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Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein: A Single Manuscript Edition of the Middle Welsh Text of *The Seven Sages of Rome*, from Oxford, Jesus College Manuscript 20, Including Translation and Notes.

M Phil

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Declaration:
I confirm that this is my own work and that the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Carys Gadsden

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Abstract

This is a new edition and translation of *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein,* the Middle Welsh version of the popular medieval tales known as '*The Seven Sages* of *Rome*'. The text found in J MS 111 has already been published in modern Welsh, which limits its usefulness for those who are not fluent in that language. The only English translation available is an archaic, nineteenth century version which needs updating. This has been addressed here. Certain concepts are questioned, such as Lewis's suggestion that the tales were the original work of a Welsh cleric and therefore constitute the first Welsh novel His opinion that J MS 20 is the oldest extant Welsh version of the tale is also investigated.

The Welsh redaction itself is characterised by the usual medieval Welsh practice of abbreviation and concision. Here the translation of French *Sept Sages* is curtailed by the omission of direct speech and extraneous detail. Any deviation, such as borrowings from traditional Welsh tales, is therefore the more noteworthy. The pointed use of native literary tradition suggests that the author was an educated man, one not only fluent in French, as evidenced from his adaptation of the *Sept Sages*, but one well-versed in his own literary heritage. His exclusion of the scatological elements present in the French parent version may point to his religious calling but could also indicate that he was writing for a mixed audience: not only for men but also for women and children.

The base text used here is the one found in Jesus MS 20, housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, though the two other manuscript witnesses, Jesus MS 111 (Llyfr Coch Hergest) and NLW Llanstephan MS 2, are also discussed. This present edition includes a brief history of the transmission of the tales from their Eastern origins to the West: to France and then on to Wales. This is followed by an overview of the cultural and historical background of the period, placing the tales in context.

The conclusion drawn is that, though *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein,* the Welsh redaction of the *Sept Sages Romae*, is but one small part of the international

corpus of this literary tradition, it is a highly individual and therefore invaluable member of the genre.

ABBREVIATIONS

ATU The Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales *Unpacking World Folk Literature: Thompson's Motif Index, ATU's Tale Type Index, Propp's Functions and Lévi-Strauss's Structural Analysis of folk tales around the world,* Curated and compiled from several sources by Shawn Urban.

https://sites.ualberta.ca/~urban/Projects/English/Motif_index.htm#tti

Crefft Davies, Sioned, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd, Astudiaeth o Dechnegau Naratif yn y* Mabinogion (Cardiff, GPC 1995).

CO Bromwich Rachel and Evans, D. Simon, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen Testun Syr Idris Foster wedi ei olygu a'i orffen gan, Rachel Bromwich a D. Simon Evans, gyda chymorth Dafydd Huw Evans.* (Cardiff, UWP, 1997).

CMCS Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth University.

CSDR or *Chwedleu* *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein.*

CUP Cambridge University Press.

DG The '*Didrefn Gasgliad*': The compilation of the first four NLW Llanstephan manuscripts.

DWB *Dictionary of Welsh Biography.*
https://www.wales.ac.uk/en/CentreforAdvancedWelshCelticStudies/Dictionary-of-Welsh-Biography

FrenchA Runte, Hans R. *Les Sept Sages de Rome*: *A Critical Edition of Version A*:

http://myweb.dal.ca/hrunte/FrenchA.html

As of March 2017, this website has been retired, being replaced by:
http://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/49107 Click on: "Files in this item" or "Open/View".

GPC *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, (Cardiff, UWP). http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk

HMSO His Majesty's Stationery Office.

J 20 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College Manuscript 20.

J 111 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College Manuscript 111: '*Llyfr Coch Hergest*', the Red Book of Hergest.

Ll C *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, as above.

Llst 2 Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan Manuscript 2.

MWM Huws, Daniel, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press and the National Library of Wales, 2000).

NLW Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales.

NLWJ National Library of Wales Journal.

OUP Oxford University Press.

PKM Williams, Ifor, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, allan o Lyfr Gwyn Rhydderch.* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1978).

RMWL J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language,* 2 Volumes, (London, HMSO, 1898-1910).

RHG *Rhyddiaith Ganoloesol, 1300-1425, Welsh Prose 1300-1425:* http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk

SDR *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*.

THSC *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* (London, published by the Society).

UWP University of Wales Press.

Contents

Introduction:

Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein:

The Middle Welsh Adaptation of Les Sept Sages de Rome: the Seven Sages of Rome

1. Previous Editions

Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein is preserved in at least nine manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century. One of these, Cardiff Free Library MS 5, copied by Elis Gruffydd in 1527, was published by the BBCS (II, pp. 201-229) for Lewis.[1] Lewis also published Llywelyn Sion's copy of the tales (Llanofer B. 17). [2] The only critical edition of the *Seith Doethon* as yet to have been published is also by Lewis in 1925. It was reprinted in 1958 (and later in the 1960s) with some small changes. Lewis based his edition on the *Llyfr Coch* version of the tales but gave no specific reason for his choice.[3] One can only surmise that he chose the version in J 111 because many traditional Welsh tales, such as the *Mabinogi,* and much Middle Welsh poetry are to be found in that same manuscript and therefore he may have considered the version of the *Chwedleu* there to be the most authentic of the tales.[4] The introduction, critical apparatus, notes and glossary of Lewis's edition are in academic modern Welsh. This makes it difficult for non-Welsh speakers to access the work; hence the need for a new, more easily accessible edition of this important constituent of a popular international tale; an edition which also incorporates a modern English translation.

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[1] Lewis, Henry, ed., *Chwedleu Seith Doethn Rufein o Lyfr Coch Hergest* (Wrexham, Hughes ai Fab, 1925; reprinted, Cardiff, UWP, 1958, 1967), p. 29.
[2] Lewis, *Chwedleu*, (1967), p. 29.
[3] *Copi 'Llyfr Coch Hergest' yw'r testun a argreffir yma:* The text printed here is the one found in *The Red Book of Hergest.*' Lewis, (1967), p. 30.
[4] Daniel Huws points out that the manuscript has been described as a 'one volume library'. Huws, Daniel, 'Five Ancient Books of Wales,' *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, and Aberystwyth, the National Library of Wales, 2000), p. 82.

Older editions of the work include a version included in *Chwedlau Cymru Fu*, a mid-nineteenth century anthology of traditional Welsh literature.[5] *Ystori Saith Doethion Rhufain: (allan o Gywreinfa Brydeinig*, the British Museum),[6] is one of a series of *Llyfrau Ceiniog* (Penny Books) targeting a youth market of the late nineteenth century, published by Humphreys of Caernarfon.

Extracts from the tales *Canis*, *Gaza*, *Virgilius* and *Vaticinium*, are included in Jarman's *Chwedlau Cymraeg Canol*.[7] Both Lewis's edition and Jarman's anthology were intended for students of Welsh literature in upper schools and at University level.

[5] Foulkes, Isaac, *Chwedlau Cymru Fu* (Wrexham, Hughes & Son, 1862), pp. 186-204.

[6] Lewis identifies this as a version of Owain Myfyr's work. Owain Myfyr was the pen-name of Owen Jones who was a native of Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr, Denbighshire. He moved to London, apprenticed as a skinner and lived there for the rest of his life. His contribution to the retention of early Welsh literature is enormous. He was a member of the Cymmrodorion Society and was a founder member of Cymdeithas y Gwyneddigion. He was editor of the works of Dafydd ap Gwilym which was published in 1789. He was also instrumental in publishing the two volumes of *Myvyrian Archaiology* (1801), which contained much of the early literature of Wales. Unfortunately, his plan of publishing a third volume, which was to contain the *Mabinogi* and the Romances, never came to fruition. Emeritus Professor Griffith John Williams's entry for Owen Jones, DWB http://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-OWE-1741

[7] Jarman, A.O. H. *Chwedlau Cymaeg Canol* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1957), pp. 108-113.

2. The *Sept Sages* Tradition

Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein is the Welsh version of a collection of tales known as the *Seven Sages of Rome,* tales which belong to a narrative tradition popular throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The tales are framed by a story comparable to the Biblical tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.[8] In the *Seven Sages*, the new wife of a Roman Emperor tries to seduce her stepson who rebuffs her improper advances. In retaliation, she accuses the young man of attempted rape and demands his father execute his only son and heir for this outrage. The boy's father believes her malign accusation, which is bolstered by the woman's self-inflicted wounds, and condemns the Prince to death. To strengthen her case, each night the Empress tells her husband a tale intended to encourage him to suspect both the son and his tutors of plotting his overthrow. His tutors, the eponymous Seven Sages of Rome, counter her arguments with misogynistic tales demonstrating the fickleness and deceitfulness of women.[9] The final tale in the sequence is related by the Prince himself to demonstrate a son's loyalty to his father. This tale convinces the Emperor of his son's innocence whereupon the wicked stepmother is burnt to death.

The frame tale originated in the East, possibly India,[10] and pre-dates the Christian era by at least two hundred years.[11] The tales then travelled to Persia and on to Syria where they were known as *The Book of Sindibad,* from the name of the Eastern prince's one and only tutor. The earliest surviving written version of the tales in the Eastern tradition is the tenth

[8] Genesis, 39: 7/20.

[9] The Sages have a wealth of misogynistic exempla to draw upon to illustrate the untrustworthy nature of womankind. Many of these tales have a long history of analogues, reaching back to classical times and beyond. Campbell devoted a whole section of his Introduction to the history of analogues to the tales: 'Some Originals and Analogues'. Killis Campbell, *The Seven Sages of Rome: Edited From The Manuscripts, With Introduction, Notes and Glossary* (Boston, Ginn & Company, 1907; reprint on demand: Kessinger), pp. xxviii-cxiv.

[10] Epstein disputes this Indian origin for the tales, pointing out that none of the tales are typically Indian but are similar to tales in the *Panchatantra*, which was translated into Pahlavi at the end of the sixth century AD. (Maurice Epstein, '*Mishle Sendebar*: A New Light on the Transmission of Folklore from East to West', *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research,* Vol. 27, 1958), pp. 4-6.
Accessed via http://www.jstor.org/stable/3622494.

[11] A comprehensive account of the early transmission of the Seven Sages tradition can also be found in Campbell, *Seven Sages* (1907) pp. xv-xvii. Similarly, a detailed account of the origins and transmission of the *Seven Sages* tradition can also be found in Hans R. Runte, *Li Yistoire de la male marastre, Version M of the Roman des Sept Sages de Rome* (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1974), pp. xi-xix. It is also discussed in Gilleland's Edition of Johannes de Alta Silva's *Dolopathos*. (Brady B. Gilleland, *Dolopathos, or The King and the Seven Wise Men.* Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies Binghamton, New York, 1981), pp. xvi-xix.

century AD Syriac redaction, *Sindiban,* considered to be based on an eighth century AD version by an Arab called Musa. The route by which the tales travelled from East to West, changing subtly in the process, is a matter of debate. [12] However, what is certain is that by the end of the twelfth century the tales had reached Europe. [13] The earliest occurrence of the story in the West is as part of a longer tale, the Latin *Dolopathos.* This dates to the end of the twelfth or very early thirteenth century and can be assigned specifically to this period since the work is dedicated to Bertrand, Prince-Bishop of Metz, (1180-1212).[14] Though appearing in France, this version of the *Seven Sages of Rome* belongs to the Eastern tradition where the Prince has only one tutor, and the other internal tales are told by anonymous passers-by: seven 'Wise Men of Rome'.[15] In Europe a Western tradition developed, distinct from *Dolopathos*, one which superseded the Eastern version from the end of the twelfth century onwards.[16] Though it shared the same frame tale, it had become adapted to Western tastes. The Sultan becomes an Emperor and the concubine of the Eastern tradition becomes the now-widowed Emperor's second wife, stepmother to the young boy. At the same time, the Eastern tradition's sole tutor educating the boy is

[12] One theory is that the tales came to Europe from the east at the time of the Crusades and could well have originated in a Greek version. Morris Epstein posits the thesis that the Hebrew *Mishle Sendebar* was the bridge between the Eastern and Western versions. See Campbell, (1907), p. xi and p. xiii. See also Gilleland, *Dolopathos* (1981) p. xviii. The ongoing debate is examined in Karla Mallette's paper: 'The Seven Sages of Rome: Narration and Silence', in *D'Orient en Occident. Les Recueils de fables enchâssées avant les Mille et une Nuits de Galland (Barlaam et Josaphat, Calila et Dimna, Disciplina Clericalis, Roman des Sept Sages),* Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*,* Vol. 16 (Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium, 2014), pp. 138-140.

[13] Campbell discusses the probable route of transmission and, having considered whether the tale arrived in Europe via the Greek, as Gaston Paris asserted, (Gaston Paris, *Deux Rédactions du roman des Sept Sages de Rome* [Soc. De anc. Textes fr., 1876] Préface), or via the Hebrew *Mischle Sendebar*. He eventually comes to the conclusion that the tales travelled to Europe with a Crusader, since they became popular at the time of the Crusades at the end of the twelfth century. Campbell, (1907), pp. xv-xvix.

[14] *Dolopathos* was dedicated to Bishop Bertrand of Metz by its author, Johannes de Alta Silva, a monk in the Cistercian monastery of Haute Seille [*Alta Silva*]. This monastery was in the diocese of Metz from 1184 to 1212. It is unlikely that a monk would dedicate such a work to the bishop of a diocese other than his own. This leads us to the conclusion that it was composed during this period. Gilleland, *Dolopathos*, (1981), p. vii.

[15] However, though crucial to the overall action, the *Seven Sages* story only occupies a small section of the tale as a whole. *Dolopathos* has only one tale in common with both the Eastern and Western version of the Seven Sages of Rome: *Canis*, The Dog. The tales: *Gaza*, *Puteus*, *Inclusa*, and *Avis* all make their first appearance in a European version of the Seven Sages story in *Dolopathos.* Despite this, however, *Dolopathos* itself had little impact on the Western tradition of the Seven Sages. There are too many differences between them; for example, the setting for *Dolopathos* is Sicily and king Dolopathos is subject to the Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar. Most importantly, the stepmother does not relate any tales.

[16] The earliest version of this Western tradition, the French metrical Version '**K**', is only preserved in one late thirteenth century manuscript: Bib. Nat. fr.1553. Gaston Paris initially ascribed the text to about 1155. Campbell, (1907), p. xxvii, note 3; Paris, *Deux Rédactions* (1876), p. xxxix).

replaced in the West by seven named teachers: the Seven Sages of Rome.[17] From the thirteenth century onwards, versions of this Western form of the *Seven Sages* tale could be found in most parts of Europe, written in Latin and the vernacular, both in verse and in prose.[18] In this Western tradition a Roman Emperor, usually named Diocletian,[19] gives his only son to the seven wisest men of Rome to be educated and tutored in the ways of the court. During the boy's fosterage, his mother dies and the Emperor re-marries. The new Empress at first knows nothing of the existence of the son, but once she does, she expresses a wish to meet him. Prior to his return to his father's court, the prince learns, from ominous signs in the night sky, that he must remain silent for seven days or he will die and his tutors with him.[20] He vows to remain mute for that period of time and his tutors promise to defend him with their wisdom. When the stepmother meets the young prince she tries to seduce him; when he does not succumb, she cries "Rape!", tears her hair and clothes making it appear that the boy has attacked her. She then demands that the Emperor has his only son executed for this terrible insult to her honour. The father sees her apparent injuries, believes her lies, is convinced of the boy's guilt and condemns him to death.

The frame tale in both Eastern and Western traditions remains similar, with the deceitful woman wrongly accusing the Prince and demanding his execution. In the Western tradition, as in the Eastern, she relates one tale every night to further condemn the boy,

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[17] *The Seven Sages of Rome* appears in Armenian, Catalan, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Latin, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Provençal Slavic and Swedish as well as in Welsh. Campbell, (1907), p. xxi.

[18] The oldest extant manuscript of the Latin prose redaction, *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae*, is to be found in an Innsbruck codex dating from 1342 and was published in 1889. (G. Buchner, *Erlanger Beiträge* 1889, V, pp.3f.) This Latin version was translated into various languages including English, French and German. For many years this was considered to be the original Western version of the tales, but this is no longer thought to be the case, due to its late appearance. Campbell, (1907), pp. xxiv- xxv).

[19] 'Diocletian' is the name normally given to the Emperor, though 'Vespasian', 'Marcomeris' and 'Pontianus' occur in some redactions. Lewis, p. 18.

[20] The essential fact that the Prince must remain silent for seven days is not specifically stated at this point in any of the three extant Middle Welsh manuscripts. At the beginning of the tale, the Welsh redactor merely states: '*wynt a welynt yn eglurder y syr a chyffroedigaeth y sygneu y bydei wr dihenyd y mab ony bei amddiffyn kymen arnaw*'. (32-34, J 20, fol. 43r, 21-fol. 43v, 1-4). 'They saw, by the clarity of the stars and the turbulence in the constellations, that unless he were wisely defended, the son would be a dead man.' However, it is in the Prince's explanation to his father, the Emperor, at the end of the *Chwedleu:* "*o dywedwn i vn geir yn yr vn o'r seith niwarnawt na dihangwn rac agheu*." (503-504; J 20, fol. 67r, 12-14), "if I were to utter a single word in any of the following seven days I should not escape death." Neither is there any mention of a danger to the Sages, as there is in the French *Sept Sages*.

each one concerning the dangers of young, ambitious heirs and their perfidious advisors. To counter her tales, each of the Sages relates either a misogynistic story featuring untrustworthy young wives or a tale which demonstrates the foolishness of rash decisions.[21] The Emperor is swayed by each in turn: following the Empress's tales he rushes to order his son's execution; following the Sages' tales, he reprieves the boy. On the eighth day, the Prince himself speaks, the Empress is shown to be lying and is put to death. This pattern of alternate tale telling is repeated in both Eastern and Western traditions. However, whereas in the Eastern tradition the Sages counter the woman's stories with two and sometimes more tales each, in the West each Sage tells just one tale. This results in a reduction by up to a third in the number of tales to be found in the Western tradition, where the usual number of internal tales is fifteen.

[21] The basic plot of the frame tale is similar to that of the Eastern tale of the *Arabian Nights*, or the *One Thousand and One Nights*, whose overall narrative also has a narrator telling a series of tales told in order to postpone, and ultimately prevent, the execution of an innocent person. It should however be noted that these tales were not familiar to Western audiences before the eighteenth-century French translation by Antoine Galland: *Les Mille et une Nuits,* translated from a Syriac manuscript, published in twelve volumes, between 1704 and 1717. www.britannica.co./biography/Antoine-Galland

In the mid-nineteenth century each of the internal tales was allocated a Latin title by the German scholar Karl Goedeke, a referencing system which is still in place today.[22] Ten years later, in 1876, the French scholar Gaston Paris placed all the Western versions of *The Seven Sages of Rome* into eight groups according to the order of their tales.[23] He designated by the letter '**A**', now usually identified as **A***,[24] to the versions similar to the Old French prose redaction found in the manuscripts which he considered to be representative of this textual tradition of the tale.[25] The characteristics of this textual family are that the Emperor is named Diocletian[26] whereas in the versions allocated the letters '**K**', '**D***' and '**H**' he is named Vespasian, Marcomeris or Pontianus respectively.[27] In '**A***' the Sages are Bancillas/Bantillas, Ancilles, Lentillus, Malcuidarz, Cato, Jesse and Martin/Meron/Maxencious,[28] or versions of these names. Though the Sages' names are

[22] Karl Friedrich Ludwig Goedeke, 'Historia de Septem Sapientibus' *Orient und Occident* 3: 2-3 (1864-1865), pp. 385-423.

[23] For an extensive explanation of the classification, see Campbell, (1907), pp. xxii-xxxvi.

[24] Campbell changed **'A'** to **A***, **C** to **C*** and group **'D'** to **D*** to avoid confusion with the Middle English versions found in the **A**uchinleck Manuscript (Edinburgh, NLS, Adv MS 19.2.1.), the oldest extant version of the English *Seven Sages of Rome*, '**C'**, London, British Library **C**otton Galba E.IX, and **'D'** the Cambridge, University Library, Ms **D**d. 1. 17. Killis Campbell, *A Study of the Romance of the Seven Sages with Special Reference to the Middle English Versions* (Baltimore, The Modern Language Association of America, 1898; reprint, London, Forgotten Books 2018), p. 14.

[25] According to Brunner, (1933), nineteen manuscripts constitute the pure version of **A*** where the tales correspond closely. These are: Paris, Bibl. Nat, fds. franç. 2137(C13th); 20,040 (C13th); 1,421 (end of C13th); 25,545 (end of C13th/ early C14th); 22,548 (C14th); 93 (mid C15th); Paris, Bib. Nat. Moreau 1671 (first part, C18th copy); Brussels, Bibl. Royale 9933/4 (C14th); 10,171 (end of C13th); London, British Library, Harley 3860 (early C14th); Oxford, St John's College 102 (end of 14th); Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ars. 3152 (C13th); Paris, Bibl. Nat. fds. franç. 5586 (end C15th); Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Gg. I. 1 (first half C14th); Brussels Bibl. royale 11,190 (mid C13th); Bern, Stadtbibliothek [now Burgerbibliothek] 388 (C13th/ C14th); Fribourg, Bibl. Cantonale [et universitaire] L 13 (mid C15th); Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. 1263 (C13th); Arras, Bibl. Municipale 657 (colophon on fol.212 v. states that a Jean d'Amiens wrote this in 1278). During the intervening years some references may have changed Karl Brunner, *The Seven Sages of Rome (Southern Version) Edited from the MSS,* Early English Text Society (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1933, reprint 1988 and 2002), p. xiv.
Campbell also includes: Paris, Bibl. Royale 9245 (end of C13th); Berne, Stadtbibliothek 345 (14th) and Paris, Bibl. de Arsenal 3345 [was B.L. fr 245] (C15th), and Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 3516, [was B.L. Fr.283] (13th) and Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 95, and Cambridge Gg.VI. 28, all of which Brunner describes as having some significant variations from the uncontaminated **A*** group texts. Campbell, p. xxxii, note 1. A more up to date record of the Bibliography to *Les Sept Sages de Rome,* which also lists the manuscripts which are witness to the many versions of the tale can be accessed at:
https://www.arlima.net/qt/sept_sages_de_rome_en_français.html

[26] In the Midland version of the English version of tales he is 'Deocclicius'. Jill Whitelock, ed., *The Seven Sages of Rome (Midland Version) Edited from Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.1. 17*, Early English Text Society (Oxford, OUP, 2005), p. 3.

[27] Campbell, (1907), p. xxii and footnote 1.

[28] The English versions have 'Marcius' or 'Maxencius'. The Welsh redaction would be unlikely to use the name 'Maxencious' since it is too similar to the name of the Emperor Maxen of '*Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*', the Dream of the Emperor Maxen.

similar in **K** and **D***,[29] in the version designated as '**H**' (from the ***H****istoria Septem Sapientum Romae*), instead of Jesse, Ancilles and Martin, we find the Sages: Josephus, Cleophas and Joachim.[30] In the Old French redaction of '**A***', neither the son, the boy's mother nor his wicked stepmother are named. However, in the Middle English versions the Emperor's first wife is named as Milicent or Helie [31] and the young Prince named Florentine.[32] Despite these differences, the English verse redaction of the *Seven Sages* is placed in the '**A***' group because of its close relationship to the Old French text, both in the running order and argumentative thrust of the tales. [33] The table below lists the different groups to which each redaction belongs, as specified by Paris. The Welsh prose redaction, *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*, is considered to be derived from the Old French version '**A***', despite having a number of characteristics peculiar to itself, characteristics not found in any other version of the tales.[34]

[29] The Sages in **K** and **D*** are: Bancillas, Anxilles, Lentiloune, Malquidas, Caton, Jesse and Maxencious. Campbell, (1907), p. xxxiv).

[30]The Old French and the Italian versions, which date from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, have different names for some of the Sages, such as Eleuzies, Epsse and Charaus. One Italian version names the prince 'Stefano', whereas in another popular Italian version the eponymous prince is 'Erasto' and the wicked queen is 'Aphrodisia'. The Sages also have exotic names: Euprosigorus, Dimurgus, Thermus, Enoscopus, Philantropus, Agathus and Leucus. However, the Emperor is nameless. Campbell, (1907), pp. xxviii-xxix.

[31] She is Helie in the Midland version, (Whitelock, p.3, 6), Mylycent in the Southern, (Brunner, 1933), p. 1, 12, and Milisant in the Northern version of the tale. Campbell, (1907), p. 1, 12.

[32] Brunner, p. 1, 19.

[33] Campbell, (1907), p. xxv. The English redactions also belong to this category, **A***, but, unlike the Old French parent version and the Welsh, which are both in prose, the English text is in verse, as is the norm for this period of English literature.

[34] Campbell, (1907), p. xxxiii, note 4.

3. Online Images of the Manuscripts

Digital photographs scanned from the original manuscripts of both the Jesus College manuscripts are available online at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University: Digital Bodleian.* While the version of the *Chwedleu* in J 111 is well known, recognised and clearly indicated, such is not the case with J 20. Its online description of: 'Welsh poetry, genealogy etc. 14th century', with no mention of *SDR* even though the tale occupies a major section of the manuscript: folios 42r. to 70r. The quality of some of the images was not always good on the earlier website. For example, in the copy of the *Llyfr Coch*, J 111, the first ten lines of folio 133v, column 550 and folio 134v, column 554, which cover *Tentamina* and the final tale, *Vaticinium*, were blurred and difficult to read. The later edition has improved on this. A more serious problem occurred in the previous version of the online copy of J 20 on *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*. One whole folio, the un-numbered folio between 56v and 57r containing much of *Vidua*, had been omitted. This has now been rectified on the new *Digital Bodleian* website.

A transcription of both the Jesus College manuscripts has been made available online by Cardiff University in a project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.[35] The Editors here realised that the above-mentioned folio was missing from the online photographs of J 20 on the Oxford website and, even before Oxford website was upgraded, supplied the missing text.[36] Their transcription is a valuable online research tool in which the Editors aim to reproduce, as far as possible, a representation which replicates online the appearance of the manuscript, with red letters picked out as well as showing scribal editorial marks such as deletions. However, it can be confusing for the reader when the Middle Welsh form of <'w'>: <'*6*'>, is used.[37]

[35] http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk?en/ms-home.php?ms=jesus20
and:http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk?en/ms-home.php?ms=jesus111
[36] RHG, Jesus MS 20, TEI Header: 'Foliation'.
[37] The authors, Peter Wynn Thomas, D. Mark Smith and Diana Luft, give a full description of the manuscripts and the various hands which produced each part of the manuscripts, including any later notes in Gwenogvryn Evans's hand. However, they did not identify the unfinished section of the *Creed* which precedes *Owein,* or *Iarlles y Ffynnawn* in J 20 (fol.16r, 6).

There is no transcription of the Llst 2 version of the *Chwedleu* on the Cardiff University website since it lies outside the date-range remit of the project: 1300-1425. To date, a black and white microfilm copy of the manuscript is available to consult at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. However, this is of limited use since it does not help to identify rubrics within the text. To identify these, the student of the manuscript would have to consult the original, which is badly damaged and somewhat fragile.

4. Description of the manuscripts, with Special Reference to *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*

The Middle Welsh work, *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*, is extant in three medieval Welsh manuscripts, two of which date from the turn of the-fifteenth century and the third to the middle of that century. These are:

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College MS 20, (early C15).
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College MS 111, (early C15).
3. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS 2, (mid C15).[38]

The last two can be securely dated, not merely because of the style of the scribal hand itself but also since the identity of the scribe in each case has been established.[39] J 111's scribe is known to be Hywel Fychan, who was employed by Hopcyn ap Tomos at the end of the fourteenth century.[40] Llst 2's scribe has also been identified as Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd who was also based in Glamorgan a little later, during the mid-fifteenth century.[41] J 20 can only be dated approximately, by palaeography alone, to the mid or late fourteenth or even early fifteenth century.

[38] Two of these manuscripts, Jesus MS 20 and Jesus MS 111, can also be found in photographic digital format at: https://digital.bodleian.ac.uk/#
The two Jesus College manuscripts can also be found transcribed on the RHG website. Hereafter, the manuscript Jesus MS 20 will be referred to as 'J 20', and J MS 111 as 'J 111', or the '*Llyfr Coch',* 'the Red Book' (Ll C). NLW MS Llanstephan 2 will be referred to as 'Llst 2'.
[39] This is further discussed below when describing each of these two manuscripts.
[40] See: Gifford Charles-Edwards, 'The Scribes of the Red Book of Hergest', *NLWJ*. 21 (1979-80), pp. 246-256.
[41] See: Rebecca Try*, NLW 5267B, A Partial Transcription and Commentary.* Dissertation in fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of MPhil in Welsh and Celtic Studies, Cardiff University, (2015), p. 2.

i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College MS 20

Nothing appears to be known of this manuscript's early history, though the neatness of hand points towards its being the output of a monastic scriptorium. Neither do we have any information of how it came to be in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. [42] However, since Jesus College was primarily perceived as the Oxford college for the instruction of Welsh clergymen, the presence of early Welsh language manuscripts in its library is unsurprising.[43] Lewis (1967) identified J 20 as 'Jesus College MS 3' in his critical edition of the *Seith Doethon*: this was somewhat misleading. [44] The confusion probably arose from the fact that J. Gwenogvryn Evans in his *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, placed Jesus MS 20 third in his list of the Welsh manuscripts held by Jesus College, Oxford: "Ms.3= XX".[45] He himself was quite clear as to the meaning: the third manuscript to be described was Jesus College MS 20.[46] Later readers were not as careful in their interpretation of Evans's system, giving rise to the erroneous identification of the manuscript as 'Jesus MS.3'. Though J 111, *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, is the first manuscript described by Evans in his list, this manuscript never became popularly known as 'Jesus College MS 1'.[47] Campbell, in his Critical Edition of *The Seven Sages of Rome,* appears to

[42] Huws states that the cover of J 20 has a faint library mark which could identify its earlier home; unfortunately, it is indecipherable. Huws, Daniel, 'Llyfrau Cymraeg 1250-1400', *Journal of the National Library of Wales*, Vol. 28, part 1, Summer (1993), p. 12.

[43] A detailed history of Jesus College, Oxford and its Welsh connection can be found on the college's website: www.jesus.ox.uk/about/the-welsh-college.

[44] Lewis, (1967), p.21. In his *Catalogue*, Coxe lists this manuscript as 'MS 20'. 'Jesus MS 3' is in fact an eleventh century religious text written in Latin. (Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in Collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur,* vol. II, Jesus College Manuscripts, Oxford, 1852).

[45] J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts Vol. II, Part I* (London, HMSO, 1902), p. 31.

[46] The first Jesus College manuscript of his list was J MS 111, the Llyfr Coch: 'J CXI'; the second, 'MS 2', was *Llyfr yr Ancr*: the Book of the Anchorite: 'J MS CXIX'. In his introduction to Gwenogvryn Evans's critical edition of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MSS 4 and 6), R.M. Jones refers to J 20 as 'Jesus College 3 (=XX) and Llyfr Coch Hergest as: 'Jesus College 1 (=CXI)'; Gwenogvryn, J. Evans, ed., Introduction, by R.M. Jones, *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, Y Chwedlau a'r Rhamantau* (Cardiff, UWP, 1973), p. vi.

[47] Even as late as 2021, the National Library of Wales states on the webpage dealing with NLW Peniarth MS 120, that this eighteenth century manuscript is a copy of 'Jesus College MS 2, (Llyfr Ancr Llanddewibrefi), 3 and 7…' We have already seen that *Llyfr yr Ancr* is in fact 'J MS 119' not 'J 2', (see note above), and 'J MS 7' is reality J MS 22: a 'Kalendar' and a medical treatise. The notes to the electronic version by Cardiff University now identify J 20 as "Oxford Jesus Ms. 20 (formerly Jesus College 3), despite the fact that this was an erroneous nomenclature. The confusion obviously still persists.

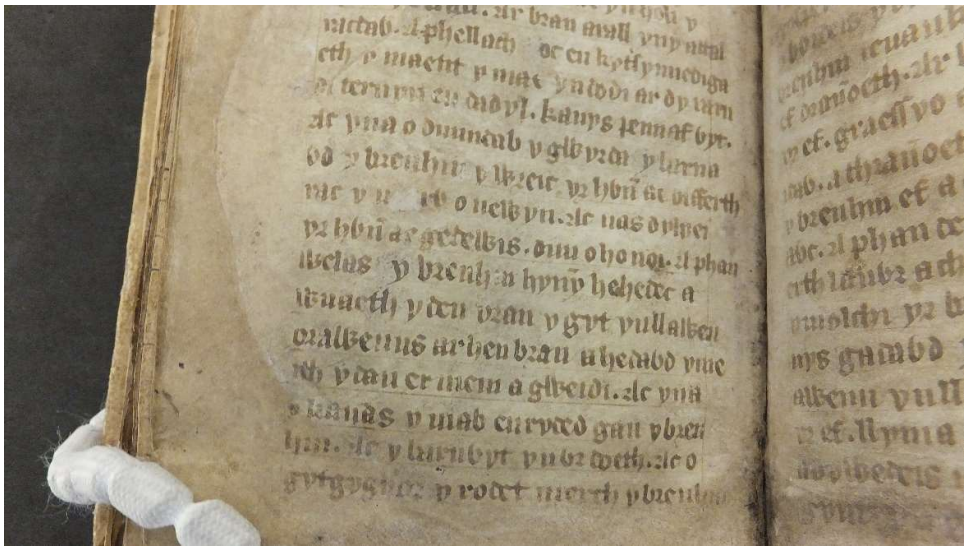
have been the first to describe J 20 thus in print.[48] This misinterpretation was perpetuated by Lewis, thereby confusing future researchers.[49]

In his table of medieval Welsh manuscripts, Huws places J 20 first in the list of late-fourteenth to early-fifteenth century manuscripts with J 111 appearing twelfth in the list.[50] The implication is that J 20 pre-dates J 111. Lewis certainly believed that J 20 was the oldest witness to the tale even though Campbell stated categorically that J 111was the earlier, with J 20 being "of later execution".[51] This is as opposed to R. M. Jones's opinion that Gwenogvryn Evans's dating of J 20 was incorrect, that his allocation of the manuscript to the early XVth century was a 'misprint' and should have read: 'XIV'.[52] However, a scribal error found in J 20 (folio 68 v, l.15) would support both Evans and Campbell. This error suggests that one particular folio at least, may have been copied from J 111.[53] It comes towards the climax of the final internal tale, *Vaticinium* when the king gives judgement in favour of the young crow who saved a female crow from starvation after her partner abandoned her during a famine. The word '*brein*', 'crows', which is copied as such in both J 111 and Llst 2, is written as '*brenhin*', 'king' in J 20, leading to a confusing reading.[54] In both J 111 and Llst 2 we have: '*A phan welas y* ***brein*** *hynny, hehedec a wnaeth y deu vran…*', 'and when the crows saw this, the two crows flew away…', which is the expected reading.[55] However, in J 20, we find:

'*A phan welas y* ***brenhin*** *hynny, hehedec a wnaeth y dwy vran'*,

[48] Campbell, (1907), p. xxxiii.
[49] Lewis, (1967), p. 21.
[50] Huws, MWM, p. 60.
[51] Lewis, (1967), p.21. Campbell, (1907), p. xxxiii.
[52] R. L. Thomson in *Owein,* points out that R.M. Jones (*Bulletin* 15, p.110, note 2) had previously demonstrated that, due to 'a printing error', Gwenogvryn Evans's work had wrongly ascribed J 20 to the early fifteenth century: 'XV', and that the dating should now read 'XIV'. R.L. Thomson, ed., *Owein or Iarlles y Ffynnawn*, Medieval and Modern Welsh Series, Vol. IV, The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, W & S Magowan Ltd, first published, 1968, reprinted 1975, 1986), p. ix. In fact, Evans was correct in assigning it to the early fifteenth century. Huws, MWM*,* p. 60.
[53] J 111, fol. 134r, col. 553, 43.
[54] J 20, fol. 68r, 15.
[55] J 111, fol. 134 r., col. 553, 43. Llst 2, un-numbered, cropped page between pages 317 and 318, 3.

'And when the **king** saw this, the two crows flew away.[56]



J 20, fol. 68, v., 14-16.

This is perplexing. The reading in J 111and Llst 2 is far more plausible: the two crows fly away once they have accepted the king's judgement, they do not fly when the king himself realises the impact of his decision. This reading is borne out when compared to the French:

Quant le viel corbel oï ce jugement, si jeta un si dolorous cri […] et si s'en ala. Et autre dui s'en alerent d'autre part grant joie fesant.[57]

When the old crow heard this judgement, he threw out such a doleful scream […] and left. And the other two left on their side making of great joy.[58]

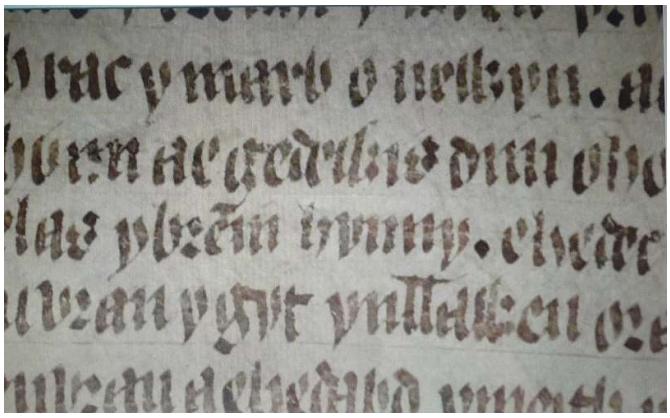
On examining the text of J 111, a unique juxtaposition of letters potentially deceives the reader into accepting a non-existent abbreviation, resulting in a completely anomalous reading of the text.[59]

[56] J 20, fol. 68v. (Carys Gadsden, 'A New Date for J MS 20?' *Reading Medieval Studies*, Vol. XXXIX, 2013), p. 75.

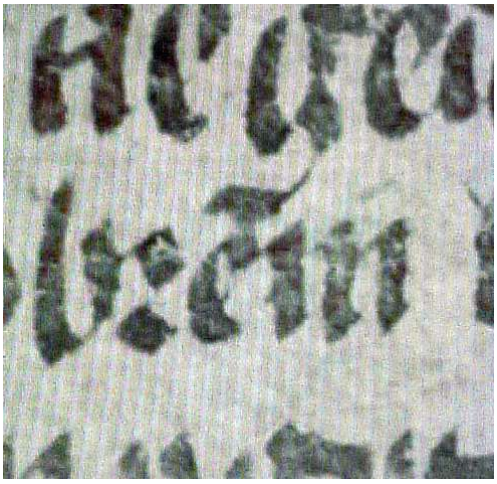
[57] Hans Runte, *FrenchA: Les Sept Sages de Rome*: *A Critical Edition of Version A* http://myweb.dal.ca/hrunte/FrenchA.html p. 9 of 20, 30-31.

[58] Translations of *Les Sept Sages de Rome* are my own, guided by Hans Runte's word-for-word rendering of the text, and checked for accuracy by Professor Françoise Le Saux.

[59] Another occasion where the scribe has been careless is J 20, fol. 66v., 1, where the obvious word '*mam*', 'mother', has been copied as '*mab*', 'son'. This error could point to the scribe's lack of proficiency in Welsh.



J 111, fol. 134r, col. 553,



J.111, fol. 134r, col. 553, 43.

The descender of the letter 'g' of the word '*gedewis*' on the previous line curls over the 'ei' of '*brein*' and is easily misconstrued as an abbreviation: a macron indicating missing letters, usually an 'n' or an 'm', but, in this case, the scribe has also added an 'h', giving us the word '*brenhin*', 'king'. This would explain the erroneous, and quite confusing, reading of J 20.[60] Indeed, the scribe of J 20 has previously abbreviated 'brenhin' in the internal tale '*Medicus*', though in this case, it is the 'n' which was omitted. [61] The very specific page layout which brings about this fortuitous misreading strongly suggests that J 20 could well have been copied directly from J 111, or alternatively, from a manuscript identical in script and page layout as J 111, an unlikely, though not entirely impossible, hypothesis. This

[60] Llst 2 follows J 111 in its reading here. (Llst 2, p.317bv, 3).
[61] J 20, fol. 47v, 6. '*Brenhin*', king', has been written in full two lines above: J 20, fol. 47v, 4.

suggests that J 111 is the precursor of J 20, as Campbell states, [62] and not vice-versa as Lewis and Huws believed. [63]

Although the hand of J 20 appears to be both methodical and precise, this scribe is prone to minor scribal errors such as writing '*Ffrenic*'. Instead of '*Ffreinc*'.[64] None, however, are as noteworthy as this, the strongest indication that J 111 could have been the exemplar for J 20.[65] If this is so, it would put the redaction found in J 20 into the later part of the fourteenth or early part of the fifteenth century rather than the mid-fourteenth. This would bear out Gwenogvryn Evans's dating. He assigned J 111 to the last quarter of the fourteenth century or the first quarter of the fifteenth,[66] a dating that is borne out by the identification of Hywel Fychan, the scribe of the *Chwedleu,* as the main scribe of J 111.[67] Evans considered that J 20 was of a slightly later date: the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[68] If such is the case, J 20 can no longer be considered as the earliest Middle Welsh witness to the tale as Lewis thought,[69] with J 111 replacing it as such. However, with only this one, albeit significant, pointer, without knowing either the identity of the scribe or the location of the scriptorium, the exact relationship between the two Jesus college manuscripts remains uncertain.

J 20's binding dates from the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century, indicating that the remaining contents are probably as intended for its original owner, with a part of *Owein*, *The Creed* and *Brut y Brenhinned* having been lost over the passage of time.[70] Later re-binding preserved the original boards, but added some blank paper leaves. Inside the

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[62] Campbell, (1907), mis-catalogues J 20 as 'J 3'. He states that J 111, '*Llyfr Coch o Hergist',* is a manuscript of the fourteenth century. Campbell was compiling his edition many years before the identity of J 111's scribe was known.

[63] Huws, MWM, p. 60.

[64] *Ffrenic*: J 20, fol.46v, 6. Another example can be seen on fol.4r, 1, where the word '*mynyd*', 'mountain', had to be corrected from '*myd*'.

[65] Another example of the scribe's carelessness can be found on J 20, fol. 51r, 18, where '*cheinc*', 'branch', has been written as '*chein*'.

[66] Gwenogvryn Evans, RMWL*,* (1902), p. 1.

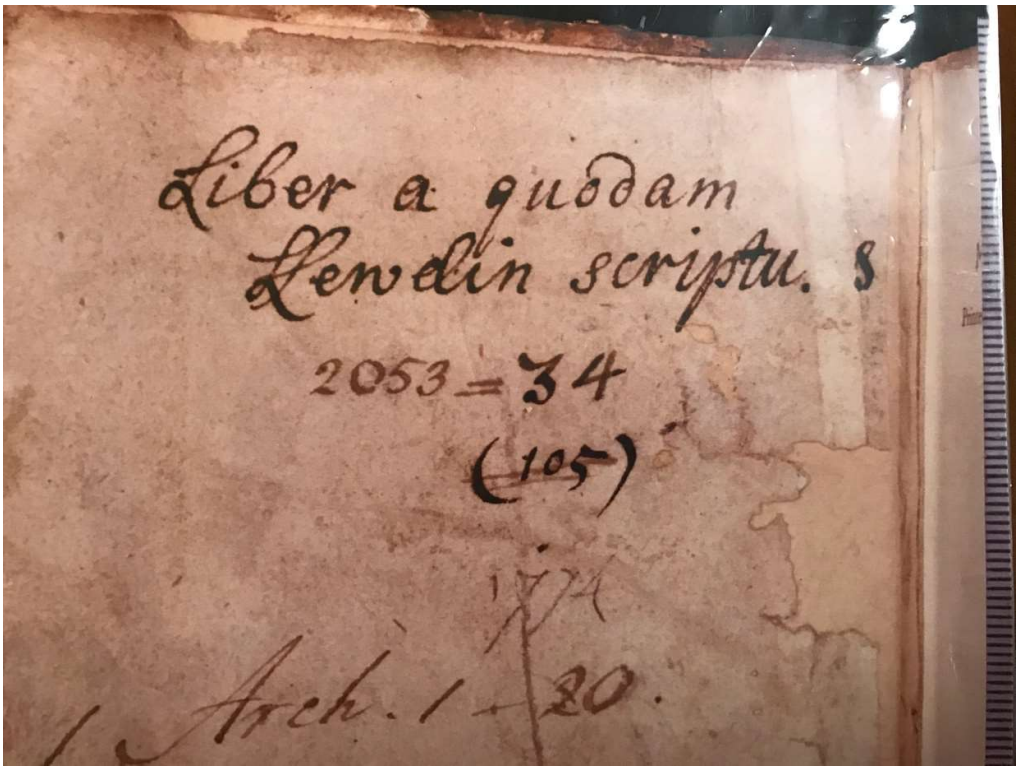
[67] Gifford Charles-Edwards, *Scribes*, (1979-1980), pp.246-256.

[68] Gwenogvryn Evans, RMWL*,* (1902), p. 34.

[69] Lewis, (1967), p. 21.

[70] Huws tells us that J 20 is one of only two of the eighty manuscripts from this period which retain their original binding, the other being Rawlinson MS B 467, Bodleian Library. Huws, MWM, p. 43.
As Gwenogvryn Evans points out, there are lacunae within the manuscript, RMWL, (1902), p. 34.
Owein ends abruptly on folio 21v, to be followed by *Pryd y Mab,* 'The Appearance of the Son', on fol. 22r, 1. Therefore, some folios must have been lost.

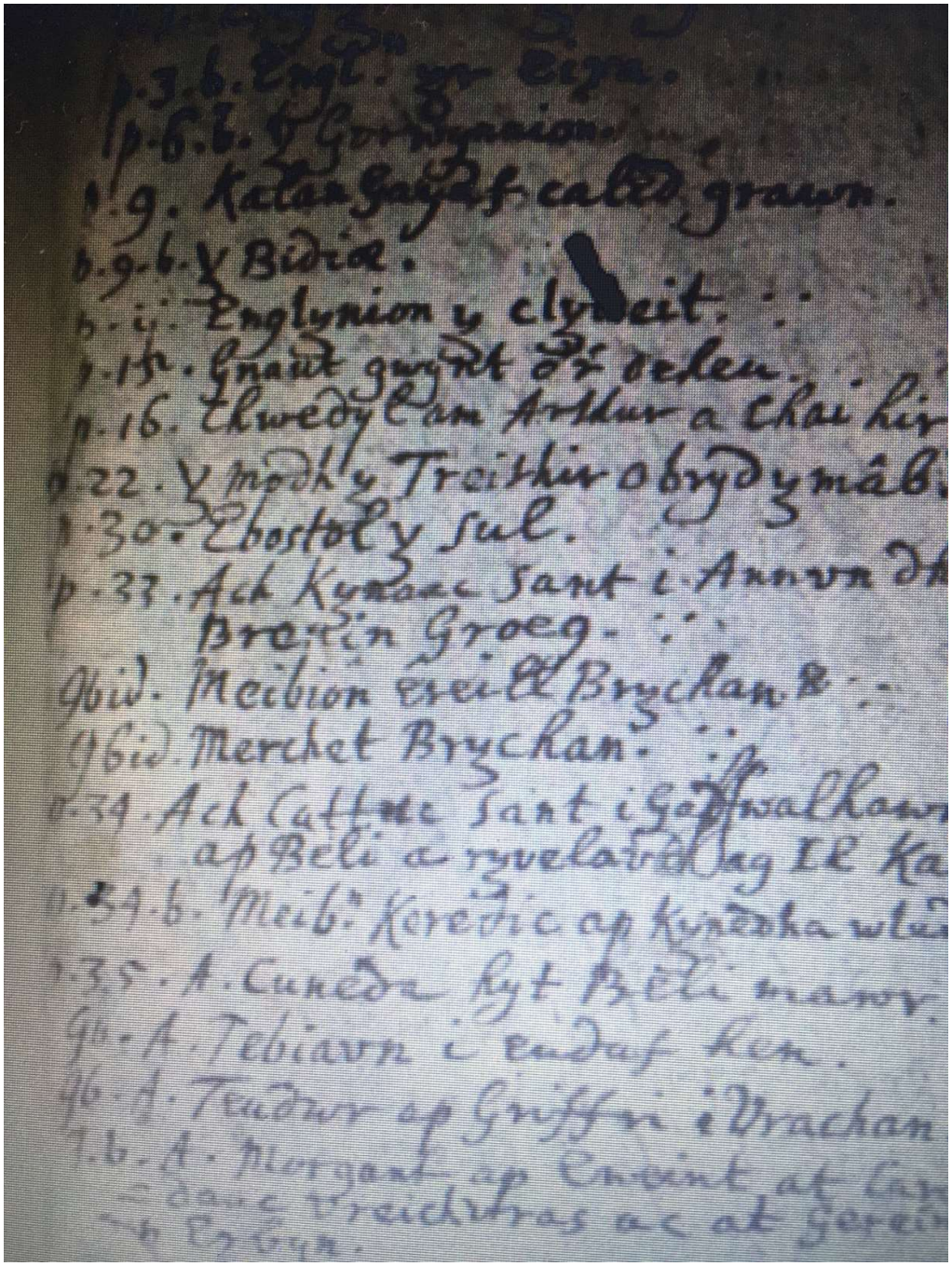
front board a later hand has written: '*Liber a quodam Llewelin scriptu [ ]s 2053=34 (~~105~~)*', 'The book written by a certain Llewelin'.



However, the scribe of J 20 signals that only *The Seven Sages of Rome* is the work of Llewelyn the Priest, and not the whole book, by stating: *'Yn y mod hun y treythir o Chwedleu Seith Doetheon Rufein, o weith Llewelyn Oferiad.'* [71] 'Here is the tale of the Seven Sages of Rome, the work of Llewelyn the Priest' both at the beginning and end of

[71] J 20, fol. 42r, 1-2.

the tale.[72] On closer inspection, this Latin tag written on the inside front board of J 20 appears to be in the same hand as the list of its contents: J 20, fol. [I]r). This hand has been identified as that of Edward Lhuyd.



Photographs kindly permitted by the Librarian of Jesus College Oxford.

[72] J 20, fol. 42r, 1-2 and J 20, fol. 70r, 14.

The manuscript itself is parchment, of 70 folios each measuring 132mm /100mm. Foliation, in dark ink, at the top right-hand corner of each recto is in a later hand, similar to that of the list of contents (fol. vi, recto to fol. vii (ult) verso.).[73] Due to the misplacement of a folio in an earlier re-binding, there are two systems of foliation from fol. 9 to fol. 16. Gwenogvryn Evans reinstated folio 15 to its rightful place when the manuscript was rebound in the early twentieth century and explains this on fol. i.r.[74] Each folio contains a single column of between 21 and 24 lines of text within a pre-marked grid. There are no integral illustrations; however, a sketch of a male head, in profile, wearing a cap, is drawn on fol. 12r. The whole of one folio, (fol. 32v.), is entirely taken up by a *Mappa Mundi*.

The only punctuation is the punctus, used to signal direct speech, the conclusion of a sentence and the transition from one section to the next. Some large initial letters, sometimes occupying two or even three lines, are coloured red, with white space used as decoration; smaller capital letters are picked out in red. These signal major and minor changes such as the introduction of new tales or a new speaker in *SDR.* There are also red paraphs to indicate where the scribe has completed the previous sentence on the line below.[75] As is the norm, when a large capital letter is required, a space is left with a guide letter faintly visible for the scribe responsible for rubrication to complete the text.[76] This can be seen at the beginning of the *Gorwynnion*, where the rubricator has failed to fill in a 'G'. A similar omission can be seen at the beginning of '*Owein*' where the initial 'Y' has not been added; the guide letter is no longer visible.[77] The practice of having a different scribe to add the rubrics is generally interpreted as evidence that the manuscript is the work of a monastic scriptorium. This could well be the case for J 20 since the hands within the manuscript, though recognisably different, bear a remarkable similarity of duct and form, except for the final hand, Hand 'D', which produced the list of English kings up to 1472 at the end of the manuscript.[78]

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[73] above: 'List of Contents'.
[74] Gwenogvryn Evans's notes here are in pencil.
[75] For example, chwe[dyl. J 20, fol. 50r, 1-2.
[76] There is no rubrication in the '*Owein'* text. J 20, fol. 16v-fol. 21v.nor in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, fol. 41v.
[77] J 20, fol. 6v, 5-6. This has been added into the transcription in RHG.
[78] J 20, fol.70r, 15-22 to fol. 70v, 1-9, including the written date of '1472'.

Three main scribal hands can be seen in the manuscript.[79] All have a uniformity of style which indicates that, in all probability, they were trained in a monastic scriptorium such as the Cistercian Margam, Neath or Strata Florida. The main hand, 'A', which copied most of the text, including *CSDR*, has many similar letter forms to Hand 'B' who penned '*Owein'*, such as the lower case 'g', and 'y', though Hand 'B' often writes 'ẏ'.[80] In J 20, a 'll' is often, but not regularly, joined: ll. Abbreviations are few in hand 'A'; generally, only the macron is used to indicate the suspended nasal 'n', as seen irregularly in the word '*gorwyn̄*', 'bright',[81] and the symbol < ⁹ > to abbreviate <-er > or < wr > or < us >.[82] In the early section of the manuscript, the *englynion 'A glyweist a gant*…?', 'Did you hear it said by…?', each *englyn* except the first is abbreviated to: 'A g.a g', with the initial letter marked in red each time.[83] Though the *englynion* to '*Eiry Mynydd'*, 'Snow on the Mountain', the '*Gorwynnyon*', 'Brightness'and '*Kalangaeaf*', 'All Saints' Day' and the gnomic stanzas of '*Bitiau*' and '*Gnawt*' *englynion*, also repeat their initial words, these are not abbreviated.[84]

The main hand, Hand 'A', of the text is a gothic *textura*, with the Insular-influenced <'*6'*> representing <'w'> as well as the three-stroke <'113'> form .[85] There appears to be no set rule for the use of either form since both are used internally.[86] Both the long form of 'r' and the rounded form '*z*' are used, as in '*a dyzr bruant y baed*', 'and cut the boar's throat'.[87] Both forms appear internally and at the end of words: 'lla*6z*' (llawr), 'floor'; '*chwaer*', 'sister'.[88] This follows the book hand rule where the < z > form follows a bowed letter otherwise the scribe writes < r >.[89] We find both the long 's' ('ſ') and the short in the manuscript. The long version is more often used both initially and mid-word whereas the short 's' is used at the end of a word: '*ſeith*', 'seven', 'ſyr', 'stars', '*llyſuam*',

[79] The final Hand, 'C', only contributed the list of English kings on fol. 70r-fol. 70v, above.
[80] *Owein* and the fragment of the *Creed*. J 20, fol. 16r-fol. 21.
[81] J 20, fol. 6v-fol. 8v.
[82] This is in marked contrast to the practice of abbreviating '*amherawdyr*', 'emperor', at every available opportunity in the J 111 text.
[83] J 20, fol. 12r, 8-fol. 15v.
[84] J 20, fol. 4r, 1-fol. 12r, 6.
[85] For a full explanation of these letter forms and their use, see Huws, MWM, (2000), p.233.
[86] The two forms of 'w' can be seen on the first two lines of folio 11 v., in the *Bitiau*.
[87] J 20, fol. 47r, 3.
[88] J 20, fol. 47r, 3 and 18.
[89] N. Denholm-Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, UWP, 1954), p. 44.

'stepmother', '*yſtauell*', 'room', '*welas*', 'saw' and '*dangos*', 'show'.[90] Where a capital 'I' would be written today, we find 'J'., as in *'Je'*,= '*Ie*', 'Yes', (fol.57v. 14 and 20). The scribe writes the genealogical tables in an elaborate gothic *textura* hand (fol. 35r–fol. 40r), embellishing each section in a style which indicates the importance of the information imparted. Closer inspection determines that this same hand, Hand 'A', copied the *Chwedleu,* and the tables with the *Chwedleu,* in a neat but less elaborate or formal style.[91]

As J 20 is the work of more than one scribe, some sections could well pre-date the *Seith Doethon*. For example, the incomplete '*Owein*', or *Iarlles y Ffynnawn*,[92] is in a different hand, Hand 'B', the same one that penned the text of the *Creed*, the text which precedes *Owein.* We have but a small section of the *Creed* in J 20, the exact wording of which is also found in NLW Llanstephan 27 ('The Red Book of Talgarth'). This manuscript, (Llst 27), is, for the most part including the *Creed*, in the hand of Hywel Fychan, who copied much of J 111, including *CSDR*.[93] The fragment of *Brut y Brenhined* (fol. 41v.), appears to be of a later date than the *Chwedleu,* [94] with the scribe, Hand 'C', frequently writing a highly decorative 'ỿ' which harks back to the Insular letter form.[95] There appears to be no logical rationale for its use by Hand 'C'. For example, *'y morynnyon'*, 'the maidens', appears as '*ỿ morynnỿon'* and '*morynnyon*' on the same folio, followed by '*morỿnnỿon*' on the verse of the same folio.[96] Though the <ỿ> is found frequently in both '*Owein*' and *The Creed* as penned by Hand 'B', it is not in the stylised manner employed by Hand 'C'.

[90] All these are to be found on J 20, fol. 43v.

[91] This is an excellent example of Clanchy's statement that 'the competent scribe could write in a variety of styles, attributions of manuscripts to particular writers on stylistic grounds are peculiarly difficult.' M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307*. (UK, Edward Arnold, USA Harvard University Press, 1979; Second Edition, Blackwell Publishing, 1993, Reprint: 2003), p. 128.

[92] Though this tale is known today as '*Owein*', in J 111 it is called '*Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn',* 'The tale of the Lady of the Fountain': '*A'r chwedyl hwn / a elwir chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn'*. (J 111, fol. 161v., col. 655, 7-8). J 111 ends with this, but J 20 does not name the tale at its beginning and the tale ends mid-sentence: '*Ac yn ymyl y ffynnawn mae…*', 'and near the fountain is….'. (J 20, fol. 21v, 21). This would indicate that some folios are missing.

[93] RHG, TEI Header for NLW, MS Llanstephan 27.

[94] Examples of the <ỿ> can be seen on folio 41v: 'ỿng kỿmrỿ', 'in Wales', (2); 'ỿ llỿuỿr', 'the book', (8). There are 28 in all on this folio. The scribe does not always make use of <ỿ>. There are also 28 examples of <y>. This may mark a transition period, or an older scribe unwilling to adopt a new way of writing.

[95] Though the previous version of the TEI Header for this manuscript on the RHG website followed Gwenogvryn Evans's supposition that this part of *Brut y Brenhined* was written in 'a later hand': 'Hand B', it failed to notice that *Owein* (J 20, fol. 16r- fol. 22r) was in also another, completely different, hand. This has now been rectified in the latest version (RHG, 2020).

[96] J 20, fol. 19r, 10; J 20, fol. 19r, 17 and J 20, fol. 19v, 10.

The size of the manuscript suggests that it was designed to be portable, and the retention of the original binding indicates that its contents reflect the original owner's interests. The initial twelve folios contain proverbs, gnomic and nature poetry indicating that the patron who commissioned the manuscript had a high regard for the traditional culture and wisdom of Wales. One cannot speculate as to what personal significance the *Mappa Mundi* on fol. 32v held for the owner, but such an illustration is a rare occurrence in Welsh manuscripts. As one would expect, religious matters have an important place in the manuscript's contents (see list below). There is a fragment of the *Creed*, a tract on the visual appearance of Christ and the *Epistle of Sunday*. Even the genealogical table of fol. 34r emphasises the saintly connection between St Cattawc and the warrior Caswallon ap Beli who is marked as having fought against Julius Caesar.[97] From the extent of the genealogical lists which feature pre-eminently in the manuscript, the one who commissioned the manuscript must have had a keen interest in the lineage of the princely houses of Wales, especially those of South Wales, This is probably indicative of its origin.[98] If, indeed, J 20 is the product of a monastic scriptorium, it could have been produced at Margam Abbey, which, in its day, had an extensive library, now lost.[99]

[97] In its TEI Header for J 20, ('History') RHG cites P.C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, UWP, 1960), p. 41. For a detailed study of 'Beli' see: Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein, The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary,* University of Wales Board of Celtic Studies (Cardiff, *UWP*, 2006), p. 288.

[98] Bromwich states that the orthography of the genealogy in J 20 pre-dates 1200. l Bromwich, *Trioedd* (2006), p. 6.

[99] Though now lost, Margam Abbey's library had at least 242 works listed in an early fourteenth century catalogue. Huws, MWM, p. 11.

Contents:

The first seven folios [i-vii] are paper as is 15b, part of a rebinding which made use of the original binding boards.

fol. iii^{v} Written sideways, in ink: *"Last englyn but one on fo. 14a is / A g. a g. [yr] hen gyuruys / g~~wn~~ ^{cn} a dy atcas d....., trys / Gwell kar yn llys noc eur ar vys."* [100]

fol. vi^{r}- vii^{v} (ult.): [101] a list of the contents.

fol.1r: *Englynion yr Eryr:* *Englynion* of The Eagle.

fol. 3v: *Englynion yr Eira: Eiry Mynyd* *Englynion* of the Snow. [102]

fol. 6v: *Y Gorwynnyon:* *Englynion* of Brightness.

fol. 9r: *Y Gnawdeu: Gnawt gwynt o'r Deheu :* Usual is Wind from the South.[103]

fol. 10r: *Kalan Gaeaf:* All Saints' Day.

fol. 10v: *Bit goch crib Keilyawc:* The cock's comb is red.[104]

fol. 12r: *Englynion y Clyweit a'r Diherebyon:* *Englynion* of 'hearing' and proverbs.[105]

fol. 16 r: Fragment of the *Creed*, followed by *Chwedl am Arthur a Chai:* A Tale about Arthur and Cai.[106]

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[100] This folio and the following list of contents are in Gwenogvryn Evans's hand.

[101] Numbering as in *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University:* www.http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=jesus&manuscript=ms20 now replaced by: www.http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk and search 'Jesus College Manuscripts'.

[102] As Gwenogvryn Evans points out the scribe has written '*Eryr',* 'Eagle', rather than '*Eira'*, 'Snow'. Gwenogvryn Evans, RMWL, (1902), p. 32. This must be a scribal error since the title in red refers to the section to follow: '*Llyma y modd y treithir o englynion yr Eryr*', 'Here are the *englynion* of the Eagle', as the initial introduction for this section (fol.1r.).

[103] In the list written in dark ink in the later hand on fol. iii, this section appears on fol.15. But, a much later hand, possibly that of Gwenogvryn Evans, notes at the beginning of the manuscript, that this folio has been repositioned.

[104] Jackson defines these early sayings as: 'a sententious statement about universals whether about the affairs of men ("human gnome") or about external nature ("nature gnomes"); it need not be, and usually is not, a current popular saying with a moral, as a proverb is, and it need contain no advice or exhortation, like the precept'. Kenneth Jackson, ed., *Early Welsh Gnomic Poems* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press Board, 1935), p. 1.

[105] The manuscript has missing folios at this point where folio 15 was repositioned. The first six lines of fol.16r. are taken up by a section of *Deuddeg Pwnc y Credo,* The Twelve Subjects of the Creed. The identical lines of the text can be seen in NLW MS Llanstephan 27, fol. 51r, lines 7-9. This is also in the hand of the scribe Hywel Fychan, who copied large sections of J 111: *Llyfr Coch Hergest*.

[106] This is how the early cataloguer describes the tale of *Owein or Iarlles y Ffynnawn* or Owein and the Lady of the Fountain (J 20, fol. vi, r.). The only indication that a major Romance or early Arthurian tale begins at this point is an empty box indicating that a capital letter was required. The rubricator omitted to furnish this. For the critical edition of the text, see Thomson, *Owein* (1986).

fol. 22r: *Pryd y Mab:* The Appearance of the Son. (Religious text)

fol. 30r: *Llyma dechreu Ebostol y Sul yn y modd hwn.* The beginning of the Epistle of Sunday.

fol. 32v: Full page: *"Mappa Mundi.* A map of the world, from Egypt in the east to Ireland in the west.

fol. 33r: *Llyma y modd y treythir o ach Kynauc Sant i Annwn Dhu, Brenhin Groeg:* The Genealogy of St Kynawc to Annwn Dhu, King of Greece.

fol. 33r: *Meibion Brychan:* The Sons of Brychan. *Merched Brychan:* The Daughters of Brychan.[107]

fol. 34r: *Llyma weithon ach Cattawc Sant i Gaswallon ap Beli a ryfelawdd ag Iul Kaesar:* The Genealogy of St Cattawc, to Caswallon ap Beli who fought against Julius Caesar.

fol. 34v: *Meibion Keredic ap Kynedha Wledic:* The Sons of Keredic, son of Kynedha the Prince.

fol. 35r: *Ach Cuneda hyd Beli Fawr:* The Genealogy of Cunedda up to Beli the Great.[108]

fol. 35r: (from line 9) *Ach Teibiawn i Endaf Hen:* The Genealogy of Teibiawn to Endaf the Old.

fol. 35r: *Ach Teudwr ap Griffin i Vrachan:* The Genealogy of Teudwr ap Griffin to Brachan.

fol. 35v: *Ach Morgant ap Oweint at Caradawc Vreichvras ac at Gereint ap Erbin:* The Genealogy of Morgan ap Owein to Caradawg Strong-arm and to Geraint ap Erbin.[109]

fol. 36r: *Gereint fab Erbin at Ayrcol Lawhir*: Geraint son of Erbin to Ayrcol Longhand.

fol. 36r: l.17 *Ayrcol Lawhir to Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu:* Ayrcol Longhand to Gwrtheyrn Gwrthneu.[110]

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[107] These genealogies can be found in P.C. Bartram, ed., *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (1966), pp. 41-50. Brychan was the eponymous founder of the kingdom of Brycheiniog. He had ten sons and twenty-four daughters. See: pp. 294-295.

[108] There is an empty, unwritten line between the genealogies as shown here (J 20, fol. 35r, 8/19). For information on Cunedda see: Bromwich, (2006), pp. 316-317.

[109] Marginalia, in a different hand, from line 15, alongside this genealogy of Morgant mab Eweint.

[110] There is no empty line between these lists, despite the red "G" being exceptionally large.

fol. 37v: *Llyma enweu meib[i]on Rodri Mawr:* The names of Rhodri the Great's sons.[111]

fol. 38r: Rhys Gruc.[112]

fol. 38v: Llywelyn m[ab] Iorwerth m[ab] Ewein Gwynedd.[113]

fol. 38v: Howel m[ab] Gronwy.[114]

fol. 39r: Ellelw mam Seissyll.[115]

fol. 40v: *Llyma enweu b[re]nhined y b[ri]tanyeit:* The names of the kings of the Britons.

fol. 41v: The beginning of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Welsh redaction of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Brittaniae*.[116]

fol. 42r: *Yn y mod hun y treythir o chwedleu seith doetheon rufein, o weith llewelyn ofeir[iad]: The Seven Sages of Rome*, by Llewelyn the Priest.[117]

fol. 70r: A*c velly y teruyna chwedyl seith doethyon rufein o weith llewelyn.* The end of the *Seven Sages of Rome*.

The final folio, (fol. 70, l. 15-21), continued on fol. 70v, is a list of English kings from William 1 (William the Conqueror) to Henry VI, with a date of 1461, which is also the final year chronicled in *Brenhinedd y Saesson* in the Black Book of Basingwerk: Aberystwyth, NLW MS 7006.

[111] Space seems limited at this point. '*Mawr',* 'the Great', has been inserted on the right hand of the line beneath 'Rodri'. Though Hywel Dda has a whole line to himself (J 20, fol. 40r, 3).
[112] The scribe leaves one blank line again, marking the difference between the two dynasties.
[113] No empty line marker at this point.
[114] An empty marker line here again.
[115] Ellelw was obviously an important woman since she is given her own section marked out by a preceding empty line. The initial <"E"> is a large red letter occupying two lines. Though other women are mentioned, none merits such attention, except the daughters of Brychan, (J 20, fol. 33r), and Angharad, sister and heiress of Gwgon of Seissyllwg in South Wales (J 20, fol. 37v). Angharad married Rhodri Mawr, but she only merits one line for her red capital letter. According to the genealogy, Ellelw was the mother of Seisyllt, the father of Llywelyn, father of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn who ruled most of Wales in the 11th century.
[116] This is in an entirely different hand which Gwenogvryn Evans describes, without elaboration, as 'a later hand'. Gwenogvryn Evans, (1902), p. 33.
[117] Gwenogvryn Evans (1902), pp. 31-33.

ii. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College MS 111

Jesus College Oxford MS 111 was originally presented to the college, by Rev. Thomas Wilkins of Llanblethian in 1701.[118] It was re-bound at that time and again later, in 1851, in red morocco leather.[119] The manuscript itself dates from the late C14 or early C15 and is popularly known as *Llyfr Coch Hergest,* The Red Book of Hergest, from its home at Hergest Court, Herefordshire. The manuscript can safely be dated to this period, not only because of its script but also since its main scribe, who penned the text of *SDR*, is now known to be Hywel Fychan, who identifies himself in another manuscript: Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, 8680.O.[120] In a colophon to this Philadelphia manuscript Hywel also identifies Hopcyn ap Tomas of Ynysforgan near Swansea as his employer and therefore most probably J 111's commissioner and original owner.[121] Another pointer to Hopcyn's involvement with the manuscript is that there are five poems, or *awdlau*, addressed to him in J 111 and one to his son, Tomas ap Hopcyn.[122] The dating of the manuscript can be fixed to the turn of the century since Hopcyn himself is known to have met Owain Glyndŵr in 1403 and to have died in 1405. In the section dealing with '*Brut y Saesson',* the 'Chronicle of the Saxon Kings', or, as the heading in a later hand states: '*Brut y Normañieid*', 'Chronicle of the Normans', the last entry relates to the autumn of 1382, the sixth year of Richard II's reign.[123] The Chronicle ends at this point, at line 32, with the final nine lines of the folio remaining blank, thus

[118] A note on folio 344r, columns 1371-1372 confirms the exact date as February 17th, 1701. See: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.cardiff.ac.uk/cy/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111

[119] The contents can be found in Gwenogvryn Evans, (1902) and can also be consulted online at: http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk and search 'Jesus College Manuscripts'. Though presented to Jesus College library in 1701, J 111 remained in Edward Lluyd's own library for fourteen years, having been sent to be re-bound. The Reverend Wilkins had to resort to law to have the manuscript returned to Jesus College. Gwenogvryn Evans, (1902), p. 1.

[120] See: Gifford-Edwards, *Scribes*, (1979-80), pp.246-256. Also: Ben Guy, 'A Welsh Manuscript in America: Library Company of Philadelphia, 8680.O', *NLWJ.* XXXVI.1 (2014). Online journal: https://www.llgc.org.uk/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/cylchgrawnllgc/cgr_erth_XXXVIrhif1_2014_5.pdf

[121] Huws, MWM, note 22, p.80 citing: B.F. Roberts, 'Un o Lawysgrifau Hopcyn ap Tomas o Ynys Dawy' 9 BBCS, 22 (1966-8), p. 23.

[122] http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.cardiff.ac.uk/cy/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111

[123] J 111, fol. 253v, col. 1019, 29-32. The writer of the *Chronicle* was familiar with current happenings in England. *'Y bedwared vlwydyn o'e deyrnas ef* [Richard II] *y kyfodassant kyffredin Lloegr…*', '(In) the fourth year of his [Richard II] reign the common people of England rose up…'. (J 111, fol. 253v. col. 1019, 20-22). This was the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

indicating a *terminus ante quem* of for the writing J 111. Thus, we are given a frame of reference for both provenance and date for Jesus 111.[124] It is rare to have such information for a Middle Welsh manuscript.[125]

J 111, is considered to be one of the greatest medieval literary treasures of Wales, containing as it does early Welsh vernacular poetry, historical texts, the *Mabinogi,* the Charlemagne cycle, medical instructions, agricultural advice, prophecies, proverbs, a substantial amount of '*hengerdd*', the earliest Welsh poetry and a text on grammar. However, neither the Welsh law texts, religious material, the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym nor any *cywyddau* are included in J 111. Despite this, in his description of the manuscript Gwenogvryn Evans agrees with Huws's later description of it as 'a one volume library' [126], stating that it is 'representative of the best literature current in Wales at the close of the fourteenth, and the opening of the fifteenth centuries'. [127] Hopcyn's interest in traditional Welsh culture is evidenced by Glyndŵr's consultation with him as an expert on 'Brut', understood by this period not only to be the thorough knowledge of history and lineage of the kings of Britain but also the understanding of prophecy. Huws suggests that the owner, Hopcyn ap Tomas, may have possessed separate copies, now lost, of both the Laws of Hywel Dda and of a book containing more religious matters.[128] It has been mooted[129] that NLW MS Llanstephan 27, which contains religious material missing from J 111, may be well such a missing manuscript since much of it too is in Hywel Fychan's hand.[130] Llanstephan 27 does contain three *cywyddau* by Dafydd ap Gwilym, however, these are

[124] In 1403, at the height of his rebellion, Glyndŵr had taken the English town and castle of Carmarthen. He summoned Hopcyn ap Tomas, to prophesy his future fate. Hopcyn, whose home was on the Gower peninsula near Swansea, indicated that Glyndŵr would be captured by the English forces on his way to the Gower. Needless to say, Glyndŵr went in the opposite direction, safely away from Hopcyn's home. Huws (2000), p.80.

[125] The colophon reads: *'Y llyuyr hwnn a yscriuennws Howel Vychan uab Howel Goch o Uuellt yn llwyr onys gwnaeth agkof adaw geir neu lythyreu, o arch a gorchymun y vaster, nyt amgen Hopkyn uab Thomas uab Einawn…*'. This book was written by Howel Vychan ap Howel Goch of Builth… at the behest and on the order of his master, namely Hopkyn ap Thomas ab Einawn.' (Philadelphia MS 8680.O, fol.68).

[126] Huws, (2000) p. 16 and p. 82.

[127] Gwenogvryn Evans, (1902), p. iii.

[128] Huws, (2000), p. 16.

[129] D. Simon Evans, *Buchedd Dewi* (Cardiff, UWP, 1959), p. xxxvii.

[130] Some folios of the Red Book of Talgarth, (NLW MS Llanstephan 27), were separated from the main manuscript at some point. Two quires which form *Ystoria Luicidar* are now found in NLW MS Peniarth part ii and the end of *Gwyrthiau Mair* and *Bonedd y Saint* are to be found in Cardiff MS 3.242, fol. 101-fol. 112. RHG, TEI Header for NLW MS Llanstephan 27 at http://rhyddiaithganloesol.cardiff.ac.uk

on supplementary pages and would not appear to have formed part of the original manuscript as commissioned by Hopcyn.[131] Huws conjectures that Hopcyn may not have commissioned these *cywyddau* himself, considering this form of poetry to be too modern and Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry too racy for his conservative taste.[132]

The manuscript is vellum and measures 350mm x 210mm.[133] It contains 362 folios, possibly 382 originally.[134] Its size suggests that, unlike J 20 and Llst 2, it was not intended to be a portable pocketbook but as a conspicuous display of the commissioning patron's literary interests. The text is copied in two columns, numbered 1-1442, each of between 36 and 52 lines on a previously marked grid.[135] There are two systems of foliation. One, in dark black ink, numbers the folios consecutively: ie. fol.1r = 1, fol.1v. = 2. In addition, each column is also numbered from 1 to 1442. The other, more modern, hand is in pencil and numbers each folio at the top right-hand corner of each recto. Catchwords can be seen on some folios such as on fol. 10v, fol.22v and fol.78v. [136]

The script is late-fourteenth to early-fifteenth century gothic textura and makes use of the insular <'*6*'> shaped letter for <'w'> as well as the <'II3'> form, as is usual in Welsh texts of the period. Three hands have been identified within the manuscript: 'Hand 1', and the hand identified as that of the '*Llyfr Teg'* scribe, designated scribe 'X91' by Huws. However, the main scribe is Hywel Fychan ap Hywel Goch of Builth who penned *CSDR* in the manuscript. There are few abbreviations other than for names. In *The Seven Sages of Rome* section of the manuscript; the word '*amherawdyr',* 'emperor', is abbreviated to *amh'awd'*, especially where space is limited. The most commonly used abbreviation mark is the macron to indicate the suspended nasal <'m'> or <'n'> following a vowel.[137] The only

[131] Huws, (2000), p. 97.
[132] As Huws points out, Hopcyn was an old man at this point and was an authority on traditional Welsh poetry, not the more modern style. Huws, (2000) pp. 80-82.
[133] The quiring of this manuscript is explained fully in Welsh in Huws, Daniel, 'Llyfr Coch Hergest' in *Cyfoeth y Testun, Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol,* Iestyn Daniel, Margaret Haycock, Dafydd Johnston and Jenny Rowland, eds., (Cardiff, UWP, 2003.), pp. 1-30.
[134] Huws, (2000), p. 82.
[135] A full description of the hands found in this manuscript can be found in Charles-Edwards, *Scribes,* (1979/80), pp. 246-256.
[136] For a more detailed description of the numbering and catchwords, (pp. 8/15 and 9/15) see: http://rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111
[137] A full analysis of the system and method of abbreviation employed by the scribes of J 111 can be found in RHG, as in the previous note above.

punctuation is the punctus, which not only marks the transition from one section to another but also signals direct speech within the text. Large red capital letters, sometimes covering two or more ruled lines, mark the beginning of a major new section such as a new tale in the *Seith Doethon*.[138] These letters sometimes have white space decoration or curlicues. Often a small guide letter can still be seen within the capital. Generally, the rubricator gives red-ink highlights to letters within the text to mark light punctuation or direct speech. Ascenders on the top line often contain coloured line drawings of "grotesques" or fish. At the bottom of folio 130r / col. 537, is a fine, well-drawn red dragon.

[138] New tales often begin thus: '*Llyma y chwedyl*…', 'Here is the tale…' The large red 'L' usually occupies two of the pre-marked line (eg. fol. 130r). The tale of *Owein* begins with an elongated red 'Y' which has inner white space decoration and a tail which extends for thirteen lines (fol. 111, col. 627, 1-13). The same folio has many letters picked out in red when they follow a punctus, signifying a capital letter. The scribe's use of both the medial and upper case 'a' to mark the beginning of a sentence can be seen on fol. 111, col. 628, 9.

Contents:

fol. 1r (col.1) – fol. 8r (col. 30, 12): *Ystorya Dared: Dares Phrygius*: The Fall of Troy.

fol. 8v (col.31) - fol.58r (col.230, 11): *Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit*: The History of the Kings of Britain (Geoffrey of Monmouth).

fol. 58r (col. 230, l20) – fol. 89v (col.376,.8): *Brut y Tywysogyon:* The Chronicle of the Princes.[139]

fol. 89v (col. 376 10) – fol. 90r (col. 377, 18): *Gyldas hen broffwyt y Brytanyeit:* Part of Gildas's *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*: On the Ruin and Conquest of Britain.[140]

fol. 90r (col. 377, 19) – fol. 90v (col. 380 –to end): *Dechreu Cantreuoed Gwyned ae Chymydeu:* The Cantrefi (Hundreds) and Commotes of Gwynedd (the Kingdom of North Wales). [141]

fol. 91r (col.381, 1) – fol. 120r (col. 497 – to the bottom of the folio):

De Carlo Magno: Tales of Charlemagne: The Pseudo-Turpin (fol. 91r- 98r), *Otuel* (fol. 98r- 111r), *The Song of Roland* (fol. 111r- 117r) The Pseudo- Turpin resumes (fol. 117r- 121v).

fol. 121v (col. 498, 1) – fol. 125r (col. 516, 26): *Ymago Mundi/ Delw'r Byd:* Description of the World.

fol. 125r (col. 516, 28) – fol. 125v (col. 518, 14 Missing text?): A brief *Chronicle* (from Adam, Christ, Brutus, more detail of the end of Edward I's reign, into Edward II's and the period of the Despencers).[142]

fol. 126r (col. 520, 1) fol. 127v (col. 527, 39): *Cynghor y doeth...y vab:* A Wise Man's Advice on Husbandry to his Son. The text of Walter de Henley.

fol. 127v (527, 40) - fol. 134v. (col. 555, 9): *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein:* The Seven Sages of Rome.

[139]The title is written in a later hand, dated "1788" and over-writing a previous later addition.
[140] The upper-case "G" of "Gildas", most probably intended to be in red and which should have been added later, has been omitted. In contrast, the end of the previous section is decorated. There appears to be a change of hand.
[141] This title is written in red above the main body of the work.
[142] Several lines have been lost to damage at the bottom of col. 517. The next section, fourteen lines of col. 518, looks to have been cut short. Evidence of a line to follow can be seen from the dot beneath the word "spynsaer" where part of a letter remains beneath the "a".

fol. 134v (col. 555, 10) – fol. 138v (col. 571, 23): *Breudwyt Ronabwy:* The Dream of Rhonabwy.[143]

fol. 139r (col. 571a, 1) - fol. 141r (col. 577, 6): *Proffwydolyaeth Sibli doeth:* Prophecies of the Wise Sibyl.

fol. 141r (col. 577, 7) – fol. 142v. (col. 583, 38): *Kyvoessi Myrdin a Gwendyd y chwaer:* The Conversation of Myrddin and Gwenddydd his sister. (Poetry).

fol. 143r (col. 584): *Gwasgargerd Vyrdin yn y bed:* The Diffused Song of Myrddin in the grave. (Poetry).

fol. 143r (col. 585, 24): *Hynn a dywawt seint Awstin am dewder y dayar:* St Awstin (St Augustine), concerning the width of the world.

fol. 143r (col. 585, 32): *Hynn a dywawt yr eneit:* The Soul says this.

fol. 143r (col. 585, 39): *Llyma broffwydolyaeth yr eryr ygkaer septon*:

The prophecy of the Eagle at Caer Septon.

fol. 144r (col. 588, 27): *Trioedd Ynys Prydain:* Triads of the Island of Britain:[144]

Tri dynyon a gawssant gampeu: Three heroes: Hercules, Hector and Samson.

fol. 144r (col. 588, 41): *Pann aeth Llu y Lychlyn:* The Host went to Scandinavia.

fol. 144v (col. 590, 34): *Dechreu y Trioed:* The Beginning of the Triads.

fol. 146r (col. 596,): *Trioed:* Triads.

fol. 146r (col. 596, 31): *Trioed y meirch:* The Triads of the Horses.

fol. 146v (col. 598, 30): *Trioed heuyt yw hynn:* These too are Triads.

fol. 147r (col. 600, 16): *Enweu ynys Prydein:* The names of Britain's islands

fol. 148: blank.

fol. 149r (col. 605, 1)): *Pererindod Chyarlys:* The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne.

fol. 154v (col. 627): *Owein neu Iarlles y Ffynnon:* Owein or the Lady of the Fountain.

fol. 161v (col. 655): *Peredur.*

fol. 172r (col. 697): *Llyma Vreidwyt Maxen Wledic:* The Dream of Emperor Maxen.

[143] The title is written in red in the manuscript. The next columns are numbered: 571/ 571a/ 571b/ 571c/ 571d.

[144] For the classic, authoritative study of the Welsh Triads see Bromwich, (2006).

fol. 174r (col. 705*): Llyma Gyfranc Llud a Llevelis:* The Tale of Lludd and Llefelys.

fol. 175r (col. 710): *Llyma dechreu mabinogi: Pwyll penndeuic Dyuet.* The Beginning of the Mabinogi: Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed.

fol. 179v (col. 726): *Llyma eil geinc or mabinogi, Bendigeitvran vab Llyr:* The second branch of the Mabinogi, the story of Bendigeitvran, Son of Llyr.[145]

fol. 182v (col. 739): *Llyma y dryded geinc or mabinogi, Manawydan vab Llyr.* The third branch of the Mabinogi: Manawydan, son of Llyr.

fol. 185v (col. 751): *Honn yw y bedwared geinc or mabinogi: Math fab Mathonwy.* The fourth branch of the Mabinogi: Math, son of Mathonwy.

fol. 190r (col. 769): *Gereint vab Erbin:* Geraint, son of Erbin.

fol. 200v (col. 810): *Culhwch ac Olwen:* Culhwch and Olwen.

fol. 210 (col. 845): *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn:* Bevis of Hampton.

fol. 231r (col 928): *Meddygon Myddfei:* The Physicians of Myddfai.

fol. 239r (col. 964): *Diarhebion:* Proverbs.

fol. 242v (col. 975): *Imago Mundi: Delw y Byd*: The Image of the World.

fol. 248v (col. 998): *Zodiacus.*

fol. 248v (col. 999): *Brut y Saesson:* The Chronicle of the Saxons.

fol.254r (col. 1020): *Achau:* Genealogy. From Arthur and the battle of Badon, ending with King John / Earl of Chester, when active in Ireland.[146]

fol. 254v/ 255r (col. 1022- 1025?): blank.

fol. 255v -263v (col. 1026*): Eiry mynyd*: 'Mountain Snow' and other *englynion.*

fol. 264r (col. 1057- 1083): 557 proverbs arranged alphabetically.

fol. 271r /278v (col. 1085 /1115): *Kymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic:* The tale of Amlyn and Amic.

fol. 278v (col. 1116): blank, with an *englyn* in a later hand.

fol. 279r (col. 1117/ 1142): *Gramadegau'r Penceirdd* The Bards' Grammar.

[145] From the time of Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the *Second Branch of the Mabinogion,* (London,1877) this tale has been more commonly known as: *The story of Branwen, verch Llyr', '*Branwen, daughter of Llyr'.

[146] Henry II's son John, later to be king of England, led a disastrous expedition into Ireland 1185. Though his father had hoped that John would be king of Ireland he was only ever 'Lord' of Ireland.

fol. 285v/ 302v (col. 1142-1212): *Barddoniaeth y Gogynfeirdd* Works of the Poets of the Princes.

iii. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS 2

This manuscript was previously in the library of the Earls of Macclesfield at Shirburn Castle and identified there as 'Shirburn 113 C.19'.[147] This library contained the Welsh manuscripts which had been bequeathed to George Parker, second Earl of Macclesfield, by his tutor, William Jones, FRS., in 1749. Along with the many other Welsh language manuscripts at Shirburn, it was purchased by Sir John Williams of Plas Llanstephan, Carmarthenshire, in 1899 and later presented to the fledgling National Library of Wales in 1909. Shirburn MS C.19 is now catalogued as 'NLW MS Llanstephan 2'. Llst 2 once formed the second section of the collection of four manuscripts of various dates, known as the *Didrefn Gasgliad*, 'A Miscellany'.[148] This compilation was arranged and named by Edward Lluyd, keeper of the Ashmolean museum, Oxford,[149] in the late seventeenth century with little regard of chronology, as NLW MS Llanstephan 3 pre-dates Llst 2. [150] NLW MS Llanstephan 1 which contains *Brut y Brenhined,* a very close Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*,[151] is by far the earliest manuscript in the collection, belonging as it does to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[152] This is quite a time lapse between its completion and the date of the other three manuscripts which were copied at differing times during the late-fourteenth into the fifteenth century, with Llst 2 belonging to the second half of the fifteenth century.[153] This indicates that the *DG* was not originally visualised as a unified compilation since the dates of composition vary widely.

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[147] A bookplate on the frontispiece of the manuscript shows the coat of arms of the Earls of Macclesfield. It is dated 1860 and places the manuscript in the North Library of Shirburn castle.

[148]A full account of the history of the Llanstephan manuscripts can be found in Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report on the Manuscripts*, Vol. II, Part II, Plas Llan Stephan; Cardiff, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, HMSO, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1903), pp. v-vi.

[149] This is the same Edward Lluyd who 'borrowed' J 111 for some considerable length of time.

[150] The Llanstephan manuscripts which comprised the *DG* are: NLW MS Llanstephan 1, formerly Shirburn C.18, [DG, Vol.1], (mid thirteenth century); NLW MS Llanstephan 2, formerly Shirburn C.19, [DG Vol.2], (mid fifteenth century); NLW.MS Llanstephan 3, formerly Shirburn C. 20 [DG Vol.3], (early fifteenth century) and NLW. MS Llanstephan 4, formerly Shirburn C 21 [DG Vol.4], (late fourteenth/early fifteenth century). Dates of the manuscripts: Huws, MWM, pp.58- 61. Also: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Llst4

[151] c.1136.

[152] Gwenogvryn Evans, (1903), p. 419.

[153] It has been dated by Gwenogvryn Evans to the second half of the fifteenth century and by Huws to the mid- fifteenth century. Gwenogvryn Evans, (1903), p. 420; Huws (2000), p. 61.

Llanstephan 2, the second book of the *DG*, highlights the religious and advisory. *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* is preceded by a section on proverbs and is followed by the Gospel of Nicodemus. The final section is an incomplete text of the Creed, the text which is interrupted by the tale of *Owein* in J 20.[154] An overview of this section of the *DG* demonstrates a sober and serious character, with the *Seith Doethon* providing a lighter example of a pedagogical and moral intent: an example of the '*Specula Principum'*, or 'Mirror for Princes', illustrating appropriate behaviour for those in authority.

The manuscript is vellum, 165mm/120mm and composed of 144 pages. Unlike J 111, Llst 2 is of a size that would be easily portable, as is J 20. Two systems of pagination are present; one, in a late nineteenth or early twentieth-century hand, numbers the folios in pencil following the normal practice of numbering each at the top right-hand corner of the face of each folio.[155] The more obvious, earlier pagination in black ink, with each number contained within parentheses. It is a much later hand than that of the main manuscript itself. It appears to be the same hand which added *'Brycheiniauc'*at the top of page 206, where the text of Llst 2 begins.[156] Another hand has added '*See another copy at p.506'* beneath that. [157] Pagination, here numbered 206-407, is continuous, with the exception of an un-numbered page between p.317 and p.318 which has '58' written in pencil in the top right-hand corner. The inked numbers are in same hand throughout all four volumes of the *DG*. It has been suggested that this is the hand of Edward Lluyd himself or of one of his colleagues.[158] This same later hand also compiled a list of the contents, '*Contenta Codicis'*, at the beginning of Llst 2. This names all the sections in the other volumes of the *DG* and gives a page number for each new text beginning at 'pag. 1': the '*Historia Galfridi Monumothonsis'*.[159]

The main scribal hand is a rounded textura with few ligatures or "biting". Both the long and short <'s'> are used. As expected during this period in Wales, <w'> can be represented

[154] J 20, fol. 16r, 7.
[155] This can be seen at p. 292 where the numbering '48' and '49' is penciled in at the top right-hand corner of the black page number, 294. See also p. 310: '54' and p. 312: '55'.
[156] '*Kladhedigaeth Arthyr'* at the foot of the same folio may well be a different hand which also annotated the beginning of the *Chwedleu*, Llst 2, p. 278.
[157] As stated, this text is also found on p.506 of NLW MS Llanstephan 4, the final section of the *DG*.
[158] Gwenogvryn Evans, *RMWL*, (1903). Note at the foot of p.19. RHG: the TEI Header for Llanstephan MS 4.
[159] Not 'Monemutensis', the usual spelling of Geoffrey of Monmouth's name.

by <'*6*'> as well as the <'II3'> form, which is quite rounded in this particular hand. The long <'r'> is very similar to a <'y'> and descends below the ruled line of text, though the short version of <'r'> is also used, following the book hand rule where the round <'r'> follows rounded letters.[160] Both <'v'> and <'f'> are used with <'v'> sometimes representing <'u'>, as in '*vn*' for '*un*', 'one'.[161] Ascenders are hooked to the right in 'h', 'l' and 'b', however that of the 'd' is looped to the left, forming a two-compartment letter. The descender of the 'h' curves below the marked grid of writing displaying a two-stroke letter form. The main scribe of Llst 2 has recently been identified as one 'Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd' who was based in Cwm Tawe, Glamorgan, during the fifteenth century, making Llst 2 another product of the Glamorgan literary world.[162] Siancyn identifies himself in a cipher on page 37 of Llst 2, which comes at the end of *Ffordd y Brawd Odric*, 'Brother Odric's Travels'. [163] This also places that particular work in Glamorgan, explaining that the text was translated by Dafydd Fychan, also of Morgannwg: *'Ag velly y tervyna siurne y Braud Odrig yn India yr hun a drossudh Sr. Davydh Vyxan o Vorgannug…*'[164] 'And so ends the journey of Brother Odric in India, translated by Sir David Vychan of Glamorgan…'[165]

There is very little abbreviation, particularly in the *Seith Doethon*, not even the macron for <'n'> or <'m'>. '*Amherawdyr'*, 'emperor', is usually written out in full, unlike in J 111. Only the punctus is used, as seen throughout the *Seith Doethon*. Large capital letters are red; a small guide letter remaining within to indicate which letter is to be to be added can be seen on p. 299, 11. These guide letters can indicate that another scribe was responsible for the rubrication. In the *SDR* larger red letters denote the beginning of a new tale. The

[160] Denholm-Young, p. 44.
[161] Llst 2, p. 301, 16.
[162] Pages 72-74 are not in Siancyn's hand.
[163] See: Rebecca Try*, NLW 5267B, A Partial Transcription and Commentary.* Dis*sertation in fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of MPhil in Welsh and Celtic Studies, Cardiff University, 2015*, p.2, citing Daniel Huws: *Catalogue of Manuscripts*. Siancyn's hand has been identified by Huws in three manuscripts in all: Llst 2, NLW MS Peniarth 47iv and NLW MS 5267B.
[164] Williams, Stephen J., ed., *Ffordd Y Brawd Odrig o Lawysgrif Llanstephan 2 (*Cardiff, UWP, 1929), p.xii. Williams also surmised that Siancyn was the scribe, even if only of '*Y Brawd Odrig*': '*Tybiaf mai enw copïwr y darn yn y llsgr. ydyw*.' 'I suspect that this is the name of the copyist of this particular piece in the manuscript.' Williams, *Odrig,* p.82, note 57: 12.
[165] As Helen Fulton states: 'Glamorgan was the location of a Welsh literary revival in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that made it the geographical centre of medieval Welsh writing, incorporating a network of gentry families living in close proximity to … religious houses where manuscripts were produced.' Helen Fulton, 'The Geography of Welsh literary production in late medieval Glamorgan', *Journal of Medieval History*, 41:3 (2015), pp. 325-340.

rubricator also places a red mark in certain places before some letters, with a larger red marker signifying that a capital letter is to follow: '**Г***a gwedy'.* '**/**And then'[166] This appears to be another way for the scribe to indicate the beginning of new section, roman, sentence or paragraph, with a smaller, similar mark signifying a subordinate section where the modern usage would be a comma. This is well-illustrated on page 279, 4.[167] A line-filler in red is obvious on p.282 even though the black ink of the text is illegible.[168] Otherwise, there is very little or no decoration, though we find a quartered box with dots on p.316. Some marginalia can be seen in the *Seith Doethon* section.[169] The beginning of the prince's tale has a word erased, followed by *'a oruc y mab',* 'the son did', in the margin.[170] On p.305 a marginal word, '…*nerth*'(?) is cropped and '*ragor*', 'more', appears alongside line 11 on p.306. Pages 304, 306, 308 and 310 have a quire letter, 'h', with the number, iiij at the bottom of p.304. There is a very small, indecipherable word towards the bottom left-hand side of folio 312.

[166] Llst 2, p.279 illustrates this clearly: line 4 has a red marker mid-sentence: '*A gwedy daruot y bob vn or gwyr adaw dysgu y mab yn y mod goreu y gellynt Г y kanawd yr Amherawdyr …' '*And when each of the men had promised to teach the boy in the best way that they could, the Emperor granted…'.
[167] Llst 2, p. 299 also demonstrated its use in the first 12 lines that are legible.
[168] Line fillers are also present on pp. 287, 289,291 293,295, 304, 306,312.
[169] Marginalia is visible on p.281 *(festet*), p. 283, possibly on pp. 287, 291(?), 301: a cursive hand, but illegible.
[170] Llst 2, p. 317, 17-19.

Contents:

Rather than being foliated as would be expected, this manuscript has consecutive pagination, as in today's books. I have followed this system in recording its contents.

Being the second part of the DG, the manuscript begins at 'page 206'.

Page 206: *Cladedigaeth Arthur*: The burial of Arthur

P.212: *Yr Ant[e] Krist*: The Antichrist

P.229: *Eusebius, a therfynnau y Byd*: Eusebius and the boundaries of the Earth.

P.233: *Proffwydoliaeth*: Prophecy

P.234: *Pererindod y Brawd Odrig*: The travels of Brother Ordric

P.276: *Diarhebion:* Proverbs

P.278-319: *Seith Doethon Rufein*: The Seven Sages of Rome

P.320-344: *Epistol Nicodemus*: the Gospel of Nicodemus

P.344: *Y Diewl a briodes wraig*: The Devil married a wife.

Also: *Deuddeg peth yssyd anarferus eu bod yn y Byd hwn*: Twelve unusual things in this world.

P.345: *Swynion rac* g*wyrthlys neu y felwn etc.:* Charms to cure a whitlow.

P.349: The page is covered in notes in various hands, possibly four, with '1563' at the foot of the page.[171]

P. 350-407: *Llyfr a ddysg dyn pa delw y dylu gredu.* Creed, and a Commentary on the Ten Commandments (incomplete).

[171] This is not remarked upon by Gwenogvryn Evans in his *Report on the Manuscripts* (1903).

5. The Interrelationship of the Manuscripts:

i. Comparison of the Contents of the three manuscripts:

Despite there being a vast difference between the three manuscripts, both in size of and number of texts**,** there is some overlap of content. Where J 111 has the most extensive collection of literature pertaining to the Middle Ages, the other two manuscripts are more concise and focussed. Were the first four Llanstephan manuscripts originally conceived as one book, as was J 111, they too could compete for the title of the epitome of a medieval library, as does J 111. However, the four manuscripts were not associated until Edward Lluyd assembled them into his *Didrefn Gasgliad* in the early eighteenth century. Therefore, Llanstephan 2 must stand alone. The extensive collection of literature popular in international circles in the fourteenth century as found in J 111 is similar in concept to the Auchinleck manuscript. [172] Auchinleck, a manuscript as all-embracing in its contents as is J 111, was copied in London at around 1330, pre-dating J 111 by little more than fifty years. It contains the earliest English redaction of the *Seven Sages*, albeit in verse, as was the norm in Middle English. Auchinleck also contains the Middle English redactions of *Amlyn ac Amig*: *Amis and Amiloun* and the English of *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn: Sir Beues of Hamtoun,* and *Otuel*, texts which are also found in J 111.[173]

J 20 devotes a long section to the genealogy of Welsh princely houses, especially those of South Wales, as well as *englynion,* many of which are also included in J 111, whereas religious texts such as *Pryd y Mab* (The Appearance of the Son), a part of *Ymborth yr Enaid* (The Nourishment of the Soul), are not. Though we do have an interrupted copy of the Welsh version of *Owein*, none of the other romans which Chrétien penned appear in J 20 nor in Llst 2. Llst 2 lists remedies for illness, proverbs and religious texts including the Gospel of Nicodemus and an account of the burial of Arthur and Guinevere. *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* is placed immediately following a list of proverbs which caution prudence, which is the gist of the message of the *Chwedleu*. Unlike J 20 and J

[172] NLS Adv MS 19.2.1. https://auchinleck.nls.uk

[173] It is difficult to know how many texts are truly similar in both since many leaves are missing from Auchinleck.

111, Llst 2 has neither genealogies nor *englynion*, focussing mainly on serious religious texts or those with a moral attached, such as the *Chwedleu* themselves.

ii. Comparison of the *Chwedleu* in the three manuscripts

When we examine the three versions of the *Chwedleu* in the above manuscripts we find that the differences between them are minimal. There are few divergences, other than some minor scribal errors, the elaboration of some details and the enhanced description in certain passages. There are very few variations which impact on the message of the tales. In his edition of *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* Lewis listed many of these variations. One outstanding difference between the three is that, in the tale *Senescalcus*, the country named as '*Pwyl',* 'Apulia', in both J 111 and Llst 2 becomes '*Germania'* in J 20,[174] which appears to be the only instance of this name in the Seven Sages tradition.[175] 'Germania' also occurs in the text of the nineteenth century English translation of the *Chwedleu* by Robert Williams who used NLW Peniarth MS 120 as his base manuscript. This enabled Lewis to identify this version as a late eighteenth century copy of J 20.

The most noteworthy of these differences comes at the beginning of *Sapientes*. In the French parent text we are told of an emperor, not a king as is in the Welsh version, who cannot leave Rome since he becomes blind if he tries to do so. A young seer reveals that a boiling cauldron with seven bubbles rising from it is hidden beneath the emperor's bed: '*Une chaudiere qui boust a granz ondes, et si i set boillons*'.[176] Each bubble represents a treacherous Sage. In the French tale there is no explanation as to how the emperor is blinded other than that the sages are plotting his death. Both J 20 and J 111 describe a similar cauldron beneath the king's bed: it has seven feet rising from it: *peir a seith troet yn kyuodi o honau*'. [177] The Llst 2 scribe is more practical and places the seven

[174] J 20, fol. 63v, 20, J 111, fol. 133r, col. 549, 28; Llst 2, p.311, 17.
[175] The country of *Pwyl*, Apulia, as named in both the J 111 and Llst 2, is 'Germania'. Williams's translation has 'Pwyl', which led Lewis to identify J20 as the origin of Williams's translation (Lewis, p.23). This translation was published in: Williams, Robert and Jones, G. Hartwell, ed. and trans., *Selections from the Hengwrt Mss preserved in the Peniarth Library,* Vol. ii (London, Thomas Richards 1892), pp.301-324. See Lewis, p. 23.
[176], *FrenchA*, p. 25 of 46.
[177] J 20, fol. 59r, 16-17. J 111, fol. 132, col. 545, 20-21.

feet beneath the cauldron which has smoke rising from it: '*Peir a seith troet* ***ydanaw, a mwc,*** *yn kyuodi ohonaw*': [178] 'a cauldron with seven feet **beneath it, and smoke** rising from it'. This description, missing from both the Jesus manuscripts, was added into the text by Lewis in his edition of the *SDR*.[179] All three manuscripts agree that it is the sparks from the smoke which are blinding the king.[180] This is a reasonable assumption and gives a much more logical reading than having seven feet appear from the cauldron, though the symbolism is more vivid in the Jesus version. The omission from both the Jesus manuscripts could be accounted for if one is a copy of the other and the 'original' scribe who copied from the source suffered an 'eye skip' at this point and omitted the detail. This omission from the now-missing source manuscript was then copied into the second manuscript, whichever came first. The two Jesus manuscripts agree with each other, suggesting that they share a common source, whereas the variant reading in Llst 2 could well indicate that it was copied from a different exemplar. However, this could just as easily indicate that the scribe of Llst 2, Siancyn ap Dafydd, realised that there was an illogical reading and he himself inserted the 'missing' text.

The identity of J 20's scribe is unknown, though it is probable that he was based in Glamorgan, as were the scribes of both J 111 and Llst 2. Therefore, it is possible that all three versions stemmed from the same exemplar originating in Glamorgan, but that Llst 2's scribe himself amended the text. We must remember that the text itself was not, as yet, set in stone, as are the works of authors such as Chaucer or Shakespeare. Were the *Chwedleu* the original work of a Welsh author, as Lewis proposed, this additional information would not have been written into only one of the three witnesses to the tale. The Old French parent redaction itself varies in detail from manuscript to manuscript. [181] A scribe could embellish the tale with his own additional detail, as can be seen in the opening lines of the *Chwedleu* where Llst 2's scribe may have felt free to enhance on the basic text:

[178] Llst 2, p.305, 4-5.
[179] Lewis, p. 22 and p. 67, 726.
[180] Lewis, p. 22
[181] These variations were listed by Runte in an Appendix to the English translation to the Old French *Sept Sages*. See: www.dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/49107

Jesus MS 20: 1-3

Diawchleisyawn a oed Amherawdyr yn Rufein. A gwedy marw Eua y wreic a gadu un mab o etiued udunt…

Jesus MS 111: 1-3

Diachleison a oed Amherawdyr yn Rufein. A gwedy marw Eua y wreic a gadu un mab o etiued udunt…

Llst 2: 1-4

Diawchleisawn a oed Amherawdyr gynt yn Ruuein vawr. A gwedy marw y wreic briawt Eua oed y henw a gadaw vn mab o etiued udunt…

This example demonstrates the close affinity between the three manuscripts. Each scribe has written the Emperor's name differently, though this would not be apparent if the tales were delivered orally. The Llanstephan scribe's additional aside, delivered in a colloquial manner, must surely remind us of the oral tradition behind the transmission of these tales. The most striking example of additional detail added into the fabric of the tale comes at the point where, in her quest to discover whether her husband has sired any children, the stepmother encounters a witch. Unusually, here it is in J 20 that we have an additional description of the hag:

J 20: 43r, 4-6	**J 111, fol. 128r, col. 528, 41-42.**	**Llst 2: p.279, 15-16** [182]
A diwarnawt y doeth hi y ty gwrach yscymmun vnllegeidyawc heb vn dant yn y phenn.	*A diwarnawt y deuth hi i ty wrach heb un dant yn y phenn.*	*A diwarnawt y deuth hi y dy gwrach*

Not only is she a '*gwrach*', a hag, but she is a '*gwrach yscymmun vnllegeidiawc'*: a 'horrid, toothless one-eyed' hag. The additional '*yscymmun*' repeated in J 20 in the hag's revelation that the Emperor does, indeed, have one child: *Yna y truhanhaawd y wrach wrth yr ysgymmun arall*'.[183] 'Then the hag took pity on the other cursed one'. J 20's elaboration of the description of the hag is repeated in the characterization of the stepmother, amplifying the malevolent association between the old woman and the Empress.

Major variant readings which change the import of the tales are very few. A singular one comes at the conclusion of *Virgilius* where both J 20 and J 111 have the Empress say:

J 20, fol.,55 v., 11-15. **J 111, fol. 131r., 2-6.**	
"Velly, ny att dy chwant ditheu y wrandaw Doethon Rufein, y rei yssyd y'th dihiriaw a'e eureit barableu y gredu ***uyg kyghoreu i am dihenyddyaw*** *dy vab."*[184]	"In the same way, your longing to listen to the Sages of Rome, who are deceiving you with their golden prattling, [prevents you] from taking **my advice to execute** your son."

[182] Because of damage to the manuscript, these lines have been taken from Lewis, p. 83.

[183] J 20, fol. 43r, 5-6.

[184] J 20, fol. 55v, 11-15. J 111, fol. 131r, 2-7.

Here the Empress complains that the Emperor is distracted so will not listen to her. Llst 2 rephrases this:

Llst 2, p.298, 15-18.

"*Velly ny at dy chwant ditheu y warandaw Doethon Rufein, y rei yssyd y'th dyhudaw ar eureit barableu y warandaw* ***eu kyghoreu*** *am* ***na dihenydyer*** *dy vab."*[185]	"In the same way, your longing to listen to the Sages of Rome who are cheating you with your golden prattling making you listen to **their advice not to execute** your son."

This subtle change alters the message. In the Jesus manuscripts the Empress is accusing the Sages of preventing the Emperor from taking her advice, whereas in Llst 2 she accuses them of actively advising him to reprieve his son. The scribe of Llst 2 has deliberately modified the impact of the passage by using the negative.

The tale *Virgilius* is an excellent example of the Llanstephan scribe's inclusion of additional detail to the text; in this case, it is to the tale of Virgil's magic mirror.[186] This mirror, wrought by necromancy, [187] according to Llst 2, is placed *'ynghenawl Ruuein',* 'in the centre of Rome'. Both Jesus manuscript texts are similar, describing the mirror as being '*ym perued Rufein*','at the heart of Rome'. The function of this magic mirror is concisely explained:

'Ac yn y drych y gwelas senedwyr Rufein pa deyrnas bynnac a geissynt, na wrthwyneppei neb udunt. Ac yna yn gyflym yd eynt am ben yr honn a vynnynt, ac y darosty[n]gynt hi vdunt.'[188]

[185] Llst 2, p. 298, 15-19. Lewis, (1967), p. 87, note to line 547 of his text.
[186] J 111, fol. 129r, col.533, 30-31.
[187] J 20, fol. 54r, 2-3. J 111, fol. 130v, col. 539, 16. In the French redaction, the magician Virgil constructs a magical fire which burns all day: '*Par nigromance fist il* [Virgil] *en ceste vile un feu qui tout jourz adroit*.' *FrenchA*, p.21 of 46, 11-12.
[188] J 20, fol. 54r, 3-5. J 111, fol. 130 v, col. 539, 16-22.

'And the senators of Rome could see any kingdom they wished to in the mirror, so no-one dared attack Rome. Since they could quickly invade whichever kingdom they wished and conquer it.'

Llst 2 adds '*ydy gostwng'*, 'until they conquered it' and '*ar vrys'*, 'very quickly':

'Ac yna yn gyflym yd eynt am benn yr honn a vynnynt ***ydy gostwng*** *ac y daretyngit hi udunt* ***ar vrys'****.*[189]

As in the French parent version, in all three Welsh manuscripts, this magic mirror is smashed because of the emperor's lust for gold:

'Ac ny adawd chwant eur ac aryant y'r Amherawdyr vot wrth gynghor y gwyr hyny. Diwreiddwyt y golofyn a hyny a dyrr y drych.' [190]

And the Emperor lust for gold and silver did not let him take advice [of those men]. The column was uprooted and that smashed the mirror.

Only Llst 2 concludes with: '*A phan daroed hynny, nyt oed yno dim'.*[191] 'And when that happened, there was nothing left,' again adding more detail to the basic tale. [192]

From this we can see that all three manuscript witnesses agree in the most part, with few significant variations. Those that do occur can be categorised as possible embellishments to an existing copy of the tales, the one originally translated or copied by Llewelyn Offeiriad.

[189] Llst 2, p.298, 10-11.
[190] J 20, fol.55v, 2-5. J 111, fol. 131r, col. 540, 38-42.
[191] Llst 2, p.298, 10-11. Lewis, (1967), p. 86, note to line 537.
[192] J 111, fol. 129r, col. 533, 30-31.

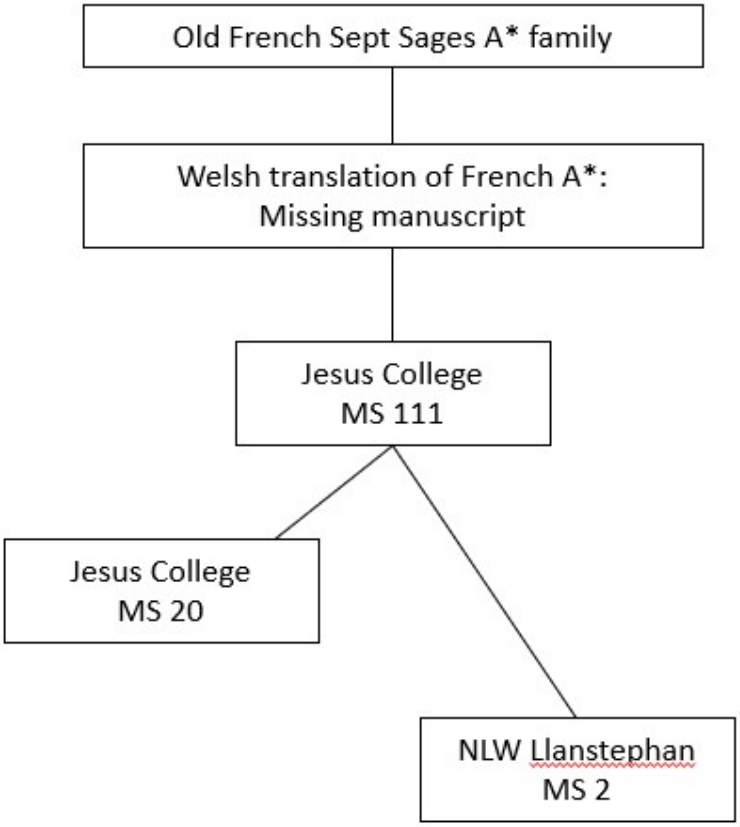
iii. Orthography

There are occasions where the orthography differs between the three manuscripts, such as when the scribe of one varies the orthography of a word such as *'hysgafael',* 'prey', in J 111 to *'hisgafael',* in J 20 and *'ysgauel'* in Llst 2.[193] IGYRMARS/ Negromawns : '*nigromans'* in Llst 2, '*nigromawns*' in J 20 or '*igyrmars*' in J 111. The '*seith niwarnawt'*, 'seven days', of the two Jesus manuscripts becomes *'seith diwarnawt'* in Llst 2;[194] *'Vcheneidyaw a thristyt'*, 'sighing and sorrow' in J 20 becomes *'ucheneidaw a thristwch'* in both the *Llyfr Coch* and Llst 2;[195] *'ath thiuetha'* in J 20, 'you will be destroyed', is *'ath diuetha*' in J 111 and *'ath diua'* in Llst 2.[196] At the beginning of the tale *Canis* the scribe of Llst 2 substitutes *'diwarnot'*, 'one day', for the *'dydgweith'*, of the two Jesus manuscripts.[197] Such differences could well indicate the locality where the manuscript was copied. We know that J 111 was copied by Hywel Fychan from Builth, a Marcher town which is now in Powys, mid-Wales.[198] Therefore, even though he was writing for Hopcyn ap Tomas of Glamorgan, south Wales, and possibly copying from an earlier manuscript, some traces of the regional dialect of Hywel's own birthplace could easily have crept into his work in J 111.[199]

None of these variations within the manuscripts leads to any significant difference in audience perception between the three. However, other than at the end of *Virgilius,* where there is a change from the message given in both the Jesus manuscripts. The Empress' advice to kill the prince is being ignored in the Jesus manuscripts whereas it is changed in the Llanstephan manuscript to accusing the Sages and their golden words, beguiling the Emperor and persuading him to reprieve the boy**.** This is a singular difference, normally the variations between the three manuscripts are merely cosmetic. This closeness between them must indicate that all three originate from the one parent

[193] J 20, fol. 49r, 7; J 111, fol. 129v, col. 534, 33 and Llst 2, p.288, 21. The legibility of this last folio declines towards its foot.
[194] J 20, fol. 43v, 7; J 111, fol. 128r, col. 529, 19-20; Llst 2, p. 316, 14.
[195] J 20, fol. 63v, 17; J 111, fol. 133r, col. 549, 25 and Llst. 2, p. 311,16.
[196] J 20, fol. 67r, 20; J 111, fol. 134r, col. 552, 32 and Llst 2, p. 317, 3.
[197] Llst 2, p.283, 6; J 20, 45r, 17 and J 111, fol. 128v, col. 531, 11.
[198] Interestingly, Rhydderch's mother was Angharad Hael, the daughter of Richard ab Einion of Builth, Hywel Fychan's home town.
[199] As Denholm-Young reminds us: 'the scribe does not necessarily continue to live in the home of his dialect'. Denholm-Young, *Handwriting*, (1954) p. 48.

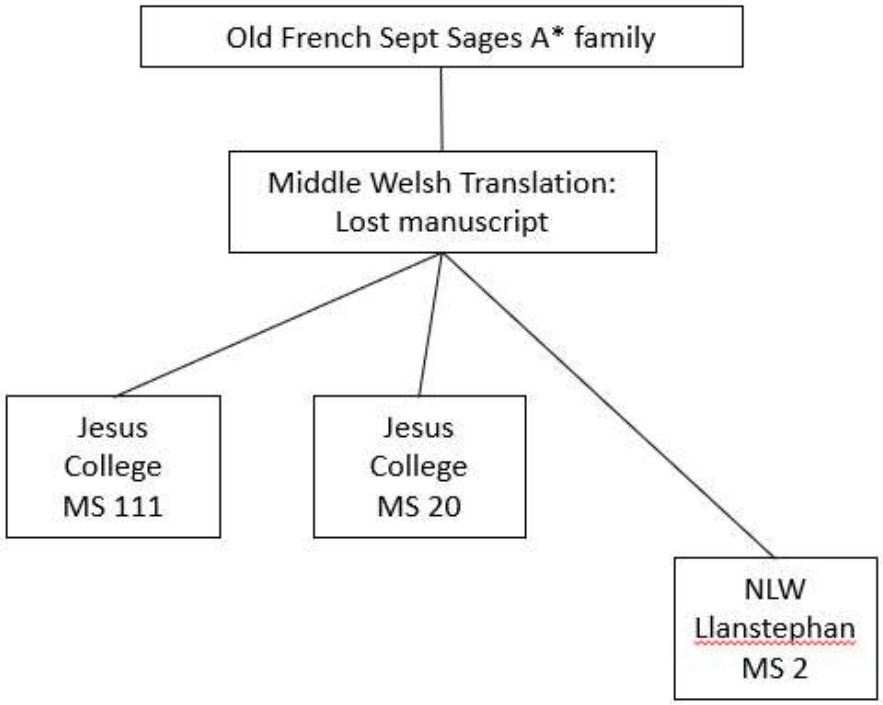
source and do not derive from different exemplars. This alignment must lead to the conclusion that all three manuscripts ultimately derive from one Middle Welsh translation, now lost, of the Old French A*: *Les Sept Sages de Rome.* If, as Campbell suggests,[200] J 111 is the earliest known witness to the tale in Welsh, then a possible stemma could be:



Campbell believed that J 111 belonged to the fourteenth century but suggested no firm date for its composition. We now know that it dates to the very end of that century or possibly to the very early years of the fifteenth.[201] Conversely, Lewis states that J 111 was written at the beginning of the fifteenth century but that J 20 was composed in the mid

[200] Campbell, (1907), p. xxxiii.
[201] See above, Huws, (2000), p. 60 and Charles-Edwards, *Scribes*, (1979-80), p. 246-256.

fourteenth century.[202] However, the scribal error noted above suggests that the two Jesus manuscripts are most probably contemporary, both belonging to the turn of the fourteenth into the fifteenth century.[203] However, the similarities between all three suggest that, ultimately, whichever of the Jesus manuscripts was copied first, and whether Llst 2 was copied from one of them or at a later time from the original exemplar, ultimately they must all derive from the same source, the now-lost, Middle Welsh translation of the *Sept Sages*. In this case, a more probable stemma would be:



If this scenario is correct, the version in each manuscript would be of equal value since each one has, at its core, the 'original' Middle Welsh redaction of the *Sept Sages*, but with some omissions and minor embellishments as added by its scribe. As Fellows points out:

'Scribes are not trying to transmit accurate reproductions of an archetype- their additions are deliberate ...[and] often extend to transpositions, reworkings,

[202] Lewis, (1967), p. 21.
[203] See the section: 'Description of the Manuscripts: J 20': (4, i).

introductions, omissions of entire episodes. Scribal activity can no longer be separated from authorial intentions...'[204]

This could apply not only to Llewelyn Offeiriad's redaction of the tale but also to the work of each of the three scribes. As such, each individual manuscript would be of equal importance within the tradition.

iv. Grammatical Features[205]

The language of *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* as found in the three manuscript witnesses is typical of Middle Welsh at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century.[206] The language in our base manuscript appears to be slightly more conservative than that of Llst 2 in one instance only. Both J 20 and J 111 have '*gadu'*: 'leaving', which can be found as early as the thirteenth century, whereas Llst 2 has the form '*gadaw*'.[207]

The main difficulty for the reader is likely to relate to the different uses of 'y'. In Middle Welsh 'y' can be the definite article before a consonant, as in '*y mab'*, the son (32), '*yr*', preceding a vowel or 'h' '*yr Amherawdyr'*, the Emperor (17), 'yr heul', the sun, (497).

'*Heb*' is from the verb '*hebu*', 'to say'. Thus, '*Heb y Bantillas',* 'said Bantillas' (10), '*heb yr Awgustus'*, 'said Augustus' (12), '*heb y Cato'*, 'said Cato' (13), *'heb y Jesse'*, 'said Jesse' (15). It can be written as *'eb'* and is used whether there is one speaker or more, in both present and past tense. Earlier texts could have read as: '*heby Bantillas*,' '*hebyr Awgustus'*, '*heby Cato'* and '*hebu Jesse'*.

As is the norm in Middle Welsh, mutations are not always shown in our text. This may be due to orthography, especially where the object of the sentence follows immediately after

[204] Jennifer Fellows, 'Editing Middle English Romances', *Romance in Medieval England,* ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol M. Meale. (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 5-16. Quoted in: Jill Whitelock, (2005), p. xix.
[205] In this section all the references to J 20 are from my edition, with the reference to J MS 20 in parentheses following.
[206] For an outline of the characteristics of Welsh grammar during this period, see: D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1964, many reprints, incl. 2003).
[207] 3. (J 20, fol. 42r, 4); J 111, col. 127v, 527, 42; Llst2, p. 278, 3.

the verb, if this were in the third person singular present or past.[208] Mutations shown in our text are: p>b *'pen'*> '*ben'* (132), 'top'; t>d '*titheu'*> *'ditheu'* (436) 'you too'; c>g **'***cyffro'*> *'gyffro'* (342), 'agitation'; b>f '*brenhines'*> '*frenhines'* ('*vrenhines'*) (404), 'queen'; g> -- '*gwreic'*> '*wreic* '(435), 'wife'; m>f *'modrwy'*> *'fodrwy'*, (405), 'ring'; ll>l ' llygeit'> 'lygeit', (355), 'eyes'.

rh> r: This mutation is not shown since the difference between the two is unclear; therefore 'rh' is usually found as 'r' as in 'Rufein'.

The voiced letters are usually rendered by 't' and 'c' at the end of words instead of 'd' and 'g': *e.g.,* '*diaspat*', 'shriek', (43); '*gwreic*', 'wife', (22); *garyat,* 'love', (41); *dysc*, 'knowledge', (14); *dat*, 'father', (544); '*geluydyt,* 'the Arts', (19) and *kyuoethawc*, 'wealthy' (131). [209] Where '*p*' is often written instead of '*b*', for example *bop* (239) 'each one'. However, both J 20 (16) and Llst 2 (p. 279, .3) have '*b*' as the final letter of the word, as would the modern Welsh: '*pob*'.

Whilst representing 'd', the letter 'd' also represents the fricative 'dd'*, (ð,) at this time.* For example, '<u>*oed*</u>' 'was,' (3); *vdunt*, 'for them' (18); *herwyd,* 'because of' (14); *weithredoed*, 'deeds', (21); '*adaw*', 'promise' (15) and *breudwyyon,* 'dreams'(358). This is the norm throughout all three manuscript witnesses, as would be expected during this period. The only instance of a double 'd' in J 20 is on folio 56r, where a superscript letter 'd', has been added in a different hand, giving '*od*^{d} *uch',* 'above'. (297).

The letter shapes 'u' and 'v' are used interchangeably for both the vowel and the consonant, with 'u' generally appearing within a word and 'v' at the beginning of a word: '*Eua*', 'Eve', (3); '*auory*', 'tomorrow', (31); '*varchauc*': 'knight', (5); '*vab*', 'son', (10); '*verch*', 'daughter', (521) and '*vn*', 'one' (3).

Our text is typical of its period by showing two different letter shapes for 'w': the rounded letter form 'u' and the double-stroke form: 'Ⅱ3'. I have transcribed both forms as 'w'. Both forms occur initially and medially, for example, '*wreic*', 'wife' (J20, fol. 42r, 4), '*dywedut '*, 'said' (J20, fol. 69r, 18).

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[208] See: T. J. Morgan, *Y Treigliadau a'u Cystrawen* (Cardiff, UWP, 1998). A discussion of the initial mutations can also be found in Evans, *Grammar* (2003), pp. 14-23.

[209] Other examples are: '*daruot',* 'finished', (124) and '*diwarnawt*', 'day', (24).

Though ‘f’ can be the English ‘v’ or the Welsh ‘ff’ in Middle Welsh, the scribes of the three manuscript witnesses make use of the ‘ff’ not only initially, but both medially and at the end of a word. For example: ‘*ffrwyth*’, ‘fruit’ (97), *‘ffroeni’*, ‘snorting’ and ‘*Ffreinck*’, ‘France’ (93); ‘*amdiffyn*’, ‘protection’ (33) and ‘*sarff*’, ‘serpent’ (77), though we must be aware that immediately above in the manuscript the scribe has written *‘sarf’* for the same word, (74).

There is no orthographic difference between the [ï] and the [ə], though ‘i’ can also occur, as in the word ‘*iarll*’, ‘earl’, (114). The ‘*u*’ sound, a central [ü], occurs mainly in accented syllables.[210] However, Evans, (2003), points out that by the fourteenth century the position of ‘u’ and ‘y’ were often confused.[211] The glide of the ‘w’ in a monosyllable where the ‘ü’ is followed by a ‘ch’,can be seen in the marginal ‘y’ added by a later hand to ‘*uch*’, ‘above’, (J 20, folio 56v, line 8), thereby un-necessarily changing the word to ’*yuch*’. Evans notes that the vowels *‘y’* and *‘i’* often assimilate with *‘i’* and *‘u’* in words such as *‘amdiffin’*; however, this does not happen in our text in J 20, which reads ‘*amdiffyn*’ (36).
Both ‘k’ and ‘c’ are completely interchangeable and denote the plosive velar ‘k’. The J 20 scribe spells the name ‘Cato’ with a ‘c’ throughout,[212] but makes use of ‘k’ in words such as ‘*kedymdeith’*, ‘companions’ (11), ‘*kic’,* ‘meat’ (115). ‘*Kret’*, ‘faith’ (90/91) also appears as ‘*cret’* (68).

At this time, the letter ‘g’ can both represent itself and the velar nasal ‘ng’ as in *‘gyghor*‘, ‘decided’, (17), and ‘llog’, [‘llong’], ‘ship’,(434).
The text has ‘w’ diphthongs and ‘i’ diphthongs. The first are: ‘aw’ [au̯], ‘ew’ [eu̯], ‘iw’ [iu̯] and ‘yw’ [ïu̯] or [əu̯]. The latter are ‘ae’, ‘oe’ (ay/ oy). We find ‘aw’ in ‘*marchawc*’, (292),’knight’ and ‘eu’ in ‘*hitheu*’, ‘she’, (301), and ‘*wynteu*’, ‘they’ (194); ‘iw’ in ‘*hediw*’, ‘today’, (68).[213]

[210] D. Simon Evans, *Gramadeg Cymraeg Canol* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1951, Third edition, 1977), p. 1, §2.
[211] Evans, (2003), p. 2, §2.
[212] J 111 has ‘Catomas’ and ‘Kato’ on fol. 128r, col. 528, 1 and 18.
[213] A full analysis can be found in Evans, (2003), pp. 3-5.

The *Chwedleu* belong to the period when Early Modern Welsh was becoming established, therefore the language of the tales is more accessible to a modern reader than, for example, much of the poetry of Taliesin which dates from the tenth century and earlier, or the *englynion* of the Eagle, which appear in J 20, and date from c. 1150.[214]

[214] The dating of early Welsh literature can be found in Evans, (2003), pp. xxi-xxix.

6. Choice of Base Manuscript:

There are very few significant differences between the three manuscript witnesses to the *Chwedleu.* This suggests that all stem from a common, now-lost, exemplar, with Llst 2 being the later copy. If all three manuscripts were indeed independent copies of the one early exemplar any of the three would be of equal value to be considered as the base text for a new edition and translation. If J 20 is a copy of the text in J 111 then J.111 would be the more important witness. However, the J 111 version of the tale has already been published, serving as it did the base text for Lewis's edition of 1925, with no explanation of his reasons for his choice.[215] Unfortunately, Llst 2 has many damaged pages and its condition has deteriorated considerably over the course of time. We are fortunate that in his edition Lewis noted many of the variations between the three texts, thus making it possible for us to access most of Llst 2's rendering of the *Chwedleu*. Had he not done this, much of Llst 2's text would have been lost and comparison of the three manuscript texts would have been impossible. For example, most of the initial folio of the *Seith Doethon* (p.278) is virtually illegible, even with the aid of ultra-violet lighting, as is the case with many other pages.[216] Therefore, the many passages needing to be supplemented from the two other manuscripts make Llst 2 both unsuitable and impractical to use as a base text. J 20, on the other hand, is in good condition, with only a few places where the text of the *Seith Doethon* requires supplementing from the other manuscript witnesses. The hand is a clear and regular gothic textura with few abbreviations and no lacunae. Since it has not yet been the subject of an edition and is, for the most part, clearly legible and in a good state of preservation, J 20 has been chosen as a base text for this new edition of the *Chwedleu.*

There is most certainly a need for an updated edition of the tales containing both a transcription and translation of the text. This is demonstrated firstly, by the fact that a modern translation is wanting. The only available English translation is in an edition of

[215] '*Copi Llyfr Coch Hergest yw'r testun a argreffir yma*': "The text published here is that found in the Red Book of Hergest". Lewis, (1967), p. 30.

[216] Many pages are, for the most part, illegible: pp. 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 288, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297 and 303 With the exception of page 303, the final part of the tales (pp. 299-318b) is much more legible.

1892; its language is extremely outmoded and needs updating. The most accessible copy of this is on a website which does not always transcribe the text correctly.[217] Secondly, Lewis's contention that the *SDR* is not merely a Middle Welsh translation of an internationally known tale but one of Wales's first novels is somewhat excessive and needs to be revised.[218] Thirdly, current interest in the Seven Sages tradition is increasing, with much international research being carried out. However, the Welsh redaction has, as yet, received but little attention.[219] This could be due to the fact that there has not been a readily-accessible English edition and translation of the work. Lewis's edition is full and erudite, but it is written in academic Welsh, targeting the proficient Welsh speaker. This present study aims to address this situation by supplying an edition and translation for a non-fluent Welsh speaker, one wanting to engage with the Welsh redaction of the tales. Though *SDR* cannot be considered as one of Wales's first novels, as Lewis posited, its place within an extensive corpus of popular world-wide tales does deserve closer study. Lewis himself detailed the complex history of the *Chwedleu* as they travelled from East to West and became part of the literary canon of Wales. Yet he reached the conclusion that the Welsh redaction was an original composition, not an integral part of an international *Sept Sages* tradition. This new study, with a modern English translation, means that it can now be more widely studied and firmly placed into an international context.

[217] For example: 'And then Lentillus arose and spake as follows: Lord Emperor, quoth he, if thou wilt cause thy son to be put to death even as it once befell a wealthy old man about a fair young wife…'. Translation by Robert Williams (1892). www.maryjones.us/ctexts/seven.html

[218] '*Gwaith gwreiddiol rhyw Gymro… a gymerth ei ddeunydd o chwedlau poblogaidd llafar gwlad…Gellid dywedyd bod y stori hon, felly, yn un o'r nofelau cyntaf a sgrifennwyd yn Gymraeg.' '*The original work of a Welshman who took his material from popular oral tradition…Therefore, it can be said that this tale is one of the first novels to be written in Welsh.*'* Lewis, (1967), p. 26.

[219] In Autumn 2020, Wayne State University Press published a Special Issue on the Seven Sages Tradition in its Journal, *Narrative Culture.* This features papers on the Persian, Dutch, French and as well as the Welsh *Seven Sages*.

7. *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein:* The Welsh Redaction

Familiar as he may have been with the Old French *Sept Sages,* the Welsh redactor of the *Chwedleu* was not content merely to translate the tale into Welsh. He imposed his own agenda on the genre, making the story more acceptable to his native Welsh audience. This may be seen firstly in his rearrangement of some of the tales in the expected sequence for group **A***. The first six tales of the Welsh redaction follow the conventional arrangement for the group but deviate from the norm from that point. Instead of the usual *Senescalcus* in seventh place we have *Ramus,* a tale only present in the Welsh. This is followed by another individual tale: Llewelyn's version of *Roma*. As with the others in Group **A***, Virgilius comes ninth in the sequence, but *Avis* is absent, its place in the *Chwedleu* being occupied by *Vidua*. Llewelyn returns to the orthodox model with *Sapientes*, but, with the exception of *Vaticinium*, none of the other tales remain in their expected slot. Some are modified, with their moral or message shifting, thereby altering their impact. In one case the storyteller is changed from one side of the argument to the other, a rare occurrence in the corpus of the Seven Sages.[220] Sections of traditional Welsh folk tales are incorporated, almost verbatim, into the *Chwedleu,* thus imposing a familiarity onto a story imported from outside Wales. These unique differences and the highly individual treatment of the Seven Sages tradition itself marks out the individuality of the Welsh redaction of the *Seven Sages of Rome*.

The Welsh version also distinguishes itself from many other vernacular redactions of the texts in that, unlike the English, it does not name the Prince, but it does however name the Emperor's first wife . In it she is 'Eua', 'Eve', which could well be due to a misreading of the thirteenth-century French manuscript witness, MS Paris, BN f. Fr. 2137, (fol.1-46).[221] This manuscript states that the Emperor had a wife: '*Il ot fame eue',* which could have been misread or misunderstood or deliberately fashioned to read as: 'He had Eve as his

[220] In his article on the Latin *Historia Septum Sapientum,* Runte emphasises that though this version of the Seven Sages rearranges many of the intercalated tales and even replaces some, the redactor does not re-assign tales from one side to the other. Hans R. Runte, From the Vernacular and Back: the Case of the Seven Sages of Rome', in *Medieval Translators and their Craft* Jeanette Beer, ed., Studies in Medieval Culture XXV (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 94-95.

[221] Runte uses this manuscript as the base manuscript for his online edition of *Les Sept Sages de Rome.* http://dalspace.library.dal.ca./handle/1022/49107

wife'. This could have been the origin of the Welsh name of 'Eua' as the Prince's mother, the Emperor's first wife. This same Old French manuscript, used by Runte as the base manuscript for his online edition of the *Sept Sages,* gives the seventh Sage's as name 'Martin'.[222] This is also the name of the seventh Sage in the *Chwedleu*.[223] Possibly because the French manuscript was unavailable to him, Lewis erroneously stated that it is only the Welsh redaction that names him thus.[224] In addition, this same French manuscript gives the Sage named as 'Ancilles' in other manuscripts the name 'Augustus' throughout, as it is in the Middle Welsh redaction. We know of only two Old French manuscripts which name this particular Sage 'Augustes'.[225] This could indicate that the Welsh redactor may have been familiar with at least one of these two. In fact, one of these, BL Harley 3860, lists each of the Seven Sages by name, without any description, just as they are summoned by the Emperor, as does the Welsh redaction. This is unlike Runte's base manuscript, which omits such a list and describes each one of the Sages as he appears. [226]

[222] *FrenchA*, p.2 of 47. (MS. Paris, BN f. fr. 2137, fol. 1).
[223] On one occasion, the scribe of J 20 mistakenly calls him 'Mathin' towards the end of the tales. J 20, fol. 64v, 7.
[224] Note to line 7, p. 93. Lewis, (1967).
[225] Mons, Bibl., univ. (mun.) 331/215, fol. 1-17, and London, British Library, Harley MS 3860, fol.23-47.
[226] The scribe of the Harley manuscript rubricates the list of names. Unfortunately, unlike Runte's base manuscript, it does not name the seventh Sage 'Martin' but 'Anchilles'. BL, Harley MS 3860, fol. 23r, 6-11. www.bl.uk/manusript/viewer.aspx?ref=harley3860.

8. The Internal Tales in *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*: the differences between the Welsh and the French

From the frame tale itself to most of the tales in *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein,* the stories derive from a long-established tradition of moral tales current at the time and appear in most versions of the genre.[227] Many have well-known antecedents which have been catalogued by Thompson and arranged by type.[228] The frame tale itself is a combination of the 'Tabu of Silence ' type of tale, C 401.2 in Thomson,[229] along with the 'Potiphar's Wife' (K 111) [230] and 'Cruel Stepmother' (S.31) motifs.[231] These fuse together into one: the Prince's rejected would-be lover is also his stepmother who then sets about attempting to destroy him. Thompson allocates the number K 2111 to the 'Potiphar's Wife' tale, tracing its origin back to China, Persia through to the more familiar Jewish, Biblical version. The 'Cruel Stepmother' is an ancient, universally employed motif, listed as Type 403 by Thompson. The overall frame containing the collection is of the 'Sheherezade' theme: tales are told to stave off a threatened execution. This type of tale is listed as J 1185.1. The vacillating Emperor is the '*senex amans'*, the old man too much in love with his duplicitous wife, a theme much visited in medieval literature.

Though the majority of the internal tales have a venerable history dating back through the centuries, at least one, *Ramus*, which only appears in the Welsh *SDR*, seems to have been imagined by the Welsh redactor. The Welsh tales are as follows:

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[227] A very full analysis of the many analogues of the internal tales is found in Campbell, (1907), pp. lxxvii-cxiv.

[228] S. Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature: a classification of narrative elements in folktales, ballads, myths, mediaeval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest-books, and local legends* Revised and enlarged edition. Bloomington: Indianan University Press (1955-1958). At:
https://sites.ualberta/ca~urban/Projects/English/Content/s.htm#SO-99
Also: Thompson, *Unpacking World Folk-Literature. Thompson's Motif Index, ATU Tale Type Index, Propp's Functions and Lévi-Strauss's Structural Analysis for folk tales around the world.* At:
https://sites.ualberta.ca/~Project/English/Motif-Index.htm#tti

[229] The 'Tabu' tale where one is forbidden to speak for seven days on pain of death is listed in Thompson as number C 401.2. No mention is made of the *Seven Sages* or its predecessors, only 'Chenin, V111, 34 No.1, n.1' and 'a Spanish *exempla'*.

1.Arbor [The Tree]: The shade of a branch of a fine, large pine tree prevents a smaller one from growing. The owner of the tree orders the branch to be cut off to allow the smaller one to thrive. This makes the old pine tree shrivel and die.

The moral of this, the Empress's first tale, is that the older one will be sacrificed so that the youngster thrives.

The French version is similar but has more detail, including dialogue between the gardener and the owner. The impact of the French tale is intensified when the larger tree is itself cut down to make way for the younger.

According to Campbell, this tale 'has made no appeal to other story-tellers. 'If there are […] analogues of it they have quite escaped the notice of editors […] of the Seven Sages'.[232] Nothing similar is found on the ATU.

2. ***Canis*** [The Dog]: A knight and his wife attend a tournament leaving their baby in his cradle, guarded by a faithful wolfhound. Because of the noise of the tournament a snake wakes and goes to attack the baby; the hound rushes to protect it. A ferocious fight ensues, during which the cradle is turned upside-down, covering it in blood. The knight is persuaded by his wife that the dog has killed their only child. He kills the dog, then discovers the child alive and well beneath the cradle.

The moral of this tale by Bantillas is that the Emperor must not act rashly on the instigation of his wife.

Canis, which is classified as Type 178 A and listed as B 331.2.1 and also B 524 ,14.1 in the Thompson Index, warrants four pages of analogues in Campbell.[233] It appears in all versions of the *Seven Sages,* both Eastern and Western, early and late. It also features in

[230] The 'Potiphar's Wife' tale is listed as K.2111 in Thompson's list which gives many examples such as the Biblical one and the *Heptameron* tale (70). Thompson notes that the motif also appears in both China and India, and many other countries.
[231] The 'Cruel Stepmother', tale S 31, is in the category of 'Unnatural Cruelty' and warrants sixteen 'Type' numbers, such as 403, 425, 510, 516. The entry is one of the longest in the directory.
[232] Campbell, (1907), p. xxviii.
[233] Campbell, (1907), pp. lxxviii-lxxxii.

the *Gesta Romanorum* as the tale of Folliculus and his greyhound.[234] This collection of *exempla* appears too late to have influenced the Seven Sages tradition since it appeared originally in England in the early fourteenth century. *Canis* was adopted into the Welsh folk tradition in the eighteenth century; the character of the rash knight being transformed into the Welsh Prince, Llywelyn, and the dog became Gelert, his favourite hunting dog who saves Llywelyn's baby from a wolf, but it is wrongly killed by the Prince.[235] However, the history of the tale stretches much further back, again to India and Persia. In these eastern tales, such as the version in the *Panchatantra*, the greyhound is a mongoose which saves a baby from a snake, only to be killed by the child's rash mother in this case. Possibly the most unusual manifestation of *Canis* is that of the dog-saint, St Guinefort, associated with healing sick babies. This cult, based in Neuville les Dames in the Dombes, an area in the diocese of Lyon, was suppressed in the thirteenth century by the Dominican friar, Stephen of Bourbon, who had the dog disinterred and burnt.[236]

3. ***Aper*** [The Boar]: A magnificent boar in a forest will only eat the fruit of one particular tree. A shepherd discovers this same tree and decides to gather the fruit. As the shepherd is collecting the fruit, the boar returns; the shepherd climbs into the branches of the tree to escape. He throws down some fruit to appease the boar who eats his fill and sleeps. At this point, the shepherd climbs down and kills the boar.

The moral of this tale by the Empress is that the Emperor must not be duped by those intending him harm.

This tale appears in both the Western version, the *Seven Sages* as well as in the Eastern *Book of Sindibād.* Whereas in the Western version, the boar is killed by the shepherd, in the Eastern version he either dies from straining his neck to look for more fruit or from

[234] https://britannica.com/topic/Gesta-Romanorum

[235] The tale first appears in connection with the village of Beddgelert in the late eighteenth century. It seems that David Pritchard, landlord of the Goat (later 'Royal Goat') Inn, appropriated the tale to encourage visitors to the village. The supposed 'grave' of Gelert can still be visited near the village. A literal translation of 'Beddgelert' can be read as: 'Gelert's Grave'.

[236] Jean-Claude Schmitt, transl. Martin Thom, *The Holy Greyhound*. *Guinefort, healer of children since the thirteenth century* Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 6 (Cambridge, CUP; Paris, *Editions de la Maison des Sciences de L'Homme*, 2009), pp.2-6.

attacking the tree. In the Eastern version a monkey has taken the fruit and is hiding in the tree. In the *Mischle Sindbad* a man replaces the monkey. Such a detail where the Jewish version of the tale differs from *Sindibad* adds credence to the theory that the bridge between the Eastern and Western versions was, in fact, the *Mischle Sindbad*.

4. ***Medicus*** [The Physician]: The famous physician, Ypocras, (Hippocrates), has a nephew who proves to be as adept as himself at diagnosing and curing illness. Ypocras, in a fit of jealousy, murders his own nephew.

This tale by Augustus again warns against rash behaviour which would lead to lasting remorse.

This tale only occurs in the Western *Seven Sages* tradition.

5. **Gaza** [The Treasure]: This tale is designated Type 510 , J 1146.1 in the ATU. The motif of the companion beheading his accomplice is an example of Type 950, K. 407.1.

A greedy emperor stores his vast treasure in a tall tower and puts a miser in charge of safeguarding it. A father and son break into the tower and steal some of the treasure. When the guardian discovers this, he is concerned that the emperor will suspect him of theft and sets a trap to catch the real thieves, should they return. They do so and the father falls into the tub of glue hidden in the doorway. The son decapitates his father and escapes, having thrown the head into a cesspit.

The Empress here suggests that the callous son will dispatch his father unceremoniously once he gains his parent's wealth. The thrust of *Gaza* is obvious: if the Prince is pardoned, he will overthrow his father.

Gaza is not only in all the western versions of the Seven Sages, but it also appears in *Dolopathos* where the tale is a much more complex. The son actually rescues the father's body by tricking those who are guarding it and, after many adventures, succeeds in marrying a princess. Such an ending is a very familiar folk tale motif, as found in the tale of *Vaticinium*.

6. ***Puteus*** [The Well]: This is an example of the ATU: J. 1545 type of tale, where a young wife tricks her husband. This is as opposed to the J 1541 type where the husband outwits the wife, as in *Tentamina.*

A sexually dissatisfied young wife takes a lover and leaves her house to meet him. Her elderly husband discovers her absence and locks the door so that she cannot re-enter to escape from the Watch who punish anyone found outside after curfew. She deceives her husband by pretending to drown herself. The husband relents, rushes outside to rescue her, but she quickly runs inside, locks him out leaving him to face punishment. In the Welsh tale she pretends to drown herself in a fishpond not in a well, as in other versions.

Lentillus's tale is an out-and-out, traditional misogynistic one. He warns the Emperor not to trust his young wife.

7. ***Ramus*** [The Branch]: A gentleman much admires a beautiful branch on one of the trees in his orchard. His gardener advises him to cut it off since it provides a way for thieves to enter the orchard and steal all the fruit. The owner refuses, and that night, thieves use the branch to climb in and strip the orchard of all its fruit.

The Empress again warns the Emperor of the danger that is posed by the young prince. He is the means whereby others, by implication the Sages, will destroy the Emperor and seize the kingdom.

This tale reinforces the Empress's case against both the Prince and his tutors. It is unique to the Welsh redaction and does not appear to have a counterpart in Thomson or the ATU list of traditional tales.

8. ***Roma- Lupus*** *[Rome - The Wolf]*

The tale in the Welsh differs considerably from its French parent. It not only includes a new story inserted into the original but it is also considerably shorter due to the excision of much detail by Llewelyn. The second tale is a version of one of Aesop's fables, also

found in Odo of Cheriton's *Fabulae,*which served as *exempla* for sermons. (ATU: No. 266, K 8153). These *Fabulae* had been translated into Welsh by this time.[237]

a) ***Roma***: Seven wise men ensure the safety of a large city with their wisdom. An evil, cruel king besieges that city, but offers to retreat if the Sages are tied up and delivered to him.

b) ***Lupus***: The foolish citizens believe the evil king and are about to carry this out when one of the Sages tells the tale of a shepherd who was harassed by a wolf who offers to leave the flock alone if the shepherd's fearsome dogs are tied up and given to him. The gullible shepherd complies with this. Naturally, the wolf kills the dogs, eats all the sheep and finally, kills the shepherd. This second tale convinces the citizens of the besieged city (*Roma*) to refuse the cruel king's devious request.

The frame of this combination of tales by Malquidas suggests to the Emperor that the Sages themselves ensure the safety of the kingdom, and by implication, that of the Emperor himself. The Empress, by association, is likened to the voracious wolf.

9. ***Virgilius*** [Virgil]: The magician Virgil had placed a mirror on the top of a tower. This mirror showed the citizens of Rome any approaching enemy so that they were never caught unawares. Two brothers offer to demolish the tower for a rival king if they are given two barrels of gold. The brothers bury these barrels then persuade the King of Rome that they have magical powers discover hidden treasure. They 'discover' the two barrels of gold that they themselves had hidden and persuade the greedy king that another is under the magic mirror's tower. Naturally, the king demolishes the tower and the mirror is smashed in the process. The Roman citizens execute the greedy king by pouring molten gold into him.

This tale by the Empress warns about deception and greed.

[237] *Chwedlau Odo,* in: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Llanstephan MS 4, the fourth book of the DG. It is in the hand of the scribe of Peniarth 32: '*Y Llyfr Teg'*., who also copied poetry into J 111.

10. ***Vidua*** [The Widow]: This tale is designated Type 1510, K 2213.1 in the ATU.

A young man accidentally injures his wife with a knife. Remorsefully, he stabs himself in grief and dies. His widow swears never to leave her dead husband's graveside until she too is dead. But when a handsome knight rides past, she hopes he will marry her. In pursuit of this end, she disinters and disfigures her husband's body, but the knight then refuses to marry a woman so faithless.

This misogynistic tale told by Cato demonstrates the fickle nature of women. The tale itself was exceptionally popular and had a long history, appearing in many separate guises such as the French fabliau: *La Dolente qui fu Fotue sur la Tonbe*.[238] The most well-known version of it being '*The Widow of Ephesus'*, one of Petronius' tales from *The Satyricon.*[239]

11. ***Sapientes*** [The Wise Men]: Seven Sages advise a king on ruling his city. However, they have already amassed much more wealth than he has and are now plotting to kill him and share his wealth between themselves. Each night, the king dreams of a seven-footed cauldron bubbling furiously, the sparks constantly blinding him. A young seer tells the king that the seven feet represent the Seven Sages themselves, and he must execute them before they assassinate him. He refuses and is murdered by the Sages.

The Empress's sixth tale is a direct attack on the Sages themselves. He warns that they are plotting the Emperor's overthrow. To avoid this, he must listen to her advice.

12. **Inclusa** [The Imprisoned Lady in the Tower]: A tunnel is built to enter a guarded woman's chamber. ATU: K. 1344.

A knight dreams each night that he is in a tall tower embracing the most beautiful girl in the world. He sets out to find her and discovers her, immured in such a tower by her jealous husband. The knight ingratiates himself with the husband, has a secret passage made so that he can visit her. They eventually trick the husband into allowing them to marry and escape back to the knight's homeland.

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[238] Dubin, Nathaniel E. transl., 'The Mourner who was fucked at the Graveside' *The Fabliaux, A New Verse Translation.* (New York and London, Liverlight Publishing Corporation, 2013.) 25, pp. 325-330.
[239] Petronius, *Satyricon,* chapter xiii. It is also found in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Book VIII, chapter II.

Another misogynistic tale with its roots deep in traditional storytelling. Jesse warns the Emperor that a young wife cannot be trusted.

13. ***Senescalcus*** [The Steward]: ATU: Type 1511.

This tale appears in all versions of the *Seven Sages*, both Eastern and Western. A king suffers from a debilitating illness. His physician advises him to have sex with a woman to complete his recovery. The greedy steward prostitutes his wife for the nine marks offered by the king. When the king refuses to allow the woman to leave next morning, the steward admits that she is his own wife, is condemned by the king for such a thing and is ruined, whereas the wife is rewarded.

This strange tale by the Empress is designed to show that she should be respected and not denigrated by an avaricious husband. She hopes that tale would surely shame the Emperor into believing her.

14. ***Tentamina*** [The Test]: A young wife has an unsatisfactory love life with her elderly husband. She announces to her mother that she will take a lover; the mother cautions her against arousing the ire of an old man. She instructs her daughter to test the husband, to see how patient he is and whether his anger is, indeed, terrible. The young wife tests him three times and eventually her husband's patience is exhausted. He has her bled, ostensibly to rid her of her bad humours. Following this, she abandons the idea of taking a lover.

This last, misogynistic tale told by a Sage, Martin, demonstrates the faithlessness of young wives. However, it also shows that a prudent older husband can control her.

15. ***Vaticinium*** [The Prophecy]: A father and son are fishing out at sea when the boy tells his father that the cawing crows above them are telling him that he will be more important than his own father one day. The father is so angry that he throws his son into the sea. The boy is rescued, sold into slavery but interprets the cawing of other crows for a king. As a reward, he is given half the kingdom and the king's daughter's hand in marriage. The boy's parents, who know nothing of this, are driven by famine to that same kingdom; not recognising their son, they assume he is a prince and treat him with

grovelling respect. He reveals himself as their son who was supposedly drowned, however, the young man forgives his father for the attempt on his life.

This tale is the culmination of the narrative. Here the Prince demonstrates that a father's jealous attempt to kill a son is forgiven, even when the son has grown rich and is now more powerful politically. The parallel between the moral of this internal tale and that of the frame tale is obvious: the father has no need to suspect his son of treachery and the loyal son is prepared to forgive the father's unreasonable behaviour. This tale demonstrates that even though the younger generation could easily displace the older if so minded, filial loyalty rules this out. This final tale by the Prince brings the cycle to a close, answering all the Empress's tales of filial disloyalty by demonstrating that the younger generation, however powerful they may later become, they will never undermine or disrespect their elders. The outcome in both the frame tale and the final intercalated tale illustrates that the younger generation acknowledges the older generation's fear of a putative coup by the younger but demonstrates, by its message, that such anxiety is unnecessary and misplaced.

Avis, (the Bird): This tale, included in every other redaction of the Seven Sages, is not included in the Welsh. The motif of a speaking bird is Type 516 in the ATU. Related by Cato, the tale tells of a talking magpie who informs her master whenever his deceitful young wife's lover attempts to enter the house. One starry night, when the husband is away on business, the lovers come together. On the husband's return, the magpie tells him this. But the wife has tricked the bird into believing a thunderstorm lashed the house that night. When the magpie mentions the stormy night as well as the lovers' tryst to the husband, he refuses to believe the bird and kills it for lying, only to discover the truth once it is dead.

9. The Cultural Context to the Middle Welsh *Seith Doethon Rufein*.

Seith Doethon Rufein first appears towards the end of the flowering of vernacular manuscript production in Wales. This flurry of output took place from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, throughout the whole of period of the Black Death of the middle of the fourteenth century. This flourishing had decelerated by the end of the Glyndwr rebellion at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[240] More than eighty books have survived from this era, fifty of them from the first hundred years, with fewer from the later period.[241] These manuscript books contain invaluable texts of early Welsh literature, not only of native vernacular works, both literary and legal, but also translations and adaptations of Latin and French texts.[242]

In the mid-nineteenth century four of these early manuscripts were designated the '*Four Ancient Books of Wales'* by William Skene.[243] One of these *Ancient Books* is *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, the Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW Peniarth MS 1). This manuscript, written entirely in the Welsh vernacular, is the earliest surviving manuscript book of Welsh poetry.[244] Gwenogvryn Evans originally considered that it was 'the work of several hands' and dated it to the twelfth century.[245] However, not only has Huws revised this date, placing it in the mid thirteenth century, but he has also established that only one, somewhat eccentric, scribe completed the undertaking over a long period of time, changing the layout of the book as he worked.[246] This scribe appears to have had an

[240] Huw, (2000), pp. 36-56. A full list of the Middle Welsh manuscript books, in chronological order, can be found in Huws (2000) pp. 58- 64.
[241] Daniel Huws, 'Llyfrau Cymraeg 1250- 1400'*, National Library of Wales Journal* Vol. XXVIII, Part 1, Summer (1993), pp. 1-21.
[242] Unusually, *Ystorya Bown o Hamptwn*, is a Middle Welsh rendering of an Anglo-Norman text: the *Geste de Boeve de Haumtone.* For a selection from this tale, see Erich Poppe and Regine Reck, eds., *Selections From* Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn (Cardiff, UWP, 2009).
[243] These four are: NLW Peniarth 1: 'The Black Book of Carmarthen'; NLW Peniarth 2: 'The Book of Taliesin'; NLW Cardiff, Central Library 2.81: 'The Book of Aneirin' and J 111:'The Red Book of Hergest'. William Forbes Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, Edmondson and Douglas, 1868).
[244] The Lichfield, or St Chad, Gospels are held at Lichfield Cathedral.
[245] Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts (*1899), vol.1, Part 2, p. 297.
[246] Huws (2000), p. 70.

agenda of copying all the known work of early Welsh poets into a systematic, ordered anthology. Previous to this, the Welsh bardic tradition of transmitting oral memorized poetry persisted. This corpus was handed down from the *penceirdd*, chief bards, to the younger apprentice poets who were expected to commit to memory a vast amount of long-established literary work, including extensive genealogies of Welsh kings. This was 'the life of the spoken not the written word'.[247] Huws surmises that a number of manuscript books, did exist previously, written in Latin but betraying their origin by the addition of vernacular glosses in Welsh.[248] Very few have survived, possibly due to their being written in Insular script, a script that had become unfamiliar, certainly by the thirteenth century when the gothic bookhand was used for display work, or *Anglicana*, the norm for official documents. The earliest surviving writing of Welsh literature, poetry or prose, was accidental, such as in the written evidence of '*cyfarwyddyd*': knowledge, especially as in this case, legal knowledge, added to the margins of the *Surrexit* passage in the eighth century Lichfield Gospels of St Chad, an outstanding manuscript similar to the Book of Kells or the Lindisfarne Gospels. Other early witnesses to the advanced nature of early Welsh are the *englynion* copied into the late ninth or early tenth century manuscript of the Latin *Evangelorium Libri* of Juvencus'.[249] These poems adhere to a strict literary formula which was already finely refined even at this early stage. [250]

A manuscript book which Huws argues should be considered as a fifth addition to Skene's '*Four Ancient Books'* is the *Hendregadredd Manuscript*, (NLW MS 6680B). [251] This

[247] Bromwich, (2006), p. liv.

[248] One of these is Bodleian, Auct. F.4.32 (St Dunstan's Classbook), which was written in the early ninth century. Huws, (2000), p. 7.

[249] *Juvencus*: Cambridge Trinity College, University Library, Ff.4.42. Huws, (2000), p. 67.

[250] The *englyn* is a short complex form of poetry which is still composed in Wales to this day. It has been compared to the Japanese Haiku. *Englynion* date from as early as the ninth or tenth century, or even earlier in the case of Aneurin's *Gododdin*. The *englyn* was one of the twenty-four forms of poetic metres traditionally mastered by the bards. A comprehensive description of the various forms of *englyn* and the complex rules of alliteration or *cynghanedd,* can be found in: Jenny Rowland, ed., *A Selection of Early Welsh Saga Poems* Library of Medieval Welsh Literature (London, Modern Humanities Research Association, 2014), pp. xxii- xxv. A selection of these, including *Eiry Mynydd*, can be found in the early section of: Thomas Parry, ed., *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962).

[251] Huws added this manuscript to the original four since it pre-dates two of Skene's 'Four': *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, (J 111) and *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (NLW, Peniarth 4 and 5). It is one of the two sources of the poetry of the *Gogynfeirdd*, the Poets of the Princes. The other is J 111. Huws (2000), pp. 65-83.

was re-discovered in a wardrobe at Hendregadredd, a mansion in Pentrefelin near Criccieth, North Wales in 1910, having been lost from Robert Vaughan's extensive library at Hengwrt.[252] Both this manuscript and J 111 preserve the praise poetry of the *Gogynfeirdd*, the poets of the Welsh princes of Wales. There is no doubt as to the dating of J 111 since much of it is in the hand of Hywel Fychan who was active at the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth.[253] However, as Huws explains, *Hendregadredd* has been variously assigned to the thirteenth, fourteenth or even fifteenth century.[254] One scribe, designated 'Hand ***α***' by Huws, is responsible for what Huws describes as 'Stratum 1' of the book: the careful 'compilation' of the various aspects of the works of the *Gogynfeirdd*, ending with Bleddyn Fardd's elegy to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last Welsh Prince of Wales, who was killed in 1282.[255] Hand ***α***'s systematic arrangement of the anthology is maintained by the nineteen scribes who follow in Huws's 'Stratum II', unlike the twenty 'hands' of 'Stratum III.[256] Though some texts in 'III' are in cursive *Anglicana* and not in the *textura* of the earlier sections, by close palaeographical study, as well as consideration of the contents of the manuscript, Huws concludes that *Hendregadredd* is an early-to-mid fourteenth century work.[257] Thus, it pre-dates J 111 by nearly half a century, making *Hendregadredd* the earliest witness to the poetry of the Gogynfeirdd. By the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century we have an influx of vernacular manuscripts, such as the *Book of Aneirin* (Cardiff MS 2.81). This manuscript contains the only early witness to the poem: the *Gododdin,*[258] a work

[252] At his death, Vaughan's library, which also contained invaluable Cornish work as well as the '*Hengwrt Chaucer*', was bequeathed to his friend, William Watkin Edward Wynne of Peniarth, Towyn. The 'Hengwrt manuscripts' were then renamed the 'Peniarth Manuscripts'. These were later bought by Sir John Williams (1840-1926), who donated them to the fledgling National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1909, where they retained the classification of 'Peniarth'.

[253] See Charles-Edwards (1979/80). Huws also gives details of the Philadelphia MS 8680.0 (Library Company of Philadelphia), where the scribe identifies himself: '*y llyur hwnn a yscriuennwys howel vychan uab hywel goch o uuellt […] o arch a gorchymun y vaster nyt amgen Hopkyn uab Thomas uab einawn*'. 'This book was written by Hywel Fychan ap Hywel Goch of Buellt […] at the behest of his master, Hopcyn ap Tomas ab Einion' (Huws, 2000, p. 80.) This hand can be recognised in much of J 111 and in Llanstephan 27, (The Red Book of Talgarth) as well as Peniarth 11, Oxford Jesus 57 and in part of Cardiff 3. 242.

[254] Sir John Morris-Jones suggested the thirteenth century, the NLW assigned it to the fourteenth century and Gwenogvryn Evans placed it in the mid-fifteenth century. Huws (2000), p. 194.

[255] Huws (2000), pp. 198-201.

[256] Huws (2000), p. 204.

[257] Huws (2000), pp. 193-226.

[258] 'Gododdin' is considered to be the area of Lothian, Scotland, with as its capital Din Edin, or Edinburgh.

traditionally attributed to Aneirin, one of the five famous poets of Wales named in Nennius's ninth century *Historia Brittonum,* hence the name of the book.[259] The poem eulogizes the warriors who fell in battle at *Catraeth*, modern day Catterick, in a disastrous campaign against the Saxons ordered by their chieftain, Mynyddawg Mwynfawr, at some time during the late sixth or early seventh century. [260] Though there are two scribal hands evident in the manuscript, the later writer makes use of an orthography taken from Old Welsh. This indicates that the poem dates from a period well before the thirteenth century,[261] though this cannot verify Aneirin's authorship. Within this small manuscript we also find the long poem: *Gwarchan Maeldderw,* Maeldderw's poem or '*lai*', which also celebrates the memory of the warriors of Catraeth.[262] This *gwarchan* is attributed to another of the sixth century Welsh poets identified by Nennius: Taliesin. His name has been associated with another of Skene's *Four Ancient Books*: the early fourteenth century manuscript NLW Peniarth 2, or *Book of Taliesin*. This title was bestowed upon the book at some point whilst it was still at Hengwrt, before Edward Lhuyd produced his list of the manuscripts at the seventeenth-century antiquary Robert Vaughan's library for the *Archaeologia Britannica* in 1707.[263] The poet Taliesin is associated with Urien, the sixth century ruler of Rheged, the Bryttonic kingdom of the 'Old North', modern-day Cumbria to the Solway firth, and Urien's son, Owain. 'Taliesin' writes with 'dramatic vividness'[264] of the aftermath of the battle of Argoed Llwyfain:

A rac gweith Arget Llwyfain bu llawer kelein,

Rudei vrein rac ryfel guyr. [265]

There were many corpses after the battle of Arget Llwyfain,

Bloody were the ravens from the war of men.

[259] The five poets are: Aneirin, Taliesin, Talhaearn Tad Awen, Blwchbardd and Cian. Only work attributed to Aneirin and Taliesin have been ascribed to these early poets. Huws suggests that the name, '*Llyfr Aneirin*' was given to the book by Edward Lhuyd. Huws (2000), p. 65.

[260] '*Hwn yw y Gododin. Aneirin ae cant*', 'This is the Gododdin. Aneirin sang it'. Huws (2000), p. 74. Llyfr Aneirin, NLW, Cardiff MS 2. 81, p. 1, 1.

[261] Huws (2000), p. 74.

[262] '*Gwarchan Maelderew. Talyessin ae cant…*', Maelderew's poem. Taliesin sang it…', *Llyfr Aneirin*, NLW, Cardiff, MS 2.81, p. 28, 15.

[263] Marged Heycock, Llyfr Taliesin, *NLWJ*, Vol.25, part 4, Winter (1988), pp. 357-381.

[264] Parry (1962), p. 537.

[265] *The Book of Taliesin*, NLW, Peniarth 2, fol. 27v, 22-23.

Of the sixty or so poems in the anthology Ifor Williams considered that twelve did, indeed, belong to that early date, with many others belonging to the ninth or tenth centuries.[266] For example, the prophetic poem *Armes Prydein Vawr* has been dated to the early tenth century. This is based on the knowledge that the alliance between the Welsh and the Vikings of Dublin as sought in the poem was of this period.[267] The intricately crafted verse evidenced in *Armes* displays a sophisticated structure where the rules of *cynghanedd,* (the strict alliterative verbal skeleton of Welsh poetry), were well-established as early as the tenth century. Another poem found in *Llyfr Taliesin* is *Preideu Annwfn*, The Spoils of Annwfn, dating from the early tenth century. In it we have an early mention of Arthur as a leader of a band of warriors, as opposed to his absence from *Armes Prydein*. The Arthur of *Annwfn* is not the successful chivalric King Arthur of later literature; his voyage to seize a marvellous cauldron and spear from '*Annwfn*', the Underworld, is a disaster. As in the *Gododdin*, only a fraction of the company of warriors returns safely home: a mere seven men in all.[268]

The same poem also mentions Pwyll and Pryderi, characters who appear in the native tales of the *Mabinogi*.[269] Here they appear to be responsible for the imprisonment of Gweir, [270] one of the '*Tri Goruchel Garcharawr'*, the Three Eminent Prisoners of Britain in the Triads. This is a list of three famous persons or episodes, considered to be an *aide mémoire* for poets and storytellers.[271] Though we know nothing of this particular episode,[272] their inclusion in the poem implies that both were well-established personalities in the Welsh audience's literary consciousness by the early fourteenth

[266] Entry for Taliesin by Sir Ifor Williams in *DWB:* https://biography.wales/article/s-TALI-ESI-0575
[267] Prior to 920 Wales was as open to Viking attack as was England; a period of truce then followed until 960 when the Viking attacks resumed. See: Helen Fulton, 'Tenth Century Wales and *Armes Prydein*' *THSC,* New Series, Vol. 7 (2000/ 2001), pp. 5-18.
[268] One of these ships is named '*Pridwen*', or 'Prytwen', the same as given to Arthur's ship in *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen, Testun Syr Idris Foster wedi ei olygu a'i orffen* Second Edition (Cardiff, UWP, 1997), p. 34, 938.
[269] Pwyll is the principal character of the first Branch. It has been mooted that the four tales are the story of Pryderi's life cycle from birth to death.
[270] See the entry for Gweir[2:] in Bromwich, (2006), pp. 373-4: 'Prepared was the prison of *Gweir* in *Caer Sidi*, according to the story of Pwyll and Pryderi.'
[271] Bromwich, (2006), pp. 146-147, 52. *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (NLW, Peniarth MS 4), fol. 57r, col. 330, 3
[272] Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi, allan o Lyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (Cardiff, UWP, 1930, reprinted, 1978), p. lii. Hereafter it is referred to as 'PKM'.

century at the very latest, and most probably earlier than that. Both have central roles in the four native tales, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, popularised by Lady Charlotte Guest in her nineteenth century English translation.[273] Though the tales are found in full in two medieval manuscripts: Peniarth MS 5 (*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*) and J 111, (both of which date to the fourteenth century), fragments of *Branwen* and *Manawydan*, the second and third branches of the *Mabinogi*, first appeared in NLW Peniarth MS 6, which dates to the mid thirteenth century. [274] Guest's translation was intended to demonstrate that the tales were 'venerable relics of ancient lore'. [275] It was argued that they harked back to Celtic times, preserving the myths of a period long before they were written down in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Ifor Williams studied the orthography of the tales, especially that in the earlier manuscript, Peniarth 6, and was drawn to the conclusion that the written tales date back to a period before 1100.[276] Davies states that these tales, set in pre-Christian, magical times, are the work of one skilled storyteller.[277]
This demonstrates the richness of Welsh native literary culture at an early date.

Many of these early Welsh texts copied into manuscripts were for a specific purpose and not simply literary works. Instructive matter was also copied, such as the extensive medical texts that are found in J 111 relating to *'Meddygon Myddfai*', 'the Physicians of Myddfai'. This family of healers were reputed to be descendants of Rhiwallon and his sons, Cadwgan, Gruffudd and Einion, physicians to the prince of Deheubarth, Rhys Grug, who died in 1234.[278] Other early manuscript books were dedicated to the Welsh laws of Hywel Dda. These native Welsh laws purported to be the outcome of an assembly of all

[273] Lady Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion* (1838-1845). Eleven tales in all were included in Guest's *Mabinogion,* not just the *Pedair Cainc.* We also have *Peredur, The Dream of Emperor Maxen, Lludd and Llefelys, Owein or The Lady of the Fountain, Geraint, son of Erbin, The Dream of Rhonabwy* and *Culhwch and Olwen*. For a recent translation see: Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion, Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, OUP, 2007).
[274] 'The text is practically the same as that of MS 4 [*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*], but purer.' Gwenogvryn Evans, (1899), p. 316.
[275] Quoted in Davies, *Mabinogion* (2007), p. xxviii.
[276] PKM, pp. xii-xx.
[277] Davies, (2007), p. xxvi. Davies further suggests a date somewhere between c. 1060 and 1120 for their compilation. (p. xxvii).
[278] They are linked in folklore to the tale of Llyn y Fan in the Brecon Beacons. It is a tale in which a local farmer married a fairy wife who taught her sons healing. John Jones, the last in the line of these physicians died in 1739.

his subjects called by Hywel, the tenth century king of Deheubarth, who eventually became king of all Wales.[279] The earliest of these copies of the Laws, NLW Peniarth MS 28, is in Latin and bears the pressmark of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.[280] Huws dates it to the 'mid-thirteenth century'.[281] Later copies were in Welsh, such as Cambridge Trinity College MS O.7.1, NLW Peniarth MS 36A and NLW Peniarth MS 36B, all copied by Gwilym Wasta at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[282] These three can be dated since the scribe identifies himself in Latin at the beginning of the text of the Cambridge manuscript, and in Welsh later.[283] Gwilym Wasta was a burgess of Newtown in 1302/3,[284] some twenty years after the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. However, even though the Statute of Rhuddlan (1284) had established the superiority of English criminal law after the Edwardian Conquest of Wales in 1282, Welsh customary law,[285] the laws of Hywel Dda, survived in those areas of Wales and the Marches which had not supported the Welsh prince against the English king, Edward I, and thus were still subject to customary Welsh laws.[286] Hywel Fychan, the scribe of J 111, was also responsible for copying the Welsh laws into another manuscript: Oxford, Jesus College MS 57. The existence of about forty manuscripts containing details of the laws of Hywel Dda from this period up until the sixteenth century demonstrates that it was a living entity beyond the Edwardian Conquest, especially since many of these manuscript books are of a compact pocket-size, easily carried, and show signs of wear and regular use.[287] This is evidence of the survival

[279] Huws, 'Llyfrau Cymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol' in *Cof Cenedl*, Vol XII, (Llandyssul, Gwasg Gomer, 1997), pp.3-31. Also: Huws, (2000), pp. 168-176.

[280] The pressmark is on fol. 30v; Huws, (2000), pp.169-176. A photograph of the pressmark can be seen on p.170.

[281] Huws, (2000), p. 175.

[282] See: Morfydd E. Owen and Dafydd Jenkins, 'Gwilym Was Da' *NLWJ*, 21 (1979-80), pp. 429-30.

[283] '*Gulielmus Wasta hoc opus scripsit*', Cambridge Trinity MS 0.7.i, fol. 1. On fol. 68r, he writes in Welsh: '*Gwilym Wasta or Drenewydd'*. Huws points out that the borough of Newtown was only established in 1298, therefore, Gwilym could not have described himself a burgess of Newtown before that date. Huws, (2000), p. 47.

[284] Paul Russell, '*Canyt oes aruer*', Gwilym Wasta and the Laws of Court in Welsh Law *North American Journal of Celtic Studies*, Vol.1, No.2 (November 2017), pp. 173-188.

[285] NLW Peniarth MS 28 is a Latin copy of the Laws. That it was written in Latin and not Welsh suggests that it was copied for an ecclesiastic not a Welsh-speaking layman nor lawyer. It was kept at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury for some time. Another five of these manuscript books containing the Welsh law are also in Latin. Dafydd Jenkins, transl. and ed., *The Law of Hywel Dda. Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul, Gwasg Gomer, First Impression 1986, Second Impression 1990), p. xxi.

[286] Jenkins, *Law* (1990), p. xviii.

[287] Jenkins, (1990), p. xi.

of the Welsh law code until it was finally rendered obsolete by Henry VIII's 'Laws in Wales' Acts of 1535 and 1542.[288]

One person who exemplifies this continuation of the use of Hywel's Laws is Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd of Parcrhydderch, near Llangeitho, mid Wales.[289] Rhydderch himself was a descendant of Arglwydd Rhys, the twelfth century princely Lord of Deheubarth. Between 1380 and 1392 Rhydderch served as official '*Dosbarthwr*', or mediator, where a thorough knowledge of the laws of Hywel Dda was necessary to hear local appeals, ensuring that a miscarriage of justice had not occurred. At the same time, Rhydderch was sufficiently expert in English law that he held the offices of Beadle and Constable of Mabwynion and Steward and Deputy-Justiciar of Cardiganshire.[290] A poem to Rhydderch by Dafydd y Coed likens him to a strong, wise Solomon: '*cryf Selyf*', dispensing justice in an unbiased way, proficient in Welsh Latin, French and English, administering the law in all languages: *cyfraith trwy bob iaith o'i ben*.'[291]

However, his fame now lies in his patronage of early Welsh literature, with his name forever associated with yet another of Skene's '*Four Ancient Books'*: *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, the White Book of Rhydderch.[292] This is now in two different manuscript books: NLW Peniarth 4 and NLW Peniarth 5. Peniarth 5 is considered to be the first section and contains Welsh translations of the Charlemagne cycle, but in most part we have translations of Latin religious tracts. One of the earliest dateable of the latter is a Welsh rendering of the religious text: *Transitus Beatae Mariae*, Marwolaeth Mair. It was originally commissioned from Madog ap Selyf towards the end of the thirteenth century by Gruffudd ap Maredudd ab Owain, the great-grandson of the Arglwydd Rhys, the Lord Rhys, ruler of Deheubarth.[293] Madog ap Selyf may have been associated with the Cistercian Abbey, Strata Florida, founded originally by the Anglo-Norman Robert fitz

[288] Jenkins, (1990), p. xvii.
[289] Huws, (2000), p. 228.
[290] John K. Bollard, 'Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd' in DWB.
[291] From the elegy to Rhydderch by Gruffudd Llwyd. Huws, (2000), p.251.
[292] *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*: NLW, Peniarth MS 4 and NLW, Peniarth MS 5.
[293] Huws, (2000), p.249 and Note 35 (same page). '*Yr Arglwydd Rhys',* the Lord Rhys (1132- 1197) was Lord of Deheubarth during the reign of Henry II. He is credited with holding the very first *eisteddfod* in 1176. This was announced at the time as an international competition between leading bards.
DWB: https://biography.wales/article/s-RHYS-APG-1132

Stephen but re-founded by Arglwydd Rhys in 1184.[294] At the same time that Gruffudd was commissioning his translation, his sister, Efa, requested a Welsh translation of the Latin *Credo of St Athanasius* from Brother Gruffudd Bola.[295] Both of these Welsh translations appear in Peniarth 5, associated with their descendant, Rhydderch ab Ieuan. The manuscript, or manuscripts originally presented to Gruffudd and his sister Efa at the end of the thirteenth century have not survived. They must have existed since, in his introduction to the *Credo*, Gruffudd Bola states he works so that Efa will be able to read and understand the Creed:

> '*y kymereis i arnaf vchydic o lauur y troy yr Credo hvnn yn ieith y gellych ti y darllein a'e dyall…'*[296]
>
> ' I took upon myself some labour to turn this *Credo* into a language that you could read and understand…'

This implies that Efa herself could read and was keen to do so, but that she was not at ease in Latin. We can only guess what other texts could have been included in a book presented to Efa but judging from her request for a translation of a religious tract it is probable that these texts would have been of a religious flavour, very much as is the first section of Peniarth 5.[297]

At the time that these Latin religious texts were being translated into Welsh, texts belonging to the French literary canon of late medieval Europe were also becoming popular, notably the 'Matter of France'. Thus we find *Ystoria Carlo Magno*, the Welsh version of the adventures of Charlemagne, and *Can Rolant* (the *Chanson de Roland*), *Roland and Otfel,* (*Otuel*) and *Cronicl Turpin* (the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*) in Welsh manuscripts dating from the fourteenth century.[298] These texts appeared alongside the

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[294] Madog could also possibly have been associated with Llanbadarn Fawr, the other seat of learning in Ceredigion, the region of Gruffudd ap Maredudd's influence.

[295] Huws, (2000), p. 249.

[296] NLW, Peniarth 5, fol. 48v, 3-5

[297] A list of the contents of the manuscript, as well as a transcript of the text, can be consulted at: RHG: NLW MS Peniarth 5 (*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch,* part 1).

[298] Madog ap Selyf's Welsh translation of *Turpin's History* was also commissioned by Gruffudd ap Maredudd. On fol. 78v, col. 81, 1-5 we find: '*A'r llyur hwnn a ymchoeles Madawc ap Selyf o Ladin yg Kymraeg, o adolwyn a deisyf Grufud vab Maredud ab Owein ap Gruffud ab Rys.*' Madawc ab Selyf translated this from Latin to Welsh at the behest of Gruffudd ap Maredudd ab Owein ap Gruffydd ap Rhys.' Stephen J. Williams, *Ystorya de Carlo Magno* (Cardiff, UWP, 1968), p. 41, 7.

Latin religious translations found in the first part of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*: NLW, Peniarth MS 5.[299] We know that NLW, Peniarth MS 9, copied in 1336 by the scribe *Ieuan Ysgolhaig*, Ieuan the Scholar, contains *Pererindod Siarlymaen*, a Welsh translation of the French Chanson de Geste: *Le Pélerinage de Charlemagne*.[300] Other French texts translated into Welsh and adapted to a Welsh audience included Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain ou le Chevalier au Lion*, which dates from the end of the twelfth century in France. This appeared a century later in NLW Peniarth MS 4, the second section of *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, as the tale of *Owein* or *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn.*[301] Two other Welsh Romances aligned with Chrétien's poetry[302] are *Gereint uab Erbin*, the Welsh rendering of Chrétien's *Erec et Enide,*[303] and *Peredur*, the Welsh version of Chrétien's *Perceval*. All three occur in Peniarth 4, c. 1350. They also feature in J 111, however, only a brief fragment of *Owein* is to be found in J 20, with the tale stopping abruptly at the bottom of folio 22r.[304] The argument concerning the relationship between Chrétien's romances and their Welsh counterparts has been the subject of much debate, from the nineteenth century when Lady Charlotte Guest published her *Mabinogion*, onwards. As Lloyd-Morgan points out, much was 'motivated by emotion and by pre-conceived ideas'.[305] One the one side of the argument were those who supported of the theory that they were native Welsh tales embellished by Chrétien. On the opposing side were those who could

[299] Aberystwyth, NLW Peniarth MS 5: *'Ystoria Carlo Magno'*: Turpin Chronicle: fol. 66r, col. 31,1 - fol. 78v, 81, 5. *Otfel,* Otuel: fol.78v, col. 81, 34- fol. 89v, col. 126, 34, (the tale breaks off abruptly at the final line of the folio). *Pererindod Siarlymaen,* Charlemagne's Pilgrimage: fol. 91r, col. 127- fol. 99v, col. 161, 28. *Can Rolant*, The Song of Roland: fol. 99v, col. 161, 29 - fol. 118v, col. 238, 11.
See: www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/cy/manuscripts.php. for a list of the manuscripts.

[300] www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Pen9

[301] NLW Peniarth MS 4, fol. 49r-col. 229, 1 - fol. 51v, then: fol. 52r- fol. 54v, col. 256, 39. The text is incomplete, but it also appears in J 20, (fol. 16r- fol. 22r.), but again, is incomplete. It is also in J 111, fol. 154v, col. 627-161v, col. 655.

[302] The exact relationship between the Welsh texts and the French is still unclear, as W. J. McCann states: '*fy mod yn credu nad* oes *modd datrus y broblem gydag unrhyw bendantrwydd*,' 'I believe there is no way of resolving the problem with any certainty.' W.J. McCann, 'Adeiledd y Tair Rhamant' in *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, XIII, 1985 (Denbigh, Gwasg Gee), p. 133.

[303] The character 'Gereint vab Erbin' first appears in Welsh literature in a fragment of NLW Peniarth, MS 1, dated to about 1250. See the entry on Gereint in Bromwich, (2006), pp.356-360. NLW: https://www.llgc.org.uk/blackbook

[304] The final sentence of the text in J 20 reads: '*ac yn yml y fynnawn y mae…*' 'and near the well there is…' The next folio of the manuscript begins with the religious work '*Ymborth yr Enaid',* 'The Nourishment of the Soul', which is in a different hand from *Owein* (J 20, fol. 21v, 21- fol. 22r, 1). This would suggest that some folios have been lost.

[305] Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Migrating Narratives: *Peredur, Owain*, and *Geraint*' in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature* Helen Fulton, ed. (Chichester, Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 128-141.

not believe that a tiny country such as Wales was capable of producing such literary material, and that Chrétiens masterpieces had been 'incompetently translated'.[306] This, of course, was the criticism levelled at the *Chwedleu* by Gaston Paris.[307] Such disparagement failed to take into account the rich heritage of traditional Welsh literature.

These vernacular Welsh translations and adaptations appear alongside *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein,* not only in J 20 but also in *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, J 111, a manuscript which has been described by Huws as a collection of the 'classics of Welsh literature'.[308] These 'classics' include not only the Welsh traditional tales of the *Mabinogion*, but also vernacular adaptations of Chrétien's French romances and the 'Charlemagne' cycle. However, it is not just French tales that are adopted into Welsh, '*Diharebion*', Proverbs, also feature in J 111 where they are copied in Hywel Fychan's hand.[309] Such 'truths' were well known in literary circles at this time. Some of the Welsh *diharebion* in J 111 are found in English collections of proverbs and some may be translations from Latin, but many more are only found in Old French sayings of the period which suggests a close affinity between the literary interests of Wales and those of France.[310] From this, we can see that *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* is not an isolated instance of a translation from the French, but is part of a well-established cultural phenomenon; an indication of a close link between the Welsh literary class and the European cultural scene, especially that of France.

[306] Lloyd-Morgan, *Migrating Narratives* (2012), p. 128.
[307] Gaston Paris, '*Les contes orientaux'* (1874), pp. 90-91.
[308] Huws, (2000), p. 82.
[309] The *Diharebion* in J 111 are fully discussed in: Richard Glyn Roberts, *Diharebion Llyfr Coch Hergest* (Aberystwyth, CMCS, 2013).
[310] Roberts points out that some of the Welsh proverbs in J 111 are only found in Old French: '*mae'n awgrymog fod cymaint o ddiarhebion yng nghasgliadau'r Llyfr Coch nas ceir fel arall ond mewn casgliadau Hen Ffrangeg*.' 'It would appear that much of the collection of proverbs in the Red Book cannot be found in other collections and are only to be found in Old French collections.' Roberts, *Diharebion* (2013), p. 7.

10. The Historical Background

The Normans were established on the borders of Wales from at least 1051 when Edward the Confessor made his nephew, Ralph of Mantes Earl of Hereford, replacing the banished Sweyn Godwinson. Harold Godwinson reclaimed the title in 1058, only to die at Hastings in 1066. Following his death, the earldom was given by William the Conqueror to William fitz Osbern in 1067. This was but one of the Marcher lordships given by William to his barons; another was Chester, originally granted to Gerbod the Fleming and later to Hugh d'Avranches (Hugh Lupus), in 1071. In 1074 Shrewsbury was granted to Roger de Montgomerie who gave his name to the Welsh county. From that time onwards the Normans became established, not only on the borders of Wales but within the country itself. Though Gwynedd generally remained a Welsh stronghold, North East Wales (now Flintshire and parts of Denbighshire) became part of the Earldom of Chester.[311] This did not mean that relations between the Normans and the Welsh were peaceful. Much warfare took place: for example, the Norman Robert of Rhuddlan, who had previously aided Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd, was killed in raid on his lands by the Welsh at the Great Orme, Llandudno in 1088.

The extent of Norman penetration into Welsh life is illustrated by the life of Nest, the daughter, of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last King of Deheubarth and his wife, Gwladys ferch Rhiwallon of Powys. Rhys was killed in battle against the Normans in 1093. *Brut y Tywysogyon* laments that Rhys was 'slain by Frenchmen who were inhabiting Brycheiniog ... with whom fell the kingdom of the Britons'.[312] Following this battle, Nest was taken to William Rufus's court, where she attracted the attention of young prince Henry (later king Henry I), becoming his mistress and giving birth to his illegitimate son, Henry fitz Henry. However, she did not remain at the Norman Court; by 1105 she had been given in marriage to Gerald of Windsor, constable of Pembroke castle. Her son, David fitz Gerald, became bishop of St David's and at his consecration renounced any intention of

[311] Though this area changed hands on various occasions.

[312] Thomas Jones, ed and transl., *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes. Peniarth MS 20 Version* Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales History and Law Series, N0 11 (Cardiff, UWP, 1952), p. 10.

requesting that the Pope make St David's a Metropolitan see, as had been mooted in the past.[313] His appointment as Bishop appears to have been a compromise between the Norman and Welsh canons at St David's since his parentage, a mix of Norman and Welsh, fitted perfectly him for the office.[314] David Fitz Gerald's nephew and Nest's grandson, Gerald of Wales (*Giraldus Cambrensis*), was proposed as his successor in 1176, but Henry II opposed his appointment. Gerald then retreated to the university of Paris to lecture until 1180. Obviously, a Norman-Welsh scholar who attended that university must have been proficient in both Latin (as evidenced in Gerald's writings)[315] and French, though there is some uncertainty as to how conversant he was with Welsh.

The close affiliation between Wales and France and the extent to which the two cultures were integrated by the fourteenth century can be seen from the inventory of the six books once owned by the Welsh rebel Llywelyn Bren, who was executed in 1318, The French *Le Roman de la Rose* appears alongside the three unidentified Welsh books in the Welsh language.[316] Llywelyn must have been an enlightened man, interested in contemporary literature, both in his own language and in French since the *Roman de la Rose* was only completed towards the end of the previous century; originally composed by Guillaume de Lorris. Some years later, after Lorris's death in 1278, it was continued by Jean de Meun.[317] Llewelyn Bren's ownership of this text demonstrates that, not only was this prominent figure in Welsh aristocracy the owner of a French text in its original language but he was the owner of a controversial work, most probably able to read it in the original French: this Welsh knight was interested enough in recent literary debate to own a copy of such

[313] This claim was resurrected by Owain Glyndwr in the early fifteenth century.
[314] David Fitz Gerald took part in the consecration of Thomas Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162.
[315] Gerald of Wales, with his Geraldine relations, was well-suited to accompany Prince John to Ireland in 1185. Following this, he produced his *Topographia Hibernica* and his *Expugnatio Hibernica*. His journey through Wales accompanying Archbishop Baldwin to raise support for the Third Crusade in 1188 is chronicled in his *Itinerarium Cambriae* (1191) and *Descriptio Cambriae* (1194).
[316] Huws, (2000), p. 54 and Note 36.
[317] A 'digital library' of manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* compiled by Johns Hopkins's Sheridan Libraries in conjunction with the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* can be viewed at: http://www.romandelarose.org. The collection comprises 'digital surrogates' of more than 130 manuscripts, including a late thirteenth century copy of the *Roman*: BnF Français 378. In the early fifteenth century the completion of the work sparked a lively academic debate about misogyny: *La querelle du Roman de la Rose*. This subject preoccupied the literary figures of the time, figures such as Christine de Pisan, whose poem, *La Dit de la Rose*, appeared in 1402.

a work, showing that he was in tune with contemporary European cultural developments. Recently Andrew Breeze has argued that the influence of Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* can be discerned in the work of the Welsh poet Dafydd ap Gwilym.[318] Breeze analyses Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem to the North Wind: '*Yr wybrwynt helynt hylaw'*, 'the impetuous wind of the sky'.[319] This he compares to de Meun's section on weather in *phénomènes naturels* , 'natural phenomena'[320] in the *Roman de la Rose* and comes to the conclusion that de Meun's work had been read by Dafydd ap Gwilym and, most probably, had a significant effect on his work. If this is the case, as Breeze states, 'French culture had a deeper impact' not only on Welsh poetry, the subject of the article, but on Welsh literature in general.[321]

That the *Roman de la Rose,* Charlemagne's adventures, Chrétien's tales and *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*, the Welsh redaction of the popular French *Les Sept Sages de Rome,* should appear in Wales at this time is unsurprising. It was said that there were more Welsh infantrymen than English serving in Edward I's army in France in 1277.[322] By the fourteenth century contact between Wales and France had become even more extensive. This was the period of the Hundred Years' War when many men from Wales fought in France, some on the English side and some on the French. One such was Hywel ap Gruffudd, better known as Hywel *Y Fwyall*: Hywel of the Axe, Constable of Criccieth castle by 1359. He had fought alongside the Black Prince both at Poitiers and Crécy, being knighted on the battlefield at Crécy.[323] Another was the Flintshire man, Sir Gregory Sais,[324] one of the Black Prince's commanders who campaigned in France and Castile on behalf of the English in the 1360s, and later became Captain of Berwick on Tweed, where

[318] Andrew Breeze, 'Jean de Meun and Dafydd ap Gwilym*', NLWJ*, Vol. 34, No.3 (2008), pp. 311-321.
[319] The poem has been translated into English by Rachel Bromwich: *Dafydd ap Gwilym, A Selection of Poems* (Llandysul, Gwasg Gomer, 1982).
[320] Breeze, *Jean de Meun* (2008), 17880-18012.
[321] Breeze, (2008), p. 320.
[322] Prestwich, Michael, 'Welsh Infantry in Flanders in 1297', in *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages* R. A. Griffiths and P.R. Schofield, eds. (Cardiff, UWP, 2011), p. 56.
[323] His prowess with his axe was held in such awe that the Black Prince was said to have given the axe a place of honour at his table, setting food down in front of it- a practice that, apparently lasted until the reign of Elizabeth 1. DWB: 'Hywel ap Gruffudd'. Entry composed by Professor Thomas Jones Pierce.
[324] A.D. Carr, 'A Welsh Knight in the Hundred Years War: Sir Gregory Sais' *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1977), pp.42-53. Consult online at: http://www.journals.library.wales.
Also: Froissart, *Chronicles*, W.E. Henley ed., Lord Berners transl. (D. Nutt, London, 1901) Volume II, p. 189.

Owain Glyndŵr and his brother Tudur, served under him. Whilst serving in France, Sir Gregory had married a French woman, the wealthy widow, Ragonde Béchet, daughter of the Signeur des Landes.[325] Though there is no evidence that either was a patron of literature, such a marriage shows how closely the two cultures were associated.

Whereas Sir Gregory Sais served the English crown and in 1347 the poet Iolo Goch[326] wrote a *cywydd* in praise of Edward III, [327] the last male heir of the princes of Gwynedd, Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri ap Gruffudd, known as '*Owain Lawgoch'* (Owain of the Red Hand),[328] fought for the French against Edward III, the Black Prince and Richard II.[329] Owain was perceived to be enough of a danger to the English king that, in 1378, at the siege of Mortaigne-sur-Mer, he was assassinated by a Scottish agent of the English crown.[330] Owain's Welsh band of mercenaries was then led by his deputy, Ieuan Wyn, known in France as '*le Poursuivant d'Amor*', who was a descendant of Ednyfed Fychan, Llywelyn Fawr's *distain*, or steward.[331] Again, we have no evidence that Owain Lawgoch

[325] Sir Gregory is also mentioned in about 1385 by the Welsh poet Gruffudd Llwyd as a knighted hero of the Hundred Years' War. Carr, (1977), p. 42.

[326] C.1320 -c.1398. Henry Lewis's entry on 'Iolo Goch' Online *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales) https://bywgraffiadur.cymru/article/c-IOLO-GOC-1320 or: https://biography.wales/article/s-IOLO-GOC-1320

[327]Thomas Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* (Cardiff, UWP, 1964), p. 123.
Iolo Goch also penned a famous panegyric to Owain Glyndŵr. R. R. Davies gives a resumé of this in his *Owain Glyndŵr Prince of Wales.* R. R. Davies, Gerald Morgan transl, (Ceredigion, Talybont, Y Lolfa, 2009), p.9.
For an in-depth study of Iolo Goch, see: D.R. Johnston, ed., *Gwaith Iolo Goch* (Cardiff, 1988).

[328] Owain Lawgoch was the great-great-grandson of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (Llywelyn Fawr, 'Llywelyn the Great') and great-nephew of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (Llywelyn ein Llyw Olaf, Llywelyn the last Welsh Prince of Wales). He was the last direct male descendant of the House of Gwynedd.

[329] Even though in 1365 he claimed his family's Welsh lands in Mechain, Powys, Owain appears not to have any strong ties with Wales itself since he returned to France less than a year later. He pronounced himself Prince of Wales in 1372. The *DWB* describes Owain Lawgoch as: 'A soldier of fortune and a pretender to the principality of Wales.' https://biography.wales/article/s-OWAI-APT-1378.html. The full story of Owain is told in: A.D. Carr, *Owen of Wales: the End of the House of Gwynedd* (Cardiff, UWP, 1991).

[330] The manuscript, British Library, Royal 14 E IV fol. 23, illustrates the siege and shows the assassinated Owain, or 'Yvain de Galles', as he was known in France. The assassin, John Lamb, a Scot, was paid the enormous sum of £20 for the deed (Issue Roll of the Exchequer for December 4, 1378).

[331] The descendants of Ednyfed Fychan, known as '*Wyrion Eden'*, held their land free of any burdens except for the obligation to follow their prince into war. This ensured that Ednyfed's descendants rapidly became both wealthy and influential, becoming leading officials, especially in North Wales during the period preceding the death of prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the last Prince of Wales. Following his death, some entered the service of the English Crown. One, Gruffudd Llwyd, (or Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Ednyfed Fychan), was responsible for raising troops for Edward I in North Wales where he raised nearly 2000 men in 1297. See Prestwich, *Welsh Infantry* (2011), p.63. Hywel y Fwyall, who fought on the English side during the Hundred Years War, was also a descendant. His paternal grandmother was the grand-

or Ieuan Wyn demonstrated any interest in literature, though, as we have seen, Llywelyn Bren, whilst not singled out as a patron of poets, was a highly cultured man. As the last male descendant of the princely House of Gwynedd, had he taken possession of his patrimony, as he announced his intention of doing in 1365, Owain Lawgoch could well have followed in his ancestors' footsteps and become a patron of poets and *cyfarwyddiaid*, as did the above-mentioned Gruffudd ap Maredudd, and his sister Efa, of ruling house of Deheubarth. Though the family no longer ruled the area, their descendant, Rhydderch, remained an influential figure in the county, being '*dosbarthwr*' as well as Deputy Justiciar of Cardiganshire. The continuing patronage of the family demonstrates that the once-princely families continued their support for Welsh literature even after the death of the last Venedotian Prince of Wales.

However, they were not the only patrons. In his *Ymddiddan yr Enaid a'r Corff* ('The Conversation Between the Soul and the Body'), composed between 1375 and 1382, the poet, Iolo Goch describes his intention of travelling from his patron Rhydderch's home in Llangeitho, where he has been fêted, to the nearby abbey of Strata Florida, where he will find hospitality and sponsorship.[332] Strata Florida's abbot in the mid fourteenth century was obviously a Welshman: Llywelyn Fychan ap Llywelyn, the subject of an *awdl* by the poet, Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen.[333] It was from its sister abbey, Valle Crucis in North Wales, that the earliest copies of *Brut y Tywysogyon* and *Brenhinedd y Saesson* originated.[334] Some twenty years later, during the Welsh uprising against English rule, Strata Florida was perceived as being too Welsh and too supportive of Owain Glyndŵr; it was attacked, occupied by Henry IV's troops and the monks thrown out.[335] This demonstrates how important the Cistercian abbeys were to the literary life of Wales.[336]

daughter of Ednyfed Fychan. The most famous of all of Ednyfed's descendants is Owen Tudor, who secretly married Katherine de Valois, Henry V's widow. Owen's grandson was Henry Tudor: Henry VII.

[332] Huws suggests that Strata Florida could also have produced manuscripts of *Brut y Tywysogyon*. Huws, (2000), p. 253,

[333] Huws, as above. Also: R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr* (Oxford, OUP, 2007), p.61.

[334] Huws, (2000), p. 12, Note 21.

[335]480 men were garrisoned at the abbey of Strata Florida, as opposed to the 20 men-at-arms and 100 archers at Caernarfon castle, the centre of Gwynedd. R.R. Davies, *Revolt* (2009), p. 125.

[336] Huws calls Strata Florida 'the midwife, if not the mother of the White Book', such is the importance of this Cistercian abbey in the history of Welsh culture. Huws, (2000), p. 253.

Therefore, it may well be that *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* was copied into J 20 at Strata Florida, and if not there, then another of its sister houses in south-east Wales.

Giraldus Cambrensis left his library here- and lost it. Lionel Butler and Chris Given-Wilson, 'Strata Florida Abbey' in *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain* (London, Michael Joseph, 1983), p. 347.

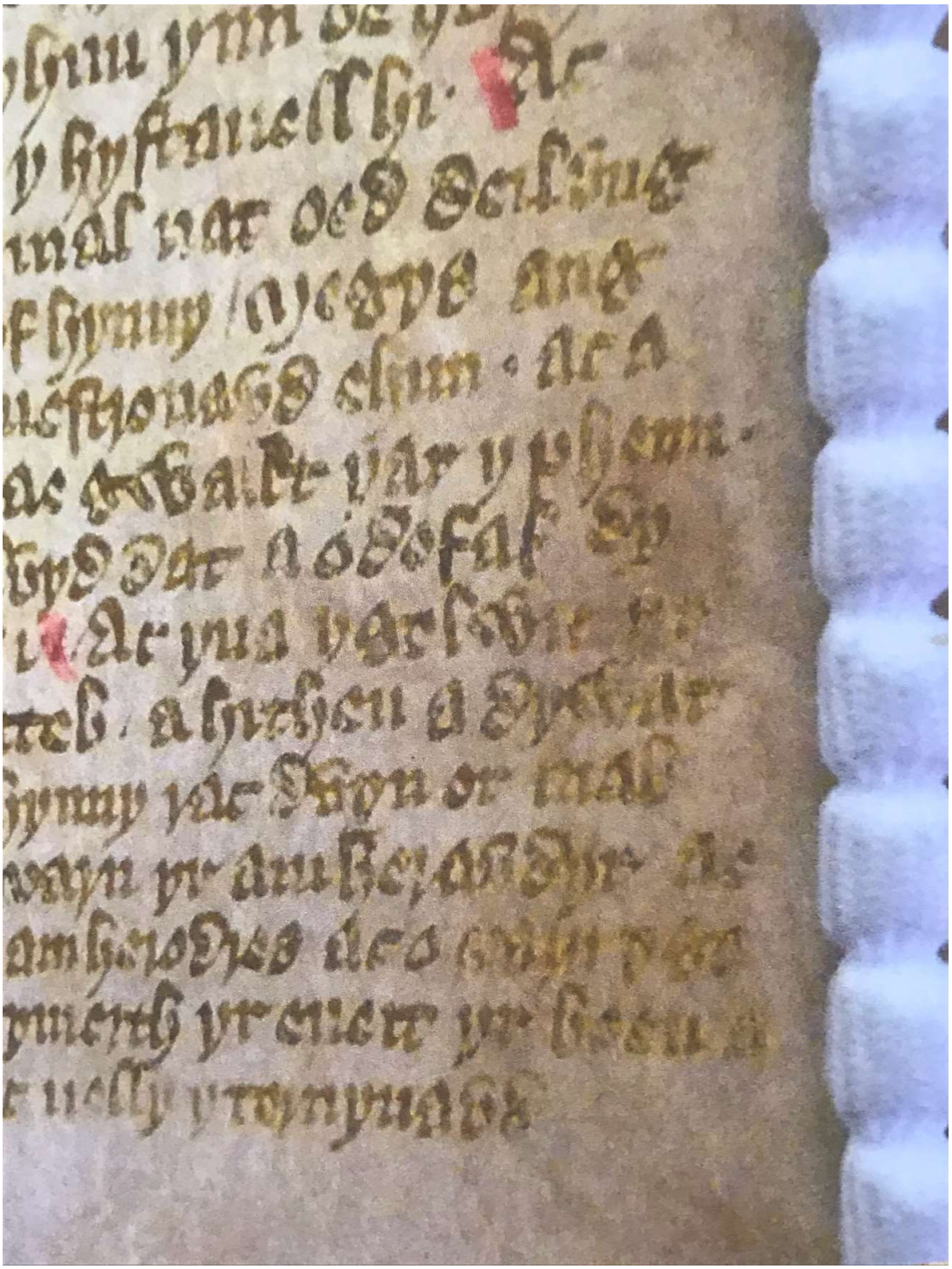
11. Authorship and Style:

i. Authorship:

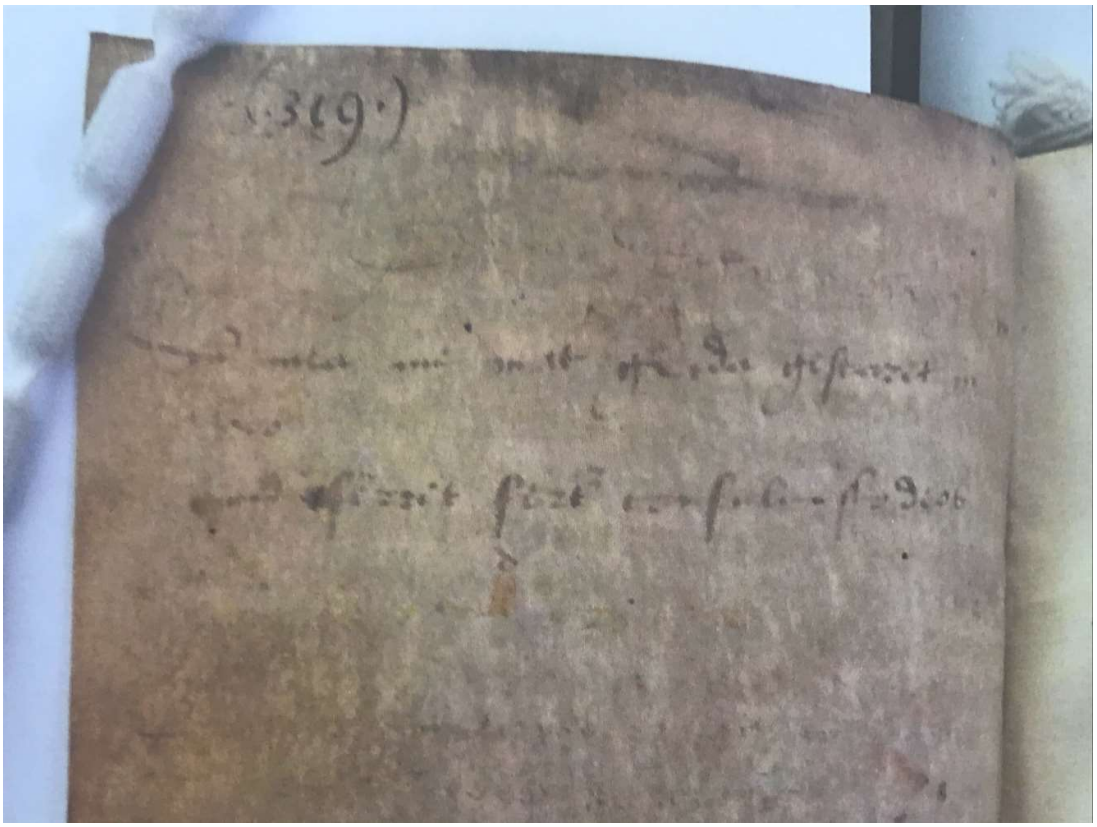
The initial rubric introducing the *Chwedleu* in J 20 attributes the work to a certain *Llewelyn Offeiriad*, Llewelyn the Priest: '*Chwedleu Seith Doetheon Rufein o weith Llewelyn Ofeir[iad]':* 'The Tales of the Seven Sages of Rome, the work of Llewelyn the Priest'. This attribution is repeated at the end of the work: '*Ac uelly y teruyna chwedyl Seith Doethyon Rufein o weith Llewelyn',* 'and so ends the tale of the Seven Sages of Rome: Llewelyn's work.'[337] Though the identity of Llewelyn was apparently known to the scribe, and, in all probability, to his audience, we know nothing about him today other than his name; indeed, he might not even be the author of the work, merely its copier. The attribution at the beginning of the story in J 20 is unclear as to whether Llewelyn was the author of the Welsh redaction of the tales, the scribe who copied them out, or the planner responsible for the production of the whole manuscript.[338] The testimony of the other manuscript witnesses is inconclusive. Llst 2 does not mention the author or scribe of the tales at all. Had the scribe felt the need to identify Llewelyn, he could easily have done so since, as in J 20, the tale begins at the first line of a page (p. 278), with a large, two-line red capital 'D' for 'Diawchleisiawn'. It ends abruptly with: '*ac velly y teruynawd*', 'and so it ended', on the final line of page 318 with still no mention of Llewelyn, even though there was space for the scribe, Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffudd, to continue. There does not appear to be any intention of his doing so, since the verse of the page is blank, except for lines of words in a faint, cursive form, not the gothic bookhand used by Siancyn.

[337] The scribe of the *Chwedleu* in J 20 has gone out of his way to attribute this collection of tales to Llewelyn Offeiriad both at the beginning of the text, on the first line of fol.42, and again at the end of the tales (J 20, fol. 70, 13-14). The scribe has left an empty line (12) between the text and this attribution, drawing the reader's attention to it. This evidence suggests that J 20 was primarily meant for private reading, though the length of the *Chwedleu* suggests that it could also have been presented as an oral performance.

[338] That Llewelyn might have copied the whole of J 20 is disproved by the fact that folios 16r-21v, the text of *Owein*, is in a different hand, though the section could have been added at some point when the manuscript was bound or re-bound since the written text begins at the top of the folio and ends at its base.



NLW Llanstephan MS 2, p. 318.



NLW Llanstephan 2, p. 319.

In J 111 the work is attributed to 'Llywelyn' the Priest: '*o weith Llywelyn offeiriat*' at the end of the *Chwedleu*.[339] However, this has been added in a later hand, possibly that of Edward Lluyd and uses a different spelling for Llewelyn's name.[340] The main scribe of J 111, Hywel Fychan,[341] does not name an author. The authorship of Llewelyn thus hinges on J 20, the only manuscript to include a contemporary mention of his name.[342]

[339] The tales in J 111 do not begin on a new folio, as they do in both J 20 and Llst 2, but at line 39, towards the bottom of the second column of the folio: folio 127 v. col. 527, 39. Hywel Fychan marks their beginning by a large, decorated red capital letter.
[340] J 111, fol. 134v, col. 555, 9.
[341] Roberts, *Un o Lawysgrifau...* (1966-8), pp.223-228. And: Huws, (2000), p.80 and notes 22, 23 and 24.
[342] Lewis rightly dismisses J. Gwenogvryn Evans's claim that the whole of J 20 is the work of Llewelyn, when Evans named it *'Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad'*, 'The Book of Llewelyn the Priest' in his 1902 description of the

Nevertheless, Lewis confidently attributes the *Chwedleu* to Llewelyn, observing that it is exclusively to these tales that Llewelyn's name has been connected. In a series of papers dating from the late 1980s, Iestyn Daniel suggested that Llewelyn Offeiriad was responsible for a wide range of tales, not only for the *Chwedleu* but also of many other Middle Welsh works, such as *Owein*, the Welsh version of Chrétien de Troyes's poem. However, J 20 itself contains the beginning of the romance of *Owein* (fol. 16r-22r.), up to the point where it is interrupted by *Ymborth yr Enaid* (fol. 22r-30r); both of which Daniel claims for Llewelyn.[343] Yet, were Llewelyn known to be the author of these two works, the scribe of J 20 would surely have noted that, just as he did with the *Chwedleu*, especially since *Ymborth yr Enaid* is in the same hand as the *Chwedleu.*[344] However, *Owein* is not attributed to Llewelyn, which suggests that Llewelyn was not perceived as the accepted author of *Owein.* All of which lends weight to the argument that only the *Chwedleu* is attributable to Llewelyn, not the whole of the manuscript.

manuscript. Had this been the case, it would seem anomalous that the attribution to Llewelyn only appears at the beginning and end of the *Chwedleu* in J 20, which is near the end of the manuscript, not at the very beginning of the manuscript itself since J 20 contains a range of texts and not just the *Chwedleu,* much of it in the same hand; Llewelyn is not mentioned at any other juncture. Lewis, (1967), p. 21.

[343] Daniel suggests that many works, such as *Owein*, the *Mabinogi, Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* and *Peredur, Geraint, Ymborth yr Enaid, Gwasanaeth Mair* as well as the earliest bardic grammar were Llewelyn's work. Rodway notes that these similarities are generic in nature and not proof enough to be convincing. Daniel, Iestyn, 'The Date, Origin, and Authorship of *The Mabinogion* in the Light of *Ymborth yr Enaid*' *The Journal of Celtic Studies*, 4 (2004), pp.117-152. Cited in Rodway, 'The Where, Who, When and Why of Medieval Welsh Prose Texts: Some Methodological Considerations' *Studia Celtica*, XLI (2007), pp. 179-204.

[344] For a description of the hands in J 20, see the Cardiff University website: Luft, Diana, et alii, Rhyddiaith Gymraeg, 1300-1425, *Welsh Prose: 1300-1425*: TEI Header for Jesus MS 20 at: www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-home.php?ms=Jesus20

ii. Style:[345]

Whether or not we attribute the *Chwedleu* to Llewelyn Offeiriad, we can adduce some information regarding the author from the text itself. Two things are immediately apparent: firstly, he was an educated man thoroughly conversant with French, as can be seen from the occasional calque and echo from the French parent story; and secondly, he was well-versed in the art of Welsh rhetorical composition, able to adapt the narrative material to the expectations of his Welsh audience.

It was once widely believed that the Western redactions of the *Seven Sages* all derived from a Latin original, the *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae,* since Latin was the authoritative language of literature. This assumption was disproved by Gaston Paris who established that that the *Historia* belonged to the first half of the fourteenth century, by which time the *Sept Sages* was well-established in the literary corpus.[346] The earliest surviving witness is Version '**K**', an old French verse rendering dating to the mid-twelfth century. By the beginning of the fourteenth century the prose Version **A*** of the *Romans des Sept Sages de Rome* had been translated into the *Historia,* meaning that the Latin cannot be considered as the parent version of the Welsh.[347] To underline this, the influence of the French parent text can be especially felt in certain turns of phrase. There are several short passages where we find in the Welsh echoes of the French text that appear to have been translated quite closely, indicating a high degree of familiarity with the source text. None of these calques and echoes sound unnatural in the Welsh, pointing to a translation technique that follows St Jerome's injunction to translators to render the meaning ('*ad sensum'*) rather than just word-for-word.[348] Thus, the description of an angry boar in *Aper* who, on finding a thief stealing his fruit, gnashes his teeth and snorts:

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[345] In this section, the references to the Welsh text refer to the present edition. References to the manuscript itself are included in parentheses afterwards.

[346] Campell, p. xxvii.

[347] Runte, *Vernacular and Back*, (1989), pp. 93-94.

[348] '*In interpretatione Graecorum, absque Scripturis Sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu'.* 'In translating from the Greek, except in the case of the Holy Scriptures where even the order of the words is a mystery, I render sense for sense and not word for word.' Jerome's Letter to Pammacius, 'On the Best Method of Translating', Section V. Michael Marlowe, (2010) www.bible-researcher.com/jerome.pammachius.html

'*ffroeni a disgyrnu danned a oruc',*[349] though a familiar phrase in Welsh, is, fortuitously, also clearly a close translation of the French: '*si conmença a maschier et a esteindre les dents',* 'it began to chew and gnash its teeth.[350] This same creative adaptation principle followed by the Welsh translator is nicely exemplified by the introduction to the tale of *Roma*, where the French Empress accuses the Emperor of acting like a baby who easily distracted when the breast is offered: "*Vous semblez l'enfant quant il pleur et l'en baille la memelle, tantost setest. Autresint fetes vous."*[351] "You resemble a baby who, when it cries and is given the breast, falls quiet straight away. You behave in the same way." Since *Roma* is re-allocated in the Welsh to the Sages and not given to the Empress, the simile is no longer appropriate. Where a wife might taunt her husband for behaving in an infantile way, the Sages could not possibly do so. The simile is not discarded but displaced to the start of *Sapientes,* one of the Empress's tales, and modified to that of a fractious toddler: "*Kanys megys y tynn y vammaeth y mab y ar y lit a'e gyffro trwy sonnyaw a thrabludyaw yn y glusteu, neu dangos ryw beth ffol a massw idaw, velly y mae Doethon Rufein y'th tynnu ditheu y ar dy gyffro"*[352] - "For, just as the wet-nurse distracts the child from its temper and tantrum by whispering and murmuring in his ears, or showing him something silly and frivolous, so the Sages of Rome draw you away from your anger."

Moreover, the Welsh makes a creative use of calques of some of the phraseology and formulae of the original, in particular, the French formula for introducing an internal tale. The formula: "*Si vous en puisse il ausi avenir conme il fist*…"[353] - "If you were to destroy [your son], then the same may happen to you as happened to…" is used in the French text to introduce the first eight tales: *Arbor, Canis, Aper, Medicus, Gaza, Puteus, Senescalcus and Tentamina.* The preamble to five of the first tales of the Welsh (*Arbor, Canis, Aper, Gaza* and *Puteus)* is a close translation of this formula: "*Ac vn ansawd y deruyd ytti o phery dihenydiaw dy vab ac y daruu gynt i* …" "And the same will happen to you if you have

[349] 97-98. (J 20, fol. 46v, 17).
[350] *FrenchA,* p.12 of 46, 23 (fol. 10d).
[351] *FrenchA,* p.4 of 20, 10-11 (fol. 37a-fol. 37b).
[352] 341-34. (J 20, fol. 58v, 10-15).
[353] The French tales: *Arbor*: *FrenchA*, p. 9 of 46, 28-29. *Canis*: *FrenchA*, p. 10 of 46, 34. *Aper*: *FrenchA*, p. 12 of 46, 10. *Medicus*: *FrenchA*, p. 13 of 46, 10. *Gaza*: *FrenchA*, p. 14 of 46, 25. *Puteus: FrenchA*, p. 16 of 46, 12-13. *Senescalcus: FrenchA,* p. 17 of 46, 23. *Tentamina: FrenchA*, p. 18 of 46, 33.

your son killed as happened to…" or: "*Ac vn ansawd y deruyd ytti o gredu udunt hwy acy daruu gynt y …*" - "And the same will happen to if you believe them as happened to…"[354] This formula is also used as an introduction to the Welsh version of *Senescalcus* as well as to the new story, *Ramus* which is only found in the Welsh *Chwedleu.*[355] The same formula even introduces *Lupus*, another new tale introduced into the corpus by the Welsh redactor and embedded within *Roma*:

> *"Ha wyrda," heb ef, "vn ansawd y deruyd y chwi o gredu y'r brenhin creulawn racko, gwedy rodywch chwi nyni yn y vedyant ef ac y somes y bleid y bugeil."*[356]
>
> "Oh lords," he said, "once you have delivered us into his possession, the same will happen to you for believing that cruel king, as happened when the wolf deceived the shepherd."

The formulaic quality of the French is not only recognised, but it is also applied to tales where it does not appear in the French. Llewelyn thus returns to this opening formula for *Virgilius,* whereas the French redactor does not.[357] Conversely, unlike the French, the formula is not used for the condensed version of *Medicus,* where the Welsh redactor invokes God at the beginning of Augustus's tale: "*Arglwyd," heb ef, "ny wnel Duw ytti wneuthur am dy vab megys y gwnaeth Ipocras am y nei."*[358] - "My Lord," he said, "God will not allow you to do to your son as Ipocras did to his nephew." Its absence from the Welsh is indicative of a change in outlook: this tale of dishonour and social as well as spiritual condemnation is clearly cautionary.

Another example of the Welsh translator's understanding of the narrative technique of his French source text relates to his use of the formula which introduces French tales such

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[354] *Arbor*: 50-51. (J 20, fol. 44r, 19-210). *Canis*: 65. (J 20, fol. 45r, 8-10). *Aper*: 88. (J 20, fol. 46r. 19-21). *Gaza*: 125-126. (J 20, fol. 48r, 17-19). *Puteus*: 152-153. (J 20, fol. 49v, 14-18). *Ramus*: 179-180. (J 20, fol. 51r, 8-11). *Sapientes*: 345-346. (J 20, fol. 58v, 19-21). *Senescalcus*: 439. (J 20, fol. 63v, 18-20). *Tentamina*: 454-455. (J 20, fol. 64v, 10-11).

[355] *Senescalcus*: 439 (J 20, fol.63r, 119-19).

[356] *Ramus*: 214-215. (J 20, fol. 52v, 15-20).

[357] In his internet edition of the Old French text, Runte states that only one group of manuscripts, Group **V**, uses the usual formula for introducing the tale. (Runte, *FrenchA,* p.21 of 46, 6-7). Group **V** comprises: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam McClean 179, fol. 142-158, and Paris, Arsenal 3152, fol. 1-32. This would suggest that Llewelyn's source text could have belonged to Group **V**.

[358] *Medicus*: 105-106. (J 20, fol. 47r, 11-14).

as *Canis, Puteus, Vidua* and *Avis*: "*Sire, je ne le vous dirai pas se vous respitez vostre filz de mort*."[359] - "Sire, I will not tell you the story unless you grant a stay of execution to your son." In the Welsh, this formula appears once only, before the final tale, the dénouement of the *Chwedleu*. Related by the Sage Martin, it is introduced in the now expected fashion: "*Os o annoc yr Amherodres … y lledy dy vab, ef a deruyd ytt val y daruu y wr hen doeth am y wreic."* [360] - "If, you are going to kill your son merely on the insistence of your wife … the same will happen to you as happened to the wise old man because of his wife." However, it leads to a false start. The Sage refuses to tell the story unless the boy is given respite till the next day: '*hyny rodes nawd y'r mab hyt trannoeth*'.[361] This departure from the norm jolts the listener into an awareness that this tale is significant; indeed, it is the climax of the narrative, bringing the whole cycle to a close. The Welsh redactor was familiar enough with both the French text and the French language to appropriate sections of the French parent version and rework them into the fabric of his own Welsh text for greater effect.

In addition to having assimilated key aspects of the Old French source, the *Seith Doethon Rufein* draws extensively on the native Welsh storytelling tradition. This is evident in the opening sentence of the *Chwedleu* which names the main character and places him in context: '*Diawchleisyawn a oed Amherawdyr yn Rufein'*, [362] 'Diocletian was Emperor of Rome.' The order of the words in this sentence is different from the usual, unmarked structure of a sentence in everyday Welsh, even at this early period, where the verb is usually placed before the subject of the sentence. The construction here was designed to command an audience's attention since it is commonly used in early Welsh literary tradition.[363] Thus we have *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet*, the first Branch of the *Mabinogi* opening with: '*Pwyll, Penduic Dyuet, a oed yn arglwyd ar seith cantref Dyuet,*'[364] 'Pwyll, prince of Dyfed, was lord over the seven cantrefs of Dyfed.' In the same way, both the second

[359] *FrenchA,* p.10 of 46, 34
[360] 454-455. (J.20, 10-11).
[361] 455-456. (J 20, fol. 64 v, 10-14).
[362] 3. (J 20, fol. 42r, 3).
[363] For a discussion of the formula's place in Welsh oral storytelling, see: Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd, Astudiaeth o dechnegau naratif yn '*Y Mabinogion' (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1995), pp. 104-188.
[364] PKM, p. 1.

branch, *Branwen*, and the fourth, *Math*, are introduced by a similar marked construction signalling the beginning of a new story.[365]

The extent to which the redactor was imbued in his native culture is also apparent in a scene added to the French frame narrative and clearly appropriated from the traditional Welsh tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*.[366] This is where, in both redactions, the new wife discovers the existence of a son and as such, the Emperor's heir. In the French redaction the new Empress, who has not previously investigated the possibility of there being a child, is told by an unidentified informant that an heir to the Roman empire already exists: *Et l'en avoit bien dit a l'empereriz que li emperieres avoit un hoir malle, et se il estoit morz, li hoir qui istroiet de li seroient hoir de l'empire de Rome.*[367]

However, the Welsh Empress, the *Amherodres,* actively seeks out this information in the hope of discovering a child. In doing this, she replicates the behaviour of the new wife in the Welsh tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*. A Welsh audience, well-used to the oral performance of traditional tales, would surely have recognised the wholesale borrowing of a passage from the earlier tale and would therefore have prepared themselves to learn of a difficult time ahead for the young prince in the *Seith Doetheon.*[368]

The Welsh redactor also echoes the wording of other traditional Welsh tales, such as in his description of the rousing of the snake by the commotion of the knights and their horses in *Canis*. Unusually, the French redaction has little to say about this part of the story merely stating that it was the noise of the shields and the lances that roused it: *la noise des escuz et des lances*.[369] However, Llewelyn appropriates a vivid section of *Breudwyd Maxen* here and by so doing, enhances the excitement of his tale, painting a stirring verbal picture of the tournament in *Canis*:

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[365] *Branwen* begins with: '*Bendigeiduran uab Llyr a oed urenhin coronawc ar yr ynys hon…*' ('Bendigeidfran, son of Llyr, was the crowned king of this island…'), PKM, p. 29, l.1. *Math* begins: '*Math uab Mathonwy oed arglwyd ar Wyned…*' ('Math, son of Mathonwy, was lord of Gwynedd.'), Williams, (1978), p. 67, 1.
[366] Bromwich and Evans, p. 2, 34-45.
[367] *FrenchA*, p. 8 of 49, 3-4.
[368] The redactor's use of traditional tales is also discussed in: 'Echoes and Borrowings from Traditional Tales', pp. 171-175 and 184-187.
[369] *FrenchA*, p. 11 of 46, 7.

A chan weryrat y meirch ac angerd y gwyr, a thrwst y gweywyr yn kyfladwrth y taryaneu eurgrwydyr y kyffroes y sarf…[370]

Because of the neighing of the steeds, the ferocity of the men, the tumult of the spearmen and the clashing o the shimmering golden shields, a snake awoke…

This closely follows the passage describing the excitement of a tournament in *Breuddwyd Maxen*:[371]

Rac angerd e kwn urth e kynlllyvaneu a'e ysgwyd urth e taryaneu en kyuarvot y gyt a phelider e gwaeur ygyt en kyflad a phystolat e meirch, deffroi a wnaeth er amperauder.[372]

What with the corners of the shields touching one another, and the spear shafts striking together, and the stamping of the horses, the emperor woke up.[373]

The passage is not 'lifted' in its entirety; the Welsh redactor borrows the descriptive adjective '*eurgrwydyr*', 'shimmering golden' for the shields from the beginning of the *Maxen* tale, where the emperor's men gently place the sleeping Maxen's head on a '*tarean eurgrwyder*'.[374] The redactor is obviously familiar enough with traditional tales such as *Culhwch ac Olwen* and *Breuddwyd Maxen* so as to make effective use of such passages in his own Welsh version of the *Sept Sages*. He must have employed these passages and echoes in the full awareness that his audience would respond appropriately and react to these references from their literary heritage.

Llewelyn also displays knowledge of the technique which Sioned Davies identifies as one of the key characteristics of the traditional Welsh storytelling style: the device of '*ailadrodd geiriol*', 'repetetive wording' which is a feature found at the beginning and end

[370] 73-74. (J 20, fol. 45v, 5-8).
[371] Lewis, (1967), p. 26.
[372] Brynley Roberts, ed., *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* Modern and Medieval Welsh Series, Volume XI (Dundalk, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2005), p. 3, 81-84.
[373] Sioned Davies, transl., 'The Dream of Emperor Maxen' in *The Mabinogion*, (OUP, 2007), p. 105.
[374] Roberts, *Maxen*, (2005), p. 1, 17.

of each tale throughout the *Chwedleu*.[375] The oath: '*myn vyg cret'*, 'by my faith', introduces and closes each section of the tale in the *Seith Doethon*. This tag is usually followed by *'llyma y chwedyl',* 'here is the tale.' Where the Welsh redactor has combined two stories, (*Roma* and *Lupus),* these markers do not appear between the two combined tales but do so at the beginning of the main story itself.[376] Other repetitive markers that do appear, signalling the beginning of an internal tale to both the narrator and the audience are variations on:

"Vn ffunyt y deruyd ytti am dy vab val y daruu gynt i…"

"Beth oed hynny?" heb yr Amherawdyr. [377]

"The same will happen to you because of your son as happened long ago to …"

"What was that?" said the Emperor.

The use of these markers enables a listening audience to distinguish where one internal tale ends and another begins.[378]

Since this is the case, it could well be that the *Chwedleu* could have been part of another tradition: the oral delivery of tales, as was customary in most cultures of the period. As Clanchy asserts in the title to his volume: *From Memory to Written Record*, the early Middle Ages was the period when it became popular for tales to be copied into a book as indeed were the *Seven Sages* into J 111 or its English counterpart into the Auchinleck manuscript.[379] However, the craft of memorising and declaiming data and tales remained intrinsic to Welsh culture, as Davies remarks: *Diwylliant llafar, i raddau helaeth, oedd diwylliant Cymru yn y Cyfnod Canol*.'[380] Davies cites the well-known passage from *Math Uab Mathonwy* where Gwydion, the magician, inveigles himself into Pryderi's court by claiming to be a storyteller or *cyfarwydd*:

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[375] Davies, *Crefft* (1995), p. 114.
[376] 202. (J 20, fol. 52r, 11-12).
[377] 64-66. (J 20, fol. 45r, 8-9 and then 11).
[378] Davies, (1995, p. 173) concurs with C. M. Bowra, who states that formulae aid the audience to feel comfortable with the progress of the story. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, (London, St Martin's Press, 1966). Davies also mentions paratactic structures and the recurrent use of the conjunction '*a*': 'and', or '*ac yna'*: 'and then', as characteristic features. Davies, (1995), p. 98.
[379] Clanchy, *From Memory* (1993, reprinted, 2003).
[380] 'To a great extent, Wales's culture was an oral one in the Middle Ages', Davies, (1995), p. 23.

"Ie," heb y Pryderi, "da yw genhym ni cahel kyuarwydyt gan rei o'r gwreinc racco." "Moes yw genhym ni arglwyd," heb y Guydyon, "y nos gyntaf y delher ar wr mawr, dywedut o'r pencerd. Mi a dywedaf gyuarwydyd yn llawen." Ynteu Wydyon goreu kyuarwyd yn y byt oed. A'r nos honno, didanu y llys a wnaeth ar ymdidan digrif a chyuarwydyt ...[381]

"Well," said Pryderi, "we would like to have a story from some of the young men over there." "Our custom, lord, is that on the first night we come to a great man, the chief poet performs. I would be happy to tell a story." Gwydion was the best storyteller in the world. And that night, he entertained the court with amusing anecdotes and stories…'[382]

Though we are aware that Gwydion is a magician, and that the truth is often hidden where he is concerned, we are explicitly told that as an expert storyteller, he is gladly welcomed by Pryderi and his court. This indicates that storytelling by a proficient *cyfarwydd* was an accepted form of literary entertainment for the upper classes of Welsh society in the Middle Ages at the time the *Chwedleu* made their appearance. Davies states that tales, such as the *Mabinogi,* were not purely a written work, they were originally intended for oral performance. If performed orally, the *Seith Doethon* can be delivered in a little over an hour by a skilful storyteller or *cyfarwydd*, as is demonstrated in Appendix 2.[383] This amount of time taken could be extended if the narrator was performing to an enthusiastic participating audience. Such an accomplishment would not have proved beyond the bounds of possibility for a *cyfarwydd* who was expected to be able to commit to memory the 'complex corpus of traditional lore'.[384] The *Chwedleu*, with their streamlined outline and the established pattern of internal tales, could easily lend themselves to being committed to memory and preformed orally, unlike the French parent version, which was obviously meant to be read. The French, with its detailed descriptions and extensive

[381] PKM, p. 69.
[382] Davies, (2007), p. xiv.
[383] Lewis suggests that Llewelyn was well-versed in the ways of the *cyfarwydd*: '*nid yw'n anhebyg ei fod yn fedrus yng ngrefft y cyfarwydd.*' Lewis, (1967), p. 26.
[384] This included: 'history, genealogies and origin narratives, topography, boundaries and geography, religious myths, tribal and family lore, antiquities and legends, social and legal procedures and medicine'. Brynley Roberts, 'Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature: A description and Survey', *Oral Tradition*, 3, 61-87. Reprinted in *Studies on Welsh Literature* (Lewison Queenston, Lampeter, Edwin Mellen, 1992).

dialogue, is more akin to the description of *Breudwyt Ronabwy,* the tale which immediately follows the *Chwedleu* in J 111:

> *A llyma yr achaws na wyr neb y vreidwyt, na bard na chyfarwyd, heb lyur, o achaws y geniuer lliw a oed ar y meirch a hynny o amryauael liw odidawc ar yr aruev ac eu kyweirdebeu, Ac ar y llenneu gwerthuawr a'r mein rinwedawl.*[385]
>
> And this is why no one knows the dream-neither poet nor storyteller-without a book, because of the number of colours on the horses, and the many unusual colours both on the armour and their trappings, and on the precious mantles and magic stones.[386]

Llewelyn's version of the *Chwedleu* is concise enough not only to be enjoyed when read from a book but also if it were delivered in an oral performance by a proficient *cyfarwydd*. It is highly condensed and includes many signposts within the structure to aid the storyteller.

The *Chwedleu* also share with the traditional Welsh storytelling the way in which direct speech and dialogue is indicated with the recurrent use of the tag '*heb*', or '*heb y*', 'said', as noted by Sioned Davies.[387] The dialogue between the Emperor and the *Amherodres* or between the Emperor and the Sages is peppered with '*heb y*…' as in '*heb ef*,' 'he said' or '*heb hi'*, 'she said'. In the rare instances of speech interchange within an internal tale, the dialogue is generally punctuated by '*heb*'. In *Gaza*, the exchange between the father and the perfidious son shows four instances of '*heb ef*', 'he said'; the debate between Ypocras and his nephew, at the climax of *Medicus*, has six instances of '*heb ef*', while tales such as *Inclusa* and *Ramus* have between four to six instances of '*heb*'. Most striking in this respect is *Vidua*, where there are no fewer than twenty instances of this verb as a tag.[388]

[385] J 111, fol. 138v, col. 571, 17-23.
[386] Davies, (2007), p. 226.
[387] Davies, (1995), pp. 199-229.
[388] The instance of direct speech is noteworthy here. Over half (55%), of the tale is taken up with dialogue. Most of this takes place when the Widow and the Knight are disinterring the body and transporting it to the gibbet, then when the Knight repudiates the faithless Widow, 311-328; 332-336. (J 20, fol. 56bv onwards).

Another device that Llewelyn makes use of to familiarise a French tale to his Welsh audience is the traditional Welsh rhetorical device known as '*araith*', often used in oral performance. In this literary technique alliterative words are combined for effect, with the sound being as important as, if not more important than, the meaning.[389] *Araith* is made use of in both in the frame tale and in some internal stories, demonstrating that not only could Llewelyn translate literature more than competently from one language to another, but he could also make full use of a traditional Welsh literary practice in so doing. This is particularly evident in *Ramus*, a tale totally new to the *Seven Sages* tradition, one possibly invented by Llewelyn himself. As such, it would make it even more amenable to the use of a typical Welsh system such as *araith,* more so than a tale translated, however loosely, from the French. More compound adjectives are present in this tale than any other. In *Ramus* the *Amherodres* hints at a parallel between the delightful branch of a luxuriant fruit tree and the handsome young prince, heir to the wealthy Emperor. This branch is described by Llewelyn as an '*ysgynbrenn ac yn gynhalbren drycdynyon a lladron'*: a 'climbing branch and wooden support for wicked men and thieves'.[390] The compound words formed from '*ysgyn + pren*', and '*cynhal +pren*' were probably Llewelyn's own creation since GPC states that the first use of both was in *Seith Doethon Rufein*.[391] The repetition of '*pren*' in both as well as the alliteration in '***d**ryc**d**yni**on** a lladr**on**'* is typical of *araith*, where words are combined for effect. Another instance comes in the introduction at the very beginning of the tale: the tree itself is described as 'being '*ffrwythlawn brigawglas'*, -'fruitful' and 'green-branched'. '*Ffrwythlawn*' is an established adjective, its use stretching back to the thirteenth century and found in the Black Book of Carmarthen according to GPC. However, according to GPC, '*brigawglas*' makes its first appearance in *SDR*, implying that this compound adjective was also a creation of Llewelyn's.[392] At the end of *Ramus*, he appears to invent another compound-adjective, this time the opposite

[389] Hyde, Douglas, *A Literary History* of *Ireland* (London, T.F. Unwin, 1899), pp.366 and 368. 'Its mark is an overabundance of adjectives chosen for their alliterative value rather than their meaning', Aodh de Blácam, *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (Talbot Press, 1929, reprint: 1975), p.178, quoted in: D. Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1934), p. xiii.

[390] 187 (J 20, fol. 51v, 6-7).

[391] See both of these entries in GPC at: www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/html

[392] The compound adjective '*vunyawndec*','beautiful' and 'straight' is absent from GPC. This must mean that its use in *CSDR* is unique and another invention of Llewelyn's.

of '*brigawglas*': '*bricawcdwn*', where the two words '*bricawc*', 'full of branches' and '*twn*', 'broken' are combined to describe the ravaged state of the fruit tree.[393] But the tree is not only broken, it is also '*amnoeth*': 'bare', stripped naked or, in this case 'very bare': '*am*+'*noeth*'. Intriguingly, according to GPC, this is only the second usage of '*amnoeth*'; its first appearance being in the work of Dafydd ap Gwilym in the mid-fourteenth century, not long before the *Chwedleu* were copied. The same is true of the compound '*perffrwyth*': 'sweet+fruit' at the start of the tale.[394] If, indeed, our three manuscript witnesses stem from an earlier, possibly mid-fourteenth century, lost manuscript, then Llewelyn could well have been a contemporary of Dafydd ap Gwilym's.

No other tale contains so many of *araith*'s descriptive doubles as Llewelyn's own tale, *Ramus*, though the Welsh tradition of alliteration is exemplified to a lesser extent in *Inclusa*. The assonance is evident in Llewelyn's description of the city where the knight discovers the lady of his dreams: '*caer vawr vylchawc'*, a large, fortified city.[395] Similarly, in *Gaza,* the father of the young thief is described as a '*gwr gotlawd callonawc'*,[396] a poor but jolly man, who is ultimately caught in the trap put in place by the miserable guardian of the emperor's treasure, a '*kebyd kyuoethawc ofnawc'*:[397] 'a rich anxious miser'. The knight in *Vidua* is a '*marchawc pedrydawc kadarn'*: 'a splendid, mighty knight', who arrives fully armed: '*yn y aruot a'e arueu*'.[398] All these examples of assonance verge on *cynghanedd,* the complex and highly regulated alliterative construction found in even the earliest Welsh poetry found in Peniarth MS1, the mid-thirteenth century Black Book of Carmarthen. The most striking instance of this alliterative effect occurs in the frame story when the Empress, following her unsuccessful attempt to seduce the Prince, utters a hideous scream. The French: '*si jeta un grant cri et hideus'*, is extended in the Welsh to:

[393] GPC shows this use to be the first for this adjective. The only other entry reads remarkably similar to the description of the Empress's hysterical outburst at the beginning of the action: '*a gwnaeuthur i gwallt melyn llathr yn vonwyn vrigawgdwn*', 'and making her glossy blonde hair dishevelled and white-bruised at its roots'. The date given for this entry is c. 1590, which is the date of Llywelyn Sion's copy of *CSDR*: Llanover MS 17, now NLW MS 13075B. This was published for Henry Lewis in *Revue Celtique,* p. xlvi, 56.
[394] GPC entries for *'amnoeth'* and '*perfrwyth'*.
[395] 380. (J 20, fol. 60v, 10-11).
[396] 132. (J 20, fol. 48 v, 11).
[397] 131. (J 20, fol. 48v, 9-10).
[398] 296-297. (J 20, fol. 56 br., 4-5).

'[Hi a] *dodes diaspat vchelgroch oruchel'*.[399] Llewelyn joins the adjectives *'uchel*', 'high'+ '*croch*', *'*strident*'* to the preposition '*gor*', 'above', adding it to *'uchel*' making: *'*above*'+ 'h*igh*'* and in doing so creates the rhythmical alliterative excess of sound which is the again a hallmark of *araith*. Thus, he is not merely translating but imposing a vibrant Welsh quality on the narrative.

Though in these instances the use of alliterative resounding adjectives is apt, this is not always the case, as in the later manuscript witness Llst 2, where the scribe, Siancyn ap Dafydd, adds yet another compound word to the above passage, giving us: '*diasbat vchelgroch <u>bengarn</u> aruchel*.'[400] The marginally alliterative, *'pengarn'* is not particularly apt in this context. According to GPC, its meaning is unclear.[401] It appears to have been added by Siancyn merely to enhance the resonance of the sentence. So, by the time Llst 2 was penned, in the mid-fifteenth century, such literary devices were clearly being misunderstood and mis-used. [402] The Welsh *Chwedleu* can therefore be considered as an integral part of the final flourishing of the Welsh tradition of '*cyfarwyddyd*', and its author one of the last representatives of this older traditional craft.[403]

12. Adaptation Principles in Seith Doethon Rufein

While many echoes of the original French remain within the Welsh *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*, there are certain differences between the two versions. The Middle Welsh departs from its Medieval French prose parent in three main respects:

i. <u>Structural changes to the work.</u> Certain tales within the corpus are re-ordered, resulting in the one tale, *Roma*, being re-assigned to the opposing side of the argument, with another tale, *Lupus*, inserted into it. *Avis*, a tale that is included in

[399] 43. (J 20, fol. 44r, 3).
[400] Llst 2, p. 281, 7.
[401] The first usage of this word is listed by GPC as being in the poetry of the Ll C, where it is alliterative: '*Eryr penngwern pengarn llwyd*' - 'Pengwern's grey, hard-headed eagle'. However, they add: '*Ansicr iawn yw'r ystyron a gynigir isod'*, 'The meanings below are very unsure.' GPC.
[402] This is borne out by the Llst 2 scribe writing '*pryderawc*', which has an element of '*pryder*': 'concern', 'worry', in it, unlike '*pedrydog*' which GPC gives as: 'perfect, glorious', 'splendid', which would be a more fitting epithet for a knight.
[403] Roberts, *Oral Tradition* (1988), p. 63 and p. 18.

all other redactions of the *Seven Sages,* is omitted in the Welsh *Chwedleu*, and replaced by a totally new one not found anywhere else within the *Seven Sages* tradition.

ii. Reshaping the narrative. The narrative is reshaped to conform to the literary conventions of Middle Welsh and enriched with borrowings and echoes from traditional Welsh stories such as *Culhwch ac Olwen*. [404]

iii. *Abbreviato:* a general principle of narrative economy. The Welsh redactor dispenses with descriptive details that are not essential to the advancement of the plot, he also reduces drastically the amount of dialogue and direct speech.

i. Structural changes

A striking way in which *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* differs significantly from its Old French parent is in the order in which certain tales appear. The sequence of these individual tales is the main criterion used to assign a particular redaction of this extensive corpus of Western versions of the Seven Sages to a specific family group. This defining principle was put in place by the nineteenth century French scholar Gaston Paris in his Introduction to his *Deux Rédactions du Roman des Sept Sages de Rome*.[405] The sequence of the initial six internal stories in the *Chwedleu* is consistent with that of the Old French *Sept Sages*. After this the Welsh redactor parts company with the parent model by introducing a completely new tale, *Ramus*, in seventh position instead of the expected *Senescalcus,* which Llewelyn Offeiriad moves to thirteenth place, towards the end of the frame narrative.[406] He also transforms the French version of *Roma* by embedding within

[404] As Lewis points out (pp. 23-25), this was first noted by Professor Loth in: *'*La Version Gauloise des *Sept Sages de Rome' in Revue Celtique*, XXIII, (1902), pp. 349-352.

[405] Paris, Gaston, *Deux Rédactions* (1876), p. i. Paris classified the numerous redactions into eight different family groups, allocated the letter '**A**' to the English, French, Italian, Latin, Swedish, Russian, Polish, Bulgarian, in fact most European vernacular redactions. '**S**' for the Latin '*Scala Celi'*; '**H**' for the Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum Romae*; '**K'** for the Old French poem published by Keller; '**I**' for the *Versio Italica;* 'M' for the *Male Marrastre*; '**D**': the *Version Dérimée*; '**L**': the group of French manuscripts as published by Leroux de Lincy. See: Campbell, (1907), pp. xxii- xxiii.

[406] *Senescalcus* is in seventh position in six of the eight family groupings: **A***, **L**, **S**, **D***, **H**, and **I**. It does not appear in **M**. It takes third position in **K** where seventh position is occupied by *Roma,* as it is in the Welsh*.* **K** is the Old French metrical version of the *Sept Sages* only surviving in one late thirteenth century manuscript, [Bib.Nat.fr. 1553] Campbell, (1907), p. xxvii.

it another tale: *Lupus*. This reworked tale, *Roma-Lupus,* is then moved by Llewelyn back from *Roma's* position of thirteenth in the Old French parent model to eighth in the Welsh. Llewelyn further modifies the narrative by re-allocating his new tale to a Sage and not to the Empress, as is the original in the French parent version. The next tale of the sequence, *Virgilius,* remains in the same position, ninth in both French and Welsh, as does the eleventh tale, *Sapientes.* However, *Avis,* the tale which precedes *Sapientes* in many groupings of the *Seven Sages* and is present in every other redaction of the story, is completely omitted by Llewelyn.[407] *Inclusa*, the tale which the French redactor places last, the climax of the sequence of misogynistic tales and told by the seventh Sage immediately before the prince himself speaks, is moved back into twelfth position in the Welsh where it becomes the tale told by the sixth Sage.[408] This changes the status of *Inclusa* within the corpus. It is no longer the apogee of the Sages' stories but the penultimate of their incrementally damning tales which aim to demonstrate the inherent weakness and unreliability of women as well as their duplicity. In its place Llewelyn puts *Tentamina*, a much shorter tale than *Inclusa* in both the French and Welsh redactions. All other versions of the *Seven Sages* which include *Tentamina* place it centrally, as a fulcrum to the tales, not as the conclusion.[409] Gaston Paris saw this reshuffling of tales as a lapse of memory on the part of the redactor. However, the Welsh redactor, Llewelyn, though able to maintain the order of appearance of the Sages themselves appeared not do so for their individual tales. This is an unconvincing explanation considering the importance of memorisation in medieval Welsh tradition. In the light of this, Paris's view is no longer credible. More accurately, as Mary B. Speer recognises, such reorganisation is a conscious '*reinventio*', reflecting the translator's broader understanding of his material and his

[407] *Avis* and *Sapientes* are grouped together in the **A***, **L**, **S**, **H** and **I** versions of the *Seven Sages*. See the Table of family groups in Campbell, (1907) p. xxxv.

[408] Runte states that *Inclusa*, as a tale in a *roman à tiroirs,* 'fits drawer 14 very badly, yet that is its place in most versions'. Llewelyn obviously also thought this was the case and moves the tale but does not go as far as transposing it to the opposing side, as does the Latin version '**H**'. Runte, *From the Vernacular to Latin and Back* (1989), pp. 94-95.

[409] In Campbell's Table, groups **A***, **L**, **K**, **D*** and **H** place *Tentamina* in eighth position, whereas **S** and **I** place it sixth. Campbell, (1907), p. xxxv. Only the Welsh redaction places it fourteenth, the last of the Sages' tales.

personal agenda in making these modifications.[410] Such is clearly the case with Llywelyn Offeiriad.

The gist of the frame narrative necessarily remains the same: the prince's widowed father re-marries and his new wife requests a meeting with the boy who is being taught by the Sages of Rome. She claims the boy has attacked her and demands that his father executes the boy for this outrage. To underline the danger he supposedly poses, the Empress tells her tales defaming the boy and his tutors, whereas the Sages' tales emphasise the perfidy of women. The woman loses the argument and is executed. Thus far, the Welsh *Chwedleu* follow the traditional pattern of the *Sept Sages*. However, on examination of the internal tales, more especially those which have been moved in the Welsh, and their comparison to their French counterparts, we can assess how far Llewelyn's reworking of the *Sept Sages* tradition has changed the tales' import and whether the overall message of the *Chwedleu* remains the same as that of the Old French model, *the Sept Sages de Rome*. If, indeed, Llewelyn accepted the misogynistic nature of the genre, does his treatment of the *Sept Sages* imply a softening of their harshness?

The first tale relocated by the Welsh redactor is *Roma*, one of the shortest in the French at some 400 words. Not only has it been moved from thirteenth place, the Empress's final tale in the French, to eighth in the Welsh by Llewelyn, but it has also been reallocated to the other side of the argument, now being related by Malcwidas, one of the Sages instead of by the Empress. Runte states that the difference in the order of the tales between the many other versions and French version A* is:

'so common an occurrence in the Seven Sages tradition as to be hardly worthy of further analysis, especially since none of the empress's tales is cross-attributed to the sages or vice-versa.'[411]

[410] Mary B. Speer, *Translatio as Inventio*: Gaston Paris and the "Treasure of Rhampsinitus" (Gaza) in the *Dolopathos* Romance' *Transtextualities: Of Cycles and Cyclicity in Medieval French Literature*, Sara Sturm-Maddox and Donald Maddox, eds., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Volume 149 (New York, Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghampton, 1996), pp. 30-133.
[411] Runte, *(*1989), p. 93-133.

However, the Welsh redaction not only has a number of rearranged tales, but one, *Roma*, has, indeed, been 'cross-attributed' from the Empress in the French parent version to the Sages in the Welsh; not only that, but Llewelyn has also introduced *a mise en abyme* into the body of the tale. The French version follows the traditional pattern: seven pagan kings lay siege to Rome in the hope of killing the Pope and exterminating Christianity. Seven wise men protect the city; one of these sages, Genus, disguises himself and terrifies the besieging Saracen army who think he is God and so retreat in confusion. The Empress tells the Emperor that in listening to the Seven Sages he acts like a small child who is easily distracted: *"Vous samblez l'enfant quant il pleure et li baille la memelle, tantost se test."*[412] "You resemble a child who when it cries and one presents it the breast, immediately falls silent." She belittles him, and reminds him that he saw with his own eyes the evidence of the attempted rape:

> *"Cil set sages vous deçoivent par leur art et par leur engine […] Ja veïstes vous bien la prouvance de vostre filz qui me fist toute sanglante et me descira ma robe, ce poistes vous bien oïr et veoïr."*[413]
>
> "These Seven Sages are deceiving you with their craftiness and inventiveness […] You saw clearly the proof that your son made me all bloody and tore my dress. You can hear and see this well."

The Empress's message is that the Emperor should not be influenced by the Sages' tales: he should believe the evidence of his own eyes regarding her torn and bloodied clothes following the purported rape. In this way she hopes to associate Genus, the wily sage of her own tale, with the Sages of the frame narrative. But, in fact, her tale does more to highlight the way in which a Sage saves the city and that appearances can be deceptive; it does little to strengthen her own argument.

Llewelyn's reworking is much more logical; he moves the tale to the opposite side of the argument by giving *Roma* to Malquidas, not to the Empress. The story begins in a similar

[412] *FrenchA*, p. 4 of 20, 10-11.
[413] *FrenchA,* p. 4 of 20, 12-15.

way to the French version except that instead of seven pagan kings we have one cruel king besieging the city which is protected by seven wise men. However, where the French has each of these seven defend Rome in turn, Llewelyn makes no mention of this. He merely emphasises that the un-named rich eastern city survives because of the wisdom and astuteness of the seven sages who defend her:

> *Namyn dinas kyuoethawc kadarn a oed yn y dwyrein, a seithwyr kymhendoeth synhwyrus a oedynt yn kadw ac yn llywyaw y dinas. Ac nyt yn y kaerwyr a'r dinaswyr yd oed gedernet y dinas, namyn yn doethineb y gwyr a'e kymhendawt*.[414]
>
> Once upon a time there was a rich, strong city in the East and seven able, wise and sensible men were safeguarding and guiding the city. The strength of that city was not in its garrison nor its citizens but in the wisdom of these [seven] men and their ability.

The parallel is obvious: the Emperor's Rome is protected by his son's seven tutors: the Seven Sages themselves.

To accentuate this message the Welsh redactor departs from the traditional story and embeds within it a new tale, one that does not appear in any other redaction of the *Seven Sages*: the tale of *Lupus*, the wolf and the credulous shepherd.[415] In Llewelyn's adaptation of the tale, the gullible citizens are about to be persuaded by the treacherous king to deliver the seven sages to their deaths, on the promise that he will lift his siege and retreat once they do so. It is at this juncture that the new tale begins. To save their lives, one of the sages relates the fable of the wolf and the shepherd where a gullible shepherd believes the cunning lies of a devious wolf. Foolishly, he decides to hand over his guard dogs to the wolf who immediately kills them, the flock and ultimately the shepherd

[414] 202-205. (J 20, fol. 52r, 12-19).

[415] Campbell, in his discussion of *Roma* in the chapter on 'Originals and Analogues', states that the Welsh redaction 'fuses with *senescalcus* the fable of the shepherd who binds his dogs and delivers them to the wolf'. He later corrects this by saying: 'The Welsh redaction [of *Roma*] is unique in that it presents a fusion of the fable of the wolves [*sic*] and the sheep'. He then reproduces G.H. Jones's 1892 translation of the whole tale. Campbell, (1907), p. cviii, then pp. 179-180, note to 3063.

himself. The message is clear: if the Emperor is unwise enough to execute the Sages because of the deceitful words of his wife he himself will ultimately be killed:

> *"Val y lladawd y bleid y bugeil o gredu idaw, velly y llad dy wreic ditheu o chredy idi a phery a'n llad ninneu o'e hannoc hi."* [416]
>
> "Just as the wolf killed the shepherd because he believed him, so your wife will kill you if you believe her and have us killed on her say-so."

Both *Roma*, with the city's safety protected by seven wise men, and its mirror image of the flock's destruction once the guard dogs are killed, presses home the message that the Empress's weasel words are not to be trusted. Though brief, at a mere 345 words, Llewelyn's reworked tale with its additional component of the wicked wolf threatening a credulous shepherd fits more smoothly into the Sages' argument than into the Empress's.

Roma-Lupus is the Sages' reply to another new story by Llewelyn: the Empress's tale of *Ramus*. This, like *Lupus,* is another tale found only in the Welsh redaction. In it she underlines the danger that the younger generation – and their allies – pose to their elders. It is reminiscent of the Empress's first tale, *Arbor*, where a stately tree is destroyed to allow a young sapling to develop. The new tale, *Ramus*, expands on this theme, telling how a 'young branch', will facilitate the plundering of the kingdom by *'drycdynyon* a *lladron*', evil men and thieves, unless it is cut down.[417] Her message is obvious in both: the boy's very existence poses a threat to his father since he is the means whereby the Sages, the *drycdynyon a lladron*, can overthrow the Emperor and plunder the kingdom. At the end of her tale, she even presses for the execution of the Sages as well as the Prince:

> *"Kyn noethet a hynny y gedeu Doethon Rufein ditheu o ffrwyth dy deyrnas, o ledy geing gan dy vab."* [418]
>
> "The Sages of Rome will leave you as naked as that of the fruit of your kingdom, unless you kill that branch which is your son."

[416] 225-226. (J 20, fol. 53v, 1-5).
[417] 188. (J 20, fol.51v, 7).
[418] 192-193. (J 20, fol. 51v, 15-17).

Her message hits home and for the first time in the Welsh frame narrative the Emperor vows to execute both his son and the Seven Sages with him: *"Lledir, myn vyg kret, y bore avory," heb ef, "ac wynteu kymeint yr vn."* [419] "He will be killed tomorrow morning," he said, "and each and every one of them."[420]

This new tale of *Ramus* persuades the Emperor of the danger posed by both the youngster and the Sages: the threat of imminent execution is now not only to the prince but also to his teachers. The Sages' tales become increasingly more powerful from this point onwards and the Welsh redactor's reworking of *Roma*, with its additional tale of *Lupus*, which replicates the original message of *Roma,* that without the Sages counsel the Emperor's own life will be at risk, is a fitting answer to the Empress's increasing menace. As the Empress's final attempt to discredit the prince and the Sages in the French redaction, *Roma* is not as effective or as convincing as the reworked Welsh version. In saving Rome by deception, the sage Genus draws attention to the Empress's duplicity, which fits much more comfortably into the Sages' argument than into hers. Llewelyn's repositioning, reworking and re-allocation of the tale strengthens the Welsh version of the tale considerably.

Another tale moved by the Welsh redactor is *Senescalcus*, the story of how a greedy steward prostitutes his wife to a king for the sake of nine marks. When the king discovers the deception, the steward is stripped of his wealth, driven into exile and his wife is rewarded. This tale appears in most versions of the *Seven Sages*, both Eastern and Western, though the steward is a supervisor of the bath house in the Eastern version of the tale.[421] As one can imagine, this was not a story approved of by Victorian editors such as Clouston, who refused to include *The Bathkeeper's Tale* in his translation of the *Book*

[419] 194. (J 20, 18-19).

[420] In the French redaction, following the Empress's first tale, *Arbor*, the Emperor states that the Sages will die as soon as the prince has been executed: "*et tantost conme il sera destruiz, sachiez que vous et* vostre *compaignon morroiz après"* (*FrenchA*, p.10 of 46, 25-26) - "And as soon as he is destroyed, know that you and your companions will die afterwards." However, the Emperor in the French does not threaten the Sages after this, he still only vows to kill his son.

[421] A comprehensive account of the analogues of *Senescalcus* can be found in Campbell, (1907), pp. xci- xcii He notes that 'the only version that alters the story radically is the Welsh, which condenses it to about ten lines.'

of Sindibād, calling it 'objectionable'.[422] Campbell uses the same word to describe *Senescalcus*.[423] On its journey from East to West, this tale too has moved from one side of the argument to the other. Whereas in the Eastern version the tale is attributed to a wise man, in the Western version, it is the Empress who narrates it, as in both the French and Welsh redactions. *Senescalcus* itself appears centrally in the French redaction, but it is the Empress's final tale in the Welsh, and one of the shortest at a mere 112 words. The Empress's message following the tale is somewhat weak: the Emperor could lose all his treasure, including his wife, since he is so desperate to listen to the wily words of the Sages. In that eventuality, she would humiliate him by returning to her own family who would care for her well:

> *"Velly y deruyd y titheu o chwant gwrandaw y Seithwyr Doethyon, ac y'th eholir o'th gyuoeth, a minheu a gaffawn digawn o da y gan vyg kenedyl."*[424]
> "The same will happen to you because of your craving to listen to the Seven Sages, and you will be stripped of your wealth and I shall have enough from my family.

She makes no allusion within the tale itself either to the danger posed by the prince as the young generation nor to the Sages' artifice: she merely attempts to draw an obscure moral from the story. One can see why *Senescalcus* has been described as 'narratively incoherent and unpersuasive' by Speer.[425] Even being placed as seventh tale in the cycle of internal tales, or the fourth of the Empress's in the French and not the culmination of her argument, the tale still lacks impetus. It appears even less convincing as the Empress's final tale in the Welsh redaction where it should have been the climax of her attempts to justify her pose as an innocent victim. Her complaint that the Emperor's greed to listen to the Sages will result in his losing his kingdom as well as his wife is weak in the extreme

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[422] Mary B. Speer, 'What Ails the Sodomite King of Egypt? "S*enescalcus*" in the *K Sept Sages de Rome.*' In *D'Orient et Occident. Les Recueils de fables enchâssées avant les Mille et une Nuits de Galland (Barlaam et Josaphat, Calila et Dimna, Disciplina clericalis, Roman des Sept Sages)*, Marion Uhlig et Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, eds., Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Volume 16 (Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2014), p. 196, note 9.

[423] Campbell merely commented: 'The Western version of the story agrees in general outline with the eastern but is distinguished from it by the introduction of even more objectionable details.' Campbell, *A Study,* (1898), p.18, quoted by Speer, *Sodomite King*, (2014), p.200.

[424] 449-451. (J 20, fol. 64r, 19-21- fol. 64v, 1-2).

[425] Speer, (2014), p. 194.

and does little to enhance her cause. Llewelyn has deliberately placed this feeble tale, which does not engage the audience's sympathy and weakens her position, at the end of the sequence, just at the point where the Empress is about to be unmasked and sentenced to death.

Two other tales which Llewelyn has rearranged within the frame of the *Chwedleu* are *Inclusa* and *Tentamina*. Both are narrated by a Sage: *Inclusa* by Jesse in the Welsh but Meron in the French, and *Tentamina* by Martin in the Welsh and Malcuidarz in the French.[426] Neither has been re-allocated to the opposing side of the argument as happened with *Roma*, but their repositioning within the frame narrative is indicative of Llewelyn's perspective on the Seven Sages tradition. Though he has moved *Inclusa* back to the penultimate slot, so that it is no longer the climax of the Sages' argument, he has ensured the audience's awareness of its importance by making it the second-longest story in the *Chwedleu* at 950 words. This outstrips even the Prince's own tale, *Vaticinium*, which merits only 660. If it is no longer the culmination of the Sages' defence of the Prince, it is nonetheless an important part of their case - the last example of a duplicitous wife deceiving her gullible husband. In the French version, *Inclusa*, the tale of the imprisoned young wife and her knightly lover who deceive her elderly husband and elope together, is the last story narrated by a Sage before the young prince speaks out to defend himself. As such, it fits seamlessly into the overriding misogynistic theme of the French *Sept Sages*: that women are duplicitous and untrustworthy. In this final tale by the Sages, the errant wife convinces her husband that, because of her unfamiliar clothes, she is not his own wife as he thought, but a complete stranger, and that the ring that he sees on the knight's finger is not the one he had given her but a similar one. Though dubious at first, he accepts her explanation. Only when he returns to the tower where she had been kept prisoner and finds it empty does he realise that he has been duped.

The tale is similar in both French and Welsh versions: it is all about visual deception. The husband is deceived by appearances:

[426] The change of narrator occurs because the tale has changed position within the frame story.

A medylyaw na welas eiryoet gwreic na modrwy mor debig a'e wreic ef a'e vodrwy y wreic a modrwy y marchawc.[427]

And he thought that he had never seen a woman nor a ring as similar to his wife and his ring than the knight's woman and that ring.

The husband believes the woman's falsification of the truth: she tells him that although thinks he sees his wife's ring on another's finger it is, in fact, not hers; though he thinks he sees his wife before his eyes, he is mistaken, she is another. The audience as well as the Emperor of the frame tale are both invited to draw a comparison between the falsehood of appearance of the wife in *Inclusa* and the falsehood of the appearance of the Empress's torn clothes at the beginning of the action. Both are attempting to convince verbally and by visual deception. In *Inclusa* the husband is duped as is the Emperor at the beginning of the frame narrative. In the Welsh redaction the Sage Jesse warns the Emperor that the Empress will deceive him too, just as the wife in *Inclusa* did, if he persists in believing her lies concerning the prince:

"Ac ual y somes y vrenhines y brenhin gynt am y marchawc, velly y soma dy wreic ditheu tydi." [428]

"And just as the queen deceived the king about the knight, so your wife will deceive you."

As in *Inclusa,* the Empress of the frame narrative has tricked her husband with the appearance of truth. This, of course, is the crux of the matter: the duplicitous woman has falsified her 'evidence', convincing the Emperor that she has been attacked by his son. Therefore, as the culmination of the French Sages' argument, *Inclusa* sums up the misogynistic message that women are not to be trusted, that they use appearance to deceive and by doing so attempt to dominate and cuckold their unsuspecting husbands. This theme of feminine deception ensures that the French redaction makes this exemplum the final tale told by the Sages and the culmination of their argument against the Empress: the 'evidence' a woman produces has to be thoroughly investigated before

[427] 421-422. (J 20, fol. 63r, 2-5).
[428] 372-373. (J. 20, fol. 60r, 15-17).

it is believed, and even then, there is room for doubt, just as there is in the case of the 'evidence' of the torn clothes and scratched face that the Empress presented to the Emperor in the frame tale. If the Emperor is willing to act in haste and execute his son merely on the basis of this outward show, he will rue the day that he did so; such is the message of *Canis*, *Medicus*, *Roma-Lupus* and *Inclusa*. This is a typical subject for the '*Specula Principum*' instructing a ruler in the correct form for wise leadership, a popular genre during the Middle Ages and beyond.

However, unlike the French parent version, Llewelyn chooses not to make *Inclusa* the Sages' final attempt to convince the Emperor of the boy's innocence. He substitutes *Tentamina* for *Inclusa* as his concluding tale in this chess game of argument and counter-argument proving the guilt or innocence of the prince. *Tentamina* is now the last and most powerful story told by the Sages in the Welsh redaction. This relocation, seen in the light of the French parent version, gives us a clue to the underlying agenda of Llewelyn's version of the Seven Sages. At the beginning of the French version of *Tentamina*, which is placed further much back in the narrative, the Sage Malquidarz tells the Emperor that the same could happen to him as happened to another elderly husband whose wife set out to deceive him:

> *"Ha Sire", fet li sages, "merci. Se vous sanz jugement et sanz le conseil de vos barons le destruisiez, si vous em puisse il ausi avenir conme il fist a l'ancien sage de sa fame." "Et conment l'en avint il," fet l' emperieres, "dites moi, car de l'ancien sage orroie…et si orroie orroie volontires conment sa fame le deçut."*[429]
>
> "Ah, Sir", said the Sage, "thank you. If you, without judgement and without the advice of your barons, were to destroy [your son] then [it] may happen to you as happened to the ancient sage because of his wife." "And what happened to him?" says the Emperor, "tell me, for I would gladly hear of the ancient sage and how his wife deceived him."

[429] *FrenchA,* p.18 of 46, 38-39.

The Welsh tale seemingly follows the same pattern: a Sage warns the Emperor that a devious young wife is about to trick her infatuated husband. This is what the Welsh Sage, Martin, tells the Emperor at the end of *Tentamina*:

> *"Ymogy yssyd reit y titheu, Arglwyd Amherawdyr," heb y Martin, "rac dy gwydaw y mywn kared kymeint ac y lledych dy vab yr ethrot dy wreic."* [430]
> "You must be careful, Lord Emperor," said Martin, "that you are not so much in love that you kill your son because the slander of your wife."

In *Tentamina,* however, the intended deception does not succeed. The preamble to the French redaction alerts the audience to this when it suddenly changes direction. The French Sage Malquidarz unexpectedly tells the Emperor that the elderly husband of the tale was not deceived, because he was a Sage, a wise man: *"Sire, ele ne le deçut pas, car il s'en garda moult bien conme sage."* [431] - "Sire, she did not deceive him, for being a wise man he protected himself well against that." Malquidarz is inviting the Emperor to identify not only with the older husband who outwits his young wife but also with the Sages themselves. Since he is a wise man, the husband is no longer the hapless victim; he outmanoeuvres the scheming young woman and regains his position as master in his own household. Such is not the outcome of *Inclusa* where the older husband is duped by his young wife and her lover who have persistently tricked him, even persuading him to have them married by his own priest before they escape together. Persistent cuckolding, the theme in *Inclusa,* is similar to the motif of *Avis*, a tale found in all versions of the tale but not included by Llewelyn in the *Chwedleu*, where a young wife persuades her husband that his talking pet magpie is lying when it informs him of her infidelity. She goes to great lengths to deceive the bird on the night she entertains her lover whilst her husband is away on business: she has her maid climb on to the roof, hammer the shingles, push a lighted candle into the magpie's face and finally pour water over it so that it thinks that there is a terrible thunderstorm raging that night. When the husband returns, his pet magpie informs him that wife's lover has visited that night, despite there being a terrible storm. The husband refuses to believe this, since it had, in fact, been a very calm evening.

[430] 492-493. (J 20, fol. 66v, 8-12).
[431] *FrenchA,* p.18 of 46, 33-37.

In a rage at the magpie's assumed lies, he kills it, only later to discover the evidence of his wife's duplicity when he finds the wax from the candle beside the hole in the wet tiles on the roof. Too late, he regrets his rash action. Just as in *Canis*, where the innocent dog is rashly killed, the moral of *Avis* is that one must not act in haste, especially on the word of a woman, or one would live to regret it: "*Ha, las chetis, pour coi crui je ma fame?*"[432] - "Ha, miserable creature that I am! Why did I believe my wife?"

The underlying message of *Tentamina* is very different from that of these tales: if the husband pauses and considers the situation carefully, does not act rashly but behaves in a deliberate and wise manner he can have the upper hand on his duplicitous wife. In achieving this, the husband in *Tentamina* has an unlikely ally: the young wife's mother. As in the French, the tale begins with the new young wife complaining to her mother that her elderly husband gives her little pleasure in bed.[433] Throughout the Welsh tale, the mother counsels caution: *"Medylyaw yn gyntaf rac bot yn greulonach dial y gwr hen wedi llityo no gwr ieuangk."* [434] - "Firstly think whether an angry old man is more cruel than a young one." Her warning proves to be well founded. Following the three tests of her husband's patience and temper, he finally re-asserts his superiority over his young wife, draining her strength from her, both figuratively and literally, by having her bled. The tale ends on a note of natural order restored, where women behave responsibly and fulfil their role in society rather than undermining the existing social structure.

[432] *FrenchA*, p. 23 of 46, 51.
[433] 456-458. (J 20, fol. 64v, 14-15).
[434] 474-475. (J 20, fol. 65v, 12-15).

ii. Reshaping the Narrative: Cultural Adaptation

A category of material omitted in the Welsh *CSDR*, one less obvious but highly significant, may be put under the heading of cultural adaptation. Initially into this category comes the omission of the name of the young seer of the Welsh version of *Sapientes*. In the French redaction it is given as 'Mellin' or 'Mellins': '*il avoit non Mellin'*.[435] The name 'Merlin' was potentially problematic in a work intended for a Welsh audience since Merlin, or 'Myrddin' as he was known in Welsh, had a literary pedigree long predating the Welsh translation of the *Sept Sages.*The earliest incarnation of this legendary Merlin was as 'Myrddin Wyllt', a seer, a Wild Man of the Woods' figure.[436] Myrddin Wyllt himself appeared to be a survivor of the bloody battle of Arfderydd in the Old North, a battle dated to 573 in the *Annales Cambriae.* The loss of his lord, Gwenddoleu with most of the host, including Myrddin's sister Gwenddydd's son, drove him to madness. For fifty years he lived in the forest of Celyddon, (Caledonia), where he developed the power of prophecy.[437] This prophetic insight gives rise to the poems: *Yr Afallennau*, ',The Apple Trees', *Yr Oianau*, 'The Greetings', '*Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin'*, 'The Conversation of Myrddin and Taliesin', as found in the earliest Welsh language manuscript book, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, (NLW Peniarth MS 1), a book which dates to the mid-thirteenth century.[438] The poems themselves are of a much earlier date, probably composed even before *Armes Prydein,* which has been dated to the tenth century.[439]

This early Welsh Myrddin is completely different from the child-seer, Ambrosius, who appears in Nennius's early ninth century *Historia Britonnum.*[440] The fatherless child who

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[435] *FrenchA,* p.24 of 46, 33 (fol. 29d). In the French manuscript London, BL Harley MS 3860 he is named 'Merlyns', later abbreviated to 'Me'llins'.

[436] This motif dates back as far as the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and beyond, even to the Indian *Rishyasninga*. See A.O.H. Jarman, 'The Merlin Legend and the Welsh Tradition of Poetry' in *The Arthur of the Welsh, The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature* Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman and Brynley Roberts, eds. (Cardiff, UWP, 1991), pp.117-145.

[437] Thomas Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900* (Cardiff, UWP, 1964), pp.22-25.
Helen Fulton, 'Tenth Century Wales and *Armes Prydein*' in *THSC* Vol 7, (2000/20001), pp. 1-18.

[438] Two other early poems concerning Myrddin are: *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei Chwaer,* 'The Conversation of Myrddin and Gwenddydd his Sister' and *Gwasgargerdd Fyrddin yn y Bedd*, 'The Diffused Song of Myrddin in the Grave'. Both are to be found in J 111.

[439] Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaith Gymraeg* (1964), p.22.

[440] Nennius, *Historia Brittonum* 40-42. https://Gutenberg.org/files/1972/1972-h/1972.

solves Vortigern's castle-building problem is much more closely related to the Merlin we find in the later, twelfth century work of Geoffrey of Monmouth which popularized the figure of Merlin in international literature. In fact, Geoffrey's Merlin, (also named 'Ambrosius'), is discovered in almost identical circumstances to Nennius's Ambrosius: both were being teased by their companions for being fatherless, both had vaticinatory ability.[441] In the French *Sept Sages*, the blinded emperor's emissaries also discover a young seer being taunted by his playmates for being fatherless.[442] This discovery comes in circumstances very similar to that of the boy Merlin, the young prophet of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*. The same scene, as played out in the French version of *Sapientes,* is absent from the Welsh. The child does not appear to be fatherless, neither are any companions mentioned. He is but a young man with a God-given gift of interpreting dreams: '*Gwas ieuangk a gawssei ragor y gan Duw o yspryt dewinyaeth y dehogyl breudwydon.'*[443] In both versions of *Sapientes* the child interprets a dream which involves the future of a kingdom. However, the redactor of the *Chwedleu* appears to have recognised that his Welsh audience would have found the name of the young seer Mellins or Merlins too similar to that of the well-established character of Myrddin. The potential cultural dissonance is summarily resolved by excising the name from the *Chwedleu*.

A similar, culturally determined, omission comes in the tale *Canis*. The key elements of the French tale - the apparent death of a baby, the killing of a dog and hysterical nurses – can also be found in *Pwyll*, the First Branch of the Mabinogi.[444] The tenor of the traditional Welsh tale is however quite distinct from the French *Canis*. In *Pwyll*, the nurses who have been tasked with looking after Rhiannon and her new baby fall asleep. When they wake they realise that the boy has vanished?

[441] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain* Lewis Thorpe, transl., (London, The Folio Society, 1966), p. 143-144.
[442] *FrenchA*, p. 24 of 46, 31-32.
[443] 357-358. (J 20, fol. 59v, 4-6).
[444] PKM, pp. 20-21.

A phan deffroyassant, edrych a orugant y lle y dodyssynt y mab, ac nyt oed dim ohonaw. "Och," heb vn o'r gwraged, "neur golles y mab." "Ie," heb arall, "bychan a dial oed yn lloski ni neu yn dihenydyaw am y mab."[445]

'And when they woke up, they looked where they had put the child but he was not there. "Oh," said one of the women, "the boy is gone." "Yes," said another, "it would be but a small punishment if we were burned alive or executed because of the boy."

They kill a hunting dog's pup and smear the innocent, sleeping Rhiannon with its blood, then accuse her of having killed her son. Her husband, Pwyll, reluctantly believes this slander and Rhiannon has to undergo years of humiliating penance.[446] The omission of the nurses from the Welsh *Canis* eliminates the blurring of focus that would have arisen from its shared themes with this traditional story, familiar to a Welsh audience.

Another instance of culturally determined omission could well be the deletion of *Avis* from the Welsh *SDR*. The tale of Branwen, the second branch of the *Mabinogi*, features a wronged wife whose salvation from torture comes via a talking starling. This, of course, is the complete inverse of the theme of *Avis*. The heroine in *Branwen* is pure and unsullied by lascivious intentions, unlike the depraved stepmother of the *Chwedleu*. The tale of *Pwyll* features a prudent ruler and a wronged wife. Aligning these characters with those within a narrative of female duplicity and male rashness could have seemed inappropriate and therefore would not have been well received.

From these examples, it is apparent that Llewelyn was careful not to confuse his audience by including details that conflicted with well-established Welsh tales. His choice of traditional narrative material was well-sourced, enabling him to enhance the motif of the *Chwedleu*, reshaping the established narrative by the addition of selected episodes of traditional Welsh literature into the mix, thus adding an extra dimension to the tales.

[445] PKM, p.20.

[446] Pwyll imposes on Rhiannon the punishment of having to carry guests on her back from the mounting block to his court for seven years; PKM, p. 21.

iii. The Use of *Abbreviato* in the Tales

The Welsh redaction of the *Sept Sages* is typical of Welsh translations of the period in that it is much more concise than its parent text. From the table below, we may note that the tales in the *Chwedleu* are, on average, only about 45% the length of their French counterparts. They vary between nearly 50%, as in *Arbor*, *Aper*, *Puteus*, *Virgilius* and *Vaticinium*, and approximately 38% as in *Medicus*, *Gaza*, *Inclusa* and *Tentamina* (the last at 33%).

Tale title:	Tale sequence (Welsh)	Tale length (Welsh	Tale sequence (French)	Tale Length (French)	Length Difference (words)	(percentage)
Arbor [E]	1	79	1	259	180 (-)	31%
Canis [S]	2	250	2	983	733 (-)	25%
Aper [E]	3	153	3	340	187 (-)	45%
Medicus [S]	4	264	4	700	436 (-)	38%
Gaza [E]	5	324	5	886	562 (-)	37%
Puteus [S]	6	342	6	730	388 (-)	47%
Ramus [E]	7	154			154 (+)	
Roma-Lupus [S]	8	345 [R: 164 + L: 181]	13	414	69 (-)	84% [R: 40% L: 44%]
Virgilius [E]	9	515	9	1196	681(-)	43%
Vidua [S]	10	1028	12	1635	607 -)	63%
Sapientes [E]	11	275	11	1276	1001 (-)	22%
Inclusa [S]	13	950	14	2519	1569 (-)	38%
Senescalcus [E]	13	112	7	584	472 (-)	19%
Tentamina [S]	14	592	8	1819	1227 (-)	33%
Vaticinium [P]	15	661	15	1469	808 (-)	45%
[Avis] [S]			*10*	*725*	*725 (-)*	*N.A.]*
Total no of words		6044		15535	9491 (-)	39%
Ramus/ Avis		R: 154		A: 725	571 (-)	21%

Comparative Length of the Internal Tales in the Welsh and French redactions

The importance of each individual tale in the Welsh and French redactions respectively is demonstrated in Appendix 3, which lists the tales in order of their respective word-length. From this we can see that the longest of the tales in both are allocated to the Sages, whose agenda is to discredit womanhood, principally the Empress. This indicates that the *Seven Sages* theme was essentially a misogynistic one. It is significant, but not surprising, that the tales which are the most brief in both redactions are all allocated to the Empress, thus making her argument weaker and less credible. The Prince's tale, though one of the longer ones, is not misogynistic in either redaction, its importance in the cycle is to demonstrate to the Emperor that his son is not a threat, but a faithful and true child.

In the French and the Welsh, *Arbor* is the first and shortest tale of the collection. Related by the Empress, it serves almost as an 'Introduction' to the whole corpus, illustrating simply that the young scion poses a danger to his father. She underlines the same message in *Aper*, another brief tale. The message of *Roma* is confusing in the French where it is told by the Empress, coming as a weak riposte to the Sages' powerful tale, *Vidua*. The French Empress's *Roma* tells of seven wicked kings who set out to destroy Rome, which must put us, and the Emperor, in mind of the Seven Sages themselves. However, seven sages of the tale defend the city and it is one of these 'wise masters', '*uns des mestres sages'*, who eventually saves Rome, the Papacy and even the Pope himself, as if by magic.[447] The tale does not appear in the Latin version '**S**', '**L**' nor '**M**'. All the other versions, '**K**', '**D***', '**H**' and '**I**', include it and allocate it to the Empress. In this, the Welsh redactor differs. His tale is very much longer, includes a *mise en abyme* and is re-allocated to the Sages, a much more satisfactory arrangement. A tale signalling the virtue of seven sages must surely belong to them. They are building up their argument that both they themselves and the Prince have been wrongly accused by a devious and wicked character. In the '**A***' family of the *Sept Sages,* the Empress's case concludes with almost a vindication of the Sages, an exceptionally weak tale from her standpoint, its weakness emphasised by its brevity.

As we can see from the above list of tales, in the French redaction the most misogynistic of the tales are longest. *Inclusa*, *Tentamina* and *Vidua*, all of these illustrate the duplicity

[447] *FrenchA*, p. 3 of 19, 27.

and faithlessness of woman; each one is well in excess of 1500 words, with *Inclusa*, at more than 2500 words, being by far the longest. *Puteus*, another highly misogynistic tale, appears earlier in the sequence and only ninth in order of length, despite its being a powerful tale where an older husband is maltreated by his cheating young wife. The previous tales told by the Sages, *Canis* and *Medicus*, are not especially misogynistic, especially *Medicus* which centres on the theme of the older generation's ungrounded fear and jealousy of youth. However, in both the French and the Welsh, following the Empress's damning tale of an uncaring son, *Gaza, Puteus* is the first of the Sages' incrementally condemnatory tales of the wickedness of womanhood. *Avis,* also a highly misogynistic tale of the faithlessness of women, is omitted from the Welsh. As mentioned above, this might have been due to cultural reasons, as the character of a talking bird potentially clashed with that of the starling in *Branwen*, which was the messenger who helped to free a calumniated wife rather one killed for divulging female adultery. *Avis* is not one of the longer tales in the French at approximately 725 words. It is, nonetheless a potent one, warning the Emperor against making a rash judgement or believing his wife's lies. Its nearest rival in length in the French, is another misogynistic tale, *Inclusa,* at approximately 950 words. The French redactor places it in last position, the culmination of the Sages' case against the Empress. In the French redaction, this tale is by far the longest at over 2,500 words. As the final tale by the Sages in their attempt to save the Prince and themselves from death, this is not unexpected.

As the Empress's most powerful tale, *Sapientes*, being a story of untrustworthy advisors, is less than half the length of the Sages' most effective, anti-feminist tale, *Inclusa*. The French redactor makes *Sapientes* fifth in order of length, and eleventh in the sequence of tales in *Les Sept Sages* and it should be the most compelling in persuading the Emperor of the danger posed by the Sages to himself. However, though the tale remains in the same position, Llewelyn not only manipulates the outcome but also curtails the story by approximately 1000 words, from some 1270 words to 275. This story is the epitome of the spirit of the *Chwedleu.* It displays many characteristics of the Welsh redaction and, as is not unusual, is very much shorter than its French parent text. Llewelyn may therefore

be seen to be selective in his brevity, with some tales pared down more than others, indirectly affecting the overall tenor of the work as compared to his French source.
The tale which stands out as being nearest, by percentage, in length to the French, and double the usual length of other tales is *Roma-Lupus*, at 86%. This, of course is not unexpected, since it comprises two tales: one of 196 words and another of 149 words. This brings the average percentage of each tale nearer to the 40% length of the French, which merits approximately 414 words. Thus, the Welsh redactor condenses the material within the internal tales quite significantly.

This is achieved firstly, by the excision of all extraneous detail Secondly the dialogue present in the French is curtailed in the *Chwedleu*. These two elements are discussed below.

a. <u>The Omission of Descriptive Detail</u>:

One way in which Llewelyn abbreviates his version of the *Sept Sages* is by the omission of details which he considered superfluous to the *Chwedleu.* Such an example of this excision of detail can be found in the very first tale: *Arbor*, the Tree, as related by the Empress. In the French *Sept Sages*, the rich townsman's beautiful garden is described in detail: its many trees, and its focal point, a noble pine carefully nurtured by the gardener. The young sapling which had sprouted from this pine tree gave the owner much pleasure until, one day, he realised that it was not growing as it should. The gardener explained that a branch of the older tree was responsible for the sapling's stunted growth and it should be lopped. Once this was done the old pine shrivelled and died. The Welsh tale follows its French source in outline, but there is no mention of a beautiful garden, merely of a small pine which is stunted by the bough of an older pine tree growing nearby. Once this bough is lopped, to allowing the sapling to flourish, the older tree dies:

> *"Ef a deruyd itti am dy vab ual y daruu gynt i'r prenn pinus mawr o achaws y binwyden vechan a oed yn tyuu yn y hymyl, a cheig o'r uawr yn llesteiraw ar y vechan dyfu. Ac yna erchis y bwrdeis bioed y gwyd y ardwr torri ceig o'r*

binwyden hen, a oed yn llesteiryaw ar y vechan kyuodi. A gwedy torri y geig y prenn yn gwbyl a grinawd, ac yna yd erchis y torri oll."[448]

"The same will happen to you because of your son as happened long ago to the large pine tree because of the small pine which was growing near it, with a bough of the larger stunting the growth of the smaller one. And then the burgess who owned the trees ordered that the gardener cut the branch of the old pine which was hindering the growth of the younger one. Once the branch was cut, the whole tree withered and then he ordered that the whole tree should be cut down."

The Welsh redactor is brutally concise. He tells the tale in eleven lines of the J 20 manuscript, with the following five lines establishing the moral of the story: the older generation must guard its position jealously and be constantly aware of the danger posed by the next. Though short, at some 280 words long, the French redaction is still approximately four times the length of the Welsh tale, which, in total, comprises only 79 words. [449]

Similarly, the Empress' second tale: *Aper,* the Boar[450] reduces to two lines the description of the marvellous, lush forest that is home to the large, fully-grown boar who becomes intoxicated daily by eating so many sorb-apples:

Pren frwythlawn brigawclas a oed yn mywn fforest yn Ffreinck. A'r baed ny mynny ffrwyth prenn yny coet namyn ffrwyth y prenn hwnnw.[451]

There was a sweet, fruitful, leafy tree in a forest in France, and the boar wanted the fruit of no other tree in the wood except for the fruit of that particular tree.

[448] 50-55. (J 20, fol. 44r, 19-21, then fol. 44v, 1-8).
[449] J 20, fol. 44r, 19 to fol. 44v, 13.
[450] *FrenchA*, p.8 of 43. This tale can be found in both *The Seven Sages* and *The Book of Sindbad*. Campbell, (1907), p. lxxxii.
[451] 92-94. (J 20, fol. 46v, 4-8).

The motivation of the shepherd's entering of the forest in the French text, (that he is in search of an errant animal),[452] disappears, with the Welsh merely stating: *'A dydgweith yd arganuu y bugeil y prenn, a gwelet y ffrwyth.'* [453] - 'And one day the shepherd discovered the tree and saw the fruit.'

Unusually, there is no direct speech in the French version of this tale, unlike in *Arbor*, possibly reflecting the fact that the protagonists are an animal, (a boar), and a lowly peasant: '*uns chetis pasteurs qui riens ne savoit*' - 'A miserable, ignorant shepherd'.[454] *Aper* is one of the shortest tales in the French version, at about 470 words,[455] but the Welsh version is even shorter, at 79 words. In addition to omitting the reason for the shepherd's presence in the forest, it gives a much more succinct account of the killing of the boar. Where the shepherd, in the French text, scratches the boar until it falls asleep, thus giving him the opportunity of killing it by stabbing it in the heart leaving the carcass to rot. The Welsh shepherd merely drops the fruit from his vantage point up in the branches of the tree so that the boar eats its fill and sleeps. The shepherd then descends from the tree and cuts its throat. The Welsh redactor ends with the dramatic statement that the same will happen to the Boar of Rome, (obviously the Emperor), who will be assassinated and have his kingdom snatched away.

Canis, the Dog, the second of the intercalated tales, is another highly condensed tale, mainly through the omission of descriptive detail. Related by the Sage Bantillas in both the French and Welsh redactions, it tells the story of a faithful hound wrongly accused of killing his master's baby son. Precise information relating to time is omitted. We are told that in the French redaction the story takes place on Trinity Sunday: '*le Roy des Diemenches*',[456] but no such knowledge is imparted in the Welsh. Also missing in the *Chwedleu* is the description that we have in the *Sept Sages* of knight's home and the awakening of the serpent. The account of the fight between the hideous, poisonous

[452] *FrenchA,* p. 12 of 46, 15-16.
[453] 94. (J 20, fol. 46v, 8-9).
[454] *FrenchA,* p. 12 of 46, 38.
[455] This tale takes up a mere 23 lines of the online transcription.
[456] *FrenchA*, 11 of 46, 1.

serpent and the greyhound is full and exciting in the French: the cradle is overturned, the serpent strangled and torn into three pieces, leaving the victorious greyhound swollen, covered in blood, and to all appearances, a rabid animal. The mother comes upon the grisly scene, and runs screaming to her husband, who immediately acts, without thinking, and kills the dog. When he realises his error, the penitent knight cuts off the long toes of his shoes, thus renouncing his knightly status, and goes into a self-imposed exile.[457]

In addition, the French version of the tale has three secondary characters in the drama: three nurses who abandoned their charge so that they could view the tournament. When they return and discover the bloodstained, upturned cradle they leap to the conclusion that the child has been killed and realise that it is their neglect that has led to this horror; therefore, they decide to flee to escape retribution:

> *Lors, conmmencierent a crier et brere et a tirer leur cheveus et a dire: "Ha lasses, que ferons? Que porrons nous devenir? Fuions nous en."* [458]
>
> 'So they start to shout and scream and to tear their hair and to say: 'Ha, poor us, what shall we do? What will become of us? Let's flee!'

The Welsh tale, possibly to avoid cultural confusion, omits the nurses completely and preserves merely the bare bones: the knight's only child is left alone except for the faithful hound. The clamour of the tournament wakens a serpent who attempts to kill the babe; the faithful hound does battle with the snake and kills it. During the combat the cradle is overturned so when the bloody scene is discovered, it is thought that the rabid hound has killed the babe. The father, in a rage and without thinking, kills the dog, only to discover that the child alive and well beneath the upturned cradle. Too late, he repents of his hasty action. Nevertheless, despite the French's additional details, the Welsh tale is just as effective. The father acts rashly, acting on appearances only: he kills his faithful hound and lives to regret his thoughtless deed. This is the overriding message in both the *Chwedleu* and the French parent version. The Welsh redactor achieves this in a mere 170

[457] The sumptuary laws of France, from the time of Phillipe IV, prohibited those of lower social standing from having points longer than 6 inches beyond the foot. Only princes could have shoes with toes of 24 inches long.

[458] *FrenchA,* p. 11 of 46, 31.

words as opposed to the almost 1000 words of the French text; a huge difference in length between the two redactions, though the moral of the tale remains the same.

This programme of *abbreviato* is effectively demonstrated in the tale *Virgilius* which follows *Tentamina* in the French redaction but not in the Welsh; a tale told by the Empress in both redactions.[459] *Virgilius* is severely curtailed by the Welsh redactor, with Llewelyn omitting a large part of the tale as it appears in the French, thus reducing its length from some 1200 words in the French to 515 in the Welsh. The Welsh tale opens immediately with the central plot with the introductory section omitted. There is no mention of the enchanted fire created by the magician Virgil,[460] a fire that was of enormous service to the poor women of the town and their children:

> *Par nigromance fist il [Virgil] en ceste vile un feu qui tout jourz ardiot. Et ces povres fames qui ces petiz enfanz avoient [...] a cel feu se chaufoient et prenoient de l'eve chaude a leur enfanz baigner.* [461]
>
> By magic he [Virgil] did make in this city a fire that burned every day. And those poor women, who had little children [...] warmed themselves by this fire and took hot water to bathe their children.

Llewelyn also omits the copper statues which, in the French version, stand at the gates of Rome, throwing balls to each other on a Saturday night. Llewelyn obviously considered these *mirabilia* superfluous to his tale and begins with the central plot: a rival king's bid to demolish the column which holds Virgil's magic mirror which keeps the city safe. In beginning at this point, Llewelyn is similar both to Gower in his version of the tale in *Confessio Amantis* (Book V) and the redactor of the Middle English, 'Midland' version of the *Seven Sages* who also begins the tale with the magic mirror in the tower. Though the Midland text claims the magician responsible was Merlin not Vergil, which would not be appropriate for a Welsh audience who would associate Merlin with their own traditions

[459] At number nine, this tale occupies the same position within the sequence in both, however the tale preceding it is different. Instead of *Tentamina*, as in the French, in Welsh we have the dual tale of *Roma-Lupus,* which differs considerably from the version of *Roma* found in the French.
[460] During the Middle Ages Virgil was considered to be a magician rather than a poet.
[461] *FrenchA*, p. 21 of 46, 11-12.

and folklore, not with the 'foreign' city of Rome.[462] However, unlike Llewelyn, the Midland English version and Gower both follow the French at the end of the tale: the brothers convince the greedy king (Crassus in both the Midland *Seven Sages* and Gower but Grassian or Gracian in the Welsh) that an even larger treasure lies beneath the column:

> *''Nous en avons un songié souz cel mirëoir si grant que a painnes le porroient trere touz les chevaus qui son ten vostre court.''* [463]
> "We have dreamed of [one of those treasures] under that mirror that is so big that all the horses at your court could hardly pull it out."

In the French, Crassus is well aware that any tampering with the column could lead to its destruction and he is loath to do so, despite being desperate to secure more gold:

> *''Certes,'' dit li emperieres, ''ce ne voudroie je a nul fuer que je le mirëoir feïsse abatre, car nous y vëons touz ceuls qui mal vuelent fere a ceste vile.''*[464]
> "Certainly," said the emperor, "this I would not want at any price that I cause the mirror to be felled, for we see in it all those who want to do harm to this city."

But the tricksters convince him that all will be well: *"Sire, de ce n'aiezque il chiee, car nous le sauverons moult bien."* [465] - "Sire, do not worry that it may fall, for we will save it very well." However, in Llewelyn's version of the tale the greedy emperor needs no persuasion, he refuses to listen to the concerns of his senators and himself makes the decision to order the toppling of the column in the hopes of securing the promised gold:

> *Ac yna y dywawt senedwyr Rufein, o diwreiddiwyt y golofyn [na bydei] gyn gadarnet Ruuein o hynny allan. Ac ny adawd chwant eur ac aryant y'r*

[462] 'The Emperes hire tale bygane, /And sayde hit was a mane, /Merlyn he hatte, and was a clerke, / And bigann a wonder werke. / He made in Rome thourow clergyse/ A piler that stode fol heyghe,/Heyer wel than ony tour, /And theroppon a myrrour'; Jill Whitelock, *Seven Sages* (2005) p.53-4, 1876-1889. Gower, in his version of the tale in *Confessio Amantis*, Book 5, 2031-2204, names the magician as 'Vergil' but begins the tale at the same point, omitting the details of the fire and statues. The other versions of the Middle English Seven Sages adhere to the French and mention the fire and the copper statues.
[463] *FrenchA,* p. 22 of 46, 7-9.
[464] *FrenchA,* p. 22 of 46, 9-11.
[465] *FrenchA,* p. 22 of 46, 11-12.

amherawdyr vot wrth gyghor y gwyr hyny. Diwreidyaw y golofyn a beris ef.[466]

And then the senators of Rome said, if the column was uprooted, Rome would not be as strong from then onwards. But the emperor did not allow the lust for gold and silver to take the advice of those men. He ordered the column to be uprooted.

Llewelyn's principle of narrative economy leads him to omit the vignette of the workmen digging beneath the pillar, leaving only a tiny portion of soil to support it, and the scene of the two duplicitous brothers lighting a fire beneath the column to ensure its complete collapse before they vanish from the city, as happens in the French. Llewelyn gives no indication of precisely how the column was demolished; all is summed up in the brief sentence: *'Diwreidiaw y golofyn a beris ef,'*[467]- 'He ordered the column to be uprooted.' This omission answers the same function as that of the Watch in *Puteus* or the nurses in *Canis*: extraneous detail omitted to further advance the tale. As a punishment for his greed the senators force him to drink molten gold; in the French redaction they also pour the gold into his eyes and ears implying that, not only is he greedy for gold, but that his eyes and ears have also deceived him into being beguiled by the Sages, as the Empress in the Welsh redaction points out:

"Velly, ny att dy chwant ditheu y wrandaw Doethon Rufein, y rei yssyd y'th dihiryaw a'e eureit barableu y gredu vy ghyghoreu i..." [468]

"In the same way, your craving to listen to the Sages of Rome, who are deceiving you with their golden prattling, prevents you from following my advice..."

Llewelyn's principle of *abbreviatio* is also amply demonstrated in *Inclusa*, the twelfth tale in the *Chwedleu* but the final one before the Prince speaks in the French. Whereas the French version is by far the longest in the cycle, at approximately 2519 words, though

[466] 261-264. (J 20, fol. 55r. 19-20, then fol. 55v, 1-5).
[467] 263-264. (J 20, fol. 55v. 4-5).
[468] 266-267. (J 20, fol. 55v, 11-14).

second longest in Welsh, it is much shorter at 950 words, Many details omitted in the Welsh are the name of the lovelorn knight's homeland, 'Monbergier', and the information that the jealous husband of the lady in the tower carried the keys to his wife's prison with him at all times, and that he was hated by the populace:

> *Li sires qui cil chastiaus estoit, fu haïz de ceuls du païs. Une fame avoit moult bele, et païs qui estoit si haute et si fort conme l'en pooit deviser. La dame I fu enclose ne n'en issiot ne jour ne nuit. En la tour avoit huis de fer bien barrez. Li sires emportoit les cles tot jourz avec lui, car il ne s'en fïast en nului.*[469]
>
> The lord to whom this castle belonged was hated by the [inhabitants] of the country. He had a very beautiful wife; she did not have her equal in beauty in the country. The lord loved her so much that he was very jealous and had her locked up in a tower which was as high and as strong as he could design it. The lady was enclosed there, and neither by day nor by night did she come out of it. In the tower there was a well-locked iron door. The lord carried the keys with him for he trusted no-one.

We are given the description of a beautiful young wife shut in the tallest, most impregnable tower that her jealous husband could devise; even the door is made of iron: the harshest of metals. The callous nature of her imprisonment is further underlined when the young wife complains about her captivity:

> *''Sire,'' fet la dame, ''il m'est assez mauvesment, car je suis toute seul et m'avez enfermee en ceste tour conme se vous m'eüssiez emblee.''*[470]
>
> "Sire," says the lady, "I'm in a poor way, for I am here all alone and you have locked me up in this tower as if you had kidnapped me."

This exchange further reduces the audience's sympathy for the king whose cruelty towards his young wife seems reason enough for her to fall into the arms of a passing

[469] *FrenchA2*, p. 5 of 20, 11- 15. From of *Vidua* to the end of the tales in French the website is: http://myweb.dal.ca/hrunte/FrenchA2.html#widow and the pages are numbered 1-20.
[470] *FrenchA*, p. 6 of 20, 30-31.

knight and make her escape. Indeed, the French redaction has her dreaming of a knight from a distant country, just as the knight has dreamed of the lady herself. Llewelyn, with his usual *abbreviatio,* only has the knight dream of a tryst with a beautiful lady imprisoned in a tall tower:

> *Yd oedd marchawc gynt a welei y vot beunoeth y mywyn twr uchel yn ymgaru ac arglwydes ieuangk delediw.*[471]
> Once there was a knight who dreamt every night that he was in a tall tower making love to a beautiful young lady.

He is so stricken with love that he decides to seek her out:

> *A churyaw yn vawr a wnaeth o garyat yr unbennes. Sef a gafas yn y gyghor mynet y grwydraw bydoed a dinassoed amdanei. Ac val y byd yn kerdet, ef a welei gaer vawr vylchawc [...] a ffyryf dwr aruchel [...] ac arganuot y wreic vwyaf a garei yndaw.* [472]
> And he languished with love for the lady. He decided to go and travel worlds and cities in search of her. And as he was travelling, he saw a large, fortified city […] with a strong, tall tower [...] and he saw the woman he loved most within it.

Where the French redaction makes use of *amplificatio*, relating how the knight took to the road with two horses laden with silver and gold, wandered for three weeks looking for his lady, until he reached Hungary, '*un terre moult riche'*, a very rich country,[473] Llewelyn's abbreviates the whole episode to the few words above.

Llewelyn's attitude towards the knight's behaviour may be gauged from the ironic command that he places in the mouth of the king: *"Edrych y cyfle a fynnych a chymer ef"*[474] "Seek your opportunity and take it". Indeed, this is strikingly similar to the king's response to the knight's request in the French redaction: *"Fetes partout vostre plesir et*

[471] 376-377. (J 20, fol. 60v, 1-4).
[472] 378-384. (J 20, fol. 60v, 6-7).
[473] Hungary also acquires a coastline in the French redaction: *'Hongrie, un terre moult rich. Jouste la mer trouva un chastel...*' (*FrenchA,* p. 5 of 20, 10-11) - 'Hungary, a very rich land. Next to the sea, he found a castle...'
[474] 392. (J 20, fol. 61r, 17-18).

vostre volenté"[475] - "Do everywhere as you please and wish." The king's understanding of the situation is that his new, diligent attendant should find a convenient location to build a restful home to concentrate on his work. However, the audience knows that the opportunity that he is in fact seeking is access to the king's wife '*y wneuthur y vynnu o honei*,' to do as he wished with her.[476] Also, Llewelyn's description of the duplicitous knight as a *'marchawc ieuangk diffals diwyt'*, a young, true assiduous knight',[477] adds to the irony of the situation. His concise prose brings a touch of humour to a scene where the French redactor belabours the point by highlighting the knight's military prowess and his role in ending the war between the castle's owner and his enemies, thus becoming trusted by the king:

> *Tant fist li chevaliers par ses armes et par sa proesce que il prist les anemis a cel haut home et afina la guerre du tout a sa volenté.* [478]
> The knight did so much thanks to his weapons and his prowess that he took that highly-placed man's enemies and finished the war totally according to his will.

Llewelyn simply states that:

> *Ar vyrder, kyn ganmoledicet vu a'e wneuthur o'r brenhin yn oruchel dros y gyuoeth.*[479]
> Very quickly, he became so highly-praised that the king made him overseer of his treasure.

Unlike the French redactor, the Welsh gives no exact reason for the knight's rise to pre-eminence, thus he swiftly progresses the action of the tale.

Llewelyn's omission of marginal detail is also characteristic of *Vaticinium*, 'The Prophecy', the final tale of the series, told by the prince to illustrate his innocence to his father. One

[475] *FrenchA,* p. 5 of 20, 39.
[476] 397. (J 20, fol. 61v, 8-9).
[477] 387. (J 20, fol. 61r, 4-5).
[478] *FrenchA*, p.5 of 20, 28-30.
[479] 389-390. (J 20, fol. 61v, 11-13).

might expect that this, the culmination of the sequence of tales and the final attempt to save the boy's life, would be the longest in both the Welsh and French redactions. However, at some 1470 words in the French redaction, *Vaticinium* is slightly shorter than both *Tentamina* (approximately 1820 words) and *Vidua* (approximately 1635 words) with *Inclusa* by far the longest at some 2520 words. The Welsh version of *Vaticinium* is very much curtailed at 661 words, under half the length of the French, with *Tentamina* (a mere 595) and *Inclusa* (in Welsh, some 950 words long) easily eclipsed by the Welsh version of *Vidua* (1028). In his usual fashion, the French redactor amplifies the tale by giving additional information, such as the name of the father,[480] the part of the town where the parents had settled after leaving their own country: none of these details are present in the Welsh. As is his wont, the French redactor continues by allocating direct speech to both father and son. They discuss the meaning of the troublesome cawing of two crows on the prow of their boat. This leads the jealous father to throw his son into the sea in an attempt to avert the boy's prophesy that he would rise to a much more elevated status than his parents. The next section of the tale, where the boy is saved, sold into slavery and travels to the court of a king also afflicted by noisy crows, is covered quickly in a concise section of reported speech, a method more typical of Llewelyn. Extending this link would have lengthened the tale considerably, therefore, it seems that the French redactor curtails direct speech to move the story rapidly onwards, avoiding a digression into the details of the boy's journey once saved. However, once he returns to the main action, where the boy interprets the birds' cawing at the king's court, marries the king's daughter and is finally reconciled to his father, the French redactor again reverts to his usual practice of allocating dialogue to his characters. This exends even to the lowly sergeant who carries messages between the boy, now a 'young king', and his father. All this serves to extend the tale to nearly 1500 words.

Llewelyn launches into his, much more condensed version of the tale with a long passage using the conjunction '*a'* or 'ac' (when followed by a vowel) 'and': *'ac yna... ac yno'*, 'and then… and there'; '*a gwedy...*', 'and when...', a marker of oral tale delivery, which also serves to make the action proceed quickly. The first example of direct speech is not found

[480] In the Old French redaction, the boy's father is named as 'Girart, son of Thierry'; *FrenchA,* p. 9 of 20, 40.

until almost half way into the tale, when the young man promises to tell the king why the three crows are cawing above him day and night, but only if the king carries out his promise of granting his daughter's hand in marriage. This is the central focus of the tale, leading to the fulfilling of the prophecy that the boy will become more important than his father.[481]

The *abbreviatio* in the Welsh redaction is apparent not only in the individual tales but also in the frame story itself. For example, when the Sages are first introduced, the French redactor of *Les Sept Sages de Rome* gives an extensive description of the scene. Each Sage is presented in order of seniority with a brief description, an example of the Medieval art of *amplificatio* as illustrated by Geoffrey of Vinsauf in his *Documentum de Modo et Arte Dictandi et Versificandi.*[482]

The first two Sages are introduced in the following way:

> *Li ainz nez parla avant, et fu le plus riche et le mieulz emparenté et de greigneur lignage, et fu viel, ausi blanc conme laine, et fu lons et merges et ot non Bancillas... Aprés se leva li seconz. Cil ne fu trop grant ne trop petit, ainz fu de bele forme et de belle taille, et fu entremellez de chiennes si que le blanc passoit le noir, et ot non Ancilles.*[483]
>
> The oldest spoke before the others, and he was the richest and best-connected one and of highest lineage; he was old, with hair as white as wool, was tall and thin, and his name was Bancillas. Afterwards, the second sage stood up. This one was neither too tall nor too short but was of handsome shape and handsome girth, and [his] hair was intermingled with white, so that the white predominated over the black, and his name was Ancilles.

The most detailed description is that of Josse, the sixth Sage:

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[481] The son in the tale speaks at word 279, nearly half way into the tale of 662 words.

[482] Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Documentum de Modo et Arte Dictandi et Versificandi (Instruction in the Method and Art of Versifying)* Roger P. Parr, transl. (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Marquette University Press, 1968): 'Descriptions, (*descriptiones*) extend the material. For when this brief sentence is expressed: "That woman is beautiful," let a description of her beauty be placed therein and that brevity will become expanded.' Vinsauf, [1. Amplification] 3. p. 46.

[483] *FrenchA,* p. 6 of 46, 4-8.

> *Aprés se leva le sisieme et ot les cheveus plus jaunes que cire et recercelez, et eulz conme faucons, le nes bien droit et bien asis, et fu gros par les espaules et grelles par les costez. Il n'ot ne barbe ne grenon, et non Josse.*[484]
> Afterwards the sixth Sage got up, and he had hair that was yellower than wax and curly, and he had eyes that were as a falcon's; his nose was very straight and well positioned, and he was broad across the shoulders and narrow down his side. He had neither beard nor moustache, and his name was Josse.

Each vignette also includes a brief speech where the Sages each compete for the honour of tutoring the young prince, offering to educate the boy within an ever-decreasing number of years, except for Cato, 'the wisest of them all': '*li plus sages de touz*', who wisely promises to teach the boy 'as soon as he can retain the knowledge'. The Sage's learning is so great that he is able to interpret the conjunction of moon and stars as foretelling the mortal danger facing both the Sages and the prince if he as much as utters a single word once they are all recalled to Rome. This same Cato, according to the French redactor, also wrote the textbook for children at school: *'le livre pour coi li enfan vont a escole et sont enseignié.'*[485] This reference to a familiar textbook gives the narrative additional authority.

None of these details can be found in the Welsh version of the tale. All seven Sages are named in turn, with no indication of their seniority nor description of their appearance. The only suggestion that Cato might be more highly regarded than the others is that he is described as a '*marchawc da',*[486] 'a worthy knight'. The striking description of the French Sage Josse is totally ignored in the Welsh, his entrance is reduced to fewer than twenty words: *"Os attaf i y rodir ar uaeth," heb y Jesse, "mi a'e dysgaf yn oreu y gallwyf."* [487] - "If you give him to me to be tutored," said Jesse, "I would teach him the best I can."

[484] *FrenchA,* p. 6 of 46, 22, and p. 7 of 46, 2.

[485] *FrenchA*, p. 22 of 46, 46-47.
[486] 5. (J 20, fol. 42r, 9).
[487] 15-16. (J 20, fol. 42v, 6-8).

The competitive element between the Sages, much in evidence in the Old French *Sept Sages*, is substantially reduced by the Welsh redactor. Only the rival claims of the first two Sages, Bantillas and Augustus, are noted: Bantillas claims he will teach the boy all that the Seven Sages know in seven years:

> *"Pei rodut attafi dy vab ar vaeth, mi a dysgyn idaw kymeint ac a wn i, mi [a'm] whech kedymdeith, erbyn penn y seith mlyned."* [488]
>
> "If you were to give me your son to be tutored, by the end of seven years I would have taught him as much as I and my six companions know."

Augustus counters that he will do so in six:

> *"Erbyn penn y chwech mlyned mi a baraf idaw gwybot kymeint ac a wdam ni yn seith."* [489]
>
> "By the end of six years I shall have taught him as much as we seven know."

None of the other Sages mentions a timescale for instructing the boy; indeed, in another example of Llewelyn's scheme of *abbreviato*, only the first four are allowed to speak at all to demonstrate their eagerness to tutor the young prince.

The scene where the Sages and the prince interpret the omens signified by the conjunction of moon and stars is drastically condensed. In the Welsh text the description of the moonlit walk is omitted, as is the decoding of the omens, given in direct speech, by Cato and the prince; Cato is not singled out; the prince does not display his superior knowledge and the narrator even omits to point out that the boy must remain silent, stressing instead the need to protect the boy:

> *A'r nos hono val yd oed y [mab] a'e athrawon yn gorrymdeith wynt a welynt yn eglurder y syr a chyffroedigaeth y sygneu y bydei wr dihenyd y mab ony bei amdiffyn kymmen arnaw. A'r mab heuyt a welas hynny.* [490]

[488] 10-12. (J 20, fol. 42r, 18-21).
[489] 12-13. (J 20 fol. 42v, 1-3).
[490] 32-34. (J 20, fol. 43r, 21 then fol. 43v, 1-5).

> And that night as the son and his teachers were out walking they saw, by the brilliance of the stars and the turbulence in the constellations, that the boy would be a dead man unless he were very wisely defended. And the boy also saw this.

This pivotal scene has been condensed to a mere 39 words, with an additional 30 words to complete the proceedings where the Sages promise to undertake to safeguard the prince for seven days, following which the boy will speak out in his own defence. This is achieved in fewer than 70 words in all. The plentiful direct speech found in the French is reduced to one brief instance:

> *Ac ef a dywawt wrth y athrawon: "Pei amdiffynnewch chwi vyui y seith niwarnawt oc awch doethineb, minneu vy hunan a amdiffynnwn yr wythuet dyd." Ac adaw y amdiffyn a wnaethant.*[491]
> Then he said to his teachers: "If you defend me with your wisdom for seven days I shall defend myself on the eighth [day]." And they promised to defend him.

The French texts further extends the scene by including more direct speech incidents between the two Sages, Cato, Bantillas, as well as the Prince: all of which in total amounts to approximately 300 words, nearly four times the length of the scene in the Welsh redaction. This initial section of the frame story in the Welsh is completed in approximately 121 words, [492] as opposed to the 540 words (approximately) of the French manuscript witness. [493] Non-essential detail is systematically excised by Llewelyn. In the French. The motivation for the Sages' desire to locate their new home away from Rome is explained by saying that they wish to shelter the boy from accidentally overhearing any profanities uttered by the lower classes. This information is not retained in the Welsh,[494] neither is the incident of placing sixteen ivy leaves beneath the feet of the prince's bed to

[491] 34-36. (J 20, fol. 43v, 5-10).
[492] This is 32 lines of text, 1½ folios of the Jesus 20 manuscript. (J 20, fol. 42r, 2; to fol. 42v. 12).
[493] *FrenchA*, p. 6-7 of 46 (fol.1a- 2d).
[494] *FrenchA*, p. 7 of 46, 10: *'il porroit bien aucune mauvese parole de borjoise ou chamberiere ou mauves garcon aprendre'.*

test his astuteness. The lavish descriptions of pomp and luxury of the imperial court disappear, as does the vignette of the richly dressed Empress accompanied by her retinue of ladies:

> *Meintenant s'atorna des plus riches garnemenz que ele ot, puis vint en la sale a grant compaignie de dames et de damoiseles. Li emperieres et li autre chevalier se leverent encontre l'empereriz. Ele vint entr'euls, puis s'asist emprés l'emperëeur....*[495]
>
> [The Empress] now dressed in the richest garments she had, then came into the hall with a great following of ladies and damsels. The Emperor and the other knights rose before the Empress. She came amongst them and then sat down next to the Emperor...

The detail of the many attendants on hand to hold the Sages' horses each time they arrive at the imperial court is also missing.[496] Similarly, the ostentatious Christmas festivities as described in *Tentamina*, are pruned down drastically. The French text shows the reader tables laden with rich food, salt containers and costly spices, tables covered with costly fringed cloths. In accordance with the sumptuary laws of the period, the elegant lady of the house wears a new squirrel cape as she attends to her husband when he returns from hunting; removing his spurs, putting a red cloak, signifying his power, over his shoulders and ensuring that he is comfortable; the husband sits on a chair whilst the wife sits on a stool, visibly demonstrating their different status:

> *La dame fu vestue d'une pelice d'escureus toute fresche. Meintenant vint li sires de chacier. La dame se leva encontre lui et li osta sa chape, puis li vost oster les esperons et s'obeï moult a lui server. Puis li apareille un mantel d'escarlate et le mist aus espaules son seigneur et li apareille une chaiere. Li sires s'asist, et la dame d'autre part seur une sele.*[497]
>
> The lady was dressed in a brand-new squirrel cape. Now came the husband from hunting. The lady got up towards him and removed his cape, then she

[495] *FrenchA,* p. 8 of 46, 37-40.
[496] *FrenchA,* p. 10 of 46, 18.
[497] *FrenchA,* p. 19 of 43, 27-31.

went to remove his spurs and committed herself to serving him. Then she prepared a red mantle for him and put it over her husband's shoulders and prepards a chair for him. The husband sat down, and [so] in turn did the lady on a stool.

This could just as easily be a description of the Empress of the French redaction who dismisses her entourage and withdraws to her richly-appointed private chamber for her attempted seduction of the prince:

> *L'empereriz fist metre toutes ses dames et ses damoiseles en une autre chambre, et entre li et le valet demorrent en la chambre seul a seul et s'asirent sus une couste pointe moult riche couverture d'un drap de soie.*[498]
> The Empress ordered all her ladies and damsels into another room, and she and the boy stayed in the room alone and sat down on a very rich blanket covered by a sheet of silk.

This is the world of French courtly romance. The Welsh redactor reduces it to a fleeting mention of '*cennadeu*', 'messengers,' who are sent to fetch the prince. There is no glamorous description of the retinue of the Prince's father, they are briefly dismissed with a curt: '*e dat a'r nifer*', 'his father and his retinue'. [499] The Empress's clothes are described in the most cursory terms when she rends her apparel after being spurned by the prince: she tears off her head-dress and unspecified adorned clothing: '*ysgythru y phenn o'e hardunyant a'e gwisgoed*'.[500]

All these instances demonstrate Llewelyn's reluctance to elaborate on scenes both in the frame-tale and the internal tales. His material is severely condensed; thus, the tale moves rapidly onwards.

[498] *FrenchA,* p. 8 of 46, 44-46.
[499] 38. (J 20, fol. 43v, 15).
[500] 43-44. (J 20, fol. 44r, 4-5).

b. . The omission of salacious or unpleasant detail

In addition to the omission of descriptive and plot-delaying material, the Welsh redactor also excises elements that he appears to have perceived as being distasteful, or that might have been considered inappropriate for a mixed audience. For example, a reluctance as regards to references to sexual matters is apparent in the Welsh version of *Inclusa,* the final tale by the Sages in the French but their penultimate in the *Chwedleu*. Here we find a certain coyness, with the Welsh using euphemisms such as the knight's '*gwneuthur y vynny o honei*,' 'doing as he wished with [the lady]'.[501] The French version is more explicit, describing the kissing and embracing leading to *'leur pleisir et leur volonté', 'their pleasure and desire'.* Similarly, in the French, the lady's husband is explicitly said to enjoy sexual congress with his wife when he comes to visit her in her tower: '*Cele nuit jut avec sa fame en la tour a grant joie et a grant deduit*.'[502] - 'That night, the lord lay with his wife in the tower with great joy and pleasure.' These intimate details are noticeably absent from the Welsh tale.

Another tale where the Welsh is noticeably reticent where sexual matters are concerned is *Tentamina*. The sexual fulfilment that explains why the young wife's mother stayed faithful to her husband, according to the French version, is passed over in silence. Such a discussion between the young wife and her mother concerning sex was obviously considered inappropriate for the *Chwedleu*. In the French, the young wife attempts to justify taking a lover but her mother warns her against such action, saying that she herself had no difficulty in staying faithful to her husband:

> *"Bele douce fille, ja me sui je tenue toute ma vie a ton pere, que onques folie ne fis ne talent n'en oï.'* [503]
>
> "Pretty, sweet daughter, I have all my life stood by your father, so that I never committed foolishness nor had any inclination for it."

[501] 397. (J 20, fol. 69v, 8-9).
[502] *FrenchA,* p. 7 of 19, .22.
[503] *FrenchA*, p. 20 of 46, 1-2.

The girl's reply is instant: since they married young and were both of a similar age, they both enjoyed sex, whereas she has no 'joy' from her elderly husband:

> *"Ma dame, il n'est pas ainsint de moi conme il fu de vous, car mes peres estoit juenes hons et vous juene meschine quant vous prist, si vous estez joez ensamble. Mes je n'ai joie ne deduit du mien, si m'en convient a pourchacier.'"*[504]
>
> "Mother, it is not so with me as it was with you, for my father was a young man and you were a young girl when he took you, so you enjoyed one another. But I have no joy nor pleasure from mine, so I have to go and find it [elsewhere]."

There is no such mention of compatibility, of virile prowess, or the lack of it, in the Welsh. At the beginning of the tale, Llewelyn tersely states that the young wife is driven to seek a lover because *'nat oed vawr o digrifwch serchawl yr oed hi yn y gaffel gan y gwr yn y gwely',* [505] 'she did not get much loving pleasure from her husband in bed'. Such a motif would touch a very raw nerve with an older husband such as the Emperor of the frame tale, whose own young wife is claiming that his son has attempted to rape her. Hence the French redactor's insistence that the young wife did not succeed in duping her husband: *"Sire, ele ne le deçut pas, car il s'en garda moult bien conme sage."*[506] - "Sire, she did not deceive him, for like a wise man he protected himself very well."

The French redaction also includes another stock character from the catalogue of medieval *fabliaux* into *Tentamina:* the priest as sexual predator. We are specifically told that the town's priest has already propositioned the girl:

> *"Je vous dirai qui m'a fete prier: le prestre de ceste ville. Je n'ameroie pas un chevalier, car il se gaberoit de moi et s'en vanteroit."* [507]

[504] *FrenchA,* p. 20 of 46, 2-4.
[505] 458-459. (J 20, fol. 64v, 17-19).
[506] *FrenchA*, p. 18 of 46, 37.
[507] *FrenchA,* p. 20 of 46, 5-6.

"I will tell you who has asked me: the priest of this town. I would not love a knight, for he would make fun of me and boast about it."

However, this licentious figure disappears from the Welsh version of events: the priest is not the instigator of the proposed cuckolding, as in the French, but simply the object of desire of the young wife. This could suggest a reluctance to undermine priestly dignity on Llewelyn the Priest's part.

Senescalcus, the fourth of the Empress's tales in the French redaction, but her last in the Welsh, is one of the shorter Welsh tales at 112 words, as compared to some 585 words in the French. [508] The story itself is straightforward enough: a homosexual king becomes ill and is prescribed sex with a woman to complete his cure. The king offers a sum of money to procure a prostitute.[509] The king's greedy steward forces his own wife to sleep with the king, but when dawn breaks the truth emerges, the king seizes all the steward's wealth and banishes him.[510] The French redaction has the king marry the woman whereas the Welsh merely states: *'Ac y cafas y wreic gossymdeith digawn gan y brenhin',*[511] 'However, his wife was fully recompensed by the king'. It is striking that the Welsh narrator makes no mention of the king's homosexuality, whereas the French has no such qualms: *'Il ot un roi en Puille qui fu sodomites'* - 'There was a king in Apulia who was a sodomite'.[512] We are merely told that the king was ill and this illness made him swell:

[508] In French, the tale takes up thirty-two lines of the online text but is abbreviated to a mere seventeen lines of the J 20 manuscript. *FrenchA,* p. 17 of 46, 27-45 and p. 18 of 46, 1-13. The Welsh version: J 20, fol. 64r, 3-19.

[509] Twenty marks in the French text but only nine in the Welsh; 443 (J 20, fol. 64r, 9). The Steward in the final tale, *Vaticinium*, pays twenty marks for the young boy in both French and Welsh redactions; 516 (J 20, fol. *FrenchA,* p. 8 of 20, 41).

[510] In the Latin version '**H**' of the *Seven Sages* (*HIstoria septem sapientum*), the tale of the greedy steward, (S*enescalcu*s), and the siege of Rome in the tale *Roma*, are run together: '*Post amocionem senescalci exercitum collegit et Romam obsedit', '*After the removal of the seneschal, he assembled his army and besieged Rome'. Runte, *Vernacular and Back*: (1989), pp. 97-98. The 'he' mentioned at this point must have been the recently cured king not the steward. However, in the French Version '**H**' of the tale, a French translation of the *Historia*, implies that the banished steward was able to raise an army to besiege Rome: '*Roma*...was fused with *sensescalcus*, the seneschal, who had been banished at the end of that story, appearing now as the besieger of Rome', Campbell (1907), p. cviii. See also Runte, *Vernacular and Back*, (1989), 96-101.

[511] 448-449. (J 20, fol. 64r, 18-19).

[512] *FrenchA,* p. 17 of 46.

'*Y brenhin hwnnw a dyfassei heint yndaw ac a hwydawd*'.[513] The French gives an unpleasantly graphic description of the illness: the swelling is such that the king's limbs become indistinguishable from the rest of his body.[514] This is omitted, as are the details of the medical treatment prescribed by his physician. [515] These omissions could be ascribed to a certain squeamishness relating to bodily functions on the part of Llewelyn, or to an unwillingness to attribute the sin of sodomy to a (relatively) positive character.

The omission of unpleasant details is also a characteristic of the Welsh version of *Medicus,* the fourth tale of the cycle, told by the Sage, Augustus. Ypocras, or Hippocrates, is the best physician in the world: *'goreu ffysigwr oed o'r byt'*.[516] He becomes jealous of his own nephew, who appears to have become more knowledgeable than Ypocras himself. As a result, Ypocras murders him, leading to his being ostracised by society, according to the Welsh redaction. In both the French and the Welsh redactions we are told how, unable to travel himself, Ypocras sends his young nephew to cure the king of Hungary's son. In his wisdom, the youngster realises that the sick child is a bastard and not the true son of the king. He says that he cannot cure him without knowing the boy's true parentage. The Welsh redactor states baldly:

> *A gwedy na welas ef dim o annyan y brenhin yn y mab, gofyn a wnaeth y uam pwy oed y dat, kany allei ef y uedigiyaethu ef yny wypei anyan a natur y genedyl yd hanoed ohonei.*[517]
>
> And when he saw none of the nature of the king in the son, he asked the mother who was his father, since he could not cure him without knowing the nature and temperament of his family.

In the French redaction the queen of Hungary is suitably outraged, insisting that her husband fathered the child and threatening to have the young physician tortured if he persists in this lie. The youngster's response is that he must therefore leave, since without this knowledge he cannot cure the boy. The queen eventually relents and names the

[513] 442-443. (J 20, fol.64r, 3-5).
[514] *FrenchA,* p. 17 of 46, 38.
[515] *FrenchA,* p. 16 of 43, 4 and *FrenchA,* p. 17 of 46, 37-37.
[516] 108-109. (J 20, fol. 47r, 19).
[517] 112-114. (J 20, fol. 47v, 5-10).

count of Namur as the true father but swears the youngster to secrecy. None of this dialogue takes place in the Welsh, minimising the theme of adultery. Adultery by the ruler's wife was obviously not a subject to be stressed in the Welsh despite its being integral to the tale. When the young nephew states that he cannot cure the child without knowing his true parentage, the queen in the *Chwedleu* immediately admits that the child's father is *Iarll Nauarn,* the Earl of Nawarn, whereupon the youngster cures her son:

> *A gwedy na weles ef dim o anyan y brenhin yn y mab, gouyn a wnaeth y vam y mab, pwy oed y dat, kan ny allei y vedeginaethu yny wypei anyan a natur y genedyl y hanoed o honei. Ac yna y dywawt hitheu y gael ef o orderchat o Iarll Nauarn.* [518]
>
> And when he saw nothing of the nature of king in the boy, he asked his mother who his father was, since he could not treat him unless he knew the temperament and nature of the family he hailed from. Then she said that he had been conceived in adultery with the Earl of Nawarn.

When he returns home and reports on the outcome, the youth's success prompts murderous jealousy in his uncle in both French and Welsh redactions. In the French, following the murder of his nephew, Ypocras burns all his medical books then contracts dysentery which, without the books or his nephew, he cannot cure. The implication is that he is doubly cursed: not only has he murdered his own nephew, who might have been able to save him, but also, he has burned his medical books and cannot consult them, so ensuring his own demise. These details, and Ypocras's unpleasant death from diarrhoea, is omitted from the Welsh, which moves directly to the moral. The 700-odd words of the French shrink to a mere 264 words in the Welsh. The moral of this tale, according to the French Sage, Augustus, is that the Emperor must be aware of the dangers of rashly killing his one and only heir, especially since he is an old man and may never sire another. The Welsh Augustus merely warns his Emperor that he would be cursed and forever damned if he murdered his own son. The French is more pragmatic: killing your only son is rash and foolish, especially if you may possibly have no more. The underlying suggestion is that it would lead to political disorder if the succession were in doubt. Llewelyn chooses

[518] 112-114. (J 20, fol. 47v, 5-12).

instead to highlight the moral dimension of such a wicked deed: the Emperor would be cursed were he to execute his son:

> *"Ac yna cablawd pawb Ipocras ac yd emelltigwyd. Ac velly, Arglwyd Amherawdyr, y deruyd y titheu, ac ymelltigyr o phery dihenydyaw dy vab ac ef yn wirion."* [519]
>
> "And then everyone cursed Ipocras and he was damned. And the same, my lord Emperor, will happen to you, and you will be damned if you cause your son to be executed when he is innocent."

Though the tale in the French version is more complex, and therefore longer than the Welsh version, the moral in both is that it is not only wrong but also foolish to kill your only heir, especially if this is done out of jealousy and fear of the nascent power of youth. In the Welsh version tale, there is none of the misogyny apparent in the French, where the adulterous queen of Hungary threatens Ypocras's nephew with a grisly death, thus echoing the fate which could overtake the Prince of the frame tale were the *Amherodres* to achieve her aim. This is not a feature of the Welsh tale. However, Llewelyn appears to bring an additional, religious slant to the moral of the story: not only is killing a close relative and destroying the future a regrettable occurrence, but it will also, inevitably, lead to the perpetrator's eternal damnation- a timely warning to the Emperor of the frame tale.

Pastoral concern could also explain the omission of the murder of the mason who had built the secret passage for the knight into the Lady's tower in the Welsh version of the tale *Inclusa*.[520] The French *Sept Sages* version of this tale is a long one, at approximately 2500 words, as opposed to the 950 words of the Welsh redaction. As is his wont, the French redactor amplifies the tale by including an exchange of speech between the knight and the mason, with the knight explaining the precise reason for his request for the secret way into the tower:

[519] 122-124. (J 20, fol. 48r, 9-14).
[520] A comprehensive list of analogues of this tale, can be found in Campbell, (1907), p. cxi.

"Je aime cele dame qui est en cele tour, si voudroie que tu la tour me perçasses si soutilment que nus ne le poist apercevoir, et fait ant que je puisse a la dame parler." [521]

"I love that lady who is in that tower, and I would like you to pierce the tower so gently that no-one could notice it, and do as much [as it takes for] me to be able to speak to the lady."

Instead of keeping his promise of richly rewarding the mason for his work, the treacherous French knight murders him to safeguard the privacy of his secret trysts with the queen. For this cruel act, he is condemned by the French redactor:

Mes de ce fist il trop grant cruauté qu'il ocist le maçon [...] car bien voloit celer son afere et couvrir. [522]

But he commited too great a cruelty in killing the mason [...] for he wanted to hide and cover up the affair.

The French redactor seems to justify the knight's action at the same time as he condemns it, however; moreover, he stresses that the mason was a foreigner *'qui n'estoit pas du païs*, 'not of the country'. The mason is a man of low rank without the support of a kin group, and therefore, implicitly, expendable. This reflects a worldview akin to that expressed by the French Empress when she states that the greatest disgrace for the proud boar in *Aper* was being killed by *uns chetis pasteurs, qui riens ne savoit*, 'a miserable shepherd who knew nothing'.[523] This underlying motif of 'shame' or social snobbery does not concern Llewelyn; his version of the tale moves on without the distraction of the killing of the mason. Llewelyn omits the initial meeting of the knight and the mason and the exchange between them as well as the murder, reducing the whole episode to its bare bones:

[521] *FrenchA*, p. 5 of 20, 50.
[522] *FrenchA*, p. 6 of 20, 3-4.
[523] *FrenchA,* p. 8 of 43, 41.

'A pheri y saer gwneuthur fford dirgeledic idaw vynet y'r twr att wreic y brenhin. A'r saer a wnaeth y fford yny ymgauas a'r vrenhines...' [524]
'And he ordered a craftsman to make a secret passage so that he could enter the tower to go to the king's wife. And the craftsman built the way for him to reach the queen...'

In addition to scatological, sexual or immoral material, the Welsh material suppresses the mentions of magic and necromancy as in the tale of *Virgilius,* told by the Empress in both redactions.[525] As noted above, *Virgilius* is severely condensed in the Welsh, with Llewelyn omitting a large part of the tale as it appears in the French, thus reducing its length from some 1200 words in the French to 515. The introductory section of the French tale features an extended description of the enchanted fire created by the magician Virgil: '*Par nigromance fist il en ceste vile un feu qui tout jourz ardiot',* [526] 'Through magic he did make in this city a fire that always burned'. This display of *nigromance*, necromancy, that is, black magic, is omitted by the Welsh redactor, as are the magical copper statues. However, it is impossible for Llewelyn to omit all mention of magic since this tale centres on the eventual destruction of Virgil's magical mirror, '*drych o geluydyt nigromawns',*[527] by the avaricious emperor. But by omitting the magical and beneficial fire that was a blessing for the poor of Rome and the miraculous copper statues that entertained the crowds in the French, the fascination of necromancy is correspondingly minimised. The French redactor does not hesitate to say that Virgil, though he was proficient in the Seven Arts, was also accomplished in magic: '*Il sot moult de nigromance*.'[528] This proficiency is glossed over by Llewelyn. Similarly, the young hero of the Prince's tale, *Vaticinium*, is not a magician who can interpret the language of wildlife but an innocent saved by God, '*o*

[524] 395-397. (J 20, fol.61v, 4-8).
[525] At number nine, this tale occupies the same position within the sequence in both the French and the Welsh. However the tale preceding it is different. Instead of *Tentamina*, as in the French, in Welsh we have the dual tale of *Roma-Lupus,* which differs considerably from the version of *Roma* found in the French, even being given to the opposing side: to the e Sages in Welsh and the Empress in the French.
[526] *FrenchA*, p. 21 of 46, 11-12.
[527] 236. (J 20, fol.54r, 2-3).
[528] *FrenchA,* p. 21 of 46, 11-12.

dwywawl dyghet',[529] 'by divine providence'. The unnamed youngster, (not Merlin), who reveals the meaning of the dream in *Sapientes* is no wizard, his gift of prophecy is also God-given: '*gwas ieuangk a gawssei ragor y gan Duw o yspryt dewnyaeth y dehogyl breudwydon.*'[530] 'a young man who had been given by God the gift of prophecy and interpreting dreams.'

There is therefore a clear moral principle at work in the Welsh, with a refusal to glamourise serious sin such as necromancy, sodomy or adultery.

[529] 514. (J20, fol. 67v, 14-15).
[530] 357-358. (J20, fol. 59v, 4-6).

c. . The Omission of Direct Speech

Throughout the tales, as in the frame narrative, one aspect of the *amplificatio* which characterises the French that is systematically pruned down, or even omitted entirely, by the Welsh redactor is direct speech and dialogue. Obviously, there is interaction between the Emperor and Empress, the Emperor and the Sages when each new tale is introduced, but even the introductory section of the whole narrative is curtailed in the Welsh. Whereas in the *Sept Sages* each one of the Sages makes a speech outlining how well and how quickly he can instruct the young Prince, each competing with the other. In the Welsh the process is curtailed; only four speak.

Llewelyn's use of dialogue is sparing, with four of the internal tales having no dialogue at all. An excellent example of this is *Puteus,* the sixth tale in the sequence in both French and Welsh redactions, allocated in both versions to the Sage, Lentillus. Though a short tale in both versions, the Welsh cuts it to the bare bones: where the French redaction consists of approximately 750 words, the Welsh tale is told in less than half of that, a mere 340. The introductory scene in the French is again detailed and descriptive: a childless, rich old man of great lineage is persuaded by his friends to marry so that he can father a son to inherit his wealth. This is reduced to the brief statement by the Welsh redactor who merely states that: '*Hen wrda bonhedic oed gynt, ac ef a briodes morwyn ieuanc vonhedic,'*[531] - 'Once upon a time, an old gentleman marries a well-born young girl'. This would have been sufficient to alert the audience of the probable outcome of the tale: the old man will surely be cuckolded by his young wife. We expect a traditional tale of the easily hoodwinked elderly spouse and his devious, concupiscent, cheating young wife: stereotypical fabliaux characters, and that is what we get. The omitted material in the Welsh tale is predominantly focused on the wicked wiles of the wife: her feigned illness so that she could leave the marital bed to seek out her young lover, and her conversation with the Watch, where she accuses her husband of infidelity. The misogyny of the tale is correspondingly muted.

Much of the French version of this tale is made up of dialogue and direct speech. The interchange between the old husband and the young wife, when he discovers that she is

[531] 157-158. (J 20, fol. 50r, 2-4).

outside the house dallying with her lover, could be lines from a farce. The old man taunts his wife that she will be publicly shamed for her infidelity the next day. But when he foolishly leaves the house to rescue her from apparently drowning in the well, she swiftly re-enters the house, locks him out and loudly proclaims that he is the lecher, out with a lover after the curfew bell has been sounded. The tale ends with an exchange between the wife and the Watch who are enforcing the curfew and ensure that the husband will be publicly punished the following day.[532] The only dialogue in the Welsh tale occurs at its climax, when the husband refuses his errant wife entry to the house, threatening to have her stoned to death for adultery in front of all her family: "*Llyma vyg cret," heb y gwr, "nat agorir y ty yma ragot y'th oes. Ac yuory yg gwyd dy genedyl mi a baraf dy lebydyaw a mein."* [533] To which she replies that she would rather drown in a nearby fishpond than suffer this fate: "*Llyma vyg cret, heb hi, "vot yn gynt y bwrywn neit o'r lle ydwyf yn y bysgotlyn yma y'm bodi*…."[534]

The Watch, prominent participants in the French redaction, exchanging speeches with the errant wife, make no appearance at all in the Welsh tale. Despite this omission, the thrust of the tale remains the same: young wives will always be tempted to cheat on their older husbands, who must not be deceived by appearances.

The minimal use of dialogue in the Welsh version of *Puteus* (the Well) is also apparent in *Gaza,* the Empress's third tale in both redactions.[535] The French source inserts dialogue into the story at an early stage: the father and son discuss at the start whether or not they will break into and rob the emperor's treasure tower, with the son expressing doubts and fear of possible consequences:

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[532] '*Ha dame, ja n'oïsmes nous onques mes parler de la vilenie vostre seigneur.' 'Or poez, fete le, veïoir que je l'ai celee tant conme je poi. Or ne le vueil, plus cerer, ne vous ne svez mie la vie qu'il m'a menee,' 'Par foi, dame, font il, et nous l'enmenerons meintenat que cuevre feu sera sonnez.' FrenchA,* p. 17of 46, 5-9.
'Oh, lady, never before had we heard about your husband's vileness.' 'So,' she says, you can see now that I have hidden it as much as I could. But now I don't want to hide it any longer and you don't know the kind of life he has led me.' 'By my faith, lady,' they say, 'we will take him away as soon as the curfew has sounded.'

[533] 166-168. (J 20, fol. 50v, 3-6).

[534] 168-169. (J 20, fol. 50v, 6-9).

[535] This tale has been considerably condensed by the Welsh redactor.

"Avoi, sire," dist li vallez, "ce ne ferons nous mie. Que ferions nous se nous y estiens trovez? Nous et nostre lignage seriens morz et honiz." [536]

"Oh no, father," said the son, "don't let's do this. What would we do if we were discovered? We and our family would die and be dishonoured."

Once they have spent their ill-gotten gains on paying their debts, clothing their own household in rich clothes and re-building their houses which were falling into ruin, they have a lively debate as to whether they should return to the treasure tower to replenish their now-depleted coffers.[537] In the Welsh tale, there is no soul-searching speech by the son about not returning to the treasure-tower; both protagonists are '*lladron*', 'thieves',[538] neither less culpable than the other. There is no question that both will return. As in *Puteus*, dialogue only appears in the Welsh tale at the climax of the action of the tale, when father and son argue about the father's imminent decapitation:

Ac yna gofyn kynghor a ouruc y vab. "Nys gwn," heb y mab, "onyt torri dy benn a chledyf a'e gudyaw yn lle dirgel. Kanys o'th ordiwedir a'th eneit ynot, dy gystudyaw a wneir itt, a'th boeni yny adeuch y da. Ac y menegy ditheu." "Och, arglwyd vab," heb ef. "Trugarockaf gwr o'r byt yw yr amherawdyr a'r da yssyd barawt, a'm eneit a gaffaf ynneu". "Myn y Gwr y credaf i idaw," heb y mab, "ny byryaf y tri pheth yn antur yr llad dy benn arnat." "Pa dri pheth ynt y rei hynny?" heb y tat. "Y da kyndrychawl yssyd gennyf i, a'm eneit vy hun, a'r tir a'y treneu a bryneist ditheu." Ac yn greulawn estrongar llad penn y dat y arnaw.[539]

And then the father asked his son's advice. "I don't know what else to do," said the son, "other than to cut off your head with a sword and hide it in a secret place, because if you are discovered still alive you will be tormented and tortured until you confess to taking the treasure and admit it all." "Oh my lord son," he said, "the emperor is the most merciful man, the goods are

[536] *FrenchA*, p. 14 of 46, 37-40.
[537] *FrenchA,* pp. 14-45 to p.15, 1.
[538] 137-138. (J 20, fol. 49r, 2, 3-4).
[539] 140-148. (J 20, fol. 49r, 10-21, then fol. 49v, 1-6).

here and I shall have my life again." "In the name of the man I believe in, I am not prepared to throw away these three things, the goods, my own life the lands you bought]." And then, he cruelly and mercilessly decapitated his father.

The Welsh version ends with the heartless son's parricide, omitting the public grief of the older thief's daughters which threatens the security and honour of the whole family as seen in the French. This honour is saved by the quick action of the reluctantly-murderous French son, who wounds himself to explain the family's grief. Unlike this, the Welsh tale swiftly comes to a close once the father has been decapitated by the ungrateful son, with the Empress's moral: *"Uelly y peir dy vab dy lad titheu o chwant a charyat dy deyrnas,"*[540] - "And so your son will cause you to be killed because of his lust and love of your kingdom". *Inclusa* is one of the tales that Llewelyn has re-arranged within the structure of the Seven Sages tradition. It appears as the irrefutable climax of the Sages' tales in French, coming last in the sequence. However, Llewelyn alters its position, allocating it the penultimate place in the sequence of redeeming tales told by the Sages. In its place, he substitutes *Tentamina*: another tale of a young wife dissatisfied with her sex life with an elderly husband and so seeking to take a lover, in this case, unsuccessfully. The French redactor emphasises at the start of the tale that she does not get the better of her husband:

"Dites moi car de l'ancien sage orroie je volontiers la vie, et si orroie volontiers conment sa fame le deçut."
"Sire, ele ne le deçut pas, car il s'en garda moult bien conme sage." [541]
"Tell me of the ancient sage, for I would gladly hear of his life, and I would gladly hear how his wife deceived him."[542]
"Sire, she did not deceive him, for, as a Sage, he protected himself very well."

[540] 148-149. (J 20, fol. 49v, 6-8).
[541] *FrenchA,* p. 18 of 46, 35-37.
[542] *FrenchA,* p. 18 of 46, 35-37.

Llewelyn glosses over this, merely saying: *"Ef a deruyd ytt val y daruu y wr hen doeth am y wreic,"* [543] - "The same will happen to you as happened to the wise old man because of his wife." It is significant that Llewelyn chooses to place the adjective '*doeth*', 'wise' to follow '*hen*', old'. One would expect the sentence to read: '*hen wr doeth'.* By this marked word order, attention is drawn to the wisdom displayed by this particular old man, as opposed to the irrational behaviour of the Emperor.

No hint is given at the beginning of this tale that the older husband, also conveniently likened to a Sage, will prevail and that the young wife will learn to her cost that, as her mother warns her, the wrath of an older man is, indeed, worse than the anger of a young one. In telling this tale, Llewelyn departs from his usual formula of:

> *"Ef a deruyd ytt val y daruu i ..."*
> *"Beth oed hynny?"*
> *"Nas managaf ony rody dy gret ar dihenydyaw/ na dihenydyaw y mab auory."*
> "The same will happen to you as happened to ..."
> "What was that?"
> "I shall not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will/ will not be executed tomorrow."

Here, Llewelyn adopts the formula generally used by the French redactor, one which he himself had not used previously. Since this is the final tale before the one related by the Prince, it may well be a signal to the audience that the cycle is about to come to an end. Naturally, this tale about a young wife scheming to deceive her husband is told by a misogynistic Sage: Martin in the Welsh redaction and Malquidars in the French. Again, Llewelyn's concision of style is apparent: his tale is barely 600 words in length, whereas the French parent version is nearer 1820 words. In both versions of this tale the young wife complains to her mother that her love-life is barren and therefore she is about to embark on a clandestine affair, not with a knight, but with her parish priest:

[543] 454-455. (J 20, fol. 64v, 10-11).

Hitheu a dywawt nat marchawc oed, namyn yr offeiriat plwyf, ac na wnai vocsach, kanys kyfrinachwr da oed. [544]

She said that he was not a knight but the parish priest, and he would not boast since he was a good keeper of secrets.

This is delivered in indirect speech in the Welsh, whereas in the French, the young wife and her mother hold a conversation. Though we find the same reasoning in both redactions, in the French she has already been approached by the priest,[545] a detail omitted by Llewelyn. The Welsh priest is, as yet, still innocent of any intended lascivious activity. In both redactions, her mother warns the girl of the dangers of rousing the anger of an older man by calling into question his virility and sexual prowess:

"Je," heb y mam, "medylyaw yn gyntaf rac bot yn greulonach dial y gwr hen wedi llityo no gwr ieuangk." [546]

"Well," said her mother, "think first, in case the vengeance of an angry old man is more cruel than that of a young one."

The mother's advice is even more forceful in the French:

''*Diva, bele fille, car fai encore mon conseil, car tu ne verras ja si male venchance conme de viel home.* ''[547]

"Oh, pretty daughter, do follow my advice, for you will never see worse vengeance than that of an old man."

We have no direct interchange between the mother and daughter in the Welsh at this point, in fact, the daughter only utters four words in all during whole of the tale, and that at the very end when she admits defeat, saying she will not look to taking a young lover following her husband's vengeance by bleeding her to purge her of evil humours:

[544] 473-475. (J 20, fol. 65v, 9-12).
[545] *FrenchA,* p. 20 of 46, 5-6.
[546] 475-476. (J 20, fol. 65v, 12-15).
[547] *FrenchA,* p. 20 of 46, 7-8.

[Mother]: *"A gredy di bellach i'r gwr ieuanc?"*

[Daughter]: *"Na chredaf dioer vyth,' heb hi."* [548]

[Mother]: "Are you still intent on the young man?"

[Daughter]: "In truth, no, never."

Neither is the husband's voice heard in the Welsh. The exchange between the husband and his wife is all in reported speech, whereas in the French each of the wife's tests is commented upon by her husband directly, in an interchange where she attempts to justify her actions. He remains superficially calm, but the audience is made aware of the incremental threat to the young wife if she does not modify her behaviour. His reaction to her first test is: *''Dame,' dist li sires, 'malement avez esploitié.'' '*[549] - "Madam," said her husband, "you have acted badly." But he is willing to forgive her since she claimed to have acted that way to bring him comfort after a day's hunting ''*Dame, pour ce le lesserai ore, atant que vous feïstes pour moi*.''[550] - "Madam, for that reason, I will leave things for now, inasmuch as you did it for me." However, a veiled threat follows the second test:

> ''*Certes, dame, malement m'avez servi, mal gre vous en sai. Mes je lerai ore atant a ceste foiz, mes plus n'en parlerai*.'' [551]
>
> "Certainly, madam, you have served me badly. I hold it against you. But, for now, I will leave it be this time, I will speak of it no more."

His reaction to his public humiliation of the third test is to claim that she has acted from a surfeit of bad blood: *mauvés sanc*. [552] But the dignified older husband refuses to act hastily following his wife's unseemly disruption of the Christmas feast, unlike the impulsive Emperor of the frame tale. With his rational behaviour the older man reins in his young wife and demonstrates, by his deliberate action, that a wiser husband could easily outmanoeuvre a giddy young wife and re-assert his authority.

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[548] 491. (J 20, fol. 66v, 5-7).
[549] *FrenchA,* p. 29 of 46, 20.
[550] *FrenchA*, p. 19 of 46, 22-23.
[551] *FrenchA,* p. 19 of 46, 47-48.
[552] *FrenchA*, p.20 of 46, 28.

This immediacy is absent from the Welsh redaction due to lack of direct speech. The three trials remain the same in both redactions: the cutting down of a favourite tree, the killing of a favourite dog and the disruption of an important social gathering by the upsetting of tables so that the food and drink fall to the floor. However, as usual, Llewelyn omits much of the *amplificatio* of the French. He moves the action onwards quickly, omitting the fact mentioned in the French that the older husband had already been married twice previously, merely stating: *'Gwrda hen a briodes morwyn ieuanc'*[553] - 'an old gentleman married a young girl.' Where the French tells us the girl is *'juene et bele et blonde'*, [554] 'young, beautiful and blonde', Llewelyn merely describes her as '*morwyn ieuanc'*, 'young girl.' The direct discourse between the girl and her mother, where the mother advises her daughter that she should test the patience and temper of the husband, is abbreviated to a brief speech by the mother suggesting cutting down the husband's favourite tree:

> *"Prawf yn gyntaf annwyt yn dy wr, a thorr y planbrenn bychan ffrwythlawn tec yssyd yn tyfu yn yr erber, ac yssyd annwylach ganthaw nor prenneu ereill."* [555]
> "Firstly, test your husband's temper and cut down the small, fruitful, pretty tree which is growing in the orchard, which is more dear to him than the other trees."

Where Llewelyn then baldly states: *'a hitheu a wnaeth hynny*,' [556] 'and she did that', the French redactor amplifies the whole scene by the addition of the character of a servant whose aid she attempts to enlist. However, he refuses, saying that it is his master's favourite tree, thereby forcing her to do the deed herself. All of this takes place in a direct interchange between the young wife and the gardener:

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[553] 457. (J 20, fol. 64v, 14).
[554] *FrenchA,* 18 of 46, 42.
[555] 460-462. (J 20, fol. 64v, 21, then fol. 65r, 1-3).
[556] 462. (J 20, fol. 65r, 4-5).

Ele apela lors un sien sergent si li dist: 'Pren une coigniee et vien avec moi.' 'Dame, volontiers.' Il entrerent el vergier, puis dist a celui: 'Coupe moi ceste ente.' 'Ha, dame, 'dit il, 'je n'oseroie; c'est la bone ente mon seigneur.' 'Si feras, je le te conmant.' 'Certes, dame, non ferai.' La dame prent coigniee de la main celui, puis commence a ferir a destre et a senestre tant que ele la coupa. [557]

She then called a servant of hers and said to him: "Take an axe and come with me.'" "Certainly, madam." They entered the garden and she said to him: "Cut this tree down for me." "Ha, madam, I would not dare; that's my master's special tree." "You will do so, I command you." "For sure, madam, I will not do so." The lady takes the axe from his hand and starts to hit the tree so much from right and left that she cut it down.

In both the French and Welsh redactions, the young wife carries out these physical tests herself. Not only does she hack down the tree, but she also seizes a hunting knife from a huntsman to stab her husband's favourite dog: '*Sef a wnaeth hitheu, ysclfyeit kyllell vn o'r gwyr a llad yr ast*'[558] - 'And she snatched the knife of one of the men and killed the bitch.' Llewelyn's curtails the action to a matter of a few lines of text. The French redactor, by contrast, provides lavish detail*:* describing the scene as the lord returns from hunting, to be greeted by his wife; how the fires were burning brightly, the beds were covered with pretty quilts and rugs and how the dogs lay over them, with the husband's favourite choosing the lady's new squirrel cape to lie on. This prompts the lady's action of killing the dog, explaining that she was tired of having to clean their bedding each day because of the dogs. When challenged by her husband, she turns to tears, the standard weapon of womanhood. Llewelyn omits all this detail to make his version of the tale move rapidly onwards to the third test and towards its conclusion.

In the French redaction, again in a dialogue in direct speech, the girl's mother suggests that, when her husband is holding a feast at Christmas for the dignitaries of the town, the

[557] *FrenchA,* p.19 of 46, 8-12.
[558] 469-470. (J 20, fol. 65r, 19-21).

young wife should cause chaos by 'accidentally' pulling the tablecloth away so that all the dishes will crash to the floor:

> *''Il sera demain joesdi et sera la veille de Nöel si tendra tes sires son Nöel et tendra grant court, car tuit li vaillant home de ceste vile y'seront, et tu seras au chief de la table. Et quant le premire mes sera asis, tu ferras tes cles es frenges de la nape, puis te leveras et traineras tout après toi. Ainsint auras ton seigneur essaié par trois fois.''* [559]
>
> "Tomorrow will be Thursday and Christmas Eve; your husband will celebrate Christmas and will hold great court and all the valiant men of the town will be there, and you will be at the head of the table. And when the first dish will be served, you will tangle your keys into the fringes of the tablecloth, then you will stand up and pull everything behind you. This way you will have tested your husband three times.''

The French redactor amplifies the scene by describing the servants carrying the food to the tables and beginning to serve the guests, only to be interrupted by the young wife stepping forward, pulling the cloths from the table and spilling the expensive dishes on to the floor. We have direct speech where the wife explains to her husband that she was going to look for his good knife for him: *''Je aloie querre vostre bon coustel qui n'estoit pas sus table."*[560] Though the Welsh redaction makes use of the same excuse for the chaos it is in reported not direct speech: '*Ac yscussyau a oruc a dywedut mae y gyrchu kyllell a vei well o'e arglwyd y daroed idi y damwein hwnnw.'*[561] - 'And she apologised saying that this accident had happened because she was fetching a better knife for her lord.' The whole sequence has been greatly abbreviated by the Welsh redactor.

This scene quoted above, which begins with her mother's advice on a course of action, is condensed in a few words: *'O annoc y mam hi a'e y proues val hynn,'*[562] - 'At her mother's urging, she tested him like this.' Where the French redactor sets out the mother's plan and then describes the action of the wife disrupting the feast, the Welsh redactor

[559] *FrenchA,* p.20 of 46, 10-13.
[560] *FrenchA,* p.20 of 46, 21.
[561] 482-483. (J 20, fol. 66r, 5-8).
[562] 475-476. (J 20, fol. 65v, 15-16).

contents himself with one description: that of the actual occasion. Again, this makes the tale move at a quick pace towards its finale.

Conclusion:

The Welsh redactor's commitment to narrative economy is apparent on a number of levels: details considered unnecessary to the advancement of the plot are expunged and direct speech limited. All this results in a markedly more concise work than its French source text. The excision of salacious material could indicate a sensitivity to the need to moderate the inclusion of such material for a mixed audience of men, women and children, and might reflect Llewelyn the Priest's pastoral concerns. However, as we have seen, the rate of compression is not always consistent. Certain tales and episodes, such as *Vidua*, are given a fuller treatment than others, and discrete but significant additions and modifications to the source text give the Welsh *SDR* structural and thematic individuality within the corpus of these international tales.

13. Additions and Modifications to the Frame-Tale

The Welsh version of the Seven Sages *of Rome, Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein,* is characterised by a marked principle of narrative economy. Therefore, any change from this concision makes the relatively few instances when the Welsh redactor expands on his source or includes additional material all the more striking and invites closer analysis. This material comes under:

i. Description
ii. The use of direct speech.
iii. Echoes and borrowings from traditional Welsh tales

i. Description

There are very few descriptive scenes in the *SDR*, but the ones that do occur are significant. They happen at key points in the story: the fostering of the Prince at the beginning of the tales, times that signal the end of the frame narrative and during *Vidua,* the longest tale in the Welsh. Describing the charming, beautiful place chosen to build the house in which to tutor the young prince as '*lle karueid erdrym gwastsatsych',*[563] paints an idyllic picture of his early life, before the advent of the traumatic events to come. The descriptive scene at the conclusion of the frame narrative in the Welsh occurs after a severely abridged account of the events leading to the end of the prince's silence. On the final morning, before the Prince is to speak, *'pan gyuodes yr heul ar byt yn oleu diwybr'*[564] -'when the sun rose and the world was bright and cloudless' we are shown the Emperor and his imperial court proceeding from the church, to sit on a prominent rock: '*y eisted ar penn carreg y le amlwc*.'[565] This concise description fulfils a clear function, announcing as it does the resolution of the crisis. The outcome of the following scene will seal the fate not only of the prince and of his tutors, the Seven Sages, but also that of the wicked stepmother. The semantic field used by Llewelyn is that of nature, of new starts and of

[563] 18. (J-19. 20, fol. 42v, 14-15).
[564] 497. (J 20, fol. 66v, 18-20).
[565] 499. (J 20, fol. 67r, 2-3).

optimism: the sun is newly risen, the sky is cloudless, signifying a change in fortunes for the Prince. The Welsh redactor elaborates the bare facts with a diversion that highlights the change of mood, indicating that the danger to the prince is now past and that a new dawn in his fortunes has arrived.

From the very beginning of the final scene of the *Seven Sages,* the French redactor indulges in his taste for *amplificatio* by describing the characteristic luxurious appearance of French courtiers of the period. The mood is joyful, as the prince is about to speak for the first time:

> *Si tost conme il vit le jour, il se leva pour oïr messe. […] Tuit li barons s'atorerent et apareillierent moult richement car il savoient que li enfés evoit parler celui jour. Dames et chevaliers et bourjois s'acesmerent plus bel, car moult orent grant joie de cel enfant qui parler devoit. Li sept sage alerent au moustier et moult biau s'apareillierent.*[566]
>
> As soon as he [the emperor] saw daybreak, he got up to hear mass [...] All the barons got ready and dressed themselves very richly, for they knew that the child was about to speak that day. Ladies and knights and burghers dressed most beautifully, for they had great joy about this child who was about to speak. The Seven Sages went to the monastery and dressed themselves most beautifully.

The boy then addresses his father, explaining the reason for his silence. The same scene is recounted in very few words in the Welsh:

> *A thrannoeth [...] yr amherawdyr a'r gwyrda a'r doethon a aethont y'r eglwys. A gwedy gwrandaw offeren yn dwywawl, yr aethant odieithyr y vynwent y eisted ar penn carreg y le amlwc. Ac yna y deuth y mab geyr bronn yr amherawdyr, rwng deu o'r Doethon.* [567]
>
> The following day […] the Emperor his nobles and the Sages went to the church. When they had piously heard mass, they went outside the

[566] *FrenchA*, p.8 of 20, 3-6.
[567] 497-500. (J 20, fol. 66v, 18-21 then fol. 67r, 1-5).

cemetery and sat on a rock in a prominent place. Then the son came
before the Emperor, between two of the Sages.

As throughout his work, Llewelyn makes no mention of the richly dressed ladies, knights and burghers that are present at court, neither are we told of their joy and anticipation in expecting the boy Prince to speak to justify his silence. The elegance and opulence of the imperial court, which in the French emphasises the significance of the occasion, is not described in the Welsh text. However, it is at this juncture that we find an unexpected indication from Llewelyn that this is a turning-point in the tale. Not only is the gathering described as being held on a prominent rocky outcrop, reminiscent of the beginning of some traditional tales, but Llewelyn also departs from his usual practice of *abbreviato* by describing the following morning as being 'cloudless and sunny': *'A thrannoeth, pan gyuodes yr heul ar y byt yn oleu diwybr'* [568] - 'The following day, when the sun rose bright and cloudless on the land'.

This descriptive phrase, atypical of Llewelyn's normal style, alerts his audience to the fact that the following scene must be of some significance. In fact, its outcome will seal the fate of the prince, of his tutors, the Seven Sages, as well as of the wicked stepmother. The details mentioned by Llewelyn are uplifting: the sun is newly risen, the sky is cloudless, surely heralding a change in fortunes for the prince; the 'clouds' that threatened his very existence have been lifted. Llewelyn has elaborated the bare facts to highlight the change of mood, indicating that the danger to the prince is now past and that a new dawn in his fortunes has arrived. Llewelyn deploys rhetorical effects where appropriate, in a restrained, considered manner.

ii. Direct Speech

Llewelyn's use of direct speech is limited, especially in the frame tale. Other than the brief exchanges between the Emperor and Empress and those between the Emperor and the Sages there are very few instances of speech. One major instance occurs at the beginning of the tales where the audience is introduced to the *Amherodres* in her quest to discover

[568] 497. (J 20, fol. 66v, 19-20).

whether her husband has sired any children: "*Yr Duw, mae plant y'r amherawdyr?"*[569] This significant passage is where the audience is implicitly invited to associate the young Empress with a wicked witch and thence to the evil, malicious stepmother.

The most important of these occurs at the very beginning of the frame narrative, the starting point of the action of the tale, when the new wife discovers that the Emperor already has a son and heir, a fact that had hitherto been hidden from her. The Welsh redaction diverges quite significantly from its French source in this scene. In the French tradition of les *Sept Sages de Rome*, the information comes to her French counterpart unbidden: '*l'en avoit bien dit a l'empereriz*...'[570] – 'Someone told the Empress...'. Strangely, the French redactor does not insert dialogue into this key section of the tale. He uses indirect speech, explicitly setting out a motivation for the Empress's future actions. The issue in the French redaction is political; inheritance in France was by primogeniture, meaning that no future child of the new Empress could inherit whilst the young prince lived: '*se il estoit morz li hoir qui istroient de li seroient hoir de l'empereur de Rome',*[571] 'If he were to die the heirs issued from her would be heirs to the Emperor of Rome'. This explains her plan to destroy the unwitting rival to her own unborn children. It is upon the discovery of this heir and a rival to her own future offspring that the Empress becomes the villain of the piece, intent on the destruction of her stepchild, the prince, disregarding the potential undermining of the existing social stability within the empire in the process. Up to this point, she has been a perfect, loving wife to the Emperor: '*L'ama moult tant conme nus hons pot plus amer fame, et la dame lui ausint',*[572]'He loved her greatly, so much more than any man can love a woman, and the lady loved him as much.' But, once she learns of the existence of the young prince, she becomes the stereotypical wicked stepmother, condemned by the narrator as one who is a *'mal engigneuse et plainne de mal art et mal engine,'* [573] 'an 'evil plotter full of evil ways and evil tricks'. From

[569] 25. (J 20, fol. 43r, 7-8).
[570] *FrenchA,* 8 of 49, 3.
[571] *FrenchA*, p.7 of 46, 36-37.
[572] FrenchA, p.7 of 46, 34-35.
[573] *FrenchA.* p.9 of 46, 4-5.

this point onwards the audience is in no doubt as to the French Empress's intention of destroying the young prince.[574] Her pleasure at the apparent dumbness of the young prince is thoroughly malicious. She plots to kill the boy because contemporary legal strictures meant that no child of hers would inherit whilst the boy lived. In the Welsh redaction we have a different scenario.

Where the French Empress is the passive recipient of the news that an heir existed: *l'emperieres avoit un hoir malle...'*[575], her Welsh counterpart actively questions those in the imperial court about the possible existence of living heirs to her husband: '*Amofyn a wnaeth hi ac un ac arall a oed etifed yr Amherawdyr'* [576] – **'**She asked this one and that one whether the Emperor had an heir. This key episode warrants a long section of dialogue, between the Empress and the old hag in the *Chwedleu,* (the significance of which is discussed below): [577]

Empress: *"Yr Duw, mae plant y'r Amherawdyr?"* – "In God's name, tell me, has the Emperor a child?"...

Hag: *"Na vyd trist, vn mab yssyd idaw..."*[578] – "Don't be sad, he does have one son..."

On finding that a child does exist, she is genuinely happy: '*llawen orawenus'* [579]; not, as is the French Empress, feigning joy at the thought of meeting the boy whilst plotting the best way of disposing of him. This markedly different reaction to the discovery of the existence of a stepson in the French and Welsh texts can be seen as reflecting the legal differences between the two countries in the Middle Ages. The French custom of primogeniture made the French stepmother become a villainess to secure the future of her own offspring. By contrast, in Medieval Wales, the Laws of Hywel Dda meant that all children, legitimate and illegitimate, once recognised by their father, had inheritance

[574] This motif is retained in the English redaction: 'The Emperasse was sone tolde/ Of that child that was so bolde, / That was the Emperour eir/ He that tolde hire that tale/ Broght hir in mykil bael, / For euermore scho was in thought/ That the childe were to deth broght.' Whitelock, p. 9, 253-260.
[575] FrenchA, p.8 of 49, 4
[576] 23. (J 20, fol. 43r, 2-4).
[577] This is discussed in the sections: 'Echoes and Borrowings from Traditional Tales', (13, iii and 14, iii).
[578] 25 and 28. (J 20, fol. 43r, 6 and fol. 43r, 14-15).
[579] 29. (J 20, fol. 43r, 16-17).

rights.[580] The motive which drives the *Empereriz* to plot the boy's murder could not explain the conduct of the Welsh *Amherodres's* attempt to have the boy killed. To convince his Welsh audience, Llewelyn needed to devise another motive for the Empress's villainy.

To achieve this, the Welsh redactor returns to the Biblical tale of Potiphar's wife and allocates the same story line to the *Amherodres,* so that when she sees her stepson for the first time she had not yet plotted to dispose of him, as had the French Empress, but is struck by a *coup de foudre:* '*A hitheu, pan y gwelas a fflemychawdo'e garyat*' [581] - 'And when she saw him, she was inflamed by lust'.[582] The innocent young bride has now disappeared, to be replaced by a wicked woman in thrall to the deadly sin of lust, caring little for her husband, the Emperor, or the stability of the kingdom in the headlong pursuit of her selfish desires. When she is rejected by the boy, she becomes the epitome of the wicked stepmother, intent on harm. The Welsh redactor of *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* has remodelled the motive for the young stepmother's malice from one of pure self-interest, the French Empress's motive, to one of thwarted lust and wounded vanity.

One highly significant section of direct speech comes at the dénouement of the *Chwedleu* where the Prince is released from his muteness and finally speaks out. He is now able to denounce the Empress, outlining her wickedness. He goes on to describe the Empress's behaviour towards himself and her attempts to have him killed once he had rejected her advances. To prove his innocence and to demonstrate his love of his father, the Prince relates the tale of *Vaticinium*, which, to a medieval audience, would surely have suggested Biblical episodes, such as the Old Testament stories of Joseph and Jonah which prefigure the Incarnation of Christ. Such echoes would have added even more gravitas to the Prince's tale. His courteous demeanour towards the father who had ordered his death is remarkable: '*A gwedy adoli y Arglwyd dat ac erchi idaw y gerennyd , herwyd na hsdyassei*

[580] 'Church law says that no son is entitled to patrimony save the father's eldest son by the wedded wife. The law of Hywel adjudges it to the youngest son as to the eldest, and judges that the father's sin and his illegality should not be set against the son for his patrimony.' Dafydd Jenkins, *The Law of Hywel Dda. Law Texts from Medieval Wales Translated and Edited* (Llandysul, Gomer Press, 1990), p. 110.
[581] 40. (J 20, fol. 43v, 19-20).
[582] This same motive is found in *Dolopathos*: 'She burned with a greater fire of lust...' Gilleland, p. 33.
In *Dolopathos*, the Queen enlists the amorous help of all her ladies in the attempt to seduce the Prince.

y var na'e anuod.'[583] - 'He then made obeisance to his lord father and beseeched his good will, since he had not deserved his wrath nor his displeasure.' The prince then reveals to his father the true reason for his silence, in a speech which covers sixteen lines of text in J 20.[584] He relates that God disclosed that, were he to speak during the following seven days he would die:

> *"A'r Gwr uchaf […] a dangossesy'm ac y'm athrawon […] o dywedwn i un geir yn yr vn o'r seith niwarnawt na dianghwn rac agheu."* [585]
>
> *"*The Most High […] revealed clearly to me and to my teachers […] that if I were to utter a single word in any of the following seven days I should not escape death."

This is all in stark contrast to the lack of dialogue when the now-exposed evil *Amherodres* is condemned to be burnt at the stake:

> *'Ac yna y gelwit ar yr Amherodres y ateb rac bron. A hitheu a dywawt ryneuthur o honei hi hyny rac dwyn o'r mab o gyuoeth y dat a hitheu.*'[586]
>
> 'And then the Empress was called into their presence to answer them. And she said that she had done all this to prevent the son from stealing his father's wealth and hers.'

The Empress has no voice at the end of the tale, making her a less vivid character, one with whom the audience would find it difficult to empathise. Her response to the young Prince is delivered in indirect speech, unlike in the French.

"Sire, oïl," dist la dame, "oïl por ce que je doutoie et avie poour qu'il ne vous destruisist et qu'il ne vous tolist l'empire".[587]

"Sire, yes," she said, "because I was afraid that he would destroy you and steal your empire."

The sentiments are similar, but the immediacy is absent from the Welsh due to Llewelyn's brevity and lack of direct speech. Though it is the climax as well as the finale of the tales

[583] 500-501. (J 20, fol. 67r, 5-8).
[584] 501-508. (J 20, fol. 67r, 8-21 then fol. 67v, 1-2).
[585] 501-504. (J 20, fol. 67r, 8-14).
[586] 554-555. (J 20, 69v, 21 then fol. 70r, 1-4).
[587] *FrenchA*, p. 10 of 19, 8-10.

and the wicked woman is punished, as one would expect from a misogynistic stance, her character is diminished in the audience's consciousness by this lack of speech. The Prince's, on the other hand, is enhanced because of his spoken words.

From these comprehensive examples we can see that, compared to the French redactor, Llewelyn very rarely employed direct speech, thereby compressing the tales by a large degree. However, when speech was employed. it was all the more remarkable, indicating a crucial point in the tale.

iii. Echoes and Borrowings from Traditional Tales

One of the most significant borrowing from a traditional Welsh tale comes at the very start of the sequence where Llewelyn changes the Welsh Empress's motivation from the straightforward malevolence of the French Empress to one of sexual lust. This is signalled by the Welsh redactor's uncharacteristic amplification of the episode at the beginning of the frame-tale when the Empress discovers that the Emperor already has an heir. Until this point, the Welsh redaction, though concise, follows its French parent version closely: the death of the Emperor's first wife, his re-marriage and the fostering of the child. However, now Llewelyn departs from his usual principle of narrative economy and arrests the forward movement of the plot by elaborating on the French version of the story by inserting a whole vignette from a traditional Welsh tale, *Culhwch ac Olwen,* into the frame story. This lengthy digression, which is unique to the Welsh redaction, leads his audience to suspect that the episode is of major significance to the Welsh version of the *Chwedleu*. Before the revelation that an heir already exists, the newly wed Welsh Empress appears to be suffering from real anxiety concerning the Emperor's lack of offspring, desperately seeking reassurance that her elderly husband had already sired children, exclaiming: "*Gwae finneu y vot ef yn anvab"*[588] - *"*Woe is me that he is childless", when those she questions deny that any exist. The issue for the new wife in the *Chwedleu* is not so much whether there are rivals to any future offspring of hers as the fear that the Emperor might

[588] 26. (J 20, fol. 43r, 9)

be unable to sire any heirs at all. Her relief is palpable when an old crone, whom she meets whilst seeking information about the Emperor's fecundity, having initially denied that the Emperor had sired any children, eventually admits to his already having a son: *"ac na uyd trist, vn mab yssyd idaw ar vaeth y gan Doethon Rufein"*[589] - "But, don't be sad, he does have one son who is being fostered by the Sages of Rome". This revelation is clearly made in an attempt to comfort the young woman, who at this point in the narrative comes over as a sympathetic character. Llewelyn then presents us with a picture of the young Empress skipping home happily, eagerly anticipating meeting her new husband's son: '*Ac yna y doeth hi y'r lys yn llawen orawenus'.*[590] 'And then she returned to the court exceedingly happy.' This is quite different to the wicked villainess in the French redaction, who seeks the destruction of an innocent young boy she has never met. Indeed, at this point, the Welsh Empress herself is unaware of the villainous streak in her character. However, Llewelyn, the Welsh redactor, alerts his audience to the alarming developments about to happen by appropriating a pivotal scene from the traditional tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, more specifically the dialogue between the new wife and an old crone in both tales.[591] This episode is germane to the progress of the story and unusually, we find Llewelyn not only employing a substantial episode of direct speech, but borrowing almost verbatim a substantial section of this traditional Welsh tale. It begins in a similar manner in both the *Chwedleu* and *Culhwch*: the new wife expresses anxiety at her new husband's apparent childlessness. In seeking reassurance, she happens upon an old hag and enquires whether the husband has produced any heirs.[592] The conversation in the *Culhwch* version of the tale reads as following:

> *Dytgweith aeth y wreicda allan y orymdeith. Y deuth y dy hen wrach a oed yn y dref heb un dant yn y fenn. "Ha wrach, a dywedy di imi y peth a ouynnaf it, yr Duw? Kwt ynt blant y gwr a'm rydyllas yg gordwy?" Amkawd y wrach, "Nyd oes blant itaw." Amkawd y urenhines, "Gwae finheu uyn dyuot at anuab." Dywawt y wrach, "Nyt reit iti hynny. Darogan yw itaw kaffel ettiuet;*

[589] 28-29. (J 20, fol. 43r, 14-15).
[590] 29. (J.20, fol. 43r, 16-17).
[591] Bromwich and Evans, p. 2, 34-42. All quotations from *Culhwch ac Olwen* are from this edition, as above. Translations from Welsh are my own, unless otherwise stated.
[592] Bromwich, and Evans, p. 2, 36.

ohonot ti yt gaffo ef kanys ry gaffo o arall. Na wna tristit heuyt; un mab yssyd itaw." Mynet a oruc y wreicda yn llawen atreff, ac amkawd hi vrth y chymmar, "Pwy ystyr yw gennyt ti kelu dy blant ragof i?" [593]

One day the lady went out for a walk. She came to the house of a toothless old hag who lived in the town. The queen said, "Hag, for God's sake will you answer my question? Does the man who violently abducted me have any children?" The hag said: "He has no children." The queen said, "Woe is me that I have come to a childless man." The hag said, "Don't worry about that. It is prophesied that he will have an heir and he may have one by you, since he hasn't had one by anyone else. But, don't be sad, he does have one son." The lady went home happy, and she said to her husband: "Why do you hide your child from me?" [594]

Similarly, the conversation in the *Chwedleu* follows a similar path:

A diwarnawt y doeth hi y ty gwrach yscymmun unllegeidiawc heb un dant yn y phenn, a dywedut wrth y wrach: "Yr Duw, mae plant yr amherawdyr?" "Nyt oes idaw yr vn," heb y wrach. "Gwae vinheu," heb hi, "y vot ef yn anuab." Yna y truhanhawd y wrach wrth yr ysgymmun arall gan dywedut: "Nyt reit ytti hynny, darogan yw idaw gaffel plant ac agatwyd ys ohonat ti y keiff kynnys kaffo o arall. Ac na vyd trist, vn mab yssyd idaw ar vaeth y gan Doethon Rufein." Ac yna y doeth hi y'r llys yn llawen orawenus, a dywedut wrth yr amherawdyr: "Pa ystyr y kely dy blant ragofi?" [595]

The verbal echoes between the *Seith Doethon Rufein* and *Culhwch* are unmistakeable, as is the overall similarity in structure of the episode, with the old woman initially denying the existence of an heir, then revealing the truth because of the lady's distress: *"Na vyd tristit heuyd, un mab yssyd idaw*", "Don't be sad, he does have one son".[596] Both women return to the husband in a happy mood: *'Mynet a oruc y wreicda yn llawen atreff*.'[597] The

[593] Bromwich and Evans, p. 2, 34-45.
[594] Davies, (2007), p. 180, 1-13.
[595] 23-30. (J 20, fol. 43r, 4-18).
[596] Bromwich and Evans, p. 2, 42.
[597] Bromwich and Evans, p. 2, 43.

Welsh Empress, the *Amherodres*, is even described as *'yn llawen orawenus'*, exceedingly happy, at the news that her husband has already fathered a son.[598] She is surely young enough to produce more children and the stepmother in *Culhwch* has already proved her fertility by producing a daughter. The same anxiety that the new husband had been incapable of producing an heir would have been the main cause for concern both for the kidnapped wife in *Culhwch* and the *Amherodres*. Both would be pleased that there was already a son, since that proved the husband's fecundity and, according to Welsh law, this child would not threaten the inheritance of their own future offspring. Producing a baby would have been the main cause for concern for the kidnapped wife in both *Culhwch* and for the *Amherodres.* The importance for noble wives to provide heirs and the social vulnerability of those who failed to do so is demonstrated in the First Branch of the Mabinogi: *Pwyll, Pendefig Dyfed*. Pwyll's nobles attempt to persuade him to divorce his wife Rhiannon after three years of marriage, since she had not yet produced an heir: "*yn ouyn ni yw, na byd it etiued o'r wreic yssyd gennyt. Ac wrth hynny, kymmer wreic arall y bo ettiued yt ohonei*"[599] - "We are afraid that you will not get an heir from the wife you have. And, because of that, take another wife from whom you can have an heir."[600] This scenario puts the joy of both wives of the Welsh tales into context: both would be happy that there was already a son, proving the husband's fecundity. According to Welsh law, this child would not threaten the inheritance of their own future offspring. Both women had cause for celebration since their position at Court could be secured by the birth of another son.

Ominously, however, the nature of the *Amherodres*'s informant suggests cause for alarm. In J 20, Llewelyn vividly describes the old woman as a 'g*wrach yscymmun unllegeidiawc heb un dant yn y phenn'* [601]- a 'cursed, one-eyed hag without a single tooth in her head', where the Llyfr Coch merely states: '*Yna y dywawt y wrach…*', 'And then the hag said…'. The version in J 20 expands on the pejorative depiction of the crone and implicitly extends it to the Empress herself, with the narrator introducing the old woman's revelation with

[598] 29. (J 20, fol. 43r, 16-17).
[599] PKM, p. 19.
[600] Davies, (2007), p. 16.
[601] 24. (J 20, fol. 43r, 5-6).

the words: '*Yna y truanhanawd y wrach wrth yr ysgymmun arall',* [602] *'*And then the hag took pity on the other cursed one.' He prepares the reader for her wicked behaviour later in the narrative by equating her with the witch. The full significance of Llewelyn's skilful reworking of the text becomes apparent when we consider this clear borrowing from the initial section of *Culhwch ac Olwen*; the words of this scene must surely have evoked in his Welsh audience an expectation of the danger ahead.

[602] 26-27. (J 20, fol. 43r, 10-11).

14. Additions and Modifications to the Internal Tales

Though the *Chwedleu* are generally very much more concise than the French parent, as is the norm for Welsh translations of the period, there are certain circumstances where Llewelyn elaborates on the existing framework of the tales. As we have seen, to embellish the details of the frame tale he included some descriptive elements, instances of direct speech as well as the mirroring of traditional tales to prepare his intended audience for the eventual outcome of the story. However, it is not only the frame-tale which is dealt with in this way, some internal tales also receive this treatment.

i. Description

As stated above, there are very few descriptive scenes in the *Chwedleu*. Where the French redactor takes every opportunity to describe scenes such as the luxurious home in *Tentamina*: '*Au soir, fu li feus alumez et ardi cler. Les liz furent bien parez de beles coustes pointes et de biaus tapiz'.*[603] - 'In the evening a fire was lit and burned brightly. The beds were beautifully covered with beautiful quilts and pretty rugs.

Such a scene is absent from the Welsh tale. Neither does Llewelyn go to great lengths to describe the making the trap for the thieves in as does the French:

Puis fist fere une chaudierea tainturier, si la mist devant le pertuis de la tour, et fist fere une grant fosse merveilleuse si li fist enfoir. Puis prist gluz de la plus fort que il pot trouver, et glyse de mer et poiz et plon, et fondi tout ensamble si que la chaudiere fu toute plaine. Puis prist branchetes et petites vergetes, si mist desus la chaudiere et la couvri de terre par desus...[604]

Then he took a dyer's vat and put it in front of the hole in the tower, then he had a huge hole dug and the vat buried in it. Then he took the strongest glue that he could find and sea clay, tar and lead, mixed them together until the vat was full. Then he took some small branches and sticks, placed them over the vat and covered it with soil

None of this is found in the Welsh; Llewelyn merely says:

[603] *FrenchA*, p.19 of 46, 33-34.
[604] *FrenchA,* p.15 of 46, 5-9.

Ac yna yn ystrywgall, medylyeit a oruc y keitwat a gossot kerwyneit o lut ardymeric geyr bron y twr yn y lle y torrassit...[605]

Then he cunningly thought to put a barrel full of warm glue in front of the tower where it had been breached...

Though Llewelyn does not go into descriptive detail however, he does make use of a Welsh literary rhetorical device: the combination of descriptive doubles. By using this, he manages to paint a vivid picture of the custodian of the tower. Llewelyn combines the noun '*ystryw*'- 'stratagem' and the adjective '*call*'- 'cunning', thereby giving us a mental image of the wily custodian, though we are not made privy to the details of the construction of his cunning trap.

This literary device is also evident in other tales. In *Tentamina* the sacrificed tree is described as a '*planbren bychan ffrwythlawn tec'.* 'A small, beautiful fruit tree'.[606] In *Aper* the tree is described as being fruitful, and delicious: '*frwythlawn bricawclas'*, 'a sweet, fruitful, leafy tree', which was '*yn dec ac yn garueid velys aeduet'*, 'fair and beautifully sweet and ripe'.[607] In *Ramus* the fruit tree is left bare and despoiled: *yn amnoeth vricawcdwn*.[608]

This concise way of painting a virtual picture is abandoned when Llewelyn deals with the tale of *Vidua*. As is discussed in the following section, *Vidua* is the one tale in which the Welsh redactor exceeds his customary system of doubling nouns and adjectives to suggest a particular scene. In *Vidua* the Welsh redactor indulges not only in grotesque descriptions but also in hyperbolic statements, all of which lead his audience to ridicule the 'heroine' of this tale.

[605] 135-136. (J 20, fol. 48v, 18-20 then fol. 49r, 1).
[606] 461. (J 20, fol.65r, 1-2).
[607] 92. (J 20, fol.46v, 4-5 and 10-11).
[608] 192. J 20, fol. 51v, 14).

ii. The Use of Hyperbole and Dialogue

The most striking instance of expansion within an internal tale is to be found in *Vidua*, the tenth story of the sequence. At 1028 words it is stands out as being by far the longest tale in the Welsh sequence at some 63% of the length of the French version; the average across the work being some 45% of the French model, and most are nearer a third.[609] The privileged position of *Vidua* within the *SDR* is signalled by hyperbole and other rhetorical devices deployed in it, in particular the use of alliteration, in line with the conventions of *araith* outlined above, as well as the extensive use of direct speech between the main characters, a feature kept to a minimum in much of the *Chwedleu*. The function of these amplificatory devices found in *Vidua* is less easy to discern. The Welsh version follows the established storyline: a distraught young widow swears not to leave the body of her dead husband until she too is dead. However, when a handsome knight appears, not only does she abandon her vigil, but she desecrates her husband's body in the hope of re-marriage to the newcomer. [610] This popular *fabliau,* related by the venerable Sage, Cato, '*Cato Hen'*, in the Welsh but told by Jesse in the French, fits well into the misogynistic framework of the Seven Sages tradition, with the fickle nature of women at its heart. However, Llewelyn has reworked this popular tale and introduced into it an element of farce which turns the tale into a parody of its traditional self.

The story begins in a similar way to its French parent version: a young couple, obviously much in love, are playfully bantering when the husband inadvertently cuts his wife's hand with his knife:

> *Yd oed gynt gwas ieuangk o Ruuein yn siryf o Lesodonia, a diwarnawt yd oed yn nadu paladyr, a'e wreic yn kyttgam ac ef, ac ynteu yn gware a hi. Ac yn hynny ef a gyuaruu blaen y gyllell ef a'e llaw hi yny doeth y gwaet.*[611]
>
> Once there was a young man from Rome who was sheriff of Lesodonia.

[609] See the table: 'Comparative Length of the Internal Tales '. p. 125.

[610] For a full account of the very many versions of this tale, see Campbell*, (*1907), pp. ci-cviii. The number of pages dedicated to the analogues of *Vidu*a demonstrates the immense popularity of the tale, even up to the nineteenth century.

[611] 278-280. (J 20, fol. 56ar, 14-20).

> One day, he was carving a shaft for a spear. His wife was flirting with him and he was flirting with her. And at that moment, the blade of his knife touched her hand and drew blood.

The French redactor is at pains to inform his audience that the young man was so excessively sensitive that it is the shock of hurting his wife kills that him: '*Bien sachiez qu'il ne li avint pas grant sapience; trop avoit feble cuer quant pour chose morut'*[612] - 'Know well that he did not respond very wisely; he had such a weak heart that he died because of it'. By contrast, Welsh redactor goes one step further. He depicts the incident as an instance of suicide, even though the young man is subsequently buried in consecrated ground: '*A chyn drwc yd aeth arna ef hynny a'e vrathu ehun a wnaeth dan benn y vronn a'e gyllell yny dygwyd yn varw y'r llawr'*[613] - 'And he was so distraught that he stabbed himself in the chest with his knife and fell dead to the floor.' This excessive reaction on the part of the young husband is the first of a string of parodic elements in the rest of the Welsh tale.

The next section follows the accepted pattern: the young widow swears eternal love, vowing never to leave her husband's grave until she too is dead: *A hitheu* a *dyngawd y'r gwr a oed vch y phenn nat aei hi odyno yny vei varw*,[614] - 'And she swore to the One who was above that she would not leave until she died.' In the Welsh redaction, the lady first appears to be the archetype of feminine demureness and vulnerability. Her vigil alone at night in a graveyard aligns her with the helpless heroine in a tale of courtly love, about to be rescued from a perilous situation by a gallant knight. This conventional reading of the situation is echoed in the words of the knight himself:

> '*A gouyn a wnaeth ef beth a wnaei dyn mor ieuangk o oetran, mor dinerth o gorff, ac mor adwyn o bryt yn lle mor ofnawc a hwnnw ehunan.*' [615]
> 'And he asked her why a lady so young and weak of body and of such gentle demeanour was alone in a place as frightening as that.'

[612] *FrenchA*, p. 1 of 20.
[613] 280-282. (J 20, fol. 56ar, 20-21, fol. 65av. 1-2).
[614] 286-287. (J 20, fol. 56av, 13-16).
[615] 299-301 (J 20, fol. 56br, 21 - fol. 56b, 1-3).

We have a similar scene in the French parent version; however, the emphasis remains on the lady's superficial beauty: '*Li chevalier regarda la dame. Ele fu bele et coloree conme rose'* - 'The knight looked at the lady. She was as beautiful and radiant as a rose.' This is a conventional way of describing the widow's physical attractiveness; moreover, with the lady's mourning, the rose could be evocative of the Rose without Thorns, the Virgin Mary, in mourning for Jesus Christ. Any such positive reading of the character is soon undermined by what follows, however, as the lady invites the knight to warm himself inside her hut: an obvious erotic undercurrent which is absent from the Welsh redaction treatment of the tale which is more comic that erotic. The parody contained in Llewelyn's account of the knight's perception of the young widow becomes apparent as the 'weak and feeble' woman is described as leaping into her dead husband's grave, throwing the corpse out of it and then striding out boldly to carry it on her shoulders to the gibbet when the knight refuses to do so:

> *"Ym kyffes," heb ef, "haws oed gennyfi ymlad a thriwyr byw no dodi vy llaw ar vn gwr marw." "Miui a'e dodaf," heb hi, a bwrw neit esgutly yn y pwll a thaflu y corf yny vyd hyt ar lan y pwll. "Duc di efo bellach tu a'r crocwyd," heb hi. "Nys gwyr Duw," heb ef "y mi nac y'm march allel ymdeith onyt yn anawd rac meint yssyd o arueu ymdanam." "Mi a'e gallaf," heb hi. "Dyrchaf di ef ar vy ysgwyd i." A gwedy y gael ar y hysgwyd, hi a gerdawd brasgameu gwrawldrut ac ef yny doeth hyt y crocwyd.'* [616]
>
> "By my faith," he said, "I would rather fight three live men than touch one dead one." "I'll touch him," she said, and jumped nimbly into the grave and then threw the corpse up to the edge of the grave. "You take him to the gallows now," she said. "God knows," he said, "that neither I nor my horse could do this without difficulty because of the amount of armour on us." "I can," she said. "Throw him up on to my shoulder." And when she had him on her shoulder, she marched out boldly with him until she reached the gibbet.

[616] 315-321 (J 20, fol. 57r, 16- fol. 57v, 1-8).

This absurdly exaggerated scene, amplified by almost continuous dialogue, is Llewelyn's own invention. In the French parent redaction both the widow and the knight disinter the body, both carry it to the gallows; the knight only demurs at hanging the cadaver, claiming such an act would make a coward of him. In both the French and Welsh texts, the widow, in a totally ridiculous and unfeminine way presaging her inevitable downfall, takes the initiative when it comes to disfiguring her dead husband's corpse. In both the French and Welsh redaction, when the knight mentions an identifying characteristic of the body of the dead outlaw as opposed to her unblemished husband, the supposedly grieving widow says that, if he were unwilling to do so, she would inflict any necessary wounds herself by wielding the knight's own sword. This she does without hesitation:

> *"Och," heb y marchawc, "pa da yw hynny? Yd oed dyrnawt cledyf ar benn yr herwr." "Taraw ditheu," heb hi, "dyrnawt ar benn hwnn." "Na thrawaf," heb ef. "Y'm kyffes," heb hi, "mi a'e tarawaf." A tharaw dyrnawt mawr a'e gledyf ar benn y gwr.* [617]
>
> "Oh," said the knight, "What good is this? There was a sword wound on the outlaw's head," he said. "Then strike this one on his head," she said. "I shall not strike him, by my faith," he said. "By my faith," she said, "I'll strike him." And she struck a large blow with the knight's sword on her husband's head.

However, in the Welsh redaction the widow does not stop there. In addition to having the widow smash her dead husband's skull with an enormous blow of the knight's sword, Llywelyn goes several steps further in surreal violence. When the knight remarks that the outlaw was toothless, the young woman shatters her dead husband's teeth and lips with a large stone:

> *"Ie," heb y marchawc, "pa da o hynny? Yd oed yr herwr yn vantach."*
> *"Minneu a wnaf hwnn yn vantach," heb hi, a chael maen mawr a*

[617] 321-324. (J 20, fol. 57v, 8-14).

dyrchafael llaw arnaw yn vyd lleyr y weuusseu a'e danned yn drylleu o angerd a chedernyt y dyrnaut. [618]

"Yes," said the knight, "but what good is that? The outlaw had no teeth." "I'll make this one toothless," she said and picked up a large stone and raised her hand towards him until both his lips and teeth were in shreds because of the force and strength of the blows.

Llewelyn then expands this already extreme description of the widow's desecration of her once-beloved husband's body with the farcical description of the vulnerable grieving widow of the early part of the tale now plucking every hair from her dead husband's head*:*

"Ie," heb y marchawc yna, "aruoel oed yr herwr." "Minneu a wnaf hwnn yn aruoel," heb hi. [619]

"Yes," said the knight, "but the outlaw was bald." "I shall make this one bald," she said.

A chymryt penn y gwr y rwng penn y deulin hi a'e deu troet wrth y dwy ysgwyd. Na gwreic yn kneifyau na gwr yn eilliaw, ny bu yr vn gynt yn hunyo penn y gwr no hi. [620]

And she took her husband's head between her knees and put her two feet on his shoulders. There was never a woman shearing nor a man shaving quicker than she was plucking her husband's head.

Llewelyn compares her thoroughness in this gruesome task with that of a parchment-maker preparing his dead skins: '*nyt edewis hi vn blewyn heb y dynnu ymeith mwy noc y gedeu y mymrennyd ar y memrwn'* [621] - 'She did not leave a single hair unplucked, any more than the parchment maker leaves any hairs on the parchment.' The Welsh text attains a level of gratuitous grotesqueness that goes well beyond the French parent text, and in doing so creates a parody of the original *fabliau*, making the widow's actions so ridiculous and absurd that she cannot possibly be taken seriously as a misogynistic trope.

[618] 324-327. (J 20, fol. 57v, 14-20).
[619] 327-328. (J 2057v, 20 then fol. 58r 1-2).
[620] 328-330. (J 20, fol. 58r, 2-7).
[621] 330-331. (J 20, fol. 58r, 8-10).

Vidua is noteworthy for showing the entire range of amplificatory devices at the disposal of the Welsh redactor, and for its subtle reshaping of the moral of the tale. As in the French, the knight rejects the widow, but the Welsh gives it a more personal and arguably less sweepingly misogynistic colouring. The French knight suddenly develops righteous indignation at the widow's actions:

> "*Voire," dist le chevalier, "orde, desloiaus, l'en vous devroit ardoir conme orde lecheresse et larrenesse. Tost avez ore oublié celui qui ier fu morz et enterrez pour l'amour de vous […] Honiz soit qui en mauvese fame se fie*."[622]
>
> "Truly,' said the knight, 'you dirty, disloyal woman, you should be burned as a dirty lecher and criminal. You have quickly forgotten the man who died because of his love for you and was buried yesterday […] May whoever puts his trust in a bad woman be shamed!"

In the Welsh, the knight appears to be afraid of the harridan, and abandons her out of a sense of self-preservation:

> *"A phettut vn wreic di o'r byt, ny mynnwn i dim ohonat ti. Kanys, pann vydyt ti mor aghywir a hynny wrth y gwr a'th briodes yr yn verch a duc y adoet o'th garyat, ys aghywir a beth vydut ti y mi, heb welet golwg arnaf eryoet hyt heno?"* [623]
>
> "Even if you were the only woman in the world, I would want to have none of you. If you have been so wicked to the man who married you when you were a virgin and killed himself because of you, how much more false would you be to me whom you had never set eyes on before tonight?"

In the Welsh version of *Vidua* the increasingly surreal efforts of the fickle young widow to accommodate her new suitor turn the tale into pure farce.

[622] *FrenchA*, p. 2 of 20, 50, to p. 3 of 20, 1.
[623] 333-336. (J 20, fol. 58r, 14-20).

Another intriguing addition to the Welsh tale of *Vidua* is the appearance of the widow's mother. In the French redaction it is the male members of her family that attempt to persuade the headstrong young widow to leave the cemetery where her husband is buried, but she refuses to take their advice.[624] However, in the Welsh redaction it is the widow's mother who pleads with her, in direct speech, to see reason and return to attend to her duties and her responsibilities.[625] The widow pointedly ignores her mother's sound advice and remains by her husband's grave: apparently the epitome of a faithful wife, ready to follow her husband unto death, fearless, even in a terrifying graveyard in the depths of night. This is a striking twist to such a misogynistic tale: the voice of reason is that of a woman. Where the daughter defies her mother and abdicates all responsibility for those who depend on her, the older and more experienced woman is aware of the young widow's obligations and tries to remind her of them.

iii. Echoes and Borrowings from Traditional Tales[626]

The Welsh redactor also creates a web of internal references that align the unfaithful widow of *Vidua* not only with the Empress of the *Chwedleu* but also with the widowed *Iarlles y Ffynnawn*, the Lady of the Fountain, in *Owein*, the Welsh redaction of Chrétien de Troyes's romance of *Yvain ou le Chevalier du Lion.* All three female characters within these tales are shown displaying intense grief, depicted in a very similar, conventional way, though under markedly different circumstances.

Echoes of other traditional tales are also apparent in Llewelyn's description of the *Amherodres*'s behaviour when the Prince rejects her inappropriate advances at the beginning of the tales. She successfully attempts to give her accusation of attempted rape more verisimilitude and screams in a way that the French text describes as '*un grant cri et hideus'*,[627] 'a great and hideous cry'. This is echoed in the Welsh as '*diaspat uchelgroch*

[624] *FrenchA,* p. 1 of 20, 18-20.
[625] 284-288. (J 20, fol. 56av, 10-19).
[626] Llewelyn's use of traditional tales and conventions of native Welsh storytelling are also discussed in the section 'Style'. (11, ii).
[627] *FrenchA,* p. 9 of 46, 11.

oruchel', usually translated as 'an enormously loud scream'. However, the word '*diaspad*' carries a much stronger connotation than the English 'scream', the unmarked word for which, in Welsh, being '*gwaedd*'. *'Diaspad'* is the word used by Culhwch when King Arthur's gatekeeper refuses him entry to Arthur's hall. He threatens to create a *diaspad* that would be heard from Cornwall to the far reaches of the North, and beyond that to Ireland:

> *"A mi a dodaf teir diaspat ar drws y porth hwnn hyt na bo anghleuach ym Pengwaedd Kernyw ac yg gwaelawt Dinsol yn y Gogledd ac yn Eskeir Oeruel yn Iwerdon."*[628]
>
> *"*And I shall throw out three roars at the door of this entrance that it will be heard as clearly in Pengwaedd in Cornwall and in the depths of Dinsol in the North and Esgeir Oerfel in Ireland.*"*

The consequence of unleashing this '*diaspad*' would be to render all the women of Arthur's court barren forevermore:

> *"ac yssyd o wreic ueichiawc yn y llys honn, methawd eu beichiogi, ac ar nyd beichiawc onadunt […] na bwynt ueichiawc byth o hediw allan."*[629]
>
> *"*And all the pregnant women in this court she will miscarry […] and those not yet pregnant will never be from today onwards".[630]

Such a cry is surely a threat to the future stability of any kingdom. In *Seith Doethon Rufein* this already marked word is further intensified by the redactor's use of the two compound adjectives: *'uchel'* + '*croch'* 'high'*+ 'l*oud*'* and '*or*'+ '*uchel*' *'*beyond*'+ 'h*igh*',* an intensification indicative of Welsh cultural tradition known as *'cyfarwydd'*.

The word '*diaspad*' is also prominent in the pivotal scene of *Owein* where the newly widowed Lady laments the death of her husband, the Black Knight, who has just been killed in combat by the hero, Owein. At this juncture, Owein hears a *'diaspedain a gwedi anueitrawl eu meint',*[631] *'*a shrieking and dreadfully loud wailing'. Amidst this noise, louder than any man or horn in the cortège are the screams of the Lady herself: '*Vch oed*

[628] Bromwich and Evans, p. 4 and Notes, pp. 56-58.
[629] Bromwich and Evans, pp. 4-5.
[630] Davies, (1997), p. 182, 2-4.
[631] Thomson, p. 13, 339-340.

diaspadei noc a oed o dyn a chorn y llu'.[632] This wording is almost identical to that of the scene describing the distress of the young widow in *Vidua* in the *Seith Doethon*, but with a further element of comic exaggeration in the *Chwedleu*: '*Ac vch oed pop llef a diaspedai noc o gorn a chloch dros wyneb yr holl dinas*'[633] - 'And louder was each cry she shrieked than any horn or bell throughout the whole city.' In addition to this aural expression of grief, the Empress, the widow of *Vidua* and the Lady of the Fountain all tear their hair out and bruise their fingers in the time-honoured formula for grieving women.

The play-acting of the Empress is described in similar terms: '*A ryfed nat oed yssic penneu ei byssed rac ffestet y maedai y dwylaw y gyt.'*[634] The distress of the widowed Lady of the Fountain is expressed in a nearly identical way to that of the widow in *Vidua*, with the narrator stating: ''*A ryfed oed na bei yssic penneu ei byssed rac ffestet y maedai ei dwylaw y gyt y gwynnaw y gwr*' [635] - 'It was a miracle that her fingers were not bruised because of how harshly she struck her hands together'. The only difference between the two passages in *Seith Doethon* is contextual: the widow is said to be lamenting her husband, whereas the Empress only laments the apparent gross insult to herself and goes on to demand revenge. It is tempting to see these conventional signs of grief as hinting at of the lack of depth and sincerity of these ladies' feelings, though this was the socially accepted expression of grieving for women in medieval times. The Empress is, indeed, dissembling and the Widow does not hesitate to disinter and mutilate her once-beloved dead husband's body. In the case of the Lady of the Fountain, the narrator gives no indication of insincerity at all on her part; she is the epitome of medieval correctness. Yet the passage where she, the virtuous wife, mourns her slain husband is clearly echoed in the two passages of the *Seith Doethon* quoted above, with only a very minor change, the substitution of '*dyckynet*', 'severity', for '*festet*', 'harshness': '*A ryued oed na bei yssic penneu y byssed rac dyckynet y maedei y dwylaw y gyt.*' [636] Llewelyn thus makes use of the exact same words from *Owein* to draw a parallel between the short-lived grief of the Widow in the *Chwedleu*, the gross insult apparently suffered by the *Amherodres* and the

[632] Thomson, p. 14, 359-360.
[633] 283-285. (J 20, fol. 56a v, 8-10).
[634] 45. (J 20, fol. 44r, 7-9).
[635] 283-284. (J 20, fol. 56a v, 5-7).
[636] Thomson, p.14, 356-357. *Amherodres*: 45. (J 20, 44r, 7-9); *Vidua*: 283-284. (J 20, fol. 56av, 5-7).

genuine grief of the Lady of the Fountain. That the Lady's distress is genuine is demonstrated, not by her unwillingness to take a new husband following the Black Knight's death at Owein's hand, but by her threat to have Luned executed for suggesting such a thing:

> *"Yrof i a Duw," heb yr iarlles, "ny allwn i vyth ennill vy arglwyd i o dyn arall yn y byt." "Gallut," heb y Lunet, "gwrha gwr a vei gystal ac ef neu well noc ef." "Yrof i a Duw," heb yr iarlles, "pei na bei wrthmun gennyf peri dihenydyaw dyn a uackwn, mi a barwn dy dihenydyaw am gyffelybu wrthyf peth mor aghywir a hynny."*[637]
>
> "Between me and God," said the countess, "I could never replace my lord with any other man in the world." "Yes, you could," said Luned; "marry someone as good as he, or better" "Between me and God, "said the countess, "if I were not repelled by the thought of putting to death someone I had brought up, I would have you executed for proposing something as disloyal as that to me."[638]

The implicit comparison between the two widows is further developed in the knight's speech to the widow in *Vidua*, which echoes Luned's advice to the Lady that she should find another husband who would be even better than her lost one: "*A vnbennes," heb y marchawc, "pei vyg kyghor a wnelut, ti a drout o'r meddwl hwnnw ac a gymerut gwr a vei gystal a'th wr ditheu dy hun neu a vei well*"[639] - "Ah, Lady," said the knight, "if you were to take my advice, you would turn away from this mind-set and take another husband who might be as good or even better." At first, neither widow will listen to such sound advice: *'Na vynnaf, myn y Gwr yssyd vch ym penn, gwr vyth wedy ef*' [640] - 'In the name of the One who is above, I do not want another husband after him.' The outcome is different for the two widows: the Lady of the Fountain bows to convention, takes advice from her male counsellors, and marries Owein. In *Vidua*, the lady defies convention, attempts to

[637] Thomson, p. 15, 394-399.
[638] Davies, (2007), p. 126, 17-24.
[639] 305-306. (J 20, fol. 56bv, 12-16).
[640] 306-307. (J20, fol. 56bv, 16-17).

choose her own husband, demonstrates that she is incapable of acting the accepted 'feminine' role and loses her prospective husband.

15. Characterisation:

Unlike characters in a modern novel, those within the *Chwedleu* tend to be stereotypes. However, the structure of the work allows comparison and cross-reference from one part of the *SDR* to another, enabling an indirect means of giving the key characters of the frame narrative a little more complexity, though there is little scope within each section for significant development. The relationship between the Emperor, the Empress and the Prince in particular is given depth through parallels with characters in comparable situations within the individual tales. However, this is insufficient to impart novel-status to the *Chwedleu,* as Lewis suggested.[641]

i. The Prince

The character of the Prince remains undeveloped for most of the narrative. He is young and intelligent, a worthy recipient of the wisdom of his tutors. This aspect is less evident in the Welsh, which omits the tests the young Prince must pass in the French redaction, (no ivy leaves are placed under the Welsh prince's bed to test his astuteness for example). The Prince is depicted through his actions rather than his words, that is until we reach the final tale where he can now vindicate himself. [642] Whilst he is forbidden to speak, he walks out of his stepmother's chamber in disgust, without further comment by the narrator: '*A'r gwas a'e tremygawd ac a edewis y ty idi'*,[643] 'And the boy contemptuously rejected her and left her alone in her room'. The reader is left observing from the outside. As many of the internal tales hinge on a character indirectly referring to the Prince himself, it is to be expected that the Empress's tales will depict him in a negative light, while those told by the Sages will be positive. Alternately, he is a cipher exploited by evil councillors (*Ramus*), a scheming potential parricide (*Gaza*) or an innocent victim (*Medicus*) and finally an almost Christ-like dutiful son (*Vaticinium*). The plot demands that the Prince remain silent and passive throughout the story, with the result that he displays few personality traits

[641] '*Gellid dywedyd bod y stori hon, felly, yn un o nofelau cyntaf a sgrifennwyd yn Gymraeg.*' It could, therefore, be said that this story is one of the first novels written in Welsh.' Lewis, p. 26.
[642] The Welsh redactor does not retain the explicit motivation given by the French redactor for the boy's rejection of the Empress: *'Li vallez voloit garder l'enneur son pere et la seue*.' (*FrenchA*, p. 9 of 46, 1. 'The boy wanted to safeguard his father's honour and his own'.
[643] 42. (J 20, fol. 44r, 1-2).

beyond his patience and self-control. He does however speak and act at the end of the cycle of tales, where his behaviour and demeanour give the lie to the negative image projected of him by the Empress.

The speech he makes before relating the final tale, explaining the reasons for his silence and revealing his stepmother's perfidy, is one of the longest passages in direct speech in the Welsh. It has a strong religious colouring, with explicit references to God and divine providence. The three days spent surviving at sea by the youngster of *Vaticinium* is reminiscent of the story of Jonah, who was seen as a prefiguration of Christ in the Middle Ages.[644] Indeed, the whole framework of the *Chwedleu* echoes the Biblical tale of Joseph, who was also falsely accused of attempted rape by a lascivious female: Potiphar's Wife. In this Biblical tale the young hero escapes death and rises to a position of authority in an alien kingdom. Similarly, the young hero of *Vaticinium* also rises above his difficulties and becomes pre-eminent in his adopted kingdom. Joseph's dream of his brothers' wheatsheaves bowing to his own, hence their jealousy, is paralleled by the prophecy of the young hero of *Vaticinium* that his father would be subservient to him. This too led to a jealous action which could have resulted in the boy's death. At its heart *Vaticinium*, has a harsh decision by a father and the love of a loyal and forgiving son. The Welsh *Vaticinium* ends with the 'young king' greeting his father '*dan awenu yn llawen,'* [645] 'smiling happily', not accusing him of attempted murder but ready to forgive. The situation has a direct bearing on that of the frame tale: despite his father's unjust attempt on his life, his son bears him no malice, placing the entire episode under the sign of divine providence: *"Ac na dolurya di hynny, kanys Duw a'e troes yn lles i mi.",*[646] "And don't be distressed, since God turned it to my advantage." This is also the central message of the Biblical story of Joseph when he reveals his true identity to his brothers. Again, parallels are drawn between the Biblical Joseph and the young king of *Vaticinium* and, thence to the Prince of the frame tale.

[644] Jonah's three days in the belly of the big fish was seen as prefiguring the Harrowing of Hell by Christ. This is mentioned both in the *Creed of Athanasius,* which Efa had translated for her, and in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, found in Llst 2.
[645] 543. (J 20, fol. 69r, 17-18).
[646] 543-544. (J 20, fol. 69v, 1-3).

In telling his parable-like tale, the Prince acknowledges that his father was mistrustful, if not jealous, of the upcoming youngster but demonstrates that such misgivings were unfounded. The story ends with the vindication of the prince, whose moral superiority is now fully revealed.

ii. The Seven Sages

The eponymous Seven Sages are perhaps the least defined of the characters of the frame narrative. They are to a great extent seen as a group rather than as individuals, even though in both the French and the Welsh there is some effort made to individualise them when they are introduced. As can be expected, the French adds more to their description than the Welsh. For example, in addition to a sketchy description of the physical appearance of each Sage the French gives an insight into the personality of some. For example, Malquidars the Red, liked to tease people: 'Malquidars*: uns gabierres qui volontiers escharnissoit les genz*.'[647]. Llewelyn also gives us a brief description of Malquidas, but a somewhat different one from the French. He is 'a man of gentle countenance'- '*gwr adwynbryd*', not a practical joker. [648]

However, in their dealings with the Emperor and the Prince, the Sages function as a unit, generally distinguished only by their name. Their appearances in the frame narrative are limited to giving warning or advice. When the Welsh Sages speak, to introduce or finish their cautionary tales, they do so in a formulaic manner, admonishing the Emperor, telling their story, warning him of his dire fate unless he spares his son, then leaving the stage. There is no opportunity for any character traits to emerge during these brief interludes, the Sages themselves are semi-abstract embodiments of learning and wisdom. In both the Welsh and French, the Empress's tales are an attempt to undermine the good character of the Seven Sages. For example, in the French *Gaza*, the Empress makes a point of mentioning that there had been seven sages in the city, but now only two remained,

[647] *FrenchA*, p.6 of 46, 15-16. (fol. 1b- fol. 1c.)
[648] 197. (J 20, fol.52r, 3).

one of whom was a spendthrift, the other a greedy miser who would spend nothing.[649] Both are thus unattractive and unreliable. Neither is mentioned in the Welsh. The sages who appear in the French *Sapientes* are all greedy for money, plotting to overthrow the king; their behaviour contrasts unfavourably with that of the young prophet Mellins, who does not take a share of the gold he helps to discover. [650] This display of greed is absent from the *Chwedleu*. In a rare passage in direct speech, the boy-seer explains that the boiling cauldron of the dream is an allegory: the seven feet rising from the steam are the seven power-hungry Sages, intent on the king's death. The effect of this abbreviation process in the Welsh *Sapientes* is to further emphasise the treachery of the Sages towards one who trusts them blindly and is ultimately rewarded with death at their hands: '*Ac ni bu y brenhin wrth* gyghor *y gwas yny ladassant wy efo*,'[651]' But the king did not take the boy's advice and they killed him.'

In *Ramus*, a tale found only in the Welsh *SDR*, the Empress likens the Sages to '*drycdynyon a lladron',* [652] 'wicked men and thieves', making use of a branch (figuring the Prince) to gain access to the orchard and steal the fruit (the Emperor's realm). The tale, in the Welsh, is convincing enough to impel the Emperor to state that now he will execute the advisers as well as the Prince:

> *"Lledir, myn vyg cret, y bore avory, " heb ef, " ac wynteu kymeint yr un."*[653]
> "Tomorrow morning he shall be killed, by my faith," he said, "and they too, each and every one of them."

While the image given of the Sages in the Empress's tales is unrelentingly negative, in the tales told by the Sages, their self-depiction is predictably positive. The double tale *Roma-Lupus*, in the Welsh, is a glowing account of the selfless behaviour of wise counsellors, combined with the tale of a deceitful wolf, figuring the wicked, lying Empress.

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[649] '*Ii uns en fu si larges et si despendanz que il metoit ce qu'il a voit… Li autres sages si estoit si chiches et si avers qu'il ne voloit riens despendre.*' *FrenchA,* p. 14 of 46, 31-33.
[650] *FrenchA,* p. 24 of 46.
[651] 366-366. (J 20, fol. 59v, 20-21 then fol. 60r, 1).
[652] 188. (J 20, fol. 51v, 7).
[653] 193-194. (J 20, fol. 51v, 18-19).

The Sages are therefore something of a blank screen, on which the different tales project an admirable or negative image. They remain abstract both as individual characters and as a group. They function predominantly as a narrative link, providing rhythm and suspense to the story.

iii. The Emperor

The Emperor is a more complex character. On the one hand, he is characterised by his position and political power. He has the authority to take decisions and to ensure that his orders are obeyed. This is in evidence from the outset, where we see the Sages jumping to attendance and competing for the honour of tutoring his heir. The exalted rank of the Emperor provides implicit motivation for his remarriage, as it would have been judicious for him to have additional heirs to succeed him. In the French, the marriage negotiations with the kin of his future bride are an indication of the political dimension to the match. In the Welsh, however, the stress on the nobility and social standing of the bride is omitted; we are simply told that the Emperor married again: *Yr amherawdyr a briodes gwreic*.' [654] This bald statement allows for the possibility of a match made for more personal reasons, unlike the French, which specifically states that the Emperor was an old man ('*l'Emperiere fu viel'*), and was advised to marry in the hope of producing another child, should his heir die.[655] The Welsh frame tale merely leaves the reader to infer that the Emperor is much older than his new wife, who would have been chosen at least in part for her childbearing potential. The suggestion of a disparity in age between the Emperor and his new wife aligns him with the stock husband characters of medieval tradition, the *senex amans*, he of the comic fabliau genre. In addition, for all his power, the frame narrative depicts the Emperor as a weak, vacillating character, easily led, rash and lacking in wisdom. In that respect, he is the opposite of the Seven Sages and the values they embody. The Emperor, seen through the prism of the tales, is perceived as a weak ruler, regularly behaving with rashness. Before the final Sages' tale in the French, *Inclusa*, Martin says:

[654] 22. (J 20, fol. 42v, 20, then fol. 43r, 1).
[655] *FrenchA,* p. 7 of 46, 28.

''*Vous n'estes pas estables, trop estes tornanz. Si hauz hons conme vous estes ne deüstes passi muables."* [656]

"You are not stable; you change your mind too much. A man as important as you should not be so changeable."

In a clear echo of the French redaction, the Welsh Sages also admonish him for this trait, saying that one as mighty as an Emperor should be more steadfast: *"Ny dylu arglwyd bot yn anwadal na gadu y ffalsted a chelwyd y drossi"* [657] - "A lord should not vacillate and allow falsehood and lies to manipulate him." However, it is apparent that the Emperor does not possess this quality of measured, rational action. Even though we see him going through the process of consulting his advisers before taking the important decision of who should educate his heir, this is the only instance where we see him act in such a responsible manner. His remarriage to a new young wife marks the deterioration of his character, both as ruler and as man, as he allows his feelings to dictate his behaviour.

The Emperor is the recipient of the internal tales, but the situations confronted by the authority figures within them also reflect his own quandary, and the various permutations found in the tales contribute to making the Emperor a more rounded character than might have been initially expected. The male authority figures portrayed in the internal tales belong to two types: the older father figure feeling threatened by the younger generation, and the older husband of a young wife: two characteristics of the Emperor himself. Interestingly, the tales of the Empress and the Sages converge in many respects. The Welsh Empress's tales focus on her husband's rashness and unwillingness to heed to good advice (*Ramus* and *Sapientes*), his willingness to listen to bad advisers (*Virgilius*), as well as his vulnerability as an older man threatened by the younger generation (*Arbor, Ramus* and *Gaza*). Though the tales of the Sages focus predominantly on the gullibility of the older man (*Puteus, Inclusa*), they also spotlight his rashness, (*Canis*), which is sometimes born out of a sense of vulnerability (*Medicus*), and his unwillingness to heed good advice (*Lupus*). Overall, the image of the Emperor is not

[656] *FrenchA,* p. 4 of 20, 29-30.
[657] 371-372. (J 20, fol. 60r, 13-15).

positive, as his shortcomings are repeatedly emphasised by both sides of the argument. Only one tale (*Tentamina,* the last in the sequence in the Welsh) depicts the holder of authority as wise and considered, clearly offered to the Emperor as a model to emulate. His eventual reconciliation with his son, the Prince, gives rise to hope in this regard.

The old man who marries a young girl - *the senex amans* - is a stock figure of medieval literature, from the cruel, inadequate husband of the *mal mariée* of romance to the comic figure of the fabliau.[658] The internal tales of the Welsh *SDR* align the Emperor almost exclusively with the ridiculous husbands of the fabliaux. *Inclusa* sees the jealous old husband hoodwinked by his young wife into doubting what he sees with his own eyes. He is described as '*llityawc eidigus',*[659] 'angry and jealous', but easily deceived, so loses his wife to a younger, man. He imprisons his beautiful wife, an '*arlwydes ieuangk delediw*',[660] 'a beautiful young lady', in a tower: a recurring theme in medieval tales of the *senex amans*. He is a jealous but gullible old man; his readiness to be deceived into handing his wife to her lover makes him the archetypal tricked husband. He is also a pathetic character in the French, bursting into tears when he realises his wife has eloped: '*Lors se conmença a dementer et a plorer*'.[661] Elderly husbands who marry young wives are very much to the fore in both redactions, reflecting the marital situation of the Emperor of the frame tale and his young wife. We may feel some sympathy for the husband in *Puteus* whose initial anger at finding his wife dallying with a lover turns to ill-considered concern for her welfare when she appears to have drowned herself. Unfortunately for him, his misplaced compassion leads to his own disgrace at her hand.

The Welsh redactor punctuates the narrative with the expression '*trwy y lit'*, 'in his wrath'. This expression first appears when the Emperor sets in motion the main action of the *Chwedleu* by swearing that he will have his only son executed.[662] Within the internal tales,

[658] Marie de France's *lais* illustrate this perfectly. In *Yonec* the older husband jealously guards his beautiful young wife, who is also locked away in a tower. Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby, transl., *The Lais of Marie de France* (Penguin Classics, 1986, Second Edition, 1999), pp. 86-93.
[659] 399. (J 20, fol. 61v, 13).
[660] 377. (J 20, fol. 60v, 4).
[661] *FrenchA*, p. 7 of 20, 39-40. 'He began to go mad and to cry.'
[662] 47. (J 20, fol. 44r, 13).

the cuckolded husband of *Puteus* is described as acting *'trwy y lit ac ediged',*[663] out of anger and jealousy. Other instances of the expression align the Emperor with negatively connoted characters such as the rash knight in *Canis*, a tale told by the Sages. This is the knight who, '*trwy y lit'*, unjustly kills his favourite hunting dog on his wife's wild accusation.[664] In *Aper,* the Empress's tale, the expression is also used of the boar who '*trwy y lit'* attempts to uproot the tree in which the shepherd is cowering.[665] This unrestrained action leads the boar to be eventually killed because of his greed. Even the tale told by the Prince at the end of the sequence (*Vaticinium*) portrays the father figure as unreasonable, rash and governed by jealousy and fear: '*A llidyaw a oruc y marchawc'*.[666] 'And the knight became very angry.' In the heat of the moment, he attempts to drown his only son.

By contrast, the elderly husband in *Tentamina,* the tale with which the Sages close their series of tales in the Welsh*,* behaves with great restraint, unlike the irresolute Emperor and the other incautious older husbands of the *Chwedleu*. Though angered, he bides his time and exacts on his wife a punishment designed to deter her from any recurrence of her wayward behaviour, thus regaining control of his household. This wise authority figure, however, is an exception within the *Chwedleu*, and *Tentamina* reads more as an attempt to encourage the Emperor to act in a circumspect, considered behaviour: a lesson that the Emperor clearly needed to learn. The ending of the story with this tale in the Welsh, softens the image given throughout the narrative of the unflattering portrayal Emperor as a weak, credulous old man. It announces the conclusion, where he assumes his rightful and expected role, takes control of the situation and punishes his duplicitous wife.

At the heart of the tale is the girl's mother and her warning that older men must not be underestimated nor ridiculed: "*Pony dywedeis I ytti nat oed dial drymach noc vo henwr wedi llitio?"*[667] - "Did I not tell you that there is no revenge worse than that of an enraged

[663] 162. (J 20, fol. 50r, 14-15).
[664] 80. (J 20, fol. 46r, 2).
[665] 98. (J20, fol. 46v, 19).
[666] 513. (J20, fol. 67v, 11-12).
[667] 489-490. (J 20, fol.66v, 3-4).

old man?" In this instance, the '*llid*', the wrath of the older husband is contained, he does not rush to unconsidered action. He calmly brings his errant young wife to heel, imposing on her his authority, leaving the Welsh redactor's audience with the clear impression of a strong and powerful male figure: a positive image for the Emperor's own character, as long as he behaves in a judicious and considered manner.

iv. The Empress, and lesser female characters

Though the Emperor would appear to be the most important character of the tale, having the power of life and death over his dependants, this is not where the true focus of the tale lies. The story of the *Seven Sages of Rome* hinges on the character of the teller of almost half of the tales: the Empress. She relates seven of the fifteen tales in the *Chwedleu.* She is pivotal to the plot: her attempt to seduce her stepson sets off the action, her tales provide the narrative with a sense of direction, and her eventual punishment marks the closure of the story. The modifications brought by the Welsh redactor to his source narrative disproportionally impact on our perception of the Empress, who gains substantially in depth due to his additions to the tale. She remains the villain of the piece, but elements of motivation beyond simply evil ambition are adduced to the overall picture. She is introduced in a markedly different way in the French and the Welsh frame narratives. The French Empress, *the Emperieres*, is a lady of noble birth: *ele estoit de grant lignage*.[668] As befits a high-status marriage, this leads to negotiations with the kin group of this high-born young woman who will then become an Empress.

> *Li parent a la dame la donerent a l'Emperëeur, et li la prist moult volontiers aus us et aus coustumes de la terre, et l'ama moult tant conme nus hons pot plus amer fame, et la dame lui ausint.*[669]*.*
>
> The lady's parents gave her to the Emperor and he took her very willingly, according to the habits and customs of the land, and loved her well, so much that no man could love a woman more, and the lady loved him too.

[668] *FrenchA*, p. 7 of 49, 47.
[669] *FrenchA,* p. 8 of 49, 1-2.

Of the Welsh Empress, the *Amherodres*, we know nothing. The character is introduced in a markedly different way in the Welsh redaction where she is introduced in just one sentence*: 'Ac yn yr amser hwnnw yr Amherawdyr a briodes gwreic'*,[670] 'And then the Emperor married a wife.' The Emperor in the Welsh version seems not to have taken counsel on the matter, whereas in the French he is formally advised to do so by the Sages themselves.[671] This, as we shall see, allows for a different implicit 'backstory' to the Welsh Empress.

The French redactor portrays the Empress as a totally evil woman, '*mal engigneuse et plainne de mal art*',[672]- 'a wicked plotter full of evil ways', who sets out to ensure that her own offspring, whether by the Emperor or his son, inherit the kingdom. In her attempt to entrap the young prince she denigrates the Emperor, implying that her husband is sexually impotent and that she has been able to maintain her virginity for the Prince:

> "*Pour la grant amour que je ai en vous […] je vous ai gardé mon pucelage, si que il onques n'ot en moi part.*" [673]
>
> "Because of the great love I have of you […] I have kept my virginity for you, so that [your father] never had any part of me."

When she fails to ensnare him, she sets out to have the boy executed, muttering darkly to herself and plotting how to destroy the youth:

> *Moult fu l'Empereriz dolente et corrouciee de ce que li vallez est respitiez de destruire. Lors pensa et murmura en soi meïsmes jusque a la nuit, car or cuide ele trouver si bon point de lui destruire.* [674]

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[670] 22. (J 20, fol. 42v,20, then fol.43r, 1).
[671] *FrenchA*, p.7 of 46, 25-27. *Li sage home de Rome vindrent a son pere et li dirent: "Sire, nous nous merveillons moult que vous ne vous mariez, car vous avez assez grant terres et grant rentes, de coi trois enfanz ou quatre, se vous les aviez, seroient riche home."*
[672] *FrenchA*, p. 9 of 46, 5.
[673] *FrenchA*, p .8 of 46, 49.
[674] *FrenchA,* p. 9 of 46, 21-22.

> 'The Empress was very sad and enraged that the boy had been given a delay of his destruction. So she thought and murmured to herself until night, thinking of a good way of destroying him.

Each evening she greets her husband with a scowl and a show of tears: '*ele li fist lede chiere et ot les eulz enflez de plorer,* [675] using these womanly wiles to manipulate him whilst telling her tales.

None of this is present in the Welsh redaction. The interaction between the Emperor and Empress is not retained, neither is there any mention of any affection between them. The only positive emotion of the *Amherodres* shown to us by the narrator is when she returns home from her meeting with the crone in a happy state: '*llawen orawenus'*.[676] The only instance of a display of feeling towards her husband is negative, and comes at the beginning of the Welsh Empress's seventh and final tale, *Senescalcus*, when she sighs and appears to be very sad: *A'r nos honno y dywawt yr Amherodres, a dan vcheneidyau a thristyt…*'[677] She concludes this tale with an attempt at emotional blackmail as she threatens to return to her kin if the Emperor were to persist in listening to the Sages; in effect, hinting at divorce. She also cleverly plays on her husband's insecurities by insinuating that the Emperor himself will be left destitute but that she herself has nothing to fear: "*y theholir o'th gyfoeth*, *a minneu gaffaf dihawn o da y gan vyg kenedyl*"[678] - "You will be stripped of your wealth, while I shall be well compensated by my own family." The Welsh Empress comes over as more politically aware than her French counterpart, threatening the Emperor's finances and standing as a ruler as well as his pride.

Throughout *CSDR*, the *Amherodres* is a more restrained figure than the French Empress. Instead of displaying '*grant ire et grant mautalent'*,[679] 'great anger and great rage', she is alert to her husband's moods and exploits them in a more socially adept manner. The Welsh imperial couple thus 'discuss' the situation in a context of '*ymdidan*', a cultured

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[675] '*L'Empereriz li fist trop lede chiere', FrenchA*, p.9 of 46, 25; *FrenchA*, p.14 of 46, 117.
[676] 29. (J 20, fol. 43r, 16-17).
[677] 438. (J 20, fol. 63v, 16-17).
[678].450-451. (J 20, fol. 64v, 1-2).
[679] *FrenchA*, p. 14 of 46, 22.

and pleasant conversation. Even when she extends her accusation to include the Sages, the *Amherodres* remains composed. She is content with merely asking whether the boy has been executed, and on being told that he has not, calmly states that he never will be while the Sages live: *A gwedy daruot bwytta, y Vrenhines a ovynnawd y'r Amherawdyr a daroed dihenydyaw y mab. "Na deryw," heb ef. "Ny deruyd vyth," heb hi, "tra vo byw Doethon Rufein."*[680] The Welsh Empress fights, not through scowling and weeping, but through measured words, telling tales that demonstrate the unmistakeable danger posed by the Prince and then by his allies, the Sages. She convinces the Emperor that they all pose a threat and must therefore be executed. He listens and orders the execution of the Sages alongside the Prince: *"Llyma vyg cret, y lledir wynt auory."* [681] She thus achieves her aim of having them condemned to death along with the Prince.

At the start of the action in both redactions, the young Empress appears to be concerned that her elderly husband may be incapable of siring an heir. In the Welsh, reassurance comes from an old hag, a figure clearly drawn from the Welsh tale, *Culhwch ac Olwen*.[682] This detail has important implications for the Welsh audience's perception of the Empress, hinting at the young bride's isolation and vulnerability as well as at her later heinous behaviour. The stepmother figure in *Culhwch* had been abducted, her previous husband killed by Culhwch's father, and while her behaviour towards the young hero might appear to be unduly aggressive, her offer to Culhwch of her daughter's hand in marriage is clearly designed to ensure a modicum of security to both herself and the girl. The situation of the Empress is quite different. In the French *Sept Sages de Rome*, the existence of the prince is revealed to the Empress unbidden.[683] The issue at stake here is political, since inheritance is assumed to be by primogeniture, as, in late medieval France, no future child of the new French Empress could inherit whilst the young prince lived. [684] This explains her plan to destroy the existing rival to her own unborn children. In the

[680] 340-341. (J 20, fol. 58v, 6-10).
[681] 340-341. (J 20, fol.60r, 7-8).
[682] See above: Additions to the Frame Tale, (13, iii).
[683] *FrenchA,* p.7 of 46, 36-37.
[684] '*Li Emperieres avoit un hoir malle, et se il estoit morz, li hoir qui istroient de li seroient hoir de l'empire de Rome', FrenchA,* p. 8 of 49, 3-4.

Welsh redaction we have a different scenario. The Welsh *Amherodres* actively questions those in the court whether there are any living heirs to her husband, [685] and on finding that a child does exist, she is genuinely happy: '*llawen orawenus'*. As mentioned above, this markedly different reaction to the discovery of the existence of the child may be explained by the difference in inheritance laws in France and Wales. The Laws of Hywel Dda made the motivation of the French Empress unconvincing, since all children legitimate or illegitimate, once recognised by their father, had rights of inheritance.[686] The Welsh audience would have known that the Empress had no need to destroy her stepson. To make the tale convincing, the Welsh redactor needed to devise another motive for the Empress's villainy.

When the *Amherodres* is first introduced, she shows great concern that her new husband is childless and appears to be suffering from real anxiety concerning the Emperor's lack of offspring, desperately seeking reassurance that her elderly husband has already sired children, exclaiming: "*Gwae vinheu y vot ef yn anuab",* [687]- *"*Woe is me that he is childless", when those she questions deny that any exist. The issue for the new wife in the *Chwedleu* is not so much whether there are rivals to any future offspring of hers as the fear that the Emperor might be unable to sire any heirs at all. Her relief is palpable when the old crone, whom she meets whilst seeking information about the Emperor's fecundity, eventually reveals that he has a son: '*Ac na vyd trist, vn mab yssyd idaw...*', [688]- 'But don't be sad, he does have one son...' At this point in the narrative, the Empress comes over as a sympathetic character eagerly anticipating meeting her new husband's son: she is neither a caricature of feminine duplicity nor the termagant of the French redaction.

[685] '*Amouyn a wnaeth hi ac vn ac arall, a oed etiued y'r Amherawdyr'.* 23. (J 20, fol. 43r, 2-4).
[686] 'Church law says that no son is entitled to patrimony save the father's eldest son by the wedded wife. The law of Hywel adjudges it to the youngest son as to the eldest, and judges that the father's sin and his illegality should not be set against the son for his patrimony.' D. Jenkins transl. and ed., *The Law of Hywel Dda. Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul, Gomer Press, 1990), p. 110.
[687] 26. (J 20, fol. 43r, 9).
[688] 28. (J 20, fol. 43r, 14-15).

Even though she is unmistakeably the villainess of the piece, there is a sense that the Welsh *Amherodres* is not initially acting out of pure malice, and that the crisis arising from her meeting with the Prince is due to less rational motives. Her initial enthusiasm in wanting to meet her husband's child is replaced by a more carnal impulse when she does meet the youngster who is no longer a child but an attractive young man. On meeting him, she becomes the epitome of the feckless young wives married to older husbands who are the targets of the Sages' tales, but with a dark twist. She is a dangerously angry scorned woman, one who is bent on revenge. This could have been a recipe for an even more misogynistic depiction of women than in the French source, but this is not what happens. The reason for the Welsh Empress's ill-advised attempt to seduce her stepson is hinted at through the internal tales, which, as is the case with the Emperor, provide an element of indirect characterisation. In the French tales, the female character is typically in thrall to lust, to the extent of losing all moral bearings. The adulterous wives in *Puteus* and in *Avis* are brazen in their pursuit of sexual fulfilment. In *Puteus* the young wife uses outright lies and deceit to meet her lover.[689] In *Avis*, the tale absent from the Welsh, she plans a night of sexual pleasure when her husband is away on business. The young woman in the French *Tentamina* explicitly states: "*Dame, je n'ai soulanz de mon seigneur, Or sachiez que me voueil amer."*[690] Mother, I have no fun in bed with my husband, I want to have sex.' The *malmariée* of *Inclusa* dreams of a young lover,[691]and the widow in *Vidua* throws herself at a passing knight.[692] This strand remains in the Welsh but is subtly reshaped. *Avis* is omitted completely, and with it is lost a vivid depiction of a lascivious woman who deceives her husband: a figure typical of the *fabliau*. Passages where female characters are shown to embrace their duplicity are typically not retained. The wife in the Welsh *Puteus* does not actively deceive her husband by lying about a supposed illness so that she can creep out of the marital bed as her husband sleeps. The Welsh redactor further omits the scurrilous incident where the wife tells the Watch that her husband is a

[689] *La dame faint et dist a son seigneur que ele estiot malade. Et tant qu'ele leva de juste lui et avala les degrez et desferma l'uis si trouva son ami.*' FrenchA, p. 16 of 46, 43-35. 'The lady pretended to be ill. She got up from his side, went downstairs unlocked the door and went to her lover.'
[690] *FrenchA*, p. 19 of 46, 6-7.
[691] *FrenchA,* p. 5 of 20, 4.
[692] "*Sire," dit la dame, "dont poez vous bien entrer cëenz." FrenchA,* p. 2 of 20, 3.

lecher.[693] In the French version of *Inclusa*, the final tale and the climax of the Sages' case against duplicitous women, the Lady in the Tower plays an active role in initiating the liaison; she has already dreamed of her future lover and is more than willing to begin the affair, though at first she is too afraid of her husband to engage with him. By contrast, in the Welsh redaction she is more passive. She has not dreamed of a lover and neither does she attempt to attract his attention. We hear nothing of her reaction to the sudden appearance of a stranger in her prison. We are only told that she obediently agrees to the knight's request that she deceives her husband; she does not speak until well on into the story.

This minimising of the negative female character is consistent with the Welsh redactor's moderating the misogynistic stance of the French redaction. The young widow of *Vidua* obviously misses the physical contact between herself and her now-dead husband and is keen to replace him, but, unlike in the French, there is no suggestion in the Welsh that she engages in more than pleasant conversation with the knight when she first meets him. This omission of any obvious sexual episode weakens the widow's presence within the tale, whilst the increasingly ridiculous description of her attempts to persuade the knight to marry her turns her into a figure of fun. In the Welsh, the frustration that impels the female characters of the internal tales to misbehave is not expressed quite as crudely as in the French *Tentamina*, for example, but it is clearly delineated. When the French mother states that she had no difficulty in staying faithful to her husband, [694] the girl counters that since her parents were married young and were both of a similar age, they both enjoyed sex, whereas she has no 'joy' from her own, elderly husband.[695] Though this motivation is retained by the Welsh redactor, an unusual occurrence in this less outspoken work, there is no mention of the young wife's parents and their sexual relationship. However, the implications are that, just as these *fabliau-esque* female characters of the internal tales, the *Amherodres* is unfulfilled in her marriage to the older Emperor, and as such, is simply driven by lust and thwarted sexual desire.

[693] *FrenchA*, p. 17 of 46, 5-11.
[694] *FrenchA*, p. 20 of 46, 1-2.
[695] *FrenchA,* p. 20 of 46, 2-4.

v. The Mother Figure

The lustful, deceitful woman is, of course, a commonplace figure of the fabliau and of medieval misogynistic discourse, as is the inability of womanhood to exercise self-control. However, the Welsh redactor provides a corrective to the unrelenting misogyny of his source material through the placing of two positive female figures. Alongside the giddy young woman in thrall to her urges we find an older, wiser woman, the mother of the central protagonist, whose advice, when heeded, averts moral and practical disaster. In *Tentamina*, the highly misogynistic tale about a young wife scheming to deceive her husband, the husband has an unlikely ally in the young wife's mother, who counsels caution throughout and warns her daughter of the dangers of adultery. The older woman advises restraint, suggesting that the young wife test her husband's disposition first before taking on a lover: '*Ie, heb y mam, 'prawf yn gyntaf annwyt yn dy wr*.'[696] She also stresses the risk attached to the self-indulgent course of action considered by her daughter, in particular highlighting the dangers of inciting the ire of an older man: "*Medylya yn gyntaf, rac bot yn greulonach dial y gwr hen gwedy llityo no gwr ieuangk*"[697] "Think first, in case the vengeance of an angry old man is more cruel than that of a young one." The mother figure of *Tentamina*, present in both the Welsh and French redactions, provides a positive depiction of womanhood, wise and considered, as opposed to her giddy, lustful daughter. This tale, the climax of the Sages' narrative programme in the Welsh, provides a counter-image to the unrelievedly negative portrayal of female characters generally found in the French source narrative. This older, prudent female figure is also present in the Welsh version of *Vidua,* here replacing the widow's kinsmen who, in the French, plead with her to resume her duties.[698] The Welsh redactor has borrowed the character of the wise mother of the French *Tentamina* not only for his own tale but has introduced her into *Vidua,* with significant effect. A monstrous, self-centred younger woman is no longer shorthand for female nature, but is contrasted to a positive image of mature womanhood, one characterised by wisdom and prudence. This,

[696] 460. (J 20, fol. 64v, 21 then fol. 65r, 1).
[697] 475-476. (J 20, fol. 65v, 12-14).
[698] *FrenchA*, p. 1 of 20, 13.

alongside the omission of the highly misogynistic tale of *Avis* in the *Chwedleu,* appears to temper the misogyny of the French *Sept Sages*.

The importance of motherly advice is generally placed at key moments in the Welsh narrative of the plot. The apogee of misogynistic discourse with *Vidua*, and the final tale by the Sages in *Tentamina*, alerts the audience to aspects of the story that are relatively underdeveloped in the French. The female characters are not necessarily wicked, but they are intent on having their own way, irrespective of any social or moral considerations. While the lady in *Inclusa* or the lustful wife in *Puteus* appear to emerge unscathed from their transgressive behaviour, it is noteworthy that the message of *Vidua* and *Tentamina* is that punishment, probably both pain and humiliation, are the necessary outcome of such self-indulgence. The young widow of *Vidua* discovers, to her cost, that her enthusiastically pro-active attempt to choose her own husband is perceived as threatening and unattractive. In *Tentamina* the punishment of the lady by the draining of her lifeblood to cure her excess humours, is revealing of the attitude towards the urges governing these female characters: it is a medical procedure, suggesting that the problem is an illness. The extreme physical strength of the widow in *Vidua* thus starts to make sense, as the unnatural force of the madman. The intervention on the lady in *Tentamina* can also be read on a certain level as an effective preventative measure as much as a punishment. The implications for our perception of the Empress is that she, too, has probably suffered a sudden access of erotic madness on meeting her stepson.

The mother figure in the Welsh *Vidua* and *Tentamina* add a moral dimension to the situations portrayed. She is the giver of good advice, which when heeded, as in *Tentamina*, can forestall bad decisions until they are disregarded. When ignored, as in the Welsh *Vidua*, the lack of restraint leads to unnatural and unhinged behaviour. In this respect, the mother figure fulfils the same function as regards to the younger female characters as do the Sages as regards to the Emperor. When he listens to good advice, he acts well; when he listens to bad advice, he is tempted to behave in a negative, unnatural manner, to the extent of wanting to execute his own and only son. The importance of good advisers, a commonplace in medieval political discourse, reveals the absence of any

such figures in the entourage of the Empress herself. Not only does she not appear to have the support of an older, wiser, mother-figure who might have enabled her to forestall her lust, she is placed in a situation where even important information relative to her new home is withheld from her. The Welsh Empress, like the captive bride in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, has to search for informants–unfortunately, the one she finds, a crone, is not exactly a positively connoted character.

From this we can see that the Welsh redactor mitigates the unrelentingly negative image of female characters portrayed by his source in three ways. He provides an element of explanation (though not excuse) for the actions of the Empress and some of her avatars, allowing us to understand how and why they go to the bad. He minimises the presence of negative female characters such as in *Puteus* and *Inclusa*, either by marginalising them in the narrative or, as in *Vidua,* by making them so grotesque and ridiculous that no audience would be tempted to identify them with actual women. Finally, he counterbalances the headstrong youngster with positive female figures in both *Vidua* and *Tentamina*. These older, wiser females are a stark contrast to the Emperor himself; they are more aligned to the rational husband of *Tentamina*. They are the voices of experience and wisdom, ones which the Empress signally did not have at her disposal. Most importantly, Llewelyn has given genuine visibility to female figures of authority,positive role models, ones that would have been as relatable to his audience as much as the widow of *Vidua,* or indeed the Empress herself, would have been alien. .

16. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can see that Llewelyn Offeiriad's Welsh redaction of the internationally popular tale, the Se*ven Sages of Rome*, is not a mere straightforward translation: it is a re-working of the story, making it more attractive to his Welsh audience. Llewelyn is selective in his approach to his source narrative at all levels. Material has been reshaped and adapted to a Welsh cultural context by the addition of whole sections as well as echoes, both stylistic and narrative, from native Welsh literature, and by the harmonising of the frame narrative within the expectations of Welsh law.

The work itself is characterised by the narrative economy usual in Welsh translations of the period. Here, it is mostly achieved by cutting out much of the descriptive scenes and direct speech found in the French. Where description or direct speech are retained, or indeed added, they fulfil a specific function. The Welsh redactor has also manipulated the order of the internal tales, even introducing new elements into the sequence. This has altered the eventual thrust of the tales themselves as well as moderating the accumulated effect of the genre. One highly misogynistic tale, *Avis*, a fabliau centred on the duplicity of women, is replaced by the completely different, non-misogynistic *Ramus:* a cautionary tale with no female characters whatsoever. Another, *Roma,* has a new tale, *Lupus,* embedded within it. This same tale, *Roma*, delivered by the Sages in the French, is re-allocated to the Empress in the Welsh which changes the thrust of its message.

The cumulated effect of the Welsh redactor's reshaping of his source narrative is to attenuate the extreme misogyny of his material making it, though still highly misogynistic, far less so than its French parent text. The unrelentingly negative depiction of female characters is also somewhat corrected not only by the omission of the woman's actions in *Puteus* and *Inclusa*, but also by the presence of positive female role-models: the mothers in *Vidua* and *Tentamina.* Arguably the most misogynistic tale of the collection, *Vidua*, is turned into a highly entertaining, ridiculous farce. Llewelyn exaggerates the already extreme traits of the tale to create an image of grotesque conduct with which no

female member of his audience could possibly identify. The Welsh redactor would appear to be seeking to entertain his female audience without alienating them.

The Welsh version of the *Sept Sages* displays a clear didactic intent, aimed at a mixed readership or audience. The scatological, obscene or morally dubious elements of the French narrative are typically excised, while the cautionary dimension to the tales is exploited and emphasised. The story of the Emperor and the Empress illustrates the importance of the virtues of self-control and the respect of good advice. Where these are lacking, bad decisions are taken, with potentially disastrous consequences. The tales all feed into this overarching agenda, through a network of parallels and contrasts; and fittingly, the final note is one of punishment, perceived as the necessary outcome of female hubris and transgression. *Seith Doethon Rufein* is much more than a simple translation from the French, it is a distinctive and valuable member of the multinational *Seven Sages* tradition.

17. Editorial Principles:

The aim of this Edition is to give an easily accessible copy of the Middle Welsh redaction of *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* as found in Jesus MS 20, together with a much-needed fresh translation It does not replicate all minor word divisions but highlights the rubrication, capitalisation and orthography of the original. Unexpected upper case rubricated letters have been indicated by the use of a lower-case red letter. Where words are divided within the manuscript they are written as one, to avoid confusion. Where this occurs, it is noted in the footnotes. Where the scribe uses only the punctus, this has been extended and modern punctuation marks have been added without comment. Abbreviations also have been silently expanded.

The original manuscript, J 20, was consulted at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and online at '*Digital Bodleian'*. The fourteenth/fifteenth century gothic hand is consistently legible except for those parts of the manuscript which have suffered damage. Where this is the case, and where words and letters are difficult or impossible to read, the text is supplied from J 111. Any such emendation or additions are indicated by being enclosed in square brackets. The orthography, which has been retained, is as expected for the period, with few differences between this manuscript and the text contained in J 111 and Llst 2. Where the J 20 text differs significantly from the other witnesses, this has been noted. These differences are few and are generally merely 'cosmetic' in nature, possibly being additions made according to the whim of the scribe to enhance the tales or maybe displaying regional variation, such as writing '*whech*' or '*chwech*', 'six'. The similarity between the three versions would indicate that all three manuscripts are closely related and hark back to the one exemplar, now lost.

The few abbreviations that occur, such as the macron indicating an 'n' or 'm' and the 'ꝛ' to indicate 'er' or 'yr', have been silently expanded. The only punctuation mark is the punctus, which denotes not only the end of a sentence but also a pause that would be marked by a comma today. Therefore, I have punctuated the text according to sense, following today's practice. Where a full stop is expected, normally followed by a letter marked red in the manuscript, it has been inserted; where nowadays a comma would be

expected, this too has been inserted.[699] Where direct speech occurs, quotation marks have been added.

Since medieval convention did not allow for paragraphing, I have taken as my guide the scribe's use of marker red letters, generally denoting either a new sentence or a section of the tales. Where such a new section of the tales is clearly intended, this is shown as a new paragraph in my rendering of the J 20 text. However, with readers who are not fluent in Welsh in mind, some parts of the Translation have been subdivided into shorter, more manageable sections. In the main, these sections correspond to the paragraphs in my rendition of the text. But, where these are overly long, I have chosen to divide them into smaller segments, to make the work 'user-friendly'.[700]

Rubrication has been included in the Text for the guidance of future scholars who may not have access to the original manuscript nor to the internet. At times, where a new tale begins, an exceptionally large red capital letter can occupy two lines of text.[701] This has been noted. Folio numbers follow the later foliation system present at the top right-hand corner, including the one overlooked originally and included later as '56b' in pencil. In the transcription these folio numbers are included in bold, between square brackets. Where there is an obvious scribal error, this has been noted in the footnotes. Of the three witnesses to the tales, J 20 is the only one which names *Llewelyn Offeiriad* as being responsible for the work, both in a contemporary hand and within the main body of the text. Since my choice of base manuscript is J 20, I have chosen to name the Welsh redactor of the tales as "Llewelyn", as in J 20 itself rather than "Llywelyn", which is the more standard form of the name.[702]

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[699] An exception to this is where the scribe colours an internal 'a' where it is not necessary; a minor scribal error, since many of the new sentences do begin with 'A', 'And then…' : '*A thebic yw hi wrthut ti* amdanaf *i ac y bu…*'. 'And she is just the same to you about me as was…' (J 20, fol. 67r, 20-21).

[700] For example, the first section consists of twenty lines in the Welsh text. In my translation I have sub-divided this into two paragraphs of 10 lines each. In *Medicus* line 117 of my translation has bee divided. Similarly, in *Inclusa* line 385 of my translation has also been divided to give two manageable sections.

[701] For example, the beginning of *Gaza*: '*Mi a giglef gynt*.' I once heard' (J 20, fol. 48v, 4-5), or at the beginning of *Inclusa*: '*Llyma y chwedyl*,' Here is the tale.' (J 20, fol. 60v, 1-2).

[702] 'Llywelyn' is the form of the name added by the later hand at the end of the *Chwedleu* in the *Llyfr Coch*. (J 111, fol. 134v, col. 555, 9.)

18. Translation Principles:

English translations of the Welsh language version of the *Chwedleu* are few and far between. The only one easily accessible is Robert Williams's archaic translation which dates from 1892.[703] However, a more modern translation of the *Chwedleu* is sorely needed since Williams's translation is, to say the least, somewhat outmoded, using phrases such as: 'quoth the Emperor', 'thou shouldst give thy son' and 'Augustus arose and spake on this wise...' Such anachronistic speech detracts from a serious study of this valuable text.

This new translation is based on J 20, as is the transcription, in the main because it is the only manuscript to name the producer of the *Chwedleu* as 'Llewelyn Offeiriad' as an intrinsic part of the text. Also, this manuscript version of the *Chwedleu* has not been previously published. This new translation has been kept as close to the original Welsh as possible, though this is not always feasible, especially where idioms are concerned. In translating works from Latin or from one medieval vernacular into another, even today we cannot go far wrong in following Gruffudd Bola's reasoning when he translated the *Creed of Athanasius* for Efa, daughter of Maredudd ab Owain at the end of the thirteenth century:

> *Vn peth, hagen, a dylyy ti y wybot ar y dechreu, pan trosser ieith yny llall, megys Lladin yg Kymraec, na ellir yn wastat symut y geir yn y gilyd, a chyt a hynny kynal hyt y priodoler yr ieith a synnwyr yr ymadrawd yn tec. Vrth hynny y tro[e]is i weitheu y geir yn y gilyd a gweith ereill y dodeis synnvyr yn lle y synnvyr heruyd mod a phriodoler yn ieith ni.*[704]
>
> 'One thing you should know at the start, when one language is translated into another, like Latin into Welsh, you cannot always translate one word exactly by another and keep the grammar and meaning correct. Therefore,

[703] Robert Williams, ed. and transl., *Selections from the Hengwrt Mss. Preserved in the Peniarth Library* (London, Thomas Richards, 1892). This is the translation on: www.maryjones.us/ctexts/seven.html, which claims, erroneously, that the text is the same as that in *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*. The *Chwedleu* do not appear in that manuscript.

[704] Quoted in Stephen J. Williams, 'Rhai Cyfieithiadau', in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* Geraint Bowen, ed. (Llandyssul, Gomer Press, 1974), p. 304.

sometimes I have changed words around and other times I have put in meanings more suitable to our language.'

This I have attempted to do, hopefully with some success.

19. The Text: From Jesus MS 20[1]

(42r) Yn y mod hwn y treythir o Chwedleu Seith Doetheon[2] Rufein, o weith Llewelyn Ofeir[iad],[3]

Djawchleisẏawn a oed Amherawdyr yn Rufein.[4] **A** gwedy marw Eua y wreic a gadu vn mab o etiued udunt, ynteu a dyuynnawd attaw seith o Doethon Rufein. Nyt amgen eu henweu: Bantillas, Augustus[5], Lentillus, Malquidas, Catomas varchawc da, Jesse, Martinus. A'r gwyr hynny, gwedy eu dyuot, a ovynnassant y'r Amherawdyr beth a vynnit ac wynt, a phaham y dyuynnassi[t][6] wynt yno. "Llyma yr achaws," heb yr Amherawdyr. "Vn mab yssyd ym, a gofyn y chwitheu att bwy y rodwyf ef y dyscu moesseu a dyuodeu a mynytrwyd a magyat da idaw."

"Ẏrof i a Duw," heb y Bantillas, vn o Doethon Rufein, "pei rodut attaf i dy vab ar vaeth, mi a dysgwn idaw kymeint ac a wnn i, mi, [a'm][7] chwech[8] kedymdeith, erbyn penn y seith mlyned." "Ie," heb yr Augustus, "rod[er attafi] **(42v)** y mab, ac erbyn penn y chwech mlyned mi a baraf idaw gwybot kymeint ac a wdam ni yn seith." Heb y Cato, "Herwyd y messureu a gymero y mab o'e ethrylithyr a'e dysc, herwyd, herwyd hynny[9] yd adawaf i y dyscu ef." "Os attaf i y rodir ar vaeth," heb y Jesse, "mi a'e dysgaf yn oreu ac y gallwyf." A gwedy daruot y pob vn or chw[e]gwyr[10] adaw dysgu y mab yn oreu ac y gellynt, yna y kauas yr Amherawdyr yny gyghor[11] rodi y vab ar vaeth attunt ell seith. Ac adeilyat ty a wnaethpwyt vdunt ar lan auon Tẏber[12] odieithyr Rufein yn lle karueid erdrym gwastatsych. Ac wynt a ysgriuennassant y seith geluydyt ygkylch ogylch y ty, ac a dysgassant y mab yny oed aeduet y synhwyreu, a chymhendoeth y barableu ac arafgall y weithredoed.

Ac yn yr amser hwnnw yr Amherawdyr [13]**(43r)** a briodes gwreic. A gwedy y dwyn y lys a chysgu genthi, amouyn [14] a wnaeth hi ac vn ac arall, a oed etiued y'r Amherawdyr. A diwarnawt y doeth hi y ty gwrach yscymmun vnllegeidyawc heb vn dant yn y phenn, a dywedut wrth y wrach: "Yr Duw, mae plant y'r Amherawdyr?" "Nyt oes idaw yr vn," heb y wrach. "Gwae vinheu," heb hi, "y vot ef yn anuab." Yna y truanhaawd y wrach wrth yr ysgymmun arall gan dywedut: "Nyt reit ytti hynny, darogan yw idaw gaffel plant ac agatuyd ys ohonat ti y keiff kynys kaffo o arall. Ac na vyd trist, vn mab yssyd idaw ar vaeth y gan Doethon Rufein." [15] Ac yna y doeth hi y'r llys yn llawen orawenus, a dywedut

wrth yr Amherawdyr: "Pa ystyr y kely di dy blant ragof i?" heb hi. "Nys kelaf inneu bellach," heb ef. "Ac auory mi a baraf vynet yn y ol a'e d[an]gos[16] ytti."[17]

A'r nos hono val yd oed y [mab] **(43 v)** a'e athrawon yn gorymdeith wynt a welynt yn eglurder y syr a chyfroedigaeth y sygneu y bydei wr dihenyd y mab ony bei amdiffyn kymmen arnaw. A'r mab heuyt a welas hynny. Ac ef a dywawt wrth y athrawon: "Pei amdiffynnewch chwi vyui y seith niwarnawt oc awch doethineb, minneu vy hunan a amdiffynnwn yr wythuet dyd." Ac adaw y amdiffyn a wnaethant. A thrannoeth nachaf gennadeu y gan yr Amherawdyr y erchi vdunt dwyn y mab o'e dangos y'r Amherodres newyd. A gwedy y dyuot y'r neuad a'e rassawu o'e dat a'r nifer, ny dywat ef vn geir, muy no chyt bei mut. A drwc yr aeth ar yr Amherawdyr welet y vab yn vut. Ac erchi y dwyn y dangos y'w lysuam. A hitheu, pann y gweles, a flemychawd o'e garyat, ac a'e duc y ystauell dirgeledic. A thrwy gytgam garyat a geireu serchawl y dywawt hi wrthaw ef. **(44 r)** A'r gwas a'e tremygawd ac a edewis y ty idi. A hitheu, pan welas y thremygu, a dodes diaspat vchelgroch oruchel, A[18] than ysgythru y phenn o'e hardunyant a'e gwisgoed, a gwneuthur gwallt melyn yn vonwyn briwedic, a chyrchu tu ac ystauell yr Amherawdyr. A ryued nat oed yssic penneu y byssed rac festet y maedei y dwylaw y gyt y mynet y gwynaw treis a gordwy wrth yr Amherawdyr rac y vab, a dywedut y vot ef yn keissyaw dwyn treis arnei hi. Ac[19] yna y tyngawd yr Amherawdyr trwy y lit y llw mwyaf, vn am vudannaeth y vab nat oed waeth ganthaw y varw no'e vyw, yr eil, o achaws sarhaet y Vrenhines na bydei y eneit yndaw hwy noc hyt trannoeth.

1. *Arbor*: Y Goeden: A'r nos honno y dywawt yr Amherodres wrth yr Amherawdyr: "Ef a deruyd ytti am dy vab val y daruu gynt y'r prenn pinus mawr o achaws y binwyden **(44v)** vechan[20] a oed yn tyuu yn y ymyl. A changen o'r vawr yn llesteiryaw y'r vechan dyfu. Ac yna yd erchis y bwrdeis bioed y gwyd y ardwr torri kangen o'r binwyden hen a oed yn llesteiryaw ar y vechan gyuodi. A gwedy torri y geinc, y prenn yn gwbyl a grinawd. Ac yna yd erchis y torri oll. Megys hynny y deruyd y titheu am dy vab a rodeist y veithryn att y seithwyr doeth. Yr collet ytti y mae ef dan gel yn keissaw duundeb y gwyrda y'th distryw di ac y wledychu ehun heb olud." A llidyaw a oruc yr Amherawdyr ac adaw y diuetha trannoeth.

A gwedy treulyaw y dyd hwnnw ar nos honno ar ardunnyant a digrifwch y'r Vrenhines, jn ieuengktit y dyd trannoeth y kyuodes yr Amherawdyr a gwisgaw ymdanaw a

chyrchu y dadleudy. Ac ar hynt gouyn y'r Doethon pa adoet a wneit ar y vab ef. Ac[21] yna y kyuodes Bantillas[22] **(45r)** y vyny a dywedut val hynn: "Arglwyd Amherawdyr," heb ef, "os o achaws mudanyaeth y mab y dihenydiyr, iawnach yw bot yn trugarawc wrthaw am hynny no bot yn greulawn. Kanys[23] gorthrymach yw idaw ef yr anaf hwnnw noc y neb. Os am guhudet y Vrenhines, vn ffunyt y deruyd ytt am dy vab ac y daruu gynt y varchawc arderchawc bonhedic am vilgi a oed idaw." "Beth oed hynny?" heb yr Amherawdyr. "Ym kyffes nys managaf ytt ony rody dy gret na dihenydyer y mab yn oet y dyd hediw." "Na dihenydyir, myn vyg cret," heb ef, "a dywet ym dy chwedyl."

2. *Canis*: Y Ci: "Yd [24] oed gynt yn Rufein marchawc a'e lys wrth ystlys y gaer. A dydgweith yd oed twrneimant [25] ac ymwan y rwng y marchogyon. Sef a wnaeth yr amherodres[26] a thylwyth mynet [27] **(45v)** hyt ar van y gaer y edrych ar yr ymwan heb adaw vn dyn yn y llys, onyt vn mab y marchawc yn kyscu y mywn crut a'e vilgi yn gorwed yn y ymyl. A chan weryrat y meirch ac angerd y gwyr, a thrwst y gweywyr yn kyflad wrth y taryaneu eurgrwydyr[28] y kyffroes[29] sarf[30] o vur y castell, a chyrchu neuad y marchawc, ac arganuot y mab yn y crut, a dwyn ruthr idaw. A chyn ymgael ac ef, bwrw o'r milgi buanllym neit idi, a chan eu hymlad a'e hymdaraw ell deu,[31] ymchoelut y crut a'e wyneb y waeret a'r mab yndaw. A'r ki buanllym bonhedic a ladawd y sarff,[32] a'e gadaw yn drylleu man yn ymyl y crut. A phan doeth yr arglwydes y mywn ac arganuot y ki ar crut yn waetlyt, dyuot yn erbyn y marchawc y dan lefein a gwedi y gwynaw rac y **(46r)** ki a ladyssei y vn mab. A'r marchawc, trwy y lit, a ladawd y ki. Ac yr didanu y wreic ef a doeth[33] y edrych y vab. A phan doeth y oed y mab y holliach y dan y crut a'r sarff yn drylleu man yn y ymyl. Ac yna yd aeth yn drwc ar y marchawc llad ki kystal a hwnnw o eir ac annoc y wreic. Velly y deruyd y titheu o lad dy vab o gehudet ac annoc dy wreic." Ac yna y tynghawd yr Amherawdyr na ledit y mab y dyd hwnnw.

A gwedy teruynu eu kyghoreu a'e dadleu[34] y'r neuad y doethant. A phan wybu yr Amherodres vot yn well gan yr Amherawdyr ymdidan no bwytta, kyntaf ymdidan a oruc hi gouyn idaw a dihenydywyt y mab. "Nado," heb ef. "Mi a wnn," heb hi, "pann yw Doethon Rufein a beris hynny. Vn ansawd y deruyd ytti o gredu vdunt wy ac y daruu gynt y'r baed coet am y bugeil." "Pa delw vu hynny?" heb yr **(46v)** amherawdyr.[35] "Myn vyg kret nys dywedaf, ony rody dy gret ar dihenydaw y mab auory." "Dihenydyr, myn vyg kret," heb ef.

3. ***Aper:*** **Y Baedd:** "Llyma[36] y chwedyl," heb hi. "Pren frwythlawn briwgawclas[37] a oed yn mywn fforest yn Ffreinck. A'r baed ny mynnei ffrwyth prenn yn y coet namyn ffrwyth y prenn hwnnw. A dydgweith yd arganuu y bugeil y prenn, a gwelet y ffrwyt[38] yn dec ac yn garueid velys aeduet. A chynnullaw coeleit o'r ffrwyth. Ac ar hynny nachaf y baed yn dyuot. Ac ny chafas y bugeil o ennyt onyt dringhyaw y vrig y prenn rac ofyn y baed, a'e goeleit ganthaw. A'r baed gwedy na chafas y ffrwyth megys y gordyfnassei, ffroeni a disgyrnu danned a oruc ac arganuot y bugeil ym bric y prenn. A thrwy y lit dechreu diwreidaw y prenn. A phan weles y bugeil hynny, gollwng y frwyth y'r baed a oruc. A'r baed pann **(47r)** gafas dogyn ef a gyscawd[39] y dan vric y prenn. Ac ef yn kysgu, disgyn y bugeil y'r llawr ac a dyrr bruant y baed a chyllell. Velly y deruyd y vaed Rufein[40] ac y dygir ffrwyth yr amherodraeth y ganthaw."[41] "Myn vyg kret!" heb yr Amherawdyr. "Ny byd byw hwy noc efory."[42] Trannoeth, trwy y lit, kyrch[u][43] y dadleudy a oruc yr Amherawdyr. Ac ar hynt erchi dihenydyaw y mab. Ac yna y kyuodes Aug[us][44]tus y vyny,[45] a dywedut val hynn: "Arglwyd," heb ef,[46] "ny wnel Duw ytti wneuthur[47] am dy uab megys y gwnaeth Ẏpocras[48] am y nei." "Beth oed hynny?" "Myn vyg kret nas managaf ytt, ony rody dy gret na dihenydyer y mab hediw." "Na dihenydyir, myn vygret," heb ef.

4. ***Medicus:*** **Y Meddyg:** "Nei[49] vab chwaer a oed ẏ[50] Ipocras,[51] a goreu ffusugwr oed o'r byt. A gwedy anuon kennat o vrenhin Vngarie y erchi ẏ Ypocras dyuot y i[acha]u [52] **(47v)** mab a oed idaw yn glaf diobeith, ac ny allawd ef vynet, namyn gollwng y nei yno. A'r gwas pan doeth y'r llys ef a vwryawd golwc ar y brenhin[53] ac ar y vrenhines ac ar y mab. A gwedy na weles ef dim o anyan y brenhin yn y mab, gouyn a wnaeth y vam y mab pwy oed y dat, kan ny allei y vedeginaethu yny wypei anyan a natur y genedyl y hanoed o honei. Ac yna y dywawt hitheu y gael ef o orderchat o Iarll Nauarn. Ac yna y peris ef rodi kic ych ieuangk y'r mab yny vu holl iach. A gwedy y dyuot adref y gouynnawd y ewythyr idaw pa wed yd y iachaawd y mab. 'A chic ych ieuangk,' heb ef. 'Os gwir a dywedy di was,' heb ef, 'o odineb y kaffat ef.' 'Gwir yw,' heb y mab. A phann weles Ẏpocras y nei mor geluyd a hynny, medylyaw a oruc[54] y lad. Ac erchi idau dyuot y orymdeith[705] **(48r)** y gyt ac ef. A gwedy eu dyuot y le disathyr dirgeledic[55] a dywedut wrth y nei 'Mi a glywaf,' heb ef, 'arogleu llysseu da. 'Minneu a'e clywaf,' heb y mab, 'a'e mynny di wyntwy?'

[705] The word 'orymdeith', 'walk', is split between two folios: '*orymde*' + '*ith*'

‘Mynnaf,’ heb ef. Ac a’r mab yn gostwng y vedi y llysseu y vrathu a chyllell trwydaw, yny dygwyd yn varw y’r llawr. Ac yna y cablawd pawb Ipocras ac yd emelltigwyt. Ac velly, Arglwyd Amherawdyr, y deruyd y titheu, ac yd ymelltigyr o phery dihenydyaw dy vab ac ef yn wirion.” “Na pharaf,” heb ef. A’r nos honno, gwedy daruot bwyt, gofyn a oruc yr Amherodres a daroed dihenydyaw y mab. “Na deryw,” heb yr Amheraw[dyr]. “Vn funyt y deruyd ytti o gredu y Doethon Rufein ac y daruu gynt y wr a ladawd y vab y benn a’e gladu yn yr ysteull bychein.” “Pa delw vu hynny?” heb **(48v)** ef. “Nys dywedaf ytt ony rody dy gret ar dihenydyaw y mab auory.” “Llyma vyg kret y dihenyir.”

5. *Gaza*: Y Trysor: **“**Mi[56] a giglef[57] gynt vot Amherawdyr[58] yn Rufein, a chwanoccaf dyn o’r byt y da bydawl oed. A gwedy daruot idaw gasglu a chynnull lloneit twr o eur ac aryant a thlysseu mawrweirthawc ef a ossodes kebyd kyuoethawc ofnawc yn geitwat ar y da. Sef yd oed gwr gotlawt kallonawc yn y dinas a gwas ieuangk dihauarchlym yn vab idaw. A’r gwr a’e vab a doethant hyt nos am benn y twr ac a’e torrassant ac a dugant a vynassant o’r da. A thrannoeth, pan doeth y keitwat y edrych y twr, neur daroed dwyn diuessured o’r da yn lledrat. Ac yna yn ystrywgall, medylyeit a oruc y keitwat a gossot kerwyneit o lut ardymeredic **(49r)**[59] geyr bronn y twr yn y lle y torrassit y edrych pei kaffei y lladron o’e dangos y’r Amherawdyr rac y ammheu ef.

“A’r lladron gwedy treulaw y da hwnnw ar dir a daear a thei a phlasseu ac wrth eu digrifwch wynt a doethant drachefyn tua’r twr. Ac wynt ac eu hisgafael ganthunt yn kyrchu allan, ny wybu y tat vn geir yny vyt hyt y wregis yn y gerwyneit lut. Ac yna gofyn kynghor a oruc y vab. ‘Nys gwn,’ heb y mab, ‘onyt torri dy benn a chledyf a’e gudyaw yn lle dirgel. Kanys o’th ordiwedir di a’th eneit ynot dy gystudyaw a wneir ytt a’th boeni, yny atefych y da, ac yna y manegy ditheu.’ **‘**Och arglwyd vab,’ heb ef, ‘nyt velly gwney a mi. Trugarockaf gwr or byt yw yr Amherawdyr, a’r da yssyd barawt, a’m eneit a gaffaf inneu y eturyt drachefyn.’ ‘Myn y Gwr y credaf i idaw,’ heb y mab, ‘ny bwryaf i y **(49v)** tripheth yn antur yr llad dy benn di y arnat.’ ‘Pa dri pheth ynt y rei hynny?’ heb y tat. ‘Y da kyndrychawl yssyd gennyfi, a’m eneit vy hun, a’r tir a’y trefneu a bryneist[60] ditheu.’ Ac yn greulawn estrongar llad penn y dat y arnaw. Uelly y peir dy vab dy lad titheu o chwant a charyat dy deyrnas yssyd well nor swllt.” “Myn vyg kret,” heb ef, “ny byd y eneit yndaw hwy noc avory.”

A thrannoeth, pann weles y dyd, kyrchu y dadleudy, ac erchi dihenydyaw y mab. Ac yna y kyuodes Lentillus y vyny a dywedut val hyn: “Arglwyd Amherawdyr,” heb ef, “vn ansawd y deruyd ytti o phery dihenydiaw dy vab ac y daruu gynt y hen wrda kyuoethawc am wreic jeuangk dec a oed idaw, a garei yn vawr.” “Beth oed hynny?” heb yr Amherawdyr. “Myn Duw, nys managaf ony rody dy gret na dihenydyer y mab hediw.” “Na **(50r)** dihenydir,” heb ef.[61] “A dywet ym dy chwedyl.[62]

6. *Puteus*: Y Ffynnon: “**H**en[63] wrda bonhedic a oed gynt, ac ef a briodes morwyn ieuank uonhedic. Ac ny bu hir gwedy eu dyuot eu gyt yny vwryawd hi serch lledradeid ar was ieuangk o lys yr arglwyd, a gossot eluyd ac ef a wnaeth. Ac ygkylch y rann gyntaf o’r nos pann oed drymmaf y gwr yn kysgu y kyuodes hi y vynu ac y doeth att y gorderch. Ac ny bu hir gwedy y mynet yny dyffry y gwr, ac ymdroi yn y wely. Ac ual ryued uu ganthaw clybot y wely yn wac o’e gymhar. A thrwy y lit ac ediged y kyuodes y vyny a cheissyau y ty amdan[ei][64]. A gwedy nas kafas, y doeth ef drachefyn tua’r drws, a chau y drws yn gadarn. A thygu trwy y lit na sanghei y ty hwnnw tra vei vyw.

“A hitheu, gwedy ymlenwi yn y digrifwch serchawl gyt a’e gorderch, ychydic **(50v)** cyn y dyd y doeth hi tua’r drws. A gwedy na weles y drws yn agoret erchi agori a oruc. ‘Llyma vyg kret,’ heb y gwr, ‘nat ygorir y ty yma ragot ti y’th oes. Ac yuory yg gwyd dy genedyl mi a baraf dy lebydyaw a mein.’ ‘Llyma vyg kret,’ heb hi, ‘vot yn gynt y bwrywn neit or lle ydwyf yn y bysgotlyn yma y’m bodi noc yd arhown yr adoet hwnnw arnafi.’ Ac arganuot maen mawr yny hymyl a oruc, a drychafel[65] y maen ar y hysgwyd a wnaeth a’e vwrw yn y llyn, yny glywit y cwymp dros yr holl lys. A gwathaf[66] yn y byt yd aeth arnaw ef hynny, a dyuot allan a oruc y edrych a ordiwedei yr eneit yndi. A hitheu yn gyflym [di]ueryawc a aeth y mywn, a chau y drws yn gadarn arnei a’e vegythaw ynteu am dorri y briodas ac adaw y dy a’e wely yr amser hwnnw yn y nos. A thrannoeth, yg gwyd brawtwyr y dinas a’r swydogyon **(51r)** y bu reit y’r gwr diodef y poen a’r dial a dylyei hi y gael am y drygeu. Ac uelly y soma dy wreic ditheu am dy vab, a hi yssyd drwc a chamgelus a’r mab yssyd ar y iawn.” “Ny dihenydyir ef hediw,” heb ef.

A gwedy bwyt y dywawt y Vrenhines: “Mi a wn na adawd Doethon Rufein dihenydyaw y mab hediw.” “Nado,” heb ef. “Un[67] funyt y deruyd ytt o gredu udunt am dy vab ac y daruu gynt y vn o dinaswyr Rufein am brenn ffrwythlawn brigawglas a oed annwyl

ganthaw." "Beth oed hynny?" heb yr Amherawdyr."Nys dywedaf ytt ony rody dy gret ar dihenydyaw y mab auory." "Dihenydyir, myn vyg kret."

7. *Ramus*: Y Gangen: [68] "Llyma[69] y chwedyl heb hi. "Y wr o Rufein yd oed prenn perffrwyth yn tyfu yn y erber, a chein[70] vnyawndec[71] yn kyuodi o von y prenn ac yn kyrchu y'r awyr. Ac ot oed annwyl gann y gwr y prenn a'r ffrwyth, **(51v)** annwylach oed y geing o achaws y thecket. 'Yrof a Duw,' heb y gardwr, 'pei vyg kyghor a wnelut, ti a barut torri y geing y wrth y prenn.' 'Paham?' heb ef. 'Am nat diogel ytt gaffel ffrwyth y prenn tra vo y geing racko yn ysgynbrenn ac yn gynhalbrenn drycdynyon a lladron, ac nat oes fford y dringyaw y'r prenn nac y gaffel y ffrwyth onyt trwy y geing racko.' 'Myn vyg kret,' heb ef, 'ny thorrir dim o'r geing mwy no chynt, yr hynny.' 'A bit velly,' heb y gardwr. A'r nos honno ef a doeth lladron y'r prenn a'e yspeilyaw o'e frwyth a'e adau ynteu yn amnoeth vrigawcdwn erbyn y bore trannoeth. Kyn noethet a hynny y gedeu Doethon Rufein ditheu o ffrwyth dy deyrnas, o ledy geing gan dy vab." "Lledir, myn vyg kret, y bore avory," heb ef, "ac wynteu kymeint yr vn."

A thrannoeth, trwy y lit, ac annoc y Vrenhines, kyrchu y dadleudy a wnaeth yr amhera[w]d[yr] ac erchi [72] **(52r)** dihenydyaw y mab a Doethon Rufein y gyt ac ef. Ac yna y kyuodes Malquidas y vyny, gwr adwynbryd oed hwnnw, a dywedut val hynn: "Arglwyd Amherawdyr," heb ef. "Os o annoc dy wreic a'e chyhudet y pery dihenydyaw dy vab, ef a'th somir, val y sommes y bleid y bugeil." "Pa wed vu hynny?" heb yr amhera[w]d[yr]."Nys managaf, ony rody dy gret na dihenydyer y mab hediw." "Na dihenydyir, myn vyg cret, a manac ym dy chwedyl."

8. *Roma-Lupus*: Rhufain-Y Blaidd: "Llyma y chwedyl," heb ef. "Namyn dinas kyuoethawc kadarn a oed yn y dwyrein, a seithwyr kymhendoeth synhwyrys a oedynt yn kadw ac yn llywyaw y dinas. Ac nyt yn y kaerwyr a'r dinaswyr yd oed gedernet y dinas, namyn yn doethineb y gwyr a'e k[ym]hendawt.[73] Ac yn hynny y doeth bren[hin] creulawn cadarn y geissyaw gor[esgyn] y dinas. A gwedy eisted yn y gy[lch a] **(52v)** gossot peiryanneu wrthaw, ny thygawd y'r brenhin dim rac kymennet y gwyr o vywn yn cadw eu dinas. A phann welas y brenhin ystrywgar na cheffit y dinas o ymlad, ef a wnaeth yn diueryawc, adaw[74] kilyaw y wrthaw, ac nat ymladei a niuer y dinas yr anuon attaw ef y seithwyr vchot. A'r bobyl dissynnwyr, heb welet y brat a'r dolur a oed ygkud y

dan y deil, a gredassant gelwyd a ffalsted edewityon y brenhin, a gymerassant y gwyr ac a'e rwymassant, ar vedwl eu hanuon idaw allan.

Ac yna y kyuodes vn o'r doethon y vyny, ac y dywawt ual hynn: 'Ha wyrda,' heb ef, 'vn ansawd y deruyd y chwi o gredu yr brenhin creulawn racko, gwedy rodowch chwi nyni yny vedyant ef, ac y somes gynt y bleid y bugeil.' 'Pa wed vu hynny?' heb ynteu.[75] 'Bleid creulawn enwir a oed yn keissyau[76] (**53r**) kyfle a chyflwr ar y bugeil a'r aniueleit y eu llad. Ac ny adei gauaelgwn buanllym a oed y'r bugeil seibynt idaw, nac yg koet nac ym maes. A'r bleid, pan weles hyny, a edewis hedwch a thangnefed dragwydawl y'r bugeil a'e ysgrybyl yr dalu y kwn ac eu rwymaw ac eu rodi attaw ef. A'r bugeil ynuyt a gredawd y eryau kelwydawc y bleid, ac a anuones y kwn yr bleid. Ac ynteu yn gyflym a ladawd y kwn, a gwedy hyny yr ysgrybyl ac o'r diwed y bugeil. Velly y llad y brenhin creulawn racko chwitheu oll o chredwch idaw, gwedy y darffo idaw yn llad ninneu.' 'Byw yw Duw o chredwn idaw, nac o'ch rodwn vyth yn y vedyant.' Ac yna, o'e kynhor wy y gorunant arnaw ef ac y llas. Hynn,, Arglwyd, a dywedaf inneu ytti yn wir, megys y mynassei ef eu llad [hwy bei] **(53 v)** cradassant idau, ac val y lladawd y bleid y bugeil o gredu idaw, velly y llad dy wreic ditheu o chredy idi ac o phery an llad ninneu o'e hannoc hi." "Na pharaf, myn vy ffyd," heb ef.

Ac yna, gwedy daruot bwytta, y dywawt y Vrenhines wrth yr Amherawdyr val hynn: "Megys y tynn arogleu y deil ar y blodeu yr ymlynnyat y ar y drywed yny gollo y llwdwn ganthaw, velly y mae Doethon Rufein y'th tynnu ditheu o eiryeu tec a pharableu eureit am dy vab yny gollych dy vrenhinyaeth[77] a'th gyuoeth. Kanys vn ansawd y deruyd ytti o gredu udunt wy ac y daruu gynt y Rassyan Amherawdyr." "Beth vy hynny?" heb ef. "Llyma vy ffyd," heb hi, "nas dywedaf, ony rody dy gret ar dihenydyaw dy vab auory." "Dihenydyir,"[78] heb ef.

9. *Virgilius*: Fferyll: "Llyma[79] y chwedyl," heb hi. "Fferyll a ossodes **(54 r)**[80] colofyn ym perued Rufein, ac [ar] ben y golofyn drych o geluydyt nigromawns. Ac yn y drych y gwel[as] senedwyr Rufein pa deyrnas bynnac a geissynt na wrthwyneppei neb udunt. Ac yna yn gyflym yd eunt am benn yr honn a vynnynt ac a darostyngynt hi vdunt. A'r golofyn a'r drych a oedynt yn peri y bop teyrnas ofynhau rac gwyr Rufein yn vwy no chynt. Ac yna y kynnigawd brenhin y Pwyl aneiryf o da y'r neb a gymereu arnaw diwreidiaw y golofyn a thorri y drych. Ac yna kyuodes deu vroder vn uam y vyny a dywedut val hynn:

‘Arglwyd vrenhin,’ heb wynt, ‘pei kaffem ni deu peth, ni a diwreid[em][81] y golofyn.’ ‘Pa wed yw hynny?’ heb ef. ‘[Yn] drychafel ar vrdas ac enryded a vo vwy [rac llaw, a] chyfreideu kyndrychawl yssyd [reit] yr awr honn.’ ‘Beth yw hynny?’ heb e[f]. **(54v)** ‘Dwy uarileit o eur,’ heb wynt,[82] ‘kanys chwanockaf dyn o’r byt am eur yw Gracian.’ ‘A hynny a geffwch,’ heb y brenhin.[83] Ac eur a berit udunt. Ac wynteu a gyrchassant a’r eur tua Rufein. Ac hyt [nos][84] wynt a gladassant y deu varil yn ymyl y dinas, geyr llaw prif fford. A thrannoeth wynt a doethant y’r llys a chyfarch gwell y’r amherawdyr[85], ac[86] ymgynnic yn wyr idaw a orugant. ‘Pa wassannaeth neu pa geluydyt a wdach chwi pann gymerwyf i chwi yn wyr ym?’ ‘Ni a wdam,’ heb wynte[u], ‘a vo eur ac aryant kuhudedic y’th deyrnas di. A ni a barwn ytt y gael o gwbyl.’ ‘Ewch chwi heno gwedy ych bwyt tua’ch lletty, ac edrychwch erbyn auory a uo eur kydiedic y’m kyuoeth i. Ac or byd manegwch ym, ac o chaffaf hynny, yn wir mi a’ch kymeraf yn **(55r)** anwyleit[87] ym.’ Ac ymeith yd aethant y eu llety. A thrannoeth y deuth[88] y mab ieuaf hyt rac bronn yr amherawdyr, a[89] dywedut rygael ohonaw ef ar y dewindabaeth bot barileit o eur yn ymyl y porth y dinas ygkud. Ac yna yn diannot y peris yr amherawdyr vynet y geissyaw hwnnw. A gwedy y gael a’e dwyn idaw y kymerth y gwas yn annwyl idaw. A thrannoeth y doeth y mab arall a dywedut rygael ohonaw ynteu ar y vreudwyt bot barileit o eur ygkud yn y porth arall y’r dinas. A gwedy profi hynny a’e gael yn wir, credadwy vu y gweissyon a hoff o hynny allan a’e kymryt yn annwyleit idaw. Ac wynteu yna a dywedassant bot eur y dan y golofyn a waredaei y deyrnas [yn dra]gywyd.[90] Ac yna y dywawt sene[dwyr] Rufein, o diwreidwyt y golofyn [na by]dei **(55v)**[91] gyn gadarnet Ruuein o hynny allan a chynt. Ac ny adawd chwant eur ac aryant y’r Amherawdyr vot wrth gynghor y gwyr hyny. Diwreidyaw y golofyn a beris ef, a hynny a dyrr y drych. A drwc yd aeth ar senedwyr Rufein hynny ac yn gyflym dyfot am y benn a’e daly a’e rwymaw, a chymell arnaw yfet eur brwt, gann dywedut wrthaw val hynn: ‘Eur a chwenycheist, eur a vynny.’ Velly ny att dy chwant ditheu y wrandaw Doethon Rufein, y rei yssyd y’th dihiryaw a’e eureit barableu y gredu vy ghyghoreu i am dihenydyaw dy vab yny welont dy agheu a’th adoet yn dybryt.” “Myn vyg kret!” heb ef. “Ny byd byw, odyeithyr hyt auory.” A thrannoeth y bore [92]yd [erch]is[93] dihenydyaw y mab.

Ac yna [y kyuod]es Cato Hen,[94] gwr kymhendoeth, **(56a,r)** [95] a[96] dywedut ual hynn: “Arglwyd Amherawdyr, nyt yn ol ymadrodyon fals kelwydawc a glywo dy glusteu y dylu

di varnu, namyn trwy anmyned a cheissyaw gwirioned y uarnu gwir yrwng hen a jeuangk.[97] **A** chy aghywiret vyd dy wreic ytti, yr honn yd wyt yn y charu ac yn y chredu, ac y bu wreic y syryf o Lesodonia." "Cato," heb yr Amherawdyr, "pa wed vu hynny?" "Llyma vy ffyd nas managaf ony rody dy gret na dihenydyer y mab hediw." "Na dihenydyir, myn vygret," [heb ef.[98]

10. *Vidua*: Y Weddw: Yd[99] oed gynt gwas ieuangk o Ruuein yn Syryf o Lesodonia, a diwarnawt yd oed yn nadu paladyr, a'e wreic yn kyttgam ac ef, ac ynteu y gware a hi. Ac yn hynny ef a gyuaruu blaen y gyllell ef a'e llaw hi yny doeth y gwaet. A chyndrwc yd aeth arnaw ef hynny a'e vrathu **(56a,v.)** ehun a wnaeth dan benn y vronn a'e gyllell yny dygwyd yn varw y'r llawr. A gwedy gwneuthur[100] y gyweirdeb a'e wassanaeth yn y lys, ef a ducpwyt tu a'r llan y gladu. A ryued nat oed yssic penneu y byssed rac ffestet y madei y dylaw y gyt yn kwynaw y gwr. Vch[101] oed pob llef a diaspadei noc a oed o gorn a chloch dros wyneb yr holl dinas.[102] A gwedy cladu y gwr a chilyaw pawb or eglwys, y mam a erchis y'r vnbennes dyuot y gyt a hi adref. A hitheu a dyngawd y'r gwr a oed vch y phenn nat aei hi odyno yny vei varw. 'Ny elly di,' heb y mam, 'gywiraw y geir hwnnw. Ac am hynny iawnach yw ytt dyuot y'th lys dy hun y gwynaw dy wr no thrigyaw yn lle ofnawc aruthyr mal hwnn mor vnic a hyny. 'Mi a brofaf a'e gallwyf,' heb hi. Ac yna y peris y mam kynneu tan **(56b,r)** goleu abrwsgwl geyr y bronn ac adaw bwyt a diawt y dreulaw pan delei newyn arnei, wrth na chyfeirch newyn y borthi.[103]

"A'r nos honno yd oed marchawc pedrytawc[104] kadarn o'r gaer yn gwylyat herwr [105] a grogassit y dyd hwnnw. Ac y byd yn troi o bell ac agos ef a welei oleuat amlwc yn y lle nys gwelei kyn no hynny eryoet. A brathu y varch a wnaeth y edrych pa le yd oed y tan, a pha achaws y gwnathoedit. A phann doeth, ef a welei mur a mynwent, ac eglwys a than vchel goleu yn yr eglwys. A ffrwynglymmu y varch a oruc ef wrth borth y vynwent. Ac yn y aruot a'e arueu dwyn hwyl y'r eglwys y edrych pwy a oed yndi. A phan doeth nyt oed namyn morwynwreic ieuangk yn eisted od[d]vch bed newyd gladu a than goleu diuwc rac ei bronn a dogyn o vwyt a diawt yn y hymyl. A gouyn a wnaeth ef beth a wnaei dyn **(56bv.)** mor ieuangk o oetran, mor dinerth o gorff, ac mor adwyn o bryt yn lle mor ofnawc a hwnnw ehunan. Ac yna y dywawt hitheu nat oed arnei ofyn kymeint a hwyret yd oed angheu yn dyuot idi. A'r marchawc a ovynnawd idi pa achaws oed hynny. '**C**ladu,' heb hi, 'y gwr mwyaf a gereis yrmoet ac a garaf tra vwyf vyu yn lle hwnn hediw. Diogel vu

rygaru o honaw ynteu vinneu yn vwy no neb pann dyckei y adoet ehun o'm achaws inneu.' 'A vnbennes,' heb y marchawc, 'pei vyg kyghor a wnelit, ti a drout o'r medwl hwnnw ac a gymerut gwr a vei gystal a'th wr ditheu dy hun neu a vei well.' 'Na vynnaf, myn y Gwr yssyd vch ym penn, gwr vyth wedy ef.' A gwedy ymdidan rynnawd onadunt y marchawc a gyrchawd tu a'r crocwyd, a phan doeth, neur athoedit ac un o'r lladron ymeith. A drwc yd aeth arnaw **(57r**) ef hynny, kanys gwasannaeth y marchawc oed dros y dir a'e daear kadw gwyr bonhedic a grockit rac eu dwyn a'e kenedyl y eu cladu.

"A thraegefyn[106] y doeth ef att yr vnbennes, a menegi y gyffranc a'r damchwein idi. 'Pei rodut dy gret ar vy'm priodi i, mi a'th rydhawn o'r pwnk hwnnw,' heb hi. 'Llyma vy ffyd,' heb ef, 'y'th briodaf.' 'Llyma val y gwnelych,' heb hi. 'Datclad y gwr yssyd yma a chroc ef yn lle yr herwr, a hynny nys gwybyd neb onyt ni yndeu.' A datgladu y pwll a wnaeth ef yny doeth tu a'r corff. 'Llyma hwnn,' heb ef. 'Bwrw y vyny,' heb hitheu. 'Ym kyffes,' heb ef, 'haws oed gennyf i ymlad a thrywyr byw no dodi vy llaw ar vn gwr marw. 'Miui a'e dodaf,' heb hi, a bwrw neit esgutlym[107] yn y pwll a thaflu y corff yny vyd hyt ar lan y pwll.'Duc di efo bellach **(57v)** tua'r crocwyd,' heb hi. 'Nys gwyr Duw,' heb ef, 'y mi nac y'm march allel ymdeith onyt yn anawd rac meint yssyd o arueu ymdanam. 'Mi a'e gallaf,' heb hi. 'Drychaf di ef ar vy ysgwyd i.' A gwedy y gael ar y hysgwyd, hi a gerdawd brasgameu gwrawldrut[108] ac ef yny doeth hyt y crocwyd. 'Och,' heb y marchawc, 'pa da yw hynny? Yd oed dyrnawt cledyf ar benn yr herwr.' 'Taraw ditheu,' heb hi, 'dyrnawt ar benn hwnn.' 'Na thrawaf, y'm kyffes,' heb ef. 'Y'm kyffes,' heb hi, 'mi a'e tarawaf.' A tharaw dyrnawt mawr a'e gledyf ar benn y gwr. 'Ie,' heb y marchawc, 'pa da o hynny? Yd oed yr herwr yn vantach.' 'Minneu a wnaf hwnn yn vantach,' heb hi, a chael maen mawr a drychafel llaw arnaw yny vyd lledyr y weuusseu a'e danned yn drylleu o angerd a chedernyt [y dyrnaut]. 'Ie,' heb y marchawc yna, **(58r)** 'aruoel oed yr herwr.' 'Minneu a wnaf hwnn yn aruoel,' heb hi. A chymryt penn y gwr y rwng penn y deulin hi a'e deu troet wrth y dwy ysgwyd. Na gwreic yn kneifyau na gwr yn eilliaw, ny bu yr vn gynt yn hunyo penn y gwr no hi. Ac ar vyrder, o'e dal hyt yn vchafyon y iat, nyt edewis vn blewyn heb y dynnu ymeith, mwy noc y gedeu y mymrennyd ar y memrwn.

"A gwedy daruot idi hynny, hi a erchis yr marchawc y grogi. 'Llyma vyg cret,' heb ef, 'nas crogaf, ac nas crogy ditheu. A phettut vn wreic di o'r byt, ny mynnwn i dim ohonat ti. Kanys pann vydyt ti mor aghywir a hynny wrth y gwr a'th briodes yr yn verch ac a duc y

adoet o'th garyat, ys aghywir a beth vydut ti y mi, heb welet [golwg arnaf][109] eryoet hyt heno. Ac am hyny, d[os di] y fford y mynnych wrth na [mynnaf i dydi byth.'] **(58v)** Ym kyffes y Duw, arglwyd Amherawdyr, kynn aghywiret a hynny rac llaw vyd y wreic yd wyt yn peri dihenydyaw dy vab yr awr honn o'e achaws." "Llyma vyg kret na dihenydyir," heb ef.

A gwedy daruot bwytta, y Vrenhines a ovynnawd yr Amherawdyr a daroed dihenydyaw y mab. "Na deryw," heb ef. "Ny deruyd vyth," heb hi, "tra vo byw Doethon Rufein. Kanys, megys y tynn y vammaeth y mab y ar y lit a'e gyffro trwy sonnyaw a thrabludyaw yn y glusteu neu dangos ryw betheu ffol massw idaw, velly y mae Doethon Rufein y'th tynnu ditheu y ar dy gyffro am vyg gwaradwyd i a'm kewilyd y gan dy vab di, trwy eu son a'e hymdidaneu ar y ryw liw ar gelwyd a dangossant ytt. Ac vn ansawd y deruyd ytt o'r diwed o gredu udunt ac y daruu gynt y'r [bren]hin[110] a welei trwy y hun y dallu **(59r)** beunoeth. "Pa delw oed hynny?" [heb yr][111] Amherawdyr. "Nys managaf [ony rody] dy gret ar diua y mab [auory]" "Llyma vyg cret y diueir," heb ef.

11. *Sapientes*: Doethion: "**Y**d oed brenhin gynt," heb hi, "ar un o dinessyd Ruuein, ac ef a ossodes seithwyr y lywyaw y dinas. A'r gwyr a ymrodes y gynnullaw eur ac aryant a thlysseu, yny oed gyuoethogach y tlotaf onadunt o da kyndrychawl no'r brenhin. A hynny a wnaethant wy o'e kytgyhor val y keffynt llad y brenhin a rannhu y vrenhinyaeth y rygktunt a hynny o nerth a chedernyt eu da. **A** pheunoeth y gwelei y brenhin, trwy y hun, peir a seith troet[112] yn kyuodi o honau yn un ffunut a chyt bei ffyrydan kadarn y danaw, a gwrychyon a deuynt o'r rei hynny [am][113] y lygeit ac a'e dallei dybygei ef. [Ac] yna yd anuones ef [kenadeu yn] ol **(59v)** [dewinyon breudwyd]yon, a gweledigaethau [a delynt] rac llaw yn oes oessoed y pob[114] lle. A'r kennadeu a damchweinawd ar was ieuangk a gawssei ragor y gan Duw o yspryt dewinyaeth y dehogyl breudwydon. A'r gwas a ducpwyt hyt rac bronn y brenhin. A'r brenhin, gwedy y dyuot, a venegis idaw y vreuduyt. 'Ie,' heb y gwas, 'dehogyl dy vreudwyt a wnaf a'th gyghori ditheu amdanaw. Ac ony bydy wrth kyghor, ef a daw dy vreudwyt ytt o dieithyr dy hun ual yd wyt yn y gwelet drwy dy hun. Llyma dy vreudwyt,' heb y gwas.

'Peir a welut trwy dy hun a arwydockai y dinas hwnn. Y seith troet a welut ynt y seithwyr yn y lywyaw, y rei yssyd yn berwi o ormod kyuoeth a golut, ac yn darparu brat ytt ony ledir wynt yn ebrwyd.' Ac ny bu y brenhin wrth gyghor y gwas [yny ladassant

wy][115] **(60r)** efo, a dwyn y vrenhinyaeth y arnaw. Velly ny bydy ditheu am dy vab a Doethon Rufeín, y rei yssyd y'th vredychu ac y'th dwyllaw a'r eireu yny gaffont gyfle y'th lad ac y dwyn dy deyrnas y arnat o nys lledy di wynt yn ebrwyd." "Llyma vyg cret," heb ef, "y lledir wynt auory."

A thrannoeth, trwy y lit, kyrchu y dadleudy a oruc, ac erchi crogi y vab a Doethon Rufein y gyt ac ef. Ac yna y kyuodes Jesse y vyny a dywedut val hynn yg gwyd pawb or niver. "Ny dyly arglwyd bot yn anwadal, na gadu y ffalsed a chelwyd y drossi. Ac ual y somes y vrenhines y brenhin gynt am y marchawc, velly y soma dy wreic ditheu tydi."[116] "Pa delw vu hynny?" heb ef. "Myn Duw, nys managaf ytt, ony rody dy gret na dihenydyer y mab hediw." "Na dihenydyir," heb yr Amherawdyr.

12. *Inclusa*: Carchares : (60v) "Llyma[117] y chwedyl," heb ynteu. "Yd oed marchawc gynt a welei y vot beunoeth y mywn twr uchel yn ymgaru ac arglwydes ieuangk delediw ny welsei eiryoet olwc arnei odieuthyr y hun. A churyaw yn vawr a wnaeth o garyat yr vnbennes. Sef a gafas yn y gyghor mynet y grwydraw byd[oed][118] a dinassoed amdanei. Ac ual y byd yn kerdet ef a welei gaer vawr vylchawc a chastell ffyryf mawr amlwc yn y hymyl. A ffyryf dwr aruchel yn y castell kynhebic y liw a'e lun yr hwnn a welei y vot yndaw beunnoeth, ef a'r [wreic][119] vwyaf a garei. A thua'r twr y kyr[chaw]d[120] a'r brif fford y dan y castell a gerdawd yny doeth yn ogufuch ar twr a bwrw golwc ar y twr a wnaeth, ac arganuot y wreic vwyaf a garei yndaw. A llawen a da vu ganthaw y gwelet. [A'r] dinas a gyrchawd, a daly llety **(61r)** [ynn]dau y nos hono. [A thrann]oeth, [drwy] vawred, dyuot tua'r porth y kastell, a galw y porthawr attaw, ac erchi idaw vynet y ovyn y'r brenhin a vynnei varchawc ieuangk diffals diwyt yn wr idaw. A dyuot a oruc att y brenhin a dywedut velly wrthau. 'Gollygher y mywn,' heb ef, 'y edrych a aller defnyd ohonaw.' A'r marchawc a doeth y'r llys, [121]a chanmoledic vu gan bawb y dyuodyat ef. Ac ar vyrder, kyn ganmoledicet vu a'e wneuthur o'r brenhin yn oruchel dros y gyuoeth. Ac yna y dywawt ef wrth y brenhin bot yn reit idaw gael lle dirgeledic y vydylyaw ygkylch swyd a chyfrif kymen[int] ac a oed arnaw. 'Edrych y kyfle a vynnych a chymer ef,' heb y brenhin. 'Llyma a vynnwn i, arglwyd,' heb [ef], 'gadu ym adeilat ystauell yn ymyl y twr, kanys diamsathyr yw yno.' **(61v)** 'Da yw gennyf fi hyny,' heb y brenhin. Ac ar hynt, y marchawc a beris adeilyat ysauell hard idaw yn ymyl y twr. A pheri y'r saer gwneuthur

fford dirgeledic idaw vynet y'r twr att wreic y brenhin. A'r saer a wneth y fford yny ymgauas a'r vrenhines y wneuthur y vynnu o honei.

Ac val yd oed diwarnawt yn bwytta ar yr vn bwrd a'r brenhin, yd arganuu y brenhin y vodrwy annuylaf yn y helw am vys y marchawc. Ac yn llidyawc edigus govyn idaw beth a wnai y vodrwy ef ar law y marchawc. A'r marchawc yn ystrywgar a dygawd na bu vedyannus dyn arnei eiryoet namyn efo. 'Ac am hynny arglwyd, galw dy gof attat, ac edrych pa du y kedweist dy vodrwy, wrth na bu honn eiryoet y'th deu di.' Ac ymgynhewi **(62r)** [122] a oruc y brenhin, a bwytta, a[123] ryuedy gweith y vodrwy.[124] A gwedy bwytta, y brenhin a gychwynnawd tua'r twr y ouyn y'r vrenhines y vodrwy. A'r marchawc, o'e fford ynteu, a duc y vodrwy idi o'e dangos y'r brenhin pann y gofynnei. A'r brenhin pann doeth a ovynnawd y vodrwy, a hitheu a'e dangosses idaw. Ac yna y goruc y brenhin y agkreiffto ehun yn y vedul am gystudyaw y marchawc ac am dybyaw y wreic ac wynteu yn wirion, ar y vryt ef.

"Ac yna y dywawt y marchawc wrth y vrenhines: 'Myui a af y hely y gyt a'r brenhin avory, a mi a'e gwahodaf ef wrth y vwyt y'm ystauell i pann del o hely. Ac a dywedaf idaw dyfot y wreic vwyaf a garaf o'm gwlat y'm ol. A byd ditheu yn erbyn ninheu ac [amryw] [125] **(62v)** wisc amdanat ac, yr a gymero ef o adna[bot][126] arnat [ti, na at] arnat y adnabot ef na'e welet eiryoet hyt yna.' Ac velly y gwnaeth.

"A thrannoeth yr aeth y hely. A gwedy canu corn llad, a daruot hely, y marchawc a odolygawd y'r brenhin dyuot y vwytta o'e ysauell ef y dyd hwnnw, a'r brenhin a deuth. Kyntaf dyn a wyl, y wreic yn ystauell y marchawc. A gofyn idi a wnaeth, beth a wnaei hi yno, a pha fford y deuth yno. 'Anawd iawn.' heb hi, 'ymi venegi ytti,[127] y gynifer fford amdyfrwys a ymdeeis o'm gwlat hyt yman.[128] Ny wn inheu lle iawnach ymi vot noc yn ystauell y gwr mwyaf a garaf. Ac os bwrw kyuednabot yr wyt yn ol kyffelybrẇýd, edrych di pa le y mae y neb yr wyt yny geissyaw, wrth na weleis ti olwc arnaf i eiryoed **(63r)** hyt hediw.' [Ac yna kynhewi a] oruc y brenhin a medyl[yaw na welas][129] eiryoet gwreic n̤a[130] modrwy [mor debig] a'e wreic ef a'e vodrwy y wreic a modrwy y marchawc. A gwedy bwyt, y brenhin a aeth tua'r twr y geissyaw diheurwyd am y wreic val y cafas am y vodrwy. A hitheu a'e [racflaenawd] ef y fford arall, ac a sumudawd i gwisc, a gwisgwaw y chartrefwisc ehun amdanei. Ac ynteu pann deuth a'e haghreiftyawd ehun yn y vedwl am y gam adnabot ar orderch y marchawc.

"Ac ym penn yspeit o amser y marchawc a weles nat oed diberigl idaw kynhal karadas a gwreic y brenhin yn vn wlat ac ef, ygkwaethyach yn y lys a'e gastell [ehun]. Ac ef a gafas yn y gyghor para[toi llong] a'e llenwi o bob da. Ac yna ef a [erchis] kannyat y'r brenhin y [vynet tu a'e] wlat, wrth [na buassei yr (ys)[131] hir o amser] **(63v)** yn y wlat. A'r brenhin a'e kanhadawd. A thrannoeth ef a deuth kyn eu kychwynnu a'e orderch att y brenhin y'r lle yd oed ef yn gwarandaw offeren. Ac odylygawd y'r brenhin peri y'r offeiriat ehun gwneuthur rwym priodas y rygkthunt ell deu. A'r brenhin a beris eu priodi, a gwedy y briodas, wynt a gyrchassant y'r llo[n]g.[132] A'r brenhin a aeth tua'r twr. A phan doeth, yr oed y twr yn wac, a'e wreic gwedy mynet gyt a'r marchawc. Velly Arglwyd Amherawdyr, y somma dy wreic ditheu o gredu idi, a pheri dienydyaw dy vab o'e achaws." "Na pharaf yn wir," heb ef.

A'r nos honno y dywawt yr Amherodres, a dan vcheneidyau a thristyt, wrth yr amherawdyr val hynn. "Ef a deruyd ytt val y daruu i ystiwart brenhin Germania."[133] "Beth oed hynny?" heb yr Amherawdyr. "Nys managaf ony **(64r)** rody dy gret ar dihenydyaw y mab auory." "Yn wir," heb ef, "ef a ledir."

13. *Senescalcus*: Y Goruwchwyliwr: "Llyma [134] y chwedyl," heb hi. "Y brenhin hwnnw a dyuassei heint yndaw, ac a hwydawd. A gwedy y vedyginyaethu yn iach, yr erchis y medyc idaw keissyaw gwreic ar y wely. Ac yr erchis ynteu y ystiwart llogi gwreic idaw, yr naw morgk. Sef a oruc yr ystiwart o chwant y da rodi y wreic briawt ehun ar wely y brenhin. A gwedy bot achaws y'r brenhin y nos honno a gwreic yr ystiwart, ef a deuth trannoeth y gwr y erchi idi kyuodi y vynyd, a'r brenhin nys gadawd. Ac y datkanawd ynteu y gam a'e gared, yg gwyd y brenhin, ac [yna] [135] y deholet ef o'r kyuoeth. Ac y kauas y wreic ossymdeith digawn y gan y brenhin. Velly y deruyd y titheu o chwant [gwran]daw geiryeu y seithwyr doethyon, ac **(64v)** y theholir o'th gyuoeth, a minheu gaffaf digawn o da y gan vyg kenedyl." A'r brenhin a lidyaud o'r geir hwnnw, ac a dygawd y lledit y mab drannoeth. A thrannoeth, heb gyghor gwyrda, yd erchis crogi y mab. Ac yna y deuth Mathin[136] a dywedut wrth yr Amherawd[yr] val hynn: "Os o annoc yr Amherawdres, heb gyfreith a heb varn y gwyrda, y lledy dy vab, ef[137] a deruyd ytt val y daruu y wr hen doeth am y wreic." Ac ny managawd y chwedyl hyny rodes nawd y'r mab hyt trannoeth. Ac yna y dywawt.

14. *Tentamina:* Y Profion: “Gwrda hen a briodes morwyn ieuangk, ac a vu gywir wrthaw vlwydyn. A gwedy hynny, ymdidan a oruc hi a’e mam yn yr eglwys, a dywedut nat oed vawr o digrifwch serchawl yr oed hi yn y gaffel gan y gwr yn y gwely. Ac am hynny y bot hi yn karu gwas ieuank. ‘Je,’ heb y mam, ‘prawf yn gyntaf annwyt **(65r)** dy wr, a thorr y planbrenn bychan ffrwythlawn tec yssyd yn tyfu yn yr erber, ac [138]yssyd annwylach ganthaw nor vn o’r prenneu ereill.’ A hitheu a wnaeth hynny. A gwedy daruot idi y dorri, a’e dodi ar y tan, yr arglwyd a deuth adref o vwrw gweilch ac a adnabu y prenn. A gwedy gofyn o honaw pwy a dorrassei y prenn, y dywawt y wreic pan o eissyeu tan y gwnathoed hi hynny y beri tan idaw ef erbyn y dyuot adref.

“A thrannoeth ymgael a’e mam a wnaeth yn yr eglwys a menegi idi y damwein oll. Ac y dywawt y bot yn karu gwas ieuangk. Ac eissioes, o annoc y ma[m], hi a broues y gwr yr eilweith. Val yr oed y gwr yn dyuot o hely, bytheiades a oed idaw a garei yn vwy no’r holl gwn, a redawd ar ffwrwr y swrkot. Sef a wnaeth [hitheu] ysglyfyeit kyllell vn o’r gwyr a llad yr ast. A gwedy y hagreithyaw o’e gwr **(65v.)** am wneuthur hynny yn y wyd ef, hitheu a dywawt pan yw o dryc anyan am lygru y phan newyd y gwnathoed hi hynny, ac na wnai vyth y kyfryw. Ac yna tewit wrthi. A thrannoeth gw[e]dy dywedut y mam hynny, hi a dywawt y bot yn karu gwas ieuangk. A gwedy gouyn o’e mam idi pwy a garei, hitheu a dywawt nat marchawc oed namyn [139] yr offeiryat plwyf, ac na wnai vocsach, kanys kyvrinachwr da oed. ‘Je,’ heb y mam, ‘medylya yn gyntaf rac bot yn greulonach dial y gwr hen gwedy llittyo no gwr jeuangk. **A** phrawf ef y dryded weith.’[140] O annoc y mam hi a’e proues val hynn.

“Val yr oed diwarnawt yn gwneuthyr gwled y vonedigyon a phennaduryeit y dinas, gwedy gossot pawb y eisted, a gwassanaethu arnadunt o’r anrec gyntaf, hitheu a rwymaud **(66r.)** agoryat y phrennol[141] wrth y lliein a oed ar y bwrd, a chyuodi a oruc y rydec tua’r penn arall y’r ty. A thynnu y lliein yny dygwyd y’r llawr a oed arnaw o vwyt a llyn a phetheu ereill. Ac yscusssyau[142] a oruc a dywedut mae y gyrchu kyllell a vei well o’e arglwyd y daroed idi y damwein hwnnw. Ac yna o orchymmyn yr arglwyd y dodet llieineu o newyd ar y byrdeu a bwyt a llynn arnadynt. A thrannoeth y bore kyuodi a oruc y gwr y vynyd a pheri kynneu tan mawr, ac ymliw a’e wreic am y tri gweithret a wnathoeth.[143] A dywedut pan yw o amylder drycwaet a oed yn y chorff y gwnathoed hi hynny. Ac o’e hanuod hi, ef a beris idi dwymyaw y breich wrth y tan, ac a beris ellwg gwaet arnei hyny

yttoed yn llywygu. Ac yna rwymau y dwy vreich a'e dodi yn y gwely. A hitheu a **(66v)**[144] annones at y ma[m][145] y dywedut y llad, a'e mam a deuth attei a dywedut wrthi: '**P**ony dywedeis .i.[146] ytti nat oed dial drymach noc vo henwr wedi llityo?' Ac eilweith dywedut wrthi: 'A gredy di bellach y'r gwr ieuangk?' 'Na chredaf dioer vyth,' heb yr hi. A thra vu vyw y bu diweir a gwastat. "Ymogy[147] yssyd reit y titheu, Arglwyd Amherawdyr," heb y Martin, "rac dygwydaw y mywn kared kymeint ac y lledych dy vab yr ethrot dy wreic. A bit diogel ytt y dyweit y mab auory." "Ny chredaf i hynny," heb y B[ren]hin.[148] A phan venegis y Brenhin y'r Vrenhines y dywedei y mab drannoeth, kythrydyaw yn vawr a oruc hi, ac ny wybu hi dim dechymic o hynny allan.

A thrannoeth, pan gyuodes yr heul ar y byt yn oleu diwybyr, yr Amherawdyr a'r gwyrda a'r Doethon a aethont y'r eglwys. A gwedy[149] **(67r)** gwrandaw offeren yn dwywawl, yr aethant odieithyr y vynwent y eisted ar penn carreg y le amlwc. Ac yna y deuth y mab geyr bronn yr Amherawdyr, rwng deu wr o'r Doethon. A gwedy adoli y Arglwyd dat ac erchi idaw y gerennyd, herwyd na hadyassei ef y var na'e anuod. "A'r Gwr uchaf," heb yr ef, "y Gwr a wyr pob peth o'r a vu, ac a vyd, a dangosses y'm ac y'm athrawon yn amlwc trwy yr arwyd ar y lleuat a'r seren oleu eglur yn y hymyl, o dywedwn i vn geir yn yr vn o'r seith niwarnawt na dianghwn rac agheu. Ac yna, Arglwyd dat," heb y mab, "am y weledigaeth honno y teweis i, Arglwyd. A'r Amherodres y'm ethrot ac y'm kyhudaw megys pei bydwn gelyn [ytt] a cheissyaw dwyn dy amherodraeth a'th thiuetha. A thebic yw hi wrthut ti, amdanaf i, ac y bu y r[wg] marchawc[150] **(67v)** bonhedic gynt a'e vn mab ar y mor." "Beth oed hynny?" heb yr Amherawdyr.

15. *Vaticinium:* Proffwydoliaeth:[151] "Marchawc a'e vab a oedyunt y mywn ysgraff ar y mor. A dyuot dwy vran a greu vch eu penneu, a disgynnu ar gwrr yr ysgraff, a greu pob eilwers. A ryued vu gan y marchawc hynny. A'r mab a dywawt wrth y dat, bot y brein yn dywedut y bydei da gan y dat kaffel daly blaenau y lewys tra ymolchei, a'e vam yn dalu twel idaw. A llidyaw a oruc marchawc o'r geir hwnnw, ac ysglyfyeit y mab a'e vwrw yn y mor dros y benn, a mynet ymeith a'r ysgraff. Ac o dwywawl dyghet ymlusc o'r mab ar y dwylaw a'e draet hyny ymgauas a charrec y rwng allt a mor. Ac yno y bu tri dieu a their nos heb vwyt a heb diawt. Ac yno y kauas pyscodwr y mab, ac y gwerthawd ef y ystiwart o wlat bell yr ugein morc. Ac rac adwynet **(68r)** y voesseu a daet y deuodeu a'e wassanaeth, ef a gafas enryded mawr gan yr arglwyd.

"Ac yn hynny brenhin y wlat honno a oedit yn y orthrymmu yn vawr o achaws bot teir bran yn greu vch y benn nos a dyd. A galw y gyt y holl wyrda a'e doethon, ac adaw rodi y vn verch a hanner y vrenhinyaeth y'r neb a dehoglei idaw great y brein ac a'e gwylltei vyth y wrthaw ef. A gwedy na cheffit neb a allei hynny nac a'e gwyppei, o ganyat yr ystiwart, y kyuodes gwas ieuangk a dywedut wrth y brenhin o chadarnhai y edewit y gwnai ef gymeint ac yr oed y brenhin yn y erchi. **A**[152]gwedy kanhadu hynny, y mab a dywawt val hynn: 'Yr ys deg mlyned a mwy,' heb yr ef, 'y bu newyn ar yr adar, ac ar anniueileit ereill. Yr hynaf o'r brein a edewis y wreic ym **(68v)** perigl agheu o newyn, ac aeth ymeith y wlat arall y geissyaw bwyt. A'r bran racko a oed ieu no hwnn, a drigawd y gyt a hi yr hynny hyt hediw. Ac yr awr honn, gwedy amlau ym ymborth, y deuth y bran hen dracheuyn. Ac y mae yn holi y wreic y'r llall, a'r bran arall yn y attal racdaw. A phellach oc eu kytsynnedigaeth y maent [153] yn dodi ar dy varn di teruyn eu dadyl, kanys pennaf wyt.' Ac yna, o duuyndab y gwyrda, y barnawd y brenhin y wreic y'r hwnn a'e differth rac y marw o newyn, ac nas dylei yr hwnn a'e gedewis dim ohonoi. A phan welas y brein[154] hynny, hehedec a wnaeth y deu vran y gyt yn llawen orawenus a'r hen bran a hedawd ymeith y dan ermein a gweidi. Ac yna y kauas y mab enryded gan y brenhin. Ac y barnwyt yn wr doeth. Ac o gytgyghor y rodet merch y brenhin **(69r)** y'r mab, a hanner y vrenhinyaeth.[155]

"A dydgweith, val y bẏd y mab yn mynet trwy y dinas, Ef[156] a welei y vam a'e dat yn lletty[157] yn ty vwrdeis wedy adaw y wlat o eisseu da. A dyuot y geissyaw da hyt yno. Ac ygkylch [gosper] Ef a anuones ysgwier y dy y bwrdeis y dywedut idaw y bydei y brenhin ieuank yn kenewi y gyt ac ef drannoeth. A'r bwrdeis yn llawen heb yr ef: 'Graessyo a geiff, a goreu a aller idaw.' A thrannoeth pan vu amser gan y brenhin, ef a deuth y letty y marchawc. A phan deuth, y marchawc a gymerth lauwr a chawc y gynnic dwfyr y ymolchi y'r brenhin ieuangk. Ac nys gadawd ynteu, a dywedut dan awenu yn llawen: 'Arglwyd dat,' heb yr ef, 'llyma wedy yr dyuot yr hynn a dywedeis i ytti, [158] ac yr oed y brein gynt yn greu ar yr ysgraff pan **(69v)** [vyryeist ti vyfi] yn y mor. Ac na [dolurya di yr hyn]ny, kanys Duw a'e tro[es yn lles y]mi. Ac o hyn allan y kytwledychy di a mam [y gy]t a myui tra vych vyw.' Megys hynny Arglwyd dat, val y bu hw[nnw ufyd] a darystynghedic o'e dat, [velly y] keffy ditheu vyui yn [ufyd] ytt yr meint yw vyg gallu yn y byt hwnn. Ac yr Duw, na chret ti geissyaw ohonaf i treissyaw dy wreic di. Ti a wdost peri ohonat ti dy hun y mi o'e

harch hi, ygwyd gwyrda, vynet y hystauell, ac ymg[ynn]ic[159] ym mal nat oed gyfyawn idi.[160] A gwedy gwrthot ohonaf i, hitheu vegys agheu vy eneit, a amgreffinawd ehun ac a dynnawd gwaet o'e wyneb, a'e gwallt y ar y phenn. Ac yr hyny [oll], myfi, Arglwyd dat a odefaf dy [varn ti a'th] wyrda [arna]fi."[161]

Ac [yna] **(70r)** gelwit ar yr Amherodres [y ateb] rac bron. A hitheu a [dywawt ry]neuthur o honei hi hyny rac dwyn o'r mab o gyuoeth y dat a hitheu. [Ac yna], o varn yr Amherawdyr a'e [wyrda, y ll]osget corff yr amherodres. [Ac o varn] y goruchaf vrawdwr. Sef [oed hwnnw,] Duw[162] arglwyd kyfyawn trugarawc, ac amdiffyn y gwirion rac drwc, a'e dwc y vlaenwed goruchel ac y diwed enrededus gogonedus.

Ac velly y teruyna chwedyl Seith Doethyon Rufein, o weith Llewelyn.

Notes to the Manuscript Text

[1] The notes below refer to the manuscript witnesses unless otherwise specified.

[2] J 20, fol. 42r, 2: '*Doetheon*', 'Sages'. This is the only instance of this spelling. See line 3 where it is the more usual *'doethon'*.

[3] J 20, fol. 42 r: '*Ceir y chwedl hon hefyd yn Llyvyr Coch Tu dal 527'* is written in a much later hand above the initial rubric at the beginning of the tale. This has not been included in the lines of the text.

[4] J 20, fol.42r. 1. The 'y' of 'Diawchleisẏawn' has a dot above it, only one of five instances in this particular text. The others are: 'Ẏ*rofi a Duw'* (9), 'between me and God', '*Tẏber*', the Tiber, (17), and 'Ẏ*pocras*', the name of the central character of the tale, (105). The fifth is where the scribe has written '*ẏ Ypocras'*, 'to Ypocras'.

[5] J 20, fol. 42r, 6-7. Hywel Fychan writes this as 'Awgustus' in J. 111, using the Welsh uncial form of 'w'. (J 111, fol.127, col 527, 45).

[6] '*dyuynnassi*.' The J 20 scribe omits the final 't' of 'd*yfynnasit*', the impersonal pluperfect tense of '*dyfynnu*', 'to summon'. (J 20, fol. 42r, 8).

[7]. J 20, fol. 42r, 20-21: '*A'm*' and '*roder attaf i'* added from J 111. The manuscript, J 20, is damaged at this point. The text is supplied from J 111, fol.128r, col. 528, 14 and 16.

[8] *'Chwech kedymdeith'*: J 111 has '*whech*', 'six', which (J 111, fol. 128r, col. 528, 14).

[9] *'Herwyd', '*because of'*,* is repeated in J 20, fol.42v, 5.

[10] Fol. 42v. 9. '*chwegwyr'*. Lewis does not comment on this obvious error, which reduces the number of Sages from seven to six. This error appears in both J 20 and J 111. (J 111, fol.128r., col.528, 25). Llst 2 only mentions '*gwyr*', 'men', with no number attached. (Llst 2, p. 279, 3.)

[11] There is a very small, indecipherable superscript word here.

[12] Unlike the Old French redaction, both the Welsh and most of the English versions, with the exception of '**D**', place the house beside the river Tiber.

[13] '*Amherawdyr*', 'Emperor', is the first word which has been split between two folios by the scribe: 'am' + 'herawdyr'. I have placed the folio number after the word.

[14] The scribe puts a punctus between '*genthi*' and '*amovyn*'. The initial 'a' of '*amovyn*' has red capital letter despite being in the middle of a sentence. (J20, fol. 43r, 2).

[15] As noted in 'Editorial Principles', I am following modern punctuation and though neither 'doethon' nor 'rufein' has a capital letter I have capitalized both here.

[16]: The manuscript is damaged at this point. Both '*dangos*', (30) and 'mab' (1) have been added to the printed text. The sentence does not appear in its entirety in either J 111 or Llst 2. (J 20, fol. 43r, 20-21). However, J 20 must have been less damaged when seen by Lewis since he supplies the missing words, (Lewis, p. 83, note to line 57).

[17] Both J 111 and Llst 2 only have: '*mi a baraf anuon yn y ol*.' 'I will have him brought back'. (J 111, fol.128r, col.529,11. Llst2, p.280, 6-7).

[18] This is an example of the scribe's random use of upper-case letters.

[19] The 'A' of '*Ac*', 'and' is exceptionally large. (J 20, fol. 44r, 12).

[20] The word '*vechan*', 'little', is divided, with '*ve*' on the final line of fol. 44r and the '*chan*' on fol.44v.

[21] '*Ac yna…*', 'and then.' Another exceptionally large 'A' indicating the beginning of a new section. (J 20, fol. 44v, 21).

[22] 'Bantillas' is divided between two folios: 'Bantil' + 'las'.

[23] '*Kanys*', 'since',: the 's' is a superscript letter, but in a contemporary hand. (J 20, fol. 45, 5).

[24] The red 'Y' extends over two lines in the manuscript. (J 20, fol.45r, 16-17).

[25] There is a large hole in the parchment here. The scribe has written on either side of the hole, showing that the hole was originally there. Thus, we have: '*march*' + '*ogyon*'= '*marchogyon*', 'knights'. Such parsimonious use of parchment illustrates that it was a valuable commodity in the area where the manuscript was produced. (J 20, fol.45r, 18-20).

[26] Llst 2 has '*arglwydes*', 'Lady', unlike the two Jesus manuscripts which have '*amherodres*', (J 20), '*amherotres*', (J 111), 'Empress'. All three have '*arglwydes*' later in the tale. (Llst 2, p. 283, 8. J 20, fol. 45r, 20. J 111, fol.128v, col.531, 14).

[27] The final section of the word '*mynet*', 'went', is not entirely legible, therefore the reading from J 111 has been supplied. (J 20, fol.45r, 20. J 111, fol. 128v, col.531,14).

[28] Llst 2 omits the compound adjective '*eurgrwydr*', 'shimmering', ('gold chased', GPC). (Llst 2, p.283, 13-14).

[29] Both J 111 and Llst 2 have '*deffroes*', 'awoke'. (J 111, fol.128v, col. 531, 23. Llst 2, p. 283, 14.). J 20 has '*kyffroes*', which usually means 'disturbed' or 'startled' but can also mean 'awoke', (J 20, fol.45v. 7).

[30] Note that the scribe writes '*sarf*', 'snake'. (J 20, fol.45v, 8).

[31] J 20's scribe adds *'ell deu'* , 'the two of them'. (J 20, fol. 45v, 13).

[32] The scribe writes 'ff' in '*sarff*', 'snake', here where he did not write 'ff' earlier. (J 20, fol. 45v, 15).

[33] J 20 has '*doeth*' as does Llst 2, whereas J 111 has '*deuth*'. (J 20, fol.46r, 3-4; Llst 2, p. 284, 3 and 4; J 111, fol.128v, col. 531, 40 and 41).

[34] Where J 20 and Llst 2, have '*a'e dadleu'*, J 111 has '***ac** eu dadleueu'*, for 'and their discussion and debating'. (J 20, fol.46v., 12, Llst 2, p.284, 11, J 111, fol. 129r, col. 532, 5).

[35] The word '*Amherawdyr*', 'Emperor', is divided here. The first section: '*Am*..' appears on the final line of fol.42v whereas '...*herawdyr*' is on fol. 43r.1.

[36] Fol.46v, 4: '*Llyma*': The "Ll" is not picked out in red, as might have been expected for the first word of the tale.

[37] J 20 has '*briwgawclas'.* This appears to be an error on the part of the scribe. It may be that 'c' or 'g' were interchangeable here. Such a word does not appear in GPC. (J 20, fol.46v, 5). J 111 has '*bricawclas*'. (J 111, fol.129r, col.532, 20). The scribe of Llst.2 has the more prosaic '*mawr*', 'large', in its place. (Llst 2, p.284, 25).

[38] J 20, fol.46v, 10. '*Frwyt*'. All other instances of the word on this folio are written '*ffrwyth*'. (J 20, fol.46r, 10, and 7,8,11). Though both J 111 and Llst 2 have '*ffrwyth*'

throughout the tale, at its conclusion they both have '*frwyth*'. (J 111, fol.129r.col.532, 42 ; Llst 2, p. 285, 18).

[39] J 111 has *'gysgawd dan vric'*, 'went to sleep beneath the branch'. (J 111, fol.129r., col. 532, 38).

[40] Llst 2 adds: *'o gredy Doethyon Rufein…*' 'for believing the Sages of Rome'. (Llst 2, p. 285, 17-18).

[41] J 111 has '*gantaw*', (J 111, fol.129r, col.532, 42).

[42] J 20 has '*efory*', 'tomorrow', where both J 111 and Llst 2 have 'auory'. (J 20, fol. 47r, 7. J 111, fol. 128v, col. 532, 44. Llst 2, p.285, 20). This could indicate a regional variation or possibly a scribal error.

[43] The 'u' of '*kyrchu*", 'to go to', is absent from J 20 but is present in both J 111 and Llst 2. (J 20 fol. 47r, 8. J 111, fol. 129r, col.532, 45. Llst 2, p. 285, 21).

[44] 'Augustus' is abbreviated here in the manuscript. Though '*amherawdyr*' is often abbreviated by the scribe (as in line 6, above), 'Augustus' is not. This is an unusual instance of the use of this abbreviation in J 20's redaction of *CSDR*. It most probably due to a lack of space. (J 20, fol. 47r, 10).

[45] Both J 111 and Llst 2 have '*kyfodes Awgustus y uynyd*', 'Awgustus rose up'. (J 111, fol.129r, col. 533, 1-2. Llst 2, p. 286, 1-2).

[46] Both Jesus manuscripts include the words '*heb ef*', 'he said'. This is omitted in Llst 2. (J 111, fol.129r, col. 533,3. J 20, fol.47r,12. Llst 2, p. 286,3). However, Llst 2's scribe adds '*heb ef*' after the Emperor's question: "*Beth oed hynny?", heb ef.* - "What was that?" he said. (Llst 2, p. 286,5).

[47] Unusually, '*wneuthur*', to do', the final word on the line, is also abbreviated in the text, probably due to a lack of writing space. (J 20, fol. 47r, 12).

[48] The 'Y' of 'Ẏpocras' carries a faint punctus, which may indicate a capital letter. (J 20, fol. 47r, 13). The scribe of J 20 has very short, faint descenders to the letter 'y'. They could be mistaken for 'v'.

[49] The 'N' of 'Nei' is written over two lines of text. (J 20, fol.47r, 18-19).

[50] This may be 'ẏ'. There are signs that there may be a very faint dot above the previous letter 'y': 'ẏ. Ypocras', 'to Ypocras', (J 20, fol. 47r, 18). One would expect the capital letter to merit a punctus, as in the same name on line 13, but not a lower case one. Could this indicate another careless mistake in copying?

[51] Note that the scribe has written 'Ipocras' and not his usual form of 'Ypocras'.

[52] J 20, fol. 47r, 21: The complete word is difficult to read due to damage from constant use, therefore it has been supplied from J 111. (J 111, fol.129, col. 533, 12).

[53] The scribe writes '*brenhin*', 'king' here, but abbreviates it to 'brēhin' on line 6. (J 20, fol.47v, 4).

[54] '*oruc'* is written as 'or^{c}' in the manuscript. This may well be because the word appears at the end of a line and there is no room to complete it there. Or possibly the superscript letter was added later by the person checking the manuscript. (J 20, fol.47v, 20).

[55] The scribe has written around another hole, with the 'c' of '*dirgeledic*' above it. He breaks the sentence unnaturally, by placing a punctus after '*dirgeledic*' and having a red *littera notabilior* for 'A'. (J 20, fol. 48r, 2).

[56] 'M' is a large *littera notabilior*, written on two lines. (J 20, fol. 48v, 4-5).

[57] The scribe has put in a cross-stroke to the 's' of '*giglef*', as if it were an 'f'. Jarman (1969 p.108) has retained this orthography; Lewis writes '*gigles*' (l.263). Similarly, on line 3, the scribe has written '*os*' *as* '*of*'. (J 20, fol. 48v, 4).

[58] Unusually for this manuscript, we have *'amherawdyr*' abbreviated to fit the space available. It is also abbreviated on fol. 49r, l.3. (J 20, fol. 48v, 4).

[59] The word '*ardymeredic*','warm', is split between two folios: '*ardyme*' + '*redic*'.

[60] The scribe had written '*bryneist*', 'you bought', without the 'i', but it was inserted as a superscript letter in a contemporary hand. (J 20, fol.49v, 5).

[61] The word '*dihenydir*', (the impersonal form of the verb '*dihenyddio*', 'to execute'), is divided between two folios: '*di*' + '*henydir*'.

[62] The end of the word '*chwedyl*', 'story', has been placed on the following line, with a paraph marking this. So, we find: '*chwe*'+ '*dyl*'. (J 20, fol.50r, 1-2).

[63] '*Hen*', 'old': the initial 'H' is a large, red *littera notabilior*, taking almost three lines of the manuscript. At the end of the line there is a red marker indicating that the words following it belong to the previous sentence above. (J 20, fol.50, 2).

[64] The end of the word '*amdanei*', is illegible, therefore the missing letters were supplied from J 111. ((J 20, fol.49v, 16. J 111, fol. 129v., col.535, 36-37).

[65] Unusually, this is written '*drychafel*' with the meaning of 'raised', 'lifted up', in J 20. (J 20, fol. 50v, 17). Llst 2's '*drychauael*' is similar. (Llst 2, p. 292, 2). J 111 has the more usual '*dyrchauel'.* (J 111, fol. 130r, col. 536, 7).

[66] The word '*gwathaf*' does not appear in GPC. In both J 111 and Llst 2 this is written as '*gwaetha*f', 'exceedingly' or 'very', which makes more sense in this context. This may be another of the scribe's errors in copying. (J 20, fol. 50v, 13-14. J 111, fol.130r, col. 536, 10. Llst 2, p. 391,4).

[67] This is the only occasion where the scribe of J 20 writes 'Un' for 'one. Usually he writes 'Vn'. (J 20, fol.51r, 8).

[68] This tale is unique to the Welsh redaction.

[69] '*Llyma*', 'here is': the 'L'is a very large red letter indicating the beginning of the tale. (J 20, fol.51r, 16-17).

[70] J 111 has '*ceing*', 'a branch' as does Llst 2. (J 111, fol. 130r, col.536, 39. Llst 2, p.392,5). J 20 has '*ceing'* a little later in the tale which must indicate a scribal error for the initial '*cein*'. (J 20, fol. 51r, 18 and J 20, fol. 51v, 1). GPC does not list '*cein*' but suggests '*cainc*', or '*cangen'*, 'branch' as a reading.

[71] '*vunyawndec*' There is no entry for this compound adjective in GPC. The suggested meaning is: '*uniawn*', 'straight' plus '*teg*', 'fair'/ 'beautiful'. This suggests that this is another instance of Llewelyn's use of the '*cyfarwydd*' technique of compounding adjectives in a story. This tale is Llewelyn's own and not a translation from the French.

[72] There is a faint catchword, '*-chi diheny*' at the foot of this folio. (J 20, fol. 51v). The word '*erchi*', 'order', is divided between the folios: 'er' + 'chi'.

[73] The final words on these lines are illegible. (J 20, fol.52r. 18-21). Therefore: '*kymhenawt*', '*brenhin*', '*goresgyn*' and '*gylch a'* have been added, with the missing letters supplied from J 111. (J 111, fol, 130r, col. 537, 40-42).

[74] By placing a punctus, followed by an upper-case red letter, (here replaced by a lower-case red letter), the scribe has broken the sentence at random, losing the meaning. (J 20, fol.52v, 6). There is a mark in the same position in J 111, but no break in the sentence. (J 111, fol.130v, col 538, 1).

[75] J 111 has *'(heb) wynteu*', 'they (said)', with the plural of the personal pronoun. This would make more sense than '*ynteu*', third person singular, as written in J 20 since one of the Sages is addressing all the gullible citizens of the internal tale. (J 111, fol. 130v, col.538, 19. J 20, fol.52v,20).

[76] The word '*keissyau*', 'looking for', is divided between two folios: '*keis'* + '*syau*'.

[77] The word *'vrenhinyaeth'*, 'kingdom', has been abbeviated, with a superscript letter 'e' above 'vn': *'v^{e}nhinyaeth'.* This could have been added by the rubricator when adding the rubrics, or possibly another person checking the work. This could indicate that the manuscript is the output of a scriptorium.

[78] By using a red marker, the scribe indicates that *'"Dihenydir," heb ef*', "He shall be executed," is the end of the sentence on line 19, and that '*Llyma*' follows it. (J 20, fol.53v, 20).

[79] 'Llyma': An exceptionally large red *littera notabilia,* occupying two lines, indicating the beginning of a tale. (J 20, fol. 53v, 20).

[80] The word '*ossodes*', 'placed', is split between two folios.

[81] The final words of the last three lines of this folio are illegible. Therefore, '*diwreidem*', '*yn*', '*rac llaw*', and '*ef*', have been added from J 111. (J 20, fol. 54r, 19-21. J 111, fol.130v, col. 539, 32-37).

[82] Inexplicably, the 'n' of '*wynt*', 'they', is rubricated.

[83] '*Brenhin*', 'king', has been abbreviated here to '*bre'hin*'. The scribe is familiar with abbreviating this word, so would not hesitate to abbreviate it in '*Vaticinium*'. (J 20, fol. 68v, 15).

[84] '*Nos*', 'night', has been omitted from J 20 by the scribe, so the sentence loses its meaning. We follow the reading of J 111. (J 20 fol. 54v, 6. J 111, fol. 130v, col. 539, 43). Could this be an 'eye-skip' by J 20's scribe when copying, possibly, from J 111?

[85] I have not included a capital letter for the word '*amherawdyr'* here to avoid confusion between the character of the internal story and the Emperor of the frame tale.

[86] The scribe has placed a capital 'A' mid-sentence instead of a small letter. I have changed this in my transcription but retained the rubrication. (J 20, fol. 54v, 10).

[87] The word '*anwyleit'*, 'liege men', is split between two folios.

[88] Here the scribe writes '*deuth'*, 'he came', but the similar sentence later in the text has the expected '*doeth*'. (J 20, fol. 55r, 2 and 10). Both versions are the third person singular preterite of '*dyuot*', 'to come'.

[89] Another example of a red *littera notabilior* where we would not expect it to be. (J 20, fol. 55r, 3).

[90] '*Yn dragywyd'*, 'eternally'; '*senedwyr*','senators', and '*na bydei'*, 'would not be', added from J 111 since the folio is very worn at this point and the final words of these lines cannot be read. (J 20, fol. 55v, 18-20; J 111, fol.131r, col. 540, 34-36).

[91] The word '*bydei'*, 'would be', is split between two folios.

[92] J 111 reads: '*A thrannoeth y bore, kyntaf peth a wnaeth ef* ', 'next morning, the first thing he did'. (J 111, fol. 131r, col.541,10-11). Llst 2 reads: '*kyntaf dim a wnaeth ef*'. (Llst 2, p. 298, 22). J 20 omits this.

[93] Due to damage, '*erchis*', 'he ordered', and '*y kyuodes*', 'he rose', have been added, with the text supplied from J 111. J 111 has '*erchi*' but the final 's' can be seen in J 20. (J 20, fol.55v, 19-20. J 111, fol.131r, col. 541, 11-12).

[94] 'Cato' is 'Kato', in both J 111 and Llst 2. (J 111, fol. 131, col.541, 12 and 22. Llst 2, p. 298, 23 and p. 299, 7).

[95] The folio following folio was omitted from the non-contemporary ink numbering of the manuscript. Another hand, much later, possibly Gwenogvryn Evans, numbered this folio '56b,r' and '56b,v' in pencil. It was completely omitted from the earlier online photographic version at the manuscript on the now- replaced website: *Early Manuscripts*

at Oxford University. The newer '*Digital Bodleian'* website now includes the missing folio, listing it as '[56a]r' and [56a]v'. I have followed the pencilled system of the manuscript, as has RHG. https://digital.bodleian.ac.uk

[96] A red *littera notabilior* usually marks the beginning of a new tale or section, but here it comes in the middle of a sentence. (J 20, fol. 56ar, 1)

[97] This is an unexpected reason to judge between the Empress and the Prince since both are young. Only he Emperor himself is old.

[98] '*Heb ef*', 'he said', has been placed at the end of line 14, where the rest of the sentence is on line 17, with '*yd oed gynt gwas'*, 'once here was a young man', before it. *'Heb…*' is marked out with a red paragraph mark. (J 20, fol. 56ar, 14).

[99] This red *littera notabilior* is exceptionally large, taking up more than two lines in the text. (J 20, fol. 56ar, 14-15).

[100] Here we have an example of the abbreviation for 'ur'. (J 20, fol. 56av, 3).

[101] A 'y' has been added in the margin in a later hand, possibly that of Gwenogvryn Evans. This later reader seems not to have understood that the 'u' is not a 'w'. The word is '*uch*', the Modern Welsh '*uwch*', 'higher'. (J 20, fol. 56a, 17).

[102] Note that the supposedly faithful widow's words the echo of those of the *Amherodres*. (J 20, fol. 44r, 7-9).

[103] This is very similar to '*Ny chyfeirch angheu y borthi'*, 'death does not beg to be fed', a proverb found in J 111, in another section copied by Hywel Fychan, who was also responsible for copying the *SDR*. (J 111, fol.268v. col.1076, 11). RHG has '*angheu*', 'death' in its transcription of this particular line, whereas Richard G. Roberts transcribes the word as '*angen*', need'. (Roberts, *Diarhebion*, 2013). The two letters, 'n' and 'u' are very similar but on very close inspection the word here appears to be '*angheu*'. This would be a more logical reading. However, in the earlier section of proverbs, also copied by Hywel Fychan, the proverb is clearly: '*Ny chyfeirch* ***anghen*** *y borthi'*, as the reading in Roberts. RHG follows this here. (J 111, fol.239r, col. 961, 41).

[104] J 111 has '*marchawc pedrydawc'*, brave' or 'perfect' knight. (J 111, fol. 131v, col. 542, 13). Llst 2 has '*uarchawc pryderawc'*, from the verb '*pryderu',* 'to take care of' (not 'to be

anxious') It possibly implies that the knight was watching over or caring for something. (Llst 2, p. 300,9-10).

[105] J 20 has '*herwr*, 'an outlaw'', whereas both J 111 and Llst 2 have '*herwyr*', 'outlaws'. (J 20, 56br, 5-6. J 111, fol. 131v, col. 542, 14. Llst 2, p. 300,11). '*Herwyr*' would be more apt since later in the tale one of the outlaws has been taken. Therefore, there must have been more than one outlaw.

[106] J 111 has '*thrachefyn'*, 'again', which is similar to the word in Modern Welsh. (J 111, fol. 131v., col. 543, 10).

[107] *'Esgutlym'* does not appear as such in GPC. Their suggestion is: '*esgud*'- 'quick 'or 'nimble' plus '*llam'*- 'a leap'. There is no entry for this compound word, not even for the word in this text. Could this be yet another of Llewelyn's creations?

[108] '*Gwrawldrut': gwrol + drud,* meaning 'fearless' + 'intrepid'. According to GPC, this is the one and only example of this compound adjective. Possibly another example of Llewelyn Offeiriad's inventions.

[109] Due to damage, the addition of '*golwg arnaf*', 'set eyes on me', '*dos di'*, 'you go' and '*myn di byth'*, ' never want you', the final words of the lines, are supplied from J 111. (J 20, fol. 58r, 19-21. J 111, fol. 132r, col. 544, 23-24).

[110] Because of the damage to J 20, the word 'brenhin', 'king', is supplied from J 111. (J 20, fol. 59r, 21. J 111, fol.132r, col.545, 3).

[111] Due to wear, the final words of each line: '*heb yr'*, 'said', '*ony rody'*, 'unless you give' and '*auory*', 'tomorrow', are supplied from J 111. (J 20, fol.59v, 1-3. J 111, fol.123r, col. 545, 5-7).

[112] In his edition of *CSDR* Lewis added '*y danaw a mwc',* in parenthesis here. The words are taken from Llst 2. (Llst 2, p. 305, 4). The sentence then read: '*y gwelei y brenhin, trwy ei hun, peir a seith troet ydanaw a mwc y kyuodi ohonaw, 'in his dream, the king would see a cauldron with seven feet beneath it and smoke rising from it'*. This has not been added to my transcription of the text of J 20. The following section in J 20 and J 111 states that the seven feet were fiercely boiling in the cauldron, just as were the Sages with their excessive lust for wealth. See Lewis, p.88, note to 724. (J 20, fol. 59v, 15-20).

[113] J 20, fol. 59v: Due to damage, the final words of the last three lines of this page are impossible to read. Therefore, the text has been supplied from J 111. (J 111, fol.132r, col. 545, 45-46 and fol. 132v, col. 546,1)

[114] J 20 has *'pob*' (J 20, fol. 59v, 3) J 111 has '*bop*', (J 111, fol.132r, 27) and Llst 2 has '*bob*'. (Llst2, p. 305, 9).

[115] J 20, fol. 59v, 21: Much of this folio is badly damaged and very difficult to read, therefore the text has been supplied from J 111. (J 111, fol.130, col. 538).

[116] J 20 fol. 60r, 17. There is a punctus between '*ditheu*' and '*tydi*' which has been given a capital letter: '*Tydi*', 'you'.

[117] J 29, fol. 60v, 1.' *Llyma*': the initial letter 'L' is another exceptionally large, red *littera notabilior*.

[118] J 20, fol. 60v, 8-9. '*Bydoed*': the text emended due to illegibility. The text supplied from J 111. (J111, fol. 132v, col. 546, 28).

[119] J 20, fol. 60v, 14-18. The text is damaged at the end of these lines; therefore, I have emended, it using J 111. (J 111, fol. 132v, col. 546).

[120] A large red letter, as in note 69, above.

[121] J 20, fol. 61r, 9. The punctus between '*llys*', 'court' and '*a'* functions as a comma, breaking the sentence.

[122] The word '*ymgynhewi*', 'fell silent', is divided between two folios: *'ymgyn'* + '*hewi*'.

[123] This letter is a red one, but it is impossible to see whether it is 'A' or 'a'. I have used a lower-case letter since it occurs mid-sentence.

[124] J 20, fol. 62r, 2-4. Here we have another hole in the parchment. The scribe writes around it, placing a superscript 'c' above in '*oruc*'.

[125] J 20, fol. 62r, 21: '*Amryw*': due to damage, again, the text is taken from J 111. (J 111, fol. 133r, col. 548, 11).

[126] J 20, fol. 62v, 3. '*Adnabot*' and '*ti, na at',* 'recognise' and 'don't you'. The left-hand side of the manuscript is damaged here, therefore the text has been supplied from J 111. (J 111, fol. 133r, col. 548, 12-13).

[127] J 20, fol. 62v, 14. The scribe puts an unnecessary punctus between '*ytti*' and '*y*'.

[128] J 111 has '*yma*' where we have '*yman*', 'here'. (J 111, fol. 133r, col. 548, 26. J 20, fol. 62v, 16). Both forms were current at this time. See GPC.

[129] J 20, fol.63r, 1-11 and 17-21. The right-hand side of this folio is damaged making the words illegible. Therefore, the text from J 111 has been used. (J 111, fol. 133r, col.548, 33-40 and col. 549, 4-7).

[130] The 'n' in the negative: '*na*' has been expunged by the scribe. (J 20, fol. 63r, 3).

[131] The text is illegible at this point due to manuscript damage. J 111, which I have relied on to supply the missing text, does not have a word at this point; neither does Hywel Fychan add '*yn y wlat'*. Llst2 also differs here. Both J 111 and J 20 have '*hir o amser'*, 'a long time', whereas Llst2 has '*yr ys llawer dyd'*, 'for many a day'. (J 111, fol. 133r, 549, 8. Llst 2, p. 311, 2).

[132] The scribe has not added an abbreviation mark here. (J 20, fol. 63v, 9).

[133] J 20 is the only version of *CSDR* to name the country 'Germania'. (J 20, fol. 63v, 20). J 111 has '*Pwyl'*, (J 111, fol.133r, col.549, 28), as has Llst 2, (p. 311, 17).

[134] The initial 'L' is very large, taking up two lines of text. (J 20, fol. 64r, 3-4).

[135] '*Yna',* 'then', is missing from J 20, but is present in J 111. (J 20, fol. 64r, 15. J 111, fol.133r, col. 549, 42). It makes for a better reading if it is included.

[136] J 20, fol. 64v, 7. The scribe of J 20 writes 'Mathin' here not 'Martin', the name which appears elsewhere in this manuscript, such as at the end of this tale, (J 20, fol.66v, 10). Llst 2 has 'Martinus'. (Llst 2, p. 312, 16-17).

[137] An example of the use of a red capital letter, mid sentence, where we would not expect one to be. (J 20, fol. 64r, 19).

[138] This is 'A' in the manuscript. However, I have changed it to a lower-case letter because of its position mid-sentence.

[139] J 20, fol. 65v, 10. There is a black letter 'N', possibly for '*Nota Bene*', in the margin here.

[140] There is no punctus in the manuscript between the mother's speech and the following action.

[141] On its website, RHG transcribes this word as '*prenuol*'. (J 111, fol. 133v., col. 551, 18). GPC defines '*prenfol*' as 'a coffer' or 'chest'. It also has '*prennol*' with the same meaning.

It is difficult to distinguish the different letters in J 20 and I have transcribed the word as ‘p*rennol*’. This is the same as the word in Llst2, (p. 394, 19).

[142] There are three ‘s’ s here. (J 20, fol. 66r, 5-6).

[143] There is no punctus separating the episodes in the manuscript.

[144] There is a tiny catch letter ‘ạ’ in the top left-hand corner of the folio which begins with the word ‘*anuones*’. (J 20 fol. 66v).

[145]. The scribe of J 20 has written *‘mab*’, ‘son’, which makes no sense in this context. This has been changed to to ‘*mam*’, ‘mother’, as in J 111 and Llst 2. (J 111, fol., 133v, col. 551, 39. Llst 2, p. 315, 16). This would be the expected reading. The daughter was obviously talking to her mother. It would be highly unlikely that she would be talking in this way to a son, even if there one existed.

[146] Either this letter has been expunged by placing a punctus on either side or the scribe has written it as a numeral.

[147] In this hand the descender of the letter ‘y’ is very short, therefore, the word could be either ‘*ymogy*’ or ‘*ymogv*’. (J 20, fol. 66v, 8). J 111 has ‘*ymogel*’, ‘beware’. (J 111, fol. 133v, col. 551, 46). Llst 2 has *‘mogel’*, also ‘beware’. (Llst 2, p. 315, 21).

[148] The word ‘*brenhin’*, ‘king’, is abbreviated to ‘*br’hin*’ due to lack of space. (J 20, fol. 66v, 14). This demonstrates that J 20’s scribe was no stranger to abbreviating ‘*brenhin*’ and later expanded a no-existent abbreviation from ‘*brein*’, ‘crows’, to ‘brenhin’. (J 20, fol. 68v, 15).

[149] This word has been split between two folios.

[150] ‘*Marchawc*’, ‘knight’, has also been split between two folios.

[151] A large, red letter, possibly an N for *Nota Bene*, is in the left margin marking the beginning of this tale. It may indicate the importance of this, the final tale, where the prince establishes his innocence. (J 20, fol. 63v, 3).

[152] This is the final red letter of the tales. (J 20, fol. 68, 16).

[153] The repeated ‘*y mae*’, following ‘*y maent’,* has been deleted here by the scribe. This mistake could well indicate that the scribe was copying from another exemplar. (J 20, fol. 68v, 9).

[154] J 20 has 'brenhin', 'king' here. I have changed it from *'brenhin'*, 'king', to '*brein*', 'crows', from J 111, ((J 20, fol 68v, 15. J 111, fol.134, col. 553 43). '*Brein*' occurs in Llst 2. (Llst 2, p. 317b v, 3).

[155] None of *the litterae notabiliores* on this folio are marked in red.

[156] In the manuscript, the 'e' of '*ef*', is upper case: '*Ef*': 'He'. This could be intended as an indication to a reader that the author is drawing a comparison between the boy of the tale and Christ.

[157] J 20, fol.69r, 4, has '*lletty*', a noun: 'a lodging' or a 'room', whereas J 111 has 'lettyv', a verb meaning 'to dwell' or 'lodge'. (J 111, fol. 134v, 544, 6). Llst 2 has '*llettya'*, also a verb. (Llst 2, 317bv, 11). Again, J 20's scribe has mis-copied from his exemplar. Such a mistake could point to his not being a native Welsh speaker, or maybe it is merely a careless error.

[158] J 20, fol.69r, 19-21: This section is worn and difficult to decipher, especially the inner margin of lines 5-9. The text has been completed from J 111. (J 111, fol. 134v, col., 554, 31-35).

[159]: The word '*ymgynnic*' is written in a different hand as a gloss in the margin. (J 20, fol. 69v, 14).

[160] Hywel Fychan adds 'a *hynny a oruc hitheu',* 'and she did that'. (J 111, fol. 134v, col.554, 39).

[161] The manuscript is very damaged at this point.

[162] All three manuscript witnesses differ here. J 111 has: *'O varn y goruchaf vrawdwr, Sef oed hwnnw, Duw goruchaf, yr hwnn a gymerth yr eneit y'r poen a haedawd yn diannoyt Ac uelly y teruyna chwedlyleu y seith doeth.*'- 'By the judgement of the supreme judge, who is God, who took upon himself the pain directly. And so ends the tales of the Seven Sages'. (J 111, fol. 134v, col.555, 6-9).

Llst 2 is similar to J 111, but reads '*o varn y goruchaf Duw, yr hwnn a gymerth yr eneit yr boen a haedawd yn diannot',* 'By the judgement of the supreme God , who took upon himself the pain directly…' and it finishes abruptly with: '*Ac velly y teruynawd', '*And so it ended'. (Llst 2, p.318, 22-24).

20. Translation

Here is the tale of The Seven Sages of Rome, by Llewelyn the Priest.

Diocletian was Emperor of Rome. When his wife Eve had died, leaving one son as their heir, he summoned seven wise men of Rome to him. Their names were Bantillas, Augustus, Lentillus, Malquidas, Cato the worthy knight, Jesse and Martin. Now when the men came to him they asked the Emperor what was wanted and why they had been summoned there. "This is the reason," said the Emperor. "I have one son and I am asking you, to whom should I give him to learn etiquette, courtesy, fine manners and good breeding?" (1-9)

"Between me and God," said Bantillas, one of the Sages of Rome, "if you were to give me your son to be tutored, by the end of the seven years I would have taught him as much as I and my six companions know." "Yes," said Augustus, "give the boy to me and by the end of six years I shall have taught him as much as we seven know." Cato said, "Because of the boy's aptitude and eagerness to learn, because of that, I promise to teach him." "If you give him to me to be tutored," said Jesse, "I shall teach him the best I can." And after each of the six [*sic*] men had promised to teach the boy in the best way that they could, the Emperor decided to give his son to all seven to be tutored. Then a house was built for them on the banks of the river Tiber outside Rome in a beautiful, prominent, level, dry place. They decorated the house all around with depictions of the Seven Liberal Arts and tutored the boy until he was mature in his senses, prudent in his speech, deliberate and wise in his deeds. (10-21)

And during that time the Emperor married a wife. After he had brought his bride to the court and slept with her, she asked this one and that one whether the Emperor had an heir. One day she came to the house of a horrid, toothless, one-eyed hag and said to the hag: "In God's name, tell me, has the Emperor a child?" "He hasn't," said the hag. "Woe is me that he is childless," she said. Then the hag took pity on the other cursed one and said: "You don't have to worry, it is foretold that he will have children and perhaps he will have one by you before he has one by another. But, don't be sad, he does have one son who is being fostered by the Sages of Rome." And then she returned to the court

exceedingly happy and overjoyed, and said to the Emperor: “Why are you hiding your child from me?” “I shall not hide him any longer,” he said, “and tomorrow I shall order that he is brought back to show to you.” (22-31)

That night as the son and his teachers were out walking they saw, by the brilliance of the stars and the turbulence in the constellations, that unless he were wisely defended the son would be a dead man, and the son also saw this. Then he said to his teachers: “If you defend me with your wisdom for seven days I shall defend myself on the eighth.” And they promised to defend him. Next day, behold, there were messengers from the Emperor ordering them to bring the son to show him to the new Empress. However, when the boy came into the hall and was greeted by his father and his retinue he did not say a single word, no more than if he were mute. His father was dismayed to see his son silent but ordered that he should be brought to show to his stepmother. When she saw him she was inflamed with lust for the boy and took him to a private room and spoke dallying, teasing, amorous words to him. But the boy spurned her and abandoned her, leaving her alone in the room. (32-42)

When she saw that she had been rejected she let out a high-pitched, enormous, loud scream, and tearing her clothes and the adornments from her head, making her blonde hair white and bruised at its roots, she rushed to the Emperor’s room. It was astonishing that the tips of her fingers were not bent crooked with the force with which she struck the tips of her fingers and her hands together whilst going to the Emperor to complain about the assault and violation by his son, saying that he had attempted to rape her. Then, in his rage, Emperor swore the greatest oath, firstly because of his son’s muteness, saying that he did not care whether the boy lived or died and secondly because of the insult to the Queen saying that the boy’s soul would not be within him any longer than the following day. (42-49)

1. *Arbor*: The Tree

That night the Empress said to the Emperor: “The same will happen to you because of your son as happened to the large pine tree because of the little pine that was growing near it. A branch of the larger tree was stunting the smaller one’s growth and the townsman who owned the trees ordered his gardener to cut off the branch of the old tree that was preventing the small one from growing upwards. But once that branch was

cut the whole tree withered and it was ordered to be completely cut down. The same will happen to you because of the son whom you put out to be tutored by the Seven Sages. To your loss, he is secretly looking for the agreement of the nobles to destroy you and rule without any hindrance." The Emperor was furious and swore to destroy him next day. (50-58)

Having spent that day and that night honouring and entertaining the Empress, the following day the Emperor rose very early, dressed and went immediately to the Senate. There he asked the Sages how his son should be put to death. Then Bantillas stood up and said: "Lord Emperor, if the boy is to be executed because of his muteness, it is more just for you to be merciful to him than to be cruel since this injury is more difficult for him to bear than for anyone else. If you act on the accusation of the Queen, the same will happen to you because of your son, as happened long ago to a noble knight and his greyhound." "What was that?" said the Emperor. "Upon my word, I shall not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will not be executed during the course of the day today." "He will not be executed, upon my word," he said. "Now tell me your story." (59-68)

2. *Canis*: The Dog

"Once upon a time there was a knight in Rome who had his court beside the city. One day there was a tournament and jousting between the knights. The lady and her retinue went to the top of the city walls to watch the jousting, leaving no-one in the court except the knight's only son sleeping in his cradle and the greyhound lying beside it. Because of the neighing of the steeds, the ferocity of the men, the tumult of the spearmen and the clashing of the shimmering golden shields, a snake awoke from the wall of the castle and slithered towards the knight's court. It saw the child in the cradle and rushed towards him. But before it got hold of him the keen, quick greyhound leapt upon it, and because of their fighting and jousting the cradle was turned topsy-turvy with the child still in it. The quick, keen dog killed the serpent and left it in tiny pieces beside the cradle. And when the lady came in and discovered both the dog and the cradle covered in blood she went, weeping and wailing, to the knight accusing the dog of killing his only son. In his rage the knight killed the dog. Then, to satisfy his wife, he came to look at the child. When he came, he found the babe safe and well beneath the cradle and the snake in

tiny pieces near him. Then the knight was guilt-ridden, having killed such a good dog on the word and the insistence of his wife. The same will happen to you if you kill your son on the accusation and insistence of your wife." Then the Emperor swore that the boy would not be killed that day. (69-84)

And after finishing their discussion and debating, they came into the hall. When the Empress realised that the Emperor preferred talking to eating she began a conversation and asked whether the son had been executed. "No, by my faith," he said. "I know," she said, "that the Sages of Rome caused this. Indeed, the same will happen to you for believing them as happened long ago to the boar because of the shepherd." "What was that?" asked the Emperor. "By my faith, I shan't tell you unless you give your word that the boy will be executed tomorrow." "He will be executed, upon my word," he said. (85-91)

3. *Aper:* The Boar

"Here is the story," she said. "There was a sweet, fruitful, leafy tree in a forest in France and the boar wanted the fruit of no other tree in the wood except for the fruit of that particular tree. One day a shepherd discovered the tree and saw that the fruit was fair and beautifully sweet and ripe, and he gathered an armful of the fruit . At that moment the boar appeared, and the shepherd had barely a second to climb into the branches of the tree for fear of the boar, taking his armful with him. And the boar, when he did not find any of fruit as he was used to, snorted and gnashed his teeth. Then he discovered the shepherd in the branches of the tree and in his rage began to uproot the tree. When the shepherd saw that, he dropped the fruit down to the boar. When the boar had eaten enough, he went to sleep beneath the branches of the tree. Whilst he slept, the shepherd climbed down and cut the boar's throat with a knife. The same will happen to the Boar of Rome and the fruit of his empire will be stolen from him." "Upon my word," said the Emperor, "he shall not live any longer than tomorrow!" Next day, going in his rage to the Senate, the Emperor immediately ordered the execution of his son. Then Augustus rose up and said: "My Lord, God will not allow you to do to your son as Ipocras did to his nephew." "What was that?" "Upon my word, I shall not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will not be executed today." "He will not be executed, upon my word," he said. (92-107)

4. *Medicus:* The Physician

"Ipocras, the best physician in the world, had a nephew, his sister's son. When a summons came from the king of Hungary asking that Ypocras should come to heal his son who was desperately ill, he could not go himself but sent his nephew there instead. When he came to the court the youth looked at the king and the queen and then at the boy and when he saw nothing of the nature of the king in the boy he asked his mother who his father was, since he could not treat him unless he knew the temperament and nature of the family he hailed from. Then she said that he had been conceived in adultery with the Earl of Nawarn. Then the nephew gave the boy the meat of a young ox until he was fully well. When he returned home his uncle asked him how he had cured the boy. 'With the meat of a young ox,' he said. 'If what you say is true, boy,' he said, 'he was conceived in adultery.' 'That is true,' said the boy. (108-117)

"Now when Ypocras saw that his nephew was as skilled as that, he decided to kill him, and invited him to come and walk with him. When they came to a remote, secret place he said to his nephew: 'I can smell the scent of good herbs.' 'I can smell them too,' said the boy, 'would you like them?' 'Yes,' he said. And as the boy was bending down to harvest the herbs he stabbed him with a knife until he fell dead to the ground. Then everyone cursed Ipocras and he was damned. The same, Lord Emperor, will happen to you and you will be cursed if you execute your son when he is innocent." "I shall not," he said. That night, after finishing their meal, the Empress asked whether the son had been executed. "No," said the Emperor "Yes," said she, "the Sages of Rome caused that. The same will happen to you for believing them about your son as happened to the man whose son cut off his head and buried it in the cesspit." "What was that?" he said. "By my faith, I shall not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will be executed tomorrow." "Here's my word that he will be executed." (117-128)

5. *Gaza*: The Treasure

"I have heard that once there was an Emperor in Rome who was the greediest man in the world for worldly wealth. When he had finished amassing and assembling a tower full of gold, silver and highly precious jewels, he placed a wealthy, anxious miser as guardian of the goods. Now, there was in the city a poor, audacious man whose son was a young, lively, bold lad. The man and his son came at night to the top of the tower,

broke in and stole as much of the goods as they could. Next day, when the guardian came to look at the tower, he saw that an immeasurable amount of the treasure had been stolen. Then he cunningly thought to put a barrel full of warm glue in front of the tower where it had been breached to see whether he could catch the thieves and show them to the emperor to save him from being suspected. (129-137)

"Now the thieves, after spending the wealth on land and property, houses, mansions and entertainment, came again to the tower. As they were coming out with their plunder, before the father knew what was happening, he was up to his belt in the vat of glue. Then he asked his son's advice. 'I don't know what else to do,' said the son, 'other than to cut off your head with a sword and hide it in a secret place, because if you are found still alive you will be tormented and tortured and will confess to taking the treasure and admit it all.' 'Oh, my lord son,' said he, 'do not do this to me. The Emperor is the most merciful man in the world, the goods are here and I shall have my life back again.' 'By the One I believe in,' said the son, 'I shall not risk throwing away these three things for the sake of not cutting off your head.' 'What three things are they?' said the father. 'These goods here, my own life and the lands and property that you bought.' And then, in a cruel, unnatural way he cut off his father's head. In the same way your son will cause you to be killed because of his lust and love for your kingdom, which is more valuable than treasure." "By my faith," he said, "his soul will not be in him any longer than tomorrow." (138-150)

Next day, when he saw day break, the Emperor went to the Senate and ordered the execution of his son. Then Lentillus rose up and said: "Lord Emperor, the same will happen to you for executing your son as happened years ago to a wealthy old man because of his fair young wife, whom he loved very much." "What was that?" said the Emperor. "By God, I shall not tell you unless you give me your word that the boy will not be executed today." "He will not be executed," he said. "Now tell me your story." (151-156)

6. *Puteus*: The Well

"Once upon a time there was an old gentleman who married a young well-born woman. However, it was not long after their wedding that she secretly began to lust after a young squire in her lord's court and made an assignation with him. At about the first part

of the night, when her husband was sleeping most soundly, she rose and went to her lover. It was not long after she had gone that her husband woke, turned over in his bed and was surprised to find it empty of his partner. In his anger and jealousy, he rose up and searched the house for her and when he did not find her, went to the door and locked it firmly, and in his anger swore that she would not set foot within that house whilst she lived. (157-164)

"A little before daybreak, after she was full of the pleasures of love with her lover, she came to the door, and when she saw that the door was locked, she pleaded for it to be opened. 'Upon my word,' said her husband, 'this house will never be opened to you during your lifetime, and tomorrow in your family's presence, I shall have you stoned to death.' 'Upon my word,' she said, 'I would sooner leap from where I am into this fishpond and drown myself than suffer that fate.' Then she found a large stone near her, lifted it up and heaved it into the pond so that the splash was heard across the whole of the court. Then he was exceedingly sorry and came out of the house to see whether she was still alive. Then, quickly, without hesitating, she went in and shut the door firmly on him and accused him of breaking the marriage vow by leaving the house and his bed at that time of night. Next day, in the presence of the judges and the officials of the city, he had to suffer the pain and suffering that she should have borne for her wickedness. In the same way your wife will deceive you about your son when she is the one who is wicked and guilty and the boy is innocent." "He shall not be executed today," he said. (165-177)

Now, after dining, the Queen said: "I know that the Sages of Rome have not let you execute the boy today." "No," he said. "If you believe them about your son the same will happen to you as happened to one of the citizens of Rome because of a fruitful, green-branched tree which was dear to him." "What was that?" said the Emperor. "I shall not tell you unless you give me your word that the boy will be executed tomorrow." "He shall be executed, by my faith." (178-182)

7. *Ramus:* The Branch

"Then here is the story," she said. "A Roman citizen had a sweet fruit tree growing in his orchard and a beautiful, straight branch rose from the trunk of the tree and reached to the sky. And if the man was fond of the tree and its fruit then he admired this branch

even more because of its beauty. 'Between me and God,' said his gardener, 'if you were to take my advice, you would cause that branch to be cut off that tree.' 'Why?' he said. 'Because you will not enjoy the fruit of the tree safely while that branch is a ladder and support for thieves and wicked men; there is no other way to climb the tree nor of having the fruit except by using that branch.' 'By my faith,' he said, 'no part of that branch will be cut down any more than before.' 'So be it', said the gardener. That night, thieves came to the tree and robbed it of its fruit and by the next morning, left it bare, with all its branches broken. The Sages of Rome will leave you as bare as that of the fruit of your kingdom unless you destroy that branch that is your son." "Tomorrow morning he shall be killed, by my faith," he said, "and they too, each and every one of them."

(183-194)

Next day, in his wrath and with the encouragement of the Queen, the Emperor went to the Senate and ordered the execution of his son and the Sages of Rome with him. Then Malquidas, a man of gentle countenance, rose up and said this: "Lord Emperor, if, on the urging of your wife and because of her accusation, you cause the execution of your son you will be deceived just as the wolf tricked the shepherd." "How was that?" asked the Emperor. "I shall not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will not be executed today." "He shall not be executed, by my faith, now tell me your tale."

(195-201)

8. *Roma-Lupus*: Rome-The Wolf

"Here is the tale," he said. "Once upon a time there was a rich, strong city in the East and seven able, wise and sensible men were safeguarding and guiding the city. The strength of that city was not in its garrison nor its citizens but in the wisdom of these men and their ability. Now, at that time there came a cruel, strong king to try to overthrow the city. But, having laid siege to it and set war machines against it, this king did not succeed at all because of the ability of the Sages within who were keeping their city safe. However, when the wily king saw that the city was not to be captured by fighting, he deviously swore to retreat from there and not fight the city's garrison if they sent him the seven men mentioned above. The silly people, not seeing the treachery and the anguish which was well hidden [beneath the leaves], believed the lies and false promises

of the king and took hold of the men and bound them, intending to send them out to him. (202-212)

"Then one of the Sages stood up and said: 'Oh lords, once you have delivered us into his possession, the same will happen to you for believing that cruel king as happened long ago, when the wolf deceived the shepherd.' 'What was that?' they asked. 'A huge, cruel wolf was looking for an opportunity and chance to kill a shepherd and his flock, but the shepherd's ferocious, quick mastiffs gave him no rest, neither in wood nor field. When the wolf realised this he promised the shepherd and his flock concord and everlasting peace if the dogs were caught, tied up and given to him. The foolish shepherd believed the wolf's lying words and delivered the dogs to him. He quickly killed the dogs, after that the flock and finally the shepherd. In the same way that cruel king will kill you all if you believe him, once he has finished killing us.' 'As God is alive, we will not believe him nor deliver you into his possession.' Then, on their advice, they defeated the cruel king and killed him. Lord, this I say to you truly, just as the cruel king wanted to kill the citizens had they believed him, and just as the wolf killed the shepherd because he believed him, so your wife will kill you if you believe her and cause us all to be killed at her insistence." "I shall not do that, by my faith," he said.

(213-227)

And then, after finishing dining, the Queen spoke to the Emperor: "Just as the fragrance of the leaves and the flowers lure the hound off the scent until he has lost his young prey, so the Sages of Rome draw you away with fair words and golden speeches about your son until you lose your kingdom and your wealth. Because the same will happen to you for believing them as happened to the Emperor Gracian." "What was that?" he said. "Here is my faith," she said, "that I shall not tell you unless you give your word to execute the boy tomorrow." "He shall be executed."

(228-234)

9. *Virgilius*: Virgil

"Here is the tale," she said. "Virgil placed a column in the heart of Rome and at the top of the column a mirror of magical craftsmanship. In this mirror the senators of Rome could see whichever kingdom they wanted to see so that no one could march against them, and they could quickly attack any city they wished to and conquer it. This column

and mirror caused every kingdom to fear the men of Rome more than ever before. The King of Apulia offered immeasurable riches to anyone who would take it upon himself to uproot the column and break the mirror. (235-241)

"Then two brothers of one mother rose up and spoke thus: 'Lord King,' they said, 'if we were to have two things we could uproot the column.' 'How is that?' said he. 'Raise us up and increase our dignity and honour, then give us the things that we need at this moment.' 'What are they?' he said. 'Two barrels full of gold,' they said, 'because the Emperor Gracian is the greediest man in the world for gold.' 'You shall have that,' said the King, and they were given the gold. Then they travelled to Rome with the gold, and during the night they buried the two barrels near the city, close to the highway.

"Next day they came to the court and greeted the Emperor and offered to become his liege men. 'What service will you perform or what craft do you know that I should take you as my men?' They said, 'We can tell if any gold or silver is hidden in your kingdom, and we can give it all to you.' 'After your meal, go back to your lodging tonight and by tomorrow, look to see if there is any hidden gold in my kingdom and if there is, tell me. If I find it is true, I shall take you as my liege men.' Then they went away to their lodging. Next day the younger man came before the Emperor and said that, by divination, he had discovered that a barrel of gold was hidden near the gate of the city. Then the Emperor quickly ordered that it should be sought. And after it was found and brought to him, he took the young man as one of his favourites. (241-257)

"The following day, the other young man came and said that, in a dream, he too, had discovered that a barrel of gold was hidden by the other gate of the city. After this was found to be true, the young men were trusted and loved from then on and taken as favourites by the Emperor. They then claimed that there was gold beneath the column which gave eternal protection to the kingdom. But the Roman senators said that if the column were toppled Rome would no longer be as strong as it had been previously. However, the Emperor's lust for gold and silver prevented him from taking the advice of these men and he ordered the uprooting of the column, and that smashed the mirror.

"Then the Roman senators were angry, and they quickly surrounded him, caught him, tied him up and forced him to drink molten gold, saying to him: 'You lusted after gold, gold you shall have.' In the same way, your craving to listen to the Sages of Rome, who

are deceiving you with their golden prattling, prevents you from trusting my advice and execute your son. They will bring about your death and destruction in disgrace." "By my faith," he said, "he shall not live any longer than tomorrow." And next morning he ordered the execution of his son. (257-270)

Then Cato the Elder, an able, wise man, rose up and said this: "My Lord Emperor, you should not judge by the false and deceitful speeches that your ears hear, but by patience and by seeking the truth, to judge right between old and young. Your wife, whom you love and believe, will be as false to you as was the wife of the sheriff of Lesodonia." "Cato," said the Emperor, "how was that?" "Here's my word that I will not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will not be executed today." "He will not be executed, upon my word," he said. (271-277)

10. *Vidua*: The Widow

"Once there was a young man from Rome who was sheriff of Lesodonia. One day he was carving a shaft for a spear. His wife was flirting with him and he was flirting with her. And at that moment, the blade of his knife touched her hand and drew blood. He was so distraught that he stabbed himself in the chest with his knife and fell dead to the floor. Now, once the correct rites and ceremonies were conducted within his court, he was taken to the church to be buried. And it was a marvel that the tips of her fingers were not bruised from the vigour with which she struck her hands together mourning her husband. Each cry that she shrieked was louder than any horn or bell over the face of the whole city. Now, once her husband had been buried and everyone had left the church her mother begged the Lady to come home with her but she swore by The One who was above that she would not leave the place until she too were dead. 'You cannot do this,' said her mother. 'Also, it is more appropriate that you should return to your own court to mourn your husband than to dwell in such a fearful, dreadful place as this.' 'I shall prove that I can,' she said. Then she ordered a huge, bright fire to be lit before her and food and drink to be left for her to eat when she felt hungry, since hunger does not beg to be fed. (278-291)

"Now that night there was a brave, mounted knight of the city, who was guarding an outlaw that had been hanged that day. And as he was looking around and about he saw a bright light in a place that he had not seen one at all before. He spurred his horse on to

go and see where the fire was, and why it had been made. When he got there, he found a wall, a cemetery and a church, and a large, bright fire near the church. He tethered his horse by the entrance to the cemetery and then, fully armed, he went to the church to see who was there. When he arrived, he saw a young girl sitting above a newly dug grave with a bright smokeless fire in front of her and a lot of food and drink beside her. He asked her why a lady so young and weak of body and of such gentle demeanour was on her own in a place as frightening as that. She replied that all she was afraid of was that death would not come soon enough for her. The knight asked her why, and she answered: 'Because the man I loved most and will love as long as I live was buried here today. I am sure that he loved me more than anyone, as he took his own life because of me.' 'Ah, Lady,' said the knight, 'if you were to take my advice you would turn away from this mind-set and take another husband, one who might be as good or even better.' 'In the name of the One who is above, I do not want another husband after him.' (292-306)

"After they had talked for a while, the knight went back to the gibbet. But when he got there, one of the thieves had been taken, and he was horrified since the feudal service he owed for his estate and lands was to prevent the families of gentlemen who had been hanged from taking them away and burying them. So he returned to the Lady and told her of his plight and woe. 'If you were to give me your word that you would marry me, I could extricate you from that problem,' she said. 'By my faith,' he said, 'I will marry you.' 'Then this is what you must do' she said. 'Dig up the man who is buried here and hang him in the place of the outlaw and no-one will know except the two of us.' So he dug into the pit until he had unearthed the corpse. 'Here he is,' he said. 'Toss him up.' she said. 'By my faith,' he said, 'I would rather fight three live men than touch one dead man.' 'I'll touch him,' she said, and she nimbly jumped into the grave and threw the corpse up to its edge. (307-318)

'Now you take him to the gibbet,' she said. 'God knows,' he said, 'that neither I nor my horse could do this without difficulty, because of the amount of armour on us.' 'I can,' she said. 'Lift him up on my shoulders.' Once she had the corpse on her shoulders, she strode out boldly with it until she came to the gibbet. 'Oh,' said the knight, 'what good is this, since there was a sword wound on the outlaw's head?' 'You strike this one on his

head.' 'I shall not strike him, by my faith,' he said. 'By my faith,' she said, 'I'll strike him.' And she struck a large blow with the knight's sword on her husband's head. 'Yes,' said the knight, 'but what good is that? The outlaw had no teeth.' 'I shall make this one toothless,' she said. She found a large stone and hit the body until its gums and teeth were in shreds because of the force and strength of the blows. 'Yes,' said the knight, **'**but the outlaw was bald.' 'I shall make this one bald too' she said, and she took her husband's head between her knees with her two feet on his shoulders. There was never a woman shearing nor man shaving quicker than she was plucking her husband's head, from his forehead to the crown. She did not leave a single hair unplucked, any more than the parchment-maker leaves any hairs on the parchment. (318-331)

"When she had finished, she told the knight to hang the body. 'I swear that I will not hang him and neither will you. Even if you were the only woman in the world, I would have none of you. If you have been so wicked to the man who married you when you were a virgin, and who killed himself because of you, how much more faithless would you be to me whom you had never set eyes on before tonight? So go wherever you want, since I would not want you ever.' "By my confession to God, my Lord Emperor, before long, the woman for whose sake you are now going to execute your son will be as faithless as that." "Here's my word that he will not be executed today," he said. (332-340)

After finishing dining the Queen asked the Emperor whether the son had been executed. "No, he hasn't," he said. "He never will be as long as the Sages of Rome live. For, just as the wet-nurse distracts the child from his temper and tantrums by singing and whispering in his ears or showing him something silly and frivolous, in the same way the Sages of Rome are drawing you away from your anger at my shame and disgrace by your son's behaviour, with their tales the lying speeches that they present to you. The same will happen to you, in the end, if you listen to them, as happened to the king who dreamt every night that he was blind." "What was that?" asked the Emperor. "I shall not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will be destroyed tomorrow." "He will be destroyed," he said. (341-348)

11. *Sapientes*: the Wise Men

"Once upon a time," she said, "there was a king of one of the cities of Rome who put seven men to govern the city. Those men began to amass gold and silver and jewels until the poorest of them was richer in worldly goods than the king. And they agreed to do this so that they could kill the king and share his kingdom between them because of the power and strength of their wealth. Each night in his dream, the king would see a cauldron with seven feet rising from it, just as if there were a strong fierce fire beneath it; and sparks would fly from them into his eyes, blinding him, so he thought. Then he sent messengers to look everywhere for diviners of dreams and visions of the distant future. The messengers happened upon a young man who had been given by God the gift of prophecy and interpreting dreams. The boy was brought before the king. When he arrived, the king told him his dream. 'Yes,' said the boy, 'I will interpret the dream and give you advice concerning it. Unless you take the advice, your dream will happen just as you see it in your dream. Here is your dream,' said the boy.

(349-362)

'The cauldron that you see in your dream signifies this city, the seven feet that you see are the seven men who govern it, they who are boiling with too much power and wealth and are plotting treason against you, unless they are quickly killed.' But the king did not take the boy's advice and they killed him and stole his kingdom from him. Unless you kill them at once, the same will happen to you because of your son and the Sages of Rome who are betraying you and deceiving you with their words while they look for a chance to kill you and steal your kingdom." "Here's my faith," he said, "they shall be killed tomorrow." Next day, in his wrath, he went to the Senate and ordered the hanging of his son and the Sages of Rome with him. Then Jesse rose up and said this within the hearing of all the company. "A lord should not vacillate and allow falsehood and lies to manipulate him. Just as the queen deceived the king with the knight long ago, so your wife will deceive you." "How will that be?" he asked. "By God's name I will not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will not be executed today." "He shall not be executed," said the Emperor. (363-375)

12. *Inclusa:* The Lady in the Tower

"Here is the tale," he said. "Once there was a knight who dreamt every night that he was in a tall tower making love to a beautiful young lady that he had never set eyes upon except in his dream and he languished with love for her. He decided that he should go and travel the world and cities to search for her. As he was walking, he saw a large, fortified city with an enormous, prominent castle nearby, and the mighty, tall tower within the castle was similar in colour and shape to the one that he would see in his dream when he was with the woman he loved most dearly. He walked towards the tower along the highway beneath the castle until he came alongside the tower. He glanced up at the tower, and discovered his beloved inside, and he was happy and pleased to see her. He walked on towards the city and took lodgings there that night. (376-385)

"The following day, with great pomp, he came to the entrance of the castle and summoned the porter to him and requested that he should go and ask the king if he needed a young, loyal and diligent knight in his household. The porter went to the king and gave him the message. 'Let him in,' said the king, 'so that we may see whether he can be of service to us.' The knight came to the court and everyone admired him. He quickly became so highly praised that the king made him overseer of his treasure. Then he told the king that he needed to have a private place to concentrate on the office and the workload with which he had been entrusted. 'Look for something suitable and have it,' said the king. 'This is what I should like, my lord,' he said, 'that you should let me build a house near that tower since it is isolated there.' 'Very well,' said the king. The knight quickly had a beautiful house built for himself near the tower and asked the carpenter to build a secret passage so that he could go in to the tower to the king's wife. He constructed the passage so that the knight could reach the queen and do as he wished with her. (385-397)

"One day, as he was eating from the same table as the King, the King recognised the most precious ring on the knight's finger, and angry and jealous he asked what was his ring doing on the knight's finger. The knight slyly swore that no man had ever worn it before except himself. 'Lord, think back and consider how you kept your own ring, since this one has never been in your possession.' The king then fell silent and continued to

eat, marvelling at the craftsmanship of the ring. After dining, the king set out towards the tower to ask the queen about the ring. But the knight set off on his own way and brought the ring to her to show to the king when he asked her for it. When the king came, he asked the queen for the ring, and she showed it to him. The king blamed himself for thinking of torturing the knight and for doubting his wife when they both now appeared blameless to him. (398-408)

"Then the knight said to the queen, 'I am going out hunting with the king tomorrow, I shall invite him to come to eat in my lodging when I return and then tell him that the woman that I love most of all has come from my country to look for me. Be there to meet us wearing a different dress, and if he claims to recognise you, pretend not to recognise him and claim that you have never seen him before.' And so she did. (409-413)

Next day he went hunting. After the killing horn was sounded and the hunting was finished, the knight invited the king to come and eat in his lodging that day, and the king came. The first person he saw was his wife in the knight's room, so he asked her what she was doing there and how she got there. 'It is very difficult,' she said, 'to tell you the many hidden, rugged ways by which I came from my own country here. I do not know of a better place to be than in the room of the man I love most, and if you think you know me because of a likeness to another, you should find out the whereabouts of the one you seek, since you never set eyes upon me until today.' Then the king was silent and thought that he had never seen a woman nor a ring so similar to his own than the knight's ring and this lady. After dining the king went to the tower to seek reassurance about his wife and the ring. She arrived there before him by the other way and changed into her usual dress. When he arrived there he mentally chided himself for mistaking the knight's lover for his own wife. (414-426)

"After a while the knight realised it was not safe to continue an affair with the king's wife in the king's own country and, even worse, in his own court and in his own castle; so he decided to prepare a ship and fill it with all kinds of goods. He then sent a messenger to tell the king that he was going back to his own country since he had been away a long time, and the king gave him permission to do so. Next day, before setting out with his lover, he went to the king who was attending Mass. He begged the king that his own

priest should tie the bond of marriage between himself and his lady, and the king allowed them to be married. After the wedding they went to the ship and the king went to the tower. When he got there the tower was empty: his wife had gone away with the knight. In just the same way, my lord Emperor, your wife will deceive you if you believe her and cause your son's execution because of her." "Truly, I shall not do that," he said. Then that night, the Empress, with sighs and sadness, said this to the Emperor: "It will happen to you just as it happened to the king of Germany's steward." "What was that?" asked the Emperor. "I shall not tell you unless you give your word that the boy will be executed tomorrow." "Truly," he said, "he will." (427-441)

13. *Senescalcus:* The Steward

"Here is the tale," she said. "A certain King had brought upon himself a disease and had swelled up. When he was treated and cured the doctor ordered him to look for a woman for his bed and he, in his turn, ordered his teward to hire a woman for nine marks for him. However, the Steward, because of his lust for wealth, decided to put his own wife in the King's bed. After the King and the Steward's wife spent that night together the Steward came next day to ask her get out of bed, but the King would not let her. The Steward then confessed his crime and guilt to the King. He was stripped of his wealth and status. However, his wife was richly compensated by the King. The same will happen to you because of your avid listening to the words of the Seven Sages. You will be stripped of your wealth, while I shall be well compensated by my own family." The King became angry at these words and vowed to kill the boy next day. The following day and without the advice of his nobles he ordered that the boy should be hanged. Then Mathin came and said this to the Emperor: "If you are going to kill your son merely on the insistence of your wife, without due process of the law and against the advice of the nobles, the same will happen to you as happened to a wise old man because of his wife." And he would not tell the tale until the son was given a stay of execution until next day. Then he told the tale. (442-456)

15. *Tentamina*: The Trials

"An old gentleman married a young girl who was faithful to him for a year. At the end of the year she spoke to her mother in church saying that she did not get much loving

pleasure from her husband in bed and because of that, she was now in love with a young man. 'Very well,' said her mother, 'but first you must test your husband's temper. Cut down that small fruit tree which is growing in the garden, which is more dear to him than any other tree.' And so she did. When she had finished cutting it and put it on the fire, her lord returned home from hawking and, recognising the tree, asked who had cut it down. His wife answered that she had, because she wanted to light a fire for him for when he came home. (457-465)

"The following day, she went to meet her mother at the church and told all that had happened. And she told her that she loved a young man. Again, on her mother's advice, she tested her husband a second time. As her husband was returning from hunting, a hound that he loved more than all the other dogs jumped on the fur of her cloak. So she snatched the knife of one of the men and killed the bitch. When her husband reprimanded her for doing that in his presence, she replied that she had done it because she was in a bad temper because her new clothing had been soiled and that she would never do it again. Then he was silent. The following day, after she had told her mother about it, she said that she loved a young man. When her mother asked her whom she loved, she answered that he was not a knight but the parish priest, because he did not boast and was good at keeping secrets. 'Well,' said her mother, 'think first, in case the vengeance of an angry old man is more cruel than that of a young one; test him a third time.' So, on the advice of her mother she tested her husband again for the third time like this. (466-477)

"One day he was giving a feast for the nobles and leading men of the city, and after he had seated everyone and served them the first course, she tied the key of her coffer to the tablecloth and rose, and ran to the other end of the house. She pulled the cloth with her in such a way that everything, the food and drink and everything else that was on it, fell to the floor. She apologised saying that this accident had happened because she was fetching a better knife for her lord. On her husband's orders, new cloths were put on the tables, with food and drink on them. (478-484)

"Next morning, her husband got up and ordered a large fire to be lit. He challenged his wife about the three things she had done, saying that she had acted in this way because there was too much bad blood in her body. Though she was unwilling, he had her arm

warmed by the fire and then had her bled until she fainted. He then tied both her arms together and had her put to bed. She sent for her mother saying that she had been killed. Her mother came to her and said: 'Did I not tell you that there is no revenge worse than that of an enraged old man?' Then she said: 'Are you still intent on the young man?' 'In truth, no, never,' she said. And as long as she lived, she remained faithful and constant. You too, Lord Emperor,' said Martin, "should beware of falling into the grievous sin of killing your son on the calumny of your wife. Be sure that your son will speak tomorrow." "I shall never believe her," said the King. When the King told the Queen that the son would speak the following day, she was greatly troubled and could not think of any new tales. (484-496)

The following day, when the sun rose bright and cloudless on the land, the Emperor, his nobles and the Sages went to the church. When they had piously heard Mass, they went outside the cemetery and sat on a rock in a prominent place. Then the son came before the Emperor, between two of the Sages. He then made obeisance to his lord father and beseeched his good will, since he had not deserved his wrath nor his displeasure. "The Most High," he said, "He who knows all that has been and is yet to come, revealed clearly to me and to my teachers, by the portent of the moon and the bright, clear star nearby, that if I were to utter a single word in any of the following seven days I should not escape death. Therefore, my Lord Father," said the son, "it was because of that vision I was silent, my Lord. The Empress slandered me and accused me as if I were your enemy attempting to steal your empire and destroy you. And she is the same to you about me as happened long ago between the noble knight and his only son at sea." "What was that?" asked the Emperor. (497-508)

15.*Vaticinium*: The Prophecy

"A knight and his son were in a boat at sea when two crows came cawing above their heads and landed on the edge of the boat, cawing in turn. The knight was amazed by that. The boy told his father that the crows were saying that one day, his father would be glad to hold the ends of his sleeves whilst he washed and that his mother would hold a towel for him. The knight became very angry at these words. He grabbed the son and threw him headfirst into the sea and then sailed away in the boat. By divine providence the boy dragged himself from the sea on his hands and knees until he found a rock

between hill and sea. He was there for three days and three nights without food or drink when a fisherman found him and then sold him for twenty marks to the steward of a land far away. Because of his noble demeanour and the excellence of his manners and service he became highly esteemed by his master. (509-518)

"At that time, the king of that country was greatly troubled because three crows were cawing above his head night and day. He called together all his nobles and wise men and promised to give his only daughter in marriage and half of his kingdom to any man who could interpret the noise of the crows and who could permanently scare them away from him. When no-one was found who could do that or understand the noise, with the permission of the steward, the young man stood up and said to the King that, if he confirmed his promise, he could do what the king commanded. Once the king had granted that, the young man said this: 'For ten years and more' he said, 'there had been a famine upon the birds and on the other animals. The eldest of the crows left his wife in danger of death from starvation and went away to another country to search for food. That other crow was younger than him, and he lived with her from that day to this. Now, after the food supply had increased, the old crow returned, asking the other crow for his wife back, but he kept her away from him. Now, both have agreed to come to ask your judgement to end their quarrel since you are the highest authority.'

(519-531)

"With the agreement of the barons, the King gave judgement that the wife should remain with the crow that had saved her from dying of starvation, and that the crow who abandoned her should have none of her. When they heard this, the two crows flew off together exceedingly happy whilst the older crow flew off wailing and screeching. Then the young man was honoured by the king and judged to be a wise man, and on the counsel of all he was given the king's daughter [in marriage] and half of the kingdom.

(531-536)

"One day, when the young man was walking through the city, he saw his mother and father lodging with a townsman, having left their own country because of poverty and come there to seek their fortune. Around vespers, he sent a squire to the house to say that the young king would be dining with him the following day. The burgess said happily: 'He will be welcome, and he shall have the best welcome possible.'. Next day

when it was time, the young king came to the knight's lodging. When he arrived, the knight took an ewer of water and a basin and offered water for the young king to wash but he would not allow it, saying with a happy smile: 'My Lord Father,' he said, 'the things that I told you, that the crows were cawing about long ago on the boat when you tossed me into the sea, have now come to pass. Don't grieve about that, since God turned it into good fortune for me. From now on, you and my mother will dwell with me for as long as you live.' In the same way, my lord father, just as he was subject to his father, so you will find me obedient to you as much as it is in my power in this world. For the sake of God, do not believe that I attempted to rape your wife. You know that you yourself, in the presence of the nobles, ordered me to go to her chamber where she attempted to do something which was very wrong. When I rejected her, she sought my death, clawed herself and drew blood from her face and tore the hair from her head. Despite all that, my Lord Father, I shall suffer your judgement and that of the nobles upon me." (537-553)

And then, the Empress was called into their presence to answer them. And she said that she had done all this to prevent the son from stealing his father's wealth and hers. Then, by the sentence of the Emperor and his nobles, the Empress's body was burned. By the judgment of the Highest Judge, who is God, the righteous and compassionate Lord who protects the innocent from evil, leading them to the highest heavenly eminence and to an honourable and glorious end.

And so ends the tale of the Seven Sages of Rome from the work of Llewelyn.

(554-559)

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Appendix 1

Table of Stories in the *Seven Sages of Rome* Tradition [706]

	A*	**L**	**S**	**K**	**D***	**H**	**I**	**M**
1)	arbor	arbor	arbor	arbor	arbor	arbor	-----	arbor
2)	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis	canis
3)	aper	aper	aper	senescal	senesc	aper	arbor	aper
4)	medicus	medicus	medicus	medicus	medicus	puteus	medic	medic
5)	gaza	gaza	gaza	aper	aper	gaza	aper	gaza
6)	puteus	puteus	tentam.	puteus	puteus	**avis**	tentam.	**avis**
7)	senescal.	senesc.	senesc.	Roma	sapient	sapient	sapient	filius
8)	tentamina	tentam.	puteus	tentam	tentam	tentam	**avis**	vidua
9)	Virgilius	Virgil	Virgil	gaza	Roma	Virgil	gaza	nutrix
10)	**avis**	**avis**	**avis**	**avis**	**avis**	medicus	inclusa	Anten
11)	sapientes	sapient	sapient	sapient	gaza	sen+Rom	Roma	spurius
12)	vidua	noverca	vidua	vidua	vidua	amatores	vidua	Carda
13)	Roma	filia	filia	Virgil	Virgil	inclusa	Virgil	assassin
14)	inclusa	-------	noverca	inclusa	inclusa	vidua	puteus	inclusa
15)	vaticinium	-------	vaticin	vaticin	vaticin+	vat+amici	vaticin	vaticin

The eight different groupings, as classified by Gaston Paris, are:

1) **A*** A large group, including the English (verse), French and Italian including the Welsh prose version, despite the difference in the order of some tales, the inclusion of new ones and the omission of *Avis.*
2) **L** The group of French manuscripts typified by the Leroux de Lincy text.
3) **S** The *Scala Celi* Latin abridgement.
4) **K** The Old French poem published by Keller.
5) **D*** The *Version Derimee*, edited by Gaston Paris.
6) **H** The very large group typified by the Latin *Historia Septem Sapientem.*
7) **I** The *Versio Italica*.
8) **M** The *Male Marrastre.* [Anomalous version] [707]

[706] Table from Campbell, (1907), p. xxxv.

[707] Six of the tales in the *Male Marrastre* are new to the *Seven Sages* tradition. Campbell, pp. xxii-xxiii. A resumé of these can be found at: http://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/49107 Click on 'Files in this item' icon, or on 'Open/View'.

Appendix 2

Time taken for an oral performance of the *Chwedleu:* Total, (approx.): 75 minutes.

Welsh redaction	Time taken- Minutes
Frame:	6+2+1+ 1+1+1+1+1+ 1+1+1+1+1+2+2= 23mins
Arbor	Approx. 1 min.
Canis	Approx. 2 mins
Aper	Approx. 2 mins
Medicus	Approx. 2 mins
Gaza	Approx. 3 mins
Puteus	Approx. 4+ mins
Ramus	Approx. 1 min
Roma-Lupus	Approx. 5 mins
Virgilius	Approx. 4+ mins
Vidua	Approx. 9 mins
Sapientes	Approx. 2 mins
Inclusa	Approx. 7 mins
Senescalcus	Approx. 1 min
Tentamina	Approx. 4/5 mins
Vaticinium	Approx. 5 mins

Appendix 3

The Length of the tales in Welsh and French:

Welsh

Vidua (1028) *Inclusa* (950) *Vaticinium* (661) *Tentamina* (592) *Virgilius* (515) *Roma-Lupus*:(345) = *Roma*: (164) + *Lupus*: (181)

Puteus (342) *Gaza* (324) *Sapientes* (275) *Medicus* (264) *Canis* (250) *Ramus* (154) *Aper* (153) *Senescalcus* (112) *Arbor* (79)

French: [708]

Inclusa (2519) *Tentamina* (1819) *Vidua* (1635) *Vaticinium* (1469) *Sapientes* (1276) *Virgilius* (1196) *Canis* (983) *Gaza* (886) *Puteus* (730) *Avis* (725) *Medicus* (700) *Senescalcus* (585) *Roma* (414) *Aper* (340) *Arbor* (259)

The Sages' tales appear in red, those of the Empress in green and the Prince's in purple.

[708] The number of words in the French redaction is, of necessity, approximate since the wording of the text differs between each manuscript witness.