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The Arthurian Allusions in the Black Book of Carmarthen

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THE Black Book of Carmarthen, a manuscript of a hundred and eight small pages, six and three-quarter inches by five, has been known by this title since the sixteenth century and is now kept at the National Library of Wales. It contains an anthology of some forty poems, consisting of 1,927 lines, and between ten and eleven thousand lexical items. Written in a liturgical script it has been described as a 'palaeographical freak', in that it combines certain archaisms, such as majuscule R's and N's, with a number of later features.¹ The letters exhibit a basically similar formation throughout the manuscript but they nevertheless tend to become progressively smaller, with the result that, while each of the first five pages contains only nine lines of text, the number increases to twelve, fifteen, sixteen, and then as many as twenty or twenty-one. It was perhaps on account of this characteristic that Dr Gwenogvryn Evans expressed the opinion in 1899 that the Black Book was written by 'several hands of the XIIth and early XIIIth centuries'.² The manuscript also contains a number of *lacunae*. Quires are missing in at least three places, with the result that the text of three or four of the poems is incomplete. This led Sir Ifor Williams to conclude that the Black Book consists of portions of at least three manuscripts bound together, with the implied suggestion that they were written by different scribes although, admittedly, they derived from the same scriptorium.³

The dating of c. 1200 proposed by Dr Gwenogvryn Evans and other contemporary palaeographers, such as Sir Frederick Madden of the British Museum and W. D. Macray of the Bodleian Library, was generally accepted and has held the field for many decades.⁴ As a result the Black Book has enjoyed the prestige of being deemed to be the oldest surviving manuscript written entirely in Welsh. It has indeed been regarded as something of a national institution and the publication by Dr Gwenogvryn Evans of the Facsimile in

1888 and the 'Diplomatic Edition' in 1906 were exciting occasions. The latter, which is now a collector's piece, was issued by Dr Evans from his private press at Llanbedrog, near Pwllheli. It uses characters of various sizes to reproduce the text page for page and line for line, and most of the large initials are traced copies of the originals. The text of the manuscript contains certain orthographical features, such as the use of *t* for *dd*, *d* for *d*, and *w* for *f* (= *v*), which appear quite uniformly, and as these differ both from the Old Welsh spelling (i.e. up to 1100) and from that of c. 1300, they have been taken as representing the orthography prevailing at about 1200. Modern Welsh scholars have used these features as a kind of yardstick or standard for dating, so that any text containing them is assumed to be derived from an original written close to 1200 even if it is only found in much later manuscripts. Some confusion of the issue, however, has been caused in recent years by the fact that two palaeographers, the late Drs H. D. Emanuel and N. Denholm-Young, have rejected the 1200 date for the Black Book and opted for the second quarter of the thirteenth century (1225–50).⁵ Dr E. D. Jones, formerly National Librarian of Wales, has now completed a detailed palaeographical study of the manuscript and his conclusion is that 'none of it was written much before 1250 but that the writing of it continued for a considerable time after that date.'⁶ He is further of the opinion that it was written by one scribe, but over a lengthy space of time and indeed at various periods during his life.

If we are asked where the Black Book was written, we are in no position to provide a satisfactory answer. Traditionally it is associated with Carmarthen, but the tradition is not known to be earlier than the sixteenth century. We possess no information concerning the history of the manuscript in the Middle Ages. It has been argued that it contains many references to places in south-west Wales, and it is certainly true that a Carmarthen association can be claimed on the basis of the inclusion within it of poems ascribed to Myrddin, or Merlin, who had very definite links with the town of Carmarthen. The earliest surviving item of information concerning its history is a statement that it was given, presumably in the 1530's, by a treasurer of St David's Cathedral to Sir John Prys, one of Henry VIII's commissioners for the dissolution of the monasteries, and that it had come originally from the Priory of St John's at Carmarthen.⁷ Sir John Prys was an enthusiastic Welsh antiquary and preserved the manuscript. He was, in fact, the first to quote from it in print; this he did in his *Historiae Britannicae Defensio* (1573), written to defend the authenticity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur against the attacks of Polydore Vergil.⁸

There existed at Carmarthen an ancient Welsh religious house, the Priory of St John the Evangelist and Teulyddog, but this was taken over by the Normans in the twelfth century and converted into an Augustinian establishment. The ancient fort and town of Carmarthen went back to Roman times, and earlier, but in the period with which we are concerned it was a centre of Norman

power. The Augustinian priory was small and enjoyed no great wealth. It has been argued that a manuscript like the Black Book of Carmarthen, which contains a central core of prophetic poetry of a very nationalist and anti-Norman character, is not the sort of product one would expect to emanate from such an institution. We have, however, little knowledge of the situation in the priory at the turn of the thirteenth century. Possibly Welsh and Norman influences alternated. After the death of Henry II in 1189 royal control over the priory appears to have weakened. In 1208 a certain Cadifor (presumably a Welshman) was prior, and pressures to oust him by a group of canons from Llanthony by Gloucester were resisted by King John. For eight years, from 1215 until 1223, Carmarthen was in the possession of Llywelyn the Great, prince of Gwynedd, and the Welsh element in the priory may easily have received reinforcement during this period. The process, however, was reversed during the long reign of Henry III (1216–72).⁹ There exists a long religious poem, extolling the virtue of penitence, composed in Norman French in the mid thirteenth century and ascribed to 'Simun de Kermerthin',¹⁰ but we do not possess a copy of it written at Carmarthen, and the Black Book is the only Welsh manuscript which can claim any association with the priory. It is perhaps permissible to envisage the scribe as a Welshman who had become a member of the religious community fairly early in the century and had learnt liturgical script although he was not a professional copyist. He had literary interests and over a period of years compiled his own anthology of verse. In spite of the progressive Normanization, his interest in Welsh poetry, which provided solace for him in his increasing isolation, was not discouraged. This, of course, is conjecture. Dr E. D. Jones accepts the Carmarthen tradition, but it has also been argued that the Black Book is the product of some other more Welsh-orientated religious house, such as Whitland (Hendy-gwyn), Talley (Tallyllychau), or Strata Florida (Ystrad Fflur).¹¹

The scribe's tastes in poetry were varied and the poems included in his anthology fall into four categories: (1) fourteen religious poems; (2) seven panegyric poems; (3) four vaticinations attributed to Myrddin; and (4) fourteen poems on various legendary themes. Only one poem, a collection of proverbs, fails to fit into any of these categories. There are no early heroic poems comparable with the sixth-century eulogies of Urien Rheged by Taliesin or the *Gododdin* of Aneirin. The entire contents of the Black Book belong to the period from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries and may be described as a mixture of late *hengerdd* ('old verse') and of some typically medieval poetry. The former contains many memories and echoes of the earlier tradition, including references to its North British setting, while the latter is well represented by four of the poems of Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, who flourished 1155–1200. The latest datable reference in the poems is to King John's expeditions against Gwynedd in 1211, which involved the seizure of Degannwy and the sacking of Bangor, and the subsequent revolt of the Welsh

under Llywelyn in 1212.¹² This is found in a prophecy probably composed soon after the event, though attributed to Myrddin. The scribe does not seem to have included any poems composed later than the early thirteenth century in his anthology. All the poems in the Black Book are anonymous, apart from the four by Cynddelw and three others ascribed to obscure poets named Elaeth and Addaon. The scribe, of course, probably believed that the vaticinary poems were the genuine prophecies of Myrddin in the sixth century, but this view cannot now be sustained.

We are not here concerned with the religious poems. It may be noted in passing, however, that they deal with a considerable variety of subjects and that among them are found a Celtic nature poem of the type usually associated with the early saints, an example of the debate between the body and the soul, a penitential pilgrimage-poem, and a narrative poem recounting the legend of the Miracle of the Instantaneous Harvest. According to Professor K. Jackson the latter is the earliest known example in medieval literature of this legend, which is also found in France, the Netherlands, Ireland, as well as in the later folklore of many other countries.¹³ Nor, with one exception, are we concerned with the panegyric poems. These are mostly laudations of twelfth-century princes, but one is a poem to the war-band or retinue of Madog ap Maredudd, prince of Powys, who died in 1160. It is by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr who, at that date, was a young poet at the threshold of his career. In one line the sound of Madog's retinue is compared to 'the cry of the host of Arthur's war-band'. This admittedly does not tell us very much, apart from being evidence of the fame of Arthur in Powys in the mid twelfth century. In other lines similar comparisons are made with the war-bands of Benlli Gawr and Cynon. Benlli the 'Giant', or perhaps 'Champion', is at best a semi-historical figure, if as much. He appears in Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* as a wicked king and abominable tyrant who, presumably in early fifth-century Powys, refused to admit Saint Germanus to his fort to preach the Gospel.¹⁴ He and his fort and its inhabitants were subsequently destroyed by fire from heaven. References occur in medieval Welsh verse to Benlli's valour as well as his tyranny. Cynon we may take to be Cynon ap Clydno Eidyn, a hero of the *Gododdin* and probably a historical figure although the evidence for him is found in sources of a poetic rather than a historical nature.¹⁵ He appears in the Welsh romance of *Owain*, where he corresponds to Calogrenant in Chrétien's *Yvain*, and he is thus an Arthurian character. He was the only one of the heroes celebrated by Aneirin to achieve this distinction, which involved his being moved backwards in time some three generations from the end to the beginning of the sixth century. The mention of Arthur in the company of Benlli and Cynon in this poem shows that, as was common in the Middle Ages, Cynddelw thought of him as inhabiting the undefined borderland between history and legend.

The poems found in the third category, vaticinations ascribed to Myrddin, can claim to be within the Arthurian ambit, although their content is closer to

the periphery than to the centre. Myrddin, or Merlin, was of course a most important Arthurian character, but in these poems we find substantial fragments of his legend in its pre-Arthurian form. The theme of vaticination, largely political but sometimes in more general terms, which Geoffrey of Monmouth introduced to the literary world c. 1134, and later incorporated into his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, under the title *Prophetiae Merlini*, was extracted by him from Welsh traditions associated with the names of Myrddin and Taliesin, to whom a large number of prophecies were attributed. Examples of these are the Black Book poems *Y Bedwenni* ('The Birch-trees'), *Yr Afallennau* ('The Apple-trees') and *Yr Oianau* ('The Greetings'). A fourth poem *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* ('The Dialogue of Myrddin and Taliesin') also contains some prophecy although it differs from the standard type.¹⁶ All these poems contain two layers or strata, the legendary and the vaticinary, which are related but best discussed separately.

The prophecies in the poems are uttered in the first person by Myrddin, who is portrayed as a wild man living in *Coed Celyddon* or the 'Caledonian Forest', whither he is represented as having fled after losing his reason in the battle of Arfderydd, or Arthuret, nine miles north of Carlisle. This battle was probably a historical encounter fought between rival chieftains c. 573 A.D. With his lapse into madness Myrddin acquired the gift of prophecy. Many of the predictions in the poems are couched in very general terms and merely foretell ultimate victory for the Welsh over their enemies. Myrddin's name had been cited as an authority for this kind of vaticination in the political poem *Armes Prydain* ('The Prophecy of Britain'), dated c. 930, but the tradition of prophesying a final Welsh or 'British' victory existed independently of Myrddin and is found attached to the legend of the two dragons in Vortigern's tower in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*. In 1136, in his own *Historia*, Geoffrey lifted this tale in its entirety from Nennius's compilation but substituted the name *Merlinus*, based on the Welsh *Merddin* (a variant of *Myrddin*), for that of the principal character, *Ambrosius*. He thus gave currency to a new legend of Merlin, which later was absorbed into the Arthurian complex. Although constructed out of previously existing materials, this legend was essentially Geoffrey's creation. But in his poem *Vita Merlini*, composed twelve years after the *Historia*, Geoffrey reverted to the original Welsh tradition and portrayed Merlin as a wild man of the woods. The discrepancy between the two portraits he explained by asserting that in the poem Merlin had lived on into a new age. The Myrddin of the Black Book of Carmarthen, however, has nothing in common with the Merlin of Vortigern's tower, apart from the power of prophecy which both possess. In the Welsh poems Myrddin grieves for the loss of his lord Gwenddolau and declares that he has himself been guilty of causing the death of his sister Gwenddydd's son. He lives in daily fear of capture by the men of Rhydderch, apparently the victor at the battle of Arfderydd, and he complains bitterly of the hardships he endures in the forest.¹⁷

The vaticinations found in these poems were used for propagandist purposes to strengthen the morale of the Welsh forces in their struggles against foreign invaders. Ultimate victory was promised in vague general terms, and the credibility of the promise buttressed by very specific prophecies referring to contemporary events. Thus, the first stanza of the Black Book text of the *Afallennau* states that there will be a 'Wednesday of blood' in the valley of the Machafwy in Elfael, when the English will be victorious. It adds that this will be followed, at an unspecified but later date, by a Thursday when the Welsh will overwhelm their enemies at Cyminawd, a place of uncertain location. There can be no doubt that the first prediction refers to the disastrous defeat suffered by the Welsh at the hands of the English at the battle of Machafwy on August the 12th, 1198, which fell on a Wednesday.¹⁸ If Myrddin could foretell this event so accurately, so it must have been argued, why should he not also be believed when he prophesies that the tables will ultimately be turned in favour of the Welsh? In his *Prophetiae Merlini* Geoffrey does not reproduce details of this kind from the Welsh poems. It is not known how much Welsh he knew, but it was probably not sufficient for this purpose. One theme, however, deriving from Welsh verse occurs in both the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the *Vita Merlini*, namely the prophesied return of the deliverers Cadwaladr and Cynan (*Cadualadrus* and *Conanus*) from the past to lead the Welsh to victory. Cadwaladr, a historical figure of the seventh century, was the son of Cadwallon who, with Penda of Mercia, devastated the north of England before he himself fell at Hexham in 634. The son is a shadowy figure compared with the father, but perhaps the qualities of the latter were transferred in popular memory to the former. There is less certainty as to who Cynan was, but recent scholars have taken him to be Cynan Meiriadog, 'the legendary founder of the Breton colony'.¹⁹ In medieval Wales the two were coupled together as *meibion darogan* ('sons of prophecy'), and their return expected.²⁰ Cadwaladr is named five times in the Black Book poems, and Cynan three times. Both also figure in the poem *Armes Prydain*, in which their coming is predicted as leaders of a pan-Celtic-plus-Norse confederation to deliver the whole of the Island of Britain into the possession of the Welsh. This may have been the ultimate source of Geoffrey's information concerning them. It is clear too that, when he came to compose the *Vita Merlini*, he was aware of the content of the Myrddin legend as it is found in the *Afallennau* and the other Welsh poems which embody it, for his Guennolous, Rodarchus and Ganiada correspond to the Gwenddolau, Rhydderch and Gwenddydd of the poems. Similarly, the complaint of Merlinus in the forest in winter that his apple-trees have been taken from him can hardly fail to be related to Myrddin's addresses to the apple-tree in *Yr Afallennau*.²¹

It is also probable that Geoffrey was aware of the existence of the 'Dialogue of Myrddin and Taliesin', for he brings the two seers, whom he calls Merlinus and Telgesinus, together in the *Vita Merlini* and makes them engage in a

lengthy conversation. The contents of the two dialogues, however, have nothing in common. It may be noted incidentally that it is in the first of the speeches of Telgesinus that we find the earliest account of the conveying of Arthur, wounded at Camlan, by ship to be healed by Morgen in the 'Island of Apples called the Fortunate Isle'.²² There is none of this in the Welsh poems, but the name *Insula Pomorum* reminds us of the difficult and complex problems raised by the names *Afallach*, *Afallon*, *Avalon*, *Insula Avallonis*, etc., and we wonder what deeper significance attached to Myrddin's apple-trees in the forest.²³ The Black Book 'Dialogue' is concerned with two battles, one of which appears to have been fought in Dyfed early in the sixth century, while the other was the battle of Arfderydd.²⁴ One line refers to the death of three 'men of note' in the first of these battles. In the *Vita Merlini* Geoffrey ascribes Merlin's madness to his grief at the fall of three of his brothers in battle. This detail, thus adapted, may conceivably be derived from the Welsh poem, through an informant.

We now come to the fourth category, which consists of fourteen poems on legendary themes. Arthurian references occur in several of these, but for two or three a brief mention will be sufficient. The Black Book contains a fragment of *Trioedd y Meirch*, the 'Triads of the Horses', which actually is not a poem but merely a list of the horses of famous heroes.²⁵ Four of these have Arthurian associations, namely Carnaflawg ('Cloven Hoof'), the horse of Owain son of Urien; Gwinau Goddwl Hir ('Chestnut Long-Neck'), the horse of Cai; Ceingaled ('Hard Back'), the horse of Gwalchmai; and Lluagor ('Host-opener'), the horse of Caradog Freichfras. We cannot, however, be sure whether the reference to Owain is to the original northern warrior-prince, or to the hero of romance which he later became.²⁶ Ceingaled corresponds to Guingalet or Gringalet, the celebrated horse of Gauvain in *Erec*.²⁷ The relationship of the Welsh to the French forms has been the subject of some controversy, but the original name could have been *Gwynyngaled*, 'Fair and Hard'. *Lluagor* is considered to have been the original of the name of the foal *Loriagort* or *Lorzagor* in the *Livre de Carados*.²⁸ The list does not throw light on the way the names found their way into French romance, but the occurrence of the name of Gilberd mab Cadgyffro ('G. son of Battle-Tumult') in one triad is suggestive of contact between the Welsh and Norman communities at, at least, some kind of a cultural level.²⁹ There were Gilberts of the Clare family in Ceredigion during the first half of the twelfth century.

References to Owain son of Urien also occur in another poem in this category, entitled *Mechydd ap Llywarch*.³⁰ This belongs to the body of saga-poetry associated with Llywarch Hen, which has been dated by Sir Ifor Williams in the ninth century. Parts of the poem are obscure, but in it a certain Pelis declares that he has been nurtured by 'Owain Rheged' and that he follows him on a white charger. The subject-matter is concerned with memories of conflicts in the sixth century among the Britons of the North but the poem is

clearly too late to be classified with the Taliesin poetry in which the historical Owain figures. It is, on the other hand, probably too early to contain a reference to the Owain of romance.

Another Arthurian hero, Geraint, is the subject of a poem containing eighteen *englynion* entitled *Gereint fil' erbin* in the manuscript. It has recently been edited by Professor Brynley Roberts, who adopts the view that it is a eulogy rather than an elegy, as it has been interpreted by some critics.³¹ It is, however, not contemporary with its subject and may probably be dated c. 900–1100. Geraint was a Dumnonian prince who is believed to have flourished about 580/600 A.D.,³² which was also the period of the heroes praised by Taliesin and Aneirin in northern Britain. A reference occurs in the *Gododdin* to a Geraint whose 'battle-cry was raised in front of the men of the South' and Dr Rachel Bromwich has suggested that, as the army which Mynyddog Mwynfawr sent from Edinburgh to attack the advancing Angles at Catraeth c. 600 'was assembled from all parts of the British world', the two Geraints could have been identical.³³ Professor Jackson, on the other hand, has argued that references to 'the South' in the *Gododdin* need not necessarily be to southern Britain. They could very well, and perhaps more probably, mean areas such as Rheged or Elmet which, although much nearer to Mynyddog's court, were still to the south of Gododdin territory.³⁴ If the Dumnonian Geraint had in fact joined Mynyddog's war-band as a young man and fought at the battle of Catraeth until he fell (as did all the members of the war-band), it would indeed be difficult to explain the prominence accorded him in later south-western tradition. The Geraint of the Black Book poem is not, of course, the Geraint of the romance of *Gereint and Enid*. He is a chieftain or military commander who, valiantly supported by the men of Devon, fights against an unnamed enemy at a place called Llongborth, which could have been Langport in Somerset. One stanza in the poem states that Arthur was present at the battle:

In Llongborth I saw Arthur –
Brave men hewed with steel –
Emperor, ruler of battle.

The description of Arthur as 'emperor' (*ameraudur*) may perhaps be taken as foreshadowing the portrayal of him found in Geoffrey's *Historia* and the romances. The 'imperial' character of the portrait should not, however, be overemphasized, for the strict meaning of the word is probably closer to 'general, commander', etc. We certainly have here an early instance of the intrusion of Arthur into the traditions of the South-west. It is, of course, anachronistic, for the 'historical' Arthur would have preceded Geraint by some three generations. There is in the poem no suggestion that the two were related, although in *Gereint and Enid* Geraint is described as Arthur's cousin. This has been attributed to the influence of Geoffrey.³⁵

Several poems in the Black Book are in dialogue form and of these one is entirely Arthurian, while another contains a passing Arthurian reference. The latter is 'The Dialogue of Gwyddneu Garanhir and Gwyn ap Nudd', and is probably to be dated c. 900–1100.³⁶ Both Gwyddneu and Gwyn figure in early Welsh tradition, though not in an Arthurian context. At the end of the poem Gwyddneu (apparently) declares that he has been, presumably as a witness, at places where numerous heroes were slain. In one stanza he says:

I have been where was killed Llacheu,
son of Arthur, wonderful in songs,
when ravens croaked over blood.

However 'wonderful' Llacheu was in the eyes of the poets, he is an obscure character. His name occurs a number of times in later verse (i.e. after c. 1150), and the thirteenth-century poet Bleddyn Fardd (fl. 1268–83) refers to his death 'below Llech Ysgar'. The Triads and the *Dream of Rhonabwy* mention him. The other Arthurian dialogue poem (discussed below) states that Cai and Llacheu 'fought battles'. In the Welsh version of *Perlesvaus* the name *Llacheu* is used for *Loholt*, whom Cai (Keu) treacherously kills, although there is some doubt as to how early the two names were associated. In view of these references we may no doubt endorse Dr R. Bromwich's opinion that 'Llacheu was a figure of considerable importance in early Arthurian saga, and . . . belonged to an early stratum of Arthurian tradition in Wales'.³⁷

The other dialogue poem in the Black Book, mentioned above, is the 'Dialogue of Arthur and Gwlelwyd Gafaelfawr'. It contains ninety lines but, unfortunately, breaks off in the middle of a very intriguing sentence, owing to a gap in the manuscript. In spite of some difficult textual problems it has been translated into English, fairly tentatively, several times, and edited recently by Professor Brynley F. Roberts.³⁸ Its probable date is, again, the tenth or eleventh century.³⁹ The actual dialogue is confined to the poem's first nine or ten lines, after which it becomes (for the most part, at least) a monologue spoken by Arthur. It opens with a series of exchanges between Arthur and Gwlelwyd Gafaelfawr ('G. Mighty-grasp'), who is presented as the gate-keeper of a fortress to which Arthur, accompanied by a band of followers, seeks admittance. In reply to an inquiry by Arthur, Gwlelwyd identifies himself and asks Arthur to do likewise. The latter declares that 'Arthur and Fair Cai' are at the gate, attended by 'the best men in the world'. Gwlelwyd then informs Arthur that he will not gain admittance until he reveals who his men are. Arthur's monologue follows, consisting mostly of a list of characters in whom magical and fantastic powers are combined with the primitive heroic virtues. Here we have the earliest known assembling of Arthur's 'knights', many of whom are obscure but some well-known in later legend. Their milieu and associations and the atmosphere they bring with them are those of the earliest

extant Arthurian prose tale, *Culhwch and Olwen*, and most of the names in the poem also occur in the tale. The first well-known character in the list is Mabon son of Modron, who is described as the 'servant of Uthr Pendragon'. In an episode in *Culhwch and Olwen* he appears as a prisoner, confined at Gloucester since he was three nights old, whose aid is required for the hunting of Twrch Trwyth and who is rescued from his captivity by Arthur, Cai and Bedwyr. The name *Mabon* is derived from that of the Celtic god *Maponos*, whom the Romans identified with Apollo, and to whom dedications are found in inscriptions in northern Britain. The name of his mother *Modron* is similarly derived from that of the Mother-goddess *Matrona*, which still survives in the French river-name *Marne*, as well as in the alternative Welsh form *Madrun*.⁴⁰ In no other Welsh text, however, is Mabon associated with Uthr Pendragon. In Geoffrey's *Historia Uthr* (Uther) is Arthur's father, and there are indications that this was so in earlier Welsh traditions.⁴¹ Both Uthr and Mabon, of course, later appeared in Continental literature, but they were not in any way connected with each other.

A few lines further down Arthur names another Mabon, the son of Melld (Ms. *Melld*). This name, which also occurs in *Culhwch and Olwen*, presents a problem. The two Mabons could be doublets. In Mabon son of Modron we have a matronymic, an example of the early practice of naming the mothers, rather than the fathers, of heroes. Could Melld have been Mabon's father? In Welsh the name is also the common word for 'lightning' and T. F. O'Rahilly suggested that there existed 'a deity called *Meldos*, which may be interpreted as "thunderbolt, lightning-stroke"', and whose name survived as *Melld*.⁴² This, however, is not certain. Sir Ifor Williams made a case for deriving the name from a root **meldo-*, meaning 'gentle, mild, pleasant', which gave the second element in an Irish name for the Otherworld, *Mag Mell*, the 'Plain of Happiness', and possibly in the name of *Rhieinfellt*, a great-grand-daughter of Urien Rheged, apparently a gentle maiden who became the wife of Oswy of Northumbria in (or c.) 635 and thus helped to terminate a chapter of ancient enmities by a dynastic marriage.⁴³ It is therefore not clear whether Melld in the Black Book poem is male or female.

Between the two Mabons Arthur mentions Manawydan son of Llŷr, whom he describes as 'profound of counsel'. Here we have a leading character from the Mabinogi. On the whole the medieval story-tellers succeeded in keeping the matter of the Arthurian cycle separate from that of the Mabinogi, and neither Arthur nor any member of his entourage appear in the Four Branches. Occasionally, however, characters from the one cycle obtrude upon the other. Manawydan must at one stage have been identical with the Irish sea-god Manannán mac Lir, famed for his cunning and the terror of seafaring men, but the exact relationship of the two is an intractable problem. As portrayed in medieval tales their characters are fundamentally opposed, although sagacity is a quality attributed to both. In the poem Manawydan is said to have 'brought

shattered shields (or spears) from Tryfrwyd', a name which occurs in the list of Arthur's battles in the *Historia Brittonum*.⁴⁴ The Mabinogi, however, portrays Manawydan, not as a warrior, but as a long-suffering Christian gentleman (despite the story's pagan setting) and as a conscious advocate, and practiser, of conciliation.⁴⁵

After mentioning two other characters possessing apparently superhuman or magical powers, Anwas the Winged and Llŵch Windy-handed,⁴⁶ who are also named in *Culhwch and Olwen*, Arthur proceeds to a eulogy of his two most outstanding followers, Cai (Kay) and Bedwyr (Bedivere). The greater part of the remainder of the poem (some sixty lines) is devoted to praise of the two, and of Cai in particular. Bedwyr is said to be the steady leader of an army, dauntless in his use of sword and shield, whose enemies fell before him by the hundred. Cai, who is the principal hero of the poem, is described as one who cannot be slain, unless God wills it. He too strikes down his foes by the hundred and, as we have seen, has fought battles with Llacheu.⁴⁷ After killing nine witches he has gone to Anglesey to destroy lions and to fight against the man-devouring monster, *Cath Paluc*. The reference to 'lions' need not be taken too literally. Opportunities for the inhabitants of Anglesey even to know what a lion looked like were slim indeed in the early Middle Ages and the form *lleuon*, derived regularly from the Latin *leones*, would no doubt convey images of a wide variety of ferocious creatures of the imagination. *Cath Paluc* must have been one of these. *Paluc* has been explained as an adjective meaning 'cutting, lopping, scratching, clawing', etc., – thus the 'Clawing Cat', – although later, in the Triads, it was converted into the name of the Cat's owner.⁴⁸ The text breaks off just as Cai is coming to blows with the creature so that we are not made aware of the exact outcome of the encounter. The Cat makes its appearance again, however, in French romance. In the *Estoire de Merlin* Arthur fights victoriously against a monster cat near Lake Bourget in the French Alps and the memory of the occasion is still perpetuated in the area by the names *Col du Chat*, *Dent du Chat* and *Mont du Chat*. On the other hand, in the late twelfth-century *Romanz des Franceis* Arthur is himself slain by a monster cat called *Capalu*, which then crosses over to England, conquers the country, and wears the crown. Discussing this tale, Dr Bromwich has made the suggestion that it contains a genuine variant of the tradition of Arthur's end, which was later superseded by an account of his death in battle at Camlan conflated with another story telling of his removal to the island of Avallan.⁴⁹ This could no doubt have reflected a change in the tastes of audiences, a desire for a greater sophistication than was provided by the earlier and more primitive tales.

Apparently interpolated into the passage describing Cai and Bedwyr are eight lines which refer in the third person to Arthur himself. They reveal a weird and fantastic world reminiscent of that portrayed in some of the earlier Irish sagas. Arthur fights with a hag in the hall of Awarnach; he strikes Penpalach in the dwellings of Disethach; on the mountain of Eidyn he fights

with dogheads. Penpalach has been translated as 'Cudgel-head',⁵⁰ and the dogheads were presumably either weapons thus fashioned or 'a vague recollection of the fabulous Cynocephali'.⁵¹ Some uncertainty, however, attaches to the text of this passage, for it has been argued that *arthur* is the scribe's misreading of *aruth(i)r* in his exemplar.⁵² If this were accepted it would mean that the reference is to Cai rather than to Arthur. In favour of the reading *arthur* it may be pointed out that in *Culhwch and Olwen* Arthur does fight with a hag, or witch, though we are not told that this occurred 'in the hall of Awarnach'; on the other hand, in the same tale Cai enters the hall of the giant *Wrnach* and strikes off his head. The halls of Disethach are unknown and we can only presume that the mountain of Eidyn was at, or near, Edinburgh.

It is clear that the Arthur we meet in this poem is not the figure we are familiar with in early annals and medieval chronicles, or in the romances. He is rather a hero of folklore, the leader of a band of strange and wonderful characters derived from ancient Welsh and Celtic tradition. The view has been held that there had existed a 'mythological' Arthur, who was quite distinct from the military leader of the fifth/sixth century, and that the imprint of his memory is to be found in such works as *Culhwch and Olwen*, the poem we are now discussing, and another poem preserved in the Book of Taliesin entitled 'The Spoils of Annwfn', in which Arthur leads an expedition against the Otherworld.⁵³ If we reject this view, as being conjectural in the absence of hard supporting evidence, we have to note the complete transformation of Arthur, the historical or at least semi-historical 'leader of armies' of Nennius and other early sources, in a period of some four hundred years, by the interaction of popular memory and imagination, into the head of a company of folk-heroes who exercise marvellous and superhuman powers. Cai and Bedwyr belong to the same world as the Celtic hero *par excellence*, Cú Chulainn, who was able to go without sleep from the feast of Samain (November the 1st.) until the following harvest and whose powers of marksmanship were such that he could kill eight of a group of nine warriors with one cast of his javelin and leave the ninth unharmed. A wound inflicted by Cú Chulainn could only be healed by himself, and his innate ardour was such that, during an attempt made to calm him, he successively heated three vatfuls of cold water into which he was plunged.⁵⁴ In *Culhwch and Olwen* similar, though somewhat less spectacular, powers are attributed to the Welsh heroes. Thus, Cai was able to hold his breath under water for nine days and nine nights, and also to go without sleep for the same length of time; when he wished he could make himself as tall as the tallest tree in the forest; and no physician might heal a wound inflicted by his sword. So great was his natural heat that anything he held in his hand would remain dry for a handbreath before his hand and a handbreadth behind it, even when the rain was heaviest.⁵⁵ It should be noted that qualities such as these are not attributed to Arthur himself. As a warrior-hero in a folklore milieu he was, of course, invincible. But he was not so completely integrated into the world of

marvels which enveloped him as to be dependent on the aid of magical powers rather than on the strength of his own right arm. This, no doubt, made it easier for Geoffrey in the twelfth century to depict him as a feudal monarch, rather than as a king of faery.

One other poem in the Black Book, 'The Stanzas of the Graves' (*Englynion y Beddau*), remains to be noticed. It consists of seventy-three *englynion*, mostly of three lines, recording the burial-places of ancient heroes.⁵⁶ They belong to the heroic saga tradition and were dated by Professor Thomas Jones in the ninth or tenth century. The heroes named, and sometimes celebrated in brief, pregnant phrases, belong to legend and folklore rather than to history, although a few were originally historical. Many are completely unknown from any other source. The names of a number of Arthurian personages appear, including Gwalchmai, Cynon ap Clydno Eidyn, Bedwyr and Owain ab Urien. The most interesting name, however, is that of Arthur himself, which occurs in the third line of a stanza rendered thus by Professor Thomas Jones:

There is a grave for March, a grave for Gwythur,
a grave for Gwgawn Red-sword;
the world's wonder a grave for Arthur.⁵⁷

The word translated 'wonder', *anoeth*, literally signifies something difficult, or even impossible, to obtain or achieve, and an alternative translation of the third line, based on a textual emendation proposed by Sir Ifor Williams, reads: 'Arthur's grave is something not to be found until the Day of Judgement'.⁵⁸ The import of the line, however, would not be affected by the emendation. The poet is saying that, although he can point to the graves of many other heroes, that of Arthur remains a mystery and is not to be found. It may be noted that another stanza specifically mentions the battle of Camlan at which, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, Arthur and Medrawd fell in 537.⁵⁹

In his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (c. 1125) the historian William of Malmesbury made the statement that 'the tomb of Arthur is nowhere beheld, whence ancient ditties fable that he is yet to come'.⁶⁰ This is very close to the Black Book *englyn*, but more specific, as it prophesies Arthur's return. The *englyn* is, in fact, the only example we possess of the so-called 'ancient ditties' (the phrase in the text is *antiquitas naeniarum*). There is, however, other evidence from this period of a belief in the survival or expected return of Arthur. When a party of canons from Laon came to Bodmin in Cornwall in 1113 they provoked a near riot because a local man maintained that Arthur still lived, a claim which the French visitors were so impolitic as to deny. In an account of the incident written in 1146 Hermann of Tournai comments that 'the Bretons are wont to quarrel with the French on behalf of King Arthur'.⁶¹ Also, at the end of the Arthurian section of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Geoffrey asserted that Arthur 'was mortally wounded and was carried off to the Isle of Avalon, so that

his wounds might be attended to'.⁶² This ambivalent statement was no doubt designed to satisfy both Norman and Welsh or Breton audiences. With it may be compared Geoffrey's more detailed treatment of the subject in his *Vita Merlini*, where Telgesinus recounts, as we have already noted, how the wounded Arthur was taken after the battle of Camlan to the *Insula Pomorum* to receive the ministrations of Morgen. The latter, we are told, 'put the king in her chamber on a golden bed, uncovered his wound with her noble hand', and at length said 'he could be cured if only he stayed with her a long while and accepted her treatment'.⁶³ After completing his account of this incident Telgesinus declares that, in view of the oppression of the Britons by the Saxons, a message should be sent to Arthur calling on him to return as leader 'to fend off the enemy and re-establish the nation in its old state of peace'. Merlinus, however, contradicts this declaration and asserts that the enemy will not be repelled in this way but that, after many years, Conanus will arrive from Brittany and join with Cadualadrus, the revered leader of the Welsh, to create an alliance of the Scots, the Welsh, the Cornishmen and the Bretons to 'restore to the natives the crown that had been lost'. We have already seen that here Geoffrey was using the tradition which was first given literary expression in *Armes Prydain*. To the names of Cynan and Cadwaladr, as expected deliverers, there was added in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that of Owain, a development which no doubt reflected the fame of Owain Lawgoch (c. 1330–78) and Owain Glyndŵr (c. 1354–1416). The concept of the *mab darogan* was therefore not exclusively associated with the name of Arthur. The importance which the authorities attached to the belief in his return in the twelfth century is, however, underlined by the reported 'discovery' of his body, together with that of his queen Guinevere, in a tomb at Glastonbury c. 1190.⁶⁴ The tomb was again opened by order of Edward I in 1278, a critical time in the king's relations with the Welsh, in order to demonstrate that the concept of *rex quondam, rex futurus* could at best only be a half-truth. It is strange that the only evidence for it in Welsh from the period is the one line in the *englyn* in the Black Book of Carmarthen.⁶⁵

- episode (corresponding to Pesme Aventure). Its role in the *chwedyl* is therefore much simplified.
43. The description of Yvain in *Yv* 3203–4 ('Con li lions antre les dains, / Quant l'angoisse et chace la fains') accords, as we shall see, with what the encyclopaedists tell us. John Bednar, *La Spiritualité et le symbolisme dans les oeuvres de Chrétien de Troyes* (Paris, 1974), p. 122 notes of Yvain 'Le lion, symbole de la Résurrection, est attaché à sa personne d'une façon figurée avant qu'il ne rencontre un vrai lion'. A late thirteenth-century gloss in that well-known schoolbook Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* (I, 36) reads 'In vexillo Alexandri erat depicta ymago leonis ad designandum ferocitatem et audaciam illius' (ed. M. L. Colker [Patauii, 1978], p. 358).
 44. Ed. P. Jaffé in *MGH SS* t. XIX (Hannoverae, 1866), p. 125, ll. 24–8.
 45. Ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxonii, 1911) t. 11.
 46. PL 177, 57D. On authorship and date see F. J. Carmody, 'De Bestiis et aliis rebus and the Latin Physiologus', *Speculum* 13 (1938), 153–9. Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire divin* reproduces much of *De Bestiis*, including the detail 'Li lion fet moult grant noblece, / quer nul cheitif home ne blece . . .' (ed. Hippeau [1852] repr. 1970, p. 196, ll. 213–4).
 47. ed. Th. Wright RS 34 (London, 1863), pp. 227–30.
 48. *Claudian*, with an English translation by Maurice Platnauer, vol. II (London/N.Y., 1922), p. 4 (*De consulatu Stilichonis* Lib. II, vv. 20–2). Some 1000 years after its composition the second book was translated into Middle English, at Clare in Suffolk, by an anonymous writer (possibly Osbern Bokenham), see S. Moore, 'Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk c. 1450. II.', *PMLA* 28 (1913), 79ff and for the text see E. Flügel in *Anglia* 28 (1905), 255–99, 421–38. It is a *speculum principis* intended for Richard Duke of York who is compared with Stilico the 'gode prince'. Lines from book 2 of the *De consulatu* are quoted by Gerald of Wales in his *De principis instructione*.
 49. Ed. M. R. James in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 286–98. Unknown to James, a text, with vernacular glosses, is found in MS Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library 132ff. 78r–80r. In the Dublin MS, Trinity College 270, the poem is found on ff. 193r–194v.
 50. See J. G. Préaux, 'Thierry de Saint-Trond, auteur du poème pseudo-ovidien *De Mirabilibus Mundi*', *Latomus* 6 (1947), 353–66.
 51. See A. Boutemy, 'Notes additionnelles à la notice de Ch. Fierville sur le manuscrit 115 de Saint Omer', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 22 (1943), 5–33, esp. 24.
 52. Ed. M. Chibnall vol. IV, Books VII and VIII (Oxford, 1973), p. 130.
 53. On this theme see G. F. Jones, 'Grim to Your Foes and Kind to Your Friends', *Studia Neophilologica* 34 (1962), 91–103, H. Kallfelz, *Das Standesethos des Adels im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1960) p. 16, note 69, and L. Spitzer, 'Le lion arbitre moral de l'homme', *Romania* 64 (1938), 525–30.

The Arthurian Allusions in the Black Book of Carmarthen

A. O. H. JARMAN

1. N. Denholm-Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), 42.
2. *Reports on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, Vol. I, Part II (London, 1899), 297.
3. Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Caerdydd, 1953), xv.
4. For various opinions concerning the date of the Black Book see E. D. Jones in my edition, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Caerdydd, 1982), xiii–xvi.
5. Strictly, H. D. Emanuel's opinion, quoted by T. Jones in *The Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. LIII (Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, 1967), 98, referred to the 'Stanzas of the Graves', found on pp. 63–9 of the Black Book. For Denholm-Young's dating see op. cit., 78.
6. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, xxiv.
7. Ibid., lxxviii; *The National Library of Wales Journal*, xvii, 3 (Summer, 1972), 319.
8. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, lxxviii.
9. F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349* (Cardiff, 1977), 44.
10. Ibid., 153. For the text see *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xiv (1892), 147–51.
11. See R. Geraint Gruffydd in *Ysgrifau Beirniadol IV*, ed. J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Dinbych, 1969), 16.

12. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, xxix–xxx; J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (London, 1948), ii, 634–8, 691–2.
13. Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff, 1961), 120–2.
14. *Nennius, British History and Welsh Annals*, edited and translated by John Morris (Phillimore, London and Chichester, 1980), 26, 67.
15. For Cynon see R. Bromwich, 'Cynon fab Clydno', chapter VI in *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd/Studies in Old Welsh Poetry*, ed. by R. Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (Caerdydd, 1978), 150–64.
16. The texts of the four poems will be found in *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 1–2 and 25–35.
17. For the Myrddin/Merlin legend see A. O. H. Jarman, *The Legend of Merlin* (Cardiff, 1976, – contains bibliography); idem, 'Early Stages in the Development of the Myrddin Legend', chapter XIII in R. Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (eds.), op. cit., 326–49. The theme of the wild man is treated in a broad context by R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages, a Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Harvard, 1952), and D. A. Wells, *The Wild Man from the Epic of Gilgamesh to Hartmann von Aue's Iwein* (Belfast, 1974).
18. For these events see J. E. Lloyd, op. cit., ii, 586–7; *Llên Cymru*, iii (1954), 115–18.
19. R. Bromwich in her English version of *Armes Prydein, The Prophecy of Britain*, ed. by Sir Ifor Williams (Dublin, 1972), 46; Basil Clarke, *Life of Merlin* (Cardiff, 1973), 175.
20. For a general discussion of this theme see 'Prophecy, Poetry, and Politics in Medieval and Tudor Wales', chapter III in Glanmor Williams, *Religion, Language, and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979), 71–86.
21. For the reference in lines 90–4 of the *Vita Merlini* see B. Clarke, op. cit., 56–7.
22. Clarke, op. cit., 102–3, lines 929–40.
23. For a discussion of the names mentioned see R. Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (Cardiff, 1978), 266–8.
24. For the 'Dialogue' see my edition, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (Caerdydd, 1967).
25. *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 12; *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 97–107.
26. For Owain see *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 479–83.
27. Ibid., ciii–cvi.
28. Ibid., 98.
29. Ibid., cxii, 360–1.
30. *Canu Llywarch Hen*, 27–9; *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 62–5.
31. *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, 286–96. For the Black Book text see *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 48–9. Professor Roberts's text includes some additional stanzas from the Red Book of Hergest (c. 1400).
32. D. P. Kirby in *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxvii (1976), 89.
33. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 357. Ifor Williams also suggests a Devon connection, *Canu Aneirin* (Caerdydd, 1938), 314.
34. *The Gododdin, The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), 128, cf. 150.
35. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 358.
36. For the text see *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 71–3. It has been edited by Brynley F. Roberts, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, 311–18.
37. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 416. See also Keith Busby, 'The Enigma of Loholt', in *An Arthurian Tapestry*, ed. by Kenneth Varty (Glasgow, 1981), 28–36.
38. For the text see *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 66–8, where the poem is entitled, from the first line, *Pa W'r yw'r Porthor?*, 'What Man is the Gate-keeper?'. Professor Roberts's edition is in *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, 296–309. For a translation by R. Bromwich see pp. 45–6 above.
39. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 304.
40. For Mabon and Modron see *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 433–6, 458–63; W. J. Gruffydd, 'Mabon vab Modron', *Y Cymmrodor*, xlii (1931), 129–47; idem, *Rhiannon* (Cardiff, 1953), chapter V.
41. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 520–3; *Llên Cymru*, ii (1952), 127–8.
42. *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), 52.
43. *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, x (1939), 41.
44. *Tryfnydd* can be understood either as a place-name or as a common noun meaning 'battle'.
45. For Manawydan see *Rhiannon*, chapter IV; *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 441–3.
46. His epithet, *llawynmauc*, has also been interpreted as meaning 'of the striking hand', and

- Llwh identified with the Irish god Lug. See Foster in R. S. Loomis (ed.), *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, a Collaborative History* (Oxford, 1959), 34.
47. In *An Arthurian Tapestry*, 28, Keith Busby takes the Black Book reference as meaning that Llacheu was 'a battle-companion of Kei'.
 48. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 45–9, 484; Lloyd-Jones in *Ériu*, xvi (1952), 123–31; *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, 308–9.
 49. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 487. For a study of Capalu see E. Freymond, 'Artus Kampf mit dem Katzenungetüm', *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für Gustav Gröber* (Halle, 1899), 311; Gaston Paris in *Romania*, xxix (1900), 121–4.
 50. *Ériu*, xvi (1952), 123–31.
 51. So J. Morris-Jones in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii (1918), 110.
 52. *Ériu*, xvi, 123; *aruthr* = 'terrible, terribly'.
 53. For a brief discussion of this poem, with references, see my article, 'The Delineation of Arthur in Early Welsh Verse', in *An Arthurian Tapestry*.
 54. Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*, translated by Myles Dillon (London, 1949), 66–9.
 55. *The Mabinogion*, translated by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (Everyman, 1974), 107; *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*, translated, with an introduction, by Patrick K. Ford (University of California, 1977), 132.
 56. Edited by Thomas Jones, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves"', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. LIII (Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, 1967), 97–137.
 57. *Ibid.*, 127; for the Welsh text see *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 41.
 58. *Canu Llywarch Hen*, 127.
 59. T. Jones, *ibid.*, 121; *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 37; J. Morris, *Nennius*, 45, 85.
 60. E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1966), 17, 250.
 61. *Ibid.*, 249, 'sicut Britones solent iurgari cum Francis pro rege Arturo'.
 62. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (Penguin Books, 1966), 261.
 63. Clarke, *op. cit.*, 102–3.
 64. Chambers, *op. cit.*, 112–25.
 65. Dr Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan in her doctoral dissertation, *A Study of Y Seint Greal in Relation to La Queste del Saint Graal and Perlesvaus* (Oxford, 1978), 100–1, quotes a reference in the French text to the burial of Arthur and Guinevere at Avalon. In the Welsh translation of *Perlesvaus*, made towards the end of the fourteenth century, the reference is omitted and Dr Lloyd-Morgan believes that it is 'possible that the references to the burying of Arthur and Guinevere were unacceptable to the translator, since they suggest that the disappearance of Arthur from the world is final'. The translation was probably commissioned by Hopcyn ap Thomas, a gentleman and man of letters and 'maister of Brut' of Ynys Dawe in Gower, who in 1403 is said to have been consulted by Owain Glyndŵr about his prospects. Cf. J. E. Lloyd, *Owain Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), 68–9.

The Ideal of Queenship in Hartmann's Erec

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This essay derives from a paper given at Gregynog at a DAAD Colloquium on Hartmann von Aue in September 1974.

1. For a review of research on Enite see O. Ehrismann, 'Enite. Handlungsbegründungen in Hartmanns von Aue *Erec*', *ZfdPh*, 98 (1979), 321–44. Quotations and references to *Erec* are taken from the 3rd edition by A. Leitzmann (Halle 1939); to Chrétien's *Erec et Enide* from the edition by M. Roques (Paris 1963).
2. W. Kellermann, 'Die Bearbeitung des "Erec-und-Enide"-Romans Chrestiens von Troyes durch Hartmann von Aue', in *Hartmann von Aue*, ed. H. Kuhn and C. Corneau (WdF 359) (Darmstadt 1973), pp. 511–31 (originally *Mélanges Jean Frappier*, 1970). R. Pérennec, 'Adaptation et société: l'adaptation par Hartmann d'Aue du roman de Chrétien de Troyes: Erec et Iwein', *Etudes Germaniques*, 28 (1973), 289–303. M. Huby, 'Hat Hartmann von Aue in *Erec* das Eheproblem neu gedeutet?', *Recherches Germaniques*, 6 (1976), 3–17.