Legends and Romances as they teach us so naturally the manners and opinions of those who were, in fact, much more nearly connected with us of the present day than were any of the heroes of Rome.²⁵⁴

The pronoun 'our' traditions, particularly suggests assimilation to his agenda.

Carnhuanawc had supported Pughe's *Mabinogion*,²⁵⁵ but after Pughe died (June 1835) Pughe's son Aneirin did not progress publication (above).²⁵⁶

Carnhuanawc's circle acted swiftly. In October Arthur Johnes, Tegid, and Carnhuanawc, held council with Guest.²⁵⁷ The same month Tegid arranged to borrow Bosanquet's copy of *Llyfr Coch*.²⁵⁸ Their speed of action seems to reflect long built frustration after decades of Pughe's difficulties with funding. Guest, crucially, was wealthy.²⁵⁹ She was also enthralled by Carnhuanawc's vision, young, healthy, an accomplished linguist, and powerfully connected outside Wales.

Although Carnhuanawc was central to the Guest *Mabinogion*, she credits him only twice,²⁶⁰ for which she has been criticised.²⁶¹ She cools to him after her bitter dispute with Breton Hersart de La Villemarque (1839, below).²⁶²

Carnhuanawc had long Breton sympathies and Villemarque was his friend.²⁶³

²⁵⁴ Undated journal excerpt, on a visit to Warwick Castle, probably 1834. R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 103. Compare Lady Llanover, as a similarly powerful incomer wife, her total identification with Welsh culture. Celyn Gurden-Williams. 2008. 'Lady Llanover and the Creation of a Welsh Cultural Utopia', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cardiff), p. 22. Maxwell Fraser compares the two, but he is biased in favour of Llanover. 1968. 'Lady Llanover and Her Circle', *Cymm.* (1968), pp. 170–96.

²⁵⁵ Jane Williams, *Carnhuanawc*, Vol. II, p. 165.

²⁵⁶ See Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe, above, p. 78.

²⁵⁷ The CCF deputed Johnes to request the loan of Pughe's manuscripts (17/10/1837), but without success. Their extremely rapid regrouping within a fortnight suggests that well before the CCF initiative 17/10/1837, Guest had been assessed and approved as the next candidate to represent and serve the project. Major distinctions compared to Pughe are her wealth, powerful social status, and (at the time) youthful energy.

²⁵⁸ Guest Journal: 30/11/1837. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 101. Also Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 12. See Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Tegid, p. 83n.247 above.

²⁵⁹ Analysis of her political and economic position, below subsection Guest.

²⁶⁰ As 'Rev. Thomas Price' in her Notes, Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. 142; and as owner of an MS, p. 239.

²⁶¹ She acknowledges Tegid in her Preface, p. viii. WJG is especially critical of her: 'the main credit for this work should go to the two scholars who "devilled" for her, the Rev. John Jones [Tegid] . . . and the Rev. Thomas Price [Carnhuanawc]'. WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 1. My addition of bardic names.

²⁶² See Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Carnhuanawc, p. 84, n. 247 for her journal record of Price's visits.

²⁶³ Carnhuanawc's friendship with Villemarque: Jane Williams, *Carnhuanawc*, II, pp. 223–24. Guest Journal, 17/12/1838: Guest met Villemarque with Carnhuanawc, an 'agreeable' visit. Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 22; Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 109. Six weeks later 31/01/1839, she is raging against Villemarque for plagiarising her. Phillips, p. 23; Guest and John, p. 109. Dispute continues 13/03/1839: Phillips, p. 24. 29/07/1839: Guest and John, p. 109. 11/10/1840: Phillips,

Yet 'there is no evidence of Carnhuanawc requiring greater recognition'.²⁶⁴ He continued to promote Guest's *Mabinogion*: notably in a *CCF* talk in his last month of life; indicating professionalism in seeking the project's success above all.²⁶⁵

~ * ~

8 Charlotte Guest

(19/05/1812–15/01/1895)

English aristocrat, industrialist,
researcher, translator, publisher, philanthropist²⁶⁶

Charlotte Guest published the first *complete* version of the *Mabinogion*: bilingual, Welsh and English text, published simultaneously London and Wales; seven volume series (1838–45).²⁶⁷ A three volume reprint (1849) followed; then a

p. 29; Guest and John, p. 110 (but their dates differ). 20/05/1842: Phillips, p. 33. 8/06/1842: Phillips, p. 33. 28/06/1842: Phillips, p. 33. April 1843. 'Welsh Fiction', *Monthly Review*. I, IV, pp. 454–55, dissects Villemarque claims in forensic detail. 22/07/1842: Phillips, p. 33. 28/07/1842: Phillips, p. 34.

²⁶⁴ Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 115; continues, suggesting Guest may have felt that as Carnhuanawc had died there was no point in thanking him in the Preface. This seems highly unlikely, given the intense respect for the dead in Victorian culture.

²⁶⁵ Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 109.

²⁶⁶ Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie', daughter of Albemarle Bertie, 9th Earl of Lindsey, and his second wife Charlotte Susanna Elizabeth Layard. She had two brothers. Her father died when she was six and her mother remarried to Rev. Peter Pegus. Guest is frequently referred as 'Lady Charlotte Guest'. She remarried (1855), so is also styled 'Lady Charlotte Guest Schreiber' or 'Lady Charlotte Schreiber'. In this study she is referred as 'Charlotte Guest'.

Angela V. John, and Thomas Herbert Parry-Williams, 'Guest (Schreiber), Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie (1812–1895)', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Angela V. John update 2013, personal communication. (URL text Bibliography).

Parts of this section of the chapter were introduced in my paper: 10/10/2014, publ. May 2016.

'Othering a Guest: ethnic, economic and gendered complexities of a giant lady.' Presented at 'The Self and the Other' (RIAH Postgraduate Conference, Swansea), published *Proceedings* (May 2016).

²⁶⁷ FIRST ED. Charlotte Guest. 1838–45. *The Mabinogion; from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes*, illustrated by Samuel Williams, foremost engraver of the day; in 7 vols. series (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, London; simultaneously). Bilingual text 'modernised' Welsh, and English translation; French poetry sources, some MS. facsimiles. (NLW query #10751636, Mark A Strong, 1–11/10/2015)

single volume, English translation only (1877).²⁶⁸ All include 145 pages of Notes, and Samuel Williams' fine engravings.²⁶⁹

TABLE 7 Guest series contents

- 1838. Part 1. 'The Lady of the Fountain' (Owain).
- 1839. Part 2. 'Peredur the son of Evrawc'.
- 1840. Part 3. 'Geraint the son of Erbin'.
- 1842. Part 4. 'Kilhwch and Olwen'.
- 1843. Part 5. The Dream of Rhonabwy'; 'The tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved'.
- 1845. Part 6. 'Pwyll Pendevig Dyved' (Welsh). 'Branwen the daughter of Llŷr';
'Manawyddan the son of Llŷr'; 'Math the son of Mathonwy'.
- 1849. Part 7. 'The dream of Mayen Wledig'; 'Lludd and Llevelys';
'history of Taliesin'.²⁷⁰

Hers was the dominant *Mabinogion* text for a century.²⁷¹ Her 1877 English translation was adopted by Everyman (1906), with many reprintings; the first *Mabinogion* text online was hers (1999).²⁷² Her graceful text, copious Notes, and Williams' illustrations, continue to act as a popular first introduction today.

²⁶⁸ REPRINT. Guest, Charlotte. 1849. *The Mabinogion*, Repr. Illust. Samuel Williams, in 3 vols. (Llandovery: Tonn Press; and London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans). Bilingual text Welsh and English. Vol. 1, Part 1. The lady of the fountain. Part 2. Peredur the son of Evrawc. Vol. 2, Part 3. Geraint the son of Erbin. Part 4. Kilhwch and Olwen. Part 5. The dream of Rhonabwy and (English translation) The tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved. Vol. 3. Pwyll Pendevig Dyved (Welsh text). Part 6. Branwen the daughter of Llŷr, Manawyddan the son of Llŷr, and Math the son of Mathonwy. Part 7. The dream of Mayen Wbdeg, Lludd and Llevelys, and The history of Taliesin. With thanks to 'young' Timothy Cutts, NLW (22/11/2018).

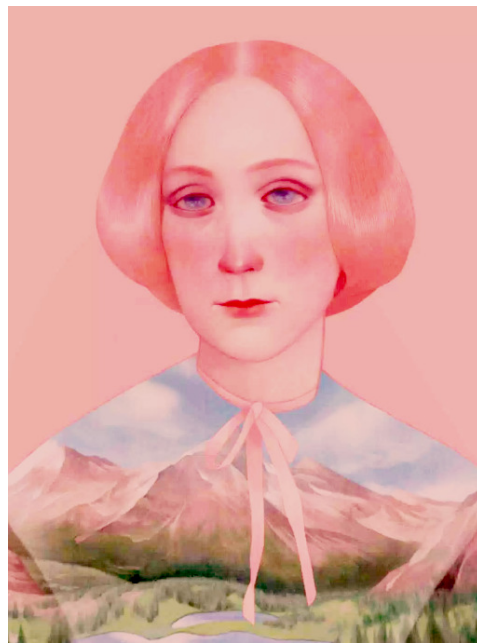
SECOND ED. Guest, Charlotte. 1877. *The Mabinogion*, third edition: *The Mabinogion, From the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest (The Red Book of Hergest) in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford Translated, with Notes*, 3rd ed. (London, 15 Piccadilly: Bernard Quaritch). One volume, English text only, no source texts or facsimiles, but all illustrations by Samuel Williams and Guest's Notes. Online text John Bruno Hare, 'Internet Sacred Texts Archive': (URL text Bibliography). Of many online versions most do not include the complete contents as this version does.

²⁶⁹ A separate section of Notes follows each tale. Introduction pp. xi-xx. Notes to Pwyll Prince of Dyved, pp. 360-65. Notes to Branwen the Daughter of Llŷr, pp. 385- =393. Note on Manawyddan the Son of Llŷr, pp. 411-12. Notes to Math the Son of Mathonwy, pp. 434-440. For full pagination all *Mabinogion* sections, see URL, Bibliography. Samuel Williams, engraver, see Ch. IX Gallery.

²⁷⁰ Copies of the first edition 7 vols. series are incredibly rare today. I searched in vain for many years to locate any. Excitingly the NLW has just purchased a set June 2023, Guest's personal copies her bookplate inside the covers, only one other copy is known in an institutional library. Timothy Cutts, NLW Rare Books Librarian. 26-06-2023.

²⁷¹ It was supplanted by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones. 1949. *The Mabinogion*, Everyman series no. 97 (London: J. M. Dent). Originally published 1948 by art publisher Golden Cockerel Press. The Everyman edition continued in reprints, e.g. illust. Lee. 1982. Margaret/ Maire Jones, 1984.

²⁷² Charlotte Guest., 1906 .*The Mabinogion*, Everyman's Library (London: J. M. Dent & Sons; NY: E. P. Dutton). Printed March, repr. May. Introduction by R. Williams, pp. 1- 4. Guest's original Introduction, pp. 5- 12, signed 'C. E. G. Dowlais, August 29th, 1848', p. 12. The Mabinogi text is pp. 13 -80. For two SCRs Gien Jansen's web pages (1999) see Ch. II.9. 21stC, p. 137.



Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie Guest²⁷³

Guest sustained an informative journal almost continuously, almost lifelong from girlhood.²⁷⁴ She loathed her stepfather, resisting several marriage

²⁷³ April 1916. *Welsh Outlook*, 3, 4. Vol. 3, no. 4 (April 1916).

Hsiao-Ron Cheng, 'Charlotte Guest', 9/04/2014 imaginative interpretation from the (2012) *Welsh Outlook* portrait above. Illustration for Jason Ward, ed. 'Lady Charlotte Guest', biographical article, in his 'Oh Comely' online magazine, no. 21. (URL Bibliog, but illustration has since been removed). Permission Jason Ward, editor 'Oh Comely!' sent 14/02/2017.

²⁷⁴ Age when journal began, Phillips, Lady Charlotte Guest, p. 14. She calls it 'The 'Depository of my dreams', R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 17. See my searchable Index of Guest journals 2015 quotes and references available online, drawn from Phillips. 1921. *Lady Charlotte Guest*; S. Davies. 2004. 'Charming Guest,' R. Guest and John. 2007. *Extraordinary Life*.

arrangements.²⁷⁵ Within a few months of coming of age (at 21), she married her own unconventional choice, the much older, Welsh ironmaster: John Josiah Guest (aged 48).²⁷⁶ She arrived at Dowlais ironworks 15/08/1833. She immediately started to learn Welsh. Although she had already learned seven languages she found Welsh 'difficult'.²⁷⁷

She became a close colleague and friend of Augusta Hall.²⁷⁸ The Guests were founding members of Carnhuanawc's *Cymdeithas Cymreigyddion y Fenni* (November 1833).²⁷⁹ Greatly inspired by the charismatic Carnhuanawc's vision (above), she discussed the 'legends of Wales' with a visitor, Elijah Waring. Guest noted prophetically 'I think it might be desirable to make a collection of them' (November 1835).²⁸⁰ Two years later in council with Carnhuanawc, Tegid, and Arthur Johnes she vowed herself to the task.

Nov. 30. Mr. Justice Bosanquet has, through Tegid, kindly lent me his copy of the *Llyfr Coch yr Hergest* –the *Mabinogion*, which I hope to publish with an English translation, notes, and pictorial illustrations. Price, of Crickhowell, and Tegid have promised their assistance, and by God's blessing I hope I may accomplish the undertaking.²⁸¹

Guest was a human powerhouse.²⁸² During her period of researching and translating *The Mabinogion* she birthed nine of her ten children, almost one child every year. She became marketing representative and co-manager of her husband's huge trans-continental industry, the Dowlais ironworks, and translated associated technical documents.²⁸³ She overhauled employees' house

Shân Morgain. 2015. 'Index of Guest Journals' searchable quotes, excerpts, Mabinogi Study. (URL Bibliography).

²⁷⁵ Unwanted marriage arrangements, R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 36.

²⁷⁶ She came of age 17/05/1833 and married 29/07/1833, in London just ten weeks later. John Josiah Guest, b. 2/2/1785. Her marriage was a *mésalliance*, a man in industry, and Welsh, which degraded her elite social status. She determinedly rebuilt her position via strategic salons. R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 44-45.

²⁷⁷ Her first language was English. She self taught French, German, and Italian, and, with her brothers' tutor, studied Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Persian. Adding Welsh brought her language complement to nine. Sioned Davies. 'Charming Guest', p. 159.

²⁷⁸ Marion Löffler. HALL, AUGUSTA, Lady Llanover Dictionary of Welsh Biography. (URL text Bibliography).

²⁷⁹ 'Abergavenny Welsh Society'. The Halls were also founding members.

²⁸⁰ Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 102.

²⁸¹ Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 19. R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 104, gives Nov. 30. She began reading Bosanquet's translation of *Culhwch*, at dusk (4/12/1837). Phillips, *Guest Journals*, p. 11. R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 104.

²⁸² The biographical portrait in this paragraph is from Revel Guest and Angela V. John, *Extraordinary Life*.

²⁸³ R. Guest; and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 118-33.

sanitation, and founded pioneering schools.²⁸⁴ She supported John Guest's political campaigns as MP, strategically rebuilt her elite society position,²⁸⁵ and liaised with the leading scholars of her day.

She was a perfectionist.

I cannot endure anything in a second grade. I am happy to see we are at the head of the iron trade. Otherwise I could not take pride in my house in the City and my Works at Dowlais, and glory (playfully) in being (in some sort) a tradeswoman. Then again, my blood is of the noblest and most princely in the Kingdom, and if I go into Society, it must be the very best and first. I can brook no other. If I occupy myself in writing, my book must be splendidly got up and must be, as far at least as decoration and typography are concerned, at the head of literature²⁸⁶



²⁸⁴ R. Guest; and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 73 -79.

²⁸⁵ R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 44-45.

²⁸⁶ Judith Johnston 2001. 'Victorian Appropriations: Lady Charlotte Guest Translates The Mabinogion', in *Studies in Medievalism: Appropriating the Middle Ages*, ed. by Shippey, Tom and Martin Arnold, et al. Scholarship, Politics, Fraud series (D.S. Brewer), pp. 154-5; S. Davies, 'Charming Guest,' p. 170. Guest's deeply ingrained, aristocratic arrogance about 'trade' is evident in how she qualifies her position as '(playfully) ... (in some sort) a tradeswoman'. This is immediately followed by her forceful claim to her natural entitlement to the elite: 'my blood is of the noblest and most princely in the Kingdom'.

Samuel Williams 'Rhiannon'²⁸⁷



LEFT: First edition, Heritage Books.
RIGHT: Second edition, Parnassus Book Service, Inc.²⁸⁸

Rhyw/ Gender

Sioned Davies notes 'charm ... the word most often associated with her work' is often applied to Victorian ladies' 'accomplishments' but never to professional work.²⁸⁹

its charm and literary qualities will always ensure it a foremost place in the field which Lady Guest was the first to explore completely (Ellis and Lloyd, 1929).²⁹⁰

Her translation was a charming and felicitous piece of English prose, which has been justly esteemed by every succeeding generation of readers as a classic in its own right. (Jones and Jones, 1949).²⁹¹

graceful and romantic rendition. (Ford, 1977).²⁹²

²⁸⁷ Samuel Williams, 'Rhiannon', foremost engraver of the day, evidently appointed because of his pre-eminence. Illustration Guest, *Mabinogion*, vol. 5, p. 347. Probably the most well known artwork of Rhiannon, freely available online (Sacred Texts and others, URL Bibliog). It inspired the John Cleal artwork (1989), Ch. IX. Gallery.

²⁸⁸ Photograph credits. LEFT: Photo Paul Motschall. With permission from Ben Weinstein email (21/09/2015). Heritage Book Shop, 9024 Burton Way., Beverly Hills, CA 90211, USA. (URL Heritage Books, Bibliography).

Provenance: acquired November 2007, sold March 2008. Re-acquired from client January 2014, sold January of 2015. Listed as 'three quarter brown morocco over red cloth, titles and tooling in gilt, gilt lettering on spine. Inside the volumes hold in total, one folding MS. facsimile; thirteen full page MSS. facsimiles; two folding engravings; and numerous black and white engravings. Longman, London first edition'. (URL text Via Libri, Bibliography, but no longer displayed).

RIGHT: Guest. 1849. *Mabinogion*, repr. in 3 vols. Photograph with permission from Sarah Romano, email 21/09/15. Parnassus Book Service Inc, YarmouthPort, MA, U.S.A.

²⁸⁹ Sioned Davies, 'Charming Guest,' p. 166. Accomplishments were pleasant, pleasing behaviours; generally clean and tidy; or elegant, such as personal style and adornment, embroidery, sketching, singing, light conversation and flirting.

²⁹⁰ Ellis and Lloyd. 1929. *Mabinogion*, p. vii. This was the first English translation following Guest, a gap of about 80 years; Ch. II.6. Academia.

²⁹¹ Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*, p. XXVII.

²⁹² Ford, *Native Tales*, p. IX.

Guest is critiqued for her apparently maternal agenda. Ellis and Lloyd suggest she wanted

[...] a version which could be used for the instruction and amusement of her own children, with the result that parts of her translation are either inaccurate or bowdlerised.²⁹³

Jones and Jones find the 'ever present sense of an undertaking ad usum filioli have left their tell-tale marks in her text'.²⁹⁴ Guest does dedicate her work to her baby sons, hoping they will learn high ideals from it.²⁹⁵ However if a dedication defines its study, the many male scholars who dedicate to their wives might be said to aim their works as marital advice projects. Guest does mention reading her current translation aloud to her children, but also to her adult family and friends, and her Welsh scholarly colleagues.²⁹⁶ Donna White points out it is 'a massive, bilingual, multi-volume collection of tales accompanied by voluminous scholarly notes and appendices'.²⁹⁷ Guest's scholarly notes comprise 145 pages.²⁹⁸ In her second edition (1877) Guest notes the books are being read by 'the learned both among ourselves and on the Continent'. She now aims for a *less* learned audience.²⁹⁹ Sioned Davies concludes 'nowhere does Charlotte Guest reiterate this [juvenile] definition'.³⁰⁰

Guest does slightly gloss Arawn's offer of his wife as a 'companion',³⁰¹ and Rhiannon's wedding night.³⁰² To Ellis and Lloyd this distorts the tale with 'mistaken propriety'.³⁰³ They find Guest's translation 'inaccurate' and

²⁹³ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. vii.

²⁹⁴ Jones and Jones, *Mabinogion*, 'ad usum filioli' – 'for the use of children' p. XXVII.

²⁹⁵ Guest, *Mabinogion*, Dedication, p. v. Guest dates this note 'Dowlais, August 29th, 1838.' This might have been reinforced by Pughe's title 'Juvenile Amusements' for his first two Mabinogi publications (above); and the 19thC Ioloic/ Rhŷs' bardic apprentice' interpretation, Ch. II.6. Academia, following. The Lanier edition of Guest, aimed at schoolboys, is a further contribution to the 'children's' connotation. Charlotte Guest, and Sidney Lanier, eds. 1881. *The Boy's Mabinogion; Being the Earliest Welsh Tales of King Arthur in the Famous Red Book of Hergest*. Abridged (London: Sampson Low and Co.). (URL text Bibliography).

If anyone cultivated a children's agenda it appears to be male scholars.

²⁹⁶ S. Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 170.

²⁹⁷ Donna Rae White. 1995. 'The Crimes of Lady Charlotte Guest', *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 15, pp. 245 (URL text Bibliography)

²⁹⁸ They are not a grouped set of pages, but intersperse each tale. Counting up is not hard on the Sacred Texts site given above, or any Guest hard copy edition.

²⁹⁹ White. 1995. 'Crimes,' p. 245. Guest, 'Preface to the Second Edition', in *Mabinogion*, p. vii.

³⁰⁰ S. Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 165. My insertion.

³⁰¹ Guest, 'Pwyll Prince of Dyved', p. 341.

³⁰² PKM1 4.26–5.5; Guest attaches 'mirth and tranquillity' to the feast, then 'Pwyll and Rhiannon went to their chamber'. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyved', p. 342. They 'spent that night in pleasure and contentment' JKB 31.2. The difference is subtle.

³⁰³ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 11, n. 32.

'bowdlerised',³⁰⁴ that she 'misrendered' certain passages, 'no doubt under a sense of delicacy';³⁰⁵ without specifics. Jones and Jones undertake 'serious character assassination',³⁰⁶ claiming she 'emasculates' Pwyll.³⁰⁷

Lady Guest reproduced not so much the *Mabinogion* as a *Mabinogion* colored ... by the social and moral prejudices of her class and age. To conclude, hers were beauties indeed, but too often they were not the beauties of her original.³⁰⁸

They underestimate the enormous scandal if Guest included explicit Mabinogi texts about sexuality: it would have imperilled the reputation of the project for a female or male editor, alike.³⁰⁹ Guest does give the unredacted text in her Welsh source pages.³¹⁰ White comments dryly that Guest's critics have to find fault with the previous work in order to justify their own.³¹¹

Cymraeg – Saesneg/ Welsh – English

Besides gender and maternity, Guest is tensioned by her Englishness. Her early reviews declare

Lady Charlotte Guest is doing more to popularise and make the English reader acquainted with the old Welsh National literature than all the other living antiquaries in the principality.³¹²

Lady C. Guest could not have bestowed a more acceptable gift upon her adopted countrymen... undoubtedly an acquisition to English

³⁰⁴ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. vii.

³⁰⁵ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 112.

³⁰⁶ White, 'Crimes', p. 163.

³⁰⁷ Jones and Jones, *Mabinogion*, pp. 5-6.

³⁰⁸ Jones & Jones, *Mabinogion*, pp. 5-6. Referring to her 'beauties' is suggestive of her female body, as 'beauty' was then, and largely still is, a tyrannical culture of specifically female embodiment. The plural suggests breasts, so often a magnet, a barrier for a male gaze to look above the neck. The slur that she does not present the original, but a false construction, evokes the use of cosmetics, a strictly female culture at the time (1950s). Moreover cosmetics were either not used by respectable women, or used only a very little, as their arts were associated with prostitution and dubious (female) sexual morality. Cosmetics aim to deceive, a social weapon strongly associated with women to 'charm,' that epithet frequently applied to Guest (above).

³⁰⁹ Pughe, like Guest attaches 'pleasures' to the banquet: CR III, p. 243.

³¹⁰ Donna White notes Guest's Welsh text is "complete with rape, adultery and people sleeping together.' Both the Pwyll sex scenes are there. Guest also gives the Welsh text 'pride of place in her first edition compared to the translation.' White, 'Further Crimes, p. 165. Even in translation Guest does not excise the PKM4 Goewin rape scene, or the sexual punishment for the rapists, though she omits their gender transformations. White, *ibid.* p. 164. Guest also mentions the (complete) Edward Jones translation to her readers. Guest, *Mabinogion*, original endnotes, p. 287. She was apparently not puritanical, much enjoying Chaucer's bawdy tales all her life; she had the *Canterbury Tales* Prologue by heart. White, *ibid.* pp. 163-64. She was still reciting it at the end of her life, R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 238.

³¹¹ White, 'Crimes,' p. 163. White continues 'And it is of interest that most translators of the *Mabinogion* seem to measure their work against Guest's, remaining fairly noncommittal about any intervening versions.'

³¹² Dec. 1839. Charlotte Guest, *Mabinogion*, II. *Monthly Review* III. 1V, p. 132.

literature.³¹³

While complimentary to Guest, these comments place her as a superior outsider to Welsh culture, disparaging Welsh scholarship, and coopting the text to 'English literature'. Certainly Guest had fulfilled the project which Pughe had not, and she reached far wider into English readership. But her achievement was built with the organised support and resources from Welsh mentors and colleagues. She did little to publicly acknowledge them. They are not credited at the front of her books. We know (some of) them from her journals; notably (above) Thomas Price ('Carnhuanawc') and John Jones ('Tegid').³¹⁴ In 1921 a scandal erupted accusing Guest of plagiarising and appropriating Welsh scholars: sent to the *Western Mail* under the pseudonym 'Ap Dowlais.' Phillips (1921), White (1995, 1997) and Davies (2004) refute the accusation.³¹⁵ Yet the taint persists,³¹⁶ Ronald

³¹³ April 1843. 'Welsh Fiction, *Monthly Review*, I, IV, p. 453 and 467. The Contents page lists this as 'The *Mabinogion*, from Llyfr Coch o Hergest and other Ancients Welsh MSS.; with an English Translation and Notes. By Lady Charlotte Guest. Parts I, II, III, and IV. 1838-42', however the title in the body of the journal is 'Welsh Fiction' and gives a long and detailed history of Welsh literature; the Guest review begins 22 pages in, at p. 453. The Contents page (unnumbered) lists this as 'The *Mabinogion*, from Llyfr Coch o Hergest and other Ancients Welsh MSS.; with an English Translation and Notes. By Lady Charlotte Guest. Parts I, II, III, and IV. 1838-42'. However the title in the body of the journal is 'Welsh Fiction' and gives a long and detailed history of Welsh literature; the Guest review begins 22 pages in, at p. 453. Available to view online, on google books.

³¹⁴ Carnhuanawc is mentioned 10 times in the published journal content, between Aug. 28 1833 and 22 Dec. 1838. Tegid is mentioned 11 times between 29 Oct. 1836 and 17 July 1839. She refers specifically to Tegid's collaboration with her in her journals November 30, December 8 1837; February 26 1838; March 13; April 9 1839. Also to other dates when Tegid visited her in this period. Carnhuanawc is specifically referenced in collaboration November 30 1837; February 5, December 10 and 11, staying with her until the 15th; again December 17 to 22 1838; May 14, staying over December 18 and 19 1839; staying over February 27 and 28; July 29 1840; October 5 and 6 1841. Shân Morgain, 'Index of Guest Journals', Mabinogi Study. Excerpts, dated, with refs. to sources. Searchable. (URL text Bibliography).

³¹⁵ Phillips, *Extracts*. It was this scandal which prompted Phillips' publication. The material was supplied to him by Guest's youngest daughter Blanche, Countess of Bessborough on his request, before WWI. Rachel Bromwich. 'Charlotte Guest', based on Phillips' text. White. 'Crimes of Guest', pp. 242 -9; and 'Further Crimes Charlotte Guest', pp. 157-166. Sioned Davies, 'Charming Guest'. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 114-115.

³¹⁶ Various refs. p. 91-92, above.

Hutton Professor of History at Bristol, subscribes to it (2011).³¹⁷ No such complaint appears on record from the Welsh scholars themselves.³¹⁸

Guest arrived in Wales as an incomer wife August 1833. Several years after widowhood she married an English husband, departing 1855. Her dedicated 'Welsh life' was therefore 22 years, then she returned to her English roots. Her English aristocratic status greatly helped the *Mabinogion* project.³¹⁹ Judith Johnston frames Guest as a coloniser, 'appropriating' the text as an English literature'.³²⁰ She quotes Guest's Introduction that the *Mabinogion* 'in their present form, are not wholly Welsh.' However it is standard *Mabinogion* scholarship to recognise the tales, outside the Four Branches, as part of Anglo-French exchange.³²¹

After Guest had been based in England for 20 years she published an English-only edition (1877). An Anglophone discourse developed with English-language commentary and a series of later English translations.³²² By translating and publishing *The Mabinogion* Guest promoted it to a much wider audience across Europe and America. Yet translation can all too easily appropriate a

³¹⁷ Examples, not a comprehensive list: WJG is especially sharp in *Rhiannon*, p. 1. Also WJG. 'In this work she was aided by Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc), John Jones (Tegid) and others.' 1958. *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion: A lecture delivered at the National Museum of Wales on 27 October 1950* (UWP), p. 1. Parry-Williams, T. H. extract in GUEST, *Welsh Biography*, p. 322. Meic Stephens. 1998 edn. orig. 1986. 'Guest, Charlotte', in *The New Companion to the Literature of Wales* (UWP, Cardiff), p. 288. Katie Gramich. 2000. 'Lady Charlotte Guest 1812 - 1895: British translator, diarist and collector,' in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation Into English: A-L*, ed. by Classe, Olive (Taylor & Francis), p. 592. Most recently Ronald Hutton, 'Medieval Welsh Literature and Pre-Christian Deities,' *CMCS*, 61, (2011).

³¹⁸ Above, Carnhuanawc. Although there seems a cooling in Guest's later attitude to him, possibly due to tension concerning his friend the Breton Villeneuve causing his divided loyalty, he never wavered in his support to her. He was still promoting her *Mabinogion* in a talk he gave in the last month of his life; Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 109.

³¹⁹ Also the wealth of Dowlais ironworks, and their Parliamentary career (Guest supported John Josiah as MP). Guest & John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 118-92.

³²⁰ Johnston, Judith, 'Victorian Appropriations', p. 46. She quotes *The Monthly Review*, above, but this is not Guest herself doing the appropriating. I do see Guest contributing to an Anglocentric orientation by way of her English-only Second Edition in combination with other factors (below), though I doubt this was her intention. She shows too high a respect and enthusiasm for her Welsh mentors, Carnhuanawc above.

³²¹ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, pp. 16-17. He quotes (pp. 16-17) Constance Bullock-Davies. 1966. *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain* (Cardiff), p. 18.

³²² Helen Fulton refers to 'the main collection of native prose tales, known by the English title of "The Mabinogion"'. It was not so much the title which was English, as that was present in 18thC and 19thC Welsh scholars (below). But a perception of anglicisation is evident here. Helen Fulton. 2011. 'Literature of the Welsh Gentry: Uses of the Vernacular in Medieval Wales', in *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300-1550, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 17*, ed. by Salter, Elisabeth, and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols), p. 196. Also Ch. II.6. Academia, and Ch. II.7. Paradigm, following.

source text for the target culture. The acquiring culture inevitably distorts source meanings, and categorises the text itself to suit its own perceptions.³²³ It is therefore of concern that Guest is typically presented as simply 'the translator' of *The Mabinogion*, as if her main achievement was to transform it into an English text. Yet her pioneering achievement was bilingual and bilocal. Her first and second editions were both bilingual texts, which is rarely mentioned.³²⁴ Both editions were simultaneously published in Wales and London. Johnston queries the usefulness of Guest's Welsh text, as she doubts contemporary Welsh literacy as adequate to reading it.³²⁵ The 18thC circulating schools achieved very high Welsh literacy, even though booming 19thC immigration matching American levels later diminished it somewhat. Johnston also overlooks the tradition of reading aloud in families and clubs, between friends or lovers, so one reader services many listeners. Guest herself polished her text by reading it aloud not only to family and friends, but to her Welsh scholarly colleagues.³²⁶

English by birth and proud of her natal heritage (above), Guest herself shows little sign of colonial condescension, rather the reverse. She saw the tales in her Introduction as 'the cradle of European Romance'.³²⁷ She champions them against the Classics in which she had been highly educated as an English aristocrat. From her mentor Carnhuanawc she speaks of 'our own traditions' meaning *Welsh* traditions, allying herself with native scholars.³²⁸

While typically defined as a translator, Guest has been attacked as an inferior one. Ellis and Lloyd critique her for 'faults of the translation ... few though at times important'.³²⁹ Jones and Jones condemn her 'lack of strict scholarship',³³⁰ and more (above). White remarks these are voices attempting to

³²³ Keya Majumdar. July-August 2006. 'Appropriating the 'Other': Some Challenges of Translation and its Theories', in *Indian Literature*, 50, 4, pp. 163-170. (URL text Bibliography) Thien Vuong Nguyen. 2015. 'Translating Culture: Providing a framework to combat cultural appropriation', (Brown University,). (URL text Bibliography) Julie Sanders. 2016. *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London, NY: Routledge), especially Ch. 7. "We "Other Victorians": or, rethinking the nineteenth century'.

³²⁴ It is relevant the Welsh text was transcribed and modernised by Tegid, not Guest, but it was her decision to include it in the books.

³²⁵ Judith Johnston, 'Victorian Appropriations', p. 149.

³²⁶ Sioned Davies 'Charming Guest', p. 170.

³²⁷ Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. xxiii.

³²⁸ See quote 'our own traditions', under Carnhuanawc above, p. 84.

³²⁹ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. viii.

³³⁰ Jones and Jones, *Mabinogion*, p. xxvii.

replace her as the canonical translation. Sioned Davies observes critique of Guest is contradictory. She supposedly appropriated and exploited the most excellent of Welsh scholars, yet she is damned for her inferior translations.³³¹

Guest has been criticised for introducing the erroneous '*mabinogion*' title, but it is evident (above) the title dates back to 18thC Welsh scholarship.³³² She is credited with the 'cradle of romance' concept, but this too was also part of Welsh tradition (below). In all these things, publishing bilingually in both Wales and London, using the *Mabinogion* title and the concept of a source romance tradition, Guest was faithful to her Welsh mentors. On publishing the English translation alone, her 1877 Preface explains it as a response to 'a much wider circle of readers' beyond the scholarly, creating demand for a 'more popular edition of my work'.³³³

Yet still, she returned to her English life, which sundered her friendship with Augusta Hall. In 1855 when she left Wales she was only 43, so a second marriage is unsurprising. A second *Welsh* husband could have reinforced her honorary Welshness, but as in her first marital choice, Guest went her own way. It is worth noting her 22 years of Welsh dedication measure a substantial career. Thomas Stephens, the brilliant Welsh scholar who the Guests sponsored (below), put in only six years more before he died.³³⁴ Perhaps most significantly, Guest records she persuaded her husband to add a clause to his Will that if she remarried she must relinquish all involvement with Dowlais.³³⁵ Widowed, she

³³¹ Sioned Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 166.

³³² Pughe, TABLE 6 Pughe's Mabinogi related publications, pp. 70-71. The occasional, careful writer says that Guest 'popularised' the *Mabinogion* title, which is true as her publications have had such a long and widespread distribution. But unless this is expanded, to the uninitiated or hurried reader, the impression is that Guest introduced the title.

³³³ Guest, her Preface, *The Mabinogion*, 3rd ed., p. vii.

³³⁴ Thomas Stephens (April 21, 1821 – January 4, 1875), *eisteddfod* winner, and author of 1849, repr. 1876. *The Literature of the Kymry*.

³³⁵ The girl Charlotte had hated her own stepfather, and possibly wished to protect her children from any similar strife. It bears consideration that under British law at the time whatever she inherited from John Josiah Guest would pass to her new husband's control. The Married Women's Property Act did not arrive until 1882. The clause she requested would thus protect her children's inheritance.

John Josiah Guest made a series of Wills. Each showed his increasing trust in his wife. She records her own request to be excluded from control of the business if she remarried ref. the Will of 1837. The 1847 Will gave her control of properties for the children. Wills in 1850 and codicils 1852 sustained the limiting of business control to her widowhood. Guest, R. and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 174 -5.

brought the ironworks safely through a major strike, and out of slump, then duly left, handing control to her eldest son Ivor when he came of age.³³⁶

Economeg/ Economics

The meticulous labour of which Guest was so proud required many years of wealthy leisure. It was her wealth, as well as her linguistic skill and youthful energy, which made her the pre-eminent candidate for the *Mabinogion* project (above, Carnhuanawc). She lavishly financed publication by Longmans, the leading publisher of the day, and illustration by Williams, the leading engraver. She was wealthy both as the daughter of an English Earl, and the wife of a leading Welsh ironmaster. Since 1760 the Welsh had migrated overwhelmingly to the exploding economy of south-east Wales, building Wales as the world's first industrial nation.³³⁷ Dowlais ironworks supplied rail track across Britain, Europe and Russia, leading an industrial boom in Wales which drew massive immigration equalling America. Welsh iron and steel funded *The Mabinogion* publications in luxurious style (above).

But the ironmasters were hated as exploiters of the working class. Guest lived in Merthyr, the centre of the Chartist Rising. She records how the uprising confined her family at home, guarded by militia, desperately being brave.³³⁸ There were mass attacks on shops and offices, burning down the hated Court of Requests.³³⁹ Guest felt a maternal condescension for 'these poor deluded creatures'.³⁴⁰ The Dowlais workforce, she was pleased to note, did not strike.³⁴¹ After her husband died she managed a volatile economic period, with widespread strikes across the industry. Dowlais' stability was probably due to her

³³⁶ Guest & John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 133, 191-92.

³³⁷ National Museum, Wales. 18/04/2007. 'Wales – the first industrial nation of the world. 'By 1850, there were more people employed in industry in Wales than in agriculture. This makes Wales the world's first industrial nation.' Opening sentence. (URL, Bibliography)

³³⁸ R. Guest, and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 67- 70. For an excellent analysis of the Chartist connection and Guest's politics see Angela V. John. 2008. 'Deference in Dowlais? Lady Charlotte Guest and the Chartists. Talk at the Dic Penderyn Society' (Merthyr Tydfil). Guest moved from an initial, youthful idealism about Chartism and labour movements, to a classically 'paternalistic' (sic) attitude in political terms.

³³⁹ Bailiffs' office which took away debtors' goods and furniture. Socialist Party Wales: (URL text Bibliography).

³⁴⁰ John, 'Deference in Dowlais' p. 5.

³⁴¹ John, 'Deference in Dowlais' p. 9.

philanthropy in providing innovative schools, and healthy sanitation in workers houses, plus her finely tuned communication skills.

This wealthy lady wore silken dresses, sitting in her pretty boudoir, with fresh flowers and books around her as she worked. She was undeniably impressive giving birth to ten children, while achieving so much in so many spheres of life; but there was an army of servants tending those ten children for her. Meanwhile her Welsh workers lived harsh, short, exploited lives, providing her comforts and free time to work on *The Mabinogion*. They had no say in the English lady's decision to use their sweated labour to publish a gold-embellished book of their legends. (Pughe's final *Mabinogion* attempt was funded by predominantly Welsh subscribers, freely purchasing a stake in the publication.) Welsh comment on this anomalous heroine is critical at times, yet none confront her economics.

Rhiannon

There are some powerful parallels between the Rhiannon and Guest narratives. Both are headstrong heroines who insist on their choice of husband (Pwyll, John Guest) in a context of mediaeval bestowal and 19thC arranged marriage, respectively. Guest met John Guest in London; he may be figured as a 'prince' of industry, powerful and wealthy; like Pwyll, he achieved much acclaim in 'wild Wales'.³⁴² Both women are incomer wives. Their two marriages are long, happy and loyal. Both are elite aristocrats and wealthy, clever, strategic operators, strongly active politically. Both patronise the arts, and Rhiannon's feasts parallel Guest's salons. Both are dedicated mothers, although Rhiannon has only one surviving child on record. Both women are widowed, and marry again; their second husbands are lesser in status at the time. During their second marriages both relocate to England. Both have long lives.³⁴³

It might be expected that Guest, during her *Mabinogion* period, felt affinity with Rhiannon. Yet she never comments on her, instead, explicitly favouring

³⁴² A tag used to frame Wales as barbaric cf. Ch. II.6. Academia: Arnold. For example: George Borrow. 1862. *Wild Wales: The People, Language & Scenery* (J. Murray). Announced 1857; and Prys Morgan. 2000. 'Wild Wales: Civilizing the Welsh from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries', in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. by Burke, Peter; Brian Harrison and Paul Slack (OUP), pp. 265–83.

³⁴³ Calculation of life stages and ages, final section of Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, pp. 271–74.

Branwen.³⁴⁴ This is probably due to Guest's anomalous position as a Victorian wife and mother, and a political-economic powerhouse. Promoting Rhiannon would offend Victorian stereotypes of subordinate femininity, and Guest (like Rhiannon) was a strategist. Branwen was a suitably 'feminine' model. However, although Guest says nothing directly about her *alter ego* Rhiannon, she left a living testament on what she privately felt about her. As she translated Rhiannon's story (1844) she birthed a daughter and named her 'Constance Rhiannon.'³⁴⁵ Only one other of her ten children was named from her literary work.³⁴⁶ Significantly 'Rhiannon' was the daughter's *second* name, discreetly hidden in plain view.³⁴⁷

~

9 Thomas Stephens, 'Casnodyn', 'Gwrnerth', 'Caradawg' (1821-1875) historian, social reformer, philanthropist, Eisteddfod luminary.

Stephens had a Unitarian background and education. He was apprenticed to a Merthyr Tydfil pharmacist, inheriting the business.³⁴⁸ He was a tireless social

³⁴⁴ Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. 388. 'The beautiful Branwen (or Bronwen, the "white-bosomed," as she is more frequently called), is one of the most popular heroines of Welsh romance. No less celebrated for her woes than for her charms, we find that her eventful story was a favourite theme with the bards and poets of her nation.' Guest continues at some length about a possible discovery of Branwen's grave, later discredited. Compare her terse note on Rhiannon, p. 363, concerned with her Birds, not Rhiannon herself. She makes a striking literary innovation which re-titled the Second Branch as 'Branwen ferch Llyr' (instead of her brother's name, as previously). Koch, John T. 2005. 'Branwen Ferch Llŷr', in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, I, ed. by Koch, John T. (ABC-CLIO, 2005) p. 239. The Four Branches in their mediaeval manuscripts do not display titles, but Welsh scholars had referred to them by the names of leading male protagonists (Pwyll, Bran, Manawydan, Math), until Guest firmly established Branwen as titular. Compare Pughe's 'Tale of Bran', in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 183.

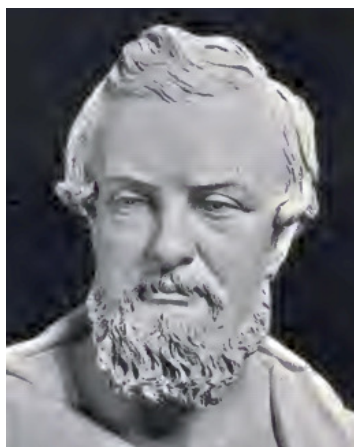
³⁴⁵ Constance Rhiannon Guest, b. 17/11/1844. R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, Appendix 7, p. 260 (unnumbered page follows p. 259). Diagram, Guest family tree/ descendants. Constance Rhiannon's does not appear to participate otherwise in the Mabinogi story. Her younger sister transcribed excerpts of their mother's journals, published by David Rhys Phillips, 1921.

³⁴⁶ 'Edith', a blamelessly obedient Arthurian maiden. On Edith, Guest wrote in her Journal, 22/07/1843: 'Enid is such a favourite character with the elder children (as well as with myself) that they begged hard that she might be called so'. S. Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 164. No such family clamour is recorded about Rhiannon.

³⁴⁷ Sioned Davies remarks this naming of the two daughters as 'reflecting Guest's inner struggle ... Enid, an ancient role model for the ideal Victorian wife', and Rhiannon, 'an independent and strong individual who, like Guest herself, refuses to marry her parents' choice of husband.' S. Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 164.

³⁴⁸ 113 High Street Merthyr Tydfil. Welsh Biography.

activist, pioneering and fundraising a public library in the town (1846); a Temperance Hall (1850s); and a long term relief fund for families bereft by the Crawshay Gethin Pit No. 2 disaster (1862).



Thomas Stephens³⁴⁹

He was an extremely frequent Eisteddfod prize-winner, also serving on judges' panels. His critical essays looked to replace Welsh romanticism with a more scientific approach; critiquing Iolo Morgannwg,³⁵⁰ and reforming Pughe's orthography.³⁵¹ However his strict integrity caused clashes. His essay debunking the Madoc legend was disallowed (Llangollen, 1858). He refused to be interrogated by a fellow judge on his religious beliefs. He therefore withdrew from the Eisteddfodau on principle.³⁵² His literary production was cut short by a relatively youthful death at 54 from strokes. His *History of Wales* went unpublished,³⁵³ and his reputation left vulnerable. He became obscure until the 21stC³⁵⁴

³⁴⁹ From Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, Frontispiece: Bust by J. Edwards.

³⁵⁰ Thomas Stephens. 1852-1853. 'Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg)', in *Yr Ymofynnydd*.

³⁵¹ Thomas Stephens and Robert John Pryse. 1859, repr. 2009. *Orgraph yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Gee)

³⁵² Marion Löffler. 2017. 'Stephens, Thomas (Casnodyn, Gwrnerth, Caradawg; 1821-1875), historian and social reformer', Welsh Biography. (URL Bibliography)

Shân Morgain. June 2018. 'Thomas Stephens and the Mabinogi/ *Mabinogion*: excerpts, quotes and summaries'. (URL download, Bibliography)

³⁵³ Thomas Stephens. 24-27 Sept. 1850. 'Summary of the History of Wales from the earliest period to the present time', Eisteddfod essay, 500pp. gained first prize at the Rhuddlan Castle Royal Eisteddfod and North Wales Musical Festival. Remained unpublished due to a lack of patronage.' Welsh Biography, and NLW MS 4503E - Rhuddlan Eisteddfod. Also Morgain, 'Stephens'.

³⁵⁴ Marion Löffler, and Adam Coward, (2014-2016) 'Knowledge Transfer and Social Networks: European Learning and the Revolution in Welsh Victorian Scholarship', CAWCS, University of Wales. Currently researching: how European knowledge was transferred to Merthyr Tydfil in the 1840s and 1850s, especially the effect of local elite patronage and the role of the lower middle class in the process of modernizing Wales and its learning. (URL data Bibliography)

His *Literature of the Kymry* (1849) is a *tour de force*, analysing mediaeval Welsh literature into five categories: Poetry, Music, History, the Triads, and *Mabinogion* (prose stories).³⁵⁵ He takes a dim view of the *beirdd*.³⁵⁶ His usage of 'mabinogi' demonstrates a plausible meaning as a major, named person's narrative, pre-Arthurian.³⁵⁷ Storytellers are seen as part of an international culture.³⁵⁸ He admires *Mabinogion* prose as literature for its 'free and flowing' language',³⁵⁹ frequently referring to it as romance.³⁶⁰ From its powerful use of dialogue he proposes a 12thC dramatic performance art.³⁶¹ He sees the supernatural as essential plot 'machinery'.³⁶² Pwyll and Pryderi, as Penn Annwfn, are therefore Annwfn gatekeepers.³⁶³ Rhiannon is not specifically mentioned, but nor are many other leading characters.

~

10 *Rhamant*/ Romance

The Welsh Renaissance of Mabinogi scholarship (here extended to include Guest and Stephens), presents a tradition of 'romance' literature.³⁶⁴ The passage below draws together signs of that discourse in schematic style.³⁶⁵

Luft explains a Romance is technically

³⁵⁵ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. x. 'The *Mabinogion*' is treated mainly in Ch. II, s. IV, pp. 396-426. (PDF download, Bibliography) The book was sponsored by the Guests, primarily John Josiah.

³⁵⁶ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, pp. 416-17. Quoted Ch. V.5. Pwyl: Lifelines!, p. 272, n. 419.

³⁵⁷ i.e. pre-12thC. Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*: 'the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen', pp. 85, 247, 307; 'the Mabinogi of Taliesin', pp. 108, 171, 179, 195, 397; 'the Mabinogi of Pwyll', pp. 190, 272, also 'the romance of Pwyll', p. 188; 'the Mabinogi of Bronwen', p. 196; and 'the Mabinogi of Math', p. 274.

³⁵⁸ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 71. He compares the Welsh tales: 'The Arabian Nights were certainly known in Europe when the Mabinogi of Taliesin was written.' p. 170, n. 1. Cf. Pughe, Guest.

³⁵⁹ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 108.

³⁶⁰ Romance, next section, for detailed referencing, pp. 101-04.

³⁶¹ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 71. Prefigures the late 20thC work of Brynley Roberts and Sioned Davies: Ch. II.3. Performance.

³⁶² Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 399. His 'fabulous stories', p. 400, roots back to Lhuyd's 1707 '*fabulosas*', Lhuyd, above.

³⁶³ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 189. He notes the Mabinogi and *Preiddeu Annwfn* accounts 'differ materially'. p. 190.

³⁶⁴ Early Romanticism (*Frühromantik*) is considered to begin in Germany c. 1796-1802. Keren Gorodeisky. Fall 2016 '19th Century edn.' Romantic Aesthetics', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed by Zalta, Edward N. esp. n. 1. (URL Bibliography.) My study here argues a Welsh origin narrative.

³⁶⁵ Bold emphasis on key quote words is mine.

[...] a text composed in one of the vernacular languages descended from Latin, [then] by the eighteenth century 'romance' referred to medieval narrative in general, especially those texts characterized by a high level of wonder and fantasy [...]³⁶⁶

Johnson's English dictionary (1755):

ROMA'NCE. n.s. [roman, Fr. romanza, Italian.] 1. A military fable of the middle ages; a tale of wild adventures in war and love.
2. A lie, a fiction. In common speech.³⁶⁷

LEWIS MORRIS seems the first to identify the prose texts as 'romance' (1760s).³⁶⁸ He describes PKM2 as a 'wild **Romance**'; and PKM4 as having "the best language of any of these **Romances**".³⁶⁹ Luft comments his usage shows he considers the tales 'belong to the medieval world.'³⁷⁰

PUGHE'S Mabinogi publications virtually all titled as **Romances**.³⁷¹

Being Ancient Welsh **Romances** (1795)

with introductory note:

There are in the Welfh language feveral **romantic** Tales... varioufly denominated *Mabinogion*³⁷²

The **Romantic** Tales called *Mabinogion* (1799)³⁷³

The **Romantic** Tales of the *Mabinogion* (1818)³⁷⁴

The *Mabinogion*, or The Ancient **Romances** of Wales (1828)³⁷⁵

³⁶⁶ Luft, 'Morris', p. 3. My insertion.

³⁶⁷ Johnson, *Dictionary*, p. 1717. In a Welsh oriented study like this one, Pughe's *Geiriadur* would be more apt as the first dictionary definition. However the profile here is chronological, and Johnson was historically prior to Pughe. Also his English *Dictionary* would have influenced educated Welsh people of the mid-18thC, who would be bilingual Welsh/ English, or monolingual English.

³⁶⁸ Luft, 'Morris', p. 3. She cites n. 22. John M. Ganim. 1996. 'The Myth of Medieval Romance', in R. Howard Bloch and Stephen G. Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore and NY: Johns Hopkins), p. 149; Arthur Johnston, *Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century* (Bloomsbury, 1964), p. 10.

³⁶⁹ Add. MS. 14924, f. 29v. As cited by Luft, 'Morris', p. 3, n. 19.

³⁷⁰ Luft, 'Morris', p. 3.

³⁷¹ The exception is an 1821 reprint of his first 1795 Mabinogi text, retitled 'The Tale of Pwyll'. His 1833 two-part 'Mabinogi Taliesin', does not title the concept either.

Kaminski-Jones is currently engaged in a British Academy project about Pughe, 'to reassess the reputation of this lost Romantic figure'. (URL Bibliography) Kaminsky-Jones also explores the concept in relation to Pughe and poetry. 'William Owen Pughe and Romantic Rewritings of the Poetry of Llywarch Hen', *The Review of English Studies* (Oct. 2021). Forthcoming Summer 2025 *Welsh Revivalism in Imperial Britain*.

³⁷² Full title: 1795. 'The *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *Cambrian Register*, I; introductory note: There are in the Welfh language feveral romantic Tales ; fome of which are preferved in old manufcripts, and others are recited from memory by the common people. They are varioufly denominated *Mabinogion*, p. 177.

³⁷³ Full title: 1799. 'The Romantic Tales called *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II, p. 322.

³⁷⁴ Full title: 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the *Mabinogion*', *Cambrian Register*, III, p. 230.

³⁷⁵ Full title: 1828. 'The *Mabinogion*, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in Croker, *Fairy Legends*.

The Mabinogi: Or, the **Romance** of Math Ab Mathonwy (1829)³⁷⁶

Pughe designates nine categories of literature, including

The *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements, are a species of dramatic tales ... the origin of **romance** in Europe. (*Geiriadur*, 1793)³⁷⁷

Rhamant ... A rising up, an extending over, a vaulting, or springing; an omen, sign, or token of future events; a figurative expression: a **romance**. (*Geiriadur* entry, 1803)³⁷⁸

The latter seems to indicate a positive, optimistic type of narrative.

His substantial presentation to the Society of Antiquaries, London, is categorical.

The *Mabinogion*, or Juvenile Amusements, being a kind of dramatic tales, are in themselves some of our most singular productions; and I have little hesitation in asserting them to have been **the origin of romance writing in Europe**. (1802)³⁷⁹

CROKER introduced Pughe's *Mabinogion* project as

The *Mabinogion*; or the Ancient **Romances** of Wales (1827)³⁸⁰

Pughe's promotion in Croker refers to

certain **romantic** fictions³⁸¹

wild and **romantic** adventure in these tales³⁸²

JONES' *Bardic Museum* describes 'Pwyll' as:

romantic narratives, or ancient histories (1802)³⁸³

GUEST (probably 1834):

For my own part, I love the old Legends and **Romances**³⁸⁴

She famously claims the prose tales are

the cradle of European **Romance** (1838),³⁸⁵
cf. Pughe (1793 and 1802)

Ford (1977) judges Guest a 'graceful and **romantic** rendition'.³⁸⁶

STEPHENS *Literature of the Kymry* ubiquitously applies '**romance**', '**romantic**', to an era, a literature, or hero.

³⁷⁶ Full title: 1833 1829 and. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy', *Cambrian Quarterly*.

³⁷⁷ *Geiriadur*, p. ix.

³⁷⁸ *Geiriadur*, p. 459.

³⁷⁹ William Owen [Pughe], 'Account of the Ancient Welsh Manuscripts', p. 219.

³⁸⁰ Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 158.

³⁸¹ Pughe in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 167, footnote. On p. 173 he compares the three tales we now call the *Rhamantau*/ 'Romances', with the Arthurian 'romances of the middle ages'.

³⁸² Pughe in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 176.

³⁸³ Edward Jones, 'Pwyll', *Bardic Museum*, p. 27.

³⁸⁴ Undated journal excerpt, on a visit to Warwick Castle, possibly 1834. R. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 103.

³⁸⁵ Guest, *Mabinogion*, Introduction, p. xxiii.

³⁸⁶ Ford, *Native Tales*, p. ix.

83 instances, averaging every four pages³⁸⁷

He makes specific references to

the **romance** of Pwyll

[Pryderi] one of the heroes of **Romance**³⁸⁸

It is admitted, by the best critics of the day, that Europe owes its **romantic literature** to the Welsh and Bretons (1849)³⁸⁹

~ * ~

³⁸⁷ Stephens. 1849. *Literature of the Kymry* (1849). The majority of instances refer to *Culhwch, Tair Rhamant*, or poetry, but not all. 'Romance', 'romances': pp. 50, 105, 121, 167-69, 174, 180, 183, 188, 192, 193, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 215, 218. n.3, 227, 228, 235, 248, 259. n. 2, 295, 303, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 316, 321, 396, 398, 401, 402, 404, 406, 407, 408, 411, 413, 416, 418, 423, 425, 457, 458. Also 'romantic', 'romantic heroes', 'romantic literature', pp. 71, 157, 192, 198, 399, 415. Some pages have repeats. (URL for text, Bibliography)

³⁸⁸ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, Pwyll, p. 188. Pryderi, p. 50, n. 1.

³⁸⁹ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 71. Similarly, p. 411.

II *Stori'r Stori/ Story of the Story*

II.6. *Academia Gymreig/ Welsh Academia*

This chapter traces an outline of Mabinogi Studies over the first century of Welsh academia: from John Rhys (1880s) to the 1970s: broadly linked by a 'Celtic mythology' theme.¹

1 Matthew Arnold

As Guest completed her first *Mabinogion* series, the Royal Commission on Education in Wales published a report from London, which became known as *Brady Llyfrau Gleision/ 'Treasure of the Blue Books'* (1847). It gave a

... damning indictment of the Welsh as an ignorant, immoral people held back from progress by their antiquated language and Nonconformist religion.²

Matthew Arnold was an Inspector of schools, an acclaimed English poet. His Report (1852) noted 'the desire of a government to render its dominions, as far as possible homogenous', therefore the Welsh language must be effaced.³ Arnold is often quoted saying the mediaeval Welsh story teller was a 'peasant', ignorant of their material, which was really the remains of ancient myths (1867).⁴ Ford comments wryly this is

¹ For an excellent review of the 'Celtic' label, Elaine Eichner. 2023. 'Identifying Ancient Peoples as Celts'. *Academia* (URL text Bibliography). In the 1970s/ 1980s the paradigm shifted, chronicled 1996 by Sullivan's *Essays*; summarised in the next chapter, II.7. Coherence Paradigm, pp. 118-123.

² Huw Pryce. 2011. 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31, pp. 3-4. For an online text, Richard Johnson. 1973. 'The Blue Books and Education, 1816-1896: The Critical Reading of Official Sources'. Discussion Paper. University of Birmingham. (URL PDF text Bibliography). Also Prys Morgan, ed. 1991. *Brady Llyfrau Gleision: Ysw ifau ar Hanes Cymru* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer); Ieuan Gwynedd Jones. 1992. '1848 and 1868: "Brady Llyfrau Gleision" and Welsh Politics', in his *Mid-Victorian Wales: The Observers and the Observed* (CUP), pp. 103-65, 186-98; and Gwyneth Tyson Roberts. 1998. *The Language of the Blue Books: The Petted Instrument of Empire* (CUP).

³ 'No. 11. - While it is nice that the kids speak Welsh, ... It must always be the desire of a government to render its dominions, as far as possible homogenous ... Sooner or later, the difference of language between Wales and England will probably be effaced', Matthew Arnold. 1852-1882. 'General Report for the Year 1852', HM Reports on Elementary Schools.

⁴ 'The first thing that strikes one, in reading the *Mabinogion*, is how evidently the medieval story-teller is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret; he is like a peasant building his hut on the site of Halicarnassus or Ephesus; he builds, but what he builds is full of materials of which he knows not the secret, or knows by a glimmering tradition merely.' Matthew Arnold, *Celtic Literature*, II, p. 54. (URL text Bibliography).

Sullivan asserts 'Arnold's [judgement] was to guide Mabinogi criticism for almost 100 years.' 'Introduction', *Essays*, p. xvii. Arnold can seem contradictory as he approved the eradication of the Welsh language yet admired ancient Welsh poetry. Daniel Williams explains he wanted Welsh to become an archaic language. (Personal communication 21/06/2024)

simply another way of saying that he could not make head nor tail of the Four Branches.⁵

Yet Arnold also praised historical Welsh poetry and myths. Tragically broken 'Celtic remains' suited an Anglocentric outlook of superior science and rationality. Thomas Jones' suicidal 'Bard' (oil painting 1774), reworked the Roman 'Dying Gaul' (sculpture, 200 BCE) of aesthetic defeat.⁶ The new academic cultures of archaeology, mythology, and anthropology of religion permitted a pedestal for ancient Celtic myth.⁷ *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* stimulated reactive national pride via the London Welsh societies and the networked Eisteddfod movement. The first Welsh University College was founded (Aberystwyth, 1872); Cardiff and Bangor five years later.

2 John Rhŷs

It would be some time before these fledglings became significant. Oxford University, as for centuries, still educated ambitious young Welshmen. John Rhŷs, an Oxford graduate, lectured at Aberystwyth (1874),⁸ leading to his appointment as the first Professor of Celtic, Oxford (1877), the same year Guest's English-only *Mabinogion* was published. Through the 19thC the only Mabinogi source MS. was Llyfr Coch Hergest, held at Oxford.⁹ Thus Oxford holding the only available MS. source; Professor Rhŷs with its other Welsh scholars; and Guest's English-only *Mabinogion*; constellate a developing Anglocentric Mabinogi culture.

Rhŷs' prestigious Hibbert Lectures series (1888) on *Celtic Heathendom*,¹⁰ was much influenced by Arnold's Celtic 'remains' perspective and Max Müller's

⁵ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 200. Also 'It seems to me that Arnold's assessment is, *a priori*, untenable. Everything known to me that came from the quills of medieval Welsh scribes served a purpose, be it aesthetic, moral, political, or social in some other context.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 199.

⁶ Thomas Jones, 'The Bard', oil on canvas, 114.5 x 168.0 cm. National Museum Cardiff, accession NMW A 85; acquired 1965. (URL Bibliography).

'The Dying Gaul', marble sculpture, 0.73 x 0.93m, formerly titled 'Dying Gladiator'. Roman copy c.200 BCE of a Hellenistic bronze figure c. 200 BCE. Capitoline Museum, Rome, no. 377, acquired 1884. (URL Bibliography: Anon).

⁷ Austen Henry Layard, excavator of Nimrud and Nineveh, was first cousin once removed to Guest, and married her daughter Mary Enid Evelyn; 9 March 1869. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, pp. 48, 197, 215.

⁸ John Rhŷs, 'Lectures on Welsh Philology', presented 1874, publ. 1877.

⁹ Ch. II.4. Manuscripts, for the curious story of Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch' long 'disappearance' p. 61.

¹⁰ John Rhŷs, *Lectures on Religion Celtic Heathendom*, I–VI. Heretofore *Lectures*, numbered. (URL text Bibliography).

Ifor Williams. 1959. RHYS, Sir JOHN (1840 - 1915), Celtic scholar. 'Dictionary of Welsh Biography'. (URL text Bibliography)

theory of a universal dualistic pantheon (light/dark, above/ below, solar/ chthonic deities).¹¹ Both approaches arose from the British Empire's worldwide reach placing 'primitive' religions under imperious scrutiny. Rhys' concept of 'Celtic' traditions privileges Irish lore as senior to Welsh, free of Roman influence, with more surviving material. His Irish bias would last through much of the 20thC through his inheritor William John Gruffydd (WJG).

Rhys saw the chief Mabinogi characters as euhemerised deities. He speculated Rhiannon as a Dawn or Moon goddess; later, the Arthurian Lady of the Lake.¹² However he found Müller's polarity system difficult to apply to Welsh personages, e.g. Pwyll Pen Annwn ('Head of Hades') has a son with (solar) golden hair.¹³ Rhys' solution is to reconstruct the two as four persons: Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, Pwyll Head of Hades, Gwri, and Pryderi.¹⁴ This Reconstruction method generated prolific results by his student WJG (below). John Arnott MacCulloch regarded the Mabinogi as mythological, but rejected Rhys' dark/ light cosmology, as Celtic lords of the dead have no 'dark' (pejorative) character.¹⁵

Rhys supported John Gwenogvryn Evans' diplomatic text project, providing a Preface to his *Red Book* (1887). Rhys there followed Iolo Morganwg's

¹¹ Max Müller. 1856. 'Comparative Mythology', in *Chips from a German Workshop*, I of 2 (NY: Charles Scribner & Co). *Ibid.* Vol. 2. 1869. Müller had presented the inaugural Hibbert Lecture: 1878. 'On the Religions of India', and lived in Britain most of his life. He was critiqued (among others) by R. F. Littledale. 1870. 'The Oxford Solar Myth: A Contribution to Comparative Mythology', in *Kottabos* magazine, 5; repr. 1906 in *Echoes from Kottabos*, ed. by Tyrrell, R. Y. and Edward Sullivan (Grant Richards). For an analysis of Muller and critique, see Yan Yang. April 2019. 'Quest for the Origin of Primitive Myths: Revisiting Max Müller's Comparative Mythology', in *antae*, 6, 1, pp. 13–14.

¹² 'With regard to Rhiannon, I am now inclined to identify her with the moon rather than with the dawn.' Rhys, Errata and Additions to *Lectures*, p. 678. He refers elsewhere to Epona as a Gaulish deity illustrating the *-on* suffix without referencing Rhiannon. Rhys, *Lectures*, I, p. 27. Epona, Ch. VI.1. Goddess Myths: Epona, pp. 423–26.

Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 284. Rhys suggests the names Nyneue (Malory), and Nivienne (Huth Merlin) align with Rhiannon (etymology n. 1). He notes their female initiated marriage proposals. Rhiannon's 'horsey' penance is linked to Liban; and Rhiannon's bag speculated as the *botheu*/bottles of Rhinnon Rhin Barnawt in *Culhwch*, although Rhinnon is male.

¹³ Rhys, *Lectures*, IV, p. 341, and V, p. 501. Also if Pwyll Pen Annwn is a dark god, then his opponent Gwawl must be associated with the sun. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 295.

¹⁴ 'Considerable complication arises out of Pwyll and Pryderi's relations with Hades, and... we have to distinguish between Pwyll Prince of Dyfed and Pwyll Head of Hades, and between Gwri of the Golden Hair and Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Hades.' Rhys, *Lectures*, V, p. 501.

¹⁵ John Arnott MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1911), p. 102.

druidic theories to explain 'mabinogi': his '*mabinog*' is an apprentice bard.¹⁶
 Evans rejects this in his own Preface to his *White Book* (1907).¹⁷

3 Edward Anwyl



Anwyl¹⁸

The first focused, academic analysis of the Mabinogi is a four part series by Edward Anwyl (1897–1901). He was another Rhŷs' student, later Professor of Welsh at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, (1892), and professor of Comparative Philology.¹⁹

¹⁶ 'For, strictly speaking, the word mabinog is a technical term belonging to the bardic system; and it means a literary apprentice. In other words, a *mabinog* was a young man who had not yet acquired the art of making verse, but one who received instruction from a qualified bard. The natural inference is that the *Mabinogion* meant the collection of things which formed the Mabinog's literary training, his stock in trade so to say, for he was probably allowed to relate the tales forming the 'four branches of the *Mabinogion*' at a fixed price established by law or custom.' Rhŷs' 'Preface' to John Gwenogvryn Evans, and John Rhŷs, eds. *The Text of the Mabinogion and Other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest*, Series of Old Welsh Texts, (Pwllheli: Private subscription., 1887), pp. viii-ix. Intended as 1st of 2 vols. Preface by Rhŷs, pp. viii-ix. The Mabinogi text is pp. 1–81. (URL text Bibliography).

¹⁷ 'No evidence has been produced in support of the view that "mabinog was a technical term belonging to the bardic system and meaning "a literary apprentice".' John Gwenogvryn Evans. 1907. Preface to *The White Book of Mabinogion*, p. xxvi. Evans speaks instead of the 'enfances' theory. (URL text Bibliography)

¹⁸ Edward Anwyl, Welsh Portrait Collection, NLW. Early 1900s. Photographer H. H. Davies & Son, Pier St. Aberystwyth. Public domain, Wikidata. (URL Illustrations list)

¹⁹ Edward Anwyl, 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi, I and II, *ZCP*, 1 (1897), pp. 277–93 (Ch. I, pp. 277–82; Ch. II, pp. 282–93). *Ibid.*, III, *ZCP*, 2 (1899), pp. 124–33. *Ibid.*, IV, *ZCP*, 3 (1901), pp. 123–34. (URLs text Bibliography). Previously Pughe's summary 1828 Croker's *Fairy Legends* was a substantial 28 pages (pp. 163–91), but about the *Mabinogion*, not solely on the Mabinogi, and

He established the title 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi'; the *-on* suffix for divinities,²⁰ and researched Mabinogi place- names.²¹ He saw the Mabinogi as political struggles between kindreds, composed by a southerner.²² He may be seen as a balanced voice, treating the Mabinogi as mythology but also applying structuralist analysis as a skilled, unified literature.²³

Anwyl is the first significant Rhiannon scholar. He proposes a *tripartite*, Mabinogi structure of three 'Cycles': a Rhiannon-Cycle,²⁴ Llyr-Cycle,²⁵ and Don-Cycle.²⁶ 'Rhiannon' and 'Llyr' intersect at Rhiannon's marriage to Manawydan;

descriptive rather than analytic. Guest's Notes are also substantial but not compiled as a coherent essay.

Also Anwyl. 1906. *Celtic Religion in Pre-Christian Times* (London: Archibald Constable). (URL text Bibliography). Anwyl. 1908. 'The Value of the Mabinogion for the Study of Celtic Religion', *Trans. 3rd Int'l Congress for the History of Religions*, 2, pp. 234–44. (URL text Bibliography)

ANWYL, Sir EDWARD (1866 - 1914), Celtic scholar, by T. H. Parry-Williams. 'Dictionary of Welsh Biography' (1959). (URL text Bibliography).

²⁰ 'Four Branches', Ch. I.5. Text, p. 23, n. 124 with quote.

Divinity suffix *-on*: Edward Anwyl. 1908. 'The Value of the Mabinogion for the Study of Celtic Religion', *Trans. 3rd Int'l Congress for the History of Religions*, 2, pp. 240–41. (PDF URL Bibilog)

²¹ Place names, Anwyl, 'Four Branches', Ch. I, pp. 279, 282; Ch. II, 283–84, 288–290, 292–93. Ch. III, pp. 124–27. Ch. IV, pp. 123, (Three Cycles) 125–28, 129–30, 131–34.

²² Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 282.

²³ 'the 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi form a unified whole, worked together with considerable skill by a writer', Anwyl, 'Four Branches', Ch. IV, p. 123; "literary works of imagination", Anwyl, 'Value of the *Mabinogion*', p. 235. Anwyl observes Mabinogi connections with *Trioedd* and poetic references, drawn from Pughe's *Myvyrian Archaeologie*, or William F. Skene. 1868. *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (1868) (URL text Bibliography). He remarks the 'absence of any reference to Rhiannon in the Book of Taliessin, 'for it is difficult to believe that poets so familiar with the Pwyll, Manawyddan, Pryderi, Gwydion and other legends should not have known the name which seems to have been familiar enough at any rate in the expression "Adar Rhiannon".' Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 124. Cf. Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose, pp. 37–43.

²⁴ Rhiannon-cycle components:

a) the meeting and marriage of Pwyll and Rhiannon, subsequent vengeance of Gwawl as 'sequel'; b) 'birth, loss, discovery and restoration of Pryderi', Rhiannon's punishment; c) Pendaran Dyfed fosterage, trace only; d) Pryderi marriage Cigfa, trace only; e) Manawydan marriage; f) Pryderi's death. Topographical affinities pp. 125–28. The Adar Rhiannon are Rhiannon-cycle, but not listed like other components. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 125.

²⁵ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, 131–32. Circumflex not used. Components: a) Branwen marriage, abuse in Ireland. 'Branwen called *'tryded prifriein yn yr ynys honn'*. Britain Ireland ruling families. b) Bendigeidran takes army to Ireland. Incl. Triad. (also Taliesin ref IV 132) c) Head of Bran, survivors, London. Incl. Triad. d) Efnissyen mischief making cf. Irish *Bricriu*. e) Caradawc fab Bran and Caswallawn fab Beli conflict. f) Death of Branwen. g) Settlement of the five provinces of Ireland. h) Place names 'Gwyddel' and 'Gwyddyl' in Anglesey and elsewhere. i) Triad "Tryddydd Lleddf Unben." Manawydan. j) y Trydydd Eurgrydd Manawydan k) Manawyddan, Pryderi and Rhiannon. IV, p. 131.

²⁶ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, 128. a) Giluaethwy's love for Goewin, vengeance of Math ab Mathonwy. b) Gwydion's introduction of swine into Gwynedd. already given under the Rhiannon-cycle. c) Birth of Dylan eil ton. d) Birth of Llew Llaw Gyffes and Llew son of Aranrot. e) Gwydion's success in obtaining for Llew a name, arms and a wife. [sic] Formation of Blodenwedd, Llew's wife. f) infidelity of Llew's wife with Gronw Peifr, lord of Penllyn, and the treacherous death of Lieu, his vengeance on Gronw. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 129.

'Rhiannon' and 'Don' intersect via the death of her son Pryderi.²⁷ The 'Rhiannon-Cycle' seems central to this Mabinogi system.²⁸

He observes how Rhiannon (PKM1) causes Llwyd's vengeance (PKM3).²⁹ Nonetheless he considers Pryderi is 'the central story'.³⁰

the main trunk upon which the Four Branches hang is the life of Pryderi, the hero at Dyfed.³¹

Pryderi as tragic hero means the Mabinogi narrative 'nucleus' is his death, but Anwyl also observes PKM2 'stories hang by a very slender thread to the central narrative of Pryderi'.³² *Pwyll I* is seen as disconnected from its Branch, yet forms a 'prelude' to Rhiannon's narrative (*Pwyll II, III*),³³ and prepares for Pryderi's PKM4 death tale.³⁴

Rhiannon meeting Pwyll resembles an Irish fairy wife.³⁵ She links two alternate motherings in localised Pryderi tales: her son by Pwyll, and her son by Teyrnon, cf. Ford (below).³⁶ Anwyl speculates a possible Radnorshire homeland for Rhiannon's father.³⁷ Rhiannon 'matter [seems] of a very ancient kind'. Her horse, and Gwri's horse associations

²⁷ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 127. He sees a possible northern connection Rhiannon- and 'Don-cycle' from her name; IV, p. 133. Rhiannon-Cycle here, Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Anwyl, p. 449 n. 79 quote. On Rhiannon/ Epona as Earth Mother Ch. VII.5 Theologies: Anwyl p. 475 long quote.

²⁸ Anwyl's Rhiannon-Cycle is broadly similar to the extended Mabinogi Rhiannon narrative, Ch. I.4. Text. The main differences are Mabinogi Rhiannon integrates *Pwyll I*, Ch. I.5. Text p. 27; and theorises Gwawl's contract nulled in PKM3, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Desolation pp. 325-27. Ford's *Cyfranc* (Ch. I.4. Text: *Cyfranc*). Rhiannon-Cycle, Ford's *Cyfranc*, and Mabinogi Rhiannon compared, Ch. VIII. Structures: *Cyfranc*, p. 512-13.

²⁹ Rhiannon's marriage to Pwyll is 'part of the legend of the vengeance of Gwawl', Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 289. 'The introduction of Rhiannon into this narrative. i.e. the Mabinogi of Manawydan son of Llyr, is necessary. in order to connect the misfortune which here befalls Pryderi with the story of Rhiannon ... The spell laid upon Dyfed is represented as part of the vengeance of Gwawl fab Clut, the disappointed suitor of Rhiannon.' Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 285, also p. 289. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad, pp. 325-27.

³⁰ In three sections 'a) His birth and disappearance, b) His imprisonment when the spell was laid upon Dyfed, c) His death at the hands of Gwydion, the hero of Gwynedd.' Anwyl, 'Four Branches', I, p. 281. WJG will later propose a four part Pryderi saga, below.

³¹ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', I, p. 280; the 'trunk' metaphor presumably plays into the tree concept of four Branches. Also Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, pp. 282, 284, 287, 289.

³² Anwyl, 'Four Branches'. Pryderi's death as 'nucleus, p. 282 ; 'the disasters of Pryderi, the string upon which the narrative turns', p. 289. 'his history throughout is one of misfortune,, culminating in the narrative of his death in the service of his people.' p. 284. Pryderi has three misfortunes birth, Irish War, Dyfed enchantment, p. 285. 'slender thread', Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 287.

³³ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, pp. 125, 127.

³⁴ 'Arawn, from whom Pryderi received his gift of swine', Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II p. 280, also p. 289. Referencing PKM4 68.18-23. JKB 80.2.

³⁵ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 289.

³⁶ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, pp. 288-89. Rhiannon as 'Rigantona' and 'Teyrnon' as 'Tigernos', p. 288. Cf. Ford's alternate motherings, Ch. VIII. Structures: *Cyfranc*, p. 512.

³⁷ Anwyl, 'Value of the *Mabinogion*', p. 240.

[...] raise the question whether Rhiannon herself may not once have been a kind of deity like Epona, a goddess in the form of a mare.

Together with Teyrnnon's mare, Anwyl sees a seasonal cycle of

rebirth from a divine mare, of the spirit of vegetation in the form of a foal ... the Great Earth Mother ... as a mare.³⁸

Elizabeth Lloyd, Anwyl's student, followed his balanced approach (1911) 'The *Mabinogion* as Literature'.³⁹ Sadly, Anwyl's balanced vision and rich Rhiannon scholarship was suppressed. He died in 1914 at barely 48, and Rhys died 1915. Anwyl's protégée Elizabeth Lloyd was then only 25 with a new MA.⁴⁰ Mabinogi Studies was coopted by William John Gruffydd, almost ten years older than Lloyd, established for eight years as Lecturer in Celtic at University College, Cardiff.⁴¹

4 William John Gruffydd (WJG) 1881–1954

William John Gruffydd was another Rhys student, Professor of Celtic, Cardiff (1918–46), and a politically powerful Liberal MP.⁴² His Mythological Reconstruction paradigm dominated Mabinogi Studies for most of the 20thC. He followed Rhys' initiative in reshaping Mabinogi tales, aiming to salvage a perceived original 'Celtic pantheon'.⁴³ As noted above Rhys was influenced by Matthew Arnold's derogation of Welsh storytellers as ignorant peasants. Less

³⁸ Anwyl, *Celtic Religion*, p. 240. Full quote Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Anwyl, p. 475 n. 215. Cf. Ford, 'Cyfranc Caseg', Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Ford, long quote p. 456 n. 117.

³⁹ Elizabeth Jane Lloyd (Miss). 1911. 'The *Mabinogion* as Literature', I, *The Celtic Review*, 7. 26, pp. 164–74; *ibid.* Oct. 1911. 'The *Mabinogion* as Literature, Continued', *The Celtic Review*, 7. 27 (Oct. 1911), pp. 220–48. She considers the prose tales are 'where the supernatural is treated as the most natural thing in the world. ... interweaving history and mythology elegantly and artistically'. Lloyd, 'Literature', I, p. 164.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Jane Lloyd (1889–1952). 1913. 'The history of the Eisteddfod' (Unpublished master's dissertation. University of Wales, Bangor). NLW holding, NLW South / ARCHIVES (1913/16).

⁴¹ There is a 1959 entry for Anwyl in the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, by Thomas Herbert Parry-Williams. Brynley Roberts published an Anwyl biography: 1968. 'Syr Edward Anwyl (1866 1914)', *Cymm.* 2, pp. 211–264; cited by Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 188, n. 2.

⁴² He later became MP, University of Wales (1943). Thomas Parry. 2001. GRUFFYDD, WILLIAM JOHN (1881 - 1954), scholar, poet, critic and editor. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. (URL text Bibliography). William John Gruffydd (WJG). 1912. 'Mabon Ab Modron', *Revue Celtique*, 33.4, pp. 452–261; also 1928. *Cymm.*, XLII, pp. 129–47. *Ibid.* 1912. 'The *Mabinogion*', *Cymm.*, 13, pp. 14–80. *Ibid.* 1928. *Math Vab Mathonwy: An Inquiry into the Origins and Development of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi, with the Text and a Translation* (Cardiff: UWP). *Ibid.* 1953. *Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origin of the First and Third Branches of the Mabinogi* (Cardiff: UWP). WJG, and Jarman. A. O. H. 1956. 'Mabinogi Branwen: Crynodeb o Ddadansoddiad' (Summary and Analysis, my trans.), *Llên Cymru*, IV, pp. 129–34. WJG. 1958. *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion: A Lecture Delivered at the National Museum of Wales on 27 October 1950*, booklet (CUP) posthumously. Many other publications: language, history, poetry; editor of *Y Llenor*, quarterly (1922–51).

⁴³ Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhys, pp. 106–107.

well known is the contribution of Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*, written mid-18thC but only published 1878. Mythological Reconstruction therefore sustains an 18thC model through to the end of the 20thC. In the Welsh Renaissance period a context of salvage is justified. It fits the difficulties in accessing crumbling manuscripts or copies from obscure family libraries, and courageous pioneering to rebuild Welsh history and culture. Anwyl offered a more confident profile, instead of sad 'remains', a fine literature (1897-1901). The Mabinogi was reliably available in Guest's print editions; Eisteddfodau and Welsh universities were developing professional modes of Welsh culture. But when Anwyl died, WJG ruthlessly suppressed his approach. Two of WJG's key concepts are Rhiannon as horse-goddess, and Pryderi as a local hero of Dyfed (below): he credits Anwyl on neither.⁴⁴ He recognises the Mabinogi as fine literature, an 'artistic unity', but declares that is not his concern (1912).⁴⁵ Mabinogi Studies' development was frozen for most of the 20thC.⁴⁶

WJG's passionate nationalism saw the tales as the

foundation, the mythology of the Celt ... Here we have the Welshman's primitive gods, fallen indeed upon evil and forgetful days, but still preserving somewhat of their pristine fire, of their divine vigour, and what is more important for us, "trailing clouds of glory" from the larger air of a former world.⁴⁷

He vigorously rejects Arnold's contempt, adroitly re-using the same metaphor;

⁴⁴His 1912. '*Mabinogion*' of 76 pages cites Anwyl only once, p. 19, although many topics deploy Anwyl material. He does cite Lloyd's *History of Wales*, and a few others, but it is wise if he does not cite to check Rhŷs and Anwyl and make searches for earlier provenance. John Edward Lloyd. 1911. *A History of Wales:: from the earliest times to the Edwardian conquest*, in 2 vols. (London, Longmans, Green). Cf. Anwyl above on Epona, two quotes p. 111.

⁴⁵ WJG, '*Mabinogion*', pp. 42, 53. WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 2, 3 and 6.

Rejecting: 'It will not be our object to dwell on the literary merits of the *Mabinogion*, but rather to touch briefly on sources and development.' WJG, '*Mabinogion*', p. 42. He sees its 'literary purposes ... tales for the delectation of princes' as a third stage development from oral tradition and folklore; p. 48. Compare 1806 Pughe's careful concern to place historical and mythological perspectives in parity, if anything, emphasising historical virtue. Quoted with characters' list, Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe, p. 68 n. 191.

⁴⁶ There were certainly some important contributions, detailed below: legal connections from Ellis (1928); Ifor Williams great service in compiling the three MSS in a readable text (PKM, 1930); Bromwich investigated *Trioedd* connections (1961). But reflections on meanings were in stasis and the new research when change began in the 1970s took decades to establish; Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm, pp. 118-123 below.

⁴⁷ WJG, '*Mabinogion*', p. 41. He is quoting from William Wordsworth's 'But trailing clouds of glory do we come from God, who is our home.' From the poem 1807. 'Recollections of Early Childhood from Intimations of Mortality', in *Poems, in Two Volumes*, II, which lavishly proclaims renewal of hope and joy. Rep. 1983. '*Poems, in Two Volumes, and Other Poems, 1800-1807 by William Wordsworth*', ed. by Curtis, Jared. The Cornell Wordsworth Series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). (URL poem text Bibliography)

one was chosen ... the builder [of] this enormous and intricate building ... the temple of a new and infinitely greater cult, using the stones which generations of toilers had moved from buried shrines.⁴⁸

Rhiannon (1953), WJG's *magnum opus*, sees 'enormous accretions and additions made by generations of story-tellers':⁴⁹ the *cyfarwyddiaid* were 'primitive',⁵⁰ 'a lower order of bardism',⁵¹ producing 'unpromising material', an 'amazing complex of incongruities and contradictions'.⁵² Their narratives are frequently 'clumsy',⁵³ 'distorted';⁵⁴ 'disjointed',⁵⁵ with many 'incoherences',⁵⁶ and 'contradictions'.⁵⁷ Other tales were inserted,⁵⁸ into an 'original foundation';⁵⁹ these incursions brought a 'mass of alien motives which obscure the clear run of the story'.⁶⁰ WJG saw his duty to reveal the 'original foundation'.

If we re-cast the story, stripping it of all obviously adventitious matter, what form will it take?⁶¹

... we can therefore re-write our summary of the essentials in the following manner, by transferring the names of Pwyll and Arawn⁶²

We are now in a position to restate the whole plot.⁶³

Forty years later he restates the same project at the start of *Rhiannon*, as a 'study of origins', to strip down to and expose the 'origins and development' of the First and Third Branches.⁶⁴ He constructs 'The Saga of Pryderi' and 'The Myth of Rhiannon'.⁶⁵ His final summary across three pages of reconstruction has twelve stages, some with double lines of development over centuries.⁶⁶

⁴⁸ WJG, 'Mabinogion', p. 54. But see his derogation of the *cyfarwyddyd* in his *Rhiannon*, below.

⁴⁹ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 10.

⁵⁰ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 5.

⁵¹ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 5.

⁵² WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 7.

⁵³ WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 44, 50, 51, and 88.

⁵⁴ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 66.

⁵⁶ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 4, and 52.

⁵⁷ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 4, and 6.

⁵⁸ He often gives summaries of his deconstructions e.g. WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 15-16, pp. 28-29, and pp. 109-112

⁵⁹ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 9.

⁶¹ WJG, 'Mabinogion', p. 68.

⁶² WJG, 'Mabinogion', p. 71.

⁶³ WJG, 'Mabinogion', p. 75.

⁶⁴ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 1.

⁶⁵ WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 12-15.

⁶⁶ WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 109-112.

Like Rhys, WJG claims a 'Goidelic origin of the early prose of Wales'; albeit recognising 'intercourse which took place both in Ireland and Wales'⁶⁷ Welsh influence on Irish material is disregarded. He applied four Irish tale types to the Four Branches making a heroic Pryderi biography: 1) *compert*, 'conception or birth'; 2) *macgnimartha*, 'exploits'; 3) *indarba*, 'imprisonment'; and 4) *aided*, death.⁶⁸ Mac Cana, in his authoritative account of Irish tale types, including a substantial Appendix about the Welsh *cyfarwydd* tradition,⁶⁹ never suggests that *compert*, *macgnimartha*, *indarba*, and *aided* are standard or even necessary components of a hero's saga. They are merely four among a host of tale types.⁷⁰

WJG saw Irish *Mongán* as the 'original source,' of the Pryderi Saga,⁷¹ comparing their multiple fathers, a father drawn away by fighting, a queen deceived by a shapeshifted lover, Welsh Manawydan and Irish Manannán names (for extremely different characters).⁷² To fit *Mongán* as source *Pwyll I* is wholly repositioned *after* the Pwyll–Rhiannon marriage. But Pryderi, though uniquely present in all Branches, is not a dominant or extensive presence: in PKM1's last quarter a passive child, except for final, crucial, but quick notes; PKM2 barely evident; absent for half of PKM3 and four fifths of PKM4.⁷³ Since WJG successfully suppressed Anwyl's origination of the 'Pryderi saga' concept, he must be held responsible for promoting and establishing it.

WJG draws Rhiannon's Horse Goddess lineage from a reputable, contemporary, encyclopaedia entry on Epona;⁷⁴ ignoring Anwyl, as noted. Links

⁶⁷ Irish 'intercourse', WJG, '*Mabinogion*', p. 26; 'Goidelic origin', *ibid.* p. 22.

⁶⁸ WJG, *Math Vab Mathonwy*, p. 324.

⁶⁹ Proinsias Mac Cana. 1980. *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*, Appendix A. The Welsh *cyfarwydd*. (Dublin: DIAS), pp. 132 -141.

⁷⁰ 'Irish has a seemingly inexhaustible terminology defining types, sub-types and individual features within the literary corpus on the basis of style, metrics, function and content.' Mac Cana, *Learned Tales*, p. 22. He gives a long list of types over eleven pages, pp. 70-81, including important ones like *imrama*, voyages; and several finely graded types of elopement or marriage.

⁷¹ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 33. Or else versions were closer to the original for all, p. 32.

⁷² Dismantling the superficial connection, Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Name, pp. 337.

⁷³ Pryderi appears PKM1 20.3, out of 27pp. as a baby then a child, for whom arrangements are made. He speaks once PKM1 25.17 to decline the penitential woman's offer of a ride. A concise 14 lines summary gives his early adult life, PKM1 27.12-26. In PKM2 Pryderi is named only once, as a war Survivor, PKM2 44.25; otherwise his presence as a warleader and sharing the adventure of the Head is inferential, though clear from that one naming. In PKM3 he becomes an absent captive PKM3 57.12, until the end of the Branch: PKM 8pp. of 16pp. In PKM4 he dies PKM4 73.21: PKM 5pp. of 25pp. or 9pp. including Math's justice.

⁷⁴ WJG cites 'Pauly-Wissowa, Encl. sub Epona', in *Rhiannon*, pp. 103-104. This is Pauly, August, and Georg Wissowa. 1839 -1852. 'Epona' entry in *The Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Deutsche, and subsequently republished.

are made with other goddesses: the equine 'Black' (*Melaina*) Demeter, the *Deae Matres*, the Mothers, *y Mamau*, Matrona, and Rigantona.⁷⁵ He draws a Modron connection linked with *Matrona*,⁷⁶ although admits we know nothing of Modron except her divinity, her name, and her motherhood.⁷⁷ His reasons for Rhiannon's equine divinity are unconvincing: arrival on horseback to meet Pwyll, an accusation of giving birth to a foal; her penance acting as a mare.⁷⁸ A horseback ride is unexceptionable for a mediaeval Welsh noblewoman. It is WJG's assumption Rhiannon births a foal.⁷⁹ Later research tells us her equine penance is neither divine nor fantastic.⁸⁰

WJG's Rhiannon figures generally as a plastic, female trophy, adapted at each stage of reconstructions to males changing names and places.⁸¹

It took thirty years for critiques to gain traction, although some existed in WJG's time. Josef Baudiš (1916) critiques WJG's Mongán parallel, though agrees three similarities:⁸² Much later, Welsh and Hughes critique WJG's imposition of the Arthurian Wasteland on the Desolation of Dyfed.⁸³ Welsh rightly states: 'But Dyfed is not a 'waste land': it is deserted but not infertile.'⁸⁴ Hughes is categorical.

Dyfed does not in any way become a wasteland, ... On the contrary, there is plenty of wildlife there, animals for hunting, fish for catching and wild bees for making honey.⁸⁵

To Mac Cana WJG is a

... speculative enquirer who placed as much store by instinct as by evidence and whose reconstructions, even at their most airborne, have a

⁷⁵ WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 100-104.

⁷⁶ WJG. 1912. 'Mabon ab Modron', p. 452. WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 98.

⁷⁷ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 100.

⁷⁸ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 66.

⁷⁹ Compare Ford's nuanced interpretation Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Ford: hippomorphic aspect pp. 452-53.

⁸⁰ Roberts. 1968. '*Penyd Rhiannon*'. Jessica Hemming. 1997. 'Sellam Gestare: Saddle-Bearing Punishments and the Case of Rhiannon', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 28, pp. 45-64. *Ibid.* 1998. 'Reflections on Rhiannon and the Horse Episodes in "Pwyll"', *Western Folklore*, 57, p. 23.

⁸¹ WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 109-112.

⁸² (i) Exchange of shapes; (ii) Fighting in the other's stead; (iii) The carrying off of the child. Josef Baudiš. Mar. 31, 1916. '*Mabinogion*', *Folklore*, 27, 1, p. 55. (URL text Bibliography).

⁸³ WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 75ff.

⁸⁴ Andrew Welsh. August 16-19, 1989. 'Manawydan fab Llŷr: Wales, England, and the "New Man"', presented at Celtic languages and Celtic peoples: proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic studies, (Halifax), pp. 369-82. Repr. Sullivan, ed. 1996, 2015, Kindle. *Essays*, pp. 121-141.

⁸⁵ Ian Hughes. 2007. 'Tripartite Structure in Manawydan Uab Llŷr', *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, 6, ed. by Ó Flaithearta, M., p. 102. (URL text Bibliography).

disarming semblance of plausibility.⁸⁶ [He writes] persuasively if not always accurately.⁸⁷

Similarly, Parker's history of Mabinogi scholarship:

... of ingenious analogues [but] these reconstructions have to be recognised, regretfully, as pure speculation.⁸⁸

Feminist voices are tougher. McKenna bluntly identifies his 'considerable violence to the text'.⁸⁹ Valente condemned his elaborate schemes as

... bizarre, reassigning identities, friends, and marital partners indiscriminately.⁹⁰

Hemming quietly and succinctly sums up what WJG does and why:

he completely reorganizes the text to present it as he believes it must once have existed.⁹¹

WJG may be seen as a giant, a nation builder. But his intense nationalist passion; his 19thC teacher Rhys' lead in reworking tales to fit grand theories (above); WJG's career ambitions, political skill, and consequently mounting prestige; all combine to take his youthful vision into a domineering edifice of obstruction.⁹² The WJG Mabinogi monument buries Anwyl's far more grounded Mabinogi *opus*, suppressing most critique, imposing a paradigm shadow until the end of the 20thC century.⁹³

5 Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*

It was not all desolation. The inestimable resource of Ifor Williams' *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* was published (1930).⁹⁴ For the first time a source text from all three

⁸⁶ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 28.

⁸⁷ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 29.

⁸⁸ Parker, 'Bibliographical Essay', online.

⁸⁹ McKenna, 'Sovereignty in Pwyll', in Sullivan, *Essays*, p. 304.

⁹⁰ Valente, '*Merched*', p. 51.

⁹¹ Jessica (then Hooker). 1995. 'A Textual Commentary on the First Branch of the Mabinogi' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Cambridge), p. 9. Similarly, Richard Mark Scowcroft, WJG 'essentially rewrote the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, clearing out all of the inconsistencies and inventing his own Celtic mythology.' Scowcroft. 1982. 'The Hand and the Child: Studies of Celtic Tradition in European Literature', in 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis Cornell University), p. 118.

⁹² It is of interest, to compare WJG with Iolo Morgannwg, which could form a useful study. Both are passionate, political activists, building Welsh national identity by drawing on Welsh literary heritage. Both establish an influential, ancestral mythos, passing beyond the evidence. Both are averse to critique to the point of cult.

⁹³ Critique (as quoted above) did appear in the late 1970s, and 1980s, but the monolith was deeply founded. Its classic paradigmatic inertia continues for another generation, and its dead hand still appears today. Ch. II.7 Paradigm Shift, pp. 118-123.

⁹⁴ Ifor Williams, ed. PKM. For online text, see Bibliography. Frequently used as a common source text to give page and line references; default MW source text for this study. Lettering (typography) is standardised. Pagination of the three source MSS. is noted inline. Gaps e.g. Llyfr

MSS. variants became available in one volume, in accessible style because written primarily for students. Williams agreed with WJG on dating, a single redactor as author who added to the original tales, and the four part Pryderi saga as central. Mac Cana in observing this commonality, comments mildly 'Gruffydd ventured very much further than Williams would have thought prudent.'⁹⁵

~

6 Folklore: Kenneth Jackson, Juliette Wood

Jackson (1961) researched Mabinogi folklore motifs, Rachel Bromwich large, key work also appeared (1961), then Juliette Wood (1980s).⁹⁶ Like WJG, Jackson breaks the tales into components. His universalising 'motifs' are aimed as traceable on historical provenance across cultures.⁹⁷ The tales' Welshness is displaced. Juliette Wood considers the motif 'Calumniated Wife' for example, as applied to Rhiannon and Branwen.⁹⁸ But she feels motif analysis constructs a 'dissected state', contradicting the emerging new paradigm of orderly

Gwyn Rhydderch damage, are completed from Llyfr Coch Hergest, the later version. *Rhagymadrodd* / 'Introduction', pp. i – xlvii; *Nodiadau* / Notes, pp. 92– 303; in Mod. Welsh. Glossary, and Index to the Notes. Excerpt on dating the Mabinogi, *Rhagymadrodd* pp. xxii – xxiv, available in English, trans. by Wayne Harbert. 1999. 'The Time of the Four Branches', in *Arthurian Literature and Christianity: Notes from the Twentieth Century* (ed. by Meister, Peter (NY: Garland Publications)), pp. 3–5. Available online, google books.

⁹⁵ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 29. Further observations from Williams are placed in relevant chapters. Particularly the development of his comment on Rhiannon as *rieni*, Ch. III.6. 'Rieni' pp. 177–83

⁹⁶ Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson. 1961. *The International Popular Tale and the Early Welsh Tradition*, Gregynog Lectures (Cardiff: UWP). Juliette Wood. 1985. 'The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature', *CMCS*, 10, pp. 25–38; repub. 1996. Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 61–78; *ibid.* 1986. 'Folklore in the Tale of Branwen, the Second Branch of Pedair Keinc Y Mabinogi' (unpublished Seminar Series, Univ. of Edinburgh). *ibid.* 1987. 'Motif Analysis and the *Mabinogion*', presented at the Celtic Seminar Series Univ. of Edinburgh); *ibid.* 1987. 'The Folklore of the Mabinogi', unpublished Lecture series, Oxford University. Motif analysis was based on applying a cross-cultural motif index originating 1928. Antti Aarne, *Verzeichnis Der Märchentypen*; Stith Thompson (trans.), *The Types of Folklore: A Classification and Bibliography*, Folklore Fellows, 74.

⁹⁷ System developed from Aarne, Antti Amatus. 1910. *Verzeichnis Der Märchentypen, Suomalainen*. 'List of Fairy Tale Types', Folklore Fellows' Communications, 3 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia). *Ibid.* and Stith Thompson, trans. expanded. 1928. *The Types of Folklore*. Fellows Communications, 74 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia). Andrew Welsh, helpful compilation and detailed list of 230 relevant Mabinogi motifs: 1988. "The Traditional Narrative Motifs of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 15, pp. 51–62. Motifs list pp. 56–62. Welsh analyses the First Branch as three sections each elaborating a key motif. Andrew Welsh. 1989. "Traditional Tales and the Harmonizing of Story in Pwyll Penddeuic Dyuet", *CMCS* 17, pp. 15–42. Otherworld Tests (Pwyll in Annwfn) pp. 23–29; Fairy Mistress (Rhiannon's courtship) pp. 29–35; and Calumniated Wife (Rhiannon as mother) pp. 35–39. Welsh's perception privileges Pwyll as an anti-hero agent who learns to do better at each stage: 'how Pwyll got his name, how he got his wife, and how he got his son Pryderi.' (p. 39).

⁹⁸ Juliette Wood, 'Calumniated Wife'. Valente sees the motif in both Rhiannon and Branwen: the former 'resolved successfully', the latter 'degenerates into failure and death', '*Merched*', p. 103.

coherence.⁹⁹ The 'Calumniated' theme (K 2110.1), is the victimisation of foreign wives.¹⁰⁰ But Rhiannon contradicts the motif as much or more than she embodies it. She is no passive victim: she consults with advisers, speaks out via her penance, and benefits from a loyal husband.¹⁰¹ A motif drawn out internationally, then bent back to a specific tale, frequently requires exegesis on why *this* tale shows variations from the meta-motif; which is circular argument. This study therefore merely notes motifs sometimes mentioned in relation to Mabinogi events, without engaging with them.

7. Rachel Bromwich (TYP)

Rachel Bromwich' TYP provides an organised treasure chest: *Trioedd* texts, and copious notes on Mabinogi characters and events (1968).¹⁰² She clarifies two overlapping traditions: poetry/ *Trioedd* and prose tales, sometimes conflicting.¹⁰³ Rhiannon does not appear in TYP 'Notes to Personal Names' or its page index, reflecting her radical absence from *Trioedd* and poetry.¹⁰⁴

~ * ~

II *Stori'r Stori*/ Story of the Story

II.7. *Y Patrwm Cydlyniant*/

The Coherence Paradigm (1970-1995)

This chapter sketches a major paradigm shift in Mabinogi Studies, pioneered by John K. Bollard (1970s), reviving Anwyl's unified literature, recognising the tales' structural analytics.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Wood, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 66.

¹⁰⁰ Wood, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 62, and pp. 62-63.

¹⁰¹ Wood notes Pwyll's loyalty which disrupts the motif, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 71. Pwyll decrees a penance for her instead of divorce, PKM1 21.9-21. JKB 34.2. Rhiannon continues to sit beside him in her place as ruling consort in the evening, PKM1 25.23-25. JKB 37.2. Byfield also finds limited congruence between Rhiannon and Branwen's sufferings. 'Character', p. 7.

¹⁰² Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Triads of the Island of Britain* (1961, 1968). 'Notes to Personal Names', TYP, pp. 271-516. Ar(y)anrot, pp. 284-85. Bendigeitfran, p. 289. Bran Vendigeit, pp. 290-92. Bran6en, pp. 293-94. Caswalla6n, pp. 305-06. Don, p. 330. Gwydion, pp. 392-94. Lleu, pp. 412-13. Llŷr, pp. 418-19. Manawydan, pp. 432-34. Math, pp. 438-40. Matholwch, pp. 440-41. Pendaran, p. 477. Pryderi, pp. 486-87. List of Mabinogi characters named in the *Trioedd*, and the divergent traditions, Ch. I.7. Prose. TYP 'Index to Places', pp. 534-35.

¹⁰³ Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose: Prose and poetry, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁴ Bromwich, TYP. Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose, p. 37 n. 206ff.

¹⁰⁵ John K. Bollard. 1970. 'A Literary Assessment of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpubl. MA, Aberystwyth). *ibid.* 1974. 'The Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cymm.* pp. 250-276. *ibid.* 1983. 'The Role of Myth and Tradition in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi',

Pedwar Cyfrif/ Four Accounts

As the new paradigm took hold three historical accounts of Mabinogi Studies appeared in close succession.¹⁰⁶ Although the three are contemporaries, only Parker seems aware of any other (Sullivan's).¹⁰⁷

1995 Hooker (later Hemming) 'Angles of Approach', in PhD.¹⁰⁸

1996 Sullivan, 'Introduction', *Essays*; anthology.¹⁰⁹

1998/ 2002 Parker, 'Bibliographic Essay', MSc. Online 2002.¹¹⁰

TABLE 8 1880s –1990s: stages of development

Jessica Hemming (4):	Mythological – Folkloric – Sociological – Structural
William Sullivan (3):	'Celtic' ¹¹¹ – Structural, – Thematic ¹¹²
Will Parker (2):	pre-1975 Old School – post-1975 Revisionists
Shân Morgain (3):	History/Romance – Mythological Reconstruct. – Coherence Paradigm

CMCS, 6, pp. 67–86. The two latter repr. 1996. Sullivan, ed. *Essays*, pp. 165–96, & pp. 277–302, respectively. Ford as transitional below. Structural analysis, Ch. IX. Structures pp. 508–27.

¹⁰⁶ My study acknowledges major debt to all cited here. Johnston's 'Welsh Literature' also gives an account to be recommended, providing a wider context as it is not specific to the Mabinogi. Dafydd R. Johnston 1992. 'Welsh Literature', in *The Celtic Connection*, ed. by Price, Glanville. The Princess Grace Irish Library (Gerrard's Cross, Berks. UK: Colin Smythe), pp. 216–43. It can be hard to access, so see also Dafydd R. Johnston, ed. 1998, repr. 2017. *A Guide to Welsh Literature 1900–1996*, VI. Pocket Guide (UWP).

¹⁰⁷ Parker references Sullivan. The lack of mutual awareness might be for several reasons. Hemming's PhD completed only the year before Sullivan's anthology published and they evidently did not network each other during project development between Cambridge and East Carolina Universities. Parker, two years later (1998) was in the different world of Information Science (IT, computer studies), City University, London (dept. since merged with UCL). Parker is observing Mabinogi scholars as an outsider, so does include Sullivan's anthology in his history.

It seems likely that Hemming's wealth of research and analysis has since suffered from the custom of women changing their names on marriage; her PhD under her natal name 'Hooker' disappeared into library archives and it took sustained effort to identify and access it here. Cf. Mediaeval Welsh women named for a kindred male Ch. III.5. Law, Land, Women.

¹⁰⁸ Jessica Hemming, (then Hooker). 1995. 'A Textual Commentary on the First Branch of the Mabinogi' (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge), Ch. I.2. 'Angles of Approach', pp. 6–16; introduced p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ Charles William Sullivan III, ed. 1996; repr. Routledge, 2015; and Kindle) *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays* (NY: Garland Publications; Routledge); 'Introduction', review of the period, pp. xvii–xxi.

¹¹⁰ Will Parker. 1998, online 2002. 'Bibliographic Essay. The Four Branches of the Mabinogi, A Medieval Celtic Text; English Language Scholarship 1795–1997' (MSc. Information Science project in literary summary, City University, London, now UCL (URL text Bibliography). My study was initially inspired by it. Until recently Parker has been a relative outsider to mainstream Mabinogi Studies.

¹¹¹ Sullivan does not explicitly title the period as 'Celtic' but he frequently refers to it as such, or references 'Celtic Studies'. 'Introduction', *Essays*, pp. xiv–xviii, and pp. xx–xi. 'Celtic' reflects a powerful theme of the period aligned 19thC. Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900 pp. 446–48. Critique, Simon Rodway, 'The Mabinogi and the Shadow of Celtic Mythology'.

¹¹² Contents, Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. ix–x. Sullivan notes the third and fourth sections overlap, p. xx. For full Contents list, see Bibliography.

Parker's system is a usefully simple duality.¹¹³ This study insists a third, earlier, particularly Welsh category of Romance.¹¹⁴ Parker presents the second major stage as 'Critical Approaches: The Revisionists (1975)'.¹¹⁵ This study titles it the 'Coherence Paradigm', for longer hindsight suggests how profound the shift was. 'Coherence' points its core assertion, that the Mabinogi is a unified and coherent literature. The transition is valuably chronicled in Charles William Sullivan III, *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays* (1996).¹¹⁶

The concept of Mabinogi coherence and unity was not unique to Bollard, but he powerfully extended Anwyl's early approach (1901):

[Anwyl] the 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi' form a unified whole, worked together with considerable skill by a writer to whom the materials seem to have been thoroughly familiar from frequent narration.¹¹⁷

Anwyl's student Miss Elizabeth J. Lloyd (1911) continued the perspective. But his relatively young death (1914) left the literary coherence perspective without a powerful patron.¹¹⁸ Mythological Reconstruction dominated the field, led by WJG insisting upon a fractured ancestral mythos, subservient to Irish tradition.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Hemming considers 'coherent' vs. 'fragmentary' text, to cut across all her four approaches. Hemming, (then Hooker), 'Textual Commentary', p. 7. Parker 'Old School' / 'Revisionists' Bibliog essay. Similarly dual stage summary in Welsh, 'Harmonizing of Story', pp. 15-18.

¹¹⁴ Previous chapter II.5. Welsh Renaissance; the thematic summary which concludes it.

¹¹⁵ Parker. 'Bibliographic Essay'.

¹¹⁶ Sullivan, ed. 1996, Repr. Routledge, 2015; google books 2012; Kindle 2020. *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*. For authors' original publication data see Bibliography. CONTENTS Sullivan, 'Preface', pp. xi-xiii. Sullivan, 'Introduction', pp. xv-xxi. # ORIGINS Bromwich, 'The Mabinogion and Lady Charlotte Guest', pp. 3 - 18. Charles-Edwards, 'The Date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', pp. 19 -58. # COMPARATIVE ANALYSES Wood, 'The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature', pp. 61 -78. Keefer, 'The Lost Tale of Dylan in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi', pp. 79 -98. Ford, 'Branwen: a study of the Celtic affinities', pp. 99 -120. Welsh, 'Manawydan fab Llŷr: Wales, England, and the "New Man"', pp. 121-141. # STRUCTURE O'Coileidin, 'A Thematic Study of the Tale Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet', pp. 145 -151. Hanson-Smith, 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed': the narrative structure', pp. 153-164. Bollard, 'The Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogion', pp. 165 -196. Ford, 'Prolegomena to a Reading of the Mabinogi: Pwyll and Manawydan', pp. 197 -216. Jones, R.M., 'Narrative Structure in Medieval Welsh Prose Tales', pp. 217 -262. # THEMATIC Gantz, 'Thematic Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', pp. 265-275. Bollard, 'The Role of Myth and Tradition in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', pp. 277 -302. McKenna, 'The Theme of Sovereignty in Pwyll', pp. 303 -330. Valente, 'Gwydion and Aranrhod: Crossing the Borders of Gender', pp. 331 -345. Sullivan, 'Inheritance and Lordship in the Math', pp. 347-366. Works Cited, pp. 367-382. About the Contributors, pp. 383-387.

¹¹⁷ Anwyl. 1901. Mabinogi, IV, p. 123.

¹¹⁸ Elizabeth Lloyd. 1911. 'Mabinogion as Literature. *ibid.* Oct. 1911, 'Mabinogion as Literature, Continued'. Parry-Williams, ANWYL, Sir EDWARD. Welsh Biography. A photograph of Anwyl with Lloyd seated by him shows him as cheerfully obese, suggesting a mid-life death of stroke or heart attack as plausible.

¹¹⁹ Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd, pp. 111-16. Cf 'a broken design and mutilated fragments, great confusions and unanswerable problems' Gwyn Jones. 1959. 'The Prose Romances of Medieval

Anwyl was so thoroughly obscured the new Paradigm writers were unaware of their precursor.

Rhyngwau/ Interlacings

Bollard explored intricate, narrative links which build coherence structurally and thematically. Sullivan noted the structural/ thematic distinction is not always clear, though still opted for two separate anthology sections.¹²⁰

Structural links thread between different episodes or Branches like pegs on a map. Two or more such 'pegs' mark similar (or markedly contrasting) events, binding the text together: e.g. the use of the term 'mabinogi' ending the Branches.¹²¹ Thematic links go further: a themed pair or group give *meaning* when compared (or contrasted). Structural links set a line: thematic links hang flags on it, as it were.¹²² Bollard marks *Pwyll I* linking PKM1 Annwfn gift exchange with the PKM4 swine with tragic import.¹²³ *Pwyll's* first contacts with Arawn and Rhiannon: show many similarities which are not merely formulaic.¹²⁴

Wales', p. 143; with 'masterpieces of swift and graceful style, enchanting... in their vivid detail and succinct understatement'. E. Hanson-Smith. 1981-82. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed: the narrative structure', *Studia Celtica* 16/17, p. 12. Repr. Sullivan ed. 1996. *Mabinogi Essays* (Routledge), pp. 153-164.

¹²⁰ 'somewhat arbitrary—the essays dealing with structure, for example, can hardly help but mention theme, and those dealing with theme cannot easily ignore structure', Sullivan (ed.), *Essays*. p. xi. III. 'Structural Interpretations', pp. 143–262. IV. 'Thematic Interpretations', pp. 263–366.

¹²¹ PKM 27.27. JKB 40.1. PKM2 48.12. JKB 60.1. PKM4 92.27. JKB 108.1.

¹²² Analogy with musical scores, but this is only helpful to those who have adequate musical training. Ford cites Claude Levi-Strauss who 'has shown that the schemata of a tale must be read vertically, as one would read the melodic line and its contrapuntal apparatus in a musical score' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 207, continuing "these sequences [i.e., narrative events] are organized, on planes at different levels (of abstraction), in accordance with schemata, which exist simultaneously, superimposed one upon another; just as a melody composed for several voices is held within bounds by constraints in two dimensions, first by its own melodic line which is horizontal, and second by the contrapuntal schemata (settings) which are vertical." Claude Levi-Strauss. 1967. *The Myth of Asdiwal*, in *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism*, ed. by Leach, Edmund (Tavistock Publications), p. 17.

¹²³ R. M. Jones, 'Narrative Structure', p. 227. Jeffrey Gantz, 'Thematic Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in Sullivan, ed. *Essays*, pp. 265-275. Seán Ó Coileáin. 1977-1978. 'A Thematic Study of the Tale of 'Pwyll Pendevic Dyfed', *Studia Celtica*, 12-13, pp. 78-82. Repr. Sullivan, ed. *Essays*, pp. 145 – 151. Ford, 'Prolegomena', *Studia Celtica*, 16-17, pp. 110-25. Repr. in *Essays*, pp. 197 -216. Ch. I.5 Text, Bollard PKM1 PKM4; *Pwyll I* as Prelude p. 38. Bollard, 'Structure', in *Essays*, p. 168; and *ibid.*, "The Role of Myth and Tradition in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi", in Sullivan (ed.), *Essays*, p. 284.

¹²⁴ Ch. IX. Structures: Interlacings, for worked examples pp. 513-21.

Bollard liked the metaphor from 8thC Celtic artwork MSS. of 'interlacing' for these bindings.¹²⁵ A four quartered MS. page design could display interlinked forms, transgressing its quartered boundaries.¹²⁶ Such crossings, so easily drawn from Mabinogi text, might appear to us as our overlay upon the original composition. But there do seem to be a great many of them.¹²⁷ Mabinogi interlacings situate within a literary culture delighting in intricacy cf. the *cynghanedd*, a poetic form micro-harmonising at the syllabic level.¹²⁸ Some interlacings may have been consciously unintended by the Cyfarwydd, but ramifications of most compositions often go beyond conscious intent.

Sullivan's 1996 anthology has several explorations of interlacings. R. M. Jones gives the clearest exposition of the form, recognising mediaeval audiences expect narrative to operate in multiples. Jeffrey Gantz traces many interlacings, as a basic good/ evil conflict. Seán Ó Coileáin reads *Pwyll* as Pryderi's birth tale, explaining its Rhiannon narrative as a functional doublet of the Annwfn episode. Ford's alternation of Rhiannon's human and equine mothering is an important symbolic matrix.¹²⁹

Bollard is particularly concerned with the social or moral import interlacings could convey, proposing their three broad, unifying themes: friendship, marriage and feud.¹³⁰ The model is gendered because Mabinogi

¹²⁵ Bollard, 'Structure', in Sullivan, ed. *Essays*, pp. 165–66. Bollard, 'Afterword', in *Landscape*, p. 112. He acknowledges inspiration from Eugene Vinaver. 1966. 'Form and Meaning in Medieval Romance: the presidential address of the Modern Humanities Research Association' (Cambridge : Association). Vinaver's concept was not developed for mediaeval Welsh prose but for the Old English poetry, *Beowulf*. Also Vinaver,. 1971. *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press., 1971).

¹²⁶ Bollard, with his devotion to Welsh landscape, might favour my view that Welsh wayfaring is so curvilinear due to hilliness, as to nurture an interlacing mentality. A standard modern road sign warns of bends. Its use in much of Wales is questionable. It might usefully be replaced with an (occasional) reassurance of 'No bends'. (Whimsical comment)

¹²⁷ Ch. IX Structures for an indicative selection, but far from a complete array, pp. 513-21

¹²⁸ A tightly controlled form of Welsh poetry which balances rhyme, alliteration and stress within each line. Mererid Hopwood. 2005. *Singing in Chains - Listening to Welsh Verse* (Gwales). Or 'Cynghanedd'. 2006. *Celtic Culture A Historical Encyclopedia*, II, ed. by John Koch *et al.* (ABC-CLIO), p. 537.

¹²⁹ R. M. Jones. 1996. 'Narrative Structure in Medieval Welsh Prose Tales', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 217 -262. Jeffrey Gantz. 1996. 'Thematic Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 265-275. Sean O'Coileáin. 1996. 'A Thematic Study of the Tale Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 145 -151. Patrick K. Ford. 1996. 'Prolegomena to a Reading of the Mabinogi: Pwyll and Manawydan', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 197 -216. Also Ford, 'Introduction' to his *Welsh Tales*, passage on *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*, pp. 3-14, which is considered here Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Ford.

¹³⁰ John K. Bollard, 'Structure, pp. 165 -196. The three themes are given p. 168. Here Ch. V.1. my Genealogy & Friendship diagram shows these links graphically, p. 213.

friendships are between males, while marriages join males and females. Friendships and marriages might be viewed in combination, functioning as a meta-theme: *alliance*; in polarity with (or servicing) feud.¹³¹ Mabinogi Rhiannon is rich in all three themes.¹³²

The Coherence Paradigm, while slow to gain traction as paradigms characteristically are, has opened up new generations of scholarship.¹³³ New translations and commentaries came from Patrick Ford (1977), Bollard himself (2006) and Sioned Davies (2008).¹³⁴ Roberta Valente (1986), Rhiannon Mary Davies 'Moral Structure of Pedeir Keinc Y Mabinogi' (1993), and Fiona Winward (1997) contributed feminist perspectives.¹³⁵ Will Parker, noted above (1998, 2002) led the way into online open publishing, which inspired my own research website (2013).¹³⁶

~ * ~

¹³¹ This study suggests a further theme of mothering, or parenting, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad, pp. 322-28.

¹³² Friendships: Pwyll/ Teyrnnon; Pryderi/ Manawydan. Marriages: both Rhiannon's marriages, also Arawn/ Queen, Teyrnnon/ Wife, Cigfa/ Pryderi, Llwyd/ Lady Mouse. Feuds: Arawn/ Hafgan, Rhiannon/ Gwawl, Pwyll/ nobles faction possibly Pendaran, Rhiannon/ Maids, Bendigeidfran (Efnysien)/ Matholwch, Rhiannon/ Llwyd (Gwawl), Dyfed quartet/ craft rivals.

¹³³ The exceptionally influential paradigm theory was developed by Thomas Kuhn. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (University of Chicago); viz. 'science enjoys periods of stable growth punctuated by revisionary revolutions ... (6.3) Kuhn's influence outside of professional philosophy of science may have been even greater than it was within it. The social sciences in particular'. Alexander Bird. 2018. 'Thomas Kuhn', *SEP*. (URL text Bibliography). 'The larger the difference between two paradigms, the slower the Model Revolution and Paradigm Change steps usually are.' 'Paradigm Change: Why Paradigm Change is usually Slow', Thwink.org. (URL text Bibliography).

¹³⁴ Ford. 1977. *Welsh Tales*. Bollard. 2006. *Landscape*, default trans. this study. S.Davies. 2008. *Mabinogion*.

¹³⁵ Valente. 1986. *Merched*, doctoral dissertation. Rhiannon Mary Davies,. 1993. 'The Moral Structure of Pedeir Keinc Y Mabinogi' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. Wales Cardiff). (URL text Bibliography). Fiona Winward. 1997. 'Aspects', academic journal article.

¹³⁶ Will Parker. 1998, online 2002. 'Bibliographic Essay', above this chapter. Ch. II.9. 21stC. See his 2003. 'Text Translations', Mabinogi.Net, with various Mabinogi articles (URL text Bibliography). Shân Morgain. 2013. 'Mabinogi Study' including the Mabinogi Bibliography. (URL text Bibliography).

II *Stori'r Stori/ Story of the Story*

II.8. *Mabinogi Rhiannon a Ffeministiaeth/* Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism

women of the Mabinogi ... among the most vivid characters in the world of the Four Branches. (Valente)¹³⁷

women in The Four Branches are so much more memorable than their male counterparts. (Winward)¹³⁸

Feminist perspectives on the Mabinogi developed in the period of the Coherence Paradigm shift (1970s-1990s).¹³⁹ This chapter traces that feminist development, and attempts to apply feminist perspectives to Mabinogi Rhiannon. The wider context of historical feminisms is outlined because 'feminism' is a huge discourse with many variants: clarity is needed on how the concept is used.

Ffeministiaeth a thestun canoloesol / Feminism and mediaeval text

It may be queried whether it is valid to apply a 19th–21stC discourse to a mediaeval text.¹⁴⁰ The earliest recorded usage of the term 'feminism' dates to 1841.

The issue of rights for women first became prominent during the French and American revolutions in the late 18th cent., with regard especially to property rights, the marriage relationship, and the right to vote. (OED)¹⁴¹

Concepts of 'rights for women' are arguably much older.¹⁴² Powerful abbesses asserted women's thought, from Rome through mediaeval centuries; Hildegard

¹³⁷ Valente, '*Merched*', p. 283.

¹³⁸ Winward, '*Aspects*', p. 78.

¹³⁹ Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm, pp. 118-139.

¹⁴⁰ Lucy Delap judges 'it is misleading to approach them [mediaeval texts] through our much later ideological concerns. Instead, we should ask what terms and concepts they used to think about men and women.' [My insertion] Delap. 2020. *Feminisms: A Global History* (Pelican,; Kindle), p. 9. Mrinalini Sinha insists it is inadequate to simply pluralise into 'feminism', instead she speaks of the 'discrepant histories of different women's movements, marked by contests, conflicts and power-play'. Mrinalini Sinha. 2000. 'Mapping the Imperial Social Formation: A Modest Proposal for Feminist History', *Signs*, 25, 4, pp. 1077–82, quoted in Delap, *Feminisms*, p. 22.... 3. Advocacy of equality of the sexes and the establishment of the political, social, and economic rights of the female sex; the movement associated with this

¹⁴¹ OED: earliest usage: '1. Feminine quality or character; femininity. Now rare. 1841. ... 3. Advocacy of equality of the sexes and the establishment of the political, social, and economic rights of the female sex; the movement associated with this

¹⁴² This simple statement at its broadest could mean ancient civilisations, and span the world's continents. For the present purpose comment will confine to the Mabinogi compilation period, and ensuing centuries in Britain and nearby societies.

von Bingen and Heloise are contemporaries of Mabinogi compilation.¹⁴³ *Cyfraith Hywel*/ Welsh Laws suggest a distinctive degree of positive female status in Wales.¹⁴⁴ Mediaeval queens and noblewomen demonstrate female exemplars of authority and agency; some available to the Cyfarwydd in crafting the Rhiannon narrative; Gwenllïan ferch Gruffydd (1055–1137), Nest ferch Rhys (c. 1085–post 1136), perhaps Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1/04/1204).¹⁴⁵ Beguines (13thC) ran independent women's economies. Christine de Pisan wrote *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*, asserting women's will to power (c. 1405).¹⁴⁶ There seems adequate evidence for mediaeval 'feminism' though enacted on its own terms and vocabulary.

18th/ 19thC *ffeministiaeth*/ feminism

Leading feminist historian Gerda Lerner follows the OED, judging America birthed feminism July 19, 1848, Seneca Falls: certainly a watershed convocation.¹⁴⁷ But much earlier in Europe the breaking of the divine right of kings breached the divine right of fathers and husbands. Olympe de Gouges' *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman* (1791), Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), were contemporary with the London Welsh Societies, and Pughe's first Mabinogi publications.¹⁴⁸ His circle was intimate with French radical activism.¹⁴⁹ 'Feminism' was known as the 'woman question'.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ Hildegard von Bingen (1098–17/09/1179). Héloïse d'Argenteuil/ 'Héloïse du Paracle't (c. 1098—died May 15, 1164).

¹⁴⁴ Ch. III. 5. Law Land Women pp. 164; especially Dafydd Jenkins, and Morfydd E. Owen, eds. 1980, 1992. *The Welsh Law of Women: Studies Presented to Daniel A. Binchy* (UWP, 1992 [1980]). Heretofore 'WLW'.

¹⁴⁵ Attila Bárány. 2013. 'Medieval Queens and Queenship: the Present Status of Research in Income and Power', *Annual of Medieval Studies CEU*, 19, pp. 149-199. (URL Bibliography)

¹⁴⁶ Laura Swan. 2014. *The Wisdom of the Beguines: The Forgotten Story of a Medieval Women's Movement* (BlueBridge). Christine de Pisan. 1405. *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*. Christine De Pisan, and Rebecca Kingston, ed. trans. 2018. *Book of the City of Ladies and Other Writings* (Hackett Publishing.).

¹⁴⁷ 'The Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention marked the beginning of the woman's rights movement.' Gerda Lerner. Fall, 1998. 'The Meaning of Seneca Falls: 1848– 1998', *Dissent*, p. 35. (URL Bibliography)

¹⁴⁸ Olympe de Gouges. 1791. *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* (Paris) *The Rights of Woman*; also *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen*. IEP (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy/Olympe de Gouges (1748—1793). (2 X URLs Bibliography) Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). (URL Bibliography)

¹⁴⁹ Owen [Pughe]. 1795; 1799. '*Mabinogion*'.

¹⁵⁰ "women's movement" or "woman question" was the terminology of nineteenth-century Europe and the Americas, while "women's awakening" was widely debated in Middle Eastern and North African countries in the early twentieth century. Others in this period preferred to talk of the "new woman" as a symbol of new forms of economic and cultural opportunity for women.

When Guest was completing her 19thC *Mabinogion* she was evidently aware of 'feminist' ideals.¹⁵¹

Welsh efforts establishing university academia (1860s -1930) parallel women's struggle for access to universities and women's suffrage.¹⁵² Anwyl's protégée Elizabeth Lloyd was a rare, early Mabinogi scholar, graduating BA Hons. Welsh, First Class, Aberystwyth (1911); MA. Bangor (1913).¹⁵³ In 1928 the Representation of the People Act entitled everyone over 21 to vote.¹⁵⁴

Mudiad Rhyddid Merched (WLM) a'r Paradigm Cydlyniad / Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) and the Coherence Paradigm

The WLM (Women's Liberation Movement) constellated shortlist of Four Demands (1970),¹⁵⁵ later Seven Demands.¹⁵⁶ The London Women's Liberation Workshop, Earlham St., was a major hub of activism through local Consciousness

Chinese radicals variously made demands in the name of women's rights (funüjie) and gender equality (nannü pingdeng). Feminism does not map in any straightforward way onto these terrains'. Delap, *Feminisms*, p. 10

¹⁵¹ 'How deeply I have felt this inferiority of sex and how humiliated I am when it is recalled to my mind in allusion to myself! Knowing that most wives are but looked upon as nurses and housekeepers', quoted in Sioned Davies, 'Charming Guest', p. 177, no journal date given. Guest and John, *Extraordinary Life*, p. 47, dates it c. 1833.

¹⁵² University College of Wales, Aberystwyth was founded 1872. (URL Bibliography) HERE 'The first university college for women in Britain, Girton College in Cambridge, opened in 1869', Delap, 'Feminisms', p. 18. Women were first admitted to University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1884.

¹⁵³ Elizabeth Jane Lloyd (1889-1952). She published a two part Mabinogi analysis the year she graduated. E. J. Lloyd (Miss), 'The *Mabinogion* as Literature'. Ch. II. 6. Academia: Anwyl. Two years later, Elizabeth Jane Lloyd. 1913. 'The history of the Eisteddfod' (unpublished MA. University of Wales, Bangor). NLW holding, NLW South ARCHIFAU / ARCHIVES (1913/16). She was appointed Lecturer, Normal College, Bangor (1916) but following strong custom on marriage, resigned (1917 married E. Louis Jones, a solicitor of Llanfyllin). She worked as governor on school boards, gave talks on Welsh literature and language, publishing journal articles but not on the Mabinogi. She d. 14 May 1952 at Wrexham, was buried at Llanfyllin with two children out of four surviving. Also note Eleanor Hull. 1907. 'The Development of the Idea of Hades in Celtic Literature', *Folklore*, 18, 2, pp. 121-65

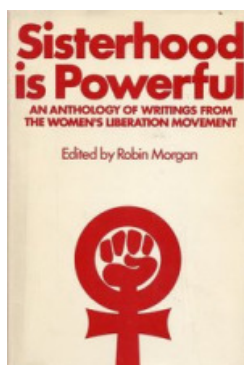
¹⁵⁴ Recent centenary celebrations 2019 cited the Representation of the People Bill, 1919. This only allowed women over the age of 30 to vote, and men over the age of 21. Women had to be married or a member of the Local Government Register. (URL Bibliography: British Library timeline) Ellis and Lloyd, eds. trans. 1929. *The Mabinogion*. Mabinogi text is in Vol. 1. pp. 1-132. Ifor Williams. 1930 and reprints. (PKM) *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.

¹⁵⁵ First National Women's Conference, Ruskin College, Oxford (1970). Also known as the Second Wave of feminism following the American view (above) which starts the feminism concept in the mid -19thC USA, ignoring previous centuries and continents..

¹⁵⁶ Sisterhood and After Research Team. 8/03/2013. 'Women's liberation: a national movement' (URL Bibliography).

The basic Four Demands were Equal pay; Equal education and job opportunities; Free contraception; and abortion on demand; Free 24-hour nurseries. Expanded to 7 demands, adding 'Financial and legal independence', (and by 1979) An end to all [sexual identity] discrimination.

Raising groups.¹⁵⁷ Rapid worldwide development inspired an intoxicating ideal of universal sisterhood cf. Robin Morgan's iconic anthology *Sisterhood Is Powerful*.¹⁵⁸



The concept of 'gender' became widespread in the later 20thC, separating biological sex (physical female) from social identity (behavioural woman), later 'intersectionality' (class, ethnicity, and dis/ability).¹⁵⁹ The Mabinogi generally works with conventional gendering with separate, well-defined rôles: e.g. women are food organisers, men are fighters. Rhiannon and Gwydion stretch their gender rôles, but not their primary gender.¹⁶⁰ All Mabinogi characters appear to be ethnically Caucasoid.¹⁶¹ No one is disabled except dying fighters

¹⁵⁷ A CR group was small, 5–15 women, who met in each other's homes. Members shared experience on a key topic per meeting, building mutual support which ideally led to greater personal confidence and activism. Sue Bruley. Jan. 1976. *Women Awake: the Experience of Consciousness Raising* (Self published booklet). An experiential account of a CR group I founded and led in South London by one of the sisters. Dr. Bruley is now Reader in Modern History, University of Portsmouth.

¹⁵⁸ Robin Morgan, ed. 1970. *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (NY: Random House). Most of its contributors were, or were becoming, notable 'influencers', though that term came later; we would then have called them 'activists'. Contents: (URL Bibliography) Followed *ibid.* 1984. *Sisterhood Is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology* (Anchor/ Doubleday).

¹⁵⁹ Silke Roth and Katherine Dashper. Dec. 2016. 'Sociology in the 1980s: The Rise of Gender (and Intersectionality)', *Sociology*, 50, Booklet 6pp. NP1–NP12. (URL Bibliography) The term 'intersectionality' was introduced by Kimberle Crenshaw, 1989. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', in *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1, pp. 139–67. (URL Bibliography) The identity of 'woman' has since been reworked into fluid forms of performance, making gender an ongoing radical choice by its bearers. Feminism has also expanded into 'intersectionality', mapping gender with class, ethnicity, and dis/ability. Judith Butler. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge,); became known as 'queer theory'. Donna Haraway. 1991. 'A Cyborg Manifesto : Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century', in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, ed. by Haraway (Routledge, 1991), pp. 149–81.

¹⁶⁰ Rhiannon, for example is forceful in achieving her *neges*/ purposes, but does not break the convention of male marriage bestowal. Gwydion: 'Valente. 1988. ' Crossing the Borders of Gender in Math'. Ch. V.15 Gwydion compares Rhiannon & Gwydion..

¹⁶¹ 'Racial' difference may possibly be perceived between PKM2 Irish and British.

(Hafgan, Bendigeidfran).¹⁶² In relation to class status there are levels of nobility, some reference to town traders, farm workers, and an implicit but usually unmentioned background of servants e.g. servicing feasts.¹⁶³ Manawydan narrative moves from noble to lower class living, and back again. But the focus of the tales remains the noble experience; their interests and problems.

Andreas Pennar, *ffeministaidd cudd*/ obscured feminist

The earliest feminist commentary on the Mabinogi is the poet Andreas Pennar's methodical literary comparisons of its female characters (D. Phil, 1975).¹⁶⁴

Neither his contemporary Bollard, pioneering the Coherence Paradigm (1974ff.), nor the acclaimed feminist pioneer Valente (1986), seem acquainted with Pennar.¹⁶⁵ Nor are the main, subsequent, feminist analyses: Ann W. Merrill's structural analysis (1977); Nerys Patterson on female political agency (1987), woman as vassal (1988); Claire A. French' gender roles' analysis (1990); Fiona Winward on women's independence and memorability (1997).¹⁶⁶ Pennar has been undeservedly obscured.

1974. Bollard:

... the role of women in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi has so far not been adequately defined or examined, though no one would deny that

¹⁶² Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, pp. 272-75 on the fit, young profile of Mabinogi characters.

¹⁶³ Staff noted pp. 164, 173 but only implicit to the text.

¹⁶⁴ Andreas Meirion Pennar. 1975. 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature : An Examination of Some Literary Attitudes before 1500.' (unpublished D Phil. doctoral thesis, Oxford). The Mabinogi is treated Ch. 4. 'The later Narrative', pp. 96– 121. Also Ch. 1, 'The Evidence of the Lawbooks', pp. 1– 26. Summary of its contents below, n. 170.

¹⁶⁵ Bollard's publication date predates Pennar's by only a year and he continues actively in Welsh journals. Valente. 1986. '*Merched y Mabinogi: Women and the Thematic Structure of the Four Branches*', esp. pp. 5–7. Bollard and Valente's lack of awareness of Pennar is probably due to Pennar's lack of publication following his D.Phil; perhaps also to weaker networking pre-internet. These three scholars span Harvard, Aberystwyth, (Bollard), Oxford (Pennar) and Cornell (Valente).

¹⁶⁶ Ann W. Merrill. 1977. 'Order and Chaos: A Structural Analysis of the Limitations of Women in the *Mabinogion* and *Táin Bó Cúailnge*' (unpublished BA. Hons. thesis, Harvard). (URL Bibliography). Nerys Patterson. May, 1987. 'Women of the Mabinogi: From Sign to Subject', presented at the Harvard Celtic Colloquium, 7, pp. 163–66. The paper was not published in the *Proceedings*, only its Abstract as follows. 'The women of the Mabinogi in some respects resemble the Irish sovereignty goddess. But while the latter function as symbols of a male political goal, the women of the Mabinogi may be considered as offering models of female political behavior. The paper explores this dimension of the Four Branches and offers a hypothesis concerning the relationship between political culture and narrative themes concerning women in early medieval Ireland and later medieval Wales.' Nerys Patterson. 1988. 'Woman as Vassal: Gender Symmetry in Medieval Wales', *Proc. of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 8, pp. 31–45. Claire A. French. 1990. 'Masculinity and Femininity in 'The *Mabinogion*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Deakin University, Chapters 5–8, pp. 81–215. (URL Bibliography). Erica J. Sessle. 1994. 'Exploring the Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess through the Role of Rhiannon', *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 14, pp. 9–13 Fiona Winward. 1997. 'Aspects of the Women'.

women play a significant part in the tales.¹⁶⁷

1975. Pennar:

'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature',
Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, Chapter 4: c), pp. 96-121.¹⁶⁸

1986. Valente:

I would now like to turn to the women, as Bollard suggested, and see what powers and significance they have in the story ...¹⁶⁹

Pennar methodically addresses nine Mabinogi women: the Queen,

Rhiannon, Teyrnon's Wife, Branwen (and Cymidei), Cigfa, Goewin, Arianrhod, and Blodeuedd; not Lady Mouse, nor Rhiannon's Maids except noting Rhiannon's attitude to them. Rhiannon has eleven pages: others one to five pages each.¹⁷⁰

Pennar:

Of all the female characters in the *Pedeir Keinc* Rhiannon is the most commanding figure [...] ¹⁷¹

He also reviews women in his Ch. 1. *Cyfraith Hywel*, particularly Rhiannon's legal right to choose her husband.¹⁷² His respect for the forthright, independent character of Welsh women is explicit.¹⁷³ A known supporter of the early Women's Movement, he critiques the pursuits of Rhiannon in terms like recent 21stC discourse on harassment would welcome.¹⁷⁴

none of the messengers spoke to her – but chased her only. No woman with self-respect would like to be chased by silent men.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁷ Bollard, 'Structure', in Sullivan, ed. *Essays*, p. 386.

¹⁶⁸ Pennar, 'Women'. The Mabinogi is treated Ch. 4. 'The later Narrative', pp. 96– 121. Summary of its contents, below, n. 170.

¹⁶⁹ Valente, *'Merched'*, p. 93.

¹⁷⁰ Pennar, 'Women'. Queen: as 'Arawn's wife', total 3 pages, pp. 119–22. Compared with Blodeuedd re marital silences, p. 122. Rhiannon: total 11 pages, pp. 123– 34. Compared with Branwen as generous patroness, p. 137; contrasted with Branwen on depiction of inner feelings, p. 137; reacting differently to calamity, p. 139. Teyrnon's Wife, total 2 pages, pp. 134– 36. Compared with Cigfa as trusted confidantes of men, p. 140. Branwen, total 5 pages, pp. 136–39. Cigfa, total 3 pages, pp. 139– 42. Goewin, total 1 page, p. 143. Arianrhod, as 'Aranrhod', total 2 pages, pp. 143– 45. Blodeuedd, total 7 pages, pp. 145– 52. Compared with Rhiannon, initial scenes of love at first sight, p. 148. Contrasted with Branwen as lacking tragic self-awareness, p. 149. Remarks on Cymidei, p. 109, total 1 part page.

¹⁷¹ Pennar, 'Women', p. 123. His son, who has aided my research project, is named Gwri. Cf. Guest's more covert tribute naming one of her daughters Rhiannon but only as a second name, Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest.

¹⁷² Pennar, 'Women', Ch. 1, 'The Evidence of the Lawbooks', pp. 1– 26. Rhiannon's right to choose, 'Women', pp. 10, 126, 133. Pennar's legal research was several years before the foundational works of TM Charles-Edwards, and Jenkins & Owen, in this field. Thomas Mowbray Charles-Edwards. 1978. 'Honour and Status in Some Irish and Welsh Prose Tales', *Ériu* 29, pp. 123–41. Dafydd Jenkins, and Morfydd. E. Owen, eds. 1980. *Welsh Law of Women*.

¹⁷³ Pennar, 'Women', Rhiannon, pp. 124, and pp. 125–26; Branwen, p. 138. Welsh women now, pp. 124–26.

¹⁷⁴ Notably the #metoo movement, begun 2017. (URL Bibliography)

¹⁷⁵ Pennar, 'Women', p. 125. He has no such insight into Arianrhod, who he describes entirely through the male gaze: Lewys Môn, WJG, Gwydion, and his own. *Ibid.* pp. 143– 45.

‘Rob’ Valente, *Ffeministaidd arloesol*/ Pioneer feminist

Valente is a Mabinogi Studies’ classic for her pioneering goddess-myth deconstruction, unveiling the woman behind the myth. Pennar anticipates her insight ten years earlier, though not her depth development. For both scholars Rhiannon is their exemplar.

Pennar: The progression from imaginative symbol to a human being ... in the approach of Rhiannon before Pwyll– so wondrous and elusive until the human voice breaks the silence of magic and Rhiannon’s tongue outlines a complete personality.¹⁷⁶

Valente: By trying to explain her role by/analyzing only the remnants of her former divinity, we overlook the human drama¹⁷⁷

... the strength of her words, a consistent power which recurs and affects events wherever she appears.¹⁷⁸

For Pennar, Rhiannon’s PKM1 maiden courtship reveals her; for Valente it is Rhiannon’s PKM3 mothering (below). Both describe Mabinogi female power as asserted through voice.¹⁷⁹

Bollard shifted mythology, then Valente shifted goddesses from centre stage. Unaware of Pennar, Valente notes that at her time of writing the new literary approach did not focus Mabinogi women.¹⁸⁰ Her key critique targets Mac Cana’s judgement of Rhiannon as a flawed goddess. To him Rhiannon loses her divine power, seen at her advent, when she sallies out to rescue her son and herself becomes captive. Mac Cana is then able to extol his favoured Manawydan by contrast, as ‘prudent’ in inaction.¹⁸¹ Valente objects.

What seems a glaring inconsistency in behavior in the world of a goddess may well be perfectly understandable in terms of mortal behavior: Rhiannon is a mother, and her son is in danger of his life; there is nothing odd in her behavior,

¹⁷⁶ Pennar, ‘Women’, p. 116. Pennar does not develop the insight much more than the quote given here about Rhiannon. But it is striking that he anticipates one of Valente’s core themes. Her PhD study is purely Mabinogi women where his is broad, across all the *Mabinogion* and other Welsh mediaeval literature such as the Laws; this inevitably dilutes depth of analysis.

¹⁷⁷ Valente, ‘*Merched*’, pp. 5–7.

¹⁷⁸ Valente, ‘*Merched*’, p. 53.

¹⁷⁹ Ch. IV.1. Voice, for analysis of Rhiannon’s characteristically dominant voice in a male dominated society, together with her crucial mode of maternal vulnerability. Other Mabinogi women appear to demonstrate stifled voice; e.g. Cigfa in disagreement with Manawydan who, as in other dialogues with her, ignores her advice; perhaps also the Queen is illustrative.

¹⁸⁰ See hers and Bollard’s quotes, above.

¹⁸¹ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, pp. 57–58. Manawydan: Man of Virtue, p. 343. Thomas Clancy does recognise Rhiannon’s humanity but perceives her as ‘shrewish, her wisdom overbalanced by her partiality towards her son’. He contrasts Rhiannon’s ‘moment of unrestraint’ with Manawydan’s ‘male restraint’. Thomas Owen Clancy. 2005. ‘The Needs of Strangers in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi’, *Quaestio Insularis*, 6 (2005), p. 16. Rhiannon’s advent, PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. Analysis Ch. I.4. Advent. She rebukes Manawydan’s inaction and goes to rescue Pryderi, PKM3 56.26–57.3. JKB 70.2. Ch. V.12

nothing impulsive about her reaction, if we remember her quite normal maternal function. If we do read her as a mortal woman, we cannot help but expect her to react as she does. What would seem peculiar to us then would be a description of inactivity; were she to stand complacently at Manawydan's side, we would find her to be a heartless creature.¹⁸²

Valente may be somewhat overstating the case in denying Rhiannon an 'impulsive' reaction. The 'normal' maternal *pryder* / anxiety and protection she cites, is arguably an impulse. But her projection of a conventionally 'heartless creature', lacking such a reaction, powerfully establishes her case.¹⁸³ Mabinogi Rhiannon follows conventional assumptions about mothers.¹⁸⁴ Valente's critique highlights the core importance of Rhiannon's mothering (and her *maternal* aspect as a goddess).¹⁸⁵ This study also stresses the primacy of Rhiannon's mothering.¹⁸⁶

Valente is careful to validate both mythic and literary perspectives;

to identify and appreciate the aspects of the women which owe their strength and power to an earlier goddess-figure who existed in both the religious and creative imaginations of the culture from which the literature springs.¹⁸⁷

What is rejected is a reconstructive monomyth making Rhiannon and other Mabinogi women into static divinities. As Sessle reiterates:

Rhiannon must also be regarded as a literary character and not simply the remnant of a degenerated goddess.¹⁸⁸

Modelau damcaniaethol ffeministaidd a Rhiannon /

Feminist theoretical models and Rhiannon

Feminisms apparently assumed female self-assertion, even dominance. 21stC discourse tends more to equality; e.g. Emma Watson, UN Global Goodwill Ambassador for Women (2014):

The belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities. It is the theory of the political, economic and social

¹⁸² Valente, '*Merched*', p. 6.

¹⁸³ Some forms of feminism at that time were deconstructing 'biological essentialism' in favour of 'gender', dismantling the conventional, distinctive profile of mothers (cf. Butler, Haraway cited above).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. gender, above p. 128.

¹⁸⁵ Noting the common recognition of Rhiannon as a 'maternal figure', Valente p. 6. n. 10, quotes Anne Ross: 'The maternal aspects of the goddess are thus of first importance and must be regarded as having taken precedence over all the other functions with which the female deities were concerned.' Ross. 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain: studies in iconography and tradition* (Routledge and Kegan Paul), p. 230.

¹⁸⁶ Maternal Dyad, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad, pp. 322-28.

¹⁸⁷ Valente, '*Merched*', p. 8.

¹⁸⁸ Erica J. Sessle. 1994. 'Exploring the Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess through the Role of Rhiannon', *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 14, p. 11.

equality of the sexes.¹⁸⁹

Margaret Atwood, one of the most prominent feminist voices today, stresses feminist complexity. She

doesn't like to talk about feminism unless the interviewer explains what they mean by it. ... "Do we mean equal legal rights? ... Do we mean women are better than men? Do we mean all men should be pushed off a cliff? What do we mean? Because that word has meant all of those different things."¹⁹⁰

There is not scope here to portray the considerable range of feminisms. A useful, basic model of three categories comes from Chris Beasley.¹⁹¹

Liberal Feminism: legal, political and institutional struggles for the rights of individuals to compete in the public marketplace. ... the value of individual 'autonomy' and 'freedom' from supposedly unwarranted restrictions by others.¹⁹² ... commonality with men [males] ... a reform' agenda.¹⁹³

Socialist Feminism: hierarchical class relations ... as *the* source of coercive power and oppression ... class oppression predates sex oppression. ... [group based labour and economics, shared struggle by women and men together].¹⁹⁴

Radical Feminism : expressly challenges male domination, prioritising women as women; a "feminism of difference", whether biologically essential, or "very deeply embedded" in sexual oppression as "the oldest ... form of inequality". Not all men are invariably oppressive to all women all the time.¹⁹⁵ [Liberation puts women first, generating a] sisterhood of women.¹⁹⁶

For all, 'The personal is political'.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁹ Emma Watson. Sat, 20/09/2014. UN Global Goodwill Ambassador for Women (NY: United Nations HQ). (URL Bibliography)

¹⁹⁰ Emma Watson. 14/07/2017 @ 09:00 AM EDT. 'Emma Watson interviews Margaret Atwood about *The Handmaid's Tale*', *Entertainment Weekly*. (URL Bibliography)

¹⁹¹ Beasley stipulates the three types 'are not discrete, and many feminists use a little from some or all of them.' Chris Beasley. 1999. *What is Feminism?: An Introduction to Feminist Theory* (London/ US/ New Delhi: Sage Publications), Ch. 5. p. 51. Beasley's introductory section on liberal feminism is pp. 51–53. Radical feminism: pp. 53–58. Marxist/ Socialist feminism: pp. 58–64. A helpful study of a key British project and period is Eve Setch. 2002. 'The Face of Metropolitan Feminism: The London Women's Liberation Workshop, 1969–79', in *Twentieth Century British History*, 13, 2, pp. 171–190. (URL Bibliography)

¹⁹² Beasley, *What is Feminism?*, Ch. 5. p. 51.

¹⁹³ Beasley, *What is Feminism?*, Ch. 5. p. 52. A representative classic of liberal feminism is Betty Friedan. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique* (USA; W. W. Norton). My insertion.

¹⁹⁴ Beasley, *What is Feminism?*, Ch. 5. p. 60. My insertion to summarise. A pioneering publication of Socialist feminism is Heather Booth, Day Creamer, Susan Davis, Deb Dobbin, Robin Kaufman, and Tobey Klass. eds. 1972. *Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement, by the Hyde Park Chapter of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union*. Pamphlet (URL Bibliography)

¹⁹⁵ Beasley, *What is Feminism?*, Ch. 5, p. 54.

¹⁹⁶ Beasley, *What is Feminism?*, Ch. 5, p. 56. My insertion. Cf. Robin Morgan's defining anthology *Sisterhood is Powerful*. Also Shulamith Firestone, Anne Koedt. eds. 1970. *Notes (From the Second Year: Radical Feminism)* (Radical Feminism, New York).

¹⁹⁷ 'The personal is political', famous, late 1960s, feminist slogan, Women's Movement unknown origin. Often cited from Carol Hanisch (of NY Radical Women). 1970. 'The personal is political', in

Rhiannon's *Pwyll II* strategies fit Liberal Feminism, aiming for 'autonomy' and 'freedom' from 'unwarranted restrictions by others'; and she finds common cause with her men. But she demonstrates no reforming agenda: only what Robin Morgan phrases the 'individual solution'.¹⁹⁸ Rhiannon might comprehend Socialist analysis from her keen concern with hierarchy, but she is herself one of the apex oppressors.¹⁹⁹ She fits the Radical Feminist emphasis on gender difference, e.g. her critical status of female in/fertility which governs her fate.²⁰⁰ She subverts and stretches gendering, though never seeks to dismantle it. But her sisterhood is very weak; cf. her pivotal failure to bond with her Maids.²⁰¹ In summary, individualistic Liberal Feminism is Rhiannon's closest model, though her narrative lacks its reform agenda.

Harddwch/ Beauty

Beauty is a strained feminist issue.²⁰² For Mabinogi characters it relates to women – and young men, described as *teccaf/* most beautiful, together with adorned buildings and jewels (possessions); but *not* the masters (mature males). The Queen, Branwen, Lady Mouse, Goewin and Blodeuedd are narrated the most

Notes from the Second Year, ed. by Firestone *et al*, pp. 76–77. (URL Bibliography) This and similar tracts were Gestetner produced in Women's Liberation newsletters e.g. WLW (Women's Liberation Workshop), Covent Garden, Earlham St. London. (Setch, Bibliography.) Hanisch attributes the words to her editors in a new introduction (2006) and expands: 'Our demands that men share the housework and childcare were likewise deemed a personal problem between a woman and her individual man. The opposition claimed if women would just "stand up for themselves" and take more responsibility for their own lives, they wouldn't need to have an independent movement for women's liberation.'

¹⁹⁸ Robin Morgan. 1971. 'Monster' (London samizdat), unnumbered. (NY, Random House (1972). Although the individualistic Liberal Feminism model fits Rhiannon better than the others, this must be understood alongside her strong solidarity with her kindred.

¹⁹⁹ 'women can and do participate in politics of domination, as perpetrators as well as victims.' bell hooks. 1989. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Sheba Feminist), p. 22. The author elects not to capitalise her names.

²⁰⁰ Infertility under patriarchy historically perceived as woman's fault, so replacing an infertile woman was the remedy. In societies living closely with animal breeding this seems to lack empirical logic, though a different pairing can improve chances which blurs the logic. Blaming the woman maintains patriarchal privilege. A very influential biology from Aristotle, made the female merely a receptacle providing undifferentiated matter, analogous to the ploughed field: the father sows seed constructing the form (cf. DNA). Aristotle; Arthur Platt, trans. 1910. *De Generatione animalium/ 'On the Generation of Animals'* (Clarendon Press). (URL Bibliography) This might seem to conflict with infertility as a female fault, but bad soil fails to nourish the seed. A weak or damaged seed will also fail to flourish, but that is not a patriarchal perspective.

²⁰¹ Her cordiality with Cigfa her daughter-in-law, is a hybrid family-political bond by marriage. PKM1 27.24–26. JKB 40.1. 'Sisterhood' as a feminist concept transcends family and locality.

²⁰² It has been argued that as women have gained greater social power the demands of beauty have become correspondingly more gruelling. Naomi Wolf. 1990. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women* (Chatto & Windus).

beautiful women ever seen, but without specifics.²⁰³ Rhiannon's looks seem praised subjectively by Pwyll and Pryderi; perhaps suggesting she is not conventionally beautiful, but striking.²⁰⁴ Beauty is not necessarily the primary praise for a Mabinogi woman; her converse appears as equally important (the Queen, Rhiannon).²⁰⁵

Asiantaeth / Agency

Throughout the treatment of Rhiannon narrative here, her agency is a persistent issue.²⁰⁶ She is seen as 'commanding', 'tough-minded',²⁰⁷ Rhiannon artworks cluster her impressive advent initiative.²⁰⁸ Yet her powerful advent strategy and wedding plot are circumventions of her bondage to male marriage bestowal. She subverts it verbally when she *commands* Pwyll to *give* her to Gwawl, but however adroit her words, the brute reality is she is 'given'. Her consent to her second marriage is equivocal: she agrees it, but Pryderi has arranged it.²⁰⁹ She has been profiled as 'hasty' and 'impulsive', contrasting Manawydan: Mac Cana above, degrading her agency when she departs to rescue her son. Her lack of PKM3 presence during the substantial Desolation passages has been seen as passivity,

²⁰³ Contrast Olwen's detail *Culhwch*. Women junior men buildings jewels = those poss. controlled.

²⁰⁴ PKM1 12.16–18. JKB 28.1. Rhiannon's looks, Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse (rider-horse integration) pp. 17–20; Ch. V.5. Pwyll, p. 246. Also Ch. V.10. Pryderi, PKM3 50.9–10. JKB 63.2.

²⁰⁵ Beauty of possessions, e.g. Annwfn adorned buildings, PKM 4.6–7. JKB 22.1; fairest jewels, as gifts, PKM 27.10. JKB 39.1. Fairest women: Queen, PKM1 3.9. JKB 21.2. Branwen, PKM2 31.1–2. JKB 45.2. Lady Mouse, PKM3 65.11. JKB 76.1. Goewin, PKM 67.9–10. JKB 79.1. and Blodeuedd, PKM 83.24–25. JKB 100. Arianrhod's beauty is not mentioned in the Mabinogi, but cited Triad 78: *Teir Gweniein Ynys Prydein* / 'Three fair (Royal) Ladies of Britain, TYP, p. 208. *Aranrot drem clot tra gwawr hinon* / 'more beautiful than fair weather'; *Kadeir Kerridwen*, poem 10, line 31. Margot Haycock. ed. trans. 2007. *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, CMCS), p. 317. Young men beautiful: Pryderi, PKM 27.14. JKB 40.1. Lleu, PKM 83.21–22. JKB 99. Olwen's beauty described, Bromwich and Evans. eds. *Culhwch and Olwen*, lines 487–98, p. 18. Converse praised: Queen, PKM1 4.21. JKB 22.1. Rhiannon PKM3 50.7–8. JKB 63.2.

²⁰⁶ Key analysis Ch. IV.2. Acts: Agency, pp. 208–09.

²⁰⁷ Commanding, Pennar, 'Women', p. 123, quoted above, p. 129; 'tough-minded', Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 21. Mac Cana: 'Not only does she take the initiative in forming a marriage alliance, but she overpowers her lord and her suitor and imprints her conscious dominance on all her converse with them (except the Calumniated Wife episode which is in any case a secondary theme). When Pwyll in his innocence allows himself to be tricked by Gwawl ... she does not conceal her impatience, and in the aftermath it is she who dictates the stratagem by which Gwawl is finally foiled. Her masterful behaviour carries over into her dealings with Manawydan in the third branch'. Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, pp. 57–58.

²⁰⁸ Ch. IX.I. Gallery pp. 533–38.

²⁰⁹ As noted Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Marriage p. 341, it seems unlikely Pryderi could force her against her will, given her long-entrenched power position ruling Dyfed and his lengthy absence at war. But the text is clear Pryderi makes the decision first. PKM 49.17–19. JKB 63.12.

though here it is held she participates in a joint, kindred narrative.²¹⁰ Perhaps the strongest criticism of her agency is her responsibility for the Desolation. Her 'masterful' PKM1 strategy is ultimately revealed as negative, destroying Dyfed society.²¹¹ Worst of all, her two triumphant restorations: closing PKM1 (returning her son), and PKM3 (lifting the Desolation, liberating her and Pryderi); are both engineered by others: Teyrnnon and Manawydan.²¹² She is rescued by hero males.

It seems inescapable that however attractive Rhiannon is as a dominant voice, a clever strategist, and co-ruler, her agency is, in many ways, limited and destructive. A possible anti-matriarchy subtext might be discerned. Such narratives show that

women did not know how to handle power when in possession of it, reaffirms dogmatically the inferiority of their present position. ... she represents chaos and misrule.²¹³

The female, however exciting and powerful she may seem at first, is on this perspective, revealed as the cause of disaster. Structurally, she suffers loss of power, which can be ignominious death, rape, or captivity, or else she is safely transformed by male control. Some of this seems to resonate with Rhiannon narrative.

~ * ~

II *Stori'r Stori*/ Story of the Story

II.9. *21ainC Technoleg yr 21ainC*/ 21stC Technology

This chapter looks the 21stC Mabinogi, and its increasing use of electronic technology.²¹⁴ From the mid-1980s Mabinogi 'papers' increasingly use electronic formats demonstrating a progression: hardback printing to MSWord, then PDF as the standard cross-platform editor.

²¹⁰ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Branches: 'disappearance', pp. 196-98.

²¹¹ Llwyd identifies her advice to Pwyll, as the cause of the Desolation: PKM3 64.7-10. JKB 75.1. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Desolation, pp. 324-28.

²¹² It is suggested Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 268-72, that her penance voice is a strategy, and a successful one, but if accepted it is a subtext found below a main text passivity.

²¹³ Joan Bamberger, 'The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society', in M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere. eds. 1974. *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford University Press), p. 279, and p. 280. (URL Bibliography)

²¹⁴ Hard copy, MSWord or similar, PDF, online text. 20th/ 21stC Rhiannon development outside academia: artworks, Ch. IX.1. Gallery pp. 529-58; novels, theatre Ch. IX.2. Imaginary pp. 559-66.

Pennar, 'Women' (D Phil. 1975, hardback);
 Valente, 'Merched' (PhD. 1986, MSWord).²¹⁵
 Hemming, 'First Branch' (PhD. 1995, PDF) an early PDF adopter;
 Winward, 'Aspects of Women' (article, 1996, PDF).²¹⁶

The first online Mabinogi text (Guest) appeared on an Arthurian site 'Miss Gien net' (1999).²¹⁷



After adapting academic writing to computer software (1980s, 1990s) the first few years of the 21st century demonstrate pioneering efforts to place Mabinogi text online: Gien (Guest, 1999); Mary Jones' comprehensive resources (2001) ongoing, now with all source MSS. and three translations; Parker (DIAS,

²¹⁵ Valente's groundbreaking thesis 1986 'Merched', applying feminist analysis to Rhiannon and the Mabinogi first in hard copy, transferred to microfilm, then to MSWord for Cornell University archives; a representative sequence of the period.

²¹⁶ Cross-platform = readable on Windows, MAC and other device brands. MSWord and other word processors were widely used but could only be read on their own-brand machines. A free reading-only program which bridged most systems was released by Adobe Inc. 1991–2008, an American multinational computer software company. 2015. 'Who Created the PDF?' (URL text Bibliography).

Hemming, (then Hooker). 1995. 'Commentary First Branch' (doctoral thesis Cambridge), 241 pp. PDF format. Winward. 1996. 'Aspects', PDF format.

²¹⁷ Jansen, 'Miss Gien'. 1999. 'The *Mabinogion*: The Welsh Mythology' (Netherlands). Arthurian site, edits text into parts. Site now closed, but may be accessed via Internet Archive, Wayback Machine. (URL Bibliography). Soon after, May 2002, came David Price' upload, Gutenberg. (URL text Bibliography).

PKM composite, 2003); Gutenberg (Guest, 2004); Sacred Texts, (Guest, 2004) and other Guest sites.

Parker's important history of Mabinogi scholarship arrives as Wikipedia pages begin to contribute (e.g. 'Rhiannon', 2002).²¹⁸ Epona is served by research and poetry.²¹⁹ Spangenberg created comparative teaching materials.²²⁰ A discussion forum flourished among Aberystwyth students (2005–12). The groundbreaking S4C film circulated (2002). Valley Stream's recordings went online (2004).²²¹ This array shows a vigorous beginning to the Mabinogi online in the new century, with multiple sites for translated texts, study aids and analysis, a discussion forum, Wiki pages, the classic S4C film, and musical readings.

The next five years began with a strong, online critique by Bollard (2006), challenging the *Mabinogion* as any kind of coherent group. Parker produced a substantial collection of articles in mythological perspective (2007). 'Welsh Prose 1300 -1425' put the two main MSS online, and blogs began; e.g. 'Kirsty', about Sioned Davies' oral traditions' research.²²² The BBC created a poor description, later refusing to correct errors. An ambitious tourism partnership between Sioned Davies and a commercial company did not progress.

In 2010 Peniarth 6 text became available as a download, and NLW posted Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch in photographic pages. Bibliographies were constructed. Selgā's useful theme is 'Celtic Studies'. My 'Mabinogi Bibliography' (2012) takes a wide remit including the other prose tales, context material, and arts. My research site offers articles and searchable lists.²²³ Cavill explores folklore.²²⁴

²¹⁸ Parker. 1998, online 2002. 'Bibliographic Essay. The Four Branches of the Mabinogi' MSc project. For details and context with the other historical accounts from this period, Ch. II.7. Paradigm: Four Accounts, pp. 119-20. I initiated 'Rhiannon' Wikipedia 2002.

²¹⁹ There are a fair few Goddessing texts online since the millennium, but these are addressed separately Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess, pp. 442-56; and Ch. VII.5. Theologies, pp. 465-501. At this point here the focus is predominantly secular.

²²⁰ Lisa Spangenberg. 2006. 'What Is the Mabinogion?', Celtic Studies Resources. Accurate, well referenced introduction. Compares Jones, Ford translations, Pwyll– Rhiannon first exchange

²²¹ Jennifer MacCormack. c. 2005 –2012. 'Mabinogi Study'. Site now discontinued.

Hayes, Derek W., Michas Koc, Dyfed Williams, and Marc Evans. 2002. 'Otherworld' (S4C / BBC Wales). Cutting edge at the time, blending live actors and animation; has become a cult classic screened at most Mabinogi/on events, and via film clubs. (URL Bibliography)

Valley Stream. 1996, online 2004. *The Mabinogion*, recordings of Guest text, music by Llewellyn, Medwyn Goodall and Chris Conway. Contents and URL Bibliography.

²²² Luft, Thomas, Smith. 2007. Welsh Prose 1300 -1425' (URL text Bibliography) Kirsty. 2008. 'The Mabinogion: Story-Telling and the Oral Tradition, OUP-UK blog. Surname not given.

²²³ Morgain. 2012. The Mabinogi Bibliography', available on Zotero, or on my research site; Mabinogi Study, over 2,000 listings to date, widely varying content topics. (URLs Bibliography)

Cleaver provides a solid introduction in both English and Welsh.²²⁵ An ingenious course presented mythological perspectives for several years, using publicly available resources.²²⁶

Kindle publishing opens a far wider audience, making books cheap and accessible, easy to search/ copy quotes, with linked dictionary.²²⁷ Other publishing has moved to direct Kindle production; Mabinogi Studies are still at the reissue stage.²²⁸ Several novels have appeared in Kindle format.²²⁹ A retelling modernised the tales (Crossley and Holland, 1985), now in Kindle.²³⁰ A bilingual 'Pwyll a Rhiannon' Kindle presents a beautifully designed visual series.²³¹

The last seven years at time of writing (2022) has seen Rhiannon becoming more prominent. Damh the Bard's series of popular recordings gives spoken retelling, and music. Each Branch has its own album series. Damh also posted a heartfelt veneration to Rhiannon as he discovered her in his work, cf. Epona above.²³² The blog 'seekeronthepath' retelling focuses Sioned Davies'

²²⁴ Jennifer Cavill. 2013. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi (Overview)', Research blog on the Mabinogion, Native Tales. 'Folkloric'. Table of narrative events. (URL Bibliography)

²²⁵ Sian Cleaver. 2011. 'The Mabinogion' (Bookdrum). (URL Bibliography) Beautifully designed and informative.

²²⁶ Gwilym Morus. First presented 2012. 'Symbolic Keys of the Mabinogi'. Online course, repeated over several years, ingeniously combining freely available, free technology such as Skype, email. Jungian 'archetype' approach. (URL text Bibliography)

²²⁷ Chris Hall, ed. 20/10/2020. 'Amazon Kindle: A brief history from the original Kindle onwards' (URL text Bibliography)

²²⁸ Translations: Guest, various (1877 edn, too many to enumerate). Colin Jones and Guest text readings (2017). Gantz' *Mabinogion* (1976), Ford, *Native Tales* (1977), Sioned Davies' *Mabinogion* (2007). Sullivan's *Essays* anthology (1996, 2015).

²²⁹ Owen Sheers. 2013. *White Ravens* (Seren,) and Lupton. 2018. *Severed Head*, the dying composer monk recounting his tales. Matthew Francis. 2018. *The Mabinogi* (Faber & Faber, and Kindle) poetic retelling, reversing Mabinogi innovation of prose story telling, Ch.1.7. Lady of Prose.

²³⁰ Gwyn Thomas, and Kevin Crossley-Holland. 1984, Kindle 2015, revised edn. 2023. *Tales from the Mabinogion: Modern adaptation of the medieval stories of Pwyll, Branwen, Manawydan and Math*. Illust Margaret Jones (Guild; Book Club; Kindle; Y Lolfa), retelling

²³¹ Aidan Saunders; Mererid Hopwood, trans. 2021. *Pwyll a Rhiannon* (Atebol Amazon media, 2021 Kindle) Bilingual retelling, with large detailed pictures on every page. A beautifully realised set of images with Celtic tattoos, jewellery, clothing, objects and landscapes sensitively rendered with touches of humour.

Aidan Saunders with Llais Cymru and Atebol presented a live book reading and workshop to two separate schools in Yr Egin (9/12/2021). Saunders and Welsh speaking actress Sian Elin performed a segment of Pwyll and Rhiannon, follow by discussion. (URL text Bibliography)

²³² Damh the Bard. 2017–20, 'Y Mabinogi' (First, Second, Third Branches, presumably Fourth will follow). Also Damh the Bard. 3/07/2018. 'Rhiannon – Mother and Great Queen'. Lyrical veneration of divine Rhiannon. (URLs for all, Bibliography)

research on Rhiannon and Pwyll (cf. 'Kirsty', 2008).²³³ Youtube videos post clips from Mabinogi theatre and film (but frequently hacked).

A long awaited project may be in development from Stevie Nicks 'Rhiannon' (1975) song, which enraptured millions. Once Nicks learned more about Rhiannon she hoped to make a film, but was unable to progress it. In lockdown (2020) she prepared anew, last heard as a TV miniseries based on Walton's *Tetralogy*.²³⁴ With superstar Nicks, Rhiannon would again reach millions. Bronwen Lewis has composed a Welsh version of Nicks' 'Rhiannon' song (Youtube 2021).²³⁵ A short Rhiannon film is now circulating film clubs (2023).²³⁶ Onyx Path RPG games are publishing an excellent version of Rhiannon. Anastasoff (prestige designer) in Welsh 'Tales From The Mabinogion' video game.²³⁷

~ * ~

²³³ 'seekeronthepath'. 2015. 'The Marriage of Pwyll and Rhiannon', Blog. The author says "There are a number of features of oral storytelling that show up here: repetition, formulaic phrases, a focus on action and away from introspection, and an awful lot of conjunctions. In fact, most of the peculiarities of this story make sense if you read it aloud - at least, I think so." 'seekeronthepath'. 2015. 'The Four Branches', blog about her storytelling. (URL text Bibliography)

²³⁴ Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

²³⁵ Bronwen Lewis. Oct. 2021. 'Rhiannon', Welsh version of Nicks' 1975 song; online video, subtitles. (URLs X 2 Bibliography). Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

²³⁶ Sarah Mallabar. 2023. 'Rhiannon', short film, Welsh and English, runtime 5 mins. Cert. 15, 4K and 6K BM. Tinopolis Studios, Llanelli (Rhiannon Short Film Ltd.) More notes, URL . Also Ch. IX.2. Imaginary, pp. 527-35.

²³⁷ Onyx Path Publishing. 2023. 'Scion: Once and Future, Gods of Wales', Mabinogi research Geoffrey McVey, art by Skan Srisuwan. Anastasoff, Stevan 'Tales From The Mabinogion' fully Welsh video game (URLs X 2 Bibliog)

Mabinogi Rhiannon III

Y FARCHOGES, EI BYD

THE HORSEWOMAN, HER WORLD

III.1. 'Map Mabinogi'

III.2. *Yr Ynys Hon*

'This Island' (Britain)

III.3. *Hierarchiaeth, economeg*

Hierarchy, Economics

III.4. *Digwyddiadau yn ymwneud â Marchogion*

Equine Events, Equestrian Nobility

III.5. *Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd*

Law, Land & Women (LLW)

II.6. '*Rieni*'

II.7. *Cyflin Gwleidyddol*

Political parallels

III.1. 'Map Mabinogi'



¹First Branch Opens at Arberth in DYFED, shown at modern Narberth. (Alt. near Ceredigion.) GWENT c.100 miles east of Arberth, 5 –7 days mediaeval travel. Pryderi marries Cigfa of Gloyw/ Gloucester. He adds the Seisyllwch territories to DYFED (Ystrad Tywi, Ceredigion, frequently contested territories). ANNWFN is anomalous, various theories, not shown.

Second Branch King of Yr Ynys hon/ Britain holds court at Harlech in GWYNEDD. Branwen's wedding at Aberffraw. The British sail west to IWERDDON/ IRELAND. Pryderi, Manawydan and war Survivors stay at Harlech, and Gwales/ Grassholm, off DYFED coast; Cernyw/ Cornwall visible from its hall. The Survivors take Bendigeidfran's Head to Llundein/ London in LLOEGR/ ENGLAND

Third Branch Pryderi and Manawydan travel from Llundein/ London to Arberth, DYFED. Caswallawn, usurper king is in Caint/ Kent. Pryderi visits him at Rhydychen/ Oxford. Dyfed royals live at Arberth then go into exile in Henfford/ Hereford in LLOEGR/ ENGLAND. Return to Arberth.

Fourth Branch From northern DYFED (Ceredigion) into GWYNEDD. Courts at Caer Dathyl, Caer Arianrhod, also many smaller.

¹ © Shân Morgain. 2015, updated 2019. 'Map Mabinogi', with thanks to Christine James, John Davies. For Mabinogi site photography, John K. Bollard. 2006. *Landscape*. This is a simple map, for a richly imagined alternative see Mair Jones. 2006. 'Poster y Mabinogion: A2 Poster of Wales Based on the Tales of the Mabinogi' (Y Lolfa). Shown below opening Ch. III.3. Hierarchy.

III *Y Farchoges, ei Byd*/ The Horsewoman, Her World

III.2. *Yr Ynys Hon*/ This Island (Britain)

Ynys unedig / Unified island

This chapter outlines the Mabinogi presentation of Rhiannon's unified Britain, and its political geography.

*Bendigeiduran uab Llyr, a oed urenhin
coronawc ar yr ynys hon, ac ardyrchawc o goron
Lundein.*²

The dying Bendigeidfran attempts to continue his responsibility to protect Britain's unity into the far future.³ His totemic *coronawc*/ 'crowned', head is duly taken by Rhiannon's son Pryderi and companions, to *Llundein* / London, the political centre of the land.⁴

A 'cultural myth of island-wide dominion' was deployed in early Welsh national writing.⁵ *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* hammer *Ynys Prydein* in virtually every Triad title as

[...] the earliest expression given in Welsh to the deeply rooted and fundamental concept of Britain's inviolable unity – one island, one people, one sovereign ruler⁶

Bromwich describes Welsh and Irish poets travelling freely across the three realms of Wales, Scotland, and England,⁷ bearing a 'nationwide consciousness'.⁸

² PKM2 29.1-3. 'Bendigeidfran son of Llŷr was crowned king over this island and adorned with the crown of London.' JKB 43.2. Bendigeidfran is a warrior king able to physically engage in battle, for he receives a fatal wound. PKM2 44.23-24. JKB 55.2. Rhiannon's adult son Pryderi, already an acclaimed warleader himself, had joined Bendigeidfran as his high-king in the war. Rhiannon is now a mature ruler, middle aged. Her earlier tales of courtship, weddings, and early motherhood therefore probably took place in the reign of Bendigeidfran's father Llŷr.

³ Bendigeidfran PKM3 44.28-45.11. JKB 55.2.

⁴ PKM2 47.22-23. JKB 60.1. Cf. Triad 37. *Tri Chud a Thri Datcud*/ 'Three Concealments and Three Disclosures' TYP pp. 102-104. There are no other scenes set in *Llundein*, and we only see Bendigeidfran and his court in Gwynedd. Fulton has argued that the tales reflect 13thC political realities as the native princes adopted a more feudal system of governance and became vassals to the English crown. Helen Fulton. 2005. 'The Mabinogi and the education of princes in medieval Wales', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. by Fulton (Four Courts Press), pp. 230-247.

⁵ Kristen Lee Over. 2005. 'Introduction', *Kingship, Conquest, and Patria* (NY & Oxford: Taylor & Francis), p. 3.

⁶ TYP p. lvii. n. 60. *Ynys Prydain* – Island of Britain. Bromwich cites Eurys Rowlands. 1961. 'Review of TYP, *Llên Cymru*, VI, p. 223; and Brynley F. Roberts. 1992. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh Historical Tradition', Ch. 2. in his *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (Lampeter/ Lewiston), pp. 29-34; *ibid*. 'Historia Regum Britanniae and Brut y Brenhinedd', in *Arthur of the Welsh*, pp. 97-116. Also Ch. 5 on the reception of Geoffrey's Historia in Wales. Morfydd E. Owen. 2007. "Welsh Triads: An Overview," *Celtica*, 25, p. 230. (URL text Bibliography).

⁷ TYP pp. 246-47.

⁸ TYP p. lvii. Bromwich notes the unified Britain tradition in the Second and Third Branches, p. lvii. n. 60.

Anwyl finds the Mabinogi presents a unified, island kingdom of Britain, ruled by high-kings crowned at *Llundein*.⁹

Historically, the Acts of Union (1707) constructed a unified Britain.¹⁰ Mike Parker Pearson theorises a remote ‘ancestral unification’ generated by building Stonehenge c. 2,500 BCE, integrating power *loci* in west Wales (Preseli), the heartland of *Lloegr*, and the North.¹¹ Homogeneous building and ceramic styles might suggest political unity.¹² Prior to Roman Britain some kind of ‘high king’ might conceivably have existed, without records.¹³ Roman Britain’s governance divided between *Britannia Prima* (Wales, West Country, North West); and eastern *Britannia Secunda* (later Saxonised). The mediaeval Welsh considered themselves ‘the last remnants of *Romanitas* in Britain’; heirs of *Britannia Prima*.¹⁴

Cymru / Wales

When mediaeval Welsh authors referred to ‘Wales’, they had in mind a country whose borders were broadly comparable to those of today.¹⁵ Sioned Davies:

The country was divided into four major kingdoms — Gwynedd in the north-west, Powys which stretched from the borders of Mercia into central Wales, Deheubarth in the south-west, and Morgannwg or Glamorgan in the south-east. These were further divided into smaller units ruled by independent princes who vied with each other for supremacy. There was, therefore, no central unity, largely due to the difficulties imposed by physical geography, so that Wales did not develop into a single kingdom or kingship.¹⁶

⁹ Edward Anwyl, ‘Four Branches’, I, p. 281. Also on this unity, Part IV, p. 123. Saes/ Saxon kings did not hold coronations in Westminster; their favoured location was Kingston and they ruled by right of election. It was Guillaume le Bâtard, lacking that authority, who attempted a ‘propaganda coup’ by coronation and acclaim at Westminster, Christmas 1066. It failed, as violent tensions erupted even at the event, followed by rebellions and reprisals including clearances (on the latter Ch. III.7. Parallels). Hugh M. Thomas. 2003. *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity: 1066-c.1220* (OUP), Introduction, p. 3

¹⁰ Anwyl notes the Mabinogi unified realm has problematic dating. Anwyl, ‘Four Branches’, I, p. 281.

¹¹ Mike Parker Pearson, UCL Institute of Archaeology.

¹² Mike Parker Pearson. 2013. ‘Researching Stonehenge: Theories Past and Present,’ *Archaeology International*, 16, p. 80. Interestingly in view of the Mabinogi tale (PKM4) of highly desirable pigs, Pearson finds the dominant food for Stonehenge labour and feasts, was porcine. BBC: ‘Stonehenge was built to unify Britain, researchers conclude.’ (2 X URLs Bibliography)

¹³ Pre-Roman writing on Britain is scant, due to the lack of indigenous writing, and distance from contemporary literate societies. What little exists comes from Greek and Roman sources.

¹⁴ Ceri Davies. 1995. *Welsh Literature and the Classical Tradition* (UWP), p. 3. Also R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*. Brutus legend, p. 146.

¹⁵ R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, pp. 3-4. My insertion.

¹⁶ Sioned Davies. 2013. ‘“Venerable Relics”? Re-Visiting the Mabinogi’, in *Writing Down the Myths: A Collection of Essays on Mythography in Ancient and Medieval Literary Traditions*, Cursor Mundi, XVII, ed. by Nagy, Josef F. (Turnhout: Brepols), p. 166.

The mediaeval Welsh (i.e. native) vision of 'Britain' cherished an illustrious, Classical provenance. O'Rahilly:

**Albiū* (whence Ir. *Alba*), was known to Greek writers, and is recorded as *Albion* by Pliny, who evidently drew his information from a Greek source. The Greeks more frequently referred to Britain as ἡ Πρετανική (or Βρετανική) 'the Pritanic (or Britanic) island'; compare the synonymous Welsh *Ynys Prydain*.¹⁷

British kings were chronicled back to ancient Troy,¹⁸ claiming its scion Brutus as 'founder of Britain and ancestor of the British (Welsh) people'.¹⁹

Y Gododdin (earliest Welsh poetry) distinguishes *Ynys Prydain*/ 'Island of Britain', against *Lloegr*/ England, i.e. native insular inhabitants, foreign Saxon invaders.²⁰ *Cymry* is frequent in *Armes Prydein* / 'The Prophecy of Britain' (10thC),²¹ calling for pan-Celtic (and western Viking) alliance to cast out the *Saes*/ 'Saxons' (the English).²² A messianic *Mab Darogan*/ 'Son of Prophecy' will

¹⁷ T. F. O'Rahilly. 1946. 1984. *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin: DIAS), p. 448.

¹⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* / 'History of the Kings of Britain' (c. 1136). Cf. John T. Koch, 'Historia Regum Britanniae/ History of the Britons.', in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. by Koch, John T. et al. (ABC CLIO., 2006), pp. 925–27.

'Galfridius Geoffrey of Monmouth – author of several influential Latin works, including ... the *Historia regum Britannie* (History of the Kings of Britain), which he is thought to have written in the 1130s and 1140s. These texts were hugely popular all across western Europe during the medieval period and over 200 manuscripts of the *Historia* alone survive, many from the 12th century. The *Historia* is an account of the early history of Britain and its peoples, which Geoffrey claimed to have translated from an old "British" book he had received from Walter, archdeacon of Oxford. The text begins with the arrival of Brutus, a descendant of the Trojan hero Aeneas, to the island of Albion, which he supposedly renamed after himself ("Britain"). ... ending with the migration of the Saxons (c. 400) and the deeds of the last of the British kings, most notably Uther Pendragon and Arthur.' British Library, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth'. (URL Bibliography)

¹⁹ Brutus as the first king of the Britons of the Trojan dynasty, according to the fable, Pughe, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 27. Helen Fulton. 2014. 'History and historia: uses of the Troy story in medieval Ireland and Wales', Ch. 3, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by O'Connor, Ralph (Cambridge: Boydell Brewer), p. 52. Anthony Adolph. 2015. *Brutus of Troy, and the Quest for the Ancestry of the British* (Pen and Sword). Informative (URL Bibliography). A Roman mosaic depicting Hector and Achilles fighting at Troy, attests the fame of Troy in Roman Britain. Although the mosaic is at Rutland, far from Wales, it might be assumed to form part of a coherent Romano-British culture. Greig Watson. 31/01/22. 'Digging for Britain: Secrets of Rutland Roman villa mosaic revealed', *BBC News* (URL text Bibliography, see Geoffrey of Monmouth).

²⁰ 'Y Gododdin' commemorates an early battle against the *Sais*/ Saxons c. 590. Composition date is uncertain, varies considerably. NLW Llyfr Aneirin/The Book of Aneirin, Cardiff MS 2.81. (URL text Bibliography). Translation, commentary: John T. Koch. 1997. *The Gododdin of Aneurin: Text and Context from Dark Age Britain* (Cardiff, UWP). O. J. Padel. Summer 1998. 'A New Study of the Gododdin (review of Koch)', *CMCS*, 35, pp. 45–55. G. Isaac. Summer 1997, 'Readings in the History and Transmission of the Gododdin', *CMCS*, 37, pp. 55–78. Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, pp. 72–75. Gillian Clarke. 2022. *The Gododdin: Lament for the Fallen* (Faber & Faber).

²¹ Over, *Kingship, Conquest, Patria*, p. 3. 'Cymry' refers to a much larger Wales than today, including parts of the present counties of Shrewsbury, Hereford, Gloucester and Chester. (GPC).

²² Ifor Williams. 1962. *Armes Prydein o Lyfr Taliesin* (*Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru*).

reclaim the native rule of all Britain.²³ By the Mabinogi compilation period (11thC) the terms *Walenses*, *Wallia* from Old English *Walh/ Wealh*, were appearing.²⁴ The Mabinogi is not an aggressively political tract like *Armes Prydein*, but its narrative fosters a subversive vision of Britain as intact, unified, and autonomous, with the native *Cymry*/ 'British'/ 'Welsh' ruling it.²⁵

Yr Ynys hon/ 'This island'

The term *ynys*/ island, defining a coherent unity of land separated off by surrounding seas, spans the *Trioedd*, poetry, and prose traditions.

Mabinogi text references both *Yr Ynys hon*/ 'this Island', and *Ynys y Kedeyrn*/ 'Island of the Mighty [Ones]'.²⁶ These two Mabinogi titles, are symptomatic of the distinctiveness of the new, prose tradition.²⁷ Both terms occur almost exclusively in PKM2, when the realm of Britain is differentiated in opposition to *Ynys Iwerddon*/ Ireland, an Other island kingdom.²⁸ *Yr Ynys hon*, is a 'homeland' term, used when the narrative locates within Britain; found in PKM1 Cigfa's genealogy;²⁹ in PKM2 before and after the Irish War;³⁰ PKM4 when Gwydion explains Annwfn pigs.³¹ *Ynys y Kedeirn/ Kedeyrn* occurs, with one exception, when native Britons are outside their own territory, at war in *Ynys Iwerddon*.³² Proclaiming the Britons as 'the Mighty [Ones]' seems apt to the military context. The dual code stresses a polarity of insider vs. outsider; native vs. other; peace vs. war.

The single exception occurs when Pryderi is in *Llundein*/ London, speaking of the usurper Caswallawn as *urenhin yn Ynys y Kedeyrn*/ 'king of the

²³ Aled Llion Jones. 2013. *Darogan: Prophecy, Lament and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature* (UWP).

²⁴ Huw Pryce. 2001. 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *The English Historical Review*, 116. 468, p. 776. Christine James queries this, personal communication (2021).

²⁵ Also the PKM3 restoration subtext, Ch. III.7. Parallels: Anglo-Norman, pp. 185-88..

²⁶ References follow below.

²⁷ Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose, pp. 36-37.

²⁸ *Ynys Iwerddon*/ Island of Ireland, PKM2 43.9. JKB 54.2.

²⁹ Pryderi's wife Cigfa; *yr ynys hon*, PKM1 27.26. JKB 40.1.

³⁰ Before and after the Irish War: *yr ynys hon*/ this Island: PKM2 31.1; *yr ynys honn* PKM2 32.27; 38.13; 38.20; 39.6; 40.12-13; 46.1-2; 47.24; 48.14.

³¹ *yr ynys honn*, PKM4 68.17. 'this island', JKB 80.2.

³² *ynys y Kedeirn* / Isle of the Mighty [Ones] (my bracketed addition): relations with Matholwch, king of Iwerddon/ Ireland, PKM2 30.21; 31.8. 'Island of the Mighty', JKB 45.2; 46.1 *Ynys y Kedeyrn* PKM2 32.28. JKB 46.2; Branwen speaks in *Iwerddon*, *Ynys y Kedeyrn* PKM2 40.5. JKB 53.1; *Ynys y Kedeyrn* PKM2 41.13. 41.28; 42.15; 43.10; 44.14; 44.16; 44.22; 45.16; 45.26. JKB 53.2-57.1. Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' for the two names used in one speech, with commented interpretation.

Island of the Mighty [Ones]'.³³ Previously Pryderi had used *yr Ynys hon* to Manawydan within their tiny native group of returned war Survivors.³⁴ This may suggest a provincial outlook making Britain outside Wales 'other'; or it may reflect alienation from the new order. Manawydan is exiled in his own homeland, grieving his unique homelessness: '*nyt o /es neb heb le idaw heno namyn mi.*'³⁵

No references to either *yr Ynys hon* or *Ynys Kedeyrn* associate directly with Rhiannon: implying a regional, Welsh heroine. Yet she is clearly aware of national polity when welcoming Pryderi home with a feast, advising him about the usurper king.³⁶ She then undergoes exile in *Lloegr*/ England.³⁷ Her wider world of 'Britain' with its two Mabinogi names, spans the end of PKM1 (Cigfa) through PKM3.³⁸

Brenhinoedd/ Kings

Bendigeidfran, his father Llŷr,³⁹ and Caswallawn the usurper,⁴⁰ style as *brenhin*/ king of Britain. Foreign kings cited are Arawn *urenhin Annwuyn*/ king of Annwfn; Hafgan *urenhin o Annwuyn*/ [a] king of Annwfn; and Matholwch *brenhin Iwerddon*/ king of Ireland.⁴¹ Branwen, though daughter and wife of kings, is never titled *brenhines*/ queen.⁴² Rhiannon, explicitly co-ruler of Dyfed, is never called

³³ *Ynys y Kedeyrn*, PKM3 49.10. JKB 63.1.

³⁴ Survivors PKM3 46.1-2; 47.24; 48.14. JKB 57.1.

³⁵ PKM3 49:7-8: "There is none without a place for him tonight except me." JKB 63.1. Ch. V.12. Manawydan.

³⁶ Homecoming feast Rhiannon advises Pryderi about Caswallawn the usurper king, PKM3 51.1-3. JKB 65.1. Below for notes on regional hierarchy. Rhiannon is also not of Dyfed originally; she makes a journey from her natal homeland to Dyfed. PKM1 19.3-5. JKB 31.2. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd.

³⁷ Exile: PKM3 52.20-55.2. JKB 66.1-68.1.

³⁸ Cigfa's lineage: PKM1, *yr ynys hon*, PKM1 27.26. JKB 40.1.

³⁹ Bendigeidfran, his father Llŷr PKM2 29.1-3. JKB 43.2. Quoted start of chapter.

⁴⁰ Caswallawn PKM3 49.10. JKB 63.1.

⁴¹ Arawn, PKM1 2.26. JKB 21.1. Hafgan, PKM1 3.2. JKB 21.2. Matholwch, PKM2 30.14. JKB 44.2.

⁴² She is acclaimed as *prifrieni*, evidently an exceptionally elite, female status. PKM2 31.1; & 32.27. JKB 45.2, & 46.2. Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*', pp. 177-83.

brenhines: she is *arglwyddes*/ 'Lady', like Teyrnon's Wife.⁴³ The only titled *brenhines*/ queen is Arawn's wife.⁴⁴

~ * ~

III *Y Farchoges, ei Byd*/ The Horsewoman, Her World

III.3. *Hierarchiaeth, Economeg*/ Hierarchy, Economics

Daearyddiaeth / Geography



Map: basic geography Dyfed and Gwynedd.⁴⁵

⁴³ Rhiannon *arglwyddes*, by Pwyll in courtship phase, PKM1 12.13. JKB 28.1; PKM1 12.13 and 18. JKB 28.1; Gwawl, PKM1 14.8. JKB 29.1. Pwyll, PKM1 14.15. and 22. JKB 29.1. Maids, PKM1 20.24. JKB 34.2. Teyrnon, PKM1 26.3. JKB 37.2. Pendaran, PKM1 26.3. JKB 38.1. Pryderi, PKM3 50.21. JKB 64.2.

She is remarked by an Arberth pursuer as *unbennes*: lesser honorific, female gender. PKM1 10.8. JKB 26.1. Pwyll first addresses her as *uorwyn*/ maiden, PKM1 12.7. JKB 27.2. but then always as *arglwyddes*. Teyrnon addresses her as *wreicda* when she is enacting her penance, PKM 25.15. 'gentlelady', JKB 37.2. but as *arglwyddes* later when she sits in high status position, above)

Teyrnon's Wife *arglwyddes*, by Teyrnon, PKM 23.2. JKB 36.1.

⁴⁴ Arawn's wife PKM1 4.14. JKB 22.2.

⁴⁵ Maphill: 'Physical Map of Wales'. The names 'DYFED' and 'GWYNEDD' have been added.



Margaret Jones, 'Poster y Mabinogion' (2006)⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Mair Jones, 'Poster y Mabinogion: A2 Poster of Wales Based on the Tales of the Mabinogi' (Y Lolfa, 2006). Still in publication. (URL Bibliography) Illustrator of 'Jones and Jones'. 1949. *Mabinogion*, Everyman 97 (London: J. M. Dent) and successive editions. Permission Sonia Hughes, Y Lolfa, 29/02/2024.

The chief Mabinogi *loci* are the realms of Dyfed and Gwynedd, still evident today.⁴⁷ Both its hierarchical organisation and many named locations, closely resemble and reflect the historical society and geography of mediaeval Britain.⁴⁸ The Mabinogi opens with Pwyll *pendefig Dyfed*,⁴⁹ and southerly Dyfed is the core territory of Mabinogi Rhiannon.⁵⁰

Rhiannon's son Pryderi, lord of Dyfed, gives hierarchical *gwrogaeth*/homage, to Caswallawn *brenin* of Britain.⁵¹ Mabinogi society is not a backwater. Rhiannon's silk evidences international trade.⁵² Resemblance between her courtship rides and Jaufre's Provençal poem suggest Mediterranean connection.⁵³ (N)Arberth, the likely site for 'Arberth' is within easy reach of Dyfed's southern ports.⁵⁴ Gwent-Is-Coed is theorised here as a marine trading economy.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ PKM1 and PKM3 chiefly focus Dyfed. PKM2 though ostensibly about 'Britain' presents its king when in Britain, only at Gwynedd courts. PKM4 is a Gwynedd narrative. Boundaries have changed over centuries but the core polities continue. Dyfed was in modern living memory a Welsh county (1974–96), reverting since to a ceremonial and cultural entity; while Gwynedd continues as an official county.

⁴⁸ Notes on historical parallels Ch. III.7. Political Parallels pp. q83–89. John Bollard's translation of the Mabinogi includes maps, and Anthony Griffiths' photographs of many named sites. 2006. *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*. Illust. Anthony Griffiths. The same year Margaret 'Mair' Jones published her colourful A2 interpretative poster map, above.

⁴⁹ PKM1 1.1. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed', JKB 19.1. Again by Arawn, PKM1 23–24. JKB 24.1. Narrated PKM1 8.4. JKB 24.2, and 24–25. the title fell out of use JKB 25.1. Indicates archaic title, as it does not appear for any other character in the rest of the Mabinogi. Other male rulers below kings are instead titled *arglwydd*, e.g. Pryderi, p. 155, n. 101 below.

⁵⁰ Ch. I.5. Text pp. 23n129 & 28n165 for Mabinogi Rhiannon passages in PKM.

Rhys links the name 'Dyfed' to the Demetae tribe of the Roman period, noting the influx of Déisi from Ireland, recorded in Irish 3rdC tradition. 'The counties of Pembroke, parts of Cardigan and Carmarthen, named from its ancient inhabitants the Demetae.' Rhys, *Lectures*, III, pp. 241–42. (URL Bibliography) 3rdC Déisi, Aengus of the Poisoned Spear invaded Tara, killed king Cormac's son, starting a revolt. Aengus was killed, the Déisi exiled by Cormac's son Cairbre and his sons. Rhys, *Lectures*, I, pp. 133–34. Expulsion of the Déisi from Leinster, some go to Dyfed; Rhys, *Lectures*, V, p. 594. This seems to support the Cauldron tale in the Second Branch, where the British and Irish kings find they have matching accounts of the same people who exiled from Ireland, settled in Britain. Anwyl traces many Dyfed locations still evident, conjecturing their Mabinogi tales developed from local legends. Anwyl 'Four Branches', IV, pp. 126–27.

⁵¹ Homage PKM3 51.11–14. JKB 65.1–2. Ch. III. 6. Parallels: Hywell Dda pp. 183–85 on historical events apparently reflected in the text.

⁵² She and several other Mabinogi characters wear silk. Ch. IX. Structures: Golden thread, p. 515–16. Ch. I. 4. Advent #7 pp. 20–21 for mediaeval politics and economics of silk.

⁵³ Ch. VI. 2. Trance, p. 385 for the two relevant excerpts from Jaufre's poetry, quoted.

⁵⁴ Both Sioned Davies and Bollard favour the modern, southern Narberth as location. On the Nant Arberth candidate 'this does not fit with the geographical details given in the tale.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 230. Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 19, n.3. Ch. I.4. Advent #8 highway p. 22–23.

⁵⁵ Ch. V. 7. Teyrnnon, pp. 282–83.

Besides these main territories,⁵⁶ Mabinogi Rhiannon features the isle of *Gwales*/ Grassholm, off the western coast of Dyfed.⁵⁷ Gloucester seems to appear in Cigfa's genealogy (strategic trading centre at the tidal head of the Severn river).⁵⁸ *Cernyw*/ Cornwall is to the south.⁵⁹ *Lloegr*/ England locations are: *Llundein*/ London, *Rhydychen*/ Oxford, *Henffordd*/ Hereford, and *Caint*/ Kent.⁶⁰ Notably *Lloegr* has towns while Wales is rural.⁶¹

Several important territories in Mabinogi Rhiannon lack identified locations, firstly Rhiannon's natal homeland, *llys Hyfaidd Hen*.⁶² Her suitor Gwawl *ap Clud*, *teyrneid*/ royal; and *gwr tormyn*/ *nawc*, *kyuoethawc*, has been theorised from his name as a northern prince near the old Roman wall.⁶³ The cryptic kingdom of Annwn has been miscellaneously conjectured: within Dyfed, *Iwerddon*/ Ireland, in *Lloegr*, underground, or another dimension.⁶⁴

The Mabinogi unit of land measurement is the *cantref*; cf. historical, mediaeval Wales. Ellis suggests: a 'unit of lordship',⁶⁵ a 'territorial division, comparable to the English hundred', containing 100 *treffi*/ settlements.⁶⁶ Bendigeidfran musters Britain for war: *wys pedeir degwlat a seithugeint*.⁶⁷ Rhiannon's first husband Pwyll rules Dyfed's seven *cantrefi*.⁶⁸ Pryderi inherits them,⁶⁹ then by annexing more he rules twenty one.

Ac yn ol

⁵⁶ The aim in this paragraph is to show the scope and type of Mabinogi locations, not to construct a gazetteer of every Mabinogi community; e.g. the PKM4 pigs journey with multiple 'pig' names, is not covered.

⁵⁷ *Gwales*/ Grassholm prophesied PKM2 45.6. Enacted PKM2 46.20. The island is 10 miles west of Woollack point, Dyfed; grid ref. SM 5909.

⁵⁸ Gloucester PKM1 27.24–26. JKB 40.1. Ch. V.11. Cigfa, pp. 329–30.

⁵⁹ *Cernyw*/ Cornwall PKM2 45.8; & 46.24. JKB 55.2; & 59.2.

⁶⁰ *Lloegr* locations, Map Mabinogi, Ch. III.1 p. 141: *Llundein*/ London, PKM2 29.3. JKB 43.2. Note above on the first king crowned there in 1042; 45.1; 45.10; 45.27; 47.19 & 21. JKB 55.1; 55.1; 57.1; 60.1, 60.1. *Rhydychen*/ Oxford, PKM2 51.12. JKB 65.1. *Henffordd*/ Hereford, PKM3 52.20 & 53.1. JKB 66.1. *Caint*/ Kent, PKM3 51.2. JKB 65.1. Domesday 1086 records Oxford as derelict. It became a centre of royal power in the 1120s, when Henry I began issuing its charters.

⁶¹ Ch. III.3. Hierarchy pp. 147–57 describes a decentralised society without towns.

⁶² Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen, pp. 224–29, theory of 'Maesyfed', Powys.

⁶³ *teyrneid* PKM1 13.27. JKB 28.2. *gwr tormyn*/ *nawc*, *kyuoethawc*, PKM1 14.17–18. 'a wealthy man with many followers.' JKB 29.1. For Gwawl theories, Ch. V.4. Gwawl, pp. 229–37.

⁶⁴ Annwn, Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Annwn pp 369–80. Also poss. political parallel below.

⁶⁵ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 4, n.3.

⁶⁶ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 4, n. 4.

⁶⁷ PKM2 38.21. 'the complete levy of seven score and fourteen districts', JKB 51.2. i.e. 154 districts. Alternatively seven-score and five (145) given at the end of the Branch PKM2 48.15. JKB 48.15.

⁶⁸ Seven *cantrefi* PKM1 1.1–2. JKB 19.1.

⁶⁹ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 74, n. 5. PKM1 27.17–18. JKB 40.1. Cited again PKM4, Ellis and Lloyd, p. 100, n.3. PKM4 67.2–4. JKB 79.1.

*hynny y kynydwyys trychantref Ystrad Tywi a
phedwar cantref Keredigyawn. Ac y gelwir y rei hynny,
seith cantref Seisyllwch.*⁷⁰

*Sefoed y rei hynny,
seith cantref Dyuet, a seith Morgannhwc, a phedwar
Kyredigyawn, a thri Ystrad Tywi.*⁷¹

Dyfed: stociau bwyd, hela/ Dyfed: foodstocks, hunting

Dyfed and Gwynedd are separated geographically by hill country.⁷² Triad 26 satirises their contrast through Henwen, mighty sow, birthing symbolic gifts of southern bounty (wheat, barley, bees), but northern predators (wolf-cub, eaglet, savage wild-cat kitten) implying a harsh economy.⁷³

Rhiannon's capacious bag is a powerful metaphor for Dyfed foodstocks as abundant.⁷⁴ She and her family observe Dyfed as a bountiful land.

*Ac wrth rodyaw y wlat ny welsynt eiryoet wlat
gyuanhedach no hi, na heldir well, nac amlach y mel na'y
physcawt no hi.*⁷⁵

Their delight is utilitarian, about resources, not poetic 'Nature'. Hunting pleasure, *hela, a chymryt/eu digriuwch*,⁷⁶ soon becomes their lifeline. The Mabinogi opens with *hela/* hunting, continuing as recurrent theme, largely in Mabinogi

⁷⁰ PKM1 27.19–22. 'After that, he conquered the three cantrefs of Ystrad Twyi and the four cantrefs of Ceredigion and those seven cantrefs are called Seisyllwch.' JKB 40.1 Adds to the existing seven *cantrefi*.

⁷¹ PKM4 67.3–5. 'Those were the seven cantrefs of Dyfed, seven of Morganog, four of Ceredigion and three of Ystrad Tywi.' JKB 79.1.

⁷² To this day transport is slow and difficult south to north or *vice versa*. The western coast road is winding and hilly, rarely more than two lanes.

⁷³ Text, TYP pp. 50–52. Importance of swine, p. 53. Henwen, southern bias 'obvious'; p. 53 (cites Rhys 'to North Wales pests alone and scourges', Rhys 1901. Repr. 1981, 1983. *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (OUP; then Wildwood Press), p. 508). 'Henwen's career impersonates the claim of south Wales to be regarded as the home of fertile crops and honey, in contrast to the bare north which is represented as producing only wolves and eagles and other more obscure pests', TYP, p. 55.

PKM4 and Triad 26 variant accounts, pp. 37n211. Gwynedd fatefully lacks the new breed of Mabinogi succulent pigs. Triad 26 satirises their keeper, Pryderi of Dyfed. PKM4 68.17. JKB 80.2. Ch. V.10. Pryderi, for more on Triad 26 (p. 297n587), pigs, pannage and sty breeding (p. 373). The Triad may be seen as satirical as Pryderi cannot be defined as admirable in his role as keeper of the swine.

⁷⁴ *bei dottit yssyd/ yn y seith cantref hynn o uwyt a llynn yndi, na bydei/ launach no chynt*. PKM1 15.5–7. 'whatever is placed in it of such food and drink as there is in these seven cantrefs, it will be no more full than before.' JKB 29.2 Note its capacity is immense, but not unlimited. Ch. VI. 5. Bag, pp. 401nn87,89.

⁷⁵ PKM3 51.7–9. 'And while going about the land, they had never seen a land more habitable than it, nor better hunting land, nor more plentiful in its honey or its fish than it.' JKB 65.1.

⁷⁶ PKM3 51.5–6. 'hunted it, and took their pleasure.' JKB 65.1. Hunting would seem to be pragmatic and a pleasure, both.

Rhiannon.⁷⁷ Rhiannon herself seems a notable huntress, aligning with her power base as foodstocks organiser: other Mabinogi women do not seem to hunt.⁷⁸ Mediaeval economic surplus is low, so *hela* is a major part of the food supply. Pryderi takes a considered risk to regain his crucial hunting hounds.⁷⁹

The forest hunt in tales is often romanticised as liminal space intimate with *hud*/ enchantment.⁸⁰ By contrast its real political economy is a jealously controlled game park for nobles' exclusive exploitation. Brutal penalties over the centuries barred forest territory: others' use is 'poaching'. So 'forest' becomes mysterious.⁸¹ Pwyll owns extensive forest with a specialist hunting lodge for staying overnight.⁸² Rights to forest resources not only tension between social classes, but within the owner class. Pwyll's *anwybod* (hunting transgression) is so heinous Arawn rates it at a hundred stags, a phenomenal compensation fine.⁸³ Hunting accoutrements, horses, hounds, and hawks, are primary economic units in diplomatic gifts exchanges, e.g. cementing the Dyfed-Annwfn alliance.⁸⁴ *Marchog* or *marchoges*, ride high on magnificent horseflesh with a trained pack of fierce hounds alongside, a wristed, savage bird of prey, horn ready to blare far

⁷⁷ Pwyll hunts a stag PKM1 13–19. JKB 20.1. Pwyll's *corn*, PKM1 1.9. JKB 20.1. Meets Arawn in hunting gear incl. *corn*, PKM1 2.2–6. JKB 21.1. Pwyll changes from hunting gear PKM1 4.10–11. JKB 22.2. (Horns probably made from an antler). Pwyll hunts during Annwfn year. PKM1 5.6. JKB 23.1. Pwyll uses his *corn* to call his fighters (*corn* as tool of command). PKM1 17.1. JKB 30.1. Hunting bitch' puppy is killed to smear Rhiannon, PKM1 20.17–18. JKB 34.1. (cf. anon. *awdl*, Ch. I.3. Sources, no. 3.). Post-Desolation Dyfed quartet hunt for pleasure, then survival. PKM3 52.9–15. JKB 66.1. Again hunt as survival, PKM3 55.4–5. JKB 68.1–2. Pryderi Manawydan hunt boar PKM3 55.7–56.19. JKB 68.2. Pryderi insists on reclaiming his hounds, PKM3 56.5–6. JKB 70.1. Manawydan nostalgic for hunting with Rhiannon and Pryderi, not Cigfa. PKM3 58.25–27. JKB 72.1. Ch. V.5. Pwyll, theory Pwyll's courtship pursuits a form of *hela*. Outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, Blodeuedd's lover is a huntsman, PKM4 84.12–19. JKB 101.1.

⁷⁸ No other Mabinogi woman is referred as huntress. Manawydan is nostalgic for hunting with her, PKM3 58.25–27. JKB 72.1.

⁷⁹ Against Manawydan's advice, PKM3 56.1–7. JKB 70.1. But Manawydan later admits the hounds are crucial to survival. PKM3 58.1–4. JKB 71.2. Their loss drives him and Cigfa into exile again, and then to farming.

⁸⁰ Sioned Davies, "Venerable Relics"?, p. 169–70.

⁸¹ Hunting is apt training for a ruling military class in determination, enduring hardship, living rough, tolerating violent, bloody killing. Today, local gentry still insist on their hunting rights as central to their identity. The 'mysterious' developed from economic barriers, and would have been a helpful myth to reinforce those barriers.

⁸² Pen Llwyn Diarwya, PKM1 1.6. JKB 19.1. This 'second home' evidences major wealth and status. It implies a team of specialised craftspeople, and servitors to maintain the building itself and provision it for him; messengers to alert them of their lord's arrival with a sizeable band of companions, their horses and hounds, The overnight hiatus supports a seriously efficient hunt, ensuring fresh energy is built by resting before it begins *yn ieuengt it y/ dyd kyuodi a oruc*, PKM1 1.7–8, 'when the day was still young'. JKB 20.1; i.e. very early in the day.

⁸³ Pwyll's offence is debatable. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool: Annwfn, pp. 249–50.

⁸⁴ Gifts PKM1 8.18–21. JKB 24.2–25.1.

reaching commands: this constructs a dominance machine of lordship; peak exploitation.

Llysoedd a Chylchdeithiau / Courts and Circuits

A Mabinogi realm has multiple centres of authority, although Arberth is the pivotal location in Mabinogi Rhiannon narrative.⁸⁵

*A threigylgueith yd oed yn
Arberth, priflys idaw*⁸⁶

Rhiannon and her family with *teulu* (select body of fighters), noble courtiers and servants, ride from *llys* to *llys* collecting tax resources in kind.⁸⁷ This is *cylch*, a progress, circuit.⁸⁸ *Cylch* also moves the considerable demand of the lord's retinue about so it does not exhaust the land; probably taking supplies onward in wagons. It forms a decentralised, barter economy drawing on herding, agriculture, and hunting, where tax progress combines with government administration.⁸⁹ Rhiannon redistributes the supplies in large feasts lasting days

⁸⁵ PKM1: Pwyll begins at Arberth, PKM1 1.3, and 1.6. JKB 19.1; Pwyll again begins at Arberth, PKM1 8.27. JKB 25.1; he takes courtiers to the top, PKM1 9.4. JKB 25.1; wedding journey with Rhiannon, PKM1 19.12. JKB 31.2; Rhiannon gives birth there PKM1 20.2–4. JKB 33.2, and subsequent events; Rhiannon's penance PKM1 21.21–23. JKB 34.2–35.1; Teyrnon takes the boy there, PKM1 25.8–10. JKB 37.1, and events there. PKM3: Homecoming feast PKM3 50.13. JKB 64.1; Sitting Arberth, Devastation, PKM3 51.17. JKB 65.1; Return from exile PKM3 55.4. JKB 68.1; Manawydan at Arberth PKM3 58.24. JKB 72.1, until end of Branch. For notes on the two modern contenders as ancient Arberth, Ch. I.4. Advent #8 highway p. 22.

⁸⁶ PKM1 2–3. 'Once upon a time, he was at Arberth, [a] chief court of his,' JKB 19.1. My square brackets. Welsh has no indefinite article ('a/ an'), so *priflys* here can translate as 'a chief court' or Pwyll's chief court. However during the PKM3 homecoming passage Arberth is singled out as if it were the chief court. *A dechreu gwled a' orugant yn Arberth, canys prif/lys oed, ac o honei y dechreuit pob anrwyded.* PKM3 51.17–18. 'And they began a feast in Arberth, since it was a chief court and all honour originated from there.' JKB 65.1. Arberth does seem to be pre-eminent, although *cylch* indicates decentralised customs as well, n. 88 following.

⁸⁷ References about 'sitting', Ch. I.6. Advent #1 pp. 12–13.

⁸⁸ *Cylch* – progress (in the Welsh laws) made by the king himself (originally) or by a lord, together with some members and officers of the court, through the commote, &c., during which free quarters were provided; later this system of free quartering was replaced by food dues which were further commuted into tributes and money payments; judicial circuit; district through which a judge makes his circuit. (GPC) Circuit judges still progress regions today; 'the areas around which the High Court judges travel ("go out on circuit") as they try the most important cases'. Lady Justice Arden. 2016. 'The Judicial System of England and Wales: a visitor's guide', Judicial Office International Team, p. 11. The Wales' region at time of writing lists 31 circuit judges, *Courts and Tribunals Judiciary: Circuit Judges*, Judiciary UK. (URLs Bibliography)
Pwyll arrives from riding *cylch* to hold council on Rhiannon's crime. PKM1 25.20–21. JKB 37.2. Rhiannon and family riding *cylch*, PKM3 51.4–6. JKB 65.1. Her feasts, PKM1 15.21–25; JKB 28.2. 15.27–16.3. JKB 30.1. PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. Patroness of entertainers PKM1 19.22–26. JKB 31.2. One of only two explicit citations of Rhiannon outside the Mabinogi sustains this tradition, 14thC Goronwy Gyriog poem Ch. I.3. Sources #6, pp. 34–35. Gwydion and Gilfaethwy also ride *cylch*, PKM4 67.12–14. JKB 79.1.

⁸⁹ Pwyll rides *cylch* just before the feast at which Teyrnon returns the lost heir: PKM1 25.20–21. JKB 37.2. The Dyfed Four including Rhiannon ride *cylch*, PKM3 51.4–11. JKB 65.1. Math of

or weeks, and via gift-giving, e.g. horses, hawks, hounds, pigs; and jewellery,⁹⁰ drawing in entertainers and supplicants⁹¹ Rhiannon controls both supplies gathered in, and their redistribution.⁹²

PKM3 sees Dyfed denuded of its abundant flocks, herds, and serving classes. Pryderi risks all to reclaim his hunting dogs, without which they cannot survive.⁹³ Manawydan is reduced to crofting three fields.⁹⁴ This post-holocaust narrative contrasts luxurious, courtly life generated by *cylch*, (huge, leisurely and lengthy feasts, prescribed hierarchies of seating, silken clothes, meticulous personal hygiene, entertainers, and elegant converse),⁹⁵ with basic survival on the edge of starvation.⁹⁶

Gwynedd cannot ride *cylch* so his nephews do it as his agents, PKM4 67.11-14. JKB 79.1. *Cylchau*, 'a system of circuits for the lord to attend to government. affairs. Ellis, 'Legal References', p. 39, n. 89. 'Part of the administrative machinery of early Wales, ... tours (*cylchau*) conducted by the prince or lord, through his dominions, during which inter alia, he attended to government affairs.' Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 38, n. 89. Elizabeth J. Lloyd refers to it as a custom where subjects were expected to feast their lord when he was on *cylch*. Miss. E. J. Lloyd, 'The Mabinogion as Literature, Cont.', p. 241. A system of taxation. Bromwich refers to *rhieingylch*, 'royal progress or circuit of the country made either by the queen' or privileged, female royal. TYP p. 161.

⁹⁰ Arawn, Pwyll (Annwfn, Dyfed alliance): PKM1 8.18-21. JKB 24.2-25.1 This is implied to continue into the next generation with Pryderi, PKM4 68.22-23. JKB 80.2. Rhiannon distributes jewellery to all Dyfed nobles, PKM 19.14-16. JKB 31.2. Gift (exchange) economics is not 'trade without money'. Gifts need to impress with the best; trade typically seeks to undercut, bargaining down value.

⁹¹ Women and Feasts, below.

⁹² Cf. her bag which can hold all the food and drink of Dyfed, PKM1 15.5-7. JKB 29.2.

⁹³ Pryderi enters the tower to reclaim his hounds, PKM3 58.6-7. JKB 70.1. Manawydan admits Pryderi's dogs essential: *Yn cwn a gollyssam, ac ymborth ny/ allwn*. PKM3 58.1-2. 'We lost our/ hounds and we cannot support ourselves.' JKB 71.1-2.

⁹⁴ Crofting PKM3 59.1-3. JKB 72.1.

⁹⁵ Rhiannon's feasts. PKM1 15.21-25; JKB 28.2. 15.27-16.3. JKB 30.1. PKM3 50.12-14. JKB 63.2-64.1. Hierarchies of seating (formulaic), 1st wedding, PKM1 13.21-24. JKB 28.2; final Pwyll wedding, PKM1 18.16-18. JKB 31.2. Teyrnnon at Arberth, PKM1 25.23-25. JKB 37.2; Branwen's wedding, PKM2 31.7-10. JKB 46.1. Silken clothes, Pwyll in Annwfn (by implication, Arawn) PKM1 4.11. JKB 22.2. Queen of Annwfn, PKM1 4.15-16. JKB 22.2. Rhiannon PKM1 9.13. JKB 25.2. Gwawl PKM1 13.28. JKB 28.2. Baby in Gwent PKM1 22.26-27. JKB 36.1. PKM2 Baby Lleu PKM4 77.19. JKB 94.1. (Also Irish ship pennants PKM4 30.2. JKB 44.2.); Bathing, Annwfn PKM1 4.16. JKB 22.2; Gwawl, PKM1 18.11. JKB 31.1; Teyrnnon, JKB 38.1. cf. Gwydion, Gilfaethwy, JKB 92.2. Music/ Entertainers: Annwfn PKM1 4.22. JKB 22.2.; PKM1 5.6. JKB 23.1. Rhiannon PKM1 JKB 31.2. (cf. *awdl*, Ch. II Sources, no. 3); Adar Rhiannon predicted PKM2 45.2-4. JKB 55.2. enacted. PKM2 46.13-15. JKB 58.1. Pryderi, Gwydion, PKM4 69.16. JKB 80.2-81.1. Elegant converse Queen PKM1 4.19-22. JKB 22.2; Annwfn companions, PKM1 5.7. JKB 23.1. Arawn, wife and nobles, PKM1 7.2-3. JKB 24.1. Branwen's wedding, PKM2 31.13-14. JKB 46.1. Pryderi admires Rhiannon's skill, PKM3 50.7-8. JKB 63.2; Manawydan charmed PKM3 50.15-17. JKB 64.1. Pryderi Gwydion, PKM4 69.15-16. JKB 81.1. Arianrhod Gwydion, PKM4 82.1-3. JKB 98.1. Lleu, Blodeuedd feast, converse, PKM4 86.6-7. JKB 102.1, Feasts have a set order: 'welcome and preparations (including washing before the meal), sitting at the table (including the seating arrangements), followed by eating, drinking, and conversing.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 229.

⁹⁶ Cf. Pwyll presenting at a great feast as a beggar, in need of a bag of food, PKM1 16.6-16. Rhiannon's triumphant stratagem here ultimately results in the post-holocaust survival struggles of PKM3, for her and her family. Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Bad counsel, pp. 236-37.

Pendefigion ac arglwyddi/ Princes and lords

Rhiannon is joint ruler of Dyfed, wife and mother of ruling *pendefigau/* princes, but not styled as *pendefiges*, princess.⁹⁷ Pwyll first addresses Rhiannon as *morwyn*, Maiden. After she takes the upper hand by her manner and rebuke, he accords her the female honorific *arglwyddes/* Lady.⁹⁸ The male equivalent *arglwydd/* Lord, is used for both kings and princes.⁹⁹ The lesser honorific *unben*, *unbennes* is like 'sir, madam'.¹⁰⁰

Pryderi and Math are narrated at the PKM4 opening as comparable rulers.

*Math uab Mathonwy oed arglwyd ar Wyned, a
Pryderi uab Pwyll oed arglwyd ar un cantref
ar ugeint yn y Deheu.*¹⁰¹

Math mourns the loss of Pryderi as his friend and peer.¹⁰² Math's nephew Gwydion, killer of Pryderi, is Math's senior lord and agent,¹⁰³ holding highest authority through kin relationship.¹⁰⁴ Math endows Gwydion's foster-son Lleu with a *cantref* lordship.¹⁰⁵ Pendaran Dyfed seems only slightly below Pwyll in

⁹⁷ Rules jointly, PKM1 19.16-18. JKB 33.2. She retains her status during her penance, PKM1 25.23-24. JKB 33.2. Possible archaism of 'pendefig' / prince, unique to introducing Pwyll, Ch. V.5. Pwyll, opening of chapter p. 238 n. 159; *pendefiges*, princess may be similarly archaic.

⁹⁸ *morwyn*, PKM1 12.7. JKB 27.2. then *arglwyddes* PKM1 12.13. JKB 28.1. Rhiannon *arglwyddes*, PKM1 12.13; 12.18; 14.8; 14.15; 14.19; 20.24. 'lady', JKB 28.1; 28.1; 29.1; 29.1; 29.1; 34.2. (Note Teyrnnon 25.15. JKB 27.2.); 26.3. JKB 37.2; 26.10. JKB 38.1. PKM3 50.21. JKB 64.2. These seem to act as markers at pivotal narrative points. This female honorific is also used for the Queen of Annwn, Teyrnnon's Wife, Branwen, Cigfa, Arianrhod, and Blodeuedd, but not the maiden Goewin. Queen, PKM1 7.24. JKB 24.2. Teyrnnon's Wife, PKM1 23.2. JKB 36.1. Branwen, PKM2 40.2 & 4. JKB 53.1. Cigfa, PKM3 61.12. JKB 73.2. Arianrhod, PKM4 80.14; 82.17; & 82.24. JKB 97.2; 98.2; but Arianrhod only when Gwydion is disguised as inferior to deceive her; cf. PKM4 83.5. JKB 98.2 when he ends his disguise. Blodeuedd, PKM4 85.1. JKB 101.2.

⁹⁹ Dialogue, PKM2 30.11 -22. JKB 44.2-45.2; in which every time the king is addressed he receives the honorific *arglwydd*. Similarly Pwyll in dialogue with his nobles is addressed each time as *arglwydd*, PKM1 8.7-13. JKB 24.2.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. power play in the Pwyll- Arawn opening dialogue. PKM1 2.7 -27. JKB 21.1- 2.

One of Rhiannon's pursuers refers to her as *unbennes*, the lesser honorific, female gender. PKM1 10.8. JKB 26.1.

¹⁰¹ PKM4 67.1-3. 'Math son of Mathonwy was lord of Gwynedd, and Pryderi was lord of the twenty-one cantrefs in the South.' JKB 79.1.

¹⁰² PKM4 74.26-27. JKB 91.2. Math is not styled *pendefig* like Pwyll, but *arglwydd/* lord. Christine James wonders if *pendefig* might be a southern title, not used in Gwynedd. Personal communication (31/12/19).

¹⁰³ PKM4 67.11-14. JKB 79.1. Gwydion's brother Gilfaethwy is his fellow agent. This study barely mentions him as; he functions as a shadow character to Gwydion.

¹⁰⁴ His *cylch* authority, above. Interestingly Math's niece Arianrhod, Gwydion's sister, appears to hold territory in her own right, living independently in her own court. *Caer Aranrot*, PKM4 78.20-22; 'Caer Aranrhod', 79.18. JKB 95.1.

¹⁰⁵ PKM4 84.3-6. JKB 100.2. The saga ends with lord Gronw Pebyr as Lleu's rival. Gronw Pebyr episode begins PKM4 .84.11. JKB 101.1; Gronw's death 92.20-22. JKB 108.1.

rank as Pwyll negotiates him with considerable respect.¹⁰⁶ Teyrnnon, *yn arglwyd ar Wynt Ys Coet, Teirnon Twryf Uliant*,¹⁰⁷ is an independent, substantial, southern lord of *Gwent-Is-Coed* (Lower Gwent, SE Wales; literally 'below the forest', modern 'Wentwood').¹⁰⁸

Cynghorau / Councils

Ellis and Lloyd:

The '*gwyrda*' [mean] the prince was not an arbitrary ruler. He had ... to administer according to recognized customs, of which the *gwyrda* were ... the guardians. ... frequent references in these stories to taking counsel.¹⁰⁹

Pwyll holds three councils with his nobles: first on returning from Annwfn, second in the Preseli hills about Rhiannon's barrenness, third addressing Rhiannon's apparent infanticide. She holds her own council to decide how to respond to Pwyll's penance proposal.¹¹⁰ Pryderi holds council at Rhuddlan Teifi, near Ceredigion, deciding Gwydion's pigs' proposal.¹¹¹ These councils should not be assumed as 'democratic'; e.g. it is evident Pwyll steers his.

Besides these council groups there is a tradition of female (or junior status) advisers who counsel lords, notably Rhiannon's bag strategy.¹¹² Personal counsel between peers can be highly valued: Manawydan welcomes Pryderi's offer of counsel.¹¹³ But counsel is not always followed: Manawydan refuses Pryderi's advice to kill their enemies; Pryderi ignores Manawydan at the tower;¹¹⁴ Manawydan ignores Cigfa.¹¹⁵ Group and individual counsels

¹⁰⁶ PKM1 26.10-19. JKB 38.1. The Pendaran name also occurs as a youth in the Second Branch a superficial inconsistency. *Pendaran Dyuet*, PKM2 46.9. JKB 58.1. Young Pendaran lives during Pryderi's rule, the next generation. He may then be the heir of Pwyll's contemporary Pendaran; or perhaps 'Pendaran' is not a name but a title. More on Pendaran Ch. V. 9. Pendaran pp. 291-95.

¹⁰⁷ PKM1 22 1-2. 'Teyrnnon Twrf Liant was lord over Gwent-Is-Coed'. JKB 35.1. Once Pwyll's *gŵr*, man,, presumably in Pwyll's *teulu*, here a mature, independent ruler. Ch. V. 7 Teyrnnon pp. 279-87.

¹⁰⁸ Griffith John Williams. 1958, publ. 1968. 'The Welsh Tradition of Gwent', pamphlet 20pp. *Plaid Cymru*, 1, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 31. n. 79. (My insertion)

¹¹⁰ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance plot, pp. 268-72.

¹¹¹ After Annwfn, PKM1 8.4-17. JKB 24.2. Rhiannon's barrenness, PKM1 19.18-20.2. JKB 33.2. Rhiannon accused, PKM1 21.12-14. JKB 34.2. Rhiannon's own council, PKM1 21.18-21. JKB 35.1. Exile councils, family, no other nobles, PKM3 JKB 66.2-67.1-2. (2nd and 3rd are dialogues Manawydan, Pryderi, but the 1st refers explicitly to taking counsel); PKM JKB 68.1. Pryderi, Rhuddlan Teifi, near Ceredigion, PKM4 69.3-5. JKB 82.1.

¹¹² Bag, PKM1 14. 26- 15.17, JKB 28.2. - 29.2. Ch. IV.1. Voice #12 p. 200, longest speech PKMi.

¹¹³ Pryderi's offer of counsel welcomed, PKM3 49.15-17. JKB 63.1.

¹¹⁴ Manawydan ignores Pryderi's advice, PKM3 53.9-11. JKB 66.2. Also PKM3 54.1-4. JKB 67, and PKM3 54.27-55.1. JKB 68.1. Pryderi ignores Manawydan PKM3 56.56. JKB 70.1.

¹¹⁵ Cigfa ignored, PKM3 58.6-9. JKB 72.1. PKM3 58.20-21. JKB 72.1. PKM3 61.3-5. JKB 73.2. Sioned Davies puts it more moderately, that Manawydan 'disagrees' with her, courteously. S.Davies, Four

demonstrate value placed on collaboration, though apparently more in principle than practice.

~ * ~

II *Y Farchoges, ei Byd/ The Horsewoman, Her World*

III.4. *Digwyddiadau yn ymwneud â Marchogion* Equine Events, Equestrian Nobility

Enghreiffitiau o geffylau / Equine instances

This chapter lists Mabinogi Rhiannon's equine events,¹¹⁶ then addresses horses and equestrian nobility as strong themes in Mabinogi Rhiannon.

TABLE 9 **Equine instances**

**Mabinogi Rhiannon (core).

*Mabinogi Rhiannon (extended).¹¹⁷

PKM1 *- Arawn, mounted.¹¹⁸

- Horseman announces Annwfn duel regulations;

- Pwyll wins mounted duel.¹¹⁹

*- Dyfed-Annwfn alliance, gift exchange, horses.¹²⁰

** - Rhiannon, Gorsedd Arberth, *marchoges*/ horsewoman.¹²¹

- Horse formulaic description.¹²²

- Horse, anomalous pacing; three mounted pursuits.¹²³

- Selecting three best horses.¹²⁴

Branches, p. 73.

¹¹⁶ Categorising some instances may be debatable without affecting the analysis over all.

The list does not include all Mabinogi journeys as journeys routinely used horsepower (or asses, mules), or walking, until the mid-19thC railways revolution, cf. Charlotte Guest's excitement about new train journey to Wales.

¹¹⁷ 'Core' narrative: Rhiannon direct presence. 'Extended' narrative, other passages without her direct presence but necessary parts of Mabinogi Rhiannon. Ch. I.5. Text: core extended 29-30.

Rhiannon as a possible horse divinity, Ch. I. 5. Text: *Cyfranc*, pp. 31-32; Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Epona, pp. 426-29; VII.5. Theologies: Ford, 456 n. 117 & Anwyl, pp. 475 n. 215.

¹¹⁸ Arawn *uarchauc/ yn dyuot yn ol yr erchwys y ar uarch erchlas mawr*, PKM1 2.3-4. 'a horseman coming after the dogs on a huge, dapple-grey horse', JKB 21.1 Ch. I. 5. Text: Prologue pp. 25-27; and Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, pp. 241-46 re PKM1 integration in the First Branch.

¹¹⁹ Terms of Annwfn duel PKM 5.12-18. JKB 23.1. Pwyll thrusts Hafgan over the back of his horse on to the ground PKM1 5.22-23. JKB 23.1.

¹²⁰ Alliance gifts include horses PKM1 8.18-19. JKB 24.2.

¹²¹ PKM1 9.12. JKB 25.2. Ch. I. 5. Advent #5 pp. 17-20, also Ch. VII.1. Myths: Epona, pp. 423-26.

¹²² *uarch canwelw/ mawr aruchel*, PKM1 9.12-13. 'a great tall pale white horse'. JKB 25.2.

S.Davies' horse- rider integration, Ch. III.6. Advent #5 pp. 17-20.

¹²³ *Kerdet araf*, PKM1 9.15 'slow pace'. JKB 25.2; Then PKM1 22-23 Greater speed by a follower the further away she became yet she moved slowly. JKB 26.1. Similarly for a mounted pursuit PKM1 10.3-5. JKB 26.1; another rider and best horse PKM1. 10.25-29 and PKM1 11.1-6. JKB 26.2. Pwyll himself pursuing with the same result, PKM1 12.1-6. JKB 27.2.

¹²⁴ *dos y'r llys, a/ chymer y march kyntafa wpych, a dos ragot yn y hol*. PKM1 9.26-27. Pwyll orders 'the swiftest horse you know' JKB 26.1. to be fetched from the court. Pwyll next prepares before going forth again by ordering the swiftest horse out in the field. PKM1 10.16-17. JKB 26.1. Pwyll uses his own horse which as a prince would be the best available PKM1 11.19-21. JKB 27.1; and PKM1 11.27, 12.1-3. JKB 27.2.

- **– Rhiannon, Pwyll converse, on, beside, or near mounts.¹²⁵
 - Rhiannon's rebuke misusing horse.¹²⁶
 - **– Rhiannon directs Pwyll re *marchogion*, riders' ambush.¹²⁷
 - Pwyll executes ambush.¹²⁸
 - **– Pwyll decrees 'horsey' penance.
 - Rhiannon's council on penance.
 - Arberth horseblock.¹²⁹
 - Rhiannon offers action as horse.¹³⁰
 - **– Teyrnon's fine breeding mare.¹³¹
 - Mare births fine foal.¹³²
 - Teyrnon defends mare, foal.¹³³
 - Gwri loves horses.¹³⁴
 - Teyrnon's Wife arranges colt bestowal.¹³⁵
 - Teyrnon's Wife supervises grooms, *marchog* training.¹³⁶
 - Boy rides bestowed horse to Arberth; three Gwent *marchogion*.¹³⁷
 - **– Rhiannon offers to carry them.¹³⁸
 - Teyrnon and boy decline.¹³⁹
- PKM2 *– Horses' mutilation causes Irish War.¹⁴⁰
- *– Bendigeidfran's compensation replaces horses.
- PKM3 **– Rhiannon and kindred ride Dyfed *cylch*.¹⁴¹
- **– Hunting, survival.¹⁴²
 - **– *Henffordd* craft workshop, saddles.¹⁴³
 - **– Manawydan remembers Rhiannon, Pryderi hunting.¹⁴⁴
 - **– Manawydan bargains with priest, *uarch gyweir*.¹⁴⁵
 - **– Manawydan bargains with bishop, sumpters.¹⁴⁶
 - **– Captive Rhiannon compelled to wear asses' collar.¹⁴⁷
- PKM4 *– Pryderi doomed, lure of fake horses.¹⁴⁸

¹²⁵ Pwyll and Rhiannon's converse: PKM1 12.7-13.11. JKB 27.2-28.2.

¹²⁶ Rebuke, PKM1 12. JKB 27.2.

¹²⁷ Rhiannon's instruction to Pwyll PKM1 14.29-15.1. JKB 29.2.

¹²⁸ Pwyll's *teulu* carries it out PKM1 16.3-5. and 17.2-4. JKB 30.1. and 30.2.

¹²⁹ Penance located at the Arberth mounting block PKM1 21.24. JKB 35.1.

¹³⁰ It includes offering to act as a horse PKM1 21.26-27. JKB 35.1.

¹³¹ Teyrnon has a fine breeding mare PKM1 22.3-4. JKB 35.1-2.

¹³² Birth of colt PKM1 22.13-16. JKB 35.2-36.1.

¹³³ Teyrnon finds the baby PKM1 22.25-27. JKB 36.1.

¹³⁴ The boy loves horses PKM1 22.23-24. JKB 36.1.

¹³⁵ The colt is bestowed PKM1 23.24-28, 24.1-4. JKB 36.2. Note below on Triad 38..

¹³⁶ Teyrnon's Wife especial care, training as *marchog* PKM1 24.5-7. JKB 36.2.

¹³⁷ The riders go to Arberth, including the special horse PKM1 25.7-8. JKB 37.1.

¹³⁸ Rhiannon offers to carry them on her back PKM1 25.12-14. JKB 37.2.

¹³⁹ They decline PKM1 25. 15-17. JKB 37.2.

¹⁴⁰ Horse mutilations PKM2 32.2-6. JKB 46.1. Quoted below, n. 153.

¹⁴¹ *Cylch*, progress, circuit of Dyfed PKM3 51.5. JKB 65.1. Ch. III. Hierarchy: *Cylch*.

¹⁴² Hunting, PKM3 52.9-17. JKB 66.1.

¹⁴³ Saddlemaking PKM3 52.22-25. JKB 66.1.

¹⁴⁴ Manawydan remembers hunting with Rhiannon PKM3 58.26. JKB 72.1.

¹⁴⁵ *uarch yn gyweir* PKM3 62.17. 'well equipped horse' JKB 74.1. Mod. Welsh: *cywair* – proper order, fit state or condition, repair, working order; (GPC)

¹⁴⁶ The bishop's retinue and *swmereu*, sumpters. PKM3 63.6-8. JKB 74.2. Sumpters Line 7. cf. *swmer*, one of only three loanwords in the Mabinogi, also *pali*, *cordwal*, part of the Mabinogi dating debate (Appendix: Dating). Ifor Williams thought the loanwords were imported via trading with Normans, possibly Hereford settlers in 1052. PKM *Rhagymadrodd*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

¹⁴⁷ *myrweireu yr/essynn* PKM3 65.19-20. JKB 76.1.

¹⁴⁸ Fake horses PKM4 70.8, 70.11. *deudeg meirch* PKM4 70.19. JKB 82.1. Council accepts exchange PKM4 70.25. JKB 82.1. Fake horses will only last a day PKM4 70.1. JKB 82.1.

*– Pryderi dies, implicitly mounted duel.¹⁴⁹

Marchogion

The equine theme in Mabinogi Rhiannon is evidently ubiquitous. Rhiannon's advent, riding her marvellous horse on-the-side is iconic: her first words concern a horse. Pwyll is associated with excellent horses (pursuits). Their wedding strategy deploys *marchogion* in ambush. Ford analyses intimate parallels between Rhiannon as mother and the Mare of Gwent.¹⁵⁰ Rhiannon's son grows up loving horses; the Mare's colt is bestowed,¹⁵¹ which Gwri rides to meet his mother. Horse mutilation transforms the political context through the Irish War.¹⁵² The mutilation text details explicit violence;¹⁵³ its unique grisliness in the Mabinogi, demonstrates paramount concern for Mabinogi horses, as do Rhiannon's first rebuking words. The PKM3 *cylch* asserts elitism, contrasted with manual work making saddles, an ordinary priest's horse, baggage beasts, and captive Rhiannon's humiliating asses' collar. Pryderi's doom comes from temptation by beautiful horses leading to an (implicitly) mounted duel.

Medieval aristocracy was based largely on military might, which in turn was based on mounted warriors.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Pryderi's duel and death PKM4 72.13-17. JKB 86.2 – 87.1. Not explicitly equine, but unlikely that a prince would fight on foot. Also cf. the structural bracketing with his father Pwyll's duel, First Branch, PKM1 5.12–23. JKB 23.1. Ch. IX Structures, pp. 513 n. 28.

¹⁵⁰ *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab* / 'The Adventure of the Mare and the Boy'. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, pp. 3-14. Ford analyses the Gwent episode in detail as 'a separate existence and perhaps known independently under that name,' title taken from Teyrnon's anecdote at Arberth. Ford, p. 4; beginning sentence *Teirnon, menegi y holl gyfranc am y gassec ac/am y mab*, PKM1 25.27–26.1. JKB 37.2.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Triad 38: *T)ri Rodedicuarch*/Bestowed Horses, citing Caswallawn, Lleu and Caradawg Breichfras. TYP pp. 103-04. Quoted Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen, with notes, p. 227 n. 82.

¹⁵² Sturzer queries the large number of Irish horses, their purpose, and the feasibility of conveying them in thirteen ships' space. Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', pp. 131–32. The issue is not space but built facilities and equine panic; they need narrow, high sided stalls, strongly built, to not fall or kick holes in the ship's side. They load with difficulty, blindfolded, many in belly-band slings, their herd nature spreading their panic. But for a horse obsessed aristocracy their horses demonstrate their status, a display like weapons and jewellery. The Bayeux tapestry shows horses in ships, though unrealistically not blindfolded, not shut below. 8–20 horses per mediaeval ship. N.A.M. Rodger. 2004. *The Safeguard of the Sea* (Penguin), p. 127.

Thus thirteen Irish ships capacity = 104 – 260 horses.

¹⁵³ ... *y meirych, a thorri y guefleu wrth y danned/udunt, a'r clusteu wrth y penneu, a'r rawn wrth y keuyn;/ ac ny caei grafar yr amranneu, eu llad wrth yr ascwrn*. PKM2 32.2–4. '... the horses. He sliced their lips back to their teeth, and their ears back to their heads, and their tails to their backs - and wherever he could get a grip on their eyelids, he would cut these back to the bone.' JKB 46.1. For detailed analysis see Rowland, 'Maiming of Horses in Branwen'. I suggest a factional discord by Efnysien whose three acts of violence consistently block the British-Irish alliance.

¹⁵⁴ Katrin Boniface 1976. 'Horse Power: Social Evolution in Medieval Europe' (unpublished master's thesis, California State University, Fresno), p. 10.

David Anthony describes the impact of horse riding, 4th millennium BCE, also apt to mediaeval Britain, and the Mabinogi.

Riding greatly increased the efficiency and therefore the scale and productivity of herding ... cattle and sheep [generating a need for larger territories.] ... intensified warfare stimulated efforts to build alliances through [gifts,] feasts and the redistribution of wealth. [developing] long-distance trade to acquire prestigious goods.
... the rapidity and reach of mounted raiders would have changed raiding tactics, status-seeking behaviors, alliance-building, displays of wealth, and settlement patterns.¹⁵⁵

The world of elite *marchogion* was *mobile*: fast, greedy, intensely competitive and acquisitive; hierarchical, above all else 'dominant over pedestrians'.¹⁵⁶ Horseflesh meant superior height and speed, 1,000 pounds of ramming weight, heavy hooves and teeth.¹⁵⁷ Mounted fighters were almost invincible until the invention of the longbow (first recorded 633).¹⁵⁸ Welsh bowmen were recorded as extremely effective against the Normans.¹⁵⁹ The Mabinogi has no longbows, presumably part of its archaism. This aggressive equine society is the target of a pacific Mabinogi counter-narrative.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ David W. Anthony. 2007. 'The Domestication of the Horse and the Origins of Riding: The Tale of the Teeth', Ch. 10 in *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*, ed. by Anthony (Princeton University Press), p. 222. (My paraphrase insertions.)

¹⁵⁶ Ch. I.4. Advent p. 17; the territorial connotations of Rhiannon's name, Ch. I.3. Etymology, p. 8. 'Mobility was reserved for centuries as the privilege of nobility and their favoured servants. When railways exploded this ancient domination the Duke of Wellington was implacably opposed to the new technology, saying it would 'encourage the lower classes to travel about'. Christian Wolmar. 2007. *Fire & Steam* (London: Atlantic Books), pp. 41–42. Mobility is dangerous if accessed by lower orders, giving access to alternative social codes, and networking.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. mounted police today. 'The separation we make today between external security (military) and internal security (police) did not yet exist', Gassmann, 'Combat Training for Horse and Rider', p. 84. Most recently (2020s Britain) it could be argued the two have been converging again.

¹⁵⁸ 'Offrid, the son of Edwin king of Northumbria, was killed by an arrow in battle with the Welsh and the Mercians'. Robert Hardy. 2010. *Longbow: A social and military history* (US: Patrick Stevens Ltd.), p. 30.

¹⁵⁹ 1055 expedition to Wales, ambushed. Hardy, *Longbow*, p. 32. 'One of [the lord's] men, in a fight against the Welsh, was wounded by an arrow that penetrated his thigh, the casing armour on both sides [mail armour] ... the part of the saddle known as the alva, and mortally wounded the horse.' Giraldus, p. 36.

¹⁶⁰ Mac Cana refers to D. Myrddin Lloyd who 'sees in Manawydan's conduct a thoroughgoing criticism of the heroic ideal. Where the archetypal hero opts for the short life and lasting glory, Manawydan's priorities are peace and prosperity', Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 49; referencing D. Myrddin Lloyd. 1974. 'Gwareiddiad Cymru yn yr Oesau Canol / 'Welsh Civilisation in the Middle Ages' (my trans.), in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. by Bowen, Geraint (Gomer Press.), pp. 13–45.

Horses needed six years to reach full strength, and absorb training. Junior *marchogion* trained for a similar period; cf. Gwri.¹⁶¹ The dominant equestrian class of the Mabinogi would need considerable economic surplus for an infrastructure of skilled grooms, stable buildings, grazing and fodder, intricate riding gear; investment of years of breeding, rearing, training for young horses and *marchogion*.¹⁶² The *cylch* which collected tax resources, critically fuelled this elaborate mechanism of dominance, which then made *cylch* possible.¹⁶³ *Cylch* and war blend a continuum with *marchogion* raiding:¹⁶⁴ noble entitlement renders enemy, neighbours, locals, alike as target sources, differing only by degree.

Mabinogi horses seem a powerful but pragmatic utility,¹⁶⁵ anonymous, minimally described.¹⁶⁶ *Trioedd y Meirch* contrasts with colour, names, and personalisation.¹⁶⁷ The romantic *llateion* role in poetry came later.¹⁶⁸ Teyrnnon's

¹⁶¹ Gassmann, 'Combat Training for Horse and Rider', p. 72. n. 42, cont. p. 73. He allows they might do lighter, local duty earlier. Bachrach describes the early mediaeval Continental army thus 'three groups of mounted fighters within the court: a standing army, rapid reaction force; young nobles in training as officers; and recruits in basic training'. Bernard S. Bachrach. 2011. *Early Carolingian Warfare Prelude to Empire*. The Middle Ages Series (University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 65-76. Examples of *marchoges*— horse specific skill. The first of Pwyll's men to pursue the Gorsedd horsewoman waits until he reaches open, level ground (*maestir guastat*) and then 'he showed the spurs to the horse': *efa dangosses yr ysparduneu y'r march*. PKM1 10.2-3. JKB 26.1. He gives up the chase when 'his horse was tiring to a walk': *pan wybu efar y uarch pallu y bedestric*, PKM1 10.6. JKB 26.1. The second rider is said to give the horse its head, more literally, to release it from the reins: *ellwg y uarch a oruc wrth auwyneu*, PKM 11.2-3. 26.2. Cf. Rhiannon's rebuke to Pwyll for overriding his horse, i.e. poor skill. PKM1 12.9-10. JKB 27.2.

¹⁶² 'Horses throughout history have often been restricted to the upper classes in non-nomadic societies, simply due to the expense and time required of the ownership of a 1,000lb prey animal.' Boniface, 'Horse Power: Social Evolution', p. 1.

¹⁶³ The Mabinogi attests the *cylch* both in southern Dyfed; Pwyll, PKM1 25.20-21. JKB 37.2; Rhiannon and family, PKM3 51.4-6. JKB 65.1; and in northern Gwynedd, Gwydion and Gilfaethwy, PKM4 67.11-14. JKB 79.1. Ch. III.3. Hierarchy: *Cylch*, 153-54, n. 88.

¹⁶⁴ The set-piece field battle was comparatively rare. The main preoccupations of the mediaeval mounted force was raids on enemy infrastructure, crops, herds, or their supplies; protection of their own lines of communication and logistics; foraging; and reconnaissance. Aldo Settia. 2002. *Rapine. assedi, battaglie: La guerra nel Medioevo* (Rome: Laterza), pp. 31-33; Gassmann. 2014. 'Thoughts on the Role of Cavalry in Medieval Warfare', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 2, pp. 159-166. Gassmann, 'Combat Training for Horse and Rider', p. 64. Cf. my suggested metaphor of Manawydan's mice as predatory nobles, Ch. III.7. Parallels: Anglo-Norman, pp. 187-88.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. the Dyfed family's pragmatic attitude to natural 'bounty'; Ch. III.3 Hierarchy, p. 151.

¹⁶⁶ Rhiannon's *uarch canwelw/ mawr aruchel*/great tall pale white horse, PKM1 9.12-13. JKB 25.2; and Pwyll's *uarch drythyll*/spirited prancing horse, PKM1 12.2. JKB 27.2, are unusual.

¹⁶⁷ *Trioedd y Meirch*, a distinct group of *Trioedd*/Triads, about horses, TYP p. lxxx, *Trioedd* 38 – 46c given and analysed TYP, pp. 103-28. *Trioedd y Meirch* characterise horses with names like *Meinglas*/ 'Slender Grey', Triad 38, p. 103, though other names are warlike. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen for Triad 38 quote.

¹⁶⁸ '*Rhieingerddi*, love poems, where horses figure in occasional instances as *llateion* or love-messengers between the poet and the lady whom he is addressing. Ch. VI. 6. Adar Rhiannon. The names of a number of the horses in *Trioedd y Meirch* are listed in a *Rhieingerdd* by Gruffudd ap Maredudd.' TYP pp. 142-44.

Mare might suggest a transitional condition, still nameless, but a prized companion, almost a pet.¹⁶⁹

*Peri dwyn y gassec y mywn/ ty a wnaeth*¹⁷⁰

Magu ceffylau / Horse breeding

The Welsh had breeding programmes for warhorses, cf. Peniarth 20, c. 1109, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn.¹⁷¹ Jane Ryan reasons high equine references in southern Mabinogi narrative are due to southern Wales' richer grazing.¹⁷² Giraldus (1191) observed Powys had *equitia peroptima* [which bred horses] *membrosa sua majestate, quam incomparabili velocitate*, attributed to Robert de Bellême's imported Spanish stock.¹⁷³ Sean Davies rejects an impression of Norman introduction of war horses to Wales because Bellême was Earl of Shrewsbury too

¹⁶⁹ There was no term for 'pet' in the mediaeval period; in English it dates to the 16thC. Kathleen Walker-Meikle. 2021. *Medieval Pets* (Boydell Press, 2021), p. 1.. In Welsh even later (GPC). Walker-Meikle concentrates on small animals easily brought indoors but acknowledges owners might 'lavish care and affection' on horses. 'Pets blur the boundaries between animal and human status. They may be pampered and treated like members of the household. They are allowed indoors into human space, and can be fed and treated with as much care as that accorded to humans.' *Medieval Pets*, p. 1. Teyrnnon's mare fits this description. Adelard of Bath argued animals have souls (judgement): c. 1107-33. *Quaestiones Naturales*, which would support affection as well as a purely utility relating.

¹⁷⁰ PKM1 22.11-12 'He had the mare brought indoors' JKB 35.2. Teyrnnon demonstrates the particularly strong intimacy between *marchog* and *march* by bringing his prize mare inside his house for her birthing night. Poorer households routinely shared domestic space with large mammals like horses, cows, pigs; the classic Welsh cob house divided into two rooms by a screen shoulder height. The arrangement meant warmth and security from theft. But nobles could afford separate stables and guards.

¹⁷¹ Peniarth 20; cited Sean Davies. 2004. *War and Society in Medieval Wales 633-1283: Welsh Military Institutions*, p. 171.

¹⁷² Jane Ryan. 1993. 'A study of horses in early and medieval Welsh literature, c.600-1300 AD' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Cardiff, p. 191.

¹⁷³ 'most excellent studs' [which bred horses] 'remarkable for their majestic proportion and astonishing fleetness'. From the translation given below, Price. 1912.

LATIN PARAGRAPH from Ch. XII *De Transitu per Album Monasterium et Oswaldestree; Powisiam quoque Slopesburiam. In hac tertia Walliae portione, quae Powisia dicitur, sunt equitia peroptima, et equi emissarii laudatissimi, de Hispaniensium equorum generositate, quos olim Comes Slopesburiae Robertus de Belesmo in fines istos adduci curaverat, originaliter propagati: unde et qui hinc exeunt equi, cum nobili formae pictura ipsa protrahente natura, tam membrosa sua majestate, quam incomparabili velocitate valde com-memorabiles reperiuntur.* David Powell, ed. 1804. *Itinerarium Cambriae seu Laboriosae Baldvini Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi per Walliam Legationis Accuratio Descriptio*. Chapter XII (London: Gulielmi Bulmer et Socie, Cleveland Row), p. 155. (URL Bibliography)

TRANSLATION: 'Ch. XII. Of the Journey by the White Monastery, Oswaldestree, Powys, and Shrewsbury. In this third district of Wales, called Powys, there are most excellent studs put apart for breeding, and deriving their origin from some fine Spanish horses, which Robert de Belesme, [134a] earl of Shrewsbury, brought into this country: on which account the horses sent from hence are remarkable for their majestic proportion and astonishing fleetness.' David Price, Gerald of Wales, *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales* (J. M. Dent and Sons, 1912), p. 134. (URL Bibliography)

briefly (1098– 1102) to do more than introduce a ‘Gascon’ strain into existing native studs.¹⁷⁴

The modern native Welsh cob has the hardiness and strength of ancestral hill breeds.¹⁷⁵ Gassman says mediaeval horse terminology refers to functions rather than breeds,¹⁷⁶ cf. 13thC war *destrier*, or riding *palfrei*;¹⁷⁷ but earlier native breeders must have used similar (unwritten) stable talk. Giraldus describes Bellême mounts of ‘majestic proportions’,¹⁷⁸ cf. Rhiannon’s *uarch ... aruchel*.¹⁷⁹ The new, powerful horse would generate equine gossip (1098– 1102), contemporary to composing her tale.¹⁸⁰

Hela a merched / Hunting and women

Hunting is a Mabinogi staple (above).¹⁸¹ Hunting has vital military applications: familiarity with local terrain, weaponry and horsemanship, liaison and leadership.¹⁸² Hunting is ultimately a survival skill, cf. Rhiannon’s family during PKM3 Desolation. Rhiannon explicitly and distinctively hunts: she would ride astride, otherwise riding on-the-side.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁴ Sean Davies, *War and Society*, p. 172. The 12thC poet Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr of Powys, fl. c. 1155–95, describes his prince Madudd ap Maredudd as ‘companion to Gascon horses’. Sioned Davies and Nerys Ann Jones, *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 77– 78.

¹⁷⁵ Alex Robinson. 30 Jan. 2019 ‘The Welsh section D: the “native cobs” with power, action and presence’, in *Horse and Hound* (online). (URL Bibliography)

¹⁷⁶ Jürg Gassmann, ‘Combat Training for Horse and Rider’, p. 67.

¹⁷⁷ The terms *destrier*, *palfrey* are not used in the Mabinogi, first instances appear in the 13thC (GPC). However in practice, the distinction between a warhorse and riding horse is fundamental to an equestrian society. It is likely that horse handlers and the *marchogion* did have such terms in use, perhaps local variants before standardisation and written texts later. Sioned Davies lists ‘type of horse, e.g. palfrey, warhorse, steed’ as no. IV in her formulaic horse description. ‘Horses’, p. 123, 125.

¹⁷⁸ Giraldus. 1191. *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 201.

¹⁷⁹ PKM1 9.12-13. JKB 25.2. *aruchel*: high, tall, lofty, elevated; exalted, supreme, splendid, majestic; lofty (GPC).

¹⁸⁰ The native pony was and is short legged, not *aruchel*, as the new long legged hybrid cob would be. Speculative development of this date convergence, Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd pp. 226 n. 95.

¹⁸¹ Hunting refs above p. 151-52 n. 77.

¹⁸² Jack Gassmann, ‘Thoughts on the Role of Cavalry’, p. 154; Guy Halsall. 2003. *Warfare and society in the barbarian west: 450-900* (London: Routledge), p. 117. Pwyll’s hunting *persona* merges with his warrior mode as he uses his hunting horn to call out his prepared ambush; *goru*, PKM1 17.1. ‘horn’, JKB 31.1.

¹⁸³ Hunting for survival, PKM3 52.9–10. JKB 66.1. Manawydan recalls hunting with Rhiannon but not Cigfa, PKM3 58. 24–27. JKB 72.1 The sidesaddle was not invented until the late 16thC; mediaeval ladies rode pillion, or on-the side; hunting needed to ride astride. Almond, ‘The Way the Ladies Ride’ (URL text Bibliography).

Mabinogi women appear not to participate physically in *marchogion* direct violence. They are not *guerrillères*,¹⁸⁴ yet heavily implicated.¹⁸⁵ Rhiannon derives her wealth and dominance from her class position as *marchoges* (female equestrian noble). She rides *cylch* with armed men, to collect raw provisions, implicitly to pay for her silks, courtly arts, and leisurely converse. Great ladies do not lug water, wash up, scrub and sweep. Servants are kept subservient, tied to local territory, by the physically intimidating mounted ones who are much more loosely tied. The nobility sit in their various halls, weapons stacked by the door, horses close by.

~ * ~

III *Y Farchoges, ei Byd*/The Horsewoman, Her World

III.5. *Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd*/Law, Land & Women

This chapter outlines female society presented in Mabinogi Rhiannon: topics are territory, identity, *sarhaed*, names, mothers, counsellors, feasts & *cylch*, girls, divorce and alliances.

Women of mediaeval Wales held some freedoms and privileges alien to their English counterparts: notably independent rights to compensation for injury, property ownership, and access to divorce.¹⁸⁶ Native law and custom in extant Welsh lawbooks, is evident in the Mabinogi, particularly territorial law, and the law of women. William Thomas (1717) identified legal content.¹⁸⁷ Ellis and Lloyd (1929) comment ‘the legal exactness... is remarkable’; Ellis had made

¹⁸⁴ French ‘warrior-women’, lit. ‘female fighters’. Like *marchoges*, it adds a grammatical fem. suffix. Notably Arianrhod’s women arm Gwydion and Lleu against attack, but not themselves. PKM4 82.22-28. JKB 98.2.

¹⁸⁵ Branwen’s (conscious) responsibility for war is arguable. PKM2 45.15–20. JKB 57.1.

¹⁸⁶ Morfydd E. Owen. 1980. ‘Shame and Reparation: Women’s Place in the Kin’, in *WLW*, pp. 45–61.

¹⁸⁷ William Thomas (1685-1764) Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams, p. 64. Cardiff MS. 4.22. (Bibliography: MSS). Cf. Ellis, ‘Legal References’, pp. 86–147. A number of others take the same line, such as Humphries. 2008. ‘The Limits of the Law’.

a detailed study of it.¹⁸⁸ Robert Humphries and Huw Pryce each assert the social and legal context is essential to understanding the Mabinogi.¹⁸⁹

Tirioagaeth, hunaniaeth a sarhaed /

Territory, identity and *sarhaed*

Territory determines status in the Mabinogi.¹⁹⁰ Territorial rule determines legal *sarhaed*, compensation paid if someone is offended in a hierarchy: *brenin*/ king, then *pendefig*/ prince, then *arglwyddi* / lords; lowest the *taeog*, bonded tenant.¹⁹¹

The first Mabinogi episode, Pwyll's encounter with Arawn,¹⁹² gives a worked example.¹⁹³ Male characters are introduced referring to their territory: *Pwyll pendefig Dyfed* and his seven *cantrefi*, Arawn *urenhin Annwuyn*.¹⁹⁴ An unknown lord threatens a *sarhaed* of a hundred stags.¹⁹⁵ The stranger identifies

¹⁸⁸ Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 2. Full study Ellis, 'Legal References'.

¹⁸⁹ 'The motivations of [Mabinogi] characters often seem cryptic and the solutions to conflict are constrained by a logic lost on us if we fail to comprehend the social context in which the tales were composed. The medieval Welsh laws, or Cyfraith Hywel, provide one key to understanding the Mabinogi.' Humphries, 'Limits of the Law', p. 1.

Cyfraith Hywel, 'Laws of Hywel Dda', the Laws of Wales: 'A written codification of legal customs and traditions, where status is constructed by 'property, insults, and dishonour'. Ellis, 'Legal References', p. 115. There are three Welsh redactions, named after jurists identified in the texts: Cyfnerth (probably Powys), Blegywryd (South Wales); and Iorwerth (North Wales); the latter being the most elaborate or "classical" redaction. Jenkins and Owen, Introduction, *WLW*, pp. xxiv-xxv. 'the legal and the poetic strands of native culture were closely connected and thereby reflect the status of law as part of a wider body of traditional learning, known in Welsh as cyfarwyddyd, which also included poetry, narrative tales, history, and genealogy.' Huw Pryce. 2000. 'Lawbooks and Literacy in medieval Wales', *Speculum*, 75, 1, p. 45. This 'wider body' constitutes a rich imaginary; as reviewed in Robin Chapman Stacey's 2018. *Law and the Imagination in Medieval Wales* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the territorial connotation of Rhiannon's name Ch. I.3. Etymology, Prefix RHI-, pp. 7-8.

¹⁹¹ *tayogeu*, PKM3 53.9; 54.1; 54.26. 'churls', JKB 66.2; 67.1; 68.1. South Welsh term used contemptuously (and inaccurately) by Pryderi about the craftsmen of *Henfordd*/ Hereford, and two other towns. Cigfa repeats it, PKM3 58. 20. JKB 70.1. Cf. *aillt* North Welsh term. *taeog* – serf, villein, slave, labourer, farmer, husbandman, peasant, common man; also derogative. (GPC). Nerys W. Patterson. 1981. 'Honour and Shame in Medieval Welsh Society: A study of the Role of the Burlesque in the Welsh Laws', *Studia Celtica*, 7, 8.

¹⁹² PKM1 1.1–8.26. JKB 19.2–40.1. Commonly known as *Pwyll I*, or, the first Episode of the First Branch/ PKM1. The placement as the first Mabinogi Episode before all else, presenting issues of *sarhaed* and status, indicates how fundamental it is to this society.

¹⁹³ Ellis & Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 7. n. 14. Dafydd Walters. 1991. 'Société et Droit dans la Littérature du Pays de Galles au Moyen-Age', *Études Celtiques*, XXVIII, pp. 416-17. Detailed analysis, Renske van der Linden. 2007. 'Pwyll prince of Dyfed: Legal elements', in 'The Laws of Hywel Dda in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis University of Utrecht), pp. 16–19. (URL text Bibliography). Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Sovereignty, pp. 259-60, for a review of the teaching text/ mirror for princes, theory.

¹⁹⁴ PKM1 1.1–2. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed.' JKB 19.2. PKM1 2.26 'Arawn King of Annwn' JKB 21.1

¹⁹⁵ Stag PKM1 2.18–19. JKB 21.1. This is not listed in the lawbooks. Ellis says a stag is equal to an ox, or two cows. 100 stags is 1,000 shillings. A clan chief's honour is 180 shillings. Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 7. n. 14. Bendigeidfran pays Matholwch, *brenin Iwerddon* a silver rod, gold plate, a herd of horses, and more: *ef a geifyn wyneperth/ idaw, llathen aryant a uo kyuref [a'e uys*

himself by naming his territory, '*Arawn urenhin Annwuyn wyf i*'.¹⁹⁶ They contract to exchange their *lle*/ place (identity);¹⁹⁷ and '*Ac kynnadyl yna yn y lle hon*',¹⁹⁸ returning to the same *place* to restore their identities.

The wealthy enjoy impunity, buffered by lesser folk's incapacity to pay high *sarhaed*,¹⁹⁹ while nobles can easily pay others' lower *sarhaed*. That is either desirable, or not, depending on political ideology.²⁰⁰ Rhiannon and her kin face double disaster in PKM3. They are stripped of all cultivated resources from their territory,²⁰¹ which means they can neither pay nor demand *sarhaed* among their peers. They become declassed, vulnerable.

Gwragedd ac enwau / Women and names

Mabinogi women are not introduced by territory but by their male kindred.²⁰²

Compare

'Arawn urenhin Annwuyn wyf i.
'*Riannon ferch Hyfaidd Hen wyf i*'.²⁰³

Arawn is directly defined by his territory. Rhiannon's female patronymic attaches to a male, defined by *his* territory, which defines her. A Mabinogi woman first met

bychan]/ a chyhyt ac efe hun, a chlawr eur kyflet a'y wyneb. PKM2 33.18–20. JKB 47.1. The silver rod and gold plate honour-price is close to the king's *sarhaed* given in lawbooks (Ior § 3/4–5; Bleg p. 3. 17–25) Humphries, 'Limits of the Law', p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ PKM1 2.26. 'Arawn king of Annwfn am I', JKB 21.1. Teyrnnon Twryf Uliant is introduced as *arglwyd ar Wynt Ys Coet*; PKM1 22.1–2. 'lord over Gwent-Is-Coed'. JKB 35.1. Bendigeidfran as Bendigeidfran *uab Llyr, a oed urenhin/ coronawc ar yr ynys hon*. PKM2 29.1–2. 'Bendigeidfran son of Llŷr, was crowned king over this island and adorned with the crown.' JKB 43.2.

¹⁹⁷ PKM1 3.8.. 'stead', JKB 21.2. The fusion of identity and location is clearest as '*place*'. *Lle*: 'space in general; locality, area, region, neighbourhood ... a specific place ... stead, lieu; position, ... proper or natural place; fixed or assigned seat, place ...' (GPC). PKM1 3.25; 'stead' JKB 22.1. PKM1 *y/ gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*, PKM1 5.20–21 and 6.6. 'the man who was in Arawn's place', JKB 23.1, 23.2.

¹⁹⁸ PKM1 3.14. 'we will meet then in this place.' JKB 21.2.

¹⁹⁹ I have suggested Rhiannon's elite status, therefore exceptionally high *sarhaed*, which may have afforded her protection as she rode alone to where a gathering of armed, probably drunken fighters awaited her. Ch. I.3. Advent #3 Woman, p. 15.

²⁰⁰ 'Punishment could only control the socially weak: to the powerful punishment was unacceptable insult, provoking retaliation, for their behaviour was subject only to the self-control that arose from the sincerity of their adherence to the code of honour.' Patterson, 'Honour and Shame', p. 101. Today (21stC) objectors call this entitlement culture.

²⁰¹ PKM3 51.7–9. JKB 65.1. They express delight in the bountiful resources of their land.

²⁰² Cigfa appears as *Kicua uerch Wynn/ Gohoyw*. PKM1 27.24–26. 'Cigfa daughter of Gwynn Gohoyw'. JKB 40.1. Branwen as *Branwen uerch Lyr*; PKM2 30.20. 'Branwen daughter of Llŷr'. JKB 45.1. Arianrhod as *Aranrot uerch Don*. PKM4 77.7. 'Arianrhod daughter of Dôn', JKB 94.1.

²⁰³ PKM1 2.26. 'Arawn king of Annwfn am I', JKB 21.1. PKM1 12.23. 'Rhiannon daughter of Hyfaidd Hen am I'. JKB 28.1.

narratively as wife, is nameless: 'Arawn's wife', 'Teyrnon's wife', 'Llwyd's wife'.²⁰⁴
If met *before* marriage she retains her name.²⁰⁵

Priodas/ Marriage

[Owen] The role of the wife is that of a link between kins²⁰⁶

Welsh nuns were few: marriage was an upper class Welsh woman's life. *Gwraig* means both an adult (sexually experienced) female, and a wife.²⁰⁷ Danna K.

Messer argues against common mediaeval stereotypes.

An examination of Welsh sources shows that it was in wifehood that women were able to employ singular political, economic, and social agency in native Wales.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Arawn refers to his wife, PKM1 3.9. 'beautiful woman', JKB 21.2. PKM1 4.15. Pwyll sees the 'fairest woman', JKB 22.2. When Pwyll is in Arawn's place, she is referenced as 'the queen', which avoids saying whose wife she is. Then with Arawn: PKM1 7.3. 'his wife', JKB 24.1. PKM1 7.5. 'his wife', JKB 24.1. PKM1 7.6. 'his wife', JKB 24.1. PKM1 7.24. 'his wife', JKB 24.2.

*Teyrnon's wife, PKM1 22.7. 'his wife', JKB 35.2. PKM1 23.2. 'his wife', JKB 36.1. PKM1 23.24. 'his wife', JKB 36.2. PKM1 24.23. 'his wife', JKB 37.1. PKM1 24.27. 'Teyrnon's wife', JKB 37.1. PKM1 26.2. 'his wife', JKB 37.2. PKM1 26.23. Teyrnon refers to her as 'the woman', JKB 38.2.

*Llwyd's wife, he refers to her, PKM3 64.15. 'my wife and the women' (same word), JKB 75.1. PKM3 65.3. 'my wife', JKB 75.2. PKM3 65.8. 'my wife', JKB 76.1. The term used throughout for wife is *gwraig*, 'female human being, adult woman' GPC (a) but also (b) woman in relation to her husband, married woman, wife. In mediaeval Wales, with very little provision for nuns, a mature female was virtually synonymous with a wife. Ch. IX. Structures, Three Anons, pp. 520-21.

²⁰⁵ Rhiannon names herself, PKM1 12.23. JKB 28.1. Marries Pwyll, PKM1 18.15-21. JKB 31.1-2. Pryderi's preference for Cigfa, PKM1 23.24. JKB 40.1. Branwen, first named when messengers ask for her in marriage, PKM2 30.20. JKB 45.2. Goewin named PKM4 67.8-9. JKB 79.1. She declares she is no longer *morwyn* / a maiden but a woman. PKM4 74.6-7. JKB 90.1. Marries Math, PKM4 74.16-18. JKB 90.1-2. Blodeuedd constructed as a maiden, named, and marries, PKM4 83.23-84.1. JKB 99.2-100.1.

Arianrhod who does not marry, actually confers her name on territory she holds: *Caer Arianrhod*. PKM4 78.20. JKB 95.1. She is unique as a Mabinogi female explicitly owning land, or at least enjoying it in her own right.

²⁰⁶ Morfydd E. Owen, 'Women's Place', in *WLW*, p. 59. 'Her links were dual. They lay both with the kin into which she was born and with the kin with which she was associated through her husband after marriage.' *Ibid*, p. 40. Alliances, below.

²⁰⁷ *gwraig* – a) female human being, adult woman b) woman in relation to her husband, married woman, wife. (GPC)

²⁰⁸ Danna K. Messer. 2018. 'Impressions of Welsh Queenship in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *A Companion to Global Queenship*, ed. by Woodacre, Elena (ARC Humanities Press), p. 148. *ibid*. 2014. 'The Uxorial Lifecycle and Female Agency in Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bangor University), p. 92, n. 89, Messer cites several sources who have challenged the stereotype of mediaeval misogyny towards a more varied range of models, notably Peter Coss. 1998. *The Lady in Medieval England 1000-1500* (Thrupp), p. 29. Bynum calls on scholars to question the hegemony of ecclesiastical discourse. Caroline Walker Bynum. 1991. "'... And Woman His Humanity': Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages", in Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (MIT Press), pp. 151 - 80. Also Jacqueline Murray. 1995. 'Thinking about Gender: Diversity of Medieval Perspectives', in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. by Carpenter, Jennifer, and Sally-Beth. MacLean (Urbana, University of Illinois Press), pp. 2-3.

Winward disagrees, seeing female agency decline after marriage.²⁰⁹ Female *sarhaed* does reduce after marriage. Owen:

With one exception a woman's *sarhaed* is half that of her brother before marriage when she is a *morwyn* [maiden] and a third that of her husband's when she is a *gwraig* [wife].²¹⁰

Lower female *sarhaed* reflects

[...] juridical inferiority ... in most legal situations, she, like the dumb and the mad, was regarded as a non-person recognised by society only as an appendage to some male with whom she was connected by ties of blood or by bonds of marriage.²¹¹

In patrilocal marriage female wealth had to be mobile;²¹² 'women were endowed by their families only with moveable property, not land'.²¹³

Married women can co-rule with husbands cf. Rhiannon and Goewin.

Gwledychu
*y wlat a wnaethont yn llwydannus y ulwydyn honno, a'r eil.*²¹⁴

Seasoned mediaeval wives and mothers historically acted as regents during frequent male absences (*cylch*, embassy, raiding, war).²¹⁵ Also Counsellors, below. Rhiannon as a long experienced ruler, might well be her son's regent during his Irish War absence, and its aftermath.²¹⁶ Love, romance, could form part of marriage, but its historical purpose, reflected in the Mabinogi, is businesslike.²¹⁷

²⁰⁹ Winward, 'Aspects', p. 91. She also portrays Rhiannon as so strong as to be unfeminine and she alienates others. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance plot, pp. 268ff. and Ch. V.6. Maids, esp. p. 277.

²¹⁰ Owen, 'Women's Place', in *WLW*, p. 43. That is, the proportion reduces. If she 'marries up' so her husband is richer than her father, her *sarhaed* might increase.

²¹¹ Owen, 'Women's Place', in *WLW*, p. 40.

²¹² Rhiannon, PKM1 19.14–16. JKB 31.2, and Branwen, PKM2 37.9–13. JKB 51.1, both distribute gift jewels on arrival as brides. Interestingly Rhiannon who rules the territory of Dyfed jointly with Pwyll when they marry, PKM1 19.1. JKB 33.2, bears an apparently archaic meaning of female rule in her name. Ch. I.3. Etymology, RHI- suffix, pp. 5-6.

²¹³ Patterson, 'Woman as Vassal', p. 31.

²¹⁴ PKM1 19.16–18, 'They ruled the land successfully that year and the next.' JKB 33.2. Rhiannon also appears to retain her status during her penance years, PKM1 25.23–25. JKB 37.1. Also Goewin: "*A thitheu,*" *heb ef,* "*mi/ a'th gymerafyn wreic im, ac a rodafuedyant uyg/kyuoeth i'th law ditheu.*" PKM4 74.16-18. 'And you,' he said, 'I will take as my wife, and I will place the power of my realm in your hands.' JKB 90.2.

²¹⁵ Famously Gwennllian ferch Gruffydd, (d. 1136). Pierce, T. J., (1959). GWENLLIAN (died 1136), Dictionary of Welsh Biography. (URL Bibliography).

²¹⁶ Regent, Ch. III.5. LLW, p. 168 n. 215; Ch. V.11. Cigfa, p. 330-31.

²¹⁷ 'marriage was a political manoeuvre, a means of acquiring allies and attempts to establish peace. Love found in such alliances was believed to be a lucky bonus.' Danna R. Messer. 2020, cf Porter Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 242 n.189. *Joan, Lady of Wales:: Power and Politics of King John's Daughter* (Pen and Sword History, and Kindle edn), p. 11. Rhiannon in her courtship dialogue with Pwyll declaring she loves him and wants to marry him, but otherwise making no romantic statements. She rapidly moves into arranging a wedding date. PKM1 12.7–13.11. JKB 27.2–28.2.

Marriage was a legal, not a religious bond²¹⁸

The wedding feast

[...] was, in fact, the ceremony, and served the purpose of publication of intention, which, if consummated, was all that was legally necessary to validate a union.²¹⁹

The couple are publicly witnessed together, identified by seating hierarchy (place), and observed going into privacy, *cysgu*/ to sleep together.²²⁰

The *Nau Kynywedi Teithiauc* texts describe nine marriages interpreted as a hierarchy: from *priodas* (between kindreds, consent by guardians and principals, with fees); down to rape.²²¹ All (heterosexual) unions were pragmatically recognised with no 'illegitimate' children, recognising concubinage to some extent.²²² 'By the end of the thirteenth century *priodas* was regarded as the definitive type of marriage',²²³

²¹⁸ Ellis & Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 23, n. 62. The note adds that none of the other *Mabinogion* tales contain 'religious' weddings, with one exception in *Owein*. For a review of superficially Christian Mabinogi references, Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900: Christianity, pp. 435-39.

²¹⁹ Ellis & Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 22, n. 59.

²²⁰ Rhiannon's weddings are classic cases. The first one: *Kyweiryaw y/ neuad a wnaethpwynt, ac y'r bordeu yd aethant. Sef/ ual yd eistedysont, Heueyd Hen ar neill law Pwyll, a/ Riannon o'r parth arall idaw; y am hynny pawb/ ual y bei y enryded. Bwyta a chyuedach ac ymdidan a/ wnaethont*. PKM1 13.20-25. 'The hall was prepared and they went to the tables. This is how they sat - Hefeydd the Old on one side of Pwyll and Rhiannon on his other side; after that, each one according to his rank. They ate and drank and conversed.' JKB 28.2. The later, successful wedding is similar. *Y neuad ynteu a gyweirwynt y Pwyll a'e niuer, ac/ yniuer y llys y am hynny. Ac y'r bordeu yd aethont y/ eisted, ac ual yd eistedysant ulwydyn o'r nos honno, yd/ eistedwys paub y nos [honno]. Bwyta a chyuedach a/ wnaethont*, PKM1 18.15-19. 'The hall, then, was prepared for Pwyll and his retinue, and for the retinue of the court after/ that, and they went to the tables to sit. And as they had sat a year from that night, everyone sat that night. They engaged in feasting and revelry,' JKB 31.1-2. They sleep together. *Ac y'r/ ystauell yd aeth Pwyll a Riannon, a threulaw y nos/ honno drwy digriuwch a llonydwch*. PKM 18.19-21. JKB 31.2. She marries Manawydan, hers and Cigfa's feast continues as a wedding. *Kyn daruot y wled honno, y kyscwyt genti*. PKM3 50.26; 'Before that feast came to an end, he slept with her.' JKB 64.2. Branwen's wedding, *Yn Aberffraw/ dechreu y wled, ac eisted. Sef ual yd eistedysant, brenhin Ynys y Kedeirn, a Manawydan uab Llyr o'r/ neill parth idaw, a Matholwch o'r parth arall, a Branwen/ uerch Lyr gyt ac ynteu*. PKM2 31.6-10. In Aberffraw the feast and the sitting/began. This is how they sat - the king of the Island of the Mighty, with Manawydan son of Llŷr on one side of him and Matholwch on the other side, and Branwen daughter of Llŷr with him.' JKB 45.2-46.1.

²²¹ Thomas Mowbray Charles Edwards, *Nau Kynywedi Teithiauc*, in *Welsh Law of Women*, ed. by Jenkins, Dafydd, and Morfydd. E. Owen (UWP), pp. 23-39. Summary, pp. 35-36.

²²² Robert Rees Davies, 'The Status of Women and the Practice of Marriage', in *Welsh Law of Women*, pp. 106-07. Cf. Pennar. 1975. 'The Evidence of the Lawbooks', 'Women', Ch. 1. pp. 1- 26.

²²³ Danna R. Messer, 'Uxorial Lifecycle', p. 81.

Cydsyniad / Consent

Welsh lawbooks recognised a woman's self-bestowal in two special cases, in texts about *amobr*:²²⁴ The Mabinogi seems transitional, unimpressive, on female marital consent. Rhiannon never directly challenges male bestowal; it is evidently unavoidable to an honourable marriage. She is the only woman who demonstrates explicit consent, even so tensioned by male bestowal.²²⁵ She arranges weddings with her father as sponsor, urges Pwyll to 'give' her to prevent *anglot*/ dishonour, and participates in her son's bestowal of her.²²⁶

Patterson argues mediaeval kin authority also controlled young males; it

... could also veto the marriages of young men. Patriarchy, in other words, affected the young of both genders, while age enhanced the social power of both men and women, though legally advancing men to a greater degree than women.²²⁷

Lords hold their territory as bestowal from a higher lord. All is 'bestowed', from the whole of (old) Dyfed by Pryderi to Manawydan, to Gwri's colt, or food for (Pwyll as) a beggar.²²⁸

In modern Britain there are many practising arranged marriage.²²⁹ Wives are still routinely anonymised as e.g. 'Mrs. Jones'.

²²⁴ *Amobr*: A fee payable to a woman's lord, originally on the loss of her virginity. Dafydd Jenkins, trans., ed. 1986. *Hywel Dda: The Law, texts from medieval Wales* (Gomer), p. 311. *Ibid.* 1980. 'Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women', in *WLW* (UWP), p. 73. If the fee is understood to recompense the lord for loss of an asset (a virgin female), then the person who arranges that loss, is responsible to the lord. if she gives herself, let her pay her *amobr*, for she herself was her bestower'. Owen, 'Women's Place', in *WLW*, p. 49. Also 'If it happens that a maiden goes clandestinely with a man against the will of her father and her mother and her lord, they can take her back against her will. Her father is not bound to pay *amobr* for her. If she is a woman and has previously been with a man, she cannot be taken against her will.' *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²²⁵ Rhiannon's position is ambiguous, determined to make her own choice, yet 'given' by her father, and then by Pwyll. Ch. III.5. LLW p. 170. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd p. 220. Her second marriage is nuanced/ strained on consent. Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Marriage to Rhiannon p. 341. Branwen is a silent symbol, negotiated in a male alliance. Whether she speaks in private, or not, is unstated. Goewin never explicitly consents, though we might assume she is glad to escape her shame. Blodeuedd is similarly voiceless; artificially constructed for the purpose: there is no hint of her agency about it. The Queen, Teyrnnon's Wife, Llwyd's wife, appear some time during their marriages, without prior history.

²²⁶ Assignment at her father's court, PKM1 13.6–7. JKB 28.1–2. The wedding opens there, PKM1 15.13–25. JKB 28.2. Pwyll's bestowal: PKM1 15.19–20. JKB 29.2. Ch. V.5. Pwyll, p. 241. Ch. II.8. Feminism: Agency, p. 134, Pryderi n. 209. Pryderi's bestowal: PKM3 50.22–23. JKB 64.1–2.

²²⁷ Patterson, 'Vassal', p. 32. Young Lleu certainly has his wife arranged for him. PKM4 83.19–21. JKB 99.2–100.1. Pryderi chooses his wife, but by then his father is dead and he is a seasoned warlord and ruler. PKM1 27.19–24.

²²⁸ Pryderi bestows Dyfed, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–2. Pryderi's homage, PKM3 51.12. JKB 65.1. Gwri's colt, PKM1 24.2–5. JKB 36.2. Food for beggar, PKM1 16.13–18. JKB 30.1.

²²⁹ Roger Penn, and Paul Lambert. 2009. 'Socio-cultural Exceptionalism: Arranged Marriages in Western Europe', in *Children of International Migrants in Europe: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Penn, Roger and Paul Lambert (Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 144–153.

Mamolaeth/ Mothering

No baby girls are born in Mabinogi tales. Motherhood (of sons), walled by chastity to protect patrilineal inheritance, is the core purpose of female marriage.

The Mabinogi gives a wide array of actual (son) motherings. The exclusively female status of '*rieni*' as heir-bearer, seems peak female prestige.²³⁰ Failure to bear a son, a barren wife, risks divorce (cf. Dyfed nobles); or depends on compassion (cf. Teyrnnon).²³¹ Three sons are birthed, becoming actors in the main narrative: significantly, heirs to realms. Rhiannon's Pryderi, *arglwydd* of Dyfed; Branwen's Gwern, a peace pawn between Britain and Ireland; Arianrhod's Lleu, eventually becoming *arglwydd* of Gwynedd at the Mabinogi finale.²³²

Rhiannon as mother suffers anxiety from loss and uncertainty. She later has a strong liaison with her adult son.²³³ Teyrnnon's Wife as adoptive mother shows a mix of self-interest and devotion. Branwen is a tragedy of total loss: compelled to watch her small son killed horribly, she dies in despair. Cymedei is a cartoon figure of prolific, aggressive fertility; her almost instantly armed, adult sons a fantasy of military patriarchy. Arianrhod is a traumatised, rejecting mother, driven to angry retaliation. Gwydion presents a 'male mother', with a futuristic incubator, nurturing by proxy and persistent loyalty. Rhiannon becomes a mother-in-law: the relationship appears cordial.²³⁴ Grandmothers do not figure as actors in Mabinogi narrative.

Mothers appear to hold a distinctively female authority of naming.

*"Yawnahafyw hynny," heb y Pwyll, "kymryt enw y
mab y wrth y geir a dywot y uam, pann gauas llawen*

²³⁰ Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*', pp. 177-83. As noted there I use '*rieni*', not ModW. *rhieni*, because my commentary explores the possible meaning of *rieni* as a status definition in the narrative. It does not mean ModW. *rhieni* / 'parent'.

²³¹ Pwyll defends Rhiannon against his nobles who want him to divorce Rhiannon as barren. PKM1 19.18-20.2. JKB 33.2. Teyrnnon offers a baby for adoption to his barren wife. "*Mae ymma mab it, heb ef, "os mynny, yr hwnn ny/ bu yt ei roet."* PKM1 23.5-6. 'Here is a son for you,' he said, 'if you wish, that which you have never had.' JKB 36.1.

²³² Rhiannon PKM1 20.2-4. Branwen PKM2 36.16-17. Peak female status of '*rieni*' Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*', pp. 177-83

²³³ PKM3 50.13-57.12. JKB 63.2- 70.2. Ch. V. 10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp 322-28.

²³⁴ Teyrnnon's Wife, PKM 24.27- 25.5. JKB 37.1. Branwen, PKM2 45.15-19. JKB 57.1. Cymedei, PKM2 35.16-23. JKB 48.1. Arianrhod, publicly shamed, PKM4 77.10-15. JKB 94. rejects the child as shameful, PKM4 78.24-26. JKB 95.1. Gwydion, PKM4. 77.17-20, and 78.3-10. JKB 94.1-2. Rhiannon and Cigfa, PKM3 50.12-14. JKB 63.2-64.1. The two women then become part of an affectionate quartet. PKM3 51.9-11. JKB 65.1.

chwedyl y wrthaw."²³⁵

Cwnselwyr / Counsellors

Jonathan Miles-Watson collates a tradition of respected female counsellors to executive males, a structural comparison across all the *Mabinogion*.²³⁶ Mabinogi Rhiannon present 49 instances,²³⁷ pervading politics, war, honour, conspiracy, livelihood, murder, marriage, magic, horse bestowal, entertainers' payment.²³⁸ Counsel is usually explicitly invited.

TABLE 10 **Compilation of counsels**

Total 49.		f- female ff- all female m-male mm-all male fm- mixed.
Gives counsel	15f 20m	
Receives counsel	7f 34m	Listens, asks, accepts.
Formal/ political	5f 14m	Total 14. Group meeting or public statement.
Small group	7ff 5mm 9fm	Family, or 3 or more consult.
Private dialogue	3ff 7mm 13fm	Two persons.

Gender analysis: women and men almost equally give counsel but women are not explicit in nobles' councils: Rhiannon presents more counsel than any other: 6 instances, Manawydan 3, Pwyll 2 (nobles' councils), Cigfa 2. Rhiannon gives the longest, most detailed counsel [bag, no. 2]; she figures in four political counsels [9, 10, 18, 32]. But her pivotal counsel to Pwyll is open to serious critique: it generates grave insult so revenge desolates all Dyfed. [47]²³⁹

²³⁵ PKM1 26.17–19. ‘That is more fitting,’ said Pwyll, ‘– taking a name for the boy from the word his mother spoke when she had joyful news about him.’ JKB 38.2. Cf. Arianrhod, so possibly an archaic custom, betraying ancient matrilineality. The son she rejects cannot acquire a proper name except through her first words spoken directly to him. PKM 79.2–4. JKB 95.1.

²³⁶ Jonathan Miles-Watson. 2009. *Welsh Mythology: A Neo-Structuralist Analysis* (Cambria Press). The counsellor can also be a lower status male but is typically female. Similar observations, though not structurally framed, come from Elizabeth Lloyd and Kathy Shimpock. Lloyd: ‘Great deference is paid to women, their opinion is respected, and their advice sought.’ Miss E. J. Lloyd, ‘The Mabinogion as Literature’, 2, p. 234; Shimpock, ‘In each Branch of the Mabinogi, women characters offer counsel and advice’, in Kathy Shimpock. 2017. ‘The “Unlikely Female” Characters of the Mabinogi’ (unpublished MA Celtic Studies, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David), p. 2. n. 16. ‘Rhiannon, Branwen and the wife of Teyrnon advise their husbands.’ *ibid.* p. 2, n. 9.

²³⁷ The referenced data list is too large to footnote, so it is given as Appendix 9: Counsels; with summary and analysis here. The list excludes PKM2 except for the Adar Rhiannon reference by Bendigeidfran, and Manawydan’s warning not to open the enchanted door. PKM4 after Pryderi dies. is excluded.; i.e. the list is Extended Mabinogi Rhiannon, defined Ch. I.5. Text, p. 29.

²³⁸ Language skill, social awareness, and lore (etiquette, converse/ anecdote, wordplay, tales, *Triodd*, law, history, poetry) are admired in women and men: these all support the art of counsel.

²³⁹ Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Bad counsel, pp. 236–37.

Gwleddoedd / Feasts

Feasting is ubiquitous in Mabinogi tales.²⁴⁰ Rhiannon claims two major feasts as hers alone, organising a third with daughter-in-law Cigfa.²⁴¹ The women gather supplies via *cylchau* (above), even though some resources are male-owned (divorce rules, below).

Quantities are considerable. Pwyll takes 100 fighters to attend his wedding, which also provides for Hyfaidd's court, and Gwawl's company.²⁴² A full retinue might include court officers, court women, relatives, servitors (pages, body servants, grooms, stable boys). 'Servings' are mentioned: *A guedy y bwyta kyntaf, kyuodi y orymdeith a/ oruc Pwyll*;²⁴³ perhaps stages to accommodate large numbers; also horses, hounds and foodstock beasts to feed. These huge gatherings could last days, even weeks. Pwyll expects his renewed wedding to last from the second day '*a hediw a/ pheunyd tra parhao y wled honn*.'²⁴⁴ Noblewomen like Rhiannon and Cigfa need massive practical resources and skilful logistics, for without refrigeration supplies' scheduling is critical.²⁴⁵

Rhiannon and Cigfa's feast for Pryderi evidences how a feast could serve more than one purpose.²⁴⁶ It welcomes Pryderi home; negotiates Rhiannon's new marriage, wedding witness, and political consultation. Many other feast functions occur: wealth display (Annwfn); alliances (valuable animals and equipment);²⁴⁷ entertainments (Rhiannon's patroness tradition); gifts' largesse (Rhiannon gifts jewels to the entire Dyfed nobility);²⁴⁸ petitioners' requests (Pwyll-as-beggar represents narrow food margins); and witnessing an

²⁴⁰ A quick search on Mabinogi Rhiannon text picks up eight major feasts. PKM3 50.12–14. Rhiannon's feasts: PKM1 14.26; 15.21–23. Ch. III.3. Hierarchy: *Cylch*, p. 154 n95.

²⁴¹ Rhiannon claims first wedding feast ownership. PKM1 14.24–26. JKB 28.1. She declares it publicly PKM1 15.21–25. JKB 29.2–30.1. Rhiannon & Cigfa's feast, PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1.

²⁴² Pwyll's hundred, PKM1 13.16–17. JKB 28.2.

²⁴³ PKM1 9.2–3. 'And after the first serving, Pwyll arose to take a walk' JKB 25.1. Servings, Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 16. n.44. Ch.V.12. Pryderi pp. 308–09 n. 664 re servants, and hierarchy.

²⁴⁴ PKM1 18.25–26. 'today and every day while this feast continues', JKB 31.2.

²⁴⁵ Post-Desolation survival. Rhiannon, Cigfa would know *about* techniques like hanging, drying, salting, bottling, storage spacing, as nobles they would not know hands-on skill detail. Seasonal food though nutritionally adequate, is horribly monotonous after midwinter.

²⁴⁶ Rhiannon and Cigfa's feast, PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1.

²⁴⁷ *meirch a milgwn/ a hebogeu a fob gyfryw* PKM1 8.19–21. 'horses and hounds and hawks and every kind of jewel' JKB 24.2–25.1. Some Annwfn gifts would filter into Dyfed nobility as gifts, probably at a feast when they arrived.

²⁴⁸ PKM1 19.13–16. JKB 31.2. Cf. Branwen's arrival gifts as a bride, PKM2 37.9–13. JKB 51.1.

heir (Teyrnon's tale).²⁴⁹

Feasts as large communal meals organise with strict seating hierarchy, reinforcing the social system;²⁵⁰ following sequenced stages' protocol.²⁵¹ Outdoor clothes and boots are shed, washing is done, indoor 'best' donned. Arms are stacked by the door or outside to support peace, except a small food knife. The main course is served with elegant converse, especially anecdotes, among displays of gold plate and jewels, with entertainments by minstrels.²⁵² 'Revelry' or 'carousal' follows with heavier drinking.²⁵³ Such controlled staging restrains aggression among warrior males, enabling relaxation and some license.

Cylchau and feasts function as an integrated system, organised by women, enforced by men, to gather resources and redistribute them, as town markets would do later in history.²⁵⁴

Ysgariad / Divorce

When Rhiannon has no child, Pwyll is pressured by his nobles to divorce her, although barrenness is not grounds for divorce in Welsh Laws. Ellis speculates an

²⁴⁹ Petitioners PKM1 18.22–19.2. JKB 31.2. Teyrnon presents the heir, PKM1 25.25–26.9. JKB 37.2–37.2.

²⁵⁰ *Kyweiryaw y/ neuad a wnaethpwynt, ac y'r bordeu yd aethant. Sef/ ual yd eistedysont, Heueyd Hen ar neill law Pwyll, a/ Riannon o'r parth arall idaw; y am hynny pawb/ ual y bei y enryded. Bwyta a chyuedach ac ymdidan a/ wnaethont./ Ac ar dechreu kyuedach gwedy bwynt, PKM1 13.20–26. 'The hall was prepared and they went to the tables. This is how they sat – Hefeydd the Old on one side of Pwyll and Rhiannon on his other side; after that, each one according to his rank. They ate and drank and conversed. And at the beginning of the revelry after the meal,' JKB 28.2. Y neuad ynteu a gyweirwynt y Pwyll a'e niuer, ac/ yniuer y llys y am hynny. Ac y'r bordeu yd aethont y/ eisted, ac ual yd eistedysant ulwydyn o'r nos honno, yd/ eistedwys paub y nos [honno]. Bwyta a chyuedach a/ wnaethont, PKM1 18.15–19. 'The hall, then, was prepared for Pwyll and his retinue, and for the retinue of the court after/ that, and they went to the tables to sit. And as they had sat a year from that night, everyone sat that night. They engaged in feasting and revelry'. JKB 31.1–2. Y'r yneud yd aethont, ac y/ ymolchi. A llawen uu Pwyll wrth Teirnon, ac y eisted/ yd aethont. Sef ual yd eistedysont, Teirnon y rwg/ Pwyll a Riannon, a deu gedymdeith Teirnon uch llaw/ Pwyll a'r mab y rynthunt. Guedy daruot bwyta, ar/ dechreu kyuedach, ymdidan a wnaethon.' PKM1 25.20–26. 'They went into the hall and to wash. And Pwyll welcomed Teyrnon, and they went to sit. This is how they sat – Teyrnon between Pwyll and Rhiannon, and Teyrnon's two companions above Pwyll, with the boy between them. After finishing eating and beginning the revelry, they conversed.' JKB 37.2.*

²⁵¹ Formulaic convention gives a) a welcome and preparation, b) sitting placement, c) the beginning of the feast. Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 38. Her example is Branwen's Aberffraw wedding/ alliance feast; the pattern is evident at Rhiannon's weddings and Teyrnon's visit.

²⁵² A rare mediaeval reference to Rhiannon outside the Mabinogi applauds her by name as a patroness of bards. Goronwy Gyriog. 14thC court elegy. Ch. II.3. Sources, #6, p. 33–34. Her 'extended self' as it were, Adar Rhiannon, provide incomparably sweet singing. *Culhwch ac Olwen* as a quest prize, contemporary prose tale. Ch. II.3. Sources, #2, p. 33. Ch. VI. 6. Adar, pp. 401–14.

²⁵³ With the exception of the imagined arms' stacking, this is modelled by the Annwfn feast. PKM1 JKB 22.2. Cf. the restoration at Arberth. PKM1 21–22. and 25–26. JKB 37.2.

²⁵⁴ PKM3 gives a glimpse of things to come in towns.

'archaic custom'.²⁵⁵ Owen:

In the first seven years of marriage a woman was '*agweddiol*', which denoted that she had the right to keep her '*agweddi*' in the case of divorce. After seven years, the marital property was divided equally between both spouses.²⁵⁶

All goods were then pooled and divided equally: gold, silver,²⁵⁷ valuable unisex cloaks,²⁵⁸ even debts.²⁵⁹ Gender divides much of the rest. Pigs tended by men outrank sheep associated with women for milk, cheese and cloth.²⁶⁰ Stacey probes many 'bizarre' gender allocations, proposing an ingenious policy to deter divorce, making it costly, and awkwardly destructive to civilised life.²⁶¹ Branwen's wifely abuse shows how patrilocal wives can remain strangers, dependent on natal kindred to protect well-being at need.²⁶²

²⁵⁵ PKM1 19.18–20.2. JKB 33.2. Ellis: 'Though the Laws are silent on the point of childlessness being a good ground for divorce, the record of Pwyll probably represents actual custom, for it is a necessary corollary of what the Laws permit of, viz., divorce by the wife on the ground of the husband's impotency.' Ellis, 'Legal References', p. 136. Ellis, archaism, *Mabinogion?* p. 31. n.79; Pwyll in the right re stag, *Mabinogion?* p. 33, n. 82. Incident noted p. 21; also Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 56. Owen, 'Women's Place', p. 46. Other grounds cited to divorce a husband are leprosy and stinking breath. Linden refers to the legal ground of male impotence as ground for divorce, possibly equivalent to barrenness. Linden, 'The Laws of Hywel Dda in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' p. 25.

²⁵⁶ Owen, 'Women's Place', pp. 47–48. Jenkins, 'Property', pp. 79–82. Cf. her pre-marital *sarhaed* was half her brother's, Owen, 'Women's Place', p. 47. Iorwerth, Ch. 44 excerpted, Robin Chapman Stacey. 2002. 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 77.4, pp. 1111–12. This seven year period realistically handles women's transition between two kindreds. Branwen's call on her natal kindred to rescue her falls within this period. So does Rhiannon's crisis when she is falsely accused. On why she might have chosen not to appeal, Ch. V.15. Pwyll: Penance plot pp. 268–72.

²⁵⁷ The 'Iorwerth' Text,' 44/11; *Bleg*. 65.19–21. Cited Stacey, 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style', p. 1112. n. 22.

²⁵⁸ The 'Iorwerth' Text,' 44/18; *Bleg*. 65.31–32. Cited Stacey, 'Divorce', p. 1112. n. 24.

²⁵⁹ The 'Iorwerth' Text,' 45/1. Cited Stacey, 'Divorce', p. 1112. n. 23.

²⁶⁰ Stacey, 'Divorce', p. 1114.

From my farming background (Introduction), pigs are a male domain because of their size and ferocity, though even strong men do not approach a sow in farrow directly. She is fed via a chute, and her sty hosed down from outside after she and the litter are pushed aside by poles from the other side of the wall. Flocks of sheep are female, not especially aggressive; males are culled young for food except for one or a few selected breeding rams. He can be amiable enough except during rut. Also pigs and pannage, important in Pryderi's tragedy, Ch. V. 10. Pryderi, p. 373.

²⁶¹ E.g. the woman gets the huge broad axe for heavy chopping, the man gets the small axes. He gets all grain, and hens. Yet she gets all but one of the vital cats to control rodents. Stacey, 'Divorce', p. 1114–17. The system is detailed and fascinating, barely touched here.

²⁶² Rhiannon humiliated, but her husband is here argued as loyally upholding her dignity at the end of the daily penance. PKM1 25.23–25. JKB 37.1. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 268–72. Comparing their treatment, Branwen's abuse may possibly be a xenophobic narrative, contrasting a perceived cruder Irish society. Cf. names for 'Britain' Ch. III.2. Britain: Two Titles, pp. 145–46.

Morwynion / Girls

If natal kin had guarded the bride's virginity successfully they were paid *cowyll*/ a morning gift, by the new husband.²⁶³ To protect her virginity asset a girl was kept close at home. They prepared for their marriage career in home centred skills principally food production (cf. sheep, organising feasts, above),²⁶⁴ textiles,²⁶⁵ and childcare.²⁶⁶ Strong girls might well have had bestowed colts to train together in equine skills.²⁶⁷ Patterson compares girls and boys historically sent away around the same age: girls to marry, boys to train in *teulu*/ a warband's military disciplines. Both were allocated to new lords as 'vassals'.²⁶⁸ Both acquired greater power and influence with age, and could terminate their contract (withdrawal, divorce).²⁶⁹

Cynghrair / Alliance

Bollard observes marriage as one of three main themes of the Mabinogi, together with friendship and feud. Mabinogi friendships are between males; Arawn and Pwyll, Teyrnnon and Pwyll, Pryderi and Manawydan, Llwyd and Gwawl.²⁷⁰ Female friendships are not narrated, possibly because male friendship creates alliance for kindred and territory.²⁷¹ Marriages are also about political negotiation and

²⁶³ Patterson, 'Honour and Shame', pp. 76-8. The *cowyll* is paid to the kin, and the kin pays *amobr* to the lord. (There is also a public shaming custom for *twyllforwyn*/ a false virgin bride; not described here as irrelevant to Mabinogi Rhiannon.)

²⁶⁴ Rhiannon's feast organisation work is sustained in the next generation by her daughter-in-law, Cigfa. Rhiannon and Cigfa's feast, PKM3 50.12-14. Feasts above pp. 173-74, *cylch* pp. 153 n. 88.

²⁶⁵ Llan Gors textile, Ch. I.6. Advent #7 Silk, pp. 21-22.

²⁶⁶ Teyrnnon's Wife supervises childcare, including equine training. PKM1 23.24-24.8. JKB 36.2.

Gwydion as a single parent (begins PKM4 77.17 JKB 94.2.) suggests childcare was not rigidly gender stereotyped as the narrative is neutral, without implied disapproval.

²⁶⁷ Ch. V.5. Hyfaidd Hen, p. 228, theorised from Triad 38 and Gwri's tale.

²⁶⁸ Patterson, 'Woman as Vassal', p. 36. The concept of 'woman as vassal' is enlightening in showing gender status as less of a polarity and more a hierarchy: the male at any level outranks the female, reflected in their unequal *sarhaed*. A key difference in kind between them as vassals, is that the female's marriage would be assumed as a life commitment, with divorce possible but difficult, disruptive, expensive. The young male is free to leave the *teulu* of another kindred as a normality, for example to return to his homeland. Teyrnnon seems to do this, having served as Pwyll's *gwr*/ man, he returns to Gwent, his departure on a cordial basis. PKM1 24.19. JKB 37.1. Owen notes a similar idea to Patterson's female vassalage, 'The married woman is under the lordship of her husband.' 'Women's Place', p. 50, n. 52.

²⁶⁹ Previous note Patterson, 'Woman as Vassal'.

²⁷⁰ Friendships: Arawn and Pwyll, PKM1 8.18-21. JKB 24.2-25.1. Teyrnnon and Pwyll, PKM1 26.25-28. JKB 38.2-39.1. Pryderi and Manawydan, PKM3 50.13-14. JKB 63.2. Llwyd and Gwawl, PKM3 64.5-8. JKB 75.1.

²⁷¹ A wife or mother may be the influencer on the lord who negotiates, Counsellors, above. But men directly negotiate; also married women and public speech Ch. IV. Voice, pp. 197-98.

gains,²⁷² analysed in chapters below about Rhiannon's two marriages.²⁷³

Friendship and marriage seem to function very similarly. Parties in both can commit and withdraw/ divorce. Males may seem freer to choose their key friendships than females their husbands ('Consent' above), yet political pressures can press upon an *arglwydd*, for the same reasons: wealth, status, security, war compacts. Pwyll's loyalty towards Rhiannon may be seen as a gendered analogue of Teyrnnon's loyalty to Pwyll.²⁷⁴ Combining the themes of marriage and friendship generates a meta-theme of alliance, against feud. Distinct aspects remain: male friendship constructs war pacts; marriage produces heirs.²⁷⁵

Valente notes the bleak Mabinogi finale: 'a man alone with no wife and no heir'.²⁷⁶ The Cyfarwydd's painful insight dismantles the hopeful endings of PKM1, PKM3 into the PKM2 disintegration of bloody war, and PKM4 realpolitik.

~ * ~

III *Y Farchoges, ei Byd/ The Horsewoman, Her World*

III.6. *Tryded Prif Rien'/ Three Chief 'Rieni'*

Y ddau destun / The two texts

This chapter addresses cryptic PKM2 references to a specifically female status, '*rieni*': its context, some possible meanings.²⁷⁷ The term occurs twice applied to Branwen *ferch Llŷr* (below). Three *prif rieni* are cited without identifying the other two: no explanation is given about this status. Ifor Williams proposed Rhiannon and Arianrhod may also be *prif rieni*.²⁷⁸

²⁷² Messer compiles original research from mediaeval chronicles, showing Welsh noblewomen of the 12thC (and later) implicated in political negotiations through their marriages, even when anonymised in the record. 'Uxorial Lifecycles', pp. 96-100.

²⁷³ Branwen's marriage is highly political. Cigfa seems a prestige bride, and Blodeuedd is part of a package of bestowal to establish Lleu as an *arglwydd* of territory.

²⁷⁴ Loyalty by Pwyll, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership, pp. 260-63.

²⁷⁵ Matholwch' proposal to marry Branwen explicitly aims at alliance between Ireland and Britain; PKM2 29. 20-22. JKB 44.1. There is no explicit example of a Mabinogi pact between males to make war (the Irish War is more collegiate); this comment comes from the historical background.

²⁷⁶ Valente, 'Gwydion and Aranrhod: Gender in Math', p. 9. References PKM4 92.23-26. JKB 108.1.

²⁷⁷ In my commentary I use '*rieni*', not ModW. *rhieni*, because I explore the possible meaning of *rieni* as a status definition in the mediaeval narrative.

²⁷⁸ *Cynigïaf mai'r tair prif rieni oedd Rhiannon fel mam Pryderi, Branwen fel mam Gwern, ac Aranrod fel mam Lleu Llawgyffes.* / 'I propose that the three "*prif rieni*" were Rhiannon mother of

Matholwch, *brenhin Iwerddon*/ king of Ireland, arrives in thirteen ships at *Harddlech*/ Harlech, in Gwynedd. His messengers ask Bendigeidfran, king of Britain, for marriage with Branwen, sister and daughter of kings of Britain, to contract alliance to strengthen the two nations.²⁷⁹

Rieni I:

A honno
oed tryded prif rieni yn yr ynys hon; teccaf morwyn yn
*y byt oed.*²⁸⁰

Praise for Branwen's beauty is formulaic: 'the most ... in the world', indicating pre-eminence. The Mabinogi typically places visual beauty *after* another, less ephemeral quality or skill, such as converse.²⁸¹ Branwen's primary description is *prif rieni*, situated in the high politics of *brenhinau*/ kings, in international alliance. Females routinely link (male) kindreds through marriage.²⁸² Here the *prif rieni* female links two entire nations.

After the wedding Matholwch is aggrieved when Branwen's half-brother profoundly insults him by ghastly mutilation of his horses.²⁸³

Rieni II:

"Rodi Bronwen uerch
Lyr ym, yn tryded prif rieni yr ynys honn, ac yn uerch
y urenhin Ynys y Kedeyrn, a chyscu genthi, a gwedy
*hynny uy gwaradwydaw."*²⁸⁴

Pryderi, Branwen mother of Gwern, and Arianrhod mother of Lleu Llaw Gyffes (Lleu Skilful Hand). PKM, *Nodiadau*, p. 167, my trans. Bollard, 'highly speculative', JKB p. 44. n. 19. There may have been some explanation elsewhere, possibility of a Triad (which Bollard notes), below.

²⁷⁹ PKM2 29.15–16, and 20–21. JKB 44.1. Matholwch's aim to marry Branwen, and make alliance, PKM2 29. 20–22. JKB 44.1. Thirteen ships arriving could become a significant war threat, so the British arm themselves. The Irish *brenin* is similarly cautious in not coming to shore himself, instead sending a boat forward with messengers. PKM2 30.8–9. JKB 44.2.

²⁸⁰ PKM2 30.29–31.1. 'She was one of the Three Chief Forebears of this island. The fairest maiden in the world was she..' JKB 45.2. Here the royal council, being British, uses the *native* term for Britain. Ch. III.2. Britain, pp. 145–46, on the two terms for 'Britain', one for native use at home, the other foreign location or foreigners' use. The second '*rien*' quote shows Matholwch using the dual terminology for 'Britain', in a possibly improper way, quote and analysis below.

²⁸¹ Ch. II.8 Feminism: Beauty, pp. 133–34 for Mabinogi treatment of beauty and converse.

²⁸² Cf. 'The role of the wife is that of a link between kins', Owen, 'Women's Place', p. 59, quoted Ch. III. 5 LLW p. 167. Bollard's three social themes, marriage, friendship, feuds (Ch. II.7. Paradigm p. 122); nobles both personal, political; cf. Pwyll's friendship with Arawn, Rhiannon's businesslike marriage proposal to Pwyll; Llwyd's feud with Rhiannon from his friendship with Gwawl.

²⁸³ Ch. III.4 Equine p. 160, horses central to status of nobles. Mutilations are in Mabinogi Rhiannon because its resulting Irish War reshapes Rhiannon's world, and because of its crucially equine nature. Ch. I.5. Text: Extended, p. 29; & Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion*, p. 159 & n153.

²⁸⁴ PKM2 32.26–33 1. 'Giving me Branwen daughter of Llŷr, one of the Three Chief [*Rieni*] of this island, and daughter to a king of the Island of the Mighty, and my sleeping with her, and after that disgracing me..' JKB 45.2. My insertion. I prefer to leave '*rien*' untranslated because its meaning is

Matholwch reviews how the alliance was constructed with all proper form. Branwen was 'given' by her kindred,²⁸⁵ and the marriage duly consummated. Branwen's status as royal daughter appears twice, buttressing her primacy as a *prif* (foremost) *rieni* of Britain.²⁸⁶ The *prif rieni* status given without explanation in both texts or elsewhere, implies it was well understood by contemporaries.

Irish Matholwch initially uses forbidden wording for a foreigner: *yr ynys honn* / 'this island'. He continues the sentence, correctly using *Ynys y Kedeyrn*.²⁸⁷ The first usage seems offensive: he is angry, after all. If so it is unique. It is alternatively quoting *Rieni I*, the *yr ynys honn* title used by the entitled British council. It might also be authorised use quoting the native term if it is formally enshrined in a (lost) Triad of the *Triodd y Gwragedd*.²⁸⁸

Un o'r Triodd Coll? / A Lost Triad?

The *Prif rieni* triplicity might imply a lost Triad: something like

Tryded Prif Rieni Ynys Prydein / Three Foremost Rieni of Britain.²⁸⁹

Triad 56: *Teir prif Riein Arthur*²⁹⁰

Triad 78: *Teir Gwenriein Ynys Prydein*²⁹¹

Triad 79: *Teir Gohoyriein Ynys Prydein*²⁹²

so emic, specific to its native culture. Below, and cf. Ch. III.2. Britain: This Island, pp. 145-46, for the two different ways of referring to 'Britain', more in n. 287 following.

²⁸⁵ *priodas*, the highest, most prestigious, and tightly regulated form of marriage. Ch. III. 5. LLW pp. 167-69 on marriage bestowal, and a hierarchy of marriage types.

²⁸⁶ *Bronwen uerch/ Lyr*, PKM2 32.26-27. 'Branwen daughter of Llyr' JKB 46.2. [the king before her brother the present one]. *uerch/ y urenhin Ynys y Kedeyrn*, PKM2 32.27-28. 'daughter to a king of the Island of the Mighty', JKB 46.2. *prif* – principal, prime, main, major, chief, head, foremost, supreme, best, (most) excellent, fine, great, special. (GPC)

²⁸⁷ The former, *yr ynys hon*, is 'homeland' speech reserved for Britons. The latter *Ynys y Kedeyrn* is for foreigners to use (or native' speech when abroad); this latter suggested here as military in implication ('the Mighty'). Ch. III.2. Britain: This Island, pp. 145-46.

²⁸⁸ *Triodd y Gwragedd* / Triads of the Women: 'Triads 56-58, together with 78-80 (absent from R) and 50, 66 are grouped together in Pen. 47 as *Triodd y Gwragedd* 'Triads of the Women' (Pen. 47's addition to triad 58. Triad 88, *Tair Rhiaid Ardderchog*, also seems appropriate to this group, although its antiquity is uncertain).' TYP p. 161.

²⁸⁹ Speculative construction based on the format and content of other *Triodd*, in discussion with Christine James (Personal communication 2015)

²⁹⁰ 'Arthur's Three Great Queens.' TYP: Triad 56, substantial notes on *rieni*, pp. 161-63. *Triodd* 47-69 are from Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, *lacunae* supplemented by Llyfr Coch Hergest; noted TYP p. xi, so mid 14thC. Bromwich speaks of earlier, common written sources, pp. lxxxix-xc. She suggests Branwen was originally one of these Queens, instead of three all named Gwenhwyfar.

²⁹¹ 'Three Fair (Royal) Ladies of the Island of Prydein. TYP: Triad 78, p. 208. From Peniarth 47, noted TYP p. xi. Cites Arianrhod. Bromwich considers this has a much older prototype. If so it could have formed part of Mabinogi lore.

²⁹² 'Three Lively Ladies of the Island of Britain.' The term '*gohoyw*' is elsewhere used for powerful horses (Triad 43). TYP: Triad 79, p. 209. From Peniarth 47, noted TYP p. xi. Cf. 'Cigfa ferch Wynn Gohoyw', Ch. V.11. Cigfa, pp. 328-34.

Triad 88: Tair Rhiaïn Ardderchog Llys Arthur²⁹³

The extant Triad 56 seems similar, citing *Teir prif Riein Arthur*. Bromwich translates *Riein* as originally ‘queen’, later ‘maiden, royal lady’ and stressing elite royal female status (Bromwich mentions Rhiannon as ‘Great Queen’). She speculates Branwen was once a member of this Triad.²⁹⁴ Triad 78, Gwenhwyfar is *penn rianed yr ynys hon*,²⁹⁵ parallel to Arthur: *penn teyrned yr ynys honn*.²⁹⁶ A few Middle Welsh instances contemporary with the Mabinogi use *rhiein*– / queen, notably *rhieingylch*.²⁹⁷ Cynddelw (12thC poet) refers to *gormesgylch riein*.²⁹⁸

Ystyr / Meaning

Williams, Bromwich, and Thomas Jones all suggest *rieni* is equivalent to Latin: *progenies*, f.²⁹⁹ Old and Middle Welsh *rieni*, *rhieni* have associations of ‘parent, lineage, kindred.’³⁰⁰

(GPC) **rhieni** a parents, also fig. (13thC)

b forefathers, ancestors, forebears; (12thC)

Branwen as *rieni*, is not however, genealogically successful.

Branwen is not an ancestor at this point in the story: moreover, later in the tale her only child is killed at a young age.³⁰¹

²⁹³ ‘Three Maidens of the Court of Arthur.’ Bromwich notes provenance only to 1600 with a possible older version. In the Triad 56 section she includes notes on *rieni* etymology, TYP pp. 161–63. A table groups the *Triodd* from the chief MSS, pp. xiii–xv. Triad 88, p. 230. From later miscellaneous MSS., noted TYP p. xi.

²⁹⁴ ‘*Rhiain* <*- (plural)’ cognate Latin, Irish *regain* (GPC), TYP pp. 161–62. Ch. I.5. Etymology.

²⁹⁵ ‘chief of the queens of this Island’, TYP p. 161, Bromwich’ trans. From *Culhwch ac Olwen*. She continues concerning some Middle Welsh instances which retain the meaning of ‘queen’: among others ‘*rhieingylch*’ applied to the royal progress or circuit of the country made either by the queen or by the *rhiein* (= privileged (royal) lady, i.e. a king’s close relative); AL II, 604, 606; PKM xxiv—. AL = Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London: 1841). TYP Abbreviations, p. 517.

Gwenhwyfar, ref. COW = *Culhwch ac Olwen*, ed. by Bromwich & D. Simon Evans (1988), line 358; cited TYP pp. 161 & 162.

²⁹⁶ ‘chief of princes of this Island’, TYP pp. 161–62, Bromwich’ trans. Arthur, *Culhwch* CO 11.. line 142–3, cited TYP. p. 162.

²⁹⁷ Queen’s progress around a domain.

²⁹⁸ ‘the oppressive circuit of a royal lady’. Cynddelw (OH 168.16 = CBT III, no. 11.68 n.). Cited TYP p. 161. OH = John Morris–Jones, and Thomas Herbert Parry–Williams. 1957. (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru). TYP Abbreviations, p. 519.

CBT = R. Geraint Gruffydd, ed. 1994–96. *Beirdd y Tywysogion*. I, III, and VII (Caerdydd: UWP) TYP Abbreviations, p. 517.

²⁹⁹ ‘f. race, family, progeny’. Bromwich notes the same, TYP p. 162. Ifor Williams, PKM pp. 165–7. Thomas Jones. ed. 1952. ‘*Brut y Tywysogion* or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth Ms. 20 version’, *BBCS*, History and Law Series, IX (Cardiff), p. 131.

³⁰⁰ Old Welsh, *rieni* ‘parents, ancestors’. 2000. *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*. Middle Welsh, *rhieni* < rhyeni, cf. rhy-1,2, *ganaf: geni, Gr. πρὸγονοι, Llad. prōgenies] e.ll. ac eg. b. ... parents. (GPC) This study stays with ‘*rieni*’ as the form used in the Mabinogi.

³⁰¹ Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, pp. 23–24, endnote p. 233.

Williams concluded the mediaeval scribe had misunderstood the term.³⁰²

Translators have struggled.³⁰³

<i>tryded</i>	three
<i>prif</i>	chief/ first/ great/ high
<i>rieni</i>	queens/ ladies/matriarchs/ ancestresses

Parker offers an astute resolution.

It was probably attached to women within the royal kindred whose male offspring would be eligible for the High Kingship of the island.³⁰⁴

This status is applicable not only to actual mothers, or mature women, but to young females, even babies, if their lineage position holds potential as progenitor of heirs. All the translations fit this interpretation (n. 303, below). Branwen can already be *rieni* as a virgin girl when Matholwch applies for her hand, and later as a wife. She fulfils herself as *rieni*, as mother of the heir, Gwern. When her infant son is dead she still carries the same potential. The 'potential progenitor' fits the fraught condition of Mabinogi barrenness, cf. Rhiannon's barren period.³⁰⁵

Parker's 'matriarch' connotes 'A woman who is the head of a family or tribe'.³⁰⁶ unfortunately bearing 'baggage'.³⁰⁷ An alternative is 'ancestress' but Branwen is not one; or to leave '*rieni*' untranslated as a lexical gap: the latter is adopted here.

³⁰² *Rhagymadrodd*, PKM pp. 31, & 32.

³⁰³ Translations in this footnote give the key term here underlined, to support reader perception. Guest gives 'three chief ladies'; Guest, *Mabinogion*, 1906, pp. 34 & 35. Ellis & Lloyd similarly give 'chief lady'. Ellis & Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, I. p. 47, & n. 10. observing the Triad has not survived. Also gives Llyfr Coch 28; p. 50. These translations date to the 19thC, and the first third of the 20thC. The usage of 'lady' until the 1970s was a powerful class divisor. A lady had servant/s, therefore (some degree of) leisure; a 'woman' was working class, frequently one of those servants. The polarity was less in Wales; class division more defined by degrees of English/ Welsh identity. Jones and Jones, give 'Three Matriarchs'. *Mabinogion*, p. 22 and p. 23. Gantz suggests 'great queens', also suggesting 'perhaps ancestors' but noting she has no descendants. Gantz 1976, p. 69–70, with n. 8. Ford gives 'chief ancestresses'. Ford, *Native Tales*, 1977, p. 60 and 61. Bollard has 'Chief Forebears', JKB 45.2. and 46.2.

Sioned Davies rejects the progenitor interpretation, translating *rieni* as 'maiden'. *Mabinogion*, pp. 23-24; observing 'rhiaid ("maiden") has also been interpreted as 'ancestor' in this context.' Endnote p. 233.

³⁰⁴ Parker, Translations: Branwen', n. 14. Simply '*rieni*' might apply to lesser hierarchy.

³⁰⁵ Teyrnon's Wife may also bear '*rieni*' tension for Teyrnon mentions she has no child. Adoption is proposed by her compassionate Teyrnon; it is logical that *rieni* fulfilment *by adoption* would need the husband's consent. PKM1 23.5–14. JKB 36.1–37.1.

³⁰⁶ OED, from Latin, *mater*, mother; p. 446.

³⁰⁷ Poorly informed but influential assumption that 'matriarchy' inverts 'patriarchy', viz. exploitative domination contaminates the term. Peggy Reeves Sanday. 1-7/07/1998. 'Matriarchy as a Sociocultural Form: An Old Debate in a New Light', presented at 16th Congress of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, Melaka, Malaysia. (Text URL Bibliography). Angela Saini. 2023. *The Patriarchs: How Men Came to Rule* (Fourth Estate, & Kindle)

Rhiannon, Branwen, Arianrhod

Williams thought Rhiannon and Arianrhod might be the other two *prif rieni*, with analysis as the etymology of 'progenitor'.³⁰⁸ Rhiannon's elite status supports '*prif*'. As mother of Pryderi, heir of Dyfed, she qualifies as ancestress.³⁰⁹ However Rhiannon cannot be Dyfed's '*rieni*' similarly to Branwen. Rhiannon is not of Dyfed natal lineage (she might be '*rieni*' for Hyfaidd Hen's line). She could only qualify as *prif rieni* of Dyfed if Dyfed tradition acknowledges the wife of its lord as '*rieni*'. Possibly, if a ruler is unmarried his sister/mother/ aunt, is *rieni*. If he marries, his wife becomes *rieni*. When the Dyfed nobles first want Pwyll to divorce Rhiannon, it is her apparent inability to fulfil the *rieni* function of maternity that prompts their hostility. A new wife would become a better Dyfed '*rieni*'.

When Rhiannon rides to Arberth on this perspective, she is bidding for the position of *prif rieni Dyfed*, a prestigious, exclusively female status. Her advent with magnificent gold *pali*/ silk, *marchoges*' prime horseflesh, and her commanding style of converse, all deploy to show she fits the position. When she seems barren it has an exclusively female, '*rieni*' failure aspect. Later she supposedly *reverses* her '*rieni*' function by heinously destroying the heir. She is then restored to blamelessly successful '*rieni*' status. Each of these stages are political as well as a personal. Her full '*rieni*' status is dependent upon her son: his existence and his wellbeing.³¹⁰

Anwyl proposed a triplicity of Mabinogi 'cycles', two headed by women. This is close to '*rieni*' analysis, and 'Don' resolves a seeming anachronism by Matholwch.³¹¹ Mabinogi Rhiannon is also replete with triplicities.³¹²

³⁰⁸ See nn. 300, 303, above, on translations, incl. derivation from Latin *progenies*, favoured by Williams, Bromwich, and Thomas Jones.

³⁰⁹ PKM1 20.2–6. JKB 33.2. The birth of Pryderi at Arberth.

³¹⁰ Ch. V. 10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad, pp. 321–28.

³¹¹ Williams' third candidate as *prif rieni yn yr ynys hon*, Arianrhod *ferch Don*, is not contemporary with Branwen, narratively later, so anachronistic to the extant *prif rieni* texts. However if Arianrhod's *mother*, Don, had been *prif rieni*, she might be the third referred by the texts. Arianrhod might then have inherited the status. Anwyl's Cycles, below. (This perspective necessarily rejects a variant tradition of Don as male.)

Arianrhod qualifies as *prif rieni* on her top status as niece to Math, lord of Gwynedd. Possibly her shame when exposed as pregnant is related to her high calling as '*rieni*'; Ch. III.5. LLW for legal recognition of different levels of marriage, one even based on rape. Possibly *rieni* eliteness must contract a high level marriage such as *priodas*. Arianrhod's three mandates controlling her son's destiny demonstrate the highest authority possible, as none can break them, only deceive her to give what she refused. For the authority of Arianrhod's mandates, and the old theory of

III *Y Farchoges, ei Byd*/ The Horsewoman, Her World

III.7. *Cyflin Gwleidyddol*/ Political parallels

[...] the introduction of contemporary figures into a legendary setting was a phenomenon which occurred in the twelfth century ... in the early Welsh sources³¹³

Mabinogi society is an imaginary, born from and resembling mediaeval Wales in customs and laws (Ch. III.1–6 above). Certain narrative events also suggest historical parallels.³¹⁴

Hywel Dda

Hywel Dda (10thC) and Pwyll, rulers of Dyfed, are ambitious princes who have long reigns, living their natural span, acclaimed as wise rulers, succeeded by sons.³¹⁵ They are both associated with the importance of laws.³¹⁶ They marry powerful *arglwyddesau*/ princesses, though inversely: Hywel is an incomer husband, Rhiannon is an incomer wife. Hywel married the Dyfed heiress, Elen *ferch Llywarch*. Elen's grandfather was named Hyfaidd (therefore an elder), cf. Rhiannon's father *Hyfaidd Hen* ('the Old').³¹⁷ Hywel enlarged Dyfed by conquest, constructing the composite realm of *Deheubarth*. Pryderi expands Dyfed,

Arianrhod's incest (?) with Gwydion, Ch. V. 14 Gwydion p. 351 n. 940. Triad 78 cites Arianrhod in *Teir Gweniein Ynys Prydein*/ Three Fair (Royal) Ladies of the Island of Prydein (above).

Cf. Charles William III Sullivan. 1996. 'Inheritance and Lordship in the Math', *Essays*, pp. 347-66

³¹² Ch. IX. Structures: Triadic Patterns, pp. 517-23.

³¹³ TYP p. xciii. Helen Fulton has also argued that the tales reflect 13thC political realities as the native princes adopted a more feudal system of governance and became vassals to the English crown. Fulton, 'Mabinogi princes, medieval Wales', pp. 230-247.

³¹⁴ This chapter does not claim to be a comprehensive outline of Mabinogi historical parallels. It is a collection of notes about some instances relating to Mabinogi Rhiannon. The collected data is not intended to suggest a conscious, coherent agenda, at least not for all of the items. They may be seen as organic outgrowths which responded to targeted audiences: conscious, semi-conscious, unconscious.

³¹⁵ On Pwyll as wise, methodical, see analysis Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool, pp. 247-60.

Hywel Dda (c.880 – 950) is traditionally credited with coordinating the regional laws of Wales, the *Cyfraith Hywel*, 'Hywel Dda' Welsh Biography (above). The Laws have been observed to figure markedly in the Mabinogi, Ch. III.5. LLW: quoting Ellis and Lloyd; and citing William Thomas. On Hywel's sons: Darrell Wolcott. Undated. 'Maredudd ap Owain, King of Deheubarth', *Ancient Wales Studies*, (URL Bibliography). Pryderi succeeds his father PKM1 27.15–18. JKB 40.1.

³¹⁶ The mediaeval Welsh Laws are known as Laws of Hywel Dda. Pwyll seeks legalistic advice from Rhiannon and Hyfaidd Hen.

³¹⁷ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd, p. 223-24 on this genealogy. Also Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' pp. 177-82 on the role of heir bearer; Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Sovereignty, pp. 259-60 (critiqued). Despite resonance of 'Hyfaidd' names here, the Dyfed ancestor cannot match Rhiannon's father further if her husband Pwyll is a mirroring of Hywel Dda: their generations are different. However Dyfed tales might have sustained lore variants on a Hyfaidd character, embedded in the parallels.

annexing seven additional *cantrefi*, named Seisyllwg; the name of Hywel's first lordship.³¹⁸

Welsh princes including Hywel gave formal homage to Saxon kings, a non-aggression pact enabling all parties to concentrate successfully on the Viking threat.³¹⁹ The early 10thC 'Armes Prydain' protests this policy, calling for federal rebellion against the Saxons. Hywel's pact might propagandise more acceptably as an 'alliance'. Pwyll, an ancestral Dyfed prince, might model a wise and brave prince who departs to a wealthy realm, to return acclaimed *Pen Annwfn* for achieving such an alliance.³²⁰ The cryptic, non-native 'Earl' at the Annwfn feast, might allude to a Viking lord, a political emissary or mercenary.³²¹ Pryderi also travels to *Lloegr* to give homage to the king there.³²²

Annwfn has many interpretations. Helen Fulton suggests a parallel with 'friendly or hostile Normans', an 'unsurpassable power'.³²³ Parker theorises a folk memory of the central plain of southern *Lloegr*/ England, where archaeology

³¹⁸ PKM1 27.19-22. JKB 40.1. Also PKM4 67.2-4. JKB 79.1, where he rules 21 *cantrefi*. Hywel's rule of Dyfed/ Deheubarth began with joint rule with his father Cadell ap Rhodri Welsh Biography (above); a father-son narrative of lordship somewhat reminiscent of the Pwyll- Pryderi narrative. Deheubarth references: PKM4. Deheubarth, PKM4 68.13. 'Deheubarth', JKB 79.2. *Deheu*, PKM4 67.3. PKM4 72.15. 'the South', JKB 87.1. and PKM 73.18. JKB 88.2. and JKB 79.1; JKB 87.2. and PKM4 & 25. & 28. JKB 89.1.

³¹⁹ S. J. Williams. 1959. HYWEL DDA (Hywel the Good) (died 950), king and legislator', Dictionary of Welsh Biography. Biography Wales (URL Bibliography).

³²⁰ Hywel Dda was also absent for a pilgrimage to Rome 928, a sojourn which matches the more mystical interpretations of Annwfn. This absence is notable that in an age of war and feuds Hywel's position was stable enough for him to vacate his active lordship and go far away, then return to resume it. Cf. Pwyll's return from Annwfn to the reassurances of his nobles that governance went well in his absence. PKM1 8.4-10. JKB 24.2.

³²¹ *idaw ef, a'r iarll, deby\gei ef, / o'r parth arall*. PKM1 4.18-19. 'and the earl, he supposed, on the other side' JKB 22.2. 'Only one Welsh word - *iarll*, from *jarl* (earl) - is indisputably a Norse borrowing', Janet Davies. 2014. *The Welsh Language: A History*, Ch. 3 (UWP, 2014); Glanville Price queries whether this is direct borrowing from Norse, or through Old English. 1992. *The Celtic Connection* (Rowman & Littlefield), p. 181. Also Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd, p. 266.

³²² Pryderi, PKM3 50.27-51.12. JKB 64.2. Ellis and Lloyd reference to *gwrogaeth* / 'homage' as 'influenced by feudal ideas, entirely foreign to old Welsh custom.' *Mabinogion*, p. 13, n.37.

³²³ 'In many ways, the Otherworld in the Four Branches functions as a paradigm of the Norman settlements in Wales, in that it can be either friendly or hostile but in any case has an inevitable and unsurpassable power compared to the mortal world.' 'Cultural Meanings in the Mabinogi' in *Origins and Revivals: Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. by Evans, Gereint, et al. (Sydney: Centre for Celtic Studies, University of Sydney), p. 447. Joseph Shack follows Fulton, pointing at a 'prosaic representation of the court of Annwfn, which is easily reached and lacks overtly supernatural elements, suggesting an Otherworld that seems decidedly familiar— perhaps denoting a foreign earthly court evocative of Norman settlements'. Shack. 2015. 'Otherworld and Norman "Other": Annwfn and its colonial implications in the First Branch of the Mabinogi', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 35, p. 175. (URL text Bibliography) For some of the many interpretations of Annwfn, Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Annwfn, pp.369-78.

reveals a luxurious society of Roman villas.³²⁴ The region would become Saxon Wessex. Ch. III.2. notes ancient legend of united Britain is not attested historically, but recent archaeology suggests a possible political unity around the building of Stonehenge in this *Lloegr* region. If so, this might speculate traces in folk memory.

Eingl-Normanaid / Anglo-Norman

Rhiannon's 'Maid2' (PKM1) speaks in terror of *lloski* / burning: a Norman, not a native penalty.³²⁵

The abundant land of Dyfed (PKM3) is denuded of its people, stocks, herds and crops.³²⁶ Huws: 'Rhiannon and her companions, live on diminishing reserves and foraging from the wild'.³²⁷ Displaced, like conquered nobles, they emigrate to *Lloegr* towns. Historically, nobles suffering reverses took refuge with kindred or friends elsewhere. Loyal Teyrnnon of Gwent, or Cigfa's family, would serve. But those eastern lands historically (12thC) became the March: Norman territory.³²⁸ Sturzer notes the PKM3 *Lloegr* towns, specialised trades and guilds, are unique to the Mabinogi tales, and historically nonexistent before the 12thC.³²⁹ Native Mabinogi audiences could enjoy a consoling pride about the remarkable adaptability and success of emigrants. Earlier, town references would not have made sense.³³⁰

Pembrokeshire (once Dyfed) is divided north-south by the Landsker, originally a double line of mediaeval castles, native and Norman, facing each

³²⁴ Will Parker, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Dublin: Bardic Press, 2005). Also his research website (URL Bibliography). Post-Roman societies sustained some of the Roman complex; building similar edifices in wood e.g. Wroxeter, and mosaics with 'Celtic' imagery.

³²⁵ PKM1 20.12–14. JKB 34.1. In Ch. VI.6 Maids, four of the women are shown as distinct, individual voices, who this study distinguishes by numbers: thus 'Maid2'. The Maids' discussion is quoted Ch. V.6. Maids.

lloski, burning or branding 'Neither were punishments in early Wales, but were practised by Normans.' Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 32, n. 81.

³²⁶ Desolation: PKM3 51.22–28. JKB 65.2–66.1.

³²⁷ Huws, 'Manawydan ... Occupation of Deheubarth', p. 12.

³²⁸ Cigfa's homeland is theorised as Gloucester, Ch. V. 11. Cigfa.

³²⁹ Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', p. 139.

³³⁰ Byron Huws 2009. 'Manawydan Uab Lyr: A Tale of the Norman Occupation of Deheubarth', *Cymm*. 16,, p. 13. This might imply a dated period for compilation of the PKM3 exile passages. Cf. Peniarth 6, dated c. 1225, Ch. II.4. Manuscripts: Peniarth 6, pp. 58-60.

other.³³¹ Above the Landsker is locally known as ‘the Welshry’ while ‘Down below’ is completely English speaking, with distinct dialect and customs.³³²

Michael Faletra interprets the (PKM3) alien *caer maen*/ stone tower Pryderi enters, as Norman:

[...] a brand-new stonework castle surely evokes the presence in Wales of the Normans, the great stone castle builders par excellence, especially in the twelfth century. ... an anachronistic irruption of the contemporary Welsh political situation³³³

Brut y Tywysogion/ Chronicle of the Princes, historically records,

[1108] ... a folk of strange origin and customs... were sent by king Henry to the land of Dyfed. And that folk seized the whole cantref of Rhos near the estuary of the river called Cleddyf, and *drove away all the inhabitants from the land*.³³⁴

This extraordinary event, ‘what we might now call ethnic cleansing’,³³⁵ was also recorded in English chronicles:³³⁶ a writ by Henry I attests Fleming settlement in Daugleddau, before 1115.³³⁷ PKM3 pictures a disappearance or clearance of Dyfed people.³³⁸

³³¹ Pembrokeshire today (2024) inherits the majority of ancient Dyfed.

³³² Robert Scourfield and Keith Johnson. 2008. *Below the Landsker. An Introduction to the Dialect, Place Names and Folklore of South Pembrokeshire*, (Jackyando Books). The dialect preserves both Flemish terms and later, Devonian ones.

³³³ Michael Faletra, ‘Epilogue: The Birds of Rhiannon’, in *Wales and the Medieval Colonial Imagination*, p. 179. Faletra reinforces the point that Welsh forts were wooden until the Lord Rhys began to use stone as reinforcement at Cardigan and Dinefwr; p. 10. Paul Remfry as expert on castles felt unable to give earlier stone examples. Personal exchange 25/02/17. ‘Most early castles are earth and timber, but you do get several Norman stone castles in the twelfth century.’ John R. Kenyon, Hon. Research Fellow, National Museum Wales, personal email (21/11/2016).

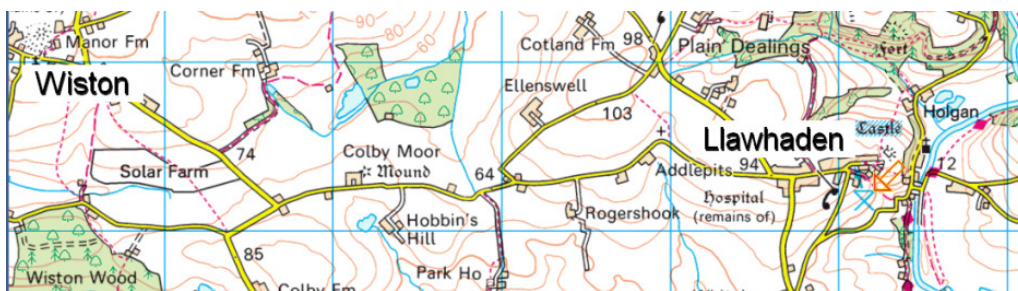
³³⁴ Thomas Jones. *Brut y Tywysogion/ Chronicle of the Princes*, p. 27. (My italicised emphasis.)

³³⁵ Byron Huws, ‘Manawydan Uab Lyr: Norman Occupation’, p. 11. Huws notes the historical clearances mainly affected the two western *cantrefi*; p. 12. Also Byron Huws, ‘The Norman Wars, part 8: “The Curse on Dyfed”’, in *Carmarthen Journal*, p. 40.

³³⁶ R. A. B. Mynors, Rodney M. Thompson and Michael Winterbottom, ed. & trans. 199. *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Oxford & NY.: Clarendon Press), pp. 553 and 727. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, eds., Jennifer Bray & P. McGurk, trans. 1995-1998. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, in 3 vols, III, 7 (Oxford & NY.: Clarendon Press), pp. 125-7.

³³⁷ I. W. Rowlands. 1981. ‘The making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies III: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1980*, ed. by Brown, R. Allen and M. Chibnall (Boydell Press), p. 147. His n. 23 cites as follows: Worcester Cartulary, 252. The most detailed studies are by G. G. Dept. 1931. ‘Een Vlaamsche Kolonie’ in *Wales (1179)*, *Annales de la Societe d’Emulation de Bruges*, LXXIV, pp. 16-31; and Henry Owen. April 1895. ‘The Flemings in Pembrokeshire’, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5, XII, XLVI (London), pp. 96-106; expressing gratitude to Mrs E. Nicholas for assistance with translation. Also Thomas M. Chotzen. 1937. ‘Some Sidelights on Cambro-Dutch Relations’, *Cymm.*, pp. 101-44. Below for significant dates 1112, 1115.

³³⁸ Clearance: PKM3 51.25-52.2. JKB 66.1.



MAP. *Llanhuadain/ Llawhaden*³³⁹

The Normans invaded up the Cleddau river. Its navigable depth to carry stone for new building ends near *Llanhuadain/ Llawhaden*, where Bishop Bernard (1115–1148), once chaplain and chancellor to Queen Matilda, built a fortified manor c. 1115.³⁴⁰ Hughes notes the PKM3 ‘bishop’s’ wealth may parallel Church riches.³⁴¹ Only three miles away is *Castell Wys/ Wiston*, where Wizo Flandrensis’, a Flemish leader, is recorded arriving and building his castle c. 1112.³⁴² Huws aligns Manawydan with exiled Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr, returning to lead a major rebellion (1115) against Bishop Bernard, ending in negotiated peace.³⁴³ Huws observes the ‘bishop’s’ immense power to restore the plundered lands. As an alternative model to Bishop Bernard he proposes Roger d’Avranches, fabulously wealthy king’s counsellor (1102), noting his lavish building of stone castles.³⁴⁴

Captivity, slavery, and exile are common consequences of colonial invasion. Pryderi and Rhiannon as captives may represent hostages for others’ compliance.³⁴⁵ Manawydan attempts surviving as a subsistence farmer (crofting). The horde of voracious mice who plunder his harvest is possibly native satire on

³³⁹ Map: Cleddau river showing *Llanhuadain/ Llawhaden* and Wiston area, navigable limits for larger shipping. Extract from Streetmap.

³⁴⁰ William Tregaskes. 2015. ‘A Discussion and Comparison of the Development of Native Welsh Masonry Castles and the Impact of Anglo-Norman Military Architecture in Deheubarth and Gwynedd’ (unpublished bachelor’s dissertation, Cardiff). (URL dissertation, Bibliography)

³⁴¹ PKM3 63.6–8. JKB 74.2. ‘there does seem to be some comment implied here as to the riches of those higher up in the Church’s hierarchy.’ Ian Hughes, ‘Tripartite Structure’, p. 106, n. 17

³⁴² Letter from Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. Luran Toorians. 1990. ‘Wizo Flandrensis and the Flemish Settlement in Pembrokeshire’, *CMCS*, 20, pp. 99–100ff.

³⁴³ The Gruffudd – Bernard conflict occurs seven years after the clearances, which fits the PKM3 timescale. Huws, ‘Manawydan Norman Occupation of Deheubarth’, pp. 15–16. Bishop Bernard’s personal connection to the Queen of England may just possibly hint a satire in Llywd’s devotion to fecund Lady Mouse. Bernard’s close (working) partnership with the queen of England began at the time of her pregnancies.

³⁴⁴ Huws, ‘Manawydan Occupation of Deheubarth’, pp. 14–15.

³⁴⁵ PKM3 57.7–12. JKB 70.2. The golden bowl might also be a metaphor for colonial bribes, greedy collaborator lords, even some sort of trap. Cf. Pryderi’s doom, fake gold PKM4.

Norman depredations.³⁴⁶ Manawydan has forks, exotically rare and foreign; said to arrive in 14thC Britain via Italy; considered effeminate.³⁴⁷

PKM3 concludes in not unrealistic hope (12th–14thC) for restoration.³⁴⁸ Territories changed hands from Normans to Welsh and back again (cf. Cardigan, especially contested).³⁴⁹ The Glyndŵr Rising (1380s–1420s) was a generation of native rule, probably concluding in negotiated settlement.³⁵⁰

Britain, Dyfed, Gwynedd

Mediaeval Britain and Ireland had an unstable situation of alliance and feud, not unlike the fractured accord opening PKM2.³⁵¹ The PKM2 genocidal Irish War has no historical parallel.³⁵²

Historically, Deheubarth dominates 10th -11thC Wales, then power shifts to Gwynedd;³⁵³ not least because the South is weakened by Anglo-Norman incursions, (above).³⁵⁴ PKM4 opens with a power balance between Dyfed and Gwynedd.³⁵⁵ Dyfed then loses a war with Gwynedd, and the Mabinogi speaks no more of the south.

The Mabinogi *brenin*/ king of Britain is much associated with Gwynedd. Bendigeidfran, though he wears the crown of *Llundein*, begins his tale at *Harddlech*/ Harlech, and Aberffraw.³⁵⁶ He never once locates in Dyfed, Morgannwg, Powys, or *Lloegr*/ England. There are five references to *Cymry*/ Wales, where 'Britain' would be expected.³⁵⁷ This royal Gwynedd emphasis might

³⁴⁶ Norman pillaging. PKM3 When Llwyd finally explains what has been going on, he is specific on his aims: "*Y herwa*," *heb ynteu*. PKM3 64.5. "To pillage," said he.' JKB 75.1. *herwa* – harry, raid, pillage, plunder (GPC)

³⁴⁷ They would be two straight tines usable to spear/ poke, and hold, not to scoop. Dennis Sherman. 1994. 'History of the Table Fork'. (URL text Bibliography)

³⁴⁸ Cf. Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr Mawr successful rebellion, achieving negotiated peace 1115, above. Also Ch. I.6. Sources #8. *Ystoria Taliesin*. An apparent political restoration prophecy.

³⁴⁹ Glen K. Johnson. 14/04/2014. 'Cardigan Castle: a history'. From 1093. (URL text Bibliography)

³⁵⁰ Brough, *Owain Glyndŵr*, pp. 218-19, liaison Owain 220-21; pardon Maredudd, pp. 224-25.

³⁵¹ A possible parallel between the British and Irish tales of the Cauldron, and the Déisi migration, Ch. III.3. Hierarchy p. 150 n. 40.

³⁵² Cf. legendary raiding such as *Preiddu Annwfn*.

³⁵³ Sioned Davies, 'Venerable Relics' p. 167.

³⁵⁴ Parker traces political parallels between PKM4 and Llewelyn ap Iorwerth (c. 1164 - 1197), where two uncles figure in a similar way to Lleu. Will Parker. Winter, 2002. 'Gwynedd, Ceredigion and the Political Geography of the Mabinogi', *NLWJ*, pp. 365–96.

³⁵⁵ Math refers to the loss of his friend Pryderi with regret. PKM4 74.26–37. JKB 91.2. Pryderi and Math appear together at the start of PKM4 as comparable rulers. Ch. III.3. Hierarchy p. 155.

³⁵⁶ *goron Llundein*/ crown of London, PKM2 29.3. JKB 43.2.

³⁵⁷ Irish resentment: *Kymry*, PKM2 37.22. 'Wales', JKB 51.1; and twice PKM 38.4. JKB 51.1.

Branwen sends her starling to *Chymry*, PKM 38.12. 'Wales', JKB 51.1. Head had been buried, PKM3

resonate with contemporary Welsh perspectives of Llywelyn Fawr's reign (c. 1173 – 1240), sometimes styled *brenin*/ king, of Gwynedd.³⁵⁸

The Mabinogi usurper king of Britain, Caswallawn, is only identified with *Lloegr*/ England, never any Welsh location. His brutality and the consequent fear of him might evoke the historical Anglo-Norman kings who reigned from *Lloegr*/ England, cf. the PKM3 Desolation parallel above. Bendigeidfran's head, protecting against invasion, faces France/Normandy as its prime aggressor.³⁵⁹

~ * ~

49.3. JKB 63.1.

³⁵⁸ Matthew Paris (d. 1259) referred to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth as King Llywelyn of Wales before reverting to the normal Prince Llywelyn.

³⁵⁹ *a chledwch a'y wyneb ar Freinc/ ef.* PKM 45.1–2. 'and bury it with its face toward France.' JKB 55.2.

Mabinogi Rhiannon IV

RHIANNON EI HUN
RHIANNON HERSELF

IV.1. *Llais Rhiannon*
Voice of Rhiannon

IV.2. *Gweithredoedd Rhiannon*
Acts of Rhiannon

IV *Rhiannon ei hun*/ Rhiannon herselfIV.1. *Llais Rhiannon*/ Voice of Rhiannon*Ymddiddan Rhiannon* / Rhiannon's converse

*Mi a debygaf na werendeweist eiryoet ar/
ymddidanwreic well no hi*¹

(Valente) the strength of her words, a consistent power
which recurs and affects events wherever she appears.²

This chapter listens to Rhiannon's voice in the Mabinogi; tabulating her speeches, followed by thematic and narrative order commentary.³

This is a central chapter to the study for three reasons.⁴ Firstly, Rhiannon's own words come very close to *her*, for Rhiannon is generally forthright: cf. her opening dialogue; significantly she uncovers her face, and assertively self-names.⁵ Her speech with Gwawl is admittedly deceitful, but clearly narrated as her deliberate plan.⁶ Secondly, female voice in its own right is a feminist priority.⁷ Thirdly, Mabinogi narrative demonstrates character in speech and deeds, less by exposition. In Rhiannon's case we have no textual access to her thoughts at all except by inference.

¹ PKM3 50.7–8. Pryderi: 'I suspect you have never listened to a woman better at conversation than she', JKB 63.2. Manawydan's response to Rhiannon's speech, *ac o'r ymddidan tirioni a wnaeth y uryt a'y/uedwl wrthi*, PKM3 50.16–17; 'And from that conversation, his heart and mind grew tender toward her'. JKB 64.1.

² Valente, 'Merched', p. 53.

³ Although there are a very few other mediaeval sources relating to Rhiannon, they do not give her voice: possible exception Adar Rhiannon in *Culhwch*; Ch. I.6. Sources, p. 33.

Mabinogi quotes here are PKM as usual; Peniarth 6 references are also given #31, #32.

⁴ I am much indebted to John Davies for first reader commentary here. He observed the major importance of this chapter to the study for the three reasons given.

⁵ Opening dialogue with Pwyll, #1 – #7 below. PKM1 12.7–13.11. JKB 27.2–28.1. She bares her face. *Sewyll, ac arhos a oruc y uorwyn, a/ gwaret y rann a dyliei uot am y hwyneb o wisc y phenn,/ ac attal y golwc arnaw, a dechreu ymddidan ac ef*. PKM1 12.10–12. 'The maiden stood and waited, and drew back the part of her headdress which ought to be about her face and fixed her gaze upon him and began to converse with him.' JKB 27.2–28.1. She self-names, PKM1 12.23. JKB 27.2.

⁶ Deceiving Gwawl, #13, #14 below. PKM1 15.20–26, JKB 29.2–30.1. Her 'bag speech', #12 below. PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2.

⁷ Feminism can be critiqued as anachronistic to the period, discussion Ch. II.8. Feminism pp. 124–25. On the historical silencing of women cf. the classic text Dale Spender. 1983. *Women of Ideas - and What Men Have Done to Them* (UK: Thorsons). Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza paralleled Spender in theology, exhorting a 'hermeneutics of suspicion' towards female silence in biblical texts. Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza. 1983. *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (NY: Crossroad Publishing Co.). Knowledge of silencing was current 19thC, Elizabeth Cady Stanton *et al.* 1895, 1898. *The Woman's Bible*, in two vols. (NY: European Publishing Company).

(S.Davies) the author does not comment on ... his characters – they express themselves by means of their actions and words⁸

The Cyfarwydd is an expert exemplar of this classic principle of good composition.

TABLE 11 Speeches (1–33)

Rhiannon's Mabinogi speeches listed: direct, indirect, joint, and Adar Rhiannon.⁹

Many abbreviated. Translated on keywords only, more extended translation footnoted.

Speeches are not weighted on quantity i.e. one line, or a long speech, are alike single entries, eg multiple penance tellings are one item..

1st four entries indicate source style with '*heb hi*/ she said', subsequently omitted.

PKM references whole speeches. **(7)** = Total in subsection.

#7 = Hash numbers per speech. All translation default Bollard, *Landscape*.

PKM1 *Pwyll II*

#1 '*Arhoafyn/ llawen*,' *heb hi*, '*ac oed llessach y'r march ...*'¹⁰
'gladly,' ... 'better for the horse ...'

#2 '*Kerdet wrth uy negesseu*,' *heb hi*, '*a da/ yw gennyf dy welet ti*'¹¹
'my own purposes ... pleased'

#3 '*Dywedaf, y rof a Duw*,' *heb hi*./ '*Pennafneges uu ymi, keissaw dy welet ti*.'¹²
'I will, between me and God,' she said. 'My chief purpose was to try to see you.'

#4 '*Dywedaf, Arglwyd*,'/*heb hi*. '*Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf i, a'm rodi/ y wr o'm hanwod yd ydys. Ac ny mynneis innheu un/ gwr, a hynny o'th garyat ti. Ac nys mynnafetwa, onyt/ ti a'm gwrthyt. Ac e wybot dy attep di am hynny e/ deuthum i*.'
'I will, lord,' she replied. 'I am Rhiannon daughter of Hefeydd the Old, and I am being given to a man against my will. But I have not desired any man, and that is for love of you. And I will not desire it even now, unless you reject me. And I have come to find out your response to that.'¹³

#5 '*os hynny a uynny ... gwna oed a mi*.'
'... if that is what you desire, ... make an appointment with me.'¹⁴

#6 '*Gwnaf, ... blwydyn y heno/ yn llys Heueyd, mi a baraf bot gwled ...*'

⁸ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 66. 'Show, don't tell' is canon in modern creative writing training, a 'golden rule' so established it has no clear provenance. It is attributed to Chekhov in a letter to his brother 1886. Avrahm Yarmolinsky, ed. trans. 1954. *The Unknown Chekhov: Stories and Other Writings Hitherto Untranslated by Anton Chekhov* (NY: Noonday Press), Introduction, p. 14. However Chekhov's advice is to give realistic detail, not the demonstration principle. Such a founding principle must have been taught far earlier than the 19thC. The Mabinogi Cyfarwydd seems unlikely to be unique in this way, instead the consistency of Mabinogi style suggests an established mediaeval canon. Ch. II.2. Craft: b) Characterisation, pp. 46-47 n. 15.

⁹ Adar Rhiannon included #26 below, because a) they are named as Rhiannon's; b) their presence is their voices. PKM2 45. JKB 55.2; and PKM2 46.14–15. JKB 57.1–58.2. Similarly in other source texts, Ch. I.6. Sources, pp. 33-34. Adar Rhiannon, Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon, pp. 407-14.

¹⁰ Rebuke I. #1. PKM1 12.8–10. 'I will, gladly,' she said, 'and it would have been better for the horse if you had asked it a good while ago.' JKB 27.2.

¹¹ Her *neges*/ purpose. #2. Fully quoted, PKM1 12.14–15. 'Travelling on my own errands,' she answered, 'and I am pleased to see you.' JKB 28.1. (I prefer trans. 'business', or 'purpose' to 'errands' for *neges*, as 'errands' frequently connotes triviality, e.g. popping to the shop.)

¹² To see you. #3. Full quote, PKM1 12.19–20. 'I will, between me and God,' she said. 'My chief errand was to try to see you.' JKB 28.1.

¹³ I am Rhiannon. #4. Full quote. PKM1 12.22–27. JKB 28.1.

¹⁴ Appointment, #5. PKM1 13.2–4. JKB 28.1

- 'A year from tonight, in the court of Hefeydd, I will bring it about... a feast'¹⁵
- #7 *'tric yn iach, a choffa gywiraw dy edewit, ac e ymdeith/ yd afi.'*
'remember to fulfil your promise. And I will depart now.'¹⁶
- #8 *'Och! ... paham y rody di attep yuelly?'*
'Alas! ... Why do you give an answer in such a way?'¹⁷
- #9 *'Taw, hyt y mynnych, ... ny bu/ uuscrellach gwr ar y ssynnwyr ...'*
'Be silent as long as you wish ...
Never was a man more feeble in his own wits ...'¹⁸
- #10 *'Llyna y gwr .../ Guawl uab Clut, .../A chan derw yt dywedut y geir a dywedeist, dyro ui idaw rac anglot yt.'*
'That is the man ... Gwawl son of Clud ... since ...
you said what you have said, give me to him, lest there be disgrace to you.'¹⁹
- #11 *'Dyro di ui idaw ef ... a mi/ a wnaft na chaffo ef uiui uyth.'*
'You give me to him, ... and I will make it so that he will never have me.'²⁰
- #12 *'Mi a rodafi'th law got uechan, ... mi a wnafoet ac ef ...'*
'I will put a small bag in your hand ...
I will make an appointment with him ...'²¹
- #13 *'Eneit, ... y wled ... rodeis i y wyr Dyuet ... y heno ynteu, ... eneit, y gyscu gennyf innheu.'*
'Friend, ... the feast ... I have given that to the men of Dyfed ...
A year from tonight,... friend, to sleep with me.'²²
- #14 *'A geimat ... kyuot y uynydd ar uyr,'*
'Ah, champion, ... rise up quickly.'²³
- #15 *'Llyna dy gynghor di ... llynydu eirheit a cherdoryon. Gat yno ef y rodi drossot y pawb ... na bo ammouyn na dial uyth'*
Here is your counsel, ... satisfy suppliants and musicians.
Let him then give to everyone for you ... take a pledge from him that
there will not ever be claim nor revenge'²⁴
- #16 *'Kynghor yw hynny gynnym/ ni,' heb wynt. "*
'That is our counsel,' they said.'²⁵
- #17 *'Arglwyd, ... kyuot y uynydd, a dechreu lonydu y kerdoryon,/ ac na ommed neb hediw, o'r a uynno da.'*
'Lord, rise up and begin satisfying the musicians, and do not refuse any
today who desires a gift.'²⁶

PKM1 Pwyll III

- #18 *'A/ wraged, ... mae y mab?'*

¹⁵ I shall arrange. #6. PKM1 13.6–8. JKB 28.1–2. Rhiannon and feasts List of refs. Ch. III.8. Political, p. 153 n. 95. Description Ch. III.5. LLW, p. 174 n. 250.

¹⁶ Farewell. #7. 'PKM1 13.9–11. JKB 28.2.

¹⁷ Reproach. #8. Full quote except for *heb hi*. PKM1 14.6–7. JKB 29.1.

¹⁸ Rebuke II. #9. PKM1 14.13–14. JKB 29.1.

¹⁹ This is Gwawl. #10. PKM1 14.16–19. JKB 29.1.

²⁰ Bestowal paradox. #11. Full quote except for *heb hi*. PKM1 14.21–22. JKB 29.1.

²¹ Bag strategy. #12. PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. 285 words, long detailed, analysed below.

²² Her feast. #13. PKM1 15.20–25. JKB 29.2–30.1.

²³ Wiles. #14. PKM1 16.25–26. JKB 30.2.

²⁴ Contract. #15. PKM1 17.20–24. JKB 31.1.

lonydu: to still, quiet, quieten, calm, pacify, appease, tame, soothe, assuage, mitigate; make content, satisfy, please. (GPC). Here it means to pay off with happy connotations.

²⁵ Confirms counsel. #16. PKM1 17.27–28. JKB 31.1.

²⁶ Patroness. #17. Full quote except for *heb Riannon*. PKM1 18.22–24. JKB 31.2.

'Ah women, ... where is the boy?'²⁷

#19 'A/ druein, ... yr yr Arglwyd Duw a wyr/ pob peth, na yrrwch geu arnaf. ... mi a'ch differaf.'

'Poor things, ...

by the Lord God who knows everything, do not accuse me falsely. ...

I will protect you.'²⁸

#20 'A/ druein, ... ny chewch un drwc yr/ dywedut y wirioned.'

'Ah, poor things, ... you will get no harm for speaking the truth.'²⁹

#21 Riannon a dyuynnwys attei athrawon a doethon.

Rhiannon herself summoned scholars and wise men to her.³⁰

#22 a dywedut y pawb ... y gyffranc oll,

'to tell to all ... that whole tale,'³¹

#23 'A unbenn... Mi a dygaf pob un o honawch hyt/

y llys. ...penyt am lad o honafuu hun/ uy mab'

'Ah, chieftain, ... I will carry each one of you

to the court. ... my penance, for killing my own son myself'³²

#24 'Y rofi a Duw, ... oed escor/ uym pryder im, pei gwir hynny.'

'Between me and God ...

it would deliver me from my care if that were true.'³³

#25 'Edrychwch ... na bo goreu y queda/ arnaw y enw e hun.'

'See ... if his own name might not suit him best.'³⁴

PKM2

#26 dyuot tri ederyn, a dechreu canu udunt ryw gerd,

... three birds came and began singing to them a kind of song³⁵

PKM3

#27 ... dechreu kydeisted ac ymdidan o Uanawydan/ a Riannon;

Manawydan and Rhiannon began to sit together and and to converse.³⁶

#28 'Pa dywedwydat oed hwnnw?'

'What statement was that?'³⁷

#29 'A minheu a uydaf wrth/ hynny yn llawen.'

'And I will abide by that gladly.'³⁸

#30 'Arglwyd,... yg Kent y mae Caswallawn... a thi a elly/ treulaw y wled'

'Lord, ... Caswallawn is in Kent, and you may partake of this feast'³⁹

²⁷ First loss. #18. Full quote except for *heb hi*. PKM1 20.23–24. JKB 34.2.

²⁸ Maids, exhortations. #19. PKM1 20.29–21.4. JKB 34.2. Some prefer *druein* translated as 'wretches'. Personal communication March 2024.

²⁹ #20. PKM1 21.6–7. JKB 34.2.

³⁰ Her council. #21. PKM1 21.19–21. JKB 35.1.

³¹ Penance tellings. #22. PKM1 21.24–25. JKB 35.1.

³² Penance horse. #23. PKM1 25.12–15. JKB 37.2.

³³ Naming. #24. Full quote except for *heb y Riannon*. PKM1 26.9–10. JKB 38.1.

³⁴ Checking. #25. PKM1 26.13–14. Full quote except for *heb y Riannon*. JKB 38.1.

³⁵ Adar Rhiannon. #26. PKM2 46.14. JKB 58.1. Also prophesied PKM2 45.2–4. JKB 55.2. Also at conclusion of PKM2 as *Ganyat Adar Riannon*/ 'the Singing of Rhiannon's Birds,' PKM2 48.17. JKB 60.1 Also in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and a similar Birds description in *Owein*; Ch. I.6. Sources: *Culhwch* #2 p. 33 n 189; *Owein* #5 p. 33 n192; also Ch. VI.6. *Adar Rhiannon* pp. 407–14.

³⁶ Manawydan converse. #27. PKM3 50.15–16. JKB 64.1.

³⁷ Query. #28. Full quote except for *heb y Riannon*. PKM3 50.20. JKB 64.2.

³⁸ Consent. #29. Full quote except for *heb y Riannon*. PKM3 50.22–23. JKB 64.2.

³⁹ Political advice. #30. PKM3 51.2–3. JKB 65.1.

#31 'Mae,... dy/ gedymdeith di, a'th cwn?' (MS Pen. 6)

'Where ... is your friend, and your hounds?'⁴⁰

#32 'Dioer,... ys/ drwc a gedymdeith uuosti, ac ys da a gedymdeith a golleisti.'

'God knows, ... a bad friend have you been, and a good friend have you lost.'⁴¹

#33 'Och, uy/ Arglwyd,... beth a wney di yma?'

'Alas, my lord, ... what are you doing here?'⁴²

Mathau o araith / Types of speech

Of Rhiannon's 33 speeches listed, 29 are direct speech, including one jointly with her father, #16. Three are indirect speech, #20, #21, #26;⁴³ one is *Adar Rhiannon* singing, #26.

TABLE 12 Thematic Categories

Self assertion, briefing, advisory [18].

Purpose #2; To see you #3; I am Rhiannon #4; Appointment #5; I shall arrange #6; Do not #7; This is Gwawl #10; Bestowal paradox #11; Bag strategy #12; Contract #15; Confirms #16; Patroness #17; Her council #21; Penance tellings #22; Penance horse #23⁴⁴; Query #28; Consent #29. Political advice #30.

Rebukes [5].

Rebukes: Pwyll #1, #9. Manawydan #32; Pre-questions: #8, #31.

Manipulative [4].

Her feast. #13, #14. Maids #19, #20.

Emotional reactions [4].

First loss son #8; Naming #24; Checking name #25; Shock #33.
(Also rebuke #1, #32)

Beauty [2]

Adar #26. Manawydan converse #27, cf. #24 Naming wordplay.

Rhiannon's strongest suit is evidently self-assertive, briefing, advisory: organising information to achieve her *neges*/ purpose: [18]. Rebukes and Pre-rebuke questions add more assertiveness [5]. Manipulative talk to achieve aims is minor, not her preferred mode [4]. All these together express an intensely determined person, accustomed to command, strategic, typically in direct mode.

⁴⁰ Question. #31. Full quote except for *heb hi*. PKM3 56.24–25. JKB 70.1. *Peniarth* 6ii t. 4. Doc. p. 2. long para., line 10. Isaac et al, 'Rhyddiaith Gymraeg',

⁴¹ Rebuke III. #32. PKM3 56.26–27. JKB 70.2. *Peniarth* 6ii t. 4. Doc. p. 2. long para., line 11. Isaac et al., *Peniarth* 6.

⁴² Shock. #33. Full quote except for *heb hi*. PKM 57.6–7. JKB 70.2.

⁴³ 1st person assertive verbs: #4 I am, p. 195; #6 I will bring it about, p. 196; #11 I will make, #12 I will put (bag); I will make; #19 I will protect, p. 197; #23 I will carry; #29 I will abide p. 198. The three instances of reported speech are #21 consulting with her advisers; #22 penitential recounting her crime, #27 conversing with Manawydan. Cf. *Mabinogi* style is direct speech rather than description, noted above, introduction to this chapter, also Ch. II.2. Craft.

⁴⁴ Her penance speech although humiliating context, is still asserting herself at the centre of what she says. For theory of penance tellings as strategic, Ch.. V.5. Pwyll: Penance plot pp. 268–72.

Emotional reactions are few but intense [4]: centring her son, expressing maternal passion, held subordinate to strong self-control (above). Under Beauty [2], skilful converse also appears in other speeches, so not as minor as it seems.

Cyngor a Cheryddon / Advice and Rebukes

Miles-Watson proposes a prose theme of authoritative, female counsellors, partnering executive males,⁴⁵ well exemplified by Rhiannon. She advises Pwyll with detailed strategy in her bag speech #12, on a legal contract #15, #16, on remunerating minstrels #17; later advising her son on political homage #30.⁴⁶ As Gwawl's bride, she advises/ urges him to step into the bag #14.⁴⁷ She gives three Rebukes, all to her consorts #1, #9, #32;⁴⁸ a judgemental type of advice demonstrating her entitlement to rule upon her men's behaviour; cf. Cigfa's milder remonstrances.⁴⁹

All three of Rhiannon's Rebukes are structurally strengthened by prefacing. #1 follows long passages of pursuits, building to her first utterance as a peak moment.⁵⁰ The second and third follow challenging questions: #8 'Why?' #31 'Where?'; placing the targeted consort at disadvantage.⁵¹ Her rebukes then slash them as inadequate.

Canghennau: 'diflaniad' / Branches: 'disappearance'⁵²

PKM1: Courtship (7), Weddings (10), Loyalties (8). TOTAL **(25)**

PKM2 : Adar (1).

PKM3: Kindred (4), Devastation (3). TOTAL **(8)**

⁴⁵ Miles-Watson, *Welsh Mythology: A Neo-Structuralist Analysis*. His study addresses the Mabinogi and the *Tair Rhamant*/ Three Romances.

⁴⁶ Cf. Teyrnon's Wife advising Teyrnon: PKM1 23.25–24.1; 24. 26–27.5. JKB 36.1–37.1. Branwen as peaceweaver PKM2 42.6 -9. JKB 54.1. Cigfa on noble dignity PKM3 58.19–20. JKB 72.1; 61.2–10. JKB 73.2.

⁴⁷ For the power and influence of noble female advisors on lords and princes, Ch. III.5. Land, Law, Women: Counsellors, p. 172. Yet Manawydan contradicts this repeatedly by ignoring Cigfa, Ch. III.5. Pol. Hier. p. 156, Ch. V.11. Cigfa, p. 329. Ch. V.12. Manawydan p. 339.

⁴⁸ A Triad reinforces importance, cf. the *Trioedd* tradition. Many *Trioedd* are lost to us; cf. the implicit *Tryded Prif Rieni*, Ch. III.6. *Rieni*. A very tentative reconstruction here might be '*Tri dliwiad Rhiannon*' / 'Three Rebukes of Rhiannon'. I am Indebted particularly here to Christine James for her kind appreciation of this speculation.

⁴⁹ Ch. V.11. Cigfa, p. 333.

⁵⁰ Gorsedd prophecy and pursuits: PKM1 8.4–12.6. JKB 25.1– 27.2.

⁵¹ Cf. how Pwyll is forced to greet her first at their first encounter, thus subordinate mode, below.

⁵² Numbers here are total instances.

Rhiannon's most vocal presence is PKM1, with three quarters of her speeches.⁵³ In PKM2 she is silent except as Adar Rhiannon #26. PKM3 opens with four speeches during her welcoming feast.⁵⁴ Once {re}married she 'disappears' into plural pronouns, during Dyfed *cylch*, and exile.⁵⁵ Direct voice reappears when rebuking Manawydan #41, #32, and discovering her trapped son, #33. Captivity imposes silence.⁵⁶ When finally freed she is named, but does not speak.

Ch. III.5 LLW observes how women 'disappear' into marriage, transitioning into the husband's kindred, becoming anonymised unless already named before marriage.⁵⁷ Mabinogi wives also seem to only speak in private dialogue,⁵⁸ or when giving advice.⁵⁹ As a PKM1 wife Rhiannon speaks privately with her Maids, #18, #19, #20; and with her advisers #21. Her PKM3 speeches #27-33 are private dialogues with Manawydan or Pryderi. Possibly her political advice to Pryderi, #30 is permittedly more public.⁶⁰ PKM1 speeches #22, #23, are a penitential, *public* voice, breaking this apparent convention, suggesting her

⁵³ #33 speeches of which #1 – #25 are direct speech = 75.75%.

⁵⁴ #27 Manawydan dialogue; #28, #29 dialogue about marrying, #30 advising Pryderi.

⁵⁵ Plural pronouns for the group begin immediately the opening feast ends. *A'r wled honno a dreulyssant, a/ dechreu a wnaethant kylchaw Dyuet, a'y hela, a chymryt/ eu digriuwch*. PKM3 51.5–6. 'And they began a circuit of Dyfed, and hunted it, and took their pleasure.' JKB 65.1. *Ac yn hynny tyuu kedyrndeithas y/ rydunt yll pedwar, hyt na mynnei yr un uot heb y gilid/ na dyd na nos*. PKM3 51.9–11. 'With that, a friendship grew up between those four, so that not one of them wished to be without the other day or night.' JKB 65.1.

The plural grammar contains a gender blur. After Pryderi's homage to Caswallawn the narrative continues to only refer to the males. *A guedy ymchwelut, / kymryt eu gwledeu ac eu hesmwythder a orugant/ Pryderi a Manawydan*. PKM3 51.14–16. 'and after he returned, Pryderi and Manawydan resumed their feasts and their comfort.' JKB 65.2. Not until the Desolation scene begins does *pedwar/* four appear again, explicitly including the two females. *Gorsedd/ Arberth a wnaethant yll pedwar* PKM3 51.20–21. 'those four made for Gorsedd Arberth.' JKB 65.2. As both women are married perhaps this is a further instance of wifely privacy/ silencing, until it is unavoidable to include them.

⁵⁶ PKM3 57.1 –12. JKB 70.2. to end of Branch when she is named as she is freed PKM3 65.6. JKB 75.2.

⁵⁷ Ch. III.5. LLW: Women and names, pp. 166-67. Rhiannon, Cigfa, and Branwen are named before or as they marry, then they are named persons during the marriages. The Queen/ Arawn's wife, Teyrnon's Wife, Lady Mouse, are first met as wives, so presented them derivatively. My constructed names Introduction. Also Ch. IX Structures: Three Anons, pp. 524-25.

⁵⁸ Cf. Queen, PKM1 4.19–22. JKB 22.2. Teyrnon's Wife, PKM1 22.7. JKB 35.2; also PKM1 23.2. JKB 36.1. PKM1 24.23. and 24.27. JKB 37.1. PKM1 26.2. JKB 37.2. Cigfa, PKM3 57.13 –57.27. JKB 70.2–71.1.

⁵⁹ Cf. Teyrnon's Wife, PKM1 23.25–24.1. JKB 36.2. PKM1 24. 26–27 –27.5. JKB 37.1. Branwen as peaceweaver PKM2 40.3. JKB 53.1. Cigfa on dignity PKM3 58.20; PKM3 58.19–20; PKM3 61.2–10. JKB 72.1– 73.2.

⁶⁰ Cf. her PKM1 legalistic advice to Pwyll #15, #16. On its fatefulness Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Bad Counsel, pp. 236-37. Ch. II. 8. Feminism: Agency, pp. 134-35; and Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad, pp. 322-28, and Ch. V.14 Llwyd, p. 349 (He reveals Rhiannon's counsel as the cause; also she fails Pryderi.)

penance is an especially humiliating exposure for her as a married woman. Her naming exclamation #24 seems public, perhaps a dramatic contrast in a political tradition for mothers which Pwyll resolves.⁶¹ Querying the original name, #25 seems private to Pendaran, who relays it for her to the Gwent people.⁶² Rhiannon's wifely speeches seem to follow the proposed wifely privacy convention, across both PKM1 and PKM3.

Naratif: y farchoges #1– #7 / Narrative: the horsewoman #1– #7
Rhiannon's first dialogue within her narrative is with Pwyll, after his pursuits of her.⁶³ Etiquette decrees the socially inferior person speaks first, so Rhiannon has manoeuvred Pwyll into subordinate position because he is forced to ask her to halt.⁶⁴ She intensifies control by rebuking him, #1: specifically insulting his horsemanship, a foremost skill for a *marchog*/ noble horseman. But she is recruiting him, so moderates his humiliation with #1 explicit *llawen*/ gladness, to see him; and #2, #3, #4 her gratifyingly exclusive focus upon him; #4 her *neges*/ purpose spoken in a forthright declaration of love. From an elegant woman to a male pursuer her rebuke possibly bears sexual innuendo: 'riding' can be an erotic metaphor.⁶⁵ She is also voicing her affinity with horses, evident in her magnificent mount.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Clearly a specifically mother's privilege, as the mother Arianrhod does it (not a wife). PKM4 80.22–23. JKB 97.2.

⁶² PKM1 26.13–15. JKB 38.1. Ch. V.9. Pendaran, pp. 293–94 for analysis.

⁶³ PKM1 12.7. JKB 27.2. Pwyll addresses her initially as *morwyn*/ a maiden, then recognises her as *Arglwyddes*/ Lady. She addresses him as *Arglwyd*/ Lord, but this is not deferential, rather, a balance of equals. Ch. I.3. Advent of Rhiannon pp. 15–16, balancing power when she first appears to him. *Arglwyd*/ Lord, if combined with *Arglwyddes*/ Lady (total 66 instances) is the most frequent common noun in PKM1, after the eponymous *Pwyll*, indicative of the extreme importance of status etiquette in speech.

⁶⁴ Susan F. Garlick, 'Horses, Swine and Magical Birds: The Role of Animals in the Mabinogion' (unpublished master's thesis Trinity Saint David, 2011), p. 16. (URL PDF Bibliography). Cf. Pwyll's encounter with Arawn, e.g. S. Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 228; & p. 3, n. para 4. Ch. IX Structures, interlace Rhiannon – Arawn pp. 514–15.

⁶⁵ Pwyll perceives her face as beyond comparison to other women. PKM1 12.16–18. JKB 28.1. Possibly subjective mode, Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 246. She may even be challenging Pwyll on sexual skill, whether his pacing and stamina is adequate to her requirements. Jaufré Rudel's Provençal lyric, mid-12thC, celebrates erotic horseback pursuit of his lady, comparable paradoxical pacing to Rhiannon. Ch. VI.2. Trance p. 385 relevant excerpts. Pursuit analysis: Ch. IV.2 Acts p. 208 n. 136; Ch. III.4 Equine p. 161 n. 168; Ch. VI.4 Rhiannon's Horse (synergy) p. 399.

⁶⁶ Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse pp. 17–20, on Davies' rider-horse integration theory. Rhiannon's horse affinity enchantment aspects, Ch. VI.4. Horse, pp. 394–99. Also Ch. Hierarchy pp. 152–53 and Ch. III.4. Equestrian: *Marchogion*, pp. 159–62 for her political class as *marchoges*/ noble horsewoman.

Her language is consistently assertive, egoistic, conveyed by firm verbs.⁶⁷ She is used to command, particularly #5, #7;⁶⁸ but she honours his free choice, #5.⁶⁹ She invokes God twice #3, #4, reinforcing the gravity of the dialogue.⁷⁰ She enables their whole dialogue by consenting to his appeal #1, and it is she who closes it, #7 '*e ymdeith/ yd afi*'.

Like her advent imagery, Rhiannon's first dialogue presents a miniature portrait of her.⁷¹ She voices a forthright, agentic personality, commanding, manoeuvring, but without excessive dominance for Pwyll always retains ultimate freedom to choose.⁷²

Naratif: priodasau #8– #17 / Narrative: weddings #8– #17

Rhiannon at her first wedding appears exasperated with her bridegroom, #8. She skewers his failure to live up to his name #9,⁷³ forcing him/us to see the exact consequences of his words: '*dyro ui idaw*', #10, because of (his/ their) honour.⁷⁴ But she profoundly subverts the powerful male bestowal tradition by herself commanding him to do it: '*Dyro di ui idaw ef*', #11. Taking control of damage reduction, she promises authoritatively to overcome it: '*a mi/ a wnafn chaffo ef uiui uyth*', #11.

⁶⁷ #1 '*Arhoaf*'; #2 '*Kerdet wrth uy negesseu*'; #3, #4 '*Dywedaf*'; #4 '*Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf i*'; #4 '*nys mynnaf*'; #4 '*e wybot dy attep di am hynny e deuthum i*'. #6 '*Gwnaf, ... 'blwydyn y heno*'; #6 '*mi a baraf bot gwled darparedic*'; #7 '*e ymdeith/ yd afi*'. List 1st person assertions n. 43 above.

⁶⁸ #5 '*gwna oed a mi*'. #7 '*choffa gywiraw dy edewit*'.

⁶⁹ #5 '*onyt/ ti a'm gwrthyt*' #4; '*os hynny a uynny*'. The latter out of context, could seem diffident, even timid, but amidst the generally strong thrust of her talk, it seems a powerful person's courtesy.

⁷⁰ Mabinogi oath style, often '*Dywedaf*' / 'Between myself and God', analysed Heather Rose Jones. 2003. 'Just Between Us, For God's Sake! The Case of 'Yrof a Duw' (presented Celtic Studies Association of North America Conference, University of California, 2003). She proposes 'for my sake and God's', p. 25. Not Christian Ch. VII.2 Pre-1900 p. 439. PKM1 13.9–11. 'I will depart now'

⁷¹ Ch. I.6. Advent. Nine constituent units of her initial excerpt analysed, pp. 10–23.

⁷² As with the advent imagery, there is a balance of power with Pwyll. He is in reactive mode to her statements, after his initial appeal, but he uses assertive language to match her. It could be argued that her manipulation drawn out over three days, riding him to exhaustion, aggressive rebuke, rapidly presenting her definite plan, equal an almost brainwashing induction technique. (Also initiation process) Yet he is still free to withdraw, above n. 69,

⁷³ *pwyl*: deliberation, consideration, care, caution; discretion, prudence, wisdom, patience, understanding, intelligence, perception, judgement, mind, wit(s), reason, (common) sense, sanity, also fig. (GPC)

⁷⁴ '[You must] Give me ...' For an account of the primary place of honour in Rhiannon's world, Ch. III.5. Law Land Women: Territory, identity and *sarhaed*, pp. 165–66.

Rhiannon's 'bag speech', #12, is her longest and the longest in the Mabinogi: 285 words against her usual 50 or much less.⁷⁵ It can be interpreted as storytelling, prophecy, trancework, or detailed practical briefing to Pwyll as her executive officer.⁷⁶ The term *cod*/ bag, is one of the most numerous in PKM1: its frequency, 28 instances, equals Rhiannon's own name.⁷⁷ She has been presenting with such strength she can afford to be ironic, self-deprecating. For *bechan*, means 'little' or 'unimportant',⁷⁸ parodying her bag's enormous (but not infinite) capacity;⁷⁹ The speech neatly deploys her ownership of the feast to enable a second wedding.⁸⁰ The speech combines a wide variety of resource components: her swiftly strategic planning, her enchantment (*got uechan*), her detailed script for Pwyll's performance extending to his armed *marchogion* to overcome Gwawl. Rhiannon touches Gwawl's honour not to marry her using another man's feast leavings. She calls him her *eneit*/ friend, explicitly promising to sleep with him #13, flattering him as her *geimat*, #14,⁸¹ playing seductress in sexual *mimesis*.

⁷⁵ 285 words (Middle Welsh) deleting 6 instances of '*heb hi*'. Hers and other speeches in this Branch range from a few words to a maximum of 50. Cf. Arawn's briefing to Pwyll on their identity swap 280 words, however that is broken up by Pwyll's interjections, questions, so it is a dialogue. PKM1 2.28–4.5. JKB 21.2–22.1. Cf. Bendigeidfran, 113 words, PKM4 44.28–45.11. JKB 55.2–55.2. For all three. Arawn, Rhiannon, her 4th Maid, Bendigeidfran: their speech are closely followed by performance of their scripts. For Rhiannon's 4th Maid Ch. V.6. Maids, pp. 276 & 278. Also Ch. VI. Trance pp. 383–84 re Arawn and Rhiannon's instruction speeches.

⁷⁶ It might be said that Rhiannon originally tested Pwyll on handling stress to his (masculine, noble) pride during their courtship pursuits and dialogue, so she can now feel confident he can accept her elaborate instructions. For a practical outline of what Rhiannon's bag is probably like, how it works, Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Badger, pp. 234–35.

⁷⁷ Ch. I.3. Etymology: TABLE Spread of name instances, p. 7. '*Cod*' frequency PKM1 is more than the politically, economically and symbolically important *march*, horse (24 instances), although it is concentrated in this one wedding scene. Only Pwyll (72 instances), honorifics *Arglwyd*, Lord, if combined with *Arglwyddes*, Lady (66); *mab*, boy or child (43); and *Duw*, God (34) are more frequent keywords in PKM1.

⁷⁸ MW *got*. *Cod* - bag, pouch, sack, poke; scrotum; pocket, purse; pod, cod, husk; blister; wind-bag of bag-pipes. (GPC) A possible affinity is: *Cwd* - pouch, bag, poke; purse; scrotum, cod; any bag-like cavity or organ in body, sac. (GPC) Rhiannon introduces the bag as *uechan*; i.e. *fechan* -> *bychan* - a) little, small, minute, diminutive; b) inconspicuous, obscure, unimportant, petty. (GPC) Typically translated 'small' (except for Gantz and, Davies). Pughe, 'Mabinogion', III, p. 246. Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. 148; Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 24; Jones & Jones, *Mabinogion*, p. 13; Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 46; Parker, 'small', 'Text Translations'; Bollard, 'small', *Landscape*, 29.1. Gantz, 'little', *Mabinogion*, p. 56; Davies, 'little', *Mabinogion*, p. 12. A possible alternative in terms of the context might be 'modest, humble', as Rhiannon's apparent irony is not only about physical size but its importance to the events.

⁷⁹ It can contain all the food and drink of Dyfed but that does *not* mean an infinite capacity nor is it a *cornucopia*. Ch. VI.5. Bag, p. 400 n. 87.

⁸⁰ On Rhiannon and feasting Ch. III.5. pp. 173 esp. nn. 240, 241. Speculating a prepared plot Ch. 5.5. Pwyll: Wedding plot pp. 264–67.

⁸¹ *geimat* - champion, hero, contender, victor, excellent one, eminent or renowned one. (GPC) Feminist mimesis (mimicking non-feminist act to gain advantage). Seductress role cf. Blodeuedd, PKM4 86.6–87.6. JKB 102.2, with the critical difference that Blodeuedd means murder.

In #15, #16, #17, Rhiannon demonstrates authority as adviser to princes, invited by Pwyll.⁸² Joint speech #16 suggests a close, intellectual relationship with her father.⁸³ The legalistic contract she provides seeks to avert Gwawl's revenge, but greedily piles on his dishonour by forcing him to pay the minstrels' costs, indicating her keen interest in finance.⁸⁴ Speeches #15, #17, demonstrate her characteristically generous concern for bards and entertainers, cited by Goronwy Gyriog's 14thC *awdl*.⁸⁵

Rhiannon's wedding voice continues in command. With a characteristic rebuke, she rapidly recovers from reversal, subverts male authority, and scripts detailed strategy for Pwyll as her executive. She voices her complex array of resources: her economic ownership of the feasts, her enchanted bag, sexual seduction, and expert knowledge of traditional custom.

Naratif: mamolaeth #18– #25 / Narrative: mothering #18– #25

Rhiannon voices her drastically changed position as she discovers the loss of her child, #18, moving from self-assertion and command to abject vulnerability. Her initial cry for her newborn seems to come from her heart. Yet she swiftly assesses her Maids' plot #19, '*na yrrwch geu*'. As a woman exhausted by birth labour only hours before, intellect blurred by peak maternal hormones, and now agonised by terror for her baby and herself, her speeches here are a triumph of will and courage. Yet her various and methodical appeals to God, to truth,⁸⁶ and her offers of protection, gain her nothing, #19, #20.⁸⁷

Rhiannon retains dignity in adversity by consulting her own advisory team #21, choosing to accept the penance Pwyll offers. Valente stresses her active choice, suggesting her 'self imposed silence' is her recognition that she will not be believed.⁸⁸ As noted above, public speech as a wife, to strangers #22,

⁸² Adviser PKM1 17.19. JKB 30.2.

⁸³ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen, pp. 221-22.

⁸⁴ Ch. V.5. Pwyll, p. 244, on this character aspect as probably pivotal to the Gwawl plot.

⁸⁵ Rare named reference to Rhiannon outside the Mabinogi. Ch. II.2. Sources: #6, p. 33.

⁸⁶ *gwirionedd*: truth, verity, truthfulness, rightness, justice; reality. (GPC)

⁸⁷ Ch. V.6. Maids, pp. 277-78, for possible interpretation of Maids' stubborn resistance.

⁸⁸ Valente, 'Merched', pp. 168-69, with quote p. 169. Elizabeth Lloyd has a broadly similar interpretation: 'Rhiannon considers it unseemly that a lady of her position should argue with low and unprincipled women.' Lloyd, 'Literature', p. 236. Lloyd was writing in the rigidly class and gender conscious Edwardian period (1911); where Valente (1986) seems to see Rhiannon as pragmatic. Rhiannon is an elite mediaeval aristocrat who speaks to her Maids from above as *druein*/ poor things, #19, #20; so there may be an element of snobbery in her decision. But it

seems to construct a particular humiliation, in addition to the beast of burden aspect #23. Valente stresses 'the power of her speech and how it protected her dignity'; her speech gains respect so her offer to be a beast of burden is declined.⁸⁹ The initial description of the penance matches Rhiannon's speech when Teyrnon arrives at Arberth, #23.⁹⁰ Emma Watkins agrees with Valente that debate on Rhiannon's horsey punishment has obscured her voicing of a (false, criminal) narrative.⁹¹ What still seems overlooked, but crucial, is that

*wynt a glywssont chwedlydyaeth y/wrth Riannon, ac am y phoen.*⁹²

Teyrnon is *first alerted* by Rhiannon's tellings, other factors add weight, until he returns her son and vindicates her.⁹³ Thus Rhiannon's penitential voice gains powerful reach via travellers.⁹⁴

Pwyll confirms a tradition of a child's name derived from the mother's first words to it.⁹⁵ Rhiannon naming her son, #24, seems a prime example of her skill at *ymdidan*/ converse,⁹⁶ and it weaves her strength and vulnerability closely together. Hearing her son is restored, Rhiannon is understandably disoriented, uncertain, saying *pei gwir hynny*.⁹⁷ Yet her speech is skilful, courtly wordplay. She

seems as likely she is too focused on winning to allow status scruples to govern her, so Valente's pragmatism remains her dominant motive. Rhiannon's determined agency Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, pp. 241-46. Her *neges*/ purpose densely cited Ch. VI.4 Horse p. 398 n. 73.

⁸⁹ Valente, *Merched*, pp. 52-53; quoted Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm pp. 130-31.

⁹⁰ Description of the penance, PKM1 21.21-27. JKB 35.1. Teyrnon's arrival at Arberth: "*nac/ ewch bellach hynny. Mi a dygaf pob un o honawch hyt/ y llys. A hynny yw uym penyt am lad o honaf u hyn/ uy mab, a'e diuetha.*" PKM1 25.12-15. 'go no further than that! I will carry every one of you to the court. And that is my penance for killing my own son myself, and destroying him.' JKB 37.2.

⁹¹ Valente: 'Gruffydd passed over this information available in the passage to go on to create a long and convoluted proto-saga to explain her punishment' in terms of the equine aspect.' Valente, *Merched*, p. 52. She sees a 'chance, ... for Rhiannon, of hoping that the terrible news might reach a sympathetic ear.' p. 207. 'academics have largely overlooked the second facet of her penance: the forced recounting of a false narrative [cf. Branwen] ... a tradition of subversive female storytelling', Emma Watkins, 'Calumniated Storytellers'. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 268-72.

⁹² PKM1 24.9-10. 'they [Teyrnon & Wife] heard news about Rhiannon and her penance.' JKB 36.2.

⁹³ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 268-72, for an interpretation as Rhiannon's extended voice. Ch. V.7. Teyrnon: Gentle Guardian, p. 285, on his decision.

⁹⁴ Possibilities are military movements, family visits, supplies' expeditions, *cyfarwyddiaid*, bards, minstrels, traders, labourers, pilgrims, beggars. There is no other way to transmit news in pre-industrial society other than human movement. Branwen's training for a starling is described in detail, suggesting it is a new and strange technique (when a matter is not described it is assumed as familiar to the contemporary audience). PKM2 38.7-13. JKB 51.1.

⁹⁵ PKM1 26.17-19. JKB 38.1. cf. Arianrhod PKM4 80.22-23. JKB 95.2.

Ch. V.9 Pendaran, pp. 292-93 for apparently gendered power play.

⁹⁶ *ymddiddanaf*, &c.: *ymddiddan*, *ymddiddanu*, &c. to talk (to one another), speak, converse, chat, also fig. (and) conversation, chat, discourse, colloquy, talk, dialogue; story, account, tale; poetic, &c., colloquy. (GPC).

⁹⁷ PKM 26. 9-10. 'if that were true'. JKB 38.1.

declares she is *escor*/ delivered, of her terrible *pryder*/ anxiety; deftly relating her penance suffering to her birth delivery.⁹⁸ Referencing her birth labour asserts her status as mother of the heir, a '*rieni*'.⁹⁹ '*Pryder[i]*' means her years of agonising anxiety. Her enquiry about the boy's existing name seems kindly #26, but may also be a strategically diplomatic honouring of Teyrnnon's people. It is apparently addressed to Pendaran who then asks it of the Gwent group on her behalf.¹⁰⁰

Rhiannon's voice passes from strategic command to deep vulnerability. She sustains her strategist character by consulting her advisers. Her penitential voice breaks an arguable wifely privacy in a peculiar humiliation, yet is the far-reaching agent of her salvation. Her skill at converse is exemplified when naming her son, an adroit wordplay with status claim undertones.

Naratif: carennydd #26– #30 / Narrative: kindred #26– #30

Adar Rhiannon #26 are included here as a) they are explicitly named as Rhiannon's, and b) their presence is via voice. Their affinity with her might possibly suggest Rhiannon has a beautiful speaking voice.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ *esgor*: delivery, parturition, birth; deliverance. (GPC). Ifor Williams suggests Rhiannon's words were originally *oed escor uym pryderi* (PKM 26.9-10. JKB 38.1.). The meaning of *pryderi* was forgotten, the end altered to *pryder* + *im* (suffixed pronoun) 'my care'. He traces a Breton gloss *priti*, which parallels other adjacent text: Lat. *dampnum* 'loss'. This suggests an earlier meaning was Rhiannon's great 'loss', from which she is delivered; later diluted to 'care'. PKM p. 157–58. R.L. Thomson notes *escor* as 'relief' in two senses: 'a removal, a casting off', and 'bringing forth, giving birth'. Thus both Rhiannon's simple, profound release from 'anxiety', and a metaphorical giving birth to her son a second time. R. L. Thomson, *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyfed*, p. 41, n. Bromwich rehearses both of these, adding a comparison to C   Chulainn's naming as 'Hound of Cooley' in the Irish epic *Tain Bo Cualnge*. TYP p. 486. The English terms 'delivery, delivery room' and 'to be delivered' have a closely similar import relating to birth. The last weeks of pregnancy are typically grossly and heavily burdened, not just physically; the expectant mother longs to be freed, lose her burden, to be delivered of her child.

Rhiannon's wordplay on *escor*/ delivered, and *pryder*/ anxiety, loss, seems too meaningful not to be deliberate. It may be queried whether her intention is the particular word *pryder* as the source of her child's new name. A lifelong reminder of her terrible loss might not be desirable. A name derived from *escor* (*esgor*) would have prophesied her son a Deliverer; a hopeful metaphor for a future outlook.

⁹⁹ Ch. VI.3. '*Rieni*', pp. 177-83, elite female status.

¹⁰⁰ Above pp. 197-98 on wives' private speech custom. In enquiring after the previous name she may be showing maternal sensitivity to the boy, as a familiar name might be comforting for him.. Or she may be simply curious on what name he had and whether it might be apt; or else a mix of these motives.

¹⁰¹ Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse, pp. 17-20, Sioned Davies' integration theory for horse/ rider characteristics. This might be extendable to other animals cf. the C  wn Annwfn and Arawn, the hounds' colours indicating enchantment. PKM1 1.11-24. JKB 20.1. Branwen's starling is a small, weak creature yet it links two kingdoms with major effect, aptly reflecting Branwen. PKM2 38.7–20. JKB 51.1. Ch. V.10. *Pryderi*: Animal Affinities, pp. 303-304; colt, hounds, boar, pigs.

Her skilful converse #27, impacts so effectively on meeting Manawydan it is unlikely to be accidental, *o'r ymdidan tirioni a wnaeth y uryt a'y/ uedwl wrthi*.¹⁰² It tends to support her awareness of, and partnership with, Pryderi's marriage plan.¹⁰³ Speeches #28, #29, voice her consent explicitly. Her PKM1 maximum agency on marital choice is sustained.¹⁰⁴

Speech #30 demonstrates her knowledge of national British politics, Caswallawn's location; and again alludes to her status as a feast giver.

Naratif: Diffeithwch #31– #33 / Narrative: Desolation #31– #33

Speeches #31, #32 survive in the fragmentary Peniarth 6: Rhiannon's historically earliest appearance in the extant manuscripts.¹⁰⁵ Her first words there are

'mae hep hi dy gedymdeith', #31.¹⁰⁶

poignantly replaying her vulnerability on the long-ago morning she found her newborn child was gone.

'mae y mab?' #18.¹⁰⁷

The searing contempt of her rebuke #32 attacks Manawydan's failure to attempt aid to his friend, to whom he owes everything he has. Notably she attacks his failure of her son, not her.¹⁰⁸ She speaks from core nobility codes of courage, loyalty, and debt (cf. her entitled authority as a judgemental adviser, above).¹⁰⁹ Her third and final speech #33, expresses shock, perhaps relief to discover her son's whereabouts, with new *pryder*/anxiety about his plight.

Rhiannon challenges Manawydan strongly, but anxiously. Her rebuke combines a dominance voice mode with shocked vulnerability as a mother. Her

¹⁰² PKM3 50.16-17; 'And from the conversation, his mind and thought grew tender toward her'. JKB 64.1. The text continues with a Mabinogi hyperbole: *a hoffi yn y uedwl na welsei eiryoed wreic/ digonach y theket a'y thelediwet no hi*. 50.17-18. 'and he delighted in his thought that he had never seen a woman better endowed in her fairness and her beauty than she.' JKB 64.1. Cf. Pwyll's initial reaction to her is similar, PKM1 12.16-18. JKB 28.1.

¹⁰³ Cf. PKM3 50.7-8. JKB 63.2 Pryderi's description of Rhiannon prior to this as skilled in converse, quoted at the head of this chapter p. 191.

¹⁰⁴ 'maximum agency' ultimately she operates within marital bestowal but stretches its bounds as far as is possible for her. Ch. III.5. LLW: Consent, p. 170 n. 225.

¹⁰⁵ Also Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, Llyfr Coch Hergest. Ch. II.4. Manuscripts, pp. 58, 60-61, 61-62.

¹⁰⁶ 'Where is your friend?' MW text, G.R. Isaac et al., Peniarth 6 (2010) 6ii t. 4. Doc. p. 2, long paragraph, line 11. PKM 56.24-25: *'Mae dy gedymdeith di...?'* in modernised orthography. I render *gedymdeith* as 'friend' as a more robust, intimate nuancing in English: 'companion' is usual but that can be no more than fellow traveller on a road..

Valente, 'Merched', p. 5-7, maternal defence of Rhiannon's reaction to her missing son.

¹⁰⁷ PKM1 20.23-24. 'where is the boy?' JKB 34.2.

¹⁰⁸ 'Maternal Dyad', Ch. V.10. Pryderi, pp. 322-28.

¹⁰⁹ Ch. V. 12. Manawydan: Man of Virtue, pp. 343-44. On advisers Ch. III.5. LLW p. 172.

voice narrative thus ends with a powerfully concise balance of the polarity within her character.

~ * ~

IV *Rhiannon ei hun* / Rhiannon herself

IV.2. *Gweithredoedd Rhiannon* / Acts of Rhiannon

This chapter addresses Rhiannon's actions via structural analysis, particularly her agency. The Mabinogi presents characters through speech and action, which easily lends itself to a playscript, as schematised below.¹¹⁰ Rhiannon's 'acts/Acts' is a pleasant wordplay.¹¹¹ Continuity with the live performance origins of the text is borne out because the playscript Acts were easy to discern, and it was found they do not disrupt the Four Branches' structure. Within the theatrical Acts below, scenes follow conventional theatre canon, changing with location change. Analysis follows, identifying Active and Passive modes of action.

Trosolwg strwythurol / Structural overview

TABLE 13 **Mabinogi Rhiannon: Summary of Acts & Scenes**

PKM1. <i>Prologue</i> : <i>Pwyll Pen Annwfn</i> .	
PKM1. ACT I.	1. <i>Court Arberth, Dyfed</i> .
	2. <i>Court Hyfaidd</i> .
	3. <i>Court Dyfed, Gwent</i> .
PKM2. ACT II.	<i>Ynys Prydain & Iwerddon</i> . ¹¹²
PKM3. ACT III.	1. <i>Dyfed</i> .
	2. <i>Lloegr</i> . ¹¹³
	3. <i>Dyfed</i> .
PKM4. <i>Epilogue</i> : <i>Death of Pryderi</i> .	

From the above abbreviated table, location fundamentally structures the play, operating two main triplicities of *breniniaethau* / political realms.¹¹⁴ Dyfed alternates symmetrically with 'other' locations:

¹¹⁰ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 66, quoted Ch. IV.1. Voice, p. 192. Further Ch. II.2. Craft: Characterisation p. 46 & S. Davies' quote. Also structural analyses Ch. IX Structures.

¹¹¹ For live performance origins, Ch. II.3. Performance, pp. 50.-56. Wordplay is a valued skill in Mabinogi society. A prime example is Rhiannon's naming of her son, PKM1 26.9-10. JKB 38.1.; analysis Narrative: mothering, above pp. 201-203.

¹¹² = Britain & Ireland.

¹¹³ = England.

¹¹⁴ Location has long been an important theme in Mabinogi Studies because most Mabinogi locations are identifiable today as a living continuity. For example Anwyl, 'Four Branches', I-III (1897-1901); Bollard, *Landscape* (2006). Ch. III.1. Map Mabinogi, p. 141.

Prologue: Other
I DYFED – Other – DYFED
II Other
III DYFED – Other – DYFED
 Epilogue: Other

The two main Acts I and III have a similar, triadic, scene structure, with first and third scenes centred on Dyfed. Second Act scenes are Other/ elsewhere.¹¹⁵ Act I scenes occur in courts. Act II opens an international outlook with the Irish War. Following that larger outlook of Act II, Act III has a broader scope of landscape, journeys, and towns. The Prologue and Epilogue, conventionally bracketing the play, lie outside the heartland of Dyfed,¹¹⁶ in Other/ liminal locations (Annwfn; the Dyfed/ Gwynedd borderland). Their bracketing is linked by Annwfn gift pigs.¹¹⁷

Sgript ddrama/ Playscript: Mabinogi Rhiannon

PROLOGUE: *Pwyll Pen Annwfn (Pwyll I).*¹¹⁸

ACT I.1. Advent: *Court of Arberth (Pwyll II).*¹¹⁹

ADVENT **A** First appearance, riding, central staging.
 A Three rides, unreachable.¹²⁰
 A Betroths Pwyll.

ACT I.2. Weddings: *Court of Hyfaidd (Pwyll III).*¹²¹

WEDDING I **A** Receives Pwyll at her father's court.
 A Provides feast.
 A Plots with Pwyll to overcome Gwawl.
 A Contracts with Gwawl to hold second wedding.
 WEDDING II **A** Receives Gwawl at her father's court.
 A Provides feast.
 A Seduces , betrays Gwawl.
 P Observes Pwyll and his *teulu*.¹²²
 A Public contract negotiation.
 WEDDING III **A** Marries Pwyll.¹²³
 A Joint journey to Dyfed.
 A Distributes wealth on arrival.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the intense homeland vs. foreign consciousness evident in polarised vocabulary *Yr Ynys hon* vs. *Ynys y Kedeyrn*, Ch. III.2. Britain, pp. 145-46. Playscript Act I. 3 places Gwent in parallel to Dyfed. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd, pp. 224-29 theorises a possible location for his *llys/* court in Powys, i.e. to the east of Dyfed. On these terms, the central scene of each of the main Acts I and III, moves east.

¹¹⁶ i.e. the original seven cantrefi of Pwyll's lordship. PKM1 1-2. JKB 19.1.

¹¹⁷ Annwfn gifts, PKM1 8 18-21. JKB 24.2-25.1. Annwfn pigs PKM4 68.22-23. JKB 80.2. Bollard observes this bracket: 'Myth and Tradition', in *Essays*, p. 284. Ch. I.5. Text, p. 27.

¹¹⁸ PKM1 1.1-8.26. JKB 19.1- 25.1. Prologue, Epilogue Rhiannon absent. Ch. I.4. Text pp. 29-30.

¹¹⁹ *Pwyll II*: PKM1 12.9-13.11. JKB 27.2- 28.2.

¹²⁰ Whether this is a single component in structural analysis, or several, could be debated.

¹²¹ *Pwyll III*: PKM1 13.12-19.16. JKB 28.2- 31.2.

¹²² PKM1 17.2, *Teulu*, personal warband, his fighting men.

¹²³ The text might conceivably imply a third wedding feast. PKM1 18.15-17. JKB 31.1-2.

ACT I.3. Loyalties: *Courts of Dyfed and Gwent (Pwyll III).*¹²⁴

MARRIAGE I **A** Rules Dyfed jointly.
P Barren, Pwyll's council.

MOTHERING **A** Birth triumph.
P Loss of newborn.
P Smeared, accused.
P Fails liaison Maids.

PENANCE **A** Accepts judgement.
P Waits at horseblock.
P Bears travellers on her back.

RESTORATION I **P** Receives son.
P Widowed.

ACT II.1. Kindred: *Realms of Ynys Prydain & Iwerddon.*¹²⁵

IRISH WAR **P** Loses Pryderi to Irish War.
A Sends Adar.

ACT II.2. Realm of Dyfed.¹²⁶

A Provides feast.
 WEDDING IV **A** Marries Manawydan.¹²⁷
A Rides Dyfed *cylch*.

ACT III.1. Desolation: *Realm of Dyfed.*¹²⁸

A Sits Gorsedd Arberth (Dyfed Four).
P Witnesses devastation.
A Hunts, provides food.

ACT III.2. REALM OF LLOEGR/ ENGLAND.¹²⁹

EXILE **P** Craft businesses 3.¹³⁰

ACT III.3. REALM OF DYFED.¹³¹

TOWER **A** Hunting. Initiates rescue.
P Captivity, asses' collars.
 RESTORATION II **P** Receives her freedom.

EPILOGUE: *Death of Pryderi.*¹³²

¹²⁴ *Pwyll III*: PKM1 19.16– 27.27. JKB 31.2– 40.1.

¹²⁵ PKM2 38.21–22. JKB 51.1: Bendigeidfran's muster of all Britain implicitly includes Pryderi, as he is later named a war Survivor PKM2 44.25. JKB 55.2.

¹²⁶ PKM3. 50.12–51.18. JKB 63.2– 64.1.

¹²⁷ Consideration whether this is active or passive, Ch. V. 12. Manawydan, p. 337.

¹²⁸ Initial Third Branch. PKM3 51.18–52.3. JKB 65.1– 66.1.

¹²⁹ Exile: PKM3 52.4–55.4. JKB 66.1–68.1.

¹³⁰ Cf. her Arberth rides, whether this is a single, structural component, or several, could be debated.

¹³¹ Dyfed again. PKM3 55.4–65.24. JKB 68.1– 76.1.

¹³² Death: PKM4 67.1–73.17 or 77.2. JKB 79.1– 88.2. or 99.2. Ch. I.4. Text: Ending, pp. 28–29 for a longer Pryderi death tale, including Math's justice.

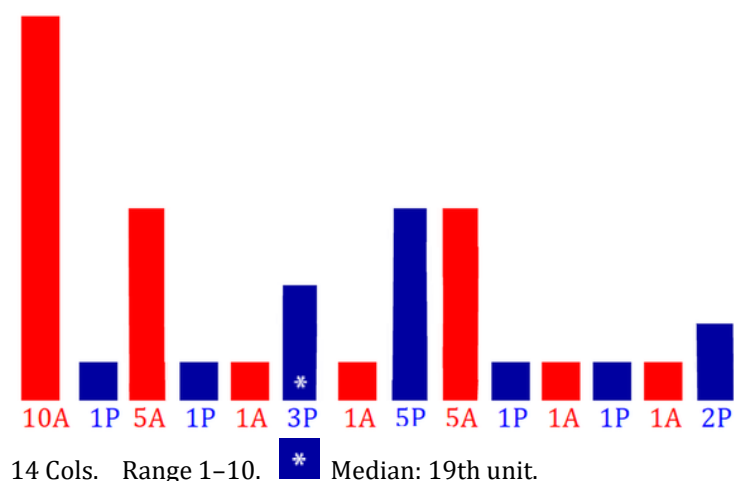
Asiantaeth: Actif – Dadansoddiad Goddefol /

Agency: Active – Passive Analysis

The initial attraction of this study was an agentic female protagonist, amply demonstrated above with a large majority of Active modes (coded **red A**).

Active 24 (58%) **Passive 14 (42%)** TOTAL **38** units

DIAGRAM Active/ Passive modes (Columns read vertically showing **Active** and **Passive** sequences, disregarding Acts and Scenes.)



There are 14 columns, 7 **Active** and 7 **Passive**. The **Active** total is **24A**, and the **Passive** total is **14P**. Rhiannon's majority mode of **Active** dominance is clear.

There are 8 columns with a single item: 4 X **1P** and 4 X **1A**: a structural balance.

Two symmetrical columns of **5A** are matched by one **5P** column. If the **3P** column, and the final **2P** column, are added together, they make a (constructed) **Passive** column of **5P**. This computes two **Active 5A** and two **Passive 5P**: again in balance.

It is the high **Active** mode of the first **10A** column which tips the balance so strongly over all. Rhiannon's opening is thus so dominant that although there are many **Passive** elements following they never accumulate to overcome that opening **Active** advantage. In narrative terms, dominance extends until Rhiannon actively seduces and betrays Gwawl: and this act is pivotal to the huge Act III/ PKM3 backlash.¹³³

¹³³ Llwyd (PKM3) explains it was Rhiannon's advice which caused Gwawl's humiliation, and its revenge. PKM3 64.5-10. JKB 75.1. Analysis Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Desolation pp. 324-28.

The *Median point is a **Passive** unit (starred, bottom of a **3P** column). Rhiannon is here a mother and suffers the loss of her child. That midpoint pivot structurally demonstrates the core importance of her mothering, and her experiences of maternal loss.

Paradocsau / Paradoxes

Rhiannon's horse at her Advent is slow but unattainable, and may be interpreted as an opening sign that paradox is a key theme in her *Mabinogi*.¹³⁴ At her Advent Rhiannon is a young woman, alone, the targeted **prey** of aggressive, militarised hunter males, yet she **dominates** them.¹³⁵ She uncovers her face and speaks with **commanding** directness to Pwyll, yet to Gwawl she is apparently **passive**, deceitful, treacherous.¹³⁶ Her bag is *bechan*/ **small**, yet it can hold **all** Dyfed's food and drink.¹³⁷ Her wedding ends triumphantly forcing Gwawl to **forswear** vengeance, yet Gwawl's vengeance arrives nonetheless in the **Desolation** of all of Dyfed.¹³⁸ Her motherhood is a **triumph**, yet it plunges her into her greatest crisis of **vulnerability**.¹³⁹ Her Penance **disempowers** her, yet may be theorised to discover and **restore** her son.¹⁴⁰ Her Adar sing **far away** yet sound **close by**.¹⁴¹

Rhiannon demonstrates markedly **active** dominance in so many ways: she owns enormous feasts, intervenes in public contract negotiation, wins the consort of her choice, distributes great wealth, rules Dyfed jointly, rides its economic *cylch*.¹⁴² Yet she is also **passive**: 'given' by her father and son, and from one suitor to another in marriage, smeared with blood and guilt, sits in the filth of Arberth gates for years, rescued by two men, and seems to disappear in the later

¹³⁴ Cf. Sioned Davies' rider-horse integration theory: a formulaic style in which descriptions of a mount reflect the character of the rider, Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse, pp. 17-20.

¹³⁵ Ch. I.4. Advent #3 Woman, p. 15-16, #2 See p. 14.

¹³⁶ Pwyll, PKM1 12.10-12. JKB 27.2-28.1. Gwawl, PKM1 15.20-25. JKB 29.2-30.1.

¹³⁷ Bag PKM1 15.5-7. JKB 29.2.

¹³⁸ Gwawl constrained, PKM1 17.22-25. JKB 31.1. Vengeance nonetheless occurs, PKM3 64.5-10. JKB 75.1. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Desolation, pp. 324-28 on whether Gwawl's contract is breached, and why the revenge happens when it does.

¹³⁹ Triumph, PKM1 19.22-20.4. JKB 33.2. Vulnerability, PKM1 20.23-21-28. JKB 34.1-35.1.

¹⁴⁰ Ch. IV.1. Voice #22, #23 p. 194; analysis p. 202; Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 268-72, for interpreting her penitential voice.

¹⁴¹ Adar, PKM2 46.15-18. JKB 58.2.

¹⁴² Feasts, list, Ch. III.3. Hierarchy: Feasts, p. 154 n. 95. Contract negotiation, PKM1 17.22-25. JKB 31.1. Wins her choice, PKM1 18.15-21. JKB 31.1-2. Distributes wealth, PKM1 19.14-16. JKB 31.2. Rules jointly, PKM1 19.16-17. JKB 33.2. Rides *cylch*, PKM3 51.4-6. JKB 65.1.

part of her narrative.¹⁴³ Her paradoxes take her beyond a basic 'strong woman' motif, making her a profoundly complex and fascinating study.

As a woman Rhiannon is authentically **active** in her own right, seen especially in Act I (PKM1). She exerts her power to the maximum possible for her time and place by subverting the strong custom of male marital bestowal. Fiona Winward sees a gendered **loss** of power when Rhiannon marries.¹⁴⁴ Yet the early period of her first marriage demonstrates joint **power** in her journey to Dyfed, continuing in joint **rulership**, arguably a penance **partnership**.¹⁴⁵ She **triumphs** by becoming a mother, then her long nadir following is a **maternal loss** of power. Her critical, **passive** loss of her power, pivots on her **failed** female-female liaison with her Maids.¹⁴⁶ **Both** her Restorations, of her child (PKM1), and later their shared freedom from captivity (PKM3), are **Passively** effected for her by male agency. That might be moderated by arguing she apparently **ensures** Teyrnnon receives the vital data needed to recognise her lost child (PKM1), and her **rebuke** probably shames Manawydan to struggle to redeem his honour (PKM3).¹⁴⁷

Crynodeb / Summary

The analysis of **active**/ **passive** modes in this Chapter is a structural outline, developed in subsequent Chapters. It reveals Rhiannon as powerful and dominant, yet seamed with vulnerability as a mother. The paradoxes in her narrative render her so much more than simply a 'strong woman'. Structured as a

¹⁴³ She refers to being 'given' in her opening statement to Pwyll, PKM1 12.22–27. JKB 28.1. Pwyll gives her to Gwawl, PKM1 14.18–21. JKB 29.1. Pryderi gives her to Manawydan, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–2. (These bestowals are not absolute, comment Ch. V.5. Pwyll, pp. 170, 220; and Ch. V.10. Manawydan p. 341.) Smeared, PKM1 20.16–29. JKB 34.1–2. Penance years, PKM1 21.21–28. 35.1. Disappears, analysis Ch. IV. Voice: Disappearance, pp 196–98.

While gate 'filth' is not explicit in the text, the main gateway to a community where travellers pass in and out, pedestrians, riders, wheeled vehicles, and herded beasts, would generate a great deal of muck. The West Welsh weather with its high rainfall would also play a part, generating mud. A team of servants laid on to keep a patch clean for the *arglwyddes* Rhiannon, would abrogate her penance. It would be notable, and recorded similarly to the low take-up of her horse-bearing offer, *A damwein y gadei yr un y dwyn*. PKM1 21.27. 'upon her back to the court' JKB 35.1.

¹⁴⁴ Winward, 'Aspects', p. 89. She sees gradual degeneration of the women's independence as they progress through the various life-stages 'Aspects' p. 82. Thomas Clancy sees Rhiannon as vulnerable after marriage, passive in her penance, her dependency on Pwyll's judgement. Thomas Owen Clancy. 2005. 'The Needs of Strangers in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Quaestio Insularis*, 6 (2005), pp. 15–16. Valente speaks of changes in status and power as Rhiannon moves from object of love to wife and mother. Valente, 'Merched', p. 118.

¹⁴⁵ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership, pp. 260–63 & Penance Plot pp. 268–72.

¹⁴⁶ PKM1 21.1–12. JKB 34.2. Ch. V.6. Maids, pp. 276–77; and Ch. II.8. Feminism, p. 133.

¹⁴⁷ Observed Ch. V.12 Manawydan: Man of Virtue, pp. 344–45.

play, Mabinogi Rhiannon reveals regular narrative patterns of alternating location. The theatre approach does not violate the underlying Branch structure which continues in partnership with the playscript.¹⁴⁸

~ * ~

¹⁴⁸ For more structural analyses, Ch. IX. Structures pp. 508-27.

Mabinogi Rhiannon V

EI CHARENNDYD

HER KINDRED

Names left untranslated when translation is problematic.

V.1. *Diagram Achyddiaeth* / Genealogy Diagram

V.2. *Brenhines* / Queen

V.3. *Merch Hyfaidd Hen* / Daughter of Hyfaidd Hen

V.4. *Gwawl fab Clud* / Gwawl son of Clud

V.5. Pwyll a Rhiannon

V.6. *Y Gwragedd* / The Maids

V.7. Teyrnon *Twrwf Lliant*

V.8. *Gwraig Teyrnon* / Teyrnon's Wife

V.9. Pendaran Dyfed

V.10. *Pryderi fab Pwyll* / Pryderi son of Pwyll

V.11. *Cigfa, y ferch-yng-nghyfraith* /

Cigfa, the daughter-in-law

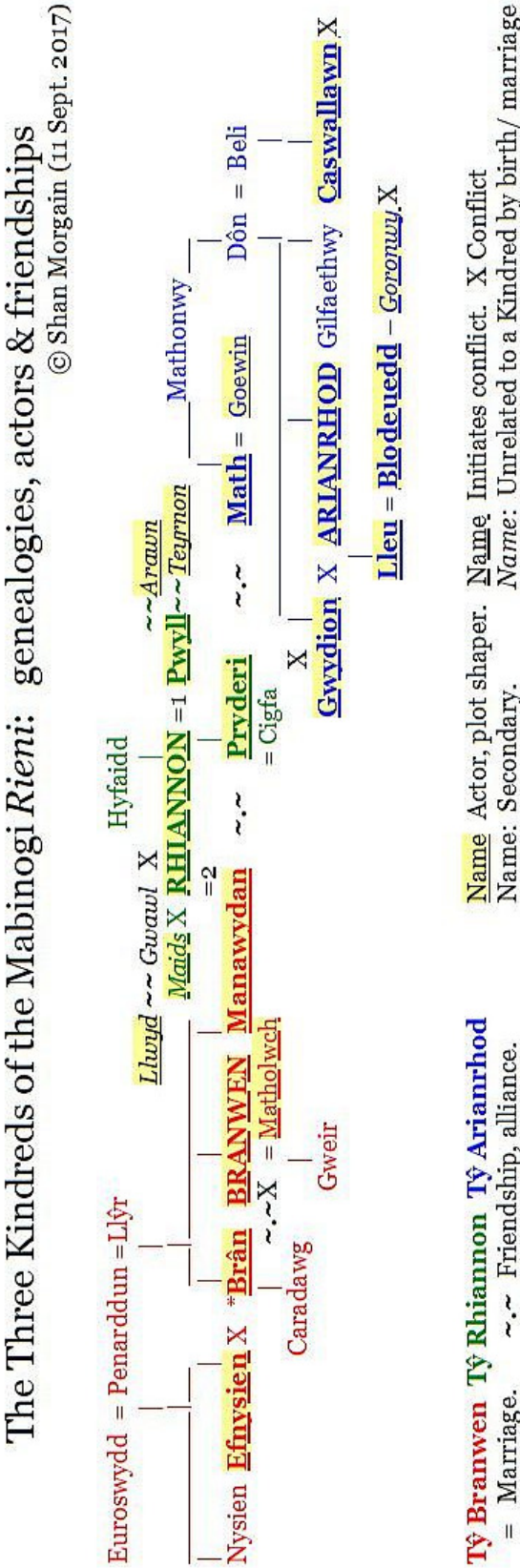
V.12. *Manawydan fab Llŷr* / Manawydan son of Llŷr

V.13. *Llygoden Arglwyddes* / Lady Mouse

V.14. Llwyd *Cil Coed*

V.15. *Gwydion y Lladdwr* / Gwydion the Killer

V.1. Diagram Achyddiaeth / Genealogy Diagram



*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.2. *Brenhines*/ Queen

TABLE *Queen narrative*

PKM1 Arawn mentions her. Pwyll sees her. Year of chastity.

PKM1 Arawn returns. Bedroom dialogue.

Speculative: post-alliance liaison Rhiannon.

The first woman to appear in the Mabinogi is Arawn's wife and *brenhines*/ queen, in Annwfn.¹ The Queen has been designated a literary device servicing a male axis (Arawn– Pwyll) but is arguably more.² She and Rhiannon never meet in the text, but both are intimates of Pwyll's bed.³ Rhiannon might conceivably

¹ Total narrative: PKM1 3.8– 8.3. JKB 21.2–24.2. She is textually anonymised; this study designates her 'the Queen' as a distinctive reference; no other Mabinogi female is referred as 'queen'.

TABLE References. Arawn speaks about his wife, PKM1 3.8–9. JKB 21.2. Pwyll's first sight of her: PKM1 4.14. JKB 22.2. Their relationship PKM1 4.14–5.5. JKB 22.2– 23.1. Her dialogue with Arawn: PKM1 7.3–8.3. JKB 24.1–2.

ANON. Anonymised married women Ch. III.5. LLW: Women & Names, pp. 166–67. Also Ch. IX. Structures: Three Anons, pp. 524–25 for powerful analogue to Rhiannon narrative.

TEXT REFS. In relation to Pwyll she appears as lower –case *gwreic*/ wife, woman; or *urenhines*/ queen. (*y urenhines*/ the queen, 4 instances, with two *gwreic*/ woman when closely following a *urenhines* instance.

In relation to Arawn, 5 instances, *gwreic*/ wife, woman. Also twice titled *Arglwydes*/ Lady, a respect seen also by Teyrnon to his wife, Ch. V.8 Teyrnon's Wife.

Arawn to Pwyll, *wreic*, PKM1 3.9. 'woman', JKB 21.2. Arawn returns, *gwreic ... wreic ... [wreic]* PKM1 7.3, and 5 and 7. 'wife', JKB 24.1. Bed dialogue, *wreic ... 'Arglwydes,'*, PKM1 7.24. 'wife ... "Lady," JKB 24.2. 'Arglwydes,' PKM1 8.1. "Lady", JKB 24.2.

Pwyll sees the *urenhines ... gwreic*, PKM1 4.14 and 15. 'queen ... woman', JKB 22.2. Seating, *urenhines*, PKM1 4.18. 'queen', JKB 22.2. Converse, PKM1 4.20 and 21. 'queen ... woman', JKB 22.2. Bed chastity, *urenhines*, PKM1 4.27. 'queen', JKB 23.1.

² Valente critiques Bollard on his limited attention to the 'actions of the women ... insofar they are useful devices by which the author enacts of the themes of Feuds and Friendships between the male characters', Valente, 'Merched', p. 90. She continues 'He looks at Arawn's wife as the tempting test which is set before Pwyll in the evolution of his new friendship with Arawn. He makes nothing of the queen's subsequent conversation with her husband', p. 91. She has 'no real and separate identity', Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 202. 'Arawn's wife is certainly not a full-scale *persona* in our story, but rather just a means for the storyteller to make a point.' Toorians. 2014. 'Luxuria, Gula and Temperantia in Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet', *Australian Celtic Journal*, 12, p. 134.

³ Pwyll is famously chaste with the Queen, but explicitly Rhiannon's lover. Queen, PKM 4.26–5.5. JKB 22.2–23.1. Rhiannon, PKM1 4.26–5.5. JKB 31.2. But sharing a bed can involve more than sex. The Queen might imaginably know Pwyll's sleeping patterns, and in the morning have sight of much of his body in its everyday changes. They might share talk in the morning over a first drink, for both love conversation. That the Queen preceded Rhiannon in Pwyll's bed, albeit chastely, might be conceived to add nuancing to the two ladies' early encounters. Imaginably, a subtle meeting of glances might occur very early in proceedings, which both comprehend without comment, as intelligently aware royals. Bred to diplomacy in the context of an alliance, the marital bed is unlikely to become an issue. It might even appear in a courtly and witty *double entendre*. Arawn might sustain his more forthright praise for Pwyll's loyalty: whether the ladies enjoyed a direct comment is open to conjecture. The imagined situation here is rather like the relationship between sequential wives or partners via divorce or separation, though the chastity adds

develop a relationship with the Queen, since their husbands become close allies.⁴ Gift exchange sustaining the *carennyd*/ alliance (horses, hunting hounds, hawks, and treasure) aligns with Rhiannon's profile as a famed horsewoman, huntress, and giver of jewels.⁵

The Queen bears notable resemblances with Rhiannon.⁶ A male's promotional description heralds both.⁷ They are 'given' by one man to another.⁸ Both appear anonymously to Pwyll, remote icons of desire,⁹ arrayed in shining gold silk with other signs of wealth.¹⁰ They have otherworldly connotations: the queen in fabled Annwfn, in a shapechanging narrative; Rhiannon as '*rywedawt*' of Arberth.¹¹ Their otherworld and erotic aspects construct them as fascinators.¹²

piquancy. This is good material for a novelist. It is also possible that proud Rhiannon might dislike a female of similar elite status as a rival for centre stage. If so, political acumen is likely to moderate her reaction and overlay it with etiquette.

⁴ She is one of three anonymous but significant female characters of the Mabinogi, together with Teyrnnon's Wife, and Lady Mouse. In this study she is called the Queen (capitalised) as this identifies her Annwfn status, and there being no other female character who is called 'queen'. Ch. III.5.. LLW; 'Women and Names' pp. 166-67, on the names of unmarried/ newly married, and married women. See n. 1 above for 'Queen' instances.

⁵ Dyfed- Annwfn gift exchange, PKM1 8.18-21. JKB 24.2. Rhiannon horsewoman, *gwreic ar uarch canwelw/ mawr aruchel*, PKM1 9.12-13. JKB 25.1. (Ch. I.4. Advent pp. pp. 10-23.) Huntress, PKM3 58.25-27. JKB 72.1. Giver of jewels, PKM1 19.14-16. JKB 312.

⁶ Pennar identifies Rhiannon and the Queen's similarities regarding their silks, their noble, courtly, speech and demeanour; Pennar, 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature', p. 120.

⁷ Her husband Arawn describes her as *y wreic deccaf a weleist ei roe*. PKM1 3.9. 'the fairest woman you have ever seen', JKB 21.2. Rhiannon is heralded as the *rywedawt* of Gorsedd Arberth, PKM1 9.4-7. JKB 25.1-2.

⁸ Arawn says '*rodafy wreic*', PKM1 3.9. 'I will place with [give] you the woman', my insertion. JKB 21.2. Rhiannon to Pwyll, '*Dyro di ui idaw ef*', PKM1 14.21. 'You give me to him', imperative verb, JKB 29.1. Sioned Davies renders this succinctly: 'Give me to him,' *Mabinogion*, p. 73. Bestowal of women Ch. III.5. LLW: Consent, p. 170.

⁹ Rhiannon is anonymous during pursuits for a total of 94 lines, PKM1 9.11-12.23. JKB 25.2-28.1. Pennar speaks of 'the wonder and allurements of the otherworld queen', 'Women', p. 119. Pwyll has keenly anticipated a *rywedawt*, PKM1 9. 9-10. 'wonder', JKB 25.2. Pwyll sees the Queen across her hall, among her retinue; PKM1 4.12-14. JKB 22.1. He sees Rhiannon *ar hyt y prifford a gerdei heb law yr orsedd*. PKM1 9. 14. 'coming alongside the mound.' JKB 25.1; i.e. both approach him where he waits for them.

¹⁰ Queen's silk: *eurwisc amdane i o bali/ llathreit*, PKM1 4.15-16. 'a golden garment of shining silk brocade about her'. JKB 22.2. Rhiannon's silk: *a gwisc eureit, llathreit, o bali amdane i*, PKM1 9.13. 'a shining golden garment of silk brocade about her'. JKB 25.2. Very similar formulaic phrasing. On their other signs of wealth, the queen is seen in incomparable buildings, PKM1 4.6-8; with an incomparably elegant, well equipped military host, PKM1 4.12-14. JKB 23.2. Rhiannon displays her magnificent, valuable horse, PKM1 9.12-13, JKB 25.1, which then dominates the narrative until she meets Pwyll, PKM1 12.8. JKB 27.2.

¹¹ Shapechanging: PKM1 3.6-4.5, and 6.23-25. JKB 21.2 -22.1, and 23.2-24.1.

¹² The 'otherworld temptress'. is a motif associated with the Queen. Laura Hibbert Loomis. 1958. 'Gawain and the Green Knight', in (ALMA) *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*, ed. by Loomis, Roger Sherman (Clarendon Press), p. 528 ff., especially pp. 533-6; and Roger Sherman Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff, 1956), Ch. VI; both cited Pennar, 'Women', p. 120, n. 2. The Queen makes explicit reference to *frouedigaeth y gorff*, PKM1 7.29, 'the temptation of the flesh', JKB 24.2; which she presented to Pwyll. Rhiannon's advent is mysterious,

They head elaborate feasts.¹³ Each is described as skilled in converse. They conduct narratively informative dialogues with male partners.¹⁴ They have solar year periods of chastity related to Pwyll.¹⁵ Both apparently welcome marital intimacy.¹⁶ They relate entirely, or almost entirely, to men.¹⁷ Each is presented as beautiful in the view of male characters.¹⁸

The Queen also shows differences. She is a secondary character in only one Mabinogi episode. Rhiannon threads the greater part of the Four Branches.¹⁹ The Queen-*consort* contrasts Rhiannon as queen-*regnant*.²⁰ The Queen first

pursuits with sexual nuancing, Ch. V.5. Pwyll, p. 256; VI.4. Horse p. 397 n. 66. Seductiveness Ch. V. 4. Gwawl pp. 231-32; PKM1 15.24-25. JKB 29.2-30.1; Ch. IV.1. Voice #13, 14, p. 200.

¹³ Queen and her feast: PKM1 4.14-25. JKB 22.2. Rhiannon announces she owns her wedding feast and will prepare another: PKM1 15.21-25, JKB 29.2-30.1; she also prepares the major homecoming feast for Pryderi PKM3 50.12-14. JKB 63.2-64.1.

¹⁴ Pwyll admires the Queen's converse, PKM1 4.20-22. JKB 22.2. Pryderi admires Rhiannon's, PKM3 50.7-8; JKB 63.2: cf. Manawydan PKM3 50.15-17. JKB 64.1. Valente emphasises the Queen's converse: 'Merched', p. 9, and 'she suffered not only from his apparent lack of sexual interest, but also because he refused to *speak* with her in intimate circumstances', p. 149, my emphasis. Queen, '*nac ymdidan*': PKM1 7.19. '[n]or also FEM conversation', my insertion, JKB 24.1. Note also Arawn's approach to the Queen in bed involves loving conversation: *Y vely/ a gyrchwys, a'y vreic a aeth attaw. Kyntafy gwnaeth/ ef ymdidan a'y [wreic], ac ymyrru ar digriwwch serchawl/ a charyat arnei*. PKM1 7.4-7. 'He went to his bed and his wife came to him. First he conversed with his wife and he engaged in affectionate pleasure and love with her.' JKB 24.1. My underlining, both. This might relate to the heuristic theory of this Branch as a teaching text, here anticipating the Courts of Love and many modern sex manuals. Compare Rhiannon and Pwyll: PKM1 12.7-13.11. JKB 27.2-28.2. Pwyll is not Rhiannon's established 'partner' at this point, but their dialogue builds their betrothal. For more on Rhiannon's skill in converse Ch. IV.1. Voice.

¹⁵ Pwyll's chastity in Annwfn, PKM1 4.26-28, for a year, PKM1 5.6. JKB 22.2-23.1. Pwyll and Rhiannon wait a year for their wedding: PKM1 15.26-28. JKB 30.1. Kit Kapphahn: Manawydan's 'chaste relationship with Cigfa that echoes that of Pwyll and Arawn's wife', Kit Kapphahn. 2015. 'Gender and Genre' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Aberystwyth), p. 36. Chastity issue Ch. V.5. Pwyll. Valente divides Mabinogi women along two themes: fertility (the mothers) and fidelity (the Queen, Cigfa, Goewin, Blodeuwedd). 'Merched', p. 202. Rhiannon combines both themes, fertility Ch. V.10. Pryderi: pp. 316 n. 730,731; her loyalty Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership, pp. 260-63.

¹⁶ Queen welcomes Arawn's lovemaking since she reproaches the lack of it: PKM1 7.3-7. JKB 24.1. Rhiannon's wedding night is happy: PKM1 18.19-21. JKB 31.2.

¹⁷ There is no mention of the Queen relating to another woman, though as a high ranking lady she may be assumed to have Maids, and companion ladies. Rhiannon has two brief mentions of relating to women; her Maids: PKM1 20.23-21.8. JKB 33.2-34.2; a pivotal passage, Ch. V.6. Maids; Rhiannon and Cigfa partner as feast givers, PKM3 50.12-14, JKB 63.1-64.2; and form part of the affectionate Dyfed quartet, post-Desolation, PKM3 59.9-11. JKB 65.1. Unlike Pryderi -Manawydan there is no explicit Rhiannon -Cigfa narrative for this.

¹⁸ On Rhiannon's looks in Pwyll and Pryderi's eyes, quotations, Ch. V.5. Pwyll, p. 246; Ch. V.10. Pryderi, p. 319. The Queen is described as beautiful by Arawn, PKM1 3.9. JKB 21.2. Pwyll's first impression, PKM1 4.14-15. JKB 22.2. Beauty texts, Ch. VI.9. Feminism: Beauty, pp. 133-34.

¹⁹ Queen's narrative: PKM1 3.9 - 8.3 (134 lines). JKB 21.2-24.2. Rhiannon's narrative can be measured in two versions. core, PKM1 8.27- 27.27 (two thirds of PKM1); and all of PKM3. The inclusive, extended version threads through all of PKM1, PKM3, selections of PKM2; and the first third of PKM4. Ch. I.5. Text, pp. 23-29.

²⁰ The Queen is seen as a graceful hostess and companion, never specified or implied as a ruler in her own right, or co-ruler. Rhiannon as co-ruler, PKM1 19.16-18. JKB 33.2. Rhiannon's agency, e.g. Ch. IV.2. Acts: Active-Passive Analysis, pp. 208-09, 211. Pennar sees the Queen as 'totally

appears as married, so is never named. Rhiannon appears anonymously through lengthy passages, but naming herself as a maiden later sustains her named identity.²¹ Pwyll encounters the Queen among a powerful retinue: Rhiannon presents herself alone.²²

Pwyll easily accesses the Queen's privacy, enabled by Arawn. Rhiannon controls Pwyll's access, enforcing his extended effort.²³ Rhiannon achieves marital pleasure by her determined strategy, aided by her chosen male. The Queen is granted pleasure by her controlling male.²⁴ The Queen appears an oblivious pawn between men until her *finale*, an extreme passivity.²⁵ The Queen's 'inmost thoughts' are exposed: Rhiannon's are kept private.²⁶ The Queen uses silence strategically to make her husband explain himself. Rhiannon never does so: her converse is direct and initiatory.²⁷ The Queen's final comment on Arawn's grand achievement is cryptic, open to interpretation.²⁸ The Queen's dialogue is a

subservient to her husband', 'Women', p. 121. This is a little sweeping as she does press Arawn to account to her, PKM1 7.7–21. JKB 24. 1–2.

²¹ Rhiannon's 94 PKM lines of anonymity, PKM1 9.11–12.23; JKB 25.1–28.1; self identification, PKM1 12.23, JKB 28.1. Re convention of anonymising married women, Ch. III.5. Law, Land & Women p. 167 nn. 204, 205.

²² Queen and her retinue PKM1 4.12–16. JKB 22.2. Rhiannon alone, PKM1 9.11–13, JKB 25.2. Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 woman, p. 15 on Rhiannon alone.

²³ Arawn enables: PKM1 3.7–10, & 3.26. JKB 21.2–22.2. Rhiannon's pursuits: PKM1 9.11–12.8. JKB 26.1–27.2.

²⁴ Ambiguity of her final comment, quoted n. 28 below.

²⁵ Arawn's statement, PKM1 3.9, JKB 21.2; third person narrative, PKM1 4.14–15. JKB 22.2. An alternative possibility of couple gameplay is noted Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Annwfn, pp. 252–53.

²⁶ Valente, 'Merched', p. 147, concerning PKM1 7.8–12. JKB 24.1. Mac Cana thinks the Queen 'finds [Pwyll's] behaviour somewhat bizarre.' *Mabinogi*, p. 25. The only other Mabinogi character with inner monologue is Efnysien: e.g. about to kill Branwen's child. "*Y Duw y dygaf uyg/ kyffes, heb ynteu yn y uedwl, ys anhebic a gyflauan/ gan y tylwyth y wneuthur, a wnafi yr awr honn.*" PKM2 43.21–23. 'To God I make my confession,' he thought to himself 'to this household, what I shall do now is an unimaginable crime to commit.' JKB 55.1.

²⁷ See Ch. IV.1. Voice: horsewoman, p. 199. The Queen presses Arawn to explain by her silence PKM1 7, 8–14. JKB 24.1. Pennar observes 'her passive way of showing disapproval [in] silence between them for such a long time', 'Women', p. 122. Ford finds the scene 'ironic': 'Arawn 'has some explaining to do', Ford, *Native Tales*, p. 24; but this falls short of recognising the Queen's agency in insisting he does so. Valente sees her silence as effective strategy. 'The impetus which awakes this response [from Arawn] is the absence of one of her most attractive attributes-- "ymdidan"--or conversation'. 'Merched', p. 147. Pennar draws a contrast between the Queen and Blodeuedd's silences in the marital bed, both used to extort a desired response. The Queen's is 'harmless', 'Women', pp. 122, 121. Blodeuedd, Llew's bed, PKM4 84.1–86.13. JKB 102.2–103.1. The Queen is not, like Blodeuedd, a treacherous murderess. However in their erotic nature, their key function of passing from one male to another, their pressuring silences on their males, they do bear similarity. Pennar further contrasts the Queen and Blodeuedd narrative as a 'tacit anti-exemplum' of 'a man's loyalty and chastity as opposed to a woman's fickleness and duplicity' p. 121. We have no Rhiannon marital dialogue in bed, but neither of her marriages suggests duplicitous, marital sex.

²⁸ '*Diryued oed hynny, heb hitheu.*' PKM1 8.3. "That was no wonder", she said.' JKB 24.2. It seems terse, opaque. She might well object to his use of her as his tool. Alternatively, if as 'other' beings,

plot device, demonstrating her husband Arawn's *carennnyd*/ friendship (alliance) with Pwyll; Rhiannon's dialogues with Pwyll further her own *neges*/ purpose. Rhiannon at times accepts male authority, but does so consciously: the Queen seems largely unknowing of being manipulated. The Queen is a simple character,²⁹ contrasting Rhiannon who is complicated and deepened by collaborative strategy, motherhood, and suffering. The Queen *reacts*, a quiet observer: Rhiannon *acts* as an agent of her own destiny.

Although there are many differences, the Queen's broad similarities may be perceived as initial preparation of a narrative niche for Rhiannon: a model of an iconic, apex-ranked noblewoman, of great wealth; sexually positive, linked to *hud*/ enchantment.³⁰

~ * ~

V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives

V.3. *Merch Hyfaidd Hen*/ Daughter of Hyfaidd Hen

TABLE Hyfaidd 15 narrative references

PKM1 Patronymic (1). Court (2), seating (1).

PKM1 Court (1) Intervenes Gwawl (1). Joint counsel Rhiannon (2). Guarantors (3)

PKM1 Seating, unnamed (1). Blessing departure dialogue (3).

Hyfaidd a phriodoldeb / Hyfaidd and propriety

This chapter is about Rhiannon's father Hyfaidd Hen, and her possible natal homeland. In the colourful drama of *Pwyll II*, it is easy to overlook Hyfaidd as a background figure. Yet his presence is relatively substantial in fifteen references.³¹

the Annwfn couple have played such games on mortals before, she is possibly laughing *with* him at the conclusion of another episode of fun playing with a mortal.

²⁹ Pennar classifies her with Cigfa and Teyrnion's Wife as 'one of the naive unsuspecting women' of the Mabinogi, 'Women', p. 121.

³⁰ Cf. the function of *Pwyll I* as a Prologue, both to PKM1, and to Mabinogi Rhiannon. Ch. I.5. Text: beginning pp. 24-27; Ch. IV.2. Acts p. 206; Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, pp. 26-27. See also Ch. VIII Structures: Three Anons pp. 524-25.

³¹ 'Hefeydd', Bollard, *Landscape*. 'Hyfaidd', this study. Both are modern typography.

Patronymic (1), *Heueyd Hen*, PKM1 12.23. 'Hefeydd Hen', JKB 28.1. Court (2), *yn llys Heueyd*, PKM1 13.7. 'in the court of Hefeydd', JKB 28.1. *yn llys Heueyd Hen*, PKM1 13.17. 'to the court of Hefeydd the Old', JKB 28.2. Seating (1), *eistedysont, Heueyd Hen*, PKM1 13.22. 'how they sat-Hefeydd the Old', JKB 28.2. Court (1) *yn llys Heueyd Hen*, PKM1 15.28-16.1. 'in the court of Hefeydd the Old', JKB 30.1. Intervenes for Gwawl (1), *heb Heueyd Hen*, PKM1 17.17. 'said Hefeydd', JKB 30.2. Joint counsel (2) Pwyll refers to joint counsel *gynghor Heueyd*, PKM1 17.26-27. 'counsel of

When Rhiannon meets Pwyll she identifies herself according to female convention, by personal name and patronymic.

*'Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyfi'*³²

She directs Pwyll to meet her *yn llys Heueyd*, and both her PKM1 weddings occur there.³³ The patronymic and weddings evidence Rhiannon's maidenly status as completely 'proper'. She is the named and publicly acknowledged daughter of Hyfaidd Hen, *arglwydd*/ lord of a *llys*/ court, a realm apparently so well-known and respected her proud declaration has no explanation.³⁴

Propriety specifies seating hierarchy at her wedding.

*Sef
ual yd eistedysont, Heueyd Hen ar neill law Pwyll, a
Riannon o'r parth arall idaw; y am hynny pawb
ual y bei y enryded.*³⁵

Hyfaidd intervenes to rule on correct honour towards Gwawl, and provides knowledge of contract procedure.³⁶

Hefeydd', JKB 31.1. *heb wynt*, PKM1 17.27–28. 'they said', JKB 31.1. Guarantors (3) *heb Eueyd*, PKM1 18.1–2. 'said Hefeydd', JKB 31.1. *heb yr Heueyd*, PKM1 18.4. 'said Hefeydd', JKB 31.1. *Riuaw y meicheu a wnaeth Heueyd*. PKM1 18.6. 'Hefeydd listed the guarantors.' JKB 31.1. Seating, unnamed (1), PKM1 18.18. JKB 31.2. Blessing departure dialogue (3): Pwyll *wrth Heueyd*, PKM1 19.4. 'to Hefeydd', JKB 31.2. *heb Heueyd*, PKM1 19.6. 'replied Hefeydd', JKB 31.2. Query, *heb yr Heueyd*, PKM1 19.8–9. 'asked Hefeydd', JKB 31.2.

³² PKM1 12.23. 'I am Rhiannon daughter of Hefeydd the Old'. JKB 28.1. Ch. III.5. LLW, p. 166 n. 220, female identity defined by relationship to father, and father's territory; also n. 34 below.

³³ PKM1 13.7. 'in the court of Hefeydd', JKB 28.1. *yn llys Eueyd*, PKM1 15.27–16.1 'in the court of Hefeydd', JKB 30.1. Possible interpretation of location below, pp. 224–29.

³⁴ Cf. Arawn likewise announcing his land as Annwfn without explanation. 'Arawn *urenhin Annwfn* *wyfi*.' PKM1 2.26. 'Arawn King of Annwn am I!' JKB 21.1. These declarations are gendered. Arawn as a male, identifies himself by his territory. Rhiannon as a female, identifies herself by her father, which indirectly but surely locates her to his male territory. Ch. III.5. LLW: Territory p. 166. Below for speculation on the location of *llys Hyfaidd*, pp. 224–29.

³⁵ PKM1 13.21–24; 'This is how they sat – Hefeydd the Old on one side of Pwyll and Rhiannon on his other side; after that, each one according to his rank.' JKB 28.2. Also n. 31. references.

³⁶ Honourable treatment of Gwawl, '*guir a dyweit./ lawn yw yt y warandaw; nyt dihenyt arnaw hynny*.' PKM1 17.17–18. 'it is true what he says. It is right for you to listen to him. Not a fit death for him, that.' JKB 30.2. His intervention is taken seriously and acted upon. Pwyll then accepts the *gynghor Heueyd*, PKM1 17.26–27. 'counsel of Hefeydd', JKB 31.1. Hyfaidd acts as guarantor for Gwawl, *heb Eueyd*, PKM1 18.1–2. JKB 31.1., '*Gouyn ueithon y Wawl weicheu,*' *heb yr Heueyd*, PKM1 18.4. 'Now ask guarantors of Gwawl,' said Hefeydd. JKB 31.1. *Riuaw y meicheu a wnaeth Heueyd*. PKM1 18.6. 'Hefeydd listed the guarantors.' JKB 31.1.

Hyfaidd accepts Rhiannon's choice.³⁷ His support conflicts her claim she is compelled to marry against her will.³⁸ It also disrupts Hyfaidd's 'proper' profile, for he is deficient in honour and propriety in breaking Gwawl's contract, especially without compensation. As Rhiannon's father he might be assumed to have officiated the Gwawl betrothal.³⁹ His changed position suggests an indulgent father, and/ or he actively shares Rhiannon's motives to ally with Pwyll Pen Annwn.⁴⁰

A possible interpretation might suggest a family feud. Hyfaidd's epithet 'Hen' means the Old [One]/ the Elder, apt for the elder counsellor he appears to be.⁴¹ Rhiannon, when hard pressed during early marriage, does not appeal to her supportive father (cf. Branwen); nor does she seek formal sanctuary in her homeland during the PKM3 Desolation years.⁴² Three years into her marriage the elder Hyfaidd may be too frail to be useful, or dead; with *llys* Hyfaidd under a new *arglwydd*.⁴³ This would certainly be so a generation later during the Desolation.

There is no Hyfaidd heir present at either of Rhiannon's weddings. If such an heir had arranged the Gwawl betrothal against Hyfaidd and Rhiannon's will,

³⁷ *Ef a aeth ryngtaw a llys Eueyd Hen, ac ef/ a doeth y'r llys, a llawen uuwyrt wrthaw, a dygyuor a/ llewynyd ac arlwy mawr a oed yn y erbyn, a holl uaranned/ y llys wrth y gynghor ef y treulwyrt.*

PKM1 13.17–20, 'He [Pwyll] went to the court of Hefeydd the Old. And he came to the court, and they welcomed him, and a great gathering and gladness and provisions were there to greet him, and all the treasures of the court were dispensed according to his counsel.' JKB 28.2. My insertion. PKM1 13.20–24, similarly 15.28–16.1. JKB 28.2. similarly 30.1. 'Hyfaidd, Rhiannon's father, respects his daughter's decision, he receives Pwyll royally.' Pennar, 'Women', p. 127. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice pp. 231–46, her motivation analysis, perhaps also Hyfaidd's.

³⁸ On meeting Pwyll she explains '*a'm rodi/ y wr o'm hanwod yd ydys*.' PKM1 12.23–24. 'and I am being given to a man against my will', JKB 28.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice #4.

³⁹ Ch. III.5. LLW: Consent, p. 170, on marital bestowal custom.

⁴⁰ Besides his support during two weddings, Hyfaidd is protective of her concerning her departure. PKM1 19.3–10. JKB 31.2. Ellis and Lloyd infer a 'general custom for the bride, after marriage, to remain in her father's house for an undefined period, at the end of which she was escorted to the bridegroom's home', with marriage feasts at each end of the journey, cf. Branwen. *Mabinogion*, p. 30, n. 75. Motivations Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, pp. 231–46.

⁴¹ *Hen*: 'old, aged; ancient, antique, pristine, former; inveterate, chronic; original; senior, elder.' (GPC)

⁴² Branwen's starling appeals to her brother, PKM2 38.7–10. JKB 51.2. John Davies points out there could be a personality factor. Branwen is not forceful and independent, so would ask for help. Rhiannon typically acts resourcefully in her own right or recruits an executive. (Personal communication 29/12/19.) However when accused and judged, Rhiannon is acutely isolated, and not one for grand, self destructive gestures. The Desolation narrative is even more extreme, bearing on survival for her and her beloved kindred. However although the Dyfed family in PKM3 do not seek formal sanctuary with Rhiannon's lineage, they do go first to *Henfordd*/ Hereford; below, a possible connection with Rhiannon's homeland.

⁴³ *Ac yn y dryded ulwydyn, y dechreuis gwyr y wlat/ dala trymuryt yndunt*, PKM1 19.18. 'in the third year the men of the land began to become heavy of heart', JKB 33.2. This is the Preseli council on lack of an heir. Rhiannon's position is only briefly improved when she does give birth.

his absences would be understandable.⁴⁴ On this interpretation, Pwyll Pen Annwfn as a powerful military man, too widely renowned to offend, is ideal to back a Rhiannon-Hyfaidd faction in family feud.⁴⁵ Finally, her bid to evade compensation to Gwawl is understandable not only as avarice, but because an antagonistic heir might well resist paying it. The Pwyll marriage based a distance away also suits a family feud.

Hyfaidd judges Gwawl is right that slaughter in a bag is not a fitting death.⁴⁶ Hyfaidd's intervention, and aid with *meichau*/ legal guarantors,⁴⁷ might aim to somewhat moderate the hostility of the Gwawl faction, and construct the new contract as honourably as possible. Hyfaidd collaborates in counsel with Rhiannon on this new contract.

*'gan gynghor
Heueyd a Riannon.' 'Kynghor yw hynny gynnym
ni,' heb wynt.*⁴⁸

A generation later this advice is key to the Desolation of Dyfed, interlacing PKM1, PKM3.⁴⁹

Rhiannon and Hyfaidd construct a sharp contract, making Gwawl not only relinquish Rhiannon but also his rights to *dial*/ revenge, even paying for the wedding minstrels.⁵⁰ Such coerced payment demonstrates Rhiannon and Hyfaidd's keen focus on conserving their wealth. Hyfaidd willingly and publicly demonstrates his esteem for Rhiannon's procedural acumen, as Pwyll also does.⁵¹ Such an indulgent father might conceivably have trained his daughter in legalistic

⁴⁴ It would be strange for an ageing ruler not to have a recognised heir. One heir absence might be conjectured as riding *cylch*, raiding, or illness. Absence from both weddings suggests opposition.

⁴⁵ For analysis of why Pwyll is Rhiannon's determined and persistent choice, Ch. V. 5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, pp. 231-46.

⁴⁶ *'Arglwyd,' heb y gwr o'r got, 'pei guarandawut/ uiui, nyt oed dihenyd arnaf uy llad y mywn got.'* PKM1 17.15-16. 'Lord,' said the man from the bag 'if you will listen to me, it would not be a fit death for me - to kill me in a bag!' JKB 30.2. Gwawl, Ch. V.3. Gwawl pp. 229-37. PKM1 17.17-18. JKB 30.2. Hyfaidd's and Gwawl's view of this death as 'not fitting' for Gwawl, implies it might be 'fitting' for a lower class of man. (John Davies, personal communication 29/12/19.)

⁴⁷ Hyfaidd intervenes: PKM1 18.1-5. JKB 31.1.

⁴⁸ Counsel: PKM1 17.26-28. "on the counsel of Hefeydd and Rhiannon." 'that is our counsel,' they said.' JKB 31.1.

⁴⁹ Llwyd the author of the Desolation specifically refers to this advice as its cause, PKM3 64.8-10. JKB 75.1. Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Bad Counsel, pp. 236-37. For interlacing theory (cross links) Ch. II. 7. Coherence Paradigm, pp. 121-22; and Ch. IX. Structures, pp. 513-27.

⁵⁰ Rhiannon's offer, PKM1 17.20-28. JKB 30.1-31.2.

⁵¹ Pwyll accepts their joint counsel, PKM1 17.28. JKB 30.1.

customs himself, or supervised her tuition; if so, this is another aspect of Rhiannon's 'unfemininity'.⁵²

Hyfaidd's narrative function is to balance and moderate Rhiannon's powerful presentation as the alien '*rywedawt*' of Arberth; his respectability clothes her in convention, moving into marriage.⁵³ He represents propriety in Rhiannon's patronymic and homeland; seating hierarchy at her weddings; 'fitting' treatment of a captured nobleman (his single opposing of her at Gwawl's appeal); organising Gwawl's contract and guarantors; checking the bridal journey custom which shows particular care for her.⁵⁴

Pwy yw Hyfaidd Hen? / Who is Hyfaidd Hen?

Hyfaidd Hen is apparently well-known, with no need for his *llys* to be explained (above). We are not party to that contemporary knowledge, and Rhiannon's homeland is of interest to us.⁵⁵

'Hyfaidd' is an apt warrior name:

hyfaidd: bold, daring, adventurous, dauntless, audacious,
from root *baid*d – venture, challenge, daring, endeavour. (GPC)⁵⁶

There are several instances of it in mediaeval Welsh literature.⁵⁷ *A Hyfaidd Hir* / 'Hyfaidd the Tall', appears in *Y Gododdin*. If he is from Rhiannon's natal kindred,

⁵² There is no evidence of females partaking in legal matters in the lawbooks or elsewhere, in spite of their evident role as advisers (Ch. III.5. LLW p. 172). There are further examples of Rhiannon's 'unfeminine' aspects; Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse, pp. 17-19; and Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance, saddling p. 270 esp. Winward.

⁵³ A maiden can apparently be independent, even odd, not permitted to a wife. Ch. III.5. LLW: pp. 166-68 esp. nn. 204,205, on marriage changing women's position; p. 175 n. 256 on 7 years transition, *agweddiol*. Ch. IX Structures: Three Anons pp. 524-25 pp. 519-20, wives' anonymity.

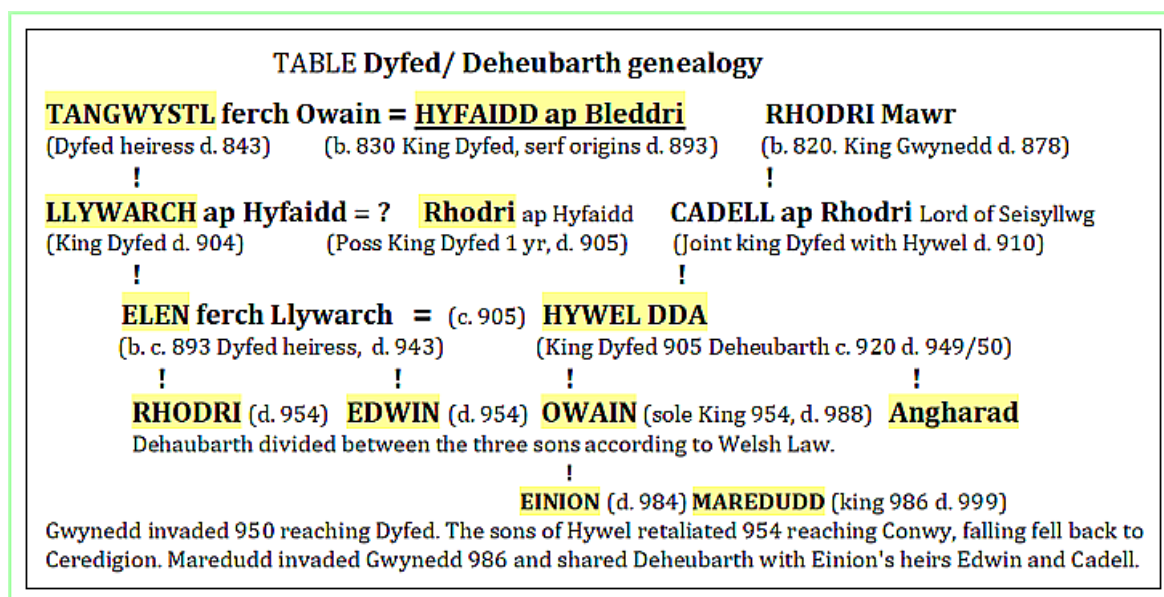
⁵⁴ Possibly Rhiannon presents herself in this conventional way strategically (mimesis), to appeal to Pwyll as the masculine, protective hero.

⁵⁵ Mabinogi characters identity derives from territory, for males directly, for females via a sponsoring male; Ch. III.5. LLW pp. 165-66. The Mabinogi is embedded in known, familiar locations today, cf. Bollard, Griffiths' photographic treatment, *Landscape*. Llwyd Cil Coed (PKM3 64.5-6) is a notable exception whose territory is obscure, arguably reinforcing his *éminence gris* role. Ch. V.14 Llwyd, pp. 347-48. Ch. VI.3 Magicians do seem to transcend territory, p. 388.

⁵⁶ 'The term *hyfaidd* means 'bold' and appears to be used twice in that sense in a poem in the Book of Taliesin (CT VII.16, 50). Ifor Williams says of these two instances, '*hyfeid* could be an adjective. I hardly think that it is the Hyfeidd made famous in the *Gododdin*' (CT p.66).' Bartrum. 1993. *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000*, H-LL (Aberystwyth: NLW), p. 422.

⁵⁷ Anwyl speculates a Taliesin XLV connection where 'ennyd' might be 'Eveyd Hen the father of Rhiannon', 'Mabinogi', III, p. 133. In his triadic 'Cycles' analysis he particularly links the Rhiannon narrative with the Don narrative (PKM4), implying a possible northern connection, but this remains unclear and undeveloped, p. 110 n. 27. For his 'Cycles' Ch. II. Academia: Anwyl, pp. 109-11; and Ch. IX. Structures, p. 509 n. 4, and 521n. 86; and my 'Rhiannon Interlace' Diagram p. 209.

he is generations earlier.⁵⁸



Genealogy of Hywel Dda.⁵⁹

Hyfaidd ap Bleddri of Dyfed is reputed as lower status than the Dyfed heiress he marries. It is not inconceivable he might have been of Rhiannon's ancestral lineage: perhaps a younger, poorer son turned adventurer.⁶⁰ Dyfed

⁵⁸ *Gwerth medd yng nghyntedd gan /lliwedawr/ Hyfaidd Hir edmygir tra fo cerddawr*. Ifor Williams (ed.), *Canu Aneirin* (UWP, 1961), *Awdl* V. 55-56, p. 3. 'In return for mead in the hall with the hosts, / Hyfaidd Hir [the Tall] will be praised while there is a minstrel.' A. O. H. Jarman, ed. 1988. *Aneirin: Y Gododdin Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem: Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem*, The Welsh Classics series, 3 (Gomer Press), p. 6.

It is not a unique name-epithet couplet. 'He appears in the Mabinogi branch of 'Branwen' as Eueyd Hir and Euehyd Hir, one of the messengers sent to Matholwch Wyddel when he left the court of Brân without explanation (WM 42, RM 29), and again on a second occasion (WM 43, RM 29). He was one of the seven princes left in Britain when Brân departed on his fateful trip to Ireland (WM 50, RM 35). He and his companions were slain by Caswallon ap Beli (WM 58, RM 58). Again to be distinguished from Hyfaidd.' Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*, H-LL, p. 410.

This PKM2 Hyfaidd Hir is a later generation than Rhiannon's father as he is killed by Caswallawn cf. a similar generational gap for PKM1 and PKM2 Pendaran, Ch. V.10. Pendaran, pp. 291-92. Could this PKM2 Hyfaidd Hir be the successor to Hyfaidd Hen, the heir speculated here opposing the Pwyll marriage (or a close relative)? Hyfaidd Hir holds high position, trusted by the king of Britain as a diplomatic messenger PKM2 32.19.20. JKB 46.2; again, with Manawydan PKM2 33.15-16. JKB 47.1, and chosen as a Regent in the king's absence; PKM2 39.1-2. JKB 52.1; but is killed by the usurper Caswallawn, PKM2 46.2-4. JKB 57.1.

⁵⁹ Compiled from R. R. Davies, 'Conquest, Coexistence and Change', p. xv; and Bartrum, *Classical Dictionary*, H-LL

⁶⁰ Hyfaidd ap Bleddri, King of Dyfed (c.830 - 893). This 'Hyfaidd' is mentioned twice by Asser in his *Life of Alfred*: 'For my friends hoped that they should sustain less tribulation and harm from king Hemeid, who often plundered that monastery [Menevia] and the parish of St. Degui [Dewi], and sometimes expelled the prelates, as they expelled archbishop Novis [Nobis], my relation, and myself (§79). / King Hemeid, with all the inhabitants of the region of Demetia [Dyfed], compelled by the violence of the six sons of Rotri [Rhodri Mawr], had submitted to the dominion of the king [Alfred] (§80). The pedigree of Hyfaidd is given in the 'Harleian' genealogies (HG §2 in EWGT p. 9) from which we learn that he was the son of Tangwystl ferch Owain ap Maredudd of the line of kings of Dyfed, and the father of Llywarch. Similarly ABT 18a in EWGT p. 106. / His death is recorded in *Annales Cambriae* s.a.892 (*recte* 893). The corresponding entry in *Brut y Tywysogion*

evidently respected a tradition of pivotal women rulers: Tangwystl. Elen; but these are native born unlike the incomer wife Rhiannon who will endure hostility from the native nobles.⁶¹

Another *arglwydd*, Hyfaidd Henllyn,⁶² resembles Rhiannon's Hyfaidd Hen. This Hyfaidd is attributed extensive territories in Powys, of uncertain date.⁶³ Like Rhiannon he is legendary. Rhiannon's advent ride to Arberth has been conjectured as coming from the east, else late sun would block her as a silhouette, instead of displaying a golden blaze.⁶⁴ Powys lies well east of Dyfed.

Some scholars have noted a possible derivation of 'Maesyfed' (Radnorshire), from 'Hyfaidd'.

It is conjectured, however, by persons conversant with the ancient history of Wales, that the original appellation was Maes Hyvaidd, and that the district was so called from having belonged to Hyvaidd, son of Caradoc Vraichvras, at one time prince of the country.⁶⁵

Rhiannon's father's name was Heveyd, it is not impossible that one form of her story came from the Radnorshire (Builth) zone, the name of Radnorshire in Welsh being Maesyfed, that is 'Maes Hyfeidd'.⁶⁶

It is quite possible that legends concerning Rhiannon prevailed in the districts of Maesyfed ... for Eveydd, the name of Rhiannon's father, still survives in the name Maesyfed, for Maes Hyveyd⁶⁷

Modern Maesyfed,⁶⁸ (English 'New Radnor'), now a tiny village, was the original county town of Radnorshire. New Radnor castle was once a considerable

calls him Hyfaidd ap Bledri. He is evidently the same as 'Hyfaidd ap Bleiddig of Deheubarth' mentioned in a triad (TYP no. 68) as one of the 'Three Kings who were sprung from Villeins'. Besides the son, Llywarch, who died in 904, he had a son, Rhodri, who died in 905.' Peter Clement Bartrum, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*, H-LL, p. 422. (URL text Bibliography).

⁶¹ Nobles' Councils: Rhiannon's barrenness Preselis, PKM1 19.18–20.2. JKB 33.2. Rhiannon accused, PKM1 21.12–14. JKB 34.2.

⁶² *Llyn*: 1. lake, pool, pond, puddle, pool (in river, &c.), fishpond, moat, also transf. and fig 2. drink, beverage, intoxicating liquor, cordial, juice; liquid, humour. (GPC)

⁶³ A Viking reference may mean a 10thC period, Bartrum below.

⁶⁴ Ch. I.6. Advent #6 Gold, pp. 20–21.

⁶⁵ Samuel Lewis. 1849. 'Radnor - Radnorshire', in *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London: S. Lewis and Co., 13, Finsbury Place), p. 331. My insertion. (2 X URLs text Bibliography).

⁶⁶ i.e. the plain of Hyfeidd. Anwyl, 'Value of the Mabinogion for Celtic Religion', p. 240.

⁶⁷ Lloyd, E. 'Mabinogion as Literature', I, p. 174.

⁶⁸ *Maes*, 'open country as opposed to woodland, expanse of open land, level land, plain (GPC)

fortress, thus the 'prince' (Lewis, above);⁶⁹ the old name 'Trefaesfyfed' may derive from 'Hyfaidd'.⁷⁰



Widescale, Maes Hyfaidd.



Close-scale, modern name New Radnor.⁷¹

Bartrum lists 'Hyfaidd Henllyn', *Arglwydd Maesyved*/ Lord of Maesyfed, as derived from 'Maes Hyfaidd'; reputedly the son of Caradog Freichfras, founder of the Rhys Goch of Ystrad Yw lineage.⁷² 'Caradog Freichfras is associated with Radnor and Hereford' in 16thC records:⁷³

⁶⁹ 'The Welsh name for New Radnor is *Maesyfed*, appearing as *maes hewed* about 991 (though recorded for that date only in a late 13th-century source), when it probably referred to the valley as a whole.' Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust. 1994. 'New Radnor', Historic Settlements Survey - Radnorshire, p. 2. (URL text Bibliography).

⁷⁰ 'Trefaesfyfed': *tref*, a town or a settlement; *faes* (*maes*) - open country, field; *-yfed*, perhaps from [H]yfedd/ [H]yfaidd.

⁷¹ 'New Radnor' search: Streetmap: <streetmap.co.uk> original. The close scale map (unedited), shows the modern name. Its location has been added as 'Maes Hyfaidd' to the widescale map at disproportionate size.

⁷² 'HYFAIDD HENLLYN. He appears in some late pedigrees as son of Caradog Freichfras and ancestor of the tribe of Rhys Goch of Ystrad Yw. ... he is called Arglwydd Maesyved. The name Maesyfed [New Radnor] is derived from Maes Hyfaidd.' Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*, H-L, p. 422.

⁷³ Peter Bartrum. 1963. 'Pedigrees of the Welsh Tribal Patriarchs', *NLWJ*, XIII, 2, p. 130. He continues: 'The epithet seems to be a corruption of Unllen. Hyfaidd Unllen appears without parentage in Culhwch ac Olwen (WM 462, RM 107) and Breuddwyd Rhonabwy (RM 159).'

'arglwydd Maes Hyfaidd a iarll Henffordd', and 'iarll Hennffordd, marchog orr Vort Gronn, arglwydd Messyfaidd'.⁷⁴

The *'iarll Henffordd'* (English, 'earl'), recalls the cryptic *'iarll'* at Pwyll's Annwfn feast.⁷⁵ Both Viking titles seem odd, especially at inland *Henffordd*/ Hereford. However Viking raids (866–914), not only ravaged Dyfed so badly its famous 10thC Hywel Dda contracted with the *Sais* against them;⁷⁶ they also reached Herefordshire, sacking Archenfield.⁷⁷ Two instances of *'iarll'* possibly linked to Rhiannon's narrative, might hint a 10thC development period for her PKM1 tales. The hypothetical ancestor Hyfaidd ap Bleddri of Dyfed (above), and an eastern tradition, loosely resembles the PKM1 split Dyfed – Gwent narrative.⁷⁸

Henffordd, part of *Maes Hyfaidd*, is the first destination of Rhiannon's Dyfed family in exile.⁷⁹ If Rhiannon's father was *Arglwydd Henffordd* when she married, by the time her son is an adult prince, 'old' Hyfaidd is likely dead (above).⁸⁰ Still, if Rhiannon had known *Henffordd* as a maiden she might hope for contacts there to help her family in exile.

Caradawg Freichfras, father of Hyfaidd Henllyn, possibly Rhiannon's grandfather, appears in Triad 38, with two important Mabinogi characters and their horses: Caswallawn, to whom Rhiannon is related by marriage,⁸¹ and Lleu of Gwynedd.

Bartrum also surmises a fairy mother for Caradog; *ibid.* 'Fairy Mothers', *BBCS*, 19 (1960–62), pp. 7–8.

⁷⁴ Bartrum, 'Pedigrees of Patriarchs', p. 107. Also other refs. to *Henffordd*/ Hereford, noting the Mabinogi PKM1 Hyfaidd Hen, p. 422. 'Hyfaidd Unllen' occurs without parentage, in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, prose tales.

⁷⁵ *'iarll'*, PKM1 4.18. 'earl', JKB 28.2. *'earl'*: the identity of this person is unclear. The title itself is not found in the medieval laws tracts, neither was it in use among the native Welsh rulers.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 229. Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Hywel Dda, p. 184.

⁷⁶ Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Hywel Dda, pp. 183–85.

⁷⁷ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, AD 915, Worcester Manuscript. 'they got into the mouth of the Severn, and raided in Wales everywhere along the banks where it suited them, and took Cameleac, bishop in Archenfield, and led him to ship with them; and then King Edward ransomed him back for 40 pounds. Then after that the whole raiding-army went up and wanted to go on a raid against Archenfield; then they were met by [the men] from Hereford and from Gloucester'. Michael Swanton, ed. trans. 1996. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (J.M. Dent), p. 99. (URL text Bibliography).

⁷⁸ Dyfed narrative: PKM1 1–21.28. JKB 19.2–35.1. Gwent narrative: PKM1 22.1 – 25.6. JKB 35.1–37.1. Gwent-Dyfed narrative: PKM1 25.6–27.12. JKB 37.1–40.1. Ford's *Cyfranc* analysis Ch. I.5. Text pp. 30, 32, and Ch. IX. Structures, p. 512–13. Also anonymous *awdl*, referencing Teyrnnon and the *gellast*/ hunting hound bitch, appearing to point an east-west axis. Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #3, p. 33; Teyrnnon is presented Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon, pp. 279–87.

⁷⁹ PKM3 52.20–21. Hereford, JKB 66.1.

⁸⁰ Above, the new *Arglwydd* of Rhiannon's natal homeland might have been estranged branch kin; she does not appeal to him for help when enduring hostility in Dyfed three years into marriage.

⁸¹ Pryderi refers to Caswallawn as Manawydan's cousin; PKM3 49.10. JKB 63.1. Rhiannon marries Manawydan PKM3 50.19–26. JKB 64.2.

Triad 38: (T)ri Rodedicuarch Enys Prydain:

*Meinglas, march Cas6alla6n mab Beli,
Melyngan Mangre, march Lleu Lla6 Gyffes,
a Lluagor, march **Caradau6c 6reichuras.** [My emphasis]⁸²*

Caradawg Freichfras has a 'Strong Arm', a warrior/ warlord epithet.⁸³ *Lluagor* his horse is a war-horse, trained to charge into and divide an enemy host.⁸⁴

Caradawg of Bartrum's genealogies, founded a dynastic realm, a likely warlord.⁸⁵ Hyfaidd Henllyn his son, gave his name to their territories.⁸⁶ Triad 38's 'bestowed horse' motif matches Rhiannon's son Gwri/ Pryderi;⁸⁷ not uniquely, but distinctively. Selecting a prime colt born the same season as a noble boy, raising them together as rider and mount for lifelong partnership, is effective training for a fighting pair.⁸⁸ Triad 38 observes horse bestowal by British kings in Gwynedd, and in Maes Hyfaidd/ Radnor.

The central importance of the horse to the mediaeval Welsh political economy has been stressed.⁸⁹ Jenny Ryan suggested the prolific horse references in southern Mabinogi tales are due to the southern landscape as favourable to riding and breeding horses.⁹⁰ Giraldus records Powys as heartland of a superb hybrid breed of native and Spanish bloodlines of *majestate*/ 'majestic proportions', and *incomparabili velocitate*/ 'astonishing fleetness'.⁹¹ Sean Davies

⁸² 'TYP Triad 38: Three Bestowed Horses of the Island of Britain:

Slender Grey / Pale Grey/ Dun the horse of Caswallon son of Beli,/ Pale Yellow, horse of Lleu Law Gyffes,/ Host-Opener/ Splitter, horse of Caradawg Strong Arm.' TYP Triad 38, p. 103. I have added Bromwich' alternate terms into the translation, drawn from her notes. 'Lluagor reappears in the first continuation of Chretien's Conte del Graal as Lorzagor, the horse of Carados Briebras'.

Lorzagor, owned by Carados Briebras is about a 'horse's being born at one birth with the hero who afterwards owned him'. TYP p. lxxxv. Bromwich stresses this as a 'highly primitive tale' from *cyfarwydd* oral transmission, noting the Pryderi parallel, p. lxxxvii. Teyrnon's Wife arranges the colt born the same night to be given to the child Gwri/ Pryderi. PKM1 23.24 –28, 24.1–5. JKB 36.2. Bromwich notes the common tale type: 'Helpful Animal Companions', TYP p. 103.

⁸³ 'Breichfras', cf, Lleu Llaw Gyffes, 'Skilful Hand', in the same Triad 38.

⁸⁴ Cf. Thomas Jones, ed. 1967. "The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 53, p. 136, 17b, where *Lluagor* is rendered as 'causing gaps in a host'.

⁸⁵ Cf. Pryderi the conqueror, PKM1 27.19–22. JKB 40.1.

⁸⁶ Cf. Hywel Dda's famous name, but he built on his father Cadell's conquests. Ch. V.1. Hyfaidd, genealogy (Table) p. 223 above.

⁸⁷ Gwri's colt PKM1 23, 24 –28, 24.1–5. JKB 36.2.

⁸⁸ Propinquity via two linked infancies, youth to develop profound trust to aid mutual training, acutely fast reactions in fighting partnership. Ch. III.4. Equine, p. 161–62 cf. Gwri p. 161.

⁸⁹ Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion*, p. 161–62.

⁹⁰ Jane Ryan, 'Horses in medieval Welsh literature', p. 191.

⁹¹ Giraldus, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, Ch. XII. Powell. ed. trans. *Itinerarium Cambriae*, p. 155. Ch. III.4. Equine p. 162 n173 for full Latin quotation and translation. Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 11 suggests SE Wales immigration from Spain; *cordwal*, Cordovan leather from Spain for making shoes, Manawydan, PKM3 54.12–13. JKB 67.1. 'Cordovan – high-quality Spanish leather, or 'cordwain',

notes Robert de Bellême, the breeder Giraldus mentions, was only briefly present (1098– 1102), only enough to add to an existing native breeding programme.⁹² Two 12thC poets refer to kings with 'Gascon' horses.⁹³ The native cob has a barrel body, short legs, and strong stamina. Rhiannon's horse, *mawr aruchel*/ great, majestic;⁹⁴ is much more Giraldus' *majestate*. Her unattainability, if interpreted as unbeatable speed, also sounds more like Giraldus' *incomparabili velocitate*.⁹⁵ Her association with horses is so strong, and her advent's powerful mount so striking, it would be apt if her homeland bred outstanding horses.⁹⁶ Her intimate partnership with her powerful horse suggests a similar, mutual training as a girl to her son's youth in Gwent.⁹⁷

Ifor Williams queries the lack of a native Powys *mabinogi* like the other main regions of Wales have.⁹⁸ He theorised *englynion*, simple, short-form poems, inserted in prose tales to express emotion or enact dialogue, cf. the five Mabinogi *englynion*, which Williams considered older than their prose context.⁹⁹ He

produced in Cordoba during the Moorish period. It was used especially to make shoes.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 238

⁹² Sean Davies. *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, p. 172.

⁹³ 12thC poet Llywarch ap Llywelyn records Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (Prince of Gwynedd 1195–1240) owning Gascon horses in his poem '*Mawl Llywelyn ab Iorwerth o Wynedd*' / 'Gascon horses, harnessed, lively/frisky'. Line 58: '*Gwasgwynfeirch goseirch, gosathar*'. Elin M. Jones, ed. *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion V, Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn* (Cardiff, 1991), p. 221.

12thC Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr records Madog ap Maredudd (Prince of Powys from 1132–1160) similarly in his poem '*Marwnad Fadawg fab Maredudd*'. Line 15: '*Rhydd wisgoedd Wesgŵyn ganhymdaith*' / 'I was generously given [from previous line] clothes freely by one who walks with/accompanies/leads Gascon horses'. Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, eds. *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion III, Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II* (Cardiff, 1991), p. 87.

My thanks to Alan Llwyd for both references, 03/03/2024.

⁹⁴ PKM1 9.13. JKB 25.2. Ch. I.3. Advent, p. 20: *aruchel* (GPC). Photo Ch. VI.4. Bramble p. 400.

⁹⁵ The new breed, 1098– 1102, would be 'hot news' at the time of Mabinogi compilation c.1100.

Speculatively, Rhiannon's striking advent imagery might serve as ideal publicity for a canny breeder about their new, amazing breed. The tale of Teyrnon breeding his peerless mare south of Powys, could add more glamour, presenting how close guard needed against thieves for this valuable stock. PKM1 22.1–21. JKB 35.1– 36.1.

⁹⁶ In the southwest of the region lies *Maenydd Epynt*/ Epynt Plateau, over 30,000 acres of upland: *ep* = horse; *hynt* = way. In 1940 a clearance was performed by the MOD, evicting all 54 farming families, predominantly Welsh-speaking, to enable a WWII military training ground which still operates. NFU Cymru (URL text Bibliography). The association with Welsh cobs survives. Epynt Way Association. (URL text Bibliography). Mountain Guide, 'Guide to Wales's Hills and Mountains' (map), gives coordinates 52.106407, -3.518111. (URL graphic, data, Bibliography).

⁹⁷ Partnership young rider and horse Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion*, p. 161. Union with her horse, Ch. I.5. Advent: #5 Horse, pp. 17–20 (integration), & Ch. VI.4. Horse, pp. 399 (synergy). Bestowal of colt Gwri and their training, Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife: Dialogue III, p. 288.

⁹⁸ Dyfed (PKM1, PKM3), Gwent (PKM1), and Gwynedd (PKM2, PKM4).

⁹⁹ Ifor Williams. 1932. 'The poems of Llywarch Hen', Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 18, pp. 269–302. *ibid.* John Rhys Memorial Lecture, 1933. repub, slightly augmented 1980. 'The Poems of Llywarch Hen', in *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry: Studies by Sir*

suggested a Powys *mabinogi* once woven with the Llywarch Hen *englynion*.¹⁰⁰ If Rhiannon's natal homeland, *llys* Hyfaidd Hen, may be identified as Maesyfed in Powys, her *Pwyll II* narrative of courtship and weddings might possibly qualify as a Powys *mabinogi*.

Hyfaidd, Rhiannon's father, as guardian of propriety, enables Rhiannon's transition to respectable wifehood after her sensational advent. He is an esteemed counsellor on legalistic procedure; possibly her mentor, apparently extremely indulgent of her *negessau*/ purposes. His support problematises her original claim to a compelled bestowal, and his propriety fails to honour Gwawl's betrothal contract. A family feud might resolve these contradictions. Legendary Hyfaidd Henllyn of Maesyfed might possibly locate legendary Rhiannon's homeland, making her mount one of the hybrid Powys' breed.

~ * ~

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.4. *Gwawl fab Clud*/ Gwawl son of Clud

TABLE Gwawl narrative

PKM1 Referred anon. His anon. request at Rhiannon's wedding. Her bag plan.
PKM1 Gwawl's wedding. Rhiannon's persuasion. Pwyll's ambush, man in the bag.
PKM1 Gwawl's appeal, Hyfaidd's support. Rhiannon and Hyfaidd's advice.

Proffil, statws, enw / Profile, status, name

This chapter aims to profile Rhiannon's relationship with *Gwawl fab Clud*/ Gwawl son of Clud; her first betrothed. Gwawl is a PKM1 secondary character, with one

Ifor Williams, ed. by Bromwich, Rachel (Cardiff: UWP), p. 130. On the *Mabinogi englynion*, *Ifor Williams*. 1954. 'Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry' (DIAS), p. 127, n. 17. Also Rowland. *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*. Rodway sounds serious caution on this 'saga poetry' (Personal communication email 20/03/2023, noted Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose, p. 41 n238).

Efnysien's *englynau*, PKM2 43.5–7. JKB 54.2. Math's *englyn*, PKM4 76.21–23. JKB 92.2. Gwydion has three to the eagle, initial same words *Dar a dyf ...*, PKM4 89.25; 90.4, 10.. 'the oak grows ...' JKB 105.1–2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ifor Williams*, 'Early Welsh Poetry', p. 127. The heroes were northern (Rheged), but a Powys bard relocated them in his own country. Argument pp. 126–31, including detailed linguistic grounds. For a summary of Williams' Llywarch theories, D. M. Lloyd. 1959. Llywarch Hen, a 6th century British prince and a hero of a cycle of Welsh tales dating from the mid-9th century. Dictionary of Welsh Biography. (URL text Bibliography). However the 'saga poetry' theory is debatable; Rodway expresses serious caution (Personal communication email 20/03/2023)

significant PKM3 reference.¹⁰¹

Rhiannon first speaks of Gwawl merely as an unnamed *gwr*/ 'a man'. He then appears physically as an anonymous stranger, *gwas*/ 'a young man'. Finally Rhiannon names him.¹⁰² These 52 lines give Gwawl a 'prefacing',¹⁰³ building his status, though a secondary character.

Rhiannon crucially introduces Gwawl as her *unwanted* betrothed (literally 'against my will').

a'm rodi
*y wr o'm hanwod yd ydys.*¹⁰⁴

Compulsion might imply one or more unappealing characteristics: someone ugly, sickly, elderly, lacking worldly power or resources, dishonourable, or unmannerly. Yet Gwawl presents the contrary: entirely fit, a tall, young redhead, with royal mien, arrayed in wealthy silks:

guas gwineu, mawr, teyrneid,
a guisc o bali amdanaw.
*and dylydauc tir a dayar a chyuoeth.*¹⁰⁵

Rhiannon is explicit he is a man of wealth and might:

Guawl uab Clut, gwr tormyn/
*nawc, kyuoethawc.*¹⁰⁶

Her plot pivots on this status: she exhorts him to meet the challenge of her bag because his status qualifies him to do so.¹⁰⁷ Throughout Gwawl's PKM1 presence

¹⁰¹ Gwawl's PKM1 narrative: PKM1 12.23–18.14. JKB 28.1–31.1. Mentioned PKM3 64.7. JKB 75.1. On the latter, Bad Counsel, below pp. 236–37. Also in Ch. V.10. Pryderi, pp. 325–28

¹⁰² For Rhiannon's first references to Gwawl, quotations below, trans., nn. 103, 104. Gwawl physically appears, quotation below, trans. n. 105. Rhiannon names Gwawl, quotation below, trans. n. 106.

¹⁰³ 52 lines. From *a'm rodi/y wr o'm hanwod yd ydys*, PKM1 12.23–24, to '*Guawl uab Clut, gwr tormyn/nawc/kyuoethawc*', 14.17–18. 'and I am being given to a man against my will', to 'Gwawl son of Clud, a wealthy man with many followers.' JKB 28.1–29.1. Below for comparison with Rhiannon's prefacing.

¹⁰⁴ Rhiannon: PKM1 12.23–24. 'I am being given to a man against my will.' JKB 28.1. She reiterates it PKM1 14.16. JKB 28.1.

¹⁰⁵ Gwawl: PKM1 13.27–28. 'a large, regal, auburn-haired youth with a garment of silk brocade about him'. JKB 28.2. On the significance of silk, Ch. I.6. Advent #7, when Rhiannon wears silk, PKM1 9.13. JKB 25.2.

¹⁰⁶ Gwawl: PKM1 14.17–18. 'Gwawl son of Clud, a wealthy man with many followers', JKB 29.1. Also in her bag speech without naming him, PKM1 15.9, JKB 29.2. Pwyll repeats it to Gwawl, PKM1 16.23, JKB 30.2. Gwawl's pride and status was immediately evident when Pwyll invited him to sit when he arrived, but Gwawl refused. To do so would mean accepting a lower placement than Pwyll, and acknowledging Pwyll as bridegroom. Gwawl deliberately presents himself as an outsider to the gathered hierarchy, an example of the political importance of feast seating, PKM1 14.1–3. JKB 28.2.

¹⁰⁷ Rhiannon describes the bag's peculiarity to Pwyll in advance in her 'bag speech', PKM1 15.9. JKB 29.1. Pwyll publicly repeats the same peculiarity in his enactment, PKM1 16.23. JKB 30.1–2.

he demonstrates unfailing courtesy, even when betrayed and violently abused.

*'Arglwyd,' heb y gwr o'r got, 'pei guarandawut/
uiui, nyt oed dihenyd arnaf uy llad y mywn got.'*¹⁰⁸

Gwawl's advent resembles Rhiannon's in several ways. He has a prefacing sequence (much shorter than hers).¹⁰⁹ Their elite nobility and wealth evidences by wearing silks, they have strong physiques,¹¹⁰ and he has possible horse affinity.¹¹¹ Both hold initial courtly dialogues with Pwyll.¹¹² The Cyfarwydd in framing this similarity seems to suggest Gwawl as an acceptable Rhiannon consort, not a simplistic villain.¹¹³

Gwawl's patronymic '*fab Clud*' may derive from the river Clyde region,¹¹⁴ the post-Roman kingdom of *Ystrad Clud*, Gaelic *Aíl Cluaithe*; renamed Strathclyde after Viking incursions (870).¹¹⁵ The *Hen Ogledd*/ Old North, comprised the southern Scottish Lowlands and part of Northern England.¹¹⁶ Gwawl's *gwineu*/ auburn hair may possibly be a racial marker for Scottish origins.¹¹⁷ By the 11thC

¹⁰⁸ PKM1 17.15–16. 'Lord,' said the man from the bag 'if you will listen to me, it would not be a fit death for me - to kill me in a bag!' JKB 30.2. There is a possible nuance here that Gwawl, though suffering hurts, may be laughing, presenting the violence as boisterous but not lethal, or else attempting to transform it to a lighter humour. Gwawl as 'the man from the bag' loses his identity, cf. Pwyll, *y/gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*, PKM1 5. 20–21, 'the man who was in Arawn's place', JKB 23. 1.
¹⁰⁹ For Gwawl's 52 lines prefacing, n. 103, Rhiannon's prefacing is 88 lines: *Arglwyd,' heb un o'r llys, 'kynneddyfyr orssed yw*, PKM1 9.4; to *A/ guelet a wnaeth na thygyei idaw y hymlit*, PKM1 12.5–6. In translation 111 lines: from "Lord,' said one of the court, 'a peculiarity of the mound', to 'it would not prosper him to pursue her'. JKB 25.1–2, to 27.2.

¹¹⁰ Gwawl nn. 105, 106 above. Rhiannon may be inferred as a large, strong woman because she is competent with an impressively large, powerful horse. This is reinforced by Sioned Davies' rider-horse integration theory, Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse, pp. 17–20. Also Winward's arguments: Rhiannon's supposed manic struggle with her Maids, and her penance bearing people on her back suggesting considerable physical strength. 'Aspects', pp. 83–84.

¹¹¹ The colour term *gwinau* PKM1 13.27. for Gwawl is more used of horses; *gwinau* –bay, reddish brown, auburn (of hair, eyebrows, &c.), chestnut (of horses), dark red, olive, swarthy, dark; (GPC).

¹¹² Rhiannon and Pwyll dialogue, PKM1 12.7–13.11. JKB 28.1–28.2. Gwawl and Pwyll dialogue, PKM1 14.1–12. JKB 28.2.–29.1, up to where Pwyll falls silent.

¹¹³ Rhiannon's determined preference for Pwyll Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice pp. 241–65.

¹¹⁴ GPC gives two meanings for 'Gwawl': 'light, brightness, radiance, splendour, bright'; and 'wall, rampart, limit, boundary; the southern Roman wall between Forth and Clyde'. 19thC interpretations: Pughe. 1818. 'The import of which name is, Splendour the son of Transit.' 'Romantic Tales', p. 235. Rhÿs: 'meaning radiance or light', *Lectures*, II, p. 123. Double meaning 'wall' or 'light', Rhÿs, *Lectures*, II, p. 168; 'name of a solar hero', Rhÿs, *Lectures* II, n. 30. R. L. Thomson thought 'Wall son of Clyde' was a jibe at the people of Strathclyde. *Pwyll*, p. 54; cf. the possible racial disparagement, n. 111 above.

¹¹⁵ Tim Clarkson. 2014. *Strathclyde and the Anglo-Saxons in the Viking Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, Birlinn Ltd.), p. 27. Stephen Driscoll and Katherine Forsyth. 2004. 'The Late Iron Age and Early Historic Period', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 26, 1–2, pp. 4–20. (URL text Bibliography).

¹¹⁶ Strathclyde, the last stronghold of Brittonic speakers in the North. Tim Clarkson. 2010. *The Men of the North* (Edinburgh: John Donald), pp. 169–93.
There is no other instance of *gwinau* in the Mabinogi.

Dyfed rose to power but Strathclyde waned, controlled by Goidelic people, no longer Brittonic.¹¹⁸

Gwrthdaro / Conflict

Gwawl evidently plays upon Pwyll's duty of generosity as bridegroom host to guest. He may be spontaneous in grasping the opportunity Pwyll offers.¹¹⁹ His approach is keenly timed during revelry, drinking, which loosens inhibition.¹²⁰ Nonetheless he does not actually trick Pwyll, for Pwyll could hedge his generosity with a condition, as Gwawl does later.¹²¹ Trickery comes from Rhiannon and Pwyll, subsequently.

Rhiannon and Gwawl negotiate via food wealth. Gwawl says

*'Ac y herchi hi
a'r arlwy a'r darmerth yssyd ymma y dodwyfi.'*¹²²

Asking for the feast provisions, Gwawl bids to take over the wedding feast.¹²³

Rhiannon tempts him into a bag of food big enough to hold all Dyfed cultivated food supplies. PKM3 vengeance on his behalf removes that entire Dyfed foodstock.¹²⁴

Rhiannon adopts seductive intimacy with him, naming him *eneit*, an endearment.¹²⁵ She flatteringly disparages the leftovers as not good enough for

¹¹⁸ 'By the early twelfth century the North Britons were, for some in Wales, no more than a subject for quaint mockery. Gwawl son of Clud is therefore the first comic Scotsman in literature'. Andrew Breeze. 2012. 'Moor, Court, and River in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. by Classen, Albrecht (de Gruyter), p. 300.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Pwyll's return from Annwfn when his Dyfed nobles applaud his generosity as a chieftain, PKM1 8.9. JKB 24.2.

¹²⁰ *Ac ar dechreu kyuedach gwedy bwyd*, PKM1 13.26. 'And at the beginning of the revelry after the meal,' JKB 28.2.

¹²¹ Gwawl's conditional, PKM1 16.13–14. JKB 30.1. Pwyll's caution Ch. V.5. Pwyll: p. 264 n. 363.

¹²² PKM1 14.10–11. 'And I have come to ask for her, and the provisions, and the preparations which are here.' JKB 29.1. Rhiannon claims the feast as hers and undertakes to provide another: PKM1 15.20–25. JKB 29.2–30.1.

¹²³ There is no religious wedding ceremonial in the Mabinogi, only wedding feasts enabling public witness. Ch. III.5. LLW: Marriage, 169. The PKM3 revenge particularly targets Rhiannon's food wealth aspect (below).

¹²⁴ Below, 'Bad Counsel'.

¹²⁵ *enaid* – soul, friend (GPC). Rhiannon methodically plans in advance to seduce/ persuade Gwawl into the bag. In her strategy speech to Pwyll she states, '*A minheu a barafidaw ef/ uynet y sseghi y bwyd yn y got.*' PKM1 15.11–12. 'And I will bring it about that he will go to tread down the food in the bag.' JKB 29.2.

his wedding,¹²⁶ promising a whole new wedding feast just for him.¹²⁷ She repeats the intimate *eneit*, referring temptingly to sleeping with him.

*eneit, y gyscu gennyf innheu.*¹²⁸

In contrast she offered her frank, open face to Pwyll on first encounter.¹²⁹ She might be inferred to use false facial expressions now; perhaps also moving physically away from Pwyll towards Gwawl's body. Swayed by her persuasions, Gwawl agrees to depart, temporarily.¹³⁰ At her second wedding Rhiannon continues as seductress, working the flattering epithet *geimad*/ champion, hero on Gwawl's ego;¹³¹ enticing him into the fateful bag (of foodstuffs). Pwyll overpowers him, tying the bag strings.¹³² Pwyll's hidden, armed men take over, beating Gwawl with staves.

*Ac yna gyntaf y guarywyt broch/ yggot.*¹³³

This pivotal event reverberates epically into the next generation, PKM3 (below). The gendered triangle trap, and badger imagery, also appear in Dafydd

¹²⁶ Flattery here aligns with the development Rhiannon shows immediately afterwards.

¹²⁷ Below, how Rhiannon's proud provision of great feasts is annihilated by the PKM3 Desolation.

¹²⁸ Sex: PKM1 15.25. 'friend, to sleep with me.' JKB 30.1.

¹²⁹ Reveals face, PKM1 12.11–12. JKB 27.2–28.1.

¹³⁰ Gwawl agrees to depart, PKM1 15.24–26. JKB 31.1.

¹³¹ 'A *geimat*, 'heb y Riannon,/ 'kyuot y uynydd ar uyr,' PKM1 16.25–26. 'Ah champion', said Rhiannon to Gwawl son of Clud, 'rise up quickly'. JKB 30. 2.

¹³² Bag strings, PKM1 16.28–17.7. JKB 30.2.

¹³³ PKM1 17.13–14. 'And that is when badger-in-the-bag was first played.' JKB 30.1.

ap Gwilym (14thC) and later.¹³⁴ Toorians' study finds the PKM1 instance the earliest; it 'explains the origin of the game'.¹³⁵

Rhiannon's bag trap is typically interpreted as *hud*/ enchantment.¹³⁶ The blows given by Pwyll's company function as embodied, political ritual; forcefully and publicly demonstrating the new dominance, at length, for all to see.¹³⁷

Broch / Badger

Lauran Toorians holds a badger 'plays no role except for lending its name to the game', but Sioned Davies associates it with ordinary badger traps for baiting.¹³⁸ A realism assessment of Rhiannon's bag is instructive. It is large and tough enough

¹³⁴ For PKM3 reverberation Ch. V. 10. Pryderi pp. 320-24. The badger motif is referenced Giraldus. 1191. *Itinerarium Cambriae*, Liber II, Cap. III, p. 115.

Two Dafydd ap Gwilym 14thC poems #110 and #28 resonate PKM 17.13-14. 'badger-in-the-Bag', JKB 30.2. In '*Ddoe*'/ 'Yesterday' #110, Dafydd ap Gwilym celebrates enjoying another man's wife; a triangle echoing Pwyll - Rhiannon - Gwawl. Gwawl's name is punned, l.25 in the mutated noun (*g*)wawl / light, brightness, radiance. Pwyll's name is punned as a common noun l. 28, as deliberation; his name also occurs (as a proper noun) at the end of line 30. There is no mention of a badger, but there is an image of the poet like an old cat, being beaten and bruised, yet surviving, l. 21-22. Dafydd ap Gwilym, '*Ddoe*'/ 'Yesterday', poem #110, lines 21-30. (URL text Bibliography). In #28 Dafydd warns of Dyfed's hard judgement of pinioned arms. *O doi di i'r Deau dir /Ti fydd, cytbar fâr y farn,/ Broch yng nghod, braich anghadarn*. 'Should you come to the southern land[s], You'll be (companion of a hard judgement)/ A badger in the bag [with] powerless arm[s].' 'Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym a Gruffudd Gryg', poem #28, lines 41-44. (URL text Bibliography). Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd lists *Gwarae broch ynghod; lle y rhoe'r trechaf y llall mewn cod*. 'Game of "badger in the bag"; where the stronger one forces the other into a bag'. Dr. John Davies. 1632. 'Gwarae, & Gwarae', in *Antiquae linguae britannicae et linguae latinae dictionarium duplex prius britannico-latinum posterius latino-britannicum* (London: R. Young).

Both Dafydd ap Gwilym and Dr. Davies, are evidently derivative of the Mabinogi narrative. Toorians reviews both as part of tracing a model of male conflict through various European sources (Austrian, German, French) back to the early 14thC. Lauran Toorians. Nov. 2015. 'No Badger in the Bag', *ZCP*, 62. 1. He gives a 16thC tale of Maximilian II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1564-76) who ordered two nobles to compete for his daughter Helena. The German winner enveloped his Spanish rival in a bag. Sir Philip Magnus, 'Letter to the Sunday Times, 1/12/1924', cited by Toorians, 'No Badger', pp. 204-05. Toorians also cites WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 53-55. On a mid 19thC extortion racket, Vincent Joseph Monteleone. 2003. *Criminal Slang: The Vernacular of the Underworld Lingo* (The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd), p. 15. OED: 'Badger game An extortion scheme in which the victim is lured, usually by a woman, into a compromising situation and is then surprised and blackmailed by an accomplice. Origin. Mid 19th century; earliest use found in The New York Times.'

¹³⁵ Toorians, 'No Badger', p. 201.

¹³⁶ Ch. VI.5. Bag, pp. 400-406 for *hud* & realism perspectives.

¹³⁷ Cf. embodied symbolism of a lord riding a traitor as a horse, as penalty for treason, 'saddling,' Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot p. 269. Rhiannon's penance similarly public statement. In a society of few literates, witnessed performance functions as official written records in a literate context.

¹³⁸ Toorians. 'No Badger', p. 199. Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 230, n. 14. The blow by each man in turn on the captive recalls Pwyll's single blow on Hafgan (doublet).

The Gorsedd Arberth prediction at the outset of the *Pwyll II* episode offers a marvel or blows. Pwyll sees *rywedawt*/ marvel, Gwawl receives blows. Eames' 2008 staging asks 'Who gets the blows?' in 'Magnificent Mabinogi', Act 1, pp. 22, 26. Ch. V.6. Maids, p. 277 quoted n. 451.

to contain Gwawl, a trained fighter at full height, and struggling.¹³⁹ Its capacity allows a massive amount of food.¹⁴⁰ Yet when first presented it looks *bechan*/little.¹⁴¹ It has ‘strings’ that pull upward, rapidly.¹⁴² Badger bag traps had ‘nooses of stout rope running through brass rings round the mouths’. Tough bands around them down their length mean the extended bag forms a (horizontal) tunnel trap.¹⁴³ Collapsed, such a bag appears a shallow tray.

Badgers have been trapped and tortured for entertainment since at least Roman through mediaeval times, and still today.¹⁴⁴ The badger bag’s extreme flexibility, rapidly pulled up, tied with strings,¹⁴⁵ would be easily recognisable to a contemporary Mabinogi audience.¹⁴⁶ For Rhiannon to consider and access a badger bag, suggests she knew, perhaps enjoyed, badger baiting. That may seem repugnant to us now as predominantly sub/urban moderns. Yet hunting and farming routinely trap animals to eat or cull, and traps frequently mean suffering. In Rhiannon’s world animals are utilities, like our gadgets, for they have no souls.

¹³⁹ Though Gwawl is never presented actively in a duel or battle (and this might possibly be part of the weighting of Rhiannon’s choice, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon’s Choice pp. 241-65. But he could not be understood to sustain his extensive holdings in this feud dominated society, without being at least a competent fighter. Warriors would not choose to follow him, and Rhiannon describes him as *gwr tormynnawc kyuoetuawc* (PKM1 14.17-18) ‘a wealthy man with many followers.’ JKB 29.1. Ellis notes this wording points to an archaic society with wealth measured in cattle, not land. Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 23, n. 63, requiring armed, mobile guards.

¹⁴⁰ PKM1 15.5-7. JKB 29.2. Rhiannon’s claim the bag can hold all the food and drink of Dyfed’s seven *cantrefi*, might be interpreted either as literary hyperbole, or as *hud*/ enchantment. Cf. the impossible PKM2 sojourn in Harlech and Gwales. PKM2 46.11-47.6. JKB 57.1-59.1.

¹⁴¹ Little: PKM1 14.23. JKB 29.1.

¹⁴² *garryeu/ carrai*, PKM1 15.14; and 17.1. ‘strings’, JKB 29.2. and 30.2.

¹⁴³ The bag is placed horizontally on an exit of a badger sett. The folding down design allows for portability. J. C. Bristow Noble. 1929. ‘Hunting Brock the badger’, *Sussex County Magazine*, 3, pp. 448-453. Reprinted H. H. King, *Working terriers, badgers and badger digging* (Cookhill, Alcester: Vintage DogBooks, 2005), pp. 114-19. (URL text Bibliography). Cited Toorians, ‘No Badger’, pp. 202-03, but without making the connection. Cf. ‘a sack would be placed over the mouth of a badger’s den, and when the animal had run into the bag, it would be beaten to death.’ Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 230, n. 14. Davies’ account assumes the hunt is to kill, but it was likely to be resourcing a live beast for baiting by dogs, a distinction Toorians makes.

¹⁴⁴ Garrett G. Fagan. 2011. *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (Cambridge), p. 77. Badgers were a cut-price alternative to bears and bulls for baiting. According to BBC Wales it is today ‘one of the more prolific blood sports in Wales’, organised on social media. Item on a group based near Narberth. BBC Wales. 3/10/2019. ‘Badger baiting: The story behind the convictions’. (URL text Bibliography).

¹⁴⁵ Strings, PKM1 15.13-14; and 17.1. PKM1 15.14; and 17.1. JKB 29.2. and 30.2.

¹⁴⁶ It lends itself to just such buffoonery as Gwawl endures in a clownish performance, apt to the oral storytelling origins of the Mabinogi, cf. Ch. II.2. Craft pp. 46-50. An audience already knowing the nature of a badger bag might well enjoy anticipating the trapping of the victim with mounting excitement, from Pwyll’s first display of it. Audience, and Pwyll (and Rhiannon) are now happily aligned against the outsider Gwawl. The scene occurs in the final stage of feasting when drinking is established with merriment and boisterousness expected.

Aghynghor / Bad counsel

In PKM3, Llwyd Cil Coed's name may connect with the nocturnal, shadowy *broch*/ badger.¹⁴⁷ He explains his (Desolation of Dyfed) purpose:¹⁴⁸

y dial Guawl uab Clut, o gedymdeithas/ ...
*y dieleis i guare broch yghot a/ Guawl uab Clut.*¹⁴⁹

Anwyl first noted Rhiannon is 'part of the legend of the vengeance of Gwawl'; vengeance is particularly because Pwyll,

*yn Llys Eueyd Hen y gwnaeth o aghynghor.*¹⁵⁰

This 'bad counsel' at *llys* Hyfaidd pinpoints Rhiannon as responsible, as bag strategist and counsellor. (Note, Gwawl does not explicitly relinquish Rhiannon, possibly affecting the PKM3 continuance.)¹⁵¹ Although her detailed strategy instructions omits beating Gwawl, she does organise an ambush by almost 100 fighters.¹⁵² Such dominance display is arguably essential to force Gwawl and his company's submission.¹⁵³ But she does not call a halt to the violence.¹⁵⁴ The PKM3

¹⁴⁷ Dafydd ap Gwilym puns Gwawl's name on the *Guare broch yg/ got*, Badger-in-the-Bag', thus Gwawl is 'badgered' by Pwyll. Two Dafydd references, above, n. 134. 'At the moment he is captured, Gwawl is identical to a badger, an animal defined in Welsh as *pryflwyd* – "brownish-grey creature" (where *llwyd* means "brownish-grey" *broch* (GPC).

¹⁴⁸ Desolation: PKM3 51.22– 52.8. JKB 75.1–2. Ch. V. 10. Pryderi pp. 320–24.

¹⁴⁹ Llwyd: PKM3 64.7–64.8. 'to revenge Gwawl son of Clud, out of friendship with him ... I have avenged playing badger-in-the-bag with Gwawl son of Clud'. JKB 75.1.

¹⁵⁰ Anwyl, 'Mabinogi', II, p. 289. Llwyd: PKM3 64.10. 'he did that from lack of counsel in the court of Heveydd the Old'. JKB 75.1. *aghynghor* (*anghyngor*) – unadvisedness, rashness (GPC). See n. 151, next, and Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 320–24.

¹⁵¹ Bag strategy speech, 23 lines, too lengthy to quote (excerpt, notes Ch. IV.1. Voice, #12, p. 193 n. 21; p. 195 n.43 analysis p. 200. Rhiannon's counsel: PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. 'Here is your counsel,' said Rhiannon then. 'You are in a position appropriate for you to satisfy suppliants and musicians. Let him then give to everyone for you,' she said, 'and take a pledge from him that there will not ever be claim nor revenge for it, and that will be sufficient punishment for him.' JKB 31.1. Gwawl agrees to this: '*Efa/ geif hynny yn llawen, heb y gwr o'r got.*' PKM1 17.24–25. "He will get that gladly,' said the man from the bag', JKB 31.1. But this is the sum of Gwawl's agreement. He does not explicitly in so many words, relinquish his claim to Rhiannon, which may have a bearing on the PKM3 events. *dial* – vengeance, revenge, retribution, punishment (GPC).

¹⁵² Ambush: *ar dy ganuet marchawc yn y perllan ... phan uo efyn rwymedic yn y got, dot titheu lef ar dy/ gorn, a bit hynny yn arwyd y rot a'th uarchogyon; pan/ glywhont llef dy gorn, diskynnent wynteu am ben y llys.* PKM1 15.1 ... 16.15–17. 'you be in the orchard above as one of a hundred knights, ... And let there be a good hunting horn around your neck, and when he is tied in the bag, you give a blast on your horn, and let that be as a signal between you and your knights. When they hear the blast of your horn, let them descend upon the court.' JKB 29.2.

¹⁵³ Rhiannon's 'team' have been in frustrated reversal, waiting for this moment for a year since the previous wedding. Pwyll's many fighting men have been on tense alert in hiding for hours. Gwawl has been reduced to the condition of a helpless animal (above). Also above; this is an 'embodied, political ritual; forcefully demonstrating the new dominance at length, for all to see', p. 234 above.

¹⁵⁴ Gwawl appeals, her father intervenes, PKM1 17.17–18. JKB 30.2. She and her father work closely together as counsellors, PKM1 17.20–24. JKB 31.1. Possibly Hyfaidd is the public speaker of their shared position here; as they explicitly speak jointly not much later. PKM1 17.27–28. JKB

comeuppance is apt. Her plot against Gwawl boasts her feasts ownership, controlling the entire food supply of Dyfed:¹⁵⁵ the Desolation *dial*/ revenge, removes Dyfed's cultivated food supplies.¹⁵⁶

The Gwawl narrative presents a tussle over food wealth and seemingly harsh perspectives on Rhiannon: disloyalty to her given word of betrothal; treacherous seductiveness;¹⁵⁷ (implication of) violent animal torture; battering a helpless, trapped man; ruthlessly forcing his payment for the wedding feast she herself had volunteered for him;¹⁵⁸ not least, her eventual responsibility for the PKM3 desolation of an entire people and (aptly) their food resources. Her ruthlessness equips her as a lead player in the mediaeval political game. The Cyfarwydd wraps this harsh narrative in romance and fun, obscuring it.

~ * ~

31.1. However Rhiannon has worked a long time, more than two years since ridng past the Gorsedd, to achieve this moment, and her pride would have suffered at her long subjection to Gwawl. She had already been unwillingly betrothed to him for an unspecified period when she met Pwyll, then she set their wedding a year ahead, PKM1 14.28–29. JKB 28.1–2; and the second wedding meant another year's wait, PKM1 15.24. JKB 30.1. It is plausible she indulged in revenge by not halting the violence. If so the price is high in the PKM3 Desolation. Also above the point of the game as a ritual dominance demonstration, which Gwawl accepts up to the point of real personal danger, then turns it by a possibly humorous appeal.

¹⁵⁵ Rhiannon explicitly claims ownership of feasts: PKM1 13.6–8; 14.24–26; and 15.21–25. JKB 28.1–2; 29.1; and 29.2–30.1. Presumably she also provides the final wedding feast for herself and Pwyll, PKM1 18.15–19 JKB 31.1–2. (Ch. V.5. Pwyll). Cf. also Rhiannon and Cigfa's homecoming feast for Pryderi, PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. Her bag is capacious, she claims; '*Minheu, heb hi, 'a baraf, bei dottit yssyd/ yn y seith cantref hynn o uwyt a llynn yndi, na bydei/ launach no chynt*'. PKM1 15.5–7. 'I will bring it about,' she said, 'that whatever is placed in it of such food and drink as there is in these seven cantrefs, it will be no more full than before. JKB 29.2.

¹⁵⁶ The Desolation removes Dyfed's domestic food supplies: PKM3 51.25–52.15. JKB 66.1.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Blodeuedd murderous treacherous seductress, Pennar contrasts, 'Women', pp. 121–22.

¹⁵⁸ Gwawl's contract, PKM1 17.20–22. JKB 30.1.

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.5. Pwyll a Rhiannon / Pwyll and Rhiannon

TABLE Chapter sections	
Importance of Pwyll	Partnership and Plots
Pwyll the Fool	Pwyll pen Annwfn
The Stag	Rhiannon's Advent plot
Gorsedd	Betrothal plot
Horse (Rebuke I)	Penance Plot
Wedding (Rebuke II)	
Rhiannon's Choice	Lifelines

This chapter aims to profile Rhiannon's relationship with Pwyll *pendefig Dyfed*; also known as Pwyll *pen Annwfn*.¹⁵⁹ He is Rhiannon's first husband and acknowledged father of her son.¹⁶⁰ The chapter looks at his status, the complexity of the Pwyll-Rhiannon relationship, Rhiannon's motives for the marriage, his reputation as a fool, their partnership and plots, and the family lifelines.¹⁶¹

TABLE Pwyll narrative

PKM1 Arberth. Hunting, Arawn contract. Annwfn Queen chastity. Hafgan. Lordship. Dyfed return.
PKM1 Gorsedd, *rywedawt*. 4 pursuits. Rhiannon, Rebuke I. Assignment a year later.
PKM1 Llys Hyfaidd, Wedding I, bridegroom. Anon guest. Rhiannon Rebuke II. Bestowal. Bag strategy.
PKM1 Llys Hyfaidd, Wedding II, Gwawl. Beggar disguise, badger bag, ambush. Rhiannon counsel.
PKM1 Llys Hyfaidd, Wedding III. Pwyll-Rhiannon, minstrels. Wedding journey. Dyfed.
PKM1 Arberth, joint rule Dyfed. Preselis council. Son born. Rhiannon penance, continues high seat.
PKM1 Arberth, Teyrnnon's tale. Naming Pryderi. Gratitude, fostering. Pryderi's youth. Death of Pwyll.

Pwysigrwydd Pwyll/ Pwyll's importance



¹⁵⁹ Pwyll *pendefig Dyfed*, PKM1 1.1. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed', JKB 19.2. Unique usage in the Mabinogi, and the title *pendefig* 'ruler, prince', 'is relatively rare in early Welsh, elsewhere occurring primarily in poetry, but not in historical or legal documents.' Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 19. n. 1. Pwyll *pen Annwfn*: Pwyll *Penn Annwfn*, PKM1 8.24–26. 'Pwyll Head of Annwn', JKB 25.1.

¹⁶⁰ Rhiannon's first husband: *Y neuad ynteu a gyweirwyt y Pwyll a'e niuer, ac/yniuer y llys ... Ac y'r/ystauell yd aeth Pwyll a Riannon*, PKM1 18.15–21. 'The hall, then, was prepared for Pwyll and his retinue, and for the retinue of the court ... And Pwyll and Rhiannon went to the chamber'. JKB 31.1–2. Acknowledged father of her son: *mab a anet idaw ef*. PKM1 20.3. 'a son was born to him'. JKB 33.2. *y mab yn uab y Pwyll, heb y Teirnon.* / "Nyt oes neb," *heb y pawb, "ny bo diheu gantaw/hynny."* PKM1 26.7–9. 'the boy is the son of Pwyll,' said Teyrnnon. / There is no one,' they all said, 'who wouldn't be certain of that.' JKB 37.1–38.2. There are however, queries on Pwyll's fatherhood, (below).

¹⁶¹ Table of Chapter sections provided above to aid navigation because this a long chapter.

Llyfr Coch Hergest, *incipit* letter P.¹⁶²

*Pwyll, Penduic Dyuet, a oed yn arglwyd ar seith
cantref Dyuet. A threigylgueith [...]*¹⁶³

'Pwyll' opens the First Branch as its *incipit*.¹⁶⁴ The Mabinogi names him far more than any other character.¹⁶⁵ He is a persistent First Branch presence, frequently named, but absent from other Branches; rare in other mediaeval literature.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² *Incipit* Mabinogi. Pwyll's name graced with ornamental, capital P; such elaboration is infrequent in Welsh MSS. Ch. II. 4. MSS. SCR. MS. Llyfr Coch Hergest, *incipit* letter P. © Jesus College Oxford. Reproduced under a Creative Commons Attribution licence. Owen McKnight, College Librarian, 04/03/2024.

¹⁶³ Lordship: PKM1 1–3. 'Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed was lord over the seven cantrefs of Dyfed. And once upon a time ...' JKB 19.2. Also above, on 'prince'. '*cantref*: a division of land in medieval Wales traditionally containing about 100 settlements or large farms, similar to the Anglo-Saxon 'hundred'; from *cant* 'hundred' + *tref* 'town'. Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 19, n. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Llyfr Coch Hergest image, above, and PKM1 1.1–3 quotation, above., trans. n. 163 above. The three PKM1 main Episodes are: *Pwyll I*, the sojourn in Annwfn, PKM1 1.1–8.26. JKB 19.1–25.1. *Pwyll II*, Rhiannon's courtship and Pwyll, Gwawl, weddings, PKM1 8.27–19.18. JKB 25.1–31.2. *Pwyll III*, Rhiannon and Pwyll parents, childhood of Pryderi, PKM1 19.18–27.27. JKB 32.1–40.1. In the Mabinogi Rhiannon playscript Ch. IV. Acts, *Pwyll I* is the Prologue. *Pwyll II* and Act I.1–3. The naming of the Branches from their initial protagonists was established by Guest, though Pughe's titles had previously included the names 'Pwyll' and 'Math', so Guest seems as usual to have followed Welsh tradition. Ch. II. 5. Renaissance (Tables) Pughe pp. 69–70; Guest, pp. 95–96.

¹⁶⁵ The most frequent Mabinogi name counts are: 'Pwyll' 75; 'Pryderi' 60; 'Rhiannon' 49; 'Gwydion' 47; 'Manawydan' 38. From Ch. I.3. Etymology, Tables 1 & 2, p. 7.

¹⁶⁶ Pwyll is always present in PKM1 narrative; except for Arawn's homecoming, PKM1 6.25–8.3. JKB 24.1–24.2. [Total 35 lines]; two short Maids' passages, PKM1 20.4–29, 21.1–8. [Total 33 lines] JKB 33.2; the Gwent episode, PKM1 22.1–25.6. [Total 90 lines] JKB 35.1–37.1; the brief final note on Pryderi's early career, PKM1 27.17–27. [Total 10 lines] JKB 40.1. Grand total absence = 168 lines out of the Branch's total of 771 i.e. 21% absence, or 79% presence. He has no personal presence in other Branches. He is referenced once PKM3: *Pwyll Penn Annwn*, PKM3 64.9, when Llwyd explains his vengeance; and twice PKM4 as Pryderi's patronymic, PKM4 67.2; 68.22. Pwyll is virtually absent from the *Trioedd*, appearing only once in *Trioedd* description as Pryderi's patronymic, '*Pryderi mab Pwyll Pen Annwun*', Triad 26, line 4, TYP p. 50. Pwyll occurs once with Pryderi in Taliesin's poem, Preiddeu Annwn. *Bu kyweir karchar Gweir yg Kaer Sidi,/ trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi./ Neb cyn noc ef nyt aeth idi./* 'Maintained was Gwair's prison in Caer Sidi,/ throughout Pwyll and Pryderi's story,/ No-one went there before he did.' Marged Haycock, ed. trans. 2007. *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS), poem #18, lines 3–5, p. 435. Dafydd ap Gwilym has five possible allusions to Pwyll/ Rhiannon narrative: only one names Pwyll, none name Rhiannon. 1) *Mawl i'r Haf*/ 'In Praise of Summer', evokes a shapechanging theme, citing Annwfn, possibly relating to Pwyll and Arawn. Poem #35, stanza 3. 2) *Y Breuddwyd*/ 'The Dream', offers a dream-vision pursuit, Poem 79, p. 234 n. 134. 3) *Y Deildy*/ 'House of Leaves', dreamlike love, Poem 37. 4) *Ddoe*/ 'Yesterday', puns Gwawl's name, names Pwyll, Poem 110. 5) *Trydydd Cywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym*, love triangle with bruises, warns a badger-bag type punishment. Poem #28. Online source text, Bibliography.

Also Jaufre Rudel possible allusion, Ch. I.6. Other Sources #4, p. 33.

Pughe distinguished legendary and history characters, judging Pwyll a mixture, found in tales and 6thC Pembrokeshire pedigrees. Pughe. *Cambrian Register*, II, p. 271. Also refers 'Pwyll Pen Annwn son of Meirig king of Dyved, a chieftain who lived in the former part of the eighth century; and the father of Gwynvardd Dyved, the Rock from which the Welsh families of Pembrokeshire trace their descent.' Pughe, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 288. 'Pwyll is said to be the son of Argoel, or Aircol Law Hir -Myv. Arch.', cited by Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. 287. Bartrum classifies Pwyll as 'Legendary', *Dictionary*, p. 624. In early genealogies of Dyfed, Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed has also been described as son of Alyn frenin Dyfed.' *Ibid.* p. 626.

Pwyll of the Mabinogi rules the seven *cantrefi* of ancient Dyfed,¹⁶⁷ with (a) chief court at Arberth.¹⁶⁸ Historically, Dyfed was the southern half of a Welsh dyad of power with northern Gwynedd (11th-12thC).¹⁶⁹

Cymhlethdod/ Complex Relationship

Rhiannon's pivotal relationships are with Gwawl, Pwyll, her Maids, Teyrnnon, Pryderi, and Manawydan.¹⁷⁰ Pwyll is her most complex relationship,¹⁷¹ with eighteen rôle changes:¹⁷² more than any other Mabinogi relationship.¹⁷³ Of Rhiannon's 33 speeches, 16 relate to Pwyll.¹⁷⁴ Mabinogi Rhiannon's playscript

¹⁶⁷ *Cantrefi*, PKM1 1.1–2. JKB 19.2. *Cantref*, definition, n. 163, above. The seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed were Cemais, Pebidiog, Rhos, Penfro, Daugleddyf, Emlyn, and Cantref Gwarthaf. Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 228, n. to p. 3. A *cantref* would be subdivided into *cymydau*/'commots', usually corresponding to the English 'hundred'. As context, Bendigeidfran's host of all the *cantrefi* of *Yr Ynys hon*/ Britain, numbers over seven score *cantrefi*, PKM2 38.21–22. JKB 51.2. That is a later narrative period, the time of Pryderi, Pwyll's son; total *cantrefi* may not be precisely identical to the time of Pwyll, but similar. Ch. III.3. Hierarchy: p. 150.

¹⁶⁸ Arberth: as Welsh does not have an indefinite article, its grammar makes this not 'the' central, chief court, but 'a' chief court. *priflys idaw*, PKM1 1.3. 'a chief court of his', JKB 19.1. 'refers to the practice whereby the lord, together with his retinue and officials, would circuit the land, staying at various courts of his where he would be maintained by his subjects.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 227. None of Pwyll's other *llysiau*/ courts, are named. Arberth is a consistent centre of the Dyfed narrative: PKM1 1.3 & 6. JKB 19.1. PKM1 8.27. & 9.4. JKB 25.1. PKM1 19.12. JKB 31.2. PKM1 20.3. JKB 33.2. PKM1 21.22. JKB 35.1. PKM1 25.9. & 10. JKB 37.1. PKM3 50.13. JKB 64.1. PKM3 51.17 & .21. JKB 65.2. PKM3 55.4. JKB 68.1. PKM3 58.24. & 25. JKB 72.1. PKM3 59.10. JKB 72.2. PKM3 61.15. JKB 73.2. One occurrence however does seem to assert some degree of pre-eminence: *Arberth, canys prif/ lys oed, ac o honei y dechreuit pob anryded*. PKM3 51.17–18. 'Arberth, since it was a chief court and all honour originated from there', JKB 65.1.

¹⁶⁹ Ch. II.1. Timeline p. 44, for historical context. This is reflected in the Mabinogi, with PKM1, PKM3 focused south, polarising PKM4, focused north. Simple map p. 147.

¹⁷⁰ Her two husbands and her son are inarguably pivotal. Impact of her Maids, Ch. V.6. Maids pp. 275–77. Gwawl is the 'other man' in *Pwyll II*; her conflict with him the root of PKM3 Desolation.

¹⁷¹ Valente observes Rhiannon as uniquely complex in her relationships, by dividing Mabinogi women along two themes: fertility (the mothers) and fidelity (the Queen, Cigfa, Goewin, Blodeuwedd); Rhiannon combines both themes. '*Merched*', p. 202.

¹⁷² *Rywedawt*, PKM1 9.4–14. JKB 25.1–2. *rywedawt*, marvel, wonder, enchanted event. Mod.W. *rhyfeddod* (GPC). Maiden, PKM1 9.14–12.27. JKB 25.2–28.1. Betrothed, PKM1 12.27–13.16. JKB 28.1–2. Bride PKM1 13.16–15.20. JKB 28.2–29.2. Strategist collaborator, PKM1 14.21–17.7. JKB 29.1–30.2. Also Penance plot (below). Legal, financial adviser, PKM1 17.20–27, and 18.22–19.2. JKB 30.1, and 31.2. Bride again PKM1 19.15–21. JKB 31.1–2. Lover PKM1 19.20–21. JKB 31.2. Co-Ruler, PKM1 19.16–18. PKM3 JKB 33.2. Barren wife, PKM1 19.18–20.2. JKB 33.2. Mother of Dyfed's heir, PKM1 20.3–4, and 26.2–9. JKB 33.2, and 37.2–38.1. Accused infanticide, PKM1 21.7–8. Penitential, 21.18–19. JKB 34.2. Wife and co-ruler sustained, PKM1 21.18–28. JKB 34.2–33.1. Vindicated innocent, PKM1 25.26–26.9. JKB 37.2–38.1. Naming their son, PKM1 26.9–19. JKB 38.1–2. Co-Parent of the heir PKM1 27.12–15. JKB 40.1. Widow, PKM1 27. 15–17. JKB 40.1.

¹⁷³ The only comparable is Rhiannon's Pryderi relationship, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Pryderi Rhiannon pp. 316–21. Gwydion (PKM4) also undergoes multiple changes of rôle, but these relate to a series of different persons, Ch. V.15. Gwydion pp. 345–55 compares/ contrasts Rhiannon.

¹⁷⁴ Ch. IV.1. Voice: list #1–12, and #15–17. Three more, #21, #24, #25 involve Pwyll.

chapter lists 48 action units:¹⁷⁵ almost two thirds of these (30 or 62.5%) are Pwyll narrative.¹⁷⁶ Rhiannon artworks show a peak focus on Pwyll's courtship.¹⁷⁷

Dewis Rhiannon/ Rhiannon's Choice

The foundation of the Rhiannon-Pwyll relationship is that she *chooses* him for her husband.¹⁷⁸ Her determination demonstrates in her three days' advent, and multiple weddings over two years. When Pwyll gives her away, she holds to him, undergoing another year of the unwanted Gwawl betrothal.¹⁷⁹

Why does Rhiannon so greatly desire Pwyll?

Gwawl fab Clud is

*guas gwineu, mawr, teyrneid,
a guisc o bali amdanaw.*¹⁸⁰

He is striking in appearance, elegant in silk, a princely man of wealth and territories, courteous even under duress. Rhiannon's kindred evidently found him desirable.¹⁸¹ His advent text even resembles Rhiannon's: a structural hint he is an adequate pairing.¹⁸²

Rhiannon's choice is introduced in her declaration that she 'loves' Pwyll.¹⁸³ Idealised love before physical meeting is not unusual in mediaeval

¹⁷⁵ Ch. IV.2. Acts, Playscript pp. 205-07.

¹⁷⁶ Ch. IV.2. Acts, Playscript pp. 205-07.

¹⁷⁷ Ch. X.1. Gallery: 'Maiden of the Gorsedd' group, pp. 533-38.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. for example, the contemporary *Culhwch ac Olwen*; Olwen's advice to Culhwch on how to win her bears her consent, however there is little other relating between them, In Rhiannon's opening scenes there is a balance of initiatives: Pwyll is the initiator in sitting the Gorsedd, invoking the *rywedawt*; while she is the initiator in choosing him, and setting forth to win him as the *rywedawt*. Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 Woman, p. 15-16.

¹⁷⁹ She arranges to meet in a year's time, PKM1 13.6. JKB 28.1. She arranges a second wedding in one year's time. PKM1 15.24. JKB 30.1.

¹⁸⁰ Gwawl: PKM1 13.27-28. 'a large, regal, auburn-haired youth, with a garment of silk brocade about him.' JKB 28.2. For the political and economic significance of silk, Ch. I.4. Advent: #7 Silk, pp. 21-22.

¹⁸¹ Gwawl's courtesy under duress is evident in his absence of aggressive speech or behaviour, but may also be seen here when he appeals for fairness, PKM1 17.15-16. and having accepted terms says mildly that he is injured and needs a bath, PKM1 18.10-13. JKB 30.2 and 31.1. Ch. V.4. Gwawl. He is *gwr tormyn\ nawc/kyuoethawc* PKM1 14.17-18. 'a wealthy man with many followers.' JKB 29.1. *tormynnawc (tormennog)* – having an army (armies) or hosts (GPC). Cf. *gormyn* – oppressor (GPC), the perception of the losing side. A wealthy lord's need to maintain many fighters to protect his holdings, is evident here. Ch. III.4. Equine, p. 164 where it is noted Mabinogi women are not combatants, but they do benefit from their class of combatant males. Rhiannon later explains her bag plot requires Gwawl to be *dylyedauc tra chyuoethauc*, PKM1 15.9; 'a very wealthy nobleman', JKB 29.2. Pwyll duly explains this to Gwawl: *dylyedauc tir a dayar a chyuoeth*, PKM1 16.23; 'a nobleman of land and earth and wealth', JKB 30.2.

¹⁸² Ch. V.4. Gwawl, p. 231 n. 109.

¹⁸³ Love: *a hynny o'th garyat ti*. PKM1 12.25. 'and that is for love of you.' JKB 28.1.

nobles' society, cf. *Culhwch ac Olwen*.¹⁸⁴ The *trouvère* Jaufré Rudel may have known of Rhiannon when he sang of 'distant love'.¹⁸⁵ Pwyll is probably blond: the most striking and prestige colouring among Caucasoids, and bearded,¹⁸⁶ evidently with vigorous musculature.¹⁸⁷ He held converse with the Queen, mistress of the art, which Rhiannon as fellow expert would admire.¹⁸⁸

Yet an elite *marchoges*/ noblewoman's choice is unlikely to rest on personal appearance and stylish converse alone. According to Hannah Porter

... the reasons for a marriage in the Middle Ages were routinely based on practical considerations of status and property, having comparatively little to do with the feelings of the parties concerned.¹⁸⁹

Courtship wrapped territorial alliance, military strength and trade, in romance. Aristocratic Rhiannon would have trained from childhood for this kind of

¹⁸⁴ 'love at first sight is a common motif in the Mabinogion', Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 230. Culhwch is filled with love for Olwen on hearing her name, without ever meeting her. *Lliuaw a oruc y mab, a mynet a oruc serch y uorwyn ym pob aelawt itaw kyn nys rywelhei ei roet*. Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, pp. 2-3, ll. 52-53. Arranged marriage generated a custom of sending portraits between candidates, however this does not seem to happen in mediaeval Wales, probably due to economic restraints. 'Within Wales, portraiture is not common in the medieval and post-medieval periods'. 'Portraiture', Wikiwand (URL text Bibliography). Noted by Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', p. 128. The native resource would likely be bards and storytellers. Ch. VI. Feminism: Beauty, p. 134.

¹⁸⁵ Jaufré Rudel two poem excerpts quoted and translated Ch. VI.2. Trance, pp. 381-82.

¹⁸⁶ A wife insulting her husband's beard was recognised as a standard misdemeanour, incurring a fine or a limited beating. Jenkins, *The Laws*, p. 53; Owen, 'Shame', p. 52; suggesting beards were standard. The beard was a symbol of manhood in medieval Wales. Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 237. Cf. impotence as ground for divorce, Ch. III.5. LLW. *Meuyl/ ar uy maryfli* 'Shame on my beard' is an oath used when Heilyn uab Gwyn ends the Gwales enchantment, PKM2 47.10-11. JKB 59.2.

¹⁸⁷ Pwyll's son is fair haired: *Gŵri Gwallt Euryn*, PKM1 23.16-17. 'Gwri Golden Hair', JKB 36.2. Teyrnon recognises the boy looks like Pwyll, PKM1 24.15-19, JKB 37.1, and the Dyfed court agrees it, PKM1 6.6-9, JKB 37.2-38.1. Pwyll is notably strong and vigorous since he is selected by Arawn as champion to fight a critical duel, PKM1 2.28-3.4; and 3.2-4, JKB 21.2. He rides a gruelling pursuit of Rhiannon, PKM1 12.1-5, JKB 27.2. Pwyll's strength and vigour may be inferred from his horse, described as *drythyll*, PKM1 12.2. *Drythyll*: lively, high-spirited. (GPC). Cf. Sioned Davies rider-horse integration theory, Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse. His valour is seen: *a dwyn y dwy dyrnas yn un drwy y/ dewred efa'y uilwraeth*, PKM1 8.23-24, 'uniting the two kingdoms as one through his bravery and his prowess'. JKB 25.1.

¹⁸⁸ Pwyll's public reputation might not have included precise, intimate details of his chastity, but some sort of account of courtly behaviour with the Queen, would circulate. The text has him explicitly in courtly converse with her, and lauds her as skilled in the art. *A dechreu ymdidan a wnaeth efa'r/ urenhines. ... dissymlaf gwreic a bonedigeidafi hannwyt a'y hymdidan/ oed*. PKM1 4.19-23. 'And he began to converse with the queen. ... she was the most natural and the most gracious in her demeanour and her conversation.' JKB 22.2.. Rhiannon is admired for the art, by Pryderi', PKM3 50.7-8., JKB 63.2; by Manawydan, PKM3 50 15-17. JKB 64.1.

¹⁸⁹ Pamela J. Porter. 2003. 'The Place of Romantic Love in Medieval Marriage', in *Courtly Love in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Porter (University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 15. It is not so different for other classes and other time periods. While romance may mean becoming lovers (if social codes permit it), a full partnership involves making a home together, integrating livelihoods, usually managing children, which are practical concerns to integrate.

marriage.¹⁹⁰ Her declaration is not particularly romantic: she states she loves Pwyll best; is determined to have him. But she gives no reason, no compliments, moving briskly into businesslike arrangements.¹⁹¹ Lack of explanation suggests Rhiannon's motives were transparent to a contemporary audience. Given Gwawl is such an acceptable suitor, something else, something *obvious*, makes Pwyll outstandingly desirable.¹⁹²

Just before Pwyll begins his Rhiannon story, his previous episode ends:

*Ac o achaws i drigiant
ef y ulwydyn honno yn Annwuyn, a gwledychu o honaw
yno mor lwydannus, a dwyn y dwy dyrnas yn un drwy y
dewred ef a'y uilwraeth, y diffygywys y enw ef ar Pwyll,
Pendeuic Dyuet, ac y gelwit Pwyll Penn Annwuyn o
hynny allan.*¹⁹³

When Pwyll begins implementing Rhiannon's plot to reclaim her from Gwawl, he is suddenly named 'Pen Annwfn'; up to this point, he is simply named 'Pwyll'.¹⁹⁴ The august Pen Annwfn title promotes him as the great hero of his times for his courage, military prowess, and prosperous rule. He secured peace for divided Annwfn, and its dazzling alliance for his own Dyfed.¹⁹⁵ Gwawl is merely *guas*/ a youth, lacking a fighting leader profile.¹⁹⁶ Rhiannon, elite of the elite, especially strongly identified with wealth, might well consider Pwyll her match.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁰ Ch. III.5. LLW: Girls, p. 176.

¹⁹¹ Rhiannon pragmatic: PKM1 13.6–11. JKB 28.1–2.

¹⁹² Ch. III.5. LLW: Consent p. 170, for the importance of consent to marital contracts.

¹⁹³ Pwyll Pen Annwfn: PKM1 8.21–26. 'And because of his stay that year in Annwn, and ruling there so successfully, and the uniting the two kingdoms as one through his bravery and his prowess: his name Pwyll Prince of Dyfed fell out of use and he was called 'Pwyll Head of Annwn' from then on.' JKB 25.1. *pen* – head (of person or animal); representation of this (1a) the head considered as seat of intellect or emotions, mind, life. (1b) head, chief(tain), leader, lord, master, ruler, director, senior member. (GPC)

¹⁹⁴ *Pwyll ynteu Penn Annwn a doeth y'r/ berllan ar y ganueth marchauc*, PKM1 16.3–4. 'Pwyll Head of Annwn came to the orchard as one of a hundred knights', JKB 30.1. The introduction here of his impressive title links his status to Rhiannon's strategic choice.

¹⁹⁵ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool pp. 247–60, for deconstruction of that view of Pwyll.

¹⁹⁶ *guas*, PKM1 13.27. 'youth', JKB 28.2. *gwas* – boy, lad, stripling, youngster, young man. GPC. pp. 230–32 for comment on Gwawl's military standing.

¹⁹⁷ Rhiannon's elite status is repeatedly presented. Ch. I.6. Advent.1) Her magnificent horse and costly gold silk garment, display her rank. PKM1 9.11–13. JKB 25.2; detailed Ch. I.6. Advent. 2) She proudly claims ownership of an enormous feast PKM1 14.25–26. JKB 28.1; organises two others PKM1 15.28–16.2. JKB 30.1; PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. 3) She confidently issues commands to Pwyll on strategy, incl. deploying a company of armed men, PKM1 14.21–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. 4) She counsels contract terms PKM1 17.20–24. JKB 31.2–32.1; 5) She counsels on distributing largesse PKM1 18.22–26. JKB 32.2. 6) Later she converses confidently with a High Prince of Britain PKM3 50.15–17. JKB 64.1; 7) She counsels her adult son as ruler re political liaison with the dangerous High King of Britain PKM3 51.1–6. JKB 65.1. 8) She rides the *cylch*/ ruler's progress, PKM1 25.20–21. JKB 37.2.

TABLE 20 Rhiannon's wealth

- valuable horse,
- costly silks,
- organisation of great feasts,¹⁹⁸
- Gwawl contract, forcing him to pay the wedding minstrels' costs,¹⁹⁹
- concern with minstrels' largesse,²⁰⁰
- distributing jewels to the entire Dyfed nobility,
- riding the Dyfed economic *cylch*.²⁰¹

Both Gwawl and Pwyll are wealthy princes, but Pwyll is allied with Annwfn, the richest realm of all.²⁰² Rhiannon could extricate herself from Gwawl, by negotiating contractual withdrawal,²⁰³ but her liability payment to a prince would be enormous.²⁰⁴ Her core concern with wealth is exposed when she even forces Gwawl to pay the wedding minstrels.²⁰⁵ Rhiannon the romantic maiden seems underpinned by a ruthless strategy to save a lot of money, and ally with top level wealth and power.

¹⁹⁸ Feasts. Rhiannon undertakes to provide the wedding feast for Pwyll, PKM1 13.7–8. JKB 28.1–2. The feast is held, PKM1 13.20–25. JKB 28.2. Rhiannon claims this wedding feast, promises another: PKM1 15.21–25. JKB 29.2–30.1. Second feast takes place, PKM1 15.28–16.2. JKB 30.1. Rhiannon also provides a great feast for Pryderi, PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1.

¹⁹⁹ Gwawl's contract, PKM1 17.20–22. JKB 31.1.

²⁰⁰ 'Arglwyd,' heb/ Riannon, 'kyuot y uynydd, a dechreu lonydu y kerdoryon,/ ac na ommmed neb hediw, o'r a uynno da.' PKM1 18.22–24. "Lord," said Rhiannon, "rise up and begin satisfying the musicians, and do not refuse any today who desires a gift." JKB 32. 2. Cf. 14thC *awdl* / ode, citation by Goronwy Gyriog, Ch. I.6. Sources: #6, p. 34.

²⁰¹ Economic status (not precisely the same as general elite status (above). Dyfed largesse, PKM1 19.13–16. JKB 31.2. *Cylch*, PKM3 51.5. JKB 65.1. On the *cylch* tax circuit Ch. III. 3. Hierarchy: Courts Circuits. Pwyll riding *cylch*, PKM1 25.20–21. JKB 37.2. Rhiannon wealth Table 20 p. 244.

²⁰² Annwfn luxurious court buildings, PKM1 4.5–7. JKB 22.1–2. Pwyll given gold silks to wear, PKM1 4.10–11. JKB 22.2. Annwfn host the best equipped, PKM1 4.12–14; and Queen in silk, PKM1 4.15–16. JKB 22.2. *O'r a welsei o holl lyssoed y dayar, llyna/ y llys diwallaf o uwyt a llynn, ac eur lestri, a theyrn/ dlysseu*. PKM1 4.23–25. 'And whatever he had seen of all the courts in the world, that was the court most abundant in food and drink and gold plate and royal jewels.' JKB 22.2. A year of luxurious leisure. *Treulaw y ulwydyn a wnaeth trwy hela, a cherdeu,/ a chyuedach, a charueidrwyd, ac ymdidan a chedymdeithon*, PKM1 5.6–7. He spent the year with hunting and song and revelry and affection and conversing with companions'. JKB 23.1. Pwyll's rule. *Ac o achaws i drigiant/ ef y ulwydyn honno yn Annwfn, a gwledychu o honaw/ yno mor lwydannus*, PKM1 8.22–24. 'And because of his stay that year in Annwn, and ruling there so successfully [prosperously]'. JKB 25.1. My insertion. *lwydannus* (ModW *llwyddannus*)– successful, prosperous, thriving (GPC).

²⁰³ 'The law of compensation was a substitute for the older law of vengeance, "dial".' Ellis, *Legal References*. p. 116. Owen, 'Shame', pp. 41 and 47. Ch. III.5. LLW: *Sarhaed*, pp. 165–66.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Arawn. *hep ef, 'ansyberwyt oed: a chyn nyt ymdialwyfa thi, y rofi a Duw, 'hep ef, 'mi a wnafo anglot itt guerth can carw.'* PKM1 2.17–19. 'That,' he said, 'was discourtesy. And though I will not avenge myself upon you, between me and God,' he said, 'I will do dishonour to you to the value of a hundred stags.' JKB 20.2. Bendigeidfran. *ef a geif march iach am pob un o'r a lygrwyt; ac y gyt a hynny, ef a geif yn wynepwerth idaw, llathen aryant a uo kyuref [a'e uys bychan] a chyhyt ac efe hun, a chlawr eur kyflet a'y wyneb;* PKM2 33.17–20. 'and tell him he shall get a healthy horse for each one that was damaged, and along with that he shall get as his honour-price a silver staff that will be as thick as his little finger and as tall as he himself, and a gold plate as broad as his face. JKB 47.1. Dafydd Jenkins, *The Law*, pp. 5–6.

²⁰⁵ She ruthlessly recovers some of her outlay on the second wedding by coercing Gwawl's agreement to pay for its minstrels once he is trapped. PKM1 17.20– 22. JKB 31.1.

In this mediaeval, rural economy, wealth derives from territory, requiring military prowess to protect it.²⁰⁶ Gwawl is *tormynnawc*/ lord of hosts.²⁰⁷ Pwyll is acclaimed *Pen Annwfn*, 'chief/ head of Annwfn', because of his *dewred ef a'y uilwraeth*.²⁰⁸ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd theorises a family feud about Rhiannon's marriage choice. To oppose the Gwawl-supporting faction Rhiannon needs powerful fighting strength to face them down. Her wedding strategy requires Pwyll to himself overcome Gwawl,²⁰⁹ and provide disciplined *marchogion* to control Gwawl's company.²¹⁰ She is evidently confident of Pwyll both as fighting man and leader of warriors.²¹¹ *Guawl uab Clut* (Clud),²¹² may come from Al Clud, later Strathclyde, in *Yr Hen Ogledd*/ The Old North: by the 11thC a declining power when Dyfed was ascendant.²¹³

In Annwfn Pwyll treats the losing Hafgan side effectively, offering peace for compliance but armed force for resistance.²¹⁴ He astutely confirms Arawn's

²⁰⁶ After noting the wealth of Annwfn in its buildings, silks, abundant food, drink, jewels, Pwyll as a fighting *marchog*, next observes *a'r niuer hardaf a chyweiraf*, PKM1 4.13–14. 'the most beautiful and best equipped host', JKB 22.2.

²⁰⁷ Rhiannon describes him as *gwr tormynnawc kyuoetuawc*, PKM1 14.17–18; 'a wealthy man with many followers.' JKB 29.1; Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion* pp. 159–60, on the close partnership between territory and *marchogion* to protect it. Gwawl's hosts may seem to contradict his lesser military standing compared to Pwyll noted above. However, his men do nothing active in the text, contrasting Pwyll's ambush. A wealthy prince could pay a large host without himself having high military skill or renown to motivate them.

²⁰⁸ PKM1 8.22–24 'bravery and his prowess. JKB 25.1. end of quote p. 243 @ n193.

²⁰⁹ Pwyll overcomes: *a troi o Pwyll y got yny uyd/ Guawl dros y penn yn y got ac yn gyflym caeu y got, a/ llad clwm ar y carryeu*, PKM1 16.28–17.1. 'and Pwyll twisted the bag so that Gwawl would be over his head in the bag, and quickly he closed the bag and tied a knot in the strings'. JKB 30.2.

²¹⁰ Pwyll's company: *a dodi llefar y gorn. Ac ar/ hynny, llyma y teulu am penn y llys, ac yna kymryt/ pawb o'r niuer a doeth y gyt a Guawl, a'y dodi yn y/carchar e hun*. PKM1 17.1–4. 'and gave a blast on his horn. And upon that, behold, the household troops [positioned] about the court, and then they took each of the retinue that came with Gwawl and placed him in his own bonds.' JKB 30.2. My insertion. Pwyll had the same numbered company of 100 when he first came to *llys Hyfaidd*. *ac ymqueiraw [o Pwyll] ar y ganuet/ marchauc*. PKM1 13.16–17. 'Pwyll equipped himself as one of a hundred knights.' JKB 28.2. At the second wedding: *a doeth y'r/ berllan ar y ganuet marchauc, ual y gorchymynnassei/ Riannon idaw*, PKM1 16.3–5. 'he came to the orchard as one of a hundred knights, as Rhiannon had ordered him'. JKB 30.1. The convention used is that the named person is himself one of the 100 *marchogion*, plus 99 others. Cf. Teyrnon brings Gŵri to Arberth: *ymqueiraw a oruc./ Teirnon ar y drydyd marchawc*. PKM1 25.6–7. 'Teyrnon equipped himself as one of three knights', JKB 37.1.

²¹¹ Pwyll's band does have surprise on its side, and Gwawl's band is not carrying weaponry, which would be stacked at the door for a peaceful feast. Rhiannon and Pwyll could exploit that as a bonus factor. Mediaeval conflicts often resolved on a show of power rather than actual fighting.

²¹² PKM1 14.17. 'Gwawl son of Clud.' JKB 29.1.

²¹³ Ch. V.3. Gwawl, p. 231–32.

²¹⁴ PKM1 6.9–11. JKB 23.2. A skilled military leader's success at this stage would rest on the preceding year of observing and training the Annwfn military. On his arrival one of the first things he assesses is the quality of the *teulu*. PKM1 4.12–13. JKB 22.2. Possible effete host interpretation Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Annwfn, p. 253, n. 279, which may explain why a year's stay is necessary; and a possible plot implication p. 254.

generosity to Dyfed nobles in his absence.²¹⁵ Ambitious Rhiannon would value his ruling judgements. His familiarity with Annwfn *hud*/ enchantment would also appeal, for Rhiannon uses *hud*.²¹⁶ All these issues of wealth, military power, and rulership, need not deny Rhiannon's love, but mediaeval noble love is a hybrid condition.²¹⁷ The personal is political, is economic.²¹⁸

Argraff gyntaf/ First impression

Pwyll falls in love with Rhiannon almost instantly they speak.²¹⁹

'Rof i a Duw,' heb ynteu Pwyll, 'llyna/
uy attep i iti, pei caffwn dewis ar holl wraged a/
morynnyn y byt, y mae ti a dewisswn.'²²⁰
Ac yna medylaw a wnaeth, bot yn diuwyn/
ganhaw pryt a welsei o uorwyn eiroet, a gwreic, y wrth y/
ffryt hi.²²¹

He sees her face as incomparable, a natural view for a man falling in love.

However the Cyfarwydd does not narrate her independently as *deccaf*/ most beautiful.²²² The subjective text perhaps nuances a striking woman, not softly feminine; what we might call '*jolie laide*'.²²³

²¹⁵ Generosity to nobles PKM1 8.15–17. JKB 24.2.

²¹⁶ Ch. VI.4. Horse, pp. 393–400. VI.5. Bag, pp. 400–06. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon, pp. 407–14.

²¹⁷ Porter, "Romantic Love in Medieval Marriages", quoted p. 242. A notable example is Nest, whose romantic liaisons have a strongly pragmatic theme. Kari Maund. 2007. *Princess Nest of Wales: Seductress of the English* (The History Press). A comparable couple approximating the Mabinogi compilation period is Eleanor of Aquitaine (c.1122 – 1204) and Henry of Anjou, king of England from 1154. Eleanor was one of the most powerful women in Europe of the period; her tempestuous romance and marriage with Henry I was (in)famous.

²¹⁸ Adapted from the famous feminist slogan 'The personal is political', late 1960s Women's Movement, of unknown origin, often cited from Carol Hanisch (NY Radical Women), 'The personal is political', in Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt, eds. 1970. *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation* (Radical Feminism), pp. 76–77. (PDF see Bibliog.) Detail Ch. VI.3. Feminism.

²¹⁹ Bearing in mind the tradition of 'Distant Love' (Jaufre Rudel, above) perhaps Pwyll falls in love even earlier, during the pursuits. Cf. his reference to *y gwr mwyhafa gery*, PKM1 12.8, "the man you love most" JKB 27.2, as his pursuit ends.

²²⁰ PKM1 12.27 – 13. 2, 'Between me and God,' declared Pwyll, 'here is my response to you. If I had a choice of all the women and maidens in the world, it is you I would choose.' JKB 28.1.

²²¹ PKM1 12.16–18. 'And then he thought that unlovely to him was the face of every maiden and woman he had ever seen, compared to her face.' JKB 28.1. Ch. II.8. Feminism: Beauty.

²²² Rhiannon and beauty is nuanced. A 21stC Carnival centred on Rhiannon as its Queen, publicised its selection process as "The Trials of Rhiannon", inspired by the great Rhiannon, a mythical queen from the epic Welsh legend, The Mabinogion, they will test strength, creativity, passion and determination... not forgetting the willingness to have a go. This is definitely not a beauty pageant! Rowan Matthiessen. 16/06/2016. 'Join the search for Narberth's Mabinogion Carnival Queen Rhiannon!', *Tenby Observer* (URL text Bibliography) Striking poster, displayed end of Ch. II.3. Performance, p. 56; and Ch. IX.1. Gallery p. 537.

²²³ Winward suggests Rhiannon as large, strong-looking: her manic struggle with six Maids, her penance bearing people on her back, her hunting as gender exception. 'Aspects', pp. 83–84. Cf. also Sioned Davies' horse-rider integration their which would fuse Rhiannon's *uarch mawr*/ great [size, strength of] horse with Rhiannon as rider. Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse, pp. 17–19.

On first encounter, Rhiannon shows an open manner, significantly uncovering her face to speak with him.²²⁴ She is commanding, and he seems content with that.²²⁵ Later, when she commands him to give her away to preserve honour, his painful words express his heartfelt love and loyalty.

*'Ny allaf ui arnaf a/ dywedy di uyth.'*²²⁶

Pwyll y penbwl/ Pwyll the fool

Rhiannon's choice seems problematic for Pwyll is judged a fool: by Rhiannon herself, by Arawn, and by scholars (below). Rhiannon, intelligent and pragmatic, apparently selects a stupid executive.²²⁷

Pwyll's *ffolineb*/ foolishness, can be summarised as follows.

TABLE 21 **Pwyll as Fool**

- 1) He takes Arawn's stag.²²⁸
- 2) He boasts he can ignore the Gorsedd warning.²²⁹
- 3) He unsuccessfully hunts Rhiannon over three days, exhausting his horse.²³⁰
- 4) As Rhiannon's bridegroom, he agrees to give a stranger prince anything he has.²³¹
- 5) His foolishness enables a perspective as a teaching text.²³²

Scholars chorus the judgement of Arawn's and Rhiannon's rebukes. He is 'Impetuous [and] boastful', failing to seek advice on the Arberth '*rywedawt*'/ marvel. He is 'foolish' in chasing Rhiannon for 'more can be done through words

²²⁴ Veil: PKM1 12.10–11. JKB 28.1. A maiden's veil is symbolic of her sexually closed, virginal status. *cowyll* 'the "morning-gift" made to a virgin bride by her husband.' Glossary, WLW, p. 196. 'This is suggested in the actual meaning of the word as it related to a veil/ headdress, similar to the English cowl. A change of head-covering was probably a symbolic act that marked the finality of the marital union.' Patterson, 'Uxorial', p. 85, n. 52.

²²⁵ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Narrative Weddings, pp. 199–201. Byfield seems to see his acceptance of her initiative as a weakness. 'The pace of their steeds mirrors the pace of their interaction: Pwyll is never able to keep up with her.' Byfield, 'Character', p. 3. I see it as male maturity.

²²⁶ Loyalty: PKM1 14.20–2.1. 'I could not ever do what you say.' JKB 29.1.

²²⁷ Her intelligence and pragmatism is frequently evidenced in Ch. IV.1. Voice. Ch. IV.2. Acts.

²²⁸ Stag, PKM1 1.24–2.13. JKB 20.2–21.1. Arawn rebukes Pwyll's *ansyberwyt*, PKM1 2.13. ModW. *anawybod*: ignorance, lack of knowledge, error, action committed in ignorance, imprudence, (GPC) Regarded as the same thing as impoliteness in mediaeval Wales. Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 6. n.12. 'Not knowing how to conduct oneself in a given situation', Christine James, personal comment (2014).

²²⁹ Gorsedd warning: PKM1 9.8. JKB 25.2.

²³⁰ Three days hunt/ pursuits, PKM1 9.11–12.6. JKB 25.1–27.2. 'The hunt is often used in medieval French and English tales and romances as well as in the *Mabinogion* as a precursor to an encounter with the supernatural.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 227. Rhiannon rebukes him, PKM1 12.9–10. JKB 27.2. Ch. VIII. Structures, p. 522, nn. 88, 89 breakdown of 3 or 4 pursuits.

²³¹ Careless offer, PKM1 14.5–6. Rhiannon rebukes him, 14.13–14. JKB 29.1.

²³² 'Sovereignty' handbook, below pp. 259–60.

than by dint of arms.' He 'has yet to learn to use words wisely and carefully.'²³³ He is 'Rhiannon's foolish suitor',²³⁴ 'a rash and foolish fellow',²³⁵ who 'thoughtlessly',²³⁶ 'misspeaks';²³⁷ and 'carelessly bade [Gwawl] ask for anything' with 'his rash words';²³⁸ He is 'slow witted';²³⁹ has 'bumbling adventures';²⁴⁰ 'allows himself to be tricked';²⁴¹ 'tricked into keeping a careless promise'.²⁴² He contradicts his name, overlooking consequences.²⁴³ He is 'spineless' and 'passive'; Rhiannon will 'accomplish her ends despite the ineptness of her intended mate.'²⁴⁴

Rhiannon's (second) rebuke strips Pwyll of the meaning of his name, in particularly scathing wordplay.²⁴⁵

pwyll – deliberation, consideration, care, caution; discretion, prudence, wisdom, patience, understanding, intelligence, perception, judgement, mind, wit(s), reason, (common) sense, sanity, also fig. (GPC)²⁴⁶

Rhiannon's first rebuke is for charging about without due attention.²⁴⁷ It is perhaps appropriate to heed her warning, giving more attention to the charges of Pwyll's *ffolineb*/ foolishness.

²³³ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 67. Referencing PKM1 12.5–8. JKB 27.2, when he appeals to Rhiannon.

²³⁴ Andrew Breeze. 2009. 'The Name of Teyrnnon Twrf Lliant', in *Perspectives on Celtic Languages*, ed. by Bloch-Trojan, Maria (Wydawnictwo KUL), p. 114.

²³⁵ McKenna, 'Sovereignty', p. 326. Cf. Byfield 'impetuosity and rashness', 'Character', p. 2.

²³⁶ Shimpock, 'Unlikely', p. 2. n. 16.

²³⁷ Shimpock, 'Unlikely', p. 27.

²³⁸ Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*, p. 625. Pennar, 'Women', p. 128

²³⁹ 'Pwyll comes across as a dependable but rather slow-witted character, in contrast to the shrewd and resourceful Rhiannon'. Dafydd Johnston. *Literature of Wales*.

²⁴⁰ Valente, 'Women', p. 236.

²⁴¹ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 58.

²⁴² John Waddell. 2018. 'Equine Cults and Celtic Goddesses', *Emania: Bulletin of the Navan Research Group*, 24, p. 5. Also Rhiannon: 'he tricked you to win my hand', Eames, 'Magnificent', playscript, Act I, p. 29.

²⁴³ "Though his name means "sensible," he is quick to action and speech, but not long on thinking about the consequences. He nearly loses both his life and his wife Rhiannon due to his inability to keep his mouth shut. ' Mary Jones, 'Pwyll pendeuc Dyfed/ Pwyll pen Annwfn' in 'Jones Celtic Encyclopedia'. (URL text Bibliography).

²⁴⁴ Ford, *Native Tales*, p. 25; quotation p. 37.

²⁴⁵ Rebuke II: '*ny bu/ uuscrellach gwr ar y ssynnwyr*' PKM1 14.13–14. 'Never was a man more feeble in his own wits than you have been.' JKB 29.1. The term she uses is a synonym of *pwyll*, sense. *synnwyr* – sense, wisdom, sensibleness, prudence, understanding, mental ability, reason, sanity; feeling, experience, opinion, consciousness, mind; GPC. *anawybod*/ ignorance, n. 228.

²⁴⁶ Long list of accusations that Pwyll is a fool, above 'chorus'. TYP p. 487, for early Gaulish sources of 'Pwyll' or similar.

²⁴⁷ Rebuke I. '*ac oed llessach y'r march, pei as/ archut yr meityn*.' PKM1 12.9–10. 'and it would have been better for the horse if you had asked it a good while ago.' JKB 27. 2.

Yn Annwfn/ In Annwfn

Pwyll seems ignorantly unaware when he drives off other hounds from the stag, so Arawn rebukes him.²⁴⁸ The offence centres the two hunters' *lle*, their (relative) status.²⁴⁹ Cŵn Annwfn display a warning,²⁵⁰ so Pwyll might be expected to know the king of Annwfn is nearby, from traditional animal lore;²⁵¹ though Ford considers this warning inadequate.²⁵²

Ellis holds Pwyll within his rights as *arglwydd*/(territorial) lord;

he found a stag being pursued by other hounds ... a breach of his right,
and so he promptly unleashed his own dogs [...]²⁵³

Jenkins, from the *Cyfraith*/ Laws, advises:

²⁴⁸ Arawn: 'Ny weleis ansyberwyt uwy ar/ wr,' *hep ef*, 'no gyrru yr erchwys a ladyssei y carw e/ ymdeith, a llithiau dy erchwys dy hun arnaw; hynny,' PKM1 2.14–16. 'I have not seen greater discourtesy in a man,' he said, 'than driving away the pack that had killed the stag and feeding your own pack upon it.' JKB 21.1. 'Pwyll, assuming there is no one there to see what he is doing, dishonourably drives off the other pack and gives the stag to his own hounds.' Enid Morgan. 2013. 'Revenge and Reconciliation in the Four Branches: A Girardian Approach', *Studia Celtica*, 47, 1, p. 149. See p. 247 n. 228 *anawybod*: ignorance (GPC). 'If it happens that a person goes hunting and looses his hounds on an animal, then if idle hounds meet it and kill it, the animal will belong to the first hounds, which started it, unless the idle hounds belong to the King.' Jenkins, *Law*, p. 186. Interlace analysis of Pwyll's encounter with Arawn and Rhiannon, Ch. IX. Structures. 'Indeed, the stag, together with the noble boar, is the quarry most often hunted in medieval epics and romances.' Marcelle Thiebaux. 1974. *Stag of Love: The Chase in Medieval Literature* (Cornell), p. 19.

²⁴⁹ Analysis of political status and territory, Ch. III.5. LLW: 'Territory, identity and *sarhaed*' pp. 165–66 with reference to *lle*/ place, which keys the whole relationship of Pwyll and Arawn. Above p. 231 n. 108.

²⁵⁰ Cwn Annwfn: *Ac yna edrych ohonaw efar liw yr erchwys ... Sef lliw/ oed arnunt, clærwyn llathreit, ac eu clusteu yn/ gochyon. Ac ual y llathrei wynnet y cwn, y llathrei/ cochet y clusteu.* PKM1 1.21–24. 'And then he looked at the colour of the pack, ... This is the colour that was on them – shining white, and their ears red [*cochyon*/ redhaired]. And as the white of the hounds shone, so shone the red [*cochyon*/ redhaired] of their ears'. (My insertions) JKB 20.1. *cochyn* – red-haired person. (GPC) There may be a subtle wordplay here on the superiority of the *cŵn*, as animals described with an adjective normally attached to humans. Cf. inversely, Gwawl, PKM1 13.27. JKB 28.2; hair colour *gwinau* associated with animals (horses) (GPC)

²⁵¹ Hemming's research: white, red (and black) are the three fundamental colours of folklore. They are chosen as a mythical priority even where other colours are available and known. Jessica Hemming. 2012. 'Red, White, and Black in Symbolic Thought: The Tricolour Folk Motif, Colour Naming, and Trichromatic Vision.', *Folklore*, 123, pp. 310–29.

²⁵² 'It will be noticed that there are no special signals nor boundaries to indicate that the other world is at hand—only the colour of the animals.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 202.

²⁵³ 'territorial lord', Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 4, n. 3. 'he found a stag ...', Ellis, 'Legal References', VI Law of Hunting, p. 99. Ellis unfortunately confuses his case by referring to Pwyll's 'kingship'. Further, same page, 'Pwyll repudiated the discourtesy; but at once admitted he was in the wrong, when Arawn announced that he, too, was a King.' The Mabinogi only recognises Pwyll as *pendefig*, PKM1 1.1, 'prince'. JKB 19.1. Nonetheless Ellis' meaning is understandable. Pwyll's rights are clear in Jenkins, quoted p. 250, n. 254 below. Terms of rank have a certain flexibility anyway; a king of a small or impoverished kingdom may not in practical terms match a *pendefig*, or *arglwydd*/ lord of a large, powerful one. Yet *brenin*/ a king holds formal rank over princes, and Mabinogi society loves rank, as seen in its feast hierarchy.

the animal will belong to the first hounds which started it, unless the idle [other] hounds belong to the King.²⁵⁴

Bollard agrees with Ellis, additionally clarifying that Arawn, though *brenin*/ a king, was not *brenin* over Dyfed.²⁵⁵ The high king of *yr Ynys hon*/ Britain, outranks Pwyll as *pendefig* Dyfed, but the high king visiting Pwyll's forest without a courtesy forewarning would be great *ansyberwyd*/ discourtesy: highly unlikely. Pwyll's act is legally either justified, or at worst, somewhat anomalous.²⁵⁶

Speaking to the anonymous stranger, Pwyll cautiously double checks which land Arawn the king rules, then courteously offers to gain his friendship.²⁵⁷ He carefully prefaces his offer of reconciliation with a conditional *o'*/ 'if':

*'o gwneuthum gam, mi a/ brynaf dy gerennyd.'*²⁵⁸

He does not immediately agree terms, checking first how to recognise Arawn's adversary.²⁵⁹ He also checks care for his people during his absence.²⁶⁰

In Annwfn, his rule is *lwydannus*/ prosperous,²⁶¹ an impossible achievement for an impulsive fool. He follows Arawn's difficult instruction in the duel, without losing his sense in the intensity of the moment. Even when Hafgan appeals his traditional right to a *coup de grâce*, Pwyll holds steady, shouldering

²⁵⁴ Dafydd Jenkins, *The Law*, p. 186.

²⁵⁵ Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 21, side note no. 8, thoroughly explored, citing Jenkins, *Law*, p. 186; quoted n. 254 above. Notes anomaly that Arawn is not king over Dyfed, and Pwyll is styled prince, not king of Dyfed. Also Pwyll does not admit to committing an offence. See also James Fife. 1992. 'Legal Aspects of the Hunting-Scene in *Pwyll*', *BBCS* 39, pp. 71-79. Alternate view, Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Annwfn, on Annwfn within Dyfed pp. 372-76.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Pryderi as ruler of Dyfed, joins the hosting of Bendigeidfran, *brenin Yr Ynys hon*/ king of Britain: PKM2 38.21-22. JKB 51.2. Pryderi is not named, but inferred in the complete hosting as he is later named as a war survivor. The relationship between *brenin Yr Ynys hon*/ king of Britain, and *brenin Annwfn*/ king of Annwfn, is never specified, but the status and location of Annwfn is a vexed issue all together. Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Annwfn, pp. 365-70.

²⁵⁷ Queries realm, PKM1 2.24-25. JKB 21.1. Queries gaining *gerennyd* (*carennyd*)/ friendship, PKM1 2.27. JKB 21.2.

²⁵⁸ Conditional: PKM1 2.20-21 ... 22-23. 'if I have done wrong, I will purchase your friendship.' JKB 21.1. 'Pwyll does not admit to doing wrong.' JKB 21, side note no. 8. Cf. Pwyll's contrasting and significant omission of any conditional when speaking to Gwawl, and below 'Betrothal Plot'. Cf. also Pwyll's clear conditional when referring to Rhiannon's guilt, when she is accused. '*O gwnaeth/ hitheu gam*', PKM1 21.17-18. 'If she has done wrong', JKB 34.2.

²⁵⁹ Asks how to recognise Hafgan: PKM1 3.15-16. JKB 21.2. (*Contra* his lack of checking Gwawl's appearance.)

²⁶⁰ Care for Dyfed: PKM1 3.22-23. JKB 21.2. My analysis above opposes Byfield's who critiques his 'impetuosity and rashness' seen in 'His eagerness to follow his hounds, his driving off of Arawn's pack, and particularly his first speech – in which he promises to recompense his insult to Arawn in a manner appropriate to the stranger's rank'. She does however see Pwyll as a man of honour, but this trait enables Arawn to manipulate him. Byfield, 'Character', p. 2.

²⁶¹ Annwfn rule: PKM1 8.22-23. 'successful', JKB 25.1. ModW. *lwyddiannus* successful, prosperous (GPC). Mac Cana speaks approvingly of his 'benign rule' in Annwfn. Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 25.

publicly dishonourable action in his strategic loyalty to Arawn.²⁶² His organisation of the Annwfn aftermath is methodically successful.²⁶³ He wisely reassures his Dyfed nobles he will confirm Arawn's dispensations to them.²⁶⁴

The Annwfn couple admire Pwyll's self-control and loyalty in chastely sharing the queen's bed for a year.²⁶⁵ This chastity vignette is a classic Mabinogi puzzle;²⁶⁶ sometimes slightly censored.²⁶⁷ Pennar favours Pwyll's 'exemplary conduct', for in becoming Arawn he could justify doing so fully (sexually), and Arawn explicitly 'gave' his wife to Pwyll.²⁶⁸ Pwyll's discipline has been attributed

²⁶² Arawn instructs (dialogue): PKM1 2.28–4.14. JKB 21.2. Pwyll executes (Hafgan duel): PKM1 5.19–6.3. JKB 23.1–2. The vital 'single blow' Pwyll must give Hafgan in order to win the duel, has presented a puzzle on its logic. Boyd proposes an ingenious solution. Arawn can never now give a 'single blow' because he has already fought Hafgan before. Mathieu Boyd. 2013. 'Teaching Notes from a Personal Reading of the Mabinogi'. Academia. (URL download, Bibliography) Bollard departs from literal translation here, 'I will not slay you', JKB 13.2. Hafgan had every right to this mercy as a wounded fighter. 'Mercy killings, those lethal actions carried out to relieve suffering, enacted by soldiers upon wounded enemy combatants during and after combat have been evidenced since the earliest recordings of armed conflict.' Harry East. 2013. 'Permission to die: an examination of the law and morality of battlefield mercy killing'. (Unpublished doctoral thesis University of Southampton, School of Law). Quoted from the Abstract, also p. 8. (URL, download, Bibliography) To withhold this grace, Pwyll had to break long established honour code, and its expectation from the crowd of observers.

²⁶³ Annwfn lordship: 'Vy ngwy[r]da, ... y dwy dynas. PKM1 6.5–14. 'My nobles, ... in his power.' JKB 23.2.

²⁶⁴ Dyfed nobles: *a'r arglwydiaeth a gaussam ninheu y ulwydyn/ honno, nys attygy y gennym, ot gwnn.* 'Nac attygaf,/ y rofi a Duw,' heb ynteu Pwyll. PKM1 8.15–17. 'And the lordship we have received this year, you will not take it back from us, surely.' 'I will not, between me and God,' said Pwyll. JKB 24.2.

²⁶⁵ Pwyll chaste for a year, PKM1 4.26–5.6. JKB 22.2–23.1. The Queen and Arawn admire him for it, PKM1 7.21–8.3. JKB 24.1–2. Ch. V.2. Queen, p. 214 n. 2; p. 215 n. 12. 'Pwyll remains loyal to Arawn by not having sexual relations with his wife.' Shimpock, 'Unlikely', p. 2. n. 11. Sioned Davies, his loyalty, *Four Branches*, p. 57. The 'friendship between Arawn and Pwyll was due as much to Pwyll's honourable conduct as it was to his successful fulfillment of Arawn's task.' Byfield, 'Character', p. 3.

²⁶⁶ Jackson explains via folktale analysis ref. 'The Two Brothers'. A brother must sleep with his twin brother's wife, so loyally lays a sword between them in bed as a chastity barrier. The tale *Ami a Amile* is one instance. *International Popular Tale*, pp. 14, 15, 81, citing motifs TPC 489, T351, cf. 356, H1556. Parker detects the author making a case for 'the virtues of ... sexual responsibility' backed by the PKM4 rapists' punishment. Parker, 'Bibliographic Essay', online (URL text Bibliography). Gantz suggests the PKM1 chastity episode and Goronwy's PKM4 adultery, are structural counterweights 'Thematic Structure', p. 274. 'In many instances of this motif, the shape-shifting takes place for the sole purpose of sleeping with the wife—compare Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the conception of Arthur, where Uther Pendragon takes the form of Gorlois, earl of Cornwall, in order to sleep with Igherna.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 229.

²⁶⁷ *Amser a doeth ... y nos gyntaf.* PKM1 4.26–5.5. The time came for them ... from the first night.' JKB 22.2 (bottom) 23.1. Guest, and Pughe before her, attaches *digriuwch a llonydwch*/ pleasure and contentment' to the preceding general sentence about the feast. *Mabinogion*, 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed', p. 351 341. Pughe, CR III, p. 243. Guest omits nothing of the Welsh text. According to Ellis and Lloyd, this obscures the motif of the story from 'mistaken propriety'. *Mabinogion*, p. 11, n. 32. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, pp. 91–92 for an assessment of her 'bowdlerisation'.

²⁶⁸ Arawn's offer: *ac a/ rodafy wreic deccaf a weleist eiroet y gyscu gyt a thi/ beunoeth.* PKM1 3.8–10. 'and I will place the fairest woman you have ever seen to sleep with you every night', JKB 21.2. Arawn offers his wife, immediately after offering his own *lle*/ place. He does not say 'my wife' as

to a 'chivalric ideal' or Christian virtue, though Ford critiques this 'would not be consistent with the overall treatment of traditional material by the scribes of medieval Wales'.²⁶⁹ According to the *Cyfraith/* Laws, Pwyll actually insults the Queen by denying her marital rights, for impotence is grounds for divorce; so he needs compelling reasons.²⁷⁰ Traditions of danger around becoming the lover of the queen of the Otherworld, particularly inability to leave her, may have existed then as later, this might suggest Pwyll wants to ensure he can go home safely.²⁷¹ If the Annwfn couple are interpreted as sophisticates of an 'open marriage', and if Pwyll suspected it, he may be disinclined to be their sex toy.²⁷² He might feel fastidious about the embrace of a deceived woman. He might feel that acting as Arawn generally is manageable, but guessing another man's intimate lovemaking activity is much more difficult and risky.²⁷³ None of these interpretations support

in English, but a) *gwraig* means both 'woman' and 'wife'; and b) in the subsequent tale he refers to her as his wife. Pennar's comment, 'Women', p. 119, and n. 5. He notes Arawn 'giving' his wife, p. 120, and Pwyll's willpower which Arawn did not expect, p. 121. Guest glosses this sexual matter as offering 'the fairest lady thou didst ever behold to be thy companion', 'Pwyll Prince of Dyved', p. 341. Pennar cites Laura Hibbard Loomis who takes the episode as being the earliest known example of the chastity test or hospitable host theme. Laura Loomis, 'Gawain and the Green Knight', p. 528.

²⁶⁹ Ellis and Lloyd find 'an exalted view of chastity, especially male chastity.' *Mabinogion*, p. 2. 'Arawn's offer ... is rejected, expressing the highest chivalric ideal. It shows such an ideal was active in Wales ... long before the Norman-French chivalry arose', *ibid.* p. 11, n. 32. Ellis writes in an early 20thC context of resurgent Welsh nationalism, stressing Wales' ancient civilised values, cf. similar vaunting of hygiene, converse, and Law. Also the earlier period Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance, resisting derogation of Welsh culture and people. WJG thought the chastity texts a late addition due to a monkish redactor, 'Mabinogion', pp. 69, and 74. Ford critiques Ellis as 'not consistent' (above quote) with usual Mabinogi treatment, 'Prolegomena', p. 209. On the secular nature of the Mabinogi Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900: Christianity, pp. 438-42.

²⁷⁰ McAll, 'The normal paradigms of a woman's life in the Irish and Welsh texts.', p. 20; Owen, 'Shame', p. 50. Jenkins, 'Property Interests', p. 79; all in WLW. Compare how Pwyll treats Hafgan dishonorably in refusing the coup de grace (above); both dishonourable behaviours indicate Pwyll is ruthless on strategic priority, but honourable in his disciplined adherence to his commitment to Arawn.

²⁷¹ Thomas, W. Jenkyn. 1907. *The Welsh Fairy Book*, Dover Children's Classics, Illust. Willy Pogany (Fisher Unwin, Kindle edn). 'The Curse of Pantannas', farmer returns but so aged he crumbles to dust, pp. 13-17. 'Einion and the Lady of the Greenwood', ageing time distortion on the lover and his wife cf. Scots Thomas the Rhymer, pp. 48-50. 'Ianto's Chase', Ianto's life in terrible danger when he departs the fairy party, pp. 59-61.

²⁷² Extreme hospitality, the offer of wife. Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, pp. 7-8. n. 17. Possible linked 'effete' host interpretation, p. 253, n. 279 below, which may explain why a year's stay is necessary; and a possible plot implication p. 254.

²⁷³ Perhaps significantly, another encounter of intense physical proximity occurs when Pwyll fights Hafgan, who seems to know he is not Arawn. 'A unben,' *heb yr Hafgan, 'pa dylyet/ a oed iti ar uy angheu i? Nit yttoydwn i yn holi dim/ i ti. Ni wydwn achos it heuyt y'm llad i*, PKM1 5.25-27. "Ah, chieftain," asked Hafgan, 'what right did you have to my death? I was not claiming anything against you. I do not know, either, a reason for you to slay me'. JKB 23.1-2.

Pwyll as incautious. As *y gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*,²⁷⁴ Pwyll lives undercover for a whole year, maintaining constant self control in every act and word.²⁷⁵ There seems little or no justification to accuse Pwyll of poor judgement in *Pwyll I*, rather, the opposite; his behaviour seems a good match for his name.

When Pwyll first offers to resolve the problem with Arawn, in particularly careful language he offers *carennnyd*/ friendship, not *sarhaed*/ compensation.²⁷⁶

[Pwyll] '*mi a/ brynaf dy gerennnyd ...*'

[Pwyll] '*Arglwyd, heb ynteu, 'pa furyfy cafi dy gerennnyd/ di?*'

[Arawn] '*mi a wnafa thi gedymdeithas gadarn.*'²⁷⁷

Arawn, after a somewhat histrionic compensation threat,²⁷⁸ accords. His need for aid is great, cf. various interpretations, including a magical paradox, or Annwfn as effete.²⁷⁹ He is immediately satisfied with *carennnyd*.²⁸⁰ Like marriage (above)

²⁷⁴ Identity: PKM1 5. 20–21 and 6.6. 'the man who was in Arawn's place', JKB 23.1 and 23.2. 'The narrative stresses the fact that Pwyll and Arawn are interchangeable. ... from the time he enters Annwfn, Pwyll is called only "the man who was in Arawn's place," or some similar locution.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 204. The concept of *lle*/ place, is spatial; cf. the way society is organised on (men) attached to territory, Ch. III.5. LLW. *lle* – space in general, locality, area ... a specific place, ... stead, lieu, position, proper or natural place, fixed or assigned place, &c. place where something is habitually kept *GPC) Cf. Gwawl, *y gwr o'r got* PKM1 17.15. 'the man in the bag', JKB 30.2. When Pwyll and Arawn meet again, their dialogue before they resume their own identities appears to play with their interchangeability. The first speech is tagged as Arawn's, which defines the other two; but the naming could easily be reversed. '*Ie, heb yr Arawn, Duw/ a dalo itt dy gydymdeithas; mi a'y kygleu.*' '*Ie, heb ynteu, 'pan delych dy hun i'th wlat, ti a wely a/ wneuthum i yrot ti.*' '*A wnaethost, heb ef, 'yrofi i, Duw a'y talo itt.*' PKM1 6.18–22. 'Yea,' said Arawn, 'may God repay you your friendship; I have heard of it.' 'Yea,' he replied, 'when you come yourself to your land, you will see what I have done for you.' 'What you have done,' he said, 'for me, may God repay it to you.' JKB 23.2. Possible wordplay when Arawn initially instructs Pwyll they will meet again and exchange back again. *Ac kynnadyl yna yn y lle hon.*' PKM1 3.14. 'we will meet then in this place.' JKB 21.2.

²⁷⁵ In 2012 a major UK scandal broke about undercover police officers living out full time alternate identities. In addition to the lovers they deceived, who were seen as victims, the officers themselves spoke of 'mental breakdown [and] a suicide attempt.' Rob Evans and Paul Lewis. 27/04/2012. 'Undercover police had mental breakdowns because of pressures of double life', *Guardian*. (URL text Bibliography)

²⁷⁶ Cf. Math's reconciliation with his nephews after grave offences: *cerennnyd*, PKM4 77.5. 'friendship', JKB 92.2.

²⁷⁷ [Pwyll] PKM1 2.20–21, 'I will purchase your friendship.' JKB 21.1. [Pwyll, refers to *carennnydd*/ friendship, PKM1 2.27–28,] 'But tell me how I can do that.' JKB 21.2. [Arawn] PKM1 3.7. 'I will make a strong friendship with you.' JKB 21.2.

²⁷⁸ Discourtesy: '*Ny weleis ansyberwyd uwy ar/ wr, heb ef, 'no gyrru yr erchwys a ladsysei y carw e/ ymdeith, a llithiau dy erchwys dy hun arnaw; hynny, heb ef, 'ansyberwyd oed: a chyn nyt ymdialwyf a thi, y rofi i a Duw, heb ef, 'mi a wnafo anglot itt guerth/ can carw.*' PKM1 2.14–19. 'I have not seen greater discourtesy in a man,' he said, 'than driving away the pack that had killed the stag and feeding your own pack upon it. That,' he said, 'was discourtesy. And though I will not avenge myself upon you, between me and God,' he said, 'I will do dishonour to you to the value of a hundred stags.' JKB 21.1. My underlining in source and translation.

²⁷⁹ On the magical paradox, Ch. VI.1. Enchantments p. 250 n. 261 above The description of the Annwfn *teulu*/ military, may possibly imply it is elegant but effete; *niuer hardafa chyweiraf*, PKM1 4.3. 'beautiful and best equipped host', JKB 2.2. *harddu* – to make fair, beautify, grace, adorn, embellish (GPC). *chyweiraf* – to put in order, arrange, prepare, bring to proper trim or condition,

lordly *carennnyd* is hybrid. This is alliance between their realms is cemented by mutual demonstrations of wealth in formal gift exchange.²⁸¹ Annwfn is fabled for its wealth, its buildings richly decorated, its king and queen arrayed in costly gold silk, with abundant food, drink, gold plate, jewels.²⁸² Pwyll the military leader, observes their superbly well-equipped force.

[...] *teulu ac
yniuerod, a'r niuer hardaf a chyweiraf* [...] ²⁸³

Given the outcome in the impressive Pen Annwfn alliance, and the evidence of Pwyll's controlled, strategic character (above, and more below), it is conceivable Pwyll might take a deliberate risk to win this alliance. Taking the stag *imposes* negotiation on Arawn. Again, Pwyll never offers compensation, only *carennnyd*/ friendship (alliance).²⁸⁴ Arawn may even have sought it too.²⁸⁵

tidy, dress up, adorn, equip (GPC). This may account for the need for a year's stay, so Pwyll may conduct military training. Cf. linked interpretation of Arawn's possibly sophisticated wife sharing, p. 252 above.

²⁸⁰ The Queen remarks the strong *gedymdeith*/ friend, Arawn acquires; which he confirms, PKM1 7.28–8.3. JKB 24.2.

²⁸¹ PKM1 8.18–21. JKB 24.2–25.1. Gifts exchanged to confirm Dyfed– Annwfn alliance. Cf. similar hybrid relationship in noble marriage, Porter above p. 242.

²⁸² Buildings, PKM1 4.5–7. JKB 22.1–2. Silks, Pwyll, PKM1 4.10–11. JKB 22.2; Queen, PKM1 4.15–16. JKB 22.2. *diwallaf o uwynt a llynn, ac eur lestri, a theyrn/ dlysseu*. PKM1 4.24–25. 'abundant in food and drink and gold plate and royal jewels.' JKB 22.2.

²⁸³ PKM1 4.12–14, 'the household troops and hosts, and the most beautiful and best equipped host.' JKB 22.2.

²⁸⁴ Pwyll Arawn dialogue, PKM1 2.7–4.5. JKB 21.1–22.1. Once Pwyll mentions *carennnydd* Arawn no longer refers to compensation. Pwyll speaks of *carennnydd*, PKM1 2.20–21. JKB 21.1, Pwyll asks how to gain Arawn's *gerennydd*, PKM1 2.27–28. JKB 22.2. Arawn agrees, offering conditions, PKM1 2.28. JKB 21.2. (Quoted n. 277 above.) Arawn's queen stresses his new friendship, and Arawn agrees, PKM1 7.28–29. JKB 24.2. Dyfed, Annwfn establish a strong friendship, long term, with gifts PKM1 8.18–21. JKB 24.2–25.1; also pigs, PKM4 68.16–23. JKB 80.1.

²⁸⁵ There is a tradition that supernatural Arawn needed the help of a mortal. Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 229. Ford suggests 'It would appear that the encounter between Pwyll and Arawn of Annwfn was carefully contrived by the latter, that he had arranged the meeting to make a contract with the mortal.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 203; based on the proactive approach by Annwfn animals, and the need for a mortal to kill Hafgan; Ford, p. 202. Cf. the mutual seeking of Pwyll and Rhiannon at Arberth, Ch. I.6. Advent, balanced agency. Ch. IX. Structures: Interlacings– Rhiannon Arawn pp. 510–11. Above Arawn's possible motive in Annwfn as effeteness, pp 252, 253. Walton refers to the savage, rough strength of this world, Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Walton, quoted p. 477 n. 259. Also magical paradox interpretation Boyd p. 251 n. 261 above.

Rhybudd yr Orsedd/ Gorsedd warning

Rather than seek advice ... carefully, ... – he acts immediately.²⁸⁶

Sioned Davies criticises Pwyll for boasting he is unafraid of *kynneddyf yr orsedd*;²⁸⁷ the threat of *kymriw neu archolleu*.²⁸⁸ Pwyll explicitly states his confidence rests on being *ym plith hynn o niuer*, earlier text, *yniuer oed mawr o wyr*.²⁸⁹ He is already Arawn's chosen, fighting champion.²⁹⁰ To refuse the Gorsedd challenge would fail the primary courage code of a warrior leader.²⁹¹

Pwyll certainly does not rush after the wondrous rider, abandoning the support of his company. He organises three pursuits through deputies, over two days.²⁹² Only on the third day does he make a fourth foray, accepting he must go himself. The sequence demonstrates his cautious, methodical character.

²⁸⁶ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 67.

²⁸⁷ PKM1 9.5. Full ref. 9.5–7. 'peculiarity of the mound', JKB 25.1–2. Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 67. *kynneddyf* (ModW. *cynneddf*) – faculty, natural endowment; attribute, quality, peculiarity, characteristic; moral quality, trait of character; nature, disposition; custom, usage, practice, habit; qualification; condition; virtue. (GPC, My underlining). On the *rywedawt* which brings this risk, Ch. I.4. Advent pp. 10–23, and Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Locations pp. 362–63.

gorssedd, [ModW.] – a) mound of earth, tump, knoll, hillock; barrow, tumulus, grave. b) throne c) judge's seat; assembly, gathering. (of emperor, king, &c.); throne of bishop, &c., on ceremonial occasions; chair; confessional; throne of God and Christ in glory; fig. position, office or dignity of a sovereign, &c., sovereign power and authority. c) court, hall, dwelling, place; court of law, judicial assembly, tribunal, session, judge's seat; assembly, gathering. (GPC)

²⁸⁸ *rywedawt/ ryuedawt* (MW) *rhyfeddod* (ModW) – marvel, wonder. (GPC). First mentioned PKM1 9.7. *kymriw neu archolleu*, PKM1 9.7 repeated by Pwyll, 9.8. "a wound or blows", JKB 25.2. *kymriw* – bruise, wound. *archolleu* – wound, cut, gash, hurt, injury (GPC). Synonym usage is frequent Mabinogi style, and other *Mabinogion* tales. Sioned Davies, examples, *Four Branches*, pp. 41–42.

²⁸⁹ PKM1 9.8–9. 'in the midst of such a host'. JKB 25.2. Also earlier, PKM1 9.1, 'great hosts of men with him'. JKB 25.1.

²⁹⁰ PKM1 2.28–3.4, and PKM1 3.6–7. JKB 21.2. Arawn explains how Pwyll can obtain his friendship.

²⁹¹ An extreme, contrasting instance of a leader's contemptible failure of courage occurs PKM4 Gronw Pebyr. He asks one of his *teulu* to substitute for him in facing Lleu's vengeance. They refuse, shaming him. PKM4 91.18–92.3. JKB 107.1. Recorded in Triad 30: *Tri Anyweir Deulu Enys Prydain/ "Three Faithless War-Bands of Britain"*. TYP pp. 65–69. The *gogynfeirdd*/ poets of the princes praised courage, generosity, and lineage above all other princely qualities. Jane Ann Cousins. 1978. '*Moliant Beirdd gyda Sylw Arbennig i Waith y Gogynfeirdd*' (unpublished MA thesis, Swansea), pp. 37–85. 'In Praise of Bards with Special Attention to the Work of the Gogynfeirdd', my trans.

²⁹² An impression of three pursuits is easily assumed, because of common triplicity in traditional stories (Ch. II.2. Craft p. 45 n11); there are three *mounted* pursuits. But Pwyll initially deputises a *pedestrian* pursuit, two mounted ones, then rides himself. Day 1, no. 1) Pedestrian, PKM1 9.18–22, JKB 26.1. Day 1, no. 2) Horse from *llys*/ court, PKM1 9.26–27, JKB 26.1. Day 2) Best horse from the field, PKM1 10.16–11.9, JKB 26.1–2. Day 3) Pwyll, PKM1 11.15–12.6, JKB 26.2–27.2.

Cerydd ynghylch y march/ Horse rebuke (I)

Rhiannon criticises Pwyll for his furious 'hunting' of her.²⁹³

*'ac oed llessach y'r march, pei ass/
archut yr meityn.'*²⁹⁴

She means he should have called earlier, before he exhausted his mount.²⁹⁵ She may specifically disapprove his use of spurs.²⁹⁶ For *marchog*/ an equestrian noble, horsemanship failure is a severe critique.²⁹⁷ Her rebuke may be strategic, to assert control of the dialogue.²⁹⁸ It could also be said Rhiannon's stubborn elusiveness precisely engineers his focussed obsession, with the result for the horse she rebukes.²⁹⁹ Ian C. Lovecy considers we

are expected to find the incident surprising, and to be amused by the matter-of-fact way in which Rhianon, the lady, treats it.³⁰⁰

It has been argued above ('Pwyll the Fool') how strongly Pwyll exercises self-discipline. His masculine forcefulness, spurring his *uarch drythyll*, *llamsachus*,³⁰¹ and Rhiannon's feminine, restrained elusiveness, *kerdet araf*,³⁰² are a gendered contrast. For an alpha male hero, it would be extremely hard to admit he and his horse are inadequate, but a necessary recognition before he can appeal

²⁹³ 'He sees a woman on a pale-white horse and sends men after her — he chooses to "hunt" her rather than talk to her directly', Sioned Davies, "Venerable Relics", p. 170.

²⁹⁴ PKM1 12.9–10, 'and it would have been better for the horse if you had asked it a good while ago.' JKB 27.2.

²⁹⁵ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 67.

²⁹⁶ *ysparduneu*, PKM1 11.21, Pwyll commands spurs brought; and PKM1 12.4–5, he uses them. JKB 27.1 and 2.

²⁹⁷ Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion*, pp. 159–62.

²⁹⁸ Ch. IV.1. Voice: horsemanship, pp. 198–99. But Pwyll is not passive in this dialogue; cf. their balance of power Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 Woman p. 15, and 'Partnership', below pp. 260–62.

²⁹⁹ Rhiannon's rebuke is that Pwyll, in his urgency has abused his horse. There is a slight sensitivity here related to modern rape analysis. Most feminisms are adamant that a woman's behaviour cannot cause another's physical abusiveness. In this case Rhiannon has deliberately, on multiple occasions, placed herself before Pwyll in such a way as to entice him, pushing him to the limit. She voluntarily states her purpose to get his attention, and gain his reply to her proposal. '*Kerdet wrth uy negesseu, heb hi*, PKM1 12.15–16, 'Travelling on my own errands,' said she. JKB 28.1. '*Pennaf neges uu ymi, keissaw dy welet ti*'. 12.20, 'My chief errand was to try to see you.' JKB 28.1. *neges* – errand, mission, affair, matter, business, office, task; purpose, point; request, petition. (GPC). Ellis roots *neges* in Latin, *necesse*. *Mabinogion*, p.20, n 56. My preferred translation is 'purpose', or 'business' in the Mabinogi context of nobility, as 'errand' has the frequent English connotation of humble trips to buy milk or post a letter.

³⁰⁰ Ian Charles Lovecy. 1981. 'Exploding the Myth of the Celtic Myth: A New Appraisal of the Celtic Background of Arthurian Romance', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 7 p. 8. Spelling of Rhiannon's name is from Lovecy and earlier scholars: Ch. II.5. Renaissance: sections 1–7.

³⁰¹ PKM1 12.2, 'spirited ... horse', JKB 27.2. Cf. Sioned Davies' horse-rider integration theory, could imply Pwyll's determined vigour and power as a *marchog*. Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse pp. 17–20.

³⁰² *Kerdet araf*, PKM1 9.15. *Nyt oed nes hagen idi no chynt*. PKM1 12.4. 'slow, steady pace'. 'He was no nearer to her, however, than before.' JKB 25.2, and 27.2.

to her. Relinquishing control accepts the socially inferior position.³⁰³ To Pwyll's credit, *gulet a wnaeth na thygyei idaw y hymlit*.³⁰⁴

Skilled in *ymddiddan*/ converse,³⁰⁵ addressing the lady, Pwyll asks her to stop for the sake of *y gwr mwyhaf a gery*.³⁰⁶ After three days of her beguilement, it seems implicit he knows her beloved is himself. His wordplay is calculated to appeal to an intelligent, passionate woman (and us, his meta-audience). His *double-entendre* paradoxically combines the necessary, difficult admission of alpha-male failure (submission, above), with a subtext that *he* is the man *she* is pursuing (dominance).

'Riding' also carries sexual innuendo. Rhiannon's rebuke may hint a challenge to his sexual stamina. He does not argue, again self-restrained.³⁰⁷ Jaufré Rudel, an early 12thC Occitan troubadour, near contemporary to the Cyfarwydd, employs similar imagery to Pwyll's courtship pursuit in a love poem. Jaufré pursues his dreamlike, impossibly elusive beloved, on horseback.

*E mos cavals i vai tan len
e greu cug mais que y atenha,
S'ilha no:s vol arretener.*³⁰⁸

Rhiannon's ride is the romantic image which has inspired her artists the most.³⁰⁹

Rhiannon speaks truly that Pwyll mistreats his horse, but not just as a simple, horsey reproach. It bears complex power play, romantic-erotic nuancing,

³⁰³ He 'suffers ... defeat', Garlick, 'Role of Animals', p. 16. 'Usually it is the character of lower rank who greets first, and the other responds by wishing *graessaw Duw* ('God's welcome'). Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 228. Cf. Pwyll's dialogue with Arawn. Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 6. n. 10.

³⁰⁴ PKM1 12.5-6. 'he saw it would not prosper him to pursue her [in this way].' JKB 27.2. My insertion.

³⁰⁵ *ymdidan* [ModW. *ymddiddan*] – to talk (to one another), speak, converse, chat, also fig. (GPC) Highly prized skill among Mabinogi nobles, admiration for the Queen's skill, PKM1 4.19-22. JKB 22.2. Pryderi admires his mother's skill, PKM3 50.7-8. JKB 63.2; Manawydan is charmed by it, PKM3 50 15-17. JKB 64.1.

³⁰⁶ PKM1 12.8. "for the sake of the man you love most". JKB 27.2.

³⁰⁷ It takes an unusually confident, mature male to hear apparent doubt of his sexual capacity, without leaping into self defence. Pwyll might conceivably be imagined here with a wry smile, even a twinkle; seductively implying the reverse is true.

³⁰⁸ 'And my horse keeps so slow/ a pace, that I think I'll never reach her/ unless she wants to wait for me.' Jaufré Rudel, Poem I, stanza 2 in Burl, *Troubadours and Trobairitz*, p. 70. Quotes Ch. VI.2. Trance, pp. 381-82. Jaufré's inspiration may be independent, it may derive from Rhiannon, or both derive from a common theme. Pughe acclaims Dafydd ap Gwilym, historically later, as 'the most illustrious of the Welsh poets', with his mistress Morfudd unattainably married. Pughe, *Biography*, pp. 77-78. Dafydd, *Y Breuddwyd*/ 'The Dream', Poem 79, offers a dream-vision pursuit of a wise woman, his hounds as *llateion*, love messengers, trying to reach her as a white doe. Online bilingually, Bibliography. *llatai* – love messenger, go-between, once popular poetic convention (GPC). Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon: *llateion*, pp. 409-10.

³⁰⁹ Ch. IX.1. Gallery pp. 533-38 'Maiden of the Gorsedd'.

perhaps humour. Before rebuking him, she says she is *llawen*/glad, to stop for him,³¹⁰ sweetening her position that to win her, he must accept her authority. Pwyll holds his dignity in their ensuing dialogue, while accepting her lead.³¹¹

Cerydd priodas/ Wedding rebuke (II)

At his wedding Pwyll makes an open offer to an unknown, princely guest.

*'Pa arch bynnac a erchych di ymi, hyt y/
gallwyf y gaffael, itti y byd.'*³¹²

Gifts were central to the mediaeval economy, especially in a rural territory with limited market exchange.³¹³ Pwyll's nobles emphasise good rulership is generosity: *ny bu gyn hawsset gennyf titheu treulaw dy da.*³¹⁴ Rhiannon and Branwen both give rich gifts to a large array of nobles.³¹⁵ As princely host, Pwyll would be publicly shamed if he failed in generosity, especially at his wedding.

But Rhiannon is horrified, asking '*Paham ... ?*' / 'Why ...?', he spoke so, pre-loading her subsequent rebuke.³¹⁶ She harshly condemns him for failing his name: citing its synonym *synnwyr*/sense.

*'Taw, hyt y mynnych,' heb y Riannon, 'ny bu/
uscrellach gwr ar y synnwyr e hun nog ry uuost ti.'*³¹⁷

She confronts him with the devastating consequence of his failure: '*dyro ui idaw rac anglot yt.*'³¹⁸ He has lost her to Gwawl. Pwyll replies with restraint, and some merit, that he did not know who the stranger was, implying he would have spoken differently had he known.³¹⁹ Yet precisely *because* he did not know, he

³¹⁰ '*Arhoafyn/llawen, 'heb hi*', PKM1 12.8–9. 'she answered, 'and I am pleased to see you.' JKB 27.2. *llawen* – merry, jovial, glad, cheerful, happy, blithe, joyful, joyous, jubilant; bringing happiness, pleasant, delightful. (GPC)

³¹¹ PKM1 13.2–6, and 8–9. JKB 28.1. Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 Woman, pp. 15–16, on their balance of power; and Ch. IV.1. Voice: #1, p. 19 with notes following Horsewoman pp. 198–99.

³¹² PKM1 14.5–6, "Whatever request you ask of me, as long as I am able to obtain it, it shall be yours.' JKB 29.1.

³¹³ Ch. III.3. Hierarchy: Courts and *Cylch*, pp. 153–54.

³¹⁴ PKM1 8.9. 'it was never as easy for you to spend your wealth'. JKB 24.2.

³¹⁵ Rhiannon arriving in Dyfed, PKM1 19.13–16. JKB 31.2. Branwen arriving in *Iwerddon*/Ireland, PKM2 37.9–13. JKB 51.1.

³¹⁶ PKM1 14.7. The rebuke 14.13–14. JKB 29.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice.: #8 and #9, pp. 193, 198–99. Cf. pre-loaded Rebuke III, to Manawydan, PKM3 56.26–27, prefaced by an aggressive question, PKM3 56.24–25. JKB 70.1, and 70.2. Ch. IV.1. Voice.: #31 and #32, pp. 195, 204–05.

³¹⁷ PKM1 14.13–14, Rebuke II: 'Be silent as long as you wish,' said Rhiannon. 'Never was a man more feeble in his own wits than you have been.' JKB 29.1.

³¹⁸ PKM1 14.19. 'give me to him, lest there be disgrace to you', JKB 29.1.

³¹⁹ '*Arglwydes, 'heb ef, 'ny wyddwn i pwy oed ef.*' PKM1 14.15. 'Lady,' he replied, 'I did not know who he was!' JKB 29.1.

should have spoken more cautiously. Gwawl, later, contrasts a cautious conditionality.³²⁰ Pwyll, here, does appear *penbwl*/ a fool.³²¹

Sofraniaeth/ Sovereignty

The Pwyll– fool perspective generated an influential ‘Sovereignty’ myth, and a ‘handbook’ or teaching text theory about lordship.³²² Catherine McKenna describes the Mabinogi historical compilation period as shaped by four powerful Welsh princes, enabling literary culture in (relative) security.³²³ From the ‘preoccupation of the tales with ... kings and lords’ in the Mabinogi,³²⁴ and a wealth of detail about their lives, she infers an aristocratic Mabinogi audience.³²⁵ She concludes:

a prince for whom the text of the Mabinogi was composed would have been predisposed to see himself mirrored in the story of Pwyll, the legendary lord of Dyfed.

Pwyll is a figure *who enters into full and successful lordship only as a result of meeting a series of challenges*, ... gradually acquiring wisdom (*pwyll*), which he conspicuously lacks at the tale’s beginning.³²⁶ (My italics)

³²⁰ Pwyll, ‘*Pa arch bynnac a erchych di ymi, hyt y/ gallwyf y gaffael, itti y byd.*’ PKM1 14.5–6. ‘Whatever request you ask of me, as long as I am able to obtain it, it shall be yours.’ JKB 29.1. Compare Gwawl, ‘*Craessaw wrth dy neges, heb ef. ‘Ac os arch/ gyuartal a erchy ymi, yn llawen ti a’e keffy.*’ PKM1 16.13–14. ‘Welcome to your errand [purpose],’ said he ‘and if you ask a reasonable request of me, gladly shall you have it.’ JKB 30.1. (My insertion) The contrast fits the theory of a teaching text (below, following), a naive, ignorant Pwyll learning lessons in lordship, Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 67. Catherine McKenna, ‘Sovereignty’, in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 308–26. outline, critique, ‘Sovereignty’, following.

³²¹ Further, Wedding Plot, pp. 263–67, below.

³²² Drawing upon Proinsias Mac Cana. 1955; 1955–56. ‘Aspects of the Theme of King and Goddess in Irish Literature’, *Études Celtiques*, 7, 1, pp. 76–114; and pp. 356–413; *ibid.* 1958–59, 8, pp. 59–65. Publication date indicates the Mythological Reconstruction and Irish hegemony period, dominated by WJG, Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: WJG pp. 111–16. Cf. Ford on Irish influence, sovereignty goddess theory, and ‘hippomorphic’ goddess, ‘Introduction’, *Welsh Tales*. Ford, ‘Celtic Women: The Opposing Sex’, pp. 425–26. Elizabeth Hanson-Smith and Catherine McKenna both base their theories on the ‘Pwyll the Fool’ model, presenting him as learning lordship; and for McKenna further receiving a Sovereignty Goddess’ accolade. Elizabeth Hanson-Smith. 1981/82, repr. 1996. ‘Pwyll Prince of Dyfed’: the narrative structure’, in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 153–164. McKenna, ‘Sovereignty in Pwyll’, in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 303–30.

³²³ Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, uniting Wales (1055–1063), McKenna, ‘Sovereignty in Pwyll’, pp. 312–13. Gruffudd ap Cynan, ruler of Gwynedd by 1081, p. 313. Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth (c. 1078–1093), p. 314. Bleddyn ap Cynfyn of Powys (d. 1075), p. 314. This is the first half of the *Gogynfeirdd* /Age of the Princes, period of poetry, 12th and 13thC, when native Princes were independent, relatively secure and wealthy enough to support paid professional *beirdd*/ bards.

³²⁴ McKenna, ‘Sovereignty in Pwyll’, p. 309.

³²⁵ Fine buildings and clothes, hunting, horsemanship, feasting and its stages, hierarchy seating, courtly protocols, conversational art, obligations and responsibilities. McKenna, ‘Sovereignty in Pwyll’, pp. 309–12. This study does not limit the Mabinogi to an aristocratic audience, or composer, since all the details of nobility it recounts are observable by a *cyfarwydd*/ story teller, attending feasts and hunts.

³²⁶ McKenna, ‘Sovereignty in Pwyll’, p. 312. My italics, apart from ‘*pwyll*’.

Rhiannon is rendered a Goddess of Sovereignty granting Pwyll his final accolade.³²⁷ This is doubly problematic.

First, as the Mabinogi opens, Pwyll is already Pwyll *pendefig Dyfed*/ prince of Dyfed.³²⁸ Second he is seen many times over as a model of lordship (above), not McKenna's 'rash and foolish fellow'.³²⁹ Nonetheless, *Pwyll* as a heuristic text is feasible if taking Pwyll as a *positive* exemplar;³³⁰ perhaps widening from an exclusive mirror for princes to a model for the many.³³¹

Partneriaeth/ Partnership

Rhiannon and Pwyll act together closely.³³² He is loyally silent about her after they meet, and he duly attends her commanded assignation.³³³ She strategises, he meticulously follows her bag plan as executive; cf. his Arawn loyalty.³³⁴ He welcomes her counsel on the Gwawl contract. Together, they enjoy their wedding night. She counsels him on minstrel largesse. They together break with (implied) tradition by shared travel to Dyfed.³³⁵ They successfully rule Dyfed, together.

*Gwledychu/ y wlat a wnaethont yn llwydannus y ulwydyn honno, a'r eil.*³³⁶

³²⁷ Rhiannon as Sovereignty Goddess critique, Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sovereignty pp. 472-73.

³²⁸ PKM1 1.1. JKB 19.2. Also, his initial tension with Arawn is not an apprentice prince versus a mature one, but a prince and a king.

³²⁹ *Pwyll y Penbwl*/ Pwyll the Fool. McKenna, 'Sovereignty', p. 326. Cf. Byfield, 'Character', p. 3.

³³⁰ Sioned Davies accords with McKenna's 'mirror' or handbook theory when she says the Mabinogi presents 'a model of virtue which is primarily aristocratic or clerical ... The message is directed towards the governing class and concerns the power and responsibilities of its members, ... the duties of the empowered to the vulnerable... and rejects the egotistic bloodiness of the heroic figure'. *Four Branches*, p. 263. Next n. 331, on 'mirroring'.

³³¹ Helen Fulton describes the late 12thC development of Middle Welsh versions of 'mirrors' (*speculum principum*) to educate in individual responsibility and the noble way of life. The moral message was wrapped in fantasy and allegory. From her Abstract: Helen Fulton. 2020. *A 'Mirror of the Gentry': Vernacular Versions of the 'Secretum Secretorum' in Medieval Wales and England* (De Gruyter). (URL text of Abstract, Bibliography).

³³² Cf. initial balance of power between them, introduced Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 Woman p. 15.

³³³ PKM1 13.8-11. and 15-17. JKB 28.2.

³³⁴ Rhiannon's 'bag speech' is followed by its close enactment, only adding Rhiannon's seductive mimesis. Speech, PKM1 14.23-15.17. JKB 29.1-2. Enactment, PKM1 15.19-17.4. JKB 29.2-30.2. Arawn's proposals function in a similar doubling, except Pwyll deviates from Arawn's script by not becoming the queen's lover. Speech, PKM1 2.28-3.28, JKB 21.2-22.1; incl. Pwyll's questions. Enactment, including Pwyll's chastity behaviour, PKM1 4.1-6.17, JKB 22.1-24.1. Both doublings are adjusted in action by sexual aspects. Ch. IX. Structures.: Rhiannon Arawn, pp.510-11.

³³⁵ Counsel, PKM1 17.20-28. JKB 31.1. Wedding night, PKM1 18.19-21. Largesse, PKM1 18.22-28. JKB 31.2. 14thC Goronwy Gyriog *awdl* mentioning this, Ch. I.3. Sources: #6 p.34. Joint decision on travel, PKM1 19.7-10. JKB 31.2. Byfield points to the wedding journey as Pwyll's transition from previous subordination to husbandly authority, Byfield 'Character', p. 3. Pwyll speaks in both first person singular and plural so the text is debatable as to Rhiannon's participation.

³³⁶ PKM1 19.16-18. 'They ruled the land successfully that year and the next.' JKB 33.2. Ford notes an Irish tradition of joint rule, among 'nine different categories of marital union, the chief of which

When Dyfed nobles petition Pwyll to divorce Rhiannon for childlessness Pwyll loyally temporises to gain time until Rhiannon gives birth.³³⁷ He holds again at their second attempt on grounds of infanticide. He avoids judging her guilty by conditional speech, decreeing a penance instead.³³⁸ He apparently supports her status as co-ruler during it, as she still sits in honour beside him.³³⁹ He appears to

is known as *lánamnas comthincuir*, meaning a marriage in which each party contributes (*com-thincur*) an equal amount of marriage goods; the woman in such a marriage is known as *be cuitchernsa*, "woman of joint sovereignty." She can enter into contracts independently ... [and] /give gifts independently of her husband's consent.' Medb in the Cattle Raid of Cooley, is therefore not merely having a oneupmanship (sic) with her husband but aiming to defend her equal rule. Ford, 'Celtic Women', pp. 423-24. If this parallels Wales, or Dyfed, it would be another indicator of Rhiannon's wealth. Welsh *priodas*, highest level of seven marriages, Ch. III.5. LLW: Marriage; and Rhiannon's gift giving largesse on arrival in Dyfed, quoted n. 200 above.

³³⁷ PKM1 19.18-27. JKB 33.2. Byfield usually views Pwyll without admiration but here recognises his 'patience and wisdom', later vindicated by Rhiannon's pregnancy. Byfield, 'Character', p. 4. Possibly Rhiannon was in the first month or two of pregnancy, but she and Pwyll are cautious about making a statement until the risky first trimester completed. Such basic knowledge of early risk would be commonplace in a herding and equine based society. On elite female status and fertility, Ch. III.6. 'Rieni', p. 182. Pennar compares the anxious expectancy before Rhiannon conceives to the conception of Culhwch. 'Women', p. 100, n.12. There is no ground for divorce for childlessness, Ellis, 'Legal References', p. 136. Ch. III.5. LLW: Divorce p. 175.

Pwyll is named the nobles' *brawdaueth*, PKM1 19.20. 'foster-brother', JKB 33.2. Sioned Davies notes 'the custom whereby sons were brought up by relatives or friends, rather than their own family. This often meant that boys were closer to their foster-brothers than to their blood-brothers.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 230. Such closeness of foster-kindred is likely to develop possessiveness, and promote hostility to an outsider wife.

The time period here is unclear. Their son is born towards the end of the third year, or in the fourth year of their marriage. *Ac yn y dryded ulwydyn ...* PKM1 19.18. 'but in the third year, JKB 33.2. 'Oedwch a mi hynn hyt ym pen y ulwydyn; a blwydyn/y'r amser hwnn, ni a wnawn yr oet y dyuot y gyt', PKM1 19.29-20.1. "Delay this with me until the end of a year. And we will make an appointment to come together a year from this time', JKB 33.2. This is unclear, other than 'a year' is involved. Pwyll refers to 'the end of a year', current year, but also 'a year from this time'. The second would be longer unless they meet in the first month of the year. The text continues that the birth occurred *dyuot cwbyl o'r oet*, PKM1 20.2-3. 'Before the full time of the meeting came', JKB 33.2. Chronicles of the time were not precise diaries, so a contemporary audience would be satisfied with the narrative birth occurring before the fourth year ended. There may also be influence from the oral tradition of three (years).

Preseli, as site of Pwyll's first Council, is an ancestral place of mystique, where the first Stonehenge was built with Dyfed bluestones and later transported to its current location. Mike Parker Pearson *et al.*, Feb. 2019. 'Megalith quarries for Stonehenge's bluestones', *Antiquity*, 93, 367, pp. 45-62.

³³⁸ *A'r guyrda a doethant y gyt y wneuthur/ kynnadeu at Pwyll, y erchi idaw yscar a'e wreic, am/ gyflauan mor anwedus ac ar y wnaethoed.* PKM1 21.12-14. 'And the nobles came together to make representations to Pwyll to ask him to divorce his wife for an atrocity as dreadful as what she had done.' ... JKB 34.2. *O gwnaeth/ hitheu gam, kymeret y phenyt amdanaw.* PKM1 21.17-18. 'If she has done wrong, let her receive her punishment for it.' JKB 34.2. Pwyll's conditional is telling; cf. he uses another about Arawn's accusation: PKM1 2.20-21 JKB 21.1. Quoted, translated Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Fool, In Annwfn p. 250 n. 258.

Pwyll: 'Plant a/ wnn i y uot idi hi. *Ac nyt yscarafa hi.*' PKM1 21.16-17. *plant/* plur. children. 'I know she has had offspring,' JKB 34.2. She might have had stillbirth/s or miscarriage/s, prior to their son's birth. Alternatively, this instance of *plant* may possibly be a singular noun (GPC) also found in *Gwassanaeth Meir*.

³³⁹ *Sef ual yd eistedyssont, Teirnon y rwg / Pwyll a Riannon,* PKM1 25.23-24. 'This is how they sat - Teyrnnon between Pwyll and Rhiannon'. JKB 37.2. Mac Cana is dismissive of the seating text,

mediate Pendaran's tension with her.³⁴⁰ Their marriage is lifelong, until Pwyll dies.³⁴¹ His persistent loyalty seems his most conspicuous characteristic towards her.³⁴²

Rhiannon's 'Advent' chapter analyses structural issues expressing their balance of power.³⁴³ Their private dialogues are not narrated after Rhiannon's bag speech (*contra* the Gwent marriage).³⁴⁴ Their balance may still be traced through their actions. Before they meet they each demonstrate as strategically resourceful: Pwyll in the Annwfn prologue which arguably wins her interest (above);³⁴⁵ Rhiannon in her courtship strategy to win him.³⁴⁶ They then partner for the wedding conspiracy; and a possible Penance Plot (below).

Cynllwyn y briodas/ Advent plot

Rhiannon's advent *neges*/ purpose, is to impress and recruit Pwyll Pen Annwfn with her status, wealth, womanhood, and mystery.³⁴⁷ She draws him away from his company, reveals her personal magnetism in private conversation; asserts

attributing it to 'the formulaic manner in which court seating arrangements are described' or the interpolation of the Calumniated Wife motif. *Mabinogi*, p. 37. Bollard sees a 'subtle portrayal' of the relationship between Pwyll and Rhiannon when she is accused and subjected to a humiliating penance. 'We learn later, when Teyrnon comes to Arberth, that not only has Pwyll defended Rhiannon against divorce, but that, except for the daytime penance, she has kept her position of honour in the court at Pwyll's side.' Bollard, 'Structure', in Sullivan, *Essays*, p. 181.

³⁴⁰ Pwyll's diplomacy with Pendaran: PKM1 26.17–19. JKB 38.2. Appointing foster parents seems his initiative: this and his diplomacy apparently have no opportunity for discussion with Rhiannon, unless non-verbally. PKM1 27.2–4. JKB 39.1. Ch. V.9. Pendaran, pp. 191–95.

³⁴¹ Death of Pwyll: PKM1 27.15–17. JKB 40.1. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 271–72.

³⁴² These events might lend themselves to Rhiannon's dominance in private. The bag speech is certainly Rhiannon dominant. PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. Pwyll's silence about her after their first meeting might be due to her dominance, though it is recorded as Pwyll's initiative. PKM1 13.13–15. JKB 28.2. The wedding journey decision might come from her with Pwyll as its voice, but Pwyll's 'we' sounds like a joint decision, PKM1 19.3–10. JKB 1.2. Strategy at both the nobles' councils might be Rhiannon's, or decided between them: Pwyll voices it (wifely private speech Ch. IV.1. Voice, pp. 197–98. Preseli council, PKM1 19.18–20.2. JKB 33.2. Infanticide, Morning Council, PKM1 21.9–18. JKB 34.2.

³⁴³ Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 Woman, p. 15.

³⁴⁴ Rhiannon bag speech, PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. Teyrnon and Wife marital dialogues: I) Mare vigil, PKM1 22.6–11. JKB 35.2. II) Adoption, PKM1 23.2–14. JKB 36.1–2. III) Colt bestowal, PKM1 23.24–24.1–4. JKB 36.2. IV) Restoration, PKM1 24.21–25.6. JKB 37.1.

³⁴⁵ He serves Arawn's plot, but it is also suggested below he may be pursuing his own ends.

³⁴⁶ Ch. I.4. Advent #3 Woman pp. 15–16, where a balance of power is observed.

³⁴⁷ 1st pair of pursuits, pedestrian, mounted, same day. Pwyll wishes to know who she is. PKM1 9.18–19; and 10.23. JKB 26.1. and 26.2, top of each page. They fail so Pwyll recognises *ystyr hut*, PKM1 10.10. 'some magic intent', JKB 26.1. 3rd pursuit, Pwyll again desires to know who she is. PKM1 10.23. JKB 26.2. 2nd failure, he recognises she has a *wrthpwythi*/ obstinacy, *neges*/ purpose. PKM1 11.10–11. JKB 26.2; implying he now wants to know both her identity and what she seeks. 4th pursuit, Pwyll himself, PKM1 12.1–5, JKB 27.2.

relative power position to him, inserts a few words of love; and contracts a date for their wedding.³⁴⁸

Her romantic image, on a realism interpretation, requires logistics and secrecy. She evidently has her father supporting her plan.³⁴⁹ She would need guards, chaperonage, and practical comfort supplies.³⁵⁰ The team would need to travel to Arberth secretly with no warning leaked to Pwyll and his people; a considerable achievement.³⁵¹ Guards probably waited discreetly near Gorsedd Arberth, in case of need.³⁵² The anonymous Gorsedd informant is provocatively cryptic.³⁵³

Cydfrawdriaeth priodas/ Wedding plot

When they come together at their wedding, Pwyll's words of unlimited generosity betray Rhiannon.³⁵⁴ She castigates him, but loyally provides a detailed salvage strategy.³⁵⁵ It commits her to another year of betrothal with the unwanted Gwawl.³⁵⁶ She adroitly exploits her ownership of the feast to organise another.³⁵⁷ She deploys a complexity of plot components: both she and Pwyll act

³⁴⁸ Her *neges* quotes, Ch. I.4. Text: Beginning pp. 26-27 n.149; Ch. IV.1. Voice: #6 #7. pp. 192-93. She sets the date, PKM1 13.2-4; reminding him PKM1 13.9-11. JKB 28.1-2.

³⁴⁹ Ch. V.2. Hyfaidd Hen p. 220. Whether she obtained her father's support before she departed for Arberth, or secured it by her *fait accompli*, is open to question. He may have agreed with her that Pwyll was a better prospect than Gwawl. 'Rhiannon's Choice' pp. 241-46, above, and the advantages of the 'Wedding Plot' below pp. 264-67.

³⁵⁰ She could escape any robber or assault, riding her elusive horse, but would need guards when unmounted. Especially emphasis on virginity of brides Ch. III.5. LLW: Girls p. 176. She would also need to appear courtly and sophisticated, i.e. stay meticulously tidy and clean while camping: not easy for an extended period of days.

³⁵¹ They might resort to night riding with muffled hooves, metal horse pieces wrapped, blacked faces; lying low by day. Some in audiences would know such practices from smuggling.

³⁵² Her vulnerability noted, a lone female riding before a pack of excited, young, male fighters who have been carousing. Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 Woman p. 15. Cf. she planned Pwyll's men to be secreted in the orchard at the second wedding, PKM1 14.29. JKB 29.2.

³⁵³ 'Arglwyd,' *heb un / o'r llys*, PKM1 9.4. 'Lord,' said one of the court,' JKB 25.1. The anonymous informant on the Gorsedd *kynneddyf*/ characteristic functions as a literary device to inform/ remind the audience. Within the narrative, s/he might be speculated as a Rhiannon agent, charged with issuing a challenge to Pwyll to stimulate his interest. Cf. theory of Rhiannon's agents, Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon.

³⁵⁴ Unlimited generosity: PKM1 14.5-6. JKB 29.1. 'Rebuke II' above.

³⁵⁵ PKM1 14.23-15.17. JKB 29.1-2. The longest speech in the Mabinogi. Ch. IV.1. Voice #12 p. 193, and notes following Narrative: weddings p. 200.

³⁵⁶ She sets their wedding a year ahead, PKM1 14.28-29. JKB 28.1-2.

³⁵⁷ Plan, PKM1 14.24-27. JKB 29.1. Action, PKM1 15.21-23. JKB 29.2-30.1. Note how closely Pwyll operates with her, and his precise negotiation. He had declared to Gwawl 'Pa arch bynnac a erchych di ymi, hyt y/ gallwyf y gaffael, itti y byd.' PKM1 14.5-6. 'Whatever request you ask of me, as long as I am able to obtain it, it shall be yours.' JKB 29.1. (top). He now makes his second offer,

falsely to manipulate Gwawl; she adopts false sexuality,³⁵⁸ he adopts a false status disguise;³⁵⁹ she provides a special badger-bag;³⁶⁰ he is to provide *marchogion* to wait in ambush, then take control on cue.³⁶¹ The elaborate plot requires shared determination.

Pwyll's disastrous speech is conceivably influenced by drinking, as Gwawl arrived *ar dechreu kyuedach gwedy bwyt*.³⁶² This would contrast markedly with Pwyll otherwise. He uses controlled, conditional speech in high stakes dialogue with Arawn, and in tense council with his nobles.³⁶³ During his Annwfn masquerade he maintained speech control all year;³⁶⁴ similarly after meeting Rhiannon.³⁶⁵ Both year periods include drinking revelry, with no loss of control apparent.³⁶⁶

following Rhiannon's mandate, based on his own words: '*Kymeint ac a ercheist, heb y/ Pwyll, 'o'r a uo y'm medyant i, ti a'y keffy.*' PKM1 15.19–20. 'As much of what you have asked,' said Pwyll, 'as may be in my power, you shall have it.' JKB 29.2. Both statements limit what he can give to his own resources: the first time looks unremarkable except for his great generosity. His second speech means his delimiter is crucial to Rhiannon's plot which hinges on her independent ownership of the feast. Was this premeditated?

³⁵⁸ Rhiannon speaks intimately to Gwawl as her *eneit*, friend, soul. PKM1 15.20, JKB 29.2; and again, explicitly promising to sleep with him: *eneit, y gyscu gennyf innheu*. PKM1 15.25. 'for you, friend, to sleep with me.' JKB 30.1. At the second feast she acclaims him gushingly *geimat*, PKM1 16.25–26. [her] 'champion', JKB 30.1; urging him to step into the bag trap. *Ceimad*: champion, hero, contender, victor, excellent one, eminent or renowned one. (GPC)

³⁵⁹ Rhiannon instructs Pwyll, *dyret titheu dy hun ymywn a dillat reudus amdanat*, PKM1 15.3. 'you come in yourself, with ragged clothes upon you'. JKB 29.2. He obeys. *Gwiscaw bratteu trwm/ ymdan[a]w a oruc Pwyll, a chymryt lloppaneu mawr am/ y draet*. PKM1 16.5–7. 'Pwyll wore heavy rags about himself, and he had great rag boots on his feet.' JKB 30.1. Later, *A bwrw y bratteu a'r lloppaneu a'r/ yspeil didestyl y amdanaw a oruc Pwyll*. PKM1 17.4–5. 'And Pwyll threw off the rags and the rag boots and the ragged garb.' JKB 30.2.

³⁶⁰ Ch. V.4. Gwawl, badger-bag realism analysis pp. 235; its political theatre/ ritual p. 234.

³⁶¹ Rhiannon directs, PKM1 14.29–15.1, JKB 29.1–2. Enacted PKM1 16.3–4. JKB 30.1.

³⁶² PKM1 13.26. 'at the beginning of the revelry after the meal', JKB 28.2. *gyuedach*, (*cyfeddach*, ModW) feast, banquet, merriment, carousal, revelry, dissipation, debauchery; companionship, company. (GPC)

³⁶³ Arawn, PKM1 2.20. JKB 21.1. Quoted above, p. 250 n. 258. Preseli council nobles, PKM1 21.17–18. JKB 34.2. Quoted p. 261 n. 338.

³⁶⁴ Above, Pwyll the Fool analysis 'In Annwfn', pp. 249–54.

³⁶⁵ *Pa ymouyn bynnac a uei/ ganthunt wy y wrth y uorwyn, y chwedleu ereill y trossei/ ynteu*. PKM1 13.13–15, 'Whatever questions they had about the maiden, he would turn to other matters', JKB 28.2.

³⁶⁶ Annwfn year: *Treulaw y ulwydyn a wnaeth trwy hela, cherdeu, / a chyuedach, a charueidrwyd, ac ymdidan a chedymdeithon*, PKM1 5.6–7. 'He spent the year with hunting and song and revelry, and affection and conversing with companions', JKB 23.1. Waiting a year for the first wedding PKM1 13.12–15. JKB 28.2. The latter does not mention feasting and drinking but as normal court behaviour it may be inferred. Had Pwyll avoided drinking it would be mentioned as remarkable, just as his silence is mentioned PKM1 13.13–15. JKB 28.2. If he was loose-lipped in drink there is adequate scope for it to be mentioned here.

Pwyll protests he did not know who Gwawl was,³⁶⁷ implying, reasonably, he could have spoken differently had he known. As noted above, that argues he should have been cautious because of not knowing. Gwawl or some malcontent was quite likely to appear at the wedding to cause a problem. Evidently Rhiannon did not brief Pwyll on Gwawl's appearance. Nor did Pwyll check (yet he carefully checked how to recognise Hafgan).³⁶⁸ Rhiannon's bag strategy briefing is impressively long and detailed. She demonstrates strategic skills in her advent (above). As a feast organiser she would be like a modern festival organiser, coordinating enormously detailed logistics.³⁶⁹ She attends to such detail when reminding Pwyll to pay feast entertainers.³⁷⁰ But the potential Gwawl threat is primary and neglected. It seems a strange, major lapse, failing to give Pwyll this vital Gwawl data, in case. Oddly, the Cyfarwydd does not note her omission, leaving Pwyll blamed.³⁷¹ Rhiannon is unjust to blame all on him since she failed in her briefing. But nor did he ask. Then he had an uncharacteristic failure of control. They *jointly* create this catastrophe.

Rhiannon produces her remarkable, lengthy, complex, bag strategy, *instantly*, taking one minute to concoct multiple, diverse resources.³⁷² She would know Pwyll could do disguise from his Annwfn days. His fighting strengths as man and commander are famed. The badger-bag is integrated. She apparently knows how to get one big enough to adapt as a man-trap, and even has it right to hand. She knows Gwawl's pride, to be levered. She knows the *llys* Hyfaidd layout (the orchard). Rhiannon is intelligent and quick, but her 258 words of strategy, the longest speech in the Mabinogi, in all its detailed complexity, seems implausible as instant production.³⁷³ It seems more like a prepared plan than improvisation.³⁷⁴ If so, Pwyll's 'foolish' words might read as somehow deliberate,

³⁶⁷ PKM1 14.15. JKB 29.1. Rebuke II, above.

³⁶⁸ Checking about recognising Hafgan in advance. PKM1 3.15–16. JKB 21.2.

³⁶⁹ Rhiannon's bag speech, the longest speech in the Mabinogi, PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. Ch. Voice #12, p. 193 and Narrative Weddings p. 199. Also 'Advent plot', above p. 263.

³⁷⁰ Minstrels, PKM1 18.22–24. JKB 31.2.

³⁷¹ 'Pwyll the Fool' above, quotes pp. 247–48, for multiple critiques of him.

³⁷² After the rebuke, they exchange 100 words from 'Taw ...' to '... hynny?' PKM1 14.13–22. "Be silent ..." to "How will that be?" JKB 29.1. Rhiannon then expounds a detailed plan. Timed readings aloud of their short dialogue, testing both languages, both took about one minute. (15/03/21)

³⁷³ Previous n. 372; reading the dialogue aloud.

³⁷⁴ It may be objected that this is 'only a story' i.e. that the elaborate, complex, and peculiarly apt deployment of resources produced in the moment, comes under 'artistic licence'. But the paramount principle of this study to 'trust the text', (Introduction) does not permit recourse to

following his otherwise unbroken track as a deliberate, methodical character (above).³⁷⁵

On this reading, the romantic pair might possibly plot in advance. During the year before Pwyll comes to *llys Hyfaidd*, messengers or a discreet meeting might perfect the plan, perhaps further consulting after he arrives during the festivities' setup. Pwyll accepted public dishonour in the Hafgan duel to gain his priority aim. He might similarly accept public shame here, to win strategic success.³⁷⁶ The wedding is a big event, with news of it spreading during the year Rhiannon prepared it. It could function as a challenge to Gwawl.³⁷⁷

Admittedly this interpretation fails a key canon of this study; 'trusting the text'.³⁷⁸ For once 'trusting' is not rewarded; the text seemingly does not make sense on a major point.³⁷⁹ Advance planning for the bag project does not otherwise affect plot or characterisation.³⁸⁰

As with Pwyll's proposed Annwfn plot (above), the outcome is suggestive. Rhiannon, so strongly wedded to wealth and control, triumphantly escapes paying enormous compensation. Mounting a large wedding feast to tempt Gwawl

'artistic licence'. Such licence is not characteristic of the Mabinogi. The alternative is to slightly deviate from the text.

³⁷⁵ 'Pwyll the Fool' said to be undisciplined, careless, above; critique concluding Pwyll is the opposite. Fool condemned pp. 247-48. Analysis rejects all but one pp. 249-60.

³⁷⁶ 'Pwyll the Fool' above. Pwyll acting the beggar. parallels Rhiannon's subordinate female act with Gwawl, both acting as less than they are, in order to win (mimesis).

³⁷⁷ Gwawl is coerced by *Guare broch yg/got*, Badger-in-the-Bag', PKM1 17.11-14. JKB 30.1. Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Badger pp. 233-36.

³⁷⁸ 'Trusting the Text' is described in my Introduction. Also Morgain. May, 2016. 'Trusting the text of the Mabinogi', first presented Swansea. There is only one other point where I speculate against the text, very similarly on the timing of planning a plot Ch. V.6. Maids, pp. 278-79.

³⁷⁹ Nine 'inconsistencies' in the Mabinogi, many noted by other scholars, are helpfully collected by Ned Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', pp. 128-35, and 139. This study transforms them by 'trusting the text'. In the following list pagination is to Sturzer, cross references indicated by 'see'. Teyrnnon's PKM1 recognition of Pwyll's son, Sturzer, p. 128, PKM1 24.15-19. JKB 37.1; Pryderi's claim on Cigfa, pp. 128-29, PKM3 50.20-22. JKB 63.2. Purpose of the PKM2 large herd of Irish horses, p. 132, PKM2 33.17-20. JKB 47.1. Pryderi's dogs, PKM3 post-Desolation, Sturzer, p. 134, PKM3 55.8 and 9. JKB 68.2; Pendaran, Sturzer, p. 134, PKM1 26.10-19. JKB 38.1; PKM3 number of Dyfed *cantrefi*, p. 135, PKM3 49.17-18. JKB 63.2; 'new' pigs, p. 135, PKM4 68.15-69.2. JKB 80.1; PKM3 anachronisms, Sturzer, p. 139, PKM3 61.17-63.6. JKB 73.2- 74.2; 80 years hiatus PKM2 without ageing, Sturzer, p. 134, PKM2 46.20. JKB 58.2. For all except the last two, 'trusting the text' is validated in this study, straightforwardly. The 80 years hiatus is a magical timewarp. The anachronisms may contrast urbanised *Lloegr* and agricultural Welsh societies, and/ or argued here as political subtext, Ch. III.7. Political Parallels pp. 183-89. A further apparent text awkwardness where *Pwyll I* seems disconnected from PKM1, is argued above as being very much otherwise, 'Rhiannon's Choice', also Ch. I.5. Text. It seems generally that apparent anomalies can be resolved by 'trusting the text'; except Pwyll's oddly undisciplined speech at his wedding.

³⁸⁰ This proposed alteration is not like WJG reconstructions, which reassign names, redraw characters and plotlines. Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd, pp. 111-16.

to make a bid for Rhiannon, then deceiving and seducing him to become the man-in-a-bag, produces a public theatre of his defeat.³⁸¹ The feast audience would see Gwawl renouncing *dial*/ revenge, and his *sarhaed* for the broken betrothal. Gwawl's new contract is established before many witnesses, locked in by guarantors, not least the venerable Hyfaidd Hen.³⁸² The badger game performs a ritual, almost a hundred men in series, physically, memorably, demonstrates Gwawl's vanquishment. It seems staged.

Gwawl departs, ruefully speaking of needing a bath, a gentlemanly cleansing of unpleasantness. In Gwawl's homeland it would not be seen so pleasantly, and the long-term PKM3 result will be Desolation.³⁸³ For now the romance flourishes.

Cynllwyn y penyd/ Penance plot

Rhiannon as '*rieni*' and mother is accused of the abomination of infanticide.³⁸⁴ She is found with blood and gobbets of flesh upon her. Her six waiting women (Maids) bear witness to her manic violence in the night.³⁸⁵ Pwyll makes a conditional statement.

*O gwnaeth/ hitheu gam, kymeret y phenyt amdanaw.
Riannon a dyuynnwys attei athrawon a doethon. ..., y phenyt a gymerth.*³⁸⁶

Some assume she is 'compelled',³⁸⁷ but Rhiannon summons scholars,³⁸⁸

the implication being that her penance was named by those whom she had summoned and that it was therefore in a sense self-imposed.³⁸⁹

³⁸¹ Ch. V.4. Gwawl, for the protracted, public, political and ritual function of the badger game violence, p. 234.

³⁸² Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd p. 221, on his possible complicity. Rhiannon announces public legalistic counsel only after Pwyll invites her to do so, PKM1 17.19–27. JKB 30.2–31.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice: Disappearance pp. 196–97, for the issue of married women and public speaking. Branwen also gives her counsel only when invited. PKM2 40.1–3. JKB 53.1.

³⁸³ Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Bad Counsel pp. 236–37, for the PKM3 specifics of revenge, PKM3 64. 8–10. JKB 75.1. Relates to Rhiannon's advice in particular. Also Ch. V. 10. Maternal Dyad pp. 325–26.

³⁸⁴ Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*', pp. 177–83, the elite female status, an heir bearer in potential (or actuality).

³⁸⁵ A possible Maids' plot agency is analysed Ch. V.6. Maids pp. 277–78 (next chapter).

³⁸⁶ PKM1 21.17– 21. "If she has done wrong, let her receive her punishment for it." Rhiannon herself summoned scholars and wise men to her ... she took her punishment.' JKB 34.2–35.1.

³⁸⁷ Ford, *Prolegomena*, p. 205; also 'forced', p. 206. 'is subjected to ... a harsh and demeaning penance.' Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 25.

³⁸⁸ PKM1 21.18–19. JKB 35.1. Also Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd 221–22, where it is considered her father trained her in custom and lore, as they give joint counsel. PKM1 17.20–27. JKB 31.1.

³⁸⁹ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 47. Also Ifor Williams 'assumes that she invited the wise men hoping to learn the truth from them.' p. 47, n. 25, referencing PKM p. 145. Mac Cana critiques this: 'but she already knew the truth, or most of it, and in any case, the text gives no indication that she made any enquiry of the wise men except with regard to the nature of her penance.' *Mabinogi*, p. 47. As

Although her voice holds status power, she cannot prevail alone against six witnesses, without any witness supporting her version. Pragmatically, she accepts the penance offered her.³⁹⁰

She had other options. As a patrilocal wife in the first ambiguous seven years of marriage, she has claim upon her natal kindred, *llys Hyfaidd* (cf. Branwen).³⁹¹ Possibly Hyfaidd's military force is no match for Dyfed, or perhaps by now Hyfaidd Hen/ Hyfaidd the Old One, is dead, and his heir not a Rhiannon supporter.³⁹² Rhiannon could also escape to other kin or friends.³⁹³ She decides to not promote conflict (feud), to stay, and cooperate with Pwyll.

Pwyll holds council, with his nobles.³⁹⁴ As he had done before at Preseli council about Rhiannon's childlessness, he now again refuses their demand:³⁹⁵ *Ac nyt yscaraf a hi*.³⁹⁶ He avoids judging her guilty, saying conditionally '*O gwnaeth/ hitheu gam*'.³⁹⁷ He describes a *double* penance: Rhiannon should recount her crime to travellers at the gate, *and* offer to serve as their mount.³⁹⁸ Seven years of this seems harsh enough to satisfy his restive nobles that Rhiannon is thoroughly

the text immediately follows with her decision to accept the penance, it appears her council was not just about its nature.

³⁹⁰ Ch. IV.1. Voice #21 p. 194 and 'Mothering' notes pp. 201-02, looks at her acceptance, concluding it is pragmatic. Byfield: 'She recognizes almost immediately the futility of protesting innocence which she cannot prove.' Character', p. 5. Elizabeth Lloyd sees her as 'ladylike'. 'Rhiannon is the perfect lady, who, rather than condescend to wrangle with the women who had wronged her, prefers to suffer in silence.' Lloyd, 'Mabinogion as Literature, Cont.', p. 235. This was 1911 at peak of class and gender rigidity in society.

³⁹¹ Branwen sends a starling to her brother, PKM2 38.7-13. JKB 51.2. Ch. III.5. LLW, on the first seven years of marriage as transitional. The Calumniated Wife motif relates here in its basic situation of a noble wife, living patrilocally under threat, but it applies much less so to Rhiannon, Ch. II.6 Academia: Folklore pp. 117-18. On patrilocal marriage and its first seven years attached to the wife's natal kin see Ch. III.5. LLW: Marriage, p. 175.

³⁹² If Hyfaidd's realm was Maesyfed (Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd pp. 224-29), Powys at the time of Mabinogi compilation was coming under Anglo-Norman rule. PKM1 focus is the native western region.

³⁹³ Historically, many nobles did so when events were much against them. Gwenllïan's husband, Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr is a famed example who was taken to exile in Ireland as a baby but returned as an adult to fight to reclaim Dyfed (1113). 'GRUFFYDD ap RHYS (c. 1090 - 1137), prince of Deheubarth' by Thomas Jones Pierce. Dictionary of Welsh Biography (1959). (URL text Bibliography: Welsh Biography.)

³⁹⁴ Morning Council PKM1 21.12-21. JKB 34.2. Quoted above p. 261 n. 338.

³⁹⁵ Preseli Council PKM1 19.18-20.2. JKB 33.2. Byfield on the councils, Pwyll as patient, wise, acknowledging 'Rhiannon's possible innocence'. 'Character', pp. 4, 5.

³⁹⁶ PKM1 21.17. 'I will not divorce her.' JKB 34.2.

³⁹⁷ PKM1 21.17-18, 'If she has done wrong'. JKB 34.2. bottom. Byfield: He 'skilfully ... acknowledges the real grievance his nobles feel, yet he demonstrates his faith in Rhiannon by refusing to pronounce her guilty without sufficient proof', 'Character', p. 5. Cf. his similar careful conditionality about Arawn's accusation. PKM1 2.20. JKB 21.1. Quoted, trans. above, 249 n. 258.

³⁹⁸ The location is the mounting-block: 'a block of stone with steps carved on one side, from which to mount on to horseback. Rhiannon's punishment further strengthens her equine associations.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 231.

humiliated and depowered. On the other hand, critically, Pwyll upholds her formal status by her seating in the hall.³⁹⁹ At two councils, Pwyll stands loyal to Rhiannon: they hold to each other.

It is proposed here a married woman forced to speak publicly and repeatedly to strangers, is an especial humiliation, breaking a wifely code of speech privacy.⁴⁰⁰ Rhiannon bearing strangers on her back is obviously humiliating, and the horseblock is an aid for weak riders. WJG finds the latter a bizarre puzzle, leading him into his elaborately reconstructed, mythological edifice.⁴⁰¹ Hemming, in a 'historico-legal' analysis, explains the 'saddling' punishment was not uncommon.⁴⁰² Traitors publicly carried their lord on their back, saddled like a horse, or offered to do so.⁴⁰³ Patterson's theory of mediaeval females as vassals of their patron (male) lord, fits the case.⁴⁰⁴ Rhiannon's crime might be read as treason against her lord (double meaning), betraying her lord's

³⁹⁹ As the day ends she sits beside Pwyll in the seat of honour as his wife and co-ruler. PKM1 25.23–24. JKB 37.1. Byfield notes it 'Character', p. 6. Her co-rulership is affirmed, PKM1 19.17–18. JKB 33.1. Bollard comments on the 'subtle portrayal' of the relationship between Pwyll and Rhiannon. 'We learn later, when Teyrnon comes to Arberth, that not only has Pwyll chosen to keep Rhiannon with him, but that, except for the penance which she still undergoes, she has kept her position of honour in the court at Pwyll's side, for at his arrival Teyrnon is given a place of honour between them' Bollard, 'Structure', in Sullivan, *Essays*, p. 181. Mac Cana critiques this as perhaps 'a pardonable inconsistency explicable by the formulaic manner in which court seating arrangements are described', *Mabinogi*, p. 37. Unlikely, for the Cyfarwydd is exacting about seating precedence: the text record seems to act as *aide memoire* to ensure performers get it right.

⁴⁰⁰ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Disappearance, pp. 197–98.

⁴⁰¹ WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 64. His treatment is convoluted. Hemming gives a useful summary: his solution is 'Rhiannon adopts the behavior of a horse because as the equine goddess *Rigantona she is as much mare as woman.' 'Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 21. Cf. Ford, *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*, in *Welsh Tales*, supports WJG to some extent, Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc*.pp. 30–33.

⁴⁰² Jessica Hemming, 'Sellam Gestare: Saddle-Bearing Punishments'; and 'Reflections on Rhiannon'. The latter distinguishes three types of explanation: 'the mythological, the folkloric, and the 'historico-legal.' p. 21. The historico-legal type is analysed in 'Sellam', pp., 62–64; but merely noted in 'Reflections', p. 23 because the latter is concerned with myth and folklore. In both articles Hemming acknowledges Brynief F. Roberts as the originator of what 'Reflections' calls the 'historico-legal.' type, as he identified William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum* and French sources for the custom; Roberts, 'Penyd Rhiannon,' cited Hemming, 'Sellam', p. 45, and 'Reflections', p. 23.

⁴⁰³ Hemming aims to show 'this punishment was not uncommon and could well have been known to a Welsh writer in the eleventh-century.' 'Sellam', p. 45. The sources Hemming gives which may have influenced the nature of Rhiannon's penance, are 12thC French, and an obscure Old High German dialogue, p. 54. Hemming finds transmission plausible by 'cross-Channel trade in news and ideas, as well as goods, before the military [Norman] takeover.' (My insertion), p. 63. Cf. the three Anglo-Norman Mabinogi 'loan-words' relating to trade, Appendix: Dating. Hemming concludes saddling was 'humiliating because it temporarily excluded the wrongdoer from both human society and human nature' thus apt to the alien Rhiannon, p. 63. Winward on Rhiannon's alienation, noted below.

⁴⁰⁴ Patterson, 'Woman as Vassal', argues men as vassals were constrained by a senior lord, in strong parallel to a wife's vassal status with her supervisory male, natal or marital.

right to his heir.⁴⁰⁵ 'Saddling' was imposed on males, reinforcing Winward's theory of Rhiannon as a large woman, with 'unfeminine' strength.⁴⁰⁶

The striking 'horsey' aspect has in commentary, tended to obscure Rhiannon's penance *speech*. Narratively, as few accept her offer to bear them, her voice bears the burden of her penitential performance.⁴⁰⁷ Rhiannon's voice amplifies through the penance. It is her story, passed along, which first alerts Teyrnon to the identity of his foundling.

*Emysc hynny, wynt a glywssont chwedlydyaeth y
wrth Riannon, ac am y phoen. Sef a wnaeth Teirnon
Twryf Uliant*⁴⁰⁸

If Rhiannon simply pestered travellers with her loss, she would at first seem tragic, then half-mad, likely to be ignored. But required to speak for a mandate of years, with the *gravitas* of *arglwydd* Pwyll's decree, and Pwyll critically sustaining her political status, her voice will be heard and respected. She performs her penance for more than four years.⁴⁰⁹ Eventually she gains sympathy, perceived as suffering misfortune.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁵ Ch. III.6. 'Rieni', pp. 177-82; an elite, specifically female status of heir-bearer; but the heir belongs to the male parent.

⁴⁰⁶ Winward, 'Aspects', pp. 83-84. Winward cites the penance and other points in evidence. Ch. I.4. Advent #3 Woman, pp. 15-16. Saddling research, Roberts, 'Penyd Rhiannon'; Hemming, 'Sellam Gestare'. In contrast Christopher G. Nugent attempts to situate Rhiannon's humiliation within the modern concept of domestic violence, frequently referring to 'violence' done to her. This is unjustified as Rhiannon is not abused by her husband; rather he shields her by his judgement, and sustains her social dignity PKM1 25.23-24. JKB 37.1. Christopher G. Nugent. 2002. 'Reading Riannon: The Problematics of Motherhood in Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet.' *Domestic Violence in Medieval Texts*, ed. by Salisbury, Eve; Donavin, Georgiana; and Price, Merrall Llewelyn (Florida: University Press Florida), pp. 180-202.

⁴⁰⁷ PKM1 21.27. JKB 35.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice #22 p. 194, and 'Loyalties' commentary p. 202.

⁴⁰⁸ PKM1 24.9-10. 'Meanwhile, they heard news concerning Rhiannon, and about her punishment.' JKB 36.1. Sturzer critiques this account on distance, counter critique Ch. V.7. Teyrnon p. 281. Valente on Gruffydd's puzzlement, *Merched*, p. 52. Valente notes Rhiannon could hope the news might reach someone sympathetic, p. 207. Sioned Davies explains a story in conversation was 'a short anecdote recited by the speaker, probably concerning his or her own experiences.' *Four Branches*, p. 44. 'academics have largely overlooked the second facet of her penance: the forced recounting of a false narrative [cf. Branwen] ... a tradition of subversive female storytelling', from the Abstract, Emma Watkins, 'Female Re-Telling' (my insertion). Ch. IV.1. Voice #22, 23 p. 194, and 'Loyalties' comment p. 202.

⁴⁰⁹ Seven year penance decree, PKM1 21.21-23. JKB 35.1. Gwent narrative, PKM1 22.1-25.6. JKB 35.1-37.1. Boy four years old, horse is bestowed, PKM1 23.22-24. JKB 36.2. Unspecified period follows before Teyrnon and Gŵri depart for Arberth, departure PKM1 25.6-10. JKB 37.1. Lifeline calculation for Rhiannon, below, pp. 271-73. Byfield measures four years penance (without detailed analysis), 'Character' p. 6.

⁴¹⁰ Her *truauet damwein Riannon*, PKM1 24.14. 'sadness of Rhiannon's misfortune', JKB 37.1. In narrative irony she proudly calls the Maids *druuein*. PKM1 21.1, & 21.6. 'poor things', JKB 34.2. (My underlining of the same Welsh source term.)

Queenly Rhiannon presenting her telling, embellished by the striking 'horsey' humiliation, constructs a memorable, '*rywedawt*' spectacle. Her story inevitably generates gossip, explicitly reaching *luossogrwyd*.⁴¹¹ Travellers would pass it to other travellers on roads and ships, into their home communities. *Cyfarwyddiaith* might begin to spread it as sensational drama. The penance package could not be a more brilliant publicity campaign if it had been planned.

Rhiannon and Pwyll are conspirators, both singly, and together (above),⁴¹² and their partnership sustains over these four years.⁴¹³ If the penance is their joint campaign, some signs of who contributed what might be traceable. The obscure horsey penalty for treason might derive from Rhiannon's counsellor knowledge of precedents. They both know the impact of her striking advent horse to blaze imagery abroad. They know Rhiannon as a powerful *raconteur* from her bag speech.⁴¹⁴ Maintaining Rhiannon's status in the hall needs Pwyll's support: his Arawn liaison shows his acute concern with status.⁴¹⁵ The tension, sensationally ruling a high *arglwyddes* to stay at the mucky horseblock, sometimes bearing travellers on her back, might come from him. As with other putative plots above, the outcome might interpret as persuasive.⁴¹⁶

Llinellau bywyd/ Lifelines

Pwyll is unique as the only named Mabinogi character who grows old and dies in a natural way.

⁴¹¹ News PKM1 24.13. a 'multitude', JKB 37.1.

⁴¹² This is the case whether or not the theories suggested above which expand their plotting characteristics, are accepted. Pwyll carries out Arawn's plot; Rhiannon her courtship display; and they partner for the bag plot.

⁴¹³ The apparent exceptions, Rhiannon's rebukes, are immediately followed by solidarity. Sioned Davies would not agree my hypothesis, as she points to 'the lack of communication between Pwyll and Rhiannon' in contrast to Teyrnnon and his Wife. Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 231. However while the narrative does not give private Rhiannon-Pwyll marital dialogue, its absence does not evidence discord, either. Ford's analysis '*Cyfranc*' perceives the two marriages, Dyfed- Gwent, as parallel. Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc* p. 30; and Ch. IX. Structures: *Cyfranc*, p. 512-13.

⁴¹⁴ Horsey penalty, PKM1 21.21-28. JKB 35.1. Rhiannon's counsellor knowledge, PKM1 17.20-24. JKB 31.1. Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse p. 17. Rhiannon's bag speech, PKM1 17.20-24. JKB 31.1.

⁴¹⁵ PKM1 2.7-28. JKB 21.1-2. Pwyll speaks 2.9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 20-21, 22-23, 24-25, 27; resisting and challenging the stranger's entitlement to superiority, referring specifically to *anryded*/ honour or rank 2.9 and 2.22. JKB 21.1.

⁴¹⁶ I am indebted to John Davies' political acumen in suggesting that as my study views the Maids as women of major Dyfed noble families (Ch. V.6. Maids), to antagonise so many of his nobles by punitive measures would be dangerously divisive. Better to hold a wave of celebration of the restored heir, bury the guilty Maids and nobles in obscurity, and promote loyal nobles. Pwyll is not punitive if it can be avoided, cf. his Annwfn sojourn conclusion, PKM1 6.9-11. JKB 23.2. For the next narrative stages, Ch. V.9. Pendaran pp. 291-95; and Ch. V.10. Pryderi pp. 295-323.

yny doeth teruyn ar hoedyl
*Pwyll Penn Annwn, ac y bu uarw.*⁴¹⁷

His long, successful life is evidence of his sagacity: 'in an age of violent conflict, foolish leaders do not die old'.⁴¹⁸ In the context of the anti-war theme ascribed to the Mabinogi, Pwyll's manner of death is a quiet but major statement countering the glory epics of death in battle such as the *Gododdin*.⁴¹⁹

Hyfaidd Hen is presumably an old man, unless his title is an affectionate or humorous sobriquet, but Hyfaidd does not die in the text.⁴²⁰ Hafgan is vanquished, carried off rather histrionically declaring he is dying, but does not explicitly die.⁴²¹ Bendigeidfran and Efnysien both die as active fighting men in their prime.⁴²² Branwen dies a few years after being a young bride. Her child dies as an infant.⁴²³ Pryderi dies as an active fighter, though probably middle aged (diagram below).⁴²⁴ Gronw Pebyr dies, similarly actively.⁴²⁵ Many die anonymously in battle. Ageing or deaths are otherwise not mentioned. Mabinogi deaths generally happen to the young or prime aged, engaged in youthful passions and/or fighting. Mediaeval conflicts (feuds, raids, duels, wars), and high risk childbirth, weight younger deaths. Bards exhorted warriors to focus on glory, not long lives.⁴²⁶ Old age survival was for the minority, in the Mabinogi especially so; only two characters, Pwyll and Hyfaidd, are explicitly elders.

⁴¹⁷ PKM1 27.16–17, 'until an end came to the life of Pwyll Head of Annwn and he died.' JKB 40.1.

⁴¹⁸ I am indebted to John Davies for this observation, personal communication 7/2/2020.

⁴¹⁹ *Gododdin* Bibliography reference Koch, also Lifelines p. 271 below. On the anti-war theme, Ch. V.12 Manawydan: Man of Virtue pp. 342–45. Cf. Stephens: 'From all our bardic remains we learn but three facts that the Kymry loved war, mead, and music; but we learn from the Mabinogi that they had great regard for chastity, that women were held in high estimation among them, that their chieftains were fond of literary associates, and devoted their time and talents to improve, instruct, and civilise their/ subjects.' Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, pp. 416–17.

⁴²⁰ Lifelines, p. 272 below.

⁴²¹ Hafgan's end: '*dygwch ui/ odyma: neut teruynedic angheu y mi.*' PKM1 6.3–4. 'take me from here. My death is accomplished.' JKB 23.2. Hafgan also states he cannot support his fighting men any longer, PKM1 4.4–5. JKB 23.2. Cf. the need for fighters to defend wealth, territory, above referencing Gwawl.

⁴²² Death of Efnysien in the *dadeni*/ cauldron, PKM2 44.9–21. JKB 55.2. Bendigeidfran, wounded by a poisoned spear, PKM2 44.23–24. JKB 55.2. Bendigeidfran's specific time of death is ambivalent, as his *post-mortem* head is removed but continues in a form of life, as he describes will happen while living. PKM2 44.28ff. JKB 55.2.

⁴²³ Death of Gwern, PKM2 43.13–44.8. JKB 54.2–55.1.

⁴²⁴ Death of Pryderi, PKM4 73.11–17. JKB 88.1–2.

⁴²⁵ Goronwy Pebyr, PKM4 91.18–92.22. JKB 106.2–108.1. Math implicitly dies as Lleu becomes *arglwydd* of Gwynedd. PKM4 92.23–26. JKB 108.1.

⁴²⁶ Notably *Y Gododdin*, Stanza XC: *ket rylade hwy wy ladassant/ a hyt orfen byt etmyc vydant*. Ifor Williams. 1938. *Canu Aneirin* (UWP). The quoted lines balance the young warriors deaths against their fighting deaths, and they will be remembered to the end of the world.

Judging by how long Rhiannon outlives Pwyll, he is significantly older than she is when they marry. When Pwyll dies the transition to Pryderi as *arglwydd Dyfed* seems smooth: apparently Pryderi is adult.⁴²⁷ He has conquest years, the Irish War, recovery in Harlech and Gwales; in enchanted time, 87 years, realistically 'a long time'.⁴²⁸ Rhiannon the PKM3 widow has aged as her son explains, into middle age.⁴²⁹ After a short period of joyous homecoming and *cylch*, *Lloegr* exile involves three successful business projects; more Dyfed hunting follows. Manawydan runs another business, then his farming cycles to harvest. He refers to the Desolation as seven years.⁴³⁰ Any calculation of this sequence is estimation, but Rhiannon might be assumed as senior, over sixty, by the time Manawydan frees her. She has no death text, though her absence from Pryderi's PKM4 narrative is suggestive.⁴³¹ Hyfaidd, Pwyll, Rhiannon, as elders, are not presented as decrepit.

This 'young' Mabinogi society evokes legendary lands of everlasting youth, a youthful world reflecting the root meaning of *mabinogi*: *mab*/ youth, child. These tales seem *about* the young: adventures of the beautiful people, larger than life heroes and heroines in their long golden days.⁴³² Pwyll's end provides a

⁴²⁷ It is imaginable if Pryderi were still a minor, capable Rhiannon accustomed to co-rule, might be his regent until he could become full ruler. But this would be significant, notable, so it might be expected to be mentioned. A regency is likely while Pryderi is away at the PKM2 Irish War; lack of mention here is consonant with the major lack of Dyfed presence. Rhiannon's position as co-ruler during Pwyll's lifetime. PKM1 19.17–18. JKB 33.1. top; and her sustained status during her penance, PKM1 25.23–24. JKB 37.1.

⁴²⁸ The two postwar sojourns are magical timewarps; Harlech 7 years: prophesied PKM2 45.2–3. Enacted PKM2 46.11–12, and 18. JKB 58.1. Cf. Gwales 80 years. Prophesied PKM2 45.6. Enacted PKM2 46.20. JKB 58.2. Ch. VI.1. Enchantment.

⁴²⁹ '*Er amser y bu hitheu yn y/ dewred, ny bu wreic delediwach no hi*'. PKM3 50.8–9. 'Since the time she was in her prime there was no woman as beautiful as she,' JKB 63.2. Cf. Evangeline Walton's sympathetic profile of the ageing Rhiannon. PKM3 Manawydan is also middle aged, PKM3 57.20–22. JKB 70.2; quoted Ch. V.11. Cigfa, p. 332 n. 823.

⁴³⁰ *Treulaw amseroed y ulwydyn a wnaeth. Nachaf/ y kynhaef yn dyuot*; PKM3 59.6–7. 'He spent the seasons of the year. Behold, the autumn came', JKB 72.2. Manawydan looks back: *Ac neut/ oed seith mlyned kyn no hynny, yr pan welsei ef na dyn,/ na mil, eithyr y pedwardyn y buassynt y gyt, yny golles/ y deu*. PKM1 61.18–21. 'And it had been seven years before that since he had seen either man or beast, except for the four people that had been together – until the two were lost.' JKB 73.2. This is slightly unclear but perhaps means a seven years Desolation period including initial subsistence, *Lloegr* exile in three towns, the return to Dyfed hunting ending at the tower, Manawydan's second exile and his crofting.. It may possibly be employing 'seven years' meaning 'many years/ a long time'.

⁴³¹ Lack of a death text is appropriate to Rhiannon's goddess interpretation: treated separately here. Perspective VII. Goddess Ch. 2–5, pp. 437–507.

⁴³² In Welsh fairy tales, a visit to the fairies finds them typically frolicking and feasting. Ageing is the lot of mortal humans., sometimes accelerated by timewarp if the fairies are angered (above). Jenkyn Thomas, *Welsh Fairy Book*.

soothing footnote, life lived to natural fullness with acclaimed achievement, loyal consort, friends, and glorious son. Rhiannon's full life seems to reach a matriarchal sixty.⁴³³ She and Pwyll might evoke benign parental elders of the Mabinogi world of the young.⁴³⁴ The cryptic term *mabinogi* with its root in *mab*/child, boy, might possibly mean not tales *for* the young but tales *about* the young heroes of ancient times.⁴³⁵

PWYLL	RHIANNON	PRYDERI
b.		
17 <i>Rhiannon</i> b.		
27 Annwfn year		
31 Betroths Rhiannon	17-19 Betrothals	
33 m. Rhiannon	19 m. Pwyll	
38 fathers Pryderi	24 births child	b. -> Gwent
45 Pryderi restored	29 Pryderi restored	5 Restored Dyfed
60 d.		
	43 Pwyll d.	19 Pwyll d.
	49 Pryderi's conquests	24 conquests
	52 Irish War	30 Irish War
	55 Aftermath	33 Aftermath
	57 Exile	35 Exile
	58 Dyfed interim	36 Dyfed interim
	60 Captivity ends	38 Captivity ends
	> 65 d.	43/44 Rhiannon d.?
		> 45 d.

DIAGRAM: Shân Morgain, Approximate lifelines (n. 433)

⁴³³ Very approximate estimates: Rhiannon marries Pwyll at c. 20 after 2 years of betrothal. Births Pryderi four years later (c. 24); he is lost, and restored after approximately 5 years (c. 29). Pwyll dies leaving Pryderi mature; *Uelly y treulyssant/ blwydyn a blwydyned*, PKM1 27.15-16. 'Thus they spent years and years', JKB 40.1; estimated 14 years later (c. 44). Pryderi's conquests, perhaps 5 years (c. 49). Irish War at least 1 year (c. 50). Aftermath sojourns, possibly 3 years, final note here (c. 53) *Lloegr* exile 6 years (c. 59). Dyfed interim one year (c. 60). Captivity, Manawydan one business year, one farming year (c. 62). This is admittedly approximate, some components are arguable, it does show that events mount up the years of Rhiannon's life to an elder period. The same calculation has Pryderi live to his mid-40s: adult warleader (c. 19), conquests, perhaps 5 years (c. 24); Irish War at least 1 year; aftermath sojourns, 3 years or more (c. 28) *Lloegr* exile 6 years (c. 34). Dyfed interim one year, captivity, Manawydan one business year, one farming year (c. 37). Unspecified period follows but cannot be long as he is still young enough for his lords to rely on him fighting a critical duel. These approximations do not follow the 87 years enchanted time for Pryderi after the Irish War, in a realism narrative this is 'a long time'.

⁴³⁴ Their primal status is further elaborated by their lack of genealogy. Rhiannon has only one progenitor, PKM1 12.23. JKB 28.1. Pwyll has none. Contrast PKM2: Llŷr genealogy PKM2 29.1-11. JKB 43.1; and PKM4 Don kindred, PKM4 67.11-13. JKB 79.1. Cigfa disrupts the PKM1 lack; she has three generations of genealogy back to her great-grandfather, PKM1 27.24-26. JKB 40.1. Ch. V.1. Genealogy Diagram p. 213.

⁴³⁵ Cf. Stephens, a major, named person's narrative, pre-Arthurian i.e. pre 12thC. Composite usage definition, not explicit Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Stephens, p. 101.

V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives

V.6. *Y Gwragedd/* The Maids

TABLE Maids' narrative

PKM1 Arberth. Six women's vigil. All sleep. Child disappeared.

PKM1 Terror. Conspiracy, puppy. Rhiannon awakens, group solidarity.

Rhiannon's Maids are a minor, anonymous, group of characters,⁴³⁶ present in only two PKM1 scenes,⁴³⁷ yet pivotal in their relationship with Rhiannon. They successfully challenge her power, framing her as a cannibal and infanticide, which shapes her subsequent narrative.⁴³⁸ Their impression is a group chorus of six, but it includes four individual speakers (below).

Maids and Rhiannon sleep before midnight: no one else is there. The Maids wake before dawn, discovering the newborn is missing, nowhere to be found.⁴³⁹

- 1 *CYNTAF*: 'Och ... neur golles y mab.'
"Alas, ... the boy has been lost.
- 2 *AIL*: 'Ie. ... dial oed yn lloski ni, neu yn dienydyaw am y/ mab.'
"Yes, ... revenge to burn us or execute us because of the boy."
- 3 *TRYDEDD*: 'A oes ... kynghor o'r byt/ am hynn?'
"Is there any counsel in the world ...?"
- 4 *PEDWAREDD*: Oes ... mi a wnn gynghor da.'⁴⁴⁰
"Yes, ... I know good counsel."

Besides the four individual voices, the two silent or chorusing Maids might represent helpless shock.

⁴³⁶ Rhiannon's 'Maids' are consistently *gwragedd/* women, PKM1 20.4– 21.8. JKB 33.2–34.2; not *morynion/* maidens. Teyrnon's Wife also refers to her *wraged* PKM1 23.12, JKB 33.11. Arianrhod has *dwyrwyrn* PKM4 82.23. 'two maidens', JKB 98.2. Blodeuedd also has *morynyon* PKM4 91. 'maidens', 1 JKB 106.1. Arianrhod is unmarried, refusing mother status. Blodeuedd is a maiden bride, not a mother. Rhiannon and Teyrnon's Wife speak in a maternal context, in common tradition matrons are served by other matrons, experienced in childbirth. But to refer to Rhiannon's 'women' is in English too generic, and biases their status towards servants. Ford for example refers to 'ladies-in-waiting', 'Prolegomena', p. 205, though he translates them as 'women' in the text, *Welsh Tales*, pp. 50-51. This study opts for a distinctively capitalised 'Maids'.

⁴³⁷ PKM1 20.4 –21.8. JKB 33.2–34.2. The two could be defined as one scene, because their location is likely unchanged: Rhiannon's bedroom. The two scenes indicate a change of personnel: Maids on their own PKM1 20.4 –22, JKB 33.2–34.1. Maids refusing Rhiannon's persuasion PKM1 20.23 – 21.8, JKB 34.1–2.

⁴³⁸ Their plot shapes the remaining 19 pages of PKM1, also reverberating PKM3 when Rhiannon's maternal loss of her son is replayed PKM3 55.28– 57.1, JKB 70.1–2, propelling her into a captivity which disappears her for the rest of the Mabinogi Rhiannon core narrative. Ch. I.5. Text (Extended) pp. 25-30; and Ch. IV.2. Acts: Playlist pp. 206-07, also 'midpoint pivot' p. 209.

⁴³⁹ Missing newborn PKM1 20.10–11. JKB 33.2.–34.1.

⁴⁴⁰ The four individual Maid voices are here assigned numbers 1–4, feminine gender. *Cyntaf*, PKM1 20.11–12. *Ail*, 20.12–14. *Trydedd*, 20.14–15. *Pedwaredd*, 20.15–16. JKB 34.1.

The discussion is a tightly structured, rhythmic micro-drama. *Cyntaf* opens the basic datum of fear: the lost boy. *Ail* doubles her with *Ie/ Yes*; then amplifies with ghastly apprehension.⁴⁴¹ *Trydedd* appeals despairingly for aid. Her open question enables *Pedwaredd*'s response. Her *Oes/ Yes*, knits together *Ail*'s *Ie/ Yes*, and *Trydedd*'s *kynghor/ counsel*. All invite *Pedwaredd* to explain.⁴⁴²

She says a *gellast* has birthed puppies.⁴⁴³ They will kill one, smear sleeping Rhiannon's face and hands with its blood, throw its bones on her chest; incriminating her with destroying her own child.⁴⁴⁴ She reassures:

‘*Ac ni byd yn taered*
ni an chwech wrthi hi e hun.’

So it proves.⁴⁴⁵

Rhiannon's first reaction on waking, is raw vulnerability.

‘*mae y mab?*’
‘where is the boy?’⁴⁴⁶

She swiftly grasps their false speech, voicing sympathy (real or strategic) for them as *druein/ wretched* ones.⁴⁴⁷ She twice invokes God as knowing all (i.e. their lies); asking them to ‘*dywedut y wirioned*’/ ‘tell the truth’. She offers them her protection.⁴⁴⁸ God, reason, sympathy and protection, alike fail to sway them.

⁴⁴¹ *Ail*'s talk of *lloski/ burning* is not Welsh law or custom of the period. Burning was practised by the Normans. Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 32, n.81. Ch. III.7. Political: Anglo-Norman pp. 185-88. Though ahistorical, *Ail*'s hysterical words convey abject vulnerability. The rage and grief of Rhiannon, Pwyll, many of the nobility and people, would array severely against them.

⁴⁴² The Maids continue to speak as a chorused voice from now on. They may serve as a good example of Mabinogi style to present characters in performative speech: description is rare. 'Prefacing' Ch. II.2. Craft, pp. 46-47. *Pedwaredd*'s plan parallels Rhiannon's duplication with bag speech and its enactment; cf. similar prefacing by Arawn, Bendigeidfran, Ch. IV.1. Voice: bag speech, #12 p. 192; and 'Weddings' commentary following p. 200.

⁴⁴³ PKM1 20.16-17. 'staghound bitch', JKB 34.1. The *gellast* seems to appear ('*gelleist*') in an anonymous *awdl/ ode*, c. 1102-1106, with a Teyrnnon analogy. Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #3, p. 33.

⁴⁴⁴ PKM1 20.17-21. JKB 34.1. They 'smear' her both physically with puppy blood, and socially with their calumny.

⁴⁴⁵ PKM1 20.21. 'And the insistence of the six of us will not fail against her on her own.' JKB 34.1. Rhiannon later accepts penance although she is innocent, JKB 35.1. For interpretations of this text, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 268-72.

⁴⁴⁶ '*A/ wraged*,'... '*mae y mab?*' PKM1 20.23-24. 'Ah women, ... where is the boy?' JKB 34.1. Voice #18 pp. 193-94; comment Narrative: mothering p. 201.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. her own later *truanet damwein Riannon*, PKM1 24.14. 'sadness of Rhiannon's misfortune', JKB 37.1; matched wordplay telling her major loss of status and assertiveness while at the horseblock doing penance. Byfield sees 'compassion in her nature previously unexplored', 'Character', p. 4.

⁴⁴⁸ PKM1 21.7. JKB 34.2. '*yr yr Arglwyd Duw a wyr/ pob peth, na yrrwch geu arnaf. ... mi a'ch differaf*'. PKM1 21.1-4. 'do not accuse me falsely. And if you are afraid, by my confession to God, I will protect you.' They seem not to trust her patronage to protect them against Pwyll and his council. They particularly state their self-interest in holding to their false account. "*Dioer*,"/ *heb wy*, "*ny adwn ni drwc arnam ny hunein yr dyn yn y / byt*." PKM1 21.4-6. 'God knows,' they replied,

This is a critical, deeply gendered moment in Rhiannon's destiny. Since they show no loyalty to Rhiannon the Maids are presumably not her natal people, more likely daughters, sisters, of leading, Dyfed families.⁴⁴⁹ Rhiannon may have distrusted these native, noble females, as a noble Dyfed faction had already tried to oust her.⁴⁵⁰ Here is a negative side of her characteristic independence. She relies on her own intelligence, wealth, status, and her powerful marriage. She pays for it now.

The Maids' witness is questionable. They claim they unsuccessfully fought Rhiannon's violence.⁴⁵¹ Yet surely, even a physically strong (crazy) woman, *totally depleted by birth labour just hours before*, must succumb to six adults.⁴⁵² Was this mighty struggle so quiet no one else heard? It is also unlikely someone could traverse the dawn court unnoticed to take a squealing puppy against the mother's protest, and deflesh it to the bone without chopping noises.⁴⁵³ It is

'we will not let harm come to ourselves for anyone in the world.' JKB 34.2. Nothing Rhiannon says, prevails. PKM1 21.7–8.

⁴⁴⁹ The Maids are theorised here as noblewomen, not domestics; cf. Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 306. Rhiannon has birthed the Dyfed heir, status theory Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' pp. 177–83; so even if she had women who came with her from her homeland, Dyfed provides her honour guard. Maidservants would not enhance the Dyfed *arglwyddes*' status. See n. 436 above. Rhiannon accepts counsel that she cannot prevail against these six women. PKM1 21.18–21. JKB 35.1. The six could not weigh so powerfully against her as witnesses if they were mere maidservants. At her first wedding Rhiannon similarly accepted the weight of witness. Gwawl had emphasised Pwyll made his fateful offer in the presence of noble witnesses: *yg gwyd gwyrda*, PKM1 14.8. in the presence of nobles. JKB 28.2.

⁴⁵⁰ The hostile nobles' faction took her valuable gifts of jewels on arrival for these were distributed to all nobles, PKM1 19.13–16. JKB 31.2; but these had attacked her at the Preseli Council PKM1 19.18–20.1. JKB 33.2.

⁴⁵¹ Fiona Winward details Rhiannon's evident physical strength as a horsewoman, who unlike other women hunts (specifically unlike Cigfa PKM3 58.25–27. JKB 72.1.); and bears people on her back as a mount (PKM1 21.26–27. JKB 35.1.). Patriarchy frames such female strength negatively, making Rhiannon an 'unfeminine' target for hostility. 'Aspects', pp. 83–84. The Maids' claimed *cleisseu a dyrnodeu*, (PKM1 20.26. 'bruises and blows', JKB 34.2.), recalling the Gorsedd Arberth's *kymriw neu archolleu* PKM1 9.7. 'wounds or blows', JKB 25.2. Winward, p. 84, n. 31. Eames' playscript twice queries if Rhiannon is 'a wonder or a wound?', p. 22, 'a wound, or a wonder?' p. 26; Eames, 'Magnificent', Act I.

⁴⁵² Withybush hospital, Pembs. 1996. My husband was put in medically induced coma to quiet his heart rhythms. He was very strong indeed, super-fit. Naked and manically determined to go home he dragged five hefty females, myself and four trained nurses, several yards from his bed, but we successfully struggled to hold him down for several hours. (Personal reminiscence) Compare our female team of five controlling a manic, peak fit, athletic male, with the Maids' team alleging they could not control a manic, but birth-weakened woman. Their account seems implausible.

⁴⁵³ A hunting and farming, audience would know this could not be done suddenly in the night. The hunting-hound bitch would be large and strong. Mammal maternity would make her alert to fiercely guard her pups. She would give tongue, struggle, and bite. Chopping up newly dead meat is vigorous, noisy work.. Sawing it quietly would take time, doing each cut slowly to reduce noise.

unlikely six terrified Maids could hold together against all interrogation: someone would slip. None did.

It seems more plausible as a prepared plot. Puppy products might be prepared during the long preoccupation of Rhiannon's labour. *Pedwaredd*, who presents the plot after the disappearance, might perhaps do it, then present it as the welcome solution. Their unlikely story might hold firm if steered by a powerful faction who arranged the abduction, especially in a hysterically shocked court.⁴⁵⁴ A Dyfed nobility faction had already pressed Pwyll to divorce his foreign, forceful wife. She is imaginable as too independent of their control, too influential on 'their' *pendefig*/ prince.⁴⁵⁵ The Maids are here perceived as their daughters, sisters, mothers. The nobles' second council again attempts to make Pwyll divorce Rhiannon.⁴⁵⁶

Strangely, when the boy is restored, the text omits any punishment for the Maids.⁴⁵⁷ Contemporary noble audiences might grasp the political implications. If the Maids belong to (several) noble clans of the seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed,⁴⁵⁸ acting openly against such a powerful faction risks feud, civil war. Alternatively, behind celebrations for the restored heir, the six Maids and perhaps a leading lord or two might quietly retire to their family estates. Loyal nobles could benefit from rewards.⁴⁵⁹

Loyalty and treachery is strongly gendered here. Pwyll and Teyrnon's male loyalty to each other was trained as fighting comrades; they are also loyal to Rhiannon. The Maids betrayal of Rhiannon is a particularly female betrayal of the female birth-bed. She also fails to bond with them. Since Mabinogi women are not fighters, and men normally do not birth (*pace* Gwydion), there is an implication that men can be/ are loyal, but women cannot be/ are not.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁴ The exaggeration of the *lloski*/ burning claim can be read as a symptom of their fear and hysteria, Ellis above, p. 276 n. 441.

⁴⁵⁵ Preseli Council Pwyll is described as their *brawdaueth*, PKM1 19.20. 'foster-brother', JKB 33.2.

⁴⁵⁶ Morning Council: PKM1 21.12–14. JKB 34.2.

⁴⁵⁷ After the boy is acknowledged, PKM1 26.6–9, JKB 37.2–38.1, there is the naming scene, PKM1 26.9–19. JKB 38.1–2. The tale passes to fostering arrangements and the care of the growing prince, PKM1 26.20–27.15. JKB 38.2–40.1.

⁴⁵⁸ A clan may or may not equate a *cantref* territory.

⁴⁵⁹ John Davies' political analysis, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 271 n. 416 (personal communication, 2015). Pwyll's settlement of the Annwfn opposition, PKM1 6.9–11. JKB 23.2.

⁴⁶⁰ Pwyll's loyalty pp. 268–69. Teyrnon's past bond with Pwyll PKM1 24.19. JKB 37.1. Teyrnon champions Rhiannon PKM1 26.3–4 JKB 37.2. More, Ch. V.6. Teyrnon, next.

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.7. Teyrnon *Twrwl Lliant*

TABLE Teyrnon narrative

PKM1 Gwent Is Coed. Mare problem. Vigil foal. *Twrf*, Claw. Discovers baby.

PKM1 Wife dialogue adoption. Wife dialogue colt. Rhiannon news. Recognises boy. Wife dialogue restoration.

PKM1 Arberth. Rhiannon penance. Feast, tells tale, Rhiannon. Pwyll gratitude. Foster parents.

Ref.⁴⁶¹

Teyrnon *Twryf Lliant*, lord of Gwent-Is-Coed,⁴⁶² is a secondary but important PKM1 character, rescuer and foster father of Rhiannon's son.⁴⁶³ He is consistently constructive, introduced as

*a'r gwr goreu yn y byt
oed.*⁴⁶⁴

He appears in Mabinogi Rhiannon and other sources as a pattern of valour and wisdom.⁴⁶⁵ A contemporary, anonymous *awdl* invokes him to eulogise Hywel ap Goronwy king of Brycheiniog (c. 1101),⁴⁶⁶ a northerly neighbour of Gwent. Its *gelleist* reference hooks into Mabinogi Rhiannon, though Rhiannon is not named.⁴⁶⁷ Qualities of kindness, good ruling judgement, lion's courage, are

⁴⁶¹ Teyrnon narrative PKM 22.1–27.11. JKB 35.1– 39.1.

⁴⁶² Name and title PKM1 22.1–27.15. JKB 35.1.

⁴⁶³ Jackson gives a folklore analysis of this episode, finding a combination of three motifs: Calumniated Wife, Monster Hand, and Congenital Animals, also Irish parallels. *International Tale*. However this study does not favour motif analysis; Ch. III. Academia: Folklore, pp. 117–18.

⁴⁶⁴ PKM1 22.2. 'the best man in the world.' JKB 35.1. *gorau*: best, excelling all others, supreme, most acceptable, better (of two), highest in value or reputation, &c. (GPC)

⁴⁶⁵ *Culhwch ac Olwen*, once only, as 'Teyrnon Twr Bliant', Arthur's Court Lists, (CO I.255). Several references as a pattern of valour and wisdom c. 1200, court poet Llywarch ap Llywelyn (or Prydydd y Moch): *Gwyllon Teyrnon dud amnoddi* (2.23)*; *Eryr Teyrnon er yn deyrngain* (3.7) [Space original]; *Am olud termud Deyrnon* (4.24). *Ed. note. 'The word 'teyrnon' occurs elsewhere in the Poets of the Princes corpus, including in Gwalchmai and Cynddelw Prydydd Mawr.' Elin M. Jones. 2000. *Gwaith Llywarch Ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'*, V of 7, in *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*, ed. by Gruffydd, R. Geraint (Cardiff). Cf. TYP p. lxi, n. 75. The 'Kadeir Teyrnon' poem title means 'Chair of the Sovereign', with warrior and lordship implications, but Teyrnon is not named within it; *Llyfr Taliesin* 34.24.

⁴⁶⁶ Assessed as an inauguration poem on Hywel's proclamation as king of Brycheiniog, upper Usk valley c. 1101; Euryon Roberts. 2018. 'A Surfeit of Identity', in *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe*, 8, ed. by Pleszczynski, Andrzej; Joanna Aleksandra Sobiesiak; Michał Tomaszek; Przemysław Tyszką (Leiden; Boston : Brill), p. 255. Roberts n. 29, cites David Stephenson. 2009. 'Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy: Dating and Significance', CMCS, 59, pp. 41–49, on the dating and other treatments of the poem. The poet makes an 'armchair progress' clockwise around the districts of Wales. p. 256. Poem survives in *Llyfr Ddu*/ Black Book of Carmarthen, John Gwenogvryn Evans, pp. 73–77. The MS dates mid 13thC. Joseph Vendryes. 1948. 'Le poème du Livre Noir sur Hywel ab Gronw', *Études Celtiques*, 4, pp. 275–300.

⁴⁶⁷ *gellast*, PKM1 20.16. JKB 34.1.

cited.⁴⁶⁸ Teyrnon's loyalty, his *carennyd*/ friendship with Pwyll, is an *exemplum*, pivotal to the restoration of Rhiannon and Pwyll's son, Dyfed's heir. Structurally Teyrnon is a gendered contrast with the Maids failed vigil and disloyalty.⁴⁶⁹ He may be seen as a hero guardian, protective, thoughtful, decisive, notably tender and respectful of his Wife (below).⁴⁷⁰

Rhiannon's penitential voice reaches Teyrnon about her loss, and he recognises the boy as resembling Pwyll from his past as Pwyll's man.⁴⁷¹ Sturzer finds 'inconsistencies' here: Gwent's distance from Dyfed; and 'Pwyll was no Arthur attracting followers from afar'.⁴⁷² Dyfed– Gwent is only 100m. distant, 80 sea miles; less than 24 hours by sail; 5–7 days by horse.⁴⁷³ On the main west-east trade route contact is likely to be fairly frequent. Pwyll, as Pen Annwfn, has a magnetic reputation, highly likely to attract 'followers from afar'.⁴⁷⁴

Rhiannon meets Teyrnon at the Arberth gates, poignantly unknowing it is her last penitential enactment, because he brings her son.⁴⁷⁵ She is seated in the feast hall beside Pwyll, indicating Pwyll's loyalty supports her accustomed status during the penance.⁴⁷⁶ Teyrnon performs his anecdotal storytelling,⁴⁷⁷ effecting Rhiannon's vindication. Pwyll appoints him one of Pryderi's foster fathers,

⁴⁶⁸ Ch. I.6. Sources: #3, p. 33. *gelleist* (*gellast*) Gruffydd and Roberts, 'Rhiannon Gyda Theyrnon yng Ngwent?', p. 289, 'staghound bitch', line 11. Tragic significance Ch. V.6. Maids pp. 275–78.

⁴⁶⁹ Noisy Enchantment p. 284 n. 497 below, Sleep/ Waking structures. Gendered and military/ birthing Ch. V.6. Maids, p. 278.

⁴⁷⁰ *exemplum*, Bollard, 'Structure', p. 172. She is only known in the text as his wife; Introduction on constructed names in order to reference the three anonymous women in Mabinogi Rhiannon. In my study this 'anon' is referred as Teyrnon's Wife. Ch. III. 5. LLW: Women and Names, p. 166–67, on the different naming of unmarried/ newly married, and married women. More on Teyrnon as husband, Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife pp. 287–90.

⁴⁷¹ Emma Watkins, 'Calumniated Storytellers', sees Rhiannon's penitential voice as a storytelling. Ch. IV.1. Voice: Loyalties p. 202; and Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, p. 270.

⁴⁷² 'how is it that Teyrnon knows what Pwyll looks like?' Gwent is distant from Dyfed, there is 'little contact' between them. Teyrnon hears of the Dyfed event only via travellers as he does not travel himself, and portraits were then not known, or 'rare'. Teyrnon was once Pwyll's man, but 'Pwyll was no Arthur attracting followers from afar'; so Sturzer feels the explanation is 'unconvincing'. Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', p. 128.

⁴⁷³ 80 sea miles. John Davies, expert sailor 55 years, resident of Teyrnon's Gwent on the Bristol Channel; 40 years expert modelmaker of historical boats including the cutters built for the Bristol Channel. (Personal communication, 2015) It is also normal for rulers to gather news from travellers, while remaining relatively static themselves, staying within their own boundaries. To travel outside them could raise tensions about incursion.

⁴⁷⁴ Pwyll Pen Annwfn, PKM1 8.21–26. JKB 25.1.

⁴⁷⁵ Rhiannon, Teyrnon, and boy, PKM1 25.10–15. JKB 37.2.

⁴⁷⁶ Rhiannon sits with Pwyll, PKM1 25.23–25. JKB 37.1.

⁴⁷⁷ Ford's *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*, concept derived from Teyrnon's storytelling, Ch. I.4. Texts: 'Cyfranc' pp. 30–31 n.173; Ch. VIII. Structures: 'Cyfranc' p. 512 n. 21.

strongly pledging their future accord.⁴⁷⁸ Rhiannon might well develop a relationship with Teyrnnon after their momentous encounter, through Pryderi's talk of his stays in Gwent, via messengers, perhaps even exchanging visits.

Teyrnnon *Twryf Lliant* of Gwent-Is-Coed

Teyrnnon's territory is *Ys Coed*/ 'Below the Wood', its northern boundary an immense forest; its southern boundary the Severn estuary coast. His western and eastern boundaries are the rivers Usk and Wye, though these fluctuated with political change.⁴⁷⁹ Gwent's vulnerable, mediaeval history characteristically forms alliances, alternating independence. It was the first region taken by Normans. Stephens, and later Anwyl, noted a Teyrnnon connection with Llantarnam (now on the edge of Newport).⁴⁸⁰

Teyrnnon is styled *arglwydd*, not *pendefig* like Pwyll, but his status is not necessarily inferior; cf. Math, *arglwyd ar Wyned*.⁴⁸¹ 'Teyrnnon' may also be a title.⁴⁸²

teyrn: monarch, sovereign, king, prince, lord, ruler, leader, dictator, tyrant, also fig.; sovereign (adj.), royal.

teyrnon: monarchs (?monarch), kings (?king). (GPC)

Teyrnnon's epithet *Twryf Uliant* has been interpreted 'Roar of the Flood Tide', associated with the 'rushing noise' of the Severn Bore, which can reach

⁴⁷⁸ Fostering appointment, PKM1 27.1–11. JKB 38.2–39.1. The other fosterer appointed is Pendaran Dyfed, Ch. V.9. Pendaran pp. 291–95. Pwyll's appointment consults his nobles, making them publicly honour Teyrnnon's integrity, and also recruits the powerful Pendaran, all pre-empting any imposter narrative. Teyrnnon's speech below.

⁴⁷⁹ PKM1 27.1. JKB 35.1. 'Netherwent' means 'Gwent below', and survives as a local name today. A forest remnant survives as 'Wentwood'.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Teirnyon, King of Gwent. He gave his name to Nant Teyrnnon', Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 106; 'Tintern Brook.' Stephens, *Kymry*, p. 272, n. 2. Nant Teyrnnon, now known as Llantarnam, and Teyrnnon; Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 126. A Hywel ab Iorwerth charter mentions Llantarnam Abbey, founded 1179, as Ynys Nant Teyrnnon. Janet Burton and Karen Stober. 2015. 'Llantarnam Abbey', *Abbeys and Priors of Medieval Wales* (UWP), p. 125. *Ynys Nant Teyrnnon*/ Island at Teyrnnon's Brook. Llantarnam village today is on the northern edge of Newport.

⁴⁸¹ *arglwyd ar Wynt/ Ys Coet*. PKM1 22.1–2. 'lord over Gwent-Is-Coed', JKB 35.1. *Pwyll pendefig Dyfed*, PKM1 1.1. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed', JKB 19.2. Math *arglwyd ar Wyned*, PKM4 67.1. 'lord of Gwynedd', JKB 79.1. Possibly '*pendefig*' is a regional or archaic usage (noted Ch. V.5. Pwyll). As Gwynedd is the major rival polity to Dyfed, the use of *arglwydd* for Teyrnnon cannot reflect a markedly lesser status to Pwyll, so their relative standing is unclear. That Teyrnnon had once been Pwyll's man might have occurred if Teyrnnon is significantly younger than Pwyll. Patterson, 'Woman as Vassal: Gender Symmetry', p. 36, how boys were sent away to another lord for training.

⁴⁸² Cf. Gwawl described on arrival as *teyrneid*, PKM1 13.27. 'regal', JKB 28.2. Cf. 'Kadeir Teyrnnon'/ 'Chair of the Sovereign'. Haycock. *Preiddeu Annwfn in the Llyfr Taliesin*.

2.8m/ 9.2 ft., largest in the UK, second largest worldwide.⁴⁸³

twrf, *twrw* '**(loud) noise**, din, clamour, **roar**, uproar, **tumult**, **commotion**, disturbance, quarrel, trouble, also fig.; (esp. in pl. '*tyrfau*') thunder.' (GPC)⁴⁸⁴

However the Bore is neither noisy, nor in Gwent. Its quiet swell rises far away on the upper Severn estuary, approaching modern Gloucester.⁴⁸⁵

'*Twrw*' is densely present in Teyrnnon's heroic rescue: five instances within seven lines..⁴⁸⁶ Bollard rehearses the various associations and interpretations of Teyrnnon's names, suggesting 'Lord of the Tumult' for the epithet; linked to the repeated occurrences of *twrf* in Teyrnnon's heroic encounter.⁴⁸⁷ However if so, Teyrnnon's epithet is anachronistically introduced at the *start* of his episode, before his heroism occurs.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸³ Williams, PKM, pp. 146-47. Sioned Davies notes this as 'one interpretation'. *Mabinogion*, p. 231, n. 17. Severn Bore: (URL text Bibliography). The largest Bore in the world is on the Qiantang river, China (4m.). Eric Jones (JE Jones, original author). c. 2008 or earlier. 'Tidal River Bores', Illust., *National Oceanography Centre*, 2pp. Detailed data on the Severn and Qiantang Tidal Bores, but NOC unable to furnish exact date. On tidal bores, various other more formal publications by Eric Jones. (URL text Bibliography). Author and estimated date from Lisa Eastwood, NOC, email 6/09/2021:09:14; and further enquiry 7/09/2021:09:23. Also John Davies on the 'Severn Bore, below.

⁴⁸⁴ My emphasis on selected terms used by Mabinogi translators, quoted n. 486 below.

⁴⁸⁵ The Severn Bore wave forms "above Newnham", a long way up near Gloucester itself; can be observed downriver at Lydney but clearly an upper estuary phenomenon, strictly not 'Bristol Channel' but 'Severn Estuary'. (URL text Bibliography). My thanks to John Davies for detailed research report (01/11/2016 personal email).

⁴⁸⁶ PKM1 22.16, 17, 21, and 2 @ 23. Standard variations of the second vowel 'y' and 'w'. 'tumult', consistently, JKB 36.1. Guest gives 'tumult', *Mabinogion*, pp. 354-55. Ellis, a literal translator, gives 'tumult', perceiving a personification of the 'tumult' as 'characteristically Celtic'. *Mabinogion*, p. 35, and n. 86. Ford, uses 'commotion', 'roar', and 'noise', *Native Tales*, p. 52; his variety breaks the source text's pounding repetition. Sioned Davies, with her characteristic simplicity, gives 'noise', *Mabinogion*, p. 18. Bollard as noted consistently uses 'tumult', *Landscape*, p. 86.1. 'by his repeated use of the term *twrf* in this episode the narrator seems to imply a connection with the May Eve tumult of the tale.' Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 34, n. 13. The term is also found in two PKM3 occurrences: when the Desolation of Dyfed occurs, and the disappearance of the enchanted tower. Desolation: *Ac ual y bydant yn eisted yuelly, llyma dwrwf*, PKM3 51.22. 'And as they were sitting thus, behold, a tumult', JKB 65.2. Tower: *Ac ar hynny, gyt/ ac y bu nos, llyma dwryfarnunt*, PKM3 57.10-11. 'a great tumult' JKB 70.2. Ch. VI. Enchantment: Special Effects p. 361-62.

⁴⁸⁷ Bollard: 'The name Teyrnnon derives from an earlier Celtic form **Tigernonos*, 'divine king' and can be paired with the name Rhiannon; ... His name is preserved in the names of the stream of Nant Teyrnnon and the 12th-century abbey of Llantarnam in Gwent. The epithet *Twrf Liant* is somewhat obscure. *Twrf* means 'noise, commotion, tumult'; *Liant* might be from *bliant* 'linen or a similar material' or from *lliant* 'sea, waters, flood'. It has been suggested that the epithet might thus be rendered 'Thunder of Waters' as possibly a reference to the water's noise in the Severn bore; however, by his repeated use of the word *twrf* in this episode [n. 486, above], the narrator seems to imply a connection with the May Eve tumult of the tale.' Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 34, n. 13. (My insertion ref. n. 486, above.)

⁴⁸⁸ Compare Pwyll, well known after his Annwfn triumph as 'Pen Annwfn', but not given as Pwyll Pen Annwfn at the opening of PKM1, only at the conclusion of *Pwyll I*, when he has earned the title. PKM1 8.21-26. JKB 25.1. The Teyrnnon epithet's placement would appear an anachronism by the Cyfarwydd unless derived from something prior to the noisy duel with a monster.

The second epithet is:

lliant 'flood, flow, current, sea; (dict.)

dune; (dict.) foam.' (GPC)⁴⁸⁹

Ford's 'Lord of the Raging Sea' translation seems close.⁴⁹⁰ 'Teyrnon Twryf Lliant' (Lord – Tumult – Sea) might be interpreted as 'Lord of the Tumultuous Sea.'⁴⁹¹

The Bristol Channel has infamously treacherous navigation, with fast currents, dreaded wind-sea oppositions, shallow or narrow channels, and unpredictable but rocklike sandbanks.⁴⁹² *Twrwrff*/ tumult, is entirely apt for the violent waves of this sea, which roar crashingly on its (fatal) sandbanks. Open mediaeval boats needed local pilots' intimate knowledge to 'hand on' in stages.⁴⁹³ Teyrnon's economy could have been greatly enriched by revenues from pilotage fees, harbour dues, and wreck salvage. He had inland forest timber for shipbuilding and repairs; today's large Wentwood forest is a mere remnant. Teyrnon's possible horse breeding also fits a marine power, for transport to and from the ports, and valuable trade commodities themselves.⁴⁹⁴

This wealthy, powerful lord, breeding horses, with an intelligent, pragmatic wife,⁴⁹⁵ would offer an attractive friendship to Rhiannon after the

⁴⁸⁹ *Uliant* also has a possible etymology from *bliant* a fabric, trans. as 'linen'. Williams, *PKM*, pp. 146-7. Llyfr Gwyn's *teyrnon toryfliant* suggests *toryf* 'crowd', or *twr* 'tower'. R. L. Thomson. *Pwyll*, p. 39, n. 510. Noted by Bollard n. 487, above. These interpretations do not seem to fit the Teyrnon context productively.

⁴⁹⁰ Ford's 'Lord of the Raging Sea', is similar in form: 'The name Terynon Twryf Liant, can be translated as "Great King/Monarch of the tumultuous current/sea." But it derives from WJG's Manawydan as a sea deity (sic), and alternate father of Pryderi, and the Severn Bore. *Native Tales*, p. 12. The nature of the Bristol Channel and its economics is brutally physical, not mythological.

⁴⁹¹ This uses the main translation of *twrff*: its noise, its impressive, dangerous impact, and the *lliant* interpretation as 'sea', GPC above. It fits the infamous Severn Estuary navigation (below).

⁴⁹² Visit My Harbour : (URL text Bibliography). With thanks for research source to John Davies (01/11/2016 personal email). 'The Bristol Channel experiences the second highest tides in the world (up to 15M) with corresponding rates of tidal flow. There are numerous sand banks and shoals which dry at low water, not only do these constitute navigational hazards but also restrict the widths of the channels through which the tide must pass. There are a number of islands and submerged rocks which are hazardous to navigation.' The page continues with many detailed warnings on navigation. Portishead Cruising Club, 'Tidal Advice': (URL text Bibliography).

⁴⁹³ John Davies, specialist on Bristol pilot cutters, transat yachtsman, 55 years sailing, resident of Newport, Gwent (personal communication, 2016). Davies is internationally known as a craftsman of working models of the Bristol channel pilot cutters. He describes them as specialist, sturdy boats, crafted in the Industrial Revolution to cope with the brutal local conditions, but continuing an ancient necessity of local staging guides. John Davies, 'Alison M', 3 part series, *Marine Modelling International*, (Traplet Publications, 2014), April, pp. 38-41; May, pp. 64-67; June, pp. 58-62.

⁴⁹⁴ My thanks for discussion on this possible Gwent topography and economy, John Davies, 2015.

⁴⁹⁵ Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife, pp. 287-90.

couple are appointed her son's foster parents.⁴⁹⁶

Hudoliaeth 'Twrff' / Noisy enchantment

Unlike PKM3's *twrff* several anomalies are evident. No one wakes up during this noisy *twrff*;⁴⁹⁷ not even Teyrnon's sworn *teulu* come to his aid, nor does he call for them or for his hounds.⁴⁹⁸ A skilled hunter,⁴⁹⁹ he is apparently incapable of tracking a wounded, slowed creature, gushing blood as it flees.⁵⁰⁰ Its *grauanc uawr*,⁵⁰¹ through the window, is stereotypical horror, violation.⁵⁰² That, plus Teyrnon's solitary experience of the *twrff*, and his multiple failures as a hunter, are suggestive of a nightmare.⁵⁰³ Vigil, physical stillness through long quiet, night hours, induces the hypnagogic state.⁵⁰⁴ A noise at the window would

⁴⁹⁶ Fostering appointment, PKM1 27.1–11. JKB 38.2–39.1.

⁴⁹⁷ Teyrnon's Wife only wakes up when Teyrnon enters her bedroom when it is all over. PKM1 23.3–4. JKB 36.1.

Teyrnon is awake in the depth of the night, and the baby arrives. Structural series: Sleep (S) Waking (W) Rhiannon and Teyrnon in balance.

S1: Rhiannon, her baby, her Maids, all fall deeply asleep, PKM1 20.7–8. JKB 33.2. W1: Maids wake, the child disappears, PKM1 20.10–11. JKB 33.2–34.1. W2: Rhiannon waking, discovers her loss, PKM1 20.23–24. JKB 34.1.

W1: Teyrnon resolves to stand vigil, PKM 22.9–13. JKB 35.2. while W2: Teyrnon awake, the child appears, PKM1 22.25–27. JKB 36.1. S1: Teyrnon's Wife sleeps, is woken to receive the child, PKM1 23.1–4. JKB 36.1.

The series runs SWW (Rhiannon) WWS (Teyrnon). The two Sleeps bracket and parallel, both strangely deep, unaware of events, containing the pivotal disappearance/ appearance of the child. All Waking parties have discoveries about the child. Cf. Ford's structural alternation Rhiannon/ Mare, *Cyfranc Caseg* in *Welsh Tales*, pp. 13–14. Ch. VIII Structures: *Cyfranc* pp. 50812–13.

⁴⁹⁸ Some, most, might stay immobile from fear, but some *teulu* would come to aid their *arglwydd*.

⁴⁹⁹ *Hela/* Hunting is a chief occupation for Mabinogi nobles: Ch. III.4. Equine p. 163. The Dyfed family are skilled enough to survive by hunting when their farming and herding resources disappear. PKM3 52.9–17. JKB 66.1; and this relies on hounds: PKM3 55.28–56.7. JKB 68.2; and PKM3 58.1–2. JKB 71.1–2.

⁵⁰⁰ Tracking would be difficult if it were a dark, moonless night, but a snatched wall torch would pick up fresh, wet blood gleaming even in that limited light. His hounds could have tracked by smell, but as noted, were oddly not alerted by the noise, and not employed.

⁵⁰¹ PKM1 22.17. JKB 'great claw'. *crafanc*: claw, talon, clutch; paw, firmly gripping hand; root fibre or rootlet. (GPC)

⁵⁰² The huge claw on a matching scale dropping a giant, slashed-off, arm on the floor, is not mentioned later as evidence when the household awakes.

⁵⁰³ I am indebted to John Davies for a possible visionary, nightmare interpretation. (Personal discussion, 16/02/20). Development of detail and trance integration is mine.

⁵⁰⁴ It is commonplace to use this for meditation, and initiation experiences. Darkness stimulates the hormone melatonin, which induces relaxation, dream, and trance. Long boring hours isolate, and focused attention. Georges. M. Maestroni. 1993. 'The immunoneuroendocrine role of melatonin', *Journal of Pineal Research*, pp. 1–10. Julio Fernando Peres, Alexander Moreira-Almeida, Leonardo Caixeta, Frederico Leao, Andrew Newberg. Nov. 2012. 'Neuroimaging during Trance State: A Contribution to the Study of Dissociation', *PLoS ONE*, e49360. PLOS ONE: (URL text Bibliography). Further on trance Ch. VI.2. Trance pp. 381–87.

startle a dreamer, and the rest fits heroic dream anxiety and frustration, until he discovers the child.⁵⁰⁵

Y gwarcheidwad tyner/ The gentle guardian

Besides his apparently wealthy lordship, Teyrnnon is a likeable, protective male: towards his mare, her foal, the foundling, his foster son, his Wife, and Rhiannon.

He sits lone night vigil for his vulnerable mare and her foal, without delegation, bringing her inside his hall for safety.⁵⁰⁶ He defends her, and her foal, from attack. He carries the human foundling to his childless Wife, checks if she is awake, and respectfully offers her the option of motherhood.

*'Mae ymma mab it,' heb ef, 'os mynny, yr hwnn ny/ bu yt ei roet.'*⁵⁰⁷

When she asks him to give the colt to their horse-loving boy, he amiably agrees.⁵⁰⁸ Hearing Rhiannon's story, recognising the boy looks like Pwyll,⁵⁰⁹ Teyrnnon becomes anxious about the morality of his adoption. Considerately and sensibly, he consults his Wife, who counsels him to take the child to Dyfed.⁵¹⁰ He takes the boy with his bestowed horse, while his Wife stays in Gwent.⁵¹¹ At the Arberth horseblock Teyrnnon and boy refuse to use Rhiannon as a mount when she offers.⁵¹² Teyrnnon recounts his story at the feast:⁵¹³ strongly, publicly,

⁵⁰⁵ For more on the Claw Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Special Effects, pp. 361-62.

⁵⁰⁶ As she is a valuable beast his motive is doubtless economic too. *Peri dwyn y gassec y mywn/ ty a wnaeth*, PKM1 22.11-12. 'He had the mare brought indoors,' JKB 35.2. Lit. 'into the house'. This vigil is quite often wrongly recounted as occurring in the stable. Jackson, *International Tale*, p. 93. Mary Jones. 2001. 'Rhiannon', in 'Jones's Celtic Encyclopaedia A - Z.' (URL text Bibliography). Krista Kapphahn, 'Gender and Genre', pp. 80, 81, 86. Hemming, 'Horse Episodes', p. 20. Popularly influential Wikipedia: 'Teyrnnon', (URL text Bibliography).

⁵⁰⁷ PKM1 23.5-6. 'Here is a son for you,' he said, 'if you wish, that which you have never had..' JKB 36.1.

⁵⁰⁸ PKM1 24.2-3. JKB 36.2. Evidently he owned the mare and colt, not his Wife, so the gift needed his consent. Ch. III.5. LLW: Divorce, p. 175.

⁵⁰⁹ PKM1 24.15-19, JKB 36.2-37.1 Teyrnnon recognises the boy resembles Pwyll from his time as Pwyll's '*uassei/gwas*, junior officer. Cf. young men fostered out for military training Ch. III.5. LLW. p. 176. Sturzer's critiques of this passage, and counter critiques, Ch. V.5. Pwyll, p. 266 n. 379.

⁵¹⁰ Consulting his wife on this huge decision, PKM1 24.22-26, JKB 37.1. is one of his four respectful dialogues with her, a key instance of female counsellor status Ch. III.5. LLW Counsellors p. 172; and next Ch. V.8. Teyrnnon's Wife: pp. 288-90, which paraphrases each dialogue and analyses them. This one DIV..

⁵¹¹ PKM1 25.7-9. JKB 37.1. Teyrnnon at Arberth speaks of his wife as not present: PKM1 26.22-25. JKB 38.2. It would need a much more elaborate group including some of the Wife's maids if she came too. Besides, she is a capable character, well suited to act as regent in his absence. It might also be easier for her to cope making her farewell to her son at home in Gwent.

⁵¹² Refusing Rhiannon, PKM1 25.5-18. JKB 37.2.

⁵¹³ Ch. II.2. Craft: Characterisation p. 47, on anecdote as storytelling.

declaring Rhiannon innocent, and his own sadness for her suffering; asserting 'the son of Pwyll'.

*'Ac wely dy yna dy
uab, Arglwydes ...
A phwy bynnac a/ dywot geu arnat, cam a wnaeth. A minheu pann gogleu
y gouut a oed arnat, trwm uu gennyf, a doluryaw a
wneuthum. Ac ny thebygaf ... o'r yniuer hwenn oll, nit
adnappo uot y mab yn uab y Pwyll.'*⁵¹⁴

His skilled rhetoric wins agreement. His seemingly cruel silence at the gates might now reveal as protecting Rhiannon from suspicion of introducing a pretender son.⁵¹⁵ When she and Pwyll have expressed gratitude, Teyrnon particularly reminds them of

*'y wreic a'e magwys ef, nyt oes yn y byt dyn
uwy y galar no hi yn y ol. nit
adnappo uot y mab yn uab y Pwyll.'*⁵¹⁶

It may also be an indirect way of expressing his own loss. His integrity is underlined by declining rich gifts offered him.⁵¹⁷

Manawydan has long been hailed as a model 'New Man',⁵¹⁸ but Teyrnon is certainly deserving of the accolade. He combines valour, loyalty, and tenderness; sacrificing his son and heir to right action in relieving Rhiannon's terrible loss.

⁵¹⁴ PKM1 26.2–7. 'And behold there your son, lady,' said Teyrnon, 'and whoever spoke a lie against you did wrong. And when I myself heard the care that was upon you, I was sorry and I grieved. And I do not imagine there is anyone in this whole company who does not recognize that the boy is the son of Pwyll', JKB 37.2.

⁵¹⁵ Teyrnon the kind man, in his delay in enlightening Rhiannon at the gates, seems strangely cruel, even abusive of his greater knowledge, as she humbles herself unnecessarily to him and to the boy. The simplest reason for the wait is Teyrnon exploits the revelry (drinking) stage of the feast, so all are relaxed and receptive; Rhiannon's reaction must appear authentic in shock. It does ref. her famous exclamation, PKM 26.9–10. JKB 38.1. His public announcement to everyone in the hall, his powerful rhetoric ending with a call for everyone to affirm the boy, gains full public support, protecting Rhiannon (and himself) from suspicion of presenting an imposter. It may be said Teyrnon's performance seems strategic, staged, stagey. This might reflect his political acumen aided by his Wife, or a dramatic build to an *exposé*, or a possible narrative omission. There is no explicit statement that the Gwent foundling is actually Pwyll's son, until Teyrnon declares it. There is therefore a very slight space to conjecture Teyrnon, Rhiannon, possibly Pwyll too, might indeed be installing an impostor heir; cf. Rhiannon and Pwyll as multiple plotters, Ch. V.5. Pwyll pp. 260–71. The baby arriving in Gwent looks big PKM1 22.28. JKB 36.1. (bigger than a newborn?), and again at Arberth, looks bigger, older than he is. Exceptional growth, PKM1 23.16–24. JKB 36.2. Usually interpreted as a hero child's mythical giantism.

⁵¹⁶ PKM1 26.23–24. 'the woman who raised him – there is not anyone in the world with more grief than she after losing him. It is right for him to remember, for me and for that woman, what we have done for him.' JKB 38.2.

⁵¹⁷ Declines gifts PKM 27.9–11. JKB 39.1. Integrity noted Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 56. His materialistic Wife might not approve of this.

⁵¹⁸ Andrew Welsh, 'Manawydan Fab Llŷr: Wales, England, and the "New Man".'

Pwyll's diplomatic reward by appointing him as foster father is a satisfying finale to the restoration.⁵¹⁹

~ * ~

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.8. *Gwraig Teyrnnon*/ Teyrnnon's Wife

Teyrnnon's Wife is a secondary character, anonymous, but an important and constructive PKM1 agent.⁵²⁰ She is given no background; no natal kindred, no homeland; explicitly or inferentially. She is solely a noble wife, anonymous by convention, and foster mother.⁵²¹ As wife to Teyrnnon *Twryf Lliant* of Gwent-Is-Coed,⁵²² she decides to foster Rhiannon's lost foundling (Gwri).⁵²³ She nurtures his passion for horses, arranging *marchog* training with bestowal of his own horse.⁵²⁴ When Teyrnnon recognises the boy's identity,⁵²⁵ she counsels to restore Gwri to Rhiannon and Pwyll for pragmatic advantage.⁵²⁶

Pedair Ymddiddan/ Four Dialogues

TABLE 24 Dialogues Teyrnnon and Wife

DI. *Themes: horse, birth. (EVENING, TEYRNON'S HOUSE)*⁵²⁷

Teyrnnon decides dramatic context: vigil to protect his mare.

Wife is passive confidante, speaking once, an encouraging, open question.

[Teyrnnon orders mare brought into the house,⁵²⁸ his heroic rescue follows.]⁵²⁹

⁵¹⁹ For Pryderi's multiple fathers, Ch. V.10. .Pryderi: Boyhood p. 300. Cf. satisfying restoration end of PKM3. PKM3 65.10–16. JKB 76.1. Under hardline feminist analysis Rhiannon loses ground because she is twice rescued by males (Teyrnnon, Manawydan) Ch. II.8 Feminism: Agency p. 135.

⁵²⁰ Constructed name in this study, also abbr. 'the Wife'. Text never refers except as 'Teyrnnon's wife'. I would have preferred 'Lady of Gwent' but this is not true to Mabinogi culture, next note.

⁵²¹ Ch. III.5. LLW: Women and names, pp. 166–67. In Mabinogi text, married women retain their personal name only if narratively encountered as a maiden, before or on the point of marriage: viz. Rhiannon, Cigfa, Branwen, Blodeuedd. As maidens they have patronymics. Otherwise custom applies a 'married name', anonymity, as in the modern 'Mrs. Jones', i.e. 'Jones' wife'. Cf. Ch. V.2. Queen pp. 214 n. 1, and Ch. VI.13. Lady Mouse pp. 345 n. 898.

⁵²² Teyrnnon and Wife introduced. PKM1 22.1–7. JKB 35.1–2.

⁵²³ Adoption: PKM1 23.10–14. JKB 36.1–2. It is her own decision which Teyrnnon supports, Table DII. Ellis explains there are few references to fosterage in the *Mabinogion* or the Laws. A superior was fostered with inferiors, never the reverse. The superior family gave patronage support to the foster family. Ellis, 'Legal References', p. 30, n. 77.

⁵²⁴ Bestowal of colt, PKM1 23.24–24.8. JKB 36.2.

⁵²⁵ Recognition, PKM1 24.15–19. JKB 37.1.

⁵²⁶ Wife's counsel on returning boy, PKM1 24.26–28 -25.5. JKB 37.1.

⁵²⁷ Dialogue I: Teyrnnon decides to stand vigil for the mare PKM1 22.6–11. JKB 35.2.

⁵²⁸ PKM1 22.11–12. JKB 35.2. On the common mistake placing vigil and foundling in the stables instead of in the hall, Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon p. 285 n. 506.

DII. Themes: infant, adoption decision. (NIGHT, MARITAL BED)⁵³⁰

Teyrnon asks courteously if she is awake. '*Nac ef*' / No',⁵³¹ she replies wryly, not now. He offers her the foundling to mother, to remedy her childlessness. She does not touch it, asking cautiously what has happened. Teyrnon tells her.⁵³² She still hesitates, querying its clothing. Its silk coat reassures her.⁵³³ She pronounces '*Mab y/dynnyon mwyn yw*'.⁵³⁴ She finally voices joy, planning to fake pregnancy with her maids' help.⁵³⁵ [Child baptised *Gwri Wallt Euryn* / Gwri Golden Hair, for fair hair. Sturdy, adores horses.]⁵³⁶

DIII. Themes: horse bestowal counsel. (FOUR YEARS LATER)⁵³⁷

Wife asks Teyrnon to bestow foal on boy,⁵³⁸ citing appropriate/sentimental anniversary. Teyrnon agrees, content to leave organisation to her.⁵³⁹ [Rhiannon's tale. Teyrnon sees resemblance to Pwyll, troubled re morality.]⁵⁴⁰

DIV. Themes: child bestowal counsel. (PRIVACY)⁵⁴¹

Teyrnon asks Wife's advice. She expounds three pragmatic advantages to restoring boy: 1) gratitude from Rhiannon for relief; 2) thanks from Pwyll for raising boy; 3) future favour from boy.⁵⁴² [Teyrnon follows her counsel, takes boy and horse, to Arberth.]⁵⁴³

The Wife and Teyrnon have four harmonious, marital dialogues (DI–DIV).⁵⁴⁴ She addresses him formally as *Arglwydd* (DII–IV), and he reciprocates

⁵²⁹ Rescue, PKM1 22.11–28. JKB 35.2–36.1.

⁵³⁰ Dialogue II: Wife queries, then accepts the foundling. PKM1 23.2–14. JKB 36.1–2.

⁵³¹ Wakes Wife, PKM1 23.3. JKB 36.1.

⁵³² Teyrnon tells his adventure, PKM1 23 2–8. JKB 36.1. Cf. Teyrnon tells his tale, restoring the boy at Arberth. PKM1 25.26–26.2. JKB 37.2.

⁵³³ Links birth mother Rhiannon wearing silk, PKM1 9.13. JKB 25.2; silk, Ch. I.6. Advent: #7 Silk pp. 21–22. Ch. VIII. Structures: Golden Thread pp. 515–16.

⁵³⁴ 'He is the son of gentlefolk,' PKM1 23 9–10, in passage PKM1 23.8–14. JKB 36.1–2.

⁵³⁵ These loyal women contrast Rhiannon's Maids. Ch. V.6. Maids p. 278.

⁵³⁶ The name *Gwri Wallt Euryn* appears only twice: first here, then Rhiannon discussing his name. PKM1 23.14–15. JKB 36.2, and PKM1 36.13–15. JKB 38.1. Mabinogi baptism appears to reinforce unusual parenthood, Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Christianity pp. 438–42.

⁵³⁷ Dialogue III: bestowal of colt, PKM1 23.24–24.1–4. JKB 36.2.

⁵³⁸ Cf. Triad 38: *Tri Rodediciuarch* / 'Three Bestowed Horses'. TYP pp. 103–04, also TYP Introduction, pp. lxxx–lxxxvii. Horse bestowal custom Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion* pp. 161 n.161; and Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood p. 299 n.607.

⁵³⁹ This four years can function as a time marker for how long Rhiannon actually enacts her penance. PKM1 23.18–22. JKB 36.2. It is unlikely the colt–boy pairing under the Wife's training supervision, lasts mere weeks or months. The Gwent episode is therefore likely to be at least five years. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, for calculation, pp. 272–75 Diagram 274.

⁵⁴⁰ *Emysc hynny, wynt a glywssont chwedlydyaeth y/wrth Riannon*, PKM1 24.9–10. 'Meanwhile, they heard news concerning Rhiannon', JKB 36.2. Both hear the news, but only Teyrnon (explicitly) connects it with their boy, and worries about it. PKM1 24.15–22. JKB 36.2–37.1. This might imply his greater moral awareness, but he is also the only one can observe the resemblance to Pwyll from past experience. Counter–argument against Sturzer critique of the Teyrnon–Pwyll past relation, Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 266 n. 379.

⁵⁴¹ Dialogue IV: PKM1 24.21–25.6. JKB 37.1. Although DII is clearly private, and DI, DIII, may be assumed so, as their content is sensitive, DIV is explicitly stressed as private due to the sensitive issue of the child's identity. *A phan gauas gyntafo yscawalwch ar y/wreic*, PKM1 24.21–23. 'And as soon as he got some privacy with his wife', JKB 37.1.

⁵⁴² The Wife's pragmatic counsel regarding advantages PKM1 24.28–25.5. JKB 37.1; is later strongly confirmed by Rhiannon and Pwyll, PKM1 26.9–10; 20–22; and 26–28, JKB 38.1–39.1.

⁵⁴³ To Arberth. PKM1 25.5–10. JKB 37.1.

⁵⁴⁴ Valente contrasts the Gwent couple's 'mutual respect', and 'successful ... decision-making' with 'disintegration of communication' between Rhiannon and Pwyll, and his abdication of support for

Arglwyddes (DII).⁵⁴⁵ Their formality reflects the political–economic nature of noble marriage.⁵⁴⁶ They gracefully defer to the other, saying ‘*bei mynnut ti*’.⁵⁴⁷

TABLE 25 Dialogues’ structure, Teyrnon-Wife

DI Horse, birth.	She listens to his plan.
DII Child, newborn.	He proposes. She agrees.
DIII Horse bestowal.	She proposes. He agrees.
DIV Child bestowal.	He listens to her advice.

Their dialogues weave a tightly satisfying, structural balance, displaying their strong marriage. The themes alternate horse and child, and pair birth and bestowal (Table 16 Dialogues’ structure, above). They each agree the other’s proposals (All, DI–IV), with courteous, tentative language. Teyrnon initiates all except DIII, but always asks her counsel. Who listens and who proposes is evenly balanced.

Priodas/ Marriage

The length of the Wife’s marriage is not explicit, but apparently some years established for Teyrnon observes she is definitely childless,⁵⁴⁸ and the dialogues show a mature accord. Their amiable household includes the Wife’s women who she trusts, in marked contrast to Rhiannon’s Maids. In a structurally inverted parallel the Wife constructs falseness for her maids vs. Rhiannon’s Maids construct falseness for her.⁵⁴⁹ The Wife’s pretended pregnancy is understandable, and feasible.⁵⁵⁰ After five years or so as an apparently natural

her. Valente, ‘Merched’, pp. 167-68. This view is not supported here; Ch. V. 5. Pwyll: Lifelines p. 271 n. 413 observes lack of Rhiannon/ Pwyll marital dialogue presence does not imply it is negative. Nor is Pwyll disloyal to her, cf. his resistance to his hostile nobles on her behalf, her retained status during her penance, his mediation of Pendaran’s hostility. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260-63; and Ch. V.9. Pendaran p. 293.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. Arawn to his wife, PKM1 7.24. JKB 24.2. Rhiannon and Pwyll use honorifics at their first meeting, PKM1 12.13 & 22. JKB 21.1–2; Rhiannon to Pwyll on their wedding morning, PKM1 18.22. JKB 31.2. Cigfa and Manawydan (quasi couple): e.g. PKM3 58.3, 5, 7. JKB 71.2. Blodeuedd when persuading Lleu into her trap. PKM4 9, 19, 25. JKB 103.1.

⁵⁴⁶ Porter, ‘Romantic Love Medieval’ quoted Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon’s Choice p. 242 n. 189.

⁵⁴⁷ Wife: PKM1 23.11. ‘if you wished it’, JKB 36.1. Teyrnon just before: ‘*os mynny*’, PKM1 23.5; ‘if you wish’. JKB 36.1.

⁵⁴⁸ Childless, PKM1 23.3–4. JKB 36.1.

⁵⁴⁹ The Wife’s women: PKM1 23.11–13. JKB 36.1. Rhiannon and Maids: PKM1 20.23–21.8. JKB 33.2–34.2.

⁵⁵⁰ Layered, full-gathered clothing, and maternal seclusion for a month or more for noble births, are enablers. This Gwent conspiracy would need the Wife’s Maids to secretly scrub her menstrual blood from her shift and bedsheets so the usual laundry staff do not see it. This inverts Rhiannon in her birth bed smeared with blood by her Maids.

mother, the boy's switch to foster son must expose her, but she does not mention this embarrassment in her DIV counsel, nor is it mentioned elsewhere. The couple's integrity in returning the boy, and prestige as appointed fosterers of the elite Dyfed heir, possibly helps remedy her exposure.

There are contrasts between Wife and husband. Teyrnnon demonstrates heroic action in his vigil, then (DII) rushes to offer the baby as soon as she wakes. Though she has wanted a child, she is slow, cautiously asking the child's social status. She methodically persuades Teyrnnon to bestow the colt, organising practicalities for equine training (DIII). On restoring the boy Teyrnnon is moved by morality, on which she says nothing, nor on her personal loss which he voices later (below). She counsels him wholly on worldly advantage (DIV). Whether she is as coldly pragmatic as she appears, is hard to say. Perhaps she is extremely reserved. She does express joy in accepting the child: *digrifwch a didanwch oed gennyfi*.⁵⁵¹ Her care for the bestowal of the colt could be affection, duty, or both. PKM4 Arianrhod seems to hold similar authority of horse bestowal: it may be a maternal prerogative,⁵⁵² reinforcing the perspective of the Wife's duty motive. She would be keen to claim it as she values status.

Teyrnnon claims she grieves her loss,⁵⁵³ but he may sentimentalise her from his own affectionate nature. He turns to her pragmatism on each major decision. As they deal together so harmoniously it seems they recognise how they complement each other.

~ * ~

⁵⁵¹ PKM1 23.11. 'a joy and a comfort would be to me -if you wished it', JKB 36.1.

⁵⁵² The Wife selects the appropriate colt to partner the boy, then formally requests its bestowal from her lord as its owner. This may well be a model of right practice. Gwydion notes Llew's lack of a horse and arms and selecting a horse for him to ride, takes him to his mother, to trick her out of her second mandate. This focuses on arming him but the original grievance was lack of horse as well as arms. PKM4 JKB 98.1- 99.1. If they had sallied forth to defend her they would have been mounted, so her coerced consent to a mount can be assumed, especially in view of Llew appearing in Triad 38, above.

⁵⁵³ Teyrnnon on her grief PKM1 26.22-25. JKB 38.2.

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.9. Pendaran Dyfed

Pendaran Dyfed is a minor but prestigious PKM1 character, present in a brief scene when Rhiannon names her son.⁵⁵⁴ Pwyll then appoints him as one of Pryderi's foster fathers.⁵⁵⁵ Triad 26: *Tri Gwrdueichyat Enys Prydein* names him as Pryderi's foster father, to whom Pwyll gave seven Annwfn swine.⁵⁵⁶

Pendaran's name is composed of *Pen/* Head, Chief,⁵⁵⁷ and *taran/* thunder.⁵⁵⁸ His epithet 'Dyfed' broadcasts his high status in the principeddom. 'Thunder', 'oak' (or both, fused), and elite status across all Dyfed, might fit Pwyll's second-in-command warleader. 'Pendaran Dyfed' is not a standard name as it lacks a patronymic. All together it seems like a title. This might solve an apparent 'inconsistency' observed by several scholars when PKM2 Bendigeidfran appoints 'Pendaran Dyfed', *was/ ieuanc*, to his regency war panel.⁵⁵⁹ If 'Pendaran Dyfed' is

⁵⁵⁴ Naming, PKM1 26.9–19. JKB 38.1–2.

⁵⁵⁵ Foster father, PKM1 27.1–6. JKB 39.1. The other is Teyrnnon.

⁵⁵⁶ 'Three Powerful Swineherds of the Island of Britain' two versions, TYP, pp. 50–58.

A Phryderi mab Pwyll Pen Annwfn, a getwis moch Pendaran Dyuet yg Glyn C6ch yn Emlyn/ 'And Pryderi son of Pwyll, Lord of Annwfn, who guarded the swine of Pendaran Dyfed in Glyn Cuch in Emlyn'. TYP p. 50. Noted by Pughe, Anwyl. Pughe *Biography*. pp. 286, 288. Anwyl IV, pp. 126–27. Triad 26 (WR version, i.e. from Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch and Llyfr Coch Hergest): *Pryderi vab P6yll Pen Annwn, 6rth voch Pendaran Dyuet y tatmeth. Ac y sei moch oedynt: y seithlydyn a duc P6yll Pen Annwn, ac a'e rodes y Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sefy lle y katwei, y Glyn Kuch yn Emlyn. A sef achas y gelwit h6nn6 yn wrueichiat: kany allei neb na th6yll na threis arna6*; 'Pryderi son of Pwyll, Lord of Annwfn, with the swine of Penndaran Dyfed his foster-father. These swine were the seven animals which Pwyll Lord of Annwfn brought, and gave them to Penndaran Dyfed his foster-father. And the place where he used to keep them was in Glyn Cuch in Emlyn. And this is why he was called a Powerful Swineherd: because no one was able either to deceive or to force him;' TYP, p. 52. Note on *pryder*, TYP p. 486. The divergence of the Mabinogi from the *Trioedd/* poetic tradition is evident: in the Mabinogi Pryderi is not a swineherd to acclaim.

Glyn Cuch is the large, north-south, forested river valley, where Pwyll hunted and met Arawn of Annwfn. PKM1 1.1–5. JKB 21.1. Bromwich speaks of a possibly older version of the Triad, giving Pendaran as ruler of Dyfed, the original recipient of the swine, and the father of Pryderi. She suggests the later WR version attempts to reconcile this with the Mabinogi. TYP pp. 54–55. She notes WJG made Pendaran Pryderi's father (WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 19; 106 *et passim*), TYP p. 54. On WJG reconstructions, and Irish material imposed on the Mabinogi, Ch. II.6 Academia: Gruffydd.

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. 'Pwyll Pen Annwfn', PKM1 8.21–26. JKB 25.1.

⁵⁵⁸ Perhaps wordplay combining chieftain status and thunder as powerful masculine images. Bromwich gives more etymological detail, TYP p. 477.

⁵⁵⁹ Regency: PKM2 19.4–5. 'a young lad', JKB 52.1. Inconsistency or anachronism, noted without comment or critique by Ifor Williams, PKM, p. 192; Bromwich, TYP p. 477; Bartrum, *Dictionary*, p. 613; Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 52, sidenote 28. Sturzer lists it in 'Inconsistencies', p. 134; he refers to 'many writers' who cite it, but does not name them. Sioned Davies: 'there is inconsistency here, since in the First Branch he is introduced as Pryderi's foster-father (p. 21), while in this episode Pryderi is old enough to go into battle with Bendigeidfran.' *Mabinogion*, p. 234.

a title, the PKM2 boy is comprehensible as its young heir in a later generation, during Pryderi's rule after Pwyll dies.⁵⁶⁰

The PKM1 Pendaran dialogue occurs at a pivotal *llys* Arberth feast. Pwyll and Rhiannon preside, guesting Teyrnon, his son Gwri, and two Gwent *marchogion*.⁵⁶¹ Gwri appears to be fifteen years old.⁵⁶²

When she hears Teyrnon's tale restoring her son Rhiannon exclaims

*'Y rofi a Duw, ... oed escor
uym pryder im, pei gwir hynny.'*⁵⁶³

She skilfully associates her years of *pryder*/ anxious suffering with her *escor*/ birth labour, drawing on the double meaning of *escor*/ (birth) delivery, deliverance. She is also asserting her status as mother of the heir.⁵⁶⁴ Pendaran quickly selects *pryder* as a suitable root to name the boy.⁵⁶⁵ His '*Pryderi uab Pwyll Penn Annwn*', recognises Pwyll's paternity,⁵⁶⁶ but caps her wordplay with his, taking control of the discourse. Rhiannon flanks him to reclaim control:

*'Edrychwch, ... na bo goreu y queda
arnaw y enw e hun.'*⁵⁶⁷

Hers is a strong position: diplomatic appreciation of Teyrnon, and maternal kindness to the boy.⁵⁶⁸ She is apparently constrained to private speech, as

⁵⁶⁰ Under Caswallawn's usurpation, the young Pendaran flees to the forest. PKM2 46.9–10. JKB 58.1. After the Desolation of Dyfed he might feel unable to return to his territory, or else if he does, he survives by hunting the forest, as the Dyfed royal family does.

⁵⁶¹ Rhiannon presides, PKM1 25.23–25. JKB 37.1. *Teirnon ar y drydyd marchawc, a'r mab yn petwryd*, PKM1 25.7. 'Teyrnon equipped himself as one of three knights, and the boy as a fourth with them', JKB 37.1.

⁵⁶² In Gwent the boy grew three years per calendar year. *A chynn penn y pedwryd*, PKM1 23.22. And before the end of the fourth year', JKB 36.2. He is then given his own horse and trained with it. PKM1 23.24–24.8. JKB 36.2. That adds another year, total five years, tripled to fifteen.

⁵⁶³ Naming: PKM1 26.9–10. 'Between me and God, ... it would deliver me from my care if that were true.' JKB 38.1. Ifor Williams traced *pryderi* as an archaic common noun, from a Breton gloss on *iactura* as *dampnum vel pritiri*, rendering *pryderi* as *dampnum*, 'loss'. He suggests Rhiannon's original words were *oed escor uym pryderi*, relief from loss, not the later *pryder*, meaning 'care'. Thomson identifies Rhiannon making a pun on *escor*, meaning both relief, and birth delivery. Rhiannon is therefore exclaiming her *relief* from her terrible *loss* at his *birth*.

⁵⁶⁴ Ch. III.6. '*Rien*' pp. 177–83. Ch. IV.1. Voice: Loyalties, pp. 201–03. Rhiannon's skill at converse.

⁵⁶⁵ An alternative naming, might derive from *esgor*, as *ysgor*, *esgor* as both 'delivery, parturition, birth; deliverance' and 'fortress, stronghold, defence, also fig.' (GPC); 'Deliverer /Defender', nuancing birth, a new beginning, an inspiring name for a restored prince. I later found this 'he ought to have been called "deliverance" rather than "sorrow".' WJG, 'Mabinogion', p. 77.

⁵⁶⁶ Pendaran: PKM1 26.12. 'Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Annwn', JKB 38.1. Bollard does not translate the names here.

⁵⁶⁷ Rhiannon: PKM1 26.13–14. "See ... if his own name might not suit him best." JKB 38.1.

⁵⁶⁸ The youth suddenly faces a world as utterly changed, everything he knows is different. He belongs to strangers, even his name is stripped from him. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood. 299–302.

Pendaran asks on her behalf, '*Mae yr enu?*'⁵⁶⁹ His formal courtesy exploits her gender, maintaining his public control, and his brevity also cuts out her maternal kindness, and her Dyfed-Gwent diplomacy. The Gwent group seems unassertive in response. '*Gwri Wallt Euryn a dodyssom ni arnaw ef*,'⁵⁷⁰ referring to their name as past tense.

Pwyll intervenes to mediate, supporting the maternal naming tradition. He asserts his primacy as judge, giving a balanced decision, supporting Rhiannon's right to name;⁵⁷¹ but conceding powerful Pendaran's choice.⁵⁷² Pwyll then appoints both Teyrnnon and Pendaran as foster fathers with prestigious, lucrative positions, cf. Teyrnnon's Wife's counsel.⁵⁷³ Teyrnnon is the obvious appointment, for *ipso facto* fostering, and loyal restoration. Pendaran seems so powerful he must be included.⁵⁷⁴ Further passages emphasise Pwyll's substantial debt and esteem for Teyrnnon, concluding with Teyrnnon's idealism in declining rich gifts of appreciation.⁵⁷⁵

Pendaran contrasts with Teyrnnon, Pwyll's ally. Compare Teyrnnon's introduction:

yn arglwyd ar Wynt
Ys Coet, Teirnon Twryf Uliant, a'r gwr goreu yn y byt
*oed,*⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁶⁹ 'PKM1 26.14. 'What is the name?' JKB 38.1. For the apparent convention of married women kept to private speech, Ch. IV.1. Voice, p. 197.

⁵⁷⁰ Gwri name: PKM1 26.15. "'Gwri Golden Hair" is the name we gave him.' JKB 38.1.

⁵⁷¹ Rhiannon is joint ruler. PKM1 19.16–18. JKB 33.2. As legalistic consultant Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd pp. 221–22; and for more on Pwyll's supportiveness Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership, pp. 260–63.

⁵⁷² Pwyll judgement: PKM1 26.17–19. JKB 38.2.

⁵⁷³ Pwyll appoints, PKM1 27.1–5. JKB 39.1. Teyrnnon's Wife expounds the multiple, material and status advantages of fostering the boy, PKM1 24.27–25.5. JKB 37.1.

⁵⁷⁴ Name analysis on 'Pendaran Dyfed', p. 291 above, possibly Pwyll's second-in-command.

⁵⁷⁵ PKM 22.1–2. Teyrnnon acclaimed: PKM1 27.7–11. JKB 39.2.. Declining gifts now is perhaps not solely idealistic. Teyrnnon knows his Wife is confident of future advantages, which Pwyll has confirmed. Leaving the debt open now without settlement, assures that future.

⁵⁷⁶ PKM1 22.1–2. 'Teyrnnon Twrf Liant was lord over Gwent-Is-Coed, and he was the best man in the world,' JKB 35.1. The two men's epithets are similar, *twryf*/ tumultuous or roaring (Teyrnnon); *taran*/ thunder (Pendaran), which slightly suggests a South Walian naming tradition, and a comparable political level.

his strong support of Rhiannon,⁵⁷⁷ long, inspiring passages about him and his loving family.⁵⁷⁸ Pendaran has no introductory profile, no praise texts, no loving family.⁵⁷⁹ He has only a necessary, brief and bare narrative, covering Triad 26 tradition and presenting the naming exchange, which betrays tension with Rhiannon. Pwyll's characteristically balanced mediation,⁵⁸⁰ manages Rhiannon as '*rieni*', heir bearer and namer, Pendaran's preferred naming, and grants the valuable fostering appointment to both Teyrnnon and Pendaran.⁵⁸¹

There appear to be two factions, one loyal to Rhiannon and Pwyll, represented by Teyrnnon; the other by Pendaran, Dyfed's leading native lord, who seems power hungry and hostile to Rhiannon.⁵⁸² Pwyll would know from two councils' narratives whether Pendaran had favoured divorcing Rhiannon.⁵⁸³ It seems likely he did from his tension with her now. Both the barrenness contention and infanticide conspiracy aimed for Rhiannon's divorce, weakening Pwyll's position. The child theft might plausibly be organised with one or more Maids as allies.⁵⁸⁴ Pendaran seems a likely candidate as plot leader. Too powerful to be dismissed, his keen participation in the naming exchange inserts himself in

⁵⁷⁷ Rhiannon's *truanet*/ wretchedness, referred with sympathy, PKM1 24.14. JKB 37.1. Putting his thoughts to his wife, Teyrnnon speaks first and most of Rhiannon's merit and needs, before briefly noting Pwyll. PKM1 24.24–26. JKB 37.1. Similarly, making his announcement at Arberth, Teyrnnon first thoroughly addresses Rhiannon's position, before linking the boy to Pwyll. PKM1 26.2–6. JKB 37.2.

⁵⁷⁸ Pwyll gratitude, PKM1 26.20–22. JKB 38.2. Pwyll and Pryderi to maintain Teyrnnon, PKM1 26.26–28. JKB 38.2–39.1. Teyrnnon declines rich gifts, PKM1 27.7–11. JKB 39.1..

⁵⁷⁹ Pendaran's territory is not specified, nor his genealogy, nor any praise tags. It might be countered that he is so well known there is no need, but the Mabinogi generally does give either territorial data or genealogy or both, even for well known personages e.g. Bendigeidfran. It provides context for more than a local audience.

⁵⁸⁰ No public penalty for the Maids, Ch. V. 6 Maids p. 278; two Councils, Preselis, PKM1 19.18–27. JKB 33.2; birth morning, PKM1 21.9–18. JKB 34.2; and his pacifism concluding his Annwfn rule. PKM1 6.9–14. JKB 23.2.

⁵⁸¹ Pwyll makes a major strategic judgement in appointing both Teyrnnon and Pendaran as the boy's foster fathers. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 55. Pwyll's speech betrays the tension between the two lords, for Pwyll owes much to Teyrnnon: *anys megeist ti ef hyt yr awr*/ 'since you have raised him until now' PKM 27.2. JKB 39.1; he says; which he neatly balances by giving the boy to Pendaran for the next stage of his training.

⁵⁸² The loyal 'Teyrnnon faction' seems to be more liberal, a wider outlook. Both Rhiannon and Teyrnnon are outsiders to Dyfed, but closely linked to their *pendefig*/ prince Pwyll. Both these outsiders are wealthy, a cause of self-interested attachment, or envy. The Pendaran Dyfed faction may be more inward, native Dyfed, in their outlook, more concerned with homeland tradition. Triad 26 states Pwyll gifted the seven Annwfn swine to Pendaran (above), perhaps this derives from a Pendaran claim. Bromwich theorises a possible earlier version of the Triad 26, above: Pendaran as ancient lord of Dyfed. If the Pendaran line were formerly the Dyfed rulers that may account for the apparent tension with Pwyll, and by extension, Rhiannon.

⁵⁸³ Councils: Preselis, PKM1 19.18–27. JKB 33.2; and birth morning, PKM1 21.9–18. JKB 34.2.

⁵⁸⁴ Ch. V.6. Maids, p. 277–78, plot and faction.

the new order; but his competition with Rhiannon remains visible. The Cyfarwydd profiles him with a discreet but total lack of positives.⁵⁸⁵

~ * ~

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.10. *Pryderi fab Pwyll*/ Pryderi son of Pwyll

TABLE Chapter sections

Intro., other sources	Pryderi and Manawydan
Boyhood	Death of Pryderi
Animal Affinities	Pryderi, initiative
Pryderi the prince	Pryderi and Rhiannon
Pryderi the husband	Maternal Dyad

Pryderi is Rhiannon's only recorded son/ child: a major character distinctive by his narrative continuity birth to death, across all four Branches.⁵⁸⁶ This chapter outlines his character, his tragedy, and Rhiannon's relationship with him.

TABLE Pryderi narrative

1. **PKM1** Arberth, *Pwyll III*, newborn disappears. Gwent fosterage. Teyrnnon's restoration. Dyfed lordship succession, annexes Seisyllwch. Marries Cigfa.
2. **PKM2** Irish War, survivor, friend Manawydan. Recovery sojourn, Adar Rhiannon.
3. **PKM3** Dyfed homecoming. Bestows Dyfed use on Manawydan, Rhiannon marriage. Homage.
4. **PKM3** Desolation. Exile. Boar hunt. Captive with Rhiannon, eventually freed by Manawydan.
5. **PKM4** No Dyfed kindred. Pigs dishonour. Vengeance war, killed in duel.

References.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁵ Conceivably the Pendaran dynasty might still be powerful as the Cyfarwydd compiles the Mabinogi: PKM2 Pendaran suggesting a persistent dynasty into Pryderi's generation, above. The Cyfarwydd might cautiously rely upon lack of praise for Pendaran contrasted with the substantial praise for Teyrnnon, to profile Pendaran negatively.

⁵⁸⁶ The name 'Pryderi' appears in the Branches as follows: (PKM1) 6 + (PKM2) 1 + (PKM3) 35 + (PKM4) 18 = 60 (Ch. I.3. Etymology: TABLE 1 Comparison of namings, p. 7). The only other character seen from birth to death is Branwen's son Gwern, who appears in only one Branch (PKM2), but murdered as an infant. PKM2 43.24–26. JKB 55.1. For the Pryderi Saga tradition, Ch. II.6. Academia: WJG, p. 114; Ch. VIII Structures: Pryderi Saga pp. 511–12. A recurrent presence, Pryderi seldom initiates plot development. Pryderi's Initiatives, Table 28, p. 316 below.

⁵⁸⁷ [1] *Pwyll III*, PKM1 19.16–27.27. JKB 33.2–40.1.

[2] Bendigeidfran musters all Britain, PKM2 38.21–22. JKB 51.2. Survivor, PKM2 44.25–27. JKB 55.2. Postwar sojourn (Head tale), PKM2 44.28–47.21. JKB 58.1–60.1.

[3] Homecoming, PKM3 50.11–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. Bestows use of Dyfed, Rhiannon marriage (description of plan), PKM3 63.1–2. JKB 63.1–2. Homage, PKM3 51.11–12. JKB 65.1–2.

[4] Desolation, 51.17–52.3. JKB 65.2–66.1. Exile, PKM3 52.20–55.1. JKB 66.1–68.2. Boar hunt, PKM3 55.7–56.19. JKB 68.2–70.1. Joint captivity Rhiannon. PKM3 57.7–12. JKB 70.1. Liberated, PKM3 65.2–65.24. JKB 75.1–76.61.

[5] Death tale, PKM4 73.11–17. JKB 88.1–2.

There are southern–northern parallels between Pryderi *fab Pwyll Pen Annwfn*, and Llew Llaw Gyffes (PKM4).⁵⁸⁸ Pryderi also appears in Triad 26: *Tri Gwrdueichyat Enys Prydein*.⁵⁸⁹ There are two cryptic Pryderi references in (legendary) Taliesin poems.⁵⁹⁰ *Gogynfeirdd* poets who reference Pryderi are Cynddelw (fl. 1155–1200); Einion fab Gwalchmai (fl. 1202–1223); and Hywel Foel ap Griffri (fl. c. 1240–1300); also the *Cywyddwyr* Lewys Glyn Cothi (c. 1420 – 1490),⁵⁹¹ and Dafydd ap Gwilym (14thC) who calls Dyfed ‘*Pryderi dir*’, and mourns his beloved uncle as ‘*ail Bryderi*’.⁵⁹²

Bachgendod/ Boyhood

At Arberth *mab a anet idaw ef*: Pryderi.⁵⁹³ There is a stressful prologue as Rhiannon and Pwyll wait three years, weathering a nobles’ faction attempting to

⁵⁸⁸ Pryderi Boyhood: Gwri, pp. 296–302 below. Llew is born after Pryderi dies so structurally, northern Llew replaces southern Pryderi as Mabinogi hero, Ch. V.15. Gwydion pp. 353 n. 960. Gwydion tricks and kills Pryderi, then adopts and nurtures Llew. This is not to say the replacement is Gwydion’s deliberate intention as Llew is born some years after Pryderi’s death. It does reflect Dyfed’s historical waning and the rise of Gwynedd. Ch. II.1. Timeline p. 44; Ch. III.7. Political: Britain, Dyfed, Gwynedd, p. 188.

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Three Powerful Swineherds of this Island’. *A Phryderi mab Pwyll Pen Annwfn, a getwis moch Pendaran Dyuet yg Glyn C6ch yn Emlyn* / ‘And Pryderi son of Pwyll, Lord of Annwfn, who guarded the swine of Pendaran Dyfed in Glyn Cuch in Emlyn,’ lines 4–5, TYP, p. 50. Detail, Triad 26W, p. 52. Ch. I.5. Text: epilogue pp. 28–29. Ch. V.9. Pendaran p. 291 n. 556; Death of Pryderi Ch. V.15. Gwydion pp. 350–51.

⁵⁹⁰ ‘Preiddeu Annwn’, *Bu kyweir karchar Gweir yg Kaer Sidi, / trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi, / Neb cyn noc ef nyt aeth idi.* / ‘Maintained was Gwair’s prison in Caer Siddi, / throughout Pwyll and Pryderi’s story, / No-one went there before he did.’ Haycock, *Legendary Poems from Taliesin*, Poem 18, lines 3–5, p. 435. ‘Golychaf-i Gulwyd’, *Ys kyweir vyg kadeir yg Kaer Sidi: / nys plawd heint a heneint a uo yndi, / ys gwyr Manawyt a Phryderi.* ‘Harmonious is my song in Caer Siddi: / sickness and old age do not afflict those who are there, / as Manawyd and Pryderi know.’ Haycock, *Legendary Poems from Taliesin*, Poem 8, lines 45–7, p. 277. The second poem seems to refer to the enchanted postwar sojourn, Harlech or Gwales, PKM2 44.28–47.21. JKB 58.1–60.1.

⁵⁹¹ TYP, p. 486. Cynddelw (fl. 1155–1200): *Am ywein prydein* [i.e. Owain Gwynedd], *pryderi haul*. Morris-Jones and Parry-Williams. *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, 127.25.

Einion fab Gwalchmai ((fl. 1202–1223): *yt wyf pryderus ual pryderi*. Morris-Jones and Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif*, 41.8. Caerwyn Williams, J. E; Peredur I. Lynch, eds. R. Geraint Gruffydd, asst. ed. *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a’i Ddisgynyddion, ynghyd â dwy Awdl Fawl Ddienw o Ddeheubarth*. Cyfres Beirdd Y Tywysogion (UWP), 26.38n. CBT, I

Hywel Foel ap Griffri (fl. c. 1240–1300): *Gwr diletyf prifddeddyf pryderi*. Morris-Jones and Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif*, 56.28 =Gruffydd ed., CBT, VII (1996); Rhian M. Andrews. 1996. *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a beird Eraill Ail hanner y Drydedd Fanryfar Ddeg* (UWP), 23.18n.

⁵⁹² Lewys Glyn Cothi (c. 1420 – 1490) calls Dyfed, *Gwlad Pryderi* / ‘Land of Pryderi’, noted by Guest, who also notes Dafydd ap Gwilym’s *Pryderi dir*; Guest, ‘Notes to Pwyll Prince of Dyfed’, in her *Mabinogion*, She quotes mention of Pryderi and Pwyll in the Taliesin poem. *Pryderi dir* / ‘the land of Pryderi’. Dafydd ap Gwilym. ‘Ail Gywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym’, poem #26, line 32. *ail Bryderi* / ‘a second Pryderi’; *ibid.* ‘Moliant Llywelyn ap Gwilym’, mourning his uncle, poem #5, line 38. (URL text Bibliography).

⁵⁹³ Birth: PKM1 20.3. ‘a son was born to him’. JKB 33.2. A solemn, biblical tone.

make Pwyll divorce Rhiannon for childlessness.⁵⁹⁴ The newborn disappears. Six Maids on guard duty successfully blame Rhiannon for infanticide, to evade their punishment.⁵⁹⁵ Rhiannon serves about four or five years of the penance she agrees with Pwyll.⁵⁹⁶

On the other side of south Wales,⁵⁹⁷ Teyrnon *Twrf Lliant* is *arglwydd* of Gwent-Is-Coed.⁵⁹⁸ Teyrnon, *gwr goreu yn y byt/ oed*,⁵⁹⁹ has a mare: *yn y dyrnas,/ na march na chassec degach no hi*,⁶⁰⁰ who foals annually on *Calan Mai/ May Day*; but her foals always disappear.⁶⁰¹ Teyrnon takes her inside his house, standing

⁵⁹⁴ Preseli Council, PKM1 19.18–20.2. JKB 33.2. Ch. V.5. Pwyll, pp. 261 & 268–69. Pagé observes a ‘Heroic Biography’ pattern typically including ‘complications involved in the union of the parents. This may take the form of an obstacle to or an imbalance in their relationship, which makes their producing a child together unlikely or unfavourable.’ Anna Pagé. 2015. ‘Narrative Structure of the Comperta and Other Irish Birth Tales’, *Keltische Forschungen*, 7, p. 79.

⁵⁹⁵ Penance is set at seven years, PKM1 20.4–21.8. JKB 33.2–35.1. By comparing events in the Gwent tale it may be calculated Rhiannon serves more than four years of it. Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 270 n. 409. Also see Ch. V.6. Maids p. 278, and Ch. V.9. Pendaran p. 294, suggesting a hostile nobles’ abduction plot to discredit Rhiannon and weaken Pwyll’s power..

Pagé notes a threat to the baby as a feature of the Heroic Biography, ‘Comperta’, pp. 81–82. Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt relate the abducted baby to the classical legend of Perseus, and many other wonder-child abductions, especially in Celtic romance. Kuno Meyer, and Alfred Nutt. eds. trans. 1895–97. *The voyage of Bran, son of Febal to the land of the living*, Grimm Library 4–6, 1 (London: Nutt), Ch. 13, p. 12. WJG parallels Mabon of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Irish *Mongán*, and Arthur; ‘Mabinogion’, p. 76. WJG asserts the Welsh tale ‘took its place in the great body of romance which has influenced the literature of Europe more powerfully than any other source, except perhaps the great classical writers.’ WJG, ‘Mabinogion’, pp. 78–80.

⁵⁹⁶ The Gwent text gives more than four years boyhood: PKM1 23.22–24. JKB 36.2. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: p. 270 n. 409.

⁵⁹⁷ 100 miles/ 160 km away. Two hours comfortable drive today (2021) using the M4 motorway. This was five days to a week’s travel on a good horse on Welsh mediaeval tracks; longer on a lesser mount or by cart. A sea route from Dyfed’s south coast would be faster, but still needed slow land travel to reach the coast, and risked tidal or wind delays. With completely ideal conditions, a day or so is possible under sail, John Davies’ calculation of travel Ch. V. 7. Teyrnon p. 280 n.473. On the Gwent-Is-Coed polity theorised as a marine power p. 283.

⁵⁹⁸ PKM1 22.1–2. ‘Gwent below the Wood’, JKB 35.1. ‘The kingdom of Gwent was separated into Gwent-Is-Coed (Gwent Below the Wood) and Gwent Uwch Coed (Gwent Above the Wood) by the ancient forest of Wentwood.’ Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 35, n.1. ‘Wentwood’ today (2020s) is a large but remnant forest. ‘Gwent-Is-Coed’ survives e.g. in the name ‘Ysgol Gyfun Gwent-Is-Coed’, Newport’s first Welsh-medium secondary school, established in Sept. 2016’. Ysgol Gyfun Gwent-Is-Coed, Newport Council. 2016 (URL text Bibliography).

The Dyfed –Gwent axis in this Episode also appears in Triad 26, the legend of Henwen the bountiful pig; death of Pryderi below.

⁵⁹⁹ Teyrnon: PKM1 22.2–3. ‘the best man in the world’. JKB 35.1.

⁶⁰⁰ Mare: PKM1 22.3–4. ‘neither horse nor mare fairer than she in the kingdom’, JKB 35.2.

⁶⁰¹ PKM1 22. 4–6. ‘May Eve’, JKB 35.2. *Calan Mai/ May Eve*. ‘the formal beginning of summer, when the annual rejuvenation of plant life was well advanced. ... began on the evening of May Eve, or Nos Galan Mai’. Association of Beltane fires, which have been more prevalent in south Wales than in the north. Alan Robert Phillips. 2016. ‘The Rituals surrounding Calan Mai– the Welsh May Day– and their Functions’ (Essay, University of Wales, sup. Rhiannon Ifans), p. 1. (URL PDF download, Bibliography). The essay has a wealth of other data on customs, described regionally. Also Marie Trevelyan. 1909. *Folk-lore and Ghost Stories of Wales: A Historical Article on the Myths and Legends of Wales* (London: E. Stock, and Kindle edition), p. 22. Archive org: (URL text Bibliography).

night vigil as she births *ebawl mawr*. During much noisy *twrf*/ tumult, Teyrnnon fights off a monstrous intruder; *grauanc uawr*. Teyrnnon then discovers a strongly grown baby, on the threshold of his house.⁶⁰² The account is epic in style: all is 'best', 'great', 'strong', with hammered *twrf*/ tumult, contrasting the quiet, realistically domestic dialogues following between Teyrnnon and his Wife.⁶⁰³ Once Teyrnnon's Wife is reassured the baby is *mab y/ dynnyon mwyn yw*, by his silk garment, she adopts him.⁶⁰⁴ He is baptised *Gwri Wallt Euryn*/ Gwri Golden Hair,⁶⁰⁵ grows phenomenally, and adores horses.

'May Eve is thought to have been a traditional holiday of the pre-Christian Celtic calendar as reconstructed from archaeological and literary remains, marking the cusp between spring and summer, when herds and young people would presumably head for the uplands in transhumant communities.' Alfred K. Siewers. 2005. 'Writing An Icon Of The Land: The Mabinogi As Mystagogy Of Landscape', *Peritia*, 19, p. 203, n. 39. 'Pre-conquest Welsh *gwelyau* often practised transhumance over lands spread over upland and lowland zones. Norman invasions often disturbed these complex units.' Matthew Frank Stevens. 2019. *The Economy of Medieval Wales, 1067-1536* (UWP), p. 28.

⁶⁰² Teyrnnon: PKM1 22.14. 'a great foal', JKB 35.2. *twrf*, PKM1 22.16, 17, 21, 23, 23. 'tumult', JKB 36.1. *grauanc uawr*, PKM1 22.17. 'a great claw', JKB 36.1. Discovery of infant, PKM1 22.27-28. JKB 36.1. Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon pp. 284-85. Infant Lleu (Gwynedd) is also scooped from the floor by a male rescuer. PKM4 77.18-19. JKB 94.1. Pryderi/ Lleu parallels below p. 299 n. 607.

⁶⁰³ Ch. V.8. Teyrnnon's Wife, TABLE Dialogues pp. 287-88, TABLE Dialogues' structure p. 289. The Cyfarwydd never explicitly states here that this is Rhiannon's son, but it may be understood at this point by strong narrative juxtaposition of the Dyfed/ Gwent tales. The baby appears when Rhiannon's loss occurs, in alternate narrative, wearing silk as she does at her own advent. Ch. I.6. Advent: #7 Silk pp. 21-22, for the powerful, political significance of silk. (Northern baby Lleu is also wrapped in silk. PKM4 77.18-19. JKB 94.1.) The peerless mare is analogous to elite, equestrian Rhiannon. Both apparently produce young which disappear. Ford asserts a strong, symbolic parallel between Rhiannon and the Gwent mare in his *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy, in his *Welsh Tales*, and 'Prolegomena'; Ch. I.4. Text: *Cyfranc*, p. 30 n.173; VIII. Structures pp. 512-13. Years later, Teyrnnon observes the boy closely resembles Pwyll. PKM1 24.15-19. JKB 37.1, and presents him at Arberth, PKM1 25.6-7. JKB 37.1. and PKM1 26.7-9. JKB 37.1-38.2. Pryderi has no mention of siblings though Pwyll, mandating Rhiannon's penance refers to her *plant*/ children. PKM1 21.16. 'offspring', JKB 34.2. Anomaly interpreted as stillbirth, miscarriage, grammatical ambiguity; Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership p. 261 n. 338.

⁶⁰⁴ Teyrnnon's Wife: PKM1 23.9-10. 'He is a son of gentlefolk', JKB 36.1-2. Ch. V.8. Teyrnnon's wife: Dialogue II Ch V.8. Teyrnnon's Wife p. 288

⁶⁰⁵ The name 'Gwri' occurs only twice: when the baby is named Gwri Wallt Euryn, PKM1 23.16. JKB 36.2; and when Rhiannon (represented by Pendaran) asks what his Gwent name was, PKM1 26.15. JKB 38.1. It seems the Cyfarwydd wished not to emphasise the Gwent identity, albeit gratitude is voiced at length for Gwent succour by Teyrnnon. PKM1 26.5-27.11. JKB 38.2-39.2. The text has the boy 'baptised', i.e. a naming ceremony, not a religious one. Mabinogi baptism is analysed in this study to 'regularise non-standard parenting, to establish identity, when a child has irregular parenting'. The other baptisms are Dylan, Hydwn, Hychdwn, Bleidwn and Blodeuedd. Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Christianity pp. 439-40. Guest finds the Gwri and Pryderi names used by bards 'indiscriminately.' *Mabinogion*, p. 290. Anwyl sees Gwri as an 'afterthought'. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 126. He notes the similarly named 'G6are' in *Culhwch*, and tentatively suggests a link to Pryderi's future wife, Cigfa Gloyw Wallt Lydan. 'Four Branches', IV, p. 127. 'The original name of Pryderi, Gwri Wallt Eurin, occurs in the modified forms, Gware Gwallt Eurin and Gwrfan Wallt Afwyn' in *Culhwch ac Olwen* as 'names of persons at Arthur's Court.' Bartrum, p. 624.

'Gwri' derives from the generic male *gŵr* – man, person, anyone; adult male human being (as distinct from woman or boy, lad, &c.); valiant warrior, brave man, hero. (GPC) Small children are

*A chynn penn y pedwryd
ulwydyn, yd oed yn ymoprau a gueisson y meirch, am y
adu o'e dwyn y'r dwuyr.*⁶⁰⁶

Teyrnnon's Wife arranges for the foal born the night he was found to be bestowed upon Gwri, the pair training together in horsemanship.⁶⁰⁷

Having recognised the boy as Pwyll's son,⁶⁰⁸ Teyrnnon returns him to Arberth,⁶⁰⁹ apparently in ignorance of his birth-mother. He is uprooted: suddenly transferred to strangers as his 'real' parents.⁶¹⁰ He would have nothing except personal belongings and his horse;⁶¹¹ they even take away his name,⁶¹² and all is done in public view. Such experiences cut deep. His Gwent family seem to have grounded him in affection and loyalty, but his dislocation might be interpreted as root cause of a needy, overly generous (placating) nature.⁶¹³ Teyrnnon's Wife has

often given aggrandising pet names. This one's name might be interpreted something like 'our Golden Haired Boy'.

⁶⁰⁶ Growth, horses: PKM1 23.23–24. 'And before the end of the fourth year he was bargaining with the grooms of the horses to let him lead them to water.' JKB 36.2. Ford notes his 'precocious development' comparing him to PKM4 Lleu. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 6.

⁶⁰⁷ Horse bestowal: PKM1 23.24–24.8. JKB 36.2. Gwynedd hero Lleu has many narrative parallels with Gwri/ Pryderi. Lleu narrative. Rescued by a male foster father, scooped from the floor, wrapped in silk. PKM4 77.17–19. JKB 94.1. Precocious development. PKM4 78.10–14. JKB 94.2–95.1; which is remarked by Rhŷs; 'Gwri's rapid growth recalls both Lleu and Cúchulainn', *Lecture V*, Part II. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 6. Shoemaking, PKM4 80.21–24. JKB 95.2. Youth and horses, PKM4 81.11–14, 86.23 JKB 97.2. Bestowed horse headlined by Triad 38. (*T)ri Rodedicuarch Enys Prydein*/ 'Three Bestowed Horses'. TYP pp. 103–04; no mention of Gwri. Lleu named by mother's exclamation, PKM4 80.22.23. JKB 97.2. Lleu disappears, rescued by a father-friend. PKM4 89.25–90.25. JKB 103.1–106.1. Duel of vengeance, PKM4 90.20–92.23. JKB 106.2–108.1. Lleu inherits Gwynedd, the major rival lordship to Dyfed, PKM4 JKB 108.1. There are also major differences, mainly negative contrasts by Lleu.

⁶⁰⁸ Sturzer finds Teyrnnon's recognition of Pwyll's paternity implausible, 'Inconsistencies', p. 128. Counter critique Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon, p. 280. Sturzer list Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Wedding p. 266 n. 379.

⁶⁰⁹ Ch. V.8. Teyrnnon's Wife: Dialogue IV, p. 288, for the marital decision to return the boy. Journey to Arberth, PKM1 25.5–10. JKB 37.1–2.

⁶¹⁰ Fosterage arranged by Pwyll, PKM1 27.1–5. JKB 39.1.

⁶¹¹ *a'r mab yn petwryd y/ gyt ac wynt ar y march a rodysei Teirnon idaw*, PKM1 25.7–8. 'and the boy as a fourth with them, on the horse which Teyrnnon had given him.' JKB 37.1. Likely to further reinforce his attachment to horses, as his horse provided significant continuity between the old and new life.

⁶¹² Naming: PKM1 26.9–19. JKB 38.1–2. The name Gwri occurs only twice in the text: when bestowed/ baptised (above) and when superseded by the new name Pryderi. The Gwri identity is reduced to an absolute minimum, his narrative carried by pronouns, *mab*/ trans. boy (28 instances), less often trans. 'son' (9 instances). PKM1 22.27–25.19. JKB 36.1–38.1. It would seem the Cyfarwydd identified with Dyfed as the spine of the Pryderi narrative.

⁶¹³ Pryderi's friends. Manawydan will repay Pryderi's great generosity by leaving him trapped in a tower, PKM3 26.20–23. JKB 70.1–2; albeit years later he bargains liberation. Ch. V.12. Manawydan pp. 306–10. Math claims to be Pryderi's friend, but knowingly sends Gwydion to him to deceive him; PKM4 68.26–28. JKB 80.2; and duel him using magic, to the death. PKM4 72.22–73.13. JKB 37.2. Math's concern here explicitly centres on Gwydion; his anger or grief at the loss of Pryderi as his friend and ally is only voiced to reproach Gwydion. Pryderi's last 'friend' Gwydion manipulates him, and kills him. PKM4 73.11–17. JKB 88.1–2.

an acute eye for power and wealth and Rhiannon has elitist attitudes and strong concerns with wealth.⁶¹⁴ Pryderi would find continuity there; he will one day be (class) arrogant, and vulnerable to the lure of gold.⁶¹⁵

It has been commented Pryderi's paternity is unclear, especially by Ford.⁶¹⁶ Besides two mothers, he has four 'father figures': Pwyll (birth-father), Teyrnon, Pendaran (foster fathers), and Manawydan (stepfather). Fosterage was a standard custom in mediaeval Wales, so multiple fathers and mothers are not unusual. But five parents seems a lot to absorb for the boy, as they have been for scholars.⁶¹⁷

The boy's paternity is announced publicly at Arberth, probably to satisfy the tradition that a man's public acknowledgement established paternity.⁶¹⁸ It demonstrates excellent showmanship. Teyrnon's small party, himself, the boy, and two *marchogion*, are welcomed,⁶¹⁹ sitting in top hierarchy with Pwyll and Rhiannon.⁶²⁰ Teyrnon is on display as a trusted lord, the boy judiciously placed near, but not next to Pwyll. Teyrnon waits until revelry relaxes everyone, giving a

⁶¹⁴ Maternal continuity. Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife, Dialogues II and IV, p. 288. Rhiannon's materialism, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, wealth p. 244.

⁶¹⁵ Exile, class arrogance, PKM3 53.8–9. JKB 66.2. Desire for gold, PKM3 56.14–19. JKB 70.1. and PKM4 70.11–26. JKB 82.1.

⁶¹⁶ 'Pwyll exhibits notoriously asexual and infertile characteristics.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 209, referring to the Annwfn chastity issue, but this has many other interpretations, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Fool: In Annwfn. 'Pwyll's role in the generation of Pryderi is not at all clear,' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 209. 'He is at once son of the mortal Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, who is also known as Lord of the Otherworld, the son of Teyrnon Twrf Liant ..., and the son of Manawydan son of Llyr', *ibid.* p. 214. Ford notes Pwyll when pressed by his nobles on Rhiannon's childlessness as saying 'Be patient with me ...' (not with Rhiannon), Italics Ford. 'Prolegomena', p. 209. His trans. *Welsh Tales*, p. 50. But it seems a translation issue. Bollard gives 'Delay this with me' JKB 33.2, as we might say 'Leave this with me for now'. Ford adds Pwyll has no connection with the newborn; only meeting the boy in Arberth as a teenager. 'Prolegomena', p. 209. Many men have little or no contact with their children until they are older, particularly where masculinity is defined aggressively in a warrior society like this one. Teyrnon leaves his Wife with the care of their young son, Ch. V.7. Teyrnon's Wife.

⁶¹⁷ Besides Ford (above) Triad 26 promotes Pendaran. Taliesin poems link him with either Pwyll or Manawydan; p. 296, above. Anwyl observes Pryderi has two 'localised' fathers, Pwyll in Dyfed, Teyrnon in Gwent, and notes Pendaran Dyfed, his other foster father, as 'difficult of explanation'. Anwyl, 'Four branches', I, p. 289. WJG performs elaborate reconstruction, swapping fathers and names, producing an unrecognisable edifice. WJG, Ch. II.6 Academia: Gruffydd p. 113.

⁶¹⁸ R. R. Davies, 'Status of Women', *WLW*, pp. 106–07.

⁶¹⁹ *Marchogion*: PKM1 25.7–8. 'knights', JKB 37.1. The term 'knights' does not appeal to me as it tends to connote a later mediaeval period, particularly Arthur. I usually opt to not translate, or else use 'noble horsemen'.

⁶²⁰ Rhiannon's seating: *Sefual yd eisteddyssont, Teirnon y rwyg/ Pwyll a Riannon, a deu gedymdeith Teirnon uch llaw/ Pwyll a'r mab y rwyngthunt*. PKM1 25.23–25. 'This is how they sat – Teyrnon between Pwyll and Rhiannon, and Teyrnon's two companions above Pwyll, with the boy between them.' JKB 37.2. Text is key support for Pwyll's loyalty to Rhiannon.

receptive audience at the traditional stage for converse and anecdotes. He ends his telling with a strong challenge.

*"Ac wely dy yna dy
uab, Arglwydes,"*⁶²¹

*"Ac ny thebygaf o'r yniuer hwnn oll, nit
adnappo uot y mab yn uab y Pwyll,"*⁶²²

All agree. A touching scene follows: Rhiannon's shock and delight, a new name discussion, great thanks to Teyrnnon; all moving attention smoothly onward to Pwyll appointing foster-fathers.⁶²³ The presentation is so good it seems stage managed: Pwyll and Rhiannon are proven conspirators.⁶²⁴

Rhiannon and Pwyll deeply welcome their son's return.

*Pryderi uab Pwyll Pen Annwn yn amgeledus, ual yd oed
dylyet, yny oed delediwhaf gwass, a theccaf, a chwpplaf
o pob camp da, o'r a oed yn y dyrnas.*⁶²⁵

To be *delediwhaf gwass*/ a perfect lad, is a tall order, especially on top of so great a life-change. His new parents are formidable models, no doubt with high expectations. Bollard notes a daunting list of feats a young prince was expected to

⁶²¹ Teyrnnon declares: PKM1 26.2–4. "And behold there your son, lady," JKB 37.2.

⁶²² Teyrnnon declares cont.: PKM1 26.6–7. 'And I do not imagine there is anyone in this whole company who does not recognize that the boy is the son of Pwyll'. JKB 37.2.

⁶²³ Response to Teyrnnon: "Nyt oes neb, 'heb y pawb, 'ny bo diheu gantaw/ hynny." PKM1 26.8–9. "There is no one,' they all said, 'who wouldn't be certain of that.'" JKB 38.1. Rhiannon's shock, new name discussion (scene analysis, Ch. V.9. Pendaran pp. 291–93), PKM1 26.9–19. JKB 38.1–2.

Dyfed-Gwent amity, PKM1 26.25–28. JKB Pwyll appoints foster-fathers, PKM1 27.1–6. JKB 39.1.

⁶²⁴ Conspiracy. Ch. V.5. Pwyll for previous plots. A planned presentation can only be speculation and at best an alternate narrative. As noted, although the implication is strong, the Cyfarwydd never states this is Pwyll's son. There is no mention of punishing the wicked Maids, who seem absent from the hall, or would presumably be confronted. Ch. V. Maids. The Gwent rescue is exciting to hear, yet Teyrnnon, presumably an experienced hunter, was totally unable to track an intruder trailing gouts of blood no more than seconds in front of him. He did not shout for tracker dogs or guards, nor did the noisy intruder wake them. Did Rhiannon miscarry or stillbirth? There are no more children after Pryderi; a miscarriage or stillbirth theory might account for Pwyll's plural *plant*/ children, before Pryderi. A female birth would not be problematic as heiresses had historically transmitted Dyfed rule, Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd. Was it a *faithful* Maid who smeared her mistress' face with blood? The Maids' plot is clearly led by one woman, who produces an impressively full-blown plan at need. Ch. V.6. Maids, plausibly suggesting these women were backed by disaffected nobles. Was Teyrnnon, loyal *gŵr* to Pwyll as he was, also a loyal plotter? He seems a more straightforward character, who if he did conspire, would need direction. His Wife is canny and resourceful, ready to create a deception about the baby. Was the boy baby, with his distinctive blond hair, in Gwent referred to as an anonymised 'boy', a substitute, wrapped in silk and left on Teyrnnon's doorstep, with his or his Wife's knowledge? The foundling is big for a newborn, which might not be purely due to heroic wonder growth. We know Rhiannon and Pwyll are resourceful strategists cf. Gwawl; so a plot to install an imposter heir would not conflict with their characters. Finally, if this is their own child, was he perhaps removed for his protection from the hostile nobles' faction?

⁶²⁵ Pryderi the prince: PKM1 27.13–15. 'Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Annwn was raised carefully, as was proper, until he was the most perfect lad, and the fairest, and the most accomplished in every noble feat of anyone in the realm.' JKB 40.1.

attain.⁶²⁶ The boy's affinity for horses undoubtedly endears him to Rhiannon and *vice versa*.⁶²⁷ It would be unsurprising if these delighted birth parents indulged him with all their wealth and privilege, building his attachment to wealthy luxury.

Cysylltiadau Anifeiliaid/ Animal Affinities

Gwri/ Pryderi has many more associations with animals than other Mabinogi characters, except Gwydion.⁶²⁸ The Gwent mare and foal have been remarked in symbolic parallel with Rhiannon and her baby:⁶²⁹ less so the hound bitch which whelps at the time, whose puppy is killed.⁶³⁰ These display a shared vulnerability as three mothers and their newborns, dependent on others' care (thus control). Dogs and horses are herd beasts needing strong hierarchy. Pryderi tenders homage to his overlord; in exile Manawydan becomes his group leader.⁶³¹

Pryderi hunts a fateful boar, a mediaeval symbol of 'nobility and martial prowess'. When at bay (stressed), a boar is unlike other hunted animals: it doubles on its threat with extreme aggression,⁶³² just as Pryderi does when threatened in exile. Yet a boar is not vicious, only attacking if cornered. Given

⁶²⁶ 'In his Welsh dictionary published in 1632, John Davies prints a list of the Twenty-Four Noble Feats. These include *Ten Manly Feats*: 6 bodily feats (Strength, Running, Jumping, Swimming, Wrestling, Riding), and 4 feats of arms (Archery, Fencing with sword and buckler, Fencing with a two-handed sword, Fencing with a quarterstaff); *Ten Youthful Feats*: 3 for hunting (Hunting with hounds, Hunting fish, Hunting birds) and 7 *Domestic Feats* (Poetry, Playing the harp, Reading Welsh, 40 Singing a *cywydd* [a type of poem] to harp accompaniment, Singing a four-line *cywydd*, and accenting it, Drawing Arms, Heraldry); and *Four Minor Feats*: Playing *gwyddbwyll* [a chesslike board game], Playing *tawlbwrdd* [another board game with an unequal number of pieces on each side], Playing dice, Tuning a harp. This list, though later than The *Mabinogi*, gives an idea of the sorts of accomplishments expected of a young Welsh nobleman in the Middle Ages.' Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 40, n. 15.

⁶²⁷ The boy in Gwent is keen to *care* for horses. When Rhiannon rebukes his father on first meeting, she is concerned for his *lack of care* for his horse (structural bracket). Gwri in Gwent, PKM1 23.22-24. JKB 36.2; quoted. p. 299 n. 606. Rhiannon, Rebuke I, PKM1 12.9-10. JKB 27. 2.

⁶²⁸ Gwydion has a greater quantity: pigs, horses, a wren, stag, boar, wolves, eagle, sow and maggots. Almost all reflect negative qualities. Ch. V.15. Gwydion. The allusions here to Gwri/ Pryderi, are expanded below.

⁶²⁹ Mare as Rhiannon's 'hippomorphic aspect', Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 6. Gwent mare, foal, PKM1 22.3-16. JKB 35.2-36.1.

⁶³⁰ Hound-bitch, puppy, PKM1 20.16-18. JKB 34.1. Jackson refers to the Congenital Helpful Animals motif (B311) in relation to Pryderi's birth, which includes both foal and puppy. *International Popular Tale*, pp. 91, 95, 98. n. 74.

⁶³¹ Homage, PKM3 51.11-14. JKB 65.1-2. Below, the changing power balance between Pryderi, Manawydan. Also Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Pryderi friendship p. 306-10.

⁶³² Boar hunt, PKM3 55.7-28. JKB 68.2. 'Wild boars are favoured hunt objects'. Boar hunting was highly skilled and dangerous: unlike other prey, a boar at bay turns and attacks with immense ferocity. Michael Hemsley. 2011. 'The day of the passion of the men of Britain : the boar as revenant agent of disorder in Welsh literature and David Jones' late poetry', *TricTrac, Journal of World Mythology and Folklore*, 4, 1, p. 39. pp. 39-55. (URL text Bibliography).

Pryderi's unusual boyhood growth, his career as a conquering warleader, his desperate aggression in exile,⁶³³ he might be imagined as a large man of great strength, speed, and (if threatened) huge aggression, like a boar.

Hounds are loyal to a pack leader and Pryderi is loyal to his; he is loyal to his friend Manawydan, his wife, his mother Rhiannon, and his king.⁶³⁴ Pryderi is arrogant, rigid in his superiority, linked to fine pedigree animals, and a prestige, royal swineherd of the delicious Annwn pigs. Gwydion's fake horses and hounds draw on Gwri/ Pryderi's lifelong love of both beasts, and his love of hunting.⁶³⁵

These animal affinities express Pryderi's simple and straightforward nature. He is never a conspirator or deceiver, like his parents,⁶³⁶ but speaks and acts directly.⁶³⁷ He seems affectionately loyal and generous to a fault, outspokenly arrogant and aggressive, dedicated to the duty of his *lle*/ place in society. We might imagine a big, strong, blond prince, an outdoorsman, skilled in hunting who loves feasting, a man of appetite and sensuality. In short Pryderi seems an ideal type, the manly, rural noble.⁶³⁸

Pryderi y tywysog/ Pryderi the prince

As a princely ruler, Pryderi is a successful territorial *arglwydd*, expanding Dyfed to double its size. On the strength of conquests, he marries the highborn maiden Cigfa.⁶³⁹ Pryderi has minimal PKM2 presence, named only once, sufficient to establish he joins his king's muster, bringing the Dyfed host of 21 *cantrefi* to the Irish War. He is one of the few survivors, faithfully carrying out his dying king's last instructions.⁶⁴⁰ In the opening passage of PKM3 Pryderi in Dyfed is a much-

⁶³³ Childhood growth, PKM1 23.19–24. JKB 36.2. Warleader, PKM1 27.19–22. JKB 40.1. Also PKM2 as part of the total British muster, PKM2 38.21–22. JKB 51.2. Three exile towns: PKM3 53.8–9. JKB 87.1. 53.28–54.1. JKB 68.1. 54.25–26. JKB 66.2.

⁶³⁴ Hounds, PKM3 55.28–56.7. JKB 68.2. Manawydan, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.2. Hunts to provide for his family, PKM3 JKB 66.1. With Rhiannon, PKM3 50.7–10. JKB 63.2. Loyalty to his king, *post mortem*, PKM2 47.19–21. JKB 60.1.

⁶³⁵ PKM4 69. 22–23. JKB 80.2. Agrees to exchange pigs, PKM4 70.24–26. JKB 82.2. TYP Triad 26, below. Fake horses and hounds, PKM4 70.8–9. JKB 81.2–82.1.

⁶³⁶ Ch. V.5. Pwyll, parental plots Advent p. 263, Wedding pp. 264–67, Penance plot pp. 268–72.

⁶³⁷ Converse with Manawydan, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.2. Also Gwydion, PKM4 69.21–24; and 70.24–26. JKB 82.2.

⁶³⁸ Assessment of 'Pryderi's Initiatives, below pp. 315–16.

⁶³⁹ Cigfa, PKM1 27.19–22. JKB 40.1. The text reflects the historical, 10thC expansion of Dyfed under Cadell and Hywel Dda into Deheubarth. Ch. II.1. Timeline p. 44, and Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Hywel Dda pp. 183–85.

⁶⁴⁰ Bendigeidfran directs: PKM2 47.19–21. JKB 60.1.

loved figure, son, husband, friend, enjoying his luxuries. He bestows his territories in a strategic manner, bestows his mother in marriage, and performs protective homage for his lands.⁶⁴¹

After the Desolation, Pryderi provides for his little family by hunting, foraging with Manawydan and Rhiannon; meat, fish, and bees' honey.⁶⁴² There is an apparent anomaly as Pryderi still has his hounds, although the Desolation removes all domesticated beasts.⁶⁴³ We might infer Pryderi took his favourite two or three hounds with him up Gorsedd Arberth, so they benefited from the family immunity to the Desolation.⁶⁴⁴ But after two years living off the land the lifestyle becomes tedious.⁶⁴⁵ Pre-Desolation food staples in store would run out (e.g. oil, salt); although they might still have stored mead, beer and wine. Winter diet, living purely from the land, is extremely monotonous;⁶⁴⁶ and their isolation would become increasingly unnerving.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴¹ Bestowal of lands and Rhiannon, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–2. Homage PKM3 51.11–14. JKB 65.1–2.

⁶⁴² Hunting subsistence: PKM3 52.13–15. JKB 66.1. Manawydan, later, nostalgically recalls these hunting trips with Rhiannon and Pryderi. PKM3 58.25–27. JKB 72.1.

⁶⁴³ Below. Welsh and Hughes both give exact interpretations.

⁶⁴⁴ Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', p. 134. Desolation removes animals, herds, flocks, PKM3 51.22–52.8. JKB 66.1. Pryderi hunts the boar with his hounds. PKM3 55.7–10. JKB 68.2. When the family go to Gorsedd Arberth after dinner, they are accompanied: *ac yniuer gyt ac wynt*, PKM3 51.21. 'and a retinue together with them.' JKB 65.1. Pryderi may have taken his favourite hounds. The boar hunt is not given with *erchwys*/ a pack of hounds, but simply *cŵn*/ hounds, dogs (plur.), lines 8, 9. This could be understood as just two or three animals. Two or three would be able to track and hold prey, but it would limit killing larger animals. Note the hounds show terror of the boar *a cheginwrych mawr aruthyr ganthunt*, PKM3 55.11. 'with a great, terrible hair-raising fear upon them', JKB A whole, trained pack would probably not be terrified.

⁶⁴⁵ Tedious life, PKM3 52.16–17. JKB 66.1.

⁶⁴⁶ The second year is significant. As nobles they would probably not know the practical skills to replace stocks by preserves for winter: hanging flesh, smoking it, drying and bottling fruits and vegetables, making chutneys and jams. Rhiannon and Cigfa as feast organisers would know the seasonal schedules for preservation, when each task needed to be done, and issues to manage, but less likely to know the hands-on skills. Their unskilled products would not be good quality. Even with these crafts, diet is very limited through the winter, until the first fresh produce of Spring. Sheep milk in February is rich and sweet, the first relief by fresh (sweet) food in the hardest months. Contemporary audiences would know all this, unstated. My thanks to John Davies' account of living in the famous Atlantis community 'off grid' (1980s). Personal reminiscences on multiple occasions since he left it.

⁶⁴⁷ At time of writing (2021) a worldwide pandemic has isolated billions of people in small micro-households: lockdown. When strongly applied lockdown only permits exercise, essential work not transferable to home, and fetching supplies. The parallels with the Dyfed quartet are evident. In our century we have the internet, so we are not completely cut off from others. It allows many to work, make social contact. Even so, a consequence of lockdown isolation is an upsurge in depression and suicide. G. Prati, and A. Mancini. 13/01/2021. 'The psychological impact of COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns: A review and meta-analysis of longitudinal studies and natural experiments', *Psychological Medicine*, 51, 2, pp. 201–211. (URL text Bibliography).

After Manawydan's proposal to move to *Lloegr*/ England, Pryderi subordinates to his judgement (below). Back in his own land, Pryderi insists his own decision, entering the fateful tower against Manawydan's advice.⁶⁴⁸ As noted above porcines are an apt animal analogy for Pryderi's adult narrative: both the formidable boar, and succulent pigs enjoyed at friendly feasts among companions.⁶⁴⁹

Pryderi y gŵr/ Pryderi the husband

There is little information about Pryderi's marriage. His wife Cigfa's substantial PKM1 genealogy suggests an impressive, wealthy kindred, bringing advantages to Pryderi as a princely conqueror.⁶⁵⁰ Cigfa is a feast organiser, working closely with the redoubtable Rhiannon in apparent concord, which bodes well for the marriage.⁶⁵¹ In Pryderi's PKM3 homecoming period, the little Dyfed family of four become extremely affectionate together,⁶⁵² suggesting Pryderi's marriage is loving.

Both Pryderi and Cigfa are arrogant, contemptuous of lower classes. Both sneer at *Lloegr* craftsmen as *taeogion*/ churls, an inaccurate tag showing them up as bucolics ignorant of town society and artisan status.⁶⁵³ It might be assumed their shared arrogance, duty, and loyalty, together with their apparent affection, would sustain marital harmony after Pryderi is liberated from captivity.

⁶⁴⁸ *Lloegr* proposal, PKM3 52.17–19. JKB 66.1. Tower, PKM3 55.14–26. JKB 68.2.

⁶⁴⁹ Boar hunt, PKM3 55.7–28. JKB 68.2. Special pigs, PKM4 68.22–23. JKB 80.2. Pryderi's homecoming feast, PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. Generosity to his friend Manawydan, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–2. Feasting Gwydion, PKM4 69.3–23. JKB 80.2–81.1. Death of Pryderi below, including how Triad 26 featuring Pryderi and these pigs, also has an elaborate tale about Henwen, a legendary sow whose endowments reflect the economics of Welsh geography.

⁶⁵⁰ Ch. V.11. Cigfa pp. 329–30 where her background is considered as wealthy in cattle. This would be vitally useful for Pryderi in feeding his fighting strength.

⁶⁵¹ Cigfa and Rhiannon, PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1.

⁶⁵² Loving quartet: *Ac yn hynny tyuu kedyrndeithas y/ rydunt yll pedwar, hyt na mynnei yr un uot heb y giliid/ na dyd na nos*. PKM3 51.9–11. 'And upon that a friendship grew among those four so that not one of them wished to be without the other either day or night.' JKB 65.1. Hughes remarks on the 'strong bonds of friendship that are formed between the four main characters', 'Tripartite', p. 102. He also observes Cigfa only comes to the fore while Pryderi and Rhiannon are captives; once Manawydan begins their release negotiations, Cigfa loses importance. *Ibid.* p. 107.

⁶⁵³ Pryderi PKM3 53. 8–9. JKB 66.2 28–54. JKB 66.2 67.1. JKB 68.1. Cigfa, PKM3 58.19–20. JKB 72.1. Both misuse *taeog* – serf, villein, slave, labourer, peasant (GPC). A worker tied to the land. Valente notes the 'almost identical' dialogues of Pryderi– Manawydan; Cigfa– Manawydan, Valente, '*Merched*', p. 221, n. 310. Quoted *ibid.* p. 228, n. 319.

Ch. V.11 Cigfa p. 334, suggesting Cigfa is as strongly influenced by Rhiannon as by Pryderi.

There is no extant record of children, and Cigfa is absent from Pryderi's death tale.⁶⁵⁴

Pryderi, Manawydan

Pryderi and Manawydan both benefit from the soothing Adar Rhiannon, presumably sent by Pryderi's mother. The men share a long period together in postwar recuperation.⁶⁵⁵

(Bollard) The friendship between Manawydan and Pryderi is the central element of the entire tale.[i.e. PKM3]⁶⁵⁶

The friendship exemplifies one of three core Mabinogi themes proposed by Bollard.⁶⁵⁷

The two friends are in sad contrast when returned from the War. Pryderi has home, kindred and lands: *lle/* identity, status, place; and kindred affection. Manawydan has lost all of that. His brother's throne is usurped, and there is no host to challenge usurper Caswallawn. He witnessed the tragic deaths of his brother the king, his little nephew, and his sister.⁶⁵⁸ Pryderi takes the lead. Comforting his friend, he refers to Manawydan's known reputation as

⁶⁵⁴ PKM4 73.11–17. Grief, PKM4 18–28. JKB 88.1–2. The lack of an heir would make Pryderi's death doubly tragic; cf. nobles concern for Pwyll's mortality for this reason. PKM1 19.22–27. JKB 33.2. But at Pryderi's death it is only his death which is noted as a grief to his people, not a political crisis due to lack of an heir. But childlessness reinforces his boyish/ son persona.

⁶⁵⁵ Adar Rhiannon: predicted PKM2 45.2–4; enacted. 46.13–15. JKB 55.2, and 58.1. Restful recuperation, Harlech and Gwales, PKM3 46.11–47.19. JKB 58.1–60.1. The time period in the text is enchanted time, a total of 87 years; in realism perspective 'a long time'. Trance distorts the impression of time, Ch. VI.2. Trance p. 385, Ch. VI.4. Adar p. 409.

⁶⁵⁶ Bollard, 'Themes', in Sullivan, *Essays*, p. 257. Ford disagrees, 'Prolegomena', in Sullivan, *Essays*, p. 215, n. 11. Pryderi refers to his *gedymdeithas oreu/* 'best friendship', PKM3 50.3–4. JKB 63.2, he offers Manawydan.

⁶⁵⁷ Bollard's key example of friendship is Pwyll and Arawn, 'Thematic Structure', in Sullivan, *Essays*, p. 168. There is also Pwyll and Teyrnon. Contrast Bendigeidfran and Matholwch; Pryderi and Gwydion; Pryderi and Math.

⁶⁵⁸ Caswallawn the usurper, PKM3 45.24–27. JKB 57.1. 'the initial sentence of Manawydan is quite different in style and in character from the opening sentences of the other three branches. These all begin with a variation of the formula: character's name + title + territory. This, of course, would be impossible in the case of Manawydan since he is not lord of anywhere, although it would have been possible to adapt such a formula for Pryderi as Lord of Dyfed. However, it seems quite obvious that the author's intention is to concentrate on Manawydan rather than on Pryderi.' Hughes, 'Tripartite', p. 100. Death of Bendigeidfran Manawydan's brother (who also has an afterlife through the Harlech, Gwales sojourn noted above), PKM2 44.23–24. JKB 55.2. Death of Gwern, his nephew, PKM2 43.13–44.8. JKB 54.2–55.1. JKB Death of Branwen, his sister, PKM2 45.13–20. JKB 57.1.

unambitious, so the loss of his rightful kingship will not harrow him as it would another man.⁶⁵⁹

Pryderi gifts his friend a new *lle* as *arglwydd* Dyfed, though not its ownership.⁶⁶⁰ He provides his esteemed mother, an experienced ruler, as wife;⁶⁶¹ thus adopting Manawydan into his own kindred, with his own assured *gedymdeithas oreu* / 'best friendship'.⁶⁶² It is surprising Pryderi is not renowned in Mabinogi Studies for this outstanding generosity. He is here very much in charge, constructively and amicably. The men's friendship and their wives then merge into the loving 'Dyfed quartet', a happy pastoral interlude, riding *cylch*. They observe the abundance of their land.⁶⁶³ The Desolation of Dyfed falls, and the four are bereft, without other companions, servants, or any domesticated

⁶⁵⁹ PKM3 49.11–12. 'you are one of the Three Resigned Chieftains' JKB 63.1. Triad 8. *Tri Lledyf 6nben Enys Prydein. ... Manaw(ydan) mab llyr* [...] 'Three Prostrate ('Humble') Chieftains of the Island of Britain, Manawydan son of Llyr [...]', TYP p. 15–16. Various interpretations of *lledyf* which Bromwich notes: 'humble, downcast, yielding ... passive' (cited from WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 82), pp. 15–16, Bromwich suggests 'Subdued by misfortune', arising from 'deprivation of territorial inheritance'. She notes Ifor Williams' 'Humble', with an older meaning of 'low', PKM pp. 227–28. Pryderi's reference might seem anachronistically premature, as Manawydan has not yet left London after completing the burial of his brother so can hardly have acquired the reputation yet. WJG, 'Mabinogion', p. 58. Not in Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies'. The apparent anachronism might be resolved a) from Manawydan's years of faithful service to his brother without disruptive ambition; b) his long years of post-war recovery allowing time to generate a reputation as unambitious, based on his absence from British politics. If Manawydan did feel a loyal duty to his lost family to pursue his claim to the throne, with no resources to do so, he cannot.

⁶⁶⁰ Generous bestowal: "*Seith/ cantref Dyuet yr edewit y mi, heb y Pryderi, "a Riannon/ uy mam yssyd yno. Mi a rodaf it honno, a mediant y/ seith cantref genthi.*" PKM3 49.17–20. 'The seven cantrefs of Dyfed have been left to me,' said Pryderi, 'and my mother/Rhiannon, is there. I will give her, and the authority over the seven cantrefs, to you.' JKB 63.1–2. Sturzer objects that Pryderi only refers to 'the seven cantrefs of Dyfed' not the newer territories he annexed. 'Inconsistencies', p. 135. There seems nothing odd in Pryderi carefully specifying the ancient seven *cantrefi* which he inherited, PKM1 27.17–18. JKB 40.1. He is not bestowing his entire lordship of the expanded Dyfed/ Deheubarth he annexed. PKM1 27.19–22. JKB 40.1. PKM4 refers to Deheubarth, his expanded territory, PKM4 68.13. JKB 79.2; and five instances of *y De* / 'the South'; Ch. III.7. Political: Hywel Dda pp. 184–85. He may be granting old Dyfed to Manawydan to separate his rule from his mother's; a wise move with such a long established matriarch ruler. Notably, Pryderi grants only the *use* of the Dyfed territory; it is not gifted outright. He says '*A chyn bo enwedigaeth y kyuoeth y mi, bit y mwynant/ y ti a Riannon.*' PKM3 49.23–50.1. 'And though the title to the realm is mine, let the enjoyment of it be yours and Rhiannon's.' JKB 63.2. Pryderi's homage to the king of Britain also emphasises he still holds the overall lordship, PKM3 50.27–28. JKB 64.2–65.1. and PKM3 51.11–12. JKB 65.1.

This generous act is argued as contributory to the Desolation, below pp. 324–28.

⁶⁶¹ Rhiannon was co-ruler through Pwyll's long lordship, from the start of the marriage. PKM1 19.16–18. JKB 33.2. On that established background she might be Pryderi's regent through the Irish War. Cf. her political awareness of Caswallawn, PKM3 51.1–3. JKB 51.1–3.

⁶⁶² Friendship: PKM3 50.3–4. JKB 63.2.

⁶⁶³ Quartet: PKM3 51.4–16. JKB 65.1–2.

animals except, apparently, Pryderi's dogs.⁶⁶⁴ Those, and the wild abundance they had observed, will now be crucial to survival.

The Desolation shifts the power balance in the princes' friendship. Initially, Pryderi is dominant, bestowing his powerful Dyfed territory, and Rhiannon, travelling to give ceremonial homage to the usurper king of Britain. Manawydan is a broken man, desolated by loss of his *Ile* and his kindred. Pryderi's generosity rebuilds his friend's life. However when Pryderi's *Ile* is wrecked by the Desolation, they switch: Pryderi seems too shocked to lead. Manawydan has apparently been restored enough by then to take charge; it is not *his* birthright which has now been devastated. He does express shock, but then speaks as the military officer he once was.⁶⁶⁵

*"Oy a Arglwyd Duw, 'heb y Manawydan, 'mae
yniuer y llys, ac yn anniuer ninheu namyn hynn? Awn
y edrych."*⁶⁶⁶

His initiated search is methodically staged.⁶⁶⁷

Pryderi's initiative after the Desolation falls is in providing hunting, through an unremarkable two years surviving on their stores. Manawydan later fondly recalls hunting with Pryderi and Rhiannon (seemingly not Cigfa): implying Rhiannon's physical strength and toughness. But they all grow tired of the limitations of subsistence and isolation.⁶⁶⁸

At this bleak point Manawydan again initiates with a radical plan to adopt exile and *Lloegr* town life; something he would know from his pre-war life. In spite of Manawydan's fear of attracting Caswallawn's notice,⁶⁶⁹ *Lloegr* means

⁶⁶⁴ Desolation: PKM3 JKB 65.2–66.1. Sitting the Gorsedd Arberth is a doublet with his father Pwyll doing the same, PKM1 8.27–9.1–4. JKB 25.1. The descriptions are similar, formulaic. The second version aids clarity on the first one about a 'serving' of a feast; it specifies *A guedy/ y bwyta kyntaf y nos honno, tra uei y gwassanaethwyr/ yn bwyta [...]* PKM3 51.18–20. 'And after the first serving that night, while the servants were eating [...]' JKB 65.2. The two Gorsedd sittings structurally link the two Branches' narratives. The second may even be a reinforcement by Pryderi of his paternity, a ceremonial continuity with his father to consolidate his rule after a period of war upheaval: a new generation undergoing the Gorsedd challenge. On the magical aspect, Ch. V.7 Teyrnnon: Noisy pp. 284–85; Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Special Effects pp. 361–62. On interlacings and doublets: Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm pp. 121–22; Ch. VIII. Structures: Interlacings pp. 513–14.

⁶⁶⁵ Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Background pp. 337–39.

⁶⁶⁶ Manawydan's shock and initiative: PKM3 52.4–6. 'Oh, Lord God,' cried Manawydan. 'Where is the retinue of the court and our company except for this? Let us go to see.' JKB 66.1.

⁶⁶⁷ Search: PKM3 52.4–8. JKB 66.1. Hughes notes the investigation has three stages, an immediate view from the Gorsedd, searching the court, and then the land. Hughes, 'Tripartite', p. 103.

⁶⁶⁸ Two years, they grow tired: PKM3 52.16–17. JKB 66.1. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Prince p. 304 the depressing effects of their limited life. Manawydan's nostalgia, PKM3 58.25–27. JKB 72.1.

⁶⁶⁹ Manawydan's fear: PKM3 54.1–3. JKB 67.2.

society, civilised comforts, and arts. Pryderi and the women agree, although Pryderi seems less familiar and initiatory in *Lloegr*.⁶⁷⁰ Manawydan establishes three successful businesses, but Pryderi objects he is ill-equipped for the second and third Manawydan proposes.⁶⁷¹ They travel first to *Henfford*/ Hereford.⁶⁷² Established saddle-makers are threatened by losing their earnings, and the Dyfed quartet is warned of a murder plot. True to his class arrogance and warrior training Pryderi counsels killing the artisans; in exile Pryderi seems aggressive like the boar at bay (above). Trained to murderous codes of honour and entitled inequality. Pryderi cannot adapt to changed class circumstances.⁶⁷³ Manawydan, though from the same background, argues and prevails. Manawydan here seems like an older brother.⁶⁷⁴ Two duplicated events follow, crafting shields, then shoes, with the same result. The third time Manawydan counsels returning to Dyfed, which they do.⁶⁷⁵

In Dyfed the two men hunt a shining white boar,⁶⁷⁶ though Pryderi's hounds show terror of it.⁶⁷⁷ Manawydan thinks a newly built tower, never seen

⁶⁷⁰ Pryderi travels into *Lloegr*/ England to give homage to Caswallawn the king, PKM3 51.11–14. JKB 65.1–2. That would be vastly different, travelling there with all the dignities, comforts and protections of a prince. When Rhiannon counsels him he can wait until Caswallawn moves nearer, this might relate to travel in regions nearby being less 'different'. Pryderi also travelled to London (PKM3 49.1–3 JKB 63.1.) but possibly as part of a trance journey (Ch. VI.2. Trance p. 384). If interpreted in realism, the Seven Survivors' installation of Bendigeidfran as the protector of Britain, rather than Caswallawn, constitutes rebellion, risking dangerous hostility from the usurper. They would need to go very secretly indeed, to avoid notice by Caswallawn's officers, cf. n. 669 above. This new journey into *Lloegr* is neither stealth nor royal progress, which both leave Pryderi's *lle*, his identity, intact. He has no script, going outside his class status.

⁶⁷¹ Shields, PKM3 53.14–17. JKB 66.2. Shoes, PKM3 54.5–10. JKB 67.2–68.1. Pryderi does not object to the first, saddlery project, perhaps an effort of tolerance. His expressed ignorance on the others may be a courteous way to object to Manawydan's proposals as unsuitable. His 'ignorance' is the appropriate ignorance of the princely noble, separated by class from manual work.

⁶⁷² *Henfford*, PKM3 52.17–20. Hereford, JKB 66.1.

⁶⁷³ Cigfa also cannot comprehend their changed circumstances. Ch. V.11. Cigfa p. 331 n, 818.

⁶⁷⁴ Saddle-making, *Henfford*/ Hereford. PKM3 52.21–53.12. JKB 66.1–66.2.

⁶⁷⁵ Two duplicates. Shield-making PKM3 53.13–54.4. JKB 66.2–67.3. Shoe-making, PKM3 67.3–55.2. JKB 67.2–68.1.

⁶⁷⁶ Hunting, PKM3 55.3–6. JKB 68.1–2. Both the PKM3 boar and the *Culhwch* boar are tricksters. The PKM3 eruption is an enchanted agent of an antagonist Magician. The *Twrch Twryth* in *Culhwch* is a king cursed because of his wickedness. Note on the *Twrch Twryth* and Henwen, below. Albarella notes wild boar were extinct by the late 13thC, and rare in the preceding period, due to depleted woodland, over-hunting, and interbreeding with pigs. Umberto Albarella. 2010. 'Wild boar', in *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna*, ed. by O'Connor, T. and N. Sykes (Oxbow Books), pp. 64–65. (URL text Bibliography). The rarity of boars would make them even more prized, and tending to the legendary, associated with enchantment cf. its colour in this passage; Hemming, 'Red, White, and Black'.

⁶⁷⁷ Hounds: [...] *cheginwrych mawr aruthyr ganthunt/ ac ymchwelut at y guyr*. PKM3 55.7–12. 'with a great, terrible, hair-raising fear upon them, and they return to the men.' JKB 68.2.

before,⁶⁷⁸ was put there by the author of the Desolation. He counsels Pryderi not to enter it to fetch his hounds.⁶⁷⁹ But Pryderi is now on his home turf, and insists his own way.⁶⁸⁰ As Manawydan later admits to Cigfa, they cannot hunt without them.⁶⁸¹ Pryderi's decision might also be interpreted as princely, taking up the challenge of the Desolation on behalf of his people.⁶⁸²

Pryderi is mesmerised by a gorgeous golden bowl, becoming glued to it, silenced and paralysed.⁶⁸³ His boyhood was ruptured by Teyrnnon's restitution: children who lose their childhood security frequently 'downgrade' focus from love to power, then to material life.⁶⁸⁴ Manawydan returns home to Rhiannon.⁶⁸⁵ It is years later he liberates Pryderi and Rhiannon from captivity.⁶⁸⁶

The hounds' presence may seem even more of a problem here than when the Desolation began, before the exile interlude. Persuading Pryderi to leave his precious hounds behind to forage would be difficult but that seems the only explanation. *Byhyt bynnac y buant ar y fford, wynt a doethant y/ Dyuet, ac Arberth a gyrchyssant. A llad tan a wnaethant, / a dechreu ymborth, a hela, a threulaw mis yuelly, a/ chynnull eu cwn attunt, a hela, a bot yuelly yno ulwydyn.* PKM3 55.3–6. 'However long they were on the road, they came to Dyfed, and they made for Arberth. And they struck a fire, and began to support themselves with hunting, and they spent a month in that manner. And they gathered their hounds to them and hunted, and they were there in that manner for a year.' JKB 68.1– 2.

⁶⁷⁸ Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Anglo-Norman pp. 186–87, Landsker castles.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ac o gwney/ uykynghor i nyt ey idi. A'r neb a dodes hut ar y wlat/a beris bot y gaer yma.* PKM3 56.4–6. 'We never saw this fort here, and if you will take my counsel, you will not go into it. And the one who placed an enchantment on the land caused the fort to be here.' JKB 70.1. Bollard notes 'The clause 'We never saw this fort here' has been taken from the earliest manuscript fragment of the tale, Peniarth 6', JKB 70.1. n. 50.

⁶⁸⁰ Boar leads them. PKM3 55.14–28. JKB 68.2. Manawydan's counsel, PKM3 56.1–6. Pryderi insists on following his hounds, refusing his counsel. PKM3 56.5–6. JKB 70.1.

⁶⁸¹ When Rhiannon rebukes Manawydan on his return from the boar hunt, besides her *pryderi*/ anxiety for Pryderi, she is anxious for the whereabouts of his hounds. PKM3 56.24–25. JKB 70.1.

⁶⁸² Manawydan admits the hounds were vital: PKM3 58.1–2. JKB 71.2

Pryderi's decision to enter the tower viewed as a chieftain prince challenging the author of his people's misfortune, is not original to me. I have been unable to track where I read it, despite diligent effort. It seems plausible following the analysis above of Pryderi as a stereotypical, heroic prince, with a duty to protect his people from an enemy.

⁶⁸³ Golden bowl, PKM3 56.9–19. JKB 70.1. Pryderi will later be seduced by fake golden trappings quoted p. 313 n. 706. On the tower's paralytic effect, cf. Caitlin R. Green's concept. 2009. 'Petrification Fort: An Alternative Interpretation of Preideu Annwfn, lines 23–28', *Studia Celtica*, 43, pp. 207–13 (PDF download pagination pp. 1–10). (URL text Bibliography)

⁶⁸⁴ Maslow's classic hierarchy of need theorises a child's first connection with the world is through love. If that is broken or seriously disrupted the will to power takes its place. If that cannot succeed, material pleasures and security is the third level of satisfaction. Abram H. Maslow. 1943. 'A theory of human motivation', *Psychological Review*, 50, 4, pp. 370–396. After the major disruption to his parenting narrative, it is imaginable that Pryderi's adolescence was firmly steered by his formidable Dyfed parents. His will to power would be frustrated until he was old enough to lead his conquest projects. It is suggested above that the precious heir would be much indulged by Dyfed (and Annwfn) wealth.

⁶⁸⁵ Manawydan's reaction, PKM3 56.20–23. JKB 70.1.

⁶⁸⁶ Liberation: PKM3 65.6–7. JKB 75.2.

Pryderi's death tale is the first quarter of PKM4.⁶⁸⁷ Pryderi appears based at his *llys* at Rhuddlan Teifi, Ceredigion.⁶⁸⁸ Neither Rhiannon nor Manawydan are present with wise counsel. We might infer they have either died, or else distant in old Dyfed. After Pryderi's death the complete shift to a northern Mabinogi focus reflects the historical, mediaeval power shift to Gwynedd.⁶⁸⁹

Pryderi's death tale hinges on a special breed of small, tasty pigs, a highly desirable innovation gifted to Dyfed by Annwfn,⁶⁹⁰ functioning structurally to bridge PKM1 and PKM4.⁶⁹¹ Wild pigs are mobile therefore muscular, giving hard meat. Smaller pigs were domesticated by pannage, allowed out by day to feed in the forest, penned at night.⁶⁹² Sweet, soft pork resulted, fat with soft muscle. The Pryderi tale may hint early Welsh innovation in scientific farming.⁶⁹³ Gwydion of Gwynedd promises his *arglwydd* Math he will acquire this high cuisine prize.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁷ Death tale PKM4 pp. 67–92 (25pp.). Pryderi is absent PKM4 74–92 (18pp.). The death tale has been analysed as an Epilogue to Mabinogi Rhiannon, and Rhiannon's motherhood as central to her narrative. Ch. I.4. Text: Epilogue pp. 28–29. Ch. IV.2. Acts p. 207. 'Maternal dyad', Rhiannon and Pryderi pp. 321–28. Lifelines, diagram, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, p. 274.

⁶⁸⁸ Rhuddlan Teifi: PKM4 69.4. JKB 80.2. This is in the new territories Pryderi annexed to Dyfed as a young, conquering prince, PKM1 27.19–22. JKB 40.1. The *llys* is about 50 miles away from Arberth. 'Recent geophysical survey has located the site of ditched enclosures that may have housed the buildings of this early royal retinue and geophysical survey has identified two ditched enclosures and radiocarbon dating of charcoal samples dates these to between the 11th and 13th centuries.' Jemma Bezan. *Undated*. 'Archaeology of the Mabinogion', UWTSD (University of Wales, Trinity Saint David). (URL text Bibliography).

⁶⁸⁹ Political shift north, Ch. II.1. Timeline p. 44; Ch. III.7. Political Parallels p. 188.

⁶⁹⁰ Annwfn pigs: "*Pwy biewynt wy?*" '*Pryderi uab Pwyll, yd anuonet/ idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn Urenhin Annwn*." PKM4 68.22–23. 'Who do they belong to?' 'Pryderi son of Pwyll. They were sent to him from Annwn by Arawn King of Annwn.' JKB 80.2.

⁶⁹¹ Interlace: PKM1 8.18–21. JKB 24.2–25.1. Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm p. 121–22; and Ch. IX. Structures: Interlacings pp. 513–14, case studies follow.

⁶⁹² Gwydion follows such a sow on his quest to find the dying Lleu. PKM4 88.20–89.23. JKB 104.1–105.1. Cf. Henwen, a powerful myth which spans South and North Wales p. 151.

⁶⁹³ Roman authors Varro and Columella advised on pig husbandry and knew of sty methods by c. 2000. S. E. van Nieuwamerongen. 2017. 'Development of pigs raised in a group housing system for lactating sows and their litters' (WIAS thesis, Wageningen Institute of Animal Sciences). Its mediaeval reintroduction is usually dated later than *Pedair Cainc*. Julie Hamilton and Richard Thomas. 2012. 'Pannage, Pulses and Pigs: Isotopic and Zooarchaeological Evidence for Changing Pig Management Practices in Later Medieval England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 56, 1, pp. 234–259. (URL text Bibliography).

⁶⁹⁴ Bromwich refers to 'great importance attached to swine in the life and mythology of the Celtic nations from the earliest times.' (PKM4 pigs not cited.) TYP pp. 53–54. 'In the Celtic zoomorphic tradition, the pig is deified. Statues dedicated to Mercury in Gallo-Roman iconography identify him with Moccus, 'Pig'. Ford, 'Opposing Sex', p. 432.

Pryderi, deceived by Gwydion, wars with Gwynedd to reclaim his honour: duels Gwydion, and is killed.⁶⁹⁵

These succulent pigs are commemorated, with Pryderi, in Triad 26.

Triad 26: *Tri Gwrdue ichyat Enys Prydein*
A Phryderi mab Pwyll Pen Annwfn, a getwis moch Pendaran
*Dyuet yg Glyn C6ch yn Emlyn.*⁶⁹⁶

Pendaran's ownership of the swine here is problematic, an instance of *Trioedd* variance from the Mabinogi. Triad 26W attempts resolution with more information.⁶⁹⁷ It numbers the pigs as seven; Pryderi's father Pwyll Pen Annwfn gives them to Pendaran Dyfed as foster-father.⁶⁹⁸ Its characterisation of Pryderi as *Gwrdue*/ 'Powerful Swineherd' markedly contradicts the Mabinogi: even more the Triad 26W addition: *kany allei neb na th6yll na threis arna6*.⁶⁹⁹ Bromwich makes no comment. Morfydd E. Owen suggests an irony, observing humour occurs elsewhere in *Trioedd*.⁷⁰⁰

Triad 26 continues with the legend of Henwen, a pregnant sow whose epic swim and land journey mirrors the *Culhwch* boar-king.⁷⁰¹ She swims up the Bristol Channel from Cornwall, birthing gifts to three main regions of Mabinogi Rhiannon. In Gwent she drops wheat and a bee (honey); in Dyfed she drops

⁶⁹⁵ Gwydion's deceptive promise, PKM4 69.1–2. JKB 80.2. Duel, killing of Pryderi, PKM4 72.24–73.17. JKB 87.1–89.1. Gwydion's underlying motive to acquire the pigs is much more malign than the simple, northern envy given at this level. The backstory is not apparent to Pryderi and his people, so deferred to the end of this section.

⁶⁹⁶ Triad 26: 'Three Powerful Swineherds of this Island/ And Pryderi son of Pwyll, Lord of Annwfn, who guarded the swine of Pendaran Dyfed in Glyn Cuch in Emlyn;' title, and lines 4–5, TYP, p. 50; vocabulary notes p. 51.

⁶⁹⁷ Triad 26WR: *Pryderi vab P6yll Pen Annwn, 6rth voch Pendaran Dyuet y tatmeth./ Ac y sef moch oedynt: y seithlydyn a duc P6ll Pen Annwn, ac a'e rodes y Pendaran Dyuet y datmaeth. Ac y sefy lle y katwei, y Glyn Kuch yn Emlyn. A sefacha6s y gelwit h6nn6 yn wrueichiat kany allei neb na th6yll na threis arna6;/* 'Three Powerful Swineherds of the Island of Britain: Pryderi son of Pwyll, Lord of Annwfn, with the swine of Penndaran Dyfed his foster-father. These swine were the seven animals which Pwyll Lord of Annwfn brought, and gave them to Penndaran Dyfed his foster-father. And the place where he used to keep them was in Glyn Cuch in Emlyn. And this is why he was called a Powerful Swineherd: because no one was able either to deceive or to force him'. TYP, pp. 51–52. On the divergent traditions of *Trioedd* and poetry, versus the *cyfarwyddiaid*, Ch. II.2. Craft. Triad 26W attempts to mediate the PKM4 text so the pigs are given to Pryderi to guard, via Pendaran who has them from Pwyll.

⁶⁹⁸ Bromwich comments Triad 26WR is the 'longest and most informative of all the triads', the only source for 'seven' pigs, which may be 'purely conventional'. TYP, p. 54.

⁶⁹⁹ Triad 26WR, lines 4–5, TYP p. 51; 'no one was able either to deceive or to force him', trans. TYP p. 52.

⁷⁰⁰ Morfydd E. Owen, 'Welsh Triads: An Overview', p. 234.

⁷⁰¹ Bromwich observes the Henwen journey is broadly similar to the Twrch Twryth of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, but in reverse. TYP, p. 56. On Henwen as satire Ch. III.3. Hierarchy, p. 151.

wheat and barley.⁷⁰² Her fertile, agricultural gifts to Dyfed are consonant with the Dyfed quartet's delight in the abundance of their lands.⁷⁰³ North in Gwynedd, Henwen births predators on flocks and herds, reflecting its historically herding economy. Henwen's gift series has the same geographical trajectory as Pryderi's life: from honey-sweet (childhood) Gwent to abundant (adult) Dyfed, then north to his harsh fate and death.

Gwydion mab Don, his brother Gilfaethwy, and ten men came to Pryderi's *llys, yn rith beird*. The intent to deceive is there from the start by using disguise.⁷⁰⁴ Gwydion charms Pryderi with skilful converse, then begs the pigs as a gift. Pryderi regrets he cannot agree, due to his pact with Dyfed to breed double their number before he lets any go.⁷⁰⁵ Gwydion departs and conjures temptations for Pryderi,⁷⁰⁶ explaining

[...] *nas rodut*
*ac nas guerthut. Titheu a elly gyfnewit yr a uo guell.*⁷⁰⁷

Gwydion's proposal is equivocal and cruelly targeted. The pigs have not doubled their number, but his fakes offer supposedly equivalent or better value. The pigs' fertility means rapidly expanding value by breeding: so do the horses and

⁷⁰² Henwen features in Triad 26 Powerful Swineherd, Coll son of Collfrewy. Henwen's herd belonged to Dallwyr Dallben of Cornwall. Henwen swam the channel with Coll following. They landed in Gwent where she birthed a grain of wheat and a bee (honey). She swam along the coast to Pembrokeshire, to which she gave wheat and barley. Both lands became proverbial for rich crops. When she swam to Gwynedd, she birthed a wolf cub, an eaglet, and the monstrous kitten Palug; all oppressive predators. TYP pp. 54–57.

⁷⁰³ Dyfed abundance: TYP 50. PKM3 51.4–16. JKB 65.1–2. Honey is included in the PKM3 Dyfed bounty, although Henwen gifts it to Gwent.

⁷⁰⁴ Disguised: *yn rith beird*, PKM4 68.27. 'in the guise of bards', JKB 80.2. Gwydion, speaking to Math, explicitly undertakes to use disguise when he visits Pryderi. Quoted more fully below, p. 314 n. 722.

⁷⁰⁵ Pryderi's compact: "*Ie,*" *heb ynteu,* / "*hawssaf yn y byt oed hynny by na bei ammot y rof a'm/ gwlat amdanunt; sefyw hynny, nat elont y genhyfyny/ hilyont eu deu kymeint yn y wlat.*" PKM4 69.21–24. 'Yea,' said he, 'that would be the easiest thing in the world if there were not a compact between me and my country regarding them. This is what it is – they should not go from me until they breed twice as many in the land.' JKB 81.1. Note the compact is not given as with Annwfn but with Pryderi's *gwlat*/ land, i.e. Dyfed.

⁷⁰⁶ Gwydion's enchantment: *Ac yna yd aeth ef yn y geluydodeu, ac y/ dechreuawt dangos y hut, ac yd hudwys deudec emys, a/ deudec milgi bronwyn du pob un o honunt, a deudec/ torch, a deudec kynillyuan arnunt, a neb o'r a'[e] guelei, / ni wydat na bydynt eur; a deudec kyfrwy ar y meirch, / ac am pob lle y dyllyei hayarn uot arnunt, y bydei/ gwbyl o eur; a'r frwyneu yn un weith a hynny.* PKM4 70.7–13. 'And he conjured up twelve steeds and twelve hunting hounds, each of/them black with a white breast, with twelve collars and twelve leashes on them, and anyone who saw them would not know they were not gold. And twelve saddles on the horses, and for each place that iron ought to be on them, it was all of gold, and the bridles of the same work as that.' JKB 81.2–82.1.

⁷⁰⁷ Gwydion explains: PKM4 70.17–18. '[...] you would not give them and would not sell them. You can make an exchange for what will be better.' JKB 82.1.

hounds. But Gwydion's fakes also offer gold accoutrements on 24 animals, plus 12 gold shields: a large treasure. Pryderi was literally captivated by a golden bowl (PKM3).⁷⁰⁸ This is the boy who suddenly lost his childhood home, and would have been much indulged by his new, wealthy family, and Annwfn wealth (above). Gwydion's fakes are devastatingly chosen to work on Pryderi's greatest desires and weaknesses. He has loved horses since childhood, had a close relationship with his first horse; is strongly linked with his hounds.⁷⁰⁹ Pryderi does not decide alone, but neither is he aided by Rhiannon or Manawydan in his council.⁷¹⁰ It is Pryderi's heroic, flawed moment: he could have said no, or 'wait': he did not.⁷¹¹

The next day Gwydion's conjurings evaporate.⁷¹² His company journeys north with the pigs, marking a series of porcine place-names.⁷¹³ Pryderi musters Dyfed's 21 *cantrefi*.⁷¹⁴ In Gwynedd *y bu yr ayrua diuessur y meint*.⁷¹⁵ Pryderi arranges a truce, but footsoldiers break it. He formally proposes a duel, which Math agrees.⁷¹⁶

*Ac o
nerth grym ac angerd, a hut a lledrith, Guydyon a oruu,
a Phryderi a las, [...]*⁷¹⁷

⁷⁰⁸ Golden bowl trap: PKM3 56.9–19. JKB 70.1.

⁷⁰⁹ Boyhood, above; loves horses quote p. 299. PKM1 23.23–24. JKB 36.2. Riding bestowed horse to Arberth, quoted p. 299 n. 611, PKM1 25.7–8. JKB 37.1. It might be assumed Rhiannon trained him in knowledge of equine breeding. Above, p. 304 he apparently kept his hounds with him through the Desolation. Determined to retrieve them from the tower. PKM3 56.5–6. JKB 70.1.

⁷¹⁰ Pryderi decides: PKM4 70.24–26. JKB 82.1. Pryderi does not make the decision alone, but councils his father held show that a determined lord could steer his council. PKM1 19.18–20.2. JKB 33.2; and PKM1 21.12–14. JKB 34.2.

⁷¹¹ Pigs' gestation is just under four months; female piglets mature to breed in six months. FAO, UN (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations). 1994. *A manual for the primary animal health care worker*, Ch. 4: The pig. Unit 30: Heat (oestrus) in the sow (Rome). (URL text Bibliography). It would take merely ten months to double their number. Gwydion speaks of the pigs as newly arrived; ten months to collect a royal gift is not unreasonable. It could be less, as he may well not have arrived in Ceredigion in their first month.

⁷¹² Conjurings: PKM4 71.1. JKB 83.1.

⁷¹³ Place names, PKM4 JKB 83.2–85.1. The names survive today, as noted by Anwyl, 'Mabinogi', II, p. 283. Notes and photos, Bollard, *Landscape*, pp. 84–86.

⁷¹⁴ Math of Gwynedd later speaks of Pryderi as his great friend, PKM4 75.26–27. JKB 91.2. Why does Pryderi not send messengers to appeal to this friend? His aggressive side seems to be uppermost. Below, Math's questionable friendship p. 319.

⁷¹⁵ Slaughter: PKM4 72.17. 'there was slaughter of immeasurable extent.' JKB 87.1.

⁷¹⁶ Footsoldiers: PKM4 72.22–24. JKB 87.1. Pryderi proposes, Math agrees: PKM4 73.11–17. JKB 88.1–2. The duel brackets Pwyll's duel, Pryderi's father, PKM1 5.6–6.3. JKB 23.1–2.

⁷¹⁷ PKM4 73.14–16. 'And by force of power and craft, and magic and enchantment, Gwydion prevailed and Pryderi was slain.' JKB 88.2.

However tragic and noble his death appears, Pryderi also seems foolish to duel Gwydion, who has already shown himself a liar and deceiver. Pryderi's initiative is his characteristic heroic aggression under stress, the boar at bay (above). His father might have negotiated compensation. The outcome is predictable, and ends the core death tale.⁷¹⁸

Math discovered Gwydion had deliberately fomented the war to separate him from his maiden footholder, so Gwydion's brother could rape her.⁷¹⁹ Math forces his nephews into submission and punishes them for three years.⁷²⁰ He then forgives them, reinstating them in his kindred.⁷²¹ Math blames them for his great loss of his friend Pryderi. However, Math knew Gwydion intended to deceive Pryderi in disguise, and he consented to the duel knowing Gwydion's magical arts would kill his friend.⁷²² There is no attempt at mediation. Math's 'friendship' with Pryderi seems questionable, part of the PKM4 shadow themes, below.⁷²³

Pryderi, menter/ Pryderi, initiative

Pryderi is considered a great hero of Dyfed.⁷²⁴ He has eight narrative initiatives (Table, below).⁷²⁵ They demonstrate acquisitiveness (1, 5, 6); animal links (3, 4, 6); hunting (3, 4); and fighting (1, 7, 8). Pryderi is evidently a physical, action hero, but not notably a man of initiative, and not a wise man. After his first initiatives he is undercut by negatives, so his golden promise is shadowed into tragedy.

⁷¹⁸ Pryderi was buried in Maen Tyfiawg, above Y Felenrhyd: the remnant Dyfed host grieved, and departed south. PKM4 73.16–21. JKB 88.2–89.1.

⁷¹⁹ Goewin: PKM4 67.15–68.14. JKB 79.2–79.2.

⁷²⁰ Math punishes his nephews with appropriate humiliation, shapeshifting them into a series of wild beast pairs (deer, boar, and wolves) for a year as each beast. They are compelled to fornicate with each other and bear young. PKM4 74.14–76.23. JKB 90.1–92.2. Cf. Triad 26 above about Gwynedd receiving predators as Henwen gifts.

⁷²¹ It would appear that Gwydion having offended so gravely cannot stand as Math's heir, for the lordship passes to Gwydion's foster-son Lleu, Math's great-nephew; noted at the end of the Mabinogi, PKM4 92.23–26. JKB 108.1.

⁷²² "*Mi a af ar uyn deudecuet, yn rith beird, Arglwyd, y/ erchi y moch.*" PKM4 68.27–28. 'I will go as one of twelve, in the guise of bards, lord, to ask for the pigs.' JKB 80.2. Triad 28: *Teir Prif Hut/* 'Three Great Enchantments'; tradition of Math training Gwydion as a Magician, TYP p. 61.

⁷²³ This shadows Bollard's key theme of Friendship Ch. II.7. Paradigm: Interlacing pp. 122–23.

⁷²⁴ *Gogynfeirdd* and *Cywyddwyr* poets acclaiming him, p. 296 above.

⁷²⁵ Table list not including his aggressive *Lloegr* behaviour because Manawydan asks his counsel.

TABLE Pryderi's initiatives

- 1) **Conquers** Seisyllwg, marries Cigfa.
- 2) **Bestows** territory and marriage on Manawydan.
But see below for unforeseen Desolation as result.
- 3) **Proposes** boar hunt.
But the boar clearly takes charge and leads them to the tower.
- 4) **Insists** on retrieving hounds from tower as vital for survival.
But desire for the golden bowl brings disaster.
- 5) **Reaches** for the golden bowl.
But this holds him captive.
- 6) **Agrees** Gwydion's offer to barter the pigs.
But this is false, it still breaks his pact.
- 7) **Makes war** on Gwynedd
But fails to negotiate compensation.
- 8) **Proposes** duel.
Stupidly duels a known trickster magician.

References.⁷²⁶

No. 2. Bestowal of territory, merits close attention: 'Maternal Dyad' below.

Pryderi, Rhiannon

Rhiannon's most important function as Pwyll's wife, is to bear a son as the Dyfed heir.⁷²⁷ It has been noted that for her elite class, love in marriage or friendship is a hybrid state, embedded in politics and economics.⁷²⁸ So it is with motherhood. Rhiannon demonstrates passionate love and loyalty for her son, fusing personal affection and high ambition.⁷²⁹ She is barren for three years after marriage.⁷³⁰ Besides anxiety to have a child as a conventionally female desire, this means doubled anxiety: to justify her place as '*rieni*' and co-ruler, consolidating her political future.⁷³¹

⁷²⁶ [1] Conquers, marries, PKM1 27.19–26. JKB 40.1. [2] Bestows, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–2.

[3] Proposes boar hunt, PKM3 55.12–13. JKB 68.2.

[4] Retrieving hounds, PKM3 56.5–6. JKB 70.1. Argued here as critical to survival, above. Golden bowl, PKM3 56.9–19. JKB 70.1. Exile, aggression, accepts counsel in *Lloegr*, not in Dyfed. Saddle-making, PKM3 53.8–9. JKB 66.2. Shield-making PKM3 53.28–54.1. JKB 67.1. Shoe-making, PKM3 54.25–26. JKB 68.1.

[5] Reaches for bowl, PKM3 56.14–19. JKB 70.1.

[6] Agrees Gwydion's proposal. PKM4 69.21–24. JKB 80.1. Gwydion's offer, quoted nn. 706, 707. PKM4 70.17–18. JKB 82.1. Agreement. PKM4 70.24–26. JKB 82.1. *Mauvaise foi* – Bad faith, being inauthentic; taking a position while knowing (on some level) it is immoral or does not fit the facts. The term became known post-WWII through Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir.

[7] Makes war on Gwynedd, PKM4 71.21–22. JKB 85.1.

[8] Proposes duel, PKM4 72.25–27. Boll, 87.1.

⁷²⁷ Preseli Council, Dyfed nobles urge Pwyll to divorce her as barren, third year of marriage. PKM1 19.18–20.1. JKB 38.2.

Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd p. 220 n. 43 quote; Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 261 n. 337; Ch. VI.8. '*Rieni*' p. 182.

⁷²⁸ Hybrid relations: Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, especially Porter quoted p. 242 n. 189.

⁷²⁹ Female elite status, Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' pp. 177–83 (chapter).

⁷³⁰ Barren, p. 297 n. 594. Teyrnnon's Wife an affinity with Rhiannon's three years' wait for her son. Teyrnnon refers to *mab ... yr hwnn ny/ bu yt ei roet*, PKM1 23.5–6. 'a child ... that which you have never had.' JKB 36.1. Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon quoted p. 285. Ch. V.8. Teyrnnon's Wife DII p. 288.

⁷³¹ Cf. elite female status of '*Rieni*', ancestress, attributed to Rhiannon, Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' p. 182.

Pwyll II presents Rhiannon as a proud, aristocratic strategist.⁷³² She blazes at her Advent, carrying complex conspiracy at her weddings. Her *Pwyll III* barren period is protected by Pwyll's loyalty, for he refuses to divorce her, temporising to gain time for her. After her Arberth birthgiving Rhiannon has six female guardians for her and her child overnight. When she wakes in the morning her words are poignant:

‘A/ wraged,’ heb hi, ‘mae y mab?’⁷³³

Both her baby and her *lle*, her place in society, are threatened. When she realises she is smeared with blood, and what the women are doing in accusing her, she makes multiple appeals via truth/ morality, God/ religion, compassion ‘A *druen*’/ ‘Ah, poor things’, offering her political protection.⁷³⁴

Her penance enables her to publicly voice her loss, to send the news abroad.⁷³⁵ Her hybrid maternal motives may be imagined to help endure the strain of five weary years at the gates of Arberth, sitting in dust or mud, rain, wind, cold or heat, despised at first, sometimes carrying someone on her back. It may be imagined that some might help her with blankets, drinks, kind words. Increasingly sympathy for her grew.⁷³⁶ Her discipline must strictly maintain dignity to exert influence, even if feeling enraged or agonised with grief: *not* behaving characteristically arrogantly.⁷³⁷

When the boy arrives with Teyrnon and two Gwent *marchogion*, the text has mother and son meeting unknowingly: an eerie moment. She performs her weary penance routine, and the boy courteously declines her offer of a ride, following his father Teyrnon's lead.⁷³⁸ It was speculated above whether advance planning mounted the successful restoration.⁷³⁹ On this reading Rhiannon might

⁷³² Ch. IV.2. Acts analysis p. 208; her mothering dislodges her dominance.

⁷³³ Her waking words: PKM1 20.23–24. ‘Ah, women,’ she said, ‘where is the boy?’ JKB 34.1.

⁷³⁴ ‘*druen*’ PKM1 21.1, & 21.6. ‘poor things’ JKB 34.2.

Ch. V.6. Maids pp. 276–77 for Rhiannon's attempts to persuade the Maids to speak truth.

⁷³⁵ Ch. IV.1. Voice #22 p. 194, & p. 202. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot pp. 268–72.

⁷³⁶ Spreading the news: *ac amouyn yn lut ymdanaw yny/ gicleu gan lawer o luossogrwyd, o'r a delei y'r llys,/ mynychu cwynaw truanet damwein Riannon, a'y phoen*. PKM1 24.12–14. ‘he heard from many of the multitude who had come to the court increasing complaints about the sadness of Rhiannon's misfortune and her punishment.’ JKB 87.1.

⁷³⁷ Analysis Ch. IV. 1. Voice: Narrative: horsewoman pp. 198–99. Also Ch. IV.2. Acts p. 208.

⁷³⁸ To him Teyrnon is his father at that point.

⁷³⁹ If there were an advance-planned *dénouement*, to stage an effective restoration (speculated Boyhood, above), it seems unlikely in the extreme a young boy would be trusted with the secret in advance. Alternatively if there were no advance strategy Teyrnon would still be unlikely to trust the boy with the tale, to protect him from fear of the coming scene.

know who he was; equally poignant as ignorance, knowledge requiring great effort to conceal profound reaction. On any interpretation this is a peak moment of Rhiannon drama, therefore surprising it receives almost no attention in Mabinogi Studies. In the wealth of Rhiannon art, there is only one image of it; a Pughe sketch (1826).⁷⁴⁰

Teyrnon publicly declares the boy her son in the hall. Rhiannon famously exclaims:

*'Y rofi a Duw, ... oed escor
uym pryder im, pei gwir hynny.'*⁷⁴¹

Ch.V.9. Pendaran, addresses her apparent tension with Pendaran, Pwyll's diplomatic resolution, and the subtlety in her wordplay. Rhiannon then checks if the boy's existing name might suit him best, an apparently maternal kindness and insight about his dislocated state (on the latter, above).⁷⁴²

Mabinogi text is typically laconic: acts speak for themselves.⁷⁴³ It tells us the boy was brought up to be the most perfect boy; a high demand (Bollard, above). Details are left to the imagination.⁷⁴⁴ A likely farewell with Teyrnon comes to mind; the man dignified, grieving, as parents do probably promising the boy they could be together again 'soon'. Pryderi conceivably stumbled with his new name for a time, with so much to learn, everything strange in a large, prestigious *llys* with different, westerly customs. There are three fathers now; Pwyll, Teyrnon and Pendaran. One familiar comfort would be his horse which stayed with him.⁷⁴⁵ Rhiannon would likely delight in his affinity for horses; riding together could progress their intimacy. He would be used to Teyrnon's Wife, her intelligent pragmatism, so he would feel at home with Rhiannon's similar

⁷⁴⁰ William Owen Pughe. c. 1826 (attributed). One of 'Nine Sketches' to illustrate the First Branch', pen and wash. NLW MS 13242B. Aberystwyth.

⁷⁴¹ Rhiannon declaration: PKM1 26.9–10. 'Between me and God ... it would deliver me from my care if that were true.' JKB 38.1. Plays on *escor*, birth delivery, deliverance; ref. '*rieni*' status.

⁷⁴² Rhiannon checks: "*Edrychwch, heb y Riannon, "na bo goreu y queda/ arnaw y enw e hun."* PKM1 26.13–14. 'See,' said Rhiannon, 'if his own name might not suit him best.' JKB 38.1.

⁷⁴³ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 66; quoted Ch. II.2. Craft: Characterisation pp. 46–47.

⁷⁴⁴ Pryderi training: *delediwhaf gwass, a theccaf, a chwpplaf/ o pob camp da, o'r a oed yn y dyrnas*. PKM1 27.14–15. 'the most perfect lad, and the fairest, and the most accomplished in every noble feat of anyone in the realm.' JKB 40.1. Bollard cites 24 'feats': (here) pp. 301–02 n. 626 illustrative detail from Dr. John Davies' 'Noble Feats' a young *marchog* must learn.

⁷⁴⁵ Pryderi's horse: PKM1 25.7–8. JKB 37.1.

qualities.⁷⁴⁶ He does not seem to share those traits, instead becoming a man of action, passion and sensuality (above).

Adult Pryderi, inherits Dyfed, conquers more territories, marries Cigfa, a wife Rhiannon apparently approves.⁷⁴⁷ Rhiannon the widow, a seasoned ruler, might act as his regent in his absence at war.⁷⁴⁸ Returning, he lingers dazed at Harlech, the Adar Rhiannon attending him with their incomparably sweet and soothing song; imaginably a 'care package' from Rhiannon.⁷⁴⁹

PKM3 has Rhiannon and Cigfa devotedly creating a large, lengthy, homecoming feast for son and husband. Pryderi expresses admiration for his mother to his close friend Manawydan. He extols her converse, her intelligent, cultured conversation, and Manawydan is indeed drawn to her skilled discourse. Pryderi declares Rhiannon is still beautiful for her age,⁷⁵⁰ an affectionate comment many an adult son might make about a middle-aged mother.

Rhiannon enjoys Manawydan's company. She would be keen to know her son's mind as returning ruler: she stays alert to the men's conversation, noting they made an important plan. Characteristically, she asks them directly what it is, insisting her son include her in his planning. Pryderi, by presenting Manawydan's courtly gentleness, secures her consent to his marriage plan. He evidently learned as a boy how to liaise with her as formidable matriarch, presenting a *fait accompli* appealing to her for consent.⁷⁵¹ Having accepted Manawydan as husband, Rhiannon counsels Pryderi on Caswallawn the usurper king's whereabouts. Pryderi shows his trust in her political judgement by postponing

⁷⁴⁶ Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon's Wife pp. 289-90.

⁷⁴⁷ If Cigfa's background is wealthy, useful (theorised Ch. V.11. Cigfa pp. 329-30) Rhiannon would approve her. Rhiannon and Cigfa partner the homecoming feast, PKM3 50.12-14. JKB 63.2-64.1. Part of the loving Dyfed quartet. PKM3 51.4-11. JKB 65.1.

⁷⁴⁸ Regency. Ch. III.5. LLW: Marriage p. 168.

⁷⁴⁹ Ch. V.10. Pryderi p. 319. Ch. VI.6. *Adar Rhiannon* pp. 408-09 quoted n. 118. Music is easily understood as healing, soothing to sleep. Waking the dead may possibly be interpreted as healing. Cf. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, quoted, referenced Ch. I.5. Text; #2 p. 33.

⁷⁵⁰ Pryderi praises Rhiannon: "*Er amser y bu hitheu yn y/ dewred, ny bu wreic delediwach no hi*", PKM3 50.8-9. 'Since the time she was in her prime there was no woman as beautiful as she,' JKB 63.2.

⁷⁵¹ Rhiannon's Manawydan marriage addressed Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Marriage pp. 340-41.

his homage trip.⁷⁵² Rhiannon and Pryderi then merge into the 'Dyfed quartet' passages, where drama occurs as a group.⁷⁵³

Rhiannon evidently rides *cylch*/ tax circuit, as a veteran ruler with the men.⁷⁵⁴ She is silent as Pryderi expresses contempt for the English artisans, but from her past record she is presumably as elitist as he is.⁷⁵⁵ The Mabinogi is explicit that Rhiannon hunts with Pryderi and Manawydan, without Cigfa, though Cigfa shares *cylch* riding.⁷⁵⁶ During the boar hunt Rhiannon stays at home, for Manawydan returns to her in the evening.⁷⁵⁷

*Pan daw y mywn, sef
a wnaeth Riannon, edrych arnaw. "Mae," heb hi, "dy
gedymdeith di, a'th cwn?"*⁷⁵⁸

Rhiannon's direct stare may be imagined as stonelike. Manawydan explains.

Rhiannon scathingly rebukes him that he has failed badly – as a friend.

"Dioer," ... 'ys

⁷⁵² "Arglwyd," heb y/ Riannon, "yg Kent y mae Caswallawn, a thi a elly/ treulaw y wled honn a'y arhos a uo nes." PKM3 51.1–3. 'Lord,' said Rhiannon, 'Caswallawn is in Kent, and you may partake of this feast and wait for him until he is nearer.' JKB 65.1. (My underlining.) Rhiannon not only knows where Caswallawn is, she is confident she will know his movements later. Speculation on her agents, Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon pp. 412–13.

Though unstated, Rhiannon can be assumed to have known about Caswallawn's usurpation for some time, when it happened or soon after. She and the nobles of Britain had a period of dangerous politics, dominated by a murderous usurper as high-king. Manawydan returning from war investigates news and hears an account of the usurpation; PKM2 45.24–27. JKB 57.1–58.1. With her military forces in *Iwerddon*/ Ireland, like other British regents Rhiannon would have no choice but to accept the new order. A possible reason among others, for Pryderi's long stay away in obscure Gwales might be to lie low until Caswallawn's worst excesses have passed. Rhiannon might not feel confident that the returning warrior Pryderi would be the cautious prince needed in these difficult times. She would know her son as prone to aggressive reactions under stress, cf. his later exile in *Lloegr*, PKM3 53.9, 53.28–54.1, 54.25–26. JKB 66.2, 67.1–2, 68.1.

⁷⁵³ Dyfed quartet, from PKM3 51.17 – 55.6. JKB 65.2. to 68.2.

⁷⁵⁴ *Cylch* by all four: PKM3 51.4–6. JKB 65.1. Rhiannon as strong, unfeminine, Winward, 'Aspects', pp. 83–84, for whom this is one item of evidence.

⁷⁵⁵ Ch. V. 11. Cigfa p. 330–31 and 334, theorising Rhiannon as much or more than Pryderi influencing Cigfa's aristocratic snobbery.

⁷⁵⁶ Manawydan remembers: *a'r tirogaeth/ y buassei yn hela, ef a Pryderi, a Riannon gyt ac/ wynt*. PKM3 58.25–27. 'the territory he used to hunt, he and Pryderi and Rhiannon together', JKB 72.1. Cigfa is implicitly included in the *cylch*, not referenced as a huntress as Rhiannon is. Possibly this is because hunting needs riding astride, where *cylch* is slower, and can be done riding on-the-side. Advent: #5. Horse p. 17 n. 80.

⁷⁵⁷ The great strength and savagery of the boar make it a masculine hunt, and dangerous even for men. Boar hunting, Animal Affinities pp. 302–03, above. and p. 309 with Albarella quoted n. 676.

⁷⁵⁸ Rhiannon Rebuke III prefatory question: PKM3 56.23–25. When he came in, this is what Rhiannon did – she looked at him. 'Where,' she said, 'is your friend, and your hounds?' JKB 70.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice #31 pp. 195, 196, perceives this aggressive 'pre-question' as Rhiannon exerting dominance, reducing the hapless Manawydan to an inferior. Cf. her same technique when rebuking Pwyll at their wedding; '*Och! ... paham y rody di attep yuelly?*' PKM1 14.6–7. 'Och! ... why do you give such an answer!' JKB 29.1. Voice #8 pp. 193, 196.

drwc a gedymdeith uuosti, ac ys da a gedymdeith a golleisti."⁷⁵⁹

Her priority is absolute: her son, not her husband. Given how generous a friend Pryderi has been to Manawydan, her judgement is searing, stripping him of his new, Dyfed-gifted dignity. In long years until Manawydan rescues his friend, it might be imagined that her words painfully haunt him. Granted, entering the tower may seem too risky. If Manawydan were also captured the women would be left unprotected.⁷⁶⁰ Yet a skilled hunter could at least covertly scout the area for information for Rhiannon's counsel; his paralysis parallels Pryderi. All he does for hours, is wait, doing nothing.⁷⁶¹ Manawydan rarely initiates action until he is forced to it when left alone with Cigfa.⁷⁶²

Rhiannon departs to rescue her son.⁷⁶³ Entering the tower she is shocked to see him immobilised.

*"Och, uy
Arglwyd, '... 'beth a wney di yma?"*⁷⁶⁴

Her cry repeats the birth morning when she similarly cried out in maternal *pryder*/ anxiety.⁷⁶⁵ Inevitably, as metal to magnet, she moves to him; touching the basin she too is trapped. These are her last words on historical record, and her last active presence, a frozen tableau with her son.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁵⁹ Rhiannon Rebuke III: PKM3 56.26–27. Voice #32 pp. 195, 196 'God knows, ... bad is the companion you have been, and good is the companion you have lost.' JKB 70.2. Cf. Bollard's emphasis (male) friendship as central Mabinogi theme Ch. II.7. Paradigm: Interlacing pp. 122–23.

⁷⁶⁰ More on Rhiannon's rebuke, her rescue attempt with Valente's analysis, Ch. II.8. Feminism pp. 130–31. Influence Manawydan: Ch. V.12 Background pp. 337–39; Ch. V.12 Man of Virtue pp. 342–45. Manawydan's vindication at last, below p. 328.

⁷⁶¹ Contrast immediately after the Desolation, Manawydan proposes to investigate the area to see what has happened. PKM3 52.4–6. JKB 66.1.

⁷⁶² Ch. V. 12. Manawydan: Background p. 338. Before the Cigfa narrative he does initiate investigating the nature of the Desolation, then exile into *Lloegr* and during it. above p. 308.

⁷⁶³ Cf. Valente's analysis, Ch. II. 8. Feminism pp. 130–31.

⁷⁶⁴ Rhiannon's shock, last narrative speech: PKM3 57.6 –7. Voice #33 pp. 197, 204. "Alas, my lord, ... 'what are you doing here?' JKB 70.2. Also Peniarth 6 poignancy: Manuscripts p. 59.

⁷⁶⁵ '*A/ wraged, heb hi, 'mae y mab?*' PKM1 20.23–24. 'Ah, women,' she said, 'where is the boy?' JKB 34.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice: #18 pp. 193–94, 'Mothering' 201, 'Desolation' 204. The term *pryder*/ anxiety, here references her exclamation when Teyrnon presents her with her restored boy, PKM1 26.9–10. JKB 38.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice: #24 pp. 194, 195, 202–03; and Ch. V.9. Pendaran pp. 292–95.

⁷⁶⁶ In the historically earliest MS. Peniarth 6, the surviving fragment breaks off at this point. The accident of the fragment's survival like this, gives historical poignancy to Rhiannon's last narrative action in her own right. She occurs in later narrative in the other extant MSS. when she and Pryderi are liberated, end of PKM3, but merely named and observed. PKM3 65.6. JKB 75.2. Ch. II.4. Manuscripts: Peniarth 6 pp. 58–59. Rhiannon's closeness to her son has been judged negatively on her PKM3 *pryder* and rescue attempt by Mac Cana (*Mabinogi*, pp. 57–58) and Clancy ('Needs of Strangers', p. 16); see Ch. II.8. Feminism/ Rob Valente's challenge pp. 130–31.

Dyad Mam/ Maternal Dyad

The 'maternal dyad' presents how closely Rhiannon and Pryderi narratives are associated. Once she marries she awaits his arrival: his birth begins to define her.⁷⁶⁷ Nothing in her narrative after that has another focus. When separated, her *locus* remains him, her *pryderi*/ anxiety. When he is in Gwent growing up, her penance sends her voice out to him.⁷⁶⁸ During the Irish War she sends him Adar Rhiannon, their/ her voice/s bridging the gulf between them. Her second marriage derives from him, her political advice supports him, and they continue in close affection, seemingly beyond political self-interest.⁷⁶⁹ When he disappears into the tower, she rebukes Manawydan not for failing *her*, but for failing *him*. She shares years of captivity with him, and they are liberated together.⁷⁷⁰ This 'maternal dyad' can be demonstrated as a structural and thematic balance.

TABLE Maternal dyad (Structural balance)

Prologue: RHIANNON: *Pwyll* I. PRYDERI: Rhiannon's courtship, marriage, barren years.
Double identity, alternation (cf. Ford): RHIANNON/ Teyrnon's Wife. PRYDERI/ Gwri.
Animal affinities: RHIANNON, horse, hound bitch, Adar. PRYDERI, colt, hounds, boar (later pigs).
PKM2 single named instances: Adar RHIANNON. PRYDERI, war Survivor.
PKM3 shared renewal: RHIANNON feast, political advice. PRYDERI political bestowals.
Dyfed quartet: BOTH hunt, BOTH defer to Manawydan's leadership in *Lloegr*.
Tower priorities: RHIANNON, Pryderi rescue. PRYDERI, hounds as providers for her and family.
Cigfa: voices the shared values of BOTH.
Captivity: absent years for BOTH. BOTH bear heavy punishment on the neck.

References.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁷ Barren years: PKM1 19.16 20.3. JKB 33.2. Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' status pp. 182-83.

⁷⁶⁸ Penance theory Ch. V.5. *Pwyll*: Penance Plot pp. 268-72.

⁷⁶⁹ In acute isolation during the Desolation there is little or no scope for politics.

⁷⁷⁰ Penance and Gwent boyhood, PKM 21.18. JKB 34.2. and PKM 23.13-25.10. JKB 36.2-37.1. Adar Rhiannon, PKM2 45.3-4. JKB 55.2. and PKM2 46. 14. JKB 57.1. Second marriage arranged, PKM3 49.17-19. JKB 63.1-2. Political advice, PKM3 51.1-4. JKB 65.1. Affection in Dyfed quartet, PKM3 51.1-9-11. JKB 65.1. Rebuke ref. Pryderi, PKM3 56.26-27. JKB 70.2. Shared captivity, PKM3 57.6-65.6. JKB 70.2-75.2. Also end of Branch, PKM3 17-21. JKB 76.1. Liberated together, PKM3 65.3-7. JKB 75.2. These references also appear in the Table below, mixed amongst others.

⁷⁷¹ Table references. Prologue: RHIANNON: *Pwyll* I. PKM1 1.1-8.26. JKB 19.1-24.2. PRYDERI: Rhiannon's courtship, marriage, barren years. PKM1 8.27-19.29. JKB 33.2. Double identity cf. Ford's *Cyfranc Caseg*, in *Welsh Tales*, pp. 4- =14: RHIANNON/ Teyrnon's Wife. PKM 21.18. JKB 34.2. and PKM 23.13-25.10. PRYDERI/ Gwri, PKM 26.13-16. JKB 38.1. RHIANNON, horse, PKM1 8.12-13. JKB 25.2. Adar, PKM2 45.3-4. JKB 55.2. and PKM2 46. 14. JKB 57.1. PRYDERI, colt, PKM1 23.24-24.8. JKB 36.1-2. boar PKM3 55.12-20. JKB 68.2. (later pigs PKM4 68.22-23. JKB 80.2.) PKM2 single naming: RHIANNON Adar, PKM2 45.3. JKB 55.2. PRYDERI, war Survivor, PKM2 44.25. JKB 55.2. Third Branch shared renewal: RHIANNON feast, political advice PKM3 50.12- 51. 4. JKB 63.2- 65.1. PRYDERI political bestowals, PKM3 49.17-19. JKB 63.1-2. Dyfed quartet: BOTH hunt, PKM3 58.26. JKB 72.1. BOTH defer to Manawydan's leadership in *Lloegr*, PKM3 52.17- 55.1. JKB 66.1-68.1. (Rhiannon disappeared under group pronouns). Tower priorities: RHIANNON, Pryderi rescue, PKM3 56.26-27. JKB 70.2. PRYDERI, hounds as providers, PKM3 56.6-7. JKB 70.1.

Thematically, both Rhiannon and Pryderi have strong associations with horses and hunting. They complement each other as food providers; he hunts food, she organises feasts. Both are generous, and host feasts. They are both arrogant elitists who enjoy fine living; notably feasts, also fine horses, silk, and gold. Both appear to have successful marriages. Both are brave and forceful. Both have other strong relationships: she by marriage, he by friendship. Both are successful rulers, but both produce fateful disasters for Dyfed due to their choices: the Desolation, the Gwynedd war.

This is not to say they do not have significant differences. Rhiannon is female, Pryderi male. Rhiannon is a strategist, Pryderi an action-oriented warrior. These roles are set by gendered mores and upbringing.⁷⁷² It seems a personality difference too, otherwise Pryderi might also be a strategist, like his father. Rhiannon is highly vocal, with 33 speech instances;⁷⁷³ Pryderi has only nine.⁷⁷⁴ Rhiannon is verbally dominant, Pryderi listens as much as he speaks; possibly because as a male he has other modes of dominance (fighting, inherited lordship). Pryderi is generous and trusting: Rhiannon's gifts are strategic.⁷⁷⁵ Rhiannon is strongly initiatory (cf. Ch. IV. Acts): Pryderi initiates significantly

Cigfa: voices BOTH Ch. V.11. Cigfa, PKM3 58.5–61.14. JKB 71.2–73.2. Captivity: absent years for BOTH, PKM3 57.6–65.6. JKB 70.2–75.2. BOTH bear heavy punishment on the neck, PKM3 17–21. JKB 76.1.

⁷⁷² Roles, Ch. III.4. Equine: Hunting and women pp. 163–64; p. 164 notes Rhiannon's class of *marchogesau* benefit from their men's military violence but never participate in it.

⁷⁷³ Ch. IV.1. Voice pp. 192–95, for catalogue of Rhiannon's 33 speeches; analysis follows.

⁷⁷⁴ Pryderi speeches.

1) Sympathy for Manawydan, plans, PKM3 49.8–50.6. JKB 63.1–2.

2) Manawydan, Rhiannon, agree, PKM3 50.21–22. JKB 64.2.

3) Rhiannon's advice PKM3 51.1–4. JKB 65.1.

4) Manawydan, three formulaic dialogues in *Lloegr* towns, PKM3 JKB 66.2–68.1. These can be divided into talk about what craft to adopt (2), and the later consultations about murder plots (3), increasing Pryderi's speeches to eleven. That does not change his much lower quantity of speech compared to Rhiannon.

5) Proposes boar hunt, PKM3 55.12–13. JKB 68.2.

6) Manawydan, tower PKM3 55.28–56.6. JKB 70.1.

7) Gwydion, false friendship, PKM4 70.6–23. JKB 81.2–82.1.

8) Pigs exchange council, PKM4 70.23–26. JKB 82.1.

9) Proposes duel, PKM4 72.25–27. JKB 87.1.

⁷⁷⁵ Generosity, e.g. Rhiannon concerns herself with minstrel largesse which will ensure their favour for her public reputation. PKM1 18.22–24. JKB 31.2. This is successful for her generosity is found in poetry long after, Ch. I.6. Sources. #6–9 pp. 33–34. She distributes richly on arrival in Dyfed, which eases her entrance to its society as a stranger-wife. PKM1 19.13–16. JKB 31.2. (Cf. similarly Branwen, PKM2 37.9–13 JKB 31; probably patrilocal, female, marital custom.) Pryderi gifts his friend sympathy, large and valuable territory, and kindred. PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–2. This seems mainly affectionate, although it may have a component of pride in annexing the former Prince of Britain, and a pragmatic settlement for his mother to separate his rule and hers.

only eight times (Table, above). Their differences show two distinct personages without disrupting their extremely close dyad.⁷⁷⁶

*nit oed namyn diffeithwch.*⁷⁷⁷

The biggest event in the Mabinogi is the genocidal Irish War: *Iwerddon* is depopulated and the entire fighting force of Britain is exterminated except for Seven Survivors.⁷⁷⁸ The Desolation of Dyfed is also on a grand scale.

*A phan edrychyssant y ford
y guelyn y preideu, a'r anreitheu, a'r kyuanhed kyn no
hynny, ny welynt neb ryw dim, na thy, nac aniueil, na
mwc, na than, na dyn, na chyuanhed, eithyr tei y llys yn
wac, diffeith, anghyuanhed, heb dyn, heb uil yndunt *
eu kedyrndeithon e hun wedy eu colli, heb wybot
dim y wrthunt, onyt wyll pedwar.*⁷⁷⁹

Here the tale changes radically from feast, wedding, hunting, enjoying the abundance of the land, to four lonely survivors in a vast wilderness, reduced to subsistence living, and exile.⁷⁸⁰ The affection of the four counter-balances the bleakness somewhat, though the internal balance of relationships changes.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁶ Rhiannon and Pryderi's dyad is so persistent and continuous, it might suggest that, rather than 'Mabinogi Rhiannon', this study might now convert to '*Mabinogi Rhiannon a Pryderi*'. If framed differently the project would not be 'Rhiannon' the one at hand. The maternal dyad is certainly a major aspect of 'Rhiannon' but not the whole.

⁷⁷⁷ Desolation: PKM3 52.8. 'there was nothing but desolation.' JKB 66.1. *diffeithwch* – desert, wilderness, solitude, desolation, devastation, depredation, a pillaging. (GPC) W. J. Gruffydd refers to a "waste land" on several occasions, WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 75ff. Andrew Welsh quite rightly states: 'But Dyfed is not a "waste land": it is deserted but not infertile.' Welsh, 'New Man', *Essays*, p. 135. Hughes: 'Literally, *cyfannedd* means 'dwellings, habitations' and in this is implied human life in general. When Dyfed loses all signs of *cyfannedd* therefore, what actually disappears is everything connected with human habitation: farming, culture, all men, women and children and all farm stock. Thus the land becomes *anghyfannedd*, 'uninhabited by humans', and returns to its wilder, more natural state.' Hughes, 'Tripartite', p. 102.

⁷⁷⁸ War genocide: *En Iwerdon nyt edewit dyn byw, namyn pump/ gwraged beichawc ymywn gogof yn diffeithwch Iwerdon*. PKM2 47.27–48.1. 'In Ireland not a person was left alive, except five pregnant women in a cave in the wilderness of Ireland.' JKB 60.1. Seven Survivors of the British forces listed, PKM2 44.25–27. JKB 55.2.

⁷⁷⁹ Desolation: PKM3 51.26–52.3. 'when they looked to where they used to see the flocks and herds and inhabited places before that, no one could see anything at all – neither house nor animal nor smoke nor fire nor person nor inhabited place, but the houses of the court empty, desolate, uninhabited, without a person, without an animal in them, their own companions lost, without knowing anything about them, except for those four.' JKB 66.1. Also Ch. III. 6. Political Parallels pp 185–88, for a historically realist interpretation of Anglo-Norman incursion.

⁷⁸⁰ Since Pryderi is common to both tiny Survivors groups (the Irish War and the Desolation), Anwyl's concept of Pryderi's narrative continuity as a 'slender thread' has more cogency than perhaps Anwyl himself realised. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 287.

It has been noted above that the PKM3 abundance which gave such delight, becomes vital to survival. PKM3 51.4–16. JKB 65.1–2. Hughes' and Welsh' characterisation of the Desolation land as fertile, not a 'Wasteland'.

⁷⁸¹ Manawydan becomes more central than his friend Pryderi. The initial accord of Rhiannon's marriage with Manawydan is broken by her Rebuke III of his betrayal of his friend. PKM3 50.15–

Only years later is this mysterious Desolation explained by its author, the Magician Llwyd, as vengeance for the humiliation of Gwawl at Rhiannon's wedding to Pwyll.

*ac ar Pryderi y dieleis i guare broch yghot a
Guawl uab Clut, pan y gwnaeth Pwyll Penn Annwn;
a hynny yn Llys Eueyd Hen y gwnaeth o aghynghor.*⁷⁸²

Llwyd is explicit the root cause is the inferior *counsel* given to Pwyll at *llys Hyfaidd*.⁷⁸³ That pinpoints Rhiannon (and her father) as responsible for the Desolation.

*pan y gwnaeth Pwyll Penn Annwn;
a hynny yn Llys Eueyd Hen y gwnaeth o aghynghor.*⁷⁸⁴

Llwyd's vengeance particularly targets Rhiannon's power-base of foodstocks.⁷⁸⁵ Her plot to force Gwawl to relinquish both her and his revenge, deploys her badger-bag. Its capacity can hold all the food and drink of Dyfed, a metaphor for the scale of her food organisation. Llwyd's Desolation, caused by her bag's power, destroys it. Rhiannon's Choice of Pwyll, and her manner of winning her way, is the fundament of Mabinogi Rhiannon. Ch. V.5. Pwyll theorises that Rhiannon wanted to evade paying massive compensation to Gwawl for breaking her betrothal contract with him. A good prince was publicly hurt and humiliated; forced to not only forgo compensation for the broken contract, and his revenge, but to pay the minstrels' expenses of Rhiannon's lavish feast.⁷⁸⁶

17, JKB 64.1. Rebuke, PKM3 56.26–27. Voice #32 pp. 195, 204. JKB 70.2. Manawydan and Cigfa, from having the least connection among the four, with no formal relationship, need to create a new mutual respect. PKM3 57.13–57.27. JKB 70.2.–71.1. Ch. V.11. Cigfa pp. 331–32 incl. n. 818.

⁷⁸² Llwyd explains: PKM3 64. 8–10. 'And upon Pryderi I have avenged playing badger-in-a-bag with Gwawl son of Clud when Pwyll Head of Annwn did that, and he did that from lack of counsel in the court of Hefeydd the Old.' JKB 75.1. (My italics). Ch. V.3. Gwawl p. 236, and n. 783 next.

⁷⁸³ Bollard translates *aghynghor* closely 'lack of counsel'; 75.1. (*anghyngor*, Mod.W), unadvisedness, rashness. Guest has Pwyll acting 'unadvisedly', *Mabinogion*, p. 409. Ellis and Lloyd, 'unadvisedly', *Mabinogion*, p. 95. Jones and Jones, 'ill-advisedly', *Mabinogion*, p. 45. Ford has Llwyd refer to Pwyll's 'meanness', *Welsh tales*, p. 86. Sioned Davies has Pwyll acting 'unwisely', *Mabinogion*, p. 45. The Welsh term, Guest, Ellis, Jones and Jones, Davies, makes it clear Llwyd views the *counsel* given to Pwyll as at fault, and that came from Rhiannon.

⁷⁸⁴ Llwyd specifically: PKM3 64.9–10. 'when Pwyll Head of Annwn did that, and he did that from lack of counsel in the court of Hefeydd the Old.' JKB 75.1. The PKM1 counsel: *gan gynghor/Heueyd a Riannon*. 'Kynghor yw hynny gynnym/ni,' heb wynt. PKM1 17.26–28. on 'the counsel of Hefeydd and Rhiannon.' 'That is our counsel,' they said.' JKB 31.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice #16.

⁷⁸⁵ Rhiannon and foodstocks, her feasts PKM1 13.20–25; 15.27–16.3; PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 27.1–28.2; 29.1; 63.2–64.1. She rides *cylch* (monitoring and gathering stocks) PKM3 51.5. JKB 65.1. economic balance of *cylch* and feast, Ch.. III.5. LLW Feasts pp. 173–74.

⁷⁸⁶ Feast cost: PKM1 17.20–22. JKB 31.1. Rhiannon might mean she must give a second feast because Gwawl aborted the first in its final stage. It is suggested here that she set it up to tempt Gwawl to do so. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Wealth p. 244; and Wedding Plot pp. 266–67.

Gwawl apparently breaks his contract made with Pwyll to relinquish revenge, which he swore before witnesses and with sureties. Kris Hughes feels the contract is not broken because it is Llwyd who exacts revenge, not Gwawl.⁷⁸⁷ But in this mediaeval society responsibility is clan based, not individual: Gwawl's vow bound his people too. He does not avenge himself, but Llwyd acts for him. It seems Gwawl's vow to Pwyll holds throughout Pwyll's lifetime, and well into Pryderi's. Some significant change apparently occurs which allows Llwyd to feel revenge is permissible. Is it merely long held bitterness among Gwawl's people erupting in the younger generation?

Pryderi and Manawydan have recently returned from the Irish War. Manawydan has married Rhiannon and they have exercised the new lordship by riding a *cylch* around Dyfed. For Dyfed is now ruled by Manawydan, via Pryderi's extraordinarily generous gift.⁷⁸⁸ This is what might allow Gwawl and Llwyd a loophole. Politics and contracts in this society are person to person.⁷⁸⁹ Gwawl's contract was with Pwyll personally, logically for Pwyll's lifetime, and it seems Pwyll's son/ heir extends Pwyll's *lle*/ place, identity. But Pryderi then withdraws from direct lordship of old Dyfed.⁷⁹⁰ Manawydan as the new *pendefig* Dyfed is not blood-kin to Pwyll's house, nor an adopted son.⁷⁹¹ Dyfed is now held by a lord who is outside Gwawl's contract. It could be argued that Pryderi has only gifted the use of the land, not its sovereignty. But Llwyd specifically refers to Manawydan as the potential conduit for another revenge if Manawydan had not excluded that option.⁷⁹² Even better (for Llwyd), Rhiannon, the author of Gwawl's

⁷⁸⁷ Kris Hughes. 18/09/22. 'Reflections on the Identity of Rhiannon', p. 7. Presented online at 'Ninefold Festival', Sisterhood of Avalon, Glastonbury. Notes by kind PDF gift from Kris Hughes (25/10/22).

⁷⁸⁸ It should always kept in mind that Pryderi did not gift Dyfed outright, only the use of it. "*A chyn bo enwedigaeth y kyuoeth y mi, bit y mwynant/y ti a Riannon*. PKM3 49.23–50.1. 'And though the title to the realm is mine, let the enjoyment of it be yours and Rhiannon's.' JKB 63.2.

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. Pwyll, Arawn in *Pwyll I*, PKM1 2.27–28. JKB 21.2.; and Pryderi's homage to Caswallawn the usurper, PKM3 51.11–12. JKB 65.1.

⁷⁹⁰ Llwyd only visits Desolation vengeance on the old heartland, the seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed, as originally held by Pwyll, PKM1 1.1–2. JKB 19.1: Llwyd explains: *a mi a dodeis yr hut ar seith cantref Dyuet*, PKM3 64.6. 'I placed the enchantment upon the seven cantrefs of Dyfed'. JKB 75.1.

⁷⁹¹ Cf. the outsider status of women when they marry. They legally still belong to their natal kindred for seven years. Ch. III.5. LLW: Divorce, '*agweddiol*' p. 175.

⁷⁹² Manawydan's terms: "*Llyna*," *heb ef*, "*a uynhaf, na bo ymdiala ar Pryderi a/ Riannon, nac arnaf inheu, uyth am hynn*." "*Hynny oll a/ geffu. A dioer, da y medreist*," *heb ef*. "*Bei na metrut// hynny*," *heb ef*, "*efa doy am dy benn cwbyl o'r gouut*."/ "*Ie*," *heb ynteu*, "*rac hynny y nodeis inheu*." PKM3 64.2–65.2. 'Here,' said he, 'is what I want: that no revenge for this be taken upon Pryderi and Rhiannon, nor upon me, ever.' 'All of that you shall have. And God knows, you have struck well,' he

misfortune, whose counsel was the cause of the ‘badgering’ of Gwawl, is there to be punished and humiliated as she deserves. Llwyd’s Desolation blights the land, capturing her, and she must bear the dirty collars of farm asses on her neck for several years, and perhaps greater suffering knowing her son’s parallel misery.⁷⁹³

Rhiannon’s counsel could be faulted again. In her rôle of adviser to her prince son she fails to warn Pryderi of the possible implications of his generous gift to Manawydan. It is a time of intense relief and happiness with her beloved son returned safe from war and all the busyness of running a huge feast. Nonetheless, she did not warn him; on this reading becoming *doubly* responsible for the Desolation. Pryderi of course, might have thought of it too, though he is a man of action, not a man of wisdom. He might be understood as flown on his own expansive generosity.⁷⁹⁴ Manawydan, much praised as a cautious and wise counsellor,⁷⁹⁵ also fails to caution his friend. Both he and Pryderi are imaginably overshadowed by the War and its horrors, disoriented by Caswallawn’s violent usurpation, distracted by the joy of homecoming. Gwawl is long gone.

The maternal dyad is twisted into a very tight *cainc*/ rope. Mother and son may both be read as responsible for the huge Desolation of Dyfed. As Llwyd explains, Rhiannon initiates the skein by her strategic counsel to Pwyll to trap Gwawl in her badger-bag, humiliating him, and coercing him out of his rights to her, and his revenge. It will be remembered that her bag speech is the longest speech in the Mabinogi.⁷⁹⁶ Pryderi then weakens her protective pact by giving Dyfed’s lordship to Manawydan, an outsider. Rhiannon fails to warn Pryderi of the risk (and neither Pryderi nor Manawydan think of it either). Had Rhiannon not cheated and humiliated Gwawl, the Desolation would not have occurred. Arguably, it still would not have occurred if Pryderi had not abdicated his bloodline lordship. The Desolation destroys Rhiannon’s power base of food

said. ‘If you had not/ struck upon that,’ he said, ‘all of the trouble would have fallen on your head.’ ‘Yea,’ said he, ‘I took care specifically against that.’ JKB 75.2.

⁷⁹³ Sufferings in captivity: “*Pryderi a uydei ac yrd porth uy/ llys i am y uynwgyl, a Riannon a uydei a mynweireu yr/ essynn, wedy bydyn yn kywein gueir, am y mynwgyl/ hitheu. Ac yuelly y bu eu carchar.*” PKM3 65.18–21. ‘Pryderi would have the hammers of the gate of my court about his neck, and Rhiannon would have the collars of asses, after they had been gathering hay, about her neck. And such was their imprisonment.’ JKB 76.1.

⁷⁹⁴ His generosity similarly leads him into tragedy with Gwydion, viz. the pigs exchange, above.

⁷⁹⁵ Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Man of Virtue pp. 342 also Background p. 337. Ch. V.10. Pryderi p. 310.

⁷⁹⁶ Rhiannon’s contract counsel: PKM1 17.20–24. JKB 30.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice: #15 pp. 193, 196. Bag speech: PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. Ch. IV.1. Voice: #12, pp. 193, 200–01.

stocks; then Pryderi the hunter-provider is led into captivity, and Rhiannon is captured through her *pryder*/ anxiety about him.⁷⁹⁷ Llwyd's strategy, with great ingenuity, twists the maternal dyad *cainc*. Rhiannon pays doubly, by her own suffering and through the suffering of her son.⁷⁹⁸

The narrative logic continues its precision. By accepting Pryderi's endowment Manawydan opens the door to Llwyd's vengeance, tying himself with the maternal dyad *cainc*. He attaches to Rhiannon, the author of Gwawl's wrongs; he is Pryderi's closest friend,, and he assumes their lordship of old Dyfed,⁷⁹⁹ He is stripped, left alone to face the consequences.⁸⁰⁰ By duelling Llwyd he becomes the restoring husband, true friend and lord of Dyfed.⁸⁰¹

~ * ~

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.11. *Cigfa, y ferch-yng-nghyfraith/ Cigfa, the daughter-in-law*

Cigfa is a secondary Mabinogi character, daughter-in-law to Rhiannon.

TABLE Cigfa narrative

PKM1 Marriage Pryderi. Genealogy.

PKM3 Pryderi refers to her as wife. Feast co-organiser Rhiannon, Arberth. Dyfed quartet, *cylch*.

PKM3 Desolation. Exile, 3 businesses. Does not hunt.

PKM3 Manawydan dialogues: 1) fear 2) exile, anti-shoemaking 3) pro-farming 4) anti-Lady Mouse.

References.⁸⁰²

⁷⁹⁷ *pryder*/ anxiety, loss. Rhiannon names her son, PKM1 26.9–10. JKB 38.1. Ch. IV.1. Voice: #24 p. 194, Category 195, public act contra wifely custom? 198, skill converse nuances 202-03.

⁷⁹⁸ Sufferings, captivity, above p. 327.

⁷⁹⁹ The reference to opening a door alludes to the door the Seven Survivors were warned not to open on Gwales, a warning Manawydan repeats for them. PKM2 46.19–25. JKB 58.2. In Dyfed his cautious wisdom fails in his grievous losses.

⁸⁰⁰ When Rhiannon and Pryderi are captives, Manawydan has only Cigfa left. Although she tries to advise him on what is proper, she is not the forceful, commanding Rhiannon. For one thing she is the next generation, much younger than the older couple. However Cigfa functions among other things to indicate Manawydan still has lordship responsibility towards her. Ch. V.11. Cigfa following, Cigfa has no kindred tie to him but can still call on his lordship as her protection. Noted by Valente, 'Merched', pp. 233-34. Ch. V.11. Cigfa: Manawydan pp. 331-32.

⁸⁰¹ Rhiannon's Desolation responsibility, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 324-28.

⁸⁰² PKM1 Marriage, genealogy, PKM1 27.23–26. JKB 40.1. PKM3 Pryderi identifies her, PKM3 49.22. JKB 63.2. Feast co-organiser Rhiannon, PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. Dyfed quartet, PKM3 51.6–55.6. JKB 65.1–68.2. PKM3 Desolation, PKM3 JKB 65.2–66.1. Exile, 3 businesses, PKM3 52.17–55.4. JKB 66.1–68.1. Does not hunt, men's boar hunt, PKM3 55.7. JKB 68.1; and Manawydan remembers Rhiannon hunting, not Cigfa, PKM3 58.24–27. JKB 72.1. PKM3 Manawydan 4 dialogues series: 1) fear, 'Eneit', PKM3 57.13–28. JKB 70.2–71. 2) exile, anti-shoemaking, PKM3 57.28–58.21. JKB 71.1–72.1. 3) pro-farming, PKM3 58.22–60.13. JKB 71.1–73.1. 4) anti-Lady Mouse, PKM3 60.13–61.14. JKB 73.1–2.

[...] *Pryderi uab Pwyll Penn Annwn, yny doeth yn y uryt
wreika. Sef gwreic a uynnawd, Kicua, uerch Wynn
Gohoyw, uab Gloyw Walltlydan, uab Cassnar Wledic o
dyledogyon yr ynys hon.*⁸⁰³

This three generation genealogy appears at Cigfa's first appearance (end of PKM1) when she marries Pryderi, the ruler-conqueror who has doubled his Dyfed territories. Her main presence is in PKM3 as the Table above indicates.⁸⁰⁴

Cigfa's name comprises *cig*/ meat, and *-fa*/ place, field;⁸⁰⁵ suggesting her kindred's pride in the wealth of herding and markets. A graceful rendering might be 'Lady of Pastures'. She retains her name although she is a wife because she first appears when she marries i.e. as a maiden.⁸⁰⁶

The *Gohoyw, Gloyw* lineage possibly locates her homeland as *Caerloyw*/ Gloucester, a good harbour at the highest navigable point of the Severn for trading. Its rich herding country supports the major trade route for cattle to market across South Wales, as far west as Dyfed.⁸⁰⁷ In this context Cigfa's

⁸⁰³ Marriage: PKM1 27.23–26. 'And Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Annwfn was at that conquest until it came into his mind to marry. This is the wife he desired – Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw son of Glow Wall Dylan son of Caspar, of the nobles of this island.' JKB 40.1. Cigfa's three generation genealogy is a unique exception to all other PKM1 characters, who are not provided with genealogies. Two display patronymics only: Rhiannon *ferch Hyfaidd Hen*, PKM1 12.23. JKB 28.1; and Pryderi *fab Pwyll Pen Annwfn*, PKM1 27.23. JKB 40.1. PKM1 concerns seem to be with fathers (Rhiannon, Cigfa); or titles: Arawn *brenhin Annwfn*, PKM1 2.26. JKB 21.1; Pwyll *Pen Annwfn*, PKM1 8.25. JKB 25.1; Teyrnnon *Twrf Lliant*, PKM1 22.2. JKB 35.1. Cigfa's genealogy is of course a patriarchal line of males. Ch. III.5. LLW for the gendering of names by territory (male) and by father (female) 'Women and names' pp. 166–67.

⁸⁰⁴ Conqueror: PKM1 27.19–22. JKB 40.1. Pryderi is probably in his mid 20s. Cigfa may be the same age or perhaps younger. Lifelines p. 274. Sturzer critiques Cigfa's 'overly long genealogy' as an 'inconsistency', because she has minimal and passive PKM1 presence. But the alternative, inserting her marriage as PKM3 opens, would be awkwardly inappropriate after many years intervening. The placement as is, is clear as she married Pryderi before he went to *Iwerddon*/ Ireland. PKM3 opening reminds of her when Pryderi mentions her, PKM3 49.22. JKB 63.2. Valente comments that Pryderi's 'leadership qualities and his military successes are important factors in the success of his lordship, but so is his marriage. The extended lineage of Cigfa illustrated her kinship ties, one of the major concerns in choosing a wife in medieval Wales, a peaceful rather than a military means of ensuring alliance. 'Women', p. 177–78, n. 244. The peculiarity of Cigfa's genealogy is the lack of other genealogy in PKM1, not Cigfa having one. Like Cigfa, Branwen has a lack of personal action during her wedding and early marriage years. PKM2 30.28–31.16 to 37.9–13. JKB 45.2 to 51.1. As Sturzer remarks Cigfa serves to link PKM1 and PKM3, similarly to Pryderi's linking PKM2 back to PKM1 by a single named occurrence, 'Inconsistencies', p. 140. Pryderi named once: PKM2 44.25. JKB 55.2.

⁸⁰⁵ *cig*: meat; flesh (GPC). *fa, ma*: a plain, field; place, spot (GPC).

⁸⁰⁶ Ch. III.5. LLW: Women and Names, for married women and naming pp. 166–67. Cf. Branwen, her name first given as a maiden, when messengers ask for her in marriage, PKM2 30.20. JKB 45.2; so she bears it into her narrative after marriage.

⁸⁰⁷ Gloucester, does not appear in the Mabinogi. It features strongly in *Peredur*, a town dominated by nine witches. Gleys. ed. 1976. *Historia Peredur fab Evrawc* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru), pp. 29; ll.18–30 ll.18. My thanks to Will Parker for his aid on this. Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*

marriage might suggest a mutually advantageous economic alliance. Her kindred's cattle herds and markets gain Pryderi's strong military protection, servicing his companies' high food and leather demand. Rhiannon's pragmatism and love of wealth would approve; as senior Dyfed female she would probably have been involved in the marriage negotiations.

Mam-yng-nghyfraith/ Mother-in-law

Cigfa has a significant relationship with Rhiannon, her mother-in-law.

Gwled
darparedic oed udunt erbyn eu dyuot yn Arberth, a
*Riannon a Chicua wedy y harlwyaw.*⁸⁰⁸

This is a glorious homecoming feast, organised in partnership with Rhiannon, welcoming Pryderi and his military comrade Manawydan after many years absence in war and recovery.⁸⁰⁹ The feast is a major event lasting many days, perhaps weeks.⁸¹⁰ Cigfa is no longer a young bride by this time, and Rhiannon is a middle-aged widow.⁸¹¹ The lordship would likely have devolved to Rhiannon as regent in Pryderi's absence. They have lived under fear of Caswallawn's terrifying, violent usurpation, which Cigfa would fear especially, with her (probable) natal kindred's homeland more directly affected.⁸¹² Both women were bereft, of husband and son respectively. Wartime strain may well have generated

(2007), pp. 78-79. '... the predominantly pastoral nature of the farming: medieval ridge and furrow in many fields close to the Severn shows that this area has not been under the plough for hundreds of years.' Linda Hall. 2002. 'Early Farm Buildings', in *Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, ed. by Verey, David, and Alan Brooks (Yale) p. 87. N. M. Herbert, ed. 1988. 'Medieval Gloucester: Trade and Industry 1327-1547', in *A History of the County of Gloucester*, 4, 'The City of Gloucester' (Victoria County History), pp. 41-54. The term '*gohoyw*' is also used for powerful horses. TYP: Triad 79, p. 209. Peniarth 47, noted TYP p. xi.

⁸⁰⁸ PKM3 50.12-13. 'There was a feast prepared for them, awaiting their/ arrival in Arberth, which Rhiannon and Cigfa had made ready. JKB 63.2-64.1.

⁸⁰⁹ It can probably be assumed the women know Manawydan accompanies Pryderi; either by travellers' gossip or messengers moving faster ahead of them. For a timeline, 'Diagram Approximate Lifelines', Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines p. 274. Speaking to Manawydan on the way home, 'Pryderi needlessly adds that he is married to Cigfa.' Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', pp. 128-29; '*Kicua, uerch Wyn Gloyw, yw uy gwreic inheu*,' PKM3 49.22. 'Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gloyw is my wife,' JKB 60.2. Possibly Pryderi is marking his possessive limits, that his mother is on offer, but *not* his wife. Given Dyfed's history of wife bestowal (the Annwn queen, Rhiannon given away by Pwyll), this might be a semi-jocular comment between two males about sexual boundaries. Such sexual tensions exist even in long friendships, in both genders.

⁸¹⁰ PKM3 50.12-14. JKB 63.2-64.1 The homecoming extends into a marriage feast, then Rhiannon advises Pryderi to postpone leaving to give homage to Caswallawn, and it resumes on his return.

⁸¹¹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, p. 274; with diagram; estimated calculations that when Pryderi comes home Rhiannon is about 55, Pryderi about mid 30s. Cigfa is perhaps some years younger.

⁸¹² Her natal homeland of the Gloucester region is a supposition, above p. 329,

tensions, but practical coping, particularly their common responsibility for food organisation, would draw them together.⁸¹³ Later they ride *cylchau* together,⁸¹⁴ and it is said they are so loving of each other that

*na mynnei yr un uot heb y gilid
na dyd na nos.*⁸¹⁵

Like Rhiannon, Cigfa becomes absorbed into the plural pronouns of the Dyfed quartet passage. She is a named individual again during Rhiannon and Pryderi's captivity.⁸¹⁶ Her apparently cordial relationship with Rhiannon counterpoints Rhiannon's failure to liaise successfully with her Maids at Pryderi's birth. Given the time elapsed it might be that Rhiannon has learned to value a female relationship. However, Cigfa is not a peer; Rhiannon is Cigfa's senior matriarch. Rhiannon holds the dominant position.

Manawydan

Alone with Manawydan Cigfa voices great fear.

*Pann welas Kicua, uerch Gwyn Gloew, gwreic
Pryderi, nat oed yn y llys namyn hi a Manawydan,
drygyruerth a wnaeth hyt nat oed well genti y byw
no'y marw.*⁸¹⁷

Cigfa would be accustomed to chaperonage, and a court of people within call at need, but now she is trapped alone with an unrelated male. Rhiannon Davies and Valente see her fear as concerning her unregulated position,⁸¹⁸ but her fear tends

⁸¹³ For their mediaeval food management, Ch. III.3. Hierarchy: Courts, *Cylch*.pp. 154-54. Ch. III.5. LLW: Feasts pp. 173-74 Cigfa and Rhiannon are feeding hundreds, at a feast over days or weeks, with no refrigeration. They also have to plan stores through winter months.

⁸¹⁴ On a possible regency, Ch. V.11. Pryderi: Rhiannon p. 307 n. 661. PKM3 58.25-27. JKB 72.1. Cigfa apparently does not hunt, as Rhiannon does which means riding astride Ch. I.4 Advent: #5 Horse p. 17; but Cigfa is part of riding *cylch*. PKM3 51.5. JKB 65.1.

⁸¹⁵ Quartet: PKM3 51.10-11. 'not one of them wished to be without the other either day or night', JKB 5.1. The text describes the two women and their husbands as a closely loving family group. The affection between the two men is a major PKM3 theme: Rhiannon and Manawydan are fond until Rebuke III. This particular quote implies Cigfa's marriage is also affectionate as part of the quartet, but the women's friendship may also be seen at the homecoming feast PKM3 50.12-13. JKB 63.2-64.1.

⁸¹⁶ Cigfa alone: PKM3 57.13. JKB 70.2.

⁸¹⁷ Cigfa fear: PKM3 57.13-16. 'When Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gloyw, Pryderi's wife, saw there was no one in the court except for her and Manawydan, she lamented that it was no better for her to live than to die.' JKB 70.2.

⁸¹⁸ Mac Cana observes condescendingly that Cigfa 'waxed melodramatic', *Mabinogi*, p. 42. His contemporary Pennar understands better: 'Cigfa panics. ... It is likely that a woman whose husband was lost would be abused by certain men.' Pennar, 'Women', p. 139. Rhiannon Davies connects Cigfa's fear with her rigid social attitudes. 'She is vastly conscious of rank and status, the structures of her society. She fears action which imperils that order ... Her snobbery... is based on her own vulnerability outside the rigid structures she understands.' Rhiannon Davies, 'The Moral

to be overshadowed by commentary on Manawydan's chastity in response to her.⁸¹⁹ He is praised merely for not being an abuser. The Mabinogi demonstrates clear awareness of female vulnerability to male abuse in the Branwen, Goewin, and Arianrhod narratives. At time of writing (2021/22) there is an upsurge of angered protest about femicide and male harassment.⁸²⁰ Cigfa weaponises her fear to elicit Manawydan's protective vow to treat her as *eneit*, honourable friend.⁸²¹ Rhiannon might well have used such a resourceful *mimesis*/performance in like case.⁸²² Manawydan's reassurance is expressed as first upholding his friendship with Pryderi, secondly Cigfa: Mabinogi friendship is male-male.⁸²³

Structure of Pedeir Keinc Y Mabinogi', p. 174. Valente refers to 'the undefined bond between stepfather-in-law and stepdaughter-in-law ... a relationship which has not been codified'. 'Merched', p. 222. Valente perceives resolution by Manawydan standing as Cigfa's default (territorial) lord, 'Merched', p. 233. Walters explains 'the lord is ... the guardian of all those women not *sui juris* ... i.e. not in the *mundium* or wardship of husband, father or other male agnate'. Dafydd Walters. 'Welsh Matrimonial Property', in *WLW*, p. 125. Valente is right about the relationship, but Manawydan is explicit he reassures Cigfa primarily out of friendship with her husband: male-male loyalty; only secondly for Cigfa herself. Quoted n. 823 below.

⁸¹⁹ Ch. V.11. Manawydan: Man of Virtue p. 342 n. 881.

⁸²⁰ Branwen, PKM1 37.24–38.6. JKB 51.1. Cf. Triad 53: (*Teir Gwith Baluawt*) *Ynys Prydein*/ 'Three Sinister (ill-omened) Hard Slaps of Britain', TYP pp. 150–152. Goewin raped, PKM4 71.29–72.4. JKB 85.1. Arianrhod public exposure birthing, neither of her male kin protect her, PKM4 77.11–17. JKB 94.1.

Women's Liberation protest 'Reclaim the Night' began Leeds 1977, responding to the police Yorkshire Ripper investigation recommending a curfew for women. In 2006 this resurged as the 'Me Too' / #metoo campaign exploding internationally against sexual harassment and rape. More recently (March 2021) another British femicide reignited the 70s movement as 'Reclaim These Streets'. In this context a 'YouGov poll reveals extent of abuse and lack of faith in authorities' ability to deal with it'; stating 'Among women aged 18–24, 97% said they had been sexually harassed, while 80% of women of all ages said they had experienced sexual harassment in public spaces.' Finn Mackay. 2013. 'The march of reclaim the night : feminist activism in movement', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol). (URL text Bibliography). Alexandra Topping. 10/03/2021. 'Four-fifths of young women in the UK have been sexually harassed, survey finds', *Guardian*. (URL text Bibliography).

⁸²¹ Pennar notes 'Manawydan addresses her with "*le, eneit*", a vocative usually used between men, instead of "*a uorwyn*" or "*arglwyddes*".' 'Women', p. 140. His translation is not borne out in the later GPC. *enaid*: 1) soul, spirit. 2) life, natural life. 3) life, i.e. animating power. 4) friend (as term of address); dear one, sweet one (term of endearment), beloved maiden or woman; soul, human being (man, woman, or child), person. The earliest date given on (4) is 14thC 'WM' Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, and also in the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym, attesting to usage between the sexes. Cf. Rhiannon's use of its intimacy to Gwawl is again different, PKM1 15.20, JKB 29.2; and again, PKM1 15.25. JKB 30.1. Manawydan means a nonsexual friendship, Rhiannon uses it with erotic overtones as she refers to sleeping with Gwawl. The term therefore seems context sensitive.

⁸²² End of previous n. 822.

⁸²³ *Y rofa Duw, bei et uwni yn dechreu uy/ ieuengtít, mi a gadwn gywirdeb wrth Pryderi, ac yrot/ titheu mi a'y cadwn; ac na uit un ouyn arnat*, PKM3 57.20–22. 'Between me and God, though I were in the spring of my youth, I would keep trust with Pryderi, and for your sake I would keep it.' JKB 70.2. Rhiannon's rebuke that he failed his friend seems to haunt him. PKM3 56.26–27. JKB 70.1. Ch. V.15. Manawydan p. 344. Bollard rightly holds friendship as a major Mabinogi theme but there are no female friendships; this instance reflects how male-female friendship is secondary. Bollard,

In her new position Cigfa takes the female adviser rôle to her male lord.⁸²⁴ Pennar finds her 'unassuming', (cf. Manawydan, *lledyf*); but adds 'Propriety is the key to behaviour according to her and she is not afraid to say it'.⁸²⁵ Like Rhiannon, Cigfa upbraids Manawydan, but with reproach rather than aggressive rebuke. He ignores her advice.⁸²⁶ Cigfa may simply be a milder personality; she would anyway be unlikely to speak harshly to the older male, Manawydan, on whom she is critically dependent for protection and food. Her counsel is consistently about rank, and its proper behaviour.

*"Arglwyd," heb hi, "diryued oed hynny.
Ac eisswys anwyp yw guelet gwr kyuurd, kymoned,
a thidi, yn crogi y ryw bryf hwnnw."*⁸²⁷

Cigfa, Manawydan, the three visitors later, form a refrain, repeating 'Let it go', ostensibly about the mouse: their subtext is the human prisoners.⁸²⁸ Lady Mouse, Rhiannon, and Pryderi, are all helpless, vulnerable, silent; awaiting the outcome.

Ch. II.8. Coherence Paradigm p. 122-23. Ch. V.6. Maids p. 276-77. Maids solidarity is self interest under threat. Maids of teyrnon's Wife might possibly be meaningful

⁸²⁴ Ch. III.5. LLW: Counsellors: TABLE 10 Compilation of counsels, p. 172.

⁸²⁵ 'Manawydan confides in Cigfa as Teyrnon did in his Wife.' Pennar, 'Women', p. 140. Not so. Manawydan fails to explain anything to her, and ignores all her advice, n. 826 below.

To Pennar, Cigfa is 'one of the naive, unsuspecting women', Pennar, 'Women', p. 121. The others he refers similarly are the Queen, and Teyrnon's Wife. It is not quite clear what Pennar means; but comparing the three women it is probably that they are unaggressive. In Cigfa's case her mildness makes her an apt 'partner' to Manawydan as he is given in Triad 8. *Tri Lledyf 6nben Enys Prydein*/Three Prostrate ('Humble') Chieftains of the Island of Britain, TYP pp. 15-16. My preferred translation for *lledyf* here, is 'unassertive'. On her anxiety for propriety, Pennar, 'Women', p. 141. Cf. Hyfaidd at Rhiannon's wedding Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd p. 222.

⁸²⁶ She counsels a clean craft. '*Kymer un lanweith*.' PKM3 58.6. 'Take a clean one.' JKB 71.2. Instead he decides on shoemaking. "*Arglwyd, / heb hi, "nyt hoff honno y glanet y wr kygynhilet, / kyuurd a thydi."* PKM3 58.7-9. 'Lord,' she said, 'that is not acceptable in its cleanliness for a man of such skill, of such rank as you.' JKB 72.1. Manawydan ignores her. On farming, Cigfa says little. PKM3 58.22-60.13. JKB 71.1- 73.1. Ch. V.13 Lady Mouse, pp. 345-47.

⁸²⁷ PKM3 61.2-5. 'it is unpleasant to see a man of such rank, of such nobility as you hanging that sort of creature.' JKB 73.2. 'She is concerned with what is seemly for a nobleman to do.' Pennar, 'Women', p. 140. Lloyd remarks 'Manawyddan is repeatedly told how very unbecoming it is for a man of his rank to condescend to punish the mouse that has offended him.' 'Literature', p. 240. Pennar, Valente, Welsh, all note the three visitors reinforce Cigfa's speech; Pennar similarity of Cigfa and the three visitors' arguments, Pennar, 'Women', p. 238. 'her comments will be repeated by the three strange clerics who attempt to buy the mouse from Manawydan. ... The similarity of the words of the clerics and Cigfa's warnings', Valente, '*Merched*', p. 238. Welsh observes the same, 'Cigfa and Llwyd the Magician appeal to those values', 'New Man', p. 136. Visitors: PKM3 62.5-6. JKB 74.1. PKM3 62.13-14. JKB 74.1. PKM3 62.24-25. JKB 74.2. PKM3 62.28-63.1. JKB 74.2. All four speakers, Cigfa and three visitors, appeal to Manawydan's rank and dignity.

⁸²⁸ 'Let it go.' Cigfa PKM3 61.5. JKB 73.2. Scholar, PKM3 62.5-6. Priest, PKM3 62.25. JKB 74.2. Manawydan: *Duw y dygaf uyghyffes, na'y werthu, na'y ollwng nas/ gwnafi.* PKM3 62.26-27. 'To God I give my confession, I will neither sell it nor let it go.' JKB 74.2 Priest repeats, PKM3 63.1. JKB 74.2. Bishop, PKM3 63.17, repeats 63.20. JKB 74.2.

Cigfa (and scholars) express no concern for the mouse's plight; Cigfa stresses her concern is Manawydan's *ansyberwyt* (dishonour, undignified behaviour).⁸²⁹

Mac Cana dismisses Cigfa as a 'vignette of a contemporary "bourgeois" snob'.⁸³⁰ '*Bourgeois*' is anachronistic Marxist economics: Cigfa's genealogy asserts her natal kin as *dyledogyon*/ feudal nobility.⁸³¹ When Manawydan resorts to the sweated peasant (manual) labour of crofting, Cigfa's contempt for labour has been noted to sustain her husband's earlier contempt in *Lloegr*.⁸³² But the person who has influenced Cigfa closely over many years while Pryderi was absent in war and its recovery, is Rhiannon. She represents the highest elite nobility and it may be inferred she bred Pryderi's arrogance. Cigfa is arguably voicing Rhiannon, both directly from recent, lengthy experience, and indirectly via Rhiannon's son, her husband.

There is no mention of Cigfa bearing a child. Yet without an heir, Pryderi's death would be doubly tragic, a lack likely to be mentioned.⁸³³ Its absence from Pryderi's death text may imply Cigfa did mother an heir, or perhaps the older

⁸²⁹ "*Ie, Arglwyd, "/>heb hi, "nit oes achaws y mi y uot yn borth y'r pryf/ hwnnw, namyn goglyt ansyberwyt y ti. PKM3 61.7–9. 'Yea, lord,' she said, 'there is no cause for me to be of help to that creature, except to keep discourtesy from you.' JKB 73.1. Tender modern consciences might see Cigfa as unpleasant because she stresses the animal's suffering means nothing to her, in itself. Firstly if she is of herder kindred (above), wife of a hunter, and foodstocks organiser, she is used to animals being killed. Cf. Rhiannon also, and realism notes on badger baiting Ch. V.4. Gwawl pp. 234–36. Secondly mice are vermin, a threat to foodstocks, Cigfa's responsibility. Its pregnant, female vulnerability cannot reach her heart; rather, its gravid condition is a threat of yet more vermin. Thirdly, Cigfa apparently has no awareness of *hud*, magic. Manawydan does not explain what he guesses. The mouse only has meaning for Cigfa as a bizarre, distasteful act by her lord.*

⁸³⁰ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 57. Similarly, Cigfa as 'a small, well-lit portrait of a snob', Emyr Humphrys. 21/4/1990. 'The Crucible of Myth', The W.D. Thomas Memorial Lecture (Swansea: University), p. 15. Mac Cana is also using the masculine form '*bourgeois*' for a lady; which should be the feminine '*bourgeoise*'.

⁸³¹ 'Bourgeois' is a fundamental Marxist concept, defining the owners of productive capital. Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx. 1848. *The Communist Manifesto*, Ch. I. 'Bourgeois and Proletarians'. (Publication origins, Bibliography) The very earliest beginnings of trade guilds are suggested by PKM3 exile narratives, when the Dyfed emigrants are under threat. PKM3 52.20 – 55.1. JKB 66.1– 68.1. Such contemporary *Lloegr* trade guilds were barely established, not a powerful system. The *bourgeoisie* (class) will not develop yet for at least 400 years. Cigfa is explicitly *dyledogyon*, PKM1 27. 26. 'of the nobles.' JKB 40.1. Her theorised natal trading origins may fuel her snobbery as *nouveau riche* insecurity, but that is not the same as being *bourgeois* which means owning, reserving and investing capital, land and plant.

⁸³² Crofting: PKM3. 58.22. JKB 72.1. Cigfa continues her husband's hauteur voiced in *Lloegr*, with the same word *tayogeu*. Pennar: 'Cigfa takes on Pryderi's role here'. 'Women', p. 140, n. 6. 'Cigfa, whose words echo the words and values of Pryderi'. Welsh, 'New Man', p. 133. 'She does not suggest killing the conspirators, as Pryderi did'. Valente, '*Merched*', p. 234.

⁸³³ Death text, PKM4 73.11–17. JKB 88.1–2.

Pryderi had a second wife who made Rhiannon a grandmother. The surviving text is silent.⁸³⁴

~ * ~

V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives

V.12. *Manawydan fab Llŷr*/ Manawydan son of Llŷr

This chapter addresses Manawydan, Rhiannon's second husband, and Pryderi's close friend.⁸³⁵ Some of it revisits Ch. V.10. Pryderi material, but here from Manawydan's perspective.

TABLE 31 Manawydan Narrative

1. **PKM2** Prince of Britain, Llŷr kindred. Irish War, bereavements. Aftermath sojourn.
2. **PKM3** Mourning, Pryderi's friendship gifts. New Dyfed life (Dyfed lordship, Rhiannon marriage).
3. **PKM3** Desolation. Hunting. *Lloegr*, 1st exile, 3 crafts. (shields, saddles, shoes).
4. **PKM3** Dyfed: boar hunt, Pryderi disappears. Rhiannon's rebuke. Rhiannon disappears.
5. **PKM3** Cigfa dialogues. *Lloegr*, 2nd exile. Crofting. Lady Mouse. Three visitors (Llwyd). Restoration. References.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁴ Valente promotes Cigfa's importance via thematic interlace. Pryderi's prosperity and marriage to Cigfa (PKM1finale) contrasts the bleak, wifeless state of Lleu (PKM4 finale). Valente, 'Merched', p. 282. On 'thematic interlace', Ch. II.7. Paradigm p. 122; and examples Ch. IX. Structures: Interlacings pp. 510-27.

⁸³⁵ I had great difficulty writing this Manawydan chapter, stuck for weeks, avoiding, doing other parts. Eventually I found I needed to separate Manawydan the character from a historical-political subtext of Anglo-Norman invasion. For PKM3 Anglo-Norman incursions into Dyfed, Ch. III.7. Political Parallels pp. 185-88. This Manawydan chapter addresses the PKM3 internal narrative.

⁸³⁶ Table references [1] PKM2 Prince of Britain, Llŷr kindred. PKM2 29.1-6. JKB 43.2 Irish War. PKM2 37.22-44.27. JKB 49.2-55.1. Bereavements: Gweir, PKM2 43.16-26. JKB 55.1. Bendigeidfran (cutting off the head), PKM2 44.28. JKB 55.2. Branwen, PKM2 45.15-20. JKB 57.1. Sojourn aftermath. PKM2 45.21-47.21. 60.1. [2] PKM3 Mourning. PKM3 49.4-8. JKB 63.1. Pryderi's friendship, new Dyfed life (lordship). PKM3 49.18-20. JKB 63.2. Rhiannon feast, marriage. PKM3 50.11-26. JKB 63.2-64.1. There is 'no reference to Rhiannon's marriage to Manawydan anywhere outside the Third Branch.' Ch. I.7. Prose p. 38, with Hughes' findings in his 'Poetry'. [3] PKM3 Gorsedd, Desolation. PKM3 51.17-52.3. JKB 65.2-66.1. Hunting. PKM3 52.10 and 15; JKB 66.1. 1st exile *Lloegr* three crafts, PKM3 52.17-55.1. JKB 66.1-68.1. [4] PKM3 Dyfed. PKM3 55.3-6. JKB 68.1-2. Boar hunt. PKM3 55.7-28. JKB 68.2- [69] 70.1. Pryderi disagrees, disappears. PKM3 55.28-56.19. JKB 70.1. Rhiannon prefatory question, rebuke. PKM3 56.20-27. JKB 70.1-2. Rhiannon disappears. PKM3 57.1-12. JKB 70.2. [5] PKM3 Cigfa dialogues. PKM3 57.17-61.14. JKB 70.2-73.1. including 2nd exile. PKM3 58.1-21. JKB 71.2-72.1. Crofting. PKM3 58.22-60.12. JKB 72.1-73.1. Lady Mouse. PKM3 60.15-61.16. JKB 73.1. Ends Cigfa. Three visitors (Llwyd). PKM3 61.17-64.5. JKB 73.1-75.1. Restoration. PKM3 64.7-65.16. JKB 75.1-76.1.

Ian Hughes divides PKM3 into three parts: 'Manawydan consists of three distinct sections of narrative which may be summarized as follows: (i) the introduction; (ii) the "disappearances"; (iii) the "restoration".' 'Tripartite Structure', p. 100. My Table [3] and [4] above are fused. That is, [3] PKM3 Desolation. Hunting. Exile *Lloegr*, 3 crafts. [4] PKM3 Dyfed: boar hunt. Pryderi disappears. Rhiannon's rebuke. Rhiannon disappears. Hughes' version is viable and fits his tripartite theory. But here [3] and [4] are seen as distinct because [3] is *Lloegr*, town and trades focused, [4] is Dyfed and hunting focused. Heavy emphasis on location in all the tales, and the

Manawydan research normally addresses PKM3,⁸³⁷ but Manawydan has significant PKM2 background [TABLE, line 1].⁸³⁸ He refers to his mature age (PKM3).⁸³⁹ His personal desolation from total loss (PKM3) [2] foreshadows the Desolation of Dyfed [3]. His broken life is remedied by Pryderi and Rhiannon [2], and he then serves their interests [3]. His second life collapses [4] until eventually he rescues Rhiannon, Pryderi, and Dyfed [5].

Manawydan also features in two *Trioedd*. Triad 8: *Tri Lledyf 6nben Enys Prydein*, citing his lack of assertive ambition, to which Pryderi refers (PKM3). Triad 67: *Tri Eur Gryd Ynys Brydein*, references his shoemaking. He is mentioned in a Taliesin poem, seemingly referring to his post-war enchanted sojourn.⁸⁴⁰

Enw/ Name

Manawydan's personal name may relate to *Manaw*, naming both the Isle of Man and Manaw Gododdin.⁸⁴¹ His name and patronymic *Manawydan fab Llŷr*,

importance of the trading/ hunting contrast in PKM3 supports such division. Hughes interest is PKM3 so does not address the Manawydan of PKM2, as here.

⁸³⁷ 'The gradual emergence of Manawydan, first as a mere name and then more substantially as a recognizable character in *Branwen* (II), prepares us for his major role in Branch III, which is presented as a continuation of Branch II.' B.Roberts, 'Four Branches', p. 99. 'Manawydan, who is little more than a name in the second branch', Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 30. 'temporal continuity only', Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 207.

⁸³⁸ PKM2 29.1–48.18. Three previous chapters in this study have addressed Manawydan topics: Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Anglo-Norman 185–88, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Manawydan pp. 306–10; Ch. V.11. Cigfa: Manawydan pp. 331–35.

⁸³⁹ *Y rofa Duw, bei et uwni yn dechreu uy/ ieuengtitt, mi a gadwn gywirdeb wrth Pryderi, ac yrot/ titheu mi a'y cadwn; ac na uit un ouyn arnat*, PKM3 57.20–22. 'Between me and God, though I were in the spring of my youth, I would keep trust with Pryderi, and for your sake I would keep it.' JKB 70.2. Cf. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 271–74 Calc. p. 274 n. 433.

⁸⁴⁰ Noted Anwyl IV pp. 134, 131. Triad 8, 'Three Prostrate ('Humble') Chieftains of this Island', TYP, p. 15–16. Pryderi seems to refer to it, PKM3 49.12. JKB 63.1. Hughes notes Triad 8 on Manawydan's character predates PKM3. But the PKM3 shoemaking narrative predates Triad 67 and probably influenced it. Hughes, 'Poetry', pp. 173–74. Triad 67, 'Three Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers of this Island', TYP pp. 185–88. PKM3 54.6–8. JKB 67.2–68.1. Taliesin reference: *Ys kyweir vyg kadeir yg Kaer Sidi:/ nys plawd heint a heneint a uo yndi,/ ys gwyr Manawyt a Phryderi. Golychaf-i Gulwyd* (Poem 8), lines 45–7. 'Harmonious is my song in Caer Siddi:/ sickness and old age do not afflict those who are there,/ as Manawyd and Pryderi know.' Haycock, *Legendary Poems from Taliesin*, p. 277. Harlech and Gwales sojourn, PKM2 44.28–47.21. JKB 58.1–60.1.

⁸⁴¹ His name is first seen: PKM2 29.5–6. JKB 43.2. Manaw Gododdin is the southern shore of the Firth of Forth. Rhŷs observes 'The name Manaw or Manann, however, was not confined to the island, as it is found fixed also in the neighbourhood of the Forth, where it survives in Clackmannan on the north and in Slamannan Moor on the south of that river.' *Lectures*, VI, pp. 663–4. Elizabeth Lloyd: 'as his name is given as Manawidan and Manauid in one of the poems of the Black Book of Carmarthen, it may well have been that he was regarded as connected with Manaw of the North, in the legends of the North Britons.' Lloyd, 'Literature', I, p. 170. Sioned Davies notes the Manaw place name; *Mabinogion*, pp. 232–33, note 22.

resembles *Manannán mac Lir*, an Irish Magician and sea god.⁸⁴² However, Manawydan is no Magician, although acute at recognising *hud*/ enchantment presence and risk. He has no marine associations; and he is the polar opposite of Manannán's malign, sexual manipulator.⁸⁴³ His name also resembles *manawyd*/awl, cf. Triad 67, shoemaking. Sioned Davies dismisses both *Manannán* and *manawyd* links as false derivations.⁸⁴⁴ John Koch argues Manawydan as Mandubracios, a historical British chieftain during Caesar's invasion of Britain (54 BCE).⁸⁴⁵

Cefndir Manawydan / Manawydan's background (PKM2)

Manawydan *fab Llŷr* first appears in the Mabinogi sitting beside his brother Bendigeidfran, *urenhin/ coronawc ar yr ynys hon*, at *llys Harlech*.⁸⁴⁶ When Bendigeidfran bestows their sister Branwen on the king of Ireland, Manawydan sits beside the kings and his sister the bride.⁸⁴⁷ Given Mabinogi emphasis on

⁸⁴² The Manannán connection is dismissed by Rhŷs but supported by Anwyl. Rhŷs 'The sinister aspect of Manannán is scarcely reflected by Manawydan, who is represented as gentle, scrupulously just, and always a peacemaker; neither is he described as a Magician; but he is made to baffle utterly one of the greatest wizards known to Welsh literature.' *Lectures*, VI, 'The Distress of the Gods and the Sun Hero's Aid', p. 666. 'The family of Llŷr appears to have been Goidelic for we have the corresponding name "Lir" in Irish legend. and Manawyddan fab Llŷr of Welsh legend is Manannán mac Lir in Irish.' Anwyl, *Four Branches*, II, p. 285. Mac Cana finds 'little enough in common with Manawydan's Irish counterpart Manannan', *Mabinogi*, p. 59.

⁸⁴³ *Manannán* manipulates a king's wife to sleep with him in her husband's absence, in return for the king's safety in battle. The resulting son *Mongán* becomes legendary. The tale inspired WJG to reconstruct PKM1 as Pryderi's birth tale in close resemblance with *Mongán*. Manawydan could not be more different to *Manannán* in his sexual behaviour, cf. his restraint with Cigfa below. There is a slight comparison between Rhiannon's bag, and Manannán's bag cf. anomalous capacity. The latter is a craneskin bag which appears empty when it is not, unless flooded at full-tide. Ch. VI.5. Bag, p. 404.

⁸⁴⁴ 'The early form of Manawydan, Manawyd, resembles the word for 'awl' *mynewyd*. Rhŷs, *Lectures*, VI, pp. 665-66, n. 4. Jones and Jones, *Mabinogion*, p. xv. TYP pp. 185-88. Sioned Davies: 'their legends are very different, and the Welsh Manawydan has no supernatural attributes.' On 'manawyd': 'a false etymology associating with his name the Welsh for an awl, which is *mynewyd*' cf. Breton *menaoued*. *Mabinogion*, pp. 232-33, n. 22.

⁸⁴⁵ John T. Koch. 1987. 'A Welsh Window on the Iron Age: Manawydan, Mandubracios', *CMCS*, 14, pp. 17-52. Cf. Pughe's identification as a Silurian prince: 'son of Llŷr Llediaith, prince of the Silurian Britons. He made a journey to Dyfed to settle the limit between that country and his own territory. Manawydan ab Llŷr Llediaith, after the family of his brother Bran was carried away captive'. Pughe, *Biography*, p. 237.

⁸⁴⁶ Manawydan *fab Llŷr*/ son of Llŷr, first appears PKM2 29.5-6. JKB 43.2. Bendigeidfran named and titled in the *incipit*: 'crowned king over this island', PKM2 29.1-2. JKB 43.2. 'The cliffs of Harddlech, now Harlech (from *hardd* 'beautiful' + *llech* '[flat] rock, boulder, cliff'), command a striking view of the sea, which formerly came up to the foot of the cliffs more than 250 feet below'. Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 43, n. 17.

⁸⁴⁷ *Sefuall yd eisteddyssant, / brenhin Ynys y Kedeirn, a Manawydan uab Llŷr o'r/ neill parth idaw, a Matholwch o'r parth arall, a Branwen/ uerch Lyr gyt ac ynteu*. PKM1 31.6-10. 'This is how they sat - the king of the Island of the Mighty, with Manawydan son of Llŷr on one side of him and

seating precedence, Manawydan evidently enjoys the king's highest trust and status in Britain. When his half brother Efnysien imperils British-Irish accord, Bendigeidfran trusts Manawydan as his ambassador, offering lavish compensation.⁸⁴⁸ Manawydan's embassy is successful. His courtly and political converse prefigures how he later wins Rhiannon's favour.⁸⁴⁹

After several years tensions rise again, erupting into devastating war. Bendigeidfran musters the entire host of Britain to go to *Iwerddon*/ Ireland.⁸⁵⁰ A peace pact centres Branwen's son Gwern, Manawydan's infant nephew. At the celebration feast, Manawydan presents as a gentle uncle, for the infant goes to him trustingly. Efnysien murders the child by casting him in the fire. Branwen rushes to save her child; Bendigeidfran swiftly restrains her. Manawydan does nothing.⁸⁵¹ His inaction prefigures the same when his close friend Pryderi is taken captive years later.⁸⁵² Until the Desolation of Dyfed, Manawydan shows no independent initiative, loyally serving his brother, then Pryderi (below).

He is named one of Seven Survivors of the War,⁸⁵³ acting as ambassador for the tiny company, gaining political intelligence about the usurper king.⁸⁵⁴ His PKM2 presence ends when he cautiously counsels and reminds his companions not to open a certain door, as his kingly brother had instructed.⁸⁵⁵

Matholwch on the other side, and Branwen daughter of Llŷr with him'. JKB 46.1. Caradawg, Bendigeidfran's son, is not mentioned here.

⁸⁴⁸ Ambassadors: PKM2 33.14–18. JKB 47.1. Bendigeidfran names Manawydan first of the three he appoints.

⁸⁴⁹ Converse draws Rhiannon and Manawydan together, PKM3 50.15–18. JKB 64.1

⁸⁵⁰ Mustering Britain: *dygyuoryaw yr ynys honn y gyt./ Ac yna y peris ef dyuot llwyr wys pedeir degwlat a seithugeint/ hyt attaw*, PKM2 38.20–22. 'this entire island. And then he had the complete levy of seven score and fourteen districts come to him' JKB 51.2. That is, 154 districts.

⁸⁵¹ The child trusts Manawydan, PKM2 43.14–15. JKB 54.2. Murder, with no mention of Manawydan taking action, PKM2 43.24–44.2. JKB 55.1.

Efnysien has three actions, seemingly inexplicable other than raw evil: mutilating an entire herd of horses, murdering 200 murderous Irish warriors, and murdering his nephew. Byfield suggests he recognises Matholwch as weak and treacherous from the start, so each act aims to block any Matholwch's alliance. His suicidal destruction of the Cauldron would also fit. 'Character', pp. 7–10.

⁸⁵² Marriage to Rhiannon, pp. 340–41 below.

⁸⁵³ PKM 44.25–27. JKB 55.2. Pryderi, Manawydan are listed first but not yet featured as a particular friendship. It could be said that there are nine surviving as Bendigeidfran is dying but not yet dead, and Branwen is still alive, but seven is a traditional story-telling icon.

⁸⁵⁴ PKM2 45.24. JKB 57.1. He continues his rôle as a diplomat on delegated initiative from his kingly brother.

⁸⁵⁵ PKM2. 46.21–22. JKB 58.2. Sioned Davies remarks Manawydan here as a 'cautious ... character'. *Four Branches*, pp. 72–73. This incident may be seen as prefiguring his PKM3 rôle as a cautious counsellor to the Dyfed family.

Manawydan (PKM2) presents as a peak status, princely diplomat, highly trusted by his kingly brother and baby nephew, alike. As a *marchog* prince he must be a trained fighter, but he is never narrated as a man of action. He specifically lacks initiative when his nephew is murdered; (possibly observing Bendigeidfran doing what is necessary).⁸⁵⁶ He seems content to exercise delegated authority, using skilled converse, enjoying respect at ceremonial events, and a close family life. His political background prompts him to ask for news on arrival in Britain, and he continues in a support role, counselling caution.

Cyfaill Pryderi/ Pryderi's friend

The Pryderi relationship is outlined, Ch. V.5. Pryderi.⁸⁵⁷ A central issue is Pryderi's extraordinary generosity in granting Manawydan the rule of old Dyfed, and marriage to his own mother Rhiannon. This study theorises that Pryderi's generosity to Manawydan exposes Dyfed and the family to Llwyd's vengeance: the Desolation of Dyfed. Gwawl's (PKM1) contract relinquished Rhiannon and revenge. The contract was with Pwyll, apparently extending to his son and heir as protectors of the land, but Manawydan as an outsider is not included so cannot shield Dyfed and Rhiannon in the same way.⁸⁵⁸ Llwyd identifies his revenge as rooted in Rhiannon's PKM1 counsel to Pwyll. Llwyd's Desolation precisely targets Rhiannon's power base of foodstocks, and claims her as captive. Rhiannon's feud with Gwawl, and Pryderi's generous gift to Manawydan, compose a double causality, reflecting Rhiannon and Pryderi's close maternal dyad.⁸⁵⁹

Manawydan's friendship with Pryderi is not static.⁸⁶⁰ He services Pryderi as he did Bendigeidfran, acquiring key information of the British usurpation, and counselling caution on Gwales. Pryderi is initially dominant in PKM3 when Manawydan is broken by shock at his losses. Pryderi arranges Dyfed's new political order, including Rhiannon's marriage. When the Desolation falls, Pryderi is similarly shocked inactive by loss, and Manawydan takes the initiative to make

⁸⁵⁶ His brother the king of all Britain evidently fights, for he receives a fatal wound from it. PKM2 44.23–24. JKB 55.2.

⁸⁵⁷ The review here supports further development, below.

⁸⁵⁸ Llwyd specifically alludes to this: PKM3 64.26–65.2. JKB 75.2

⁸⁵⁹ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 324–28.

⁸⁶⁰ These events review the account in Ch. V. 10. Pryderi: Manawydan 306–10; which references them to PKM3 and JKB.

searches, and go to *Lloegr*. Pryderi, the boar at bay, urges violent killing.⁸⁶¹ Manawydan prevails to escape instead. Pryderi, in his own land of Dyfed, insists on his will, seeking to reclaim his hounds at the tower against Manawydan's counsel. Manawydan later admits the hounds as critical to survival. Rhiannon rebukes Manawydan, not for failing her, but for failing his friend Pryderi: this and her attempt to rescue her son witnesses her powerful maternal dyad.

Priodas â Rhiannon / Marriage to Rhiannon

TABLE 32 Rhiannon and Manawydan narrative

PKM2 Manawydan prince of Britain. Irish War. Bereavements.

Sojourn Pryderi, Adar Rhiannon.⁸⁶²

PKM3 Rhiannon and Cigfa's feast. Rhiannon meets, marries Manawydan.

Dyfed lordship.⁸⁶³

PKM3 (Dyfed quartet.) *Cylch* abundance. Gorsedd sitting. Desolation. Hunting.⁸⁶⁴

PKM3 (Dyfed quartet.) Exile: 3 *Lloegr* towns. Return to Dyfed. Hunting.⁸⁶⁵

PKM3 Pryderi disappears. Rhiannon rebukes (III). Attempts rescue.

Captive. Restoration.⁸⁶⁶

Manawydan's marriage with Rhiannon begins affectionately, closely bound up with Pryderi. Pryderi initiates the plan, and extols Rhiannon's expert converse to the courtly, diplomatic, Manawydan: he is drawn to her for it.⁸⁶⁷ Happiness develops within the remarkably loving Dyfed quartet.⁸⁶⁸ During Rhiannon's captivity Manawydan fondly remembers hunting with her and Pryderi together.⁸⁶⁹ He honours Cigfa as an extension of Pryderi.⁸⁷⁰ He bargains

⁸⁶¹ For Pryderi as boar, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Animal Affinities p. 302-03, & boar hunt pp. 309-10.

⁸⁶² Manawydan prince of Britain. Background (PKM2) p. 330, pp. 337-39, summary pp. 333-34 above. Adar PKM2 45.2-4. JKB 55.2; and 46.13-18. JKB 58.2.

⁸⁶³ Rhiannon and Cigfa's feast. PKM3 50.12-14. JKB 63.2-64.1. Rhiannon meets, marries Manawydan. PKM3 50.15-26. JKB 64.2 Dyfed lordship. PKM3 49.17- 50.5. JKB 63.1 -63.2.

⁸⁶⁴ PKM3 (Dyfed quartet.) *Cylch* abundance. PKM3 51.7-11. JKB 65.1. Gorsedd sitting. PKM3 51.18-21. JKB 65.1. Desolation. Hunting. PKM3 51.22-52.17.. JKB 65.1- 66.1.

⁸⁶⁵ PKM3 (Dyfed quartet.) Exile, in 3 *Lloegr* towns. Return to Dyfed. Hunting. PKM3 52.17-55..6. JKB 66.1- 68.1.

⁸⁶⁶ PKM3 Pryderi disappears. PKM3 56.5-19. JKB 70.1. Rhiannon's rebuke (III). PKM3 56.23-27. JKB 70.1-70.2. Rhiannon attempts rescue. PKM3 57. 1-3. JKB 70.2. Captivity. PKM3 57. 8-12. JKB 70.2. Restoration. PKM3 64.22-65.16. JKB 75.2

⁸⁶⁷ Pryderi's praise: PKM3 50.7-8. JKB 63.2 Manawydan is drawn to Rhiannon, PKM3 50.15-18. JKB 63.1.

⁸⁶⁸ i.e. Rhiannon, Manawydan, Pryderi and Cigfa. From PKM 51.17. JKB 65.2, individual names are dropped under plural pronouns, except a few namings of Manawydan, until PKM3 53.8. JKB 66.2 when Pryderi speaks with Manawydan in *Lloegr*. The women continue under the quartet pronouns until back in Dyfed Rhiannon questions and rebukes Manawydan after the boar hunt PKM3 56.24. JKB 70.1. Cigfa is not named again until both Rhiannon and Pryderi are captives, PKM3 57.13. JKB 70.2.

⁸⁶⁹ Manawydan remembers: PKM3 58.26-27. JKB 70.1. Manawydan pairs Rhiannon with Pryderi cf. Maternal Dyad Ch. V.10 Pryderi pp. 321-28.

⁸⁷⁰ Ch. V.11. Cigfa: Manawydan, p. 332.

determinedly to free both Rhiannon and Pryderi together.⁸⁷¹ Manawydan's primary relationship is with Pryderi, reflecting both the patriarchal male network of his society, and Rhiannon's maternal dyad bond.

Rhiannon's consent to her marriage to Manawydan is ambiguous. Pryderi evidently bestows her upon Manawydan, following custom, saying *Mi a rodaf it honno*.⁸⁷² Yet Rhiannon actively participates in the agreement, asking what they have planned together, then giving her consent.

*"A minheu a uydaf wrth
hynny yn llawen," heb y Riannon. "Llawen yw genhyf
inheu," heb y Manawydan*⁸⁷³

Her 'consent' is ambivalent due to Pryderi's bestowal. He apparently does not first consult Rhiannon, and her participation only occurs because she observes he is planning and demands to know what. The narrative suspends awkwardly between bestowal and consent. Perhaps it might be understood as an example of how formal (gendered) arrangements often yield to other factors in practice. Rhiannon is a powerful widow well into middle age, long accustomed to ruling without her son, known for her forcefulness. Such a female cannot be commanded like a young girl. Pryderi notably primes Manawydan to deploy skilful converse to win her favour (above), cannily manoeuvring the matriarch. His plan functions to separate the Dyfed lordship into two territories, avoiding future conflict with his powerful mother. She would see the value of that. She may have gathered intelligence on the males' prior discussion.⁸⁷⁴ Had she not consented, Pryderi's position might have been difficult, almost a stranger in his own land, with formidable Rhiannon much older, and established in Dyfed lordship since before his birth.

Dyn rhinweddol/ Man of virtue

Manawydan has attracted high esteem among scholars, particularly Mac Cana and Sioned Davies. The

⁸⁷¹ Freeing the pair: PKM3 63.26. JKB 75.1. PKM3 64.18–19. JKB 75.2. PKM3 64.26–27. JKB 75.2. PKM3 65.6–7. JKB 75.2.

⁸⁷² Bestowal: PKM3 49.19. 'I will give her,' JKB 63.2.

⁸⁷³ PKM3 50.22–24. "And I will abide by that gladly," said Rhiannon. 'I, too, am glad,' said Manawydan.' JKB 64.2. She had asked the men what they had planned, PKM3 50.20. JKB 64.2.

⁸⁷⁴ My speculative messenger network, Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon pp. 412–13.

author has created in Manawydan a reflection of his own personality and a vehicle for his own philosophy of life.⁸⁷⁵

He is seen as a patient peacemaker,⁸⁷⁶ a model of middle aged caution;⁸⁷⁷ upholder of justice and law;⁸⁷⁸ loyal;⁸⁷⁹ incorruptible;⁸⁸⁰ chaste;⁸⁸¹ modest;⁸⁸² Christian;⁸⁸³ a skilled negotiator;⁸⁸⁴ the saviour;⁸⁸⁵ and a New Man.⁸⁸⁶ There can be little argument Manawydan is a peaceful man, an administrative type who lives by converse rather than action, evidenced both PKM2 and PKM3 (above). Cigfa's narrative demonstrates his chastity.⁸⁸⁷ According to Pryderi, Triad 8, and his behaviour throughout his political odyssey, he is never aggressively ambitious but largely content as second-in-command. But his 'Christianity' cannot be intrinsic without violating the otherwise secular character of the Mabinogi,

⁸⁷⁵ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 48, and Rhiannon as ideal type, political exemplar pp. 362-63.

⁸⁷⁶ 'gentle, scrupulously just, and always a peacemaker', Rhys, *Lectures*. VI, CHVI, p. 666. 'the pragmatist and the peace-maker ... But his patience and tolerance were not borne of weakness', Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 47. Parker: 'one of the few characters within the Four Branches who comes close to being presented in a wholly positive light. His patience and forbearance represents a depth of wisdom and a subtlety of mind'. *Mabinogi*, p. 374.

⁸⁷⁷ 'middle-aged caution of Manawydan before the magic caer (so admirably sustained in Manwydan's attitude to the jealous craftsmen of Lloegr and his bargaining with the bishop)'. Jones and Jones., *Mabinogion*, p. xviii. 'the prudent Manawydan acting out of friendship for his son-in-law Pryderi', Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 34.

⁸⁷⁸ 'the importance of justice in Manawydan's eyes as he insists on hanging the mouse, the lawful penalty for stealing. ... He wishes to' keep to the letter of the law.' Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 73.

⁸⁷⁹ 'his loyalty is apparent, and also his determination'. Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 73.

⁸⁸⁰ 'He cannot be bribed with gold, silver or horses – his loyalty to his friend and his wife is worth much more than this', Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 73.

⁸⁸¹ His restraint is explicit in the text. PKM3 57.13–26. JKB 70.2. Ford observes 'Manawydan is a completely trustworthy and chaste friend to Pryderi', *Welsh Tales*, p. 74. The emphasis is male-male loyalty rather than directly honorable behaviour to Cigfa.

⁸⁸² A 'modest man who never once claimed ... territory', Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 72.

⁸⁸³ His 'Christian and practical values of patience and compromise', Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 60. 'it is Manawydan's Christian virtues of patience and compromise' that restores the land. Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 61. Parker compares biblical Job, medieval St. Eustace, Voltaire's Candide. Parker, *Mabinogi*, p. 372.

⁸⁸⁴ Not a Magician but he can 'baffle utterly one of the greatest wizards known to Welsh literature'. Rhys, *Lectures*, VI, p. 666. 'master of the magical game which underpins the action of the Mabinogi... a moral and social exemplum ... a case-study for esoteric edification'. Parker, *Four Branches*, p. 374. 'his clever bargaining [he] – and the author – show more can be achieved by means of fair words than by the sword', Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 73.

⁸⁸⁵ He 'brings the strife to an end without shedding one drop of blood, surely a lesson to all after the horror and destruction of the Second Branch.' Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 62. 'Manawydan makes us realise that there is hope after all'. Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 59. Davies is inclined to see a 'veiled suggestion' that God is responsible for the Desolation. *Ibid.* p. 59, where she addresses 'leaked' Christian content. Here this is discussed Ch. VII.3. Goddess pre-1900: Christianity pp. 438-42.

⁸⁸⁶ Welsh, 'New Man', pp. 121 -141; also Apr. 1990. 'Doubling and Incest in the Mabinogi', *Speculum*, 65, 2, pp. 344-362; doubling across First & Fourth Branches. Summary Parker, 'Bibliographical Essay'.

⁸⁸⁷ Ch. V.11. Cigfa: Manawydan pp. 331-32.

though readers may like to compare him to Job or St. Eustace, as WJG and Mac Cana do.⁸⁸⁸

Rhiannon's rebuke that Manawydan fails the heroic code, is crucial to his profile (cf. his inaction at his little nephew's murder).⁸⁸⁹ He fails to use his hunting skills to scout the tower terrain for signs to explain the event, waits doing nothing, returns home helplessly to report to the boss.⁸⁹⁰ He openly expresses fear of English traders and Caswallawn's violence, preferring to run away than face aggression.⁸⁹¹ We may understand his inaction and avoidance because we moderns are disarmed civilians. Rhiannon and Pryderi contrast as savage tribals, embedded in violence. But the noble code which bred them *and* Manawydan does defines him as a useless coward. His loyalty fails at physical action. He is passive, deferring to another male unless that male fails to act.⁸⁹² Tellingly, when faced with the murderous threat of *Lloegr* traders Manawydan turns to Pryderi his warrior friend, a moment of polarity.⁸⁹³ He honours Cigfa's body, but not her mind, for he ignores all her female advice (as no other Mabinogi males do), and fails to even courteously explain himself.⁸⁹⁴ With no male and no dominant female to lead him, he finally takes decisions and acts. When he meets Llwyd he mentions a period of seven years of seeing no one else in Dyfed, so he is extremely slow to develop his salvific resolution.⁸⁹⁵

He can be defended. Inaction at the tower might be the alert waiting of the hunter; John Davies:

getting caught himself and leaving Rhiannon and Cigfa on their own would condemn them both to death.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁸⁸ On the Mabinogi and Christianity Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Christianity, pp. 438-42.

⁸⁸⁹ Gwern's murder: PKM2 43.16–44.8. JKB 54.2–55.1. Ch. V.12. Background p. 338.

⁸⁹⁰ Manawydan's reactions: PKM3 56.20–26. JKB 70.1–2. Contrast his examination of terrain after the Desolation, equally fearsome as the tower, or more so. PKM3 52.4–6. JKB 66.1.

⁸⁹¹ Fear of Caswallawn, PKM3 54.1–4. JKB 67.2.

⁸⁹² He initiates investigating the Desolation effects: PKM3 52.4–6. JKB 66.1. He proposes going to *Lloegr*, PKM3 52.17–19. JKB 66.1. His opposition to Pryderi about killing the traders is a) reactive, and b) expresses timidity. PKM3 53.9–10. JKB 66.2. and PKM3 54.1–3. JKB 67.2. and PKM3 54.27–55.1. JKB 68.1

⁸⁹³ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Manawydan pp. 306–10, for the polarity between the two friends.

⁸⁹⁴ Q Ch. V.11. Cigfa, p. 327 n.786. Pennar says he 'confides' in her: not so. "Women" p. 140.

⁸⁹⁵ Seven years, PKM3 61.25–27. JKB 73.2.

⁸⁹⁶ Discussion via Discord, John Davies (16/08/2021:07.50). He continues: Rhiannon's 'hasty condemnation of Manawyddan is a plot device of the story. Because if they had remained on good terms they, both being highly strategic and adept at plotting, might have found some way of freeing Pryderi there and then. In which case we would not have had the whole of that branch.' *Ibid.* (16/08/2021:08.17).

His inaction at his nephew's murder may be due to observing that his brother is doing what can be done. His timidity in *Lloegr* is similar to the tower scene, for if he and Pryderi are captured or killed by Caswallawn or the traders, Rhiannon and Cigfa would be left unprotected. The noble code insists on courageous risk-taking, but backed by kinship networks to care for dependants; the two women seemingly do not have that fallback. Manawydan grasps this vulnerability, that the noble code cannot function for them. Manawydan's disrespect for Cigfa adopts plebeian shoemaking (already proved problematic). Welsh sees the purpose here to fetch seed-corn, a Culture Hero rôle.⁸⁹⁷ Manawydan's treatment of the Mouse is perhaps intuitive thinking, which he cannot explain to Cigfa. His inability to tell her he does not know why might be either a strain of stereotyped masculinity unable to admit ignorance, or else speaking his uncertainty might weaken his resolution. His preferred deference to another male, or a strong female, is ambiguous between weakness or constructive cooperation. The latter option is reinforced by his ability when left without a leader.

He does take long years to achieve the PKM3 resolution, but as Welsh outlines it, the narrative is building a wholesale 'New Man' agenda for Dyfed, and for Wales a new political reality. It seems Manawydan benefited from his diplomat and trading years to eventually bargain successfully with Llwyd's three *personae*. The model is not all new. The family's triumphalism in the towns, native rivalry with the English, repackages the noble code of success. The deeper core of the noble code is to seize/ annex, keep, and regain wealth, *by whatever means necessary*. That may include cautious pragmatism. On this reading Manawydan appears a highly successful noble, more so than proud Pryderi and the women, because adaptation succeeds, reclaiming wealth and kindred.

Nonetheless Rhiannon's rebuke must cut painfully for a royal prince bred to the ideology of nobility. Not only does she brand him coward, but a failed friend to Pryderi to whom he owes everything in his new life. It is imaginable the old training hurts him, even as he gropes for its radical core to adapt it. Her harsh, authoritative voice probably haunts him down the years, holding him

⁸⁹⁷ Welsh, 'New Man', p. 135 in Sullivan's *Essays*. Cf. *Tri ymborth gwr: hela a chyfnewit ac eredic.* / 'Three sustenances of man: hunting and commerce and ploughing'. Owen, 'Welsh Triads', p. 242, concerning the aphoristic and gnomic triads.

relentlessly to saving Pryderi, herself and Dyfed. That is perhaps the shared heart of this marriage: Rhiannon and Manawydan both endure years of shame before they are vindicated.

~ * ~

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.13. *Llygoden Arglwyddes*/ Lady Mouse

Lady Mouse is a minor, anonymous, but not unimportant character in Mabinogi Rhiannon, appearing late in PKM3.⁸⁹⁸ She is Manawydan's crucial negotiating resource to win Rhiannon and Pryderi free, and undo the Desolation of Dyfed. Narrated as a mouse, she is finally revealed as a shapeshifted human.⁸⁹⁹ She is always anonymous because never met before marriage.⁹⁰⁰ Her heavy pregnancy allows Manawydan to capture her.⁹⁰¹

Thomas D. Hill and Kristen Mills speculate on comparisons between the gallows scene and a widespread folk song/ narrative poem.⁹⁰² Lady Mouse' narrative has comedic aspects as Pennar notes,⁹⁰³ but the comedy overlays abject terror for a totally helpless female, trapped, waiting to die.

There is a powerful structural interlace across Mabinogi Rhiannon via food supplies between Rhiannon's PKM1 bag (all Dyfed's capacity for food and drink) and Manawydan's PKM3 glove (used for his wheat crofting labour).⁹⁰⁴

⁸⁹⁸ Constructed title for this study. The text only refers to a mouse, which is logical as she is not revealed as a wife until end of PKM3. Lady Mouse narrative: PKM3 60.15 –65.11. JKB 73.1–76.1.

⁸⁹⁹ PKM3 64.15–16. JKB 75.2. The species has been identified as *Micromys Minutus*. Lee Raye. 9/05/2014. 'The harvest mice (*Micromys Minutus*) in 'Manawydan' (the 'Third Branch of the Mabinogi')' in section 'Identifying the Species', 'History and Nature' (URL text Bibliography).

⁹⁰⁰ Ch. III.5. LLW 'Women and names' pp. 166-67. 'At the moment she is captured, the pregnant mouse is, as it were, Mrs. Llwyd.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 213.

⁹⁰¹ *eithyr un a welei yn amdrom, ual y tebygei na allei/ un pedestric*, PKM3 60.15–16. 'except for a very fat one which he could see, that he supposed was incapable of any fleetfootedness.' JKB 73.1. Llwyd explains his wife is pregnant: *A beichawc oed hi*, PKM3 64.17, 'she was pregnant' JKB 75.2.

⁹⁰² Thomas D. Hill, and Kristen Mills. 2018. 'The (Pregnant) Mouse Freed from the Gallows: A Ballad Parallel for the Conclusion of Manawydan fab Llŷr', *Folklore*, 129, 3, pp. 7 ff. (URL text Bibliography). The article has a number of thoughtful points regarding kinship and marriage. (URL text Bibliography).

⁹⁰³ 'What is more ridiculous than seeing a fully grown man, a nobleman at that, hanging a mouse?' Pennar, p. 141. Manawydan's gibbet built of forks to hang Lady Mouse adds more comedic effect.

⁹⁰⁴ Rhiannon's bag: PKM1 14.23 –15.17. Manawydan's glove: PKM3 60.16–18. Efnysien's flour sacks containing Irish warriors in ambush could also be included: PKM2 42.13–14, & 17–19.

They are fabric containers, flexible to content size; taken from normal use to contain a person as traps leading to violence or death.⁹⁰⁵ They are womblike: soft, strong, stretchy containers, cf. the gravid Lady Mouse. Bag and glove are both tied closed with string.⁹⁰⁶ They are polarised by gender and other issues. The PKM1 bag is owned by a powerful, elite female, used to capture a vigorous, elite male. The PKM3 glove belongs to a weakened male, used to imprison a handicapped female. Both captives are in danger of death, avoided by negotiation. The bag tale as an aristocratic romance contrasts the glove tale of hard peasant survival,⁹⁰⁷ with contrasting images of food as pleasurable feast and desperate hunger,⁹⁰⁸

Lady Mouse' essential characteristic is an ultimate, female vulnerability, the slow heaviness of late pregnancy by which she is captured. She reflects how Rhiannon's motherhood drastically changes her power position (PKM1, PKM3).⁹⁰⁹ Lady Mouse appears to be valued as young and beautiful by her husband, besides her value bearing his potential heir, so he will meet all Manawydan demands to ransom her.⁹¹⁰ Lady Mouse initiates a playful approach to visiting Gorsedd Arberth, cf. Rhiannon's advent there. Lady Mouse then becomes passive, synchronised with Rhiannon's PKM3 captivity. Lady Mouse and

⁹⁰⁵ Rhiannon's bag scene ends by bringing Gwawl close to death. (The PKM2 flour sacks hold warriors helpless as Efnysien kills them.) Manawydan's glove is used to imprison Lady Mouse until he hangs her as a thief.

⁹⁰⁶ 'the adversary is defeated and ends up in a bag with strings drawn'. Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 212.

⁹⁰⁷ Class differences about food supplies present in both tales. The PKM1 bag tale includes peasant hunger in Pwyll's disguise as a hungry beggar. PKM1 16.5–7. JKB 30.1. Manawydan's change of status is evident and highlighted by Cigfa's anxieties. Ch. V.11. Cigfa pp. 331–34. Comparing the Branches the PKM1 tale is a time of native independence, while PKM3 resonates the Anglo-Norman conquest, displacement of natives from their land and therefore their sustenance. Cf. Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Hywel Dda pp. 183–85, Anglo-Norman pp. 185–88

⁹⁰⁸ Also Pwyll as disguised beggar, interlace. His comedy becomes Manawydan's grim struggle.

⁹⁰⁹ Lady Mouse slowness, pregnancy, PKM3 60.15–16 & 64.17. Rhiannon's shift in power, Ch. IV.2. Acts, p. 209. She faces calumny as an infanticide (PKM1), becomes captive when seeking to rescue her son (PKM3). In PKM2 Cymidei Cymeinfol sustains the theme of females as son-bearers; cf. 'rieni' status (Branwen), theorised further to Rhiannon, Arianrhod, Ch. III.6. 'Rieni' pp. 182–83. Cf. Arianrhod's pregnant vulnerability, publicly exposed, PKM4 77.12–18.

⁹¹⁰ Valente cites Llwyd's dedication to reclaiming his wife as an instance of how important women are in the Mabinogi narrative, as Llwyd must sacrifice his revenge to ransom her. 'Merched', p. 117. Valente also p. 202 cites fertility as a key female theme of the Mabinogi. Ch. III.6. 'Rieni' pp. 177–82. Rhiannon's looks, not described as objectively 'beautiful' but by Pwyll and Pryderi, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: First Impressions quoted p. 246 n. 221; Ch. V.8. Pryderi: Rhiannon p. 319 n. 750; also see Ch. II.8. Feminism: Beauty p. 134.

Rhiannon both have a group of women companions: neither receive help from them when in need. Both have persistently loyal husbands.⁹¹¹

Legally, Lady Mouse is a thief who steals Manawydan's grain.⁹¹² Rhiannon is also in a sense a thief. There is a tension in her narrative between legalistic female consent, and male bestowal. Rhiannon steals *herself* from male bestowal, to give herself to Pwyll.⁹¹³ Manawydan is legally justified in hanging Lady Mouse by the neck as the penalty for theft: Rhiannon is forced to wear asses' collars on her neck.⁹¹⁴

There are significant differences. Lady Mouse arrives in Manawydan's Arberth fields as an anonymous married woman, where Rhiannon's Arberth advent is as a named maiden. Manawydan's drama mediates a mouse, contemptible vermin, part of his peasant labour narrative. Pwyll's drama mediates Rhiannon's horse, a magnificent nobility asset. Lady Mouse' beauty is extolled objectively: '*yn wreigyang deccaf a welsei neb.*', unlike Rhiannon.⁹¹⁵ Lady Mouse' pregnancy narrative is incomplete when freed from captivity: Rhiannon's continues into giving birth. As captive, Lady Mouse is not only helpless with heavy pregnancy, she is all alone. Rhiannon is captive alongside her son.

~ * ~

*V Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/
Her Kindred: relational perspectives*

V.14. Llwyd Cil Coed

Llwyd Cil Coed is mentioned previously in various chapters; this treatment adds a comparison of his and Rhiannon's character. Llwyd is a Magician, a shadowy yet

⁹¹¹ Ch. V.6 Maids, their disloyalty pp. 276-77; Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership loyalty pp. 260-63; Manawydan loyal albeit slow to act Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Man of Virtue pp. 344.

⁹¹² Manawydan declares it, PKM3 62.7-9.. JKB 74.1. Ellis, 'Legal References', pp. 54ff. and pp. 111, 112.

⁹¹³ On the law on female marital consent, male bestowal, Ch. III.5. LLW: Consent p. 170.

⁹¹⁴ Rhiannon, asses' collars: *Riannon a uydei a mynweireu yr/essynn, wedy bydyn yn kywein gueir, am y mynwgyl/ hitheu.../ Ac o achaws y carchar hwnnw, y gelwit y kyuarwydyt/ hwnnw, Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynordd.* PKM3 65.19-23. 'and Rhiannon would have the collars of asses, after they had been carrying hay. ...' And, on account of that imprisonment, that tale was called 'The Mabinogi of Mynweir and Mynordd'. JKB 76.1. Like Branwen her humiliation is class linked to the dirt of labour.

⁹¹⁵ PKM3 65.11. 'the most beautiful young woman anyone had seen.'. JKB 76.1. Subjective/objective beauty issue Ch. II.8. Feminism: Beauty p. 134.

dominant character across almost all of PKM3.⁹¹⁶ He is only fully present right at the end of the Branch when he identifies himself as the author of the Desolation of Dyfed.⁹¹⁷ He is the captor of Rhiannon and Pryderi, and it transpires his relationship with Rhiannon is primary (below).

llwyd – grey, faint (of colour), pale, brown, muddy (of water)
(GPC)⁹¹⁸

His name ‘Llwyd’ reflects his hidden, shadowy *persona*. Paleness themes magic in Mabinogi Rhiannon. Arawn first appears anonymously clad in hunting greys; Rhiannon appears anonymously on a horse which is *canwelw*/ pale white; she traps Gwawl with a badger bag, a nocturnal animal striped black and white; Pryderi and Manawydan are seduced to the tower by a white boar. Hemming identifies white as one of the primary, magical symbols in Celtic myth.⁹¹⁹ Grey is a subtlety of liminality and hidden power; cf. *éminence grise*. Llwyd has a title, not a patronymic: ‘Llwyd *Cil Coed*’ is suggested here as ‘Grey One of the Deep Wood’.⁹²⁰

We do not explicitly meet Llwyd until almost the end of PKM3.⁹²¹ Yet his Desolation dominates PKM3, ranking as a leading Mabinogi event in terms of scope. It lasts for about seven years,⁹²² affecting the whole Dyfed population; completely reshaping the lives of Rhiannon, Pryderi, Manawydan, and Cigfa. Although Rhiannon and Pryderi are absent as Llwyd’s captives for the second half of the Branch,⁹²³ their influence arguably continues as evident in two ways. Their aristocratic disdain for manual labour is insisted by Cigfa, daughter-in-law and

⁹¹⁶ PKM3 has 16 pages (pp. 49– 65). From the Desolation Llwyd creates PKM3 p. 51 to the end of Branch is 14pp, so his presence though mostly invisible is the great majority of the Branch (87%).

⁹¹⁷ Llwyd finally identifies himself, explains: PKM3 64.5. JKB 75.1. Ch. V.4. Gwawl p. 236 n. 149.

⁹¹⁸ GPC *llwyd*: grey, faint (of colour, light, &c.); pale, pallid, wan; russet, brown. Grey-haired, grey-headed, old, ancient; grey (of hair, &c.), grizzled. *Cil*: corner, angle; back, ... retreat, flight; recess, covert, nook. *Coed*: forest, wood, trees. Cf. also ‘Old English brocc “badger,” a borrowing from Celtic (cf. Old Irish brocc, Welsh broch), probably so called for its white-streaked face.’ ‘Brock’, Etymology Online. (URL text Bibliography).

⁹¹⁹ Arawn PKM1 2.5–6. JKB 21.1. Rhiannon’s horse PKM1 9.12–13. JKB 25.2. Badger bag PKM1 17.8. JKB 30.2. White boar PKM3 55.14. JKB 68.2. Hemming, ‘Tricolour’.

⁹²⁰ GPC: *Llwyd* – grey, faint (of colour, light, &c.); pale, pallid, wan; russet, brown. Grey-haired, grey-headed, old, ancient; grey (of hair, &c.), grizzled. *Cil*: corner, angle; back, ... retreat, flight; recess, covert, nook. *Coed*: forest, wood, trees. This Magician’s full name might translate ‘Grey One of the Deep Wood’: ‘Deep Wood’, my interpretation, intends to convey remote woods, without the inferiority a more literal ‘Backwoods’ would connote. Cf. my speculation of Annwfn as a hidden forest domain, Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Annwfn pp. 376–80.

⁹²¹ Llwyd identifies himself. PKM3 64.5. JKB 75.1. Ch. V.4. Gwawl p. 236 quotes nn. 149, 150.

⁹²² Manawydan refers to seven years isolation, PKM3 61.25–27. JKB 73.2.

⁹²³ The captivity begins PKM3 57.12. JKB 70.2. That makes an absence of 8pp. (50%).

wife. Llwyd also sustains this class issue, disguised as a series of clerics. He punishes Rhiannon through class degradation of her equine aspect.⁹²⁴ Secondly, it is suggested above that Rhiannon's Rebuke III to Manawydan for failing his loyal friend Pryderi, weighs on him, sustaining his desire to make amends.⁹²⁵ Both these Rhiannon influences centre on social change, moving away from an ancient heroic code towards a new order of trading and farming.⁹²⁶

Manawydan suspects magical agency at the new tower. He clearly realises the Desolation agency wrecked his crofting project. His determination to hang Lady Mouse suggests awareness of a hidden agency, and his negotiations with three clerical visitors become more confidently aware of this agency.⁹²⁷

Llwyd admits his Desolation was *dial*/ revenge for his friend Gwawl's humiliation and loss of rights (PKM1). He specifically identifies Rhiannon's counsel to Pwyll as the root cause.⁹²⁸ His Desolation removes the herds and foodstocks of Dyfed, her power base as a feast organiser; her bag's capacity is to hold all those foodstocks.⁹²⁹ As Pryderi's adviser, Rhiannon fails to warn that gifting the use of old Dyfed to Manawydan moves it outside Pwyll's bloodline, which bears Gwawl's contract to eschew vengeance. Her original advice to Pwyll on vanquishing Gwawl, her failure to warn Pryderi, make her doubly responsible for Llwyd's Desolation *dial*. Llwyd ruthlessly draws her into captivity through her maternal devotion.⁹³⁰

Llwyd is finally overcome via *his* devotion to his young, pregnant wife, Manawydan's captive. He is imaginable as an older, indulgent husband, possibly hoping for an heir from her; cf. the hybrid personal/ political relationships of Mabinogi nobility.⁹³¹

⁹²⁴ On Cigfa's sustained insistence, a 'refrain' Ch. V.11. Cigfa p. 333.

Rhiannon's degradation PKM3 65.19–24. JKB 76.1. 'Mynweir a Mynord'.

⁹²⁵ Ch. V.12 Manawydan p. 344.

⁹²⁶ Ch. III.7. Political: Anglo-Norman pp. 185–88.

⁹²⁷ Tower: PKM3 56.4–5. JKB 70.1. Crofting: PKM3 59.19–22. JKB 72.2. Lady Mouse PKM3 – 60.1361.16 JKB 73.1–2. Clerics: PKM3 61.15–64.1. JKB 73.2–75.1.

⁹²⁸ Llwyd's revenge: PKM3 64.5–10. JKB 75.1.

⁹²⁹ Desolation effect: PKM3 51.24–28. JKB 65.2–66.1. Rhiannon's bag: PKM 15.5–7. JKB 29.2.

⁹³⁰ Rhiannon attempts rescue: PKM3 57.1–3. JKB 70.2.

⁹³¹ Llwyd and his wife: his persistent efforts to free her as three clerics PKM3 61.15–64.1. JKB 73.2–75.1. He offers Manawydan his own price, PKM3 63.25. JKB 75.1. For hybrid personal/ political relationships, Porter key quote, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice p. 242.

Comparing Rhiannon and Llwyd finds similarities. They are both initially anonymous; loyal spouses; parental; strategists; and workers of magic. Their polarities are more numerous.⁹³²

TABLE Rhiannon Llwyd polarities	
Female	Male
Blazing gold	Shadowy grey
Patronymic	Title epithet
Sophisticated courts	Forest
Aruchel/ Noble horse	Wild badger
Betrays Gwawl	Avenges Gwawl
Feasts provider, bag	Foodstocks removed
Adar Rhiannon (birds)	Mice (vermin)
Actualised fertility (mother)	Potential fertility (pregnant wife)
Mother bond	Friend bond
Captive	Captor
Punished	Punisher
Generally direct	Generally secretive

~ * ~

V *Ei Charennnydd: safbwyntiau perthynol/*
Her Kindred: relational perspectives

V.15. *Gwydion y Lladdwr/* Gwydion the Killer

Gwydion is the killer of Rhiannon’s son Pryderi:⁹³³ this death-tale concludes Mabinogi Rhiannon as its Epilogue.⁹³⁴ He is lead protagonist of PKM4, the nephew of Math, *Arglwydd* of Gwynedd.⁹³⁵

TABLE 34 **Gwydion narrative**

PKM4 Math’s nephews. Pigs. <i>Llys Pryderi</i> , bards. Conjures exchange fakes. Herds pigs north.
PKM3 Dyfed war. Rape. Truce breakdown. Duel, kills Pryderi. Math’s justice, has sons.
PKM3 Arianrhod. Llew adoption. Arianrhod’s 3 mandates. Blodeuedd. Llew quest. Revenge.

⁹³² Llwyd is again considered Ch. VI.3. Magician pp. 387, 388-89, 391-93.
⁹³³ Death of Pryderi, PKM4 73.13–15. JKB 88.2. Cf. *gwyd*: wickedness, sin, vice; injury, harm; fault, blemish, defect, wrong; falsehood, deceit; idleness. (GPC)
⁹³⁴ Ch. I.5. Text: Ending pp. 27-29, on possible end points of Mabinogi Rhiannon. Ch. IV.2. Acts p. 205-07 for the death tale as Epilogue of playscript presentation.
⁹³⁵ Math is the titular protagonist of PKM4, following the convention of the *incipit* name. But though powerful as presiding ruler and judge, he is intermittent, presidential, whereas Gwydion is persistently agentic. Nephew: PKM4 67.12–13. JKB 79.1. Ch. I.3. Etymology: TABLE Comparison of namings p. 7. Gwydion almost matches Rhiannon in namings.

When PKM4 opens, Dyfed and Gwynedd are the two great political powers, linked by Pryderi and Math's friendship.⁹³⁶ Gwydion seduces Pryderi by false friendship and fakery into breaking his contract about the Annwfn pigs. Pryderi wars on Gwynedd to redeem his honour; calls for a personal duel to end the slaughter, and Gwydion applies enchantment to kill him.⁹³⁷ Gwydion's enterprise is to foment war, which removes Math as guardian of the maiden Goewin, all so Gwydion's brother may rape her.⁹³⁸ Math regrets the loss of his friend Pryderi, the many lives lost, and his own shame.⁹³⁹ He punishes his nephews with three years penance, then reconciles with them.⁹⁴⁰

Rhiannon is absent from all PKM4 narrative. Pryderi consults his council, but not Rhiannon and Manawydan, which an agreement with a foreign power would require if they were still living as rulers of the old Dyfed seven *cantrefi*. It may be assumed they would not support war, especially Manawydan.⁹⁴¹ While Rhiannon is not found in Gwydion's narrative, comparison between Gwydion and

⁹³⁶ Math and Pryderi open the Branch together. *Math uab Mathonwy oed arglwyd ar Wynedd, a/ Pryderi uab Pwyll oed arglwyd .../yn y Deheu*, PKM4 67.1–2. 'Math son of Mathonwy was lord of Gwynedd, and Pryderi was lord ... in the South', JKB 79.1.

Pwyll's original 7 *cantrefi*, PKM1 1–2. JKB 19.1. Pryderi's annexations making 21 *cantrefi*, PKM1 27.17–22. JKB 40.1. PKM4 opening, Pryderi has 21 *cantrefi*, PKM4 67.2–5. JKB 79.1.

⁹³⁷ Gwydion's plot, PKM4 68.10–73.15. JKB 79.2–88.2. *Duel a hut a lledrith*, PKM4 73.5. 'by magic and by enchantment'. JKB 872. The nature of the enchantment is not specified. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: death p. 311.

⁹³⁸ Math's condition, he may only leave the maiden for war: PKM4 67.5–8. JKB 79.1. Gwydion explicitly states he will start a war to gain access to the maiden. PKM4 68.10–14. JKB 79.2.

⁹³⁹ Math regrets: PKM4 74.26–27. JKB 91.2.

⁹⁴⁰ Punishment, PKM4 74.14–76.25. JKB 91.2–92.2. Forgiveness, PKM4 75.25–76.1–2. JKB 92.2. Again, Ch. I.3. Text pp 27–29, for two options here as end points to Mabinogi Rhiannon: Pryderi's death, or Math's justice episodes.

Following these events, Gwydion conducts a bitter conflict with his sister Arianrhod over the rights of their son Lleu; manufacturing a fake, (murderous) wife for him. He pursues the dying Lleu, restoring him to life, enabling a final closure of the extant Mabinogi in vengeance. Referring to Gwydion and Arianrhod's son as 'their son' here, is not meant as adopting the theory of their incest, though neither is it denied. Functionally Arianrhod is Lleu's mother by conceiving him and exercising maternal authority over his rights; Gwydion is functionally doubly Lleu's parent by completing the pregnancy, and nurturing his childhood.

Gwydion and Arianrhod conflict: PKM4 78.20–83.16. JKB 95.1–99.1. Gwydion (and Math) manufacture Blodeuedd, PKM4 83.17–27. JKB 99.1–100.1. Blodeuedd plots to kill, PKM4 86.1–17. JKB 102.1. Pursuit, restoration, PKM4 88.18–90.20. JKB 104.1–106.1. Vengeance, PKM4 91.18–92.24. JKB 106.1–2.

⁹⁴¹ Pryderi consults his council on the gift exchange, PKM4 70.23–26. JKB 821 The. PKM3 settlement of the old Dyfed seven *cantrefi*, PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–63.2. Pryderi, like Manawydan, suffered the horrors of the Irish War, but he did not lose his kindred, status, and home. He also had earlier history as a successful conqueror. Thus his perspective on war is as much positive as negative, if not more so.

herself reveals a cautionary degree of similarity. Their contrasts are even more instructive, and model core ethos in the Mabinogi.

Rhiannon, tebygrwydd/ Rhiannon, similarities

Rhiannon and Gwydion are powerful rulers, but not sole rulers. Rhiannon is a co-ruler with her husbands;⁹⁴² probably regent for her son during the Irish War.⁹⁴³ She rides the *cylch* of Dyfed with her three closest kindred.⁹⁴⁴ Gwydion is Math's ruling representative, riding the Gwynedd *cylch* with his brother.⁹⁴⁵ Both Rhiannon and Gwydion conflict with opponents undeserving of treatment given them.⁹⁴⁶ Both endure years of penance.⁹⁴⁷ Both are centrally defined by parenthood with unusual birth tales.⁹⁴⁸ Both their sons receive bestowed horses.⁹⁴⁹ Both suffer loss of sons, involving female opposition. Both regain their boys by determination and the power of voice.⁹⁵⁰ Both are notable storytellers.⁹⁵¹ Both sons fight death duels of honour.⁹⁵² Rhiannon has her *Adar Rhiannon*;

⁹⁴² She co-rules with Pwyll: PKM1 19.17–18. JKB 33.2. Pryderi gifts the rule of Dyfed together with Rhiannon to Manawydan. PKM3 49.17–20. JKB 63.1–63.2. Rhiannon continues to act as ruler, advising on politics and riding the *cylch*. PKM3 51.1–6. JKB 65.1.

⁹⁴³ Possible regency Ch. III.5. LLW p. 168. Ch. V.11. Cigfa p. 330.

⁹⁴⁴ PKM3 *cylch*: PKM3 51.1–6. JKB 65.1.

⁹⁴⁵ Gwydion on *cylch*: PKM4 67.11–14. JKB 79.1.

⁹⁴⁶ Rhiannon and Gwawl, PKM1 14.21–18.13. JKB 28.2–31.1. Ch. V.4. Gwawl pp. 230–31, 237. Gwydion and Arianrhod; PKM4 78.20–83.16. JKB 95.1–99.1.

⁹⁴⁷ Rhiannon penance: PKM1 21.21–28; ends PKM1 25.27. JKB 35.1. Over four years performed, calculation Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 270; Ch. V.10 Pryderi p. 297. Gwydion penance, three shapechanges, each lasting a year. PKM4 74.14–76.25. JKB 91.2–92.2.

⁹⁴⁸ Mabinogi Rhiannon is closely parental from Rhiannon's son's birth PKM1 20.2–5. JKB 33.2, through the rest of PKM1; Adar Rhiannon PKM2 46.13–15 JKB 55.2; PKM3 throughout. Ch. V.10 Pryderi: Rhiannon pp. 316–21, Maternal Dyad pp. 322–28. Similarly once Gwydion acquires Arianrhod's dropped item, his narrative is parental, PKM4 77.17–19. JKB 94.1. Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Christianity on baptism regularising odd births pp. 439–40.

⁹⁴⁹ Bestowal, boy in Gwent, PKM1 23.24–24.5. JKB 36.2. Gwydion sees Lleu is saddened by lack of horses and arms, PKM4 81.13–15. JKB 98.1. The subsequent passage only tricks Arianrhod into arming Lleu, not giving horses. However Triad 38 names a horse bestowal to Lleu, though not who bestows: *Tri Rodediciuarch Enys Prydein* / 'Three Bestowed Horses of the Island of Britain'. Lleu, line 2, his horse is named *Melyngan* / 'Pale yellow of the Stud'. TYP pp. 105–106. Also TYP Intro. pp. lxxx–lxxxvii.

⁹⁵⁰ Rhiannon and Maids, PKM1 20.4–21.8. JKB 33.2–34.2. Her penitential voice, PKM1 21.24–28. JKB 35.1. Also Ch. IV.1. Voice #22 pp. 194, 201–02. Lleu and Blodeuedd, PKM4 86.1–17. JKB 100.1–103.1. Gwydion's salvific song (*englynion*) PKM4 88.25–90.17. JKB 105.1–105.2.

⁹⁵¹ Rhiannon, bag speech, PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 28.2–29.2.; penitential speech PKM1 21.24–28. JKB 35.1; cf. Gwydion, PKM4 69.13. JKB 80.2.

⁹⁵² Pryderi duel, PKM4 72.24–73.17. JKB 88.2. Lleu duel, PKM4 91.19–92.22. JKB 107.2–108.1.

Gwydion features a wren, eagle, and owl.⁹⁵³ Rhiannon's plotting causes the Desolation of Dyfed: Gwydion's causes war which breaks Dyfed's power.⁹⁵⁴

Rhiannon, cyferbyniadau/ Rhiannon, contrasts

Rhiannon is female, Gwydion male, though both stretch gender.⁹⁵⁵ Rhiannon's natal family is only her father: Gwydion has full natal genealogy.⁹⁵⁶ She has two long marriages: he is unmarried. She has one son, he has four.⁹⁵⁷ She organises great feast logistics: he is a guest. Her daughter-in-law relationship is cordial, his the object of vengeance.⁹⁵⁸ Rhiannon journeys from *llys Hyfaidd* to Dyfed, into exile, and captivity.⁹⁵⁹ Gwydion stays defined by Gwynedd.⁹⁶⁰

Their core similarity is evidently self-willed ambition. They are ruthlessly successful strategists employing enchantments, seduction, and trickery, to gain their desires. But their differences are more numerous, and critical.

Rhiannon mounts a brilliant campaign to recruit and dominate Pwyll,⁹⁶¹ but offers him love, clever skills, and loyalty. He freely chooses to become her executive.⁹⁶² She uses seductive trickery on Gwawl, cf. Gwydion on Pryderi.⁹⁶³

⁹⁵³ 'Birds of Rhiannon', predicted, PKM2 45.2–4. JKB 55.2; event. PKM2 46.13–15. JKB 58.2. Gwydion: wren, PKM4 80.19–20. JKB 97.2; eagle, PKM4 88.8–10. JKB 103.2–104.1; owl, PKM4 91.6–17. JKB 106.1–2.

⁹⁵⁴ Rhiannon the cause of the Desolation: PKM3 64.5–10. JKB 75.1. Ch. V.3. Gwawl: Bad Counsel pp. 236–37, Ch. V.10 Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 322–28. Dyfed men depart at end of the PKM4 war, Dyfed does not feature again in the Mabinogi. PKM4 73.18–21. JKB 88.2–89.1. The transfer of focus to Gwynedd follows the 12thC. historical transfer of power Ch. II.1. Timeline p. 44; Ch. III.6. Political Parallels pp. 188–89. Not comprehensive list, covers the main correspondences.

⁹⁵⁵ Rhiannon subverts her marital bestowal, and rides to hunt, cf. Winward, 'Aspects', pp. 83–84. Gwydion has been called a 'male mother': PKM4. 77.17–20, and 78.3–10. JKB 94.1–2. Nicole Thomas. 2011. 'The Male Mother and his Flower Child: Re-Visioning Blodeuwedd In Evangeline Walton's *The Island of the Mighty*', Academia online (URL text Bibliography)

⁹⁵⁶ Rhiannon ferch Hyfaidd Hen, PKM1 12.23. JKB 27.2. Ch. I.3. Etymology p. 5. Gwydion's genealogy, PKM4 67. 12–13. JKB 79.1.

⁹⁵⁷ Previous to Lleu, Gwydion has three sons with Gilfaethwy his brother, during their shapeshift penance as animals: PKM4 76.17–23. JKB 92.2. On his probable incest with Arianrhod, WJG, *Math*, pp. 130–31, 138–42. pp. 143–44 n.1., 192–95. Arianrhod as Math's footholder, with Goewin as a later replacement. Lewis Môn (1465–1527), also Tudur Aled (fl. 1480–1526), quoted TYP, p. 285. Trans. Valente, 'Merched', p. 35.

⁹⁵⁸ Gwydion as feast guest PKM4 69.5–6. JKB 80.2. His vengeance on Blodeuwedd, PKM4 91.6–17. JKB 106.1–2.

⁹⁵⁹ PKM3 52.20–65.7. For estimated calculus of timing Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines p. 273.

⁹⁶⁰ 'The fact however that Gwydion figures in the legends of all the districts of Gwynedd here mentioned, makes it clear that he was the central figure of the Gwynedd legend, much as Pryderi was the central figure of that of Dyfed.' Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 291.

⁹⁶¹ Rhiannon at Arberth: PKM1 9.11–13.11. JKB 25.2–28.1.

⁹⁶² Rhiannon acknowledges Pwyll's free will, PKM1 12.25–26. JKB 27.2. Pwyll asks her about her plan, PKM1 14.22. JKB 29.1. He begins to implement it, PKM1 16.3. JKB 30.1.

⁹⁶³ Rhiannon seductive: PKM1 15.24–25; & 16.25–26. JKB 30.1. & 30.2. Gwydion: PKM4 69.13–19. JKB 80.2–811.

But Gwawl knew Rhiannon had chosen another so it was open to him her compliance might be untrustworthy.⁹⁶⁴ Gwydion's core disregard for free will gives his dupes no clue to his deceptions:⁹⁶⁵ his war is dishonest; Goewin is raped; and sex-doll Blodeuedd's agency is mere submission to a new owner.⁹⁶⁶

Rhiannon and Gwydion differ in the degree and manner of damage they cause by plots. Rhiannon's Badger-in-the-Bag is violent; Gwawl (seriously?) wounded, filthied, humiliated. The Desolation result impacts all Dyfed's people and foodstocks for seven years.⁹⁶⁷ Yet none are killed; only one person (Gwawl) is dishonoured and injured. Gwydion creates the slaughter of two armies and dishonours his own lord.⁹⁶⁸ Rhiannon strives to avert vengeance with a legalistic contract in consultation.⁹⁶⁹ Gwynedd's justice is Math's dictatorial fiat, including vengeance. A single *sarhaed* attempt is refused.⁹⁷⁰ Gwydion might redeem himself by devotion to Lleu,⁹⁷¹ but that balances one life against the slaughter of many.⁹⁷² His devotion is political advantage, for Lleu becomes the heir of Gwynedd.⁹⁷³

Gwydion is associated with various animals. The prized Annwfn pigs, his faked horses and hounds, reflect his acute reading of others' desires (Math,

⁹⁶⁴ Gwawl could only have seen Rhiannon as his willing bride for the second wedding, if he saw her as a female pawn passed passively as a prize. Very little acquaintance with Rhiannon shows her otherwise. Gwawl seems either stupid in how he mis/understands her (possibly sexually bemused), or her true self is irrelevant to him; all that matters is her surface compliance (classic masculine entitlement). He does not distinguish between a Rhiannon and a Blodeuedd. Anger at him might explain why she did not halt the beating he received.

⁹⁶⁵ After his first visit Arianrhod does not know her visitor is Gwydion as he uses disguises.

⁹⁶⁶ Gwydion foments war about Annwfn pigs, but really to effect Goewin's rape. PKM4 68 JKB 79.2. 'Thus Pwyll and Pryderi were able to get by friendship from the powers below what Gwydion was only able to procure by craft and to retain by force of arms.' Rhys, *Lectures*, IV: Culture Hero, p. 341.

⁹⁶⁷ Gwawl trapped: PKM1 17.15–16; & 18.9–11. JKB 30.2 & 31.1. On her joint responsibility with Pryderi, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Desolation. Llwyd explains the cause, PKM3 64.5–20. JKB 75.1. For calculus of timing, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines p. 273; also Manawydan's reference to seven years, PKM3 61.25–27. JKB 73.2.

⁹⁶⁸ Gwawl injured, dishonoured: PKM1 17.15–16; & 18.9–11. JKB 30.2 & 31.1. Dyfed men depart, grieving their losses, PKM4 73.18–21. JKB 88.2–89.1. Math regrets the slaughter and his own dishonour, PKM4 74.26–27. JKB 91.2.

⁹⁶⁹ Rhiannon's contract demands Gwawl abjure revenge: PKM3 17.23–24. JKB 31.1.

⁹⁷⁰ Arianrhod similarly issues mandates as a sole authority, seemingly supported by tradition on maternal rights to grant or withhold name, arms and wife from her son. *Sarhaed*, associated with a coward: PKM4 91.19–22. JKB 106.2.

⁹⁷¹ 'Gwydion is depicted as Lleu's indefatigable protector and benefactor, his fatherly zeal not tainted by selfish motives, except perhaps by way of expiation for his earlier transgressions.' Pennar, 'Women', p. 144.

⁹⁷² It might be argued that this inequality is precisely the system that *sarhaed* represents, but the case here is extreme.

⁹⁷³ Math seems to reconcile with Gwydion so far and no further. Math resumes working with him around Lleu and Blodeuedd, but Lleu inherits Gwynedd: PKM4 92.24–26. JKB 108.1.

Pryderi). His shapeshifted punishments as wild stag, (female) boar, and wolf, express his uncivilised lack of morality. The foraging sow on his quest for Lleu restates the Annwfn pigs and his journey with them, perhaps suggesting he has not matured.⁹⁷⁴ Lleu as kingly eagle might suggest Gwydion's ambition for Lleu as heir of Gwynedd. Maggots feeding on corruption suggest Gwydion's morality, perhaps Gwynedd also.⁹⁷⁵ The contrast with Rhiannon's proudly *aruchel* (superior) horse, and her healing Adar, is marked.⁹⁷⁶

The Rhiannon-Gwydion, Dyfed-Gwynedd polarities, appear to represent the Cyfarwydd's political ethic. Rhiannon's elitist entitlement is curbed by moral limits and legalistic contract, not found in Gwydion's brutal corruption. McKenna proposes the Mabinogi as a 'Mirror for Princes', supported here, though variantly with Pwyll as exemplar prince, not apprentice fool.⁹⁷⁷

Rhiannon stands not only as the lady of pioneering prose text,⁹⁷⁸ but (by contrast) a leading exemplar of proper political power.⁹⁷⁹ The Cyfarwydd presents her as an ideal type; yet a realistic mediaeval noblewoman, moved by great ambition to trickery, but moderated by morality and legalistic contract.⁹⁸⁰

~ * ~

⁹⁷⁴ Cf. Triad 26. The great sow Henwen's legendary gifts to Gwynedd are predators; an eagle, a wolf and a savage cat. TYP, pp. 50-51. Journey with pigs: PKM4 70.23-71.11. JKB 83.1-83.2. Foraging sow: PKM4 89.11-23. JKB 104.2-105.1.

⁹⁷⁵ Eagle: PKM4 89.20-24. JKB 105.1. Maggots: PKM4 89.17-19. JKB 105.1.

⁹⁷⁶ Rhiannon's horse: PKM1 9.11-14. JKB 25.2. Healing Adar Rhiannon: Bromwich and Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, p. 24. Trans. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, 139.

⁹⁷⁷ She sees PKM1, PKM3 as ideal models. McKenna, 'Theme of Sovereignty in Pwyll'; and McKenna. 1999. 'Sovereignty'; and 'Learning Lordship : The Education of Manawydan' in *Ildanach Ildinech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*: 4, ed. by Carey, John; John Koch and Pierre-Yves Lambert (Celtic Studies Publications). Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Sovereignty pp. 259-60.

⁹⁷⁸ Ch. I.7. Lady of Prose pp. 36-42.

⁹⁷⁹ Gwydion contrasts above.

⁹⁸⁰ Rhiannon is revealed as much more than a romantic heroine, less likeable, more complex: Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice pp. 241-46.

Mabinogi Rhiannon VI

RHIANNON 'RYWEDAWT'

RHIANNON THE MARVELLOUS

VI.1. *Hudoliaethau'r Mabinogi*/ Mabinogi Enchantments

VI.2. *Perlewyg y Mabinogi* /Mabinogi Trance

VI.3. *Rhiannon y Ddewines*/ Rhiannon the Magician

VI.4. *March Rhiannon*/ Rhiannon's Horse

VI.5. *Cod Rhiannon*/ Rhiannon's Bag

VI.6. *Adar Rhiannon*/ Birds of Rhiannon

VI. *Rhiannon* 'Rywedawt' / Rhiannon the Marvellous

VI.1. *Hudau y Mabinogi* / Mabinogi Enchantments

This section VI addresses Rhiannon's *hud*/ enchantment perspectives. The first chapter sketches mediaeval magic, categorises types of Mabinogi *hud*/ enchantment; and considers Annwfn.¹

Hud Canoloesol / Mediaeval Magic

The intricate literature of the Mabinogi presents remarkably little Christian content. At its time of composition an international humanist culture was active from c. 1050 to the early 13thC. Christian and Islamic worldviews contested and coexisted in western Europe. The Crusades (Islamic name: Frankish Wars) were key *loci* of cultural exchange via the sophisticated lords of *Outremer* (Holy Land). The influential Muslim state of Granada constellated tolerance and diffusion of ideas, which spread through troubadours, *trouvères*, and *beirdd*/ bards.² Islamic libraries preserved and reintroduced Greek and Roman manuscripts into Christendom.³ The university of Oxford drew international scholars from the 12thC onward.⁴

Dom David Knowles identifies a 'proto-Renaissance ... [which] reached maturity between 1070 and 1180';⁵ with three characteristics:

a wide literary culture; ... personal devotion to certain figures of the ancient world; and, finally, a high value set upon the individual, personal emotions, and upon the sharing of experiences and opinions within a small circle of friends.⁶

¹ The contrast between this study and Mythological Reconstruction as in WJG, *Rhiannon*, was stated in the Introduction as a fundamental disambiguation.

² Cf. Jaufre Rudel's trancelike imagery which seems to resonate Rhiannon's ride; quoted Ch. VI.2. Trance pp. 385.

³ Aileen Das, 'Greek philosophy and medicine', in 'Greek manuscripts,' British Library online. (URL text Bibliography)

⁴ Oxford University, 'Introduction and history', Oxford University online. (URL text Bibliography)

⁵ Dom David Knowles. March 1941. 'The Humanism of the Twelfth Century', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 30, 117, p. 44. (URL text Bibliography)

Also Mary Carol Sullivan. 1967. 'The Concept of Man in the Twelfth-Century Humanism of Chartres' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University Chicago). (URL text Bibliography)
Willemien Otten. 2004. *From Paradise to Paradigm: A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism* (Leiden: Brill); Alex J. Novikoff. 2016. *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures series, 19 (University of Toronto Press).

⁶ Knowles, 'Humanism', p. 46.

He cites 12thC Abelard, Héloïse, and Ailred of Rievaulx as typical of 'eloquence' in trained grammar from 'foremost Latin writers'.⁷ A time lag in Britain ended this 'proto-Renaissance' with scholars such as Walter Map (1140 –c. 1210) and Giraldus Cambrensis (c. 1146 –c. 1223).⁸

Richard Kieckhefer explores the mindset of mediaeval magic beyond a simple sacred/ profane dualism. He observes two important polarities, firstly between religious elites and the common people's perspectives; secondly, an opposition between religion (public, official, making petitions), and magic (private, unofficial, exerting coercion). From this he synthesises three types of medieval magic, cautioning a realistic ambiguity and demarcations changing over time.

TABLE 35 Types of mediaeval religion

- 1) Official religion** appealed to God and benevolent spirits for blessings and miracles.
- 2) Demonism**; invocation by Church-trained, underworld clerics.
- 3) Natural magic** working hidden powers in nature.⁹

Mabinogi *hud* is not type 1, religious. It does not feature any public, official religious organisation, nor does it ask passively for miracles via prayer.¹⁰ Pwyll actively invokes 'rywedawt'/ a marvel, by his provocative behaviour in sitting Gorsedd Arberth.¹¹ Mabinogi practitioners do not invoke demons, type 2. They align best with type 3, using hidden powers in nature, the 'supernatural', to coerce others.¹² However, Mabinogi *hud* can be an openly public matter, unless involving deception; e.g. Rhiannon's anomalous horse and bag display to court audiences.¹³

⁷ Knowles, 'Humanism', pp. 47–48. He notes Héloïse especially 'has nothing of the Christian within her', p. 51. He also lists Anselm, John of Salisbury, John of Fécamp, Peter Damian, Peter the Venerable, Bernard, William of Malmesbury, p. 47. Novikoff's reader includes all the scholars cited by Knowles, and a great many more in well organised categories of source texts, n. 1.

⁸ Knowles, 'Humanism', p. 56.

⁹ Richard Kieckhefer. 1989, 2014. Introduction to *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press). Kieckhefer's sources tend to be 14th-15thC, but his analysis seems adequately explanatory of our earlier period. Also David Collins. 2019. *The Sacred and the Sinister: Studies in Medieval Religion and Magic* (Pennsylvania State University Press), which celebrates Kieckhefer and extends his analyses with more detail.

¹⁰ Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Christianity pp. 438-42.

¹¹ PKM1 8.27 –9.11. Pwyll is advised about *kynneddyfyr orssed*/ characteristic of the Gorsedd, and deliberately sits there to invoke 'rywedawt'.

¹² Objects and Constructs, below.

¹³ Horse: PKM1 9.11-14. JKB 25.2. Bag: PKM 16.5–21. JKB 30.1.

In line with its nobility focus generally, Mabinogi magical practitioners are all kings or nobles, not common people.¹⁴ Their control may be with consent: (Arawn/ Pwyll; Rhiannon's ride/ Pwyll; Llwyd/ Lady Mouse), or rely on trickery (Rhiannon's bag/ Gwawl; Gwydion/ Pryderi), or outright compulsion (Math's shapeshiftings, Arianrhod's mandates).¹⁵

Diffiniad/ Definition: Mabinogi hud

hud – magic, wizardry, sorcery, witchcraft, spell, enchantment, charm, fascination, allurement, persuasion, enticement; illusion, apparition; deceit(fulness), deception, delusion, wile, trick, ruse, simulation, dissimulation, legerdemain. (GPC)

These meanings cluster on deception, as in the archaic meaning of a 'glamour', constructed by a skilled agent to control others. Enticement, deceit, delusion, trick, ruse, also suggest negativity for the recipient/s. The core theme of inequality, control of another or others, is sometimes modified by consent (Arawn/ Pwyll, Llwyd/ Lady Mouse, Gwydion/ Lleu).

Categoriâu/ Categories Mabinogi hud

Mabinogi enchantments are categorised below. Some items or functions show in multiple categories. Within categories items are in narrative order, marked by Branch. Specific PKM referencing is left to the expositions which follow.

¹⁴ Ch. VI.3. Magician, for a Table of all Mabinogi Magicians p. 387 and analysis following.

¹⁵ Ch. VI.3. Magician for gendering of Mabinogi Magicians, and Rhiannon in particular pp. 389-91.

TABLE 36 *Mabinogi Hud* Categories**~ Animals ~*** = *Shapeshifts*

PKM1 Cŵn Annwfn/ Rhiannon's horse/ Mare, Colt/ Claw.
 PKM2 Starling/ Adar Rhiannon.
 PKM3 White Boar/ *Mice.
 PKM4 Pigs/ *Horses, *hounds (fake) / *Hind, stag, fawn/ *Boar, sow, piglet/ *Wolf, she-wolf, cub/ Wren/ Goat/ Sow, maggots/ *Owl.

~ Colours ~

PKM1 Red, white hounds/ Pale-white horse/ Gold silk
 PKM3 White boar/ Gold bowl
 PKM4 Black, white dogs/ Gold horse & dog gear/ Gold shields

~ Special effects ~

PKM1 Monstrous claw/
 Teyrnnon vigil, dark, tumult
 PKM3 Thunder, mist, light
 PKM4 Tumult, Arianrhod

~ Locations ~

PKM1 Glyn Cych, forest/ Annwfn/
 Gorsedd Arberth/ Gwent-Is-Coed
 PKM2 Lake of the Cauldron
 (Ireland)/ London, White Hill
 PKM3 Gorsedd Arberth/
 Arberth forest
 PKM4 Caer Dathyl/ Rhuddlan Teifi/
 Pig trail, 6 places /Caer Arianrhod/
 Dinas Dinlleu/ Ardudwy/ Nant Lleu/
 River Cynfael

~ Shapeshifting~

PKM1 Pwyll -Arawn.
 PKM3 Mice *teulu*/ *Lady Mouse/
 Scholar/ Priest/ Bishop.
 PKM4 Gwydion, 12 bards/ Gwydion
 12 horses, dogs/ *Gwydion: deer/
 *Gwydion: boar/ *Gwydion: wolf/ *3
 Sons to humans/ *Virginity test/
 Gwydion, Lleu, bards/Blodeuedd,
 flowers to female/ *Lleu eagle/
 Reversal healing.

~ Objects, constructs ~

PKM1 Rhiannon's bag.
 PKM2 Cauldron/ Flour bags/
 Caswallon's cloak/ Gwales door.
 PKM3 Tower, fountain, gold bowl.
 PKM4 12 fake horses, hounds, gold
 gear/ (fake) ship, leather/
 Gwydion's chest/ seaweed/ Oak,
 broom, meadowsweet/ Spear/
 Bathtub roofed.

~ Dimensions ~

(size, distance, time)
 PKM1 Rhiannon's horse/ Rhiannon
 as mount/ Gŵri's growth.
 PKM2 Cymidei's sons' growth/
 Bendigeidfran/ Adar Rhiannon/
 Gwales.
 PKM4 Math's hearing/ Dylan and
 Leu's growth.

~ Magicians ~

PKM1 Arawn/ Rhiannon.
 PKM2 Branwen/ Bendigeidfran/
 Llassar, Cymidei/ Caswallon.
 PKM3 Llwyd.

PKM4 Gwydion/ Math/ Arianrhod

~ Spell-ing ~ (speech)

All Magicians exc. Llassar, Cymidei/
Englynion, trancework.

~ Hutlath/Wand ~

PKM3 Llwyd.
 PKM4 Math /Gwydion.

~ Bindings

PKM1 Arawn -Pwyll/ Hafgan's blo
 Arberth characteristic/ Bag contro
 by noble/ Gwent mare.
 PKM2 Bendigeidfran's living head/
 Gwales door/ Britain protected.
 PKM3 Manawydan -Llwyd.
 PKM4 Footholder/ Pryderi-Annwf
 / Gwydion-Pryderi/ Lleu's death
 spear

~Violence, dial/vengeance ~

PKM1 Pwyll-Hafgan duel/ Badger-
 in-the Bag/ Teyrnnon heroics.
 PKM2 Dead warriors revived/
 Caswallawn cloak.
 PKM3 Devastation of Dyfed.
 PKM4 Rape Goewin/ Pryderi-
 Gwydion duel/ Arianrhod forced
 births/ Gwydion, fake invasion/
 Lleu -Goronwy duel.

Anifeiliaid/ Animals

Some animals are magically implicated, but not necessarily magical in themselves.¹⁶ Some could be contracted magical allies, or ordinary beasts trained to human purposes: Cŵn Annwfn, Rhiannon's horse, Adar Rhiannon, Llwyd's boar.¹⁷ Branwen's starling, Adar Rhiannon (PKM2) are female-linked birds; the starling is explicitly trained, but may also hold intrinsic *hud*. Two shapeshifted animals are notable females: Lady Mouse (voluntarily); Blodeuedd as owl (imposed).¹⁸

Some are shapeshifted humans, including progeny.¹⁹ Some animals are fakes (glamours) e.g. Gwydion (PKM4).²⁰

Lliwiau/ Colours

Mabinogi *hud* colours are white, red, black and gold. Hemming explores ancient Celtic patterns of white and red in enchantments (Welsh –Irish spectrum).²¹

Mabinogi Rhiannon weaves a triple gold *hud* interlace across three Branches: Rhiannon's gold silk as Gorsedd '*rywedawt*'/marvel; golden bowl traps her son; twelve horses, hounds, shields' gold accoutrements doom Pryderi.²²

Effeithiau arbennig/ Special effects

The monstrous claw, whatever else it is, is threatening. To grip a colt and lift it, it must be a *giant* claw, consequently a colossal creature, outside in the dark.²³

¹⁶ Gwent mare, PKM1 22.1–5. JKB 35.1–2. Branwen's starling, PKM2 38.7–10. JKB 51.1. Annwfn pigs, PKM4 68.16–25. JKB 80.2. Llew's wren, PKM 80.19–20. JKB 97.2. Goat, JKB 103.1. Sow & maggots, PKM 89.17–19. JKB 105.1.

¹⁷ The issue is important in relation to Rhiannon's Horse Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse pp. 395–400.

¹⁸ Branwen's starling, PKM2 38.7–10. JKB 51.1. Adar Rhiannon: PKM2 45.2–4 and 46.13–16. JKB 55.2, 58.1. Lady Mouse, PKM3 64.15–16 JKB 75.2. Blodeuedd, owl, PKM4 91.6–17. JKB 106.1–2. The *grauanc uawr* 'mighty claw', is listed above as animalistic. Strictly, its possessor is undefined as animal, human, or construct. PKM1 22.17–18. JKB 36.1.

¹⁹ Llwyd's mice, PKM3 64.11–14. JKB 75.1. Math's deer, boar, wolves couples and their sons, PKM 74.10–76.23. JKB 91.2–92.2.

²⁰ Gwydion's fake horses and hounds, PKM4 70.7–13. JKB 81.2–3.

²¹ She maintains they are chosen as a mythical priority even where other colours are available and known. Hemming, 'Red, White, and Black in Symbolic Thought', pp. 310–29; *ibid.* 2013. 'The Colour Portrait in Medieval Welsh Literature', unpublished paper presented at the 35th Annual California Celtic Studies Conference, Berkeley, California, USA.

²² Rhiannon gold silk, PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. Golden bowl trap; 57.4–7. JKB 70.2. Gold accoutrements, PKM4 70.7–13. JKB 81.2–3. Ch. VIII. Structures: Golden Thread pp. 510–11, which has more gold instances in addition to these three *hud*.

²³ There is something especially enormous and nightmarish about a single claw. Barbara Ehrenreich observed that humans were originally a prey species, with very late development as hunters. She theorises sacrifice developed to offer up one to protect the horde, and that human

Teyrnnon's battle with it is laden with *twrwf*/ tumult, also found in his name.²⁴ The magic is pantomime, stereotyped. Its noisiness begs the question why dogs and people were not woken up. Perhaps the enchantment is enclosed, for Teyrnnon, the mare and the colt.²⁵ Llwyd's Desolation of Dyfed also has noisy *twrwf*, additionally mist and bright light.²⁶ *Twrwf* interlaces across PKM1, PKM3 the core narratives of Mabinogi Rhiannon.

Lleoliadau/ Locations

The Mabinogi is a living landscape, its locations seen today in the geography of Wales (also England, Ireland).²⁷ Early Mabinogi scholars such as Guest and Anwyl present a quantity of location research. Bollard's *Legend and Landscape* offers Griffiths evocative site photographs.²⁸

Gorsedd Arberth functions as an *axis mundi*, binding PKM1 and PKM3 narratives. The Gorsedd *kynnedyf*/ characteristic, brings Pwyll 'rywedawt'/ a marvel (Rhiannon). Its twin aspect, *archolleu*/ injury,²⁹ is given to Gwawl, beaten in her bag. Gwawl's humiliation results in his friend Llwyd exacting *dial*/ revenge, by the massive *archolleu* of the *Diffeithwch Dyfed*/ Desolation of Dyfed, begun on

violence lacks the inbuilt controls of a predator species. 1980. *Blood Rites: The Origins and History of the Passions of War* (Signet). Donna Hart and Robert Wald Sussman. 2002. *Man the Hunted: Primates, Predators, and Human Evolution* (Westview Press Inc.).

²⁴ Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon *Twrwf Lliant*. It is argued *twrwf* alludes to crashingly noisy water tumult, the famously dangerous Bristol channel sandbanks (*not* the Severn Bore), pp. 281-83.

²⁵ This might compare with the isolation of Pwyll separated from his companions in the forest; and alone in Annwfn; Rhiannon distanced as 'rywedawt'; the Seven Survivors on Gwales; the four royals left stripped of court, people and animals after the Desolation; Pryderi and Rhiannon trapped in the tower; Manawydan left alone with Cigfa, and his dialogues on Gorsedd Arberth; Gwydion and the dying eagle Lleu.

²⁶ In response to one of my *Pembrokeshire Life* series about the Mabinogi, a local correspondent advised that fogs were a well known aerospace hazard there. Morgain. June 2017. 'Mabinogi love stories old and new'. Letter in response, undated, received mid-June, signed 'An Old Narberthian'. The area is known locally as 'Western Hill'.

²⁷ Ch. III.1. 'Map Mabinogi', p. 141. My first guide John Davies to the Welsh landscape in 1989 recounted how excited he was as a boy in Pembrokeshire, when he read the family copy of the Mabinogi, and suddenly realised with a shock 'Hey, I know these places! This is *my* land.' (John Davies, Personal reminiscence). That same faded cloth Everyman volume of Guest's translation, now has an honoured place on my Mabinogi library shelves.

Maps of Pwyll's hunting trip, below 'Annwfn', pp. 379, 380.

²⁸ Guest, *Mabinogion*, Everyman's Library. Her research notes follow each Branch: Notes to Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, pp. 339-357; Notes to Branwen the Daughter of Llyr, pp. 369-384; Note on Manawyddan the Son of Llyr, pp. 411-412; Notes to Math the Son of Mathonwy, pp. 413-432.

Anwyl, 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi' I. Bollard, *Landscape*, photography by Anthony Griffiths.

²⁹ A courtier explains '*kynnedyfyr orsed / ... / ... / kymriw neu archolleu, neu ynteu a welei rywedawt*.' PKM1 9.4-7. 'a characteristic of the mound/... / ... /either wounds or blows, or seeing a marvel.'

the Gorsedd. Further blows of fortune happen to Manawydan at the Gorsedd, balanced by his negotiated resolution there.³⁰

archoll, pl. **archolleu** – wound, cut, gash, hurt, injury, also fig. (GPC)

Newid siâp/ Shapeshifting

Some shapeshifting events seem like disguises cf. Pwyll's pretence as a beggar; Llwyd as scholar, priest, bishop; Gwydion and companion bards.³¹ Practical illusion and the supernatural are close cousins (cf. definition *hud*, GPC above); theatrical glamour to entertain, persuade or control. 'True' shapeshiftings worked upon humans.³² Some shapeshifting transforms objects as raw materials.³³

The bond between Arawn and Pwyll is a uniquely mutual shapeshift, an identity merge.³⁴ Pwyll becomes 'y/ gwr a oed yn lle Arawn': *lle/* place, means a specific, designated place. Arawn gives his *lle* in his kingdom, his place in the world, to Pwyll.³⁵ When Arawn reverses the shapeshift, phrasing suggests more than change in appearance.

*Yna y rodes Arawn y furuf, a'y drych e hun y Pwyll,/ Penduic Dyuet, ac y kymerth ynteu y furuf e hun a'y/ drych.*³⁶

³⁰ Llwyd explicitly connects Pwyll and Rhiannon at *llys Hyfaidd Hen*, with the Desolation. PKM4 64.10. JKB 75.1. Winward frames Rhiannon's 'scathing wit', Rebuke I, as a Gorsedd blow on Pwyll. 'Aspects', p. 83.

diffeithwch – desert, wilderness, solitude; desolation, devastation, depredation, a pillaging. (GPC).

³¹ Llwyd as scholar, priest and bishop, PKM3 61.15–63.8. JKB 73.2–74.2. Gwydion and companion bards, PKM4 69.3–6. JKB 80.2. Pwyll as beggar, PKM1 16.5–7. JKB 30.1. Gwydion makes himself and Lleu look like 'young lads', though whether disguise or shapeshifting is unclear. PKM4 81.22–24. JKB 98.1.

³² Cf. very ancient shamanic traditions of hunting magic. Michael Winkelman. 2012. 'Shamanism in Cross-Cultural Perspective', *International Journal of Transpersonal Studies*, 31, 2, Article 7, pp. 47–62, esp. pp. 51–52, 53.

³³ 'Objects, constructs' below pp. 364–66.

³⁴ Literal trans. 'that it shall not be you that I shall be.' Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 8. n. 20.

³⁵ *Lle* – space in general; locality, area, region, neighbourhood (sometimes transf. of its inhabitants); a specific place ... residence, dwelling; building or open space used for a specific purpose ... space, room, accommodation ... , stead, lieu; position, site (e.g. of house), ... proper or natural place; fixed or assigned seat, place, &c., place where something is habitually kept (e.g. book on a shelf) GPC.

'*Sef/ ual y gwnaf, mi a'th rodaf di y'm lle i yn Annwyl.*' PKM1 3.7–8. 'I will place you in my stead in Annwn'. JKB 21.2. *y/ gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*, PKM1 5.20–21. 'the man who was in Arawn's place'. JKB 23.1. Similarly PKM1 6.6. JKB 23.2.

³⁶ My Bold emphasis. PKM1 6.23–25. 'Arawn then gave Pwyll Penduic Dyuet [back] his own form and his appearance, while he for his part took back his own form and appearance.' Gwydion and his brother's PKM4 adoption of animal nature bears out the phrasing weight here.

furuf (*ffurf*) – form, figure, shape, fashion, manner, way; aspect, appearance, mien, likeness; (GPC)

Two oddities occur while Pwyll is shapeshifted: his chastity,³⁷ and Hafgan's apparent awareness Pwyll is not Arawn.³⁸ Both involve intimate physical behaviour. Hafgan's awareness might suggest Pwyll is wise not to engage in sexual intimacy.³⁹ Although Pwyll consents to the shapeshift pact, Arawn is Pwyll's superior as 'crowned king', and certainly as controlling magical practitioner.⁴⁰ This accords with the other shapeshiftings as an unequal model of Magician controlling the subject. The mutual humanity of this shapeshift is unique.

PKM3 mice transformations including Lady Mouse, are by consent, a lighthearted game, though thieving the harvest threatens starvation for Manawydan and Cigfa.⁴¹

Shapeshifting is provocative of identity issues. Seemingly the previous consciousness continues in the shapeshifted state. Pwyll's decisions on chastity, his Hafgan duel, and loyally returning to meet Arawn, demonstrate his original self directing his acts. Math's justice sequence explicitly transfers his nephews into animal nature as well as appearance. Their retained awareness imposes penitential suffering at what they are compelled to do. Blodeuedd, formed of vegetation, perhaps blindly follows her vegetal fertility drive. Lleu, as a dying eagle, seems to recognise and respond to Gwydion's voice as trusted guardian.⁴²

Gwrthrychau a lluniadau / Objects & constructs

Rhiannon's bag, the Cauldron, the tower bowl, are containers of control and immobilisation. Gwawl is rendered helpless by Rhiannon's bag. The Cauldron

³⁷ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Fool, multiple chastity interpretations, pp. 251-52.

³⁸ Hafgan: PKM1 5.25-27. JKB 23.1.

³⁹ One explanation already suggested in this study is that Pwyll's long year of chastity may be (in part or whole) because to impersonate everyday behaviour is manageable, but intimate behaviour is too risky. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Fool, p. 252 n. 273.

⁴⁰ Ford, 'power to shift shapes rests with the king, Arawn', *Welsh Tales*, p. 35.

⁴¹ PKM3 64.11-16. JKB 75.1-75.2. The historical analogue of a horde of voracious mice with Anglo-Norman depredation has been suggested. Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Anglo-Norman pp. 187-88. Sioned Davies considered Mabinogi shapeshifting was perceived as positive. *Four Branches*, p. 55. Surely the punitive shapeshifts imposed on the PKM4 nephews, and even worse on Blodeuedd, are not positive. Nor are Gwydion's deceptions on Pryderi and Arianrhod.

⁴² Pwyll chastity, PKM1 4.26- 5.6. JKB 22.2-23.1. his single blow, PKM1 6.1-4. JKB 23.2. his loyal return, PKM1 6.15-17. JKB 23.2. Math's justice, PKM4 74.15-77.2. JKB 91.2- 92.2. Blodeuedd construction, PKM4 83.23-27. JKB 99.2-100.1. Lleu-eagle & Gwydion, PKM4 90. JKB 105-106.1.

revives mass dead who overwhelm and immobilise their enemies. Pryderi and Rhiannon are immobilised by the irresistible bowl. Irish flour sacks and Manawydan's glove also contain and control, but are not magical themselves.⁴³ Gwydion's (womb) chest controls, contains, productively.⁴⁴

Caswallawn's cloak of invisibility extends the normal covering function of a cloak.⁴⁵ The Gwales door is an apt image for opening up the tranced minds of the Survivors as they laze, feasting in protected suspension.⁴⁶ Fresh air blows into the hall from Cornwall on westerly winds and the door opens the next narrative stage.

Gwydion's magic employs everyday natural items: toadstools, seaweed, blossoms of oak, broom, and meadowsweet.⁴⁷ Toadstools are well-known poisons. Oak and broom flowers are also poisonous, meadowsweet flowers can be poisonous for vulnerable groups.⁴⁸ To a rural society Gwydion's materials would signal warning subtexts underlying the beautiful illusions he makes. However Gwydion's *delysg* / dulce seaweed, to fake fine Cordovan leather, is a benign plant, a mineral rich food.⁴⁹

The spear wrought to murder Lleu is a double Mabinogi rarity: mentioning a weapon and Christian event.⁵⁰ The latter bears connotations of an outsider to convention, of blasphemy.⁵¹

⁴³ Bag, PKM1 14.23–15.17. Flour sacks, PKM2 42.10–19. Cauldron, PKM2 44.9–14. Bowl, PKM3 56.14–19. Glove, PKM3 60.16–18. Ch. VIII. Structures: Interlace Bag pp. 518–19.

⁴⁴ Chest, PKM4 78.3–6. JKB 94.2. Gwydion's chest contains and produces a baby. A foetal incubator today is a routinely useful tool, but here it is deployed by a 'male mother' (cf. Nicole Thomas) in a literature where gendering is conventionally binary, a wondrous '*rywedawt*'; but to its mediaeval audience a transgression against civilised codes.

⁴⁵ Caswallawn, PKM2 46.15–17. JKB 57.1–58.1.

⁴⁶ Gwales door, PKM2 47.10–21. JKB 59.2.

⁴⁷ Toadstools, PKM4 70.22–23. JKB 82.1. Seaweed, PKM4 79.13–15. JKB 95.1–2. Blodeuedd: blossoms of oak, broom, meadowsweet, PKM4 83.23–27. JKB 99.2–100.1. Cf. Kieckhefer 3.

⁴⁸ Meadowsweet can be a medicinal herb, but its flowers contain high levels of salicylate, contra-indicated for many vulnerable cohorts such as young children, pregnant women, diabetics, rheumatics. 'Meadowsweet - Uses, Side Effects', WebMD online (URL text Bibliography)

⁴⁹ Noted Bollard, '*Landscape*', p. 95, n.17. Cf. Manawydan crafts fine Cordovan leather, PKM3 54.12–14. JKB 68.1.

⁵⁰ Ch. VI.3. 20thC Goddess: Christianity, p. 441.

⁵¹ Cf. Kieckhefer above. It might be queried how Goronwy could absent from the central, weekly community gathering for a whole year without it being noticed and causing him to face difficult attention about it. Lleu's complex death-ward constructs a visual cartoon. He is vulnerably damp and naked from a bath, dressed only in trousers, one foot balanced on the edge of the bathtub and the other on a billy goat (not a cooperative, stable animal). Goat, PKM4 87.25–27. JKB 103.1–2. My thanks to John Davies for the wryly apt comment on billy goats, of which he had experience when crofting; personal communication (June 2020).

Blodeuedd's shapeshifts are extreme exaggerations. Its nearest comparison is Gwydion's large mammals, horses and hounds to deceive Pryderi; raw materials not specified. But Gwydion warns they are a brief illusions of twenty-four hours.⁵² Blodeuedd is apparently a masterpiece (an apt male connotation), requiring two Magicians to achieve.⁵³ Its second shift to an owl is like Gwydion's three punishments as animals, but seems permanent, arguably disproportionate.⁵⁴

Dimensiynau/ Dimensions (size/ distance/ time)

Rhiannon adjusts time and distance with her horse, to maintain control of events. Adar Rhiannon similarly control distance perception.⁵⁵ They cast their song distantly but seem nearby. Conversely Math is distant but can hear as if nearby.⁵⁶ Rhiannon's son and the Survivors' company experience time suspension for eighty years on Gwales,⁵⁷ time is apparently also suspended for their associated characters as Rhiannon and others on the mainland do not age by eighty years either.⁵⁸

Two children Gwri-Pryderi, and Lleu, grow exponentially, so in a few years they are almost adults. It has been suggested Rhiannon shows signs of giantism when she bears travellers on her back as a mount.⁵⁹

Hudlath/ Wand

Mabinogi shapeshifting is engineered by four male Magicians: Arawn, Llwyd, Gwydion and Math. All except Arawn explicitly use wands to effect shapeshifts. Possibly Arawn also uses *hudlath*, unmentioned; or the lack might accord with

⁵² Fake horses, 24 hours, PKM4 70.7–71.2 JKB 81.2–83.1.

⁵³ PKM4 83.23–27. JKB 99.2–100.1. Cf. Triad 28. *Teir Prif Hut Enys Prydein*, 'Three Great Enchantments of Britain', TYP, p. 61. Math is described as Gwydion's magical teacher.

⁵⁴ Gwydion caused murderous war and insulted Math's honour via the rape of his high status footholder. Blodeuedd conspired to murder one man. The inequality of *sarhaed* may place Lleu, by this time a recognised prince and lord of Gwynedd, so much above the mere warriors who died in war that Blodeuedd's punishment is similarly much greater. It may be a gendered difference, wifely disloyalty as treason to her liege lord (and him a prince). Cf. Patterson, 'Woman as vassal'.

⁵⁵ Ch. VI.3. Bag pp. 395–400; Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse p. 400–06; VI.6. *Adar* pp. 407–14.

⁵⁶ *Adar*, PKM2 46.16–18. JKB 58.2.

⁵⁷ Gwales, PKM2 46.28–47.1–2. JKB 59.1.

⁵⁸ Cf. Teyrnnon in violent conflict with much noisy *twrwwf*/ tumult causes no disturbance to his wife, household or hounds. PKM1 22.15–24. JKB 36.1. Ch.V.7. Teyrnnon: Noisy Enchant pp. 284–05.

⁵⁹ Winward, 'Aspects', 1997 pp. 83–84. Aside from Mabinogi Rhiannon, Cymidei's sons are full grown warriors within weeks. Bendigeidfran is explicitly a giant: cf. the famous bridge passage and his inability to enter a building. Dylan, immediately after birth, runs out to the sea.

the uniqueness of his mutual human-human shift (above). Llwyd restores his wife from mousehood with a wand, so presumably he used it earlier to shapeshift her, and his *teulu*, into mice.⁶⁰ Similarly Math uses a wand to shift and restore Gwydion and Gilfaethwy as animals; and to render their animal born sons into human shape.⁶¹

A wand or staff extends the reach of the arm, both a practical tool and a symbol of control (cf. *rhi* territorial control).⁶² It can easily be viewed as phallic: no female practitioners (Rhiannon, Branwen, Arianrhod) use *hudlath*. Math's virginity test on Arianrhod to step over his wand is especially phallic, and here one male pushes the female at another. Math's action might be viewed as a kind of shapeshifting, revealing the underlying truth of the target's state; she appeared virgin yet was pregnant. Her consequent misery and anger drives the rest of the Branch.⁶³ Blodeuedd is also a 'female thing' manipulated between the same two males, Math and Gwydion, who construct her. 'She/ it' then services two other males, Lleu and Goronwy. The Gwynedd realm is a Machiavellian mess of power conflicts between its three Magicians: Mâth, Gwydion, Arianrhod.⁶⁴

There seem to be two kinds of shapeshifting. One type converts a human to another human, or to an animal (and reversals). The product seems a hybrid being, combining the original and the appearance, lasting up to a year. They might be called a 'deep shapeshifts'. The other type builds an appearance from lesser living forms of woodland or seashore, a short-term shift: glamour. It takes two seasoned Magicians to extend the second type into a longer lasting construct: Blodeuedd.

Rhwymiadau/ Bindings

Arawn makes a bond with Pwyll, inherited by Pryderi; Manawydan makes one with Llwyd.⁶⁵

Some bonds are protective wards. Hafgan's single blow is a puzzle solved by Boyd. Lleu's complex protection was likely created by Gwydion, his magician

⁶⁰ Llwyd releases his wife, PKM3 65.10–11. JKB 76.1.

⁶¹ Math's justice: PKM4 74.15–76.25. JKB 91.2–92.2.

⁶² Ch. I.3. '*Riannon ... wyfi*', *Etymoleg* / 'I am ... Rhiannon', an Etymology', pp. 5–10.

⁶³ Arianrhod dishonoured, PKM4 77.6–13. JKB 94.1. Ch. VI.3. Magician p. 390.

⁶⁴ Valente, 'Gwydion and Aranrhod'. On Arianrhod as Magician Ch. VI.3. Magician p. 389.

⁶⁵ Arawn–Pwyll, inherited by Pryderi, PKM1 8.18–26. JKB 24.2–25.1.
Manawydan - Llwyd, PKM1 64.26–65.16. JKB 75.2–76.1.

guardian.⁶⁶ Bendigeidfran's head is an extension of his protective kingly function in life; probably invoking ancient head cults. The Gwales effect wards the damaged war survivors, enabling healing time.⁶⁷

A bond selects who may break it. Gorsedd Arberth (or Rhiannon) selects for courage to confer its marvel. The Gwent mare's *hud* selects for protectiveness and courage. Rhiannon's bag selects a wealthy landholder to control it.⁶⁸

Magical bindings seem predominantly benign. Gwydion's fakes are deviant.

Trais, dialedd/ Violence, vengeance

In a warring society enchantment can serve violent purposes.

PKM1 violence is all implicated with enchantment: Pwyll strikes a supernatural blow which breaks Hafgan's protective ward. Pwyll and his men beat Gwawl, trapped in Rhiannon's enchanted Bag. Teyrnnon slashes the monstrous arm off that threatens his newborn May Eve colt.⁶⁹ The PKM3 Desolation of Dyfed is colossal violence against a whole realm. Manawydan violates Lady Mouse in response to Llwyd's depredations on his harvest.⁷⁰ Finally Pryderi is overcome by Gwydion's magical powers in a duel, and dies.⁷¹

None of these violences in Mabinogi Rhiannon are gory. Hafgan's anomalous death is in a properly conducted duel, though cheated by shapeshifting. The PKM4 duel balances it on his opponent's son. Gwawl claims he is in danger of dishonourable death from the beating, but the scene seems boisterous horseplay among warriors. Gwawl wryly departs to have a bath.⁷² Teyrnnon's heroics are justly protective of his own property (though we do not know if he or his house triggered the May Eve bond on the mare by a past

⁶⁶ Arawn cannot deliver a 'single blow' because he has already dealt one, PKM1 3.17.20. JKB 21.2. Mathieu Boyd 'Teaching Notes'. Llew's complex ward, PKM4 87.25–27. JKB 103.1–2.

⁶⁷ Bendigeidfran's head, PKM2 44.28–45.1. JKB 55.2. Gwales effect, PKM2 46.25–28. JKB 59.1.

⁶⁸ Arberth characteristic, PKM1 9.4–10. JKB 25.1–2. Pwyll declares no fear for he has his warrior company with him. He is also famed as the Annwn fighter. Gwent mare, PKM1 22.3–6. JKB 35.2. Teyrnnon's vigil reads as a knightly valour narrative. Rhiannon's bag, PKM1 15.9–10. JKB 29.2.

⁶⁹ Pwyll's single blow, PKM1 3.17.20. JKB 21.2. Pwyll and men beat Gwawl, PKM1 17.6.7. JKB 30.2. Note the men give a 'single blow', linking with Pwyll's 'single blow' to Hafgan. Gwawl completes the Arberth prophecy. Teyrnnon slashes intruder, PKM1 22.19–21. JKB 36.1. Teyrnnon also seems to strike only once.

⁷⁰ Desolation, PKM3 51.25–52.3 JKB 66.1. Lady Mouse PKM3 60.15–65.11. JKB 73.1–76.1.

⁷¹ Duel, PKM4 73.3–6. JKB 88.2.

⁷² Gwawl's bath, PKM1 18.10–11. JKB 31.1

offence). The PKM3 Desolation, though massive is not bloody. When we discover why it happened (to avenge Gwawl's loss of Rhiannon, and humiliation) it shows Llwyd in a semi-favorable light; perhaps his vengeance is disproportionate.⁷³

The way these violent enchantments are described is eloquent. All except the Desolation have a degree of humour. Hafgan's wound is not described, but his clownish throw over his horse's bottom is. Gwawl in the filth of the Bag is described pathetically. Teyrnnon slashes an arm off with no mention of blood. These narratives are like fairy tales, enlarged realities without much pain. The Desolation is a massive shock, but no one is hurt or killed.⁷⁴

Outside Mabinogi Rhiannon magical violence is less tolerable.⁷⁵ The Cauldron revives the dead in a macabre engine of genocide. Caswallawn kills cloaked in invisibility, causing extreme terror. Goewin is brutally raped by two men who through magic foment war where many die, just to get at her body. Arianrhod is publicly humiliated into giving birth in public, a peculiarly female vulnerability. Gwydion further humiliates her with a terrifying (false) invasion, so her courage and resource against it are rendered ridiculous.⁷⁶

Annwfn

'Annwfn' the name, has twelve occurrences.⁷⁷ It has been suggested (above) that Pwyll's Annwfn triumph motivates Rhiannon's choice as her consort; integrating *Pwyll I* with the rest of the Branch. The Annwfn episode is therefore crucial to the structure of Mabinogi Rhiannon.⁷⁸

⁷³ Llwyd explains, PKM3 64.5–10. JKB 75.1.

⁷⁴ Desolation narrative may lack humour both because its effects are life-death serious for the protagonists and it alludes to Norman invaders. Mice as satire on Norman predation. Ch. III.7. Political Parallels p. 187-88 n. 346.

⁷⁵ Cf. the most brutal Mabinogi passage on mutilating horses: PKM2 32.1–6. JKB. 46.1. Commented Ch. III.4. Equine, quoted p. 159 n. 153.

⁷⁶ Arianrhod publicly shamed: PKM4 77.6–13. JKB 94.1. Gwydion humiliates her: PKM4 83.6–9. JKB 98.2.

⁷⁷ PKM1-8, PKM2=0, PKM3=1, PKM4 =3.

⁷⁸ Integration of *Pwyll I*, Ch. I. 5. Text: pp. 26–27; and 'Rhiannon's Choice', V.5. Pwyll, pp. 241–65. Arawn identifies himself as '*Arawn urenhin Annwuyn wyf i*' PKM1 2.26. 'Arawn king of Annwfn am I.' JKB 21.1. cf. Rhiannon's self-identification. Arawn refers to his antagonist '*Hafgan urenhin o Annwuyn*', PKM1 3.2. 'Hafgan, a king of Annwfn'. JKB 21.2. and '*rodaf di y'm lle i yn Annwuyn*' PKM1 3.8 'I will place you in my stead in Annwn'. JKB 21.2. Connotations of *lle* p. 35 above. After the Hafgan duel, the Annwfn nobles acknowledge Pwyll sole king; '*canyt oes/ urenhin ar holl Annwuyn namyn ti*' PKM1 6.8–9. 'no king over all Annwn except you.' JKB 23.2. Pwyll rejoins the waiting Arawn; ... *Arawn urenhin Annwuyn yn y erbyn* PKM1 6.17. JKB 23.2. Arawn returns to *lys y/ Annwuyn*. PKM1 6.25–26. 'his court in Annwn.' JKB 24.1. In Dyfed, *Ac o achaws i drigiant/ ef y ulwydyn honno yn Annwuyn*, PKM1 8.21–22. 'And because of his stay that year in Annwn' JKB 25.1.

'Annwfn' is persistently used as a territory name, granting status.⁷⁹ The two kings Arawn and Hafgan are its rulers.⁸⁰ Arawn declares his Annwfn status to rebuke Pwyll for status insult, then relents, offering to exchange status with him.⁸¹ Pwyll's later status as sole king of unified Annwfn is recognised while there; Dyfed acclaims his status with the new Annwfn epithet, also referenced by Llwyd. Annwfn is the source of the new, highly desirable pigs, which Green notes as a status food at feasts.⁸²

Annwfn also occurs in Triad 26: its second personage is Pryderi, 'son of Pwyll Pen Annwfn'.

*A Phryderi mab Pwyll Pen Annwuyn, a getwis moch Pendaran Dyuet
yg Glyn C6ch yn Emlyn.*⁸³

Two poems (14thC, probably originating centuries earlier) from Llyfr Taliesin feature Annwfn. Both are cryptic, provoking intuitive association, but contributing little information. In *Cad Goddeu*/ 'Battle of the Trees' the poet asserts many first person manifestations. Trees have distinct characters and powers.⁸⁴ Gwydion and his brother Amaethon fight Arawn over a roebuck stolen by Amaethon.⁸⁵ Robert Graves' view of pagan religious content is rejected by

ac y gelwit Pwyll Penn Annwuyn o/ hynny allan. PKM1 8.25–26. 'and he was called Pwyll [a] Head of Annwn from then on.' JKB 25.1. [My insertion]

Explaining his vengeance upon Dyfed, Llwyd refers to *Pwyll Penn Annwn*, PKM3 64.9. 'Pwyll [a] Head of Annwn' JKB 75.1. [My insertion] Gwydion tells his lord Math of the origin of the small, succulent pigs: *yd anuonet/ idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn Urenhin Annwn*, PKM4 68.22–23. 'sent to him from Annwn by Arawn King of Annwn.' JKB 80.2. He petitions Pryderi for *yr aniuileit a anuonet it o Annwuyn*. PKM4 69.21. 'the animals that were sent to you from Annwn.' JKB 81.1.

⁷⁹ Link between territory, *sarhaed*, status, Ch. III.5. LLW: Territory, identity, *sarhaed* pp 165–66; Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion* pp. 160–62.

⁸⁰ cf. *Bendigeiduran urenhin/ coronawc ar yr ynys hon*. PKM2 29.1–2. 'crowned king over this island', i.e. Britain. JKB 43.2.

⁸¹ 'Arawn urenhin Annwuyn wyfi' PKM1 2.26. 'Arawn king of Annwfn am I.' JKB 21.1. *mi a wnaft thi gedymdeithas gadarn. Sef/ ual y gwnaf, mrodafi a'th di y'm lle i yn Annwuyn* PKM1 2.21–22. 'I will make a strong friendship with you. This is what I will do – I will place you in my stead in Annwn' JKB 21.2.

⁸² Miranda Green. 1992. *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth* (Routledge), pp. 50–54.

⁸³ And Pryderi son of Pwyll, Lord of Annwfn, who guarded the swine of Pendaran Dyfed in Glyn Cuch in Emlyn. Triad 26, TYP p. 50. The Triad gives a variant account from the Mabinogi about the pigs ownership. Ch. V.9. Pendaran p. 291 n. 556.

⁸⁴ From Ford, 'Appendix: Cad Goddeu', in *Welsh Tales*, Notes pp. 183–84, trans. text 184–87. A later translation is in Marged Haycock, and M. J. Ball, (ed. and trans.), *The Significance of the 'Cad Goddau' Tree-List in the Book of Taliesin*, in *Celtic Linguistics: Ieithyddiaeth Geltaidd. Readings in the Brythonic Languages. Festschrift for T. Arwyn Watkins* (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co., 1990), pp. 297–331.

⁸⁵ *o achos iwrch gwyn a chenau milgi a hamoeddynt o Annwn*, 'because of a white roebuck and a greyhound pup which came from Annwfn'. Text quotation & trans. TYP p. 218. Further notes pp. 393–94. The parallel with Gwydion's brotherly help for Gilfaethwy is evident; both Amaethon and

Marged Haycock and Mary Ann Constantine, who see an entertaining parody of bardic language.⁸⁶ *Preiddeu Annwfn*, tells a raid on Annwfn by Arthur: the poet Taliesin is present.⁸⁷ A PKM2 Taliesin reference may tie in with Thomas Jones' view of the Irish expedition as *Preiddeu Annwfn*.⁸⁸ Pwyll, Pryderi, and a prisoner named Gweir are mentioned.⁸⁹

The Mabinogi gives a fair amount of further information. The Annwfn *llys*/court, has impressively beautiful, decorated buildings, and impressively well-equipped fighting men. Behaviour is a courtly ideal. Pwyll (in the *lle* of Arawn), washes before dinner, attendants help him shed his boots and hunting gear. He assumes the beauty and power of silks, which the outstandingly beautiful queen also wears. Converse is of high quality. Everyday courtly life is peaceful and noble in style, with companionship and hunting.⁹⁰ Gifts to seal alliance are hunting hounds, hawks, beautiful horses, jewels, and a prized breed of pigs unknown elsewhere.⁹¹ Pwyll's necessary duel is accomplished with proper formalities by a

Gilfaethwy are thieves who Gwydion nonetheless supports. PKM4 characters feature: Gwydion, Math, Dylan, possibly Blodeuedd.

⁸⁶ Mary-Anne Constantine, 'The Battle for the Battle of the Trees', in Ian Firla and Grevel Lindop (eds.), *Graves and the Goddess: Essays on Robert Graves's "The White Goddess,"* (Susquehanna University Press, 2004) pp. 43-46.

Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, 2007), p. 197. 'Cad Goddau' Tree-List, p. 302.

⁸⁷ TYP p. 502 citing BT 54.

⁸⁸ Thomas Jones, 'The Early Evolution of the Legend of Arthur', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, Vol. 8 (1964), pp. 3-21.

⁸⁹ TYP p. 373.

⁹⁰ Buildings: *ac ysteuyll, a'r ardurn teccaf/ a welsei neb o adeiladeu*, PKM1 4.6-7. 'and the fairest adornment of buildings anyone had ever seen', JKB 22.2. Fighting men: *ef teulu ac/yniueroed, a'r niuer hardaf a chyweiraf o'r a welsei neb/ yn dyuot y mywn*, PKM1 4.12-14. 'the most beautiful and best equipped host anyone had ever seen coming in', JKB 22.2. Courtly behaviour, attendants aid the changing of clothes, silks: *Efa doeth makwyueit a gueisson ieueinc/ diarchenu, a phaup ual y delynt kyuarach guell a wneynt/ idaw. Deu uarchauc a doeth i waret i wisc hela y/ amdanaw, ac y wiscaw eurwisc o bali amdanaw*. PKM1 4.8-11. 'There came youths and young servants to remove his boots, and all greeted him as they came. Two knights came to take his hunting garment from him and to put on him a golden garment of silk brocade.' JKB 22.2. Queen, silk: *a'r urenhines y gyt ac wynt, yn deccaf/ gwreic o'r a welsei neb, ac eurwisc amdane i o bali/ llathreit*. PKM1 4.14-16. 'the queen with them - the fairest woman anyone had ever seen, with a golden garment of shining silk brocade about her.' JKB 22.2. Washing: *Ac ar hynny, e ymolchi yd aethant*, PKM1 4.16. 'And upon that, they went to wash', JKB 22.2. Converse: *a bonedigeidaf i hannwyt a'y hymdidan/ oed*, PKM1 4.21-22. 'the most natural and the most gracious in her demeanour and her conversation.' JKB 22.2. Companionship, hunting: *hela, a cherdeu, a chyuedach, a charueidrwyd, ac ymdidan a chedymdeithon*, PKM1 5.6-7. 'hunting and song and revelry and affection and conversing with companions', JKB 23.1.

⁹¹ Hounds, hawks, horses, jewels: *meirch a milgwn/ a hebogeu a fob gyfryw dlws*, PKM1 8.19-20. 'horses and hounds and hawks and every kind of jewel', JKB 24.2. Prized pigs: *"Pwy biewynt wy?" "Pryderi uab Pwyll, yd anuonet/ idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn Urenhin Annwn."* PKM4 68.22-23. 'Who do they belong to?' "Pryderi son of Pwyll. They were sent to him from Annwn by Arawn King of Annwn." JKB 80.2.

herald.⁹² It is a highly developed society; as Sioned Davies puts it, 'an atmosphere of wealth and plenty'.⁹³

What we are not told is where Annwfn is. WJG thought Pwyll walked to his appointment with Arawn; Ford notes 'movement between the two [lands] is effected with little or no difficulty'; and SDavies places Annwfn 'in the middle of Dyfed'.⁹⁴ Pwyll's journey there is clearly brief; perhaps he travels there by ship as sail is faster than land travel by horse if wind and current are favourable. Pughe notes: 'The Irish are said to have, anciently, called their country by the name of *Annun*, or *Annan*', cf. Thomas Jones Irish *Preiddeu Annwfn* (above).⁹⁵ Rhys cites a reversed, Irish view of mainland Britain as Annwfn.⁹⁶ Lloyd observes 'Caledonia came in time to be regarded as the land of Annwn'.⁹⁷ Pughe adds 'Dr. Davies, in his *Dictionary*, explains it also to mean the Antipodes',⁹⁸ across the ocean, 'some part of the torrid zone, of which the Britons had preserved some faint tradition from an early period'.⁹⁹ Will Parker speculates an ancestral memory of wealthy Roman villas in SW England.¹⁰⁰ The Annwfn location is a wondrous pot-pourri of possibilities, the conclusion is its physical location is a mystery.

Annwfn is also perceived as the Otherworld,¹⁰¹ a dualistic ontology.

Bollard describes it inclusively as

another world, either one beneath the Earth entered through mounds, hills, caves, or lakes as in much Celtic folklore; or one coterminous with our own world but hidden and reached by magical and mysterious ways.¹⁰²

His summary is prefaced with Annwfn etymology. The root is

⁹² Duel herald: *marchawc a gyuodes y uynydd, ac a dywot/ wal hynn, 'A wyrda,' heb ef, 'ymwerendewch yn da.* PKM1 5.12–13. 'a knight rose up and spoke thus: "Ah, nobles,' he said, 'listen well!'" JKB 23.1.

⁹³ Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 52.

⁹⁴ WJG, 'Mabinogion', p. 50. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 35. Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 52.

⁹⁵ Pughe, 'The Tale of Pwyll', *Cambro-Briton*, Vol. 2, 18, (Feb., 1821), p. 272. This article was not credited to Pughe, but its text is almost identical to Pughe's 1795 translation. William Owen [Pughe], 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *Cambrian Register*, I (1795), pp. 177–87.

⁹⁶ Rhys, p. 246, Hibbert, p. 345.

⁹⁷ E J. Lloyd, 'Mabinogion as Literature', I, p. 167.

⁹⁸ Pughe, *Cambro-Briton*, Vol. I (1820), p. 124.

⁹⁹ 'Owen [Pughe], 'Pwyll', in the *Cambrian Biography*, p. 289. Known as William Owen until 1806.

¹⁰⁰ Parker, *Four Branches*, p.163.

¹⁰¹ Proinsias Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (London: Newnes, 1983), pp. 122–31.

¹⁰² Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 20, sidenote. His final words 'coterminous with our own world but hidden and reached by magical and mysterious ways' would allow for my speculation of a hidden, wealthy, forest realm; end of chapter with maps.

***dwfn* –**

deep; dense; also fig. difficult to fathom, mysterious; intense; serious; profound.

a) depth; depths (of ocean), deep waters; abyss, void.

c) world, earth. (GPC)

He explains

the prefix *an-* may mean “not, un-” or “in” or it may be an intensifying prefix.¹⁰³

Lewis Morris (1764) referred to a ‘fairy land’, and *dynion mwyn*/ fairies, usually ‘noble people’.¹⁰⁴ Dr. Davies’ Antipodean interpretation noted above is ‘torrid’, the Infernal Region, or Hell. Edward Davies (1804) wrote of ‘the condition of the dead or the infernal regions, which comprehended the Elysium and the Tartarus of antiquity.’¹⁰⁵ Pughe (1804, 1821) disagrees, making Pwyll go away into the ‘unknown world’, and giving an etymology as ‘literally, a bottomless gulf’,¹⁰⁶ (cf. Bollard’s etymology, above). Guest also inclines to reject ‘Hell’: ‘Annwvyn, or Annwn, is frequently rendered “Hell,” though, perhaps, “The Lower Regions” would more aptly express the meaning.’¹⁰⁷ Thomas Stephens (1849) carefully summarises ‘the world unknown, or hell ... [or] the lower regions.’¹⁰⁸ Rhŷs refers to Hades, but also ‘the powers of the other world’.¹⁰⁹ Anwyl refers to ‘Hades’, as does WJG.¹¹⁰ Eleanor Hull, in ‘The Development of the Idea of Hades in Celtic Literature’ (1907), traces ‘Otherworld’ historical development from native versions (positive/ neutral), through Classical influences as Hades (neutral), to Christian perceptions (negative).¹¹¹ Lloyd (1911) judges ‘There is no suggestion in the Mabinogion that the dwellers of

¹⁰³ Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 20, sidenote

¹⁰⁴ Lewis Morris, MS. Add. MS. 14924, f. 26v, (1764).

¹⁰⁵ Edward Davies, *Celtic Researches on the Origin, Traditions and Languages of the Ancient Britons with some Introductory Sketches on Primitive Society* (Printed for the Author by J. Booth, 1804), p. 175.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Owen [Pughe], ‘Pryderi’, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 288. Similarly ‘Havgan or Summershine, king of the Unknown World’, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 289. Etymology, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 289; *Cambro-Briton*, vol. I. p. 124. References Edward Davies, in Parry (ed.), *Cambro-Briton*. Vol. 2, No. 18 (Feb., 1821), p. 272. (URL text Bibliography)

¹⁰⁷ Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. 340.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 188.

¹⁰⁹ Rhŷs, *Lectures*, IV, p. 337.

¹¹⁰ Anwyl, *Four Branches, I*, p. 280. WJG, ‘Mabinogion’, p. 59– 60, n. 2.

¹¹¹ Eleanor Hull, ‘The Development of the Idea of Hades in Celtic Literature’, *Folklore*, Vol. 18, 2 (1907), pp. 121–65. Annwfn is particularly addressed pp. 144–47, and pp. 149–53. She compares Annwfn to the Irish Magh Mell, p. 149, described pp. 132–34, noting it has two kings p. 132.

Annwn had anything necessarily to do with the spirits of the dead'.¹¹² For Ellis & Lloyd (1929), it was 'originally conceived of as the abode of the gods, a pleasant, rich country, full of everything a man might need' later becoming Abode of Death.¹¹³ Ifor Williams (1929) critiques their 'Abode of Death'.¹¹⁴

Subsequent scholars cut the Classics' Hades and Christian Hell, for more abstract analysis. Mac Cana notes a help/ hindrance binary; similarly Sioned Davies proposes a magical duality in the Gorsedd characteristic: blows, wounds or a wonder. Pwyll sees the 'rywedawt'/ wonder: Gwawl receives the blows.¹¹⁵ Ford cautions any sharp contrast: the 'world of ordinary mortals [is] often hard to distinguish',¹¹⁶ a subtle continuum, not a simple polarity.¹¹⁷

A nationalist mythology seeks more than everyday realities; like Pwyll it wants wonders, inspiring, powerful beings. Such are shadowed Arawn, complex Rhiannon, the iconic Queen, Rhiannon's heroes Pwyll, Teyrnnon, and Pryderi, her anti-hero Manawydan; the antagonists Llwyd and Gwydion. The name 'Annwfn' speaks of depth, and the prefix may intensify, provoke, by contradiction (not-world), or suggest profundity (inner world). Imaginably a proud nationalism might deploy the magnetic Annwfn name to evoke wonder. Mabinogi society values wordplay highly.¹¹⁸

Bollard observes conceptual approaches to 'Annwfn' etymology.

¹¹² Lloyd, 'Literature', II, p. 244.

¹¹³ Ellis & Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Ifor Williams, 'A New Translation of the Mabinogion', (Review of the Ellis & Lloyd Translation), *Welsh Outlook*, Vol. 16. no. 7 (1929), pp. 210–12.

¹¹⁵ Gwawl receives blows: *Sef/ kyfryw chware a wneynt, taraw a wnai pob un dyrnawt/ ar y got*, PKM1 17.8– 10. 'each one would strike a single blow to the bag', JKB 30.2. Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*, pp. 122–131. Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 51–53. Manawydan's misfortunes align the negative of the binary. On the beating as political ritual Ch. V.4. Gwawl p. 234.

¹¹⁶ Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 35

¹¹⁷ Trinity College, St David's MA in Celtic Studies sets a standard essay topic on the Otherworld of the Mabinogi. The essays collect instances of *hud*. Examples: Rhian Rees, 'Perceptions of Annwn : The Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.' (Unpublished MA. essay, Trinity Saint David's, 2012). (URL text Bibliography) Carla Jefferson, 'The Depiction of the Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', (Unpublished MA. essay, Trinity Saint David's, 2013). (URL text Bibliography) Mary E. Brown, 'The Depiction of the Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', (Unpublished MA. essay, Trinity Saint David's, 2014). (URL text Bibliography) Alan Robert Phillips, 'The Portrayal of the Otherworld in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (2015), 13pp. Slightly edited 2021. (URL text Bibliography)

¹¹⁸ Examples: Rhiannon's naming of her son. PKM1 26.9–10. JKB 38.1. Ch. V.9. Pendaran p. 291. The apparently simple *ynys hon/* this Island, this unity of ours, nuances its alternate *Ynys y Kedeirn/* the Mighty Ones, for use outside home: a sophisticated naming duality signalling who speaks and where they are standing: Ch. III.2. Britain/ '*Ynys hon*, This island', pp. 146–47.

Thus Annwfn has been explained variously to mean “the very deep, the abyss”, “the un-world, the otherworld”, or “the inner world”¹¹⁹

Sioned Davies in a concise summary including the etymology, declares:

Annwfn: a name for the Celtic Otherworld¹²⁰

Davies continues by referencing the two time-warped PKM2 feasts at Harlech and Gwales as 'Otherworld'. These are in an Irish influenced narrative,¹²¹ with no mention of Annwfn. Other writers similarly merge Annwfn and the Irish Otherworld (above). Yet 'Annwfn' is arguably exclusive to PKM1. Even other PKM references derive from PKM1. Taliesin's cryptic remarks link PKM1 Pwyll and Pryderi.¹²² Pwyll's mutual shapeshift with Arawn takes place *in Dyfed*, not Annwfn. Granted it is constructed by an Annwfn Magician, but Gwynedd's two major Magicians (Math, Gwydion) do not earn any Otherworld title.¹²³ The only enchantment actually constructed within Annwfn is Hafgan's 'single blow'.¹²⁴ Certainly Annwfn etymology is suggestive, but otherwise there is not much to argue Annwfn as the/ an Otherworld, a magical realm.

This has implications for Rhiannon who is sometimes described as Otherworldly, from her use of *hud*, and her advent at Gorsedd Arberth, since such mounds are traditionally gateways to the Otherworld.¹²⁵ Her anomalous horse

¹¹⁹ Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 20, sidenote. See p. 367 above for many quotes including Bollard's etymology.

¹²⁰ Full quote. 'Annwfn: a name for the Celtic Otherworld, derived from an ('in, inside') + dwfn ('world'). In both Welsh and Irish traditions the Otherworld was generally believed to be located either on an island or under the earth. Here, however, it seems to be a land within Pwyll's realm of Dyfed, while the two Otherworld feasts that occur in the Second Branch are located at Harlech (on the north-west coast of Wales) and on the Island of Grassholm (pp. 33–4). Under Christian influence, Annwfn came to be / p. 229 regarded as synonymous with hell, though in modern Brittany, despite its strong Catholic heritage, Annaon became synonymous with paradise rather than hell (*mont da Annaon*—to go to Annaon—is a common euphemism for 'to die'). For further details, Proinsias Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (London 1983). Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 228.

¹²¹ Patrick K. Ford, 'Branwen: A Study of the Celtic Affinities', *Studia Celtica*, Vol. 22–23 (1987–88), pp. 29–41. Repr. in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 99–120.

¹²² Taliesin references do not conflict with PKM1, suggesting either they are derivative or from a common tradition.

¹²³ Gwynedd has been framed as morally 'other', in contrast to Dyfed. This does not make it an Otherworld: the title is never applied to it. Moral othering: Valente, 'Gwydion and Aranrhod: Crossing the Borders of Gender', in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 331–45. Gwydion might be seen as Otherworldly in the enchanted, epic battle *Cad Goddeu*, with Annwfn (above). In the Mabinogi Gwydion seems a (ruthlessly) pragmatic Magician. Ch. V.15 Gwydion pp. 353–55.

¹²⁴ Strictly, we have no account of exactly where Hafgan's magical ward was constructed, but it is plausible to place its making within Annwfn as Hafgan is one of its kings.

¹²⁵ Bollard on Otherworld, 'another world, either one beneath the Earth entered through mounds, hills, caves, or lakes as in much Celtic folklore', quoted p. 384 above. Winward speaks of

clearly contributes to this perspective, distancing her from the crowd of observers (us) as a remote golden icon of otherness.¹²⁶ Conversely her Adar Rhiannon span the distance between her and her son.¹²⁷ Her 'otherness' has also been noted here as alienation from her Maids, to her detriment.¹²⁸ In the context of the Otherworld -Annwfn merge above, to be Otherworldly implies she is native to Annwfn. However Rhiannon explicitly comes from Hyfaidd Hen's court, which mediaeval sources do not site in Annwfn.¹²⁹ She operates *hud*, but like Llwyd, Math, Gwydion, this does not root her in Annwfn.

Existing Annwfn data and concepts present a glorious variety without consensus, above. The best conclusion is Bollard's summary of alternatives, above. This study will now entertain a speculative Annwfn.

It is a perceived realm of wealth and power. When Arawn says he is *brenin Annwfn*, Pwyll does not ask 'Where is that?', so he apparently knows.¹³⁰ But its location is unusual, hidden from us: not like the ordinary Mabinogi territories of Dyfed, Gwent, or Gwynedd. Its etymology is a 'not-world', different.¹³¹

Pwyll meets Arawn in the depths of the forest, a large forest with other large forests around it.¹³² Annwfn is prone to conflict, between Arawn and Hafgan.¹³³ Both *Preiddeu Annwfn*, and *Cad Goddeu* battle in a forest context.¹³⁴ Pwyll observes its well armed men, and its wealth.¹³⁵ Could Annwfn possibly be a

Rhiannon entering our world through an Otherworld portal and 'Rhiannon's embodiment of the powerful Otherworldly woman', 'Aspects', p. 83.

¹²⁶ Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon, pp. 12, 14, 16, 20-21.

¹²⁷ Adar Rhiannon: PKM2 45.2-4. JKB 55.2. and PM2 46.13-18. JKB 57.1-58.2. As 'care package' from mother to son, Ch. V.10 Pryderi: Rhiannon, p. 319.

¹²⁸ Ch. V.6. The Maids p. 277.

¹²⁹ Mediaeval sources do not say *llys* Hyfaidd Hen is in Annwfn, nor that it is not. Since Pwyll stays in Annwfn for a year, and later visits *llys* Hyfaidd Hen, the narrative might be expected to clarify an Annwfn location if there is one. In Walton's *Tetralogy* novels *llys* Hyfaidd is an otherworld.

¹³⁰ 'Arawn *urenhin Annwuyn wyfi*.' PKM1 2.26. 'Arawn King of Annwn am I!' JKB 21.1.

¹³¹ Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 20, sidenote.

¹³² *Sef kyueir o'y gyuoeth a uynnei y/ hela, Glynn Cuch*. PKM1 1.4-5. This is the part of his realm he wished to hunt – Glyn Cuch. JKB 19.1. See maps below pp. 379, 380.

¹³³ Arawn speaks of Hafgan. 'Sef yw hwnnw, Hafgan *urenhin o Annwuyn*.' PKM1 3.2. 'who is continually warring against me. He is Hafgan, a king of Annwn.' JKB 21.2.

¹³⁴ *Preiddeu Annwfn*, TYP p. 502 citing BT 54. *Cad Goddeu* 'Battle of the Trees'. Ford, 'Appendix: Cad Goddeu', in *Welsh Tales*, Notes pp. 183-84, trans. text 184-87. Haycock and Ball, 'Significance of the 'Cad Goddau' Tree-List', pp. 297-331.

¹³⁵ Fighting strength. *ef teulu ac/ yniuroed, a'r niuer hardafa chyweiraf o'r a welsei neb/ yn dyuot y mywn*, PKM1 4.12-14. 'the most beautiful and best equipped host anyone had ever seen coming in', JKB 22.2. Wealth: buildings, silk, PKM1 4.6-7. JKB 22.2-23.1.

hidden, forest-based society, making Arawn '*brenin coedwigoedd*/ king of the forests'?

Annwfn's forest wealth might derive partly from breeding fine animals, narrated as gifts; horses, hounds, hawks, pigs.¹³⁶ The *Cŵn Annwfn* are elegantly legendary.¹³⁷ Pigs traditionally lived by pannage, wandering the forest to grub up foodstuffs, but exercise grows muscled, lean meat. Smaller succulents so prized in the tale, are bred in sties, a technique known under Rome, not rediscovered until the later mediaeval period; perhaps by Annwfn.¹³⁸ Possibly besides legitimate economics, Annwfn runs criminal enterprises like highway robbery and protection rackets, thus needing a hidden location for their headquarters. Arawn rides *uarch erchlas mawr*/ a large grey dappled horse; and wears *urethyn llwyt*/ grey-brown woollens, ideal forest camouflage.¹³⁹ If his people prey upon travellers and traders, Pwyll would be keen to reduce the impact on Dyfed, which an alliance could achieve. Arawn's forest 'kingship' would be anomalous, accounting for his elaborate self assertion in their first status dialogue.¹⁴⁰ Having effected the shapeshift, Arawn speaks thus to Pwyll: '*Dilesteir uyd dy hynt ac ny russya/ dim ragot, yny delych y'm kyuoeth i'*'.¹⁴¹ Pwyll indeed passes easily into Annwfn. If its stronghold is well hidden, perhaps Arawn is giving Pwyll a pass of some kind. When Pwyll is first acclaimed *Pen Annwfn* it is in Annwfn, as its unifier.¹⁴² Dyfed possibly recognises this as an Annwfn privilege giving welcome freedom from some/ all of Annwfn's depredations.

As noted, this 'forest Annwfn' is a speculative arc. Existing Annwfn data and concepts present a glorious variety without consensus, above. The best

¹³⁶ Hounds, hawks, horses, jewels: *meirch a milgwn/ a hebogeu a fob gyfryw dlws*, PKM1 8.19–20. 'horses and hounds and hawks and every kind of jewel', JKB 24.2. Prized pigs: "*Pwy biewynt wy?*" "*Pryderi uab Pwyll, yd anuonet/ idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn Urenhin Annwn.*" PKM4 68.22–23. 'Who do they belong to?' "Pryderi son of Pwyll. They were sent to him from Annwn by Arawn King of Annwn." JKB 80.2.

¹³⁷ *Cŵn Annwfn*. PKM1 1.21. JKB 20.2.

¹³⁸ Julie Hamilton and Richard Thomas. 2012. 'Pannage, Purses and Pigs: Isotopic and Zooarchaeological Evidence for Changing Pig Management Practices in Later Medieval England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 56, 1, pp. 234–259

¹³⁹ *uarch erchlas mawr*/ a large grey dappled horse. *urethyn llwyt*/ grey-brown woollens, PKM1 2.4–6. JKB 21.1.

¹⁴⁰ First dialogue PKM1 2.7–27. JKB 21.1–21.2.

¹⁴¹ PKM1 3.26–28. 'Your way will be unimpeded, and nothing will hinder you until you come to my realm. JKB 22.1.

¹⁴² *Pen Annwfn*, PKM1 8.24–26. JKB 25.1.

conclusion is Bollard's summary of alternatives, above. This study will now entertain a speculative Annwfn.

It is a perceived realm of wealth and power. When Arawn says he is *brenin Annwfn*, Pwyll does not ask 'Where is that?', so he apparently knows.¹⁴³ But its location is unusual, hidden from us: not like the ordinary Mabinogi territories of Dyfed, Gwent, or Gwynedd. Its etymology is a 'not-world', different.¹⁴⁴

Pwyll meets Arawn in the depths of the forest, a large forest with other large forests around it.¹⁴⁵ Annwfn is prone to conflict, between Arawn and Hafgan.¹⁴⁶ Both *Preiddeu Annwfn*, and *Cad Goddeu* battle in a forest context.¹⁴⁷ Pwyll observes its well armed men, and its wealth.¹⁴⁸ Could Annwfn possibly be a hidden, forest-based society, making Arawn '*brenin coedwigoedd*/ king of the forests'?

Annwfn's forest wealth might derive partly from breeding fine animals, narrated as gifts; horses, hounds, hawks, pigs.¹⁴⁹ The *Cŵn Annwfn* are elegantly legendary.¹⁵⁰ Pigs traditionally lived by pannage, wandering the forest to grub up foodstuffs, but exercise grows muscled, lean meat. Smaller succulents so prized in the tale, are bred in sties, a technique known under Rome, not rediscovered until the later mediaeval period; perhaps by Annwfn.¹⁵¹ Possibly besides legitimate economics, Annwfn runs criminal enterprises like highway robbery and protection rackets, thus needing a hidden location for their headquarters. Arawn

¹⁴³ 'Arawn urenhin Annwuyn wyfi.', PKM1 2.26. 'Arawn King of Annwn am I!' JKB 21.1.

¹⁴⁴ Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 20, sidenote.

¹⁴⁵ *Sef kyueir o'y gyuoeth a uynnei y/ hela, Glynn Cuch.* PKM1 1.4-5. This is the part of his realm he wished to hunt – Glyn Cuch. JKB 19.1. See maps below pp. 379, 380.

¹⁴⁶ Arawn speaks of Hafgan. '*Sefyw hwnnw, Hafgan urenhin o Annwuyn.*' PKM1 3.2. 'who is continually warring against me. He is Hafgan, a king of Annwn.' JKB 21.2.

¹⁴⁷ *Preiddeu Annwfn*, TYP p. 502 citing BT 54. *Cad Goddeu*/ 'Battle of the Trees'. Ford, 'Appendix: Cad Goddeu', in *Welsh Tales*, Notes pp. 183–84, trans. text 184–87. Haycock and Ball, 'Significance of the 'Cad Goddau' Tree-List', pp. 297–331.

¹⁴⁸ Fighting strength. *ef teulu ac/ yniuroed, a'r niuer hardaf a chyweiraf o'r a welsei neb/ yn dyuot y mywn*, PKM1 4.12–14. 'the most beautiful and best equipped host anyone had ever seen coming in', JKB 22.2. Wealth: buildings, silk, PKM1 4.6–7. JKB 22.2–23.1.

¹⁴⁹ Hounds, hawks, horses, jewels: *meirch a milgwn/ a hebogeu a fob gyfryw dlws*, PKM1 8.19–20. 'horses and hounds and hawks and every kind of jewel', JKB 24.2. Prized pigs: "*Pwy biewynt wy?*" "*Pryderi uab Pwyll, yd anuonet/ idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn Urenhin Annwn.*" PKM4 68.22–23. 'Who do they belong to?' "Pryderi son of Pwyll. They were sent to him from Annwn by Arawn King of Annwn." JKB 80.2.

¹⁵⁰ *Cŵn Annwfn*. PKM1 19–24. JKB 20.2.

¹⁵¹ Julie Hamilton and Richard Thomas. 2012. 'Pannage, Pulses and Pigs: Isotopic and Zooarchaeological Evidence for Changing Pig Management Practices in Later Medieval England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 56, 1, pp. 234–259

rides *uarch erchlas mawr*/ a large grey dappled horse; and wears *urethyn llwyt*/ grey-brown woollens, ideal forest camouflage.¹⁵² If his people prey upon travellers and traders, Pwyll would be keen to reduce the impact on Dyfed, which an alliance could achieve. Arawn's forest 'kingship' would be anomalous, accounting for his elaborate self assertion in their first status dialogue.¹⁵³ Having effected the shapeshift, Arawn speaks thus to Pwyll: '*Dilesteir uyd dy hynt ac ny russya/ dim ragot, yny delych y'm kyuoeth i*'.¹⁵⁴ Pwyll indeed passes easily into Annwfn. If its stronghold is well hidden, perhaps Arawn is giving Pwyll a pass of some kind. When Pwyll is first acclaimed *Pen Annwfn* it is in Annwfn, as its unifier.¹⁵⁵ Dyfed possibly recognises this as an Annwfn privilege giving welcome freedom from some/ all of Annwfn's depredations.

As noted, this 'forest Annwfn' is a speculative arc.



MAP: Arberth & Afon Cych¹⁵⁶

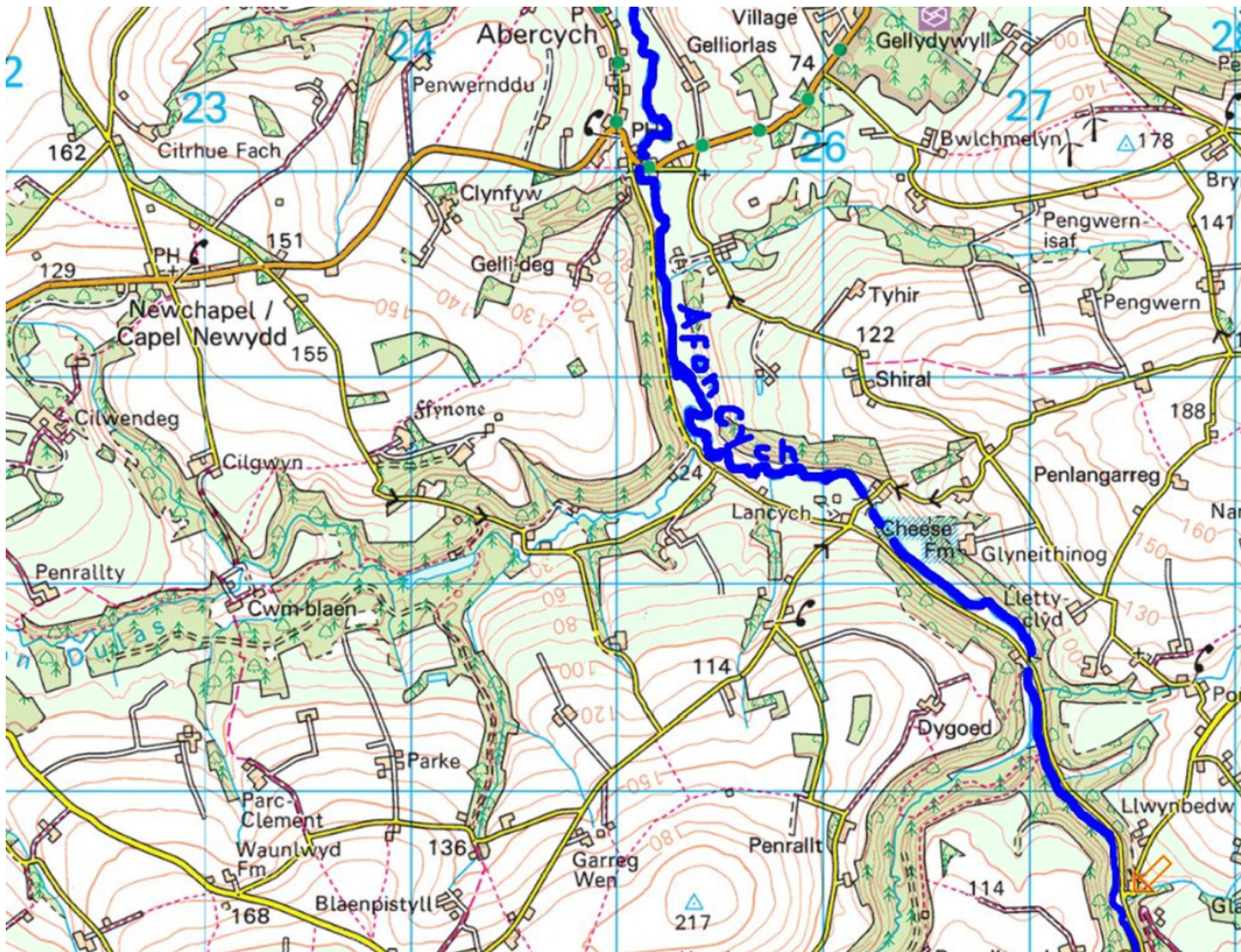
¹⁵² *uarch erchlas mawr*/ a large grey dappled horse. *urethyn llwyt*/ grey-brown woollens, PKM1 2.4-6. JKB 21.1.

¹⁵³ First dialogue PKM1 2.7-27. JKB 21.1-21.2.

¹⁵⁴ PKM1 3.26-28. 'Your way will be unimpeded, and nothing will hinder you'. JKB 22.1.

¹⁵⁵ *Pen Annwfn*, PKM1 8.24-26. JKB 25.1.

¹⁵⁶ Map: ARBERTH & AFON CYCH Map 1 with some modern place names for orientation. Afon Cych runs 9 miles, joins Afon Teifi at Abercych.



MAP: Afon Cych & forests¹⁵⁷

~ * ~

¹⁵⁷From modern map ('Streetmap'), Afon Cych with its extensive surrounding forest areas. Contour lines show a steep sided valley. The treeline is 900-1,000ft; slopes below that would probably once have been forested (filled pale green). Bottom right, Llwynbedw, lit. 'Birch Grove'; a tiny hill hamlet. Pwyll stayed overnight at a hunting lodge, Pen Llwyn Diarwya/ lit. Head of Diarwya Grove; PKM1 1.6. before beginning to hunt in Glyn Cuch forest early the next morning. 'The location of Penn Llwyn Diarwya is unknown.' Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 19, n. 4. Castell Llwynbedw has the right kind of location, Castell Llwyn Bedw is a scheduled monument, thought to be a very simple 'timber castle' dating to the 11thC, now a mound about 30m east-west by 24m across, the remains of a motte and ditch, but unlikely to be a military site. CADW scheduled monument record number is CM021. OS Map Grid Reference: SN43103972 Gatehouse Gazetteer: Welsh sites. (URL text Bibliography) Another site Pen Llwyn Uchel/ lit. High Splendid Grove is a hopeful name but lies too far east to provide a sensible trip. It is 40 miles from Arberth, and Pwyll would double back another 20 miles the next day.

VI *Rhiannon 'Ryuedawt'/ Rhiannon the Marvellous*

VI.2. *Perlewyg y Mabinogi /Mabinogi Trance*

This chapter addresses the particular use of voice and trance in magic, and how this seems to occur in the Mabinogi, especially regarding Rhiannon.

I began leading guided meditations in 1982,¹⁵⁸ pioneering shamanic drum trance into UK Paganism when I established my innovative *Circlework* course (1985). Trance became staple to my House of the Goddess temple network (1985-2005); and my therapy practice.¹⁵⁹ My *Circlework*, 2nd edition (1993) includes a guide to doing trancework.¹⁶⁰ The Mabinogi was my favourite mythology from c. 1975. then I began studying it winter 1990/1991 in a small evening circle I ran with John Davies and Bethan Williams.¹⁶¹ But it was not until c. 2015 in the immersive work of this current study, that the two avenues merged so I recognised certain Mabinogi passages resemble trances. It seems odd it took so long to see it, as that first Mabinogi study group itself used trancework. Mabinogi and trance were simply entrenched for me as two different things.

¹⁵⁸ This paragraph gives necessary personal background to my expertise and authority in tranceworking.

¹⁵⁹ Pathworking by a leader's voice was a familiar part of Western Paganism through the 20thC, and I led such guided meditations from 1982. I pioneered drum trance among modern UK Pagans, derived from native American traditions. I learned the basics from Michael Harner. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman: A Guide to Power and Healing* (San Francisco: Harper & Row). I then developed expertise in practice which I used and passed on in my famed course; Shân Jayran (now Morgain), 'Circlework: a practical introduction to Craft ritual and philosophy'. (Autumn 1985 over three weekends, adapted, condensed and repeated until 2001. Publ. in two edns. 1986, 1993 see next note) This was the first, openly available course in Craft Paganism which did not require membership or initiation. Course stages ingeniously followed the seven stages of the Circle ritual it taught, so the course was itself an extended ritual.

¹⁶⁰ Shân Jayran, (later Morgain). 1987. 1993. *Circlework: a DIY Handbook of Ritual, Psychology and Magic*. 2nd edn. revised and expanded. Illustrated by Terry. Photos Geoff King (London: House of the Goddess), 'DIY' Trancework, pp. 99-100.

¹⁶¹ For a background history of the Pagan and Goddess community, Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900 pp. 437-43; Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess pp. 448-63, incl. short profile of my pioneering temple House of the Goddess, London. Ch. VII.4. Temples pp. 463-66. I was gifted with two Welsh mentors; 1987 (John Davies) and 1990 (Bethan Williams) when they connected with House of the Goddess. I quickly recognised their sterling qualities and drew them into my Clan Council, and close personal friendship; the friendships continue today. They were my first guides to the Mabinogi, and Wales. Some of the insights relating to character and plot presented here date back to our Mabinogi group. I regret we made no records, and we do not recall individual originators.

John took me touring his beloved land, which inspired my love song about falling in love with him and Wales. Bethan trained me with a superb foundation in IT, deputised as House of the Goddess leader when I was in childbed, co-edited and published the *Pagan Song Book* with me, including my own chant of Welsh Goddess names, and my love song to Wales. Shân Jayran (now Morgain), and Bethan Williams, eds. 1994. *The Pagan Song Book*, VHS tape by John Davies (House of the Goddess).

Trancework is also known as a 'pathworking', 'guided journey', 'journeying', 'guided meditation', 'hypnagogic state' or 'creative visualisation'.¹⁶² Everyone experiences trance in the transition between waking and sleeping, and *vice versa*, when conscious and subconscious mind are in active balance. The benefits of deliberate trance are typically relief from stress and fatigue, giving health benefits. Creative stimulation and insight may also occur; many trances also develop entertaining stories. One sign someone is en-tranced is their face smooths out to become peacefully expressionless, but not slack as in sleep: attention has turned within.

Trance induction can be solitary, guided by another person, in a group, or have an audience of hundreds or even thousands. Its techniques overlap with demagoguery, theatre, poetry, song and storytelling. Physical and mental comfort is essential to promote deep relaxation, so a trance usually begins with systematic checks to relax key points of the body. Lowered light stimulates pineal melatonin, the dreaming hormone (cf. TV screens, night camps, mediaeval halls).¹⁶³ Candlelight is commonly used. Rhythm in the voice, a slightly singsong effect, sometimes a drum or soft tapping, slows the heartbeat.¹⁶⁴ Chanting and movement are optional.¹⁶⁵

Trance technique is very like oral storytelling. Formulaic components help the practitioner compose *extempore*, intuitively in the moment, and reassure the recipient/s with familiar wording. Additive connectives ('and') lilt a language less rhythmic than Welsh. Interstices are covered for undisturbed continuity. Repetition aids rhythm, and sequences often run in threes. Personages may be encountered, characters writ large, sometimes evoking deep stereotypes.¹⁶⁶ Dialogue with them can mean the 'other' answers in the inner voice.

But trance differs from storytelling. A good guide avoids common anxiety issues (e.g. falling, deep water, fearsome animals/ insects) to sustain safe, deep relaxation.¹⁶⁷ Notably the Mabinogi abstains from graphic violence, with one

¹⁶² Not everyone visualises (aphantasia), so the latter name is unhelpful.

¹⁶³ Maestroni. 1993. The immunoneuroendocrine role of melatonin'. (URL text Bibliography).

¹⁶⁴ Some trance does not include voice, relying only on drum, tapping only, or music.

¹⁶⁵ This can be a shared group trance with improvised chanting encouraged. A 'drumout' is a vigorous, intense version with multiple drums.

¹⁶⁶ Ch. II.2. Craft of Storytelling, triadic patterns p. 46.

¹⁶⁷ A private trance with a therapeutic practitioner, or a small, focused group, might deliberately face an anxiety issue. Consent is essential, and a guide should be prepared for emotional

exception.¹⁶⁸ Trance drama is kept simple, to avoid stimulating conscious, analytic thinking.¹⁶⁹ Speech, in addition to rhythmic beat, is slower than storytelling, to match the recipient slowed state. Frequent silences enable absorption, and also spontaneously generated imagery or inner dialogue.¹⁷⁰ A trance guide should assert their strong presence as protector in this vulnerable, liminal state. At the end recipients are at peak receptivity: it is advisable to give an uplifting or reassuring message as the finale will be influential for some time.¹⁷¹

The first Mabinogi passage which struck me as trancelike was Arawn's guidance to Pwyll about Annwfn.¹⁷² Arawn, becoming Pwyll's befriender, speaks to him in a quiet, secluded place, a shadowy, forest clearing. Persuasively and reassuringly, saying '*hynny a elly yn/ haut*',¹⁷³ Arawn's guidance anchors in the familiar, for a fighting antagonist is a familiar prospect to Pwyll as a warrior prince. Arawn's instructions evoke trust, equipping Pwyll with scripted behaviour, step by step. In closing Arawn says

*'Dilesteir uyd dy hynt ac ny russya/dim ragot, yny delych y'm kyuoeth
i: a mi a uydaf/hebryngyat arnat.'*¹⁷⁴

This is a striking trance classic, reassuring the recipient his way (path, pathworking) will pass easily through his adventure, with a powerful

abreaction after the trance ends: tears, trembling, talking out a distressing memory. For this reason a person is not to be left alone in the immediate aftermath, even if the trance did not appear to include a trigger. The reaction is usually a therapeutic release, and responds to simple sympathy, listening, and a non-alcoholic drink.

¹⁶⁸ Mutilation of horses, *Ac yn hynny/ guan y dan y meirych, a thorri y guefleu wrth y danned/ udunt, a'r clusteu wrth y penneu, a'r rawn wrth y keuyn;/ ac ny caei graf ar yr amranneu, eu llad wrth yr ascwrn.* PKM2 32.2–4. 'And upon that he pushed in among the horses and cut the lips to their teeth, and the ears to the heads, and the hair to the back, and where he could get a grip on the eyelids, he cut them to the bone.' JKB 46.1.

¹⁶⁹ The simplicity may be only superficial with deeper layers on examination cf. modern 'soundbite' compositions in politics and marketing.

¹⁷⁰ Mabinogi text gives (perceived) Rhiannon as incomparably beautiful for example. *Ac yna medylaw a wnaeth, bot yn diuwyn/ ganthaw pryt a welsei o uorwyn eiroet, a gwreic, y wrth y/ ffryt hi.* PKM1 12.16–18. 'And then he thought that unlovely to him was the face of every maiden and woman he had ever seen, compared to her face.' JKB 28.1. A trance pause would encourage us to actively conceive her colouring, features, hair, body type, for ourselves in our inner eye. The Mabinogi is in general, lacking in descriptive detail about persons, animals, places, which is thought to be due to its oral tradition origins (Ch. II.2. Craft: Characterisation p. 46); this lends itself to trance working.

¹⁷¹ Mabinogi examples below on protectiveness and finale messages.

¹⁷² Arawn explains Annwfn: PKM1 2.28–4.14. JKB 21.2–22.1.

¹⁷³ PKM1 3.3. 'you can do that easily', JKB 21.2.

¹⁷⁴ Arawn, PKM1 3.26–28. 'Your way will be unimpeded, and nothing will hinder you until you come to my realm, and I will be your guide.' JKB 22.1.

(internalised) guide to help.¹⁷⁵

Rhiannon's strategic bag speech to Pwyll is similar.¹⁷⁶ She appears to speak in suspended privacy, even though she is in the midst of a feast. She firmly reassures Pwyll she is taking charge,¹⁷⁷ predicting events, step by step equipping Pwyll to undertake them. The *cod fechan*/ small bag, is an everyday object evoking reassurance, and nothing Pwyll is asked to do taxes his abilities. She ends on a note of success. Bendigeidfran's predictive speech to his Survivors' band is another example of firm prediction, making the extraordinary sound ordinary, equipping them to cope.¹⁷⁸ He reassures and cheers them that he (a strong leader) will stay with them.¹⁷⁹ His Adar Rhiannon prediction is easily recognisable as trance,¹⁸⁰ although his speech about them is just a quick prompt. Their enactment gives their beautiful song, their anomalous distortion of space (far yet near), and time distortion occurs. *Culhwch ac Olwen* tells us they 'make the living sleep'.¹⁸¹ All this is familiar as trance components.¹⁸²

All three practitioners (Arawn, Rhiannon, Bendigeidfran) might easily be imagined providing rhythmic voice and pauses to allow light trance to operate. Each reassures their listener/s with a firm sense of events managed by their guide's benign power. Further passages which might seem trancelike are PKM1

¹⁷⁵ Nowadays we might use this form before doing an exam, driving test, interview, or wedding.

¹⁷⁶ Rhiannon PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. Her *got uechan* (*cod bechan*), PKM1 14.23. 'small bag', JKB 29.1.

¹⁷⁷ Rhiannon, 'a mi/ a wnafn a chaffo ef uiui uyth.' PKM1 14.21–22. 'I will make it so that he will never have me.' JKB 29.1. The detailed, methodical instruction which follows is itself a reassurance of authoritative management.

¹⁷⁸ Bendigeidfran PKM2 44.28–45.11. JKB 55.2. Each of these three prediction scripts is followed by enactment, resembling it closely but with added detail just as a trance recipient adds detail to their individual experience.

¹⁷⁹ Bendigeidfran, 'A'r penn a uyd kystal gennwch y gedymdeithas/ ac y bu oreu gennwch, ban uu arnafi eiryoet.' PKM2 45.4–5. 'And the companionship of the head will be as good to you as it ever was to you at best, when it was on me.' JKB 55.2.

¹⁸⁰ Adar predicted: *A chwi a uydwch ar y ford yn hir; yn Hardlech y/bydwch seith mlyned ar ginyaw, ac Adar Rhiannon y/canu ywch.* PKM2 45.2–4. 'And you will be a long time on the road – in Harddlech you will be feasting for seven years, with the birds of Rhiannon singing to you.' JKB 55.2. Enacted: *Ac y [gyt ac y] dechreuysant wynteu uwyta ac/ yuet, dyuot tri ederyn, a dechreu canu udunt ryw gerd,/ ac oc a glywssynt o gerd, diuwyn oed pob un iwrthi hi.* PKM2 46,13–15. 'And as they began to eat and drink, three birds came and began singing to them a kind of song, and whatever they had heard of song, each one was unpleasant compared to that. And it was far for them to see those birds out over the sea, but they were as clear to them as if they were right with them. And they were at that feast for seven years.' JKB 58.2.

¹⁸¹ "Adar Rianhon y rei a duhun y marw ac a hun a byw a wynhaf" Rachel Bromwich, and Evans eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, p. 24, line 632. Trans. '– the ones that rouse the dead and make the living sleep.' Ford, 'Culhwch and Olwen', in his *Welsh Tales*, p. 139.

¹⁸² Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon p. 408 components can all align with trance.

Rhiannon's courtship rides, PKM3 post-Desolation period, and PKM4 Gwydion's *englynion* calling Lleu back from death.¹⁸³

Rhiannon's rides are triple (over three days), lengthy passages of suspension, with time distorted (as trance tends to be): dreamlike. Jaufré Rudel, a noble troubadour of 12thC Aquitaine,¹⁸⁴ composed trancelike imagery resembling Rhiannon's rides, addressing his *amor de lonh* / 'Distant Love'.¹⁸⁵

With eager heart I ride to meet
My lady before my heart should break.
I gallop forward. She does retreat.
My horse goes backward, hooves seem to brake.
So slow our plod the snails overtake.
Unless she halts I ride in vain.
I'll never reach her. Miles seem years.¹⁸⁶

The equation of time and space, 'Miles seem years', neatly catches the two modes of Rhiannon's web of *hud*, space and time. The lady is unattainable, her galloping lover is helpless unless she consents to stop for him: female control is emphasised. Another Jaufré poem speaks of the lover 'gripped', controlled by her decision. Space distorts: movement forwards becomes backwards, and the horse's pace is slow.

*D'aquest' amor suy tan cochos/
Que quant ieu vau ves lieys corren/
Vejaire m'es qu'a reversos/
M'en torn e que lieys n'an fugen./
E mos cavals i vai tan len/
e greu cug mais que y atenha,/*
*S'ilha no-s vol arretener.*¹⁸⁷

Whether apparent parallels are consciously inspired by Rhiannon or both are part of a shared 'Distant Love' tradition is not known.

¹⁸³ Courtship: PKM1 9.11.–12.6. JKB 25.2–27.2. Post-Desolation: PKM3 51.17– 65.6. JKB 65.2–75.2. See 'empty Dyfed' speculation, below p. 403. Gwydion's *englynion*: PKM4 89.24–90.13. JKB 105.1–105.2.

¹⁸⁴ Burl, *Troubadours and Trobairitz*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁵ Burl, *Troubadours and Trobairitz*, p. 66.

¹⁸⁶ *Quant lo rosignols el fuoillos* / 'When the nightingale amongst the leaves ...' Burl, *Troubadours and Trobairitz*, p. 113. I have been unable to access the original Occitan text. A useful treatment is Thomas D. Hill. 1990–91. 'Jaufré, Pwyll and the Receding Lady: An Essay on Comparative Horsemanship', *French Studies Bulletin*, 37, pp. 1–3.

¹⁸⁷ 'I am so gripped by this love/ that when I run towards her/ I feel like I am walking backwards/ and like she is fleeing from me./ And my horse keeps so slow/ a pace, that I think I'll never reach her/ unless she wants to wait for me.' Jaufré Rudel, Poem I, given as stanza 4. The stanza can be variable. From Leonardo Malcovati. 2006. *Prosody in England and Elsewhere: A Comparative Approach* (Gival Press, LLC) cited by the Trobar source site which also gives a sound file with speech and melody. (URL Bibliography)

In PKM3 the four royals including Rhiannon, live in a suspended reality, set apart from the world and its concerns. They hunt and fish and eat honey in a kind of primal paradise.¹⁸⁸ Rhiannon and Pryderi at the golden bowl become stilled and voiceless;¹⁸⁹ taken somewhere else: an apt image of trance. Gwydion's *englynion* calling Lleu back from death has three performative stages of lyrical and strongly affirmative statements, full of evocative imagery, ending in success.¹⁹⁰ Gwydion is also famed as a storyteller, a skilled voice user.¹⁹¹

Valente observes Mabinogi women demonstrating their evident power through voice.¹⁹² Rhiannon's voice is generally assertive and dominant, but her maternal voice is vulnerable.¹⁹³ This study argues her penitential voice as strategic, an effective publicity exercise which spreads the news of her lost child to locate him.¹⁹⁴ Watkins frames her penitential voice as a storytelling.¹⁹⁵ She might be seen here as extending the reach of her voice, casting it like a spell over large distances, borne by travellers. It is imaginable that Rhiannon's telling by repetition became rhythmic, and her hearer/s' travel fatigue would encourage light trance. Her glamour as a queen with her tragedy, enriches her words with memorable drama.

Mabinogi Magicians apparently either explicitly or implicitly use trance as one of their tools. The forms of storytelling and trance are similar and any good storyteller will notice they are inducing trance by certain passages of a tale, even

¹⁸⁸ *a neb ryw dim ny/ welynt eithyr guydlwdyn. A guedy treulaw eu gwled ac/ eu darmerth o honunt, dechreu a wnaethant ymborth ar kic hela, a physcawt, a bydaueu. Ac yuelly blwydyn a'r/ eil a dreulyssant yn digrif gantunt.* PKM3 52.12–16. 'But they could see nothing but wild animals. And after they consumed their feast and their provisions, they began to support themselves on meat from the hunt and fish and beehives. And thus they spent a year pleasantly, and a second.' JKB 66.1.

¹⁸⁹ *Ac ymauael/ a'r cawc y gyt ac ef. Ac y gyt ac yd ymeueil, glynu y/ dwylaw hitheu wrth y cawc, a'y deutroet wrth y llech,/ hyt na allei hitheu dywedut un geir.* PKM3 57.7–10. 'And as soon as she grasps it, her hands stick to the basin, and her feet to the slab, so that she could not say a single word.' JKB 70.2. Note, the narrative is scrupulous that this happens by consent. Bollard gives the more detailed Peniarth 6 version of the golden bowl: 'a gold basin bound by four chains, and that above a slab of marble, and the chains rising into the air, and no end of them in the world could he see.' This is an excellent image to draw the mind's eye into trance, passing from solid material detail up into infinity. *Landscape*, p. 70, n. 81.

¹⁹⁰ PKM4 89.23–90.14. JKB 105.1–106.1.

¹⁹¹ PKM4 69.3–5. JKB 80.2. Gwydion as Magician Ch. V.15. Magician pp. 387, 388, 389. Also relevant material comparing Rhiannon and Gwydion Ch. V.14. Gwydion pp. 352–55.

¹⁹² Valente, 'Merched', p. 67.

¹⁹³ Ch. IV.1, Voice: Narrative: Mothering pp. 201–03.

¹⁹⁴ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot pp. 268–72.

¹⁹⁵ Emma Watkins, 'Calumniated Storytellers'.

if unintentionally. It is unlikely Mabinogi *cyfarwyddiaid*/ storytellers did not know such a closely allied skill, handling passages from the text accordingly. Feast halls' dim lighting would aid group trance induction, possibly drums were used (very like festivals today). A trance-refreshed audience means happy, relaxed people, inclined to be generous with gifts and reputation.

~ * ~

VI *Rhiannon* 'Rywedawt'/ Rhiannon the Marvellous

VI.3. *Rhiannon y Ddewines*/ Rhiannon as Magician

This chapter looks at Mabinogi Magicians, and Rhiannon as one of them.

TABLE 37 **Mabinogi Magicians**

PKM1 Arawn. Human-human shapeshift. Predicts Annwnfn, Hafgan narrative. PKM1 Hafgan. 'Single blow' protection. PKM1 Rhiannon. Gorsedd Arberth, horse, deceptive pacing. <i>Llys Hyfaidd</i>, bag, deceptive capacity, recognises rank. Predicts bag narrative. (PKM2) Harlech, Gwales, (timewarp), Adar, deceptive distance; power to lull the living, wake the dead. *PKM1 Anon. Author of mare's <i>tynghed</i> to birth but lose foal on May Eve. *PKM1 Claw. Poss. abducts newborn. Attempts abduction foal. <i>Twrf</i>/ tumult. PKM2 Bendigeidfran. Giant. Cauldron revives dead without speech. Head survives death, good companion, protective ward all Britain. Predicts Head narrative. *PKM2 Llassar, Cymedei. Giants. Keepers of Cauldron. She (timewarp) rapidly births warriors supernatural growth. His craftsmanship poss. (semi) magical. PKM2 Branwen. Trains starling to fly to Britain, locate king, speak her message.	PKM3 Llwyd. Desolation of Dyfed. Gorsedd Arberth, all humans, herds disappear. <i>Twrf</i>/ tumult, mist, bright light. Constructs stone tower. White boar leads hounds, Pryderi, Manawydan to tower. Golden bowl paralysis, dumbness. <i>Twrf</i>/ tumult, tower disappears. Shapeshifts <i>teulu</i>, wife, ladies, to mice. <i>Hutlath</i>/wand. 3 disguises incl. horses. Explains Desolation (reverse prediction). PKM4 Gwydion. Bard disguises. Illusion 12 horses, 12 hounds, gold bridles, collars, leashes 12 shields shapeshift toadstools. Duel, kills Pryderi, magic. 'Male mothering' incubator chest. Disguises, Arianrhod visits. Shapeshifts seaweed ship, leather. Conjures war noise, ships. & Math, shapeshifts flowers, fake woman. (Implied) protection Lleu, shapeshift eagle. Recognises white sow. Trance <i>englynion</i> rescues Lleu. Uses <i>hutlath</i>/wand. PKM4 Math. Senior magic Gwydion. Hears talk in wind. Protection needs virgin. <i>Hutlath</i>/wand: virginity test, 3 shapeshifts human-animals pairs (deer, boar, wolf), sons to human. & Gwydion, shapeshifts flowers, fake woman. PKM4 Arianrhod. Three voice mandates rule rejected son's <i>tynghed</i>: refused name, arms, wife. None can be broken, Gwydion tricks her to overrule first two.

13/14 instances, narrative order. *4 entries not included in subsequent analysis, footnoted.¹

¹ Partial or passive instances, not included in analysis below. Information does not conflict.

*PKM1 'Anon' indicates the unknown author of the Gwent mare's *tynghed*, who predates the Gwent events as narrated when the mare loses her foal *a phob nos/ Calanmei*, PKM1 22.4–5 'each May Eve', JKB 35.2.

*PKM1 Claw implications not made explicit. It is usually assumed as the abductor of Rhiannon's newborn. It may be satisfactorily interpreted as an ordinary human agent, except ubiquitous *twrf*/ tumult around its activity suggests enchantment. PKM1 22.17–27. JKB 36.1.

In this Mabinogi world so greatly dominated by territory that individual *lle/* status and identity derives from it, Magicians' reach is not limited to their homelands. Arawn creates the Pwyll shapeshift outside Annwfn. Rhiannon rides her anomalous horse in Dyfed outside *llys* Hyfaidd and sends Adar Rhiannon to Harlech. Bendigeidfran sets up his warding of Britain while in *Iwerddon/* Ireland.² Llwyd may or may not create the Desolation and tower trap distantly from his homeland, but he is able to dismantle both when within Dyfed. Gwydion of Gwynedd makes glamours near Pryderi's *llys* in Ceredigion.³

Their craft is apparently inviolable power which once crafted another cannot break. Pwyll must return to Arawn to be released from his shapeshift. He can only reach Rhiannon at the Gorsedd by appeal to her power. Manawydan can only negotiate with Llwyd to undo his enchantments. Gwydion can only trick Arianrhod into undoing her own workings.⁴

Math and Gwydion's fame features in *Trioedd* 27 and 28: Math mentoring Gwydion.⁵ Llwyd, Math and Gwydion demonstrate as stereotyped male Magicians

*PKM2 Llassar and Cymedei, unlike the two preceding, are named individuals, but lack independent agency. They merely react to others, such as escaping an attempt to murder them, and settling where invited. Their original act in emerging from a lake is left unexplained. They function as kingly possessions of Matholwuch, then Bendigeidfran: primitive forces acquired and managed by the two rulers. They seem an organic continuity with the *Dadeni/* Cauldron. PKM2 35.5–36.29. JKB 48.1–49.2.

² 'Warding' is apotropaic magic, magical protection to 'ward off' undesired event/s.

³ Arawn meets Pwyll in Glyn Cuch: PKM1 4–9, 2 3–6. JKB 19.1, 21.1. This shapeshift has no precisely explicit text; the following reference is the closest, the meaning is clear from the previous passage. PKM1 4.1–5. JKB 22.1. Pwyll goes to Gorsedd Arberth in Dyfed, PKM1 9.3–4. JKB 25.1; Rhiannon's ride there PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. She names her origin at *llys* Hyfaidd hen: PKM1 12.13. JKB 28.1. Adar Rhiannon, predicted by Bendigeidfran: PKM2 45.2–4; enacted 46.13–15. JKB 55.2 and 58.1–2.

Bendigeidfran's ward in *Iwerddon/* Ireland: PKM2 44.28–45.2. JKB 55.2. The Mabinogi text gives the purpose of this head burial by referring to Triad 37 at the end of the Branch, which does explain it. *Tri Chud a Thri Datcud Enys Prydein*, 'Three Concealments and Three Disclosures of Britain' (TYP pp. 102–104) cited PKM2 47.22. JKB 60.1.

Llwyd frees Rhiannon and Pryderi, dismantles the Desolation while in Dyfed: PKM3 65.6–16. JKB 75.2–76.1. Llwyd gives his name as Llwyd Cil Coed, which may indicate somewhere in Dyfed or elsewhere. PKM3 64.5–6. JKB 75.1.

Gwydion visits Pryderi near Ceredigion, PKM4 69.3–5. JKB 80.2. and makes glamours: PKM4 70.3–14. JKB 81.2–82.1.

⁴ Return to Arawn PKM1 6.15–17. JKB 23.2 Appeal to Rhiannon PKM1 12.7–10. JKB 27.2. Llwyd negotiations PKM3 61.15–65.21. JKB 73.2–76.1. Gwydion tricks Arianrhod PKM4 79.9–83.16. JKB 95.1–99.2.

⁵ Math, Triad 27, TYP pp. 59–60; Math, Gwydion, Triad 28, TYP p. 61; Gwydion, Triad 28, TYP p. 61. Gwydion also occurs in Triad 67 linked to Lleu as a shoemaker when deceiving Arianrhod: Triad 67, TYP, pp. 185–88. Though other magical practitioners do not appear in extant *Trioedd*, there may be other *Trioedd* which have not survived. There are also poetic references, such as Gwydion in *Cad Goddeu*, but these do not add significantly to the Magician profiles of Mabinogi text other than extolling Gwydion's powers. Haycock, *Book of Taliesin*, poem 5, lines 46 and 165.

using *hudlath*/ a wand, a classically phallic tool.⁶ *Hudlath* workings are shapeshifts, including the exposure of Arianrhod.⁷ Some other male workings seemingly lack the *hudlath*.⁸ Gwydion seems more of a voice practitioner.⁹ But *Hudlath* is clearly a male tool.

Mark Williams' encyclopaedia essay 'Magic and Marvels', likes the *hudlath* stereotype, claiming 'the enchanters of the Four Branches are all men', but then has to account for Arianrhod and Rhiannon. He concedes Arianrhod has 'some kind of magical power',¹⁰ exercising 'genuine binding force'.¹¹ Linking Culhwch's stepmother with Arianrhod he proposes a Welsh 'malevolent maternal magic', but admits his 'literary topos' cannot develop on only two instances.¹² Rhiannon's maternal naming vignette is not mentioned: awkwardly, it is not 'malevolent' maternity. Arianrhod's maternal power defeats two of the greatest Magicians in mediaeval Welsh prose.¹³ For Williams, it seems that simply being a mother disqualifies as a Magician.

⁶ Ch. VI.1. *Hud*: Wand pp. 366-67. Tal Morgan 'no coincidence the enduring image is someone in robes with a staff - it's travelling garb'. (Personal comm. 29/01/25) either gender Cf. pilgrims.

⁷ Llwyd releases his wife from shapeshift, PKM3 95.10. 'magic wand', JKB 76.1. Math's justice on Gwydion, Gilfaethwy, their sons, 7 instances, PKM4 75.1; 75.4; 75.16; 75.19; 76.6; 76.11; 76.4.14. 'magic staff', JKB 91.1-93.2. Math on Arianrhod, PKM4 77.12; 77. 'magic staff', JKB 94.1.

⁸ Arawn, Hafgan, Bendigeidfran. Hafgan is questionable as his warding may have been constructed for him by another: the backstory is not extant. Arawn describes the ward: PKM1 3.17-21. JKB 21.2. Pwyll in Arawn's place, follows Arawn's instruction in the Hafgan duel: PKM1 5.10-6.5. JKB 23.1-2.

⁹ Of Gwydion's seven enchantments only one explicitly uses it. He releases Lleu from eagle form, PKM4 90.14.16. JKB 106.1. Otherwise, fakes for Pryderi, *Ac yna yd aeth ef yn y geluydodeu, ac y/ dechreuawt dangos y hut, ac yd hudwys*, PKM4 70.7-8. 'And then he went into his arts and he began to show his magic. And he conjured up', JKB 81.2. Fakes for Arianrhod: '*Ac yn y lle y guelas delysc a morwyal, / hudaw llong a wnaeth*'. PKM4 79.13-14; 'And where he saw dulce and sea-girdle, he made a ship by magic', JKB 95.1. *Ac yna y gelwis ef y hut/ a'y allu attaw*. PKM4 82.6-7. 'and then he summoned his magic and his power to him.', JKB 98.1. Fake woman Blodeuedd (jointly with Math), detailed, verb selected here: *ac o'r rei hynny, asswynaw*, PKM4 83.24. 'they produced by enchantment', JKB 99.2. Reviving Lleu, chanting *englyn*, PKM4 90.14-90.20. JKB 105.1-2. He then strikes him with *hutlath*, PKM4 90.15. JKB 106.1. Punishing Blodeuedd he voices her fate with some detail, PKM4 91.6-17. JKB 106.1-7. The language is either vague or suggests voiced enchantment, and Gwydion is a famed *cyfarwydd*, PKM4 69.16. JKB 80.2-81.1.

¹⁰ Mark Williams. 2019. 'Magic and Marvels', Ch. 3, *Cambridge History of Welsh Literature* (CUP), p. 61.

¹¹ Williams, 'Magic and Marvels', p. 62.

¹² Williams, 'Magic and Marvels', p. 62.

¹³ Williams adds 'And even Aranrhod is twice unable to see through her brother Gwydion's magic when it is in front of her or all around her, strongly suggesting that her magical abilities – if such they are [sic] – belong in a different category from his.' 'Magic and Marvels', p. 62. Granted, she does not see through his illusions, but more importantly, he cannot break her mandates. As she decrees, Lleu is only named and armed by her own acts, and cannot ever marry a human woman. It may be relevant that Gwydion's ship illusion tempts her out of her own place of power, Caer Arianrhod, into his illusion. The second illusion leaves her in her place, but his conjured 'noises off' make her feel threatened in it.

Williams treatment of pre-marital Rhiannon is decidedly problematic.

Rhiannon, it may be protested, has distinct magical characteristics, but these consist of supernatural accoutrements – an uncatchable horse and a bottomless bag [sic].¹⁴

Apparently, having ‘magical characteristics’ and ‘supernatural accoutrements’ or ‘magical power’ of ‘binding force’ is not enough to qualify as a Magician. This would disqualify Arawn, Bendigeidfran and Math: dismissing ‘accoutrements’ as Magician perquisites queries how *hudlath* is not an ‘accoutrement’. Williams’ framing of Rhiannon and her horse as passive, under compulsion (by who?) is neither practical in realistic terms, nor consonant with Rhiannon’s dominant character.¹⁵

Branwen is included here as a Magician because training a starling to speak, and fly as a messenger but not to its home territory, goes beyond nature.¹⁶

Hudlath gendering is especially polarised when PKM4 Math uses it to strip Arianrhod of her status and dignity by forced public birthing. A PKM1 inverse is arguable when Rhiannon’s bag strips Gwawl of his status and dignity, forcing him into painful, public abuse.¹⁷ Both have far reaching impacts. Arianrhod’s vengeance dominates the rest of her Branch; Llwyd’s proxy vengeance for Gwawl’s fate dominates the Third Branch. *Hudlath* may be seen as typically, though not exclusively, a male vengeance device. Llwyd unleashes a horde of mice; Math humiliates his niece, then punishes his nephews for his own dishonour. The beneficent exception is Gwydion’s single use to heal Lleu.¹⁸ Revenge is not a male perquisite however, cf. Arianrhod’s three vengeful mandates (without *hudlath*).

¹⁴ Williams, ‘Magic and Marvels’, p. 61. The bag is not ‘bottomless’: it is explicitly tailored to Dyfed’s food supplies. ‘*Minheu, heb hi, ‘a baraf, bei dottit yssyd/ yn y seith cantref hynn o uwyt a llynn yndi, na bydei/ launach no chynt.*’ PKM1 15.5–7. ‘I will bring it about,’ she said, ‘that whatever is placed in it of such food and drink as there is in these seven cantrefs, it will be no more full than before.’ JKB 29.2.

¹⁵ Critique Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon’s Horse pp. 398–99.

¹⁶ Branwen’s starling: PKM2 38.7–13. JKB 51.2. This might problematise poets’ birds as *llateion*, love messengers; unless matters are well organised by the lady training her own *llatein* to return to her when taken away, which is not implausible.

¹⁷ Math–Arianrhod, PKM4 77.9–16. JKB 94.1. Rhiannon’s bag humiliates Gwawl, PKM1 16.25–17.16. JKB 30.2.

¹⁸ Wand to heal Lleu. PKM4 90.14–16. JKB 106.1.

'*Hudlath*' compares conceptually to Rhiannon's etymology of *rhi-* as 'reach'.¹⁹ Both ruler and Magician have extended, symbolic reach, a ruler across their territory (defined by horsepower); a Magician more widely.²⁰ Sceptre and wand metaphors are easily intuitive to the user and others; probably rooted deep in infants' growth stage of powerfully waving big sticks.²¹

Llwyd, Math and Gwydion produce the greatest quantity of different *hudau*/ enchantments, roughly represented by relative space held in the Table above. Rhiannon and Bendigeidfran hold comparable space to Math. However the first three are not necessarily pre-eminent in their quality or scope. The previous chapter proposes a powerful duality of shapeshifting; 'deep shapeshift' creating a hybrid being for up to year, and short-term glamours on objects.²²

PKM1 Arawn is unique in shapeshifting human with human, suggesting a pinnacle achievement.²³ Other Mabinogi shapeshifts are human to animal (e.g. Gwydion becomes stag, sow, wolf, Blodeuedd becomes an owl); vegetation to inanimate objects or animals (Gwydion's ship, leathers, fake horses); vegetation to fake human (Blodeuedd). They can also reveal a hidden characteristic (Arianrhod's virginity test). Shapeshifting is seemingly a male craft practised on both other men and on women, including exploiting natural resources.

PKM2 Bendigeidfran, as high-king and protector of the realm, creates a ward out of his own flesh (his head), sustaining his kingship beyond death to guard all Britain from invasion. It includes his own partial transcendence of death. His ward's enormous achievement and its destruction by Arthur, jealous of renown, is recorded in Triad 37.²⁴

PKM3 Llwyd constructs the Desolation of Dyfed, a huge and sophisticated enchantment with remarkable scope and complexity which lasts for seven years.

¹⁹ Ch. I.3. Etymology/ *RHI-* (Rhiannon's name) pp. 5-10.

²⁰ The mythos of sovereignty and lordship, besides conventional perspectives, may be seen as a form of illusionary glamour, those affected by it perceive the crowned person as set apart, entitled to veneration.

²¹ It is unlikely to be coincidence that infants discover the power of sticks just as they become vulnerably mobile on two legs. Waving a stick and their characteristically loud screaming at this stage are effective ways of pausing a predator and alerting a parental guardian.

²² Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Shapeshifting pp. 352-54.

²³ Analysis Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Shapeshifting p. 352-54. Irish *Mongán*, Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd p. 114; and the historically later Merlin literature where Arthur's mother is deceived by a shapeshifted man, are not mutual swaps; and short-lived for the space of one night.

²⁴ Bendigeidfran's Head: PKM2 44,28-45.2. JKB 55.2. Triad 37, TYP, pp. 102-104. Like other negative Arthuriana this did not transfer to the sanitised Anglo-Norman tales.

It engulfs all the people of Dyfed, their housing and livestock, leaving the four royals with only their empty house, its food stores, a wilderness, and (implicitly) Pryderi's hounds.²⁵ Its impact is exquisitely aimed at the four Dyfed royals, to allow them to survive, but stripped of status, culture and comforts. None of the removed people or animals are harmed, for all are restored by Llwyd years later.

Llwyd explains his Desolation as vengeance for the PKM1 abuse of his friend Gwawl from Rhiannon's advice to Pwyll.²⁶ The Desolation precisely targets Rhiannon's boasted ownership of her great feasts, and the staggering capacity of her bag. She explains *a baraf, bei dottit yssyd/ yn y seith cantref hynn o uwyt a llynn yndi na bydei launach no chynt*.²⁷

The Dyfed territorial expansion raises the query why, post-Desolation, Rhiannon and her family do not move to one of the Seisyllwch lands, or else to loyal Teyrnnon of Gwent, to Cigfa's family, or Rhiannon's natal family at *llys Hyfaidd*. Instead they go far away to the alien *Lloegr*/ England. One interpretation might be political tensions in a later generation, another looks to an Anglo-Norman subtext.²⁸ In a perspective of enchantment, another option becomes conceivable. When Llwyd retrieves the Dyfed human and herd population, he would need to have stored them all somewhere. It might be simpler to move only the royal quartet into an illusory, emptied Dyfed.²⁹ Trapped in magically delimited space, they would not be able to access friendly allies for comfort and dignity consonant to their status. Llwyd might permit *Lloegr* exile as a penance of stripped status and stressful conflict.³⁰

Llwyd explains it is Rhiannon's (and Hyfaidd Hen's) counsel creating Gwawl's humiliation, which motivated the Desolation.³¹ As noted, Llwyd/ Gwawl's vengeance, the Desolation, particularly hits Rhiannon's power base of

²⁵ Hounds Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Prince p. 304.

²⁶ Llwyd explains: PKM3 64. 8–10. JKB 75.1.

²⁷ PKM 15.5–6. 'that whatever is placed in it of such food and drink as there is in these seven cantrefs, it will be no more full than before.' JKB 29.1. She declares her ownership of the feast, PKM1 15.20–23. JKB 29.2.

²⁸ It has been suggested Rhiannon may be estranged from her father's heir, Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen p. 220–21. For an Anglo-Norman subtext, Ch. III.7. Political Parallels pp. 185–88.

²⁹ Techniques of trancework, Ch. VI.2. Trance pp. 382–83. Among other examples a comparison is suggested with the lengthy suspension of reality experienced by the Seven Survivors on Gwales, who are kept in stasis by that enchantment for many subjective years. PKM2 46.17–47.1. JKB 58.2

³⁰ This speculation is no more than an interpretation apt to the *hud* paradigm of this section; supplementing, but not replacing other possibilities.

³¹ Llwyd explains: PKM3 64. 8–10. JKB 75.1.

feasting and food stocks. Rhiannon's enchantments do not seem to match the scale of the greatest Magicians (Table, above), nonetheless the colossal impact of her bag might place her in their ranks, albeit structurally. Not least, she is triply responsible for the long years of Desolation of a principeddom. Her original Choice rejects Gwawl, and evades paying his compensation.³² She places insult and coercion on him, using her bag. As an elder adviser she fails to warn Pryderi his post-war reorganisation might place Dyfed outside the Gwawl-Pwyll contract.³³

Rhiannon's bag speech is noted as a weighty text: long, detailed and complex. Llwyd's explanation can be read like its reversal.³⁴ She constructs her planned power play in that speech, and he retrospectively deconstructs his power play similarly. The two speeches, each marking a forced coercion, bracket Rhiannon's huge responsibility for the Desolation of Dyfed.³⁵

Turning towards the nature of Rhiannon's *hud*, it appears to centre on a) weaving time and space; and b) small-scale, personal relationship with large scale impact.

Rhiannon's ride warps both time and space.³⁶ Though separated by distance she and Pwyll are intensely aware of each other; he recognises she has strong-willed *neges*/ purpose,³⁷ and for him all else falls away from his focused willpower.³⁸ She tells him she rode those days with him in her mind.³⁹ They finally draw together in a tightly focused, deceptively personal dialogue (on or beside their horses).⁴⁰ Her horse and rides reverberate across the other Branches, through two generations for her lifetime and her son's.⁴¹ Rhiannon's bag is *bechan*/ small, yet can encompass the distant reaches of Dyfed's

³² Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice pp. 244.

³³ Analysis why Llwyd acts for Gwawl's revenge only after Manawydan becomes *arglwydd* of Dyfed, Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 324-28.

³⁴ Bag speech, PKM1 14.23-15.17. JKB 29.1-2. Analysis, Ch. IV.1. Voice #12: Weddings p. 200. Llwyd explains, PKM3 64.5-20. JKB 75.1-2.

³⁵ The Mabinogi is similarly unforgiving of Branwen, whose appeal to her brother led to the catastrophic Irish War and in spite of her peaceweaving efforts, genocide. She herself takes responsibility, PKM2 45.15-20. JKB 57.1.

³⁶ Slow paced horse, *Kerdet araf*, PKM1 9.15. *Nyt oed nes hagen idi no chynt*. PKM1 12.4. 'slow, steady pace'. 'He was no nearer to her, however, than before.' JKB 25.2, and 27.2.

³⁷ Recognises *neges*: PKM1 11.10-12. JKB 26.2.

³⁸ Pwyll conducts four pursuits of her over three days, PKM1 9.18-12.5. JKB 26.1-27.2.

³⁹ '*Pennafneges uu ymi, keissaw dy welet ti*.' PKM1 12.20. "My chief errand was to try to see you." JKB 28.1.

⁴⁰ Dialogue: PKM1 12.7-13.11. JKB 27.2-28.2.

⁴¹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 273, estimated calculation of timespans.

abundance.⁴² Its PKM3 rebound by Llwyd removes Dyfed's (cultivated) abundance, shrinking Dyfed people to the tiny family of four. Adar Rhiannon may be far away, yet seem close by, and their hearers become suspended in time. Their soothing song has been suggested above as a mothering, closing the gap between Rhiannon and her son. Yet their powers are also about the great shadows of death.⁴³ They are famed beyond Mabinogi narrative, and continue to inspire nationalist poets across the centuries.⁴⁴

Rhiannon at Gorsedd Arberth is forewarned to Pwyll as a paradox, the 'rywedawt' will either manifest a supernatural event, or cause injury by blows.⁴⁵ It does both, bringing Pwyll his wonderful bride, but Gwawl loses his and suffers blows.⁴⁶ Rhiannon's other enchantments are also paradoxical. Her bag represents the abundant food wealth of Dyfed, her power base, but it causes Llwyd's revenge which strips her of that power.⁴⁷ Adar Rhiannon powers reverse the essential nature of the living and the dead.⁴⁸

The above analysis focuses Rhiannon as a Magician, but also demonstrates the primacy of Magician narrative to the Mabinogi. Each Branch has one or more Magicians. Their magical workings are pivotal to the plots: Arawn's shapeshifting, Hafgan's ward, Rhiannon's horse and bag (PKM1); her healing Adar (PKM2), Bendigeidfran's Head (PKM2), Llwyd's Desolation (PKM3), Gwydion's fakes and duelling aid (PKM4). The Mabinogi beyond the mundane is sufficiently accounted as Magician manoeuvres. Stephens (1849) prefigures the Coherence Paradigm's rational literature 125 years later.

In the earlier tales of Kymric origin, the machinery is invariably supernatural. The Mabinogion of Pwyll, Branwen, Math, and Manawyddan are evidences of this; the marvellous and moving power is seldom indeed, we may say never personal courage, but invariably magic.⁴⁹

We might quibble about 'never personal courage' but the main point is well taken. These powerful Others, Magicians, structure the narratives. Some are kings

⁴² Ch. V.4. Gwawl p. 237. Ch. VI.5 Bag pp. 402.

⁴³ Ch. I.6. Sources: #2 *Culhwch* p. 33.

⁴⁴ Further exploration of Rhiannon's three enchantments follow in the next three Chapters.

⁴⁵ Courtier explains: PKM1 9.4–7. JKB 25.1–25.2.

⁴⁶ On the political ritual of Gwawl's beating, Ch. V.4. Gwawl p. 234.

⁴⁷ Llwyd: PKM3 64.5–10. JKB 75.1. Bag, Desolation: Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 324–28.

⁴⁸ Adar Rhiannon: Ch. I.6. Sources #2 *Culhwch* p. 33. Rhiannon paradoxes: Ch. IV.2. Acts pp. 209–10. Ch. VIII. Structures: Paradoxes p. 512.

⁴⁹ Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 400.

and rulers who can be expected to do so (Bendigeidfran, Math) but not all. Notably both the consorts Rhiannon select show an acute awareness of enchantment, though they are not themselves practitioners.⁵⁰ The Magicians are of both genders. They operate both openly and as *éminence grises*.⁵¹ The text never labels them Magicians but this is in line with Mabinogi style to narrate by speech and action. As hidden operators their narratives might conceivably reflect a mature understanding of the body politic and its manipulators. Rhiannon, bracketing the PKM1–PKM3 arc from her Choice of Pwyll to the Desolation she causes by it, spans the Mabinogi as a leading Magician.

~ * ~

VI *Rhiannon 'Rywedawt' / Rhiannon the Marvellous*

VI.4. *March Rhiannon / Rhiannon's Horse*

This chapter focuses on Rhiannon's horse which appears with her in her long, influential, opening sequence.⁵² Ch. V.2. Hyfaidd suggests the horse might be an innovative hybrid bred at the time of Mabinogi composition, combining the hardy stamina of the native cob with imported Spanish size and speed; secondly Rhiannon's natal homeland might be Maesyfed, Powys, in the region Giraldus mentions breeding these new equines.⁵³ Horses are ubiquitous in Mabinogi Rhiannon, crucial to the superior power and status of the class of *marchogion*, as a horse can control a far larger reach of territory,⁵⁴ cf. *rhi*– the root of Rhiannon's name.⁵⁵ Rhiannon riding her horse at her advent, intensely focuses elite, ruling status.⁵⁶

*gwreic ar uarch canwelw / mawr aruchel*⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Pwyll 'Ie,' *heb ynteu Pwyll, 'y mae yno ryw ystyr hut.'* PKM1 10.10. 'Yea,' said Pwyll, 'there is some magic intent there. JKB 26.1. Manawydan of the tower: '*A'r neb a dodes hut ar y wlat, / a beris bot y gaer yma.*' PKM3 56.4– 5. And the one who placed an enchantment on the land caused the fort to be here.' JKB 70.1.

⁵¹ Particularly apt to Llwyd the grey one, etymology Ch. V.14. Llwyd p. 343.

⁵² From the anonymous rider to dialogue with Pwyll 3pp.: PKM1 9. 11–12.7. JKB 25.1–27.2.

⁵³ Giraldus' new breed: Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd pp. 227.

⁵⁴ Ch. III.4. Equine pp. 159–60.

⁵⁵ *RHI* – 'stretch out the arm' over territory, Ch. I.5. Etymology' pp. 7–8.

⁵⁶ Ch. I.4. Advent of Rhiannon #5 Horse pp. 17–20.

⁵⁷ PKM1 9.11–13. 'a woman on a great tall pale white horse' JKB 25.2.

Given Sioned Davies' theory of rider-horse integrated description,⁵⁸ this text would suggest Rhiannon (like her horse) as a large, strong female, with pale colouring perhaps fair haired, magnificent in her manner and movements.⁵⁹ 'A supernatural horse in the original text would, therefore, have a supernatural rider.'⁶⁰ She rides the taxation *cylch*/ circuit of Dyfed, and seemingly unlike other women she is a huntress.⁶¹ Her equine skill is outstanding; none can reach her unless she wishes it (realism perspective).

*Troi yn y
hol a oruc ef, a gadel y uarch drythyll, llamsachus y
gerdet. Ac ef a debygei, ar yr eil neit, neu ar y trydyd,
y gordiwedei. Nyt oed nes hagen idi no chynt. Y uarch
a gymhellaud o'r kerdet mwyaf a oed ganthaw. A
gwelet a wnaeth na thygyei idaw y hymlit.*⁶²

Pwyll has set his best horses to pursue her. But after one pedestrian and two mounted pursuits fail, he knows he must go himself if he is to discover her *neges*/ purpose. Thus Rhiannon's rides draw him away. He attempts a 'spirited' challenge with his own *drythyll*/ spirited mount (above), and fails. The striking aspect of this lady's ride (she remains anonymous through all these pursuits), is that she herself never increases her speed, always merely ambling.⁶³ The contrast between these urgent male riders forcing speed to the limit, gashing flanks with

⁵⁸ Sioned Davies, 'Horses', p. 137. Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse pp. 17-19.

⁵⁹ Cf. Winward for Rhiannon's size, strength; 'Aspects', pp. 83-84.

⁶⁰ Nicole Thomas on this basis, observes a supernatural horse in the original text would, therefore, have a supernatural rider. Nicole A. Thomas. 2013. 'The Daughters of Modron : Evangeline Walton's Feminist Re-Visioning of the "Mabinogi"' (unpublished doctoral thesis University Wales Cardiff), p. 197, n. 8. (URL text Bibliography)

⁶¹ Rhiannon huntress: *Ac nit/ oed dim digriuwach gantaw no gwelet Arberth a'r tirogaeth/ y buassei yn hela, ef a Pryderi, a Riannon gyt ac/ wynt.* PKM3 58.24– 27. And there was nothing more pleasant to him than to see Arberth and the territory he used to hunt, he and Pryderi and Rhiannon together with them.' JKB 72.1. Winward particularly observes Rhiannon's difference from other women in active riding and hunting. 'Aspects', p. 84.

⁶² PKM1 12.1–6. He turned after her, and let his spirited horse its own pace.' He guessed that he would reach her on the second bound, or the third. [But] no nearer did he get to her than [any of the times] before. He spurred on the horse as fast as it could go. But he saw it was useless following her in that way.' Previous mounted pursuits: *A fei mwyaf uei y urys ef, pellaf uydei hitheu/ e wrthaw ef.* PKM1 9.22–23. But the greater was his speed, the further away from him she became. *A ffei uwyaf y lladei ef y march, pellaf uydei/ hitheu e wrthaw ef. Yr vn gerdet a dechreuysssei hitheu,/ yd oed arnaw.* PKM1 10.3–5. but the more he struck the horse, the further away she became. Yet she still held the same pace as before.

⁶³ Ambling pace: initial advent, PKM1 9.15. JKB 25.2. First mounted pursuit, *Yr vn gerdet a dechreuysssei hitheu/ yd oed arnaw.* PKM 10.4–5. 'She had the same pace with which she had begun.' JKB 26.1. *Amgen urys gerdet nit oed genthi hi no'r dyd/ gynt.* PKM1 10.28–29. 'She had a pace no different than the day before.' JKB 26.2.

bloody spurs, and the calm pacing of the lady's horse, is extreme.⁶⁴ The usual vulnerability of a female when pursued by a male is transformed, reversing its power balance.

This lady's riding is strangely silent, for no noise is mentioned, even though she rides on a hard-packed main road. Hooves and harness are not soundless unless heavily muffled, even riding slowly. The effect is trancelike, adding to the *hud*/ enchantment of the experience. Other Mabinogi *hud* is crashingly noisy: the PKM1 invasion of the Claw at *llys Teyrnnon*; the PKM3 Devastation of Dyfed which also occurs here at Gorsedd Arberth).⁶⁵

She rebukes Pwyll for his riding, forcing the pace, showing care for the animal's stress, possibly bearing erotic overtones,⁶⁶ or suggesting a quiet *hud* which is not about forcefulness. When meditating there is no use in straining at it; the craft is about surrender to the moment.⁶⁷ Rhiannon's horse is a huge, powerful immensity, as capable of force as Pwyll's warrior mount. But her manner is a tranquillity, a pale-white, silent slowness. It recalls the soothing aspect of her Adar, who can lull the living to healing sleep.⁶⁸ Her horse is paradoxical, not only because it/she outpaces the fastest horses available while ambling, but because it peacefully contains its massive force under press of urgent pursuits.

Mark Williams in the *Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, considers this horse' *hud*

... may not even be under her control: ... she cannot stop, unless asked to do so with a particular formula, and is in fact labouring under some kind of paternal curse or prohibition.⁶⁹

Williams' malign father goes against the text, for Hyfaidd Hen is a solid support at both Rhiannon's weddings. He never seeks to control her, and willingly partners

⁶⁴ Spurs: PKM1 10.2-3. JKB 26.1. Striking the horse: PKM1 11.4. JKB 26.2. Pwyll demands spurs PKM1 11.21. JKB 27.1. *Y uarch/ a gymhellau d o'r kerdet mwyaf a oed ganthaw*. PKM1 12.4-5. 'He spurred on his horse to the fastest pace it had', JKB 27.2.

⁶⁵ Teyrnnon's repetitive *twrwwf*/ tumult event: PKM1 22.15-23. JKB 36.1. Desolation *twrwwf*, PKM3 51.22-24. JKB 65.2.

⁶⁶ Rebuke I: '*ac oed llessach y'r march, pei ass/ archut yr meityn*.' PKM1 12.9-10. 'and it would have been better for the horse if you had asked it a good while ago.' JKB 27.2. 'Riding' can have sexual connotations, noted, cf. Jaufré Rudel Ch. V.5. Pwyll, p. 257.

⁶⁷ Ch. VI.2. Trance relaxation p. 382, Jaufré p. 385. Also my *Circlework*, p. 99-100 'slow pacing'.

⁶⁸ Ch. I.6. Other Sources, #2 *Culhwch ac Olwen*, quoted p. 33.

⁶⁹ Mark Williams, 'Magic and Marvels', Ch. 3.

her as a counsellor on the pivotal Pwyll–Gwawl contract.⁷⁰ It is difficult to imagine who else might impose such a *tynghed*/ fate upon Rhiannon.⁷¹ It took three days before she ended her ride. If 'she cannot stop unless asked to do so' she would be an exhausted, equine, Flying Dutchman.⁷² Williams renders Rhiannon a passive dolly, a controlled placeholder, at extreme variance with her *neges* as a determined agent, which Pwyll recognises before they meet, and she herself confirms.⁷³

Is the Rhiannon-horse *hud* to be understood as contingent on the horse itself, or on Rhiannon? The horse itself could hold the power, consenting to be Rhiannon's ally. Or Rhiannon could, like Branwen with her starling, train the horse, or endow it with (her) power. There is no indication which is the case. It might be said that Rhiannon shows herself to be strong-willed and controlling. Yet this horse is a large, powerful being, *canwelw*/ pale-white, therefore

⁷⁰ He does intervene at one point, but that is to curb the violence of Pwyll's men. For Hyfaidd as supportive father Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen p. 220.

⁷¹ The Mabinogi is generally at pains to attribute *hud* events to a causative agent as when Llwyd explains the Desolation of Dyfed, PKM3 64.5–14. JKB 75.1; or at least to enable inference to explain as when it seems the Claw left the Dyfed baby at Teyrnon's door, PKM 22.24–28. JKB 36.1. There is a significant *tynghed* not narrated with causative agent: Teyrnon's mare who is fated to birth and lose her foals. Ford suggests, the mare is an intimate literary parallel with Rhiannon (*Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*, Welsh Tales, pp. 31–33), so Williams' suggestion deserves a moment's attention. However, the mare's aetiology is not necessary to Teyrnon's adventure with her; he saves the foal and acquires the baby without a vital need to understand the origin story. Rhiannon explains her ride; she does speak of compulsion but not by her father or anyone specific, only saying: 'wyfi, a'm rodi/y wr o'm hanwod yd ydys.' PKM1 12.23–24. 'I am being given to a man against my will', JKB 26.1. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd poss a family dispute pp. 220–21.

⁷² The logistics are boggling. She might carry panniers of food and drink, changes of clothing including a heavy coat and muff for surviving the night cold, bulky hay and water for the poor horse, toileting articles including washing water and towel, chamber pot and toilet wipes. This mass of baggage even if on a packhorse, would nullify the graceful lady of legend. Alternatively the *tynghed* would need to specify that hers and the horse's physical needs suspend in a time warp until they were released by a voiced asking. In that case it would be remarked in tradition that the pair were suspended in such a way; Mabinogi descriptions may be brief, but they do not miss a chance to detail a wonder. Here all it tells us is the pair's speed is anomalous, and that is repeated four times in exact descriptions.

⁷³ See also M. Williams critiqued re Rhiannon Ch. VI.3 Magician, p. 389–90.

Pwyll recognises Rhiannon's strength of purpose: 'yd oed neges idi wrth rei o'r/maes hwnn pei gattei wrthpwythi', PKM1.11.10–11. 'And between me and God,' he declared, 'she had a [purpose] with some in this field, if she would leave her obstinacy to say it.' JKB 26.2. Rhiannon's *neges*/ purpose: 'Ac ny mynneis innheu un/gwr, a hynny o'th garyat ti. Ac nys mynnafetwa, onyt/ ti a'm gwrthyt. Ac e wybot dy attep di am hynny e/ deuthum i.' PKM1 12.24–27. 'But I have not desired any man, and that is for love of you. And I will not desire it even now, unless you reject me. And I have come to find out your response to that.' JKB 28.1. Total 7 *neges* refs Ch. I.5. Text p. 26 n. 149.

enchanted in itself,⁷⁴ and *aruchel*/ supreme: not a good fit as a subordinate. Their relative agencies seem as anomalous as what they do.

There is a possible third alternative, from equine experience, which unlike Williams' theory does not nullify, but enhances both rider and horse. A modern horsewoman expresses it thus:

Something shifted in me during those lazy afternoons. The black horse and I began to move and breathe in sync, ... a flowing, give-and-take decision-making process, a form of shared leadership best described by the most basic meaning of the word consensus: "to sense together." ... this full-bodied, dual mode of perception ... feelings of affinity and interdependence ... through a long-standing association.⁷⁵

Such fusion aligns with the long, close partnership of *marchogion* in Mabinogi society with their horses; cf. bestowal of the colt upon Gwri/ Pryderi as a boy, so they grew up and trained together.⁷⁶ As already noted this long, slow relationship could produce joint, split-second reactions, critical in hunting, battle or danger.⁷⁷ It further aligns with the integrated identity which Sioned Davies found in horse-rider descriptions.⁷⁸ Talking with people who love riding horses and do so frequently, it is never long before this sharing, begins to appear in how they speak of riding. Others find similar fusion in dance partnering, fighting arts, with cats, dogs, or hawks: two in symbiosis.

⁷⁴ *ar uarch canwelw/ mawr aruchel*, PKM1 9.12–13. 'a great tall pale white horse' JKB 25.2. As Ch. I.6. Advent/ Horse pp. 18-120. It is difficult to do justice to *aruchel* in translation. It connotes 'high, tall, lofty, elevated; exalted, supreme, splendid, majestic (GPC). (I favour 'exalted'.) That is not a personage to take the inferior role. Its colour, *canwelw/* pale-white is one of the classic colours of enchantment, Hemming, Also cf. the PKM3 shining-white boar which takes the dominant role, leading Pryderi and Manawydan on a hunt with definite *neges*. PKM3 55.14 JKB 68.2. (Could it be a shapeshifted Llwyd himself?)

⁷⁵ Linda Kohanov, 2001 and Kindle. *The Tao of Equus: A Woman's Journey of Healing & transformation through the Way of the Horse* (New World Library). Quotation 1, p. 74; quotation 2, p. 85.

⁷⁶ Gwri's bestowed horse. also Lleu's early partnership with his horse: the pair are named in Triad 38 (T)*ri Rodedicuarch Enys Prydain*, 'Three Bestowed Horses, TYP pp. 359-60

⁷⁷ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen pp. 226-27, on Triad 38.

⁷⁸ Ch. I.6. Advent: #5 Horse pp. 17-20.



Author with pale-white Welsh cob (3/05/2014)⁷⁹

~ * ~

VI *Rhiannon 'Rywedawt'* / Rhiannon the Marvellous

VI.5. *Cod Rhiannon* / Rhiannon's Bag

*'Mi a rodafi'th law got uechan,' heb hi*⁸⁰

This chapter attends to Rhiannon's *cod*/ bag, which she uses at her second wedding (PKM1).⁸¹ She uses it in a plot against her unwanted suitor, Gwawl, giving it to her desired husband Pwyll, to act as her agent. In Ch. V.5. Pwyll, the *cod* is deconstructed as a specialist bag used to trap badgers.⁸² In this chapter the *hud*/ enchantment, and mythology aspects of the *cod* are addressed.

Rhiannon introduces the bag as *uechan*, (above).

bechan/ *bychan* – a) little, small, minute, diminutive.

b) inconspicuous, obscure, unimportant, petty. (GPC)

⁷⁹ With no experience of horses at all, I thought I should make some acquaintance as part of this project. So this is me, visiting Bramble, a small, Welsh cob mare, the native breed of Wales. Rhiannon probably rode a hybrid of native cob and imported Spanish strain, the latter contributing greater size and speed; Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen, Giraldus Cambrensis description of it as *incomparabili velocitate* p. 227. Photo: John Davies, 3/05/2014. Rosie Withey (URL Bibliography).

⁸⁰ PKM1 14.23. 'I will put a small bag in your hand,' JKB 29.1.

⁸¹ Rhiannon's bag speech, PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. Enactment 16.13–18.2. JKB 30.1–2.

⁸² Deconstruction: Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Badger pp. 234–35, badger bag traps.

It is neither large, nor magnificently valuable, nor does its action extend over several days of mounting dramatic tension like her *march*/ horse.⁸³ It lacks the seductive beauty of the Adar, with their awesome powers across life and death.⁸⁴ Yet Mabinogi text powerfully promotes this *got uechan*/ small bag. Structurally, it is presented by the longest speech in the Mabinogi (285 words, 24 PKM lines).⁸⁵ Its capacity is all the food in Dyfed, and it enables Rhiannon's marriage to Pwyll, which eventuates the rest of PKM1 and most of PKM3 (the Devastation and its long aftermath).⁸⁶ Rhiannon assiduously works to avoid feud with Gwawl, but she equips Pwyll with the *cod* intending it to trap Gwawl, and enable marrying Pwyll; and she succeeds. Evidently her qualifier *bechan* / small, unimportant, is ironic, contrasting its appearance with its powerful capacity and its strategic impact.

The capacity of the *cod* is not infinite as some have mistakenly said.⁸⁷ It is not a 'reverse cornucopia': the *cornucopia* is outpouring, generously giving; the *cod* is a taker, a ravenous maw.⁸⁸ Rhiannon describes its capacity precisely;

*'a baraf, bei dottit yssyd
yn y seith cantref hynn o uwyt a llynn yndi, na bydei
launach no chynt.*⁸⁹

Her *cod* capacity to contain all the food and drink in Dyfed defines her aspired domain, feast controller of Dyfed as its first lady.⁹⁰ That is a large and impressive reach, but delimited by Dyfed's geography and resources.

⁸³ Pursuits: PKM1 9. 11–12.7. JKB 25.1–27.2. (3pp.)

⁸⁴ Rhiannon's *march*/ horse: PKM1 9.12–13. JKB; pursuits PKM1 9.16 – 12.6. JKB Adar Rhiannon, predicted by Bendigeidfran PKM2 45.2–4. JKB; & actual event. 46.13–15. JKB Adar in *Culhwch ac Olwen*: Rachel Bromwich, & D. Simon Evans, eds. 1992. *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: UWP) p. 24., Line 632.

⁸⁵ Ch. IV.1. Voice #12: Weddings, p. 193, also 200.

⁸⁶ PKM3 64.5–10. JKB 75.1–2. Llwyd explains the Desolation, that the Rhiannon, Pryderi captivities are revenge for Gwawl's PKM1 humiliation.

⁸⁷ 'The supply of food is unending', Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 206. "Rhiannon's bag of unlimited capacity. Celtic vessels of plenty and associate her, as sovereignty goddess, with the fertility of the land.' McKenna, 'Sovereignty in Pwyll', p. 330. Above p. 385 n.14 'bottomless' M. Williams. The confusion is the Greek/ Roman *Cornucopia* with its infinite capacity. Latin. *cornu*: horn, + *copia*: abundance Baby Zeus accidentally broke off the horn of the goat Amaltheia who suckled him. It had divine powers of abundant nourishment, like Amaltheia. Alternatively Heracles wrestled the river-god Achelous and broke off one of his horns. David Leeming. 2005. 'Cornucopia'. *Oxford Companion to World Mythology* (OUP), p. 13.

⁸⁸ Rhian Rees. 2012. 'Perceptions of Annwn : The Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.' (unpublished master's thesis University of Wales Trinity St. David's), p. 60. (URL text Bibliography)

⁸⁹ PKM1 15.5–7. 'that whatever is placed in it of such food and drink as there is in these seven cantrefs, it will be no more full than before.' JKB 29.2.

⁹⁰ Rhiannon as feast organiser: PKM1 15.21–25; JKB 28.2. 15.27–16.3. JKB 30.1. PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1.

As such, the *cod* has a political *persona*, representative of the greed of the nobility, Rhiannon's social class, imposed upon the food-providing peasantry. Her massive feasts must be serviced by many hundreds of labouring people, who themselves live close to starvation. Pwyll, when presenting the *cod* to Gwawl, is disguised as a beggar, appealing for a little food. Though it is only a disguise, it reminds of real starvation. Significantly the *cod* power, once active, can only be neutralised by *hyuyt dylyedauc tra chyuoethauc*,⁹¹ a clear reference to lordship domination of food supplies. When taking possession of food and animals on a *cylch*/tax progress, a lord or agent held the power to decree '*Digawn*'/'Enough'.⁹² Rhiannon specifies a noble lord must use that authority to close off the *cod* demand. Up to that point, in both cases, anxious inferiors put more and more of their foodstocks into the lord's control. The scene vividly presents the economic food tension of the Mabinogi, which elite Rhiannon enjoys at its apex.

The *cod* is also an instrument of deception, lulling Gwawl into its trap by an innocuous, small, humbly practical appearance (Cf. Gwydion's glammers). Gwawl's generosity as prince to beggar, which would shame him badly if he refused, is used against him. All together the *cod* is a malign *hud*, a symbol of harsh economic exploitation by Rhiannon's small elite class, and an enchanted trap, a tool of treachery used against an innocent man.⁹³

The nature of the *cod hud* is a spatial distortion.⁹⁴ It expands to contain a gargantuan quantity of food and drink, having originally appeared as a *got uechan*/small bag. This, on the deconstructed level, reflects how the badger bag expands and collapses on its several horizontal rings, either an expanded tunnel trap, or collapsed to be portable for badger trappers. On a symbolic level it is a simultaneous ontology of a small thing which may be held in the hand, and also a whole principality's territory. That graphically metaphors lordship, the noble hand's reach covering an entire land, cf. the Indo-European etymology of *RHI*–

⁹¹ PKM1 15.9, 'a noble lord over many lands' JKB 29.2.

⁹² Rhiannon predicts the dialogue about the bag. '*Digawn rydodet ymman*.' PKM1 15.11. 'Enough has been put in here!' JKB 29.2. The words may well have been a formula used on *cylch* tax circuits to signal satisfaction. Laws set out what was due to be paid to a lord. However law is an ideal, an abstract. In practice enforcement is at the hand of human agency, who could be precise to the law, generous about practical difficulty to pay, or greedy for more than the legal requirement.

⁹³ For Gwawl's character Ch. V.4. Gwawl pp. 230-31, showing him as an honourable prince.

⁹⁴ A magical category, Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Dimensions pp. 361, 366.

imprisoned vermin, struggle against starvation.⁹⁹

There are other special bags in myth which are portable aids to contain powerful resources out of proportion to the bag's size, space distortion like Rhiannon's *cod*. The Irish Magician Manannán mac Lir keeps his most precious prizes and tools in a crane skin bag.¹⁰⁰ The crane was once a woman, cf. Rhiannon's female-owned *cod*.¹⁰¹ (PKM2 sacks used to hide Irish warriors, above, are also made of *croyn/skin*.)¹⁰² The Greek god Aeolus gives Odysseus a closed leather bag full of captured winds to aid him in his voyage home.¹⁰³ Manannán and Aeolus are not a strong comparisons.

The Greek Perseus legend seems the most complex and productive *cod* comparable.¹⁰⁴ After beheading Medusa, Perseus needs a custom container to shield and carry the head back to his patron goddess Athens. The literally petrifying magic of Medusa's stare, fully functional after death, must be nullified by this container, or else he could not safely transport it. Apollodorus describes this protective *kibisis* as a wallet, or knapsack, which Perseus obtained from nymphs in the north, the Hesperides.¹⁰⁵ There is no explanation of how the *kibisis* works its protection. Hesiod describes it as a silver bag with gold tassels,¹⁰⁶ presumably reflecting its prestigious role. The basic resemblances between

⁹⁹ Rhiannon's bag: PKM1 14.23–17. 24. JKB 28.2–30.2. Efnysien bags: PKM2 42.11–43.3. JKB 54.1–2. Manawydan's glove: PKM3 60.16–18. JKB 73.1.

For more worked examples of interlacings Ch. VIII Structures: Interlacing pp. 513–27.

¹⁰⁰ The very weak link between Irish Manannán and Manawydan of Britain, in the resemblance of their names but not otherwise, is noted Ch. V.10. Manawydan: Name, p. 336–37.

The crane is 'huge', 110–120cm long, weighing 4–7kg, so its skin would make a very large and strong bag. RSPB (URL text Bibliography) From the same source the varied colours of the crane's feathering, is red, black, grey, brown, cream and white. This may make it attractively elegant, or symbolic, to a Magician.

¹⁰¹ Parker observes female associations of '*boly* = 'cavity' 'swelling' 'bulge' 'hide or leather bag': the womb-like properties of these 'skin bags', and links them with Cymidei Cymeinfol's 'wombful' which contains a child who will after only six weeks be a fully armed fighting man. 'The Mabinogi of Branwen', Mabinogi net. (URL text Bibliography) But *cod* not so assoc. in Cymraeg.

¹⁰² Irish warriors: PKM2 42.13. JKB 54.1–2.

¹⁰³ Aeolus gives Odysseus a bag for containing winds, *Odyssey* 10.2.

¹⁰⁴ Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt relate the PKM1 abducted baby to the classical legend of Perseus, also other wonder-child abductions in Celtic romance. Kuno Meyer, and Alfred Nutt. eds. trans. 1895–97. *The voyage of Bran, son of Febal to the land of the living, Grimm Library*, 4–6, 1 (London: Nutt), Ch. 13, p. 12. Noted here Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood p. 297 n. 595.

¹⁰⁵ *kibisis* is not a standard, translatable Greek word. Apollodorus. (or Pseudo-Apollodorus). 2ndC BCE. *Bibliotheca* / The Library (Alexandria); *Theoi (kibisis)*, Library of Mythology 2.4.2. Also mentioned Hesiod. 1stC BCE. 'Shield of Hercules', in *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle*. Homeric, H G. Loeb Classical Library, 57, trans. by Evelyn-White (William Heinemann), p. 234.

¹⁰⁶ Hesiod, Shield of Herakles, 234.

Rhiannon's *cod*, and Perseus' *kibisis*, are that both are possessions of powerful females, themselves of enchanted nature, who give them to a selected male hero.

The Hesperides who own the *kibisis*, are guardians of an orchard of golden apples, located in the west, near the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar). The Greek geographer Strabo, in *Geographika* III locates them in Tartessos, southern Iberia/ Spain, a land with its own Celtic variant heritage.¹⁰⁷ One of these 'apples' (oranges?) was famously used to foment the Trojan War, from which the legendary prince Brutus founded Britain.¹⁰⁸ The Perseus myth therefore locates on the western sea trade route between Greece and Britain, voyaging recorded by several Greek sources (see map p. 409).¹⁰⁹

The Hesperides' orchard alerts to the orchard where Rhiannon instructed Pwyll to hide his *teulu*/ company of warriors, ready to ambush Gwawl's company at the conclusion of the bag plot. Rhiannon's orchard is curiously specific as a hiding place; there is no other mention of orchards or apples in the Mabinogi/on.¹¹⁰ Rhiannon could have simply directed Pwyll to hide his men 'outside', as military deployment was his skill, after all. The two orchard instances, together with two special power-bags owned by enchanter females gifted to a male hero, teases the question whether Medusa's tale had some influence on Rhiannon's, via that well-travelled western trade route.

Athena might be considered an apt alter-ego for Rhiannon, as a patroness of the arts of civilisation: poets and musicians, crafts, the laws, and wise discourse, a strong female figure among her peers.¹¹¹ Their major difference is

¹⁰⁷ John T. Koch. 2009. 'A case for Tartessian as a Celtic Language', *Acta Palaeohispanica* X, *Palaeohispanica* 9, pp. 339-351. *ibid.* 2013. *Tartessian* (Celtic Studies Publications). *ibid.* 2014. 'On the Debate over the Classification of the Language of the South-Western (SW) Inscriptions, also known as Tartessian', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 42/3-4, pp. 336-427.

¹⁰⁸ Ch. III.2. Britain pp. 142, 144.

¹⁰⁹ Duane W. Roller. 2006. *Through the pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman exploration of the Atlantic* (Routledge).

¹¹⁰ The orchard ambush is referenced in *Ystoria Taliesin* preserved in 16thC MS., but clearly older. *Saith awr / buan/ynn kadw y berllan/Ky[n] kyuyrdan Sattan/suttiwr taeyraf*. Patrick Ford, (ed.), *Ystoria Taliesin* (UWP, 1992), P. 83, ll. pp. 626-29. 'One of the Four Pillars of Song', verse 4. 'Seven hours they/ Tended the Orchard/ Before Satan's strife/ Most insistent suitor.' Ford, trans. *Welsh Tales*, p. 178. My thanks to Prof. Ford for his help accessing the Welsh text (email exchange 12/11/20). The poem ends with a promise of political restoration, cf. the PKM3 ending, Ch. III.7. Political Parallels.

¹¹¹ Athena Hippias, Athena of the Horse, reputedly invented the vital technology of the bridle bit, by which the strength and ferocity of the horse could be controlled. M. Detienne and A. B. Werth. Nov., 1971. 'Athena and the Mastery of the Horse', *History of Religions*, 11, 2, pp. 161-184. (URL text Bibliography). More Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Athena p. 425-26.

Athena is virginal while Rhiannon centres on marriage and motherhood. Feminist reappraisal of the Medusa myth has suggested she is an alter ego of Athens, in the tradition of double goddesses such as Demeter/ Kore; or else a divinity/ human pair since Medusa is given as human. In the Athena-Medusa myth, the core is Medusa's head, site of intelligent thought, again apt to Rhiannon. Medusa paralyses her victims with her gaze, turning them into stone. Rhiannon uses a hard stare on Manawydan. She and Pryderi are paralysed by enchantment in a stone tower, losing their power from then on in captivity.

Various other teasing details can be observed, notably a benign foster father, a repeated horse theme, and a wedding with the hero's open offer which leads to trouble. Perseus benefits from a benign foster father, as Pryderi does. A wily king-villain seeks to marry Perseus' mother, who refuses him. The king plots to remove Perseus' protection from her. The king holds a wedding with Hippodamia ('Horse Lady'); all guests must bring a horse as a gift. Perseus is too poor, so he makes an open offer to do whatever the king asks cf. Pwyll's open offer to give Gwawl anything he asks. The king demands Perseus fetch the fatal Medusa head as a wedding gift.¹¹² Luckily Athena adopts and guides Perseus, so like Pwyll he succeeds by way of female patronage and instruction. He visits the Hesperides 'orchard, who give him the crucial bag to contain the Medusa head. When he decapitates Medusa a winged horse flies out of her neck.¹¹³

These Greek/ Roman tale elements are loose bits and pieces, clustered together on the western sea route to Britain. If nothing else they suggest influences on some of Mabinogi Rhiannon from an older, western European myth.

~ * ~

¹¹² Cf. Culhwch, also sent on an impossible quest. Like Perseus, he collects a series of helpers and helpful objects. On another decapitated head which functions with mighty *hud*, contrast the benevolent head of Bendigeidfran, a protective ward for all Britain. PKM2 44,28–45.2. JKB 55.2.

¹¹³ Hesiod, *Theogony: The Bestiary*, in *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle*, Homeric, H G. Loeb Classical Library, 57 (William Heinemann), 270. (URL text Bibliography)
This myth comparison is specific to two myths without claiming any wider 'tale motif', see motifs disclaimer p. 118.

VI Rhiannon 'Rywedawt' / Rhiannon the Marvellous

VI.6. *Adar Rhiannon* / Birds of Rhiannon

This chapter addresses the *Adar Rhiannon*, who appear in PKM2, and *Culhwch ac Olwen*.¹¹⁴ They are never seen in direct proximity with Rhiannon, but their name implies close relationship.



Jane Starr Weils. 'Rhiannon's Birds'.¹¹⁵

Foretold by the dying Bendigeidfran (PKM2), three *Adar Rhiannon* visit Rhiannon's son Pryderi and his companions at Harlech, where the war Survivors stay for seven years.

*Ac yna y kyrchyssant wynteu Hardlech, ac y
dechreussant eisted, ac y dechreuwynt ymdiwallu o uwyt
a llynn. Ac y [gyt ac y] dechreuyssant wynteu uwyta ac
yuet, dyuot tri ederyn, a dechreu canu udunt ryw gerd,
ac oc a glywssynt o gerd, diuwyn oed pob un iwrthi hi.
A fell dremynt oed udunt y guelet uch benn y weilgi allan.
A chyn amlyket oed udunt wy a chyn bydynt gyt
ac wy. Ac ar hynny o ginyaw y buant seith mlyned.*¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ PKM2 45.2–4; and 46.13–16. At the end of PKM2 a series of tales are cited, and one is *am Ganyat Adar Riannon* 48.17 / the Singing of Rhiannon's Birds, JKB 60.2. The *Adar* clearly have an established canonical status. Pughe picks it up in Croker. 1828. *Fairy Legends*, p. 169.

¹¹⁵ Jane Starr Weils. 2018. 'Rhiannon's Birds', painting. Print available Etsy, and Redbubble; design on poster, Tshirt, mouse mat, laptop bag and cover, cards. Weils envisages sparrows which in outline are similar to my proposed skylarks, below 'Species'. Permission 25/11/2018.

¹¹⁶ *Adar* actual event. PKM2 46.11–16. 'And then they made for Harddlech, and they began to sit, and they began to be supplied abundantly with food and drink. And as they began to eat and drink three birds came and began singing a kind of song to them; and whatever they had heard of song, each one was unpleasant compared to that. And it was far for them to see those birds out over the sea but they were as clear to them as if they were right with them. And they were at that feast for seven years.' JKB 52.1–2. Bendigeidfran prophesies the event PKM2 45.2–4. JKB 55.2.

PKM2 closes with a series of cited tale titles: *am Ganyat Adar Riannon* clearly grants the Adar established canonical status.¹¹⁷ The contemporary tale *Culhwch* also narrates them as entertainers, but with profound powers.

*“Adar Rianhon y rei a duhun y marw ac a huna y byw a wynhafy’m didanu y nos honno.”*¹¹⁸

TABLE 39 **Adar Rhiannon (Welsh) elements (9)**

prophesied or expected
 Harlech seven years
 (wedding) feasts
 abundant food and drink
 numbered three
 sweetness of song seems beyond compare
 highly prized
 seem paradoxically far and near
 power to soothe the living to sleep and wake the dead.

In prophecy/ predicted appearance the Adar are like Rhiannon at Gorsedd Arberth.¹¹⁹ Rhiannon is never located at Harlech.¹²⁰ Ch. V.8. Pryderi,

¹¹⁷ End of Branch (above): PKM2 48.17. ‘the Singing of Rhiannon’s Birds’, JKB 60.2.

There is similar imagery in the later prose tale *Owein*, Ch. I.6. Other Sources, #5 p. 33, though those birds do not bear Rhiannon’s name. The flock is incomparable in song, and brings peace after a *twrwf*/tumult, a destructive enchantment passage. After many references to nobles dressed in gold brocade silk, like Rhiannon and her affiliates, the knight who arrives after the birds’ singing is in black silk on a pure black steed (inverting Rhiannon’s gold silk, pale-white steed). The dark knight also shows space-time anomaly. If pursued he cannot be reached cf. Rhiannon; but if the mounted hero refuses to chase the knight flees, possibly parodying Rhiannon. *Owein* heroes confront a silver bowl with silver chain, cf. Pryderi, Rhiannon, golden bowl on chains PKM3 56.15–19. JKB 70.1.

Also cf. Irish Clíodna. Mac Cana: ‘What we can assume with reasonable assurance is that Rhiannon and her birds represent a conception of the queen of the Otherworld which was shared in Ireland.’ 1958. *Branwen Daughter of Llyr: A Study of the Irish Affinities and the Composition of the Second Branch of the Mabinogion* (UWP), p. 107. ‘In several texts the birds are three in number as in Branwen’, though this ‘agreement’ may merely derive from Celtic love of ‘triplication’. [The tale of Clíodna of the Tuatha De Danaan, the Otherworld, features] ‘three beautiful birds approaching and perching on an apple tree that stood close by, one of them blue with a purple head, the second purple with a green head and the third speckled with his head of the colour of gold. They sang so sweetly and melodiously that the sick would sleep to it. Clíodna said that they would accompany Tadhg and his company on the rest of their journey, giving guidance and providing music, until again they reached Ireland.’ ‘When the men took their leave, after what they imagined was an hour but was really a year, they set out over the sea in their boat and the birds commenced their song so that the sadness of the parting was changed to joy and merriment.’ Looking back a magic mist veils the land they had left, p. 105. My thanks to Alan Llwyd’s assistance to access this material (26/11/2020).

¹¹⁸ Bromwich, and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, p. 24, line 632. Trans. ‘– the ones that rouse the dead and make the living sleep – to entertain me that night.’ Ford, ‘Culhwch and Olwen’, in his *Welsh Tales*, p. 139. The Adar are the 13th prize which adventurer hero Culhwch must obtain as comfort for his doomed father in law, so he may wed Olwen. The task is set, but there is no extant account of how Culhwch acquired the *Adar Rhiannon*, but it may be presumed he did so as the tale ends with his successful completion of all the tasks set.

¹¹⁹ The *Adar* are prophesied or predicted by Bendigeidfran, PKM2 45.2–4. JKB 55.2. Rhiannon’s advent is prefaced by a Dyfed courtier advising Pwyll of the Gorsedd Arberth *kynneddyf*/

argues Adar Harlech presence is a maternal 'care package', precisely *because* mother and son are divided by distance. The Harlech sojourn, and Rhiannon's penance are each numbered as seven years.¹²¹ Rhiannon and the Adar Rhiannon both associate feasting abundance and wedding themes.¹²² The Adar are three, and triplicity is a frequent feature of Mabinogi Rhiannon.¹²³ Their song, and Rhiannon's looks, are both viewed as subjectively superlative.¹²⁴ The Adar are a highly prized object of quest (*Culhwch*). Rhiannon presents herself at her advent as an elite prize, for which Pwyll and his agents quest. Like the Adar she is spatially paradoxical: seeming accessibly close, yet far away, inaccessible.¹²⁵ Rhiannon and Adar Rhiannon affinity is evidently close, not just about their names.

Llateion/ love messengers

The poetic tradition of *llateion*, particularly developed by Dafydd ap Gwilym, seems suggestive of affinity with Adar Rhiannon.

Amongst his most attractive pieces are the *llatai* poems in which a creature is sent as a love-messenger.¹²⁶

Typically Dafydd's *llateion* are seen as birds; in one instance his lover Morfudd sends him a thrush.¹²⁷ Songbird *llateion*' sweet singing might be seen as a metaphor for the poet's own (singing) voice, cf. the Adar Rhiannon's characteristically incomparable, sweet song (above). Adar Rhiannon's effect on distance, near yet faraway,¹²⁸ fits *llateion* spanning distance between lover and

characteristic, PKM1 9.4–7. JKB 25.1–2.

¹²⁰ Anwyl gives an undeveloped association of Pryderi's death and the *Adar* to suggest a northern Rhiannon tradition. Anwyl IV, p. 127. Cycles intersect Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd p. 222 n. 57.

¹²¹ Rhiannon's penance is decreed as seven years but she seems to serve less, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, p. 270 n. 409. Whether the *Adar Rhiannon* stay with the war Survivors at Gwales after the seven years of the Harlech sojourn, is not specified.

¹²² Rhiannon wedding feasts: PKM1 14.24–26. JKB 28.1. She declares publicly PKM1 15.21–25. JKB 29.2–30.1. (& Cigfa): PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. Adar feasting, abundance PKM2 46.13–15. JKB 58.1–58.2. 46.13–15. JKB 58.1–58.2. Culhwch wedding, Ford, Welsh tales, pp. 130–31.

¹²³ Long list Ch. VIII. Structures: Triplicities p. 522.

¹²⁴ Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 246. The birds' superlative singing in *Owein* is described subjectively in a teller's anecdote Ch. I.6. Sources #5 *Owein*, p. 33.

¹²⁵ Rhiannon, Epona, death (carrying the dead on her back) Ch. VII.1. Myths: Epona p. 429. Rhiannon, paradoxes Ch. IV.2. Acts: Paradoxes pp. 209–10; s. VIII Structures: Paradoxes p. 512.

¹²⁶ Welsh Biography: Dafydd ap Gwilym, (URL text Bibliography)

llatai: love messenger, go-between, errand-goer, transf. of bird, &c., sent on a (love) errand (according to a once popular poetic convention). (GPC)

¹²⁷ Dafydd ap Gwilym. *Offeren y Llwyn*/ 'The Woodland Mass'. Poem #39 (URL text Bibliography)

¹²⁸ *A fell dremynt oed udunt y guelet uch benn y weilgi allan*. PKM2 46.16. And it was far for them to see those birds out over the sea, but they were as clear to them as if they were right with them.

beloved. But *llateion* are not solely birds.¹²⁹ Bromwich, Triad 41 *Tri*

Gorderch6arch Enys Prydein, alludes to

the poetic convention by which horses were employed as *llateion* ... found already in the twelfth-century Gogynfeirdd,¹³⁰ ... particularly in the *Rhieingerddi*, where horses figure in occasional instances as *llateion*.¹³¹

Llateion have been remarked as 'reminiscent of "*drudwy* Branwen".¹³² The two key *llateion* embodiments, bird and horse, taken together and linked to women, seem reminiscent of Rhiannon.¹³³

Barddoniaeth genedlaetholgar yr 20fed ganrif /

20thC nationalist poetry

In the mid 20thC, Adar Rhiannon became political icons for certain Welsh nationalist poets.¹³⁴ The love song becomes both personally romantic and politically passionate. R. S. Thomas finds a spirit of freedom in 'The wild, sweet singing of Rhiannon's birds' (1952).¹³⁵ Adar are 'singing tirelessly' in the shade of a Tree which symbolises Glyndŵr's Rising (1955).¹³⁶ Against fluctuations in

JKB 58.2.

¹²⁹ Note the generic 'creature', Welsh Biography quote above.

¹³⁰ Triad 41. *Tri Gorderch6arch Enys Prydein: Ferias, march Dalldaf eil Cunin Cof,/ a Rudurych, march Raba& eil Morgant,/ a Guelwgan Gohoewgein, march Moruran eil Tegit*. 41. Three Lovers' Horses of the Island of Britain: Strong Grey, horse of Dalldaf son of Cunin Cof,/ and Dappled Roan, horse of Rahawd son of Morgant,/ and Silver-White, Proud and Fair, horse of Morfran son of Tegid. TYP p. 109.

¹³¹ Three Lovers' Horses. Bromwich continues 'The names of a number of the horses'. in *Trioedd y Meirch* are listed together in a *Rhieingerdd* by Gruffudd ap Maredudd'. TYP p. lxxxvi. *Rhieingerddi*-poems addressed to or eulogising a lady. *Rhieingerddi (rhiein gerdd)*: poem in praise of a (noble) young woman, love poem (GPC).

¹³² Branwen's *drudwy*/ starling, PKM2 38.7-17. JKB 51.1. Heather Williams. 1998-2000. 'Dafydd ap Gwilym and the debt to Europe', *Études Celtiques*, 34, p. 27. Other Mabinogi females are also associated with birds. Arianrhod inadvertently names her rejected son Lleu by way of a wren: PKM4 80.19-20. JKB 97.2; and he metamorphoses into an eagle. PKM4 88.8-10. JKB 103.2. Blodeuedd ends as an owl, 'Blodeuwedd': PKM4 91.6-17. JKB 106.2.

¹³³ Two modern Eisteddfau poets have framed Rhiannon's horse as a metaphor for poetic inspiration; Alan Llwyd (1971), and Bryan Martin Davies (2003); cf. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Muse p. 499-501. Also Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Graves pp. 485.

¹³⁴ It might be said that 20thC texts are a long jump from the mediaeval Adar Rhiannon. However this study desires to trace Rhiannon through different perspectives, not only in her mediaeval source, but as a developing figure from her mediaeval origin text, through the Welsh Renaissance to the present day.

¹³⁵ R. S. Thomas. 1952. *An Acre of Land* (Montgomeryshire Printing Company Ltd.), p. 10. For him 'the singing of Rhiannon's birds appears to be an indicator for Welshness' itself. Katharina Krischak. 2013. 'Despite our Speech we are not English' (Diplomarbeit, University of Vienna. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, BetreuerIn: Huber, Werner), p. 80. (URL text Bibliography) Similarly, Fflur Dafydd. 2004. "[A] shifting / identity never your own": the uncanny and the unhomely in the writing of R.S. Thomas (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Wales, Bangor), p. 141.

¹³⁶ R. S. Thomas. 1955. 'Tree', in *Song at the year's turning: Poems, 1942-1954* (Rupert Hart-Davis), p. 56-58. The 'Year' is metaphorical, embodying a 'long year' since Glyndŵr of seasonal

Welsh politics Adar promise endless renewal. However Thomas despairs: the 1979 Referendum, for Welsh devolution did not win. But a paradigmatic shift in political economy was rapidly building.¹³⁷ By 1987 he wrote:

the birds of Rhiannon
are refusing to sing.¹³⁸

Adar rebukes English invader and Welsh weakling alike; cf. Rhiannon's judgemental (Rebukes) aspect.

the birds of Rhiannon
will never be heard in your
suburban garden.¹³⁹

Thomas did ultimately rediscover an Adar Rhiannon renewal of vision (1991):

But dawn approaches, and Rhiannon's birds
Are busy in the woods.¹⁴⁰

His contemporary, Euros Bowen, in 'Birds of Rhiannon' (1957), similarly found the Adar a political barometer, but rather than judges, our fellow sufferers; 'hurt' because the Welsh are hurt. Adar and active heroic deeds will prevail.

The Birds of Rhiannon are fervent, unseen,
hurt by the ill-luck of our heroes;
...
energy will rise with the joy
of stallions,
...
The Birds of Rhiannon, fervently greeting.
love the renown of heroes;
surely the harp's calling

fluctuation. Below, Thomas' autobiographical comment as a clue to the avian species of Adar Rhiannon.

¹³⁷ A long period of despair in Britain has mounted steadily since then. In this author's opinion the Drakeford Welsh Government has done much to mitigate the worst effects of English political malfeasance. [June 2024. A Labour Government UK is predicted July 4, possibly new hope.]

¹³⁸ R. S. Thomas. 1987. 'Deprivation', in *Welsh Airs* (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press) p. 49.

¹³⁹ R. S. Thomas. 1974. 'He is sometimes contrary' in *What is a Welshman?* (Christopher Davies,) pp. 7-9; @ p. 8. Beneath his scorn lay a deep fear that 'Welsh culture will never prevail and, even worse, will cease to exist when English culture predominates'. Krischak, 'we are not English', p. 62. M. Wynn Thomas astutely observes of this poem 'Thomas's dream ... of ancient battles and mythological birds is full of the wistfulness of felt impotence'. M.W. Thomas. 1995. 'Keeping His Pen Clean: R S Thomas and Wales', in *Miraculous Simplicity: Essays on R.S. Thomas*, ed. by Davis, William V. (University of Arkansas), p. 67.

On a personal level Thomas endured a lifelong and deep displacement in his own country because his first language was not Welsh which placed him at odds with his socially aspirant mother. The personal served and promoted his political life. This is ably explored by Flur Dafydd's study 'identity never your own'.

¹⁴⁰ R. S. Thomas. 1991. *Blwyddyn yn Llyn*, 'The Year in Llyn' (Gwasg Gwynedd), p. 34. Flur Dafydd believes he was 'eternally hopeful that the birds of Rhiannon will be heard, however dead and threatening the silence' seems'. "'A shifting / identity never your own", p. 143.

will bring back summer to the land of apples.¹⁴¹

The inclusion of horses (middle excerpt) is suggestive, but unclear whether a conscious evocation of Rhiannon.

D. Gwenallt Jones' 1930s religious vision of Welsh suffering sees Adar Rhiannon as angelic comforters.

Come again this evening, birds of Rhiannon
Sing us a song from across the blue wave,
Smiling faces will reveal our heart's gladness
After long grief and affliction grave.

Verse 3 invokes *Culhwch ac Olwen's* Adar, embracing both the living and the dead.

Raise the dead with your soul-stirring music,
Give hope to the living in their transient day¹⁴²

The Adar are quintessentially Welsh. They sing of injury to the Welsh people and hopes to win freedom, but with diverse images: judges and organic renewal (Thomas); fellows in suffering, action and hope (Bowen); recipients of prayer (Jones). Like personal *llateion* they bear hope, and connect people together with bonds of passion. PKM2 and *Culhwch* imagery brings comfort with renewal from hurt and despair.¹⁴³ Rhiannon's span across PKM1 personal romance, PKM3 political astuteness and struggle to survive colonisation, and (euhemerised) deity, covers all the typologies above.

Minstrels fel asiantau?/ Minstrels as agents?

Adar Rhiannon appear as Rhiannon agents, sweet singers who attend a feast, who can span distance, near and faraway. They are like the class of minstrels, singers travelling distances to attend weddings and other feasts, welcomed for their entertainment and their soothing of the soul. Although Adar Rhiannon's 20thC political deployment is centuries later it aligns well with Rhiannon's political profile. Her marriages are both to prominent political males. She is precisely aware of Caswallawn's activity far away in *Lloegr/* England. Her homecoming feast for Pryderi would need a substantial period of preparation

¹⁴¹Euros Bowen; Gwyn Williams, trans. 1959. 'The Birds of Rhiannon', in *Presenting Welsh Poetry: An Anthology of Welsh Verse in Translation and of English Verse By Welsh Poets* (Faber & Faber), p. 66.

¹⁴² D. Gwenallt Jones in *Cerddi Gwenallt: y Casgliad Cyflawn*, ed. by James, Christine (Llandysul, 2001), p. 153. Original first published in *Ysgubau'r Awen*, 1939.. My thanks to Alan Llwyd for the latter datum, personal communication March 2024.

¹⁴³ Cf. III.7. Political Parallels: Anglo-Norman p. 188, which in PKM3, seems to demonstrate hope and restoration after the Anglo-Norman takeover.

time, needing warning he was on his way, and where he was. Adar on the model of *llateion*, messengers, or Branwen's *drudwy* /starling, might serve Rhiannon as a carrier bird network bringing her intelligence. Alternatively it is imaginable that a skilful organiser might employ minstrels as a human messenger network to feed information to her. Such messengers would have easy access to other *llysioedd* / courts, for direct observation and collecting news talk; cf. how Gwydion exploits the easy welcome for entertainers at both Pryderi's and Arianrhod's *llysioedd*. Rhiannon is particularly concerned with the welfare of minstrels at her wedding feast.¹⁴⁴ Her care of minstrels persists beyond the Mabinogi; cf. Goronwy Gyriog's 14thC *awdl*,¹⁴⁵ possibly signing a tradition of significance. 'Adar Rhiannon' might serve as a code name of a discreet agents' network. The matter is speculative but not implausible.

Rhywogaeth / Species

Adar Rhiannon as actual birds, queries their species. From extant information they must be understood as a breed habituating or tolerant of coastal environments, such as Harlech and Dyfed/ Pembrokeshire; and as song birds.¹⁴⁶ But seabirds are not sweet singers. Of the sweet British songbirds one species stands out with the marked *Adar* characteristic of paradoxical distance. The skylark flies vertically upwards a great distance, yet is famed for its beautiful song sounding as if close by.¹⁴⁷

The skylark was Stevie Nicks' intuitive image in her world-famous lyric 'Rhiannon' (1975):

'She rules her life like a fine skylark'.¹⁴⁸

For R. S. Thomas, *Adar Rhiannon* are 'a symbol of regeneration and repair in face of mechanisation and Anglicisation'.¹⁴⁹ He was an enthusiastic bird-watcher and

¹⁴⁴ Wedding PKM1 17.20–21; & 18.22–24. JKB 31.1.

¹⁴⁵ Ch. I.4. Other Sources, #6, p. 33.

¹⁴⁶ Harlech, PKM1 45.2–4; and 46.11–14.

¹⁴⁷ 'Where to see and hear skylarks', Countryfile com.URL Bibliog.

¹⁴⁸ Stevie Nicks' skylark reference, verse 3 of her song, is fascinating. She was adamant she knew nothing of Rhiannon of the Mabinogi when she wrote the lyric. She merely read a pulp fantasy novel using Rhiannon's name but not narrative. Ch. II.3. Performance p. 51; Ch. II.9 21stC (Welsh version) p. 139; Appendix: Stevie Nicks, full song text and more context.

¹⁴⁹ Fflur Dafydd, 'identity never your own', pp. 141–42.

in his autobiography *Neb* (1985) he describes a skylark's song above Manafon, evoking Adar Rhiannon:

one of the most magical songs to be heard in Britain, and, listening to these melodious notes, there came to mind the Birds of Rhiannon and the old tale of how the hearer would, in hearing them, forget time. [Later he found the] bird's nest in the nearby field.¹⁵⁰

~ * ~

¹⁵⁰ R. S. Thomas. 1985. *Neb*, (*Cyfres y cewri*), [No-one] (Gwasg Gwynedd), p. 59.

Mabinogi Rhiannon VII

RHIANNON DUWIES/ GODDESS RHIANNON

VII.1. *Mytholeg Duwies/ Goddess Mythology*

VII.2. *Duwies cyn 1900/ Goddess pre-1900*

VII.3. *Duwies yr Ugeinfed Ganrif/ Twentieth Century Goddess*

VII.4. *Temlau/ Temples*

VII.5. *Duwiesyddiaethau Rhiannon/ Rhiannon Theologies*

VII *Rhiannon Duwies/ Goddess Rhiannon*

VII.1. *Mytholeg Duwies / Goddess Mythology*

It is asserted above that a Magician perspective is sufficiently explanatory for Mabinogi matters beyond the mundane.¹ There are, nonetheless, powerful traditions of certain Mabinogi characters as deities, including Rhiannon. They are seen as euhemerised (reworked as human), for the text itself makes no mention of deities except a vague, generic '*Duw*' / 'God'.²

Rhiannon as *duwies*/ goddess can be seen in Pughe's *Geiriadur/ 'Dictionary'* (1803) but Welsh scholars did not expand upon the deity concept. That came with Welsh academia, when John Rhŷs lectured on 'Celtic religion' (1880s), followed by his students Anwyl (1907) and WJG (1912–1958), each contributing to Rhiannon thealogy. During this period new disciplines of international archaeology, anthropology, comparative religions and mythology, were challenging the hegemony of Christian theology in the spiritual imaginary. 'Mythological Reconstruction' assumed native tales to be myths about deities. Mabinogi Studies was also overshadowed by Irish mythology, even though Mabinogi valorisation was part of the Welsh nationalist agenda.³ Goddess praxis grew vigour and distribution in three broad perspectives; Matriarchy, Pagan, Feminist; mid-19thC and 20thC. Rhiannon is slight until the late 20thC.⁴

Rhiannon as Goddess is therefore a relatively modern perspective, but a powerfully established one. This first 'Goddess' chapter introduces a series of Goddesses as relevant background to approaching Rhiannon as a Goddess.⁵

¹ Ch. VI.3. Magicians, pp. 394.

² On the lack of religious text in the Mabinogi Ch. VII.3. Pre-1900: Christianity pp. 438-42.

³ 'Thealogy' 1970s neologism, etymology, definitions, Ch. VII.5. Thealogies, pp. 471-72. A working definition at this point is veneration of the divine as feminine.

Rhŷs casually frames Rhiannon as a dawn goddess, a moon Goddess, or as the Arthurian Lady of the Lake; *Lectures*, 'Additions', p. 678. Anwyl describes Rhiannon as possibly a Great Mother, Mare Goddess linked to Epona, based on her close horse affinity at Gorsedd Arberth, Teyrnnon's mare, and Gwri. He notes a possible Rhiannon (Rlgantona), Teyrnnon (Tigernonos) divinity pairing, 'Celtic Religion', pp. 240–41. WJG draws upon these two scholars, typically without crediting them, Ch. II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd p. 112.

⁴ Ch. 20thC Rhiannon pp. 448-63.

⁵ I have provided generous references about the goddesses described below, as this opens up comparisons outside the standard academic scope of Mabinogi Studies. The resources support main content and further interest. This first chapter is not very analytic, aiming simply to present an infrastructure of data to support consideration in the subsequent four Goddess chapters.



Venus of Willendorf⁶

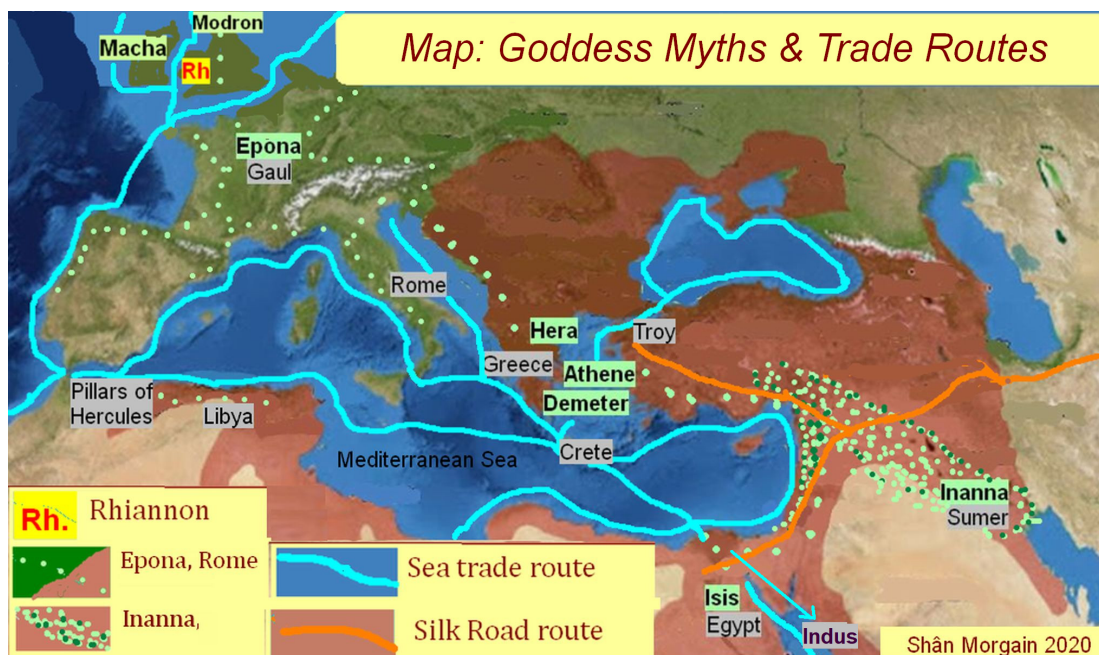
Palaeolithic and Neolithic figurines have been subject to heated debate as goddesses or otherwise. Monica Sjoo, Marija Gimbutas and Heide Goettner-Abendroth are key supporters of the goddess case. Ruth Tringham, Margaret Tonkey, and Cynthia Eller, are leading critics.⁷

⁶ 'Venus of Willendorf', one of the most famous Palaeolithic figurines. Small, 4.4 ins./ 11.1-centimetres tall, dating c. 30,000 BCE. Carved of oolitic limestone not local to the area, tinted with red ochre. Discovered on an archaeological site near Willendorf, Austria, 1908. Conserved Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.

One theory suggests this and other figurines 'make sense' as what a woman sees looking down on her own body. Catherine Hodge McCoid and Leroy D. McDermott. Jun., 1996. 'Toward Decolonizing Gender: Female Vision in the Upper Paleolithic', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 98, 2, pp. 319-326. (URL text Bibliography).

⁷ Monica Sjöö and Barbara Mor. 1981. *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All* (Rainbow Press), from earlier pamphlets. Sjoo's controversial painting 'God Giving Birth' (1968) is viewable online (URL Bibliography). Marija Gimbutas. 1982. *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (Thames & Hudson); *ibid.* 1991. *The Civilization of the Goddess: The World of Old Europe* (Harper). Heide Göettner-Abendroth. 1991. *The Dancing Goddess. Principles of a Matriarchal Aesthetic* (Beacon); *ibid.* 2012. *Matriarchal Societies: Studies on Indigenous Cultures Across the Globe* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.).

Ruth Tringham. 1993. 'Review of "Civilization of the Goddess" ', *American Anthropologist*, 95, pp. 196-7. Ruth Tringham and Margaret Conkey. 1998. 'Rethinking Figurines: A Critical View from the Archaeology of Gimbutas, the "Goddess" and Popular Culture', in *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence*, ed. by Goodison, J. and C. Morris (British Museum Press), pp. 22-45. Cynthia Eller. 2000. *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future* (Boston: Beacon Press). Critique of Eller's argument, Kristy Coleman. 2001. 'Matriarchy and Myth, *Religion*, 311, 3, pp. 247-263. Eller's 'Response', pp. 265-270. Coleman's 'Reply', pp. 271-273. Eller's book has been criticised by feminist historian Max Dashu for 'mischaracterising' the theories of Gimbutas and other key anthropologists, and for labeling them as 'matriarchalist' despite most of these scholars rejecting ideas of matriarchy (female rulership) in favour of matrifocal or matrilineal societies. Dashu writes that Eller 'makes no distinction between scholarly studies in a wide range of fields and expressions of the burgeoning Goddess movement, including novels, guided tours, market-driven enterprises. All are conflated into one monolithic "myth" devoid of any historical foundation.' Max Dashu (Maxine Hammond Dashu). Jan. 2005.

MAP. Goddess Myths⁸

Inanna

The earliest, extant, written stories in the world are in Sumerian *cuneiform*.⁹ One powerful series recounts the Goddess Inanna, with remarkable Rhiannon resonances (below). Her chronicler is the world's first named author, Enheduanna, Head Priestess of Sumerian-Akkadian religion, who lived 4,500 years ago in the city of Ur. Her father was the conqueror Sargon of Akkad (2,334 - 2,279 BCE):¹⁰ Inanna religion was the political unifier of their imperial territories.

⁸ 'Knocking Down Straw Dolls: A Critique of Cynthia Eller's *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory*', *Feminist Theology*, 13, 2, pp. 186–87, citing Eller, *Myth*, pp. 11, 81.

⁹ Shân Morgain. 2015. 'Map of Goddess Myths'. Inanna, Isis, Greek deities, then Isianism and Epona spread through the Roman Empire.

On sea routes: John Davies, yacht transat, naval history researcher, advises a good ship would average 100 miles in 24 hours, allowing for variations in tide and weather (a little over 4 knots average; 6 or 7 knots is possible in a favourable wind, but periods when no progress was made at all). Speed relies on waterline length; longer boats go faster; so a ship of 40 or 50 feet WL would be able to rely on about 100 miles a day. Contrast horseback 20 miles in a day, then stop overnight, if lucky in fairly clear country. (Personal communication 13/12/20)

¹⁰ A script used across the ancient Middle East, made in wedge shaped marks on a clay tablet, illustrated below.

¹⁰ William W. Hallo. 1969. *Exaltation of Inanna*, Yale Near Eastern Researches (Yale University Press). Diane Wolkstein and Samuel Noah Kramer, eds. trans. 1983. *Inanna, Queen of Heaven and Earth: Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer* (Harper & Row). Rivkah Harris. 1991. 'Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox and a Coincidence of Opposites', *History of Religions*, 30, 3, pp. 261-278. Harris presents Inanna as a paradox, an androgynous agency of polarity and discord. Download PDF (URL text Bibliography).

Enheduanna's powerful caste of Sumerian/ Babylonian *naditu* priestesses were matrilineal landholders, and organisers of harvest storage against famine.¹¹

Inanna became lost to knowledge until the later 20thC when fragments of *cuneiform* tablets in different museums were recognised as connected, and reunited.¹²



Cuneiform¹³



Inanna/ Ishtar¹⁴

Inanna, Queen of Heaven (later Ishtar) is, like Rhiannon, a patroness of civilisation. Both associate with law and counsel, derived from their fathers: Inanna acquires the *mes*/ Laws, Principles, from her father Enki.¹⁵ Each has her love triad, choosing between two suitors.¹⁶ Each rules, then undergoes major loss of power. Inanna elects to descend to the Underworld, losing her powers at each of its seven gates. Rhiannon's penance is decreed as seven years.¹⁷ Inanna dies,

¹¹ Elizabeth C. Stone. 1982. 'The_Social_Role_of_the Naditu: Women in Old Babylonian Nippur', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXV, I, pp. 50–70. Download from Academia (URL text Bibliography).

¹² Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*.

¹³ Akkadian version of Ishtar's Descent into the Underworld from the Library of Assurbanipal, currently held in the British Museum, London.

¹⁴ From an Akkadian cylinder seal depicting Inanna resting her foot on the back of a lion, c. 2334 – c. 2154 BCE, Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, p. 92. Illustration online (URL Bibliography).

¹⁵ Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*. For Rhiannon's similarity Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd, p. 221.

¹⁶ Inanna chooses the shepherd Dumuzi. In the Epic of Gilgamesh she propositions the hero who rejects her to avoid sacrificial death; cf. the Irish Morrigan propositioning Cuchullain.

¹⁷ Penance set for seven years: PKM1 21.22–23. JKB 35.1.

hanging on a pillar, after three days rising again.¹⁸ Like Rhiannon she is restored through the loyalty of an outside agent, though hers is her female friend, something Rhiannon lacks.¹⁹ On Inanna's return to the world, she discovers her husband usurping her rule, and banishes him. Rhiannon has a loyal husband, but her world changes under a male usurper.²⁰ The wealthy business elite of *naditu* priestesses seem like Rhiannon types, especially as food organisers, although *naditu* are matrilineal landholders.²¹ There is some assonance to the two names: Inanna – Rhiannon.²²

Inanna lacks horse affinity because horse riding does not develop in the region until several centuries after Enheduanna's 'Inanna' composition. Inanna has only an obscure, local, mothering narrative.²³ Inanna dies and rises again, while Rhiannon suffers reversals and restorations.²⁴

The time gap between Inanna and Rhiannon scripts is vast, c. 3,500 years, and their geographical gap spans 4,500 miles. Yet similarities are too many and too specific to be broadly generic goddess mythology: a great many other goddesses do not share them.²⁵

¹⁸ Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*. Rhiannon trapped in paralysis, PKM3 57.15–16.

¹⁹ Rhiannon lack of female association: Ch. V.6 Maids., p. 277. Possible improvement Ch. V.11. Cigfa, pp. 330–31.

²⁰ Caswallawn the usurper: PKM2 45.25–27. JKB 57.1.

²¹ Stone, 'Social Role of the Nadītu Women in Old Babylonian Nippur'.

²² This is not an technical, etymological claim, merely an intuitive impression.

No other goddess seems to have so many different resonances with Rhiannon. Isis and Demeter-Ceres (below) have associations with foodstocks, farming, harvest, and a cycle of loss of power and restoration. Isis (below) is also a political unifier associated with Laws and harvest, with two competing suitors. Neither goddess are so specific or multiple in their comparables.

²³ Two sons as minor figures, not viewed as a mother goddess. Harris, 'Inanna-Ishtar'.

²⁴ Death associations, Epona, p. 424. Rhiannon's deathlike stasis, tower PKM3 57.7–9. JKB 70.2.

²⁵ This comparison is specific to two myth narratives only, without claiming any wider 'tale motif', similarly a Perseus comparand pp. 404–406. My critique of 'tale motifs', p.118.

Intriguingly recent archaeology found isotopes of Cornish tin for making bronze in Israel, dating c.1,300 BCE. Daniel Berger, Jeffrey S. Soles, Alessandra R. Giumlia-Mair, Gerhard Brüggemann, Ehud Galili, Nicole Lockhoff, Ernst Pernicka. 26/06/2019. 'Isotope systematics and chemical composition of tin ingots from Mochlos (Crete) and other Late Bronze Age sites in the eastern Mediterranean Sea: An ultimate key to tin provenance?', PLOS ONE. (URL text Bibliography)

All the other goddesses reviewed here have either been linked to Rhiannon elsewhere, or in the case of Hera the comparison is a simple one of queenship and the feminine sphere which makes sense alongside Demeter and Athena as fellow Olympians. The Inanna comparison has not been observed before elsewhere. I refrain from theorising why this comparison is so dense; only commenting that ancient trade routes do allow for connection between Inanna's region and NW Europe. Map 'Goddess Myths'; John Davies helpful data on wind driven ships, above.

Isis



Isis and Horus²⁶

Other goddesses demonstrate broadly similar themes of great power, great loss, and restoration. The most well known is Isis of Egypt, Old Kingdom (c. 2686–2181 BCE). She is the Nile river, which in a land with very scarce rain provides a water cycle, with fertility to the land on each bank. Like Rhiannon and Inanna, Isis represents civilisation: Laws, rulership, arts, culture, and medicine. Isis' marriage is, like Rhiannon's, loyal. Isis' husband Osiris is her great loss: he is murdered by his adversary, brother Set. Both Isis and Rhiannon narrate a gendered triangle with two males. Like Rhiannon, Isis is a determined survivor: she restores Osiris to life. She and Rhiannon are paramount mothers: Isis is frequently depicted with her son Horus (illustration above).

From the reign of the pharaoh Kleopatra VII (69–30 BCE), Isianism became one of the main religions of the Roman Empire.²⁷ The African Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* (2ndC CE), gives Isis as his hero's patroness during initiation trials, linked to the horse goddess Epona, who has been recognised as ancestral to Rhiannon (below).

²⁶ Statuette of Isis suckling Horus. Late Period, ca. 664-332 BC. Bronze and gold leaf. From Saqqara or Abusir. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. JE 91327. (Cropped at knees) Permission

²⁷ Reginald Eldred Witt. 1971. *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, Aspects of Greek and Roman life series (London: Thames and Hudson).

Hera

In the Greek pantheon three sister Goddesses resemble Rhiannon: Hera, Demeter, Athena.



Hera²⁸

Hera, divine queen of Olympus governs weddings, marriage, and the family concerns of women.²⁹ Her (later period) jealousy of her husband's many lovers is not a Rhiannon parallel, but her lack of female friendship is a shared characteristic.³⁰

Demeter

Demeter is Goddess of the Earth's fertility, Mother Goddess, with equine mythology.

Pausanias records an Arcadian Demeter, who as a shapeshifted mare raped by Poseidon, bore two children; one a stallion son Areion.³¹ A divine mare

²⁸ Hera, statue at Rotunda of Altes Museum, Berlin. Wikimedia commons, uploaded by 'Yair Haklai' 27/07/2019.

²⁹ Cf. Rhiannon's name, Ch. I.3. Etymology pp. 9-10; meaning 'divine queen'. Mittleman & Jones. 1998, 'Concerning the Names Rhiannon, Rhian, and the Like' (online), quoted p. 6 n.14.

³⁰ V. Pirenne-Delforge, and G. Pironti. 2022. *The Hera of Zeus: Intimate Enemy, Ultimate Spouse* (Cambridge). For a pre-Olympian model of Hera as much more than a jealous wife, O. Fernandez Guerrero. Oct. 2021. 'Hera, The Perfect Wife? Features and Paradoxes of the Greek Goddess of Marriage', *Journal of Family History*, 47, 2, pp. 115-131. (URL text Bibliography).

³¹ Pausanias. 1stC. *Arcadia* (Ἀρκαδικά), in his *Description of Greece*, 8 of 10, 25. 3-7. The work is in ten books, each describing a region of Greece. (URL text Bibliography). Pausanias was long thought to be extant only from 15thC MSS. but is now known from *Neapolitanus* II.C.32, 150 years earlier, bringing his work closer to the Mabinogi development period; there may have been earlier MSS. The 15thC sources were established by Aubrey Diller. 1957. 'The Manuscripts of Pausanias', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 88, pp.:169-188.

and stallion son might suggest Rhiannon parallels, but though she has strong mare affinity, and Pryderi horses, Rhiannon is not raped.³² Pausanias cites Areion as divine, swift, and 'dark-maned',³³ while 'Gwri Gwallt Euryr' means 'golden haired'.³⁴ Poseidon, Demeter's rapist, has been compared to Manawydan, but Manawydan's marine aspect is very tenuous, and his treatment of Cigfa stresses his chastity.³⁵



Demeter and Kore³⁶

Like Rhiannon, Demeter loses her child (daughter), and after long suffering they are reunited. Demeter's grief/ anger/ withdrawal, leaves the Earth desolated of its cultivated harvests, cf. Rhiannon's *pryder*/ anxiety when adult Pryderi disappears, her PKM3 captivity (absence/ withdrawal), and the Desolation of Dyfed.³⁷ Demeter and her daughter are frequently seen in dual goddess images, an integrated identity like Rhiannon's Maternal Dyad narrative

The earlier MS. source comes from Frederick Williams. 1982. 'Neapolitanus II.C.3: A New Source for the Text of Pausanias?', *Scriptorium*, 36, 2, pp. 190-218. (URL text Bibliography).

³² Rhiannon's *alter ego* the Gwent mare cf. Ford's, *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*, Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc*, pp. 30-32, Ch. VIII Structures: *Cyfranc*, pp. 512-13; Ch. VI.4 Rhiannon's Horse, pp. 395-400. Gwri/ Pryderi's affinity with horses, PKM1 23.22-24.8. JKB 36.2. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood pp. 296-302. Also Epona, below pp. 426-29.

³³ In the *Iliad* as 'divine and swift', in the *Thebaid* as 'dark maned'.

³⁴ PKM1 23.16-17. 'golden haired', JKB 36.2.

³⁵ Poseidon/ Manawydan via Irish sea god Manánnan, critiqued Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Name pp. 332-33, lacks affinity Manánnan. Manawydan chaste, PKM3 57.13-20. JKB 70.2. Better marine comparison Teyrnon *Twrwl Lliant*. Ch. V.7. Teyrnon pp. 281-83 'Lord of the Tumultuous Sea'. Owner, rescuer *Caseg*/ Mare, father-figure to Pryderi, unlike Poseidon, benign.

³⁶ Demeter and Kore, Hellenistic period. British Museum (C529/ Greek and Roman 1885,0316.1). Terracotta 21cm. Excavated Myrina, Turkey. Purchased from: Charles Merlin 1885. Permission 29/02/2024. (URL Illustrations list)

³⁷ Rhiannon's anxiety, PKM3 56.24-57.7. JKB 70.1-2. Captivity, PKM3 57. 7-65.24. JKB 70.2-76.1. Desolation of Dyfed, PKM3 51.22-52.3. JKB 65.2- 66.1.

with her son.³⁸ The Demeter and Rhiannon tales resolve through male pairs: Zeus –Hades, Pwyll –Teyrnnon, Manawydan –Llwyd. The famed, prestigious Mysteries of Eleusis appear to involve this dual goddess, whose initiation rite concludes by displaying an ear of corn: i.e. evoking food stocks.³⁹ Demeter's daughter and alternate *persona*, becomes queen of Hades, realm of the dead; cf. Epona as psychopomp (below); and Adar Rhiannon waking the dead.⁴⁰

The *Thesmophoria* (Θεσμοφόρια) were religious festivals widespread in the Greek world, dedicated to Demeter and daughter. Celebrants were exclusively married women invoking their own, and harvest fertility. Lucian describes ritually sacrificed pigs' bodies buried in pits; the sacred, rotted flesh cast on fields by purified women.⁴¹ Mabinogi Rhiannon connections are suggested in the married women's fertility effort (cf. Rhiannon's early barren period with Pwyll); food supplies (cf. Rhiannon's food supply organisation, her food containing bag, the Desolation of Dyfed, Manawydan's wheat farming), and the pivotal pigs in Pryderi's death tale.⁴²

³⁸ From Rhiannon's first marriage her narrative is completely bound up with her son's, here envisaged 'Maternal Dyad'. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Rhiannon pp. 316-21, & Maternal Dyad pp. 322-28.

³⁹ Carl Kerényi, and Karolyi Kerényi, eds. Trans. from German by Ralph Mannheim. 1967, repr. 1991. *Eleusis: archetypal image of mother and daughter*, trans. from German by Ralph Mannheim (USA, Princeton). Epochal ear of wheat, cf. Manawydan's wheat farming, PKM3 59.2–5. JKB 72.1.

⁴⁰ Adar Rhiannon waking the dead: Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Line 632. Trans. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 139. Ch. I.6. Sources p. 33; Other aspects Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon, pp. 407-14.

⁴¹ Lucian's extant MSS. date to the 10thC. Lucian of Samosata. c. 125-180. *Dialogues of the Courtesans and Dialogi*. British Library: Greek Manuscripts, Earliest manuscript of Lucian. (URL text Bibliography). J. Prytz Johansen. 1975. 'The Thesmophoria as a women's festival', *Temenos: Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion*, 11. (URL text Bibliography). For a critical study: Radek Chlup. 2007. 'The Semantics of Fertility. Levels of Meaning in the Thesmophoria', *Kernos: Revue internationale et interdisciplinaire de religion grecque et antique*, 20. (URL text Bibliography).

⁴² Rhiannon barren period: PKM1 19.17–29. JKB 33.2. Rhiannon's food supply organisation: PKM1 15.20–23. JKB 29.2.; and PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. Rhiannon's bag: PKM1 15.1–7. JKB 29.2. Desolation of Dyfed: PKM3 51.22–52.3. JKB 65.2–66.1. Manawydan's wheat farming: PKM3 59.1–6. JKB 72.1–2. Pryderi's pigs, death tale: PKM4 68.16–73.15. JKB 80.2.–88.2.

Pig flesh burial is not empty ritual for meat contains significant nitrogen as ideal fertiliser. J. Spångberg, P. A. Hansson, P. Tidåker, and H. Jönsson. Sept. 2011. 'Environmental impact of meat meal fertilizer vs. chemical fertilizer', *Resources, Conservation and Recycling*, 55, 11, pp. 1078-1086. (URL text Bibliography).

Athena



Perseus, Medusa, Athena⁴³

Like Rhiannon, Athena's narrative is male oriented; she is her father's daughter, without affinity for other females. She is (re)born from Zeus' head, as practical wisdom, representing the civilised aspects of a warrior aristocracy, its Laws and technologies.⁴⁴

Athena is virginal, never a mother, but nurtures heroes. One of them, Perseus, employs a special bag to contain the dangerous, decapitated Head of Medusa.⁴⁵ Athena places the paralysing Head on her shield. The PKM3 bowl imposes paralysis on Rhiannon and her son.⁴⁶ Medusa has been reinterpreted in feminist, positive ways.⁴⁷ Medusa's dying blood births the winged horse Pegasus, which Athena tamed with her own hands. Athena Hippias/ Athena of the Horse, reputedly invented the vital technology of the bridle bit, by which the strength

⁴³ Perseus, Athena. Mixing bowl (bell krater) with Perseus, Athena, and Hermes (cropped). Classical Period c. 400–385 B.C. Apulia, Italy. Ceramic, red figure, 30.5 cm. attributed to the Tarporley Painter. No. 1970.237. Gift of Robert E. Hecht, Jr. 11/03/1970. Viewable George D. and Margo Behrakis Gallery 207. © Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) Boston. Permission Carolyn Cruthird, MFA Images, 29/02/2024. (URL Illustrations list)

⁴⁴ Athena as patroness of war seen in a helmet, bearing shield and spear, but she does not herself engage in combat; cf. how Rhiannon and noblewomen like her, benefit from the military action of their men but do not take direct part in it, Ch. III.4. Equine: Hunting and women pp. 163–64. Jenifer Neils. 1996. *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon* (University of Wisconsin). PDF download (URL text Bibliography). Patricia Fara. March 2010. 'Minerva/Athene', *Endeavour*, 34, 1, pp. 4–5. (URL text Bibliography).

⁴⁵ Ch. VI.5. Bag pp. 404–06 for an account of the Perseus' legend parallels with Mabinogi Rhiannon. The dearth of myth involving a magical or specialised bag makes Perseus' bag very significant.

⁴⁶ Paralysis, Pryderi: PKM3 56.15–17. JKB 70.1. Paralysis, Rhiannon: PKM3 57.7–10. JKB 70.2. Cf. Inanna's 'paralysis' (hanging) in the underworld above pp. 414–15.

⁴⁷ Garber and Vickers. 2003. *Medusa Reader* (Routledge) esp. Cixous, pp. 133–34.

and ferocity of the horse could be controlled.⁴⁸ Like Rhiannon's son Pryderi, Perseus has a benign foster father. His mother Danae conceives him in a mass of golden coins; cf. Rhiannon and wealth. Danae is sought in marriage by an unwanted noble suitor, who stages a wedding plot involving valuable horses. Perseus' adventures take place 'beyond the Pillars of Hercules' i.e. off the western coast of Europe, the marine trading route from Greece to Britain and Dyfed (Map above).

Epona

Epona is often explicitly linked to Rhiannon.⁴⁹ Her name means 'Horse Goddess'.⁵⁰ Originally Gaulish, she was venerated across the Roman Empire, from Hadrian's Wall to the Middle East (Map above).⁵¹ Her territorial reach is very unusual as Gaulish and British veneration are generally local.⁵² *Interpretatio Romana*, the typical Roman takeover by 'marrying' a Roman god and a native goddess, is not evident for Epona.⁵³ Her vast territory was due to her devotees in

⁴⁸ Detienne and Werth, 'Athena and the Mastery of the Horse'. Detail on this as not well known. Athena Hippias and Poseidon Hippios compared, centring Corinth, p. 165 ff. The horse is a chthonic creature of Poseidon, but its use is enabled by Athena's technology. From Pausanias and Pindar, Athena is noted taming Pegasus (born of Medusa's death) with her own hands, and inventing the bridle bit through which a horse is controlled, p. 165; the savagery and danger of the horse, even man eating horses, follows, p. 170-71, cf. the devouring mare goddess of India. The polarity of the war-horse is described, tamed by its rider, ferocious to the enemy, p. 174. The cult exists among a 'landed aristocracy ... in a social group of "masters of the horse," "cavaliers"', pp. 174-75. Relation of Demeter and Athena, the fertile soil vs. the technology to farm it, pp. 163-64.

⁴⁹ Anwyl, 'Celtic Religion', pp. 240-41. Excerpt quoted Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Anwyl, p. 475. Ford, 'Introduction' to his *Welsh Tales*, pp. 4, 25, 73; and 'Prolegomena', pp. 206-07. Kathryn M. Linduff. 1979. 'Epona: a Celt among the Romans', *Latomus*, 38, pp. 834, 835. Miranda Green. 1991. 'Women and Goddesses in the Celtic World', *Religion Today*, 6, 3, p. 6. Claude Sterckx. 1986. *Éléments de Cosmogonie Celtique* (Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles), pp. 45-47. Ralph Häussler. (Undated, online), 'Epona: The Sacred Mare | Celtic Horse Goddess | La jument sacrée | Heilige Stute' |. (URL text Bibliography). Also Epona.net (2004-2007) (URL text Bibliography)

⁵⁰ 'the element *ep-*, cognate with Latin *equ-us* and Greek *hipp-os*, means horse.' Ford, 'Introduction' to his *Welsh Tales*, p. 4; 'whose name is specifically associated with the Celtic word for horse', Green, 'Women and Goddesses' p. 6. 'from *epos* 'horse' and the divine suffix.' Ralph Häussler, 'Epona'. (URL text Bibliography).

⁵¹ Linduff's 'plotting the provenance of the monuments (fig. 1)', 'Epona', Plate XXXVI, p. 834 (unnumbered, follows two pages after p. 832). She groups them in three image types, giving location spread, p. 823.

⁵² Anwyl. 1906. 'Ancient Celtic Goddesses', *The Celtic Review*, 3, notes Celtic religions as 'local or tribal in character', p. 26, but finds Epona presence 'by far the most prevalent', p. 49. Green recognises her as a 'dominant' goddess', 'Women and Goddesses', p. 6.

⁵³ *Interpretatio Romana* matched a Roman deity with a native one by imposition or negotiation. A Roman god symbolically marrying a native goddess exerted dominance over her native territory through patriarchal custom, cf. Welsh tradition of male land ownership Ch. III.5. LLW: Marriage. Epona 'resistant ... to syncretistic Romanization', Jane Webster. 2001. 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105, 2, p. 220. (URL text Bibliography). Webster sees

the horse-riding, tribal auxiliaries of the Roman army. Her high status reflects their military and political standing.⁵⁴ She also patronised horse racing.⁵⁵ Epona is the only native deity to be included in the Roman calendar of festivals, 18 December.⁵⁶

There is no extant Epona story: we know of her almost entirely from inscriptions and imagery. But Patrice Lajoye declares '*Epona est sans aucun doute la déesse la mieux documentées par les sources littéraires antiques*'. Several Roman (North African) authors reference her between the 1st and 6thC CE.⁵⁷ Juvenal satirises disaffected youth (113–121 CE).⁵⁸ Apuleius' tale *Metamorphoses* is bawdy but bears theological reflection, more below (c. 155 CE).⁵⁹ These two highly educated writers seem aimed at aristocratic tastes, so Epona is perceived as a secondary deity. Under subsequent Christian influence, references are passing and derogatory: Minucius Felix' (166–198 CE) Pagan–Christian debate (drawing on Tertullian);⁶⁰ Prudentius, on the Christian Trinity mentioning

Epona as neither Celtic nor Roman, but a hybrid 'Romano-Celtic deity', p. 221–22, a negotiated spiritual pathway, p. 223.

⁵⁴ Linduff, 'Epona', pp. 825–828.

⁵⁵ Linduff, 'Epona', p. 831. Miranda Green. 1989. *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (Routledge), p. 24. Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses', p. 6.

⁵⁶ Miranda J. Green. 1989. *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (Routledge) p. 23. Green notes a British Epona bronze, Epona-between-two horses, Wiltshire: 'Epona has a yoke which 'may reflect the submissive attitude of the beasts towards their patroness', pp. 22–23. Rhiannon when captive bears a horse collar, PKM3 65.19–20. JKB 76.1. like Epona's yoke.

⁵⁷ 'Epona is without doubt the best documented goddess in the classic literature'. (My trans.) He is referring to Celtic goddesses. Patrice Lajoye. 2014. '*Note sur une source antique méconnue concernant le culte d'Epona en Cisalpine*', *Études celtiques*, 42, p. 59. (URL text Bibliography)

⁵⁸ Juvenal satirises a horse-mad, noble youth who worships the deity of stable grooms, illustrating decadence. Decimus Junius Juvenalis, *Satires*, VIII, 155 ff. *iurat / solam Eponam and facies olida ad praesepia pictas Iouis ante altaria iurat solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas*. 'he swears at Jove's high altar / by Epona, whose picture's daubed / on the doors of his reeking stables.' Trans. Miranda Green. 1992. *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth* (London; NY, Routledge), p. 60. Probably written 113–121 CE, Green, pp. xv–xvi.

⁵⁹ Lucius Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* (c. 155 CE). '[3.27] ... *in ipso fere meditullio Eponae deae simulacrum residens aediculae, quod accurate corollis roseis equidem recentibus fuerat ornatum. Denique adgnito salutari praesidio pronus spei, quantum extensis prioribus pedibus adniti poteram, insurgo valide et cervice proluxa nimiumque porrectis labiis, quanto maxime nisu poteram, corollas adpetebam.*' These thoughts were interrupted by my catching sight of a statue of the goddess Epona seated in a small shrine centrally placed, where a pillar supported the roof-beams in the middle of a stable. The statue had been devotedly garlanded with freshly picked roses. So in an ecstasy of hope on identifying this assurance of salvation, I stretched out my forelegs and with all the strength I could muster, I rose energetically on my hind legs.' Patrick Gerard Walsh, trans. *The 1999 Golden Ass* (OUP).

⁶⁰ *Nisi quod vos et totos asinos in stabulis cum vestro vel [sua] Epona consecratis*. 'Unless that you even consecrate whole asses in your stables, together with your Epona,(2) and religiously devours those same asses with Isis.' Minucius Felix. 166–198 CE. *The Octavianus*, XXVIII. (URL text Bibliography).

inferior, minor goddesses (405-413 CE);⁶¹ Fulgentius, defining *Semones*, quasi-divines (c. 500 CE).⁶²

Lucius Apuleius (c. 125-180 CE), of Numidia, presents a possibly autobiographical antihero, a sensual magician named Lucius, who accidentally shapeshifts to an ass. After many adventures this transpires as an Isian initiation. His liberation requires he eat a fresh rose. In his stable immediately after his disastrous shapeshift experiment, he sees a shrine to Epona, garlanded with roses, but out of his reach.

*respicio pilae mediae, quae stabuli trabes sustinebat, in ipso fere
meditullio Eponae deae simulacrum residens acdiculae, quod
accurate corollis roseis equidem recentibus fuerat ornatum.*⁶³

Epona's imagery gives a peaceful, female rider, on a large, slow-pacing horse, cf. Rhiannon's advent.⁶⁴ Like Rhiannon, Epona's mothering is primary; she appears with colts, sometimes as a mare, sometimes holding a *patera*, food container. Again like Rhiannon, Epona is supported by an elite military caste, but takes no part in combat.⁶⁵ Thus she represents peace, stability, children and abundance, those things which her cavalry fight to defend, and might hope to have when they retire from active service.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Nemo Cloacinae aut Eponae super astra deabus dat solium, quamuis olidam persoluat acerram sacrilegisque molam manibus rimetur et exta.* Aurelius Clemens Prudentius. 405-413 CE. *Apotheosis*, 195. 'No man gives a seat of power above the stars to the goddesses Cloacina or Epona'. H. J. Thomson, ed. trans. 1949. *The Poems of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens* (London, Heinemann; USA, Harvard), p. 135. (URL text Bibliography). Derogatory, as Cloacina is goddess of sewers..

⁶² [What the Semones are] defines an ambivalent set of divinities, *sicut sunt Priapus, Epona, Vertumnus, nec terrenos eos deputare vellent pro gratiae veneratione*; 'such as Priapus, Epona and Vertumnus'; neither heavenly nor earth-bound'. Fabius Planciades Fulgentius. c. 500 CE. *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*, 11.

⁶³ 'I noticed a statue of Epona, goddess of asses and horses, in a little shrine at the top of the pillar that held up the stable roof. It was well adorned with wreaths of fresh-picked roses.' A. S. Kline, trans. 2013. *Lucius Apuleius: The Golden Ass* (Poetry in Translation). (URL text Bibliography). Latin text quoted from Stephen Gaselee. ed. 1924 revised 1966. *Apuleius, Metamorphoses* (Heinemann), 3.27. (URL text Bibliography).

⁶⁴ Rhiannon's advent: PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. Green, *Symbol and Image*, figs. 6-8; Miranda Aldhouse Green. 1995. *The Celtic World* (Routledge), pp. 184-187. Green speaks of a characteristic sidesaddle mode, and describes a figurine from Ganet, Allier, as paradoxical; the horse's slow pace conflicts the woman's cloak flying around her head. Green. 2004. 'Opening Doors and Imaging Appropriation: two faces of Epona', in *An Archaeology of Images: Iconology and Cosmology in Iron Age and Roman Europe*, (Taylor & Francis Routledge), p. 233. pp. 232– 36. Cf. Rhiannon paradoxes Ch. IV.2. Acts: Paradoxes, pp. 209-10. s. VIII Structures: Paradoxes, p. 512.

⁶⁵ Cf. Athena, above pp. 425-26; Rhiannon's benefit from her elite military class without engaging in combat is noted Ch. III.4. Equine: Hunting and women pp. 164.

⁶⁶ Green,, *Symbol and Image*, p. 24.

Epona⁶⁷

Epona is found in funerary inscriptions, suggesting a psychopomp role, a guide and help for the newly dead; perhaps bearing them on her back as Rhiannon offers to do for travellers in her penance.⁶⁸ Kassandra Conley, observing Oriental connections, refers to 'the necromantic birds of Rhiannon'.⁶⁹ The Adar both soothe the living, cf. Epona's peacefulness above; and wake the dead.⁷⁰ Wendy O'Flaherty describes a polarity of traditions in India, where the sacred cow produces nourishing milk to sustain life, contrasting a mare goddess devouring male semen, aligned with death.⁷¹

Modron

Modron is the mother of Mabon, in *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Mabon is stolen at three days old; he is a long-term adult captive and a superb hunter skilled with hounds making three points of similarity with Pryderi.

⁶⁷ Wikimedia (CC BY-SA 4.0) uploaded by ibex13, 11/08/2016, 11:58:43 'lavoir de Fontenilles'.

⁶⁸ Rhiannon's penance: PKM1 21.21–28. JKB 35.1.

⁶⁹ Kassandra Leighann Conley. 2009. 'Looking towards India: Nativism and Orientalism in the Literature of Wales, 1300-1600' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard), p. 41. (URL text Bibliography).

⁷⁰ The Adar wake the dead: *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Ch. I.6. Sources: #2, p. 33.

⁷¹ Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty. 1979. 'Sacred Cows and Profane Mares in Indian Mythology: The Indo-European Core and the Irish Ritual', *History of Religions*, 19.1, pp. 10–12. (URL text Bibliography). *Ibid.* 1980. 'Cows and Mares, and Androgynes, section 5', in *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts*, ed. by O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger and Shirley Lindenbaum (Univ. Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 149–282. (URL text Bibliography). She analyses this material relating to Rhiannon pp. 185–90. Cf. Graves' savage Muse Ch. VII.5, pp. 484–85. Critique Giraldus Ch. VII.5. Theology: Giraldus, pp. 479–81.

In Triad 70 Modron is mother of the twins, Owain and Morfudd, by Urien Rheged. An anonymous woman at a Denbighshire ford associated with barking dogs, identifies as daughter of the King of Annwfn, telling Urien she is condemned to wash clothes at the ford until she conceives a son by 'a Christian'. Urien obeys her bidding to return in a year, to receive the twins Owain and Morfudd as his children.⁷² Some parallels with Rhiannon's first encounter with Pwyll are evident: the woman's Otherworld status, her compulsion, and appeal for the hero's help, his royal status, her assignation a year later.

As 'Mydron', Modron also appears in an anonymous Old Welsh poem, *Pa Gur yv y Porthaur*. Modron has been linked to the traditions of the *Matronae*, or *Matres*; native mother goddesses found in images and inscriptions of Roman Gaul who also link with Epona.⁷³

Macha

John Waddell distinguishes four Macha traditions of Eire/ Ireland, all associated with war, prophecy, sovereignty, horses, and place names in Ulster.⁷⁴

The earliest, from *Cath Maige Tuired/* Battle of Moytura, is one of a triunity of war goddesses with Badb and the Morrigan. Mag Macha is named for her. The second, in the *Lebor Gabála/* Book of Invasions, is the wife of Nemed, leader of the third Invasion. She prophesies the slaughter of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (below). Third, (prose *Dindshenchas*) red-headed Macha Mongrúad, king's daughter, is 'a martial figure repelling by force those who oppose her sovereignty', marrying two husbands, and traditionally creating the sacred enclosure at Emain Macha.

In *Noínden Ulad/* Debility of the Ulstermen, Macha the wife of Cruinniuc or Cruinn, dies giving birth to *emain/* twins, after racing the king's horses, which named the enclosure Emain Macha. Like Rhiannon, as supernatural wife of a

⁷² Bromwich, TYP, 449–51.

⁷³ Bromwich, 'Mydron', TYP, 449.

Walton's Mabinogi based fantasy quartet features 'Modron, whose care is the whole world, has many daughters, and all of them are Herself'. Walton, *Tetralogy*, p. 87. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Walton quoted p. 482. John T. Koch also suggests a link to the Welsh Saint Madrun. *Celtic Encyclopedia*, pp. 1299–1900. This is disputed etymologically. Marged Haycock, *Legendary poems*, p. 137.

⁷⁴ Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses', p. 5. For the 'martial figure' quotation Waddell cites G. Toner. 1988. 'Emain Macha in the literature', *Emania*, 4, pp. 32–35; and G. Toner. 2010. 'Macha and the invention of myth', *Ériu*, 60, pp. 81–10. Waddell. 2014. *Archaeology and Celtic Myth: An exploration* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).

mortal, she generates great wealth.⁷⁵ Like Pwyll, her husband speaks rashly; he breaks his vow of silence to her by boasting of her.⁷⁶ Macha, like Rhiannon, redeems his rash speech, by racing the king's horses like a mare, but heavily pregnant, dying, she curses Ulstermen with birth pains in time of war for nine generations.⁷⁷ Waddell, comparing Rhiannon, refers to her courtship pursuits as horse races, and notes 'both undergo humiliation that blurs the distinction between horse and woman'.⁷⁸

Sovereignty Goddess theory relates to Maeve/ Medb, Queen of Connacht, enemy of Ulster. Defence against her invasion in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, prophesied by Macha II, was incapacitated by Macha IV's labour pains curse. The *Liath Macha*/ Grey of Macha, was one of two famed horses of Cú Chulainn, the teenage Ulster hero.⁷⁹ Irish traditions seem to show Sovereignty bound up with horse goddess/es, but this is not a Welsh tradition.⁸⁰

Mam Mongán/ Mongán's Mother

WJG (1912) thought the Irish myth of Mongán was the original source of Pryderi's saga, and therefore the Mabinogi. The sea god Manannán agrees to fight as champion for King Fiachna, on condition he can sleep in Fiachna's shape with the King's wife. She agrees, to save her husband's life. Manannán then takes away his son Mongán at three days old.⁸¹

⁷⁵ Waddell describes the ritualistic aspects of Macha's wifehood, in entering the house three times, twice turning *deiseal*/ sunwise to enter the kitchen, and go to Cruinniuc's bed. Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses', p. 5, citing Proinsias Mac Cana. 2011. *The Cult of the Sacred Centre. Essays on Celtic ideology* (DIAS), p. 126.

⁷⁶ Cf. Pwyll's rash speech at his first wedding, PKM1 14.5–6. JKB 29.1. Contrast his discreet silence after meeting Rhiannon, PKM1 15.13–15. JKB 28.2.

⁷⁷ Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses', p. 5. Rhiannon insists Pwyll's hasty word is a matter of honour and acts to implement and protect it, PKM1 14. 18–19. JKB 29.1.

⁷⁸ Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses', p. 6. Cf. Epona as Goddess of horse racing, above. Rhiannon's penance, PKM1 21.21.–28. JKB 35.1.

⁷⁹ Morgan Daimler. 2015. 'Macha, Sovereignty, and Horses'. (URL text Bibliography). Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sovereignty Goddess. pp. 471-5. Giraldus' 12thC account of an Irish king's equine initiation full quote & trans p. 479. Ch. II.8. Feminism: 'Rob' Valente pp. 130-31 quoted; and Ch. V.5. Pwyll, pp. 259-60 also reject the application of sovereignty goddess theory to Rhiannon.

⁸⁰ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sovereignty pp. 476-81 (critique) incl.: Giraldus' full quote p. 479.

⁸¹ WJG, 'Mabinogion', pp. 14–80. Summary of the tale: Pagé, 'Comperta', pp. 11–12.

Mari Lwyd



Mari Lwyd, Chepstow, 2015.⁸²

Y Fari Lwyd, a Welsh wassailing, is not on record before 1800.⁸³ Kris Hughes makes a good point that it is unlikely a complex folk custom sprang into existence just before John Evans recorded it.⁸⁴ Edward Jones the harpist deplored the destructive effect of Christian sin propaganda on folk customs (1802).⁸⁵ Mari Lwyd's location, annual timing, and content, are suggestive. At midwinter (cf. Epona, above), a horse skull (white), with white drapes, is borne around the neighbourhood at night. Vigorous singing contests are enjoyed with householders within, and drinking.⁸⁶

⁸² Liz Day. 3/01/2015. "It is surprisingly easy to come by a horse skull': Meet a group keeping the Welsh midwinter tradition of the Mari Lwyd alive', *Wales Online*. (URL text Bibliography).

⁸³ 'A man on new year's day, dressing himself in blankets and other trappings, with a factitious head like a horse, and a party attending him, knocking for admittance, this obtained, he runs about the room with an uncommon frightful noise, which the company quit in real or pretended fright; they soon recover, and by reciting a verse of some cowydd, or, in default, paying a small gratuity, they gain admission.' John Evans. 1800. *A Tour through Part of North Wales, in the year 1798, and at Other Times* (London: J. White, Fleet Street), p. 403. The book is mainly about North Wales, but this section is more general. Quoted in Edwin Christopher Cawte. 1978, *Ritual Animal Disguise: A Historical and Geographical Study of Animal Disguise in the British Isles*, Folklore Society (Cambridge and Totowa N.J: D.S. Brewer; Rowman and Littlefield), p. 94. Evans gave a more detailed account in his 1804. *Letters Written During a Tour Through South Wales, in the Year 1803, and at Other Times* (London: C. & R. Baldwin), p. 441.

⁸⁴ Kris Hughes. 31/12/2012. 'Rambles with the Mari Lwyd: Were there horse cults in ancient Britain? Is there a cohesive thread connecting Macha, Epona and Rhiannon to hobby horses, the Mari Lwyd and the Uffington horse?' Godeeper blog. (URL text Bibliography) Thoughtful article.

⁸⁵ Edward Jones. 1802, *Bardic Museum*. On folk customs, I, p. xvi. *Pwyll I*, trans. II, pp. 27-30.

⁸⁶ Lyle Tompsen. 2011. 'The Mari Lwyd and the Horse Queen: Palimpsests of Ancient ideas' (unpublished master's thesis Trinity St. Davids, Lampeter), p. 87. (URL text Bibliography). Phillips, 'Calan Mai—the Welsh May Day', p. 30ff. (Harvest sheaf as 'mare' cf. Mari Lwyd).

Mari Lwyd dwindled until the 20thC, when 'revival' groups began forming 1950s–1970s.⁸⁷ David Greenslade and William Brown presented their Mari Lwyd at the national Eisteddfod, Pencoeed {1998}.⁸⁸ Their stall magnetised many isolated Mari Lwyd celebrants from different regions, previously 'blissfully unaware that they [were] part of a wider tradition'.⁸⁹

Mari Lwyd's white horse seems particularly evident in South Wales, the region associated with Rhiannon and her *canwelw*/ pale-white horse.⁹⁰ An especially large, midwinter Mari Lwyd festival flourishes at Chepstow on the Welsh border, when Welsh and English celebrants merrily contest (photo above, more below).

⁸⁷ Documented particularly by Iorwerth C. Peate. Jun. 1935. 'A Welsh Wassail-Bowl: With a Note on the Mari Lwyd', *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*, 35, pp. 81–82. *Ibid.* Aug. 1939. 'Mari Lwyd', *Man*, 39, p. 136. *Ibid.* Feb. 1939. 'A Further Note on the 'Mari Lwyd', *Man*, 39, p. 32. *Ibid.* Jun. 1943. 'Mari Lwyd: A Suggested Explanation', *Man*, 43, pp. 53–58. *Ibid.* 1963. 'Mari Lwyd - Láir Bhán', *Folk Life*, 1, pp. 95–96. (URLs all Texts in Bibliography). Also Trefor Owen of the Welsh Folk Museum, discussion of practice and distribution in his 1959. *Welsh Folk Customs* (J. D. Lewis and sons), writing on Christmas traditions. Prof. Christine James recalls seeing 'revival' Mari Lwyd groups in action in the 1970s and regular performances e.g. at St. Fagan's Christmas events (personal communication 14/12/20)

⁸⁸ They prepared a little book: David Greenslade. 31/07/1998. *March*. Illust. William Brown woodcuts (Caerdydd: Y Wasg Israddol), 32 pp. thick card, spiral bound. Eleven poems, Welsh/English, each facing visual image. Original of Image 4 stolen. David Greenslade. 2/03/2017. 'Meeting Mr. Brown'. Account of the 1998 Eisteddfod week (URL text Bibliography).

⁸⁹ Mick Tams. Dec. 1998. 'Mari Lwyd: White Horses, Dark Forces', *Taplas*. (URL text Bibliography). 2000. 'Aberystwyth town council claims "The World's Largest Mari Lwyd", Millennium celebrations. (URL text Bibliography) Paul Bommer, 'Advent Calendar for Grown-ups: December 22 Mari Lwyd', St. Nicholas center, Virginia Theological Seminary. (URL text Bibliography). Clive Hicks-Jenkins. 2000-2015. 'Dark Movement: fifteen years of the Mari Lwyd in the work of Clive Hicks-Jenkins' (URL text Bibliography). Mari has inspired much poetry e.g. Catriona Urquhart. 2001. *Mare's Tale* (Old Stile Press). In 2013 Urquhart poems and Hicks-Jenkins' imagery fused with music for chamber orchestra and voice, Artlog (URL Hicks-Jenkins Bibliog)

⁹⁰ Map, Tompsen, 'Mari Lwyd', p. 86, notes Glamorganshire predominates. Rhiannon: PKM1 9.12. JKB 25.2.



Mari Llwyd at Chepstow, 2018. Photos by Mark Lewis. Also video.⁹¹

⁹¹ South Wales Argus. 20/01/2018. 'Horse skulls, morris dancing, and banter on the bridge - Chepstow celebrates its annual wassail and Mari Llwyd', photos by Mark Lewis. (URL text Bibliog).

TABLE 40 **Comparison of Goddesses**

The Table shows narrative components from the goddesses in the left column. All occur in Mabinogi Rhiannon except the italicised *Initiate* and *Rape*. See notes below for nuancing.

No.	INANNA	ISIS	DEMETER	ATHENE	EPONA	MODRON	MACHA	MARI
	20	15	15	12	15	10	12	5
Politics 5	+	+		+	+		+	
Laws	+	+		+				
War 5	(+)			+	+		+	
Her father	+			+		+		
Wealth 5	+	+	+	+	+Gambl			
Fertility	+	+	+		+			
Food 5	+	+	+		Patera			+Drink
Bag				+				
Devast.		+	+				Curse	
Suitor/s		+	+	(+)				
Married 4	+	+					+	
Mother 6	+	+	+				+	
Loss 5	(+)	+	+		+	+	+	
Captivity	+	+	+			+	+	
7 yrs	+		+			+		
Loyalty 4	+		+			+	+	
Fem Kin	+	+	+					
Usurper	+	+	+					
Names	+	+			+			
Horse 7	+	+				+		
- ID blur	+				+	+		+
Ass		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Tech					+		+	
<i>Initiate</i> 4					+			
<i>Rape</i>				+			+	
Male Neg	+	+	+		+			
Death 7	+	+	+		+			+
Paralysis			+					+
WedPlot			+				+	+
White	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
GeogNr	+			+				
				+				
					+	+	+	+
	INANNA	ISIS	DEMETER	ATHENA	EPONA	MODRON	MACHA	MARI

Numeric notes.

Totals 20–15 show strong commonality across Middle East and Greek/ Roman traditions. Irish affinity is weaker, perhaps reflecting distance and/ or lack of Roman influence.

Top frequencies: **Death** (7); **Horse**, **Mothering** (6); show Rhiannon intimate with the profound forces of death and life/ birth, marking a Great Goddess.¹ **Horse** (6) naturally rates high as a key criterion in the selection of the goddesses for this chapter. Its parity with Mothering, Death demonstrates an intimate triadic relationship.

Others: Politics/ ruling, War, Wealth, Food (supply), Loss. (5)

Marriage, Loyalty, Geographically near (Rhiannon). (4)

All except Geographic show conservative, and acquisitive/ conserving modes.

¹ Contrast e.g. a minor goddess of a local river, or goddess of baking, having limited power zone.

Supplementary Descriptive Notes.

Political. Epona, military hierarchy, Roman army often very political.

War. Inanna's religion unifies annexation and empire. Macha.

Wealth. Athena's narrative, Danae's golden coin shower suggesting a wealthy princess. Epona, wealth generated by valuable horses, and gambling at races.

Suitors relate to Inanna, Danae.

Food. Epona's '*patera*', shallow dish or basket to hold food.²

Mothers. Epona, Modron both mothers, but not **Married**, possibly due to archaic Celtic mores. Isis' loss is maternal.

Loyalty. Inanna, Isis, from another female. Demeter devotedly loyal to her daughter, also attracts helpers; Macha loyal to her husband's honour.

ID (identity) **blurring** horse and woman, Epona, Macha, arguably Rhiannon.³

Initiation. Priestesses of Inanna (*naditu*) would have had a graded Initiation system. Demeter/ Kore, at Eleusis. Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* relates Initiation to Isis, Epona.

Death. Inanna, a Mysteries death/ renewal. Isis' husband dies, restored. Demeter's daughter abducted to Hades, land of the dead. Athena's *alter ego* Medusa is murderous and murdered. Epona, psychopomp guiding the newly dead. Macha dies in forced childbirth. Mari Llwyd, horse skull. Only Modron appears to lack this theme.

Crynodeb/ Summary

Behind Rhiannon as Goddess lies a long lineage. The astonishing degree of resemblance with remote Inanna, a first written, religious story over 3,500 years before Rhiannon, with 4,500 miles between their territories, has not previously been remarked. Trade, arts, and religion spanned great distances in many ancient periods, especially with sea routes acting like blue highways managing 100 miles in 24 hours. Inanna's politically strategic religion governed food organisation, and she takes the power of law from her father. She has two rival suitors, choosing the one she prefers, and frankly enjoying sexuality. She suffers loss of power and regains it through an ally. Her sister is death, and she must cope with a usurper. She is not maternal, does not ally males, and predates horse power.

Like Inanna, Isis and Demeter embody profound loss and renewal, though of differing kinds (spouse, daughter, respectively). Both are powerful Mother Goddesses, whose wellbeing governs food provisioning. Athena the male-centred Goddess of wisdom, arts, patroness of heroes and horse taming, has her Medusa myth with a special bag, a tale located on the western coast of Europe with multiple Rhiannon correspondences. For Isis, Demeter, and Athena, Rhiannon affinities are understandable because the Roman Empire was a melting pot of its constituent cultures. Demeter and Athena have Horse affinities. The strongest

² Cf. Ch. VI.5 Rhiannon's Bag pp. 400-06.

³ Ch. VI.4. Horse, pp. 395-400.

Horse Goddess connection is Epona, spread by the Gaulish cavalry across the Empire. Like Isis and Demeter, Epona is frequently imaged as a peaceful Mother Goddess; she rides an ambling horse, often holding a *patera* symbolising food abundance; she seems a psychopomp, guide and comforter of the dead.

Certain Celtic goddesses hold affinities such as the Mother Goddess Modron who founds an ancestral, royal Welsh lineage. She loses her newborn son who becomes captive like Pryderi; both sons are famed hunters. Irish Macha is a Horse Goddess, whose boasting consort brings disaster on her: her birthing narrative is ravaged by injustice and death. Modern Mari Lwyd customs, particularly associate with South Wales, seem to echo Rhiannon.

The Comparison Table above displays as primacy of Mothering, Death and Horse themes. Almost as frequent are Politics/ Rulership, Marriage, Wealth, Food, Loss, and Loyalty. The display also shows differences, but this chapter has selected on commonalty. Thematic patterns are expanded in the subsequent four Chapters VII. 2 –5.⁴

~ * ~

VII *Rhiannon Duwies* / Goddess Rhiannon

VII.2. *Duwies cyn 1900*/ Goddess pre-1900

This chapter traces modern developments of 'Goddess Rhiannon' pre-1900, in the context of the (Western) Goddess movement.⁵ The approach is mainly

⁴ Ch. VII.2. Pre-1900 pp. 437-43 reviews Western Goddess background.

Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess pp. 448-63, development into Rhiannon awareness.

Ch. VII.4. Temples pp. 463-66 some relevant British centres, places, organisations.

Ch. VII.5. Theologies pp. 471-502, theoretical aspects of Rhiannon spirituality.

(Pre-1900 & 20thC Summary pp. 461-62. Definition/s 'Thealogy' pp. 471-72.)

⁵ From here on, the 'Western' qualifier will be dropped, thus 'Goddess movement' = the Western Goddess movement.

Many readers from Welsh literary, historical, and related fields may be unfamiliar with modern (Western) Goddess culture. This chapter and the two following it, therefore provide background material, with easily accessible websites and online texts. Referencing is more copious than elsewhere as support. In addition to specific topic references below, the following general overviews are recommended, and accessible.

Mary Jo Weaver. Spring, 1989. 'Who Is the Goddess and Where Does She Get Us?', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 5, 1, pp. 49-64. (URL text Bibliography) Cynthia Eller. 1993. *Living In The Lap of the Goddess: The Feminist Spirituality Movement in America* (NY: Crossroad). USA survey. Delores Lapratt. Feb. 2011. 'The Changing Image of God: A Study of the Goddess Movement', *Journal of Religion and Culture*, 16, Montreal, QC, pp. 93-104. (URL text Bibliography)

historical, leaving exegesis to Ch. VII.5. Theologies.⁶

There is no explicit reference to Rhiannon as Goddess, or any goddess, in the Mabinogi, nor in other Rhiannon source texts.⁷ Nor does the Mabinogi refer to any other character as a deity. Nonetheless divine Rhiannon and other deity traditions have existed both within academia and outside it. The tension is sometimes addressed via euhemerisation, i.e. a notable human exalted to divinity.⁸ This rationalist view came from the philosopher Euhemerus (330-260 BCE); rehearsed in Plato's *Phaedrus*.⁹ Euhemerisation grounds Rhiannon as an early mediaeval, Welsh noblewoman, or even Iron Age British queen.

Cristnogaeth a'r Mabinogi/ Christianity and the Mabinogi

Christianity was the dominating religious paradigm when the Mabinogi was compiled but there is no unambiguous reference to it in the text. No one in the Mabinogi prays, gives or receives a Christian blessing. There are no appeals to saints, the Holy Spirit, or Mary Mother of Christ. No phrases suggest Christian texts (Lord's Prayer, Creed, biblical passages).

There are a five types of possible religious references: 'Duw'/'God' invoked in speech; babies 'baptised'; 'clerics' (PKM3); Sabbath 'mass' (PKM4); and 'Christian' virtues discerned.

Shai Feraro. 2016. 'The Priestess, the Witch, and the Women's Movement: Women and Gender in British Magical and Pagan Groups, c.1888 – c.1988', (Unpublished doctoral thesis University of Tel-Aviv). (URL text Bibliography) Also other resources by Feraro on Academia.

Women's Spirituality, 'In Memoriam': (URL Bibliography)

⁶ This chapter and the next two give a historical overview. Many of the same scholars, theologians topics revisited Ch. VII. Theologies pp. 471-502 from a different, theoretical perspective.

⁷ Ch. I.3. Other Sources pp. 33-36.

⁸ Bromwich, 'stories of the old Brittonic gods from whom the old dynasties claimed descent.' 1954. 'The Character of the Early Welsh Tradition', in *Studies in Early British History*, ed. by Chadwick, Norah (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 83–136. Bromwich, TYP, p. lxxxvii. Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 103, n. 16, p. 134.

⁹ Euhemerus (330-260 BCE) is found only in fragments quoted by other Greek writers (Diodorus Siculus, VI.1; Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.42; Lactantius 'Epitome of the Divine Institutes', VIII). He became popular in early Christian circles for his deconstruction of Pagan deities. Summary with quotes: John Paul Adams. 2010. 'Euhemerus of Messene': (URL text Bibliography) Sources: Felix Jacoby, ed. 1923. *Die Fragmente griechischen Historiker*, (Fragments of the Greek Historians), 63 (Weidmann, Berlin), derivative from Max Müller. 1841–1870. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. H.P. van der Meer. 1949. Euhemerus van Messene', (Unpublished doctoral thesis Amsterdam). G. Vallauri. 1956. *Euemero di Messene* (Turin), with introduction and commentary. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 229b–d. Socrates describes telling a clever, mundane story to account for a mythic event, implying the euhemerisation may be an accretion.

Both women and men call upon 'Duw' / 'God'.¹⁰ PKM1 instances govern formulaic style and/or formality in greeting, welcome, or emphasising virtue.¹¹ When Rhiannon first speaks to Pwyll he asks her purpose. She indicates her integrity and serious business by prefacing her answer with 'y rof a Duw'.¹² When Pwyll vows his love for her he uses the same formula.¹³ Rhiannon similarly calls upon God in her fraught, extremely serious dialogue with her Maids, urging them to speak the truth.¹⁴ To a devout Christian today all this might suggest the Christian God. Yet at no time do the characters pray, or refer to Jesus, Mary or saints; 'God' seems generic. In one case Branwen refers to 'son of God',¹⁵ possibly a leak from the dominant Christian theology at the time of the Mabinogi composer.¹⁶ Sons of God are not exclusively Christian, Greek and Roman myths available to the period, have many.¹⁷

Six Mabinogi baptism texts explicitly refer to an archaic (pre-Christian) custom.¹⁸ Gwri:

*Peri a/
wnaethont bedyddaw y mab, o'r bedyd a wneit yna./*

¹⁰ Rhys considers these 'comparatively late interpolation due to Christian teaching', *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 621–22.

¹¹ PKM1 14.1. 'God's welcome to you,' JKB 28.2. Three more instances occur between the two men as greeting, and welcome, PKM1 16.10–12. JKB 30.1. Pwyll uses the formula when laying out the property of the bag: y rof a Duw, PKM1 16.22. JKB 30.1. Hyfaidd calls on God about the wedding journey and Pwyll uses the formula to reply, and repeats it: "Duw a rwydhao ragot; ... 'Y rof i a Duw,' PKM1 19.6–10. 'may God ease the way before you.' ... 'Between me and God,' JKB 32.1. Ch. II.2. Craft, on formulaic oaths.

¹² PKM1 12.19. 'between me and God,' JKB 28.1.

¹³ 'Rof i a Duw,' PKM1 12.27. 'Between me and God,' JKB 28.1. Heather Rose Jones queries the usual translation of 'Yrof a Duw'. Instead of 'Between myself and God', she argues it as 'For God's sake!' on its preposition. 2003. 'Just Between Us, For God's Sake! The Case of 'Yrof a Duw'.

¹⁴ ym kyffes y Duw, PKM1 21.4. 'by my confession to God', JKB 34.2. kyffes (cyffes), profession of faith (GPC)

¹⁵ "Oy a uab/ Duw," PKM2 45.16–17. 'Oh, Son of God,' JKB 57.1.

¹⁶ 'an editor who may well have been a cleric whose moralistic and satirical tendencies are generally, but not always, submerged by his ambition to tell a good story well.' Derick S. Thompson. 1961. *Branwen Uerch Llŷr* (Dublin: DIAS), p. xxx. WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 86–87. Lloyd-Morgan, 'intermarriage of the Welsh and Anglo-Normans'; Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Medieval Welsh Tales or Romances? R. R. Davies makes a similar argument in his *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063–1415*, pp. 104–5.

¹⁷ Michael Peppard. 2011. *The Son of God in the Roman World: Divine Sonship in Its Social and Political Context* (OUP Inc.). Nancy Felson. 2011. 'Children of Zeus in the Homeric hymns: Generational succession', Ch. 12, in *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*, ed. by Faulkner, Andrew (Oxford Scholarship Online), pp. 257–83.

¹⁸ 'Baptism' Gwri (quote follows), PKM1 23.14–15. JKB 36.2; Dylan, PKM4 77.21–25 JKB 94.1; Hyddwn, 75.20–21 JKB 92.1; Hychdwn, 76.5–6 JKB 92.1; Bleidwn, 76.18 JKB 92.2; Blodeuedd, PKM4 83.26 JKB 100.1.

*Sef enw a dodet arnaw, Gwri Wallt Eurnyn.*¹⁹

The archaism framing is followed by a bestowed name. Bernhard Maier and Sioned Davies agree naming seems to be the ceremonial function.²⁰ There is no suggestion of religious induction. The PKM4 baptisms seem to suggest a regularisation of non-human (shapeshifted) origins, but PKM1 Gwri's case contrasts an unambiguously human child, but regularising his adoption. It seems all the baptisms regularise non-standard parenting, establishing identity and social inclusion. Given the Mabinogi emphasis on identity, genealogy and territory, the core function might be a public declaration of the child's name and patronymic.²¹ Two other Mabinogi children, Gweir and Lleu, are not (explicitly) baptised.²²

Neither weddings or burials mention rites. Mabinogi weddings are apparently secular events: public witness at a feast. The couple are observed seated together, then proceeding to privately *cysgu*/ sleep together.²³ As death

¹⁹ PKM1 23.14–16. 'They had the boy baptized according to the baptism that was done then./ This is the name that was given to him – Gwri Golden Hair.' JKB 36.2.

²⁰ 'the author of the Four Branches has taken great care to avoid any references to Christian customs. He seems to assume that name-giving is an intrinsically religious ceremony, so when it comes to name-giving in the pre-Christian past, he explicitly states that this was done "according to the kind of baptism which they had at the time." This, I argue, is because the author of the Four Branches is keen to portray his characters as "virtuous pagans": They have not yet heard of Christ, yet they have an innate sense of what is right and wrong, and they do not worship idols or conduct sacrifices.' Bernhard Maier. 1998. '*O'r Bedyd a Wneit Yna: Die Darstellung Der Heidnischen Vergangenheit in Den "Vier Zweigen Des Mabinogi"*' [The Representation of the Pagan Past in the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi"], *Mediaevistik*, 11, pp. 61–69. My thanks for summary by kindly email Bernhard Maier (02/03/2021).

'Gwri Wallt Eurnyn: the author acknowledges that baptism is an inappropriate term for the 'naming-ceremony' described here; the tales are, after all, set in the pre-Christian past. The same formula is used when naming Blodeuedd in the Fourth Branch ([her] p. 58). Gwri Wallt Eurnyn means 'Gwri of Golden Hair'.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 231.

²¹ Cf. wedding feasts as public, witnessed declarations of a change in identity.

²² Lleu's natal origin is extremely irregular, but Gwydion does not (explicitly) have him baptised. Perhaps this is because he lacks a maternal authority on naming from Arianrhod.

²³ Weddings: Rhiannon I: PKM1 13.15–25. JKB 28.2; presence of Hyfaidd, Rhiannon, Pwyll, their seating: PKM1 13.22–23. JKB 28.2. Rhiannon II: PKM1 15.24–25 & 15.27–28. JKB 30.1; the feast at Hyfaidd Hen's court, wedding night: *y uynet y gyscu. Ac y'r/ystauell yd aeth Pwyll a Riannon, a threulaw y nos/ honno drwy digriuwch a llonydwch.* PKM1 18.19–21. 'and the time came to go to sleep. And Pwyll and Rhiannon went to the chamber, and spent that night in pleasure and contentment.' JKB 31.2. Branwen's wedding: PKM2 31.6–10. JKB 45.2–46.1. Those present, seating: *A'r nos honno y kyscwys Matholwch gan Uranwen*, PKM2 31.16. 'And that night Matholwch slept with Branwen.' JKB 46.1. Rhiannon's second marriage feast, PKM3 50.19–26. JKB 64.1–2. Lleu's wedding, PKM4 84.1. JKB 100.1.

rites are ubiquitous in human societies; the *mab*/ youth aspect of these tales may account for their omission.²⁴

Three supposed clerics appear: scholar, priest and bishop (PKM3).²⁵ This might suggest Church hierarchy, but could also be tripartite hierarchy of many a religious order.²⁶ As Bollard suggests the Cyfarwydd is probably using

contemporary language and cultural references to convey the tonal subtleties ... in terms familiar to his audience.²⁷

The clerics may also bear political subtext on Anglo-Norman presence.²⁸

Sabbath mass and prohibiting Sabbath labour, are Judaic and Christian traditions, so the spear crafted to kill Lleu during Mass on *duw Sul*, seems a plausible allusion to Christianity.²⁹ However, like the three 'clerics', this may be the Cyfarwydd using contemporary, familiar concepts.

Christian virtues have been perceived in Mabinogi characters. Ford observes Pwyll's chastity might interpret as

Christian overlay, although such a view would not be consistent with the overall treatment of traditional material by the scribes of medieval Wales.³⁰

Pwyll's chastity has a considerable number of other interpretations.³¹ Mac Cana attributes Christian patience to Manawydan in his trials.³² However, Manawydan

²⁴ Death of Pwyll, PKM1 27.17; death of Pryderi PKM4 73.13–17; no mention of rites. For the youth paradigm of the Mabinogi Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 273–74.

²⁵ Scholar, PKM3 61.17–18. JKB 73.2–74.1. Priest, PKM3 62.17. JKB 74.1. Bishop, PKM3 63.6. JKB 74.2. Political parallel on these passages, Ch. III.7. Political Parallels: Anglo-Norman pp. 185–88.

²⁶ Druidry has three levels of hierarchy, for example in the three ranks of the *Gorsedd y Beird*, celebrated annually as part of the largest arts festival in Europe held in Wales. Its customs are attested back to the early 19thC, Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance. Early reference to three orders of Druidry comes from Strabo, *Geographica*, (1stC BCE), Book IV, Ch. 4; further detail Caesar, *De Bellio Gallico*, 13, 18. A modern, international revival OBOD (Order of Bards Ovates and Druids) draws on the Greek and Latin tradition as the title reflects. Founded 1964 by Ross Nichols, sustained and expanded by Philip Carr-Gomm. Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids. (URL text Bibliography) Philip Peter Ross Nichols. 1990 post mortem. *The Book of Druidry* (Aquarian Press)

²⁷ Bollard, *Landscape*, p. 111.

²⁸ Ch. III.7. Political Parallels, pp. 187. The 'bishop' is found suggestive of two wealthy, Anglo-Norman bishops of Dyfed (12thC).

²⁹ PKM4 86.19–21. JKB 102.2. Such taboo breaking might refer to Kieckhefer's occult underground of certain Christian clerics, generating excitement from disobedience. Ch. VI.1. Enchantment, typology of mediaeval magic: '2) Demonism; invocation by Church-trained, underworld clerics', Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Introduction, p. 365.

³⁰ Overlay not consistent, Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 209.

³¹ Chastity interpretations, Ch. V.5. Pwyll, pp. 251–52.

³² 'he projects the more Christian and more practical virtues of patience and compromise. ... These virtues are reflected in the clean, restrained perfection of his prose.' Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 60. 'Manawydan's Christian virtues of patience and compromise that restores the land.' Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 61.

never expresses his ideals in Christian terms; rather his concerns are the heroic, noble code towards his friend Pryderi, and adaptive survival.³³ Nor is patience exclusively Christian; cf. Marcus Aurelius, Stoics, and Buddhism.³⁴

Y Dduwies Hynafol/ Ancient Goddess

Palaeolithic and Neolithic figurines have been subject to heated debate, as goddesses, or otherwise. Monica Sjöö, Marija Gimbutas and Heide Goettner-Abendroth are key authors who support the goddess case, with Ruth Tringham a leading critic.³⁵

The earliest recorded stories in the world come from Sumer, in *cuneiform*. Enheduanna's powerful hymns narrate the Goddess Inanna: her religion was a widespread political unifier of Sargon's empire. Looking at goddess myths (Ch. VII.1.) the most surprising finding was the complex and powerful Rhiannon alignments with this most ancient, female divinity text of all. Enheduanna, the first named author on record, through Rhiannon, connects with the Cyfarwydd, composer of the first known prose stories. Yet Inanna was venerated 4,500 years ago and 4,500 miles away (Ur, Sumer). Inanna like Rhiannon acquires laws and contract knowledge from her father. She chooses between two suitors, enjoys sexual happiness, luxury and abundance. They both rule in their own right, but endure loss of power involving sevens (gates/ levels, penance years), and restoration. Both associate with food supplies management, and cope with a usurper king.³⁶ Rhiannon's name can be construed as 'Divine Queen': Inanna is the 'Queen of Heaven'.³⁷

The parallels are astonishing; more than any other goddess comparison. We are left to ponder farflung trading voyages of long ago, with tales blown on their routes.³⁸ Similarly the Athena– Perseus legend, beyond the Pillars of

³³ Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Man of Virtue pp. 341-45.

³⁴ At the Mabinogi compilation the Crusades and liberal Granada had channelled Islamic and Oriental philosophies into Europe. Ch. VI.1. Enchantments: Mediaeval Magic pp. 357-59.

³⁵ Monica Sjöö and Barbara Mor. 1981 *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All*. Marija Gimbutas. 1974 *Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe* (Thames and Hudson); significant title change to *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (1982). *ibid.* 1992. *Civilisation of the Goddess* (HarperCollins). Heide Göttner-Abendroth. 1993. *The Dancing Goddess: a Matriarchal Aesthetic*. Ruth Tringham. 1993. 'Review'; with Margaret Conkey 1998. 'Rethinking Figurines'.

³⁶ Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Inanna pp. 418-20.

³⁷ Mittleman and Jones. 'Concerning the Names Rhiannon, Rhian', Quoted Ch. I.3. Etymology p. 6.

³⁸ Ch. VII.1. Map of Goddess Myths, p. 418.

Hercules can be seen to link with Mabinogi Rhiannon.³⁹ Athena is an apt parallel with Rhiannon as a patroness of intelligence, arts and technical crafts. She has a less known rôle in training, bridling horses; cf. Rhiannon and Epona (below).⁴⁰

The Roman Empire, until its late stage under official Christianity, was tolerant of a host of faiths. The State religion (worship of the emperor's family) was a required formality for all citizens. The Great Goddess Isis was widely honoured from the 1stC, with women in powerful administrative roles.⁴¹ Mithraism was a masonic network for army officers, while the cavalry venerated the goddess Epona.⁴² The Greek pantheon contributed its Goddesses. Christianity was popular among slaves, offering promise of rewards hereafter for subservience now.⁴³

Christianity had not always been hostile to female divinity. Widespread Gnosticisms, particularly 2ndC Valentinianism holding a central, divine *Sophia* (Wisdom) and sacred marriage theology; and 4thC Collyridians worshipping Mary as Goddess.⁴⁴ Official Christianity is attributed to the emperor Constantine (c. 337 CE). The ascetic Empress, Pulcheria, his descendant,⁴⁵ ruled ruthlessly and virginally 414–453 CE, unifying the churches under central dogma. She aimed to reintroduce the centralised Roman State religion, making her Imperial family sacred. She installed Mary's statue on the central altar of Hagia Sophia, Byzantium, sculpted with her own face, wearing her robes. She was the only lay person ever admitted to Church Councils, steering the influential Council of Ephesus (431 CE) to acknowledge Mary as *Theotokos*/ divine Mother of God. Ephesus had long been a major Goddess centre: its great Temple of Artemis/

³⁹ Ch. VI.5. Bag pp. 404-06. Perseus as comparable analyses a great many similar components.

⁴⁰ Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Athena pp. 425-26.

⁴¹ Isis appears in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, linked to the horse goddess Epona, who is often linked to Rhiannon. Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Epona pp. 426-29. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*.

⁴² Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Epona, pp. 426-29.

⁴³ Claudia Moser. 2000. 'Eastern Religions in the Roman World', *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (Metropolitan Museum of Art NY). (URL text Bibliography) Jaime Alvar. 2012. *Romanising Oriental Gods: Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (Brill).

⁴⁴ Deirdre. J. Good. 1984. 'Sophia in Valentinianism', *Second Century*, 4, pp. 193–201.

J. Washington. 2004. 'Goddess worship within early Christianity: A brief look at the Collyridians', *Khthnios*, 2, 1 (2004), pp. 31–41.

⁴⁵ Pulcheria was the great– great– great– grand-daughter of Constantine the Great. So Sinopoulos–Lloyd, and K. Wolf. Fall 2012. 'The Curious Power and Sanctity of Empress Pulcheria', *Saints and Society*, pp. 3-31. (URL text Bibliography)

Diana had been closed only 27 years previously. *Theotokos* doctrine is esoteric, a fragile distinction between Mary's 'veneration' and 'worship'.⁴⁶

The saints of Christianity can often be discerned in continuity with prior deity traditions. A major example is Brighde/ St. Bridget (Eire), with triple aspects, fire legends, wearing the same colours. The 'saint' is uniquely recorded consecrating bishops. Her network established in Wales and Brittany as St. Ffraid.⁴⁷ Powerful witches may also be seen as continuous with Goddesses; for example Ceridwen, with her cauldron of wisdom, and an apparent cycle of rebirth.⁴⁸ Her name is assonant with Roman Ceres, both associated with crucial seed corn: their daughters' names also assonantly suggestive; Greek Kore, Welsh Creirwy.

Ronald Hutton analysing 'pagan survivals' through the centuries of Christian hegemony, identifies four streams: 'ritual magic, cunning craft, folk rites, and (above all) the persistent love affair of Christian culture with the art and literature of the ancient world.'⁴⁹ He omits saintly mimicry such as Bridget (above). Classical art, stories, poetry, and pageantry, were social performances, serviced and enacted by lower classes, making them accessible outside the educated elite. The concept of 'goddess' might therefore seem to have survived from the ancient world in varied perspectives, but monotheistic, male-God hegemony remained paramount.

Pughe

Rhiannon as divine seems first recorded by William Owen [Pughe].⁵⁰

Distinguishing 'historical' and 'legendary' personages in ancient Welsh literature, he perceives Rhiannon as the latter in his *Geiriadur/ Dictionary* (1803). Given this

⁴⁶ Maria Warner. 1976. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Random House). Richard Price. 2007. 'Theotokos: The Title and its Significance in Doctrine and Devotion', in *Mary: the Complete Resource*, ed. by Boss, Sarah Jane (Continuum), pp. 56–73.

⁴⁷ Sinead Sula Grian (Janet McCrickard). 1985. *Brighde, Goddess of Fire* (Brighde's Fire). Booklet in the author's custom designed, script; hand scribed as a devotional exercise. (Personal meeting, 1985, Janet McCrickard). Janet McCrickard. 1987. *Brighde: Her History, Folklore and Mythology* (Fieldfare Arts & Design). 'Brigid, Goddess and Saint: Places in Wales'. Also see Brigid's Forge: (URL Bibliography)

⁴⁸ Ford (ed. trans.), 'The Tale of Gwion Bach', in his *Welsh Tales*, pp. 159–181.

⁴⁹ Caroline Tully. 20/05/2011. 'Interview with Professor Ronald Hutton of the University of Bristol, United Kingdom', 'Necropolis Now'. (URL text Bibliography) Hutton is referring to his article 1996. 'The Roots of Modern Paganism' in *Paganism Today* (Thorsons), pp. 3–15.

⁵⁰ Before 1806 he was known and should refer as 'William Owen', only after that date adding 'Pughe'. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe p. 68 n156.

is a dictionary entry he may derive Rhiannon's divinity from the etymology of her name (root *rhi-* and suffix *-on*),⁵¹ but perhaps also from her anomalous horse,⁵² but not her other enchantments.⁵³ The *-on* etymology, when observed by later scholars, does not usually credit Owen Pughe, or Anwyl, below.

'Rhianon, s. f. (rhian) A paragon of the female sex; a goddess, a mythological person.'⁵⁴

Rhianald, a. (rhian) Feminine; lady-like.
Rhianon, s. f. (rhian) A paragon of the female sex; a goddess, a mythological person.
 Ei phryd a guddiwyd a parldd;
 Dyga gofion rianon rodd!

SCR Pughe. 1803. *Geiriadur* p. 466 excerpt.

Mabinogi scholars of the 18thC and earlier 19thC century did not invest in deity discourse. Their concerns were historical events, nationalist politics and cultural entertainment. They did not promote other Celtic nations' mythologies (Irish, Scots, Breton) around the Mabinogi.⁵⁵ They did use external, prestige concepts from 'the Classics', such as 'Hades' for example to explain Annwn.⁵⁶ Guest also made Classical allusions, characteristically following her Welsh mentors and Welsh tradition, but there is no mention of Rhiannon's divinity in

⁵¹ Ch. I.3. Etymology pp. 7-10.

⁵² Rhiannon's horse is included in Pughe's second instalment: 1799. 'Mabinogion', *Cambrian Register*, II.

⁵³ When he composed the 1803 *Dictionary* entry Owen Pughe had published Rhiannon narrative (1799 'Cambrian Register' pp. 322-27, only as far as Pwyll's inability to reach her, cf. PKM1 8.26. In a footnote p. 327 he appeals for help in accessing MSS. for the rest of the tale. Edward Jones. 1802. *Bardic Museum*, p. 30, gives the English text including her self naming, cf. PKM1 12.23. Owen Pughe published his 1818 third instalment of *Pwyll*, including Rhiannon's bag strategy, but he may well have been familiar with it some time before. His unpublished *Mabinogion* project included PKM2, paraphrased 1828 in Croker's *Fairy Legends*, pp. 163-91: he would have known the *Adar* at that later time, also from *Culhwch ac Olwen*.

⁵⁴ Owen [Pughe]. 1803. *Geiriadur / Dictionary*, II, p. 466. In the same year he published his *Cambrian Biography*; his entry there for 'Rhianon' is strictly literary with no hint of divinity. 'Rhianon, the daughter of Heveydd Hen, only known as an heroine of the Dramatic Tales.' 1803. *Cambrian Biography*, p. 290.

⁵⁵ Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Edward Lhuyd pp. 62-64, Moses Williams, pp. 64-65 Lewis Morris pp. 65-67, William Owen Pughe. pp. 67-78, Ed. Jones p. 79, John Jones pp. 79-81, Thos Price pp. 81-85, Charlotte Guest pp. 85-99, Thos. Stephens pp. 99-101. Romance theme pp. 101-04.

⁵⁶ Ch. VI. Enchantment: *Annwn* pp. 369-80.

her extensive Notes.⁵⁷ Stephens (1849) as a rationalist, finds the ‘supernatural’ essential and sufficient to Mabinogi plot ‘machinery’.⁵⁸

*Y Dduwies Geltaidd/ Celtic Goddess*⁵⁹

Johann Jakob Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* (Swiss, 1861) first formally questioned inevitable patriarchy and primary male deity. He proposed four *universal* stages of human evolution (Promiscuity, Mother Right, Dionysian and Apollonian).⁶⁰ His contemporary, the radical feminist and abolitionist Matilda Joslyn Gage lectured in America, developing *Woman, Church and State* (1893).⁶¹ Elected to native Iroquois women’s councils she describes their social system as a ‘Matriarchate’. She became a Theosophist, a movement founded by the Russian noblewoman Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. *Isis Unveiled* (1877) brought concepts of goddess, reincarnation, and other esoteric philosophies into wider circulation.⁶² Frazer’s *Golden Bough* (1890) presented a mass of mythological material: he tentatively

⁵⁷ Guest, *Mabinogion*, VI. Her 145 pages of scholarly Notes sections distribute to follow each Branch: Pwyll, pp. 360–368; Branwen, pp. 385–396; Manawydan, pp. 411–12; Math, pp. 434–42; also many Footnotes. Sacred Texts, Guest, *Mabinogion*, 2nd edn. (1877) is recommended as online text. (URL text Bibliography) Searched on ‘goddess’/ ‘deity’/ ‘god’. A quoted Triad related to PKM2 is not relevant here.

⁵⁸ ‘In the earlier tales of Kymric origin, the machinery is invariably supernatural. The Mabinogion of Pwyll, Branwen, Math, and Manawyddan are evidences of this’. Stephens. 1849. *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 399. cf. Ch. VI.3. ‘Rhiannon as Magician’ p. 394 n.49 which also quotes this.

⁵⁹ The term ‘Celtic’ is here used advisedly to refer to the family of languages Welsh/ Breton/ Kernow/ Irish/ Scots/ Manx; a linguistic affinity observed by Edward Lhuyd. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance p. 63. From affinity language it can be argued that mythological sources in these languages might be characterised as (loosely) linked or ‘Celtic’: hence ‘Celtic Goddess’. For an excellent review of the various types of evidence on ancient Celtic peoples, Eichner, ‘Identifying Ancient Peoples as Celts’ available on Academia. (URL text Bibliography)

⁶⁰ Johann Jakob Bachofen. 1861. *Das Mutterrecht und Urreligion Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*, Mother Right: A Study of the Religious and Juridical Aspects of Gynecocracy in the Ancient World (Stuttgart: Verlag von Kraus und Hoffmann). His ideas found favour with Friedrich Engels. Later 20thC Communist society found ancient history a politically safe focus of study. Bachofen also influenced Lewis Henry Morgan, Thomas Mann; Jane Ellen Harrison, Walter Benjamin; Erich Fromm; Robert Graves; Rainer Maria Rilke; Joseph Campbell; Otto Gross; and Erich Neumann.

⁶¹ Matilda Joslyn Gage. 1893, repr. 1980. *Woman, Church and State: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman Through the Christian Ages: with Reminiscences of Matriarchate* (C.H. Kerr; repr. Watertown, Mass. Persephone Press). Sally Roesch Wagner. 1978. ‘That Word is Liberty: a Biography of Matilda Joslyn Gage’, (Unpublished doctoral thesis University of California Santa Cruz. Wagner is the executive director of the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation in Fayetteville, NY. For the Iroquois connection: Wagner. ‘The Untold Story of The Iroquois Influence On Early Feminists’. (URL text Bibliography)

⁶² Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. 1877. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, in 2 vols. (J. W. Bouton). Theosophy would in due course support the first Mabinogi fantasy writer Kenneth Morris in the early 20thC, Ch. IX.1. Imaginary p. 559.

speculated religion *universally* developed from magic, and theorised a sacred sovereignty conflict.⁶³

'Celtic' (pan-Celtic) deities, Goddesses, developed in this *universalising* perspective of the later 19thC, derived from models in the Classics or Irish traditions. From Arnold (1867) and Rhÿs (1888), through Anwyl (1897-1914), and WJG (1912-1953), to the 1980s, mythological theory and 'Celtic' deities dominated the field of Mabinogi Studies.⁶⁴ It was so overpowering that Valente's critique (1986) was iconoclastic in demanding Mabinogi goddess perceptions give way to the humanity of Mabinogi women.⁶⁵

Influenced by the Arnoldian paradigm i.e. fragmentary remains of myth, it was John Rhÿs' late-19thC concern to salvage a 'Celtic' pantheon to match the Classical Olympiad, for which he prioritised Irish myths.⁶⁶ Rhÿs gives a detailed paraphrase of Mabinogi narrative. He defines Rhiannon's penance as 'strange'; and dismisses the Manawydan-Manannàn connection.⁶⁷ He explicitly refers to Rhiannon as a goddess.

For the role of Pwyll Head of Hades is perhaps best interpreted as that of a Celtic Zeus in that world, while Rhiannon is to be regarded as a goddess with free access to both worlds.⁶⁸

⁶³ James George Frazer. 1890. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, in 2 vols. (Macmillan). 2nd. edn. retitled 1900. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, in 3 vols.. 3rd edn. in 12 vols. 1906-1915. Abridged edn, single vol. excludes refs. to Christianity, 1922. Frazer held that 'an age of magic preceded an age of religion, and the characteristic difference between magic and religion is that, whereas magic aims at controlling nature directly, religion aims at controlling it indirectly through the mediation of a powerful supernatural being or beings to whom man appeals for help and protection.' Introduction to the 3rd edn. 1906. He insisted his ideas were speculative and should be replaced by more induction based knowledge. R. Angus Downie. 1970. *Frazer and the Golden Bough* (Victor Gallancz), p. 112. Also Frazer's humility in his inaugural speech for the Frazer Lectureship in Anthropology (1922); Godfrey Lienhardt. 1993. 'Frazer's anthropology: science and sensibility', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 24, 1, pp.1-12.

A 'Sovereignty Goddess' is rejected re Welsh myth; Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sovereignty pp. 450-01. Arnold pp. 105-06; Rhÿs pp. 106-08; Anwyl pp. 108-11 & 445-47 & 471-73; WJG pp. 111-16. Also below, 'Celtic Goddess', pp. 443-45; 'Sovereignty Goddess' pp. 450-01; 'Horse Goddess' pp. 484-86.

⁶⁵ Noted Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm: Valente p. 123. Full Ch. II.8. Feminism: Valente pp. 129-31.

⁶⁶ Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhÿs, p. 107, n. 12.

⁶⁷ 'the strange punishment selected for Pwyll's queen Rhiannon, when she was condemned to carry all visitors to the court on her shoulders from the horse-block into the hall', Rhÿs, *Lectures*, 'The Distress of the Gods and the Sun Hero's Aid', VI, p. 641. Cf. WJG: 'Rhiannon's penance bears no logical relation to her crime', *Rhiannon*, p. 58, restated p. 90. Rhÿs, *Lectures*, VI, Manawydan/ Manannàn, p. 666.

⁶⁸ Rhÿs, *Lectures*, VI: 'The Distress of the Gods and the Sun Hero's Aid', p. 641.

'Hades' was the contemporary interpretation of Annwfn, derived from the Classics, which Eleanor Hull critiques (1907).⁶⁹ Rhŷs' subsequent reference to Rhiannon as a 'moon goddess', following the Greek/ Roman system of male Sun/ female Moon is brief, speculative, and undeveloped.⁷⁰

~ * ~

VII *Rhiannon Duwies* / Goddess Rhiannon

VII.3. *Duwies yr Ugeinfed Ganrif*/ Twentieth Century Goddess

This chapter continues the narrative of (Western) Goddess development, and Goddess Rhiannon in particular, through the 20thC.

Anwyl

Rhŷs' student Anwyl is the first, significant scholar of Rhiannon. He itemises Celtic deities with the *-on* suffix, implicit in Pughe's work (above).⁷¹ He observes Rhiannon as 'the great Earth-Mother' in a seasonal vegetation cycle from Frazer's influential *Golden Bough* (1890), which speculated ancient religions as fertility cults of cyclically sacrificed sacred kings.⁷² He introduces pan-European Epona, the mare goddess, as an ancestral background (1906), powerfully developed by Ford (below).⁷³ Anwyl also originates the theory of Hyfaidd Hen's *llys* at Maesyfed,⁷⁴ and suggested a possible paired tradition Rhiannon –Teyrnnon.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ 'whether the pagan Celt believed in a Hades in the sense in which M. D'Arbois de Jubainville and Professor Rhys invariably use the word, as a place of departed spirits, a land of shades and of death, a dark land ruled by what Rhys constantly calls the "dark divinities," the gods of death and of night, as opposed to the gods of light and knowledge and life — while I utterly disagree with their main theory, and hold that the Irish Gael, at all events, and probably his Welsh and Gallic cousins, were not at all possessed by such an idea, did not, in fact, so far as I can see, in general believe in a world of departed spirits at all, much less believe in it as a place of gloom and darkness.' Eleanor Hull. 'The Development of the Idea of Hades in Celtic Literature'. *Folklore*, 18, 2 (1907), p. 130.

⁷⁰ Rhŷs, *Lectures*, Errata and Additions, p. 678. Quoted Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhŷs, p. 107, n. 12.

⁷¹ Anwyl, 'The Value of the Mabinogion for the Study of Celtic Religion', p. 241, n. 18. Quoted Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Anwyl p. 469 n209.

⁷² Anwyl, 'The Value of the Mabinogion', p. 240. Quoted at length, Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Anwyl p. 475 n. 215. Frazer, *Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*. 2nd. ed. 1900. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. 3rd ed. 12 vols. (1906–1915). Since publ single vol. abr.

⁷³ Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Epona pp. 426-29; Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Anwyl p. 475 n. 215 (long quote); Horse Goddess pp. 487-88.

⁷⁴ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen, pp. 224-29 & Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse, p. 394.

⁷⁵ Rhiannon and Teyrnnon pair: Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 288 and IV, p. 126. Quoted Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Anwyl p. 475 n. 212.

Anwyl offers a powerful *tripartite* Mabinogi of three 'Cycles' spanning the Branches, each a kindred history: 'Rhiannon-cycle',⁷⁶ 'Llyr-Cycle',⁷⁷ and 'Don-Cycle'.⁷⁸

The stories of the Rhiannon-cycle and the Don-cycle refer, in the Four Branches in their present form, to the families of 'arglwyddi' and to certain places within their supposed domains. The Llyr story, on the other hand, is given as an account of the members of the family of a 'brenhin coronawe' and naturally the scope of its topography is much wider.⁷⁹

The Rhiannon-cycle and Llyr-Cycle intersect via Rhiannon's marriage to Manawydan *fab Llŷr*. The Llyr-Cycle and Don-Cycle intersect via the death of Rhiannon's son Pryderi.⁸⁰ It will be evident this structural analysis runs close to this Mabinogi Rhiannon study (n.76), where Rhiannon's marriages and her Maternal Dyad may be seen to integrate the Branches.⁸¹

Anwyl's balance of mythical and literary perspectives, and his structural Cycles (1901) predate the 1970s/80s paradigm shift by 80 years. When he died (1915) his powerful research was sidelined by another Rhŷs' student, William John Gruffydd (WJG), whose ambitious neo-mythologies controlled Mabinogi Studies 1914–1980s.⁸² His 'Myth of Rhiannon' (1953) draws on Rhŷs and Anwyl, adding little that is helpful.

⁷⁶ RHIANNON-CYCLE COMPONENTS: a) the meeting and marriage of Pwyll and Rhiannon, subsequent vengeance of Gwawl as 'sequel'; b) 'birth, loss, discovery and restoration of Pryderi', Rhiannon's punishment; c) Pendaran Dyfed fosterage, trace only; d) Pryderi marriage Cigfa, trace only; e) Manawydan marriage; f) Pryderi's death. Topographical affinities pp. 125-28. The Adar Rhiannon are Rhiannon-cycle, not listed like other components. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 125. Matches the core narrative of Mabinogi Rhiannon as defined in this study, Ch. I.4. Text pp. 29-30.

⁷⁷ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, pp. 131-32. Branwen components: a) Branwen marriage, and abuse in Ireland. 'Branwen is then called *'tryded prifriein yn yr ynys honn'*. Britain Ireland ruling families. b) Bendigeidran takes army to Ireland. Incl. Triad. (also Taliesin ref. IV, p. 132) c) Head of Bran, survivors, London. Incl. Triad. d) Efnissyen mischief making cf. Irish *Bricriu*. e) Caradawc fab Bran and Caswallawn fab Beli conflict. f) Death of Branwen. g) Settlement of the five provinces of Ireland. h) Place names 'Gwyddel' and 'Gwyddyl' in Anglesey and elsewhere. i) Triad "Trydydd Lleddf Unben." Manawydan. j) y Trydydd Eurgrydd Manawydan k) Manawyddan, Pryderi and Rhiannon. *Ibid.* IV, p. 131.

⁷⁸ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 128. Don components: a) Giluaethwy's love for Goewin, vengeance of Math ab Mathonwy. b) Gwydion's introduction of swine into Gwynedd. already given under the Rhiannon-cycle. c) Birth of Dylan eil ton. d) Birth of Llew Llaw Gyffes and Llew son of Aranrot. e) Gwydion's success in obtaining for Llew a name, arms and a wife. [sic] Formation of Blodeuwedd, Llew's wife. f) infidelity of Llew's wife with Gronw Pebr, lord of Penllyn, and the treacherous death of Llew, his vengeance on Gronw. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 129.

⁷⁹ Three Cycles: Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 130. The tripartite system is given pp. 122-33.

⁸⁰ Intersections: Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 127.

⁸¹ Rhiannon pivotal, Ch. V.1. Diagram: Genealogy, p. 213.

⁸² WJG's 'Mythological Reconstruction', critiques, and his suppression of Anwyl, have been rehearsed. Ch. II.6. Academia: WJG 111-16 critiques pp. 115-16.

Ocwltaeth / Occultism

As the 20thC began magical orders proliferated. The British Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn's founders were Freemasons who established new, Masonic-style lodges, accepting women members, and acknowledging Goddesses. Their influential pack of Tarot cards for teaching and divination, still popular, prominently features sacred females: e.g. #III 'High Priestess' ; #IV 'Empress' (Earth Mother).⁸³

Margaret Murray, archaeologist at University College, London, theorised an organised, underground, witch-religion in western Europe. She described secret groups with male leaders and a male forest deity, Robin (1923).⁸⁴ Murray-inspired covens developed; a New Forest one appears to have initiated Gerald Gardner (below).

Dion Fortune, psychologist and Golden Dawn initiate (1915), authored practical occult books. Goddess rituals and invocations in two of her novels are especially influential: *The Sea Priestess* (1938); *Moon Magic* (1957). Both feature a powerful, 20thC Celtic priestess creating a physical and astral temple in Somerset, nurturing a male partner into spiritual maturity.⁸⁵

Duwies Sofraniaeth / Sovereignty Goddess

This influential theory sources to Frazer's *Golden Bough* (1890), sustained by Rhys, Anwyl, WJG, and some later 20thC scholars. It is therefore rehearsed in

⁸³ Latin: *Ordo Hermeticus Aurorae Aureae*. Ellic Howe. 1978. *Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order, 1887-1923* (Red Wheel/Weiser). Dennis Denisoff. Jan. 2013. 'The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, 1888-1901' (online), in BRANCH (Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History), ed. by Dino Franco Felluga, Extension of Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net. (URL text Bibliography) Rachel Pollack. 1988. *Seventy-Eight Degrees of Wisdom: A Book of Tarot*, in 2 vols. (Thorsons; now Kindle), a classic guide to practicing Tarot readings. Mary K. Greer. 1996. Maud Gonne, *et al. Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses - Maud Gonne, Moina Bergson Mathers, Annie Horniman, Florence Farr* (Inner Traditions Bear and Company).

⁸⁴ Margaret Murray. 1921. *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe: a Study in Anthropology* (OUP). (URL text Bibliography)

⁸⁵ Dion Fortune (Violet Mary Firth). 1938. *The Sea Priestess* (Published by the author). Her most famous Goddess Invocation is pp. 218- 19. *Ibid.* 1957. *Moon Magic* (Aquarian Press, posthumously). Georgia van Raalte. 2017. 'Pomegranates and Crescent Honey-Cakes: Divine Femininity and Everyday Womanhood in the Work of Dion Fortune', *La Rosa di Paracelso*, 1, pp. 179-96. (URL text Bibliography) Fortune's invocation contributed much to Valiente's famous Charge of the Goddess, below.

detail Ch. VII. Theologies, with strong critique of its relevance to Welsh myth and Rhiannon in particular.⁸⁶

Evangeline Walton: 'Tetralogy'



Walton, pre-1950⁸⁷

Evangeline Walton (1907-96) is a powerful influence on modern Goddessing, with a well-developed Rhiannon theology.⁸⁸ She wrote four Mabinogi novels, three of them originally drafted 1933–39; the quartet fully published 1971-74.⁸⁹ A highly educated Quaker, she researched thoroughly, referring to sources:

⁸⁶ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sovereignty Goddess (critique) pp. 476-79.

⁸⁷ Photo, Evangeline Walton Ensley pre-1950. Lower portion cropped. Wikimedia commons. According to Douglas A. Anderson, her executor, it first appeared, cropped, without credit, on the rear dust-wrapper of her novel *The Cross & the Sword* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956). Uploaded to wikicommons by her heir, marked 1940s. Provenance Anderson to me 28/02/2024. This was approximately the period when Walton was drafting most of the Mabinogi novels.

⁸⁸ Evangeline Walton (24/11/1907–11/03/1996). Hers is not the first fictional adaptation of the Mabinogi but she explicitly stated that she did not know Kenneth Morris' 1914 novel when she wrote hers. 'At the time I was working on the Mabinogion material, I thought it was still virgin, that nobody else had handled it. I am very glad I didn't know about Kenneth Morris's admirable books until later.' Darrell Schweitzer. Winter 1990. 'Evangeline Walton' interview, *Fantasy Magazine*, 7, ed. by Marion Zimmer Bradley. Kenneth Morris. 1914. *Fates of the Princes of Dyfed* (Point Loma, California: Aryan Theosophical Press) (URL text Bibliography)

⁸⁹ Walton's first published Mabinogi novel was not a success. Evangeline Walton. 1933. *The Virgin and the Swine* (Chicago/ NY: Willett, Clark & Co.), based on PKM4. She refers to writing it March to September 1933. Walton interview 29/11/1936, *Indianapolis Star*. She then prepared *The Brothers of Branwen*, 180,000 words reworking of PKM2 and PKM3. July 1940, the publisher, Bodley Head, got cold feet because of the size of the book and the postwar paper shortages in England. Debra Hammond. 2013. 'Walton & her works', ed. by Anderson, Douglas A. (URL text Bibliography). Around 1940 or 1941 Walton abandoned work on the last remaining branch of the Mabinogion, i.e. PKM1. Douglas A. Anderson. April 2017, revised Jan. 2022. 'The Novels of Evangeline Walton', *Or Crist*, 9, p. 7. Ballantyne published all four novels, not in Branches' order. *The Island of the Mighty* (PKM4, reissue of *Virgin*). 1971. *The Children of Llyr*, (PKM2, 1972). *Song of Rhiannon* (Pwyll III & PKM3, 1974). *Prince of Annwn* (Pwyll I & II & PKM3, 197). All four Branches were issued in Branch order as *The Mabinogion Tetralogy*, single volume (Overlook Press, 2002). My references are from the UK Gollancz quartet edition *The Mabinogion* (2003).

Arnold, Rhÿs, Heinrich Zimmer, Malory, Yeats, Tolkien, Mac Cana; and the cultures of Crete, Mycenae (Homer), Hinduism and the Indus Valley civilisation.⁹⁰

Walton's Rhiannon is intimately presented, opening her feelings and motives. She is an immanent Goddess, living, striving, and loving among us.

Poets will make songs of Pwyll and me, and of how we loved each other, and some of the men and women who hear those songs may seek finer things in each other.⁹¹

Walton's 'original rule was never to alter anything I found in the Four Branches'; though she frankly admits more deviation from PKM3.⁹² She adds and interprets, constructing a rich narrative with many Mabinogi phrasings subtly interwoven with her matriarchal feminism.⁹³

Walton has particularly inspired Stevie Nicks' plan for a Rhiannon film; also the aberrant 'Avalonian Rhiannon' (below).⁹⁴

Graves & Laura Riding

Robert Graves is also very influential in modern Goddessing for his *White Goddess: a historical grammar of poetic myth* (1948).⁹⁵ As the subtitle declares he writes as a (famous) poet. Like Rhÿs, Anwyl, and WJG, he was Oxford educated in the Classics.⁹⁶ WJG and Mythological Reconstruction was peaking at the time.⁹⁷ Graves references Murray's witchcraft (above), shifting emphasis to female deity. He gives considerable attention to Rhiannon as ancestrally British: his adored

⁹⁰ Evangeline Walton. 1976. 'Celtic Myth in the Twentieth Century', *Mythlore*, 3, 3 (11), pp. 19-22. Published by Mythopoeic Society. (URL text Bibliography)

⁹¹ Rhiannon's love story: Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 113.

⁹² Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 424.

⁹³ For more Walton commentary, see papers by Nicole Thomas, and Polly Lincoln, listed in the Bibliography.

⁹⁴ Stevie Nicks knew nothing of Rhiannon except the power of her name, when she composed her internationally famed 'Rhiannon' song (1975). She later accessed the Mabinogi but felt drawn to Walton's vision. She has at intervals expressed hope to create a film of Walton's novels (last heard 2020 as TV miniseries). Ch. II.3 Performance p. 51. Ch. II.9. 21stC p. 139. Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

⁹⁵ There may have been earlier instances of modern Rhiannon veneration but if so no record is as yet evident. Robert Graves. 1948. *The White Goddess: a historical grammar of poetic myth*. Corrected, revised and enlarged editions, 1952 and 1961. Developed from his three articles: Winter 1945. 'Dog', 'Roebuck', and 'Lapwing', in *Wales*, English-language literary journal, in its war time broadsheet series, IV, 6 (Articles not; available NLW archive except by visiting due to copyright). Cf. his utopian novel of a matriarchy: 1949. *Seven Days in New Crete* (Cassell, now Kindle). Download (URL Bibliography)

⁹⁶ For example he presents the Adar Rhiannon as Homer's Sirens: *White Goddess*, pp. 385, 419. Cf. his well-known compendium, 1955 *The Greek Myths* (Penguin). He also refers to a Rhÿs' theory of Rhiannon as the Arthurian 'Lady of the Lake', 'Nimue', and 'Vivien', *White Goddess*, p. 439.

⁹⁷ WJG, 'The Mabinogion' (1912). His formidable multi-hashed *Rhiannon* (1953) was shortly forthcoming as Graves first produced his *White Goddess*; note *White Goddess*' revised and enlarged editions, 1952 and 1961.

'MuseGoddess', but she is ambivalently savage and sweet.⁹⁸ His main source, Laura Riding, is hardly known.⁹⁹

Walton and Graves might possibly have known each other's work. Walton was drafting late 1930s: Graves worked with Riding 1926–1940. Their cultural network of famous (Welsh oriented) Celtic artists and writers was not large, and they had a common connection in John Cowper Powys.¹⁰⁰ They both strongly focus Rhiannon as divine, in a matriarchal worldview.

Y Grefft/ The Craft

Gerald Gardner; credited as the 'Father of Wicca', exploited the repeal of the Witchcraft Act (1951) and published *Witchcraft for Today* (1954). Drawing on Celtic and Malay folklore he established a network of British covens, building on Murrayite initiatives. The Wiccan coven system comprises small, discreet cells, led jointly by High Priestess and High Priest, venerating Goddess and God in parity, in seasonal rites and practical magic.¹⁰¹ Alex and Maxine Sanders founded colourful Alexandrian Wicca (late 1960s/1970s). Their initiates Janet and Stuart Farrar published practical guidebooks to classic Wiccan practices (1971, 1981).¹⁰²

⁹⁸ For a more detailed theological account of Graves and Rhiannon Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Graves & Riding pp 479-81.

⁹⁹ Ch. VII. Theologies: Graves, Riding pp 484-86.

¹⁰⁰ The Walton archive has 23 letters from John Cowper Powys: Box 1, Folder 3. Letters from John Cowper Powys: undated, 14/12/1936, 23/02/1939 compliments *Virgin*; 27/02/1937 incomplete; 20/04/1937; 6/03/1937; 19/06/1937; 4/08/1937; 23/10/1937; 31/12/1937; 20/04/1938; 31/07/1938; 9/12/1938; 9 or 10/12/1938; 22/04/1939; 19/08/1939; 22/01/1940; 19/01/1957; 13/02/1957; 15/09/1957; 5/01/1958; 10/12/1958; 1959. Evangeline Ensley Walton papers, Special Collections of the University of Arizona (URL text Bibliography) Cowper's agent Laurence Pollinger almost succeeded in the Bodley Head publication of her *Brothers of Branwen*. Douglas A. Anderson, personal communication 13/09/2023. Graves and Cowper Powys were key contributors to *Wales* magazine.

¹⁰¹ Gerald Brosseau Gardner. 1954. *Witchcraft for Today* (Rider)..

¹⁰² Janet and Stewart Farrar. 1971. *What Witches Do* (Peter Davies); *ibid.* 1981. *Eight Sabbats for Witches* (Hale).

Doreen Valiente, *Witchcraft for Tomorrow* (1978),¹⁰³ was initiated by Gardner. Later known as 'Mother of the Craft' she became widely loved for her quiet common sense and domestic practicality. She challenged Gardner's sexism, and an increasingly rigid Wicca, encouraging a new generation of independent Craft and Paganism, *Rebirth of Witchcraft* (1989); supporting flexibility, equality, openness, and independent solitaires.

Celtic mythology remained popular among scholars. Eric Hamp drew upon the goddess Modron, and her son Maponos (Welsh: Mabon/'Divine Son') to explain the meaning of 'mabinogi'.¹⁰⁴ They do resemble Rhiannon and Pryderi as both Modron and Rhiannon are primarily mothers.¹⁰⁵ Their sons are removed at birth, become renowned hunters and long-term prisoners.¹⁰⁶ The alignment supports the Pryderi Saga concept, but given the flaws of that theory, Rhiannon's Maternal Dyad seems a stronger explanatory scope.¹⁰⁷

Iseum Rhiannon, Madrians

The Fellowship of Isis opened their first Iseum (local group), dedicated to Rhiannon (1977). The Madrians taught goddess Rhiannë (1982).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Valiente, Doreen. 1973. *An ABC Of Witchcraft Past and Present* (Hale). *ibid.* 1983. *Witchcraft for Tomorrow* (Hale). Available online PDF (URL text Bibliography). *ibid.* 1989. *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* (Hale). Obituary, 20/09/20. *The Independent* (URL text Bibliography) The obituary notes when Valiente saw copies of the Charge of the Goddess as posters and cards on a Fayre stall, 'I Am the Goddess' (Brighton 1985). 'Seeing her interest, the stallholder started to explain' at some length. Valiente, a small, middle-aged lady in her characteristic, long green cloak, waited patiently, then observed gently 'I know. I wrote it.' The 'stallholder' was myself. Valiente's words were typically succinct, corrective, but kindly. The obituary account is inaccurate on detail, firstly the words Valiente used were more concise, as given here. Secondly it claims Valiente did not intend the Charge for widespread use. That may have been so when she first wrote it, but at our meeting she was delighted it was circulating widely. Valiente warmly encouraged my work as a fledgeling Goddess teacher: I was just starting House of the Goddess, London (below). Four years later I was honoured she described my work approvingly: *Rebirth*, pp. 193-95.

¹⁰⁴ Eric Hamp, Mabinogi as a collective noun based on stem *mapono meaning 'pertaining to (the family of) the divine Maponos (Welsh Mabon)'. 'Mabinogi', *Cymm.* 1974, pp. 243-49. *ibid.* 1999. 'Mabinogi and Archaism', *Celtica*, 23, pp. 96-112. Also H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. 1893. 'Le dieu Maponus près de Lyon', *Études Celtiques*, 14. William E. A. Axon. 1908. 'Apollo Maponus, Mabon, and the Legend of the Oldest Creatures', *Transactions Lancs. Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, XXIV, 105. Bernhard Maier. 2001. 'Maponos und Telipinu: zu einer Theorie W. J. Gruffydds.', in *150 Jahre "Mabinogion" Deutsche-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen*, ed. by Maier, Bernhard and Zimmer, Stefan. (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer), pp. 79-90.

¹⁰⁵ WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 67, 93-108. Eric Hamp, 'Mabinogi', pp. 243-9. Mac Cana. 1983. *Celtic Mythology* (Newnes), p. 83. Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Modron pp. 429-30.

¹⁰⁶ From *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Ch. I.6. Other Sources #2 p. 33. Triad 52. *Triwyr G6arth a uu ynYnys Prydein* / 'Three Exalted (Supreme) Prisoners of the Island of Britain', TYP, pp. 146-49.

¹⁰⁷ WJG 'Saga of Pryderi' p. 114 as biography: 1) *compert*, 2) *macgnimarcha*, 3) *indarba*, 4) *aided*. Critique: Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: Gruffydd pp. 114-15.

¹⁰⁸ Ch. VII.4.. Temples: Fellowship of Isis; Madrians; pp. 463-64.

Ford: *agwedd hipomorffig*/ Ford: hippomorphic aspect

The central impact of the horse in conquering, holding, and exploiting large territories, has been observed;¹⁰⁹ and the pivotal importance of territory in shaping Mabinogi society's structures and laws.¹¹⁰ Ford strongly develops Anwyl's 'Horse Goddess', and summarises.

Zoomorphism plays an important and extensive role in the Celtic mythological tradition, and the horse is one of its most important manifestations. There is, for example, the widespread worship of the Gaulish horse-goddess Epona, whose cult was taken up by the Romans themselves. An early example of the survival of her cult in the British Isles is the famous white horse of Uffington in England.¹¹¹

Epona has no narrative tale, only images of a Mare, or a woman riding peacefully on-the-side (cf. Rhiannon's pursuit passages). She is strongly maternal, often carrying a food dish; cf. Rhiannon feast-giver. Unlike most localised Celtic cults she spread widely across Europe and the Middle East, via Gaulish horse auxiliaries in Rome's armies; cf. Rhiannon *marchoges*. Uniquely as a native deity she enshrines in the prestige Roman calendar of festivals (Dec. 18). The typical Roman cooption by symbolic/ political marriage with a Roman god is absent; cf. Rhiannon's elitism and independence. Epona appears as psychopomp (funerary inscriptions); cf. the Adar Rhiannon waking the dead.¹¹²

Ford's powerful investigations of Rhiannon's 'hippomorphic aspect' have been rehearsed here already.¹¹³ Rhiannon apparently shows

the problem of the failure of the horse-goddess to guarantee fertility and generate a hero (at the anthropomorphic level) and a foal (at the hippomorphic level)¹¹⁴

Ford therefore develops a structural alternation (not shapeshifts), of distinct identities: woman, goddess and mare. His scheme accents the intimacy of

¹⁰⁹ Ch. III.3. Equine Nobility pp. 160-61.

¹¹⁰ Territory, Ch. III.5. Law, Land & Women: (LLW) pp. 164-77.

¹¹¹ Zoomorphism, Epona: Ford, 'Opposing Sex', p. 426

¹¹² Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Epona, pp. 426-29.

¹¹³ 'hippomorphic aspect', Ford, *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy, in his Introduction to *Welsh Tales*, pp. 5– 14. Title introduced p. 5. Explored mainly pp. 4–14; Epona pp. 4– 5; Irish comparisons, pp. 7–8. Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc* pp. 30-32, observing similarity in scope between his *Cyfranc* and my Mabinogi Rhiannon, also acknowledging my debt. He and I both note Branwen's negative horse narrative as contrast. Also Ch. VIII. Structures: *Cyfranc* pp. 512–13.

¹¹⁴ Failure of Horse Goddess, Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 12.

Rhiannon and horse, first seen at her advent.¹¹⁵ He draws upon Rhÿs and Anwyl, recognising a continuum between Rhiannon and Epona.¹¹⁶

Ford gives a helpfully detailed paraphrase of the Rhiannon–Epona - Horse Goddess material.

With very little difficulty, Rhiannon is to be equated with a goddess worshipped by the Celts of Gaul and, after the Roman conquest of Gaul, by the Romans themselves. Epona, whose name means “divine horse goddess,” is attested in hundreds of statues and inscriptions on the continent, and was revered even in Rome. She is usually depicted mounted on a horse, surrounded by foals, sometimes with birds, sometimes holding a bag that has been taken to be a symbol of the fertility she represents. The horse on which she sits is usually depicted as being at an amble. Juvenal says images of her were to be seen in stables where asses were kept. One of her epithets is *regina*. The Rhiannon of our tale is first seen mounted on a horse that moves at an amble; even so, the horse cannot be overtaken by Pwyll’s swiftest horses. When Pwyll is in danger of losing his betrothed, Rhiannon gives him a bag whose supply of food is unending. [*sic*]

When her child is lost, she is punished by being forced to act like a beast of burden, specifically, a horse. In Manawydan she is punished similarly, being compelled to wear the collar of an ass. In the tale of Branwen the survivors of the battle in Ireland sojourn in the other world and are serenaded by the “birds of Rhiannon.” In short, there is a considerable body of evidence that compels us to regard Rhiannon as a literary version of the horse goddess, Epona. Even her name derives from a Celtic form meaning “divine queen,” recalling Epona’s Latin epithet, *regina*.¹¹⁷

Juliette Wood argues that the link between Rhiannon and Epona has ‘become perhaps too readily accepted’, as Epona’s relationship with the horse is positive, while Rhiannon is associated with punishment.¹¹⁸ This is so, but the Epona comparison also relates to Rhiannon’s proud advent, her Maternal Dyad, her role as a food provider, and via the Adar Rhiannon, a nurturing death

¹¹⁵ First seen at her advent; Sioned Davies’ theory of horse-rider integration is relevant here: Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse pp. 17-20. Symbiosis: Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon’s Horse p. 399. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Horse Goddess pp. 488; the latter gathers together horse symbiosis and intimate, close relationships.

¹¹⁶ I omit WJG here although he plunges into horsey speculations, particularly sparked by Rhiannon’s ‘strange’ penance. But where he is not concocting bizarre fantasies he is derivative of Rhÿs and Anwyl. WJG critique, Ch. I.6. Welsh Academia: Gruffydd pp. 115-16.

¹¹⁷ Ford, ‘Prolegomena’, pp. 206-07. Epona is also found sparsely in Britain. see useful Maps ‘Epona net’: (URL Bibliography). On her name Ch. VII.1. Myths: Epona p. 423 with detail on sometimes holding a *patera*, or other food container; her shrine in a stable, Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*. Rhiannon’s bag does not *supply* food, it engulfs it. Nor is its action ‘unending’; though it does have an exorbitant capacity to hold all the food and drink of Dyfed: Rhiannon, PKM1 15.4–7. JKB 29.2. Restated Pwyll, PKM1 16.22–25. JKB 30.1–2. Also ‘It was a magical bag, of course, and could never be filled’, *ibid*. Ford, p. 207, contradicted by his citing Pwyll’s condition for it to be filled, *ibid* p. 212.

¹¹⁸ Juliette Wood, 1997. ‘The Horse in Welsh Folklore’, in Sioned Davies, *The Horse*, pp. 170-72.

aspect.¹¹⁹ Miranda Aldhouse Green recognises this wide range of comparison. She observes Epona, although fundamentally a horse goddess,

was [also] a divinity of plenty, healing and death, and in this respect she shared many of the functions of the mother goddess.

Epona is also pictured carrying a scarf, symbolising the beginning of a horse race; and a key as chthonic symbol of entrance in the Underworld. Pwyll's pursuits as a horse race strengthens Rhiannon's associations with Epona.¹²⁰

Ford develops a structural symbolism regarding Rhiannon's 'hippomorphic aspect'.¹²¹

It appears that the first branch preserves the memory of this Celtic goddess and the detritus of a myth that told about her mating and giving birth.¹²²

Both Pwyll and Teyrnnon are custodians of a mare: Teyrnnon literally, Pwyll by virtue of the punishment exacted upon Rhiannon.¹²³

The woman, Teyrnnon's wife, has no name and her pretended child has an alias. ... [she] can have no name because she is a shadow of the child's real mother, Rhiannon. ... It is as though a substitute mother had to be found for Rhiannon while she gave simultaneous birth in her hippomorphic aspect, as the mare.¹²⁴

Rhiannon, partaking of both equine and human nature, must resolve the conflict between them before giving birth. The solution lies in separating the two natures ... The crisis ends when the boy and the colt are united and both return to Rhiannon.¹²⁵

Teyrnnon himself restores the boy to Pwyll, leaving his mare and his wife behind. Their arrival in Dyfed signals the end of Rhiannon's equine servitude.¹²⁶

Ford views Pryderi as having three fathers.¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ Ch. VII.1. Myths: Epona pp. 426-29.

¹²⁰ Miranda Aldhouse Green, 'The Symbolic Horse in Pagan Celtic Europe: An Archaeological Perspective', in *The Horse*, p. 14.

¹²¹ 'hippomorphic aspect', Ford, *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy*, in his Introduction to *Welsh Tales*, pp. 9–14. Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc*, pp. 30-32; VIII. Structures pp. 512-13.

¹²² Ford, Introduction to *Welsh Tales*, p. 36.

¹²³ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 210.

¹²⁴ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 210. On the significant anonymity of Teyrnnon's Wife in an interlace Ch. IX. Structures: Three Anons pp. 524-25.

¹²⁵ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 211.

¹²⁶ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 210.

¹²⁷ Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 214. Also marine associations linked to Manawydan and Teyrnnon. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 8. He refers to the Grey of Macha coming from the sea; Macha once called daughter of the Nature of the Sea; PKM4 Dylan and Lleu (Lugh, foster-son of Manannán); Eri and Eochaid Bres in *Compert Brese*; Fomorian etymology; Culhwch falsely claimed found in the sea; WJG trans. of Manawydan *fab Llŷr* as 'son of the Sea' and father of Pryderi derived from the tale Mongán; Teyrnnon *Twrf Liant* as "Lord of the Raging Sea" apt to a sea deity. I have reservations on importing Irish or other foreign matter, and always wariness on WJG's constructions. Teyrnnon as a marine trading lord is theorised Ch. V.7 Teyrnnon, p. 283.

Feministiaid/ Feminists

Swedish artist Monica Sjöö, resident UK, painted 'God Giving Birth' (1968); for which she was threatened with police prosecution for blasphemy. Her pamphlet 'The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All' (1975), developed into her influential book (1987).¹²⁸

The London Matriarchy Study Group (MSG) published a pioneering 'Goddess' edition of *Shrew* (1976), a themed feminist magazine.¹²⁹ One editor was Asphodel Long, a 1960s theology graduate of King's College, London. She taught accredited degree courses in 'Female Aspects of Deity' (1987–94), publishing *In a Chariot Drawn by Lions* (1992); emphasis on Wisdom Goddesses. Her non-domestic partner Daniel Cohen edited the long-running, influential, Goddess centred, 'Wood and Water' magazine (1983-2003).¹³⁰

Model Duwies Driadig/ Triadic Goddess Model

My 'Western Goddess Spirituality' (2001) drew the above herstory into a triadic model, employing the Triple Goddess concept by then well established.¹³¹ The model is not static; devotees can and do move between the three modes, but the three still remain distinctive.

TABLE 41 Triadic Model of Western Goddessing

¹²⁸ Monica Sjöö, *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All*. Sjöö travelled Britain with a mobile exhibition about the Goddess. Women in Art has a photo of the painting, and portrait of Sjöö: (URL Bibliography) under 'Sjoo'. For an excellent account of Sjöö, and how she bridged British and American women's spirituality, Feraro, 'Connecting British Wicca with Radical Feminism'.

¹²⁹ London Matriarchy Study Group (LMSG), 'Goddess', *Shrew* magazine, an occasional themed publication, London Women's Liberation Workshop (1975). (URL text Bibliography) Also Asphodel Long.

¹³⁰ Asphodel Long. 1992. *In a Chariot Drawn by Lions: The Search for the Female in Deity* (Women's Press). (URL Bibliography) The Matriarchy Study Group was a profoundly inspired and seeding collective whose lineage came via the American Jean Freer, from Zsuzanna Budapest (below). Some members could be, in my experience, defensively judgemental, exclusive, even bullying; seeking to extirpate masculine 'pollution'. Asphodel Long was never thus, a notably wise and compassionate guide to many.

Daniel Cohen, ed. "Wood and Water: Goddess-centred feminist influenced Pagan magazine" (1983–2003). Example issue (URL text Bibliography) Asphodel Long.

¹³¹ Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 2001. 'Western Goddess Spirituality: Theology in Social Context', presented 'Religion & Gender: Walking Between the Worlds', international colloquium, fully online which I pioneered (6 weeks 15/02/2001 - 29/03/2001). Dedicated website, chatroom <www.ovular.co.uk> (defunct); Full text Appendix 12. Six lead scholars, 25 participants : Prof. Ursula King (Bristol University); Dr. Carol Christ (Crete, independent teaching centre); Dr. Daphne Sampson (St. Andrews University); Dr. Ruth Martin (College); Dr. Susan Starr Sered (Israel, Haifa University), myself as coordinator (London University Independent Postgraduate Programme).

I Matriarchal Goddess:¹³² from 19thC matriarchal anthropological theory and ancient goddesses of Paleolithic and Neolithic cultures. Solely female/ feminine deity. Values 'world myth' eclecticism. Sometimes anti-men. Usually rejects II Wiccan polarity, but can accept some III Feminist God/dess modes.¹³³

II Wiccan Goddess: est. mid -20thC. Gendered, complementary polarity, or pantheon. Female/ feminine, male/ masculine interpretations. Strong affiliations magic, folk/ ethnic traditions. Usually rejects I Matriarchal sole Goddess. Historically rejecting/strained re homosexuality, later liberalised. May/ may not accept III Feminist God/dess.¹³⁴

III Feminist God/dess: 19thC sources, 1970s/ 80s movement, associated with feminism. Fluid, shapechanging, critiques the first two, yet makes use of either as desired. Often political, including campaigns, demonstrations, politicised ritual. May include non-stereotyped sexual orientation, non-binary gender.¹³⁵

Goddessing may be practised by lone practitioners, pairs, or groups; women-only, men-only,¹³⁶ or mixed.¹³⁷ Generally, practice is solitary or small scale, though large gatherings and festivals developed since the 1980s.¹³⁸ A circle,

¹³² The mistaken assumption of inverted patriarchy was noted Ch. III.6. *Rieni*: Meaning. Peggy Reeves Sanday. 'Matriarchy as a Sociocultural Form: An Old Debate in a New Light'. Recent update 2023, Saini. *Patriarchs: How Men Came to Rule*.

¹³³ Represented by Zsuzsanna Emese Budapest. 1975. *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows* (Luba Publications); MRRN (Matriarchy Research & Reclaim) Newsletter circulated 1970s-90s. MRRN published 'Goddess' themed *Shrew* (1975), an occasional feminist magazine produced by the WLW (Women's Liberation Workshop), London; Marija Gimbutas. 1974. *Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe*; Repr. *ibid.* 1982. *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*; *ibid.* 1992. *Civilisation of the Goddess*; Sjöo and Mor, *Great Cosmic Mother*; Heide Göttner-Abendroth, *The Dancing Goddess. Principles of a Matriarchal Aesthetic*. All with later publications.

¹³⁴ When I wrote 'Western Goddess' (2002), American and British usage of 'Wicca' was diverging; America broadening to an extreme of loose/ any Paganism. My usage is the defined British tradition represented by Gardner, *Witchcraft for Today*; Janet and Stewart Farrar, *What Witches Do*; *ibid.* *Eight Sabbats for Witches*; Valiente, *ABC of Witchcraft*; *ibid.* *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*; Vivianne Crowley. 1989., *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age* (Aquarian Press).

¹³⁵ Represented by Ruth and Jean Mountaingrove, eds. Fall 1974– Summer 1984. 'Womanspirit', quarterly journal (Wolf Creek, Oregon); Mary Daly. 1978. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Beacon); Starhawk, *Spiral Dance* (1979); *ibid.* *Dreaming the Dark* (1982); Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 1986, 2nd edn. 1993. *Circlework* (London: House of the Goddess); Long, *Chariot Drawn by Lions*.

¹³⁶ Men's groups were very few. I led a pioneering one (and very instructive one to me) 1992.

¹³⁷ 'Goddessing' probably derives from Mary Daly's concept that deity is better understood as a verb. 'Why indeed must "God" be a noun? Why not a verb--the most active and dynamic of all? Hasn't the naming of "God" as a noun been an act of murdering that dynamic Verb? And isn't the Verb infinitely more personal than a mere static noun? The anthropomorphic symbols for God may be intended to convey personality, but they fail to convey that God is Be-ing. Women now who are experiencing the shock of nonbeing and the surge of self-affirmation against this are inclined to perceive transcendence as the Verb in which we participate--live, move, and have our being.' Daly. 1973. *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (Beacon Press), p. 52.

'Goddessing' can mean Goddess culture, way of life, practice, 'my goddessing' as in my individual interpretation and experience of Goddess.

¹³⁸ My House of the Goddess, London (UK), pioneered open, public events: 'At Homes', seasonal rites across the south of Britain. Annual 'Pagan Halloween Festival', at ULU (University of London Union), about 1,000 visitors; showcasing Pagan culture over a weekend, with strong Goddess emphasis (1987–96, cont. 'Caduceus' for 10 years longer). House of the Goddess, publicity leaflets

coven, lodge, or tradition, transmits knowledge, training, mutual support; but crucially any acquired status indicated by a title, has no external or legal authority (UK).¹³⁹ A status may sometimes be kept personal (secret) as a purely private matter unknown to a spouse, family or friends. Life rites (baby welcoming, handfastings/ weddings, healings, death rites) operate across the three modes; increasingly with structured trainings for practitioners. Ecological consciousness was an early characteristic, across all three modes.¹⁴⁰ Seasonal rites are celebrated by all modes, as folk tradition, or ecological commitment, or both.¹⁴¹ Meditation, trancework, chanting, psychodrama, drumming, dance, mime, speeches, poetry, costume, masks, artwork, feasting are all features of rituals; typically based on a quartered Circle mandala.¹⁴²

(1985-2001). The Pagan Federation (UK) has run large seasonal festivals since 1990; (PF) 'Pagan Dawn' magazine, and *The Pagan Index* (HoG, 1994). The 'Goddess Conference', Glastonbury initiated 1996 by Kathy Jones and Tina Redpath, has been so successful it developed into a permanent temple organisation. (URL Bibliog. 'Goddess Conference'). For more on these organisations and others Ch. VII.4. Temples pp. 463-66.

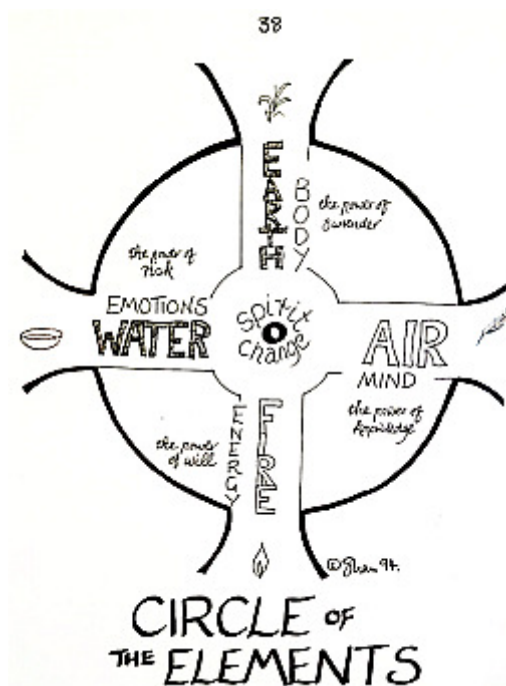
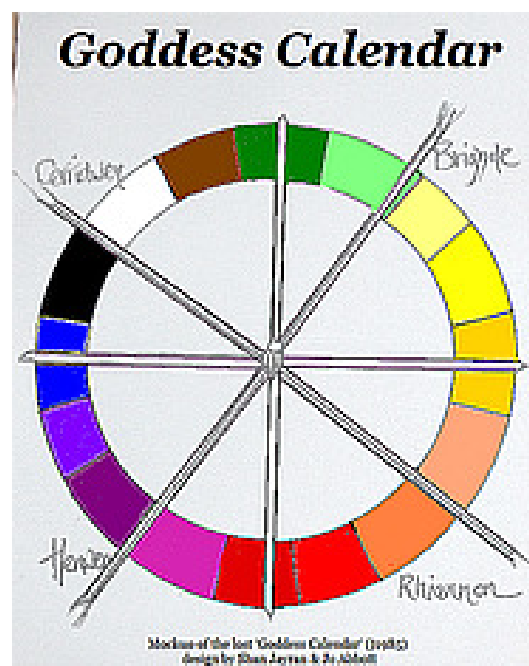
¹³⁹ Religious charity status until the end of the 20thC UK required a monotheist deity, which precluded that status for most Goddess groups. Changes to marriage law allowing flexible venues have enabled life rites practitioners to operate with official status, though unofficial life rites have accompanied all three Goddess modes for much longer. USA religious charity status has always been available due to the political separation of powers, Church and State.

¹⁴⁰ Most of the publications cited above include a 'Mother Earth' perspective. Also Susan Griffin. 1978. *Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her* (Harper Collins). Adele Betty. 1990. *Goddess: Mother of Living Nature* (Thames and Hudson). Paul Reid-Bowen. 2007. *Goddess as Nature: Towards a Philosophical Theology* (Ashgate).

¹⁴¹ Celebrations often though not invariably follow eight dates: Samhain/ Halloween/ New year: Oct. 31st. Yule/ Midwinter: Dec. 21st. (In Britain Christmas is honoured as an almost secular festival). Imbolc/ Brigid's Eve: feb. 1st- 2nd. Eostra/ Spring Equinox: Mar. 21st. Beltaine/ May Day: May 1st. Summer Solstice/ Midsummer: June 21st. Lughnasadh/ Harvest: Aug. 1st-7th. The names were established by Gardner (above), who looked to Gaelic traditions for inspiration. Farrar and Farrar, *Eight Sabbats*.

¹⁴² Budapest, *Lights and Shadows*. Crowley, *Wicca*. Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance*. Morgain, *Circlework*; and Shan Jayran (now Morgain), 'Darklight Philosophy: A Ritual Praxis' in *Paganism Today: Wiccans, Druids, the Goddess, and Ancient Earth Traditions for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Harvey, Graham, and Charlotte Hardman (London and San Francisco: Thorsons, 1996), pp. 204-223.

Below, Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 1994. 'Circle of the Elements' diagram, in my *Circlework*, p. 38.

Quartered Circle mandala¹⁴³

Rough facsimile of lost 'Goddess Calendar' (1985)

Crynodeb/ Summary

This and the preceding chapter cover a long and varied history, so a brief summary seems helpful. To clear the ground there is no explicit Goddess in the Mabinogi. The only reference to a God occurs in exclamations, and seems generic. There is little or no 'leakage' of Christianity from the contemporary, dominant culture.¹⁴⁴

Ancient figurines as Goddess images are subject to debate. The earliest recorded stories come from Sumer, 4,500 years ago, by Enheduanna, the first named author on record. Her hymns to Inanna show a remarkable assonance with Rhiannon narrative. Athena also shows affinity via Perseus. Roman religions incorporated Goddesses, as did early Christianity. Saints, witches, literature and art, sustain the old myths.

The first to record Rhiannon as 'goddess' was William Owen [Pughe] (1803) but he and other native Welsh scholars were not primarily concerned with (goddess) mythology.¹⁴⁵ That approach developed in the 19thC, led by

¹⁴³ Diagram. Quartered Circle mandala. Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 1994. 'Circle of the Elements' diagram, in her Circlework, p. 38. Inserted sketch elements by Terry.

¹⁴⁴ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Goddess pre-1900: Christianity pp. 438-42.

¹⁴⁵ Ch. II.2. Pre-1900: Pughe p. 445 gives screenprint I made of the relevant excerpt from Pughe's 1803. *Geiriadur/ Dictionary*, II, p. 466. One major theme of the period is arrayed in Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Romance pp. 101-104. Luft research on the history theme pp. 62-67.

Bachofen (Europe) and Gage (America) on 'matriarchy'. 19thC theories built universals. Rhŷs desired a 'Celtic' pantheon, and took to adjusting tales to fit theory. He speculated Rhiannon as a dawn, or moon goddess.¹⁴⁶ Mythological Reconstruction would dominate Mabinogi Studies for a century via his student WJ Gruffydd.

The first substantial Mabinogi research addressing Rhiannon as divine, came from Anwyl. He introduced the Epona connection, and a tripartite, structural analysis of Mabinogi 'Cycles'.

Sovereignty Goddess theory reclaimed promiscuous Irish queens (invoking Giraldus' account of an Irish horse ceremony), but the theory does not apply to Welsh traditions such as Rhiannon.

Graves presented Rhiannon as 'MuseGoddess', adored lover but also Mare Goddess, savage nightmare. His 'Triple Goddess' moon phases would become influential.

Murray and Fortune described European underground religion and Celtic priestesses, respectively. Gardner and Valiente developed Wicca, networks of modern Witches, inspired by Celtic folklore.

The 'Fellowship of Isis' nurtured 'Iseums', small centres of Goddess veneration (some with a God too). The first Iseum was dedicated to Rhiannon, in Surrey. Lux Madriana venerated God the Mother as Rhiannë, but derogated Rhiannon as a 'dimmed reflection'. Hamp drew upon Modron and Mabon to explain the term 'mabinogi'.

Walton produced a set of fantasy novels based on, and close to, the Mabinogi, with non-disruptive expansions from matriarchy theory. Her divine Rhiannon is an 'aspect' of Modron, an ancestress of Dyfed, who reincarnates to marry Pwyll, and avert war.

Ford expands upon Anwyl's Horse Goddess initiative, to explore Rhiannon's 'hippomorphic aspect', and create a sophisticated structural analysis, *Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab*.

My triadic Goddess model draws together the above history as Matriarchal, Wiccan and Feminist types.

¹⁴⁶ Rhŷs, Errata and Additions to *Lectures*, p. 678. Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: p. 107 quoted n. 12.

VII *Rhiannon Duwies* / Goddess Rhiannon

VII.4. *Temlau*/Temples

20thC Western Goddess veneration, as outlined in the two preceding chapters, was small-scale and personal. Individuals could explore Goddess spirituality, alone or sometimes by correspondence, or might with time, effort and luck discover a small group meeting in someone's home. The Iseum of Rhiannon (below) is an apt example. Goddessing was scattered and practitioners suffered from isolation in a fringe culture. It was not until the 1980s that larger, organised events and temples developed. This little chapter mainly looks at two leading Goddess temples in Britain, both inspired by American writers (Starhawk and Walton respectively).

Iseum Rhiannon

The 'Fellowship of Isis' was formally founded (1976) by Olivia Robertson and her brother, Lawrence Durdin-Robertson. Its large international membership thrives today. Affiliated groups (Iseums) venerate their chosen Goddess, or Goddess and God.¹⁴⁷ The first Iseum was dedicated to Rhiannon by Violet and Victor Hillman (January 1977), near Sandon racecourse, Surrey; warmly praised by Olivia Durdin Robertson for their courage and generosity.¹⁴⁸ The Iseum particularly supported animal and plant life.¹⁴⁹ After acclaim at their 21st anniversary as an

¹⁴⁷ Fellowship of Isis. The FOI mother temple is at Clonbeg Castle, Eire. (URL Bibliography) Olivia Robertson and Fellowship of Isis. 2013. *Isis of Fellowship: How the Fellowship of Isis was Founded* (CreateSpace). Inga Bårdsen Tøllefsen and Christine Giudice, eds. 2017. *Female Leaders in New Religious Movements* (Palgrave Macmillan, online) (URL Bibliography) The webpage has an informative Abstract, Bibliography, and full Chapter download (purchase).

¹⁴⁸ Certification of first FOI Iseum: 'Iseum of Rhiannon of the Wild White Horse', January 1977, U.K. From Fellowship of Isis - Foundation Center Timeline. According to Olivia the couple gave an interview to the *News of the World*, but I have been unable to trace it. 'Twenty-first Anniversary of First FOI Iseum' [of Rhiannon] (Both URL texts Bibliography) Early members of this Iseum included the authors Athene Williams (who wrote as Murry Hope); and Cottie Burland (scholarly works e.g. indigenous cultures in Mexico. Michael York. 1995. *The Emerging Network: A Sociology of the New-Age and Neo-Pagan Movement* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers), p. 149.

¹⁴⁹ Membership of 'Compassion in World Farming', Petersford, Hampshire, see following.

Iseum (May, 1998) Violet's death (1999) seems to have closed the centre as the FOI archive later lists it as inactive.¹⁵⁰



'Traveller's Rest' a favourite local, meditation spot for Violet.

Madrians

'Lux Madriana' developed in Oxford and Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire (1970s). The Madrians' quarterly 'The Coming Age' (1975ff.) circulated liturgies, art, poetry, stories, and female centred scriptures. By 1982 a lead community ('Silver Sisterhood') settled in Burtonport, Eire, living by crofting and crafts. These core devotees rejected modern technology, mostly living without men. They did not favour the term 'goddess', preferring 'God the Mother'. Their introductory *Book of Rhiannë* (1982) presents Deity as Rhiannë, claiming an ancient 'Rhennish' matriarchal Empire and language. Rhiannë weakly manifests as Rhiannon: 'In her pale and dimmed reflection in Rhiannon of the Mabington [*sic*]'.¹⁵¹

House of the Goddess, London

My House of the Goddess (SW London 1985-2005; HoG) was the first, openly accessible, Western Goddess temple in modern times.¹⁵² The profile of HoG

¹⁵⁰ Certification of first FOI Iseum: 'Iseum of Rhiannon of the Wild White Horse', U.K. From Fellowship of Isis - Foundation Center Timeline. 'Twenty-first Anniversary of First FOI Iseum' [of Rhiannon] (Both URL texts Bibliography)

¹⁵¹ Lux Madriana. 1982. *The book of Rhiannë: the definitive introduction to matriarchy and the feminine tradition* (An Drothead Beo, Burtonport, County Donegal, Eire), 31pp. *samizdat* production. Rhiannon is mentioned as quoted, p. 2, with no other reference to her. With thanks for access to the Museum of Witchcraft and Magic, Boscastle, Cornwall. A later Lux Madriana development became 'Filianism', which still survives, at least online. Race MoChridhe. 2019. *The Eastminster Critical Edition of the Clear Recital and of the Oxonian Rite* (Lulu platform). Extensive Madrian, and Filianic materials. (URL text Bibliography) Helen Gilmour. 16/02/1999. 'How I was drawn to life in a cult', *Telegraph and Argus*. (URL text Bibliography) 'Madrian Deanic Resources', quotes collection, video of the Burtonport community. Filianism. (URL text Bibliography) listed under 'Lux Madriana'.

¹⁵² It should be recalled this is a Western story. There were and are plenty of Goddess temples in Africa, Asia, native Americas. However, since the hegemony of Christianity there have been none in 'the West' since the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus was razed in 401 CE by a Christian mob.

which follows illustrates the context and atmosphere of the period.¹⁵³ Contrasts with the Pagan Federation and Glastonbury Goddess temple (below), and why these latter have flourished longer, are instructive, not least in how a strong, variant Rhiannon-tradition developed in the latter.

The seedbed of HoG was my 'Tabbies' (1980-85): a cosy, women-only retreat: sunny café, sauna suite, meeting room, for which I purchased a terraced property with shop premises and rooms above.¹⁵⁴ Women's meditations (at that time a radical innovation) on Sunday evenings attracted an encouraging MRRN guest,¹⁵⁵ mentioning she knew other women doing similarly pioneering things.¹⁵⁶

Californian Starhawk's *Spiral Dance* (1979) was becoming a worldwide bestseller, followed by her *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics* (1982). These shared the experience of her Goddess network 'Reclaiming'. The ethos is feminist, ecological, pacifist and tantric: *Dreaming* describes using ritual for political empowerment and civil dissent.¹⁵⁷ Fired by *Dreaming the Dark*,¹⁵⁸ I presented a talk, 'The Goddess' (Spring 1983) to about ten women, all as dazed and ecstatic as I was about it. A Dianic (women-only) monthly circle formed; 'Kindling' (1983-85), which lived up to its name by kindling HoG.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ On my status as a religious leader (UK) of the period, Paul Reid-Bowen's assessment, writing 2002, groups me with 'media figures such as Hungarian-American Priestess Zsuzsanna Budapest, American attorney and Wiccan Phyllis Curott, Celtic-British Priestess Shan Jayran and the Jewish-American Wiccan activist Starhawk. The influence of these figures upon the religious worldview, self-understanding and theology of the contemporary Goddess movement is far-reaching.' Reid-Bowen. 'Thinking Goddess/Nature: Feminist metaphysics and the Theological imagination' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Gloucestershire), p. 44. Download see Bibliog. Published 2007 as *Goddess as Nature: Towards a Philosophical Theology* (Ashgate)

¹⁵⁴ Its ethos was extremely inclusive. My partner Jo Abbott, and I, were asked if it was a feminist centre, a lesbian club, a women's crafts centre, a health or beauty spa. We said yes to all.

¹⁵⁵ MRRN (Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Network). The woman concerned would not wish her name mentioned as we did not part well.

¹⁵⁶ To hold women's meditation was at that time so radical and pioneering we did it blindly, and nervously. Women were viewed as a 'distraction' from meditation for the all-important men (personal experience, multiple occasions).

¹⁵⁷ Starhawk. 1979. *The Spiral Dance: a Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess*; and 1982. *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics*. Her political vision is impressively developed, but open to critique as authoritarianism, for dissenters in her later novels are exiled. John Davies, political analyst, personal discussion 1990s.

¹⁵⁸ I read it in one great gulp over 24 hours, and it gave me language and identity for what until then had been vague though strongly felt.

¹⁵⁹ Dianic Craft, women-only praxis though it could sometimes include men in secondary ways. It derived from Zsuzsanna Budapest. 1975. *Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows*, California. This was a collection of experiences from her women's coven during the earlier 70s. Women-only working was immensely validating: to place ourselves at the centre spiritually was truly radical. It

We ran 'I Am the Goddess', a festival stall offering the few available Goddess books, our handmade silk robes and artworks.¹⁶⁰ Doreen Valiente approved our handmade poster 'Charge of the Goddess', gently educating me that she had composed it (to my blushes).¹⁶¹ Another poster was a handpainted 'Goddess Calendar', thirteen lunar months in a circle, each associated with a Goddess. Rhiannon is placed at Beltaine/ May Eve, as the date is mentioned in her Mabinogi narrative.¹⁶² Calendar text attributed her governance of unions, marriage, lovers, and contracts.¹⁶³

By autumn 1985 I had closed 'Tabbies' and begun holding House of the Goddess events in the same building.¹⁶⁴ Meetings, groups and courses aimed to provide 'contact, support, learning and celebration for Pagans and the likeminded'; eventually connecting thousands of women and men in Britain, and internationally.¹⁶⁵ A key principle was accessibility and simplicity: my aim was not to require book based study though this was enthusiastically supported as well. Chanting and drumming in shamanic-style trancework quickly became a hallmark.¹⁶⁶ Our annual Pagan Halloween Festival (est. 1987) was the first national [Pagan/ Witch/ Goddess] festival open to the public. It included a fully participating, ritual Circle. Attendance at the weekends averaged about 1,000; for the ritual 300–500.¹⁶⁷

was this circle that moved me into Goddess leadership, producing House of the Goddess' 20 years service.

¹⁶⁰ There were no more than 15 or so books with Goddess content circulating our alternative networks, and many were obscure. They ranged from 19thC anthropology to Starhawk.

¹⁶¹ Ch. VII.3. 20thC :The Craft, p. 454 n.103 for account of this delightful meeting.

There was also a sisterly meeting with Starhawk (Spring 1985) who visited us for sauna, feasting and gifts. She departed in one of our handmade (gold) Goddess silk robes..

¹⁶² PKM 22.4–5. JKB 35. At that time, it would have come from the Guest translation. In view of later interpretations (below) my Goddess Calendar does not define Rhiannon as a 'Moon Goddess'. Brighde, a Sun Goddess, also marks one of its lunar month periods. Image p. 461 above.

¹⁶³ House of the Goddess, 'Goddess Calendar', 13 months, A4 photocopied on Conqueror vellum, coloured parts handpainted watercolours (1984). My research and design.

¹⁶⁴ 33 Oldridge Rd. London SW12 8PN. My partner Jo and I purchased it for 'Tabbies' (1981); shop floor, rooms above. My introductory *Which Craft?* published 1986, 2nd edn. 1993 (HoG).

¹⁶⁵ At that time, in Goddess circles I was known only by my first name 'Shan'. My legal surname was Jayran, which I had adopted in 1968. In 2005 I adopted 'Morgain'. Renaming is my maternal family tradition to mark life changes.

¹⁶⁶ Initially learned from Michael Harner. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman*. But practice quickly took over, and a flourishing bodhran culture developed.

¹⁶⁷ Several of these rituals dramatised myths from Welsh tradition, but not Rhiannon. I felt her complexity did not lend to the simple outline a ritual drama needs; cf. critique Avalonian Rhiannon tradition which originated in Kathy Jones' ritual drama, next chapter. HoG ran Pagan Halloween Festival for 10 years until 1996, when I handed it to Jeanette of Caduceus, one of the biggest stallholders. The later stage under Caduceus was a competent event

I coordinated my first Mabinogi study series (Spring 1990), assisted by Bethan Williams and John Davies. From our Welsh interest, I composed a Goddess chant which included Rhiannon: circulating from 1990.

*Anu, Brighde, Rhiannon,
Arianrhod, Blodeuedd, Morgaine,
Cerridwen.*¹⁶⁸

John Davies showed me the Mabinogi places we studied in Wales, and we held celebration camps in the Welsh hills during the '90s.¹⁶⁹ (Ken Rees' Mabinogi course began 1994.)¹⁷⁰

HoG was not a collective, nor was it a guru-cult, but something in between: a mini-queenship. I was never elected, but held unchallenged position as leader, based on my London property (above), and my more-than-full-time labour. A fortnightly Clan Council meeting managed much administration by about 10-20 hardworking volunteers.¹⁷¹ We tried to avoid as much hierarchy as possible. I reserved my right of veto if any plan put my personal safety, reputation, or property, at risk. These were live issues on the fringe of a society which saw us as eccentrics at best. At worst, the '90s brought the threat of 'satanic child abuse' hysteria. Interestingly, over the 20 years HoG existed, I never needed to use my veto. Lack of hierarchy, minimal rules, voluntary labour, and passionate ideals,

with the standard recipe of stalls, entertainments and workshops. It dropped the non-profit, community aspects: free workshops, a large Temple area for quiet space, a low cost crèche, free refreshments for all staff, and 'trays' where a new craftworker paid almost nothing to display work for sale on a tray or cloth. The latter nurtured many talents who later took stalls. The big Saturday night ritual became a ritual theatre performance rather than a participation rite.

¹⁶⁸ On checking I find that inexplicably I did not include it in my *Pagan Songbook*. Shan (Jayran, now Morgain), and Bethan Williams. 1994. *The Pagan Songbook*, Illust. VHS tape recorded by John Davies (House of the Goddess). My (Welsh) Celtic chant was a version of Deena Metzger and Caitlin Mullin. 1987. 'Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate, Demeter, Kali, Inanna', Goddessing chant, which we knew from direct networking. That was recorded Reclaiming Collective. 1987. 'Chants: Ritual Music' (Serpentine Music). It earlier appeared as the chorus of Charlie Murphy's anthem, 'The Burning Times', on his 1981. 'Catch the Fire' album (Good Fairy Productions).

¹⁶⁹ I handfasted John Davies July 1989. Our Craft tradition understood handfasting as an older form of marriage, a one year, renewable contract. Shan (then Jayran). *Which Craft?*

¹⁷⁰ Ken Rees. 1995. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi: Celtic Myth and Shamanism' (City Lit College, Mary Ward Centre, London WC2. 11 weekly Fridays, 13th Jan - 31 March 1995) repeated subsequently. Inclusive academic and experiential approach. Rees taught various well-received courses on Pagan, esoteric and Goddess themes at the City Lit from the 1980s until his death 2020. My thanks to Alan Phillips, MA. Celtic Studies (University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, 2016) for his diary data, and sharing our memories of Ken.

¹⁷¹ The concept of 'Clan' was very dear to us, in terms of mutual respect and support. I was titled 'Clan Mother' although I was only in my 30s/early 40s. Other priestesses of similar standing were known as 'High Priestess' a title I never used. Nor did people say 'Shan says' as if that conferred biblical weight (at least I hope not).

meant a messy, exhausting, but highly productive project. A great many of the 21stC leaders of Goddess and Pagan groups, found their feet in HoG.¹⁷²

HoG was very successful in its aims, but ultimately suffered from two vulnerabilities. With one charismatic woman as its core, when my health weakened from exhaustion, so did HoG. The Clan Council might have kept going, but the second factor was lethal. Approaching the millennium political changes became increasingly alien to HoG ethos. We were a tiny detail within neo-liberal, market capitalism, triumphant on the Thatcher-Reagan axis. New Goddess/Pagan people were inspired/ brainwashed by the growing consumerist paradigm. Enthusiasm was not so much for a personal chant, or our own handmade art, as for costly robes and jewellery, smart-suited officers with walkie-talkie technology at festivals, and titled grades of initiation (qualifications).

Little HoG had no chance. I had always seen myself as first among equals, one strong person helping many go where they wanted to go. Now people did not want to go the same way as I did. When persuasion failed, rather than impose my unwanted ideals, I retired (2005).¹⁷³

Pagan Federation

In parallel with HoG the Pagan Federation ('Pagan Front', est. 1971; PF) ran a national hierarchy with broadly similar aims, to support isolated Pagans and educate the public. Two Wiccan covens with secret identities in London steered its top councils. Members paid dues with little voice in the direction of the organisation. The core ethos is divine dualism: Goddess-God partnership. The PF became very successful, expanding internationally. Its increasingly professional,

¹⁷² Personal observation from seeing their names or meeting them as leaders in later years.

¹⁷³ Perhaps two further factors in the ending of HoG bear mentioning. One was powerful competitiveness by the pre-existing Pagan Federation, UK (below). For example the PF had been running their annual Conference each Spring. Once our 'Pagan Halloween Festival' became so successful the PF suddenly moved their event to Halloween, either the previous or following weekend to our Festival and in the same venue we used. Large numbers of people had previously travelled to London to attend both events until the sudden proximity of the dates a week apart made two trips too expensive, or exhausting. We had no choice in our date for a Halloween event, and trapped, saw our attendance numbers fall in the 90s.

The second and later factor was the sabotage of an emerging academic, thealogy network I helped build 1999-05 (see bibliog entries Jayran 1996-2002 incl. aborted PhD, colloquia,) ' This deliberate destruction of years of effort by conservative senior academics, together with the wider political economy under Thatcher operating against cooperative projects like HoG (noted above), contributed to an ugly period for me of despair and health breakdown.

bureaucratic model could comfortably integrate with mainstream councils and government departments, becoming the respectable face of UK Paganism and Goddessing.¹⁷⁴ It also successfully survived the political paradigm shift which ended HoG.

Goddess Temple, Glastonbury

The 'Goddess Conference', Glastonbury (1996) was initiated by Kathy Jones and Tyna Redpath.¹⁷⁵ More a festival than a conference, it celebrated women's spirituality in colourful abundance. It rapidly spread from one venue, the Assembly Rooms, to occupy almost all meeting rooms in the town, including the spacious Town Hall. Originally a single weekend, it expanded to ten days across two late July weekends. It continues to date as the annual high point of the Goddess Temple, founded 2000 by Kathy Jones, who remains leader today (2023). From its early success liaising with Glastonbury Town Council to use its property, the Temple continues to relate relatively easily with mainstream organisations, and so spreads images of Goddess into large areas of society.

The first temple was rented (2002): small, single floor, formally recognised as a place of worship (2003).¹⁷⁶ The larger 'Goddess Hall', Benedict St. was purchased as a Not-For-Profit Social Enterprise (2008), and a Goddess shop opened to service its mortgage. 'Goddess House', Magdalen St. opened 2016, a multifloored building divided into Goddess shrines, one dedicated to Rhiannon (below).¹⁷⁷

The Temple bears some similarity to its predecessor House of the Goddess, also notable differences. Like HoG's Pagan Halloween Festival, the annual Goddess Conference is a joyful, cultural showcase, celebrating abundance. Glastonbury blossoms with women (some men), in wreathed crowns, colourful costumes, softly wrapped bodies glowing with femaleness. Early misgivings the Goddess Conference excluded poorer women prompted a supportive 'Melissa'

¹⁷⁴ Research source 'Pagan Federation Journal' later 'Pagan Dawn'.

¹⁷⁵ Tyna Redpath was proprietor 'Goddess and Green Man' shop Glastonbury High St ongoing

¹⁷⁶ The first small temple is in the Glastonbury Courtyard, off Glastonbury High St. Goddess Temple 'Our Story' online (URL text Bibliography). Continues today.

¹⁷⁷ Dodie Graham McKay. 14/04/2016. 'Goddess House open in Glastonbury', Wild Hunt: Pagan News & Perspectives, online. (URL text Bibliography)

system with volunteer stewards and counsellors paying for access with their labour.¹⁷⁸

'Priestess of Avalon' trainings began (1999) lasting one year. They have valuable content, from counselling to ritual to lore. Diversified creatively in different Goddess traditions, the trainings construct a two tier hierarchy. In its inaugural year 1999 I was excitedly told by young people in the streets of Glastonbury 'We have priestesses here again!' I laughed and replied 'But there have been priestesses here since Dion Fortune in the 1920s and long before that'. The response was telling. 'No, these are *real* priestesses. They have certificates.'¹⁷⁹

The Circle concept of each woman/ man as a priest/ess in their own right is largely supplanted by an elaborate, central dogma. For example the ritual Circle used for public events is a complicated pattern of eightfold goddessing: not intuitively simple like the older, quartered Circle found in HoG and the PF.¹⁸⁰ The eightfold complexity is too much for intuitive grasp, rendering guests impressed, but easily overawed as a separated audience. Ritual meaning is only accessible by serious, preparative study of temple books, like those by Kathy Jones. She was a leading activist in Glastonbury from the 1970s onwards, establishing her own independent publishing imprint, 'Ariadne Productions'.¹⁸¹ She published *The Goddess in Glastonbury* (1990, updated 1996). Possibly her original activism as a book-loving publisher indicates why her Temple is comfortable with bookish Goddessing which enjoys elaborate systems.

Goddess Temple priestesses lead Rhiannon workshops and courses, both in Glastonbury and elsewhere. I attended a 'Rhiannon' workshop by Katinka

¹⁷⁸ To compare, Pagan Halloween and other HoG events were all run on rock bottom pricing or free which did not block anyone's access financially. All staffing was by volunteers. That is not a criticism of the Goddess Temple; both approaches are valid. HoG benefited from my ownership of property for a temple; they had to raise funds for a mortgage for theirs.

¹⁷⁹ I stupidly presented this anecdote in the open Conference hall in a worried, critical way. I should have quietly approached Kathy privately. After that I was no longer invited to give talks at the Conference as I had been previously. Diplomacy fail.

¹⁸⁰ Quartered Circle image p. 461, with n. 142 previous page.

¹⁸¹ Kathy Jones 1976. *Learning to Live in the Country* (Wildwood House). *Ibid.* 1979. 'The Death of God', in *The Glastonbury Thorn*, 1 of 2 (Glastonbury Wimin's Group), pp. 14–17. Jones is one of the named editors' collective, listed p. 3. (URL text Bibliography) Kathy Jones, ed. with others. 1980. *The Glastonbury Thorn*, 2 of 2, (Glastonbury Wimin's Group). (URL text Bibliography) Library of Avalon. 1988, inauguration, Jones as founding committee member citing her useful experience as a publisher: (URL text Bibliography)

Soetens (2018).¹⁸² It was competent, classic goddessing, with ritual symbols, personal sharing in pairs, and physical trance movement using taped music (not living sound).¹⁸³ There were no Welsh words, and no Rhiannon narrative references, at all. Participants were exhorted to (emotionally) reach their 'wild and free' selves, with sexual implications. Held in the Goddess Temple, a painting of Rhiannon to the left of the altar showed Rhiannon dressed in red, with a white unicorn. The 'Rhiannon Room', a shrine and meeting room 'dedicated to the 'Welsh Goddess Rhiannon, Goddess of Love' has strongly red decor (for hire online).¹⁸⁴ Red is a common folk symbol for sexuality, liberation, and weddings.¹⁸⁵

The Goddess Temple interpretation of Rhiannon is very different to Rhiannon of the Mabinogi: see next chapter 'Avalonian Rhiannon'.

~ * ~

VII *Rhiannon Duwies* / Goddess Rhiannon

VII.5. *Duwiesyddiaeth Rhiannon* / Rhiannon Theologies

This chapter considers Rhiannon theologies, including reviews and expansions from previous chapters. With less historical sequence than previous chapters it is about exegesis: thematic and theoretical.

'Thealogy'

The term was developed by USA authors. Naomi Goldenberg's (1979) *Changing of the Gods* highlighted the masculine nature of theology and hoped 'thealogians' would soon arrive. Isaac Bonewitz (1979) defined thealogy as 'Intellectual speculations concerning the nature of the Goddess and Her relations' to the world and humans.¹⁸⁶ Carol Christ (1978) had referred to 'thea-logy' as 'very

¹⁸² Katinka Soetens. 2014. *The Teachings of Rhiannon Part 1: Sacred Sexual Priestess Empowerment, Rhiannon Goddess of Love and the Wild Maiden* (Moonsongs Publishing, Kindle)

¹⁸³ It was pleasant to renew experience of the Goddess work Starhawk and I had developed in the 1980s and 1990s, now in a new generation, though taped music was not my custom. It was interesting how little had changed.

¹⁸⁴ 'Rhiannon Room', photos. Goddess Temple: (URL text Bibliog)

Ch. VII. 5, 'Avalonian Rhiannon' pp. 490-93 (pic, analysis above it pp. 491-92).

¹⁸⁵ Hemming, 'Red, White, and Black in Symbolic Thought'.

¹⁸⁶ Naomi Goldenberg. 1979. *Changing of the gods: Feminism and the end of traditional religions* (Boston: Beacon Press), p. 96. This is the most well known origin. Isaac Bonewits. 1976. *The Druid*

different to Western theology, in her greatly influential 'Why Women Need the Goddess'. In her equally influential 1987 *Laughter of Aphrodite* 'thealogy' appears multiple times, without her previous hyphenation.¹⁸⁷ Charlotte Caron (1993) usefully offered

reflection on the divine in feminine or feminist terms¹⁸⁸

By 1996, when Melissa Raphael (UK), published *Thealogy and Embodiment: The Post-Patriarchal Reconstruction of female Sacrality*, the term was well established.¹⁸⁹ Christ's *Cambridge Companion* essay (2002) used Caron's 'reflection' concept.¹⁹⁰

Etymologically the term combines *koine* Greek *thea*, θεά/ 'goddess', and *logos*, λόγος/ 'divine reason'.¹⁹¹ Christine James translated it for me to Welsh as '*Duwiesyddiaeth*'.¹⁹²

Duwies Fawr/ Great Goddess

'Great' and capital G ('Goddess') applied to Rhiannon does not assert her as Goddess Supreme (sole deity). The 20thC Madrians asserted supreme Goddess, but derogated Rhiannon as a 'pale and dimmed reflection'.¹⁹³ In Walton's thealogy, Rhiannon is an 'aspect' of supreme Goddess: Modron (below).¹⁹⁴ Yet her possible precursor, Celtic-Roman Epona, spread widely across Europe and

Chronicles – Evolved (Drunemeton Press), Glossary.

¹⁸⁷ Carol Christ' surname is pronounced to rhyme with 'mist'. Carol Christ. 1978. 'Why Women Need the Goddess' in *Heresies: The Great Goddess Issue*, A feminist Publication on Art and Politics, p. 10. (URL text Bibliography) From her 1978 address to the 'Great Goddess Re-emerging' conference, University of Santa Cruz. Repr. in *Womanspirit Rising* ed. by Christ, Carol, and Judith Plaskow (1979), pp. 273-287, and subsequently.

Carol Christ. 1987. *Laughter of Aphrodite: Reflections on a Journey to the Goddess* (Cambridge (USA), NY, Philadelphia, Washington, London, Mexico City, São Paulo, Singapore, Sydney: Harper & Row). Includes "'Why Women Need the Goddess', pp. 117–34. The titular article is pp. 183–208. The introduction is titled 'Introduction: Finding the Voices of Feminist Thealogy', p. ix. 'Journey to the Goddess' uses 'thealogy' pp. 12, 13 (X2), 14, 15, 16 (X2), 17.

¹⁸⁸ Charlotte Caron. 1993. *To Make and Make Again: Feminist Ritual Thealogy* (Crossroad), p. 281.

¹⁸⁹ Melissa Raphael. 1996. *Thealogy and Embodiment: The Post-Patriarchal Reconstruction of female Sacrality* (Sheffield Academic Press). Also 1999. *Introducing Thealogy. Discourse On The Goddess* (Bloomsbury)

¹⁹⁰ Carol Christ. 2002. 'Feminist theology as post-traditional thealogy', in *Cambridge Companion to Feminist Theology*, ed. by Parsons, Susan Frank (CUP), pp. 79–96

¹⁹¹ I initiated the Wikipedia article 'Thealogy' 2002. As wiki text does, it has changed since but the basic introductory elements I provided have continued. (URL text Bibliography) I have reproduced them here and clarified Christ's development. Appendix: Wikipedia Rhiannon, raw copy page.

¹⁹² '*Duwiesyddiaeth*'. Christine James, personal communication 2/09/20.

¹⁹³ Lux Madriana, *The book of Rhiannë*, p. 2. Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess p. 464.

¹⁹⁴ Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 118. 'She is part of the Mother', in a discussion of the two opposing creeds, *ibid.* p. 48. Modron revealed, *ibid.* pp. 64–65.

beyond with multiple aspects, including life/ death forces (below). Rhiannon's mediaeval origins are in South Wales, but she develops international identity from the 18thC, and especially since the 1970s.¹⁹⁵ It will be seen Rhiannon as 'Great Goddess' (capital G) is justifiable: Goddess with a complex of aspects including major life/ death forces.

Cefndir/ Background (review)

The most ancient writing on female divinity of all shows surprising alignments with Rhiannon.¹⁹⁶ Inanna was venerated 4,500 years ago and 3,500 miles away (Ur, Sumer). Inanna, like Rhiannon, acquires laws and contract knowledge from her father. She chooses between two suitors, enjoys luxury, abundance and sexual happiness. They are both ruling queens who endure loss of power (involving sevens), then restoration.¹⁹⁷ Both associate with food supplies management; both cope with usurper kings.¹⁹⁸ Rhiannon's narrator pioneers a new narrative form (prose): Inanna's narrator is Enheduanna, is the first named author on record.¹⁹⁹ These surprisingly multiple alignments, more than any other goddess comparison with Rhiannon, provoke a ponder on far-flung, ancient trading voyages, with tales blown on their routes.²⁰⁰ Similarly, Athena (Perseus) is an apt parallel with Rhiannon as patroness of intelligence, arts and technical crafts, and her less known rôle as Athena Hippia training horses and inventing the bridle.²⁰¹

In the 18th and 19thC Mabinogi scholars did not prioritise divinity.²⁰² Pughe did recognise Rhiannon explicitly as 'goddess' (1803).²⁰³ Rhys asserted (1888)

¹⁹⁵ Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess pp. 448-63.

¹⁹⁶ The following is a summary review of Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Inanna p. 418-20.

¹⁹⁷ Inanna descends through seven gates or levels. Rhiannon's penance is set for seven years.

¹⁹⁸ Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Inanna p. 418-20.

¹⁹⁹ Roberta A. Binkley. 2004. *The Rhetoric of Origins and the Other: Reading the Ancient Figure of Enheduanna*, in *Rhetoric Before and Beyond the Greeks*, ed. by Lipson, Carol S. and Roberta A. Binkley (State University of New York), p. 47. pp. 47-63.

²⁰⁰ Map of Goddess Myths, Ch. VII.1. p. 418; and cf. the Athena- Perseus (*kibisis*) legend, from beyond the Pillars of Hercules, Ch. VI.5. Bag pp. 404-06 (comparable elements).

²⁰¹ Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Athena pp. 425-26. Also Ch. VI.5. Bag: Perseus pp 403-06.

²⁰² Their concerns were primarily historical evidence, or literature as Romance. My study includes Guest here because she was strongly mentored by Welsh scholars and markedly faithful to their direction of her. Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams pp. 64-65; Lewis Morris pp. 65-67; and Romance pp. 101-04.

²⁰³ Owen [Pughe]. *Geiriadur/ Dictionary*, II, p. 466.
Image, Ch. VII.2 Pre-1900 p. 445.

Rhiannon is to be regarded as a goddess with free access to both worlds.²⁰⁴

He speculated Rhiannon as dawn or moon goddess, without comment.²⁰⁵

I am now inclined to identify her with the moon rather than with the dawn.²⁰⁶

A 'Dawn Goddess' might be arguable from Rhiannon's waking at dawn to discover her newborn is gone.²⁰⁷ Although decisive, this moment could only be an aspect of her complexity. Moon Goddesses belong to Greek and Roman pantheons; Celts venerated Sun goddesses e.g.. Brighde, with little attention to the Moon.²⁰⁸

Anwyl

Anwyl is the first significant Rhiannon theologian (1897-1912). He identifies *-on* as a divinity suffix, which supports Rhiannon as Goddess.²⁰⁹ Anwyl's powerful triadic 'Cycles' analysis has been reviewed: of the three the Rhiannon–Cycle is the binding crux of this Mabinogi system.²¹⁰ He suggests a possible paired tradition with Teyrnon based on their common suffix, and close relations between Dyfed and Gwent.²¹¹

²⁰⁴ Rhÿs, *Lectures*, VI: 'The Distress of the Gods and the Sun Hero's Aid', p. 641.

²⁰⁵ 'With regard to Rhiannon, I am now inclined to identify her with the moon rather than with the dawn.' Rhÿs, *Lectures*, Errata and Additions, p. 678. He refers elsewhere to Epona as a Gaulish deity illustrating the *-on* suffix without referencing Rhiannon. Rhÿs, *Lectures*, I, p. 27. His views are set within the Müller dualism theory of light/ dark, solar/ chthonic; Ch. II.6 Academy: Rhÿs, p. 109. His 'moon goddess' derives from the Classics' female moon/ male Sun, not from Celtic myth. A 'dawn goddess' might be arguable derived from Rhiannon's waking at dawn to discover her newborn is gone. PKM1 20.23–24. JKB 54.1. This is certainly pivotal to her narrative and my study strongly asserts her Maternal Dyad (Ch. V.10 Pryderi, pp. 322–28). However, dawn, and this critical moment, is inadequate to Rhiannon's complexity.

²⁰⁶ Rhÿs, *Lectures*, Additions, p. 678. He refers elsewhere to Epona as a Gaulish deity illustrating the *-on* suffix without referencing Rhiannon. Rhÿs, *Lectures*, I, p. 27. His views are set within Müller dualism theory, light/ dark, solar/ chthonic, which much influenced him but admitted it did not fit Welsh traditions; Ch. II.6 Academy: Rhÿs, p. 107.

²⁰⁷ Dawn waking: PKM1 20.23–24. JKB 54.1. My study strongly asserts her Maternal Dyad, so a Dawn Goddess might be included as one of her aspects but this is not adequate to a main theme.

²⁰⁸ McCrickard, *Brighde: Her History, Folklore and Mythology*. The Moon Goddess popular in the later 20thC, appears not to derive from Rhÿs' comment, more likely from Robert Graves, below.

²⁰⁹ 'Among the most authentic names of Celtic deities there are several instances of this type, as, for example, Maponos, Epona, Sirona, Damona. In the Mabinogion we find several examples of names of this formation, such as Mabon (Maponos), Modron (Matrona), Rhiannon (Rlgantona), Teyrnon (Tigemdnos), Amaethon (Ambaetonos), Gofannon (Gobannonos), Gwydion (Vitionos)'. Anwyl, 'The Value of the Mabinogion for the Study of Celtic Religion', p. 241, n. 18.

²¹⁰ Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Anwyl pp. 474–76. Also his major works in wider Mabinogi Studies' development: Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: Anwyl pp. 108–11.

²¹¹ Rhiannon and Teyrnon: Anwyl, 'Four Branches', II, p. 288 and *ibid.* IV, p. 126. Teyrnon is seen in the Mabinogi as the established, loyal friend of Pwyll (Dyfed) when he recognises the

It is somewhat curious, however, that the names Rhiannon and Teyrnon seem to form a pair. Rhiannon being 'Rigantona' and 'Teyrnon' = Tigernos²¹²

Possibly legends were current in Gwent which treated Rhiannon (Rigantona) as the female partner of Teyrnon (Tiger-nonos).²¹³

A Rhiannon–Teyrnon folk tradition might be plausible, but there is no record of a goddess named 'Rigantona': the name is a retroactive, linguistic reconstruction from 'Rhiannon', so any 'Rigantona' comment risks being circular.²¹⁴

Anwyl introduces the ancestral background of Epona, and finds Rhiannon

a

matter of a very ancient kind. For example, the association of Rhiannon as a rider with a horse, and the further association of her son Gwri Wallt Euryn with horses, raise the question whether Rhiannon herself may not once have been a kind of deity like Epona, a goddess in the form of a mare. The allusion also to the mare of Teyrnon, which foaled every year on the first of May (the beginning of the second half of the Celtic year), suggests forcibly the idea that there may at one time have been an attempt to explain the growth of summer by the rebirth, from a divine mare, of the spirit of vegetation in the form of a foal. The great Earth-Mother may well have been herself represented as a mare, since it does not in the least follow that she, while regarded as a mother, would be represented in human form. The year's period of gestation of a mare would also help this conception. In the older conception Gwri Wallt Euryn may not have been regarded as human at all, but simply as a foal.²¹⁵

Here is Rhiannon the great Earth Mother who is also Horse Goddess, in a seasonal cycle, derived from Frazer's *Golden Bough*.²¹⁶ The eternal Great Mother Goddess

foundling's identity: PKM1 24.18–22. JKB 37.1. The episode ends celebrating strong alliance between the two realms. PKM1 27. 1–11. JKB 39.1.

²¹² 'Rigantona' and Tigernos': Anwyl, 'Four Branches', (his) Ch. II, p. 288

²¹³ 'Rigantona' and Tiger-nonos': Anwyl, 'Four Branches', (his) Ch. IV, p. 126.

²¹⁴ 'Rigantona' seems to be introduced by Anwyl as part of the construction of Rhiannon/Rigantona and Teyrnon/ Tigernos as a pair. Anwyl, 'Four Branches', IV, p. 126. 'Rigantona' is sustained by WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 98, 103, 107. He refers to 'figures' (i.e. visual images) of Rigantona, remembered in Wales as Rhiannon, *ibid.* p. 105; the statement might be valid if referring to Epona and Britain rather than Wales. WJG does not credit Anwyl here. See Kris Hughes rejection of 'ancient goddess', p. 505 below; and Hutton, 'Pre-Christian Deities'.

²¹⁵ Anwyl. 1906. *Celtic Religion in Pre-Christian Times*, p. 240. Quoted at length partly because Anwyl gives a good summary of the period view which set out a fundamental theology becoming very influential later, but also because he himself is typically overlooked, WJG suppression Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd pp. 111, 116. Anwyl's final comment on Gwri as a foal is strongly developed by WJG, without crediting Anwyl. Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd p. 112.

²¹⁶ Frazer, *Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*. He insisted his ideas were speculative and should be replaced by more inductively based knowledge, cited here p. 442 n 63.

provides a foundation of stability and justice, but as Goddess she is static, without dynamic development or depth.²¹⁷

WJG's 'Myth of Rhiannon' (1953) draws on Rhôs and Anwyl with little crediting, but distorts Rhiannon narrative so enthusiastically he is rarely a reliable source.²¹⁸

Duwies Sofraniaeth/ Sovereignty Goddess

The Sovereignty Goddess is treated and critiqued at length here because it became influential and is often associated with Rhiannon. Tomas O'Maille (1928) progressed perceptions of Irish Queen Medb from merely promiscuous, to an agent and embodiment of Sovereignty, selecting kings through her sexual blessing.²¹⁹ Mac Cana, Ford, and McKenna saw this Sovereignty Goddess appearing in Welsh tales.²²⁰ Mac Cana applies the concept to Rhiannon.

Rhiannon chooses Pwyll for her husband – she reincarnates the goddess of sovereignty – ordained him the legitimate king of the territory which she personified.

He refers to her 'conscious dominance'; she is 'masterful' and 'oversways her lord'.²²¹ Apparently a woman may not be dominant and effective in strategy, unless she is a goddess.

Valente's critique that Mabinogi goddess theory obscures its women's humanity, applies here.²²² The Sovereignty goddess seems a diminished distortion, a repository for unacceptable feminine traits. It is confused how

²¹⁷ Cf. Valente's critique that goddess perspectives obscure the women's complexity. Valente, 'Merched', p. 6. Ch. II.8. Feminism: Valente pp. 130-31, with several key Valente quotes.

²¹⁸ WJG: Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd pp. 111-16, for detail, and firm but sympathetic critique.

²¹⁹ Tomas O Maille. 1928. 'Medb Chruachna', *ZCP*, 17, pp. 129-63. Cf. the 19thC Matriarchy theory, Bachofen *et al.* Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900 pp. 442-43.

²²⁰ Mac Cana, 'Aspects of the Theme of King and Goddess in Irish Literature', pp. 76-114; and pp. 356-413; *ibid.* vol. 8, pp. 59-65. Ford links her 'hippomorphism', *Welsh Tales*, pp. 9-14, analysis below. Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, pp. 57-58. McKenna, 'Sovereignty', *BBCS*, 29 (1980), pp. 35-52, repr. Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 308-26. Ford, 'Celtic Women: The Opposing Sex', pp. 425-26. Dating indicates Mythology and Irish influences hegemony, headed by WJG, Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhôs pp. 106-08, and Gruffydd pp. 111-16.

²²¹ Mac Cana continues: 'Not only does she take the initiative in forming a marriage alliance, but she oversways her lord and her suitor and imprints her conscious dominance on all her converse with them except the Calumniated Wife episode which is in any case a secondary theme. When Pwyll in his innocence allows himself to be tricked by Gwawl ... she does not conceal her impatience, and in the aftermath it is she who dictates the stratagem by which Gwawl is finally foiled. Her masterful behaviour carries over into her dealings with Manawydan in the third branch, though here the shrewd old pragmatist is more her match than the conventional heroic prince.' Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, pp. 57-58.

²²² Valente, 'Merched', p. 6. Quoted Ch. II.8. Feminism: Valente pp. 129-30.

Rhiannon can confer the territory of Dyfed when she is a foreigner, explicitly journeying to Dyfed as a bride from her father's court.²²³ Manawydan acquires lordship as much or more via Pryderi as Rhiannon.²²⁴ Contemporary with Mac Cana and Ford, I. C. Lovecy (1977) briefly discusses whether Sovereignty is an Irish or a pan-Celtic figure, concluding 'nowhere in Welsh is there any specific Sovereignty figure', and Erica Sessle follows suit with particular attention to Rhiannon.²²⁵

Nonetheless Catherine McKenna (1980) sees Rhiannon's 'independent strong mindedness in choosing a husband, and superior wisdom' as marking a Sovereignty Goddess.

The theme of sovereignty is implicit ... The core ... is the figure of Rhiannon. ... as such she may be identified with the goddess of sovereignty so important to Celtic tradition, the goddess whose hand must be won by any aspirant to kingship.²²⁶

McKenna develops the 'Pwyll as fool' perspective into a teaching text theory, in which Pwyll learns lordship,²²⁷ to be given his final accolade by Rhiannon as Sovereignty Goddess. She summarises the (Irish) Sovereignty Goddess tradition then matches Rhiannon to it. Paraphrasing:

A hero king candidate reveals himself through testing as rightful.
He sexually unites with the Goddess.
She offers him a feast or libation.
She shapechanges if separated from him.
She mothers an heir, and becomes ancestress of a royal line.²²⁸

Pwyll is far from a fool. Rather than learning lordship, it is asserted in this study, he models it.²²⁹ At the opening of the entire Mabinogi Pwyll is already *pendefig Dyfed*/ Prince of Dyfed.²³⁰ Moreover, my study argues that Pwyll's pre-

²²³ Journey: PKM1 19.3–10. JKB 31.2.

²²⁴ Pryderi bestows Dyfed lordship and Rhiannon upon Manawydan: PKM3 49.17–50.2. JKB 63.1–63.2. Note especially Pryderi says *A pheî mynhut gyuoeth eiryoet, aduyd y/ caffut ti [waeth] hwnnw*. PKM3 50. 1–2. 'And if you ever wished for a realm, perhaps you will take that.' JKB 63.2.

²²⁵ Ian Charles Lovecy. 1977–78. 'The Celtic Sovereignty Theme and the Structure of' Peredur', *Studia Celtica*, 12–13, p. 135. Erica Sessle rehearses similarly, concluding 'The existence of the sovereignty goddess does not appear in the Welsh tradition with a specifically defined figure, fulfilling the criteria as discussed in the Irish literatures.' Sessle, 'Limitations', p. 10.

²²⁶ Rhiannon as goddess of sovereignty, McKenna, 'Sovereignty' p. 317.

²²⁷ Critique Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Sovereignty, pp. 259–60. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sov. Goddess 476–79.

²²⁸ Components listed, McKenna, 'Sovereignty', pp. 318–19.

²²⁹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Sovereignty pp. 259–60. Ch. VII.3. 20thC, pp. 450–01.

²³⁰ McKenna, 'Sovereignty', p. 19. *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, a oed yn arglwyd ar seith/ cantref Dyuet*. PKM1 1.1–2. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed was lord over the seven cantrefs of Dyfed', JKB 19.1. Pwyll the prince shows no aspiration to be a king. He gains the status title *Pen Annwfn*/ Head of Annwfn, but this is a military, political alliance. Ford does observe 'Pwyll establishes sovereignty

eminence as a princely lord when Rhiannon seeks him out, is precisely what prompts her to do so.²³¹ Pwyll and Rhiannon do 'sexually unite', but as a normal initiation of their marriage, without trace of additional weighting.²³² Rhiannon does provide a feast for Pwyll, but she also provides one for her son.²³³ The Sovereignty Goddess' accolade is not incestuously for a son. McKenna rightly argues Rhiannon 'suffer[s] a tremendous loss of queenly dignity when she is compelled to wait by the horse-block'. But this is not a shapeshifting: Rhiannon remains a woman.²³⁴ McKenna maintains Rhiannon's 'suffering is at least loosely related to a separation from her spouse', because Pwyll does not support her, and imposes penance upon her.²³⁵ This disregards Pwyll's defence of her in refusing to divorce her, Rhiannon's consultation and consent to undergo the penance he proposes, and their evident closeness as she sits beside him in honour.²³⁶ Finally McKenna points to Pryderi to show that Rhiannon is mother of the heir, and ancestress of royalty,²³⁷ but there is no extant tradition of Pryderi and Cigfa's children forming a royal line.²³⁸

It would appear that the Sovereignty Goddess may be at home in Ireland, but does not dwell in the Wales of Mabinogi Rhiannon.

in Annwfn, Arawn perfects the secular rule of Dyfed'. 'Prolegomena', p. 205. This might be seen as Pwyll becoming a king, but the text is very clear he is only borrowing the position temporarily as *y/ gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*, PKM1 5.20-21 and 6.6. 'the man who was in Arawn's place', JKB 21.1 & 21.2.

²³¹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, pp. 243.

²³² Rhiannon, PKM1 18.19-21. JKB 31.2. Branwen similarly, explicitly unites with Matholwch, and surely the royal Irish marriage would hint their native tradition – if it applied. PKM2 31.16. JKB 46.1.

²³³ Feast for Pryderi, PKM3 50.12-14. JKB 63.2-64.1.

²³⁴ McKenna, 'Sovereignty', p. 319. McKenna might have taken this regarding Rhiannon bearing people on her back, *like* a horse, but even so, she does not *become* a horse. PKM1 21.21-28. JKB 35.1. The penance is humiliating precisely because she is a woman, not a horse. The Mabinogi does have shapeshifts from human to animal: Deer PKM4 75.20-21. Boar, PKM4 76. 16-19. Wolf, PKM4 8-17. JKB 91.1-92.2. These are described very clearly, not left to inference, which raises the query why a supposed Rhiannon shapeshift should be coyly narrated. Ford's analysis structures Rhiannon's distinct 'anthropomorphic aspect' and her 'hippomorphic aspect', Ch. VIII Structures pp. 507-08. As PKM1 shifts from Dyfed to Gwent, these narrative aspects contrast each other, with one active against the other suppressed. Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 13-14. *Ibid.* 'Prolegomena', pp. 210-211. WJG's theory is Rhiannon births a foal: WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 66.

²³⁵ Pwyll unsupportive, McKenna, 'Sovereignty', p. 320.

²³⁶ Consults advisers, accepts penance, PKM1 21. 19-21. JKB 34.2-35.1. Sits beside Pwyll, PKM1 25.23-25. JKB 37.1.

²³⁷ Ancestress, McKenna, 'Sovereignty', p. 19.

²³⁸ Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' pp. 177-83, suggests Rhiannon satisfies the elite, female *rieni* status: she is the potential heir bearer. She does mother the next generation. But that is not the same as mothering a 'royal line'. In Ch. V.10. Pryderi p. 306 n. 654, it is suggested he might have had an heir; if not his death would be doubly tragic, and it would be remarked. The issue remains open to debate.

Defod Ceffyl Gwyddelig Giraldus / Giraldus' Irish horse ceremony

Giraldus Cambrensis in *Topographia Hibernia*, c. 1188, soon after the Normans invaded Ireland, describes an Irish ceremony: a king-candidate in sexual congress with a white mare.²³⁹ Cited to support 'Sovereignty Goddess' commentary (above) it usually has little or no quotation.

*Sunt et quedam, que nisi materie cursus expeteret, pudor reticenda persuaderet. Verumtamen, historie seueritas nec ueritati parcere nouit nec uerecundie. Est igitur in boreali et ulteriori Vltonie parte, scilicet apud Kenelcunil, gens quedam, que barbaro nimis et abhominabili ritu sic sibi regem creare solet. Collecto in unum uniuerso terre illius populo, in medium producit, iumentum candidum. Ad quod sullimandus ille non in principem sed in beluam, non in regem sed exlegem, coram omnibus bestialiter accedens, se quoque bestiam profitetur. Et statim iumento interfecto, et frustatim in aqua decocto, in eadem aqua balneum ei paratur. Cui insidens, de carnibus illis sibi allatis, circumstante populo suo et conuescente, comedit ipse. De iure quoque quo lauatur, non uase aliquo, non manu, sed ore tantum circumquaque haurit et bibit. Quibus ita rite, non recte completis, regnum illius et dominium est confirmatum.*²⁴⁰

Giraldus is contemptuous: he feels 'pudor/ shame' in even describing 'a rite altogether outlandish and abominable'; the candidate-king is 'as a beast', practising 'this unrighteous rite'. His account was

²³⁹ Julius Pokorny. 1926. 'Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen', 'The non-Indo-European substratum in Irish' (my trans.), 1, *ZCP*, XIV, p. 123. Franz Rolf Schröder. 1926. 'Ein Altirischer Krönungsritus und das Indo-germanische Rossopfer', 'An ancient Irish coronation rite and the Indo-Germanic horse sacrifice' (my trans.), *ZCP*, XVI, 1, pp. 310–312.

²⁴⁰ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernia*, III, XXV. 'There are some things which, if the exigencies of my account did not demand it, shame would discountenance their being described. But the austere discipline of history spares neither truth nor modesty. There is in the northern and farther part of Ulster, namely in Kenelcunil [Tyrconnell], a certain people which is accustomed to consecrate its king with a rite altogether outlandish and abominable. When the whole people of that land has been gathered together in one place, a white mare is brought forward into the middle of the assembly. He who is to be inaugurated, not as a chief, but as a beast, not as a king, but as an outlaw, embraces the animal before all, professing himself to be a beast also. The mare is then killed immediately, cut up in pieces, and boiled in water. A bath is prepared for the man afterwards in the same water. He sits in the bath surrounded by all his people, and all, he and they, eat of the meat of the mare which is brought to them. He quaffs and drinks of the broth in which he is bathed, not in any cup, or using his hand, but just dipping his mouth into it round about him. When this unrighteous rite has been carried out, his kingship and dominion has been conferred.'

Latin text: Charles Doherty, ed. 2005. 'Kingship in Early Ireland', in *Tara: A Study of an Exceptional Kingship and Landscape*, ed. by Bhreathnach, Edel (Maynooth: An Sagart), p. 16..

English translation: John J. O'Meara, trans. 1951. *The First Version of the Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, (Dundalk: Duldalgan Press), p. 93. *ibid.* 1982 repr. *The history and topography of Ireland Gerald of Wales; Translated with an Introduction by John J. O'Meara* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books), 3, s. 102, pp. 109–110.

Perseus' Latin dictionary online gives *iumentum*: a beast for hauling, draught-animal, beast of burden, horse, mule, ass. In this case, it is translated as 'mare'. Giraldus seems to further debase the rite by not using the Latin *equa*: female horse. The term *candidum*: shining white, clear, bright, evokes the Welsh adjectives *canwelw*/ pale-white, and *llathreit*/ shining bright, in Otherworldly animals; cf. Rhiannon and her horse at her advent, Ch. I.6. Advent: #5 Horse pp. 17-20.

discredited by some scholars, but there is little doubt that it is well-founded. It resembles closely the Hindu rite of *asvamedha* in which the queen goes through a symbolic union with the slaughtered stallion, plainly a fertility rite.²⁴¹

Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty also compares these two rites.²⁴² The 5,000 miles between the two cultures is a stretch. Although 'Rhiannon' etymology has a similar Indo-European span it evidences linguistic links in intervening cultures.²⁴³ Other critics have strongly dismissed the tale as propaganda to justify Norman conquest and Church expansion, or a silly tourist tale.²⁴⁴

Notwithstanding Giraldus' likely political/ Church agenda, the tourist tale possibility, and Irish (not Welsh) provenance, these rites have been persistently linked to Rhiannon, calling for assessment in relation to her. The Irish kingly male has sexual congress with a white mare, somewhat resembling Pwyll the prince wedding Rhiannon, who rides and resembles a *canwelw*/ pale-white horse.²⁴⁵ But the Irish event enacts before all the people. Our Welsh couple frankly enjoy their wedding night, but retire discreetly to the inner chamber in

²⁴¹ *Asvamedha*, fertility rite, Myles Dillon and Nora Chadwick. 1967. *The Celtic Realms*, History and Civilisation series (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson), pp. 93-94.

²⁴² Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, 'Cows and Mares, and Androgynes', 5, pp. 149-282.

²⁴³ Indo-European span, Ch. I.3. Etymology pp 7-8.

²⁴⁴ Silly, a tourism tale: 'obviously one of the many silly stories which we find in Giraldus', William Nicholson [Bishop of Derry]. 1724. *Irish Historical Library*; 'fictitious relations', Patrick Weston Joyce. 1893. *A Short History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608* (Longmans); Ronald Hutton, 'Medieval Welsh Literature and Pre-Christian Deities'.

Political propaganda: 'an elaborate Latin treatise designed to prejudice the Irish race with the Holy See and justify their subjugation', Charles Gavan Duffy. 1882. *Bird's-Eye View of Irish History*, pp. 19-22; 'intended to justify the expansion of Angevin temporal power by reference to the overriding necessity of securing Irish conformity to the spiritual power of the universal Church', David Cairns and Shaun Richards. 1988. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (Manchester University Press), p. 3; 'Gerald of Wales was a supporter of the Norman conquest of Ireland, and his writings were nothing more than propaganda which, whilst entertaining perhaps, cannot be taken seriously. ... people want to believe it's true, perhaps because it makes us seem so much more civilised in comparison.' Ali Isaacs. 23/05/13 updated 27/07/13. '6 Sacred Rites of Kings', Blog, Storyteller. (URL text Bibliography) Also Britt Forde. 2016. 'National identity, classical tradition, Christian reform and colonial expansion at the ends of the earth: an analysis of representations of the Swedish and Norwegian peoples in Adam of Bremen's history of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen and the Irish in Gerald of Wales's topography of Ireland', unpublished master's thesis, University College Cork, p. 66. (URL text Bibliography) Amelia Lynn Borrego Sargent. 2011. 'Visions and Revisions: Gerald of Wales, Authorship, and the Construction of Political, Religious, and Legal Geographies in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Britain', University of California, Berkeley. (URL text Bibliography) Sarah E. McKibben. 2015. 'In their "owne cowntre": Deriding and Defending the Early Modern Irish Nation after Gerald of Wales', *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies*, 8, pp. 39-70.

²⁴⁵ Rhiannon- horse description integration (resemblance) Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse pp. 17-19; symbiosis Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse, p. 399. But symbiosis in these accounts is not sacrifice.

respectable marriage.²⁴⁶ The Irish rite proceeds to primitive eating and drinking of the same horse (flesh). Rhiannon and Pwyll's sexual pleasure is *preceded* by *sophisticated* feasting. Rhiannon's horse is never eaten; nor is the Gwent mare.²⁴⁷

The Indian *asvamedha* rite is even less like Mabinogi Rhiannon. Its sexual congress is between a queen and a dead stallion, with the aim to promote the queen's fertility (not sovereignty as for an Irish king). Rhiannon has a strained, barren period as a queen, but there is no hint she mates with a dead stallion to solve it.²⁴⁸

Evangeline Walton

Evangeline Walton's theology developed in the 1930s–1940s, though not successfully published until the 1970s in four linked novels. Her work is sophisticated, and generally faithful to Mabinogi text.²⁴⁹ She acknowledges her Matriarchal vision sources from Briffault's *Mothers* (1927).²⁵⁰ Her *Prince of Annwn* recounts Rhiannon and Pwyll. *Song of Rhiannon* continues, covering

²⁴⁶ Wedding night, PKM1 18.15–21. JKB 31.1–2.

²⁴⁷ Hippophagy. 'Horse eating is still taboo in English-speaking countries like the UK, Ireland, the USA.' Sylvain Leteux. 2016. 'Is hippophagy a taboo in constant evolution?', Researchgate (Université de Lille,). Maintains hippophagy fluctuates in different periods. (URL text Bibliography) C. Otter. 2011. 'Hippophagy in the UK: a failed dietary revolution', in *Endeavour*, 35, 2/3, pp. 80-90. Compares Britain and France, concluding in the latter scientists, veterinarians, doctors and public health officials, helped by journalists, philanthropists and ultimately horse butchers, overcame ingrained resistance to horsemeat.

²⁴⁸ Barren period, nobles Preseli council, PKM1 19.18. JKB 33.2.. Ford suggests a correlation between Rhiannon's difficulty conceiving and the Gwent mare's repeated loss of her foals. From a female perspective difficulty conceiving is not at all the same as live birth then death. The Gwent mare has no difficulty conceiving: retaining the birthed foal is her problem..

²⁴⁹ Evangeline Walton is considered in her social context: Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Walton pp. 446-47. Her novels relevant to Rhiannon are two of her quartet; Walton. 1974. *Prince of Annwn* (based on PKM1); *ibid.* 1972. *Song of Rhiannon* (based on PKM3). Referencing here is on the 2002. *Mabinogion Tetralogy*, which combines all four of her Mabinogi novels. Her strong commitment to text fidelity is stated *ibid. Mabinogion*, p. 424. Her Rhiannon theology Ch. VII. 4. pp. 451-452.

²⁵⁰ Walton. 1974 edn. *Mabinogion*, p. 138. Robert Briffault. 1927. *The Mothers: A Study of the origins of sentiments and institutions* (Allen & Unwin).

Nicole A. Thomas maintains that the Mabinogi censors Rhiannon's divinity '(intentionally or otherwise) by the Mabinogi's medieval Christian redaction.' She finds Walton salvages Rhiannon's divinity by feminist interpretation. 'The Daughters of Modron: Evangeline Walton's Feminist Revisioning of the "Mabinogi"', (her) Ch. V., p. 193. Thomas' study offers no support for this assertion, and my study does not agree; Ch. VII.2. 20thC Goddess: Christianity pp, 443-47, where I show there is barely any Christian content in the Mabinogi. It may be relevant Thomas' work is an English Literature thesis which only references Guest's translation as Mabinogi source. Otherwise it is a valuable exploration of Walton.

Pryderi's birth, Gwent childhood, and restoration. Manawydan is given as Pryderi's secret father as in WJG's Manannàn/ Mongan theory.²⁵¹

Her thealogy centres upon supreme Goddess Modron, of whom Rhiannon is an 'aspect' or daughter.²⁵²

"Modron, whose care is the whole world, has many daughters, and all of them are Herself."²⁵³

"if I were a whole Goddess, instead of a mere aspect of one, I could think of a better way."²⁵⁴

This is the One-and-the Many of Asphodel Long's later analysis.²⁵⁵

Walton's Welsh context is a matriarchal North/ Gwynedd vs. patriarchal South/ Dyfed conflict. New Tribes from Ireland rule Dyfed driving out the Old Tribes who retreated to Gwynedd.²⁵⁶ Pwyll is prince of Dyfed, reluctant to undergo bestial coupling with a mare required to establish his marriage.²⁵⁷ Walton weaves in Sovereignty Goddess theory.²⁵⁸

Arawn, Death himself, Grey Man of the Twilight World, on a Grey Horse, recruits Pwyll so that

"the savage, rough strength of earth may do what we cannot."²⁵⁹

²⁵¹ Birth, childhood of Pryderi up to Teyrnnon's restoration: Walton, *Mabinogion*, pp. 305-24. Manawydan is revealed as Pryderi's biological father, cf. WJG, derived from Irish Mongán; Ch. II.6. Academia. Walton does not cite WJG on this. She says 'I felt that Manawyddan son of Llyr needed some of the magical tricks of his Irish counterpart, Mananann son of Lir, and so I borrowed them for him. After all, if the two were originally the same person, they belonged to him.' Walton, 'Celtic Myth', p. 20. This is an odd decision as she greatly respected Rhÿs who strongly rejected any alignment between the two.

Ford goes some way towards this: 'Pwyll exhibits notoriously asexual and infertile characteristics—and he has no child until Pryderi is delivered to the court as a young boy.' 'Prolegomena', pp. 209-210.

²⁵² Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 87. 'She is part of the Mother', in a discussion of the two opposing creeds, *ibid.* p. 48. Modron revealed, *ibid.* pp. 64–65. For Matriarchal feminism as one of three types of feminism, Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: (my) Triadic Goddess Model p. 459.

²⁵³ Modron: Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 87. Modron and Mabon, p. 58. As Arawn (Death's) Mother or wife, pp. 24, 78. Walton attributes identifying the nameless Annwfn queen as Modron to Roger Loomis, cited Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 138. This looks like Roger Sherman Loomis. Aug. 1945. 'The Combat at the Ford' in the "Didot Perceval", *Modern Philology*, 43, 1, pp. 63–71. (URL text Bibliography)

²⁵⁴ She is referring to tricking Gwawl, Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 118.

²⁵⁵ Asphodel Long. July 1996. 'The One or the Many - the Great Goddess Revisited', Britain and Ireland School of Feminist Theology Annual conference. (Dublin) (URL text Bibliography) First published Daniel Cohen. 1996. 'Wood and Water' 53. Expanded version: Long: May 1997. *Feminist Theology*, pp. 13-29.

²⁵⁶ Pwyll's Tribes from Ireland: Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 56

²⁵⁷ From Giraldus pp. 479-81 above, who Walton cites in her note following *Prince of Annwn*, in *Mabinogion*, p. 137, dated 1974; a logical fit as Pwyll's people are based on historically attested Goidelic/ Irish invasions or settlement in 5thC Dyfed. John Davies, *History of Wales*, Ch. 3.

²⁵⁸ Sovereignty: Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 39.

²⁵⁹ Savage, rough strength of Earth: Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 23.

Arawn tells Pwyll that every plane of existence has its Grey Man, its Death, that Hafgan is also a Lord of Death.²⁶⁰ Rhiannon comes from Hyfaidd's Bright World: her father Hyfaidd was the first king of Dyfed.²⁶¹ Pwyll mounts the Gorsedd and sleeps. Rhiannon arrives at the Gorsedd with her Birds. Dreaming, Pwyll hears her:²⁶²

"I am Rhiannon of the Birds, Rhiannon of the Steeds, and I have come from my world to yours."²⁶³

Rhiannon guides Pwyll through dramatic initiation (trance) sequences, to become her ally.²⁶⁴ Between trials Pwyll meets her in her orchard, whittling birds from apple wood, animating them to fly around her head.²⁶⁵

Rhiannon's purpose is to protect her ancestral people from war.

I can do something. I can keep Old Tribes and New from rending each other.²⁶⁶

The Grey Man warns Rhiannon about returning to earth, becoming the wife of a mortal.

"If you go back to earth, you will learn what corruption is, woman.."

He continues on the horrors of 'gross flesh', the ugliness and discomforts of pregnancy, the pain of birth, how age strips beauty. His warnings are like a feminine analogue of the human sufferings of poverty, disease and death which young Gautama Buddha confronted.²⁶⁷

Rhiannon considers her divine kindred have grown arrogantly pitiless, due to lack of suffering.²⁶⁸ She replies by referring to her reincarnations in Dyfed.

"All those ills I know. I have borne them many times before. ... Is the Great Going-Forward a ladder up which we can climb straight to the top?"

²⁶⁰ Walton's Annwfn is the Land of the Dead, critiqued e.g. Hull, 'Idea of Hades in Celtic Lit.' point out this is Classical provenance not Celtic tradition. Similarly Walton's Moon is a female divinity, *Mabinogion*, p. 59. However she also views the Sun as female, 'the golden Crop-Bringing Mother', p. 74. She links Hafgan to Sumerian Nergal, the blazingly harsh eastern sun, pp. 66-67.

²⁶¹ Rhiannon explains her heritage of old Dyfed: Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 103. Hyfaidd the ancient, dead king, p. 105. The loveliness, sensualities of the Bright World, Rhiannon's home, pp. 107-09; resembles PKM1 text on Annwfn PKM1 4.1-16. JKB 22.1-2.

²⁶² Gorsedd advent with Birds: Walton, *Mabinogion*, pp. 93, 95, 98, 101.

²⁶³ She identifies herself to Pwyll: Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 102.

²⁶⁴ cf. Sovereignty Goddess theory above pp. 476-78.

²⁶⁵ Rhiannon's orchard and her Birds: Walton, *Mabinogion*, pp. 38-41.

Adar presence together with Rhiannon is not found in the original texts, but like much else in Walton it weaves without violating.

²⁶⁶ 'I can do something': Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 112. Since Walton developed her ideas in the 1930s and 1940s, shadowed by World War II, averting war would be an acute issue for her. My thanks to John Davies for this contextual insight (personal conversation 22/08/2023).

²⁶⁷ Walton acknowledged inspiration from eastern mysticism, n. 271 below.

²⁶⁸ Divine arrogance : Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 111.

"... Those who have climbed high may turn back to help those below."²⁶⁹
 Turning back, reincarnation at lower levels, resembles the Buddhist
 Bodhisattva.²⁷⁰ Walton acknowledges 'My own work has been deeply influenced
 by Eastern mystics'.²⁷¹

Rhiannon is here an immanent Goddess, living as human among us.

Robert Graves, Laura Riding

Graves developed his *White Goddess* mentored by Laura Riding in the same
 period, not long after Walton made her first drafts.²⁷² He claims Goddess' ancient
 lineage, naming Rhiannon first.

The Goddess was established in Britain as Rhiannon, Arianrhod,
 Cerridwen, Blodeuwedd, Danu or Anna long before the Saxons, Angles
 and Danes brought very similar versions of her with them.²⁷³

He accords Rhiannon living veneration.

Rhiannon is thus seen to be a Mare-goddess, but she is also a
 MuseGoddess²⁷⁴

Rhiannon is 'Mare-goddess' or 'MareDemeter' when pursued by Pwyll
 'evidently in the original story she took the form of a white mare'.²⁷⁵ However for
 her horseblock penance, she is only 'like a mare'.²⁷⁶ Merging pursued Rhiannon
 with pursued and raped Demeter (Classics) obliterates Rhiannon's dominant
 agency at that point.²⁷⁷ The 'mare-headed Rhiannon who feeds on raw flesh'

²⁶⁹ 'to help those below': Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 111. Also p. 101.

²⁷⁰ Bodhisattva, refusing final Enlightenment until every blade of grass attains it. Shanta Ratnayaka. 1985. 'The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravāda', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 8, 2, pp. 85–110. PDF download (URL text Bibliography)

This is a particularly close affinity, following the warnings on mortal, fleshly life the Grey Man offers, very like the horrors the young Buddha saw which turned him to mysticism. Here though the fleshly horrors are mainly female.

²⁷¹ Walton, 'Celtic Myth', p. 22. She speaks of ancient travellers (cf. my Ch. VII. 1. Goddess Myths: Map, p. 413), Rhŷs theory of pre-Celtic Druids; Hindu mysticism, Sanskrit, and Mohenjo-Daro.

²⁷² Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Walton pp. 381–84, Graves; pp. 484–86; concluding note this section.

²⁷³ Ancient origins: Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 403.

²⁷⁴ Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 385. Muse pp. 385, 419–20, 448; Mare pp. 385, 384, 448. also 'Pryderi son of Rhiannon', pp. 95, 109, 385, 485; who is 'Spirit of the Solar Year, son of the Mare-goddess' p. 384; 'who becomes a Lord of the Dead', p. 385.

²⁷⁵ 'Mare-goddess' or 'MareDemeter': Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 385. (My underlining pointing WJG derivation).

²⁷⁶ Horseblock: Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 385.

²⁷⁷ Demeter, Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Demeter, pp. 417–24. On Rhiannon's initial dominance in her pursuit narrative, Ch. IV.2. Acts, p. 208, observed so high in her advent scenes it overweighs the balanced active-passive scenes in later narrative. SDavies has the pursuits as a 'hunt'; 'Venerable Relics', p. 170, quoted Ch. V.5. Pwyll: p. 256 n. 293. Cf. Pennar's feminist critique, quoted Ch. II.8. Feminism p. 129 n. 175. Ch. IV.2. Acts observes Rhiannon reverses the expected gender balance of a hunted female. Paradoxes p. 209. Rhiannon/ Pwyll balanced agency, double initiative: Ch. I.4. Advent #3 Woman p. 15; developed Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260–63.

savagely reverses victimisation.²⁷⁸ Rhiannon eating her child is an important issue to raise, usually avoided. Though narrated as false accusation, the image is shockingly bloody. It exposes maternal destabilisation by raw hormones after childbirth.²⁷⁹

Above all, Graves hails Rhiannon as MuseGoddess, inspiration to poets, wellspring of his work: the Birds of Rhiannon 'singing with wonderful sweetness'²⁸⁰.

Let the poet address her as Rhiannon, 'Great Queen', ...
She will respond with a sweet complaisance²⁸¹

the poet's inner communion [is] with the White Goddess, regarded as the source of truth. Truth has been represented by poets as a naked woman

...

The poet is in love with the White Goddess, with Truth: his heart breaks with longing and love for her.²⁸²

But this courtship is deeply ambivalent, alternating the flesh-eating, mare-headed Rhiannon, the nightmare.²⁸³

Odi atque amo: 'to be in love with' is also to hate. Determined to escape from the dilemma, the Apollonian teaches himself to despise woman, and teaches woman to despise herself.²⁸⁴

This last is astute, and reflects his feminist mentor Laura Riding who dominated his *White Goddess* period. Graves' derivative work after encountering Riding (1926) is well documented.²⁸⁵ After fourteen years she left (1940) leaving her draft book with him. She speaks of the 'mother-god' who is 'sufficient to herself'; (cf. Riding's contemporary Mary Esther Harding, the 'one-in-herself',

²⁷⁸ Graves does not relate this 'mare-headed' divinity to the Mari Llwyd, although the custom was active at the time he was writing (1940s– 1961). Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Mari Llwyd p. 429. Graves as Celtist had Irish antecedents; his Welsh experience seems to be literary rather than lived. He did have childhood holidays at Harlech.

²⁷⁹ Rhiannon's infanticide: PKM1 20.23–29. JKB 34.1–2. Gini Wade's striking artwork 'The Accusation': Ch. IX.1. Gallery. Graves' Classics' education again influences his view, he compares the myth of Leucippe ('White Mare') who devoured her son Hippasus ('foal'), *White Goddess*, p. 385. He also considers the culture of hippophagism (bans on horseflesh), *White Goddess*, p. 384

²⁸⁰ Birds: Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 385.

²⁸¹ Muse: Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 420.

²⁸² Muse, Truth, Love: Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 448.

²⁸³ Nightmare: Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 419.

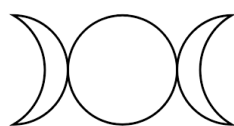
²⁸⁴ Apollonian: Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 448. The Apollonian concept comes from Bachofen. 1861. *Das Mutterrecht*; 'matriarchy' polarises Dionysian, Apollonian consciousness. Apollo associates with the Sun, brightness, rationality, the masculine, Logos. Dionysos associates the Moon, darkness, irrationality (intuition), the feminine. This dualism has been extremely influential in arts, psychology and spirituality.

²⁸⁵ Michael Kirkham. Dec. 1973. 'Robert Graves's Debt to Laura Riding', in *Focus on Robert Graves*, 3, ed. by Mason, Ellsworth (University of Colorado Library, Boulder, Colorado). Richard Perceval Graves. 1990. *Robert Graves: The Years With Laura, 1926-1940* (Macmillan).

later influential on goddessing).²⁸⁶ Her self-sufficiency seems cruel (cf. unreachable Rhiannon). Riding saw man's view of woman as an 'overflowing unknown quantity'; (cf. Beauvoir's woman as 'other', 1949). Man's response is fear; he distances her as a deity (cf. Graves' Muse-goddess), or reduces her to sexual experience (Laura as lover).²⁸⁷ The distanced Goddess remains remote until Valente's 1986 iconoclasm.²⁸⁸ Graves gives us Rhiannon as transcendent ideal for his needs, where Walton offers her immanence, her inward being, her motives and striving.

Graves is not a structural analyst, making no reference to the profusion of Rhiannon triplicities.²⁸⁹ But his Triple Goddess associating girl/ woman/ hag with moon phases, became deeply embedded in modern Goddessing: becoming known as 'Maiden, Mother and Crone'.

Triple Goddess, ... was a personification of primitive woman—woman the creatress and destructress. As the New Moon or Spring she was girl; as the Full Moon or Summer she was woman; as the Old Moon or Winter she was hag.²⁹⁰



Moon symbol of Triple Goddess,
popular among modern Goddess practitioners.

The historicity of this 'Triple Goddess' has been critiqued.²⁹¹

²⁸⁶ 'mother-god': Laura Riding ed. Robert Graves, asst. ed. 1936. *Epilogue: A Critical Summary*; II (Majorca: Seizin Press; London: Constable). Laura Riding. 1930. *Experts Are Puzzled*, (Cape), p. 85. 'As virgin she belongs to herself alone, she is one-in-herself'. Mary Esther Harding. 1935. *Woman's Mysteries: Ancient & Modern: A Psychological Interpretation of the Feminine Principle as Portrayed in Myth* (C. G. Jung Foundation), p. 103; term also used pp. 105, 125, 146, 148, 187, 206.

²⁸⁷ Madeleine Vara (Laura Riding). 1936. *Convalescent Conversations* (Majorca: Seizin Press; London: Constable), p. 97. Elizabeth Friedmann and Alan J. Clark, 'From the Introduction' to Laura Riding, *The Word Woman*. (URL Bibliography) Laura Riding, (Laura Reichen, Laura Gottschalk). 2005 posthumously. *The Word Woman and other related writings* (Persea). Simone de Beauvoir. 1949. *Le Deuxième Sexe* (Paris: Gallimard). H. M. Parshley, trans. 1953. *The Second Sex* (Jonathan Cape). Online text: (URL text Bibliography)

²⁸⁸ Valente. 1986. *Merched*, p. 83. Appendix: Laura Riding.

²⁸⁹ Attempt to list *some* of them, Ch. IX. Structures: Triadic Patterns, long two page list pp. 521-23.

²⁹⁰ Robert Graves, *The White Goddess: a historical grammar of poetic myth* (Faber & Faber, 1946)., p. 386. (2 URLs text Bibliography) Rhiannon refs: pp. 95, 109, 385, 403, 419, 420, 439, 448.

²⁹¹ Historically triple Goddess images did not portray life stages: multiples were mothers. There were also double images. Green, *Image in Celtic Religious Art*, pp. 4–5, 190. The Celtic lack of Moon Goddess has been noted above Ch. VII. 5. Theologies p. 474 n. 208.

The Craft

The modern witchcraft movement (Wicca, or the Craft) developed in Britain from the magical traditions of the early 20thC.²⁹² Its chief distinction from the rest of the Goddess movement is its emphatic gendered balance of Goddess and God, priestess and priest.²⁹³ However although widespread and influential on goddessing, the Craft has not to my knowledge produced specific Rhiannon theology.

My Goddess Calendar (1985), and Goddess chant (1994) did include Rhiannon.²⁹⁴

Duwies March/ Horse Goddess

*gwreic ar uarch canwelw/ mawr aruchel*²⁹⁵

My study has emphasised the central importance of the horse in Rhiannon's society, particularly to her socially elite class. The horse controls territory, engines war, raid and hunting, dominates lower (class) pedestrians, enables trade and transport, is wealth in itself. Rhiannon is *marchoges*, literally 'horsewoman', elite noblewoman. She holds correspondingly arrogant values, arguably sustained by Cigfa from their manless war period together (PKM3).²⁹⁶

Rhiannon appears with a mysteriously slow pacing horse: Epona rides on-the-side, calmly peaceful. Epona often bears a *patera* for food, cf. Rhiannon's bag. Epona inscriptions suggest a guide at death, perhaps a mount to ride onward to another reality. The peacefulness of this imagery, especially the quixotic pacing of Rhiannon's horse, might support a *yin* theology. Rhiannon transcends Pwyll's sweaty struggle not by greater forcefulness but in a trancelike oneness. Pwyll finally joins her not by bloody spurs and speed, but by surrender, by appealing to her grace.²⁹⁷

²⁹² Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: The Craft 453-54. It largely holds to the Classical Moon Goddess.

²⁹³ My Triadic (Western) Goddess model: Shan Jayran (now Morgain). 2001. 'Western Goddess Spirituality', Matriarchal, Wicca/Craft, Feminist ideal types. Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess pp. 458-61.

²⁹⁴ Ch. VII.4. Temples: House of the Goddess, Calendar p. 486; Chant quoted p. 467.

²⁹⁵ PKM1 9.12-13. 'a woman on a great tall pale white horse', JKB 25.2.

²⁹⁶ Ch. V.11. Cigfa: Mother-in-law pp. 330-31.

²⁹⁷ *Y uarch/ a gymhellau o'r kerdet mwyaf a oed ganthaw. A/ gulet a wnaeth na thygyei idaw y hymlit. Yna y dywot Pwyll. 'A uorwyn,' heb ef, 'yr/ mwyn y gwr mwyhaf a gery, arho ui.'* PKM1 12.4-8. 'He spurred on his horse to the fastest pace it had. But he saw it would not prosper him to pursue her. Then Pwyll said, "Ah maiden," he said, "for the sake of the man you love most, wait for me!" JKB 27.2.

Graves disrupts this peacefulness with the savage 'night mare', and Mabinogi Rhiannon does include violent imagery. There is Rhiannon's post-birth cannibalism, and the most grisly violence in all the Mabinogi: Efnysien's horse mutilations.²⁹⁸ Green speculates a 'Goddess of the Underworld' from Epona.²⁹⁹ It has been remarked that Rhiannon can be paradoxical, as can divinity.³⁰⁰ Ford's 'hippomorphic' analysis is structural, seeing woman and mare as interchangeable, but not as shapechanging. Rhiannon does not *become* the mare as WJG assumes; she *is* the mare. In theological terms our individual perspective reveals particular aspects to us.³⁰¹

Comparing the agency of woman and horse at Arberth, neither seems to control the other. Kohanov's *Tao of Equus*, symbiosis, the experience of horse and rider merging, seems a helpful interpretation (cf. Sioned Davies' rider-horse integration theory).³⁰² 20thC 'hippotherapy' developed a physiotherapy variant: horse as partner healer. 'Equine Assisted Therapy' then addressed psychological issues (1990s), including spiritual aspects, and sometimes referencing Rhiannon.³⁰³

This human-horse unity might offer a metaphor for approaching or merging with the divine. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, yearning for initiation, union with the divine, needs Epona's roses. Jeffrey Winkle analyses Apuleius' initiation myth as a variant on Plato's famous charioteer allegory in *Phaedrus*. Lucius' foolish, ugly ass, becomes Plato's inferior black horse, paired with a superior ideal, the white horse of reason.³⁰⁴ Rhiannon *ar uarch canwelw/ mawr aruchel* at her visionary advent (pale-white horse) with Pwyll passionately pursuing, might be interpreted similarly.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁸ Efnysien mutilates horses in grisly detail: PKM2 32.1–6. JKB 46.18

²⁹⁹ Ch. I.3. Etymology, p. 9. n. 37.

³⁰⁰ Avalonian Rhiannon's horse bears meanings of wild passion which seems simply contradictory of its ambling pace. Below, Ch. VII.5. Theologies: 'Avalonian Rhiannon', p. 491.

³⁰¹ For Ford's 'hippomorphic' aspect Ch. I.5 Text: *Cyfranc* pp. 30–32, Ch. VIII. Structures: *Cyfranc* pp. 512–13. For a lyrical, personal vision of Rhiannon, Damh the Bard. 3/07/2018; 'Rhiannon – Mother and Great Queen'. *ibid.* 26/09/2017. 'Rhiannon', song lyrics (URLs for both texts Bibliography). Also Damh the Bard, below p. 497.

³⁰² Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse p. 399 quoting from Linda Kohanov, *The Tao of Equus* (2001).

³⁰³ The horse is sometimes seen as tool, sometimes as fellow practitioner.

³⁰⁴ Jeffrey Winkle, "Necessary Roughness": Plato's *Phaedrus* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in *Ancient Narrative*, Vol. 11 (2013), pp. 93–131.

³⁰⁵ *ar uarch canwelw/ mawr aruchel*, PKM1 9.12–13. 'on a great tall pale white horse', JKB 25.2. Ch. I.6. Advent pp. 17–20., including Sioned Davies' integrated rider-horse description theory. *canwelw* is a supernatural/ divine 'pale-white'. *aruchel*: high, tall, lofty, elevated; exalted,

Duwies Priodas/ Marriage Goddess

*Ac y'r/ystauell yd aeth Pwyll a Riannon, a threulaw y nos/ honno drwy digriuwch a llonydwch.*³⁰⁶

The symbiosis theme above is obvious in a functional marriage. Bollard identifies marriage as a major theme of the Mabinogi.³⁰⁷ Rhiannon's first marriage dominates PKM1; her second marriage constructs the new Dyfed kindred which enacts PKM3.³⁰⁸ Rhiannon's marriages are *priodas*: she exercises consent, or participation, in the agreements.³⁰⁹ As a Goddess she may therefore be understood as mistress of marriage and consent.

Her marriages to Pwyll and Manawydan are successful, providing her with aid at need, demonstrating a key function of marital alliance.³¹⁰ Each marriage refers to affection as a basis, part of the hybrid nature of aristocratic marriage combining love and practical support.³¹¹ Consummation is explicit, the first specifying its *digriuwch a llonydwch*/ 'pleasure and contentment', supporting a positive interpretation of sexuality within marriage (cf. Inanna).³¹² Goddess Rhiannon may easily interpret as patroness of brides, weddings, marital sex, mutual support and loyalty. Given her advent dominance she might well favour female initiative in courtship, beyond basic consent.

supreme, splendid, majestic; lofty (GPC), accords well with a divine Initiatrix, or in the Platonic allegory, the higher aspect of the soul.

³⁰⁶ PKM1 18.19–21. 'And Pwyll and Rhiannon went to the chamber, and spent that night in pleasure and contentment.' JKB 31.2.

³⁰⁷ Bollard, 'Structure', p. 168. Ch. II.7. Paradigm: Interlacings; and Ch. V.1. Genealogy Diagram. Kris Hughes finds each Branch has its distinctive wedding, and Rhiannon's weddings represent PKM1 and PKM3 (Branwen PKM2 and Blodeuedd PKM4). Kris Hughes. 01/11/20. 'Understanding The Mabinogi', on her blog Godeeper. (URL text Bibliography)

³⁰⁸ Cf. how Anwyl's 'Rhiannon-cycle' intersects the other two Cycles via her marriage. Ch. II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl pp. 109–10. Ch. VII.3 20thC p. 449; & see my Genealogy Diagram p. 213

³⁰⁹ Her Gorsedd ride and Wedding Plot are a long exercise of two years in insisting her consent. Nine PKM pages. PKM1 8.27– 18.21. JKB 25.1–31.2. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Advent plot pp. 263; Wedding Plot pp. 264–67. She queries Pryderi then agrees his marriage plan: PKM3 50.20–26. JKB 64.2. Ch. V.12. (Ambivalent)Manawydan: Marriage, p. 341.

³¹⁰ My study argues Pwyll stands by her: twice refusing to divorce her when pressed to do so, producing a penance which satisfies his hostile lords but upholding her status during it, and supporting her traditional right as a mother to name her son. Manawydan though slow to act, rescues her, and her son. Both marriages present her as a mature and elder wife, sustaining late-life marriage. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines p. 273.

³¹¹ Porter, 'Love in Medieval Marriage', p. 15. Quoted Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice. p. 242.

³¹² Wedding night, Pwyll: PKM1 18.21. JKB 31.2.

'Avalonian Rhiannon'

I treat this topic at length because it raises important issues, and needed detailed new research to understand it.

Rhiannon's narrative mentions *Calan Mai*/ May Day, a popular festival for celebrating partnership and unions. Mabinogi text however, relates it to Rhiannon's childbirth.³¹³ My House of the Goddess Calendar placed Rhiannon at Beltaine, defined broadly as any kind of union: marriage, sex or contracts.³¹⁴ The Glastonbury Goddess Temple takes this reference as primarily sexual; cf. Katinka Soetens' *Sacred Sexual Priestess Empowerment, Rhiannon Goddess of Love and the Wild Maiden* as exemplar. A Soetens session I attended titled 'Rhiannon', was classic goddessing practice, exhorting our 'wild and free' selves with sexual nuancing.³¹⁵ That is important and valid feminist goddessing; but throughout Rhiannon was not mentioned, except in the event title. Nor was there any Welsh reference, or anything from Rhiannon's tales.

Kathy Jones, leader of the Glastonbury Goddess Temple, originally co-wrote a ritual drama featuring Rhiannon, 'Shining Ones' (1989).³¹⁶ Ten years later she created the priestess training which shaped Soetens' work. Jones had originally dismissed the Mabinogi as

a particularly masculine story which deals with the creation of the British hero archetype and the aggressive exploits of different groups of men. Most of the women in the story as recorded are appendages to the heroes and even when divine are of limited character.³¹⁷

There was some validity in that. But feminist Mabinogi scholars were also then emerging with very different views, although such academic writing was

³¹³ *Calan Mai*/ May Eve, cited in the narrative in Teyrnnon's episode. The Glastonbury Temple links it to the modern, Pagan festival of Beltaine at that date, seeing it in sexual terms. In the narrative it is firmly embedded in the maternity tale: *a phob nos/Calanmei y moei*, PKM1 224–5. 'And each May Eve she would give birth', JKB 35.2.

³¹⁴ Shan Jayran (now Morgain), 'Goddess Calendar'. A4 poster. See Ch. VII.4. Temples: House of the Goddess, p. 466.

³¹⁵ Soetens' 2014 book is titled *Sacred Sexual Priestess Empowerment, Rhiannon Goddess of Love and the Wild Maiden*. I attended her Rhiannon workshop 2018.

³¹⁶ The ritual drama was co-created with her new partner Mike Jones. Jones, *Wheel of Ana*, p. 49.

³¹⁷ Jones, *Wheel of Ana*, Ch. 4. 'The Shining Ones – A Sacred Drama', p. 50.

unknown outside universities (then, and largely, now).³¹⁸ Women, excluded and derogated, created alternative knowledge.

[Wittig, 1971] *Fais un effort pour te souvenir./ Ou, à défaut, invente.*³¹⁹

[Daly, 1986] Women who lust for wisdom ... As Muses of our own creation, Wonderlusts re-member our Original Powers. Unlike the frozen 'philosophy' that is packaged and stored within academic refrigerators³²⁰

[Jones, 1994] I am not trying to present objective, factual history [but to re-member (in Mary Daly's sense of putting back together the members parts in their original patterns)].³²¹

Rhiannon is transformed to fit into Jones' 'Sacred British Medicine Wheel' (which coopts Native American traditions).³²²

At Beltane we honour the Love Goddesses of Brigit's Isles and in visions we ride between the worlds with Rhiannon. We explore how we feel about our female bodies, our sensuality and sexuality³²³

Her horse is the symbol of our wild, untameable nature as women.³²⁴

Rhiannon's horse is not 'wild, untameable'; its/ her essence is an 'ambling' pace.³²⁵ Rhiannon's bodily sexuality is only found in the Mabinogi in her conventional wedding nights.³²⁶ Rhiannon, far from being 'wild, untameable' is a self-disciplined, ruling lady of the courts.

³¹⁸ Two works are doctoral theses, one an academic journal paper, and one a colloquium presentation. Valente. 1986. '*Merched*', PhD Cornell. Rhiannon Davies. 1993. 'Moral Structure of Pedair Keinc', PhD Cardiff. Sessle. 1994. 'Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess through Rhiannon', *Harvard Colloquium*. Winward. 1997. 'Aspects Women Four Branches', *CMCS*. Goddess Booklists scraped a scrappy mwittigishmash of a dozen sources. My (Jayran now Morgain). 1986. *House of the Goddess Booklist*, section on Goddess books p. 2. Kathy Jones, *The Goddess in Glastonbury*, illust. Diana Griffiths (Ariadne Publications, 1990; repr. updated 1996). Book list p. 53.

³¹⁹ 'Make an effort to remember./ Or, failing that, invent.' Very famous quote. Monique Wittig. 1969. *Les Guerillères* (Canada: Les Éditions de Minuit). English trans. David Le Vay. 1971. *Les Guerillères* (NY: Viking Press), p. 89.

³²⁰ Mary Daly. 1986. *Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy* (Women's Press), p. 26.

³²¹ Jones, *Wheel of Ana*, p. x. Compare WJG's passionate and aberrant Reconstruction in the cause of Welsh nationalism, Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd pp. 111-12.

³²² Effect of elaborate symbolism in public ritual, Ch. VII.4. Temples: Goddess Temple p. 470. Kathy Jones. 2006 and Kindle. *Priestess of Avalon, Priestess of the Goddess: A Renewed Spiritual Path for the 21st Century, A Journey of Transformation within the Sacred Landscape of Glastonbury and the Isle of Avalon* (Ariadne Publications), p. 48.

³²³ Jones. *Priestess*, p. 209.

³²⁴ Jones, *Priestess*, p. 214.

³²⁵ This is emphasised by repetition. *Kerdet araf*, PKM1 9.5. 'a slow, steady pace', JKB 25.2. *Yr vn gerdet a dechreuyssai hitheu,/ yd oed arnaw*. PKM1 10.4-5. 'She had the same pace with which she had begun.' JKB 26.2. *Amgen urys gerdet nit oed genthi hi no'r dyd/gynt. Ynteu a gymerth ryggyng y gan y uarch*, 10.28-29. 'She had a pace no different than the day before. He put his horse to an amble' JKB 26.2.

³²⁶ Wedding nights. Pwyll: PKM1 18.20-21. JKB 31.2. Manawydan: PKM3 50 22-26. JKB 64.2. There are no other references to Rhiannon's sexuality.

A large painting in Goddess Hall, Glastonbury, shows Rhiannon dressed in red. The Rhiannon shrine room, in Goddess House, is dominantly red. Jones is aware Rhiannon appears in gold.³²⁷



'Rhiannon Room', Goddess House

Jones acknowledges her 'myth-making' debt to Walton's novels.³²⁸ But Walton consciously strives not to break source text; only adding and expanding to it to create inspiring fantasy (above).³²⁹ Jones reconstructs to create a temple tradition with influential religious teaching.

In *Duwies Cymru* (2008) I address the issue.

'But this is MY interpretation! and I'm entitled.' As indeed we all are. But while freely allowed to take and reshape what comes from another culture, that does not authorise us to claim that 'MY interpretation' is how it is, the original thing. Especially teachers.³³⁰

With this reservation, I pragmatically propose a modern, variant or aberrant tradition: 'Avalonian Rhiannon'. Native Welsh feeling can be more intense.

I do not wish to see us marginalised as the Dreamtime People of Europe. We are great dreamers, we Celts, we are good at it. We are also an intensely practical people with a proud industrial heritage. They are our dreams, not yours. Who are you to define us, still less to get your hands on our dreams?

I do not wish to see the gaps filled in with 'inspired' or 'channelled' material which leaves too much scope to the imagination (to put it politely) of the author.

I particularly do not wish to see a horrible bastardised travesty of my heritage making money for a few English and American teachers Stop it. Hands off. Enough is enough.³³¹

³²⁷ Rhiannon in gold, Jones. *Priestess*, pp. 213-214.

³²⁸ Jones, *Wheel of Ana*, p. 50.

³²⁹ Walton scrupulously acknowledges some alteration of the Third Branch, Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 424. quoted Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Walton p. 452.

³³⁰ Morgain, '*Duwies Cymru*' (2008), p. 4. Full text Appendix: *Duwies Cymru*.

³³¹ John Davies, *Three Things There Are ...* (House of the Goddess, 1993), pp. 6-7 (unnumbered pages). Diatribe against 'Celtic' bowdlerisation of Welsh traditions by spiritual tourism ('spiritual strip mining'). As I wrote this he commented 'If they want to develop their own confected

A new book (2023) from Jhenah Telyndru presents help about Avalonian theology.³³² She explains its ninefold Goddess inspired by pan-Celtic sources, which she carefully arrays in detail.³³³ She is refreshingly cautious about their divergent and scanty nature; the Mabinogi is barely mentioned. What is most helpful is her clarification that the Avalonian Ninefold school derives from Arthurian material, notably Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*.³³⁴ The Sovereignty Goddess theme is prominent.³³⁵ Telyndru's own Rhiannon theology below.

Mam Dduwies/ Mother Goddess

*heb hi, "mae y mab?"*³³⁶

Winward suggested that Rhiannon suffers loss of power on marrying, but Ch. IV.2. playscript analysis shows it is her mothering that reduces her dominance.³³⁷ My study follows up Ifor Williams' suggestion that Rhiannon might be one of the *prif rieni* of Britain, an exclusively female, elite status concerning mothering.³³⁸ The difficulty of '*rieni*' etymology, 'parent, ancestor', is that none of Williams' three candidates (Rhiannon, Branwen, Arianrhod) are explicit ancestors.³³⁹ Parker's adroit solution proposes '*rieni*' as a potential progenitor of heirs, applicable to a girl-child, a virgin, or a wife without children. Rhiannon attains the

theology of a Goddess of sexuality they are free to do it, but they can call Her Sandra or Tracey or something.' (Personal conversation 22/08/2023)

John Davies' title derives from a Iolo Morgannwg triad, *Myvyrian*. Repr. in Susan Mumm (ed.), *Religion Today: Tradition, Modernity and Change, a Reader*, Ch. 5.9. (Taylor Francis for the OU, 2002), pp. 239-36; bowdlerised version without author's consent. 2nd edition of the original forthcoming with new Introduction (House Morgain 2024). Cf. Morgain; and Rodway (2017).

³³² Jhenah Telyndru. 2023. *The Ninefold Path of the Priestess* (Minnesota: Llewellyn)

Pre-publication PDF supplied by the kindness of the author (4/08/23) pagination may not be exact.

³³³ Gaulish, Breton, Cornish, Scottish, Irish, Norse, Welsh, Telyndru, *Ninefold*, pp. 81–112, and Ch. Ch.4. The Nine Sisters of Avalon, pp. 113-33.

³³⁴ Quoted Galfridian excerpt on nine sisters, Telyndru, *Ninefold*, p. 114.

³³⁵ Sovereignty: the term appears liberally throughout *Ninefold*.

³³⁶ PKM1 20.24. 'she said "where is the boy?"' JKB 34.2.

³³⁷ Ch. IV.2. Acts, Active/ Passive diagram p. 208, has Active red/ Passive blue blocks.

³³⁸ Williams proposes Rhiannon (PKM1) and Arianrhod (PKM4) as the unstated *prif rieni* when Branwen is given this accolade, numbered as three. PKM2 30.29–31.1. JKB 45.2. Ifor Williams PKM, *Nodiadau*, p. 167, quoted in footnote with my trans. Ch. III.6. *Rieni*, p. 178 n. 278 (on p, 179).

³³⁹ Branwen's only child is murdered as an infant. Rhiannon's son is killed without mention of offspring, though I speculate if he had none his death would be doubly tragic so likely to be mentioned. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Husband p. 306 n. 654. Arianrhod's son Lleu has a sterile marriage; the end of the Mabinogi does not give him as a subsequent patriarch.

apogee status of fulfilled '*rieni*' by birthing her child, but the babe is literally snatched away from her in both physical and status loss.³⁴⁰

Rhiannon's mothering is crucially shaped by loss and vulnerability. Her babe is literally snatched away from her in both physical and status loss.³⁴¹

*Sef penyt a/ dodet erni, bot yn y llys honno yn Arberth hyt ym penn/ y seith mlyned.*³⁴²

Rhiannon's power loss and its renewal has been compared here with the myth of Inanna, although Inanna is not primarily a mother goddess. Inanna and Rhiannon choose their consorts and enjoy rulership, then cycle into loss of power marked by seven (stages/ years), then they are rescued. Key differences are Rhiannon's mediaeval bestowal in marriage framework, her prominent mothering, and her male rescuers (Teyrnon PKM1, Manawydan PKM3), who contrast Inanna's female friend Ninshubur.³⁴³

Rediscovery of the Inanna *cuneiform* tablets from Sumer (3rd millennium BCE) coincided with the 1980s surge of the Women's Movement and feminist Goddess veneration.³⁴⁴ Inanna's authority, autonomy, frank sexuality, her dramatic cycle of surrender and renewed power, provided apt inspiration for congruent ideals among modern women. Sylvia Brinton Perera (1981) proposed a psychological interpretation of Inanna's Descent myth as a metaphor and inspiration for women surviving depression or unhappiness.³⁴⁵ 'Descent of the Goddess' became well known in Goddess circles, celebrated in rituals and meditations.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁰ *Calan Mai*/ May Eve, cited in the narrative in Teyrnon's episode features in both the House of the Goddess Calendar, and Avalonian Rhiannon. The latter however links it to the modern, Pagan festival of Beltaine at that date, seeing it in sexual terms Ch. VII 5. Avalonian Rhiannon p. 486. In the narrative it is firmly embedded in the maternity tale: *a phob nos/Calanmei y moei*, PKM1 224–5. 'And each May Eve she would give birth', JKB 35.2.

³⁴¹ Ch. IV.2. Acts, playscript, structural analysis Diagram p. 208.

³⁴² PKM1 21.21–23. 'This is the punishment that was put upon her – to be in that court in Arberth until the end of seven years', JKB 35.1.

³⁴³ Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Inanna pp. 418–20.

³⁴⁴ Wolkstein and Kramer, (trans., eds.), *Inanna, Hymns from Sumer* (1983). For the remarkable number of resonances Inanna and Rhiannon Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Inanna pp. 418–20.

³⁴⁵ Sylvia Brinton Perera, *Descent to the Goddess: A Way of Initiation for Women*, 'Studies in Jungian Psychology' (Inner City Books, 1981). More recently Christopher Penczak explores the Descent myths as ritual and meditation praxis for both women and men. *The Living Temple of Witchcraft: v. 1: The Descent of the Goddess* (USA: Llewellyn, 2008, also Kindle).

³⁴⁶ It was standard in House of the Goddess theology, in counselling, trancework, and the Midwinter (Yule) observations: a silent, shadowed, walking meditation with guided trancework (c. 1985 onwards). A much earlier 1950s Descent ritual by Gerald Gardner was used to initiate Second Degree status in Wicca. It may derive from Babylonian Ishtar, who inherited much Inanna

The central difference is Inanna *chooses* to make her Descent. Rhiannon struggles unsuccessfully against her Maids to escape their malignant plot. Her penance is imposed by Pwyll, albeit argued here as his strategic support for her, possibly even their joint strategy.³⁴⁷ Yet given their differences, both Inanna and Rhiannon can be read as resourcefully ensuring their subjugation will end. Inanna can rely upon her friend Ninshubur. Rhiannon is argued to deploy her extended voice to send her tale to the right hearers (Teyrnnon and his Wife) in a possible partnered strategy with Pwyll.³⁴⁸

As Perera outlined, cycling power loss into stasis, and on into renewal, are processes of power handling.³⁴⁹ There is a possible, theological alignment between Descent and Horse Goddess (above). They recognise relinquishing power, a different power. Starhawk calls this alternative 'power with', cooperation.³⁵⁰ Mothering is one of the most profound demonstrations of it. Matrescence, the passage from individuated woman to mother, is a loss of self, but not simply loss.³⁵¹ I have elsewhere presented the concept of an 'extended self' as the maternal condition, arguing that the moment of physical and psychological individuation as indeterminate.³⁵²

Although Rhiannon's golden advent is her most famed moment, mothering is her dominant narrative. Once she achieves her (first) marriage, her drama is either about her son or with him. Vulnerability arguably deepens and matures

mythos; but is closer to Greek Persephone. Gardner's reconstruction is a gendered conflict, masculine dominant. The God of Death humbles and scourges the Goddess, then raises her and embraces her. Gardner favoured scourging as a trance induction. Detailed analysis of Gardner's sources: Ceisiwr Serith, 'The Legend of the Descent of the Goddess' (2003, last modified 18/02/2019). (URL text Bibliography)

³⁴⁷ The loyalty of Pwyll is marked Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260 -63.

³⁴⁸ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot, pp. 268-72.

³⁴⁹ Josh Pitman makes a parallel between Rhiannon and Christ's mythos of suffering. 2012. 'Christian Influences on "The Mabinogi"', *The Oswald Review: An International Journal of Undergraduate Research and Criticism in the Discipline of English*, 14, 3. (URL text Bibliography) Without underestimating Rhiannon's agony of maternal loss even if divine, my response is her achievement of reuniting with her child is not on a scale with saving all humanity.

³⁵⁰ Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance*, 51; Starhawk, *Dreaming the Dark*, 4. Feraro sources this to Mary Daly *The Qualitative Leap Beyond Patriarchal Religion*, p. 21, cited in Feraro. 2016. *The Priestess, the Witch, and the Women's Movement*, p. 189.

³⁵¹ Lucy Jones. 2023. *Matrescence: On the Metamorphosis of Pregnancy, Childbirth and Motherhood* (Penguin)

³⁵² Shan Jayran, (now Morgain), 'My Child', *Self and Society*, Association Humanistic Psychology Journal, Vol. 21, 1, (March 1993), pp. 33-34. My subsequent doctoral research on this was cut short in part due to health. Shan Jayran, (now Morgain), 'A Spirituality of Mothering', unfinished PhD, University of London independent programme (1999– 2003). Supervisor, Prof. Eileen Barker, LSE.

what would otherwise be a cheerful adventure tale ending in marriage. I have presented this maternal symbiosis as her 'Maternal Dyad'. It can be read as reviving and extending the old Pryderi Saga perspective, and the Modron– Mabon dyad.³⁵³ Kris Hughes finds Rhiannon's closest Goddess affinity with Modron, as Mother Goddess.³⁵⁴ Hughes also perceives the Adar as personal healers.³⁵⁵ My study has suggested the Adar Rhiannon as a maternal 'care package'. They have performed as our comforters in the visions of some Welsh nationalist poets.³⁵⁶

Rhiannon's maternal drama becomes extended vulnerability: her *pryder* period of penance years.³⁵⁷ Her loss is replayed at least two decades later when her adult son disappears.³⁵⁸ Mac Cana sees Rhiannon's response to the latter as a failure of her divinity, since her attempted rescue makes her captive with Pryderi. Valente challenges this 'failure', saying the goddess obscures the woman. Her human mothering is critical; she would appear abhorrent if she did not act as she does.³⁵⁹ A third option opens if Rhiannon is seen as Goddess (Mac Cana) and human mother (Valente), combined as Mother Goddess. As such she can act passionately as a mother, and undergo vulnerability, withdrawal, loss, as part of her Goddess cycle (cf. Inanna, Perera's *Descent of the Goddess*). Human drama is (mainly) linear but divine drama is often cyclic.³⁶⁰

There is some parallel between Rhiannon's cycle as a Mother Goddess, and Greek Demeter's cycle of renewal with her beloved child. Anwyl saw Rhiannon in a 'seasonal' divine cycle, (cf. Frazer).³⁶¹ But the Goddess there is static, not the dynamic agent.

³⁵³ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad. pp. 322-28.

³⁵⁴ Kris Hughes, Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 14.

³⁵⁵ Kris Hughes, Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 15.

³⁵⁶ Maternal 'care package', Ch. V.10. Pryderi : Rhiannon p. 319. Both this and the nationalist Welsh poets feature in Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon pp. 410-12.

³⁵⁷ The term '*pryder*'/ anxiety, loss, is here pointing to Rhiannon's wordplay when she is first reunited with her son, and the wording renames him. PKM1 26.9–10. JKB 38.1.

³⁵⁸ Loss replayed: PKM3 56.26–27. 70.1–70.2. Timing Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 272-75.

³⁵⁹ Valente's challenge, 'Merched', p. 6. Ch. III.8. Feminism: Valente, long quote.pp. 130-31.

³⁶⁰ Human drama may be cyclic if measured beyond an individual fate. Something of this is seen in the consultation of historical Bruts as forecasts, for what has happened before in historical events can happen again. For example Hopcyn ap Tomas, reputedly consulted by Glyndŵr, Ch. II.4. Manuscripts: Llyfr Coch pp. 61-62

³⁶¹ The mourning of Demeter blights earth's harvests which superficially resembles the Desolation of Dyfed; however the latter is a loss of animal stocks and servitors. The narrative sequence is also different, the Desolation precedes Rhiannon's (second) loss of her son. Anwyl. 1906. *Celtic Religion in Pre-Christian Times*, p. 240. Quoted at length above p. 475.

Duwies Haul/ Sun Goddess

Rhiannon narrative is frequently calculated with solar timing which is not so marked in other characters.³⁶² The Annwfn sojourn of a year equips Pwyll so her interest in him initiates. Her betrothals to Pwyll, then Gwawl, each last a solar year. She rules Dyfed for three years, and Pwyll negotiates the year's grace for her.³⁶³ Her penance is set at seven years. Her alter-ego the Gwent mare, loses her foal yearly at *Calan Mai*, a solar festival. Her son's exponential growth is calculated with repeated reference to year periods. The restored Dyfed family thrives for 'years and years'.³⁶⁴ Pryderi suspends in enchantment for seven, then eighty years.³⁶⁵ The Dyfed quartet survive the Desolation pleasantly for two years and again one year. Manawydan spends a year as a shoemaker, a year as a croft farmer, and remarks the Desolation lasting seven years.³⁶⁶

The horse is a Celtic Sun symbol.³⁶⁷ An unreachable horse moving always ahead, as Rhiannon does, resembles the Sun moving across the sky. Her three unreachable appearances occur over three solar days. Mares gestate their young for a solar year.

Fertility and birth are key Rhiannon themes, which associate with the Sun. Rhiannon is barren for two years, fertile in the third. Her birth bed is a critical moment. The Gwent mare is reliably fertile, yearly, but Teyrnnon's Wife is barren. The restoration of Rhiannon's son is like a seasonal solar cycle.³⁶⁸ Desolation narrative refers to nature's abundance, and Manawydan works a seasonal harvest.³⁶⁹

Gold and wealth is another Rhiannon solar theme. Wealth associates with the Sun, and my study emphasises Rhiannon's wealth, and her concern for it; for

³⁶² Rhiannon as Moon Goddess quoted, Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhŷs, p. 107 n. 12. Graves' Moon Goddess is not specific to Rhiannon key obsession so affects his view; Graves p. 486. Both derive from the Classics' tradition, not 'Celtic' material Ch VII.2. Goddess pre-1900: Ancient Goddess, p. 445. Also Anglocentric culture centred on Oxford & Classics Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhŷs p. 106.

³⁶³ Rules three years: PKM1 19.16–18. JKB 33.2.

³⁶⁴ Penance seven years. PKM1 21.21–23. 35.1. Gwent mare loses foal yearly at Calan Mai, solar festival. PKM 22.4–6. JKB 35.2. Son's growth in multiplied year periods. PKM1 23.18–24. JKB 36.2. Restored Dyfed family: *Uelly y treulyssant/ blwydyn a blwydyned*, PKM1 27.15–16. JKB 40.1.

³⁶⁵ Harlech 7 years: PKM2 46.19–20. JKB 58.2. Gwales 80 years: PKM2 46.28 – 47.1 JKB 59.1.

³⁶⁶ Shoemaker year: PKM3 58.16. JKB 72.1. Croft farmer seasonal year: PKM3 59.6. JKB 72.2. Remarks Desolation seven years: PKM3 61.25–26. JKB 73.2.

³⁶⁷ Miranda Green. 1997. 'The Symbolic Horse', in Davies and Jones eds. *Horse in Celtic Culture*, pp. 1–22. Miranda Aldhouse Green. 2004. *An Archaeology of Images*, pp. 140–41.

³⁶⁸ Horse gestation, following.

³⁶⁹ Abundance of nature observed by Dyfed quartet: PKM3 51.7–9. JKB 65.1.

she recruits Pwyll and employs an elaborate strategy rather than pay out high *sarhaed*/ compensation to escape Gwawl.³⁷⁰ Her horse is superlative, valuable.³⁷¹ Her costly silks have been noted; golden silk adorns almost all her chief characters, interlacing all the Branches.³⁷² She distributes liberal largesse in jewels to the entire nobility of Dyfed, and ensures the minstrels at her great feasts are properly recompensed.³⁷³

Perhaps most of all Rhiannon's power base of food supply is a solar power, for beasts and crops depend totally on solar energy to grow. She gathers them on *cylch* circuits, then redistributes supplies in her feasts in an economic cycle.

heb hitheu Riannon, 'am y wled a'r darpar yssyd yma,/
*hwinnw a rodeis i y wyr Dyuet*³⁷⁴

These are enormous feasts. Pwyll's party numbers a hundred, with attendant juniors, servitors, and horses for all with their grooms.³⁷⁵ Hyfaidd's court cannot be any less, likely many more. At the second wedding there is Gwawl's company too. He is *gwr tormyn/ nawc, kyuoethawc*.³⁷⁶ This is many hundreds of folk, all to be provisioned for days, a week, or more. She sets the date a year ahead to allow for lengthy *cylch* gathering. Given pre-industrial food technology without refrigeration, canning, or international supply lines, dependent on fluctuating harvests and slow delivery of herds on the hoof, the logistics of her feasts are stupendous. We might compare the *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru*/ National Eisteddfod, or Glastonbury Festival.

Provisioning at scale is also brought about in a near- subsistence economy. Harvests are never reliable, so organising supplies means planned storage against lean times. Rhiannon's class of well-fed *marchogion* is small, and Pwyll's beggar disguise represents the ever-present spectre of starvation for the many.³⁷⁷ A few years ago we moderns of 'first world' Britain lived comfortably insulated

³⁷⁰ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Wealth (Table) p. 244..

³⁷¹ Ch. I.4. Advent #5 Horse p. 17-20. Also Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd pp. 224-29 Giraldus quoted p. 227.

³⁷² Ch. I.4. Advent #7 Silk pp. 21-22. Also Ch. IX. Structures: Golden Thread pp. 515-16.

³⁷³ Largesse to all Dyfed nobles: PKM1 19.14-16. JKB 31.2. Minstrels concern: PKM1 18.21-24. JKB 3.2. On the latter 14thC Goronwy Gyriog, p. 500 below.

³⁷⁴ PKM1 15.21-22. 'said Rhiannon, 'in regard to the feast and the preparation that is here, I have given that to the men of Dyfed', JKB 29.2.

³⁷⁵ Pwyll's company numbered: PKM1 15.1-2. JKB 29.2.

³⁷⁶ Gwawl: PKM1 14.17-18. 'a wealthy man with many followers', JKB 29.1.

³⁷⁷ Pwyll's 'comical' disguise: PKM 16.5-7. JKB 30.1.

from hunger. A decade of 'austerity' economics, Brexit trade conditions, and the Covid-19 pandemic, have brought back starving children and malnutrition diseases from history like rickets and tuberculosis. Not only is real hunger painful and dangerous in itself, malnourished bodies have weakened immunity to disease. Many die of injuries and illness they would otherwise survive. The better-off worry greatly about budgeting and precarious security.

Rhiannon as Sun Goddess is guardian against that fear. Comparisons can be made with the harvest Goddess Demeter, with Isis of the fertilising Nile river, and back to Inanna whose *naditu* priestesses warehoused grain and organised rationing for times of famine.³⁷⁸

Rhiannon's '*cot uechan*/ little bag' holds the provisioning of an entire prunedom. In PKM3 she and her companions delight in the abundance of Dyfed.³⁷⁹ When the Desolation falls, it specifically hits Rhiannon's power base of food provisioning, which seems Llwyd's deliberate revenge upon her.³⁸⁰ Yet her tiny kindred adapt and survive by hunting and foraging. Rhiannon is singled out textually as a huntress.³⁸¹ In survival conditions this Goddess continues to provide and feed.

Associations of fertility, birth, massive food supplies and rich jewels present a heavily immanent Goddess, enmeshed in the needs and strivings of the material world. Yet she is also a transcendent Goddess in other aspects, such as the Muse.

'Muse-Goddess'

Rhiannon is patroness of minstrels and particularly their payment. When constructing Gwawl's penalties she includes his paying for the minstrels at 'his' wedding feast. They are evidently a priority for her as the next morning she

³⁷⁸ Cf. Walton's Sun Goddess: 'golden Crop-Bringing Mother', *Mabinogion*, p. 74 Graves gives Pryderi as 'Spirit of the Solar Year' *White Goddess*, p. 384 Also Ch. VII.1. Goddesses of harvest/ food: Ch. VII.1. Myths: Inanna pp. 418-20; Isis p. 421; Demeter pp. 417-24; Epona pp. 426-29.

³⁷⁹ Bag capacity all Dyfed stocks (not infinite *cornucopia*): PKM1 15.5-7. JKB 29.2. They observe Dyfed abundance: PKM3 517-9.. JKB 65.1. Error examples list Ch. VI.5. Bag p. 401 n. 87.

³⁸⁰ Llwyd explains: PKM3 64.6-10. JKB 75.1. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad p. 325, & Ch. V.14. Llwyd p. 349, on Llwyd's specific target of Rhiannon's food power base.

³⁸¹ Rhiannon huntress: PKM3 58.24-27. JKB 72.1.

rouses a (sleepy?) Pwyll in their bridal bed, reminding him to pay them (with Gwawl's funds).³⁸²

In two of the rare mediaeval references to her outside the Mabinogi, and rarer still naming her, 14thC poets extol her as patroness. Goronwy Gyriog acclaim Rhiannon's generosity of payment in a court elegy, comparing his tragically dead young queen. Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch associates her with *rhieiniaidd*, feminine poetics, especially about young women.³⁸³ These may suggest a Rhiannon tradition that survived the centuries.

Her fame may also have spread across the arts world of the Mabinogi compilation period. Jaufré Rudel, an Occitan troubadour travelling the Mediterranean, seems to share Pwyll's trancelike courtship. Jaufré rides after his beloved *amor de lonh*/ 'Distant Love', but rides in vain unless she grants him her grace.³⁸⁴ This imaginary easily evokes the (above) yearning for initiation, cf. Lucius of the *Metamorphoses*; and the possibilities of a *yin*/ feminine power pattern noted, where force and effort fail before a trancelike peace.

Robert Graves' *White Goddess*, gives Rhiannon considerable attention as 'MuseGoddess'.³⁸⁵ Like Pwyll and Jaufré, Graves pursues her as a lover.

Let the poet address her as Rhiannon, 'Great Queen', ...
She will respond with a sweet complaisance³⁸⁶
... his heart breaks with longing and love for her.³⁸⁷

Graves astutely comments on the 'dilemma' of the poet, caught between intense desire for and fear of his 'sweet' but ferocious mistress, the Nightmare. If he refuses to accept the Dionysian (subconscious) forces that drive him, staying locked in the Apollonian conscious (rationalism) he 'teaches himself to despise woman, and teaches woman to despise herself'.³⁸⁸ Graves is deeply attuned to Rhiannon's dominance: her grace-gift of inspiration.

³⁸² Gwawl coerced: 17.20–22. JKB 31.1. Pwyll urged to pay: PKM1 19.14–16. JKB 31.2.

³⁸³ Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #6 Goronwy Gyriog p. 33; #7 Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch p. 34.

³⁸⁴ Two quotations Ch. VI.2. Trance pp. 385. Whether these are a shared traditions of 'Distant Love', or one originates and influences the other, is not known.

³⁸⁵ Graves, *White Goddess*, p. 385 & pp. 385, 419–20, 448. For more on Graves' *White Goddess*, and his mentor Laura Riding Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Graves & Riding pp. 452–53.

³⁸⁶ Graves,, *White Goddess*, p. 420.

³⁸⁷ Muse, Truth, Love: Graves,, *White Goddess*, p. 448.

³⁸⁸ Dionysian/ Apollonian: Graves,, *White Goddess*, p. 448. The concept comes from Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* (1861) 'Matriarchy', polarising Moon/ Sun. Cf. also Max Müller's polarity, light/ dark, above/ below, which much influenced Rhys; Ch. II.6. Welsh Academy: Rhys pp. 107.

Feminists like Mary Daly, Marija Gimbutas, and Kathy Jones led a self-healing movement away from masculine theologies.³⁸⁹ Radical Feminism's profound rebuilding of women has since been trivialised, demonised or buried. Iconoclastic cleansing was arguably necessary to dislodge the patriarchal paradigm. Laura Riding, Graves' mentor and living Muse, is hardly known as such. Her pioneering writing was his key source and her Radical Feminism anticipated much that emerged in the 1970s.³⁹⁰ Avalonian Rhiannon shows the damage when mutual contempt between establishment (academia) and alternatives, rigidify in polarity. Some steps in reconciliation can be seen in Jhenah Telyndre, below.

Unsurprisingly, Graves the poet adores the Birds of Rhiannon 'singing with wonderful sweetness'³⁹¹ They are Rhiannon's extended voice, incomparably sweet, but they have some of the ambivalence of Graves' MuseGoddess. They (en)trance the living and wake the dead.³⁹² However they seem to lack Graves' MuseGoddess' ferocity, acting as comforters. 20thC Welsh nationalist poets certainly see them in this way, as ideals and supporters, albeit they can harshly judge those lacking in loyalty to the Welsh cause.³⁹³

Two modern, Eisteddfod poets take Rhiannon's ride and her Horse as their model for the poetic Muse; Alan Llwyd (1971) and Bryan Martin Davies (2003). Llwyd summarises both as 'Only through words can inspiration be caught.'³⁹⁴

³⁸⁹ Avalonian Rhiannon. K. Jones quoted; women's exclusion Ch. VII.5. Theologies, p. 490-91

³⁹⁰ Michael Kirkham. Dec. 1973. 'Robert Graves's Debt to Laura Riding', in *Focus on Robert Graves*, 3, ed. by Mason, Ellsworth (University of Colorado Library, Boulder, Colorado). Elizabeth Friedman and Alan J. Clark. 2005. 'Introduction' to Laura Riding. 2005 posthumously. *The Word Woman and other related writings* (Persea).

³⁹¹ Birds: Graves,, *White Goddess*, p. 385.

³⁹² Adar Rhiannon powers, Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #2 *Culhwch* p. 33.

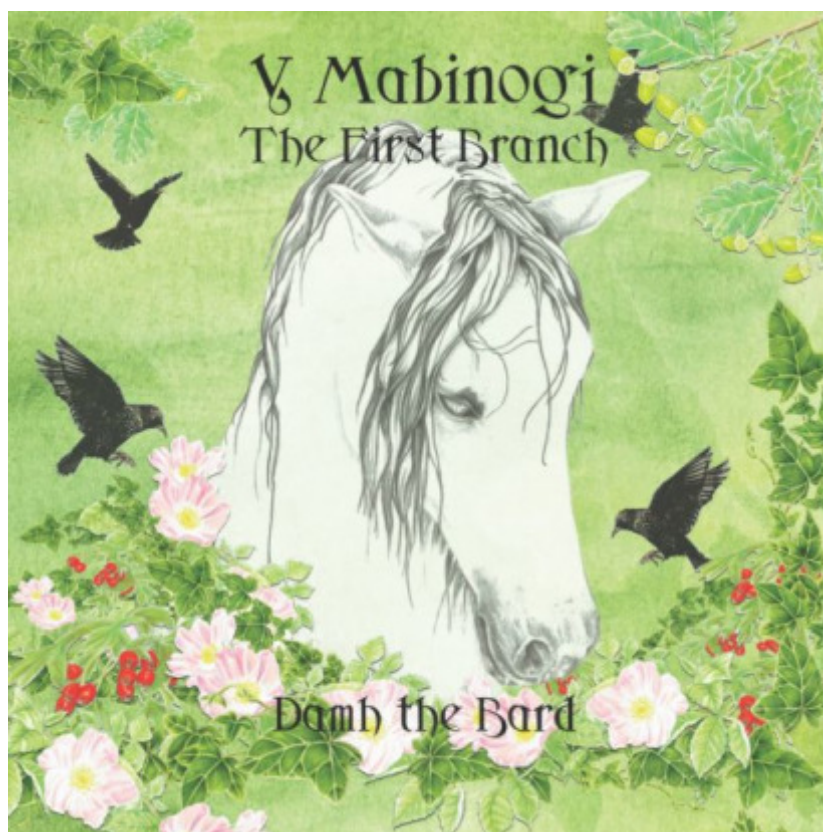
³⁹³ On the Adar Rhiannon Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon pp. 407-14.

³⁹⁴ Alan Llwyd (then Alan Lloyd Roberts). 1971. 'Y March Hud' ('The Magic Horse'), in *Y March Hud* (Caernarfon), pp. 9-13. His first published poem, a retelling using phrasing from the original, written in *vers libre* with *cynghanedd* (strict-metre system). In the poem, Pwyll is unable to catch up with Rhiannon on his horse, no matter how fast his horse gallops in pursuit of her, but the moment he asks her to stop, she stops, and Pwyll is then able to come face to face with her. Pwyll has used words to stop Rhiannon. Only through words can inspiration be caught. It ends 'And so it was that Pwyll/ was able to halt her/ and capture her magic/ despite her swift pace/ on her enchanted horse.' Poem text and comment kindly supplied by the poet (22/05/2023). Cf. Bryan Martin Davies, 'Rhiannon y Gerdd' ('Rhiannon of the Poem') (2003), similar theme.

Damh the Bard

Damh has recorded retellings to date of the first three Branches, backed with music.³⁹⁵ His 'Rhiannon' song narrates her up to the penance: an accurate and remarkably beautiful evocation.³⁹⁶

As he worked with Rhiannon text he was particularly inspired with personal veneration for her as 'Mother and Great Queen'.³⁹⁷



Damh the Bard³⁹⁸

Jhenah Telyndru

Jhenah Telyndru's Rhiannon-centred opus, *Rhiannon: Divine Queen of the Celtic Britons* (2018), makes her a substantial Rhiannon theologian.³⁹⁹

There is no question that Rhiannon is greatly beloved and honored as a Goddess by modern devotees around the world regardless of whether

³⁹⁵ Damh the Bard. 26/09/2017. 'Y Mabinogi: The First Branch', tracklist & detail, URLs incl. sound files, Bibliography. *ibid.* July 2019. 'Y Mabinogi: The Second Branch'. *ibid.* 1/06/2020. 'Y Mabinogi: The Third Branch', tracklist & detail Bibliog. (URLs Bibliography)

³⁹⁶ Damh the Bard. 26/09/2017. 'Rhiannon', song lyrics online (URL text Bibliography). From his 'Y Mabinogi: The First Branch' recording, above.

³⁹⁷ Damh the Bard. 3/07/2018. 'Rhiannon – Mother and Great Queen', online. (URL text Bibliography)

³⁹⁸ Album cover, Damh the Bard. 26/09/2017. 'Y Mabinogi: The First Branch', Pagan Music. (URL Illustrations list. Tracklist & detail, URLs incl. sound files, Bibliography).

³⁹⁹ Jhenah Telyndru. 2018. *Pagan Portals - Rhiannon: Divine Queen of the Celtic Britons* (Moon Books)

she was once worshiped as such by ancient Celtic Britons.⁴⁰⁰

Like her new *Ninefold Path* about Avalonian theology (2023), there is plenty of research, with caution about 'proof'.⁴⁰¹ She notes Winward's point how Rhiannon's autonomy operates within her social system, not as a rebel.⁴⁰² Familiar areas are reviewed, the *-on* suffix, 'Rigantona', Hamp's Mabon/Maponos,⁴⁰³ Modron and Urien,⁴⁰⁴ Epona in *Metamorphoses*.⁴⁰⁵ Telyndru identifies four main 'Aspects of the Divine Queen':⁴⁰⁶ Lady of the Otherworld, Goddess of Sovereignty, The Great Horsewoman, The Divine Queen.⁴⁰⁷ The book opens with lyrical evocation of an experiential journey up Glastonbury Tor.⁴⁰⁸

Rhiannon as 'Lady of the Otherworld' associates with the Gorsedd as sacred burial mound;⁴⁰⁹ her gold silk is linked to other Mabinogi wearers as a possible 'marker' of Annwfn;⁴¹⁰ warping volume via her bag, and time via her horse, and the Survivors sojourn;⁴¹¹ and notes Winward's point on Rhiannon's 'superhuman strength'.⁴¹² As 'Divine Queen' Telyndru sees Rhiannon as an exemplar of moral integrity (cf. Pughe's Rhiannon as a 'paragon').⁴¹³ We might argue about her cheating Gwawl of his rights. For the 'Great Horsewoman' she cites the multiple PKM texts, but gives the penance as 'bizarre', a long outdated view.⁴¹⁴ She proposes an interesting theory on Rhiannon's changing horse

⁴⁰⁰ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 39.

⁴⁰¹ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 39.

⁴⁰² Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 38.

⁴⁰³ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 49.

⁴⁰⁴ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁰⁵ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 45.

⁴⁰⁶ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, Ch. 5. pp. 64-87.

⁴⁰⁷ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*: 'Lady of the Otherworld' pp. 64-67; 'Goddess of Sovereignty' pp. 67-77; 'The Great Horsewoman' pp. 78-85; 'The Divine Queen' pp. 85-87.

⁴⁰⁸ Telyndru, 'Introduction: Climbing the Mound', in *Rhiannon*, pp. 1-4.

⁴⁰⁹ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 64.

⁴¹⁰ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 65. I similarly trace a link between gold silk instances (Ch. VIII. Structures: Golden Thread pp. 515-16) but simply as an interlace across Mabinogi Rhiannon. Telyndru does not include the PKM2 Irish ship pennants; if the *Iwerddon*/ Ireland association with Annwfn were noted this would not remove any disruption of her Annwfn marker theme.

⁴¹¹ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 66.

⁴¹² Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 67. On Rhiannon's bag Telyndru finds a 'possible symbolic reflex of a womb', *ibid.* p. 70. I thought so too and was kindly corrected by my native Welsh supervisor Christine James; that Welsh *cod* does not have the womb connotation that 'bag' can have in English. (2015).

⁴¹³ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, pp. 85-87. Pughe's mini-portrait of Rhiannon, *Geiriadur*, p. 466.

⁴¹⁴ The 'bizarre' horse aspect of Rhiannon's penance is WJG's exact term for his puzzlement, *Rhiannon* (1953). It was resolved by Brynley Roberts' '*Penyd Rhiannon*' (1968) and Hemming's '*Sellam Gestare*' (1997), as an unusual but historically mediaeval punishment for treason. My Ch. II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd p. 115.

relationships reflecting her 'personal autonomy'. (Cf. my symbiosis theory above). As dominant maiden Rhiannon is 'mistress and rider'. As de-powered mother she is lowered to the mounting block. Separated from her PKM3 husband she is again de-powered, forced to bear asses' collars (symbiosis again).⁴¹⁵

Some of this draws on the Sovereignty Goddess, where I am less comfortable with Telyndru's line. She recognises the Sovereignty Goddess in the Welsh context is 'more subtextual', without apparent knowledge of Lovecy and Sessle's outright rejection of it.⁴¹⁶ The fundamental problem is Pwyll is *pendefig Dyfed*/ prince of Dyfed, in the first line of the Mabinogi, and acquires Annwn status before Rhiannon ever meets him.⁴¹⁷ Telyndru can marshal only that it might be 'possible that his marriage to Rhiannon granted him true authority over his lands'.⁴¹⁸ This adds to the text without violating it, but nothing within it supports it. Like his son, Pwyll is well established in lordship before he approaches marriage.⁴¹⁹ Lack of shapechanging is also a weakness in applying Sovereignty theory to Rhiannon, defended by Telyndru by confusing structural connections like the Gwent mare, with a shapechange.⁴²⁰ 'Sovereignty Goddess' is her largest Aspect section, reflecting how much explaining it needs. It also appears in many other parts of this book and Telyndru's *Ninefold* study (above).

My discomfort here (with the Glastonbury temple, Telyndre, and relevant academics) is not only an inappropriate application to Welsh context, but a complete lack of political awareness. At least I hope so, as thealogy in service to oppression is not a thealogy I support. Nor I think does Telyndru. Sovereignty means extreme inequality, subjection. If fuelled by divine right it is theocracy, the greatest tyranny ever to exist as it rules both secular and religious spheres reinforcing each other. It can accommodate some degree of democratic procedure, but exempts the sovereign and their elite circle from key legal

⁴¹⁵ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, pp. 83–84.

⁴¹⁶ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 68. Lovecy. 1977–78. 'Celtic Sovereignty Theme', p. 135. Erica J. Sessle. 1994. 'Exploring the Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess through the Role of Rhiannon', p. 10.

⁴¹⁷ *Incipit* First Branch: PKM1 !.1. JKB 19.1. Pen Annwn title: PKM1 8.25–26. JKB 25.1. Rhiannon appears later PKM1 9.11–13. JKB 25.2. Telyndru follows the narrative order, *Rhiannon*, p. 72.

⁴¹⁸ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 69.

⁴¹⁹ Pryderi is ruler and conqueror before marrying Cigfa. PKM1 19–26. JKB 40.1.

⁴²⁰ Compare my interpretation 'Horse Goddess'. above and Ford's 'hippomorphic' analysis. Woman and mare are structurally interchangeable, but not as a shapechanging. Rhiannon does not become the mare as WJG assumes; she *is* the mare. It is our individual perspective which reveals one or the other. Or the structural moment in the narrative.

controls, accepting massive sovereign wealth alongside dire poverty. Ironically this could be argued to fit Rhiannon quite well, but is not an argument used for her as Sovereignty Goddess.

Telyndru's own definition of Sovereignty as 'fully-conscious self-determination' is clearly problematic in the political context of subjection, above. Taking it only in the micro-reality of the individual self, as I think she means it, her theme could present as Doreen Valiente's 'Keep pure your highest ideal',⁴²¹ or another inspirational, freedom-embracing phrase. It is a shame about political Sovereignty concept contamination: for Telyndru's work is so admirable.

Kris Hughes

Kris Hughes, an independent scholar of Celtic mythology, strives to work closely with the Mabinogi text, although she sustains the Sovereignty Goddess theme..⁴²² She says 'I'm not a professional academic' but then presents much research on the Celtic goddesses' similarities to Rhiannon; particularly Epona, Macha and Modron. She identifies as a 'devotional polytheist'.⁴²³

Hughes carefully clears claims to any ancient goddess Rhiannon, seeing her as more a 'literary' figure'.⁴²⁴ She insists on the Celtic goddesses she presents as distinct, not 'the same'.⁴²⁵ She finds the Rhiannon–Epona connection 'shaky', for Epona was brought to Britain from Gaul, but has little presence here.⁴²⁶ In a her wide ranging survey of Celtic myths Hughes finds the strongest Rhiannon affinity with Modron, because motherhood is so central to both, and their sons have hunting and imprisonment in common.⁴²⁷

Rhiannon is for Hughes her personal healer for 'maintaining my mental and physical health – through the healing and soothing attributes of Her birds'.⁴²⁸

⁴²¹ 'Charge of the Goddess', Doreen Valiente. 1978. *Witchcraft for Tomorrow*. She kindly educated me on her authorship (1985). Ch. VII.4. Temples: House of the Goddess p. 454 n. 103.

⁴²² Hughes has just expressed concern for AI which is being used to generate Celtic Mythology' books full of inaccuracies and spurious claims to authority. Kris Hughes. 2023. '17/08/23. 'Branwen – NOT a goddess of love or beauty' (URL text Bibliography)

⁴²³ Kris Hughes. 18/09/22. 'Reflections on the Identity of Rhiannon'. Illustrated talk presented at the 'Ninefold Festival', Sisterhood of Avalon, p.1. Notes by kind PDF gift from Kris Hughes (25/10/22). I hope she can find it acceptable that I class her as a theologian. In my view, her research equals or betters many academics.

⁴²⁴ Kris Hughes, Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 14.

⁴²⁵ Kris Hughes, Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 2.

⁴²⁶ Kris Hughes, Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 3.

⁴²⁷ Kris Hughes, Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 14.

⁴²⁸ Kris Hughes, Reflections on Rhiannon', p. 15.

Crynodeb/ Summary

This is a long substantial chapter so it seems helpful to make a brief summary.

'Thealogy' is defined as 'reflection on the divine in feminine or feminist terms'.

Rhiannon is seen as a 'Great Goddess', meaning a complex of aspects. Surprising affinities with faraway Inanna, 4,500 years ago, are reviewed.

Anwyl is the first, significant Rhiannon thealogian, introducing her as Great Mother and Horse Goddess. The static nature of this Great Mother needs Valente's critique that Goddess can obscure woman. The Sovereignty Goddess is critiqued and rejected as irrelevant to Welsh material, and dubiously apolitical.

Graves' *White Goddess* presents Rhiannon as beloved, a painfully ambivalent 'MuseGoddess', exposing the bloody birth bed. Walton's vision of Modron's Daughter or 'aspect', is Matriarchal, immanent, and compassionate. Rhiannon reincarnates as a love story for the ages to avert war; her initiation tale has her Birds closely with her.

Rhiannon as Horse Goddess operates a profound paradox of effortless control; symbiotic agency is suggested, and initiation philosophy. As Goddess of Marriage, symbiosis and partnership are keys. Rhiannon guards consent, and lovingly committed sexuality. 'Avalonian Rhiannon' promotes 'wild and free' sexuality, contradicting Rhiannon the courtly lady, her committed marital love, and her peaceful horse. As Mother Goddess Rhiannon cycles into profound vulnerability ('Descent of the Goddess'), and renewal. Symbiosis is again powerful in her Maternal Dyad. As Sun Goddess she is richly immanent, grounded in wealth, foodstocks and feasts; represented by her 'little bag'. As Muse Goddess she is inspiration to both mediaeval and modern poets, often inspired by the (en)trancing Adar Rhiannon, whose ambivalence is a gentler form than Graves'.

Telyndru identifies Rhiannon as Otherworldly, Queen of morality, Sovereign of self-determination, and Horsecowoman. She theorises the horse elements each reflect Rhiannon's changes of status. She helpfully explains Avalonian Rhiannon as Arthurian.

Kris Hughes, like Telyndru, is cautious about what Sullivan calls 'conscientious use' of the text. Hughes dismisses Rhiannon as an ancient Goddess, finding the Epona connection 'shaky'. She sees firmer connection with the maternal Modron. For her, the Adar are a personal source of health and healing.

This is a Great Goddess of complexity with a spectrum of control and vulnerability, in a cycle of renewal; autonomy and symbiosis; a peacefully quiet power; mothering and compassion; ambivalence or paradox; immanence; and poetic inspiration.

~ * ~

VIII Adeilweithiau/ Structures

Pedair Cainc/ Four Branches

Paradocsau / Paradoxes

Ford 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab'

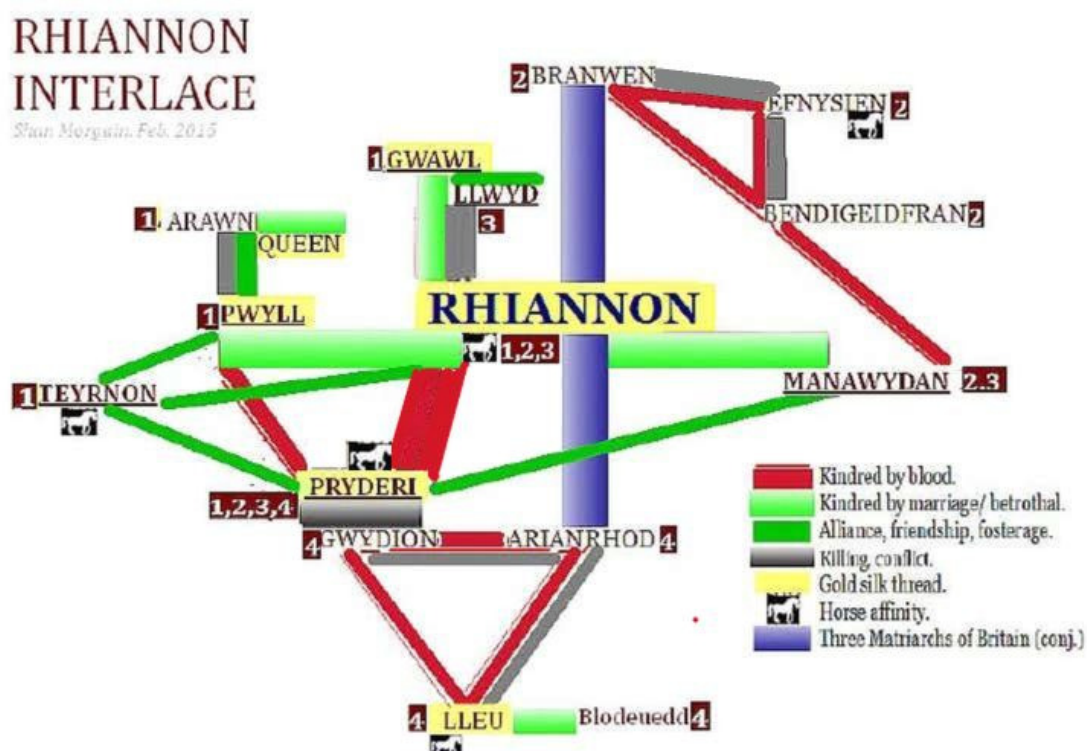
Rhyngwau/ Interlacings

1. Rhiannon-Arawn
2. *Y Llinyn Aur/ The Golden Thread*
3. *March/ Horse*
4. *Dialog Rhiannon-Pwyll/ Rhiannon-Pwyll dialogue*
5. *Gwraig Teyrnnon/ Teyrnnon's Wife*
6. *Cot uechan/ Small bag*
7. *Y Drydedd Gainc/ The Third Branch*
8. *Alltudion ac Ymlidwyr/ Exiles and Pursuits*

Patrymau triadig/ Triadic Patterns

Y Tri Anhysbys/ The Three Anons

Tafodieithol Hegel/ Hegelian Dialectic



Shân Morgain. 2015. 'Rhiannon Interlace'¹

This chapter samples and interprets structural patterns in Mabinogi Rhiannon.²

Structural analysis lifts narrative elements out of their sequence, observing a close similarity or sharp contrast across the texts.³ Mabinogi structuralism is evident in Anwyl's 'Cycles' (1901), but did not become fully established until Bollard leading the Coherence Paradigm (1970s-90s).⁴

¹Shân Morgain. Feb. 2015. 'Rhiannon Interlace' diagram, prepared for presentation to MEMO, Swansea. Numbers backed brown indicate the Branch/es in which the character appears.

² They are prolific, so one chapter can only attempt a representative sample. There is plenty of scope for an interesting MA on this, or even PhD.

³ Similarity with motif analysis, but motifs lift the elements out to compare with elements of external literatures across the world. While sometimes useful (e.g. finding comparables to Rhiannon's Bag) the sheer breadth means the comparison tales/s are often as different as they are similar, requiring so much explanation about the differences as to equal or swamp the similarities' helpfulness. 'Calumniated Wife' critique, Ch. II.6. Academia: Folklore pp. 117-18.

⁴ Anwyl, 'Four Branches', pp. 125, 127. Bollard, 'Structure', in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 165-96 (first published *Cymm*. 1974 following his MA dissertation, Aberystwyth, 1970). The long gap between Anwyl and Bollard is due to WJG suppression. Ch. II.6. Academia: WJG pp. 111-16. Admittedly WJG works with structural tale elements, but he does not 'trust the text'; instead manipulating it to fit preconceived models. On the 1970s shift, Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm pp. 118-139.

Pedair Cainc/ Four Branches

The traditional quartet of Branches seems an original structure in the two extant (complete versions) MSS.⁵ Anwyl (1897) developed the unifying title 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi'.⁶ Ifor Williams 1930, *Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi* firmly anchored it.⁷ Sioned Davies queried the quartet tradition, but it remains a consensus.⁸ My 'Mabinogi Bibliography' lists c. 136 *Pedair Cainc/ Four Branches* titles ranging across many disciplines,⁹ indicating a grounded recognition of the '*Pedair Cainc/ Four Branches*' structure.¹⁰ 'Triadic Patterns' below notes a possible tripartite alternate.

⁵ Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, and Llyfr Coch Hergest. Cf. Sioned Davies episode list, *Four Branches*, pp. 23–24.

From PKM text and JKB trans. the Branches are * PKM1 1– 27.27. JKB 19.1– 40.1. * PKM2 29.1– 48.18. JKB 43.2–60.1. * PKM3 49.1–65.24. JKB 63.1–76.1. * PKM 67.1– 92.27. JKB 79.1–108.1. The term '*mabinogi*' appears at the end of each Branch. PKM 27.27. JKB 40.1. PKM2 48.12. JKB 60.1. PKM3 65.24. JKB 76.1. PKM4 92.27. JKB not shown. The Third Branch is not standard; it uses *mabinogi* to refer to '*Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynord*' the captivity of Rhiannon and Pryderi.

⁶ 'Pedair Caingc' multiple refs. also 'Pedair Caingc y Mabinogi' (Anwyl I, pp. 277, 278). 'The Mabinogi. of which we have here the four branches', Anwyl I, p. 278. As 'the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Anwyl I, pp. 279, 280, 288, III 127, 130, 133. IV, 123, 124, 127, 130. The Cymraeg finds the number *pedair/* four, sufficient to indicate plurality, so *cainc* is singular.

⁷ Lhuyd 1706 catalogued and described four Branches as distinct, Ch. II.6. Welsh Renaissance: Lhuyd pp. 62–64, including Latin excerpt, translated. Pughe used protagonist names as part of his titles (1795–1833). Edward Jones 1802, *Bardic Museum* used 'Pwyll, Prince of Dyved', p. 27. The usual Branch titles today from branch protagonist names were established by Guest (1845), Ch. II.6. Welsh Renaissance: Guest p. 99, n. 344.

⁸ 'And so ends this branch of the Mabinogi: note that there is no suggestion that the Four Branches as a composite whole are at an end; indeed, there may well have been further 'branches'.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 244.

Use of the concept 'Fifth Branch' by Stevenson's 2017 title for his Mabinogi festival; Ch. II.3. Performance p. 53 n. 65. Also 'Rymenhild'. 2010, blog.

'After the seven men we spoke of above: this branch does not make use of the traditional opening formula; rather, the continuity between the Second and Third Branches is emphasized, in written rather than in oral terms.' Sioned Davies, *Mabinogion*, p. 237.

⁹ Count performed 2021. 136 titles with '*Pedair Cainc*' or 'Four Branches' incl. 21 Welsh titles '*Pedair Cainc*' (or archaic/ mutated versions). 7 translations to third languages: 1 Cornish, 3 German, 1 Dutch, 1 Japanese. 1 entry concerns Polish versions. 38 educational: 6 PhD dissertations, 20 theses, 4 course materials, 8 simplified texts for Welsh learners or schools. 10 online resources. 1 video game. This is not claimed as a fully comprehensive list; it excludes book reviews. Shân Morgain, 'The Mabinogi Bibliography', via Zotero software online and on her research website, initiated 2012, by 2020 approx. 2,000 entries, many annotated. (URLs Bibliography)

¹⁰ The Mabinogi Bibliography includes translations, retellings, overviews, translation issues, the dating debate, authorship, etymology, names, toponyms, storytelling techniques, historical politics, feminism and gender, characterisation, poetry and other literatures, motifs, mythologies, arts adaptations and structural analysis. The range is evident from category lists compiled by its search tags. (URLs Bibliography: Morgain)

Bollard summarises the classic interpretations of the *cainc*/ branch metaphor, as branches of a tree, or strands twisted into a rope.¹¹ Another metaphor could be a river branching as it flows to the sea, allowing for streams, structural or thematic flows, across or between Branches.

The importance of Mabinogi locations has been observed since Anwyl. Ch. IV.2. Acts' playscript shows a regular alternation of Dyfed and Other locations. The structural status of *Pwyll I* has been rehearsed, from 'disconnected' alienation to an integral preface to Mabinogi Rhiannon.¹² PKM3 exile passages might seem unnecessary to the main story, but here suggested as developing Manawydan's negotiation skills which win the PKM3 restoration.¹³ 'Interlacings' and 'Doublets' below give PKM1/ PKM3 structural connections.

Pryderi is the only character present in all four Branches. Desire for an original, ancestral, native saga developed a 'Pryderi Saga' theory as the Mabinogi central hero.¹⁴ This was later discredited.¹⁵ PKM1 is much more than Pryderi's birth story; he has only one (passive) PKM2 episode; he is absent for half of

¹¹ John K Bollard, 'Afterword', in *Landscape*, pp. 111-12, with MS. support. The rope metaphor is late 16thC. He adds a further metaphor of 'separate but related movements of a piece of music, *ibid.* p. 112, n. 3.

¹² Ch. I.5 Text pp. 24-27, and Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice pp. 241-46.

¹³ There could be a seamless tale from the initial survival after the Desolation by hunting; *hela a wnaethant, a chymryt eu digriuwch*, PKM3 52.10 'they began to live off hunted meat, fish and wild swarms', JKB 66.1; to Pryderi and Manawydan's fateful hunt of the boar, PKM3 55.5. JKB 68.2.

¹⁴ Anwyl, 'The story which seems to form the main trunk upon which the Four Branches hang. is the life of Pryderi, the hero at Dyfed.' '1897. 'Four Branches', I, p. 280; as central saga, pp. 282; and II, 284, 287, 289. However he later felt dubious and developed a triple Cycle theory, 1901. 'Four Branches', IV, pp. 123-34, Ch. Renaissance: Anwyl pp. 109-110; my diagram p. 213. 'The person of Pryderi may be regarded as the connecting thread running through all the Four Branches; Pwyll treating of his birth; Branwen of his visit with Bendigaïd Fran to Ireland, and his journey with the Venerable Head to London; Manawydan of his wanderings in Dyfed; and Math of the rape of his swine by Gwydion and of his death.' Ellis and Lloyd, *Mabinogion*, p. 2. Ifor Williams, on Pryderi as central hero, PKM, pp. xlv-l. WJG the dominant proponent, 'Pryderi is the hero of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, his birth being described in the First Branch, subsequent adventures in the Second and Third, and his death in the Fourth.' Bromwich, TYP, p. 486. 'The Pryderi saga is the actual framework of the Four Branches, each Branch devoted to one distinct episode in the Hero's career', WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 9; and 'framework' again, p. 15. Four part biography, Irish model: *compert* (birth), *magnimartha* (exploits), *indarba* (reversal) *aided* (death). I gradually came to the conclusion that Pryderi's life was, according to the Irish pattern, divided somewhat on those principles.' WJG, *Rhiannon*, p. 174. 'the redactor added material to the Pryderi cycle making it a frame tale.' Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, p. 29.

¹⁵ 'The only element of the heroic biography that finds full expression here is the birth tale.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 199. Brynley Roberts found no evidence of an Irish heroic biography in four tale types as WJG claimed, 1980. *Middle Welsh Literature*, p. xiv. Mac Cana's major study 1980. *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*, gives no such heroic biography. (My thanks to Patrick Ford for directing me to this authority.) Sioned Davies: 'Pryderi 'can hardly be described as the hero of the Four Branches. ... his role in the second and third branch is minimal.' 1993. *Four Branches*, p. 19. Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: WJG pp. 111-16.

PKM3, and almost three quarters of PKM4.¹⁶ My study also analyses him as frequently lacking agency when present.¹⁷ Instead my study asserts his importance as Rhiannon's son in her Maternal Dyad; once married her mothering is her major narrative.¹⁸

Paradocsau / Paradoxes

Mabinogi Rhiannon is replete with paradoxes reflecting her complexity: Rhiannon's anomalous horse; her lone femaleness yet dominance as she rides; her open speech yet deceit with Gwawl; her *cot uechan*/ little bag of enormous capacity; her PKM1 wedding triumph causing PKM3 Desolation; triumphant *rien*i but vulnerable motherhood; her penance, depowering yet arguably strategic; her elite, dominant wealth yet bestowed and rescued by males.¹⁹ The Adar reverse living and dead; as Goddess, divinely powerful but undergoing Descent.²⁰

Ford, 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab'

Ford presents a powerful structural mirroring between the Dyfed and Gwent birth tales.²¹

HUMAN MOTHERS:	Rhiannon		Teyrnon's Wife
EQUINE MOTHERS:	Rhiannon-as-horse		Teyrnon's mare ²²

Rhiannon alternates human and equine *personae*: when one is present the other is absent. Similarly she alternates with Teyrnon's Wife. Ford speaks of Rhiannon almost entirely in her 'hippomorphic aspect'.²³ His Rhiannon-as-horse seems sourced from Anwyl and WJG.²⁴

¹⁶ 'in PKM1's last quarter a passive child, except final, crucial but quick notes; barely evident PKM2; absent for half of PKM3 and four fifths of PKM4', Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd p. 114.

¹⁷ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Initiative pp. 315-16.

¹⁸ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 322-28.

¹⁹ Ch. IV.2. Acts: Paradoxes pp. 209-10.

²⁰ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Mother Goddess pp. 493-96.

²¹ Ford, 'Adventure of the Mare and the Boy' in his Introduction to 1977. *Welsh Tales*, pp. 4-14. Title introduced p. 5. Title derived from Teyrnon's account, *gyfranc am y gassec ac/ am y mab*, PKM1 25.27-28. 'adventure of the mare and of the boy', JKB 37.2. Ford extends the narrative before and after the Gwent tale. Ch. I.5. Text: '*Cyfranc*' pp. 30-32.

²² Ford's structural analysis. 'Prolegomena', pp. 210-211. Exposition with quotes Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess pp. 455-58. VIII Structures pp. 512-13. His Rhiannon-as-horse seems less supported perhaps WJG influenced: Rhiannon punished for birthing a foal *Rhiannon* p. 66.

²³ Epona material, *Welsh Tales*, pp. 4- 5; 'hippomorphic aspect', *Welsh Tales*, pp. 6-7. 'Prolegomena', p. 210.

²⁴ '... the association of Rhiannon as a rider with a horse, and the further association of her son Gwri Wallt Euryn with horses, raise the question whether Rhiannon herself may not once have been a kind of deity like Epona, a goddess in the form of a mare. The allusion also to the mare of

The scope of Ford's *Cyfranc* is similar to Anwyl's Rhiannon–Cycle and my Mabinogi Rhiannon.²⁵ Like Anwyl, Ford initially discards the Annwfn episode but they recognise a 'prelude' later. I benefit from them in my confidence on *Pwyll I* as Prologue.²⁶ Their mythological emphasis is greater: I situate within the literary Coherence Paradigm. My Goddess treatment is significant but less than a fifth of my study.²⁷ I address psychological relationships and political issues considerably. My perspectives are much more female centred, both because of the (female) 'Rhiannon' focus, and decades of feminist development since Ford's Mabinogi works.

Rhyngwau/ Interlacings

John K. Bollard's concept of interlacing is presented Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm: Interlacings. To review briefly, an interlacing links two or more narrative elements, out of their narrative sequence. The link may be within a Branch or span across Branches. Connection can be close resemblance or sharp contrast. A pair of elements is a 'doublet'. A doublet can 'bracket' text at opening and closing positions, e.g. PKM1, PKM4 duels.²⁸ Bollard proposed interlacings help unify this long, complex literary work, generally on moral, social themes of friendship, marriage or feud.²⁹ These are evident as central structures in Mabinogi Rhiannon: Pwyll's friendships with Arawn and Teyrnon; Rhiannon's two marriages, Pryderi's, and Teyrnon's; her feud with Gwawl sustained by Llwyd.³⁰

Teyrnon ...' Anwyl. 1906. *Celtic Religion in Pre-Christian Times*, p. 240. WJG thought Rhiannon was punished for birthing a foal. 1953. *Rhiannon*, p. 66.

²⁵ Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc* pp 30-32.

²⁶ Ford's '*Cyfranc*' sees *Pwyll I* as 'disconnected' from the rest of the Branch, *Welsh Tales*, p. 36. 'Prolegomena', p. 202. His 1981 'Prolegomena' also recognises it as a 'prelude' establishing Pwyll's 'credentials' for his marriage, 'Prolegomena', p. 205.

²⁷ Ch. VII.1. Myths pp. 416-32 ' Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900 pp. 437-43; Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess pp. 448-63; Ch. VII.4. Temples pp. 463-66; Ch. VII.5. Theologies pp. 471-502. Total wordcount approx. 18,044 out of approx 97,000.

²⁸ The term is also used in Mabinogi Studies for 'a combination of two words, ... synonyms', characteristic of oral style. S.Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 36. The context makes the meaning clear. Bracket example, two duels PKM 4.6-6.5. JKB 23.1-2. PKM4 72.25-73.17. JKB 87.1-2.

²⁹ Bollard, friendship, marriage or feud: 'Structure', in *Essays*, p. 168.

³⁰ I have noted the gendering in Bollard's friendships and marriages. Mabinogi friendship is male-male, marriage is heterosexually male-female. I have therefore suggested these may be combined in a meta-theme of 'alliance'. Ch. II.7. Paradigm Shift: Interlacing pp. 123.

A simple interlace example is '*mabinogi*' marking the end of each Branch. It functions to separate the Branches, but the repetition binds the whole.³¹ A powerful example interlacing Mabinogi Rhiannon is its four portentous 'sittings' which mark its key narrative movements: Pwyll and court sit Gorsedd Arberth; Gwawl refuses to sit at the wedding; Rhiannon sits penance for four years; Pryderi (Dyfed quartet) sits Gorsedd Arberth and Desolation falls.³²

Interlacing 1. Rhiannon-Arawn

Pwyll's first encounter with Rhiannon bears many correspondences with his previous encounter with Arawn. The complex interlacing lends the known elite status of Arawn as a king to this unknown woman. Like Arawn her impact will be major and fateful and like him she is a canny strategist and a magician. Pwyll's relationship to both will be executive, subordinate.³³ *Pwyll I* is integrated.

³¹ *Mabynnogyon*, PKM1 27.28. 'Mabinogion', JKB 40.1. *Mabinyogi*, PKM2 48.12. 'Mabinogi', JKB 60.1. *Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynord*, PKM3 65.24. 'Mabinogi of Collar and Yoke', JKB 76.1. *Mabinogi*, PKM4 92.27. Not shown, JKB. PKM1 has the famous spelling mistake which was taken as a plural, then became a title for the 11 or 12 prose tales collection. PKM3 is not standard; it uses *mabinogi* to refer to Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynord' the captivity of Rhiannon and Pryderi.

³² Ch. I.4. Advent: *eisted*/ sitting, for full referencing p. 12-13.

³³ Ford suggests that Arawn is proactive and deliberate in approaching Pwyll. 'In Pwyll, the other-worldly animals are coming towards Pwyll, not leading him on. That is, the other world is somewhat aggressively presenting itself to Pwyll, forcing the confrontation, as it were.' Ford, 'Prolegomena', p. 202. 'It would appear that the encounter between Pwyll and Arawn of Annwfn was probably carefully contrived by the latter, that he had arranged the meeting to make a contract with the mortal.' *Ibid.*, p. 203. Though Pwyll accepts the subordinate role initially it is argued here that he and Rhiannon also demonstrate power balance at her Advent, Ch. I.4. Advent: #3 woman pp, 15-16; a partnership in marriage, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260-63.

TABLE 42 **Interlace: Advent of Rhiannon, Arawn**³⁴

A Prefacing	builds character impact: Pwyll hunting trip / pursuits.
B 'Other'	Pwyll advised <i>ryuedawt.</i> / Cŵn Annwfn signal colours.
C Separation	Pwyll separated from companions.
D Anonymous	Other remains anonymous, mystery.
E Hud animal	horse / Cŵn Annwfn.
F White	Rhiannon horse <i>canwelw</i> / pale-white / Arawn's <i>erchlas</i> / dapple grey. Cŵn <i>llathrei wynnet</i> /bright whiteness.
G Animals 'gone'	After human contact animals not mentioned.
H Clothing	Shining gold silk. / Dun woollens (inverse).
I Elusive/ evasive	Rhiannon unreachable/ Arawn evasive identity.
J First speaker	Rhiannon compels Pwyll to speak/ Arawn resents speaking first.
K Rebukes Pwyll	serious failure of noble code. Horsemanship/ Hunting.
L Affinity animal	Horse/ Stag, affinity, Arawn the hunter, symbol kingship.
M Pwyll upgrades other status	<i>morwyn -arglwydes/ unben - arglwyd.</i>
N Self-identifies	' <i>Rhianon ... wyf i... ferch Hyfaidd Hen.</i> ' / ' <i>Arawn urenhin Annwuyn wyf i.</i> '
O Pwyll recruited to neiges	(purpose).
P Task	vanquish third party male antagonist.
Q Skillset	requires Pwyll as warrior and general..
R Pwyll accepts, llawen	(gladly).
S Assigination	in one year.

2. *Y Llinyn Aur*/ The Golden Thread

When Rhiannon first appears she is shining in golden silk brocade.³⁵ It enhances other key characters of Mabinogi Rhiannon but not outside characters, with one exception. That is Lleu (PKM4), who may be seen as northern analogue to southern hero Pryderi: a shadowed tale of sexual misdoings and broken loyalties, contrasting PKM1.³⁶

³⁴ References. Rhiannon, PKM1 8.27–13.11. JKB 25.1–28.1. Arawn PKM1 1.1–3.25. JKB 19.1– 22.1. [A] PKM1 1.4– 11-24. JKB 19.1–20.2. [B] PKM1 9.4–7. JKB 25.1–2. PKM1 1.21–24. JKB 20.2. [C] PKM1 12.1–5, JKB 27.2. PKM1 1.10. JKB 20.1. [D] 94 lines, PKM1 9.11–12.23. JKB 25.2–28.1. PKM1 2.6– 2.26. JKB 21.1. [E] PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. PKM1 1.11–24. JKB 20. [F] PKM1 9.12. JKB 25.2. PKM1 2.4. JKB21.1. PKM1 1.23. JKB 20.2. [G] After PKM1 12.10. JKB 27.2. PKM1 2.6. JKB 21.1. [H] PKM1 9.13. JKB 25.2. PKM1 2.5. JKB 21.1. [I] e.g. PKM1 12.4. JKB 25.2. PKM1 2.7 –2.26 JKB 21.1. [J] PKM1 12.8. JKB 27.2. PKM1 2.7–8. JKB 21.1. [K] PKM1 12.9–10. JKB 27. 2. PKM1 2.14–19. JKB 21.1. [L] PKM1 9.11–14. JKB 25.2. PKM1 1.15–18. JKB 20.1.–20.2. [M] PKM1 12.7, upgrade PKM1 12.13. JKB 27.2. upgrade 28.1. PKM1 2.11. upgrade PKM1 2.24. JKB 21.1. [N] PKM1 12.23. JKB 28.1. PKM1 2.26. JKB 21.1. [O] PKM1 13.1–6. JKB 28.1. PKM1 2.27–28. JKB 21.2. [P] PKM1 12.23–24. JKB 28. PKM1 2.28–3.2. JKB 21.2. [Q] Ch. V.5. Pwyll. [R] PKM1 13.8. JKB 28.2. PKM1 3.4–5. JKB 21.2. [S] PKM1 13.6. JKB 28.1. PKM1 3.13. JKB 21.2. Pwyll also holds silence about his agreements with both, for a year. PKM1 13.15. JKB 28.2, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership p. 260.

³⁵ Ch. I.4. Advent: #6 Gold pp. 20-21, #7 Silk pp. 21-22.

³⁶ Pryderi and Lleu. Both have complex fathering, for Pryderi, Ford, see Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood p. 300. Lleu may be the biological son of Gwydion on the incest theory; he is in any case son of a 'male mother', Ch. V.15. Gwydion p. 351 n. 940. Having lost their mothers as newborns they are each rescued by a male lord, who picks them up from the ground, PKM1 22.25–27, PKM4 77.18.

LIST: Pwyll in Annwfn, Queen in Annwfn, Rhiannon, Gwawl, Baby Gwri, Irish ship pennants. Baby Lleu.³⁷

Silk is a sign of immense wealth and prestige, a political weapon to overawe commoners, so this interlace situates Mabinogi Rhiannon in the highest elite circles.³⁸ Telyndru traces almost the same list seeing it as a marker of Annwfn.³⁹ The Golden Thread helps integrate *Pwyll I* as 'Preface' (Pwyll, Queen). Irish ship pennants signal their King's wealth and prestige. They integrate the gross insult to his valuable horses which drives PKM2, with Mabinogi Rhiannon.

Manawydan is excluded yet a highborn prince of all Britain. But his active *mabinogi* is a protracted struggle with loss of status. Nor does Llwyd wear silk, probably in line with his 'hidden hand' *persona*.

3. *March*/ Horse

The strong presence of horses in Mabinogi Rhiannon is evident. Some of this is natural due to a horse-dependent society for transport, trade, raiding, war and territorial control.⁴⁰

Structurally the horse elements partner Rhiannon's fluctuating status. Her advent horse is explicitly *fawr*/ 'great, high'.⁴¹ Pwyll's hidden *marchogion* reflect her powerful, secret, wedding strategy.⁴² The Gwent Mare shares her maternal vulnerability and loss.⁴³ Penance reduces her to the horseblock.⁴⁴ Teyrnnon rides

Each baby is wrapped in silk (Pryderi already, Lleu immediately), PKM1 22.26–27; PKM4 77.19. They are fostered PKM1 23.10, PKM4 77.19–78.18. Each has horse affinities; PKM1 22.23–24, also PKM4 70.8, Lleu PKM4 81.11–14, 86.23, also Triad 38. *Tri Rodedicuarch Ynys Prydein*/ 'Three Bestowed Horses of this Island', TYP pp. 105–106. They both fight a duel to restore their honour, PKM4 72.24–27–73.17, PKM4 90.20–92.23. Each inherits one of the two most powerful Welsh princedoms, PKM1 27.17–18; PKM4 92.25–26. However Pryderi is a successful conqueror, PKM1 27.19–22. Lleu is a pensioner of Math, PKM4 84 1–10, though he does reclaim his bestowed territory by fighting, PKM4 92.23–24. Pryderi marries a normal and loyal woman, PKM1 27 23–26, Lleu's wife is a mere construct who betrays him, PKM4 83.17–27.

³⁷ Pwyll in Annwfn: PKM1 4.11. JKB 22.2; the Queen: PKM1 4.10–11. JKB 22.2; Gwawl: PKM1 13.27–28. JKB 28.2. Baby Gwri, PKM1 23.9. JKB 36.1. Ship pennants: PKM2 30.2–3. JKB 44.2. Baby Lleu: PKM4 77.19. JKB 94.1.

³⁸ Political and economic analysis of mediaeval silk: Ch. I.4. Advent: #7 Silk pp. 21–22.

³⁹ Telyndru, *Rhiannon*, p. 65.

⁴⁰ Ch. III.4. Equine Nobility pp. 160–61, 160–66. This study suggests Rhiannon's homeland may be Maesyfed, Powys, historically origin of a pioneering and excellent horse breed. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd pp. 224–29. When people travel in the tales, unless explicitly walking or by ship, it can be understood they are riding. This implicit background however is not included in the interlacing that follows.

⁴¹ PKM1 9.12–13. 'great tall', JKB 25.2. Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse p. 19. See also Ch. VI.4 Rhiannon's Horse pp. 390–95. Fluctuating status theory, Telyndre Ch. VII. 5 Theologies: Telyndre, pp. 503–04.

⁴² Hidden horsemen, PKM1 15.1. JKB 29.2.

⁴³ Rhiannon's loss, PKM1 20.23–24. JKB 34.1. Missing foals, PKM 22.5–6. JKB 35.1. Claw threat, PKM 22.17. JKB 36.1.

with his horsemen to her rescue.⁴⁵ Horse mutilations engulf her world in bloody war.⁴⁶ In Desolation survival struggle Rhiannon hunts, mounted, with her men.⁴⁷ She suffers humiliation bearing asses' collars.⁴⁸ Manawydan's visitors display increasing success in his negotiations: no horse, single horse, train of horses.⁴⁹ Rhiannon's highborn son twins with a fine foal but meets his doom through fake horses.⁵⁰

4. *Dialog Rhiannon-Pwyll*/ Rhiannon-Pwyll dialogue

Mabinogi dialogue is a major narrative method to display plot and character.⁵¹ Rhiannon's initial dialogue with Pwyll can structure as two sets of three, and a conclusion.⁵²

- 1.1. Pwyll appeals: Rhiannon rebukes.⁵³
 - 1.2. Pwyll asks her *neges*/ purpose:
Rhiannon asserts independence.⁵⁴
 - 1.3. Repeat, stressing Rhiannon's independent purpose.⁵⁵
- 2.4. Pwyll asks her identity.
Rhiannon's *neges* statement, implied question.⁵⁶
 - 2.5. Pwyll welcomes her purpose.
Rhiannon requires assignation to marry.⁵⁷
 - 2.6. Pwyll invites her preferred location.
Rhiannon sets where and when.⁵⁸
- 3.7. Pwyll commits: Rhiannon reinforces her direction to him.⁵⁹

The dialogue moves Pwyll from appealing and asking, to commitment. Rhiannon rebukes, asserts independence, states her purpose, sets time and place of

⁴⁴ Horseblock penance, PKM1 21.17–27. JKB 34.2–35.1.

⁴⁵ Teyrnon rides to the rescue, PKM 25.7–10. JKB 37.1.

⁴⁶ Efnysien. mutilation of horses, PKM2 32.–5. JKB 46.1.

⁴⁷ Rhiannon huntress, PKM3 58.26. JKB 72.1.

⁴⁸ Asses' collars, PKM3 65.19–21. JKB 76.1..

⁴⁹ Poor clerk, pedestrian: PKM3 61.17–18. JKB 73.2. Priest on a well equipped horse: PKM3 62.16–17. JKB 74.1. Wealthy bishop with retinue: PKM3 63.6–7. JKB 74.2.

⁵⁰ Son and foal in Gwent, PKM1 23.22–24.11. JKB 36.2. They ride together to Arberth, PKM 25.7–9. JKB 37.1. Fake horses cheat by Gwydion, PKM 70.9. JKB 81.2–82.1.

⁵¹ Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft: Style p. 47.

⁵² Dialogue: PKM1 12.7–13.11. JKB 27.2– 28.2.

⁵³ Pwyll/ Rhiannon dialogue 1.1.) PKM1 12.7–10. JKB 27.2. Pursuits force Pwyll to appeal to her; by speaking first he is manoeuvred into secondary position. Ch. V.5. Pwyll p. 257 n. 303.

⁵⁴ Pwyll/ Rhiannon dialogue 1.2) PKM1 12.13–15. JKB 28.1. Within this exchange they also exchange a courtesy greeting formula.

⁵⁵ Pwyll/ Rhiannon dialogue exchange 1.3) PKM1 12.18–20. JKB 28.1.

⁵⁶ Pwyll/ Rhiannon dialogue exchange 2.4) PKM1 12.20–27. JKB 28.1.

⁵⁷ Pwyll/ Rhiannon dialogue exchange 2.5) PKM1 12.26–13.2. JKB 28.1.

⁵⁸ Pwyll/ Rhiannon dialogue exchange 2.6) PKM1 13.4–8. JKB 28.1–28.2.

⁵⁹ Pwyll/ Rhiannon dialogue exchange 3.7.) PKM1 13.8–11. JKB 28.2.

assignation, reinforces his commitment. As Ch. IV.2. Acts analyses, she is at peak dominance in her early scenes.

5. *Gwraig Teyrnon*/ Teyrnon's Wife

The Wife and Teyrnon have four marital dialogues in formal (graceful) style.⁶⁰ These four dialogues display regular, harmonious structures. The first two are about birth, the latter two about bestowal. They alternate themes of horse and child. Initiation and listening balance, marked by agreement.

TABLE 25 **Dialogues' structure, Teyrnon-Wife**

DI Horse, birth.	She listens to his plan.
DII Child, newborn.	He proposes. She agrees.
DIII Horse bestowal.	She proposes. He agrees.
DIV Child bestowal.	He listens to her advice.

Sioned Davies feels lack of private dialogue narrated between Rhiannon and Pwyll suggests lack of harmony. Given very close parallels between the Dyfed and Gwent tales (cf. Ford's *Cyfranc*, above) it seems likely the reverse applies: the Wife's positive dialogues may 'stand in' for Rhiannon's marriage.⁶¹

There is a curious structural inversion. The Wife plans to recruit her loyal ladies to help her construct her false mothering: Rhiannon's disloyal Maids construct her as a false infanticide.⁶² The Maids' pivotal discussion give four distinct voices, perhaps foreshadowing these four dialogues in Gwent which repair their villainy.⁶³

6. *Cot uechan*/ Small bag

Rhiannon's bag has been noted as a significant element in her *mabinogi*.⁶⁴ Its strategy is complex, and the longest speech in the Mabinogi. The bag itself has enormous (not infinite) capacity, to hold all the food and drink of Dyfed's seven

⁶⁰ Quoted form of address Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife: Four Dialogues, p. 289.

⁶¹ The close relationship Rhiannon-Pwyll explored Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260 -63.

⁶² Wife's loyal ladies, her plan: PKM 23.11-13. JKB 36.1. Disloyal Maids' plan: PKM1 20.16-22. JKB 34.1.

⁶³ Ch. V.6. Maids pp. 275-78; for quoted dialogue p. 275 and analysis follows p. 276.

⁶⁴ Bag speech: PKM1 14.23-15.17. JKB 29.1-2.

Ch. IV.1. Voice: #12 p. 200, Narrative: weddings pp. 199-.201; and Ch. VI.5 Bag pp. 400-406. Llwyd explains: PKM3 64.5-20. JKB 75.1-2.

cantrefi.⁶⁵ Rhiannon's power base is food supplies and organising them in feasts.⁶⁶

The PKM1 bag interlaces a powerful doublet with Manawydan's PKM3 glove.⁶⁷ Both are everyday utensils; flexible fabric containers tied with string; used as key tools in a strategy; they each imprison another person. The two narratives centre on food supplies, and both feature the spectre of hunger. But Pwyll's disguise as a hungry beggar is fake, a game played amidst well-fed nobility, while Manawydan's struggle for subsistence is deadly survival.⁶⁸ The contrasting narratives are sharpened by the two objects. The doublet can be extended to include PKM2 flour sacks, explored Ch.VI.5. Bag. The three elements reflect the different nature of the three Branches.

The bag has a second, grave interlace. Rhiannon constructs her planned power play in her long speech. Llwyd's PKM3 speech of explanation deconstructs his planned Desolation power play. The two speeches bracket Rhiannon's huge responsibility for the Desolation of Dyfed, for Llwyd explains it is her *aghyngor*/ bad advice on which he takes revenge. He precisely targets Rhiannon's power base of food stocks, the capacity of her bag.⁶⁹

7. *Y Drydedd Gai*nc/ The Third Branch

The Third Branch has many other interlacings with the First which, like the bag/ glove doublet, reinforce how the PKM3 Desolation roots in PKM1. PKM3 also has awkward positioning as it resumes the Dyfed focus of PKM1 after the upheaval of PKM2 Irish War.⁷⁰ Oral narrative usually tracks events in real-time, consecutive style without time jumps, with explicitly described intervals (interstices).⁷¹ The many PKM1-PKM3 interlacings help a hearing audience re-link to the earlier

⁶⁵ Bag capacity: PKM1 15.5–7. JKB 29.2.

⁶⁶ Rhiannon's feasts: PKM1 15.21–25; JKB 28.2. 15.27–16.3. JKB 30.1. PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1.

⁶⁷ Manawydan's glove: PKM3 60.16–18. JKB 73.1.

⁶⁸ The bag narrative includes Pwyll's disguise as a hungry beggar. PKM1 16.5–7. JKB 30.1. Manawydan struggles to grow and harvest wheat as part of the Desolation subsistence living.

⁶⁹ Llwyd explains: PKM3 64.5–20. JKB 75.1–2. '*aghyngor*' line 10. The Mabinogi is similarly unforgiving of Branwen, whose appeal to her brother led to the catastrophic Irish War and in spite of her peaceweaving efforts, genocide. She herself recognises her responsibility, PKM2 45.15–20. JKB 57.1. Princely nobles enjoy wealth and power but bear pivotal responsibility.

⁷⁰ It has been suggested that PKM1 and PKM3 were once one Branch. SDavies, *Four Branches*, p. 17. More on Branches' structure debate *Four Branches* p. 510–12 above.

⁷¹ Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 29–30. *Ibid*, 'Written Text', p. 138. Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft: Style pp. 47–49.

narrative before the enormous PKM2 disruption. The following list illustrates this: the PKM3 element cites first in PKM3 narrative order.⁷²

TABLE 44 PKM3 Interlacings

- # Rhiannon bestowal (Pryderi to Manawydan/ Hyfaidd to Gwawl - Pwyll to Gwawl).⁷³
- # Wedding feasts, consummated (Rhiannon/ Manawydan - Rhiannon, Pwyll).⁷⁴
- # Gorsedd Arberth sitting (Dyfed quartet - Pwyll and court).⁷⁵
- # *Twrf*/ noisy tumult (Desolation falls - Teyrnon and Claw).⁷⁶
- # Exiles, and pursuits of Rhiannon, see following.
- # Chastity (Manawydan, Cigfa - Pwyll, Queen).⁷⁷
- # Starvation (Manawydan crofts - Pwyll the beggar).⁷⁸
- # Female fertility (Pregnant Mouse - Rhiannon's barren period, mothering vulnerability).
- # Glove - bag interlace, above.
- # Hero 'knows' magical intent (Manawydan/ Pwyll - Pwyll/ Rhiannon's ride).⁷⁹
- # Hero willing to appear foolish (Manawydan/ Lady Mouse - Pwyll at wedding).⁸⁰
- # Rider/s at Gorsedd Arberth (Fake priest, bishop - Rhiannon, advent).⁸¹
- # Strategy explained, above (Llwyd - Rhiannon bag).⁸²

8. *Alltudion ac Ymlidwyr*/ Exiles and Pursuits

The PKM3 exile periods in *Lloegr*, and the PKM1 pursuits of Rhiannon are long passages with subsections that repeat themselves. Some of that is due to the repetitions of oral style for emphasis.⁸³ The interlacings frequently remind the contrast of PKM3 struggles and fears and PKM1 adventurous confidence.

⁷² This could be a much longer list but the sample below is sufficiently indicative.

⁷³ Bestowals. Pryderi to Manawydan: PKM3 49.18–19 JKB 63.2. Hyfaidd to Gwawl, Rhiannon refers to being compelled: PKM1 12.23–24. JKB 28.1. Pwyll to Gwawl: PKM1 15.19–20. JKB 29.2.

⁷⁴ Wedding feasts, consummated. Manawydan: PKM3 50.26. JKB 64.2. Pwyll: PKM1 18.15–21. JKB 31.1–31.2.

⁷⁵ Gorsedd Arberth sittings. Dyfed quartet: PKM3 51.18–22. JKB 65.2. Pwyll and court very similar phrasing: PKM1 8.27–9.4. JKB 25.1. Repeated.

⁷⁶ *Twrf*/ noisy tumult. Desolation falls: PKM3 51.22–23. JKB 65.2. Teyrnon and Claw: PKM1 22.16–21. JKB 36.1. In each the term repeats, PKM3 twice, PKM1 five times. Also when mice raze Manawydan's croft: PKM3 60.4. JKB 73.1.

⁷⁷ Chastity. Manawydan, Cigfa: PKM3 57.16–22. JKB 70.2. Pwyll, Queen: PKM1 4.26–5.5. JKB 23.1.

⁷⁸ Starvation. Manawydan crofts: PKM3 59.11–15. JKB 72.2. Pwyll the beggar: PKM1 16.5–7. JKB 30.1.

⁷⁹ Hero 'knows' magical intent. Manawydan: PKM3 59.20–21. JKB 72.2. Pwyll, Rhiannon: PKM1 10.10. JKB 26.1

⁸⁰ Hero willing to appear foolish. Manawydan, Lady Mouse, he resists Cigfa's plea to be sensible and appropriately noble: PKM3 62.6–7. JKB 73.1. Pwyll at wedding, as beggar: PKM1 16.5–7. JKB 30.1. Also speculated here his foolish speech is deliberate; Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Wedding Plot p. 264–67.

⁸¹ Rider/s at Gorsedd Arberth. Fake priest: PKM3 62.17. JKB 74.1. Fake bishop: PKM3 63.6–7. JKB 74.2. Rhiannon, advent: PKM1 9.11–13. JKB 25.2. Horses appear in the PKM3 elements, perhaps significantly as the PKM3 tale approaches the liberation of Rhiannon. Horses offered to purchase the mouse presage Gwydion's negotiation with Pryderi for the PKM4 pigs.

⁸² Strategy explained. Llwyd explains: PKM3 64.5–20. JKB 75.1–2. Rhiannon's bag speech: PKM1 14.23–15.17. JKB 29.1–2. Ch. IV.1. Voice: #12 pp. 193, Narrative: weddings p. 200. and Ch. VI.5 Bag pp. 400–406.

⁸³ Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft: Style p. 47. Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 26, and 41–42.

TABLE 45 Exiles & Pursuits

- # Lengthy passages, initiated by sitting Gorsedd Arberth.
- # Determined, protagonist husbands (Manawydan, Pwyll). Frustrated aims, masculine heroism fails. Success by changing method (noble hunting, crafts, crofting/ from chasing to speech).
- # Duplications 3 major, 1 minor. Exiles: 3 X family, 1 pair. Pursuits: 3 X mounted, 1 pedestrian.
- # Exiles: 3 X 4 persons, 1 X 2 person. Pursuits: 3 X 4 legged, 1 X 2 legged.
- # Cumulative preface to triumphant final dialogue and pact.
- # Anonymous agent's identity, purpose finally revealed (Llwyd - Rhiannon).
- # Marriage pivotal. (Llwyd's wife - Rhiannon's proposal).
- Contrasts also invert the interlacing.
- # *Exiles*, Rhiannon obscured, absent. *Pursuits* Rhiannon dominant.
- # *Exiles*, fearful, violent threats. *Pursuits*, confident, playful.
- # *Exiles*, final dialogues extended, strained. *Pursuits*, final dialogue brisk, happy,

Patrymau triadig / Triadic Patterns

Mabinogi Rhiannon is replete with triadic structures.⁸⁴ Some triplicity is stylistic from oral performance tradition, e.g. constructing emphasis.⁸⁵ Anwyl's three Cycles (Rhiannon, Dôn and Llyr) proposed to structure the whole *Pedair Cainc*. Three *prif rieni* as a female, zenith status, have been discussed as powerful triadics.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Analyses may be found in other studies e.g. examples following; which support a triplicity focus in PKM1 and PKM3. This chapter does not attempt to be comprehensive. Jeffrey Gantz, tripartite structure both PKM1 and PKM3. 1978, repr. 1996. 'Thematic Structure' in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 265-275. R. M. Jones, triadic forms often more than stylistic, function to construct order. 1981/82. '*Tri mewn llenyddiaeth*', *Llên Cymru*, 14, pp. 92-110. Later developed Gantz' proposal of triadic structure PKM1, PKM3. 1983. 'Narrative structure in medieval Welsh prose tales', in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Oxford, ed. by Evans, D. Ellis *et al*, pp. 171-198. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan on 'narrative structure, groupings of characters, narrative techniques, and notable incremental repetition'. 1988. 'Triadic Structures in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Shadow: the Traditional Cosmology Society* (now '*Cosmos*'), 5, 1, pp. 3-11.

Ian Hughes also argues tripartite structure in all Branches; 1993. 'Die drei Zweige des Mabinogi', in *Akten des Ersten Symposiums Deutschsprachiger Keltologen*, ed. by Rockel, Martin and Stefan Zimmer (Tübingen: Niemeyer), pp. 121-131. On PKM3 'careful and purposeful construction'. 2007 'Tripartite Structure in *Manawydan Uab Llŷr*', in *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, VI, ed. by Ó Flaithearta, M. (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet), p. 108. (URL text Bibliography) Some Hughes' PKM3 triplicities cited below. Others omitted because they only form a triplicity within PKM3: additional instances in other Branches disqualify them as applicable to the whole *Pedair Cainc*. E.g. Hughes cites three PKM3 'unifying' instances of *twrwwf*/tumult, 'Tripartite', p. 107; but five *twrwwf* occurs in PKM1 Teyrnon narrative, above; Ch. V.7 Teyrnon on his epithet.

Sioned Davies critique; 'Branwen has but two obvious sections', and 'Manawydan, too, has two sections'; *Four Branches*, p. 23; also her earlier 1989. *Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi*, p. 19. But suggests third section of PKM2; *Four Branches*, p. 26, and three sections each Branch; *ibid.* 1995. *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*, pp. 53-58.

⁸⁵ Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*, p. 61. Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft: Style p. 47.

⁸⁶ Ch. V.1. Genealogy & Friendship (Diagram) p. 213. Anwyl's three Cycles, 'Four Branches', IV, pp. 123-25. Rhiannon-Cycle, pp. 125-28. Don-Cycle, pp. 128-29. Llyr-Cycle, pp. 129-134. Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*' pp. 177-83; referencing PKM2 30.29-31.1. JKB 45.2. and PKM2 32.27. JKB 45.2.

TABLE 46 Sample Triplicities

- # Queen's power-play of silence, Arawn's three approaches.⁸⁷
 #Gorsedd Arberth. Pwyll summons his court three times, over three days; three riders pursue her.⁸⁸ The Cyfarwydd amusingly disrupts tradition with extra pedestrian pursuit.⁸⁹ Its failure emphasises superior horse narrative, above.
 # Rhiannon delivers three Rebukes to her husbands, asserting dominance and entitlement to judge and advise them. Each critiques their *marchogion* nobility (horsemanship/ converse/ courage and loyalty).⁹⁰
 # Rhiannon's three wedding feasts at Arberth.⁹¹
 # Rhiannon, birthgiving after three years of marriage.⁹²
 # Rhiannon's six Maids (multiple of three).⁹³
 # Adar Rhiannon numbered three.⁹⁴
 # Desolation introduced in three stages.⁹⁵
 # Three craft types, PKM3 exile.⁹⁶
 # Tower stasis triply described.⁹⁷
 # Manawydan returns to Dyfed three times, sows three fields, razed by mice on three nights.⁹⁸
 # Llwyd the magician appears in three disguises.⁹⁹
 # Manawydan-Llwyd negotiations, three demands: Llwyd's identity, purpose/ Rhiannon and Pryderi's freedom/ Dyfed restoration.¹⁰⁰
 # Three Magicians: Arawn, Rhiannon, Llwyd.¹⁰¹

⁸⁷ PKM1 7.5–14.

⁸⁸ Pwyll calls for his court on three days. First day he announces his decision: PKM1 8.10–11. JKB 25.1. Second day PKM1 10.15–16. JKB 26.1. Third day PKM1 11.19. JKB 27.1. Three mounted pursuits. First: PKM1 9.26–10.11. JKB 26.1. Second: PKM1 10.25. JKB 26.2. Third (Pwyll) PKM1 11.26–12.6. JKB 27.2.

⁸⁹ Pedestrian pursuit: PKM1 9.21–27. JKB 26.1.

⁹⁰ Rebuke I (Pwyll): PKM1 12.9–10. JKB 27. 2. Rebuke II (Pwyll): PKM1 14.13–14. JKB 29.1. Rebuke III (Manawydan): PKM3 56.26–27. JKB 70.2.

⁹¹ Weddings. First: PKM1 13. 15–25. JKB 28.2. Second: PKM1 15.27–16.3. JKB 30.1. Third: PKM3 50.12–14. JKB 63.2–64.1. and PKM3 50.19–26; PKM3 50.26 JKB 64.2.

⁹² Three years waiting to birth: PKM1 19.18. JKB 33.2. Birth PKM1 20.3. JKB 33.2.

⁹³ Maids: PKM 20.6. JKB 33.2.

⁹⁴ Bromwich and Evans, eds. *Culhwch ac Olwen*, p. 24, line 632. Trans. '– the ones that rouse the dead and make the living sleep – to entertain me that night.' Trans. Ford, 'Culhwch and Olwen', in his *Welsh Tales*, p. 139. Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon pp. 407–14..

⁹⁵ Family takes immediate view, then searches court, then the land. Hughes, 'Tripartite', p. 103.

⁹⁶ *Henfordd*, PKM3 52.20–21. Hereford, JKB 66.1–66.2. PKM3 53.13–54.4. JKB 66.2–67.1. and PKM3 54.5–55.2. JKB 67.2–69.2. These are plausibly important to developing Manawydan's negotiating skills to win restitution for Rhiannon and Dyfed. The term is frequent in his chapter.. Another disruption of triplicity occurs for Manawydan and Cigfa later make a fourth exile journey but no new craft type; PKM3 58.6–7. JKB 72.1. Cf. the disrupted triplicity of Arberth pursuits, above. Also interlacing of Exiles and Pursuits, pp. 520–21 above.

⁹⁷ Hughes observes the description for Pryderi and later Rhiannon involves '(i) his hands stick to the vessel, (ii) his feet stick to the slab on which he is standing, (iii) and his power of speech fails him.' Hughes, 'Tripartite', p. 104.

⁹⁸ Manawydan returns to Dyfed three times. With Pryderi: PKM3 50.11–12. JKB 63.2. Dyfed quartet, PKM3 55.3–4. JKB 68.1. With Cigfa, PKM3 58.21. JKB 72.1. Sows fields, PKM3 59.2–3. JKB 72.1. Hughes remarks the cultivation involves three stages, digging, sowing, reaping. Hughes, 'Tripartite', p. 104. Mice, PKM3 59.1–60.13. JKB 72.2–73.1.

⁹⁹ Cleric, PKM3 61.17–18. Priest, PKM3 62.17. Bishop, PKM3 63.6. JKB 73.2–75.1.

¹⁰⁰ Manawydan's negotiations, PKM3 63.26–65.16. JKB 75.1.

¹⁰¹ Ch. VI.3. Magician p. 388. Their dominance of plot, though not always obvious p. 394.

Mabinogi Rhiannon has ten gender triangles, with five elsewhere.¹⁰²

TABLE 47 **Gender Triangles**

Mabinogi Rhiannon:

PKM1: Queen of Annwfn, Arawn, Pwyll.
 PKM1: Rhiannon, Pwyll, Gwawl.
 PKM1: Rhiannon, Pwyll, Hyfaidd.
 PKM1: Teyrnon's Wife, Teyrnon, Gŵri/ Pryderi.
 PKM1: Rhiannon, Pwyll, Pendaran.
 PKM1: Rhiannon, Pwyll, Pryderi.
 PKM3: Rhiannon, Pryderi, Manawydan.
 PKM3: Rhiannon, Cigfa, Manawydan.
 PKM3: Rhiannon, Pryderi, Llwyd.
 PKM3: Lady Mouse, Manawydan, Llwyd.

Elsewhere:

PKM2 Branwen, Bendigeidfran, Matholwch.
 PKM2 Branwen, Gweir, Efnysien.
 PKM4 Goewin, Gwydion, Gilfaethwy.
 PKM4 Arianrhod, Gwydion, Lleu.
 PKM4 Blodeuedd, Lleu, Goronwy.

There are a few instances of *Pedair Cainc* gendered triplicity outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, all negative: Branwen's three abused years, her son's murder, Goewin's rape, Arianrhod's three mandates, Blodeuedd's three unfaithful nights.¹⁰³

The crowded triplicities in Mabinogi Rhiannon might suggest a mirror of the Triple Goddess to Goddess devotees.¹⁰⁴ Otherwise, given the central importance of kindred in Mabinogi society, and particularly in Rhiannon's marriages and mothering, this dense triplicity might be understood to symbolically embellish a theme of her iconic family: herself, husband, and son.

¹⁰² Given the anomalies of gender around Gwydion and his brother undergoing Math's shapeshifts to deer, boar and wolf couplings, additions might be made; but these are not as clearcut as the others listed.

¹⁰³ Branwen's abused three years: PKM2 37.22–25. JKB 51.1–2. Her son's murder (he goes to his three uncles): PKM2 43.13–44.8. JKB 54.2–55.1. Rape of Goewin: PKM4 71.29–72.4. JKB 85.1. Arianrhod's mandates: PKM4 79 2–4. JKB 95.1. PKM4 81.6–9. JKB 97.2. and PKM4 82. 9–16. JKB 99.1. Blodeuedd's three nights: PKM4 85.7–86.5. JKB 102.1.

Trioedd. There are also references to *Trioedd*, not included in the main triplicity analysis here. List of *Trioedd* split into Mabinogi Rhiannon related and others, though the split is ambiguous for some cases. Mabinogi Rhiannon: Triad 8 – Manawydan (TYP 8 pp. 15–16); Triad 26 – Pryderi, Pwyll, Pendaran (TYP pp. 50–58); Triad 27 – Math (TYP pp. 59–60); Triad 28 – Math, Gwydion (TYP p. 61); Triad 36 – Caswallawn (TYP pp. 90–102); Triad 37 – Bendigeidfran, (TYP pp. 102–104); Triad 52 Mabon, Modron (TYP pp. 146–49); possibly Triad 56 three queens, cf. *rieni* (TYP pp. 161–163); Triad 67 – Manawydan, also Caswallawn, Lleu (TYP pp. 185–88); possibly Triad 78 three Ladies (TYP p. 208); Triad 95 – Branwen, Caradawg (TYP p. 242).

Outside Mabinogi Rhiannon: Triad 13 – Caradawg (TYP pp. 25–27); Triad 30 – Goronwy (TYP pp. 65–69); Triad 35 – Caswallawn, Arianrhod (TYP pp. 90–93); Triad 38 – Caswallawn, Lleu (TYP pp. 105–106); Triad 53 Matholwch, Branwen (TYP pp. 150–152); Triad 78 – Arianrhod (TYP p. 208);

¹⁰⁴ Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Robert Graves pp. 452–53.

Y Tri Anhysbys/ The Three Anons

Three significant, anonymous female characters may be seen as interlacing aspects of Rhiannon herself.¹⁰⁵ She shares their anonymity over three long passages of pursuit.¹⁰⁶ Not only do the 'three Anons' present Rhiannon's key themes, they present them in narrative order.

The Queen in Annwfn appears as an elite, remote exotic, in gold silk: cf. Rhiannon's advent.¹⁰⁷ Her aspects of distant icon, queenly conversant, provider of a feast, and wifely lover, prefigure Rhiannon in *Pwyll II*: a female preface partnering Pwyll (*Pwyll I*) as preface.¹⁰⁸

Teyrnon's Wife figures analogously to Rhiannon, as a pragmatic, political adviser; providing her adopted son with his own horse alter-ego; suffering the loss of her child (cf. Ford, *Cyfranc* parallel, above). Her harmonious marital dialogues may reflect Rhiannon and Pwyll's marriage.¹⁰⁹

Lady Mouse initially exercises her own *neges* (to shapeshift), cf. Rhiannon at Arberth (PKM1), and going to the tower (PKM3).¹¹⁰ Maternity traps them both in male grasp. Llwyd traps Rhiannon at the bowl by her maternal care for Pryderi: Manawydan traps Lady Mouse by her pregnant slowness.¹¹¹ Lady Mouse amplifies Rhiannon's maternal vulnerability.¹¹²

Each anonymous woman narrative, and Rhiannon's initial anonymous passage, ends positively. The 'Three Anons' triad enriches Rhiannon's portrait in

¹⁰⁵ Ch. III.5. Land Law Women pp. 166-67, on wives' anonymity, unless they are first met narratively before marriage.

¹⁰⁶ Pursuits: PKM1 9.11-12.6. JKB 25.1-27.2. First day 1) Pedestrian, PKM1 9.18-22, JKB 26.1. Same day 2) Horse from *llys/* court, PKM1 9.26-27, JKB 26.1. Second day 3) Best horse from the field, PKM1 10.16-11.9, JKB 26.1-2. Third day 4) Pwyll, PKM1 11.15-12.6, JKB 26.2-27.2.

¹⁰⁷ Ch. I.4. Advent: #1 p. 12-13 seen as Other; #4 Anon p.16; #6 Gold pp. 20-21; #7 Silk pp. 21-22.

¹⁰⁸ Queen converse: PKM1 4.19-22. JKB 22.2. Rich feast: PKM1 4.22-25. JKB 22.2. Marital bed: PKM1 4.27-28. JKB 23.1. Rhiannon converse (1st dialogue Pwyll): PKM1 12.7-13.11. JKB 27.2-28.2. Feast hers: PKM1 15.20-23. JKB 29.2. Marital bed: PKM1 18.19-21. JKB 31.2. For fuller comparison of Rhiannon and the queen, Ch. V.2. Queen pp 214-18.

¹⁰⁹ Adviser, particularly Dialogue IV: PKM1 24.21-25.6. JKB 37.1. Horse bestowal Dialogue III: PKM1 23.24-24.1-4. JKB 36.2.: Loss of child, spoken by Teyrnon: Dialogues: I PKM1 22.6-11. JKB 35.2. II PKM1 23.2-14. JKB 36.1-2. III PKM1 23.24-24.1-4. JKB 36.2. IV PKM1 24.21-25.6. JKB 37.1. For fuller comparison of Rhiannon and Teyrnon's Wife, Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife pp. 287-90, which also analyses her four Dialogues.

¹¹⁰ Lady Mouse chooses: PKM3 64.15-16. JKB 75.2. Rhiannon chooses at Arberth: PKM1 12.26-27. JKB 28.1. Tower rescue: PKM3 57.1-3. JKB 70.2.

¹¹¹ Rhiannon trapped: PKM3 57.6-10. JKB 70.2. Pregnant slowness: PKM3 64.17-18. JKB 75.2. The PKM3 theme of class degradation marks both female captives: Lady Mouse is trapped in Manawydan's glove, sweaty from farmwork; captive Rhiannon endures sweated asses' collars.

¹¹² For fuller comparison of Rhiannon and Lady Mouse, Ch. V.13. Lady Mouse pp. 345-47

narrative order as iconic queen, adviser with horse affinity, and vulnerable mother.

Tafodieithol Hegel/ Hegelian Dialectic

Dialectic, at its simplest, is a three-part argument dating at least to Classical Greece. Its triadic pattern was familiar to educated mediaevals; and the Cyfarwydd is thought to be either a Church or Oxford trained cleric.¹¹³

Dialectical synthesis is a triple sequence of mechanical logic. Each stage unavoidably generates its successor.

TABLE 48 **Dialectic: simplified model**

1. **THESIS** Initial term (situation) which generates –
2. **ANTITHESIS** – opposition, disruption.
The two in tension generate –
3. **SYNTHESIS** – resolution.

Thesis, the initial situation, is perceived as *containing the potential* of the rest: the seed of Antithesis, its opposition, but also Synthesis, the combination of the three which resolves them. This can be seen by applying Bollard's three themes. Rhiannon's marriages (the theses) generate the conditions of feud (antitheses), but also enable resolution by friendship (syntheses).¹¹⁴

Mabinogi Rhiannon may also be formulated in more detail as a meta-series of *three* dialectical sets.

¹¹³ Dialectical theory dates back to Plato and Aristotle's syllogisms, and mediaeval Scholastics from Boethius (6thC) to Aquinas (13thC); later promoted by 19thC theorists like Hegel (dialectical synthesis) and Marx (dialectical materialism). The field of dialectical logic is therefore vast, and fraught with academic schism. The explanation here is my own basic summary drawn from my undergraduate Symbolic Logic studies. Formal expositions on dialectic are often not very accessible. This article is helpful. J. E. Maybe. 2016, revised 2020. 'Hegel's Dialectics', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Or Wikipedia: Dialectic. (URLs both texts Bibliography)

¹¹⁴ The first marriage (Pwyll) has been rehearsed as a ground for feud as Llwyd explains (PKM3), and salvific friendship by Teyrnnon. The friendship resolution by Manawydan from the second marriage is also clear (Manawydan's chief concern is his friendship with Pryderi). The feud arising from the second marriage is argued here that Pryderi's generosity to Manawydan, the marriage to Rhiannon and use of Dyfed lordship, nulls the protective contract Rhiannon extracted from Gwawl. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 322-28.

TABLE 49 **Mabinogi Rhiannon: Dialectical Syntheses**

THESIS 1: Rhiannon chooses Pwyll.
ANTITHESIS 1: Gwawl opposition, Rhiannon bestowal to Gwawl.
SYNTHESIS 1: Resolution, humiliation and defeat of Gwawl. Rhiannon marries Pwyll.
THESIS 2: Rhiannon births Pryderi.
ANTITHESIS 2: Loss of Pryderi, penance.
SYNTHESIS 2: Resolution, Pryderi restored to Rhiannon and Pwyll.
THESIS 3: Rhiannon marries Manawydan.
ANTITHESIS 3: Desolation of Dyfed. Rhiannon, Pryderi captives.
SYNTHESIS 3: Resolution, Desolation lifted. Rhiannon, Pryderi freed.

- * Each first line Thesis is a union:
Rhiannon is united in turn with Pwyll/ Pryderi/ Manawydan.
- * Each Antithesis disrupts these unions via a third agent:
Gwawl, Dyfed nobles and Maids, Llwyd.¹¹⁵
Note a dialectic Antithesis is not 'evil' or 'villainous':
it is simply oppositional, exercising its own interest, as evident in
Mabinogi Rhiannon.
- * Each final line Synthesis is generated by the first line's Thesis union.¹¹⁶

Dialectical theory further claims a constant evolution. As one set or triadic dialectic ends it generates another, above.

TABLE 50 **Triple Dialectics: analysis**

DIALECTIC 1 builds marriage (from the Annwfn Prologue).¹¹⁷
DIALECTIC 2 progresses marital resolution to mothering/ parenting.
DIALECTIC 3 develops the marriage product: the generous son as ruler whose dispensation arguably opens vulnerability to the Antithesis.¹¹⁸
Epilogue generates still further determined events.¹¹⁹

Each Dialectic expands time and distance dimensions of the previous one.

TABLE 51 **Triple Dialectics: time & distance**

DIALECTIC 1 Two years. Distance is local, and personal:
 Gorsedd Arberth, Llys Hyfaidd.
DIALECTIC 2 Seven years.¹²⁰
 Distance widens across South Wales, Dyfed to Gwent.
DIALECTIC 3 Approximately nine years.¹²¹ Distance enlarges greatly
 across Dyfed and *Lloegr*/ England, with a backdrop of *Iwerddon*/ Ireland.

¹¹⁵ Ch. V.6. Maids, for the proposal that the agency behind the abducted child is disaffected Dyfed nobles pp. 277-78; Ch. V.9 Pendaran speculated the faction's leader pp. 294-95.

¹¹⁶ In the second Set, the first line Thesis is the parenting of Pryderi. Teyrnnon functions as an extension of Pwyll through his loyalty.

¹¹⁷ In line with the unending evolutionary nature of dialectic, the causation of the Annwfn Prologue is an implicit prior Set: Thesis: Arawn is king; Antithesis: Hafgan oppresses; Synthesis: Arawn seeks help.

¹¹⁸ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad p. 326, for theory of Pryderi's generosity to Manawydan nulls the protection of the Pwyll-Gwawl contract.

¹¹⁹ Arianrhod, Lleu, Blodeuedd narratives, whose causation roots in the first quarter of the Branch, the death of Pryderi.

¹²⁰ 3 years awaiting birth; 4 years penance/ Gwent narrative Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 271-74, for calculations.

¹²¹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 271-74 Diagram p. 274, for time calculus.

There is a layer of cross-links, or interlacings.

TABLE 52 Triple Dialectics: interlacings

DIALECTIC 1 Thesis: Rhiannon's choice leads to the abduction plot,
DIALECTIC 2 Antithesis, through her alien status.¹²²

DIALECTIC 1 Thesis: Rhiannon's choice is a loyal man who inspires loyalty:
generating DIALECTIC 2 Synthesis, the child restored.

DIALECTIC 1 Synthesis: (resolution), Rhiannon's humiliation of Gwawl,
causes the long consequence DIALECTIC 3 Antithesis, Desolation of Dyfed.

DIALECTIC 2 Antithesis links to DIALECTIC 3 Antithesis:
both are losses of her son, the second 'reactivates' the first.

DIALECTIC 3 resembles DIALECTIC 1.

Rhiannon's partner in each case brings resolution.

Casgliad/ Conclusion

The complexity and sophistication of the Mabinogi seems amply evident here, even more because this treatment is not claimed as exhaustive. Objections that we might be 'reading into' the text seem to fail before this sheer quantity of intricate structures.¹²³ My initial commitment to 'trust the text' seems justified.¹²⁴

~ * ~

¹²² Ch. V.6. Maids p. 277. Ch. V.9. Pendaran p 294 n. 584.

¹²³ I am conscious that a quantity argument is vulnerable. Any general statement can be critically weakened by a few, even one, good counter statement. WJG's findings were also substantial in his time, but dismantled later. I can only submit to the judgement of future scholarship.

¹²⁴ 'Trusting the Text' was set as a major principle in my Introduction as a default assumption. With thanks to John Davies here for acute observation linking the sophistication this chapter demonstrates specifically with that introductory principle. Also delighted thanks for b-- fascinating, summary comment. (13/08/2023).

IX *Safbwyntiau celfyddydol*/ Arts perspectives

IX.1. *Oriel Rhiannon*/ Rhiannon Gallery

IX.2. *Rhiannon Ddychmygol*/ Rhiannon Imaginary

IX.1. *Oriel Rhiannon*/ Rhiannon Gallery

This chapter samples static Rhiannon artworks.¹ Its brief descriptive section (following) services a Gallery of images shown in narrative order, with annotations in footnotes. For ease of reference the Gallery itself is provided as a standalone document to be consulted and enjoyed alongside the descriptive Chapters.

It may be conjectured that Mabinogi images were made during the early oral development stage, pre-1100; e.g. chalked, charcoal, or painted cartoons, on walls, wooden or ceramic plaques, weaving, or embroidery.² An absence of evidence should not be assumed as historic absence, for stories are powerful at inspiring images, and *vice versa*.

Historically, the earliest Rhiannon artworks extant date c. 1826: a series of nine sketches illustrating the First Branch, prepared for publication by William Owen Pughe.³ The contrast in reputation between these and the well-known Guest illustrations reflects Pughe's unpublished *Mabinogion*, the later 19thC suppression of Pughe, and a developing disregard for the specifically Welsh Mabinogi tradition.⁴ Names of artists are often obscured by authors: Samuel Williams' work for Guest is an example.⁵

There are plentiful standalone works of Rhiannon: paintings, lithographs, prints, posters, a wall plaque, a Tarot card, jewellery, and statues.⁶ To promote 'notable works' from these is inappropriate, as the range is so varied, and almost

¹ For live/ animated performance art Ch. II.3. Performance pp. 50-56.

² Cf. the distinctive Welsh technique of silk interweaving, extant from Llan-gors. Ch. I.6. Advent: 7. pp. 21-22. *bali (pali)*/ silk, brocade silk.

³ William Owen Pughe, Nine Sketches to Illustrate the First Branch', Pen, ink, (NLW, 1826). Catalogued as 'MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc.' Formerly known as Mysevin 22. SERIES: Herald announces the Annwfn Duel/ The Queen Reflects on her Husband/ Pwyll Defeats Hafgan/ *First Sight of Rhiannon/ *Rhiannon Pwyll Meeting/ Gwawl Demands/ *Gwawl in the Bag/ *Rhiannon at the Gates Gwri arriving. (My titles)

⁴ Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe p. 74. First draft completed 31/12/1799; 2nd stage draft begun c. 1816, Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe, pp. 76-77. Disrepute p. 78. Anglocentric developments Ch. II. 6. Academia: Rhŷs: p. 106.

⁵ Carnhuanawc was also an engraver and may have been involved. Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Carnhuanawc, p. 83, n. 248.

⁶ This chapter is not composed by a professional art critic but takes a simple, practical view which keeps it accessible to any reader. Rhiannon artworks were a personal interest by the author not intended for inclusion here, but it was then considered by her advisors they would add a valid research focus to the study.

all selected here present at high quality. There are plenty more from mythology/ Goddess culture, offering colourful idealised females.

The Gallery here is mainly in realism style, falling into three 'ideal types' (which can combine in some cases as ideal types sometimes do).

TABLE 53 Art Style Categories

1. Romantic. High mediaeval period, Arthurian influenced. Sophistication and detail of personal drama, dress, accoutrements. Exemplified by Williams, Guest's illustrator, whose 'Rhiannon' inspired Cleal (1985) and Stockburn (2016). Also Milford (1914).

2. Celtic Archaic. Consciously archaic, heroic. Early- or pre-mediaeval epic. Vigorous, muscular. May include knotwork. Corresponds to the 'Celtic Mythology' period late 19thC-1980s. Examples from Wallcousins (1905) Machell, and Milford (1914).

3. Exploratory. Unconventional, thought-provoking, unusual perspectives. More recent period. Examples: Sheen's giantess divinity (2010); the 27m high steel monument by Adams (designed 2012); Wade's startling lithograph (2015); Matthiessen's poster (2016); John (2019)

The Gallery almost entirely presents single scenes from Mabinogi Rhiannon. It opens with three very different, narrative complexes. The maternal dyad (Rhiannon and Pryderi) has been observed as persistent in the Mabinogi, but the most popular image is Rhiannon's advent at Gorsedd Arberth; probably because of its impressive visual impact.⁷ However, in influential Tarot cards Rhiannon is elected as 'Empress' i.e. Great Mother.⁸ Her horse and Adar are well represented, especially in the prolific mythological/ Goddess art.⁹

NARRATIVE ART

Series of sketches attributed to William Owen Pughe (c. 1826);¹⁰ in illustrative series in books, notably Samuel Williams (1845) and Humphrey Milford (1914);¹¹ in Forder's oak plaque (2007); Maria Hayes live sketches (2015); Muriel Delahaye's pastel (2017).

⁷ Ch. I.6. Advent pp. 10-23 for detailed analysis of the words of this opening moment, including its visual but strangely silent, trancelike nature p. 14. PKM1 9.11-14. (JKB 25.2.)

⁸ Goddess (last) section of the Gallery.

⁹ For a background to the (Western) Goddess movement Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900 pp. 437-43 and Ch. VII.3. 20thC pp. 448-63. Active veneration of Rhiannon in recent times is sketched and critiqued Ch. II.5. Temples pp. 463-66 and Ch. VII.5. Theologies pp. 471-502.

¹⁰ Three of Pughe attr. 'Nine Sketches' (c. 1826, credit NLW) are selected here: 'The Lady Rider at Gorsedd Arberth', 'Pwyll Rhiannon meeting', and 'Gates of Arberth'. (My titles).

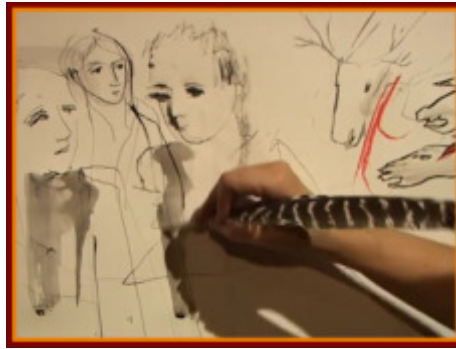
¹¹ The Samuel Williams' 'Rhiannon' illustrating Guest's *Mabinogion* (1843) is well known, though not his name. See Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest, pp. 89- 90.

Five Milford illustrations are featured here: 'Pursuit', 'Maids', 'Her Penance', 'Pryderi at the tower', 'Manawydan Cigfa and Mouse'. (My titles).



Large, oak wall-plaque. Forder (2007).¹²

¹² Phil Forder, Narrative panel in carved Welsh oak (2007), one of six hung above head height at the Rhosygilwen arts centre, near Cilgerran, in a magnificent Welsh oak hall. Photo John H. Davies, access April 2017. Celtic Archaic style. Rhiannon with her horse is at the top; she performs penance midway; child stolen and Teyrnon the rescuer below.



Maria Hayes, live sketching (2015).¹³



'Narrative from Y Mabinogion', Muriel Delahaye (2017).¹⁴

¹³ Maria Hayes, artist in residence at Peter Stevenson's 'Prosiect Mabinogi' (2015), 'First Branch' session Mar. 14, 2015. Live illustration during storytelling.

¹⁴ Muriel Delahaye. 2017. 'Narrative from Y Mabinogion with the characters Blodeuwedd, [mostly] Rhiannon and Taliesin.' Pastel, 59 x 83 cm.
Follow the liquid pathways which indicate narrative development.

MORWYN O ORSEDD ARBERTH / MAIDEN OF GORSEDD ARBERTH



Rider at Gorsedd Arberth. Pughe attributed. (c. 1826)¹⁵

¹⁵ William Owen Pughe, attr. (c. 1826). Lady Rider at Gorsedd Arberth, pen and wash. One of 'Nine Sketches', NLW MSS. 1826–31. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp. Formerly Mysevin 22. Scenes from the entire first Branch, evidently intended as illustrations, (1 in pencil, 8 pen & wash), pp. 45–53.

The Rider is remote, anonymous, through several passages. Her audience is alert, fascinated; see body language. The (messenger) horse for pursuit stands ready, on the right.



Samuel Williams (1843). Probably the best known Rhiannon image, from Guest's *Mabinogion*.¹⁶

¹⁶ Guest, 'The tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved', Vol. 5, *The Mabinogion* (1843). Romance style. Guest's perfectionism selected Williams as the foremost engraver of the times, then at the peak of his career. Also inspired Alan Lee's superb illustration for the Jones and Jones, and Guest *Mabinogion* versions (1982, 2001).



John Cleal (1985) inspired by Williams (1843)¹⁷



Main focus area from Cleal's tabletop.

¹⁷ John Cleal (Workshop Wales, Fishguard, 1989), painted leather tabletop, gold highlights. Inspired by Williams (1843). Commissioned by Angela John to celebrate publication of *Lady Charlotte: A Biography of the Nineteenth Century*; 2nd abbreviated edn. *Extraordinary Life* (2007). Photos by John Davies (April 2017). Cleal omits Pwyll following behind.



Steel sculpture design, 28m high. Toin Adams (2012)¹⁸

¹⁸ 'Rhiannon's Eyes'. Toin Adams (2012). 27-metre-high metalwork sculpture, 30 metres horse tail to nose, envisioned to stand on an earth mound on the A465 at Dowlais where Guest lived and translated *The Mabinogion*. One of two finalists, Landmark Wales.



Carnival Queen poster. Rowan Matthiessen (2016)¹⁹

¹⁹ Rowan Matthiessen, 'Narberth's Mabinogion Carnival Queen Rhiannon!', Span Arts (Narberth, 2016). The event's competition emphasised strength of character for girls.
[Tenby Observer](#): [Accessed 16/10/2021]



Rebecca Jane Stockburn (Jan. 2016)²⁰

²⁰ Rebecca Jane Stockburn. Jan. 2016. 'Rhiannon', large painting touched with gold.

'She came to my mind in this way when reading the passage in the book, a vision of white and gold, of stillness within movement, mischievous, freedom, and wildness. In some paintings she is interpreted as perfect, cold or warrior like, for me she felt 'flawed', warm and gentle. Painting for me is a meditation process and things appear progressively and subconsciously (the reflection comes as I am drawing/painting, I don't prepare or plan them with pages of sketches). Sometimes the composition and images appear to me in dreams. I imagined her almost like a gust of wind.'

Personal communication (25/10/2016)

The painting was generously purchased for me by Dr. Roy Davies of Narberth when we clashed in our desire to buy it. See his Rhiannon as mother with Pryderi, life sized statue below.

RHIANNON & PWYLL



'Pursuit', Humphrey Milford attr. (1914)²¹



Meeting. Pughe, attributed. (c. 1826)²²

²¹ Pursuit. Humphrey Milford, attr. illustrator to Charles Squire. 1914, 1920. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 23

²² Meeting. Nine Sketches attr. Pughe c. 1826. NLW MSS. 1826–31 see 'Lady Rider', above.



Meeting. Franziska Wenzel (2006)²³

²³ Meeting. Franziska Wenzel (deviantART, 2006). Celtic Archaic style but a gentle tone, intimate zone (cf. Pughe above) of the two clearly young characters. Pwyll blond, wears plaid cloak, Rhiannon properly golden, is dark, perhaps for visual contrast. The Adar show Walton influence. Rainclouds and green hills are realistically Welsh. Wenzel said diffidently, 'the picture is very old and does not reflect my current technical skill level'. She did it while at school 'for fun'. Personal communication 2017.



Meeting, Signe Fuchs, 2014.²⁴

²⁴ Meeting, Signe Fuchs, 2014. Illustration from her *Mythology of the Celts: A comprehensive Survey* (Createspace, and Kindle).

Romantic style with hilltop standing stones in background. Blue-green tones evoke mythic mystery. Adar presence from Walton influence. Rhiannon glowing white and gold midground. Pwyll foreground in dark this-world colours.

She says 'I meant to show the moment when Pwyll sees her first, amazed and enraptured, before he started to follow her'. Personal communication May 2016.



Wedding. Reginald Machell (1914)²⁵

²⁵ Reginald Machell, *Wedding*. Woodcut illustrating his fellow Theosophist Kenneth Morris, (Cynedd Morus), *The Fates of the Princes of Dyfed* (Point Loma, California: Aryan Theosophical Press, 1914).
The metaphysical perspective is evident in the flow lines of energy.



Rhiannon's bag, Milford attr. (1914)²⁶

²⁶ Humphrey Milford, attr. Rhiannon's bag. Illustrator to Charles Squire. 1914, 1920. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 31.

MAM PRYDERI / MOTHER OF PRYDERI

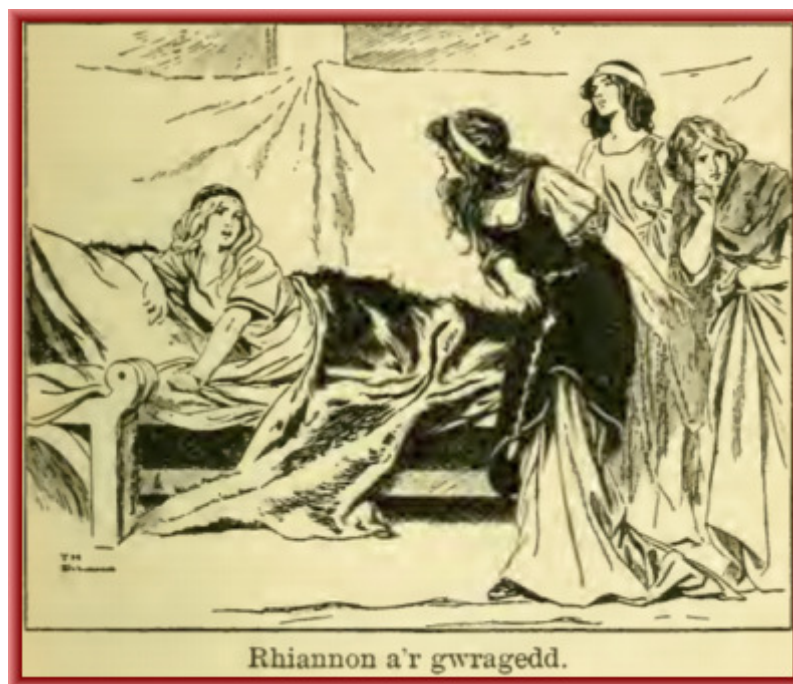
Life-size sculpture commissioned by Dr. Roy Davies of Narberth (2017)²⁷

²⁷ Life-size sculpture Rhiannon as mother with Pryderi. In 1994 Dr. Roy Davies raised funding to buy the Narberth medical centre, to expand and improve it. Deeply touched by maternal loss he observed, he felt mothering as the truest inspiration for good medical practice. He also loved the Rhiannon tales. The statue was commissioned in China and the medical centre named Medygfa Rhiannon. Twenty years after dreaming it the statue arrived. Seen here in his garden, prior to town centre installation. (Personal communication, 2017). See also 'Pembrokeshire Life' magazine, Article 5 in my series of 12 on the Mabinogi.

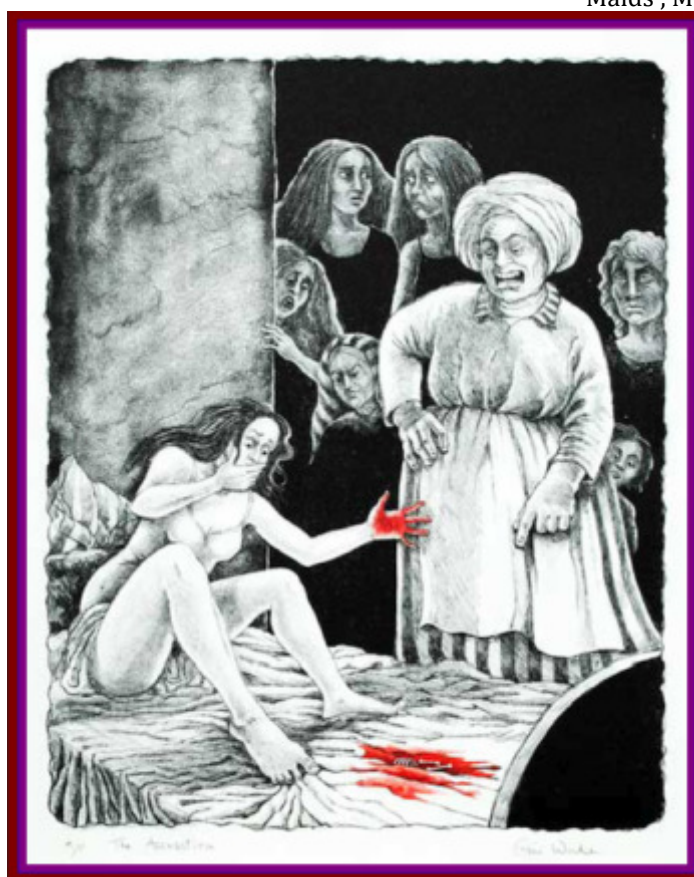


Strange sleep. Alex Robertson (2008)²⁸

²⁸ Alex Robertson, Strange sleep. (My title.) Set design for Manon Eames' play 'The Magnificent Mabinogi' (2008). Entire Mabinogi staging, Greek style chorus, slightly bilingual.



'Maids', Milford attr. (1914)²⁹



'The Accusation'. Gini Wade (2015)³⁰

²⁹ Humphrey Milford, attr. Maids. Illustrator to Charles Squire. 1914, 1920. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 35.

³⁰ Gini Wade, 2015. 'The Accusation', Lithograph, Idiosyncratic style.

A rare topic choice dramatically rendered with bloody red focus points. Compare Milford's conventional interpretation a century earlier, in Celtic archaic style, above.



Her Penance, Milford attr. (1914)³¹



Claw, Machell (1914)

³¹ Humphrey Milford, attr. Her Penance. Illustrator to Charles Squire. 1914, 1920. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 38.



'Gates of Arberth', Pughe attr. (c. 1826)³²

³² Pughe attr. Rhiannon and Gwri, 1826. (My title to differentiate.) One of Nine Sketches attr. Pughe, c. 1826. NLW. MSS. 1826–31; see 'Lady Rider', above.

Considering how momentous and poignant this encounter is, it is extraordinary Pughe's sketch is the sole artwork illustrating it. Ostensibly neither protagonist knows who the other is. (My title to differentiate.) One of Nine Sketches attr. Pughe, c. 1826. NLW. MSS. 1826–31; see 'Lady Rider', above.



'Birds of Rhiannon'. Jane Starr Weils (2018)³³

³³ 'Birds of Rhiannon'. Jane Starr Weils (2018). Weils intuitively saw them as sparrows. 'The birds to me felt very sparrow like. I did try to research what I could (would love to see your research!) and the rest was intuitive. One day I do hope to paint Rhiannon herself'. Personal communication 21/11/2018.



Pryderi approaching the tower, Milford attr. (1914)³⁴

³⁴ Humphrey Milford, attr. Pryderi approaching the tower. Illustrator to Charles Squire. 1914, 1920. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 90.



Trapped at the tower, Samuel Williams for Guest (1845)



Golden Bowl. Haz John (2019)³⁵

³⁵ Haz John. 2019. Golden Bowl. Strikingly original interpretation taking us into the narrative as participants. We look downward into the Bowl and (our) hands attach to it.

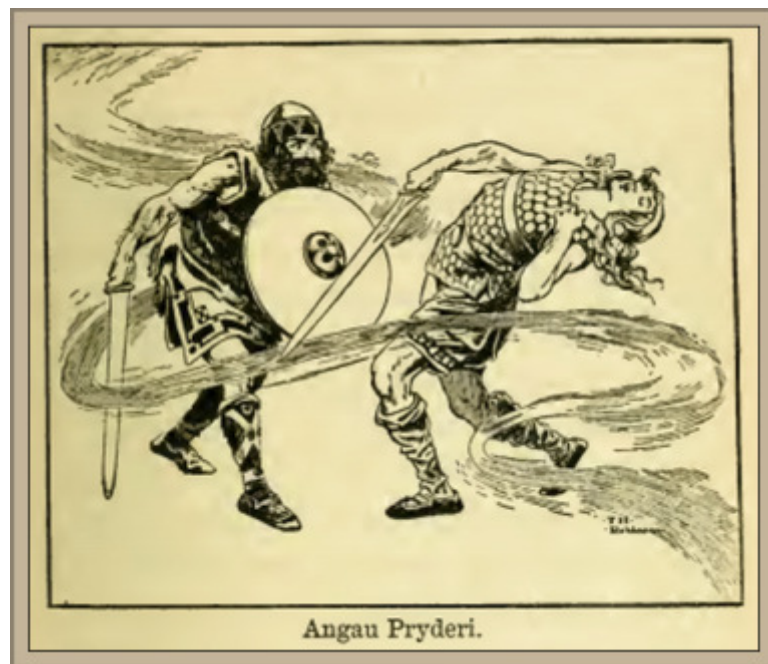


Manawyddan and Mouse, Milford (attr., 1914)³⁶

³⁶ Humphrey Milford, attr. Manawyddan and Mouse. Illustrator to Charles Squire. 1914, 1920. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*, p. 103. Also Manawyddan and the Scholar, p. 98; Gwydion herding pigs, p. 113.



Gwydion Conquers Pryderi, Ernest Wallcousins (1905, 1920)³⁷



'Angau Pryderi/ Death of Pryderi', Milford (attr., 1914)³⁸

³⁷ Ernest Charles Wallcousins (né Cousins). 1905. Gwydion Conquers Pryderi, Illustrator for Carlton Illustrators. Charles Squire, *The Mythology of the British Islands: An Introduction to Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance* (Blackie & Son, 1905), p. 119. Repr. as *Celtic Myth and Legend* (1920). Wikimedia Commons.

³⁸ Humphrey Milford, attr. 1914, 1920. Death of Pryderi. Illustrator to Charles Squire. *Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry, and Romance*.

RHIANNON DUWIES/ GODDESS RHIANNON



Giantess Puppet, by Nathan Sheen, Newport (2010)³⁹

³⁹ 'Rhiannon' giantess parade puppet, 2010. Created by Nathan Sheen and dressed by Millbrook primary school, Newport, where my family performed 'Rhiannon' (PKM1). Giant puppet & school performance part of Newport city's celebration of Welsh mythology organised by Andy O'Rourke, multidisciplinary, community artist, my consultancy. See Ch. II.3, Performance p. 54-56.



'Rhiannon: Lady of the Other(world)', Emily Brunner for The Avalonian Oracle (2016)⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Emily Brunner. 2016. 'Rhiannon: Lady of the Other(world)' for 'The Avalonian Oracle', written by Jhenah Telyndru.

A well circulated version promoting ancestral origins in a stone circle. She sits enthroned, like the other Tarot featured here as the Empress card, the archetypal [sic] Mother and Queen. Her Horse is well to the fore. Walton's influence presents the Adar over her head. Her robe is red in accord with the aberrant Avalonian tradition, see Ch. VI.5. Theologies: Avalonian Rhiannon. pp. 485-88.



Llewellyn Tarot: Empress (2006)⁴¹

⁴¹ Anne Marie Ferguson, 2006. 'The Llewellyn Tarot: Empress'. Llewellyn Publications). Rhiannon is here the enthroned Great Mother, golden and green, fecund and abundant, with symbolic Horse and Adar presence.



RaNuit on DeviantArt⁴²

⁴² Angela-Michelle Hatheway (RaNuit on DeviantArt). 'Reflections of Epona: Rhiannon'. Included to represent the abstract aspect of Rhiannon divinity, such as her paradoxes; see Ch. VIII. Structures: Paradoxes p. 507.



Hrana Janto (1990, 2006)⁴³

End of Gallery

⁴³ Hrana Janto . Painted 1990. 'Rhiannon' for Llewellyn, 1992 'Goddess Calendar'. Included in Amy Sophia Marashinsky. 2001. 'The Goddess Oracle', (U.S. Games Systems. Repr. 2006).
Hrana Janto: <<http://www.hranajanto.com/goddessgallery/GGF-home.html>> [Accessed 16/03/2024].

Well known image. The Adar presence suggests Walton influence. The cornucopia horn is pretty but not canon as Rhiannon's bag takes but does not give. Noted Ch. VI.5.. Bag. However the golden Sun Goddess look particularly presents Rhiannon affinity to gold and abundance. so artistically the image fits.

IX.2. *Rhiannon Ddychmygol/ Rhiannon Imaginary*

This chapter is a condensed overview of Rhiannon in imaginative interpretations built from words; mostly, but not only, via novels.⁴⁴

The earliest Mabinogi interpretation as a novel was 1914, *The Fates of the Princes of Dyfed*.⁴⁵ Kenneth Morris (Cynedd Morus) 1879–1937, was a native Welsh patriot, poet, and Theosophist, who began writing Mabinogi material in 1899.⁴⁶ He cites Guest as his source text, plus many Welsh poets, and the *Trioedd*, particularly endorsing ‘the ever-to-be-honored Iolo Morgannwg [sic]’ as heir to Welsh tradition, whose ‘invention was rather a discovery’.⁴⁷ He polarises the ‘analytical and the synthetic’ approaches. The former ‘disproves everything’, the latter

⁴⁴ Not including retellings. Lanier's version of Guest's translation for example adapted the text by abridging it, aiming at young boys, but did not alter plot or character. Charlotte Guest and Sidney Lanier, eds. 1881. *The Boy's Mabinogion; Being the Earliest Welsh Tales of King Arthur in the Famous Red Book of Hergest*. Abridged (London: Sampson Low and Co.) (URL text Bibliography) A good survey up to the 1990s is Donna Rae White. 1998. *A Century of Welsh Myth in Children's Literature* (Contributions to the Study of Science Fiction & Fantasy) (USA: Greenwood Publishing Group)

Intro. p. 1. Ch. 1. Sidney Lanier p. 11. Ch. 2. Retellings Mabinogi p. 3. Ch. 3. Kenneth Morris Dragons p. 55. Ch. 4. Garner Owl Service p. 73. Ch. 5. Chronicles of Prydain Ch. 6. ‘The Mabinogi in Fiction 1970 -1992’ pp. 121. Conclusion p. 141. Works. Index.

Helpful websites are Goodreads (descriptions, reviews); and Bookfinder (aggregates bookseller sites in one search).

⁴⁵ Kenneth Morris, (Cynedd Morus). 1914. *The Fates of the Princes of Dyfed* (Point Loma, California: Aryan Theosophical Press, 1914). Illustrated by woodcuts by fellow Theosophist, Reginald Machell (1854-1927). (URL text Bibliography)

⁴⁶ Kenneth Morris (Ceinydd Morus)’ first published story is apparently 27 Aug.; 27 Sept -13 Oct. 1899. ‘Prince Lion of the Sure Hand’, in 2 parts, *The Crusader* (London), from PKM4. Next comes 15 March; 13 April; 13 June; 13 August 1899. ‘The Epic of Wales’, I–IV, *The International Theosophist*. *Ibid.* April 1900. ‘The Prince of the Streamland,’ in *The Universal Brotherhood Path*, from *Pwyll I*. *Ibid.* 13 July -13 Dec. 1900. ‘Hu with the White Shield’, in 6 parts, *The International Theosophist* (Dublin); giving Morris’ version of the early mythological history of Wales. *Ibid.* March 1902. ‘The Story of Mabon’ in *The Universal Brotherhood Path*, from Welsh mythological tales. 1898-1902 material is included in an Appendix to Douglas A. Anderson, ed. 1995. *The Dragon Path: Collected Tales of Kenneth Morris* (Tor). My thanks to Douglas A. Anderson, Morris’ publisher, for this wealth of data 28/11/20.

⁴⁷ Morris’ Preface to *Fates*, refers to Lady Guest, the Triads, Llywarch Hen, Taliesin, Iolo Morgannwg and the School of Glamorgan, *Culhwch and Olwen*, Dafydd ab Gwilym, Rhys Goch Tir Iarll, Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd, Goronwy, Ceiriog, Islwyn, Meurig Dafydd, and Llewelyn Sion. His source for Iolo’s druidism system was a compilation sponsored by the Welsh Manuscripts Society. John Williams (Ab Ithel). 1862 and 1874. *Barddas, Or, Collection of Original Documents Illustrative of the Theology, Wisdom and Usages of the Bardo-Druidic System of the Isle of Britain, with Translation and Notes*, Welsh Manuscripts Society, in 2 vols. (Llandovery: D. J. Roderic; London, Longman & Co.). Morris recommends it to Ella Young, letter 1931; Douglas A. Anderson, ‘Introduction’, *Dragon Path*.

shadows forth some spiritual truth; and of this we shall build that great imaginative literature which we are longing for.⁴⁸

His 1930 *Book of the Three Dragons* presents Manawydan as epic hero rejecting immortality to save the world from evil.⁴⁹

Morris serves the Celtic revival and mythological reconstruction of his period, seeking a unified 'Celtic pantheon'.⁵⁰ He interspersed additional stories about the characters between Mabinogi events, often *Trioedd* inspired, in an archaic style.

It is certain that some of the characters in them, who appear now as mere men, were Gods when the stories were first told⁵¹

His work is thus ubiquitously religious, in marked contrast to the Mabinogi original. His Theosophist principles embraced all religions and mythologies as emanations from a divine source, in a system of reincarnation hierarchy. Hefeydd Hen's court is a higher spiritual level than Dyfed. Gwawl the Immortal seeks to protect his fellow Immortal Rhiannon from her decision to marry a mortal and live on the lower level. Male characters are foregrounded in questing adventures and fighting. Divine Rhiannon is revered as a spiritual guide, without love interest.⁵² Much of her agency disappears, e.g. the pivotal bag is not hers; she merely advises Pwyll to quest for a magical basket, which he does at considerable length (cf. Valente's critique of Goddess obscuring woman).⁵³

Both Morris and Evangeline Walton had great difficulty in accessing publication for their Mabinogi fiction (less so for their other works). Celtic fantasy was not a recognised genre until the 1960s–70s.⁵⁴ Morris' style includes much lyrical wordcraft, but he himself later recognised *Fates* as overdone: 'the ornament so thick in places I lost the thread of the story in reading'; he therefore culled *Dragons*.⁵⁵ Eventually his fantasy gained high *post-mortem* acclaim. Ursula

⁴⁸ Morris, Preface, *Fates*.

⁴⁹ Kenneth Morris, (Cynedd Morus). 1930. *Book of the Three Dragons* (Point Loma, California: Aryan Theosophical Press). The last third of *Dragons* was truncated. The 2nd. ed. with a detailed Introduction by editor and publisher Douglas A. Anderson, added a reconstruction of the missing part which includes Rhiannon. 2004 (Cold Spring Press). My thanks are due to Douglas A. Anderson's generous advice and provision of materials, 22/11/20.

⁵⁰ Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: Rhŷs & WJG pp. 105-07, 111-13.

⁵¹ Morris, Preface, *Fates*.

⁵² Morris, Preface, *Fates*.

⁵³ Valente, 'Merched' quoted and summarised pp. 130-31.

⁵⁴ Further comparison of Morris and Walton below showing much similarity but two significant differences.

⁵⁵ Ella Young, letter 1928; Douglas A. Anderson, 'Introduction', *Dragon Path*.

K. Le Guin (1973) hails Morris as one of 'the three master prose stylists of fantasy' of the 20thC ⁵⁶ C. W. Sullivan III (1989) acclaims him as

the originator of modern high fantasy based on the Mabinogi, and his use of traditional materials established the mode for much of what has come since.⁵⁷

'Young Adult' (YA) 1960s series helped build the new genre of Celtic fantasy. Lloyd Alexander's *Chronicles of Prydain*, and Susan Cooper's *The Dark is Rising*, are only loosely related to Mabinogi narratives with many reversals of character types and roles. Alan Garner's *Owl Service* is a much closer interpretation of PKM4, integrating it with modern characters.⁵⁸ Sullivan speaks of 'conscientious use' of Celtic myth by fantasy writers, meaning plot line and characters are true to the original source. His critique of those who 'raid the world's mythologies' without considering cultural context or the original story, is a milder but no less firm rebuke of cultural exploitation as John Davies', mine, and Simon Rodway.⁵⁹

Evangeline Walton, an American author of Quaker background (1907–1996), dedicated to 'conscientious use'; although she scrupulously acknowledges some deviation in her PKM3 interpretation.⁶⁰ But her novels are far from simple retellings; they are richly imagined expansions. The four were published separately, then as the one volume *Tetralogy*.⁶¹ All except *Prince* (PKM1) were

⁵⁶ The three cited are J. R. R. Tolkien, E. R. Eddison, and Kenneth Morris. Ursula K. Le Guin, 'From Elfland to Poughkeepsie' Le Guin describes *Book of the Three Dragons* as 'a singularly fine example of the recreation of a work magnificent in its own right (the Mabinogion)... proof, if one were needed, of the ever-renewed vitality of myth'. Ursula K. Le Guin. 1975. 'From Elfland to Poughkeepsie', in *The Language of the Night* (NY, Berkley), pp. 73–76.

⁵⁷ Charles W. Sullivan III. 1989. *Welsh Celtic Myth in Modern Fantasy* (Greenwood Press). Sullivan continues 'His Celtic novels, especially *Book of the Three Dragons*, have an authentically Celtic and fantastic atmosphere; they deserve to be read more than they are.' *Ibid.* Summer 2005. 'Kenneth Morris: The Milestone in Welsh Celtic Fantasy Fiction', *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts*, 16, 2 (62), pp. 142–151. (URL text Bibliography)

⁵⁸ Lloyd Alexander. 1964–68. *The Chronicles of Prydain*, series (Holt). Susan Cooper. 1965–77. *The Dark is Rising*, series (Macmillan). Alan Garner. 1967. *The Owl Service* (Collins). Granada Television (UK) serial of the same name (1969) and a BBC Radio 4 programme (2000, repeats). White, *Welsh Myth in Children's Literature*, Ch. 4 and 5.

⁵⁹ Charles William Sullivan III. 2006. 'Conscientious Use of Welsh Celtic Myth and Legend in Fantastic Fiction', in *Welsh Cultural Studies*, 4, Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Avalonian Rhiannon pp. 485–88. Quoting John Davies. 1993. 'Three Things'. Jayran (now Morgain). 2008. *Duwies Cymru*. Also Morgain. 2017. 'Mabinogi enchantment and politics'. Rodway. 2017, 2018. 'Celtic Mythology'.

⁶⁰ Her resolve 'never to alter': Walton, *Mabinogion*, p. 424. Rhiannon thealogy Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Walton pp. 452 and more fully Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Walton pp. 381–84. 'Evangeline Walton' (24 November 1907 – 11 March 1996) was the pen name of Evangeline Wilna Ensley, of Indiana.

⁶¹ Evangeline Walton, *The Virgin and the Swine* (Willett, Clark & Company, 1933) Reissued as *The Island of the Mighty* (Ballantine, 1970). *The Children of Llyr* (Ballantine, 1971), *The Song of*

drafted in the 1930s/ 1940s, giving her work the Matriarchal Goddess perspective of that period.⁶² She was not aware of Morris' novels as she composed hers, so similarities must come from their shared era and common sources.⁶³ Both offer a religious vision set in an ancestral Wales, with reincarnation on a hierarchy of spiritual levels: 'Heveydd Hen' rules a higher level (Walton's 'Bright World').⁶⁴ Rhiannon is warned of suffering if she descends to Dyfed.⁶⁵ The Adar appear several times together with Rhiannon which they never do in the Mabinogi or other mediaeval texts. Walton however has a delicate style nothing like Morris' ponderous prose, and their gender focus is very different. Walton is a (matriarchal) feminist; a primary inspiration for feminist goddessing.

As my Ch. VII.5. treatment shows, Walton's Rhiannon is a lead protagonist, a powerful agent. Her compassion for human conflict between Dyfed and Gwynedd (patriarchal versus matriarchal tribes), dedicates her to avert war between them. She predicts her great love story with Pwyll will be long remembered.

Walton and Morris' late success initiated the development of the 1970s Celtic fantasy and fiction genre. A fertile diaspora of Rhiannon novels appeared. An amusing hiccup had occurred 1949; Rhiannon is a male god of Mars in Leigh

Rhiannon (Ballantine, 1972). *Prince of Annwn* (Ballantine, 1974). One combined volume, *The Mabinogion Tetralogy* (Overlook Press, 2002). Reprints (URL text Bibliography)

⁶² 'Prince of Annwn ... the one with which I had the most trouble', Jean W. Ross. Dec. 1987.

Interview: Evangeline Walton, in *Contemporary Authors*, 122, ed. by May, Hal (Cengage Gale), p. 168. Walton refers to her matriarchal inspiration from Briffault. 1974 edn. *Mabinogion*, p. 138. Robert Briffault. 1927. *The Mothers: A Study of the origins of sentiments and institutions* (Allen & Unwin).

⁶³ Darrell Schweitzer, Interview: 'Evangeline Walton', in Marion Zimmer Bradley (ed.) *Fantasy Magazine*, no. 7 (Winter 1990). Three years after her first publication she explained (1936): 'I had what might be called a 'Celtic craze' in 1933. But I discovered that the Irish mythology and folk lore had been worked up by so many writers—and so many eminent writers, that I felt that anything I might write would be an intrusion into their field, and that there was nothing new to be said, so I turned to the Welsh Mabinogi—the ancient epic of Wales. ... I worked on the book for six months—from March to September.' *Indianapolis Star*, (Nov. 29, 1936). Quotations kindly supplied by Douglas A. Anderson, her publisher, email 22/11/20.

⁶⁴ Walton, *Tetralogy*, p. 107. 'The Father promises either eternal life or eternal death: heaven or hell, without possibility of redemption after death. The Mother, however, offers life as a learning experience and death as an opportunity to be re-born and enact those lessons in the next life.' Also *Tetralogy*, p. 54. Morris, *Dyma ffordd Duw o greu duwiau*, from opening quote to Preface, *Fates*. 'The human mind is on the high road to becoming god. (My trans.)

⁶⁵ Morris has Gwawl protectively try to stop her. In Walton's *Prince*, Heveydd and the Grey Man (Llwyd) urge the evils of mortality: pain, old age, childbirth. One of Rhiannon's ladies of the Bright World shudders: 'When she wakes her flesh will be mortal, no more light will come from it, ever again' Walton, *Tetralogy*, p. 134. Walton emphasises Light radiating from the divine Rhiannon: 'The gladness outshone the gold of her robe, that was such a dress of shimmering light as she had worn when she first appeared to Pwyll', Walton, *Tetralogy*, p. 420.

Brackett's SF adventure *Sword of Rhiannon*.⁶⁶ It would not be the first time that Rhiannon's name intuitively conveys dominating strength. Its etymology draws on Indo-European rulership; cf. reign, rule.⁶⁷ Stevie Nicks' song 'Rhiannon' reverberated intense power across the continents in the driving beat of Fleetwood Mac's rock music, yet Nicks is adamant she knew nothing of the Mabinogi until years later. Her inspiration was a pulp novel, Mary Leader's 1973 *Triad*, where Rhiannon is the ghost of a witch. Nicks was caught by the name alone, describing her 'Rhiannon' as a 'good witch'.⁶⁸

Subsequently, Rhiannon inspirations cast widely, with the largest groups via Fantasy, perhaps unsurprisingly. Some modern and futuristic fiction appears, including love stories, some echoing the PKM1 triad of two males and one female lover. There is a major focus on a young readership, from primary school through to YA (Young Adult), providing strong, active heroines as aspirational models. Nicks' song reached many but its 'witchy' persona does not carry over. Instead there is psychism, priestesses and initiation.

Historical fiction spans from the Roman invasion to the modern period. In Margaret Isaac's *Rhiannon's Way* a Celtic princess is in affinity with Goddess Rhiannon, and her rescue of her captive father aligns with PKM3 Rhiannon. In Llewellyn ap Dafydd's *Wisdom of Rhiannon* a Druid princess faces Caesar, uniting Britain's tribes via the Cauldron of Wisdom.⁶⁹ Susi Roos Bockwinkel, and Paul Weinkel's *Rhiannon: Truth Seeker* is a trainee priestess of the 11thC. Vicki Grove's Rhiannon is a 14 year old healer coping with a mediaeval murder mystery for younger readers. Catherine E. Chapman's 'Rhiannon' (YA), a Welsh farmer's daughter, is a less active heroine.⁷⁰ Roberta Gellis' mediaeval Rhiannon in *Gilliane* is one of the love triads. Evangelynn Stratton tensions earl and peasant in class status romance. Skylar Brandt's Rhiannon is a Regency style romance. Margarita

⁶⁶ Leigh. 1949. *The Sword of Rhiannon* (Ace Books). URL with review Bibliography.

⁶⁷ Ch. I.3. Etymology pp. 5-10.

⁶⁸ Ch. II.3. Performance p. 51, quoted and Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

⁶⁹ Margaret Isaac. 2002. *Rhiannon's Way* (Apeps Press). Llewellyn ap Dafydd. 2012. *Wisdom of Rhiannon: The Prophecy Unfolds* (Amazon Kindle). *Ibid.* 2018. *Wisdom of Rhiannon: The Prophecy Fulfilled* (Amazon Kindle).

⁷⁰ Susi Roos Bockwinkel, and Paul Weinkel. 1996. *Rhiannon: Truth Seeker* (Mind and Miracle, 1996). Susi Roos Bockwinkel. 2001. *Rhiannon: Truth Seeker, I* (Authorhouse). *Ibid.* 2001. *Rhiannon: Truth Bearer, II* (Authorhouse). Vicki Grove. 2007. *Rhiannon*. Books for Young Readers (G.P. Putnam's Sons). Catherine E. Chapman. 2020. 'Rhiannon', in *Three Medieval Romances* (Independent).

Felices' *Rhiannon* is a similar ghost witch to Leader's *Triad*. Carole Llewellyn's *Rhiannon* is a YA Welsh Valleys saga in 1901, with a strong, protective heroine. A futuristic version of PKM1 by Russell Celyn Jones places Pwyll in a post-oil economy, therefore featuring horses.⁷¹

Besides the historical *Gilliane* the lovers' triangle theme appears in two modern novels; Tiffany Greer's *Rhiannon's Triangle*, and Askew's *Room With Three Doors*. The latter explores a transformative triad with two males.⁷² Other modern novels explore important issues for younger readers: addiction in the rock music world; a genderless person daily wakes in a different teen body.⁷³ There are two Private Investigator series, and a mystery teen death with psychic nuancing.⁷⁴ Two erotic romances speak to young sexuality. *Blindsighted* includes ethnically mixed lovers. In *Lord of the Dark* *Rhiannon* is a beautiful human love object for an angel.⁷⁵

As noted, the fantasy category is significant. Modern girls enter alternate worlds, facing queenship or leadership challenges. Shari Dodd's *Rhiannon* also has a reincarnation theme. Melissa E. Beckwith's 'Sword of Rhiannon' series explores queenship, violence and survival. Rachel Parsons' *Rhiannon* is a descendant of Rhiannon of the Birds, daughter of King Hefeydd. To escape a corrupt betrothal she must fight a war. Sarah Turner sends her lonely *Rhiannon McBride* to dragons and a mage friend, but also a fight for survival. Kate Forsyth's 'Rhiannon's Ride' series lifts a half-human girl, an outsider, into heroism by flying horses. Kymberly Haas' *Rhiannon* for younger children, flies on faerie wings to save a frozen land and her family.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Roberta Gellis. 1979. *Gilliane*, 'Rosalynde Chronicles' series (Littlehampton Book Services). Evangelynn Stratton. 2001. *Rhiannon* (iUniverse). Skylar Brandt. 2019. *Rhiannon: The Last Lie* (Independent). Margarita Felices. 2020. *Rhiannon* (Independent). Leader, *Triad*. Carole Llewellyn. 2010. *Rhiannon. The Welsh Valley Sagas* (Joffe Books and Kindle). Russell Celyn Jones. 2009. *The Ninth Wave* (Seren); part of a series which reinterprets all the Mabinogion tales in surprising ways.

⁷² Tiffany Greer. 2012. *Rhiannon's Triangle* (Createspace). R. J. Askew. 2018. *In The Room With Three Doors* (Independent).

⁷³ Blair Babylon. 2014. *What A Girl Wants*, Rock Stars in Disguise: *Rhiannon* series, 1 (Malachite Publishing). David Levithan. 2012. *Every Day* (Knopf).

⁷⁴ Kathy Buchen. 2005. *Death in Starched White*, *Rhiannon Nolan* series (AuthorHouse). Adam Garland. 2019. *Frost Heaves*, *Rhiannon O'Hearn*, PI Investigator series (Fayan Grove). Colin Griffiths. 2018. *Message From Rhiannon* (Lulu, Kindle).

⁷⁵ Christine Gray. 2020. *Blindsighted By Love*, *Cujo and Rhiannon's Romance*, series (Independent). Dawn Thompson. 2008. *Lord of the Dark*, *Elementals* series (Aphrodisia).

⁷⁶ Shari Dodd. 1993. *Rhiannon: A Novel of Mythical Fantasy* (Book World, and Blue Star).

Jenna Blackmore's Rhiannon is a magical captive who can only escape by completing a quest for a strange music box. Allan Frewin Jones has Rhiannon as a mystical woman in white, guiding a teen heroine. Traci E. Hall's Rhiannon (Rhee) is an amusing teen psychic, daughter of Wiccan parents, causing mayhem and desiring a 'hot' young man.⁷⁷

Then there are vampires. Sara Pope-Ramsey's Rhiannon preys on men in a world crisis of vampirism. In complete contrast, J.A. Saare's Rhiannon Murphy is an investigator battling vampires (mature adult genre). Maggie Shayne tells of the ancient vampire elders Rhiannon and Roland, who come to the rescue of their young friend.⁷⁸

Fanfics are tales composed online in the style and context of an existing work. 'The Five Branches' series by 'seekeronthepath' (YA and older), displays the characteristics of oral storytelling, recommending her work to be read aloud.⁷⁹

Film has not yet featured Rhiannon exclusively but this may be developing. The famous 'Otherworld' film (2002) remains a classic, combining animation with live actors. A fifteen part podcast (2021) presents Pryderi and an added character of Brigid. A short film (five minutes) on Rhiannon appeared 2023 but all efforts to access content information have been unsuccessful. Stevie

Melissa E. Beckwith. 2017. *Tree of Bone and Mist*, Sword of Rhiannon series, 1. *Ibid.* 2017. *War of the Gypsy*, 2. *Ibid.* 2018. *Sword of Stone*, (Woodland Cottage Publications). Rachel Parsons. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7. 2017. *Out of Exile 2*. 2018. *Love in Exile 1*. 2018. *Exile's End*. 2020. *Exile in Elsewhen*. (Independently Published, Kindle). Sarah M. Turner and Gail Tagarro. 2022. *Rhiannon McBride and the Dragon's Cup*, Illust. Peter Turner (Smmmt). Kate Forsyth. 2004. *The Tower of Ravens*. Rhiannon's Ride series, 1. *Ibid.* 2005. *The Shining City*, 2. *Ibid.* 2005. *The Heart of Stars*, 3. (Blackstone Publishing; Roc). Kymberly Haas. 2016. *Rhiannon Tales ~ Gaia and the Opening* (CreateSpace).

⁷⁷ Jenna Blackmore. 2021. *The Curse Of Rhiannon* (Independent). Allan Frewin Jones. 2009. *Rhiannon of the Spring*, 'Warrior Princess series (HarperCollins). Traci E. Hall. 2006. *Rhiannon: Goddess in Training* (Medallion Press), repr. 2008. *Her Wiccan, Wiccan Ways*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, 1 (Samhain Publishing). *Ibid.* 2009. *Something Wiccan This Way Comes*. 2. *Ibid.* 2010. *Wiccan Cool*, 3 (Samhain Publishing). *Ibid.* 2011. *Wiccan Wishes*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, short story (Kindle). *Ibid.* 2012. *Wiccan Chalice*, 4. *Ibid.* 2013. *Wiccan Dream*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, 5 (Kendelle Press).

⁷⁸ Sara Pope-Ramsey. 2004. *Shadow of Rhiannon* (Createspace). J. A. Saare. 2018. *Dead, Undead, or Somewhere in Between*. Rhiannon's Law series, 1 (Renrut). *Ibid.* 2018. *The Renfield Syndrome*. Rhiannon's Law series, 2 (Renrut). *Ibid.* 2018. *The Ripple Effect*. Rhiannon's Law series, 3 (Renrut). Maggie Shayne. 2014. *Twilight Guardians*. *Ibid.* 2015. *Twilight Vendetta*. *Ibid.* 2015. *Rhiannon Chronicles*. Wings in the Night: Reborn series, 3 (Thunder foot).

⁷⁹ 'seekeronthepath'. 2015. 'The Marriage of Pwyll and Rhiannon'. *Ibid.* 26/1/2015. 'Women of the Mabinogi: Loyal and loving', retelling by Rhiannon. *Ibid.* 26/1/2015. 'Women of the Mabinogi: The Man who Caught a Mouse and Called it a Thief'. (URLs all texts Bibliography)

Nicks has for many years much desired to create film to expand her renowned song; last heard as a TV miniseries development based on Evangeline Walton's novels.⁸⁰

Jesse Russell's 'Rhiannon: Curse Of The Four Branches' (2008) is a supernatural point-and-click adventure game. A fantasy MMORPG from Korea (마비노기) is well known, loosely inspired by the Mabinogi (2008). Onyx Path Publishing produced a superb portrait of Rhiannon in their roleplay system (2023). 'Once and Future, Gods of Wales' (three groups cf. Anwyll's three Cycles) constructs 'Y Pen Annwn' as a multifaceted Arawn, Pwyll, and Pryderi.⁸¹

Finally in line with the strong alignment with the young there have been a number of educational projects. 'Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories' train computer skills for 7–12 years (*Prairie girl*, *Cave girl*, and *Island girl*). *Pwyll a Rhiannon* serves the Momentum literacy programme. Melantha Snow's MA research investigates primary schools' use of the Mabinogi. Kim Lewis' *Oen Bach Rhiannon* is an illustrated children's story in Welsh about Emma's Dad bringing home a lost lamb. Rhiannon heads delightful resources like Gruffudd Robot's *Pwyll a Rhiannon*, a Welsh colouring book, and Ellen Evans back in 1926 made a *Rhiannon* collection of Welsh children's poetry, songs, stories and games.⁸²

⁸⁰ Derek W. Hayes, Michas Koc, Dyfed Williams, and Marc Evans. 2002. 'Otherworld' (S4C / BBC Wales). Ch. II.9. 21stC p. 136. Lucy Catherine. 2021. 'Mabinogi: Lost Legends and Dark Magic' 15 part podcast, (BBC Wales and BBC Radio 3 joint commission). Gareth Smith. 23/08/2021. Review of BBC Radio Wales 'Mabinogi: Lost Legends and Dark Magic', *Wales Arts Review* (URL text Bibliography). Sarah Mallabar. 2023. 'Rhiannon', short film, Welsh and English, runtime 5 mins. Cert. 15, 4K and 6K BM. Tinopolis Studios, Llanelli (Rhiannon Short Film Ltd.) More data and URLs Bibliography. Stevie Nicks' project Ch. II.3. Performance p. 51; Ch. II.9 21stC, p. 139; and Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

⁸¹ Jesse Russell, 2008. 'Rhiannon: Curse Of The Four Branches', PC DVD (Arberth Studios) See access data, Bibliography. 'devCat'. 2008. 'Mabinogi'. Korean: 마비노기 (Korea: Nexon Korea). Jacqueline Bryk, David Castro, Rai Cole, Hiromi Cota, Erykah Fassett, Travis Legge, Geoffrey McVey, MJ Monleón, Spider B Perry, Lauren Roy, Monica Specca, H. Ulrich. 2023. 'Scion Second Edition: Once and Future' (Onyx Path Publishing). Handbook PDF Rhiannon portrait p. 28 (URL text Bibliog see Onyx) Especial thanks to Taliesin Morgan's research on Scion (June 2023)

⁸² Addison-Wesley. 1984. *Jenny of the Prairie*. Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories, IBM/ PC series. *Ibid.* 1984. *Cave Girl Clair*. *Ibid.* 1985. *Chelsea of the South Sea Islands*. Melantha Snow. 2022. 'Using Legends for Learning: A review of three adaptations of the Mabinogi written for the primary school in light of the new Curriculum for Wales' (unpublished master's thesis Dept. of Welsh and Celtic Studies, University of Aberystwyth) (URL text Bibliography). Nanna Ryder, and Carys Richards. 2010. *Pwyll a Rhiannon* YA (Gomer Press). Momentum Literacy Program. 2001. *Rhiannon and Dwyll*. Step 5, Level D. Kim Lewis. 1994. *Oen Bach Rhiannon* ('Rhiannon's Little Lamb', my trans.) (Gwasg y Dref Wen). Gruffudd Robot. 1995. *Pwyll a Rhiannon*, illust. Elwyn Ioan (Y Lolfa). Ellen Evans, ed. 1926. *Hwiangerddi Rhiannon* / 'Rhiannon's Nursery Rhymes', Welsh (Wrecsam: Hughes a'i Fab). Children's Welsh poetry, Children's Welsh songs, Welsh Folk literature, Welsh Folk Songs, Nursery Rhymes, Children's Games.

Y CASGLIADAU MEWN PUM RHAN⁸³ **THE CONCLUSIONS IN SIX PARTS***I Camau paradigmatic: cysyniadau a dadansoddiad dominyddol***I Paradigmatic stages: dominant concepts and analyses**

10thC-12thC. The Mabinogi, a small great work, pioneer of prose, from Wales.

18thC-19thC. Welsh Renaissance and European Romance.

19thC-20thC. Colonialism and Celtic Mythology.

Late 20thC. Coherence Paradigm, trusting the (oral) text; and feminism.

21stC. technical media; conscientious use and variance.

II Ffeministiaeth mewn cyd-destun cymdeithasol

II Feminisms in social context The 'strong woman' assumption. Feminism in mediaeval context. Sexism of the source. Female context: horse, territory, *sarhaed*; food wealth, sophistication and subversion. Female and male: models, relationships, strengths and weaknesses. Three basic types of feminism: the best fit.

*III Hudoliaethau a duwiesyddiaethau***III Enchantments and theologies**

Types of enchantment, and Annwfn. The Magician: semi-occult, entitled driver; and gender. Theologies. Symbiotic symbolism.

*IV Dadansoddiad strwythurol***IV Structural analysis**

Basic structures: Branches, continuity and incoherence. Interlacings: bindings and subtexts. Triadic forms from simple triplicity to Hegelian synthesis.

V Portread o Rhiannon

gwraig o rym, o Gymru'r oesoedd canol i'r byd ehangach

V Portrait of Rhiannon

woman of power, from mediaeval Wales to wider worlds

A short summary of the foregoing sections creating her portrait of complexity and depth.

VI Postscript

⁸³ The bilingual policy on titles used up to this point is here reversed into English priority. This is because this section aims at an international outlook.

MABINOGI RHIANNON

woman of power & her kindred;
literary, political, theological, arts, & structural perspectives

Y CASGLIADAU MEWN PUM RHAN⁸⁴

THE CONCLUSIONS IN SIX PARTS

This final chapter gathers the conclusions of my study.⁸⁵ My *neges*/ purpose, has been to build a portrait of the personage 'Rhiannon' from extant mediaeval sources and ensuing perspectives to the present day.⁸⁶ My 'Mabinogi Rhiannon' thesis offers conventionally detailed depth but also a wide range of perspectives (as its full title indicates, above).⁸⁷

Rhiannon is a lead protagonist of the *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*/ the 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (the Mabinogi).⁸⁸ This is a work of genius: pioneering narrative fiction in prose (c. 1100). Previously, narratives were declaimed as epic poetry to aid memory.⁸⁹ The Mabinogi is the ancestor of all our prose imaginary in novels and plays, and gaming, today.⁹⁰ But the Mabinogi is not just a pioneering placeholder. It is intricate, sophisticated literature, extensive yet coherent, bearing fascinating accounts of complex persons (notably Rhiannon) via skilfully controlled wordcraft. Its scribes were perhaps monks, but its secular content alternatively suggests Oxford or Paris university trained scholars.⁹¹ Mabinogi

⁸⁴ The bilingual policy on titles used up to this point is here reversed into English priority. This is because this section aims at an international outlook.

⁸⁵ Referencing is to relevant Chapter or subsection. To locate a passage precisely go to the reference given, and if not obvious there, search on the desired name or term.

⁸⁶ See Introduction: Perspectives.

⁸⁷ It may be timely due to similar names, to remind that 'the Mabinogi' refers to a revolutionary mediaeval text. 'Mabinogi Rhiannon' is a substantial narrative within the Mabinogi.

⁸⁸ For her lead status, see Ch. I.5. Text, Extended Mabinogi Rhiannon pp. 29-30. A simple names analysis gives 'Rhiannon' 49 instances (footnoted list and Table) exceeded only by Pryderi 60, and Pwyll 75: Ch. I.3. Etymology: Mabinogi instances pp. 6-7. There are only eight other mediaeval references to 'Rhiannon'; all brief, mostly allusions lacking her name, adding almost nothing to her Mabinogi narrative. The single expansion is Adar Rhiannon's powers of song to lull the living and wake the dead in *Culhwch ac Olwen*. These eight other sources are listed, referenceed, and commented Ch. I.6. Other Sources, pp. 33-35. *Culhwch ac Olwen* is #2.

⁸⁹ Ch. I.7. Prose pp. 36-42.

⁹⁰ *Culhwch ac Olwen* is contemporary to the Mabinogi, likewise surviving to share the pioneering honours, but in my view lacks the sophistication of the Mabinogi. It is a simple, linear series of adventures by a hero and his helpers. The genius and complexity of the Mabinogi is copiously referred in this study.

⁹¹ Ch. II.8. Provenance pp. 57-58. On university trained scribes option Ian Huws is noted *Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 163. Oxford was establishing lectures 1096 -1167, Paris c. 1200.

obscurity is political: from Wales a colonially suppressed culture. Its survival stages construct different versions of Rhiannon, therefore traced here in detail.⁹²

'Mabinogi Rhiannon' text is considered as two versions. The 'Core text' is Rhiannon's direct presence. 'Extended text' includes other relevant passages.⁹³ Extended Rhiannon acts here as a 'tour guide' to most of the Mabinogi.⁹⁴ Structurally, Mabinogi Rhiannon is replete with interlacings, paradoxes, and triplicities; I speculate the latter may include Hegelian syntheses.⁹⁵

I 'Camau paradigmatic: cysyniadau a dadansoddiadau llywodraethol I Paradigmatic stages: dominant concepts and analyses

Before 1100 there appear to be various regional, oral traditions concerning three noble families of Britain.⁹⁶ Those tales were then integrated in this single prose work (the Mabinogi), composed as the Normans were challenging native British culture. The work seems a competitive showcase of excellence in skill, with proud content about sophisticated, wealthy living.⁹⁷ However after the Glyndŵr Rising patronage was impoverished.

Rhiannon's root identity is thus a mediaeval, Welsh noblewoman.⁹⁸

Renaissance antiquarians of the 18thC seem to use the tales as sources of nationalist history, and claimed them as the first Romances of Europe.⁹⁹ Luft defines their perception of 'Romance' as mediaeval 'texts characterized by a high level of wonder and fantasy'; cf. Rhiannon first appears as *rywedawt*/ a wonder.¹⁰⁰

⁹² The long struggle to revive and reassert Welsh literature, including the Mabinogi, is seen in the section Story of the Story, II: in 9 chapters.

⁹³ Core text = most of PKM1, half PKM3, momentarily PKM2. Extended text adds Pwyll's Annwfn prologue (PKM1, a third), some PKM2 excerpts, the other half of PKM3, Pryderi's death as Epilogue (PKM4, 25%). See Ch. I.5. Text. My study works with the Extended text.

⁹⁴ Morgain. 19/02/2015. 'Rhiannon as Mabinogi Tour Guide', noted my Introduction.

⁹⁵ Ch. VIII. Structures: Interlacings; Paradoxes; and Triplicities. Hegelian Syntheses pp. 504-22.

⁹⁶ Ruling families of Dyfed (PKM1, PKM3), of Britain (PKM2), of Gwynedd (PKM4). c.1100 is the generally accepted date of compilation. See Anwyl's 'Cycles' below.

⁹⁷ For example the frequent presentation of great feasts, held in disciplined stages; see also the peak prestige of silk, Rhiannon is significant to both, below 'Feminisms in Social Context'.

⁹⁸ PKM1 9.7. JKB 25.1.

⁹⁹ From Luft, who features prominently in Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Moses Williams pp. 64-65 Lewis Morris, 'Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn' pp. 65-67.

¹⁰⁰ Luft names Lewis Morris as the first to define them as 'Romance'. Luft, 'Morris', p. 3. quoted Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Lewis Morris p. 67.

William Owen Pughe translated and published First and Fourth Branch material, paraphrasing the Second. At the prestigious Society of Antiquaries he particularly asserted their status as the original European Romances.¹⁰¹ He noted Rhiannon as 'only known as the heroine of the Dramatic Tales', i.e. in pioneering mediaeval prose.¹⁰² Charlotte Guest, the Englishwoman who first translated and published the whole work (1843, 1845), characteristically followed her Welsh mentors, claiming the tales as 'the cradle of European Romance'.¹⁰³ Though Guest as a 'powerhouse' has much in common with Rhiannon; she marks her affinity discreetly in her daughter's second name.¹⁰⁴

Pughe, Guest, and Stephens (1849), used the erroneous term 'Mabinogion' to title and define the prose tales.¹⁰⁵ The meaning of '*mabinogi*' has been much debated from its root: *mab*/ youth, boy.¹⁰⁶ My study calculates Rhiannon (and others') ages, discovering a youthful cast list. I therefore suggest that rather than juvenilia composed *for* youths, the Mabinogi might be 'tales *about* the young heroes of ancient times'.¹⁰⁷ Rhiannon (and Pwyll) live rarely long lives: Rhiannon 'a matriarchal sixty'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ William Owen [Pughe], 'Ancient Welsh Manuscripts', pp. 211–20. Ch. II.5. Renaissance: William Owen Pughe, 'Idrison' pp. 67–78.

¹⁰² [Pughe], *Biography*, p. 323. Quoted Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe p. 74.

¹⁰³ Guest, *Mabinogion*, p. xxiii. Guest is generally presented as the impressive starting point of Mabinogi Studies. I have placed her as the conclusion of the Welsh Renaissance period, as she faithfully followed the themes of her Welsh mentors, not least the 'Mabinogion' error, but also the Romance perspective. Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Guest pp. 85–99.

¹⁰⁴ Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Guest, p. 99.

¹⁰⁵ Stephens' *Literature of the Kymry* (1849). An important assertion in validating the prose tales as a category of mediaeval literature, and his concept of *mabinogi* is insightful. But his uncompromising ideals made him unpopular with the dominant Eisteddfod networks (then and now), so he was obscured and not influential. Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Stephens pp. 99–101.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix: Mabinogi.

¹⁰⁷ Juvenilia. Pughe's titles present this concept. 1795. 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances'. 1799. 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements'. The concept was persistent. Guest was accused of creating her Mabinogion for her children. Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe, and Guest. Rhys theorised the tales as training texts for '*mabinog*' apprentice bards. Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhys pp. 107–08. Sullivan summarises the perception by later scholars of tales *for* youth, derived from the root *mab*/ youth; *Essays*, p. xvi. For calculations of characters' ages Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 271–74. I also value Stephens (1849) usage which takes *mabinogi* as a biography of a named, pre-Arthurian personage, see Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens p. 101.

¹⁰⁸ In mediaeval terms this is very old.

Pughe defines Rhiannon as 'goddess': 'A paragon of the female sex; a goddess, a mythological person'.¹⁰⁹ However her divinity is not treated as significant until early Welsh academia and 'Celtic mythology'.¹¹⁰ The British Empire generated a flood of encounters with world religions, stimulating vigorous theorisation. Governed by this worldwide scope of material, scholars spoke of 'universal' stages of religious development, progressing from 'primitive', early myths to monotheism. Some proposed matriarchy and goddesses predating the higher, patriarchal Christianity.¹¹¹

The English Arnold denigrated mediaeval Welsh *cyfarwyddiaid* / 'storytellers' as ignorant about their sources.¹¹² Rhys shared Arnold's view of the tales as remains of divinity myths. As first Professor of Celtic Rhys was keen to validate and reconstitute 'euhemerised' characters as a 'Celtic pantheon' of gods and goddesses (1888). This was predominantly Irish derived, seen as the senior, originating Celtic tradition, because its extant material was far larger and outside Roman influence.¹¹³ Rhys followed the German Müller's dualistic solar/ chthonic philosophy, but found Welsh heroes did not fit it. He therefore altered them so they did, initiating Mythological Reconstruction.¹¹⁴ He casually played Rhiannon as a possible dawn goddess, or moon goddess, or else Arthurian Lady of the Lake (without evidential support).¹¹⁵

The title *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* / the 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi' was established by Anwyl (1897). He is the first to fully focus Mabinogi Studies, and Rhiannon in particular (1897–1906).¹¹⁶ He accepts the prevailing 'Pryderi saga'

¹⁰⁹ [Pughe]. 1803. *Geiriadur* / 'Dictionary', p. 466. Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe p. 73. This is Rhiannon's first appearance in print.

¹¹⁰ Ch. II.6. Academia p. 105.

¹¹¹ Ch. VII.2. Pre-1900: Celtic Goddess, pp. 447-48

¹¹² Ch. II.6. Academia: Arnold pp. 105-06. Ford commented it means Arnold 'could not make head nor tail of the Four Branches'. 'Prolegomena', p. 200. Quote Ch. II.6. Academia: Arnold pp. 105-06.

¹¹³ Rhys, *Lectures*. Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhys p. 107.

¹¹⁴ 'Considerable complication arises out of Pwyll and Pryderi's relations with Hades, and... we have to distinguish between Pwyll Prince of Dyved and Pwyll Head of Hades, and between Gwri of the Golden Hair and Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Hades.' Rhys, *Lectures*, V, p. 501. Quoted in footnote Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhys, p. 107 n. 14.

¹¹⁵ Rhys, *Lectures*. Quoted Ch. II.6. Academia: Rhys p. 107 n.12. Ch. VII.5 Theologies p. 475.

¹¹⁶ Lhuyd, 1706, says the work is 'divided in four parts; which the author calls or copies as Mabinogi Branches.' *Archaeologia*, p. 62. For full excerpt Latin text and its translation see Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lhuyd pp. 63-64 n. 121.

Anwyl. 1897. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', I & II. Ch. II.6. Academia pp. 108-11 Ch. VII.5 Theologies: Anwyl pp. 475-76.

as Mabinogi continuity hero, but also queries it.¹¹⁷ He gathered character names with the suffix *-on* (like 'Rhiannon'), theorising their divinity connotation. He suggested a paired Rhiannon–Teyrnon cult from an earlier Celtic *Rigantona–*Tigernos (constructed names). He introduced Gaulish Epona (Horse Goddess) as a Rhiannon goddess source.¹¹⁸ His literary, structural model of three Mabinogi Cycles or kindreds, places the Rhiannon–Cycle as the powerful crux of the three. He suggested Rhiannon's natal homeland might be Maesyfed (cf. New Radnor, Powys, cf. 'Hyfaidd' her father); making her possibly the granddaughter of Caradog Freichfras.¹¹⁹ Anwyl's approach may be seen as a balance of mythological and literary.¹²⁰

However Anwyl was suppressed by the politically ambitious WJG, who greatly expanded Rhŷs' Mythological Reconstruction to dominate 20thC Mabinogi Studies. WJG's zealous nationalism diligently reworked 'inconsistent' fragments back to an original, ancestral myth. His Rhiannon is reduced to a pawn between male agents, modelled on Irish *Mongán* (*Rhiannon*, 1953). His edifices have been profoundly critiqued, and here rejected in favour of 'trusting the text'.¹²¹

Jackson applied international motif analysis (1961) which has had limited influence; e.g. Wood critiques the 'Calumniated Wife' motif relating to Rhiannon (1996).¹²² Sovereignty Goddess theory was applied to Rhiannon by Mac Cana (1977); conclusively dismissed as not found in Welsh tradition by Lovecy (1877); yet further asserted by McKenna (1980).¹²³ Ford stands as a transitional scholar, investigating native Celtic myth yet also presenting powerful literary, structural analysis in his *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab* (1977), a similar narrative scope to my extended Mabinogi Rhiannon.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Pryderi the only character appearing in all four Branches. Ch. II.6. Academia: Anwyl p. 110. Critique under WJG p. 114.

¹¹⁸ Anwyl. 1906. *Celtic Religion in Pre-Christian Times*, p. 240. Long quote given Ch. VII.5 Theologies: Anwyl p. 476.

¹¹⁹ Natal homeland and genealogy, Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen: Who is Hyfaidd Hen? pp. 224-29.

¹²⁰ His mythological research outlined Ch. II.6. Academia: Anwyl pp. 109-11, Ch. VII.5 Theologies: Anwyl pp. 475-77. Tripartite 'Cycles' structural analysis Ch. II.6. Academia: Anwyl pp. 109-10. nn. 24,25,26; Ch. VII.5 Theologies: Anwyl 444 nn. 76,77,78,79.

¹²¹ Many critiques of WJG: Ch. II.6. Academia: Gruffydd pp. 115-16. For my principle 'Trusting the text': my Introduction, citing my May 2016 'Trusting the text of the Mabinogi'.

¹²² Ch. II.6. Academia: Folklore pp. 117-18.

¹²³ Mac Cana, Mabinogi, pp. 57-58. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sovereignty pp. 471-76.

¹²⁴ Transitional, enabling, cf. Mabinogi Rhiannon, Ch. I.3. *Cyfranc* pp. 30-32. His structural analysis Ch. VIII Structures: Ford *Cyfranc* pp. 507-08.

Bollard (1974) pioneered a new Coherence Paradigm, promoting the Mabinogi as a unified literature. (Anwyl's literary emphasis seven decades earlier was long lost.)¹²⁵ Sullivan's *Mabinogi Essays* anthology (1996) usefully chronicles the paradigm shift, following the academic 'Celtic Mythology' stage. Hemming (1995) and Parker (1998) trace similar developmental stages. My analysis insists the importance of the earlier, Welsh Renaissance/ Romance period.¹²⁶

Bollard proposed 'interlacings': linked events spanning narrative chronologies which strengthened the work's unity.¹²⁷ He felt they bore three main social/ moral themes of friendships, marriages, and feuds. These are obvious in Mabinogi Rhiannon.¹²⁸ I observe Mabinogi friendships as male-male, marriages as female-male: I unite them beyond gender as 'alliances'.¹²⁹ That reflects the hybrid nature of noble relationships: personal-political.¹³⁰

The Coherence Paradigm emerged alongside the 1970s Women's Liberation Movement.¹³¹ Bollard observed a lack of research on Mabinogi women.¹³² Pro-feminist Pennar studied Mabinogi women in his PhD (1976) but he remained obscure, possibly due to lack of publications. Valente is credited with pioneering feminist Mabinogi Studies (1986).¹³³

Both Pennar and Valente give priority focus to the impressive character of Rhiannon. Winward maintained Rhiannon's (implied) 'unfeminine', physical strength alienated her (1997). Valente however prominently features Rhiannon's

¹²⁵ Bollard, new paradigm Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm (my title for the shift in perspective), pp. 118-21. Anwyl, Ch. II.6. Academy: Anwyl pp. 108-11.

¹²⁶ Sullivan, ed. 1996. *Mabinogi Essays*, now available on Kindle. Contents list in Bibliog. and Ch. II.3. Ch. II.3. Coherence Paradigm: Four Accounts pp. 120 n116, and see notes Ch. II.7. Paradigm: Interlacings. The stages, my version compared to earlier accounts, Ch. II.3. Coherence Paradigm: Four Accounts pp. 119-20. Tabulates Hemming, Parker, Sullivan and my models.

¹²⁷ Interlacings, Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm: Interlacings pp. 121-23. Also case studies Ch. VIII. Structures: Interlacings pp. 508-22.

¹²⁸ *Friendships*: Pwyll-Arawn; Pwyll-Teyrnnon; Pryderi-Manawydan; Llwyd-Gwawl' Pryderi-Gwydion. *Marriages*: Arawn & Queen; Rhiannon & Pwyll; Pryderi & Cigfa; Rhiannon & Manawydan; Llwyd & lady Mouse. *Feuds*: Arawn vs. Hafgan; Rhiannon vs. Gwawl; Llwyd (Gwawl) vs. Rhiannon & Pryderi. There is also the PKM2 Irish War.

¹²⁹ Bollard's three themes, my addition of meta-theme, Ch. II.7. Paradigm: Interlacing pp. 122-23, and my Diagram p. 213. Interlacings presented in detail, with examples Ch. VIII. Structures: Interlacing pp. 308-22.

¹³⁰ Porter, hybrid relationships. Quoted Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice p. 242.

¹³¹ I note and trace the parallel emergence Ch. II.8. Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism pp. 124-35.

¹³² Bollard (1974) quoted Ch. II.7 Coherence Paradigm pp. 128-29,

¹³³ Bollard (1974), Pennar (1975), Valente (1986) quotes Ch. II.8. Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism: Pennar pp. 128-29; Valente pp. 128-31. Comparison pp. 128 & 130.

vulnerability in her maternal rescue attempt (PKM3). Valente's iconoclastic concept is that goddess perspectives in Celtic Mythology obstruct the human woman.¹³⁴

In the 1980s–1990s Brynley Roberts and Sioned Davies researched the oral performance development of the prose tales prior to 1100 (above).¹³⁵ Davies catalogues many oral characteristics in Mabinogi characterisation and style.¹³⁶ In particular she identifies a powerful formula of integrated, horse-and-rider description. Like Valente, Rhiannon is her exemplar (1996). This horse-rider integration might portray Rhiannon at her initial advent as a large, strong, fair female (perhaps blonde), of wealth and nobility.¹³⁷

The Coherence Paradigm has been creatively stimulating. Welsh theatre presenting large-scale stagings of the entire Mabinogi outdoors at castles (Moving Being, 1983, 1984); also selected Branches at various small venues (Brith Gof 1981); and Lis Hughes' mythic female dance tour 'Rhiannon' (1991–92).¹³⁸ Fictional Mabinogi interpretations, 1960s onwards, tend to emphasise magic and mythology.¹³⁹ Walton's influential fantasy novels (1970s) centre Rhiannon as quasi-*bodhisattva* goddess.¹⁴⁰ Stevie Nicks blasted Rhiannon's name internationally with her famous 'witchy' rock song (1975).¹⁴¹ However the 1970s/80s Goddess Movement featured Rhiannon very little.¹⁴² Prolific Young Adult (YA) novels featuring Rhiannon present considerable variety, mainly historical and fantasy genres. Rhiannon provides significant inspiration for girls

¹³⁴ Valente, 'Merched', p. 6 on Rhiannon's attempted rescue PKM3. Quoted Ch. II.8. Feminism: Valente pp. 130–31. Winward, 'Aspects', pp. 83–84.

¹³⁵ The live storytelling movement centred on London seems to stand independently parallel to their work, until the 21stC, viz. Stevenson 2015, 2017. Two streams, Ch. II.3. Performance p. 53. Convergence pp. 53–54.

¹³⁶ Mabinogi structure, characterisation, style, Davies' research summarised Ch. II.2. Craft pp. 45–49.

¹³⁷ Davies' theory of horse–rider integration, Sioned Davies, 'Horses in the Mabinogion', pp. 182–83. Summarised Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse pp. 17–19. Suggested application to Rhiannon's appearance, p. 19.

¹³⁸ Mabinogi, Welsh theatre, Ch. II.3. Performance, p. 51. .

¹³⁹ Fiction, Ch. IX.2. Imaginary p. 564ff.

¹⁴⁰ 'Those who have climbed high may turn back to help those below', quoted Ch. VII.7. Theologies: Walton p. 485.

¹⁴¹ Ch. II.3. Performance, p. 51. Detail, see Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

¹⁴² Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess. Iseum Rhiannon; Lux Madriana pp. 458–59.

in strong female agency, though the 'witchy' theme is more magician or priestess.¹⁴³ Also youthfully focused are some Rhiannon education projects.¹⁴⁴

The Mabinogi of the 21st century has been shaped by radical changes in presentation media. Academic PDFs appeared in the 1990s.¹⁴⁵ The first online Mabinogi text arrived 1999 (Guest's English translation).¹⁴⁶ Rhiannon initiated on Wikipedia (2001, the Four Branches 2004).¹⁴⁷ Parker offered his historical study of the Mabinogi (MSc. 1998, online 2002) and an English translation (2004). Gutenberg, and Hare's 'Sacred Texts' presentations of Guest text also uploaded (2004).¹⁴⁸

Creative expansion continued, supported by the Coherence Paradigm. S4C's famous film mixed live actors with animation (2002). Eames 'Magnificent Myths of the Mabinogi' live staging was indeed magnificent on accuracy and tonal enrichment (2008). Seren launched a series of eclectic, interpretative novels of the *Mabinogion* tales (2009). Some teaching materials, blogs, fanfics, film appeared, but not much primarily on Rhiannon until the second decade.¹⁴⁹ My family performed our 'Rhiannon' in a local Newport school (2010), which I feature here as an example of local, ephemeral, Mabinogi events.¹⁵⁰ To support my Mabinogi Rhiannon thesis my 'Mabinogi Bibliography' built 2,000 entries online as part of my Mabinogi Study website (2012).¹⁵¹ Watkins radical 'Rhiannon' (2018) staged as part of her theatre MA.¹⁵²

With an accumulating array of interpretations the issue of canon and creativity becomes increasingly relevant. Walton (1970s) expanded the Mabinogi with a Goddess matriarchy ethos, but honoured the base text.¹⁵³ Kathy Jones'

¹⁴³ Ch. VIII.2. Imaginary. Psychism, priestesses and initiation, love triads, historicals from Roman invasion to 19thC, alternate reality queens/ leaders, detectives, thrillers, vampires, futuristic.

¹⁴⁴ Educational, Ch. VIII.2. Imaginary, p. 567 final paragraph.

¹⁴⁵ PDFs, Ch. II.9. 21stC pp. 135-36.

¹⁴⁶ First online text, 'Miss Gien', Ch. II.9. 21stC p. 136, with two images from the webpage. Listed Bibliog. Guest. 1999. Site expired; viewable on the Wayback Machine, URL Bibliog.

¹⁴⁷ Ch. II.9. 21stC p. 137.

¹⁴⁸ Parker, major pioneer of Mabinogi texts generously shared online, (Bibliog.) His historical analysis in comparison to mine Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm: Four Accounts p. 119.

¹⁴⁹ Ch. II.9. 21stC p. 137.

¹⁵⁰ My family's local 'Rhiannon' Ch. II.3. Performance, pp. 54-56.

¹⁵¹ 'Mabinogi Bibliography' site, Ch. II.9. 21stC p. 136. Also Bibliog.

¹⁵² Watkins, Ch. II.3. Performance, p. 54.

¹⁵³ Walton quote 'never to alter anything I found in the Four Branches'. Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess: Walton p. 453.

Glastonbury Goddess temple, also internationally influential, is highly variant, making Rhiannon a sex goddess (1989ff.).¹⁵⁴ John Davies' diatribe 'Three Things' (1993) angrily challenges such 'strip mining' of his native, heritage.¹⁵⁵ Sullivan's 'Conscientious Use' (2004) demands respect for Welsh originals.¹⁵⁶ I noted the greater issue of (thealogy) teachers' responsibility (2001) expanding upon it (2017);¹⁵⁷ Rodway has spoken out strongly on New Age bowdlerisation (2017).¹⁵⁸ Scion's roleplay game featuring mythological pantheons presents a refreshingly accurate and exciting interpretation, with a particularly fine Rhiannon (2023-24).¹⁵⁹

II *Ffeministiaeth mewn cyd-destun cymdeithasol*

II Feminisms in social context

The concept of 'strong woman' is intuitively basic to feminisms. When talking to many people in or out of academia about my research, I meet knowledge of Rhiannon consistently (if any exists) as Rhiannon 'strong woman'. It accords with my overall analysis of her agency.¹⁶⁰ PKM1 stresses her *neges*/ purpose in seven initial references.¹⁶¹ Ford observed 'It is clear from her first entrance she will accomplish her ends' (1977);¹⁶² she is 'tough -minded';¹⁶³ a 'commanding figure'

¹⁵⁴ Jones' sex goddess, Ch. VII.4. Temples: 'Goddess Temple', Glastonbury p. 472, and Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Avalonian Rhiannon pp. 490-91. More on this and goddess issues below, section III Enchantments and theologies.

¹⁵⁵ John H. Davies. First publ. 1993. *Three Things There Are ...* 2nd edition forthcoming. Repr. 2002 in an OU textbook but bowdlerised without author's permission. Quoted Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Avalonian Rhiannon p. 493.

¹⁵⁶ Sullivan. 2004. 'Conscientious Use: Welsh Celtic Myth and Legend in Fantastic Fiction'. Noted Ch. IX.2. Imaginary p. 562.

¹⁵⁷ Morgain. *Duwies Cymru* online 2001-2005. As the website is defunct *Duwies* is given here as an Appendix: *Duwies Cymru*. My unease with 'Celtic', New Age and other appropriations was expressed (2017) 'Mabinogi enchantment and politics: once and future hope in co-creation', presented at 'Prosiect Mabinogi', Aberystwyth p. 562 n. 59.

¹⁵⁸ Rodway shared my concern. His talk, also at 'Prosiect Mabinogi', was published (2018) 'The Mabinogi and the Shadow of Celtic Mythology', *Studia Celtica*, 52, pp. 67-85.

¹⁵⁹ Scion's roleplaying game offers players the choice of different pantheons. The Welsh pantheon 'Once and Future, Gods of Wales' was added 2023, ably researched by McVey. Observed Ch. IX.2. Imaginary p. 576.

¹⁶⁰ Ch. IV.2. Acts pp. 204-07, Mabinogi Rhiannon as playscript, cf. origins as live performance. Not a script *per se*, but outlines a plausible structure of Acts and scenes. It does not violate Branches' structure. Rhiannon's agency is then analysed from the fluctuations of active/ passive modes of each scene. A tight, alternating structure of location triads appeared as well, not intended by this author, perhaps indicating an older pattern.

¹⁶¹ Noted Ch. I.5. Text: Prologue 26-27; references n. 149.

¹⁶² Ford. *Welsh Tales*, p. 37. Quoted Ch. I.5. Text: Prologue p. 26.

¹⁶³ Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 21. Quoted Ch. II.8. Feminisms: Agency, p. 154.

(Pennar, 1975);¹⁶⁴ who exerts 'conscious dominance' (Mac Cana, 1977).¹⁶⁵ Winward alerts to her implied strength (above).

Rhiannon is both a strong personality, and structurally strong as a lead protagonist.¹⁶⁶ Valente specifies Rhiannon consistently 'affects events wherever she appears' through her words.¹⁶⁷ My close analysis of her speeches exposes her as vulnerable through most of her narrative, once she begins mothering narrative.¹⁶⁸ Rhiannon is Valente's exemplar for her obscuring goddess analysis, and Valente's selected scene is Rhiannon's vulnerable PKM3 motherhood, replaying her *pryder* from PKM1.¹⁶⁹ Rhiannon's 'strong' narrative clusters at the beginning of her Core text, a peak so high that it overbalances her very much longer, vulnerable narrative.¹⁷⁰

Strength' inspires her fiction, especially girls' (above); and her first advent scene attracts the majority of her artworks.¹⁷¹ Though 'strong woman' is pervasive in feminisms, as in Rhiannon narrative, this is ambivalent, for the Women's Movement also campaigns on women's vulnerabilities.¹⁷²

It can be queried whether modern feminist perspectives may be applied to a mediaeval narrative. My study identifies some examples of contemporary

¹⁶⁴ Pennar, 'Women', p. 123. Quoted Ch. II.2. Coherence Paradigm p. 129.

¹⁶⁵ Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*, pp. 57–58. Quoted Ch. VII 5. Sovereignty p. 477.

¹⁶⁶ Strong personality: The beginning (her *neges*/ purpose stressed by seven references Ch. I.5. Text: p. 26 n. 149; cf. Guest Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest: Rhiannon pp. 98–99; Ch. II.8. Feminism: Agency pp. 134–35 (more negative); Ch. II.5. LLW: Girls pp. 176–77; Ch. IV.1. Voice: Narrative: mothering (birth morning) pp. 201–03; Ch. IV.1. Voice: Types of speech, self assertive; Advice and Rebukes p. 195. Ch. IV.2. Acts, playscript active/ passive analysis p. 208, also Paradoxes (active dominance) p. 209; Ch. V.9. Pendaran (naming) p. 292; Ch. VI.3. Magician: Gender pp. 389, 391.

Protagonist: Ch. I.3. Etymology: Comparison of namings pp. 6–7; Ch. I.4. Advent: #4 Anon (prefacing) p. 16; See also Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Walton p. 484.

¹⁶⁷ Valente, '*Merched*', p. 53. Quoted Ch. IV.1. Her Voice p. 130: Rhiannon's converse tabulated, analysed Ch. IV.1. Her Voice pp. 190–95.

¹⁶⁸ Speeches analysis, tabulated, commentary, Ch. IV.1. Her Voice pp. 190–95.

I mark her vulnerability from the barren tension in the first three years of her first marriage. Winward marks her loss of power by her change to marital status where I ascribe it to her maternal status. Ch. IV.2. Acts: Paradoxes p. 210.

¹⁶⁹ PKM3 *pryder*, Ch. II.8. Feminism: Valente p. 130–131.

¹⁷⁰ Ch. IV.2. Acts: Agency: Active – Passive Analysis, 'high Active mode' p. 208. Ch. IV.2. Her Voice tabulates 33 Rhiannon speeches pp. 190–95, then analyses them into types: pp. 195–96. Also narrative sequences Narrative: the horsewoman #1– #7. Narrative: weddings #8– #17.

¹⁷¹ Rhiannon fiction is very briefly traced Ch. IX.2. Imaginary pp. 554–61. Some representative Rhiannon artworks are listed in basic categories, Ch IX.1. Gallery pp. 524–53.

¹⁷² Ch. II.8. Feminism: Women's Liberation Movement. Four Demands p. 126 n.155; Seven Demands n.156.

mediaeval activists, long predating American origin narrative (Seneca Falls, 1848).¹⁷³

The Mabinogi is noted here to lack daughters, but has three important sons (Pryderi, Gwern, Lleu) cf. Anwyl's Cycles triad (kindreds).¹⁷⁴ Rhiannon has a narrated father Hyfaidd Hen, but no mother; cf. goddess Athena.¹⁷⁵ Her society is patriarchal, patrilineal, patrilocal, warlike.¹⁷⁶ While its (noble)women have certain rights and freedoms, it is their voices that exert power, as Valente observes; I add the corollary, men's actions tend to express theirs.¹⁷⁷

Marchogesau/ noblewomen-riders like Rhiannon are not *guerillères*, themselves fighting in battle, but they do benefit from male kin annexing territory.¹⁷⁸

Rhiannon rejects her existing bestowal in marriage, but only via her chosen male executive, Pwyll.¹⁷⁹ She insists her choice of him but she does not reject bestowal culture. She subverts rather than truly rebels against her gendered social context.¹⁸⁰

Mabinogi female culture is here examined in some detail.¹⁸¹ As early scholars understood, this society mirrors its genetrix, mediaeval Wales. Territory is fundamental: males are named/ defined by their territory (*Arawn urenin Annwuyn*); females are named/ defined derivatively from males (*Rhiannon ferch Hyfaidd Hen*).¹⁸² Yet Rhiannon's name (root *Rhi-*) speaks of (female) territorial reach.¹⁸³ She is a co-ruler of Dyfed, here suggested as regent when her son as lord

¹⁷³ Ch. II.8 Feminism: Feminism and mediaeval text pp. 124-25.

¹⁷⁴ Sons and daughters, Ch. III.5. LLW: Mothering p. 171. Anwyl's Cycles Ch. II.6. Academia: Anwyl pp. 109-10 and Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Anwyl pp. 504, 507, 516 n 86.

¹⁷⁵ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen pp. 218-20. Ch. VII.1. Goddess Myths: Athena p. 420.

¹⁷⁶ Ch. III.4. Equine nobility; *Marchogion* p. 160.

¹⁷⁷ Quoted Ch. II.8. Feminisms: Valente, 'the strength of her words' p. 130.

¹⁷⁸ Ch. III.4. nobility; *Marchogion* p. 164. It is not quite explicit that Pryderi's annexation of the Seisyllwch territories is by battle but that is a plausible implication. PKM 27.19– 22. JKB 40.1.

¹⁷⁹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Advent plot p. 263.

¹⁸⁰ Ch. II.8. Feminisms p. 133. Ch. II.8. Feminisms: Agency p. 134. Ch. IV.1. Voice: Narrative: weddings p. 199.

¹⁸¹ Ch. III.5. LLW (Law, Land, Women) pp. 164-77, note 'Rieni' analysis pp. 177-82 but women of mediaeval Wales/ the Mabinogi are central to all of section III except Ch. III.7.

¹⁸² *Arawn urenin Annwuyn*/ 'Arawn King of Annwn am I!' PKM1 2.26. JKB 21.1 *Rhiannon ferch Hyfaidd Hen*/ Rhiannon daughter of Hefeydd the Old. PKM1 12.23. JKB 28.1.

Ch. III.5. LLW: Territory, identity and *sarhaed* pp. 165-66 (on males and territory) . Ch. III.5. LLW: Women and names pp. 166-67 (on females).

¹⁸³ Ch. I.3. Etymology: Prefix *RHI-* pp. 7-9; *Rhian-* p. 9.

is absent at war.¹⁸⁴ The Sovereignty bestowal theory is however rejected here, for Pwyll is established as prince long before he meets Rhiannon.¹⁸⁵ The horse is central to territory, measuring out its reach, and ubiquitous in Mabinogi Rhiannon. The horse enables nobles' dominance by height and weight, in their trade, hunting, *cylchiau* and food organisation. Hence the nobles' category title *marchog/es* (*march* = horse). Trade is also enabled by shipping, which articulates with horse transport.¹⁸⁶

Female *sarhaed* (status calculated in potential reparation payment for offence), is half a brother's, a third of a husband's *sarhaed*. In a patrilocal society women move to their marital territory, as Rhiannon does to Dyfed. Women own their own wealth, but it must therefore be portable (silks, gold, jewels) or mobile (horses, herded animals).¹⁸⁷ Rhiannon wears silk, is generous in her gifts of gold, jewels, rides a valuable horse.¹⁸⁸ Mediaeval Welsh women have the right to divorce and retain property, but divorce functions to threaten Rhiannon by hostile Dyfed nobles.¹⁸⁹

Women evidently have a power base in food stocks, seen in organising feasts as Rhiannon and her daughter-in-law do.¹⁹⁰ These draw together supplies by *cylch* (tax circuit) which Rhiannon rides, and cyclically redistribute by feasts.¹⁹¹ Her feasts present a sophisticated culture. They introduce with washing and changing clothing, then follow controlled stages culminating in carousal and arts entertainments. Details of Gwawl's bath and Manawydan's forks, specifically demonstrate high culture. Feasts could last for many days servicing hundreds, plus horses, and staff. They drew together large numbers of nobles for political negotiations, arranging and witnessing marriages, fosterage, adoptions,

¹⁸⁴ Ruler, Ch. III.3. Political Hierarchy p. C. 155; Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260-62. Possible Regent, Ch. III.5. LLW: Marriage. p. 168; Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Marriage to Rhiannon p. 342.

¹⁸⁵ Sovereignty rejected, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool: Sovereignty p. 260. Ch. VII.3 Theologies: Sovereignty Goddess pp. 477-79. Giraldus (Latin) p. 480, trans. n. 240 critique pp. 481-82.

¹⁸⁶ Ch. III.4. Equine Nobility pp. 157-64.

¹⁸⁷ Ch. III.5. LLW: Territory, identity and *sarhaed* p. 165.

¹⁸⁸ Rhiannon's wealth. Ch. I.4. Advent #5, 6, 7. Ch. .4. Equine: Hunting and women. Ch.III.5. LLW: Feasts. Cf. Queen Ch. V. 2. Queen. Food wealth Ch. V.4. Gwawl. Particularly Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice – Table Rhiannon's wealth p. 244.

¹⁸⁹ Ch. III.5. LLW: Divorce p. 175. Suggestion hostile faction Ch. V.6. Maids, pp. 275-78 and Ch. V.9. Pendaran pp. 292-95.

¹⁹⁰ Ch. V.11. Cigfa: Mother-in-law pp. 330-31. Ch. V.4. Gwawl pp. 232-33.

¹⁹¹ Ch.III.3. Political Hierarchy pp. 153-54.

inheritance and bestowals of land, judgements of *sarhaed* punishments, and competitive arts performances.¹⁹² To be the organisers of such complex matrices indicates the powerful position of women despite patriarchal disadvantages.

The hybrid nature of nobles' relationships is a recurrent theme: twining personal and political for both genders.¹⁹³ Mothers (of sons) hold high status; the distinctively Welsh *rieni* status appears to mean the *potential* to bear an heir (cf. *sarhaed* status as a potentiality). Rhiannon may be a *prif rieni* like Branwen.¹⁹⁴ Mothers hold the considerable power to confer a meaningful name on their child as Rhiannon does; Arianrhod's tale suggests conferring arms and permission to marry is also a maternal authority, though the selection of a bride seems to be male.¹⁹⁵ Teyrnon's Wife suggests horse bestowal may be maternal also. She explains fosterage provides routes to influence and privilege, and refers to a female network of supportive (sisterly) women.¹⁹⁶

The power of female voice noted above, is seen in the Mabinogi role of counsellor to rulers, evident in Rhiannon.¹⁹⁷ Her bag speech is the longest in the Mabinogi, and her three Rebukes are sharp 'advice'.¹⁹⁸ Nonetheless I identify a seeming custom that married women do not speak publicly.¹⁹⁹ Bestowal of females in marriage (by senior males) has been noted, but there seems an alternate (older?) authority of mothers over sons e.g. Arianrhod. But I observe bestowal as far more widespread: in territory (e.g. Pryderi to Manawydan), the crucial horses (Gwri, Triad 38), and boys are bestowed on foster families.²⁰⁰ Girls, unlike boys, are not sent out to be fostered: their virginity is too precious to be put at risk. However female skills of converse, counsel, riding, *cylch*, feast organisation, fabrics production, could be socialised on the home estate.²⁰¹

¹⁹² Ch.III.5. LLW: Feasts pp. 173-75.

¹⁹³ Porter, hybrid relationships. Quoted Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice p. 242.

¹⁹⁴ Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*', pp. 181-82 & 182-83.

¹⁹⁵ Ch. III.5. LLW: Naming p. 171. Ch. V.9. Pendaran pp. 292-93.

¹⁹⁶ Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife p. 288 (summary).

¹⁹⁷ Ch. III.5. LLW: Counsellors p. 172 (compilation)

¹⁹⁸ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Narrative: weddings #12 (bag speech) p. 199. Thematic Categories: Rebukes: Pwyll #1, #9. Manawydan #32 pp. 196-98; Pre questions: #8, #31 p. 196. Narrative: the horsewoman #1 Rebuke I pp. 198-99; Narrative: weddings #9 Rebuke II pp. 199-201. Narrative: Desolation #31 Rebuke III pp. 204-05 but see interesting interpretation as plot device Ch V.12 Manawydan p. 344 n. 896.

¹⁹⁹ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Branches: 'disappearance' pp. 196-98.

²⁰⁰ Ch. III.5. LLW: Consent p. 170

²⁰¹ Ch. III.5. LLW: Girls pp. 176-77.

It is evident that Mabinogi women's power may be either dominating or subordinate according to different issues. Applying feminisms' calculus of power to Rhiannon, here draws on Beasley's basic Liberal, Socialist and Radical model.²⁰² Beasley also addresses queer theory but Rhiannon, while subversive, remains always a female woman. The key to Rhiannon's assessment is that her feminism lacks a broad agenda: sisterhood, and reforming ideals. She would understand Socialist Feminism class analysis as hierarchy, but from an exploiter standpoint. She challenges gender barriers *qua* Radical Feminism, but lacks its sisterhood. She seems closest to the individualistic ambitions of Liberal Feminism although lacking its broader reform agenda.²⁰³ Her *negessau*/ purposes are about herself and her kindred as observed at the outset of this section.

III Rhiannon a'i Charennnyd

III Rhiannon and her kindred

Rhiannon is always embedded in relationships; each has its own chapter here.²⁰⁴ She has more direct relationships with males. Of females two are direct (Maids, Cigfa), three are indirect (Queen, Teyrnon's Wife, Lady Mouse).²⁰⁵ She fails to foster positive loyalty in her Maids, and Cigfa though positive/ affectionate, is her subordinate. I mark Rhiannon's lack of sisterhood and its pivotal result in the Maids destructive plot against her. In addition to her 'father's girl' aspect, her most powerful relationships are with males: her two husbands Pwyll, Manawydan; her son Pryderi; her rescuer Teyrnon; her captor Llwyd.²⁰⁶ She is inarguably a man's woman.

Rhiannon's father Hyfaidd Hen and their natal homeland has been speculated as *Maesyfed*/ Radnor, Powys; consequently a legendary grandfather Caradog Freichfras.²⁰⁷ Hyfaidd is protective, providing Rhiannon with a proper,

²⁰² Beasley, *What is Feminism?: An Introduction to Feminist Theory*. A classic, student text (1999) which holds well today. It also addresses queer theory but though Rhiannon subverts strict gender roles of her society, she remains clearly female woman.

²⁰³ Ch. II.8. Mabinogi Rhiannon and Feminism: Feminist theoretical models pp. 131-33.

²⁰⁴ Some chapters in this section are not direct relationships but closely related (Queen, Llwyd, Lady Mouse, Gwydion).

²⁰⁵ *Direct*: Ch. V.6. Maids, Ch. V.11. Cigfa.

Indirect: Ch. V.2. Queen. Ch. V.8. Teyrnon's Wife. Ch. V.13. Lady Mouse

²⁰⁶ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd. Ch. V.5. Pwyll. Ch. V.12. Manawydan. Her son Pryderi Ch. V.10. Her rescuer Teyrnon Ch. V.7. Her captor Llwyd Ch. V.14.

²⁰⁷ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd: Who is Hyfaidd Hen? pp. 224-29. Other 'Hyfaidd' references are cleared then this one entertained as rather more substantial.

conventional transition from alien *rywedawt*/ 'wonder' maiden at Gorsedd Arberth to respectable marriage.²⁰⁸ His evident support contradicts Rhiannon's claim to Pwyll that she is 'compelled' to marry Gwawl. My study considers a family feud with an opposing faction to Hyfaidd, perhaps led by his (significantly absent) heir. Hyfaidd is *Hen*/ Old, probably dead or ineffective when Rhiannon faces marital challenges; a hostile heir might explain why she does not appeal for support when (PKM1) falsely accused cf. Branwen; or retreat with her rump family to her homeland (Desolation PKM3).²⁰⁹

Gwawl fab Clud is Rhiannon's unwanted fiancé. He presents as entirely fit for her approval: a princely, wealthy lord of hosts. He is no villain, remaining courteous even under duress.²¹⁰ Her dealings with him bring out her strategic skill, cf. her bag speech.²¹¹ Her coerced payment of wedding costs betrays her keen concern with her wealth.²¹² The Badger game originates a long narrative tradition of heterosexual, triangle deceit.²¹³ Rhiannon does not halt its violence, which I suggest might indicate not only her ruthlessness but anger at an extra year enduring his imposition.²¹⁴ Her humiliation of Gwawl brings long term disaster (PKM3; Pryderi below).²¹⁵

Pwyll Pen Annwn is Rhiannon's most complex relationship, with eighteen rôle changes. Half her speeches and two thirds of her narrated actions relate to him.²¹⁶ 'Rhiannon's Choice' of Pwyll is fundamental. I query that Choice, when Gwawl is suitable and not a villain (above).²¹⁷ Rhiannon is not romantic, a bare statement she loves Pwyll briskly passes to practical arrangements. Unexplained, her motives were apparently obvious to mediaevals.²¹⁸ As

²⁰⁸ Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd: Hyfaidd and propriety p. 222.

²⁰⁹ Family feud theory. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd pp. 220-21.

²¹⁰ Ch. V. 4. Gwawl: Profile, status, name pp. 229-31.

²¹¹ Ch. IV.1. Voice Narrative: weddings #1, pp. 200-01.

²¹² Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice: Rhiannon's wealth Table, and motive p. 144.

²¹³ Ch. V. 4. Gwawl: Conflict p. 234 nn 134,135.

²¹⁴ Ch. 21stC, p. 582.

²¹⁵ Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Bad counsel pp. 236-37; Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad p. 325.

²¹⁶ Rôles: *Rywedawt* /marvel, wonder, enchanted event. Maiden. Betrothed. Bride. Strategist collaborator. Legal, financial adviser. Bride again. Lover. Co-Ruler. Barren wife. Mother of Dyfed's heir. Accused infanticide. Penitential. Wife and co-ruler sustained. Vindicated innocent. Naming their son. Co-Parent. Widow. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Complex Relationship p. 240 roles list n. 172. Speeches n. 174. Full breakdown of speeches Ch. IV.1. Voice. For action units see Ch. IV.2. Acts.

²¹⁷ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice p. 241.

²¹⁸ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, her 'brisk' handling of the exchange p. 243., Porter on hybrid marriages quote p. 243.

Rhiannon's direct narrative opens, Pwyll has just been acclaimed Pwyll *pen Annwfn*, the hero of the times, allied to Annwfn wealth and enchantment.²¹⁹ His title is suddenly reintroduced in the crux of their wedding plot, he having been simply 'Pwyll' before.²²⁰ Rhiannon, an apex elite *marchoges* wants the very best and *Pen Annwfn* eclipses Gwawl, a young, untried prince. Pwyll's ruling expertise has demonstrated in Annwfn. Rhiannon's wealth is of major concern to her (Gwawl, above), and Pwyll links to the immense wealth of Annwfn. She needs Pwyll's fighting prowess and generalship of hosts to dominate Gwawl's host and protect her wealth.²²¹ Gwawl's territorial epithet may point to Strathclyde origins: by the 11thC a failing power.²²²

For his part Pwyll falls in love as soon as they speak. Her beauty is given through his impressions. When she commands him to give her away to uphold honour, his protest expresses his heartbroken loyalty.²²³

Pwyll is judged a fool: by Rhiannon's own Rebuke II, by Arawn, and by scholars. This is a strongly established theme. Rhiannon's choice seems problematic.²²⁴ But close attention shows all the many claims to Pwyll's *ffolineb*/ foolishness, except one, are invalid.

He has rights to the Glyn Cuch stag. Far from being rash in speech, Pwyll shows as cautious: towards Arawn's offer, using conditional phrasing, checking the scenario proposed and his people's welfare. His discipline in Annwfn is sustained and impressive, including his stressful identity swap and cryptic chastity. I propose both parties actively seek the Annwfn alliance with the stag 'offence' as a pretext.²²⁵

Sioned Davies feels Pwyll's boast he is unafraid of Gorsedd Aberth's threat is rash. But he explicitly points to his armed *teulu*/ guard, is a proven

²¹⁹ PKM1 8.21–26. quoted, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, p. 243.

²²⁰ PKM1 16.3–4 quoted Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice, p. 243 n. 194.

²²¹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice pp. 244–45,

²²² Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Profile, status, name, pp. 231–32.

²²³ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: First Impressions p. 247.

²²⁴ Collected chorus of scholars Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool pp. 247–48. Table: Pwyll as Fool, summary p. 247.

²²⁵ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool: In Annwfn pp. 249–54, assessments from Ellis, Jenkins and Bollard. Pwyll only ever offers Arawn *carenyd*/ friendship, never compensation p. 253.

military success, and enchantment partner of Annwfn. Pwyll cautiously sends agents, twice, to pursue Rhiannon.²²⁶

Rhiannon's Rebuke I to his bad horsemanship is devastating to a *marchog*/ horse noble, though arguably she engineered it by her prompting remoteness. As alpha-male he creditably admits he cannot succeed. His appeal uses sophisticated wordplay on the man she loves: the riding theme may have erotic nuancing.²²⁷ Rhiannon's Ride may feature in Jaufre Rudel's Occitan lovesong of dreamlike pursuit on horseback.²²⁸

Rhiannon's Rebuke II strips him of his name's meaning (i.e. good sense). He justifiably protests he did not know Gwawl's appearance. My response is precisely because of that his speech to guests should have been guarded. Here he does appear a fool.²²⁹

Pwyll-as-Fool feeds the Sovereignty theory that Rhiannon confers lordship on Pwyll. But Pwyll is *pendefig Dyfed*/ prince of Dyfed at the start of the Mabinogi long before he meets Rhiannon. Secondly he is seen many times as the opposite of foolish (above). I do support the teaching text theory, but with Pwyll as positive exemplar.²³⁰

Rhiannon and Pwyll act together closely in a long partnership.²³¹ The relationship is marked out in plots. Rhiannon at Gorsedd Arberth plots to impress him and draw him away for private dialogue.²³² They plot together against Gwawl the unwanted suitor. Given the length and complexity of Rhiannon's strategic 'bag' plan I suggest this plot is not spontaneous, but concocted in advance. It is the only time Pwyll does act foolishly in his 'rash' words to Gwawl, and it seems odd careful Rhiannon did not warn him of Gwawl's appearance; nor did cautious Pwyll ask about it. I analyse their possible authoring of respective constituents of the plot.²³³ Their course is then directed by the Maids' plot against Rhiannon. Again, I suggest an advance plan: its activity would make unavoidable noise at night, and the women hold consensus exceptionally well. I suggest they

²²⁶ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool: Gorsedd warning p. 255 .

²²⁷ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool: Horse rebuke pp. 255-58.

²²⁸ Ch. VI. 2. Trance pp. 381-82 relevant quoted excerpts, one original Occitan..

²²⁹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool: Wedding rebuke (II), pp. 258-59.

²³⁰ Analysis Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Pwyll the Fool: Sovereignty, pp. 259-60.

²³¹ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Partnership pp. 260 -63. Also Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines pp. 272-73.

²³² Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Advent plot p. 263.

²³³ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Wedding plot pp. 264-67.

are orchestrated by a hostile nobles' faction, whose power accounts for a notable lack of retribution later (cf. hostile nobles at two Councils with Pwyll).²³⁴ Pendaran Dyfed seems plausible as their leader, for his status and tension with the ruling couple is evident when the restored heir is named 'Pryderi'.²³⁵ Rhiannon's famous penance is usually noted for its 'horsey' aspect; I follow Watkins' view of Rhiannon as storyteller, and, Valente who marks the power of her voice.²³⁶ Observing Pwyll's loyalty, I further suggest the penance might be another concocted plot, the 'horsey' magnetising public attention to spread the news to someone who knows where the boy is.²³⁷ I speculate (very) tentatively on Teyrnon's restored heir as yet another plot, a false heir. Teyrnon's Wife's plot with her women to foist a false heir is possibly a suggestive parallel.²³⁸

All together the Rhiannon-Pwyll relationship is elaborate and complex.

Rhiannon's second marriage contrasts. She is ambiguously 'bestowed', though with consent, on Manawydan by her adult son, with mutual affection described.²³⁹ I trace Manawydan's character through PKM2 as a loyal, subordinate diplomat, not a heroic warrior.²⁴⁰ It is justifiable for Pryderi to tag him with Triad 8's variously translated term *lledyf* (I suggest 'unassertive' is apt).²⁴¹ Rhiannon's Rebuke III to Manawydan is key to their narrative: she stands with the heroic warrior tradition of their class. However much his adroit adaptation as 'New Man' in changed times might be admired, he fails the ancient code. However I add he might be seen as a radical instance of it, if interpreted as ancestral grasp/ reach, holding on to land and status.²⁴² I suggest Cigfa sustains Rhiannon's nobility values in dialogues with Manawydan, from a bond forged when the women work together while Pryderi is absent at war. The two present in close accord organising Pryderi's homecoming feast.²⁴³

²³⁴ Ch. V.6. The Maids pp. 277-78.

²³⁵ Ch. V.9. Pendaran pp. 292-95.

²³⁶ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Narrative: mothering p. 202.

²³⁷ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance plot pp. 268-72. Pwyll's loyalty may be seen in how he devises a penance harsh and humiliating enough to stave off another demand for divorce; but we also see Rhiannon seated beside him in the hall with her status and dignity intact, in the evenings.

²³⁸ Ch. V.8. Teyrnon: The gentle guardian p. 286, n. 515.

²³⁹ Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Marriage to Rhiannon pp. 341-42.

²⁴⁰ Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Manawydan's background pp. 338-40.

²⁴¹ Ch. V.12. Manawydan p. 659 n. 307. My preferred 'unassertive' Ch. V.11. Cigfa, p. 333 n. 825.

²⁴² Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Man of Virtue pp. 344-45.

²⁴³ Ch. V.11. Cigfa p. 333.

Rhiannon's political narrative is at its most evident during her second marriage.²⁴⁴ Her first marriage shows the hybrid personal-political relationship of her class, and an apparent feud with Pendaran (above). Pwyll's Annwfn sojourn might compare to Hywel Dda's absence making homage to Wessex.²⁴⁵ At Rhiannon's PKM3 wedding feast she demonstrates excellent intelligence on the threatening Caswallawn's whereabouts.²⁴⁶ When considering the Adar Rhiannon I wonder about a possible spy network of minstrels.²⁴⁷ Her PKM3 narrative also shows a significant subtext of allusions to historical events. Huws sees the Desolation of Dyfed as the Anglo-Norman clearance of southern Dyfed, creating a distinct culture still surviving today. I add that Manawydan's rôles of impoverished prince, exile turned trader, subsistence crofter, all match colonial dispossession impact. I suggest the Mice who raze his harvest might satirise Norman depredations. The fake bishop he meets may link to either of two immensely wealthy, Norman bishops who held sway in colonised Dyfed.²⁴⁸

Rhiannon's maternal relationship with Pryderi has been noted above as the major part of her narrative, by which she is rendered vulnerable. This is in spite of her general recognition as a 'strong woman', and her dominant role in her courtship tale, the most frequent feature in Rhiannon art and fiction.²⁴⁹ Once married, her narrative proceeds through awaiting motherhood ('barren' years), birthing the Dyfed heir, her loss, *pryder*, penance, the restoration, (re)naming the boy, training the prince, sending the Adar Rhiannon to him after the Irish War, creating his homecoming feast, accepting her second marriage he arranges, sharing the Desolation of Dyfed with him, rebuking Manawydan's failure of her son, attempting to rescue him, sharing captivity and eventually liberation. She probably dies before he does as there is no mention of her in his death tale. Apart from her courtship of Pwyll, her narrative is either with or about Pryderi. I refer to this as her 'maternal dyad'.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁴ Some material on Rhiannon's political aspects is in Ch. 12. Gwydion.

²⁴⁵ Ch. III.7. Political parallels: Hywel Dda pp. 184-85.

²⁴⁶ Ch. IV.1. Voice #30, p. 194.

²⁴⁷ Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon: Minstrels pp. 413-14.

²⁴⁸ Ch. III.7. Political parallels: Anglo-Norman. p. 188.

²⁴⁹ 'Strong woman', above, II Feminisms in social context. Popular interpretation Ch. IX Gallery and Ch. IX Imaginary.

²⁵⁰ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 321-22.

I see her maternal vulnerability offsetting her dominant mode, giving her character its depth.²⁵¹ The old Pryderi Saga theory, Pryderi as central continuity hero of the Mabinogi, lost credibility because he is not a strong or sustained presence in any Branch.²⁵² But taking his continuity thread together with her powerful presence, twined together, offers a structural spine for the Mabinogi (cf. Anwyl's intersecting Rhiannon-Cycle).²⁵³ Rhiannon's maternal dyad is a profound aspect of her relatedness and symbiosis.

Pryderi is a classic warrior hero, but unlike his father, a simple character not given to devious strategy. My portrait of him suggests particularly powerful, structural affinities with animals. As a newborn he parallels the vulnerable newborn puppy, used against Rhiannon. Then like her, he has his horse affinity (bestowed). His adult narrative features loyal dogs, and the boar, an animal normally unaggressive but like Pryderi in exiled crisis, a boar turns at bay to attack.²⁵⁴

My portrait sees the boy Pryderi wrenched by his reworked life as Rhiannon and Pwyll's son. He loses an entire life, even his name. It is likely to generate severe insecurity, and Pryderi can be seen as keen for friendship: Manawydan, Math, Gwydion.²⁵⁵ He is not an initiatory character; he prefers advice from Rhiannon, Manawydan, and his Rhuddlan Teifi council.²⁵⁶ His chief initiatory decision is to grant his great friend Manawydan the rulership of old Dyfed, that is, the usage of the original seven *cantrefi*. No doubt his proposal of Rhiannon's marriage sensibly separates his formidable mother from his own rule of the newer Seisyllwch territories. It is strange his remarkable generosity to Manawydan is so little remarked.²⁵⁷

There is arguably another notable aspect to Pryderi's generosity. Llwyd explains at the *denouement* of the PKM3 Desolation that he is its magician author. He wrought it to avenge the humiliation of Gwawl consequent on *agynghor*/ bad advice given to Pwyll. This clearly marks Rhiannon as responsible, by her advice,

²⁵¹ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Narrative: mothering p. 201.

²⁵² Ch. II.6. Academia: Anwyl p. 110.

²⁵³ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 321-22. Rhiannon-Cycle, Ch. II.6. Academia: Anwyl, pp. 109-10 (components: p. 109 n. 24).

²⁵⁴ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Animal Affinities pp. 302-03.

²⁵⁵ Ch. V. 10. Pryderi: Boyhood pp. 296-302..

²⁵⁶ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Pryderi, initiatives pp. 315-16 .

²⁵⁷ Ch. V. 10. Pryderi: Manawydan p. 307.

for the Desolation.²⁵⁸ Indeed, Llwyd's Desolation acutely targets her power base of cultivated foodstocks by removing them.²⁵⁹ Yet Gwawl forswore his vengeance. Given the personal nature of such contracts (cf. homage) it seems Gwawl's undertaking held during Pwyll's lifetime. Pryderi inherited it but then at some point it lost its power to bind Gwawl/ Llwyd. I suggest that by placing old Dyfed in the hands of an outsider, the Pwyll-Pryderi contract no longer protected it. Pryderi fails to see this danger, and Rhiannon also, as his chief and mature adviser.²⁶⁰ The Desolation appears due to both Rhiannon (her past advice) and Pryderi (his generous bestowal); it is the product of their maternal dyad.²⁶¹

IV Hudoliaethau a duwiesyddiaethau

IV Enchantments and theologies

Rhiannon is seen with three *hudiau*/ enchantments: her horse, her bag and the Adar Her powers in each case are distortions of space, time, or both.²⁶² Many Mabinogi enchantments shapeshift objects or animals into more powerful or impressive versions. Humans can become animals; plants can become a synthetic human. The Annwfn identity swap is a unique human-human shapeshift.²⁶³ Kieckhefer observes three categories of mediaeval enchantment: religious appeals, demonism by Church clerics, and working hidden powers in nature. The Mabinogi is an almost entirely secular narrative, and its enchantments approximate Kieckhefer's third model.²⁶⁴

I have argued the Mabinogi Rhiannon Prologue in Annwfn is the foundation of Rhiannon's pivotal choosing of Pwyll (above).²⁶⁵ On examination Annwfn appears a wildy confused concept; an Underworld, Hell analogue, part of

²⁵⁸ Ch. V.4. Gwawl.: Bad Counsel p. 236.

²⁵⁹ Ch. V.4. Gwawl.: Bad Counsel p. 237.

²⁶⁰ Ch. V. 10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 324-27.

²⁶¹ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad pp. 327-28.

²⁶² Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse pp. 390-95. Ch. VI.5. Rhiannon's Bag pp. 395-401. Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon pp. 401-09. The three enchantments, their common nature weaving time and space, Ch. VI.3. Rhiannon as Magician pp. 390, 394.

²⁶³ Ch. VI.1. Enchantment p. 861.

²⁶⁴ Richard Kieckhefer. 1989, 2014. Introduction to *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Mediaeval Magic p. 353. On the Mabinogi as secular text, Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900: Christianity pp. 439-48.

²⁶⁵ Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice.

Dyfed or Ireland or the Antipodes, and more. I speculate a wealthy, forest realm in the Glyn Cuch region, with indicative maps.²⁶⁶

Magicians can be argued as the plot shapers of each Branch, semi-occulted, lead protagonists from Arawn to Llwyd.²⁶⁷ Mark Williams holds all Mabinogi magicians are male, so excludes Rhiannon (among other females) though admits Rhiannon has 'supernatural accoutrements' (horse and bag). I rejoin that if 'supernatural accoutrements' cannot qualify a magician, that excludes the array of males using *hutlach*/ a wand, or animals. Williams identifies a Welsh 'malevolent maternal magic', cf. Arianrhod, Culhwch's stepmother, again excluding females as magicians. He does admit the hypothesis is based on limited data sources.²⁶⁸

As a professional tranceworker for twenty years, I was surprised to recognise signs of trance in Mabinogi text. Mabinogi sparse descriptions are like the skeletal format of trance narrative. Arawn reassures Pwyll he will be safely guided, a critical trance element; his words are classic trance phrasing. Rhiannon's courtship ride is a trancelike imagery, found also in Jaufré Rudel's Occitan poems. Pryderi's Adar Rhiannon sojourn (PKM2) vividly resembles a trance, and it is led by voice (Adar singing) as most trances are.²⁶⁹

When addressing the Desolation I query why the Dyfed quartet do not flee to kindred or other allies as royals and nobility customarily did when facing reversals. I consider Rhiannon's possible family feud or historical barriers such as the Anglo-Norman March. In magical terms I note Llwyd appears to remove huge numbers of people and animals to effect his mega-enchantment. Where did he put them? I imagine constructing a pseudo-Dyfed, desolate and stripped, then moving just the quartet into its isolation would be easier; this might imply a faux-Dyfed trance.²⁷⁰ Cf. Teyrnnon's noisy *twrwf* epic apparently buffered from the rest of his *llys*/ court; possibly a trancelike nightmare.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ Summary of theories Ch. VI.1. Enchantment: Annwfn pp. 370-76. A forest realm in Dyfed? pp. 377-81.

²⁶⁷ Ch. VI.3. Rhiannon as Magician pp. 390, 394. Also p. 376.

²⁶⁸ Mark Williams. 2019. 'Magic and Marvels', Ch. 3, *Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*.

²⁶⁹ Ch. VI.2, Trance pp. 376-82.

²⁷⁰ Ch. VI.3. Rhiannon as Magician p. 393.

²⁷¹ Ch. V.7. Teyrnnon: Noisy Enchantment pp. 284-85.

My speculation of Rhiannon's natal homeland as Maesyfed (Powys) aligns with Giraldus' account of Powys horse breeding culture. His '*magnificatus*' strain, a hybrid of native Welsh cob stamina and Arab speed, fits Rhiannon's large, magnificent horse, unreachable by others.²⁷² Its paradoxical pacing power raises the issue of agency: is it the horse which is magical in itself? or does Rhiannon enchant it? A third option is a synergy of rider and mount well known among habitual riders.²⁷³ This aligns with the prose tradition of integrated description (Sioned Davies, above), and Rhiannon's symbiosis noted in her human relationships. Her initial dominance narrative shows her as high mounted, *marchoges*/ an elite Welsh noblewoman rider.²⁷⁴

Rhiannon's bag is also paradoxical, *cot uechan*/ a (mere) little bag yet capable to hold the entire foodstocks of Dyfed. It is not an infinitely giving *cornucopia*: her bag is an engulfing taker bounded by Dyfed.²⁷⁵ It deconstructs as an ordinary, collapsible badger trap, and the original of centuries of tradition of sexual triangles of deception.²⁷⁶ Rhiannon's speech outlining her bag strategy is the longest in the Mabinogi, signalling its importance.²⁷⁷ Symbolically it deploys her power base in foodstocks, holding her great feasts: her strategy implodes in Llwyd's counter attack removing those food stocks.²⁷⁸ I found few mythic comparands, though Perseus narrative has a *kibisis*/ a specialised bag, to contain Medusa's lethal head, also a horse bride, wedding plot, an orchard, a male-aligned Goddess, a winged horse; and these adventures locate on the Western European seaboard.²⁷⁹

The Adar Rhiannon are also paradoxical: they sound close yet sing from far away, their incomparable sweet song soothes the troubled living and revive the dead.²⁸⁰ They easily relate to Rhiannon's generosity to bards and minstrels, known beyond the Mabinogi.²⁸¹ Reviving the dead may relate to Epona's

²⁷² Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd Hen: Who is Hyfaidd Hen? pp. 224-29. Giraldus'quoted p. 227.

²⁷³ Ch. VI.4. Rhiannon's Horse p. 393..

²⁷⁴ Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse. pp. 17-20.

²⁷⁵ Ch. VI.5. Bag p. 402.

²⁷⁶ Ch. V.4. Gwawl: Badger pp. 234-35.

²⁷⁷ Ch. IV.1. Voice: Narrative: weddings #12, p. 200.

²⁷⁸ Ch. V.14. Llwyd p. 350. Also Ch.V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad p. 325.

²⁷⁹ Ch. VI.5. Bag: Perseus pp. 405-07.

²⁸⁰ Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #2 *Culhwch* p. 33.

²⁸¹ Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #6 Goronwy Gyriog p. 33, #7 Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch p. 34.

psychopomp imagery on graves.²⁸² I view the Adar PKM2 function as a maternal care package, bridging the maternal dyad, far away but near.²⁸³ I speculate the Adar species: from their sweet song and paradoxical distance, I propose skylarks.²⁸⁴ Finally the Adar appear as judges, or encouraging allies, in the cause of Welsh independence, invoked by many esteemed Welsh poets.²⁸⁵

It has been noted that the Mabinogi is a 'secular' text, without specific deity characters, nor temples or religious acts. Some terms which resemble mediaeval Christianity may be seen as generic (e.g. *Duw/* (a) God); or as 'translation' to enable understanding of archaic tradition (e.g. *escob/* bishop, as a high religious status); or perhaps slight leaks from the contemporary mediaeval context.²⁸⁶ Such references are never major narrative units; cf. above, magicians suffice to account for supernatural events.²⁸⁷ Nonetheless there are established traditions of Mabinogi personages as deities, including Rhiannon (below). In my introductory review of relevant Goddess myths I found a remarkable alignment between Rhiannon narrative (a first prose heroine) and the first named author 4,500 years ago: Enheduanna's 'Inanna'.²⁸⁸

Rhiannon is referenced as 'goddess' by Pughe (1803).²⁸⁹ But divinity is not given priority until early Welsh Academia when characters from tales were interpreted as euhemerised (humanised) deities.²⁹⁰ Rhÿs, struggling for a Celtic pantheon (1888), flimsily speculated Rhiannon as dawn goddess or moon goddess.²⁹¹ I note 'dawn' might conceivably relate to her birth morning tragedy, but 'moon' is from the 'Classics', for Celtic myths perceive the sun as female, not the moon.²⁹² Anwyl gave Rhiannon's divinity evidential support (1897–1908). He enumerated her suffix *-on* as a divinity marker; paired her with Teyrnon as a cult

²⁸² Ch. VII.1. Myth: Epona. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Horse Goddess.

²⁸³ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Rhiannon. Ch. VI.5. Adar Rhiannon.

²⁸⁴ Also found in the poet R. S. Thomas autobiography, and Stevie Nix' 1975 intuitive song. Ch. VI.5. Adar Rhiannon: Species.

²⁸⁵ Ch. VI.5. Adar Rhiannon: 20thC nationalist poetry.

²⁸⁶ Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900: Christianity and the Mabinogi.

²⁸⁷ Ch. VI.3. Rhiannon as Magician.

²⁸⁸ Ch. VII.1. Myth: Inanna.

²⁸⁹ [Pughe], *Geiriadur*, p. 466. Quoted Ch. II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe. Also screenprint from page.

²⁹⁰ Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia.

²⁹¹ Rhÿs. 'Errata and Additions' to *Lectures*, p. 678. Quoted in footnote Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: Rhÿs.

²⁹² Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Background.

partner; and drew attention to Epona, the Gaulish Horse-Mother Goddess as her possible precursor. Drawing on Frazer's *Golden Bough* he suggested a seasonal Mother Goddess cycle.²⁹³ His contemporary WJG 'reconstructed' an 'edifice' titled *Rhiannon* (1953): severely critiqued.²⁹⁴

Bachofen (1861) theorised an early, universal, Goddess matriarchy, progressing to patriarchal monotheism.²⁹⁵ 20thC feminist spiritualities rejected that supposedly 'progressive' aspect, instead validating female-centred theologies.²⁹⁶ My 'Western Goddess Spirituality' (2001) suggests three broad 20thC models: Matriarchal Goddess (sole or dominant deity); Wiccan Goddess (partnered deity); and Feminist God/dess (one or many, range of ontologies, politicised).²⁹⁷

Walton began producing her extremely influential quartet of Mabinogi novels in the 1930s-40s, from when her influences date, although she was not successfully published until the 1970s.²⁹⁸ Walton's is sophisticated thealogy interweaving faithfulness to Mabinogi narrative, often quoting it. She acknowledges Eastern mysticism as source inspiration: her Rhiannon is like a *bodhisattva*, returning to human incarnation to avert war between matriarchal and invading patriarchal tribes in Wales. Rhiannon declares that her privileged status imposes responsibility. She predicts her great love story with Pwyll will long be retold.²⁹⁹ Stevie Nicks whose worldwide rock song 'Rhiannon' soared the name to fame (1975), has ever since spoken of making a film of Walton's *Tetralogy*.³⁰⁰

Graves' *White Goddess* (1961) with Riding as collaborator, experienced Rhiannon as an ambivalentl 'MuseGoddess' (cf. Adar Rhiannon), sweetly generous to her poet-lover yet bloodily savage as Nightmare. He also introduced

²⁹³ Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: Anwyl and Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Anwyl. The Epona and seasonal cycle theory has a long quote Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Anwyl.

²⁹⁴ Ch. II.6. Welsh Academia: William John Gruffydd, critiqued.

²⁹⁵ Ch. VII.2. Goddess pre-1900: Celtic Goddess.

²⁹⁶ 'Thealogy': neologism for the feminine or feminist divine, 1970s. Development of the concept Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Thealogy.

²⁹⁷ Full text Appendix: Western Goddess Spirituality.

²⁹⁸ Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Walton.

²⁹⁹ Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Walton.

³⁰⁰ Ch. III.3. Performance. Ch. III.9. 21stC. Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

the ahistorical 'Triple Goddess' which became popular in modern Goddess spirituality.³⁰¹

When the 1970s/1980s streams of feminist Goddess spirituality developed Rhiannon was not initially a prominent presence. The first Iseum (small local group) established by the Fellowship of Isis, was dedicated to Rhiannon (1977-99). Lux Madriana venerated God the Mother as Rhiannë, but derogated Rhiannon as a 'dimmed reflection' (c. 1982). I included Rhiannon in my 'Goddess Calendar' (1985), aligning her with Beltaine/ May Eve, due to the Teyrnnon reference. My interpretation was classically Craft /Pagan: Rhiannon as patroness of all unions and contracts, including marriage. I later included her in my Welsh Goddesses chant (1994), arising from my Mabinogi study group.³⁰² For Ford's structural analysis of Rhiannon's 'hippomorphic aspect' (1977, 1981), see next section.³⁰³

The Glastonbury Goddess Temple began one year 'Priestess of Rhiannon' trainings (1999), among other Goddess inspirations.³⁰⁴ These priest/esses form an influential network, Britain and USA, though decidedly at variance with the Mabinogi. Kathy Jones, their teacher, explicitly rejected the Mabinogi as too masculine, turning to Walton and her own intuition. This kind of breakaway initiative was characteristic of the Radical Feminism of the period. Goddess resource texts were few, academia was sexist and hostile to female scholarship of thealogy. Writers such as Wittig (1971), Sjöö (1975, 1981), Daly (1973, 1978) exhorted radically independent creativity instead. This is very unlike Walton's fidelity to the Mabinogi. Jones' variant which I call 'Avalonian Rhiannon', like my Calendar, marks May Eve as important but interprets a Beltaine sexual union. A Rhiannon shrine room is accordingly decorated almost entirely in red. Rhiannon is rendered a wild, sex-love Goddess, a far cry from the courtly queen of the Mabinogi. Her slow-paced horse is somehow inspiration for modern women's unleashed, wild eroticism. The Rhiannon workshop I attended as an introduction to the training, though valid as general Goddess praxis, held no Mabinogi

³⁰¹ Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Graves. Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Graves.

³⁰² Ch. VII.4. Temples: House of the Goddess.

³⁰³ Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Ford: hippomorphic aspect.

³⁰⁴ Ch. VII.5. Avalonian Rhiannon. The rest of this paragraph's content is to be found in that chapter.

references at all, and no Welsh terms. I note the angry diatribe by John Davies as native Welshman, against such expropriation (1993); Sullivan's call for 'conscientious use' of original sources (2006); my critiques (2008, 2017) and Rodway's (2017, 2018).³⁰⁵ Telyndru clarifies the Avalonian interpretation is Arthurian.³⁰⁶

Seeking Rhiannon theologies within 'conscientious use' I can see Rhiannon as a possible Mother Goddess, Marriage Goddess, Horse Goddess, Sun Goddess and Muse.

As Mother Goddess the maternal dyad has been rehearsed. Hamp aligns Rhiannon with Modron, a Welsh Mother Goddess, as does Kris Hughes.³⁰⁷ Epona is evidently a Mother Goddess.³⁰⁸ I further explore Rhiannon as a possible *prif rieni*, a Welsh, exclusively female status centred on potential maternity.³⁰⁹ I suggest the PKM2 Adar Rhiannon as a maternal 'care package'.³¹⁰ I have observed how the vulnerability of mothering provides Rhiannon narrative with depth.³¹¹ I draw attention to Perera's *Descent of the Goddess*, inspired by Inanna, which interprets loss of power, particularly depression, as cyclic.³¹² This may accord with Valente's rejection of Mac Cana's 'failed goddess' Rhiannon which Valente views as natural maternity.³¹³ I note the paradoxical loss of self in matrescence.³¹⁴

Since weddings and marriage dominate Rhiannon's PKM1 tales, and underlie her PKM3, the association with marriage seems unproblematic. Though her consent is bounded by the marital bestowal custom of Mabinogi society, we might take Rhiannon as a champion of consent for she insists on making her own choice.³¹⁵

³⁰⁵ Ch. VII.5. Avalonian Rhiannon. Ch. IX.2. Imaginary.

³⁰⁶ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Jhenah Telyndru.

³⁰⁷ Maternal Dyad, see above 'Rhiannon's maternal relationship with Pryderi'. Hamp, Modron Ch. VII.3. 20thC: The Craft. Kris Hughes Modron Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Mother.

³⁰⁸ Ch. VII.1. Myths: Epona.

³⁰⁹ Ch. III.6. 'Rieni'.

³¹⁰ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Rhiannon. Ch. VI.5. Adar Rhiannon.

³¹¹ Ch. IV. Voice: Narrative: mothering. Ch. IV.2. Acts: Summary.

³¹² Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Mother.

³¹³ Ch. II.8. Feminism: Valente.

³¹⁴ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Mother.

³¹⁵ Bestowal, Ch. II.8. Feminism: Agency. Consent Ch. III.5. LLW: Marriage; and Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice; and Ch. V.12. Manawydan: Marriage to Rhiannon.

Rhiannon as Horse Goddess is similarly straightforward, though to most moderns this is symbolic, not embodied.³¹⁶ Rhiannon is *marchoges*, literally. 'horsewoman', elite noblewoman, agent of pride and ambition.³¹⁷ But I also suggest Rhiannon's horse might present a peaceful *yin* theology, what Goddess feminists call 'power-with', against 'power-over'.³¹⁸ 'Hippotherapy' points to a symbiosis of rider and horse which matches Sioned Davies rider-horse integration, and Rhiannon's consistent themes of symbiosis.³¹⁹ Initiation appears in the *Metamorphoses* fable, which Winkle links to Plato's charioteer, and I extend to Rhiannon's courtship ride (cf. Walton similarly).³²⁰ Epona inscriptions may suggest a psychopomp role, a guide at death.³²¹

I draw together several themes under Sun Goddess. Solar time periods are frequent, more so than for other Mabinogi characters. The Celtic horse moving unreachably through the sky is a Sun symbol, and in Celtic myth the Sun is female.³²² Fertility and birth are key Rhiannon themes, which align with the Sun, and Anwyl points to a possible solar vegetation cycle.³²³ She is concerned to conserve her wealth, and her power base in massive feasts and food production has been remarked.³²⁴ She is associated with gold, gold silk, and generous gifts.³²⁵ As Sun deity Rhiannon is an immanent Goddess.³²⁶

As Muse, Rhiannon is also a transcendent inspiration, found in nationalist Welsh poets as the Adar Rhiannon, our comforters and judges.³²⁷ Graves' interpretation is deeply ambivalent; both adored Lover and terrifying Nightmare,

³¹⁶ It has occurred to me as I write here, that a modern interpretation of horse' mobility, speed and power, with its user's passionate devotion, might align with super-fast cars or jet planes today. Rhiannon would gravitate to the best, costliest, most powerful.

³¹⁷ *Marchoges*, Ch. I.4. Advent: #5 Horse. Ch. III.4. Equine: *Marchogion*.

³¹⁸ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Horse Goddess.

³¹⁹ Ch. VI.4. Horse, end of chapter, and see Kohanov quote n. 85.

³²⁰ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Horse Goddess.

³²¹ Ch. VII.1. Myths: Epona.

³²² Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Sun Goddess.

³²³ Birth: Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad. Ch. V.6. Maids. Ch. IV.1. Voice: Type of Speech; and Narrative Mothering. Ch. IV.2. Acts: Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Mother. Anwyl long quote Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Anwyl. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding. Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Mother.

³²⁴ Wealth: Ch. Gold: Ch. I.4. Advent: #6 Gold. Ch. V.3. Hyfaidd. Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's wealth. Feasts, food stocks: Ch. III.5. LLW: Feasts. Ch. V.4. Gwawl. Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad.

³²⁵ Ch. Gold: Ch. I.4. Advent: #6 Gold, and #7 Silk. Gifts: Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's wealth. Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon.

³²⁶ Ch. VII.5. Walton, end of section; and Sun Goddess.

³²⁷ Ch. VII.5. Theologies: Muse. Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon: 20thC nationalist poetry.

and he is a rare moment which focuses her violent, bloody birth bed.³²⁸ She has a tradition surviving into 14thC Welsh poets as generous patroness of bards.³²⁹ Two modern, Eisteddfod poets extol her as Muse: Alan Llwyd (1971) and Bryan Martin Davies (2003).³³⁰

5 *Dadansoddiad strwythurol*

5 Structural analysis

Mabinogi Rhiannon is intricately structured, so much so that only a sampling can be given here.³³¹

Ch. VIII Structures addresses

- ~ the Four Branches -tradition,³³²
- ~ *Pwyll I* as Preface;³³³
- ~ the 'Pryderi Saga' expanded to Rhiannon's 'maternal dyad';³³⁴
- ~ then refers to her many Paradoxes,³³⁵
- ~ and Ford's '*Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab*' which mirrors the Dyfed and Gwent birth narratives with scope similar to Mabinogi Rhiannon here (some differences of perspective).³³⁶

The chapter proceeds to Interlacings, key examples:

- Rhiannon –Arawn;
- Golden Thread;
- Horse instances reflecting Rhiannon's fluctuating status;³³⁷
- Dialogues, Rhiannon- Pwyll, the Teyrnnon couple,³³⁸
- Bag and (Manawydan's) Glove;
- other Third Branch interlacings.³³⁹

³²⁸ Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Graves, Riding.

³²⁹ Ch. I.6. Other Sources: #6 Goronwy Gyriog, and #7 Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch.

³³⁰ Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Muse.

³³¹ I trust other scholars will expand further.

³³² Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Four Branches.

³³³ Ch. I.5 Text and Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice.

³³⁴ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad.

³³⁵ Ch. IV.2. Acts: Paradoxes and Ch. VII.5. Thealogies: Mother. XX

³³⁶ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: '*Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab*'. See also Ch. I.5. Text: *Cyfranc*.

³³⁷ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Interlacings 1. Rhiannon -Arawn with full detailed referencing [n. 31](#). 2. The Golden Thread 3. Horse.

³³⁸ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Interlacings 4. Rhiannon Pwyll dialogue and 5. Teyrnnon's Wife.

³³⁹ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Interlacings 6. Small bag; 7. The Third Branch elements list.

Exiles and Pursuits ' parallels are drawn.³⁴⁰

Triadic patterns are ubiquitous.³⁴¹ Anwyl's three Cycles centring the Rhiannon-Cycle, and three *prif rieni* are examined in earlier chapters. Fourteen more triadics are noted, and ten gender triangles.³⁴² I note the triadic strength might possibly support the modern 'Triple Goddess', but I favour a literary family icon: Rhiannon, consort, and son.³⁴³ The three anonymised but important females are suggested as reflections of Rhiannon's rôles, in narrative order.³⁴⁴ Finally some Hegelian dialectics are speculated, both simple and complex versions.³⁴⁵

I conclude 'trusting the text' as sophisticated literature seems amply justified.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁰ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Exiles and Pursuits.

³⁴¹ Some triplicities are stylistic repetition; noted Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Triadic Patterns, opening, drawing on Roberts and Davies' orality research Ch. II.2. Storyteller's Craft.

³⁴² Anwyl, Ch. II.6. Academia: Anwyl; and Ch. VII.3. 20thC: Anwyl. Ch. III.6. '*Rieni*'. The fourteen further triplicities which follow are by no means a comprehensive list. Only five gender triangles are found outside Mabinogi Rhiannon.

³⁴³ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Triadic Patterns, following Gender Triangles.

³⁴⁴ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Three Anons. Queen, Teyrnnon's Wife, Lady Mouse. My assigned titles.

³⁴⁵ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Hegelian Dialectic.

³⁴⁶ Ch. VIII.8. Structures: Conclusion. On 'Trusting the Text', see my Introduction preceding the main chapters.

VI *Portread o Riannon*

gwraig o rym, o Gymru'r oesoedd canol i'r byd ehangach

VI **Portrait of Rhiannon**

woman of power, from mediaeval Wales to wider worlds³⁴⁷

Rhiannon is a lead protagonist of the pioneering prose 'Mabinogi' tales, c. 1100. Pughe asserts her prose, Romance genesis, defining her as 'paragon' and 'goddess'. Anwyl was her first significant researcher. English translations enlarged her audience but generated Anglocentrism within a 'Celtic myth' paradigm. WJG reconstructed 'the' original myth; later heavily discredited. The Coherence Paradigm established the Mabinogi as sophisticated, unified literature. Mabinogi Rhiannon demonstrates Bollard's core themes of marriage, friendship and feud. Feminists Pennar, Valente, Winward, profile Rhiannon's strength. Valente reveals vulnerable woman/ mother behind goddess.

'Strong woman' is Rhiannon's best known *persona*. She is *marchoges*, of the elite class of horseriding nobles ruling an archaic but sophisticated society resembling mediaeval Wales. Horses define territorial reach enabling political dominance, warfare and trade (cf. her prefix *rhi-*). Women enjoy independent possessions, though patrilocal marriage bars land ownership. Wealthy ruler Rhiannon rides *cylch*, circuit gathering tax goods in kind. She redistributes supplies by organising enormous feasts: her economic power base is food stocks. Individualistic Liberal Feminism fits her best though she lacks its reform agenda. She subverts rather than rebels.

Rhiannon may be imagined a tall, strong woman of fair colouring and forceful speech. Her homeland is possibly Maesyfed, Powys, known for magnificent horses. Her father's support might suggest her compelled betrothal in a family feud. Princely Gwawl is eclipsed by great Pwyll *Pen Annwfn*. Pwyll's frequently cited 'foolishness' disappears under scrutiny. Rhiannon's Pwyll partnership is long-lasting, complex, strategic, mutually loyal. Her second marriage expands political aspects. Her significant relationships are with males,

³⁴⁷ A very condensed, short summary of the foregoing Conclusions. Its brevity inevitably omits some of my observations and speculations but it covers my main outlines. It should be clear that this is a portrait of a 'personage' with centuries of development through different perspectives: not just a literary portrait within the original tales.

except the female fracture of her Maids' plot (possibly Pendaran's hostile faction), and junior Cigfa. Motherhood and loss reveal her vulnerable depths. Once married her narrative becomes her 'maternal dyad', with or about her son Pryderi. Her triumphant coercion of Gwawl causes the disastrous Desolation; seemingly also enabled by Pryderi's generosity: Llwyd strips her foodstocks' power base. Rhiannon is characteristically embedded in her relationships.

Magician Rhiannon warps space and time with horse, bag (cf. Perseus' *kibisis*), and Adar Rhiannon. Goddess Rhiannon echoes Enheduanna's earliest recorded myth, ancient Inanna's Descent cycle of renewal. Walton's Rhiannon is a reincarnating *bodhisattva*, bent on averting war. Graves' Goddess-Muse is ambivalent: romantic ideal, but savage night-mare. Poets reinforcing Welsh nationalism invoke her Adar. Anwyl introduced earlier Epona, Gaulish Horse Goddess –Mother Goddess: both themes continue in modern Rhiannon theologies. As possible Sun Goddess Rhiannon coheres golden wealth, fertility, food, immanence. More theologies might span transcendence: initiation, Plato's charioteer, peaceful *yin*, psychopomp guiding the dead, symbiosis, and marriage. 'Avalonian Rhiannon' (recent variant without canonical support) offers sex-love. Modern Rhiannon fiction inspires young females with her strength.

Mabinogi Rhiannon abounds in structural intricacy, including many interlacings. Ford's 'hippomorphic' analysis neatly balances the Dyfed-Gwent axis. Triplicities are abundant: Anwyl's three 'Cycles' with Rhiannon-Cycle central; a multi-triadic playscript; three female 'Anons' reflecting Rhiannon's rôles. Triplicity might extend to Hegelian dialectic.

Rhiannon's root is a mediaeval Welsh noblewoman. Her sophistication, multi-dimensionality, and (structural) complexity, exemplify the genius of the Mabinogi.

~ * ~

Ôl-nodyn: Myfyrdodau ar Riannon Postscript: Reflections on Rhiannon

Moving through the chapters of this thesis, I have been looking at various zones and themes of Rhiannon's narrative. She stands at different points of a development process, from oral storytelling pre-publication to modern

performances and publication media. She is seen as one of the original Romances of Europe, a Celtic myth, an intricate literature bursting with drama and abstractions.³⁴⁸ She is a mediaeval *marchoges*, an elite noblewoman, yet we come close to her as everywoman who suffers, struggles, hates, delights, shares and loves.³⁴⁹

That is a great deal to unpack from a few tales in an old manuscript.³⁵⁰ As I first saw it, there can be many windows opening from a high tower to look at different parts of the landscapes outside.³⁵¹ But those perspectives come from staying close or relatively close to the extant original. I should like to note a few themes further away, to extend my metaphor, by flying above the tower.

Rhiannon initially appears as Other, an alien *rywedawt*, gawped at by Pwyll and his court, and by us her meta-audience.³⁵² That is the essence of the start of all relationships, the terror and joy of Other Minds as we struggle with connection: another human with unnerving differences, an animal across species assumptions, different senses and worlds we do not even see; dualisms like sacred/ profane, ugly/ beautiful, above/ below, the Earth itself. So much Other leaves behind a strange and dazzling icon which magnetises us.

Rhiannon moves into intimacy: dialogue, conflict, marriage, mothering. Intimacy flows between her and other characters, in her vulnerability, between her and her symbiotic horse, between her theologies and inspirational fictions and us, between her word/image and us.³⁵³ Her Adar embody both remoteness and connection: they bridge living distance with her beloved son, they sound close yet may be far away; they articulate death, the great divide, our most common, shared, open secret.³⁵⁴

Rhiannon is female, yet stretches female definitions in her society by making an unfemininely ruthless choice of who to marry, by hunting and riding the economic *cylch*, administering great wealth and power, by strategising her

³⁴⁸ s. II. Story of the Story: historical perspectives: .

³⁴⁹ s. III. The Horsewoman Her World, and IV. Rhiannon Herself, and V. Her Kindred: relational perspectives.

³⁵⁰ Ch. II.4. Manuscripts.

³⁵¹ Metaphor used in the Introduction: Genesis.

³⁵² Ch. I.4. Advent.

³⁵³ Intimacy with characters: s. V. Kindred. With her horse: Ch. VI.4. Horse. With theologies: Ch. VII.5. Theologies.

³⁵⁴ Ch. VI.6. Adar Rhiannon.

will for her destiny and for Dyfed. Her feminism is male oriented, falling short of sisterhood, yet via her painfully vulnerable humanity we can feel sisterhood with her.³⁵⁵ Her gendered struggles speak of the constructed limits of gender, yet her pivotal biology in birthing, and its impact upon her, raises the issues of essentialism and performative transcendence.

Rhiannon originates in mediaeval tale and legend, locked into a small historical space woven into restoration hope after the 12thC Anglo-Norman invasion of Wales.³⁵⁶ Our urgent, modern, global catastrophe seems way beyond her. Or is it? She and her amputated family are thrust into a post-holocaust world, a rump society in subsistence survival: our likely future due to climate change. There is a painful message that Rhiannon and Pryderi (the 1%? we?) are *responsible* for the disaster.³⁵⁷ She and her little band give up eventually, departing to the towns for a civilised life. In due course all is restored to how it was via the man who was an outsider failure.³⁵⁸ This tells me that Rhiannon stands for hope, and hope through loyalty and love, through our human capacity for cooperation, and difference, both in our families and in our greater communities.

This goes beyond the scope of a mere academic thesis but it would not be complete or honest without at least glimpsing its further *rhi/* reach.

~ *Finis* ~

³⁵⁵ Ch. II.8. Feminism.

³⁵⁶ Ch. III.7. Political Parallels and later parts of Ch. V.10. Pryderi.

³⁵⁷ Ch. V.10. Pryderi: Rhiannon, and Maternal Dyad.

³⁵⁸ The restoration is achieved by Manawydan's negotiating skills, both noble diplomacy and his newly acquired, sharp trading skills. The latter does not seem to further my modernised myth of Desolation/ climate change resolution. Nor does the restoration, just as before. It helps to see that these (doomed) business methods were the new paradigm when this tale was composed. So we too need to find new methods and skills to effect the resolution we need. I suggest the internet and its global reach is involved, which for all its enlargement of hating, is drawing together massive cooperations.

I have examined Manawydan as a failure of his old heroic code, a coward who fails his friend, as Rhiannon reproaches him. I feel her deep rebuke stings him into long years of surviving and struggling to save the situation. I add that his ultimate success is paradoxically a renewal of the old noble code for its rawest root is about *rhi*- reach, grasping and holding on. Manawydan triumphs because he reaches down into the code to its less glamorous core. So too shall we have to do, reach down to the root places of our knowledge and strength in order to survive.

So in our business projects, our families, and our inner being, we shall need to find new ways of surviving and flourishing. We have done it before: we are a species of neoteny.

MABINOGI RHIANNON

CYFROL III / VOLUME III

Atodiadau / Appendices

Llyfryddiaeth / Bibliography

Mynegai Tudalen / Page Index

Concordance of topics with page number, and footnote if any

Dyfyniadau PKM / PKM Quotes

Geirfa Cymraeg / Glossary Cymraeg

Byrfoddau / Abbreviations

Atodiadau/ Appendices

These Appendices are generally study resources I compiled to support this thesis as I worked on it. They are not formal style but may be helpful to others..

- # 1 **English translations** of the Mabinogi.
- # 2 **Advent Text Translations** (1799 – 21stC).
- # 3 **Dating the Mabinogi.**
- # 4 **Mabinogion error; Mabinogi meaning.**
- # 5 ***Triodd a'r Mabinogi***/ Triads and the Mabinogi.
- # 6 **TYP** (*Triodd Ynys Prydain*) contents outline.
- # 7 ***Merch y Mabinogi***/ Women of the Mabinogi.
- # 8 **Horse instances** in the Mabinogi.
- # 9 **Counsels** excludes PKM2 except for the Adar Rhiannon reference by Bendigeidfran, and Manawydan's warning not to open the enchanted door. PKM4 after Pryderi dies. is excluded.; i.e. the list is the Extended Mabinogi Rhiannon see Ch. I.5. Core and extended narrative.
- # 10 **Stevie Nicks 'Rhiannon'** song (1975).
- # 11 **Laura Riding** (Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess).
- # 12 **'Western Goddess Spirituality'**. Morgain (as Jayran). 1999.
- # 13 **Wikipedia: 'Rhiannon'**, initiated Morgain (Jayran) 2002.
- # 14 ***Duwies Cymru***/ Goddess Wales'. Morgain. 2008.
- # 15 ***Symposium Pedair Cainc, 2017.***
- # 16 **Scholars of the Mabinogi.**

Appendix 1: English Translations

Other translations can be found on the Mabinogi Bibliography

Adv80 trans woman

SUMMARY LIST

Pughe part PKM1 (1795, 1799, 1818, 1821 rpt.), excerpt PKM2 (1828), parts PKM4 (1833). Bilingual except (1821, 1828).	Ellis & Lloyd (1929).
Jones, E. part PKM1 (1802).	Jones & Jones (1948, 1949).
Guest (1845, 1847). 1st, 2nd eds. bilingual.	Gantz (1976).
	Ford (1977).
	Parker (2003) online.
	Bollard (2006).
	Davies, S. (2007).
	Boyd (2017)

TABLE: SUMMARY OF COMPARISONS

[!] incomplete <u>Recommended</u> @ text is online [K] Kindle ... No 1st edition date/ Trans. Style/ Notes location Introduction? Map? Glossary? Pronunciation key? Bibliog? Names list? Index?											
	1st ed/	Style/	Notes/	Intro	Map	Gloss	Pron	Bib	Names	Index/	Misc
[!] Pughe	1795	classic	Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Biling. series
[!] JonesE.	1802			...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Guest @	1845,1847	archaic	End	Y	...	...	...	...	...	...	Biling. 3 eds. O 1999
Ellis Ll	1929	literal	Foot	Y	...	...	...	Y	...	...	Trans. notes.
Jones2	1948	archaic	End	Y	...	...	...	...	...	Y	
Gantz	1976	simple	End	Y	Y	...	Y	Y	...	...	+Abbrev.
Ford [K]	1977	classic	End	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Parker @	2003	literal	End	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	Y	...	Composite
Bollard	2006	classic	Side	Y	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	...	+Genealogies
Davies [K]	2007	oral	End	Y	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	...	
Boyd	2017	colloqu.		Y	Y	...	...	...	...	...	Context literature

Recommended

Ellis Literal, useful for non-Welsh speakers to approach closer to the Welsh text.

Ford Excellent classic, stands the test of time very well. Long informative intro.

Parker Free, available online. Page search selected word. Composite of other trans.

Bollard Excellent classic, accuracy/ fluidity, style similar to MSS., fine site photos, long intro & endnote. Free PDF online..

Davies Excellent classic, lively laconic style, brief succinct notes.

OTHER DESCRIPTIONS OF TRANSLATIONS

Kris Hughes, 'The Mabinogi: 'Looking at different translations'', blogpost (6/04/2020:00:38).

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Historical order

[Pughe], William Owen, 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. I (London: E & T Williams, 1795), pp. 177–87.

Bilingual Welsh – English on facing pages, bicolunar style, covering *Pwyll I*, (Annwn adventure, PKM1 1.1– 8.26. JKB 19.1– 25.1).

Sometimes listed with printing date 1796, meaning it reports works from 1795. *The Cambrian Register* was the first serious Welsh journal, published in book format, collecting history, prose tales, *Trioedd*, poetry and letters. Available online, NLW, & google books. (URL text Bibliography).

[Pughe], William Owen, 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. II (1799), pp. 322–27. Cont. from *Cambrian Register*, I. Bilingual Welsh – English, bicolunar pages, covering *Pwyll II*, PKM1 8.27– 12.6. JKB 25.1–

27.2: ends just before *Pwyll*, pursuing, appeals to Rhannon.

Title page shows '1796', at the bottom '1799'; presumably as this volume continues Vol. I, 1795/96. Pughe finishes with an appeal for help to access a copy MS. so as to continue, p. 327.

Available online, NLW, or google books (URL text Bibliography).

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. III (1818), pp. 230–46. Bilingual Welsh – English text, bicolunar pages. Cont. from CR.I. and II (parts of *Pwyll II* & III), covering PKM1 12.7–20.12. JKB 27.2– 34.1: ends with first Maid exclaiming the child is gone.

Possible Tegid MS. connection, see Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe pp. 80–81. Available as facsimile hardback; viewable online NLW, or google books. (URL text Bibliography).

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Tale of *Pwyll*', in John Humffreys Parry (ed.), *Cambro-Briton Journal*, II (1821), pp. 271–75. English trans. text only. Not explicitly attributed to Pughe but the translation matches his *Cambrian Register I* (1795) almost entirely.

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in Thomas Crofton Croker (ed.) *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1828), pp. 163–91. Substantial, c. 40 pages. Incl. 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', (PKM2) pp. 189–90.

Title page. Letter from Pughe about the Mabinogion (pp. 163 – 76) Pughe, *Pwyll I*, cf. 1795; with notes (pp. 177– 82). 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', includes Branwen's advice dialogue re British ships (pp. 189–90); other speech is reported. Probably drafted by Pughe, or possibly Croker from Pughe's MS. cf. Gunn draft notes 1819 (p. 183 –91). 'Mythological Persons' lists pp. 192 –99.

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, Literally translated by Idrison', *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Vol. I, no. 2 (April 1829), pp. 170–79. Bilingual English– Welsh, bicolunar, text ends at Pryderi's grave, PKM4 73.17. JKB 88.2.

(URL text Bibliography).

Cont. Vol. I, no. 3 (July, 1833), pp. 395–410 (note pp. 405 onward are incorrectly numbered).

Bicolunar English–Welsh, ends at Math's gift of territory to Lleu, PKM4 84.6. JKB 100.2.

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin', *Cambrian Quarterly*, Vol. V, no. 18 (April, 1833), pp. 200–214, Bilingual English– Welsh, bicolunar pages. Tale of Keridwen, incl. Taliesin's enchantment of the bards. Intro. repeatedly as a 'romance' by Hopkin c. 1370, p. 200, but not the composition of the historical Taliesin, bard of Urien Rheged, p. 201.

Cont. Vol. V, no. 19 (July, 1833), bilingual English–Welsh, bicolunar. Ends at Taliesin making predictions which are not specified, pp. 366–82. (URL texts Bibliography).

Jones, Edward, *Mabinogi, Part the First; the Juvenile Adventures of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, in *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature; and Other Admirable Rarities; Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical, and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids*, 'The Bardic Relicks' series, 3 vols (London, Printer St.: A. Straban for the author, 1802).

Vol. 2, PKM1 text pp. 27–30, ends when Rhiannon and Pwyll part, PKM1 13.13. JKB 28.2.

A footnote describes the text as 'faithful translation from a Welsh manuscript in the Author's collection; and a great part of the British original may also be found in the Red Book, in the archive of Jesus College, Oxford.' (p. 30). (URL text Bibliography).

Guest, Charlotte, (Lady Charlotte Guest), *The Mabinogion; from the Llyfr Coch o Llargest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes*, Illust. Samuel Williams, foremost engraver of the day; 7 vols. series 1st edn. (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, London; simultaneously, 1838– 45).

Bilingual text Welsh and English, separate sections. PKM1 splits between 2 vols.: Welsh text vol. V (1845), pp. . English translation vol. VI (1847), pp. 339–442; together with the rest of the Mabinogi. Source materials Incl. 145 pages of scholarly Notes in sections following each Branch. Vol. VI. Pwyll, pp. 360–368; Branwen, pp. 385–396; Manawydan, pp. 411–12; Math, pp. 434–42.

Guest, Charlotte, *The Mabinogion*, **CHK title**, Illust. Samuel Williams, 3 vols., 2nd edn. (Llandovery: Tonn Press; and London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1849). Bilingual text Welsh and English.

John Bruno Hare, 'Internet Sacred Texts Archive', Guest *Mabinogion*, 2nd. ed. uploaded (4/3/2004). Includes Introduction, all Samuel Williams' illustrations, all Notes. Of many online versions most lack the complete contents, which this version has.

Sacred Texts: (URL Bibliography). **EMAILS 20/12/21**

Guest, Charlotte,, *The Mabinogion, From the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest (The Red Book of Hergest) in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford Translated, with Notes*, Illust. Samuel Williams, 3rd edn. (London, 15 Piccadilly: Bernard Quaritch, 1877). English text only. Research notes follow each Branch: Notes to Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, pp. 339–357; Notes to Branwen the Daughter of Llyr, pp. 369–384; Note on Manawyddan the Son of Llyr, pp. 411–412; Notes to Math the Son of Mathonwy, pp. 413–432. **II.5. Renaiss** **CHK PAGES**

Guest, Charlotte, *The Mabinogion*, Illustrated by Samuel Williams, Everyman series (London: J. M. Dent & Sons; NY: E. P. Dutton, 1906). Content is 3rd edition.

See **Lee**, Alan: illustrated edition.

Guest, Charlotte, and Jansen, Gien, *The Mabinogion*. First Mabinogi text online. **II.5. Renaiss**

Guest, Charlotte, and Jansen, Gien, 'The Mabinogion: The Welsh Mythology' (1999).

Miss Gien, Netherlands, <<http://www.missgien.net/arthurian/mabinogion/>> [Accessed 2/12/2013] Site expired; viewable on the Wayback Machine (capture 20/01/2001).

Web Archive: (URL text Bibliography).

Guest, Charlotte, and David Price (eds.), 'The Mabinogion' (Gutenberg, May 2002). Includes illustrations and footnotes. (URL text Bibliography).

Guest, Charlotte, and **Lanier**, Sidney (eds.) *The Boy's Mabinogion; Being the Earliest Welsh Tales of King Arthur in the Famous Red Book of Hergest* (London: Sampson Low and Co.: 1881). (URL text Bibliography).

LANIER The present work contains nearly all the Mabinogion originally given; [...], the original text is scrupulously preserved, except occasionally to **hasten the long-lagging action** of a story, – in which case

the interpolation is always in brackets, – and except where the demands of modern reserve require **excision.**” (Lanier 1881: xix)

Ellis, Thomas Peter; and **Lloyd**, John, (eds. trans.) *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd*, Vol. I of 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).

Preface, pp. vii– xi. Bibliography, p. xii. Mabinogi section pp. 1–132. [PKM1 Intro. Note pp. 1– 3.

Text pp. 4– 41. PKM2 pp. 42–72. PKM3 Intro. Note pp. 73–75. Text pp. 76–97. PKM4 pp. 98– 132.]

Notes summarise key points of the tales, and comment on laws and social context. Over all, a carefully literal translation often very helpful in understanding the Welsh nuances and mediaeval society. The translation was harshly criticised at the time by a newly established Welsh academia eager to demonstrate its strict credentials for rigour, uncomfortably aware of the recent exposure of Iolo Morganwg’s forgeries. Recommended as a serious student’s aid.

Vol. I also contains *Macsen, Lludd, Culhwch, Rhonabwy, Owein, Peredur* and *Gereint*.

Jones, Gwyn, and **Jones**, Thomas, (eds. trans.), *The Mabinogion*, Everyman series No. 97 (London: J. M. Dent, 1949). First published (Golden Cockerel, 1948). The Everyman edition 1949 quickly rivalled Guest in popularity. Its valiant attempt at balancing accuracy and romantic pleasure by a modern reader (of that time) has left it slightly dated. Illustrated in this and later editions by Mair Jones who also published a *Mabinogion* poster map (2006).

Gantz, Jeffrey Michael (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976). I.4 Advent Very popular, via Penguin, but not considered accurate by many scholars as wording is simplified in places. Gantz greater contribution comes from his commentary, esp. structural work later.

representing (foreignising)

glossing over (domesticating)

GANTZ – NEGATIVE The surviving texts of The Mabinogion are often **tedious, repetitive and unclear**, and I have therefore varied sentence structure, eliminated a few duplications and occasionally replaced personal pronouns with proper names (or vice versa); the result will sound as natural to the modern reader as the original did to its mediaeval audiences.” (Gantz 1976:34)

Ford, Patrick K., (ed. trans.) *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA: UCP, 1977; Repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle) | I.5. Text Powerful departure from previous versions as it selects the ‘native Welsh’ tales from Anglo-Norman tales. Welsh nationalism was by now gaining ground. Contains *The Four Branches; Llud and Lleuelys; Culhwch ac Olwen; Gwion Bach; Taliesin*, and *Cad Goddeu*. Glossary of people and places; a pronunciation guide; Index of personal names, page linked to the text. The translation itself is clearly readable, and supported by extensive explanation, most of which survives very well. Some of the mythological work is overshadowed by WJG of the old school, but Ford was also an early practitioner of the new paradigm, thus transitional; (see Bollard). Contents list Bibliography.

Parker, Will, ‘Text Translations’, Mabinogi.Net, (2003). Composite translation drawn from DIAS editions for the First and Second Branches; and PKM for the Third and Fourth Branches. Made available online when no other was there except Guest. Also his extensive notes on literary, historical and linguistic aspects of the text: some speculative, many are useful and insightful.

Bollard, John Kenneth, (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*, bicolour text, illustrated by Anthony Griffiths' photography of Welsh landscape sites (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2006). Notes are boxed inline, for ease of reference. Contents: see Bibliography. Possibly due to its size, beautiful photography and higher price, the book has not had the attention it merits. Recommended as a standard text. Translation is accurate and flowing, easy for a modern reader to enjoy while faithful to the original. Bollard pioneered a new approach to Mabinogi scholarship which revolutionised it, see Ch. II.7. Paradigm.

BOLLARD – BALANCE “Recognizing that any translation is to some degree an **interpretation** of the original, I have tried to render The Mabinogi into **standard modern English while staying as close as possible** to the meaning, phrasing, and construction of the medieval text. [...] I have chosen to retain some linguistic and stylistic elements that are not usually found in present-day written English.” (Bollard 2006:13)

DAVIES – PERFORMANCE The overriding aim of this translation has been to convey the **performability** of the surviving manuscript versions. [...], **the Mabinogion were tales to be read aloud to a listening audience**— the parchment was ‘interactive’ and vocality was of its essence. [...], every effort has been made to transfer the rhythm, tempo, and alliteration of the original to the target language.” (Davies 2007:xxxi)

Davies, Sioned (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogion* (2007). Contains Intro., endnotes, Index. **Intro** Style reflects Davies' research into orality and performance (reading aloud); often with brevity. A shame the publisher did not allow Davies greater scope for notes. This is many readers' first choice as their standard translation.

Boyd, Matthieu (ed.), *The Four Branches of The Mabinogi*. Broadview Anthology of British Literature (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2017). Controversial translation of MW names into modern idiom, e.g. *Pwyll pendefig* = Prince Sensé.

T. P. Ellis and John Lloyd appeared which not only avoided the faults of Lady Guest's version, but also took into account for the first time the variations in the text from the White Book. Since then there have been three more English translations: an admittedly non-literal version by Jeffrey Gantz in 1976; one by Patrick Ford in 1977; and what is now the standard translation, by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, first published in 1949 but revised and expanded twice, in 1974 and 1989. The only translation in a language other than English worth consulting has been until very recently the French edition by Joseph Loth. This has now been joined by a new French translation by Pierre-Yves Lambert. Details of all translations may be found in the bibliography. Hemming, 'Commentary', p. 6

The first complete translation of the Four Branches and the other materials included in the Red Book of Hergest, as well as the story of Taliesin, was published between 1838 and 1849 by Lady Charlotte Guest—a rather remarkable person, according to Rachel Bromwich's "The Mabinogion and Lady Charlotte Guest," also reprinted in the first section—/ her translation has been reissued a number of times since, with and without the notes which accompanied the first; recent editions have included one from The Folio Society in 1980 and another, edited by Owen Edwards, in 1992. In 1929, largely as a result of the discovery and publication of The White Book of Rhydderch, T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd published a new translation with commentary comparing the two manuscript sources. Almost 20 years later, Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones published the Golden Cockerel Mabinogion (1948), which then appeared in

Everyman's Library (1949)—subsequent editions of their quite formal translation were issued in 1974 and 1989. More recently, Jeffrey Gantz published *The Mabinogion* (1976) and Patrick K. Ford *The Mabinogi* (1977), both translations presenting the Welsh texts in more modern English versions. Ford's translation excludes the three Arthurian romances, "The Dream of Rhonabwy," and "The Dream of Maxen Wledig," included in the others, but he adds "The Tale of Gwion Bach" and "The Tale of Taliesin" and includes Cad Goddeu in an appendix. In addition, there have been numerous retellings, such as Sidney Lanier's *The Boy's Mabinogion*, published in 1881, based on one or more of these scholarly translations.

Sullivan III, C. W.. *The Mabinogi* (Routledge Revivals) (pp. xv-xvi). Kindle Edition.

The Everyman version[7] is the more literal. This close adherence to the text does, however, come at the expense of readability. The poor reception of the Mabinogi in the English-speaking world today probably lies at least in part with these translators' use of rather turgid, quasi-biblical English: which merely adds to the obscurity of an already difficult text. Jeffrey Gantz[8] provides an alternative to this in the form of the Penguin edition of the Mabinogion. His English is considerably easier to read. However, it is a freer translation and therefore (arguably) less accurate. His decision, for example, to render the name of the Irish king in the Second Branch as Malloloch, instead of the more usual Matholwch, is not widely supported.

Parker, Essay 1998/ 2002.

p. xvii Matthew Arnold may be the godfather of the search for sources, for it was he who articulated the idea that the stories which we have contain bits and pieces of mythology, legend, history, folktale, and more. One of the most often quoted passages from his "On the Study of Celtic Literature" asserts the following:

The very first thing that strikes one, in reading the Mabinogion, is how evidently the medieval storyteller is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret; he is like a peasant building his hut on the site of Halicarnassus or Ephesus; he builds, but what he builds is full of materials of which he knows not the history, or knows only a glimmering tradition merely;—stones 'not of this building,' but of an older architecture, greater, cunninger, more majestic. (51)

Arnold's attention to the building blocks rather than the edifice itself was to guide Mabinogi criticism for almost 100 years. W.J. Gruffydd's monumental studies, *Math vab Mathonwy* and *Rhiannon*, attempted to identify the elements of myth, folklore, legend, and history in the First, Third, and Fourth Branches; and Proinsias Mac Cana's *Branwen* did the same for the Second Branch. In *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* and other publications, Kenneth Jackson identified the international motifs and tale types in the Welsh stories while deriding their integrity, calling them "confused and senseless," "corrupt," "badly broken up," "clumsy," "unconnected," and "practically unintelligible" (78–95, *passim*). Many other critics writing in the first two-thirds of the twentieth century have made valuable source studies while commenting unfavorably on the stories as stories. However, as the essays in the second section of this volume illustrate, it is not necessary to denigrate the integrity of the Four Branches in the search for comparative motifs and tale types. All of the essays in the second section of this collection, *Comparative Analyses*, look outside of the tales themselves for materials which will make those tales clearer. Juliette Wood, in "The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature,"

Boyd, Matthieu (ed.), *The Four Branches of The Mabinogi*. Broadview Anthology of British Literature (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2017). Controversial translation of MW names into

modern idiom, e.g. *Pwyll pendefig* = Prince Sense.

Appendix 2: Advent Translations

Dyfodiad Rhiannon / Advent of Rhiannon

This incomplete) Appendix builds towards Cymraeg and English texts of Rhiannon's 'Advent' text excerpt, see Ch. I. 2. *Dyfodiad Rhiannon*, 'Advent of Rhiannon'. Retellings and adaptations are not included, only close renderings and translations. The first school texts are included. The list is not exhaustive but is fairly comprehensive.

Entries are in chronological order of publication, except the manuscript screenshots, which represent the mediaeval source MSS. but as online images date very recently. See I.1. *Y Testun*.

Contents

[Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch](#) (pic)

[Llyfr Coch Hergest](#) (pic)

[Pughe](#), 1799.

[Edwards](#), 1802.

[Guest](#), 1845 & 1847.

Foulkes, 1880.

Lanier, 1881 (for boys)

JM Edwards, 1896 (schools)

[JY Evans](#) 1914 (elem. schools)

[Ellis](#) & Lloyd, 1929

Parry-Williams, 1930

[PKM](#), 1930 (Ifor Williams)

[Jones](#) & Jones, 1949.

[R. L. Thomson](#), 1957.

[D. S. Thomson](#), 1961. **P**

[Gantz](#), 1976.

[Ford](#), 1977.

Ifans, 2003.

[Parker](#), 2003.

[Bollard](#), 2006.

[S. Davies](#), 2007.

[Welsh Prose](#) ()

Boyd, 2014.

Ac val y bytant yn eistet hwynt a welynt wraig ar varch canwelw mawr aruchel, a gwisc euraid llathraid amdanei, yn dyvot ar hyd y brivfort a gertei o'r orset.

And as they were sitting, they beheld a woman upon a pale horse, great and very high, having on her a garment glittering with gold, who was coming along the main road, which led from the motte-hill.

Pughe, bilingual, bicolunar. (1799)¹

When they had sat down, they saw a lady in bright shining gold embroidered garments coming along the highway that leads from the hill, mounted upon a large, tall, grey steed, coming along at a gentle pace, as they imagined.

Edward Jones. (1802)²

Ac ual y bydynt yn eisted wynt awelynt / y wreic ar yr un march. ar vn wisc ymdanei / yndyuo't yr ynfford.

And while he sat there, they saw a lady, on a pure white horse of large size, with a garment of shining gold around her, coming along the high way that led from the mound;

Guest. (1843, 1845)³

¹ **Pughe**. First text published in modern print format. Bilingual text on bicolunar pages.

William Owen [Pughe], (ed., trans.) 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II (1799) pp. 322-27, @ p. 323. Known as 'Willaim Owen' until 1806.

² **Jones**. Edward Jones (trans.), 'Mabinogi - The Juvenile Adventures and Exploits of Pwyll', in *The Bardic Museum*, 1802, pp. 27-30 @ p. 29. <https://archive.org/stream/The_Bardic_Museum/BardicMuseum#page/n50/mode/1up/search/pwyll>

³ **Guest**. Underlining mine, indicating words omitted in Tegid's Welsh transcription. (See II. 4 *Y Mabinogi Rhamantaid*, 'Mabinogi as Romance'.) Original text 1st edn. p 46-47. The source text in Welsh is on page 18. (Timothy Cutts, NLW 22.03/2024). The text here is Guest's 1849, 3 vols. edition, vol 3: Cymraeg p. 18 lines 1-4. English trans. p. 46, lines 22-26. Also same Eng. text Charlotte Guest (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogion*, Everyman's Library (London and NY.: J. M. Dent and Sons and E. P. Dutton, 1906) p. 18. English trans. only, reproduced from the 1877 edition. See Bibliography.

Guest, first complete Mabinogi/on in modern print format, 7 vols. series 1838-49; 3 vols 1849; 1 vol. Eng. trans. only 1877. Like Pughe, Guest initially published bilingual texts until her 1877 edition. Unlike Pughe source and target texts are given in separate, sequential sections. Mabinogi Branches are Vol VI pp., except Welsh text '*Pwyll Pendefig Dyved*' Vol. V pp.

Guest's known sympathies, which were romantically Arthurian, may have influenced the way she composed the phrase to evoke a Tennyson or pre-Raphaelite vision; my underlining.

Foulkes. (1880)⁴
Edwards. (1896)⁵

Gwelsant wraig fonheddig a gwisg o aur disglair amdani ar farch mawr. Glaswyn oedd ei hw, ac ymddanghosai fel petai 'n camu 'n araf deof i fynv 'r Orsedd.

J.Y Evans. (1914).⁶

John Young Evans, *Y llyfr cyntaf Pryderi Fab Pwyll*, 'Pryderi son of Pwyll from the Red Book' (my trans.) (Oxford: Henry Frowde, OUP, 1914), pp. 5–9.

Advent text p. 20.

Y bendefiges a gerddai' n araf:

Gwelsant wraig fonheddig a gwisg o aur disglair amdani ar farch mawr. Glaswyn oedd ei liw, ac ymddanghosai fel petai 'n camu 'n araf deg i fyny 'r Orsedd.

And while they were sitting, they saw a lady on a big fine pale white horse, with a garment of shining gold silk upon her, coming along the highway that passed by the mound; and the horse seemed to all who saw it to move at a slow even pace.

Ellis & Lloyd. (1929)⁷

*

11 *Ac wal y*

12 *bydynt yn eisted, wynt a welynt gwreic ar uarch canwelw*
13 *mawr aruchel, a gwisg eureit, llathreit, o bali amdanei,*
14 *yn dyuot ar hyt y prifford a gerdei heb law yr orsedd.*

PKM. (1930)⁸

*Parry-Williams. (1930)⁹

And as they were sitting down, they could see a lady on a big fine pale white horse, with a garment of shining gold brocaded silk upon her, coming along the highway that led past the mound.

Jones and Jones. (1949)¹⁰

Ac wal y bydynt yn eiste, wynt a welynt y wreic ar yr vn march, a'r vn wisc amdanei, yn dyuot yr un ford. (p.9)

R. L. Thomson. (1957)¹¹

⁴ **Foulkes.** Isaac Foulkes, (ed.), 'Y Mabinogion Cymreig: Sef, Chwedlau Rhamantus yr hen Gymry', 'The Welsh Mabinogion: Being Romantic Legends in the Old Welsh', (my trans.),' in *Hen Gymraeg a'r Gymraeg Bresenol* (Liverpool: Isaac Foulkes., 1880) **PAGE** An early Modern Welsh translation of the Mabinogi.

⁵ **JM Edwards** J. M. Edwards, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Wrexham, 1896) **P** Modern Welsh transliteration for schools.

⁶ **Evans.** John Young Evans, *Y llyfr cyntaf Pryderi Fab Pwyll*, 'Pryderi son of Pwyll from the Red Book' (my trans.) (Oxford: Henry Frowde, OUP, 1914) p. XX. Simplified version of Mabinogi Pryderi for elementary schools, both for reading & to stimulate Cymraeg conversation. Frontispiece 'Branwen ferch Llyr' colour plate. Illustrated b/w woodcuts pre-Raphaelite style.

Preface & Introduction in English. Introduction by Edward Anwyl. Evans notes in his Preface (p. 4) this was Anwyl's 'last literary work'. It gives a concise and strong summary of the -on prefix theory of deities.

< <https://archive.org/details/ylyfrcyntafpryd00evan> > [Accessed 22/09/2018]

⁷ **Ellis.** Thomas Peter Ellis & John Lloyd (eds., trans.) *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929) p. 17.

⁸ **PKM** 9. 11–14.

⁹ **Parry-Williams.** T. H. Parry-Williams (ed.), *Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi* (Cardiff, 1930)

¹⁰ **Jones.** Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones (eds., trans.) *The Mabinogion*, Everyman (London: J. M. Dent, 1949) p. 8.

¹¹ **RL Thomson.** Robert Leith Thomson, (ed.) *Pwyll Pendueic Dyfed: the First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with variants from the Red Book of Hergest* (Dublin: DIAS/ Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957) p. 8.

D.S. Thomson. (1961)¹²

As they were sitting they saw a woman dressed in shining gold brocade and riding a great pale horse, approaching on the highway which ran past the hill, ..

Gantz, 1976.¹³

As they were sitting, they saw a woman mounted on a great, majestic pale-white horse, dressed in brilliant gold silk brocade, coming along the main road that ran past the mound.

Ford 1977.¹⁴

*Ifans, 2003.

As they were seated, they could see a woman on a large stately pale-white horse, a garment of shining gold brocaded silk about her, making her way along the track which went past the mound.

Parker, 2003.¹⁵

And as they were sitting, they could see a woman on a great, tall, pale-white horse, with a shining golden garment of silk brocade about her, coming along the highway which went past the mound.

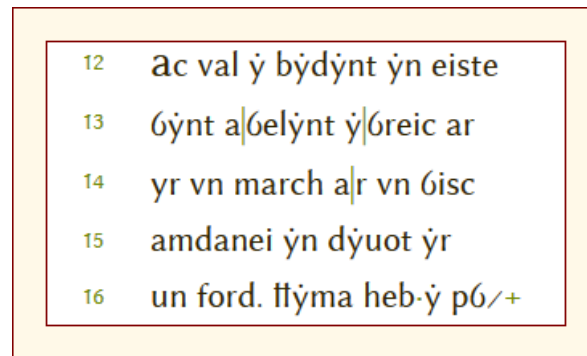
Bollard, 2006.¹⁶

And as they were sitting, they could see a woman wearing a shining golden garment of brocaded silk, on a big, tall, pale-white horse coming along the highway that ran past the mound.

S. Davies, 2007.¹⁷

Matthew Francis (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogi* (Faber & Faber, 2017).

Note on reverse order.



Welsh Prose 1300 -1425, diplomatic text online (2007)¹⁸

Boyd, 2014.¹⁹

¹² **DS Thomson.** Derick S. Thomson, *Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet: The First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, Edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with Variants from the Red Book of Hergest and from Peniarth* (Dublin and Oxford: DIAS/ Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961) PAGE IAN GLEN QUERY

¹³ **Gantz,** Jeffrey Michael Gantz, *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976) p. 52.

¹⁴ **Ford.** Patrick K. Ford (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA: Univ. California Press, 1977) p. 43. <<https://archive.org/details/mabinogiothermed00fordrich>> [Accessed 15/09/2012]

¹⁵ **Parker.** Will Parker, 'Text Translations: The Mabinogi of Pwyll, II'. Online text based on the DIAS edition of the White Book. <<http://www.mabinogi.net/pwyll.htm>> [Accessed 15/09/2005]

¹⁶ **Bollard.** John K. Bollard (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2006) p. 25.

¹⁷ **S.Davies.** Sioned Davies (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: OUP, 2007) p. 8.

¹⁸ Wynn Thomas, Peter, 'NLW MS. Peniarth 4: Y Gainc Gyntaf (First Branch)', *Welsh Prose 1300 -1425*, (2007) p. 4v, 15 Lines 12-16. <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen4&page=1r>> [Accessed 22/09/ 2018]

¹⁹ **Boyd.** Matthieu Boyd (ed.), 'The First Branch: Pwyll Pendueic Dyfed: Sage, Prince of Dyfed', in *The Medieval Period, The Broadview Anthology of British Literature*, 3rd edn (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2014), vol. 1, PAGE. Repr. 2017 as a complete Four Branches version.

Appendix 3: Dating the Mabinogi (draft notes)

LOANWORDS

The bishop's retinue and *swmreue*, sumpters. PKM3 63.6-8. JKB 74.2. Sumpters Line 7. cf. *swmer*, one of only three loanwords in the Mabinogi, also *pali*, *cordwal*, part of the Mabinogi dating debate. Ifor Williams thought the loanwords were imported via trading with Normans, possibly Hereford settlers in 1052. PKM *Rhagymadrodd*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

Tolstoy dates the tale of Pwyll c. 1018 partly on loanword evidence; Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature: The Compilation of the Four Branches of the Mabinogion* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press., 2009), p. 471. Andrew Breeze disagrees as 'French loans in English are rare until as late as the 1130s'. Breeze, Review of Tolstoy, *Leeds Studies in English* (2012), p. 134. However the Welsh may have borrowed the word earlier than English (this objection to Breeze is not intended to support Tolstoy).

T.M. Charles-Edwards puts the date of composition around 1100. Ifor Williams argues for an earlier date, while Saunders Lewis for a much later one during the reign of Henry II (second half of the 12th century.)
Lewis, Saunders. "Pwyll Pen Annwfn." *Llen Cymru*, 9 (1967), pp. 230-33.

Iestyn Daniel. 2004. "The Date, Origin, and Authorship of the Mabinogion in Light of Ymborth yr Enaid." *Journal of Celtic Studies*, 4

Mac Cana, Mabinogi

22 **Ifor Williams proposes linguistic features** to show texts are older than 1100. Mac Cana assesses this as less than convincing but gives more credit to Williams historical evidence. Tales from Gwynedd, Dyfed and Gwent are combined. The likely time for this was **1055 and 1062** when Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ruled a largely **united Wales, so poets and storytellers could travel freely** to learn regional lore.

23 **Ifor Williams concluded a probable date of composition for the Four Branches of 1063.**

Mac Cana objects that poets and storytellers had always been *peripatetic* in a Celtic civilisation typically *combining cultural unity with political disunity*.

Saunders Lewis relates certain narrative situations to **political incidents in the late 12thC**. Assuming a single author Saunders Lewis dates the Four Branches to **1170-1190**.

(Refs. note 14 p. 134 but authors not specified)

T. M. Charles-Edwards sees this as *incorrect or inconclusive*, preferring **1050 – 1129**. though very aware of the speculative nature of any analysis.

24 ... *still very much an open question*.

Evans challenges the existing theory that Arthurian content in *Culhwch* requires a post-12thC date; preferring an early Welsh Arthur theory. He places the Mabinogi compilation no later than the first half of the 12thC, possibly up to a century earlier, particularly citing archaism in the Math *englynion*. 1907, p. xiii

Simon **Rodway**, "The Where, Who, When, and Why of the Medieval Welsh Prose Texts: Some Methodological Considerations," *Studia Celtica* 41 (2007): 47 -89 at 59). For example, Proinsias **Mac Cana** proposed a late eleventh-century dating (Proinsias Mac Cana, *Branwen, Daughter of Llyr: A Study of the Irish Affinities and of the Composition of the Second Branch*

of the *Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958), 180-7; Thomas **Charles-Edwards** favoured a likely period of composition between circa 1050-1120 (Thomas Charles-Edwards, "The Date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi" in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. C.W. Sullivan III, 19-58); while Iestyn **Daniel** has suggested the thirteenth century (Iestyn Daniel, "The Date, Origin, and Authorship of the Mabinogion in Light of Ymborth yr Enaid." *Journal of Celtic Studies* 4 (2004): 117-152). Other scholars have been more diplomatic: for example, Patrick **Sims-Williams** deemed the date of the Four Branches as "very much an open question" (Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Submission of Irish Kings in Fact and Fiction: Henry II, Bendigeidfran, and the Dating of The Four Branches of the Mabinogi," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 22 (1991): 31 - 62 at 61). Regardless of the exact dates at which the Mabinogi was first composed, it is beyond contention that the tales were composed amidst the backdrop of Norman colonization and profound change in Welsh history. For studies that deal directly with the effect of this change on the Four Branches, see Catherine **McKenna**, "The Colonization of Myth in Branwen Ferch Lyr," in *Myth in Celtic Literatures*, ed. Joseph Falaky Nagy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 105-119; Helen Fulton, "Cultural Meanings in the Mabinogi," in *Origins and Revivals: Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. Geraint Evans et al. (Sydney: Centre for Celtic Studies, University of Sydney, 2000), 437-452.

Appendix 4: Mabinogion error and *Mabinogi a Gwall Mabynnogion*

Notes.

Mac Cana, Mabinogi

24 The Mabinogion colophon issue.

The meaning of the term has been derived from **MAB** = child, boy, youth, therefore a story of a hero's boyhood, specifically **Pryderi**.

Note 16 p. 134 gives **Rachel Bromwich' theory** that the meaning came to be **a tale of descendants**. So the Four Branches are

fundamentally the stories of the old Brittonic gods from whom the old Welsh dynasties in early historical times claimed descent.

Bromwich, Rachel. *Studies in Early British History*. Cambridge 1959: 103.

Bromwich, Rachel. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain; the Triads of Britain*. Cardiff: CUP, 1961: lxxxvi.

Eric P. Hamp instead argues for **a collective noun based on the stem *mapono**; originally material or doings pertaining to (the family of) the divine Maponos (W. Mabon).

Hamp, Eric. "Mabinogi." *Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1974, 243–249.

Mac Cana synthesises the two theories, saying that **both could be correct**. The earlier Mabon myth would by the 12thC be understood more widely as a boy, youth story, whether Pryderi or another. Footnote 16, p. 134 he adds that Pryderi might have been seen as a **variant epiphany** of the god Mabon. Also **Celtic literature commonly transfers themes from one hero to another**.

He concludes with a re-examination of the scribal error '*mabinogion*' recommends 'to accept that it is what it appears to be, simply a common plural formation in *-yon*. *Pwyll* provides seven other plurals of this type: *cochyon* 'red' (pl. adj.) (WM, 2.2), *morynnynon* 'maidens' (18. 33), *marchogyon* 'riders' (22. 15), *kerdoryon* 'musicians' (25. 7, 26. 20), *dynnyon* 'men' (32. 23), *guastrodyon* 'grooms' (33. 25), and *dyledogyon* 'rulers' (38. 8).' p. 142. Ifor Williams suggested mistake, confusing *dyledogyon* on a line above, is deemed unattested elsewhere, and unlikely in the very last word. Llyfr Coch is 'not afraid to correct mistakes', and scribes were 'scholars' in their own right. pp. 141–42. Hamp's suggestion of a collective noun adding *-on*, is contradicted by '*mabinogi mynweir a mynord*' 'clearly understood here as a singular.' Sturzer notes the singular Latin *infantia* instance. Sturzer concludes 'My understanding of the colophon is now 'And thus ends this branch here of the *mabinogis*'. This shows that each branch was itself considered a *mabinogi*. p. 142. Sturzer usefully lists all the titles and colophons from both MSS. Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', p. 141.

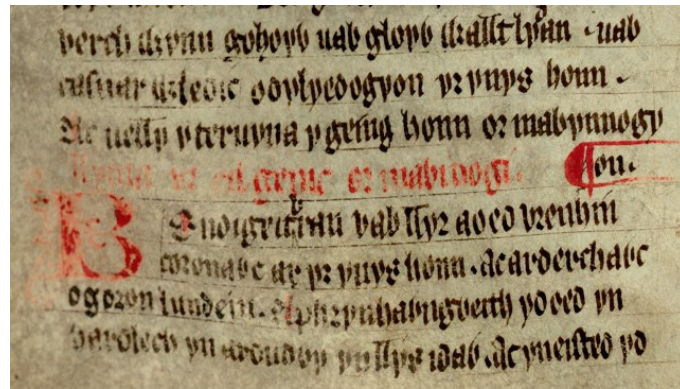
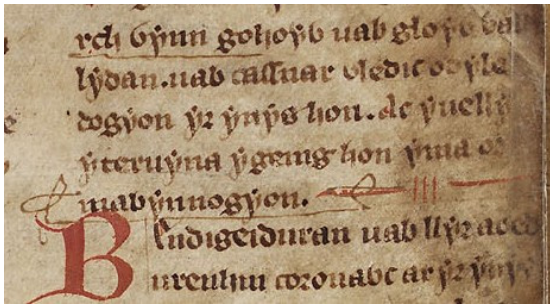
'MABYNNOGYON'

The term 'Mabinogion' (*Mabynnogyon*) is found in a single instance at the end of the First Branch.²⁰ The Second Branch ending uses '*Mabynogi*'; the Third uses '*Mabinogy*'; the Fourth uses '*Mabinogi*'.²¹ One theory suggests the error may have occurred when an inattentive mediaeval scribe confused the word ending with another above it. Bollard notes

²⁰ PKM1 27.28. (27) *Ac yuelly y teruyna y geing hon yma o'r* (28) *Mabynnogyon*.

²¹ *A llyna ual y teruyna y geing honn o'r Mabinyogi*, PKM2 48.12; *Ac yuelly/ y teruyna y geing honn yma o'r Mabinogy*. PKM3 65.23–24; *Ac yuelly y teruyna y geing honn o'r Mabinogi*. PKM4 92.27. 'So ends this branch of the Mabinogi.'

just two short lines above *mabynnogyon* in the *White Book* and one line above in the *Red Book* we see the ending of the word *dyledogyon*, plural of *dyledog*, 'nobleman.'²²



Left: First branch ending, Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, fol. 10r. Right: First branch ending, Llyfr Coch Hergest, fol. 179v. From Bollard, [see](#) n. 3. Both images can be dragged larger to see more detail.

The 'Mabinogion' label for grouping eleven or twelve mediaeval Welsh prose tales is routinely attributed to Charlotte Guest.²³ However it was in active use as a title for the tales in the late 18thC and early 19thC. William Owen, later William Own Pughe, uses 'Mabinogion' in his titles four times (1795, 1799, 1818, 1828). In three of the four titles this is associated with plural nouns (Amusements, Romances, Tales) implying 'Mabinogion' is perceived as a collective noun.²⁴ He later uses 'Mabinogi' in five titles (two in 1829, three in 1833).²⁵ These later titles are all specific to a named personage (Math, Taliesin); and three of the five link to a singular noun (Romance). The implication is that 'Mabinogi' is a singular noun.

Charlotte Guest was mentored by Thomas Price, 'Carnhuanawc', and John Jones, 'Tegid', among other scholars who had been part of Pughe's scholarly circle. She was faithful to the native Welsh traditions they taught her, and most evidently so on this point, using 'Mabinogion' as a

²² Bollard, John K., 'What Is The Mabinogi? What Is "The Mabinogion"? (2007)

<<https://sites.google.com/site/themabinogi/mabinogiandmabinogion>> [Accessed 17/07/2013]

²³ Guest's grouping includes 12 units, including 'Taliesin'; later versions omit this to make 11 units.

'Lady Charlotte Guest, the first translator of all eleven tales which are now irremediably known as the Mabinogion, is responsible for the inaccurate labelling', Jessica Hemming (then Hooker), 'A Textual Commentary on the First Branch of the Mabinogi' (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge, 1995), p. 2. MORE

²⁴ William Owen [Pughe], 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. I (1795), pp. 177–87. 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. II (1799), pp. 322–27. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. III (1818), pp. 230–46. William Owen Pughe, 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed. by Croker, Thomas Crofton (London: John Murray, 1828), pp. 163–91. (My underlining)

²⁵ 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, , Literally Translated by Idrison', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Part 1 of 2, (1829), pp. 170–79. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, Literally Translated by Idrison', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Part 2 of 2 (1829), pp. 395–410. 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin (First Part)', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Vol. 5 (1833), pp. 198–214. 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin (Second Part)', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Vol. 5 (1833), pp. 366–82. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository* (1833), pp. 198–214. (My underlining)

plural collective noun to title her bilingual Welsh– English texts.²⁶ Through the 20thC the title is used ubiquitously as a collective noun for the eleven tales: Hemming (then Hooker) acknowledges (1995) they ‘are now irremediably known as the *Mabinogion*’.²⁷ Bollard clearly laid out the Mabinogion error online in 2007 (above), adding ‘it has been retained primarily because of the familiarity it gained from the Guest translation’.²⁸ In the same year Sioned Davies published her widely promoted translation ‘*The Mabinogion*’, powerfully sustaining the erroneous usage as a matter of ‘convenience’.²⁹ This effectively closes the matter at least for the foreseeable future.

THE MEANING OF ‘MABINOGI’

The etymology of the prefix *mab*– has given rise to associations with children, or youth.³⁰ Hemming, among others, attributes this to Guest:

Lady Guest recognized the element *mab* or *map*, ‘boy, son’, and deduced that the *mabinogi* were stories for children; this in spite of the fact that she felt compelled to edit out a few indelicacies in the texts before offering them to her own children.³¹

Hemming does acknowledge a contradiction between Guest’s apparent ‘stories for children’ and sex scenes in the content which she felt it necessary to censor in her English (though not her Welsh) version.³² Guest is subsequently critiqued for ‘bowdlerising’ the text in her translation.³³ However Guest nowhere states the tales were composed *for* children. She dedicates her publications to her infant sons at the outset. As White observes, dedicating a publication to a lover does not define the content as a love story, or pornography;³⁴ Guest hoped the chivalrous ideals in the tales would shape her sons’ thinking, and as they grew she read aloud to them; but her 250 pages of scholarly footnotes demonstrate the level of audience she anticipated.³⁵

The children’s tales attribution to Guest is flawed, but ‘child’ etymology is found earlier in Pughe’s Mabinogi works. The first tale he published (1795) is subtitled ‘Juvenile Amusements’, repeated when the tale continues 1799. In his *Dictionary* (1803) with many *mab*– rooted terms associated with ‘child’, he gives:

Mabinogai, s. (mabinawg) Instructor of youth.
Mabinogi, s. m. – pl. t. ion (mabinawg) Juvenility; juvenile instruction; the amusement of youth: the title of some ancient tales. *Mabinogi iem Grist*, The infancy of Jesus Christ, the title of one of the spurious gospels.³⁶

²⁶ Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion; from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes*, 7 vols (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London; simultaneously, 1838– =45).

²⁷ Jessica Hemming, (then Hooker), ‘A Textual Commentary on the First Branch of the Mabinogi’ (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge., 1995), p. 2.

²⁸ Bollard, ‘What Is The Mabinogi?’ webpage.

²⁹ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: OUP, 2007). p.

³⁰ *mab* – boy, son, infant, child (of either sex), minor, youth; descendant; (GPC).

³¹ Hemming, ‘Commentary’, p. MORE

³² CENSORED SCENES

³³ Jones?

³⁴ White, ‘Crimes’, p.

³⁵ See Ch. II.7. *Dadeni Cymru/ Welsh Renaissance (1707– 1877)/* Guest.

³⁶ William Owen [Pughe], *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Saesneg. A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, 2 vols

His dominant and persistent concept was Romance,³⁷ but the Mabinogi juvenile category whether for 'instruction' or 'amusement' is clearly present at least early on in Welsh tradition. This, together with Iolo Morganwg's druidry, seems to have influenced John Rhys who thought

the word *mabinog* is a technical term belonging to the bardic system; and it means a literary apprentice. In other words, a mabinog was a young man who had not yet acquired the art of making verse, but one who received instruction from a qualified bard. The natural inference is that the Mabinogion meant the collection of things which formed the Mabinog's literary training ... The supposition that a mabinog was a child on his nurse's lap would be as erroneous as the idea that the Mabinogion are nursery tales.³⁸

However when Gwenogvryn Evans published independently of Rhys in 1907 he rejected his erstwhile patron's theory, quoting him but not naming him.

No evidence has been produced in support of the view that "mabinog was a technical term belonging to the bardic system and meaning a literary apprentice". In other words that mabinog was a "young man who had not acquired the art of making verse, but one who received instruction from a qualified bard." If we follow Peniarth MS. 14, and for 'mabinog' in the last sentence read 'Jesus Christ,' the author of the definition must shrink from his own words, and all will see how fanciful they are.³⁹

There appears to be a conflict at the time as Rhys' theory is still followed by his student Anwyl (1908), the leading scholar of that period, and by Anwyl's protégée Elizabeth J. Lloyd, in turn (1911).⁴⁰

Pughe's reference to '*Mabinogi Iesu Grist*, The infancy of Jesus Christ, the title of one of the spurious gospels', (*Dictionary*, 1803, above) is apparently preferred by Evans (1907) who refers to Peniarth 14, with 'mabinog' as alternate to 'Jesus Christ' (quotation above). Evans supports the 'mabinogion' as the plural, and defines it as

any narrative which treats of early life is a mabinogi, of which the plural is mabinogion, a term applied in this work only to Pwyll and Branwen, to Manawydan and Math. But it might be extended, with the strictest propriety, to the Enfances of Peredur, to such a hanes as that of Taliessin, and possibly to Kulhwch and Olwen.⁴¹

This widening beyond the Mabinogi is consonant with Thomas Stephens' usage in his *The Literature of the Kymry* (1849). Stephens' does not give an explicit definition, but his use of 'mabinogi' is frequent, and from context means a tale about a specific personage, who predated Giraldus 13thC Arthuriana.⁴² INSERT FROM CH It is unfortunate that Stephens' temperament did not permit him to tolerate unjust practice by the ruling Eisteddfod authority of his day, nor did he

(London: E. Williams, 1803), p. 314. Terms rooted in *-mab* begin p. 313, with *mab* itself, then extend through two columns on p. 314, to p. 315, col. 1.

<<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044004554697;view=1up;seq=8>> [Accessed 10/03/2019]

³⁷ II.8 *Y Mabinogi fel Rhamant*/ Mabinogi as Romance Literature.

³⁸ John Rhys and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Y Llyfr Coch o Hergest* (Oxford: Private subscription, 1887), p. ix. This is supported by Anwyl, 'Mabinogi, I, p. 278; 'Religion', p. 235..

³⁹ John Gwenogvryn Evans, *The White Book of Mabinogion: Welsh Tales & Romances Reproduced from the Peniarth Manuscripts*, Series of Welsh Old Texts, vii (Pwllheli: Private subscription, 1907; repr. 1973, 1977, 2010), p. xxvi.

⁴⁰ Edward, Anwyl, 'The Value of the Mabinogion for the Study of Celtic Religion', *Transact. 3rd Int'l Congress for the History of Religions*, 2 (1908), pp. 234–44, @ p. 235. Elizabeth J. Lloyd, 'The Mabinogion as Literature' Part I, *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 7 (1911), pp. 164–74, @ p. 166.

⁴¹ Evans, *White Book*, p. xxvi.

⁴² Thomas Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry: Being a Critical Essay on the History of the Language and Literature of Wales during the Twelfth and Two Succeeding Centuries, Containing Numerous Specimens of Ancient Welsh Poetry in the Original and Accompanied with English Translations* (London: Longmans Green, 1849)

<https://archive.org/stream/literatureofkymr00stepuoft/literatureofkymr00stepuoft_djvu.txt>

live long enough to mellow, or alternatively assert and establish his work longer term. His pragmatic usage sank into obscurity.

Elizabeth J. Lloyd (1911) gives 'mabinogi' as

the synonym of the Latin 'infantia' in Peniarth MS. 14, where 'Mabinogi lesu Grist' is given as a translation of 'Infantia Jesu Christi.' Thus the name Mabinogi may be taken as referring to any narrative of early life, or used as a term of contempt by the bards who regarded the stories as childish ones.⁴³

Lloyd does not cite her source, and her work is generally a summary of Rhÿs and Anwyl, neither of whom give this analysis. Hemming, noting Lloyd's role as a summariser, then speculates she 'may have had the idea from Gruffydd' (referencing WJG, 1912).⁴⁴ That is possible but not firm as WJG does not otherwise appear in Lloyd, and her MA predated his 'Mabinogion' article which describes the theory, by a year. Perhaps she derived it from Pughe, or perhaps WJG derived it from her. The Latin synonym theory was subsequently sustained by Ifor Williams (1930), and R. L. Thomson (1957), giving 'a tale of youth'.⁴⁵

The next theory was both linguistic and mythological. Eric P. Hamp as an eminent linguist, critiqued the 'a' in the first syllable, which should by phonetic rules become 'e.'. He therefore proposes 'Mabinogi' as 'the material or doings pertaining to the family of the divine Maponos'.⁴⁶ This relies on a parallel between the abducted child and captive Mabon of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and the similarly abducted child and captive Pryderi of the Mabinogi. Both have named, arguably divine mothers: Modron and Rhiannon respectively.

Pwyll had noted Mabon in his *Dictionary* in the *mab*- cluster noted above, meaning 'a fine youth, a young hero'. In his *Cambrian Biography* he gives Mabon, evidently from Triad data, distinguishing him as a historical personage. WJG wrote on Mabon (1912) but not apparently making this connection. The Hamp theory finds favour with a number of scholars, notably Hemming and Bollard.⁴⁷ Paul Russell critiques its linguistics and narrative content, arguing that 'mabinogi' could also derive from *maban*, 'baby, boy-child', which returns to the long established 'juvenile' theory from early Pughe. Patrick Sims-Williams supports this, particularly the French synonym in Peniarth 14 where 'mabinogi' means *enfances*.⁴⁸

In this study of Mabinogi Rhiannon, the centrality of Rhiannon and Pryderi is supported as Rhiannon's maternal fusion identity (Maternal Dyad pp. 321-28; 322nn770,771). This does align with the duality of Modron and Mabon. However, the mythological perspective, while powerful and enriching, is not seen as primary here. The Mabinogi is addressed as it stands: i.e. without deity characters, albeit traces can be discerned from a deity perspective. As with the Welsh Renaissance scholars, this study views the literary profile as primary. It is unlikely the Mabinogi composer would have made the concept of 'mabinogi' so significant, closing each Branch, if it were deity vocabulary; especially as the work strives for a secular profile.⁴⁹

⁴³ Lloyd, 'Mabinogion as Literature', p. 166.

⁴⁴ Hemming, 'Commentary', p. 2, n. 2. WJG, 'The Mabinogion', *Cymm.*, Vol. 13 (1912), pp. 39-40.

⁴⁵ WJG, 'Mabinogion'. pp. 39-40. PKM, pp. xlii-liv. Robert Leith Thomson, *Pwyll Penduic Dyfed: the First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with variants from the Red Book of Hergest* (Dublin: DIAS, 1957), p. xvii.

⁴⁶ Eric Hamp, 'Mabinogi', *Cymm.*, (1974), pp. 243-49, @ pp. 247-48.

⁴⁷ Hemming, 'Commentary', pp. 2-3. Bollard, 'What Is The Mabinogi?'

⁴⁸ Paul Russell, *Celtic Word Formation: The Velar Suffixes* (DIAS, 1990), pp. 60-61, n. 89. Patrick Sims-Williams, Review: 'The Mabinogi by Proinsias Mac Cana, Writers of Wales, second edition' (Cardiff: UWP, 1992). *CMCS*, Vol. 28 (Winter 1994), pp. 109-10, @ p. 110.

⁴⁹ See Ch.

Secondly, it is well understood here how important the children of the Mabinogi are, not least to the *persona* of *rieni* (Ch. III.6. 'Tryded Prif Rieni' / 'Three Chief Rieni' pp. 177-82). The birth and survival of Pryderi, Gweir, and Lleu are central to Mabinogi narrative, and there are other babies such as puppies, foals, the three boys born of shapeshifted couples, who also bear witness to Mabinogi preoccupation with the young.⁵⁰ Yet other characters are no less important than the three dynastic heirs: Pwyll, Rhiannon, Branwen, Bendigeidfran, Efnysien, Manawydan, Gwydion and Arianrhod, ensure this is an *ensemble* narrative.

The concept which seems the most workable is the approach taken by Stephens (1849), who uses 'mabinogi' as a life narrative for a *named* personage, in mediaeval Welsh literature prior to the 13thC Arthuriana period. This does not conflict with usage in general, but fails the prominence of the etymology of *mab*- (youth, child, boy).⁵¹ The 'juvenile' theory as tales for the young or children, as some have thought, is logical in covering that key linguistic component (above). But the Coherence Paradigm (1970-1990s) has clarified just how intricate and sophisticated this literature is, so the tales cannot be intended for children, at least not primarily. A slight adjustment from 'tales *for* the young and children', supplanting the preposition, might offer 'tales *about* the young and their children'.

Checking Mabinogi *dramatis personae*, it is significant how absent elders are. Hyfaidd Hen, from his name is possibly old, or the epithet may be affectionate hierarchy, as in 'the old man'. Pwyll has a very slight presence as an elder, because he dies naturally of age, but this is one brief, dignified sentence.⁵² Rhiannon and Manawydan are of mature years in PKM3, counting events from the end of PKM1, but they are not more than middle aged.⁵³ Math might be older, but this is not specified. Arawn and Llwyd both have 'grey' *personae*, but this is arguably related to their role as magicians, *éminences grises*; they are not specified as elders.⁵⁴ Over all the Mabinogi is a world of youth, of vigorous adventures, the passions of love and ambition, and the struggles of parenting. Such 'tales about the young', *mabinogi*, are perennially popular, then as now. I therefore presume to add this interpretation to the corpus.

⁵⁰ Cf. the female composer theory, Breeze (1997) and subsequent works.

⁵¹ (GPC) n. 11, above.

⁵² *Uelly y treulyssant/ blwydyn a blwydyned, yny doeth teruyn ar hoedyl/ Pwyll Penn Annwn, ac y bu uarw.* PKM1 27.15-17. In that way, they passed one year after the next until the life of Pwyll Penn Annwn came to an end and he was dead.

⁵³ See calculation, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, pp. 271-74 Calc. 273-74. n. 433

⁵⁴ See VII.5. *Rhiannon y Ddewines/ Rhiannon the Magician.*

Appendix 5: *Trioedd* & Mabinogi

Data from Bromwich, Rachel, *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Welsh Triads, Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith Yn Yr Oesau Canol*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961) see next Appendix.

Bromwich groups *Trioedd* nos. 8– 38 as ‘Early Version’; nos. 52 – 67 as from Llyfr Gwyn and Llyfr Coch; nos. 78 & 95 as from ‘Later MSs.’ Additionally I list the ‘implicit triad’ about *rieni*.

<<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydain-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>>

TYP overview of Mabinogi *Trioedd* pp. lxx – lxxv.

Trioedd of the Mabinogi: **8/13/ 20/ 26/ 27/ 28/ 30/ 35/ 37/ 38/ (52)/ 53/ 67/ 78/ 95/ Rieni** (implicit).

Bromwich confirms there are no *Trioedd* integrated with the First Branch of the Mabinogi, and numbers ten *Trioedd* to be found relating to the other three Branches,⁵⁵ which PKM listed.⁵⁶ (From her listed *Trioedd* the list below numbers fifteen.) WJG had also observed the same lack in the First Branch, judging this meant the Branch was of ‘greater antiquity’. He noted ‘profuse’ connections in *Branwen*, and *Manawydan*.⁵⁷

Bromwich rejects Williams view that the Mabinogi *Trioedd* are late scribal glosses,⁵⁸ instead seeing them as part of a common tradition. She recognises the Mabinogi composer as a ‘**consummate literary artist**’ using *Trioedd* in a distinctive way unlike other *chwedlau*, to heighten the dramatic narrative by providing its incidents with an impressive, larger context. She compares the technique to ‘digressions’ in *Beowulf*, and rhetorical devices in Irish tales such as the *Tain*.⁵⁹ As Mabinogi examples she cites the death and burial of Bendigeidfran;⁶⁰ and the ‘perfidy’ of Gronwy’s *teulu*.⁶¹ She also gives what I call the implicit Triad which introduces Branwen in her Branch as ***tryded prifrieni***.⁶²

Bromwich considers the originally exclusively bardic prose tales, had by 1100 and probably earlier, become more widely known on a popular level.⁶³ Asserting the Mabinogi as distinctive in preserving traditions of the old Brittonic gods from whom the old Welsh dynasties claimed descent, she feels this may account for the prominence of the *Trioedd* in them. She notes some variations between the tales and Triadic lore, e.g. in Triad 53 Branwen is given a single blow directly by Matholwch, not daily abuse by the cook as in the Mabinogi.⁶⁴ Lleu is one of the Golden Shoemakers, but Gwydion is not explicitly named.⁶⁵ She attributes this to oral variations.⁶⁶

Bromwich **does not consider Gwydion typical** in the Fourth Branch, acting as both a *pencerdd* and *cyfarwydd*, although it may have occurred in earlier times. But there is no evidence

⁵⁵ TYP (1961) p. lxxi.

⁵⁶ PKM (1930) p. xxx.

⁵⁷ WJG, ‘Mabinogion’ (1912) p. 57.

⁵⁸ PKM p. xxx.

⁵⁹ TYP p. lxxi; n. 106 refs. Book of Leinster, *Tain*, B, XII, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁰ PKM 47. 22-24; Triad 37.

⁶¹ PKM 92. 1-6; Triad 30.

⁶² TYP pp. lxxi -lxxii; citing PKM 31.1. In the next footnote, n. 107, she adds PKM 32. 7, and analyses possible meanings for *rieni*. In her main text she opts for ‘Great Queens(?)’ (TYP lxxii).

⁶³ TYP p. lxx.

⁶⁴ TYP observation p. lxxii on Triad 53; PKM 37. 26 – 38.1.

⁶⁵ Triad 67, Bromwich comment TYP p. lxxii-lxxiii.

⁶⁶ TYP p. lxxiii.

she says that the 12thC *Gogynfeirdd* recited stories in the courts of the princes.⁶⁷ While recognising the brilliance of the Mabinogi *cyfarwydd*, Bromwich finds instances where he has not understood the specifically poetic meanings in certain Triads, and attempted to account for the puzzle in the tales. Manawydan as *lledyf unben*, humble lord (Triad 8); and his status as *eur gryd*, 'golden shoemaker' (Triad 67) are both examples. These divergences evidence that *cyfarwyddiaid* were not usually participant in bardic training.

RELEVANT MABINOGI *TRIOEDD*

* Of especial interest, key Mabinogi characters, with notes below. PKM lists 10, p. 30.

TYP abbreviations WM = Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch; WR = MS. Llyfr Coch, & Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch.

EARLY VERSION (14)

8 *Tri Lledyf 6nben Enys Prydein, Three 'Prostrate' Chieftains of Britain.

Re Manawydan, referenced by Pryderi, PKM 49.12 (TYP pp. 15-16).

13 *Tri Chynweissyat Enys Prydein, Three Chief Officers/ (Stewards) of Britain.

Re Caradawg mab Bran, PKM 38.23-25. (TYP pp. 25 -27)

(16) *Tri gwrduagla6c Enys Prydein*, Three Powerful /Ecclesiastic shepherds of Britain.

Refers to Pryderi, but not Pryderi of the Mabinogi. (TYP p. 31)

20 *Tri Ruduo6c Enys Prydein, Red Ravagers of Britain.

Re Lleu Llaw Gyffes, MS. Llyfr Coch version, later replaced by Arthur. (TYP pp. 39-40)

26 *Tri Gwrdueichyat Enys Prydein, Three Powerful Swineherds of Britain.

Re Pryderi, mentions Pwyll as father, and Pendaran. Also Drystan, Coll. (TYP pp. 50– 58)

27 *Tri Lleturitha6c Enys Prydein, Three Enchanters of Britain, alt. form.

Re Math as an enchanter, from Ms. Pen 16. (TYP pp. 59-60)

28 *Teir Prif Hut Enys Prydein, Three Great Enchantments of Britain.

Re Math teaching enchantments to Gwydion ap Dôn. Also re Coll. (TYP pp. 61)

30 *Tri Anyweir Deulu Enys Prydain, Three Faithless War-Bands of Britain.

Re Gronw Pebr. TYP pp. 65-69. Contrast pair with no. 29, Faithful War-Bands.

35 *Tri Chyuoar a aeth o'r Enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn 6r un onadunt, Three Levies that departed this Island, and not one of them came back.

Re Arianrhod ferch Don, Caswallon, and Beli. (TYP pp. 90-93)

(36). ***Teir Gormes a doeth y'r Enys Hon, ac nyt aeth dracheuyn***,

Three Oppressions that came to this Island, and not one of them went back.

Cor(y)niaid (from Arabia) in the time of Caswallawn (=Llud) son of Beli.

Ms. Peniarth 16 (TYP pp. 90-102)

Cf. Arawn, oppression. Caswallawn. Coraniaid cf. (Math).

37 *Tri Chud a Thri Datcud Enys Prydein,

Three Concealments and Three Disclosures of Britain.

Re the Head of Bendigeidfran ap Llyr (his dying prophecy PKM 44.25 -45.20;

the deed itself PKM 47.22-24), and Arthur. (TYP pp. 102-104)

38 *Tri Rodedicuarch Enys Prydein, Three Bestowed Horses of Britain.

Re Lleu Llaw Gyffes' horse Melyngan Mangre ('Pale Yellow of the Stud';

and Caswallon's horse. (TYP pp. 105-106. See Intro. pp. lxxx-lxxxvii)

Trioedd y Meirch, Triads of the Horses nos. 38 – 46c (TYP pp. 103-28).

FROM LLYFR GWYN/ COCH (5)

(52) ***Triwyr G6arth a uu yn Ynys Prydein***,

Three Exalted/ Supreme Prisoners of Britain.

⁶⁷ TYP p. lxix. In n. 97 she gives several references for early Irish traditions of two separate classes. In the main text she refers to Rhonabwy which does refer to two classes: RM 161.5.

Re Gwair ap Geirioedd Llŷr Llediaith father of Branwen etc, Mabon ap Modron].
Llyr Half-speech by Euroswydd/ Mabon son of Modron, Gwair son of Custennn.
(TYP pp. 146-49)

53 *Teir Gwith Baluawt Ynys Prydain, Three Harmful Blows of Britain.

Re Branwen ferch Llyr and Matholwch, PKM 37.26 – 38.1. Also Gwenhwyfach, Gwenhwyfar as cause of the battle of Camlan. cf. Triad 34, re blows. Ms. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch. (TYP pp. 150-152)

67 *Tri Eur Gryd Ynys Brydein, Three Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers of Britain.

Re Caswallawn fab Beli, Manawydan fab Llyr; Lleu Law Gyffes, & Arianrhod ferch Don.
'and Lleu Skilful Hand when he and Gwydion were seeking a name and arms from his mother Arianrhod.' (TYP pp. 185-88)

(68) *Tri Brenhin a vuant a Veibion a Eillion*.

Three Kings who were (sprung from) Villeins. (TYP p. 189-91)

Re Hyfaidd ap Bleiddig of Deheubarth. (cf. Hyfaidd vap Bleiddic BL. 240, Cwri)

FROM LATER MSS.

78 *Teir Gwenriein Ynys Prydain, Three fair (Royal) Ladies of Britain.

Re Ar(i)anrhod ferch Don; Creirwy ferch Ceridwen. Ms. Pen. 47. (TYP p. 208)
TYP 84 Re Camlann due to Gwenhwyfar's contention with Gwenhwy(f)ach. See 53.

95. *Tri dyn y torres ei galon o Annifyged,

Three People whose heart broke from Sorrow.

Re Branwen ferch Llyr (PKM 45.16-19); Caradawg ab Bran (PKM 46.2-5.).

Ms. Llanstephan 65, fo. 89r Moses Williams MS.

IMPLICIT: *Tryded Prif Rieni Ynys Prydein, Three Chief Ladies/ Queens of Britain.

Re Branwen ferch Llyr (PKM 31.1, & 32.27.); (TYP lxxi-lxxii, and lxxii, n. 107 on IW)
possibly Rhiannon ferch Hyfaidd, and Arianrhod ferch Don (PKM Nodiadau p. 167).

MABINOGI CHARACTERS IN *TRIOEDD*: LIST A-Z

Other characters in the same Triad noted 'with'.

Arianrhod: *Trioedd* (6) *Eur Gryd shoes, with Caswallawn, Lleu, Manawydan; **(78) *Gwenriein***, Fair /beautiful & royal lady.

Bendigeidfran: Triad (37) *Chud a Matkud, Concealment & Disclosure.

Branwen: *Trioedd* (53) *Gwyth Baluawt, Harmful Blow, with Matholwch.; **(95) *torres ei galon o Annifyged***, heart broke from Sorrow,, with Caradawg; Implicit ***rieni***, high queen, ancestress.

Caradawg: *Trioedd* (13) *Cynwessiat, steward/ regent. **(95) *torres ei galon o Annifyged***, heart broke, died, with Branwen.

Caswallawn (38) *Rodedicuarch, bestowed horse, with Lleu. **(67) *Eur Gryd***, noble/ golden shoemaker, with Arianrhod, Lleu, Manawydan. See also 36.

Coll: Triad (26) *Gwyrdueichyat, Swineherd, with Pendaran, Pryderi, Pwyll.

***Dôn: Triad (35)** as mother, with Arianrhod and Caswallawn.

Gronw Pebr: Triad (30) *Anyweir Deulu, Faithless War-band; contra **(29)**.

Gwydion: *Trioedd* (28) *Prif Hut, Great Enchanter, with Math; **(67) *Eur Gryd***, implicit, noble/ golden shoemakers, with Arianrhod, Caswallawn, Lleu, Manawydan.

***Hyfaidd** (of Dyfed): Triad (68), Notes p. 402.

Lleu: *Trioedd* (20) Red Ravagers; (38) *Rodedicuarch, bestowed horse, with Caswallawn; **(67) *Eur Gryd***, noble/ golden shoemaker, with Arianrhod, Caswallawn, Manawydan.

***Mabon: Triad (52)** Prisoner., with Modron, Llyr Llediaith.

- ***Manawydan: Trioedd (8) Lledyf**, laid low lit. prostrate. **(67) Eur Gryd**, noble/ golden shoemaker, with Arianrhod, Caswallawn, Lleu.
- ***Math: Trioedd (27) Lleturithawc**, Enchanters, alt. form; **(28) Prif Hut**, Great Enchanter, with Gwydion.
- ***Matholwch: Triad (53) Blow**. (Branwen)
- ***Modron: Triad (52) Prisoner.**, with Llyr, Mabon.
- ***Pendaran: Triad (26)** with Coll, Henwen, Pryderi, Pwyll.
- ***Pryderi: Triad (26)** with Coll, Pendaran, Pwyll; Henwen. cf. **(52) Prisoner, Mabon**.
- ***Pwyll: Triad (26)** with Coll, Henwen, Pendaran, Pryderi.

NOTES ON EACH CHARACTER

– **ARIANRHOD ferch Don (Trioedd 35: TYP 81-89; 67: TYP 185-88; 78: TYP 208. Notes pp. 284-85)**

(35) Chyur, Levies which left Britain and did not return. Linked with Caswallawn, Dôn as their mother, Beli as their father. This is the only source of Beli as her father Triad text pp. 81-93; comment p. 86. (Notes p. 284)

(67) Eur Gryd, Golden Shoemakers. ‘Lleu Skilful Hand when he and Gwydion were seeking a name and arms from his mother Aranrhod.’ (TYP p. 185)

(78) Gwenriein, Fair / royal ladies; noted for her beauty. Ms. Pen. 47, **(Taliesin 36, 14-15)**. cf. **(67)** re Lleu, Caswallawn as shoemakers. (p. 208; Notes pp.277-8; cf. *rieni* Triad, Branwen.

– **BENDIGEIDFRAN (Triad 37, Chud a Matkud**, Concealment & Disclosure, pp. 94-102. **Notes** ‘Bran Vendigeit’ pp. 290-93) Concealment of his Head, Arthur’s disinterment of it. E. Lloyd refers to three good concealments incl. Bendigeidfran’s head. The “third evil disclosure” when it was exposed refs. Geoffrey’s explanation. (Lloyd, p. 221) Bromwich notes kings buried standing and armed, facing in the direction of internal Irish enemies. (TYP pp.90-91)

– **BRANWEN ferch Llyr (Trioedd (53) Gwyth Baluawt**, Harmful Blows, pp. 150-52; **(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged**, heart broke from Sorrow p. 242. **(Rieni)**, pp. lxxi-lxxii, & lxxii, n. 107 on IW; **Notes** pp. 293-94)

(53) Gwyth Baluawt, Harmful Blows, naming Matholwch the Irishman. Ms. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, [WM 61, RM 43]. E. Lloyd mentions Govannon giving one of ‘three fatal blows’ (Lloyd, p. 222). Bartrum infers only one Blow struck by Matholwch. (Bartrum p. 61). (TYP 150-52) *sarhaed* refs. (TYP 152) Refers to two women Gwenhwyfach, Gwenhwyfar as cause of the battle of Camlan. A variant Pen.50 Gwenhwyfar strucj Gwenhwyfach. cf. **(84)** contention between the two women. (TYP 152) Trad. Gwenhwyfach was the wife of Medrod. (Bartrum pp. 359-60) cf. **(34)** re blows. (TYP 152)

(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged, heart broke from Sorrow, with Caradwg ab Bran. (TYP 242)

Implicit **(Rieni)** implicit triad, Second Branch PKM 31.1, & 32.27. (TYP lxxi-lxxii, & lxxii, n. 107 on IW) E. Lloyd observes a ‘triad at the very beginning of Branwen, which says that she is one of the three chief ladies of the land.’ (Lloyd, 1911, p. 221) IW suggests Arianrhod and Rhiannon as the other two *rieni* (PKM Nodiadau p. 167).

– **CARADAWG ab Bran (Trioedd (13) Cynwessiat**, steward/ regent of Britain. (TYP 25-27) **(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged**, heart broke from Sorrow, with Branwen. (TYP 242) **Notes 303-04)**

(13) Cynwessiat, steward/ regent of Britain. (TYP 25-27)

Bartrum adds some versions substitute Gwyddar ap Rhun ap Beli. Referenced in Llyfr Taliesin poem ‘Kadeir Teyrnnon’ ‘The Chair of the Sovereign’ XV: ‘Who are the three chief officers who guarded the land?’ (BT 34 ll.24-5). (Bartrum, p. 114) ‘Kadeir Teyrnnon’ ref. noted (Anwyl III p. 130)

(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged, heart broke from Sorrow, with Branwen. (TYP 242) (PKM 46.2-5.) Noted (Lloyd, p. 221).

– **CASWALLAWN (Trioedd 35, Chyur**, Levies TYP pp 284; **(38) Rodedicuarch**, Bestowed horses **(67) Eur Gryd**, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers. TYP 185-88; **Notes** p. 305-06.

(35) Chyur, Levies which left Britain never to return. With Arianrhod, Beli as their mother. cf. **(36)** time period. See Arianrhod. (TYP 284)

(38) Rodedicuarch, Bestowed horses, naming his as *Meinlas* ('Slender Grey'. Also Lleu's horse. TYP pp. 103-04. See TYP Intro. pp. lxxx-lxxxvii re. *Trioedd y Meirch*, Triads of the Horses nos. 38 – 46c, series (TYP pp. 103-28).

(67) Eur Gryd, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers. With Lleu Llaw Gyffes, Manawydan fab Llyr. (TYP 185-88)

– **COLL Trioedd 26, Gwyrdueichyat**, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. **27, Lleturithawc**, Enchantments pp. 59-60; **28** Enchanter, p. 61. Not Mabinogi char. **Notes** p. 315.

26 Gwyrdueichyat, Swineherd. (With Pendaran, Pryderi, Pwyll) 2 entries pp. 50-58.

27 Lleturithawc, Enchanter, pp. 59-60.

28 Prif Hut, Great Enchanter, with Gwydion. Nephew connection cf. Gwydion. (p. 61). Not Mabinogi character, see Pryderi (26)

– **DÔN (Triad 35, pp. 81-89)** Mother of Arianrhod, Mother of the gods, cf. Irish Danu. *Plant Don o Arvon* listed Bonedd y Arwyr (EWGT 90 (25) = BXVIII p. 237 (25). **Notes** p. 330) As mother of Arianrhod and Caswallawn; father given as Beli, only source of Beli as father Triad text pp. 81-93; comment p. 86.

– **GRONW PEBR (Triad 30, Anyweir Deulu**, Faithless War-band pp. 66-69. **Notes** p. 365)

E. Lloyd renders this 'faithless household'. (Lloyd, p. 222) Contrast pair **(29)** Faithful War-Bands.

– **GWYDION (Trioedd 28, Prif Hut**, Great Enchanters (TYP 61); **67** (implicitly) *Eur Gryd*, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers (TYP) **Notes** pp. 392-94)

28 Prif Hut, Great Enchanter, as student of Math. With Coll. Nephew connection cf. Coll. (p. 61)

67 implicitly *Eur Gryd*, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers **c /o Lleu** (TYP) according to Pughe travel in a golden car to appeal to 'Rhianon' as Lleu's mother.[sic] (Pughe *Biog.* p. 217) E. Lloyd has Gwydion one of the 'gold-shoemakers' but omits Manawydan. (Lloyd p. 222) However Bromwich notes Gwydion is not explicit in the Triad.

– **HENWEN Triad 26, Gwyrdueichyat**, Swineherd. (With Pendaran, Pryderi, Pwyll) pp. 50-58. **Notes** pp. 397-98) Sow who traverses from Cornwall to S. Wales, and up to Gwynedd. See Coll.

– **HYFAIDD** ap Bleiddig of Deheubarth (**Triad 68, Notes** p. 402) King of low birth, found in Dyfed genealogy marrying Dyfed heiress but link to Rhiannon's father is tenuous apart from Hyfaidd Hen as an ancestral figure, and the pivot of a key female. (cf. Hyfaidd vap Bleiddic BL. 240, Cwri)

– **LLEU Llaw Gyffes (Trioedd 20 Ruduoawc**, Red Ravagers pp. 39-40. **38 Rodedicuarch**, Bestowed horses pp. 103-04. **67 Eur Gryd**, Noble Shoemakers, pp 185-88. **Notes** pp. 412-13)

(20) Ruduoawc, Red Ravagers. 'For a year neither grass nor plants would spring up where he had walked.' (Bartrum p. 466) Lleu was later replaced here by Arthur. Poss. Lleu's reputation came from his vengeance on Gronw Pebr, or simply separate later events.

(38) Rodedicuarch, Bestowed horses, naming his as *Melyngan Mangre* ('Pale Yellow of the Stud'. Also Caswallon's horse. pp. 103-04. Note Lleu pined *o eisseu meirch ac arueu* (PKM 81-14), for want of horses and arms. (TYP noted p. 103) See TYP Intro. pp. lxxx-lxxxvii re. *Trioedd y Meirch*, Triads of the Horses nos. 38 – 46c, series (TYP pp. 103-28).

(67) Eur Gryd, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers. With Manawydan, Caswallawn. (pp 185-88)

– **LLYR (Triad 52, Goruchel Garcharawr**, Exalted Prisoner, pp. 146-49. **Notes** pp. 412-13) Exalted Prisoners, imprisoned by Euroswydd who apparently took Llŷr's wife, Penarddun. See Pryderi.

– **MABON (Triad 52, Goruchel Garcharawr**, Exalted Prisoner, pp. 146-49. **Notes** pp. 424-48) cf. Pryderi.

– **MANAWYDAN Trioedd 8, lledyf unben**, (lit prostrate) unambitious/ laid low, pp. 15-16.

52, Prisoner (Llyr) pp. 146-49.; **67 Eur Gryd**. Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers, pp. 185-88. **Notes** pp. 432-32.)

(8) lledyf Unben, (lit prostrate) unambitious/ laid low, pp. 15-16.

Pughe translates *lledyf unben* as an 'unambitious prince' who rejected royal dominion after initiation into bardism. (Pughe *Biog.* p. 237) Guest renders it 'humble' because he would not resume his rank after the 'captivity' of his brother Bran. Guest says he 'cultivated minstrelsy'. (Guest p. 297) Rhys trans. it as 'landless monarch' (Rhys p. 641 & n. 150). WJG trans. it as 'passive' (WJG, p. 82). E. Lloyd makes him one of the 'gentle knights of the land' (Lloyd p. 222). Bromwich expands the literal meaning of *lledyf*, 'prostrated',

as like men laid low by misfortune in the 'Gododdin', which fits the Triad but was not understood by the *cyfarwydd*.⁶⁸

lledfunben a reputation referenced by Pryderi (PKM 49. 12). Pryderi quoting Manawydan's reputation to Manawydan as if it was already well known during his life according to WJG is an anachronism.⁶⁹ IW also finds it absurd.⁷⁰ Bromwich explains it as a witticism by the *cyfarwydd*.⁷¹

Trioedd (Anwyl IV p. 134) 2 trioedd (Anwyl IV p. 131)

(52) (Triad 52, *Goruchel Garcharawr*, Exalted Prisoner, pp. 146-49. cf. Llyr Half Speech. Pughe lists M. as 'prince of the Silurian Britons early 1stC.' son of Llyr Llediaith, an Exalted Prisoner; he journeyed to Dyfed to arbitrate territorial boundaries. (Pughe *Biog.* p. 237)

(67) *Eur Gryd*. Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers, pp. 185-88. Also Lleu Llaw Gyffes, Caswallawn fab Beli. Pughe interpreted Manawydan with Lleu and Caswallawn as 'chiefs who had golden cars.' (Pughe *Biog.* p. 237) Anwyl quotes it from *Myv. Arch.* (Anwyl I p. 286) E. Lloyd cites this Triad about Gwydion, but not Manawydan. (Lloyd p. 222) Ellis stays straightforwardly with 'golden shoes'. (Ellis p.83, n. 22) Bromwich analyses this neatly, making the Triadic form primary, influencing the Mabinogi tale. The poetic term *eurgryd* is figurative, meaning 'noble, exalted, excellent', not literally relating to gold. Gilding leather, and golden buckles were therefore introduced to the tale to support the misunderstood Triad.⁷²

– **MATH (Trioedd (27) *Lleturithawc*, Enchanters, alt. form pp. 59-60; (28) *Prif Hut*, Great Enchantments, p. 61. Notes pp. 438-40)**

(27) *Lleturithawc*, Enchanters, alt. form. Dafydd ap Gwilym & poetic refs. pp. 59-60.

(28) *Prif Hut*, Great Enchantments, Gwydion as student of Math. With Coll. Nephew connection cf. Coll. p. 61.

Math teaches Gwydion the arts. Pughe classifies this as mythological material, interpreting enchantment as the 'power of illusion and deception' noting he taught Gwydion. (Pughe *Biog.* p. 240) Guest notes the two *Trioedd* as 31, 32, from the *Myv. Arch.* making Math 'a man of enchantment'; his arts inherited from his father in Taliesin. (Guest p. 298 Endn. to p. 61.)

– **MATHOLWCH (Triad 53, *Gwyth Baluawt*, Harmful Blows, pp. 150-52. Notes p. 440-41) Perpetrator of one of the Harmful Blows, see Branwen; pp. 150-52.**

– **PENDARAN (Triad 26, *Gwyrdueichyat*, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. Notes p. 477) Owner of the important pigs, see Pryderi as Swineherd.**

– **PRYDERI (Triad 26, *Gwyrdueichyat*, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. Notes p. 486)**

(26) *Gwyrdueichyat*, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. Powerful swineherd for Pendaran. Pwyll is named as his father. In the WR version Pendaran is specified as Pryderi's foster father. Pryderi is remarked as immune to force or deception from others. The number of swine is seven Note Coll, another 'powerful swineherd'. Also Henwen, Notes pp. 397-98

cf. **(Triad 52)** Exalted Prisoner: as Pryderi has been linked with Mabon as Prisoner.

cf. **(Triad 16)** Shepherds, same name but Bromwich says this is not Mabinogi Pryderi.

– **PWYLL (26 *Gwyrdueichyat*, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. Notes pp. 486-87) Swineherds Triad; naming Pwyll as Pryderi's father.**

– **RHIANNON** Candidate for *rieni* Triad, see Branwen. No triad extant.

⁶⁸ TYP p. lxxiii.

⁶⁹ PKM 49. 12. Comment WJG 'Mabinogion', p. 58.

⁷⁰ PKM REF absurdity of *lledyf*

⁷¹ TYP p. lxxiii.

⁷² TYP p. lxxiii– lxxiv.

Appendix 6: TYP

Rachel Bromwich. 1961. (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP)

Scribd: <<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydain-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>> [Accessed 12/02/13]

First cited Ch. I.4. Advent

TYP Abbreviations:

MS. Manuscript.

Pen. from Peniarth MS.

R from Llyfr Coch.

W from Llyfr Gwyn.

WR from Llyfr Gwyn, Llyfr Coch, priority to Llyfr Gwyn as older.

TYP CONTENTS

p. vii

PREFACE

ix

INTRODUCTION

I MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS

xi

II ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF *TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDEIN* liii

Trioedd Ynys Prydein and Bardic Instruction lvii

Trioedd Ynys Prydein and the Chwedlau lxix

Trioedd y Meirch lxx

Antiquity and Provenance lxxvii

THE APPENDICES [Notes] c

TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDEIN

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES **1-245**

APPENDIX I. *Enweu Ynys Prydein*, 'The Names of the Island of Britain'. 246

APPENDIX II. *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*, 'The Descent of the Men of the North'. 256

APPENDIX III. *Tri Thlws ar Deg Ynys Prydein*, 'The Thirteen Treasures ...' 258

APPENDIX IV. *Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur*, 'The 24 Knights ...' 266

NOTES TO PERSONAL NAMES **271**

ABBREVIATIONS 517

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY 522

INDEX

INDEX TO PLACES **534**

INDEX TO *TRIOEDD Y MEIRCH* **536**

GENERAL INDEX **537 [-559]**

.....

TYP NAMES PAGES

Aranrot verch Don – see Ar(y)anrot.

Ara6n / Arawn p. 279

Ar(y)anrot pp. 284-85.

Beli pp. 288-89.

Bendigeituran p. 289 see Bran.

Bran pp. 290-92.

Branwen pp. 293-94.

Carada6g pp. 303-04.

Caswallawn pp. 305-06.

Keritwen pp. 312-13.

Coll?

Culhwch p. 316. Unknown exc. Ll. Gwyn/ Coch.

Don p. 330.

Eurosmynd pp. 352-53.

Gronw Pebr p. 365.

Gweir p. 373 also Gweir p. 374.

Gwenhwyfar

Gwydyon pp. 392-94.

Henwen p. 397-98.

Lleu pp. 412-13.

Mabon pp. 424-28.

Manawydan pp. 432-34.

March

Math pp. 439-40.

Mathol6ch p. 440-41.

Modron p. 449-51.

Pryder p. 485-86.

Pryderi p. 486.

Pwyll pp. 486-87.

Taliessin pp. 500-03.

Trystan pp. 331-34.

Appendix 7: *Merched*/ Women

Culled out with much regret due to word count. However most relevant content was integrated with the individual character chapter section V.

Drafted years ago so some chapter number refs. have changed but names not.

PKM refs. Narrative sequence. Narrative span. First reference and/or presence. Events.

Descriptive comparisons follow.

----- FIRST BRANCH – Queen of Annwfn. Preface: PKM1 3.8–10. PKM1 4.14–PKM1 8.3.

Arawn intro PKM1 3.8–10. Pwyll meets her PKM1 4.14–4.25. Chastity year PKM1 4.25–5.5.

Dialogue Arawn PKM1

7.1–8.3.

RHIANNON Preface: PKM1 9.4–7. Pwyll PKM1 9.11–14–27.26. Second Branch, Adar predicted PKM2 45.2–4, event PKM2 46.13–15. Third Branch, Manawydan PKM3 49.1–65.24.

Gorsedd Arberth ryweddawt PKM1 9.4–7. Advent anon rider PKM1 9.11–14. Pursuits – pedestrian PKM1 9.18–26, rider 1 PKM1 9.26–10.12, rider 2 PKM1 10.13–11.15, Pwyll PKM1 11.16–12.6.

Pwyll meeting PKM1 12.7–15. Wedding I PKM1 12.15–15.27. Wedding II PKM1 15.27–19.10.

Dyfed, joint rule, Preseli Council PKM1 19.11–20.2. Birth of child PKM1 20.3–4 (Maids PKM1 20.4–21.8). Pwyll Council. Penance. PKM1 21.19–28. News reaches Gwent PKM1 24.9–10. Meets son, names him PKM1 25.10–26.19. Pryderi's youth PKM1 27.1–26.

Second Branch, Adar predicted PKM2 45.2–4, event PKM2 46.13–15.

Third Branch. Pryderi's proposal PKM3 49.17–50.10. Rhiannon & Cigfa, Manawydan marriage, Caswallawn PKM3 50.11–51.14. Devastation, hunting PKM3 51.17–52.17. Exile PKM3 51.17–55.4.

Rebukes Manawydan, captive PKM3 56.20–57.12. Manawydan nostalgia PKM3 58.25–27.

Manawydan bargains for her PKM3 63.25–63.27. Llwyd explains 64.5–10. Llwyd frees Rhiannon & Pryderi, lifts Devastation PKM3 64.18–65.8. mynweir a mynordd PKM3 65.17–23.

Rhiannon's Maids. PKM1 20.4–21.8.

TEYRNON'S WIFE. Talk Teyrnnon PKM1 22.6–11. Dialogue re baby PKM1 23.1–14. Baptism, growth, horses PKM1 23.14–24.8. News, PKM1 24.9. Dialogue Teyrnnon PKM1 24.21–25.5. Teyrnnon refers to her loss PKM1 Her women. PKM1 23.11–12.

CIGFA. Preface: Genealogy, marriage PKM1 27.23–26. Cont. Third Branch. Rhiannon & Cigfa PKM3 50.12–14. Extracts reassurance Manawydan PKM3 57.13–27. Exile, disapproval PKM3 57.28–58.21. Farming, mouse disapproval PKM3 58.22–61.14.

----- SECOND BRANCH –

BRANWEN

Preface: PKM2 29.1–45.20. Events PKM2 30.11–Matholwch requests PKM2 30.11–27. Council, rieni, marriage PKM2 30.28–31.10. Efnysien told PKM2 31.26–27.

Matholwch complains, rieni, PKM2 32.26–33.3. To Iwerddon, gift giver, son born PKM2 37.4–19.

Abuse, starling PKM2 37.20–38.24. Branwen advises PKM2 39.27–40.14. Matholwch offers, Branwen peacemaker PKM2 41.5–42.9. Peace meeting, Gwern killed PKM2 43.8–44.8. Survivors & Branwen return Britain, Branwen dies PKM2 45.11–20.

CYMEDEI CYMEINFOLL. PKM2 35.5–36.29.

----- THIRD BRANCH –

RHIANNON CONT. see under First Branch.

CIGFA cont. see under First Branch.

LADY MOUSE (Llwyd's wife). PKM3 60.15–65.11. Her women. PKM3 64.15–16.

----- FOURTH BRANCH -

GOEWIN. Preface, footholder PKM4 67.5–10. As footholder PKM4 67.5–10. Gilfaethwy's lust PKM4 67.15–19. Gwydion foments war so Goewin is left unprotected, PKM4 67.20–73.28. the rape PKM4 71.29–72.4. Goewin reports to Math PKM4 74.1–14. Marriage & shared rule PKM4 74.14–18. Goewin, her women. PKM4 72.2–4.

ARIANRHOD.

Preface: Gwydion proposes PKM4 77.6–8. Events PKM4 77.9– 83.16.

Gwydion proposes her to Math, PKM4 77.6–8. Math exposes her PKM4 77.9–15. Public birth: PKM4 77.13–15, & 77.17. Gwydion visit I PKM4 78.19–79.10 (Decree I PKM4 79.2–4). Gwydion visit II, ship, shoemaking PKM4 79.10–81.10 (Decree II PKM4 81.6–8). Gwydion visit II, as bard, fake attack, PKM4 81.18–83.16 (Decree III PKM4 83.12–14).

Arianrhod, two maids. PKM4 82.22–26.

BLODEUEDD. Prefaced by Arianrhod's Decree III. Events PKM4 83.12–91.17.

Construction PKM4 83.19–27. Marriage, lordship PKM4 84.1–10. Gronw Pebr & plot PKM4 84.11–86.6. Betrays Lleu, lives with Gronw Pebr PKM4 86.6–88.15. Owl PKM4 90.26–91.17.

Blodeuedd maids. PKM4 90.26–28 & cont. 90.28– 91.5.

'WOMEN OF THE MABINOGI' (drafted chapters)

Bollard, 1974: the role of women in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi has so far not been adequately defined or examined, though no one would deny that women play a significant part in the tales.

[1] Pennar, PhD. 1975: Ch. 4 deals with/ ... women ... Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi ...[2]

Valente, 1986: I would now like to turn to the women, as Bollard suggested, and see what powers and significance they have in the story ...

[3] This chapter makes a series of comparative assessments of all the Mabinogi women, against base Rhiannon. The women are addressed in narrative sequence.

[4]

B1: Queen of Annwfn; *Rhiannon's Maids & other maids; *Lady of Gwent.

B2: Branwen; Cymidei.

B3: Cigfa; *Lady Mouse.

B4: *Goewin; *Arianrhod; *Blodeuedd.

B1 = First Branch, etc.

*Name = explicit Maids; six out of ten.

[5] All the Mabinogi women are nobles,

[6] which merely reflects the general nobility context of the Mabinogi tales. Within this female nobility there is a political hierarchy derived from territory.

[7] Queens: Queen of Annwfn, Branwen of Iwerddon/ Ireland.

Princely realms: Rhiannon of Dyfed, Cigfa of Dyfed, Goewin of Gwynedd.

Lordships: Lady of Gwent, Cymidei, Lady Mouse, Arianrhod, Blodeuedd.

Other nobles: Maids and companion groups.

COMPARISONS

QUEEN of Annwfn 492 Draft 17/06/20

The first woman to appear in the Mabinogi is Arawn's wife.

[8] While she has been perceived as a literary device to present the Arawn– Pwyll axis,

[9] she has many resemblances with Rhiannon,
 [10] which prepares a customised niche for Rhiannon to occupy. They are heralded by a male's promotional description.
 [11] Both are 'given' by one man to another.
 [12] Both appear anonymously, as icons of desire, seen at a distance by Pwyll,
 [13] arrayed in shining gold silk with other signs of wealth.
 [14] Both have otherworldly aspects: the queen presiding over fabled Annwfn in a shapechanging narrative; Rhiannon as ryuedawt of Arberth;
 [15] otherworld and erotic aspect constructing them as fascinating.
 [16] Both appear in the context of elaborate feasts, which they head or own.
 [17] Both women are described as skilled in converse which Valente emphasises, noting the Queen's use of silence. They conduct informative dialogues with their male partners.
 [18] Both have year periods of chastity related to Pwyll,
 [19] and both apparently welcome marital intimacy.
 [20] Both relate entirely, or almost entirely, to men.
 [21] On their differences, the Queen appears in only one Mabinogi episode, thus a secondary character: Rhiannon threads the greater part of the Mabinogi.
 [22] Rhiannon's agency is ample, the Queen's is slight.
 [23] Rhiannon appears anonymously through lengthy passages, but then names herself; this sustains her thereafter as a named character. The Queen first appears as a wife, so is never named.
 [24] Pwyll encounters the Queen embedded among a powerful retinue; Rhiannon is alone, yet both are perceived as powerful.
 [25] Pwyll easily accesses the Queen's personal space enabled by Arawn; but Rhiannon enforces his extended effort to attain her.
 [26] The Queen is objectively described as beautiful; Rhiannon's looks are esteemed in Pwyll and Pryderi's subjective view.
 [27] After a chaste year, each lady enjoys marital pleasure, but Rhiannon wins it by determined strategies shared with the male concerned, while the Queen is given it by her controlling male.
 [28] Unlike the Queen, Rhiannon never uses silence as strategy: her conversation initiates directly.
 [29] The Queen's 'inmost thoughts' are narrated,
 [30] unlike Rhiannon. As a pawn between men, the Queen does not even know her circumstances until her finale, an extreme passivity. She does insist her husband explain himself. Her final comment on his grand achievement might construe as her disapproval of being exploited as a tool.
 [31] The Queen is a simple character:
 [32] she is not complicated and deepened as Rhiannon is, by motherhood, suffering, or pursuing sustained strategy. The Queen reacts, where Rhiannon acts as an agent of her destiny.

Over all, although the Queen appears to have many similarities to Rhiannon, chiefly as iconic, apex ranked noblewomen embedded in wealth, hud/ enchantment, and erotic implication, under scrutiny she is very different. When she shows initiative she does so indirectly through silence: Rhiannon is forthright, directing events. The Queen's dialogue is a plot device to demonstrate her husband's friendly alliance with Pwyll; Rhiannon's dialogue furthers her own neges. Rhiannon must at times accept male authority, but always does it consciously.

Most Mabinogi ladies are explicitly attended by maids (six out of ten, on the above list). Attendant maids gender in parallel to the *teulu*/ house guards of marchogion/ lords. Both groups function to display the status of their noble, the greater their number the greater the noble's status. Maid service might include protection from (male) aggression;

[33] servicing personal and political needs from body care to ambassadorial representation, providing information and amusement. The parallel *teulu* protect their lord, but not against female threats, against other males. Domestic space of the mediaeval period allowed little privacy. Beds were shared with spouses, close relatives, maids, or body servants, for warmth and protection; so it seems significant when a Mabinogi woman is presented without such female associates.

The Queen, Branwen, and Cigfa's maids, may be assumed.

[34] The Queen appears following a *teulu*, a display of fighting strength. It would be simple to narrate her proceeding 'with her women', so either this is assumed, or she did walk alone. Either interpretation presents her as a solitary female image, not adjusted later when there is mention of hunting and entertainments. Cigfa is not narrated with maids she must have had as the wife of a great prince. Branwen's vulnerability is reinforced by no mention of female attendants. It would dilute Cymidei's alpha female fecundity to show her with other women. Cymidei and Branwen do not connect, and are sole females surrounded by powerful men.

Mabinogi maids are literary devices: extensions to their mistresses' concerns. The Lady of Gwent is confident her loyal women will help her. Goewin's women are forcibly removed so she can be raped.

Arianrhod's two women obey her, arming Gwydion and Lleu: like her they are deceived.

Blodeuedd's women accompany her as she flees Gwydion, and like her, bear his vengeance.

[35] The activities of these female groups reflect both Mabinogi class hierarchy in general, and hierarchy within their gender. Their generally loyal narrative contrasts notably with Rhiannon's Maids' treachery.

[36] Rhiannon's six Maids act as a group, and consult on what they do, with four individual speakers. The first three voices narrate and dramatise the event they share from different perspectives.

[37] Maid 4 demonstrates key agency in a briefing speech against Rhiannon, resembling Rhiannon's 'bag speech'.

[38] The six as an agency resemble Rhiannon's strategist character. Like her they perpetrate injustice against an innocent person by deceit. The Maids framing of Rhiannon with ghastly crimes has years of impact on the Dyfed kindred during Rhiannon's penance. Rhiannon deceives Gwawl into relinquishing his betrothal rights and his vengeance for it, resulting in the Devastation years of Dyfed.

[39] Both are conspiracies, Rhiannon plots with Pwyll; the Maids plot as a group.

[40] The differences are that the Maids are a secondary character grouping, ephemeral, and never named (for all that, powerful in impact). Rhiannon freely chooses to abuse Gwawl.

[41] The Maids do choose to abuse Rhiannon, but claim they are pressed by terror; theoretically they are dependent women, obedient to a native nobles' faction.

[42] They kill an animal gratuitously, where Rhiannon kills only in hunting.

[43] It can be seen that Rhiannon and her Maids are much alike; they are like other maids, narrative extensions of their mistress, although they act against her. Their major differentiation from Rhiannon comes from their quantity of presence; and unequal social status giving Rhiannon greater scope to choose what she does.

B1 TEYRNON'S WIFE 424 24/04/20

She is a significant, secondary, character in Mabinogi Rhiannon,

[44] with many similarities to Rhiannon herself. Both are monogamous wives, barren,

[45] yet become mothers, [46] of the same child

[47] and both lose him.

[48] Their husbands are loyal to them, respecting their advice: both have substantial and influential dialogues with their men.

[49] Both have an affinity with horses.

[50] Both bestow gifts: the Wife arranges the boy's special colt; Rhiannon patronises minstrels and distributes jewels.

[51] Both are practical organisers: Rhiannon of feasts, the Lady of marchog training.

[52] Both are highly ambitious: Rhiannon's bid for Pwyll wins the greatest matrimonial prize; the Lady's adoption and later surrender of her son pivot on social advantage.

[53] Both are realists: Rhiannon accepts reversal and strategises maximum advantage from it;

[54] the Lady accepts she must relinquish her son to further her ambition.

[55] The child is restored to each of them by Teyrnon: to Rhiannon at Arberth, then as foster father he can take the boy to the Lady.

[56] Their differences begin with the Lady as a secondary character. Both women are anonymised, but Rhiannon eventually names herself.

[57] Valente defines them in antithesis: Rhiannon's barrenness ends in biological conception, the Lady's in adoption; The Lady's loss of child is voluntary, relinquishing her son to gain advantage: Rhiannon's loss is thrust upon her; The Lady has loyal Maids; Rhiannon fails to win her Maids' loyalty, to major effect.

[58] Rhiannon's loss of child against the Lady's gain, and vice versa, potentially continues during formal fosterage.

[59] Although both hold complex dialogues with their men, the Lady's reveals her private marriage; Rhiannon's privacy is seen only in public actions and speeches.

[60] Valente contrasts the Gwent couple's 'mutual respect', and 'successful ... decision-making' with 'disintegration of communication' between Rhiannon and Pwyll, and his abdication of support for her, a view not supported here.

[61] Rhiannon's privacies are not directly revealed, requiring careful exegesis from inferences: her personae are controlled, public images.

[62] Teyrnon speaks of the Lady's particular grief in her loss, [63] but she is not narrated directly as grieving, leaving open whether her mothering centres affection, ambition, or both kinds of passion. Rhiannon evinces poignant loss when her son disappears; she speaks of her pryder/ anxiety in his absence; and she attempts to rescue him as an adult.

[64] However, she also is extremely ambitious, and her most secure power position is the mother of the Dyfed heir.

[65] Neither lady's mothering is simply personal or political, reflecting hybrid mediaeval noble relationships.

[66] The Wife, whose cryptic mothering interlaces Rhiannon's, whose privacy scenes contrast Rhiannon's public faces, demonstrates Rhiannon's personal – political fusion.

[67] B2 BRANWEN 763 25/6/20

Branwen is a leading protagonist of the Mabinogi in the Second Branch, outside Mabinogi Rhiannon.

[68] Like Rhiannon, Branwen is highborn, first met as a maiden, so a named character.

[69] Both are incomer wives (Rhiannon to Dyfed, Branwen to Iwerddon/ Ireland). Both narratives pivotally feature horses.

[70] Both have double wedding feasts.

[71] Manawydan mediates conflict for both.

[72] Like Rhiannon, Branwen's early marriage is positive; both birth one son as the heir.

[73] Both innocently endure hostility from their marital people;

[74] which smears both women with animal blood.

[75] Both have assistant birds: Branwen trains drudwy/ a starling, as a messenger; Adar Rhiannon appear in this same Branch.

[76] Branwen can speak assertively 'with a tongue as sharp as Rhiannon's ... with sarcasm, [and the] force of her anger'.

[77] Both cause large scale devastations,

[78] tragically lose their baby sons,

[79] and are restored to their homelands after years of absence.

[80] There are also many differences. Since Guest's publications Branwen is titular protagonist of her Branch; Rhiannon never is.

[81] Branwen only appears in one Branch; Rhiannon in three.

[82] Branwen is

the king of Britain's sister, queen of Iwerddon/ Ireland, politically outranking Rhiannon.

[83] Branwen is a young maiden to be wed when Rhiannon's son is a mature war leader. In Branwen horses are horribly mutilated; in Rhiannon text no horse is hurt.

[84] Branwen is *teccaf morwyn yn y byt*, objectively beautiful, Rhiannon's looks are subjectively appreciated.

[85] Branwen's wedding feast resumes in reparation; Rhiannon's feasts are two different weddings.

[86] Branwen faces hostility after two years; Rhiannon after three.

[87] Branwen is threatened by natal (Efnysien) and marital kindred: Rhiannon by non-kindred (Maids, Llwyd).

[88] Rhiannon is unambiguously innocent of calumny. Branwen shares responsibility with her natal kindred for outraging the Irish.

[89] Blodeuedd, control over her life. Branwen's bird is trained; Adar Rhiannon's qualities seem innate. Branwen is explicitly literate, not attributed to Adar Rhiannon.

[90] Branwen speaks assertively in one dialogue, and acts as an effective peace negotiator; she is otherwise silent in contrast to Rhiannon's frequent, forceful speech.

[91] Branwen's infant son becomes heir to all Britain and Ireland; Pryderi inherits just seven cantrefi, as an adult.

[92] Both mothers lose their little sons, but Branwen is 'unable to hope for a reunion', an irrevocable loss, for Gwern is horrifically murdered in front of her.

[93] The disasters the women cause are unlike, for no one in Dyfed is killed, but the Irish War is genocidal.

[94] Branwen dies while no death is recorded for Rhiannon.

[95] Branwen has been a popular heroine since the Welsh Renaissance featured an exciting discovery of Branwen's grave (later discredited).

[96] Until recent decades Rhiannon was obscure.

[97] Branwen's docility within patriarchal codes also builds her popularity. Rhiannon, subversive and dominant, discomforts the conventional view.

[98] The motif of the 'Calumniated Wife' has been applied to both Rhiannon and Branwen.

[99] Its outline (K 2110.1), is the victimisation of foreign wives,

[100] applicable to Branwen; also her silence and patient suffering. But Rhiannon consults with advisers, speaks out via her penance to arguably solve the child abduction, and benefits from a loyal husband.

[101] Juliette Wood herself considers such motif analysis constructs a 'dissected state', contradicting the contemporary new coherence paradigm of orderly composition.

[102] Motifs deconstruct a tale to elements, tracing their historical provenance across cultures. However, a specific tale is a moment of complexity, situated in a particular culture of assumptions, from social codes and historic events. A motif drawn internationally, brought back to a specific tale, requires exegesis on why this tale shows variations from the meta-motif, which is circular.

So this study notes motifs mentioned in relation to Mabinogi text, without engaging with them. It is just as informative to simply say that Rhiannon and Branwen suffer hostility as exogamous wives,

[103] that Rhiannon is more assertive, with a loyal husband to aid her. More relevantly, Cyfraith Hywel defines a seven year transition from a woman's natal to marital kindred. Both Rhiannon and Branwen's sufferings occur in this period when unassimilated. The more alien a wife the more this would apply,

[104] and Branwen's case is aggravated by gross insult.

In summary, Branwen and Rhiannon are ruling women, political negotiators, exogamous wives, mothers of heirs,

[105] both suffering loss of baby sons. Branwen is half Rhiannon's age, far less assertive, far more silent; after losing all her kindred except Manawydan she dies guilty and devastated. The major difference between them is determined largely from narrative context. Branwen tells of ghastly war, mass death, failure of sarhaed. Mabinogi Rhiannon has minimal violence, two joyful restorations, much happy family life, contracts which hold for long periods.

[106] Branwen's sign of subversive resistance to convention characteristic of Rhiannon, is her irony.

[107] B2 CYMIDEI CYMEINFOLL 115 25/06/20

Cymidei is a minor Second Branch character, outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, with an important point to make.

[108] Like Rhiannon, she is an incomer to Dyfed, but involuntarily.

[109] Cymidei is a giantess,

[110] and Winward suggests Rhiannon shows traces of giantism.

[111] Cymidei is a primary biological force, an 'ungovernable visitation of primitive vigour and fertility', animalistically close to the Arberth hound bitch or Teyrnnon's mare, generator of almost instant male warriors.

[112] All Mabinogi mothers have only sons;

[113] in this violent society male lords primarily need their women to produce sons to fight in raids, feuds, and wars. Thus 'mab, mabinogi' blurs 'child' and 'boy'. (GPC) Cymidei caricatures how Rhiannon and the other Mabinogi mothers are courtly son-generators.

B1, B3 CIGFA 217 19/6/20

Cigfa is a secondary character, introduced as Pryderi's wife at the end of the First Branch, but with her main presence in the Third.

[114] As Rhiannon does, she appears as a maiden, so remains a named female after transitioning to marriage. Like Rhiannon, Cigfa is a feast giver, possibly connected with her background, apparently wealthy and advantageously trade connected;

[115] but she may therefore be of lower social standing than Rhiannon. As Rhiannon's daughter-in-law Cigfa is much younger, approximately contemporary to Branwen.

[116] She voices noble snobbery, probably modelled on Rhiannon with whom she lives during the long war absence of their men.

[117] She uses the noble female's tradition as Rhiannon does, of rebuking/ advising the male, but her rebukes to Manawydan are moderate, not Rhiannon's savage condemnations.

[118] Whether due to a milder temperament, or her isolation and dependency on Manawydan, is debatable. Like Rhiannon Cigfa appears to adjust to the shock of the Devastation and exile in Lloegr, without showing fear. Unlike Rhiannon she apparently does not hunt.

[119] When she confronts Manawydan with her fear of living alone with him, it may bear an element of strategy, pre-empting him with her vulnerability to evoke his protection.

[120] It resembles Rhiannon's use of her femininity to manipulate Gwawl. Broadly, Cigfa is a lesser version of Rhiannon, without the major aspects of her motherhood.

B3 LADY MOUSE 595 19/6/20

Lady Mouse is a minor but not unimportant character in Mabinogi Rhiannon, only appearing in the later Third Branch.

[121] She is anonymous because first met as a wife,

[122] and she is heavily pregnant, enabling Manawydan to capture her.

[123] She is his crucial negotiating resource to win Rhiannon and Pryderi free, and undo the Devastation of Dyfed. She is finally revealed as a human shapeshifted to a mouse.

[124] Manawydan's gibbet built of forks to hang Lady Mouse, has been seen as comedy,

[125] which must not overlook the abject terror of a totally helpless female, trapped, waiting to die.

There is a powerful structural interlace via food supplies between Rhiannon's bag (Dyfed's food and drink); Manawydan's glove used in his wheat crofting labour and to imprison Lady Mouse; and Efnysien's flour sacks.

[126] All are fabric containers flexible to size for their contents; all adapt from normal use to contain a person; all function as traps relating to ambush, leading to violence or death.

[127] Thus First, Second, and Third Branches across Mabinogi Rhiannon, link by a triple thread of humble food tools, distorted, contrasted to aggressive use as traps for violent feud or war. They are gendered, womblike soft, strong, stretchy containers.

Mabinogi Rhiannon's bag and glove are tied closed with string, with gendered ownership. The bag is owned by a powerful female who uses it to capture a vigorous, elite male. The glove belongs to a weakened male, using it to imprison a handicapped female. Both threaten to kill their captive, but negotiation avoids it. The bag tale as an aristocratic romance, contrasts the glove tale of hard peasant survival,

[128] with different images of food as pleasurable feast and desperate hunger.

[129] Lady Mouse' essential characteristic is an ultimate vulnerability of female life, the slow heaviness of late pregnancy which brings her downfall in capture. As above, it is Rhiannon's

motherhood which drastically changes her power position.

[130] Lady Mouse thus reinforces Rhiannon's maternal vulnerability aspect. She appears to be valued by her husband as young and beautiful so he will give anything to reclaim her.

[131] But beyond that is her value bearing his potential heir, so she also reinforces Rhiannon's position as mother of the heir (see VI.2. 'Rieni').

[132] Lady Mouse compares to Rhiannon initiating a playful approach to visiting Gorsedd Arberth, cf. Rhiannon's advent. Lady Mouse then becomes passive, in synchrony with Rhiannon's captivity. Lady Mouse and Rhiannon both have a group of women companions: neither receive help from them when in need. Both have persistently loyal husbands. Lady Mouse is a thief who steals Manawydan's grain: Rhiannon is also in a sense a thief. As she says, Pwyll must 'give' her to Gwawl to maintain honour. There is a tension in the narrative between legalistic female consent, and male bestowal. Rhiannon steals *herself* from male bestowal, to give herself to Pwyll.

[133] Manawydan is legally justified in hanging Lady Mouse by the neck as the penalty for theft: Rhiannon is forced to wear asses' collars.

[134] There are significant differences. Lady Mouse skips into Manawydan's Arberth fields as a married woman, where Rhiannon approaches Pwyll as a maiden. Manawydan's drama mediates a mouse, contemptible vermin, part of his peasant labour narrative. Pwyll's drama mediates Rhiannon's horse, a magnificent nobility icon. Lady Mouse is extolled as objectively 'deccaf a welsei neb', unlike Rhiannon.

[135] Lady Mouse' pregnancy narrative stops short when freed from captivity, where Rhiannon's continues into giving birth. As captive, Lady Mouse is not only helpless with heavy pregnancy, she is all alone.

Rhiannon is captive alongside her son.

B4 GOEWIN 254 19/6/20

Goewin is a secondary character, important in the Mabinogi Rhiannon epilogue.

[136] She and Rhiannon both introduce as maidens (unmarried, virgins); both transition into marriage. Like Rhiannon, Goewin is a noble court lady, positioned close to the arglwydd Math; later, he does not hesitate to marry her.

[137] Like Rhiannon, Goewin uses her voice effectively to gain remedy for rape, demonstrating agency; with courage when greatly hurt.

[138] Math shares his lordship with her, as Pwyll does with Rhiannon.

[139] Both women evidence how vulnerability as females applies to high status ladies in the heart of a llys. Both are failed by their women in their greatest hour of need.

[140] Goewin is acclaimed a great beauty, where Rhiannon's looks are equivocal.

[141] Goewin has lesser status than Rhiannon before marriage; she is a high court officer, not Math's equal.

[142] Goewin shares the chastity theme with the Queen of Annwfn and Cigfa; Rhiannon has two years of chaste betrothal but without the vulnerability of the others.

[143] Goewin's rape is a major plot pivot, Gwydion's motive in fomenting the Dyfed-Gwynedd war which shapes the first third of the Branch.

[144] Rhiannon is often a plot pivot, but the narrative never reduces her to a thing, a receptacle, used by others.

[145] Goewin, like Cigfa and Lady Mouse, points up extreme female vulnerability, female dependency on male protection against male predation. Rhiannon is simply lucky in not suffering as Goewin does, for the latter's rape happens in the heart of the court, surrounded by its people. Goewin is lucky that her ruling lord acts generously when she voices her complaint.

B4 ARIANRHOD 636 24/6/20

Arianrhod is outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, arguably the leading female protagonist of the Fourth Branch.

[146] Both she and Rhiannon exert large scale plot impact.

[147] Arianrhod's voice, like Rhiannon's, is a dominating power:

[148] her humiliation and harsh reactions structure the Branch, especially her Decrees.

[149] The reverberation of her third Decree ensures Lleu's wife is not human,

[150] shaping the rest of the Branch in disaster.

[151] Arianrhod and Rhiannon are mothers of heirs,

[152] and undergo public humiliation consequent to their female fertility.

[153] They both demonstrate female authority to name their sons;

[154] and lose their sons at birth.

[155] They are linked by their sons' interlacing of many components.

[156] Neither Arianrhod nor Rhiannon show affinity with other women.

[157] Neither of them is acclaimed as beautiful (Arhianrod poem, Triad).

[158] They are the two most formidable women in the Mabinogi.

Rhiannon and Arianrhod are both subject to misogynous commentary.

[159] Pennar is exemplary in this respect with uncompromising hostility to Arianrhod as 'destructive and ominous',

[160] 'a disembodied force to contend with rather than a woman .. an insatiable will to destroy',

[161] 'the aggressive party... caring only for the preservation of her good name',

[162] He feels 'we cannot /help our lack of sympathy for her'.

[163] Pennar's extreme othering of Arianrhod seems rooted in discomfort with female force unconstrained by males, and her 'heavy burden of shame for having given birth to two illegitimate children, of whom the father is not known'.

[164] Yet he is aware 'illegitimacy' was not 'abhorrent among the princes in Wales'.

[165] Virginity in Arianrhod's society is rewarded by substantial compensation payment to natal guardians when ideally lost at marriage, otherwise the law was pragmatic, seeking to attach the father for financial responsibility. A twyllforwyn pretending to virginity is derogated for dishonesty.

[166] Anglo-Norman Christianity historically introduced exclusion and moral disgust of 'fallen women', still running in Pennar's 1970s society. His admiration for the independent Rhiannon shows his pioneering pro-feminism;

[167] significantly Rhiannon stays within mainstream mores: virginal, then safely married. Othering Arianrhod is blind to her public humiliation in a deeply intimate way.

[168] She also refuses 'feminine' expression: had she wept her pain instead of raging it, she would much more likely gain sympathy.

[169] There is a tradition of Arianrhod as incestuous,

[170] whether willingly or not is unstated. Her later profound aversion to both Gwydion and child, and her silence about the father, suggests she knows she cannot access redress as Goewin does. This might fit with powerful Gwydion as incestuous father,

[171] thus her exceptional shame. That and her secrecy could not be more dissimilar to Rhiannon. Rhiannon's sexuality is openly celebrated, her maternal loss is involuntary, and she consistently works towards closeness with her son. Arianrhod's sexuality is secret and shaming; her maternal loss is deliberate rejection, but her persistent determination matches Rhiannon.

Arianrhod's motherhood is her shame and hurt, while Rhiannon's is her pride and joy.

[172] Besides their mothering Arianrhod's other great contrast to Rhiannon is her independent court at Caer Arianrhod as 'domina of her own retreat', making her unique among Mabinogi women;

[173] moreover without narrative comment.

[174] By Cyfraith Hywel/ Welsh law and custom, as an unmarried woman she would come under the authority of her father, uncle, or brother.

[175] Yet the only male she obeys is Math, her uncle, *arglwydd* of all Gwynedd.

[176] She 'refuses to accept social patterns', where Rhiannon's struggle is not 'against [society] so much as within it. This is a crucial distinction'.

[177] At her father's *llys*/ court she is comfortably autonomous; she holds mutual respect with Pwyll and Pryderi,

[178] and seems unconstrained by Manawydan, who admires her.

A (probably Ioloic) tradition aligns Arianrhod with silver (cf. her name); and Caer Arianrhod with the starry Milky Way (*Caer Gwydion*): contrast Rhiannon's gold (silk), and solar associations.

[179] B4 BLODEUEDD 594 25/6/20

Blodeuedd is a secondary character in the last episode of the Fourth Branch, outside Mabinogi Rhiannon.

[180] 'It' is constructed of flowers; not a human woman.

[181] However, once constructed, 'it' is narrated as a woman,

[182] so included here.

Like Rhiannon, Blodeuedd is first encountered as a maiden, thus a named character, who transitions to marriage.

[183] Both are noble class; *marchogesau*.

[184] Both are treacherous to a male partner. Blodeuedd betrays Lleu, plotting against him with Gronw Pebr. Rhiannon betrays Gwawl, plotting with Pwyll.

[185] Both women use sexuality to seduce the unwanted man to do their will.

[186] When the man does as desired (steps into vulnerable position), there is a humorous aspect; the badger-in-the-bag game is boisterous fun; Lleu's protective setup is ridiculous, standing on a bathtub and a billy goat.

[187] Both women leave the physically aggressive aspects of the trap to their male lovers.

[188] Both their strategies sustain over a year.

[189] Both are punished by an avenging magician,

[190] and include bird affinity: Adar Rhiannon, Blodeu(w)edd the owl.

[191] There are many differences, not least that Blodeuedd is not human. She is lady of only a sub-lordship, not a princely realm with Rhiannon's co-rulership. Blodeuedd's treachery is of far greater magnitude as she is fully married to Lleu. Rhiannon's mediaeval betrothal was much more serious than a modern engagement, but still fell short of marriage. On Patterson's women as vassals theory, Blodeuedd is guilty of treason.

[192] Blodeuedd explicitly seeks to murder Lleu, as the only way to exit her marriage.

[193] Rhiannon does not plan Gwawl's death.

[194] Blodeuedd's manipulative sexuality betrays Lleu in her marriage bed, a more intimate, and substantial betrayal than Rhiannon's use of seductive words, probably with some body language, on Gwawl.

[195] While both plots culminate in humour, Blodeuedd's finale is murder.

[196] The avenging magician Gwydion who permanently punishes Blodeuedd, is her marital kin, who then shapeshifts her. Llwyd is unknown to Rhiannon until he temporarily captures her, and she is not shapeshifted. Blodeuedd is narrated as unequivocally beautiful, unlike Rhiannon.

[197] Blodeuedd's Maids seem loyal, which leads to their deaths: Rhiannon's Maids are disloyal.

[198] Motherhood is impossible for Blodeuedd the construct.

[199] Principle in their differences is Blodeuedd's lack of agency.

[200] Constructed as a marital, sexual doll for Lleu, she can only exercise agency sexually, by attaching to a new owner.

[201] Gronw Pebr then directs their plot against Lleu. In gendered reversal, Pwyll obeys Rhiannon, Blodeuedd obeys Gronw Pebr.

[202] Blodeuedd's lack of agency evidences when left to her own responsibility, as she only offers appropriate hospitality to Gronw Pebr when reassured by others she should.

[203] Rhiannon is never reliant on such reassurance, though she does consult advisers.

[204] Rhiannon's sexuality, though present, is not central to her character. Blodeuedd embodies a warning that women forced into life as limited, sexual dolls, do not have the strength of character to be loyal.

[205] Rhiannon shows her effectiveness as loyal wife and mother, but crucially based on her own root decision. The Rhiannon-Gwawl narrative might embody a warning that a strong woman constrained against her will, is likely to circumvent her condition, which might well rebound on those who try to control her. The Blodeuedd narrative warns that stripping a woman down to a sex toy renders her a dangerously weak utility.

[206] Loyalty requires strength of decision, and sustained commitment. Blodeuedd as owl is ambiguous: Gwydion imposes it as a curse,

[207] but it is a strong, independent bird, skilled hunter and faithful partner.

[208] As such she now resembles Rhiannon, though the owl is a wild thing and Rhiannon a construct of the llysiau/ courts.

VI 1. MERCHED Y MABINOGI – SUMMARY

Comparing Rhiannon with the other Mabinogi women brings out her qualities in context: both similarities and differences reinforce, or add further depth to, the portrait themes so far.

1 Protagonists and supporters

Rhiannon, Branwen and Arianrhod, are here viewed as the three female protagonists of the Mabinogi, because as individuals they –

a) – appear in multiple scenes or episodes;

b) – show significant neges/ purpose, agency, in their own right;

c) – are integral to the plot of a whole Branch.

Rhiannon outranks Branwen and Arianrhod on (a), as significantly active in more than one Branch.

[209] She outranks Branwen (b) in active agency.

[210] The only comparables to Rhiannon as protagonist across Branches, are her son Pryderi (all Branches though minimally the Second); and her husband Manawydan (Second and Third Branches).

[211] Since both males are part of Mabinogi Rhiannon, this comparison reflects how pervasive Mabinogi Rhiannon is in the Four Branches; perhaps the pervasiveness of the southern Dyfed narrative.

[212] All the other individual females are secondary characters who appear in a few scenes or one episode, acting as elaborations of a protagonist even when they demonstrate neges/ purpose of their own.

This is argued to include Blodeuedd and Rhiannon's Maids.

[213] Blodeuedd is sometimes viewed as a protagonist, but she arguably functions as an extension of Arianrhod's neges/ agency; she is not present in the first two parts of Math; and the third part featuring her, can be viewed as the denouement of those two parts.

Third level female characters are in groups, mentions of female nobles or maids, appearing in one or a few scenes only, again as elaborations of higher level characters. A fourth level may be considered in servants, onlookers, 'the people', if not specifically gendered male.

[214] Mabinogi female hierarchy

Queens: 'Queen of Annwfn'. Branwen.

Princely realms: Rhiannon of Dyfed. Cigfa of Dyfed. Goewin of Gwynedd.

Lordships: 'Lady of Gwent'. Cymidei. 'Lady Mouse'. Arianrhod. Blodeuedd.

Other: Maids and companions' groups.

[215] The Annwfn queen presides over her richly perfect land, wearing exotic, costly silk.

Branwen, sister of the bountiful Bendigeidfran king of Britain, becomes Queen of Iwerddon/ Ireland, by marriage.

A notable, wealthy gift giver herself, her husband's ships fly silk pennants. Rhiannon rivals these two queens in her elitism and wealthy patronage, wearing the signatory silk.

The women of the first three levels preside over territories with different degrees of rulership.

The Queen of Annwfn is not narrated ruling territory in action, nor is Blodeuedd, or Lady Mouse.

[216] Branwen, Cigfa and the Lady of Gwent are advisers, a powerful tradition respected by Mabinogi males.

[217] Branwen is also a political negotiator, not explicitly attributed to Rhiannon though likely given her skill at converse. Rhiannon advises Pwyll, Manawydan, Pryderi, moreover demonstrates legal training. Her shared rule protects her position when she is attacked, and she sustains it in her second marriage. Branwen in similar case under attack, shows loyal strength by the husband is necessary to uphold it.

[218] Math refers to sharing rule with Goewin but there is no development on what this means in practice. Rhiannon and Branwen are gift givers. Rhiannon and Cigfa are feast givers, possibly the Queen of Annwfn is also. Gifts and feasts function as economic redistribution, key rulership roles which women hold in their own right. The Lady of Gwent represents female power networks of fostering, linked with Rhiannon. Thus Rhiannon holds almost all the possible modes of female rulership shown by the other women: shared lordship, adviser on rule, feast organisation, gift redistribution. She is distinctive as a legal adviser, and the continuity of her position through two marriages, both supportive.

Arianrhod outdoes Rhiannon in holding a sole female lordship, presumably by gift from her overlord, arglwydd Math. As with Lleu, this is the normal way to acquire land other than by inheritance or conquest; both the latter are the prerequisites of males. Rhiannon's narrative is over all a happy one, with Arianrhod's the reverse. Arianrhod's shame reflects her society in chaos and moral corruption, and her female independent lordship may also present as a symptom of that social breakdown. Rhiannon's shared lordship might then contrast the approved option. Her astute understanding of gender inequality beneath the courtesies, makes her subversive rather

than a rebel. However the long term consequence of Rhiannon's self-determined marital choice is the Devastation of Dyfed, signalling that she too stepped outside her proper female sphere of supporting male decisions, as portrayed by the Lady of Gwent.

Formulaic beauty descriptions of oral tradition, e.g. Olwen, are not found in the Mabinogi. Rhiannon is alone in her carefully subjective praise in the eyes of Pwyll and Pryderi. Other Mabinogi women are lauded as objectively beautiful with brief Mabinogi hyperbole: the Queen, Branwen, Lady Mouse, Goewin, Blodeuedd; interestingly not Cigfa, so Dyfed women are more notable for their voices than their beauty. It is suggested here that outright beauty is easier for the male gaze to attribute to non-dominating females.

Mabinogi women are not primarily extolled for looks, rather for *ymdidan*/ converse, for which the Queen and Rhiannon are both particularly praised. Valente emphasises the agency of Mabinogi women via speech. Rhiannon excels in its arts: her dialogue with Pwyll is efficient and courtly, dominating compared to the Lady of Gwent with Teyrnnon, Cigfa with Manawydan; dignified like Branwen with the Irish, Goewin with Math; disciplined in contrast to the raw stridency of Arianrhod with Gwydion.

Arianrhod's authority to voice the name of her son reinforces Rhiannon's conscious act in doing the same. Other women deploy speech refusal to elicit close attention from their lord: the Queen and Arawn, Blodeuedd and Lleu; Rhiannon does not use it except spectacularly in her opening courtship rides. Once engaged in relationship she speaks out.

[219] Her extraordinarily long strategy briefing to Pwyll (her bag), is echoed briefly by Maid 4: both are conspiracies, one by Rhiannon the other against her.

As men hold overall control of territory and authority, it may seem logical Mabinogi women's relationships are mainly with men, but there is some female-female relating. Rhiannon has an apparently cordial relationship with her daughter-in-law Cigfa. The Lady of Gwent anticipates her maids will support her. Notably leading women relate downwards to other females. Rhiannon's Maids evade punishment by uniting in conspiracy. Unlike the other mistresses Rhiannon's relationship with her Maids is pivotally flawed as they distrust her effective patronage to protect them, generating a major plot sequence. The failure is not Rhiannon's *ymdidan*/ converse with them, which deploys multiple resourceful persuasions.

Comparing the other mistresses, who have loyal maids, Rhiannon contrasts as an incomer wife, an outsider.

[220] This study suggests she is too arrogant to cultivate her Maids in her first married years, and prefers male relationships; Cigfa might suggest later character development, though still unequal. An unexpected similarity emerges with Blodeuedd, for both she and Rhiannon betray a male partner's trust. Rhiannon generally impresses with her direct speech and behaviour, but in this instance she is not above the sexual wiles of the subordinate feminine relating to Gwawl; cf. also Cigfa and Manawydan. Significantly at this point, Rhiannon is fighting back from a position like Blodeuedd's, bestowed by one male to another, and aiming in her dependency to win the male she desires. Rhiannon however, does not plan murder.

Rhiannon's anonymous, iconic remoteness when first meeting Pwyll, and her chaste years waiting to marry him, resemble the Queen of Annwfn.

Vulnerability and suffering as an incomer wife parallels Branwen, and Goewin's vulnerability warns that specifically female vulnerability to violence.

Queen

Maids groups

Lady of G

Cymidei
Cigfa
Mouse
Goewin
Arianrhod
Blodeuedd

1

Taking these protagonists as 'first level' the second level is characters who do not match the protagonist criteria, but operate as individuals: the Queen of Annwfn, Teyrnon's Wife, Cigfa, Cymidei, Lady Mouse, Goewin, Blodeuedd.

They all have a) multiple scenes.

b) Agency. Valente's point that Mabinogi women express agency through speech is very much borne out below.

The Queen is largely passive, although she deploys her silence effectively to convey disapproval, and elicit explanation from her husband. Her statement that Pwyll was notable for his sexual restraint is important as it advises and reinforces Arawn's thinking, resulting in the crucial development of Pwyll as Pen Annwfn. (See Pwyll analysis for how central this is.)

Teyrnon's Wife initiates a deception that the foundling is her own son. She initiates the plan to give the boy the colt born the night he was rescued. She advises her husband they should restore the child to Dyfed to gain much advantage.

Cigfa is largely passive but she initiates attention to important issues of conventional propriety. First she pushes Manawydan to address their gendered and unsupported household; second she presses him on the occupations he chooses and his peculiar plans for the Mouse Lady.

Cymidei lacks agency, existing as a biological force and a symbol.

Lady Mouse exercises definite agency, as she freely chooses to shapeshift and lead her Court women on an adventure. She runs to escape Manawydan. However once captured she is completely passive and objectified. Ultimate vulnerability. B2 shows vulnerability on grand scale. B3 makes it human.

Goewin exercises considerable agency. She screams in resistance to rape. She volunteers a report to Mâth about it. Her initial high position close to her prince's daily life suggests court skill and knowledge. Both as a footholder and a wife, she may be seen as a source of advice to Mâth.

Blodeuedd is a constructed object for use by a male. She has been described as exercising agency because she takes another lover. This could equally be seen as Blodeuedd acting out her constructed function to sexually fascinate, and be fascinated. Once she becomes Gronw Pebr's lover he initiates the assassination plot, pushing her to betray Lleu to his death. She is the stereotypical tool for men to use.

Finally Gwydion recalibrates her to a different appearance, like customising phone or car.

c) Plot status. Lady Mouse unequivocally holds pivotal plot status. Were she omitted the narrative of her episode in her Branch would collapse. She would have to be replaced with a closely similar type of character, one as vulnerable to Manawydan as s/he was valuable to Lloyd. Compare Blodeuedd who could be replaced with very different characters without violating the key conflict. Unlike the Mouse Lady, the Queen of Annwfn, the Lady of Gwent, Cigfa, and Cymidei, could conceivably be omitted without destroying their Branch or episode plots. They are useful embellishments, reactively amplifying other characters. Cymidei is an exception. She is not a plot pivot, as her husband could produce and convey the Cauldron by himself. But neither does she amplify another character. She apparently amplifies the nature of the Cauldron. See Ch. Goddesses.

The Queen amplifies Pwyll and Arawn. The Wife amplifies Teyrnnon and Gwri. Cigfa amplifies Manawydan, representing Pryderi and Rhiannon's views in their absence. Goewin amplifies Gwydion, Gilfaethwy, and Môth. She can claim integral plot status, but there is also an alternate tradition with Arianrhod as footholder, bearing an incestuous child fathered by either Môth or Gwydion.

Blodeuedd has integral plot status, but only in the last third of her Branch. Arianrhod also appears only in one third of the Branch, but it is her decree which also determines the following episodes (Blodeuedd, Gwydion's quest for Lleu, Lleu's revenge) . Further it is possible to read Lleu and Gronw Pebr's bitter conflict as the central issue of the later Branch in its own right, with other possible causes cf. conflicts between Pwyll and Arawn, Arawn and Hafgan, Bendigeidfran and Matholwch, which originate in offences about animals or territory. Blodeuedd certainly provides a colourful aetiology so omitting her would diminish the aesthetic emotions of the later Fourth Branch, but its key scheme would be little different in terms of male activity. On the other hand Blodeuedd sustains a structural pattern of triads where a female mediates two males: Goewin/ Arianrhod mediates Gwydion, Gilfaethwy; Arianrhod mediates Gwydion, Lleu; Blodeuedd mediates Lleu, Gronw Pebr. In all Blodeuedd has

[1] Bollard, 'Structure, p. 132.

[2] Andreas Meirion Pennar, 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature: An Examination of Some Literary Attitudes before 1500.'

(Unpublished PhD, Jesus College, Oxford, 1975), 305 pp. Quote is from the Abstract 1st- 2nd pp. unnumbered front matter.

Pennar was researching at Oxford at the same time that Bollard was writing 'Structure', first quote. Pennar's work, in Bollard's

words 'adequately defined or examined' the women of the Mabinogi. Regrettably his work has been hidden in Oxford archives, so

has not aided Valente and subsequent scholars.

[3] Valente, 'Merched', p. 93.

[4] Pennar's early study is a similar methodical approach, Ch. 4. (pp. 119-152); the Maids, Lady Mouse omitted. The Maids, Lady

of Gwent, and Cigfa also have earlier characterisations considering their relationships with Rhiannon. V. Ei Charennnyd/ Her Kindred.

[5] See VI.1.2. Y Gwragedd/ The Maids.

[6] Cymedei and her husband acquire land from Bendigeidfran. Maids and companion ladies are here assumed as daughters of the nobility.

[7] See III.3. Hierarchi Economeg/ Hierarchy economics; III.4. Digwyddiadau Ceffylau a Marchogion/ Equine Events &

Equestrian Nobility; and especially III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[8] Queen's narrative: Arawn speaks of his wife, PKM1 3.8-9. Pwyll's first sight of her: 4.14; their relationship 4.14-5.5. With

Arawn: 7.3-8.3. In this study she is accorded the honorific of 'Queen of Annwfn', the text only refers to her as 'wife' or 'queen'.

See Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction on why constructed titles are used for the Queen of Annwfn, the Lady of Gwent, and Lady Mouse.

- [9] Valente critiques Bollard on his limited attention to the 'actions of the women ... insofar they are useful devices by which the author enacts of the themes of Feuds and Friendships between the male characters,' Valente, 'Merched', p. 90. She continues 'He looks at Arawn's wife as the tempting test which is set before Pwyll in the evolution of his new friendship with Arawn. He makes nothing of the queen's subsequent conversation with her husband', p. 91. Arawn's wife is certainly not a full-scale persona in our story, but rather just a means for the storyteller to make a point.' Lauran Toorians, 'Luxuria, Gula and Temperentia in Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet', *Australian Celtic Journal*, Vol. 12 (2014), pp. 127–159, @ p. 134.
- [10] 'Pennar identifies Rhiannon and Queen similarities regarding their silks, and their noble, courtly, speech and demeanour, 'Women', p. 120. Analysed in more detail here, but Pennar's early recognition deserves credit.
- [11] Her husband Arawn describes her as *y wreic deccaf a weleist eiroet*/ the most beautiful woman you have ever seen. PKM1
- 3.9. Rhiannon is heralded as the *ryuedawt* of Gorsedd Arberth, PKM1 9.4–7.
- [12] Arawn says of his queen '*rodaf y wreic*'/ 'I will give you a woman', PKM1 3.9. Rhiannon says to Pwyll, '*Dyro di ui idaw ef*'/ 'Give me to him', PKM1 14.21. See bestowal of women III.5. *Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd*/ Law, Land & Women.
- [13] Rhiannon is anonymous for a total of 94 lines, PKM1 9.11–12.23. Pennar speaks of 'the wonder and allurement of the otherworld queen', 'Women', p. 119. Pwyll has keenly anticipated a *ryuedawt*/ wonder, PKM1 9, 9–10. Pwyll sees the Queen across her hall, among her retinue; PKM1 4.12–14. He sees Rhiannon *ar hyt y prifford a gerdei heb law yr orssed*./ on the main road going past the Gorsedd, PKM1 9. 14.
- [14] Queen's silk: *eurwisc amdanei o bali*/ *llathreit*/ PKM1 4.15–16. Rhiannon's silk: a *gwisc eureit, llathreit, o bali amdanei*/ PKM1 9.13. Similar phrasing. On their other signs of wealth, the queen is seen within incomparable buildings PKM1 4.6–8, with an incomparably well equipped military host PKM1 4 12–14. Rhiannon displays her magnificent, valuable horse, PKM1 9.12–13, which then dominates the narrative until they meet, 12.8.
- [15] The *ryuedawt* of Gorsedd Arberth, PKM1 9.4–7.
- [16] The 'otherworld temptress'. is a motif associated with the Queen, noted by Pennar, 'Women', p. 120, citing Laura Hibbard Loomis, 'Gawain and the Green Knight'; ALMA, 528 ff., especially pp. 533–6; and her Wales and the Arthurian Legend (Cardiff, 1956), Ch.vi; Pennar p. 120, n. 2. The Queen makes explicit reference to *frouedigaeth y gorff*/ bodily temptation, PKM1 7,29, which she presented to Pwyll. Rhiannon's advent is mysterious, presenting erotic pursuits (see XXX). She deploys seductiveness upon Gwawl, PKM1 15.20–25.
- [17] The Queen and her feast: PKM1 4.14–25. Rhiannon announces she owns her wedding feast and will prepare another: PKM1 15.21–25; she also prepares the major homecoming feast for Pryderi PKM3 50.12–14.
- [18] Pwyll admires the Queen's converse: PKM1 4.20–22. Pryderi admires Rhiannon's: PKM3 50.7–8, cf. *Manawydan* PKM3 50,15–17. Valente's emphasis on the Queen's converse: 'Merched', p. 91, 'she suffered not only from his apparent lack of sexual interest, but also because he refused to speak with her in intimate circumstances', p. 149. Queen and Arawn dialogue: PKM1 7.8 –8.3. Rhiannon and Pwyll: PKM1 12.10– 13.11. Pwyll is not Rhiannon's established 'partner' at this point, but the dialogue itself builds their betrothal. For more on Rhiannon's skill in converse see IV.1. *Ei Llais*/ Her Voice.
- [19] Pwyll's chastity in *Annwfn*: PKM1 4.26–28, for a year: 5.6. Pwyll and Rhiannon wait for their wedding: PKM1 15.26–28.

Kapphahn sees Manawydan's 'chaste relationship with Cigfa that echoes that of Pwyll and Arawn's wife', Gender MA, p. 36. For the chastity issue see V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon. Valente divides Mabinogi women on two themes of fertility (the mothers) and fidelity (the Queen, Cigfa, Goewin, Blodeuwedd). 'Merched', p. 202. Rhiannon however, combines both themes.

[20] Queen welcomes Arawn in bed: PKM1 7.3–7. Rhiannon's wedding night: PKM1 18.19–21.

[21] There is no mention of the Queen relating to another woman, though as a high ranking lady she must have unmentioned Maids. Rhiannon has only brief mentions of relating to women; her Maids: PKM1 20.23–21.8, a pivotal passage, see V.4. Y Gwagedd/ The Maids; the opposite of the various male friendships in the Mabinogi. Rhiannon and Cigfa partner as feast givers, PKM3 50.12–14, but as part of the four Dyfed royals post-Devastation, said to be a loving quartet, unlike Pryderi -Manawydan there is no explicit Rhiannon -Cigfa narrative.

[22] Queen's narrative: PKM1 3.9 – 8.3 (134 lines). Rhiannon's narrative can be measured in two versions. The shorter one is PKM1 8.27– 27.27 (two thirds the First Branch); and all the Third Branch. The longer version threads through all the first three Branches and the first third of the Fourth Branch. See I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[23] On Rhiannon's agency, e.g. see IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts. Pennar sees the Queen as 'totally subservient to her husband', 'Women', p. 121. This is too universal as she finally insists Arawn accounts to her, PKM1 7.7–21.

[24] Rhiannon's 94 lines of anonymity, PKM1 9.11–12.23; self identification, PKM1 12.23. For the convention of anonymising married women, see unnamed women III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwagedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[25] Queen and retinue PKM1 4.12–16. See note under Maids, below, on whether she has any. Rhiannon alone, PKM1 9.11– 13; see I.4. Dyfodiad Rhiannon/ Advent of Rhiannon.

[26] Arawn enables: PKM1 3.7–10, & 3.26. Rhiannon's pursuits: PKM1 9.11 – 12.8.

[27] PKM1 4.14–15. Her husband's statement previously, PKM1 3.9, is subjective, so the later observation by the narrator is cited here as 'objective'. Rhiannon is only described as subjectively remarkable in her looks by Pwyll, PKM1 12.16–18, and Pryderi's praise is not straightforward, PKM3 50.8–10. He claims she was incomparably beautiful in her prime, when he never saw her, in her maturity now she is merely 'not disappointing'. Cf. the subjective perception of the incomparable Adar Rhiannon, see VII.4. Adar Rhiannon/ Birds of Rhiannon. The objective narrative of beauty is there for the Queen of Annwfn, PKM1 4.14–15; Branwen, PKM2 30.29–31.2; Lady Mouse, PKM3 65.11; Goewin, PKM4 67.9–10; Blodeuedd, PKM4 83.25. Since Rhiannon and Arianrhod are notably excluded, possibly beauty can be more comfortably attributed to females safely ruled by males.

[28] See though, the ambiguity of her final comment, n. 31 below.

[29] See IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice. The Queen presses Arawn to explain by her silence PKM1 7, 8–14. Pennar observes 'her passive way of showing disapproval that there had been silence between them for such a long time', 'Women', p. 122. Ford observes wryly that Arawn 'has some explaining to do', but this falls short of recognising the Queen's agency in insisting upon it. Ford, Native Tales, p. Valente sees her silence as effective strategy. 'The impetus which awakes this response [from Arawn] is the absence of one of her most attractive attributes--"ymdidan"--or conversation'. 'Merched', p. 147. Pennar draws a contrast between the Queen and Blodeuedd's silences in the marital bed, used to extort a desired response. The Queen's is 'harmless', 'Women', p. 122, also p. 121. Blodeuedd, Lleu's bed, PKM4 84.1– 86.13. The Queen is not, like Blodeuedd, treacherous, an attempted murderess (see below). However in their centrally erotic

nature, their key function of passing from one male to another, their pressuring silences to their males, they do bear similarity. Pennar further contrasts the Queen and Blodeuedd narrative as a 'tacit anti-exemplum' of 'a man's loyalty and chastity as opposed to a woman's fickleness and duplicity' p. 121. We have no window into Rhiannon's marital bed dialogue but neither of her marriages suggests duplicity.

[30] Valente, 'Merched', p. 147. PKM1 The only other Mabinogi character who is narrated with inner monologue is Efnysien: e.g. PKM2 43.21–23. "Y Duw y dygaf uyg/ kyffes," heb ynteu yn y uedwl, "ys anhebic a gyflauan/ gan y tylwyth y wneuthur, a wna i yr awr honn." /'To God I make my confession,' he said in his mind 'it is an unspeakable crime against the kindred, what I'm about to do this [very] hour.'

[31] 'Diryued oed hynny,' heb hitheu./ 'No wonder', she said. PKM1 8.3. It seems sharply terse, and while somewhat opaque, it is imaginable she objects to his use of her as his tool. Alternatively, if as 'other' beings, the Annwfn couple have played such games on mortals before, she is possibly laughing with him at the conclusion of another episode of fun.

[32] Pennar classifies her with Cigfa and Teyrnon's wife as 'one of the naive unsuspecting women' of the Mabinogi, 'Women', p. 121.

[33] This is perhaps a mere ideal as Branwen, Goewin, possibly Arianrhod, and Blodeuedd are not so protected. PKM

[34] This is not a circular argument, but derives from their high rank.

[35] Rhiannon's Maids: PKM1 20.4–21.8. Lady of Gwent: PKM1 23.11–13. Lady Mouse: PKM3 64.15–16. Goewin's women: PKM4

72.2–4. Arianrhod's two women: PKM4 82.22–26. Blodeuedd's women: PKM4 90.26–28 – 91.5.

Valente helpfully notes Blodeuedd's maids' strange backward looking faces match the owl their mistress is about to become, 'Merched', p. 280 n. 400.

[36] Rhiannon's Maids are capitalised to signal how they have agency and four of them have individual voices. Maids' narrative: PKM1 20.4–21.8.

[37] See full quotes V.4. Y Gwrageddau/ The Maids.

[38] See Rhiannon's bag speech: IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice.

[39] Rhiannon's penance years as actually enacted, can be calculated from the Gwent narrative.

The child is four by the calendar arriving at Arberth. One calendar year = 3 growth years. PKM1 23.18–24. Valente 'Merched' p. identifies how Rhiannon's loss

reverberates further at the tower episode: PKM3 57.1–3. Llwyd explicitly attributes his vengeance on Dyfed to the coercion of Gwawl as badger-in-the-bag: PKM3 64.8–10.

[40] Rhiannon and Pwyll: PKM1 14.23 –15.17. Maids' plot: PKM1 20.11–21.8.

[41] Choice stated, her neges: PKM1 12.22–27. Abuse of Gwawl, see n.24, above.

[42] Terror, Dwy, PKM1 20. 12–14. Theory of nobles' faction plot, see V.4. Ei Gwragedd/ Her Maids.

[43] Maids kill stag-hound puppy 20.16–18; 21–22. Rhiannon does kill animals as a hunter, but this is part of being a food supplier. Manawydan recalls hunting with her, PKM3 58.26. For more on Rhiannon's Maids, see VI.3. Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon.

[44] Lady's narrative: PKM1 22.6 – 26.28. Constructed title for this study, the text only refers to her as Teyrnon's wife. This passage is a summary comparison of the Lady with Rhiannon. Another examination, V.6. Lady of Gwent, is part of the section on Rhiannon's kindred, including the Lady as acknowledged foster mother of Rhiannon's child. That passage is a more general portrait of the Lady's character, with extended quotes.

[45] Lady is barren, Teyrnon refers to it: PKM1 23.5–6. Rhiannon is barren in her early marriage for two years: PKM1 19.18–21.

[46] This uses ‘mother’ inclusively, not restricting it to birth mothers.

[47] The disappeared Dyfed heir is never explicitly stated as identical with the Gwent foundling, but the consecutive narrative very strongly implies it, and Teyrnon recognises the boy’s resemblance to Pwyll: PKM1 24.15–19; he publicly presents him as the heir of Dyfed: PKM1 25.23–26.7.

[48] Rhiannon’s loss occurs first: PKM1 20.23–24. The Lady loses the boy when he is taken to Arberth: PKM1 25.7–9.

[49] Teyrnon consults with his Lady: PKM1 22.7–11; & 24.22–25.6. She also advises on the adoption 23.7–14; and colt bestowal: PKM1 23.24–24.5. For full analysis of these dialogues see V.6 Arglwyddes Gwent/ Lady of Gwent [Later ‘Teyrnon’s Wife’]. Rhiannon briefs Pwyll with bag strategy PKM1 14.21–15.17; advises him legally: PKM1 17.20–28; on minstrels: PKM1 18.22–28. Her initial dialogue with him is substantial: PKM1 12.7–13.11. See IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice. Shimpock links Rhiannon, Branwen and the wife of Teyrnon as advisers to their husbands, ‘Unlikely’, p. 2, n. 9.

[50] Lady is consulted re problem mare: PKM1 23.24–24.5; arranges colt bestowal and marchog training: PKM1 23.24–24.8.

Rhiannon’s advent as marchoges: PKM1 9.11–13, with horse pursuits up to 12.11. She hunts PKM3 52.9–17; & 58.26.

[51] Lady arranges bestowal: PKM1 23.24–24.5. Rhiannon and minstrels: PKM1 17.20–21; & 18.22–28; bestows jewels: 19.14–16.

ADAR

[52] Rhiannon wedding feasts: PKM1 15.21–25; homecoming feast: PKM3 50.12–14. Lady marchog training: PKM1 23.24–24.8.

[53] On Rhiannon’s high ambition to marry Pwyll see I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text; & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon. The Lady politically assesses foundling: PKM1 23.8–11; & advises political advantage in returning him: PKM1 24.26–25.6. Her judgement is confirmed by Pwyll, PKM1 26.20–22; & 26–28; the second statement is almost exactly her own words, referring to the boy’s growth period and the future after that.

[54] See the theory that her agreed penance enables her to spread the news of her loss in the hope it will reach wherever the boy is. V.5. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[55] PKM1 24.28–25.6.

[56] Teyrnon restores boy to Rhiannon: PKM1 26.2–3. Teyrnon appointed foster father: PKM1 27.1–4.

[57] Rhiannon anonymous: PKM1 9.11 – 12.22.

[58] Valente, antithesis, ‘Merched’, pp. 167, 171 & 174; developed pp. 286–87. Lady adopts: PKM1 23.9–11. Wife advises relinquishing child: PKM1 24.26–25.6. Rhiannon discovers her loss: PKM1 20.23–24. Rhiannon gives birth: PKM1 20.2 Wife’s Maids: PKM1 23.11–13. Ford describes the pattern as a ‘doublet’, seeing Teyrnon and his wife as ‘shadows’ of Pwyll and Rhiannon in a fertility myth. ‘Prolegomena’, p.121.

[59] Rhiannon loses her boy, PKM1 20.10–11, and 23–24; the Lady loses him, PKM1 24.26–25.8. Fosterage arranged PKM1 27.1–

4. [60] Wife’s private dialogues: PKM1 22.6–11; 23.2–13; 23.24–24.4; 24.27–25.5. Public marriage Rhannon and Pwyll: PKM1 19.16–20.4; 21.9–23; 25.23–26.19; 27.15–17.

[61] Valente, ‘Merched’, pp. 171–72. Pwyll’s failure of support, p. 173 & n. 237. This profile of Rhiannon and Pwyll is not endorsed by this study, see V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[62] See also contrast with the Queen's inner thoughts, above. The closest to a private moment in Rhiannon's narrative is her vulnerable cry to her Maids on the loss of her son, PKM1 20.23–24. That is voiced to six persons, quickly followed by her strategic discussion with them. Her first dialogue with Pwyll is conducted in ambassadorial style; it aimed at a contract, and could have been repeated to others though Pwyll chose not to do this. PKM1 12.7–13.15.

[63] Teyrnon speaks of her grief: PKM1 26.22–35.

[64] First loss: PKM1 20.23–24. Her pryder: PKM1 26.9–10. Her rescue: PKM3 57.1–3.

[65] See the Preseli council where Dyfed nobles press for her divorce. Pwyll defends her as having borne plant/ children: PKM1.

See also the elite female status of *rieni*, VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[66] See III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[67] For the concept of 'interlace' see Bollard, II.9. Paradigm Shift 1970-1995; more examples VIII. Structures XXX

[68] Branwen's narrative: PKM2 30.19– 45.20. While she herself stands outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, parts of her Branch narrative form part of Mabinogi Rhiannon; notably the horse connection, mutilated by Efnysien, PKM2 32.2–6; & Adar Rhiannon, PKM2 45.2–4; & actual event. 46.13–15.

[69] Branwen named by Matholwch, PKM2 30.20. On the anonymisation of married women see III III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[70] Branwen's fate pivots on mutilated horses at her wedding: PKM2 32.2–6. Rhiannon's advent on her anomalous horse is pivotal: PKM1 9.11–14, pursuits –12.6; and more, see V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[71] Branwen marries Matholwch at Aberffraw where they slept together, PKM2 31.6–7. A second feast attempts to compensate for insult to Matholwch, PKM2 34.2–3 ff. Rhiannon's two weddings, PKM1 13.17 ff. & PKM1 15.27 ff.

[72] Manawydan mediator,. PKM2 36.15–23. PKM3 61.21 ff.

[73] Gwern, PKM2 43.8–12.

[74] However Branwen bears responsibility on a kindred basis, see n. 96, end of this Branwen section. See also the 'Calumniated Wife' motif, addressed below.

[75] Branwen is hit on the ears by a butcher just as he has been chopping flesh, PKM2 Rhiannon's face is smeared with puppy blood, PKM1 20.16–22. Another link is that Rhiannon in captivity must wear asses' collars, specifically after they have been working in the harvest field. PKM3 65.19–20. Like Branwen, the humiliation is tied to the dirt of labour.

[76] Branwen's drudwy, PKM2 38.7–10. Adar Rhiannon, prophesied PKM2 45.2–4; & actual event. 46.13–15.

[77] Valente, 'Merched', p. 210; her anger, p. 211, referencing PKM2 40.3–4. Pennar notes Branwen's 'well-judged irony' when she declines the title *arglwyddes*/ lady, to confront her abusers with what they have done. 'Women', p. 137, She also acts as a peace negotiator, PKM2 42.6 -9. Winward concurs Branwen (and Gwein) are 'not so meek as to suffer their shame in silence' 'Aspects', p. 78. On Rhiannon's skill in converse see IV.1. *Ei Llais*/ Her Voice. Shimpock links Rhiannon, Branwen and the wife of Teyrnon as advisers to their husbands, 'Unlikely', p. 2, n. 9.

[78] Rhiannon's treatment of Gwawl is the cause of the Devastation of Dyfed for X years, PKM3 64.8–10. Branwen bears at least part responsibility for the Irish War, see n. 96, end of this Branwen section.

[79] Rhiannon, PKM1 20.21–24. Branwen PKM2 43.24–44.1.

[80] Branwen births Gwern in the first year of her marriage, PKM2 37.16–17. Her abuse began in the second year, PKM2 37.22–

25, and continued for about three years, PKM2 38.7. Bendigeidfran then musters a huge army which would take weeks if not months, and war ensues of undefined duration, making her absence from Britain approach five years. Rhiannon is captive in the Third Branch while Manawydan travels to make another attempt at business in Lloegr, journeys back, and grows a crop of wheat. PKM3 57.12 – 59.2.

[81] In most versions of the Mabinogi, Branwen is the titular protagonist of the Branch, which is often referred to as Branwen; a usage dating to Charlotte Guest, *Mabinogion*, Contents page 'Branwen the Daughter of Llyr', p. ix. The native Welsh Renaissance had titled it on Bendigeidfran. See II.6. *Y Dadeni Cymru / Welsh Renaissance 1707– 1877*; A few recent productions such as Boyd (2017) have attempted to revive the older usage but it seems unlikely this will prevail against the widely established Branwen custom. Matthieu Boyd, (ed.), *The Four Branches of The Mabinogi*. Broadview Anthology of British Literature. (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2017).

[82] Rhiannon (exclusive) narrative First Branch PKM1 8.27– 27.27; & Third Branch PKM3 49.1– 57.1 –12. Adar Rhiannon PKM2 45.2–4; & actual event. 46.13–15. Comparison of exclusive and inclusive narrative I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[83] 'Branwen uerch Lyr', PKM2 30.20, Branwen daughter of Llyr, thus sister to 'Bendigeiduran uab Llyr', PKM2 29.1. By marrying Matholwch, Branwen becomes queen of Iwerddon/ Ireland. Valente sees Branwen's marriage as 'a political alliance and not a romantic one, as Pwyll's and Rhiannon's was' 'Merched', p. 193. This study sees Rhiannon's choice of Pwyll as both political and romantic; see Lady of Gwent below; I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text; III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women; & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon. For Mabinogi territorial hierarchy see III.3. Hierarchiaeth Economeg/ Hierarchy economics. CHK

[84] Mutilated horses, PKM2 32.2–6. Rhiannon's concern for Pwyll's horse, PKM1 12.9–10. her son inherits her affinity and is eager to care for horses' needs, PKM1 23.22–24.

[85] Branwen 'the most beautiful maiden in the world', PKM2 31.1–2. For the beauty issue and Rhiannon see the Queen, above n. 27, & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[86] Branwen, PKM2 31.6–7, & PKM2 34.2–3 ff. Rhiannon & Pwyll, PKM1 13.17 ff. & Gwawl, PKM1 15.27 ff. See n. 69 above.

[87] Branwen, second year, PKM2 37.20. Rhiannon, third year, Preseli council, PKM1 19.18. Shimpock considers Branwen seeks relinquishment from her marriage vows while Rhiannon seeks her choice of whom to marry; different avenues to independence. 'Unlikely', p. 2, n. 17.

[88] Efnisien mutilates horses, PKM2 32.2–6. Maids PKM1 20.11–20. Llwyd explains his revenge, PKM3 63.26–65.16. Winward contrasts Branwen's and Rhiannon's 'punishment'. Branwen's is kitchen centred, gender appropriate; Rhiannon's is strenuous, carrying visitors on her back, part of a Rhiannon discourse of unfeminine strengths. 'Aspects', pp. 83–84.

[89] Branwen is not 'the cause' of the War. Efnisien's horse mutilations, and his murder of Gwern, are its staged catalysts. It might be said that Bendigeidfran overdoes generosity to Matholwch; demonstrating his pride and enormous wealth, his superior lordship in the Cauldron tale, laying substantial cause for resentment. His Cauldron gift aggravates the extremities of the War. Branwen is a powerful force for peace, until Efnisien wrecks it by killing her son as the precious joint heir. (Valente interestingly suggests Bendigeidfran pulls Branwen back from rescuing the child to 'take the kingship of Ireland for himself', 'Merched', p.

183.) But Branwen shares kindred responsibility with her brothers. Bred to that kindred way of thinking, she ultimately despairs. Cf. the complexity of Rhiannon's individual and kindred

responsibility with Pwyll, for the Devastation of Dyfed. In modern psychology Branwen could be seen as suffering survivor guilt, which is also condition arising from embedment in kindred or group.

[90] Branwen's letter, PKM2 38.10–13. It would be easy to assume Rhiannon is literate because she is a powerful and efficient administrator, and intellectual (skilled in converse). However, she could be all that, without literacy, relying on trained memory, assistant scribes, or a mix of the two.

[91] PKM2 40.3–4, & PKM2 42.6–9. Rhiannon see IV.1. *Ei Llais/ Her Voice*. Mac Cana defines Branwen as 'a passive and colourless figure who has little of the spirit and complexity of the great heroines of Celtic literature.' *Mabinogi*, p. 55. Valente critiques him, 'Merched', pp.190, 203, and for creating a goddess 'dichotomy'; either a woman is a powerful goddess figure or she is weak; p.70; cf. her example of Rhiannon's attempted rescue of Pryderi, p. . Valente further emphasises 'Branwen reminds her oppressors of what they did to her... she expresses her anger', pp. 42 & 43. Valente concedes Branwen is 'not as outspoken as any of the other major female characters', p. 203; presumably Rhiannon, Arianrhod; 'she does not have the sharp humor of Rhiannon', p. 203.

[92] Gwern, PKM2 43.8–12. Pryderi PKM1 27.14–18.

[93] Kappahn, 'she must watch him burn to death in the fire', 'Gender', p. 39. Rhiannon's loss, PKM1 20. 23–24. Gwern killed, PKM2 43.26–27. It is finely balanced whether Rhiannon not knowing the fate of her son over the years, alive or dead, is worse than Branwen's ghastly certainty.

[94] Seven survivors of the Irish War, PKM2 44.25–27.

[95] Branwen's death PKM2 45.16–20.

[96] Guest Ford?

[97] See II.9. *Y Patrwm Cydlyniant 1970-1995/ The Coherence Paradigm, & IX Deongliadau/ Interpretations*.

[98] Pennar compares the two women, finding Branwen 'less alive and forceful' than Rhiannon, yet recognises Branwen as a 'female politician and arbitrator' characteristic of Welsh women. He sees 'the author's narrative method, which here is historical rather than dramatic' detracting from Branwen's dynamism compared to Rhiannon. 'Women', p. 137.

Cf. the Queen, n. 27 on the beauty issue and how uncontrolled females may distort perceptions.

[99] Juliette Wood, 'The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature', *CMCS*, 10 (1985), pp. 25–38. Repr. in *The Mabinogi, A Book of Essays*, ed. by Charles W. Sullivan III (NY: Garland Publications, 1996), pp. 61–78. Pagination refs. here are from the Sullivan anthology. Valente sees it in both Rhiannon, and Branwen: the former 'resolved successfully', the latter 'degenerates into failure and death', 'Merched', p. 103.

[100] Wood, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 62, and pp. 62–63.

[101] Wood notes Pwyll's loyalty, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 71. Pwyll decrees a penance for her instead of divorce, PKM1 21.9–21; and Rhiannon continues to sit beside him in her place as ruling consort in the evening, PKM1 25.23–25.

[102] Wood, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 66.

[103] Both distribute rich gifts on arrival in their new homeland, functioning to allay some of the hostility to a foreign wife. The phrasing is markedly similar with double negatives, male and female recipients specified, and very similar gifts. *Na gwr na gwreic o/ hynny nyt edewis Riannon, heb rodi rod enwauc idaw,/ ae o gae, ae o uodrwy, ae o uaen guerthuawr./* Neither man nor woman of them left without Rhiannon bestowing upon them [some kind of] special gift: either a brooch, a ring, or a stone of great value. PKM1 19.14–16. *Ny/ doey wr mawr, na gwreic da yn*

Iwerdon, e ymw[e]let a/ Branwen, ni rodei hi ae cae, ae modrwy, ae teyrndlws/ cadwedic ydaw...
/Not one great man or noble lady would come to visit Branwen to whom she would
not give a clasp, a ring or a royal jewel to them. PKM2 37.9–13.

[104] The Calumniated Wife cluster includes the wife alienated as otherworldly, witchy, divine.
Wood, 'Calumniated', p.

[105] See VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[106] Pennar contrasts the two women's ability to cope with survivor guilt. He considers
Rhiannon would be stronger, more able to cope with it. 'Women', p. 139. When all her people and
foodstocks are gone in the Third Branch, Rhiannon adapts, becoming a huntress provider, and
then part of business projects. However Pennar is questionable, for we do not see Rhiannon
undergo such appalling circumstances as Branwen; Rhiannon benefits from Pwyll as loyal
husband, and her son survives to become a great prince.

[107] PKM2 40.3–4.

[108] Cymidei's narrative: PKM2 35.5–36.29. Her name 'difficult to translate definitively', suggests
a pun on her giant birthing capacity. Valente, 'Merched', 201; also expressed in her torllwyth
hwnnw/ bellyload [literal translation], p. 202, referring PKM2 cymid: battle;
cymeiniad: making equal; boll/ foll: distend (GPC) suggests an equation of birthing and battle
violence, that she spans gender definition, see n. 109 following.

[109] PKM2 35.23–36.29; the Iron House tale. Valente compares Cymidei with Branwen as
strangers in a hostile land whose sons die there by burning, 'Merched', p. 203.

[110] a gwreic yn y ol; ac ot oed uawr ef, mwy dwyweith/ oed y wreic noc ef. PKM2 35.16–17. And
large as he was - twice as big as him was the woman. Possibly a reference to Ammianus
Marcellinus' 4thC description of the Gaulish wife as a strikingly larger and fiercer warrior than her
husband: 'A whole band of foreigners will be unable to cope with one [Gaul] in a fight, if he calls in
his wife, stronger than he by far and with flashing eyes; least of all when she swells her neck and
gnashes her teeth, and poising her huge white arms, begins to rain blows mingled with kicks, like
shots discharged by the twisted cords of a catapult.' Res Gestae, XV.12.1.

[111] XXX

[112] Pennar, 'Women', p. 109. 'y wreic honn,' heb ef, 'ym penn pethewnos a/ mis, y byd beichogi
idi, a'r mab a aner yna o'r torllwyth/ hwnnw, ar benn y pethewnos a'r mis, y byd gwr ymlad/
llawn aruawc.' PKM2 35 20–23. 'this woman, at the end of a month and a fortnight will become
pregnant: and the boy that will be born from that wombful - after a month and fortnight -
will be a fully-armed fighting-man.'

[113] Mabinogi mothers besides Cymidei are Rhiannon mother of Pryderi; Branwen mother of
Gwern; Arianrhod mother of Lleu.

The three sons of Gwydion and Gilfaethwy are adopted by Math. Gwydion and Math are
warleaders, so a warrior destiny for the boys can be assumed. Valente divides Mabinogi women on
two themes of fertility (the mothers) and fidelity (see under Queen, n.

21). 'Merched', p. 202. Rhiannon however, combines both themes. There are other Mabinogi
mothers given in genealogies but they are not active characters. See VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[114] Cigfa's narrative: PKM1 27.23–26; PKM3 50.14–61.14. See also the portrait of her
relationship with Rhiannon V.9 Cigfa uerch Wynn Gohoyw/ Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw.

[115] See V.9 Cigfa.

[116] Valente stresses Cigfa's narrative as exploring a problematic 'undefined bond between
stepfather-in-law and stepdaughter-in-law', 'Merched', p. 222, & 223. Her naud, legal protection,
belongs to husband or father; in their default she turns to the unrelated Manawydan 'as the lord of
the country in which she resides', 'Merched', p. 233.

[117] Mac Cana dubs her a 'slight though effective vignette of a contemporary "bourgeois" snob', Mabinogi, p. 55. For critique of that as anachronistic, inaccurate; and the influence of Rhiannon on Cigfa's attitudes see V.9 Cigfa.

[118] Valente feels her 'speech, like Rhiannon's, has a sharpness', 'Merched', p. 235; but it lacks Rhiannon's scathing honour judgment to a marchog of bad horsemanship, and failure of friend loyalty. These are central failures where Cigfa merely reproaches Manawydan for unseemliness, embarrassment. PKM3 58.19–20; PKM3 61.2–10.

[119] Winward, comparing Rhiannon and Cigfa, notes Rhiannon is 'the only [Mabinogi] woman ... seen in an activity otherwise undertaken only by men'. 'Aspects', p. 83; Rhiannon hunts: PKM3 51.5; 52.10; 52.15; 58.26.

[120] PKM3 57.13–57.27. Pennar sees it as a straightforward 'Cigfa panics', with explicit understanding of Cigfa's plight which many men overlook; 'It is likely that a woman whose husband was lost would be abused', 'Women', p. 139. Kapphahn compares the chastity passage here with the Queen of Annwfn, see n. above. Cigfa's fear is also a literary device to showcase Manawydan as a good and chaste man who honours his friendship with Pryderi. See V.9 Cigfa uerch Wynn Gohoyw/ Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw; & V.10. Manawydan: Ail-arfarnu/ Manawydan Re-assessed [121] Constructed title for this study, the text only refers to her as a mouse. Lady Mouse narrative: PKM3 60.15–65.11.

[122] See XX anon

[123] eithyr un a welei yn amdrom, ual y tebygei na allei/ un pedestric. except for one he saw that was so bulky, so he guessed it was not capable of anything [more] than a walk. PKM3 60.15–16. Llwyd explains his wife is pregnant, A beichawc oed hi. She was pregnant. PKM3 64.17.

[124] PKM3 64.15–16.

[125] Comedy REF

[126] Rhiannon's bag: PKM1 14.23–15.17. Efnysien's flour sacks containing Irish warriors waiting in ambush: PKM2 42.13–14, & 17–19. Manawydan's glove: PKM3 60.16–18.

[127] Rhiannon's bag scene ends by bringing Gwawl close to death. The flour sacks hold warriors helpless as Efnysien kills them. Manawydan's glove is used to imprison Lady Mouse until he hangs her as a thief.

[128] Cf. Political Parallels; the earlier tale is a time of native independence, while the later one has resonances with Anglo-Norman conquest and displacement of natives.

[129] Pwyll as disguised beggar also contributes to the interlace. His comedy becomes Manawydan's grim struggle. See VIII.5. Two husbands.

[130] Lady Mouse slowness, pregnancy, PKM3 60.15–16 & 64.17, see quotes n. 116. Rhiannon's shift in power, see IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts. Cf. also Arianrhod's pregnant vulnerability PKM4 77.12–18.

[131] Valente cites Llwyd's dedication to reclaiming his wife as an instance of how important women are in the Mabinogi narrative, as Llwyd must sacrifice his revenge to attain her. 'Merched', p. 117. Valente also cites fertility as a key female theme of the Mabinogi, p. 202. See VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[132] Cf. Cymidei above, representing women as son-generators.

[133] On the law on female marital consent, male bestowal, see III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[134] PKM3. LAW Rhiannon, asses' collars PKM3 65.19. "Riannon a uydei a mynweireu yr/essynn, wedy bydyn yn kywein gueir, am y mynwgyl/ hitheu... .."/ Ac o achaws y carchar hwnnw, y gelwit y kyuarwydyt/ hwnnw, Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynord. PKM3 65.19–23. and Rhiannon would have the collars

of asses, after they had been carrying hay. ...' And, on account of that imprisonment, that tale was called 'The Mabinogi of Mynweir and Mynordd'. Like Branwen the humiliation is tied to the dirt of labour.

[135] 'the most beautiful young woman anyone had ever seen'. See subjective/ objective beauty issue under Queen, n. 27.

[136] Goewin narrative: as footholder PKM4 67.5–10; Gilfaethwy's lust PKM4 67 15–19; Gwydion foments war so Goewin is left unprotected, PKM4 67.20–73.28; the rape PKM4 71.29–72.4; Goewin reports to Math PKM4 74.1–14; Marriage & shared rule

PKM4 74.14–18; followed by Math's justice on Gwydion and Gilfaethwy. See I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text, on the 'epilogue'; also IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts.

[137] The office of footholder is listed in Cyfraith Hywel, but as a male office. Footholder office

[138] Goewin's plight, PKM4 74.6–14. Winward couples her with Branwen, in refusing to be silenced, quoted Branwen n. XX, 'Aspects', p. 78.

[139] Math to Goewin: "ac a rodaf uedyant uyg/ kyuoeth i'th law ditheu." PKM4 74.17–18. 'and I will give the power[of my country into your hands.] Rhiannon and Pwyll: Gwledychu/ y wlat a wnaethont yn llwydannus y ulwydyn honno, a'r / eil.

PKM1 19.17–18. They ruled the country prosperously for that year and the next.

[140] Goewin bereft as her women are forced away: PKM4. For Rhiannon and other women see VI.3. Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon. There may be a Rhiannon-Cigfa connection; see

[141] Goewin: PKM4 67.9–10. For the beauty issue and Rhiannon see the Queen, above n. 27, & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[142] See n. 66, above. See an alternate version of the footholder element, Arianrhod, below.

[143] PKM1 13.15–16, & she describes it 14.28, & 15.27–28.

[144] Gilfaethwy's lust, PKM4 67.15–19. Gwydion foments war so Goewin is left unprotected, PKM4 74.26–27, followed by Math's justice ending PKM4. 'the most extreme violation a girl might suffer was the forcible termination of her virginity by rape.

... acknowledged in the exaction of sarhaed or wynebwerth which is paid to the girl. ... [also] dirwy payable to the king....The implication of this rule is that the safe keeping of virgins lay within the king's nawdd or protection.' Morfydd Owen, 'Shame and Reparation', WLW, p. 49. Also Dafydd Jenkins, "Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women," WLW, pp. 86–88.

[145] The closest to this is Rhiannon's penance act of bearing strangers on her back: PKM1 21.21–28. That is still a long way from the intimate violation of rape.

[146] Valente observes the Fourth Branch presents 'explorations of unnatural relationships between men and women ... the complete rupture of the social fabric, is even more powerfully didactic than the "happy" branches', 'Merched', p. 119. Some scholars see Blodeuedd as a leading protagonist, but see her section below for her lack of agency.

[147] Three Decrees: "Ie,"/ heb hi, "mi a dynghaf dyghet idaw, na chaffo enw yny/ caffo y genhyf i." PKM4 79 2–4. "Ie," heb hitheu, "minheu/ a dyghaf dyghet y'r mab hwnn, na chaffo arueu byth/ yny gwiscof i ymdanaw." PKM4 81.6–8. "A mi a dynghaf dynghet idaw," heb hi, "na/ chaffo wreic uyth, o'r genedyl yssyd ar y dayar honn yr/ awr honn." PKM4 83.12–14.

Arianrhod's Decrees as a triplicity have some resemblance to Rhiannon's three Rebukes, but Arianrhod's Decrees have much greater plot impact. Rhiannon's rebukes: PKM1 12.9–10 12.9–10. PKM1 14.13 –14. PKM3 56.26–27.

Pennar compares Arianrhod's tynghedau/ (declared) destinies, to Culhwch's stepmother, who binds him that he will marry none but Olwen daughter of Ysbaddaden Bencawr, a near-

impossibility. Pennar is too oriented to Irish codes, using the Irish term géis; e.g. Arianrhod 'her third géis' Pennar, 'Women', p.104. His contention that 'Lleu's recognition as the ruler of Ardudwy could not be gained except by overcoming his tynged', p. 105 n.1, does not hold as Lleu is said to become the heir of Gwynedd itself after his quasi-marriage ends.

[148] Valente considers the 'sharpness of Aranrhod's tongue is not mitigated by the interactive aspects of love and loyalty which we find in Rhiannon', 'Merched', p. 253; but recognises her 'quick wit', p. 259; her cleverly evasive language in her reply to Math's virginity question, p. 254; and her 'conversational prowess' in discussion with Gwydion 'a storyteller of great mastery.'

'Merched', p. 267. Arianrhod -Gwydion talk: PKM4 82.1-3. For Rhiannon's skill at converse, see IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice; & V.5. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[149] REFS unsuccessful

[150] Ac yna y kymeryssant wy blodeu y deri, a blodeu y/ banadyl, a blodeu yr erwein, ac o'r rei hynny, asswynaw/ yr un uorwyn deccaf a thelediawf a welas dyn eiroet./Ac y bedydyaw o'r bedyd a wneynt yna, a dodi/Blodeued arnei. PKM4 83.23-27. Cf. PKM4 83.12-14. Valente refers to her 'unshakeable curse', 'Merched', p. 244, and recognises 'Aranrhod's third curse cannot be circumvented', p. 282.

[151] See Blodeuedd, following.

[152] See VI. 9. 'Rieni'

[153] Rhiannon's penance: PKM1 21.21-28. Arianrhod's public exposure giving birth: PKM4 77.13-15. Both Bollard and Valente speak of 'the peculiar and humiliating manner of her giving birth, ... her shame is the motivation for all her later acts', Valente, 'Merched', pp. 256-57, referencing Bollard, XXX, p. 267. Valente adds that Arianrhod and Goewin are both violated but unlike Goewin, Arianrhod's anger is not seen as justified, she is not compensated; 'Merched' p. 267. See further n. 164 below. [154] Rhiannon: PKM1 26.9-10. Arianrhod: PKM4 80. 22-25.

Valente: 'Both Rhiannon and Aranrhod name their sons inadvertently', 'Merched', p. 263. The complexity of Rhiannon's exclamation suggests conscious composition. See IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice. [155] Rhiannon: PKM1 20.10-11; & 20.23-24. Arianrhod: PKM4 77.17-19.

[156] Both have complex fathering; for Pryderi see V.8 Trasiedi Pryderi/ The Tragedy of Pryderi. Lleu may be the biological son of Gwydion on the incest theory (below); he is in any case son of a 'male mother', see V.11. Gwydion. Having lost their mothers as newborns, they are each rescued by a male lord, who picks them up from the ground, PKM1 22.25-27, PKM4 77.18; each baby is wrapped in silk, Pryderi already, Lleu immediately, PKM1 22.26-27; PKM4 77.19; they are fostered, PKM1 23.10, PKM4 77.19-78.18; each has horse affinities, PKM1 22.23-24, also PKM4 70.8; Lleu PKM4 81.11-14, 86.23, also Triad 38. Tri Rodedicuarch Enys Prydein/ 'Three Bestowed Horses of this Island', TYP pp. 105-106 (see Appendix Meirch); they both fight a duel to restore their honour, PKM4 72.24-27-73.17, PKM4 90.20-92.23; each inherits one of the two most powerful Welsh princedoms, PKM1 27.17-18; PKM4 92.25-26. The strong interlacing between the two princes presents Pryderi and Lleu as parallel southern and northern heroes; noted by REF. However Pryderi is a successful conqueror, PKM1 27.19-22. Lleu is a pensioner of Math, PKM4 84 1-10; though he does reclaim his bestowed territory by fighting, PKM4 92.23-24. Pryderi marries a normal woman, PKM1 27 23-26, Lleu's wife is a mere construct, PKM4 83.17-27 (see Blodeuedd, below).

[157] Except Arianrhod's working relationship with her Maids, see Maids, next section, below. See VI.3. Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon.

[158] Arianrhod is introduced PKM4 77.6-10, without promotion as beautiful. Triad 78: Teir Gwenriein Ynys Prydain, Three Fair (Royal) Ladies of Britain, names Ar(i)anrhod ferch Don, TYP

p. 208; but gwen/'fair, is ambiguous in both English and Cymraeg between fair-haired, pale, or beautiful, GPC. BT [Llyfr Taliesin] 36.15. has Aranrot drem clot tra gwawr hinon/ Aranrot famous for beauty beyond the dawn of fine weather, TYP p. 284.

[159] Besides explicit hostility to Arianrhod (below) the 'overlooking' of her successful third Decree (above) is misogynous. For misogyny and Rhiannon see VI.3. Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon.

[160] Pennar, p. 105.

[161] Pennar, p. 145

[162] Pennar, p. 144.

[163] Pennar, pp. 144-45. The global 'we' is unwarranted, and betrays Pennar's blind assumption.

[164] Pennar, p. 143.

[165] Pennar, p. 144. 'As to the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, that was predicated on an assumption which Welsh society did not accept, namely that a man would normally have only one marriage partner. The children of all formally acknowledged unions were equal in the eyes of Welsh law, and even male children born outside of such unions could be formally admitted to the father's agnatic kin-group. 'Legitimacy' in Welsh custom was determined not so much by the character of the union as by a formal acknowledgement of paternity and affiliation (in the literal, pense) with the appropriate kin-group', R.R. Davies, 'Buchedd a Moes y Cymry', *The Welsh History Review*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (Dec. 1984), p. 176.

[166] REF

[167] Pennar admiring Rhiannon, 'Of all the female characters in the *Pedeir Keinc Rhiannon* is the most commanding figure. 'Women', p. 123. 'Her superior wit and initiative are obvious.' p. 129. Also pp. 125, 126, 128, 134. His son Gŵri Pennar confirms his father's' progressive ideas and politics'. Personal communication 12/4/2017.

[168] She is forced to give birth in public. The ryw bethan/ small something [Lleu] PKM4 77.17, is not noticed except by Gwydion, but the previous birth, Dylan, is a full sized child seen to run away, PKM4 77.13-15. See n. above. Bollard & Valente

[169] Her emotionalism might be contrasted with Rhiannon's quiet penance dignity, which gained respect. However Rhiannon is not intimately violated, and arguably benefits from Pwyll's loyal support. Rhiannon holds high status as a married co-ruler, publicly acknowledged mother of the heir: Arianrhod is a mere girl. See

[170] Mae 'nghwyn am forwyn yn fwy / no Math Hen fab Mathonwy, / Braich un ddi-wair, brechwen, ddoeth, / fu'i obennydd ef beunoeth: / Arianrhod,— ni bu'r unrhyw-- / ni byddai Fath hebddi fyw./ My complaint concerning a maiden is greater/ than [that of] old Math son of Mathonwy./The arm of a chaste, white-armed wise one / was his pillow each night: / Arianrhod,— there was none like her—so that Math could not live without her. Cymraeg from Gwaith Lewys Môn, Eurys I. Rowlands (ed.), (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1975), p. 347. Translation Valente, 'Merched', p. 35. WJG, Math, pp. 130-31, 138-42. pp. 143-44 n.1., 192-95. Arianrhod as Math's footholder, with Goewin as a later replacement. Lewis Môn (1465-1527), also Tudur Aled (fl. 1480-1526), also quoted TYP, p. 285.

[171] Gwydion as the father

[172] Arianrhod's maternal shame, PKM4 79.6-8, which she voices PKM4 78.24-26. Rhiannon's close relationship with Pryderi, see V.8 *Trasiedi Pryderi*/ The Tragedy of Pryderi.

[173] Valente, 'Merched', p. 260.

[174] Mentioned PKM4 78.20; 79.18; & 81.21-22. WJG links the otherworld fay to *Caer Arianrhod*, Math, pp. 187-192.

[175] See III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwagedd/ Law, Land & Women. Arianrhod's father is not named in the Mabinogi. In Triad 35 she is merch Beli eu mam/ daughter of Beli her mother, (lines 10-11, TYP p. 81), where Caswallawn is a son of Beli, as he is PKM2 45.

25-26, & PKM3 50.28-51.1. Bromwich refers to this parent as 'Beli Mawr', i.e. male. (TYP p. 86). 'Beli' is a parent in Trioedd 34, 36, 51, 67, 71, 94; all except Triad 34 refer to Caswallawn, Beli's son. Bromwich' Note on Beli Mawr, pp. 288-89, reviews his substantial tradition, without picking up on the gender contradiction. Her Note on 'Ar(y)anrot' refers to Triad 35 stating Arianrhod's 'father was Beli, i.e. Beli Mawr', but without noting the gender issue. (TYP p. 284) Bartrum on Beli Mawr, classifying him as 'Legendary', also omits mention of it. (A-B, pp. 42-43). Since Triad 35, is the sole instance of Beli as mam/ mother, against a strong male Beli Mawr tradition, the Triad 35 usage is most simply interpreted as a mediaeval clerical error.

[176] PKM4 77.11-14. Math commands her to step over his hutlath/ wand. Beli her father is not actively present in her tale; nor does Gwydion seem to command her except initially bringing her before Math. Valente observes she is uniquely independent in Mabinogi terms, as domina of Caer Arhianrhod, 'Merched' p. 260; but independence means a lack of male protection, p. 260.

Possibly Math grants her Caer Arianrhod to solve her problematic position as an unmarriageable woman of his kindred Cf. his responsible resolution of Goewin's damaged status, PKM4 74.16-18; his generous territorial grant to Lleu, PKM4 84.1-10. Or possibly Arianrhod traces an archaic female independence, cf. the rieni tradition. This is imagined in Evangeline Walton's fantasy novel The Island of the Mighty (Balantine, 1970).

[177] Winward, 'Aspects', p. 85. 'Rhiannon seeks to select her own marriage partner; Aranrhod, to maintain a life without the control of any man', also compares Branwen, Blodeuedd, Shimpock, Unlikely', p. 2, n. 17.

[178] Valente finds Rhiannon and Arianrhod equivalently powerful, but 'only before she is the wife of Pwyll', 'Merched' p. 260. For a differing scrutiny of Rhiannon's power before and during her marriages, see IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts.

[179] Arianrhod Rhiannon have done solar assoc – Grand Summary. No record before 18th/ 19thC.

[180] Blodeuedd narrative: PKM4 83.12-91.17. For definition of Mabinogi Rhiannon text see I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[181] Arianrhod's third mandate blocks Lleu from a wife o'r genedyl yssyd ar y dayar honn yr/ awr honn. PKM4 83.13-14; 'from any race in the world today'. Math and Gwydion therefore construct an artificial woman of flowers: PKM4 83.17-27. Flowers cited are interpreted by Ifor Williams; 'Oak for strength and constancy; broom for fairness; meadowsweet for gentleness.' PKM, p. 282. Valente observes dryly 'The meanings of the flowers suggest the qualities which the men intended to instill in their creation;... the opposite of what we find in Aranrhod. 'Merched', p. 269 n. 388.

[182] However with 'no more sense of her personality or desires than if she were actually a bouquet presented to him'. Valente, 'Merched', p. 270.

[183] See III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwagedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[184] For derivative female status, see III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwagedd/ Law, Land & Women. Blodeuedd has no true natal genealogy, but apparently derives her status from her constructors, Math and Gwydion; then her husband, Lleu.

[185] Blodeuedd follows Gronw Pebr's direction to ask Lleu about his death vulnerability: PKM4 84.1- 86.13. Rhiannon partners with Pwyll plotting against Gwawl: PKM1 14.23-15.17. Pennar finds Pwyll's Annwfn chastity 'a tacit anti-exemplum to the later story of Blodeuwedd: a man's loyalty and chastity as opposed to a woman's fickleness and duplicity.' Pennar, 'Women', p. 121.

- [186] Blodeuedd in bed with Lleu asking him: 86.7–8. Rhiannon's seductiveness with Gwawl: PKM1 15.24–25, & 16.25–26.
- [187] Badger-in-the-bag: PKM1 17.6–14. Lleu describes his death conditions: PKM4 86.17–87.3.
- [188] Blodeuedd passes information to Gronw Pebr, who begins to implement it, PKM4 87.5 ff. Rhiannon's bag speech directs Pwyll what to do: PKM1 14.23–15.17.
- [189] Blodeuedd and Gronw Pebr rule Lleu's land: PKM4 88.11–15. Rhiannon marries Pwyll, PKM1 18.15–21, and rules Dyfed, PKM1 19.16–18.
- [190] Blodeuedd is punished by Gwydion: PKM4 91.6–17. Llwyd explains his vengeance for Rhiannon's plot: PKM3 64.5–10.
- [191] Blodeuedd becomes Blodeuwedd the owl: PKM4 91.13–17. Adar Rhiannon: PKM2
- [192] Patterson
- [193] Cyfraith Hywel grounds for a wife to divorce: *Os y gwr a uyd clauur, neu anadyl drewedic, neu na allo ymrein, os a achos un o'r [try] pheth hynny yd edeu hi euo, hi a dyly caffel cwbyl o'r eidi.* /If the man is leprous or his breath stinks or he cannot copulate--if she leaves him because of one of these three things--she is entitled to have all that which is hers. Iorwerth 45.4. Cited Valente, 'Merched', p. 295.
- [194] Rhiannon's plan (bag speech): PKM1 14.23–15.17. When Gwawl claims he is in danger of death, Rhiannon does nothing to aid him, it is Hyfaidd halts the badger game: PKM1 15.17.20. Possibly Rhiannon is carried away by triumph. Gwrageddau
- [195] See n. 92 above. See under Queen of Annwfn, above n. 20, Pennar compares and contrasts the provocative silence in marital intimacy, of the Queen and Blodeuedd. Pennar, 'Women', p. 122. Valente also compares the silences of the two', 'Merched', p. 277; as noted under the Queen, silence is not Rhiannon's tool of choice.
- [196] Gwawl's appeal that to die in the bag is inappropriate, may be as read, or possibly he is not in such serious danger but is signalling his surrender: PKM1 17.15–16.
- [197] Blodeuedd's beauty in standard Mabinogi hyperbole: PKM4 83.25. For the beauty issue and Rhiannon see the Queen, above n. 27, & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.
- [198] Blodeuedd's Maids: PKM4 90.28–91.5. On Rhiannon's Maids, see 'Maids' section above.
- [199] Valente, 'never having been born to a woman herself' 'Merched', pp. 287–88; she is also 'a perversion of the female power of fertility, for she is made out of flowers' the sign of natural fertility, p. 289.
- [200] Mac Cana inexplicably views Blodeuedd as 'strong and assertive' together with Rhiannon and Arianrhod, Mabinogi, p. 57. Winward agrees; Rhiannon, Arianrhod, and Blodeuwedd are 'This formidable trio of women', 'Aspects', p. 80.
- [201] Kapphahn characterises her as 'the adulterous wife who may never have had a chance to be anything else.' 'Gender', p. 34. Shimpock sees Blodeuedd seeking control, comparable to Rhiannon seeking her choice of whom to marry (also compares Branwen, Arianrhod). 'Unlikely', p. 2, n. 17. It is only fair to say that Blodeuedd shows determination over a year to win life with Gronw Pebr, besides a capacity for practical organisation of the very diverse elements of Lleu's death setup. PKM4
- [202] Pwyll executes Rhiannon's directives: PKM1 16.3–17.4. Blodeuedd obeys Gronw Pebr: PKM4 86.2–87.6.
- [203] PKM4 84.26–85.2.
- [204] Rhiannon's assertiveness, see IV. Rhiannon ei hun/ Rhiannon herself, both chapters.
- [205] Patriarchal systems which rear and train females into limited dollhood, generally recognise their consequent weakness by constraining their freedom, whether domestic or prostituted imprisonment.

[206] Thus systems and individual males that do strip women down to sexual commodities tend to impose strict controls on them, selecting one or more tools from confinement, detachment from other contacts, undermining self respect, violent terrorisation.

Mixed with urbanity, charm, gifts, and of course underlying material dependency, this is an overwhelming paradigm.

[207] PKM4

[208] Valente observes 'she is returned to the natural world from which she came'. 'Merched', p. 281 A modern poem has

Blodeuedd explaining she is far freer and happier as a ranging owl than she ever was as a constrained human female. REF

[209] Cigfa appears in two Branches: the First Branch is a genealogy statement only. PKM1 27.23–26. For definition of Mabinogi Rhiannon text, see two versions given, I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[210] See Branwen section, following. Arianrhod

[211] See VIII.3. Saga Pryderi/ Pryderi Saga; and V.10. Manawydan: Ail-arfarnu/ Manawydan Re-assessed.

[212] Cf. the long popularity of the Pryderi Saga theory, see I.7. Gwneuthurwyr Mythau/ Mythmakers.

[213] Like some other secondary females they are anonymous, but four of them are distinguished as individual voices. See V.4. Y Gwragedd/ The Maids.

[214] E.g. PKM1 9.8–9. 'Nyt oes arnaf i ouyn cael kymriw, neu archolleu, ym/ plith hynn o niuer. /'I have no fear of receiving wounds or blows in the midst of this host.' The audience on Gorsedd Arberth is referred to as niuer, host, i.e. armed men. But the company have had a peaceful dinner and seek entertainment, so the likelihood is that court women and servants were present too.

[215] Repeated from the start of this chapter, p. X, for ease of reference.

[216] Lady Mouse strongly influences her husband Lhuyd's decisions but not political behaviour, as this paragraph explores. See below

[217] See

[218] It is not inconceivable to imagine a gendered role reversal, where a woman co-ruler, degrades her male consort, or allows him to be degraded. History has many examples where women seize power by way of suppressing a male co-ruler. She then is the decider of his fate if he endures hostility.

[219] It could be said she falls silent when accepting her penance but she explicitly consents to it.

[220] If the Lady of Gwent was once the same she appears now to be later stage married, assimilated, as her comfortable dialogue with Teyrnnon and established barrenness suggest. The incomer wife might press the 'Calumniated Wife' motif, but Rhiannon differs from it in too many other ways for it to be useful.

Appendix 8: *Meirch*/Horses

frequency and style show an audience happy to accept long detailed passages

'chase sequence'

best, competitive

Valley of Horses, Farghama

LIST RHIANNON & HORSES ref Lady comparison start

HELA

First Branch: [58]

Pwyll I [10]: Pwyll decides to hunt PKM 1.4. Glyn Cuch 1.5. Gathering 1.10. Pwyll sees a horseman, *uarchauc*, PKM 2.3. huge dapple grey *uarch erchlas mawr*; PKM 2.4. Horseman approaches, *marchauc*, PKM 2.6. Two horsemen of Annwfn, *Deu uarchauc*, PKM 4.10. Pwyll hunts in Annwfn PKM 5.6. Duel, herald, *marchawc* PKM 5.12. Hafgan's *uarch*, PKM 5.24.

Pwyll II [26]: The woman riding, *uarch canwelw/mawr aruchel* PKM 9. 12–13. Slow horse, *araf ... march*, PKM 9.15. best horse, *march kyntaf*, PKM 9.27. Pursuit, *march*, PKM 10.1 & twice, *march* PKM 10.3. horse flags, *uarch*, PKM 10.5. None faster, *varch*, PKM 10.8. Take the best, *march kyntaf*, PKM 10.17–18. To the mound, *march*, PKM 10.19. The woman riding, *march*, PKM 10.21. The Marchoges, *y uarchoges*, PKM 10.22. Drew level, *y uarchoges*, PKM 10.24. The officer mounted *y march*, PKM 10. He **ambled** his *uarch*, PKM 10.27. His horse, *uarch*, PKM 11.1. Loosed its reins, *uarch*, PKM 11.2. Beating it, *uarch*, PKM 11.4. Can do no more, *march*, PKM 11.8. Saddle my horse, *march*, PKM 11.20.. The Marchoges, *y uarchoges*, PKM 11.24. Pwyll mounted *y uarch*, PKM 11.27. She passed *y uarch*, PKM 12.1. His spirited horse, *uarch drythyll*, PKM 12.2. Spurred, *uarch*, PKM 12.4. Rebuke I, better for the horse, *llawen ... march*, PKM 12.9. [Dialogue on horseback.] Plan hundred *marchawc*, PKM 15.1. Hundred *marchauc*, PKM 16.4. [They take over, beat Gwawl]

Pwyll III [22]: Teyrnnon has a mare, PKM *cassec* PKM 22.3. *chassec* PKM 22.4. No horse better, *na march*, PKM 22.4. May Eve mystery, *hebawl* PKM 22.6. Teyrnnon speaks his concern, *cassec* PKM 22.8. Vows to protect, *ebolyon* PKM 22.11. brings her into the hall, *gassec* PKM 22.11. Mare gives birth, *ebawl mawr* PKM 22.14. Teyrnnon admires *ebawl* PKM 22.16. Claw seizes *ebawl* PKM 22.18. Claws drops *ebawl* PKM 22.20. Watering *y meirch*, PKM 23.23. Lady of Gwent asks about *ebawl* PKM 23.25. She recalls the rescued *ebawl* PKM 24.1. Gifted, *march*, PKM 24.4. Care of it, *meirch*, PKM 24.6. trained as rider, *uarchogaeth*, PKM 24.7. Boy riding the horse PKM 25.8. **Mounting block**, *yskynuaen*, PKM 25.11. [Rhiannon offers to act the horse] Teyrnnon tells the story, *gyfranc am y gassec* PKM 25.27.. Gifts for Teyrnnon, *meirych goreu*, PKM 27.10.

Second Branch: [12] Billeting of *y meirych* PKM 31.18. Efnisien sees *y meirych* PKM 31.22. Asks ownership, *meirch*, PKM 31.23. Horses of Matholwch, *Meirych* PKM 31.23. His *ueirych* PKM 31.26. Attacks horses, *meirych*, PKM 32.2. Disfigured, *anfuryfar y meirych*, PKM 32.5. Use destroyed, *meirych*, PKM 32.6. Compensation healthy horse, *march iach* 33.17. Horses will be paid, PKM 34.16. Horses paid, *ueirych* PKM 34.16. Matholwch hunts PKM 35.11. Irish resentment, *ueirch* PKM 37.22.

Third Branch: [7] Circuit of Dyfed, hunting, *kylchaw Dyuet, a'y hela* PKM 51.5. Survival by hunting PKM 52.10 & PKM 52.15. Saddlemaking PKM 52.22–25. [Pryderi Manawydan hunt PKM 55.7] Manawydan remembers hunt PKM 58.26. Priest's well kept mount, *uarch yn gyweir* PKM 62.17. Mod. Welsh: *cywair* – proper order, fit state or condition, repair, working order; (GPC) The bishop's retinue and *swmweu*, sumpters. PKM 63.6–8. cf. Norman loanwords, sumpters **see** L.7. Collars of asses, *mynweireu yr/essynn* PKM 65.19–20.

Fourth Branch: [11]

[6] Gwydion's fake steeds, *emys (amws)* PKM 70.8. Saddles, *meirch* PKM 70.11. To Pryderi, *meirch*, PKM 70.14. I will give you, *deudeg meirch* PKM 70.19. Council accepts, *meirch* PKM 70.25. The fake horses will only last a day, PKM 70.1. [END Mabinogi Rhiannon]

[5] Lleu trained, *marchogaeth pob/ march*, PKM 81.11–12. Lack of horses, *meirch*, PKM 81.14. Gwydion & Lleu, *ueirch* PKM 81.21. Blodeuedd sees the hunt. PKM 84.14–15. Cannot be killed *ar uarch*, PKM 86.23.

Appendix 9: Counsels

Compilation of counsels. Excludes PKM2 except one [1]; and PKM4 after Pryderi dies.
Some lines in the table below do not add up to the total because of unclear items.

(Supports III.5. LLW: Counsellors)

Table: Compilation of counsels

Total 49

Gives counsel 15f 20m

Receives counsel 7f 34m Listens, asks, accepts.

Formal/ political 5f 14m Total 14. Group meeting or public statement.

Small group 7ff 5mm 9fm Family, or 3 or more consult.

Private dialogue 3ff 7mm 13fm Two only.

The situational range is very wide, including politics, war, honour, conspiracy, livelihood, murder, marriage, magic, a boy's horse, entertainers. Evidently counsel is pervasively threaded throughout Mabinogi society, (supported by social skills such as converse for which women are notably admired). Counsel is often explicitly invited, and/ or explicitly accepted, indicating it is taken seriously and respected. Women are participant in all counsel modes except formal nobles' councils, but Rhiannon speaks publicly and in small groups on politics.

Language skill, social awareness, and lore (etiquette, converse/ anecdote, wordplay, tales, *Trioedd*, law, history, poetry) are admired in women and men: these all support the art of counsel.

Gender analysis shows an equal number of women and men giving counsel. Four times as many men receive counsel, reflecting their strong span across almost all groupings (i.e. except women only); public or formal, small group, private dialogues, and all-male situations. Women are a third as many as men in formal or political counsels. Small groups are twice as many cross-gender, about half from family councils, half political. Private dialogue is four times as many cross gender, mainly women to men: put another way there are not many single gender private dialogues. Women's private counsel is clearly only one aspect of their strong participation in a vigorously counsel oriented culture.

Rhiannon gives more counsel than any individual (6 instances, Manawydan 3, Pwyll 2; although Pwyll also has two nobles' councils). She gives the longest, most detailed Mabinogi speech [2]. She figures in four formal/political counsels [9, 10, 18, 32]. But she is seriously critiqued by another powerful character that her counsel caused grave insult, and its revenge devastated the whole of Dyfed. [47]

* Includes female # Political/ formal

[1] Arawn counsels Pwyll re Annwfn PKM1 3.6-14. JKB 21.2.

#[2] Pwyll counsels his nobles about Annwfn PKM1 8.11-13. JKB 24.2.

[3] Courtier counsels re Gorsedd Arberth PKM1 9.4-7. JKB 25.1-2.

* [4] Rhiannon 1st rebuke Pwyll PKM1 12.9-10. JKB

[5] Llys Hyfaidd arranged on Pwyll's counsel. PKM1 13.19-20. JKB 28.2.

* [6] Rhiannon 2nd rebuke Pwyll PKM1 14.13-14. JKB 29.1.

* [7] Rhiannon briefs Pwyll long detailed counsel (bag speech). PKM1 14.23-15.17. JKB 29.1-2.

#[8] Pwyll invites Hyfaidd's counsel on Gwawl. PKM1 17.19-20. JKB30.2.

*#[9] Rhiannon presents that counsel to Pwyll. PKM1 17.20-24. JKB31.1.

*#[10] Pwyll accepts the counsel. PKM1 17.25-27. JKB 31.1

* [11] Rhiannon offers Pwyll counsel, paying minstrels. PKM1 18.22-24. JKB 31.2.

* [12] [Pwyll accepts the counsel. PKM1 18.25. JKB 31.2.

#[13] Pwyll and nobles council in Preseli. PKM1 19.18-20.2. JKB 33.2.

* [14] Maid3 asks for counsel. PKM1 20.15-16. JKB 34.1.

* [15] Maid4 responds with counsel. PKM1 20.16-21. JKB 34.1.

* [16] All six Maids accept the counsel. PKM1 20.21-22. JKB 34.1.

#[17] Pwyll council on the accusation. PKM1 21.12-14. JKB 34.2.

*#[18] Rhiannon holds counsel with scholars. PKM1 21.19-21. JKB 35.1.

* [19] [Teyrnon's Wife counsels to adopt child. PKM1 23.8-13. JKB 36.1.

* [20] [Teyrnon agrees her counsel. PKM1 23.13-14. JKB 36.2.

- * [21] Teyrnon's Wife counsels colt Gwri. PKM1 23.24-24.2. JKB 36.2.
 - * [22] Teyrnon agrees her counsel. PKM1 24.2-5. JKB 36.2.
 - * [23] Teyrnon's Wife counsels to return boy. PKM1 25.28-25.5. JKB
 - * [24] Teyrnon agrees her counsel. PKM1 25.6. JKB 37.1.
 - * [25] Pwyll counsels Rhiannon, Pendaran, court re name. PKM1 26.17-19. JKB 38.2.
 - #[26] Pwyll calls for Teyrnon, nobles to agree fosterage plan. PKM1 27.1-4. JKB 39.1.
 - #[27] All accept the counsel. PKM1 27.4-5. JKB 39.1.
 - * [28] Bendigeidfran counsels Survivors re Adar Rhiannon. PKM2 45.2-4. JKB 55.2.
 - [29] Manawydan counsels Survivors not to open door. PKM2 46.24-25. JKB 58.2.
 - [30] Pryderi offers counsel Manawydan, land, marriage. PKM3 49.17-20. JKB 63.1-2.
 - #[31] Manawydan accepts the counsel. PKM3 50.19. JKB 63.1.
 - *#[32] Rhiannon accepts the counsel. PKM3 50.22-23. JKB 64.2.
 - * [33] Rhiannon counsels Pryderi re Caswallawn. PKM3 51.1-3. JKB 65.1.
 - [34] Manawydan counsels family into exile PKM3 52.17-19. JKB 66.1.
 - [35] Saddlers' council, murder PKM3 53.4-5. JKB 66.1.
 - * [36] Dyfed family counsel on saddlers. PKM3 53.6-12. JKB66.2.
 - [37] Shoemakers council, murder PKM3 54.23-24. JKB 68.1.
 - * [38] Dyfed family counsel re shoemakers. PKM3 54.24-55.4. JKB 68.1.
 - [39] Manawydan counsels Pryderi re tower. PKM3 56.1-5. JKB 70.1.
 - * [40] Rhiannon rebukes Manawydan PKM3 56.26-27. JKB 70.2.
 - * [41] Cigfa counsels Manawydan re choosing craft. PKM3 58.5-6. JKB 71.2.
 - * [42] Cigfa counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 61.2-10. JKB 73.2.
 - [43] Scholar counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 62.4-6. JKB 74.1.
 - [44] Priest counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 62.24-25. JKB 74.2.
 - [46] Bishop counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 63.13-17. JKB 74.2.
 - * [47] Llwyd's revenge critiques bad counsel (Rhiannon) causing Desolation PKM3 64.5-10. JKB75.2.
 - #[48] Pryderi holds council on Gwydion's pigs offer. PKM4 70.24-26. JKB 82.2.
 - #[49] Gwynedd leaders hold council in Dyfed war. PKM4 72.8-12. JKB 85.2.
-

Appendix 10: Stevie Nicks' 'Rhiannon' 1975

NOTES

Welsh version presented by Bronwen Lewis; a Halloween video theming Rhiannon as a 'Welsh witch'. 'The performance included subtitles in Welsh and English' 20/11/2021

<<https://nation.cymru/culture/watch-singers-beautiful-welsh-language-version-of-fleetwood-mac-classic/>>

Video 31/10/21

<https://twitter.com/BronwenLewis/status/1454865379193405443?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw>

see Performance

Davis, Stephen. 30/19/2018. *Gold Dust Woman: The Biography of Stevie Nicks*, Illust. (St. Martin's Griffin)

number eleven on the Billboard Hot 100 and in Great Britain, where the song reached number 46 on the Billboard Hot 100 list. Official UK charts list.

NME Feb 2021 <https://www.nme.com/news/music/fleetwood-macs-stevie-nicks-working-on-rhiannon-movie-2658968>

CSM Management <https://www.csmmgmt.com/> Email info@csmmgmt.com (6/10/20)

Sheryl Crow, manager

John Kinney website <http://www.nicksfix.com/>

<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2020/oct/14/stevie-nicks-on-art-ageing-and-attraction-botox-makes-it-look-like-youre-in-a-satanic-cult>

'Lady From The Mountain', Written (1972) possible forerunner.

Stevie Nicks, 'Rhiannon Dramatic Work And Music Choreography', 143 pp. screenplay written, and (copyright 1978).

Cathie Rice, Music Stevie Nicks, 'Rhiannon A Stage Ballet' (copyright 1981)

Sebastian Weber, Rhiannon Film Script (copyright 1983)

<http://ledge.fleetwoodmac.net/showthread.php?t=36262>

Rowan Morgana 'Goddess Rhiannon' (2015) incl. song text <<https://sacredwicca.com/rhiannon>> [Accessed 4/10/20]

Rolling Stone magazine: 'Stevie Nicks on Her Life in Isolation: 'We Have to Believe'', (30/04/20)

<https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-features/stevie-nicks-on-her-life-in-isolation-992443/>

So last year I made a pitch to everybody that when this Fleetwood Mac tour is over. I'm taking next year off because I want to work on my "Rhiannon" book/movie [based on the original Welsh myth that inspired her song].

And then I have some Rhiannon poetry that I have written over the last 30 years that I've kept very quiet. I'm thinking, "Well here I have all this time and I have a recording setup." And I'm thinking I'm going to start doing some recording. I'm going to start putting some of these really beautiful poems to music, and I have the ability to record them. So that's on my to-do list.

2 Videos

Josh Jones, 'How Stevie Nicks Wrote "Rhiannon" & Embodied the Medieval Witch Character Onstage'; Open Culture: (26/08/20)

<<http://www.openculture.com/2020/08/how-stevie-nicks-wrote-rhiannon.html>>

Contains 'Rhiannon Fleetwood Mac Live': <<https://youtu.be/wgmRb3MlpHQ>>

'The Myth Behind Rhiannon', Youtube: <<https://youtu.be/J3b2JSwD0xM>> 6/10/20

Stevie Nicks, 'Rhiannon' (1983). Art print tribute to her best friend Robin, who died of leukaemia around the completion of the work.

<<http://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/rhiannon-art-print-stevie-nicks-1724460393>> [Accessed 23/01/2022]

Sale date Mar 28,2015 Ebay.

1983, September 25th, Stevie's dad holds a benefit concert starring Stevie, Kenny Loggins, and Joe Walsh called "Stevie Nicks and Friends." The limited edition Rhiannon Art Print was sold at this concert.

1983, November, the amusement park and Compton Terrace is closed permanently.

1984, around January, Auction, buyer purchased an office building and found stack of prints. But did not know they had value until 2007. Most were used for housework and DIY!

Stevie Nicks cooking up an exciting new project around 'Rhiannon'

07/05/2020

The Sound: <https://www.thesound.co.nz/home/music/2020/05/stevie-nicks-cooking-up-an-exciting-new-project-around-rhiannon.html>

Contains 'Rhiannon Fleetwood Mac Live': <<https://youtu.be/wgmRb3MlpHQ>>

Fleetwood Mac's Stevie Nicks has apparently been working on a huge new multimedia project around her iconic song, 'Rhiannon'.

As Nicks told **Rolling Stone**, she had already scheduled 2020 to be her first year in more than a decade without a tour, either as a solo artist or with Fleetwood Mac. Her intention, as she informed the band, was to start on a "book/movie" inspired by the myth of the Welsh witch mentioned in the 1975 song.

"I have some Rhiannon poetry that I have written over the last 30 years that I've kept very quiet," Nicks explained. "I'm thinking, 'Well, here I have all this time and I have a recording setup.' And I'm thinking I'm going to start doing some recording. I'm going to start putting some of these really beautiful poems to music, and I have the ability to record them. So that's on my to-do list."

Nicks noted that "what all we have right now, if you're home in quarantine, is time, unless you're taking care of kids. So, really, you could do anything you wanted that you've been wanting to do your whole life. So that's how I'm trying to look at it."

We can't wait to hear more about it!

Also <http://abcnewsradioonline.com/music-news/2020/5/5/stevie-nicks-hoping-to-work-on-rhiannon-themed-movie-and-boo-1.html>

May 2020 Refers to book and film project, to be developed during 2020 lockdown.

Sept. 2020 Adapts project to a TV miniseries, signs a studio; plan to star her protégé Harry Styles. Probably streamed TV.

Disambiguation, see below.

Excellent summary: Rhiannon TV miniseries

nick thewildlheart, 'everything we know about the rhiannon tv miniseries - a thread', (c. 30/09/2020). Date not shown on TWText version but is shown on Twitter thread.

<<https://twitter.com/inthzne/status/1311422756446236672>>

TWText: <<https://twtext.com/article/1311422756446236672>> [Accessed 7/04/21]

Lack of capitalisation is original.

Lewis, Bronwen. Oct. 2021. 'Rhiannon', online video

Welsh version of Stevie Nicks' 1975 song; online video, subtitles. See Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

Nation Cymru: <<https://nation.cymru/culture/watch-singers-beautiful-welsh-language-version-of-fleetwood-mac-classic/>>

Twitter video 31/10/21:

<https://twitter.com/BronwenLewis_/status/1454865379193405443?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw> Both accessed 20/11/21

II.9. 21stC

Appendix 11: Laura Riding

It is unlikely to be accidental that Robert Graves' White Goddess, his version of his mentor Laura Riding's philosophy, is well-known, while hers is not.- The derivative character of much of Graves' work after encountering Riding is well documented by Michael Kirkham.-

She speaks of man's 'fine phallus-proud works-of-art'.- She goes further, and what can be swallowed through the filter of Graves' myth-wrapped, manly speech, chokes when coming naked from a woman. She defines woman as superior.

People [men] who for some reason find it impossible to think about themselves, and so really be themselves, try to make up for not thinking with doing-

Man envies her and tells himself lies about his own completeness.-

Riding speaks of the 'mother-god'.- who is 'sufficient to herself'; cf. Riding's contemporary Mary Esther Harding, on the virginal 'one-in-herself' in Woman's Mysteries.- Riding explores 'Eve's Side of It' pondering the creatrix Lilith.-

Her goddesses are presented wittily, ironically, and fantastically, and clearly figure the female category of general Truth, Reality as One. They prefigure, of course, Graves's own White Goddess, whose thought-status, however, is not so clear; in Her he converts a playful fiction which is yet of serious ontological intent into a solemn legend-

In 'Idea of God' Riding theorises the sexual relationship. Subjective feeling is emotional reaction.

Man (the male) then attempts to possess, control, what he feels. Objective feeling is to be 'affected without trying to understand' what is bigger than the subjective self.- Such acceptance of the bigger reality without tussling it into a manageable parcel, is familiar in meditation: accept, let go, watch it passing.

Riding saw man perceiving woman as 'the overflowing unknown quantity'; cf. Beauvoir's woman as 'other'.- He feels threatened by this 'unknown quantity', so seeks to control it, redefine it. He distances her as a deity, or else reduces her to sexual experience. Her refusal to be possessed is, to him, cruelty: cf. Graves ambivalence toward his sweet but savage Muse-goddess.

'When, she sighs, will man grow up, when will he become woman, when will she have companions instead of children?'

Shân Morgain (Casnewydd, 12/09/2023)

Appendix 12: 'Western Goddess Spirituality'. 2001. Shan Jayran (Shan Morgain from 2007)

Shan Jayran. 2001. 'Western Goddess Spirituality: Thealogy in Social Context'. (House of the Goddess, online). Presented at 'Religion & Gender: Walking Between the Worlds', coordinated by Shan Jayran. A pioneering international colloquium: fully online, live chatroom debate and asynchronous support forum (6 weeks 15/02/2001 - 29/03/2001). Six lead scholars, 25 participants : Prof. Ursula King (Bristol University); Dr. Carol Christ (Crete, independent teaching centre); Dr. Daphne Hampson (St. Andrews University); Dr. Ruth Martin (Chichester College); Dr. Susan Starr Sered (Israel, Haifa University), myself as coordinator (Independent Postgraduate Programme, London University). Dedicated specialist website <www.ovular.co.uk> (closed).

The original .rtf file from which these webpages were copied, is lost in computer meltdown. The version below taken from html pages on the Wayback Machine, has been slightly edited on formatting only, as the download does not preserve embedded links, and font sizes. Here, main subtitles are larger font and the webpages are numbered as 'page 1' etc. Authors in the Bibliography have surnames in Bold, as on the original webpage.

PAGES: page 1 "Contents", and "Introduction"
page 2 "The Matriarchal Goddess"
page 3 "The Pagan Goddess"
page 4 "Goddess Feminism"
page 5 'Summary, Bibliography'.

<http://www.hogonline.freeuk.com/hogoddess/academic/intropaper.html>

Salvaged via Wayback Machine

<https://web.archive.org/web/20010202153800/http://www.hogonline.freeuk.com/hogoddess/academic/intropaper.html>

page 1

WESTERN GODDESS SPIRITUALITY:

THEALOGY IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Priestess Shan Jayran (as presented May 1999, LSE)

I dedicate this paper to Bob Griffiths, one of the finest priests of the Goddess,
my friend and associate for 12 years, who died Saturday 23 April 1999.

CONTENTS

1 PREFACE (this page)

INTRODUCTION

- GROWTH OF WESTERN GODDESS
SPIRITUALITY

- A WESTERN, SYNCRETIC, VARIANT

- BACKGROUNDS OF GODDESS PEOPLE

- ORIGIN NARRATIVES

2 THE MATRIARCHAL GODDESS

- THE MATRIARCHAL ROLE REVERSAL

- ANCIENT GODDESS

3 THE PAGAN GODDESS

- WICCA AND TANTRA

- WICCA AND FEMINISM

- THE EARTH MOTHER

4 GODDESS FEMINISM

- CHANGING SYMBOL, CHANGING REALITY
- GODDESS AND OTHER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS
- IS WOMANSPRIT A DEITY?

- WOMEN'S RELIGIONS

- RAPHAEL'S ETHICS CHALLENGE
 - THE ONE OR THE MANY
- #### 5 SUMMARY
- #### BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREFACE

In describing Western Goddess Spirituality I am situated as a participant observer, a practitioner for almost 20 years, and for 15 years a leading priestess and teacher nationally (UK). I grew accustomed to being interviewed by researchers. Over 3 years of my own PhD research I have worked with advantaged access and acquaintance to my own community, but therefore disadvantaged by partiality.

On re-entering academic scholarship I was quite surprised to find that my position as a religious practitioner within my field of study occasioned comment. At one seminar I was asked gently at the start if the content was not "too intellectual" for me. I protested my qualifications and I was then referred to my position as a priestess! as if this disadvantaged me. Apparently when the social specimen climbs down off the dissection table to have a look too, a definite unease ensues. I have since observed that there is no shortage of Christian, Jewish and Muslim scholars studying their own traditions, without a comparable reaction.

The phenomenal growth of Goddess spirituality and Paganism has stimulated considerable recent academic interest - it has been said of (Pagan) Goddess people that we are the new lost tribe conveniently down the road with no expensive travel necessary. Research has addressed both Paganism, and Feminist Spirituality. I shall be suggesting that Goddess Spirituality has variants of both these kinds, plus a third type. However there are no UK social studies yet that I know of specifically on Goddess Spirituality, and only one American one of substance: Cynthia Eller "Living in the Lap of the Goddess" 1994.

I have to disappoint you in that I am not a professional social scientist, but a theologian. Yet I hope to meet your interests to some degree, as in studying my own community's beliefs I have necessarily to observe social habits. You may then exploit me best by listening to me in stereo, simultaneously as a fellow commentator, and as a practitioner.

INTRODUCTION

GROWTH OF WESTERN GODDESS SPIRITUALITY

The growth of Goddess spirituality is most strikingly evidenced in the expansion of books being read by the public. Few bookshops now omit the topic and major outlets will have several shelves on it. One bookseller told me recently he can't get enough in to meet the demand. By contrast in the early '80s when I first became involved there were a mere handful of titles, mostly accessible by special order.

The Goddess Conference held in early August in Somerset is now in its 5th year. Kathy Jones, one of its two leading organisers tells me that starting in 1995 it had 150 participants. Last year it had 5-600 depending how this is assessed. The event has expanded from 4 to 10 days of activities and is overflowing Glastonbury's venues to hold it.

A prominent international priestess from the USA like Starhawk draws packed audiences, including Coventry cathedral, and the famous St James' 'Alternatives' program in London - not without objections from affronted Church leaders. American Goddess celebrations commonly serve hundreds at a time, though here in the UK events are kept smaller. However it is here that the first academic Colloquium in Goddess Studies was held in March 1997.

Perhaps the most telling symptom of growth and establishment is how unremarkable it is for me to mention that I am a priestess of the Goddess these days: the general public I meet on trains and at parents' gatherings is now broadly aware of what that means.

A WESTERN, SYNCRETIC, VARIANT

I call my subject Western Goddess Spirituality to contextualize it among the huge variety of world Goddess Spiritualities. Almost every culture has its goddesses, and the Western variant should not be viewed as an innovation, although it is certainly a new interpretation. It is a powerfully syncretic faith, drawing material for myth, ritual and philosophy from a wide range of world cultures. From books by Merlin Stone 1979 and Patricia Monaghan 1981, to the recent beautifully illustrated "Barefoot Book of Goddesses" (Kris Waldherr 1995) we are shown Polynesian Pele, Nepalese Kali and Japanese Kuan Yin alongside European Athena and Brigit. This syncretism is highly valued among Goddess people, with virtually no interest to protect a 'pure' lineage of mythos (though see McCrickard on fundamentalist theology below).

BACKGROUNDS OF GODDESS PEOPLE

The social profile of Goddess people is perceived among ourselves as being extremely varied. I observe a great deal of social mixing at my own events, with City power dressers sitting alongside colourful radicals living on benefits, and a wide range of political attitudes are expressed. Surveys (of Pagans) such as Adler and Melton broadly agree on a predominantly educated, white, middle class, professional grouping. My own observation suggests that this should be interpreted right across the conventional classes A-C2.

The prior religious background of Goddess people is of interest as the explosive growth in affiliation over a 20 year period means only a few of those under 25 have been brought up in the faith. Adler and Melton's surveys again agree on a proportional match between religious backgrounds across society as a whole - with one notable exception. The number of Jewish backgrounds is double that expected. Starhawk herself, the most famous priestess of the Goddess living today, is herself of Jewish background.

This statistic is all the more surprising as Judaic principles on gender and purity are diametrically opposed to Goddess principles. Most obviously the Niddah laws define menstrual or birthgiving women as impure, where Goddess praxis exalts such female body states as especially sacred. At the Colloquium mentioned already Melissa Raphael presented a thoughtful paper on this topic, analysing links with a post Shoah (Holocaust) loss of faith, and identifying Jewish women as doubly disadvantaged.

I have carefully refrained from calling Goddess people 'converts' because 'conversion' suggests a sudden, or at least a short duration, experience. When I have been asked "How did you become a priestess, /witch?" I have always found it hard to answer because I feel sure my questioner is not seeking a half hour autobiographical summary! Becoming part of the Goddess is a characteristically slow and piecemeal process which fits Susan Starr Sered's findings in her cross cultural study of "women's religions" (of which more later)

My own tentative terminology for the process of coming to the Goddess is a 'gestation', which

carries a suitably female metaphor of longer term (re)production, and it also links with classic spiritual birth imagery.

ORIGIN NARRATIVES

Impressions of Goddess Spirituality origins fall into three sources.

The recent explosion of interest appears to parallel, and to be stimulated by, late 20thC feminism. Carol Christ dates Goddess Feminism as a spontaneous grass roots emergence in 1974 when the influential international journal *Womanspirit* was founded USA. The UK publication of "Goddess Shrew" by the London Women's Liberation Workshop came 1975 to spark the UK network. But the 3rd issue of *Womanspirit* in Spring 1975 refers to Zsuzsanna Budapest's Susan B Anthony Coven No 1 as already functioning for 5 years, based on a network of 200 members, and beginning to compile a book of their knowledge. Gould Davis' "The First Sex" was a landmark text published 1971.

I would therefore date Goddess Feminism's emergence from 1970, especially for ease of reference!

Yet Western interest or belief in Goddess culture goes back another century at least, to early anthropological speculation on matriarchy. Many scholars trace this back to the Swiss J J Bachofen, a jurist who studied the origins of social order and held that early civilisation was generated by matriarchal societies. According to Bachofen "There is only one mighty lever of all civilisation, and that is religion." so these matriarchal societies necessarily centred on Goddess worship. His "Das Mutterrecht" 1861/ 1870, was at first ignored but then adopted by such influential male scholars as Henry Morgan and Friedrich Engels. The concept of early matriarchy and primordial goddess religion became very prevalent by the turn of the century and continued as orthodox scholarship until the 1960s. However, Bachofen's matriarchy is a problematic source in feminist terms as it defines the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy as progress from a previous, primitive social state, albeit my impression is that Bachofen himself held his vision of matriarchy in high regard.

A third narrative is the emic perspective held by many Goddess people themselves which explores this concept of ancient Goddess culture, but inverts its valuation to produce a picture of peaceful, women-centred cities replete with arts, technology and social complexity. A major example of this sacred history is Marija Gimbutas' work. She is a famous international archaeologist who recently died. Her beautifully illustrated books, and those by many others e.g. Merlin Stone, Gould Davis, describe mythology and excavations from the Palaeolithic through the classical civilisations, to demonstrate hidden evidence of female sacrality and authority. Various theories then try to account for the rise of patriarchal society as the norm over the last few thousand years.

The recent emergence of Goddess Feminism does bring its own issues to the Goddess meeting ground. But since the scholarly matriarchal material and the emic sacred history are closely interlinked I will examine their characteristics and implications under one heading, as the Matriarchal Goddess. I also see a third variant which is usually presented as submerged in either of these but has its own distinct culture: this is the Pagan Goddess.

In describing these 3 separate categories I do not claim that individual Goddess people would define themselves neatly as Matriarchal, Pagan or Feminist (though some would). I am describing a classification system of separate philosophies or theologies which clarifies differences among a

tangled group of otherwise confused identities which leads its observers to make contradictory statements about it. Individual practitioners can and do embody combinations of these types e.g as Feminist Pagans.

This is especially flexible due to the high number of solitary practitioners unregulated by group pressures to fit into categories. Some groups are highly anarchistic, some create hierarchies and look to leaders who can command considerable influence by personality or even perceived status. However it is well to remember that this leadership is entirely by consent, unsupported by external authority structures from the wider society.

page 2

THE MATRIARCHAL GODDESS

The classical Pagan world was full of Goddess religions which survived vigorously in adjusted forms as Christianity took a hold on European spirituality. For example shortly after Constantine declared Christianity the official faith of the Roman Empire in the late 4thC CE, his great granddaughter the Empress Pulcheria had Jesus' obscure mother exalted as the 'Theotokos', or GodBearer, in 430CE, at the Council of Ephesus. Mary Theotokos was honoured above the most central high altar, while her attributes had formerly belonged to Greek or Graeco-Egyptian cults of Great Goddesses.

The fine scholastic distinction of venerating Mary alongside the popular tendency to worship her, continues to worry theologians right up to now. In similar ambiguity we find the Celtic Goddess Brighde continuing at the great monastery of Kildare in Ireland, as St Brigit, with identical customs and attributes up to the time of Cromwell. Mystics such as Mother Juliana of Norwich, (1342 - 1413), Margery Kempe (1373 -1438), Mother Ann Lee (1736 -1784), and Mary Baker Eddy (1821 -1910) asserted visions of 'God the Mother'.

However, the concept of female deity was undeniably ousted from the dominant European religious paradigm. Ronald Hutton describes how between 1300 and 1900, as so often with marginalised images, Goddesses appeared in poetry and literature, via the Romantics. The colonial expansion of European cultures re-presented female deity to the dominant classes as missionaries recorded the religious traditions of conquered peoples.

As noted above, by 1870 Bachofen had published his monumental "Das Mutterrecht" which theorized an ancient matriarchal stage in human history where religion focused on Goddess images. Though he waxes lyrical on his matriarchy, he dutifully defines it as inferior to the patriarchy that succeeded it. This perception fits Darwinist competitive progress just come into vogue at the time, when competitive industrialism was emerging in full vigour. Bachofen's rule of the mothers, is 'primitive', 'focused on the material life of the senses, the creation of, and life of, the body'. Patriarchy brings a properly superior transcendence, immateriality, a 'true spirituality.'

PAGE REFS

Bachofen's theory has repeatedly been discredited. The idea of universal evolutionary stages of development in human society, current in his time, has given way to a far more complex view of different lines of development in different places, not necessarily in a linear progress. The concept of some human 'races' reaching superior levels of social maturity has also been challenged. The label 'matriarchy' has been used in different ways, but has been inexorably reduced to outright

female dominance mirroring patriarchy, and as such can be shown not to exist. Other partial concepts of matrilinear, matrilocal, matrifocal etc replaced it, to be argued over piecemeal.

THE MATRIARCHAL ROLE REVERSAL

It is perhaps an indicator of just how unthinkable the concept of Goddess had become that it could not be those female mystics cited above whose vision carried weight to reintroduce it to Western culture, but male scholars. Feminist theologians and historians have employed the metaphor of female 'voice' extensively, to show how silenced women have been. From Bachofen, the matriarchal view has been espoused by Henry Morgan, Friedrich Engels, Charles Frazer, Briffault, Neumann, Robert Graves ... all eminent men. Feminist critiques comment that their usage (unsurprisingly) reflects 'masculinist' exploitation, as in the definition of the female as lesser; either animalistic, or restricted to a pedestal.

This was partly of course because of the rarity of female scholars. One reason for the historical tendency for women to gain religious authority via mysticism is as an alternative to the inaccessibility of scholarship. One of the major battles of 19thC feminism was to gain access for women to education. As recently as 1981 the famous Goddess writer Monica Sjoo fiercely denounces the closed elite of male academia which she bravely challenged as an outsider, and a young, single mother on benefits, too.

But there have been some women scholars of Goddess religion. Before Bachofen published, Matilda Joselyn Gage is on record as speaking publicly of Goddesses, in 1852 in the USA, and by April 1888 she can be seen opening a session of the International Council of Women with a prayer to female Deity. Mary Daly and Dale Spender have been both elated and horrified to discover how Gage has been 'erased' from the scholarly record.

Another female scholar, Jane Harrison, produced copious research on early Greek Goddesses and how they were conquered by invading God cults; her 'erasure' has been lamented by Ursula King, ex-Chair of the British Society for the Study of Religions.

The substantial recent works of the archaeologist Marija Gimbutas have been internationally honoured, yet when she began to speak of Goddesses her reception was of a very different kind. These are only selected examples of many. Spender's work exhorts us to uncover and remember, lest we be condemned to reinvent the wheel in each generation.

One indication of how alienated Western society has become from female Deity is reflected in some responses I received to establishing a temple for Goddess veneration in 1985. I named it 'House of the Goddess' and listed it proudly and publicly in the telephone directory. For over a decade I received a stream of phone calls from hopeful males convinced I was ready to negotiate sessions to humiliate them, tricking myself out in black leather, etc. Over the last few years of internet research I was saddened to find that the search engines returned more of this dominatrix material than anything else, although there is a large and vocal Goddess presence on the Net too. Perhaps most revealingly of all, the most frequent response I get to describing myself as a priestess of the Goddess, is "Which goddess?" - to which I query, "Would you ask 'which god?' if I told you I were a priest of God?" The female is persistently viewed as partial, incomplete, as Simone de Beauvoir put it 'the Other', in relation to a central male.

With characteristic asperity Mary Daly explains: "If God is male, then the male is God" Matriarchal female searchers characteristically seek a corrective to this colossally pervasive damage to female identities. Elisabeth Gould Davis under the challenging title 'The First Sex' which consciously answered Beauvoir, offered a blazing vision of female validation. She says "...the blessed one, the ruler of the universe, is a woman - the Great Goddess of man's first million or more years." She prophesies that woman will again predominate. "She who was revered and worshiped by early

man ... will once again be the pivot . . . about whom the next civilisation will, as of old, revolve." Merlin Stone's painstaking research was originally published under the confrontative title 'When God Was a Woman'.

I see this Matriarchal perspective as the inheritor of its own European social context, specifically the authoritarian paradigm of European theology and philosophy. From Aristotle onwards our ancestors yearned for the Absolute, for one unchanging reality in the shifting experiences of life, for a transcendence that escaped the transformations of the physical world, routinely seen as the trap of the feminine.

A powerful first step away from this is to reconnect with female centrality, female authority and female sacrality. The obvious method is to replace the male God with a female version, and to go on from there. In a similar way Feminist consciousness-raising in the '70s proceeded by getting women to imagine a reversal of roles with men: we asked each other how we would see, feel and act if we held male pre-eminence in a given situation. This Matriarchal role reversal as a theology has been criticised on a number of counts.

Daphne Hampson warns that "... referring to God as Mother rather than as Father does give one a different sense of God. But it continues to be in effect the Christian God" Similarly Mary Daly and Margot Adler both warn that any monotheism is dualistic, leaving its characteristic subordination and hierarchy in place. Janet McCrickard has sharply criticised Matriarchal Goddess spirituality for its parallels with Christian fundamentalism, and so have I in different terms.

Daphne Hampson recognises that "Female metaphors carry other resonances and convey a different sense of God or of the divine." However she sees just that "feminine understanding of God" as problematic in that "Talk of God as 'mother' or as 'nurturative' may well imply ... these traits and characteristics ... belong to some essential nature of women."

To the Matriarchalist such innate female traits are precisely why we can fruitfully reconnect to female Deity. Elisabeth Gould Davis contrasts the Father-child relation, as conditional and demanding obedience, with the Mother-child relation "... a mother whose love is unconditional and whose goodwill can be taken for granted" XXX objects that those who have had damaging relations with their mothers may not find this metaphor accessible. But conversely I have also found in therapy practice that some people deprived of maternal nurturance can find it in Goddess imagery, so I prefer people to be offered a range of choice.

ANCIENT GODDESS

Another major criticism of Matriarchal Goddess narratives is of its account of ancient history as replete with Goddess culture. Matriarchal history is said to be inaccurate and uncritical, to rely on unsupported assertions, and to over-interpret the evidence. Asphodel Long, as both priestess and scholar, repeatedly calls for more and better research to investigate the past. Marija Gimbutas, though, brought all her renown as an international archaeologist to the issue, but was then bitterly condemned when she began to insist on Goddess themes. Some research has produced provocative results such as Carol Ochsorn's demonstration that polytheism, including Goddesses, in lands around ancient Israel, produced less rigid gender roles, and powerful positions as priestesses for women, compared to Hebrew monotheism. (cf Adler's point above) Rosalind Hackett though asks if a patriarchally defined priestess role is one we want to use for inspiration. Matriarchal narratives are said to concentrate on prehistory because the scantier evidence allows for more flexibility of interpretation. Carol Christ responds that the concept of prehistory itself denigrates earlier periods; moreover there is an exaggerated trust in the textual evidence of 'history' which can be shown to be unreliably partisan.

Palaeolithic female figurines, seen as sacred Goddess images, have been contested as toys, pornography, political boundary markers and other possibilities. But these concepts themselves may be seen as the product of our own time and place. For example, our distinctively separate toy culture is a new phenomenon from historical times unlikely to have occurred before modern mass production provided such a surplus of luxury goods. Then, even if an item is a toy, it may function very much as a sacred item as any observant parent knows. Conversely, it is only one type of religiosity that will not allow a child to play with a religious icon - my young son happily plays with ours. The final summation is increasingly following Margaret Ehrenberg's agnostic stance 10 years ago "The reader must in the end make up her or his own mind, and only be aware of the problems involved in the interpretation of any archaeological material"

Daphne Hampson is sceptical of how far such remote fragments of female experience, set in very different social contexts, can provide helpful models and inspiration for us now. Perhaps the myriad of successful books supplying these images to us is one answer for her, granting that their interpretations may often be romantic or sanitised versions. Carol Christ speaks movingly of hers and others' sense of validation and hope from finding the narratives of ancient Goddesses, even if the images at first seemed alien and ugly, because they were less converted to the modern eye (she speaks of both women and men's accounts).

For many the historicity of Matriarchal narratives is beside the point, as Hampson herself accepts. Starhawk now speaks of this tradition as a sacred history. In reply to one of Asphodel's heartfelt calls for better scholarship Wendy Aridela answered that such disputes are of interest only to the scholars, not to those engaged in creating Goddess spirituality now.

Sirena also disagrees with Asphodel's interest, because for her ancient Goddess images connote the failure of such systems to survive. Anthropologist Joan Bamberger has famously stated this point, seeing how myths of a former matriarchy that failed validate current male dominance. But Margot Adler observes how deeply powerful the very idea of matriarchy is for women. So urgently felt is this valorisation for women that Lucy Goodison found London Matriarchalists actively resistant to a critical historical view. The Canadian lesbian feminist poet Monique Wittig has been frequently quoted among Goddess people (and also etically) where she exhorts us to "Remember ... when you were truly free ... or failing that, invent it." Many take great pride in doing just that. Now Pam Lunn notes that this ubiquitous Goddess quote is always given without any other selection from the book. This obscures Wittig's narrative of a holy war against patriarchy employing considerable violence, very much at odds with the customary characterisation of matriarchal culture as typically peaceful, as especially emphasized in Gimbutas and Riane Eisler. These pacifist interpretations have been strongly contested notably by Ronald Hutton.

Matriarchal theories suggest that women use power differently to men but where I myself have personal experience of this famous organic, consensus teamwork I find it explicable as either conditioned, subordinated behaviour, or an inspired sense of community that emerges in a new, marginal grouping. This different use of power theory is frequently found with a strongly disapproving perception of male use of power, to the point where masculinity, or 'masculinist' or 'androcentric' become marked as a new kind of sin.

It has already been noted how previous European Pagan traditions adapted to substantial survival under Christian hegemony. Pioneers of modern Paganism do speak of ancient Goddess cultures but they do not typically call on Bachofen and the earliest Matriarchalists, but instead on Charles Leland, J. G. Frazer and Margaret Murray. 19thC folklorists and occultists contributed their own kind of material, so that we find descendants in a children's woodlore society, the Woodcraft Folk, alongside magicians like Aleister Crowley and Dion Fortune.

While the Goddess is dominant, powerful and pervasive in Paganism, and we do loosely refer to Paganism as "a religion of the Goddess" this does not mean that all Pagans are primarily Goddess devotees. Traditions such as Odinism, and to a lesser extent Druidry, can be either very God/male-centred; or 'hearth-centred' in a way that can reinforce traditional feminine conventions. Yet we can be said to be a Goddess religion in that all Pagans are easily familiar with Goddess veneration; most practise it, and those that do not would not be expected to raise any objections to either public or private expressions of predominant Goddess attitudes.

WICCA AND TANTRA

A major turning point in the growth of modern Paganism was the founding (or revitalisation) of Wicca by Gerald Gardner in the early 1950s. Wicca was from then on the most well organised, well published and therefore the most influential type of Paganism until the late '70s, so that it has been until recently almost a synonym for Paganism itself. (In the USA the two terms are to this day broadly interchangeable)

Gerald Gardner retired from a colonial career in Malaya, to Dorset, where he met two influential women. Mrs Mabel Besant-Scott was the daughter of Annie Besant. Now Besant had been both an activist for Indian independence, and a prominent feminist. As the Chair of the Theosophical Society she had promoted an Indian child in the West as the coming world avatar (Krishnamurti). Gerald's other major mentor was Dorothy Clutterbuck, born in NE India in 1880, so she grew up during the period when the Calcutta high court judge John Woodroffe published his respected books on Tantra in English. Gerald describes 'Old Dorothy' as the High Priestess of the witches' coven he joined in the 1940s, who finally gave him permission to write about Wicca at the end of her life.

In both Gerald's books in the 1950s, and his influential priestess, Doreen Valiente's in the 1970s, there are frequent references to Hindu concepts and practices e.g. chakras, kundalini, tattwas, karma. Texts like Woodroffe's had been available to the Westerner for 50 years by then, with a slowly growing respect for oriental religions since the World Parliament of Religions 1890. But in a self consciously native tradition, supposedly surviving in Britain, such frequent Hindu terms strike a strange note. Hindu references become a great deal less apparent in later Pagan writers, presumably as the new tradition found or constructed more Western material to strengthen an indigenous self respect, eg using 'the Web' instead of 'karma'.

Both NE Indian Tantrics and Wiccans meet at night, in a ritual circle. Both invoke divine possession, dance and perform spells. Both occupy a marginal, ambivalent status in their respective societies. However I find the correspondences between western Wicca and eastern Tantra even more specific than this. For example, Tantra speaks of the 'great worship' and Wicca refers to the 'Great Rite' both mean ritual sex, but further, in both it is most often symbolic.

Tantrics work 'clothed with the sky' while Wiccans work 'sky clad' meaning ceremonially naked. Both include practices aimed to literally embody the Goddess or God, 'deity yoga' and 'drawing down the moon' respectively. And of course there is the Goddess, paramount in both, as she is in few other religions of the world.

It is not only that the Goddess is there. She is also identically perceived in Tantra and Wicca as having a complementary partner, the God; and this is the crux of the Pagan Goddess. Where the Matriarchal Goddess may have a boy child, or a subordinate God figure at her side, the Pagan Goddess is accompanied, supported, in conflict with, and intimately entangled with him. As in Tantra, she is the active partner as she brings him through the festival cycle of the year. The two parallel each other in a complementarity so profound as to come close to a mirroring. There can be a Horned Goddess as well as a Horned God; both can be Hunter Deities; both can be warlike; both are healers; etc.

Their sexuality is basic to their sacrality. I once explained this to a liberated Christian friend who at first was keen to claim that her faith paralleled mine on this, but she then decided that perhaps she was not actually embodying Jesus as she made love with her partner!

WICCA AND FEMINISM

The dynamic polarity of the Pagan Goddess and God has articulated awkwardly with feminism. From the early '50s and before, Wiccan priestesses and their priests practised a microcosmic social model of female authority. Covens were accepted as directed by the High Priestess, with her male partner, the High Priest, as subject to her. Gerald Gardner's ambivalent sexism in demanding a young and comely Priestess to retire as she got older, was challenged and banished by the gently formidable Doreen Valiente. Wiccans therefore felt that they had already achieved respect for women and saw '70s and '80s feminists as unnecessarily strident in their aims!

The emerging Feminist Pagans of the '80s felt that respect given the High Priestess was too often superficial: she might be ceremonially honoured but she got left with the washing up afterwards, and outside her coven she was subject to unchanged mainstream gender limitations. As Feminism gained more and more adherents, a gender crisis affected Wicca. The kind of independent minded women who had been potential Wiccans were increasingly going into the women's movement, and Wicca, dedicated to rituals worked by equal numbers of men and women, suffered an embarrassing shortage of women.

But by the '90s Wicca had absorbed some more everyday feminist principles and attracted more women members again. By this time too, Feminist Paganisms, such as Starhawk's teachings, my own, and others, had gained a lot of ground

THE EARTH MOTHER

The predominant image of the Pagan Goddess is Mother Earth. We are said to be her children, and so are all other living, and inanimate beings, enjoining a mutual respect between us quite different to the stewardship tradition of Judaism and Christianity. If we consider ourselves a 'religion of the Goddess' we have also been called 'the Green Party at prayer' so the intersection of these two predominant loyalties in Earth Mother theology is especially widespread and emotive. As Starhawk puts it, this Mother Earth, this Web, is an "... awareness of the world and everything in it as alive, dynamic, interdependent, interacting and infused with moving energies: a living being, a weaving dance."

The Earth Mother metaphor clearly transfers some of our deeply socialised love and duty to our mothers, to the benefit of our planet. The Earth Mother also validates female sacrality and authority because we women are in her great image, as birthgivers, sustainers, and destroyers. But the Earth Mother can sound suspiciously victimised in a lot of Green discourse, and it is too often enthusiastic eco-men talking about 'saving' her. Next, if our greatest Deity is a Mother, where does that leave women who do not wish to, or can't, bear and give birth?

Much of these two anxieties is met by the very scope for female authority our Goddess and priestess emphasised subculture gives us. We Pagan women embody a strong and diverse range of female models that evidently counterbalance both the victimised image, and the purely biological definition of female power. Metaphors of independent Maiden and unpredictable Crone are well established among us in a Triple Goddess icon, together with the Mother. Unlike the Christian Trinity, where the Father is dominant, the three aspects of Goddess are coequal.

Dorothy Hampson is anxious that by emphasizing the intimate relation between women and the fertility of the earth and other animals, we may reinforce male perceptions of us as material, and so inferior (as in Aristotle, Bachofen et al above). But Pagan theology does not only speak to women, it teaches just as many men. We learn together that Deity is immanent, pantheist, that the God/dess is everything and we are all human/ animal/ plant/stone alike cells in her divine body, or the Web. Pagan men are frequently impressive in their understanding of female -male mutual respect - in my experience far more mature on this than any other males I meet.

Pagan men and women are exploring the revelation of male divinity from a bullying warlord to a creative, fierce, sensual and nurturing consort and father. In handfasting (ie our marriages) we say to each other "You are the Goddess- on- Earth to me" and "You are the God-on-Earth to me". Such poignant encounter moves into a radically different paradigm from the Matriarchal competition for ultimate authority.

Modern Paganism holds that "All Goddesses are one Goddess, and all Gods are one God". Ronald Hutton considers that historical Pagans saw their deities definitely as distinct deities, so this is a new, modern Pagan theology. It allows us to approach one or many, Goddess or God, as we need them, or as they need us. Graham Harvey's "Listening People, Speaking Earth" is a title that indicates how important is the relatedness of sacred dialogue.

Probably the most cogent criticism of the Earth Mother comes from Melissa Raphael (whose research has been very sympathetic to Goddess spirituality). Her Judaic background presses her to look for the God of justice, who will actively support concepts of morality. "A goddess worth celebrating must create and ground value in the human as well as the non-human world, which is precisely what the reflexive tendencies of theological discourse will not let her do."

The two main concerns here are

- 1) the insufficiency of "deep ecology" as an ethic;
- 2) the inability of an unstable, pluralistic faith to underpin a teleology of peace and relatedness, which is nonetheless a frequent rhetoric in the community concerned.

The Pagan Earth Mother who inflicts suffering and deprivation, is understandably, a difficult Deity to stomach. Even so her callous indifference that Raphael stands against, is, to me, actually preferable to the biblical deity who selects his victims and targets them for destruction. I had rather an indifferent Goddess than a cruel God. The dark Goddess, the callous Goddess is the other side of the Pagan view of all things being alive, with none being special over another.

But there is more to this which I shall return to under Goddess Feminism.

GODDESS FEMINISM

To recap briefly, Goddess Feminism dates only to 1970, although we should not forget forerunners such as Matilda Joslyn Gage in the late 19thC, and female mystics in European history who

asserted 'God as Mother.' In 30 years it has grown from an obscure and fragile network to a substantial subculture with groupings internationally in all English speaking countries, and some other European linguistic cultures. (see Introduction)

Carol Christ has representatively and vividly described how "Hunger for a female image of God was awakened in me by the rebirth of the women's movement." Asphodel Long was a founder of the British Goddess movement She recalls how "In some ways the term 'the Goddess' was a synonym for a woman with newly regained self-worth. "I am in the image of the divine, I am acknowledged. I have, all this time, been told a lie. I am not - and never was - inferior, subordinate." " The famous quote from Ntozake Shange's Broadway show "for colored girls who have considered suicide/ when the rainbow is enuf" in 1975 comes from the play's conclusion where a Black woman robed in red takes centre stage to say

"i found god in myself
& i loved her fiercely"

One of the classic tasks of Goddess' initiation training is to create and practice a "Self Blessing Ritual", a rite expressly focused on validating and enhancing one's own sense of sacrality. Here then is the Matriarchal role reversal compellingly restated, now unequivocally in the female voice. The academic field of Feminist Theology has during the same period over 30 years considered the issue of female Deity, sparking the powerful idea of Thealogy, which uses the Greek/ Latin feminine tag to define "...reflection on the divine in feminine or feminist terms"

CHANGING SYMBOL OR CHANGING REALITY

Pam Lunn begins to critically explore the complex balance of power between a changing symbol and a changing status. She feels that "The assertion of their own worth by members of an oppressed group within a society will not inevitably lead the dominant group(s) to change their value hierarchies . . . attempts to effect change may be merely ignored, neutralized or co-opted" New, politically correct wording can certainly just take on prior contamination and lose their effect. Against this Carol Christ is adamant that "Symbol systems cannot simply be rejected, they must be replaced. Where there is not any replacement the mind will revert to familiar structures at times of crisis, bafflement, or defeat" Merely trying to transform the use of the existing term 'God' will mean we constantly relapse into the previous associations.

The need is for attitude to change, and new symbols do help that, but symbols and other experiences feed back on each other, so that both need to be monitored and changed together. Lunn continues her critique by looking at the use of magic, asking whether a form of asserted will that cannot be proved to have results outside its shared belief, can provide valid liberation. She is concerned that magical work may draw feminist effort away from the 'real world' to an "emotional opiate". Certainly this occurs, but Starhawk's effective use of magical ritual focus to sustain political campaigning counters this with the opposite usage. Post modern theories of the intimacy between belief and experience suggest how one shapes the other, as does the high impact of the 'placebo effect' in all healing systems.

I have asked myself if the many people I have worked with could have found their strength, and changed their lives using other sources, and I have to answer that yes, they could have. But they didn't.

GODDESS AND OTHER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Some Goddess Feminists draw on the Ancient Goddess of the Matriarchies, as some Pagans do, but for many a radical location of sacrality in women here and now suffices. In this view whatever has

gone before, we can and must create a new future. The agenda is therefore utopian, and links powerfully with other liberation theologies, especially Black womanism, Two Thirds world theologies, and the Green movement.

Like early secular women's liberation which stressed the universal sisterhood of women, Goddess feminism at first saw a worldwide culture of Goddess worship in rather over simplified terms. Later as sisterhood was analysed into interacting sectors at the margins of nationality, class and race, Goddess Feminism has begun to accommodate the very different functions of Goddesses in different cultures and times. The dominant interest remains with a gracefully syncretic mix of Goddess traditions to make up a new interpretation.

Both Black and mujerista feminists in the USA have challenged Goddess Feminism as unacceptably white centred, and moreover exploitative of traditions of other cultures' Goddesses to serve white women's needs. As a result some of the joyfully sloppy eclectic resourcing of earlier times has faltered, and priestesses can feel unable to call on certain Goddess traditions beyond their own ethnicity. In this connection it is worth noting the fascinating work of Luisa Teish and others similar in reclaiming such traditions as Voudun and Candomble.

IS WOMANSPRIT A DEITY?

A theological criticism of the "womanspirit" of Goddess Feminism comes from Daphne Hampson who I feel has an important point when she asks if Goddess Feminism is a kind of Goddess Humanism. Is the Goddess as Womanspirit no more than a personified ideal of women's liberation? compared to how religious devotion is considered to exist in dialogue with the divine Other. This is something I have thought too when reading some of the Goddess Feminist literature. It raises the prospect of a Goddess who becomes redundant if women become powerful, very much at odds with the Matriarchy agenda, but with some truth in it.

By no means all Goddess Feminists speak of the Goddess only as a principle. Starhawk says when she is asked if she believes in the Goddess, she answers "Do you believe in rocks?"

My son at 4 years old was deeply shocked when he discovered that Christians don't know about the Goddess. "How can they?" he asked, uncharacteristically utterly stilled by the strange thought. "After all, she is everything there is."

WOMEN'S RELIGIONS

Susan Starr Sered has cross culturally analysed twelve "women's religions" and she includes Feminist Spirituality as one of them. (This latter term broadly covers the same culture I call Goddess Feminism. Virtually all her sources for it come from Goddess texts.) She defines "women's religions" as those in which women have been the leaders, the majority of participants, and where women's concerns have been central.

She finds a number of common characteristics, such as

- a matrilineal/ matrilineal/ matrifocal context;
- an extended induction process;
- a complete lack of monotheism;
- hierarchy but not centralisation;
- an emphasis on possession trance;
- and a concern with illness and healing.

A recurrent theme is how such religions address women's traditional sphere of home, family and children, particularly mothering and child death.

Mothering is a major motif in her study: "... a pervasive reference point for the study of women's religions" However, I observe that mothering has not been such a 'pervasive reference point' in

Goddess Feminism. One of the few who does prioritise it is Monica Sjoo, who is a Matriarchal Feminist; her motherhood and the motherhood of the Goddess is primal, as evidenced in her first book, and in her famous painting "God Giving Birth". Interestingly it is not birth that Sered cites as central to the mothering preoccupation of rites in women's religions, but nurture.

For Carol Christ mothering is given a sympathetic priority in her latest book but she is also keen to quote Marija Gimbutas who defines mothering as "... not so much the power to give birth ... but the power to make, to create, to transform" In general I find that texts on the Goddess rarely even include 'mothers', or 'mothering' in the index.

I note also a ubiquitous interest in menstruation, and to a lesser extent, menopause, in Goddess Feminism, with a profound accompanying philosophy not only of embodiment, but of cyclicity. These are of course the non-mothering aspects of female biology. Again this is counter to other women's religions which do not sacralise women's body passages.

In a paper too long to even summarise here I have explored how Western feminism in the '70s and '80s was matriphobic: concerned to liberate women from the devaluing 'trap' of maternity, so hardly inclined to celebrate it. In Western birth controlled society menstruation has replaced reproduction as the routine female condition. Menstruation has therefore become the priority feminist symbol, the unpregnant state, which we are called to validate in order to respect "our bodies, ourselves".

As the influx of women into the paid workforce has increasingly strained their resources to meet a "double shift", and as young '70s activists have aged and mothered, mothering is rising to the attention of commentators during the '90s. Christ's gentle treatment seems in part to reflect this, but although a few voices are calling to transform society into a feminised, maternal version, we are still far from any "pervasive reference point", even within female validating Goddess Spirituality.

With the overwhelming emphasis of Goddess Feminism on self affirmation it indicates how deep an ambivalence about mothering we feel, that where we do find images of the Mother, she is viewed as it were from the outside, with us as her children. I have seen hardly any attention to identifying the experience of the Goddess from her point of view, through an empathy with her by human mothers, yet almost every other human experience can be found in her. In Pagan Goddess literature, especially, she is approached extrinsically as the ecological Earth Mother.

Seeking self affirmation for women, Goddess Feminism does not have a strongly developed culture of men and the Goddess, compared to the Pagan Goddess inspiration. Starhawk's following (and my own) are significant exceptions where our feminism creatively includes male aspirations in their own right, but then she and I are very much a mix of Feminist and Pagan.

RAPHAEL'S ETHICAL CHALLENGE

I said I would return to Melissa Raphael's challenge to the Goddess ethic. You will remember that she judges the Goddess, as the Earth Mother of all, as inadequate to the case of justice for each. This has been a powerful Goddess Feminism issue since 1979 when the JFSR said "If God is God She is not Nice". In that discussion Starhawk dismisses good and evil as inappropriate to Goddess discourse. But I can appreciate a need for a Deity that is concerned about me, and about justice in my life.

After some thought I realised that the Goddess is being held here to only one of her faces. Within Goddess theology we are used to the idea of a Triple Goddess, Maiden, Mother and Crone. The young Maiden is concerned with the needs of the self, the self affirmation of 'womenspirit'. The Mother is concerned with the Other, especially the vulnerable, in a com/passionate frame that would I trust appeal to Raphael: the web as my web of connections. The Crone is the Western Tao,

a remote, wholistic perspective that may not privilege any being over another: the Web as a whole, that is deep ecology, which can be callous.

As well as women most Pagan men do happily turn to the Goddess for guidance, and both women and men also approach the God. I have outlined him (the God) in his three partner modes of Hero, Guardian and Fool, to find the same triple ethic.

THE ONE OR THE MANY

Emily Culpepper asks us to open out our capacity for diversity, for a "unity of the many". Asphodel Long has recently explored the Goddess as "The One or the Many"

Margaret Keane, one of the respondents to Cynthia Eller's study explains "I don't make those kind of distinctions that you hear about, they don't make any sense to me. You can say it's the Great Goddess, and that's the one Goddess, but she's also all of the many goddesses, and that's true. And she's everywhere. She's immanent in everything, in the sparkle of the sun on the sea, and even in an animistic concept. I think certain objects can embody that force and power. So I worship the Great Goddess, and I'm polytheistic and pantheistic and monotheistic too. And I also have a feeling for nature spirits . . ."

Carol Christ asserts that this is a 'paradigm shift' and the heat of these debates, the overturning of traditional mind/ body dualism and Western monotheism, the inability of historical evidence to resolve the Ancient Goddess controversy, is certainly suggestive. The trouble is that until a new paradigm has taken over we cannot see for sure that it is doing so.

page 5

SUMMARY

THE MATRIARCHAL GODDESS

What Matriarchal Goddess spirituality undeniably provides is a profound and liberating reversal of the stereotypes. It uncompromisingly validates female power, female sacrality, and male cooperation with it, which has proved an effective antidote to rigid patriarchal ideologies for large numbers of people. This is a major step towards something more creative, though it then must be acknowledged that such a reversal still models itself on the original, so the Matriarchal Goddess can be an authoritarian fundamentalist, can also seem uncomfortably like God in drag, and tends to define 'masculinist' views as sinful.

The process of 'erasure' of the female historical record arguably needs the strength of assertion lent by the Matriarchal reversal to counteract it. The effects of relying on a very disputed interpretation of history are debatable. Starhawk's mature position that the Matriarchal historical narrative is primarily a sacred history, is a sensible one on current evidence. Whether a Goddess society governed by women as mothers would be nurturant and peaceful is highly contentious. Perceiving the Deity as ungendered, or as a process, is a liberating metaphor, but so also is the assertion of deified femaleness.

THE PAGAN GODDESS

The Pagan Goddess, though perceived by many devotees and observers alike as a native British/ European mythos, presents suggestively powerful parallels with NE Indian Tantra. Survivals of a

native religious tradition in Britain are fragmentary and/or contested while Wiccan symbolism of the complementary Goddess and God was highly developed in their first published appearance; nor does this symbiotic mythos appear to be prevalent in earlier British forms. As Wicca has been arguably the single most influential Pagan tradition until recently, the connections between early Wiccan ex-colonials with this particular region of India support a hypothesis of cultural transfer. The complementary Goddess and God tradition in Paganism nurtured a proto-feminist culture which was later critiqued and strengthened by international feminism from the '70s on. A sophisticated social microcosm has resulted, with especially interesting implications for female priestess' authority, and masculinities.

The most widespread title for the Pagan Goddess is the 'Earth Mother' which ties in closely with both female validation and spiritual ecology. However, this validation is of a broadly conventional femininity, including the ecological motif of female-as-victim, and is vulnerable to the old dualistic essentialism of female-as-body. Against this stands the very real embodiment of female authority, diversity and self reliance within Paganism, and the partnership in personal learning encouraged between Pagan women and men around immanence and embodiment.

GODDESS FEMINISM

Late 20thC Feminism stimulated a radical reassessment of female value and sacrality, and then the very stability of the category 'female.' Goddess Feminism is newer than the other two Goddess types, and produces more self critical debate and theory, as evidenced by the feminist commentaries that crept into my exposition of the other two models.

This variant of Goddess Spirituality seems in some of its proponents to resemble a humanist or psychological principle rather than a religious relationship with Deity. In focusing primarily on women's spirituality there is less opening for male participation than in Paganism. Where Feminist and Matriarchal strands converge the result can be particularly fundamentalist in line with the utopian revitalisation agenda. Yet other Feminist Goddess contexts are notably diverse and flexible, finding congenial discourse in post-modernism.

Goddess Feminism in many ways corresponds to Sered's definition of a 'women's religion' but lacks their characteristic focus on a positive maternal identity and its concerns, presumably arising from the very different life cycle pattern of women in industrialised societies. The plurality of contemporary women's identities forces many a challenge to traditional Goddess mythos to the point of introducing a future where Goddess is obsolescent. Meanwhile she contributes to what may be a paradigm shift.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Margot **Adler** "Drawing Down the Moon" 1986

Philip R **Amidon** (trans) "The Panarion of St Epiphanius, Selected Passages" Oxford U. Press 1990 78.23

Wendy **Aridela**, letter in response to Asphodel in the Matriarchy Research and Reclaim Newsletter 1995 Autumn Equinox issue.

Arthur **Avalon** see John Woodroffe

J J **Bachofen** "Das Mutterrecht" 1870; (trans Ralph Manheim) "Myth Religion & Mother Right" Princeton U Press 1967

Joan **Bamberger** "The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society" in Rosaldo & Lamphere (eds) "Woman Culture & Society" 1974:263 ~ 280.

Stephen **Benko** "The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology" NY E.J.Brill 1993

Zsuzsanna **Budapest** "Feminist Book of Lights & Shadows" 1978 or in Christ & Plaskow (eds) "Womanspirit Rising" 1979/ 1992: 269 -272

Charlotte **Caron** "To Make and Make Again: Feminist Ritual Thealogy" Crossroad NY, 1993

Michael **Cathasaigh** "The Cult of St Brigid" in James Preston (ed) 'MotherWorship' 1982

Carol **Christ** & Judith **Plaskow** (eds) "Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion" Harper USA 1979 (1992)

Carol **Christ** "Why Women Need the Goddess: Phenomenological, Psychological, and Political Reflections" in Christ & Plaskow (eds) 'Womanspirit Rising' Harper USA 1979/ 1992:273 -287

Carol **Christ** "Symbols of Goddess and God in Feminist Theology" in Olsen 'The Book of the Goddess Past & Present' Pergamon, NY 1983

Carol P **Christ** "Mircea Eliade & the Feminist Paradigm Shift" in JFSR 7: 2: 1991:75 ~94

Carol **Christ** "Rebirth of the Goddess: Finding meaning in feminist spirituality" Routledge 1997

Vivianne **Crowley**: Seminar presentation at Lampeter, Univ of Wales 1997.

Emily **Culpepper** "Contemporary Goddess Thealogy: A Sympathetic Critique" in Atkinson, Buchanan & Miles (eds) 'Shaping New Vision: Gender and Values in American Culture' Ann Arbor 1987

Mary **Daly** "Gyn/Ecology: The MetaEthics of Radical Feminism" The Womens Press London 1978

Elisabeth Gould **Davis** "The First Sex" Dent 1971 USA

Riane **Eisler** "The Chalice and the Blade" Unwin 1987 (1990)

Cynthia **Eller** "Living in the Lap of the Goddess: The Feminist Spirituality Movement in America" Crossroad 1993

Margaret **Ehrenberg** "Women in Prehistory" Thames & Hudson 1989

Janet & Stewart **Farrar** "The Witch's Way" Hale 1984

Janet & Stewart **Farrar** "The Witch's Goddess" Hale 1987

Maurice **Friedman** "Religion and Psychology" Paragon House NY, 1992

Matilda Joslyn **Gage** "Woman Church and State: the Original Expose of Male Collaboration Against the Female Sex" 1893. Sally Roesch Wagner's Introduction, 1980 reprint

Gerald **Gardner** "High Magic's Aid" (fictionalised account) Houghton 1949

Gerald **Gardner** "Witchcraft Today" Rider 1954

Gerald **Gardner** "Meaning of Witchcraft" Aquarian 1959

Marija **Gimbutas** "Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe" Thames & Hudson 1974

Marija **Gimbutas** "The Language of the Goddess" Thames & Hudson 1989

Marija **Gimbutas** "The Civilisation of the Goddess" Harper Collins 1994

"Goddess Shrew" theme issue of 'Shrew' journal by 'The London Women's Liberation Workshop' 1975

Naomi **Goldenberg** "The Changing of the Gods" Beacon 1979

Naomi R **Goldenberg** "Memories of Marija Gimbutas and the King's Archaeologist" in JFSR: 96: 2

Lucy **Goodison** & Christine **Morris** (eds) "Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence" British Museum Press 1998

Maurice **Hamington** "Hail Mary: The Struggle for Ultimate Womanhood in Catholicism" Routledge NY & London 1995

Daphne **Hampson** "Theology and Feminism" Blackwell 1990

Graham **Harvey** "Listening People, Speaking Earth: Contemporary Paganism" Hurst 1997

Ronald **Hutton** "The Discovery of the Modern Goddess" in Pearson, Robertson & Samuel 'Nature Religion Today' 1998:89 -100

Imel & Imel "Goddess in World Mythology" 1993.

Shan (**Jayran**) "Circlework: A DIY Handbook of Ritual Psychology & Magic" HOG/ Airlift 1986, 2nd ed. 1994

Shan **Jayran** "Mothering & Goddess Thealogy" Presented Nov. 1997 to the p/g seminar series in Feminist Theology, University of Wales Lampeter

Shan **Jayran** "From Goddess to Raphael - Medicine for the Flux: A Post-Modern Ethic" presented at AUDTRS Postgraduate Conference, SOAS, London 1998. (Developed from 'A Triple Goddess Ethic' at the 'Ambivalent Goddesses' Colloquium, King Alfred's, Winchester 1997)

JFSR - Journal for the Feminist Study of Religion

Ursula **King** "Women and Spirituality: Voices of Protest and Promise" Macmillan 1989 (1993)

Ursula **King** "A Question of Identity: Women Scholars and the Study of Religion" in King (ed) 'Religion and Gender' Blackwell 1995

Ursula **King** (ed) 'Religion and Gender' 1995 Blackwell

Asphodel **Long** "In a Chariot Drawn by Lions: The search for the Female in Deity" The Women's Press 1992

Asphodel **Long** "The Goddess Movement in Britain Today" in 'Feminist Theology' 5:1994

Asphodel **Long** Letter to the MRRN (Matriarchy Reclaim & Research Network) Newsletter, Autumn Equinox 1995, letter dated 3 July.

Asphodel **Long** "The One or the Many" in 'Feminist Review' Summer 1997

Pam **Lunn** "Do Women Need the Goddess? Some Phenomenological and sociological reflections" 199??? CHECK

Tanya **Luhmann** "Persuasions of the Witch's Craft" 1989

Rev. James Gordon **Melton**, paper presented to the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, USA, 1980

Janet **McCrickard** "Born Again Moon" in 'Feminist Review' 37:Spring 1991:59 -67.

Patricia **Monaghan** "Women of Myth & Legend" Junction Press 1981

Jean and Ruth **Mountaingrove** & editorial collective "Womanspirit" in Oregon, USA 1974 -1984

Margaret **Murray** "The Witch Cult in Western Europe" Oxford. 1921. 1971

Margaret **Murray** "The God of the Witches" OUP 1931. 2nd ed 1952. Repr. 1970.

Judith **Ochshorn** "The Female Experience and the Nature of the Divine" Indiana Univ Press 1981

Carl **Olsen** (ed) "The Book of the Goddess Past & Present" Pergamon, NY 1983

Joanne **Pearson**, Richard H **Roberts** & Geoffrey **Samuel** (eds) "Nature Religion Today" Edinburgh Univ Press 1998

James **Preston** (eds) "Mother Worship" 1982

Diane Purkiss CHECK

Melissa **Raphael** "Truth in Flux: Goddess Feminism as a Late Modern Religion" 26:1996: 199 -213

Melissa **Raphael** "Thealogy & Embodiment" Sheffield Academic Press 1997

Rosaldo & Lamphere "Woman Culture & Society" 1974

Elisabeth **Sahtouris** "Gaia: The Human Journey from Chaos to Cosmos" NY Pocket Books 1989

Valerie **Saiving** "The Human Situation: A Feminine View" in Christ & Plaskow eds 'Womanspirit Rising' Harper USA 1992:25-42. Essay originally published in "The Journal of Religion" April 1960 Univ of Chicago USA.

Geoffrey **Samuel** "Paganism & Tibetan Buddhism" sent to me unpubl. 1997; in Pearson, Roberston & Samuel (eds) 'Nature Religion Today' Edinburgh Univ. Press 1998:123-140

Philip Shallcrass "A Priest of the Goddess" in Pearson, Roberts & Samuel 'Nature Religion Today' 1998 PAGES

Susan Starr **Sered** "Priestess, Mother, Sacred Sister: Religions Dominated by Women" OUP 1994
Shan see Shan Jayran. Her non academic texts as a priestess are published under her first name alone.

Miranda **Shaw** "Passionate Enlightenment: Women in Tantric Buddhism" Princeton Univ Press USA 1994

Sirena letter repr. in MRRN Newsletter Autumn Equinox 1995, from 'From the Flames' 15 Spring 1995.

Monica **Sjoo** & Barbara **Mor** "The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All" Rainbow Press, Trondheim, 1981

Dale **Spender** "Women of Ideas and What Men have done to them" RKP 1982

Starhawk "The Spiral Dance" Harper & Row 1979

Starhawk "Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics" Beacon 1982

Starhawk "Truth or Dare" Harper 1985

Merlin Stone "When God Was A Woman" Beacon 1979 aka "The Paradise Papers" Virago UK 1979

Merlin Stone "Ancient Mirrors of Womanhood" New Sybilline Press USA 1979 (vol 2 1980)

Doreen **Valiente** "The Search for Old Dorothy" Appendix to Farrar & Farrar 1984

Sally Roesch Wagner see Gage.

Kris **Waldherr** "Barefoot Book of Goddesses" Barefoot Books 1995

Monique **Wittig** "Les Guerilleres" (trans David Le Vay) Viking Press USA 1969 (Peter Owen UK 1971)

John **Woodroffe**/ Arthur Avalon "Hymn to Kali" 1913

John **Woodroffe**/ Arthur Avalon "Sakti & Sakta" 1918

Appendix 13: Wikipedia: 'Rhiannon'

Also '**Thealogy**', initiated by Shan Jayran, now Morgain (5/01/2002).

Edit history can be accessed by registering, then click 'View history' top right.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thealogy#cite_note-10> [Created 5/01/2002]

VII.5. Thealogies

.....
{{Other uses|Rhiannon (disambiguation)}}

[[Image:MULO-Epona Freyming.jpg|thumb|200px|Rhiannon is often associated with [[Epona]]]]

'''Rhiannon''' is a classic figure in [[Celtic]] traditions, [[Welsh Literature]] and [[Welsh mythology]]. She appears prominently in the [[Mabinogi]] (which has been known as the [[Mabinogion]] based on a historical mistake). The [[Mabinogi]] is the chief prose literature of mediaeval Wales, compiled c.1100 from earlier oral traditions, and it is culturally prominent in Welsh circles today.

Rhiannon is therefore a major part of the earliest British prose to survive today, in two manuscripts, but retold in countless publications as well as plays, film, storytelling and other arts. Her original story is mainly in the First Branch of the Mabinogi, with more following in the Third Branch. She is an Otherworld lady, who chooses [[Pwyll]], prince of [[Dyfed]] as her consort, in preference to another man she betrothed earlier. Their son is the hero [[Pryderi]], who inherits the lordship of [[Dyfed]]. Rhiannon as a widow marries [[Manawydan]] of the British royal family.

Like some other figures of Welsh literary tradition, Rhiannon may be a reflex of an earlier Celtic deity. Her name appears to derive from the [[linguistic reconstruction|reconstructed]] earlier [[Common Brittonic|Brittonic]] form *'''*Rigantona'''*, meaning "great queen goddess". In the First Branch she is strongly associated with horses, and so is her son Pryderi. She is often considered to be related to the [[Gauls|Gaulish]] horse goddess [[Epona]].<ref><http://books.google.com/books?id=DeaGo-Qkf2kC&pg=PA5&dq=rigantona&hl=en&sa=X&ei=nl5bUrGtKZS4kQe8lIHBYBQ&ved=0CGEQ6AEwCTgK#v=onepage&q=matrona&f=false></ref> <ref>e.g. Sioned Davies (trans.), "The Mabinogion", Oxford 2007, p. 231.</ref> The resemblance is both in her horse affinity, including foals, and her son's; and also a particular way of sitting on a horse in a calm, static way, which is like many images of Epona.<ref>Gruffydd, W. J. "Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origins of the First and Third Branches of the Mabinogi"</ref> [[Ronald Hutton]] disagrees, saying that a horse is the only thing they have in common.<ref>{{cite book|last=Hutton|first=Ronald|title=Pagan Britain|year=2014|publisher=Yale University Press|isbn=978-0300197716|page=366}}</ref>

==Rhiannon's Story==

===''Y Mabinogi'': First Branch===

Rhiannon first appears at [[Gorsedd Arberth]] an ancestral mound near one of the chief courts of Dyfed. Pwyll, the prince of Dyfed, has accepted the challenge of the mound's magical tradition. Rhiannon appears to him and his court as the promised marvel, as a beautiful woman dressed in gold silk brocade and riding a shining [[White horse (mythology)|white horse]]. Pwyll sends his best horsemen after her two days running, but she always remains ahead of them, though her horse never does more than amble. On the third day he finally follows her himself and does no better, until he finally appeals to her to stop for him. Rhiannon characteristically rebukes him for not considering his horse, then explains she has sought him out to marry him, in preference to her current [[betrothed]], [[Gwawl|Gwawl ap Clud]]. Pwyll gladly

agrees, but at their wedding feast at her father's court, an unknown man requests Pwyll grant a request; which he does without asking what it is. The man is Gwawl, and he requests Rhiannon.

Rhiannon rebukes Pwyll a second time for his stupid words, but provides the means and the plan to salvage the situation. She holds a second wedding feast for Gwawl, where she deploys Pwyll's men outside in the orchard. She instructs Pwyll to enter the hall dressed as a beggar and humbly request Gwawl fill his 'small bag' with food. But she has enchanted the 'small bag' so it cannot be filled. Gwawl is persuaded to step in it to control its magic, which means Pwyll can trap him in it. Pwyll's men rush in and surround the hall, then beat and kick Gwawl as the [[Badger-in-the-Bag]] game. To save his life Gwawl is forced to relinquish Rhiannon, and also any revenge. Rhiannon marries Pwyll and journeys to Dyfed as its queen.

[[File:Charlotte Guest Rhiannon.jpg|thumb|200px|left|Rhiannon riding in Arberth. From "The Mabinogion", translated by [[Charlotte Guest|Lady Charlotte Guest]], 1877]]

After a happy two years Pwyll comes under pressure to provide an heir. He refuses to set Rhiannon aside, and in the third year their son is born. However, on the night of his birth, he disappears while in the care of Rhiannon's six maids. Terrified of being put to death, the women kill a puppy and smear its blood on Rhiannon's sleeping face. In the morning they accuse her of [[infanticide]] and [[cannibalism]]. Rhiannon takes counsel with her own advisers, and offers to undergo a penance. Pwyll is again urged to set her aside, but refuses, and sets her penance instead. She sits every day by the gate of the castle at the horse block, to tell her story to travelers. She must also offer to carry them on her back as a beast of burden, though few accept this. However as the end of the story shows, Pwyll upholds her state as his queen, as she still sits at his side in the hall at feasting time.

The new born child is discovered by [[Teyrnon]], the lord of Gwent-Is-Coed. He is a horse lord whose fine mare foals on May Eve but the foals go missing every year. He takes the mare into his house and sits vigil. He sees a monstrous claw trying to take his latest newborn foal through the window, so he slashes at the monster with his sword. Rushing outside he finds the monster gone, and a human baby by the door. He and his wife claim the boy as their own and name him Gwri Wallt Euryn (English: "Gwri of the Golden hair"), for "all the hair on his head was as yellow as gold".<ref>"The Mabinogion." Davies, Sioned. 2005.</ref> The child grows at a superhuman pace with a great affinity for horses. Teyrnon who once served Pwyll as a courtier, recognises the boy's resemblance to his father. As an honorable man he returns the boy to the Dyfed royal house.

Reunited with Rhiannon the child is named in the traditional way via his mother's first words to him {{lang|mga|''[[Pryderi]]''}} a wordplay on "delivered" and "worry," "care," or "loss." Some time later, Pwyll dies and Pryderi rules Dyfed, marrying [[Cigfa]] of Gloucester, and amalgamating the seven cantrefws of [[Morgannwg]] to his kingdom.

=== "Y Mabinogi": Third Branch ===

[[File:Pryderi and Rhiannon.jpg|250px|thumb|Pryderi and Rhiannon's imprisonment. From "Tales of the Enchanted Islands of the Atlantic", Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Image by Albert Herter.]]

Pryderi returns from the disastrous Irish wars as one of the only Seven Survivors. [[Manawydan]] is another Survivor, and his good comrade and friend. They perform their duty of burying the dead king of Britain's head in London (see [[Bendigeidfran]]) to protect Britain from invasion. But in their long time away the kingship of Britain has been usurped by Manawydan's nephew [[Caswallon]].

Manawydan declines to make more war to reclaim his rights. Pryderi recompenses him generously by giving him the use of the land of Dyfed, though he retains the sovereignty. Pryderi also arranges a marriage between the widowed Rhiannon and Manawydan, who take to each other with affection and respect. Pryderi is careful to pay homage to the usurper [[Caswallon]] to avert his hostility.

Manawydan now becomes the lead character in the Third branch, and it is commonly named after him. With Rhiannon, Pryderi and Cigfa, he sits the Gorsedd Arberth as Pwyll had done. But this time disaster ensues. Thunder and magical mist descend on the land leaving it empty of all domesticated animals and all humans apart from the four protagonists.

After a period of living by hunting the four travel to borderland regions (now in England) and make a living at skilled crafts. In three different cities they build successful businesses making saddles, shields, then shoes. But vicious competition puts their lives at risk. Rather than fight as Pryderi wishes, Manawydan opts to quietly move on.

Returning to Dyfed, Manawydan and Pryderi go hunting and follow a white [[boar]], to a newly built tower. Against Manawydan's advice, Pryderi enters to fetch his hounds. He is trapped by a beautiful golden bowl. Manawydan returns to Rhiannon who rebukes him sharply for failing to even try to rescue his good friend. But her attempt to rescue her son suffers the same fate as he did. In a "blanket of mist", Rhiannon, Pryderi and the tower vanish.

Manawydan eventually redeems himself by achieving restitution for Rhiannon, Pryderi, and the land of Dyfed. This involves a semi-comical set of magical negotiations where the magician Llwyd ap Cilcoed is forced to release land and family from his enchantments. His motive is revealed as vengeance for his friend Gwawl, Rhiannon's rejected suitor. All ends happily with the family reunited, and Dyfed restored.

==Interpretation as a goddess==

When Rhiannon first appears she is clearly a magical figure arriving as part of the Otherworld tradition of Gorsedd Arberth. Her paradoxical style of riding slowly yet unreachably, is strange and magical, though also occurs in mediaeval love poetry as an erotic metaphor. She then produces her "small bag" which is also a magical paradox for it cannot be filled by any ordinary means. When undergoing her penance, Rhiannon demonstrates the powers of a giantess, or the strength of a horse, by carrying travellers on her back.

As well as the possible inheritance from [[Epona]] noted earlier, Rhiannon also connects linguistically to [[Brittonic]] Rigantona. The suffix -on means divinity, and the initial rhi-- or ri-- means a ruler. Both names therefore mean 'Divine Queen' or 'Divine Ruler.' This is also close to Teyrnnon's name which also means Divine Ruler.

Rhiannon is also connected to three mystical birds. The Birds of Rhiannon/ Adar Rhiannon appear in the Second Branch, in the [[Triads of Britain]], and in Culhwch ac Olwen. In the latter, the giant Ysbaddaden demands them as part of the bride price of his daughter, and they are described as 'they that wake the dead and lull the living to sleep.'

All this suggests Rhiannon as an earlier goddess of [[Celtic polytheism]].

W J Gruffydd's "Rhiannon" (1953) was an attempt to reconstruct the original story. It is mainly focused on the relationship between the males in the story, and rearranges the story elements too liberally for other scholars' preference, though his research is otherwise detailed and helpful. Patrick Ford suggests that the Third Branch "preserves the detritus of a myth wherein the Sea God mated with the Horse Goddess".<ref>Patrick K Ford "The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales" (1977)</ref> He suggests "the mythic significance may well have been understood in a general way by an eleventh century audience". Similar [[euhemerism]]s of pre-Christian deities can be found in other medieval Celtic literature, when Christian scribes and redactors reworked older deities as giants, heroes or saints. In the "[[Táin Bó Cúailnge]]", [[Macha]] and [[The Morrígan]] similarly appear as larger-than-life figures, but are never described as goddesses.

Proinsias Mac Cana's position is that "[Rhiannon] reincarnates the goddess of sovereignty who, in taking to her a spouse, thereby ordained him legitimate king of the territory which she personified".<ref>Mac Cana, p. 56.</ref> Miranda Jane Green draws in the folklore motif of [[Calumniated Wife]], saying "Rhiannon

conforms to two archetypes of myth ... a gracious, bountiful queen-goddess; and as the 'wronged wife', falsely accused of killing her son".<ref>Green, p. 30.</ref>

==Modern Interpretations==

Rhiannon appears in many retellings and performances of the [[Mabinogi]] (aka Mabinogion) of course. There is also a vigorous culture of modern fantasy novels.

A striking example of modern Rhiannon inspiration is [[Stevie Nix]] song "Rhiannon" 1975, on her debut album with [[Fleetwood Mac]]. Nicks has often recalled in interviews how she was struck with profound inspiration based on a popular novel, though she had little accurate knowledge of the original Rhiannon. Her powerful song became legendary.

In artworks Rhiannon has inspired some entrancing images, notably [[Alan Lee]] 1987, and 2001, who illustrated two translations of the Mabinogi, and the pictures attracted their own following.

Rhiannon has a growing following across the modern [[Pagan]], [[Goddess]], and [[Celtic tradition]] communities since c. 1975. While almost always sincere, such faith communities often base their devotions on a superficial knowledge which can be seriously in contradiction with the original legend. Depictions of Rhiannon can make her seem insipid, wispy, doll-like, and elfin in a Victorian flower fairy way, which her feisty character does not support. Rhiannon is also not all loving and motherly, as her innocent victim Gwawl might attest. Where a literary assessment can include her ruthless and strategic complexity, a poetic yearning akin to other [[Celtic Mist]] traditions, finds a gentler, more idealised Celtic madonna.

== See also ==

*[[Epona]]

*[[Étaín]]

*[[Mabinogi]]

*[[Mabinogion]]

*[[Rhiannon (song)|Rhiannon]], song by [[Stevie Nicks]] and [[Fleetwood Mac]]

*[[Welsh mythology]]

*[[Welsh mythology in popular culture]]

== References ==

{{Reflist}}

*W. J. Gruffydd (1953). "Rhiannon". Cardiff.

*James MacKillop (2004). "Rhiannon" in "A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology". Oxford University Press. ISBN 9780198691570

==External links==

*[http://www.timelessmyths.com/celtic/welsh.html#Rhiannon Story of Rhiannon]

{{Celtic mythology (Welsh)}}

[[Category:Mabinogion]]

[[Category:Welsh mythology]]

[[Category:Welsh women]]

[[Category:Mythological queens]]

[[Category:Welsh royalty]]

Appendix 14: *Duwies Cymru?* 2008

Shân Morgain. 2008. '*Duwies Cymru?* or, Goddess Wales?' online 2008-2015; **defunct**.

To be republished in forthcoming anthology.

House Morgain: <<http://www.housemorgain.co.uk/celtic/goddesswales.html>>

This is an old article composed with passionate dedication before I began academic study of the Mabinogi. The result is many errors which I have indicated by underlining, with added endnotes. S.M. 20/05/2022

Duwies Cymru? or, Goddess Wales?

by Shan Morgain, priestess and 'Celtic Guest.'

There are certainly goddesses in Wales, most of them recorded in the famous Mabinogi.

These were tales set in four branches but not written down until the twelfth century.⁷³ They are generally agreed to record far older traditions passed by word of mouth.

What modern people call 'Celtic'* cultures did not originally favour a written literature any more than they permitted images of their deities. Stories were shared through spoken forms of poetry by highly trained bards, a tradition revived and flourishing today through the annual Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru /National Eisteddfod of Wales.

Trained Bardic memory was justly famed for its capacity to hold huge amounts of literature. But by the twelfth century the local traditions were being lost under Christian onslaught.⁷⁴ Paradoxically it was Christian monks who wrote the tales down, so they survived.

Yet there was still a long period of obscurity when the Mabinogi were relatively unknown until the 19th century.⁷⁵ A Saesnes /Englishwoman, Charlotte Guest, who had married in, had the stories translated and published⁷⁶, also promoting them as an important literature. It was her version⁷⁷ which was named "The Mabinogion."

In the Mabinogi we do find goddesses, or more accurately, female myths. Mediaeval monks were hardly going to babble about goddesses for a start! Nor do goddesses and gods appear in 'Celtic' mythos just like goddesses and gods in the scholarship of Greece and Rome which was part of a "good classical education" for centuries.

⁷³ The earliest extant MS. dates c.1250, so 13thC not 12thC. There may well have been earlier versions.

⁷⁴ The onslaught at this time was Anglo-Norman invasion. Christian imposition dates back to c. 6thC.

⁷⁵ The Mabinogi was known to Welsh scholars of the 18thC, ref. Edward Lhuyd (1707) and earlier antiquarians. William Owen Pughe began publishing the Mabinogi in 1795.

⁷⁶ Guest originally published bilingually, Welsh and English text. So also did Pughe. English-only text became more and more common from the late 19thC onward.

⁷⁷ Mabinogion was a title used by Welsh scholars of the 18thC, which Guest respected and followed.

Greece⁷⁸ and Rome operated as empires with central governments, both mirrored and supported by theologies of a central god or central gods on high governing us all. Reading the Iliad of Homer for example, as all schoolboys not so long ago still had to, we find puppeteering deities exercising remote control over human lives. The gods can live among us, but we cannot live among them.

‘Celtic’ deities are not like that. They may warn us of our fate as the Morrigan does Cuchulain before his last fight. They may bargain with us which Arawn does with Pwyll, as two powerful lords hunting the forest. Pwyll recognises⁷⁹ Arawn outranks him but so might another human lord. Pwyll then visits Arawn’s own land to live there for a year. Later Rhiannon comes to Pwyll’s own country to live with him.

There is then an interchange here, an exchange, a companion or colleague relationship. It may not always be friendly – you do not mess with the Tylwyth if they are in the mood for fun any more than you’d mess with the local gang in gangland streets. (Caution about the Tylwyth shows up in the warning custom of Wales: never giving their name in full, not even the nickname.)

Humans have great difficulty outwitting the awesome cunning of powerful Others, so that stories of those who do are noted and applauded like Thomas, Janet, and the Queen of Faerie.

Even when friendly, guiding and supportive the ‘Celtic’ divinity can rebuke their human companion harshly, as Rhiannon does Pwyll, twice. She charges him once for being inconsiderate of his horse, and later she says cuttingly “... never has a man made worse use of his wits than you,” for his hasty words put their wedding at risk.

⁷⁸ Greece was made up separate city states. However they had centralised governments.

⁷⁹ Debatable whether Pwyll recognises Arawn outranks him, but he appears to do so, possibly as strategy.

But 'Celtic' Others do not destroy whole cities⁸⁰ like Sodom and Gomorrah. They do not demand we sacrifice a beloved child to them to show obedience, as Abram was required to do to Isaac. They do not manipulate whole battles⁸¹ so that hundreds or thousands die as the gods did at Troy.

They do not command us: they advise us, trick us, trade with us, laugh, eat, fuck, fight and sing with us. It is therefore no surprise that stories of the goddesses in the Mabinogi do not present them as awesome beings of terrifying majesty. They are powerful, resourceful, beautiful, wise, but not dominators as the gods of other cultures are.

In the Mabinogi we meet five main goddesses:

Rhiannon, Branwen, Blodeuedd, Arianrhod, Ceridwen.⁸²

There is arguably a sixth main goddess of Wales, Morgan, or Morgain(e) not found in the Mabinogi.

A seventh, Brigit, Brigid, Bridget, Brid(e), Brighde was not originally of Wales, but is found here in local legends, wells and churches, because her cult spread very successfully outside Eire, her homeland.

These Goddesses are widely venerated in modern times not only across Wales, but in Eire, the whole of Britain, across Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia and anywhere that modern Goddessing, Paganism, New Age or distinctively women's spirituality flourishes with a 'Celtic' interest.

Books, teachers and the internet have made them part of an international mixture of Goddessing.

Many devotees of this modern spiritual diaspora do not have much accurate knowledge⁸³ about their chosen Goddess or goddesses, which of course does not invalidate their personal devotions in the least. However teachers and writers, priestesses and priests carry a greater responsibility to pass on accurate information.

Looking at our five (or six) main goddesses of Wales, we find that each is identified with her own part of Wales. None of the Mabinogi are pan-Welsh stories or traditions. This is because Wales did not exist at the time of the Mabinogi development or its first recording in writing.

⁸⁰ In the Third Branch of the Mabinogi, Llwyd the magician devastates the wholeland of Dyfed, removing all its flocks, herds, and all humans except the four protagonists. Whilenot as violent as the catastrophes of Sodom and Gomorrah the scale of destruction is comparable.

⁸¹ In the Fourth Branch Gwydion the magician creates a war which kills thousands, all to enable the rape of a girl.

⁸² Cerridwen is not part of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi. Nor does she appear in most versions of the *Mabinogion* which adds another seven tales. Her tale (Taliesin) does appear in Guest's version of the *Mabinogion*.

⁸³ This could be said of myself when I wrote this article.

Wales was created much later, a little over 500 years ago by Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty. Since then Wales has operated as a colonial subordinate of England, most recently gaining its own Assembly, which however, does not have the power of a Parliament.

Under this extremely political story though, the old kingdoms, or even the ancient tribal territories, still exist. There are five clearly recognisable regions which speak markedly different kinds of Cymraeg (Welsh), with very different traditions, and who typically see their first loyalty as local, not "Welsh." It can still raise hackles that "Welsh" is an imposed English name for foreigner!

Rhiannon and Branwen⁸⁴ are of West Wales, specifically Dyfed or Pembrokeshire.

Blodeuedd and Arianrhod are of North Wales, specifically Gwynedd.

Cerridwen is of Mid-Wales, around Bala and Machynlleth.

Morgan or Morgain, Morgaine is of South Wales. She locates with the ancient kingdom of Morgannwg, and the immensely influential Gwent family Morgan.

While their names and stories are quite well known across Wales no Welsh person would ever see them as simply "Welsh." That would be seen as an English incomer view, and one arising out of laziness, or worse, English arrogance.

In "Three Things There Are ..." John Davies years ago challenged just such English /American arrogance and sloppiness. "... if you come to Wales (as I fear you may), wearing beads, and funny hats adorned with feathers and pieces of stick; ... if you come following an expensive workshop leader who can't even pronounce, let alone speak, any Welsh; whose only qualifications are a set of distinctly cranky ideas, assembled from fragments torn loose from our heritage and a hotpotch of others; plus, of course, a fast line in chat to convince you that this system offers instant enlightenment at a price (the fast-food version of spirituality); then you will be obvious for the fool you are." (Davies J. "Three Things There Are" 1993, p.1)⁸⁵

John's is a searing anger at those who misuse his heritage. He is not alone as a native Welshman who detests the spiritual tourist who pops in physically or virtually, to pick and mix as they prefer with very little effort to honour those whose Guest they are. The Guest is a respected position in tribal society. Welsh people especially of the South and West, uphold its code with great generosity. But it does carry duties of respect in return, to the host.

Incidentally you could do worse than look up where John's title "Three Things There Are" comes from. It's the first line of a Triad.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Branwen is NOT of Dyfed. She is Princess of all Britain, but appears in Gwynedd, north west Wales.

⁸⁵ John Davies, *Three Things There Are ...* (House of the Goddess, 1993).

⁸⁶ The Triads were sets of three linked items from Welsh literature which the bards used as a kind of mnemonic database. However this particular Triad comes from the revivalist Iolo Morgannwg.

Those who love 'Celtic' traditions could understandably feel defensive here. They are offering an honest love and devotion as best they can, after all. But are they really offering the best they can?

John points out that few even try to learn how to pronounce Welsh names, or try to grasp what they mean, for as in most tribal cultures, names carry important meanings. Do you like it when someone chews your name up in a gobbled mumble out of laziness?

There are also many 'Celtic' devotees who see the old mythos as being part of a world culture, rather like a **spiritual internet**, free to share. The 'Celtic' stories are fitted neatly into collections alongside other chapters on Greece, Rome, Sumer etc. Unless there is a strong explanation as well on how 'Celtic' divinity is very different to these others (see above) this insults and distorts the 'Celtic' ancestors and their mythos. Such packaging into a free download without careful help to understand, deserves John's contempt as "... assembled from fragments torn loose from our heritage ..."

It is true that 'Celtic' mythos is peculiarly vulnerable to exploitation like this. It does not have a wrathful deity to guard it by jealously demanding our subjugation. In fact 'Celtic' spirituality positively encourages independent thinking and feeling. No pope or national council ever laid down its law in detail in terms of beliefs. The tradition of soul friend (annam-cara in the Gaelic of Eire) counsels us to work with a spiritual companion for mutual support.

Equality and autonomy in the 'Celtic' spirit is part of its magnetism, but that same equality and autonomy nurtures endless interpretation without preventing sloppiness or arrogance.

'Celtic' mythos does not teach by forbidding things much. It loves life too much for that.

Nor does it insist on knife-like rational understanding. While happy to include the most cogent philosophy 'Celtic' spirituality just as warmly embraces those who dislike analysis, or cannot do it.

Further, the intricacy of art forms, symbols, and double, even triple meanings, are so very 'Celtic.' Far from being tied to precise meanings we are actually invited to play, to find new ones by rearranging, or by looking in a different way on another occasion. Shapeshifting.

It is therefore understandable that some cry out against any tie, saying 'But this is MY interpretation! and I'm entitled.' As indeed we all are. But while freely allowed to take and reshape what comes from another culture, that does not authorise us to claim that 'MY interpretation' is how it is, the original thing. Especially teachers.

It is so easy to do just by saying "Rhiannon is ..." or "Lleu represents ..."

Instead we need to say "To me Rhiannon is ..." or perhaps "To my temple Rhiannon is ..." or "To my community Rhiannon is ..."

Alternatively a line at the bottom of the webpage, or the first page of a chapter, or article, can state honestly “The views of gods, goddesses, and ‘Celtic’ lore given here include my personal interpretations. I am much influenced by [teacher/ group] in my work.”

Celtic Guests can and I believe should, learn to pronounce names properly, learn a few words of a ‘Celtic’ language, acknowledge they are reshaping myths to suit their needs as described, and try not to trample cluckfootedly over the basics of a given ‘Celtic’ culture such as Cymry /Wales. If Celtic Guests try this much I believe even the fiery John Davies might grin and accept them – as his Guests.

One of these basics that should not be trampled is how our goddesses can be “of Wales” but not “Welsh.” To speak of “Welsh Goddesses” is insulting and nonsensical, immediately betraying a silly outsider voice.⁸⁷ To say a goddess comes from Wales or is of Wales, is fine. Though it would be better still to say ‘of West Wales’ and so on, as well as pronouncing her name properly!

These are small things to do in return for the mighty gifts the peoples of Wales offer. A tussle with pronunciation, a few words of honesty and courtesy, make a Celtic Guest, instead of a dippy tourist without manners.

Those few words can make all the difference – like saying diolch /thank you.

I am perhaps a little more sensitive to these issues than some, as I am London born and bred. I honour my own city yet I am dedicated to the traditions of the Cymru. Prophetically given a Welsh name at birth, I was drawn romantically to ‘the Celts’ (of Wales) for many years before being honoured by handfasting a native Welshman, John Davies, who I quote above.

I owe my Sion a great debt for his education of my ignorance of his heritage over 20 years as I have shared his life in Wales. We have a Welsh son and I am ploddingly learning Welsh; apparently I am told, with a strong South Welsh accent!

Shan Morgain, Yule 2008.

* Celtic is given as ‘Celtic’ - in quotes, to counter the all too common assumption that there was a single, centralised Celtic culture comparable to Rome. No one we now call ‘Celtic’ would have called themselves a Celt. It was a foreign Greek word, meaning stone. Its imposition is rather like the English words ‘Wales /Welsh’ meaning ‘foreigner.’

⁸⁷ The point here is that ancestral spirituality predates the political definition of ‘Wales’ which was a name slapped on much later by the Saes/ English.

Appendix 15: *Symposiwm* (2017)

Most data about this has disappeared online so I am glad I kept my notes.

Sioned Davies. 2017. *Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi*

(2017. Symposium: Four Branches of the Mabinogi)

Dydd Sadwrn 8fed Gorffennaf, 2017.

(Saturday 8th July, 2017)

Cyfarwyddwr: Yr Athro Sioned Davies.

(Director: Professor Sioned Davies)

Administration: Cadi Thomas <ThomasCR9@cardiff.ac.uk>

Simultaneous translation: William Stefton <stefton.william@btinternet.com>

10.00 Dr. Simon Rodway, 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology'.

Aberystwyth. <syr@aber.ac.uk> Aberystwyth.

10.30 Prof. Brynley F. Roberts, 'Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi – Tybed?'.

See Koch 2006. Welsh Language & Literature, Swansea; Librarian NLW, ret. 1994.

11.45 Prof. Juliette Wood, 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess'.

Cardiff, Folklorist, Celtic studies. <woodj1@cf.ac.uk>

12.15 Dr. John Bollard, 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now',

Harvard, and others. <jkbollard@gmail.com>

14.00 Prof. Sioned Davies, 'Gair, Delwedd ac Ideoleg: Mabinogi Oes Fictoria'.

(‘Word, Image and Ideology: The Victorian Mabinogi’, my trans.). Cardiff School of Welsh.

14.30 Dr. Diana Luft, 'The Eighteenth-century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion'.

Research Fellow, CAWCS. <Diana.Luft@wales.ac.uk>

15.30 Ms. Margaret Lloyd, poetry reading from her 'Travelling On My Own Errands:

Voices of Women from The Mabinogi' (April 2017). Contact via John Bollard.

.....

Simon Rodway, 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology' opened with a reprise of his talk at the Aberystwyth storytelling symposium in March, but here with greater detail and an even more acute array of quotes. His main statement concerned the 'Hollywood Indian' and its cousin the 'Home Counties Celt', tracing the 'de-Celticisation' and 'mythification' of Welsh texts, particularly the Mabinogi, by powerful English and other agencies. The material presented ranged from the 19th to the 21stC, supported by numerous quotes providing solid argument (and much amusement).

What we have is 'anything but unedited' Rodway insisted, as the oral tales, and their surviving manuscripts were all selected and processed. All trans. and adaptations should be viewed as 'new texts'. He described his own youthful encounters with Asterix comics, Rosemary Sutcliffe and Slainte heroics, much later coming to Aberystwyth Celtic Studies. He admits the latter can draw critique as a label, defining it carefully it as the study of Celtic languages and their literatures. He ended by owning how he himself began by seeking a 'Celtic mythology', but then he instead found Welsh.

Prof. Brynley F. Roberts, 'Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi – Tybed?' was introduced as the senior statesman of the Mabinogi. He reviewed the transformations in Mabinogi research through the 20thC, from mythology to folklore, from Jackson's perception of an "inconsistent" and "confused" work to an appreciation of coherence. He saw the redactor as 'choosing what to combine and record' from the oral resources at hand.

Our lack of certainty on Mabinogi basics was stressed. The written form may never have been transmitted orally. Our own use of *mabinogi* as a title for the work can be queried. (The latter led to some lively exchange in the following discussion.) Prof. Roberts favours the concept of a 'novella'. What we call

the Third Branch may be seen as the continuation of the First, making three in all; or there could be more than four. He pointed to the 20thC introduction of the title *Pedeir Ceinc* by Ifor Williams, and feels it is now 'time to let go' of it.

Prof. Juliette Wood, 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess' rehearsed the well-known theories on Rhiannon as euhemerised descendant of Epona. This was well illustrated by images of Epona plaques, which compared closely with images of the 'Flight Into Egypt' from Christian iconography.

Prof. Wood noted that today 'many popular studies have not moved on' from earlier mythology based works. Current spirituality focused on Rhiannon and other Celtic deities constructs an 'arc of certainty in contrast to Christianity' and is best viewed as an independent folklore in its own right. Rhiannon in this context 'has very little to do with the Welsh'. Can we reach back to the Mabinogi in its own time? Prof. Wood answers simply, no. She also asks 'Are these myths at all?'

Dr. John Bollard, 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now' displayed a skilfully structured series of images, illustrating the intersecting genealogies of the families constellated around the production of the Mabinogi Mss. This genealogical perspective is, he feels, 'more important than the chronology'. Like Prof. Roberts he queried the usage of *mabinogi* as a proper noun or title.

A five stage model: 'layers of mabinogi-ness' as an 'organic growth' was suggested (diagram).

Stage I: Mythological layer from pre-Roman times;

Stage II: Oral tales from c. 800.

Stage III: Combining of narratives, c. 1000.

Stage IV: Written compilation c. 1100 – 1300 (Peniarth 6)

Stage V: Manuscript evidence c. 1300 – 1400.

Prof. Sioned Davies, '*Gair, Delwedd ac Ideoleg: Mabinogi Oes Fictoria*'.

(*'Word, Image and Ideology: The Victorian Mabinogi'*, my trans.).

Like preceding presenters Prof. Davies posed challenging questions, such as the differences between the Welsh and the English texts, which she noted is a large area in need of attention. Her main concern here however was how the Mabinogi/on was utilised to promote certain values to children in the 19thC, as a 'healthier option' than the Arabian Nights.

Guest's early bilingual project was aimed at a 'dual audience': her little sons, and scholars. In 1877 her monoglot English version was published, now appropriated to the target language. The well know Lanier publication derived from the aftermath of the American Civil War, when a devastated society sought new ideals to inspire its young males. Arthurian knights served this agenda alongside the Classics. Native tales are ordered further down the list. Sexuality and pregnancy is censored so completely as to obscure 'fundamental motivations' by the characters.

Prof. Davies analysed a series of illustrations from this and later children's texts. Non-Welsh, and non-Celtic images were pointed out as prominent in the designs. Males are ubiquitously central, or the only subjects, while females are given a negative slant where they are not completely omitted. Edwards' first Welsh text for children as a cultural nationalist, fails to state he edits the narrative especially the Fourth Branch, though his is a lighter edit than Lanier.

Dr. Diana Luft, 'The Eighteenth-century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion' gave a detailed portrait of the 'reflowering' of the Mabinogi. Scholars of the 15th and 16thC were not unaware of the tales, but did not see them as useful in validating Geoffrey's *Historia* as a Welsh valorisation. Dr. Luft noted and expanded upon Llyud's dismissal of the Mabinogi as fantasy stories.

Ms. Margaret Lloyd, poetry reading from her 'Travelling On My Own Errands' published last April, brought a fitting end to the day. Rather than the great queens and stateswomen of their times, her poems bring us Mabinogi women as acquaintances we might know in modern situations, their emotions exposed and easily recognised.

The final session was a lively talk showing just how very stimulating and welcome the event had been. Prof. Davies suggested it be repeated next year, which was met with enthusiasm, so she invited anyone interested to contact her. Prof. Roberts presented her with a large, shiny package as a gift of appreciation for her much valued work on the Mabinogi and other areas.

Appendix 16: Scholars of the Mabinogi

Some key works have complete Contents list on the Bibliography listing.

The chronological list below begins 1706 with Edward Lhuyd. However this is complicated by Lhuyd's work which was composed at that time but not published until much later. Also before print publication antiquarians certainly exchanged ideas. Even more importantly, in the mediaeval period the sophisticated intricacy of the tales betrays astute discussion and debate, both contemporary and in prior development.

I have almost entirely excluded art works except a few which make theoretical points. Almost all items are prose commentary, not poetry. Divinity material is limited, fiction even more so. There are some social context works. Titles abbreviated.

WELSH RENAISSANCE

'Romance' and historical source

1706 Edward Lhuyd. *Archaeologia*, p. 262 (Latin). Long paraphrase, historical chieftains' perspective, noting four Branches with protagonists, and *Mynweir a Mynord* (PKM3 65.23. JKB 76.1).

c. 1715–17 Moses Williams, father Samuel Williams, associate William Thomas. Transcription from MSS.; legal points, apparent publication plan.

1757 Lewis Morris. Possible publication plan. Iron Age tribals. 'Collections' notebook, first statement of Mabinogi as Romances.

1795 – 1835 WILLIAM OWEN PUGHE. **First publications**, 1795, 1799, 1818, 1830. First and Fourth Branch, bilingual Welsh/ Engl. trans. Second Branch paraphrased (1828). Complete script ready to publish (1835). 'Romantic Tales.' Foremost Welsh scholar of his time. Both admired and critiqued (the latter for his distorted view of Welsh language). By later 19thC he was obscured. Pierce unsuccessful reclamation (1914). Savage critique Johnston (1957). Bromwich good portrait in article on Guest (1980). Carr biography (1983). Also Edward Jones, bard, Engl. trans. 2/3 First Branch (1802).

1838 -77 CHARLOTTE GUEST. **First complete publication: series 7 vols. 1838, 1839, 1840, 1842, 1843, 1845, 1845. Repr. 3 vols. (1849). 2nd edn. 1 vol. Engl. text only (1877).** All edns. 145 pages notes, lavish presentation. Recruited by Carnhuanawc, he and Tegid taught her; she was faithful to native Welsh scholarship, incl. the 'Mabinogion' error. Her wealth (extracted from Welsh labour) succeeded where previous attempts failed. Anglo-Welsh tensions (cf. Ed. Jones Engl. text above (1802), Oxford University, below. Gendered critiques. First Mabinogi text online (1999). Widely read still today.

1842 George Clarke. 'Welsh Fiction: The Mabinogion by Lady Charlotte Guest, Parts I, II, III, and IV' in *Monthly Review* journal.

1849 Thomas Stephens. *Literature of the Kymry*. Defines mediaeval prose tales as 'Mabinogion'. Uses 'mabinogi' for biography of pre-Arthurian, named character.

WELSH ACADEMIA FIRST CENTURY

Nationalist 'Celtic Mythology'

1856 and 1869 Max Müller, 'Comparative Mythology', solar/ chthonic, influenced Rhys.

1867 Matthew Arnold. English govt. official. Admired ancestral Welsh poetry but contempt for Welsh prose storytellers ignorance on what they build.

1868 William F. Skene. *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*. Source texts.

1888 JOHN RHŶS. First Prof. of Celtic, Oxford Univ. Prestige Hibbert Lectures. Est. fragmented Celtic myths model cf Arnold, but aimed for reclamation. Influenced by Müller's solar/ chthonic (light/ dark) opposition, but found it hard to apply to Mabinogi so he reworked characters and plot to fit, eg Pwyll (Mythological Reconstruction). Irish lore as senior tradition and his main focus.

1897–1908 EDWARD ANWYL. First full focus studies of Mabinogi. Rhys' student. Est. 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi' title. Balanced view of Mabinogi as both skilled literature and mythology. Structural analysis as three kindred Cycles: Rhiannon, Llyr, Don. Rhiannon-Cycle intersects other two. Ambivalent re central Pryderi saga theory. Rhiannon/ Epona, Horse Goddess, Great Mother fertility goddess, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1890). Suffix *-on* = divinity. Rhiannon–Rigantona, Teyrnnon–Tigernonos paired cults. Rhiannon Radnorshire homeland. Much place-name research. Student Elizabeth Lloyd, MA (1911).

1887, 1905, 1907 John Gwenogvryn Evans. *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 1 of 3 (1905). *White Book of Mabinogion* (1907) transcribed MS. Also *Red Book of Hergest* (1887).

1907 Eleanor Hull. 'Hades in Celtic Literature', critiques Classics' concept applied to Celtic material such as Annwfn.

1909 Marie Trevelyan. *The Folklore and Ghost Stories of Wales*. Source collection.

1910, 1928. Antti Aarne. *Types of Folklore*. Index of motifs, see Jackson (1961).

1912–1955 WILLIAM JOHN GRUFFYDD (WJG). 'Mabinogion' (1912). *Rhiannon* (1953). Rhys' student. Politically powerful. Dominated 20thC Mabinogi Studies, developing Mythological Reconstruction to extremes, making tales unrecognisable. Claimed Pryderi's biography follows a (nonexistent) Irish model in four stages: 1) *compert*, 'conception or birth'; 2) *macgnimartha*, 'exploits'; 3) *indarba*, 'imprisonment'; and 4) *aided*, 'death'. His Pryderi Saga plot is reworked to match Irish *Mongàn* making Rhiannon a pawn of men, with 'bizarre' punishment for birthing a foal. Motivated by intense nationalism *contra* Arnold. Heavily critiqued by many scholars, dismissed, but only after his death. Used but suppressed Anwyl, eg. Epona.

1914 Thomas Mordaf Pierce. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe*. Attempt to rebuild Pughe's reputation after hostile suppression by the Oxford movement.

1914 Kenneth Morris. *Fates of the Princes of Dyfed*. First Mabinogi fiction, not well written.

1916 Josef Baudiš. 'Mabinogion'. Rare critique WJG.

1921 David Rhys Phillips. *Lady Charlotte Guest*, journal excerpts from her daughter Blanche.

1928 Tomas O Maille. 'Medb Chruachna'. Origin of Sovereignty Goddess theory, see Mckenna (1980).

1929 Thomas Peter Ellis and John Lloyd. *The Mabinogion*. First replacement of Guest translation. Careful, literal style useful for students' reference but oddly not well received by scholars. Ellis also published 'Legal References' (1928) on social/ legal parallels with mediaeval Wales' tribal society, see

1930 IFOR WILLIAMS. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi (PKM)* the classic reference text for scholars, still in use.. Compiled Middle Welsh text from all three source manuscripts, with Intro. and Notes. Dating. Supported Pryderi Saga theory, and *prif rieni* Branwen, Rhiannon, Arianrhod. Welsh text, see Harbert trans. excerpt on dating (1999)

1930s/ 1940s Evangeline Walton novels drafted, see Walton (1970s).

1943 Gildas Tibbott. 'Brief History of the Hengwrt-Peniarth Collection', NLW MSS.

1948 Robert Graves. *White Goddess*. Influential on modern Goddess movement, Triple Goddess, and Muse-Goddess as Rhiannon. Much influenced by radical feminist Laura Riding.

1949 Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones. *Mabinogion*. Translation competing Guest's dominance, who they clumsily critique. Modernised language later appears dated. Beautiful illustrations Margaret/ Mair Jones, see her poster map (2006).

1957 Arthur Johnston. 'William Owen-Pughe'. Overly negative, shallow assessment of Pughe's failure to publish a complete Mabinogi; overlooks inherited land challenges, and three major bereavements same

year.

1961–90 Folkore Studies. Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson 'International Tale' (1961) suggested use of Aarne's folklore index (1910ff.), eg. Calumniated Wife, Congenital Animals motifs. Juliette Wood critiqued Calumniated Wife application (1986) repr. Sullivan (1996), and explored goddess myths.

1968 RACHEL BROMWICH. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (TYP). Research treasurehouse on Triads and mediaeval Welsh literature. Triads databank of three item units, memory aid for oral performer bards/ poets. Section per Triad, directory of characters, Intro. overview context. Poetry/ prose traditions overlap but also divergent traditions. Article on Pughe and Guest (1986, repr. Sullivan 1996), Guest material mainly from Phillips (1921).

1968– 1992 BRYNLEY F. ROBERTS grandfather of modern Mabinogi scholarship. From '*Penyd Rhiannon*' (1968) through a long list of articles on dating, social context, language and orality. Many of his ideas and analyses especially on oral development, appear in the work of his protégée Sioned Davies (eg 1993). His Chapter V 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi' in his anthology *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (1992), is recommended.

1970 Thomas Mowbray Charles-Edwards. 'The Date of the Four Branches'. Repr. Sullivan (1996). Also works on the honour system (1978), and in Jenkins ed. WLW 1980).

1974-99 Eric Hamp. 'Mabinogi', Mabon and Modron (1974). 'Mabinogi and Archaism' (1999).

COHERENCE PARADIGM (1970)

Unified, sophisticated literature; feminist analysis

1970-2007 JOHN K. BOLLARD. Est. paradigmatic change from broken myths to unified, intricate literature. (Cf. Anwyl though not aware of him due to WJG suppression 1912-53). 'Literary Assessment' (1970); 'Structure' (1974); 'Myth and Tradition' (1983). Explores 'interlacings', similarity links (sometimes contrasting) transcending the sequences of narrative time. Bollard saw these links aiding Mabinogi unity, also bearing moral/ social themes of marriage, friendship, feud. *Legend and Landscape*, trans. (2006, PDF online 2021) with substantial commentary analysis; landscape photography Andrew Griffiths. His translation text is pleasantly readable with unobtrusive notes in margins. Maps, helpful lists, Intro and final analysis. 'What Is The Mabinogi?' (online 2007).

1970s EVANGELINE WALTON, set of four fantasy novels derived from the Mabinogi strong influence on popular knowledge. Though fiction, well researched, frequent Mabinogi phrasing. Walton explicitly strives to avoid violation of source in plot and characterisations cf. Sullivan's 'conscientious use' (2004). She owns to some adjustment of PKM3. All except PKM1 drafted 1933–39, influenced by Frazer's seasonal fertility cycle (1890); Briffault's *Mothers* (1927); sovereignty O Maille (1928). Feminist, matriarchal goddess thealogy informs her expansions. The thealogy is knowingly aligned with Buddhist traditions eg. bodhisattva. *Prince of Annwn*, PKM1 (1974) written last. *Children of Llyr*, PKM2 (1971). *Song of Rhiannon*, PKM3 (1972). *Island of the Mighty* (1971; 2nd edn. *Virgin and Swine* 1933). *Mabinogion Tetralogy*, all four (2002). See commentaries Hooker, and Thomas (2011); Hammond (2013); Anderson (2017).

1973 Rhiannon Mary Davies. 'The Moral Structure of Pedair Keinc Y Mabinogi', PhD.

1975 Andreas Meirion Pennar. 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature' D Phil. Ch. 4 Mabinogi, also Lawbooks Ch. 1. Profiles the Queen, Rhiannon, Teyrnion's Wife, Branwen (comments on Cymidei), Cigfa, Goewin, Arianrhod, and Blodeuedd; but not Lady Mouse, nor Rhiannon's Maids. Contrasts 'simple' (unassertive) e.g. Queen, and stronger, assertive women. Well known for his feminism, he favours South Welsh women: 'commanding' Rhiannon has eleven pages. Predates Valente on goddess/ woman (1986) though undeveloped comment. Remained obscure until Morgain (2024) possibly as he did not publish this or related articles.

1976 Jeffrey Michael Gantz. ed. trans. *The Mabinogion*. Penguin popular publication, not well received by scholars. 'Thematic Structure', collects interlacings with simple analysis of good/ bad morality (1978), repr. Sullivan (1996).

1977 Proinsias Mac Cana, *The Mabinogi*. Single volume study. Mythological approach, following WJG but also critiques him. See Valente critique of Mac Cana (1986). His *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (1980) usefully shows WJG's four- part Irish biography model for Pryderi did not exist.

1977/78 Sean O'Coileain. 'Thematic Study Pwyll'. Repr. Sullivan 1996.

1977-88 PATRICK K. FORD. *Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales (1977 later Kindle)*. Trans. selects 'native' tales only, plus *Ystoria Taliesin* and *Cad Caddeu*. Long informative Introduction, both mythological and structural analysis, so transitional scholar from this to the next period. Some influence from WJG but mainly stands alone and wears well to date. Acute structural and mythological analysis *Cyfranc y Caseg a'r Mab* / 'Adventure of Mare and the Boy' roots in Teyrnnon's PKM1 account. Gives the long reach of the horse theme in later Branches (cf. Morgain, below), and identity play of 'hippomorphic' / human woman. A very readable translation still much enjoyed today. Useful lists. 'Prolegomena' (1981) repr. Sullivan 1996). 'Celtic Women: The Opposing Sex' (1988).

1977 Ian Charles Lovecy. 'Celtic Sovereignty Theme'. Concludes an Irish phenomeon, no application to Welsh traditions. Sovereignty scholars generally unaware of his research.

1977 Ann W. Merrill. 'Structural Analysis Limitations Women'.

1980, 1992 Dafydd Jenkins & Morfydd. E. Owen, eds. *Welsh Law of Women (WLW)*. Important anthology for social context.

1980 Catherine Mckenna. 'Sovereignty in Pwyll', repr. Sullivan 1996. Also 'Manawydan' 1999. Unaware of Lovecy (1977).

1981 Elizabeth Hanson-Smith. 'Pwyll, Narrative Structure'. Repr. Sullivan (1996)

1981/82 R. M. Jones. 'Narrative Structure in Medieval Welsh Prose Tales'. Repr. Sullivan 1996. The clearest account of structural interlacings in the anthology.

1981- 88 Nerys Patterson. *Women* in mediaeval Welsh society and Mabinogi. Relative gender similarity when younger, 'woman as vassal'(1988).

1982-2017 SIONED DAVIES Prolific, well-known scholar, chiefly known for her *Four Branches* (1996), and translation *The Mabinogion* (2005). The first, mentored by Brynley Roberts, meticulously arrays the many types of oral style appearing in the prose tales: descriptive intervals (interstices), structured units (episodes), triplicities, 'prefacing', complex characters given via action and prolific dialogues (minimal description), simple sentences with repetition and frequent connections ('and', 'said she'). Formulaic phrasings aid performer's memory. Her model of formulaic, integrated horse/ rider descriptions is powerful, and she also edited an anthology on horses in Celtic culture: her chapter 'Horses in the Mabinogion' (1997). 'Charming Guest' (2004) strong defence, original primary research; cf. White (1995, 1996). Her *Mabinogion* translation (2005) reflects her oral research in its laconic, live style; Intro. and endnotes are brief essentials aimed at a popular audience.

1983- 2009 Glenda Carr. *William Owen Pughe*. Biography (1983), cf. Bromwich (1986). Also 'Uneasy Partnership Iolo Morganwg and William Owen Pughe' (2009).

1986 Bromwich well researched article on Pughe and Guest (repr. Sullivan anthology 1996). See Bromwich main entry (1968).

1986 -88 'ROB' VALENTE. '*Merched y Mabinogi*', (Women of the Mabinogi), PhD 1986.

Pioneer of feminist study of the Mabinogi. Neither she, nor other scholars have been aware of Pennar (1975) but Valente still holds pride of place for analysis. E.g. Mac Cana had disparaged PKM3 Rhiannon as a failed goddess for impulsively rushing to rescue her son. Valente finds a

goddess often obscures the woman: here the natural (conventional) mother's reaction. She locates the power of Mabinogi women in their deployment of voice in advice and rebuke. 'Gwydion and Aranrhod' (1988) examines PKM4 in terms of transgressive gendering.

1987 John Koch. 'Iron Age: Manawydan, Mandubracios'.

Also 2005 ed. *Celtic Encyclopedia*: various relevant articles

1989 –2015 Miranda J. Green. Mythological, symbolism, archaeology and art research on Celtic deities, triplism, horse and other animals.

1989 Revel Guest and Angela V. John. *Lady Charlotte: A Biography*. 2nd abridged edn. *Extraordinary Life*. The *Mabinogion* period is just one aspect/ section of the biography.

1989 KATHY JONES. *The Shining Ones*. 'Avalonian Rhiannon', an aberrant tradition, developed from this ritual drama for her Glastonbury Goddess Temple. Many feminists at the time had little access to academic sources and felt they were hostile to women anyway, so created their own interpretations. Jones rejected the Mabinogi as too masculine (arguably understandable), but never connected with its emergent feminist scholarship since Valente (1986). The result is Rhiannon as a sex-love goddess, in major contrast to her courtly, strategic *persona* in the Mabinogi. Rhiannon's 'ambling' horse transforms to wild eroticism. A structured training in Rhiannon priesthood developed see Soetens (2014). See critique John Davies' diatribe (1993); Rodway, and Morgain (2017); Sullivan 'conscientious use' (2004).

1989 –90 Andrew Welsh. 'Manawydan New Man' (1989 repr. Sullivan 1996). 'Doubling Incest' (1990).

1990 Claire A. French. 'Masculinity and Femininity in 'The Mabinogion'', PhD.

1990–2015 Lauran Toorians. 'Flemish Settlement in Pembrokeshire' (1990), ethnic clearance cf Huws on PKM3 (2013). 'Luxuria, Gula Pwyll' ref. Queen Annwn (2014). 'No Badger in the Bag' (2015) development of motif over centuries, finding the Mabinogi its origin.

1993 Peter Clement Bartrum. *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*. Index of legendary and literary characters.

1993 John H. Davies. 'Three Things There Are ...'. Welsh Celtic diatribe against expropriation of Welsh heritage such as the Mabinogi; cf. Jones (1989); Sullivan 'conscientious use' (2004). Rodway, Morgain 2017.

1993-2013 Ian Hughes. 'Mabinogi and Medieval Welsh Poetry' (2006) examines the overlap between prose and poetry/ *Trioedd* traditions and divergence, in detail cf. Bromwich TYP (1961). Marks a severe lack of Rhiannon and associated characters outside prose esp. PKM3. Analyses PKM3 as a triple (tripartite) structure, with many triplicities (2007). PKM4: *Math* (2013).

1994 Erica J. Sessle. 'Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess, Rhiannon'. Follows Valente (1986)

1995 Jessica Hooker (later Hemming) First historical account of Mabinogi Studies (PhD. 1995) giving four stages: Mythological, Folkloric, Sociological, Structural (cf. Sullivan 1996, Parker 1998, Morgain 2024). Critiques WJG. Finds 'bizarre' Rhiannon penance was unusual but historical penalty for treason (1997, 1998). Colours signifying enchantment: red, white, black (2012, 2013).

1995– Donna Rae White. 'Crimes of Lady Charlotte Guest' (1995). 'Further Crimes' (1996). Defense against critiques, see also Sioned Davies (2004). Also *Century of Welsh Myth in Children's Literature* (1998).

1996 CHARLES WILLIAM SULLIVAN III. *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, later Kindle. Very important anthology, chronicling the new paradigm emergence (not feminist aspect). Intro. gives historical development, referring to a Celtic period (here Welsh Academia), then parallel Structural, Thematic approaches (cf. Hemming 1995, Parker 1998, Morgain 2024). CONTENTS: Bromwich, 'Guest'. TP Charles-Edwards, 'Date'. Wood, 'Calumniated Wife'. Keefer 'Dylan'. Ford, 'Branwen'. Welsh, 'Manawydan New Man'. O'Coileáin, 'Thematic Pwyll'. Hanson-Smith, 'Pwyll Structure'. Bollard, 'Structure'. Ford, 'Prolegomena Pwyll, Manawydan'. *R. M. Jones, 'Narrative Structure'. Gantz, 'Thematic Structure'. Bollard, 'Myth and Tradition'. McKenna, 'Sovereignty'. Valente, 'Gwydion Arianrhod Gender'. Sullivan, 'Inheritance and Lordship'.

*Some of the articles from the new paradigm seem unclear in places as new ideas were working out: R.M. Jones gives the clearest account of interlacings. Also 'Conscientious Use: Welsh Celtic Myth and Legend' (2004), cf. Davies diatribe (1993); Rodway, Morgain (2017).

1997 Fiona Winward. 'Some Aspects of the Women'. Gendered perceptions of power.

1998 Bernhard Maier. Pagan past reflected in the Mabinogi (1998). Mabon theory, 2001.

1998 Mick Tems. 'Mari Lwyd'. May relate to Rhiannon.

1999 Wayne Harbert. 'The Time of the Four Branches', Translated excerpt from Williams' PKM (1930), *Rhagymadrodd* pp. xxii - xxiv.

TWENTY FIRST CENTURY

Mabinogi online

1998 - WILL PARKER. 'Bibliographic Essay'. MSc thesis (1998, online 2002). Historical summary of Mabinogi Studies, notes Pughe and Welsh scholars but chiefly marks 'Old School' reconstruction, and 'Revisionists' (here Coherence Paradigm): cf. Hemming (1995), Sullivan (1996), Morgain (2024). Also composite translation online (2003) useful for fast searches. His magnum opus *Four Branches* (2005) is a substantial mythological study. Also a collection of articles, his website mabinogion.info

1999 Gien Jansen, 'Miss Gien'. 'Mabinogion'. First Mabinogi text (Guest) online. Arthurian site.

2000 -2022 Daniel Huws. *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (2000), updated and expanded to 3 vols. (2022). The definitive resource on Welsh manuscripts.

2001 Mary Jones. Collection of public domain texts posted online, also Celtic Encyclopedia.

2002 Robin Chapman Stacey. 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style'. Social context. Theory awkward divorce allocations are deterrent.

2003 Heather Rose Jones. 'Yr of a Duw'. Examines this common expletive.

2003 Pamela J. Porter. 'Romantic Love in Medieval Marriage'. Social context.

2003 Ned Sturzer. 'Inconsistencies in Welsh Tales'. Lists nine. Almost all can be resolved by attention to text and context.

2004 Sean Davies. *War and Society in Medieval Wales*. Social context.

2005 Helen Fulton. 'The Mabinogi and the education of princes in medieval Wales', teaching text for princes (2005). Also 'Cultural Meanings in the Mabinogi' (2000).

c. 2005 -2012. Jennifer MacCormack. 'Mabinogi Study' students' online discussion forum.

2005 Alfred K. Siewers. 'Mabinogi As Mystagogy Of Landscape'.

2006 Margaret/ Mair Jones. 'Poster y Mabinogion', map of Mabinogi territory marked with illustrative cartoon images. Also illustrator many of the Jones and Jones editions.

2006 Lisa Spangenberg. 'What Is the Mabinogion?' Teaching resource online. Compares Jones and Jones (1948), Ford (1977) translations.

2007 Renske van der Linden. 'Pwyll Legal elements', MA.

2007- 13 Peter Wynn Thomas, Diana Luft and Mark D. Smith. 'Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425', 'Welsh Prose 1350-1425'. Welsh MSS. text online.

2009- 12. Andrew Breeze. *Origins of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi*. Theorises female composer, proposes Gwenllian (2009). Teyrnon's name (2009), political geography 'Moor, Court, and River' (2012).

2009 Jonathan Miles-Watson. *Welsh Mythology: A Neo-Structuralist Analysis*. Importance of counsellors, females or junior males.

2009 Nikolai Tolstoy. *The Oldest British Prose Literature*. Oddities of text may represent historical events in Britain and Ireland in the early 11thC.

2010 G. R. Isaac, Simon Rodway, Silvia Nurmio, Kit Kapphahn, and Patrick Sims-Williams, MS. Peniarth 6, text download.

2010- 17 Diana Luft. Primary source research on 18thC Welsh antiquarians: Welsh Renaissance.

2011 Audrey L. Becker, Kristin Noone, eds. *Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture: Essays on Adaptations in Literature, Film, Television and Digital*.

2011 Sian Cleaver. 'The Mabinogion', Bookdrum, online. Attractive presentation.

2011 Susan F. Garlick. 'Horses, Swine and Magical Birds in Mabinogion'. MA.

2011 Deborah Hooker. 'Disavowing Maternity in Evangeline Walton's The Virgin and the Swine: Fantasy Meets the Social Protest Fiction of the 1930s'. See Walton (1970s). See Thomas (2011); Hammond (2013); Anderson (2017).

2011 Sebastian Rider-Bezerra. 'Mabinogion Project: A Brief History', online. Inaccurate details but some useful passages and quotes. History not structured development stages. Arthurian slant.

2011 Patrick Sims-Williams. *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*.

2011. Lyle Tompsen. 'Mari Lwyd'. May relate to Rhiannon.

2011–13 Nicole A. Thomas. **Commentaries on Evangeline Walton.** 'Branwen's Shame: Voicing the Silent Feminine' (2011). 'The Male Mother', of Blodeuedd (2011). 'Penardim's Sacrifice' (2011). 'Daughters of Modron, Feminist Re-visioning' (2013). See also Hammond (2013)

2013 Debra Hammond. 'Walton & her works'. See Walton (1970s).

2012 Josh Pitman. 'Christian Influences'. Unconvincing.

2013 SHÂN MORGAIN. 'Mabinogi Study' research website, articles, indices.
'The Mabinogi Bibliography' over 2,000 entries; online via Zotero, ongoing.

2013 Matthieu Boyd. 'Teaching Notes from a Personal Reading of the Mabinogi'. Ingenious solution to why Arawn cannot give Hafgan the single blow. Also (2017)

2013 Jennifer Cavill. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi (Overview)', research blog.
 'Folkloric'. Table of narrative events.

2013–18 Simon Rodway. *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature* (2013) 'Celtic Mythology' critique of misappropriation and bowdlerisation (2017, 2018). Also Peniarth 6 (2010).

c. 2014. BBC Wales. 'The Mabinogion', online. Requests to correct errors refused.

2014 Mary E. Brown. 'The Depiction of the Otherworld in Four Branches', MA.

2019 Mary-Ann Constantine 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century',

2014 Lee Raye. 'The harvest mice (*Micromys Minutus*) in 'Manawydan'. Species.

2014 Danna R. Messer. 'Uxorial Lifecycle and Female Agency'. Useful social context.

2014 Katinka Soetens. *Sacred Sexual Priestess Empowerment, Rhiannon Goddess of Love and the Wild Maiden*. Teachings of 'Avalonian Rhiannon' by the Glastonbury Goddess Temple. As the title shows this Rhiannon is a sex goddess. Cf. Kathy Jones (1989) originating source of this aberration.

2015 Alan Robert Phillips. 'Otherworld in The Four Branches'. Collected data, little analysis.

DATE? Gina Siano. 'Sovereignty: Love Triangles and Seasonality', MA. PKM4 focus.

2015 Joseph Shack. 'Otherworld and Norman "Other": Annwfn'.

2017 Douglas A. Anderson 'The Novels of Evangeline Walton' see Walton (1970s).

2017 Kathy E. Shimpock. 'The "Unlikely Female" MA. Unconventional Mabinogi women.

2018 Elaine S. Eichner. 'Magical Birds as a Link between the Mabinogion and other Celtic Literature'.

2018 Matthew Francis. *The Mabinogi*. Retelling as poetry, reversing the Mabinogi innovation of prose story telling.

2018 Thomas D. Hill and Kristen Mills. '(Pregnant) Mouse Freed from the Gallows' (PKM3).

2018 Jhenah Telyndru. *Rhiannon: Divine Queen of the Celtic Britons*. Accurate portrayal in a context of living veneration, though flawed by sovereignty theory.

2018 John Waddell. 'Equine Cults and Celtic Goddesses'.

2018, 2019 Emma Watkins. 'Female Storytellers', develops Valente's concept of female power through voice, Rhiannon. Radical drama, and thesis.

2022 Melantha Snow. 'Legends for Learning: review Mabinogi written for the primary school in light of the new Curriculum for Wales'.

2023 Onyx Path Publishng. 'Scion: Once and Future, Gods of Wales', well researched roleplay game; research by Geoffrey McVey.

2013 SHÂN MORGAIN Mabinogi Rhiannon: *gwraig o rym a'i theulu; safbwyntiau llenyddol, gwleidyddol, thealogaidd, celfyddydol a strwythurol* woman of power & her kindred; literary, political, theological, arts, & structural perspectives. (PhD thesis submitted Swansea University March 2024)

END_____

Mabinogi Rhiannon (2025): LLYFRYDDIAETH/ BIBLIOGRAPHY

All entries are listed under Sources to aid searches i.e. the main list includes duplicates of the Primary Sources and English Translations lists.

With particular thanks to Alan Llwyd for methodical aub-edits, and Taliesin Morgan for checking all URLs for duds since I recorded them. Any remaining error is my responsibility.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Williams, Ifor. ed. 1930. Repr. 1951, 1994 hardback, 1996 softback. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, Allan o Lyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (PKM) (Cardiff: UWP)

TITUS online text; Jost Gippert, Frankfurt a/M, 6.12.2005:

<<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/celt/mcymr/pkm/pkm.htm>> Accessed 17/12/2013;

Checked 28/03/2024]

Frequently used as a common source text to give page + line references. Lettering (typography) is standardised. The pagination of the three source MSS. is noted inline. Gaps e.g. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch damage, are completed from Llyfr Coch Hergest, the later version. *Rhagymadrodd*/ Introduction, pp. i – xlvii; Testun, pp. 1– 91; *Nodiadau*/ Notes, pp. 92– 303; in Mod. Welsh. Glossary, and Index to the Notes. Section on dating the Mabinogi *Rhag.* /Intro., pp. xxii - xxiv, available in English, trans. by Wayne Harbert. 'The Time of the Four Branches', in *Arthurian Literature and Christianity: Notes from the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Meister, Peter (NY: Garland Publications, 1999), pp. 3–5. Available online, google books. Introduction

AND

Burl, Aubrey. 2008. *Courts of Love, Castles of Hate: Troubadours and Trobairitz in Southern France 1071-1321* (History Press), p. 70, Poem I, stanza 2.

Jaufre Rudel poem/ song seems to parallel Rhiannon courtship.

Trobar: <www.trobar.org/troubadours/jaufre_rudel/jaufre_rudel_01.php> [Accessed Feb. 2020]

I.3. Other Sources: #4.

Bromwich, Rachel. 1961. (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP)

Scribd: <<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydein-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>> [Accessed 12/02/13; Checked 28/03/2024, DELETED]

I.4. Advent

--- and D. Simon Evans, eds. 1988. *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Cardiff: UWP)

References Adar Rhiannon.

I.3. Other Sources: #2 *Culhwch*.

English trans. from Ford, Patrick K. ed. 1977. *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA, 1977; repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle)

Dafydd ap Gwilym

Allusions in various poems to Gwawl, Pwyll, Pryderi:

Poems #5, #26, #28, #35, #37, #39, #79, #110.

Index of poems. Dafydd ap Gwilym net, Swansea University:

<http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/index_eng.php> [Accessed 20/03/2021]

I.3. Other Sources: #8.

Ford, Patrick K. ed. 1992. *Ystoria Taliesin* (UWP), p. 83, ll. 626-29.

Ystoria Taliesin 16thC MS., clearly much older. Possible allusion wedding plot.

I.3. Other Sources: #9.

Gruffydd, R. Geraint and Brynley F. Roberts. 1980-81. 'Rhiannon Gyda Theyrnon yng Ngwent', *Llên Cymru*, XIII, pp. 289-291

Awdl honouring Hywel ap Goronwy, king of Ystrad Tywi, pp. 289-291.

I.3. Other Sources: #3.

Ifans, Rhiannon; Ann Parry Owen, W. Dyfed Rowlands, and E. H. Rheinallt, eds. *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog, Mab Clochyddyn, Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch ac Ithel Ddu* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1997), p. 15, poem 2.

Goronwy Gyriog. 14thC court elegy, names Rhiannon as bardic patroness.

Also Dream Awdl.

I.3. Other Sources: #6 and #7.

Isaac, G. R; Simon **Rodway**, Silvia **Nurmio**, Kit **Kapphahn**, and Patrick **Sims-Williams**, eds. 2010. 'Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13eg Ganrif Fersiwn 1.0' ('13th Century Welsh Prose Manuscripts Version 1.0')

Peniarth 6, Text Download, MSWord format.

Cadair Aberstwyth: <<https://research.aber.ac.uk/en/datasets/13th-century-middle-welsh-prose-manuscripts>> Accessed 18/05/2023 See Peniarth 6 entry. Checked 28/03/24 New link.

<doi.org/10.20391/3abf4ef1-e364-4cce-859d-92bf4035b303>

I.7. Etymology

Luft, Diana; Peter Wynn Thomas, and D. Mark Smith. 2007. 'NLW MS. Peniarth 4: Y Gainc Gyntaf (First Branch)', *Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425, Welsh Prose 1300 -1425*, p. 4v, 15 , Lines 12-16.

Welsh Prose: <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen4&page=1r>> [Accessed 22/09/ 2018]

I.4. Advent

NLW MS. digitisation. 14/05/19. Online 2004. 'The White Book of Rhydderch, Peniarth MS 4.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch/>> Accessed 17/12/2016

I.4 Advent

Thomson, Robert Leith (R. L.). 1968. *Owein, or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnwawn* (Dublin: DIAS)

Inverted version of Rhiannon advent.

I.3. Other Sources: #5.

Williams, Ifor, ed. 1931. *Gwyneddion 3* (Caerdydd), p. 267.

Ystoria Taliesin 16thC MS., clearly much older. Possible allusion wedding plot.

I.3. Other Sources: #9.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

DEFAULT

Reasons for default selection given in my Introduction pp. xiv-xvi.

Bollard, John K. ed. and trans. 2006. *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*. Bicolumnar text, illust. by Anthony Griffiths' photography of Welsh landscape sites (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press)

PDF available online. Notes are boxed inline, for ease of reference.

CONTENTS: Introduction p. 9. Map p. 10. Photographer's Notes p. 16. Genealogies p. 17. First Branch pp. 18– Second Branch pp. 42 Third Branch pp. 62 Fourth Branch pp. 78. (Many photos of MSS., landscapes) Afterword p. 110-22. Index of Proper Names and Guide to Pronunciation p. 124.

Possibly due to its size and beautiful photography so higher price, the book has not had the attention it merits. Recommended as a standard text. Translation is accurate and flowing, easy for a modern reader to enjoy while faithful to the original. Bollard pioneered a new approach to Mabinogi scholarship which revolutionised it.

Now available as a free PDF download.

Online PDF 2021, Academia:

<[https://www.academia.edu/27202196/Landscapes of The Mabinogi?email_work_card=view-paper](https://www.academia.edu/27202196/Landscapes_of_The_Mabinogi?email_work_card=view-paper)>

[Accessed 27/05/2023]

Introduction.

ALSO

(Historical order)

Owen, William (post 1806 as **Pughe**). 1795. 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *Cambrian Register*, I (London: E & T Williams), pp. 177–87

First Mabinogi text in print. Text is bilingual, Welsh – English on facing pages, bicolumnar style, covering *Pwyll I*, the Annwfn adventure. Equivalent PKM1 1.1– 8.26. JKB 19.1–25.1. Sometimes printing date listed 1796, i.e. it reports works from 1795. *Cambrian Register* was the first serious Welsh journal, published in book format, collecting history, prose tales, *Trioedd*, poetry and letters.

Text available online, NLW, & google books.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2886559/193#?xywh=-320%2C99%2C2965%2C1881>> Accessed 10/02/2015

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1799. 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II, pp. 322–27. Cont. from *Cambrian Register*, I.

Welsh & English text, bicolumnar pages. Title page shows '1796', then at the bottom '1799'; presumably as this volume continues Vol. I, 1795/96. Text equiv. PKM1 8.27– 12.6. JKB 27.2. Pughe finishes with an appeal for help to access a copy MS. so as to continue, p. 327.

Available online, NLW, or google books.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2961120/331#?xywh=-20%2C254%2C2352%2C1492>> Accessed 10/02/2015

I.4 Advent

Pughe, William Owen. 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 230–46

Bilingual Welsh English text, bicolumnar pages. Cont. from CR.I. and II. Text equiv. PKM1 12.7–20.12. JKB 27.2.– 34.1. Possible Tegid MS. connection, see Ch. I.5. Tegid.

Available as facsimile hardback; viewable online NLW, or google books.

NLW Welsh Journals, scanned text: <<http://hdl.handle.net/10107/2867880>> or

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2867880/240#?xywh=-806%2C-182%2C3735%2C2368>> Accessed 29/03/2015

I.3. Etymology

--- 1821. 'The Tale of Pwyll', in *Cambro-Briton Journal*, II, ed. by Parry, John Humffreys, pp. 271–75

English trans. text only. Not explicitly attributed to Pughe but the translation matches his *Cambrian Register I* (1795) almost entirely.

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/celticresearch00davi/page/n5/mode/2up>> Accessed 17/08/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1828. 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed. by Croker, Thomas Crofton (London: John Murray), pp. 163–91 Substantial, c. 40 pages. Incl. 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', (PKM2) pp. 189–90.

CONTENTS: Title page plus Introduction by Croker to Pughe's trans. (pp. 158 – 63). Letter from Pughe about the Mabinogion (pp. 163 – 76) Pughe, Pwyll I, cf. 1795; with notes (pp. 177– 82). 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran'. Includes Branwen's advice dialogue re British ships (pp. 189–90); other speech is reported.

Probably drafted by Pughe, or possibly Croker from Pughe's MS. cf. Gunn draft notes 1819 (p. 183 –91). 'Mythological Persons' lists pp. 192 –99.

I.5. Text

Jones, Edward, ed. 1802. *Mabinogi, Part the First; the Juvenile Adventures of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, in *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature; and Other Admirable Rarities; Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical, and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids*. Bardic Relicks series, vol. 2 of 3 (London, Printer St.: A. Straban for the author)

PKM1 text pp. 27–30, ending when Rhiannon and Pwyll part, PKM1 13.13. JKB 28.2.

Jones describes the text as 'faithful translation from a Welsh manuscript in the Author's collection; and a great part of the British original may also be found in the Red Book, in the archive of Jesus College, Oxford.' Footnote p. 30. See also Griffiths, Ann.

Archive Org: <https://archive.org/stream/The_Bardic_Museum/BardicMuseum#page/n2/mode/1up> Accessed 7/07/14

I.4 Advent

Guest, Charlotte. ed. trans. 1877. *The Mabinogion, From the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest (The Red Book of Hergest) in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford Translated, with Notes*. Illust. Samuel Williams engravings, 2nd edn, abridged, English text only in 1 vol. (London, 15 Piccadilly: Bernard Quaritch)

Incl. 145 pages of scholarly Notes in sections following each Branch.

Also many Footnotes. The Mabinogi text is mainly in the original vol. VI, pp. 339–440; note the Welsh text PKM1 / *Pwyll* precedes it in vol. V.

CONTENTS Dedication p. v. Preface to the Second Edition pp. vii–viii. Contents p. ix.

(Vol. VI) 'Pwyll Prince of Dyved', pp. 339–359. Notes to 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed', pp. 360–365

'Branwen the Daughter of Llyr', pp. 369-384. Notes to 'Branwen the Daughter of Llyr', pp. 385-393.

'Manawyddan the Son of Llyr', pp. 397-410. Note on 'Manawyddan the Son of Llyr', pp. 411-12.

'Math the Son of Mathonwy', pp. 413-433. Notes to 'Math the Son of Mathonwy', pp. 433-440.

John Bruno Hare, 'Internet Sacred Texts Archive', Guest, 2nd. ed. (4/3/2004).

Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/index.htm>> Accessed 28/12/2013 Includes Introduction, all Samuel Williams' illustrations, all Notes. Many online versions lack the complete contents.

Sacred Texts Contents list <<https://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/pageidx.htm>> [Accessed 15/03/2023]

I.4 Advent. Main content II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Ellis, Thomas Peter (T. P.) and John **Lloyd**, eds. trans. 1929. *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd*, in 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Preface, pp. vii– xi. Mabinogi text is pp. 4–132, with prefatory notes pp. 1–3. Bibliography, p. xii.

A careful, accurate translation which together with short Preface and some notes is often very helpful in understanding Welsh nuances, and social context. The translation was harshly criticised at the time by a newly established Welsh academia eager to demonstrate its strict credentials for rigour, and uncomfortably aware of the recent exposure of Iolo Morganwg's forgeries. Recommended as a student aid.

I.4 Advent

Jones Gwyn, and Thomas **Jones**, eds. trans. 1949. *The Mabinogion*. Illust. Mair Jones. Everyman series, 97 (London: J. M. Dent)

The Everyman edition 1949 quickly rivalled Guest in popularity: they critique her sharply. Its valiant attempt at balancing accuracy and romantic pleasure by a modern reader (of that time) has ironically left it slightly dated. Illustrated in this and later editions by Mair Jones who also published a Mabinogion poster map (2006). Beautifully illust. version Alan Lee, 1982.

I.4 Advent

Gantz, Jeffrey Michael. ed. trans. 1976. *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books)

Very popular via Penguin, but many scholars considered accurate. Gantz greater contribution comes 1996.

I.4 Advent

Ford, Patrick K. ed. trans. 1977. *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA, 1977; repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle)

Powerful departure from previous trans. as it selects out the 'native Welsh' tales from Anglo-Norman tales. Welsh nationalism was gaining ground.

CONTENTS: Map p. ii. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr pp. Preface p. ix-xii. Introduction pp. 1-30. Select Bibliography pp. 30-32.

Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Notes) pp. 35-37. Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Text) pp. 37–56. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 57-59. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Text) pp. 59-72. Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 73-75.

Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Text) pp. 75-87. Math Son of Mathonwy (Notes) pp. 89-91. Math Son of Mathonwy (Text) pp. 91-109.

Llud and Lleuelyn (Notes) pp. 111-12. Llud and Lleuelyn (Text) pp. 113-17. Culhwch and Olwen (Notes) pp. 119-21. Culhwch and Olwen (Text) pp. 121-57. The Tale of Gwion Bach & The Tale of Taliesin (Notes) pp.

159-62. The Tale of Gwion Bach (Text) pp. 162-64. The Tale of Taliesin (Text) pp. 164-81. Appendix: Cad Caddeu (Notes) pp. 183-84. Cad Caddeu (Text) pp. 184. Glossary (of people and places) pp. 189–94. A

Guide to Pronunciation pp. 195-96. Index of Proper Names (linked to the text pages) pp. 197-205.

The translation itself is clearly readable, and supported by extensive explanation, most of which survives very well. It bridges the mythological and the literary. Some of the mythological work is overshadowed by WJG, of the old school, but Ford was also an early practitioner of the new paradigm, see Bollard. The

exposition. 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ 'Adventure of the Mare and the Boy' pp. 3-14 precedes Mabinogi Rhianon in closely similar scope because it inspired me; see my Ch. I.5. Text p. 30.
Introduction

Parker, Will. ed. trans. 2003. 'Text Translations', Mabinogi.Net
Composite translation drawn from DIAS editions for the First and Second Branches; and PKM for the Third and Fourth Branches. Made available online when no other was there except Guest (1999). Also his 'Bibliographic Essay', and extensive notes on literary, historical and linguistic aspects of the text: some speculative, many useful and insightful.
--- ed. trans. 2003. Header page, Contents list, Mabinogi.Net.
Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/translations.htm>> [Accessed 2005]
--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Pwyll', Mabinogi.Net
Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/pwyll.htm>> [Last checked 11/07/2023]
--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Branwen', Mabinogi.Net (2003).
Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/branwen.htm>>
--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Manawydan', Mabinogi.Net (2003).
Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/manawydan.htm>> Accessed 19/09/2020
--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Math', Mabinogi.Net, 2003
Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/math.htm>> Accessed 29/09/2021
II.9. 21stC

Davies, Sioned, ed. trans. 2007. *The Mabinogion* (OUP)
CONTENTS: Intro., brief endnotes, Index.
Text style reflects Davies' research into orality and performance (reading aloud); often with controlled brevity. This is many readers' first choice as their standard translation.
I.4. Advent

SECONDARY SOURCES A-Z (MAIN LIST)

For convenience and completeness Primary Sources and Translations re-listed below.
Welsh alphabetical order, i.e. listings for Ll- follow L- ; Rh- follows R.
Publisher location is Britain unless otherwise stated.
URLs generally not included in chapter footnotes, only here, because URLs are bulky (can demand up to three lines). Footnote is marked (URL Bibliography) or similar.
The focus is Mabinogi Rhianon, but also includes other Mabinogi/on texts.
This A-Z list below is as inclusive as possible. It repeats primary sources, translations from above, and includes illustrations, *some* artworks, recordings, film, games, presentations, performances, blogs, personal communications, and any other item cited in the Chapters.
Full list of artworks 'Illustrations' and 'Diagrams, Maps' in separate Front file.
Key entries annotated; esp. important texts give Contents list; also some obscured.
Wherever possible an author's full name is given, not initials, even if customarily they are known by initials only (feminist methodology to reveal female scholarship).
A few entries have been given as sources by other scholars, not directly sourced here. Stated in relevant footnote, here too. Included for completeness and convenience.
Chapter shown at the end of an entry is the first occurrence e.g. 'I.4. Advent'.

Aarne, Antti Amatus. 1910. *Verzeichnis Der Märchentypen, Suomalainen*. 'List of Fairy Tale Types', Folklore Fellows' Communications, 3 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia)
---; and Stith Thompson, trans. expanded. 1928. *The Types of Folklore*. Folklore Fellows Communications, 74 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia)
II.6. Academia: Folklore

Abendroth, see Göettner-Abendroth.

Aberystwyth: "The World's Largest Mari Lwyd". Millennium celebrations.
Horniman Museum:
<<https://www.horniman.ac.uk/story/the-mystery-of-mari-lwyd/#:~:text=Aberystwyth%20even%20marked%20the%20millennium,to%20house%20at%20Christmas%20time>> [Accessed 27/07/ 2023]
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Academia edu: < <https://www.academia.edu/> > [Accessed 2012– 22]
Online archive of scholars articles, many refs.

Adams, John Paul. 2010. 'Euhemerus of Messene'
California State University: <<http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl004/euhemerus.html>> [Accessed 28/06/2021]
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Addison-Wesley. 1984. 'Jenny of the Prairie', *Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories*, IBM/ PC series
--- 1984. 'Cave Girl Clair', *Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories*, IBM/ PC series
--- 1985. 'Chelsea of the South Sea Islands', *Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories*, IBM/ PC series
Aids to help girls 7–12 yrs become familiar with computer keyboards and develop computer literacy. Heroines are strong young girls.
IX.2. Imaginary

Adelard of Bath. c. 1107-33. *Quaestiones Naturales* / Natural Questions
Argued animals have souls, i.e. judgement.
III.4. Equine

Adobe Inc. 06/18/2015. 'Who Created the PDF?'
Adobe: <https://blog.adobe.com/en/publish/2015/06/18/who-created-pdf>
[Accessed 28/03/2024]
American multinational computer software company, gives origin as 1991–2008.
II.9. 21stC

Adolph, Anthony. 2015. *Brutus of Troy, and the Quest for the Ancestry of the British* (Pen and Sword)
Anthony Adolph: <<https://anthonyadolph.co.uk/brutus-of-troy/>> [Accessed 14/12/2021]
Informative Bibliography.
III.2. Britain

Albarella, Umberto. 2010. 'Wild boar', in *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna*, ed. by OIX.2. Connor, T. and N. Sykes (Oxbow Books), pp. 59– 67
White Rose, Sheffield: <http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/112814/>> [Accessed 20/03/21]

V.10 Pryderi: Manawydan

Alexander, Lloyd. 1964–68. *The Chronicles of Prydain*, 6 part series (NY: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston)

II.9.20/21stC ref Disney film. IX.2. Imaginary

Allan, K. 2009. 'The connotations of English colour terms: Colour-based X-phemisms', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, pp. 626– 637

Cf. Hemming.

I.4. Advent #5 Horse

Almond, Richard. Feb. 2012. 'The Way the Ladies Ride', *History Today*, 62, 2

History Today: <<https://www.historytoday.com/archive/way-ladies-ride>> [Accessed 24/12/2022]

I.4. Advent

Alvar, Jaime. 2012. *Romanising Oriental Gods: Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (Brill)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Alvarez, Jorge Tabilo and Patricio Ramirez-Correa. 2023. 'A Brief Review of Systems, Cybernetics, and Complexity', *Complexity*.

Wiley Online Library (PDF) < <https://doi.org/10.1155/2023/8205320>>

Intro.

Anastasoff, Stevan. 2024. 'Tales From The Mabinogion' video game in Welsh

Nation Cymru: <<https://nation.cymru/culture/tales-from-the-mabinogion-video-game-to-launch-worldwide/>>

Ch. II.9. 21stC

Andersen, Hans. 1847, first publ. German 1835 –1872. *Tales for the Young* (James Burns)

II.3. Performance

Anderson, Douglas A. April 2017, rev. Jan. 2022. 'The Novels of Evangeline Walton', *Orcrist*, 9, pp. 6-9

With thanks for much kind assistance. See Hammond, Debra (on Walton); Morris, Kenneth

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Andrews, Rhian M. 1996. *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill Ail Hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (UWP)

V.10. Pryderi (opening passage)

Anon. c.200 BCE. 'The **Dying Gaul**', marble sculpture, 0.73 x 0.93m, formerly titled 'Dying Gladiator'.

Roman copy c. 200 BCE of a Hellenistic bronze figure c. 200 BCE. Capitoline Museum, Rome, no.

377, acquired 1884. II.6. Welsh Academy

Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology:

<<https://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/casts/dying-gaul>> Accessed 5/06/2021

II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Anthony, David W. 2007. 'The Domestication of the Horse and the Origins of Riding: The Tale of the Teeth', in *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*, ed. by Anthony (Princeton University Press), Ch. 10, pp. 193-224

III.4. Equine

ANWYL

Anwyl, Edward. 1897. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. I and II, *ZCP*, 1
Ch. I, pp. 277-82; Ch. II, pp. 282-93

Archive org (Ch. I and II):

<<https://ia600409.us.archive.org/15/items/zeitschriftfr01meyeuoft/zeitschriftfr01meyeuoft.pdf>>

[Accessed 1/12/13]

Introduction

--- 1899. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. III, *ZCP*, 2, pp. 124-33

Scribd (Ch. III): <<https://www.scribd.com/doc/235476429/Zeitschrift-fur-celtische-Philologie-2-1899>>

[Accessed 1/12/13. Checked 19/03/2024 DELETED]

Introduction

--- 1901. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. IV, *ZCP*, 3, pp. 123-34

Archive org: <https://archive.org/stream/zeitschriftfr03meyeuoft/zeitschriftfr03meyeuoft_djvu.txt>

[Accessed 1/12/13]

Introduction

--- 1906. *Celtic Religion in Pre-Christian Times* (Archibald Constable)

Gutenberg: <<http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/1804>> [Accessed 03/10/19 Replaced new URL 28/03/24]

]

I.7. II.7 Academy: Anwyl

--- 1906. 'Ancient Celtic Goddesses', *The Celtic Review*, 3, pp. 26-51

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 1908. 'The Value of the Mabinogion for the Study of Celtic Religion', *Trans. 3rd Int'l Congress for the History of Religions*, 2, pp. 234-44

Archive org PDF: <https://archive.org/download/in.ernet.dli.2015.57110/2015.57110.Transactions-Of-The-Third-International-Congress-For-The-History-Of-Religions-Vol-2_text.pdf> [Accessed 31/08/2013]

II.7. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

—1912. 'The Verbal Forms in the White Book Text of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer*, ed. by Bergin, Osborn, and Carl Marstrander (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag), pp. 79-90

VIII Structures

—1914. 'Introduction' to John Young Evans, *Y llyfr cyntaf Pryderi Fab Pwyll*, 'Pryderi son of Pwyll from the Red Book' (my trans.) (Oxford: Henry Frowde, OUP), pp. 5-9

IX. Gallery

See also Dictionary of Welsh Biography.

Apollodorus (or Pseudo-Apollodorus). 2ndC BCE. *Bibliotheca* / The Library (Alexandria)

Theoi (*kibisis*) <<https://www.theoi.com/Text/Apollodorus1.html>> [Accessed 14/08/2022]

Theoi (Hesperides) <<https://www.theoi.com/Nymphe/NymphaiThemeides.html>> [Accessed 14/08/2022]

VI.5. Bag

Apuleius, Lucius. c. 155 CE. *Metamorphoses*,

Patrick Gerard, trans. 1999. *The Golden Ass* (OUP)

Excerpt quoted Latin/ English.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Aquinas, Thomas. 1264. 'That the Souls of Dumb Animals Are Not Immortal', LXXXII, 1, in *Summa contra Gentiles / Of God and His Creatures*. Latin text
V.3. Gwawl

Arden, Lady Justice. 2016. 'The Judicial System of England and Wales: a visitor's guide', *Judicial Office International Team:: Circuit Judges*, Judiciary UK
Judiciary UK: <<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/international-visitors-guide-10a.pdf>> [Accessed 30/11/ 2019] See also Courts and Tribunals Judiciary.
III. 3. Hierarchy

Ardinger, Barbara. 12/07/2014. 'An Archaic Trinity of Goddesses? Not Necessarily'
Feminism and Religion: <<https://feminismandreligion.com/2014/12/07/an-archaic-trinity-of-goddesses-not-necessarily-by-barbara-ardinger/>> [Accessed 23/08/22]

Aristotle; Arthur Platt, trans. 1910. *De Generatione animalium*/ 'On the Generation of Animals' (Clarendon Press)
Archive org: <<https://archive.org/stream/worksof aristotle512aris#page/n321/mode/2up/search/platt>> [Accessed 20/12/ 2015]
II.8 Feminism

Arnold, Matthew. 1867. *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, Part II (London: Smith, Elder, & Co.)
Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/scl/scl04.htm>> [Accessed 1/12/13]
Famous quote p.. 61.
Introduction
—1852–1882. *General Report for the Year 1852*, HM Reports on Elementary Schools
II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Askew, R. J. 2018. *In The Room With Three Doors* (Independent, 2018)
Fiction. Modern young woman creates love triad relationship with two male friends, psychologically transformative journey.
IX.2. Imaginary

Axelrod, David B.; Carol F. Thomas, and Lenny Schneir. 2014. *Merlin Stone Remembered: Her Life and Works*. 2014. (Llewellyn)
See Stone, Merlin.
VII.4. Ven

Axon, William E. A. 1908. 'Apollo Maponus, Mabon, and the Legend of the Oldest Creatures', *Transactions Lancs. Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, XXIV, 105
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Babylon, Blair. 2014. *What A Girl Wants*, Rock Stars in Disguise: Rhiannon series, 1 (Malachite Publishing)
Fiction. YA rock music, addiction.
IX.2. Imaginary

Bachofen, Johann Jakob. 1861. *Das Mutterrecht und Urreligion Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*, Mother Right: A Study of the Religious and Juridical Aspects of Gynecocracy in the Ancient World (Stuttgart: Verlag von Kraus und Hoffmann)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Bachrach, Bernard S. 2011. *Early Carolingian Warfare Prelude to Empire*. 'The Middle Ages Series' (University of Pennsylvania Press)

II.4. Equine

Bamberger, Joan. 1974. 'The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society', in *Women, Culture and Society*, ed. by M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford University Press), pp. 263–80
Radical Anthropology: <<http://radicalanthropologygroup.org>> [Accessed 21/09/2021. Article no longer listed but the Journal may provide it on request.]

I.8. Feminism

Bárány, Attila. 2013. 'Medieval Queens and Queenship: the Present Status of Research in Income and Power', *Annual of Medieval Studies CEU*, 19, pp. 149-199

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/4465209/Medieval_Queens_and_Queenship_the_Present_Status_of_Research_in_Income_and_Power_Annual_of_Medieval_Studies_at_the_CEU_19_2013_149-199> [Accessed 21/09/2021]

II.8. Feminism

Bartrum, Peter Clement. 1960–62. 'Fairy Mothers', *BBCS*, 19, pp. 6–8

V. 3 Hyfaidd

— 1963. 'Pedigrees of the Welsh Tribal Patriarchs', *NLWJ*, XIII, 2, pp. 93–146

V. 3 Hyfaidd

— 1993. *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000*, H-LL (Aberystwyth: NLW), pp. 409-490

NLW:

<https://www.library.wales/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/new_structure/discover/digital_exhibitions/printed_material/welsh_classical_dictionary/07_H-LL.pdf> [Accessed 13/06/2014. Replaced 28/03/2024]

List of volumes, links: <<https://www.library.wales/discover-learn/digital-exhibitions/printed-material/a-welsh-classical-dictionary>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

V. 3 Hyfaidd

Baudiš, Josef. 31 March 1916. 'Mabinogion', *Folklore*, 27, 1, pp. 31-68

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1254884>> [Accessed 11/12/2019]

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

BBC. 22 June 2012. 'Stonehenge was built to unify Britain, researchers conclude'

BBC: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-18550513>> [Accessed 27/11/2019]

See also Pearson, Mike.

III.2. Britain

BBC Wales. c. 2014. 'The Mabinogion'

BBC Wales: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/society/myths_mabinogion.shtml> [Accessed 2018-20]

Inaccurate. Repeated requests to correct inaccuracies have been refused.

II.9. 21stC

--- 3/10/2019. 'Badger baiting: The story behind the convictions'

BBC Wales: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-49893573>> [Accessed 27/02/2020]

V.4. Gwawl

Beasley, Chris. 1999. *What is Feminism?: An Introduction to Feminist Theory* (London/ US/ New Delhi: Sage Publications)

Three broad categories analysis. See Setch.

VI.8. Feminism

de **Beauvoir**, Simone. 1949. *Le Deuxième Sexe* (Paris: Gallimard)

trans. by H. M. Parshley. 1953. *The Second Sex*, (Jonathan Cape)

Marxists org: <<https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/ethics/de-beauvoir/2nd-sex/index.htm>> [Accessed 2/04/21]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Beck, Cheryl T. 1996. 'A Meta-analysis of Predictors of Postpartum Depression', *Nursing Research*, 45, pp. 297-303

VII.5. Theologies

Becker, Audrey L., and Kristin Noone, eds. 2011. *Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture: Essays on Adaptations in Literature, Film, Television and Digital* (Jefferson: McFarland)

See Hooker, Deborah; Noone, Kristin; Thomas, Nicole.

IX.2. Imaginary

Beckwith, Melissa E. 2017. *Tree of Bone and Mist*, Sword of Rhiannon series, 1 (Woodland Cottage Publications)

— 2017. *War of the Gypsy*, Sword of Rhiannon series, 2 (Woodland Cottage Publications)

— 2018. *Sword of Stone*, Sword of Rhiannon series, 3 (Woodland Cottage Publications)

Fiction fantasy. Some Mabinogi resemblance. Adventurer heroine in alternate world. Rhiannon wins an empire, lover, faces tragedy as mother.

IX.2. Imaginary

Berger, Daniel, Jeffrey S. Soles, Alessandra R. Giumlia-Mair, Gerhard Brüggmann. Ehud Galili, Nicole Lockhoff; Ernst Pernicka, eds. 26/06/2019. 'Isotope systematics and chemical composition of tin ingots from Mochlos (Crete) and other Late Bronze Age sites in the eastern Mediterranean Sea: An ultimate key to tin provenance?', *PLOS ONE*

PLOS ONE: <<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0218326>> [Accessed 16/09/2019]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Beverly Smith, Llinos. 1991. 'Disputes and Settlements in Medieval Wales: The Role of Arbitration', *The English Historical Review*, 106, 421, pp. 835-60

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Bezant, Jemma. *Undated*. 'Archaeology of the Mabinogion' (University of Wales, Trinity St David)

The original online page is no longer there. Jemma Bezant is listed as faculty at Aberystwyth, and her staff page gives contact; she may well provide a copy of this article on request.

Jemma Bezant: < <https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/dges/staff-profiles/listing/profile/jeb52/www.linkedin.com/in/jemma-bezant/#research> > [Accessed 28/03/2024]
V.10 Pryderi: Manawydan

Bhreathnach, Máire. 1982. 'The Sovereignty Goddess as Goddess of Death?' *ZCP* 1, 39, pp. 243–60

Binkley, Roberta A. 2004. The Rhetoric of Origins and the Other: Reading the Ancient Figure of Enheduanna', in *Rhetoric Before and Beyond the Greeks*, ed. by Lipson, Carol S. and Roberta A. Binkley (State University of New York), pp. 47–63.
VII.5. Theologies

Bird, Alexander. 2018. 'Thomas Kuhn', Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (SEP) Stanford (SEP): <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/thomas-kuhn/#KuhnSociScie>> [Accessed 29/08/22]
II.7 Coherence Paradigm

Birger, Jon. 2015. *Date-onomics: How Dating Became a Lopsided Numbers Game* (Workman Publishing)
VII.5. Theologies

Blackmore, Jenna. 2021. *The Curse Of Rhiannon* (Independent)
Fiction, Fantasy. Epic female quest, enchantments.
IX.2. Imaginary

Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna. 1877. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, in 2 vols. (J. W Bouton)
Founder of Theosophy. See Morris, Kenneth, first Mabinogi novelist.
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Bolen, Jean Shinoda. 1984. *Goddesses in Everywoman: A New Psychology of Women* (HarperCollin)

BOLLARD

About John Bollard, bio & bibliog:
<<https://www.johnbollard.com/about>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

Bollard, John Kenneth. 1970. 'A Literary Assessment of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis, Aberystwyth)
Introduction
— 1974. 'The Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cymm.*, pp. 250-276. Repr. in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, Charles William IV (NY: Garland Publications, 1996. Repr. 2015, and Kindle), pp. 165–96
Pagination cited from Sullivan. [II.3. Performance.]
Introduction
— 1983. 'The Role of Myth and Tradition in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *CMCS*, 6, pp. 67–86
Introduction
— ed. and trans. 2006. *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*. Bicolumnar text, illust. by Anthony Griffiths' photography of Welsh landscape sites (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press)

PDF available online. Notes are boxed inline, for ease of reference.

CONTENTS: Introduction p. 9. Map p. 10. Photographer's Notes p. 16. Genealogies p. 17. First Branch pp. 18– Second Branch pp. 42 Third Branch pp. 62 Fourth Branch pp. 78. (Many photos of MSS., landscapes) Afterword p. 110-22. Index of Proper Names and Guide to Pronunciation p. 124.

Possibly due to its size and beautiful photography so higher price, the book has not had the attention it merits. Recommended as a standard text. Translation is accurate and flowing, easy for a modern reader to enjoy while faithful to the original. Bollard pioneered a new approach to Mabinogi scholarship which revolutionised it.

Now available as a free PDF download.

Online PDF 2021, Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/27202196/Landscapes_of_The_Mabinogi?email_work_card=view-paper>

[Accessed 27/05/2023]

Introduction.

— 2006. 'Afterword', in *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*, pp. 110-23

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

— 2007. 'What Is The Mabinogi? What Is "The Mabinogion"?'

Argues confused identity, overlay of modern perceptions. Rejects inherent connection between tales see Quote II.9. 21stC.

The Mabinogi:

<<https://www.johnbollard.com/mabinogi#:~:text=The%20Mabinogi%20is%20a%20set,be%20read%20or%20told%20independently>> [Accessed 17/09/2013. New website on checking so URL replaced

28/03/2024]

Introduction

— 8/07/2017. 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now', presentation at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposium: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)

II.3. Performance

Bommer, Paul. *Undated*. 'Advent Calendar for Grown-ups: December 22 Mari Lwyd'. (St. Nicholas Center, Virginia Theological Seminary)

St. Nicholas Center: <<https://www.stnicholascenter.org/how-to-celebrate/advent-saint/advent-calendar/advent22>> [Accessed 20/08/22]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Bonewits, Isaac. 1976. *The Druid Chronicles – Evolved* (Drunemeton Press)

VII.5. Theologies

Boniface, Katrin. 1976. 'Horse Power: Social Evolution in Medieval Europe' (unpublished master's thesis, California State University, Fresno)

Scholarworks: <<https://scholarworks.calstate.edu/downloads/qb98mg704>> [Accessed 11/04/21]

III.4. Equine

Booth, Heather; Day Creamer, Susan Davis, Deb Dobbin, Robin Kaufman, and Tobey Klass, eds. 1972. *Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement, by the Hyde Park Chapter of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union*, Pamphlet

Duke University Repository: <<https://repository.duke.edu/dc/wlmpc/wlmms01035>> [Accessed 13/08/2020]

VI.8. Feminism

Borrow, George. 1862, announced 1857. *Wild Wales: The People, Language & Scenery* (Murray)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Boudon, Raymond. 1991. 'What Middle-Range Theories Are', *Contemporary Sociology*, 20, 4, pp. 519–522

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2071781?origin=crossref>> [Accessed 26/05/2023]

Cf. Merton, Robert K., *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1968).

Introduction

Bowen, Euros; Gwyn Williams, trans. 1959. 'The Birds of Rhiannon', in *Presenting Welsh Poetry: An Anthology of Welsh Verse in Translation and of English Verse By Welsh Poets* (Faber & Faber), p. 66
VI.6. Adar

Bowerbank, Sylvia. 2004-13. 'Joanna Southcott (1750-1814) Prophet and Writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Boyd, Matthieu. 2013. 'Teaching Notes from a Personal Reading of the Mabinogi', Academia
Academia:

<http://www.academia.edu/4490098/Teaching_Notes_from_a_Personal_Reading_of_the_Mabinog>
[Accessed 25/01/15]

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

— ed. 2017. *The Four Branches of The Mabinogi*. Broadview Anthology of British Literature
(Canada: Broadview Press Ltd)

Controversial translation of MW names into modern idiom, e.g. *Pwyll pendefig* = Prince Sensé.

Brackett, Leigh. 1949. *The Sword of Rhiannon* (Ace Books)

Fiction, Fantasy. Rhiannon as a Martian God, gender switch, no connection to Mabinogi.

<<https://www.goodreads.com/en/book/show/908296>>

IX.2. Imaginary

Brandt, Skylar. 2019. *Rhiannon: The Last Lie* (Independent)

Fiction, historical romance. Strategy to marry wealthy man, unclear historical period, Regency style.

IX.2. Imaginary

Breeze, Andrew. 2009. 'The Name of Teyrnnon Twrf Lliant, in *Perspectives on Celtic Languages*, ed. by Bloch-Trojnar, Maria (Wydawnictwo KUL), pp. 111–18

V.5. Pwyll: Fool

— 2009. *Origins of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Gracewing Publishing)

Theorises female composer, probably Gwenllïan.

— 2009. Review of Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature*, *Leeds Studies in English* (2012).

I.4. Advent

— 2012. 'Moor, Court, and River in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. by Classen, Albrecht (de Gruyter), pp. 295-31

V.4. Gwawl

Briffault, Robert. 1927. *The Mothers: A Study of the origins of sentiments and institutions* (Allen & Unwin)

Acknowledged key research source by Walton.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Brighid's Forge:

<<https://brighid.org.uk/wales.html>> [Accessed 5/10/20. Sadly now defunct 28/03/2024]

VII.2. Early Development

Bristol Harbours: <<http://www.gloucesterharbourtrustees.org.uk/pdf/smallboatguidancejun2013.pdf>> [Accessed 13/02/2020 but on check 28/03/24 link is defunct. Suggest the following gives same data.]

<<https://www.bristol.gov.uk/files/documents/1165-safety-guidance-for-small-boat-passage-2012-0/file>>

V.7. Teyrnnon

BRITISH LIBRARY

The British Library website is currently (March 2024) suffering aftermath from a major cyber-attack. Web links listed here are unavailable but will probably be restored fairly soon.

Brith Gof Archive. NLW Fonds GB BRIGOF [1974] – [2007] / [Sub-fonds] P.

Site specific theatre production and projects [1974] –[2000]. [File] PA/4. - Rhiannon text, Gaeafdaith: texts and scenarios. A handwritten copy of the production text also including notes regarding the production structure and imagery and copies of poems. Also PA/1 and PA/2. Branwen materials; PB. Manawydan.

NLW Archives: <<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/site-specific-and-theatre-productions-and-projects>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

II.3. Performance,

Brith Gof theatre company, 1981. 'Rhiannon', Japanese Noh style play. Personal communication, Lis Hughes Jones, 3/07/2018

II.3. Performance

See also Hughes Jones, Lis.

Brock, Rita Nakashima. 1989. 'On Mirrors, Mists, and Murmurs: Toward an Asian American Theology', in *Weaving the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality*, ed. by. Plaskow, Judith and Carol P. Christ (San Francisco: Harper and Row), pp. 235-243

VII.3 Gss

Bromwich, Rachel. 1954. 'The Character of the Early Welsh Tradition', *Studies in Early British History*, ed. by Chadwick, Norah (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 83–136

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

—– 1961. (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP)

Scribd: <<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydein-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>> [Accessed 12/02/13. Checked 28/03/2024, DELETED]

I.4. Advent

—– ed. 1980. *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry: Studies by Sir Ifor Williams* (Cardiff: UWP)

I.7. Lady of Prose

—–1986. "The Mabinogion" and Lady Charlotte Guest', *Cymm.* pp. 127–41. Repr. 1996, 2015 and Kindle, in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. by. Charles William Sullivan III (NY: Garland Publications), pp. 3–18.

Besides Guest, has a good account of Pughe.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Bromwich, Rachel, and Simon D. **Evans**, eds. 1988. *Culhwch ac Olwen: Testun Syr Idris Foster; wedi ei olygu a'i orffen gan RB a DSE* (Cardiff: UWP)

I.3. Other Sources

--- eds. 1992. *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: UWP)

VI.5. Bag

Brough, Gideon. 2017. *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr: England, France and the Welsh Rebellion in the Late Middle Ages* (I.B. Tauris)

II.4. Manuscripts

Brown, Mary E. 2014. 'The Depiction of the Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis essay, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David's)

Academia.edu document (requires signup):

<http://www.academia.edu/attachments/33891260/download_file?st=MTQyMjA5OTc1NCw4OC45Ny43Ni4yMjQsNTE0NjE3NA%3D%3D&s=work_strip&ct=MTQyMjA5OTc1NyxOU4sNTE0NjE3NA==>

[Accessed 2/10/19]

VI.1. Enchantment

Brown, Matt and Eloise **Williams**, eds., Bethan **Gwanas**, trans., *The Mab*, illust. (Unbound, 2023) *Mabinogion* retelling aimed at children, with Welsh text as well oddly dubbed 'Welsh translation' as if the original source is English.

Bruley, Sue. Jan. 1976. *Women Awake: the Experience of Consciousness Raising* (Independently published booklet)

Account of a Women's Liberation CR group I founded in South London by one of the members. Dr. Bruley is now Reader in Modern History, University of Portsmouth.

VI.8. Feminism

Buchen, Kathy. 2005. *Death in Starched White*. (AuthorHouse)

Novel, murder mystery, protagonist Rhiannon, USA context.

IX.2. Imaginary

Budapest, Zsuzsanna Emese. 1975. *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows*, in 2 vols. (Luba Publications)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Budin, Stephanie L. 2003. *The Origins of Aphrodite* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Bull, Steve J. 2020. 'The Use and Development of the Faerie Sign in Romance from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol)

Bullock-Davies, Constance. 1966. *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain* (Cardiff)

II.5. Renaissance: Guest

Burl, Aubrey. 2008. *Courts of Love, Castles of Hate: Troubadours and Trobairitz in Southern France 1071-1321* (The History Press, and Kindle)

Jaufre Rudel.

Trobar: <www.trobar.org/troubadours/jaufre_rudel/jaufre_rudel_01.php> [Accessed Feb. 2020]

I.3. Other Sources

Burton, Janet, and Karen Stober. 2015. *Abbeys and Priors of Medieval Wales* (UWP)

V.7. Teyrnon

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge)

Later known as 'queer theory'.

VI.8. Feminism

Byfield, Catherine. 1993. "Character and Conflict in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi", *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 40, pp. 51-72. Revised version Academia, pp. 1-23, pagination used here)

Academia: <[https://www.academia.edu/5987435/Character and Conflict in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi](https://www.academia.edu/5987435/Character_and_Conflict_in_the_Four_Branches_of_the_Mabinogi)> [Accessed 13/9/24]

Ch. II.2. Craft: Characterisation: Style

Bynum, Caroline Walker. 1991. "... And Woman His Humanity": Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages' in, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, ed. by Bynum, Caroline Walker (MIT Press), pp. 151 - 80

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Caerwyn Williams, J. E; Peredur I. Lynch, eds. R. Geraint Gruffydd, asst. ed. *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion, ynghyd â dwy Awdl Fawl Ddienw o Ddeheubarth*. Cyfres Beirdd Y Tywysogion (UWP)

V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Caesar, Julius, *De Bello Gallico*, 13, 18

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Cairns, David, and Shaun Richards. 1988. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (Manchester University Press)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Campbell, John Francis. 1860-62. *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh)

Alexander Carmichael was one of the main contributors.

II.3. Performance

Cardigan Castle. *Undated*. Gatehouse Gazetteer, 'The comprehensive gazetteer and bibliography of the medieval castles, fortifications and palaces of England, Wales, the Islands'

Gatehouse Gazetteer: <<http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/Welshsites/123.html>> [Accessed 22/06/2019]

I.4. Advent #8 highway

Carnhuanawc: see Price, Thomas.

Caron, Charlotte. 1993. *To Make and Make Again: Feminist Ritual Theology* (Crossroad)
Introduction

Carr, Anthony D. 1993. *Medieval Wales* (Macmillan Press)
II.1 Timeline

Carr, Glenda (formerly Parry Williams). 1966. 'Yr ysgolhaig a'r broffwydes' ('The scholar and the prophet', my trans.). *Y Traethodydd*, xxxiv, pp. 518-521

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

— 1983. *William Owen Pughe* (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru)

Chief biography. Carr expressed surprise to me that her study had not been updated or superseded. Personal communication Oct. 2015. See also Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- rev. E. Lloyd. 2004. 'Pughe, William Owen [pseud. Idrison] (1759–1835)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

Detailed, with good bibliography.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

— 2009. 'An Uneasy Partnership: Iolo Morganwg and William Owen Pughe', in *Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg*, ed. by Jenkins, Geraint, H. (Cardiff, University Press), pp. 443–60.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Catherine, Lucy. 2021. 'Mabinogi: Lost Legends and Dark Magic', 15 part podcast, fantasy audio drama (BBC Wales and BBC Radio 3 joint commission)

Centres on Pryderi and Brigit, a bard, Aimee Ffion Edwards and Darragh Mortell (actors); 'a modern flavour while remaining true to the vivid magic of Celtic mythology'.

IX.2. Imaginary

— 2021. 'Mabinogi: Lost Legends and Dark Magic', the book of the series (Penguin)

Penguin, description: <<https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/451964/mabinogi-lost-legends-and-dark-magic-by-catherine-lucy/9781529188448>> [Accessed 25/02/2023]

BBC Sounds: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p09mfjrw>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

BBC (video): <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p09mfk7s>> [Accessed 25/02/2023]

See Smith, Gareth for review.

IX.2. Imaginary

Cavill, Jennifer. 2013. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi (Overview)', research blog. 'Folkloric'. Table of narrative events.

Native Tales: <<http://nativetales.blogspot.co.uk/2013/04/overview-of-mabinogion.html>> [Accessed 30/09/2021]

II.9. 21stC

Cawte, Edwin Christopher. 1978. *Ritual Animal Disguise: A Historical and Geographical Study of Animal Disguise in the British Isles*. Folklore Society (N.J. Totowa: D.S. Brewer. Cambridge: Rowman and Littlefield)

Quotes John Evans. 1800.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Chapman, Catherine E. 2020. 'Rhiannon', in *Three Medieval Romances* (Independent) Fiction. Historical romance.
IX.2. Imaginary

Charles-Edwards, Thomas Mowbray. 1970. 'The Date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cymm.*, pp. 263–98

— 1978. 'Honour and Status in Some Irish and Welsh Prose Tales', *Ériu*, 29, pp. 123–41

VI.8. Feminism

— 1980. '*Nau kynywedi teithiauc*', in *Welsh Law of Women*, ed. by Jenkins, Dafydd, and Morfydd. E. Owen (UWP), pp. 23–39

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

— 2013. *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (OUP)

I.3. Etymology

Cheng, Hsiao-Ron, 'Charlotte Guest' (2012), illustration based on an NLW portrait. Jason Ward, 'Lady Charlotte Guest', biographical article, in his 'Oh Comely' online magazine, 21 (9/04/2014) Imaginative interpretation.

Oh Comely: <<http://ohcomely.co.uk/stories/2012/04/09/lady-charlotte-guest?rq=charlotte%20guest>> [Accessed 22/02/2015]

Permission from Jason Ward, ed. (14/02/2017). Checked (10/02/2020) the illustration has been removed, article remains. Checked 24/03/2024 site redesign, no search facility. Contact possible via Magazine page; see 'Got something to say? *We'd love to hear it*' italicised words give email address.

III.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Chlup, Radek. 2007. 'The Semantics of Fertility: Levels of Meaning in the Thesmophoria', *Kernos: Revue internationale et interdisciplinaire de religion grecque et antique*, 20

Kernos: <<http://journals.openedition.org/kernos/171>> [Accessed 15/08/2022]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Chotzen, Thomas M. 1937. 'Some Sidelights on Cambro-Dutch Relations', *Cymm.*, pp.101-44

III.7. Political Parallels

Christ, Carol P. 1978. 'Why Women Need the Goddess'.

Keynote address to an audience of over 500 at the 'Great Goddess Re-emerging' conference, University of Santa Cruz (1978).

Surname pronounced as in 'mist'.

— 1978. 'Why Women Need the Goddess' in *Heresies: The Great Goddess Issue*, pp. 8-13. From her 1978 address to the 'Great Goddess Re-emerging' conference, University of Santa Cruz.

Repr. in *Womanspirit Rising* ed. by Christ, Carol, and Judith Plaskow (1979), pp. 273-287.

Perhaps the most widely published Goddess theorists. Repr. many more times, introducing tens of thousands of women to Goddess culture.

Indiana University hosted, pp. 7 –8 online PDF:

<https://womrel.sitehost.iu.edu/Rel433%20Readings/Christ_WhyWomenNeedGoddess.pdf> [Accessed 29/10/2022] © Carol P. Christ, not to be reprinted without written permission of the author.

Heresies: <<http://heresiesfilmproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/heresies5.pdf>> [Last accessed 29/07/2023]

VII.5. Thealogies

—1987. *Laughter of Aphrodite: Reflections on a Journey to the Goddess* (HarperOne), Includes

"Why Women Need the Goddess", pp. 117–34. The titular article is pp. 183–208, cf. Archive:

<<https://archive.org/details/laughterofaphrod00chri/page/n6/mode/1up?q=thealogy>> [Last accessed 29/07/2023]

VII.5. Theologies

— 2002. 'Feminist theology as post-traditional theology', in *Cambridge Companion to Feminist Theology*, ed. by Parsons, Susan Frank (CUP), pp. 79–96

VII.3 Gss

Cixous, Hélène. 1975. *Le Rire de la Méduse* (Editions Galilée)

Trans. to English by Paula Cohen and Keith Cohen. 'The laugh of the Medusa', *Signs*, 1, 4 (Summer, 1976), pp. 875–893.

Edisciplinas: <https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/66416/mod_resource/content/1/cixous-the-laugh-of-the-medusa.pdf> [Accessed 14/08/2022]

VI.5. Bag

Clack, Beverley. 1995. 'The Denial of Dualism: Theological Reflections on the Sexual and the Spiritual'. *Feminist Theology*, No. 10, pp. 102–115

— 1999. 'The Many-Named Queen of All: Theology and the Concept of God/ess', in *Is there a Future for Feminist Theology?* ed. by Sawyer, Diane, and Deborah Sawyer (Sheffield), pp. 150–59

— May 1999. 'Theology and Theology: Mutually Exclusive or Creatively Interdependent'. *Feminist Theology*, 21, pp. 21–38

Clancy, Thomas Owen. 2005. 'The Needs of Strangers in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Quaestio Insularis*, 6 (2005), pp. 1–24

II.8. Feminism/ Rob Valente

Clarke, George. 1842. 'Welsh Fiction: The Mabinogion by Lady Charlotte Guest, Parts I, II, III, and IV', *Monthly Review*, 1, pp. 431–453

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Clarke, Gillian. 2022. *The Gododdin: Lament for the Fallen* (Faber & Faber)

III.2. Britain

Clarkson, Tim. 2010. *The Men of the North* (Edinburgh: John Donald, Birlinn Ltd.)

V.4. Gwawl

— 2014. *Strathclyde and the Anglo-Saxons in the Viking Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, Birlinn Ltd.)

V.4. Gwawl

Cleaver, Sian. 2011. 'The Mabinogion', Bookdrum

Bookdrum: <<http://www.bookdrum.com/books/the-mabinogion/9780199218783/index.html>> [Accessed 30/09/2021. Checked 28/03/24 site closed. Archived version lists Cleaver's page but cuts off the content. Great shame.

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20180526004707/http://bookdrum.com/>>

II.9. 21stC

Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust. 1994. 'New Radnor', Historic Settlements Survey - Radnorshire

CPAT: <cpat.org.uk> [Accessed 5/03/21]

V.3. Hyfaidd

Coflein. 2016. 'Narberth' in Coflein: the online catalogue of archaeology, buildings, industrial and maritime heritage in Wales

Coflein: <<https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/112825/details/narbertharberth>> Accessed 13/05/2019

I.4 Advent #8 Highway

Cohen, Daniel, ed. 1983–2003. 'Wood and Water: Goddess-centred feminist influenced Pagan magazine'

See Asphodel Long, 'One and Many'.

Example issue, Daniel Cohen: <<http://www.decohen.com/woodandwater/ww52.pdf>>

Daniel Cohen: <<http://www.decohen.com/>> Sites accessed 5/10/20

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Coleman, Kristy. 2001. 'Matriarchy and Myth', *Religion*, 311, 3, pp, 247-263

Critique of Eller. Eller, 'Response', pp, 265-270. Coleman, 'Reply', pp, 271-273.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Collins, David. 2019. *The Sacred and the Sinister. Studies in Medieval Religion and Magic* (Pennsylvania State University Press)

Reviews and extends Kieckhofer.

VI.1. Enchantment

Conley, Kassandra Leighann. 2009. 'Looking towards India: Nativism and Orientalism in the Literature of Wales, 1300-1600' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University)

Harvard: <<http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:12274114>> [Accessed 10/18/19]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Constantine, Mary-Anne. 2004. 'The Battle for the Battle of the Trees', in *Graves and the Goddess: Essays on Robert Graves's "The White Goddess"*, ed. by Firla, Ian and Grevel Lindop (Susquehanna University Press), pp. 40-51

VI.1 Enchantment

— 2019. 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', Ch. 14, in *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. by Evans, Geraint, and Helen Fulton (CUP), pp. 264-284

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Conway, Deanna J. 1995. *Maiden, mother, crone: The myth and reality of the triple goddess* (MNRtisan account.

: Llewellyn). Partially available googlebooks.

Cooper, Susan. 1965–77. *The Dark is Rising* (Macmillian)

Celtic fantasy series.

IX.2. Imaginary

Coss, Peter. 1998. *The Lady in Medieval England 1000-1500* (Thrupp)

Cited Messer, 'Uxorial'.

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Country File. Where to see and hear skylarks',

Countryfile.com

IV.6. *Adar*

Courts and Tribunals Judiciary: 'Circuit Judges'

Judiciary UK: <<https://www.judiciary.uk/about-the-judiciary/who-are-the-judiciary/judicial-roles/list-of-members-of-the-judiciary/circuit-judge-list/>> Accessed 29/01/2022

III.3. Hierarchy: Courts Circuits

Cousins, Jane . 1978. '*Moliant Beirdd gyda Sylw Arbennig i Waith y Gogynfeirdd*' (unpublished master's thesis, Swansea University), 'In Praise of Bards with Special Attention to the Work of the Gogynfeirdd', my trans.

V.5. Pwyll: Gorsedd warning

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', in *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1, pp. 139-67

<<https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=uclf>> [Accessed 08/03/2024]

II.8. Feminism: Women's Liberation Movement

Croker, Thomas Crofton, ed. 1828. *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (John Murray)

Pughe's article (attr.), pp. 163–91.

II. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Crowe, Cameron. 24/03/1977. 'The True Life Confessions of Fleetwood Mac: the long hard drive from British blues to California gold', *Rolling Stone magazine*

Rolling Stone: <<https://www.rollingstone.com/feature/the-true-life-confessions-of-fleetwood-mac-120867/>> Accessed 29/10/2022

VII.5. Theologies

Crowley, Vivianne. 1989. *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age* (Aquarian Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Curtis, Jared, ed. 1983. '*Poems, in Two Volumes," and Other Poems, 1800–1807 by William Wordsworth*'. The Cornell Wordsworth Series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

Cutts, Timothy, NLW Rare Books Librarian. 26-06-2023. 'A Rare Edition of the Mabinogion', NLW Blog

Re purchase by NLW June 2023, Guest's personal copies her bookplate inside the covers, only one other copy is known in an institutional library. See Guest for list of 7 volumes.

NLW: <<https://blog.library.wales/a-rare-edition-of-the-mabinogion/>> [Accessed 14/07/2023. Checking 23/03/24 this news item is removed. The site has adopted a blog format difficult to search. T. Cutts is currently (2024) Librarian of Rare Books so can be contacted.]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

'**Cynghanedd**'. 2006. *Celtic Culture A Historical Encyclopedia*, II, ed. by John Koch et al. (ABC-CLIO), p. 537

ii.7. Academia: Coherence Paradigm

Dafydd ap Gwilym.

Listed I.6. Other Sources #8. Relevant chapter given with each poem.

Index of poems. Dafydd ap Gwilym net, Swansea University:

<http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/index_eng.php> [Accessed 20/03/2021]

Dafydd ap Gwilym. *Moliant Llywelyn ap Gwilym*. Poem #6

Mourning his uncle

V.10 Pryderi

--- *Ail Gywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym*. Poem #26

V.10 Pryderi

--- *Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym a Gruffudd Gryg*. Poem #28

Love triangle with bruises, warns a badger-bag type punishment.

V.4. Gwawl

--- *Mawl i'r Haf*, 'In Praise of Summer'. Poem #35

Shapechanging theme, citing Annwn, possibly relating to Pwyll and Arawn.

V5. Pwyll: Importance

--- *Y Deildy*, 'House of Leaves'. Poem #37

Dreamlike love, cf. Jaufré Rudel.

V5. Pwyll: Importance

--- *Offeren y Llwyn* / 'The Woodland Mass'. Poem #39

The poem has a thrush as a sacred love-messenger. Ch. VI.6. Adar: species proposes skylark as Adar Rhiannon species.

VI.6. Adar

--- *Y Breuddwyd*, 'A Dream from Annwn'. Poem #79

Dream-vision pursuit, cf. Jaufré Rudel.

V.5. Pwyll: Importance

--- *Ddoe*, 'Yesterday'. Poem #110

Cites Pwyll, and beating, bruises on grey cat.

V.4. Gwawl

Also *Gogynfeirdd* Cynddelw (fl. 1155–1200); Einion fab Gwalchmai (fl. 1202–1223); and Hywel Foel ap Griffri (fl. c. 1240–1300)

Dafydd, Fflur. 2004. "'A shifting / identity never your own": the uncanny and the unhomely in the writing of R.S. Thomas' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Wales, Bangor)

VI.6. Adar

ap **Dafydd**, Llewellyn. 2012. *Wisdom of Rhiannon: The Prophecy Unfolds* (Amazon Kindle)

Historical novel. Druid princess Rhiannon faces the invasion of Roman Caesar and quests for the Cauldron of Wisdom to unite the tribes of Britain. Claims to draw on Welsh, Irish myths.

---2018. *Wisdom of Rhiannon: The Prophecy Fulfilled* (Amazon Kindle)

IX.2. Imaginary

Daimler, Morgan. 2015. 'Macha, Sovereignty, and Horses', Academia online

Academia: <https://www.academia.edu/24377398/Macha_Sovereignty_and_Horses> Accessed 16/10/19

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Daly, Mary. 1973. *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (Beacon Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

—1975. 'The Qualitative Leap Beyond Patriarchal Religion', *Quest*, 1.4, pp. 20-40.

VII.5. Theologies: Mother

—1978. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Beacon Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Damh the Bard. 26/09/2017. 'Y Mabinogi: The First Branch', in 2 vols. Compact Disc (CD) + Digital Album. 17 songs, 1 hr 38 min (Cear Bryn Music).

TRACKLIST: 1. Prologue 05:23 2. The Hunt 04:14 3. Who is this coming? 04:32 4. A Deal with the Otherworld 07:20 5. Annwn 06:22 6. Battle at the Ford 13:18 7. Gorsedd Arberth 02:07 8. These Hollow Hills 04:02 9. The Lady on Horseback 10:23 10. A Wedding 06:27 11. Another Wedding 05:59 12. Wedding Dance 02:18 13. A Birth and Accusations 06:05 14. Rhiannon 05:53 15. The Monster Claw 07:50 16. Mother and the Mabon 03:41 17. Epilogue 02:52.

Mainly spoken retellings with music. Sound files online.

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/music/y-mabinogi-the-first-branch-2017/>> [Accessed 07/12/2021, last accessed 16/07/2023]

Youtube: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2CV6B5gog7Y>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

II.9. 21stC

Spotify: <<https://open.spotify.com/album/39nfQibF4HQC1sbNSZXr8K>> Accessed 09/10/2021

----- 26/09/2017. 'Rhiannon', song lyrics

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/rhiannon/>> [Accessed 22/08/2023]

II.9. 21stC

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/rhiannon-mother-and-great-queen/>> [Accessed 09/10/2021]

----- 3/07/2018. 'Rhiannon – Mother and Great Queen', online

Damh's personal veneration of divine Rhiannon

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/rhiannon-mother-and-great-queen/>> [Accessed 09/10/2021]

[Accessed 09/10/2021]

VII.5. Theologies

— July 2019. 'Y Mabinogi: The Second Branch'

Pagan Music (Damh's site): <<https://paganmusic.bandcamp.com/album/y-mabinogi-the-second-branch>> [Last accessed 16/07/2023]

II.9. 21stC

----- 1/06/2020. 'Y Mabinogi: The Third Branch', Compact Disc (CD) + Digital Album.

Tracklist: 1. Prologue 04:32 2. A Proposal 05:53 3. The Stones and Bones of Albion 07:01 4. With all my Heart and Soul 06:14 5. To the High King 05:01 6. These Hollow Hills (Once More) 06:11 7. A Journey 03:50 8. The Golden Shoemaker 07:39 9. Hunting the White Boar 05:59 10. The Spiral Castle 05:52 11. The Cauldron 05:57 12. Another Journey 03:39 13. Thieves in the Night 07:47 14. The Hangman 04:16 15. The Sins of the Father 07:42 16. Epilogue 02:22.

Pagan Music (Damh's site): <<https://paganmusic.bandcamp.com/album/y-mabinogi-the-third-branch>> [Last accessed 16/07/2023]

II.9. 21stC

von **Daniken**, Erich. 1969. *Chariots of the Gods? : Was God An Astronaut? Unsolved Mysteries of the Past*, trans. by Michael Heron (Souvenir), Original title: *Erinnerungen an die Zukunft: Ungelöste Rätsel der Vergangenheit* (Econ Verlag GMBH, 1968)

VII.5. Theologies

Darlington, R. R. and P. **McGurk** eds. Jennifer Bray & P. McGurk trans. 1995-1998. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, in 3 vols, III, 7 (Oxford & NY.: Clarendon Press)
III.7. Political Parallels

Das, Aileen. *Undated*. 'Greek philosophy and medicine', British Library 'Greek manuscripts' British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/greek-manuscripts/articles/the-transmission-of-greek-philosophy-and-medicine>> [Accessed 16/08/2020. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected. Suggest email to enquire.]
VI.1. Enchantment

Dashu, Max (Maxine Hammond Dashu). Jan. 2005. 'Knocking Down Straw Dolls: A Critique of Cynthia Eller's The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory', *Feminist Theology*, 13, 2, pp. 185–216
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Davies, Brian Martin. 2003. 'Rhiannon y Gerdd' ('Rhiannon of the Poem' my trans.) in *Cerddi Bryan Martin Davies: y Casgliad Cyflawn* (Llandybïe, 2003), p. 71.
Twice Eisteddfod crowned. Cf. Alan Llwyd who had poetised the concept 1971.
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Davies, Ceri. 1995. *Welsh Literature and the Classical Tradition* (University of Wales Press)
III.2 Britain

Davies, Edward. 1804. *Celtic Researches on the Origin, Traditions and Languages of the Ancient Britons with some Introductory Sketches on Primitive Society* (Printed for the Author by J. Booth).
VI.1. Enchantment ANNWFN APP

Davies, Janet. 2014. *The Welsh Language: A History*. (University of Wales Press), Ch. 3
III.7. Political Parallels

Davies, John. 1993. Revised edn. 2007. *History of Wales* (NY. Penguin)
II.1 Timeline

Davies, John H. First publ. 1993. *Three Things There Are ...* (House of the Goddess)
Diatribes against 'Celtic' bowdlerisation of Welsh traditions by spiritual tourism ('spiritual strip mining'). Title derives from a Iolo Morgannwg triad in the *Myvyrian*. Repr. in Susan Mumm ed. 2002. *Religion Today: Tradition, Modernity and Change, a Reader*. Ch. 5 (Taylor Francis), pp. 239-36; bowdlerised version, lacking author's consent on edits. 2nd edn. of the original forthcoming with new Introduction and additional material (House Morgain, 2024).
Cf. Morgain, 2017; and Rodway, 2018

Introduction

--- 2014. 'Alison M'. 3 part series, *Marine Modelling International* (Traplet Publications). Part 1, April pp 38-41; Part 2, May, pp 64-67; Part 3, June, pp 58-62

V.7. Teyrnnon

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS, chronological order

--- 1989. Remembering boyhood delight recognising Mabinogi locations today.

VI.1. Enchantment: Locations

--- 2015. Political analysis of the outcome of the Maids plot and Pwyll's handling of it. Personal communication.

V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot

--- 2015. Sailing distance Dyfed to Gwent, 80 sea miles.

V.7. Teyrnnon

--- 01/11/2016. Severn Bore, research report. See Severn Bore.

V.7. Teyrnnon

--- 29/12/19. Passive Branwen appeals help Rhiannon copes in her own right. Personal communication.

V.3. Hyfaidd

--- 7/2/2020. 'In an age of violent conflict, foolish leaders do not die old'. Personal communication.

V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines

--- Living off-grid subsistence, Atlantis community in the 1980s

V.10. Pryderi: Prince

--- June 2020. Billy goat particularly unstable, Lleu.

VI.1. Enchantment: Objects

--- 13/12/20. Ancient sea routes, ship speeds.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 15/02/21. Common features of Ford's 1977. *'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy*, and C.S. Lewis. 1957. *Horse and His Boy* (Macmillan).

I.5. Text, end chapter

--- 16/08/2021. Spirited debate on Manawydan's reaction at the PKM3 tower. Davies held he could not risk himself leaving the women unprotected. Secondly Rhiannon's rebuke as 'plot device', if they stayed cordial, worked together as resourceful agents, PKM3 would be very different. ('Seen the fnords?', Discord messenger, quoted)

V.12. Manawydan

--- 13/08/2023. Linked the sophistication of Mabinogi structures Ch. IX specifically with my 'Trusting the Text' principle given in the Introduction.

IX. Structures: Conclusion

----- 22/08/2023. Walton's concern with averting war 1930s, 1940s.

VII. 5: Theologies: Walton.

Davies, John. 1937. *Bywyd a Gwaith Moses Williams (1685-1742)*. (Cardiff), Latin, Welsh

I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Davies, Dr. John of Mallwyd. 1632, 'Gwarau, & Gwarae', in his *Antiquae linguae britannicae et linguae latinae dictionary duplex prius britannico-latinum posterius latino-britannicum* (London: R. Young)

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/antiquaelinguae00davi/page/n91/mode/2up>> [Accessed 26/02/20]

V.4. Gwawl

---, and Thomas **Williams**, eds. 1632. *Dictionary Duplex Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Nunc vulgo dictae Cambro-Britannicae, a suis Cymraecae vel Cambricae, ab aliis wallicae, et Linguae Latinae, Dictionary Duplex*, 1 (London: R Young, Joan Davies, impensis J. Davies)

Part I, Welsh - Latin original work begun in 1593, compiled, by John Davies. Part II, Latin - Welsh, compiled by Thomas Williams, ed. by John Davies; an abridgement of work by Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw, which is still in MS. (Pen. MS. 228).

Full title and structural data on the two parts from a prospectus by Madoc Books:

<<https://www.madocbooks.com/details.asp?bookNumber=7210>> Accessed 08/12/2021

NLW file MS 8510C An imperfect copy of John Davies Mallwyd: *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae ... et Linguae Latine Dictionarium Duplex*, 1632, with marginal notes consisting of medical prescriptions and poetry.

NLW: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dictionary-duplex-2>> Accessed 08/12/2021

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Davies, Robert Rees. 1980. 'The Status of Women and the Practice of Marriage', in *WLW* (UWP), pp. 93–114

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW): Marriage

— 1987. *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063 -1415* (OUP)

II.1 Timeline

Davies, Sean. 2004. *War and Society in Medieval Wales 633-1283: Welsh Military Institutions*.

Studies in Welsh History, Book 21 (University of Wales Press, and Kindle)

III Equine

DAVIES, Sioned

Davies, Sioned Mair. 1982. 'A Study of Narrative Methods in the Mabinogion' (unpublished D. Phil., Oxford)

II.3. Performance

— 1988. 'Pryd a Gwedd in y Mabinogion', in *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, 14, ed. by Caerwyn Williams, J. E. (Gee, 1988), pp. 115-33

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

— 1989. '*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*', in *Llais Llyfrau*, xii (Spring 1990), ed. by Marged Haycock (Gomer Press)

See James' review 1991.

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

— 1992. 'Storytelling in Medieval Wales', *Oral Tradition*, 7, pp. 231–57

I.7. Prose

— 1993. *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi: Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press)

The Mabinogi as a unique literary art form, bridging between oral traditions and the written manuscripts: how this affected the way its stories are told. Davies commented to me she feels the book is out of date now (Oct. 2012) but it stands as a clear and powerful journey expanding Mabinogi scholarship. Order from library as out of print, rare second hand and expensive.

I.4. Advent

— and Nerys Ann Jones, eds. 1997. *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

I.4 Advent

— 1997. 'Horses in the Mabinogion', in *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives*, ed. by Davies, Sioned and Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), pp. 121–40

I.4 Advent

— 1998. 'Written Text as Performance: The Implications for Middle Welsh Prose Narratives', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. by Huw Pryce (University of Wales Press), Ch. 7., pp. 133–48

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

—2004. 'A Charming Guest: Translating the Mabinogion', *Studia Celtica*, 38. 1, pp. 157–78 II.3. Performance

— ed. trans. 2007. *The Mabinogion* (OUP)

CONTENTS: Intro., brief endnotes, Index. Text style reflects Davies' research into orality and performance (reading aloud); often with controlled brevity. This is many readers' first choice as their standard translation.

I.4. Advent

— 2013. "'Venerable Relics'? Re-Visiting the Mabinogi', in *Writing Down the Myths: A Collection of Essays on Mythography in Ancient and Medieval Literary Traditions*, 17, ed. by Josef F. Nagy (Brepols, 2013), pp. 157–79

III.2. Britain

— 17/07/2013. 'Performing the Mabinogion', a practical workshop for storytellers at Chapter Arts, Cardiff

Its publicity described content as a very brief introduction to the Mabinogion and to the medieval Welsh storyteller; a discussion of what makes a good storyteller, drawing on techniques found in the tales themselves; guidance regarding pronunciation of Welsh personal names; a discussion regarding how we can re-invent these tales (or individual episodes) for a modern-day audience. Participants were invited to bring along with them examples of specific problems/challenges that they have found when re-telling the tales of the Mabinogion.

See Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/sioned-davies-performing-the-mabinogion/>> Accessed 07/12/2021

II.3. Performance

— 8/07/2017. 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi' (School of Welsh, Cardiff University) Cardiff University: <<https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/824309-symposium-celebrates-year-of-legends>> Accessed July 2017 Speakers: Simon Rodway (Aberystwyth) 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology'; Brynley F. Roberts (Swansea) 'Pedair Keinc y Mabinogi – Tybed?'; Juliette Wood (Cardiff) 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess'; John Bollard (Harvard) 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now'; Sioned Davies 'Gair, Delwedd ac Ideoleg: Mabinogi Oes Fictoria' ('Word, Image and Ideology: The Victorian Mabinogi', my trans.); Diana Luft (Cardiff) 'The Eighteenth-century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion'; Margaret Lloyd, 'Travelling on My Own Errands - Voices of Women from the Mabinogi' (Llanrwst, Conwy: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2017). Poetry collection; 'Rhiannon', pp. Gwales: <<http://www.gwales.com/bibliographic/?isbn=9781845275921&tsid=9>> Accessed 20/04/2017.

II.3. Performance

— 8/07/2017. 'Gair, Delwedd ac Ideoleg: Mabinogi Oes Fictoria' ('Word, Image and Ideology: The Victorian Mabinogi', my trans.). Presented at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)

II.3. Performance

--- and Nerys Ann Jones, eds. 1997. *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

I.4. Advent #5 Horse

Davies, Edward. 1804. *Celtic Researches on the Origin, Traditions and Languages of the Ancient Britons with some Introductory Sketches on Primitive Society* (Printed for the Author by J. Booth). Cited by Pughe, *Cambro-Briton*, 2, 18 (Feb., 1821)

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/celticresearch00davi/page/n5/mode/2up>> Accessed 17/08/2020

VI.1. Enchantment

Davies, Sean. 2004. *War and Society in Medieval Wales 633-1283: Welsh Military Institutions*. Studies in Welsh History, 21 (University of Wales Press)
III.4. Equine

Davies, Rhiannon Mary. 1973. 'The Moral Structure of Pedeir Keinc Y Mabinogi' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff)
ETHOS: <<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.368588>> Accessed 25/01/16
II.7. Coherence Paradigm, V.11. Cigfa, & VII.5. Avalonian Rhiannon.

Davis, Stephen. 30/19/2018. *Gold Dust Woman: The Biography of Stevie Nicks*, Illust. (St. Martin's Griffin)
Appendix: Stevie Nicks

Day, Liz. 3/01/2015. 'It is surprisingly easy to come by a horse skull': Meet a group keeping the Welsh midwinter tradition of the Mari Lwyd alive', 'Wales Online'.
Wales Online: <<https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/it-surprisingly-easy-come-horse-8377936>> [Accessed 12/12/20]
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Delap, Lucy. 2020. *Feminisms: A Global History* (Pelican; and Kindle)
II.8. Feminism

Denisoff, Dennis. Jan. 2013. 'The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, 1888-1901', in BRANCH (Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History) ed. by Franco, Dino
BRANCH: <http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=dennis-denisoff-the-hermetic-order-of-the-golden-dawn-1888-1901> Accessed 5/10/20
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Dept, G. G. 1931. 'Een Vlaamsche Kolonie in Wales (1179)', *Annales de la Societe d'Emulation de Bruges*, LXXIV (L. de Plancke), pp. 16-31
Source cited by I. W. Rowlands. Listed on Persee.
Persee: <https://www.persee.fr/doc/rbph_0035-0818_1932_num_11_1_5139> [Accessed 18/07/2023]
III.7. Political Parallels

Detienne, M.; and Werth, A. B. Nov. 1971. 'Athena and the Mastery of the Horse', *History of Religions*, 11, 2, pp. 161-184
Content outlined in footnote.
JSTOR: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1061920?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> Accessed 9/12/20
VI. Bag: Perseus

'**devCat**'. 2008. 'Mabinogi'. Korean: 마비노기 (Korea: Nexon Korea)
Fantasy MMORPG (Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game). Loosely inspired by the Mabinogi.
Mabinogi Nexon: <<https://mabinogi.nexon.net/>> Accessed 16/01/22
VII.2. Imaginary

DICTIONARY OF WELSH BIOGRAPHY

'ANWYL, Sir EDWARD (1866 - 1914), Celtic scholar'. Parry-Williams, Thomas Herbert. 1959.

Dictionary of Welsh Biography

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-ANWY-EDW-1866>> [First accessed 29/08/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

'DAFYDD AP GWILYM (c. 1315 - c. 1350), poet. Johnston, Dafydd. 2018. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s12-DAFY-APG-1340>> [First accessed 1/09/20, last accessed 05/07/2023]

VI.6. Adar

GRUFFYDD ap RHYS (c. 1090 - 1137), prince of Deheubarth. Pierce, Thomas Jones. 1959.

Dictionary of Welsh Biography

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-GRUF-APR-1090>> [First accessed 12/03/21, last accessed 05/07/2023]

V.5 Pwyll: Penance Plot

'GRUFFYDD, WILLIAM JOHN (1881 - 1954), scholar, poet, critic and editor'. Parry, Thomas. 2001. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (2001).

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s2-GRUF-JOH-1881>> [First accessed 24/04/21, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

GUEST, CHARLOTTE. John, Angela V.; and Parry-Williams, Thomas Herbert, Guest (Schreiber), Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie (1812-1895). *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. John, Angela V. last updated 2013; personal communication

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-GUES-ELI-1812>> [First accessed 6/03/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

#. GWENLLIAN (died 1136). Pierce, Thomas. J. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-GWEN-FER-1100>> [First accessed 18/12/2019, last accessed 05/07/2023]

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

HALL, AUGUSTA, Lady Llanover ('Gwenynen Gwent') (1802-1896), patron of Welsh culture and inventor of the Welsh national costume. Löffler, Marian. 2016. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s10-HALL-AUG-1802>> [First accessed 15/03/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.3. Performance.

#. HYWEL DDA (Hywel the Good) (died 950), king and legislator. Williams, S. J. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-HYWE-DDA-0950>> [First accessed 18/12/2021, last accessed 05/07/2023]

III.7. Political Parallels

JONES, EDWARD (Bardd y Brenin; 1752 - 1824), harpist, arranger and publisher of harp music, collector and publisher of old penillion, national melodies, and translations into English; historian of Welsh literature and of Welsh musical instruments; collector of manuscripts and antiquary.

Ellis, Tecwyn. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-EDW-1752>> [Last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

JONES, JOHN (TEGID) — less usually Ioan Tegid; 1792 - 1852), cleric and man of letters. Jenkins, Robert Thomas. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-JOH-1792>> [First accessed 6/03/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

LHUYD, EDWARD (1660 - 1709), botanist, geologist, antiquary, and philologist. Jones, Thomas. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-LHUY-EDW-1660>> [First accessed 5/03/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lhuyd

LLYWARCH HEN, a 6th century British prince and a hero of a cycle of Welsh tales dating from the mid-9th century. Lloyd, David Myrddin. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-LLYW-HEN-0550.html>> [First accessed 13/01/21, last accessed 05/07/2023]

V. 3 Hyfaidd

MORRIS, LEWIS (Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn; 1701 - 1765), poet and scholar. Jenkins, Robert Thomas. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-MORR-LEW-1701>> [First accessed 5/03/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

PRICE, THOMAS (Carnhuanawc; 1787 - 1848), historian and antiquary. Rees, Brinley. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-PRIC-THO-1787>> [First accessed 6/03/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

PUGHE, WILLIAM OWEN (1759 - 1835), lexicographer, grammarian, editor, antiquary, and poet. Williams, Griffith John. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

See also Bromwich (on Guest), Carr, Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce.

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-PUGH-OWE-1759>> [First accessed Nov. 2013, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

RHÏS, Sir JOHN (1840 - 1915), Celtic scholar. 'Dictionary of Welsh Biography. Williams, Ifor. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-RHYS-JOH-1840>> [First accessed 20/04/21, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.6. Welsh Academy: RhÏs

STEPHENS, THOMAS (Casnodyn, Gwrnerth, Caradawg; 1821-1875), historian and social reformer. Löffler, Marion. 2017. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s11-STEP-THO-1821>> [First accessed 5/02/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens

THOMAS, WILLIAM (fl. c. 1685? — c. 1740?), secretary to Robert Harley, 1st earl of Oxford. Davies, Llewelyn. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-THOM-WIL-1685>> [First accessed 7/02/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

WILLIAMS, MOSES (1685 - 1742), cleric and scholar'. Bowen, Geraint. 1959. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*

Biography Wales: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-MOS-1685>> [First accessed 1/01/2020, last accessed 05/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Diller, Aubrey. 1957. 'The Manuscripts of Pausanias', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 88, pp.:169–188

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Dillon, Myles, and Nora **Chadwick**. 1967. *The Celtic Realms*, History and Civilisation series (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Disney, 'The Black Cauldron', (Walt Disney, 1985), popular animation. Derives from Lloyd Alexander, *The Chronicles of Prydain*, 1 and 2 (NY: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1964–68). Set in 'Prydain'.

IMDB: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0088814/plotsummary?ref=tt_stryp_l#synopsis> Accessed 13/10/2021

II.9. 21stC; and IX.2. Imaginary

Dodd, Shari. 1993. *Rhiannon: A Novel of Mythical Fantasy* (Book World, and Blue Star). Modern heroine, reincarnation theme, not PKM Rhiannon.

IX.2. Imaginary

Doherty, Charles. 2005. 'Kingship in Early Ireland', in *Tara: A Study of an Exceptional Kingship and Landscape*, ed. by Bhreathnach, Edel (Maynooth: An Sagart), pp.3-29.

Latin text Giraldus Cambrensis' excerpt. Trans. John J. O'Meara

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Downie, R. Angus. 1970. *Frazer and the Golden Bough* (Victor Gallancz)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Driscoll, Stephen; and **Forsyth**, Katherine. 2004. 'The Late Iron Age and Early Historic Period', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 26, 1-2, pp. 4–20

Edinburgh University Press: <<https://doi.org/10.3366/saj.2004.26.1-2.4>> [Accessed 11/01/21]

V.4. Gwawl

Duffy, Charles Gavan. 1882. *Bird's-Eye View of Irish History* (Dublin: J. Duffy)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Duggan, Katie. 15/01/2018. 'The Wicked Witches of the Left: Feminist Power and the "Sexy Witches" of the 1970s' (VIS 369: Gender, Sexuality, and Media)

Princeton University: <<http://commons.princeton.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/87/2019/01/1970s-Witches-final-paper.pdf>> Accessed 29/10/2022

VII.5. Theologies

Eames, Manon, 2008. 'Magnificent Myths of the Mabinogi', Act 1. Aberystwyth.

Late draft partial script by kind provision of the playwright (5/11/2015).

See also Williams, Jill.

Nest of Boxes: <<http://www.nestofboxes.co.uk/2008/magnificent-myths-of-the-mabinogi/>> [Accessed 2015]

II.3 Performance

East, Harry. 2013. 'Permission to die: an examination of the law and morality of battlefield mercy killing'. (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, School of Law)

University of Southampton Institutional Depository: <<https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/354406/>> Accessed 28/02/21

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

Echard, Sian Elizabeth. 1990. 'Medieval Welsh Prose'

Sian Echard: <<https://sianechard.ca/web-pages/medieval-welsh-prose/>> [Accessed 25/03/21 A previous version of this page was accessed 5/02/14]

Edwards, Hywel Teifi. 2016. *The Eisteddfod* (University of Wales Press 2nd edn. and Kindle)

II.3. Performance

Edwards, J. 1849. Frontispiece: Bust of Thomas Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens

Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1980. *Blood Rites: The Origins and History of the Passions of War* (Signet)

VI.1. Enchantment

Eichner, Elaine S. 2018. 'Magical Birds as a Link between the Mabinogion and other Celtic Literature: Facts and Fancies'. (unpublished master's thesis, Celtic Studies, University of Wales Trinity St. David)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 2023. 'Identifying Ancient Peoples as Celts'

Thorough, well organised review of the evidence for the term, generating its identity. Concludes an etic definition: that speaking a Celtic language justifies calling a people 'Celtic', even if they do not feel shared Celtic identity.

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/27503021/Identifying_Ancient_Peoples_as_Celts?email_work_card=view-paper> [First accessed 28/07/2023]

II.6. Welsh Academia

EIEC see Mallory and Douglas.

Eller, Cynthia. 1993. *Living In The Lap of the Goddess: The Feminist Spirituality Movement in America* (NY: Crossroad).

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

--- 2000. *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future* (Boston: Beacon Press)

Critique of Eller's argument in Kristy Coleman. 2001. 'Matriarchy and Myth, *Religion*, 311, 3, pp, 247-263. Eller's 'Response', pp, 265-270. Coleman's 'Reply', pp, 271-273. See also Dashu, Max. 2005.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 2011. *Gentlemen and Amazons: The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory, 1861 – 1900* (University of California)

Ellis, Henry ed. 1846. *Polydore Vergil's English History from an early translation preserved among the MSS. of the old Royal library in the British Museum* (Printed for the Camden Society by John Bowyer Nichols and Son)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

Ellis, Thomas Peter. 1928. 'Legal References, Terms, and Conceptions in the Mabinogion', *Cymm.*, xxxix, pp. 86–147

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Ellis, Thomas Peter and John **Lloyd**, eds. trans. 1929. *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd*, in 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Preface, pp. vii–xi. Mabinogi text is pp. 4–132, with prefatory notes pp. 1–3. Bibliography, p. xii. A careful, accurate translation which together with short Preface and some notes is often very helpful in understanding Welsh nuances, and social context. The translation was harshly criticised at the time by a newly established Welsh academia eager to demonstrate its strict credentials for rigour, and uncomfortably aware of the recent exposure of Iolo Morganwg's forgeries. Recommended as a student aid.

I.4 Advent

Encyclopaedia Britannica: 'Incipit'.

Britannica: <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/incipit>> Accessed 27/07/2021

II.4. Manuscripts

Engels, Friedrich and Karl **Marx**. 1848. *The Communist Manifesto*.

First published anonymously in German as *Manifest der kommunistischen Partei* (London: Kommunistischer Arbeiterbildungsverein/ Workers' Educational Association, 1848)

Helen Macfarlane, trans. 1850. 'Manifesto of the Communist Party'. Serialised, Chartist magazine *The Red Republican*, ed. by George Julian Harney, which identified the authors.

V.11 Cigfa

Epona.net 2004–2007. A scholarly online resource

Epona, 'Golden Ass': <<https://www.epona.net/literature.html#goldenass>> Accessed 16/04/21

Epona distribution: <<https://www.epona.net/distribution.html>> Accessed 16/04/21

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Epynt Way Association:

<<https://www.epyntway.org/about-epynt-way>> Accessed 5/08/2021

V.3. Hyfaidd

Etymology Online: 'Brock'

<<https://www.etymonline.com/word/brock>> Accessed 21/02/15

V.4. Gwawl

Evans, see Gwenogvryn Evans

Evans, Ellen, ed. 1926. *Hwiangerddi Rhiannon/ 'Rhiannon's Nursery Rhymes'* (Wreccsam: Hughes a'i Fab)

Welsh. Children's poetry, Welsh Children's songs, Welsh Folk literature, Welsh Folk Songs, Nursery Rhymes, Children's Games.

IX.2. Imaginary

Evans, John. 1800. *A Tour through Part of North Wales, in the year 1798, and at Other Times* (London: J. White, Fleet Street)

Quoted in Cawte, *Ritual Animal Disguise*.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

—1804. *Letters Written During a Tour Through South Wales, in the Year 1803, and at Other Times* (London: C. & R. Baldwin)

More detailed account of Mari Lwyd

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Evans, Rob; and Paul Lewis. 27/04/2012. 'Undercover police had mental breakdowns because of pressures of double life', *Guardian* (online)

Guardian: <<https://www.theguardian.com/uk/undercover-with-paul-lewis-and-rob-evans/2012/apr/27/police-spies-had-mental-breakdowns>> [Accessed 16/11/2016]

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

Evans, W. L. 1960. 'An Examination of Narrative Methods Employed in Selected Welsh Texts' (unpublished B. Litt. dissertation, Oxford, 1960)

Cited Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 38–39

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

Evans, Rhiannon. 2010. *Y Llinyn Aur: Rhiannon Evans, Gof Aur Tregaron* (Carreg Gwalch) Welsh. Autobiography of the Tregaron goldsmith Rhiannon Evans. Not PKM Rhiannon.

IX.2. Gallery

Fagan, Garrett G. 2011. *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (Cambridge)

V.4. Gwawl

Faletra, Michael A. 2014, *Wales and the Medieval Colonial Imagination*. New Middle Ages series (Palgrave Macmillan)

III.7. Political Paralells

Falileyev, Alexander. 2000. *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh* (Tubingen: Max Vermeier)

I.3. Etymology

FAO, UN (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations). 1994. *A manual for the primary animal health care worker*, Ch. 4, 'The pig'. Unit 30: Heat (oestrus) in the sow (Rome)

FAO, UN: <www.fao.org/docrep/t0690e/t0690e06.htm> Accessed 02/08/2017

V.10. Pryderi

Fara, Patricia. March 2010. 'Minerva/Athene', *Endeavour*, 34, 1, pp. 4-5

ScienceDirect: <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.endeavour.2010.01.001>> Accessed 15/08/2022

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Farrar, Janet and Stewart Farrar. 1971. *What Witches Do* (Peter Davies)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

—1981. *Eight Sabbats for Witches* (Robert Hale)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Felices, Margarita. 2020. *Rhiannon* (Independent)

Rhiannon a fictive historical witch burned at the stake in Wales (sic) and haunts in modern times.

Cf. Leader, *Triad* (1973)

IX.2. Imaginary

Felix, Minucius. *The Octavianus*, XXVIII

Public Library UK: <<http://www.public-library.uk/ebooks/70/66.pdf>> [Accessed 16/08/2022]

Excerpt trans. on Epona.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Fellowship of Isis (FOI):

Fellowship of Isis: <www.fellowshipofisis.com> Accessed 4/10/20

FOI Iseums: <<http://www.fellowshipofisis.com/iseums.html>> Accessed 06/05/2023

FOI Iseum Lyceum: <<http://www.fellowshipofisis.com/iseum&lyceum.html>> Accessed 06/05/2023

Fellowship of Isis - Foundation Center Timeline: <<http://www.fellowshipofisis.com/timeline.html>>

Accessed 10/03/2023

FOI 'Iseum of Rhiannon of the White Horse'. Jan. 1977. First FOI Iseum.

'Iseum of Rhiannon of the Wild White Horse', U.K. Certification of 1st FOI Iseum.

Twenty-first Anniversary of First FOI Iseum of Rhiannon

FOI Central: <<https://www.fellowshipofisiscentral.com/college-of-isis---twenty-first-anniversary-of-first-foi-iseum>> Accessed 10/03/2023

VII.2. 20thC Goddess

Felson, Nancy. 2011. 'Children of Zeus in the Homeric hymns: Generational succession', Ch. 12 in *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays* ed. by Faulkner, Andrew (Oxford Scholarship Online), pp. 257–83

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Ferraro, Shai. 2016. 'The Priestess, the Witch, and the Women's Movement: Women and Gender in British Magical and Pagan Groups, c.1888 – c.1988' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Tel-Aviv)

Also other resources by Ferraro on Academia.

Academia: <<https://telhai.academia.edu/ShaiFerraro>> Last accessed 4/10/20

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

--- 2020. *Women and Gender Issues in British Paganism, 1945–1990* (Palgrave Macmillan)

From Ferraro's PhD. Quotes re Shan pp. 58, 89, 104, 120, 181, 191, 211, 231 and dedicated section pp. 121-25.

Ff: see after F– listings (Welsh alphabetical order).

Fife, James. 1992. 'Legal Aspects of the Hunting-Scene in *Pwyll*', *BBCS* 39, pp. 71-79

Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Fool – Annwfn

di **Filippo**, Paul. 2013. 'Treasures from Antiquity'. Introduction, Evangeline Walton. 2013. *She Walks in Darkness* (Tachyon Publications)

VII.5. Theologies

Fimi, Dimitra. 2017. 'Introduction: "Celticity", Fantasy, and the Child Readership' in *Celtic Myth in Contemporary Children's Fantasy: Idealization, Identity, Ideology* ed. by Fimi, Dimitra (Palgrave Macmillan)
VII. 2 Div

Fiorenza, Elizabeth Schussler. 1983. *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (NY. Crossroad Publishing Co.)
A 'hermeneutics of suspicion' towards female silence in biblical texts.
IV.1. Voice

Firestone, Shulamith, and Anne Koedt eds. 1970. *Notes From the Second Year: Radical Feminism* (Radical Feminism, New York)
Cf. Hanisch.
VI.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice

Firla, Ian and Grevel Lindop. 2003. *Graves and the Goddess: Essays on Robert Graves's 'The White Goddess'* (Susquehanna University Press)

FOI see Fellowship of Isis

Ford, Patrick K. ed. trans. 1977. *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA, 1977; repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle)
Kindle, Amazon: < https://www.amazon.co.uk/Mabinogi-Other-Medieval-Welsh-Tales-ebook/dp/B07TB3Y4W6/ref=sr_1_1?crid=YLOH3YDLBDP7&dib=eyJ2IjojMSJ9.gDcDmXKAE_ldhxaYc0aqapNmfWUsnv3022fwZznZTmAYO21udv5ykmO16mEZn3RHBNvCahhCk-Y5Ypc1OTlKhs56oXNi6J2FDDpUggGwHfA.-3tC8Ymjz_hl-OvDkSF0QJYdfHLuoETyfotH8UMGed0&dib_tag=se&keywords=The+Mabinogi+and+Other+Welsh+Tales&qid=1727941589&s=digital-text&sprefix=the+mabinogi+and+other+welsh+tales+%2Cdigital-text%2C192&sr=1-1 >
Powerful departure from previous trans. as it selects out the 'native Welsh' tales from Anglo-Norman tales. Welsh nationalism was gaining ground.
CONTENTS: Map p. ii. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr pp. Preface p. ix-xii. Introduction pp. 1-30. Select Bibliography pp. 30-32.
Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Notes) pp. 35-37. Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Text) pp. 37-56. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 57-59. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Text) pp. 59-72. Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 73-75. Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Text) pp. 75-87. Math Son of Mathonwy (Notes) pp. 89-91. Math Son of Mathonwy (Text) pp. 91-109.
Llud and Lleuyllys (Notes) pp. 111-12. Llud and Lleuyllys (Text) pp. 113-17. Culhwch and Olwen (Notes) pp. 119-21. Culhwch and Olwen (Text) pp. 121-57. The Tale of Gwion Bach & The Tale of Taliesin (Notes) pp. 159-62. The Tale of Gwion Bach (Text) pp. 162-64. The Tale of Taliesin (Text) pp. 164-81. Appendix: Cad Caddeu (Notes) pp. 183-84. Cad Caddeu (Text) pp. 184. Glossary (of people and places) pp. 189-94. A Guide to Pronunciation pp. 195-96. Index of Proper Names (linked to the text pages) pp. 197-205.
The translation itself is clearly readable, and supported by extensive explanation, most of which survives very well. It bridges the mythological and the literary. Some of the mythological work is overshadowed by WJG, of the old school, but Ford was also an early practitioner of the new paradigm, see Bollard. The exposition. 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ 'Adventure of the Mare and the Boy' pp. 3-14 precedes Mabinogi Rhiannon in closely similar scope because it inspired me; see my Ch. I.5. Text p. 30.
Introduction

— 1977. 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy', in the 'Introduction' to Ford. ed. trans. *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA: UCP, Repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle), pp. 3–14.

Title introduced p. 5. Explored mainly pp. 4–14; Epona pp. 4– 5; Irish comparisons, pp. 7–8. Broadly parallels the textual scope of Mabinogi Rhiannon; see Ch. I.5. Text: Cyfranc.

Archive org. <<https://archive.org/details/mabinogiothermed00fordrich>> Open Library: <[https://openlibrary.org/works/OL15162441W/The Mabinogi and other medieval Welsh tales](https://openlibrary.org/works/OL15162441W/The_Mabinogi_and_other_medieval_Welsh_tales)>

Accessed 10/02/15 Also Kindle.

I.5. Text: *Cyfranc*

— 1977. 'The Tale of Gwion Bach', in *Welsh Tales*, pp. 159–181

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

— 1981. 'Prolegomena to a Reading of the Mabinogi: Pwyll and Manawydan', *Studia Celtica*, 16–17, pp. 110–25. Repr. *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan (1996), pp. 197–216

Introduction

— 1987–88, 'Branwen: A Study of the Celtic Affinities', *Studia Celtica*, 22–23, pp. 29–41. Repr. in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 99–120

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

— 1988. 'Celtic Women: The Opposing Sex', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 19, pp. 417–38

I.4. Advent #5 Woman

— ed. 1992. *Ystoria Taliesin* (University of Wales Press)

I.3. Other Sources

Forde, Britt. 2016. 'National identity, classical tradition, Christian reform and colonial expansion at the ends of the earth: an analysis of representations of the Swedish and Norwegian peoples in Adam of Bremen's history of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen and the Irish in Gerald of Wales's topography of Ireland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College Cork)

CORA: <<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/74507059.pdf>> [Accessed 10/12/20]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Forsyth, Kate. 2004. *The Tower of Ravens*. Rhiannon's Ride Series, 1 (Blackstone Publishing; Roc) Fantasy novel. Rhiannon, a wild and fierce half-human girl, tamed a winged horse to escape the vicious satyricorn tribe who raised her. The closest Mabinogi plot resemblance of the popular witch themed novels. Half human Rhiannon, winged mare. Romance, standing trial for murder, kidnapped children.

IX.2. Imaginary

The Heart of Stars, (Random House, 2006; Roc, 2007); (Ace Books)

— 2005. *The Shining City*. Rhiannon's Ride Series, 2 (Blackstone Publishing. Roc, 2006)

Fantasy novel. Rhiannon vows to save her lover and the land.

IX.2. Imaginary

— 2005. *The Heart of Stars*. Rhiannon's Ride Series, 3 (Blackstone Publishing; Roc 2006) Fantasy novel. Rhiannon's love rival is prisoner of a necromancer.

IX.2. Imaginary

Fortune, Dion. (Violet Mary Firth) 1938. *The Sea Priestess* (Published by the author)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

— 1957, *posthumously*. *Moon Magic* (Aquarian Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

See Raalte, Georgia

Francis, Matthew. 2018. *The Mabinogi* (Faber & Faber, and Kindle)
Retelling as poetry, reversing the Mabinogi innovation of prose story telling, see Ch.1.7. Lady of Prose.
I.9. 21stC

Fraser, Maxwell. 1968. 'Lady Llanover and Her Circle', *Cymm.*, pp. 170–96
Compares Guest and Hall, biased against Guest.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Frazer, James George. 1890. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, in 2 vols. (Macmillan). Repr. 1890. 2nd. edn. 1900, retitled *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, in 3 vols. 3rd edn. in 12 vols. 1906–1915. Single volume abridged, excludes refs. to Christianity 1922.
Sacred Texts (1922 edn.): <<https://www.sacred-texts.com/pag/frazer/>> [Accessed 02/04/21]
See Downie, R. Angus; and Lienhardt, Godfrey.
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

French, Claire A. 1990. 'Masculinity and Femininity in 'The Mabinogion' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Deakin University), Ch 5–8, pp. 81–215
Deakin University: <<http://dro.deakin.edu.au/eserv/DU:30023265/french-masculinityandfemininity-1990.pdf>> Accessed 21/05/2020
II.8. Feminism

Frewin Jones, Allan. 2009. *Rhiannon of the Spring*, 'Warrior Princess series, 1 (HarperCollins reprint)
— *Destiny's Path*. Warrior Princess series, 2
— *The Emerald Flame or Merion of the Stones*. Warrior Princess series 3
— *Caradoc of the North*. Warrior Princess series 4
Fiction fantasy. Rhiannon as mystical woman in white, guiding teen heroine Branwen. Poor feedback.
IX.2. Imaginary

Friedan, Betty. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique* (USA; W. W. Norton)
II.8. Feminism

Friedmann, Elizabeth and Alan J. Clark. 2005. 'Introduction' to Laura Riding. 2005 posthumously. *The Word Woman and other related writings* (Persea)
Laura Riding website: <https://www4.ntu.ac.uk/laura_riding/books/38543gp.html> [Accessed 2/04/21]
VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

Friedrich, Paul. 1978. *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Fuchs, Anita, 2014. ????
I.4 Advent

Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades. c. 500 CE. *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*, 11
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Fulton, Helen. 2000. 'Cultural Meanings in the Mabinogi' in *Origins and Revivals: Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. by Evans, Gereint *et al.* (Sydney: Centre for Celtic Studies, University of Sydney), pp. 437-452

III.7. Political Parallels

— 2005. 'The Mabinogi and the education of princes in medieval Wales', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. by Fulton, Helen (Four Courts Press), pp. 230-247

III.2 Britain

— 2011. 'Literature of the Welsh Gentry: Uses of the Vernacular in Medieval Wales', in *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300–1550*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 17, ed. by Salter, Elisabeth, and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 195–218

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

— 2014. 'History and historia: uses of the Troy story in medieval Ireland and Wales', Ch. 3, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by O'Connor, Ralph (Cambridge: Boydell Brewer)

III.2. Britain

— 2020. *A 'Mirror of the Gentry': Vernacular Versions of the 'Secretum Secretorum' in Medieval Wales and England* (De Gruyter)

De Gruyter: <<https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110650068-004/html>> Accessed 12/03/21

V.5. Pwyll: Sovereignty

Furchgott, Deborah. 2011. 'Ystoria Adafac Efa y Wreic and the Place of Apocrypha in the White Book of Rhydderch', *Proceedings Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31, pp. 106-117

Gage, Matilda. 1893. **Kerr**, C. H. ed. repr. 1980. *Woman, Church and State:: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman Through the Christian Ages: with Reminiscences of Matriarchate*. (Watertown, Mass.: Persephone Press)

See Wagner, Sally Roesch: doctoral thesis biography, and online article.

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Galfridus, see Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Ganim, John M. 1996. 'The Myth of Medieval Romance', in *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, ed. by Bloch, R. Howard and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore and NY: Johns Hopkins), pp. 148-68

II.5. Romance

Gantz, Jeffrey Michael. ed. trans. 1976. *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books)

Very popular via Penguin, but considered inaccurate by many scholars. Gantz greater contribution comes on structure.

I.4 Advent

— 1978. 'Thematic Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Medium Aevum* 47, pp. 247-254. Repr. Sullivan, (ed.) *Essays* (1996), pp. 265-275.

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

Garber, Marjorie and **Vickers**, Nancy J. eds. 2003. *The Medusa Reader* (Routledge)
Comprehensive reader, Cixous' 'Medusa' is excerpted Ch. 50, pp. 133–34
VI.5. Bag

Gardner, Gerald Brosseau. 1954. *Witchcraft for Today* (Rider and Co.)
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Garland, Adam. 2019. *Frost Heaves*, Rhiannon O'Hearn, P.I. Chronicles series, 1 (Fayan Grove)
Fiction. Female detective, tough plot.
IX.2. Imaginary

Garlick, Susan F. 2011. 'Horses, Swine and Magical Birds: The Role of Animals in the Mabinogion'
(unpublished master's thesis Trinity Saint David)
College of Information Sciences and Technology, Penn. State:
<<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=C5E623DE420C5D690C3BD6574824A39B?doi=10.1.1.655.4565&rep=rep1&type=pdf>> Accessed 02/02/2022
IV.1. Voice

Garner, Alan. 1967. *The Owl Service* (Collins)
Granada TV (UK) serial of the same name (1969); BBC Radio 4 programme (2000, & repeats).
IX.2. Imaginary

Gaselee, Stephen, ed. 1924, revised 1966. *Apuleius, Metamorphoses*, Latin text (Heinemann), 3.27
See Kline for trans.
Perseus Digital Library: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1212.phi002.perseus-lat1:3.27>> [Accessed 8/12/20]
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Gassmann, Jürg. 2014. 'Thoughts on the Role of Cavalry in Medieval Warfare', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 2, pp. 149-177
III.4. Equine
--- 2018. 'Combat Training for Horse and Rider in the Early Middle Ages', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 6, 1, pp. 63-98
III.4. Equine

Gatehouse Gazetteer, 'Cardigan Castle'. The comprehensive gazetteer and bibliography of the medieval castles, fortifications and palaces of England, Wales, the Islands <<http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/Welshsites/123.html>> Accessed 22/06/2019
I.4 Advent #8 Highway

Gatehouse Gazetteer, 'Castell Llwyn Bedw'
Welsh sites: <<http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/Welshsites/199.html>> Accessed 18/08/2020
VI. Enchantment: Annwfn

Gellis, Roberta. 1979. *Gilliane*, 'Rosalynde Chronicles; series, 4 (Littlehampton Book Services)
--- 1982. *Rosalynde*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 1 (Playboy Paperbacks)
--- 1984. *Joanna*,. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 3 (Gregg.)
--- 1985. *Alinor*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 2 (Firecrest)
--- 1994. *Rhiannon*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 5 (Leisure)

— 1995. *Sybelle*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 6 (Ellora's Cave)

— 2011. *Greenlight*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 6 (Leisure)

See no. 5. Fiction, Historical romances, mediaeval.

IX.2. Imaginary

Geoffrey of Monmouth. c. 1136. *Historia Regum Britannia* ('History of the Kings of Britain', originally *De gestis Britonum*/ 'On the Deeds of the Britons', in Latin, French. Also known as Galfridus Monemutensis, Galfridus Arturus, and (Welsh) Gruffudd ap Arthur.

NLW digitised MS. 'History of the Kings', Brut y Brenhinedd, Peniarth MS 23C; translated into Welsh, 'one of only a handful of medieval Welsh manuscripts to have been illustrated'.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/history-of-the-kings#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-226%2C-1%2C3547%2C3990>> [Accessed 08/12/2021]

British Library digitised MS. Add MS 15732:

<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_15732> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected]

I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/people/geoffrey-of-monmouth#>> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected]

III.2. Britain

--- and Michael D. **Reeve**, trans. 2009. *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the de Gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Brittannie)* (Arthurian Studies, 69)

III.2. Britain

--- and Sebastian **Evans**, trans. 2011. *History of the Kings of Britain (Historia Regum Britanniae)* (Kindle)

See also Roberts, Brynley F.

III.2. Britain

George, T. 1832. Frontispiece portrait of Pughe, in Pughe, *Geiriadur*, 2nd edn.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Gere, Cathy. July 2009. 'Restoring Faith: The ancient Minoan civilisation'. *History Today*, 59, 7
History Today: <<https://www.historytoday.com/archive/restoring-faith-ancient-minoan-civilisation>>
Accessed 26/12/2022

Gerhard, Eduard. 1855. *Griechische Mythologie* ('Greek Mythology') in 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Reimer)

Getty, Adele. 1990. *Goddess: Mother of Living Nature* (Thames and Hudson)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Giaconia, Emmanuel. c. 1826. John Jones, 'Tegid', photo of oil portrait, Founders Library, University of Wales Trinity Saint David

From date subject is aged under 40.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Gier, Nicholas F. June 2006. 'Was Ghandhi a Tantric?', Presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, Asilomar Conference Center, Monterey, California
University of Idaho: <<https://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/ngier/gandtantric.htm>> Accessed 17/08/2020

VI.1. Enchantment

Miss **Gien** see Guest. 1999.

Gilmour, Helen. 16/02/1999. 'How I was drawn to life in a cult', *Telegraph and Argus*
Telegraph and Argus: <<https://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/8068126.how-i-was-drawn-to-life-in-a-cult/>> Accessed 4/10/20.

See Lux Madriana.

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Gimbutas, Marija. 1974. *Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe* (Thames and Hudson)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

---1982. *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (Thames and Hudson)

Significant title change from 1974.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 1982. *Civilisation of the Goddess* (HarperCollins)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Giraldus Cambrensis. 1185. *Topographia Hibernia*, III, xxv

Latin text from Charles Doherty, 'Kingship in Early Ireland'; citing John J. O'Meara, 'Giraldus Cambrensis ... First Recension' (1948 - 1950)

English translation John J. O'Meara. 1951. *Topography of Ireland*. Repr. 1949, 1982.

III.4. Equine

--- 1191 *Itinerarium Cambriae*,

See Powell, David, for Latin text; Price, David, for translation.

III.4. Equine

Glastonbury Goddess Temple See also Goddess Conference; Goddess House; Jones, Kathy.

Glastonbury Goddess Temple. 2019. Legal directors: Kathy Jones, her partner Mike Jones, Sally Pullinger, Luna Silver, Elsa Field, dau. Iona Jones, Susie Qatermass.

Goddess temple directors: <<https://goddess temple.co.uk/temple-creative-directors/>> Accessed 06/01/2023

Link to page with the complex structure and personnel.

Goddess temple structure: <<https://goddess temple.co.uk/our-people/>> Accessed 06/01/2023

Goddess temple 'Our Story' <<https://goddess temple.co.uk/our-story/>> Accessed 06/01/2023

VII.3. 20thC

Glastonbury 'Goddess House': 28 Magdalen Street, BA6 9EJ, incl. Rhiannon Room

Goddess House: <<https://glastonburygoddesshouse.co.uk/>> Accessed 26/08/2022

VII.3. 20thC

Goddess House, Rhiannon Room shrine, Ground floor, Goddess House, Glastonbury

Glastonbury Goddess Temple Room Hire: <<https://goddess temple room hire.com/>> Accessed 26/08/2022

Goddess House: <<https://goddess temple room hire.com/the-rhiannon-room/>> Accessed 2019

VII.3. 20thC

Glastonbury Goddess Temple properties

<<https://goddess temple room hire.com/>> Accessed 26/08/2022

VII.3. 20thC

Glastonbury Library of Avalon. 25/6/2014. Bruce Garrard, 'More on the Library of Avalon'

Glastonbury Community History: <<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-community-history/more-on-the-library-of-avalon>> [Accessed 06/01/2023. Checked 28/03/24, not clearly there on

new Community pages.

VII.4. Temples

Glastonbury Wimin's Group. 1979. 'The Glastonbury Thorn', 1

(Ann, Ann, Cary, Frances, Janet, Jean, Karen, Kathy, Michou, Nancy, Pat, Sarah, listed p. 3)

Available as photocopied facsimile (36 X A5 pages plus card cover), Unique Publications

Unique Publications: <<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-thorn.html>> Accessed 01/11/2022. Checked 28/03/24; new link]

<<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-thorn/>>

VII.4. Temples

Goddess Conference

(scroll to 'The story of the Conference'): <<https://goddessconference.com/about-us/>> Accessed 01.04.21

VII.4. Temples

Goddess Temple, and **Goddess House**, see Glastonbury Goddess Temple

'**Goddess**' *Shrew*, journal, see MSG (Matrarchy Study Group).

Goetinck, Glenys, ed. 1976. *Historia Peredur vab Efwrawc* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru)

V.12. Cigfa

Göettner-Abendroth, Heide. 1991. *The Dancing Goddess. Principles of a Matriarchal Aesthetic* (Beacon)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 2012. *Matriarchal Societies: Studies on Indigenous Cultures Across the the Globe* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Goldenberg, Naomi. 1979. *Changing of the gods: Feminism and the end of traditional religions* (Boston: Beacon Press)

Best known coinage of 'thealogy'.

VII.5. Thealogies

Good, Deirdre J. 1984. 'Sophia in Valentinianism', *Second Century*, 4, pp. 193–201

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Gorodeisky, Keren. Fall 2016. '19th Century Romantic Aesthetics', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. by Edward N. Zalta, Edward N. (See esp. n. 1)

SEP: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/aesthetics-19th-romantic/>> Accessed Oct. 2016

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Romance

de **Gouges**, Olympe. 1791. *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* (Paris) *The Rights of Woman*, also referenced as *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen*

See Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <<https://www.iep.utm.edu/gouges/>> [Accessed 06/05/2020]

and Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité: <<https://revolution.chnm.org/d/293/>> [Accessed 11/09/2021]

VI.8. Feminism

GPC: *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* / A Dictionary of the Welsh Language.

Welsh Dictionary: <<http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> First accessed 2014

See Glossary list for terms which appear in footnotes.

Gramich, Katie. 2000. 'Lady Charlotte Guest 1812 - 1895: British translator, diarist and collector,' in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation Into English: A-L*, ed. by Classe, Olive (Taylor & Francis), pp. 592 -93

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Graves, Richard Perceval. 1990. *Robert Graves: the Years with Laura, 1926-40* (George, Weidenfield and Nicolson)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

Graves, Robert. Winter 1945. 'Dog', 'Roebuck', and 'Lapwing', 3 articles in *Wales*, English-language literary journal, war time broadsheet series, IV, 6

The basis of *White Goddess*. Not available NLW archive except by visit due to copyright.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1948. *The White Goddess: a historical grammar of poetic myth* (Faber & Faber; corrected, revised and enlarged edns. 1952 and 1961)

Theology and poetry. Rhiannon as divine Muse. Influenced by Laura Riding. Originating from his three articles 'Dog', 'Roebuck', and 'Lapwing', 1945.

See Laura Riding, his muse and extensive influence from her own book; Friedmann, Elizabeth. Kirkham, Michael.

Academia: <https://www.academia.edu/100228833/The_White_Goddess_Robert_Graves> [Accessed 10/05/2023]

Scribd: <www.scribd.com/document/139008607/The-White-Goddess-Robert-Graves#> [Accessed 26/12/2022]

I.7. Lady of Prose

--- 1949. *Seven Days in New Crete* (Cassell, now Kindle).

Utopian matriarchy novel.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1955. *The Greek Myths* (Penguin)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Gray, Bennison. 1971. 'Repetition in Oral Literature', *Journal of American Folklore*, 84 pp. 289-303
Cited by Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 26.

II.2 Storyteller's Craft

Gray, Christine. 2020. *Blindsighted By Love*. Cujo and Rhiannon's Romance series (Independent) Fiction. Cross racial erotic. Not PKM Rhiannon.

IX.2. Imaginary

Green, Caitlin R. 2009. 'Petrification Fort: An Alternative Interpretation of Preideu Annwfyn, lines 23-28', *Studia Celtica*, 43, pp. 207-13. PDF download pagination pp. 1-10

Arthuriana: <<http://www.arthuriana.co.uk/papers/PreideuAnnwfyn.pdf>> Accessed 07/04/2022

V.10. Pryderi: Manawydan

Green, Miranda J. 1989. *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (Routledge)

Partial text PDF includes passage on Epona:

Taylor Francis:

<<https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/books/mono/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9780203418192&type=googlepdf>> [Accessed 16/08/2022]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 1991. 'Triplism and Plurality: Intensity and Symbolism in Celtic Religious Expression', in *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion 1989*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 32, ed. by P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeates and J. Toms, pp. 100–09,

VII.5. Thealogy

— 1991. 'Women and Goddesses in the Celtic World', *Religion Today*, 6, 3, pp. 4-8

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 1992. *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth* (London; NY, Routledge, and Kindle)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 1995. *The Celtic World* (Routledge)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 1997. *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* (Thames and Hudson)

— 1997. 'The Symbolic Horse in Pagan Celtic Europe: An Archaeological Perspective', in *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives*, ed. by Davies, Sioned and Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), pp. 1-22

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

— 1998. *Celtic Goddesses: Warriors, Virgins and Mothers* (British Museum Press.)

Rhiannon occurrences pp. 14, 26, **47–53**, 55–58, 63–64, 66, 87, 117, 169, 176.

I.3. Etymology

Green, Miranda Aldhouse. 2004. *Gwent in Prehistory and Early History* (University of Wales Press)

— 2004. *An Archaeology of Images: Iconology and cosmology in Iron Age and Roman Europe* (Routledge)

VII.5. Thealogies

— 2004. 'Opening Doors and Imaging Appropriation: two faces of Epona', in Green, *An Archaeology of Images*, pp. 232–36

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 2015. *The Celtic Myths: A Guide to the Ancient Gods and Legends* (Thames and Hudson, and Kindle)

Rhiannon: pp. 23, 30, 53, 54–5, 77, 78, 80, 81–3, 87–8, 112, 114–15, 140, 149–50.

Green, Miranda Aldhouse, and Ray Howell, 2017. *Celtic Wales* (University of Wales Press, and Kindle)

Greenslade, David. 31/07/1998. *March*. Illust. by William Brown's woodcuts (Caerdydd: Y Wasg Israddol), 32 pp. thick card, spiral bound. Eleven poems, Welsh/ English, each facing visual image. Original of Image 4 stolen.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

----- 2/03/2017. 'Meeting Mr. Brown'

Account of the 1998 Eisteddfod week stall themed Mari Llwyd.

William Brown Archive: <<http://www.williambrownarchive.com/2017/03/meeting-mr-brown-david-greenslade/>> [Accessed 12/12/20]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Greer, Mary K. 1996. *Maud Gonne, et al., Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses - Maud Gonne, Moina Bergson Mathers, Annie Horniman, Florence Farr* (Inner Traditions Bear and Company)
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Greer, Tiffany. 2012. *Rhiannon's Triangle* (Createspace)
Modern love triangle UK/ USA.
IX.2. Imaginary

Grian, Sinead Sula. See McCrickard, Janet.

Griffin, Susan. 1978. *Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her* (HarperCollins)
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Griffiths, Ann. 2004. 'Edward Jones – Bardd y Brenin (1752-1824)', in *Clasuron Edward Jones: Aawon Cymru*, 6 solo harp pieces. Edward Jones Classics: Welsh Melodies, ed. by Heulyn, Meinir (Alaw Music). Welsh and English text.
With thanks for kind gift of book to Meinir Heulyn of Alaw Music, Sept. 2022
Alaw Music PDF: <http://www.alawmusic.com/download/edward_jones_biog.pdf> Accessed 12/09/2022
Alaw Music, *Clasuron Edward Jones*:
<http://www.alawmusic.com/shop_online/abrsn.php> Accessed 19/09/2022
Harp Studio, Contents list: <https://www.theharpstudio.co.uk/ourshop/prod_6317952-Edward-Jones-Classics-Clasuron-Edward-Jones.html> Accessed 19/09/2022
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Edward Jones

Griffiths, Colin. 2018. *Message From Rhiannon* (Lulu, Kindle)
YA adult. Six teenagers, one disappears: Rhiannon Hughes. A spooky, psychological mystery. Not PKM Rhiannon.
IX.2. Imaginary

Grimm, Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm. 1812, 1814. *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. ('Children' and Household Tales', commonly known as 'Grimms' Fairy Tales') in 2 vols.
II.3. Performance

Grove, Vicki. 2007. *Rhiannon*. Books for Young Readers (G.P. Putnam's Sons)
Novel, historical mediaeval murder mystery. Rhiannon 14 yrs as healer 12thC England.
IX.2. Imaginary

Gruffydd, R. Geraint, and Brynley F. Roberts, 1980–81. 'Rhiannon Gyda Theyrnon yng Ngwent', *Llên Cymru*, xiii, pp. 289–291

I.6. Other Sources

Gruffydd, R. Geraint, ed. 1994–96. *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*. I, III, and VII (Cardiff: UWP)
I.7. Lady of Prose

See also Brydydd, Meilyr and R. Geraint Gruffydd

GRUFFYDD, William John

Gruffydd, William John. 1912. 'The Mabinogion', *Cymm.*, 13, pp. 14–80
I.5. Text

- 1912. 'Mabon Ab Modron', *Revue Celtique*, 33. 4, pp. 452-261
 Repr. 1928. *Cymm.*, XLII, pp. 129-47.
 II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd
- 1912. 'The Mabinogion', *Cymm.*, 13, pp. 14-80
 II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd
- ed. 1922-51. *Y Llenor*, quarterly journal
 II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd
- 1928. *Math Vab Mathonwy: An Inquiry into the Origins and Development of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi, with the Text and a Translation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press) II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd
- 1950. *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion: A lecture delivered at the National Museum of Wales on 27 October 1950*, booklet (University of Wales Press)
 I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest
- , and A. O. H. **Jarman**, eds. 1956. 'Mabinogi Branwen: Crynodeb o Ddadansoddiad' ('Summary and Analysis', my trans.). *Llên Cymru*, iv, pp. 129-34
 II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd
- 1953. *Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origin of the First and Third Branches of the Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)
 Five lectures presented Oct. 1951.
 Introduction
- 1958, posthumously. *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion: A Lecture Delivered at the National Museum of Wales on 27 October 1950*, booklet (CUP)
 II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

Guerrero, Fernandez O. Oct. 2021. 'Hera, The Perfect Wife? Features and Paradoxes of the Greek Goddess of Marriage'. *Journal of Family History*, 47, 2, pp. 115-131
 Sage Journals: <<https://doi.org/10.1177/03631990211031280>> Accessed 15/08/2022
 VII.1. Goddess Myths

GUEST

Guest, Charlotte (Lady Charlotte Guest), ed. trans. 1838-45. *The Mabinogion: from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes* in 7 vols.
 Illust. Samuel Williams, foremost engraver of the day (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, London, simultaneously)
 Bilingual text: Welsh from Llyfr Coch Hergest modernised by Tegid, and English trans. Pwyll
 Welsh text vol. V separated from its English trans vol. VI.
 Samuel Williams was the foremost engraver of the day at the peak of his skill.
 Copies of the first edition 7 vols. series are incredibly rare today. I searched in vain to locate any.
 The NLW has just purchased a set June 2023, see Cutts, Timothy, Guest's personal copies her bookplate inside the covers, only one other copy is known in an institutional library which is the Wellcome Collection. Timothy Cutts, NLW% Rare Books (email 18/07/2023).
 1838. Part 1. 'The Lady of the Fountain' (Owain).
 1839. Part 2. 'Peredur the son of Evrawc'.
 1840. Part 3. 'Geraint the son of Erbin'.
 1842. Part 4. 'Kilhwch and Olwen'.
 1843. Part 5. The Dream of Rhonabwy'; 'The tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved'.
 1845. Part 6. 'Pwyll Pendevig Dyved' (Welsh). 'Branwen the daughter of Llyr';
 'Manawyddan the son of Llyr'; 'Math the son of Mathonwy'.

1849. Part. 7. The dream of Maxen Wledig'; 'Lludd and Llevelys';
'history of Taliesin'.

I.4. Advent. List of volumes, pagination Translations section above

--- ed. trans. 1845. *The Mabinogion; from the Llyfr Coch o Llergest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes*, VI. Illust. Samuel Williams, foremost engraver of the day (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, London; simultaneously)

This volume contains all the four Branches, except *Pwyll* Welsh text which is in vol. V.

I.4 Advent

--- ed. trans. 1849. *The Mabinogion*, repr. in 3 vols. Illust. Samuel Williams (Llandovery: Tonn Press; and London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, simultaneously), bilingual text Welsh and English.

Volume III begins with 'Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed', pp. 3–36. English' translation Pwyll Prince of Dyfed', pp. 37–71. Mark Antony Strong, NLW Enquiries personal communication 13/10/2015. In the first edition series these were separated Vol. 5 and 6.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- ed. trans. 1877. *The Mabinogion, From the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest (The Red Book of Hergest) in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford Translated, with Notes*. Illust. Samuel Williams engravings, 2nd edn, abridged, English text only in 1 vol. (London, 15 Piccadilly: Bernard Quaritch)

Incl. 145 pages of scholarly Notes in sections following each Branch: vol. VI. Pwyll, pp. 360–368; Branwen, pp. 385–396; Manawydan, pp. 411–12; Math, pp. 434–42; also many Footnotes. The Mabinogi text is mainly in the original vol. VI, pp. 339–440; note the Welsh text PKM1 Pwyll is in vol. V. Research notes follow each Branch: Notes to Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, pp. 339–357; Notes to Branwen the Daughter of Llyr, pp. 369–384; Note on Manawyddan the Son of Llyr, pp. 411–412; Notes to Math the Son of Mathonwy, pp. 413–432. II.5. Welsh Renaissance

John Bruno Hare, 'Internet Sacred Texts Archive', Guest, 2nd. ed. (4/3/2004).

Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/index.htm>> Accessed 28/12/2013 Includes Introduction, all Samuel Williams' illustrations, all Notes. Many online versions lack the complete contents. PAGINATION Sacred Texts: <<https://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/pageidx.htm>> Accessed 15/03/2023

See Madoc Books.

I.4 Advent. Main content II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- and Sidney **Lanier**, eds. 1881. *The Boy's Mabinogion; Being the Earliest Welsh Tales of King Arthur in the Famous Red Book of Hergest*. Abridged (London: Sampson Low and Co.)

American project aimed to inspire boys to knightly ideal behaviour.

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/knightlylegendso00lani>> [Accessed 16/12/2013]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- ed. trans. 1906. *The Mabinogion*, Illust. Samuel Williams, Everyman series (London: J. M. Dent & Sons. NY: E. P. Dutton)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- April 1916. 'Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie Guest', Portrait, *Welsh Outlook*, 3, 4

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- and David Rhys Phillips ed. 1921. Journals.

Journals, from excerpts provided by her youngest daughter Blanche Vere **XXX**

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- and Ponsonby Vere 1950. Journals

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- ed. trans. 2001. *The Mabinogion*. Illust. by Alan Lee.

Lee also illustrated Jones and Jones. 1982. *The Mabinogion*

I.4 Advent

--- ed. trans. and David Price. May 22, 2002, updated 4/05/2021. 'The Mabinogion' (Gutenberg, eBook #5160)

Includes illustrations and footnotes.

Gutenberg: <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5160/5160-h/5160-h.htm>> [Accessed 01/12/13; last checked 16/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- and Jansen, Miss Gien. 1999. *The Mabinogion*, online

First Mabinogi text online.

Miss Gien, Netherlands, <<http://www.missgien.net/arthurian/mabinogion/>> Accessed 2/12/2013 Site expired; viewable on the Wayback Machine (captured 20/01/2001).

Web Archive:

<<https://web.archive.org/web/20010110154000/http://www.missgien.net:80/arthurian/mabinogion/mabinogion.html>> [Accessed 29/08/22]

II.9. 21st C

-- and David Price. eds. May 2002. 'The Project Gutenberg eBook of The Mabinogion, by Lady Charlotte Guest' (Gutenberg). Includes illustrations and footnotes.

II.9. 21st C

-- ed. trans. and **Jones**, Colin ed. 2008, Kindle 2021. 'Mabinogion, the Four Branches of The Mabinogi (Annotated): The Ancient Celtic Epic' (Colin Jones)

Reading the Guest translation of the Mabinogi, with musical background.

Amazon: <colin.cymru/books> Accessed 16/01/22

II.9. 21stC

Guest, Charlotte. 2012. Portrait by Hsiao-Ron Cheng. Imaginative interpretation based on NLW portrait; illustration for Jason Ward. 9/04/2014. 'Lady Charlotte Guest', biographical article, in 'Oh Comely' online magazine, 21

Oh Comely: <<http://ohcomely.co.uk/stories/2012/04/09/lady-charlotte-guest?rq=charlotte%20guest>> [Accessed 22/02/2015 Permission 14/02/2017. Checked 10/02/2020, the illustration has been removed]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- and **Morgain**, Shân 2014. 'Index of Charlotte Guest Journals'. Excerpts, dated, with refs. to sources. Searchable. Published sources Phillips (1921); Ponsonby (1950); Bromwich largely derived from Phillips (1986); Sioned Davies (2004); Revel Guest & Angela John (1989, 2nd edn. 2007).

Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/bibliog/index-of-guest-journals/>> [Created 2014]

Zotero: <<https://www.zotero.org/groups/235117/mabinogistudy>> [Created 2013] Zotero can be downloaded. The selected bibliography can then synch to update with the online version.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Guest, Revel, and Angela V. **John**. 1989. *Lady Charlotte: A Biography of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

See also John Cleal tabletop artwork, Angela John commissioned to celebrate publication; Illustrations list; Ch. IX.1. Gallery

Guest, Revel, and Angela V. **John**. 2007. *Lady Charlotte Guest: An Extraordinary Life*. 2nd. edn. abridged, paperback version of the 1989 hardback (History Press)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Guha, Sudeshna. Oct. 2007. 'The Indus Civilization', *History Today*, 57, 10 (Oct. 2007)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Gulati, Nikhil, and Jonathan Mark **Kenoyer**. 2022. *The People of the Indus* (Penguin)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Gurden-Williams. Celyn. 2008. 'Lady Llanover and the Creation of a Welsh Cultural Utopia' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cardiff)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Gutenberg. 2004 online. 'The Mabinogion by Lady Charlotte Schreiber'.

Gutenberg < <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/5160> > [Accessed 27/11/2023]

Gwenogvryn Evans, John. 1905. *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 1 of 3 (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission)

II.4. Manuscripts

See also **Rhys**, John, and John **Gwenogvryn Evans**, eds. 1887. *Red Book of Hergest*

—1907. *The White Book of Mabinogion: Welsh Tales & Romances Reproduced from the Peniarth Manuscripts*. Series of Welsh Old Texts, VII (Pwllheli: Private subscription)

Open Library: <https://openlibrary.org/works/OL15362372W/The_White_book_of_Mabinogion>

Accessed 17/12/13

II.4. Manuscripts

Haas, Kymberly. 2016. *Rhiannon Tales~ Gaia and the Opening* (CreateSpace)

Children's fantasy novel. Young Rhiannon transported on wings to faerie world which she saves as its rescuer.

IX.2. Imaginary

Haggard, Rider. 1887. *She: A History of Adventure* (Longmans)

Followed serialisation in *Graphic* magazine Oct. 1886 and Jan. 1887.

Hall, Chris, ed. 20/10/2020. 'Amazon Kindle: A brief history from the original Kindle onwards'

Pocket Lint: <https://www.pocket-lint.com/gadgets/news/amazon/137303-amazon-kindle-history-kindle-to-the-kindle-oasis> > Accessed 30/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

Hall, Linda. 2002. 'Early Farm Buildings', in *Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, ed. by Verey, David, and Alan Brooks (Yale)

V.11 Cigfa

Hall, Traci E. 2006. *Rhiannon: Goddess in Training* (Medallion Press), repr. 2008. *Her Wiccan, Wiccan Ways*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, 1 (Samhain Publishing).

— 2009. *Something Wiccan This Way Comes*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, 2 (Samhain Publishing)

— 2010. *Wiccan Cool*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, 3 (Samhain Publishing)

— 2011. *Wiccan Wishes*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, short story (Kindle)

— 2012. *Wiccan Chalice*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, 4 (Kendelle Press)

— 2013. *Wiccan Dream*. Rhiannon Godfrey series, 5 (Kendelle Press)

Fiction, YA psychic, modern witch, teen romance.

IX.2. Imaginary

Hallo, William W. 1969. *Exaltation of Inanna*, Yale Near Eastern Researches (Yale University Press)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Halsall, Guy. 2003. *Warfare and society in the barbarian west: 450-900* (Routledge)

III. 4. Equine

Hamilton, Julie; and Richard **Thomas**. 2012. 'Pannage, Pulses and Pigs: Isotopic and Zooarchaeological Evidence for Changing Pig Management Practices in Later Medieval England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 56, 1, pp. 234-259

Taylor Francis DOI: <10.1179/0076609712Z.00000000008> [Accessed 3/11/2018]

VI.1 Enchatments: Annwfn

Hammond, Debra. 2013. 'Walton & her works', ed. by Anderson, Douglas A.

Evangeline Walton: <<https://evangelinewalton.wordpress.com/walton-her-works/>> Accessed 30/10/2022

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Hamp, Eric. 1974. 'Mabinogi', *Cymm*. pp. 243 –49

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

— 1999. 'Mabinogi and Archaism', *Celtica*, 23, pp. 96–112

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Hanisch, Carol, of NY Radical Women. 1970. 'The personal is political', in *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation*, ed. by Firestone, Shulamith, and Anne Koedt (Radical Feminism), pp. 76–77

Duke University Repository: <<https://repository.duke.edu/dc/wlmpc/wlmms01039>> Accessed 17/07/2020

VI.8. Feminism <repositoryhelp@duke.edu>

Hanson-Smith, Elizabeth. 1981/82. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed': the narrative structure', *Studia Celtica*, pp. 126-134

Repr. Sullivan ed. 1996. *Mabinogi Essays* (Routledge), pp. 153-164.

Ch. II.7. Coherence Paradigm: Four Accounts.

Harasta, Jesse and Charles **River**. 2017. *Athena: The Origins and History of the Greek God* (CreateSpace, and Kindle)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Haraway, Donna. 1991. 'A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century', in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* ed. by

Haraway, Donna (Routledge), pp. 149–81

II.8. Feminism

Harbert, Wayne. 1999. 'The Time of the Four Branches', in *Arthurian Literature and Christianity: Notes from the Twentieth Century* ed. by Meister, Peter (NY: Garland Publications), pp. 3–5

Translated excerpt from PKM, *Rhagymadrodd* pp. xxii - xxiv. Available online, google books.

II.6. Academia: Gruffydd

Harding, Mary Esther. 1935. *Woman's Mysteries: Ancient & Modern: A Psychological Interpretation of the Feminine Principle as Portrayed in Myth* (C. G. Jung Foundation)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

Hardy, Robert. 2010. *Longbow: A social and military history* (US: Patrick Stevens Ltd)

III.4. Equine

Hare, John Bruno, ed. 'Internet Sacred Texts Archive' online text of Charlotte Guest, *Mabinogion*, 2nd. edn. 1877, uploaded 2004.

Includes Introduction, all illustrations by Samuel Williams, and all Notes in each volume. There are many online versions but most do not include the complete contents as this version does.

Sacred Texts Archive: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/index.htm>> [Accessed 28/12/2013]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Harner, Michael. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman: A Guide to Power and Healing* (San Francisco: Harper & Row)

VI.2. Trance

Harris, Rivkah. 1991. 'Inanna–Ishtar as Paradox and a Coincidence of Opposites', *History of Religions*, 30, 3, pp. 261-278.

Temple of Nature, PDF download: <http://thetempleofnature.org/_dox/innana-ishtar-coincidence-of-opposites.pdf> Accessed 5/12/20

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Hart, Donna, and Robert Wald **Sussman**. 2002. *Man the Hunted: Primates, Predators, and Human Evolution* (Westview Press Inc)

VI.1. Enchantment

Håussler, Ralph. Undated. 'Epona: The Sacred Mare | Celtic Horse Goddess | La jument sacrée | Heilige Stute'

Also see Epona.net a scholarly resource'

Ralph Håussler: <<https://ralphhaussler.weebly.com/epona.html>> [Accessed 16/08/2022]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 'Sucellos: 'Le Bon Frappeur' | 'The Good Striker' | Mallet God | Dieu au Maillet | Schlegelgott | Dispater'

Ralph Haüssler: <<https://ralphhaussler.weebly.com/sucellos.html>> Accessed 28/06/2021

Haycock, Marged. 1983/4. *Preiddeu Annwfn in the Llyfr Taliesin* (BT 54:19)

I.6. Other Sources

Haycock, Marged, and M. **Ball**, M. J. eds. trans. 1990. The Significance of the 'Cad Goddau' Tree-List in the Book of Taliesin', in *Celtic Linguistics: Ieithyddiaeth Geltaidd*, Readings in the Brythonic Languages. Festschrift for T. Arwyn Watkins (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co.), pp. 297–331

VI.1. Enchantment

Haycock, Marged. ed. trans. 2007. *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, CMCS)

V.5. Pwyll: Importance

Hayes, Derek W., Michas Koc, Dyfed Williams, and Marc Evans. 2002. 'Otherworld' (S4C & BBC Wales)

Cutting edge at the time, blending live actors and animation; has become a cult classic screened at most Mabinogi/on events, and via film clubs.

<<https://filmhubwales.org/en/films/y-mabinogi-otherworld/>> [Accessed 28/03/24]

Archive clip: <<https://archive.org/details/ymabinogi>> [Accessed 28/03/24]

Also youtube but they change so best do search.

Bookings, Film Hub Wales: <<https://filmhubwales.org/en/films/y-mabinogi-otherworld/>>

II.9. 21stC

Hebrew Bible:

Gen. 2. 20.

V.3. Gwawl

HEMMING

Hemming, Jessica (then Hooker). 1995. 'A Textual Commentary on the First Branch of the Mabinogi' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Cambridge) 241 pp.

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

— 1997. 'Sellam Gestare: Saddle-Bearing Punishments and the Case of Rhiannon', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 28, pp. 45–64

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

— 1998. 'Reflections on Rhiannon and the Horse Episodes in "Pwyll"', *Western Folklore*, 57, pp.19–40

JSTOR: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1500247>> [Accessed: [23/11/2013]

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

— July 2009. Review of Bollard, *The Mabinogi: Legend and Landscape of Wales*, in *Folklore Society*, 120, 2, pp. 232– 234

Introduction

— 2012. 'Red, White, and Black in Symbolic Thought: The Tricolour Folk Motif, Colour Naming, and Trichromatic Vision', *Folklore*, 123, 3, pp. 310–29

V.4. Pwyll: In Annwfn

— 2013. 'The Colour Portrait in Medieval Welsh Literature', unpublished paper presented at the 35th Annual California Celtic Studies Conference, Berkeley, California, USA. My thanks for copy notes.

VI.1. Enchantment

Hemsley, Michael. 2011. 'The day of the passion of the men of Britain : the boar as revenant agent of disorder in Welsh literature and David Jones' late poetry', *TricTrac, Journal of World Mythology and Folklore*, 4, 1, pp. 39-55

Sabinet: <<https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC164431>> [Accessed 23/03/21]

V.10. Pryderi: Animal

Herbert, N.M. ed. 1988. 'Medieval Gloucester: Trade and Industry 1327-1547', in *A History of the County of Gloucester*, 4, 'The City of Gloucester' (Victoria County History), pp. 41-54

British History Online: <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol4/pp41-54>> Accessed 30 July 2017
V.11 Cigfa

Hepburn, William; Katharine Neil; Alana Bell. 14/02/22:11.50. 'How we made a video game based on medieval records', *Conversation*

Dr William Hepburn (historian, creative lead). Dr Katharine Neil (game developer Astrologaster, Over the Alps). Alana Bell (Gray's School of Art grad. 2020).

The Conversation: <<https://theconversation.com/how-we-made-a-video-game-based-on-medieval-records-174984>> Accessed 16/02/2022

IX.2. Imaginary

Heritage Book Shop. Sales presentation of Guest, *Mabinogion*, 2nd edn, with provenance and photos. Via Libri: Heritage Book Shop, 9024 Burton Way., Beverly Hills, CA 90211, USA.

Heritage Books: <www.heritagebookshop.com> Accessed 20/09/15

III.4. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Hesiod. and H. G. Evelyn-White, trans. 1914. 'Shield of Hercules', in *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle, Homerica*, H G. Loeb Classical Library, 57 (William Heinemann)

Theoi (text): <<https://www.theoi.com/Text/HesiodShield.html>> Accessed 14/08/2022

VI.5. Bag

--- 1914. 'Theogony: The Bestiary', in *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle, Homerica*, H G. Loeb Classical Library, 57 (William Heinemann)

<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0020.tlg001.perseus-eng1:270-303>

VI.5. Bag

Heywood, Simon R. May 2001. 'Storytelling Revivalism in England and Wales: History, Performance and Interpretation' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The National Centre for English Cultural Tradition, University of Sheffield)

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/1115864/Storytelling_revivalism_in_England_and_Wales_History_performance_and_interpretation> Accessed 25/03/2020

II.3. Performance

Hicks-Jenkins, Clive. 2000-15. 'Dark Movement: fifteen years of the Mari Lwyd in the work of Clive Hicks-Jenkins'

Artlog: <<https://clivehicksjenkins.wordpress.com/2015/06/12/dark-movements/>> [Accessed 28/03/24]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Higley, Sarah. 2007. 'Preiddeu Annwn: The Spoils of Annwn', The Camelot Project

Rochester University: <<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/preiddeu-annwn>> [Accessed 25/03/21.

Updated 28/03/24]

Other Sources ???

Hill, Greg, 'Mabinogi'. Poems inspired by the Mabinogi: his own work, e.g. 'Rhiannon'

Greg Hill:

'Rhiannon' < <https://awenydd.cymru/2016/02/16/rhiannon-2/>> [Accessed 28/03/24]

David James Jones, 'Gwenallt', 'Rhiannon':

<<https://awenydd.cymru/sheaves-of-awen/menu2/rhiannon/>> [Accessed 02/10/2021]

II.9. 21stC

Hill, Thomas D. 1990-91. 'Jaufré, Pwyll and the Receding Lady: An Essay on Comparative Horsemanship', *French Studies Bulletin*, 37, pp. 1-3

OUP: <<https://academic.oup.com/fsb/article-abstract/10/37/1/664645?redirectedFrom=fulltext>>

[Accessed 13/9/24]

Ch. VI.2. Trance

Hill, Thomas D., and Kristen **Mills**. 2018. 'The (Pregnant) Mouse Freed from the Gallows: A Ballad Parallel for the Conclusion of Manawydan fab Llŷr', *Folklore*, 129, 3, pp. 1–19 (Mabinogi related p. 7 ff.)

Duo, Oslo University. PDF download:

<<https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/67735/Pregnant%2BMouse%2Bfinal%2Bedit.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=n>> [Accessed 25/03/21]

V.13. Lady Mouse

History com Editors. 10/11/2017, updated 19/07/2021. 'Seneca Falls Convention'

History com: <<https://www.history.com/topics/womens-rights/seneca-falls-convention>> Accessed 23/01/2022

II.8. Feminism

Hodgetts, T. 1822. 'Idrison' Pughe, steel engraving

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/welsh-poetry-and-miscellanea>> Accessed 13/03/20

III.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Hooker, Deborah. 2011. 'Disavowing Maternity in Evangeline Walton's The Virgin and the Swine: Fantasy Meets the Social Protest Fiction of the 1930s', in *Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture: Essays on Adaptations in Literature, Film, Television and Digital Media*, ed. by Becker Audrey L.; and Kristin Noone (Jefferson: McFarland), pp. 42-60

Hooker, Jessica; see Hemming.

hooks, bell. 1989. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Sheba Feminist)

Gloria Jean Watkin (25/9/52– 15/12/21) 'adopted her maternal great-grandmother's name as a pen name, since she so admired her, but used lowercase letters to distinguish herself from her family member.' *Guardian*. 15/12/21.

Guardian: <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2021/dec/15/bell-hooks-author-and-activist-dies-aged-69>> Accessed 29/08/22

II.8. Feminism

Hopwood, Hanna G. 2013. *Uchelwragedd y beirdd: astudiaeth o'r canu mawl i uchelwragedd (1300–1500)*, Unpublished master's thesis, Caerdydd

I.6. Other Sources

Hopwood, Mererid. 2005, 2016, revised edn. *Singing in Chains* (Gomer Lolfaf)

See Llwyd (2010)

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

Howe, Ellic. 1978. *Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order, 1887-1923* (Red Wheel/ Weiser)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Howells, Roscoe. 1987. *Rhiannon: a Welsh Island Story* (Gomer)

Fiction, young woman very loosely relives Rhiannon on Caldey, Pembrokeshire; landscape focus.

IX.2. Imaginary

Hows, Mark. Undated. 'Uffington White Horse'

Detailed history in context, many images.

Dr. Mark Hows: <<https://www.hows.org.uk/personal/hillfigs/uff/uffing.htm>> [Accessed]

I.4. Advent #5 Horse

HUGHES

Hughes, Ian. 1993. 'Die drei Zweige des Mabinogi', in *Akten des Ersten Symposiums Deutschsprachiger Keltologen*, ed. by Rockel, Martin and Stefan Zimmer (Tübingen: Niemeyer), pp. 121–131

VIII Structures

— 2006. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi and Medieval Welsh Poetry', *Studi Celtici*, 4, pp. 155–93

Aberystwyth Cadair: <<https://research.aber.ac.uk/en/publications/the-four-branches-of-the-mabinogi-and-medieval-welsh-poetry>> Accessed 16/12/2013

I.3. Other Sources

— 2007. 'Tripartite Structure in Manawydan Uab Llyr', in *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, vi, ed. by Ó Flaithearta, M. (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet), pp. 99–109

Diva: <<http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:131401/FULLTEXT01.pdf>> Accessed 06/05/2014

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

--- 2008, 'The Mabinogion', *Studia Celtica*, 42, pp. 184–186

Review of Sioned Davies' translation.

— 2013. *Math Uab Mathonwy: the fourth branch of the Mabinogi* (Dublin: DIAS)

II.4. Manuscripts

Hughes, Kris. 'Go Deeper', blog

<<https://www.godeeper.info>> [Accessed 24/10/22]

--- Epona, various articles

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/category/epona>>

--- 31/12/2012. 'Rambles with the Mari Lwyd: Were there horse cults in ancient Britain? Is there a cohesive thread connecting Macha, Epona and Rhiannon to hobby horses, the Mari Lwyd and the Uffington horse?'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/rambles-with-the-mari-lwyd>> [Accessed 09/08/2023]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 17/1/2014. 'Rhiannon's Dream'

A dream experienced 7-8 years previously, with hindsight perceived as inspired by Rhiannon. Horses graze and gaze in a summer meadow with red poppies, white butterflies, white birds.

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/rhiannons-dream>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

--- 06/04/20. 'The Mabinogi: Looking at different translations'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.patreon.com/posts/mabinogi-looking-35684613>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

Introduction

--- 2021. 'Understanding The Mabinogi'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/understanding-the-mabinogi>>

--- 2021. 'On Reading the Four Branches', in 'Four Essays in Celtic Mythology', by Hughes, Kris (Patreon), pp. 10– 18

Themes, weddings, each Branch has its distinctive wedding; Rhiannon contrasted with Branwen and Blodeuedd.

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/chapbooks.html>> [Accessed 24/10/22]

----- 26/04/21. 'Rhiannon. Queen of the May?'

'While May-eve is only mentioned once in the story, at the foaling of Teyrnon's mare, I feel that there is a strong implication that other major events in the story also take place at Calan Mai.

It seems likely that the birth of Rhiannon's child happens on May eve, the same night that he is delivered to Teyrnon. If we work back, then we have Rhiannon's first appearance on the May eve five years earlier, and the return of the child four years later, possibly also at Calan Mai. This motif of years isn't pronounced in the rest of the Mabinogi, ... The character of the youthful goddess Rhiannon arriving on her magical white horse is certainly one which feels like spring or early summer, and I don't think it is hard to envision Her as a May Queen, come to bring good things to the land.'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/rhiannon-queen-of-the-may>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

----- 18/09/22. 'Reflections on the Identity of Rhiannon'. Illustrated talk presented online at 'Ninefold Festival' conference, Sisterhood of Avalon, Glastonbury and online Notes by kind PDF gift from Kris Hughes (25/10/22).

V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad

--- 17/08/23. 'Branwen – NOT a goddess of love or beauty'

Patreon: <https://www.patreon.com/posts/branwen-not-of-87849004?utm_medium=post_notification_email&utm_campaign=patron_engagement&utm_source=post_link>

VII.5. Thealogies

--- Aug. 2023. 'Women and goddesses in the Mabinogi: exploring The Four Branches', online course in five 2 hour sessions.

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/wgm.html>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

Hughes Jones, Lis. 1991-92, 'Rhiannon', solo tour narrative dance, original songs, bilingual English and Welsh, low tech, exploring the mythic female. Cardiff, Belgium, parts in Aberystwyth. Personal email communications, 3–4/07/2016. Dir. of theatre company Brith Gof which staged all four Branches (1981–83).

II.3. Performance

Hull, Eleanor. 1907. 'The Development of the Idea of Hades in Celtic Literature', *Folklore*, 18, 2, pp. 121–65

VII.2. Early Development

Humphrys, Emyr. 21/4/1990. 'The Crucible of Myth', W.D. Thomas Memorial Lecture (Swansea: University)

V.12. Cigfa

Humphries, Robert. 2008. 'The Limits of the Law: Sarhaed, Kinship and Honour in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis paper, University of Wales, Trinity St. Davids)

Academia:

<http://www.academia.edu/4206917/The_Limits_of_the_Law_Sarhaed_Kinship_and_Honour_in_The_Four_Branches_of_the_Mabinogi> Accessed 16 May 2016

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Hutton, Ronald. 1996. 'The Roots of Modern Paganism', in *Paganism Today: Witches, Druids, the Goddess and Ancient Earth Traditions for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Graham Harvey, Graham and Charlotte Hardman (Thorsons), pp. 3–15

VII.2. Early Development: Pughe

— 2011. 'Medieval Welsh Literature and Pre-Christian Deities,' *CMCS*, 61, pp. 57-86

II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Guest

See Tully, 'Interview with Professor Ronald Hutton'

Huws, Byron. 2009. 'Manawydan Uab Lyr: A Tale of the Norman Occupation of Deheubarth', *Cymm*. 16, pp. 7–23

III.7. Political Parallels

--- 23/01/2013. 'The Norman Wars, part 8: "The Curse on Dyfed"', in *Carmarthen Journal*, p. 40

III.7. Political Parallels. See also V.11. Manawydan

Huws, Daniel. 2000, repr. 2002. *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, repr. 2002)

II.4. Manuscripts

--- *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes c.800–c.1800*, 1 of 3 vols. (NLW and CAWCS, Spring 2022)

Volume I: 'summary descriptions of some 3,300 manuscripts written in Welsh between c.800 and c.1800, including those written in other languages which relate to Welsh literature and learning.' Vol. II: bio-bibliographical register of about 1,500 scribes, including anonymous ones whose hands have been recognized in two or more manuscripts, and also contains comprehensive indexes (about 250pp.) to place-names, personal names, texts and subjects in Vol. I, and a chronological index of manuscripts up to 1580. Vol. III: some 900 images which provide examples of the various scripts of the 600 most important scribes included in Vol. II. More information, including specimen pages from each volume, is available in the Repertory prospectus (PDF download, link below).

My thanks to Daniel Huws (author); Maredudd ap Huw (NLW) and Ann Parry-Owen (CAWCS) for pre-publication access to the Vol. 1 passages on the three Mabinogi MSS.

Notes quoted from NLW <<https://www.library.wales/repertory>> Accessed 07/12/2021

<https://www.library.wales/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/casgliadau/Cyhoeddiadau/Repertory/repertory_prospectus_en.pdf> Accessed 07/12/2021

II.4. Manuscripts

IEP see Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

Ifans, Rhiannon; Ann **Parry Owen**; W. **Dyfed Rowlands**, and E. H. **Rheinallt**, eds. 1977. *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog, Mab Clochyddyn, Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch ac Ithel Ddu* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS)

I.6. Other Sources

Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy (IEP). Olympe de Gouges (1748—1793)

IEP: <<https://www.iep.utm.edu/gouges/>> Accessed 06/05/2020

Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité: <<https://revolution.chnm.org/d/293/>> Accessed 11/09/2021

VI.9. Feminist

Iolana, Patricia and Angela **Hope**, eds. Dec. 2011. *Goddess Thealogy: An International Journal for the Study of the Divine Feminine*, 1 (Dec. 2011).

Academia PDF download:

<https://www.academia.edu/1193748/Goddess_Thealogy_An_International_Journal_for_the_Study_of_the_Divine_Feminine_Vol_1_No_1_1_A4_December_2011> Accessed 8/10/20

---Dec. 2011. 'Thealogy: Mapping a Fluid and Expanding Field', *Goddess Thealogy*, 1, (Dec. 2011), pp. 7–17

Isaac, G. Summer 1997. 'Readings in the History and Transmission of the Gododdin', *CMCS*, 37, pp. 55–78

III.2. Britain

Isaac, G. R; Simon **Rodway**, Silvia **Nurmio**, Kit **Kapphahn**, and Patrick **Sims-Williams**, eds. 2010. 'Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13eg Ganrif Fersiwn 1.0' ('13th Century Welsh Prose Manuscripts Version 1.0')

Peniarth 6, Text Download, MSWord format.

Cadair Aberstwyth: <<https://research.aber.ac.uk/en/datasets/13th-century-middle-welsh-prose-manuscripts>> Accessed 18/05/2023 Peniarth 6 entry. Checked 19/03/2024, not listed Simon Rodway kindly rescued with new link:

<doi.org/10.20391/3abf4ef1-e364-4cce-859d-92bf4035b303>]

Codecs MS image graphics (scroll right to p. 3 and 4):

<<https://codecs.vanhamel.nl/index.php?title=Show:IIIF/Mirador&manifest=https://damsssl.llgc.org.uk/iii/f/2.0/5988049/manifest.json&canvas=&canvasindex=&frompageid=1259>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

I.7. Etymology

Isaac, Margaret. 2002. *Rhiannon's Way* (Apecs Press)

Fiction. Rhiannon as a Celtic princess whose father has been captured by the Romans. Her rescue draws on an affinity with Rhiannon.

IX.2. Imaginary

Isaacs, Ali. 23/05/13, updated 27/07/13. '6 Sacred Rites of Kings', Blog.

Ali Isaacs Storyteller: <<https://www.aliisaacstoryteller.com/post/6-sacred-rites-of-kings>> [Accessed 23/09/20. Checked 28/03/24 SITE HACKED.]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone. 1961. *The International Popular Tale and the Early Welsh Tradition*. Gregynog Lectures (University of Wales Press)

II.6. Academia: Folklore

---1964. 'Some Popular Motifs in Early Welsh Tradition.', *Études Celtiques*, 11, pp. 83–99

VII.2. Gss

Jacoby, Felix, ed. 1923. *Die Fragmente griechischen Historiker*, 'Fragments of the Greek Historians', 63 (Weidmann, Berlin). From Müller. 1841–1870. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*

VII.2. Early Development

James, Christine. 1991. 'Ym Myd y Mabinogi', *Barn* ('Opinion'), pp. 36–38

Review of Davies 1989. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (UWP)

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

--- ed. 2001. *Cerddi Gwenallt: y Casgliad Cyflawn* (Llandysul)
Gwenallt 'Rhiannon' poem p. 153, first published *Eples* (1951), focused on the penance. Text online with translation.

Greg Hill: <<https://www.greghill.cymru/rhiannon-by-gwenallt.html>> Accessed 28/10/2022

VI.6. Adar: Minstrels

--- 2019. The Lewis Family Wardrobe, two photos by kind permission.

I.5. Text

Jansen, Gien, 'Miss Gien'. 1999. 'The Mabinogion: The Welsh Mythology'
Netherlands, Arthurian site. First Mabinogi/ion text online, Guest., Everyman.
Miss Gien: <<http://www.missgien.net/arthurian/mabinogion/>> Accessed 2/12/2013
III.3. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Jaremko-Porter, Kristina. 2012. 'The Latvian Era of Folk Awakening: From Johann Gottfried Herder's Volkslieder to the Voice of an Emergent Nation', Ch. 9 in *The Voice of the People: Writing the European Folk Revival, 1760–1914*, ed. by Campbell, Matthew and Michael Perraudin (Anthem Press), pp. 141 - 156
II.3. Performance

Jarman, A. O. H. 1974. 'Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* ed. by Bowen, Geraint (Gomer), pp. 83-142
I.5. Text

--- ed. 1988. *Aneirin: Y Gododdin Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem*. Welsh Classics series, 3 (Gomer Press, 1988)
V.3 Hyfaidd

Jaufre Rudel. 2006. 'Quan lo rossinhol el follos' ('When, in the woods, the nightingale'), in *Prosody in England and Elsewhere: A Comparative Approach*, ed. by Malcovati, Leonardo (Gival Press, LLC) Excerpts quoted and translated VI.2. Trance. See also Burl
Arnaut & Karkur: <www.trobar.org/troubadours/jaufre_rudel/jaufre_rudel_01.php> [Accessed 8/06/2021] Besides text, gives sound file with speech and melody.
I.6. Other Sources #4

Jayran, Shan, see Morgain, Shân.

Jefferson, Carla. 2013. 'The Depiction of the Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis Trinity Saint David, School of Welsh and Bilingual Studies)
Academia.edu:
<www.academia.edu/3813728/The_Depiction_of_the_Otherworld_in_the_Four_Branches_of_the_Mabinogi> Accessed 16/12/13
VI.1. Enchantment

Jenkins, Dafydd, and Morfydd. E. **Owen**, eds. 1980, 1992. (WLW) *The Welsh Law of Women: Studies Presented to Daniel A. Binchy* (University of Wales Press). New edn. 2017
CONTENTS (1992): Preface p. v-vi. Contents p. xiii. Dafydd Jenkins, 'Introduction', pp. 1-6.

T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Nau kynywedi teithiauc', pp. 23–39. Morfydd E. Owen, 'Shame and reparation: Women's Place in the Kin', pp. 40-68. Christopher McAll 'The Normal Paradigms of a Woman's Life in the Irish and Welsh Texts pp. 7–22. T. M. Charles Edwards, ' Nau Kyniwedi Teithiau pp. 23–39. Morfydd E. Owen, 'Shame and Reparation, Women's

Place in the Kin' pp. 40-68. Dafydd Jenkins, 'Property interests in the classical Welsh law of women', pp. 69-92. R. R. Davies, 'The status of women and the practice of marriage in late-medieval Wales;', pp. 93-114. D. B. Walters, 'The European legal context of the Welsh law of matrimonial property', pp. 115-131. Texts of the tractate on the law of women, pp. 132-85. Glossary pp. 187. 221. Bibliographical Abbreviations pp. 222-27. Index to Passages Cited p. 229-234. General Index pp. 235-253.

II.8. Feminism

Jenkins, Dafydd. 1980. 'Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women', *WLW* (University of Wales Press), pp. 69-92

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- trans., ed. 1986. *Hywel Dda: The Law, texts from medieval Wales* (Gomer)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Jenkins, Geraint H. 2011. *Bard of Liberty: The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg* (University of Wales Press)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

---; Mary-Ann Constantine, and Marion Löffler, eds. 2001-08. 'Iolo Morganwg and the Romantic Tradition in Wales 1740-1918' (CAWCS).

CAWCS:

<<https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/ResearchProjects/CompletedProjects/IoloMorganwgandtheRomanticTraditioninWales/IoloMorganwgFullerDescription.aspx>> [Accessed 6/01/2020 Site down for maintenance 2024]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Jenkins, Robert Thomas, and **Ramage**, Helen, 1951. *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Gwyneddigion and Cymreigyddion Societies (1751-1951)*

London: Cymm.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

Jenkins, Robert Thomas. 1959. 'Jones, John (Tegid — less usually Ioan Tegid; 1792 - 1852), cleric and man of letters', Dictionary of Welsh Biography

Welsh Biography: <<https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-JOH-1792>> Accessed 6/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Jenkyn, Thomas, W. 1907. *The Welsh Fairy Book*. Dover Children's Classics, 100. Illust. Willy Pogany (Fisher Unwin and Kindle)

Kindle edition does not include illustrations, many available Google books.

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

Jobling, Mark A. 2013. 'Flogging a dead horse', *Investigative Genetics*, 4, Article 5.

Re Hippophagy.

Investigative Genetics: <<https://investigativegenetics.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/2041-2223-4-5>> Accessed 5/11/ 2019

I.4. Advent #5 Horse

Johannes, J. Prytz. 1975. 'The Thesmophoria as a women's festival', *Temenos: Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion*, 11

Temenos: <<https://journal.fi/temenos/article/view/6314>> Accessed 15/08/2022

VII.1. Goddess Myths

John, Angela V. 2008. 'Deference in Dowlais? Lady Charlotte Guest and the Chartists'. Talk at the Dic Penderyn Society (Merthyr Tydfil)
Guest politics from youthful idealism to older paternalism (sic).
See also Guest, Revel and Angela John, 1989, 2007 (2 edns.) collaborative biography of Guest. John Cleal's tabletop, interpretation of the Guest/ Williams engraving of Rhiannon (Illustrations)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Johnson, Glen K. 14/04/2014. 'Cardigan Castle: a history', online.
From 1093
Glen Johnson: <<http://www.glen-johnson.co.uk/cardigan-castle-a-history/>> [Accessed 21/03/2023.
Checked 28/03/04 New link.]
<<https://cardigancastle.com/glen-johnsons-cardigan-castle/>>
III.6. Political Parallels

Johnson, Richard. 1973. 'The Blue Books and Education, 1816-1896: The Critical Reading of Official Sources', Discussion Paper, University of Birmingham
University of Birmingham, PDF: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2958/1/Johnson_SOP3_1973.pdf> Accessed 03/06/2020
II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Johnson, Samuel. 1746-73. *A Dictionary of the English Language, in which the Words are deduced from their Originals, Explained in their Different Meanings, and Authorised by the Names of the Writers in whose works they are found. To which is prefixed an English Grammar* (London: by W. Strahan, for J. and P. Knapton; T. and T. Longman; C. Hitch and L. Hawes; A. Millar; and R. and J. Dodsley)
Comparand to Pughe. 50,000 entry count is from Arthur Preuss, Arthur. 1913. 'About English Dictionaries', *Fortnightly Review*, 20, p. 245.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Johnston, Arthur. 1957. 'William Owen-Pughe and the Mabinogion', *NLWJ*, 10. 3, pp. 323-28
Useful archive research on Pughe but lacks analytic balance, centres on Southcott no other cause for hiatus. See also Carr, Jenkins, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe
--- 1964. *Enchanted Ground: The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century* (Bloomsbury)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Johnston, Dafydd. 1992. 'Welsh Literature', in *The Celtic Connection*, ed. by Price, Glanville. The Princess Grace Irish Library (Gerrard's Cross, Berks. UK: Colin Smythe), pp. 216-43.
II.6. Welsh Academy: Paradigm
--- 1994, repr. 2017. *The Literature of Wales*. Pocket Guide (University of Wales Press)
V.5. Pwyll: Fool

Johnston, Judith. 2001. 'Victorian Appropriations: Lady Charlotte Guest Translates The Mabinogion', in *Studies in Medievalism: Appropriating the Middle Ages* ed. by Shippey, Tom and Martin Arnold, *et al.* Scholarship, Politics, Fraud (D.S.Brewer), pp. 145-55.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Jones, Aled Llion. 2013. *Darogan: Prophecy, Lament and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature* (UWP)
III.2. Britain

Jones, Alun R. 2004. *Lewis Morris* (UWP)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance:: Lewis Morris

Jones, Colin and Charlotte Guest, eds. 2008, 2021. 'Mabinogion, the Four Branches of The Mabinogi (Annotated): The Ancient Celtic Epic' (Kindle)
Reading the Guest translation of the Mabinogi, with musical background.
Amazon: <colin.cymru/books> Accessed 16/01/22
II.3. Performance. II.9. 21stC

Jones, David James 'Gwenallt'. 1934. 'Adar Rhiannon', in *Poetry of Wales, 1930-70. A Selection of Poems 1930-1970 with Translations Into English* ed. by Jones, R. Gerallt (Gomer.), p. 95.
VI.6. Adar: Minstrels
--- 2001. 'Gwenallt', 'Rhiannon', poem in *Cerddi Gwenallt: y Casgliad Cyflawn* ed. by James, Christine (Llandysul). First published in *Eples* (1951). Penance theme.
Greg Hill: <<https://www.greghill.cymru/rhiannon-by-gwenallt.html>> [Accessed 28/10/2022 Checked 28/03/24. New link.]
<<https://awenydd.cymru/?s=Gwenallt+%27Rhiannon%27+>>

Jones, Edward, ed. 1802. *Mabinogi, Part the First; the Juvenile Adventures of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, in *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature; and Other Admirable Rarities; Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical, and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids*. Bardic Relicks series, vol. 2 of 3 (London, Printer St.: A. Straban for the author)
PKM1 text pp. 27–30, ending when Rhiannon and Pwyll part, PKM1 13.13. JKB 28.2.
Jones describes the text as 'faithful translation from a Welsh manuscript in the Author's collection; and a great part of the British original may also be found in the Red Book, in the archive of Jesus College, Oxford.'
Footnote p. 30. See also Griffiths, Ann.
Archive Org: <https://archive.org/stream/The_Bardic_Museum/BardicMuseum#page/n2/mode/1up>
Accessed 7/07/14
I.4. Advent

Jones, Elin M., ed. *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion V, Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn* (Cardiff, 1991).
My thanks to Alan Llwyd for the reference to 12thC poet Llywarch ap Llywelyn and 'Gascon' horses, 03/03/2024.
V.3. Hyfaidd
--- 2000. *Gwaith Llywarch Ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'*, vol. 5 of 7, in *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* series ed. by Gruffydd, R. Geraint (Cardiff, 2000)
V.7. Teyrnnon

Jones, Eric (JE Jones, original author). c. 2008 or earlier. 'Tidal River Bores', Illust., *National Oceanography Centre: Marine Data Products*, 2pp.
Author and estimated date from Lisa Eastwood, NOC, email 6/09/2021:09:14; and further enquiry 7/09/2021:09:23.
NOC: <<https://noc.ac.uk/files/documents/business/Tidal-River-Bores.pdf>> [Accessed 30/08/2021]
V. Teyrnnon

Jones, Ffion Mair. 2010. 'The Bard is a Very Singular Character' in *Iolo Morganwg, Marginalia and Print Culture*, ed. by Jones, Ffion Mair (University of Wales Press, later Kindle)
Appendix listing letters between Iolo, Pughe, Myfyr and others.
See NLW MS. 21285E, Letter 880, Iolo to Myfyr, 5/04/1806, pages of angry resentment.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Jones, Gwyn. 1954. 'The Prose Romances of Medieval Wales: From Earliest Times to 1485', in *Wales through the Ages*, 1, ed. by Roderick Arthur James (Llandybie), pp. 138–44
II.4. Welsh Renaissance: Romance

Jones, Gwyn, and Thomas Jones, eds. trans. 1948. *The Golden Cockerel Mabinogion: A New Translation from the White Book of Rhydderch and the Red Book of Hergest*. Illust. Dorothea Braby (Golden Cockerel Press)

I.4. Advent

---. 1949. *The Mabinogion*. Illust. Mair Jones. Everyman series, 97 (London: J. M. Dent)

The Everyman edition 1949 quickly rivalled Guest in popularity: they critique her sharply. Its valiant attempt at balancing accuracy and romantic pleasure by a modern reader (of that time) has ironically left it slightly dated. Illustrated in this and later editions by Mair Jones who also published a Mabinogion poster map (2006). Beautifully illust. version Alan Lee, 1982.

I.4. Advent

Jones, Heather Rose. 2003. 'Just Between Us, For God's Sake! The Case of Yrof a Duw', presented at the University of California, Celtic Studies Association of North America Conference.
Material from Jones' master's thesis. My thanks for text for her talk kindly supplied to me by email (9/01/2016)

IV.1. Voice

Jones, Ieuan Gwynedd, 1992. '1848 and 1868: 'Brad y Llyfrau Gleision and Welsh Politics,' in his *Mid-Victorian Wales: The Observers and the Observed* (CUP), pp. 103-98

II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Jones, John, 'Tegid', see Darwall-Smith, Robin, personal communications 16/01/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Jones, John, 'Tegid'. 1821. *Traethawd ar Gadwedigaeth yr Iaith Gymraeg*/ ('Essay on the Preservation of the Welsh Language') (Caerfyrddin J. Evans)

Further publications in the controversy: a reply to Roberts (1829), a Welsh tract on 'the correct spelling of Welsh' (1830), and a reply to Knight (1831). See Welsh Biography: 'Jones, John (Tegid)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Jones, Kathy. 1976. *Learning to Live in the Country* (Wildwood House)

VII.4. Temples

--- 1979. 'The Death of God', in *Glastonbury Thorn*, 1, ed. by Glastonbury Wimin's Group), pp. 14–17

Unique Publications: <<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-archive-material.html>>

[Accessed 01/11/2022]

VII.4. Temples

--- ed. *et al.* 1979, 1980. *Glastonbury Thorn*, 2 issues (Glastonbury Wimin's Group)

Jones is one of the named editors' collective, listed no. 1, p. 3.

Unique Publications: <<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-archive-material.html>>

Accessed 27/08/2022. Checked 28/03/24; new link]

<<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-thorn/>>

VII.4. Temples

Jones at Library of Avalon. 1988. First AGM (30/11/1988)

Unique Publications: <<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-community->>

VII.4. Temples

--- 1991. *The Ancient British Goddess - Her Myths, Legends and Sacred Sites* (Ariadne Publications)

VII.5. Thealogies

--- 1990. *The Goddess in Glastonbury*. Illust. Diana Griffiths, photos by Samant Bostock (Ariadne Publications, 1990; repr. updated 1996)

VII.5. Thealogies

--- 1994. *Spinning the Wheel of Ana*. Illust. (Ariadne Publications)

VII.5. Thealogies

--- 2001. *The Ancient British Goddess: Goddess Myths, Legends, Sacred Sites and Present Revelation* (Ariadne Publications)

VII.5. Thealogies

--- 2006 and Kindle. *Priestess of Avalon, Priestess of the Goddess: A Renewed Spiritual Path for the 21st Century, A Journey of Transformation within the Sacred Landscape of Glastonbury and the Isle of Avalon* (Ariadne Publications)

VII.5. Thealogies

--- Autumn/Winter 2016. '21 years of Glastonbury Goddess Conference', *Goddess Alive! Goddess Celebration and Research*, 30; archived on Goddess Pages, ed. by Geraldine Charles

Goddess Pages: <<https://goddess-pages.co.uk/galive/21-years-of-glastonbury-goddess-conference/>>

Accessed 27/08/2022

VII.5. Thealogies

--- 2017. *Soul and Shadow: Birthing MotherWorld: The Healing Journey of a Priestess of Avalon* (Ariadne Publications)

Kathy Jones describes her own Priestess journey as her Shadow wounding revealed itself in experiences of cancer, accident and voracious personal attacks on social media. She sees these sufferings as healing the wounds of this and previous lives.

Jeri Studebaker, review: <<https://goddess-pages.co.uk/review-soul-shadow-birthing-motherworld-by-kathy-jones/>>

'Our Story', Glastonbury Goddess Temple (undated).

Goddess Temple: <<https://goddess temple.co.uk/our-story/>> Accessed 26/08/2022

VII.5. Thealogies

--- and Tyna **Redpath**. 1996. 'Goddess Conference', Glastonbury (initiated 1996) Goddess Conference: <<https://goddessconference.com/about-us/>> (scroll to 'The story of the Conference') <Accessed 01.04.21>

VII.5. Thealogies

See also Goddess Temple, Glastonbury

Jones, Lis; see Hughes Jones, Lis.

Jones, Lucy. 2023. *Matrescence: On the Metamorphosis of Pregnancy, Childbirth and Motherhood* (Penguin)

VII.5. Thealogies: Mother

Jones, Margaret/ Mair. 2006. 'Poster y Mabinogion: A2 Poster of Wales Based on the Tales of the Mabinogi' (Y Lolfa)

1918 -2023. Thomas, Gwyn, and Kevin Crossley-Holland, illust. Margaret Jones. 1984. *Tales from the "Mabinogion"* (Gollancz)

Y Lolfa: <<https://www.ylolfa.com/products/1000000000159/poster-y-mabinogion>> [Accessed 30/11/2019]

'She researched the costumes thoroughly until every shoe and brooch reflected the time, and she drew her own landscape.' 22/11/2019. 'Margaret Jones and the Art of Visual Storytelling'

NLW blog: <<https://blog.library.wales/margaret-jones/>> [Accessed 22/09/2023]

III.3. Hierarchy

Jones, Mary. 2001. "Jones" Celtic Encyclopaedia A - Z'

Mary Jones: <http://www.maryjones.us/jce/jce_index.html> Accessed 29/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

--- 2001. "Jones" Celtic Literature Collective: Welsh'

Mary Jones: <<http://www.maryjones.us/ctexts/mabinogion.html#pwyll>> Accessed 29/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

--- 'Pwyll pendeuc Dyfed/Pwyll pen Annwfn' in 'Jones Celtic Encyclopedia' online

Jones Celtic Encyclopedia: <<https://www.maryjones.us/jce/pwyll.html>> Accessed 13/01/21

V.5. Pwyll: Fool

--- 'Rhiannon' in 'Jones Celtic Encyclopedia' online

Jones Celtic Encyclopedia: <<https://www.maryjones.us/jce/rhiannon.html>> Accessed 3/02/2020

V.7. Teyrnnon

Jones, Nerys Ann and Ann Parry Owen, eds. *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion III, Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II* (Cardiff, 1991).

My thanks to Alan Llwyd for the reference to 12thC poet Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr and 'Gascon' horses, 03/03/2024.

V.3. Hyfaidd

Jones, Owen. 1789. *Barddoniaeth Dafydd Ab Gwilym* (London: H. Baldwin, 1789)

Pughe's patron aka 'Owain Myfyr'.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Jones, R.M. 1981/82. 'Tri mewn llenyddiaeth', *Llên Cymru*, 14, pp. 92-110

VIII Structures

--- 1983. 'Narrative Structure in Medieval Welsh Prose Tales', *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Oxford, ed. by Evans, D. Ellis *et al* (1983), pp. 171-198.

Repr. 1996, and 2015 in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, Charles William III (NY: Garland Publications; Routledge; and Kindle), pp. 217 -262.

II.7. Coherence Paradigm: Three Accounts

Jones, Rowland. 1764. *The Origin of Languages and Nations, Hieroglyphically, Etymologically, and Topographically defined and fixed, after the Method of an English, Celtic, Greek, and Latin English Lexicon* (J. Hughes)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Jones, Russell Celyn. 2009. *The Ninth Wave*. New Stories from the Mabinogion series (Seren Books)
Fictional interpretation of PKM1. See also Lloyd Jones. 2012. *See How They Run* from PKM3.
PKM1: *The Ninth Wave* (2009). PKM2: *White Raven* (2009) PKM3: *See How They Run* (2012) PKM4: *The Meat Tree* (2010)

XI.2. Imaginary

Jones, Rhys, ed. 1773. *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* ('Magnificence of the Bards', my trans.) (Shrewsbury)
Noted Pughe *Geiriadur*/ Dictionary, p. v.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Jones, Thomas. 'The Bard', oil on canvas, 114.5 x 168.0 cm. National Museum Cardiff, accession NMW A 85; acquired 1965
National Museum and Gallery, Wales:
<https://museum.wales/art/online/?action=show_item&item=1154> Accessed 5/06/2021
II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Jones, Thomas, ed. 1952. *Brut y Tywysogion/ Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS 20 Version*, History and Law Series, IX (Cardiff: UWP)
III.6 *Rieni*
--- 1967. "The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves', *Proceedings of the British Academy* (PBA), 53, pp. 97–137
V. 2 Hyfaidd

Jones, William. 1947. *Adar Rhiannon a Cherddi Eraill* ('Rhiannon's Birds and Other Poems') (Gwasg Gee, 1947)
VIII.5. Adar

Joyce, Patrick Weston. 1893. *A Short History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608* (Longmans)
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Joynson, Lilwen Selina; Bob Proctor, et al. 2020. *Making A Difference: A Journey of Personal Development* (Independently published)
Equine Assisted Therapy.
VII. Gss

de **Jubainville, H. d'Arbois.** 1893. '*Le dieu Maponus près de Lyon*', *Études Celtiques*, 14
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Julien's Auctions. 2010. Stevie Nicks' watercolour painting "Rhiannon." Limited edition lithograph print of Numbered 268/5000. 24 X 18", Sold 6/24/2010.
Juliens: <<https://www.julienslive.com/lot-details/index/catalog/3/lot/93>>
Perf ???

Juvenalis, Decimus Junius. c. 113 –121 CE. *Satires*, VIII.
Excerpt trans. Green, *Animals in Celtic Life*, p. 60. Date of composition from Green.
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Kaminski-Jones, Rhys. 2017. 'Pughe and the Ancient British Language', Ch. 3., unpublished doctoral thesis (CAWCS, University of Wales), pp. 139–43
Situates the issue in historical context. Ch. 3., 'True Britons: Ancient British Identity in Wales and Britain, 1680–1815'. See also Tegid.
CAWCS: <<https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/StaffPages/Rhys-Kaminski-Jones.aspx>> Accessed 5/01/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 2017. "'Where Cymry United, Delighted Appear': The Society of Ancient Britons and the Celebration of St. David's Day in London, 1715–1815', *Cymm.* 23, pp. 56–68
CAWCS: <<https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/StaffPages/Rhys-Kaminski-Jones.aspx>> [Accessed 15/07/2023]

II.1 Timeline

--- 2015. 'Tavlu'r Iaith Gynmraeg yn Bendramwnwg 'Throwing the Welsh Language Head-over-heels', (my trans.)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- Oct. 2021. 'William Owen Pughe and Romantic Rewritings of the Poetry of Llywarch Hen', *Review of English Studies*
Academic OUP: <<https://academic.oup.com/res/advance-article/doi/10.1093/res/hgab039/6396289?login=true>> Accessed 25/01/2022

II. 5. Welsh Renaissance: Romance

--- Forthcoming. Rhys, current British Academy project about Pughe, 'to reassess the reputation of this lost Romantic figure'.
CAWCS: <<https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/StaffPages/Rhys-Kaminski-Jones.aspx>> Accessed 05/12/2021

II. 5. Welsh Renaissance: Romance

Kapphahn, Krista. 2015. 'Gender and Genre in Welsh Arthurian Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aberystwyth University.
ETHOS: <<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.690613>> Accessed 14/7/17
V.2 Queen

Kelly, Tony ('Heron'). 2013. 'From Rigantona to Rhiannon'
Research and devotional materials.
Rigantona net: <<http://www.rigantona.net/>> Accessed 25/11/ 2013
David James Jones ('Gwenallt'), 'Rhiannon'. <<https://rigantona.net/rhiannon/gwenallt-rhiannon-as-wales/>> Accessed 02/10/2021 See Hill, Greg.
II.9. 21stC

Kerényi, Carl and Karolyi **Kerényi**, eds. Trans. from German by Ralph Mannheim. 1967, repr. 1991. *Eleusis: archetypal image of mother and daughter*, trans. Bollingen series (USA, Princeton)
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Kieckhefer, Richard. 1989, 2014. *Magic in the Middle Ages* (CUP)
VI.1. Enchantment

King, Ursula. 1989. *Women and Spirituality: Voices of Protest and Promise* (London: Macmillan Educational)
VII.3. Gss

Kirby, R. S. 1820. *The Wonderful and scientific (eccentric) museum Or, Magazine of Remarkable Characters. Including All the Curiosities of Nature and Art, from the Remotest Period to the Present Time, Drawn from Every Authentic Source. Illustrated with One Hundred and Twenty-four Engravings. Chiefly Taken from Rare and Curious Prints Or Original Drawings*, Vol 5 of 6 (R. S. Kirby)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Kirkham, Michael. Dec. 1973. 'Robert Graves's Debt to Laura Riding', in *Focus on Robert Graves*, 3, ed. by Mason, Ellsworth (University of Colorado Library, Boulder, Colorado)

Laura Riding Jackson: <<https://lauraridingjackson.org.uk/michael-kirkham-focus-on-robert-graves/>> [Accessed 29/11/20]

Laura Riding: <https://www4.ntu.ac.uk/laura_riding/scholars/180292gp.html> [Accessed 29/11/20]

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

Kirsty. 2008. 'The Mabinogion: Story-Telling and the Oral Tradition', blog.

Surname not given.

OUP-UK Blog: <<http://blog.oup.com/2008/01/mabinogion/>> Accessed 25/11/2013

II.9. 21stC

Kline, A. S., trans. 2013. *Lucius Apuleius: The Golden Ass*. Poetry in Translation

See Gaselee for Latin text.

Poetry in Translation: <<https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/TheGoldenAssIII.php>>

[Accessed 8/12/20]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Knight, W. Bruce, (Dean of Llandaff). 1830. *Remarks Historical and Philological on the Welsh Language and A Critical Review of John Jones' Reply* (Cardiff: W. Bird, Duke St.)

See Roberts, John.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Knowles, Dom David. March 1941. 'The Humanism of the Twelfth Century', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 30, 117, pp. 43-58

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/30097919>> ;Accessed 16/08/2020]

VI.1. Enchantment

Koch, John. 1987. 'A Welsh Window on the Iron Age: Manawydan, Mandubracios', *CMCS*, 14, pp. 17-52

V.12. Manawydan

--- 1997. *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark Age Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

See review, Padel.

III.2. Britain

---, John T. 2006. 'Branwen Ferch Llyr', in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* ed. by Koch et al. (ABC-CLIO), p. 239.

--- 2006. 'Historia Regum Britanniae/ History of the Britons' in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* ed. by Koch et al. (ABC-CLIO), pp. 925-27

III.2. Britain

--- 2007. *An atlas for Celtic studies: archaeology and names in ancient Europe and early medieval Ireland, Britain, and Brittany* (Oxford and Aberystwyth)

VI.5. Bag

--- 2009. 'A case for Tartessian as a Celtic Language', *Acta Palaeohispanica* X, *Palaeohispanica*, 9, pp. 339-351

VI.5. Bag

--- 2009. *Tartessian: Celtic in the southwest at the dawn of history* (Aberystwyth).

VI.5. Bag

--- 2013. *Tartessian* (Celtic Studies Publications)

VI.5. Bag

--- 2014. 'On the Debate over the Classification of the Language of the South-Western (SW) Inscriptions, also known as Tartessian', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 42/3-4, pp. 336-427

VI.5. Bag

Kohanov, Linda. 2001 and Kindle. *The Tao of Equus: A Woman's Journey of Healing & transformation through the Way of the Horse* (New World Library)

VI.4 Horse

Krischak, Katharina. 2013. 'Despite our Speech we are not English' (Diplomarbeit, University of Vienna. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät), BetreuerIn: Huber, Werner.

University of Vienna: <ubw:1-30266.22030.882262-7> [Accessed 1/09/20]

VI.6. Adar

Kuhn, Thomas. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. International Encyclopedia of Unified Science (University of Chicago)

See Bird, Alexander. 2018. 'Thomas Kuhn', *SEP*; and Thwink.org. 2014)

II.7 Coherence Paradigm

La Fontaine, Jean. 1997. *Speak of the devil: tales of satanic abuse in contemporary England* (CUP, 1997)

VII.5. Thealogy

Lajoye, Patrice. 2014. 'Note sur une source antique méconnue concernant le culte d'Epona en Cisalpine', *Études Celtiques*, 42, pp. 59-64

Persée: <<https://doi.org/10.3406/ecelt.2016.2469>> Accessed 16/08/2022

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Lanier, Sidney, ed. 1991. *The Boy's Mabinogion; Being the Earliest Welsh Tales of King Arthur in the Famous Red Book of Hergest* (London: Sampson Low and Co)

Abridged version of Guest, *Mabinogion*.

Archive.org: <<https://archive.org/details/knightlylegendso00lani>> Accessed 16/12/2013

III.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Lapidge, Michael. 1973-4. 'The Welsh-Latin Poetry of Sulien's Family', *Studia Celtica*, 8. 9, pp. 68-106.

Appendix: Dating

Lapratt, Delores. Feb. 2011. 'The Changing Image of God: A Study of the Goddess Movement', *Journal of Religion and Culture*, 16 (Montreal, QC), pp. 93-104,
OJS. PDF download: <<https://ojs.concordia.ca/index.php/oldjrc/article/download/73/35>> Accessed 4/10/20
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Larrington, Carolyne. 1992. *The Feminist Companion to Mythology* (Pandora)
Internet Archive: <https://archive.org/details/isbn_9780044408505> [Accessed 08/11/2022]
VII.4. Gss

Law Pages: <<https://www.thelawpages.com/court-judges/>> Accessed 30/11/ 2019 Wales' region has 31 circuit judges at time of writing. See also Arden, Lady Justice.
III.3. Hierarchy

Le Guin, Ursula K. 1973. 'From Elfland to Poughkeepsie' in *The Language of the Night* (NY, Berkley), pp. 73-76
An essay on style, wording, and phrasing.
IX.2. Imaginary

Leader, Mary Bartlett. 1973. *Triad* (Hodder & Stoughton)
Fantasy novel Rhiannon as ghost witch., inspired Nicks' 'Rhiannon' international rock song. See Appendix: Nicks.
II.3. Performance

Ledge: 'Rolling Stone updates "Best 500 songs" list; Rhiannon cut from list' posted by 'GoldDustOrphan', Fleetwood Mac, blog. See Nicks, Stevie.
Ledge: <<http://ledge.fleetwoodmac.net/showthread.php?t=47481>> Accessed 29/10/2022
VII.5. Thealogy

Lee, Alan, illustrator. 1982. *The Mabinogion*, ed. by Jones and Jones.
--- illustrator. 2001. *The Mabinogion*, ed. by Guest.
I.4 Advent: #2 see

Leeming, David. 2005. 'Cornucopia'. *Oxford Companion to World Mythology* (OUP)
VI.5. Bag

Lefevere, Andre. 1991. 'Translation: Its Genealogy in the West,' in *Translation, History and Culture: a sourcebook* ed. by Bassnet, Susan and Andre Lefevere (London and NY: Pintner)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Leteux, Sylvain. 2016. 'Is hippophagy a taboo in constant evolution?' (Université de Lille)
Researchgate:
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/268383895_Is_hippophagy_a_taboo_in_constant_evolution>
[Accessed 27/06/2021]
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Lerner, Gerda. Fall 1998. 'The Meaning of Seneca Falls: 1848-1998', *Dissent*, pp. 35-41

Opinion Archives: <https://opinionarchives.com/files/dissent_womens_hist_month.pdf> [Accessed 5/04/2020]
VI.8. Feminism

Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1967. 'The Myth of Asdiwal', in *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism*, ed. by Edmund Leach (Tavistock Publications,), pp. 1–47
II. Welsh Academy

Levithan, David. 2012. *Every Day* (Knopf)
Fiction, YA. Fantasy, romance.
IX.2. Imaginary

Lewis, Bronwen. Oct. 2021. 'Rhiannon', online video
Welsh version of Stevie Nicks' 1975 song; online video, subtitles. See Appendix: Stevie Nicks.
Nation Cymru: <<https://nation.cymru/culture/watch-singers-beautiful-welsh-language-version-of-fleetwood-mac-classic/>>
Twitter video 31/10/21:
<https://twitter.com/BronwenLewis_/status/1454865379193405443?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw> Both
accessed 20/11/21
II.9. 21stC

Lewis, Ceri. 1971. 'The Literary Tradition of Morgannwg down to the middle of the Sixteenth century' in *Glamorgan County History*, 3, ed. by Pugh, T. B. (Cardiff)
II.4. Manuscripts

Lewis, Clive Staples (C. S. Lewis). 1950. *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (Geoffey Bles and The Bodley Head)
I.5. Text
--- 1955. *Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life* (Geoffey Bles)
I.5. Text
--- 1957. *The Horse and His Boy* (Macmillan)
I.5. Text
--- 20/08/1979. Lewis Family Wardrobe. Unpublished letter from Lewis' cousin Claire Lewis Clapperton, to Clyde S. Kilby.
On wardrobe from childhood, inspiration for Lewis' novels. Wardrobe is Welsh oak, handmade by Richard Lewis, C.S. Lewis's paternal grandfather, 1800s. Lewis, his brothers and cousins often played in the wardrobe, climbing into it to listen to Lewis' 'tales of adventure'.
Wheaton College, IL 60187: <[https://www.wheaton.edu/academicsLewis Family Wardrobe/academic-centers/wadecenter/plan-your-visit/museum/featured-museum-artifacts/](https://www.wheaton.edu/academicsLewis%20Family%20Wardrobe/academic-centers/wadecenter/plan-your-visit/museum/featured-museum-artifacts/)> Accessed 16/02/21
I.5. Text

Lewis, Kathleen. 1962. 'In the Steps of St. Rhian: A History of the Church and Parish of Llanrhian' (Author published)
I.3. Etymology

Lewis, Kim. 1994. *Oen Bach Rhiannon* ('Rhiannon's Little Lamb', my trans.) (Gwasg y Dref Wen)
Illustrated children's story about Emma's Dad bringing home a lost lamb.
IX.2. Imaginary

Lewis, Samuel. 1849. 'Radnor - Radnorshire', in *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London:: S. Lewis and Co., 13, Finsbury Place), pp. 331-345.

British History Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/topographical-dict/wales/pp331-345>> [Accessed 17/01/18]

Gutenberg: <<http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/1804>> [Accessed 03/10/19]

V.3. Hyfaidd

Lewis, Saunders. 1952. 'Gan Pwyll', written for the Garthewin Players (Chwaraewyr Theatr Garthewin), first staged 3/03/1952

Data from *Dramâu Saunders Lewis: Y Casgliad Cyflawn*, Part I, ed. by Williams, Ioan M. (University of Wales Press), p. 423.

II.3. Performance.

--- 1967. 'Pwyll Pen Annwfn', *Llên Cymru*, 9, pp. 230–33

--- 1970. 'Branwen', *Ysgrifau beirniadol*, 5, pp. 30–43.

--- 1975. *Dramâu'r Parlwr* (Llandybïe: Christopher Davies)

II.3. Performance

Li, Victor Paw Hoon. 1975. 'The inward continuities : aesthetics, crisis and The anathemata of David Jones' (unpublished master's thesis University of British Columbia)

Open Library: <<https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0093478>>

[Accessed 2014]

VI.5. Bag

Lhuyd, Edward. 1707. *Archaeologia Britannica Giving Some Account Additional to what Has Been Hitherto Publish'd, of the Languages, histories and customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain*, 1 (Oxford: the Theater for the author)

Account of the Mabinogi, p. 262. *Archaeologia* was intended to be the first in a series.

Archive org (PDF) <<https://archive.org/details/archaeologiabrit00lhuy/page/n4/mode/2up>> Accessed 2/01/2018

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Lienhardt, Godfrey. 1993. 'Frazer's anthropology: science and sensibility', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 24, 1, pp. 1–12

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Lincoln, Polly A. 1999. 'Evangeline Walton's fictionalization of the "Mabinogion": The demise of the Goddess' (unpublished master's thesis Florida Atlantic University) Adviser: Robert Collins.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

van der **Linden**, Renske. 2007. 'Pwyll prince of Dyfed: Legal elements', in 'The Laws of Hywel Dda in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis University of Utrecht)

Utrecht University Repository: <<https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/25035>> Accessed 16/12/13

III.6. Land Law Women (LLW)

Linduff, Katheryn M. 1979. 'Epona: a Celt among the Romans', *Latomus*, 38, pp. 817–37

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Littledale, R. F. 1870. 'The Oxford Solar Myth: A Contribution to Comparative Mythology' *Kottabos* magazine, 5, repr. 1906 in *Echoes from Kottabos* ed. by Tyrrell, R. Y. and Edward Sullivan (Grant Richards)

II.6 Welsh Academy: Rhŷs

Ll: see after L– listings (Welsh alphabetical)

Löffler, Marion, and Adam **Coward**. (2014-2016)'. 'Knowledge Transfer and Social Networks: European Learning and the Revolution in Welsh Victorian Scholarship' (CAWCS, University of Wales)

How European knowledge was transferred to Merthyr Tydfil in the 1840s and 1850s, especially the effect of local elite patronage and the role of the lower middle class in the process of modernizing Wales and its learning. Ref. especially Thomas Stephens. Coward has published some of the results and Löffler is also preparing a monograph.

Coward, Adam N. 2020. *The Correspondence of Thomas Stephens. Revolutionising Welsh Scholarship in the Mid-Nineteenth Century through Knowledge Exchange* (Aberystwyth)

CAWCS:

<<https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/ResearchProjects/CompletedProjects/Knowledge-Transfer-and-Social-Networks/IntroductiontotheProject.aspx>> [Accessed 15/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens

London Matriarchy Study Group (LMSG). 1977. 'Goddess', *Shrew* magazine, an occasional themed publication (London Women's Liberation Workshop)

Asphodel Long: <<http://www.asphodel-long.com/html/msg/shrew.pdf>> Accessed 5/10/20

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Long, Asphodel. 1992. *In a Chariot Drawn by Lions: The Search for the Female in Deity* (Women's Press)

See Cohen, Daniel; and London Matriarchy Study Group.

Asphodel Long: <<http://www.asphodel-long.com/>> Accessed 5/10/20

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- July 1996. 'The One or the Many - the Great Goddess Revisited', Britain and Ireland School of Feminist Theology Annual conference. (Dublin)

First published Daniel Cohen, ed. 1996. *Wood and Water*, 53.

Expanded version: May 1997. *Feminist Theology*, pp. 13-29.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Loomis, Laura Hibbert. 1958. 'Gawain and the Green Knight', in (ALMA) *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History* ed. by Loomis, Roger Sherman (Clarendon Press), pp. 528–36

V.2 Queen

Loomis, Roger Sherman. Aug. 1945. The Combat at the Ford in the "Didot Perceval", *Modern Philology*, 43, 1, pp. 63–71

Walton attributes identifying the nameless Annwfn queen as Modron to this source.

Modern Philology: <<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/388668?journalCode=mp>> Accessed 13/05/2023

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1956. *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (University of Wales Press)
V.2 Queen

Lopez, Robert Sabatino. Jan. 1945. 'Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire', *Speculum*, 20, 1, pp. 1-42
I.4. Advent #7 Silk

Lord, Albert, *The Singer of Tales* (Harvard Press, 1960).
Reviewed by Davies, Sioned, *Four Branches*, pp. 32-33. See also Parry and Parry (1971)
II.2. Storyteller's Craft

Lovecy, Ian Charles. 1977. 'The Celtic Sovereignty Theme and the Structure of' Peredur', *Studia Celtica*, 12-13, 78, pp. 133-46
VII.3. 20thC Goddess
--- 1981. 'Exploding the Myth of the Celtic Myth: A New Appraisal of the Celtic Background of Arthurian Romance', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 7, pp. 3-18
V.5. Pwyll: Gorsedd Warning

Lucian of Samosata. c. 125-180. *Dialogues of the Courtesans* and *Dialogi* (British Library: Greek Manuscripts, Earliest manuscript of Lucian)
British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-earliest-manuscript-of-lucian>> Accessed 01/09/2020. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected]
VII. Goddess Myths

LUFT

Luft, Diana; Peter Wynn Thomas, and Mark D. Smith. 2007-13. 'Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425', 'Welsh Prose 1350 -1425' (Cardiff University)
NLW MS. Peniarth 4: <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-home.php?ms=Pen4>> [Accessed 02/10/2021]

Oxford Jesus College MS. 111: <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111>> [Accessed 02/10/2021]
II.9. 21stC

--- 2007. 'NLW MS. Peniarth 4: Y Gainc Gyntaf (First Branch)', Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425, Welsh Prose 1300 -1425

Welsh Prose 1300 -1425: <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen4&page=1r>> [Accessed 22/09/ 2018]

I.4 Advent

Luft, Diana. 2010. 'From Fantasy to tale Fact: The Eighteenth-Century Recovery of the Mabinogi', *UCLA Celtic Colloquium*

II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

--- 2011. 'The Meaning of "Mabinogi"', *CMCS*, LXII, pp. 57-80
Introduction

--- 2012. 'Lewis Morris and the Mabinogion', *Electronic British Library Journal*

Quarto 79' in Sir Thomas Mostyn's 1744 catalogue: a quarto paper MS. bound in vellum, numbered 79, containing the texts Peredur, Bown de Hamtwn, and the Mabinogi. Luft, 'Morris', p. 2.

British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/ebli/2012articles/article3.html>> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected.]

II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

---- 8/7/2017. 'The Eighteenth-Century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion', presented at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)
Presentation script 19pp. (close to publication level) kindly supplied by author 12/07/2017.

II.3. Performance

--- 2019. 'Commemorating the Past After 1066: Tales from The Mabinogion', Ch. 4, in *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. by Evans, Geraint (Swansea); and Helen Fulton (Bristol), (CUP), pp. 73–92

II.5 Welsh Renaissance

Luhrmann, Tanya. 1991. *Persuasions of the Witches Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England* (Harvard, 1991); based on her doctoral thesis Cambridge University, Social Anthropology (1986), the first academic thesis on the modern Craft.

VII.3 Gss

Lupton, Hugh. 2018. *The Assembly of the Severed Head: A Novel of the Mabinogi* (Propolis) Novel, the Mabinogi Cyfarwydd as a dying monk. Author is leading English storyteller.

II.3. Performance

Lux Madriana. 1982. *The book of Rhiannë: the definitive introduction to matriarchy and the feminine tradition* (An Drothead Beo, Burtonport, County Donegal, Eire), 31 pp. handprinted production

With thanks for access to the Museum of Witchcraft and Magic, Boscastle, Cornwall. See also MoChridhe, Race; Gilmour, Helen; Filianism.

Madrian Deanic: <<https://madriandeanicresources.wordpress.com/schism-of-ordo-lux-madriana-1983/>> Accessed 4/10/20

Filianism: <<https://www.maddiviner.com/post/118882849593/what-is-filianism-a-look-at-the-faith>> Accessed 4/10/20

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Lynghaug, Fran. 2009. *The Official Horse Breeds Standards Guide: The Complete Guide to the Standards of All North American Equine Breed Associations* (Voyageur Press)

I.4 Advent #5 Horse

Llewellyn, Carole. 2010. *Rhiannon*. The Welsh Valley Sagas, 1 (Joffe Books and Kindle) Fiction, YA Historical novel, Welsh valleys 1901, strong protective heroine. No PKM Rhiannon.

IX.2. Imaginary

Lloyd, Elizabeth J. (Miss E. J. Lloyd). 1911. 'The Mabinogion as Literature', I, *The Celtic Review*, 7, 26, pp. 164–74

II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

--- Oct. 1911. 'The Mabinogion as Literature, Continued', II, *The Celtic Review*, 7. 27, pp. 220–48

II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

--- 1913. 'The history of the Eisteddfod' (unpublished master's thesis University of Wales, Bangor) Available at NLW South ARCHIFAU / ARCHIVES (1913/16)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

Lloyd, John Edward. 1911. *A History of Wales:: from the earliest times to the Edwardian conquest*, in 2 vols. (London, Longmans, Green)

II.6. Academia: Gruffydd

---, and R. T. **Jenkins**, eds. 1959. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (University of Wales Press)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

--- 2004 revised. Glenda Carr, 'Pughe, William Owen pseud. Idrison (1759–1835)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Detailed, with good bibliography.

ODNP online: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22867>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Lloyd, Margaret. 2017. *Travelling on My Own Errands - Voices of Women from the Mabinogi* (Llanrwst, Conwy: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch)

Poetry collection; lead poem 'Rhiannon', pp. 1-27.

Gwales: <<http://www.gwales.com/bibliographic/?isbn=9781845275921&tsid=9>> Accessed 20/04/2017.

Live reading at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff 8/07/2017)

II.3. Performance

Lloyd, D. Myrddin. 1974. 'Gwareiddiad Cymru yn yr Oesau Canol' ('Welsh Civilisation in the Middle Ages', my trans.), in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. by Bowen, Geraint (Gomer Press), pp. 13–45

III.4 Equine

Lloyd-Morgan, Ceridwen. 1988. 'Triadic Structures in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Shadow: the Traditional Cosmology Society* (now 'Cosmos'), 5, Part I (1988), pp. 3–11

VIII Structures

--- 2004. 'Medieval Welsh Tales or Romances? Problems of Genre and Terminology', *CMCS*, 47, pp. 41-58

I.7. Lady of Prose

--- 2009. 'Migrating Narratives: Peredur, Owain, and Geraint', Ch. 9 in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. by Fulton, Helen (Blackwell), pp. 128–41

II.4. Manuscripts

Llwyd, Alan, (then Alan Lloyd Roberts). 1971. '*Y March Hud*' ('The Magic Horse'), in *Y March Hud* (Caernarfon), pp. 9-13

The title poem to his first published poem, a retelling of the original, but it is written in *vers libre* with *cynghanedd* (the strict-meter system). In the poem, Pwyll is unable to catch up with Rhiannon on his horse, no matter how fast his horse gallops in pursuit of her, but the moment he asks her to stop, she stops, and Pwyll is then able to come face to face with her. Pwyll has used words to stop Rhiannon. Only through words can inspiration be caught. It ends 'And so it was that Pwyll/ was able to halt her/ and capture her magic/ despite her swift pace/ on her enchanted horse.' Copy of poem, notes, kindly supplied by the author (22/05/2023).

VII.5. Theologies: Muse.

Cf. Davies, Bryan Martin. 2003. '*Rhiannon y Gerdd*' ('Rhiannon of the Poem') similar theme.

--- 2010. *Crefft y Gynghanedd* (Cyhoeddiadau Barddas)

See Hopwood (2016)

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch text, see 'White Book'.

Mac Cana, Proinsias. 1955; 1955-56. 'Aspects of the Theme of King and Goddess in Irish Literature', *Études Celtiques*, 7, 1, pp. 76–114, and pp. 356–413; *ibid.* 8 (1958-59), pp. 59–65
V.5 Pwyll: Sovereignty

--- 1958. *Branwen Daughter of Llyr: A Study of the Irish Affinities and the Composition of the Second Branch of the Mabinogion* (UWP)

I am indebted to Alan Llwyd's assistance to access this material (26 Nov. 2020).

VI.6 Adar

--- 1977. *The Mabinogi*, 'Writers of Wales' series (University of Wales Press)

Introduction

--- 1980. *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: DIAS)

II.6. Academia: Gruffydd

--- 1983. *Celtic Mythology* (Newnes)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 2011. *The Cult of the Sacred Centre. Essays on Celtic ideology* (Dublin: DIAS)

Cited by Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses'

VII.1. Goddess Myths

MacCormack, Jennifer. c. 2005 –2012. 'Mabinogi Study'.

Discussion forum online and information pages created by students at Aberystwyth University. Useful information, attractively designed with illustrations, and lively discussions. Discontinued site.

Mabinogi Study: <<http://www.mabinogistudy.co.uk/resources.html>> Last visited 2012

II.9. 21stC

MacCulloch, John Arnott. 1911. *The Religion of the Ancient Cells* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark)

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhŷs

MacDiarmid, Hugh. Sept.-Oct. 1961. 'When the birds come back to Rhiannon', *Agenda*, 2, 5 (Poets and Painters Press), pp. 3–6

Scots poet.

IX.2. Imaginary

Mackay, Finn. 2013. 'The march of reclaim the night : feminist activism in movement', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol)

ETHOS: <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.627950>> Accessed 14/03/21

V.11 Cigfa

Maclise, Daniel. 1822. 'Portrait of W. Owen Pughe D.C.L., F.A.S', watercolour, when Pughe was awarded the honorary Oxford degree DCL. (NLW 4671832)

NLW Portrait Collection. <<https://www.llgc.org.uk/en/discover/digital-gallery/pictures/portraits/artists-photographers/artists/>> Accessed 13/03/20

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

MacNeill, E. ed. trans. 1908. *Duanaire Finn,; The Book of the Lays of Fionn*. Irish Texts Society, 7 (Dublin)

VI.5. Bag

Madoc Books. 2021. Guest, *The Mabinogion*.

Sale offer £2,000.00. Online listing with much detail, a few errors: gives it as English translation; and 'the fall of Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, 1843', omits Pwyll from Part VI (1847). Emails 20/12/21.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

'Madrian Deanic Resources', quotes collection, video of the Burtonport community.

See Lux Madriana.

<<https://madriandeanicresources.wordpress.com/schism-of-ordo-lux-madriana-1983/>> Accessed
4/10/20

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Maestroni, Georges. M. 1993. 'The immunoneuroendocrine role of melatonin', *Journal of Pineal Research*, pp. 1–10

V.7. Teyrnnon

Magnus, Sir Philip. 1/12/1924. 'Letter to the Sunday Times', cited by Toorians, 'No Badger', pp. 204-05

V.4. Gwawl.

Maier, Bernhard. 1998. 'O'r Bedyd a Wneit Yna: Die Darstellung Der Heidnischen Vergangenheit in Den "Vier Zweigen Des Mabinogi"' (The Representation of the Pagan Past in the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi'), *Mediaevistik*, 11, pp. 61–69

My thanks for summary by kindly email Bernhard Maier (02/03/2021).

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

--- 2001. 'Maponos und Telipinu: zu einer Theorie W. J. Gruffydds.', in *150 Jahre "Mabinogion" Deutsche-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen*, ed. by Maier, Bernhard and Stefan Zimmer. (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer), pp. 79–90

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Maille, see 0 Maille.

Majumdar, Keya. July– Aug. 2006. 'Appropriating the 'Other': Some Challenges of Translation and its Theories', *Indian Literature*, 50, 4, pp. 163-170

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23346445>> Accessed 09/12/2021

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Malcovati, Leonardo. 2006. *Prosody in England and Elsewhere: A Comparative Approach* (Gival Press LLC) cited by Trobar.

Re Jaufre Rudel. Online sound file with melody, Arnaut & Karkur.

Trobar: <www.trobar.org/troubadours/jaufre_rudel/jaufre_rudel_01.php> [Accessed 8/06/2021]

VI.2. Trance

Mallabar, Sarah. 2023. 'Rhiannon', short film, Welsh and English, runtime 5 mins. Cert. 15, 4K and 6K BM. Tinopolis Studios, Llanelli (Rhiannon Short Film Ltd.)

Rachel Hopkins and Sarah Mallabar, producers. Ross O'Hennessey, exec. producer. Oliver Biggs, cinematography. Shaun Moseley, sound. Rhiannon – Bethan Rose Young, Pwyll – Rhys Downing. Hefeydd

Hen – Boyd Clack; Midwife – Kirsten Jones; Matron – Rowan Alexandria; Gwawl – Wyn Hopkins. Marion Fenner, narration. Crowdfunded.

IMDB: <<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt15195880/>>

Wyn Hopkins, Sarah Mallabar: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nU7eY1tKR70>>

Greenlit: <<https://greenlit.com/project/rhiannon>> Accessed 23/02/2023

IX.2. Imaginary

Mallory, James P. and Douglas Q. **Adams**, eds, 1997. (EIEC), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (London & Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers)

I.3. Etymology

Manning, H. Paul. April 2004. 'The geology of railway embankments: Celticity, Liberalism, the Oxford Welsh reforms, and the word order(s) of Welsh', *Language & Communication*, 24, 2, pp. 135–163

The Oxford group exaggerates Pughe's reforms, so their work can be presented as repairs.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Mantin, Ruth. 2001. *Theologies in Process: the Role of Goddess-Talk in Contemporary Feminist Spirituality* (University of Southampton)

The original doctoral thesis text dated the same year is available online as a PDF

University of Southampton: <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/464792/1/874683_v.1.pdf> Accessed 20/01/2023

VII.2. Gss

MANUSCRIPTS For artworks see under NLW

Due to disability MSS. sources have not been directly consulted in person; these entries are from libraries' catalogues, or cited by reputable scholars as credited in footnotes..

Add. MS. 14924, f. 29v. Luft, 'Morris', p. 3, n. 19.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Add MS 15732: British Library digitised. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

British Library: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_15732> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected.]

???

BL, Add. MS. 14924. Luft, 'Morris', pp. 1–2.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Brith Gof Archive. NLW Fonds GB BRIGOF [1974] – [2007] / [Sub-fonds] P.

Site specific and theatre production and projects [1974] –[2000]. [File] PA/4. - Rhiannon text, Gaeafdaith: texts and scenarios. A handwritten copy of the production text also including notes regarding the production structure and imagery and copies of poems. Also PA/1 and PA/2. Branwen materials; PB. Manawydan.

NLW Archives: <<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/site-specific-and-theatre-productions-and-projects>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

II.3. Performance

Cardiff MS 2.81. Llyfr Aneirin/The Book of Aneirin, Cardiff MS 2.81.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/book-of-aneirin#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-96%2C-1085%2C4446%2C5000>> Accessed 31/01/2022

III.2. Britain

Cardiff MS. 4.22. William Thomas (1685-1764).

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Dingestow 11. Tegid/ Bosanquet/ Guest Y Mabinogion, &c 1815-17 see NLW: MS 5271B

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Dingestow 15. Title: ' Poems, letters, &c'. Tegid/ Bosanquet see NLW MS 5275E

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Geoffrey of Monmouth see Add. MS. 14924.

Geoffrey of Monmouth see Peniarth MS 23C.

Guest journals. see NLW GB 0210 GUEST

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Iolo Morganwg see # NLW 21285E

Llanstephan 90, 91, 93, 126, NLW.

I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch see Peniarth 5.

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch copy see NLW 3043.

Llyfr Coch Hergest see Oxford

MABINOGI: see Mostyn. Quarto 79; NLW 3043 (?); NLW 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp.; NLW MS 13243B Mabinogion 1801-1815 232 pp. (Pughe); NLW MS 13244B. 'Peredur', translation, 1800 (Pughe); Peniarth 6; Peniarth 5;

Morris see Add. MS. 14924

Morris see BL, Add. MS. 14924.

Mostyn. Quarto 79 in Sir Thomas Mostyn's 1744 catalogue: a quarto paper MS. bound in vellum, numbered 79, containing the texts Peredur, Bown de Hamtwn, and the Mabinogi. Luft, 'Morris', p. 2.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Mysevin 5 see NLW MS 13225C. (Pughe)

Mysevin 22 see NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp.

Mysevin 23 see NLW MS 13243B. Mabinogion 1801-1815 232 pp. (Pughe)

Mysevin 24 see NLW MS 13244B. 'Peredur', translation, 1800.

Mysevin 28. see series NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811- 13/04/1835), 736pp. (Pughe's diary).

Mysevin 29, I-II see NLW MS 13249B I-II. File (1818-1819) (Pughe 'Coll Gwynfa')

NLW 1321E, p. 597. Southcott 1/06/1803: 'Myhevin 1 1803 eis i * 30 i weled Joanna Southcot sic Mr Sharp Mr Foley', marking his misspelling of her name as suggesting it is new to him.

NLW Fonds GB 0210 DRHYSIPS - D. Rhys Phillips Papers

II.3. Performance

NLW GB 0210. Guest journals. GUEST - Lady Charlotte Guest Manuscripts. MSS III, VI–XXXI.

NLW MS 3838, Pughe, final letter. 24/05/ 1834. Pughe, Denbigh, to Arthur Johnes. Flattered by Mr. Johnes's intention of dedicating his translation of Dafydd ap Gwilym to writer. Mr. Johnes was welcome to make any use he desired of the prefatory material in his own edition of the poet's work. 'I have—I break off, dear friend, finding myself unable to proceed with the necessary application as a few minutes of either reading or writing causes me much fatigue about the back and loins ... I suffer no pain, except feeling the fatigue ... Farewell! Wm OWEN PUGHE.' Written on the back 'I live by agitation: came from Lond. last May home, 24om. by Mail. No stops: not tired: 10 hours even in bed kills me. Much less 23.'

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/letter-from-william-owen-pughe-denbigh>>

Accessed 17/10/17

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/letter-from-william-owen-pughe-denbigh>>

Accessed 17/10/17

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MSS. 1826–31. Pughe, Mabinogi sketches, 9 untitled (1826)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 1884B. Pughe, 1819-1821 to Tegid. Copies of letters 19thC from William Owen - Pughe to John Jones (Tegid). Eng/ Welsh. Crosswood Mss.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/copies-of-letters-5>> Accessed Jan 2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 4503E - Rhuddlan Eisteddfod. Thomas Stephens

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 5271B - Y Mabinogion, &c 1815-17 aka Dingestow 11. Tegid/ Bosanquet/ Guest. Containing C 'Pedeir Ceinc y Mabinogi', 'Chwedlau y Saith Doeth', 'Breuddwyd Ronabwy', 'Iarlles y Ffynnawn', 'Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys', 'Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig', 'Ystori Geraint ab Erbin', 'Ystori Culwch ac Olwen', and 'Cedgymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/y-mabinogion-c>> Accessed Jan. 2020

'I checked the original manuscript and on the back of page 2 the following is written: "Copied from the Llyvyr Coch o Hergest at Jesus College Oxford by Mr Jones. March 1815", and on page 96, this being the title page, (Chwedleu y Saith Doeth allan o'r Llyvyr Coch Hergest. Gan John Jones. Rhydychain), is dated 1817.' My enquiry 22/01/2020 on dating evidence for NLW MS 5271B. Question #15189481; reply Caronwen Samuel, Uwch Gynorthwy-ydd Mynediad/ Senior Access Assistant, (6/02/2020).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 5275E RESTRICTED ACCESS. Formerly Dingestow MS 15. Title: ' Poems, letters, &c'. Tegid/ Bosanquet Two letters John Jones ('Tegid') to Bosanquet mentioning Llyfr Coch, one possibly dated 1817; and three letters from Pughe 1821.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/poems-letters-c>> Accessed Jan. 2020

My query 17/01/2020 Question #15178527, Reply Caronwen Samuel, Senior Access Assistant (24/01/2020). Another folder's letters Pughe to Tegid 1819-1821. NLW MS 1884B - Copies of letters 19thC from William Owen -Pughe to John Jones (Tegid). Eng/ Welsh. Crosswood MSS.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/copies-of-letters-5>> [Accessed Jan 2020]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 5275E RESTRICTED ACCESS. Formerly Dingestow MS 15. Title: ' Poems, letters, &c'. Two letters John Jones ('Tegid') to Bosanquet mentioning Llyfr Coch, one possibly dated 1817; and three letters from Pughe though these are 1821.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/poems-letters-c>> Accessed Jan. 2020 Detail re Tegid's two letters my query 17/01/2020 Question #15178527, Reply Caronwen Samuel, Senior Access Assistant (24/01/2020).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 13059E. Marwnad William Owen Pughe, MEMORIAM POEM (1836) 'Galarnad ar farwolaeth W. O. Pughe, Yswn, D.C.L., F.A.S'; elegy (206 lines) on the death of William Owen Pughe by 'Ywain Cyfeiliog'. II.5. Welsh Renaissance The same year a memorial was erected at Cae Athro: photo MS. GB 0210 WILGOL William Owen, Prysgol, Papers

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/marwnad-william-owen-pughe>>

Accessed 17/10/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13225C. Pughe, Misc. poetry and prose (1779–1835). Formerly Mysevin 5.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/miscellaneous-poetry-and-prose>> Accessed 28/04/2018

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp. Formerly Mysevin 22. SKETCHES by William Owen Pughe. Scenes from the entire first Branch, evidently intended as illustrations, (1 in pencil, 8 pen & wash), pp. 45- 53. Transcripts and English translations by William Owen Pughe. Most of the transcripts appear to have been made between 1826 and 1831, the complete work prepared for the press in 1834 but never published. Mabinogi, Culhwch, Iarlles y Ffynnon', 'Breuddwyd Macsen', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy, Lludd, also Trioedd, poetry discussion. Incl. Mabinogi 9 SKETCHES see n. Handlist Vol. IV. 'Mabinogion' and other medieval prose texts divided in three groups. (a) 'Math ab Mathonwy' (1805); (b) In three series, I 'Pwyll' (two copies, one incomplete), 'Bran the Blessed' (= 'Branwen ferch Llyr'), 'Manawydan', 'Math', II 'Culhwch' (see also NLW MS 13232E, item 26), 'Peredur', 'Geraint fab Erbin', III 'Iarlles y Ffynnon', 'Breuddwyd Macsen', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', 'Lludd a Llefelys'; (c) 'Lludd a Llefelys', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', 'Saith Doethion Rhufain', an introduction to the prose texts, 'Trioedd', Welsh poetry between 540 A.D. and 1600. A note (p. 124) suggests that the transcript was made from 'Llyfr Coch Hergest'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogion-etc>> Accessed 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13243B. Mabinogion 1801-1815 232 pp. Formerly Mysevin 23. Almost all Four Branches material. MS. volume 'MABINOI GWYLL' gold lettering on spine. Written throughout by William Owen -Pughe. Transcripts, probably from 'Llyfr Coch Hergest', and English translations: 'Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed' (pp. 11-79), 'Branwen ferch Llyr' (pp. 80-1153) also synopsis (pp. 227-8), synopsis 'Manawydan fab Llyr' (pp. 154-217), 'Math fab Mathonwy' beginning only (pp. 218-23) Also Math

#NLW MS 13242B, Cf. Handlist Vol. IV.
NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogion-3>> Accessed 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13244B. 'Peredur', translation, 1800 MS. volume, formerly Mysevin Ms. 24. (original foliation 1-117) 240 pp. Bound in half leather with marbled paper sides. p. 235: 'Finished Dec. 31 1800, 9 o'clock at night - 3 hours before end of the 18th. century - Wm. Owen'. Written front fly-leaf medical recipe for 'Sore throat ulcerated' ... the name 'W. Owen No. 40 Penton Street, Pentonville'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/peredur>> 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13245B. Pughe 'Mabinogi Geraint', MS. volume, 1802x1830 1802 112 pp.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogi-geraint>> Accessed 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811-13/04/1835), 736pp. Formerly Mysevin 28. Pughe, William Owen, 'Dyddgoviant/ 'Diary', 2 vols. 'Dyddgoviant/ Diary William Owen Pughe'. Domestic news, weather, Southcott's final days, and her death (pp. 103-108), development of her sect over succeeding years. Frequent reference by Pughe to his extremely laboured translation of Milton's Coll Gwynfa/ Paradise Lost, (1819), dismissed by Iolo Morganwg as 'Milton lost! Diary written in a very small neat hand, in the eccentric orthography devised by Pughe himself; (e.g. Welsh letter 'ch' is represented by 'ç,' and 'f' by 'v').

NLW Gallery (to view facsimile): <www.llgc.org.uk/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/modern-period/dyddgoviant-william-owen-pughe/> Accessed 10/03/2017

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dyddgoviant-william-owen-pughe>>
Accessed 10/03/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13249B I-II. File (1818-1819) 'Coll Gwynfa', formerly Mysevin MS 29, I-II. Two holograph copies of a Welsh translation by William Owen-Pughe of Milton's 'Paradise Lost'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/coll-gwynfa>> Accessed 17/10/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MSS #13255A (1810-11); #13257B (1801-15); #13261B (1801-35); #13258B (1802-35); #13259B (1802-35); #13262B (1802-35); #13260B (1803-35, 1927); #13256B

(1810–20). Pughe Mabinogion transcripts.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogion-etc>> Accessed 15/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW. MS. 13263. Letter E. Protheroe of Hemel-Hempstead to Owen, 24 July 1825. Owen offered a work to publisher Murray, who declined it 'for pecuniary reasons alone'. Johnston, 'Pughe Mabinogion', p. 327.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS. 21285E, Letter 880, Iolo to Myfyr, 5/04/1806, pages of angry resentment. II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 3043: Roger Morris of Coed-y-Talwrn, Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch copy. (Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 4.)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW 4671832. Maclise, Daniel, 'Portrait of W. Owen Pughe D.C.L., F.A.S', watercolour, when Pughe awarded the honorary Oxford degree DCL (1822).

NLW: MS. GB 0210 WILGOL William Owen, Prysgol, Papers. Pughe memorial statue erected at Cae Athro (1913). Photo

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/william-owen-prysgol-papers-2>> Accessed 17/10/2017

Cf. Pierce. 1914. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe* (Caernarfon: Swyddfa Cymru)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS GB 0210 DOLYCAE Dôl y Cae (Tal-y-Llyn) Deeds and documents (1598-1856) the Pughe estate, including a lease from William Owen Pughe and his brother Richard to his son Aneurin Owen Pughe (1816)

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dol-y-cae-tal-y-llyn-deeds-2>> Accessed 17/10/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Oxford Jesus College MS. 111 (Llyfr Coch Hergest)

<<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111>> [Accessed 02/10/2021]

II.4. Manuscripts

Peniarth 5 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch)

Also Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch copy see NLW 3043.

???

Peniarth 6 see listing Isaacs

Peniarth MS 23C, Geoffrey of Monmouth, 'History of the Kings', Brut y Brenhinedd, translated into Welsh. NLW digitised, 'one of only a handful of medieval Welsh manuscripts to have been illustrated'.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/history-of-the-kings#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-226%2C-1%2C3547%2C3990>> [Accessed 08/12/2021]

NLW, 'The White Book of Rhydderch: Peniarth 4' (Online 2004). NLW digitisation

14/05/19. NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch/>> Accessed 17/12/2016

I.4. Advent

Pughe Diary see NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811- 13/04/1835), 736pp one entry

Pughe estate see GB 0210 DOLYCAE

Pughe, 1819-1821 to Tegid see NLW MS 1884B

Pughe, Mabinogi sketches, 9, untitled (1826), see NLW MS 13242B, **NLW 1826-31**. II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Pughe. 'Paradise Lost'. see NLW MS 13249B I-II.
 # **Pughe**, rejection of book project. NLW. MS. 13263.
 # **Pughe, final letter**, see NLW: MS 3838
 # **Pughe memoriam** see NLW: MS 13059E.
 # **Pughe memorial statue (1913) photo**. See NLW: MS. GB 0210 WILGOL
 # **Pughe portraits**: see Hodgetts; Maclise; NLW Original Drawing Volumes
 # **Stephens**, Thomas, see NLW MS 4503E
 # **Tegid/ Bosanquet/ Guest**, see NLW: MS 5271B - Y Mabinogion, &c 1815-17 aka Dingestow 11. Containing 'Pedeir Ceinc y Mabinogi', and more.
 # **Tegid/ Bosanquet** see NLW MS 5275E Two letters John Jones ('Tegid') to Bosanquet mentioning Llyfr Coch, one possibly dated 1817; three letters from Pughe 1821
 II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Maphill: 'Physical Map of Wales'. <maphill.com> [Accessed 30/12/19]
 III.2. Britain

Marcovich, Miroslav. 1996. 'From Ishtar to Aphrodite', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 30, pp. 43-59
 VII.1. Goddess Myths

Marlow, A.N. Aug. 1967. 'Cities of the Indus, Part I', *History Today*, 17, 8, online
 VII.1. Goddess Myths
 --- Sept. 1967. 'Cities of the Indus, Part I', *History Today*, Vol. 17, 8, online
 VII.1. Goddess Myths

Maslow, Abram H. 1943. 'A theory of human motivation', *Psychological Review*, 50, 4, pp. 370-396
 V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Matriarchy Research & Reclaim Network (MRRN). Newsletter, monthly 1970s-90s.
 VII.3 20thC Goddess
 --- . 1975. 'Goddess' themed *Shrew*, an occasional feminist magazine produced by the WLW (Women's Liberation Workshop), London.
 VII.3 20thC Goddess

Matthiessen, Rowan. 16/06/2016. 'Narberth's Mabinogion Carnival Queen Rhiannon!' (Narberth, Pems.) The competition is judged on 'strength, creativity, passion and determination... not forgetting the willingness to have a go. This is definitely not a beauty pageant!' Tenby Observer, 'Tenby Today'
 Tenby Today: <<http://www.tenby-today.co.uk/article.cfm?id=105171&headline=Join%20the%20search%20for%20Narberth%E2%80%99s%20Mabinogion%20Carnival%20Queen%20Rhiannon!&sectionIs=news&searchyear=2016>> [Accessed 28/11/2016]
 See also Matthiessen's poster Ch. IX.1. Gallery, and displayed end of Ch. II.3. Performance.
 II.3. Performance

May, John. 1994. *A Chronicle of Welsh Events* (Christopher Davies)
 II.1. Timeline

Maybee, J. E. 2016, rev. 2020. 'Hegel's Dialectics', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
SEP: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hegel-dialectics/>>
Also Wikipedia: Dialectic <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialectic#Medieval_philosophy> Both accessed
23/07/2021.
IX. Structures

Maud, Kari. 2007. *Princess Nest of Wales: Seductress of the English* (The History Press)
V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice

McCoid, Catherine Hodge, and Leroy D. **McDermott**. Jun. 1996. 'Toward Decolonizing Gender:
Female Vision in the Upper Paleolithic', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 98, 2, pp. 319-326
Available JSTOR or see summary with explanatory images
QZ: <<https://qz.com/quartz/1399713/a-different-view-of-gender-in-prehistoric-society-and-art/>>
Accessed 5/11/20
VII.1. Goddess Myths

McCrickard, Janet, as **Grian**, Sinead Sula. 1985. *Brighde, Goddess of Fire* (Brighde's Fire) Booklet in
the author's custom designed, script; hand scribed as a devotional exercise. (Personal
conversation, 1985, Janet McCrickard).
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)
McCrickard, Janet. 1987. *Brighde: Her History, Folklore and Mythology* (Fieldfare Arts & Design),
'Brigid, Goddess and Saint: Places in Wales'
See also Brigid's Forge: <<https://brigid.org.uk/wales.html>> Accessed 5/10/20
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

McKenna, Catherine. 1980. 'The Theme of Sovereignty in Pwyll', *BBCS*, 29, pp. 35–52.
Repr. 1996, 2015 and Kindle, in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, Charles William III
(Garland Publications; Routledge; and Kindle), pp. 303–30
google books:
<<http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&id=5IWfIKkhVuAC&dq=Mabinogi&printsec=frontcover&source=web&ots=GuQljbjkF8&sig=lfVFE25fCw-o2qbZHyUt74V0wSU#PPR9,M1>> Accessed 5/10/20
I.5. Text: Prologue
--- 1999. 'Sovereignty'; and 'Learning Lordship : The Education of Manawydan' in *Ildanach
Ildinech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*: 4, ed. by Carey, John; John Koch and Pierre-Yves
Lambert (Celtic Studies Publications)
V.5. Gwydion

McKibben, Sarah E. 2015. 'In their "owne countre": Deriding and Defending the Early Modern
Irish Nation after Gerald of Wales', *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval
Studies*, 8, pp. 39-70
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

McKay, Dodie Graham. 14/04/2016. 'Goddess House open in Glastonbury', 'Wild Hunt: Pagan
News & Perspectives' online.
Wild Hunt: <<https://wildhunt.org/2016/04/goddess-house-open-in-glastonbury.html>> [Accessed
18/06/2023]
VII.4. Temples

Medlicott, Mary. 1990. 'By Word of Mouth', Channel 4. TV documentary in 4 parts about the developing storytelling movement reached more than two million viewers.

II.3. Performance

van der **Meer**, H.P. 1949. 'Euhemerus van Messene', (unpublished doctoral thesis Amsterdam)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Merrill, Ann W. 1977. 'Order and Chaos: A Structural Analysis of the Limitations of Women in the Mabinogion and Táin Bó Cúailnge'. (unpublished BA Hons. thesis, Harvard

Hollis: <<http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990038942730203941/catalog>> Accessed 06/05/2020

II.8. Feminism

Merton, Robert K. 1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure* (USA: MacMillan)

Best known via Raymond Boudon. 1991. 'What Middle-Range Theories Are', *Contemporary Sociology*, 20, 4, pp. 519–522

Introduction

Messer, Danna R. 2014, 'The Uxorial Lifecycle and Female Agency in Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bangor University)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 2018. 'Impressions of Welsh Queenship in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *A Companion to Global Queenship*, ed. by Woodacre, Elena (ARC Humanities Press,), pp. 147– 58

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 2020. *Joan, Lady of Wales:: Power and Politics of King John's Daughter* (Pen and Sword History, and Kindle)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

#metoo movement against harassment begun 2017.

me too: <<https://metoomvmt.org/>> Accessed 18/03/2023

II.8. Feminism

Metzger, Deena and Caitlin Mullin. 1987. 'Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate, Demeter, Kali, Inanna', Goddessing chant recorded on 'Chants: Ritual Music', Reclaiming Collective (Serpentine Music)

Earlier appeared as the chorus of Charlie Murphy's anthem 1981, 'The Burning Times', on his 'Catch the Fire' album (Good Fairy Productions)

VII.4. Temples

Meyer, Kuno and Alfred **Nutt**, eds. 1895-97. *The voyage of Bran, son of Febal to the land of the living*, in 2 vols. Grimm Library 4–6, 1 (London: Nutt)

V.10 Pryderi: Boyhood

Meyers, Herbert M. and Richard **Gerstman**. 2014. *The Visionary Package*, Ch. 3. (Palgrave MacMillan)

Fritz Henkel's invention, Germany 1878.

I.4. Advent #6 Gold, shining

Miles-Watson, Jonathan. 2009. *Welsh Mythology: A Neo-Structuralist Analysis* (Cambria Press

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Mitchison, Naomi. 1930. *The Barbarian: The Corn King and the Spring Queen* (Cameron Associates)

Mittleman, Josh, and Heather Rose **Jones**. 1998, 1999, last updated 23/07/1999. 'Concerning the Names Rhiannon, Rhian, and the Like', Medieval Names Archive: Problem Names Project (Medieval Scotland)

'Medieval Scotland' <<http://medievalscotland.org/problem/names/rhiannon.shtml>> [First accessed 13/11/18, last checked 10/07/2023]

I.8. Etymology

MoChridhe, Race. 2019. *The Eastminster Critical Edition of the Clear Recital and of the Oxonian Rite* (Lulu platform)

Extensive Madrian, and Filianic materials.

MoChridhe: <<https://www.lulu.com/shop/race-mochridhe/the-eastminster-critical-edition-of-the-clear-recital-and-of-the-oxonian-rite/paperback/product-24242052.html>> Accessed 14/10/20

See Lux Madriana.

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Monaghan, Patricia. 1981. *The Book of Goddesses and Heroines* (NY: Elsevier Dutton; Canada: Clarke, Irwin)

Available online, Open Library. Inaccurate Rhiannon entry pp. 253–54.

--- 1997. *The New Book of Goddesses and Heroines* (Llewellyn)

VII.4. Ven

--- 2010. *Encyclopedia of Goddesses and Heroines* (Llewellyn)

VII.4. Ven

Monteleone, Vincent Joseph. 2003. *Criminal Slang: The Vernacular of the Underworld Lingo* (The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd)

V.4. Gwawl

Monthly Review. Dec. 1839. Charlotte Guest, *Mabinogion*, Part II. *Monthly Review*, III. 1V, p. 132.

Google Books:

<https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Monthly_Review/1Y8eAQAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1> [First accessed 15/07/2023]

III.3. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Monthly Review. April 1843. 'Welsh Fiction', I, IV, pp. 431–68.

The Contents page (unnumbered) lists this as 'The Mabinogion, from Llyfr Coch o Hergest and other Ancients Welsh MSS.; with an English Translation and Notes. By Lady Charlotte Guest. Parts I, II, III, and IV. 1838–42'. However the title in the body of the journal is 'Welsh Fiction' and gives a long and detailed history of Welsh literature; the Guest review begins 22 pages in, at p. 453. See also Clarke.

Available to view online, on google books.

III.3. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Moore, Geoff (dir.). 1981. 'The Mabinogi' (Moving Being, Cardiff Castle)

II.3. Performance

--- 1983. 'The Mabinogi', with Robin Williamson's songs and music (Moving Being, Caernarfon Castle)

See Williamson, Robin for tracklist.

Youtube videos appear but frequently hacked. 'Kington Steve', "The Mabinogi" Part One (1984)

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gX27RkZ4TSk>> Part Two

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k9qg3nnjbig>> Mix:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gX27RkZ4TSk&list=RDgX27RkZ4TSk&start_radio=1&rv=gX27RkZ4TSk&t=37>

II.3. Performance

Moore, Geoff. 1990. *Moving Being: Two Decades of Theatre Ideas* (Cardiff: Moving being Ltd.)

II.3. Performance

Morden, Daniel. 2014. *Tree of Leaf and Flame* (Pont Books)

Also toured 'Tree of Leaf and Flame', with Oliver Wilson-Dickson (violin) and Dylan Fowler (guitar) from The Devil's Violin Company.

II.3. Performance

MORGAIN

Morgain as Jayran

Jayran, Shan, (now Morgain). 1980s-90s. House of the Goddess' publicity leaflets, personal archive.

VII.4 Temples

--- 1985. 'Goddess Calendar', A4 poster (House of the Goddess), photocopied on A4 Conqueror vellum. An early appearance by Rhiannon in the Goddess community. 13 moon month sections coloured individually by hand in poster paint. Originally designed, produced and sold 1985 as part of 'I am the Goddess', festival stall. Later continued through 'House of the Goddess'. Sadly my copy has disappeared and I have not been able to source another. So I made a facsimile for here to show what it was like, p. 461.

VII.4. Temples

--- March 1993. 'My Child', *Self and Society*, Association of Humanistic Psychology Journal, 21, 2pp. 33-34

VII.5. Theologies: Mother

--- 1986, 2nd edn. 1993. *Which Craft?* Illust. Terry (House of the Goddess)

Brief, deliberately naive introduction to modern Craft and Goddess Paganism.

VII.4. Temples: House of the Goddess

--- 1987. *Circlework: Handbook of Basic Ritual in the style of the Craft*, Illust. Terry (London: House of the Goddess)

VI.2 Trance

--- 1993 2nd edn. *Circlework: a DIY Handbook of Ritual, Psychology and Magic*, revised and expanded; Illust. Terry, photos Geoff King (London: House of the Goddess)

VI.2. Trance

--- 1994. *The Pagan Index* (House of the Goddess)

Annotated A-Z directory of Pagan organisations UK. Popular with contemporary, emerging, academic interest in modern Paganism.

VII.3 20thC: Triadic Goddess

--- and Bethan Williams (eds.). 1994. *The Pagan Song Book*, Illust. VHS tape John Davies (House of the Goddess)

Inexplicably does not Includes my 'Welsh Goddess Chant', variant of Deena Metzger and Caitlin Mullin's 'Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate, Demeter, Kali, Inanna', popularized by Starhawk's Reclaiming Collective.

VII.2. Trance

--- 1996. 'Darklight Philosophy: A Ritual Praxis' in *Paganism Today: Wiccans, Druids, the Goddess, and Ancient Earth Traditions for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Harvey, Graham, and Charlotte Hardman (London and San Francisco: Thorsons), pp. 204-223

VII.3 20thC Goddess: Triadic Goddess

--- 1996. House of the Goddess website, first uploaded on AOL (1996).

'Hogonline', <www.hogonline.co.uk> (1996-2001; archive reconstruction <www.mabinogi.com>

--- 1999-2005. 'In Her Eyes', searchable bibliography and index of Religion & Gender, Feminist Theology, Thealogy & Goddess Studies. Originally paper copy circulated at conferences.

<in-her-eyes.co.uk> Closed 2005

--- 1999- 2003. 'A Spirituality of Mothering', unfinished doctoral thesis, University of London independent programme. Supervisor, Eileen Barker, LSE.

VII.5. Thealogies: Mother

--- 2001. 'Western Goddess Spirituality: Thealogy in Social Context', presented at 'Religion & Gender: Walking Between the Worlds', coordinated by Jayran. A pioneering international colloquium: fully online, live chatroom debate and asynchronous support forum (6 weeks 15/02/2001 - 29/03/2001). Six lead scholars, 25 participants : Prof. Ursula King (Bristol University); Dr. Carol Christ (Crete, independent teaching centre); Dr. Daphne Hampson (St. Andrews University); Dr. Ruth Mantin (Chichester College); Dr. Susan Starr Sered (Israel, Haifa University), myself as coordinator (Independent Postgraduate Programme, London University). Dedicated specialist website <www.ovular.co.uk> (closed). Full text archived Appendix 12.

VII.1. Goddess Myths, and described VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 2001. 'Duwies Cymru? or, Goddess Wales?' online 2001-2005; defunct. Text salvaged in Appendix 14 Appendix; to be republished in forthcoming anthology.

<housemorgain.co.uk> defunct since

Introduction

--- 2002 'Religion & Gender: Walking Between the Worlds', international 'ovular', six weeks series <ovular.co.uk> Closed 2005

VII.3 Gss: Triadic Goddess

--- 2002. 'Thealogy', Wikipedia, (05/01/2002:01:04)

Wikipedia: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thealogy>> Accessed 01/04/21

Use 'View history' tab, when logged in as editor, to see the early editorial discussion.

Edit history (2002): <<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Thealogy&oldid=275992261>>

Accessed 01/04/21

VII.9. 21stC

Morgain, Shân. 29/19/2008. 'Separation of Goddess & Pagan Communities, A UK Perspective', guest blogpost on 'Medusa Coils: Fiercely defending, bravely exploring Goddess and spiritual feminisms'

Medusa Coils blog: <<http://medusacoils.blogspot.com/2008/10/guest-post-separation-of-goddess-pagan.html>> Accessed 9/08/2022

--- with John Davies and Taliesin Morgan. 28/01/2010. 'Rhiannon', performed at Gaer Junior School, Gaer Road, Newport NP20 3GY. Production and script by Morgain. An example of ephemeral, small scale, local performance, which usually leaves little or no record. Part of a Newport city festival celebration of mythology designed by local artist Andy O'Rourke Nathan Sheen.

II.2. Performance

--- 2014. Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/bibliog/index-of-guest-journals/>> [Created 2014, feed from Zotero] Created 2013 as a research website but also as popular, friendly resource. Nominated by NLW to the UK Web Archive as 'an important part of Wales documentary heritage'. (2017).

Zotero: <<https://www.zotero.org/groups/mabinogistudy/items>>

Zotero: <<https://www.zotero.org/groups/235117/mabinogistudy>> [Created 2013] Zotero can be downloaded. The selected bibliography can then synch to update with the online version.

II.5. Renaissance: Pughe

--- 2013 ongoing. 'The Mabinogi Bibliography' via Zotero

Over 2,000 entries, key or obscure items annotated. Includes items on historical context, arts, fiction adaptations, and *The Mabinogion*. Tagged categories, searchable. The Zotero version can be downloaded and synched to update with the online version; searches can be re-ordered e/g. by date to construct timelines., and re-ordered e/g. by date to construct timelines.

II.1. Timeline

--- 2013. 'Pughe, William'

Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/library/william-pughe>>

II.5. Renaissance: Pughe

--- 2014. 'Index of Guest Journals'. Excerpts, dated, with refs. to sources. Searchable.

Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/bibliog/index-of-guest-journals/>> Created 2014]

II.5. Renaissance: Guest

--- 2014 Sept. 'Here Be Dragons!' Conference presentation at 'Dwy Iait, Dau Ddiwylliant? Two Languages, Two Cultures?'. CAWCS, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Dr. Mary-Ann Constantine, dir.

An experiential statement on issues of working between two linguistic worlds.

Introduction

----- 10/10/ 2014. 'Othering a Guest: ethnic, economic and gendered complexities of a giant lady.' Presented at 'The Self and the Other' (RIAH Postgraduate Conference, Swansea). Published in the *RIAH Proceedings* (May 2016)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

----- 19/02/2015. 'Rhiannon as Mabinogi Tour Guide'. Presentation for MEMO (Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Research), Swansea University
online [Academia.edu](https://www.academia.edu)

Introduction

--- May 2016. 'Trusting the text of the Mabinogi, tracing interlacings into intricacy'. Seminar handout on the Bollard paradigm, 3pp. of organised notes supporting Christine James' course, '*Crefft Y Cyfarwydd*' (CY-344), Swansea University, Dept. Welsh.

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/24959322/Trusting_the_text_of_the_Mabinogi_tracing_interlacings_into_intri_cacy_May_2016> [Uploaded May 2016; Last accessed 09/07/2023]

Introduction

--- '14/10/2016. Tair Cainc Mabinogi: three analyses of conflict and discord; the 12thC speaks today' presented at 'Harmony and Discord', Swansea University. Chair of panel: Gabriella Valentino.

I.3. Etymology

--- Nov. 2016. 'Legal References in the Mabinogion: notes and quotes from T. P. Ellis' (Academia, online)

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/20449024/Legal_References_in_the_Mabinogion_notes_and_quotes_from_T_P_Ellis_Nov_2016_auto=download> Uploaded 2016

--- 2016. 'Bridging the Gap', *Trilithon* unpublished due to editorial directive change after it was written.

--- 2017. 'Year of legend', series of 12 instalments, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith. Initially planned as three articles, expanded to a 12 month project.

Jan. 2017. 'Pembrokeshire and the earliest prose stories', part 1 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Introduction to the Mabinogi, and its landscape sites in Pembrokeshire.

Feb. 2017. 'Pembrokeshire plots', part 2 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Deconstruction of assumptions about Pwyll as a character, and how a new perspective can solve the structural problem of Pwyll I.

March 2017. 'The Making of the Modern Mabinogi', part 3 of 12 *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

A compact history of the Mabinogi from 1100 to the present day: manuscripts, antiquarians, scholarship, publications, translations, performance events and electronic media.

April 2017. 'The Devastation of Dyfed', part 4 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

An investigation of anachronisms in the Third branch which may relate to mediaeval historical events.

May 2017. 'A Gallery of Rhiannon,' part 5 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Artworks 1826 to today, illustrating the Rhiannon narrative, with analytic commentary on each. Incl. never before published sketches from William Owen Pughe, 1826; and original modern interpretations.

June 2017. 'Mabinogi Lovers Old and New', part 6 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith, pp. 38–40. Comparing the love stories of Rhiannon, Charlotte Guest, and the author as incoming wives and mothers. Letter in response forwarded from editor to author, mid-June, signed 'An Old Narberthian' undated.

VI.1. Enchantment

July 2017. 'Pryderi, Golden Boy of Pembrokeshire', part 7 of 12 *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Classic theories, deconstruction of the penance sequence. Pryderi as a literary tragedy.

Aug. 2017. 'Women in the Mabinogi World', part 8 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

A different society, comparing the Mabinogi with mediaeval Wales. Key Mabinogi women. Feminist issues.

Sept. 2017. 'The Triad of Pryderi and the Great Sow', part 9 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

The Mabinogi and the *Trioedd* (Triads) particularly TYP no. 26

Oct. 2017. 'The Three Great Mabinogi Kindreds', part 10 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Usually defined as Four branches, this revisits Anwyl's theory 1901, in relation to Bollard's 'marriage, friendship feud' analysis.

Nov. 2017. 'The Mabinogi, Myth & Morality', part 11 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Approaching the Mabinogi as mythology, 19thC romanticism, WJG, modern New Age, the thealogy concept.

Dec. 2017. 'The Magnificent Mabinogi -Why? part 12 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Why the Mabinogi is so important as a literature, and as a Welsh and British literature.

--- 2017. 'Mabinogi enchantment and politics: once and future hope in co-creation', presented at *Prosiect Mabinogi*, Aberystwyth, Peter Stevenson, dir.

Cf. Davies, John, 'Three Things' (1992); Rodway, Simon 'Celtic Shadow' (2017).

Introduction

--- June 2018. 'Thomas Stephens and the Mabinogi/ Mabinogion: excerpts, quotes and summaries'

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/36909814/Thomas_Stephens_and_the_Mabinogi_Mabinogion_excerpts_quotes_and_summaries_2018> [Uploaded 2018]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens

--- 2024. 'Mabinogi Rhiannon: woman of power & her kindred; literary, political, thealogical, arts, & structural perspectives / *Mabinogi Rhiannon: dynes o rym a'i theulu; safbwyntiau llenyddol, gwleidyddol, thelogaidd, chelfyddydol a strwythurol*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Swansea University, 2023). An English language study of a Welsh source which strives to respect the Welsh origins. Chapters 535 pp. and 16 Appendices; Page Index. Illustrated with artworks and photography.

--- Oct. 2024– March 2025. 'The Magnificent Mabinogi', weekly topic series of 20. Illust. Editor Stephen Price. Title from Manon Eames staging of the entire Mabinogi, used with her permission. Nation Cymru: < <https://nation.cymru/?s=mabinogi>>

1 The Mabinogi: a pioneering work of genius. 2. Mabinogi: stories & translations , 3 Mabinogion and other howlers. 4. Mabinogi: creativity and canon. 5. Mabinogi: places of power. 6. Mabinogi: mythology or literature? 7. Mabinogi: politics mediaeval & modern, 8. Mabinogi: everyday life. 9. Mabinogi: Women. 10. Mabinogi Goddesses & Gods. 11. Mabinogi Magicians. 12. Mabinogi: Enchantments. 13. *Rhiannon, Duwies Haul*/ Rhiannon, Sun Goddess. 14. Mabinogi Love Stories: Rhiannon, Charlotte Guest and me. 15. Mabinogi animals. 16. Mabinogi: artworks & applications. 17. Mabinogi: structural patterns 'n puzzles 18. Mabinogi: oral tradition & the continuing performance. 19. Mabinogi: latest interpretations, gaming, films, music. 20. Mabinogi: structural patterns 'n puzzles. 21. Me and the Mab.

Morgan, Enid. 2013. 'Revenge and Reconciliation in the Four Branches: A Girardian Approach', *Studia Celtica*, 47, 1, pp. 149–66

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

Morgan, Prys. 1983. 'From a death to a view: the hunt for the Welsh past in the Romantic period', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Hobsbawm, E., and T. Ranger (CUP), pp. 43–100

Perspective on Pughe in the context of his times. See also Carr, Jenkins, Johnston, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- ed. 1991. *Brady Llyfrau Gleision: Ysw ifau ar Hanes Cymru* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

--- 2000. 'Wild Wales: Civilizing the Welsh from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries', in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. by Burke, Peter; Brian Harrison and Paul Slack (OUP), pp. 265–83

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Morgan, Robin. ed. 1970. *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (NY: Random House)

Most of its contributors were, or were becoming, notable 'influencers' (21stC term).

Contents, Open Library: <https://openlibrary.org/books/OL5699937M/Sisterhood_is_Powerful>

Accessed 15/05/2020

II.8. Feminism

--- 1971. 'Monster', poetry anthology (London, UK 1971, my samizdat copy). Legal publication (NY, Random House, 1972). Popularly known as the Anthem of the Women's Movement.

II.8. Feminism

--- ed. 1984. *Sisterhood Is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology* (Anchor/Doubleday)

II.8. Feminism

Morneuick, Charles Augustus. 1846, 'Reverend Thomas Price of Llanfihangel Cwmdru (1787–1848)'. Oils portrait, at age 59, two years before he died. NLW accession PZ03573.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Morris, Kenneth/ Ceinydd Morus. 27 Aug.; 27 Sept. 13 Oct. 1899. 'Prince Lion of the Sure Hand', in 2 parts, *The Crusader* (London), from PKM4

IX.2. Imaginary

--- 15 March; 13 April; 13 June; 13 Aug. 1899. 'The Epic of Wales', Parts I–IV, *The International Theosophist*

IX.2. Imaginary

--- April 1900. 'The Prince of the Streamland,' in *The Universal Brotherhood Path* From Pwyll I.

IX.2. Imaginary

--- 13 July. 13 Dec. 1900. 'Hu with the White Shield', in 6 parts, *The International Theosophist* (Dublin)

Morris' version of the early mythological history of Wales.

IX.2. Imaginary

--- March 1902. 'The Story of Mabon' in *The Universal Brotherhood Path*, from Welsh mythological tales.

--- 1914. *The Fates of the Princes of Dyfed* (Point Loma, California: Aryan Theosophical Press).

Woodcuts illust. by fellow Theosophist, Reginald Machell (1854-1927)

Theosophical Society: <<http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena/dyfed/fates-hp.htm>> Accessed 17/12/13

IX.2. Imaginary

— 1930. *Book of the Three Dragons* (Point Loma, California: Aryan Theosophical Press,). 1st edn. truncates the last third. 2nd. edn. with a detailed Introduction by editor and publisher Douglas A. Anderson, added a reconstruction of the missing part; 2004. (Cold Spring Press)

IX.2. Imaginary

--- 1995. *The Dragon Path: Collected Tales of Kenneth Morris*. ed. by Douglas A. Anderson (Tor)

IX.2. Imaginary

Morris, Lewis. 1876. Portrait excerpt, Wikicommons cites '18th century portrait taken from a book published 1876'.

Wikicommons:

<[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_Morris_\(1701%E2%80%931765\)#/media/File:Lewis_Morris_1701-1765.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_Morris_(1701%E2%80%931765)#/media/File:Lewis_Morris_1701-1765.JPG)> Accessed 23/01/2022

III.5. Welsh Renaissance: Morris

Morris, Lewis. 1878. *Celtic Remains* (London: Cambrian Archaeological Association)

Note the work was completed 1757 not published until 1878. Its concept of broken 'remains' was very influential later 19thC and much of the 20thC; see Matthew Arnold, John Rhys, and William John Gruffydd.

Archive org: <https://archive.org/stream/celticremains00evangoog/celticremains00evangoog_djvu.tx>

Accessed 6/02/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

Morris, Lewis. 1764. MS. Add. MS. 14924, f. 26v

VII.1. Enchantment

Morris-Jones, John. 1913. *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative: phonology and accidence* (Clarendon)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- and Thomas Herbert **Parry-Williams**. 1957. *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru)

III.6. 'Rieni'

Morus, Gwilym. First presented 2012. 'Symbolic Keys of the Mabinogi'. Online course repeated over several years, ingeniously combining freely available, free technology such as Skype, email. Jungian 'archetype' approach.

Welsh Mythology: <<http://welshmythology.com/>> Accessed 2012 Course pages no longer extant.

II.9. 21stC

Moser, Claudia. 2000. 'Eastern Religions in the Roman World', in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY)

Metropolitan Museum: <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/errw/hd_errw.htm> [Accessed 5/10/20]

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Mountain Guide, 'Guide to Wales's Hills and Mountains' (map).

Mountain Guide: <<https://www.themountainguide.co.uk/wales/mynydd-epynt-map.htm>> [Accessed 5/08/2021]

V.3. Hyfaidd

Mountaingrove, Ruth and Jean, eds. Fall 1974– Summer 1984. 'Womanspirit', quarterly journal (Wolf Creek, Oregon). Produced collectively.

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Moving Being, 'The Mabinogi', Moving Being Theatre Company, Geoff Moore (**Dir.**) Musical compositions & performances Robin Williamson (Caernarfon Castle., 1983)

See also Geoff Moore, and Robin Williamson entries here.

Moving Being Theatre Company, (Caernarfon Castle., 1983). Video clips Youtube.

Youtube: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VWZcgoH1KIM>>

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oP5vdK9Dyis>> Accessed 24/12/2021 **emailed re hacks**

1.4. Advent #2 see

MSG (Matriarchy Study Group), 'Goddess', *Shrew* magazine, an occasional themed publication, London Women's Liberation Workshop (1975). See Long, Asphodel. <<http://www.asphodel-long.com/html/msg/shrew.pdf>> Accessed 5/10/20
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Müller, Jacoby. 1841–1873. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, in 5 vols. (Paris)
636 ancient Greek fragmentary historians.
DFHG <<https://www.dfhg-project.org/>> [First accessed 28/07/2023]
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Müller, Max. April 1856. 'Comparative Mythology' in *Chips from a German Workshop*, 1 of 2 (NY: Charles Scribner & Co.)
--- 1869. 'Comparative Mythology' in *Chips from a German Workshop*, 2 of 2 (NY: Charles Scribner & Co.)
II.6. Welsh Academy: Rhÿs
--- 1878. 'On the Religions of India', inaugural Hibbert Lecture
II.6. Welsh Academy: Rhÿs

Murphy, Charlie. 1981. 'Catch the Fire', album (Good Fairy Productions)
Contained the original version of 'Burning Times' and Goddess names chant which I adapted to Welsh (Mabinogi) names. See Metzger.
VII.4. Temples.
See also Murphy. 1999. Internet Book of Shadows.
Sacred-texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/bos/bos508.htm>>

Murray, Jacqueline. 1995. 'Thinking about Gender: Diversity of Medieval Perspectives', in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. by Carpenter, Jennifer, and Sally-Beth. MacLean (Urbana,, University of Illinois Press), pp. 1–26
III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Murray, Margaret. 1921. *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe: a Study in Anthropology* (OUP)
Project Gutenberg: <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/20411/20411-h/20411-h.htm>> Accessed 5/10/20
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Murray-Pauwels, Jean. 2016. *Rhiannon Tale of a Welsh Goddess* (Kramat, and **Kindle**) Thealogy.
Rhiannon, the Divine Queen of the Fayries and the various versions of her legend.
IX.2. Imaginary **GSS**

Myfyr, Owain: see Jones, Owen.

Mynors, R. A. B., Rodney M. **Thompson** and Michael **Winterbottom**, ed. & trans. 1998. *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Oxford & NY.: Clarendon Press)
III.7. Political Parallels

Nant Arberth: grid refs. SN 2260447182 or SN 22604 47182.
Historic Pace Names:
<<https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/placenames?q=nant+arberth&s=1&ps=10>> Accessed 13/05/2019

I.4. Advent #8 highway

'Nantonos' and 'Ceffyl', 'Epona'

Epona net: < <http://epona.net/> > Accessed 2/10/2021

II.9. 21stC

Narberth, grid ref. SN10971459. Coflein: The online catalogue of archaeology, buildings, industrial and maritime heritage in Wales.

Coflein: < <https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/112825/details/narbertharberth> > Accessed 13/05/2019

I.4. Advent #8 highway

National Museum Wales. 18/04/2007. 'Wales. the first industrial nation of the world.' 'By 1850, there were more people employed in industry in Wales than in agriculture. This makes Wales the world's first industrial nation.' Opening sentence.

Amgueddfa Cymru/ National Museum Wales: < <https://museum.wales/articles/1368/Wales—the-first-industrial-nation-of-the-World/> > Accessed 09/12/2021

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

----- 3/05/2007. 'The Llan-gors textile: an early medieval masterpiece.' **PERMIT**

Amgueddfa Cymru/ National Museum Wales:

NMW: < <https://museum.wales/articles/2007-05-03/The-Llan-gors-textile-an-early-medieval-masterpiece/> > [Accessed 15/05/19]

I.4. Advent #7 Silk

National Oceanography Centre (NOC).

Innovations Ltd, previously 'Marine Data Products': < <https://noc-innovations.co.uk/sites/noc-innovations/files/documents/tidal-river-bores.pdf> > Accessed 30/08/2021

V.7. Teyrnnon

National Trust in Wales. April 2000. Intermediate Report, 'The Dolaucothi Gold Mines, Carmarthenshire (Wales, U.K.)', Archaeological Appraisal, Franco-British Team. Case study of Welsh gold mining.

Academia: < http://www.academia.edu/download/41177066/2000_Dolaucothy_txt.pdf > Accessed 30/11/2019

I.4. Advent #6 Gold

Neils, Jenifer. 1996. *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon* (University of Wisconsin). PDF download Academia.

Academia (scroll down past first page):

< https://www.academia.edu/download/36865300/Shield_devices.pdf > Accessed 15/08/2022

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Nelson, Janet L. and Alice Rio. 2013. 'Women and Laws in Early Medieval Europe', in *Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Bennett, J.M. and R. Mazo Karras (OUP).

II.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Newport Council:

< <http://www.newport.gov.uk/documents/Schools-and-Education/Ysgol-Gyfun-Gwent-Is-Coed/Ysgol-Gyfun-Gwent-Is-Coed-SOCOBC.pdf> > Accessed 8/03/21

V.7. Teyrnnon

NFU Cymru: *Maenydd Eppynt/ Epynt Plateau*

NFU: <<https://www.nfu-cymru.org.uk/campaigns/we-are-welsh-farming/epynt-a-lost-community/>>

[Accessed 5/08/2021]

V.3. Hyfaidd

Nguyen, Thien Vuong. 2015. 'Translating Culture: Providing a framework to combat cultural appropriation', (Brown University)

Researchgate:

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296196596_Translating_Culture_Providing_a_framework_to_combat_cultural_appropriation> Accessed 09/12/2021

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Niblett, Matthew. 2015. *Prophecy and the Politics of Salvation in Late Georgian England: The Theology and Apocalyptic Vision of Joanna Southcott* (London–NY: I. B. Tauris)

II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Nichols, Philip Peter Ross. 1990 *post mortem. The Book of Druidry* (Aquarian Press)

VII.2. Early development: Christianity

Nicholson, William Bishop of Derry. 1724. *Irish Historical Library*

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Nicks, Stevie. 1975. 'Rhiannon'. Song with Fleetwood Mac

Youtube of 1975 staging are often hacked, but new ones appear to searches.

Sales: initially 3 million. Sonya Shelton, 'Stevie Nicks Biography' (c. 2013, taken from Comments below main article).

Musician Guide: <<https://musicianguide.com/biographies/1608002342/Stevie-Nicks.html>> Accessed 3/01/22

See also **Lewis**, Bronwen, Welsh version. 2021.

See **Appendix**: Stevie Nicks.

Cited I.3. Etymology, main treatment II.3. Performance

--- 1982. 'In memory of Robin (Snyder) Anderson. September 11th, 1948. October 5th, 1982.'

Buckingham Nicks: <<http://www.buckinghamnicks.info/sr-robin/>> Accessed 29/10/2022

See Julien's Auctions'.

van **Nieuwamerongen**, S. E. 2017. 'Development of pigs raised in a group housing system for lactating sows and their litters' (WIAS thesis, Wageningen Institute of Animal Sciences)

V.10 Pryderi: Death

NLW ARCHIVES see MANUSCRIPTS

NLW Digital Gallery, 'The White Book of Rhydderch: Peniarth MS 4' Online Facsimile MS.

NLW Digital Gallery: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch/>> Accessed 23/04/19

II.9. 21stC

NLW see MANUSCRIPTS

Hodgetts, T., 'Idrison' Pughe, steel engraving (1822).

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/welsh-poetry-and-miscellanea>> Accessed 13/03/20

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Maclise, Daniel, 'Portrait of W. Owen Pughe D.C.L., F.A.S', watercolour (NLW 4671832). Pughe awarded the honorary Oxford degree DCL (1822).

NLW Portrait Collection. <<https://www.llgc.org.uk/en/discover/digital-gallery/pictures/portraits/artists-photographers/artists/>> Accessed 13/03/20

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

NLW Original Drawing Volumes (Vol. 57, p.38) William Owen with his wife, Sarah Elizabeth Harper, their children, Aneurin, Ellen, Isabella. B/W photo of original watercolour drawing, c. 1792.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

NLW digitisation. 14/05/19. Online 2004. 'The White Book of Rhydderch, Peniarth MS 4.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch/>> Accessed 17/12/2016

I.4. Advent

National Museum Wales, 'The Llan-gors textile: an early medieval masterpiece' (3/05/2007).

National Museum Wales: <<https://museum.wales/articles/1344/The-Llan-gors-textile-an-early-medieval-masterpiece/>> Accessed 14/03/2023

I.4. Advent #7 Silk

Noble, J. C. Bristow. 1929. 'Hunting Brock the badger', *Sussex County Magazine*, 3, pp. 448–453.

Repr. King, H. H. 2005. *Working terriers, badgers and badger digging* (Cookhill, Alcester: Vintage DogBooks), pp. 114-19

Sussex County Magazine: <scm.pastfinders.org/scm/_03/_brock.htm> [Accessed 17/12/2016]

V.4. Gwawl

Noone, Kristin. 2011. "'The Rough, Savage Strength of Earth": Evangeline Walton's Human Heroes and Mythic Spaces' in *Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture: Essays on Adaptations in Literature, Film, Television and Digital Media*, ed. by Becker, Audrey L. and Kristin Noone (Jefferson: McFarland), pp. 18-29

IX.2. Imaginary

Northover, J. P. 2013. 'Bronze Age Gold in Britain' in *Prehistoric Gold in Europe: Mines, Metallurgy and Manufacture*, NATO ASI Series280 (NSSE), pp. 515-531

Case study of Welsh gold mining.

I.4. Advent #6 Gold

Novikoff, Alex J. 2016. *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures series, 19 (University of Toronto Press)

VI.1. Enchantment

Nugent, Christopher G. 2002. 'Reading Riannon: The Problematics of Motherhood in Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet.' *Domestic Violence in Medieval Texts*, ed. by Salisbury, Eve; Donavin, Georgiana; and Price, Merrall Llewelyn (Florida: University Press Florida), pp. 180–202

Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot

O'Coileain, Sean. 1977-1978. 'A Thematic Study of the Tale of 'Pwyll Pendevic Dyfed', *Studia Celtica*, 12-13, pp. 78-82

Repr. *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 145. 151

II.7. Coherence Paradigm V.5. Pwyll

O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger. 1979. 'Sacred Cows and Profane Mares in Indian Mythology: The Indo-European Core and the Irish Ritual', *History of Religions*, 19. 1, pp. 1-26.

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1062419>> [Accessed 16/10/19]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 1980. 'Cows and Mares, and Androgynes', Section 5, in *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts*, ed. by O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger and Shirley Lindenbaum (University of Chicago Press), pp. 149-282

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/35663871/Women_Androgynes_and_Other_Mythical_Beasts_Wendy_Doniger_OFlaherty> Accessed 9/17/20

VII.1. Goddess Myths

O'Grady, Standish Hayes. 1892. *Silva Gadelica: A Collection of Tales in Irish: Translation and Notes* (Williams and Norgate)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

O Maille, Tomas. 1928. 'Medb Chruachna', *ZCP*, 17, pp. 129-63

VII.3 20thC Goddess

O'Meara, John J. ed. trans.. 1951. *The First Version of the Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dundalk: Duldalgan Press)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1982 repr. *The history and topography of Ireland Gerald of Wales; Translated with an Introduction by John J. O'Meara* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books), Book 3, s. 102, pp. 109-110.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

O'Rahilly, T. F. 1946. Repr. 1984. *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin: DIAS)

III.2. Britain

O'Rourke, Andy. 2010. 'Parades and Giant Puppets', multidisciplinary, community artist, Malarkey Arts, Newport.

See Morgain,, Davies and Morgan, 'Rhiannon' performance (2010).

Malarkey Parades and Giant Puppets <<https://malarkyarts.co.uk/parades-and-giant-puppets/>> Accessed 29/08/22

II.2. Performance

OED:

'Badger game':

OED: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/badger_game> [Accessed 26/02/20]

V.4. Gwawl

'Feminism'

OED:

<<https://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/69192#:~:text=Advocacy%20of%20equality%20of%20the,Cf.>> [Accessed 16/07/2023]

VI.9. Feminist

Olrik, Axel; Jeanne P. Steager trans. 1965. 'Epic Laws of Folk Narrative', in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. by Dundes, Alan; Englewood Cliffs (N.J.: Prentice-Hall), p. 133

From Axel Olrik. 1908. 'Episke love i folkedigtningen', *Danske Studier*, 5, pp. 69-89

Quoted and cited by Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 26, but I have expanded the reference given.

II.2 Storyteller's Craft

Ong, Walter. 1982. *Orality and Literacy* (Methuen)

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

Online Etymology Dictionary: rich.

OET: <<https://www.etymonline.com/word/rich>> Accessed 8/09/2018

I.3. Etymology

--- : **Sitting**.

OET: <<https://www.etymonline.com/word/sitting>> Accessed 24/09/2018

1.4. Advent

--- : **Situate**. PIE = Proto-Indo-European, EIEC definition.

OET: <https://www.etymonline.com/word/situate#etymonline_v_23584> Accessed 24/09/2018

1.4. Advent

Onyx Path Publishng. Jacqueline Bryk, David Castro, Rai Cole, Hiromi Cota, Erykah Fassett, Travis Legge, Geoffrey McVey, MJ Monleón, Spider B Perry, Lauren Roy, Monica Specá, H. Ulrich. 2023.

Scion Second Edition: Once and Future (Onyx Path Publishing). Artists: Sam Denmark, Farri

Lensen, Gong Studios, Navella Studios, Laura King

Roleplay game featuring mythological pantheons. The Welsh pantheon includes a detailed, accurate Rhiannon, but leaves her dangling outside the two kindreds (Don, Llyr) connected only by marriage to Manawydan.

Excellent Rhiannon portrait p. 28. Also passage about Gorsedd Arberth as part of the book's section on mystical locations pp.73-74. Adar Rhiannon in the appendix, pp.148-149, her divine birds included as NPC for use as opponents/set dressing.

DriveThruRPG: <<https://www.drivethrurpg.com/en/product/464213/scion-second-edition-once-and-future>> [Accessed Feb 2004] PDF & hard copy.

PREVIEW: <<https://theonyxpath.com/once-and-future-preview/>> [Accessed 12/05/2023]

Especial thanks to Taliesin Morgan's research (June 2023)

Especial thanks to Taliesin Morgan's research on this (June 2023).

IX.2. Imaginary

Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids.

OBOD: <<https://druidry.org/>> [First accessed 28/07/2023]

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Otten, Willemien. 2004. *From Paradise to Paradigm: A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism* (Leiden: Brill)

VI.1. Enchantment

Otter, C. 2011. 'Hippophagy in the UK: a failed dietary revolution', in *Endeavour*, 35, 2/3, pp. 80-90
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Over, Kristen Lee. 2005. *Kingship, Conquest, and Patria* (NY & Oxford: Taylor & Francis)
III.2. Britain

Owain Myfyr, see Jones, Owen.

Owen, Aneurin. 1841. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales; Comprising Laws Supposed to be Enacted by Howel the Good, modified by subsequent regulations under the native Princes prior to the conquest by Edward the First: and Anomalous Laws consisting principally of the institutions which by the Statute of Ruddlan were admitted to continue in force: With an English Translation of the Welsh Text: to which are added a few Latin Transcripts, containing digests of the Welsh Laws, principally of the Dimetian Code, with Indexes and a Glossary*, in 2 vols. (London: Commissioners on Public Records)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Owen, Henry. April 1895. 'The Flemings in Pembrokeshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5, XII, XLVI, pp. 96-106 (Month, pagination from NLW online display)
NLW Welsh journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2919943/3010365/15#?xywh=-692%2C0%2C3548%2C3522>> [Accessed 18/07/2023]
III.7. Political Parallels

Owen, Morfydd E. 1980. 'Shame and Reparation: Women's Place in the Kin', in (WLW) *The Welsh Law of Women: Studies Presented to Professor Daniel A. Binchy on His Eightieth Birthday, 3 June 1980*, ed. by Jenkins, Dafydd; and Morfydd E. Owen (Cardiff: UWP), pp. 40-68
III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)
--- 2007. 'Welsh Triads: An Overview,' *Celtica*, 25, pp. 225-250
Cyfraith Hywel, PDF: <http://cyfraith-hywel.cymru.ac.uk/uploads/welsh_triads_overview.pdf> Accessed 20/03/21
Also Academia download.
III.2. Britain

Owen, Trefor. 1959. *Welsh Folk Customs* (J. D. Lewis and sons)
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Owen, William: see Pughe.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

--- BOSANQUET 'Bosanquet', by G. F. R. Barker, rev. by Hugh Mooney (2004)
<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2929>> Accessed 23/03/20
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid
--- PUGHE 'Pughe, William Owen pseud. Idrison (1759-1835)', by J. E. Lloyd, rev. by Glenda Carr (2004).
More detailed than Welsh Biography, good bibliography. See also Carr (chief biography), Bromwich (1986) on Guest but good on Pugh). Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Kaminski-

Jones.

ODNP online: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22867>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- SOUTHCOFF 'Joanna Southcott (1750-1814) Prophet and Writer', by Sylvia Bowerbank (2004-13)

Also Pierce, Welsh Biography.

ODNP online: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22867>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- WILLIAMS. 'Williams, Moses (1685–1742), Welsh scholar and translator', by Brynley F.

Roberts (2004)

<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/search?q=Williams%2C+Moses+%281685%E2%80%931742%29%2C+Welsh+scholar+and+translator>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Williams

Oxford University, 'History'

<<https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/history?wssl=1>> [Accessed 21/04/2019]

II.1 Timeline

--- 'Introduction and history'.

<<https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/history#>> [Accessed 16/08/2020]

Padel, O. J. Summer 1998. Review of Koch 1997: 'A New Study of the Gododdin, *CMCS*, 35, pp. 45–55

III.2. Britain

Pagan Federation, *Pagan Dawn*, quarterly house magazine (est. 1993)

Developed from the *Wiccan* (est. 1968), when the PF expanded its remit to Paganisms.

Pagan Federation: <<https://www.paganfed.org/pagan-dawn/>> [Accessed 26/08/2022]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Pagé, Anna. 2015. 'Narrative Structure of the Comperta and Other Irish Birth Tales', *Keltische Forschungen*, 7, pp. 61–90

PDF available Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/33604553/The_Narrative_Structure_of_the_Comperta_and_Other_Irish_Birth_Tales?auto=citations&from=cover_page> [Accessed 20/08/2022]

V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

PARKER

Parker, Will. 1998, online 2002. 'Bibliographic Essay. The Four Branches of the Mabinogi, A Medieval Celtic Text; English Language Scholarship 1795-1997' (MSc. Information Science thesis in literary summary, City University, London, now UCL)

Mabinogi net: <https://www.mabinogi.net/bibliog_essay.htm> [Accessed 12/12/2005]

II.1. Timeline

--- Winter, 2002. 'Gwynedd, Ceredigion and the Political Geography of the Mabinogi', *NLW*, pp. 365–96

III.7. Political Parallels

--- Mabinogi Net. 2002.

Mabinogi.Net: <http://www.mabinogi.net/bibliog_essay.htm> [Accessed 12/12/2005]

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/fourbranches.html?sections>> [Accessed 2010]

II.1 Timeline

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'Text Translations', Mabinogi.Net.

Composite translation drawn from DIAS editions for the First and Second Branches; and PKM for the Third and Fourth Branches. Made available online when no other was there except Guest, ed. 1999. Also his extensive notes on literary, historical and linguistic aspects of the text: some speculative, many are useful and insightful.

--- ed. trans. 2003. Header page, Contents list, Mabinogi.Net.

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/translations.htm>> [Accessed 2005]

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Pwyll', Mabinogi.Net

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/pwyll.htm>> [Last checked 11/07/2023]

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Branwen', Mabinogi.Net (2003).

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/branwen.htm>>

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Manawydan', Mabinogi.Net (2003).

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/manawydan.htm>> Accessed 19/09/2020

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Math', Mabinogi.Net, 2003

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/math.htm>> Accessed 29/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

--- 2005. *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Dublin: Bardic Press)

III.7. Political Parallels V.11. Manawydan

--- 2007. 'Mabinogion Info'.

Collection of articles.

Mabinogion Info: <<http://www.mabinogion.info/>> Accessed 2012

II.9. 21stC

Parry-Williams, Glenda: see Carr, Glenda.

Parry, Milman; and Adam Parry, eds. 1971. *The making of Homeric Verse, the Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Clarendon Press)

See Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 32–33; and Lord (1960).

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

Parsons, Rachel. 2017. *Out of Exile 2*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle)

--- 2018. *Love in Exile 1*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle)

Fantasy of faerie alternate world, some loose connections to PKM Rhiannon.

--- 2018. *Exile's End*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle).

--- 2020. *Exile in Elsewhen*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle)

IX.2. Imaginary

Patch, Howard Rollin. 2013. 'Among the Celts', Ch. II in *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature*, I (Cambridge, MA: and London, England: Harvard University Press), pp. 27–59.

Harvard University: <<https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674183841.c2>> Accessed 02/08/2022

VI.1. Enchantment

Patel, Samir S. Nov./Dec. 2022. 'Bronze Age Urban Experiment', *Archaeology*, Archaeological Institute of America, 75, 6, pp. 44–55

Indus Civilisation.
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Patterson, Nerys W. 1981. 'Honour and Shame in Medieval Welsh Society: A study of the Role of the Burlesque in the Welsh Laws', *Studia Celtica*, 7, 8, pp. 73–103

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- May, 1987. 'Women of the Mabinogi: From Sign to Subject', presented at the Harvard Celtic Colloquium, 7, pp. 163–66

Not published in the Proceedings, only its Abstract quoted Ch. II.8. Feminism, n. 578.

VI.8. Feminism

--- 1988. 'Woman as Vassal: Gender Symmetry in Medieval Wales', *Proc. of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 8, pp. 31–45

Argues for relative gender symmetry, men were also limited in their unilateral authority, and their choice of marriage partner, p. 32. arguing men were governed by their lord similarly to a woman's governance by her male supervisor (natal, marital).

VI.8. Feminism

Pauly, August, and Georg Wissowa. 1839.1852. 'Epona' entry in *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Deutsche*, in multiple vols, subsequently republished.

Cited by WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 103-104.

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

Pausanias. 1stC. 'Arcadia' (Ἀρκαδικά), 8 of 10, in his *Description of Greece*, series of 10
Each volume describes a region of Greece. Pausanias was long thought to be extant only from 15thC MSS. now known from Neapolitanus II.C.32, 150 years earlier, closer to the Mabinogi development period; there may have been earlier MSS. See Diller; Williams, F.

Theoi: Demeter Cult 2: <<https://www.theoi.com/Cult/DemeterCult2.html>> Accessed 01/09/2020

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Pearson, Mike Parker; J. Pollard, C. Richards, K. Welham, C. Casswell, D. Shlee, D. Shaw, E. Simmons, A. Stanford, R. Bevins, R. Ixer, eds. Feb. 2019. Megalith quarries for Stonehenge's bluestones', *Antiquity*, 93, 367, pp. 45–62

V.5. Pwyll: Partnership

Pearson, Mike Parker. 2013. 'Researching Stonehenge: Theories Past and Present,' *Archaeology International*, 16, pp. 72–83

Science Open: <<https://www.scienceopen.com/hosted-document?doi=10.5334/ai.1601>> Accessed 27/11/2019

See also BBC: Stonehenge

III.2. Britain

Peate, Iorwerth C. Jun. 1935. 'A Welsh Wassail-Bowl: With a Note on the Mari Lwyd', *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*, 35, pp. 81–82

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2789906>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- Aug. 1939. 'Mari Lwyd', *Man*, 39), p. 136

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2793408>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- Feb. 1939. 'A Further Note on the 'Mari Lwyd', *Man*, 39, p. 32

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2793144>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- Jun. 1943. 'Mari Lwyd: A Suggested Explanation', *Man*, 43, pp. 53–58

JSTOR: <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2791759>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 1963. 'Mari Lwyd. Láir Bhán', *Folk Life*, 1, pp. 95–96

Taylor Francis: <<https://doi.org/10.1179/043087763798255123>> Accessed 13/12/20

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Peniarth 6

Peniarth 6ii t.3 & t.4.

Two pages from PKM3 55.14- 57.7. JKB 68.2– 70.2.

Peniarth 6i t.1 & t.2.

Two pages from PKM2. Bendigeidfran's 'bridge' metaphor passage, PKM2 40-42. JKB 53.1– 54.1.

Other material is from the prose Romance tales Gereint uab Erbin, and Peredur, respectively. See PDF text, Isaac and Rodway, et al, (eds.).

II.4. Manuscripts

Penn, Roger, and Paul **Lambert**. 2009. 'Socio.-cultural Exceptionalism: Arranged Marriages in Western Europe', in *Children of International Migrants in Europe: Comparative Perspectives*, ed by. Penn and Lambert (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 144-153

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Pennar, Andreas Meirion. 1975. 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature : An Examination of Some Literary Attitudes before 1500.' (unpublished D Phil. doctoral thesis, Oxford)

The Mabinogi is treated Ch. 4. 'The later Narrative', pp. 96– 121. Also see Ch. 1, 'The Evidence of the Lawbooks', pp. 1– 26. Contents listed Ch. II.8. Fem **n. 28**.

II.8. Feminism

Peppard, Michael. 2011. *The Son of God in the Roman World: Divine Sonship in Its Social and Political Context* (OUP Inc.)

Available on googlebooks

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Perera, Sylvia Brinton. 1981. *Descent to the Goddess: A Way of Initiation for Women*, 'Studies in Jungian Psychology' (Inner City Books)

VII.3 Gss

Peres, Julio Fernando; Alexander **Moreira-Almeida**, Leonardo **Caixeta**, Frederico **Leao**, Andrew **Newberg**, eds. Nov. 2012. 'Neuroimaging during Trance State: A Contribution to the Study of Dissociation', PLoS ONE, e49360.

PLOS ONE: <<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0049360>> Accessed 8/03/2021

V.7 Teyrnnon

Perry, Cassandra W. 2022. *Mother Maiden Crone- Voices: 120 Page Notebook- College Ruled, Speak your Truth* (Independently published), 22 pp.

VII.4. Venerating

Personal communications.

Caronwen, Samuel, Uwch Gynorthwy-ydd Mynediad/ Senior Access Assistant, (6/02/2020)
On the dating of copying of Llyfr Coch Hergest. (24/01/2020) Bosanquet.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Carr, Glenda, Pughe biographer (Oct. 2015) surprised her 1983 book has not been superseded.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Cutts, Timothy, NLW Rare Books Librarian. Oct, Nov. 2018. On Guest, *Mabinogion*, structure of the 1st and 2nd edns.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Darwall-Smith, Robin, Archivist, Jesus College Oxford, personal email (16/01/2020), noting specific dates re. Tegid access to Llyfr Coch Hergest for Bosanquet. (7/12/1817, and 27/05/1819).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

See **Davies**, John.

Hughes Jones, Lis. 'Rhiannon', Japanese Noh style play and Brith Gof theatre, (4/07/2016 and 3/07/2018)

II.3. Performance

James, Christine.

Christine James was my attentive and challenging supervisor for seven years of this study so there is a great deal of her personal discussions which contributed to it. My gratitude is considerable for the inestimable benefit; however all faults in the study are my responsibility.

Queried Huw Pryce. 2001. 'British or Welsh? National Identity'

III.2. Britain

--- 2015. Welsh *cod* and English 'bag' connotations.

VII.5. Theologies: Telyndru.

--- 2015 Speculative construction of '*rien*' Triad title, based on the format and content of other *Trïoedd*.

III.6. '*Rien*'

-- 31/12/19. Wonders if *pendefig*/ 'prince' was a southern title.

III.3. Hierarchy

-- Very tentative reconstruction '*Tri dliwiad Rhiannon*'/ 'Three Rebukes of Rhiannon'

IV.1. Voice

--- 2014. On *anwybod*. 'Not knowing how to conduct oneself in a given situation'

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

--- 2020. Witnessed 'revival' Mari Lwyd groups in action in the 1970s.

VII.1. Goddess Myths: Mari Lwyd

Kenyon, John R. Hon. Research Fellow, National Museum Wales. 21/11/2016. Re stone castles.

III.7. Political Parallels

McCrickard, Janet. 1985. Brighde.

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

McKnight, Owen, College Librarian & Acting Archivist, Jesus College, Oxford (29/10/2015).

Llyfr Coch.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Pennar, Gwri; son of Andreas Pennar, on possible scan of Andreas PhD then greatly generous gift of a copy unexpectedly found, 2017.2023

I.8. Feminism

Remfry, Paul. 25/02/1. Expert on Welsh castles.

III.7. Political Parallels

Rodway, Simon, Aberystwyth. 20/03/2023. Critical of Ifor Williams concept of 'saga poetry'.

I.7. Lady of Prose

Strong, Mark Antony, NLW Enquiries. 13/10/2015. Guest Mabinogion, separation of Pwyll Welsh/ English text, 1849 edn.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Peters, Ellis (Edith Pargeter). 1977–94. *Chronicles Of Brother Cadfael*, series of 20 (Macmillan) Well researched historical novels set in mid–12thC Wales and Shropshire which provide detailed social and technological context of the period.

IX.2. Imaginary

PF see Pagan Federation, 'Pagan Dawn' magazine. VII.8 Gss

Phillips, Alan Robert. 2015. 'The Portrayal of the Otherworld in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', 13pp..

URL from 2021 no longer active but Phillipa has posted 'Was there ever a Celtic Otherworld?' which rejects a pan-Celtic Otherworld but finds more regional 'Otherworlds'.

Academia.edu: < https://www.academia.edu/92245478/Was_there_ever_a_Celtic_Otherworld > [Accessed 28/03/24]

--- 2016. 'The Rituals surrounding Calan Mai–the Welsh May Day–and their Functions' (Essay, University of Wales), 22pp.

The essay has a wealth of data on customs, described regionally. Cf. Trevelyan.

Say Something:

<<https://forum.saysomethingin.com/uploads/default/original/2X/c/cf0b29033cb5e975c3085fa29604708135edf2e0.pdf>> [Accessed 02/04/2022]

V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Phillips, David Rhys. 1921. *Lady Charlotte Guest and the Mabinogion; Some Notes on the Work and Its Translator, with Extracts from Her Journals* (Carmarthen: W. Spurrell & Son)

Archive.org: <https://archive.org/stream/cu31924026877849/cu31924026877849_djvu.txt> [Accessed 17/12/2013]

II.3. Performance

Pierce, Thomas Mordaf. 1914. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe* (Caernarfon: Swyddfa Cymru)

An unsuccessful attempt to rescue Pughe from the Oxford Welsh Movement's hostility. Cf. Pughe memorial statue erected at Cae Athro (1913), see under MSS. See also Bromwich (on Guest but substantial section on Pughe), Carr, Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Pirenne-Delforge, V. and G. **Pironti**. 2022. *The Hera of Zeus: Intimate Enemy, Ultimate Spouse* (Cambridge)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

de **Pisan**, Christine. 1405. *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*

II.8. Feminism

de Pizan, Christine, and Rebecca Kingston, ed. trans. 2018. *Book of the City of Ladies and Other Writings* (Hackett Publishing)

II.8. Feminism

Pitman, Josh. 2012. 'Christian Influences on "The Mabinogi"', *The Oswald Review: An International Journal of Undergraduate Research and Criticism in the Discipline of English*, 14, 3
Scholars Commons: <<https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/tor/vol14/iss1/3/>> Accessed 19/10/19
VII.5. Theologies

PKM See Ifor Williams.

Plato, *Phaedrus*, 229b–d
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Pokorny, Julius. 1927. 'Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen, 1', 'The non-Indo-European substratum in Irish' (my trans.), *ZCP*, XVI, pp. 95–144, 231–266, 363–394
VII.3. 20thC Goddess
--- 1959. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 'Indo-European Etymological Dictionary', in 2 vols. (Bern & Stuttgart, Francke Verlag)
I.7. Etymology

Pollack, Rachel. 1980. *Seventy-Eight Degrees of Wisdom: A Book of Tarot*, in 2 vols. (Thorsons, and Kindle)
Classic introductory guide to practising Tarot readings.
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Porter, Pamela J. 2003. 'The Place of Romantic Love in Medieval Marriage', in *Courtly Love in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Porter, Pamela J. (University of Toronto Press)
V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice

Portishead Cruising Club, 'Tidal Advice'
<<http://pccsail.com/tides/>> Accessed 01/11/2016
V.7. Teyrnon

Pope-Ramsey, Sara. 2004. *Shadow of Rhiannon* (Createspace)
Apocalyptic Vampire novel. Rhiannon is a female serial killer that preys upon the men she attracts.
Not PKM Rhiannon.
IX.2. Imaginary

Powell, David. ed. 1804. *Itinerarium Cambriae seu Laboriosae Baldvini Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi per Walliam Legationis Accuratio Descriptio* (London: Gulielmi Bulmer et Socie, Cleveland Row)
English trans. see Price, David. 1912. Quoted Ch. III.4. Equine.
Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/b22010774/page/154/mode/2up>> [Accessed 12/01/21]
III.4. Equine

Prati, G., and A. **Mancini**. 13/01/2021. 'The psychological impact of COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns: A review and meta-analysis of longitudinal studies and natural experiments', *Psychological Medicine*, 51, 2, pp. 201–211
Cambridge: <doi:10.1017/S0033291721000015> [Accessed 03/04/2022]
V.10. Pryderi: Prince

Preuss, Arthur. 1913. 'About English Dictionaries', *Fortnightly Review*, 20

See Johnson's *Dictionary* comparand to Pughe.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Price, David. 1912. *Gerald of Wales, The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales* (J. M. Dent and Sons)

Latin source, Powell, David. 1908. Quoted Ch. III.4. Equine.

Gutenberg:

<<https://www.mirrorservice.org/sites/ftp.ibiblio.org/pub/docs/books/gutenberg/1/1/4/1148/1148-h/1148-h.htm#page133>> Accessed 12/01/21

III.4. Equine

Price, Glanville. 1992. *The Celtic Connection* (Rowman & Littlefield)

III.7. Political Parallels

Price, Richard. 2007. 'Theotokos: The Title and its Significance in Doctrine and Devotion', in *Mary: the Complete Resource*, ed. by Boss, Sarah Jane (Continuum), pp. 56–73

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Price, Thomas (Carnhuanawc). 1836–42. *Hanes Cymru, a chenedly Cymry, o'r cynoesoedd hyd at farwolaeth Llewelyn Ap Gruffydd : ynghyd a rhai cofiaint perthynol i'r amseroedd o'r pryd hynny i waered* / A History of Wales, and of the Welsh nation, from the earliest Ages to the Death of Llewellyn ap Gruffydd, with some notices related to the subsequent period (my trans.), Cymraeg. In 14 parts (Llandovery: William Rees; and London: Longman & Co.)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens. 405-413 CE. Apotheosis, 195

See Thomson, H. J., trans.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Pryce, Huw. 2000. 'Lawbooks and Literacy in medieval Wales', *Speculum*, 75, 1, pp. 29. 67

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 2001. 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *The English Historical Review*, 116, 468, pp. 775– 801

Christine James queries this, see Personal Communications

Pughe, see also Carr, Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.

III.2 Britain

--- 2011. 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31, pp. 1–40.

II.7. Welsh Academy: Arnold

PUGHE = pre-1806 'William Owen'. Added 'Pughe' as extra surname (1806).

Owen, William; (later Pughe). **NLW archive**: Cymmrodorion society invitation dated 2/10/ 1784 to a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society addressed to Mr. (William) Owen, (p. 108).

Printed ticket (blank) to the St. David's Day meeting of 'Cymdeithas y Gwyneddigion'.

Notice 29/05/1784, of a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society, addressed to Mr. (William) Owen (p. 109). NLW MS 13225C. Misc. poetry and prose (1779–1835). Formerly Mysevin 5.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/miscellaneous-poetry-and-prose>> Accessed 28/04/2018

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Owen, William; (later Pughe), ed. 1792. *The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces of Llywarch Hen* (London: J. Owen)

Possibly largely Iolo Morgannwg's work. Includes a lengthy, transparently Ioloic, treatise on Bardism descended from ancient Druids, Iolo was twelve years William's senior; his radical politics placed him under Government surveillance, unable to publish in his own right. See Kaminski-Jones,, 'William Owen Pughe and Romantic Rewritings of the Poetry of Llywarch Hen'.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1793. *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Caesneg: A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, I of 3 (London: E. Williams)

Vols. I & II publ. 1803 see below with notes.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1795. 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *Cambrian Register*, I (London: E & T Williams), pp. 177–87

First Mabinogi text in print. Text is bilingual, Welsh. English on facing pages, bicolunar style, covering *Pwyll I*, the Annwfn adventure. Equivalent PKM1 1.1– 8.26. JKB 19.1–25.1. Sometimes printing date listed 1796, i.e. it reports works from 1795. *Cambrian Register* was the first serious Welsh journal, published in book format, collecting history, prose tales, *Trioedd*, poetry and letters.

Text available online, NLW, & google books.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2886559/193#?xywh=-320%2C99%2C2965%2C1881>> Accessed 10/02/2015

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1799. 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II, pp. 322–27. Cont. from *Cambrian Register*, I.

Welsh & English text, bicolunar pages. Title page shows '1796', at the bottom '1799'; presumably as this volume continues Vol. I, 1795/96. Text equiv. PKM1 8.27– 12.6. JKB 27.2. Pughe finishes with an appeal for help to access a copy MS. so as to continue, p. 327.

Available online, NLW, or google books.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2961120/331#?xywh=-20%2C254%2C2352%2C1492>> Accessed 10/02/2015

I.4. Advent

---; Owen Jones, and Edward Williams, eds. 1801. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales: Collected Out of Ancient Manuscripts*, I. Poetry (London: Longman & Rees; T. Williams; & Richard Box)

--- ; Owen Jones, and Edward William, eds. 1807. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales: Collected Out of Ancient Manuscripts*, II. Prose (London: Longman & Rees; T. Williams; & Richard Box)

Pughe was the principal editor. Vol. III planned prose for tales, never published.

In this same period Pughe edited the journal *Y Greal* (1805-1807).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- Presented 21/02/1802, publ. 1808. 'Account of the Ancient Welsh Manuscripts', in *Archaeologia: Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, XIV (London: Society of Antiquaries), pp. 211–20

He had been a Fellow of the Society since 1793. Copy kindly provided by Adrian James of the Society by email (16/01/2016).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1803. *The Cambrian Biography: Or, Historical Notices of Celebrated Men Among the Ancient Britons*, I & II (London: E. Williams, 11 The Strand).

Mabinogi personages listed (M) Mythological. Arianrhod, pp. 11-12. Bran, p. 26-27. Branwen, p. 27. Caradog, pp. 39-40. Caswallon, pp. 42-45. Cilfathwy (Tales), p. 50. Don (Male), p. 90. Goronwy Bevyrr, p. 141. Gwdion (M), p. 155. Havgan (M), p. 174. Llew Llawgyfes, p. 217. Manawydan, pp. 237-38. Math (M), p. 240. Pendaran Dyved (M), p. 282. Pryderi (?), p. 288. Pwyll, pp. 288-89. Rhianon (M), p. 290. Hyfaidd Hen as Rhiannon's patronymic only. Inclusion, omission, content, indicate sources were mainly the *Trioedd*. Similar categorisation by Pughe in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 169.

Hathitrust: <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nnc1.cu60696982;view=1up;seq=1>> Accessed 29/12/13

I.3. Etymology

--- (1803). *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Caesneg: A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, II of 3 (London: E. Williams)

Pughe's Welsh orthography and grammar was prescriptive, aimed to restore Welsh as an original, ancient, divine language. He was much influenced by Rowland Jones.

3rd edn, Pryse, Robert John, ed. 1866. Corrected orthography by Thomas Stephens.

Archive org, Vol. I:

<https://archive.org/stream/adictionarywels01pughgoog/adictionarywels01pughgoog_djvu.txt>

Accessed 17/12/2013

Archive org, Vol. II:

<<https://archive.org/details/adictionarywels02pughgoog/page/n472>> Accessed 29/12/2013

Hathitrust, Vol. II: <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044004554697;view=1up;seq=8>>

Accessed 29/12/2013

I.3. Etymology

--- ed. 1805. 1807. *Y Greal*, journal, 9 issues

NLW: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2092207/2092208/#?xywh=-882%2C-196%2C3942%2C3913>> [Accessed 13/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Pughe, William Owen. 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 230-46

Bilingual Welsh English text, bicolumnar pages. Cont. from CR.I. and II. Text equiv. PKM1 12.7-20.12. JKB 27.2.-34.1. Possible Tegid MS. connection, see Ch. I.5. Tegid.

Available as facsimile hardback; viewable online NLW, or google books.

NLW Welsh Journals, scanned text:

<<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2867880/240/#?xywh=-806%2C-182%2C3735%2C2368>>

Accessed 29/03/2015

I.3. Etymology

--- 1821. 'The Tale of Pwyll', in *Cambro-Briton Journal*, II, ed. by Parry, John Humffreys, pp. 271-75

English trans. text only. Not explicitly attributed to Pughe but the translation matches his *Cambrian Register I* (1795) almost entirely.

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/celticresearch00davi/page/n5/mode/2up>> Accessed 17/08/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- (attributed). c. 1826. Nine Sketches illustrating the First Branch. Pen and ink, NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc., 1826. 1831 Formerly known as Mysevin 22. Copy supplied on application May 2016.

I.10. Pryderi: Rhiannon

--- (attr.) 1828. 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed.

by Croker, Thomas Crofton (London: John Murray), pp. 163–91 Substantial, c. 40 pages. Incl. 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', (PKM2) pp. 189–90.

CONTENTS: Title page plus Introduction by Croker to Pughe's trans. (pp. 158. 63). Letter from Pughe about the Mabinogion (pp. 163. 76) Pughe, Pwyll I, cf. 1795; with notes (pp. 177– 82). 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran'. Includes Branwen's advice dialogue re British ships (pp. 189–90); other speech is reported. Probably drafted by Pughe, or possibly Croker from Pughe's MS. cf. Gunn draft notes 1819 (p. 183.91). 'Mythological Persons' lists pp. 192.99.

I.5. Text

--- April 1829. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, Literally translated by Idrison', *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, I, 2, pp. 170–79

Bilingual English–Welsh, bicolunar, text ends at Pryderi's grave, equiv. PKM4 73.17. JKB 88.2.

Cont. *Cambrian Quarterly*, I, 3 (July, 1833), pp. 395–410 (note pp. 405ff. incorrectly numbered). Bicolunar English–Welsh, ends at Math's gift of territory to Lleu, equiv. PKM4 84.6. JKB 100.2. Ref. Bardism, Druidism, 'romantic narratives, which ... constituted the favourite reading of Europe.' p. 170.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2070008/2070139/49#?xywh=-86%2C304%2C2932%2C1794>> Accessed 14/02/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- April 1833. 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin', *Cambrian Quarterly*, V, 18, pp. 200–214

Bilingual English Welsh, bicolunar pages. Tale of Keridwen, incl. Taliesin's enchantment of the bards.

Intro. repeatedly as a 'romance' by Hopkin c. 1370, p. 299, but not the composition of the historical Taliesin, bard of Urien Rheged, p. 201.

Cont. July, 1833. *Cambrian Quarterly*, V, 19, pp. 366–82

Bilingual English Welsh, bicolunar. Ends at Taliesin making predictions which are not specified,.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2070008/2119445/47#?xywh=-1215%2C-288%2C3565%2C2261>> Accessed 14/02/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 'Dyddgoviant/ 'Diary'. In 2 vols. NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134–136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811– 13/04/1835), 736pp. Formerly Mysevin 28. Domestic news, weather, Southcott's final days, and her death (pp. 103–108), development of her sect over succeeding years.

Frequent reference by Pughe to his extremely laboured translation of Milton's Coll Gwynfa/ Paradise Lost, (1819), dismissed by Iolo Morganwg as 'Milton lost'! Diary written in a very small neat hand, in the eccentric orthography devised by Pughe himself; (e.g. Welsh letter 'ch' is represented by 'ç,' and 'f' by 'v').

NLW Digital: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dyddgoviant-william-owen-pughe>> Accessed 10/03/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

See also Pughe biography, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) online: Detailed, with good bibliography.

See Owen, Aneurin; his son.

--- and Robert John Pryse. 3rd edn. 1866. *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Caesneg: A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, in 2 vols. (Thomas Gee and Son) Orthography corrected by Thomas Stephens.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

2013. Memorial erected at Cae Athro: photo MS. GB 0210 WILGOL

William Owen, Prysgol, Papers:

<<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/william-owen-prysgol-papers-2>> [Accessed 17/10/2017]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Raae, Hanne-Mette Alsos. 2010. 'A Tripartite Classification of Marriages in Medieval Europe'.
Academia.edu

van **Raalte**, Georgia. 2017. 'Pomegranates and Crescent Honey-Cakes: Divine Femininity and Everyday Womanhood in the Work of Dion Fortune', *La Rosa di Paracelso*, 1, pp. 179-96
Bournemouth University: <<http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/27759/1/24.pdf>> [Accessed 5/10/20]
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Raphael, Melissa. 1996. *Thealogy and Embodiment: The Post-Patriarchal Reconstruction of female Sacrality* (Sheffield Academic Press)

VII.5. Thealogies

--- 1999. *Introducing Thealogy. Discourse On The Goddess* (Bloomsbury)

VII.5. Thealogies

Ratnayaka, Shanta. 1985. 'The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravāda', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 8, 2, pp. 85–110

Journals: <<https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/jiabs/article/download/8663/2570>>

Accessed 13/05/2023

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Ravilious, Kate. Nov./Dec. 2022. 'Priestess, Poet, Politician', *Archaeology*, Archaeological Institute of America, 75, 6, pp. 34–39

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Raye, Lee. 9/05/2014. 'The harvest mice (Micromys Minutus) in 'Manawydan' (the 'Third Branch of the Mabinogi')'

'History and Nature': <<https://historyandnature.wordpress.com/2014/05/09/harvest-mice-in-manawydan/>> [Accessed 25/03/21]

V.13. Lady Mouse

Reclaiming Collective: See also Starhawk.

<<https://reclaimingcollective.wordpress.com/>> Accessed 5/10/20

VII.4. Temples

Redmond, Pamela, 'Goddess Names for Babies'.

Nameberry: <<https://nameberry.com/list/433/Goddess-Baby-Names>> Accessed 01/04/21

Rees, Ken. 1995. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi: Celtic Myth and Shamanism' (City Lit College, Mary Ward Centre, London WC2. 11 weekly Fridays, 13th Jan. 31 March 1995) repeated subsequently. Inclusive academic and experiential approach. Rees taught various well-received courses on Pagan, esoteric and Goddess themes at the City Lit from the 1980s until his death 2020. My thanks to Alan Phillips, MA. Celtic Studies (University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, 2016) for his diary data, and sharing our memories of Ken.

VII.4. Temples

Rees, Rhian. 2012. 'Perceptions of Annwn : The Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.' (unpublished master's thesis University of Wales Trinity St. David's)

University Wales: <<https://repository.uwtsd.ac.uk/id/eprint/383/>> [Accessed 28/03/24]

VI.5. Bag

Reid-Bowen, Paul. 2002. 'Thinking Goddess/Nature: Feminist metaphysics and the Theological imagination' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Gloucestershire)

PDF download <http://eprints.glos.ac.uk/3056/1/271083_Redacted.pdf> Accessed 7/10/20.

VII.3 20thC Goddess

--- 2007. *Goddess as Nature: Towards a Philosophical Theology* (Ashgate)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

--- 2007. 'Great goddess, elemental nature or chora? Philosophical contentions and constructs in contemporary goddess feminism', *Feminist Theology*, 16, 1, pp. 101-109.

Re Asphodel

Sage: <<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0966735007082520>> Accessed 03//04/21

VII.5 Theologies

Renault, Mary. 1958. *The King Must Die* (Longmans, Green and Co)

VII.3. Gss

Roberts, Alan Lloyd, see Llwyd, Alan.

Rh- see after R. (Welsh alphabetical order)

Rich, Adrienne. 1995. 'When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision', in *On Lies, Secrets, and Silence* ed. by Rich (London: W. W. Norton & Company)

IX.2. Imaginary

Richards, Melville. 1954. *The Laws of Hywel Dda (The Book of Blegywyrdd)*. (Liverpool University Press)

V.3. Gwawl

Rider-Bezerra, Sebastian. 2011. 'The Mabinogion Project: A Brief History of the Mabinogion', a section of the digital Camelot Project (University of Rochester)

Large collection of interviews with Arthurian authors, and other materials.

The Camelot Project, Rochester University 1995 ff. <<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/sbrmab.htm>> Accessed 26/11/2021

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

Riding, Laura (Laura Gottschalk, Laura (Riding) Jackson, Laura Reichen, Madeleine Vara)

Riding, Laura. 1930. *Experts Are Puzzled* (Cape)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

--- as Vara, Madeleine. 1936. *Convalescent Conversations* (Majorca: Seizin Press; London: Constable)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

--- ed. and Robert Graves, asst. ed. 1936. *Epilogue: A Critical Summary; II* (Majorca: Seizin Press; London: Constable)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

--- 1993, posthumously. *The Word Woman and other related writings* (Persea).

See Friedmann and Clark, Elizabeth. Kirkham, Michael.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Robat, Gruffudd. 1995. *Pwyll a Rhiannon*, illust. Elwyn Ioan (Y Lolfa)
Welsh. Colouring book.
IX.2. Imaginary

Robberds, J. W. 1843. *A memoir of the life and writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich: Author of 'English Synonyms Discriminated' 'An Historic Survey of German Poetry' etc. etc. Containing his correspondence of many years with the late Robert Southey Esq. and original letters from Sir Walter Scott, and other eminent men* (London: John Murray)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

ROBERTS, Brynley F.

Roberts, Brynley F. 1968. '*Penyd Rhiannon*' ('Rhiannon's Penance' my trans.), *BBCS*, 23, pp. 325–27

Identifies William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum* and French sources for the custom of 'saddling'; cited thus by Hemming, '*Sellam*' and '*Reflections*'.

II.3. Performance

--- 1968. 'Syr Edward Anwyl (1866 1914)', *Cymm.* 2, pp. 211–264

Cited by Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 188, n. 2.

II.6. Academy: Anwyl

--- 1976. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 20, pp. 29–40

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

--- 1984. 'From Traditional Tale to Literary Story: Middle Welsh Prose Narratives', Ch. 7. in *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics* ed. by Arrathoon, Leigh A. (Rochester: Solaris Press), pp. 211. 230

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

--- 1988. 'Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature: A Description and Survey', *Oral Tradition*, 3. 1–2, pp. 61–87

I.7. Lady of Prose

--- 1991. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*', in *The Arthur of the Welsh: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*, ed. by Bromwich et al. (Cardiff, UWP), pp. 97–116

Also Chapter 5 for a discussion of the reception of Geoffrey's *Historia* in Wales.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

--- 1992. 'Characterization in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. VI in *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*, ed. by Roberts (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press), pp. 95–104

II.3. Performance

--- 1992. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. V., in *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* ed. by Roberts (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. 95–104

II.3. Performance

--- 1992. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh Historical Tradition', Ch. 2. in *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*, ed. by Roberts (Lampeter/ Lewiston), pp. 29–34

III.2. Britain

--- 1992. *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (Edwin Mellon)

I.4. Advent

--- 2001. 'Where Were the Four Branches of the Mabinogi Written?', in *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook, 1, ed. by Nagy, Josef F. (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 61–73

II.4. Manuscripts

--- 2004. 'Williams, Moses (1685–1742)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

--- 8/07/2017. 'Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi. Tybed?', presented at Sioned Davies (dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)

II.3. Performance

See also **Gruffydd**, R. Geraint, and Brynley F. **Roberts**, 'Rhiannon Gyda Theyrnnon yng Ngwent', *Llên Cymru*, XIII (1980-81), pp. 289–291.

I.3. Other Sources

Roberts, Euryn., 2018. 'A Surfeit of Identity', in *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe*, 8, ed. by Pleszczynski, Andrzej; Joanna Aleksandra Sobiesiak; Michał Tomaszek; Przemysław Tyszka (Leiden; Boston: Brill), pp. 247-78

V.7. Teyrnnon

Roberts, Gwyneth Tyson. 1998. *The Language of the Blue Books: The Petted Instrument of Empire* (CUP)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Roberts, John, Rev. 1825. 'Reasons for rejecting the Welsh Orthography, that is proposed and attempted to be introduced, with a view of superseding the system that has been established since the publication of Dr Davies's Grammar and Dictionary and Bishop Parry's edition of the Welsh Bible, and that of 1630', Essay 3 in *Three Essays, on the Subjects Proposed By the Cambrian Society in Dyfed, Which Gained the Respective Prizes, at the Eisteddfod, Held at Caermarthen, in September 1823*, ed. by Dyfed Cambrian Society (Jonathan Harris, Dark Gate, Caermarthen)

WorldCat only lists 3 UK copies, Bangor, University of Wales, and British Library. See Knight, W. Bruce.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Robertson, Olivia, and Fellowship of Isis. 2013. *Isis of Fellowship: How the Fellowship of Isis was Founded* (CreateSpace)

See also Crowley, Vivianne, *et al.*, *Female Leaders*

FOI (Fellowship of Isis) Clonbeg Castle, Eire: <www.fellowshipofisis.com> Accessed 4/10/20

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Robinson, Alex. 30/01/2019. 'The Welsh section D: the "native cobs" with power, action and presence', in *Horse and Hound*, online

Horse and Hound: <<https://www.horseandhound.co.uk/features/welsh-section-d-facts-677299>> Accessed 24/12/ 2019

III.4. Equine

Robinson, Andrew. Dec. 2015. 'The Greatest Civilisation Ever Forgotten?', *History Today*, 65, 12

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Rodger, N.A.M. 2004. *The Safeguard of the Sea* (Penguin)

III.4. Equine

Rodway, Simon. 2013. *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications)

II.4. Manuscripts

----- 8/07/2017. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology', presented at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)

Introduction

--- 2018. 'The Mabinogi and the Shadow of Celtic Mythology', *Studia Celtica*, 52, pp. 67–85

See also John Davies (1992); Morgain, 2017).

Introduction

--- 20/03/2023. Personal communication critical of Ifor Williams concept of 'saga poetry'.

I.7. Lady of Prose

Roller, Duane W. 2006. *Through the pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman exploration of the Atlantic* (Routledge)

VI.5. Bag

Roos Bockwinkel, Susi, and Paul **Weinkel**. 1996. *Rhiannon: Truth Seeker* (Mind and Miracle, 1996).

Roos Bockwinkel, Susi. 2001. *Rhiannon: Truth Seeker*, I (Authorhouse)

--- 2001. *Rhiannon: Truth Bearer*, II (Authorhouse)

Fiction, historical. 11thC priestess trains, adventures, learning spiritual teachings.

IX.2. Imaginary

Rosenberg, Bruce A. 1990. 'Oral Literature in the Middle Ages', in *Oral Traditional Literature*, ed. by Foley, John M. (Slavica), pp. 440–50

Cited by Sioned Davies.

II.2 Storyteller's Craft

Ross, Ann. 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain: studies in iconography and tradition* (Routledge and Kegan Paul)

II.8. Feminism

Roth, Silke, and Katherine Dashper. December 2016. 'Sociology in the 1980s: The Rise of Gender (and Intersectionality)', *Sociology*, 50, 6, pp. NP1–NP12.

JSTOR: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26556422?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> Accessed

21/09/2021

VI.8. Feminism

Rowan, John. 1990. *The Horned God: Feminism and Men as Wounding and Healing* (Routledge)

Rowland, Jenny. 1988. 'The Maiming of Horses in Branwen', CMCS, pp. 51-70

Ch. I.5. Text/ Core & Extended

---. 1990. *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study, and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge)

III.7. Lady of Prose.

Rowlands, Eurys I., 1961. 'Review of TYP, *Llên Cymru*, VI p. 223.

Cited by Bromwich, TYP.

III.2. Britain

--- ed. 1975. Gwaith Lewys Môn, (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru,), p. 347
Translation Valente, 'Merched', p. 35

Rowlands, I. W. 1981. 'The making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed', in *Anglo-Norman Studies III: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1980*, ed. by Brown, R. Allen; and M. Chibnall (Boydell Press), pp. 142-57
III.7. Political Parallels

Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB):

RSPB: < <https://www.rspb.org.uk/birds-and-wildlife/wildlife-guides/bird-a-z/crane/> > Accessed 19/09/2020
VI.5 Bag

Russell, Jesse. 2008. 'Rhiannon: Curse Of The Four Branches', PC DVD (Arberth Studios)
<http://www.amazon.co.uk/Rhiannon-Curse-The-Four-Branches/dp/B001GG7DSO/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1409620394&sr=8-1&keywords=rhiannon>
[Accessed 16/01/22]
Holding page explains the UK operation has been forced to close by Brexit expense and complicated tax regulations. Still available Big Fish Games: <<http://www.bigfishgames.com>> and through the 'Steam' channel of their Canadian publisher Meridian 4: <http://www.meridian4.com>>
IX.2. Imaginary

Ryan, Jane. 1993. 'A study of horses in early and medieval Welsh literature, c.600–1300 AD' (unpublished masters' thesis, Cardiff (UWP)
III.3 Equine

Ryder, Nanna and Carys **Richards**. 2010. *Pwyll a Rhiannon* (Gomer Press)
Welsh. Young Adult series retellings.
IX.2. Imaginary

'Rymenhild'. 2010. 'Arianrhod, Daughter of Don: The Raising of Gwern', Part 1 of The Five Branches Series.
Fanfics are tales composed in the style and context of an existing work.
Archive of Our Own: <<http://archiveofourown.org/works/121848>>
--- 2010. 'The Fifth Branch', The Five Branches Series, 2
Archive of Our Own: <<http://archiveofourown.org/works/68282>> Accessed 30/09/2021
II.9. 21stC

RH- Welsh alphabetical order.

Rhiannon Room shrine, Glastonbury.
Goddess House: <<https://goddesstempleroomhire.com/the-rhiannon-room/>> [Accessed 2019]
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Rhiannon and Dwyll. 2001. Momentum Literacy Program. Step 5, Level D.
IX.2. Imaginary

Rhodes, Jacqueline. 2005. *Radical Feminism, Writing, and Critical Agency: From Manifesto to Modem* (State University of New York Press)

VII.5. Thealogy

Rhys, John. Presented 1874– 79. 'Lectures on Welsh Philology'. NLW Archive A2/1, five folders, MS. drafts 1876-1877 together with annotated page proofs of the appendix (incomplete); cuttings, 1874-1879, containing reviews of the lectures, the book; and five letters, 1877-1879

NLW: <https://archives.library.wales/index.php/lectures-on-welsh-philology>> Accessed 12/12/2021

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhys

--- and John Gwenogvryn **Evans**, eds. 1887. *The Text of the Mabinogion and Other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest*. Series of Old Welsh Texts (Pwllheli: Private subscription), intended as 1st of 2 vols.

Preface by Rhys, pp. viii-ix. Mabinogi text pp. 1–81

Archive org:

<https://archive.org/stream/textofmabinogion00rhysiala/textofmabinogion00rhysiala_djvu.txt>

Accessed 17/12/13

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhys

---1888. *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*. Hibbert Lectures series, I–VI (London & Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate)

Wikisource: <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Celtic_Heathendom> Accessed 6/10/2014

I.3. Etymology

---1888. Errata and Additions to *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom* (London & Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate), pp. 675– 78

This is the Rhiannon ref. as moon goddess, p. 678.

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhys

--- 1901. Repr. 1981, 1983. *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (OUP; then Wildwood Press)

Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/cfw/index.htm>> Accessed 19/10/19

III.3. Hierarchy

--- 1891. *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Clarendon)

I.5. Text

Saare, J. A. 2018. *Dead, Undead, or Somewhere in Between*. Rhiannon's Law series, 1 (Renrut)

--- 2018. *The Renfield Syndrome*. Rhiannon's Law series, 2 (Renrut)

--- 2018. *The Ripple Effect*. Rhiannon's Law series, 3 (Renrut)

Fiction, mature adult, vampire, demon, violence.

IX.2. Imaginary

Saenger, Paul. 1997. *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford University Press)

II.3. Performance

Saini. Angela. 2023. *The Patriarchs: How Men Came to Rule* (Fourth Estate, & Kindle)

Inverts the customary paradigm to query patriarchy rather than matriarchy. Some useful examples of latter from Catal Hoyuk to Kerala today.

III.6. 'Rieni'

Saiving, Valerie. Apr., 1976. 'Androcentrism in Religious Studies', *The Journal of Religion*, 56, 2, pp. 177-197

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1202091?seq=1>> Accessed 2/04/21

VII.3 Gss

Sanday, Peggy Reeves. 1-7/07/1998. 'Matriarchy as a Sociocultural Form: An Old Debate in a New Light', presented at the 16th Congress of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, Melaka, Malaysia

University of Pennsylvania: <<https://web.sas.upenn.edu/psanday/articles/selected-articles/matriarchy-as-a-sociocultural-form-an-old-debate-in-a-new-light/>> Accessed 21/12/21

III.6 *Rieni*

Sanders, Julie. 2016. *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London, NY: Routledge)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Sargent, Amelia Lynn Borrego. 2011. 'Visions and Revisions: Gerald of Wales, Authorship, and the Construction of Political, Religious, and Legal Geographies in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Britain', University of California, Berkeley

US Berkeley: <<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5905x7t1>> [Accessed 10/12/20]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Saunders, Aidan; and Mererid Hopwood, trans. 2021. *Pwyll a Rhiannon*, (Atebol Amazon media, Kindle)

Bilingual Welsh/ English retelling, with large detailed pictures on every page. A beautifully realised set of images with Celtic tattoos, jewellery, clothing, objects and landscapes sensitively rendered with touches of humour. Aidan Saunders with Llais Cymru and Atebol presented a live book reading and workshop to two separate schools in Yr Egin (9/12/2021). Saunders and Welsh speaking actress Sian Elin performed a segment of Pwyll and Rhiannon, followed by discussion. Cf. Morgain 2010 school performance.

Prints of Hay: <<https://printsofhay.com/branwen>> Accessed 24/02/2023

II.9. 21st C

Sayer, George. 1988. *Jack: C. S. Lewis and His Times* (Macmillan)

I.5. Text

Schafer/ Schaefer, Roland. 2012. 'A Grammatical Sketch of Middle Welsh', based on Evans' Grammar of Middle Welsh, course text. (Previously: 'Sprachwissenschaftliches Seminar', University of Gottingen)

Roland Schafer PDF download: <http://rolandschaefer.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/RolandSchaefer_AGrammaticalSketchOfMiddleWelsh.pdf> Accessed 30/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

Scharfe, Hartmut. 1985. 'The Vedic word for "king"', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105, pp. 543-548

I.3. Etymology

Schröder, Franz Rolf. 1926. 'Ein Altirischer Krönungsritus und das Indo-germanische Rossopfer', 'An ancient Irish coronation rite and the Indo-Germanic horse sacrifice', (my trans.) *ZCP*, XVI, 1, pp. 310-312

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Schweitzer, Darrell. Winter 1990. Interview: 'Evangeline Walton', in *Fantasy Magazine*, 7, ed. by Zimmer Bradley, Marion (MZB)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Scourfield, Robert and Keith **Johnson**. 2008. *Below the Landsker. An Introduction to the Dialect, Place Names and Folklore of South Pembrokeshire*, (Jackydando Books)

III.7. Political Parallels

Scowcroft, Richard Mark. 1982. 'The Hand and the Child: Studies of Celtic Tradition in European Literature', in 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis Cornell University)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

'**seekeronthepath**'. 2015. 'The Marriage of Pwyll and Rhiannon'. 'The Four Branches' her storytelling blog (see also 'Women of the Mabinogi' series for retelling by Rhiannon)
The author says "There are a number of features of oral storytelling that show up here: repetition, formulaic phrases, a focus on action and away from introspection, and an awful lot of conjunctions. In fact, most of the peculiarities of this story make sense if you read it aloud. at least, I think so." 'seekeronthepath'. 2015. blog of her (2015). 'seekeronthepath' (2015) This seems to be replaced by 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi belong to an oral storytelling culture, and it shows.'

Archive of Our Own:

<<https://archiveofourown.org/series/204893>> [Accessed July 17. 2023]

<https://archiveofourown.org/chapters/7044386?show_comments=true&view_full_work=false#comment_251878286> [Accessed Sept. 2019]

II.9. 21stC

---- 26/1/2015. 'Women of the Mabinogi: Loyal and loving', Ch. 1 . Blog.

Retelling PKM1 by Rhiannon. Ch. 2. PKM2 retelling by Branwen does not mention Adar Rhiannon or Pryderi.

Archive of Our Own: <<https://archiveofourown.org/works/3234221/chapters/7043906>> [Accessed Sept. 2019]

II.9. 21stC

---- 26/1/2015. 'Women of the Mabinogi: The Man who Caught a Mouse and Called it a Thief', Ch. 3 . Blog.

Retelling PKM3 by Cigfa. Ch. 4 (PKM4) barely mentions Pryderi as its focus is Arianrhod.

Archive of Our Own: <<https://archiveofourown.org/works/3234221/chapters/7043954#workskin>>
Accessed Sept. 2019

II.9. 21stC

Selgā. 2010. 'A Catalogue of Primary Source Materials for Celtic Studies, Van Hamel Online Bibliography'. Dennis Groenewegen (Dir.)

Van Hamel: <www.vanhamel.nl/wiki/Special:RunQuery/Search_texts> Accessed 30/09/2012

II.9. 21stC

SEP see Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

Serith, Ceisiwr. 2003, last modified 18/02/2019. 'The Legend of the Descent of the Goddess'
Ceisiwr serith: <<https://ceisiwrserith.com/wicca/legendofthedescent.htm>> Accessed 15/06/2021

VII.5. Thealogy

Sessle, Erica J. 1994. 'Exploring the Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess through the Role of Rhiannon', *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 14, pp. 9–13

II.8 Feminism

Setch, Eve. 2002. 'The Face of Metropolitan Feminism: The London Women's Liberation Workshop, 1969–79', *Twentieth Century British History*, 13, 2, pp. 171–190.

Academic OUP: <<https://academic.oup.com/tcbh/article-abstract/13/2/171/1651213?redirectedFrom=fulltext>> [Accessed 10/08/2020]

VI.8. Feminism

Settia, Aldo. 2002. *Rapine. assedi, battaglie: La guerra nel Medioevo* (Rome: Laterza)

III.4. Equine

Severn Bore:

My thanks to John Davies for his research report sent 01/11/2016 by email.

Visit My Harbour: Bristol Channel: <<http://www.visitmyharbour.com/harbours/bristol-channel/bristol-channel/expanded.asp>> [Accessed Nov. 2016]

<<http://www.thesevernbores.co.uk/>> [Accessed 13/02/2020]

V.7. Teyrnnon

Shack, Joseph. 2015. 'Otherworld and Norman "Other": Annwfn and its colonial implications in the First Branch of the Mabinogi', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 35, pp. 172-186

See Fulton. 2000.

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24893610>> Accessed:09/02/21

III.7. Political Parallels

Shayne, Maggie. 2014. *Twilight Guardians*. Wings in the Night: Reborn series, 1 (Thunder foot)

--- 2015. *Twilight Vendetta*. Wings in the Night: Reborn series, 1 (Thunder foot)

--- 2015. *Rhiannon Chronicles*. Wings in the Night: Reborn series, 3 (Thunder foot)

Fiction, vampire. Fantasy novels. Rhiannon Queen of Darkness. Not PKM Rhiannon.

IX.2. Imaginary.

Sheen, Nathan. 2010. 'Rhiannon', giant parade puppet, Newport.

Sheen created the puppet which was dressed by Millbrook primary school, Newport. Part of a festival parade orchestrated by Andy O' Rourke; cf. Morgain, Davies, Morgan storytelling enactment.

Nathan Sheen Gallery: <<http://www.nathansheen.com/giants-gallery/>> [Accessed 30/12/21 but 2024 defunct]

II.3. Performance

Shelton, Sonya. c. 2013. 'Stevie Nicks Biography'

Musician Guide: <<https://musicianguide.com/biographies/1608002342/Stevie-Nicks.html>> [Accessed 13/07/2023]

II.3. Performance

Sherman, Dennis (Master Robyyan n'Tor d'Elandris). 1994. 'History of the Table Fork'.

The Middle Ages net: <<https://www.themiddleages.net/life/fork.html>> Accessed 18/12/21

III.7. Political Parallels

Shimpock, Kathy E. 2017. 'The "Unlikely Female" Characters of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis Celtic Studies, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David)
III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Siano, Gina. 'Seasons of Sovereignty: Love Triangles and Seasonality in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis Celtic Studies, University of Wales Trinity Saint David)
Gina Siano has a series of significant publications on other areas of the Mabinogi, particularly Rhiannon, under the name Jhenah Telyndre. Permission to disclose 8/07/23.

Siewers, Alfred K. 2005. 'Writing An Icon Of The Land: The Mabinogi As Mystagogy Of Landscape', *Peritia*, 19, pp. 193–228
V.10 Pryderi: Boyhood

Simos, Miriam; see Starhawk.

Sims-Williams, Patrick. 2011. *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (OUP)
Oxford Scholarship Online: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199588657.001.0001>> Accessed 29/08/2022
VI.1. Enchantment

Sinha, Mrinalini. 2000. 'Mapping the Imperial Social Formation: A Modest Proposal for Feminist History', *Signs*, 25, 4, pp. 1077–82
Quoted in Delap, *Feminisms*, p. 22.
II.8. Feminism

Sinopoulos-Lloyd, So; and Ken Wolf. 2012. 'The Curious Power and Sanctity of Empress Pulcheria', *Saints and Society*, pp. 3-31
Academia:
<https://www.academia.edu/24600177/The_Curious_Power_and_Sanctity_of_Empress_Pulcheria>
Accessed 5/10/20
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Sisterhood and After Research Team. 8/03/2013. 'Women's liberation: a national movement' Sisterhood and After: <<https://www.bl.uk/sisterhood/articles/womens-liberation-a-national-movement>> [Accessed 23/01/2022. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected. Substituted here]
<<https://blogs.bl.uk/socialscience/2013/03/sisterhood-after-the-womens-liberation-oral-history-project.html#:~:text=www.bl.uk%2Fsisterhood&text='%20This%20project%20has%20collected%20oral,60%20feminist%20activists%20and%20intellectuals>>
Votes for Women/ Women's suffrage timeline (6/02/2018)
<<https://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/womens-suffrage-timeline>>
<<https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2017/03/remembering-the-suffragette-movement-on-international-womens-day.html>> [Accessed 06/05/2020. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected. Substitute 28/03/2024]
VI.8. Feminism

Sjöö, Monica and Barbara Mor. 1981. *The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All* (Trondheim, Norway: Rainbow Press)

Sjoo travelled Britain with a mobile exhibition about the Goddess. 'Women in Art' online has a photo of Sjoo's 1968 painting 'God Giving Birth', and portrait of Sjoo.

Women in Art: <<https://womennart.com/2019/01/16/god-giving-birth-by-monica-sjoo/>> Accessed 1/04/21

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Skene, William F. 1868. *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas)

Sacred Texts: <<https://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/fab/index.htm>> [Accessed 15/07/2023]

I.6. Academia: Anwyl

Slominski, Andrea M. 2019. 'The Fourfold Goddess: Maiden, Householder, Regent, Wise Woman: A New Metaphor for Women's Midlife Creating Sovereignty and Power' (unpublished doctoral thesis Pacifica Graduate Institute)

Summary by Martha Michael. 15/11/2019. 'Getting a Handle on Life's Second Half'

Signals: <<https://signalscv.com/2019/11/martha-michael-getting-a-handle-on-lifes-second-half/>>

Accessed 9/04/21

VII.5. Theologies

Smith, Gareth. 23/08/2021. Review of BBC Radio Wales 'Mabinogi: Lost Legends and Dark Magic', *Wales Arts Review*

Wales Arts Review: <<https://www.walesartsreview.org/mabinogi-lost-legends-and-dark-magic-radio/>>

Accessed 07/12/2021

See Catherine, Lucy. 2021.

II.3. Performance.

Snow, Melantha. 2022. 'Using Legends for Learning: A review of three adaptations of the Mabinogi written for the primary school in light of the new Curriculum for Wales' (unpublished master's thesis Dept. of Welsh and Celtic Studies, University of Aberystwyth)

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/78436594/Using_Legends_for_Learning_A_review_of_three_adaptations_of_the_Mabinogi_written_for_the_primary_school_in_light_of_the_new_Curriculum_for_Wales?email_work_card=title>

VII.2. Imaginary

Socialist Party Wales:

<www.socialistpartywales.org.uk/news227.shtml> [Accessed 2/10/14. Later checks, defunct]

Soetens, Katinka. 2014. *The Teachings of Rhiannon Part 1: Sacred Sexual Priestess Empowerment, Rhiannon Goddess of Love and the Wild Maiden* (Moonsongs Publishing, Kindle)

VII.4. Temples: Goddess Temple

--- Spring/Summer 2015. 'Becoming a Priest/ess', in *Goddess Alive!*, 27

VII.5. Theologies

South Wales Argus. 20/01/2018. 'Horse skulls, morris dancing, and banter on the bridge.

Chepstow celebrates its annual wassail and Mari Lwyd', photos by Mark Lewis, *South Wales Argus*

South Wales Argus: <<https://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/news/15886224.horse-skulls-morris-dancing-banter-bridge---chepstow-celebrates-annual-wassail-mari-lwyd/>> Accessed 12/12/20

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Spångberg, J.; P. A. **Hansson**, P. **Tidåker**, and H. **Jönsson**. Sept. 2011. 'Environmental impact of meat meal fertilizer vs. chemical fertilizer', *Resources, Conservation and Recycling*, 55, 11, pp. 1078-1086

Science Direct: <<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0921344911001285>>

Accessed 01/09/2020

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Spangenberg, Lisa. 2006. 'What Is the Mabinogion?', Celtic Studies Resources

Accurate, well referenced introduction. Compares Jones, Ford translations, Pwyll– Rhiannon first exchange.

Digital Medievalist: <<http://www.digitalmedievalist.com/opinionated-celtic-fags/mabinogion/>> [Accessed 2014]

II.9. 21stC

Spender, Dale. 1983. *Women of Ideas. and What Men Have Done to Them* (Thorsons)

IV.1. Voice

Stacey, Robin Chapman. 2002. 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 77. 4, pp. 1107–27

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 2018. *Law and the Imagination in Medieval Wales* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (SEP)

Bird, Alexander. 2018. 'Thomas Kuhn'

SEP: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/thomas-kuhn/#KuhnSociScie>> [Accessed 29/08/22]

II.7 Coherence Paradigm

See Kuhn, Thomas (1962); and Thwink org (2014)

Gorodeisky, Keren. Fall 2016. '19th Century Romantic Aesthetics', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed by Zalta, Edward N. see esp. n. 1.

SEP: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/aesthetics-19th-romantic/>> Accessed Oct. 2016

II.5 Welsh Renaissance

#Tomaselli, Sylvana. 19/08/ 2016. 'Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797). First published Wed 6/04/2008; substantive revision 19/08/ 2016)

SEP: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/wollstonecraft/>> Accessed 06/05/2020

II.8. Feminism

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady *et al.* 1895, 1898. *The Woman's Bible*, in two vols. (NY: European Publishing Company)

IV.1. Voice

Starhawk (Miriam Simos). 1979. *The Spiral Dance: a Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* (Harper & Row)

Reclaiming Collective Open Library: <https://openlibrary.org/books/OL4400859M/The_spiral_dance>

Accessed 5/10/20

Reclaiming Collective <<https://reclaimingcollective.wordpress.com/>> Accessed 5/10/20

VII.3 20thC Goddess

--- 1982. *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press)
VII.3 20thC Goddess
--- 1998. *Circle Round: Raising Children in Goddess Traditions* (NY, Bantam)
VII.3 Gss

Steiner, Rudolf. 1910. *An Outline of Occult Science* (Theosophical Publishing Society). Originally published in German as *Die Geheimwissenschaft Im Umriss*.
II.3. Performance

Stephens, Meic. 1986, 2nd edn. 1998. 'Guest, Charlotte' in his *The New Companion to the Literature of Wales* (UWP)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Stephens, Thomas. 1849. *The Literature of the Kymry: Being a Critical Essay on the History of the Language and Literature of Wales during the Twelfth and Two Succeeding Centuries, Containing Numerous Specimens of Ancient Welsh Poetry in the Original and Accompanied with English Translations* (London: Longmans Green). Frontispiece: Bust by J. Edwards.
'The Mabinogion' is treated mainly Ch. II, s. IV, pp. 396.426. The book was sponsored by the Guests, especially John Josiah. See n. 178 on mabinogi usage, III.3. Performance.
Archive org:
<https://archive.org/stream/literatureofkymr00stepuoft/literatureofkymr00stepuoft_djvu.txt>
[17/12/2013]
Introduction.

--- 24-27 Sept. 1850. 'Summary of the History of Wales from the earliest period to the present time', Eisteddfod essay, 500pp.
First prize at the Rhuddlan Castle Royal Eisteddfod and North Wales Musical Festival; but remained unpublished due to a lack of patronage.
See Welsh Biography, and NLW MS 4503E. Rhuddlan Eisteddfod. See also Morgain, 2018.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens
--- 1852-1853. 'Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg)', in *Yr Ymofynnydd*
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens
--- and **Pryse**, Robert John. 1859, repr. 2009. *Orgraph yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Gee)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Stephens

Stephenson, David. 2009. 'Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy: Dating and Significance', *CMCS*, 59, pp. 41-49
Cited Roberts, Rhys. 2018.
V.7. Teyrnnon

Sterckx, Claude. 1986. *Éléments de Cosmogonie Celtique* (Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles)
VII.1. Goddess Myths
--- 2002. 'Rhiannon fille de l'Ogmios gallois', *Ollodagos: actes de la Société Belge d'Études Celtiques*, 16, pp. 147-152

Stevens, Matthew Frank. 2019. *The Economy of Medieval Wales, 1067-1536* (UWP)
V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Stevenson, Peter, dir. 2015. 'Prosiect Mabinogi' (Aberystwyth)

Adverse Camber: <<https://adversecamber.org/y-mabinogi-aberystwyth-arts-centre-march-2015>>]Accessed 28/03/2024]

II.3. Performance.

--- 2017. 'Pumed Gaiac A Fifth Branch: Looking Back towards Tomorrow' (Aberystwyth)

Peter Stevenson: <<https://www.peterstevensonarts.co.uk/events>>]Accessed 28/03/2024]

II.3. Performance.

Stockburn, Rebecca Jane, 'Rhiannon'. Jan. 2016. Large painting touched with gold.

Permission 25/10/2016 with personal note by the artist

See Illustrations list for details.

I.4. Advent IX.1. Gallery

Stone, Elizabeth C. 1982. 'The Social Role of the Nadītu: Women in Old Babylonian Nippur', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXV, Part I, pp. 50–70 Download PDF.

JSTOR:<<https://doi.org/10.2307/3632034>> Accessed 05/09/2022

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Stone, Merlin. 1976. *When God Was a Woman* (USA: Harvest HBJ 1976)

--- 1979. *The Paradise Papers: The Suppression of Women's Rites* (Virago) UK printing

VII.4. Ven

--- 1979, 1984. *Ancient Mirrors of Womanhood: a treasury of goddess and heroine lore from around the world*. Illust. Cynthia Stone (NY: New Sibylline Books; repub. Boston: Beacon Press)

'Rhiannon' entry pp. 69–71. Also referenced pp. 46, 85.

Open Library: <https://openlibrary.org/books/OL3193721M/Ancient_mirrors_of_womanhood> Accessed 03/11/2022

See also Axelrod.

VII.4. Ven

Strabo. 1stC BCE. Γεωγραφικά / *Geographika*, Book IV, Ch. 4

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Stratton, Evangelynn. 2001. *Rhiannon* (iUniverse)

Fiction, historical romance, mediaeval England.

IX.2. Imaginary.

Streetmap:

<streetmap.co.uk> Accessed 2014

V.3. Hyfaidd.

Stuckey, Johanna H. 2011. 'Queen of Heaven and Earth: Inanna; Ishtar of Mesopotamia', in vol. 2, 'Eastern Mediterranean and Europe', *Goddesses in World Culture*, ed. by Monaghan, Patricia (Praeger), pp. 19–38

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/39990425/Queen_of_Heaven_and_Earth_Inanna_Ishtar_of_Mesopotamia?auto=citations&from=cover_page> Accessed 26/11/2022

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Sturzer, Ned. 2003. 'Inconsistencies and Infelicities in the Welsh Tales: Their Implications', *Studia Celtica*, 37, pp. 127–42

Introduction (Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Wedding Plot p. 266 for list)

SULLIVAN

Sullivan, Charles William III. 1989. *Welsh Celtic Myth in Modern Fantasy* (Greenwood Press)

IX.2. Imaginary

Sullivan, Charles William III, ed. 1996. *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays* (NY: Garland Publications. Repr. Routledge, 2015; and Kindle edition)

Anthology chronicling the foundation to the Coherence Paradigm (1970– 1996).

CONTENTS Sullivan. 1996. 'Preface', pp. xi-xiii. Sullivan, 'Introduction', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. xv-xxi.

ORIGINS

Bromwich, Rachel. 1996. 'The Mabinogion and Lady Charlotte Guest', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 3. 18.

Charles-Edwards, Thomas Mowbray. 1996. 'The Date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 19.58.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSES

Wood, Juliette. 1996. 'The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 61.78.

Keefer, Sarah Larratt. 1996. 'The Lost Tale of Dylan in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 79.98.

Ford, Patrick K. 1996. 'Branwen: a study of the Celtic affinities', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 99.120.

Welsh, Andrew. 1996. 'Manawydan fab Llyr: Wales, England, and the "New Man"', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 121-141.

STRUCTURE

Sullivan III, Charles W.. 1996. 'The Mabinogi' Routledge Revivals (Taylor and Francis. Kindle Edition), p. v.

O'Coileáin, Sean. 1996. 'A Thematic Study of the Tale Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 145.151.

Hanson-Smith, Elizabeth. '1996. Pwyll Prince of Dyfed': the narrative structure', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 153-164.

Bollard, John K. 1996. 'The Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 165.196.

Ford, Patrick K. 1996. 'Prolegomena to a Reading of the Mabinogi: Pwyll and Manawydan', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 197.216.

Jones, R.M. 1996. 'Narrative Structure in Medieval Welsh Prose Tales', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 217.262.

THEMATIC

Gantz, Jeffrey. 1996. 'Thematic Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 265-275.

Bollard, John K. 1996. 'The Role of Myth and Tradition in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 277.302.

McKenna, Catherine. 1996. 'The Theme of Sovereignty in Pwyll, in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 303.330.

Valente, Rob. 1996. 'Gwydion and Aranrhod: Crossing the Borders of Gender', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 331.345.

Sullivan, Charles William III. 1996. 'Inheritance and Lordship in the Math', in *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 347-366.

Works Cited, pp. 367-382. About the Contributors, pp. 383-387.

II.7. Academia. Also see II.7. Coherence Paradigm: Four Accounts

--- Summer 2005. 'Kenneth Morris: The Milestone in Welsh Celtic Fantasy Fiction', *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts*, 16, 2 (62), pp. 142-151

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43308767>> Accessed 23/11/20

IX.2. Imaginary

--- 2004. 'Conscientious Use: Welsh Celtic Myth and Legend in Fantastic Fiction', in *Celtic Cultural Studies*, no pagination

Originally presented 2004 for the 'Celtic Science Fiction and Fantasy' session of the Discussion Group on Celtic Languages and Literatures at the Modern Language Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, USA.

IX.2. Imaginary

Sullivan, Mary Carol. 1967. 'The Concept of Man (sic) in the Twelfth-Century Humanism of Chartres' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University Chicago)

Loyola University, Economics:

<https://ecommons.luc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1880&context=luc_diss> Accessed 16/08/2020

VI.1. Enchantment

Swan, Laura. 2014. *The Wisdom of the Beguines: The Forgotten Story of a Medieval Women's Movement* (BlueBridge)

VI.8. Feminism

Swanton, Michael, ed., trans. 1996. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (J.M. Dent)

Herefordshire: <<https://htt.herefordshire.gov.uk/herefordshires-past/the-anglo-saxon-period/the-anglo-saxon-chronicle/>> [Accessed 6/03/21]

V.1 Hyfaidd

Tacitus, Cornelius. 2021. 'Agricola 11' in *Agricola, Germania, Dialogue on Oratory, The Histories, The Annals*, ed. by Aiken, John; Clifford H. Moore, and John Jackson, trans. (Strelbytskyy Multimedia Publishing,, Kindle)

V.3. Hyfaidd

Taliesin. 'Preiddeu Annwn'

V.5. Pwyll

Tegid: see Jones, John.

Telyndru, Jhena.

Jhena Telyndre: <<http://jhenahtelyndru.com/>> Accessed 2023

--- 28/04/2016. 'Avalonian Oracle:: Spiritual Wisdoms from the Holy Isle', Tarot deck. Illust.

Emily Brunner (Schiffer Publishing)

46 card deck, with 128 page companion book.

Ynys Afallon: <<https://ynysafallon.com/the-avalonian-oracle>>

Avalonian Oracle: <www.avalonianoracle.com>

--- 2018. *Pagan Portals. Rhiannon: Divine Queen of the Celtic Britons* (Moon Books)

VII.5. Thealogies

--- 2023. *The Ninefold Path of the Priestess* (Minnesota: Llewellyn)

Pre-publication PDF supplied by the kindness of the author (4/08/23) pagination may not be exact.

VII.5. Thealogies

Tems, Mick. Dec. 1998. 'Mari Lwyd: White Horses, Dark Forces', *Taplas* © 1999 Mari Arts
Mari Arts 1999: <<http://www.folkwales.org.uk/arctd9b.html>> Last updated 8/03/2010 Accessed
12/12/2020
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Thiebaux, Marcelle. 1968. 'The Mouth of the Boar as a Symbol in Medieval Literature,' *Romance Philology*, 22, 3, pp. 281-299
V.10 Pryderi
--- 1974. *Stag of Love: The Chase in Medieval Literature* (USA: Cornell)
V.5. Thomas

Thomas, Gwyn, and Kevin Crossley-Holland. 1984, Kindle 2015, revised edn. 2023. *Tales from the Mabinogion: Modern adaptation of the medieval stories of Pwyll, Branwen, Manawydan and Math*.
Illust Margaret Jones (Guild; Book Club; Kindle; Y Lolfa), retelling
Margaret/Maire Jones illustrated the Jones and Jones editions, from 1948; and created a
Mabinogion Poster.
II.9. 21st C

Thomas, Hugh M. 2003. *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity: 1066– c.1220* (OUP)
III.2. Britain

Thomas, John Evan. 1855. Account of his sculptor brother William Meredyth's bust of Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc, in *The Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc*, II, ed. by Williams, Jane (Llandovery: Rees; London: Longman), pp. 391–92
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Thomas, M. Wynn. 1995. 'Keeping His Pen Clean: R S Thomas and Wales', in *Miraculous Simplicity: Essays on R.S. Thomas*, ed. by Davis, William V. (University of Arkansas)
VI.6. Adar

Thomas, Nicole A. 2011. 'Branwen's Shame: Voicing the Silent Feminine in Evangeline Walton's The Children of Llyr', in *Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture: Essays on Adaptations in Literature, Film, Television and Digital Media*, ed. by Becker, Audrey L. and Kristin Noone (Jefferson: McFarland), pp. 30–41

IX.2. Imaginary

--- 2011. 'The Male Mother and his Flower Child: Re-Visioning Blodeuwedd In Evangeline Walton's The Island of the Mighty'

Academia.edu

V.15. Gwydion

---. 2011. 'Penardin's Sacrifice of Self in Evangeline's Walton's 'The Children of Llyr'

Academia.edu

IX.2. Imaginary

--- 2013. 'The Daughters of Modron : Evangeline Walton's Feminist Re-Visioning of the "Mabinogi"' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Wales Cardiff)

Cardiff University: < <https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/43713/>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

VI.4 Horse

— 2013. 'The Unrepentant Twyllforwyn: Modern Perspectives on Virginity Testing in Medieval Welsh Folklore', in *Assuming Gender*, 3: 1, pp. 91–109
Assuming Gender: <<https://assuminggender.wordpress.com/31-2/the-unrepentant-twyllforwyn-modern-perspectives-on-virginity-testing-in-medieval-welsh-folklore/>> Download. Accessed 24/11/2020
IX.2. Imaginary

Thomas, R. S. 1952. *An Acre of Land* (Montgomeryshire Printing Company Ltd.)
VI.6. Adar
— 1955. 'Tree', in *Song at the year's turning: Poems, 1942-1954* (Rupert Hart-Davis)
VI.6. Adar
— 1987. 'Despair', in *Welsh Airs* (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press)
VI.6. Adar
— 1974. 'He is sometimes contrary' in *What is a Welshman?* (Christopher Davies), pp. 7-9
VI.6. Adar
— 1985. *Neb* (Cyfres y cewri), 'No-one' (Gwasg Gwynedd)
VI.6. Adar
— 1991. *Blwyddyn yn Llŷn* / 'The Year in Llyn' (Gwasg Gwynedd)
VI.6. Adar

Thomas, William Meredyth, sculptor. c. 1848 post mortem. 'Bust of Thomas Price 'Carnhuanawc'
From memory of a single meeting with Carnhuanawc at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod that year.
See his brother John Evan Thomas' poignant account in: Jane Williams, ed. 1855. *The Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc*, II (Llandovery: Rees; London: Longman), pp. 391–92. John Dillwyn Llewelyn's photo of the bust is the frontispiece. It or plaster copy is kept at Llanover College.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Thomas, W. Jenkyn. 1907. *The Welsh Fairy Book*, Illust. Willy Pogany (Fisher Unwin)
IX Gallery

Thompson, Dawn. 2008. *Lord of the Dark*, 'Elementals' series, 2 (Aphrodisia)
Fiction, modern romance. Angel–human erotic.
IX.2. Imaginary.

Thompson, Derick S. 1961. *Branwen Uerch Llyr* (Dublin: DIAS)
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Thomson, H. J., ed. trans. 1949. *The Poems of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*, Loeb Classical (London, Heineman; USA, Harvard)
(Aurelius Clemens Prudentius. 405-413 CE. *Apotheosis*, 195)
Github: <<https://ryanfb.github.io/loebolus-data/L387.pdf>> [Accessed 16/08/2022]
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Thomson, Robert Leith. 1957, repr. 1986, 2003, 2010. *Pwyll Pendewic Dyfed: the First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with variants from the Red Book of Hergest* (Dublin: DIAS)
1986 edn. cited by Josh Mittleman & Heather Rose Jones. 1998, 1999. 'Concerning the Names Rhiannon, Rhian, and the Like', Medieval Names Archive: Problem Names Project; on the "great divine queen" hypothesis. Online text.
'Medieval Scotland': <<http://medievalscotland.org/problem/names/rhiannon.shtml>> Accessed 13/11/18

I.3. Etymology

--- 1968. *Owein, or Chwedyl Iarllles y Ffynnawn* (Dublin: DIAS)

I.6. Other Sources.

Thwink org. 2014. 'Paradigm Change: Why Paradigm Change is usually Slow'

Thwink org: <<https://www.thwink.org/sustain/glossary/ParadigmChange.htm>> [Accessed 29/08/22]

See Bird, Alexander (2018); and Kuhn, Thomas (1962).

II.7 Coherence Paradigm

Tibbott, Gildas. 1943. 'Brief History of the Hengwrt-Peniarth Collection,' Introduction, Handlists of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales, 1, *NLWJ*, Suppl. Ser. 2, p. 98.

Welsh Journals: <<http://welshjournals.llgc.org.uk/browse/viewpage/llgc-id:1277425/llgc-id:1278567/llgc-id:1278586/getText>> Accessed 24/01/2022

II.4. Manuscripts

Tøllefsen Inga Bardsen, and Christine Giudice, eds. 2017. *Female Leaders in New Religious Movements* (Palgrave Macmillan, online)

Palgrave Macmillan, Abstract, Bibliography, and full Chapter download (purchase):

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-61527-1_8> [Accessed 4/10/20]

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Tolstoy, Nikolai. 2009. *The Oldest British Prose Literature: The Compilation of the Four Branches of the Mabinogion* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press)

Oddities of text may represent historical events in Britain and Ireland in the early 11thC.

I.4. Advent

Tompson, Lyle. 2011. 'The Mari Lwyd and the Horse Queen: Palimpsests of Ancient ideas' (unpublished master's thesis Trinity St. Davids, Lampeter)

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/5495517/The_Mari_Lwyd_and_the_Horse_Queen_Palimpsests_of_Ancient_id_eas_Masters_Thesis_2011> [Accessed 24/10/2016]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Toner, G. 1988. 'Emain Macha in the literature', *Emania*, 4, pp. 32–35

--- 2010. 'Macha and the invention of myth', *Ériu*, 60, pp. 81–109

Both cited by Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses'.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Topping, Alexandra. 10/03/2021. 'Four-fifths of young women in the UK have been sexually harassed, survey finds', *Guardian*

Guardian: <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/mar/10/almost-all-young-women-in-the-uk-have-been-sexually-harassed-survey-finds>> Accessed 14/03/21

V.11. Cigfa

Toorians, Lauran. 1990. 'Wizo Flandrensis and the Flemish Settlement in Pembrokeshire', *CMCS*, 20, pp. 99-118

Letter from Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.

III.7. Political Parallels

--- 2014. 'Luxuria, Gula and Temperentia in Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet', *Australian Celtic Journal*, 12, pp. 127–159

V.2. Queen

--- Nov. 2015. 'No Badger in the Bag', *ZCP*, 62. 1, pp. 199–212

Academia: <https://www.academia.edu/35702358/No_badger_in_the_bag> [Accessed 18/6/2016]

V.4. Gwawl

Tregaskes, William. 2015. 'A Discussion and Comparison of the Development of Native Welsh Masonry Castles and the Impact of Anglo-Norman Military Architecture in Deheubarth and Gwynedd', (unpublished bachelor's thesis Cardiff)

Academia: <<https://cardiff.academia.edu/WilliamTregaskes>> Accessed 30/01/2022

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/12202845/A_Discussion_and_Comparison_of_the_Development_of_Native_Welsh_Masonry_Castles_and_the_Impact_of_Anglo_Norman_Military_Architecture_in_Deheubarth_and_Gwynedd> Accessed 18/12/21

III.7. Political Parallels

Trevelyan, Marie. 1909. *The Folklore and Ghost Stories of Wales: A Historical Article on the Myths and Legends of Wales* (London : E. Stock, and Kindle)

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/stream/afl2317.0001.001.umich.edu#page/22/mode/2up>> Accessed 24/03/21

V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Tringham, Ruth. 1993. Review of '*Civilization of the Goddess*', *American Anthropologist*, 95, pp. 196-7

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- and Margaret **Conkey**. 1998. 'Rethinking Figurines: A Critical View from Archaeology of Gimbutas, the 'Goddess' and Popular Culture', in *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence*, ed. by Goodison, J. and C. Morris (British Museum Press), pp. 22–45

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Tully, Caroline. 20/05/2011. 'Interview with Professor Ronald Hutton of the University of Bristol, United Kingdom', Necropolis Now blog

Necropolis Now: <<http://necropolisnow.blogspot.com/2011/05/interview-with-professor-ronald-hutton.html>> Accessed 5/10/20

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Turner, Sarah M. and Gail **Tagarro**. 2022. *Rhiannon McBride and the Dragon's Cup*, Illust. Peter Turner (Smmt)

YA fantasy, lonely girl Rhiannon is translated into wondrous Álnair, land of dragons.

IX.2. Imaginary.

TYP See Bromwich, Rachel.

Uffington White Horse. Uploaded: 30/06/2008. Wikipedia public domain image. Geographical location: 51° 34' 39.8" N, 1° 33' 59.75" W, Berkshire.

See also Hows.

Wikipedia: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Uffington-White-Horse-sat.jpg>> [Accessed 2014]

I.4. Advent #5

UK Parliament.

Witchcraft: <<https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/religion/overview/witchcraft/>> Accessed 23/08/222

VII.3 20thC Goddess

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, history

AHUA: <<https://www.ahua.ac.uk/spotlight-on-aberystwyth-university/>> Accessed 13/12/2021

II.8. Feminism

Urquhart, Catriona. 2001. *Mare's Tale* (Old Stile Press)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Valente, Roberta Louisa ('Rob'). 1986. 'Merched y Mabinogi: Women and the Thematic Structure of the Four Branches' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University)

I.5. Text.

--- 1988. 'Gwydion and Aranrhod: Crossing the Borders of Gender in Math', *BBCS*, 35, pp. 1-9.

Repr. Sullivan. 1996. *Mabinogi Essays*.

Introduction

Valiente, Doreen. 1973. *An ABC Of Witchcraft Past and Present* (Hale)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1978. *Witchcraft for Tomorrow* (Hale). Available online PDF.

Doreen Valiente: <<http://www.doreenvaliente.com/>> [Accessed 5/10/20]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1989. *The Rebirth of Witchcraft* (Hale)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 20/09/20. Obituary, *Independent*

Independent: <<https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-doreen-valiente-1120645.html>> [Accessed 5/10/20]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Vallauri, G. 1956. *Euemero di Messene* (Turin)

With introduction and commentary.

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Valley Stream. 1996, online 2004. *The Mabinogion*, recordings of Guest text, music by Llewellyn, Medwyn Goodall and Chris Conway.

Contents: The Prince of Dyfed * Bran and Branwen * The Four Good Friends * Macsen Wledig, Emperor of Rome * The Three Plagues * Culhwch and the Giant's Daughter. Excellent rendering in South Welsh region English, with music, sound effects and appropriate, delightful pictures. Text is not precise Guest version but close.

Valley Stream used to offer a free online video of the first part of the film, on Youtube. featuring the 'laughing monk' Cybi. No longer online.

II.9. 21stC

Vara, Madeleine. See Riding, Laura.

Van Der Velden, Wendy. 'Rhiannon Online Counseling'

Online counselling and equine assisted therapy sessions, based in Ireland. Cf. Withey
<<https://rhiannoncounseling.com/>> Accessed 07/05/2023
???

Vendryes, Joseph. 1948. 'Le poème du Livre Noir sur Hywel ab Gronw', *Études Celtiques*, 4, pp. 275–300
V.7. Teyrnnon

Via Libri. 2015. sales presentation of Guest, 2nd edition, physical description.
Via Libri: <www.vialibri.net/552display_i/year_1838_0_645328.html> Accessed 04/05/15 Ephemeral, no longer on display.
Welsh Renaissance.

Vinaver, Eugene. 1966. 'Form and Meaning in Medieval Romance': the presidential address of the Modern Humanities Research Association' (Cambridge : Association)
II.6. Academia: Coherence Paradigm
--- 1971. *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
Both referenced by Bollard, 'Afterword', in *Landscape*, p. 112.
II.6. Academia: Coherence Paradigm

Visit My Harbour
<<http://www.visitmyharbour.com/harbours/bristol-channel/bristol-channel/expanded.asp>>
Accessed 01/11/2016
V.7. Teyrnnon

Vitz, Evelyn Birge; Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence, eds. 2005. *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Brewer)
II.3. Performance

Waddell, John 2014. *Archaeology and Celtic Myth: An exploration* (Dublin: Four Courts Press)
See Toner, G; and Mac Cana, Sacred Centre
VII.1. Goddess Myths
---. 2018. 'Equine Cults and Celtic Goddesses', *Emania: Bulletin of the Navan Research Group*, 24, pp. 5-18
V.5. Pwyll: Fool

Wagner, Sally Roesch. 1978. 'That Word is Liberty: a Biography of Matilda Joslyn Gage', (unpublished doctoral thesis University of California Santa Cruz)
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)
--- *Undated*. 'The Untold Story of The Iroquois Influence On Early Feminists'. Feminist .com:
<<https://www.feminist.com/resources/artspeech/genwom/iroquoisinfluence.html>> [Accessed 4/10/20]
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Walker, Barbara G. 1983. *The Women's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets*, illust. photos (San Francisco, Harper & Row)
No Rhiannon entry.
VII.4. Ven

Walker, David. 1990. *Medieval Wales* (CUP)

II.1 Timeline

Walker-Meikle, Kathleen. 2021. *Medieval Pets* (Boydell Press)

III.4. Equine

Walsh, Patrick Gerard, trans. 1999. *The Golden Ass* (OUP)

Excerpt from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Walters, Dafydd B. 1980, 1992. 'The European legal context of the Welsh law of matrimonial property', in (WLW) *The Welsh Law of Women: Studies Presented to Daniel A. Binchy*, ed. by Jenkins, Dafydd, and Morfydd. E. Owen (UWP)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 1991. 'Société et Droit dans la Littérature du Pays de Galles au Moyen-Age', *Études Celtiques*, XXVIII, pp. 415-421

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Walton, Evangeline (Evangeline Wilna Ensley). 1933. *The Virgin and the Swine* (Chicago/ NY: Willett, Clark & Co.), 312pp. based on PKM4.

--- 1933 *Virgin and the Swine* rev. edn. 1971. *The Island of the Mighty* (Ballantine), based on PKM4

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- c. late 1930s., unpublished. *The Brothers of Branwen*

180,000 words reworking PKM2 PKM3; dropped by Bodley Head.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1971. *The Children of Llyr* (Ballantine), based on PKM2

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1972. *The Song of Rhiannon* (Ballantine), based on PKM3

II.3. Performance

--- 1974. *Prince of Annwn* (Ballantine), based on PKM1

II.3. Performance

--- 1976. 'Celtic Myth in the Twentieth Century', *Mythlore*, 3, 3 (11), pp. 19-22. Published by Mythopoeic Society

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26808213>> [First accessed 14/09/2023]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 2002. *The Mabinogion Tetralogy*. (Overlook Press) Repr. combines the four previously published novels in a single volume. *The Mabinogion* (UK, 2003) lacks her notes.

CONTENTS (2002)

Betty Ballantine, ed. publisher, 'Introduction' to *The Mabinogion Tetralogy*, pp. 7-13.

Evangeline Walton, *Prince of Annwn* (1974), pp. 14-138, re-visioning the First Branch.

Walton, *The Children of Llyr* (orig. pub. 1971), pp. 139- 292, re-visioning the Second Branch.

Walton, *The Song of Rhiannon* (orig. pub. 1972), pp. 293-426,, re-visioning the Third Branch.

Walton, *The Island of the Mighty* (orig. pub. 1933, revised 1970), pp. 427-716, re-visioning the Fourth Branch.

Walton, 'Notes', essay on *The Mabinogion Tetralogy*, pp. 717-18'.

ISFDB: <<http://www.isfdb.org/cgi-bin/ea.cgi?1506>> Accessed 24/11/20

Introduction

--- Nov. 29, 1936. Interview: 'Evangeline Walton' in the *Indianapolis Star*,

IX.2. Imaginary

--- 2013. *She Walks in Darkness* (Tachyon Publications).

Its Introduction by Paul di Filippo, 'Treasures from Antiquity', listed separately.

VII.5. Theologies

See also Anderson, Douglas; Hammond, Debra; Thomas, Nicole.

Ward, Jason. 2012. 'Lady Charlotte Guest', biographical article, in 'Oh Comely' online magazine, 21. Illust. Hsiao-Ron Cheng.

Oh Comely: <<http://ohcomely.co.uk/stories/2012/04/09/lady-charlotte-guest?rq=charlotte%20guest>> [Accessed 22/02/2015. Later only the article was online and as of 2024 that too has been taken down.]

I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Warner, Mary. 1976. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Random House, 1976)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Washington, J. 2004. 'Goddess worship within early Christianity: A brief look at the Collyridians', *Khthnios*, 2, 1, pp. 31–41

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Watkins, Emma Catherine. 2018. 'Trailing Rhiannon' (Unpublished BA performance thesis, musical play, Lewis Center for the Arts, Princeton University)

Folklore, feminist music theatre, and environmental studies.

Emma Watkins: <<https://emmacwatkins.com/plays-2/#:~:text=Trailing%20Rhiannon,crime%20she%20did%20not%20commit.>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

II.3. Performance

--- 2019. 'Calumniated Storytellers: Female Re-Telling in the Mabinogi', presented at the XVIth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Bangor University)

Emma Watkins: <<https://emmacwatkins.com/trailing-rhiannon/>> [Accessed 09/10/2020]

II.3. Performance

--- and Gruffudd Eifion **Owen**. 2019. 'Trailing Rhiannon', bilingual Welsh/ English, unpublished musical play (Little Minute Productions, Chapter Arts, Cardiff)

Emma Watkins: <<https://emmacwatkins.com/plays-2/#:~:text=Trailing%20Rhiannon,crime%20she%20did%20not%20commit.>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

II.3. Performance

Watson, Emma. Sat. 20/09/2014. UN Global Goodwill Ambassador for Women. (NY: United Nations HQ)

Unwomen: <<https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2014/9/emma-watson-gender-equality-is-your-issue-too>> Accessed 09/02/ 2020

II.8. Feminism

----- 14/07/2017 at 09:00 AM EDT. 'Emma Watson interviews Margaret Atwood about The Handmaid's Tale', *Entertainment Weekly*

Entertainment Weekly: <<https://ew.com/books/2017/07/14/emma-watson-interviews-margaret-atwood-handmaids-tale/>> Accessed 09/02/ 2020

II.8. Feminism

Watson, Greig. 30/12/21. 'Digging for Britain: Secrets of Rutland Roman villa mosaic revealed', *BBC News*

Depicts a naked Achilles attacking Hector, Troy.

BBC News: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-59668728>> Accessed 30/12/21)
III.2. Britain

Weaver, Mary Jo. Spring, 1989. 'Who Is the Goddess and Where Does She Get Us?', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 5, 1, pp. 49-64

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25002097?seq=1>> Accessed 1/04/21

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

WebMD. Undated. 'Meadowsweet. Uses, Side Effects', WebMD online

WebMD: <<https://www.webmd.com/vitamins/ai/ingredientmono-108/meadowsweet>> [Accessed 25/07/2023]

VI.1. Enchantment: Objects

Webster, Jane. 2001. 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105, 2, pp. 209-225

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/507271>> [Accessed 16/08/2022]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Welsh, Andrew. 1988. "The Traditional Narrative Motifs of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 15, pp. 51-62. Motifs list pp. 56-62.

II.6. Welsh Academia/ Folklore

---. 1989. "Traditional Tales and the Harmonizing of Story in *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet*", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 17, pp. 15-42

---. Aug. 16-19, 1989. 'Manawydan fab Llyr: Wales, England, and the "New Man"', presented at *Celtic languages and Celtic peoples: proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic studies*, ed. by C. J. Byrne et al. (Halifax), pp. 369-82. Repr. Sullivan, ed. 1996, 2015, Kindle. *Essays*, pp. 121-141. Pagination from Sullivan.

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

--- Apr. 1990. 'Doubling and Incest in the Mabinogi', *Speculum*, 65, 2, pp. 344-362

V.12. Manawydan

Welsh Biography: see Dictionary of Welsh Biography

Welsh Law of Women see Jenkins and Owen, eds. *The Welsh Law of Women*

Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture, see Becker ed.

White, Donna Rae. 1995. 'The Crimes of Lady Charlotte Guest', *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 15, pp. 242-49

JSTOR <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20557305>>

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- 1996. 'The Further Crimes of Lady Charlotte Guest', *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 16-17, pp. 157-66

JSTOR <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20557319>>

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

--- 1998. *A Century of Welsh Myth in Children's Literature* (Contributions to the Study of Science Fiction & Fantasy) (USA: Greenwood Publishing Group)

Intro. p. 1. Ch. 1. Sidney Lanier p. 11. Ch. 2. Retellings Mabinogi p. 3. Ch. 3. Kenneth Morris Dragns p. 55. Ch. 4. Garner Owl Service p. 73. Ch. 5. Chronicles of Prydain Ch. 6. 'The Mabinogi in Fiction 1970.1992' pp. 121. Conclusion p. 141. Works. Index.
Two categories: retellings and original works of fantasy partially inspired.

White Book of Rhydderch, Peniarth MS 4. NLW digitisation 14/05/19. Online 2004.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch/>> Accessed 23/04/19

TEI Header for NLW MS. Peniarth 4 (The White Book of Rhydderch, part 2)

<<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-home.php?ms=Pen4>>

I.5. Advent ???

Wikimedia Commons, 'Category:Lewis Morris (1701–1765)'.

<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Lewis Morris \(1701%E2%80%931765\)](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Lewis_Morris_(1701%E2%80%931765))>

[Checked 18/02/2024]

II.5. Renaissance: Lewis Morris

Wikipedia. Frequently a starting point for topics outside an author's main knowledge: following up by tracing Wiki named persons or events in other sources.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page>

History of Wikipedia: <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History of Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Wikipedia)> [Accessed 29/09/2021]

'Four Branches of the Mabinogi'. 27/02/2006:18:59 see History (login required)

'Rhiannon'. 16/09/2002:00:01 Initiating editor John Price. See History (login required)

Wikipedia: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhiannon>> [Accessed 29/09/2021]

Rhiannon: Revision history', Wikipedia (Login required):

<<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Rhiannon&dir=prev&action=history>> [Accessed 29/09/2021]

II.9. 21stC

'Teyrnnon'.

<<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teyrnnon>> [Accessed 8/03/2021]

'Thealogy', initiated by Shan Jayran (2002, now Morgain).

Edit history can be accessed by registering, then click 'View history' top right.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thealogy#cite_note-10> [Created 5/01/2002]

VII.5. Thealogy

Uffington White Horse, Wikipedia public domain image uploaded: 30/06/2008. Geographical location: 51° 34' 39.8" N, 1° 33' 59.75" W, Berkshire.

Wikipedia: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Uffington-White-Horse-sat.jpg>> [Accessed 2014]

Wikiwand: 'Portraiture':

<https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Welsh_art#/Portraiture> [Accessed 25/0121]

V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice

Williams, Bethan; with Shân **Jayran** (now Morgain) eds. 1994. *The Pagan Songbook*, Illust. VHS tape recorded by John Davies (House of the Goddess)

Goddess chant incl. Rhiannon inexplicable not included..

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Williams, Derek R. 2011. *Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) A Shropshire Welshman* (Oswestry & District Civic Society)

II.6 Welsh Renaissance: Lhuyd

Williams, Frederick. 1982. 'Neapolitanus II.C.3: A New Source for the Text of Pausanias?', *Scriptorium*, 36, 2, pp. 190-218

On earlier 15thC MSS. provenance. See Pausanias.

Persee: <https://www.persee.fr/doc/scrip_0036-9772_1982_num_36_2_1267> [Accessed 01/09/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Williams, Griffith John. 1958, publ. 1968. 'The Welsh Tradition of Gwent', pamphlet 20pp, *Plaid Cymru*, 1

III.3. Hierarchy

Williams, Heather. 1998–2000. 'Dafydd ap Gwilym and the debt to Europe', *Études Celtiques*, 34, pp. 185–213

VI.6 Adar

Williams, Ioan M. ed. 1996. *Dramâu Saunders Lewis: Y Casgliad Cyflawn*, Part I (UWP)

II.3. Performance

WILLIAMS, Ifor

Williams, Ifor. 1929. Review: 'A New Translation of the Mabinogion', Review of the Ellis & Lloyd Translation, *Welsh Outlook*, 16, 7, pp. 210–12

VI.1. Enchantment

--- ed. 1930. Repr. 1951, 1994 hardback, 1996 softback. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, Allan o Lyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (PKM) (Cardiff: UWP)

TITUS online text; Jost Gippert, Frankfurt a/M, 6.12.2005: <<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/celt/mcymr/pkm/pkm.htm>> Accessed 17/12/2013

Frequently used as a common source text to give page + line references. Lettering (typography) is standardised. The pagination of the three source MSS. is noted inline. Gaps e.g. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch damage, are completed from Llyfr Coch Hergest, the later version. *Rhagymadrodd*/ Introduction, pp. i. xlxvii; Testun, pp. 1– 91; *Nodiadau*/ Notes, pp. 92– 303; in Mod. Welsh. Glossary, and Index to the Notes. Section on dating the Mabinogi *Rhag.* /Intro., pp. xxii. xxiv, available in English, trans. by Wayne Harbert. 'The Time of the Four Branches', in *Arthurian Literature and Christianity: Notes from the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Meister, Peter (NY: Garland Publications, 1999), pp. 3–5. Available online, google books.

Introduction

--- 1930. 'Nodiadau', in *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, Allan o Lyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (Cardiff: UWP)

I.3. Other Sources

--- 1931. *Gwynedd*, 3 (Caerdydd)

I.3. Other Sources

--- 1935, 1953. *Canu Llywarch Hen* (UWP, Cardiff)

I.7. Lady of Prose

--- 1932. 'The poems of Llywarch Hen', Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 18, pp. 269–302 (see 1980)

V.3. Hyfaidd

--- 1938. *Canu Aneirin* (UWP)

V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines

--- 1954. 'Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry' (DIAS)

V. 2 Hyfaidd

--- 1962. *Armes Prydein o Lyfr Taliesin* (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru)

III.2. Britain

--- 1980. 'The Poems of Llywarch Hen', repub. slightly augmented in *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry: Studies by Sir Ifor Williams*, ed. by Bromwich, Rachel (Cardiff: UWP), pp. 122-54

V. 2 Hyfaidd

Williams, Jane. 1855. *The Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc*, II (Llandovery: Rees; London: Longman)

John Dillwyn Llewelyn's photo of William Meredyth Thomas' (sculptor) bust is shown as frontispiece. It or a plaster copy is kept at Llanover College.

Archive org:

<https://archive.org/stream/literaryremainso02pric/literaryremainso02pric_djvu.txt> [Accessed 9/03/2020]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Williams, Jill, Dir. 2009. 'Magnificent Myths of the Mabinogi' (Pontardawe Arts Centre)

Slightly abridged version of Manon Eames' script, performed by Williams' drama students.

Personal attendance at performance.

Class Act Theatre: <<http://www.classacttheatre.co.uk/mabinogi.asp>> [Accessed 2009 but now defunct. website has deleted listing.]

II.3. Performance

Williams, John (Ab Ithel). 1862, 1874. *Barddas, Or, Collection of Original Documents Illustrative of the Theology, Wisdom and Usages of the Bardo-Druidic System of the Isle of Britain, with Translation and Notes*, Welsh Manuscripts Society, in 2 vols. (Llandovery: D. J. Roderic; London, Longman & Co.,)

IX.2. Imaginary

Williams, Mark, 2019. 'Magic in Celtic Lands', in *Routledge History of Medieval Magic* (Routledge) Associate Professor of Global Medieval Literature, St. Edmund Hall.

--- 2019. 'Magic and Marvels', Ch. 3 in *Cambridge History of Welsh Literature* (CUP, Kindle edn.) ed. by Geraint Evans and Helen Fulton, pp. 52-72

VI.3. Magician

Williams, Moses. 31/07/1719. 'Proposals for Printing by Subscription A Collection of Writings in the Welsh Tongue, to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century', cited Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 7.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Williams, Samuel, foremost engraver of his day. 1838-45. Illust. Guest, ed. *The Mabinogion*, 1st edn.

Available online, Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/index.htm>> [Accessed 28/12/2013]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Williams, Sian Sian. 2013. 'What is an Eisteddfod?' BBC
BBC: < <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b038cyb5> > [Accessed 28/03/2024]

Williamson, Robin. 1983. 'Cerddoriaeth Ar Gyfer Y Mabinogi/ Music for the Mabinogi', vinyl LP (Flying Fish, Claddagh Records)
Created with Geoff Moore's 'Moving Being' outdoor staging at Caernarfon Castle. (1983). Youtube videos appear and disappear (hacked).
'The Mabinogi', multimedia broadcast BBC Channel 4 (1984). Theatre staging 'The Mabinogion: the Arthurian Romances', St. David's Hall, Cardiff (1986)
LP TRACKLIST *First Branch*: A1 Pwyll, vocals, Dewi Savage. A2 Rhiannon. A3 Badger In The Bag = Broch Yng Nghod. A4 Three Nursemaids = Tair Crocbren Morwynig. A5 Naming Pryderi = Enwi Pryderi, vocals, Dewi Savage. *Second Branch*: A6 Matholwch's Ships = Llongau Matholwch. A7 Branwen In Ireland = Branwen Yn Iwerddon. A8 Bran's Head = Pen Bran. A9 Birds Of Rhiannon = Adar Rhiannon. A10 Cradlesong = Hwiangerdd, vocals. Bethan Jones. *Third Branch*: B1 Manawydan In London = Manawydan Yn Llundain. B2 Pryderi's Song = Cân Pryderi, vocals. Dylan Davis (3). B3 Enchantments Of Llwyd = Hudoliaeth Llwyd, electronic drums. John Gilston. B4 A Gallows For A Mouse = Crogbren I Lygoden. B5 When Two Hearts Are True = Tra Bo Dau, vocals. Carys Llewelyn. *Fourth Branch*: B6 Revenges Of Math = Dial Math, percussion. John Gilston. B7 Arianrhod, Unlikely Virgin = Arianrhod. Morwyn Annhebygol. B8 Fine Leather From Seaweed = Lledr Braf O Wymon. B9 Gwydion's Song To Lleu = Cân Gwydion I Lleu, vocals. Simon Fisher (6). B10 Death Of Gronw = Marwolaeth Gronw. B11 Parting Words = Geiriau Ymadael, vocals. Dewi Savage. Discog: <<https://www.discogs.com/release/4171451-Robin-Williamson-Music-For-The-Mabinogi-Cerddoriaeth-Ar-Gyfer-Y-Mabinogi>> Accessed 07/12/2021

II.3. Performance

Wilson, Scott. 2022. The Guide to equine-assisted therapy: the Complete Guide And Real life case studies of equine assisted Learning with everyday people and horses (Kindle)
VII. Gss

Winkelman, Michael. 2012. 'Shamanism in Cross-Cultural Perspective', *International Journal of Transpersonal Studies*, 31, 2, Article 7, pp. 47–62
VI.1. Enchantment

Winkle, Jeffrey. 2015. 'Epona Salvatrix?: Isis and the Horse Goddess in Apuleius' Metamorphoses', *Ancient Narrative*, 12, 71-90
Ancient Narrative: <<https://ancientnarrative.com/article/view/24696>> Accessed 12/05/2023
VII.5. Theologies

Winward, Fiona. 1997. 'Some Aspects of the Women in The Four Branches', *CMCS*, 34, pp. 77-106
Rhiannon's 'unfeminine' strength, pp. 83–84.
I.4 Advent #5 Horse

Withey, Rosie. 2015. Brickyard Farm, nr. Bristol. Cf. Velden.
<<https://rosiewithey.co.uk/about-venues/>> [Accessed 07/05/2023]
VI.6. Bag.

Witt, Reginald Eldred. 1971. *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, Vol. 2, Aspects of Greek and Roman life (Cornell University Press)
My thanks to Barbara Shrubsole for her gift.
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Wittgenstein, Josef Johann; C. K. Ogden, trans. 1922. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner; NY: Harcourt, Brace)

Introduction by Bertrand Russell.

Gutenberg: <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/5740/5740-pdf.pdf>> [Accessed 26/05/2023]

Introduction

Wittgenstein, Josef Johann; G. E. M. Anscombe, trans. 1953, posthumously. *Philosophical Investigations* / originally *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (posthumously, Wiley-Blackwell)

Squarespace:

<<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/54889e73e4b0a2c1f9891289/t/564b61a4e4b04eca59c4d232/1447780772744/Ludwig.Wittgenstein.-.Philosophical.Investigations.pdf>> [Accessed 26/05/2023]

Introduction

Wittig, Monique. 1971. *Les Guerillères* (Canada: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1969). English trans. David Le Vay, *Les Guerillères* (NY: Viking Press)

VII.5. Theologies

WJG See Gruffydd, William John.

WLW: see Jenkins and Owen, eds. *The Welsh Law of Women*

Wolcott, Darrell. Undated. 'Maredudd ap Owain, King of Deheubarth'

Ancient Wales Studies: <<http://www.ancientwalesstudies.org/id206.html>> [Accessed 29/08/22]

III.7. Political Parallels

Wolf, Naomi. 1990. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women* (Chatto & Windus,)

II.8. Feminism: Beauty

Wolkstein, Diane, and **Kramer**, Samuel Noah, trans., eds. 1983. *Inanna, Queen of Heaven and Earth: Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer* (Harper & Row)

Viewable online Wikipedia: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inanna>> [Accessed 14/08/2022]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Wollstonecraft, Mary. 1792. *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*

II.8. Feminism

'Mary Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792)' SEP (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy/Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797). First published Wed 6/04/2008; substantive revision 19/08/ 2016.)

Stanford: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/wollstonecraft/>> [Accessed 06/05/2020]

II.8. Feminism

Wolmar, Christian. 2007. *Fire & Steam* (London: Atlantic Books)

III.4. Equine

Wolterink, Elizabeth Ruth. 2017. 'Cloaked in Darkness: Feminine Katabasis in Myth and Culture' (unpublished doctoral thesis Pacifica Graduate Institute)

VII.2. Div

Women's Spirituality, 'In Memoriam':

<<http://www.womens-spirituality.org/memoriam.html>> [Accessed 4/10/20]

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Wood, Juliette. 1986, repr. 1996. 'The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature', *CMCS*, 10, pp. 25–38. Repr. in *Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 61–78.

II.6. Welsh Academy: Folklore

--- 1986. 'Folklore in the Tale of Branwen, the Second Branch of Pedair Keinc Y Mabinogi', (unpublished seminar series, Univ. of Edinburgh)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Folklore

--- 1987. 'Motif Analysis and the Mabinogion', presented at the Celtic Seminar Series, University of Edinburgh

II.6. Welsh Academy: Folklore

--- 1987. 'The Folklore of the Mabinogi', unpublished Lecture series, Oxford University

II.6. Welsh Academy: Folklore

--- 1992. 'Celtic Goddesses: Myths and Mythology', in *The Feminist Companion to Mythology*, ed. by Larrington, Carolyne (Pandora Press, 1992), pp. .

--- 1992. 'The Fairy Bride Legend in Wales', *Folklore*, 103, 1, pp. 56–72

VII.2. Div

--- 1997. 'The Horse in Welsh Folklore', in *The Horse in Celtic Culture*, ed. by Davies, Sioned (Cardiff: UWP), pp. 162– 82

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 2016. 'A Fairy Bride among the Druids: Narrating Identity in a Welsh Folk Tale'. *Academia*

<[https://www.academia.edu/38682854/A Fairy Bride Among the Druids?](https://www.academia.edu/38682854/A_Fairy_Bride_Among_the_Druids?)>

--- 8/07/2017. 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess', presented at 'Symposiwn: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff), Sioned Davies, dir.

On the day Prof. Wood kindly agreed to send me copy of her notes as I was unwell and slightly deaf as a result. Sadly a series of requests have not been productive.

II.3. Performance

Worcester Cartulary, no. 252. See G. G. Dept; Huws, Byron; Owen, H., and Chotzen, T. M.

Wordsworth, William. 1807. 'Recollections of Early Childhood from Intimations of Mortality', in his *Poems, in Two Volumes*, II

Republished Curtis, Jared ed. 1983. '*Poems, in Two Volumes," and Other Poems, 1800–1807 by William Wordsworth*'. The Cornell Wordsworth Series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)

Poets org (text): <<https://poets.org/poem/ode-intimations-immortality-recollections-early-childhood>> Accessed 19/09/2022

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

Writers' Corner Cymru, 'David Ambrose: Storytelling and festivals' (10/01/2013)

Writers' Corner Cymru: <<https://writerscornercymru.wordpress.com/2013/01/10/david-ambrose-storytelling-and-festivals/>> Accessed 3/01/22]

II.3. Performance

Wynn Thomas, M. 1995. 'Keeping His Pen Clean: R S Thomas and Wales', in *Miraculous Simplicity: Essays on R.S. Thomas*, ed. by Davis, William V. (University of Arkansas)

VII.4. Adar

Wynne, William. 1899. 'Letter to Lewis Morris, Feb. 28, 1745', *Cambrian Register*, II, pp. 534-35
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Morris

Yang, Yan. Apr., 2019. 'Quest for the Origin of Primitive Myths: Revisiting Max Müller's Comparative Mythology', in *antae*, 6, 1, pp. 5– 20
II.6 Welsh Academy: Rhŷs

Yarmolinsky, Avrahm, ed. trans. 1954. *The Unknown Chekhov: Stories and Other Writings Hitherto Untranslated by Anton Chekhov* (NY: Noonday Press)
IV.1. Voice

York, Michael. 1995. *The Emerging Network: A Sociology of the New-Age and Neo-Pagan Movement* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers)
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Young, Waldemar. Sat. 2/08/1930. 'Birds Of Rhiannon', a Grove Play. Music by Edward Harris (Kessinger Publishing, also San Francisco: Bohemian Club)
29th Grove Play performed Sat. 2/08/1930. Grove Plays were performed annually outdoors by the Bohemian Club. Young was a professional screenwriter. The play is 6thC Arthurian, Welsh, French characters. 'Rhiannon's fabulous birds antedate by uncounted centuries the appearance of the Arthurian motif in Welsh mythology. ... the Birds have been given definite place in the Grail theme and in its diffusion of objectives.' Camelot Project, which has detailed summary.
Camelot Project: <<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/waldemar-young-birds-of-rhiannon>>
[Accessed 24/02/2023]
Performance

Ysgol Gyfun Gwent Is Coed. Sept. 2016.
Newport Council: <<https://www.newport.gov.uk/documents/Schools-and-Education/Ysgol-Gyfun-Gwent-Is-Coed/Ysgol-Gyfun-Gwent-Is-Coed-SOCOBC.pdf>> [First accessed 2016]
V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Zhang, Fuzhong. 21/08/2018. 'Bigger proteins, stronger threads: Synthetic spider silk: Engineering scientists use bacteria to create biosynthetic silk stronger and more tensile than before', *Science Daily*. School of Engineering & Applied Science, Washington University
Science Daily: <<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/08/180821094234.htm>> Accessed 26/12/2021)
I.4. Advent #7 Silk

END BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mynegai Tudalen/ Page Index (Concordance)

This is about the 6th version. It grew to 115 pages ongoing, very detailed, then crashed pagination due to examiners requests to insert extra details. Complete new version crashed page slippage mystery. Final version major cut version actually better, clearer but lacks former detail as this one does not duplicate much eg author & theory. Main points all here; otherwise use CTRL+F to kind word/ name.

WELSH ALPHABETICAL ORDER e.g. Ll after L, Rh after R, so Rhiannon follows Roman.

A_Z

20thC GODDESS [VII.3.] 448-63
20thC Anwyl 448-49
20thC Graves, Robert & Laura Riding 452-53
20thC The Craft 453-54
20thC Feminists, Goddess 458
20thC Ford: hippomorphic aspect 455-58
20thC Iseum Rhiannon 454
20thC Madrians 454
20thC Occultism 450
20thC Sovereignty Goddess 450-01
20thC Gss Summary pre-1900 & 20thC 461-62
20thC Triadic Goddess Model 4b58-61
20thC Walton, Evangeline 451-452
21stC Technology [II.9] 135-39
21stC Tech Rhiannon [II.9.] 135-39
21stC Tech books-PDF 136
21stC Tech Online Mabinogi, 1st text 136
21stC Tech online 1st Mabinogi text 136
21stC Tech Online Mab. texts, media 136-39
21stC Tech Parker, online 137
ACADEMIA, WELSH [II.6.] 105-118
 Arnold/ Rhys/ Anwyl/ Gruffydd (WJG)/
 Williams/ Jackson/ Wood/ Bromwich
Colleges dates 106
ACTS (of Rhiannon) [IV.2] 205-11
Acts Agency: active -passive analysis 208-09
Acts Active Passive Analysis Diagram 208
Acts Agency: active -passive *Summary* 210-11
Acts Paradoxes Rh 209-10
Acts Playscript Mabinogi Rhiannon 206-07
Acts Playscript structure scenes location 206
Acts Structural overview (intro) 205-06
ADAR RHIANNON [VI.6.] 407-14
Adar as care package 319, 322, 409
 cf D. Gwenallt Jones angelic comfort 412
Adar 20thC nationalist poets 410-12
ADVENT OF RHIANNON [I. 4.] 10-23, Q10,11
Advent 1. 'And as they were sitting ...' 12-13

Advent 1. cf *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru* 13
Advent 1. *eisted* sitting GPC 12
Advent 2. 'they could see ...' 14
Advent 2. (*g*)*welynt* see GPC 14
Advent 2. Other, noiseless 14
Advent 2. hunt SDavies 14n66
Advent 3. 'a woman ...' *gwreic* 15-16
Advent 3. *gwreic* woman, maiden GPC 15
Advent 3. balance, gendered 15-16 cf *neges*
Advent 3. *gwreic* trans. 15n67
Advent 4. [anonymous] prefacing PKM 4pp 16 cf 3
Anons
Advent 5. 'on a horse ...' *march* 17-20
Advent 5. agency balance dominance 17
Advent 5. integrated rider-horse description
SDavies 17-20 poss other animals 203n101
Advent 5. *canwelw*/ pale-white GPC 18
Advent 5. *mawr*/ great, tall GPC 19
Advent 5. *aruchel*/ noble, supreme GPC 20
Advent 6. *eureit*, *llathreit* shining GPC 20
Advent 6. golden garment 20-21
Advent 7. *bali*, *pali* silk GPC 21
Advent 7. 'silk brocade about her, ...' 21-22
Advent 7. silk Llan-gors textile 21-22
Advent 7. silk political economy 21
Advent 8. 'coming along the highway ...' 22
Advent 8. location of Arberth trade routes 22
Advent 8. *prifford* highway main road GPC 22
Advent 9. 'past the mound.' 22-23
Advent 9. *gorsedd* mound throne judicial assembly
GPC 22
Advent magnetism 24
Advent meta-audience 12
Advent plot 263 cf Wedding/ Penance
Agency 134-35
Agency & Rhiannon 134-35
Aghynghor Bad counsel 236-37
Alliance (LLW) 176-77
Anglo-Norman 185-88
Anglocentric Arnold Guest 1877 Rhys 106

Anglocentric Avalonian Rhiannon 490-93
 ANNWFN 1st scene stag 249-50
 Annwfn abstract 374
 Annwfn as effete 253n279
 Annwfn chastity 251-53
 Annwfn Cŵn Annwfn 249n250
 Annwfn etymology 373
 Annwfn Hades/ Hell 373-74
 Annwfn ID 'in Arawn's place' 253n274
 Annwfn Hafgan blow. solution 251n262
 Annwfn mortal help 254n285
 Annwfn as otherworld 373-74
 Annwfn poss plot, deliberate 254
 Pwyll & Annwfn 249-55
 Annwfn review 369-76
 Annwfn locations 372
 Annwfn spec forest realm
 Annwfn wealth luxury 244n202
 Anons, Three (Struct) 524-25
 ANWYL, Edward (Academia) 108-11
 Anwyl 1st full focused, academic analysis 108
 Anwyl 1st Rhiannon scholar 109
 Anwyl College Aberystwyth 1892 108
 Anwyl Cycles 109-110nn24,25,26;111n27
 Anwyl Epona Rhiannon Q110-11
 Anwyl 'Four Branches Mabinogi' ZCP 109
 Anwyl Goddess 110-11, 448-49, Q475
 Anwyl & Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 474-76
 Anwyl Lloyd, Elizabeth MA 111
 Anwyl obscured, reasons timing WJG 111;
 Coherence Paradigm 128
 Anwyl Pryderi central story 3 sections Q110n30
 slender thread PKM2 Q110
 Anwyl *Pwyll I* disconnected/ prelude/ doublet
 PKM4 Q110nn33,34
 Anwyl Rhiannon-Cycle 449n79
 Anwyl Rhiannon-Cycle & Mab Rh 110n28
 Anwyl Rhiannon/ Epona Earth Mother Q475n215
 Anwyl Rhiannon homeland, fairy wife 110
 Anwyl Rhiannon Llwyd's vengeance Q110n29
 Anwyl Mabinogi place- names Q109n21
 Anwyl Mabinogi myth lit balance Q109n23
 APPENDICES
 Appendix: Dating the Mabinogi
 Appendix: Horses in the Mabinogi
 Appendix: Mabinogi Translations (English)
 Appendix: Stevie Nicks' 'Rhiannon' (1975)
 Appendix: Triads and the Mabinogi
 Arberth refs 153n85
 Arberth grid refs 22nn118, 120

Arberth *priflys*, chief court no indef.article/'all
 honour originated' Q22n117, 153 n86, 237n168
archoll wound, cut, gash, hurt GPC 363
 Arianrhod '*Rieni*' 182-82
 Arnold, Matthew 105-06
 Arnold Blue Books Q105
 Arnold 'Celtic remains' 106
 Arnold Welsh story teller Q105n4 Ford Q106
aruchel/ noble, supreme GPC 20
aruchel high, tall, elevated; exalted GPC 163n179
 IX ARTS (2ch) 528-535
 ARTS Gallery [IX.1.] 529-58
 Arts 1 Narrative 531-32
 Arts 2 Maiden at Gorsedd, advent 533-38
 Arts 3 Rhiannon & Pwyll 538-43
 Arts 4 Mother of Pryderi 544-53
 Arts 5 Goddess Rhiannon 554-58
 Athena (Gss Myth) 425-26
 'Avalonian Rhiannon' (Rh Thealogy) 490-93
awdl (long) poem, ode, song GPC 33n190
Awdl, anonymous (Sources) 33
 Bad counsel, Gwawl 236-37
 Badger, Gwawl 234-35
 BAG, RHIANNON [VI.5.] 400-406
 Bag PKM1 major presence 28 instances 200
 Bag capacity 401nn87,89
 Bag *cod*/*cot* GPC 200n78
 Bag not a *cornucopia* 401n88
 Bag error 400n87 'bottomless' 390n14
 Bag see Gwawl
 Bag mimesis, mimicking 200n81
 Bag see Speech Bag
bali, pali silk GPC 21
 Beauty 133-34
 Beauty given after converse 178
 Beauty & Feminism 133-34
 Beauty subjective Pwyll 246-47 Pryderi 319n750
bechan/ bychan little, small, unimportant GPC 40
 Bestowal marriage horse land food 171
 BOLLARD, JOHN K *Landscapes Mabinogi* (Intro)
 Bollard Coherence paradigm pioneer 118
 Bollard 8thC Celtic artwork 122
 Bollard See Interlacings 121-23, 513-21
 Bollard Pwyll I & PKM4 Annwfn gifts 122
 Bollard social /moral import 3 themes 122
 Bollard themes friendship, marriage, feud 122
 Bollard themes3 lists characters 123n132
 Bollard themes gender meta-theme alliance 123
 Bollard women Q128-28n167 cf Valente n.168
 Birds of Rhiannon see *Adar*
 Branwen, '*Rieni*' 182-82

Britain, Dyfed, Gwynedd 188-89
 Britain [III.2.] 142-47
 Britain 2 terms 145-46 cf Matholwch 179
 Britain & Cymru / Wales 143-45
 Britain, Kings 146-47
 Britain, Unified island 142-43
 Britain 'Ynys hon' / 'This island' 145-46
 Bromwich, Rachel (TYP) (Academia) 118;
 Bromwich 2 trads poetry/ *Trioedd* & prose 118
 Bromwich Rh not in TYP 'Personal Names', page
 index (absent poetry, *Trioedd*) 118
 Bromwich *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* TYP 18n84
canwelw/ pale-white GPC 18
 'Calumniated Wife' Jackson 117
 'Calumniated Wife' universal motifs 117n96
 'Calumniated Wife' motifs Aarne, Antti Amatus.
 1910 117n97
 'Calumniated Wife' Rhiannon, Branwen 117
 'Calumniated Wife' crits Valiente & Wood 117 mine
 118
 Carnhuanawc see Price, Thomas
 Celtic Goddess 446-48
 Characters 1st appearances refs, *Dramatis P* 4
 Christianity & Mabinogi 438-42
 Chris Baptisms X 6 439-440
 Chris chastity 441
 Chris Clerics X3 441
 Chris leakage? familiar concepts? 441
 Chris oaths 'Duw' 439
 Chris patience 441-42
 Chris Sabbath 441
 Chris Weddings secular 440-41, Ellis 169nn218,219
 Rh wedding data n220
 COHERENCE PARADIGM 1970-1995 [II.7.] 118-139
 Coherence Paradigm Interlacing 121-23
 Coherence Paradigm scholars 23
 CIGFA DAU OF GWYN GOHOYW [V. 11] 328-35
 Cigfa Genealogy, marriage 329-30
 Cigfa & Manawydan 331-35
 Cigfa & Mother-in-law 330-31
Cod Rhiannon/ Rhiannon's Bag 400-406
 COHERENCE PARADIGM 126
 Coherence Paradigm cf Anwyl Q120n117
 Coherence Paradigm & WLM 126
 Coherence P chronicled Sullivan 120
 Coherence P new scholars Ford/ Bollard/ SDavies/
 Valente/ RMDavies/ Winward 123 see also Sullivan
Essays
 Coherence P Kuhn. 1962. *Structure* 123n133
 X CONCLUSIONS 568-601
 Conclusions, Contents 567

Conclusions, Main text 568-97
 Conclusions, Portrait 598-99
 Conclusions, Postscript 599- 601
 'Conscientious use' David Ambrose? 53
 'Conscientious use' Sullivan 561n59
 cf Walton 'never to alter' Q452
 Councils refs 156n111; also
 Council after Annwfn 264n363
 Council Morning after birth 267, 268, 278
 Council Preseli barrenness 261, 268n395
 Councils Pwyll's also 294, 585
 Council Rhiannon re penance 267-68
 Council Pryderi pigs 314n710, 351
 Consent, marriage (LLW) 170
 Counsellors (LLW) 172
 Counsellors Appendix 9
 Counsellors gender analysis 172
 Counsellors language skill converse 172n238
 Counsellors Mabinogi Rh 49 instances 172
 Counsellors Miles-Watson women 172
 Counsellors Rhiannon analysed 173
 'The Craft' 453-54
 Craft of the Storyteller [II.2] 45-49
 Craft, oral Characterisation 46-47
 Craft, oral Structure 45-46
 Craft, oral Style 47-49
Crefft y Cyfarwydd Craft of the Storyteller 45-49
Culhwch ac Olwen (Sources) 33
 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab' (Struct) 512-13
 'Cyfranc' cf CS Lewis 30n173
 'Cyfranc' 'hippomorphic' 31, refs 32n181
 'Cyfranc' & Mab Rh my debt 30: seeded mine, scope
 similar 29, 30n177 gender 31
 'Cyfranc' & Mab Rh more myth (Valente later) 31-32
 'Cyfranc' Teyrnnon anecdote Q30-31
cylch fuels noble dominance 161n163
cylch N & S Wales refs 161n163
cylch progress, circuit GPC 153n88
 Cymru / Wales key quote 143
 'Damh the Bard' (Rh Thealogy) 502
 Davies, John Bristol Channel navig. 278n143,
 283n492, 283n493
 Davies, J Discovering the Mabinogi 362n27
 Davies, J Desolation, subsistence 304n646, 365n51
 Davies, J Dyfed-Gwent travel 297n597
 Davies, J Mabinogi study 1990 467
 Davies, J Maids' politics 271n416, 278n459
 Davies, J Rebuke III plot device 343n896
 Davies, J marine trade routes 418n8
 Davies, J Severn Bore 282n485
 Davies, J Manawyd. pragmatic at tower 343

Davies, John 1993 *Three Things There Are* 492
 Davies, Sioned *Mabinogion* (Intro)
 Walton WWII context 483n266
 Demeter (Gss Myth) 417-24
 Desolation Pryderi, Rhiannon 324-28
 Diagram 'Rhiannon Interlace' 509
 Diagram Active Passive Analysis 208
 V.1 Diagram Genealogy 213
 Diagram 'Rhiannon Interlace' 509
 Dialogue examples list 41n236
 Dialogue Maids plotting Q275-76
 Dialogue Rhiannon Pwyll Q198-99
 Dialogues Ternon & Wife Q287-88
 Divorce (LLW) 175
 Divorce 'agweddiol' 7 years Q175n256
 Divorce 'bizarre' gender allocation Stacey 175
 Divorce patrilineal wives vuln. Branwen 175
 Doublet see Interlacings
Dramatis Personae (I. 2.) 4
Dramatis P Characters 1st appearances refs, 4
dwfn deep; dense world, earth GPC 373
eisted 12 n49
 Dyfed: foodstocks, hunting 151
eisted sitting GPC
 Ellis & Lloyd, *Mabinogion* (Intro)
 Enchantments see *Hud*
 Epona (Gss Myth) 426-29
 III.4 EQUINE, Equestrian Nobility 157-64
 Equine instances (table long list) 157-59
 Equine Horse breeding 162-63
 Equine Hunting & women 163-64
 Equine *Marchogion* 159-62
 Equine palfrey 17n83, 163n177
 I.3. ETYMOLOGY 'RHIANNON' 5-10
esgor delivery, parturition, birth; deliverance. (GPC)
 & wordplay 202n98
 Etym 'Goddess of the Underworld' Green 9n38
 Etym Mittleman & Jones Rh unique to Mab. Q6
 Etym -ON Suffix 10
 Etym 'Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf I' Q5
 Etym *rhi* king prince lord ruler chieftain GPC 7
 Etym *RHI*-Prefix 7-8
 Etym *RHI*- Indo-European cognates 7-9, Q8
 Etym *RHI*- territory, reach, (material) rule 8
 Etym 'RHIAN' 9
 Etym 'RHIAN' Pughe *Geiriadur* 9
 Etym *rhianaid*, *rhiangerdd*, *rhieingylch* GPC fem
 connotations 9
 Etym 'Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf I' Q5
 Etym 'Rhiannon' 47 instances 6-7
 Etym 'Rhiannon' Syllables 7
eureit, llathreit shining GPC 20
 Feasts (LLW) 173-74
 Feast bards Goronwy Gyriog Rh 174n252
 Feasts & *Cylchau* integrated system 174
 Feast data refs 154n95
 Feast description QQ174n250
 Feast Mabinogi Rhiannon 8 major 173n240
 Feast ownership 173n241
 Feast purposes multiple eg Pryderi PKM3 173
 Feast resources logistics 173
 Feast sequence 49n33
 Feast servings 173n243, 308-09n664
 Feminism, Agency 134-35
 Fem Atwood wide variations Q132n190
 Feminism & Beauty 133-34
 Feminism 'gender' 127
 Feminism 'gender' Rh, Gwydion 127
 Feminism & Goddess 458
 Feminism Liberal (3 models) 132
 Fem Lloyd, Elizabeth MA Mab. scholar 126n153
 Feminism & Mabinogi Rhiannon 124-39
 Feminism Matriarchal (3 models) 132
 Feminism Models X 3 Beasley, 132
 Feminism & Rhiannon 131-33
 Feminist Mab scholars valente, Merrill, Patterson,
 French, Winward 128
 Feminism & mediaeval text? 125-26
 Feminism, Pennar, Andreas 128-29
 Feminism Rh fits Lib Fem, analysis 133
 Feminism sisterhood 127
 Feminism Socialist (3 models) 132
 Feminism, Valente, 'Rob' 130-31, re Mab women
 123n137 cf Winward
 vote Act 1928 126
 Feminism see WLM
 FICTION Rhiannon Imaginary [IX.1] 559-66
 Folklore: Jackson, Kenneth (Academia) 117-18
 Folklore: Wood, Juliette (Academia) 117-18
 Gruffydd, William John (WJG) (Academia) 111-16
 Foodstocks, hunting 151
 Ford *Welsh Tales* 1977
 Ford 'Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab' compare 30-32
 Ford, 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab' 512-13
 Ford: hippomorphic aspect 455-58
 Ford horse goddess 'literary version' long Q456
 Ford tales not in decline crit Joneses 184n32
 Ford, Patrick *Welsh Tales* (Intro)
 Four Branches (Struct) 510-12
 Friendships list 176
 Friendships male-male 176
 Friendship marriage meta-theme alliance 177

furuf (*ffurf*) form, figure, shape GPC 364
gellast staghound-bitch GPC 33n190
 Genealogy Diagram [V.1] 213
 Giraldus horse breeding excerpt Q163n173, Q227
 Giraldus'Irish horse ceremony (Rh Thealogy) 479-81
 Giraldus cf Rhiannon's horse *aruchel* 179n165
 Girls no girl babies cf sons info 171
 Girls (LLW) 176
 Girls & boys bestowed Patterson Q170n227,
 'vassals' sent away same age Patterson 176n268
 Girls home centred training 176
 Girls virginity asset protected 176
 GLOSSARY Vol I Intro & Vol III final pp
 GODDESS quotes: long Anwyl Q475 Ford Q475
 Valente Q130-31 & Pughe 1st Q73
 Goddess, Ancient (Pre-1900) 442-46
 Goddess Horse *Cyfranc* 31-32, Epona 426-29 Ford,
 456 n. 117, Anwyl, pp. 475 n. 215, Rh Thealogy 487-88
 Goddess Myths [VII.1] 416-32
 Gss Myth Athena 425-26
 Gss Myth Comparisons (Table) 435
 Gss Myth Comparisons Analysis 435-36
 Gss Myth Demeter 417-24
 Gss Myth Epona 426-29
 Gss Myth Hera 422
 Gss Myth Inanna 418-20
 Gss Myth Isis 421
 Gss Myth Macha 430-31
 Gss Myth Modron 429-30
 Gss Myth Mari Llwyd 432-34
 Gss Myth Mongán's Mother 431
 Gss Myth (Summary 436-37)
 Goddess Myths & Trade Routes Map 418
 Goddess obscured woman, Valente 130-31
 GODDESS PRE-1900 [VII.2.] 437-43
 VII GODDESS RHIANNON (5 ch) 415-507
 Gss Rh Moon, brief comment Rhÿs 102n12
 Gss Rh 'Goddess of the Underworld' Green 9n38
 GODDESS TEMPLES [VII.4.] 463-66
 'Goddess Temple', Glastonbury 469-71
 Gss Temple House of the Goddess 464-68
 Gss Temple Iseum Rhiannon 463-64
 Gss Temple Madrians 463-64
 Gss Temple Pagan Federation 468-69
 Goronwy Gyriog (Sources) 33
gorsedd mound throne judicial assembly GPC 22,
 255n287
 Graves, Robert & Laura Riding 452-53

Graves, Robert & Laura Riding (Rh Thealogy) 484-86
 Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch (Sources) 34
 GUEST, CHARLOTTE 85-99
 Guest 1st *complete* publication Mab 85
 Guest begins project Q88n281 acquires MS 80
 Guest Carnhuanawc visits 83n247
 Guest, Constance 2nd name Rhiannon 42, 99
 Guest economics 89n286, 97-98
 Guest English cooption coloniser, defence 92-97
 Guest fails to credit 84-85
 Guest feminism Q151n126
 Guest gender critiqued, defence 90-92
 Guest illust Samuel Williams engraver 89n287
 Guest see Jones/ Tegid 79-81
 Guest, journals publ sources my index 82n240,
 83n247, 87n274
 Guest *Mabinogion* 7 vols series list 86
 Guest *Mabinogion* 3 vols list (1849) 86n268
 Guest *Mabinogion* online (1999) SCR 136
 Guest *Mabinogion* title not hers 96n332
 Guest 'our own traditions' Q84n254, cf Q83n252
 Guest perfectionist Q89n286
 Guest see Price/ Carnhuanawc 81-85
 Guest reading aloud 50n42
 Guest recruitment 84
 Guest, Revel & Angela John, *Lady Charlotte* biog. rep.
Extraordinary Life 82n242
 Guest Villemarque dispute 84
 Guest Welsh is 'difficult' Q88n277
 GWAWL SON OF CLUD [V. 4] 229-37
 Gwawl advent cf Rhiannon's 231
 Gwawl appearance Q230n105
 Gwawl Bad counsel 236-37, 325-28
 Gwawl Bad counsel *aghyngor* GPC 236n150
 Gwawl Bad counsel Rh connect Anwyl 236n150
 Gwawl, Badger 234-35
 Gwawl, Badger Dafydd ap Gwilym 234n134
 Gwawl, Badger deconstructed 235n143
 Gwawl, Badger 'extortion scheme' OED 234n134
 Gwawl, Badger Llwyd explicit Q236n149
 Gwawl, Badger political ritual 234
 Gwawl Bag death class issue? JDavies 221n46
 see Bag 400-406
 Gwawl blows doublet Hafgan 234n138, Eames
 Q277n451
 Gwawl Clyde, Strathclyde 231-32nn115,116
 Gwawl 'Conflict' section 232-34
 Gwawl courtesy Q231n108
 Gwawl feast provisions 231n122
 Gwawl good suitor QQ229nn105,106

GPC 2 meanings 231n114
 Gwawl *gwinau* animals adjective 231n111
 Gwawl narrative 229
 Gwawl Profile, status, name 229-32
 Gwawl Rhiannon anger 236n154
 Gwawl seating issue 230n106
 Gwawl Summary 237
 Gwawl 'wealth and might' Q230n106
 (*g*)*welynt* see GPC 14
gwreic woman, maiden GPC 15
 GWYDION the Killer [V. 15] 350-55
 Gwydion contrast Rh 353-55
 Gwydion similar Rh 352-53
 Hegelian Dialectic (Struct) 525-27
 Hera (Gss Myth) 422
 IV HERSELF (2 ch) 190-211
 (Speech & Acts)
 III.3. Hierarchy, Economics 147-57
 Hippomorphic aspect, Ford 455-58
 HORSE see also Equine
 Horse breeding cob 227, photo 400
 Horse breeding (Equine) 162-63
 Horse breeding see Giraldus
 Horse breeding not just Norman, native 163
 Horse breeding publicity Advent (spec) 228n95
 Horse see *cylch*
 Horse Goddess Horse *Cyfranc* 31-32, Epona 426-29
 Ford, 456 n. 117, Anwyl, pp. 475 n. 215, Rh
 Thealogy 487-88
 Horse inconsistency ships Irish War Sturzer & crit
 159n152
 HORSE INSTANCES long list 157-59
 Horse description later poetry *Trioedd* 162
 Horse integration rider SDavies 17-20
 Horse see Giraldus
 Horse *llateion* 162 *Rhieingerddi* love poems
 162n168
 Horse *marchogion* dominance 160-61
 Horse mutilations 160n153
 Horse mutilations as political block 30n171 cf
 factions Hyfaidd & Maids, Pendaran
 Horse pragmatic utility min. description 162
 Horse riding dominance Boniface Anthony
 QQ159nn154,155
 Horse Rhiannon's see Rhiannon's Horse
 Horse Teyrnnon's Mare no pet transition? 162
 Horse Teyrnnon's Mare inside house 162n170
 Horse training + boy 227n88, cf Gwri 161-62
 Horse training combat Gassman Q161n161;
 III HORSEWOMAN HER WORLD (7) 140-89
 House of the Goddess 464-68

VI.1. *Hud*/ Enchantments pp. 357-80
hud magic, enchantment, deception, delusion, trick
 GPC 359
Hudau y Mabinogi Mabinogi Enchantments
Hud Animals 361
Hud Annwfn 369-80
Hud Bindings 367-68
Hud Categorïau / TABLE
Hud Colours 361
Hud Definition: *hud* Mabinogi 259
Hud Dimensions (size, distance, time) 366
Hud Locations 362-63
Hud Objects & constructs 364-66
Hud Shapeshifting 363-64
Hud Violence, vengeance 368
Hud Wand 366
Hudlach Wand
 Hughes, Kris (Thealogy) 505
 Hunting refs 152n77
 Hunting & women (Equine) 163
 Hybrid marriage, Porter Q242n189, Messer
 169n217 Rh 1st dialogue brisk 169n217
hyfaidd bold, daring GPC 222
 HYFAIDD HEN [V. 3] 218-29
 Hyfaidd 15 references 218n31
 Hyfaidd advice, jointly Rhiannon Q221n48
 Hyfaidd ap Bleddri of Dyfed, genealogy 223
 Caradawg Freichfras Triad 38, 225, 226, 227
 Hyfaidd poss family feud 220-21
 Hyfaidd *Henfordd*/ Hereford 220n42 *iarll* 226
 Hyfaidd Henllyn Powys 224
 Hyfaidd Hir Gododdin 222-23
 Hyfaidd honourable treatment Gwawl 219n36
 Hyfaidd identity 222-29
 Hyfaidd location needs no explanation 219
 Hyfaidd Maesyfed Giraldus 227
 Hyfaidd Maesyfed maps X2 225
 Hyfaidd Maesyfed homeland theory 224-29
 Hyfaidd & propriety 219-222
 Hyfaidd Rhiannon patronymic Q219n32
 Hyfaidd narrative summary 218
 Hyfaidd propriety 219-20, 222
 Hyfaidd saga poetry/ Rodway caution 228-29n99
 Hyfaidd summary 229
 Hyfaidd wealth, conserving it 221 Rh 244
 Hywel Dda 183-85
 'Inconsistencies' 9 by Sturzer 266n379
 Inanna (Gss Myth) 418-20
 INTERLACINGS 513-14
 Interlacing see Bollard
 Interlacing (Coherence Paradigm) 121-23

Interlacing articles list Sullivan *Essays* 121n123;
 Gantz, Ó Coileáin, Ford 122
 Int bracket Annwn gift pigs 206n117
 Int Doublets, about 513
 Int Doublet duels 513 n. 28
 Int Doublet sitting Gorsedd PKM1/3 308n664
 Int Doublet 2 meanings 513n28
 Int Doublet examples 122, 308n664, 519
 Int intricacy cf. *cynganedd* 122
 Int. 1) Rhiannon-Arawn 514-15
 Int. 2) Golden Thread 515-16
 Int. 3) Horse 516-17
 Int. 4) Rhiannon Pwyll dialogue 517-18
 Int. 5) Teyrnon's Wife 518
 Int. 6) Bag 518 -19
 Int. 7) Third Branch 519-20
 Int. 8) Exiles & Pursuits 520-21
 I INTRODUCTORY (7 chapters) pp. 1-42
 Iseum Rhiannon 454
 Iseum Rhiannon 463-64
 Isis (Gss Myth) 421
 Jackson, Kenneth (Academia) 117-18
 Jaufré Rudel (Sources) 33
 Jaufré Rudel 2 excerpts Q385
 Jones, Edward 73, 79, SCR 5
 Jones, Ed 1st Rhiannon print SCR 5 (& Pughe)
 Jones, John 'Tegid' 79-81
 V KINDRED (15ch) 212-355
 Lady Mouse [V. 13] 345-47
 LAW, LAND & WOMEN (LLW) [III.5.] 164-7
 Lhuyd, Edward 62-64
 Lhuyd excerpt quoted, trans. 63n121
 Lhuyd excerpt SCR 64
 LLW Law Land & Women [III.5.] 164-77
 LIFELINES 272-75
 Lifelines Diagram 274.
 LLW Alliance 176-77
 LLW Consent, marriage 170
 LLW Counsellors 172
 LLW Divorce 175
 LLW Feasts 173-74
 LLW Girls 176
 LLW Mothering 171-72
 LLW Marriage 167-69
 LLW Names & Women 166-67
 LLW Women & names 166-67
 LL (Welsh alphabetical order)
Llawysgrifau Manuscripts
llwyd grey, faint pale, brown GPC 348
 Llwyd Cil Coed [V. 14] 347-50
Llyfr Coch Hergest 61-62

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch 60-61
Llys Court
mab boy, son, child (either sex) GPC 24n129
 Mabinogi bleak finale Valente 177
 Mabinogi development Four Accounts 119-21
 Hemming/ Sullivan/ Parker/ Morgain
 Mabinogi Enchantments [VI.1.] 357-80 see *Hud*
 MABINOGI RHIANNON
 Mabinogi Rhiannon, beginning 24-27
 Mabinogi Rhiannon Core & extended 23, 29-30
 Mabinogi Rhiannon ending 27-29
 Mabinogi Rhiannon text [I. 5] 23-33 see Text
 Mabinogi Rhiannon & Feminism 124-39
 Mabinogi Rhiannon Paraphrase [I.1.] 2-3
 'Mabinogi Symposiwm' SDavies 54
 Mabinogi & Trance [VI.2.] 381-87
 Macha (Gss Myth) 430-31
 Madrians 454
 Madrians 463-64
 Magicians transcend territory 388
 MAIDS [V. 6] 275-78
 Maids dialogue plotting 275-76
 MANAWYDAN SON OF LLŶR [V. 12] 335-45
 Manawydan background (PKM2) 337-39
 Manawydan Man of virtue 341-45
 Manawydan Marriage her consent 341
 Manawydan Marriage to Rhiannon 340-41
 Manawydan Name 336-37
 Manawydan narrative 335-36
 Manawydan Pryderi's friend 339-40
 MANUSCRIPTS [II.4.] 57-62
 MSS X 3, 57-58
 MSS dating Huws. 57
 MSS Llyfr Coch 61-62
 MSS Llyfr Gwyn 60-61
 MSS Llyfr Gwyn 'disappearance' 61
 MSS Peniarth 6 1st Rh on record 59
 MSS Peniarth 6 trans. PKM3 excerpt 57n88
 MS source Guest Llyfr Coch 80
 MS source Pughe Llyfr Coch 68
 MAPS 2935+300=3235 300-35=265
 Map basic geography 147
 Map Goddess Myths & Trade Routes 418
 Map Mabinogi [III.1.] 141
 Map Mabinogi poster (Jones) 148
 Maps X2 Maesyfed (Hyfaidd) 225
March Horse
March Rhiannon Rhiannon's Horse
Marchogion (Equine) 157-62
 Mari Llwyd (Gss Myth) 432-34
 Marriage (LLW) 167-69

Marriage & Consent (LLW) 170
 Marriage hybrid see Porter
 Marriage Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 489
 MATERNAL DYAD 322-28
 Maternal authority naming 171n235
mawr fawr/ great, tall GPC 19
 Mediaeval magic 357
 Mediaeval religion X 3 Kieckhefer 358
 Mediaeval religion Demonism (2) 358
 Mediaeval religion Official (1) 358
 Mediaeval religion Natural (3) 358
 Mediaeval text & Feminism? 125-26
 Modron (Gss Myth) 429-30
 Mongán's Mother (Gss Myth) 431
 Morris, Lewis 'Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn' 65-67
 Mother Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 493-96
 Mothering (LLW) 171-72
 Muse Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 499-501
 Names & Women (LLW) 166-67
neges errand, business, purpose GPC 26n149
neges Ford 'she will accomplish' Q26
neges Rh. 7 refs 398n73, 26-27n149, Q24-25
 Occultism 20thC 450
 -ON Suffix 10
 Online Mabinogi, 1st text 136
 Online Mabinogi, texts, media 136-39
 Oral Craft 3 groups of techniques 45
 Oral Craft of the Storyteller 45-49
 Oral Structure 45-46
 Oral Characterisation 46-47
 Oral 'hearing public' SDavies Q45
 Oral Style 47-49
Owein (Sources) 33
 Pagan Federation 468-69
pali silk loan word Old French GPC 21n108
 Paradoxes, Rh (Struct) 512
 Paraphrase Mabinogi Rhiannon [I.1.] 2-3
 Parker, Will, 'Bibliographic Essay' (Intro)
 Parker, online 137
 Peace narrative Manawydan 161n160
Pedeir Cainc y Mabinogi 116-17
 Penance humiliation wife privacy 198
 Penance plot 268-72 cf Advent/ Wedding
 Penance as storytelling Watkins 54,386
 PENDARAN DYFED [V. 9] 291-95
 Plots: Advent/ Wedding/ Penance/ Maids,
 Pendaran
 Peniarth 6 (Manuscript) 58
 Peniarth 6 excerpt 58-59
 Peniarth 6 Provenance 58-60
 Peniarth 6 Political Context 60
 PENNAR, ANDREAS obscured feminist 128-29
 Pennar 9 Mab women studied, list 129n170
 Arianrhod male gaze 129n170
 Pennar Rh 11 pages 129
 Pennar Rh legal right to choose 129
 Pennar Rh 'the most commanding' Q129n171
 Pennar Rh pursuits crit 129n175
 Pennar & Valente 129-30
 Performance 20thC 51
 Performance Continues [II.3.] 50-56
 Performance Convergence 21stC 53
 Performance Parallel streams 53
 Performance pre-20thC 50
 Perf 'Rhiannon' Carnival Queen agency girls 56
 Perf 'Rhiannon' local play 54-55
 Performance Storytelling movement 52
 Performance Storytelling, folklore 52
 Performance Storytelling Parallel streams 53
 Perform. Storytelling Convergence streams 53
 Performance Welsh theatre 51-52
 PKM (*Pedeir Cainc y Mabinogi*) 116-17
 Politics Economics
 Pol/ Econ. *Cantrefi* 237n167
 Pol/ Econ. Councils 156-57
 Pol/ Econ. Courts and Circuits 153-54
 Pol/ Econ. see Hierarchy
 Pol/ Econ. Maps 141, 147, 418
 Pol/ Econ. Princes and lords 155-56
 Pol/ Econ. servant class presence 259n325
 Pol/ Econ. territories 149-51-53
 Political parallels [III.7.] 183-89
 Pol Parallels Hywel Dda 183-85
 Pol Parallels Anglo-Norman 185-88.
 Pol Parallels Anglo-Norman mice satire 162n164,
 188n346, 364n41, 369n74
 Pol Parallels Britain, Dyfed, Gwynedd 188-89
 Porter, hybrid marriage Q240 cf Chris weddings
 Price, Thomas 'Carnhuanawc' 81-85
prifford highway main road GPC 22
prifford GPC 112n116
 Prose & poetry Mab., Ian Hughes 36-40
 Prose & poetry, Mabinogi Rhiannon 36-40
 Prose & poetry Mab Rh weak presence poetry &
Trioedd incl Hughes 38-40
 Prose Story-telling [I. 7] 36-42
 PRYDERI SON OF PWYLL (10) [V. 10] 295-323
 Pryderi Animal affinities 302-03
 Pryderi Boyhood 296-302
 Pryderi death as Epilogue 27-29
 Pryderi the husband 305-06
 Pryderi initiatives 315-16

Pryderi & Manawydan 306-10
 Pryderi the prince 303-05
 Pryderi, Rhiannon 316-21
 Pryderi, Rhiannon Desolation 324-28
 Pryderi, Rhiannon Maternal dyad 322-28
 Pryderi sources. 295-96
 PUGHE, WILLIAM OWEN 'Idrison' 67-78
 Pughe 1st Rhiannon in print SCRs 5-6 (& Jones)
 [Pughe] 1806 adopted name 68n156
 Pughe *Cambrian Register* II 1st Rh in print anon
 pursuits (1799) 73 cf. Ed. Jones names her
 Pughe Croker contents 70n167
 Pughe decline 76-78
 Pughe Diary 76n209
 Pughe *Geiriadur* intro about the tales Q72
 Pughe *Geiriadur* SCR 5
 Pughe hiatus, causes 74-76
 Pughe Mabinogi related publications list 69-70
 Pughe peak 74-75
 Pughe post-mortem no publication, causes 78
 Pughe Mabinogion 1826, 1831 (NLW) 77n215
 Pughe Rh goddess, *Geiriadur*, 5 (SCR), Q73
 Pughe Rh 'only ... Dramatic Tales' Q35, Q74
 Pursuits see Advent
 Pursuits not 3 but 4, 255n292
 Pursuits as hunt 14n66
 Pursuit inverts gender 396-97
 Pursuits & Exiles interlace 520-21
 Pwyll I, see also Rhiannon's Choice
pwyl caution prudence, wisdom, patience GPC 248
 PWYLL AND RHIANNON [V. 5] 238-75
 Pwyll, First impression 246-47
 PWYLL THE FOOL 247-60
 Pwyll Arawn offence debatable 152n83
 Pwyll Fool, In Annwfn 249-54
 Pwyll Fool, Gorsedd warning 255
 Pwyll Fool, Horse Rebuke (I) 256-7
 Pwyll's importance 238-40
 Pwyll name count instances 237n165
 Pwyll narrative 237
 Pwyll Partnership 260 -63
 Pwyll PKM1 almost total presence 237n166
 Pwyll Rebuke II 258-59
 Pwyll & Rh 18 roles 240n172
 Pwyll & Rh Complex Relationship 240-41
 Pwyll Rhiannon's choice 241-46
 Pwyll Sovereignty 259-60
 Pwyll poss trance Arawn 383
 Pwyll *Trioedd* almost absent 237n166(2nd half)
 Pwyll Wedding rebuke (II) 258-59
 QUEEN [V. 2] 214-18

Queen 'literary device' males 214n1
 Queen bed intimacy Pwyll, cf Rhiannon 214
 'Queen' instances collated 214n1
 'Queen' no other Mabinogi female 214
 Queen differences Rhiannon 216-18
 Queen husbands are close allies 215n4
 Queen narrative niche for Rhiannon 218
 Queen *reacts* Rhiannon *acts* 218
 Queen similar Rhiannon 215-16
 Queen summary 218
 Queen one of Three Anons 524-25
 REBUKES
 Rebuke cf Arawn 370 cf Cigfa 333 cf Adar 411 cf
 conscientious use 56
 Rebuke I dialogue struct 517
 Rebuke I key analysis 256-58
 Rebuke I horse 158, 198n66, 397
 Rebuke I Narrative Horsewoman 198-99
 Rebuke I Speech #1 192
 Rebuke I language 155n98
 Rebuke I sexual innuendo 198
 Rebuke I w/o due attention 248n247
 Rebuke I & II 159
 Rebuke II 201, Q248n247
 Rebuke II Narrative: weddings 199-201
 Rebuke I Speech #9 193
 Rebuke II Wedding rebuke key analysis 258-59
 Rebuke II wordplay 245, Q248n245
 Rebuke III Narrative: Desolation 204-05
 Rebuke III Peniarth 6 historical 5, 204
 Rebuke III Speech #31 195
 Rebuke III table context 340
 Rebuke III dominance & vulnerability 204
 Rebuke III fails friendship noble code 204, priority
 son Q 320-21, 322, 340
 Rebuke III shames Manawydan 210, 344 motive
 sustains his effort 349, cf nephew murder 343
 Rebukes all 2-3 Advice & Rebukes 196 triplicity
 522
 Rebukes all *Tri dliwiad Rhiannon*/ 'Three Rebukes
 of Rhiannon' spec 196n48 cf '*Rieni*'
 Rebuke pre-Rebuke preface 195, 196
 Red Book of Hergest 61-62
 '*Rieni*' 177-83 uses '*Rieni*' no trans. 181-82
 '*Rieni*' alt trans. 181
 '*RIENI*' [III.6.] Peak female status 177-83
 '*Rieni*' 2 texts 177-79
 '*Rieni*' 2 texts Q178nn280,284
 '*Rieni*' cf Cycles 2 headed by women Anwyl
 182n311
 '*Rieni*' not explained so understood 178

'Rieni' link kins (Owen) here nations 178
'Rieni' Lost triad? 33, 179
'Rieni' Triad? (Sources) 33
'Rieni' Meaning 181-82
'Rieni' Meaning resolved Parker Q181n304
'Rieni' Rhiannon, Branwen, Arianrhod 182 but
 Arianrhod anachronistic so Don 182n311
 Tryded Prif Rieni spec construct 179n289
 Romance theme 18th-19thC 101-04
 Romance 1st asserted Morris Q102
 Romance definitions Luft, Johnson QQ102
 Romance Guest 'cradle' & another QQ103
 Romance Jones Ed Q103
 Romance Pughe titles all exc 1, list + 102-03 Soc
 Antiq, Croker 103
 Romance *Rhamant* Pughe Q102n378
 Romance Stephens 83 instances pp QQ103-04
'rywedawt' (Mod.W. *rhyfeddod*) wonder, marvel GPC
 context 16n74
Rhamant Romance (Pughe) Q378
rhi king, prince, lord, ruler, chieftain GPC 7
rhianaid, *rhiangerdd*, *rhieingylch* fem GPC 9
rhieni parents, ancestors GPC 180
 RHIANNON
'Rhi-, *'Rhiannon'* see Etymology *'Rhiannon'*
'Rhiannon' 47 instances 6-7, list 6n16
 Rhiannon 1st in print SCRs 5-6
 Rhiannon & Agency 134-35
 Rhiannon anon 94 lines cf Queen 215n94
 Rhiannon's Bag [VI.5.] 400-406 see Bag
 Rhiannon barren 316nn730,731
 RHIANNON'S CHOICE 241-46
 Rh Choice (Text) QQ25-27 *neges* Q24-25
 Rh Choice (Text) Pen Annwfn Q25
 Rh Choice (Text) *Pwyll I* prelude Anwyl, Ford, Mac
 Cana masc aspect 26 fem solution 27
 Rh Choice (Text) *Pwyll I* disconnect Q25 Sturzer no
 mention 26n145
 Rh co-rule also Goewin 168n214
 Rh cyclic economy *cylch* feasts cf Bag 154n92
 Rh *cylch* cf *rhieingylch* led by woman 154n89
 Rhiannon economic status 244n201
 Rhiannon elite status refs 243n197
 Rhiannon & Feminism 133
 RHIANNON'S HORSE [VI.4.] 395-400
 Rhiannon's Horse agency 398-99
 Rhiannon's Horse see Giraldus
 Rhiannon's Horse synergy 399
 Rh Horse (Magician) 388, Q390 crit, 393, 394
 Rhiannon Imaginary (Fiction) [IX.1] 559-66
 'Rhiannon Interlace' Diagram 509

Rhiannon Magician [VI.3.] 387-95
 Rh marriage consent *Pwyll* bestowal 170, 220
 Rh marriage consent Manawyd ambiv 341
 Rhiannon as mother depth character 28, 201-03,
 316-18, 320, Mat Dyad 320-28, Mother Gss 493-96
 Rhiannon motive wealth *sarhaed* 244
 Rhiannon's natal homeland, Maesyfed 224-29
 Rhiannon northern? 110n.27
 Rh *Neges* Purpose, errand 7 refs 398n73
 Rh power loss marriage Winward 169n209
 Winward loss life stages 210n144
 Rh presence ends paralysis 27 cf Peniarth 6
 Rhiannon Prose heroine [I. 7] 36-42
 Rh 'strong woman' 208-09, carnival 56n74, YA
 fiction 563-65 see Rh unfem.
 Rh subverts bestowal no direct challenge 170n225
 Rh 'unfeminine' alien strong Winward 168n209
 'Rhiannon' unique Mab. Mittleman & Jones Q6
 Rhiannon wealth Table 244
 Rhiannon wedding feast data 169n220
rhieni parents, ancestors GPC 180
 RHÛS, John (Academia) 106-08
 RhÛs 1st Prof Celtic, Oxford 1877 106
 RhÛs See Arnold 105-06
 RhÛs 'Celtic' & Empire, Irish 106
 RhÛs Dyfed & Deisi tribe 149n50
 RhÛs euhemerised deities 107
 RhÛs Gwenogvryn Evans, John 107
 RhÛs Influences Arnold Celtic remains 106, Müller
 dualism 106-07
 RhÛs '*mabinog*' 108n16
 RhÛs '*mabinog*' reject Gwenogvryn 108n17
 RhÛs Reconstruction cf WJG 107nn13,14
 RhÛs Inheritor WJG 106 see WJG 111-16
 RhÛs *Lectures* series 106
 RhÛs Rhiannon Dawn/ Moon goddess Q107n12
 VI RHIANNON MARVELLOUS (6ch) 356-414
 'saga poetry' Rodway v cautious 41n238
Sarhaed Fines system (LLW) 165-66
 Shapeshifting *Hud* 363-64
 Sons & their mothers listed 171
 SOURCES RHIANNON, Other [I. 6] 33-35
 Sources Rh, Other tabulated #1-6 33, #7-9 34
 Sources 1) *'Rieni'* Triad? 33n188
 Sources 2) *Culhwch ac Olwen* Q33n189
 Sources 3) *Awdl*, anonymous 33n190
 Sources 4) *Jaufre Rudel* 33n191, QQ385
 Sources 5) *Owein* inverts Advent 33n192
 Sources 6) *Goronwy Gyriog* Q33-34n193
 Sources 7) *Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch* Q34n194
 Sources 8) *Dafydd ap Gwilym* 34n195

Sources 9) *Ystoria Taliesin* Q34n196
 Hughes
 Sources Pughe 'only ... Dramatic Tales' Q35
 Sovereignty Goddess 450-01
 Sovereignty Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 476-78
 Sovereignty, Pwyll 259-60
 Speech Private wives 197-98
 Speech Rh wifely privacy complied 198
 SPEECHES RH (1-33) Table 190-95
 Speech Rh Advice & Rebukes 196
 Speech Rh Bag *bechan* ironic 200
 Speech Rh Bag complexity of plan 200
 Speech Rh Bag longest 200
 Speech Rh Bag mimesis seduction 200
 Speech Rh Bag poss. trance cf Arawn Pwyll 384
 Speech Rh converse praised by Pryderi 191n1
 Speech Rh Branches, disappearance 196-98
 Speech Rhiannon's converse 191-92
 Speech Rh language assertive, verbs 199n67
 Speech Rh Desolation #31- #33 204-05
 Speech Rh Horsewoman #1- #7 198-99
 Speech Rh Kindred PKM3 #26- #30 203-04
 Speech Rh Mothering #18- #25 201-03
 Speech Rh Types of speech 195-96
 Speech Rh Weddings #8- #17 199-201
 Speech social inferior speaks 1st 198n64
 Speech: Voice of Rhiannon [IV.1.] 191-205
 Sullivan, William 'conscientious use' 561n59
 Sullivan, William, *Essays* 1996 anthology 120
 Sun Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 497-99
 Stephens, Thomas 'Casnodyn', 'Gwrnerth',
 'Caradawg' 99-101
 Stephens 12thC drama performance art 50n40
 Stephens bards sour opinion Q272n419
 Stephens supernatural plot 'machinery' Q101
 Stevie Nicks 51n47, 139
 StevieN Walton not known until later 51n47
 II STORY OF THE STORY (9 ch) 43-139
 Storytelling Convergence 2 streams 21stC 53
 Storytelling, folklore 52
 Storytelling movement 52
 Storytelling Parallel streams 53
 Storytelling 'Prosiect Mabinogi', Stevenson 53
 VIII STRUCTURES (1ch) 508-527
 Struct. Diagram 'Rhiannon Interlace' 509
 Struct. Four Branches 510-12
 Struct. Four Br, Episodes list SDavies 45n7
 Struct. Paradoxes 512
 Struct. Ford, 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab' 512-13
 compares Cyfranc, Anwyl's Rh-Cycle & Mab Rh.
 Struct. Hegelian Dialectic 525-27
 Struct. Three Anons (Struct) 524-25
 Struct. Triadic Patterns 521-23
 Sullivan III, Charles William *Essays* (1996) 120
 Sullivan 'conscientious use' 561n59 (cf Walton,
 JDavies, Morgain, Rodway)
 Sullivan *Essays* chronicles Coherence P 120
 Sullivan *Essays* contents 120n116
taeog serf, villein, slave GPC 165n191
 'Tegid' see Jones, John
 Telyndru, Jhenah (Rh Thealogy) 502-05
teulu retinue, entourage GPC 15n69
 Territory, identity & *sarhaed* (LLW) 165-66
 Text Ford 'Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab' compare 30-32
 TEXT MABINOGI RHIANNON [I. 5] 23-33
 Text, Mabinogi Rhiannon 23-33
 Text Mabinogi Rhiannon, beginning 24-27
 Text Mabinogi Rhiannon end 27-29
 Text Mabinogi Rhiannon end Math justice 28-29
 Text Mabinogi Rhiannon Core, extended 29-30
 Text Mabinogi Rhiannon summary 32
 Text Rhiannon's Choice (Pwyll I) 25-27
teyrnon monarchs GPC 281
 TEYRNON TWRWF LLIANT [V. 7] 279-87
 Teyrnon Twryf Lliant, Gwent-Is-Coed 281-84
 Teyrnon, gentle guardian 285-87
 Teyrnon economy ships 283-84
 Teyrnon Noisy enchantment 284-05
 TEYRNON'S WIFE [V. 8] 287-90
 Teyrnon's Wife Dialogues DI 287
 Teyrnon's Wife Dialogues DII DIII DIV 288
 Teyrnon's Wife Marriage 289-90
 THEALOGIES RHIANNON [VII.5.] 471-502
 Thealogy, Anwyl & Goddess 474-76
 Thealogy, 'Avalonian Rhiannon' 490-93
 Thealogy, Background (review) 473-4
 Thealogy, 'The Craft' 487
 Thealogy, 'Damh the Bard' 502
 'Thealogy' definitions 471-72
 Thealogy, Giraldus' Irish horse ceremny 479-81
 Thealogy, Graves, Robert & Laura Riding 484-86
 Thealogy, Great Goddess 472-73
 Thealogy, Horse Goddess 487-88
 Thealogy, Hughes, Kris 505
 Thealogy, Marriage Goddess 489
 Thealogy, Mother Goddess 493-96
 Thealogy, Muse Goddess 499-501
 Thealogy, Sovereignty Goddess 476-78
 Thealogy Summary 506-07
 Thealogy, Sun Goddess 497-99
 Thealogy, Telyndru, Jhenah 502-05
 Thealogy, Walton, Evangeline 381-84

Three Anons (Struct) 524-25
 Timeline (graphic) (II.1.) 44
 Trance & Mabinogi [VI.2.] 381-87
TRIOEDD
 'Tri dliwiad Rhiannon/ spec see Rebukes
 Triad 8 Manawydan *lledyf* 342
 Triad 26 Pryderi pigs, versions 37, 296
 Triad 26 Henwen satire 151n73
 Triad 26 Pryderi Gwydion pigs Q 312
 Triad 26 Pendaran 7 pigs 291, 294
 Triad 26W resolve versions, Henwen 312
 Triad 26 Pen Annwfn Q370
 Triad 37 Arthur jealous 391
 Triad 38 bestowed horses no Gwri 38, 227
 Triad 38 Caradawg Freichfras 226, Q227n82
 Triad 41 horse *llateion* 410
 Triad 43 Lively Ladies 178n292
 Triad 56 Arthur queens 179-80
 Triad 67 shoemaking, cf awl 337
 Triad 70 Modron 430
 Triad 78 Royal Ladies 179-80
 Triad 79 Lively Ladies 179-80
 Triad 88 Maidens 180
 Triad 'Rieni'? 33, 179
Trioedd citing Mabinogi Rhiannon list 37n212
 Triadic Patterns (Struct) 521-23
Trioedd y Gwragedd group women 179n288
Trioedd y Meirch group horses 162n167
 'Tryded Prif Rieni' / 'Three Chief Rieni' [III.6.] spec 177-83; cf spec Rebukes
twrf noise, roar, tumult, commotion GPC 282
 TYP *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* 118, 18n84
 VALENTE, 'ROB' Pioneer feminist 130-31
 Valente & Pennar 129-30
 Valente key quote Q130-31
 Valente 'turn to the women' Bollard 129 n.168
 Violence, vengeance *Hud* 368
 WALTON, EVANGELINE 451-452, 481-84
 Walton 'never to alter' Q452 cf Sullivan 561n59
 Walton, Evangeline (Rh Theology) 381-84
 Wand *Hud* 366
 Wedding plot 263-67 cf Advent/ Penance
 WELSH RENAISSANCE [II.5.] 62-104
 Lhuyd/ Williams/ Morris/ Pughe/ Jones Ed/
 Jones J/ Price/ Guest/ Stephens/ Romance
 WR Luft, Williams & Thomas history & Mab 64
 WR Lhuyd, Morris, Pughe historical research 67
 WR Pughe 1st Rh *Cambrian Register* II 1795 73
 WR Morris prob 1st prose tales 'romance' 67
 WR MS source Llyfr Coch Pughe 68 Guest 80
 Welsh theatre 51-52

Welsh theatre Brith Gof 51n49
 Welsh theatre Bronwen Lewis 139n235 (Nicks)
 Welsh theatre Lis Hughes Jones 51n49
 Welsh theatre Manon Eames 52
 Welsh theatre Robin Williamson 51-52
 Welsh theatre see also Stevie Nicks
 Welsh theatre Moving Being 51-52
 White Book of Rhydderch 60-61
 WILLIAMS, Ifor (Academia) 116-17
 Williams I. compilation MSS schools 116
 Williams I. WJG agreed dating 117
 Williams I. single redactor added to tales 117
 Williams I. Pryderi saga 4 parts WJG 117
 Williams, Moses 64-65
 Williams, Moses 'intent to publish' Q65
 WJG (William John Gruffydd)
 WJG (William John Gruffydd) 111
 WJG Anwyl obscured 112n44
 WJG Arnold redirected, wordplay 113n48
 WJG critiques by scholars QQQ115-16
 WJG Desolation crit not Wasteland Hughes, Welsh Q115
 WJG Iolo cf 116n92
 WJG Irish *compert, macgnimartha, indarba, aided* 114
 WJG Irish 4 part biog cf Mac Cana 114
 WJG Irish Manannàn 114 crit 337
 WJG Irish Mongán 'original source' Q114n71
 WJG Mabinogi fine lit not his concern 112n45
 WJG Mabinogi Studies frozen 20thC 112
 WJG 'Myth of Rhiannon construct 113
 WJG Mythological Reconstruction paradigm 111-12
 WJG Mythological Recon key quotes QQQ113
 WJG Mythological Recon Pryderi 114
 WJG his successive summaries refs 113n58
 WJG nationalism 'clouds of glory' Q112n47
 WJG 'Celtic pantheon' reclaim 111
 WJG Pryderi hero of Dyfed no credit Anwyl 112
 WJG 'Pryderi, Saga' construct 113 crit 114n73
 WJG publications list 111n42
 WJG Rhiannon horse-gss no credit Anwyl 112
 WJG Rhiannon horse-gss weak 115
 WJG *Rhiannon* (1953) mess lots refs QQQQ113
 WJG Rhys student 111cf Myth Recon
 WLM (Women's Liberation Movement) 126-28
 WLM & Coherence Paradigm 126
 WOMEN
 Women co-rule Rh Goewin Q168n214
 Women see Counsellors
 Women see girls
 Women & Hunting (Equine) 163

Women 'link between kins' Owen 167n206
Women nameless if 1st met as wife 166-67
nn204,205 'Mrs. Jones' 171
Women names patronymics Rh Arawn 166-67
Women patrilocal wealth mobile 168
Women regency 168n215
Women not warriors but benefit 264
Women wife *sarhaed* lower Owen 168n210
Women wife power Messer good 168-69n208
Women wife power Winward no 169n209

Women wife private speech 197-98
Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) &
Coherence Paradigm 126
Wood, Juliette (Academia) 117-18
Wood see Calumniated
'*Ynys hon*' / 'This island' Britain 2 terms 145-46
Ystoria Taliesin (Sources) 34

End of Index Concordance pages

Dyfyniadau PKM/ PKM Quotes

List of PKM quotes given in chapters.

There are a mass of other, simple refs, these are actual quotes.

The English phrases are only guides on what the quote is about; the actual quote is usually much more.

See also Rhiannon quotes Ch. I.6. Other Sources pp. 33-35,

and *Trioedd* references listed in the Page Index.

I popped this in at the last minute as I'd built it up for my own use but thought others might like it.

NARRATIVE ORDER

PKM1

- 1.1-2. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed'
165n194, 237n159, 238n163, 281n481
- 1.4-5. 'Glyn Cuch' 376n132
- 1.7-8, 'when the day was still young' 152n82
- 1.21-24 'white, and their ears red'
249n250, 377n137
- 2-3. 'Once upon a time, he was at Arberth'
153n85
- 2.3-4. 'a horseman coming' 157n118
- 2.4-6 'large grey dappled horse' 377n139,
& 'grey-brown woollens' 379n152
- 2.14 -19. 'greater discourtesy' 253n278
- 2.17-19. 'said, 'was discourtesy'
204n244, 249n248
- 2.20-21 ... 22-23. 'if I have done wrong'
250n258
- 2 20-21. 'your friendship.' 253n277
- 2.21 'friendship' 370n81
- 2.26 'Arawn King of Annwfn' 165n194, 166n203,
329n803, 363n78, 370n81, 376n130
- 2.27-28. 'how I can do that?' 253n277
- 3.2. 'Hafgan, a king of Annwfn'
363n78, 376n133
- 3.3. 'you can do that easily' 383n173
- 3.7. 'make a strong friendship' 253n277
- 3.9. 'I will place with [give] you'
215n8, 251n286, 363n35, 363n78
- 3.9. 'beautiful woman' (Arawn) 167n204, 215n6
- 3.14 'meet then in this place.' 166n198
- 3.26. 'Your way will be unimpeded'
379n154, 383n174
- 4.3. 'best equipped host'
253n279, 254n283, 377n135
- 4.6-7. 'adornment of buildings' 371n90
- 4.8-11. 'garment of silk' 371n90
- 4.14-16 'fairest woman' 371n90
- 4.16 'went to wash' 371n90
- 4.15-16. golden garment of shining silk' 215n10
- 4.18-19. 'and the earl' 184n321
- 4.21-22. 'the most gracious' 371n90
- 4.23-25. 'court most abundant'
244n202, 254n282
- 4.19-23. 'converse with the queen' 242n188
- 5.6-7. 'hunting and song and revelry' 371n90
- 5.25-27. 'my death?' 252n273
- 5.6-7. 'He spent the year'
244n202, 264n366
- 5.12-13. 'a knight rose up and spoke' 372n92
- 5.20 'in Arawn's place'
166n197, 231n108, 252n374, 363n35
- 6.3-4. 'My death is accomplished.' 272n421
- 6.5-14. 'My nobles' (Hafgan) 251n263
- 6.8-9 'king over all Annwn' 363n78
- 6.23-25 'his own form' 363n36
- 7.3. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 7.4-7. 'conversed with his wife' 216n14
- 7.5. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 7.6. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 7.24. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 8.3. "That was no wonder" 217n28
- 8.9. 'spend your wealth' 258n314
- 8.15-17. 'lordship we have received' 264n251
- 8.19-21. 'horses and hounds' (gifts)
173n247, 372n91, 377n136
- 8.21-26 'called 'Pwyll Head of Annwn' 243n193
- 22-24 'bravery and his prowess' 245n208
- 8.23-24, 'uniting the two kingdoms' 242n187
- 8.22-24. 'And because of his stay'
244n202, 370n78
- 8.24-26. 'Pwyll Head of Annwn'
238n159, 329n803, 379n155
- 8.27. 'And once upon a time' 26n146
- 9.1, 'great hosts of men with him' 255n289
- 9.2-3. 'And after the first serving' 173n243

9.4. 'Lord,' said one' 263n353, 351n29
 9.4-6. 'peculiarity of the mound' 231n109
 9.7. 'a wound or blows' 255n288
 9.8. 'a wound or blows' 255n288
 9.8-9. 'midst of such a host' 255n289
 9.11-14 'And as they were sitting' 11
 9.12-13. 'a great tall pale white horse' 157n122, 161n166, 395n57, 399n74, 487n295, 488n305
 9.13. 'shining golden garment of silk' 215n10
 9. 14. 'coming alongside the mound.' 215n9
 9.15 'slow pace' 15n123 'no nearer' 256n302, 393n36, 396n62
 9.26-27 'the swiftest horse' 157n124
 10.2-3. 'he showed the spurs' 161n161
 10.3-4 'the more he struck the horse' 396n62
 10.4-5 'same pace' 396n63, 490n325
 10.6. 'his horse was tiring to a walk' 161n161
 10.10 'some magic intent there' 395n50
 10.28-29. 'She had a pace no different' 396n63, 490n325
 11.2-3 'release it from the reins' 161n161
 11.10-11 'she had a [purpose]' 398n73
 11.21. 'spurs' 256n296
 12.2. 'spirited prancing horse' 161n166, 256n301, 396n62
 12.4. 'slow, steady pace' 256n302
 12.4-5. 'He spurred on his horse' 397n64, 487n297
 12.5-6. 'he saw it would not prosper' 257n304, 487n297
 12.8. 'the man you love most' 257n306, 487n297
 12.8. 'better for the horse' 192n10, 248n247, 256n294, 397n66
 12.8-9. 'I am pleased to see you.' 358n310
 12.10-12. 'her headdress' 191n5
 12.14-12.21. [neges quotes] 26n149
 12.14-15. 'on my own errands' 192n11, 256n299
 12.16-18. 'her face' 246n221
 12.16-18. 'unlovely to him was the face' 49n31
 12.19-20. 'to try to see you.' 192n12, 256n299, 393n39
 12.22-23. 'I am Rhiannon'. 5
 12.23 'Rhiannon daughter of Hyfaidd Hen' 166n203, 192n13, 219n32, 329n803, 351n956
 see 15 Hyfaidd instances 218n31
 12.23-24. 'I am being given' 25, 220n38, 230n104, 398n71
 12.25. 'for love of you.' 241n183, 398n73
 12.27-13. 'If I had a choice' 246n220
 13.6-8. 'I shall arrange' 193n15
 13.9-11. 'Farewell' 193n16, 199n70
 13.13-15, 'Whatever questions' 264n365
 13.16-17. 'hundred knights' 245n210
 13.17-25. 'And he came to the court' 49n33
 13.17-20 'they welcomed him' 220n37
 13.20-25. 'hall was prepared' 169n220, 13.20-26
 13.21-24; 'This is how they sat' 219n35
 13.26. 'beginning of the revelry' 264n362
 13.26-28. 'regal, auburn-haired youth' 48n30, 230n105, 240n180
 14.5-6. 'Whatever request you ask' 258n312, 359n320, 263n357
 14.6-7. 'Why do you give such an answer' 193n17, 320n758
 14.8. 'presence of nobles' 277n449
 14.10-11 'ask for her, and the provisions' 232n122
 14.13-14. 'feeble in his own wits' 193n18, 248n245, 258n317
 14.15. 'I did not know' 258n319
 14.16-19. 'give me to him,' 193n19, 258n318
 14.17-18. 'Gwawl son of Clud' 230n106
 14.17-18. 'a wealthy man' 150n63, 241n181, 498n376
 14.20-2.1. 'I could not ever do' 247n226
 14.21. 'Give me to him,' 215n8
 14.21-22 'I will make it so' 193n20, 384n177
 14.23-15.17. 'I will put a small bag' 193n21, 399n80
 15.1/16.15-17. 'you be in the orchard' 236n152
 15.3. 'ragged clothes' 264n359
 15.5-7. 'whatever is placed in it' 151n74, 237n155, 390n14, 401n89
 15.11-12. 'I will bring it about' 232n125
 15.19-20 "As much" (conditional) 264n357
 15.21 'in regard to the feast' 498n374
 15.25 'friend, to sleep with me.' 233n128, 264n358
 16.3-4. 'hundred knights' 243n194
 16.5-7. 'great rag boots' 264n359
 16.13-14. 'if you ask a reasonable' 359n320
 16.25-26. 'champion, rise up' 193n21, 233n131, 264n358
 16.28-17.1. 'tied a knot' 245b209
 17.1-4. 'blast on his horn' 245n210
 17.4-5. 'threw off the rags' 264n359
 17.11-14. 'Badger-in-the-Bag' 266n377
 17.13-14 'badger-in-the-bag was first' 233n133
 17.15-16. 'the man from the bag' 221n46

17.17-18 'Not a fit death' 219n36, 231n108
 17.20-24. 'nor revenge' 193n24
 17.24-25. 'He will get that' 236n151
 17.26-27. 'counsel of Hefeydd and Rhiannon'
 219n36, 220n48, 324n784ath'
 17.27-28. 'our counsel,' they said.
 193n25, 221n48
 18.4. 'Now ask guarantors' 219n36
 18.6. 'Hefeydd listed the guarantors.' 219n36
 18.15-19. 'hall, then, was prepared'
 169n220,, 13.20-26, 238n160
 18.19-21 'spent that night in pleasure'
 169n220, 440n23, 489n306
 18.22-24. 'the musicians' 193n26, 244n200
 18.25-26 'while this feast continues' 173n244
 19.4-5. 'a young lad ' (Pendaran) 291n559
 19.6-10. 'may God ease the way' 439n11
 19.6-10. 'Between me and God'
 439n11, 439n13
 19.16-18, 'They ruled the land'
 168n214, 260n336
 19.18. 'in the third year the men'
 220n43, 261n337
 19.29-20.1. "Delay this with me' 261n337
 20.2-3. 'Before the full time' 261n337
 20.3. 'a son was born to him' 238n160,
 20.11-12 'boy has been lost' 275n440
 20.14-15 'execute us' 275n440
 20.14-15. 'Is there any counsel' 275n440
 20.15-16 'I know good counsel' 275n440
 20.16-17. 'staghound bitch' 276n443
 20.21. 'six of us will not fail' 276n445
 20.23-24. 'where is the boy?' 194n27, 204n107,
 276n446, 317n733, 321n765, 492n336
 20.26. 'bruises and blows' 277n451
 20.29- 21.4. 'I will protect you.'
 194n28, 276n448
 21.1, & 21.6. 'poor things' 317n734
 21.4. 'by my confession to God' 439n14
 21.4-6. 'harm - to ourselves' 276n448
 21.6-7. 'speaking the truth.' 194n29
 21.12-14. 'to divorce his wife' 261n338
 21.16-17 'she has had offspring,' 261n338
 21.17-18. 'If she has done wrong'
 250n258, 261n338, 267n386, 267n397
 21.19-21. 'summoned scholars' 194n30
 21.21-23. 'This is the punishment' 494n342
 21.24-25. 'to tell to all' 194n31
 21.27. 'upon her back' 210n143
 22 1-2. 'Teyrnon Twrf Liant'
 156n107, 329n803

22.1-2. 'lord over Gwent-Is-Coed'
 281n481,, 293n576
 22.2. 'best man in the world.'
 279n464, 296n599
 22.3-4. 'horse nor mare fairer' 297n600
 22.4-6. 'each May Eve', 297n601, 494n340
 22.7. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 22.11-12 'the mare brought indoors'
 162n170, 285n506
 22.14. 'a great foal' 298n602
 22.16, 17, 21, 23, 23 ('tumult')
 282n486, 298n602
 22.3. 'No, not now' 288n531
 22.17. 'great claw'. 284n501, 298n602
 23.2. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 23.5-6. 'Here is a son for you,'
 171n231, 285n507
 23.5; 'if you wish' 289n547
 23 9-10 'son of gentlefolk,' 288n534
 23.11. 'a joy and a comfort' 290n551
 23.11. 'if you wished it' 289n547
 23.14-16 'the boy baptised' 440n19
 23.22. 'end of the fourth year' 292n562
 23.23-24 'grooms of the horses' 299n606
 23.24. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 24.9-10. 'news [of] Rhiannon' 288n540
 24.9-10. 'Rhiannon her penance.'
 202n92, 270n408
 24.13. a 'multitude' 271n411
 24.14. 'Rhiannon's misfortune'
 270n410, 276n447, 317n736
 24.21-23. 'privacy with his wife' 288n541
 24.23. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 24.27. 'Teyrnon's wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 25.6-7. 'Teyrnon one of three knights'
 245n210, 292n561
 25.7-8. 'boy as a fourth' 299n611
 25.12-15. 'I will carry each one of you' 194n32
 25.20-26. 'They went into the hall' 174n250
 25.23-24. 'This is how they sat' 261n339
 25.26- 27.2. 'Teyrnon's conversation' 31
 26.2. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 26.2-7. 'your son, lady' 286n514, 300n621
 26.7-9. 'the boy is the son of Pwyll'
 238n160, 300n622
 26 9-10. 'if that were true'. 202n97
 26.9-10. 'it would deliver me'
 194n33, 292n563, 318n741
 26.12. 'Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Annwn'
 292n58, 329n803
 26.13-14. 'his own name '

194n34, 292n567, 318n742
 26.14. 'What is the name?' 293n569
 26.15. 'Gwri Golden Hair' 293n570
 27.13-15. 'Pryderi- perfect lad'
 301n625, 318n744
 27.15-16. 'years and years' 274n433
 26.17-19 'the word his mother spoke' 172n235
 26.23. 'the woman' (Teyrnnon) 167n204
 27.16-17, 'end -life of Pwyll' 272n417
 27.19-22. 'he conquered' 151n70
 27.24-26. 'Cigfa daughter of Gwynn'
 166n202, 329n803

PKM2

29.1-2. 'Bendigeidfran son of Llŷr'
 166n196, 370n80
 29.3. 'crown of London' 188n356
 30.20. 'Branwen daughter of Llŷr' 166n202
 30.29-31.1. 'Three Chief Forebears' 178n280
 31.6-10. Manawydan son of Llŷr 337n847
 31.16. 'Matholwch slept with Branwen.' 440n23
 32.2-4. 'horses. He sliced their lips' 159n153
 32.26-33 1. 'Three Chief [*Rienl*]' 178n284
 33.17-20. 'his honour-price' 204n244
 33.18-20 'silver rod and gold plate' 166n195
 38.20-22. 'this entire island' (war) 338n850
 43.21-23. 'unimaginable crime' 217n26
 45.2 'how they sat ... Branwen.' 169n230
 45.1-2. 'and bury it' 189n359
 45.2-4 'birds of Rhiannon singing' 384n180
 45.4-5 'head will be as good to you' 384n179
 45.16-17. 'Oh, Son of God' 439n15
 46.11-16 'three birds came' fullQ 407n116
 46.14. 'three birds came' 194n35, 384n180
 46.16 'far for them to see' (yet near) 409n128
 47.27-48.1. Ireland not a person was left alive'
 324n778
 48.17. Singing of Rhiannon's Birds,' 194n35

PKM3

49:7-8: "without a place except me.' 146n35
 49.11-12. '[Unassertive] Chieftains' 307n659
 49.17-20. 'I will give her, & authority'
 307n660, 341n872
 49.22. 'Cigfa - is my wife,' 330n809
 49.23-50.1. 'title to the realm is mine'
 307n660, 326n788
 50.3-4. 'best friendship' 307n662
 50.7-8. 'woman better at conversation' 191n1
 50.8-9. 'she was in her prime'
 273n429, 318n750

50.12-13. 'a feast prepared' 330n808
 50.15. Manawydan Rhiannon converse 194n36
 50.16-7. 'his heart & mind grew tender'
 191n1, 204n102
 50.20. 'What statement was that?' 194n37
 50.22-23. 'I will abide by that gladly'
 194n38, 341n873, 341n873
 50.26; 'he slept with her.' 169.220
 51.2-3. 'Caswallawn' 194n39, 320n752
 51.5-6. 'hunted it' 151n76
 51.7-9 'they had never seen a land' 151n75
 51.9-11. 'they began a circuit' 197n55
 51.9-11. 'friendship grew up' 197n55, 305n652
 51.14-16. 'and after he returned' 197n55
 51.17-18. 'feast in Arberth' 153n86
 51.17-18. 'Arberth - honour' 240n168
 51.20-21. 'Gorsedd Arberth.' 197n55
 51.22. 'they were sitting - tumult' 282n486
 51.26-52.3. 'no one could see anything'
 324n779
 52.4-6. 'Where is ...?' 308n666
 52.8. 'nothing but desolation.' 324n777
 52.10 'live off hunted meat, fish' 511n13
 52.12-16 'nothing but wild animals' 386n188
 55.3-4. 'long they were on the road- Dyfed'
 49n34, 309n677
 55.7-12. 'terrible, hair-raising fear' 309n677
 56.4-5 'caused the fort to be here.' 395n50
 56.4-6. 'We never saw this fort' 310n679
 56.23 'this is what Rhiannon did'
 58-59n88, 320n758
 (*Peniarth 6 until 'Alas, my lord'*)
 56.24. 'Where ... is your friend'
 195n40, 204n106
 56.26-27. 'a bad friend have you been'
 195n41, 321n759
 57.1-5. 'with that word, she went out' 48n30
 57.6-7. 'Alas, my lord' 195n42, 321n764
 57.7-10 'her hands stick to the basin' 386n189
 57.10-11. 'a great tumult' 282n486
 57.13-16. 'she lamented' 331n817
 57.20-22. 'keep trust with Pryderi'
 332n823, 336n839
 58.1-2. 'We lost our/ hounds' 154n93
 58.6. 'Take a clean one.' (craft) 333n826
 58.7-9. 'not acceptable' (craft) 333n826
 58.25-27. 'he used to hunt' 320n756
 59.6-7. 'seasons of the year' 273n430
 60.15-16. 'very fat one' (mouse) 345n901
 61.18-21. 'seven years before' 273n430
 61.2-5. 'it is unpleasant to see' 333n827

61. 5. 'Let it go.' (Cigfa) 333n828
 61.7-9. 'keep discourtesy from you.' 334n829
 62.17. 'well equipped horse' 158n145
 62.5-6. 'Let it go.' (Scholar) 333n828
 62.25 & 63.1. 'Let it go.' (Priest) 333n828
 62.26-27 'I will (not)' 333n828
 63.17 & 63.20. 'Let it go.' (Bishop) 333n828
 64.2-65.2. 'no revenge' 326n792
 64.5. "To pillage," said he. 188n346
 64.6. 'the seven cantrefs of Dyfed' 326n790
 64.7 -64.8. 'revenge for Gwawl'
 236n149, 324n782
 64.10. 'from lack of counsel' 236n150, 324n785
 64.15. 'my wife' (Llwyd) 167n204
 64.17. 'she was pregnant' 345n901
 65.3. 'my wife' (Llwyd) 167n204
 65.8. 'my wife' (Llwyd) 167n204
 65.11. 'the most beautiful' 347n915
 65.18-21. 'collars of asses' 327n793, 347n914
 65.24. '*Mynweir a Mynord*' 514n31

End PKM quotes

PKM4

67.1-2. Math, Pryderi 351n936
 67.1-3. 'Math son of Mathonwy' 155n101
 67.1. 'lord of Gwynedd' 281n481
 68.22-23. 'belong to?' (Pigs)
 311n690, 372n91, 377n136
 68.22-23. 'from Annwfn by Arawn' 370n78
 68.27. 'in the guise of bards' 313n704, 316n722
 69.21-24. 'compact -my country' 313n705
 70.7-13. 'And he conjured up' 313n706, 389n9
 70.17-18. 'make an exchange' 313n707
 72.17. 'there was slaughter' 314n715
 73.5. 'by magic' 351n937
 73.14-16. 'by force of - magic' 314n717
 74.16-18. 'wife, and I will place' 168n214
 77.7. 'Arianrhod daughter of Dôn' 166n202
 79.13-14 'a ship by magic' 389n9
 82.6-7. 'he summoned his magic' 389n9
 83.24. 'they produced by enchantment' 389n9

Geirfa/ Glossary

Composite drawn from GPC, Ellis, Thomson / online MW

Ford, *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*/**[1977]'The Adventure of the Mare and the Boy,'

See <https://www.mit.edu/~dfm/canol/chap04.html>

.....
aillt N. Welsh. – serf, *taeog* S. Welsh.

angheu [ModW. *angheuo*] – mortal, deadly, fatal, lethal, destructive, dangerous; (GPC)

anglot – shame, dishonour, satire. cf. *clod*.

anwybod ignorance, lack of knowledge, error, action committed in ignorance, imprudence, (GPC) Regarded as the same thing as impoliteness in mediaeval Wales. (Ellis p.6. n.12) Not knowing how to conduct oneself in a given situation. Christine James, personal comment (2014).

anryded – [ModW. *anrhydedd*] honour (also as title), esteem, respect, credit, accolade, glory, (GPC)

ansyberwyd [ModW. *ansyberwyd*] – discourtesy, impoliteness, incivility, rudeness, uncouthness, (GPC)

ansawd, [ModW. *ansawdd*] – quality, attribute, characteristic, essence, nature, constitution, (GPC)

anwybot [ModW. *anwybod1*] – ignorance, lack of knowledge; error, action committed in ignorance; (GPC) cf. *wybot*

araf – slow (of movement, process, work, &c.), gradual; slow (of road, lane, &c.); (GPC)

Arberth

archolleu (plur.) *archoll* – wound, cut, gash, hurt, injury, also fig. (GPC) cf. *kymriw*.

arglwyd [ModW. *arglwydd*] – lord, also as title, peer (of the realm), feudal lord; owner, proprietor

arglwydes [ModW. *arglwyddes*] – lady (female equivalent of lord), also as title, peeress, feudal lady, also fig. (GPC)

arglwydiaeth [ModW. *arglwyddiaeth*, *arglwyddiaeth*] – lordship, dominion, government, rule, authority, power, (GPC)

aruchel – (very) high, tall, lofty, elevated; exalted, supreme, splendid, majestic; sublime, noble. (GPC)

bali see *pali*.

bechan (*uechan*) – little, small, minute, diminutive. (GPC) Ref. Rhiannon's 'little bag'.

bedestric, **pedestric** [ModW. *peddestrig*, *pedestrig*] (ability to) walk, a walking, gait, pedestrian, walker.

bedydd baptism.

blwydyn [ModW. *blwyddyn*] – year, solar year, calendar year, period of twelve months; (pl.) a long time, (GPC)

brenhin, **urenhin** [ModW. *brenin*] – king, sovereign, monarch, head of region, (GPC)

brenhin coronawc crowned king.

brenhines, **urenhines** – queen, also as title, (GPC)

bwyd – food, nourishment, meat, victuals, provisions. (GPC) **bwyta** [ModW. *bwytaf*: *bwyta*, *byta*] to eat. (GPC)

byd, **byt** – world, earth, globe; universe; planet or other heavenly body; often fig. of realm, sphere, &c. (GPC)

bynnac [ModW. *bynnag*, *bynna*] (who)soever, (what) soever. (GPC)

caer – fort, fortress, enclosed stronghold, castle, citadel, fortified town or city. (GPC)

cant, **can** – a hundred, a host; hundredweight; percentage. (GPC) cf. *cantref*.

cantref – *cant* – a hundred, a host; *tref* – town; town centre. / Unit of lordship' (Ellis p.4, n.3) and 'territorial division,

canwelw – pale white, whitish. (GPC)

caraf, **caru** – to love; woo, court. (GPC)

ceimad (*geimat*) Rhiannon exhorts Gwawl.

carw – deer, hart, stag, fig. of lord, nobleman, patron, &c. (GPC)

kerdet [ModW. *cerddaf*: *cerdded*] to walk, journey, travel, approach, traverse, march, go, move. (GPC)

charueidrwyd [ModW. *carueiddrwydd*] – love, affection, kindliness.

chedymdeithon [ModW. *cedymdeith*] – fellow-traveller; accomplice; companion, associate, comrade, fellow; (GPC)

cherdeu [ModW. *cerdd*] – song, poem; art of poetry; music; musical instrument. (GPC)

chyffes, **cyffes**, **nghyffes** – confession, acknowledgement, avowal, admission; profession of faith, declaration (GPC)

chyuedach [ModW.] – feast, banquet, merriment, carousal, revelry, dissipation, debauchery; companionship, company. (GPC)

ci – hound, sing. **cwn** plur.

cig – meat; flesh;

claerwyn, (claer+gwyn) – shining or brilliantly white, pure white, radiant; deathly pale, pallid (of complexion). (GPC)

clod – praise, fame, renown, reputation, honour; credit. (GPC) cf *anglot*, shame.

clusteu [ModW. *clust*] – the ear, (GPC)

cochet, **coch** – red, ruddy, scarlet, bloody; ginger (of hair); brown. **cochyon**, **gochyon** – red-haired person.

coed, **coet** – forest, wood, trees; shrubs; timber, pieces of wood; sticks to support peas, beans, &c. (GPC)

corff, **gorff** – 2a. body; the trunk; bodice; corpse. (GPC)

corn, gorn – horn, antler; tentacle, antenna. (GPC) **chorn canu** – horn + *canu*, sing, call, = calling/ hunting horn.

coronawc [ModW. *coronaf: coroni*] to crown (a king, bard, &c.), cap. (GPC) cf. **brenhin coronawc**

crefft – craft

cwmwd – commote. Administrative unit of territory, two or more formed a *cantref*. See *cantref*.

cŵn, gwn – (*ci*, sing.) dog, hound, cur, often fig. (GPC)

cyfarwydd, gyuarwyd – well-informed, acquainted, familiar; learned, versed, expert, skilful, proficient; well-known; skilled in magic. 1. story-teller. 2. leader, guide; well-informed person, expert. (GPC)

cyfedach – carousal. After eating, a banquet moved to music, stories, and deep potation; (Ellis p.11, n.31)

cyfnewid exchange, sale same word used. (Ellis p.104, n. 14 see p. 102)

cyfranc, gyfranc – affair, incident, adventure; story (of battle), tale, narrative; conversation, discussion. (GPC)

cylch – circuit, tax progress.

Cymraeg Canol – Middle Welsh. (The modern name for the language of the Mabinogi.)

kymriw [ModW. *cymriw*] – bruise, wound. (GPC) cf. [archolleu](#)

kynnedyf – (ModW. *cynneddf*) – faculty, natural endowment; attribute, quality, peculiarity, characteristic;. (GPC)

kyuoeth – [MW. *cyfoeth, cywoeth, cywaeth, cyweth*] – a. wealth, riches, opulence, affluence. (GPC)

cysgu, kysgu [ModW. *cysgu gan* (genthi, &c.), *cysgu gyda*] - to sleep with (her), cohabit, marry. (GPC)

cyntaf, kyntaf – b) first, foremost, chief, principal; pristine. (GPC)

kyuanned [ModW. *cyfannedd*] – dwelling-place, habitation, abode; inhabited or cultivated place; (GPC)

deu – [ModW. *dau*] – two; both; pair, couple. (GPC)

deccaf [ModW. *tecâf: tecâu*] to make or become fair or fine, beautify, adorn, decorate, embellish. (GPC) Used as an adjective, the superlative degree of '*teg*', fair, beautiful.

dewred [ModW. *dewredd*] – bravery, courage, valour, prowess, might. (GPC)

'Dial Duw arnaf – 'God's vengeance on me'

diarchenu, diarchenaf – undress, to take off one's boots or shoes. (GPC) Lit. to take off shoes.

Dioer – certain, doubtless, true, by heaven. (GPC)

doniad – a giving, a conferring or endowing, donation; grant.

Duw, duw – a) God, the Supreme Being, the Almighty, the Christian Trinity. c) god (sometimes goddess) of the Gentile or pagan religions, supernatural or superhuman being (GPC)

dyd [ModW. *dydd*] – day, time of daylight (GPC)

dylyedauc worthy one, noble.

eil [ModW. *ail*] – second (ordinal). (GPC)

eiroet [ModW. *erioed, eirioed, eiroed, &c.*] ever (in time past), from the beginning, (GPC)

eisted [ModW. *eisteddaf: eistedd, eiste*] to sit, be seated,; exercise judicial authority, &c., sit in judgement; be in session (of law-court, &c.); rest, be still; fit well, sit (of clothes, &c.). (GPC)

erchlas – dapple-grey (of horse); dark blue colour. (GPC)

erchwys, erwys – pack of hounds; hounds, greyhounds. (GPC)

etifedd offpsring, legally heir of the body, lineal descendant in the male line. (Ellis p.31,n.78)

eureit [ModW. *euraid*] – gold, gold money or coin(s), wealth; gold (colour); gold(en). (GPC)

fawr, mawr.

fford – road, way, street, path, passage, course, route, journey; also fig. (GPC) cf. *prifford* – main road.

gan / can – white, shining, brilliant. b) white flour, bolted flour, flour; white bread, bread.

Ar y ganuet marchawc Idiom *Pwyll*. 100 horsemen.

gedymdeithas [ModW. *cydymaith, cydymddaith, cydymdaith*] see *geimat* see *ceimad*.

gerennydd [ModW. *carennnydd, cerennydd*] – kindred, kinship, relationship, descent, affinity; friendship, love, reconciliation; kinsman, relation. (GPC)

gochyon, see *cochyn*.

gormes – oppression by an alien race or conqueror, tyranny, violence, burden, vexation, plague, (GPC)

gorn – corn.

gorssedd, orssedd [ModW. *gorsedd*] – a) mound of earth, tump, knoll, hillock; barrow, tumulus, grave. b) throne c) judge's seat; assembly, gathering. throne of bishop, &c., on ceremonial occasions; chair; sovereign power and authority. c) court, hall, dwelling, place; court of law, judicial assembly, tribunal, session, judge's seat; assembly, gathering. (GPC))

gosked RB See *anasawd*.WB = identical. (Ellis p. 8, n. 18)

got [ModW. *cod*] – bag, pouch, sack, poke; scrotum; pocket, purse; pod, cod, husk; blister;. (GPC)

gwaith – work = any completed structure. (Ellis p. 85, n.26)

gwas 1 – boy, lad, stripling, youngster, young man, (GPC)
gwas ystafell – page of the chamber. Office listed in Welsh laws. (Ellis p. 8, n. 19)
guassanaeth – [ModW. *gwasanaeth*] – service, attendance, a ministering; office, duty, employment; homage; (GPC)
guely – [ModW. *gwely*] – bed (including bedstead, mattress and bedding); (GPC)
gwineu – [ModW. *gwinau*] – bay, reddish brown, auburn (of hair, eyebrows, &c.), chestnut (of horses), dark red, olive, swarthy, dark; mixed, cloudy (of weather). (GPC)
gwisc [ModW. *gisg*] – dress, clothing, raiment, attire, apparel, garb, garment, robe; covering;
gwlat [ModW. *gwlad*] – country, fatherland, land, province, region, district, kingdom, realm, domain. (GPC)
gwled – ModW. *gwledd*] – feast, banquet, repast; (sometimes) carousal, revelry; sumptuous meal,
gwledig war chief.
gwr man, cf. Fr. *homme*. *gwrogaeth* – homage. Norman influenced. (Ellis p.13, n.37)
gwrda - good man. ... man of local influence and property. (Ellis p.12, n.33)
gwledychu [ModW. *gwladychaf, gwledychaf: gwladychu, gwledychu*] – to reign, govern, rule, settle (GPC)
gŵn see [cŵn](#).
gwnaf [ModW. *gwnaf: gwneuthur, gwneuthud, gwneuthu, gwneud*] b. to bring about, cause, inflict (GPC)
gwr [ModW. *gŵr*] – man, person, anyone; adult male human being (as distinct from woman or boy, (GPC)
gwreic, wreic, [ModW. *gwraig*] female human being, adult woman (sometimes appositionally to man. (GPC)
gwrogaeth – homage, allegiance, oath of allegiance, loyalty, fealty; submission, subjection; feudalism. (GPC)
gwrthpwythi - obstinacy,
gwybot, wybot [ModW. *gwybod, wydod* 2.] – knowledge, discretion, discernment, understanding, comprehension; information; courtesy, politeness, mannerliness; (GPC) cf. [anwybot](#) ignorance.
gwyn, wynnet (from *gwyn*) – white, greyish-white, pale; light, shining, bright; brilliant, white-hot; silver (usually of money); (GPC) **gwyn. gwen:** m/f. 'besides 'white,' it may mean 'respected, holy, felicitous, blessed,'
gwyrd – nobleman, peer, chief, lord; worthy man, good man, good fellow; hero.(GPC)
gwyr, wyr – ModW **gŵr** – man, person, anyone (the plural form, in connection with a place-name, may sometimes denote 'people, inhabitants'); adult male human being (as distinct from woman or boy, lad, &c.); valiant warrior, brave man, hero.
gyfranc, cyfranc.
gyuarwyd see [cyfarwydd](#).
haf – summer, summer-time.
hawlwr – plaintiff; claimant, litigant, prosecutor, stipulator, agent; promoter; questioner; client. (GPC)
hela – [ModW. *heliaf, helaf: hel, hela, hely*] – to hunt, drive; chase, pursue, put to flight; send, dispatch.
heno – to-night, (on) this night. (GPC)
hob – pig, hog; obsolete at time of redaction. *hanner huch, hanner hob* – half-huch, half hob.
huch /hob. *hanner huch, hanner hob* – half-huch, half hob. *Hob* = pig, hog; obsolete at time of redaction.
hud/ hut [ModW. *hud* 1] – magic, wizardry, sorcery, witchcraft, spell, enchantment, charm, fascination, allurements, persuasion, enticement; illusion, apparition; deceit(fulness), deception, delusion, wile, trick, ruse, simulation, dissimulation, legerdemain. (GPC)
hudlath, Math's wand
hyfaidd bold, daring, adventurous, dauntless, audacious. (GPC) root *baid* – venture, challenge, daring, endeavour.
hen (GPC) old, aged; ancient, antique, pristine, former; inveterate, chronic; original; senior, elder.
iarll – earl, count, nobleman. (GPC) **iarll** of Scand. origin. Ref. feast n Annwfn. (Ellis p.10. n. 30)
K initial letter, replace with C.
ladaf [ModW.] – to bless, confer a gift upon. (GPC).
lannerch – a clearing, glade, oasis, pasture, court, empty space, patch, place, area, (GPC)
liw, lliw – colour, hue, tint. (GPC)
lwydannus [ModW. *llwyddiannus*] – successful, prosperous, prospering, thriving, fortunate, lucky,. (GPC)
lladdaf: lladd, †lladdu – to kill, put to death, slay, slaughter, murder,. (GPC)
llannerch clearing (Ellis p. 5, & n.7).
llathreit [ModW. – *llathraid*] – bright, brilliant, resplendent, glittering, shining, sheeny, glossy and smooth, sleek, straight (of hair); polished, burnished; fig. splendid, illustrious; perfected, refined. (GPC)
llawen – merry, jovial, glad, cheerful, happy, blithe, joyous, jubilant; (GPC)
lledf gentle, as a claimant. Tries to assuage a dispute. See Triad. (Ellis p.76, n.4) Contrast *hawlor*.
lloski burning or branding (maids fear). Not punishments in early Wales, practised by Normans. (Ellis p.32,n.81)
llu – host. Component of *teulu*. (Ellis p.9-10, n. 24) Distinct from *nifer* – retinue. (Ellis p.10, n. 27)
llwyd, llwyd, – grey, faint (of colour, light, &c.); pale, pallid, wan; russet, brown; turbid, muddy (of water). (GPC)

llys, court, palace, manor house, hall, imposing building, habitation of king, prince, nobleman; enclosed space. (GPC)
llys court (of judgement, tax) See **neuadd** – hall, **ystafell** private room.
makwyf, uakwyf. Plur. **akwyueit**. [ModW. *macwyf* 1., *macwyf*] – esquire, squire, page, youth, boy, (young) man, ?knight, ?lord; youth of the king's retinue; transf. of animal. (GPC)
maes, uaes – open country as opposed to woodland, expanse of open land, level land, plain; the country as opposed to the town, (GPC) **maestir** – open country, level open land, plain. (GPC)
march, uarch – horse, stallion, war-horse, steed. (GPC)
marchauc, uarchauc [ModW. *marchog* 1] – horseman, rider, jockey, mounted warrior, also fig.; nobleman in the (military) service of the king or of a lord; knight, military follower, usually of noble birth, ... (GPC)
Men of local position, heads of clans. Ordinary clansmen went into battle on foot, operating as mobile light infantry. Later in chivalric romance ... knight, Fr. *chevalier*; and *marchogaeth* meant chivalry. (Ellis pp. 5, n. 9)
marchogaeth – chivalry, later meaning in romances period when *marchawc* came to mean 'knight' (Ellis p. 5, 9)
marchoges, uarchoges – horsewoman, female (horse-) rider, also fig.; lady. (GPC)
mawr, fawr – large, big; fully grown; capital (of letter); heavy (of rain, snow, blow, &c.); deep (of water). (GPC)
milwraeth, uilwraeth [ModW. *milwriaeth, milwraeth*] – battle, war, warfare, bellicosity, (armed) force. (GPC)
morwyn, uorwyn – b) girl, young (unmarried) woman, maiden. (GPC)
medylyaw [ModW. *meddwl* a.] (a) thought, cogitation, meditation, judgement, opinion; intention, purpose; meaning, sense. (GPC)
neges – errand, mission, affair, matter, business, office, task; purpose, point; request, petition. (GPC) **neges**, Errand, message, business. Lat. *neceſse*. (Ellis p.20, n 56)
neuad – [ModW. *neuadd* 1.] – hall; hall (of residence), hostel; dwelling, residence, house of a king, noble, or landed proprietor, palace, mansion, court; (bibl.) courtyard; hall, main room of a castle, &c.; also fig. (GPC)
nifer – retinue. A host would be *llu*. (Ellis p.10, n. 27)
nos – night; evening; darkness (of the night); vigil (of religious festival, &c.); also fig. (GPC)
oed – 1. period of time, age. 2. appointment, tryst, assignation, 'date'. (GPC)
orymdaith, gorymdaith – procession; journey or a wandering; stay in a strange country; sojourn;. (GPC)
pali, bali – brocaded silk; sarsenet; satin; (dict.) fine linen, plush, velvet; also transf. (GPC) LOAN WORD
pawb – everyone, everybody, each one, every one, all. (GPC)
Pencerdd B4 Gwydion. Chief Of Song. Head minstrel of a mobile company of performers. (Ellis p. 103, n. 11)
penn [ModW. *pen*] head (of person or animal); also fig. (GPC)
Pendeuic. Pendefig [ModW. *tywysogion*] – chief, leader, ruler, king, prince, lord, nobleman, gentleman. (GPC) *Pendefig* is used only once in the Mabinogi, *Tywysog* never. Rulers are titled *arglwydd/es* except the one use of *pendefig*.
penyd – penance (voluntary or imposed), ... repentance, sorrow; atonement, expiation; punishment, pain, torment, torture, suffering, tribulation. (GPC)
prif, principal, prime, main, major, chief, head, foremost, supreme, best, (most) excellent, fine, great, special; (GPC)
prifford – highway, (main) road, street, path. (GPC) *prif* + *fford*. **priflys**, a chief court. (GPC)
pryder – (cause of) anxiety, concern, distress, disquiet, fear, also fig. (GPC)
pryderaf – to be anxious (about), (cause to) worry (over), vex, fret, fear, hesitate; consider (seriously); repent. (GPC)
pryt – day. or *pwyt pry gilyd* Lit. 'from one day to the next'. *deugeinpryd* used for 40 days. (Ellis p. 105. n. 16)
pwyll – deliberation, consideration, care, caution; discretion, prudence, wisdom, patience, understanding, intelligence, perception, judgement, mind, wit(s), reason, (common) sense, sanity, also fig. (GPC)
rodi, rof [ModW. *rhoddaf, rhof*1: *rhoddi, rhoi*1] – to give (something concrete), bestow, grant, present, hand over, donate, impart, supply, provide, give (feast, &c.); transfer ownership of (land, possessions, &c.).(GPC)
a rodych blow, passive subj. so "one stroke that you give him" unsatisfactory. (Ellis p. 8)
ryt [ModW. *rhyd* 1] – ford, also fig; strait. (GPC)
Ryuedaut, ModW. **rhyfeddod**: strange or wonderful person or thing, wonder, marvel, prodigy, miracle; wonderfulness, tremendousness, remarkableness, singularity; wonderment, astonishment, surprise. (GPC) **rhyfedd**: strange, odd, unusual, extraordinary; wonderful, wondrous, marvellous; great, immense, extreme, excessive. (GPC)
rwttter – outrider, Norman French. (Ellis p. 94, n. 44)
rywedawt MW – marvel, wonder. [**rhyfeddod** ModW]
rhi – king, prince, lord, ruler, chieftain, also fig. (GPC) SEE
rhian -> **rhiaid** – (young) woman, girl, damsel, lass, maiden, virgin; queen, noble girl, lady.
rhiaid – regal, noble, aristocratic, dignified; (dict.) generous.
rhiant – parent; ancestor; elder; thing (e.g. plant) from which another is derived; hereditary.
rhieinaidd, rhieiniaidd, rhianaidd – pertaining to, befitting, or like a (?noble) young woman, feminine, effeminate, virgin(al), chaste.

rhieni – a) parents, also fig. b) forefathers, ancestors, forebears; lineal male ancestors within three generations, namely father, grandfather and great-grandfather (in the Welsh laws); predecessor. c) (close) family, kindred, tribe, clan, fellow-countrymen; sort, species, kind. d) descendants, offspring, issue, posterity, heirs. cf. **rhiant**.

rhodd cenedl – gift of kin [marriage]. (Ellis p.21, n.58)

rhy1 – too, over, excessively, extremely, very, greatly.

rhyfeddod – marvel, wonder. [**ryweddawt** MW]

sarhaed, dishonour, compensation. A stag was equal to an ox, or two cows. 100 stags was 1,000 shillings. A clan chief's honour was 180 shillings. Pwyll -Arawn (Ellis p.7, n.14) not a fixed item on record but can be subject to neg., cf. Pwyll & Hafgan (Ellis p. 7. 14)

ssynnwyr [ModW. *synnwyr*] sense, wisdom, sensibleness, prudence, understanding, mental ability, reason, sanity; feeling, experience, opinion, consciousness, mind; also fig. (GPC)

taeog – serf, S. Welsh. *aillt* N. Welsh.

taran 1 / daran – thunder, thunderclap, thunderbolt, also transf. and fig. [Pendaran]

taw – silence, hush, quiet, peace; silent, quiet, calm. (GPC)

tei house, cf. *teulu* bodyguard, *tei + llw* host. (Ellis p. 9-10, n. 24)

teulu – b) bodyguard, household troops, war-band; host, crowd, people. (GPC) [Later] a) (nuclear or extended) family; tribe, nation; household; family (related group of persons, things, organisms, &c (GPC)

***teulu**, bodyguard (*tei* -house, *llw* -host) whole body of military retainers, owed no allegiance except directly to their lord, *arglwydd*.

teyrn – monarch, sovereign, king, prince, lord, ruler, leader, dictator, tyrant, also fig.; sovereign (adj.), royal.

thrannoeth –, ModW: *trannoeth* – (on) the following day, (on/ during) the next day, (on) the following morning, tomorrow;

a threigylgweith – ModW. **treiglwaith, treiglwaith**, once (upon a time), one time, on one occasion. Without childish connotation of English equivalent.

tir a daear ‘land and earth’, common legal phrase. ModW law, territorial rights. (Bollard p. 23, sidenote)

tormynnawc kyuoetuawc – not ‘rich in herds’ as the 1st word is not cattle but armed men. Archaic tradition measuring wealth in cattle. Ref. Gwawl's wealth. (Ellis p. 23, n. 63)

trawsgwyd bargaining, transaction (Ellis p. 104, n. 15) (B4) Gwydion & Pryderi, cf. *cyfnewid* exchange, sale same word used. (Ellis p.104, n. 14) cf. *amod* B4. Contract made without sureties. (Ellis p. 103, n.12)

tref settlement (Ellis p. 29, n.73)

troedig, ‘foot-holder’ Venedotian Laws, male office, re Goewin.

trydyd [ModW. *trydydd*] – third.

twrwf GPC. *twrf, twrw* ‘(loud) noise, din, clamour, roar, uproar, tumult, commotion, disturbance, quarrel, trouble, also fig.; (esp. in pl. ‘tyrfau’) thunder.’

tynged – destiny, fate, lot; prophecy, prediction, fortune (GPC)

tynnu to pull off. See *dynnu*.

uaes, maes.

uaranned provisions, victuals, food supplies. (Ellis p. 22, n. 61)

uarch, march.

un – one; single, individual, only, sole; unique, special; united, combined. (GPC)

unben – [general term for any sole ruler] dictator, (absolute) monarch, supreme head, autocrat, tyrant, despot; chief(tain), nobleman, prince, lord (paramount), king, monarch, sovereign, emperor. (GPC) **Unben** ‘chieftain’ polite form of address used in MW prose tales (Bollard p. 20, sidenote) See *Arglwydd*.

urenhines see [brenhines](#).

wrthpwythi [ModW. *gwrthbwythi*] – obstinacy; contrariness. (GPC)

wynebwerth, WB. **wynebwarth**, RB. face shame, face value. (Ellis p. 50, n.21) Ref. Bran-Matholwch

ymborth – food, nourishment, provender, sustenance, also fig.; fodder, forage. (GPC)

ymdialwyf [MW. *dialaf: dial, diala, dialu*] – to avenge; revenge, act revengefully, wreak vengeance, retaliate. (GPC)

ymdidan [ModW. *ymddiddan*] – to talk (to one another), speak, converse, chat, also fig. (GPC)

yniueroed – (archaic) host, large number; wealth, treasure, profit, also fig.

ysgolhaig - minor cleric generally, not students at Oxford. (Ellis p. 92)

ystafell as in *gwas ystafell* page of the (private chamber) (Ellis p. 8, n. 19)

ystell – private room, chamber. **neuadd** – hall, the general public room of audience. (Ellis p.9. n.22) *gwas ystafell* – page of the chamber. Office listed in Welsh laws. *Pwyll*. (Ellis p. 8, n.19)

Byrfoddau/ Abbreviations

Publications' refs. are given in short form, see Bibliography for full data.

approx.	approximately
b.	born
BBCS	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i> (journal est. 1922)
Bibliog.	Bibliography
Biog.	Biography
Bollard 'Structure'	Bollard. 1974. 'The Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi'
Bollard, Landscape	Bollard. ed., trans. 2006. <i>The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales</i>
c.	Lat. 'circa', about, approximately, usually a date.
Celtic Encyc.	<i>Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia</i> (2006)
cf.	Lat. <i>confer/ conferatur</i> , 'compare'
CMCS	<i>Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies</i>
cont.	continued
CUP	Cambridge University Press
Cyfranc	See Ford, <i>Cyfranc</i>
Cymm.	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion</i> (Society and journal)
d.	died
DIAS	<i>Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies</i>
ÉC	<i>Études Celtiques</i>
ed./ eds.	editor/ edited by, plur. editors/ edited by
edn.	edition
e.g.	Lat. <i>exempli gratia</i> , 'for the sake of an example', commonly 'example given'
EJones	Edward Jones
esp.	especially
est.	established/ founded
etc.	Lat. <i>et cetera</i> , lit. 'and the others', meaning 'and so on'
etym.	etymology
ff.	and following
Ford, Cyfranc	<i>Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab</i> / 'The Adventure of the Mare and the Boy' From his Intro. to his 1977 <i>Welsh Tales</i> .
Ford, Welsh Tales	Ford (ed., trans), <i>The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales</i> (1977)
Gk.	Greek
GPC	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru / A Dictionary of the Welsh Language</i> (UWP)
Guest	Charlotte Guest/ Lady Charlotte Guest (for husband see JJG)
Gwenogfryn	John Gwenogwryn Evans
Gwenogvryn	John Gwenogvryn Evans
HoG	<i>House of the Goddess</i> (publisher)
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	Lat. <i>id est</i> , lit. 'that is', meaning 'in other words'
Illust.	Illustrated/ Illustrated by
Iolo	Iolo Morganwg, bardic name of Edward Williams
Ir.	Irish
lit.	literally
JJG	John Josiah Guest (note he reversed the order of his first names)
JKB	John K. Bollard, ed., trans. 2006. <i>Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales</i>
Jones and Jones	Jones and Jones. ed., trans. 1949. <i>The Mabinogion</i>
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literally
m.	married
mabinogi	Tale of a named person and their kindred
Mabinogi	The Mabinogi/ The Four Branches of the Mabinogi/ PKM
Mabinogion	<i>The Mabinogion</i>

(Default trans.)

	(11 or 12 mediaeval Welsh prose tales published as a group, incl. the Mabinogi)
ModW	Modern Welsh
MS./MSS.	manuscript, plur. manuscripts
MW	Middle Welsh
Myv.	<i>Myvyrian Archaiology</i> (1801-07)
NLW	<i>Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru</i> , National Library of Wales
NLWJ	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
no.	Lat. <i>numero</i> , 'number'
orig.	originally
PKM	Ifor Williams. 1930. <i>Pedair Kainc y Mabinogi</i> (Default MW source text)
PKM1	First Branch.
PKM2	Second Branch.
PKM3	Third Branch.
PKM4	Fourth Branch.
plur.	plural
publ.	published / published by
Pwyll I	PKM1 1.1–8.26 (Pwyll in Annwfn)
Pwyll II	PKM1 8.27–19.18 (Pwyll Rhiannon courtship, weddings, up to/ incl. joint rule)
Pwyll III	PKM1 19.18–27.27 (Pwyll Rhiannon parents, Teyrnnon, Pryderi' marriage)
ref.	reference, with reference to
Rep.	Reprinted
RhDavies	Rhiannon Davies
SDavies	Sioned Davies
(sic)	Lat. 'thus', alerting an error in the original source, not by the current author.
sing.	singular
SM	Shân Morgain (until 2007 'Shan Jayran' also for HoG publications 'Shan' only)
Sullivan anthology	Sullivan. 1996. <i>Mabinogi Essays</i>
Sullivan, Essays	Sullivan. 1996. <i>Mabinogi Essays</i>
trans.	translated/ translated by
TYP	Rachel Bromwich. 1961. <i>Trioedd Ynys Prydein</i>
UWP	University of Wales Press
Valente, 'Merched'	Valente, 'Merched y Mabinogi' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1986)
viz.	Lat. <i>videre licet</i> / it is permitted to see, 'namely'.
vol./ vols.	volume/ volumes
WJG	William John Gruffydd
WJG, Rhiannon	William John Gruffydd. 1953. <i>Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origin of the First and Third Branches</i>
William Owen [Pughe]	William Owen Pughe, until 1806 'William Owen'
ZCP	<i>Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie</i> (Journal)