

MABINOGI RHIANNON

CYFROL III / VOLUME III

Atodiadau/ Appendices

Llyfryddiaeth/ Bibliography

Mynegai Tudalen/ Page Index

Concordance of topics with page number, and footnote if any

Dyfyndiadau PKM/ PKM Quotes

Geirfa Cymraeg / Glossary Cymraeg

Byrfoddau / Abbreviations

Atodiadau/ Appendices

These Appendices are generally study resources I compiled to support this thesis as I worked on it. They are not formal style but may be helpful to others..

- # 1 **English translations** of the Mabinogi.
- # 2 **Advent Text Translations** (1799 – 21stC).
- # 3 **Dating the Mabinogi.**
- # 4 **Mabinogion error; Mabinogi meaning.**
- # 5 ***Trioedd a'r Mabinogi***/ Triads and the Mabinogi.
- # 6 **TYP** (*Trioedd Ynys Prydain*) contents outline.
- # 7 ***Merch y Mabinogi***/ Women of the Mabinogi.
- # 8 **Horse instances** in the Mabinogi.
- # 9 **Counsels** excludes PKM2 except for the Adar Rhiannon reference by Bendigeidfran, and Manawydan's warning not to open the enchanted door. PKM4 after Pryderi dies. is excluded.; i.e. the list is the Extended Mabinogi Rhiannon see Ch. I.5. Core and extended narrative.
- # 10 **Stevie Nicks 'Rhiannon'** song (1975).
- # 11 **Laura Riding** (Ch. VII.3. 20thC Goddess).
- # 12 **'Western Goddess Spirituality'**. Morgain (as Jayran). 1999.
- # 13 **Wikipedia: 'Rhiannon'**, initiated Morgain (Jayran) 2002.
- # 14 **'*Duwies Cymru***/ Goddess Wales'. Morgain. 2008.
- # 15 ***Symposium Pedair Cainc, 2017.***
- # 16 **Scholars of the Mabinogi.**

Appendix 1: English Translations

Other translations can be found on the Mabinogi Bibliography

Adv80 trans woman

SUMMARY LIST

Pughe part PKM1 (1795, 1799, 1818, 1821 rpt.), excerpt PKM2 (1828), parts PKM4 (1833). Bilingual except (1821, 1828).	Ellis & Lloyd (1929).
Jones, E. part PKM1 (1802).	Jones & Jones (1948, 1949).
Guest (1845, 1847). 1st, 2nd eds. bilingual.	Gantz (1976).
	Ford (1977).
	Parker (2003) online.
	Bollard (2006).
	Davies, S. (2007).
	Boyd (2017)

TABLE: SUMMARY OF COMPARISONS

	[!] incomplete	<u>Recommended</u>	@ text is online	[K] Kindle	... No						
		1st edition date/	Trans. Style/	Notes location							
	Introduction?	Map?	Glossary?	Pronunciation key?	Bibliog?	Names list?	Index?				
	1st ed/	Style/	Notes/	Intro	Map	Gloss	Pron	Bib	Names	Index/	Misc
[!] Pughe	1795	classic	Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Biling. series
[!] JonesE.	1802			...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Guest @	1845,1847	archaic	End	Y	...	...	...	...	...	...	Biling. 3 eds. O 1999
<u>Ellis Ll</u>	1929	literal	Foot	Y	...	...	...	Y	...	...	Trans. notes.
Jones2	1948	archaic	End	Y	...	...	...	...	...	Y	
Gantz	1976	simple	End	Y	Y	...	Y	Y	...	...	+Abbrev.
<u>Ford</u> [K]	1977	classic	End	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
<u>Parker</u> @	2003	literal	End	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	Y	...	Composite
<u>Bollard</u>	2006	classic	Side	Y	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	...	+Genealogies
<u>Davies</u> [K]	2007	oral	End	Y	Y	...	Y	Y	Y	...	
Boyd	2017	colloqu.		Y	Y	...	...	...	...	...	Context literature

Recommended

Ellis Literal, useful for non-Welsh speakers to approach closer to the Welsh text.
Ford Excellent classic, stands the test of time very well. Long informative intro.
Parker Free, available online. Page search selected word. Composite of other trans.
Bollard Excellent classic, accuracy/ fluidity, style similar to MSS., fine site photos, long intro & endnote. Free PDF online..
Davies Excellent classic, lively laconic style, brief succinct notes.

OTHER DESCRIPTIONS OF TRANSLATIONS

Kris Hughes, 'The Mabinogi: 'Looking at different translations', blogpost (6/04/2020:00:38).

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Historical order

[Pughe], William Owen, 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. I (London: E & T Williams, 1795), pp. 177–87.

Bilingual Welsh – English on facing pages, bicolunar style, covering *Pwyll I*, (Annwfn adventure, PKM1 1.1– 8.26. JKB 19.1– 25.1).

Sometimes listed with printing date 1796, meaning it reports works from 1795. *The Cambrian Register* was the first serious Welsh journal, published in book format, collecting history, prose tales, *Trioedd*, poetry and letters. Available online, NLW, & google books. (URL text Bibliography).

[Pughe], William Owen, 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. II (1799), pp. 322–27. Cont. from *Cambrian Register*, I. Bilingual Welsh – English, bicolunar pages, covering *Pwyll II*, PKM1 8.27– 12.6. JKB 25.1– 27.2: ends just before *Pwyll*, pursuing, appeals to Rhannon.

Title page shows '1796', at the bottom '1799'; presumably as this volume continues Vol. I, 1795/96. Pughe finishes with an appeal for help to access a copy MS. so as to continue, p. 327. Available online, NLW, or google books (URL text Bibliography).

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. III (1818), pp. 230–46. Bilingual Welsh – English text, bicolunar pages. Cont. from CR.I. and II (parts of *Pwyll II* & III), covering PKM1 12.7–20.12. JKB 27.2– 34.1: ends with first Maid exclaiming the child is gone.

Possible Tegid MS. connection, see Ch. II.5. Renaissance: Pughe pp. 80-81. Available as facsimile hardback; viewable online NLW, or google books. (URL text Bibliography).

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Tale of *Pwyll*', in John Humffreys Parry (ed.), *Cambro-Briton Journal*, II (1821), pp. 271–75. English trans. text only. Not explicitly attributed to Pughe but the translation matches his *Cambrian Register I* (1795) almost entirely.

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in Thomas Crofton Croker (ed.) *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1828), pp. 163–91. Substantial, c. 40 pages. Incl. 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', (PKM2) pp. 189-90.

Title page. Letter from Pughe about the Mabinogion (pp. 163 – 76) Pughe, *Pwyll I*, cf. 1795; with notes (pp. 177– 82). 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', includes Branwen's advice dialogue re British ships (pp. 189-90); other speech is reported. Probably drafted by Pughe, or possibly Croker from Pughe's MS. cf. Gunn draft notes 1819 (p. 183 -91). 'Mythological Persons' lists pp. 192 -99.

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, Literally translated by Idrison', *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Vol. I, no. 2 (April 1829), pp. 170–79. Bilingual English– Welsh, bicolunar, text ends at Pryderi's grave, PKM4 73.17. JKB 88.2. (URL text Bibliography).

Cont. Vol. I, no. 3 (July, 1833), pp. 395–410 (note pp. 405 onward are incorrectly numbered). Bicolunar English–Welsh, ends at Math's gift of territory to Lleu, PKM4 84.6. JKB 100.2.

Pughe, William Owen, 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin', *Cambrian Quarterly*, Vol. V, no. 18 (April, 1833), pp. 200–214, Bilingual English– Welsh, bicolunar pages. Tale of Keridwen, incl. Taliesin's enchantment of the bards. Intro. repeatedly as a 'romance' by Hopkin c. 1370, p. 200, but not the composition of the historical Taliesin, bard of Urien Rheged, p. 201.

Cont. Vol. V, no. 19 (July, 1833), bilingual English–Welsh, bicolunar. Ends at Taliesin making predictions which are not specified, pp. 366–82. (URL texts Bibliography).

Jones, Edward, *Mabinogi, Part the First; the Juvenile Adventures of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, in *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature; and Other Admirable Rarities; Forming the Second Volume of the Musical, Poetical, and Historical Relicks of the Welsh Bards and Druids*, 'The Bardic Relicks' series, 3 vols (London, Printer St.: A. Straban for the author, 1802).

Vol. 2, PKM1 text pp. 27–30, ends when Rhiannon and Pwyll part, PKM1 13.13. JKB 28.2.

A footnote describes the text as 'faithful translation from a Welsh manuscript in the Author's collection; and a great part of the British original may also be found in the Red Book, in the archive of Jesus College, Oxford.' (p. 30). (URL text Bibliography).

Guest, Charlotte, (Lady Charlotte Guest), *The Mabinogion; from the Llyfr Coch o Llergest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes*, Illust. Samuel Williams, foremost engraver of the day; 7 vols. series 1st edn. (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, London; simultaneously, 1838– 45).

Bilingual text Welsh and English, separate sections. PKM1 splits between 2 vols.: Welsh text vol. V (1845), pp. . English translation vol. VI (1847), pp. 339–442; together with the rest of the Mabinogi. Source materials Incl. 145 pages of scholarly Notes in sections following each Branch. Vol. VI. Pwyll, pp. 360–368; Branwen, pp. 385–396; Manawydan, pp. 411–12; Math, pp. 434–42.

Guest, Charlotte, *The Mabinogion*, **CHK title**, Illust. Samuel Williams, 3 vols., 2nd edn. (Llandovery: Tonn Press; and London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1849). Bilingual text Welsh and English.

John Bruno Hare, 'Internet Sacred Texts Archive', Guest *Mabinogion*, 2nd. ed. uploaded (4/3/2004). Includes Introduction, all Samuel Williams' illustrations, all Notes. Of many online versions most lack the complete contents, which this version has.

Sacred Texts: (URL Bibliography). **EMAILS 20/12/21**

Guest, Charlotte,, *The Mabinogion, From the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest (The Red Book of Hergest) in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford Translated, with Notes*, Illust. Samuel Williams, 3rd edn. (London, 15 Piccadilly: Bernard Quaritch, 1877). English text only. Research notes follow each Branch: Notes to Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, pp. 339–357; Notes to Branwen the Daughter of Llyr, pp. 369–384; Note on Manawyddan the Son of Llyr, pp. 411–412; Notes to Math the Son of Mathonwy, pp. 413–432. **II.5. Renaiss** **CHK PAGES**

Guest, Charlotte, *The Mabinogion*, Illustrated by Samuel Williams, Everyman series (London: J. M. Dent & Sons; NY: E. P. Dutton, 1906). Content is 3rd edition.

See **Lee**, Alan: illustrated edition.

Guest, Charlotte, and Jansen, Gien, *The Mabinogion*. First Mabinogi text online. **II.5. Renaiss**

Guest, Charlotte, and Jansen, Gien, 'The Mabinogion: The Welsh Mythology' (1999).

Miss Gien, Netherlands, <<http://www.missgien.net/arthurian/mabinogion/>> [Accessed 2/12/2013] Site expired; viewable on the Wayback Machine (capture 20/01/2001).

Web Archive: (URL text Bibliography).

Guest, Charlotte, and David Price (eds.), 'The Mabinogion' (Gutenberg, May 2002). Includes illustrations and footnotes. (URL text Bibliography).

Guest, Charlotte, and **Lanier**, Sidney (eds.) *The Boy's Mabinogion; Being the Earliest Welsh Tales of King Arthur in the Famous Red Book of Hergest* (London: Sampson Low and Co.: 1881). (URL text Bibliography).

LANIER The present work contains nearly all the Mabinogion originally given; [...], the original text is scrupulously preserved, except occasionally to **hasten the long-lagging action** of a story, – in which case

the interpolation is always in brackets, – and except where the demands of modern reserve require **excision.**” (Lanier 1881: xix)

Ellis, Thomas Peter; and **Lloyd**, John, (eds. trans.) *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd*, Vol. I of 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).

Preface, pp. vii– xi. Bibliography, p. xii. Mabinogi section pp. 1–132. [PKM1 Intro. Note pp. 1– 3.

Text pp. 4– 41. PKM2 pp. 42–72. PKM3 Intro. Note pp. 73–75. Text pp. 76–97. PKM4 pp. 98– 132.]

Notes summarise key points of the tales, and comment on laws and social context. Over all, a carefully literal translation often very helpful in understanding the Welsh nuances and mediaeval society. The translation was harshly criticised at the time by a newly established Welsh academia eager to demonstrate its strict credentials for rigour, uncomfortably aware of the recent exposure of Iolo Morganwg’s forgeries. Recommended as a serious student’s aid.

Vol. I also contains *Macsen, Lludd, Culhwch, Rhonabwy, Owein, Peredur* and *Gereint*.

Jones, Gwyn, and **Jones**, Thomas, (eds. trans.), *The Mabinogion*, Everyman series No. 97 (London: J. M. Dent, 1949). First published (Golden Cockerel, 1948). The Everyman edition 1949 quickly rivalled Guest in popularity. Its valiant attempt at balancing accuracy and romantic pleasure by a modern reader (of that time) has left it slightly dated. Illustrated in this and later editions by Mair Jones who also published a *Mabinogion* poster map (2006).

Gantz, Jeffrey Michael (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976). I.4 Advent Very popular, via Penguin, but not considered accurate by many scholars as wording is simplified in places. Gantz greater contribution comes from his commentary, esp. structural work later.

representing (foreignising)

glossing over (domesticating)

GANTZ – NEGATIVE The surviving texts of The Mabinogion are often **tedious, repetitive and unclear**, and I have therefore varied sentence structure, eliminated a few duplications and occasionally replaced personal pronouns with proper names (or vice versa); the result will sound as natural to the modern reader as the original did to its medieval audiences.” (Gantz 1976:34)

Ford, Patrick K., (ed. trans.) *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA: UCP, 1977; Repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle) I.5. Text Powerful departure from previous versions as it selects the ‘native Welsh’ tales from Anglo-Norman tales. Welsh nationalism was by now gaining ground. Contains *The Four Branches; Llud and Lleuelys; Culhwch ac Olwen; Gwion Bach; Taliesin*, and *Cad Goddeu*. Glossary of people and places; a pronunciation guide; Index of personal names, page linked to the text. The translation itself is clearly readable, and supported by extensive explanation, most of which survives very well. Some of the mythological work is overshadowed by WJG of the old school, but Ford was also an early practitioner of the new paradigm, thus transitional; (see Bollard). Contents list Bibliography.

Parker, Will, ‘Text Translations’, Mabinogi.Net, (2003). Composite translation drawn from DIAS editions for the First and Second Branches; and PKM for the Third and Fourth Branches. Made available online when no other was there except Guest. Also his extensive notes on literary, historical and linguistic aspects of the text: some speculative, many are useful and insightful.

Bollard, John Kenneth, (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*, bicolunar text, illustrated by Anthony Griffiths' photography of Welsh landscape sites (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2006). Notes are boxed inline, for ease of reference. Contents: see Bibliography. Possibly due to its size, beautiful photography and higher price, the book has not had the attention it merits. Recommended as a standard text. Translation is accurate and flowing, easy for a modern reader to enjoy while faithful to the original. Bollard pioneered a new approach to Mabinogi scholarship which revolutionised it, see Ch. II.7. Paradigm.

BOLLARD – BALANCE “Recognizing that any translation is to some degree an **interpretation** of the original, I have tried to render The Mabinogi into **standard modern English while staying as close as possible** to the meaning, phrasing, and construction of the medieval text. [...] I have chosen to retain some linguistic and stylistic elements that are not usually found in present-day written English.” (Bollard 2006:13)

DAVIES – PERFORMANCE The overriding aim of this translation has been to convey the **performability** of the surviving manuscript versions. [...], **the Mabinogion were tales to be read aloud to a listening audience**— the parchment was ‘interactive’ and vocality was of its essence. [...], every effort has been made to transfer the rhythm, tempo, and alliteration of the original to the target language.” (Davies 2007:xxxix)

Davies, Sioned (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogion* (2007). Contains Intro., endnotes, Index. **Intro** Style reflects Davies' research into orality and performance (reading aloud); often with brevity. A shame the publisher did not allow Davies greater scope for notes. This is many readers' first choice as their standard translation.

Boyd, Matthieu (ed.), *The Four Branches of The Mabinogi*. Broadview Anthology of British Literature (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2017). Controversial translation of MW names into modern idiom, e.g. *Pwyll pendefig* = Prince Sensé.

T. P. Ellis and John Lloyd appeared which not only avoided the faults of Lady Guest's version, but also took into account for the first time the variations in the text from the White Book. Since then there have been three more English translations: an admittedly non-literal version by Jeffrey Gantz in 1976; one by Patrick Ford in 1977; and what is now the standard translation, by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, first published in 1949 but revised and expanded twice, in 1974 and 1989. The only translation in a language other than English worth consulting has been until very recently the French edition by Joseph Loth. This has now been joined by a new French translation by Pierre-Yves Lambert. Details of all translations may be found in the bibliography. Hemming, 'Commentary', p. 6

The first complete translation of the Four Branches and the other materials included in the Red Book of Hergest, as well as the story of Taliesin, was published between 1838 and 1849 by Lady Charlotte Guest—a rather remarkable person, according to Rachel Bromwich's “The Mabinogion and Lady Charlotte Guest,” also reprinted in the first section—/ her translation has been reissued a number of times since, with and without the notes which accompanied the first; recent editions have included one from The Folio Society in 1980 and another, edited by Owen Edwards, in 1992. In 1929, largely as a result of the discovery and publication of The White Book of Rhydderch, T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd published a new translation with commentary comparing the two manuscript sources. Almost 20 years later, Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones published the Golden Cockerel Mabinogion (1948), which then appeared in

Everyman's Library (1949)—subsequent editions of their quite formal translation were issued in 1974 and 1989. More recently, Jeffrey Gantz published *The Mabinogion* (1976) and Patrick K. Ford *The Mabinogi* (1977), both translations presenting the Welsh texts in more modern English versions. Ford's translation excludes the three Arthurian romances, "The Dream of Rhonabwy," and "The Dream of Maxen Wledig," included in the others, but he adds "The Tale of Gwion Bach" and "The Tale of Taliesin" and includes Cad Goddeu in an appendix. In addition, there have been numerous retellings, such as Sidney Lanier's *The Boy's Mabinogion*, published in 1881, based on one or more of these scholarly translations.

Sullivan III, C. W.. *The Mabinogi* (Routledge Revivals) (pp. xv-xvi). Kindle Edition.

The Everyman version[7] is the more literal. This close adherence to the text does, however, come at the expense of readability. The poor reception of the *Mabinogi* in the English-speaking world today probably lies at least in part with these translators' use of rather turgid, quasi-biblical English: which merely adds to the obscurity of an already difficult text. Jeffrey Gantz[8] provides an alternative to this in the form of the Penguin edition of the *Mabinogion*. His English is considerably easier to read. However, it is a freer translation and therefore (arguably) less accurate. His decision, for example, to render the name of the Irish king in the Second Branch as Malloch, instead of the more usual Matholwch, is not widely supported.

Parker, Essay 1998/ 2002.

p. xvii Matthew Arnold may be the godfather of the search for sources, for it was he who articulated the idea that the stories which we have contain bits and pieces of mythology, legend, history, folktale, and more. One of the most often quoted passages from his "On the Study of Celtic Literature" asserts the following:

The very first thing that strikes one, in reading the *Mabinogion*, is how evidently the medieval storyteller is pillaging an antiquity of which he does not fully possess the secret; he is like a peasant building his hut on the site of Halicarnassus or Ephesus; he builds, but what he builds is full of materials of which he knows not the history, or knows only a glimmering tradition merely;—stones 'not of this building,' but of an older architecture, greater, cunninger, more majestic. (51)

Arnold's attention to the building blocks rather than the edifice itself was to guide *Mabinogi* criticism for almost 100 years. W.J. Gruffydd's monumental studies, *Math vab Mathonwy* and *Rhiannon*, attempted to identify the elements of myth, folklore, legend, and history in the First, Third, and Fourth Branches; and Proinsias Mac Cana's *Branwen* did the same for the Second Branch. In *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* and other publications, Kenneth Jackson identified the international motifs and tale types in the Welsh stories while deriding their integrity, calling them "confused and senseless," "corrupt," "badly broken up," "clumsy," "unconnected," and "practically unintelligible" (78–95, *passim*). Many other critics writing in the first two-thirds of the twentieth century have made valuable source studies while commenting unfavorably on the stories as stories. However, as the essays in the second section of this volume illustrate, it is not necessary to denigrate the integrity of the Four Branches in the search for comparative motifs and tale types. All of the essays in the second section of this collection, *Comparative Analyses*, look outside of the tales themselves for materials which will make those tales clearer. Juliette Wood, in "The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature,"

Boyd, Matthieu (ed.), *The Four Branches of The Mabinogi*. Broadview Anthology of British Literature (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2017). Controversial translation of MW names into

modern idiom, e.g. *Pwyll pendefig* = Prince Sense.

Appendix 2: Advent Translations

Dyfodiad Rhiannon / Advent of Rhiannon

This incomplete) Appendix builds towards Cymraeg and English texts of Rhiannon's 'Advent' text excerpt, see Ch. I. 2. *Dyfodiad Rhiannon*, 'Advent of Rhiannon'. Retellings and adaptations are not included, only close renderings and translations. The first school texts are included. The list is not exhaustive but is fairly comprehensive.

Entries are in chronological order of publication, except the manuscript screenshots, which represent the mediaeval source MSS. but as online images date very recently. See I.1. *Y Testun*.

Contents

[Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch](#) (pic)

[Llyfr Coch Hergest](#) (pic)

[Pughe](#), 1799.

[Edwards](#), 1802.

[Guest](#), 1845 & 1847.

Foulkes, 1880.

Lanier, 1881 (for boys)

JM Edwards, 1896 (schools)

[JY Evans](#) 1914 (elem. schools)

[Ellis](#) & Lloyd, 1929

Parry-Williams, 1930

[PKM](#), 1930 (Ifor Williams)

[Jones](#) & Jones, 1949.

[R. L. Thomson](#), 1957.

[D. S. Thomson](#), 1961. P

[Gantz](#), 1976.

[Ford](#), 1977.

Ifans, 2003.

[Parker](#), 2003.

[Bollard](#), 2006.

[S. Davies](#), 2007.

[Welsh Prose](#) ()

Boyd, 2014.

Ac val y bytant yn eistet hwynt a welynt wraig ar varch canwelw mawr aruchel, a gwisc euraid llathraid amdanei, yn dyvod ar hyd y brivfort a gertei o'r orset.

And as they were sitting, they beheld a woman upon a pale horse, great and very high, having on her a garment glittering with gold, who was coming along the main road, which led from the motte-hill.

Pughe, bilingual, bicolunar. (1799)¹

When they had sat down, they saw a lady in bright shining gold embroidered garments coming along the highway that leads from the hill, mounted upon a large, tall, grey steed, coming along at a gentle pace, as they imagined.

Edward Jones. (1802)²

Ac ual y bydynt yn eisted wynt awelynt / y wreic ar yr un march. ar vn wisc ymdanei / yndyuoet yr ynfford.

And while he sat there, they saw a lady, on a pure white horse of large size, with a garment of shining gold around her, coming along the high way that led from the mound;

Guest. (1843, 1845)³

¹ **Pughe**. First text published in modern print format. Bilingual text on bicolunar pages.

William Owen [Pughe], (ed., trans.) 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II (1799) pp. 322-27, @ p. 323. Known as 'Willaim Owen' until 1806.

² **Jones**. Edward Jones (trans.), 'Mabinogi - The Juvenile Adventures and Exploits of Pwyll', in *The Bardic Museum*, 1802, pp. 27-30 @ p. 29. <https://archive.org/stream/The_Bardic_Museum/BardicMuseum#page/n50/mode/1up/search/pwyll>

³ **Guest**. Underlining mine, indicating words omitted in Tegid's Welsh transcription. (See II. 4 *Y Mabinogi Rhamantaid*, 'Mabinogi as Romance'.) Original text 1st edn. p 46-47. The source text in Welsh is on page 18. (Timothy Cutts, NLW 22.03/2024). The text here is Guest's 1849, 3 vols. edition, vol 3: Cymraeg p. 18 lines 1-4. English trans. p. 46, lines 22-26. Also same Eng. text Charlotte Guest (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogion*, Everyman's Library (London and NY.: J. M. Dent and Sons and E. P. Dutton, 1906) p. 18. English trans. only, reproduced from the 1877 edition. See Bibliography.

Guest, first complete Mabinogi/on in modern print format, 7 vols. series 1838-49; 3 vols 1849; 1 vol. Eng. trans. only 1877. Like Pughe, Guest initially published bilingual texts until her 1877 edition. Unlike Pughe source and target texts are given in separate, sequential sections. Mabinogi Branches are Vol VI pp., except Welsh text '*Pwyll Pendefig Dyved*' Vol. V pp.

Guest's known sympathies, which were romantically Arthurian, may have influenced the way she composed the phrase to evoke a Tennyson or pre-Raphaelite vision; my underlining.

Foulkes. (1880)⁴

Edwards. (1896)⁵

Gwelsant wraig fonheddig a gwisg o aur disglair amdani ar farch mawr. Glaswyn oedd ei hw, ac ymddanghosai fel petai 'n camu 'n araf deof i fvnv 'r Orsedd.

J.Y Evans. (1914).⁶

John Young Evans, *Y llyfr cyntaf Pryderi Fab Pwyll*, 'Pryderi son of Pwyll from the Red Book' (my trans.) (Oxford: Henry Frowde, OUP, 1914), pp. 5–9.

Advent text p. 20.

Y bendefiges a gerddai' n araf:

Gwelsant wraig fonheddig a gwisg o aur disglair amdani ar farch mawr. Glaswyn oedd ei liw, ac ymddanghosai fel petai 'n camu 'n araf deg i fyny 'r Orsedd.

And while they were sitting, they saw a lady on a big fine pale white horse, with a garment of shining gold silk upon her, coming along the highway that passed by the mound; and the horse seemed to all who saw it to move at a slow even pace.

Ellis & Lloyd. (1929)⁷

*

11 *Ac wal y*

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

13 *mawr aruchel, a gwisg eureit, llathreit, o bali amdanei,*

14 *yn dyuot ar hyt y prifford a gerdei heb law yr orsedd.*

PKM. (1930)⁸

*Parry-Williams. (1930)⁹

And as they were sitting down, they could see a lady on a big fine pale white horse, with a garment of shining gold brocaded silk upon her, coming along the highway that led past the mound.

Jones and Jones. (1949)¹⁰

Ac wal y bydynt yn eiste, wynt a welynt y wreic ar yr vn march, a'r vn wisc amdanei, yn dyuot yr un ford. (p.9)

R. L. Thomson. (1957)¹¹

⁴ **Foulkes.** Isaac Foulkes, (ed.), 'Y Mabinogion Cymreig: Sef, Chwedlau Rhamantus yr hen Gymry', 'The Welsh Mabinogion: Being Romantic Legends in the Old Welsh', (my trans.),' in *Hen Gymraeg a'r Gymraeg Bresenol* (Liverpool: Isaac Foulkes., 1880) **PAGE** An early Modern Welsh translation of the Mabinogi.

⁵ **JM Edwards** J. M. Edwards, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Wrexham, 1896) **P** Modern Welsh transliteration for schools.

⁶ **Evans.** John Young Evans, *Y llyfr cyntaf Pryderi Fab Pwyll*, 'Pryderi son of Pwyll from the Red Book' (my trans.) (Oxford: Henry Frowde, OUP, 1914) p. XX. Simplified version of Mabinogi Pryderi for elementary schools, both for reading & to stimulate Cymraeg conversation. Frontispiece 'Branwen ferch Llyr' colour plate. Illustrated b/w woodcuts pre-Raphaelite style.

Preface & Introduction in English. Introduction by Edward Anwyl. Evans notes in his Preface (p. 4) this was Anwyl's 'last literary work'. It gives a concise and strong summary of the *-on* prefix theory of deities.

< <https://archive.org/details/ylyfrcyntafpryd00evan> > [Accessed 22/09/2018]

⁷ **Ellis.** Thomas Peter Ellis & John Lloyd (eds., trans.) *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929) p. 17.

⁸ **PKM** 9. 11–14.

⁹ **Parry-Williams.** T. H. Parry-Williams (ed.), *Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi* (Cardiff, 1930)

¹⁰ **Jones.** Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones (eds., trans.) *The Mabinogion*, Everyman (London: J. M. Dent, 1949) p. 8.

¹¹ **RL Thomson.** Robert Leith Thomson, (ed.) *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyfed: the First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with variants from the Red Book of Hergest* (Dublin: DIAS/ Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957) p. 8.

D.S. Thomson. (1961)¹²

As they were sitting they saw a woman dressed in shining gold brocade and riding a great pale horse, approaching on the highway which ran past the hill, ..

Gantz, 1976.¹³

As they were sitting, they saw a woman mounted on a great, majestic pale-white horse, dressed in brilliant gold silk brocade, coming along the main road that ran past the mound.

Ford 1977.¹⁴

*Ifans, 2003.

As they were seated, they could see a woman on a large stately pale-white horse, a garment of shining gold brocaded silk about her, making her way along the track which went past the mound.

Parker, 2003.¹⁵

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

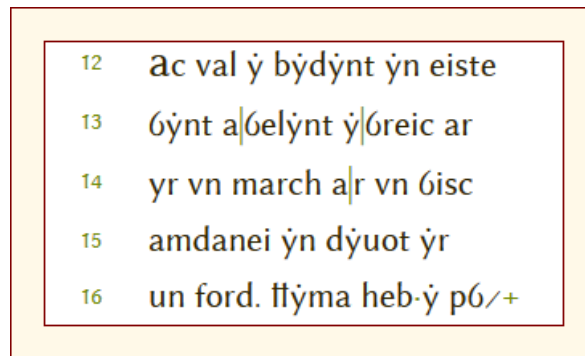
Bollard, 2006.¹⁶

And as they were sitting, they could see a woman wearing a shining golden garment of brocaded silk, on a big, tall, pale-white horse coming along the highway that ran past the mound.

S. Davies, 2007.¹⁷

Matthew Francis (ed. trans.), *The Mabinogi* (Faber & Faber, 2017).

Note on reverse order.



Welsh Prose 1300 -1425, diplomatic text online (2007)¹⁸

Boyd, 2014.¹⁹

¹² **DS Thomson.** Derick S. Thomson, *Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet: The First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, Edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with Variants from the Red Book of Hergest and from Peniarth* (Dublin and Oxford: DIAS/ Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961) PAGE IAN GLEN QUERY

¹³ **Gantz,** Jeffrey Michael Gantz, *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976) p. 52.

¹⁴ **Ford.**Patrick K. Ford (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA: Univ. California Press, 1977) p. 43. <<https://archive.org/details/mabinogiothermed00fordrich>> [Accessed 15/09/2012]

¹⁵ **Parker.**Will Parker, 'Text Translations: The Mabinogi of Pwyll, II'. Online text based on the DIAS edition of the White Book. <<http://www.mabinogi.net/pwyll.htm>> [Accessed 15/09/2005]

¹⁶ **Bollard.** John K. Bollard (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 2006) p. 25.

¹⁷ **S.Davies.** Sioned Davies (ed., trans.) *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: OUP, 2007) p. 8.

¹⁸ Wynn Thomas, Peter, 'NLW MS. Peniarth 4: Y Gainc Gyntaf (First Branch)', *Welsh Prose 1300 -1425*, (2007) p. 4v, 15 Lines 12-16. <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen4&page=1r>> [Accessed 22/09/ 2018]

¹⁹ **Boyd.** Matthieu Boyd (ed.), 'The First Branch: Pwyll Pendueic Dyfed: Sage, Prince of Dyfed', in *The Medieval Period*, The Broadview Anthology of British Literature, 3rd edn (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2014), vol. 1, PAGE. Repr. 2017 as a complete Four Branches version.

Appendix 3: Dating the Mabinogi (draft notes)

LOANWORDS

The bishop's retinue and *swmereu*, sumpters. PKM3 63.6-8. JKB 74.2. Sumpters Line 7. cf. *swmer*, one of only three loanwords in the Mabinogi, also *pali*, *cordwal*, part of the Mabinogi dating debate. Ifor Williams thought the loanwords were imported via trading with Normans, possibly Hereford settlers in 1052. PKM *Rhagymadrodd*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

Tolstoy dates the tale of Pwyll c. 1018 partly on loanword evidence; Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature: The Compilation of the Four Branches of the Mabinogion* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press., 2009), p. 471. Andrew Breeze disagrees as 'French loans in English are rare until as late as the 1130s'. Breeze, Review of Tolstoy, *Leeds Studies in English* (2012), p. 134. However the Welsh may have borrowed the word earlier than English (this objection to Breeze is not intended to support Tolstoy).

T.M. Charles-Edwards puts the date of composition around 1100. Ifor Williams argues for an earlier date, while Saunders Lewis for a much later one during the reign of Henry II (second half of the 12th century.)
Lewis, Saunders. "Pwyll Pen Annwfn." *Llen Cymru*, 9 (1967), pp. 230-33.

Iestyn Daniel. 2004. "The Date, Origin, and Authorship of the Mabinogion in Light of Ymborth yr Enaid." *Journal of Celtic Studies*, 4

Mac Cana, Mabinogi

22 **Ifor Williams proposes linguistic features** to show texts are older than 1100. Mac Cana assesses this as less than convincing but gives more credit to Williams historical evidence. Tales from Gwynedd, Dyfed and Gwent are combined. The likely time for this was **1055 and 1062** when Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ruled a largely **united Wales, so poets and storytellers could travel freely** to learn regional lore.

23 **Ifor Williams concluded a probable date of composition for the Four Branches of 1063.**

Mac Cana objects that poets and storytellers had always been *peripatetic* in a Celtic civilisation typically *combining cultural unity with political disunity*.

Saunders Lewis relates certain narrative situations to **political incidents in the late 12thC**. Assuming a single author Saunders Lewis dates the Four Branches to **1170-1190**.

(Refs. note 14 p. 134 but authors not specified)

T. M. Charles-Edwards sees this as *incorrect or inconclusive*, preferring **1050 - 1129**. though very aware of the speculative nature of any analysis.

24 ... *still very much an open question*.

Evans challenges the existing theory that Arthurian content in *Culhwch* requires a post-12thC date; preferring an early Welsh Arthur theory. He places the Mabinogi compilation no later than the first half of the 12thC, possibly up to a century earlier, particularly citing archaism in the *Math englynion*. 1907, p. xiii

Simon **Rodway**, "The Where, Who, When, and Why of the Medieval Welsh Prose Texts: Some Methodological Considerations," *Studia Celtica* 41 (2007): 47 -89 at 59). For example, Proinsias **Mac Cana** proposed a late eleventh-century dating (Proinsias Mac Cana, *Branwen, Daughter of Llyr: A Study of the Irish Affinities and of the Composition of the Second Branch*

of the *Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958), 180-7; Thomas **Charles-Edwards** favoured a likely period of composition between circa 1050-1120 (Thomas Charles-Edwards, "The Date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi" in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. C.W. Sullivan III, 19-58); while Iestyn **Daniel** has suggested the thirteenth century (Iestyn Daniel, "The Date, Origin, and Authorship of the Mabinogion in Light of Ymborth yr Enaid." *Journal of Celtic Studies* 4 (2004): 117-152). Other scholars have been more diplomatic: for example, Patrick **Sims-Williams** deemed the date of the Four Branches as "very much an open question" (Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Submission of Irish Kings in Fact and Fiction: Henry II, Bendigeidfran, and the Dating of The Four Branches of the Mabinogi," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 22 (1991): 31 - 62 at 61). Regardless of the exact dates at which the Mabinogi was first composed, it is beyond contention that the tales were composed amidst the backdrop of Norman colonization and profound change in Welsh history. For studies that deal directly with the effect of this change on the Four Branches, see Catherine **McKenna**, "The Colonization of Myth in Branwen Ferch Lyr," in *Myth in Celtic Literatures*, ed. Joseph Falaky Nagy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 105-119; Helen Fulton, "Cultural Meanings in the Mabinogi," in *Origins and Revivals: Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. Geraint Evans et al. (Sydney: Centre for Celtic Studies, University of Sydney, 2000), 437-452.

Appendix 4: Mabinogion error and *Mabinogi a Gwall Mabynnogion*

Notes.

Mac Cana, Mabinogi

24 The Mabinogion colophon issue.

The meaning of the term has been derived from **MAB** = child, boy, youth, therefore a story of a hero's boyhood, specifically **Pryderi**.

Note 16 p. 134 gives **Rachel Bromwich' theory** that the meaning came to be **a tale of descendants**. So the Four Branches are

fundamentally the stories of the old Brittonic gods from whom the old Welsh dynasties in early historical times claimed descent.

Bromwich, Rachel. *Studies in Early British History*. Cambridge 1959: 103.

Bromwich, Rachel. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain; the Triads of Britain*. Cardiff: CUP, 1961: lxxxvi.

Eric P. Hamp instead argues for **a collective noun based on the stem *mapono**; originally material or doings pertaining to (the family of) the divine Maponos (W. Mabon).

Hamp, Eric. "Mabinogi." *Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, 1974, 243–249.

Mac Cana synthesises the two theories, saying that **both could be correct**. The earlier Mabon myth would by the 12thC be understood more widely as a boy, youth story, whether Pryderi or another. Footnote 16, p. 134 he adds that Pryderi might have been seen as a **variant epiphany** of the god Mabon. Also **Celtic literature commonly transfers themes from one hero to another**.

He concludes with a re-examination of the scribal error '*mabinogion*' recommends 'to accept that it is what it appears to be, simply a common plural formation in *-yon*. *Pwyll* provides seven other plurals of this type: *cochyon* 'red' (pl. adj.) (WM, 2.2), *morynnyon* 'maidens' (18. 33), *marchogyon* 'riders' (22. 15), *kerdoryon* 'musicians' (25. 7, 26. 20), *dynnyon* 'men' (32. 23), *gastrodyon* 'grooms' (33. 25), and *dyledogyon* 'rulers' (38. 8).' p. 142. Ifor Williams suggested mistake, confusing *dyledogyon* on a line above, is deemed unattested elsewhere, and unlikely in the very last word. Llyfr Coch is 'not afraid to correct mistakes', and scribes were 'scholars' in their own right. pp. 141–42. Hamp's suggestion of a collective noun adding *-on*, is contradicted by '*mabinogi mynweir a mynord*' 'clearly understood here as a singular.' Sturzer notes the singular Latin *infantia* instance. Sturzer concludes 'My understanding of the colophon is now 'And thus ends this branch here of the *mabinogis*'. This shows that each branch was itself considered a *mabinogi*. p. 142. Sturzer usefully lists all the titles and colophons from both MSS. Sturzer, 'Inconsistencies', p. 141.

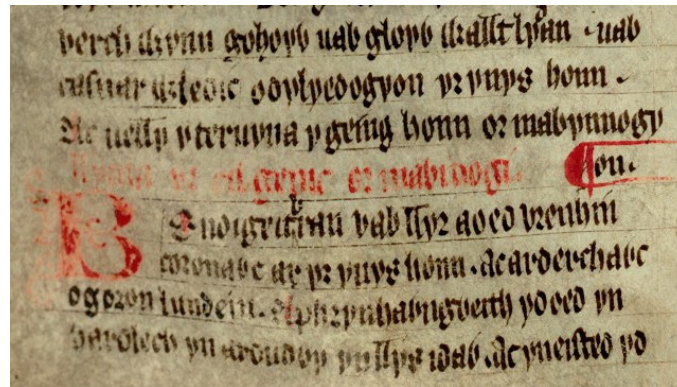
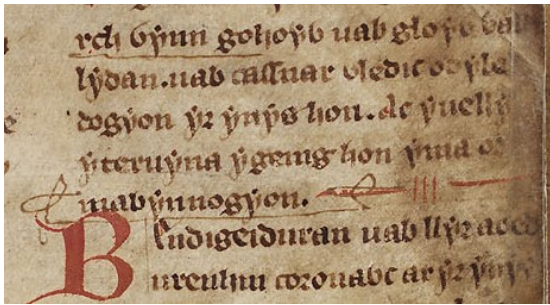
'MABYNNOGYON'

The term 'Mabinogion' (*Mabynnogyon*) is found in a single instance at the end of the First Branch.²⁰ The Second Branch ending uses '*Mabynogi*'; the Third uses '*Mabinogy*'; the Fourth uses '*Mabinogi*'.²¹ One theory suggests the error may have occurred when an inattentive mediaeval scribe confused the word ending with another above it. Bollard notes

²⁰ PKM1 27.28. (27) *Ac yuelly y teruyna y geing hon yma o'r* (28) *Mabynnogyon*.

²¹ *A llyna ual y teruyna y geing honn o'r Mabinyogi*, PKM2 48.12; *Ac yuelly/ y teruyna y geing honn yma o'r Mabinogy*. PKM3 65.23–24; *Ac yuelly y teruyna y geing honn o'r Mabinogi*. PKM4 92.27. 'So ends this branch of the Mabinogi.'

just two short lines above *mabynnogyon* in the *White Book* and one line above in the *Red Book* we see the ending of the word *dyledogyon*, plural of *dyledog*, 'nobleman.'²²



Left: First branch ending, Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, fol. 10r. Right: First branch ending, Llyfr Coch Hergest, fol. 179v. From Bollard, [see](#) n. 3. Both images can be dragged larger to see more detail.

The 'Mabinogion' label for grouping eleven or twelve mediaeval Welsh prose tales is routinely attributed to Charlotte Guest.²³ However it was in active use as a title for the tales in the late 18thC and early 19thC. William Owen, later William Own Pughe, uses 'Mabinogion' in his titles four times (1795, 1799, 1818, 1828). In three of the four titles this is associated with plural nouns (Amusements, Romances, Tales) implying 'Mabinogion' is perceived as a collective noun.²⁴ He later uses 'Mabinogi' in five titles (two in 1829, three in 1833).²⁵ These later titles are all specific to a named personage (Math, Taliesin); and three of the five link to a singular noun (Romance). The implication is that 'Mabinogi' is a singular noun.

Charlotte Guest was mentored by Thomas Price, 'Carnhuanawc', and John Jones, 'Tegid', among other scholars who had been part of Pughe's scholarly circle. She was faithful to the native Welsh traditions they taught her, and most evidently so on this point, using 'Mabinogion' as a

²² Bollard, John K., 'What Is The Mabinogi? What Is "The Mabinogion"?' (2007)

<<https://sites.google.com/site/themabinogi/mabinogiandmabinogion>> [Accessed 17/07/2013]

²³ Guest's grouping includes 12 units, including 'Taliesin'; later versions omit this to make 11 units.

'Lady Charlotte Guest, the first translator of all eleven tales which are now irremediably known as the Mabinogion, is responsible for the inaccurate labelling', Jessica Hemming (then Hooker), 'A Textual Commentary on the First Branch of the Mabinogi' (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge, 1995), p. 2. MORE

²⁴ William Owen [Pughe], 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. I (1795), pp. 177–87. 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. II (1799), pp. 322–27. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, Vol. III (1818), pp. 230–46. William Owen Pughe, 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed. by Croker, Thomas Crofton (London: John Murray, 1828), pp. 163–91. (My underlining)

²⁵ 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, , Literally Translated by Idrison', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Part 1 of 2, (1829), pp. 170–79. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, Literally Translated by Idrison', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Part 2 of 2 (1829), pp. 395–410. 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin (First Part)', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Vol. 5 (1833), pp. 198–214. 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin (Second Part)', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, Vol. 5 (1833), pp. 366–82. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy', *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository* (1833), pp. 198–214. (My underlining)

plural collective noun to title her bilingual Welsh– English texts.²⁶ Through the 20thC the title is used ubiquitously as a collective noun for the eleven tales: Hemming (then Hooker) acknowledges (1995) they ‘are now irremediably known as the *Mabinogion*’.²⁷ Bollard clearly laid out the Mabinogion error online in 2007 (above), adding ‘it has been retained primarily because of the familiarity it gained from the Guest translation’.²⁸ In the same year Sioned Davies published her widely promoted translation ‘*The Mabinogion*’, powerfully sustaining the erroneous usage as a matter of ‘convenience’.²⁹ This effectively closes the matter at least for the foreseeable future.

THE MEANING OF ‘MABINOGI’

The etymology of the prefix *mab*– has given rise to associations with children, or youth.³⁰ Hemming, among others, attributes this to Guest:

Lady Guest recognized the element *mab* or *map*, 'boy, son', and deduced that the *mabinogi* were stories for children; this in spite of the fact that she felt compelled to edit out a few indelicacies in the texts before offering them to her own children.³¹

Hemming does acknowledge a contradiction between Guest’s apparent ‘stories for children’ and sex scenes in the content which she felt it necessary to censor in her English (though not her Welsh) version.³² Guest is subsequently critiqued for ‘bowdlerising’ the text in her translation.³³ However Guest nowhere states the tales were composed *for* children. She dedicates her publications to her infant sons at the outset. As White observes, dedicating a publication to a lover does not define the content as a love story, or pornography;³⁴ Guest hoped the chivalrous ideals in the tales would shape her sons’ thinking, and as they grew she read aloud to them; but her 250 pages of scholarly footnotes demonstrate the level of audience she anticipated.³⁵

The children’s tales attribution to Guest is flawed, but ‘child’ etymology is found earlier in Pughe’s Mabinogi works. The first tale he published (1795) is subtitled ‘Juvenile Amusements’, repeated when the tale continues 1799. In his *Dictionary* (1803) with many *mab*– rooted terms associated with ‘child’, he gives:

Mabinogai, s. (mabinawg) Instructor of youth.
Mabinogi, s. m. – pl. t. ion (mabinawg) Juvenility; juvenile instruction; the amusement of youth: the title of some ancient tales. *Mabinogi iem Grist*, The infancy of Jesus Christ, the title of one of the spurious gospels.³⁶

²⁶ Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion; from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest and Other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes*, 7 vols (Tonn Press, Llandovery, Wales; and Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London; simultaneously, 1838– =45).

²⁷ Jessica Hemming, (then Hooker), ‘A Textual Commentary on the First Branch of the Mabinogi’ (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge., 1995), p. 2.

²⁸ Bollard, ‘What Is The Mabinogi?’ webpage.

²⁹ Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: OUP, 2007). p.

³⁰ *mab* – boy, son, infant, child (of either sex), minor, youth; descendant; (GPC).

³¹ Hemming, ‘Commentary’, p. MORE

³² CENSORED SCENES

³³ Jones?

³⁴ White, ‘Crimes’, p.

³⁵ See Ch. II.7. *Dadeni Cymru/ Welsh Renaissance (1707– 1877)/ Guest*.

³⁶ William Owen [Pughe], *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Saesneg. A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, 2 vols

His dominant and persistent concept was Romance,³⁷ but the Mabinogi juvenile category whether for 'instruction' or 'amusement' is clearly present at least early on in Welsh tradition. This, together with Iolo Morganwg's druidry, seems to have influenced John Rhys who thought

the word *mabinog* is a technical term belonging to the bardic system; and it means a literary apprentice. In other words, a mabinog was a young man who had not yet acquired the art of making verse, but one who received instruction from a qualified bard. The natural inference is that the Mabinogion meant the collection of things which formed the Mabinog's literary training ... The supposition that a mabinog was a child on his nurse's lap would be as erroneous as the idea that the Mabinogion are nursery tales.³⁸

However when Gwenogvryn Evans published independently of Rhys in 1907 he rejected his erstwhile patron's theory, quoting him but not naming him.

No evidence has been produced in support of the view that "mabinog was a technical term belonging to the bardic system and meaning a literary apprentice". In other words that mabinog was a "young man who had not acquired the art of making verse, but one who received instruction from a qualified bard." If we follow Peniarth MS. 14, and for 'mabinog' in the last sentence read 'Jesus Christ,' the author of the definition must shrink from his own words, and all will see how fanciful they are.³⁹

There appears to be a conflict at the time as Rhys' theory is still followed by his student Anwyl (1908), the leading scholar of that period, and by Anwyl's protégée Elizabeth J. Lloyd, in turn (1911).⁴⁰

Pughe's reference to '*Mabinogi Iesu Grist*, The infancy of Jesus Christ, the title of one of the spurious gospels', (*Dictionary*, 1803, above) is apparently preferred by Evans (1907) who refers to Peniarth 14, with 'mabinog' as alternate to 'Jesus Christ' (quotation above). Evans supports the 'mabinogion' as the plural, and defines it as

any narrative which treats of early life is a mabinogi, of which the plural is mabinogion, a term applied in this work only to Pwyll and Branwen, to Manawy6an and Math. But it might be extended, with the strictest propriety, to the Enfances of Peredur, to such a hanes as that of Taliessin, and possibly to Kulhwch and Olwen.⁴¹

This widening beyond the Mabinogi is consonant with Thomas Stephens' usage in his *The Literature of the Kymry* (1849). Stephens' does not give an explicit definition, but his use of 'mabinogi' is frequent, and from context means a tale about a specific personage, who predated Giraldus 13thC Arthuriana.⁴² INSERT FROM CH It is unfortunate that Stephens' temperament did not permit him to tolerate unjust practice by the ruling Eisteddfod authority of his day, nor did he

(London: E. Williams, 1803), p. 314. Terms rooted in *-mab* begin p. 313, with *mab* itself, then extend through two columns on p. 314, to p. 315, col. 1.

<<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044004554697;view=1up;seq=8>> [Accessed 10/03/2019]

³⁷ II.8 *Y Mabinogi fel Rhamant*/ Mabinogi as Romance Literature.

³⁸ John Rhys and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Y Llyfr Coch o Hergest* (Oxford: Private subscription, 1887), p. ix. This is supported by Anwyl, 'Mabinogi, I, p. 278; 'Religion', p. 235..

³⁹ John Gwenogvryn Evans, *The White Book of Mabinogion: Welsh Tales & Romances Reproduced from the Peniarth Manuscripts*, Series of Welsh Old Texts, vii (Pwlheli: Private subscription, 1907; repr. 1973, 1977, 2010), p. xxvi.

⁴⁰ Edward, Anwyl, 'The Value of the Mabinogion for the Study of Celtic Religion', *Transact. 3rd Int'l Congress for the History of Religions*, 2 (1908), pp. 234–44, @ p. 235. Elizabeth J. Lloyd, 'The Mabinogion as Literature' Part I, *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 7 (1911), pp. 164–74, @ p. 166.

⁴¹ Evans, *White Book*, p. xxvi.

⁴² Thomas Stephens, *The Literature of the Kymry: Being a Critical Essay on the History of the Language and Literature of Wales during the Twelfth and Two Succeeding Centuries, Containing Numerous Specimens of Ancient Welsh Poetry in the Original and Accompanied with English Translations* (London: Longmans Green, 1849)

<https://archive.org/stream/literatureofkymr00stepuoft/literatureofkymr00stepuoft_djvu.txt>

live long enough to mellow, or alternatively assert and establish his work longer term. His pragmatic usage sank into obscurity.

Elizabeth J. Lloyd (1911) gives 'mabinogi' as

the synonym of the Latin 'infantia' in Peniarth MS. 14, where 'Mabinogi Iesu Grist' is given as a translation of 'Infantia Jesu Christi.' Thus the name Mabinogi may be taken as referring to any narrative of early life, or used as a term of contempt by the bards who regarded the stories as childish ones.⁴³

Lloyd does not cite her source, and her work is generally a summary of Rhÿs and Anwyl, neither of whom give this analysis. Hemming, noting Lloyd's role as a summariser, then speculates she 'may have had the idea from Gruffydd' (referencing WJG, 1912).⁴⁴ That is possible but not firm as WJG does not otherwise appear in Lloyd, and her MA predated his 'Mabinogion' article which describes the theory, by a year. Perhaps she derived it from Pughe, or perhaps WJG derived it from her. The Latin synonym theory was subsequently sustained by Ifor Williams (1930), and R. L. Thomson (1957), giving 'a tale of youth'.⁴⁵

The next theory was both linguistic and mythological. Eric P. Hamp as an eminent linguist, critiqued the 'a' in the first syllable, which should by phonetic rules become 'e.'. He therefore proposes 'Mabinogi' as 'the material or doings pertaining to the family of the divine Maponos'.⁴⁶ This relies on a parallel between the abducted child and captive Mabon of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and the similarly abducted child and captive Pryderi of the Mabinogi. Both have named, arguably divine mothers: Modron and Rhiannon respectively.

Pwyll had noted Mabon in his *Dictionary* in the *mab*- cluster noted above, meaning 'a fine youth, a young hero'. In his *Cambrian Biography* he gives Mabon, evidently from Triad data, distinguishing him as a historical personage. WJG wrote on Mabon (1912) but not apparently making this connection. The Hamp theory finds favour with a number of scholars, notably Hemming and Bollard.⁴⁷ Paul Russell critiques its linguistics and narrative content, arguing that 'mabinogi' could also derive from *maban*, 'baby, boy-child', which returns to the long established 'juvenile' theory from early Pughe. Patrick Sims-Williams supports this, particularly the French synonym in Peniarth 14 where 'mabinogi' means *enfances*.⁴⁸

In this study of Mabinogi Rhiannon, the centrality of Rhiannon and Pryderi is supported as Rhiannon's maternal fusion identity (Maternal Dyad pp. 321-28; 322nn770,771). This does align with the duality of Modron and Mabon. However, the mythological perspective, while powerful and enriching, is not seen as primary here. The Mabinogi is addressed as it stands: i.e. without deity characters, albeit traces can be discerned from a deity perspective. As with the Welsh Renaissance scholars, this study views the literary profile as primary. It is unlikely the Mabinogi composer would have made the concept of 'mabinogi' so significant, closing each Branch, if it were deity vocabulary; especially as the work strives for a secular profile.⁴⁹

⁴³ Lloyd, 'Mabinogion as Literature', p. 166.

⁴⁴ Hemming, 'Commentary', p. 2, n. 2. WJG, 'The Mabinogion', *Cymm.*, Vol. 13 (1912), pp. 39-40.

⁴⁵ WJG, 'Mabinogion'. pp. 39-40. PKM, pp. xlii-liii. Robert Leith Thomson, *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyfed: the First of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi edited from the White Book of Rhydderch with variants from the Red Book of Hergest* (Dublin: DIAS, 1957), p. xvii.

⁴⁶ Eric Hamp, 'Mabinogi', *Cymm.*, (1974), pp. 243-49, @ pp. 247-48.

⁴⁷ Hemming, 'Commentary', pp. 2-3. Bollard, 'What Is The Mabinogi?'

⁴⁸ Paul Russell, *Celtic Word Formation: The Velar Suffixes* (DIAS, 1990), pp. 60-61, n. 89. Patrick Sims-Williams, Review: 'The Mabinogi by Proinsias Mac Cana, Writers of Wales, second edition' (Cardiff: UWP, 1992). *CMCS*, Vol. 28 (Winter 1994), pp. 109-10, @ p. 110.

⁴⁹ See Ch.

Secondly, it is well understood here how important the children of the Mabinogi are, not least to the *persona* of *rieni* (Ch. III.6. 'Tryded Prif Rieni' / 'Three Chief Rieni' pp. 177-82). The birth and survival of Pryderi, Gweir, and Lleu are central to Mabinogi narrative, and there are other babies such as puppies, foals, the three boys born of shapeshifted couples, who also bear witness to Mabinogi preoccupation with the young.⁵⁰ Yet other characters are no less important than the three dynastic heirs: Pwyll, Rhiannon, Branwen, Bendigeidfran, Efnysien, Manawydan, Gwydion and Arianrhod, ensure this is an *ensemble* narrative.

The concept which seems the most workable is the approach taken by Stephens (1849), who uses 'mabinogi' as a life narrative for a *named* personage, in mediaeval Welsh literature prior to the 13thC Arthuriana period. This does not conflict with usage in general, but fails the prominence of the etymology of *mab-* (youth, child, boy).⁵¹ The 'juvenile' theory as tales for the young or children, as some have thought, is logical in covering that key linguistic component (above). But the Coherence Paradigm (1970–1990s) has clarified just how intricate and sophisticated this literature is, so the tales cannot be intended for children, at least not primarily. A slight adjustment from 'tales *for* the young and children', supplanting the preposition, might offer 'tales *about* the young and their children'.

Checking Mabinogi *dramatis personae*, it is significant how absent elders are. Hyfaidd Hen, from his name is possibly old, or the epithet may be affectionate hierarchy, as in 'the old man'. Pwyll has a very slight presence as an elder, because he dies naturally of age, but this is one brief, dignified sentence.⁵² Rhiannon and Manawydan are of mature years in PKM3, counting events from the end of PKM1, but they are not more than middle aged.⁵³ Math might be older, but this is not specified. Arawn and Llwyd both have 'grey' *personae*, but this is arguably related to their role as magicians, *éminences grises*; they are not specified as elders.⁵⁴ Over all the Mabinogi is a world of youth, of vigorous adventures, the passions of love and ambition, and the struggles of parenting. Such 'tales about the young', *mabinogi*, are perennially popular, then as now. I therefore presume to add this interpretation to the corpus.

⁵⁰ Cf. the female composer theory, Breeze (1997) and subsequent works.

⁵¹ (GPC) n. 11, above.

⁵² *Uelty y treulyssant/ blwydyn a blwydyned, yny doeth teruyn ar hoedyl/ Pwyll Penn Annwn, ac y bu uarw.* PKM1 27.15–17. In that way, they passed one year after the next until the life of Pwyll Penn Annwn came to an end and he was dead.

⁵³ See calculation, Ch. V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines, pp. 271-74 Calc. 273-74. n. 433

⁵⁴ See VII.5. *Rhiannon y Ddewines/ Rhiannon the Magician.*

Appendix 5: *Trioedd* & Mabinogi

Data from Bromwich, Rachel, *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Welsh Triads, Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith Yn Yr Oesau Canol*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961) see next Appendix.

Bromwich groups *Trioedd* nos. 8– 38 as ‘Early Version’; nos. 52 – 67 as from Llyfr Gwyn and Llyfr Coch; nos. 78 & 95 as from ‘Later MSs.’ Additionally I list the ‘implicit triad’ about *rieni*.

<<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydein-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>>

TYP overview of Mabinogi *Trioedd* pp. lxxix – lxxxv.

Trioedd of the Mabinogi: **8/13/ 20/ 26/ 27/ 28/ 30/ 35/ 37/ 38/ (52)/ 53/ 67/ 78/ 95/ Rieni** (implicit).

Bromwich confirms there are no *Trioedd* integrated with the First Branch of the Mabinogi, and numbers ten *Trioedd* to be found relating to the other three Branches,⁵⁵ which PKM listed.⁵⁶ (From her listed *Trioedd* the list below numbers fifteen.) WJG had also observed the same lack in the First Branch, judging this meant the Branch was of ‘greater antiquity’. He noted ‘profuse’ connections in *Branwen*, and *Manawydan*.⁵⁷

Bromwich rejects Williams view that the Mabinogi *Trioedd* are late scribal glosses,⁵⁸ instead seeing them as part of a common tradition. She recognises the Mabinogi composer as a ‘**consummate literary artist**’ using *Trioedd* in a distinctive way unlike other *chwedlau*, to heighten the dramatic narrative by providing its incidents with an impressive, larger context. She compares the technique to ‘digressions’ in *Beowulf*, and rhetorical devices in Irish tales such as the *Tain*.⁵⁹ As Mabinogi examples she cites the death and burial of Bendigeidfran;⁶⁰ and the ‘perfidy’ of Gronwy’s *teulu*.⁶¹ She also gives what I call the implicit Triad which introduces Branwen in her Branch as ***tryded prifrieni***.⁶²

Bromwich considers the originally exclusively bardic prose tales, had by 1100 and probably earlier, become more widely known on a popular level.⁶³ Asserting the Mabinogi as distinctive in preserving traditions of the old Brittonic gods from whom the old Welsh dynasties claimed descent, she feels this may account for the prominence of the *Trioedd* in them. She notes some variations between the tales and Triadic lore, e.g. in Triad 53 Branwen is given a single blow directly by Matholwch, not daily abuse by the cook as in the Mabinogi.⁶⁴ Llew is one of the Golden Shoemakers, but Gwydion is not explicitly named.⁶⁵ She attributes this to oral variations.⁶⁶

Bromwich **does not consider Gwydion typical** in the Fourth Branch, acting as both a *pencerdd* and *cyfarwydd*, although it may have occurred in earlier times. But there is no evidence

⁵⁵ TYP (1961) p. lxxi.

⁵⁶ PKM (1930) p. xxx.

⁵⁷ WJG, ‘Mabinogion’ (1912) p. 57.

⁵⁸ PKM p. xxx.

⁵⁹ TYP p. lxxi; n. 106 refs. Book of Leinster, *Tain*, B, XII, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁰ PKM 47. 22-24; Triad 37.

⁶¹ PKM 92. 1-6; Triad 30.

⁶² TYP pp. lxxi-lxxii; citing PKM 31.1. In the next footnote, n. 107, she adds PKM 32. 7, and analyses possible meanings for *rieni*. In her main text she opts for ‘Great Queens(?)’ (TYP lxxii).

⁶³ TYP p. lxx.

⁶⁴ TYP observation p. lxxii on Triad 53; PKM 37. 26 – 38.1.

⁶⁵ Triad 67, Bromwich comment TYP p. lxxii-lxxiii.

⁶⁶ TYP p. lxxiii.

she says that the 12thC *Gogynfeirdd* recited stories in the courts of the princes.⁶⁷ While recognising the brilliance of the Mabinogi *cyfarwydd*, Bromwich finds instances where he has not understood the specifically poetic meanings in certain Triads, and attempted to account for the puzzle in the tales. Manawydan as *lledyf unben*, humble lord (Triad 8); and his status as *eur gryd*, 'golden shoemaker' (Triad 67) are both examples. These divergences evidence that *cyfarwyddiaid* were not usually participant in bardic training.

RELEVANT MABINOGI TRIOEDD

* Of especial interest, key Mabinogi characters, with notes below. PKM lists 10, p. 30.
TYP abbreviations WM = Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch; WR = MS. Llyfr Coch, & Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch.

EARLY VERSION (14)

- *8 ***Tri Lledyf 6nben Enys Prydein***, Three 'Prostrate' Chieftains of Britain.
Re Manawydan, referenced by Pryderi, PKM 49.12 (TYP pp. 15-16).
- *13 ***Tri Chynweissyat Enys Prydein***, Three Chief Officers/ (Stewards) of Britain.
Re Caradawg mab Bran, PKM 38.23-25. (TYP pp. 25 -27)
- (16) ***Tri gwrduagla6c Enys Prydein***, Three Powerful /Ecclesiastic shepherds of Britain.
Refers to Pryderi, but not Pryderi of the Mabinogi. (TYP p. 31)
- *20 ***Tri Ruduo6c Enys Prydein***, Red Ravagers of Britain.
Re Llew Llaw Gyffes, MS. Llyfr Coch version, later replaced by Arthur. (TYP pp. 39-40)
- *26 ***Tri Gwrdueichyat Enys Prydein***, Three Powerful Swineherds of Britain.
Re Pryderi, mentions Pwyll as father, and Pendaran. Also Drystan, Coll. (TYP pp. 50– 58)
- *27 ***Tri Lleturitha6c Enys Prydein***, Three Enchanters of Britain, alt. form.
Re Math as an enchanter, from Ms. Pen 16. (TYP pp. 59-60)
- *28 ***Teir Prif Hut Enys Prydein***, Three Great Enchantments of Britain.
Re Math teaching enchantments to Gwydion ap Dôn. Also re Coll. (TYP pp. 61)
- *30 ***Tri Anyweir Deulu Enys Prydain***, Three Faithless War-Bands of Britain.
Re Gronw Pebr. TYP pp. 65-69. Contrast pair with no. 29, Faithful War-Bands.
- *35 ***Tri Chyuoar a aeth o'r Enys hon, ac ny doeth dracheuyn 6r un onadunt***, Three Levies that departed this Island, and not one of them came back.
Re Arianrhod ferch Don, Caswallon, and Beli. (TYP pp. 90-93)
- (36). ***Teir Gormes a doeth y'r Enys Hon, ac nyt aeth dracheuyn***,
Three Oppressions that came to this Island, and not one of them went back.
Cor(y)niaid (from Arabia) in the time of Caswallawn (=Llud) son of Beli.
Ms. Peniarth 16 (TYP pp. 90-102)

Cf. Arawn, oppression. Caswallawn. Coraniaid cf. (Math).
*37 ***Tri Chud a Thri Datcud Enys Prydein***,
Three Concealments and Three Disclosures of Britain.
Re the Head of Bendigeidfran ap Llyr (his dying prophecy PKM 44.25 -45.20;
the deed itself PKM 47.22-24), and Arthur. (TYP pp. 102-104)

- *38 ***Tri Rodedicuarch Enys Prydein***, Three Bestowed Horses of Britain.
Re Llew Llaw Gyffes' horse Melyngan Mangre ('Pale Yellow of the Stud';
and Caswallon's horse. (TYP pp. 105-106. See Intro. pp. lxxx-lxxxvii)
Trioedd y Meirch, Triads of the Horses nos. 38 – 46c (TYP pp. 103-28).

FROM LLYFR GWYN/ COCH (5)

- (52) ***Triwyr G6arth a uu yn Ynys Prydein***,
Three Exalted/ Supreme Prisoners of Britain.

⁶⁷ TYP p. lxix. In n. 97 she gives several references for early Irish traditions of two separate classes. In the main text she refers to Rhonabwy which does refer to two classes: RM 161.5.

Re Gwair ap Geirioedd Llŷr Llediaith father of Branwen etc, Mabon ap Modron].
Llyr Half-speech by Euroswydd/ Mabon son of Modron, Gwair son of Custennn.
(TYP pp. 146-49)

53 *Teir Gwith Baluawt Ynys Prydain, Three Harmful Blows of Britain.

Re Branwen ferch Llyr and Matholwch, PKM 37.26 – 38.1. Also Gwenhwyfach, Gwenhwyfar as cause of the battle of Camlan. cf. Triad 34, re blows. Ms. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch. (TYP pp. 150-152)

67 *Tri Eur Gryd Ynys Brydein, Three Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers of Britain.

Re Caswallawn fab Beli, Manawydan fab Llyr; Llew Law Gyffes, & Arianrhod ferch Don. 'and Llew Skilful Hand when he and Gwydion were seeking a name and arms from his mother Aranrhod.' (TYP pp. 185-88)

(68) *Tri Brenhin a vuant a Veibion a Eillion*.

Three Kings who were (sprung from) Villeins. (TYP p. 189-91)

Re Hyfaidd ap Bleiddig of Deheubarth. (cf. Hyfaidd vap Bleiddic BL. 240, Cwri)

FROM LATER MSS.

78 *Teir Gwenriein Ynys Prydain, Three fair (Royal) Ladies of Britain.

Re Ar(i)anrhod ferch Don; Creirwy ferch Ceridwen. Ms. Pen. 47. (TYP p. 208)
TYP 84 Re Camlann due to Gwenhwyfar's contention with Gwenhwy(f)ach. See 53.

95. *Tri dyn y torres ei galon o Annifyged,

Three People whose heart broke from Sorrow.

Re Branwen ferch Llyr (PKM 45.16-19); Caradawg ab Bran (PKM 46.2-5.).

Ms. Llanstephan 65, fo. 89r Moses Williams MS.

*IMPLICIT: ***Tryded Prif Rieni Ynys Prydein***, Three Chief Ladies/ Queens of Britain.

Re Branwen ferch Llyr (PKM 31.1, & 32.27.); (TYP lxxi-lxxii, and lxxii, n. 107 on IW)
possibly Rhiannon ferch Hyfaidd, and Arianrhod ferch Don (PKM Nodiadau p. 167).

MABINOGI CHARACTERS IN *TRIOEDD*: LIST A-Z

Other characters in the same Triad noted 'with'.

Arianrhod**: *Triodd (6) Eur Gryd* shoes, with Caswallawn, Llew, Manawydan; **(78) *Gwenriein, Fair /beautiful & royal lady.

***Bendigeidfran**: *Triad (37) Chud a Matkud*, Concealment & Disclosure.

Branwen**: *Triodd (53) Gwyth Baluawt*, Harmful Blow, with Matholwch.; **(95) *torres ei galon o Annifyged, heart broke from Sorrow,, with Caradawc; Implicit *rieni*, high queen, ancestress.

Caradawc**: *Triodd (13) Cynwessiat*, steward/ regent. **(95) *torres ei galon o Annifyged, heart broke, died, with Branwen.

Caswallawn (38) *Rodedicuarch, bestowed horse, with Llew. **(67) *Eur Gryd***, noble/ golden shoemaker, with Arianrhod, Llew, Manawydan. See also 36.

***Coll**: *Triad (26) Gwyrdueichyat*, Swineherd, with Pendaran, Pryderi, Pwyll.

***Dôn**: *Triad (35)* as mother, with Arianrhod and Caswallawn.

***Gronw Pebr**: *Triad (30) Anyweir Deulu*, Faithless War-band; contra **(29)**.

Gwydion**: *Triodd (28) Prif Hut*, Great Enchanter, with Math; **(67) *Eur Gryd, implicit, noble/ golden shoemakers, with Arianrhod, Caswallawn, Llew, Manawydan.

***Hyfaidd** (of Dyfed): *Triad (68)*, Notes p. 402.

Llew**: *Triodd (20) Red Ravagers*; **(38) *Rodedicuarch, bestowed horse, with Caswallawn; **(67) *Eur Gryd***, noble/ golden shoemaker, with Arianrhod, Caswallawn, Manawydan.

***Mabon**: *Triad (52)* Prisoner., with Modron, Llyr Llediaith.

- ***Manawydan: Trioedd (8) Lledyf**, laid low lit. prostrate. **(67) Eur Gryd**, noble/ golden shoemaker, with Arianrhod, Caswallawn, Lleu.
- ***Math: Trioedd (27) Lleturithawc**, Enchanters, alt. form; **(28) Prif Hut**, Great Enchanter, with Gwydion.
- ***Matholwch: Triad (53) Blow**. (Branwen)
- ***Modron: Triad (52) Prisoner.**, with Llyr, Mabon.
- ***Pendaran: Triad (26)** with Coll, Henwen, Pryderi, Pwyll.
- ***Pryderi: Triad (26)** with Coll, Pendaran, Pwyll; Henwen. cf. **(52) Prisoner, Mabon**.
- ***Pwyll: Triad (26)** with Coll, Henwen, Pendaran, Pryderi.

NOTES ON EACH CHARACTER

– **ARIANRHOD ferch Don (Trioedd 35: TYP 81-89; 67: TYP 185-88; 78: TYP 208. Notes pp. 284-85)**

(35) Chyuor, Levies which left Britain and did not return. Linked with Caswallawn, Dôn as their mother, Beli as their father. This is the only source of Beli as her father Triad text pp. 81-93; comment p. 86. (Notes p. 284)

(67) Eur Gryd, Golden Shoemakers. 'Lleu Skilful Hand when he and Gwydion were seeking a name and arms from his mother Aranrhod.' (TYP p. 185)

(78) Gwenriein, Fair / royal ladies; noted for her beauty. Ms. Pen. 47, **(Taliesin 36, 14-15)**. cf. **(67)** re Lleu, Caswallawn as shoemakers. (p. 208; Notes pp.277-8; cf. *rieni* Triad, Branwen.

– **BENDIGEIDFRAN (Triad 37, Chud a Matkud**, Concealment & Disclosure, pp. 94-102. **Notes** 'Bran Vendigeit' pp. 290-93) Concealment of his Head, Arthur's disinterment of it. E. Lloyd refers to three good concealments incl. Bendigeidfran's head. The "third evil disclosure" when it was exposed refs. Geoffrey's explanation. (Lloyd, p. 221) Bromwich notes kings buried standing and armed, facing in the direction of internal Irish enemies. (TYP pp.90-91)

– **BRANWEN ferch Llyr (Trioedd (53) Gwyth Baluawt**, Harmful Blows, pp. 150-52; **(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged**, heart broke from Sorrow p. 242. **(Rieni)**, pp. lxxi-lxxii, & lxxii, n. 107 on IW; **Notes** pp. 293-94)

(53) Gwyth Baluawt, Harmful Blows, naming Matholwch the Irishman. Ms. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, [WM 61, RM 43]. E. Lloyd mentions Govannon giving one of 'three fatal blows' (Lloyd, p. 222). Bartrum infers only one Blow struck by Matholwch. (Bartrum p. 61). (TYP 150-52) *sarhaed* refs. (TYP 152) Refers to two women Gwenthwyfach, Gwenthwyfar as cause of the battle of Camlan. A variant Pen.50 Gwenthwyfar strucj Gwenthwyfach. cf. **(84)** contention between the two women. (TYP 152) Trad. Gwenthwyfach was the wife of Medrod. (Bartrum pp. 359-60) cf. (34) re blows. (TYP 152)

(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged, heart broke from Sorrow, with Caradwg ab Bran. (TYP 242)

Implicit **(Rieni)** implicit triad, Second Branch PKM 31.1, & 32.27. (TYP lxxi-lxxii, & lxxii, n. 107 on IW) E. Lloyd observes a 'triad at the very beginning of Branwen, which says that she is one of the three chief ladies of the land.' (Lloyd, 1911, p. 221) IW suggests Arianrhod and Rhiannon as the other two *rieni* (PKM Nodiadau p. 167).

– **CARADAWG ab Bran (Trioedd (13) Cynwessiat**, steward/ regent of Britain. (TYP 25-27) **(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged**, heart broke from Sorrow, with Branwen. (TYP 242) **Notes 303-04)**

(13) Cynwessiat, steward/ regent of Britain. (TYP 25-27)

Bartrum adds some versions substitute Gwyddar ap Rhun ap Beli. Referenced in Llyfr Taliesin poem 'Kadeir Teyrnon' 'The Chair of the Sovereign' XV: 'Who are the three chief officers who guarded the land?' (BT 34 ll.24-5). (Bartrum, p. 114) 'Kadeir Teyrnon' ref. noted (Anwyl III p. 130)

(95) torres ei galon o Anniffyged, heart broke from Sorrow, with Branwen. (TYP 242) (PKM 46.2-5.) Noted (Lloyd, p. 221).

– **CASWALLAWN (Trioedd 35, Chyuo**r, Levies TYP pp 284; **(38) Rodedicuarch**, Bestowed horses **(67) Eur Gryd**, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers. TYP 185-88; **Notes** p. 305-06.

(35) Chyuor, Levies which left Britain never to return. With Arianrhod, Beli as their mother. cf. **(36)** time period. See Arianrhod. (TYP 284)

(38) Rodedicuarch, Bestowed horses, naming his as *Meinlas* ('Slender Grey'. Also Llew's horse. TYP pp. 103-04. See TYP Intro. pp. lxxx-lxxxvii re. *Trioedd y Meirch*, Triads of the Horses nos. 38 – 46c, series (TYP pp. 103-28).

(67) Eur Gryd, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers. With Llew Llaw Gyffes, Manawydan fab Llyr. (TYP 185-88)

– **COLL Trioedd 26, Gwyrdueichyat**, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. **27, Lleturithawc**, Enchantments pp. 59-60; **28** Enchanter, p. 61. Not Mabinogi char. **Notes** p. 315.

26 Gwyrdueichyat, Swineherd. (With Pendaran, Pryderi, Pwyll) 2 entries pp. 50-58.

27 Lleturithawc, Enchanter, pp. 59-60.

28 Prif Hut, Great Enchanter, with Gwydion. Nephew connection cf. Gwydion. (p. 61). Not Mabinogi character, see Pryderi (26)

– **DÔN (Triad 35**, pp. 81-89) Mother of Arianrhod, Mother of the gods, cf. Irish Danu. *Plant Don o Arvon* listed Bonedd y Arwyr (EWGT 90 (25) = BXVIII p. 237 (25). **Notes** p. 330) As mother of Arianrhod and Caswallawn; father given as Beli, only source of Beli as father Triad text pp. 81-93; comment p. 86.

– **GRONW PEBR (Triad 30, Anyweir Deulu**, Faithless War-band pp. 66-69. **Notes** p. 365)

E. Lloyd renders this 'faithless household'. (Lloyd, p. 222) Contrast pair **(29)** Faithful War-Bands.

– **GWYDION (Trioedd 28, Prif Hut**, Great Enchanters (TYP 61); **67** (implicitly) *Eur Gryd*, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers (TYP) **Notes** pp. 392-94)

28 Prif Hut, Great Enchanter, as student of Math. With Coll. Nephew connection cf. Coll. (p. 61)

67 implicitly *Eur Gryd*, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers **c /o Llew** (TYP) according to Pughe travel in a golden car to appeal to 'Rhianon' as Llew's mother.[sic] (Pughe *Biog.* p. 217) E. Lloyd has Gwydion one of the 'gold-shoemakers' but omits Manawydan. (Lloyd p. 222) However Bromwich notes Gwydion is not explicit in the Triad.

– **HENWEN Triad 26, Gwyrdueichyat**, Swineherd. (With Pendaran, Pryderi, Pwyll) pp. 50-58. **Notes** pp. 397-98) Sow who traverses from Cornwall to S. Wales, and up to Gwynedd. See Coll.

– **HYFAIDD** ap Bleiddig of Deheubarth (**Triad 68, Notes** p. 402) King of low birth, found in Dyfed genealogy marrying Dyfed heiress but link to Rhiannon's father is tenuous apart from Hyfaidd Hen as an ancestral figure, and the pivot of a key female. (cf. Hyfaidd vap Bleiddic BL. 240, Cwri)

– **LLEU Llaw Gyffes (Trioedd 20 Ruduoawc**, Red Ravagers pp. 39-40. **38 Rodedicuarch**, Bestowed horses pp. 103-04. **67 Eur Gryd**, Noble Shoemakers, pp 185-88. **Notes** pp. 412-13)

(20) Ruduoawc, Red Ravagers. 'For a year neither grass nor plants would spring up where he had walked.' (Bartrum p. 466) Llew was later replaced here by Arthur. Poss. Llew's reputation came from his vengeance on Gronw Pebr, or simply separate later events.

(38) Rodedicuarch, Bestowed horses, naming his as *Melyngan Mangre* ('Pale Yellow of the Stud'. Also Caswallon's horse. pp. 103-04. Note Llew pined *o eisseu meirch ac arueu* (PKM 81-14), for want of horses and arms. (TYP noted p. 103) See TYP Intro. pp. lxxx-lxxxvii re. *Trioedd y Meirch*, Triads of the Horses nos. 38 – 46c, series (TYP pp. 103-28).

(67) Eur Gryd, Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers. With Manawydan, Caswallawn. (pp 185-88)

– **LLYR (Triad 52, Goruchel Garcharawr**, Exalted Prisoner, pp. 146-49. **Notes** pp. 412-13) Exalted Prisoners, imprisoned by Euroswydd who apparently took Llŷr's wife, Penarddun. See Pryderi.

– **MABON (Triad 52, Goruchel Garcharawr**, Exalted Prisoner, pp. 146-49. **Notes** pp. 424-48) cf. Pryderi.

– **MANAWYDAN Trioedd 8, lledyf unben**, (lit prostrate) unambitious/ laid low, pp. 15-16.

52, Prisoner (Llyr) pp. 146-49.; **67 Eur Gryd**. Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers, pp. 185-88. **Notes** pp. 432-32.)

(8) lledyf Unben, (lit prostrate) unambitious/ laid low, pp. 15-16.

Pughe translates *lleddf unben* as an 'unambitious prince' who rejected royal dominion after initiation into bardism. (Pughe *Biog.* p. 237) Guest renders it 'humble' because he would not resume his rank after the 'captivity' of his brother Bran. Guest says he 'cultivated minstrelsy'. (Guest p. 297) Rhys trans. it as 'landless monarch' (Rhys p. 641 & n. 150). WJG trans. it as 'passive' (WJG, p. 82). E. Lloyd makes him one of the 'gentle knights of the land' (Lloyd p. 222). Bromwich expands the literal meaning of *lledyf*, 'prostrated',

as like men laid low by misfortune in the 'Gododdin', which fits the Triad but was not understood by the *cyfarwydd*.⁶⁸

lledf unben a reputation referenced by Pryderi (PKM 49. 12). Pryderi quoting Manawydan's reputation to Manawydan as if it was already well known during his life according to WJG is an anachronism.⁶⁹ IW also finds it absurd.⁷⁰ Bromwich explains it as a witticism by the *cyfarwydd*.⁷¹

Trioedd (Anwyl IV p. 134) 2 trioedd (Anwyl IV p. 131)

(52) (Triad 52, *Goruchel Garcharawr*, Exalted Prisoner, pp. 146-49. cf. Llyr Half Speech. Pughe lists M. as 'prince of the Silurian Britons early 1stC.' son of Llyr Llediaith, an Exalted Prisoner; he journeyed to Dyfed to arbitrate territorial boundaries. (Pughe *Biog.* p. 237)

(67) *Eur Gryd*. Noble (lit. Golden) Shoemakers, pp. 185-88. Also Llew Llaw Gyffes, Caswallawn fab Beli. Pughe interpreted Manawydan with Llew and Caswallawn as 'chiefs who had golden cars.' (Pughe *Biog.* p. 237) Anwyl quotes it from *Myv. Arch.* (Anwyl I p. 286) E. Lloyd cites this Triad about Gwydion, but not Manawydan. (Lloyd p. 222) Ellis stays straightforwardly with 'golden shoes'. (Ellis p.83, n. 22) Bromwich analyses this neatly, making the Triadic form primary, influencing the Mabinogi tale. The poetic term *eurgryd* is figurative, meaning 'noble, exalted, excellent', not literally relating to gold. Gilding leather, and golden buckles were therefore introduced to the tale to support the misunderstood Triad.⁷²

- **MATH (Trioedd (27) *Lleturithawc***, Enchanters, alt. form pp. 59-60; **(28) *Prif Hut***, Great Enchantments, p. 61. **Notes** pp. 438-40)

(27) *Lleturithawc*, Enchanters, alt. form. Dafydd ap Gwilym & poetic refs. pp. 59-60.

(28) *Prif Hut*, Great Enchantments, Gwydion as student of Math. With Coll. Nephew connection cf. Coll. p. 61.

Math teaches Gwydion the arts. Pughe classifies this as mythological material, interpreting enchantment as the 'power of illusion and deception' noting he taught Gwydion. (Pughe *Biog.* p. 240) Guest notes the two *Trioedd* as 31, 32, from the *Myv. Arch.* making Math 'a man of enchantment'; his arts inherited from his father in Taliesin. (Guest p. 298 Endn. to p. 61.)

- **MATHOLWCH (Triad 53, *Gwyth Baluawt***, Harmful Blows, pp. 150-52. **Notes** p. 440-41) Perpetrator of one of the Harmful Blows, see Branwen; pp. 150-52.

- **PENDARAN (Triad 26, *Gwyrdueichyat***, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. **Notes** p. 477) Owner of the important pigs, see Pryderi as Swineherd.

- **PRYDERI (Triad 26, *Gwyrdueichyat***, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. **Notes** p. 486)

(26) *Gwyrdueichyat*, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. Powerful swineherd for Pendaran. Pwyll is named as his father. In the WR version Pendaran is specified as Pryderi's foster father. Pryderi is remarked as immune to force or deception from others. The number of swine is seven Note Coll, another 'powerful swineherd'. Also Henwen, Notes pp. 397-98

cf. **(Triad 52)** Exalted Prisoner: as Pryderi has been linked with Mabon as Prisoner.

cf. **(Triad 16)** Shepherds, same name but Bromwich says this is not Mabinogi Pryderi.

- **PWYLL (26 *Gwyrdueichyat***, Swineherd, pp. 50-58. **Notes** pp. 486-87) Swineherds Triad; naming Pwyll as Pryderi's father.

- **RHIANNON** Candidate for *rieni* Triad, see Branwen. No triad extant.

⁶⁸ TYP p. lxxiii.

⁶⁹ PKM 49. 12. Comment WJG 'Mabinogion', p. 58.

⁷⁰ PKM REF absurdity of *lledyf*

⁷¹ TYP p. lxxiii.

⁷² TYP p. lxxiii- lxxiv.

Appendix 6: TYP

Rachel Bromwich. 1961. (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP)

Scribd: <<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydain-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>> [Accessed 12/02/13]

First cited Ch. I.4. Advent

TYP Abbreviations:

MS. Manuscript.

Pen. from Peniarth MS.

R from Llyfr Coch.

W from Llyfr Gwyn.

WR from Llyfr Gwyn, Llyfr Coch, priority to Llyfr Gwyn as older.

TYP CONTENTS

p. vii	
PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	
I MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS	xi
II ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF <i>TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDEIN</i>	liii
Trioedd Ynys Prydein and Bardic Instruction	lvii
Trioedd Ynys Prydein and the Chwedlau	lxix
Trioedd y Meirch	lxx
Antiquity and Provenance	lxxvii
THE APPENDICES [Notes]	c
TRIOEDD YNYS PRYDEIN	
TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES	1-245
APPENDIX I. <i>Enweu Ynys Prydein</i> , 'The Names of the Island of Britain'.	246
APPENDIX II. <i>Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd</i> , 'The Descent of the Men of the North'.	256
APPENDIX III. <i>Tri Thlws ar Deg Ynys Prydein</i> , 'The Thirteen Treasures ...'	258
APPENDIX IV. <i>Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur</i> , 'The 24 Knights ...'	266
NOTES TO PERSONAL NAMES	271
ABBREVIATIONS	517
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	522
INDEX	
INDEX TO PLACES	534
INDEX TO <i>TRIOEDD Y MEIRCH</i>	536
GENERAL INDEX	537 [-559]

.....

TYP NAMES PAGES

Aranrot verch Don – see Ar(y)anrot.

Ara6n / Arawn p. 279

Ar(y)anrot pp. 284-85.

Beli pp. 288-89.

Bendigeituran p. 289 see Bran.

Bran pp. 290-92.

Branwen pp. 293-94.

Carada6g pp. 303-04.

Caswallawn pp. 305-06.

Keritwen pp. 312-13.

Coll?

Culhwch p. 316. Unknown exc. Ll. Gwyn/ Coch.

Don p. 330.

Euroswyd pp. 352-53.

Gronw Pebr p. 365.

Gweir p. 373 also Gweir p. 374.

Gwenhwyfar

Gwydyon pp. 392-94.

Henwen p. 397-98.

Lleu pp. 412-13.

Mabon pp. 424-28.

Manawydan pp. 432-34.

March

Math pp. 439-40.

Mathol6ch p. 440-41.

Modron p. 449-51.

Pryder p. 485-86.

Pryderi p. 486.

Pwyll pp. 486-87.

Taliessin pp. 500-03.

Trystan pp. 331-34.

Appendix 7: *Merched/ Women*

Culled out with much regret due to word count. However most relevant content was integrated with the individual character chapter section V.

Drafted years ago so some chapter number refs. have changed but names not.

PKM refs. Narrative sequence. Narrative span. First reference and/or presence. Events.

Descriptive comparisons follow.

----- FIRST BRANCH – Queen of Annwfn. Preface: PKM1 3.8–10. PKM1 4.14–PKM1 8.3.

Arawn intro PKM1 3.8–10. Pwyll meets her PKM1 4.14–4.25. Chastity year PKM1 4.25–5.5.

Dialogue Arawn PKM1

7.1–8.3.

RHIANNON Preface: PKM1 9.4–7. Pwyll PKM1 9.11–14–27.26. Second Branch, Adar predicted PKM2 45.2–4, event PKM2 46.13–15. Third Branch, Manawydan PKM3 49.1–65.24.

Gorsedd Arberth rywedawt PKM1 9.4–7. Advent anon rider PKM1 9.11–14. Pursuits – pedestrian PKM1 9.18–26, rider 1 PKM1 9.26–10.12, rider 2 PKM1 10.13–11.15, Pwyll PKM1 11.16–12.6.

Pwyll meeting PKM1 12.7–15. Wedding I PKM1 12.15–15.27. Wedding II PKM1 15.27–19.10.

Dyfed, joint rule, Preseli Council PKM1 19.11–20.2. Birth of child PKM1 20.3–4 (Maids PKM1 20.4–21.8). Pwyll Council. Penance. PKM1 21.19–28. News reaches Gwent PKM1 24.9–10. Meets son, names him PKM1 25.10–26.19. Pryderi's youth PKM1 27.1–26.

Second Branch, Adar predicted PKM2 45.2–4, event PKM2 46.13–15.

Third Branch. Pryderi's proposal PKM3 49.17–50.10. Rhiannon & Cigfa, Manawydan marriage, Caswallawn PKM3 50.11–51.14. Devastation, hunting PKM3 51.17–52.17. Exile PKM3 51.17–55.4.

Rebukes Manawydan, captive PKM3 56.20–57.12. Manawydan nostalgia PKM3 58.25–27.

Manawydan bargains for her PKM3 63.25–63.27. Llwyd explains 64.5–10. Llwyd frees Rhiannon & Pryderi, lifts Devastation PKM3 64.18–65.8. mynweir a mynordd PKM3 65.17–23.

Rhiannon's Maids. PKM1 20.4–21.8.

TEYRNON'S WIFE. Talk Teyrnnon PKM1 22.6–11. Dialogue re baby PKM1 23.1–14. Baptism, growth, horses PKM1 23.14–24.8. News, PKM1 24.9. Dialogue Teyrnnon PKM1 24.21–25.5. Teyrnnon refers to her loss PKM1 Her women. PKM1 23.11–12.

CIGFA. Preface: Genealogy, marriage PKM1 27.23–26. Cont. Third Branch. Rhiannon & Cigfa PKM3 50.12–14. Extracts reassurance Manawydan PKM3 57.13–27. Exile, disapproval PKM3 57.28–58.21. Farming, mouse disapproval PKM3 58.22–61.14.

----- SECOND BRANCH –

BRANWEN

Preface: PKM2 29.1–45.20. Events PKM2 30.11–Matholwch requests PKM2 30.11–27. Council, rieni, marriage PKM2 30.28–31.10. Efnysien told PKM2 31.26–27.

Matholwch complains, rieni, PKM2 32.26–33.3. To Iwerddon, gift giver, son born PKM2 37.4–19.

Abuse, starling PKM2 37.20–38.24. Branwen advises PKM2 39.27–40.14. Matholwch offers, Branwen peacemaker PKM2 41.5–42.9. Peace meeting, Gwern killed PKM2 43.8–44.8. Survivors & Branwen return Britain, Branwen dies PKM2 45.11–20.

CYMEDEI CYMEINFOLL. PKM2 35.5–36.29.

----- THIRD BRANCH –

RHIANNON CONT. see under First Branch.

CIGFA cont. see under First Branch.

LADY MOUSE (Llwyd's wife). PKM3 60.15–65.11. Her women. PKM3 64.15–16.

----- FOURTH BRANCH -

GOEWIN. Preface, footholder PKM4 67.5–10. As footholder PKM4 67.5–10. Gilfaethwy's lust PKM4 67.15–19. Gwydion foments war so Goewin is left unprotected, PKM4 67.20–73.28. the rape PKM4 71.29–72.4. Goewin reports to Math PKM4 74.1–14. Marriage & shared rule PKM4 74.14–18. Goewin, her women. PKM4 72.2–4.

ARIANRHOD.

Preface: Gwydion proposes PKM4 77.6–8. Events PKM4 77.9– 83.16.

Gwydion proposes her to Math, PKM4 77.6–8. Math exposes her PKM4 77.9–15. Public birth: PKM4 77.13–15, & 77.17. Gwydion visit I PKM4 78.19–79.10 (Decree I PKM4 79.2–4). Gwydion visit II, ship, shoemaking PKM4 79.10–81.10 (Decree II PKM4 81.6–8). Gwydion visit II, as bard, fake attack, PKM4 81.18–83.16 (Decree III PKM4 83.12–14).

Arianrhod, two maids. PKM4 82.22–26.

BLODEUEDD. Prefaced by Arianrhod's Decree III. Events PKM4 83.12–91.17.

Construction PKM4 83.19–27. Marriage, lordship PKM4 84.1–10. Gronw Pebr & plot PKM4 84.11–86.6. Betrays Lleu, lives with Gronw Pebr PKM4 86.6–88.15. Owl PKM4 90.26–91.17.

Blodeuedd maids. PKM4 90.26–28 & cont. 90.28– 91.5.

'WOMEN OF THE MABINOGI' (drafted chapters)

Bollard, 1974: the role of women in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi has so far not been adequately defined or examined, though no one would deny that women play a significant part in the tales.

[1] Pennar, PhD. 1975: Ch. 4 deals with/ ... women ... Pedeir Cainc y Mabinogi ... [2]

Valente, 1986: I would now like to turn to the women, as Bollard suggested, and see what powers and significance they have in the story ...

[3] This chapter makes a series of comparative assessments of all the Mabinogi women, against base Rhiannon. The women are addressed in narrative sequence.

[4]

B1: Queen of Annwfn; *Rhiannon's Maids & other maids; *Lady of Gwent.

B2: Branwen; Cymidei.

B3: Cigfa; *Lady Mouse.

B4: *Goewin; *Arianrhod; *Blodeuedd.

B1 = First Branch, etc.

*Name = explicit Maids; six out of ten.

[5] All the Mabinogi women are nobles,

[6] which merely reflects the general nobility context of the

Mabinogi tales. Within this female nobility there is a political hierarchy derived from territory.

[7] Queens: Queen of Annwfn, Branwen of Iwerddon/ Ireland.

Princely realms: Rhiannon of Dyfed, Cigfa of Dyfed, Goewin of Gwynedd.

Lordships: Lady of Gwent, Cymidei, Lady Mouse, Arianrhod, Blodeuedd.

Other nobles: Maids and companion groups.

COMPARISONS

QUEEN of Annwfn 492 Draft 17/06/20

The first woman to appear in the Mabinogi is Arawn's wife.

[8] While she has been perceived as a literary device to present the Arawn– Pwyll axis,

[9] she has many resemblances with Rhiannon,
[10] which prepares a customised niche for Rhiannon to occupy. They are heralded by a male's promotional description.
[11] Both are 'given' by one man to another.
[12] Both appear anonymously, as icons of desire, seen at a distance by Pwyll,
[13] arrayed in shining gold silk with other signs of wealth.
[14] Both have otherworldly aspects: the queen presiding over fabled Annwfn in a shapechanging narrative; Rhiannon as ryuedawt of Arberth;
[15] otherworld and erotic aspect constructing them as fascinating.
[16] Both appear in the context of elaborate feasts, which they head or own.
[17] Both women are described as skilled in converse which Valente emphasises, noting the Queen's use of silence. They conduct informative dialogues with their male partners.
[18] Both have year periods of chastity related to Pwyll,
[19] and both apparently welcome marital intimacy.
[20] Both relate entirely, or almost entirely, to men.
[21] On their differences, the Queen appears in only one Mabinogi episode, thus a secondary character: Rhiannon threads the greater part of the Mabinogi.
[22] Rhiannon's agency is ample, the Queen's is slight.
[23] Rhiannon appears anonymously through lengthy passages, but then names herself; this sustains her thereafter as a named character. The Queen first appears as a wife, so is never named.
[24] Pwyll encounters the Queen embedded among a powerful retinue; Rhiannon is alone, yet both are perceived as powerful.
[25] Pwyll easily accesses the Queen's personal space enabled by Arawn; but Rhiannon enforces his extended effort to attain her.
[26] The Queen is objectively described as beautiful; Rhiannon's looks are esteemed in Pwyll and Pryderi's subjective view.
[27] After a chaste year, each lady enjoys marital pleasure, but Rhiannon wins it by determined strategies shared with the male concerned, while the Queen is given it by her controlling male.
[28] Unlike the Queen, Rhiannon never uses silence as strategy: her conversation initiates directly.
[29] The Queen's 'inmost thoughts' are narrated,
[30] unlike Rhiannon. As a pawn between men, the Queen does not even know her circumstances until her finale, an extreme passivity. She does insist her husband explain himself. Her final comment on his grand achievement might construe as her disapproval of being exploited as a tool.
[31] The Queen is a simple character:
[32] she is not complicated and deepened as Rhiannon is, by motherhood, suffering, or pursuing sustained strategy. The Queen reacts, where Rhiannon acts as an agent of her destiny.

Over all, although the Queen appears to have many similarities to Rhiannon, chiefly as iconic, apex ranked noblewomen embedded in wealth, hud/ enchantment, and erotic implication, under scrutiny she is very different. When she shows initiative she does so indirectly through silence: Rhiannon is forthright, directing events. The Queen's dialogue is a plot device to demonstrate her husband's friendly alliance with Pwyll; Rhiannon's dialogue furthers her own neges. Rhiannon must at times accept male authority, but always does it consciously.

Most Mabinogi ladies are explicitly attended by maids (six out of ten, on the above list). Attendant maids gender in parallel to the *teulu*/ house guards of marchogion/ lords. Both groups function to display the status of their noble, the greater their number the greater the noble's status. Maid service might include protection from (male) aggression;

[33] servicing personal and political needs from body care to ambassadorial representation, providing information and amusement. The parallel *teulu* protect their lord, but not against female threats, against other males. Domestic space of the mediaeval period allowed little privacy. Beds were shared with spouses, close relatives, maids, or body servants, for warmth and protection; so it seems significant when a Mabinogi woman is presented without such female associates.

The Queen, Branwen, and Cigfa's maids, may be assumed.

[34] The Queen appears following a *teulu*, a display of fighting strength. It would be simple to narrate her proceeding 'with her women', so either this is assumed, or she did walk alone. Either interpretation presents her as a solitary female image, not adjusted later when there is mention of hunting and entertainments. Cigfa is not narrated with maids she must have had as the wife of a great prince. Branwen's vulnerability is reinforced by no mention of female attendants. It would dilute Cymidei's alpha female fecundity to show her with other women. Cymidei and Branwen do not connect, and are sole females surrounded by powerful men.

Mabinogi maids are literary devices: extensions to their mistresses' concerns. The Lady of Gwent is confident her loyal women will help her. Goewin's women are forcibly removed so she can be raped.

Arianrhod's two women obey her, arming Gwydion and Lleu: like her they are deceived.

Blodeuedd's women accompany her as she flees Gwydion, and like her, bear his vengeance.

[35] The activities of these female groups reflect both Mabinogi class hierarchy in general, and hierarchy within their gender. Their generally loyal narrative contrasts notably with Rhiannon's Maids' treachery.

[36] Rhiannon's six Maids act as a group, and consult on what they do, with four individual speakers. The first three voices narrate and dramatise the event they share from different perspectives.

[37] Maid 4 demonstrates key agency in a briefing speech against Rhiannon, resembling Rhiannon's 'bag speech'.

[38] The six as an agency resemble Rhiannon's strategist character. Like her they perpetrate injustice against an innocent person by deceit. The Maids framing of Rhiannon with ghastly crimes has years of impact on the Dyfed kindred during Rhiannon's penance. Rhiannon deceives Gwawl into relinquishing his betrothal rights and his vengeance for it, resulting in the Devastation years of Dyfed.

[39] Both are conspiracies, Rhiannon plots with Pwyll; the Maids plot as a group.

[40] The differences are that the Maids are a secondary character grouping, ephemeral, and never named (for all that, powerful in impact). Rhiannon freely chooses to abuse Gwawl.

[41] The Maids do choose to abuse Rhiannon, but claim they are pressed by terror; theoretically they are dependent women, obedient to a native nobles' faction.

[42] They kill an animal gratuitously, where Rhiannon kills only in hunting.

[43] It can be seen that Rhiannon and her Maids are much alike; they are like other maids, narrative extensions of their mistress, although they act against her. Their major differentiation from Rhiannon comes from their quantity of presence; and unequal social status giving Rhiannon greater scope to choose what she does.

B1 TEYRNON'S WIFE 424 24/04/20

She is a significant, secondary, character in Mabinogi Rhiannon,

[44] with many similarities to Rhiannon herself. Both are monogamous wives, barren,

[45] yet become mothers, [46] of the same child

[47] and both lose him.

[48] Their husbands are loyal to them, respecting their advice: both have substantial and influential dialogues with their men.

[49] Both have an affinity with horses.

[50] Both bestow gifts: the Wife arranges the boy's special colt; Rhiannon patronises minstrels and distributes jewels.

[51] Both are practical organisers: Rhiannon of feasts, the Lady of marchog training.

[52] Both are highly ambitious: Rhiannon's bid for Pwyll wins the greatest matrimonial prize; the Lady's adoption and later surrender of her son pivot on social advantage.

[53] Both are realists: Rhiannon accepts reversal and strategises maximum advantage from it;

[54] the Lady accepts she must relinquish her son to further her ambition.

[55] The child is restored to each of them by Teyrnon: to Rhiannon at Arberth, then as foster father he can take the boy to the Lady.

[56] Their differences begin with the Lady as a secondary character. Both women are anonymised, but Rhiannon eventually names herself.

[57] Valente defines them in antithesis: Rhiannon's barrenness ends in biological conception, the Lady's in adoption; The Lady's loss of child is voluntary, relinquishing her son to gain advantage: Rhiannon's loss is thrust upon her; The Lady has loyal Maids; Rhiannon fails to win her Maids' loyalty, to major effect.

[58] Rhiannon's loss of child against the Lady's gain, and vice versa, potentially continues during formal fosterage.

[59] Although both hold complex dialogues with their men, the Lady's reveals her private marriage; Rhiannon's privacy is seen only in public actions and speeches.

[60] Valente contrasts the Gwent couple's 'mutual respect', and 'successful ... decision-making' with 'disintegration of communication' between Rhiannon and Pwyll, and his abdication of support for her, a view not supported here.

[61] Rhiannon's privacies are not directly revealed, requiring careful exegesis from inferences: her personae are controlled, public images.

[62] Teyrnon speaks of the Lady's particular grief in her loss, [63] but she is not narrated directly as grieving, leaving open whether her mothering centres affection, ambition, or both kinds of passion. Rhiannon evinces poignant loss when her son disappears; she speaks of her pryder/anxiety in his absence; and she attempts to rescue him as an adult.

[64] However, she also is extremely ambitious, and her most secure power position is the mother of the Dyfed heir.

[65] Neither lady's mothering is simply personal or political, reflecting hybrid mediaeval noble relationships.

[66] The Wife, whose cryptic mothering interlaces Rhiannon's, whose privacy scenes contrast Rhiannon's public faces, demonstrates Rhiannon's personal – political fusion.

[67] B2 BRANWEN 763 25/6/20

Branwen is a leading protagonist of the Mabinogi in the Second Branch, outside Mabinogi Rhiannon.

[68] Like Rhiannon, Branwen is highborn, first met as a maiden, so a named character.

[69] Both are incomer wives (Rhiannon to Dyfed, Branwen to Iwerddon/ Ireland). Both narratives pivotally feature horses.

[70] Both have double wedding feasts.

[71] Manawydan mediates conflict for both.

[72] Like Rhiannon, Branwen's early marriage is positive; both birth one son as the heir.

[73] Both innocently endure hostility from their marital people;

[74] which smears both women with animal blood.

[75] Both have assistant birds: Branwen trains drudwy/ a starling, as a messenger; Adar Rhiannon appear in this same Branch.

[76] Branwen can speak assertively 'with a tongue as sharp as Rhiannon's ... with sarcasm, [and the] force of her anger'.

[77] Both cause large scale devastations,

[78] tragically lose their baby sons,

[79] and are restored to their homelands after years of absence.

[80] There are also many differences. Since Guest's publications Branwen is titular protagonist of her Branch; Rhiannon never is.

[81] Branwen only appears in one Branch; Rhiannon in three.

[82] Branwen is

the king of Britain's sister, queen of Iwerddon/ Ireland, politically outranking Rhiannon.

[83] Branwen is a young maiden to be wed when Rhiannon's son is a mature war leader. In Branwen horses are horribly mutilated; in Rhiannon text no horse is hurt.

[84] Branwen is *teccaf morwyn yn y byt*, objectively beautiful, Rhiannon's looks are subjectively appreciated.

[85] Branwen's wedding feast resumes in reparation; Rhiannon's feasts are two different weddings.

[86] Branwen faces hostility after two years; Rhiannon after three.

[87] Branwen is threatened by natal (Efnysien) and marital kindred: Rhiannon by non-kindred (Maids, Llwyd).

[88] Rhiannon is unambiguously innocent of calumny. Branwen shares responsibility with her natal kindred for outraging the Irish.

[89] Blodeuedd, control over her life. Branwen's bird is trained; Adar Rhiannon's qualities seem innate. Branwen is explicitly literate, not attributed to Adar Rhiannon.

[90] Branwen speaks assertively in one dialogue, and acts as an effective peace negotiator; she is otherwise silent in contrast to Rhiannon's frequent, forceful speech.

[91] Branwen's infant son becomes heir to all Britain and Ireland; Pryderi inherits just seven cantrefi, as an adult.

[92] Both mothers lose their little sons, but Branwen is 'unable to hope for a reunion', an irrevocable loss, for Gwern is horrifically murdered in front of her.

[93] The disasters the women cause are unlike, for no one in Dyfed is killed, but the Irish War is genocidal.

[94] Branwen dies while no death is recorded for Rhiannon.

[95] Branwen has been a popular heroine since the Welsh Renaissance featured an exciting discovery of Branwen's grave (later discredited).

[96] Until recent decades Rhiannon was obscure.

[97] Branwen's docility within patriarchal codes also builds her popularity. Rhiannon, subversive and dominant, discomforts the conventional view.

[98] The motif of the 'Calumniated Wife' has been applied to both Rhiannon and Branwen.

[99] Its outline (K 2110.1), is the victimisation of foreign wives,

[100] applicable to Branwen; also her silence and patient suffering. But Rhiannon consults with advisers, speaks out via her penance to arguably solve the child abduction, and benefits from a loyal husband.

[101] Juliette Wood herself considers such motif analysis constructs a 'dissected state', contradicting the contemporary new coherence paradigm of orderly composition.

[102] Motifs deconstruct a tale to elements, tracing their historical provenance across cultures. However, a specific tale is a moment of complexity, situated in a particular culture of assumptions, from social codes and historic events. A motif drawn internationally, brought back to a specific tale, requires exegesis on why this tale shows variations from the meta-motif, which is circular.

So this study notes motifs mentioned in relation to Mabinogi text, without engaging with them. It is just as informative to simply say that Rhiannon and Branwen suffer hostility as exogamous wives,

[103] that Rhiannon is more assertive, with a loyal husband to aid her. More relevantly, Cyfraith Hywel defines a seven year transition from a woman's natal to marital kindred. Both Rhiannon and Branwen's sufferings occur in this period when unassimilated. The more alien a wife the more this would apply,

[104] and Branwen's case is aggravated by gross insult.

In summary, Branwen and Rhiannon are ruling women, political negotiators, exogamous wives, mothers of heirs,

[105] both suffering loss of baby sons. Branwen is half Rhiannon's age, far less assertive, far more silent; after losing all her kindred except Manawydan she dies guilty and devastated. The major difference between them is determined largely from narrative context. Branwen tells of ghastly war, mass death, failure of sarhaed. Mabinogi Rhiannon has minimal violence, two joyful restorations, much happy family life, contracts which hold for long periods.

[106] Branwen's sign of subversive resistance to convention characteristic of Rhiannon, is her irony.

[107] B2 CYMIDEI CYMEINFOLL 115 25/06/20

Cymidei is a minor Second Branch character, outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, with an important point to make.

[108] Like Rhiannon, she is an incomer to Dyfed, but involuntarily.

[109] Cymidei is a giantess,

[110] and Winward suggests Rhiannon shows traces of giantism.

[111] Cymidei is a primary biological force, an 'ungovernable visitation of primitive vigour and fertility', animalistically close to the Arberth hound bitch or Teyrnnon's mare, generator of almost instant male warriors.

[112] All Mabinogi mothers have only sons;

[113] in this violent society male lords primarily need their women to produce sons to fight in raids, feuds, and wars. Thus 'mab, mabinogi' blurs 'child' and 'boy'. (GPC) Cymidei caricatures how Rhiannon and the other Mabinogi mothers are courtly son-generators.

B1, B3 CIGFA 217 19/6/20

Cigfa is a secondary character, introduced as Pryderi's wife at the end of the First Branch, but with her main presence in the Third.

[114] As Rhiannon does, she appears as a maiden, so remains a named female after transitioning to marriage. Like Rhiannon, Cigfa is a feast giver, possibly connected with her background, apparently wealthy and advantageously trade connected;

[115] but she may therefore be of lower social standing than Rhiannon. As Rhiannon's daughter-in-law Cigfa is much younger, approximately contemporary to Branwen.

[116] She voices noble snobbery, probably modelled on Rhiannon with whom she lives during the long war absence of their men.

[117] She uses the noble female's tradition as Rhiannon does, of rebuking/ advising the male, but her rebukes to Manawydan are moderate, not Rhiannon's savage condemnations.

[118] Whether due to a milder temperament, or her isolation and dependency on Manawydan, is debatable. Like Rhiannon Cigfa appears to adjust to the shock of the Devastation and exile in Lloegr, without showing fear. Unlike Rhiannon she apparently does not hunt.

[119] When she confronts Manawydan with her fear of living alone with him, it may bear an element of strategy, pre-empting him with her vulnerability to evoke his protection.

[120] It resembles Rhiannon's use of her femininity to manipulate Gwawl. Broadly, Cigfa is a lesser version of Rhiannon, without the major aspects of her motherhood.

B3 LADY MOUSE 595 19/6/20

Lady Mouse is a minor but not unimportant character in Mabinogi Rhiannon, only appearing in the later Third Branch.

[121] She is anonymous because first met as a wife,

[122] and she is heavily pregnant, enabling Manawydan to capture her.

[123] She is his crucial negotiating resource to win Rhiannon and Pryderi free, and undo the Devastation of Dyfed. She is finally revealed as a human shapeshifted to a mouse.

[124] Manawydan's gibbet built of forks to hang Lady Mouse, has been seen as comedy,

[125] which must not overlook the abject terror of a totally helpless female, trapped, waiting to die.

There is a powerful structural interlace via food supplies between Rhiannon's bag (Dyfed's food and drink); Manawydan's glove used in his wheat crofting labour and to imprison Lady Mouse; and Efnysien's flour sacks.

[126] All are fabric containers flexible to size for their contents; all adapt from normal use to contain a person; all function as traps relating to ambush, leading to violence or death.

[127] Thus First, Second, and Third Branches across Mabinogi Rhiannon, link by a triple thread of humble food tools, distorted, contrasted to aggressive use as traps for violent feud or war. They are gendered, womblike soft, strong, stretchy containers.

Mabinogi Rhiannon's bag and glove are tied closed with string, with gendered ownership. The bag is owned by a powerful female who uses it to capture a vigorous, elite male. The glove belongs to a weakened male, using it to imprison a handicapped female. Both threaten to kill their captive, but negotiation avoids it. The bag tale as an aristocratic romance, contrasts the glove tale of hard peasant survival,

[128] with different images of food as pleasurable feast and desperate hunger.

[129] Lady Mouse' essential characteristic is an ultimate vulnerability of female life, the slow heaviness of late pregnancy which brings her downfall in capture. As above, it is Rhiannon's

motherhood which drastically changes her power position.

[130] Lady Mouse thus reinforces Rhiannon's maternal vulnerability aspect. She appears to be valued by her husband as young and beautiful so he will give anything to reclaim her.

[131] But beyond that is her value bearing his potential heir, so she also reinforces Rhiannon's position as mother of the heir (see VI.2. 'Rieni').

[132] Lady Mouse compares to Rhiannon initiating a playful approach to visiting Gorsedd Arberth, cf. Rhiannon's advent. Lady Mouse then becomes passive, in synchrony with Rhiannon's captivity. Lady Mouse and Rhiannon both have a group of women companions: neither receive help from them when in need. Both have persistently loyal husbands. Lady Mouse is a thief who steals Manawydan's grain: Rhiannon is also in a sense a thief. As she says, Pwyll must 'give' her to Gwawl to maintain honour. There is a tension in the narrative between legalistic female consent, and male bestowal. Rhiannon steals *herself* from male bestowal, to give herself to Pwyll.

[133] Manawydan is legally justified in hanging Lady Mouse by the neck as the penalty for theft: Rhiannon is forced to wear asses' collars.

[134] There are significant differences. Lady Mouse skips into Manawydan's Arberth fields as a married woman, where Rhiannon approaches Pwyll as a maiden. Manawydan's drama mediates a mouse, contemptible vermin, part of his peasant labour narrative. Pwyll's drama mediates Rhiannon's horse, a magnificent nobility icon. Lady Mouse is extolled as objectively 'deccaf a welsei neb', unlike Rhiannon.

[135] Lady Mouse's pregnancy narrative stops short when freed from captivity, where Rhiannon's continues into giving birth. As captive, Lady Mouse is not only helpless with heavy pregnancy, she is all alone.

Rhiannon is captive alongside her son.

B4 GOEWIN 254 19/6/20

Goewin is a secondary character, important in the Mabinogi Rhiannon epilogue.

[136] She and Rhiannon both introduce as maidens (unmarried, virgins); both transition into marriage. Like Rhiannon, Goewin is a noble court lady, positioned close to the arglwydd Math; later, he does not hesitate to marry her.

[137] Like Rhiannon, Goewin uses her voice effectively to gain remedy for rape, demonstrating agency; with courage when greatly hurt.

[138] Math shares his lordship with her, as Pwyll does with Rhiannon.

[139] Both women evidence how vulnerability as females applies to high status ladies in the heart of a llys. Both are failed by their women in their greatest hour of need.

[140] Goewin is acclaimed a great beauty, where Rhiannon's looks are equivocal.

[141] Goewin has lesser status than Rhiannon before marriage; she is a high court officer, not Math's equal.

[142] Goewin shares the chastity theme with the Queen of Annwfn and Cigfa; Rhiannon has two years of chaste betrothal but without the vulnerability of the others.

[143] Goewin's rape is a major plot pivot, Gwydion's motive in fomenting the Dyfed-Gwynedd war which shapes the first third of the Branch.

[144] Rhiannon is often a plot pivot, but the narrative never reduces her to a thing, a receptacle, used by others.

[145] Goewin, like Cigfa and Lady Mouse, points up extreme female vulnerability, female dependency on male protection against male predation. Rhiannon is simply lucky in not suffering as Goewin does, for the latter's rape happens in the heart of the court, surrounded by its people. Goewin is lucky that her ruling lord acts generously when she voices her complaint.

B4 ARIANRHOD 636 24/6/20

Arianrhod is outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, arguably the leading female protagonist of the Fourth Branch.

[146] Both she and Rhiannon exert large scale plot impact.

[147] Arianrhod's voice, like Rhiannon's, is a dominating power:

[148] her humiliation and harsh reactions structure the Branch, especially her Decrees.

[149] The reverberation of her third Decree ensures Lleu's wife is not human,

[150] shaping the rest of the Branch in disaster.

[151] Arianrhod and Rhiannon are mothers of heirs,

[152] and undergo public humiliation consequent to their female fertility.

[153] They both demonstrate female authority to name their sons;

[154] and lose their sons at birth.

[155] They are linked by their sons' interlacing of many components.

[156] Neither Arianrhod nor Rhiannon show affinity with other women.

[157] Neither of them is acclaimed as beautiful (Arhianrod poem, Triad).

[158] They are the two most formidable women in the Mabinogi.

Rhiannon and Arianrhod are both subject to misogynous commentary.

[159] Pennar is exemplary in this respect with uncompromising hostility to Arianrhod as 'destructive and ominous',

[160] 'a disembodied force to contend with rather than a woman .. an insatiable will to destroy',

[161] 'the aggressive party... caring only for the preservation of her good name',

[162] He feels 'we cannot /help our lack of sympathy for her'.

[163] Pennar's extreme othering of Arianrhod seems rooted in discomfort with female force unconstrained by males, and her 'heavy burden of shame for having given birth to two illegitimate children, of whom the father is not known'.

[164] Yet he is aware 'illegitimacy' was not 'abhorrent among the princes in Wales'.

[165] Virginity in Arianrhod's society is rewarded by substantial compensation payment to natal guardians when ideally lost at marriage, otherwise the law was pragmatic, seeking to attach the father for financial responsibility. A twyllforwyn pretending to virginity is derogated for dishonesty.

[166] Anglo-Norman Christianity historically introduced exclusion and moral disgust of 'fallen women', still running in Pennar's 1970s society. His admiration for the independent Rhiannon shows his pioneering pro-feminism;

[167] significantly Rhiannon stays within mainstream mores: virginal, then safely married. Othering Arianrhod is blind to her public humiliation in a deeply intimate way.

[168] She also refuses 'feminine' expression: had she wept her pain instead of raging it, she would much more likely gain sympathy.

[169] There is a tradition of Arianrhod as incestuous,

[170] whether willingly or not is unstated. Her later profound aversion to both Gwydion and child, and her silence about the father, suggests she knows she cannot access redress as Goewin does.

This might fit with powerful Gwydion as incestuous father,

[171] thus her exceptional shame. That and her secrecy could not be more dissimilar to Rhiannon.

Rhiannon's sexuality is openly celebrated, her maternal loss is involuntary, and she consistently works towards close togetherness with her son. Arianrhod's sexuality is secret and shaming; her maternal loss is deliberate rejection, but her persistent determination matches Rhiannon.

Arianrhod's motherhood is her shame and hurt, while Rhiannon's is her pride and joy.

[172] Besides their mothering Arianrhod's other great contrast to Rhiannon is her independent court at Caer Arianrhod as 'domina of her own retreat', making her unique among Mabinogi women;

[173] moreover without narrative comment.

[174] By Cyfraith Hywel/ Welsh law and custom, as an unmarried woman she would come under the authority of her father, uncle, or brother.

[175] Yet the only male she obeys is Math, her uncle, *arglwydd* of all Gwynedd.

[176] She 'refuses to accept social patterns', where Rhiannon's struggle is not 'against [society] so much as within it. This is a crucial distinction'.

[177] At her father's *llys*/ court she is comfortably autonomous; she holds mutual respect with Pwyll and Pryderi,

[178] and seems unconstrained by Manawydan, who admires her.

A (probably Ioloic) tradition aligns Arianrhod with silver (cf. her name); and Caer Arianrhod with the starry Milky Way (*Caer Gwydion*): contrast Rhiannon's gold (silk), and solar associations.

[179] B4 BLODEUEDD 594 25/6/20

Blodeuedd is a secondary character in the last episode of the Fourth Branch, outside Mabinogi Rhiannon.

[180] 'It' is constructed of flowers; not a human woman.

[181] However, once constructed, 'it' is narrated as a woman,

[182] so included here.

Like Rhiannon, Blodeuedd is first encountered as a maiden, thus a named character, who transitions to marriage.

[183] Both are noble class; *marchogesau*.

[184] Both are treacherous to a male partner. Blodeuedd betrays Llew, plotting against him with Gronw Pebr. Rhiannon betrays Gwawl, plotting with Pwyll.

[185] Both women use sexuality to seduce the unwanted man to do their will.

[186] When the man does as desired (steps into vulnerable position), there is a humorous aspect; the badger-in-the-bag game is boisterous fun; Llew's protective setup is ridiculous, standing on a bathtub and a billy goat.

[187] Both women leave the physically aggressive aspects of the trap to their male lovers.

[188] Both their strategies sustain over a year.

[189] Both are punished by an avenging magician,

[190] and include bird affinity: Adar Rhiannon, Blodeu(w)edd the owl.

[191] There are many differences, not least that Blodeuedd is not human. She is lady of only a sub-lordship, not a princely realm with Rhiannon's co-rulership. Blodeuedd's treachery is of far greater magnitude as she is fully married to Llew. Rhiannon's mediaeval betrothal was much more serious than a modern engagement, but still fell short of marriage. On Patterson's women as vassals theory, Blodeuedd is guilty of treason.

[192] Blodeuedd explicitly seeks to murder Llew, as the only way to exit her marriage.

[193] Rhiannon does not plan Gwawl's death.

[194] Blodeuedd's manipulative sexuality betrays Llew in her marriage bed, a more intimate, and substantial betrayal than Rhiannon's use of seductive words, probably with some body language, on Gwawl.

[195] While both plots culminate in humour, Blodeuedd's finale is murder.

[196] The avenging magician Gwydion who permanently punishes Blodeuedd, is her marital kin, who then shapeshifts her. Llwyd is unknown to Rhiannon until he temporarily captures her, and she is not shapeshifted. Blodeuedd is narrated as unequivocally beautiful, unlike Rhiannon.

[197] Blodeuedd's Maids seem loyal, which leads to their deaths: Rhiannon's Maids are disloyal.

[198] Motherhood is impossible for Blodeuedd the construct.

[199] Principle in their differences is Blodeuedd's lack of agency.

[200] Constructed as a marital, sexual doll for Lleu, she can only exercise agency sexually, by attaching to a new owner.

[201] Gronw Pebr then directs their plot against Lleu. In gendered reversal, Pwyll obeys Rhiannon, Blodeuedd obeys Gronw Pebr.

[202] Blodeuedd's lack of agency evidences when left to her own responsibility, as she only offers appropriate hospitality to Gronw Pebr when reassured by others she should.

[203] Rhiannon is never reliant on such reassurance, though she does consult advisers.

[204] Rhiannon's sexuality, though present, is not central to her character. Blodeuedd embodies a warning that women forced into life as limited, sexual dolls, do not have the strength of character to be loyal.

[205] Rhiannon shows her effectiveness as loyal wife and mother, but crucially based on her own root decision. The Rhiannon-Gwawl narrative might embody a warning that a strong woman constrained against her will, is likely to circumvent her condition, which might well rebound on those who try to control her. The Blodeuedd narrative warns that stripping a woman down to a sex toy renders her a dangerously weak utility.

[206] Loyalty requires strength of decision, and sustained commitment. Blodeuedd as owl is ambiguous: Gwydion imposes it as a curse,

[207] but it is a strong, independent bird, skilled hunter and faithful partner.

[208] As such she now resembles Rhiannon, though the owl is a wild thing and Rhiannon a construct of the llysiau/ courts.

VI 1. MERCHED Y MABINOGI – SUMMARY

Comparing Rhiannon with the other Mabinogi women brings out her qualities in context: both similarities and differences reinforce, or add further depth to, the portrait themes so far.

1 Protagonists and supporters

Rhiannon, Branwen and Arianrhod, are here viewed as the three female protagonists of the Mabinogi, because as individuals they –

a) – appear in multiple scenes or episodes;

b) – show significant neges/ purpose, agency, in their own right;

c) – are integral to the plot of a whole Branch.

Rhiannon outranks Branwen and Arianrhod on (a), as significantly active in more than one Branch.

[209] She outranks Branwen (b) in active agency.

[210] The only comparables to Rhiannon as protagonist across Branches, are her son Pryderi (all Branches though minimally the Second); and her husband Manawydan (Second and Third Branches).

[211] Since both males are part of Mabinogi Rhiannon, this comparison reflects how pervasive Mabinogi Rhiannon is in the Four Branches; perhaps the pervasiveness of the southern Dyfed narrative.

[212] All the other individual females are secondary characters who appear in a few scenes or one episode, acting as elaborations of a protagonist even when they demonstrate neges/ purpose of their own.

This is argued to include Blodeuedd and Rhiannon's Maids.

[213] Blodeuedd is sometimes viewed as a protagonist, but she arguably functions as an extension of Arianrhod's neges/ agency; she is not present in the first two parts of Math; and the third part featuring her, can be viewed as the denouement of those two parts.

Third level female characters are in groups, mentions of female nobles or maids, appearing in one or a few scenes only, again as elaborations of higher level characters. A fourth level may be considered in servants, onlookers, 'the people', if not specifically gendered male.

[214] Mabinogi female hierarchy

Queens: 'Queen of Annwfn'. Branwen.

Princely realms: Rhiannon of Dyfed. Cigfa of Dyfed. Goewin of Gwynedd.

Lordships: 'Lady of Gwent'. Cymidei. 'Lady Mouse'. Arianrhod. Blodeuedd.

Other: Maids and companions' groups.

[215] The Annwfn queen presides over her richly perfect land, wearing exotic, costly silk.

Branwen, sister of the bountiful Bendigeidfran king of Britain, becomes Queen of Iwerddon/ Ireland, by marriage.

A notable, wealthy gift giver herself, her husband's ships fly silk pennants. Rhiannon rivals these two queens in her elitism and wealthy patronage, wearing the signatory silk.

The women of the first three levels preside over territories with different degrees of rulership.

The Queen of Annwfn is not narrated ruling territory in action, nor is Blodeuedd, or Lady Mouse.

[216] Branwen, Cigfa and the Lady of Gwent are advisers, a powerful tradition respected by Mabinogi males.

[217] Branwen is also a political negotiator, not explicitly attributed to Rhiannon though likely given her skill at converse. Rhiannon advises Pwyll, Manawydan, Pryderi, moreover demonstrates legal training. Her shared rule protects her position when she is attacked, and she sustains it in her second marriage. Branwen in similar case under attack, shows loyal strength by the husband is necessary to uphold it.

[218] Math refers to sharing rule with Goewin but there is no development on what this means in practice. Rhiannon and Branwen are gift givers. Rhiannon and Cigfa are feast givers, possibly the Queen of Annwfn is also. Gifts and feasts function as economic redistribution, key rulership roles which women hold in their own right. The Lady of Gwent represents female power networks of fostering, linked with Rhiannon. Thus Rhiannon holds almost all the possible modes of female rulership shown by the other women: shared lordship, adviser on rule, feast organisation, gift redistribution. She is distinctive as a legal adviser, and the continuity of her position through two marriages, both supportive.

Arianrhod outdoes Rhiannon in holding a sole female lordship, presumably by gift from her overlord, arglwydd Math. As with Lleu, this is the normal way to acquire land other than by inheritance or conquest; both the latter are the prerequisites of males. Rhiannon's narrative is over all a happy one, with Arianrhod's the reverse. Arianrhod's shame reflects her society in chaos and moral corruption, and her female independent lordship may also present as a symptom of that social breakdown. Rhiannon's shared lordship might then contrast the approved option. Her astute understanding of gender inequality beneath the courtesies, makes her subversive rather

than a rebel. However the long term consequence of Rhiannon's self-determined marital choice is the Devastation of Dyfed, signalling that she too stepped outside her proper female sphere of supporting male decisions, as portrayed by the Lady of Gwent.

Formulaic beauty descriptions of oral tradition, e.g. Olwen, are not found in the Mabinogi. Rhiannon is alone in her carefully subjective praise in the eyes of Pwyll and Pryderi. Other Mabinogi women are lauded as objectively beautiful with brief Mabinogi hyperbole: the Queen, Branwen, Lady Mouse, Goewin, Blodeuedd; interestingly not Cigfa, so Dyfed women are more notable for their voices than their beauty. It is suggested here that outright beauty is easier for the male gaze to attribute to non-dominating females.

Mabinogi women are not primarily extolled for looks, rather for *ymdidan*/ converse, for which the Queen and Rhiannon are both particularly praised. Valente emphasises the agency of Mabinogi women via speech. Rhiannon excels in its arts: her dialogue with Pwyll is efficient and courtly, dominating compared to the Lady of Gwent with Teyrnnon, Cigfa with Manawydan; dignified like Branwen with the Irish, Goewin with Math; disciplined in contrast to the raw stridency of Arianrhod with Gwydion.

Arianrhod's authority to voice the name of her son reinforces Rhiannon's conscious act in doing the same. Other women deploy speech refusal to elicit close attention from their lord: the Queen and Arawn, Blodeuedd and Lleu; Rhiannon does not use it except spectacularly in her opening courtship rides. Once engaged in relationship she speaks out.

[219] Her extraordinarily long strategy briefing to Pwyll (her bag), is echoed briefly by Maid 4: both are conspiracies, one by Rhiannon the other against her.

As men hold overall control of territory and authority, it may seem logical Mabinogi women's relationships are mainly with men, but there is some female-female relating. Rhiannon has an apparently cordial relationship with her daughter-in-law Cigfa. The Lady of Gwent anticipates her maids will support her. Notably leading women relate downwards to other females. Rhiannon's Maids evade punishment by uniting in conspiracy. Unlike the other mistresses Rhiannon's relationship with her Maids is pivotally flawed as they distrust her effective patronage to protect them, generating a major plot sequence. The failure is not Rhiannon's *ymdidan*/ converse with them, which deploys multiple resourceful persuasions.

Comparing the other mistresses, who have loyal maids, Rhiannon contrasts as an incomer wife, an outsider.

[220] This study suggests she is too arrogant to cultivate her Maids in her first married years, and prefers male relationships; Cigfa might suggest later character development, though still unequal. An unexpected similarity emerges with Blodeuedd, for both she and Rhiannon betray a male partner's trust. Rhiannon generally impresses with her direct speech and behaviour, but in this instance she is not above the sexual wiles of the subordinate feminine relating to Gwawl; cf. also Cigfa and Manawydan. Significantly at this point, Rhiannon is fighting back from a position like Blodeuedd's, bestowed by one male to another, and aiming in her dependency to win the male she desires. Rhiannon however, does not plan murder.

Rhiannon's anonymous, iconic remoteness when first meeting Pwyll, and her chaste years waiting to marry him, resemble the Queen of Annwfn.

Vulnerability and suffering as an incomer wife parallels Branwen, and Goewin's vulnerability warns that specifically female vulnerability to violence.

Queen

Maids groups

Lady of G

Cymidei
Cigfa
Mouse
Goewin
Arianrhod
Blodeuedd

1

Taking these protagonists as 'first level' the second level is characters who do not match the protagonist criteria, but operate as individuals: the Queen of Annwfn, Teyrnon's Wife, Cigfa, Cymidei, Lady Mouse, Goewin, Blodeuedd.

They all have a) multiple scenes.

b) Agency. Valente's point that Mabinogi women express agency through speech is very much borne out below.

The Queen is largely passive, although she deploys her silence effectively to convey disapproval, and elicit explanation from her husband. Her statement that Pwyll was notable for his sexual restraint is important as it advises and reinforces Arawn's thinking, resulting in the crucial development of Pwyll as Pen Annwfn. (See Pwyll analysis for how central this is.)

Teyrnon's Wife initiates a deception that the foundling is her own son. She initiates the plan to give the boy the colt born the night he was rescued. She advises her husband they should restore the child to Dyfed to gain much advantage.

Cigfa is largely passive but she initiates attention to important issues of conventional propriety. First she pushes Manawydan to address their gendered and unsupported household; second she presses him on the occupations he chooses and his peculiar plans for the Mouse Lady.

Cymidei lacks agency, existing as a biological force and a symbol.

Lady Mouse exercises definite agency, as she freely chooses to shapeshift and lead her Court women on an adventure. She runs to escape Manawydan. However once captured she is completely passive and objectified. Ultimate vulnerability. B2 shows vulnerability on grand scale. B3 makes it human.

Goewin exercises considerable agency. She screams in resistance to rape. She volunteers a report to Mâth about it. Her initial high position close to her prince's daily life suggests court skill and knowledge. Both as a footholder and a wife, she may be seen as a source of advice to Mâth.

Blodeuedd is a constructed object for use by a male. She has been described as exercising agency because she takes another lover. This could equally be seen as Blodeuedd acting out her constructed function to sexually fascinate, and be fascinated. Once she becomes Gronw Pebr's lover he initiates the assassination plot, pushing her to betray Llew to his death. She is the stereotypical tool for men to use.

Finally Gwydion recalibrates her to a different appearance, like customising phone or car.

c) Plot status. Lady Mouse unequivocally holds pivotal plot status. Were she omitted the narrative of her episode in her Branch would collapse. She would have to be replaced with a closely similar type of character, one as vulnerable to Manawydan as s/he was valuable to Lloyd. Compare Blodeuedd who could be replaced with very different characters without violating the key conflict. Unlike the Mouse Lady, the Queen of Annwfn, the Lady of Gwent, Cigfa, and Cymidei, could conceivably be omitted without destroying their Branch or episode plots. They are useful embellishments, reactively amplifying other characters. Cymidei is an exception. She is not a plot pivot, as her husband could produce and convey the Cauldron by himself. But neither does she amplify another character. She apparently amplifies the nature of the Cauldron. See Ch. Goddesses.

The Queen amplifies Pwyll and Arawn. The Wife amplifies Teyrnnon and Gwri. Cigfa amplifies Manawydan, representing Pryderi and Rhiannon's views in their absence. Goewin amplifies Gwydion, Gilfaethwy, and Mâth. She can claim integral plot status, but there is also an alternate tradition with Arianrhod as footholder, bearing an incestuous child fathered by either Mâth or Gwydion.

Blodeuedd has integral plot status, but only in the last third of her Branch. Arianrhod also appears only in one third of the Branch, but it is her decree which also determines the following episodes (Blodeuedd, Gwydion's quest for Lleu, Lleu's revenge) . Further it is possible to read Lleu and Gronw Pebr's bitter conflict as the central issue of the later Branch in its own right, with other possible causes cf. conflicts between Pwyll and Arawn, Arawn and Hafgan, Bendigeidfran and Matholwch, which originate in offences about animals or territory. Blodeuedd certainly provides a colourful aetiology so omitting her would diminish the aesthetic emotions of the later Fourth Branch, but its key scheme would be little different in terms of male activity. On the other hand Blodeuedd sustains a structural pattern of triads where a female mediates two males: Goewin/ Arianrhod mediates Gwydion, Gilfaethwy; Arianrhod mediates Gwydion, Lleu; Blodeuedd mediates Lleu, Gronw Pebr. In all Blodeuedd has

[1] Bollard, 'Structure, p. 132.

[2] Andreas Meirion Pennar, 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature: An Examination of Some Literary Attitudes before 1500.'

(Unpublished PhD, Jesus College, Oxford, 1975), 305 pp. Quote is from the Abstract 1st- 2nd pp. unnumbered front matter.

Pennar was researching at Oxford at the same time that Bollard was writing 'Structure', first quote. Pennar's work, in Bollard's

words 'adequately defined or examined' the women of the Mabinogi. Regrettably his work has been hidden in Oxford archives, so has not aided Valente and subsequent scholars.

[3] Valente, 'Merched', p. 93.

[4] Pennar's early study is a similar methodical approach, Ch. 4. (pp. 119-152); the Maids, Lady Mouse omitted. The Maids, Lady of Gwent, and Cigfa also have earlier characterisations considering their relationships with Rhiannon. V. Ei Charenydd/ Her Kindred.

[5] See VI.1.2. Y Gwragedd/ The Maids.

[6] Cymedei and her husband acquire land from Bendigeidfran. Maids and companion ladies are here assumed as daughters of the nobility.

[7] See III.3. Hierarchi Economeg/ Hierarchy economics; III.4. Digwyddiadau Ceffylau a Marchogion/ Equine Events &

Equestrian Nobility; and especially III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[8] Queen's narrative: Arawn speaks of his wife, PKM1 3.8-9. Pwyll's first sight of her: 4.14; their relationship 4.14-5.5. With

Arawn: 7.3-8.3. In this study she is accorded the honorific of 'Queen of Annwfn', the text only refers to her as 'wife' or 'queen'.

See Rhagymadrodd/ Introduction on why constructed titles are used for the Queen of Annwfn, the Lady of Gwent, and Lady Mouse.

[9] Valente critiques Bollard on his limited attention to the 'actions of the women ... insofar they are useful devices by which the author enacts of the themes of Feuds and Friendships between the male characters,' Valente, 'Merched', p. 90. She continues 'He looks at Arawn's wife as the tempting test which is set before Pwyll in the evolution of his new friendship with Arawn. He makes nothing of the queen's subsequent conversation with her husband', p. 91. Arawn's wife is certainly not a full-scale persona in our story, but rather just a means for the storyteller to make a point.' Lauran Toorians, 'Luxuria, Gula and Temperentia in Pwyll Pendueic Dyuet', *Australian Celtic Journal*, Vol. 12 (2014), pp. 127–159, @ p. 134.

[10] 'Pennar identifies Rhiannon and Queen similarities regarding their silks, and their noble, courtly, speech and demeanour, 'Women', p. 120. Analysed in more detail here, but Pennar's early recognition deserves credit.

[11] Her husband Arawn describes her as *y wreic deccaf a weleist eiroet/* the most beautiful woman you have ever seen. PKM1

3.9. Rhiannon is heralded as the *ryuedawt* of Gorsedd Arberth, PKM1 9.4–7.

[12] Arawn says of his queen '*rodaf y wreic*'/ 'I will give you a woman', PKM1 3.9. Rhiannon says to Pwyll, '*Dyro di ui idaw ef*'/ 'Give me to him', PKM1 14.21. See bestowal of women III.5. *Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/* Law, Land & Women.

[13] Rhiannon is anonymous for a total of 94 lines, PKM1 9.11–12.23. Pennar speaks of 'the wonder and allurement of the otherworld queen', 'Women', p. 119. Pwyll has keenly anticipated a *ryuedawt/* wonder, PKM1 9, 9–10. Pwyll sees the Queen across her hall, among her retinue; PKM1 4.12–14. He sees Rhiannon *ar hyt y prifford a gerdei heb law yr orssed./* on the main road going past the Gorsedd, PKM1 9. 14.

[14] Queen's silk: *eurwisc amdanei o bali/ llathreit/* PKM1 4.15–16. Rhiannon's silk: a *gwisc eureit, llathreit, o bali amdanei/* PKM1 9.13. Similar phrasing. On their other signs of wealth, the queen is seen within incomparable buildings PKM1 4.6–8, with an incomparably well equipped military host PKM1 4 12–14. Rhiannon displays her magnificent, valuable horse, PKM1 9.12–13, which then dominates the narrative until they meet, 12.8.

[15] The *ryuedawt* of Gorsedd Arberth, PKM1 9.4–7.

[16] The 'otherworld temptress'. is a motif associated with the Queen, noted by Pennar, 'Women', p. 120, citing Laura Hibbard Loomis, 'Gawain and the Green Knight'; ALMA, 528 ff., especially pp. 533-6; and her *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff,

1956), Ch.vi; Pennar p. 120, n. 2. The Queen makes explicit reference to *frouedigaeth y gorff/* bodily temptation, PKM1 7,29, which she presented to Pwyll. Rhiannon's advent is mysterious, presenting erotic pursuits (see XXX). She deploys seductiveness upon Gwawl, PKM1 15.20–25.

[17] The Queen and her feast: PKM1 4.14–25. Rhiannon announces she owns her wedding feast and will prepare another: PKM1 15.21–25; she also prepares the major homecoming feast for *Pryderi* PKM3 50.12–14.

[18] Pwyll admires the Queen's converse: PKM1 4.20–22. *Pryderi* admires Rhiannon's: PKM3 50.7–8, cf. *Manawydan* PKM3 50,15–17. Valente's emphasis on the Queen's converse: 'Merched', p. 91, 'she suffered not only from his apparent lack of sexual interest, but also because he refused to speak with her in intimate circumstances', p. 149. Queen and Arawn dialogue: PKM1 7.8 –8.3. Rhiannon and Pwyll: PKM1 12.10– 13.11. Pwyll is not Rhiannon's established 'partner' at this point, but the dialogue itself builds their betrothal. For more on Rhiannon's skill in converse see IV.1. *Ei Llais/* Her Voice.

[19] Pwyll's chastity in *Annwfn*: PKM1 4.26–28, for a year: 5.6. Pwyll and Rhiannon wait for their wedding: PKM1 15.26–28.

Kapphahn sees Manawydan's 'chaste relationship with Cigfa that echoes that of Pwyll and Arawn's wife', Gender MA, p. 36. For the chastity issue see V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon. Valente divides Mabinogi women on two themes of fertility (the mothers) and fidelity (the Queen, Cigfa, Goewin, Blodeuwedd). 'Merched', p. 202. Rhiannon however, combines both themes.

[20] Queen welcomes Arawn in bed: PKM1 7.3–7. Rhiannon's wedding night: PKM1 18.19–21.

[21] There is no mention of the Queen relating to another woman, though as a high ranking lady she must have unmentioned Maids. Rhiannon has only brief mentions of relating to women; her Maids: PKM1 20.23–21.8, a pivotal passage, see V.4. Y Gwagedd/ The Maids; the opposite of the various male friendships in the Mabinogi. Rhiannon and Cigfa partner as feast givers, PKM3 50.12–14, but as part of the four Dyfed royals post-Devastation, said to be a loving quartet, unlike Pryderi -Manawydan there is no explicit Rhiannon -Cigfa narrative.

[22] Queen's narrative: PKM1 3.9 – 8.3 (134 lines). Rhiannon's narrative can be measured in two versions. The shorter one is PKM1 8.27– 27.27 (two thirds the First Branch); and all the Third Branch. The longer version threads through all the first three Branches and the first third of the Fourth Branch. See I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[23] On Rhiannon's agency, e.g. see IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts. Pennar sees the Queen as 'totally subservient to her husband', 'Women', p. 121. This is too universal as she finally insists Arawn accounts to her, PKM1 7.7–21.

[24] Rhiannon's 94 lines of anonymity, PKM1 9.11–12.23; self identification, PKM1 12.23. For the convention of anonymising married women, see unnamed women III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwagedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[25] Queen and retinue PKM1 4.12–16. See note under Maids, below, on whether she has any. Rhiannon alone, PKM1 9.11– 13; see I.4. Dyfodiad Rhiannon/ Advent of Rhiannon.

[26] Arawn enables: PKM1 3.7–10, & 3.26. Rhiannon's pursuits: PKM1 9.11 – 12.8.

[27] PKM1 4.14–15. Her husband's statement previously, PKM1 3.9, is subjective, so the later observation by the narrator is cited here as 'objective'. Rhiannon is only described as subjectively remarkable in her looks by Pwyll, PKM1 12.16–18, and Pryderi's praise is not straightforward, PKM3 50.8–10. He claims she was incomparably beautiful in her prime, when he never saw her, in her maturity now she is merely 'not disappointing'. Cf. the subjective perception of the incomparable Adar Rhiannon, see VII.4. Adar Rhiannon/ Birds of Rhiannon. The objective narrative of beauty is there for the Queen of Annwfn, PKM1 4.14–15; Branwen, PKM2 30.29–31.2; Lady Mouse, PKM3 65.11; Goewin, PKM4 67.9–10; Blodeuedd, PKM4 83.25. Since Rhiannon and Arianrhod are notably excluded, possibly beauty can be more comfortably attributed to females safely ruled by males.

[28] See though, the ambiguity of her final comment, n. 31 below.

[29] See IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice. The Queen presses Arawn to explain by her silence PKM1 7, 8–14. Pennar observes 'her passive way of showing disapproval that there had been silence between them for such a long time', 'Women', p. 122. Ford observes wryly that Arawn 'has some explaining to do', but this falls short of recognising the Queen's agency in insisting upon it. Ford, Native Tales, p. Valente sees her silence as effective strategy. 'The impetus which awakes this response [from Arawn] is the absence of one of her most attractive attributes--"ymdidan"--or conversation'. 'Merched', p. 147. Pennar draws a contrast between the Queen and Blodeuedd's silences in the marital bed, used to extort a desired response. The Queen's is 'harmless', 'Women', p. 122, also p. 121. Blodeuedd, Llew's bed, PKM4 84.1– 86.13. The Queen is not, like Blodeuedd, treacherous, an attempted murderess (see below). However in their centrally erotic

nature, their key function of passing from one male to another, their pressuring silences to their males, they do bear similarity. Pennar further contrasts the Queen and Blodeuedd narrative as a 'tacit anti-exemplum' of 'a man's loyalty and chastity as opposed to a woman's fickleness and duplicity' p. 121. We have no window into Rhiannon's marital bed dialogue but neither of her marriages suggests duplicity.

[30] Valente, 'Merched', p. 147. PKM1 The only other Mabinogi character who is narrated with inner monologue is Efnysien: e.g. PKM2 43.21–23. "Y Duw y dygaf uyg/ kyffes," heb ynteu yn y uedwl, "ys anhebic a gyflauan/ gan y tylwyth y wneuthur, a wnaif i yr awr honn." /'To God I make my confession,' he said in his mind 'it is an unspeakable crime against the kindred, what I'm about to do this [very] hour.'

[31] 'Diryued oed hynny,' heb hitheu./ 'No wonder', she said. PKM1 8.3. It seems sharply terse, and while somewhat opaque, it is imaginable she objects to his use of her as his tool. Alternatively, if as 'other' beings, the Annwfn couple have played such games on mortals before, she is possibly laughing with him at the conclusion of another episode of fun.

[32] Pennar classifies her with Cigfa and Teyrnnon's wife as 'one of the naive unsuspecting women' of the Mabinogi, 'Women', p. 121.

[33] This is perhaps a mere ideal as Branwen, Goewin, possibly Arianrhod, and Blodeuedd are not so protected. PKM

[34] This is not a circular argument, but derives from their high rank.

[35] Rhiannon's Maids: PKM1 20.4–21.8. Lady of Gwent: PKM1 23.11–13. Lady Mouse: PKM3 64.15–16. Goewin's women: PKM4

72.2–4. Arianrhod's two women: PKM4 82.22–26. Blodeuedd's women: PKM4 90.26–28 – 91.5.

Valente helpfully notes Blodeuedd's maids' strange backward looking faces match the owl their mistress is about to become, 'Merched', p. 280 n. 400.

[36] Rhiannon's Maids are capitalised to signal how they have agency and four of them have individual voices. Maids' narrative: PKM1 20.4–21.8.

[37] See full quotes V.4. Y Gwageddau/ The Maids.

[38] See Rhiannon's bag speech: IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice.

[39] Rhiannon's penance years as actually enacted, can be calculated from the Gwent narrative.

The child is four by the calendar arriving at Arberth. One calendar year = 3 growth years. PKM1 23.18–24. Valente 'Merched' p. identifies how Rhiannon's loss

reverberates further at the tower episode: PKM3 57.1–3. Llwyd explicitly attributes his vengeance on Dyfed to the coercion of Gwawl as badger-in-the-bag: PKM3 64.8–10.

[40] Rhiannon and Pwyll: PKM1 14.23 –15.17. Maids' plot: PKM1 20.11–21.8.

[41] Choice stated, her neges: PKM1 12.22–27. Abuse of Gwawl, see n.24, above.

[42] Terror, Dwy, PKM1 20. 12–14. Theory of nobles' faction plot, see V.4. Ei Gwagedd/ Her Maids.

[43] Maids kill stag-hound puppy 20.16–18; 21–22. Rhiannon does kill animals as a hunter, but this is part of being a food supplier. Manawydan recalls hunting with her, PKM3 58.26. For more on Rhiannon's Maids, see VI.3. Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon.

[44] Lady's narrative: PKM1 22.6 – 26.28. Constructed title for this study, the text only refers to her as Teyrnnon's wife. This passage is a summary comparison of the Lady with Rhiannon. Another examination, V.6. Lady of Gwent, is part of the section on Rhiannon's kindred, including the Lady as acknowledged foster mother of Rhiannon's child. That passage is a more general portrait of the Lady's character, with extended quotes.

[45] Lady is barren, Teyrnon refers to it: PKM1 23.5–6. Rhiannon is barren in her early marriage for two years: PKM1 19.18–21.

[46] This uses ‘mother’ inclusively, not restricting it to birth mothers.

[47] The disappeared Dyfed heir is never explicitly stated as identical with the Gwent foundling, but the consecutive narrative very strongly implies it, and Teyrnon recognises the boy’s resemblance to Pwyll: PKM1 24.15–19; he publicly presents him as the heir of Dyfed: PKM1 25.23–26.7.

[48] Rhiannon’s loss occurs first: PKM1 20.23–24. The Lady loses the boy when he is taken to Arberth: PKM1 25.7–9.

[49] Teyrnon consults with his Lady: PKM1 22.7–11; & 24.22–25.6. She also advises on the adoption 23.7–14; and colt bestowal: PKM1 23.24–24.5. For full analysis of these dialogues see V.6 Arglwyddes Gwent/ Lady of Gwent [Later 'Teyrnon's Wife']. Rhiannon briefs Pwyll with bag strategy PKM1 14.21–15.17; advises him legally: PKM1 17.20–28; on minstrels: PKM1 18.22–28. Her initial dialogue with him is substantial: PKM1 12.7–13.11. See IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice. Shimpock links Rhiannon, Branwen and the wife of Teyrnon as advisers to their husbands, ‘Unlikely’, p. 2, n. 9.

[50] Lady is consulted re problem mare: PKM1 23.24–24.5; arranges colt bestowal and marchog training: PKM1 23.24–24.8.

Rhiannon’s advent as marchoges: PKM1 9.11–13, with horse pursuits up to 12.11. She hunts PKM3 52.9–17; & 58.26.

[51] Lady arranges bestowal: PKM1 23.24–24.5. Rhiannon and minstrels: PKM1 17.20–21; & 18.22–28; bestows jewels: 19.14–16.

ADAR

[52] Rhiannon wedding feasts: PKM1 15.21–25; homecoming feast: PKM3 50.12–14. Lady marchog training: PKM1 23.24–24.8.

[53] On Rhiannon’s high ambition to marry Pwyll see I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text; & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon. The Lady politically assesses foundling: PKM1 23.8–11; & advises political advantage in returning him: PKM1 24.26–25.6. Her judgement is confirmed by Pwyll, PKM1 26.20–22; & 26–28; the second statement is almost exactly her own words, referring to the boy’s growth period and the future after that.

[54] See the theory that her agreed penance enables her to spread the news of her loss in the hope it will reach wherever the boy is. V.5. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[55] PKM1 24.28–25.6.

[56] Teyrnon restores boy to Rhiannon: PKM1 26.2–3. Teyrnon appointed foster father: PKM1 27.1–4.

[57] Rhiannon anonymous: PKM1 9.11 – 12.22.

[58] Valente, antithesis, ‘Merched’, pp. 167, 171 & 174; developed pp. 286–87. Lady adopts: PKM1 23.9–11. Wife advises relinquishing child: PKM1 24.26–25.6. Rhiannon discovers her loss: PKM1 20.23–24. Rhiannon gives birth: PKM1 20.2 Wife’s Maids: PKM1 23.11–13. Ford describes the pattern as a ‘doublet’, seeing Teyrnon and his wife as ‘shadows’ of Pwyll and Rhiannon in a fertility myth. ‘Prolegomena’, p.121.

[59] Rhiannon loses her boy, PKM1 20.10–11, and 23–24; the Lady loses him, PKM1 24.26–25.8. Fosterage arranged PKM1 27.1–

4. [60] Wife’s private dialogues: PKM1 22.6–11; 23.2–13; 23.24–24.4; 24.27–25.5. Public marriage Rhiannon and Pwyll: PKM1 19.16–20.4; 21.9–23; 25.23–26.19; 27.15–17.

[61] Valente, ‘Merched’, pp. 171–72. Pwyll’s failure of support, p. 173 & n. 237. This profile of Rhiannon and Pwyll is not endorsed by this study, see V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[62] See also contrast with the Queen's inner thoughts, above. The closest to a private moment in Rhiannon's narrative is her vulnerable cry to her Maids on the loss of her son, PKM1 20.23–24. That is voiced to six persons, quickly followed by her strategic discussion with them. Her first dialogue with Pwyll is conducted in ambassadorial style; it aimed at a contract, and could have been repeated to others though Pwyll chose not to do this. PKM1 12.7–13.15.

[63] Teyrnnon speaks of her grief: PKM1 26.22–35.

[64] First loss: PKM1 20.23–24. Her pryder: PKM1 26.9–10. Her rescue: PKM3 57.1–3.

[65] See the Preseli council where Dyfed nobles press for her divorce. Pwyll defends her as having borne plant/ children: PKM1.

See also the elite female status of rieni, VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[66] See III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[67] For the concept of 'interlace' see Bollard, II.9. Paradigm Shift 1970-1995; more examples VIII. Structures XXX

[68] Branwen's narrative: PKM2 30.19– 45.20. While she herself stands outside Mabinogi Rhiannon, parts of her Branch narrative form part of Mabinogi Rhiannon; notably the horse connection, mutilated by Efnysien, PKM2 32.2–6; & Adar Rhiannon, PKM2 45.2–4; & actual event. 46.13–15.

[69] Branwen named by Matholwch, PKM2 30.20. On the anonymisation of married women see III III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[70] Branwen's fate pivots on mutilated horses at her wedding: PKM2 32.2–6. Rhiannon's advent on her anomalous horse is pivotal: PKM1 9.11–14, pursuits –12.6; and more, see V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[71] Branwen marries Matholwch at Aberffraw where they slept together, PKM2 31.6–7. A second feast attempts to compensate for insult to Matholwch, PKM2 34.2–3 ff. Rhiannon's two weddings, PKM1 13.17 ff. & PKM1 15.27 ff.

[72] Manawydan mediator,. PKM2 36.15–23. PKM3 61.21 ff.

[73] Gwern, PKM2 43.8–12.

[74] However Branwen bears responsibility on a kindred basis, see n. 96, end of this Branwen section. See also the 'Calumniated Wife' motif, addressed below.

[75] Branwen is hit on the ears by a butcher just as he has been chopping flesh, PKM2 Rhiannon's face is smeared with puppy blood, PKM1 20.16–22. Another link is that Rhiannon in captivity must wear asses' collars, specifically after they have been working in the harvest field. PKM3 65.19–20. Like Branwen, the humiliation is tied to the dirt of labour.

[76] Branwen's drudwy, PKM2 38.7–10. Adar Rhiannon, prophesied PKM2 45.2–4; & actual event. 46.13–15.

[77] Valente, 'Merched', p. 210; her anger, p. 211, referencing PKM2 40.3–4. Pennar notes Branwen's 'well-judged irony' when she declines the title arglwyddes/ lady, to confront her abusers with what they have done. 'Women', p. 137, She also acts as a peace negotiator, PKM2 42.6 -9. Winward concurs Branwen (and Gowein) are 'not so meek as to suffer their shame in silence' 'Aspects', p. 78. On Rhiannon's skill in converse see IV.1. Ei Llais/ Her Voice. Shimcock links Rhiannon, Branwen and the wife of Teyrnnon as advisers to their husbands, 'Unlikely', p. 2, n. 9.

[78] Rhiannon's treatment of Gwawl is the cause of the Devastation of Dyfed for X years, PKM3 64.8–10. Branwen bears at least part responsibility for the Irish War, see n. 96, end of this Branwen section.

[79] Rhiannon, PKM1 20.21–24. Branwen PKM2 43.24–44.1.

[80] Branwen births Gwern in the first year of her marriage, PKM2 37.16–17. Her abuse began in the second year, PKM2 37.22–

25, and continued for about three years, PKM2 38.7. Bendigeidfran then musters a huge army which would take weeks if not months, and war ensues of undefined duration, making her absence from Britain approach five years. Rhiannon is captive in the Third Branch while Manawydan travels to make another attempt at business in Lloegr, journeys back, and grows a crop of wheat. PKM3 57.12 – 59.2.

[81] In most versions of the Mabinogi, Branwen is the titular protagonist of the Branch, which is often referred to as Branwen; a usage dating to Charlotte Guest, Mabinogion, Contents page 'Branwen the Daughter of Llyr', p. ix. The native Welsh Renaissance had titled it on Bendigeidfran. See II.6. Y Dadeni Cymru /Welsh Renaissance 1707– 1877; A few recent productions such as Boyd (2017) have attempted to revive the older usage but it seems unlikely this will prevail against the widely established Branwen custom. Matthieu Boyd, (ed.), The Four Branches of The Mabinogi. Broadview Anthology of British Literature. (Canada: Broadview Press Ltd, 2017).

[82] Rhiannon (exclusive) narrative First Branch PKM1 8.27– 27.27; & Third Branch PKM3 49.1– 57.1 –12. Adar Rhiannon PKM2 45.2–4; & actual event. 46.13–15. Comparison of exclusive and inclusive narrative I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[83] 'Branwen uerch Lyr', PKM2 30.20, Branwen daughter of Llyr, thus sister to 'Bendigeiduran uab Llyr', PKM2 29.1. By marrying Matholwch, Branwen becomes queen of Iwerddon/ Ireland. Valente sees Branwen's marriage as 'a political alliance and not a romantic one, as Pwyll's and Rhiannon's was' 'Merched', p. 193. This study sees Rhiannon's choice of Pwyll as both political and romantic; see Lady of Gwent below; I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text; III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women; & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon. For Mabinogi territorial hierarchy see III.3. Hierarchiaeth Economeg/ Hierarchy economics. CHK

[84] Mutilated horses, PKM2 32.2–6. Rhiannon's concern for Pwyll's horse, PKM1 12.9–10. her son inherits her affinity and is eager to care for horses' needs, PKM1 23.22–24.

[85] Branwen 'the most beautiful maiden in the world', PKM2 31.1–2. For the beauty issue and Rhiannon see the Queen, above n. 27, & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[86] Branwen, PKM2 31.6–7, & PKM2 34.2–3 ff. Rhiannon & Pwyll, PKM1 13.17 ff. & Gwawl, PKM1 15.27 ff. See n. 69 above.

[87] Branwen, second year, PKM2 37.20. Rhiannon, third year, Preseli council, PKM1 19.18. Shimpoock considers Branwen seeks relinquishment from her marriage vows while Rhiannon seeks her choice of whom to marry; different avenues to independence. 'Unlikely', p. 2, n. 17.

[88] Efnysien mutilates horses, PKM2 32.2–6. Maids PKM1 20.11–20. Llwyd explains his revenge, PKM3 63.26–65.16. Winward contrasts Branwen's and Rhiannon's 'punishment'. Branwen's is kitchen centred, gender appropriate; Rhiannon's is strenuous, carrying visitors on her back, part of a Rhiannon discourse of unfeminine strengths. 'Aspects', pp. 83–84.

[89] Branwen is not 'the cause' of the War. Efnysien's horse mutilations, and his murder of Gwern, are its staged catalysts. It might be said that Bendigeidfran overdoes generosity to Matholwch; demonstrating his pride and enormous wealth, his superior lordship in the Cauldron tale, laying substantial cause for resentment. His Cauldron gift aggravates the extremities of the War.

Branwen is a powerful force for peace, until Efnysien wrecks it by killing her son as the precious joint heir. (Valente interestingly suggests Bendigeidfran pulls Branwen back from rescuing the child to 'take the kingship of Ireland for himself', 'Merched', p.

183.) But Branwen shares kindred responsibility with her brothers. Bred to that kindred way of thinking, she ultimately despairs. Cf. the complexity of Rhiannon's individual and kindred

responsibility with Pwyll, for the Devastation of Dyfed. In modern psychology Branwen could be seen as suffering survivor guilt, which is also condition arising from embedment in kindred or group.

[90] Branwen's letter, PKM2 38.10–13. It would be easy to assume Rhiannon is literate because she is a powerful and efficient administrator, and intellectual (skilled in converse). However, she could be all that, without literacy, relying on trained memory, assistant scribes, or a mix of the two.

[91] PKM2 40.3–4, & PKM2 42.6–9. Rhiannon see IV.1. *Ei Llais/ Her Voice*. Mac Cana defines Branwen as 'a passive and colourless figure who has little of the spirit and complexity of the great heroines of Celtic literature.' *Mabinogi*, p. 55. Valente critiques him, 'Merched', pp.190, 203, and for creating a goddess 'dichotomy'; either a woman is a powerful goddess figure or she is weak; p.70; cf. her example of Rhiannon's attempted rescue of Pryderi, p. . Valente further emphasises 'Branwen reminds her oppressors of what they did to her... she expresses her anger', pp. 42 & 43. Valente concedes Branwen is 'not as outspoken as any of the other major female characters', p. 203; presumably Rhiannon, Arianrhod; 'she does not have the sharp humor of Rhiannon', p. 203.

[92] Gwern, PKM2 43.8–12. Pryderi PKM1 27.14–18.

[93] Kappahn, 'she must watch him burn to death in the fire', 'Gender', p. 39. Rhiannon's loss, PKM1 20. 23–24. Gwern killed, PKM2 43.26–27. It is finely balanced whether Rhiannon not knowing the fate of her son over the years, alive or dead, is worse than Branwen's ghastly certainty.

[94] Seven survivors of the Irish War, PKM2 44.25–27.

[95] Branwen's death PKM2 45.16–20.

[96] Guest Ford?

[97] See II.9. *Y Patrwm Cydlyniant 1970-1995/ The Coherence Paradigm*, & IX *Deongliadau/ Interpretations*.

[98] Pennar compares the two women, finding Branwen 'less alive and forceful' than Rhiannon, yet recognises Branwen as a 'female politician and arbitrator' characteristic of Welsh women. He sees 'the author's narrative method, which here is historical rather than dramatic' detracting from Branwen's dynamism compared to Rhiannon. 'Women', p. 137.

Cf. the Queen, n. 27 on the beauty issue and how uncontrolled females may distort perceptions.

[99] Juliette Wood, 'The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature', *CMCS*, 10 (1985), pp. 25–38. Repr. in *The Mabinogi, A Book of Essays*, ed. by Charles W. Sullivan III (NY: Garland Publications, 1996), pp. 61-78. Pagination refs. here are from the Sullivan anthology. Valente sees it in both Rhiannon, and Branwen: the former 'resolved successfully', the latter 'degenerates into failure and death', 'Merched', p. 103.

[100] Wood, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 62, and pp. 62-63.

[101] Wood notes Pwyll's loyalty, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 71. Pwyll decrees a penance for her instead of divorce, PKM1 21.9–21; and Rhiannon continues to sit beside him in her place as ruling consort in the evening, PKM1 25.23–25.

[102] Wood, 'Calumniated Wife', p. 66.

[103] Both distribute rich gifts on arrival in their new homeland, functioning to allay some of the hostility to a foreign wife. The phrasing is markedly similar with double negatives, male and female recipients specified, and very similar gifts. *Na gwr na gwreic o/ hynny nyt edewis Riannon, heb rodi rod enwauc idaw,/ ae o gae, ae o uodrwy, ae o uaen guerthuawr./* Neither man nor woman of them left without Rhiannon bestowing upon them [some kind of] special gift: either a brooch, a ring, or a stone of great value. PKM1 19.14–16. *Ny/ doey wr mawr, na gwreic da yn*

Iwerdon, e ymw[e]let a/ Branwen, ni rodei hi ae cae, ae modrwy, ae teyrndlws/ cadwedic ydaw...
/Not one great man or noble lady would come to visit Branwen to whom she would
not give a clasp, a ring or a royal jewel to them. PKM2 37.9–13.

[104] The Calumniated Wife cluster includes the wife alienated as otherworldly, witchy, divine.
Wood, 'Calumniated', p.

[105] See VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[106] Pennar contrasts the two women's ability to cope with survivor guilt. He considers
Rhiannon would be stronger, more able to cope with it. 'Women', p. 139. When all her people and
foodstocks are gone in the Third Branch, Rhiannon adapts, becoming a huntress provider, and
then part of business projects. However Pennar is questionable, for we do not see Rhiannon
undergo such appalling circumstances as Branwen; Rhiannon benefits from Pwyll as loyal
husband, and her son survives to become a great prince.

[107] PKM2 40.3–4.

[108] Cymidei's narrative: PKM2 35.5–36.29. Her name 'difficult to translate definitively', suggests
a pun on her giant birthing capacity. Valente, 'Merched', 201; also expressed in her torllwyth
hwnnw/ bellyload [literal translation], p. 202, referring PKM2 cymid: battle;
cymeiniad: making equal; boll/ foll: distend (GPC) suggests an equation of birthing and battle
violence, that she spans gender definition, see n. 109 following.

[109] PKM2 35.23–36.29; the Iron House tale. Valente compares Cymidei with Branwen as
strangers in a hostile land whose sons die there by burning, 'Merched', p. 203.

[110] a gwreic yn y ol; ac ot oed uawr ef, mwy dwyweith/ oed y wreic noc ef. PKM2 35.16–17. And
large as he was - twice as big as him was the woman. Possibly a reference to Ammianus
Marcellinus' 4thC description of the Gaulish wife as a strikingly larger and fiercer warrior than her
husband: 'A whole band of foreigners will be unable to cope with one [Gaul] in a fight, if he calls in
his wife, stronger than he by far and with flashing eyes; least of all when she swells her neck and
gnashes her teeth, and poising her huge white arms, begins to rain blows mingled with kicks, like
shots discharged by the twisted cords of a catapult.' Res Gestae, XV.12.1.

[111] XXX

[112] Pennar, 'Women', p. 109. 'y wreic honn,' heb ef, 'ym penn pethewnos a/ mis, y byd beichogi
idi, a'r mab a aner yna o'r torllwyth/ hwnnw, ar benn y pethewnos a'r mis, y byd gwr ymlad/
llawn aruawc.' PKM2 35 20–23. 'this woman, at the end of a month and a fortnight will become
pregnant: and the boy that will be born from that wombful - after a month and fortnight -
will be a fully-armed fighting-man.'

[113] Mabinogi mothers besides Cymidei are Rhiannon mother of Pryderi; Branwen mother of
Gwern; Arianrhod mother of Lleu.

The three sons of Gwydion and Gilfaethwy are adopted by Math. Gwydion and Math are
warleaders, so a warrior destiny for the boys can be assumed. Valente divides Mabinogi women on
two themes of fertility (the mothers) and fidelity (see under Queen, n.

21). 'Merched', p. 202. Rhiannon however, combines both themes. There are other Mabinogi
mothers given in genealogies but they are not active characters. See VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[114] Cigfa's narrative: PKM1 27.23–26; PKM3 50.14–61.14. See also the portrait of her
relationship with Rhiannon V.9 Cigfa uerch Wynn Gohoyw/ Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw.

[115] See V.9 Cigfa.

[116] Valente stresses Cigfa's narrative as exploring a problematic 'undefined bond between
stepfather-in-law and stepdaughter-in-law', 'Merched', p. 222, & 223. Her naud, legal protection,
belongs to husband or father; in their default she turns to the unrelated Manawydan 'as the lord of
the country in which she resides', 'Merched', p. 233.

[117] Mac Cana dubs her a 'slight though effective vignette of a contemporary "bourgeois" snob', Mabinogi, p. 55. For critique of that as anachronistic, inaccurate; and the influence of Rhiannon on Cigfa's attitudes see V.9 Cigfa.

[118] Valente feels her 'speech, like Rhiannon's, has a sharpness', 'Merched', p. 235; but it lacks Rhiannon's scathing honour judgment to a marchog of bad horsemanship, and failure of friend loyalty. These are central failures where Cigfa merely reproaches Manawydan for unseemliness, embarrassment. PKM3 58.19–20; PKM3 61.2–10.

[119] Winward, comparing Rhiannon and Cigfa, notes Rhiannon is 'the only [Mabinogi] woman ... seen in an activity otherwise undertaken only by men'. 'Aspects', p. 83; Rhiannon hunts: PKM3 51.5; 52.10; 52.15; 58.26.

[120] PKM3 57.13 –57.27. Pennar sees it as a straightforward 'Cigfa panics', with explicit understanding of Cigfa's plight which many men overlook; 'It is likely that a woman whose husband was lost would be abused', 'Women', p. 139. Kapphahn compares the chastity passage here with the Queen of Annwfn, see n. above. Cigfa's fear is also a literary device to showcase Manawydan as a good and chaste man who honours his friendship with Pryderi. See V.9 Cigfa uerch Wynn Gohoyw/ Cigfa daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw; & V.10. Manawydan: Ail-arfarnu/ Manawydan Re-assessed [121] Constructed title for this study, the text only refers to her as a mouse. Lady Mouse narrative: PKM3 60.15 –65.11.

[122] See XX anon

[123] eithyr un a welei yn amdrom, ual y tebygei na allei/ un pedestric. except for one he saw that was so bulky, so he guessed it was not capable of anything [more] than a walk. PKM3 60.15–16. Llwyd explains his wife is pregnant, A beichawc oed hi. She was pregnant. PKM3 64.17.

[124] PKM3 64.15–16.

[125] Comedy REF

[126] Rhiannon's bag: PKM1 14.23 –15.17. Efnysien's flour sacks containing Irish warriors waiting in ambush: PKM2 42.13–14, & 17–19. Manawydan's glove: PKM3 60.16–18.

[127] Rhiannon's bag scene ends by bringing Gwawl close to death. The flour sacks hold warriors helpless as Efnysien kills them. Manawydan's glove is used to imprison Lady Mouse until he hangs her as a thief.

[128] Cf. Political Parallels; the earlier tale is a time of native independence, while the later one has resonances with Anglo-Norman conquest and displacement of natives.

[129] Pwyll as disguised beggar also contributes to the interlace. His comedy becomes Manawydan's grim struggle. See VIII.5. Two husbands.

[130] Lady Mouse slowness, pregnancy, PKM3 60.15–16 & 64.17, see quotes n. 116. Rhiannon's shift in power, see IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts. Cf. also Arianrhod's pregnant vulnerability PKM4 77.12–18.

[131] Valente cites Llwyd's dedication to reclaiming his wife as an instance of how important women are in the Mabinogi narrative, as Llwyd must sacrifice his revenge to attain her. 'Merched', p. 117. Valente also cites fertility as a key female theme of the Mabinogi, p. 202. See VI.2. 'Rieni'.

[132] Cf. Cymidei above, representing women as son-generators.

[133] On the law on female marital consent, male bestowal, see III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[134] PKM3. LAW Rhiannon, asses' collars PKM3 65.19. "Riannon a uydei a mynweireu yr/essynn, wedy bydyn yn kywein gueir, am y mynwgyl/ hitheu... .."/ Ac o achaws y carchar hwnnw, y gelwit y kyuarwydyt/ hwnnw, Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynord. PKM3 65.19–23. and Rhiannon would have the collars

of asses, after they had been carrying hay. ...' And, on account of that imprisonment, that tale was called 'The Mabinogi of Mynweir and Mynordd'. Like Branwen the humiliation is tied to the dirt of labour.

[135] 'the most beautiful young woman anyone had ever seen'. See subjective/ objective beauty issue under Queen, n. 27.

[136] Goewin narrative: as footholder PKM4 67.5–10; Gilfaethwy's lust PKM4 67 15–19; Gwydion foments war so Goewin is left unprotected, PKM4 67.20–73.28; the rape PKM4 71.29–72.4; Goewin reports to Math PKM4 74.1–14; Marriage & shared rule

PKM4 74.14–18; followed by Math's justice on Gwydion and Gilfaethwy. See I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text, on the 'epilogue'; also IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts.

[137] The office of footholder is listed in Cyfraith Hywel, but as a male office. Footholder office

[138] Goewin's plaint, PKM4 74.6–14. Winward couples her with Branwen, in refusing to be silenced, quoted Branwen n. XX, 'Aspects', p. 78.

[139] Math to Goewin: "ac a rodaf uedyant uyg/ kyuoeth i'th law ditheu." PKM4 74.17–18. 'and I will give the power[of my country into your hands.] Rhiannon and Pwyll: Gwledychu/ y wlat a wnaethont yn llwydannus y ulwydyn honno, a'r / eil.

PKM1 19.17–18. They ruled the country prosperously for that year and the next.

[140] Goewin bereft as her women are forced away: PKM4. For Rhiannon and other women see VI.3. Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon. There may be a Rhiannon-Cigfa connection; see

[141] Goewin: PKM4 67.9–10. For the beauty issue and Rhiannon see the Queen, above n. 27, & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.

[142] See n. 66, above. See an alternate version of the footholder element, Arianrhod, below.

[143] PKM1 13.15–16, & she describes it 14.28, & 15.27–28.

[144] Gilfaethwy's lust, PKM4 67.15–19. Gwydion foments war so Goewin is left unprotected, PKM4 74.26–27, followed by Math's justice ending PKM4. 'the most extreme violation a girl might suffer was the forcible termination of her virginity by rape.

... acknowledged in the exaction of sarhaed or wynebwerth which is paid to the girl. ... [also] dirwy payable to the king...The implication of this rule is that the safe keeping of virgins lay within the king's nawdd or protection.' Morfydd Owen, 'Shame and Reparation', WLW, p. 49. Also Dafydd Jenkins, "Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women," WLW, pp. 86-88.

[145] The closest to this is Rhiannon's penance act of bearing strangers on her back: PKM1 21.21–28. That is still a long way from the intimate violation of rape.

[146] Valente observes the Fourth Branch presents 'explorations of unnatural relationships between men and women ... the complete rupture of the social fabric, is even more powerfully didactic than the "happy" branches', 'Merched', p. 119. Some scholars see Blodeuedd as a leading protagonist, but see her section below for her lack of agency.

[147] Three Decrees: "Ie," / heb hi, "mi a dynghaf dyghet idaw, na chaffo enw yny/ caffo y genhyf i." PKM4 79 2–4. "Ie," heb hitheu, "minheu/ a dyghaf dyghet y'r mab hwnn, na chaffo arueu byth/ yny gwiscof i ymdanaw." PKM4 81.6–8. "A mi a dynghaf dynghet idaw," heb hi, "na/ chaffo wreic uyth, o'r genedyl yssyd ar y dayar honn yr/ awr honn." PKM4 83.12–14.

Arianrhod's Decrees as a triplicity have some resemblance to Rhiannon's three Rebukes, but Arianrhod's Decrees have much greater plot impact. Rhiannon's rebukes: PKM1 12.9–10 12.9–10. PKM1 14.13 –14. PKM3 56.26–27.

Pennar compares Arianrhod's tynghedau/ (declared) destinies, to Culhwch's stepmother, who binds him that he will marry none but Olwen daughter of Ysbaddaden Bencawr, a near-

impossibility. Pennar is too oriented to Irish codes, using the Irish term *géis*; e.g. Arianrhod 'her third *géis*' Pennar, 'Women', p.104. His contention that 'Lleu's recognition as the ruler of Arduwy could not be gained except by overcoming his *tynged*', p. 105 n.1, does not hold as Lleu is said to become the heir of Gwynedd itself after his quasi-marriage ends.

[148] Valente considers the 'sharpness of Aranrhod's tongue is not mitigated by the interactive aspects of love and loyalty which we find in Rhiannon', 'Merched', p. 253; but recognises her 'quick wit', p. 259; her cleverly evasive language in her reply to Math's virginity question, p. 254; and her 'conversational prowess' in discussion with Gwydion 'a storyteller of great mastery.'

'Merched', p. 267. Arianrhod -Gwydion talk: PKM4 82.1-3. For Rhiannon's skill at converse, see IV.1. *Ei Llais/ Her Voice*; & V.5. *Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon*.

[149] REFS unsuccessful

[150] *Ac yna y kymeryssant wy blodeu y deri, a blodeu y/ banadyl, a blodeu yr erwein, ac o'r rei hynny, asswynaw/ yr un uorwyn deccaf a thelediwafl a welas dyn eiroet./Ac y bedydyaw o'r bedyd a wneynt yna, a doddi/Blodeued arnei.* PKM4 83.23-27. Cf. PKM4 83.12-14. Valente refers to her 'unshakeable curse', 'Merched', p. 244, and recognises 'Aranrhod's third curse cannot be circumvented', p. 282.

[151] See *Blodeuedd*, following.

[152] See VI. 9. 'Rieni'

[153] Rhiannon's penance: PKM1 21.21-28. Arianrhod's public exposure giving birth: PKM4 77.13-15. Both Bollard and Valente speak of 'the peculiar and humiliating manner of her giving birth, ... her shame is the motivation for all her later acts', Valente, 'Merched', pp. 256-57, referencing Bollard, XXX, p. 267. Valente adds that Arianrhod and Goewin are both violated but unlike Goewin, Arianrhod's anger is not seen as justified, she is not compensated; 'Merched' p. 267. See further n. 164 below. [154] Rhiannon: PKM1 26.9-10. Arianrhod: PKM4 80. 22-25.

Valente: 'Both Rhiannon and Aranrhod name their sons inadvertently', 'Merched', p. 263. The complexity of Rhiannon's exclamation suggests conscious composition. See IV.1. *Ei Llais/ Her Voice*. [155] Rhiannon: PKM1 20.10-11; & 20.23-24. Arianrhod: PKM4 77.17-19.

[156] Both have complex fathering; for Pryderi see V.8 *Trasiedi Pryderi/ The Tragedy of Pryderi*. Lleu may be the biological son of Gwydion on the incest theory (below); he is in any case son of a 'male mother', see V.11. Gwydion. Having lost their mothers as newborns, they are each rescued by a male lord, who picks them up from the ground, PKM1 22.25-27, PKM4 77.18; each baby is wrapped in silk, Pryderi already, Lleu immediately, PKM1 22.26-27; PKM4 77.19; they are fostered, PKM1 23.10, PKM4 77.19-78.18; each has horse affinities, PKM1 22.23-24, also PKM4 70.8; Lleu PKM4 81.11-14, 86.23, also *Triad 38. Tri Rodedicuarch Enys Prydein/ 'Three Bestowed Horses of this Island'*, TYP pp. 105-106 (see *Appendix Meirch*); they both fight a duel to restore their honour, PKM4 72.24-27-73.17, PKM4 90.20-92.23; each inherits one of the two most powerful Welsh princedoms, PKM1 27.17-18; PKM4 92.25-26. The strong interlacing between the two princes presents Pryderi and Lleu as parallel southern and northern heroes; noted by REF. However Pryderi is a successful conqueror, PKM1 27.19-22. Lleu is a pensioner of Math, PKM4 84 1-10; though he does reclaim his bestowed territory by fighting, PKM4 92.23-24. Pryderi marries a normal woman, PKM1 27 23-26, Lleu's wife is a mere construct, PKM4 83.17-27 (see *Blodeuedd*, below).

[157] Except Arianrhod's working relationship with her Maids, see *Maids*, next section, below. See VI.3. *Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon*.

[158] Arianrhod is introduced PKM4 77.6-10, without promotion as beautiful. *Triad 78: Teir Gwenriein Ynys Prydain, Three Fair (Royal) Ladies of Britain*, names *Ar(i)anrhod ferch Don*, TYP

p. 208; but gwen/'fair, is ambiguous in both English and Cymraeg between fair-haired, pale, or beautiful, GPC. BT [Llyfr Taliesin] 36.15. has Aranrot drem clot tra gwawr hinon/ Aranrot famous for beauty beyond the dawn of fine weather, TYP p. 284.

[159] Besides explicit hostility to Arianrhod (below) the 'overlooking' of her successful third Decree (above) is misogynous. For misogyny and Rhiannon see VI.3. Ffeministiaeth a Rhiannon/ Feminism and Rhiannon.

[160] Pennar, p. 105.

[161] Pennar, p. 145

[162] Pennar, p. 144.

[163] Pennar, pp. 144-45. The global 'we' is unwarranted, and betrays Pennar's blind assumption.

[164] Pennar, p. 143.

[165] Pennar, p. 144. 'As to the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, that was predicated on an assumption which Welsh society did not accept, namely that a man would normally have only one marriage partner. The children of all formally acknowledged unions were equal in the eyes of Welsh law, and even male children born outside of such unions could be formally admitted to the father's agnatic kin-group. 'Legitimacy' in Welsh custom was determined not so much by the character of the union as by a formal acknowledgement of paternity and affiliation (in the literal, sense) with the appropriate kin-group', R.R. Davies, 'Buchedd a Moes y Cymry', *The Welsh History Review*, Vol. 12, no. 2 (Dec. 1984), p. 176.

[166] REF

[167] Pennar admiring Rhiannon, 'Of all the female characters in the *Pedeir Keinc Rhiannon* is the most commanding figure. 'Women', p. 123. 'Her superior wit and initiative are obvious.' p. 129. Also pp. 125, 126, 128, 134. His son Gŵri Pennar confirms his father's' progressive ideas and politics'. Personal communication 12/4/2017.

[168] She is forced to give birth in public. The ryw bethan/ small something [Lleu] PKM4 77.17, is not noticed except by Gwydion, but the previous birth, Dylan, is a full sized child seen to run away, PKM4 77.13-15. See n. above. Bollard & Valente

[169] Her emotionalism might be contrasted with Rhiannon's quiet penance dignity, which gained respect. However Rhiannon is not intimately violated, and arguably benefits from Pwyll's loyal support. Rhiannon holds high status as a married co-ruler, publicly acknowledged mother of the heir: Arianrhod is a mere girl. See

[170] Mae 'nghwyn am forwyn yn fwy / no Math Hen fab Mathonwy, / Braich un ddi-wair, brechwen, ddoeth, / fu'i obennydd ef beunoeth: / Arianrhod,— ni bu'r unrhyw-- / ni byddai Fath hebddi fyw./ My complaint concerning a maiden is greater/ than [that of] old Math son of Mathonwy./The arm of a chaste, white-armed wise one / was his pillow each night: / Arianrhod,— there was none like her—so that Math could not live without her. Cymraeg from Gwaith Lewys Môn, Eurys I. Rowlands (ed.), (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1975), p. 347. Translation Valente, 'Merched', p. 35. WJG, Math, pp. 130-31, 138-42. pp. 143-44 n.1., 192-95. Arianrhod as Math's footholder, with Goewin as a later replacement. Lewis Môn (1465-1527), also Tudur Aled (fl. 1480-1526), also quoted TYP, p. 285.

[171] Gwydion as the father

[172] Arianrhod's maternal shame, PKM4 79.6-8, which she voices PKM4 78.24-26. Rhiannon's close relationship with Pryderi, see V.8 *Trasiedi Pryderi*/ *The Tragedy of Pryderi*.

[173] Valente, 'Merched', p. 260.

[174] Mentioned PKM4 78.20; 79.18; & 81.21-22. WJG links the otherworld fay to Caer Arianrhod, Math, pp. 187-192.

[175] See III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women. Arianrhod's father is not named in the Mabinogi. In Triad 35 she is merch Beli eu mam/ daughter of Beli her mother, (lines 10-11, TYP p. 81), where Caswallawn is a son of Beli, as he is PKM2 45.

25-26, & PKM3 50.28-51.1. Bromwich refers to this parent as 'Beli Mawr', i.e. male. (TYP p. 86). 'Beli' is a parent in Trioedd 34, 36, 51, 67, 71, 94; all except Triad 34 refer to Caswallawn, Beli's son. Bromwich' Note on Beli Mawr, pp. 288-89, reviews his substantial tradition, without picking up on the gender contradiction. Her Note on 'Ar(y)anrot' refers to Triad 35 stating Arianrhod's 'father was Beli, i.e. Beli Mawr', but without noting the gender issue. (TYP p. 284) Bartrum on Beli Mawr, classifying him as 'Legendary', also omits mention of it. (A-B, pp. 42-43). Since Triad 35, is the sole instance of Beli as mam/ mother, against a strong male Beli Mawr tradition, the Triad 35 usage is most simply interpreted as a mediaeval clerical error.

[176] PKM4 77.11-14. Math commands her to step over his hutlath/ wand. Beli her father is not actively present in her tale; nor does Gwydion seem to command her except initially bringing her before Math. Valente observes she is uniquely independent in Mabinogi terms, as domina of Caer Arhianrhod, 'Merched' p. 260; but independence means a lack of male protection, p. 260.

Possibly Math grants her Caer Arianrhod to solve her problematic position as an unmarriageable woman of his kindred Cf. his responsible resolution of Goewin's damaged status, PKM4 74.16-18; his generous territorial grant to Llew, PKM4 84.1-10. Or possibly Arianrhod traces an archaic female independence, cf. the rieni tradition. This is imagined in Evangeline Walton's fantasy novel *The Island of the Mighty* (Balantine, 1970).

[177] Winward, 'Aspects', p. 85. 'Rhiannon seeks to select her own marriage partner; Aranrhod, to maintain a life without the control of any man', also compares Branwen, Blodeuedd, Shimpock, Unlikely', p. 2, n. 17.

[178] Valente finds Rhiannon and Arianrhod equivalently powerful, but 'only before she is the wife of Pwyll', 'Merched' p. 260. For a differing scrutiny of Rhiannon's power before and during her marriages, see IV.2. Ei Gweithredoedd/ Her Acts.

[179] Arianrhod Rhiannon have done solar assoc - Grand Summary. No record before 18th/ 19thC.

[180] Blodeuedd narrative: PKM4 83.12-91.17. For definition of Mabinogi Rhiannon text see I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[181] Arianrhod's third mandate blocks Llew from a wife o'r genedyl yssyd ar y dayar honn yr/ awr honn. PKM4 83.13-14; 'from any race in the world today'. Math and Gwydion therefore construct an artificial woman of flowers: PKM4 83.17-27. Flowers cited are interpreted by Ifor Willaims; 'Oak for strength and constancy; broom for fairness; meadowsweet for gentleness.' PKM, p. 282. Valente observes dryly 'The meanings of the flowers suggest the qualities which the men intended to instill in their creation;... the opposite of what we find in Aranrhod. 'Merched', p. 269 n. 388.

[182] However with 'no more sense of her personality or desires than if she were actually a bouquet presented to him'. Valente, 'Merched', p. 270.

[183] See III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women.

[184] For derivative female status, see III.5. Cyfraith, Tir a Gwragedd/ Law, Land & Women. Blodeuedd has no true natal genealogy, but apparently derives her status from her constructors, Math and Gwydion; then her husband, Llew.

[185] Blodeuedd follows Gronw Pebr's direction to ask Llew about his death vulnerability: PKM4 84.1- 86.13. Rhiannon partners with Pwyll plotting against Gwawl: PKM1 14.23-15.17. Pennar finds Pwyll's Annwfn chastity 'a tacit anti-exemplum to the later story of Blodeuwedd: a man's loyalty and chastity as opposed to a woman's fickleness and duplicity.' Pennar, 'Women', p. 121.

- [186] Blodeuedd in bed with Lleu asking him: 86.7–8. Rhiannon’s seductiveness with Gwawl: PKM1 15.24–25, & 16.25–26.
- [187] Badger-in-the-bag: PKM1 17.6–14. Lleu describes his death conditions: PKM4 86.17–87.3.
- [188] Blodeuedd passes information to Gronw Pebr, who begins to implement it, PKM4 87.5 ff. Rhiannon’s bag speech directs Pwyll what to do: PKM1 14.23–15.17.
- [189] Blodeuedd and Gronw Pebr rule Lleu’s land: PKM4 88.11–15. Rhiannon marries Pwyll, PKM1 18.15–21, and rules Dyfed, PKM1 19.16–18.
- [190] Blodeuedd is punished by Gwydion: PKM4 91.6–17. Llwyd explains his vengeance for Rhiannon’s plot: PKM3 64.5–10.
- [191] Blodeuedd becomes Blodeuwedd the owl: PKM4 91.13–17. Adar Rhiannon: PKM2
- [192] Patterson
- [193] Cyfraith Hywel grounds for a wife to divorce: *Os y gwr a uyd clauur, neu anadyl drewedic, neu na allo ymrein, os a achos un o'r [try] pheth hynny yd edeu hi euo, hi a dyly caffel cwbyl o'r eidi.* /If the man is leprous or his breath stinks or he cannot copulate--if she leaves him because of one of these three things--she is entitled to have all that which is hers. Iorwerth 45.4. Cited Valente, ‘Merched’, p. 295.
- [194] Rhiannon’s plan (bag speech): PKM1 14.23–15.17. When Gwawl claims he is in danger of death, Rhiannon does nothing to aid him, it is Hyfaidd halts the badger game: PKM1 15.17.20. Possibly Rhiannon is carried away by triumph. Gwrageddau
- [195] See n. 92 above. See under Queen of Annwfn, above n. 20, Pennar compares and contrasts the provocative silence in marital intimacy, of the Queen and Blodeuedd. Pennar, ‘Women’, p. 122. Valente also compares the silences of the two’, ‘Merched’, p. 277; as noted under the Queen, silence is not Rhiannon’s tool of choice.
- [196] Gwawl’s appeal that to die in the bag is inappropriate, may be as read, or possibly he is not in such serious danger but is signalling his surrender: PKM1 17.15–16.
- [197] Blodeuedd’s beauty in standard Mabinogi hyperbole: PKM4 83.25. For the beauty issue and Rhiannon see the Queen, above n. 27, & V.3. Pwyll a Rhiannon/ Pwyll and Rhiannon.
- [198] Blodeuedd’s Maids: PKM4 90.28–91.5. On Rhiannon’s Maids, see ‘Maids’ section above.
- [199] Valente, ‘never having been born to a woman herself’ ‘Merched’, pp. 287-88; she is also ‘a perversion of the female power of fertility, for she is made out of flowers’ the sign of natural fertility, p. 289.
- [200] Mac Cana inexplicably views Blodeuedd as ‘strong and assertive’ together with Rhiannon and Arianrhod, Mabinogi, p. 57. Winward agrees; Rhiannon, Arianrhod, and Blodeuwedd are ‘This formidable trio of women’, ‘Aspects’, p. 80.
- [201] Kapphahn characterises her as ‘the adulterous wife who may never have had a chance to be anything else.’ ‘Gender’, p. 34. Shimpock sees Blodeuedd seeking control, comparable to Rhiannon seeking her choice of whom to marry (also compares Branwen, Arianrhod). ‘Unlikely’, p. 2, n. 17. It is only fair to say that Blodeuedd shows determination over a year to win life with Gronw Pebr, besides a capacity for practical organisation of the very diverse elements of Lleu’s death setup. PKM4
- [202] Pwyll executes Rhiannon’s directives: PKM1 16.3–17.4. Blodeuedd obeys Gronw Pebr: PKM4 86.2–87.6.
- [203] PKM4 84.26–85.2.
- [204] Rhiannon’s assertiveness, see IV. Rhiannon ei hun/ Rhiannon herself, both chapters.
- [205] Patriarchal systems which rear and train females into limited dollhood, generally recognise their consequent weakness by constraining their freedom, whether domestic or prostituted imprisonment.

[206] Thus systems and individual males that do strip women down to sexual commodities tend to impose strict controls on them, selecting one or more tools from confinement, detachment from other contacts, undermining self respect, violent terrorisation.

Mixed with urbanity, charm, gifts, and of course underlying material dependency, this is an overwhelming paradigm.

[207] PKM4

[208] Valente observes 'she is returned to the natural world from which she came'. 'Merched', p. 281 A modern poem has

Blodeuedd explaining she is far freer and happier as a ranging owl than she ever was as a constrained human female. REF

[209] Cigfa appears in two Branches: the First Branch is a genealogy statement only. PKM1 27.23-26. For definition of Mabinogi Rhiannon text, see two versions given, I.2. Testun Mabinogi Rhiannon/ Mabinogi Rhiannon text.

[210] See Branwen section, following. Arianrhod

[211] See VIII.3. Saga Pryderi/ Pryderi Saga; and V.10. Manawydan: Ail-arfarnu/ Manawydan Re-assessed.

[212] Cf. the long popularity of the Pryderi Saga theory, see I.7. Gwneuthurwyr Mythau/ Mythmakers.

[213] Like some other secondary females they are anonymous, but four of them are distinguished as individual voices. See V.4. Y Gwraedd/ The Maids.

[214] E.g. PKM1 9.8-9. 'Nyt oes arnaf i ouyn cael kymriw, neu archolleu, ym/ plith hynn o niuer. /'I have no fear of receiving wounds or blows in the midst of this host.' The audience on Gorsedd Arberth is referred to as niuer, host, i.e. armed men. But the company have had a peaceful dinner and seek entertainment, so the likelihood is that court women and servants were present too.

[215] Repeated from the start of this chapter, p. X, for ease of reference.

[216] Lady Mouse strongly influences her husband Lhuyd's decisions but not political behaviour, as this paragraph explores. See below

[217] See

[218] It is not inconceivable to imagine a gendered role reversal, where a woman co-ruler, degrades her male consort, or allows him to be degraded. History has many examples where women seize power by way of suppressing a male co-ruler. She then is the decider of his fate if he endures hostility.

[219] It could be said she falls silent when accepting her penance but she explicitly consents to it.

[220] If the Lady of Gwent was once the same she appears now to be later stage married, assimilated, as her comfortable dialogue with Teyrnnon and established barrenness suggest. The incomer wife might press the 'Calumniated Wife' motif, but Rhiannon differs from it in too many other ways for it to be useful.

Appendix 8: *Meirch*/Horses

frequency and style show an audience happy to accept long detailed passages
'chase sequence'

best, competitive

Valley of Horses, Farghama

LIST RHIANNON & HORSES ref Lady comparison start

HELA

First Branch: [58]

Pwyll I [10]: Pwyll decides to hunt PKM 1.4. Glyn Cuch 1.5. Gathering 1.10. Pwyll sees a horseman, *uarchauc*, PKM 2.3. huge dapple grey *uarch erchlas mawr*; PKM 2.4. Horseman approaches, *marchauc*, PKM 2.6. Two horsemen of Annwfn, *Deu uarchauc*, PKM 4.10. Pwyll hunts in Annwfn PKM 5.6. Duel, herald, *marchawc* PKM 5.12. Hafgan's *uarch*, PKM 5.24.

Pwyll II [26]: The woman riding, *uarch canwelw/mawr aruchel* PKM 9. 12–13. Slow horse, *araf ... march*, PKM 9.15. best horse, *march kyntaf*, PKM 9.27. Pursuit, *march*, PKM 10.1 & twice, *march* PKM 10.3. horse flags, *uarch*, PKM 10.5. None faster, *varch*, PKM 10.8. Take the best, *march kyntaf*, PKM 10.17–18. To the mound, *march*, PKM 10.19. The woman riding, *march*, PKM 10.21. The Marchoges, *y uarchoges*, PKM 10.22. Drew level, *y uarchoges*, PKM 10.24. The officer mounted *y march*, PKM 10. He **ambled** his *uarch*, PKM 10.27. His horse, *uarch*, PKM 11.1. Loosed its reins, *uarch*, PKM 11.2. Beating it, *uarch*, PKM 11.4. Can do no more, *march*, PKM 11.8. Saddle my horse, *march*, PKM 11.20. The Marchoges, *y uarchoges*, PKM 11.24. Pwyll mounted *y uarch*, PKM 11.27. She passed *y uarch*, PKM 12.1. His spirited horse, *uarch drythyll*, PKM 12.2. Spurred, *uarch*, PKM 12.4. Rebuke I, better for the horse, *llawen ... march*, PKM 12.9. [Dialogue on horseback.] Plan hundred *marchawc*, PKM 15.1. Hundred *marchauc*, PKM 16.4. [They take over, beat Gwawl]

Pwyll III [22]: Teyrnnon has a mare, PKM *cassec* PKM 22.3. *chassec* PKM 22.4. No horse better, *na march*, PKM 22.4. May Eve mystery, *hebawl* PKM 22.6. Teyrnnon speaks his concern, *cassec* PKM 22.8. Vows to protect, *ebolygon* PKM 22.11. brings her into the hall, *gassec* PKM 22.11. Mare gives birth, *ebawl mawr* PKM 22.14. Teyrnnon admires *ebawl* PKM 22.16. Claw seizes *ebawl* PKM 22.18. Claws drops *ebawl* PKM 22.20. Watering *y meirch*, PKM 23.23. Lady of Gwent asks about *ebawl* PKM 23.25. She recalls the rescued *ebawl* PKM 24.1. Gifted, *march*, PKM 24.4. Care of it, *meirch*, PKM 24.6. trained as rider, *uarchogaeth*, PKM 24.7. Boy riding the horse PKM 25.8. **Mounting block**, *yskynuaen*, PKM 25.11. [Rhiannon offers to act the horse] Teyrnnon tells the story, *gyfranc am y gassec* PKM 25.27. Gifts for Teyrnnon, *meirych goreu*, PKM 27.10.

Second Branch: [12] Billeting of *y meirych* PKM 31.18. Efnisien sees *y meirych* PKM 31.22. Asks ownership, *meirch*, PKM 31.23. Horses of Matholwch, *Meirych* PKM 31.23. His *ueirych* PKM 31.26. Attacks horses, *meirych*, PKM 32.2. Disfigured, *anfuryfar y meirych*, PKM 32.5. Use destroyed, *meirych*, PKM 32.6. Compensation healthy horse, *march iach* 33.17. Horses will be paid, PKM 34.16. Horses paid, *ueirych* PKM 34.16. Matholwch hunts PKM 35.11. Irish resentment, *ueirch* PKM 37.22.

Third Branch: [7] Circuit of Dyfed, hunting, *kylchaw Dyuet, a'y hela* PKM 51.5. Survival by hunting PKM 52.10 & PKM 52.15. Saddlemaking PKM 52.22–25. [Pryderi Manawydan hunt PKM 55.7] Manawydan remembers hunt PKM 58.26. Priest's well kept mount, *uarch yn gyweir* PKM 62.17. Mod. Welsh: *cywair* – proper order, fit state or condition, repair, working order; (GPC) The bishop's retinue and *swmereu*, sumpters. PKM 63.6–8. cf. Norman loanwords, sumpters **see** L.7. Collars of asses, *mynweireu yr/ essynn* PKM 65.19–20.

Fourth Branch: [11]

[6] Gwydion's fake steeds, *emys (amws)* PKM 70.8. Saddles, *meirch* PKM 70.11. To Pryderi, *meirch*, PKM 70.14. I will give you, *deudeg meirch* PKM 70.19. Council accepts, *meirch* PKM 70.25. The fake horses will only last a day, PKM 70.1. [END Mabinogi Rhiannon]

[5] Lleu trained, *marchogaeth pob/ march*, PKM 81.11–12. Lack of horses, *meirch*, PKM 81.14. Gwydion & Lleu, *ueirch* PKM 81.21. Blodeuedd sees the hunt. PKM 84.14–15. Cannot be killed *ar uarch*, PKM 86.23.

Appendix 9: Counsels

Compilation of counsels. Excludes PKM2 except one [1]; and PKM4 after Pryderi dies. Some lines in the table below do not add up to the total because of unclear items.

(Supports III.5. LLW: Counsellors)

Table: Compilation of counsels

Total 49

Gives counsel 15f 20m

Receives counsel 7f 34m Listens, asks, accepts.

Formal/ political 5f 14m Total 14. Group meeting or public statement.

Small group 7ff 5mm 9fm Family, or 3 or more consult.

Private dialogue 3ff 7mm 13fm Two only.

The situational range is very wide, including politics, war, honour, conspiracy, livelihood, murder, marriage, magic, a boy's horse, entertainers. Evidently counsel is pervasively threaded throughout Mabinogi society, (supported by social skills such as converse for which women are notably admired). Counsel is often explicitly invited, and/ or explicitly accepted, indicating it is taken seriously and respected. Women are participant in all counsel modes except formal nobles' councils, but Rhiannon speaks publicly and in small groups on politics.

Language skill, social awareness, and lore (etiquette, converse/ anecdote, wordplay, tales, *Trioedd*, law, history, poetry) are admired in women and men: these all support the art of counsel.

Gender analysis shows an equal number of women and men giving counsel. Four times as many men receive counsel, reflecting their strong span across almost all groupings (i.e. except women only); public or formal, small group, private dialogues, and all-male situations. Women are a third as many as men in formal or political counsels. Small groups are twice as many cross-gender, about half from family councils, half political. Private dialogue is four times as many cross gender, mainly women to men: put another way there are not many single gender private dialogues. Women's private counsel is clearly only one aspect of their strong participation in a vigorously counsel oriented culture.

Rhiannon gives more counsel than any individual (6 instances, Manawydan 3, Pwyll 2; although Pwyll also has two nobles' councils). She gives the longest, most detailed Mabinogi speech [2]. She figures in four formal/political counsels [9, 10, 18, 32]. But she is seriously critiqued by another powerful character that her counsel caused grave insult, and its revenge devastated the whole of Dyfed. [47]

* Includes female # Political/ formal

[1] Arawn counsels Pwyll re Annwfn PKM1 3.6-14. JKB 21.2.

#[2] Pwyll counsels his nobles about Annwfn PKM1 8.11-13. JKB 24.2.

[3] Courtier counsels re Gorsedd Arberth PKM1 9.4-7. JKB 25.1-2.

* [4] Rhiannon 1st rebuke Pwyll PKM1 12.9-10. JKB

[5] Llys Hyfaidd arranged on Pwyll's counsel. PKM1 13.19-20. JKB 28.2.

* [6] Rhiannon 2nd rebuke Pwyll PKM1 14.13-14. JKB 29.1.

* [7] Rhiannon briefs Pwyll long detailed counsel (bag speech). PKM1 14.23-15.17. JKB 29.1-2.

#[8] Pwyll invites Hyfaidd's counsel on Gwawl. PKM1 17.19-20. JKB30.2.

*#[9] Rhiannon presents that counsel to Pwyll. PKM1 17.20-24. JKB31.1.

*#[10] Pwyll accepts the counsel. PKM1 17.25-27. JKB 31.1

* [11] Rhiannon offers Pwyll counsel, paying minstrels. PKM1 18.22-24. JKB 31.2.

* [12] [Pwyll accepts the counsel. PKM1 18.25. JKB 31.2.

#[13] Pwyll and nobles council in Preseli. PKM1 19.18-20.2. JKB 33.2.

* [14] Maid3 asks for counsel. PKM1 20.15-16. JKB 34.1.

* [15] Maid4 responds with counsel. PKM1 20.16-21. JKB 34.1.

* [16] All six Maids accept the counsel. PKM1 20.21-22. JKB 34.1.

#[17] Pwyll council on the accusation. PKM1 21.12-14. JKB 34.2.

*#[18] Rhiannon holds counsel with scholars. PKM1 21.19-21. JKB 35.1.

* [19] [Teyrnon's Wife counsels to adopt child. PKM1 23.8-13. JKB 36.1.

* [20] [Teyrnon agrees her counsel. PKM1 23.13-14. JKB 36.2.

- * [21] Teyrnon's Wife counsels colt Gwri. PKM1 23.24-24.2. JKB 36.2.
 - * [22] Teyrnon agrees her counsel. PKM1 24.2-5. JKB 36.2.
 - * [23] Teyrnon's Wife counsels to return boy. PKM1 25.28-25.5. JKB
 - * [24] Teyrnon agrees her counsel. PKM1 25.6. JKB 37.1.
 - * [25] Pwyll counsels Rhiannon, Pendaran, court re name. PKM1 26.17-19. JKB 38.2.
 - # [26] Pwyll calls for Teyrnon, nobles to agree fosterage plan. PKM1 27.1-4. JKB 39.1.
 - # [27] All accept the counsel. PKM1 27.4-5. JKB 39.1.
 - * [28] Bendigeidfran counsels Survivors re Adar Rhiannon. PKM2 45.2-4. JKB 55.2.
 - [29] Manawydan counsels Survivors not to open door. PKM2 46.24-25. JKB 58.2.
 - [30] Pryderi offers counsel Manawydan, land, marriage. PKM3 49.17-20. JKB 63.1-2.
 - # [31] Manawydan accepts the counsel. PKM3 50.19. JKB 63.1.
 - *# [32] Rhiannon accepts the counsel. PKM3 50.22-23. JKB 64.2.
 - * [33] Rhiannon counsels Pryderi re Caswallawn. PKM3 51.1-3. JKB 65.1.
 - [34] Manawydan counsels family into exile PKM3 52.17-19. JKB 66.1.
 - [35] Saddlers' council, murder PKM3 53.4-5. JKB 66.1.
 - * [36] Dyfed family counsel on saddlers. PKM3 53.6-12. JKB66.2.
 - [37] Shoemakers council, murder PKM3 54.23-24. JKB 68.1.
 - * [38] Dyfed family counsel re shoemakers. PKM3 54.24-55.4. JKB 68.1.
 - [39] Manawydan counsels Pryderi re tower. PKM3 56.1-5. JKB 70.1.
 - * [40] Rhiannon rebukes Manawydan PKM3 56.26-27. JKB 70.2.
 - * [41] Cigfa counsels Manawydan re choosing craft. PKM3 58.5-6. JKB 71.2.
 - * [42] Cigfa counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 61.2-10. JKB 73.2.
 - [43] Scholar counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 62.4-6. JKB 74.1.
 - [44] Priest counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 62.24-25. JKB 74.2.
 - [46] Bishop counsels Manawydan re mouse. PKM3 63.13-17. JKB 74.2.
 - * [47] Llwyd's revenge critiques bad counsel (Rhiannon) causing Desolation PKM3 64.5-10. JKB75.2.
 - # [48] Pryderi holds council on Gwydion's pigs offer. PKM4 70.24-26. JKB 82.2.
 - # [49] Gwynedd leaders hold council in Dyfed war. PKM4 72.8-12. JKB 85.2.
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Appendix 10: Stevie Nicks' 'Rhiannon' 1975

NOTES

Welsh version presented by Bronwen Lewis; a Halloween video theming Rhiannon as a 'Welsh witch'. 'The performance included subtitles in Welsh and English' 20/11/2021

<<https://nation.cymru/culture/watch-singers-beautiful-welsh-language-version-of-fleetwood-mac-classic/>>

Video 31/10/21

<https://twitter.com/BronwenLewis_/status/1454865379193405443?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw>

see Performance

Davis, Stephen. 30/19/2018. *Gold Dust Woman: The Biography of Stevie Nicks*, Illust. (St. Martin's Griffin)

number eleven on the Billboard Hot 100 and in Great Britain, where the song reached number 46 on the Billboard Hot 100 list. Official UK charts list.

NME Feb 2021 <https://www.nme.com/news/music/fleetwood-macs-stevie-nicks-working-on-rhiannon-movie-2658968>

CSM Management <https://www.csmmgmt.com/> Email info@csmmgmt.com (6/10/20)

Sheryl Crow, manager

John Kinney website <http://www.nicksfix.com/>

<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2020/oct/14/stevie-nicks-on-art-ageing-and-attraction-botox-makes-it-look-like-youre-in-a-satanic-cult>

'Lady From The Mountain', Written (1972) possible forerunner.

Stevie Nicks, 'Rhiannon Dramatic Work And Music Choreography', 143 pp. screenplay written, and (copyright 1978).

Cathie Rice, Music Stevie Nicks, 'Rhiannon A Stage Ballet' (copyright 1981)

Sebastian Weber, Rhiannon Film Script (copyright 1983)

<http://ledge.fleetwoodmac.net/showthread.php?t=36262>

Rowan Morgana 'Goddess Rhiannon' (2015) incl. song text <<https://sacredwicca.com/rhiannon>> [Accessed 4/10/20]

Rolling Stone magazine: 'Stevie Nicks on Her Life in Isolation: 'We Have to Believe'', (30/04/20)

<https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-features/stevie-nicks-on-her-life-in-isolation-992443/>

So last year I made a pitch to everybody that when this Fleetwood Mac tour is over. I'm taking next year off because I want to work on my "Rhiannon" book/movie [based on the original Welsh myth that inspired her song].

And then I have some Rhiannon poetry that I have written over the last 30 years that I've kept very quiet. I'm thinking, "Well here I have all this time and I have a recording setup." And I'm thinking I'm going to start doing some recording. I'm going to start putting some of these really beautiful poems to music, and I have the ability to record them. So that's on my to-do list.

2 Videos

Josh Jones, 'How Stevie Nicks Wrote "Rhiannon" & Embodied the Medieval Witch Character Onstage'; Open Culture: (26/08/20)

<<http://www.openculture.com/2020/08/how-stevie-nicks-wrote-rhiannon.html>>

Contains 'Rhiannon Fleetwood Mac Live': <<https://youtu.be/wgmRb3MlpHQ>>

'**The Myth Behind Rhiannon**', Youtube: <<https://youtu.be/J3b2JSwD0xM>> 6/10/20

Stevie Nicks, 'Rhiannon' (1983). Art print tribute to her best friend Robin, who died of leukaemia around the completion of the work.

<<http://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/rhiannon-art-print-stevie-nicks-1724460393>> [Accessed 23/01/2022]

Sale date Mar 28,2015 Ebay.

1983, September 25th, Stevie's dad holds a benefit concert starring Stevie, Kenny Loggins, and Joe Walsh called "Stevie Nicks and Friends." The limited edition Rhiannon Art Print was sold at this concert.

1983, November, the amusement park and Compton Terrace is closed permanently.

1984, around January, Auction, buyer purchased an office building and found stack of prints. But did not know they had value until 2007. Most were used for housework and DIY!

Stevie Nicks cooking up an exciting new project around 'Rhiannon'

07/05/2020

The Sound: <https://www.thesound.co.nz/home/music/2020/05/stevie-nicks-cooking-up-an-exciting-new-project-around--rhiannon.html>

Contains 'Rhiannon Fleetwood Mac Live': <<https://youtu.be/wgmRb3MlpHQ>>

Fleetwood Mac's Stevie Nicks has apparently been working on a huge new multimedia project around her iconic song, 'Rhiannon'.

As Nicks told **Rolling Stone**, she had already scheduled 2020 to be her first year in more than a decade without a tour, either as a solo artist or with Fleetwood Mac. Her intention, as she informed the band, was to start on a "book/movie" inspired by the myth of the Welsh witch mentioned in the 1975 song.

"I have some Rhiannon poetry that I have written over the last 30 years that I've kept very quiet," Nicks explained. "I'm thinking, 'Well, here I have all this time and I have a recording setup.' And I'm thinking I'm going to start doing some recording. I'm going to start putting some of these really beautiful poems to music, and I have the ability to record them. So that's on my to-do list."

Nicks noted that "what all we have right now, if you're home in quarantine, is time, unless you're taking care of kids. So, really, you could do anything you wanted that you've been wanting to do your whole life. So that's how I'm trying to look at it."

We can't wait to hear more about it!

Also <http://abcnewsradioonline.com/music-news/2020/5/5/stevie-nicks-hoping-to-work-on-rhiannon-themed-movie-and-boo-1.html>

May 2020 Refers to book and film project, to be developed during 2020 lockdown.

Sept. 2020 Adapts project to a TV miniseries, signs a studio; plan to star her protégé Harry Styles. Probably streamed TV.

Disambiguation, see below.

Excellent summary: Rhiannon TV miniseries

nick thewildheart, 'everything we know about the rhiannon tv miniseries - a thread', (c. 30/09/2020). Date not shown on TWText version but is shown on Twitter thread.

<<https://twitter.com/inthzne/status/1311422756446236672>>

TWText: <<https://twtext.com/article/1311422756446236672>> [Accessed 7/04/21]

Lack of capitalisation is original.

Lewis, Bronwen. Oct. 2021. 'Rhiannon', online video

Welsh version of Stevie Nicks' 1975 song; online video, subtitles. See Appendix: Stevie Nicks.

Nation Cymru: <<https://nation.cymru/culture/watch-singers-beautiful-welsh-language-version-of-fleetwood-mac-classic/>>

Twitter video 31/10/21:

<https://twitter.com/BronwenLewis_/status/1454865379193405443?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw> Both

accessed 20/11/21

II.9. 21stC

Appendix 11: Laura Riding

It is unlikely to be accidental that Robert Graves' White Goddess, his version of his mentor Laura Riding's philosophy, is well-known, while hers is not.- The derivative character of much of Graves' work after encountering Riding is well documented by Michael Kirkham.-

She speaks of man's 'fine phallus-proud works-of-art'.- She goes further, and what can be swallowed through the filter of Graves' myth-wrapped, manly speech, chokes when coming naked from a woman. She defines woman as superior.

People [men] who for some reason find it impossible to think about themselves, and so really be themselves, try to make up for not thinking with doing-

Man envies her and tells himself lies about his own completeness.-

Riding speaks of the 'mother-god'.- who is 'sufficient to herself'; cf. Riding's contemporary Mary Esther Harding, on the virginal 'one-in-herself' in Woman's Mysteries.- Riding explores 'Eve's Side of It' pondering the creatrix Lilith.-

Her goddesses are presented wittily, ironically, and fantastically, and clearly figure the female category of general Truth, Reality as One. They prefigure, of course, Graves's own White Goddess, whose thought-status, however, is not so clear; in Her he converts a playful fiction which is yet of serious ontological intent into a solemn legend-

In 'Idea of God' Riding theorises the sexual relationship. Subjective feeling is emotional reaction.

Man (the male) then attempts to possess, control, what he feels. Objective feeling is to be 'affected without trying to understand' what is bigger than the subjective self.- Such acceptance of the bigger reality without tussling it into a manageable parcel, is familiar in meditation: accept, let go, watch it passing.

Riding saw man perceiving woman as 'the overflowing unknown quantity'; cf. Beauvoir's woman as 'other'.- He feels threatened by this 'unknown quantity', so seeks to control it, redefine it. He distances her as a deity, or else reduces her to sexual experience. Her refusal to be possessed is, to him, cruelty: cf. Graves ambivalence toward his sweet but savage Muse-goddess.

'When, she sighs, will man grow up, when will he become woman, when will she have companions instead of children?'

Shân Morgain (Casnewydd, 12/09/2023)

Appendix 12: 'Western Goddess Spirituality'. 2001. Shan Jayran (Shan Morgain from 2007)

Shan Jayran. 2001. 'Western Goddess Spirituality: Thealogy in Social Context'. (House of the Goddess, online). Presented at 'Religion & Gender: Walking Between the Worlds', coordinated by Shan Jayran. A pioneering international colloquium: fully online, live chatroom debate and asynchronous support forum (6 weeks 15/02/2001 - 29/03/2001). Six lead scholars, 25 participants : Prof. Ursula King (Bristol University); Dr. Carol Christ (Crete, independent teaching centre); Dr. Daphne Hampson (St. Andrews University); Dr. Ruth Mantin (Chichester College); Dr. Susan Starr Sered (Israel, Haifa University), myself as coordinator (Independent Postgraduate Programme, London University). Dedicated specialist website <www.ovular.co.uk> (closed).

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PAGES: page 1 "Contents", and "Introduction"
page 2 "The Matriarchal Goddess"
page 3 "The Pagan Goddess"
page 4 "Goddess Feminism"
page 5 'Summary, Bibliography'.

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page 1

WESTERN GODDESS SPIRITUALITY:

THEALOGY IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Priestess Shan Jayran (as presented May 1999, LSE)

I dedicate this paper to Bob Griffiths, one of the finest priests of the Goddess, my friend and associate for 12 years, who died Saturday 23 April 1999.

CONTENTS

1 PREFACE (this page)

INTRODUCTION

- GROWTH OF WESTERN GODDESS
SPIRITUALITY

- A WESTERN, SYNCRETIC, VARIANT

- BACKGROUNDS OF GODDESS PEOPLE

- ORIGIN NARRATIVES

2 THE MATRIARCHAL GODDESS

- THE MATRIARCHAL ROLE REVERSAL

- ANCIENT GODDESS

3 THE PAGAN GODDESS

- WICCA AND TANTRA

- WICCA AND FEMINISM

- THE EARTH MOTHER

4 GODDESS FEMINISM
- CHANGING SYMBOL, CHANGING REALITY
- GODDESS AND OTHER LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS
- IS WOMANSPRIT A DEITY?

- WOMEN'S RELIGIONS
- RAPHAEL'S ETHICS CHALLENGE
- THE ONE OR THE MANY
5 SUMMARY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREFACE

In describing Western Goddess Spirituality I am situated as a participant observer, a practitioner for almost 20 years, and for 15 years a leading priestess and teacher nationally (UK). I grew accustomed to being interviewed by researchers. Over 3 years of my own PhD research I have worked with advantaged access and acquaintance to my own community, but therefore disadvantaged by partiality.

On re-entering academic scholarship I was quite surprised to find that my position as a religious practitioner within my field of study occasioned comment. At one seminar I was asked gently at the start if the content was not "too intellectual" for me. I protested my qualifications and I was then referred to my position as a priestess! as if this disadvantaged me. Apparently when the social specimen climbs down off the dissection table to have a look too, a definite unease ensues. I have since observed that there is no shortage of Christian, Jewish and Muslim scholars studying their own traditions, without a comparable reaction.

The phenomenal growth of Goddess spirituality and Paganism has stimulated considerable recent academic interest - it has been said of (Pagan) Goddess people that we are the new lost tribe conveniently down the road with no expensive travel necessary. Research has addressed both Paganism, and Feminist Spirituality. I shall be suggesting that Goddess Spirituality has variants of both these kinds, plus a third type. However there are no UK social studies yet that I know of specifically on Goddess Spirituality, and only one American one of substance: Cynthia Eller "Living in the Lap of the Goddess" 1994.

I have to disappoint you in that I am not a professional social scientist, but a theologian. Yet I hope to meet your interests to some degree, as in studying my own community's beliefs I have necessarily to observe social habits. You may then exploit me best by listening to me in stereo, simultaneously as a fellow commentator, and as a practitioner.

INTRODUCTION

GROWTH OF WESTERN GODDESS SPIRITUALITY

The growth of Goddess spirituality is most strikingly evidenced in the expansion of books being read by the public. Few bookshops now omit the topic and major outlets will have several shelves on it. One bookseller told me recently he can't get enough in to meet the demand. By contrast in the early '80s when I first became involved there were a mere handful of titles, mostly accessible by special order.

The Goddess Conference held in early August in Somerset is now in its 5th year. Kathy Jones, one of its two leading organisers tells me that starting in 1995 it had 150 participants. Last year it had 5-600 depending how this is assessed. The event has expanded from 4 to 10 days of activities and is overflowing Glastonbury's venues to hold it.

A prominent international priestess from the USA like Starhawk draws packed audiences, including Coventry cathedral, and the famous St James' 'Alternatives' program in London - not without objections from affronted Church leaders. American Goddess celebrations commonly serve hundreds at a time, though here in the UK events are kept smaller. However it is here that the first academic Colloquium in Goddess Studies was held in March 1997.

Perhaps the most telling symptom of growth and establishment is how unremarkable it is for me to mention that I am a priestess of the Goddess these days: the general public I meet on trains and at parents' gatherings is now broadly aware of what that means.

A WESTERN, SYNCRETIC, VARIANT

I call my subject Western Goddess Spirituality to contextualize it among the huge variety of world Goddess Spiritualities. Almost every culture has its goddesses, and the Western variant should not be viewed as an innovation, although it is certainly a new interpretation. It is a powerfully syncretic faith, drawing material for myth, ritual and philosophy from a wide range of world cultures. From books by Merlin Stone 1979 and Patricia Monaghan 1981, to the recent beautifully illustrated "Barefoot Book of Goddesses" (Kris Waldherr 1995) we are shown Polynesian Pele, Nepalese Kali and Japanese Kuan Yin alongside European Athena and Brigit. This syncretism is highly valued among Goddess people, with virtually no interest to protect a 'pure' lineage of mythos (though see McCrickard on fundamentalist theology below).

BACKGROUNDS OF GODDESS PEOPLE

The social profile of Goddess people is perceived among ourselves as being extremely varied. I observe a great deal of social mixing at my own events, with City power dressers sitting alongside colourful radicals living on benefits, and a wide range of political attitudes are expressed. Surveys (of Pagans) such as Adler and Melton broadly agree on a predominantly educated, white, middle class, professional grouping. My own observation suggests that this should be interpreted right across the conventional classes A-C2.

The prior religious background of Goddess people is of interest as the explosive growth in affiliation over a 20 year period means only a few of those under 25 have been brought up in the faith. Adler and Melton's surveys again agree on a proportional match between religious backgrounds across society as a whole - with one notable exception. The number of Jewish backgrounds is double that expected. Starhawk herself, the most famous priestess of the Goddess living today, is herself of Jewish background.

This statistic is all the more surprising as Judaic principles on gender and purity are diametrically opposed to Goddess principles. Most obviously the Niddah laws define menstrual or birthing women as impure, where Goddess praxis exalts such female body states as especially sacred. At the Colloquium mentioned already Melissa Raphael presented a thoughtful paper on this topic, analysing links with a post Shoah (Holocaust) loss of faith, and identifying Jewish women as doubly disadvantaged.

I have carefully refrained from calling Goddess people 'converts' because 'conversion' suggests a sudden, or at least a short duration, experience. When I have been asked "How did you become a priestess, /witch?" I have always found it hard to answer because I feel sure my questioner is not seeking a half hour autobiographical summary! Becoming part of the Goddess is a characteristically slow and piecemeal process which fits Susan Starr Sered's findings in her cross cultural study of "women's religions" (of which more later)

My own tentative terminology for the process of coming to the Goddess is a 'gestation', which

carries a suitably female metaphor of longer term (re)production, and it also links with classic spiritual birth imagery.

ORIGIN NARRATIVES

Impressions of Goddess Spirituality origins fall into three sources.

The recent explosion of interest appears to parallel, and to be stimulated by, late 20thC feminism. Carol Christ dates Goddess Feminism as a spontaneous grass roots emergence in 1974 when the influential international journal *Womanspirit* was founded USA. The UK publication of "Goddess Shrew" by the London Women's Liberation Workshop came 1975 to spark the UK network. But the 3rd issue of *Womanspirit* in Spring 1975 refers to Zsuzanna Budapest's Susan B Anthony Coven No 1 as already functioning for 5 years, based on a network of 200 members, and beginning to compile a book of their knowledge. Gould Davis' "The First Sex" was a landmark text published 1971.

I would therefore date Goddess Feminism's emergence from 1970, especially for ease of reference!

Yet Western interest or belief in Goddess culture goes back another century at least, to early anthropological speculation on matriarchy. Many scholars trace this back to the Swiss J J Bachofen, a jurist who studied the origins of social order and held that early civilisation was generated by matriarchal societies. According to Bachofen "There is only one mighty lever of all civilisation, and that is religion." so these matriarchal societies necessarily centred on Goddess worship. His "Das Mutterrecht" 1861/ 1870, was at first ignored but then adopted by such influential male scholars as Henry Morgan and Friedrich Engels. The concept of early matriarchy and primordial goddess religion became very prevalent by the turn of the century and continued as orthodox scholarship until the 1960s. However, Bachofen's matriarchy is a problematic source in feminist terms as it defines the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy as progress from a previous, primitive social state, albeit my impression is that Bachofen himself held his vision of matriarchy in high regard.

A third narrative is the emic perspective held by many Goddess people themselves which explores this concept of ancient Goddess culture, but inverts its valuation to produce a picture of peaceful, women-centred cities replete with arts, technology and social complexity. A major example of this sacred history is Marija Gimbutas' work. She is a famous international archaeologist who recently died. Her beautifully illustrated books, and those by many others e.g. Merlin Stone, Gould Davis, describe mythology and excavations from the Palaeolithic through the classical civilisations, to demonstrate hidden evidence of female sacrality and authority. Various theories then try to account for the rise of patriarchal society as the norm over the last few thousand years.

The recent emergence of Goddess Feminism does bring its own issues to the Goddess meeting ground. But since the scholarly matriarchal material and the emic sacred history are closely interlinked I will examine their characteristics and implications under one heading, as the Matriarchal Goddess. I also see a third variant which is usually presented as submerged in either of these but has its own distinct culture: this is the Pagan Goddess.

In describing these 3 separate categories I do not claim that individual Goddess people would define themselves neatly as Matriarchal, Pagan or Feminist (though some would). I am describing a classification system of separate philosophies or theologies which clarifies differences among a

tangled group of otherwise confused identities which leads its observers to make contradictory statements about it. Individual practitioners can and do embody combinations of these types e.g as Feminist Pagans.

This is especially flexible due to the high number of solitary practitioners unregulated by group pressures to fit into categories. Some groups are highly anarchistic, some create hierarchies and look to leaders who can command considerable influence by personality or even perceived status. However it is well to remember that this leadership is entirely by consent, unsupported by external authority structures from the wider society.

page 2

THE MATRIARCHAL GODDESS

The classical Pagan world was full of Goddess religions which survived vigorously in adjusted forms as Christianity took a hold on European spirituality. For example shortly after Constantine declared Christianity the official faith of the Roman Empire in the late 4thC CE, his great granddaughter the Empress Pulcheria had Jesus' obscure mother exalted as the 'Theotokos', or GodBearer, in 430CE, at the Council of Ephesus. Mary Theotokos was honoured above the most central high altar, while her attributes had formerly belonged to Greek or Graeco-Egyptian cults of Great Goddesses.

The fine scholastic distinction of venerating Mary alongside the popular tendency to worship her, continues to worry theologians right up to now. In similar ambiguity we find the Celtic Goddess Brighde continuing at the great monastery of Kildare in Ireland, as St Brigit, with identical customs and attributes up to the time of Cromwell. Mystics such as Mother Juliana of Norwich, (1342 - 1413), Margery Kempe (1373 -1438), Mother Ann Lee (1736 -1784), and Mary Baker Eddy (1821 -1910) asserted visions of 'God the Mother'.

However, the concept of female deity was undeniably ousted from the dominant European religious paradigm. Ronald Hutton describes how between 1300 and 1900, as so often with marginalised images, Goddesses appeared in poetry and literature, via the Romantics. The colonial expansion of European cultures re-presented female deity to the dominant classes as missionaries recorded the religious traditions of conquered peoples.

As noted above, by 1870 Bachofen had published his monumental "Das Mutterrecht" which theorized an ancient matriarchal stage in human history where religion focused on Goddess images. Though he waxes lyrical on his matriarchy, he dutifully defines it as inferior to the patriarchy that succeeded it. This perception fits Darwinist competitive progress just come into vogue at the time, when competitive industrialism was emerging in full vigour. Bachofen's rule of the mothers, is 'primitive', 'focused on the material life of the senses, the creation of, and life of, the body'. Patriarchy brings a properly superior transcendence, immateriality, a 'true spirituality.'

PAGE REFS

Bachofen's theory has repeatedly been discredited. The idea of universal evolutionary stages of development in human society, current in his time, has given way to a far more complex view of different lines of development in different places, not necessarily in a linear progress. The concept of some human 'races' reaching superior levels of social maturity has also been challenged. The label 'matriarchy' has been used in different ways, but has been inexorably reduced to outright

female dominance mirroring patriarchy, and as such can be shown not to exist. Other partial concepts of matrilinear, matriloal, matrifocal etc replaced it, to be argued over piecemeal.

THE MATRIARCHAL ROLE REVERSAL

It is perhaps an indicator of just how unthinkable the concept of Goddess had become that it could not be those female mystics cited above whose vision carried weight to reintroduce it to Western culture, but male scholars. Feminist theologians and historians have employed the metaphor of female 'voice' extensively, to show how silenced women have been. From Bachofen, the matriarchal view has been espoused by Henry Morgan, Friedrich Engels, Charles Frazer, Briffault, Neumann, Robert Graves ... all eminent men. Feminist critiques comment that their usage (unsurprisingly) reflects 'masculinist' exploitation, as in the definition of the female as lesser; either animalistic, or restricted to a pedestal.

This was partly of course because of the rarity of female scholars. One reason for the historical tendency for women to gain religious authority via mysticism is as an alternative to the inaccessibility of scholarship. One of the major battles of 19thC feminism was to gain access for women to education. As recently as 1981 the famous Goddess writer Monica Sjoo fiercely denounces the closed elite of male academia which she bravely challenged as an outsider, and a young, single mother on benefits, too.

But there have been some women scholars of Goddess religion. Before Bachofen published, Matilda Joslyn Gage is on record as speaking publicly of Goddesses, in 1852 in the USA, and by April 1888 she can be seen opening a session of the International Council of Women with a prayer to female Deity. Mary Daly and Dale Spender have been both elated and horrified to discover how Gage has been 'erased' from the scholarly record.

Another female scholar, Jane Harrison, produced copious research on early Greek Goddesses and how they were conquered by invading God cults; her 'erasure' has been lamented by Ursula King, ex-Chair of the British Society for the Study of Religions.

The substantial recent works of the archaeologist Marija Gimbutas have been internationally honoured, yet when she began to speak of Goddesses her reception was of a very different kind. These are only selected examples of many. Spender's work exhorts us to uncover and remember, lest we be condemned to reinvent the wheel in each generation.

One indication of how alienated Western society has become from female Deity is reflected in some responses I received to establishing a temple for Goddess veneration in 1985. I named it 'House of the Goddess' and listed it proudly and publicly in the telephone directory. For over a decade I received a stream of phone calls from hopeful males convinced I was ready to negotiate sessions to humiliate them, tricking myself out in black leather, etc. Over the last few years of internet research I was saddened to find that the search engines returned more of this dominatrix material than anything else, although there is a large and vocal Goddess presence on the Net too. Perhaps most revealingly of all, the most frequent response I get to describing myself as a priestess of the Goddess, is "Which goddess?" - to which I query, "Would you ask 'which god?' if I told you I were a priest of God?" The female is persistently viewed as partial, incomplete, as Simone de Beauvoir put it 'the Other', in relation to a central male.

With characteristic asperity Mary Daly explains: "If God is male, then the male is God" Matriarchal female searchers characteristically seek a corrective to this colossally pervasive damage to female identities. Elisabeth Gould Davis under the challenging title 'The First Sex' which consciously answered Beauvoir, offered a blazing vision of female validation. She says "...the blessed one, the ruler of the universe, is a woman - the Great Goddess of man's first million or more years." She prophesies that woman will again predominate. "She who was revered and worshiped by early

man ... will once again be the pivot . . . about whom the next civilisation will, as of old, revolve." Merlin Stone's painstaking research was originally published under the confrontative title 'When God Was a Woman'.

I see this Matriarchal perspective as the inheritor of its own European social context, specifically the authoritarian paradigm of European theology and philosophy. From Aristotle onwards our ancestors yearned for the Absolute, for one unchanging reality in the shifting experiences of life, for a transcendence that escaped the transformations of the physical world, routinely seen as the trap of the feminine.

A powerful first step away from this is to reconnect with female centrality, female authority and female sacrality. The obvious method is to replace the male God with a female version, and to go on from there. In a similar way Feminist consciousness-raising in the '70s proceeded by getting women to imagine a reversal of roles with men: we asked each other how we would see, feel and act if we held male pre-eminence in a given situation. This Matriarchal role reversal as a theology has been criticised on a number of counts.

Daphne Hampson warns that "... referring to God as Mother rather than as Father does give one a different sense of God. But it continues to be in effect the Christian God" Similarly Mary Daly and Margot Adler both warn that any monotheism is dualistic, leaving its characteristic subordination and hierarchy in place. Janet McCrickard has sharply criticised Matriarchal Goddess spirituality for its parallels with Christian fundamentalism, and so have I in different terms.

Daphne Hampson recognises that "Female metaphors carry other resonances and convey a different sense of God or of the divine." However she sees just that "feminine understanding of God" as problematic in that "Talk of God as 'mother' or as 'nurturative' may well imply ... these traits and characteristics ... belong to some essential nature of women."

To the Matriarchalist such innate female traits are precisely why we can fruitfully reconnect to female Deity. Elisabeth Gould Davis contrasts the Father-child relation, as conditional and demanding obedience, with the Mother-child relation "... a mother whose love is unconditional and whose goodwill can be taken for granted" XXX objects that those who have had damaging relations with their mothers may not find this metaphor accessible. But conversely I have also found in therapy practice that some people deprived of maternal nurturance can find it in Goddess imagery, so I prefer people to be offered a range of choice.

ANCIENT GODDESS

Another major criticism of Matriarchal Goddess narratives is of its account of ancient history as replete with Goddess culture. Matriarchal history is said to be inaccurate and uncritical, to rely on unsupported assertions, and to over-interpret the evidence. Asphodel Long, as both priestess and scholar, repeatedly calls for more and better research to investigate the past. Marija Gimbutas, though, brought all her renown as an international archaeologist to the issue, but was then bitterly condemned when she began to insist on Goddess themes. Some research has produced provocative results such as Carol Ochsorn's demonstration that polytheism, including Goddesses, in lands around ancient Israel, produced less rigid gender roles, and powerful positions as priestesses for women, compared to Hebrew monotheism. (cf Adler's point above) Rosalind Hackett though asks if a patriarchally defined priestess role is one we want to use for inspiration. Matriarchal narratives are said to concentrate on prehistory because the scantier evidence allows for more flexibility of interpretation. Carol Christ responds that the concept of prehistory itself denigrates earlier periods; moreover there is an exaggerated trust in the textual evidence of 'history' which can be shown to be unreliably partisan.

Palaeolithic female figurines, seen as sacred Goddess images, have been contested as toys, pornography, political boundary markers and other possibilities. But these concepts themselves may be seen as the product of our own time and place. For example, our distinctively separate toy culture is a new phenomenon from historical times unlikely to have occurred before modern mass production provided such a surplus of luxury goods. Then, even if an item is a toy, it may function very much as a sacred item as any observant parent knows. Conversely, it is only one type of religiosity that will not allow a child to play with a religious icon - my young son happily plays with ours. The final summation is increasingly following Margaret Ehrenberg's agnostic stance 10 years ago "The reader must in the end make up her or his own mind, and only be aware of the problems involved in the interpretation of any archaeological material"

Daphne Hampson is sceptical of how far such remote fragments of female experience, set in very different social contexts, can provide helpful models and inspiration for us now. Perhaps the myriad of successful books supplying these images to us is one answer for her, granting that their interpretations may often be romantic or sanitised versions. Carol Christ speaks movingly of hers and others' sense of validation and hope from finding the narratives of ancient Goddesses, even if the images at first seemed alien and ugly, because they were less converted to the modern eye (she speaks of both women and men's accounts).

For many the historicity of Matriarchal narratives is beside the point, as Hampson herself accepts. Starhawk now speaks of this tradition as a sacred history. In reply to one of Asphodel's heartfelt calls for better scholarship Wendy Aridela answered that such disputes are of interest only to the scholars, not to those engaged in creating Goddess spirituality now.

Sirena also disagrees with Asphodel's interest, because for her ancient Goddess images connote the failure of such systems to survive. Anthropologist Joan Bamberger has famously stated this point, seeing how myths of a former matriarchy that failed validate current male dominance. But Margot Adler observes how deeply powerful the very idea of matriarchy is for women. So urgently felt is this valorisation for women that Lucy Goodison found London Matriarchalists actively resistant to a critical historical view. The Canadian lesbian feminist poet Monique Wittig has been frequently quoted among Goddess people (and also etically) where she exhorts us to "Remember ... when you were truly free ... or failing that, invent it." Many take great pride in doing just that. Now Pam Lunn notes that this ubiquitous Goddess quote is always given without any other selection from the book. This obscures Wittig's narrative of a holy war against patriarchy employing considerable violence, very much at odds with the customary characterisation of matriarchal culture as typically peaceful, as especially emphasized in Gimbutas and Riane Eisler. These pacifist interpretations have been strongly contested notably by Ronald Hutton.

Matriarchal theories suggest that women use power differently to men but where I myself have personal experience of this famous organic, consensus teamwork I find it explicable as either conditioned, subordinated behaviour, or an inspired sense of community that emerges in a new, marginal grouping. This different use of power theory is frequently found with a strongly disapproving perception of male use of power, to the point where masculinity, or 'masculinist' or 'androcentric' become marked as a new kind of sin.

It has already been noted how previous European Pagan traditions adapted to substantial survival under Christian hegemony. Pioneers of modern Paganism do speak of ancient Goddess cultures but they do not typically call on Bachofen and the earliest Matriarchalists, but instead on Charles Leland, J. G. Frazer and Margaret Murray. 19thC folklorists and occultists contributed their own kind of material, so that we find descendants in a children's woodlore society, the Woodcraft Folk, alongside magicians like Aleister Crowley and Dion Fortune.

While the Goddess is dominant, powerful and pervasive in Paganism, and we do loosely refer to Paganism as "a religion of the Goddess" this does not mean that all Pagans are primarily Goddess devotees. Traditions such as Odinism, and to a lesser extent Druidry, can be either very God/male-centred; or 'hearth-centred' in a way that can reinforce traditional feminine conventions. Yet we can be said to be a Goddess religion in that all Pagans are easily familiar with Goddess veneration; most practise it, and those that do not would not be expected to raise any objections to either public or private expressions of predominant Goddess attitudes.

WICCA AND TANTRA

A major turning point in the growth of modern Paganism was the founding (or revitalisation) of Wicca by Gerald Gardner in the early 1950s. Wicca was from then on the most well organised, well published and therefore the most influential type of Paganism until the late '70s, so that it has been until recently almost a synonym for Paganism itself. (In the USA the two terms are to this day broadly interchangeable)

Gerald Gardner retired from a colonial career in Malaya, to Dorset, where he met two influential women. Mrs Mabel Besant-Scott was the daughter of Annie Besant. Now Besant had been both an activist for Indian independence, and a prominent feminist. As the Chair of the Theosophical Society she had promoted an Indian child in the West as the coming world avatar (Krishnamurti). Gerald's other major mentor was Dorothy Clutterbuck, born in NE India in 1880, so she grew up during the period when the Calcutta high court judge John Woodroffe published his respected books on Tantra in English. Gerald describes 'Old Dorothy' as the High Priestess of the witches' coven he joined in the 1940s, who finally gave him permission to write about Wicca at the end of her life.

In both Gerald's books in the 1950s, and his influential priestess, Doreen Valiente's in the 1970s, there are frequent references to Hindu concepts and practices e.g. chakras, kundalini, tattwas, karma. Texts like Woodroffe's had been available to the Westerner for 50 years by then, with a slowly growing respect for oriental religions since the World Parliament of Religions 1890. But in a self consciously native tradition, supposedly surviving in Britain, such frequent Hindu terms strike a strange note. Hindu references become a great deal less apparent in later Pagan writers, presumably as the new tradition found or constructed more Western material to strengthen an indigenous self respect, eg using 'the Web' instead of 'karma'.

Both NE Indian Tantrics and Wiccans meet at night, in a ritual circle. Both invoke divine possession, dance and perform spells. Both occupy a marginal, ambivalent status in their respective societies. However I find the correspondences between western Wicca and eastern Tantra even more specific than this. For example, Tantra speaks of the 'great worship' and Wicca refers to the 'Great Rite' both mean ritual sex, but further, in both it is most often symbolic. Tantrics work 'clothed with the sky' while Wiccans work 'sky clad' meaning ceremonially naked. Both include practices aimed to literally embody the Goddess or God, 'deity yoga' and 'drawing down the moon' respectively. And of course there is the Goddess, paramount in both, as she is in few other religions of the world.

It is not only that the Goddess is there. She is also identically perceived in Tantra and Wicca as having a complementary partner, the God; and this is the crux of the Pagan Goddess. Where the Matriarchal Goddess may have a boy child, or a subordinate God figure at her side, the Pagan Goddess is accompanied, supported, in conflict with, and intimately entangled with him. As in Tantra, she is the active partner as she brings him through the festival cycle of the year. The two parallel each other in a complementarity so profound as to come close to a mirroring. There can be a Horned Goddess as well as a Horned God; both can be Hunter Deities; both can be warlike; both are healers; etc.

Their sexuality is basic to their sacrality. I once explained this to a liberated Christian friend who at first was keen to claim that her faith paralleled mine on this, but she then decided that perhaps she was not actually embodying Jesus as she made love with her partner!

WICCA AND FEMINISM

The dynamic polarity of the Pagan Goddess and God has articulated awkwardly with feminism. From the early '50s and before, Wiccan priestesses and their priests practised a microcosmic social model of female authority. Covens were accepted as directed by the High Priestess, with her male partner, the High Priest, as subject to her. Gerald Gardner's ambivalent sexism in demanding a young and comely Priestess to retire as she got older, was challenged and banished by the gently formidable Doreen Valiente. Wiccans therefore felt that they had already achieved respect for women and saw '70s and '80s feminists as unnecessarily strident in their aims!

The emerging Feminist Pagans of the '80s felt that respect given the High Priestess was too often superficial: she might be ceremonially honoured but she got left with the washing up afterwards, and outside her coven she was subject to unchanged mainstream gender limitations. As Feminism gained more and more adherents, a gender crisis affected Wicca. The kind of independent minded women who had been potential Wiccans were increasingly going into the women's movement, and Wicca, dedicated to rituals worked by equal numbers of men and women, suffered an embarrassing shortage of women.

But by the '90s Wicca had absorbed some more everyday feminist principles and attracted more women members again. By this time too, Feminist Paganisms, such as Starhawk's teachings, my own, and others, had gained a lot of ground

THE EARTH MOTHER

The predominant image of the Pagan Goddess is Mother Earth. We are said to be her children, and so are all other living, and inanimate beings, enjoying a mutual respect between us quite different to the stewardship tradition of Judaism and Christianity. If we consider ourselves a 'religion of the Goddess' we have also been called 'the Green Party at prayer' so the intersection of these two predominant loyalties in Earth Mother theology is especially widespread and emotive. As Starhawk puts it, this Mother Earth, this Web, is an "... awareness of the world and everything in it as alive, dynamic, interdependent, interacting and infused with moving energies: a living being, a weaving dance."

The Earth Mother metaphor clearly transfers some of our deeply socialised love and duty to our mothers, to the benefit of our planet. The Earth Mother also validates female sacrality and authority because we women are in her great image, as birthgivers, sustainers, and destroyers. But the Earth Mother can sound suspiciously victimised in a lot of Green discourse, and it is too often enthusiastic eco-men talking about 'saving' her. Next, if our greatest Deity is a Mother, where does that leave women who do not wish to, or can't, bear and give birth?

Much of these two anxieties is met by the very scope for female authority our Goddess and priestess emphasised subculture gives us. We Pagan women embody a strong and diverse range of female models that evidently counterbalance both the victimised image, and the purely biological definition of female power. Metaphors of independent Maiden and unpredictable Crone are well established among us in a Triple Goddess icon, together with the Mother. Unlike the Christian Trinity, where the Father is dominant, the three aspects of Goddess are coequal.

Dorothy Hampson is anxious that by emphasizing the intimate relation between women and the fertility of the earth and other animals, we may reinforce male perceptions of us as material, and so inferior (as in Aristotle, Bachofen et al above). But Pagan theology does not only speak to women, it teaches just as many men. We learn together that Deity is immanent, pantheist, that the God/dess is everything and we are all human/ animal/ plant/stone alike cells in her divine body, or the Web. Pagan men are frequently impressive in their understanding of female -male mutual respect - in my experience far more mature on this than any other males I meet.

Pagan men and women are exploring the revelation of male divinity from a bullying warlord to a creative, fierce, sensual and nurturing consort and father. In handfasting (ie our marriages) we say to each other "You are the Goddess- on- Earth to me" and "You are the God-on-Earth to me". Such poignant encounter moves into a radically different paradigm from the Patriarchal competition for ultimate authority.

Modern Paganism holds that "All Goddesses are one Goddess, and all Gods are one God". Ronald Hutton considers that historical Pagans saw their deities definitely as distinct deities, so this is a new, modern Pagan theology. It allows us to approach one or many, Goddess or God, as we need them, or as they need us. Graham Harvey's "Listening People, Speaking Earth" is a title that indicates how important is the relatedness of sacred dialogue.

Probably the most cogent criticism of the Earth Mother comes from Melissa Raphael (whose research has been very sympathetic to Goddess spirituality). Her Judaic background presses her to look for the God of justice, who will actively support concepts of morality. "A goddess worth celebrating must create and ground value in the human as well as the non-human world, which is precisely what the reflexive tendencies of theological discourse will not let her do."

The two main concerns here are

- 1) the insufficiency of "deep ecology" as an ethic;
- 2) the inability of an unstable, pluralistic faith to underpin a teleology of peace and relatedness, which is nonetheless a frequent rhetoric in the community concerned.

The Pagan Earth Mother who inflicts suffering and deprivation, is understandably, a difficult Deity to stomach. Even so her callous indifference that Raphael stands against, is, to me, actually preferable to the biblical deity who selects his victims and targets them for destruction. I had rather an indifferent Goddess than a cruel God. The dark Goddess, the callous Goddess is the other side of the Pagan view of all things being alive, with none being special over another.

But there is more to this which I shall return to under Goddess Feminism.

page 4

GODDESS FEMINISM

To recap briefly, Goddess Feminism dates only to 1970, although we should not forget forerunners such as Matilda Joslyn Gage in the late 19thC, and female mystics in European history who

asserted 'God as Mother.' In 30 years it has grown from an obscure and fragile network to a substantial subculture with groupings internationally in all English speaking countries, and some other European linguistic cultures. (see Introduction)

Carol Christ has representatively and vividly described how "Hunger for a female image of God was awakened in me by the rebirth of the women's movement." Asphodel Long was a founder of the British Goddess movement She recalls how "In some ways the term 'the Goddess' was a synonym for a woman with newly regained self-worth. "I am in the image of the divine, I am acknowledged. I have, all this time, been told a lie. I am not - and never was - inferior, subordinate." " The famous quote from Ntozake Shange's Broadway show "for colored girls who have considered suicide/ when the rainbow is enuf" in 1975 comes from the play's conclusion where a Black woman robed in red takes centre stage to say

"i found god in myself
& i loved her fiercely"

One of the classic tasks of Goddess' initiation training is to create and practice a "Self Blessing Ritual", a rite expressly focused on validating and enhancing one's own sense of sacrality. Here then is the Matriarchal role reversal compellingly restated, now unequivocally in the female voice. The academic field of Feminist Theology has during the same period over 30 years considered the issue of female Deity, sparking the powerful idea of Thealogy, which uses the Greek/ Latin feminine tag to define "...reflection on the divine in feminine or feminist terms"

CHANGING SYMBOL OR CHANGING REALITY

Pam Lunn begins to critically explore the complex balance of power between a changing symbol and a changing status. She feels that "The assertion of their own worth by members of an oppressed group within a society will not inevitably lead the dominant group(s) to change their value hierarchies . . . attempts to effect change may be merely ignored, neutralized or co-opted" New, politically correct wording can certainly just take on prior contamination and lose their effect. Against this Carol Christ is adamant that "Symbol systems cannot simply be rejected, they must be replaced. Where there is not any replacement the mind will revert to familiar structures at times of crisis, bafflement, or defeat" Merely trying to transform the use of the existing term 'God' will mean we constantly relapse into the previous associations.

The need is for attitude to change, and new symbols do help that, but symbols and other experiences feed back on each other, so that both need to be monitored and changed together. Lunn continues her critique by looking at the use of magic, asking whether a form of asserted will that cannot be proved to have results outside its shared belief, can provide valid liberation. She is concerned that magical work may draw feminist effort away from the 'real world' to an "emotional opiate". Certainly this occurs, but Starhawk's effective use of magical ritual focus to sustain political campaigning counters this with the opposite usage. Post modern theories of the intimacy between belief and experience suggest how one shapes the other, as does the high impact of the 'placebo effect' in all healing systems.

I have asked myself if the many people I have worked with could have found their strength, and changed their lives using other sources, and I have to answer that yes, they could have. But they didn't.

GODDESS AND OTHER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Some Goddess Feminists draw on the Ancient Goddess of the Matriarchies, as some Pagans do, but for many a radical location of sacrality in women here and now suffices. In this view whatever has

gone before, we can and must create a new future. The agenda is therefore utopian, and links powerfully with other liberation theologies, especially Black womanism, Two Thirds world theologies, and the Green movement.

Like early secular women's liberation which stressed the universal sisterhood of women, Goddess feminism at first saw a worldwide culture of Goddess worship in rather over simplified terms. Later as sisterhood was analysed into interacting sectors at the margins of nationality, class and race, Goddess Feminism has began to accommodate the very different functions of Goddesses in different cultures and times. The dominant interest remains with a gracefully syncretic mix of Goddess traditions to make up a new interpretation.

Both Black and mujerista feminists in the USA have challenged Goddess Feminism as unacceptably white centred, and moreover exploitative of traditions of other cultures' Goddesses to serve white women's needs. As a result some of the joyfully sloppy eclectic resourcing of earlier times has faltered, and priestesses can feel unable to call on certain Goddess traditions beyond their own ethnicity. In this connection it is worth noting the fascinating work of Luisa Teish and others similar in reclaiming such traditions as Voudun and Candomble.

IS WOMANSPRIT A DEITY?

A theological criticism of the "womanspirit" of Goddess Feminism comes from Daphne Hampson who I feel has an important point when she asks if Goddess Feminism is a kind of Goddess Humanism. Is the Goddess as Womanspirit no more than a personified ideal of women's liberation? compared to how religious devotion is considered to exist in dialogue with the divine Other. This is something I have thought too when reading some of the Goddess Feminist literature. It raises the prospect of a Goddess who becomes redundant if women become powerful, very much at odds with the Matriarchy agenda, but with some truth in it.

By no means all Goddess Feminists speak of the Goddess only as a principle. Starhawk says when she is asked if she believes in the Goddess, she answers "Do you believe in rocks?"

My son at 4 years old was deeply shocked when he discovered that Christians don't know about the Goddess. "How can they?" he asked, uncharacteristically utterly stilled by the strange thought. "After all, she is everything there is."

WOMEN'S RELIGIONS

Susan Starr Sered has cross culturally analysed twelve "women's religions" and she includes Feminist Spirituality as one of them. (This latter term broadly covers the same culture I call Goddess Feminism. Virtually all her sources for it come from Goddess texts.) She defines "women's religions" as those in which women have been the leaders, the majority of participants, and where women's concerns have been central.

She finds a number of common characteristics, such as

- a matrilineal/ matrilocal/ matrifocal context;
- an extended induction process;
- a complete lack of monotheism;
- hierarchy but not centralisation;
- an emphasis on possession trance;
- and a concern with illness and healing.

A recurrent theme is how such religions address women's traditional sphere of home, family and children, particularly mothering and child death.

Mothering is a major motif in her study: "... a pervasive reference point for the study of women's religions" However, I observe that mothering has not been such a 'pervasive reference point' in

Goddess Feminism. One of the few who does prioritise it is Monica Sjoo, who is a Matriarchal Feminist; her motherhood and the motherhood of the Goddess is primal, as evidenced in her first book, and in her famous painting "God Giving Birth". Interestingly it is not birth that Sered cites as central to the mothering preoccupation of rites in women's religions, but nurture.

For Carol Christ mothering is given a sympathetic priority in her latest book but she is also keen to quote Marija Gimbutas who defines mothering as "... not so much the power to give birth ... but the power to make, to create, to transform" In general I find that texts on the Goddess rarely even include 'mothers', or 'mothering' in the index.

I note also a ubiquitous interest in menstruation, and to a lesser extent, menopause, in Goddess Feminism, with a profound accompanying philosophy not only of embodiment, but of cyclicity. These are of course the non-mothering aspects of female biology. Again this is counter to other women's religions which do not sacralise women's body passages.

In a paper too long to even summarise here I have explored how Western feminism in the '70s and '80s was matriphobic: concerned to liberate women from the devaluing 'trap' of maternity, so hardly inclined to celebrate it. In Western birth controlled society menstruation has replaced reproduction as the routine female condition. Menstruation has therefore become the priority feminist symbol, the unpregnant state, which we are called to validate in order to respect "our bodies, ourselves".

As the influx of women into the paid workforce has increasingly strained their resources to meet a "double shift", and as young '70s activists have aged and mothered, mothering is rising to the attention of commentators during the '90s. Christ's gentle treatment seems in part to reflect this, but although a few voices are calling to transform society into a feminised, maternal version, we are still far from any "pervasive reference point", even within female validating Goddess Spirituality.

With the overwhelming emphasis of Goddess Feminism on self affirmation it indicates how deep an ambivalence about mothering we feel, that where we do find images of the Mother, she is viewed as it were from the outside, with us as her children. I have seen hardly any attention to identifying the experience of the Goddess from her point of view, through an empathy with her by human mothers, yet almost every other human experience can be found in her. In Pagan Goddess literature, especially, she is approached extrinsically as the ecological Earth Mother.

Seeking self affirmation for women, Goddess Feminism does not have a strongly developed culture of men and the Goddess, compared to the Pagan Goddess inspiration. Starhawk's following (and my own) are significant exceptions where our feminism creatively includes male aspirations in their own right, but then she and I are very much a mix of Feminist and Pagan.

RAPHAEL'S ETHICAL CHALLENGE

I said I would return to Melissa Raphael's challenge to the Goddess ethic. You will remember that she judges the Goddess, as the Earth Mother of all, as inadequate to the case of justice for each. This has been a powerful Goddess Feminism issue since 1979 when the JFSR said "If God is God She is not Nice". In that discussion Starhawk dismisses good and evil as inappropriate to Goddess discourse. But I can appreciate a need for a Deity that is concerned about me, and about justice in my life.

After some thought I realised that the Goddess is being held here to only one of her faces. Within Goddess theology we are used to the idea of a Triple Goddess, Maiden, Mother and Crone. The young Maiden is concerned with the needs of the self, the self affirmation of 'womenspirit'. The Mother is concerned with the Other, especially the vulnerable, in a com/passionate frame that would I trust appeal to Raphael: the web as my web of connections. The Crone is the Western Tao,

a remote, wholistic perspective that may not privilege any being over another: the Web as a whole, that is deep ecology, which can be callous.

As well as women most Pagan men do happily turn to the Goddess for guidance, and both women and men also approach the God. I have outlined him (the God) in his three partner modes of Hero, Guardian and Fool, to find the same triple ethic.

THE ONE OR THE MANY

Emily Culpepper asks us to open out our capacity for diversity, for a "unity of the many". Asphodel Long has recently explored the Goddess as "The One or the Many"

Margaret Keane, one of the respondents to Cynthia Eller's study explains "I don't make those kind of distinctions that you hear about, they don't make any sense to me. You can say it's the Great Goddess, and that's the one Goddess, but she's also all of the many goddesses, and that's true. And she's everywhere. She's immanent in everything, in the sparkle of the sun on the sea, and even in an animistic concept. I think certain objects can embody that force and power. So I worship the Great Goddess, and I'm polytheistic and pantheistic and monotheistic too. And I also have a feeling for nature spirits . . ."

Carol Christ asserts that this is a 'paradigm shift' and the heat of these debates, the overturning of traditional mind/ body dualism and Western monotheism, the inability of historical evidence to resolve the Ancient Goddess controversy, is certainly suggestive. The trouble is that until a new paradigm has taken over we cannot see for sure that it is doing so.

page 5

SUMMARY

THE MATRIARCHAL GODDESS

What Matriarchal Goddess spirituality undeniably provides is a profound and liberating reversal of the stereotypes. It uncompromisingly validates female power, female sacrality, and male cooperation with it, which has proved an effective antidote to rigid patriarchal ideologies for large numbers of people. This is a major step towards something more creative, though it then must be acknowledged that such a reversal still models itself on the original, so the Matriarchal Goddess can be an authoritarian fundamentalist, can also seem uncomfortably like God in drag, and tends to define 'masculinist' views as sinful.

The process of 'erasure' of the female historical record arguably needs the strength of assertion lent by the Matriarchal reversal to counteract it. The effects of relying on a very disputed interpretation of history are debatable. Starhawk's mature position that the Matriarchal historical narrative is primarily a sacred history, is a sensible one on current evidence. Whether a Goddess society governed by women as mothers would be nurturant and peaceful is highly contentious. Perceiving the Deity as ungendered, or as a process, is a liberating metaphor, but so also is the assertion of deified femaleness.

THE PAGAN GODDESS

The Pagan Goddess, though perceived by many devotees and observers alike as a native British/ European mythos, presents suggestively powerful parallels with NE Indian Tantra. Survivals of a

native religious tradition in Britain are fragmentary and/or contested while Wiccan symbolism of the complementary Goddess and God was highly developed in their first published appearance; nor does this symbiotic mythos appear to be prevalent in earlier British forms. As Wicca has been arguably the single most influential Pagan tradition until recently, the connections between early Wiccan ex-colonials with this particular region of India support a hypothesis of cultural transfer. The complementary Goddess and God tradition in Paganism nurtured a proto-feminist culture which was later critiqued and strengthened by international feminism from the '70s on. A sophisticated social microcosm has resulted, with especially interesting implications for female priestess' authority, and masculinities.

The most widespread title for the Pagan Goddess is the 'Earth Mother' which ties in closely with both female validation and spiritual ecology. However, this validation is of a broadly conventional femininity, including the ecological motif of female-as-victim, and is vulnerable to the old dualistic essentialism of female-as-body. Against this stands the very real embodiment of female authority, diversity and self reliance within Paganism, and the partnership in personal learning encouraged between Pagan women and men around immanence and embodiment.

GODDESS FEMINISM

Late 20thC Feminism stimulated a radical reassessment of female value and sacrality, and then the very stability of the category 'female.' Goddess Feminism is newer than the other two Goddess types, and produces more self critical debate and theory, as evidenced by the feminist commentaries that crept into my exposition of the other two models.

This variant of Goddess Spirituality seems in some of its proponents to resemble a humanist or psychological principle rather than a religious relationship with Deity. In focusing primarily on women's spirituality there is less opening for male participation than in Paganism. Where Feminist and Matriarchal strands converge the result can be particularly fundamentalist in line with the utopian revitalisation agenda. Yet other Feminist Goddess contexts are notably diverse and flexible, finding congenial discourse in post-modernism.

Goddess Feminism in many ways corresponds to Sered's definition of a 'women's religion' but lacks their characteristic focus on a positive maternal identity and its concerns, presumably arising from the very different life cycle pattern of women in industrialised societies. The plurality of contemporary women's identities forces many a challenge to traditional Goddess mythos to the point of introducing a future where Goddess is obsolescent. Meanwhile she contributes to what may be a paradigm shift.

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Appendix 13: Wikipedia: 'Rhiannon'

Also '**Thealogy**', initiated by Shan Jayran, now Morgain (5/01/2002).

Edit history can be accessed by registering, then click 'View history' top right.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thealogy#cite_note-10> [Created 5/01/2002]

VII.5. Thealogies

.....
{{Other uses|Rhiannon (disambiguation)}}

[[Image:MULO-Epona Freyming.jpg|thumb|200px|Rhiannon is often associated with [[Epona]]]]

""Rhiannon"" is a classic figure in [[Celtic]] traditions, [[Welsh Literature]] and [[Welsh mythology]]. She appears prominently in the [[Mabinogi]] (which has been known as the [[Mabinogion]] based on a historical mistake). The [[Mabinogi]] is the chief prose literature of mediaeval Wales, compiled c.1100 from earlier oral traditions, and it is culturally prominent in Welsh circles today.

Rhiannon is therefore a major part of the earliest British prose to survive today, in two manuscripts, but retold in countless publications as well as plays, film, storytelling and other arts. Her original story is mainly in the First Branch of the Mabinogi, with more following in the Third Branch. She is an Otherworld lady, who chooses [[Pwyll]], prince of [[Dyfed]] as her consort, in preference to another man she betrothed earlier. Their son is the hero [[Pryderi]], who inherits the lordship of [[Dyfed]]. Rhiannon as a widow marries [[Manawydan]] of the British royal family.

Like some other figures of Welsh literary tradition, Rhiannon may be a reflex of an earlier Celtic deity. Her name appears to derive from the [[linguistic reconstruction|reconstructed]] earlier [[Common Brittonic|Brittonic]] form ""*Rigantona"", meaning "great queen goddess". In the First Branch she is strongly associated with horses, and so is her son Pryderi. She is often considered to be related to the [[Gauls|Gaulish]] horse goddess [[Epona]].<ref><http://books.google.com/books?id=DeaGo-Qkf2kC&pg=PA5&dq=rigantona&hl=en&sa=X&ei=n15bUrGtKZS4kQe8lIHBYBQ&ved=0CGEQ6AEwCTgK#v=onepage&q=matrona&f=false></ref> <ref>e.g. Sioned Davies (trans.), "The Mabinogion", Oxford 2007, p. 231.</ref> The resemblance is both in her horse affinity, including foals, and her son's; and also a particular way of sitting on a horse in a calm, static way, which is like many images of Epona.<ref>Gruffydd, W. J. "Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origins of the First and Third Branches of the Mabinogi"</ref> [[Ronald Hutton]] disagrees, saying that a horse is the only thing they have in common.<ref>{{cite book|last=Hutton|first=Ronald|title=Pagan Britain|year=2014|publisher=Yale University Press|isbn=978-0300197716|page=366}}</ref>

==Rhiannon's Story==

===''Y Mabinogi'': First Branch===

Rhiannon first appears at [[Gorsedd Arberth]] an ancestral mound near one of the chief courts of Dyfed. Pwyll, the prince of Dyfed, has accepted the challenge of the mound's magical tradition. Rhiannon appears to him and his court as the promised marvel, as a beautiful woman dressed in gold silk brocade and riding a shining [[White horse (mythology)|white horse]]. Pwyll sends his best horsemen after her two days running, but she always remains ahead of them, though her horse never does more than amble. On the third day he finally follows her himself and does no better, until he finally appeals to her to stop for him. Rhiannon characteristically rebukes him for not considering his horse, then explains she has sought him out to marry him, in preference to her current [[betrothed]], [[Gwawl|Gwawl ap Clud]]. Pwyll gladly

agrees, but at their wedding feast at her father's court, an unknown man requests Pwyll grant a request; which he does without asking what it is. The man is Gwawl, and he requests Rhiannon.

Rhiannon rebukes Pwyll a second time for his stupid words, but provides the means and the plan to salvage the situation. She holds a second wedding feast for Gwawl, where she deploys Pwyll's men outside in the orchard. She instructs Pwyll to enter the hall dressed as a beggar and humbly request Gwawl fill his 'small bag' with food. But she has enchanted the 'small bag' so it cannot be filled. Gwawl is persuaded to step in it to control its magic, which means Pwyll can trap him in it. Pwyll's men rush in and surround the hall, then beat and kick Gwawl as the [[Badger-in-the-Bag]] game. To save his life Gwawl is forced to relinquish Rhiannon, and also any revenge. Rhiannon marries Pwyll and journeys to Dyfed as its queen.

[[File:Charlotte Guest Rhiannon.jpg|thumb|200px|left|Rhiannon riding in Arberth. From "The Mabinogion", translated by [[Charlotte Guest|Lady Charlotte Guest]], 1877]]

After a happy two years Pwyll comes under pressure to provide an heir. He refuses to set Rhiannon aside, and in the third year their son is born. However, on the night of his birth, he disappears while in the care of Rhiannon's six maids. Terrified of being put to death, the women kill a puppy and smear its blood on Rhiannon's sleeping face. In the morning they accuse her of [[infanticide]] and [[cannibalism]]. Rhiannon takes counsel with her own advisers, and offers to undergo a penance. Pwyll is again urged to set her aside, but refuses, and sets her penance instead. She sits every day by the gate of the castle at the horse block, to tell her story to travelers. She must also offer to carry them on her back as a beast of burden, though few accept this. However as the end of the story shows, Pwyll upholds her state as his queen, as she still sits at his side in the hall at feasting time.

The new born child is discovered by [[Teyrnon]], the lord of Gwent-Is-Coed. He is a horse lord whose fine mare foals on May Eve but the foals go missing every year. He takes the mare into his house and sits vigil. He sees a monstrous claw trying to take his latest newborn foal through the window, so he slashes at the monster with his sword. Rushing outside he finds the monster gone, and a human baby by the door. He and his wife claim the boy as their own and name him Gwri Wallt Euryn (English: "Gwri of the Golden hair"), for "all the hair on his head was as yellow as gold".<ref>"The Mabinogion." Davies, Sioned. 2005.</ref> The child grows at a superhuman pace with a great affinity for horses. Teyrnon who once served Pwyll as a courtier, recognises the boy's resemblance to his father. As an honorable man he returns the boy to the Dyfed royal house.

Reunited with Rhiannon the child is named in the traditional way via his mother's first words to him {{lang|mga|''[[Pryderi]]''}} a wordplay on "delivered" and "worry," "care," or "loss." Some time later, Pwyll dies and Pryderi rules Dyfed, marrying [[Cigfa]] of Gloucester, and amalgamating the seven cantrefws of [[Morgannwg]] to his kingdom.

=== "Y Mabinogi": Third Branch ===

[[File:Pryderi and Rhiannon.jpg|250px|thumb|Pryderi and Rhiannon's imprisonment. From "Tales of the Enchanted Islands of the Atlantic", Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Image by Albert Herter.]]

Pryderi returns from the disastrous Irish wars as one of the only Seven Survivors. [[Manawydan]] is another Survivor, and his good comrade and friend. They perform their duty of burying the dead king of Britain's head in London (see [[Bendigeidfran]]) to protect Britain from invasion. But in their long time away the kingship of Britain has been usurped by Manawydan's nephew [[Caswallon]]. Manawydan declines to make more war to reclaim his rights. Pryderi recompenses him generously by giving him the use of the land of Dyfed, though he retains the sovereignty. Pryderi also arranges a marriage between the widowed Rhiannon and Manawydan, who take to each other with affection and respect. Pryderi is careful to pay homage to the usurper [[Caswallon]] to avert his hostility.

Manawydan now becomes the lead character in the Third branch, and it is commonly named after him. With Rhiannon, Pryderi and Cigfa, he sits the Gorsedd Arberth as Pwyll had done. But this time disaster ensues. Thunder and magical mist descend on the land leaving it empty of all domesticated animals and all humans apart from the four protagonists.

After a period of living by hunting the four travel to borderland regions (now in England) and make a living at skilled crafts. In three different cities they build successful businesses making saddles, shields, then shoes. But vicious competition puts their lives at risk. Rather than fight as Pryderi wishes, Manawydan opts to quietly move on.

Returning to Dyfed, Manawydan and Pryderi go hunting and follow a white [[boar]], to a newly built tower. Against Manawydan's advice, Pryderi enters to fetch his hounds. He is trapped by a beautiful golden bowl. Manawydan returns to Rhiannon who rebukes him sharply for failing to even try to rescue his good friend. But her attempt to rescue her son suffers the same fate as he did. In a "blanket of mist", Rhiannon, Pryderi and the tower vanish.

Manawydan eventually redeems himself by achieving restitution for Rhiannon, Pryderi, and the land of Dyfed. This involves a semi-comical set of magical negotiations where the magician Llwyd ap Cilcoed is forced to release land and family from his enchantments. His motive is revealed as vengeance for his friend Gwawl, Rhiannon's rejected suitor. All ends happily with the family reunited, and Dyfed restored.

==Interpretation as a goddess==

When Rhiannon first appears she is clearly a magical figure arriving as part of the Otherworld tradition of Gorsedd Arberth. Her paradoxical style of riding slowly yet unreachably, is strange and magical, though also occurs in mediaeval love poetry as an erotic metaphor. She then produces her "small bag" which is also a magical paradox for it cannot be filled by any ordinary means. When undergoing her penance, Rhiannon demonstrates the powers of a giantess, or the strength of a horse, by carrying travellers on her back.

As well as the possible inheritance from [[Epona]] noted earlier, Rhiannon also connects linguistically to [[Brittonic]] Rigantona. The suffix -on means divinity, and the initial rhi- or ri- means a ruler. Both names therefore mean 'Divine Queen' or 'Divine Ruler.' This is also close to Teyrnnon's name which also means Divine Ruler.

Rhiannon is also connected to three mystical birds. The Birds of Rhiannon/ Adar Rhiannon appear in the Second Branch, in the [[Triads of Britain]], and in Culhwch ac Olwen. In the latter, the giant Ysbaddaden demands them as part of the bride price of his daughter, and they are described as 'they that wake the dead and lull the living to sleep.'

All this suggests Rhiannon as an earlier goddess of [[Celtic polytheism]].

W J Gruffydd's "Rhiannon" (1953) was an attempt to reconstruct the original story. It is mainly focused on the relationship between the males in the story, and rearranges the story elements too liberally for other scholars' preference, though his research is otherwise detailed and helpful. Patrick Ford suggests that the Third Branch "preserves the detritus of a myth wherein the Sea God mated with the Horse Goddess".<ref>Patrick K Ford "The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales" (1977)</ref> He suggests "the mythic significance may well have been understood in a general way by an eleventh century audience". Similar [[euhemerism]]s of pre-Christian deities can be found in other medieval Celtic literature, when Christian scribes and redactors reworked older deities as giants, heroes or saints. In the "[[Táin Bó Cúailnge]]", [[Macha]] and [[The Morrígan]] similarly appear as larger-than-life figures, but are never described as goddesses.

Proinsias Mac Cana's position is that "[Rhiannon] reincarnates the goddess of sovereignty who, in taking to her a spouse, thereby ordained him legitimate king of the territory which she personified".<ref>Mac Cana, p. 56.</ref> Miranda Jane Green draws in the folklore motif of [[Calumniated Wife]], saying "Rhiannon

conforms to two archetypes of myth ... a gracious, bountiful queen-goddess; and as the 'wronged wife', falsely accused of killing her son".<ref>Green, p. 30.</ref>

==Modern Interpretations==

Rhiannon appears in many retellings and performances of the [[Mabinogi]] (aka Mabinogion) of course. There is also a vigorous culture of modern fantasy novels.

A striking example of modern Rhiannon inspiration is [[Stevie Nix]] song "Rhiannon" 1975, on her debut album with [[Fleetwood Mac]]. Nicks has often recalled in interviews how she was struck with profound inspiration based on a popular novel, though she had little accurate knowledge of the original Rhiannon. Her powerful song became legendary.

In artworks Rhiannon has inspired some entrancing images, notably [[Alan Lee]] 1987, and 2001, who illustrated two translations of the Mabinogi, and the pictures attracted their own following.

Rhiannon has a growing following across the modern [[Pagan]], [[Goddess]], and [[Celtic tradition]] communities since c. 1975. While almost always sincere, such faith communities often base their devotions on a superficial knowledge which can be seriously in contradiction with the original legend. Depictions of Rhiannon can make her seem insipid, wispy, doll-like, and elfin in a Victorian flower fairy way, which her feisty character does not support. Rhiannon is also not all loving and motherly, as her innocent victim Gwawl might attest. Where a literary assessment can include her ruthless and strategic complexity, a poetic yearning akin to other [[Celtic Mist]] traditions, finds a gentler, more idealised Celtic madonna.

== See also ==

*[[Epona]]

*[[Étaín]]

*[[Mabinogi]]

*[[Mabinogion]]

*[[Rhiannon (song)|Rhiannon]], song by [[Stevie Nicks]] and [[Fleetwood Mac]]

*[[Welsh mythology]]

*[[Welsh mythology in popular culture]]

== References ==

{{Reflist}}

*W. J. Gruffydd (1953). "Rhiannon". Cardiff.

*James MacKillop (2004). "Rhiannon" in "A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology". Oxford University Press. ISBN 9780198691570

==External links==

*[http://www.timelessmyths.com/celtic/welsh.html#Rhiannon Story of Rhiannon]

{{Celtic mythology (Welsh)}}

[[Category:Mabinogion]]

[[Category:Welsh mythology]]

[[Category:Welsh women]]

[[Category:Mythological queens]]

[[Category:Welsh royalty]]

Appendix 14: *Duwies Cymru?* 2008

Shân Morgain. 2008. '*Duwies Cymru?* or, Goddess Wales?' online 2008-2015; **defunct**.

To be republished in forthcoming anthology.

House Morgain: <<http://www.housemorgain.co.uk/celtic/goddesswales.html>>

This is an old article composed with passionate dedication before I began academic study of the Mabinogi. The result is many errors which I have indicated by underlining, with added endnotes. S.M. 20/05/2022

Duwies Cymru? or, Goddess Wales?

by Shan Morgain, priestess and 'Celtic Guest.'

There are certainly goddesses in Wales, most of them recorded in the famous Mabinogi.

These were tales set in four branches but not written down until the twelfth century.⁷³ They are generally agreed to record far older traditions passed by word of mouth.

What modern people call 'Celtic'* cultures did not originally favour a written literature any more than they permitted images of their deities. Stories were shared through spoken forms of poetry by highly trained bards, a tradition revived and flourishing today through the annual Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru /National Eisteddfod of Wales.

Trained Bardic memory was justly famed for its capacity to hold huge amounts of literature. But by the twelfth century the local traditions were being lost under Christian onslaught.⁷⁴ Paradoxically it was Christian monks who wrote the tales down, so they survived.

Yet there was still a long period of obscurity when the Mabinogi were relatively unknown until the 19th century.⁷⁵ A Saesnes /Englishwoman, Charlotte Guest, who had married in, had the stories translated and published⁷⁶, also promoting them as an important literature. It was her version⁷⁷ which was named "The Mabinogion."

In the Mabinogi we do find goddesses, or more accurately, female myths. Mediaeval monks were hardly going to babble about goddesses for a start! Nor do goddesses and gods appear in 'Celtic' mythos just like goddesses and gods in the scholarship of Greece and Rome which was part of a "good classical education" for centuries.

⁷³ The earliest extant MS. dates c.1250, so 13thC not 12thC. There may well have been earlier versions.

⁷⁴ The onslaught at this time was Anglo-Norman invasion. Christian imposition dates back to c. 6thC.

⁷⁵ The Mabinogi was known to Welsh scholars of the 18thC, ref. Edward Lhuyd (1707) and earlier antiquarians. William Owen Pughe began publishing the Mabinogi in 1795.

⁷⁶ Guest originally published bilingually, Welsh and English text. So also did Pughe. English-only text became more and more common from the late 19thC onward.

⁷⁷ Mabinogion was a title used by Welsh scholars of the 18thC, which Guest respected and followed.

Greece⁷⁸ and Rome operated as empires with central governments, both mirrored and supported by theologies of a central god or central gods on high governing us all. Reading the Iliad of Homer for example, as all schoolboys not so long ago still had to, we find puppeteering deities exercising remote control over human lives. The gods can live among us, but we cannot live among them.

'Celtic' deities are not like that. They may warn us of our fate as the Morrigan does Cuchulain before his last fight. They may bargain with us which Arawn does with Pwyll, as two powerful lords hunting the forest. Pwyll recognises⁷⁹ Arawn outranks him but so might another human lord. Pwyll then visits Arawn's own land to live there for a year. Later Rhiannon comes to Pwyll's own country to live with him.

There is then an interchange here, an exchange, a companion or colleague relationship. It may not always be friendly – you do not mess with the Tylwyth if they are in the mood for fun any more than you'd mess with the local gang in gangland streets. (Caution about the Tylwyth shows up in the warning custom of Wales: never giving their name in full, not even the nickname.)

Humans have great difficulty outwitting the awesome cunning of powerful Others, so that stories of those who do are noted and applauded like Thomas, Janet, and the Queen of Faerie.

Even when friendly, guiding and supportive the 'Celtic' divinity can rebuke their human companion harshly, as Rhiannon does Pwyll, twice. She charges him once for being inconsiderate of his horse, and later she says cuttingly "... never has a man made worse use of his wits than you," for his hasty words put their wedding at risk.

⁷⁸ Greece was made up separate city states. However they had centralised governments.

⁷⁹ Debatable whether Pwyll recognises Arawn outranks him, but he appears to do so, possibly as strategy.

But 'Celtic' Others do not destroy whole cities⁸⁰ like Sodom and Gomorrah. They do not demand we sacrifice a beloved child to them to show obedience, as Abram was required to do to Isaac. They do not manipulate whole battles⁸¹ so that hundreds or thousands die as the gods did at Troy.

They do not command us: they advise us, trick us, trade with us, laugh, eat, fuck, fight and sing with us. It is therefore no surprise that stories of the goddesses in the Mabinogi do not present them as awesome beings of terrifying majesty. They are powerful, resourceful, beautiful, wise, but not dominators as the gods of other cultures are.

In the Mabinogi we meet five main goddesses:

Rhiannon, Branwen, Blodeuedd, Arianrhod, Ceridwen.⁸²

There is arguably a sixth main goddess of Wales, Morgan, or Morgain(e) not found in the Mabinogi.

A seventh, Brigit, Brigid, Bridget, Brid(e), Brighde was not originally of Wales, but is found here in local legends, wells and churches, because her cult spread very successfully outside Eire, her homeland.

These Goddesses are widely venerated in modern times not only across Wales, but in Eire, the whole of Britain, across Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia and anywhere that modern Goddessing, Paganism, New Age or distinctively women's spirituality flourishes with a 'Celtic' interest.

Books, teachers and the internet have made them part of an international mixture of Goddessing.

Many devotees of this modern spiritual diaspora do not have much accurate knowledge⁸³ about their chosen Goddess or goddesses, which of course does not invalidate their personal devotions in the least. However teachers and writers, priestesses and priests carry a greater responsibility to pass on accurate information.

Looking at our five (or six) main goddesses of Wales, we find that each is identified with her own part of Wales. None of the Mabinogi are pan-Welsh stories or traditions. This is because Wales did not exist at the time of the Mabinogi development or its first recording in writing.

⁸⁰ In the Third Branch of the Mabinogi, Llwyd the magician devastates the wholeland of Dyfed, removing all its flocks, herds, and all humans except the four protagonists. Whilenot as violent as the catastrophes of Sodom and Gomorrah the scale of destruction is comparable.

⁸¹ In the Fourth Branch Gwydion the magician creates a war which kills thousands, all to enable the rape of a girl.

⁸² Cerridwen is not part of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi. Nor does she appear in most versions of the *Mabinogion* which adds another seven tales. Her tale (Taliesin) does appear in Guest's version of the *Mabinogion*.

⁸³ This could be said of myself when I wrote this article.

Wales was created much later, a little over 500 years ago by Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty. Since then Wales has operated as a colonial subordinate of England, most recently gaining its own Assembly, which however, does not have the power of a Parliament.

Under this extremely political story though, the old kingdoms, or even the ancient tribal territories, still exist. There are five clearly recognisable regions which speak markedly different kinds of Cymraeg (Welsh), with very different traditions, and who typically see their first loyalty as local, not "Welsh." It can still raise hackles that "Welsh" is an imposed English name for foreigners!

Rhiannon and Branwen⁸⁴ are of West Wales, specifically Dyfed or Pembrokeshire.

Blodeuedd and Arianrhod are of North Wales, specifically Gwynedd.

Cerridwen is of Mid-Wales, around Bala and Machynlleth.

Morgan or Morgain, Morgaine is of South Wales. She locates with the ancient kingdom of Morgannwg, and the immensely influential Gwent family Morgan.

While their names and stories are quite well known across Wales no Welsh person would ever see them as simply "Welsh." That would be seen as an English in-comer view, and one arising out of laziness, or worse, English arrogance.

In "Three Things There Are ..." John Davies years ago challenged just such English /American arrogance and sloppiness. "... if you come to Wales (as I fear you may), wearing beads, and funny hats adorned with feathers and pieces of stick; ... if you come following an expensive workshop leader who can't even pronounce, let alone speak, any Welsh; whose only qualifications are a set of distinctly cranky ideas, assembled from fragments torn loose from our heritage and a hotpotch of others; plus, of course, a fast line in chat to convince you that this system offers instant enlightenment at a price (the fast-food version of spirituality); then you will be obvious for the fool you are." (Davies J. "Three Things There Are" 1993, p.1)⁸⁵

John's is a searing anger at those who misuse his heritage. He is not alone as a native Welshman who detests the spiritual tourist who pops in physically or virtually, to pick and mix as they prefer with very little effort to honour those whose Guest they are. The Guest is a respected position in tribal society. Welsh people especially of the South and West, uphold its code with great generosity. But it does carry duties of respect in return, to the host.

Incidentally you could do worse than look up where John's title "Three Things There Are" comes from. It's the first line of a Triad.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Branwen is NOT of Dyfed. She is Princess of all Britain, but appears in Gwynedd, north west Wales.

⁸⁵ John Davies, *Three Things There Are ...* (House of the Goddess, 1993).

⁸⁶ The Triads were sets of three linked items from Welsh literature which the bards used as a kind of mnemonic database. However this particular Triad comes from the revivalist Iolo Morgannwg.

Those who love 'Celtic' traditions could understandably feel defensive here. They are offering an honest love and devotion as best they can, after all. But are they really offering the best they can?

John points out that few even try to learn how to pronounce Welsh names, or try to grasp what they mean, for as in most tribal cultures, names carry important meanings. Do you like it when someone chews your name up in a gobbled mumble out of laziness?

There are also many 'Celtic' devotees who see the old mythos as being part of a world culture, rather like a **spiritual internet**, free to share. The 'Celtic' stories are fitted neatly into collections alongside other chapters on Greece, Rome, Sumer etc. Unless there is a strong explanation as well on how 'Celtic' divinity is very different to these others (see above) this insults and distorts the 'Celtic' ancestors and their mythos. Such packaging into a free download without careful help to understand, deserves John's contempt as "... assembled from fragments torn loose from our heritage ..."

It is true that 'Celtic' mythos is peculiarly vulnerable to exploitation like this. It does not have a wrathful deity to guard it by jealously demanding our subjugation. In fact 'Celtic' spirituality positively encourages independent thinking and feeling. No pope or national council ever laid down its law in detail in terms of beliefs. The tradition of soul friend (annam-cara in the Gaelic of Eire) counsels us to work with a spiritual companion for mutual support.

Equality and autonomy in the 'Celtic' spirit is part of its magnetism, but that same equality and autonomy nurtures endless interpretation without preventing sloppiness or arrogance.

'Celtic' mythos does not teach by forbidding things much. It loves life too much for that.

Nor does it insist on knife-like rational understanding. While happy to include the most cogent philosophy 'Celtic' spirituality just as warmly embraces those who dislike analysis, or cannot do it.

Further, the intricacy of art forms, symbols, and double, even triple meanings, are so very 'Celtic.' Far from being tied to precise meanings we are actually invited to play, to find new ones by rearranging, or by looking in a different way on another occasion. Shapeshifting.

It is therefore understandable that some cry out against any tie, saying 'But this is MY interpretation! and I'm entitled.' As indeed we all are. But while freely allowed to take and reshape what comes from another culture, that does not authorise us to claim that 'MY interpretation' is how it is, the original thing. Especially teachers.

It is so easy to do just by saying "Rhiannon is ..." or "Lleu represents ..."

Instead we need to say "To me Rhiannon is ..." or perhaps "To my temple Rhiannon is ..." or "To my community Rhiannon is ..."

Alternatively a line at the bottom of the webpage, or the first page of a chapter, or article, can state honestly “The views of gods, goddesses, and ‘Celtic’ lore given here include my personal interpretations. I am much influenced by [teacher/ group] in my work.”

Celtic Guests can and I believe should, learn to pronounce names properly, learn a few words of a ‘Celtic’ language, acknowledge they are reshaping myths to suit their needs as described, and try not to trample cluckfootedly over the basics of a given ‘Celtic’ culture such as Cymry /Wales. If Celtic Guests try this much I believe even the fiery John Davies might grin and accept them – as his Guests.

One of these basics that should not be trampled is how our goddesses can be “of Wales” but not “Welsh.” To speak of “Welsh Goddesses” is insulting and nonsensical, immediately betraying a silly outsider voice.⁸⁷ To say a goddess comes from Wales or is of Wales, is fine. Though it would be better still to say ‘of West Wales’ and so on, as well as pronouncing her name properly!

These are small things to do in return for the mighty gifts the peoples of Wales offer. A tussle with pronunciation, a few words of honesty and courtesy, make a Celtic Guest, instead of a dippy tourist without manners.

Those few words can make all the difference – like saying diolch /thank you.

I am perhaps a little more sensitive to these issues than some, as I am London born and bred. I honour my own city yet I am dedicated to the traditions of the Cymru.

Prophetically given a Welsh name at birth, I was drawn romantically to ‘the Celts’ (of Wales) for many years before being honoured by handfasting a native Welshman, John Davies, who I quote above.

I owe my Sion a great debt for his education of my ignorance of his heritage over 20 years as I have shared his life in Wales. We have a Welsh son and I am ploddingly learning Welsh; apparently I am told, with a strong South Welsh accent!

Shan Morgain, Yule 2008.

* Celtic is given as ‘Celtic’ - in quotes, to counter the all too common assumption that there was a single, centralised Celtic culture comparable to Rome. No one we now call ‘Celtic’ would have called themselves a Celt. It was a foreign Greek word, meaning stone. Its imposition is rather like the English words ‘Wales /Welsh’ meaning ‘foreigner.’

⁸⁷ The point here is that ancestral spirituality predates the political definition of ‘Wales’ which was a name slapped on much later by the Saes/ English.

Appendix 15: *Symposiwm* (2017)

Most data about this has disappeared online so I am glad I kept my notes.

Sioned Davies. 2017. *Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi*

(2017. Symposium: Four Branches of the Mabinogi)

Dydd Sadwrn 8fed Gorffennaf, 2017.

(Saturday 8th July, 2017)

Cyfarwyddwr: Yr Athro Sioned Davies.

(Director: Professor Sioned Davies)

Admistration: Cadi Thomas <ThomasCR9@cardiff.ac.uk>

Simultaneous translation: William Stefton <stefton.william@btinternet.com>

10.00 Dr. Simon Rodway, 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology'.

Aberystwyth. <syr@aber.ac.uk> Aberystwyth.

10.30 Prof. Brynley F. Roberts, 'Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi – Tybed?'.

See Koch 2006. Welsh Language & Literature, Swansea; Librarian NLW, ret. 1994.

11.45 Prof. Juliette Wood, 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess'.

Cardiff, Folklorist, Celtic studies. <woodj1@cf.ac.uk>

12.15 Dr. John Bollard, 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now',

Harvard, and others. <jkbollard@gmail.com>

14.00 Prof. Sioned Davies, 'Gair, Delwedd ac Ideoleg: Mabinogi Oes Fictoria'.

('Word, Image and Ideology: The Victorian Mabinogi', my trans.). Cardiff School of Welsh.

14.30 Dr. Diana Luft, 'The Eighteenth-century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion'.

Research Fellow, CAWCS. <Diana.Luft@wales.ac.uk>

15.30 Ms. Margaret Lloyd, poetry reading from her 'Travelling On My Own Errands:

Voices of Women from The Mabinogi' (April 2017). Contact via John Bollard.

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Simon Rodway, 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology' opened with a reprise of his talk at the Aberystwyth storytelling symposium in March, but here with greater detail and an even more acute array of quotes. His main statement concerned the 'Hollywood Indian' and its cousin the 'Home Counties Celt', tracing the 'de-Celticisation' and 'mythification' of Welsh texts, particularly the Mabinogi, by powerful English and other agencies. The material presented ranged from the 19th to the 21stC, supported by numerous quotes providing solid argument (and much amusement).

What we have is 'anything but unedited' Rodway insisted, as the oral tales, and their surviving manuscripts were all selected and processed. All trans. and adaptations should be viewed as 'new texts'. He described his own youthful encounters with Asterix comics, Rosemary Sutcliffe and Slainte heroics, much later coming to Aberystwyth Celtic Studies. He admits the latter can draw critique as a label, defining it carefully it as the study of Celtic languages and their literatures. He ended by owning how he himself began by seeking a 'Celtic mythology', but then he instead found Welsh.

Prof. Brynley F. Roberts, 'Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi – Tybed?' was introduced as the senior statesman of the Mabinogi. He reviewed the transformations in Mabinogi research through the 20thC, from mythology to folklore, from Jackson's perception of an "inconsistent" and "confused" work to an appreciation of coherence. He saw the redactor as 'choosing what to combine and record' from the oral resources at hand.

Our lack of certainty on Mabinogi basics was stressed. The written form may never have been transmitted orally. Our own use of *mabinogi* as a title for the work can be queried. (The latter led to some lively exchange in the following discussion.) Prof. Roberts favours the concept of a 'novella'. What we call

the Third Branch may be seen as the continuation of the First, making three in all; or there could be more than four. He pointed to the 20thC introduction of the title *Pedeir Ceinc* by Ifor Williams, and feels it is now 'time to let go' of it.

Prof. Juliette Wood, 'Rhiannon: Twenty-First Century Goddess' rehearsed the well-known theories on Rhiannon as euhemerised descendant of Epona. This was well illustrated by images of Epona plaques, which compared closely with images of the 'Flight Into Egypt' from Christian iconography.

Prof. Wood noted that today 'many popular studies have not moved on' from earlier mythology based works. Current spirituality focused on Rhiannon and other Celtic deities constructs an 'arc of certainty in contrast to Christianity' and is best viewed as an independent folklore in its own right. Rhiannon in this context 'has very little to do with the Welsh'. Can we reach back to the Mabinogi in its own time? Prof. Wood answers simply, no. She also asks 'Are these myths at all?'

Dr. John Bollard, 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now' displayed a skilfully structured series of images, illustrating the intersecting genealogies of the families constellated around the production of the Mabinogi Mss. This genealogical perspective is, he feels, 'more important than the chronology'. Like Prof. Roberts he queried the usage of *mabinogi* as a proper noun or title.

A five stage model: 'layers of mabinogi-ness' as an 'organic growth' was suggested (diagram).

Stage I: Mythological layer from pre-Roman times;

Stage II: Oral tales from c. 800.

Stage III: Combining of narratives, c. 1000.

Stage IV: Written compilation c. 1100 – 1300 (Peniarth 6)

Stage V: Manuscript evidence c. 1300 – 1400.

Prof. Sioned Davies, '*Gair, Delwedd ac Ideoleg: Mabinogi Oes Fictoria*'.

(*'Word, Image and Ideology: The Victorian Mabinogi'*, my trans.).

Like preceding presenters Prof. Davies posed challenging questions, such as the differences between the Welsh and the English texts, which she noted is a large area in need of attention. Her main concern here however was how the Mabinogi/on was utilised to promote certain values to children in the 19thC, as a 'healthier option' than the Arabian Nights.

Guest's early bilingual project was aimed at a 'dual audience': her little sons, and scholars. In 1877 her monoglot English version was published, now appropriated to the target language. The well know Lanier publication derived from the aftermath of the American Civil War, when a devastated society sought new ideals to inspire its young males. Arthurian knights served this agenda alongside the Classics. Native tales are ordered further down the list. Sexuality and pregnancy is censored so completely as to obscure 'fundamental motivations' by the characters.

Prof. Davies analysed a series of illustrations from this and later children's texts. Non-Welsh, and non-Celtic images were pointed out as prominent in the designs. Males are ubiquitously central, or the only subjects, while females are given a negative slant where they are not completely omitted. Edwards' first Welsh text for children as a cultural nationalist, fails to state he edits the narrative especially the Fourth Branch, though his is a lighter edit than Lanier.

Dr. Diana Luft, 'The Eighteenth-century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion' gave a detailed portrait of the 'reflowering' of the Mabinogi. Scholars of the 15th and 16thC were not unaware of the tales, but did not see them as useful in validating Geoffrey's *Historia* as a Welsh valorisation. Dr. Luft noted and expanded upon Llyud's dismissal of the Mabinogi as fantasy stories.

Ms. Margaret Lloyd, poetry reading from her 'Travelling On My Own Errands' published last April, brought a fitting end to the day. Rather than the great queens and stateswomen of their times, her poems bring us Mabinogi women as acquaintances we might know in modern situations, their emotions exposed and easily recognised.

The final session was a lively talk showing just how very stimulating and welcome the event had been. Prof. Davies suggested it be repeated next year, which was met with enthusiasm, so she invited anyone interested to contact her. Prof. Roberts presented her with a large, shiny package as a gift of appreciation for her much valued work on the Mabinogi and other areas.

Appendix 16: Scholars of the Mabinogi

Some key works have complete Contents list on the Bibliography listing.

The chronological list below begins 1706 with Edward Lhuyd. However this is complicated by Lhuyd's work which was composed at that time but not published until much later. Also before print publication antiquarians certainly exchanged ideas. Even more importantly, in the mediaeval period the sophisticated intricacy of the tales betrays astute discussion and debate, both contemporary and in prior development.

I have almost entirely excluded art works except a few which make theoretical points. Almost all items are prose commentary, not poetry. Divinity material is limited, fiction even more so. There are some social context works. Titles abbreviated.

WELSH RENAISSANCE

'Romance' and historical source

1706 Edward Lhuyd. *Archaeologia*, p. 262 (Latin). Long paraphrase, historical chieftains' perspective, noting four Branches with protagonists, and *Mynweir a Mynord* (PKM3 65.23. JKB 76.1).

c. 1715–17 Moses Williams, father Samuel Williams, associate William Thomas. Transcription from MSS.; legal points, apparent publication plan.

1757 Lewis Morris. Possible publication plan. Iron Age tribals. 'Collections' notebook, first statement of Mabinogi as Romances.

1795 – 1835 WILLIAM OWEN PUGHE. First publications, 1795, 1799, 1818, 1830. First and Fourth Branch, bilingual Welsh/ Engl. trans. Second Branch paraphrased (1828). Complete script ready to publish (1835). 'Romantic Tales.' Foremost Welsh scholar of his time. Both admired and critiqued (the latter for his distorted view of Welsh language). By later 19thC he was obscured. Pierce unsuccessful reclamation (1914). Savage critique Johnston (1957). Bromwich good portrait in article on Guest (1980). Carr biography (1983). Also Edward Jones, bard, Engl. trans. 2/3 First Branch (1802).

1838 -77 CHARLOTTE GUEST. First complete publication: series 7 vols. 1838, 1839, 1840, 1842, 1843, 1845, 1845. Repr. 3 vols. (1849). 2nd edn. 1 vol. Engl. text only (1877). All edns. 145 pages notes, lavish presentation. Recruited by Carnhuanawc, he and Tegid taught her; she was faithful to native Welsh scholarship, incl. the 'Mabinogion' error. Her wealth (extracted from Welsh labour) succeeded where previous attempts failed. Anglo-Welsh tensions (cf. Ed. Jones Engl. text above (1802), Oxford University, below. Gendered critiques. First Mabinogi text online (1999). Widely read still today.

1842 George Clarke. 'Welsh Fiction: The Mabinogion by Lady Charlotte Guest, Parts I, II, III, and IV' in *Monthly Review* journal.

1849 Thomas Stephens. *Literature of the Kymry*. Defines mediaeval prose tales as 'Mabinogion'. Uses 'mabinogi' for biography of pre-Arthurian, named character.

WELSH ACADEMIA FIRST CENTURY

Nationalist 'Celtic Mythology'

1856 and 1869 Max Müller, 'Comparative Mythology', solar/ chthonic, influenced Rhÿs.

1867 Matthew Arnold. English govt. official. Admired ancestral Welsh poetry but contempt for Welsh prose storytellers ignorance on what they build.

1868 William F. Skene. *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*. Source texts.

1888 JOHN RHŶS. First Prof. of Celtic, Oxford Univ. Prestige Hibbert Lectures. Est. fragmented Celtic myths model cf Arnold, but aimed for reclamation. Influenced by Müller's solar/ chthonic (light/ dark) opposition, but found it hard to apply to Mabinogi so he reworked characters and plot to fit, eg Pwyll (Mythological Reconstruction). Irish lore as senior tradition and his main focus.

1897–1908 EDWARD ANWYL. **First full focus studies of Mabinogi.** Rhys' student. Est. 'Four Branches of the Mabinogi' title. Balanced view of Mabinogi as both skilled literature and mythology. Structural analysis as three kindred Cycles: Rhiannon, Llyr, Don. Rhiannon-Cycle intersects other two. Ambivalent re central Pryderi saga theory. Rhiannon/ Epona, Horse Goddess, Great Mother fertility goddess, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1890). Suffix *-on* = divinity. Rhiannon–Rigantona, Teyrnnon–Tigernonos paired cults. Rhiannon Radnorshire homeland. Much place-name research. Student Elizabeth Lloyd, MA (1911).

1887, 1905, 1907 John Gwenogvryn Evans. *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 1 of 3 (1905). *White Book of Mabinogion* (1907) transcribed MS. Also *Red Book of Hergest* (1887).

1907 Eleanor Hull. 'Hades in Celtic Literature', critiques Classics' concept applied to Celtic material such as Annwfn.

1909 Marie Trevelyan. *The Folklore and Ghost Stories of Wales*. Source collection.

1910, 1928. Antti Aarne. *Types of Folklore*. Index of motifs, see Jackson (1961).

1912–1955 WILLIAM JOHN GRUFFYDD (WJG). '**Mabinogion**' (1912). **Rhiannon** (1953). Rhys' student. Politically powerful. Dominated 20thC Mabinogi Studies, developing Mythological Reconstruction to extremes, making tales unrecognisable. Claimed Pryderi's biography follows a (nonexistent) Irish model in four stages: 1) *compert*, 'conception or birth'; 2) *macgnimartha*, 'exploits'; 3) *indarba*, 'imprisonment'; and 4) *aided*, 'death'. His Pryderi Saga plot is reworked to match Irish *Mongàn* making Rhiannon a pawn of men, with 'bizarre' punishment for birthing a foal. Motivated by intense nationalism *contra* Arnold. Heavily critiqued by many scholars, dismissed, but only after his death. Used but suppressed Anwyl, eg. Epona.

1914 Thomas Mordaf Pierce. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe*. Attempt to rebuild Pughe's reputation after hostile suppression by the Oxford movement.

1914 Kenneth Morris. *Fates of the Princes of Dyfed*. First Mabinogi fiction, not well written.

1916 Josef Baudiš. 'Mabinogion'. Rare critique WJG.

1921 David Rhys Phillips. *Lady Charlotte Guest*, journal excerpts from her daughter Blanche.

1928 Tomas O Maille. 'Medb Chruachna'. Origin of Sovereignty Goddess theory, see Mckenna (1980).

1929 Thomas Peter Ellis and John Lloyd. *The Mabinogion*. First replacement of Guest translation. Careful, literal style useful for students' reference but oddly not well received by scholars. Ellis also published 'Legal References' (1928) on social/ legal parallels with mediaeval Wales' tribal society, see

1930 IFOR WILLIAMS. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (PKM) **the classic reference text** for scholars, still in use.. Compiled Middle Welsh text from all three source manuscripts, with Intro. and Notes. Dating. Supported Pryderi Saga theory, and *prif rieni* Branwen, Rhiannon, Arianrhod. Welsh text, see Harbert trans. excerpt on dating (1999)

1930s/ 1940s Evangeline Walton novels drafted, see Walton (1970s).

1943 Gildas Tibbott. 'Brief History of the Hengwrt-Peniarth Collection', NLW MSS.

1948 Robert Graves. *White Goddess*. Influential on modern Goddess movement, Triple Goddess, and Muse-Goddess as Rhiannon. Much influenced by radical feminist Laura Riding.

1949 Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones. *Mabinogion*. Translation competing Guest's dominance, who they clumsily critique. Modernised language later appears dated. Beautiful illustrations Margaret/ Mair Jones, see her poster map (2006).

1957 Arthur Johnston. 'William Owen-Pughe'. Overly negative, shallow assessment of Pughe's failure to publish a complete Mabinogi; overlooks inherited land challenges, and three major bereavements same

year.

1961–90 Folkore Studies. Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson 'International Tale' (1961) suggested use of Aarne's folklore index (1910ff.), eg. Calumniated Wife, Congenital Animals motifs. Juliette Wood critiqued Calumniated Wife application (1986) repr. Sullivan (1996), and explored goddess myths.

1968 RACHEL BROMWICH. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein (TYP)*. Research treasurehouse on Triads and mediaeval Welsh literature. Triads databank of three item units, memory aid for oral performer bards/ poets. Section per Triad, directory of characters, Intro. overview context. Poetry/ prose traditions overlap but also divergent traditions. Article on Pughe and Guest (1986, repr. Sullivan 1996), Guest material mainly from Phillips (1921).

1968– 1992 BRYNLEY F. ROBERTS grandfather of modern Mabinogi scholarship. From '*Penyd Rhiannon*' (1968) through a long list of articles on dating, social context, language and orality. Many of his ideas and analyses especially on oral development, appear in the work of his protégée Sioned Davies (eg 1993). His Chapter V 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi' in his anthology *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (1992), is recommended.

1970 Thomas Mowbray Charles-Edwards. 'The Date of the Four Branches'. Repr. Sullivan (1996). Also works on the honour system (1978), and in Jenkins ed. WLW 1980).

1974-99 Eric Hamp. 'Mabinogi', Mabon and Modron (1974). 'Mabinogi and Archaism' (1999).

COHERENCE PARADIGM (1970)

Unified, sophisticated literature; feminist analysis

1970-2007 JOHN K. BOLLARD. Est. paradigmatic change from broken myths to unified, intricate literature. (Cf. Anwyl though not aware of him due to WJG suppression 1912-53). 'Literary Assessment' (1970); 'Structure' (1974); 'Myth and Tradition' (1983). Explores 'interlacings', similarity links (sometimes contrasting) transcending the sequences of narrative time. Bollard saw these links aiding Mabinogi unity, also bearing moral/ social themes of marriage, friendship, feud. *Legend and Landscape*, trans. (2006, PDF online 2021) with substantial commentary analysis; landscape photography Andrew Griffiths. His translation text is pleasantly readable with unobtrusive notes in margins. Maps, helpful lists, Intro and final analysis. 'What Is The Mabinogi?' (online 2007).

1970s EVANGELINE WALTON, set of four fantasy novels derived from the Mabinogi strong influence on popular knowledge. Though fiction, well researched, frequent Mabinogi phrasing. Walton explicitly strives to avoid violation of source in plot and characterisations cf. Sullivan's 'conscientious use' (2004). She owns to some adjustment of PKM3. All except PKM1 drafted 1933–39, influenced by Frazer's seasonal fertility cycle (1890); Briffault's *Mothers* (1927); sovereignty O Maille (1928). Feminist, matriarchal goddess thealogy informs her expansions. The thealogy is knowingly aligned with Buddhist traditions eg. bodhisattva. *Prince of Annwn*, PKM1 (1974) written last. *Children of Llyr*, PKM2 (1971). *Song of Rhiannon*, PKM3 (1972). *Island of the Mighty* (1971; 2nd edn. *Virgin and Swine* 1933). *Mabinogion Tetralogy*, all four (2002). See commentaries Hooker, and Thomas (2011); Hammond (2013); Anderson (2017).

1973 Rhiannon Mary Davies. 'The Moral Structure of Pedeir Keinc Y Mabinogi', PhD.

1975 Andreas Meirion Pennar. 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature' D Phil. Ch. 4 Mabinogi, also Lawbooks Ch. 1. Profiles the Queen, Rhiannon, Teyrnon's Wife, Branwen (comments on Cymidei), Cigfa, Goewin, Arianrhod, and Blodeuedd; but not Lady Mouse, nor Rhiannon's Maids. Contrasts 'simple' (unassertive) e.g. Queen, and stronger, assertive women. Well known for his feminism, he favours South Welsh women: 'commanding' Rhiannon has eleven pages. Predates Valente on goddess/ woman (1986) though undeveloped comment. Remained obscure until Morgain (2024) possibly as he did not publish this or related articles.

1976 Jeffrey Michael Gantz. ed. trans. *The Mabinogion*. Penguin popular publication, not well received by scholars. 'Thematic Structure', collects interlacings with simple analysis of good/ bad morality (1978), repr. Sullivan (1996).

1977 Proinsias Mac Cana, *The Mabinogi*. Single volume study. Mythological approach, following WJG but also critiques him. See Valente critique of Mac Cana (1986). His *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (1980) usefully shows WJG's four-part Irish biography model for Pryderi did not exist.

1977/78 Sean O'Coileain. 'Thematic Study Pwyll'. Repr. Sullivan 1996.

1977-88 PATRICK K. FORD. *Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales (1977 later Kindle)*. Trans. selects 'native' tales only, plus *Ystoria Taliesin* and *Cad Caddeu*. Long informative Introduction, both mythological and structural analysis, so transitional scholar from this to the next period. Some influence from WJG but mainly stands alone and wears well to date. Acute structural and mythological analysis *Cyfranc y Caseg a'r Mab* / 'Adventure of Mare and the Boy' roots in Teyrnnon's PKM1 account. Gives the long reach of the horse theme in later Branches (cf. Morgain, below), and identity play of 'hippomorphic' / human woman. A very readable translation still much enjoyed today. Useful lists. 'Prolegomena' (1981) repr. Sullivan 1996). 'Celtic Women: The Opposing Sex' (1988).

1977 Ian Charles Lovecy. 'Celtic Sovereignty Theme'. Concludes an Irish phenomenon, no application to Welsh traditions. Sovereignty scholars generally unaware of his research.

1977 Ann W. Merrill. 'Structural Analysis Limitations Women'.

1980, 1992 Dafydd Jenkins & Morfydd. E. Owen, eds. *Welsh Law of Women (WLW)*. Important anthology for social context.

1980 Catherine Mckenna. 'Sovereignty in Pwyll', repr. Sullivan 1996. Also 'Manawydan' 1999. Unaware of Lovecy (1977).

1981 Elizabeth Hanson-Smith. 'Pwyll, Narrative Structure'. Repr. Sullivan (1996)

1981/82 R. M. Jones. 'Narrative Structure in Medieval Welsh Prose Tales'. Repr. Sullivan 1996. The clearest account of structural interlacings in the anthology.

1981- 88 Nerys Patterson. *Women* in mediaeval Welsh society and Mabinogi. Relative gender similarity when younger, 'woman as vassal'(1988).

1982-2017 SIONED DAVIES Prolific, well-known scholar, chiefly known for her *Four Branches* (1996), and translation *The Mabinogion* (2005). The first, mentored by Brynley Roberts, meticulously arrays the many types of oral style appearing in the prose tales: descriptive intervals (interstices), structured units (episodes), triplicities, 'prefacing', complex characters given via action and prolific dialogues (minimal description), simple sentences with repetition and frequent connections ('and', 'said she'). Formulaic phrasings aid performer's memory. Her model of formulaic, integrated horse/ rider descriptions is powerful, and she also edited an anthology on horses in Celtic culture: her chapter 'Horses in the Mabinogion' (1997). 'Charming Guest' (2004) strong defence, original primary research; cf. White (1995, 1996). Her *Mabinogion* translation (2005) reflects her oral research in its laconic, live style; Intro. and endnotes are brief essentials aimed at a popular audience.

1983- 2009 Glenda Carr. *William Owen Pughe*. Biography (1983), cf. Bromwich (1986). Also 'Uneasy Partnership Iolo Morganwg and William Owen Pughe' (2009).

1986 Bromwich well researched article on Pughe and Guest (repr. Sullivan anthology 1996). See Bromwich main entry (1968).

1986 -88 'ROB' VALENTE. 'Merched y Mabinogi', (Women of the Mabinogi), PhD 1986. Pioneer of feminist study of the Mabinogi. Neither she, nor other scholars have been aware of Pennar (1975) but Valente still holds pride of place for analysis. E.g. Mac Cana had disparaged PKM3 Rhiannon as a failed goddess for impulsively rushing to rescue her son. Valente finds a

goddess often obscures the woman: here the natural (conventional) mother's reaction. She locates the power of Mabinogi women in their deployment of voice in advice and rebuke. 'Gwydion and Aranrhod' (1988) examines PKM4 in terms of transgressive gendering.

1987 John Koch. 'Iron Age: Manawydan, Mandubracios'.

Also 2005 ed. *Celtic Encyclopedia*: various relevant articles

1989 –2015 Miranda J. Green. Mythological, symbolism, archaeology and art research on Celtic deities, triplism, horse and other animals.

1989 Revel Guest and Angela V. John. *Lady Charlotte: A Biography*. 2nd abridged edn. *Extraordinary Life*. The *Mabinogion* period is just one aspect/ section of the biography.

1989 KATHY JONES. *The Shining Ones*. 'Avalonian Rhiannon', an aberrant tradition, developed from this ritual drama for her Glastonbury Goddess Temple. Many feminists at the time had little access to academic sources and felt they were hostile to women anyway, so created their own interpretations. Jones rejected the Mabinogi as too masculine (arguably understandable), but never connected with its emergent feminist scholarship since Valente (1986). The result is Rhiannon as a sex-love goddess, in major contrast to her courtly, strategic *persona* in the Mabinogi. Rhiannon's 'ambling' horse transforms to wild eroticism. A structured training in Rhiannon priesthood developed see Soetens (2014). See critique John Davies' diatribe (1993); Rodway, and Morgain (2017); Sullivan 'conscientious use' (2004).

1989 –90 Andrew Welsh. 'Manawydan New Man' (1989 repr. Sullivan 1996). 'Doubling Incest' (1990).

1990 Claire A. French. 'Masculinity and Femininity in 'The Mabinogion'', PhD.

1990–2015 Lauran Toorians. 'Flemish Settlement in Pembrokeshire' (1990), ethnic clearance of Huws on PKM3 (2013). 'Luxuria, Gula Pwyll' ref. Queen Annwn (2014). 'No Badger in the Bag' (2015) development of motif over centuries, finding the Mabinogi its origin.

1993 Peter Clement Bartrum. *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*. Index of legendary and literary characters.

1993 John H. Davies. 'Three Things There Are ...'. Welsh Celtic diatribe against expropriation of Welsh heritage such as the Mabinogi; cf. Jones (1989); Sullivan 'conscientious use' (2004). Rodway, Morgain 2017.

1993-2013 Ian Hughes. 'Mabinogi and Medieval Welsh Poetry' (2006) examines the overlap between prose and poetry/ *Trioedd* traditions and divergence, in detail cf. Bromwich TYP (1961). Marks a severe lack of Rhiannon and associated characters outside prose esp. PKM3. Analyses PKM3 as a triple (tripartite) structure, with many triplicities (2007). PKM4: *Math* (2013).

1994 Erica J. Sessle. 'Limitations of the Sovereignty Goddess, Rhiannon'. Follows Valente (1986)

1995 Jessica Hooker (later Hemming) First historical account of Mabinogi Studies (PhD. 1995) giving four stages: Mythological, Folkloric, Sociological, Structural (cf. Sullivan 1996, Parker 1998, Morgain 2024). Critiques WJG. Finds 'bizarre' Rhiannon penance was unusual but historical penalty for treason (1997, 1998). Colours signifying enchantment: red, white, black (2012, 2013).

1995– Donna Rae White. 'Crimes of Lady Charlotte Guest' (1995). 'Further Crimes' (1996). Defense against critiques, see also Sioned Davies (2004). Also *Century of Welsh Myth in Children's Literature* (1998).

1996 CHARLES WILLIAM SULLIVAN III. *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, later Kindle. Very important anthology, chronicling the new paradigm emergence (not feminist aspect). Intro. gives historical development, referring to a Celtic period (here Welsh Academia), then parallel Structural, Thematic approaches (cf. Hemming 1995, Parker 1998, Morgain 2024). CONTENTS: Bromwich, 'Guest'. TP Charles-Edwards, 'Date'. Wood, 'Calumniated Wife'. Keefer 'Dylan'. Ford, 'Branwen'. Welsh, 'Manawydan New Man'. O'Coileáin, 'Thematic Pwyll'. Hanson-Smith, 'Pwyll Structure'. Bollard, 'Structure'. Ford, 'Prolegomena Pwyll, Manawydan'. *R. M. Jones, 'Narrative Structure'. Gantz, 'Thematic Structure'. Bollard, 'Myth and Tradition'. McKenna, 'Sovereignty'. Valente, 'Gwydion Arianrhod Gender'. Sullivan, 'Inheritance and Lordship'.

*Some of the articles from the new paradigm seem unclear in places as new ideas were working out: R.M. Jones gives the clearest account of interlacings. Also 'Conscientious Use: Welsh Celtic Myth and Legend' (2004), cf. Davies diatribe (1993); Rodway, Morgain (2017).

1997 Fiona Winward. 'Some Aspects of the Women'. Gendered perceptions of power.

1998 Bernhard Maier. Pagan past reflected in the Mabinogi (1998). Mabon theory, 2001.

1998 Mick Tems. 'Mari Lwyd'. May relate to Rhiannon.

1999 Wayne Harbert. 'The Time of the Four Branches', Translated excerpt from Williams' PKM (1930), *Rhagymadrodd* pp. xxii - xxiv.

TWENTY FIRST CENTURY

Mabinogi online

1998 - WILL PARKER. 'Bibliographic Essay'. MSc thesis (1998, online 2002). Historical summary of Mabinogi Studies, notes Pughe and Welsh scholars but chiefly marks 'Old School' reconstruction, and 'Revisionists' (here Coherence Paradigm): cf. Hemming (1995), Sullivan (1996), Morgain (2024). Also composite translation online (2003) useful for fast searches. His magnum opus *Four Branches* (2005) is a substantial mythological study. Also a collection of articles, his website mabinogion.info

1999 Gien Jansen, 'Miss Gien'. 'Mabinogion'. First Mabinogi text (Guest) online. Arthurian site.

2000 -2022 Daniel Huws. *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (2000), updated and expanded to 3 vols. (2022). The definitive resource on Welsh manuscripts.

2001 Mary Jones. Collection of public domain texts posted online, also Celtic Encyclopedia.

2002 Robin Chapman Stacey. 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style'. Social context. Theory awkward divorce allocations are deterrent.

2003 Heather Rose Jones. 'Yrof a Duw'. Examines this common expletive.

2003 Pamela J. Porter. 'Romantic Love in Medieval Marriage'. Social context.

2003 Ned Sturzer. 'Inconsistencies in Welsh Tales'. Lists nine. Almost all can be resolved by attention to text and context.

2004 Sean Davies. *War and Society in Medieval Wales*. Social context.

2005 Helen Fulton. 'The Mabinogi and the education of princes in medieval Wales', teaching text for princes (2005). Also 'Cultural Meanings in the Mabinogi' (2000).

c. 2005 -2012. Jennifer MacCormack. 'Mabinogi Study' students' online discussion forum.

2005 Alfred K. Siewers. 'Mabinogi As Mystagogy Of Landscape'.

2006 Margaret/ Mair Jones. 'Poster y Mabinogion', map of Mabinogi territory marked with illustrative cartoon images. Also illustrator many of the Jones and Jones editions.

2006 Lisa Spangenberg. 'What Is the Mabinogion?' Teaching resource online. Compares Jones and Jones (1948), Ford (1977) translations.

2007 Renske van der Linden. 'Pwyll Legal elements', MA.

2007- 13 Peter Wynn Thomas, Diana Luft and Mark D. Smith. 'Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425', 'Welsh Prose 1350-1425'. Welsh MSS. text online.

2009- 12. Andrew Breeze. *Origins of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi*. Theorises female composer, proposes Gwenllian (2009). Teyrnnon's name (2009), political geography 'Moor, Court, and River' (2012).

2009 Jonathan Miles-Watson. *Welsh Mythology: A Neo-Structuralist Analysis*. Importance of counsellors, females or junior males.

2009 Nikolai Tolstoy. *The Oldest British Prose Literature*. Oddities of text may represent historical events in Britain and Ireland in the early 11thC.

2010 G. R. Isaac, Simon Rodway, Silvia Nurmio, Kit Kappahn, and Patrick Sims-Williams, MS. Peniarth 6, text download.

2010- 17 Diana Luft. Primary source research on 18thC Welsh antiquarians: Welsh Renaissance.

2011 Audrey L. Becker, Kristin Noone, eds. *Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture: Essays on Adaptations in Literature, Film, Television and Digital*.

2011 Sian Cleaver. 'The Mabinogion', Bookdrum, online. Attractive presentation.
2011 Susan F. Garlick. 'Horses, Swine and Magical Birds in Mabinogion'. MA.
2011 Deborah Hooker. 'Disavowing Maternity in Evangeline Walton's The Virgin and the Swine: Fantasy Meets the Social Protest Fiction of the 1930s'. See Walton (1970s). See Thomas (2011); Hammond (2013); Anderson (2017).
2011 Sebastian Rider-Bezerra. 'Mabinogion Project: A Brief History', online. Inaccurate details but some useful passages and quotes. History not structured development stages. Arthurian slant.
2011 Patrick Sims-Williams. *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*.
2011. Lyle Tompsen. 'Mari Lwyd'. May relate to Rhiannon.
2011–13 Nicole A. Thomas. **Commentaries on Evangeline Walton.** 'Branwen's Shame: Voicing the Silent Feminine' (2011). 'The Male Mother', of Blodeuedd (2011). 'Penardim's Sacrifice' (2011). 'Daughters of Modron, Feminist Re-visioning' (2013). See also Hammond (2013)
2013 Debra Hammond. 'Walton & her works'. See Walton (1970s).
2012 Josh Pitman. 'Christian Influences'. Unconvincing.
2013 SHÂN MORGAIN. 'Mabinogi Study' research website, articles, indices. 'The Mabinogi Bibliography' over 2,000 entries; online via Zotero, ongoing.
2013 Matthieu Boyd. 'Teaching Notes from a Personal Reading of the Mabinogi'. Ingenious solution to why Arawn cannot give Hafgan the single blow. Also (2017)
2013 Jennifer Cavill. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi (Overview)', research blog. 'Folkloric'. Table of narrative events.
2013–18 Simon Rodway. *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature* (2013) 'Celtic Mythology' critique of misappropriation and bowdlerisation (2017, 2018). Also Peniarth 6 (2010).
c. 2014. BBC Wales. 'The Mabinogion', online. Requests to correct errors refused.
2014 Mary E. Brown. 'The Depiction of the Otherworld in Four Branches', MA.
2019 Mary-Ann Constantine 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century',
2014 Lee Raye. 'The harvest mice (*Micromys Minutus*) in 'Manawydan'. Species.
2014 Danna R. Messer. 'Uxorial Lifecycle and Female Agency'. Useful social context.
2014 Katinka Soetens. *Sacred Sexual Priestess Empowerment, Rhiannon Goddess of Love and the Wild Maiden.* Teachings of 'Avalonian Rhiannon' by the Glastonbury Goddess Temple. As the title shows this Rhiannon is a sex goddess. Cf. Kathy Jones (1989) originating source of this aberration.
2015 Alan Robert Phillips. 'Otherworld in The Four Branches'. Collected data, little analysis.
DATE? Gina Siano. 'Sovereignty: Love Triangles and Seasonality', MA. PKM4 focus.
2015 Joseph Shack. 'Otherworld and Norman "Other": Annwfn'.
2017 Douglas A. Anderson 'The Novels of Evangeline Walton' see Walton (1970s).
2017 Kathy E. Shimpock. 'The "Unlikely Female" MA. Unconventional Mabinogi women.
2018 Elaine S. Eichner. 'Magical Birds as a Link between the Mabinogion and other Celtic Literature'.
2018 Matthew Francis. *The Mabinogi*. Retelling as poetry, reversing the Mabinogi innovation of prose story telling.
2018 Thomas D. Hill and Kristen Mills. '(Pregnant) Mouse Freed from the Gallows' (PKM3).
2018 Jhenah Telyndru. *Rhiannon: Divine Queen of the Celtic Britons*. Accurate portrayal in a context of living veneration, though flawed by sovereignty theory.
2018 John Waddell. 'Equine Cults and Celtic Goddesses'.
2018, 2019 Emma Watkins. 'Female Storytellers', develops Valente's concept of female power through voice, Rhiannon. Radical drama, and thesis.
2022 Melantha Snow. 'Legends for Learning: review Mabinogi written for the primary school in light of the new Curriculum for Wales'.
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2013 SHÂN MORGAIN Mabinogi Rhiannon: *gwraig o rym a'i theulu; safbwyntiau llenyddol, gwleidyddol, thealogaidd, celfyddydol a strwythurol* woman of power & her kindred; literary, political, theological, arts, & structural perspectives. (PhD thesis submitted Swansea University March 2024)

END_____

Mabinogi Rhiannon (2025): LLYFRYDDIAETH/ BIBLIOGRAPHY

All entries are listed under Sources to aid searches i.e. the main list includes duplicates of the Primary Sources and English Translations lists.

With particular thanks to Alan Llwyd for methodical aub-edits, and Taliesin Morgan for checking all URLs for duds since I recorded them. Any remaining error is my responsibility.

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TITUS online text; Jost Gippert, Frankfurt a/M, 6.12.2005:

<<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/celt/mcymr/pkm/pkm.htm>> Accessed 17/12/2013;

Checked 28/03/2024]

Frequently used as a common source text to give page + line references. Lettering (typography) is standardised. The pagination of the three source MSS. is noted inline. Gaps e.g. Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch damage, are completed from Llyfr Coch Hergest, the later version. *Rhagymadrodd*/ Introduction, pp. i – xlxvii; Testun, pp. 1– 91; *Nodiadau*/ Notes, pp. 92– 303; in Mod. Welsh. Glossary, and Index to the Notes. Section on dating the Mabinogi *Rhag.* /Intro., pp. xxii - xxiv, available in English, trans. by Wayne Harbert. 'The Time of the Four Branches', in *Arthurian Literature and Christianity: Notes from the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Meister, Peter (NY: Garland Publications, 1999), pp. 3–5. Available online, google books.
Introduction

AND

Burl, Aubrey. 2008. *Courts of Love, Castles of Hate: Troubadours and Trobairitz in Southern France 1071-1321* (History Press), p. 70, Poem I, stanza 2.

Jaufre Rudel poem/ song seems to parallel Rhiannon courtship.

Trobar: <www.trobar.org/troubadours/jaufre_rudel/jaufre_rudel_01.php> [Accessed Feb. 2020]

I.3. Other Sources: #4.

Bromwich, Rachel. 1961. (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP)

Scribd: <<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydein-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>> [Accessed 12/02/13; Checked 28/03/2024, DELETED]

I.4. Advent

--- and D. Simon Evans, eds. 1988. *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Cardiff: UWP)

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I.3. Other Sources: #2 *Culhwch*.

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I.3. Other Sources: #8.

Ford, Patrick K. ed. 1992. *Ystoria Taliesin* (UWP), p. 83, ll. 626-29.

Ystoria Taliesin 16thC MS., clearly much older. Possible allusion wedding plot.

I.3. Other Sources: #9.

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Awdl honouring Hywel ap Goronwy, king of Ystrad Tywi, pp. 289–291.

I.3. Other Sources: #3.

Ifans, Rhiannon; Ann Parry Owen, W. Dyfed Rowlands, and E. H. Rheinallt, eds. *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog, Mab Clochyddyn, Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch ac Ithel Ddu* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1997), p. 15, poem 2.

Goronwy Gyriog. 14thC court elegy, names Rhiannon as bardic patroness.

Also Dream Awdl.

I.3. Other Sources: #6 and #7.

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

Peniarth 6, Text Download, MSWord format.

Cadair Aberstwyth: <<https://research.aber.ac.uk/en/datasets/13th-century-middle-welsh-prose-manuscripts>> Accessed 18/05/2023 See Peniarth 6 entry. Checked 28/03/24 New link.

<doi.org/10.20391/3abf4ef1-e364-4cce-859d-92bf4035b303>

I.7. Etymology

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

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I.4. Advent

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NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch/>> Accessed 17/12/2016

I.4 Advent

Thomson, Robert Leith (R. L.). 1968. *Owein, or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* (Dublin: DIAS)

Inverted version of Rhiannon advent.

I.3. Other Sources: #5.

Williams, Ifor, ed. 1931. *Gwyneddion 3* (Caerdydd), p. 267.

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I.3. Other Sources: #9.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

DEFAULT

Reasons for default selection given in my Introduction pp. xiv-xivi.

Bollard, John K. ed. and trans. 2006. *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*. Bicolumnar text, illust. by Anthony Griffiths' photography of Welsh landscape sites (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press)

PDF available online. Notes are boxed inline, for ease of reference.

CONTENTS: Introduction p. 9. Map p. 10. Photographer's Notes p. 16. Genealogies p. 17. First Branch pp. 18– Second Branch pp. 42 Third Branch pp. 62 Fourth Branch pp. 78. (Many photos of MSS., landscapes) Afterword p. 110-22. Index of Proper Names and Guide to Pronunciation p. 124.

Possibly due to its size and beautiful photography so higher price, the book has not had the attention it merits. Recommended as a standard text. Translation is accurate and flowing, easy for a modern reader to enjoy while faithful to the original. Bollard pioneered a new approach to Mabinogi scholarship which revolutionised it.

Now available as a free PDF download.

Online PDF 2021, Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/27202196/Landscapes_of_The_Mabinogi?email_work_card=view-paper>

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(Historical order)

Owen, William (post 1806 as **Pughe**). 1795. 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *Cambrian Register*, I (London: E & T Williams), pp. 177–87

First Mabinogi text in print. Text is bilingual, Welsh – English on facing pages, bicolumnar style, covering *Pwyll I*, the Annwfn adventure. Equivalent PKM1 1.1– 8.26. JKB 19.1–25.1. Sometimes printing date listed 1796, i.e. it reports works from 1795. *Cambrian Register* was the first serious Welsh journal, published in book format, collecting history, prose tales, *Trioedd*, poetry and letters.

Text available online, NLW, & google books.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2886559/193#?xywh=-320%2C99%2C2965%2C1881>> Accessed 10/02/2015

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Welsh & English text, bicolumnar pages. Title page shows '1796', then at the bottom '1799'; presumably as this volume continues Vol. I, 1795/96. Text equiv. PKM1 8.27– 12.6. JKB 27.2. Pughe finishes with an appeal for help to access a copy MS. so as to continue, p. 327.

Available online, NLW, or google books.

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Pughe, William Owen. 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 230–46

Bilingual Welsh English text, bicolour pages. Cont. from CR.I. and II. Text equiv. PKM1 12.7–20.12. JKB 27.2.– 34.1. Possible Tegid MS. connection, see Ch. I.5. Tegid.

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I.3. Etymology

--- 1821. 'The Tale of Pwyll', in *Cambro-Briton Journal*, II, ed. by Parry, John Humffreys, pp. 271–75

English trans. text only. Not explicitly attributed to Pughe but the translation matches his *Cambrian Register I* (1795) almost entirely.

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/celticresearch00davi/page/n5/mode/2up>> Accessed 17/08/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1828. 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed. by Croker, Thomas Crofton (London: John Murray), pp. 163–91 Substantial, c. 40 pages. Incl. 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', (PKM2) pp. 189-90.

CONTENTS: Title page plus Introduction by Croker to Pughe's trans. (pp. 158 – 63). Letter from Pughe about the Mabinogion (pp. 163 – 76) Pughe, Pwyll I, cf. 1795; with notes (pp. 177– 82). 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran'. Includes Branwen's advice dialogue re British ships (pp. 189-90); other speech is reported.

Probably drafted by Pughe, or possibly Croker from Pughe's MS. cf. Gunn draft notes 1819 (p. 183 -91). 'Mythological Persons' lists pp. 192 -99.

I.5. Text

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

PKM1 text pp. 27–30, ending when Rhiannon and Pwyll part, PKM1 13.13. JKB 28.2.

Jones describes the text as 'faithful translation from a Welsh manuscript in the Author's collection; and a great part of the British original may also be found in the Red Book, in the archive of Jesus College, Oxford.' Footnote p. 30. See also Griffiths, Ann.

Archive Org: <https://archive.org/stream/The_Bardic_Museum/BardicMuseum#page/n2/mode/1up> Accessed 7/07/14

I.4 Advent

Guest, Charlotte. ed. trans. 1877. *The Mabinogion, From the Welsh of the Llyfr Coch o Hergest (The Red Book of Hergest) in the Library of Jesus tCollege, Oxford Translated, with Notes*. Illust. Samuel Williams engravings, 2nd edn, abridged, English text only in 1 vol. (London, 15 Piccadilly: Bernard Quaritch)

Incl. 145 pages of scholarly Notes in sections following each Branch.

Also many Footnotes. The Mabinogi text is mainly in the original vol. VI, pp. 339–440; note the Welsh text PKM1 / *Pwyll* precedes it in vol. V.

CONTENTS Dedication p. v. Preface to the Second Edition pp. vii-viii. Contents p. ix.

(Vol. VI) 'Pwyll Prince of Dyved', pp. 339-359. Notes to 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed', pp. 360–365

'Branwen the Daughter of Llyr', pp. 369-384. Notes to 'Branwen the Daughter of Llyr', pp. 385-393.
'Manawyddan the Son of Llyr', pp. 397-410. Note on 'Manawyddan the Son of Llyr', pp. 411-12.
'Math the Son of Mathonwy', pp. 413-433. Notes to 'Math the Son of Mathonwy', pp. 433-440.

John Bruno Hare, 'Internet Sacred Texts Archive', Guest, 2nd. ed. (4/3/2004).
Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/index.htm>> Accessed 28/12/2013 Includes Introduction, all Samuel Williams' illustrations, all Notes. Many online versions lack the complete contents. Sacred Texts Contents list <<https://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/mab/pageidx.htm>> [Accessed 15/03/2023]

I.4 Advent. Main content II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Ellis, Thomas Peter (T. P.) and John **Lloyd**, eds. trans. 1929. *The Mabinogion: A New Translation by T.P. Ellis and John Lloyd*, in 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Preface, pp. vii– xi. Mabinogi text is pp. 4–132, with prefatory notes pp. 1–3. Bibliography, p. xii.

A careful, accurate translation which together with short Preface and some notes is often very helpful in understanding Welsh nuances, and social context. The translation was harshly criticised at the time by a newly established Welsh academia eager to demonstrate its strict credentials for rigour, and uncomfortably aware of the recent exposure of Iolo Morganwg's forgeries. Recommended as a student aid.

I.4 Advent

Jones Gwyn, and Thomas **Jones**, eds. trans. 1949. *The Mabinogion*. Illust. Mair Jones. Everyman series, 97 (London: J. M. Dent)

The Everyman edition 1949 quickly rivalled Guest in popularity: they critique her sharply. Its valiant attempt at balancing accuracy and romantic pleasure by a modern reader (of that time) has ironically left it slightly dated. Illustrated in this and later editions by Mair Jones who also published a Mabinogion poster map (2006). Beautifully illust. version Alan Lee, 1982.

I.4 Advent

Gantz, Jeffrey Michael. ed. trans. 1976. *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books)

Very popular via Penguin, but many scholars considered accurate. Gantz greater contribution comes 1996.

I.4 Advent

Ford, Patrick K. ed. trans. 1977. *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA, 1977; repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle)

Powerful departure from previous trans. as it selects out the 'native Welsh' tales from Anglo-Norman tales. Welsh nationalism was gaining ground.

CONTENTS: Map p. ii. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr pp. Preface p. ix-xii. Introduction pp. 1-30. Select Bibliography pp. 30-32.

Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Notes) pp. 35-37. Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Text) pp. 37–56. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 57-59. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Text) pp. 59-72. Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 73-75. Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Text) pp. 75-87. Math Son of Mathonwy (Notes) pp. 89-91. Math Son of Mathonwy (Text) pp. 91-109.

Llud and Lleuyllys (Notes) pp. 111-12. Llud and Lleuyllys (Text) pp. 113-17. Culhwch and Olwen (Notes) pp. 119-21. Culhwch and Olwen (Text) pp. 121-57. The Tale of Gwion Bach & The Tale of Taliesin (Notes) pp. 159-62. The Tale of Gwion Bach (Text) pp. 162-64. The Tale of Taliesin (Text) pp. 164-81. Appendix: Cad Caddeu (Notes) pp. 183-84. Cad Caddeu (Text) pp. 184. Glossary (of people and places) pp. 189–94. A Guide to Pronunciation pp. 195-96. Index of Proper Names (linked to the text pages) pp. 197-205.

The translation itself is clearly readable, and supported by extensive explanation, most of which survives very well. It bridges the mythological and the literary. Some of the mythological work is overshadowed by WJG, of the old school, but Ford was also an early practitioner of the new paradigm, see Bollard. The

exposition. 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ 'Adventure of the Mare and the Boy' pp. 3-14 precedes Mabinogi Rhiannon in closely similar scope because it inspired me; see my Ch. I.5. Text p. 30.

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Parker, Will. ed. trans. 2003. 'Text Translations', Mabinogi.Net

Composite translation drawn from DIAS editions for the First and Second Branches; and PKM for the Third and Fourth Branches. Made available online when no other was there except Guest (1999). Also his 'Bibliographic Essay', and extensive notes on literary, historical and linguistic aspects of the text: some speculative, many useful and insightful.

--- ed. trans. 2003. Header page, Contents list, Mabinogi.Net.

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/translations.htm>> [Accessed 2005]

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Pwyll', Mabinogi.Net

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/pwyll.htm>> [Last checked 11/07/2023]

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Branwen', Mabinogi.Net (2003).

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/branwen.htm>>

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Manawydan', Mabinogi.Net (2003).

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/manawydan.htm>> Accessed 19/09/2020

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Math', Mabinogi.Net, 2003

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/math.htm>> Accessed 29/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

Davies, Sioned, ed. trans. 2007. *The Mabinogion* (OUP)

CONTENTS: Intro., brief endnotes, Index.

Text style reflects Davies' research into orality and performance (reading aloud); often with controlled brevity. This is many readers' first choice as their standard translation.

I.4. Advent

SECONDARY SOURCES A-Z (MAIN LIST)

For convenience and completeness Primary Sources and Translations re-listed below.

Welsh alphabetical order, i.e. listings for Ll- follow L- ; Rh- follows R.

Publisher location is Britain unless otherwise stated.

URLs generally not included in chapter footnotes, only here, because URLs are bulky (can demand up to three lines). Footnote is marked (URL Bibliography) or similar.

The focus is Mabinogi Rhiannon, but also includes other Mabinogi/on texts.

This A-Z list below is as inclusive as possible. It repeats primary sources, translations from above, and includes illustrations, *some* artworks, recordings, film, games, presentations, performances, blogs, personal communications, and any other item cited in the Chapters.

Full list of artworks 'Illustrations' and 'Diagrams, Maps' in separate Front file.

Key entries annotated; esp. important texts give Contents list; also some obscured.

Wherever possible an author's full name is given, not initials, even if customarily they are known by initials only (feminist methodology to reveal female scholarship).

A few entries have been given as sources by other scholars, not directly sourced here. Stated in relevant footnote, here too. Included for completeness and convenience.

Chapter shown at the end of an entry is the first occurrence e.g. 'I.4. Advent'.

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---; and Stith Thompson, trans. expanded. 1928. *The Types of Folklore*. Folklore Fellows Communications, 74 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia)
II.6. Academia: Folklore

Abendroth, see Göettner-Abendroth.

Aberystwyth: "The World's Largest Mari Lwyd". Millennium celebrations.
Horniman Museum:
<<https://www.horniman.ac.uk/story/the-mystery-of-mari-lwyd/#:~:text=Aberystwyth%20even%20marked%20the%20millennium,to%20house%20at%20Christmas%20time.>> [Accessed 27/07/ 2023]
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Academia edu: < <https://www.academia.edu/> > [Accessed 2012– 22]
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Adams, John Paul. 2010. 'Euhemerus of Messene'
California State University: <<http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl1004/euhemerus.html>> [Accessed 28/06/2021]
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Addison-Wesley.1984. 'Jenny of the Prairie', *Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories*, IBM/ PC series
--- 1984. 'Cave Girl Clair', *Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories*, IBM/ PC series
--- 1985. 'Chelsea of the South Sea Islands', *Rhiannon Software Adventure Stories*, IBM/ PC series
Aids to help girls 7–12 yrs become familiar with computer keyboards and develop computer literacy. Heroines are strong young girls.
IX.2. Imaginary

Adelard of Bath. c. 1107-33. *Quaestiones Naturales / Natural Questions*
Argued animals have souls, i.e. judgement.
III.4. Equine

Adobe Inc. 06/18/2015. 'Who Created the PDF?'
Adobe: <https://blog.adobe.com/en/publish/2015/06/18/who-created-pdf>
[Accessed 28/03/2024]
American multinational computer software company, gives origin as 1991–2008.
II.9. 21stC

Adolph, Anthony. 2015. *Brutus of Troy, and the Quest for the Ancestry of the British* (Pen and Sword)
Anthony Adolph: <<https://anthonyadolph.co.uk/brutus-of-troy/>> [Accessed 14/12/2021]
Informative Bibliography.
III.2. Britain

Albarella, Umberto. 2010. 'Wild boar', in *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna*, ed. by OIX.2.'Connor, T. and N. Sykes (Oxbow Books), pp. 59– 67
White Rose, Sheffield: <http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/112814/>> [Accessed 20/03/21]

V.10 Pryderi: Manawydan

Alexander, Lloyd. 1964–68. *The Chronicles of Prydain*, 6 part series (NY: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston)

II.9.20/21stC ref Disney film. IX.2. Imaginary

Allan, K. 2009. 'The connotations of English colour terms: Colour-based X-phemisms', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, pp. 626– 637

Cf. Hemming.

I.4. Advent #5 Horse

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I.4. Advent

Alvar, Jaime. 2012. *Romanising Oriental Gods: Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (Brill)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Alvarez, Jorge Tabilo and Patricio Ramirez-Correa. 2023. 'A Brief Review of Systems, Cybernetics, and Complexity', *Complexity*.

Wiley Online Library (PDF) < <https://doi.org/10.1155/2023/8205320>>

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Anastasoff, Stevan. 2024. 'Tales From The Mabinogion' video game in Welsh

Nation Cymru: <<https://nation.cymru/culture/tales-from-the-mabinogion-video-game-to-launch-worldwide/>>

Ch. II.9. 21stC

Andersen, Hans. 1847, first publ. German 1835 –1872. *Tales for the Young* (James Burns)

II.3. Performance

Anderson, Douglas A. April 2017, rev. Jan. 2022. 'The Novels of Evangeline Walton', *Orcrist*, 9, pp. 6-9

With thanks for much kind assistance. See Hammond, Debra (on Walton); Morris, Kenneth

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Andrews, Rhian M. 1996. *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill Ail Hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (UWP)

V.10. Pryderi (opening passage)

Anon. c.200 BCE. 'The **Dying Gaul**', marble sculpture, 0.73 x 0.93m, formerly titled 'Dying Gladiator'.

Roman copy c. 200 BCE of a Hellenistic bronze figure c. 200 BCE. Capitoline Museum, Rome, no. 377, acquired 1884. II.6. Welsh Academy

Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology:

<<https://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/casts/dying-gaul>> Accessed 5/06/2021

II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Anthony, David W. 2007. 'The Domestication of the Horse and the Origins of Riding: The Tale of the Teeth', in *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*, ed. by Anthony (Princeton University Press), Ch. 10, pp. 193-224

III.4. Equine

ANWYL

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VII.1. Goddess Myths

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Archive org PDF: <https://archive.org/download/in.ernet.dli.2015.57110/2015.57110.Transactions-Of-The-Third-International-Congress-For-The-History-Of-Religions-Vol-2_text.pdf> [Accessed 31/08/2013]

II.7. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

—1912. 'The Verbal Forms in the White Book Text of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Miscellany presented to Kuno Meyer*, ed. by Bergin, Osborn, and Carl Marstrander (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag), pp. 79-90

VIII Structures

—1914. 'Introduction' to John Young Evans, *Y llyfr cyntaf Pryderi Fab Pwyll*, 'Pryderi son of Pwyll from the Red Book' (my trans.) (Oxford: Henry Frowde, OUP), pp. 5-9

IX. Gallery

See also Dictionary of Welsh Biography.

Apollodorus (or Pseudo-Apollodorus). 2ndC BCE. *Bibliotheca* / The Library (Alexandria)

Theoi (*kibisis*) <<https://www.theoi.com/Text/Apollodorus1.html>> [Accessed 14/08/2022]

Theoi (Hesperides) <<https://www.theoi.com/Nymphe/NymphaiThemeides.html>> [Accessed 14/08/2022]

VI.5. Bag

Apuleius, Lucius. c. 155 CE. *Metamorphoses*,

Patrick Gerard, trans. 1999. *The Golden Ass* (OUP)

Excerpt quoted Latin/ English.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Aquinas, Thomas. 1264. 'That the Souls of Dumb Animals Are Not Immortal', LXXXII, 1, in *Summa contra Gentiles / Of God and His Creatures*. Latin text
V.3. Gwawl

Arden, Lady Justice. 2016. 'The Judicial System of England and Wales: a visitor's guide', *Judicial Office International Team:: Circuit Judges*, Judiciary UK
Judiciary UK: <<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/international-visitors-guide-10a.pdf>> [Accessed 30/11/ 2019] See also Courts and Tribunals Judiciary.
III. 3. Hierarchy

Ardinger, Barbara. 12/07/2014. 'An Archaic Trinity of Goddesses? Not Necessarily'
Feminism and Religion: <<https://feminismandreligion.com/2014/12/07/an-archaic-trinity-of-goddesses-not-necessarily-by-barbara-ardinger/>> [Accessed 23/08/22]

Aristotle; Arthur Platt, trans. 1910. *De Generatione animalium/ 'On the Generation of Animals'* (Clarendon Press)
Archive org: <<https://archive.org/stream/worksof aristotle512aris#page/n321/mode/2up/search/platt>> [Accessed 20/12/ 2015]
II.8 Feminism

Arnold, Matthew. 1867. *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, Part II (London: Smith, Elder, & Co.)
Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/scl/scl04.htm>> [Accessed 1/12/13]
Famous quote p.. 61.
Introduction
—1852–1882. *General Report for the Year 1852*, HM Reports on Elementary Schools
II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Askew, R. J. 2018. *In The Room With Three Doors* (Independent, 2018)
Fiction. Modern young woman creates love triad relationship with two male friends, psychologically transformative journey.
IX.2. Imaginary

Axelrod, David B.; Carol F. Thomas, and Lenny Schneir. 2014. *Merlin Stone Remembered: Her Life and Works*. 2014. (Llewellyn)
See Stone, Merlin.
VII.4. Ven

Axon, William E. A. 1908. 'Apollo Maponus, Mabon, and the Legend of the Oldest Creatures', *Transactions Lancs. Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, XXIV, 105
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Babylon, Blair. 2014. *What A Girl Wants*, Rock Stars in Disguise: Rhiannon series, 1 (Malachite Publishing)
Fiction. YA rock music, addiction.
IX.2. Imaginary

Bachofen, Johann Jakob. 1861. *Das Mutterrecht und Urreligion Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*, Mother Right: A Study of the Religious and Juridical Aspects of Gynecocracy in the Ancient World (Stuttgart: Verlag von Kraus und Hoffmann)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Bachrach, Bernard S. 2011. *Early Carolingian Warfare Prelude to Empire*. 'The Middle Ages Series' (University of Pennsylvania Press)

II.4. Equine

Bamberger, Joan. 1974. 'The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society', in *Women, Culture and Society*, ed. by M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford University Press), pp. 263–80
Radical Anthropology: <<http://radicalanthropologygroup.org>> [Accessed 21/09/2021. Article no longer listed but the Journal may provide it on request.]

I.8. Feminism

Bárány, Attila. 2013. 'Medieval Queens and Queenship: the Present Status of Research in Income and Power', *Annual of Medieval Studies CEU*, 19, pp. 149-199

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/4465209/Medieval_Queens_and_Queenship_the_Present_Status_of_Research_in_Income_and_Power_Annual_of_Medieval_Studies_at_the_CEU_19_2013_149-199> [Accessed 21/09/2021]

II.8. Feminism

Bartrum, Peter Clement. 1960–62. 'Fairy Mothers', *BBCS*, 19, pp. 6–8

V. 3 Hyfaidd

— 1963. 'Pedigrees of the Welsh Tribal Patriarchs', *NLWJ*, XIII, 2, pp. 93–146

V. 3 Hyfaidd

— 1993. *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000*, H-LL (Aberystwyth: NLW), pp. 409-490

NLW:

<https://www.library.wales/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/new_structure/discover/digital_exhibitions/printed_material/welsh_classical_dictionary/07_H-LL.pdf> [Accessed 13/06/2014. Replaced 28/03/2024]

List of volumes, links: <<https://www.library.wales/discover-learn/digital-exhibitions/printed-material/a-welsh-classical-dictionary>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

V. 3 Hyfaidd

Baudiš, Josef. 31 March 1916. 'Mabinogion', *Folklore*, 27, 1, pp. 31-68

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1254884>> [Accessed 11/12/20]

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

BBC. 22 June 2012. 'Stonehenge was built to unify Britain, researchers conclude'

BBC: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-18550513>> [Accessed 27/11/2019]

See also Pearson, Mike.

III.2. Britain

BBC Wales. c. 2014. 'The Mabinogion'

BBC Wales: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/society/myths_mabinogion.shtml> [Accessed 2018-20]

Inaccurate. Repeated requests to correct inaccuracies have been refused.

II.9. 21stC

--- 3/10/2019. 'Badger baiting: The story behind the convictions'

BBC Wales: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-49893573>> [Accessed 27/02/2020]

V.4. Gwawl

Beasley, Chris. 1999. *What is Feminism?: An Introduction to Feminist Theory* (London/ US/ New Delhi: Sage Publications)

Three broad categories analysis. See Setch.

VI.8. Feminism

de **Beauvoir**, Simone. 1949. *Le Deuxième Sexe* (Paris: Gallimard)

trans. by H. M. Parshley. 1953. *The Second Sex*, (Jonathan Cape)

Marxists org: <<https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/ethics/de-beauvoir/2nd-sex/index.htm>>

[Accessed 2/04/21]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Beck, Cheryl T. 1996. 'A Meta-analysis of Predictors of Postpartum Depression', *Nursing Research*, 45, pp. 297-303

VII.5. Theologies

Becker, Audrey L., and Kristin Noone, eds. 2011. *Welsh Mythology and Folklore in Popular Culture: Essays on Adaptations in Literature, Film, Television and Digital* (Jefferson: McFarland)

See Hooker, Deborah; Noone, Kristin; Thomas, Nicole.

IX.2. Imaginary

Beckwith, Melissa E. 2017. *Tree of Bone and Mist*, Sword of Rhiannon series, 1 (Woodland Cottage Publications)

— 2017. *War of the Gypsy*, Sword of Rhiannon series, 2 (Woodland Cottage Publications)

— 2018. *Sword of Stone*, Sword of Rhiannon series, 3 (Woodland Cottage Publications)

Fiction fantasy. Some Mabinogi resemblance. Adventurer heroine in alternate world. Rhiannon wins an empire, lover, faces tragedy as mother.

IX.2. Imaginary

Berger, Daniel, Jeffrey S. Soles, Alessandra R. Giumlia-Mair, Gerhard Brüggemann. Ehud Galili, Nicole Lockhoff; Ernst Pernicka, eds. 26/06/2019. 'Isotope systematics and chemical composition of tin ingots from Mochlos (Crete) and other Late Bronze Age sites in the eastern Mediterranean Sea: An ultimate key to tin provenance?', *PLOS ONE*

PLOS ONE: <<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0218326>> [Accessed 16/09/2019]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Beverly Smith, Llinos. 1991. 'Disputes and Settlements in Medieval Wales: The Role of Arbitration', *The English Historical Review*, 106, 421, pp. 835-60

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Bezant, Jemma. *Undated*. 'Archaeology of the Mabinogion' (University of Wales, Trinity St David)

The original online page is no longer there. Jemma Bezant is listed as faculty at Aberystwyth, and her staff page gives contact; she may well provide a copy of this article on request.

Jemma Bezzant: < <https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/dges/staff-profiles/listing/profile/jeb52/www.linkedin.com/in/jemma-bezzant/#research> > [Accessed 28/03/2024]
V.10 Pryderi: Manawydan

Bhreathnach, Máire. 1982. 'The Sovereignty Goddess as Goddess of Death?' *ZCP* 1, 39, pp. 243–60

Binkley, Roberta A. 2004. The Rhetoric of Origins and the Other: Reading the Ancient Figure of Enheduanna', in *Rhetoric Before and Beyond the Greeks*, ed. by Lipson, Carol S. and Roberta A. Binkley (State University of New York), pp. 47–63.
VII.5. Theologies

Bird, Alexander. 2018. 'Thomas Kuhn', Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (SEP) Stanford (SEP): <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/thomas-kuhn/#KuhnSociSci>> [Accessed 29/08/22]
II.7 Coherence Paradigm

Birger, Jon. 2015. *Date-onomics: How Dating Became a Lopsided Numbers Game* (Workman Publishing)
VII.5. Theologies

Blackmore, Jenna. 2021. *The Curse Of Rhiannon* (Independent)
Fiction, Fantasy. Epic female quest, enchantments.
IX.2. Imaginary

Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna. 1877. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, in 2 vols. (J. W Bouton)
Founder of Theosophy. See Morris, Kenneth, first Mabinogi novelist.
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Bolen, Jean Shinoda. 1984. *Goddesses in Everywoman: A New Psychology of Women* (HarperCollin)

BOLLARD

About John Bollard, bio & bibliog:

<<https://www.johnbollard.com/about>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

Bollard, John Kenneth. 1970. 'A Literary Assessment of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis, Aberystwyth)

Introduction

— 1974. 'The Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cymm.*, pp. 250-276. Repr. in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, Charles William IV (NY: Garland Publications, 1996. Repr. 2015, and Kindle), pp. 165–96

Pagination cited from Sullivan. [II.3. Performance.]

Introduction

— 1983. 'The Role of Myth and Tradition in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *CMCS*, 6, pp. 67–86

Introduction

— ed. and trans. 2006. *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*. Bicolunar text, illust. by Anthony Griffiths' photography of Welsh landscape sites (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press)

PDF available online. Notes are boxed inline, for ease of reference.

CONTENTS: Introduction p. 9. Map p. 10. Photographer's Notes p. 16. Genealogies p. 17. First Branch pp. 18– Second Branch pp. 42 Third Branch pp. 62 Fourth Branch pp. 78. (Many photos of MSS., landscapes) Afterword p. 110-22. Index of Proper Names and Guide to Pronunciation p. 124.

Possibly due to its size and beautiful photography so higher price, the book has not had the attention it merits. Recommended as a standard text. Translation is accurate and flowing, easy for a modern reader to enjoy while faithful to the original. Bollard pioneered a new approach to Mabinogi scholarship which revolutionised it.

Now available as a free PDF download.

Online PDF 2021, Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/27202196/Landscapes_of_The_Mabinogi?email_work_card=view-paper> [Accessed 27/05/2023]

Introduction.

— 2006. 'Afterword', in *The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales*, pp. 110-23

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

— 2007. 'What Is The Mabinogi? What Is "The Mabinogion"?'

Argues confused identity, overlay of modern perceptions. Rejects inherent connection between tales see Quote II.9. 21stC.

The Mabinogi:

<<https://www.johnbollard.com/mabinogi#:~:text=The%20Mabinogi%20is%20a%20set,be%20read%20or%20told%20independently>> [Accessed 17/09/2013. New website on checking so URL replaced 28/03/2024]

Introduction

— 8/07/2017. 'Contextualizing The Mabinogi Then and Now', presentation at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposium: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)

II.3. Performance

Bommer, Paul. *Undated*. 'Advent Calendar for Grown-ups: December 22 Mari Lwyd'. (St. Nicholas Center, Virginia Theological Seminary)

St. Nicholas Center: <<https://www.stnicholascenter.org/how-to-celebrate/advent-saint/advent-calendar/advent22>> [Accessed 20/08/22]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Bonewits, Isaac. 1976. *The Druid Chronicles – Evolved* (Drunemeton Press)

VII.5. Theologies

Boniface, Katrin. 1976. 'Horse Power: Social Evolution in Medieval Europe' (unpublished master's thesis, California State University, Fresno)

Scholarworks: <<https://scholarworks.calstate.edu/downloads/qb98mg704>> [Accessed 11/04/21]

III.4. Equine

Booth, Heather; Day Creamer, Susan Davis, Deb Dobbin, Robin Kaufman, and Tobey Klass, eds. 1972. *Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement, by the Hyde Park Chapter of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union*, Pamphlet

Duke University Repository: <<https://repository.duke.edu/dc/wlmpc/wlmms01035>> [Accessed 13/08/2020]

VI.8. Feminism

Borrow, George. 1862, announced 1857. *Wild Wales: The People, Language & Scenery* (Murray)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Boudon, Raymond. 1991. 'What Middle-Range Theories Are', *Contemporary Sociology*, 20, 4, pp. 519–522

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2071781?origin=crossref>> [Accessed 26/05/2023]

Cf. Merton, Robert K., *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1968).

Introduction

Bowen, Euros; Gwyn Williams, trans. 1959. 'The Birds of Rhiannon', in *Presenting Welsh Poetry: An Anthology of Welsh Verse in Translation and of English Verse By Welsh Poets* (Faber & Faber), p. 66
VI.6. Adar

Bowerbank, Sylvia. 2004-13. 'Joanna Southcott (1750-1814) Prophet and Writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Boyd, Matthieu. 2013. 'Teaching Notes from a Personal Reading of the Mabinogi', Academia
Academia:

<http://www.academia.edu/4490098/Teaching_Notes_from_a_Personal_Reading_of_the_Mabinog>

[Accessed 25/01/15]

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

— ed. 2017. *The Four Branches of The Mabinogi*. Broadview Anthology of British Literature
(Canada: Broadview Press Ltd)

Controversial translation of MW names into modern idiom, e.g. *Pwyll pendefig* = Prince Sense.

Brackett, Leigh. 1949. *The Sword of Rhiannon* (Ace Books)

Fiction, Fantasy. Rhiannon as a Martian God, gender switch, no connection to Mabinogi.

<<https://www.goodreads.com/en/book/show/908296>>

IX.2. Imaginary

Brandt, Skylar. 2019. *Rhiannon: The Last Lie* (Independent)

Fiction, historical romance. Strategy to marry wealthy man, unclear historical period, Regency style.

IX.2. Imaginary

Breeze, Andrew. 2009. 'The Name of Teyrnnon Twrf Lliant, in *Perspectives on Celtic Languages*, ed. by Bloch-Trojnar, Maria (Wydawnictwo KUL), pp. 111–18

V.5. Pwyll: Fool

— 2009. *Origins of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Gracewing Publishing)

Theorises female composer, probably Gwenllian.

— 2009. Review of Tolstoy, *The Oldest British Prose Literature*, *Leeds Studies in English* (2012).

I.4. Advent

— 2012. 'Moor, Court, and River in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. by Classen, Albrecht (de Gruyter), pp. 295-31

V.4. Gwawl

Briffault, Robert. 1927. *The Mothers: A Study of the origins of sentiments and institutions* (Allen & Unwin)

Acknowledged key research source by Walton.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Brigid's Forge:

<<https://brigid.org.uk/wales.html>> [Accessed 5/10/20. Sadly now defunct 28/03/2024]

VII.2. Early Development

Bristol Harbours: <<http://www.gloucesterharbourtrustees.org.uk/pdf/smallboatguidancejun2013.pdf>> [Accessed 13/02/2020 but on check 28/03/24 link is defunct. Suggest the following gives same data.]

<<https://www.bristol.gov.uk/files/documents/1165-safety-guidance-for-small-boat-passage-2012-0/file>>

V.7. Teyrnnon

BRITISH LIBRARY

The British Library website is currently (March 2024) suffering aftermath from a major cyber-attack. Web links listed here are unavailable but will probably be restored fairly soon.

Brith Gof Archive. NLW Fonds GB BRIGOF [1974] – [2007] / [Sub-fonds] P.

Site specific theatre production and projects [1974] –[2000]. [File] PA/4. - Rhiannon text, Gaeafdaith: texts and scenarios. A handwritten copy of the production text also including notes regarding the production structure and imagery and copies of poems. Also PA/1 and PA/2. Branwen materials; PB. Manawydan.

NLW Archives: <<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/site-specific-and-theatre-productions-and-projects>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

II.3. Performance,

Brith Gof theatre company, 1981. 'Rhiannon', Japanese Noh style play. Personal communication, Lis Hughes Jones, 3/07/2018

II.3. Performance

See also Hughes Jones, Lis.

Brock, Rita Nakashima. 1989. 'On Mirrors, Mists, and Murmurs: Toward an Asian American Theology', in *Weaving the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality*, ed. by. Plaskow, Judith and Carol P. Christ (San Francisco: Harper and Row), pp. 235-243

VII.3 Gss

Bromwich, Rachel. 1954. 'The Character of the Early Welsh Tradition', *Studies in Early British History*, ed. by Chadwick, Norah (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 83–136

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

— 1961. (TYP) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain, Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: UWP)

Scribd: <<https://www.scribd.com/document/232999590/R-Bromwich-Trioedd-Ynys-Prydein-the-Triads-of-the-Island-of-Britain>> [Accessed 12/02/13. Checked 28/03/2024, DELETED]

I.4. Advent

— ed. 1980. *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry: Studies by Sir Ifor Williams* (Cardiff: UWP)

I.7. Lady of Prose

—1986. "The Mabinogion" and Lady Charlotte Guest', *Cymm*. pp. 127–41. Repr. 1996, 2015 and Kindle, in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. by. Charles William Sullivan III (NY: Garland Publications), pp. 3–18.

Besides Guest, has a good account of Pughe.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Bromwich, Rachel, and Simon D. **Evans**, eds. 1988. *Culhwch ac Olwen: Testun Syr Idris Foster; wedi ei olygu a'i orffen gan RB a DSE* (Cardiff: UWP)

I.3. Other Sources

--- eds. 1992. *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: UWP)

VI.5. Bag

Brough, Gideon. 2017. *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr: England, France and the Welsh Rebellion in the Late Middle Ages* (I.B. Tauris)

II.4. Manuscripts

Brown, Mary E. 2014. 'The Depiction of the Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis essay, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David's)

Academia edu document (requires signup):

<http://www.academia.edu/attachments/33891260/download_file?st=MTQyMjA5OTc1NCw4OC45Ny43Ni4yMjQsNTE0NjE3NA%3D%3D&s=work_strip&ct=MTQyMjA5OTc1Nyx0YU4sNTE0NjE3NA==>

[Accessed 2/10/19]

VI.1. Enchantment

Brown, Matt and Eloise **Williams**, eds., Bethan **Gwanas**, trans., *The Mab*, illust. (Unbound, 2023) *Mabinogion* retelling aimed at children, with Welsh text as well oddly dubbed 'Welsh translation' as if the original source is English.

Bruley, Sue. Jan. 1976. *Women Awake: the Experience of Consciousness Raising* (Independently published booklet)

Account of a Women's Liberation CR group I founded in South London by one of the members. Dr. Bruley is now Reader in Modern History, University of Portsmouth.

VI.8. Feminism

Buchen, Kathy. 2005. *Death in Starched White*. (AuthorHouse)

Novel, murder mystery, protagonist Rhiannon, USA context.

IX.2. Imaginary

Budapest, Zsuzsanna Emese. 1975. *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows*, in 2 vols. (Luba Publications)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Budin, Stephanie L. 2003. *The Origins of Aphrodite* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Bull, Steve J. 2020. 'The Use and Development of the Faerie Sign in Romance from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol)

Bullock-Davies, Constance. 1966. *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain* (Cardiff)

II.5. Renaissance: Guest

Burl, Aubrey. 2008. *Courts of Love, Castles of Hate: Troubadours and Trobairitz in Southern France 1071-1321* (The History Press, and Kindle)

Jaufre Rudel.

Trobar: <www.trobar.org/troubadours/jaufre_rudel/jaufre_rudel_01.php> [Accessed Feb. 2020]

I.3. Other Sources

Burton, Janet, and Karen Stober. 2015. *Abbeys and Pories of Medieval Wales* (UWP)

V.7. Teyrnon

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge)

Later known as 'queer theory'.

VI.8. Feminism

Byfield, Catherine. 1993. "Character and Conflict in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi", *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 40, pp. 51-72. Revised version Academia, pp. 1-23, pagination used here)

Academia: <[https://www.academia.edu/5987435/Character and Conflict in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi](https://www.academia.edu/5987435/Character_and_Conflict_in_the_Four_Branches_of_the_Mabinogi)> [Accessed 13/9/24]

Ch. II.2. Craft: Characterisation: Style

Bynum, Caroline Walker. 1991. "'... And Woman His Humanity": Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages' in, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, ed. by Bynum, Caroline Walker (MIT Press), pp. 151 - 80

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Caerwyn Williams, J. E; Peredur I. Lynch, eds. R. Geraint Gruffydd, asst. ed. *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion, ynghyd â dwy Awdl Fawl Ddienw o Ddeheubarth*. Cyfres Beirdd Y Tywysogion (UWP)

V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Caesar, Julius, *De Bello Gallico*, 13, 18

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Cairns, David, and Shaun Richards. 1988. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (Manchester University Press)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Campbell, John Francis. 1860-62. *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (Edinburgh)

Alexander Carmichael was one of the main contributors.

II.3. Performance

Cardigan Castle. *Undated*. Gatehouse Gazetteer, 'The comprehensive gazetteer and bibliography of the medieval castles, fortifications and palaces of England, Wales, the Islands'

Gatehouse Gazetteer: <<http://www.gatehouse-gazetteer.info/Welshsites/123.html>> [Accessed 22/06/2019]

I.4. Advent #8 highway

Carnhuanawc: see Price, Thomas.

Caron, Charlotte. 1993. *To Make and Make Again: Feminist Ritual Theology* (Crossroad)
Introduction

Carr, Anthony D. 1993. *Medieval Wales* (Macmillan Press)
II.1 Timeline

Carr, Glenda (formerly Parry Williams). 1966. 'Yr ysgolhaig a'r broffwydes' ('The scholar and the prophet', my trans.). *Y Traethodydd*, xxxiv, pp. 518-521

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

— 1983. *William Owen Pughe* (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru)

Chief biography. Carr expressed surprise to me that her study had not been updated or superseded. Personal communication Oct. 2015. See also Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- rev. E. Lloyd. 2004. 'Pughe, William Owen [pseud. Idrison] (1759–1835)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

Detailed, with good bibliography.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

— 2009. 'An Uneasy Partnership: Iolo Morganwg and William Owen Pughe', in *Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg*, ed. by Jenkins, Geraint, H. (Cardiff, University Press), pp. 443–60.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Catherine, Lucy. 2021. 'Mabinogi: Lost Legends and Dark Magic', 15 part podcast, fantasy audio drama (BBC Wales and BBC Radio 3 joint commission)

Centres on Pryderi and Brigit, a bard, Aimee Ffion Edwards and Darragh Mortell (actors); 'a modern flavour while remaining true to the vivid magic of Celtic mythology'.

IX.2. Imaginary

— 2021. 'Mabinogi: Lost Legends and Dark Magic', the book of the series (Penguin)

Penguin, description: <<https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/451964/mabinogi-lost-legends-and-dark-magic-by-catherine-lucy/9781529188448>> [Accessed 25/02/2023]

BBC Sounds: <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p09mfjrw>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

BBC (video): <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p09mfk7s>> [Accessed 25/02/2023]

See Smith, Gareth for review.

IX.2. Imaginary

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Native Tales: <<http://nativetales.blogspot.co.uk/2013/04/overview-of-mabinogion.html>> [Accessed 30/09/2021]

II.9. 21stC

Cawte, Edwin Christopher. 1978. *Ritual Animal Disguise: A Historical and Geographical Study of Animal Disguise in the British Isles*. Folklore Society (N.J. Totowa: D.S. Brewer. Cambridge: Rowman and Littlefield)

Quotes John Evans. 1800.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Chapman, Catherine E. 2020. 'Rhiannon', in *Three Medieval Romances* (Independent) Fiction. Historical romance.
IX.2. Imaginary

Charles-Edwards, Thomas Mowbray. 1970. 'The Date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cymm.*, pp. 263–98

— 1978. 'Honour and Status in Some Irish and Welsh Prose Tales', *Ériu*, 29, pp. 123–41

VI.8. Feminism

— 1980. '*Nau kynywedi teithiauc*', in *Welsh Law of Women*, ed. by Jenkins, Dafydd, and Morfydd. E. Owen (UWP), pp. 23–39

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

— 2013. *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (OUP)

I.3. Etymology

Cheng, Hsiao-Ron, 'Charlotte Guest' (2012), illustration based on an NLW portrait. Jason Ward, 'Lady Charlotte Guest', biographical article, in his 'Oh Comely' online magazine, 21 (9/04/2014) Imaginative interpretation.

Oh Comely: <<http://ohcomely.co.uk/stories/2012/04/09/lady-charlotte-guest?rq=charlotte%20guest>> [Accessed 22/02/2015]

Permission from Jason Ward, ed. (14/02/2017). Checked (10/02/2020) the illustration has been removed, article remains. Checked 24/03/2024 site redesign, no search facility. Contact possible via Magazine page; see 'Got something to say? *We'd love to hear it*' italicised words give email address.

III.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Chlup, Radek. 2007. 'The Semantics of Fertility: Levels of Meaning in the Thesmophoria', *Kernos: Revue internationale et interdisciplinaire de religion grecque et antique*, 20

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VII.1. Goddess Myths

Chotzen, Thomas M. 1937. 'Some Sidelights on Cambro-Dutch Relations', *Cymm.*, pp.101-44

III.7. Political Parallels

Christ, Carol P. 1978. 'Why Women Need the Goddess'.

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Surname pronounced as in 'mist'.

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Perhaps the most widely published Goddess theorists. Repr. many more times, introducing tens of thousands of women to Goddess culture.

Indiana University hosted, pp. 7 –8 online PDF:

<https://womrel.sitehost.iu.edu/Rel433%20Readings/Christ_WhyWomenNeedGoddess.pdf> [Accessed 29/10/2022] © Carol P. Christ, not to be reprinted without written permission of the author.

Heresies: <<http://heresiesfilmproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/heresies5.pdf>> [Last accessed 29/07/2023]

VII.5. Theologies

—1987. *Laughter of Aphrodite: Reflections on a Journey to the Goddess* (HarperOne), Includes "Why Women Need the Goddess", pp. 117–34. The titular article is pp. 183–208, cf. Archive:

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VII.5. Theologies

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VII.3 Gss

Cixous, Hélène. 1975. *Le Rire de la Méduse* (Editions Galilée)

Trans. to English by Paula Cohen and Keith Cohen. 'The laugh of the Medusa', *Signs*, 1, 4 (Summer, 1976), pp. 875-893.

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VI.5. Bag

Clack, Beverley. 1995. 'The Denial of Dualism: Theological Reflections on the Sexual and the Spiritual'. *Feminist Theology*, No. 10, pp. 102-115

— 1999. 'The Many-Named Queen of All: Theology and the Concept of God/ess', in *Is there a Future for Feminist Theology?* ed. by Sawyer, Diane, and Deborah Sawyer (Sheffield), pp. 150–59

— May 1999. 'Theology and Theology: Mutually Exclusive or Creatively Interdependent'. *Feminist Theology*, 21, pp. 21-38

Clancy, Thomas Owen. 2005. 'The Needs of Strangers in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Quaestio Insularis*, 6 (2005), pp. 1-24

II.8. Feminism/ Rob Valente

Clarke, George. 1842. 'Welsh Fiction: The Mabinogion by Lady Charlotte Guest, Parts I, II, III, and IV', *Monthly Review*, 1, pp. 431–453

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Clarke, Gillian. 2022. *The Gododdin: Lament for the Fallen* (Faber & Faber)

III.2. Britain

Clarkson, Tim. 2010. *The Men of the North* (Edinburgh: John Donald, Birlinn Ltd.)

V.4. Gwawl

— 2014. *Strathclyde and the Anglo-Saxons in the Viking Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, Birlinn Ltd.)

V.4. Gwawl

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<<https://web.archive.org/web/20180526004707/http://bookdrum.com/>>

II.9. 21stC

Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust. 1994. 'New Radnor', Historic Settlements Survey - Radnorshire

CPAT: <cpat.org.uk> [Accessed 5/03/21]

V.3. Hyfaidd

Coflein. 2016. 'Narberth' in Coflein: the online catalogue of archaeology, buildings, industrial and maritime heritage in Wales

Coflein: <<https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/112825/details/narbertharberth>> Accessed 13/05/2019

I.4 Advent #8 Highway

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See Asphodel Long, 'One and Many'.

Example issue, Daniel Cohen: <<http://www.decohen.com/woodandwater/ww52.pdf>>

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VII.3 20thC Goddess

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VII.1. Goddess Myths

Collins, David. 2019. *The Sacred and the Sinister. Studies in Medieval Religion and Magic* (Pennsylvania State University Press)

Reviews and extends Kieckhofer.

VI.1. Enchantment

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VII.1. Goddess Myths

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VI.1 Enchantment

— 2019. 'Antiquarianism and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century', Ch. 14, in *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. by Evans, Geraint, and Helen Fulton (CUP), pp. 264-284

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

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: Llewellyn). Partially available googlebooks.

Cooper, Susan. 1965–77. *The Dark is Rising* (Macmillian)

Celtic fantasy series.

IX.2. Imaginary

Coss, Peter. 1998. *The Lady in Medieval England 1000-1500* (Thrupp)

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III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Country File. Where to see and hear skylarks',

Countryfile.com

IV.6. *Adar*

Courts and Tribunals Judiciary: 'Circuit Judges'

Judiciary UK: <<https://www.judiciary.uk/about-the-judiciary/who-are-the-judiciary/judicial-roles/list-of-members-of-the-judiciary/circuit-judge-list/>> Accessed 29/01/2022

III.3. Hierarchy: Courts Circuits

Cousins, Jane. 1978. '*Moliant Beirdd gyda Sylw Arbennig i Waith y Gogynfeirdd*' (unpublished master's thesis, Swansea University), 'In Praise of Bards with Special Attention to the Work of the Gogynfeirdd', my trans.

V.5. Pwyll: Gorsedd warning

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1989. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', in *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1, pp. 139-67

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II.8. Feminism: Women's Liberation Movement

Croker, Thomas Crofton, ed. 1828. *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (John Murray)

Pughe's article (attr.), pp. 163–91.

II. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Crowe, Cameron. 24/03/1977. 'The True Life Confessions of Fleetwood Mac: the long hard drive from British blues to California gold', *Rolling Stone magazine*

Rolling Stone: <<https://www.rollingstone.com/feature/the-true-life-confessions-of-fleetwood-mac-120867/>> Accessed 29/10/2022

VII.5. Theologies

Crowley, Vivianne. 1989. *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age* (Aquarian Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Curtis, Jared, ed. 1983. '*Poems, in Two Volumes, and Other Poems, 1800–1807 by William Wordsworth*'. The Cornell Wordsworth Series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

Cutts, Timothy, NLW Rare Books Librarian. 26-06-2023. 'A Rare Edition of the Mabinogion', NLW Blog

Re purchase by NLW June 2023, Guest's personal copies her bookplate inside the covers, only one other copy is known in an institutional library. See Guest for list of 7 volumes.

NLW: <<https://blog.library.wales/a-rare-edition-of-the-mabinogion/>> [Accessed 14/07/2023. Checking 23/03/24 this news item is removed. The site has adopted a blog format difficult to search. T. Cutts is currently (2024) Librarian of Rare Books so can be contacted.]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

'**Cynghanedd**'. 2006. *Celtic Culture A Historical Encyclopedia*, II, ed. by John Koch et al. (ABC-CLIO), p. 537

ii.7. Academia: Coherence Paradigm

Dafydd ap Gwilym.

Listed I.6. Other Sources #8. Relevant chapter given with each poem.

Index of poems. Dafydd ap Gwilym net, Swansea University:

<http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/index_eng.php> [Accessed 20/03/2021]

Dafydd ap Gwilym. *Moliant Llywelyn ap Gwilym.* Poem #6

Mourning his uncle

V.10 Pryderi

--- *Ail Gywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym.* Poem #26

V.10 Pryderi

--- *Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym a Gruffudd Gryg.* Poem #28

Love triangle with bruises, warns a badger-bag type punishment.

V.4. Gwawl

--- *Mawl i'r Haf,* 'In Praise of Summer. Poem #35

Shapechanging theme, citing Annwn, possibly relating to Pwyll and Arawn.

V5. Pwyll: Importance

--- *Y Deildy,* 'House of Leaves'. Poem #37

Dreamlike love, cf. Jaufré Rudel.

V5. Pwyll: Importance

— *Offeren y Llwyn/ 'The Woodland Mass'.* Poem #39

The poem has a thrush as a sacred love-messenger. Ch. VI.6. Adar: species proposes skylark as Adar Rhiannon species.

VI.6. Adar

— *Y Breuddwyd,* 'A Dream from Annwn'. Poem #79

Dream-vision pursuit, cf. Jaufré Rudel.

V.5. Pwyll: Importance

— *Ddoe,* 'Yesterday'. Poem #110

Cites Pwyll, and beating, bruises on grey cat.

V.4. Gwawl

Also *Gogynfeirdd* Cynddelw (fl. 1155–1200); Einion fab Gwalchmai (fl. 1202–1223); and Hywel Foel ap Griffri (fl. c. 1240-1300)

Dafydd, Fflur. 2004. "'A shifting / identity never your own": the uncanny and the unhomey in the writing of R.S. Thomas' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Wales, Bangor)

VI.6. Adar

ap **Dafydd,** Llewellyn. 2012. *Wisdom of Rhiannon: The Prophecy Unfolds* (Amazon Kindle)

Historical novel. Druid princess Rhiannon faces the invasion of Roman Caesar and quests for the Cauldron of Wisdom to unite the tribes of Britain. Claims to draw on Welsh, Irish myths.

---2018. *Wisdom of Rhiannon: The Prophecy Fulfilled* (Amazon Kindle)

IX.2. Imaginary

Daimler, Morgan. 2015. 'Macha, Sovereignty, and Horses', Academia online

Academia: <https://www.academia.edu/24377398/Macha_Sovereignty_and_Horses> Accessed 16/10/19

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Daly, Mary. 1973. *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (Beacon Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

—1975. 'The Qualitative Leap Beyond Patriarchal Religion', *Quest*, 1.4, pp. 20-40.

VII.5. Theologies: Mother

—1978. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Beacon Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Damh the Bard. 26/09/2017. 'Y Mabinogi: The First Branch', in 2 vols. Compact Disc (CD) + Digital Album. 17 songs, 1 hr 38 min (Cear Bryn Music).

TRACKLIST: 1. Prologue 05:23 2. The Hunt 04:14 3. Who is this coming? 04:32 4. A Deal with the Otherworld 07:20 5. Annwn 06:22 6. Battle at the Ford 13:18 7. Gorsedd Arberth 02:07 8. These Hollow Hills 04:02 9. The Lady on Horseback 10:23 10. A Wedding 06:27 11. Another Wedding 05:59 12. Wedding Dance 02:18 13. A Birth and Accusations 06:05 14. Rhiannon 05:53 15. The Monster Claw 07:50 16. Mother and the Mabon 03:41 17. Epilogue 02:52.

Mainly spoken retellings with music. Sound files online.

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/music/y-mabinogi-the-first-branch-2017/>> [Accessed 07/12/2021, last accessed 16/07/2023]

Youtube: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2CV6B5gog7Y>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

II.9. 21stC

Spotify: <<https://open.spotify.com/album/39nfQibF4HQC1sbNSZXR8K>> Accessed 09/10/2021

----- 26/09/2017. 'Rhiannon', song lyrics

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/rhiannon/>> [Accessed 22/08/2023]

II.9. 21stC

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/rhiannon-mother-and-great-queen/>> [Accessed 09/10/2021]

----- 3/07/2018. 'Rhiannon – Mother and Great Queen', online

Damh's personal veneration of divine Rhiannon

Pagan Music: <<https://www.paganmusic.co.uk/rhiannon-mother-and-great-queen/>> [Accessed 09/10/2021]

[Accessed 09/10/2021]

VII.5. Theologies

— July 2019. 'Y Mabinogi: The Second Branch'

Pagan Music (Damh's site): <<https://paganmusic.bandcamp.com/album/y-mabinogi-the-second-branch>> [Last accessed 16/07/2023]

II.9. 21stC

----- 1/06/2020. 'Y Mabinogi: The Third Branch', Compact Disc (CD) + Digital Album.

Tracklist: 1. Prologue 04:32 2. A Proposal 05:53 3. The Stones and Bones of Albion 07:01 4. With all my Heart and Soul 06:14 5. To the High King 05:01 6. These Hollow Hills (Once More) 06:11 7. A Journey 03:50 8. The Golden Shoemaker 07:39 9. Hunting the White Boar 05:59 10. The Spiral Castle 05:52 11. The Cauldron 05:57 12. Another Journey 03:39 13. Thieves in the Night 07:47 14. The Hangman 04:16 15. The Sins of the Father 07:42 16. Epilogue 02:22.

Pagan Music (Damh's site): <<https://paganmusic.bandcamp.com/album/y-mabinogi-the-third-branch>> [Last accessed 16/07/2023]

II.9. 21stC

von **Daniken**, Erich. 1969. *Chariots of the Gods? : Was God An Astronaut? Unsolved Mysteries of the Past*, trans. by Michael Heron (Souvenir), Original title: *Erinnerungen an die Zukunft: Ungelöste Rätsel der Vergangenheit* (Econ Verlag GMBH, 1968)

VII.5. Theologies

Darlington, R. R. and P. **McGurk** eds. Jennifer Bray & P. McGurk trans. 1995-1998. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, in 3 vols, III, 7 (Oxford & NY.: Clarendon Press)
III.7. Political Parallels

Das, Aileen. *Undated*. 'Greek philosophy and medicine', British Library 'Greek manuscripts' British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/greek-manuscripts/articles/the-transmission-of-greek-philosophy-and-medicine>> [Accessed 16/08/2020. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected. Suggest email to enquire.]
VI.1. Enchantment

Dashu, Max (Maxine Hammond Dashu). Jan. 2005. 'Knocking Down Straw Dolls: A Critique of Cynthia Eller's The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory', *Feminist Theology*, 13, 2, pp. 185–216
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Davies, Brian Martin. 2003. 'Rhiannon y Gerdd' ('Rhiannon of the Poem' my trans.) in *Cerddi Bryan Martin Davies: y Casgliad Cyflawn* (Llandybie, 2003), p. 71.
Twice Eisteddfod crowned. Cf. Alan Llwyd who had poetised the concept 1971.
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Davies, Ceri. 1995. *Welsh Literature and the Classical Tradition* (University of Wales Press)
III.2 Britain

Davies, Edward. 1804. *Celtic Researches on the Origin, Traditions and Languages of the Ancient Britons with some Introductory Sketches on Primitive Society* (Printed for the Author by J. Booth).
VI.1. Enchantment ANNWFN APP

Davies, Janet. 2014. *The Welsh Language: A History*. (University of Wales Press), Ch. 3
III.7. Political Parallels

Davies, John. 1993. Revised edn. 2007. *History of Wales* (NY. Penguin)
II.1 Timeline

Davies, John H. First publ. 1993. *Three Things There Are ...* (House of the Goddess)
Diatribes against 'Celtic' bowdlerisation of Welsh traditions by spiritual tourism ('spiritual strip mining'). Title derives from a Iolo Morgannwg triad in the *Myvyrian*. Repr. in Susan Mumm ed. 2002. *Religion Today: Tradition, Modernity and Change, a Reader*. Ch. 5 (Taylor Francis), pp. 239-36; bowdlerised version, lacking author's consent on edits. 2nd edn. of the original forthcoming with new Introduction and additional material (House Morgain, 2024).

Cf. Morgain, 2017; and Rodway, 2018

Introduction

--- 2014. 'Alison M'. 3 part series, *Marine Modelling International* (Traplet Publications). Part 1, April pp 38-41; Part 2, May, pp 64-67; Part 3, June, pp 58-62

V.7. Teyrnnon

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS, chronological order

--- 1989. Remembering boyhood delight recognising Mabinogi locations today.

VI.1. Enchantment: Locations

--- 2015. Political analysis of the outcome of the Maids plot and Pwyll's handling of it. Personal communication.

V.5. Pwyll: Penance Plot

--- 2015. Sailing distance Dyfed to Gwent, 80 sea miles.

V.7. Teyrnnon

--- 01/11/2016. Severn Bore, research report. See Severn Bore.

V.7. Teyrnnon

--- 29/12/19. Passive Branwen appeals help Rhiannon copes in her own right. Personal communication.

V.3. Hyfaidd

--- 7/2/2020. 'In an age of violent conflict, foolish leaders do not die old'. Personal communication.

V.5. Pwyll: Lifelines

--- Living off-grid subsistence, Atlantis community in the 1980s

V.10. Pryderi: Prince

--- June 2020. Billy goat particularly unstable, Llew.

VI.1. Enchantment: Objects

--- 13/12/20. Ancient sea routes, ship speeds.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 15/02/21. Common features of Ford's 1977. *'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy*, and C.S. Lewis. 1957. *Horse and His Boy* (Macmillan).

I.5. Text, end chapter

--- 16/08/2021. Spirited debate on Manawydan's reaction at the PKM3 tower. Davies held he could not risk himself leaving the women unprotected. Secondly Rhiannon's rebuke as 'plot device', if they stayed cordial, worked together as resourceful agents, PKM3 would be very different. ('Seen the fnords?', Discord messenger, quoted)

V.12. Manawydan

--- 13/08/2023. Linked the sophistication of Mabinogi structures Ch. IX specifically with my 'Trusting the Text' principle given in the Introduction.

IX. Structures: Conclusion

---- 22/08/2023. Walton's concern with averting war 1930s, 1940s.

VII. 5: Theologies: Walton.

Davies, John. 1937. *Bywyd a Gwaith Moses Williams (1685-1742)*. (Cardiff), Latin, Welsh

I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Davies, Dr. John of Mallwyd. 1632, 'Gwarau, & Gwarae', in his *Antiquae linguae britannicae et linguae latinae dictionarium duplex prius britannico-latinum posterius latino-britannicum* (London: R. Young)

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/antiquaelinguae00davi/page/n91/mode/2up>> [Accessed 26/02/20]

V.4. Gwawl

---, and Thomas **Williams**, eds. 1632. *Dictionarium Duplex Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Nunc vulgo dictae Cambro-Britannicae, a suis Cymraecae vel Cambricae, ab aliis wallicae, et Linguae Latinae, Dictionarium Duplex*, 1 (London: R Young, Joan Davies, impensis J. Davies)

Part I, Welsh - Latin original work begun in 1593, compiled, by John Davies. Part II, Latin - Welsh, compiled by Thomas Williams, ed. by John Davies; an abridgement of work by Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw, which is still in MS. (Pen. MS. 228).

Full title and structural data on the two parts from a prospectus by Madoc Books:

<<https://www.madocbooks.com/details.asp?bookNumber=7210>> Accessed 08/12/2021

NLW file MS 8510C An imperfect copy of John Davies Mallwyd: *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae ... et Linguae Latine Dictionarium Duplex*, 1632, with marginal notes consisting of medical prescriptions and poetry.

NLW: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dictionarium-duplex-2>> Accessed 08/12/2021

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Davies, Robert Rees. 1980. 'The Status of Women and the Practice of Marriage', in *WLW* (UWP), pp. 93–114

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW): Marriage

— 1987. *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063 -1415* (OUP)

II.1 Timeline

Davies, Sean. 2004. *War and Society in Medieval Wales 633-1283: Welsh Military Institutions*.

Studies in Welsh History, Book 21 (University of Wales Press, and Kindle)

III Equine

DAVIES, Sioned

Davies, Sioned Mair. 1982. 'A Study of Narrative Methods in the Mabinogion' (unpublished D. Phil., Oxford)

II.3. Performance

— 1988. 'Pryd a Gwedd in y Mabinogion', in *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, 14, ed. by Caerwyn Williams, J. E. (Gee, 1988), pp. 115-33

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

— 1989. '*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*', in *Llais Llyfrau*, xii (Spring 1990), ed. by Marged Haycock (Gomer Press)

See James' review 1991.

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

— 1992. 'Storytelling in Medieval Wales', *Oral Tradition*, 7, pp. 231–57

I.7. Prose

— 1993. *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi: Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press)

The Mabinogi as a unique literary art form, bridging between oral traditions and the written manuscripts: how this affected the way its stories are told. Davies commented to me she feels the book is out of date now (Oct. 2012) but it stands as a clear and powerful journey expanding Mabinogi scholarship. Order from library as out of print, rare second hand and expensive.

I.4. Advent

— and Nerys Ann Jones, eds. 1997. *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

I.4 Advent

— 1997. 'Horses in the Mabinogion', in *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives*, ed. by Davies, Sioned and Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), pp. 121–40

I.4 Advent

— 1998. 'Written Text as Performance: The Implications for Middle Welsh Prose Narratives', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. by Huw Pryce (University of Wales Press), Ch. 7., pp. 133–48

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

—2004. 'A Charming Guest: Translating the Mabinogion', *Studia Celtica*, 38. 1, pp. 157–78 II.3.

Performance

— ed. trans. 2007. *The Mabinogion* (OUP)

CONTENTS: Intro., brief endnotes, Index. Text style reflects Davies' research into orality and performance (reading aloud); often with controlled brevity. This is many readers' first choice as their standard translation.

I.4. Advent

— 2013. "'Venerable Relics"? Re-Visiting the Mabinogi', in *Writing Down the Myths: A Collection of Essays on Mythography in Ancient and Medieval Literary Traditions*, 17, ed. by Josef F. Nagy (Brepols, 2013), pp. 157–79

III.2. Britain

— 17/07/2013. 'Performing the Mabinogion', a practical workshop for storytellers at Chapter Arts, Cardiff

Its publicity described content as a very brief introduction to the Mabinogion and to the medieval Welsh storyteller; a discussion of what makes a good storyteller, drawing on techniques found in the tales themselves; guidance regarding pronunciation of Welsh personal names; a discussion regarding how we can re-invent these tales (or individual episodes) for a modern-day audience. Participants were invited to bring along with them examples of specific problems/challenges that they have found when re-telling the tales of the Mabinogion.

See Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/sioned-davies-performing-the-mabinogion/>>

Accessed 07/12/2021

II.3. Performance

— 8/07/2017. 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi' (School of Welsh, Cardiff University)

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Powerful departure from previous trans. as it selects out the 'native Welsh' tales from Anglo-Norman tales. Welsh nationalism was gaining ground.
CONTENTS: Map p. ii. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr pp. Preface p. ix-xii. Introduction pp. 1-30. Select Bibliography pp. 30-32.
Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Notes) pp. 35-37. Pwyll Prince of Dyfed (Text) pp. 37-56. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 57-59. Branwen Daughter of Llŷr (Text) pp. 59-72. Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Notes) pp. 73-75. Manawydan Son of Llŷr (Text) pp. 75-87. Math Son of Mathonwy (Notes) pp. 89-91. Math Son of Mathonwy (Text) pp. 91-109.
Llud and Lleuelys (Notes) pp. 111-12. Llud and Lleuelys (Text) pp. 113-17. Culhwch and Olwen (Notes) pp. 119-21. Culhwch and Olwen (Text) pp. 121-57. The Tale of Gwion Bach & The Tale of Taliesin (Notes) pp. 159-62. The Tale of Gwion Bach (Text) pp. 162-64. The Tale of Taliesin (Text) pp. 164-81. Appendix: Cad Caddeu (Notes) pp. 183-84. Cad Caddeu (Text) pp. 184. Glossary (of people and places) pp. 189-94. A Guide to Pronunciation pp. 195-96. Index of Proper Names (linked to the text pages) pp. 197-205.
The translation itself is clearly readable, and supported by extensive explanation, most of which survives very well. It bridges the mythological and the literary. Some of the mythological work is overshadowed by WJG, of the old school, but Ford was also an early practitioner of the new paradigm, see Bollard. The exposition. 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ 'Adventure of the Mare and the Boy' pp. 3-14 precedes Mabinogi Rhiannon in closely similar scope because it inspired me; see my Ch. I.5. Text p. 30.
Introduction

— 1977. 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab/ Adventure of the Mare and the Boy', in the 'Introduction' to Ford. ed. trans. *The Mabinogi and Other Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, California, USA: UCP, Repr. Routledge, 2015; & Kindle), pp. 3–14.

Title introduced p. 5. Explored mainly pp. 4–14; Epona pp. 4– 5; Irish comparisons, pp. 7–8. Broadly parallels the textual scope of Mabinogi Rhiannon; see Ch. I.5. Text: Cyfranc.

Archive org. <<https://archive.org/details/mabinogiothermed00fordrich>> Open Library: <https://openlibrary.org/works/OL15162441W/The_Mabinogi_and_other_medieval_Welsh_tales>

Accessed 10/02/15 Also Kindle.

I.5. Text: *Cyfranc*

— 1977. 'The Tale of Gwion Bach', in *Welsh Tales*, pp. 159–181

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

— 1981. 'Prolegomena to a Reading of the Mabinogi: Pwyll and Manawydan', *Studia Celtica*, 16–17, pp. 110–25. Repr. *Mabinogi Essays*, ed. by Sullivan (1996), pp. 197–216

Introduction

— 1987–88, 'Branwen: A Study of the Celtic Affinities', *Studia Celtica*, 22–23, pp. 29–41. Repr. in Sullivan, *Essays*, pp. 99–120

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

— 1988. 'Celtic Women: The Opposing Sex', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 19, pp. 417–38

I.4. Advent #5 Woman

— ed. 1992. *Ystoria Taliesin* (University of Wales Press)

I.3. Other Sources

Forde, Britt. 2016. 'National identity, classical tradition, Christian reform and colonial expansion at the ends of the earth: an analysis of representations of the Swedish and Norwegian peoples in Adam of Bremen's history of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen and the Irish in Gerald of Wales's topography of Ireland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College Cork)

CORA: <<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/74507059.pdf>> [Accessed 10/12/20]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Forsyth, Kate. 2004. *The Tower of Ravens*. Rhiannon's Ride Series, 1 (Blackstone Publishing; Roc) Fantasy novel. Rhiannon, a wild and fierce half-human girl, tamed a winged horse to escape the vicious satyricorn tribe who raised her. The closest Mabinogi plot resemblance of the popular witch themed novels. Half human Rhiannon, winged mare. Romance, standing trial for murder, kidnapped children.

IX.2. Imaginary

The Heart of Stars, (Random House, 2006; Roc, 2007); (Ace Books)

— 2005. *The Shining City*. Rhiannon's Ride Series, 2 (Blackstone Publishing. Roc, 2006)

Fantasy novel. Rhiannon vows to save her lover and the land.

IX.2. Imaginary

— 2005. *The Heart of Stars*. Rhiannon's Ride Series, 3 (Blackstone Publishing; Roc 2006) Fantasy novel. Rhiannon's love rival is prisoner of a necromancer.

IX.2. Imaginary

Fortune, Dion. (Violet Mary Firth) 1938. *The Sea Priestess* (Published by the author)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

— 1957, *posthumously*. *Moon Magic* (Aquarian Press)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

See Raalte, Georgia

Francis, Matthew. 2018. *The Mabinogi* (Faber & Faber, and Kindle)
Retelling as poetry, reversing the Mabinogi innovation of prose story telling, see Ch.1.7. Lady of Prose.
I.9. 21stC

Fraser, Maxwell. 1968. 'Lady Llanover and Her Circle', *Cymm.*, pp. 170–96
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II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Frazer, James George. 1890. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, in 2 vols. (Macmillan). Repr. 1890. 2nd. edn. 1900, retitled *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, in 3 vols. 3rd edn. in 12 vols. 1906–1915. Single volume abridged, excludes refs. to Christianity 1922.
Sacred Texts (1922 edn.): <<https://www.sacred-texts.com/pag/frazer/>> [Accessed 02/04/21]
See Downie, R. Angus; and Lienhardt, Godfrey.
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

French, Claire A. 1990. 'Masculinity and Femininity in 'The Mabinogion' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Deakin University), Ch 5–8, pp. 81–215
Deakin University: <<http://dro.deakin.edu.au/eserv/DU:30023265/french-masculinityandfemininity-1990.pdf>> Accessed 21/05/2020
II.8. Feminism

Frewin Jones, Allan. 2009. *Rhiannon of the Spring*, 'Warrior Princess series, 1 (HarperCollins reprint)
— *Destiny's Path*. Warrior Princess series, 2
— *The Emerald Flame or Merion of the Stones*. Warrior Princess series 3
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Fiction fantasy. Rhiannon as mystical woman in white, guiding teen heroine Branwen. Poor feedback.
IX.2. Imaginary

Friedan, Betty. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique* (USA; W. W. Norton)
II.8. Feminism

Friedmann, Elizabeth and Alan J. Clark. 2005. 'Introduction' to Laura Riding. 2005 posthumously. *The Word Woman and other related writings* (Persea)
Laura Riding website: <https://www4.ntu.ac.uk/laura_riding/books/38543gp.html> [Accessed 2/04/21]
VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

Friedrich, Paul. 1978. *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Fuchs, Anita, 2014. **????**
I.4 Advent

Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades. c. 500 CE. *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum*, 11

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Fulton, Helen. 2000. 'Cultural Meanings in the Mabinogi' in *Origins and Revivals: Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. by Evans, Gereint *et al.* (Sydney: Centre for Celtic Studies, University of Sydney), pp. 437-452

III.7. Political Parallels

— 2005. 'The Mabinogi and the education of princes in medieval Wales', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. by Fulton, Helen (Four Courts Press), pp. 230-247

III.2 Britain

— 2011. 'Literature of the Welsh Gentry: Uses of the Vernacular in Medieval Wales', in *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c. 1300–1550*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 17, ed. by Salter, Elisabeth, and Helen Wicker (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 195–218

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

— 2014. 'History and historia: uses of the Troy story in medieval Ireland and Wales', Ch. 3, in *Classical Literature and Learning in Medieval Irish Narrative*, ed. by O'Connor, Ralph (Cambridge: Boydell Brewer)

III.2. Britain

— 2020. *A 'Mirror of the Gentry': Vernacular Versions of the 'Secretum Secretorum' in Medieval Wales and England* (De Gruyter)

De Gruyter: <<https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110650068-004/html>> Accessed 12/03/21

V.5. Pwyll: Sovereignty

Furchgott, Deborah. 2011. 'Ystoria Adaf ac Efa y Wreic and the Place of Apocrypha in the White Book of Rhydderch', *Proceedings Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31, pp. 106-117

Gage, Matilda. 1893. **Kerr**, C. H. ed. repr. 1980. *Woman, Church and State:: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman Through the Christian Ages: with Reminiscences of Matriarchate*. (Watertown, Mass.: Persephone Press)

See Wagner, Sally Roesch: doctoral thesis biography, and online article.

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Galfridus, see Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Ganim, John M. 1996. 'The Myth of Medieval Romance', in *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, ed. by Bloch, R. Howard and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore and NY: Johns Hopkins), pp. 148-68

II.5. Romance

Gantz, Jeffrey Michael. ed. trans. 1976. *The Mabinogion: Translated with an Introduction*, Penguin Classics (NY: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books)

Very popular via Penguin, but considered inaccurate by many scholars. Gantz greater contribution comes on structure.

I.4 Advent

— 1978. 'Thematic Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Medium Aevum* 47, pp. 247-254. Repr. Sullivan, (ed.) *Essays* (1996), pp. 265-275.

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

Garber, Marjorie and **Vickers**, Nancy J. eds. 2003. *The Medusa Reader* (Routledge)
Comprehensive reader, Cixous' 'Medusa' is excerpted Ch. 50, pp. 133–34
VI.5. Bag

Gardner, Gerald Brosseau. 1954. *Witchcraft for Today* (Rider and Co.)
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Garland, Adam. 2019. *Frost Heaves*, Rhiannon O'Hearn, P.I. Chronicles series, 1 (Fayan Grove)
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IX.2. Imaginary

Garlick, Susan F. 2011. 'Horses, Swine and Magical Birds: The Role of Animals in the Mabinogion'
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College of Information Sciences and Technology, Penn. State:
<<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=C5E623DE420C5D690C3BD6574824A39B?doi=10.1.1.655.4565&rep=rep1&type=pdf>> Accessed 02/02/2022
IV.1. Voice

Garner, Alan. 1967. *The Owl Service* (Collins)
Granada TV (UK) serial of the same name (1969); BBC Radio 4 programme (2000, & repeats).
IX.2. Imaginary

Gaselee, Stephen, ed. 1924, revised 1966. *Apuleius, Metamorphoses*, Latin text (Heinemann), 3.27
See Kline for trans.
Perseus Digital Library: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1212.phi002.perseus-lat1:3.27>> [Accessed 8/12/20]
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Gassmann, Jürg. 2014. 'Thoughts on the Role of Cavalry in Medieval Warfare', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 2, pp. 149-177
III.4. Equine
--- 2018. 'Combat Training for Horse and Rider in the Early Middle Ages', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 6, 1, pp. 63-98
III.4. Equine

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I.4 Advent #8 Highway

Gatehouse Gazetteer, 'Castell Llwyn Bedw'
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VI. Enchantment: Annwfn

Gellis, Roberta. 1979. *Gilliane*, 'Rosalynde Chronicles; series, 4 (Littlehampton Book Services)
--- 1982. *Rosalynde*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 1 (Playboy Paperbacks)
--- 1984. *Joanna*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 3 (Gregg.)
--- 1985. *Alinor*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 2 (Firecrest)
--- 1994. *Rhiannon*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 5 (Leisure)

— 1995. *Sybelle*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 6 (Ellora's Cave)

— 2011. *Greenlight*. Rosalynde Chronicles series, 6 (Leisure)

See no. 5. Fiction, Historical romances, mediaeval.

IX.2. Imaginary

Geoffrey of Monmouth. c. 1136. *Historia Regum Britannia* ('History of the Kings of Britain', originally *De gestis Britonum*/ 'On the Deeds of the Britons', in Latin, French. Also known as Galfridus Monemutensis, Galfridus Arturus, and (Welsh) Gruffudd ap Arthur.

NLW digitised MS. 'History of the Kings', Brut y Brenhinedd, Peniarth MS 23C; translated into Welsh, 'one of only a handful of medieval Welsh manuscripts to have been illustrated'.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/history-of-the-kings#c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-226%2C-1%2C3547%2C3990>> [Accessed 08/12/2021]

British Library digitised MS. Add MS 15732:

<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_15732> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected]

I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/people/geoffrey-of-monmouth#>> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected]

III.2. Britain

--- and Michael D. **Reeve**, trans. 2009. *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the de Gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Britannie)* (Arthurian Studies, 69)

III.2. Britain

--- and Sebastian **Evans**, trans. 2011. *History of the Kings of Britain (Historia Regum Britanniae)* (Kindle)

See also Roberts, Brynley F.

III.2. Britain

George, T. 1832. Frontispiece portrait of Pughe, in Pughe, *Geiriadur*, 2nd edn.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Gere, Cathy. July 2009. 'Restoring Faith: The ancient Minoan civilisation'. *History Today*, 59, 7

History Today: <<https://www.historytoday.com/archive/restoring-faith-ancient-minoan-civilisation>>

Accessed 26/12/2022

Gerhard, Eduard. 1855. *Griechische Mythologie* ('Greek Mythology') in 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Reimer)

Getty, Adele. 1990. *Goddess: Mother of Living Nature* (Thames and Hudson)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Giaconia, Emmanuel. c. 1826. John Jones, 'Tegid', photo of oil portrait, Founders Library, University of Wales Trinity Saint David

From date subject is aged under 40.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Gier, Nicholas F. June 2006. 'Was Ghandhi a Tantric?', Presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, Asilomar Conference Center, Monterey, California University of Idaho: <<https://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/ngier/gandtantric.htm>> Accessed 17/08/2020

VI.1. Enchantment

Miss **Gien** see Guest. 1999.

Gilmour, Helen. 16/02/1999. 'How I was drawn to life in a cult', *Telegraph and Argus*
Telegraph and Argus: <<https://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/8068126.how-i-was-drawn-to-life-in-a-cult/>> Accessed 4/10/20.

See Lux Madriana.

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Gimbutas, Marija. 1974. *Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe* (Thames and Hudson)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

---1982. *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (Thames and Hudson)

Significant title change from 1974.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 1982. *Civilisation of the Goddess* (HarperCollins)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Giraldus Cambrensis. 1185. *Topographia Hibernia*, III, xxv

Latin text from Charles Doherty, 'Kingship in Early Ireland'; citing John J. O'Meara, 'Giraldus Cambrensis ... First Recension' (1948 - 1950)

English translation John J. O'Meara. 1951. *Topography of Ireland*. Repr. 1949, 1982.

III.4. Equine

--- 1191 *Itinerarium Cambriae*,

See Powell, David, for Latin text; Price, David, for translation.

III.4. Equine

Glastonbury Goddess Temple See also Goddess Conference; Goddess House; Jones, Kathy.

Glastonbury Goddess Temple. 2019. Legal directors: Kathy Jones, her partner Mike Jones, Sally Pullinger, Luna Silver, Elsa Field, dau. Iona Jones, Susie Qatermass.

Goddess temple directors: <<https://goddess temple.co.uk/temple-creative-directors/>> Accessed 06/01/2023

Link to page with the complex structure and personnel.

Goddess temple structure: <<https://goddess temple.co.uk/our-people/>> Accessed 06/01/2023

Goddess temple 'Our Story' <<https://goddess temple.co.uk/our-story/>> Accessed 06/01/2023

VII.3. 20thC

Glastonbury 'Goddess House': 28 Magdalen Street, BA6 9EJ, incl. Rhiannon Room

Goddess House: <<https://glastonburygoddesshouse.co.uk/>> Accessed 26/08/2022

VII.3. 20thC

Goddess House, Rhiannon Room shrine, Ground floor, Goddess House, Glastonbury

Glastonbury Goddess Temple Room Hire: <<https://goddess temple room hire.com/>> Accessed 26/08/2022

Goddess House: <<https://goddess temple room hire.com/the-rhiannon-room/>> Accessed 2019

VII.3. 20thC

Glastonbury Goddess Temple properties

<<https://goddess temple room hire.com/>> Accessed 26/08/2022

VII.3. 20thC

Glastonbury Library of Avalon. 25/6/2014. Bruce Garrard, 'More on the Library of Avalon'

Glastonbury Community History: <<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-community-history/more-on-the-library-of-avalon>> [Accessed 06/01/2023. Checked 28/03/24, not clearly there on

new Community pages.

VII.4. Temples

Glastonbury Wimin's Group. 1979. 'The Glastonbury Thorn', 1

(Ann, Ann, Cary, Frances, Janet, Jean, Karen, Kathy, Michou, Nancy, Pat, Sarah, listed p. 3)

Available as photocopied facsimile (36 X A5 pages plus card cover), Unique Publications

Unique Publications: <<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-thorn.html>> Accessed 01/11/2022. Checked 28/03/24; new link]

<<https://www.unique-publications.co.uk/glastonbury-thorn/>>

VII.4. Temples

Goddess Conference

(scroll to 'The story of the Conference'): <<https://goddessconference.com/about-us/>> Accessed 01.04.21

VII.4. Temples

Goddess Temple, and **Goddess House**, see Glastonbury Goddess Temple

'**Goddess**' *Shrew*, journal, see MSG (Matrarchy Study Group).

Goetinck, Glenys, ed. 1976. *Historia Peredur vab Efracw* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru)

V.12. Cigfa

Göettner-Abendroth, Heide. 1991. *The Dancing Goddess. Principles of a Matriarchal Aesthetic* (Beacon)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 2012. *Matriarchal Societies: Studies on Indigenous Cultures Across the the Globe* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Goldenberg, Naomi. 1979. *Changing of the gods: Feminism and the end of traditional religions* (Boston: Beacon Press)

Best known coinage of 'thealogy'.

VII.5. Thealogies

Good, Deirdre J. 1984. 'Sophia in Valentinianism', *Second Century*, 4, pp. 193–201

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Gorodeisky, Keren. Fall 2016. '19th Century Romantic Aesthetics', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. by Edward N. Zalta, Edward N. (See esp. n. 1)

SEP: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/aesthetics-19th-romantic/>> Accessed Oct. 2016

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Romance

de **Gouges**, Olympe. 1791. *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* (Paris) *The Rights of Woman*, also referenced as *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen*

See Internet Encyclopedica of Philosophy: <<https://www.iep.utm.edu/gouges/>> [Accessed 06/05/2020]

and Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité: <<https://revolution.chnm.org/d/293/>> [Accessed 11/09/2021]

VI.8. Feminism

GPC: *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* / A Dictionary of the Welsh Language.

Welsh Dictionary: <<http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html>> First accessed 2014

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Gramich, Katie. 2000. 'Lady Charlotte Guest 1812 - 1895: British translator, diarist and collector,' in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation Into English: A-L*, ed. by Classe, Olive (Taylor & Francis), pp. 592 -93

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Graves, Richard Perceval. 1990. *Robert Graves: the Years with Laura, 1926–40* (George, Weidenfield and Nicolson)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

Graves, Robert. Winter 1945. 'Dog', 'Roebuck', and 'Lapwing', 3 articles in *Wales*, English-language literary journal, war time broadsheet series, IV, 6

The basis of *White Goddess*. Not available NLW archive except by visit due to copyright.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1948. *The White Goddess: a historical grammar of poetic myth* (Faber & Faber; corrected, revised and enlarged edns. 1952 and 1961)

Theology and poetry. Rhiannon as divine Muse. Influenced by Laura Riding. Originating from his three articles 'Dog', 'Roebuck', and 'Lapwing', 1945.

See Laura Riding, his muse and extensive influence from her own book; Friedmann, Elizabeth. Kirkham, Michael.

Academia: <https://www.academia.edu/100228833/The_White_Goddess_Robert_Graves> [Accessed 10/05/2023]

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I.7. Lady of Prose

--- 1949. *Seven Days in New Crete* (Cassell, now Kindle).

Utopian matriarchy novel.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 1955. *The Greek Myths* (Penguin)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Gray, Bennison. 1971. 'Repetition in Oral Literature', *Journal of American Folklore*, 84 pp. 289–303
Cited by Sioned Davies, *Four Branches*, p. 26.

II.2 Storyteller's Craft

Gray, Christine. 2020. *Blindsighted By Love*. Cujo and Rhiannon's Romance series (Independent) Fiction. Cross racial erotic. Not PKM Rhiannon.

IX.2. Imaginary

Green, Caitlin R. 2009. 'Petrification Fort: An Alternative Interpretation of Preideu Annwfyn, lines 23-28', *Studia Celtica*, 43, pp. 207-13. PDF download pagination pp. 1-10

Arthuriana: <<http://www.arthuriana.co.uk/papers/PreideuAnnwfyn.pdf>> Accessed 07/04/2022

V.10. Pryderi: Manawydan

Green, Miranda J. 1989. *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (Routledge)

Partial text PDF includes passage on Epona:

Taylor Francis:

<<https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/books/mono/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9780203418192&type=googlepdf>> [Accessed 16/08/2022]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 1991. 'Triplism and Plurality: Intensity and Symbolism in Celtic Religious Expression', in *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion 1989*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 32, ed. by P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeates and J. Toms, pp. 100–09,

VII.5. Thealogy

— 1991. 'Women and Goddesses in the Celtic World', *Religion Today*, 6, 3, pp. 4-8

VII.1. Goddess Myths

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VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 1995. *The Celtic World* (Routledge)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 1997. *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* (Thames and Hudson)

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VII.3. 20thC Goddess

— 1998. *Celtic Goddesses: Warriors, Virgins and Mothers* (British Museum Press.)

Rhiannon occurrences pp. 14, 26, **47–53**, 55–58, 63–64, 66, 87, 117, 169, 176.

I.3. Etymology

Green, Miranda Aldhouse. 2004. *Gwent in Prehistory and Early History* (University of Wales Press)

— 2004. *An Archaeology of Images: Iconology and cosmology in Iron Age and Roman Europe* (Routledge)

VII.5. Thealogies

— 2004. 'Opening Doors and Imaging Appropriation: two faces of Epona', in Green, *An Archaeology of Images*, pp. 232–36

VII.1. Goddess Myths

— 2015. *The Celtic Myths: A Guide to the Ancient Gods and Legends* (Thames and Hudson, and Kindle)

Rhiannon: pp. 23, 30, 53, 54–5, 77, 78, 80, 81–3, 87–8, 112, 114–15, 140, 149–50.

Green, Miranda Aldhouse, and Ray Howell, 2017. *Celtic Wales* (University of Wales Press, and Kindle)

Greenslade, David. 31/07/1998. *March*. Illust. by William Brown's woodcuts (Caerdydd: Y Wasg Israddol), 32 pp. thick card, spiral bound. Eleven poems, Welsh/ English, each facing visual image. Original of Image 4 stolen.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

----- 2/03/2017. 'Meeting Mr. Brown'

Account of the 1998 Eisteddfod week stall themed Mari Llwyd.

William Brown Archive: <<http://www.williamsbrownarchive.com/2017/03/meeting-mr-brown-david-greenslade/>> [Accessed 12/12/20]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Greer, Mary K. 1996. *Maud Gonne, et al., Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses - Maud Gonne, Moina Bergson Mathers, Annie Horniman, Florence Farr* (Inner Traditions Bear and Company)
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Greer, Tiffany. 2012. *Rhiannon's Triangle* (Createspace)
Modern love triangle UK/ USA.
IX.2. Imaginary

Grian, Sinead Sula. See McCrickard, Janet.

Griffin, Susan. 1978. *Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her* (HarperCollins)
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Griffiths, Ann. 2004. 'Edward Jones – Bardd y Brenin (1752-1824)', in *Clasuron Edward Jones: Aawon Cymru*, 6 solo harp pieces. Edward Jones Classics: Welsh Melodies, ed. by Heulyn, Meinir (Alaw Music). Welsh and English text.
With thanks for kind gift of book to Meinir Heulyn of Alaw Music, Sept. 2022
Alaw Music PDF: <http://www.alawmusic.com/download/edward_jones_biog.pdf> Accessed 12/09/2022
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 Bilingual text: Welsh from Llyfr Coch Hergest modernised by Tegid, and English trans. Pwyll
 Welsh text vol. V separated from its English trans vol. VI.
 Samuel Williams was the foremost engraver of the day at the peak of his skill.
 Copies of the first edition 7 vols. series are incredibly rare today. I searched in vain to locate any. The NLW has just purchased a set June 2023, see Cutts, Timothy, Guest's personal copies her bookplate inside the covers, only one other copy is known in an institutional library which is the Wellcome Collection. Timothy Cutts, NLW% Rare Books (email 18/07/2023).
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Detailed history in context, many images.

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Diva: <<http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:131401/FULLTEXT01.pdf>> Accessed 06/05/2014

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— 2013. *Math Uab Mathonwy: the fourth branch of the Mabinogi* (Dublin: DIAS)

II.4. Manuscripts

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--- Epona, various articles

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/category/epona>>

--- 31/12/2012. 'Rambles with the Mari Lwyd: Were there horse cults in ancient Britain? Is there a cohesive thread connecting Macha, Epona and Rhiannon to hobby horses, the Mari Lwyd and the Uffington horse?'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/rambles-with-the-mari-lwyd>> [Accessed 09/08/2023]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 17/1/2014. 'Rhiannon's Dream'

A dream experienced 7-8 years previously, with hindsight perceived as inspired by Rhiannon. Horses graze and gaze in a summer meadow with red poppies, white butterflies, white birds.

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/rhiannons-dream>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

--- 06/04/20. 'The Mabinogi: Looking at different translations'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.patreon.com/posts/mabinogi-looking-35684613>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

Introduction

--- 2021. 'Understanding The Mabinogi'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/understanding-the-mabinogi>>

--- 2021. 'On Reading the Four Branches', in 'Four Essays in Celtic Mythology', by Hughes, Kris (Patreon), pp. 10– 18

Themes, weddings, each Branch has its distinctive wedding; Rhiannon contrasted with Branwen and Blodeuedd.

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/chapbooks.html>> [Accessed 24/10/22]

---- 26/04/21. 'Rhiannon. Queen of the May?'

'While May-eve is only mentioned once in the story, at the foaling of Teyrnon's mare, I feel that there is a strong implication that other major events in the story also take place at Calan Mai.

It seems likely that the birth of Rhiannon's child happens on May eve, the same night that he is delivered to Teyrnon. If we work back, then we have Rhiannon's first appearance on the May eve five years earlier, and the return of the child four years later, possibly also at Calan Mai. This motif of years isn't pronounced in the rest of the Mabinogi, ... The character of the youthful goddess Rhiannon arriving on her magical white horse is certainly one which feels like spring or early summer, and I don't think it is hard to envision Her as a May Queen, come to bring good things to the land.'

Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/blog/rhiannon-queen-of-the-may>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

---- 18/09/22. 'Reflections on the Identity of Rhiannon'. Illustrated talk presented online at 'Ninefold Festival' conference, Sisterhood of Avalon, Glastonbury and online Notes by kind PDF gift from Kris Hughes (25/10/22).

V.10. Pryderi: Maternal Dyad

--- 17/08/23. 'Branwen – NOT a goddess of love or beauty'

Patreon: <https://www.patreon.com/posts/branwen-not-of-87849004?utm_medium=post_notification_email&utm_campaign=patron_engagement&utm_source=post_link>

VII.5. Thealogies

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Go Deeper blog: <<https://www.godeeper.info/wgm.html>> [First accessed 05/08/2023]

Hughes Jones, Lis. 1991-92, 'Rhiannon', solo tour narrative dance, original songs, bilingual English and Welsh, low tech, exploring the mythic female. Cardiff, Belgium, parts in Aberystwyth. Personal email communications, 3-4/07/2016. Dir. of theatre company Brith Gof which staged all four Branches (1981-83).

II.3. Performance

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VII.2. Early Development

Humphrys, Emyr. 21/4/1990. 'The Crucible of Myth', W.D. Thomas Memorial Lecture (Swansea: University)

V.12. Cigfa

Humphries, Robert. 2008. 'The Limits of the Law: Sarhaed, Kinship and Honour in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi' (unpublished master's thesis paper, University of Wales, Trinity St. Davids)

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— 2011. 'Medieval Welsh Literature and Pre-Christian Deities,' *CMCS*, 61, pp. 57-86

II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Guest

See Tully, 'Interview with Professor Ronald Hutton'

Huws, Byron. 2009. 'Manawydan Uab Lyr: A Tale of the Norman Occupation of Deheubarth', *Cymm*. 16, pp. 7–23

III.7. Political Parallels

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III.7. Political Parallels. See also V.11. Manawydan

Huws, Daniel. 2000, repr. 2002. *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, repr. 2002)

II.4. Manuscripts

--- *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes c.800–c.1800*, 1 of 3 vols. (NLW and CAWCS, Spring 2022)

Volume I: 'summary descriptions of some 3,300 manuscripts written in Welsh between c.800 and c.1800, including those written in other languages which relate to Welsh literature and learning.' Vol. II: bio-bibliographical register of about 1,500 scribes, including anonymous ones whose hands have been recognized in two or more manuscripts, and also contains comprehensive indexes (about 250pp.) to place-names, personal names, texts and subjects in Vol. I, and a chronological index of manuscripts up to 1580. Vol. III: some 900 images which provide examples of the various scripts of the 600 most important scribes included in Vol. II. More information, including specimen pages from each volume, is available in the Repertory prospectus (PDF download, link below).

My thanks to Daniel Huws (author); Maredudd ap Huw (NLW) and Ann Parry-Owen (CAWCS) for pre-publication access to the Vol. 1 passages on the three Mabinogi MSS.

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<doi.org/10.20391/3abf4ef1-e364-4cce-859d-92bf4035b303>]

Codecs MS image graphics (scroll right to p. 3 and 4):

<<https://codecs.vanhamel.nl/index.php?title=Show:IIIF/Mirador&manifest=https://damsssl.llgc.org.uk/iii/f/2.0/5988049/manifest.json&canvas=&canvasindex=&frompageid=1259>> [Accessed 28/03/2024]

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V.5. Pwyll: Fool

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VII.3. 20thC Goddess

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VI.1. Enchantment

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III.3. Hierarchy

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II.3. Performance

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I.5. Text

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I.5. Text

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I.5. Text

--- 20/08/1979. Lewis Family Wardrobe. Unpublished letter from Lewis' cousin Claire Lewis Clapperton, to Clyde S. Kilby.

On wardrobe from childhood, inspiration for Lewis' novels. Wardrobe is Welsh oak, handmade by Richard Lewis, C.S. Lewis's paternal grandfather, 1800s. Lewis, his brothers and cousins often played in the wardrobe, climbing into it to listen to Lewis' 'tales of adventure'.

Wheaton College, IL 60187: <[https://www.wheaton.edu/academicsLewis Family Wardrobe/academic-centers/wadecenter/plan-your-visit/museum/featured-museum-artifacts/](https://www.wheaton.edu/academicsLewis%20Family%20Wardrobe/academic-centers/wadecenter/plan-your-visit/museum/featured-museum-artifacts/)> Accessed 16/02/21

I.5. Text

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I.3. Etymology

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IX.2. Imaginary

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II.3. Performance.

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VI.5. Bag

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Archive org (PDF) <<https://archive.org/details/archaeologiabrit00lhuy/page/n4/mode/2up>> Accessed 2/01/2018

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Utrecht University Repository: <<https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/25035>> Accessed 16/12/13

III.6. Land Law Women (LLW)

Linduff, Katheryn M. 1979. 'Epona: a Celt among the Romans', *Latomus*, 38, pp. 817–37

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Ll: see after L- listings (Welsh alphabetical)

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Coward, Adam N. 2020. *The Correspondence of Thomas Stephens. Revolutionising Welsh Scholarship in the Mid-Nineteenth Century through Knowledge Exchange* (Aberystwyth)

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London Matriarchy Study Group (LMSG). 1977. 'Goddess', *Shrew* magazine, an occasional themed publication (London Women's Liberation Workshop)

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V.2 Queen

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I.4. Advent #7 Silk

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II.2. Storyteller's Craft

Lovecy, Ian Charles. 1977. 'The Celtic Sovereignty Theme and the Structure of "Peredur"', *Studia Celtica*, 12-13, 78, pp. 133-46
VII.3. 20thC Goddess
--- 1981. 'Exploding the Myth of the Celtic Myth: A New Appraisal of the Celtic Background of Arthurian Romance', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 7, pp. 3-18
V.5. Pwyll: Gorsedd Warning

Lucian of Samosata. c. 125-180. *Dialogues of the Courtesans* and *Dialogi* (British Library: Greek Manuscripts, Earliest manuscript of Lucian)
British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-earliest-manuscript-of-lucian>> Accessed 01/09/2020. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected]
VII. Goddess Myths

LUFT

Luft, Diana; Peter Wynn Thomas, and Mark D. Smith. 2007-13. 'Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425', 'Welsh Prose 1350 -1425' (Cardiff University)

NLW MS. Peniarth 4: <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-home.php?ms=Pen4>> [Accessed 02/10/2021]

Oxford Jesus College MS. 111: <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111>> [Accessed 02/10/2021]

II.9. 21stC

--- 2007. 'NLW MS. Peniarth 4: Y Gainc Gyntaf (First Branch)', Llyfr Gwyn - Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425, Welsh Prose 1300 -1425

Welsh Prose 1300 -1425: <<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen4&page=1r>> [Accessed 22/09/ 2018]

I.4 Advent

Luft, Diana. 2010. 'From Fantasy to tale Fact: The Eighteenth-Century Recovery of the Mabinogi', *UCLA Celtic Colloquium*

II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

--- 2011. 'The Meaning of "Mabinogi"', *CMCS*, LXII, pp. 57-80

Introduction

--- 2012. 'Lewis Morris and the Mabinogion', *Electronic British Library Journal*

Quarto 79' in Sir Thomas Mostyn's 1744 catalogue: a quarto paper MS. bound in vellum, numbered 79, containing the texts Peredur, Bown de Hamtwn, and the Mabinogi. Luft, 'Morris', p. 2.

British Library: <<https://www.bl.uk/ebli/2012articles/article3.html>> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected.]

II.5 Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

--- 8/7/2017. 'The Eighteenth-Century Rehabilitation of the Mabinogion', presented at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)
Presentation script 19pp. (close to publication level) kindly supplied by author 12/07/2017.

II.3. Performance

--- 2019. 'Commemorating the Past After 1066: Tales from The Mabinogion', Ch. 4, in *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. by Evans, Geraint (Swansea); and Helen Fulton (Bristol), (CUP), pp. 73–92

II.5 Welsh Renaissance

Luhrmann, Tanya. 1991. *Persuasions of the Witches Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England* (Harvard, 1991); based on her doctoral thesis Cambridge University, Social Anthropology (1986), the first academic thesis on the modern Craft.

VII.3 Gss

Lupton, Hugh. 2018. *The Assembly of the Severed Head: A Novel of the Mabinogi* (Propolis) Novel, the Mabinogi Cyfarwydd as a dying monk. Author is leading English storyteller.

II.3. Performance

Lux Madriana. 1982. *The book of Rhiannë: the definitive introduction to matriarchy and the feminine tradition* (An Drothead Beo, Burtonport, County Donegal, Eire), 31 pp. handprinted production

With thanks for access to the Museum of Witchcraft and Magic, Boscastle, Cornwall. See also MoChridhe, Race; Gilmour, Helen; Filianism.

Madrian Decanic: <<https://madriandeanicresources.wordpress.com/schism-of-ordo-lux-madriana-1983/>> Accessed 4/10/20

Filianism: <<https://www.maddiviner.com/post/118882849593/what-is-filianism-a-look-at-the-faith>> Accessed 4/10/20

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Lynghaug, Fran. 2009. *The Official Horse Breeds Standards Guide: The Complete Guide to the Standards of All North American Equine Breed Associations* (Voyageur Press)

I.4 Advent #5 Horse

Llewellyn, Carole. 2010. *Rhiannon*. The Welsh Valley Sagas, 1 (Joffe Books and Kindle) Fiction, YA Historical novel, Welsh valleys 1901, strong protective heroine. No PKM Rhiannon.

IX.2. Imaginary

Lloyd, Elizabeth J. (Miss E. J. Lloyd). 1911. 'The Mabinogion as Literature', I, *The Celtic Review*, 7, 26, pp. 164–74

II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

--- Oct. 1911. 'The Mabinogion as Literature, Continued', II, *The Celtic Review*, 7. 27, pp. 220–48

II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

--- 1913. 'The history of the Eisteddfod' (unpublished master's thesis University of Wales, Bangor) Available at NLW South ARCHIFAU / ARCHIVES (1913/16)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Anwyl

Lloyd, John Edward. 1911. *A History of Wales:: from the earliest times to the Edwardian conquest*, in 2 vols. (London, Longmans, Green)

II.6. Academia: Gruffydd

---, and R. T. **Jenkins**, eds. 1959. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (University of Wales Press)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

--- 2004 revised. Glenda Carr, 'Pughe, William Owen pseud. Idrison (1759–1835)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Detailed, with good bibliography.

ODNP online: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22867>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Lloyd, Margaret. 2017. *Travelling on My Own Errands - Voices of Women from the Mabinogi* (Llanrwst, Conwy: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch)

Poetry collection; lead poem 'Rhiannon', pp. 1-27.

Gwales: <<http://www.gwales.com/bibliographic/?isbn=9781845275921&tsid=9>> Accessed 20/04/2017.

Live reading at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff 8/07/2017)

II.3. Performance

Lloyd, D. Myrddin. 1974. 'Gwareiddiad Cymru yn yr Oesau Canol' ('Welsh Civilisation in the Middle Ages', my trans.), in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. by Bowen, Geraint (Gomer Press), pp. 13–45

III.4 Equine

Lloyd-Morgan, Ceridwen. 1988. 'Triadic Structures in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Shadow: the Traditional Cosmology Society* (now 'Cosmos'), 5, Part I (1988), pp. 3–11

VIII Structures

--- 2004. 'Medieval Welsh Tales or Romances? Problems of Genre and Terminology', *CMCS*, 47, pp. 41-58

I.7. Lady of Prose

--- 2009. 'Migrating Narratives: Peredur, Owain, and Geraint', Ch. 9 in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. by Fulton, Helen (Blackwell), pp. 128–41

II.4. Manuscripts

Llwyd, Alan, (then Alan Lloyd Roberts). 1971. 'Y March Hud' ('The Magic Horse'), in *Y March Hud* (Caernarfon), pp. 9-13

The title poem to his first published poem, a retelling of the original, but it is written in *vers libre* with *cynghanedd* (the strict-meter system). In the poem, Pwyll is unable to catch up with Rhiannon on his horse, no matter how fast his horse gallops in pursuit of her, but the moment he asks her to stop, she stops, and Pwyll is then able to come face to face with her. Pwyll has used words to stop Rhiannon. Only through words can inspiration be caught. It ends 'And so it was that Pwyll/ was able to halt her/ and capture her magic/ despite her swift pace/ on her enchanted horse.' Copy of poem, notes, kindly supplied by the author (22/05/2023).

VII.5. Theologies: Muse.

Cf. Davies, Bryan Martin. 2003. 'Rhiannon y Gerdd' ('Rhiannon of the Poem') similar theme.

--- 2010. *Crefft y Gynghanedd* (Cyhoeddiadau Barddas)

See Hopwood (2016)

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch text, see 'White Book'.

Mac Cana, Proinsias. 1955; 1955-56. 'Aspects of the Theme of King and Goddess in Irish Literature', *Études Celtiques*, 7, 1, pp. 76–114, and pp. 356–413; *ibid.* 8 (1958-59), pp. 59–65
V.5 Pwyll: Sovereignty

--- 1958. *Branwen Daughter of Llyr: A Study of the Irish Affinities and the Composition of the Second Branch of the Mabinogion* (UWP)

I am indebted to Alan Llwyd's assistance to access this material (26 Nov. 2020).

VI.6 Adar

--- 1977. *The Mabinogi*, 'Writers of Wales' series (University of Wales Press)

Introduction

--- 1980. *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: DIAS)

II.6. Academia: Gruffydd

--- 1983. *Celtic Mythology* (Newnes)

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 2011. *The Cult of the Sacred Centre. Essays on Celtic ideology* (Dublin: DIAS)

Cited by Waddell, 'Equine Goddesses'

VII.1. Goddess Myths

MacCormack, Jennifer. c. 2005 –2012. 'Mabinogi Study'.

Discussion forum online and information pages created by students at Aberystwyth University. Useful information, attractively designed with illustrations, and lively discussions. Discontinued site.

Mabinogi Study: <<http://www.mabinogistudy.co.uk/resources.html>> Last visited 2012

II.9. 21stC

MacCulloch, John Arnott. 1911. *The Religion of the Ancient Cells* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark)

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhŷs

MacDiarmid, Hugh. Sept.-Oct. 1961. 'When the birds come back to Rhiannon', *Agenda*, 2, 5 (Poets and Painters Press), pp. 3–6

Scots poet.

IX.2. Imaginary

Mackay, Finn. 2013. 'The march of reclaim the night : feminist activism in movement', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol)

ETHOS: <<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.627950>> Accessed 14/03/21

V.11 Cigfa

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

NLW Portrait Collection. <<https://www.llgc.org.uk/en/discover/digital-gallery/pictures/portraits/artists-photographers/artists/>> Accessed 13/03/20

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

MacNeill, E. ed. trans. 1908. *Duanairé Finn,; The Book of the Lays of Fionn*. Irish Texts Society, 7 (Dublin)

VI.5. Bag

Madoc Books. 2021. Guest, *The Mabinogion*.

Sale offer £2,000.00. Online listing with much detail, a few errors: gives it as English translation; and 'the fall of Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, 1843', omits Pwyll from Part VI (1847). Emails 20/12/21.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

'**Madrian Deanic Resources**', quotes collection, video of the Burtonport community.

See Lux Madriana.

<<https://madriandeanicresources.wordpress.com/schism-of-ordo-lux-madriana-1983/>> Accessed
4/10/20

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Maestroni, Georges. M. 1993. 'The immunoneuroendocrine role of melatonin', *Journal of Pineal Research*, pp. 1–10

V.7. Teyrnnon

Magnus, Sir Philip. 1/12/1924. 'Letter to the Sunday Times', cited by Toorians, 'No Badger', pp. 204-05

V.4. Gwawl.

Maier, Bernhard. 1998. 'O'r Bedyd a Wneit Yna: Die Darstellung Der Heidnischen Vergangenheit in Den "Vier Zweigen Des Mabinogi"' (The Representation of the Pagan Past in the "Four Branches of the Mabinogi'), *Mediaevistik*, 11, pp. 61–69

My thanks for summary by kindly email Bernhard Maier (02/03/2021).

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

--- 2001. 'Maponos und Telipinu: zu einer Theorie W. J. Gruffydds.', in *150 Jahre "Mabinogion" Deutsche-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen*, ed. by Maier, Bernhard and Stefan Zimmer. (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer), pp. 79–90

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Maille, see 0 Maille.

Majumdar, Keya. July– Aug. 2006. 'Appropriating the 'Other': Some Challenges of Translation and its Theories', *Indian Literature*, 50, 4, pp. 163-170

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23346445>> Accessed 09/12/2021

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Malcovati, Leonardo. 2006. *Prosody in England and Elsewhere: A Comparative Approach* (Gival Press LLC) cited by Trobar.

Re Jaufre Rudel. Online sound file with melody, Arnaut & Karkur.

Trobar: <www.trobar.org/troubadours/jaufre_rudel/jaufre_rudel_01.php> [Accessed 8/06/2021]

VI.2. Trance

Mallabar, Sarah. 2023. 'Rhiannon', short film, Welsh and English, runtime 5 mins. Cert. 15, 4K and 6K BM. Tinopolis Studios, Llanelli (Rhiannon Short Film Ltd.)

Rachel Hopkins and Sarah Mallabar, producers. Ross O'Hennessy, exec. producer. Oliver Biggs, cinematography. Shaun Moseley, sound. Rhiannon – Bethan Rose Young, Pwyll – Rhys Downing. Hefeydd

Hen – Boyd Clack; Midwife – Kirsten Jones; Matron – Rowan Alexandria; Gwawl – Wyn Hopkins. Marion Fenner, narration. Crowdfunded.

IMDB: <<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt15195880/>>

Wyn Hopkins, Sarah Mallabar: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nU7eY1tKR70>>

Greenlit: <<https://greenlit.com/project/rhiannon>> Accessed 23/02/2023

IX.2. Imaginary

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

I.3. Etymology

Manning, H. Paul. April 2004. 'The geology of railway embankments: Celticity, Liberalism, the Oxford Welsh reforms, and the word order(s) of Welsh', *Language & Communication*, 24, 2, pp. 135–163

The Oxford group exaggerates Pughe's reforms, so their work can be presented as repairs.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Mantin, Ruth. 2001. *Theologies in Process: the Role of Goddess-Talk in Contemporary Feminist Spirituality* (University of Southampton)

The original doctoral thesis text dated the same year is available online as a PDF

University of Southampton: <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/464792/1/874683_v.1.pdf> Accessed 20/01/2023

VII.2. Gss

MANUSCRIPTS For artworks see under NLW

Due to disability MSS. sources have not been directly consulted in person; these entries are from libraries' catalogues, or cited by reputable scholars as credited in footnotes..

Add. MS. 14924, f. 29v. Luft, 'Morris', p. 3, n. 19.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Add MS 15732: British Library digitised. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

British Library: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_15732> [Accessed 08/12/2021. March 2024 check, unavailable due to cyber attack, restoration expected.]

???

BL, Add. MS. 14924. Luft, 'Morris', pp. 1–2.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Brith Gof Archive. NLW Fonds GB BRIGOF [1974] – [2007] / [Sub-fonds] P.

Site specific and theatre production and projects [1974] –[2000]. [File] PA/4. - Rhiannon text,

Gaeafdaith: texts and scenarios. A handwritten copy of the production text also including notes

regarding the production structure and imagery and copies of poems. Also PA/1 and PA/2. Branwen materials; PB. Manawydan.

NLW Archives: <<https://archifau.llyfrgell.cymru/index.php/site-specific-and-theatre-productions-and-projects>> [Accessed 07/12/2021]

II.3. Performance

Cardiff MS 2.81. Llyfr Aneirin/The Book of Aneirin, Cardiff MS 2.81.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/book-of-aneirin#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-96%2C-1085%2C4446%2C5000>> Accessed 31/01/2022

III.2. Britain

Cardiff MS. 4.22. William Thomas (1685-1764).

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Dingestow 11. Tegid/ Bosanquet/ Guest Y Mabinogion, &c 1815-17 see NLW: MS 5271B
 II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Dingestow 15. Title: ' Poems, letters, &c'. Tegid/ Bosanquet see NLW MS 5275E
 II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Geoffrey of Monmouth see Add. MS. 14924.

Geoffrey of Monmouth see Peniarth MS 23C.

Guest journals. see NLW GB 0210 GUEST
 II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Iolo Morganwg see # NLW 21285E

Llanstephan 90, 91, 93, 126, NLW.
 I.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch see Peniarth 5.

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch copy see NLW 3043.

Llyfr Coch Hergest see Oxford

MABINOGI: see Mostyn. Quarto 79; NLW 3043 (?); NLW 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp.; NLW MS 13243B Mabinogion 1801-1815 232 pp. (Pughe); NLW MS 13244B. 'Peredur', translation, 1800 (Pughe); Peniarth 6; Peniarth 5;

Morris see Add. MS. 14924

Morris see BL, Add. MS. 14924.

Mostyn. Quarto 79 in Sir Thomas Mostyn's 1744 catalogue: a quarto paper MS. bound in vellum, numbered 79, containing the texts Peredur, Bown de Hamtwn, and the Mabinogi. Luft, 'Morris', p. 2.
 II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Mysevin 5 see NLW MS 13225C. (Pughe)

Mysevin 22 see NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp.

Mysevin 23 see NLW MS 13243B. Mabinogion 1801-1815 232 pp. (Pughe)

Mysevin 24 see NLW MS 13244B. 'Peredur', translation, 1800.

Mysevin 28. see series NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811- 13/04/1835), 736pp. (Pughe's diary).

Mysevin 29, I-II see NLW MS 13249B I-II. File (1818-1819) (Pughe 'Coll Gwynfa')

NLW 1321E, p. 597. Southcott 1/06/1803: 'Myhevin 1 1803 eis i * 30 i weled Joanna Southcot sic Mr Sharp Mr Foley', marking his misspelling of her name as suggesting it is new to him.

NLW Fonds GB 0210 DRHYSIPS - D. Rhys Phillips Papers
 II.3. Performance

NLW GB 0210. Guest journals. GUEST - Lady Charlotte Guest Manuscripts. MSS III, VI–XXXI.

NLW MS 3838, Pughe, final letter. 24/05/ 1834. Pughe, Denbigh, to Arthur Johnes. Flattered by Mr. Johnes's intention of dedicating his translation of Dafydd ap Gwilym to writer. Mr. Johnes was welcome to make any use he desired of the prefatory material in his own edition of the poet's work. 'I have—I break off, dear friend, finding myself unable to proceed with the necessary application as a few minutes of either reading or writing causes me much fatigue about the back and loins ... I suffer no pain, except feeling the fatigue ... Farewell! Wm OWEN PUGHE.' Written on the back 'I live by agitation: came from Lond. last May home, 24om. by Mail. No stops: not tired: 10 hours even in bed kills me. Much less 23.'

II.5. Welsh Renaissance
 NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/letter-from-william-owen-pughe-denbigh>>
 Accessed 17/10/17

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/letter-from-william-owen-pughe-denbigh>>

Accessed 17/10/17

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MSS. 1826-31. Pughe, Mabinogi sketches, 9 untitled (1826)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 1884B. Pughe, 1819-1821 to Tegid. Copies of letters 19thC from William Owen - Pughe to John Jones (Tegid). Eng/ Welsh. Crosswood Mss.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/copies-of-letters-5>> Accessed Jan 2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 4503E - Rhuddlan Eisteddfod. Thomas Stephens

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 5271B - Y Mabinogion, &c 1815-17 aka Dingestow 11. Tegid/ Bosanquet/ Guest. Containing C 'Pedeir Ceinc y Mabinogi', 'Chwedlau y Saith Doeth', 'Breuddwyd Ronabwy', 'Iarlles y Ffynnawn', 'Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys', 'Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig', 'Ystori Geraint ab Erbin', 'Ystori Culwch ac Olwen', and 'Cedgymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/y-mabinogion-c>> Accessed Jan. 2020

'I checked the original manuscript and on the back of page 2 the following is written: "Copied from the Llyvyr Coch o Hergest at Jesus College Oxford by Mr Jones. March 1815", and on page 96, this being the title page, (Chwedleu y Saith Doeth allan o'r Llyvyr Coch Hergest. Gan John Jones. Rhydychain), is dated 1817.' My enquiry 22/01/2020 on dating evidence for NLW MS 5271B. Question #15189481; reply Caronwen Samuel, Uwch Gynorthwy-ydd Mynediad/ Senior Access Assistant, (6/02/2020).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 5275E RESTRICTED ACCESS. Formerly Dingestow MS 15. Title: ' Poems, letters, &c'. Tegid/ Bosanquet Two letters John Jones ('Tegid') to Bosanquet mentioning Llyfr Coch, one possibly dated 1817; and three letters from Pughe 1821.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/poems-letters-c>> Accessed Jan. 2020

My query 17/01/2020 Question #15178527, Reply Caronwen Samuel, Senior Access Assistant (24/01/2020). Another folder's letters Pughe to Tegid 1819-1821. NLW MS 1884B - Copies of letters 19thC from William Owen -Pughe to John Jones (Tegid). Eng/ Welsh. Crosswood MSS.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/copies-of-letters-5>> [Accessed Jan 2020]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 5275E RESTRICTED ACCESS. Formerly Dingestow MS 15. Title: ' Poems, letters, &c'. Two letters John Jones ('Tegid') to Bosanquet mentioning Llyfr Coch, one possibly dated 1817; and three letters from Pughe though these are 1821.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/poems-letters-c>> Accessed Jan. 2020 Detail re Tegid's two letters my query 17/01/2020 Question #15178527, Reply Caronwen Samuel, Senior Access Assistant (24/01/2020).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 13059E. Marwnad William Owen Pughe, MEMORIAM POEM (1836) 'Galarnad ar farwolaeth W. O. Pughe, Yswn, D.C.L., F.A.S'; elegy (206 lines) on the death of William Owen Pughe by 'Ywain Cyfeiliog'. II.5. Welsh Renaissance The same year a memorial was erected at Cae Athro: photo MS. GB 0210 WILGOL William Owen, Prysgol, Papers

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/marwnad-william-owen-pughe>>

Accessed 17/10/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13225C. Pughe, Misc. poetry and prose (1779-1835). Formerly Mysevin 5.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/miscellaneous-poetry-and-prose>> Accessed 28/04/2018

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc. (1826–1831), 1326 pp. Formerly Mysevin 22. SKETCHES by William Owen Pughe. Scenes from the entire first Branch, evidently intended as illustrations, (1 in pencil, 8 pen & wash), pp. 45- 53. Transcripts and English translations by William Owen Pughe. Most of the transcripts appear to have been made between 1826 and 1831, the complete work prepared for the press in 1834 but never published. Mabinogi, Culhwch, Iarlles y Ffynnon', 'Breuddwyd Macsen', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy, Lludd, also Trioedd, poetry discussion. Incl. Mabinogi 9 SKETCHES see n. Handlist Vol. IV. 'Mabinogion' and other medieval prose texts divided in three groups. (a) 'Math ab Mathonwy' (1805); (b) In three series, I 'Pwyll' (two copies, one incomplete), 'Bran the Blessed' (= 'Branwen ferch Llyr'), 'Manawydan', 'Math', II 'Culhwch' (see also NLW MS 13232E, item 26), 'Peredur', 'Geraint fab Erbin', III 'Iarlles y Ffynnon', 'Breuddwyd Macsen', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', 'Lludd a Llefelys'; (c) 'Lludd a Llefelys', 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', 'Saith Doethion Rhufain', an introduction to the prose texts, 'Trioedd', Welsh poetry between 540 A.D. and 1600. A note (p. 124) suggests that the transcript was made from 'Llyfr Coch Hergest'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogion-etc>> Accessed 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13243B. Mabinogion 1801-1815 232 pp. Formerly Mysevin 23. Almost all Four Branches material. MS. volume 'MABINOI GWYLL' gold lettering on spine. Written throughout by William Owen -Pughe. Transcripts, probably from 'Llyfr Coch Hergest', and English translations: 'Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed' (pp. 11-79), 'Branwen ferch Llyr'(pp. 80-1153) also synopsis (pp. 227-8), synopsis 'Manawydan fab Llyr' (pp. 154-217), 'Math fab Mathonwy' beginning only (pp. 218-23) Also Math

#NLW MS 13242B, Cf. Handlist Vol. IV.
NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogion-3>> Accessed 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13244B. 'Peredur', translation, 1800 MS. volume, formerly Mysevin Ms. 24. (original foliation 1-117) 240 pp. Bound in half leather with marbled paper sides. p. 235: 'Finished Dec. 31 1800, 9 o'clock at night - 3 hours before end of the 18th. century - Wm. Owen'. Written front fly-leaf medical recipe for 'Sore throat ulcerated' ... the name 'W. Owen No. 40 Penton Street, Pentonville'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/peredur>> 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13245B. Pughe 'Mabinogi Geraint', MS. volume, 1802x1830 1802 112 pp.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogi-geraint>> Accessed 25/03/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811-13/04/1835), 736pp. Formerly Mysevin 28. Pughe, William Owen, 'Dyddgoviant/ 'Diary', 2 vols. 'Dyddgoviant/ Diary William Owen Pughe'. Domestic news, weather, Southcott's final days, and her death (pp. 103-108), development of her sect over succeeding years. Frequent reference by Pughe to his extremely laboured translation of Milton's Coll Gwynfa/ Paradise Lost, (1819), dismissed by Iolo Morganwg as 'Milton lost! Diary written in a very small neat hand, in the eccentric orthography devised by Pughe himself; (e.g. Welsh letter 'ch' is represented by 'ç,' and 'f' by 'v').

NLW Gallery (to view facsimile): <www.llgc.org.uk/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/modern-period/dyddgoviant-william-owen-pughe/> Accessed 10/03/2017

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dyddgoviant-william-owen-pughe>>
Accessed 10/03/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 13249B I-II. File (1818-1819) 'Coll Gwynfa', formerly Mysevin MS 29, I-II. Two holograph copies of a Welsh translation by William Owen-Pughe of Milton's 'Paradise Lost'.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/coll-gwynfa>> Accessed 17/10/2017
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MSS #13255A (1810–11); #13257B (1801–15); #13261B (1801–35); #13258B (1802–35); #13259B (1802–35); #13262B (1802–35); #13260B (1803–35, 1927); #13256B

(1810–20). Pughe Mabinogion transcripts.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/mabinogion-etc>> Accessed 15/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW. MS. 13263. Letter E. Protheroe of Hemel-Hempstead to Owen, 24 July 1825. Owen offered a work to publisher Murray, who declined it 'for pecuniary reasons alone'. Johnston, 'Pughe Mabinogion', p. 327.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS. 21285E, Letter 880, Iolo to Myfyr, 5/04/1806, pages of angry resentment. II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS 3043: Roger Morris of Coed-y-Talwrn, Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch copy. (Luft, '18thC Rehabilitation', p. 4.)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

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

NLW: MS. GB 0210 WILGOL William Owen, Prysgol, Papers. Pughe memorial statue erected at Cae Athro (1913). Photo

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/william-owen-prysgol-papers-2>> Accessed 17/10/2017

Cf. Pierce. 1914. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe* (Caernarfon: Swyddfa Cymru)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

NLW MS GB 0210 DOLYCAE Dôl y Cae (Tal-y-Llyn) Deeds and documents (1598-1856) the Pughe estate, including a lease from William Owen Pughe and his brother Richard to his son Aneurin Owen Pughe (1816)

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dol-y-cae-tal-y-llyn-deeds-2>> Accessed 17/10/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Oxford Jesus College MS. 111 (Llyfr Coch Hergest)

<<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111>> [Accessed 02/10/2021]

II.4. Manuscripts

Peniarth 5 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch)

Also Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch copy see NLW 3043.

???

Peniarth 6 see listing Isaacs

Peniarth MS 23C, Geoffrey of Monmouth, 'History of the Kings', Brut y Brenhinedd, translated into Welsh. NLW digitised, 'one of only a handful of medieval Welsh manuscripts to have been illustrated'.

NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/history-of-the-kings#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-226%2C-1%2C3547%2C3990>> [Accessed 08/12/2021]

NLW, 'The White Book of Rhydderch: Peniarth 4' (Online 2004). NLW digitisation

14/05/19. NLW: <<https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/white-book-of-rhydderch/>> Accessed 17/12/2016

I.4. Advent

Pughe Diary see NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811- 13/04/1835), 736pp one entry

Pughe estate see GB 0210 DOLYCAE

Pughe, 1819-1821 to Tegid see NLW MS 1884B

Pughe, Mabinogi sketches, 9, untitled (1826), see NLW MS 13242B, **NLW 1826-31**. II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Pughe. 'Paradise Lost'. see NLW MS 13249B I-II.
Pughe, rejection of book project. NLW. MS. 13263.
Pughe, final letter, see NLW: MS 3838
Pughe memoriam see NLW: MS 13059E.
Pughe memorial statue (1913) photo. See NLW: MS. GB 0210 WILGOL
Pughe portraits: see Hodgetts; Maclise; NLW Original Drawing Volumes
Stephens, Thomas, see NLW MS 4503E
Tegid/ Bosanquet/ Guest, see NLW: MS 5271B - Y Mabinogion, &c 1815-17 aka Dingestow 11. Containing 'Pedeir Ceinc y Mabinogi', and more.
Tegid/ Bosanquet see NLW MS 5275E Two letters John Jones ('Tegid') to Bosanquet mentioning Llyfr Coch, one possibly dated 1817; three letters from Pughe 1821
II.5. Welsh Renaissance

Maphill: 'Physical Map of Wales'. <maphill.com> [Accessed 30/12/19]
III.2. Britain

Marcovich, Miroslav. 1996. 'From Ishtar to Aphrodite', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 30, pp. 43-59
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Marlow, A.N. Aug. 1967. 'Cities of the Indus, Part I', *History Today*, 17, 8, online
VII.1. Goddess Myths
--- Sept. 1967. 'Cities of the Indus, Part I', *History Today*, Vol. 17, 8, online
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Maslow, Abram H. 1943. 'A theory of human motivation', *Psychological Review*, 50, 4, pp. 370-396
V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Matriarchy Research & Reclaim Network (MRRN). Newsletter, monthly 1970s-90s.
VII.3 20thC Goddess
--- . 1975. 'Goddess' themed *Shrew*, an occasional feminist magazine produced by the WLW (Women's Liberation Workshop), London.
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Matthiessen, Rowan. 16/06/2016. 'Narberth's Mabinogion Carnival Queen Rhiannon!' (Narberth, Pems.) The competition is judged on 'strength, creativity, passion and determination... not forgetting the willingness to have a go. This is definitely not a beauty pageant!' Tenby Observer, 'Tenby Today'
Tenby Today: <<http://www.tenby-today.co.uk/article.cfm?id=105171&headline=Join%20the%20search%20for%20Narberth%E2%80%99s%20Mabinogion%20Carnival%20Queen%20Rhiannon!§ionIs=news&searchyear=2016>> [Accessed 28/11/2016]
See also Matthiessen's poster Ch. IX.1. Gallery, and displayed end of Ch. II.3. Performance.
II.3. Performance

May, John. 1994. *A Chronicle of Welsh Events* (Christopher Davies)
II.1. Timeline

Maybee, J. E. 2016, rev. 2020. 'Hegel's Dialectics', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
SEP: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hegel-dialectics/>>
Also Wikipedia: Dialectic <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialectic#Medieval_philosophy> Both accessed
23/07/2021.
IX. Structures

Maud, Kari. 2007. *Princess Nest of Wales: Seductress of the English* (The History Press)
V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice

McCoid, Catherine Hodge, and Leroy D. **McDermott**. Jun. 1996. 'Toward Decolonizing Gender:
Female Vision in the Upper Paleolithic', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 98, 2, pp. 319-326
Available JSTOR or see summary with explanatory images
QZ: <<https://qz.com/quartz/1399713/a-different-view-of-gender-in-prehistoric-society-and-art/>>
Accessed 5/11/20
VII.1. Goddess Myths

McCrickard, Janet, as **Grian**, Sinead Sula. 1985. *Brighde, Goddess of Fire* (Brighde's Fire) Booklet in
the author's custom designed, script; hand scribed as a devotional exercise. (Personal
conversation, 1985, Janet McCrickard).
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)
McCrickard, Janet. 1987. *Brighde: Her History, Folklore and Mythology* (Fieldfare Arts & Design),
'Brigid, Goddess and Saint: Places in Wales'
See also Brigid's Forge: <<https://brighid.org.uk/wales.html>> Accessed 5/10/20
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

McKenna, Catherine. 1980. 'The Theme of Sovereignty in Pwyll', *BBCS*, 29, pp. 35-52.
Repr. 1996, 2015 and Kindle, in *The Mabinogi: A Book of Essays*, ed. by Sullivan, Charles William III
(Garland Publications; Routledge; and Kindle), pp. 303-30
google books:
<<http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&id=5IWfIKkhVuAC&dq=Mabinogi&printsec=frontcover&source=web&ots=GuQlIbjkF8&sig=IFVFE25fCw-o2qbZHyUt74V0wSU#PPR9,M1>> Accessed 5/10/20
I.5. Text: Prologue
--- 1999. 'Sovereignty'; and 'Learning Lordship : The Education of Manawydan' in *Ildanach
Ildinech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*: 4, ed. by Carey, John; John Koch and Pierre-Yves
Lambert (Celtic Studies Publications)
V.5. Gwydion

McKibben, Sarah E. 2015. 'In their "owne countre": Deriding and Defending the Early Modern
Irish Nation after Gerald of Wales', *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval
Studies*, 8, pp. 39-70
VII.3. 20thC Goddess

McKay, Dodie Graham. 14/04/2016. 'Goddess House open in Glastonbury', 'Wild Hunt: Pagan
News & Perspectives' online.
Wild Hunt: <<https://wildhunt.org/2016/04/goddess-house-open-in-glastonbury.html>> [Accessed
18/06/2023]
VII.4. Temples

Medlicott, Mary. 1990. 'By Word of Mouth', Channel 4. TV documentary in 4 parts about the developing storytelling movement reached more than two million viewers.

II.3. Performance

van der **Meer**, H.P. 1949. 'Euhemerus van Messene', (unpublished doctoral thesis Amsterdam)

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Merrill, Ann W. 1977. 'Order and Chaos: A Structural Analysis of the Limitations of Women in the Mabinogion and Táin Bó Cúailnge'. (unpublished BA Hons. thesis, Harvard)

Hollis: <<http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990038942730203941/catalog>> Accessed 06/05/2020

II.8. Feminism

Merton, Robert K. 1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure* (USA: MacMillan)

Best known via Raymond Boudon. 1991. 'What Middle-Range Theories Are', *Contemporary Sociology*, 20, 4, pp. 519–522

Introduction

Messer, Danna R. 2014, 'The Uxorial Lifecycle and Female Agency in Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bangor University)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 2018. 'Impressions of Welsh Queenship in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *A Companion to Global Queenship*, ed. by Woodacre, Elena (ARC Humanities Press,), pp. 147– 58

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 2020. *Joan, Lady of Wales:: Power and Politics of King John's Daughter* (Pen and Sword History, and Kindle)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

#metoo movement against harassment begun 2017.

me too: <<https://metoomvmt.org/>> Accessed 18/03/2023

II.8. Feminism

Metzger, Deena and Caitlin Mullin. 1987. 'Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate, Demeter, Kali, Inanna', Goddessing chant recorded on 'Chants: Ritual Music', Reclaiming Collective (Serpentine Music)

Earlier appeared as the chorus of Charlie Murphy's anthem 1981, 'The Burning Times', on his 'Catch the Fire' album (Good Fairy Productions)

VII.4. Temples

Meyer, Kuno and Alfred **Nutt**, eds. 1895-97. *The voyage of Bran, son of Febal to the land of the living*, in 2 vols. Grimm Library 4–6, 1 (London: Nutt)

V.10 Pryderi: Boyhood

Meyers, Herbert M. and Richard **Gerstman**. 2014. *The Visionary Package*, Ch. 3. (Palgrave MacMillan)

Fritz Henkel's invention, Germany 1878.

I.4. Advent #6 Gold, shining

Miles-Watson, Jonathan. 2009. *Welsh Mythology: A Neo-Structuralist Analysis* (Cambria Press)

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Mitchison, Naomi. 1930. *The Barbarian: The Corn King and the Spring Queen* (Cameron Associates)

Mittleman, Josh, and Heather Rose **Jones**. 1998, 1999, last updated 23/07/1999. 'Concerning the Names Rhiannon, Rhian, and the Like', Medieval Names Archive: Problem Names Project (Medieval Scotland)

'Medieval Scotland' <<http://medievalscotland.org/problem/names/rhiannon.shtml>> [First accessed 13/11/18, last checked 10/07/2023]

I.8. Etymology

MoChridhe, Race. 2019. *The Eastminster Critical Edition of the Clear Recital and of the Oxonian Rite* (Lulu platform)

Extensive Madrian, and Filianic materials.

MoChridhe: <<https://www.lulu.com/shop/race-mochridhe/the-eastminster-critical-edition-of-the-clear-recital-and-of-the-oxonian-rite/paperback/product-24242052.html>> Accessed 14/10/20

See Lux Madriana.

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Monaghan, Patricia. 1981. *The Book of Goddesses and Heroines* (NY: Elsevier Dutton; Canada: Clarke, Irwin)

Available online, Open Library. Inaccurate Rhiannon entry pp. 253–54.

--- 1997. *The New Book of Goddesses and Heroines* (Llewellyn)

VII.4. Ven

--- 2010. *Encyclopedia of Goddesses and Heroines* (Llewellyn)

VII.4. Ven

Monteleone, Vincent Joseph. 2003. *Criminal Slang: The Vernacular of the Underworld Lingo* (The Lawbook Exchange, Ltd)

V.4. Gwawl

Monthly Review. Dec. 1839. Charlotte Guest, *Mabinogion*, Part II. *Monthly Review*, III. 1V, p. 132.

Google Books:

<https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Monthly_Review/1Y8eAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1> [First accessed 15/07/2023]

III.3. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Monthly Review. April 1843. 'Welsh Fiction', I, IV, pp. 431–68.

The Contents page (unnumbered) lists this as 'The Mabinogion, from Llyfr Coch o Hergest and other Ancients Welsh MSS.; with an English Translation and Notes. By Lady Charlotte Guest. Parts I, II, III, and IV. 1838–42'. However the title in the body of the journal is 'Welsh Fiction' and gives a long and detailed history of Welsh literature; the Guest review begins 22 pages in, at p. 453. See also Clarke.

Available to view online, on google books.

III.3. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Moore, Geoff (dir.). 1981. 'The Mabinogi' (Moving Being, Cardiff Castle)

II.3. Performance

--- 1983. 'The Mabinogi', with Robin Williamson's songs and music (Moving Being, Caernarfon Castle)

See Williamson, Robin for tracklist.

Youtube videos appear but frequently hacked. 'Kington Steve', "The Mabinogi" Part One (1984)

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gX27RkZ4TSk>> Part Two

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k9qg3nnjbig>> Mix:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gX27RkZ4TSk&list=RDgX27RkZ4TSk&start_radio=1&rv=gX27RkZ4TSk&t=37>

II.3. Performance

Moore, Geoff. 1990. *Moving Being: Two Decades of Theatre Ideas* (Cardiff: Moving being Ltd.)

II.3. Performance

Morden, Daniel. 2014. *Tree of Leaf and Flame* (Pont Books)

Also toured 'Tree of Leaf and Flame', with Oliver Wilson-Dickson (violin) and Dylan Fowler (guitar) from The Devil's Violin Company.

II.3. Performance

MORGAIN

Morgain as Jayran

Jayran, Shan, (now Morgain). 1980s-90s. House of the Goddess' publicity leaflets, personal archive.

VII.4 Temples

--- 1985. 'Goddess Calendar', A4 poster (House of the Goddess), photocopied on A4 Conqueror vellum. An early appearance by Rhiannon in the Goddess community. 13 moon month sections coloured individually by hand in poster paint. Originally designed, produced and sold 1985 as part of 'I am the Goddess', festival stall. Later continued through 'House of the Goddess'. Sadly my copy has disappeared and I have not been able to source another. So I made a facsimile for here to show what it was like, p. 461.

VII.4. Temples

--- March 1993. 'My Child', *Self and Society*, Association of Humanistic Psychology Journal, 21, 2pp. 33-34

VII.5. Theologies: Mother

--- 1986, 2nd edn. 1993. *Which Craft?* Illust. Terry (House of the Goddess)

Brief, deliberately naive introduction to modern Craft and Goddess Paganism.

VII.4. Temples: House of the Goddess

--- 1987. *Circlework: Handbook of Basic Ritual in the style of the Craft*, Illust. Terry (London: House of the Goddess)

VI.2 Trance

--- 1993 2nd edn. *Circlework: a DIY Handbook of Ritual, Psychology and Magic*, revised and expanded; Illust. Terry, photos Geoff King (London: House of the Goddess)

VI.2. Trance

--- 1994. *The Pagan Index* (House of the Goddess)

Annotated A-Z directory of Pagan organisations UK. Popular with contemporary, emerging, academic interest in modern Paganism.

VII.3 20thC: Triadic Goddess

--- and Bethan Williams (eds.). 1994. *The Pagan Song Book*, Illust. VHS tape John Davies (House of the Goddess)

Inexplicably does not Includes my 'Welsh Goddess Chant', variant of Deena Metzger and Caitlin Mullin's 'Isis, Astarte, Diana, Hecate, Demeter, Kali, Inanna', popularized by Starhawk's Reclaiming Collective.

VII.2. Trance

--- 1996. 'Darklight Philosophy: A Ritual Praxis' in *Paganism Today: Wiccans, Druids, the Goddess, and Ancient Earth Traditions for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Harvey, Graham, and Charlotte Hardman (London and San Francisco: Thorsons), pp. 204-223

VII.3 20thC Goddess: Triadic Goddess

--- 1996. House of the Goddess website, first uploaded on AOL (1996).

'Hogonline', <www.hogonline.co.uk> (1996-2001; archive reconstruction <www.mabinogi.com>

--- 1999-2005. 'In Her Eyes', searchable bibliography and index of Religion & Gender, Feminist Theology, Thealogy & Goddess Studies. Originally paper copy circulated at conferences.

<in-her-eyes.co.uk> Closed 2005

--- 1999- 2003. 'A Spirituality of Mothering', unfinished doctoral thesis, University of London independent programme. Supervisor, Eileen Barker, LSE.

VII.5. Thealogies: Mother

--- 2001. 'Western Goddess Spirituality: Thealogy in Social Context', presented at 'Religion & Gender: Walking Between the Worlds', coordinated by Jayran. A pioneering international colloquium: fully online, live chatroom debate and asynchronous support forum (6 weeks 15/02/2001 - 29/03/2001). Six lead scholars, 25 participants : Prof. Ursula King (Bristol University); Dr. Carol Christ (Crete, independent teaching centre); Dr. Daphne Hampson (St. Andrews University); Dr. Ruth Mantin (Chichester College); Dr. Susan Starr Sered (Israel, Haifa University), myself as coordinator (Independent Postgraduate Programme, London University). Dedicated specialist website <www.ovular.co.uk> (closed). Full text archived Appendix 12.

VII.1. Goddess Myths, and described VII.3. 20thC Goddess

--- 2001. 'Duwies Cymru? or, Goddess Wales?' online 2001-2005; defunct. Text salvaged in Appendix 14 Appendix; to be republished in forthcoming anthology.

<housemorgain.co.uk> defunct since

Introduction

--- 2002 'Religion & Gender: Walking Between the Worlds', international 'ovular', six weeks series <ovular.co.uk> Closed 2005

VII.3 Gss: Triadic Goddess

--- 2002. 'Thealogy', Wikipedia, (05/01/2002:01:04)

Wikipedia: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thealogy>> Accessed 01/04/21

Use 'View history' tab, when logged in as editor, to see the early editorial discussion.

Edit history (2002): <<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Thealogy&oldid=275992261>>

Accessed 01/04/21

VII.9. 21stC

Morgain, Shân. 29/19/2008. 'Separation of Goddess & Pagan Communities, A UK Perspective', guest blogpost on 'Medusa Coils: Fiercely defending, bravely exploring Goddess and spiritual feminisms'

Medusa Coils blog: <<http://medusacoils.blogspot.com/2008/10/guest-post-separation-of-goddess-pagan.html>> Accessed 9/08/2022

--- with John Davies and Taliesin Morgan. 28/01/2010. 'Rhiannon', performed at Gaer Junior School, Gaer Road, Newport NP20 3GY. Production and script by Morgain. An example of ephemeral, small scale, local performance, which usually leaves little or no record. Part of a Newport city festival celebration of mythology designed by local artist Andy O'Rourke Nathan Sheen.

II.2. Performance

--- 2014. Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/bibliog/index-of-guest-journals/>> [Created 2014, feed from Zotero] Created 2013 as a research website but also as popular, friendly resource. Nominated by NLW to the UK Web Archive as 'an important part of Wales documentary heritage'. (2017).

Zotero: <<https://www.zotero.org/groups/mabinogistudy/items>>

Zotero: <<https://www.zotero.org/groups/235117/mabinogistudy>> [Created 2013] Zotero can be downloaded. The selected bibliography can then synch to update with the online version.

II.5. Renaissance: Pughe

--- 2013 ongoing. 'The Mabinogi Bibliography' via Zotero

Over 2,000 entries, key or obscure items annotated. Includes items on historical context, arts, fiction adaptations, and *The Mabinogion*. Tagged categories, searchable. The Zotero version can be downloaded and synched to update with the online version; searches can be re-ordered e/g. by date to construct timelines., and re-ordered e/g. by date to construct timelines.

II.1. Timeline

--- 2013. 'Pughe, William'

Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/library/william-pughe>>

II.5. Renaissance: Pughe

--- 2014. 'Index of Guest Journals'. Excerpts, dated, with refs. to sources. Searchable.

Mabinogi Study: <<http://mabinogistudy.com/bibliog/index-of-guest-journals/>> Created 2014]

II.5. Renaissance: Guest

--- 2014 Sept. 'Here Be Dragons!' Conference presentation at 'Dwy Iaith, Dau Ddiwylliant? Two Languages, Two Cultures?'. CAWCS, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Dr. Mary-Ann Constantine, dir.

An experiential statement on issues of working between two linguistic worlds.

Introduction

---- 10/10/ 2014. 'Othering a Guest: ethnic, economic and gendered complexities of a giant lady.' Presented at 'The Self and the Other' (RIAH Postgraduate Conference, Swansea). Published in the *RIAH Proceedings* (May 2016)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

---- 19/02/2015. 'Rhiannon as Mabinogi Tour Guide'. Presentation for MEMO (Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Research), Swansea University

online Academia.edu

Introduction

--- May 2016. 'Trusting the text of the Mabinogi, tracing interlacings into intricacy'. Seminar handout on the Bollard paradigm, 3pp. of organised notes supporting Christine James' course, 'Crefft Y Cyfarwydd' (CY-344), Swansea University, Dept. Welsh.

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/24959322/Trusting_the_text_of_the_Mabinogi_tracing_interlacings_into_intri_cacy_May_2016> [Uploaded May 2016; Last accessed 09/07/2023]

Introduction

--- '14/10/2016. Tair Cainc Mabinogi: three analyses of conflict and discord; the 12thC speaks today' presented at 'Harmony and Discord', Swansea University. Chair of panel: Gabriella Valentino.

I.3. Etymology

--- Nov. 2016. 'Legal References in the Mabinogion: notes and quotes from T. P. Ellis' (Academia, online)

Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/20449024/Legal_References_in_the_Mabinogion_notes_and_quotes_from_T_P_Ellis_Nov_2016?auto=download> Uploaded 2016

--- 2016. 'Bridging the Gap', *Trilithon* unpublished due to editorial directive change after it was written.

--- 2017. 'Year of legend', series of 12 instalments, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith. Initially planned as three articles, expanded to a 12 month project.

Jan. 2017. 'Pembrokeshire and the earliest prose stories', part 1 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Introduction to the Mabinogi, and its landscape sites in Pembrokeshire.

Feb. 2017. 'Pembrokeshire plots', part 2 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Deconstruction of assumptions about Pwyll as a character, and how a new perspective can solve the structural problem of Pwyll I.

March 2017. 'The Making of the Modern Mabinogi', part 3 of 12 *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

A compact history of the Mabinogi from 1100 to the present day: manuscripts, antiquarians, scholarship, publications, translations, performance events and electronic media.

April 2017. 'The Devastation of Dyfed', part 4 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

An investigation of anachronisms in the Third branch which may relate to mediaeval historical events.

May 2017. 'A Gallery of Rhiannon,' part 5 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Artworks 1826 to today, illustrating the Rhiannon narrative, with analytic commentary on each. Incl. never before published sketches from William Owen Pughe, 1826; and original modern interpretations.

June 2017. 'Mabinogi Lovers Old and New', part 6 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith, pp. 38–40. Comparing the love stories of Rhiannon, Charlotte Guest, and the author as incoming wives and mothers. Letter in response forwarded from editor to author, mid-June, signed 'An Old Narberthian' undated.

VI.1. Enchantment

July 2017. 'Pryderi, Golden Boy of Pembrokeshire', part 7 of 12 *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Classic theories, deconstruction of the penance sequence. Pryderi as a literary tragedy.

Aug. 2017. 'Women in the Mabinogi World', part 8 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

A different society, comparing the Mabinogi with mediaeval Wales. Key Mabinogi women. Feminist issues.

Sept. 2017. 'The Triad of Pryderi and the Great Sow', part 9 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

The Mabinogi and the *Trioedd* (Triads) particularly TYP no. 26

Oct. 2017. 'The Three Great Mabinogi Kindreds', part 10 of 12, *Pembrokeshire Life* magazine ed. by Johnson, Keith

Usually defined as Four branches, this revisits Anwyl's theory 1901, in relation to Bollard's 'marriage, friendship feud' analysis.

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1 The Mabinogi: a pioneering work of genius. 2. Mabinogi: stories & translations , 3 Mabinogion and other howlers. 4. Mabinogi: creativity and canon. 5. Mabinogi: places of power. 6. Mabinogi: mythology or literature? 7. Mabinogi: politics mediaeval & modern, 8. Mabinogi: everyday life. 9. Mabinogi: Women. 10. Mabinogi Goddesses & Gods. 11. Mabinogi Magicians. 12. Mabinogi: Enchantments. 13. *Rhiannon, Duwies Haul/ Rhiannon, Sun Goddess*. 14. Mabinogi Love Stories: Rhiannon, Charlotte Guest and me. 15. Mabinogi animals. 16. Mabinogi: artworks & applications. 17. Mabinogi: structural patterns 'n puzzles 18. Mabinogi: oral tradition & the continuing performance. 19. Mabinogi: latest interpretations, gaming, films, music. 20. Mabinogi: structural patterns 'n puzzles. 21. Me and the Mab.

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Roleplay game featuring mythological pantheons. The Welsh pantheon includes a detailed, accurate Rhiannon, but leaves her dangling outside the two kindreds (Don, Llyr) connected only by marriage to Manawydan.

Excellent Rhiannon portrait p. 28. Also passage about Gorsedd Arberth as part of the book's section on mystical locations pp.73-74. Adar Rhiannon in the appendix, pp.148-149, her divine birds included as NPC for use as opponents/set dressing.

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Oxford Dictionary of National Biography:

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<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2929>> Accessed 23/03/20

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

--- PUGHE 'Pughe, William Owen pseud. Idrison (1759-1835)', by J. E. Lloyd, rev. by Glenda Carr (2004).

More detailed than Welsh Biography, good bibliography. See also Carr (chief biography), Bromwich (1986) on Guest but good on Pugh). Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Kaminski-

Jones.

ODNP online: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22867>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- SOUTHCOFF 'Joanna Southcott (1750-1814) Prophet and Writer', by Sylvia Bowerbank (2004-13)

Also Pierce, Welsh Biography.

ODNP online: <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22867>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- WILLIAMS. 'Williams, Moses (1685-1742), Welsh scholar and translator', by Brynley F.

Roberts (2004)

<<https://www.oxforddnb.com/search?q=Williams%2C+Moses+%281685%E2%80%931742%29%2C+Welsh+scholar+and+translator>> Accessed 11/03/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Williams

Oxford University, 'History'

<<https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/history?wssl=1>> [Accessed 21/04/2019]

II.1 Timeline

--- 'Introduction and history'.

<<https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/history#>> [Accessed 16/08/2020]

Padel, O. J. Summer 1998. Review of Koch 1997: 'A New Study of the Gododdin, *CMCS*, 35, pp. 45-55

III.2. Britain

Pagan Federation, *Pagan Dawn*, quarterly house magazine (est. 1993)

Developed from the *Wiccan* (est. 1968), when the PF expanded its remit to Paganisms.

Pagan Federation: <<https://www.paganfed.org/pagan-dawn/>> [Accessed 26/08/2022]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Pagé, Anna. 2015. 'Narrative Structure of the Comperta and Other Irish Birth Tales', *Keltische Forschungen*, 7, pp. 61-90

PDF available Academia:

<https://www.academia.edu/33604553/The_Narrative_Structure_of_the_Comperta_and_Other_Irish_Birth_Tales?auto=citations&from=cover_page> [Accessed 20/08/2022]

V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

PARKER

Parker, Will. 1998, online 2002. 'Bibliographic Essay. The Four Branches of the Mabinogi, A Medieval Celtic Text; English Language Scholarship 1795-1997' (MSc. Information Science thesis in literary summary, City University, London, now UCL)

Mabinogi net: <https://www.mabinogi.net/bibliog_essay.htm> [Accessed 12/12/2005]

II.1. Timeline

--- Winter, 2002. 'Gwynedd, Ceredigion and the Political Geography of the Mabinogi', *NLW*, pp. 365-96

III.7. Political Parallels

--- Mabinogi Net. 2002.

Mabinogi.Net: <http://www.mabinogi.net/bibliog_essay.htm> [Accessed 12/12/2005]

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/fourbranches.html?sections>> [Accessed 2010]

II.1 Timeline

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'Text Translations', Mabinogi.Net.

Composite translation drawn from DIAS editions for the First and Second Branches; and PKM for the Third and Fourth Branches. Made available online when no other was there except Guest, ed. 1999. Also his extensive notes on literary, historical and linguistic aspects of the text: some speculative, many are useful and insightful.

--- ed. trans. 2003. Header page, Contents list, Mabinogi.Net.

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/translations.htm>> [Accessed 2005]

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Pwyll', Mabinogi.Net

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/pwyll.htm>> [Last checked 11/07/2023]

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Branwen', Mabinogi.Net (2003).

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/branwen.htm>>

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Manawydan', Mabinogi.Net (2003).

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/manawydan.htm>> Accessed 19/09/2020

--- ed. trans. 2003. 'The Mabinogi of Math', Mabinogi.Net, 2003

Mabinogi.Net: <<http://www.mabinogi.net/math.htm>> Accessed 29/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

--- 2005. *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Dublin: Bardic Press)

III.7. Political Parallels V.11. Manawydan

--- 2007. 'Mabinogion Info'.

Collection of articles.

Mabinogion Info: <<http://www.mabinogion.info/>> Accessed 2012

II.9. 21stC

Parry-Williams, Glenda: see Carr, Glenda.

Parry, Milman; and Adam Parry, eds. 1971. *The making of Homeric Verse, the Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Clarendon Press)

See Davies, *Four Branches*, pp. 32–33; and Lord (1960).

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

Parsons, Rachel. 2017. *Out of Exile 2*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle)

--- 2018. *Love in Exile 1*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle)

Fantasy of faerie alternate world, some loose connections to PKM Rhiannon.

--- 2018. *Exile's End*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle).

--- 2020. *Exile in Elsewhen*. Rhiannon the Nude, series of 7 (Independently Published, Kindle)

IX.2. Imaginary

Patch, Howard Rollin. 2013. 'Among the Celts', Ch. II in *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature*, I (Cambridge, MA: and London, England: Harvard University Press), pp. 27–59.

Harvard University: <<https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674183841.c2>> Accessed 02/08/2022

VI.1. Enchantment

Patel, Samir S. Nov./Dec. 2022. 'Bronze Age Urban Experiment', *Archaeology*, Archaeological Institute of America, 75, 6, pp. 44–55

Indus Civilisation.
VII.1. Goddess Myths

Patterson, Nerys W. 1981. 'Honour and Shame in Medieval Welsh Society: A study of the Role of the Burlesque in the Welsh Laws', *Studia Celtica*, 7, 8, pp. 73–103

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- May, 1987. 'Women of the Mabinogi: From Sign to Subject', presented at the Harvard Celtic Colloquium, 7, pp. 163–66

Not published in the Proceedings, only its Abstract quoted Ch. II.8. Feminism, n. 578.

VI.8. Feminism

--- 1988. 'Woman as Vassal: Gender Symmetry in Medieval Wales', *Proc. of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 8, pp. 31–45

Argues for relative gender symmetry, men were also limited in their unilateral authority, and their choice of marriage partner, p. 32. arguing men were governed by their lord similarly to a woman's governance by her male supervisor (natal, marital).

VI.8. Feminism

Pauly, August, and Georg Wissowa. 1839.1852. 'Epona' entry in *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Deutsche*, in multiple vols, subsequently republished.

Cited by WJG, *Rhiannon*, pp. 103-104.

II.6. Welsh Academy: Gruffydd

Pausanias. 1stC. 'Arcadia' (Ἀρκαδικά), 8 of 10, in his *Description of Greece*, series of 10
Each volume describes a region of Greece. Pausanias was long thought to be extant only from 15thC MSS. now known from Neapolitanus II.C.32, 150 years earlier, closer to the Mabinogi development period; there may have been earlier MSS. See Diller; Williams, F.

Theoi: Demeter Cult 2: <<https://www.theoi.com/Cult/DemeterCult2.html>> Accessed 01/09/2020

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Pearson, Mike Parker; J. Pollard, C. Richards, K. Welham, C. Casswell, D. Shlee, D. Shaw, E. Simmons, A. Stanford, R. Bevins, R. Ixer, eds. Feb. 2019. Megalith quarries for Stonehenge's bluestones', *Antiquity*, 93, 367, pp. 45–62

V.5. Pwyll: Partnership

Pearson, Mike Parker. 2013. 'Researching Stonehenge: Theories Past and Present,' *Archaeology International*, 16, pp. 72–83

Science Open: <<https://www.scienceopen.com/hosted-document?doi=10.5334/ai.1601>> Accessed 27/11/2019

See also BBC: Stonehenge

III.2. Britain

Peate, Iorwerth C. Jun. 1935. 'A Welsh Wassail-Bowl: With a Note on the Mari Lwyd', *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*, 35, pp. 81–82

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2789906>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- Aug. 1939. 'Mari Lwyd', *Man*, 39), p. 136

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2793408>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- Feb. 1939. 'A Further Note on the 'Mari Lwyd', *Man*, 39, p. 32

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2793144>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- Jun. 1943. 'Mari Lwyd: A Suggested Explanation', *Man*, 43, pp. 53–58

JSTOR: <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2791759>> [Accessed 12/12/2020]

VII.1. Goddess Myths

--- 1963. 'Mari Lwyd. Láir Bhán', *Folk Life*, 1, pp. 95–96

Taylor Francis: <<https://doi.org/10.1179/043087763798255123>> Accessed 13/12/20

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Peniarth 6

Peniarth 6ii t.3 & t.4.

Two pages from PKM3 55.14- 57.7. JKB 68.2– 70.2.

Peniarth 6i t.1 & t.2.

Two pages from PKM2. Bendigeidfran's 'bridge' metaphor passage, PKM2 40-42. JKB 53.1– 54.1.

Other material is from the prose Romance tales Gereint uab Erbin, and Peredur, respectively. See PDF text, Isaac and Rodway, et al, (eds.).

II.4. Manuscripts

Penn, Roger, and Paul **Lambert**. 2009. 'Socio.-cultural Exceptionalism: Arranged Marriages in Western Europe', in *Children of International Migrants in Europe: Comparative Perspectives*, ed by. Penn and Lambert (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 144-153

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

Pennar, Andreas Meirion. 1975. 'Women in Medieval Welsh Literature : An Examination of Some Literary Attitudes before 1500.' (unpublished D Phil. doctoral thesis, Oxford)

The Mabinogi is treated Ch. 4. 'The later Narrative', pp. 96– 121. Also see Ch. 1, 'The Evidence of the Lawbooks', pp. 1– 26. Contents listed Ch. II.8. Fem **n. 28**.

II.8. Feminism

Peppard, Michael. 2011. *The Son of God in the Roman World: Divine Sonship in Its Social and Political Context* (OUP Inc.)

Available on googlebooks

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Perera, Sylvia Brinton. 1981. *Descent to the Goddess: A Way of Initiation for Women*, 'Studies in Jungian Psychology' (Inner City Books)

VII.3 Gss

Peres, Julio Fernando; Alexander **Moreira-Almeida**, Leonardo **Caixeta**, Frederico **Leao**, Andrew **Newberg**, eds. Nov. 2012. 'Neuroimaging during Trance State: A Contribution to the Study of Dissociation', PLoS ONE, e49360.

PLOS ONE: <<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0049360>> Accessed 8/03/2021

V.7 Teyrnon

Perry, Cassandra W. 2022. *Mother Maiden Crone- Voices: 120 Page Notebook- College Ruled, Speak your Truth* (Independently published), 22 pp.

VII.4. Venerating

Personal communications.

Caronwen, Samuel, Uwch Gynorthwy-ydd Mynediad/ Senior Access Assistant, (6/02/2020)

On the dating of copying of Llyfr Coch Hergest. (24/01/2020) Bosanquet.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Carr, Glenda, Pughe biographer (Oct. 2015) surprised her 1983 book has not been superseded.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Cutts, Timothy, NLW Rare Books Librarian. Oct, Nov. 2018. On Guest, *Mabinogion*, structure of the 1st and 2nd edns.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Darwall-Smith, Robin, Archivist, Jesus College Oxford, personal email (16/01/2020), noting specific dates re. Tegid access to Llyfr Coch Hergest for Bosanquet. (7/12/1817, and 27/05/1819).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

See **Davies**, John.

Hughes Jones, Lis. 'Rhiannon', Japanese Noh style play and Brith Gof theatre, (4/07/2016 and 3/07/2018)

II.3. Performance

James, Christine.

Christine James was my attentive and challenging supervisor for seven years of this study so there is a great deal of her personal discussions which contributed to it. My gratitude is considerable for the inestimable benefit; however all faults in the study are my responsibility.

Queried Huw Pryce. 2001. 'British or Welsh? National Identity'

III.2. Britain

--- 2015. Welsh *cod* and English 'bag' connotations.

VII.5. Theologies: Telyndru.

--- 2015 Speculative construction of '*rien*' Triad title, based on the format and content of other *Trioedd*.

III.6. '*Rieni*'

-- 31/12/19. Wonders if *pendefig*/ 'prince' was a southern title.

III.3. Hierarchy

-- Very tentative reconstruction '*Tri dliwiad Rhiannon*' / 'Three Rebukes of Rhiannon'

IV.1. Voice

--- 2014. On *anwybod*. 'Not knowing how to conduct oneself in a given situation'

V.5. Pwyll: In Annwfn

--- 2020. Witnessed 'revival' Mari Lwyd groups in action in the 1970s.

VII.1. Goddess Myths: Mari Lwyd

Kenyon, John R. Hon. Research Fellow, National Museum Wales. 21/11/2016. Re stone castles.

III.7. Political Parallels

McCrickard, Janet. 1985. Brighde.

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

McKnight, Owen, College Librarian & Acting Archivist, Jesus College, Oxford (29/10/2015).

Llyfr Coch.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Pennar, Gwri; son of Andreas Pennar, on possible scan of Andreas PhD then greatly generous gift of a copy unexpectedly found, 2017.2023

I.8. Feminism

Remfry, Paul. 25/02/1. Expert on Welsh castles.

III.7. Political Parallels

Rodway, Simon, Aberystwyth. 20/03/2023. Critical of Ifor Williams concept of 'saga poetry'.
I.7. Lady of Prose

Strong, Mark Antony, NLW Enquiries. 13/10/2015. Guest Mabinogion, separation of Pwyll
Welsh/ English text, 1849 edn.
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Peters, Ellis (Edith Pargeter). 1977–94. *Chronicles Of Brother Cadfael*, series of 20 (Macmillan)
Well researched historical novels set in mid–12thC Wales and Shropshire which provide detailed
social and technological context of the period.

IX.2. Imaginary

PF see Pagan Federation, 'Pagan Dawn' magazine. VII.8 Gss

Phillips, Alan Robert. 2015. 'The Portrayal of the Otherworld in The Four Branches of the
Mabinogi', 13pp..

URL from 2021 no longer active but Phillipa has posted 'Was there ever a Celtic Otherworld?' which rejects
a pan-Celtic Otherworld but finds more regional 'Otherworlds'.

Academia.edu: <https://www.academia.edu/92245478/Was_there_ever_a_Celtic_Otherworld> [Accessed
28/03/24]

--- 2016. 'The Rituals surrounding Calan Mai–the Welsh May Day–and their Functions' (Essay,
University of Wales), 22pp.

The essay has a wealth of data on customs, described regionally. Cf. Trevelyan.

Say Something:

<<https://forum.saysomethingin.com/uploads/default/original/2X/c/cf0b29033cb5e975c3085fa29604708135edf2e0.pdf>> [Accessed 02/04/2022]

V.10. Pryderi: Boyhood

Phillips, David Rhys. 1921. *Lady Charlotte Guest and the Mabinogion; Some Notes on the Work and
Its Translator, with Extracts from Her Journals* (Carmarthen: W. Spurrell & Son)

Archive.org: <https://archive.org/stream/cu31924026877849/cu31924026877849_djvu.txt> [Accessed
17/12/2013]

II.3. Performance

Pierce, Thomas Mordaf. 1914. *Dr. W. Owen Pughe* (Caernarfon: Swyddfa Cymru)

An unsuccessful attempt to rescue Pughe from the Oxford Welsh Movement's hostility. Cf. Pughe memorial
statue erected at Cae Athro (1913), see under MSS. See also Bromwich (on Guest but substantial section on
Pughe), Carr, Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Pirenne-Delforge, V. and G. **Pironti**. 2022. *The Hera of Zeus: Intimate Enemy, Ultimate Spouse*
(Cambridge)

VII.1. Goddess Myths

de **Pisan**, Christine. 1405. *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames*

II.8. Feminism

de Pizan, Christine, and Rebecca Kingston, ed. trans. 2018. *Book of the City of Ladies and Other
Writings* (Hackett Publishing)

II.8. Feminism

Pitman, Josh. 2012. 'Christian Influences on "The Mabinogi"', *The Oswald Review: An International Journal of Undergraduate Research and Criticism in the Discipline of English*, 14, 3
Scholars Commons: <<https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/tor/vol14/iss1/3/>> Accessed 19/10/19
VII.5. Theologies

PKM See Ifor Williams.

Plato, Phaedrus, 229b–d
VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Pokorny, Julius. 1927. 'Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen, 1', 'The non-Indo-European substratum in Irish' (my trans.), *ZCP*, XVI, pp. 95–144, 231–266, 363–394
VII.3. 20thC Goddess
--- 1959. *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 'Indo-European Etymological Dictionary', in 2 vols. (Bern & Stuttgart, Francke Verlag)
I.7. Etymology

Pollack, Rachel. 1980. *Seventy-Eight Degrees of Wisdom: A Book of Tarot*, in 2 vols. (Thorsons, and Kindle)
Classic introductory guide to practising Tarot readings.
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Porter, Pamela J. 2003. 'The Place of Romantic Love in Medieval Marriage', in *Courtly Love in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Porter, Pamela J. (University of Toronto Press)
V.5. Pwyll: Rhiannon's Choice

Portishead Cruising Club, 'Tidal Advice'
<<http://pccsail.com/tides/>> Accessed 01/11/2016
V.7. Teyrnnon

Pope-Ramsey, Sara. 2004. *Shadow of Rhiannon* (Createspace)
Apocalyptic Vampire novel. Rhiannon is a female serial killer that preys upon the men she attracts.
Not PKM Rhiannon.
IX.2. Imaginary

Powell, David. ed. 1804. *Itinerarium Cambriae seu Laboriosae Baldvini Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi per Walliam Legationis Accuratio Descriptio* (London: Gulielmi Bulmer et Socie, Cleveland Row)
English trans. see Price, David. 1912. Quoted Ch. III.4. Equine.
Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/b22010774/page/154/mode/2up>> [Accessed 12/01/21]
III.4. Equine

Prati, G., and A. Mancini. 13/01/2021. 'The psychological impact of COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns: A review and meta-analysis of longitudinal studies and natural experiments', *Psychological Medicine*, 51, 2, pp. 201-211
Cambridge: <doi:10.1017/S0033291721000015> [Accessed 03/04/2022]
V.10. Pryderi: Prince

Preuss, Arthur. 1913. 'About English Dictionaries', *Fortnightly Review*, 20

See Johnson's *Dictionary* comparand to Pughe.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Price, David. 1912. *Gerald of Wales, The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales* (J. M. Dent and Sons)

Latin source, Powell, David. 1908. Quoted Ch. III.4. Equine.

Gutenberg:

<<https://www.mirrorsservice.org/sites/ftp.ibiblio.org/pub/docs/books/gutenberg/1/1/4/1148/1148-h/1148-h.htm#page133>> Accessed 12/01/21

III.4. Equine

Price, Glanville. 1992. *The Celtic Connection* (Rowman & Littlefield)

III.7. Political Parallels

Price, Richard. 2007. 'Theotokos: The Title and its Significance in Doctrine and Devotion', in *Mary: the Complete Resource*, ed. by Boss, Sarah Jane (Continuum), pp. 56–73

VII.2. Early Development (Goddess Movement)

Price, Thomas (Carnhuanawc). 1836–42. *Hanes Cymru, a chenedl y Cymry, o'r cynoesoedd hyd at farwolaeth Llewelyn Ap Gruffydd : ynghyd a rhai cofiaint perthynol i'r amseroedd o'r pryd hynny i waered/ A History of Wales, and of the Welsh nation, from the earliest Ages to the Death of Llewellyn ap Gruffydd, with some notices related to the subsequent period (my trans.), Cymraeg. In 14 parts (Llandovery: William Rees; and London: Longman & Co.)*

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Carnhuanawc

Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens. 405-413 CE. Apotheosis, 195

See Thomson, H. J., trans.

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Pryce, Huw. 2000. 'Lawbooks and Literacy in medieval Wales', *Speculum*, 75, 1, pp. 29. 67

III.5. Land Law Women (LLW)

--- 2001. 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *The English Historical Review*, 116, 468, pp. 775– 801

Christine James queries this, see Personal Communications

Pughe, see also Carr, Jenkins, Johnston, Morgan, Morgain, Oxford Biography, Pierce, Welsh Biography.

III.2 Britain

--- 2011. 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31, pp. 1–40.

II.7. Welsh Academy: Arnold

PUGHE = pre-1806 'William Owen'. Added 'Pughe' as extra surname (1806).

Owen, William; (later Pughe). **NLW archive**: Cymmrodorion society invitation dated 2/10/ 1784 to a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society addressed to Mr. (William) Owen, (p. 108).

Printed ticket (blank) to the St. David's Day meeting of 'Cymdeithas y Gwyneddigion'.

Notice 29/05/1784, of a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society, addressed to Mr. (William) Owen (p. 109). NLW MS 13225C. Misc. poetry and prose (1779–1835). Formerly Mysevin 5.

NLW Archives: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/miscellaneous-poetry-and-prose>> Accessed 28/04/2018

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Owen, William; (later Pughe), ed. 1792. *The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces of Llywarch Hen* (London: J. Owen)

Possibly largely Iolo Morgannwg's work. Includes a lengthy, transparently Ioloic, treatise on Bardism descended from ancient Druids, Iolo was twelve years William's senior; his radical politics placed him under Government surveillance, unable to publish in his own right. See Kaminski-Jones,, 'William Owen Pughe and Romantic Rewritings of the Poetry of Llywarch Hen'.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1793. *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Caesneg: A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, I of 3 (London: E. Williams)

Vols. I & II publ. 1803 see below with notes.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1795. 'The Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements, Being Ancient Welsh Romances', *Cambrian Register*, I (London: E & T Williams), pp. 177-87

First Mabinogi text in print. Text is bilingual, Welsh. English on facing pages, bicolunar style, covering *Pwyll I*, the Annwfn adventure. Equivalent PKM1 1.1- 8.26. JKB 19.1-25.1. Sometimes printing date listed 1796, i.e. it reports works from 1795. *Cambrian Register* was the first serious Welsh journal, published in book format, collecting history, prose tales, *Trioedd*, poetry and letters.

Text available online, NLW, & google books.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2886559/193#?xywh=-320%2C99%2C2965%2C1881>> Accessed 10/02/2015

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1799. 'The Romantic Tales called Mabinogion, or Juvenile Amusements', *Cambrian Register*, II, pp. 322-27. Cont. from *Cambrian Register*, I.

Welsh & English text, bicolunar pages. Title page shows '1796', at the bottom '1799'; presumably as this volume continues Vol. I, 1795/96. Text equiv. PKM1 8.27- 12.6. JKB 27.2. Pughe finishes with an appeal for help to access a copy MS. so as to continue, p. 327.

Available online, NLW, or google books.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2961120/331#?xywh=-20%2C254%2C2352%2C1492>> Accessed 10/02/2015

I.4. Advent

---; Owen Jones, and Edward Williams, eds. 1801. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales: Collected Out of Ancient Manuscripts*, I. Poetry (London: Longman & Rees; T. Williams; & Richard Box)

--- ; Owen Jones, and Edward William, eds. 1807. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales: Collected Out of Ancient Manuscripts*, II. Prose (London: Longman & Rees; T. Williams; & Richard Box)

Pughe was the principal editor. Vol. III planned prose for tales, never published.

In this same period Pughe edited the journal *Y Greal* (1805-1807).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- Presented 21/02/1802, publ. 1808. 'Account of the Ancient Welsh Manuscripts', in *Archaeologia: Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, XIV (London: Society of Antiquaries), pp. 211-20

He had been a Fellow of the Society since 1793. Copy kindly provided by Adrian James of the Society by email (16/01/2016).

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 1803. *The Cambrian Biography: Or, Historical Notices of Celebrated Men Among the Ancient Britons*, I & II (London: E. Williams, 11 The Strand).

Mabinogi personages listed (M) Mythological. Arianrhod, pp. 11-12. Bran, p. 26-27. Branwen, p. 27. Caradog, pp. 39-40. Caswallon, pp. 42-45. Cilfathwy (Tales), p. 50. Don (Male), p. 90. Goronwy Bevyr, p. 141. Gwdion (M), p. 155. Havgan (M), p. 174. Llew Llawgyfes, p. 217. Manawydan, pp. 237-38. Math (M), p. 240. Pendaran Dyved (M), p. 282. Pryderi (?), p. 288. Pwyll, pp. 288-89. Rhianon (M), p. 290. Hyfaidd Hen as Rhiannon's patronymic only. Inclusion, omission, content, indicate sources were mainly the *Trioedd*. Similar categorisation by Pughe in Croker, *Fairy Legends*, p. 169.

Hathitrust: <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nnc1.cu60696982;view=1up;seq=1>> Accessed 29/12/13

I.3. Etymology

--- 1803). *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Caesneg: A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, II of 3 (London: E. Williams)

Pughe's Welsh orthography and grammar was prescriptive, aimed to restore Welsh as an original, ancient, divine language. He was much influenced by Rowland Jones.

3rd edn, Pryse, Robert John, ed. 1866. Corrected orthography by Thomas Stephens.

Archive org, Vol. I:

<https://archive.org/stream/adictionarywels01pughgoog/adictionarywels01pughgoog_djvu.txt>

Accessed 17/12/2013

Archive org, Vol. II:

<<https://archive.org/details/adictionarywels02pughgoog/page/n472>> Accessed 29/12/ 2013

Hathitrust, Vol. II: <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044004554697;view=1up;seq=8>>

Accessed 29/12/2013

I.3. Etymology

--- ed. 1805. 1807. *Y Greal*, journal, 9 issues

NLW: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2092207/2092208/#?xywh=-882%2C-196%2C3942%2C3913>> [Accessed 13/07/2023]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Pughe, William Owen. 1818. 'The Romantic Tales of the Mabinogion', *The Cambrian Register*, III, pp. 230-46

Bilingual Welsh English text, bicolunar pages. Cont. from CR.I. and II. Text equiv. PKM1 12.7-20.12. JKB 27.2.- 34.1. Possible Tegid MS. connection, see Ch. I.5. Tegid.

Available as facsimile hardback; viewable online NLW, or google books.

NLW Welsh Journals, scanned text:

<<https://journals.library.wales/view/2867877/2867880/240/#?xywh=-806%2C-182%2C3735%2C2368>>

Accessed 29/03/2015

I.3. Etymology

--- 1821. 'The Tale of Pwyll', in *Cambro-Briton Journal*, II, ed. by Parry, John Humffreys, pp. 271-75

English trans. text only. Not explicitly attributed to Pughe but the translation matches his *Cambrian Register I* (1795) almost entirely.

Archive org: <<https://archive.org/details/celticresearch00davi/page/n5/mode/2up>> Accessed 17/08/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- (attributed). c. 1826. Nine Sketches illustrating the First Branch. Pen and ink, NLW MS 13242B. 'Mabinogion', etc., 1826. 1831 Formerly known as Mysevin 22. Copy supplied on application May 2016.

I.10. Pryderi: Rhiannon

--- (attr.) 1828. 'The Mabinogion, or The Ancient Romances of Wales, in the Original Language, and a Literal Translation into English', in *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed.

by Croker, Thomas Crofton (London: John Murray), pp. 163–91 Substantial, c. 40 pages. Incl. 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran', (PKM2) pp. 189-90.

CONTENTS: Title page plus Introduction by Croker to Pughe's trans. (pp. 158. 63). Letter from Pughe about the Mabinogion (pp. 163. 76) Pughe, Pwyll I, cf. 1795; with notes (pp. 177– 82). 'Sketch of the Tale of Bran'. Includes Branwen's advice dialogue re British ships (pp. 189-90); other speech is reported. Probably drafted by Pughe, or possibly Croker from Pughe's MS. cf. Gunn draft notes 1819 (p. 183.91). 'Mythological Persons' lists pp. 192.99.

I.5. Text

--- April 1829. 'The Mabinogi: Or, the Romance of Math Ab Mathonwy, Literally translated by Idrison', *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repository*, I, 2, pp. 170–79

Bilingual English–Welsh, bicolunar, text ends at Pryderi's grave, equiv. PKM4 73.17. JKB 88.2.

Cont. *Cambrian Quarterly*, I, 3 (July, 1833), pp. 395–410 (note pp. 405ff. incorrectly numbered). Bicolunar English–Welsh, ends at Math's gift of territory to Lleu, equiv. PKM4 84.6. JKB 100.2. Ref. Bardism, Druidism, 'romantic narratives, which ... constituted the favourite reading of Europe.' p. 170.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2070008/2070139/49#?xywh=-86%2C304%2C2932%2C1794>> Accessed 14/02/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- April 1833. 'The Mabinogi of Taliesin', *Cambrian Quarterly*, V, 18, pp. 200–214

Bilingual English Welsh, bicolunar pages. Tale of Keridwen, incl. Taliesin's enchantment of the bards.

Intro. repeatedly as a 'romance' by Hopkin c. 1370, p. 299, but not the composition of the historical Taliesin, bard of Urien Rheged, p. 201.

Cont. July, 1833. *Cambrian Quarterly*, V, 19, pp. 366–82

Bilingual English Welsh, bicolunar. Ends at Taliesin making predictions which are not specified.

NLW Welsh Journals: <<https://journals.library.wales/view/2070008/2119445/47#?xywh=-1215%2C-288%2C3565%2C2261>> Accessed 14/02/2020

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

--- 'Dyddgoviant/ 'Diary'. In 2 vols. NLW: MS 13248i-Bi (Vol. 1), pp. 134-136. NLW: MS 13248i-Bii (Vol 2). (1/01/1811- 13/04/1835), 736pp. Formerly Mysevin 28. Domestic news, weather, Southcott's final days, and her death (pp. 103-108), development of her sect over succeeding years.

Frequent reference by Pughe to his extremely laboured translation of Milton's Coll Gwynfa/ Paradise Lost, (1819), dismissed by Iolo Morganwg as 'Milton lost'! Diary written in a very small neat hand, in the eccentric orthography devised by Pughe himself; (e.g. Welsh letter 'ch' is represented by 'ç,' and 'f' by 'v').

NLW Digital: <<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/dyddgoviant-william-owen-pughe>> Accessed 10/03/2017

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

See also Pughe biography, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) online: Detailed, with good bibliography.

See Owen, Aneurin; his son.

--- and Robert John Pryse. 3rd edn. 1866. *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol, Cymraeg a Caesneg: A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, Explained in English; with Numerous Illustrations from the Literary Remains and from the Living Speech of the Cymry*, in 2 vols. (Thomas Gee and Son)

Orthography corrected by Thomas Stephens.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

2013. Memorial erected at Cae Athro: photo MS. GB 0210 WILGOL

William Owen, Prysgol, Papers:

<<https://archives.library.wales/index.php/william-owen-prysgol-papers-2>> [Accessed 17/10/2017]

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

Raae, Hanne-Mette Alsos. 2010. 'A Tripartite Classification of Marriages in Medieval Europe'. [Academia.edu](https://www.academia.edu)

van **Raalte**, Georgia. 2017. 'Pomegranates and Crescent Honey-Cakes: Divine Femininity and Everyday Womanhood in the Work of Dion Fortune', *La Rosa di Paracelso*, 1, pp. 179-96
Bournemouth University: <<http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/27759/1/24.pdf>> [Accessed 5/10/20]
VII.3 20thC Goddess

Raphael, Melissa. 1996. *Theology and Embodiment: The Post-Patriarchal Reconstruction of female Sacrality* (Sheffield Academic Press)

VII.5. Theologies

--- 1999. *Introducing Theology. Discourse On The Goddess* (Bloomsbury)

VII.5. Theologies

Ratnayaka, Shanta. 1985. 'The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravāda', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 8, 2, pp. 85-110

Journals: <<https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/jiabs/article/download/8663/2570>>

Accessed 13/05/2023

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Ravilius, Kate. Nov./Dec. 2022. 'Priestess, Poet, Politician', *Archaeology*, Archaeological Institute of America, 75, 6, pp. 34-39

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Raye, Lee. 9/05/2014. 'The harvest mice (Micromys Minutus) in 'Manawydan' (the 'Third Branch of the Mabinogi')'

'History and Nature': <<https://historyandnature.wordpress.com/2014/05/09/harvest-mice-in-manawydan/>> [Accessed 25/03/21]

V.13. Lady Mouse

Reclaiming Collective: See also Starhawk.

<<https://reclaimingcollective.wordpress.com/>> Accessed 5/10/20

VII.4. Temples

Redmond, Pamela, 'Goddess Names for Babies'.

Nameberry: <<https://nameberry.com/list/433/Goddess-Baby-Names>> Accessed 01/04/21

Rees, Ken. 1995. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi: Celtic Myth and Shamanism' (City Lit College, Mary Ward Centre, London WC2. 11 weekly Fridays, 13th Jan. 31 March 1995) repeated subsequently. Inclusive academic and experiential approach. Rees taught various well-received courses on Pagan, esoteric and Goddess themes at the City Lit from the 1980s until his death 2020. My thanks to Alan Phillips, MA. Celtic Studies (University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, 2016) for his diary data, and sharing our memories of Ken.

VII.4. Temples

Rees, Rhian. 2012. 'Perceptions of Annwn : The Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.' (unpublished master's thesis University of Wales Trinity St. David's)

University Wales: <<https://repository.uwtsd.ac.uk/id/eprint/383/>> [Accessed 28/03/24]

VI.5. Bag

Reid-Bowen, Paul. 2002. 'Thinking Goddess/Nature: Feminist metaphysics and the Theological imagination' (unpublished doctoral thesis University of Gloucestershire)

PDF download <http://eprints.glos.ac.uk/3056/1/271083_Redacted.pdf> Accessed 7/10/20.

VII.3 20thC Goddess

--- 2007. *Goddess as Nature: Towards a Philosophical Theology* (Ashgate)

VII.3 20thC Goddess

--- 2007. 'Great goddess, elemental nature or chora? Philosophical contentions and constructs in contemporary goddess feminism', *Feminist Theology*, 16, 1, pp. 101-109.

Re Asphodel

Sage: <<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0966735007082520>> Accessed 03//04/21

VII.5 Theologies

Renault, Mary. 1958. *The King Must Die* (Longmans, Green and Co)

VII.3. Gss

Roberts, Alan Lloyd, see Llwyd, Alan.

Rh- see after R. (Welsh alphabetical order)

Rich, Adrienne. 1995. 'When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision', in *On Lies, Secrets, and Silence* ed. by Rich (London: W. W. Norton & Company)

IX.2. Imaginary

Richards, Melville. 1954. *The Laws of Hywel Dda (The Book of Blegywyrdd)*. (Liverpool University Press)

V.3. Gwawl

Rider-Bezerra, Sebastian. 2011. 'The Mabinogion Project: A Brief History of the Mabinogion', a section of the digital Camelot Project (University of Rochester)

Large collection of interviews with Arthurian authors, and other materials.

The Camelot Project, Rochester University 1995 ff. <<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/sbrmab.htm>> Accessed 26/11/2021

II.7. Coherence Paradigm

Riding, Laura (Laura Gottschalk, Laura (Riding) Jackson, Laura Reichen, Madeleine Vara)

Riding, Laura. 1930. *Experts Are Puzzled* (Cape)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

--- as Vara, Madeleine. 1936. *Convalescent Conversations* (Majorca: Seizin Press; London: Constable)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

--- ed. and Robert Graves, asst. ed. 1936. *Epilogue: A Critical Summary; II* (Majorca: Seizin Press; London: Constable)

VII.5. Theologies: Graves, Riding

--- 1993, posthumously. *The Word Woman and other related writings* (Persea).

See Friedmann and Clark, Elizabeth. Kirkham, Michael.

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Robat, Gruffudd. 1995. *Pwyll a Rhiannon*, illust. Elwyn Ioan (Y Lolfa)
Welsh. Colouring book.
IX.2. Imaginary

Robberds, J. W. 1843. *A memoir of the life and writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich: Author of 'English Synonyms Discriminated' 'An Historic Survey of German Poetry' etc. etc. Containing his correspondence of many years with the late Robert Southey Esq. and original letters from Sir Walter Scott, and other eminent men* (London: John Murray)
II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Pughe

ROBERTS, Brynley F.

Roberts, Brynley F. 1968. 'Penyd Rhiannon' ('Rhiannon's Penance' my trans.), *BBCS*, 23, pp. 325-27

Identifies William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum* and French sources for the custom of 'saddling'; cited thus by Hemming, 'Sellam' and 'Reflections'.

II.3. Performance

--- 1968. 'Syr Edward Anwyl (1866 1914)', *Cymm*. 2, pp. 211-264

Cited by Ford, *Welsh Tales*, p. 188, n. 2.

II.6. Academy: Anwyl

--- 1976. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh Historical Tradition', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 20, pp. 29-40

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

--- 1984. 'From Traditional Tale to Literary Story: Middle Welsh Prose Narratives', Ch. 7. in *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics* ed. by Arrathoon, Leigh A. (Rochester: Solaris Press), pp. 211. 230

II.2. Storyteller's Craft

--- 1988. 'Oral Tradition and Welsh Literature: A Description and Survey', *Oral Tradition*, 3. 1-2, pp. 61-87

I.7. Lady of Prose

--- 1991. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Brut y Brenhinedd*', in *The Arthur of the Welsh: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*, ed. by Bromwich et al. (Cardiff, UWP), pp. 97-116

Also Chapter 5 for a discussion of the reception of Geoffrey's *Historia* in Wales.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Lewis Morris

--- 1992. 'Characterization in The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. VI in *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*, ed. by Roberts (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press), pp. 95-104

II.3. Performance

--- 1992. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', Ch. V., in *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* ed. by Roberts (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. 95-104

II.3. Performance

--- 1992. 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh Historical Tradition', Ch. 2. in *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*, ed. by Roberts (Lampeter/ Lewiston), pp. 29-34

III.2. Britain

--- 1992. *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* (Edwin Mellon)

I.4. Advent

--- 2001. 'Where Were the Four Branches of the Mabinogi Written?', in *The Individual in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook, 1, ed. by Nagy, Josef F. (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 61-73

II.4. Manuscripts

--- 2004. 'Williams, Moses (1685–1742)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Moses Williams

--- 8/07/2017. 'Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi. Tybed?', presented at Sioned Davies (dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)

II.3. Performance

See also **Gruffydd**, R. Geraint, and Brynley F. **Roberts**, 'Rhiannon Gyda Theyrnnon yng Ngwent', *Llên Cymru*, XIII (1980-81), pp. 289–291.

I.3. Other Sources

Roberts, Euryn., 2018. 'A Surfeit of Identity', in *Imagined Communities: Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe*, 8, ed. by Pleszczynski, Andrzej; Joanna Aleksandra Sobiesiak; Michał Tomaszek; Przemysław Tyszka (Leiden; Boston: Brill), pp. 247-78

V.7. Teyrnnon

Roberts, Gwyneth Tyson. 1998. *The Language of the Blue Books: The Petted Instrument of Empire* (CUP)

II.6. Welsh Academy: Arnold

Roberts, John, Rev. 1825. 'Reasons for rejecting the Welsh Orthography, that is proposed and attempted to be introduced, with a view of superseding the system that has been established since the publication of Dr Davies's Grammar and Dictionary and Bishop Parry's edition of the Welsh Bible, and that of 1630', Essay 3 in *Three Essays, on the Subjects Proposed By the Cambrian Society in Dyfed, Which Gained the Respective Prizes, at the Eisteddfod, Held at Caermarthen, in September 1823*, ed. by Dyfed Cambrian Society (Jonathan Harris, Dark Gate, Caermarthen)

WorldCat only lists 3 UK copies, Bangor, University of Wales, and British Library. See Knight, W. Bruce.

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Tegid

Robertson, Olivia, and Fellowship of Isis. 2013. *Isis of Fellowship: How the Fellowship of Isis was Founded* (CreateSpace)

See also Crowley, Vivianne, *et al.*, *Female Leaders*

FOI (Fellowship of Isis) Clonegal Castle, Eire: <www.fellowshipofisis.com> Accessed 4/10/20

VII.3 20thC Goddess

Robinson, Alex. 30/01/2019. 'The Welsh section D: the "native cobs" with power, action and presence', in *Horse and Hound*, online

Horse and Hound: <<https://www.horseandhound.co.uk/features/welsh-section-d-facts-677299>> Accessed 24/12/2019

III.4. Equine

Robinson, Andrew. Dec. 2015. 'The Greatest Civilisation Ever Forgotten?', *History Today*, 65, 12

VII.1. Goddess Myths

Rodger, N.A.M. 2004. *The Safeguard of the Sea* (Penguin)

III.4. Equine

Rodway, Simon. 2013. *Dating Medieval Welsh Literature: Evidence from the Verbal System* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications)

II.4. Manuscripts

---- 8/07/2017. 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi & Celtic Mythology', presented at Sioned Davies (Dir.), 'Symposiwm: Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi', (School of Welsh, Cardiff)

Introduction

--- 2018. 'The Mabinogi and the Shadow of Celtic Mythology', *Studia Celtica*, 52, pp. 67–85

See also John Davies (1992); Morgain, 2017).

Introduction

--- 20/03/2023. Personal communication critical of Ifor Williams concept of 'saga poetry'.

I.7. Lady of Prose

Roller, Duane W. 2006. *Through the pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman exploration of the Atlantic* (Routledge)

VI.5. Bag

Roos Bockwinkel, Susi, and Paul **Weinkel**. 1996. *Rhiannon: Truth Seeker* (Mind and Miracle, 1996).

Roos Bockwinkel, Susi. 2001. *Rhiannon: Truth Seeker*, I (Authorhouse)

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Fiction, historical. 11thC priestess trains, adventures, learning spiritual teachings.

IX.2. Imaginary

Rosenberg, Bruce A. 1990. 'Oral Literature in the Middle Ages', in *Oral Traditional Literature*, ed. by Foley, John M. (Slavica), pp. 440–50

Cited by Sioned Davies.

II.2 Storyteller's Craft

Ross, Ann. 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain: studies in iconography and tradition* (Routledge and Kegan Paul)

II.8. Feminism

Roth, Silke, and Katherine Dashper. December 2016. 'Sociology in the 1980s: The Rise of Gender (and Intersectionality)', *Sociology*, 50, 6, pp. NP1–NP12.

JSTOR: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26556422?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> Accessed

21/09/2021

VI.8. Feminism

Rowan, John. 1990. *The Horned God: Feminism and Men as Wounding and Healing* (Routledge)

Rowland, Jenny. 1988. 'The Maiming of Horses in Branwen', CMCS, pp. 51-70

Ch. I.5. Text/ Core & Extended

---. 1990. *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study, and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge)

III.7. Lady of Prose.

Rowlands, Eurys I., 1961. 'Review of TYP, *Llên Cymru*, VI p. 223.

Cited by Bromwich, TYP.

III.2. Britain

--- ed. 1975. *Gwaith Lewys Môn*, (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru,), p. 347
Translation Valente, 'Merched', p. 35

Rowlands, I. W. 1981. 'The making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed', in *Anglo-Norman Studies III: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1980*, ed. by Brown, R. Allen; and M. Chibnall (Boydell Press), pp. 142-57
III.7. Political Parallels

Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB):

RSPB: < <https://www.rspb.org.uk/birds-and-wildlife/wildlife-guides/bird-a-z/crane/>> Accessed 19/09/2020

VI.5 Bag

Russell, Jesse. 2008. 'Rhiannon: Curse Of The Four Branches', PC DVD (Arberth Studios)
<http://www.amazon.co.uk/Rhiannon-Curse-The-Four-Branches/dp/B001GG7DSO/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1409620394&sr=8-1&keywords=rhiannon>
[Accessed 16/01/22]

Holding page explains the UK operation has been forced to close by Brexit expense and complicated tax regulations. Still available Big Fish Games: <<http://www.bigfishgames.com>> and through the 'Steam' channel of their Canadian publisher Meridian 4: <http://www.meridian4.com>>

IX.2. Imaginary

Ryan, Jane. 1993. 'A study of horses in early and medieval Welsh literature, c.600–1300 AD' (unpublished masters' thesis, Cardiff (UWP))
III.3 Equine

Ryder, Nanna and Carys **Richards**. 2010. *Pwyll a Rhiannon* (Gomer Press)
Welsh. Young Adult series retellings.
IX.2. Imaginary

'**Rymenhild**'. 2010. 'Arianrhod, Daughter of Don: The Raising of Gwern', Part 1 of The Five Branches Series.

Fanfics are tales composed in the style and context of an existing work.

Archive of Our Own: <<http://archiveofourown.org/works/121848>>

--- 2010. 'The Fifth Branch', The Five Branches Series, 2

Archive of Our Own: <<http://archiveofourown.org/works/68282>> Accessed 30/09/2021

II.9. 21stC

RH- Welsh alphabetical order.

Rhiannon Room shrine, Glastonbury.

Goddess House: <<https://goddesstempleroomhire.com/the-rhiannon-room/>> [Accessed 2019]

VII.3. 20thC Goddess

Rhiannon and Dwyll. 2001. Momentum Literacy Program. Step 5, Level D.

IX.2. Imaginary

Rhodes, Jacqueline. 2005. *Radical Feminism, Writing, and Critical Agency: From Manifesto to Modem* (State University of New York Press)

VII.5. Thealogy

Rhÿs, John. Presented 1874– 79. 'Lectures on Welsh Philology'. NLW Archive A2/1, five folders, MS. drafts 1876-1877 together with annotated page proofs of the appendix (incomplete); cuttings, 1874-1879, containing reviews of the lectures, the book; and five letters, 1877-1879

NLW: <https://archives.library.wales/index.php/lectures-on-welsh-philology>> Accessed 12/12/2021

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhÿs

--- and John Gwenogvryn **Evans**, eds. 1887. *The Text of the Mabinogion and Other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest*. Series of Old Welsh Texts (Pwlheli: Private subscription), intended as 1st of 2 vols.

Preface by Rhÿs, pp. viii-ix. Mabinogi text pp. 1–81

Archive org:

<https://archive.org/stream/textofmabinogion00rhysiala/textofmabinogion00rhysiala_djvu.txt>

Accessed 17/12/13

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhÿs

---1888. *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*. Hibbert Lectures series, I–VI (London & Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate)

Wikisource: <https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Celtic_Heathendom> Accessed 6/10/2014

I.3. Etymology

---1888. Errata and Additions to *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom* (London & Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate), pp. 675– 78

This is the Rhiannon ref. as moon goddess, p. 678.

II.6. Welsh Academy/ Rhÿs

--- 1901. Repr. 1981, 1983. *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (OUP; then Wildwood Press)

Sacred Texts: <<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/cfwm/index.htm>> Accessed 19/10/19

III.3. Hierarchy

--- 1891. *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Clarendon)

I.5. Text

Saare, J. A. 2018. *Dead, Undead, or Somewhere in Between*. Rhiannon's Law series, 1 (Renrut)

--- 2018. *The Renfield Syndrome*. Rhiannon's Law series, 2 (Renrut)

--- 2018. *The Ripple Effect*. Rhiannon's Law series, 3 (Renrut)

Fiction, mature adult, vampire, demon, violence.

IX.2. Imaginary

Saenger, Paul. 1997. *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford University Press)

II.3. Performance

Saini. Angela. 2023. *The Patriarchs: How Men Came to Rule* (Fourth Estate, & Kindle)

Inverts the customary paradigm to query patriarchy rather than matriarchy. Some useful examples of latter from Catal Hoyuk to Kerala today.

III.6. 'Rieni'

Saiving, Valerie. Apr., 1976. 'Androcentrism in Religious Studies', *The Journal of Religion*, 56, 2, pp. 177-197

JSTOR: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1202091?seq=1>> Accessed 2/04/21

VII.3 Gss

Sanday, Peggy Reeves. 1-7/07/1998. 'Matriarchy as a Sociocultural Form: An Old Debate in a New Light', presented at the 16th Congress of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, Melaka, Malaysia

University of Pennsylvania: <<https://web.sas.upenn.edu/psanday/articles/selected-articles/matriarchy-as-a-sociocultural-form-an-old-debate-in-a-new-light/>> Accessed 21/12/21

III.6 *Rieni*

Sanders, Julie. 2016. *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London, NY: Routledge)

II.5. Welsh Renaissance: Guest

Sargent, Amelia Lynn Borrego. 2011. 'Visions and Revisions: Gerald of Wales, Authorship, and the Construction of Political, Religious, and Legal Geographies in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Britain', University of California, Berkeley

US Berkeley: <<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5905x7t1>> [Accessed 10/12/20]

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Saunders, Aidan; and Mererid Hopwood, trans. 2021. *Pwyll a Rhiannon*, (Atebol Amazon media, Kindle)

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The author says "There are a number of features of oral storytelling that show up here: repetition, formulaic phrases, a focus on action and away from introspection, and an awful lot of conjunctions. In fact, most of the peculiarities of this story make sense if you read it aloud. at least, I think so." 'seekeronthepath'. 2015. blog of her (2015). 'seekeronthepath' (2015) This seems to be replaced by 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi belong to an oral storytelling culture, and it shows.'

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Archive of Our Own: <<https://archiveofourown.org/works/3234221/chapters/7043906>> [Accessed Sept. 2019]

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Mynegai Tudalen/ Page Index (Concordance)

This is about the 6th version. It grew to 115 pages ongoing, very detailed, then crashed pagination due to examiners requests to insert extra details. Complete new version crashed page slippage mystery. Final version major cut version actually better, clearer but lacks former detail as this one does not duplicate much eg author & theory. Main points all here; otherwise use CTRL+F to kind word/ name.

WELSH ALPHABETICAL ORDER e.g. Ll after L, Rh after R, so Rhiannon follows Roman.

A_Z

- 20thC GODDESS [VII.3.] 448-63
- 20thC Anwyl 448-49
- 20thC Graves, Robert & Laura Riding 452-53
- 20thC The Craft 453-54
- 20thC Feminists, Goddess 458
- 20thC Ford: hippomorphic aspect 455-58
- 20thC Iseum Rhiannon 454
- 20thC Madrians 454
- 20thC Occultism 450
- 20thC Sovereignty Goddess 450-01
- 20thC Gss Summary pre-1900 & 20thC 461-62
- 20thC Triadic Goddess Model 4b58-61
- 20thC Walton, Evangeline 451-452
- 21stC Technology [II.9] 135-39
- 21stC Tech Rhiannon [II.9.] 135-39
- 21stC Tech books–PDF 136
- 21stC Tech Online Mabinogi, 1st text 136
- 21stC Tech online 1st Mabinogi text 136
- 21stC Tech Online Mab. texts, media 136-39
- 21stC Tech Parker, online 137
- ACADEMIA, WELSH [II.6.] 105-118
 - Arnold/ Rhÿs/ Anwyl/ Gruffydd (WJG)/
 - Williams/ Jackson/ Wood/ Bromwich
- Colleges dates 106
- ACTS (of Rhiannon) [IV.2] 205-11
- Acts Agency: active –passive analysis 208-09
- Acts Active Passive Analysis Diagram 208
- Acts Agency: active –passive *Summary* 210-11
- Acts Paradoxes Rh 209-10
- Acts Playscript Mabinogi Rhiannon 206-07
- Acts Playscript structure scenes location 206
- Acts Structural overview (intro) 205-06
- ADAR RHIANNON [VI.6.] 407-14
- Adar* as care package 319, 322, 409
 - cf D. Gwenallt Jones angelic comfort 412
- Adar* 20thC nationalist poets 410-12
- ADVENT OF RHIANNON [I. 4.] 10-23, Q10,11
- Advent 1. ‘And as they were sitting ...’ 12-13
- Advent 1. cf *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru* 13
- Advent 1. *eisted* sitting GPC 12
- Advent 2. ‘they could see ...’ 14
- Advent 2. (*g*)*welynt* see GPC 14
- Advent 2. Other, noiseless 14
- Advent 2. hunt SDavies 14n66
- Advent 3. ‘a woman ...’ *gwreic* 15-16
- Advent 3. *gwreic* woman, maiden GPC 15
- Advent 3. balance, gendered 15-16 cf *neges*
- Advent 3. *gwreic* trans. 15n67
- Advent 4. [anonymous] prefacing PKM 4pp 16 cf 3
- Anons
- Advent 5. ‘on a horse ...’ *march* 17-20
- Advent 5. agency balance dominance 17
- Advent 5. integrated rider-horse description SDavies 17-20 poss other animals 203n101
- Advent 5. *canwelw/* pale-white GPC 18
- Advent 5. *mawr/* great, tall GPC 19
- Advent 5. *aruchel/* noble, supreme GPC 20
- Advent 6. *eureit, llathreit* shining GPC 20
- Advent 6. golden garment 20-21
- Advent 7. *bali, pali* silk GPC 21
- Advent 7. ‘silk brocade about her, ...’ 21-22
- Advent 7. silk Llan-gors textile 21-22
- Advent 7. silk political economy 21
- Advent 8. ‘coming along the highway ...’ 22
- Advent 8. location of Arberth trade routes 22
- Advent 8. *prifford* highway main road GPC 22
- Advent 9. ‘past the mound.’ 22-23
- Advent 9. *gorsedd* mound throne judicial assembly GPC 22
- Advent magnetism 24
- Advent meta-audience 12
- Advent plot 263 cf Wedding/ Penance
- Agency 134-35
- Agency & Rhiannon 134-35
- Aghynghor* Bad counsel 236-37
- Alliance (LLW) 176-77
- Anglo-Norman 185-88
- Anglocentric Arnold Guest 1877 Rhÿs 106

Anglocentric Avalonian Rhiannon 490-93
 ANNWFN 1st scene stag 249-50
 Annwfn abstract 374
 Annwfn as effete 253n279
 Annwfn chastity 251-53
 Annwfn Cŵn Annwfn 249n250
 Annwfn etymology 373
 Annwfn Hades/ Hell 373-74
 Annwfn ID 'in Arawn's place' 253n274
 Annwfn Hafgan blow. solution 251n262
 Annwfn mortal help 254n285
 Annwfn as otherworld 373-74
 Annwfn poss plot, deliberate 254
 Pwyll & Annwfn 249-55
 Annwfn review 369-76
 Annwfn locations 372
 Annwfn spec forest realm
 Annwfn wealth luxury 244n202
 Anons, Three (Struct) 524-25
 ANWYL, Edward (Academia) 108-11
 Anwyl 1st full focused, academic analysis 108
 Anwyl 1st Rhiannon scholar 109
 Anwyl College Aberystwyth 1892 108
 Anwyl Cycles 109-110nn24,25,26;111n27
 Anwyl Epona Rhiannon Q110-11
 Anwyl 'Four Branches Mabinogi' ZCP 109
 Anwyl Goddess 110-11, 448-49, Q475
 Anwyl & Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 474-76
 Anwyl Lloyd, Elizabeth MA 111
 Anwyl obscured, reasons timing WJG 111;
 Coherence Paradigm 128
 Anwyl Pryderi central story 3 sections Q110n30
 slender thread PKM2 Q110
 Anwyl *Pwyll I* disconnected/ prelude/ doublet
 PKM4 Q110nn33,34
 Anwyl Rhiannon-Cycle 449n79
 Anwyl Rhiannon-Cycle & Mab Rh 110n28
 Anwyl Rhiannon/ Epona Earth Mother Q475n215
 Anwyl Rhiannon homeland, fairy wife 110
 Anwyl Rhiannon Llwyd's vengeance Q110n29
 Anwyl Mabinogi place- names Q109n21
 Anwyl Mabinogi myth lit balance Q109n23
 APPENDICES
 Appendix: Dating the Mabinogi
 Appendix: Horses in the Mabinogi
 Appendix: Mabinogi Translations (English)
 Appendix: Stevie Nicks' 'Rhiannon' (1975)
 Appendix: Triads and the Mabinogi
 Arberth refs 153n85
 Arberth grid refs 22nn118, 120

Arberth *priflys*, chief court no indef.article/'all
 honour originated' Q22n117, 153 n86, 237n168
archoll wound, cut, gash, hurt GPC 363
 Arianrhod '*Rieni*' 182-82
 Arnold, Matthew 105-06
 Arnold Blue Books Q105
 Arnold 'Celtic remains' 106
 Arnold Welsh story teller Q105n4 Ford Q106
aruchel/ noble, supreme GPC 20
aruchel high, tall, elevated; exalted GPC 163n179
 IX ARTS (2ch) 528-535
 ARTS Gallery [IX.1.] 529-58
 Arts 1 Narrative 531-32
 Arts 2 Maiden at Gorsedd, advent 533-38
 Arts 3 Rhiannon & Pwyll 538-43
 Arts 4 Mother of Pryderi 544-53
 Arts 5 Goddess Rhiannon 554-58
 Athena (Gss Myth) 425-26
 'Avalonian Rhiannon' (Rh Thealogy) 490-93
awdl (long) poem, ode, song GPC 33n190
Awdl, anonymous (Sources) 33
 Bad counsel, Gwawl 236-37
 Badger, Gwawl 234-35
 BAG, RHIANNON [VI.5.] 400-406
 Bag PKM1 major presence 28 instances 200
 Bag capacity 401nn87,89
 Bag *cod/ cot* GPC 200n78
 Bag not a *cornucopia* 401n88
 Bag error 400n87 'bottomless' 390n14
 Bag see Gwawl
 Bag mimesis, mimicking 200n81
 Bag see Speech Bag
bali, pali silk GPC 21
 Beauty 133-34
 Beauty given after converse 178
 Beauty & Feminism 133-34
 Beauty subjective Pwyll 246-47 Pryderi 319n750
bechan/ bychan little, small, unimportant GPC 40
 Bestowal marriage horse land food 171
 BOLLARD, JOHN K *Landscapes Mabinogi* (Intro)
 Bollard Coherence paradigm pioneer 118
 Bollard 8thC Celtic artwork 122
 Bollard See Interlacings 121-23, 513-21
 Bollard Pwyll I & PKM4 Annwfn gifts 122
 Bollard social /moral import 3 themes 122
 Bollard themes friendship, marriage, feud 122
 Bollard themes3 lists characters 123n132
 Bollard themes gender meta-theme alliance 123
 Bollard women Q128-28n167 cf Valente n.168
 Birds of Rhiannon see *Adar*
 Branwen, '*Rieni*' 182-82

Britain, Dyfed, Gwynedd 188-89
 Britain [III.2.] 142-47
 Britain 2 terms 145-46 cf Matholwch 179
 Britain & Cymru / Wales 143-45
 Britain, Kings 146-47
 Britain, Unified island 142-43
 Britain 'Ynys hon' / 'This island' 145-46
 Bromwich, Rachel (TYP) (Academia) 118;
 Bromwich 2 trads poetry/ *Trioedd* & prose 118
 Bromwich Rh not in TYP 'Personal Names', page
 index (absent poetry, *Trioedd*) 118
 Bromwich *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* TYP 18n84
canwelw/ pale-white GPC 18
 'Calumniated Wife' Jackson 117
 'Calumniated Wife' universal motifs 117n96
 'Calumniated Wife' motifs Arne, Antti Amatus.
 1910 117n97
 'Calumniated Wife' Rhiannon, Branwen 117
 'Calumniated Wife' crits Valiente & Wood 117 mine
 118
 Carnhuanawc see Price, Thomas
 Celtic Goddess 446-48
 Characters 1st appearances refs, *Dramatis P* 4
 Christianity & Mabinogi 438-42
 Chris Baptisms X 6 439-440
 Chris chastity 441
 Chris Clerics X3 441
 Chris leakage? familiar concepts? 441
 Chris oaths 'Duw' 439
 Chris patience 441-42
 Chris Sabbath 441
 Chris Weddings secular 440-41, Ellis 169nn218,219
 Rh wedding data n220
 COHERENCE PARADIGM 1970-1995 [II.7.] 118-139
 Coherence Paradigm Interlacing 121-23
 Coherence Paradigm scholars 23
 CIGFA DAU OF GWYN GOHOYW [V. 11] 328-35
 Cigfa Genealogy, marriage 329-30
 Cigfa & Manawydan 331-35
 Cigfa & Mother-in-law 330-31
Cod Rhiannon/ Rhiannon's Bag 400-406
 COHERENCE PARADIGM 126
 Coherence Paradigm cf Anwyl Q120n117
 Coherence Paradigm & WLM 126
 Coherence P chronicled Sullivan 120
 Coherence P new scholars Ford/ Bollard/ SDavies/
 Valente/ RMDavies/ Winward 123 see also Sullivan
Essays
 Coherence P Kuhn. 1962. *Structure* 123n133
 X CONCLUSIONS 568-601
 Conclusions, Contents 567
 Conclusions, Main text 568-97
 Conclusions, Portrait 598-99
 Conclusions, Postscript 599- 601
 'Conscientious use' David Ambrose? 53
 'Conscientious use' Sullivan 561n59
 cf Walton 'never to alter' Q452
 Councils refs 156n111; also
 Council after Annwfn 264n363
 Council Morning after birth 267, 268, 278
 Council Preseli barrenness 261, 268n395
 Councils Pwyll's also 294, 585
 Council Rhiannon re penance 267-68
 Council Pryderi pigs 314n710, 351
 Consent, marriage (LLW) 170
 Counsellors (LLW) 172
 Counsellors Appendix 9
 Counsellors gender analysis 172
 Counsellors language skill converse 172n238
 Counsellors Mabinogi Rh 49 instances 172
 Counsellors Miles-Watson women 172
 Counsellors Rhiannon analysed 173
 'The Craft' 453-54
 Craft of the Storyteller [II.2] 45-49
 Craft, oral Characterisation 46-47
 Craft, oral Structure 45-46
 Craft, oral Style 47-49
Crefft y Cyfarwydd Craft of the Storyteller 45-49
Culhwch ac Olwen (Sources) 33
 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab' (Struct) 512-13
 'Cyfranc' cf CS Lewis 30n173
 'Cyfranc' 'hippomorphic' 31, refs 32n181
 'Cyfranc' & Mab Rh my debt 30: seeded mine, scope
 similar 29, 30n177 gender 31
 'Cyfranc' & Mab Rh more myth (Valente later) 31-32
 'Cyfranc' Teyrnnon anecdote Q30-31
cylch fuels noble dominance 161n163
cylch N & S Wales refs 161n163
cylch progress, circuit GPC 153n88
 Cymru / Wales key quote 143
 'Damh the Bard' (Rh Thealogy) 502
 Davies, John Bristol Channel navig. 278n143,
 283n492, 283n493
 Davies, J Discovering the Mabinogi 362n27
 Davies, J Desolation, subsistence 304n646, 365n51
 Davies, J Dyfed-Gwent travel 297n597
 Davies, J Mabinogi study 1990 467
 Davies, J Maids' politics 271n416, 278n459
 Davies, J Rebuke III plot device 343n896
 Davies, J marine trade routes 418n8
 Davies, J Severn Bore 282n485
 Davies, J Manawyd. pragmatic at tower 343

Davies, John 1993 *Three Things There Are* 492
 Davies, Sioned *Mabinogion* (Intro)
 Walton WWII context 483n266
 Demeter (Gss Myth) 417-24
 Desolation Pryderi, Rhiannon 324-28
 Diagram 'Rhiannon Interlace' 509
 Diagram Active Passive Analysis 208
 V.1 Diagram Genealogy 213
 Diagram 'Rhiannon Interlace' 509
 Dialogue examples list 41n236
 Dialogue Maids plotting Q275-76
 Dialogue Rhiannon Pwyll Q198-99
 Dialogues Ternon & Wife Q287-88
 Divorce (LLW) 175
 Divorce 'agweddiol' 7 years Q175n256
 Divorce 'bizarre' gender allocation Stacey 175
 Divorce patrilineal wives vuln. Branwen 175
 Doublet see Interlacings
Dramatis Personae (I. 2.) 4
Dramatis P Characters 1st appearances refs, 4
dwfn deep; dense world, earth GPC 373
eisted 12 n49
 Dyfed: foodstocks, hunting 151
eisted sitting GPC
 Ellis & Lloyd, *Mabinogion* (Intro)
 Enchantments see *Hud*
 Epona (Gss Myth) 426-29
 III.4 EQUINE, Equestrian Nobility 157-64
 Equine instances (table long list) 157-59
 Equine Horse breeding 162-63
 Equine Hunting & women 163-64
 Equine *Marchogion* 159-62
 Equine palfrey 17n83, 163n177
 I.3. ETYMOLOGY 'RHIANNON' 5-10
esgor delivery, parturition, birth; deliverance. (GPC)
 & wordplay 202n98
 Etym 'Goddess of the Underworld' Green 9n38
 Etym Mittleman & Jones Rh unique to Mab. Q6
 Etym -ON Suffix 10
 Etym 'Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf I' Q5
 Etym *rhi* king prince lord ruler chieftain GPC 7
 Etym RHI-Prefix 7-8
 Etym RHI- Indo-European cognates 7-9, Q8
 Etym RHI- territory, reach, (material) rule 8
 Etym 'RHIAN' 9
 Etym 'RHIAN' Pughe *Geiriadur* 9
 Etym *rhianaid*, *rhiangerdd*, *rhieingylch* GPC fem
 connotations 9
 Etym 'Riannon, uerch Heueyd Hen, wyf I' Q5
 Etym 'Rhiannon' 47 instances 6-7
 Etym 'Rhiannon' Syllables 7
eureit, llathreit shining GPC 20
 Feasts (LLW) 173-74
 Feast bards Goronwy Gyriog Rh 174n252
 Feasts & *Cylchau* integrated system 174
 Feast data refs 154n95
 Feast description QQ174n250
 Feast Mabinogi Rhiannon 8 major 173n240
 Feast ownership 173n241
 Feast purposes multiple eg Pryderi PKM3 173
 Feast resources logistics 173
 Feast sequence 49n33
 Feast servings 173n243, 308-09n664
 Feminism, Agency 134-35
 Fem Atwood wide variations Q132n190
 Feminism & Beauty 133-34
 Feminism 'gender' 127
 Feminism 'gender' Rh, Gwydion 127
 Feminism & Goddess 458
 Feminism Liberal (3 models) 132
 Fem Lloyd, Elizabeth MA Mab. scholar 126n153
 Feminism & Mabinogi Rhiannon 124-39
 Feminism Matriarchal (3 models) 132
 Feminism Models X 3 Beasley, 132
 Feminism & Rhiannon 131-33
 Feminist Mab scholars valente, Merrill, Patterson,
 French, Winward 128
 Feminism & mediaeval text? 125-26
 Feminism, Pennar, Andreas 128-29
 Feminism Rh fits Lib Fem, analysis 133
 Feminism sisterhood 127
 Feminism Socialist (3 models) 132
 Feminism, Valente, 'Rob' 130-31, re Mab women
 123n137 cf Winward
 vote Act 1928 126
 Feminism see WLM
 FICTION Rhiannon Imaginary [IX.1] 559-66
 Folklore: Jackson, Kenneth (Academia) 117-18
 Folklore: Wood, Juliette (Academia) 117-18
 Gruffydd, William John (WJG) (Academia) 111-16
 Foodstocks, hunting 151
 Ford *Welsh Tales* 1977
 Ford 'Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab' compare 30-32
 Ford, 'Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab' 512-13
 Ford: hippomorphic aspect 455-58
 Ford horse goddess 'literary version' long Q456
 Ford tales not in decline crit Joneses 184n32
 Ford, Patrick *Welsh Tales* (Intro)
 Four Branches (Struct) 510-12
 Friendships list 176
 Friendships male-male 176
 Friendship marriage meta-theme alliance 177

furuf (*ffurf*) form, figure, shape GPC 364
gellast staghound-bitch GPC 33n190
 Genealogy Diagram [V.1] 213
 Giraldus horse breeding excerpt Q163n173, Q227
 Giraldus' Irish horse ceremony (Rh Thealogy) 479-81
 Giraldus cf Rhiannon's horse *aruchel* 179n165
 Girls no girl babies cf sons info 171
 Girls (LLW) 176
 Girls & boys bestowed Patterson Q170n227, 'vassals' sent away same age Patterson 176n268
 Girls home centred training 176
 Girls virginity asset protected 176
 GLOSSARY Vol I Intro & Vol III final pp
 GODDESS quotes: long Anwyl Q475 Ford Q475
 Valente Q130-31 & Pughe 1st Q73
 Goddess, Ancient (Pre-1900) 442-46
 Goddess Horse *Cyfranc* 31-32, *Epona* 426-29 Ford, 456 n. 117, Anwyl, pp. 475 n. 215, Rh Thealogy 487-88
 Goddess Myths [VII.1] 416-32
 Gss Myth Athena 425-26
 Gss Myth Comparisons (Table) 435
 Gss Myth Comparisons Analysis 435-36
 Gss Myth Demeter 417-24
 Gss Myth Epona 426-29
 Gss Myth Hera 422
 Gss Myth Inanna 418-20
 Gss Myth Isis 421
 Gss Myth Macha 430-31
 Gss Myth Modron 429-30
 Gss Myth Mari Llwyd 432-34
 Gss Myth Mongán's Mother 431
 Gss Myth (Summary 436-37)
 Goddess Myths & Trade Routes Map 418
 Goddess obscured woman, Valente 130-31
 GODDESS PRE-1900 [VII.2.] 437-43
 VII GODDESS RHIANNON (5 ch) 415-507
 Gss Rh Moon, brief comment Rhÿs 102n12
 Gss Rh 'Goddess of the Underworld' Green 9n38
 GODDESS TEMPLES [VII.4.] 463-66
 'Goddess Temple', Glastonbury 469-71
 Gss Temple House of the Goddess 464-68
 Gss Temple Iseum Rhiannon 463-64
 Gss Temple Madrians 463-64
 Gss Temple Pagan Federation 468-69
 Goronwy Gyriog (Sources) 33
gorsedd mound throne judicial assembly GPC 22, 255n287
 Graves, Robert & Laura Riding 452-53
 Graves, Robert & Laura Riding (Rh Thealogy) 484-86
 Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch (Sources) 34
 GUEST, CHARLOTTE 85-99
 Guest 1st *complete* publication Mab 85
 Guest begins project Q88n281 acquires MS 80
 Guest Carnhuanawc visits 83n247
 Guest, Constance 2nd name Rhiannon 42, 99
 Guest economics 89n286, 97-98
 Guest English cooption coloniser, defence 92-97
 Guest fails to credit 84-85
 Guest feminism Q151n126
 Guest gender critiqued, defence 90-92
 Guest illust Samuel Williams engraver 89n287
 Guest see Jones/ Tegid 79-81
 Guest, journals publ sources my index 82n240, 83n247, 87n274
 Guest *Mabinogion* 7 vols series list 86
 Guest *Mabinogion* 3 vols list (1849) 86n268
 Guest *Mabinogion* online (1999) SCR 136
 Guest *Mabinogion* title not hers 96n332
 Guest 'our own traditions' Q84n254, cf Q83n252
 Guest perfectionist Q89n286
 Guest see Price/ Carnhuanawc 81-85
 Guest reading aloud 50n42
 Guest recruitment 84
 Guest, Revel & Angela John, *Lady Charlotte* biog. rep. *Extraordinary Life* 82n242
 Guest Villemarque dispute 84
 Guest Welsh is 'difficult' Q88n277
 GWAWL SON OF CLUD [V. 4] 229-37
 Gwawl advent cf Rhiannon's 231
 Gwawl appearance Q230n105
 Gwawl Bad counsel 236-37, 325-28
 Gwawl Bad counsel *aghynghor* GPC 236n150
 Gwawl Bad counsel Rh connect Anwyl 236n150
 Gwawl, Badger 234-35
 Gwawl, Badger Dafydd ap Gwilym 234n134
 Gwawl, Badger deconstructed 235n143
 Gwawl, Badger 'extortion scheme' OED 234n134
 Gwawl, Badger Llwyd explicit Q236n149
 Gwawl, Badger political ritual 234
 Gwawl Bag death class issue? JDavies 221n46 see Bag 400-406
 Gwawl blows doublet Hafgan 234n138, Eames Q277n451
 Gwawl Clyde, Strathclyde 231-32nn115,116
 Gwawl 'Conflict' section 232-34
 Gwawl courtesy Q231n108
 Gwawl feast provisions 231n122
 Gwawl good suitor QQ229nn105,106

GPC 2 meanings 231n114
Gwawl *gwinau* animals adjective 231n111
Gwawl narrative 229
Gwawl Profile, status, name 229-32
Gwawl Rhiannon anger 236n154
Gwawl seating issue 230n106
Gwawl Summary 237
Gwawl 'wealth and might' Q230n106
(*g*)*welynt* see GPC 14
gwreic woman, maiden GPC 15
GWYDION the Killer [V. 15] 350-55
Gwydion contrast Rh 353-55
Gwydion similar Rh 352-53
Hegelian Dialectic (Struct) 525-27
Hera (Gss Myth) 422
IV HERSELF (2 ch) 190-211
 (Speech & Acts)
III.3. Hierarchy, Economics 147-57
Hippomorphic aspect, Ford 455-58
HORSE see also Equine
Horse breeding cob 227, photo 400
Horse breeding (Equine) 162-63
Horse breeding see Giraldus
Horse breeding not just Norman, native 163
Horse breeding publicity Advent (spec) 228n95
Horse see *cylch*
Horse Goddess Horse *Cyfranc* 31-32, *Epona* 426-29
Ford, 456 n. 117, Anwyl, pp. 475 n. 215, Rh
Thealogy 487-88
Horse inconsistency ships Irish War Sturzer & crit
159n152
HORSE INSTANCES long list 157-59
Horse description later poetry *Trioedd* 162
Horse integration rider SDavies 17-20
Horse see Giraldus
Horse *llateion* 162 *Rhieingerddi* love poems
162n168
Horse *marchogion* dominance 160-61
Horse mutilations 160n153
Horse mutilations as political block 30n171 cf
factions Hyfaidd & Maids, Pendaran
Horse pragmatic utility min. description 162
Horse riding dominance Boniface Anthony
QQ159nn154,155
Horse Rhiannon's see Rhiannon's Horse
Horse Teyrnnon's Mare no pet transition? 162
Horse Teyrnnon's Mare inside house 162n170
Horse training + boy 227n88, cf Gwri 161-62
Horse training combat Gassman Q161n161;
III HORSEWOMAN HER WORLD (7) 140-89
House of the Goddess 464-68

VI.1. *Hud*/ Enchantments pp. 357-80
hud magic, enchantment, deception, delusion, trick
GPC 359
Hudau y Mabinogi Mabinogi Enchantments
Hud Animals 361
Hud Annwfn 369-80
Hud Bindings 367-68
Hud Categorïau / TABLE
Hud Colours 361
Hud Definition: *hud* Mabinogi 259
Hud Dimensions (size, distance, time) 366
Hud Locations 362-63
Hud Objects & constructs 364-66
Hud Shapeshifting 363-64
Hud Violence, vengeance 368
Hud Wand 366
Hudlach Wand
Hughes, Kris (Thealogy) 505
Hunting refs 152n77
Hunting & women (Equine) 163
Hybrid marriage, Porter Q242n189, Messer
169n217 Rh 1st dialogue brisk 169n217
hyfaidd bold, daring GPC 222
HYFAIDD HEN [V. 3] 218-29
Hyfaidd 15 references 218n31
Hyfaidd advice, jointly Rhiannon Q221n48
Hyfaidd ap Bleddri of Dyfed, genealogy 223
Caradawg Freichfras Triad 38, 225, 226, 227
Hyfaidd poss family feud 220-21
Hyfaidd *Henfordd*/ Hereford 220n42 *iarll* 226
Hyfaidd Henllyn Powys 224
Hyfaidd Hir Gododdin 222-23
Hyfaidd honourable treatment Gwawl 219n36
Hyfaidd identity 222-29
Hyfaidd location needs no explanation 219
Hyfaidd Maesyfed Giraldus 227
Hyfaidd Maesyfed maps X2 225
Hyfaidd Maesyfed homeland theory 224-29
Hyfaidd & propriety 219-222
Hyfaidd Rhiannon patronymic Q219n32
Hyfaidd narrative summary 218
Hyfaidd propriety 219-20, 222
Hyfaidd saga poetry/ Rodway caution 228-29n99
Hyfaidd summary 229
Hyfaidd wealth, conserving it 221 Rh 244
Hywel Dda 183-85
'Inconsistencies' 9 by Sturzer 266n379
Inanna (Gss Myth) 418-20
INTERLACINGS 513-14
Interlacing see Bollard
Interlacing (Coherence Paradigm) 121-23

Interlacing articles list Sullivan *Essays* 121n123;
 Gantz, Ó Coileáin, Ford 122
 Int bracket Annwn gift pigs 206n117
 Int Doublets, about 513
 Int Doublet duels 513 n. 28
 Int Doublet sitting Gorsedd PKM1/3 308n664
 Int Doublet 2 meanings 513n28
 Int Doublet examples 122, 308n664, 519
 Int intricacy cf. *cynghanedd* 122
 Int. 1) Rhiannon-Arawn 514-15
 Int. 2) Golden Thread 515-16
 Int. 3) Horse 516-17
 Int. 4) Rhiannon Pwyll dialogue 517-18
 Int. 5) Teyrnnon's Wife 518
 Int. 6) Bag 518 -19
 Int. 7) Third Branch 519-20
 Int. 8) Exiles & Pursuits 520-21
 I INTRODUCTORY (7 chapters) pp. 1-42
 Iseum Rhiannon 454
 Iseum Rhiannon 463-64
 Isis (Gss Myth) 421
 Jackson, Kenneth (Academia) 117-18
 Jaufre Rudel (Sources) 33
 Jaufre Rudel 2 excerpts Q385
 Jones, Edward 73, 79, SCR 5
 Jones, Ed 1st Rhiannon print SCR 5 (& Pughe)
 Jones, John 'Tegid' 79-81
 V KINDRED (15ch) 212-355
 Lady Mouse [V. 13] 345-47
 LAW, LAND & WOMEN (LLW) [III.5.] 164-7
 Lhuyd, Edward 62-64
 Lhuyd excerpt quoted, trans. 63n121
 Lhuyd excerpt SCR 64
 LLW Law Land & Women [III.5.] 164-77
 LIFELINES 272-75
 Lifelines Diagram 274.
 LLW Alliance 176-77
 LLW Consent, marriage 170
 LLW Counsellors 172
 LLW Divorce 175
 LLW Feasts 173-74
 LLW Girls 176
 LLW Mothering 171-72
 LLW Marriage 167-69
 LLW Names & Women 166-67
 LLW Women & names 166-67
 LL (Welsh alphabetical order)
Llawysgrifau Manuscripts
llwyd grey, faint pale, brown GPC 348
 Llwyd Cil Coed [V. 14] 347-50
Llyfr Coch Hergest 61-62
Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch 60-61
Llys Court
mab boy, son, child (either sex) GPC 24n129
 Mabinogi bleak finale Valente 177
 Mabinogi development Four Accounts 119-21
 Hemming/ Sullivan/ Parker/ Morgain
 Mabinogi Enchantments [VI.1.] 357-80 see *Hud*
 MABINOGI RHIANNON
 Mabinogi Rhiannon, beginning 24-27
 Mabinogi Rhiannon Core & extended 23, 29-30
 Mabinogi Rhiannon ending 27-29
 Mabinogi Rhiannon text [I. 5] 23-33 see Text
 Mabinogi Rhiannon & Feminism 124-39
 Mabinogi Rhiannon Paraphrase [I.1.] 2-3
 'Mabinogi Symposiwm' SDavies 54
 Mabinogi & Trance [VI.2.] 381-87
 Macha (Gss Myth) 430-31
 Madrians 454
 Madrians 463-64
 Magicians transcend territory 388
 MAIDS [V. 6] 275-78
 Maids dialogue plotting 275-76
 MANAWYDAN SON OF LLŶR [V. 12] 335-45
 Manawydan background (PKM2) 337-39
 Manawydan Man of virtue 341-45
 Manawydan Marriage her consent 341
 Manawydan Marriage to Rhiannon 340-41
 Manawydan Name 336-37
 Manawydan narrative 335-36
 Manawydan Pryderi's friend 339-40
 MANUSCRIPTS [II.4.] 57-62
 MSS X 3, 57-58
 MSS dating Huws. 57
 MSS *Llyfr Coch* 61-62
 MSS *Llyfr Gwyn* 60-61
 MSS *Llyfr Gwyn* 'disappearance' 61
 MSS Peniarth 6 1st Rh on record 59
 MSS Peniarth 6 trans. PKM3 excerpt 57n88
 MS source Guest *Llyfr Coch* 80
 MS source Pughe *Llyfr Coch* 68
 MAPS 2935+300=3235 300-35=265
 Map basic geography 147
 Map Goddess Myths & Trade Routes 418
 Map Mabinogi [III.1.] 141
 Map Mabinogi poster (Jones) 148
 Maps X2 Maesyfed (Hyfaidd) 225
March Horse
March Rhiannon Rhiannon's Horse
Marchogion (Equine) 157-62
 Mari Llwyd (Gss Myth) 432-34
 Marriage (LLW) 167-69

Marriage & Consent (LLW) 170
 Marriage hybrid see Porter
 Marriage Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 489
 MATERNAL DYAD 322-28
 Maternal authority naming 171n235
mawr fawr/ great, tall GPC 19
 Mediaeval magic 357
 Mediaeval religion X 3 Kieckhefer 358
 Mediaeval religion Demonism (2) 358
 Mediaeval religion Official (1) 358
 Mediaeval religion Natural (3) 358
 Mediaeval text & Feminism? 125-26
 Modron (Gss Myth) 429-30
 Mongán's Mother (Gss Myth) 431
 Morris, Lewis 'Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn' 65-67
 Mother Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 493-96
 Mothering (LLW) 171-72
 Muse Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 499-501
 Names & Women (LLW) 166-67
neges errand, business, purpose GPC 26n149
neges Ford 'she will accomplish' Q26
neges Rh. 7 refs 398n73, 26-27n149, Q24-25
 Occultism 20thC 450
 -ON Suffix 10
 Online Mabinogi, 1st text 136
 Online Mabinogi, texts, media 136-39
 Oral Craft 3 groups of techniques 45
 Oral Craft of the Storyteller 45-49
 Oral Structure 45-46
 Oral Characterisation 46-47
 Oral 'hearing public' SDavies Q45
 Oral Style 47-49
Owein (Sources) 33
 Pagan Federation 468-69
pali silk loan word Old French GPC 21n108
 Paradoxes, Rh (Struct) 512
 Paraphrase Mabinogi Rhiannon [I.1.] 2-3
 Parker, Will, 'Bibliographic Essay' (Intro)
 Parker, online 137
 Peace narrative Manawydan 161n160
Pedeir Cainc y Mabinogi 116-17
 Penance humiliation wife privacy 198
 Penance plot 268-72 cf Advent/ Wedding
 Penance as storytelling Watkins 54,386
 PENDARAN DYFED [V. 9] 291-95
 Plots: Advent/ Wedding/ Penance/ Maids,
 Pendaran
 Peniarth 6 (Manuscript) 58
 Peniarth 6 excerpt 58-59
 Peniarth 6 Provenance 58-60
 Peniarth 6 Political Context 60
 PENNAR, ANDREAS obscured feminist 128-29
 Pennar 9 Mab women studied, list 129n170
 Arianrhod male gaze 129n170
 Pennar Rh 11 pages 129
 Pennar Rh legal right to choose 129
 Pennar Rh 'the most commanding' Q129n171
 Pennar Rh pursuits crit 129n175
 Pennar & Valente 129-30
 Performance 20thC 51
 Performance Continues [II.3.] 50-56
 Performance Convergence 21stC 53
 Performance Parallel streams 53
 Performance pre-20thC 50
 Perf 'Rhiannon' Carnival Queen agency girls 56
 Perf 'Rhiannon' local play 54-55
 Performance Storytelling movement 52
 Performance Storytelling, folklore 52
 Performance Storytelling Parallel streams 53
 Perform. Storytelling Convergence streams 53
 Performance Welsh theatre 51-52
 PKM (*Pedeir Cainc y Mabinogi*) 116-17
 Politics Economics
 Pol/ Econ. *Cantrefi* 237n167
 Pol/ Econ. Councils 156-57
 Pol/ Econ. Courts and Circuits 153-54
 Pol/ Econ. see Hierarchy
 Pol/ Econ. Maps 141, 147, 418
 Pol/ Econ. Princes and lords 155-56
 Pol/ Econ. servant class presence 259n325
 Pol/ Econ. territories 149-51-53
 Political parallels [III.7.] 183-89
 Pol Parallels Hywel Dda 183-85
 Pol Parallels Anglo-Norman 185-88.
 Pol Parallels Anglo-Norman mice satire 162n164,
 188n346, 364n41, 369n74
 Pol Parallels Britain, Dyfed, Gwynedd 188-89
 Porter, hybrid marriage Q240 cf Chris weddings
 Price, Thomas 'Carnhuanawc' 81-85
prifford highway main road GPC 22
prifford GPC 112n116
 Prose & poetry Mab., Ian Hughes 36-40
 Prose & poetry, Mabinogi Rhiannon 36-40
 Prose & poetry Mab Rh weak presence poetry &
Trioedd incl Hughes 38-40
 Prose Story-telling [I. 7] 36-42
 PRYDERI SON OF PWYLL (10) [V. 10] 295-323
 Pryderi Animal affinities 302-03
 Pryderi Boyhood 296-302
 Pryderi death as Epilogue 27-29
 Pryderi the husband 305-06
 Pryderi initiatives 315-16

Pryderi & Manawydan 306-10
 Pryderi the prince 303-05
 Pryderi, Rhiannon 316-21
 Pryderi, Rhiannon Desolation 324-28
 Pryderi, Rhiannon Maternal dyad 322-28
 Pryderi sources. 295-96
 PUGHE, WILLIAM OWEN 'Idrison' 67-78
 Pughe 1st Rhiannon in print SCRs 5-6 (& Jones)
 [Pughe] 1806 adopted name 68n156
 Pughe *Cambrian Register* II 1st Rh in print anon
 pursuits (1799) 73 cf. Ed. Jones names her
 Pughe Croker contents 70n167
 Pughe decline 76-78
 Pughe Diary 76n209
 Pughe *Geiriadur* intro about the tales Q72
 Pughe *Geiriadur* SCR 5
 Pughe hiatus, causes 74-76
 Pughe Mabinogi related publications list 69-70
 Pughe peak 74-75
 Pughe post-mortem no publication, causes 78
 Pughe Mabinogion 1826, 1831 (NLW) 77n215
 Pughe Rh goddess, *Geiriadur*, 5 (SCR), Q73
 Pughe Rh 'only ... Dramatic Tales' Q35, Q74
 Pursuits see Advent
 Pursuits not 3 but 4, 255n292
 Pursuits as hunt 14n66
 Pursuit inverts gender 396-97
 Pursuits & Exiles interlace 520-21
 Pwyll I, see also Rhiannon's Choice
pwyll caution prudence, wisdom, patience GPC 248
 PWYLL AND RHIANNON [V. 5] 238-75
 Pwyll, First impression 246-47
 PWYLL THE FOOL 247-60
 Pwyll Arawn offence debatable 152n83
 Pwyll Fool, In Annwfn 249-54
 Pwyll Fool, Gorsedd warning 255
 Pwyll Fool, Horse Rebuke (I) 256-7
 Pwyll's importance 238-40
 Pwyll name count instances 237n165
 Pwyll narrative 237
 Pwyll Partnership 260 -63
 Pwyll PKM1 almost total presence 237n166
 Pwyll Rebuke II 258-59
 Pwyll & Rh 18 roles 240n172
 Pwyll & Rh Complex Relationship 240-41
 Pwyll Rhiannon's choice 241-46
 Pwyll Sovereignty 259-60
 Pwyll poss trance Arawn 383
 Pwyll *Trioedd* almost absent 237n166(2nd half)
 Pwyll Wedding rebuke (II) 258-59
 QUEEN [V. 2] 214-18
 Queen 'literary device' males 214n1
 Queen bed intimacy Pwyll, cf Rhiannon 214
 'Queen' instances collated 214n1
 'Queen' no other Mabinogi female 214
 Queen differences Rhiannon 216-18
 Queen husbands are close allies 215n4
 Queen narrative niche for Rhiannon 218
 Queen *reacts* Rhiannon *acts* 218
 Queen similar Rhiannon 215-16
 Queen summary 218
 Queen one of Three Anons 524-25
 REBUKES
 Rebuke cf Arawn 370 cf Cigfa 333 cf Adar 411 cf
 conscientious use 56
 Rebuke I dialogue struct 517
 Rebuke I key analysis 256-58
 Rebuke I horse 158, 198n66, 397
 Rebuke I Narrative Horsewoman 198-99
 Rebuke I Speech #1 192
 Rebuke I language 155n98
 Rebuke I sexual innuendo 198
 Rebuke I w/o due attention 248n247
 Rebuke I & II 159
 Rebuke II 201, Q248n247
 Rebuke II Narrative: weddings 199-201
 Rebuke I Speech #9 193
 Rebuke II Wedding rebuke key analysis 258-59
 Rebuke II wordplay 245, Q248n245
 Rebuke III Narrative: Desolation 204-05
 Rebuke III Peniarth 6 historical 5, 204
 Rebuke III Speech #31 195
 Rebuke III table context 340
 Rebuke III dominance & vulnerability 204
 Rebuke III fails friendship noble code 204, priority
 son Q 320-21, 322, 340
 Rebuke III shames Manawydan 210, 344 motive
 sustains his effort 349, cf nephew murder 343
 Rebukes all 2-3 Advice & Rebukes 196 triplicity
 522
 Rebukes all *Tri dliwiad Rhiannon*/ 'Three Rebukes
 of Rhiannon' spec 196n48 cf '*Rieni*'
 Rebuke pre-Rebuke preface 195, 196
 Red Book of Hergest 61-62
 '*Rieni*' 177-83 uses '*Rieni*' no trans. 181-82
 '*Rieni*' alt trans. 181
 '*RIENI*' [III.6.] Peak female status 177-83
 '*Rieni*' 2 texts 177-79
 '*Rieni*' 2 texts Q178nn280,284
 '*Rieni*' cf Cycles 2 headed by women Anwyl
 182n311
 '*Rieni*' not explained so understood 178

'Rieni' link kins (Owen) here nations 178
 'Rieni' Lost triad? 33, 179
 'Rieni' Triad? (Sources) 33
 'Rieni' Meaning 181-82
 'Rieni' Meaning resolved Parker Q181n304
 'Rieni' Rhiannon, Branwen, Arianrhod 182 but
 Arianrhod anachronistic so Don 182n311
 Tryded Prif Rieni spec construct 179n289
 Romance theme 18th-19thC 101-04
 Romance 1st asserted Morris Q102
 Romance definitions Luft, Johnson QQ102
 Romance Guest 'cradle' & another QQ103
 Romance Jones Ed Q103
 Romance Pughe titles all exc 1, list + 102-03 Soc
 Antiq, Croker 103
 Romance *Rhamant* Pughe Q102n378
 Romance Stephens 83 instances pp QQ103-04
 'rywedawt' (Mod.W. *rhyfeddod*) wonder, marvel GPC
 context 16n74
Rhamant Romance (Pughe) Q378
rhi king, prince, lord, ruler, chieftain GPC 7
rhianaidd, *rhiangerdd*, *rhieingylch* fem GPC 9
rhieni parents, ancestors GPC 180
 RHIANNON
 'Rhi-', 'Rhiannon' see Etymology 'Rhiannon'
 'Rhiannon' 47 instances 6-7, list 6n16
 Rhiannon 1st in print SCRs 5-6
 Rhiannon & Agency 134-35
 Rhiannon anon 94 lines cf Queen 215n94
 Rhiannon's Bag [VI.5.] 400-406 see Bag
 Rhiannon barren 316nn730,731
 RHIANNON'S CHOICE 241-46
 Rh Choice (Text) QQ25-27 *neges* Q24-25
 Rh Choice (Text) Pen Annwfn Q25
 Rh Choice (Text) *Pwyll I* prelude Anwyl, Ford, Mac
 Cana masc aspect 26 fem solution 27
 Rh Choice (Text) *Pwyll I* disconnect Q25 Sturzer no
 mention 26n145
 Rh co-rule also Goewin 168n214
 Rh cyclic economy *cylch* feasts cf Bag 154n92
 Rh *cylch* cf *rhieingylch* led by woman 154n89
 Rhiannon economic status 244n201
 Rhiannon elite status refs 243n197
 Rhiannon & Feminism 133
 RHIANNON'S HORSE [VI.4.] 395-400
 Rhiannon's Horse agency 398-99
 Rhiannon's Horse see Giraldus
 Rhiannon's Horse synergy 399
 Rh Horse (Magician) 388, Q390 crit, 393, 394
 Rhiannon Imaginary (Fiction) [IX.1] 559-66
 'Rhiannon Interlace' Diagram 509
 Rhiannon Magician [VI.3.] 387-95
 Rh marriage consent *Pwyll* bestowal 170, 220
 Rh marriage consent Manawydd ambiv 341
 Rhiannon as mother depth character 28, 201-03,
 316-18, 320, Mat Dyad 320-28, Mother Gss 493-96
 Rhiannon motive wealth *sarhaed* 244
 Rhiannon's natal homeland, Maesyfed 224-29
 Rhiannon northern? 110n.27
 Rh *Neges* Purpose, errand 7 refs 398n73
 Rh power loss marriage Winward 169n209
 Winward loss life stages 210n144
 Rh presence ends paralysis 27 cf Peniarth 6
 Rhiannon Prose heroine [I. 7] 36-42
 Rh 'strong woman' 208-09, carnival 56n74, YA
 fiction 563-65 see Rh unfem.
 Rh subverts bestowal no direct challenge 170n225
 Rh 'unfeminine' alien strong Winward 168n209
 'Rhiannon' unique Mab. Mittleman & Jones Q6
 Rhiannon wealth Table 244
 Rhiannon wedding feast data 169n220
rhieni parents, ancestors GPC 180
 RHÏS, John (Academia) 106-08
 RhÏs 1st Prof Celtic, Oxford 1877 106
 RhÏs See Arnold 105-06
 RhÏs 'Celtic' & Empire, Irish 106
 RhÏs Dyfed & Deisi tribe 149n50
 RhÏs euhemerised deities 107
 RhÏs Gwenogvryn Evans, John 107
 RhÏs Influences Arnold Celtic remains 106, Müller
 dualism 106-07
 RhÏs '*mabinog*' 108n16
 RhÏs '*mabinog*' reject Gwenogvryn 108n17
 RhÏs Reconstruction cf WJG 107nn13,14
 RhÏs Inheritor WJG 106 see WJG 111-16
 RhÏs *Lectures* series 106
 RhÏs Rhiannon Dawn/ Moon goddess Q107n12
 VI RHIANNON MARVELLOUS (6ch) 356-414
 'saga poetry' Rodway v cautious 41n238
Sarhaed Fines system (LLW) 165-66
 Shapeshifting *Hud* 363-64
 Sons & their mothers listed 171
 SOURCES RHIANNON, Other [I. 6] 33-35
 Sources Rh, Other tabulated #1-6 33, #7-9 34
 Sources 1) 'Rieni' Triad? 33n188
 Sources 2) *Culhwch ac Olwen* Q33n189
 Sources 3) *Awdl*, anonymous 33n190
 Sources 4) *Jaufre Rudel* 33n191, QQ385
 Sources 5) *Owein* inverts Advent 33n192
 Sources 6) *Goronwy Gyriog* Q33-34n193
 Sources 7) *Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch* Q34n194
 Sources 8) *Dafydd ap Gwilym* 34n195

Sources 9) *Ystoria Taliesin* Q34n196
Hughes
Sources Pughe 'only ... Dramatic Tales' Q35
Sovereignty Goddess 450-01
Sovereignty Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 476-78
Sovereignty, Pwyll 259-60
Speech Private wives 197-98
Speech Rh wifely privacy complied 198
SPEECHES RH (1-33) Table 190-95
Speech Rh Advice & Rebukes 196
Speech Rh Bag *bechan* ironic 200
Speech Rh Bag complexity of plan 200
Speech Rh Bag longest 200
Speech Rh Bag mimesis seduction 200
Speech Rh Bag poss. trance cf Arawn Pwyll 384
Speech Rh converse praised by Pryderi 191n1
Speech Rh Branches, disappearance 196-98
Speech Rhiannon's converse 191-92
Speech Rh language assertive, verbs 199n67
Speech Rh Desolation #31- #33 204-05
Speech Rh Horsewoman #1- #7 198-99
Speech Rh Kindred PKM3 #26- #30 203-04
Speech Rh Mothering #18- #25 201-03
Speech Rh Types of speech 195-96
Speech Rh Weddings #8- #17 199-.201
Speech social inferior speaks 1st 198n64
Speech: Voice of Rhiannon [IV.1.] 191-205
Sullivan, William 'conscientious use' 561n59
Sullivan, William, *Essays* 1996 anthology 120
Sun Goddess (Rh Thealogy) 497-99
Stephens, Thomas 'Casnodyn', 'Gwrnerth',
'Caradawg' 99-101
Stephens 12thC drama performance art 50n40
Stephens bards sour opinion Q272n419
Stephens supernatural plot 'machinery' Q101
Stevie Nicks 51n47, 139
StevieN Walton not known until later 51n47
II STORY OF THE STORY (9 ch) 43-139
Storytelling Convergence 2 streams 21stC 53
Storytelling, folklore 52
Storytelling movement 52
Storytelling Parallel streams 53
Storytelling 'Prosiect Mabinogi', Stevenson 53
VIII STRUCTURES (1ch) 508-527
Struct. Diagram 'Rhiannon Interlace' 509
Struct. Four Branches 510-12
Struct. Four Br, Episodes list SDavies 45n7
Struct. Paradoxes 512
Struct. Ford, '*Cyfranc y Gaseg a'r Mab*' 512-13
compares Cyfranc, Anwyl's Rh-Cycle & Mab Rh.
Struct. Hegelian Dialectic 525-27
Struct. Three Anons (Struct) 524-25
Struct. Triadic Patterns 521-23
Sullivan III, Charles William *Essays* (1996) 120
Sullivan 'conscientious use' 561n59 (cf Walton,
JDavies, Morgain, Rodway)
Sullivan *Essays* chronicles Coherence P 120
Sullivan *Essays* contents 120n116
taeog serf, villein, slave GPC 165n191
'Tegid' see Jones, John
Telyndru, Jhenah (Rh Thealogy) 502-05
teulu retinue, entourage GPC 15n69
Territory, identity & *sarhaed* (LLW) 165-66
Text Ford '*Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*' compare 30-32
TEXT MABINOGI RHIANNON [I. 5] 23-33
Text, Mabinogi Rhiannon 23-33
Text Mabinogi Rhiannon, beginning 24-27
Text Mabinogi Rhiannon end 27-29
Text Mabinogi Rhiannon end Math justice 28-29
Text Mabinogi Rhiannon Core, extended 29-30
Text Mabinogi Rhiannon summary 32
Text Rhiannon's Choice (Pwyll I) 25-27
teyrnon monarchs GPC 281
TEYRNON TWRWF LLIANT [V. 7] 279-87
Teyrnon Twryf Lliant, Gwent-Is-Coed 281-84
Teyrnon, gentle guardian 285-87
Teyrnon economy ships 283-84
Teyrnon Noisy enchantment 284-05
TEYRNON'S WIFE [V. 8] 287-90
Teyrnon's Wife Dialogues DI 287
Teyrnon's Wife Dialogues DII DIII DIV 288
Teyrnon's Wife Marriage 289-90
THEALOGIES RHIANNON [VII.5.] 471-502
Thealogy, Anwyl & Goddess 474-76
Thealogy, 'Avalonian Rhiannon' 490-93
Thealogy, Background (review) 473-4
Thealogy, 'The Craft' 487
Thealogy, 'Damh the Bard' 502
'Thealogy' definitions 471-72
Thealogy, Giraldus' Irish horse ceremny 479-81
Thealogy, Graves, Robert & Laura Riding 484-86
Thealogy, Great Goddess 472-73
Thealogy, Horse Goddess 487-88
Thealogy, Hughes, Kris 505
Thealogy, Marriage Goddess 489
Thealogy, Mother Goddess 493-96
Thealogy, Muse Goddess 499-501
Thealogy, Sovereignty Goddess 476-78
Thealogy Summary 506-07
Thealogy, Sun Goddess 497-99
Thealogy, Telyndru, Jhenah 502-05
Thealogy, Walton, Evangeline 381-84

Three Anons (Struct) 524-25
 Timeline (graphic) (II.1.) 44
 Trance & Mabinogi [VI.2.] 381-87
TRIOEDD
 'Tri dliwiad Rhiannon/ spec see Rebukes
 Triad 8 Manawydan *lledyf* 342
 Triad 26 Pryderi pigs, versions 37, 296
 Triad 26 Henwen satire 151n73
 Triad 26 Pryderi Gwydion pigs Q 312
 Triad 26 Pendaran 7 pigs 291, 294
 Triad 26W resolve versions, Henwen 312
 Triad 26 Pen Annwfn Q370
 Triad 37 Arthur jealous 391
 Triad 38 bestowed horses no Gwri 38, 227
 Triad 38 Caradawg Freichfras 226, Q227n82
 Triad 41 horse *llateion* 410
 Triad 43 Lively Ladies 178n292
 Triad 56 Arthur queens 179-80
 Triad 67 shoemaking, cf awl 337
 Triad 70 Modron 430
 Triad 78 Royal Ladies 179-80
 Triad 79 Lively Ladies 179-80
 Triad 88 Maidens 180
 Triad 'Rieni'? 33, 179
Trioedd citing Mabinogi Rhiannon list 37n212
 Triadic Patterns (Struct) 521-23
Trioedd y Gwragedd group women 179n288
Trioedd y Meirch group horses 162n167
 'Tryded Prif Rieni' / 'Three Chief Rieni' [III.6.] spec
 177-83; cf spec Rebukes
twrf noise, roar, tumult, commotion GPC 282
 TYP *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* 118, 18n84
 VALENTE, 'ROB' Pioneer feminist 130-31
 Valente & Pennar 129-30
 Valente key quote Q130-31
 Valente 'turn to the women' Bollard 129 n.168
 Violence, vengeance *Hud* 368
 WALTON, EVANGELINE 451-452, 481-84
 Walton 'never to alter' Q452 cf Sullivan 561n59
 Walton, Evangeline (Rh Theology) 381-84
 Wand *Hud* 366
 Wedding plot 263-67 cf Advent/ Penance
 WELSH RENAISSANCE [II.5.] 62-104
 Lhuyd/ Williams/ Morris/ Pughe/ Jones Ed/
 Jones J/ Price/ Guest/ Stephens/ Romance
 WR Luft, Williams & Thomas history & Mab 64
 WR Lhuyd, Morris, Pughe historical research 67
 WR Pughe 1st Rh *Cambrian Register* II 1795 73
 WR Morris prob 1st prose tales 'romance' 67
 WR MS source Llyfr Coch Pughe 68 Guest 80
 Welsh theatre 51-52
 Welsh theatre Brith Gof 51n49
 Welsh theatre Bronwen Lewis 139n235 (Nicks)
 Welsh theatre Lis Hughes Jones 51n49
 Welsh theatre Manon Eames 52
 Welsh theatre Robin Williamson 51-52
 Welsh theatre see also Stevie Nicks
 Welsh theatre Moving Being 51-52
 White Book of Rhydderch 60-61
 WILLIAMS, Ifor (Academia) 116-17
 Williams I. compilation MSS schools 116
 Williams I. WJG agreed dating 117
 Williams I. single redactor added to tales 117
 Williams I. Pryderi saga 4 parts WJG 117
 Williams, Moses 64-65
 Williams, Moses 'intent to publish' Q65
 WJG (William John Gruffydd)
 WJG (William John Gruffydd) 111
 WJG Anwyl obscured 112n44
 WJG Arnold redirected, wordplay 113n48
 WJG critiques by scholars QQ115-16
 WJG Desolation crit not Wasteland Hughes, Welsh
 Q115
 WJG Iolo cf 116n92
 WJG Irish *compert, macgnimartha, indarba, aided*
 114
 WJG Irish 4 part biog cf Mac Cana 114
 WJG Irish Manannàn 114 crit 337
 WJG Irish Mongán 'original source' Q114n71
 WJG Mabinogi fine lit not his concern 112n45
 WJG Mabinogi Studies frozen 20thC 112
 WJG 'Myth of Rhiannon construct 113
 WJG Mythological Reconstruction paradigm 111-12
 WJG Mythological Recon key quotes QQ113
 WJG Mythological Recon Pryderi 114
 WJG his successive summaries refs 113n58
 WJG nationalism 'clouds of glory' Q112n47
 WJG 'Celtic pantheon' reclaim 111
 WJG Pryderi hero of Dyfed no credit Anwyl 112
 WJG 'Pryderi, Saga' construct 113 crit 114n73
 WJG publications list 111n42
 WJG Rhiannon horse-gss no credit Anwyl 112
 WJG Rhiannon horse-gss weak 115
 WJG *Rhiannon* (1953) mess lots refs QQ113
 WJG Rhÿs student 111cf Myth Recon
 WLM (Women's Liberation Movement) 126-28
 WLM & Coherence Paradigm 126
 WOMEN
 Women co-rule Rh Goewin Q168n214
 Women see Counsellors
 Women see girls
 Women & Hunting (Equine) 163

Women 'link between kins' Owen 167n206
Women nameless if 1st met as wife 166-67
nn204,205 'Mrs. Jones' 171
Women names patronymics Rh Arawn 166-67
Women patrilocal wealth mobile 168
Women regency 168n215
Women not warriors but benefit 264
Women wife *sarhaed* lower Owen 168n210
Women wife power Messer good 168-69n208
Women wife power Winward no 169n209

Women wife private speech 197-98
Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) &
Coherence Paradigm 126
Wood, Juliette (Academia) 117-18
Wood see Calumniated
'*Ynys hon*' / 'This island' Britain 2 terms 145-46
Ystoria Taliesin (Sources) 34

End of Index Concordance pages

Dyfyniadau PKM/ PKM Quotes

List of PKM quotes given in chapters.

There are a mass of other, simple refs, these are actual quotes.

The English phrases are only guides on what the quote is about; the actual quote is usually much more.

See also Rhiannon quotes Ch. I.6. Other Sources pp. 33-35,

and *Trioedd* references listed in the Page Index.

I popped this in at the last minute as I'd built it up for my own use but thought others might like it.

NARRATIVE ORDER

PKM1

- 1.1-2. 'Pwyll Prince of Dyfed'
165n194, 237n159, 238n163, 281n481
- 1.4-5. 'Glyn Cuch' 376n132
- 1.7-8, 'when the day was still young' 152n82
- 1.21-24 'white, and their ears red'
249n250, 377n137
- 2-3. 'Once upon a time, he was at Arberth'
153n85
- 2.3-4. 'a horseman coming' 157n118
- 2.4-6 'large grey dappled horse' 377n139,
& 'grey-brown woollens' 379n152
- 2.14 -19. 'greater discourtesy' 253n278
- 2.17-19. 'said, 'was discourtesy'
204n244, 249n248
- 2.20-21 ... 22-23. 'if I have done wrong'
250n258
- 2 20-21. 'your friendship.' 253n277
- 2.21 'friendship' 370n81
- 2.26 'Arawn King of Annwfn' 165n194, 166n203,
329n803, 363n78, 370n81, 376n130
- 2.27-28. 'how I can do that?' 253n277
- 3.2. 'Hafgan, a king of Annwfn'
363n78, 376n133
- 3.3. 'you can do that easily' 383n173
- 3.7. 'make a strong friendship' 253n277
- 3.9. 'I will place with [give] you'
215n8, 251n286, 363n35, 363n78
- 3.9. 'beautiful woman' (Arawn) 167n204, 215n6
- 3.14 'meet then in this place.' 166n198
- 3.26. 'Your way will be unimpeded'
379n154, 383n174
- 4.3. 'best equipped host'
253n279, 254n283, 377n135
- 4.6-7. 'adornment of buildings' 371n90
- 4.8-11. 'garment of silk' 371n90
- 4.14-16 'fairest woman' 371n90
- 4.16 'went to wash' 371n90
- 4.15-16. golden garment of shining silk' 215n10
- 4.18-19. 'and the earl' 184n321
- 4.21-22. 'the most gracious' 371n90
- 4.23-25. 'court most abundant'
244n202, 254n282
- 4.19-23. 'converse with the queen' 242n188
- 5.6-7. 'hunting and song and revelry' 371n90
- 5.25-27. 'my death?' 252n273
- 5.6-7. 'He spent the year'
244n202, 264n366
- 5.12-13. 'a knight rose up and spoke' 372n92
- 5.20 'in Arawn's place'
166n197, 231n108, 252n374, 363n35
- 6.3-4. 'My death is accomplished.' 272n421
- 6.5-14. 'My nobles' (Hafgan) 251n263
- 6.8-9 'king over all Annwn' 363n78
- 6.23-25 'his own form' 363n36
- 7.3. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 7.4-7. 'conversed with his wife' 216n14
- 7.5. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 7.6. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 7.24. 'his wife' (Arawn) 167n204
- 8.3. "That was no wonder' 217n28
- 8.9. 'spend your wealth' 258n314
- 8.15-17. 'lordship we have received' 264n251
- 8.19-21. 'horses and hounds' (gifts)
173n247, 372n91, 377n136
- 8.21-26 'called 'Pwyll Head of Annwn' 243n193
- 22-24 'bravery and his prowess' 245n208
- 8.23-24, 'uniting the two kingdoms' 242n187
- 8.22-24. 'And because of his stay'
244n202, 370n78
- 8.24-26. 'Pwyll Head of Annwn'
238n159, 329n803, 379n155
- 8.27. 'And once upon a time' 26n146
- 9.1, 'great hosts of men with him' 255n289
- 9.2-3. 'And after the first serving' 173n243

- 9.4. 'Lord,' said one' 263n353, 351n29
9.4-6. 'peculiarity of the mound' 231n109
9.7. 'a wound or blows' 255n288
9.8. 'a wound or blows' 255n288
9.8-9. 'midst of such a host' 255n289
9.11-14 'And as they were sitting' 11
9.12-13. 'a great tall pale white horse' 157n122, 161n166, 395n57, 399n74, 487n295, 488n305
9.13. 'shining golden garment of silk' 215n10
9. 14. 'coming alongside the mound.' 215n9
9.15 'slow pace' 15n123 'no nearer' 256n302, 393n36, 396n62
9.26-27 'the swiftest horse' 157n124
10.2-3. 'he showed the spurs' 161n161
10.3-4 'the more he struck the horse' 396n62
10.4-5 'same pace' 396n63, 490n325
10.6. 'his horse was tiring to a walk' 161n161
10.10 'some magic intent there' 395n50
10.28-29. 'She had a pace no different' 396n63, 490n325
11.2-3 'release it from the reins' 161n161
11.10-11 'she had a [purpose]' 398n73
11.21. 'spurs' 256n296
12.2. 'spirited prancing horse' 161n166, 256n301, 396n62
12.4. 'slow, steady pace' 256n302
12.4-5. 'He spurred on his horse' 397n64, 487n297
12.5-6. 'he saw it would not prosper' 257n304, 487n297
12.8. 'the man you love most' 257n306, 487n297
12.8. 'better for the horse' 192n10, 248n247, 256n294, 397n66
12.8-9. 'I am pleased to see you.' 358n310
12.10-12. 'her headdress' 191n5
12.14-12.21. [neges quotes] 26n149
12.14-15. 'on my own errands' 192n11, 256n299
12.16-18. 'her face' 246n221
12.16-18. 'unlovely to him was the face' 49n31
12.19-20. 'to try to see you.' 192n12, 256n299, 393n39
12.22-23. 'I am Rhiannon'. 5
12.23 'Rhiannon daughter of Hyfaidd Hen' 166n203, 192n13, 219n32, 329n803, 351n956
see 15 Hyfaidd instances 218n31
12.23-24. 'I am being given' 25, 220n38, 230n104, 398n71
12.25. 'for love of you.' 241n183, 398n73
12.27-13. 'If I had a choice' 246n220
13.6-8. 'I shall arrange' 193n15
13.9-11. 'Farewell' 193n16, 199n70
13.13-15, 'Whatever questions' 264n365
13.16-17. 'hundred knights' 245n210
13.17-25. 'And he came to the court' 49n33
13.17-20 'they welcomed him' 220n37
13.20-25. 'hall was prepared' 169n220, 13.20-26
13.21-24; 'This is how they sat' 219n35
13.26. 'beginning of the revelry' 264n362
13.26-28. 'regal, auburn-haired youth' 48n30, 230n105, 240n180
14.5-6. 'Whatever request you ask' 258n312, 359n320, 263n357
14.6-7. 'Why do you give such an answer' 193n17, 320n758
14.8. 'presence of nobles' 277n449
14.10-11 'ask for her, and the provisions' 232n122
14.13-14. 'feeble in his own wits' 193n18, 248n245, 258n317
14.15. 'I did not know' 258n319
14.16-19. 'give me to him,' 193n19, 258n318
14.17-18. 'Gwawl son of Clud' 230n106
14.17-18. 'a wealthy man' 150n63, 241n181, 498n376
14.20-2.1. 'I could not ever do' 247n226
14.21. 'Give me to him,' 215n8
14.21-22 'I will make it so' 193n20, 384n177
14.23-15.17. 'I will put a small bag' 193n21, 399n80
15.1/16.15-17. 'you be in the orchard' 236n152
15.3. 'ragged clothes' 264n359
15.5-7. 'whatever is placed in it' 151n74, 237n155, 390n14, 401n89
15.11-12. 'I will bring it about' 232n125
15.19-20 "As much' (conditional) 264n357
15.21 'in regard to the feast' 498n374
15.25 'friend, to sleep with me.' 233n128, 264n358
16.3-4. 'hundred knights' 243n194
16.5-7. 'great rag boots' 264n359
16.13-14. 'if you ask a reasonable' 359n320
16.25-26. 'champion, rise up' 193n21, 233n131, 264n358
16.28-17.1. 'tied a knot' 245b209
17.1-4. 'blast on his horn' 245n210
17.4-5. 'threw off the rags' 264n359
17.11-14. 'Badger-in-the-Bag' 266n377
17.13-14 'badger-in-the-bag was first' 233n133
17.15-16. 'the man from the bag' 221n46

- 17.17-18 'Not a fit death' 219n36, 231n108
 17.20-24. 'nor revenge' 193n24
 17.24-25. 'He will get that' 236n151
 17.26-27. 'counsel of Hefeydd and Rhiannon'
 219n36, 220n48, 324n784ath'
 17.27-28. 'our counsel,' they said.
 193n25, 221n48
 18.4. 'Now ask guarantors' 219n36
 18.6. 'Hefeydd listed the guarantors.' 219n36
 18.15-19. 'hall, then, was prepared'
 169n220,, 13.20-26, 238n160
 18.19-21 'spent that night in pleasure'
 169n220, 440n23, 489n306
 18.22-24. 'the musicians' 193n26, 244n200
 18.25-26 'while this feast continues' 173n244
 19.4-5. 'a young lad' (Pendaran) 291n559
 19.6-10. 'may God ease the way' 439n11
 19.6-10. 'Between me and God'
 439n11, 439n13
 19.16-18, 'They ruled the land'
 168n214, 260n336
 19.18. 'in the third year the men'
 220n43, 261n337
 19.29-20.1. "Delay this with me' 261n337
 20.2-3. 'Before the full time' 261n337
 20.3. 'a son was born to him' 238n160,
 20.11-12 'boy has been lost' 275n440
 20.14-15 'execute us' 275n440
 20.14-15. 'Is there any counsel' 275n440
 20.15-16 'I know good counsel' 275n440
 20.16-17. 'staghound bitch' 276n443
 20.21. 'six of us will not fail' 276n445
 20.23-24. 'where is the boy?' 194n27, 204n107,
 276n446, 317n733, 321n765, 492n336
 20.26. 'bruises and blows' 277n451
 20.29- 21.4. 'I will protect you.'
 194n28, 276n448
 21.1, & 21.6. 'poor things' 317n734
 21.4. 'by my confession to God' 439n14
 21.4-6. 'harm - to ourselves' 276n448
 21.6-7. 'speaking the truth.' 194n29
 21.12-14. 'to divorce his wife' 261n338
 21.16-17 'she has had offspring,' 261n338
 21.17-18. 'If she has done wrong'
 250n258, 261n338, 267n386, 267n397
 21.19-21. 'summoned scholars' 194n30
 21.21-23. 'This is the punishment' 494n342
 21.24-25. 'to tell to all' 194n31
 21.27. 'upon her back' 210n143
 22 1-2. 'Teyrnon Twrf Liant'
 156n107, 329n803
 22.1-2. 'lord over Gwent-Is-Coed'
 281n481,, 293n576
 22.2. 'best man in the world.'
 279n464, 296n599
 22.3-4. 'horse nor mare fairer' 297n600
 22.4-6. 'each May Eve', 297n601, 494n340
 22.7. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 22.11-12 'the mare brought indoors'
 162n170, 285n506
 22.14. 'a great foal' 298n602
 22.16, 17, 21, 23, 23 ('tumult')
 282n486, 298n602
 22.3. 'No, not now' 288n531
 22.17. 'great claw'. 284n501, 298n602
 23.2. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 23.5-6. 'Here is a son for you,'
 171n231, 285n507
 23.5; 'if you wish' 289n547
 23 9-10 'son of gentlefolk,' 288n534
 23.11. 'a joy and a comfort' 290n551
 23.11. 'if you wished it' 289n547
 23.14-16 'the boy baptised' 440n19
 23.22. 'end of the fourth year' 292n562
 23.23-24 'grooms of the horses' 299n606
 23.24. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 24.9-10. 'news [of] Rhiannon' 288n540
 24.9-10. 'Rhiannon her penance.'
 202n92, 270n408
 24.13. a 'multitude' 271n411
 24.14. 'Rhiannon's misfortune'
 270n410, 276n447, 317n736
 24.21-23. 'privacy with his wife' 288n541
 24.23. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 24.27. 'Teyrnon's wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 25.6-7. 'Teyrnon one of three knights'
 245n210, 292n561
 25.7-8. 'boy as a fourth' 299n611
 25.12-15. 'I will carry each one of you' 194n32
 25.20-26. 'They went into the hall' 174n250
 25.23-24. 'This is how they sat' 261n339
 25.26- 27.2. 'Teyrnon's conversation' 31
 26.2. 'his wife' (Teyrnon) 167n204
 26.2-7. 'your son, lady' 286n514, 300n621
 26.7-9. 'the boy is the son of Pwyll'
 238n160, 300n622
 26 9-10. 'if that were true'. 202n97
 26.9-10. 'it would deliver me'
 194n33, 292n563, 318n741
 26.12. 'Pryderi son of Pwyll Head of Annwn'
 292n58, 329n803
 26.13-14. 'his own name '

194n34, 292n567, 318n742
 26.14. 'What is the name?' 293n569
 26.15. 'Gwri Golden Hair' 293n570
 27.13-15. 'Pryderi- perfect lad'
 301n625, 318n744
 27.15-16. 'years and years' 274n433
 26.17-19 'the word his mother spoke' 172n235
 26.23. 'the woman' (Teyrnnon) 167n204
 27.16-17, 'end -life of Pwyll' 272n417
 27.19-22. 'he conquered' 151n70
 27.24-26. 'Cigfa daughter of Gwynn'
 166n202, 329n803

PKM2

29.1-2. 'Bendigeidfran son of Llŷr'
 166n196, 370n80
 29.3. 'crown of London' 188n356
 30.20. 'Branwen daughter of Llŷr' 166n202
 30.29-31.1. 'Three Chief Forebears' 178n280
 31.6-10. Manawydan son of Llŷr 337n847
 31.16. 'Matholwch slept with Branwen.' 440n23
 32.2-4. 'horses. He sliced their lips' 159n153
 32.26-33 1. 'Three Chief [*Rieni*]' 178n284
 33.17-20. 'his honour-price' 204n244
 33.18-20 'silver rod and gold plate' 166n195
 38.20-22. 'this entire island' (war) 338n850
 43.21-23. 'unimaginable crime' 217n26
 45.2 'how they sat ... Branwen.' 169n230
 45.1-2. 'and bury it' 189n359
 45.2-4 'birds of Rhiannon singing' 384n180
 45.4-5 'head will be as good to you' 384n179
 45.16-17. 'Oh, Son of God' 439n15
 46.11-16 'three birds came' fullQ 407n116
 46.14. 'three birds came' 194n35, 384n180
 46.16 'far for them to see' (yet near) 409n128
 47.27-48.1. Ireland not a person was left alive'
 324n778
 48.17. Singing of Rhiannon's Birds,' 194n35

PKM3

49:7-8: "without a place except me.' 146n35
 49.11-12. '[Unassertive] Chieftains' 307n659
 49.17-20. 'I will give her, & authority'
 307n660, 341n872
 49.22. 'Cigfa - is my wife,' 330n809
 49.23-50.1. 'title to the realm is mine'
 307n660, 326n788
 50.3-4. 'best friendship' 307n662
 50.7-8. 'woman better at conversation' 191n1
 50.8-9. 'she was in her prime'
 273n429, 318n750

50.12-13. 'a feast prepared' 330n808
 50.15. Manawydan Rhiannon converse 194n36
 50.16-7. 'his heart & mind grew tender'
 191n1, 204n102
 50.20. 'What statement was that?' 194n37
 50.22-23. 'I will abide by that gladly'
 194n38, 341n873, 341n873
 50.26; 'he slept with her.' 169.220
 51.2-3. 'Caswallawn' 194n39, 320n752
 51.5-6. 'hunted it' 151n76
 51.7-9 'they had never seen a land' 151n75
 51.9-11. 'they began a circuit' 197n55
 51.9-11. 'friendship grew up' 197n55, 305n652
 51.14-16. 'and after he returned' 197n55
 51.17-18. 'feast in Arberth' 153n86
 51.17-18. 'Arberth - honour' 240n168
 51.20-21. 'Gorsedd Arberth.' 197n55
 51.22. 'they were sitting - tumult' 282n486
 51.26-52.3. 'no one could see anything'
 324n779
 52.4-6. 'Where is ...?' 308n666
 52.8. 'nothing but desolation.' 324n777
 52.10 'live off hunted meat, fish' 511n13
 52.12-16 'nothing but wild animals' 386n188
 55.3-4. 'long they were on the road- Dyfed'
 49n34, 309n677
 55.7-12. 'terrible, hair-raising fear' 309n677
 56.4-5 'caused the fort to be here.' 395n50
 56.4-6. 'We never saw this fort' 310n679
 56.23 'this is what Rhiannon did'
 58-59n88, 320n758
 (*Peniarth 6 until 'Alas, my lord'*)
 56.24. 'Where ... is your friend'
 195n40, 204n106
 56.26-27. 'a bad friend have you been'
 195n41, 321n759
 57.1-5. 'with that word, she went out' 48n30
 57.6-7. 'Alas, my lord' 195n42, 321n764
 57.7-10 'her hands stick to the basin' 386n189
 57.10-11. 'a great tumult' 282n486
 57.13-16. 'she lamented' 331n817
 57.20-22. 'keep trust with Pryderi'
 332n823, 336n839
 58.1-2. 'We lost our/ hounds' 154n93
 58.6. 'Take a clean one.' (craft) 333n826
 58.7-9. 'not acceptable' (craft) 333n826
 58.25-27. 'he used to hunt' 320n756
 59.6-7. 'seasons of the year' 273n430
 60.15-16. 'very fat one' (mouse) 345n901
 61.18-21. 'seven years before' 273n430
 61.2-5. 'it is unpleasant to see' 333n827

61. 5. 'Let it go.' (Cigfa) 333n828
61.7-9. 'keep discourtesy from you.' 334n829
62.17. 'well equipped horse' 158n145
62.5-6. 'Let it go.' (Scholar) 333n828
62.25 & 63.1. 'Let it go.' (Priest) 333n828
62.26-27 'I will (not)' 333n828
63.17 & 63.20. 'Let it go.' (Bishop) 333n828
64.2-65.2. 'no revenge' 326n792
64.5. "To pillage," said he. 188n346
64.6. 'the seven cantrefs of Dyfed' 326n790
64.7 -64.8. 'revenge for Gwawl'
236n149, 324n782
64.10. 'from lack of counsel' 236n150, 324n785
64.15. 'my wife' (Llwyd) 167n204
64.17. 'she was pregnant' 345n901
65.3. 'my wife' (Llwyd) 167n204
65.8. 'my wife' (Llwyd) 167n204
65.11. 'the most beautiful' 347n915
65.18-21. 'collars of asses' 327n793, 347n914
65.24. '*Mynweir a Mynord*' 514n31

End PKM quotes

PKM4

67.1-2. Math, Pryderi 351n936
67.1-3. 'Math son of Mathonwy' 155n101
67.1. 'lord of Gwynedd' 281n481
68.22-23. 'belong to?' (Pigs)
311n690, 372n91, 377n136
68.22-23. 'from Annwfn by Arawn' 370n78
68.27. 'in the guise of bards' 313n704, 316n722
69.21-24. 'compact -my country' 313n705
70.7-13. 'And he conjured up' 313n706, 389n9
70.17-18. 'make an exchange' 313n707
72.17. 'there was slaughter' 314n715
73.5. 'by magic' 351n937
73.14-16. 'by force of - magic' 314n717
74.16-18. 'wife, and I will place' 168n214
77.7. 'Arianrhod daughter of Dôn' 166n202
79.13-14 'a ship by magic' 389n9
82.6-7. 'he summoned his magic' 389n9
83.24. 'they produced by enchantment' 389n9

Geirfa/ Glossary

Composite drawn from GPC, Ellis, Thomson / online MW

Ford, *Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab*/**[1977]'The Adventure of the Mare and the Boy,'

See <https://www.mit.edu/~dfm/canol/chap04.html>

.....
ailt N. Welsh. – serf, *taeog* S. Welsh.

angheu [ModW. *angheuoI*] – mortal, deadly, fatal, lethal, destructive, dangerous; (GPC)

anglot – shame, dishonour, satire. cf. [clod](#).

anwybod ignorance, lack of knowledge, error, action committed in ignorance, imprudence, (GPC) Regarded as the same thing as impoliteness in mediaeval Wales. (Ellis p.6. n.12) Not knowing how to conduct oneself in a given situation. Christine James, personal comment (2014).

anryded – [ModW. *anrhydedd*] honour (also as title), esteem, respect, credit, accolade, glory, (GPC)

ansyberwyf [ModW. *ansyberwyd*] – discourtesy, impoliteness, incivility, rudeness, uncouthness, (GPC)

ansawd, [ModW. *ansawdd*] – quality, attribute, characteristic, essence, nature, constitution, (GPC)

anwybot [ModW. *anwybod1*] – ignorance, lack of knowledge; error, action committed in ignorance; (GPC) cf. [wybot](#)

araf – slow (of movement, process, work, &c.), gradual; slow (of road, lane, &c.); (GPC)

Arberth

archolleu (plur.) *archoll* – wound, cut, gash, hurt, injury, also fig. (GPC) cf. *kymriw*.

arglwyd [ModW. *arglwydd*] – lord, also as title, peer (of the realm), feudal lord; owner, proprietor

arglwydes [ModW. *arglwyddes*] – lady (female equivalent of lord), also as title, peeress, feudal lady, also fig. (GPC)

arglwydiaeth [ModW. *arglwyddiaeth, arglwyddiaeth*] – lordship, dominion, government, rule, authority, power, (GPC)

aruchel – (very) high, tall, lofty, elevated; exalted, supreme, splendid, majestic; sublime, noble. (GPC)

bali see [pali](#).

bechan (*uechan*) – little, small, minute, diminutive. (GPC) Ref. Rhiannon's 'little bag'.

bedestric, pedestric [ModW. *peddestrig, pedestrig*] (ability to) walk, a walking, gait, pedestrian, walker.

bedydd baptism.

blwydyn [ModW. *blwyddyn*] – year, solar year, calendar year, period of twelve months; (pl.) a long time, (GPC)

brenhin, urenhin [ModW. *brenin*] – king, sovereign, monarch, head of region, (GPC)

brenhin coronawc crowned king.

brenhines, urenhines – queen, also as title, (GPC)

bwyd – food, nourishment, meat, victuals, provisions. (GPC) **bwyta** [ModW. *bwytaf: bwyta, byta*] to eat. (GPC)

byd, byt – world, earth, globe; universe; planet or other heavenly body; often fig. of realm, sphere, &c. (GPC)

bynnac [ModW. *bynnag, bynna*] (who)soever, (what) soever. (GPC)

caer – fort, fortress, enclosed stronghold, castle, citadel, fortified town or city. (GPC)

cant, can – a hundred, a host; hundredweight; percentage.(GPC) cf. *cantref*.

cantref – *cant* – a hundred, a host; *tref* – town; town centre. / Unit of lordship' (Ellis p.4, n.3) and 'territorial division,

canwelw – pale white, whitish. (GPC)

caraf, caru – to love; woo, court. (GPC)

ceimad (*geimat*) Rhiannon exhorts Gwawl.

carw – deer, hart, stag, fig. of lord, nobleman, patron, &c. (GPC)

kerdet [ModW. *cerddaf: cerdded*] to walk, journey, travel, approach, traverse, march, go, move. (GPC)

charueidrwyd [ModW. *carueiddrwydd*] – love, affection, kindness.

chedymdeithon [ModW. *cedymdeith*] – fellow-traveller; accomplice; companion, associate, comrade, fellow;.(GPC)

cherdeu [ModW. *cerdd*] – song, poem; art of poetry; music; musical instrument. (GPC)

chyffes, cyffes, nghyffes – confession, acknowledgement, avowal, admission; profession of faith, declaration (GPC)

chyuedach [ModW.] – feast, banquet, merriment, carousal, revelry, dissipation, debauchery; companionship, company. (GPC)

ci – hound, sing. **cwn** plur.

cig – meat; flesh;

claerwyn, (claer+gwyn) – shining or brilliantly white, pure white, radiant; deathly pale, pallid (of complexion). (GPC)

clod – praise, fame, renown, reputation, honour; credit. (GPC) cf [anglot](#), shame.

clusteu [ModW. *clust*] – the ear, (GPC)

cochet, coch – red, ruddy, scarlet, bloody; ginger (of hair); brown. **cochyon, gochyon** – red-haired person.

coed, coet – forest, wood, trees; shrubs; timber, pieces of wood; sticks to support peas, beans, &c. (GPC)

corff, gorff – 2a. body; the trunk; bodice; corpse. (GPC)

corn, gorn – horn, antler; tentacle, antenna. (GPC) **chorn canu** – horn + *canu*, sing, call, = calling/ hunting horn.

coronawc [ModW. *coronaf: coroni*] to crown (a king, bard, &c.), cap. (GPC) cf. **brenhin coronawc**

crefft – craft

cwmwd – commote. Administrative unit of territory, two or more formed a *cantref*. See *cantref*.

cŵn, gwn – (*ci*, sing.) dog, hound, cur, often fig. (GPC)

cyfarwydd, gyuarwyd – well-informed, acquainted, familiar; learned, versed, expert, skilful, proficient; well-known; skilled in magic. 1. story-teller. 2. leader, guide; well-informed person, expert. (GPC)

cyfedach – carousal. After eating, a banquet moved to music, stories, and deep potation; (Ellis p.11, n.31)

cyfnewid exchange, sale same word used. (Ellis p.104, n. 14 see p. 102)

cyfranc, gyfranc – affair, incident, adventure; story (of battle), tale, narrative; conversation, discussion. (GPC)

cylch – circuit, tax progress.

Cymraeg Canol – Middle Welsh. (The modern name for the language of the Mabinogi.)

kymriw [ModW. *cymriw*] – bruise, wound. (GPC) cf. [archolleu](#)

kynnedyf – (ModW. *cynneddf*) – faculty, natural endowment; attribute, quality, peculiarity, characteristic; (GPC)

kyuoeth – [MW. *cyfoeth, cywoeth, cywaeth, cyweth*] – a. wealth, riches, opulence, affluence. (GPC)

cysgu, kysgu [ModW. *cysgu gan* (genthi, &c.), *cysgu gyda*] - to sleep with (her), cohabit, marry. (GPC)

cyntaf, kyntaf – b) first, foremost, chief, principal; pristine. (GPC)

kyuanned [ModW. *cyfannedd*] – dwelling-place, habitation, abode; inhabited or cultivated place; (GPC)

deu – [ModW. *dau*] – two; both; pair, couple. (GPC)

deccaf [ModW. *tecâf: tecáu*] to make or become fair or fine, beautify, adorn, decorate, embellish. (GPC) Used as an adjective, the superlative degree of '*teg*', fair, beautiful.

dewred [ModW. *dewredd*] – bravery, courage, valour, prowess, might. (GPC)

'Dial Duw arnaf – 'God's vengeance on me'

diarchenu, diarchenaf – undress, to take off one's boots or shoes. (GPC) Lit. to take off shoes.

Dioer – certain, doubtless, true, by heaven. (GPC)

doniad – a giving, a conferring or endowing, donation; grant.

Duw, duw – a) God, the Supreme Being, the Almighty, the Christian Trinity. c) god (sometimes goddess) of the Gentile or pagan religions, supernatural or superhuman being (GPC)

dyd [ModW. *dydd*] – day, time of daylight (GPC)

dylvedauc worthy one, noble.

eil [ModW. *ail*] – second (ordinal). (GPC)

eiroet [ModW. *erioed, eirioed, eiroed, &c.*] ever (in time past), from the beginning, (GPC)

eisted [ModW. *eisteddaf: eistedd, eiste*] to sit, be seated,; exercise judicial authority, &c., sit in judgement; be in session (of law-court, &c.); rest, be still; fit well, sit (of clothes, &c.). (GPC)

erchlas – dapple-grey (of horse); dark blue colour. (GPC)

erchwys, erwys – pack of hounds; hounds, greyhounds. (GPC)

etifedd offspring, legally heir of the body, lineal descendant in the male line. (Ellis p.31,n.78)

eureit [ModW. *euraid*] – gold, gold money or coin(s), wealth; gold (colour); gold(en). (GPC)

fawr, mawr.

fford – road, way, street, path, passage, course, route, journey; also fig. (GPC) cf. *prifford* – main road.

gan / can – white, shining, brilliant. b) white flour, bolted flour, flour; white bread, bread.

Ar y ganuet marchawc Idiom *Pwyll*. 100 horsemen.

gedymdeithas [ModW. *cydymaith, cydymddaith, cydymdaith*] see *geimat* see *ceimad*.

gerennydd [ModW. *carenyydd, cerennydd*] – kindred, kinship, relationship, descent, affinity; friendship, love, reconciliation; kinsman, relation. (GPC)

gochyon, see *cochyn*.

gormes – oppression by an alien race or conqueror, tyranny, violence, burden, vexation, plague, (GPC)

gorn – corn.

gorsedd, orssedd [ModW. *gorsedd*] – a) mound of earth, tump, knoll, hillock; barrow, tumulus, grave. b) throne c) judge's seat; assembly, gathering. throne of bishop, &c., on ceremonial occasions; chair; sovereign power and authority. c) court, hall, dwelling, place; court of law, judicial assembly, tribunal, session, judge's seat; assembly, gathering. (GPC)

gosked RB See *anasawd*.WB = identical. (Ellis p. 8, n. 18)

got [ModW. *cod*] – bag, pouch, sack, poke; scrotum; pocket, purse; pod, cod, husk; blister;. (GPC)

gwaith – work = any completed structure. (Ellis p. 85, n.26)

gwas 1 – boy, lad, stripling, youngster, young man, (GPC)
gwas ystafell – page of the chamber. Office listed in Welsh laws. (Ellis p. 8, n. 19)
guassanaeth – [ModW. *gwasanaeth*] – service, attendance, a ministering; office, duty, employment; homage; (GPC)
guely – [ModW. *gwely*] – bed (including bedstead, mattress and bedding); (GPC)
gwineu – [ModW. *gwinau*] – bay, reddish brown, auburn (of hair, eyebrows, &c.), chestnut (of horses), dark red, olive, swarthy, dark; mixed, cloudy (of weather). (GPC)
gwisc [ModW. *gwisg*] – dress, clothing, raiment, attire, apparel, garb, garment, robe; covering;
gwlat [ModW. *gwlad*] – country, fatherland, land, province, region, district, kingdom, realm, domain. (GPC)
gwled – ModW. *gwledd*] – feast, banquet, repast; (sometimes) carousal, revelry; sumptuous meal,
gwledig war chief.
gwr man, cf. Fr. *homme*. **gwrogaeth** – homage. Norman influenced. (Ellis p.13, n.37)
gwrda - good man. ... man of local influence and property. (Ellis p.12, n.33)
gwledychu [ModW. *gwladychaf, gwledychaf: gwladychu, gwledychu*] – to reign, govern, rule, settle (GPC)
gŵn see [cŵn](#).
gwnaf [ModW. *gwnaf: gwneuthur, gwneuthud, gwneuthu, gwneud*] b. to bring about, cause, inflict (GPC)
gwr [ModW. *gŵr*] – man, person, anyone); adult male human being (as distinct from woman or boy, (GPC)
gwreic, wreic, [ModW. *gwraig*] female human being, adult woman (sometimes appositionally to man. (GPC)
gwrogaeth – homage, allegiance, oath of allegiance, loyalty, fealty; submission, subjection; feudalism. (GPC)
gwrthpwythi - obstinacy,
gwybot, wybot [ModW. *gwybod, wydod 2.*] – knowledge, discretion, discernment, understanding, comprehension; information; courtesy, politeness, mannerliness; (GPC) cf. [anwybot](#) ignorance.
gwyn, wynnet (from *gwyn*) – white, greyish-white, pale; light, shining, bright; brilliant, white-hot; silver (usually of money); (GPC) **gwyn. gwen:** m/f. 'besides 'white,' it may mean 'respected, holy, felicitous, blessed,'
gwyrd – nobleman, peer, chief, lord; worthy man, good man, good fellow; hero.(GPC)
gwyrr, wyr – ModW **gŵr** – man, person, anyone (the plural form, in connection with a place-name, may sometimes denote 'people, inhabitants'); adult male human being (as distinct from woman or boy, lad, &c.); valiant warrior, brave man, hero.
gyfranc, cyfranc.
gyuarwyd see [cyfarwydd](#).
haf – summer, summer-time.
hawlwr – plaintiff; claimant, litigant, prosecutor, stipulator, agent; promoter; questioner; client. (GPC)
hela – [ModW. *heliaf, helaf: hel, hela, hely*] – to hunt, drive; chase, pursue, put to flight; send, dispatch.
heno – to-night, (on) this night. (GPC)
hob – pig, hog; obsolete at time of redaction. *hanner huch, hanner hob* – half-huch, half hob.
huch/hob. *hanner huch, hanner hob* – half-huch, half hob. *Hob* = pig, hog; obsolete at time of redaction.
hud/hut [ModW. *hud 1*] – magic, wizardry, sorcery, witchcraft, spell, enchantment, charm, fascination, allurement, persuasion, enticement; illusion, apparition; deceit(fulness), deception, delusion, wile, trick, ruse, simulation, dissimulation, legerdemain. (GPC)
hudlath, Math's wand
hyfaidd bold, daring, adventurous, dauntless, audacious. (GPC) root *baidd* – venture, challenge, daring, endeavour.
hen (GPC) old, aged; ancient, antique, pristine, former; inveterate, chronic; original; senior, elder.
iarll – earl, count, nobleman. (GPC) **iarll** of Scand. origin. Ref. feast n Annwfn. (Ellis p.10. n. 30)
K initial letter, replace with C.
ladaf [ModW.] – to bless, confer a gift upon. (GPC).
lannerch – a clearing, glade, oasis, pasture, court, empty space, patch, place, area, (GPC)
liw, lliw – colour, hue, tint. (GPC)
lwydannus [ModW. *llwyddiannus*] – successful, prosperous, prospering, thriving, fortunate, lucky,. (GPC)
lladdaf: lladd, †lladdu – to kill, put to death, slay, slaughter, murder,. (GPC)
llannerch clearing (Ellis p. 5, & n.7).
llathreit [ModW. – *llathraid*] – bright, brilliant, resplendent, glittering, shining, sheeny, glossy and smooth, sleek, straight (of hair); polished, burnished; fig. splendid, illustrious; perfected, refined. (GPC)
llawen – merry, jovial, glad, cheerful, happy, blithe, joyful, joyous, jubilant; (GPC)
lledf gentle, as a claimant. Tries to assuage a dispute. See Triad. (Ellis p.76, n.4) Contrast *hawlor*.
lloski burning or branding (maids fear). Not punishments in early Wales, practised by Normans. (Ellis p.32,n.81)
llu – host. Component of *teulu*. (Ellis p.9-10, n. 24) Distinct from *nifer* – retinue. (Ellis p.10, n. 27)
llwyf, llwyd, – grey, faint (of colour, light, &c.); pale, pallid, wan; russet, brown; turbid, muddy (of water). (GPC)

llys, court, palace, manor house, hall, imposing building, habitation of king, prince, nobleman; enclosed space. (GPC)
llys court (of judgement, tax) See *neuadd* – hall, *ystafell* private room.
makwyf, uakwyf. Plur. **akwyueit**. [ModW. *macwyf* 1., *macwyf*] – esquire, squire, page, youth, boy, (young) man, ?knight, ?lord; youth of the king's retinue; transf. of animal. (GPC)
maes, uaes – open country as opposed to woodland, expanse of open land, level land, plain; the country as opposed to the town, (GPC) **maestir** – open country, level open land, plain. (GPC)
march, uarch – horse, stallion, war-horse, steed. (GPC)
marchauc, uarchauc [ModW. *marchog* 1] – horseman, rider, jockey, mounted warrior, also fig.; nobleman in the (military) service of the king or of a lord; knight, military follower, usually of noble birth, ... (GPC)
Men of local position, heads of clans. Ordinary clansmen went into battle on foot, operating as mobile light infantry. Later in chivalric romance ... knight, Fr. *chevalier*; and *marchogaeth* meant chivalry. (Ellis pp. 5, n. 9)
marchogaeth – chivalry, later meaning in romances period when *marchawc* came to mean 'knight' (Ellis p. 5, 9)
marchoges, uarchoges – horsewoman, female (horse-) rider, also fig.; lady. (GPC)
mawr, fawr – large, big; fully grown; capital (of letter); heavy (of rain, snow, blow, &c.); deep (of water). (GPC)
milwraeth, uilwraeth [ModW. *milwriaeth, milwraeth*] – battle, war, warfare, bellicosity, (armed) force. (GPC)
morwyn, uorwyn – b) girl, young (unmarried) woman, maiden. (GPC)
medylyaw [ModW. *meddwl* a.] (a) thought, cogitation, meditation, judgement, opinion; intention, purpose; meaning, sense. (GPC)
neges – errand, mission, affair, matter, business, office, task; purpose, point; request, petition. (GPC) **neges**, Errand, message, business. Lat. *nece*. (Ellis p.20, n 56)
neuad – [ModW. *neuadd* 1.] – hall; hall (of residence), hostel; dwelling, residence, house of a king, noble, or landed proprietor, palace, mansion, court; (bibl.) courtyard; hall, main room of a castle, &c.; also fig. (GPC)
nifer – retinue. A host would be *llu*. (Ellis p.10, n. 27)
nos – night; evening; darkness (of the night); vigil (of religious festival, &c.); also fig. (GPC)
oed – 1. period of time, age. 2. appointment, tryst, assignation, 'date'. (GPC)
orymdaith, gorymdaith – procession; journey or a wandering; stay in a strange country; sojourn;. (GPC)
pali, bali – brocaded silk; sarsenet; satin; (dict.) fine linen, plush, velvet; also transf. (GPC) LOAN WORD
pawb – everyone, everybody, each one, every one, all. (GPC)
Pencerdd B4 Gwydion. Chief Of Song. Head minstrel of a mobile company of performers. (Ellis p. 103, n. 11)
penn [ModW. *pen*] head (of person or animal); also fig. (GPC)
Pendeuic. Pendefig [ModW. *tywysogion*] – chief, leader, ruler, king, prince, lord, nobleman, gentleman. (GPC) *Pendefig* is used only once in the Mabinogi, *Tywysog* never. Rulers are titled *arglwydd/es* except the one use of *pendefig*.
penyd – penance (voluntary or imposed), ... repentance, sorrow; atonement, expiation; punishment, pain, torment, torture, suffering, tribulation. (GPC)
prif, principal, prime, main, major, chief, head, foremost, supreme, best, (most) excellent, fine, great, special; (GPC)
prifford – highway, (main) road, street, path. (GPC) *prif*+ *fford*. **priflys**, a chief court. (GPC)
pryder – (cause of) anxiety, concern, distress, disquiet, fear, also fig. (GPC)
pryderaf – to be anxious (about), (cause to) worry (over), vex, fret, fear, hesitate; consider (seriously); repent. (GPC)
pryt – day. or *pwyt pry gilyd* Lit. 'from one day to the next'. *deugeinpryd* used for 40 days. (Ellis p. 105. n. 16)
pwyll – deliberation, consideration, care, caution; discretion, prudence, wisdom, patience, understanding, intelligence, perception, judgement, mind, wit(s), reason, (common) sense, sanity, also fig. (GPC)
rodi, rof [ModW. *rhoddaf, rhof1: rhoddi, rhoi1*] – to give (something concrete), bestow, grant, present, hand over, donate, impart, supply, provide, give (feast, &c.); transfer ownership of (land, possessions, &c.).(GPC)
a rodych blow, passive subj. so "one stroke that you give him" unsatisfactory. (Ellis p. 8)
ryt [ModW. *rhyd* 1] – ford, also fig; strait. (GPC)
Ryuedaut, ModW. **rhyfeddod**: strange or wonderful person or thing, wonder, marvel, prodigy, miracle; wonderfulness, tremendousness, remarkableness, singularity; wonderment, astonishment, surprise. (GPC) **rhyfedd**: strange, odd, unusual, extraordinary; wonderful, wondrous, marvellous; great, immense, extreme, excessive. (GPC)
rwttter – outrider, Norman French. (Ellis p. 94, n. 44)
rywedawt MW – marvel, wonder. [**rhyfeddod** ModW]
rhi – king, prince, lord, ruler, chieftain, also fig. (GPC) SEE
rhian -> **rhiaid** – (young) woman, girl, damsel, lass, maiden, virgin; queen, noble girl, lady.
rhiaid – regal, noble, aristocratic, dignified; (dict.) generous.
rhiant – parent; ancestor; elder; thing (e.g. plant) from which another is derived; hereditary.
rhieinaidd, rhieiniaidd, rhianaidd – pertaining to, befitting, or like a (?noble) young woman, feminine, effeminate, virgin(al), chaste.

rhieni – a) parents, also fig. b) forefathers, ancestors, forebears; lineal male ancestors within three generations, namely father, grandfather and great-grandfather (in the Welsh laws); predecessor. c) (close) family, kindred, tribe, clan, fellow-countrymen; sort, species, kind. d) descendants, offspring, issue, posterity, heirs. cf. **rhiant**.

rhodd cenedl – gift of kin [marriage]. (Ellis p.21, n.58)

rhy1 – too, over, excessively, extremely, very, greatly.

rhyfeddod – marvel, wonder. [**rywedawt** MW]

sarhaed, dishonour, compensation. A stag was equal to an ox, or two cows. 100 stags was 1,000 shillings. A clan chief's honour was 180 shillings. Pwyll -Arawn (Ellis p.7, n.14) not a fixed item on record but can be subject to neg., cf. Pwyll & Hafgan (Ellis p. 7. 14)

ssynnwyr [ModW. *synnwyr*] sense, wisdom, sensibleness, prudence, understanding, mental ability, reason, sanity; feeling, experience, opinion, consciousness, mind; also fig. (GPC)

taeog – serf, S. Welsh. *ailt* N. Welsh.

taran 1 / daran – thunder, thunderclap, thunderbolt, also transf. and fig. [Pendaran]

taw – silence, hush, quiet, peace; silent, quiet, calm. (GPC)

tei house, cf. *teulu* bodyguard, *tei + llu* host. (Ellis p. 9-10, n. 24)

teulu – b) bodyguard, household troops, war-band; host, crowd, people. (GPC) [Later] a) (nuclear or extended) family; tribe, nation; household; family (related group of persons, things, organisms, &c (GPC)

***teulu**, bodyguard (*tei* -house, *llu* -host) whole body of military retainers, owed no allegiance except directly to their lord, *arglwydd*.

teyrn – monarch, sovereign, king, prince, lord, ruler, leader, dictator, tyrant, also fig.; sovereign (adj.), royal.

thrannoeth –, ModW: *trannoeth* – (on) the following day, (on/ during) the next day, (on) the following morning, tomorrow;

a threigylgweith – ModW. **treiglwaith, treiglwaith**, once (upon a time), one time, on one occasion. Without childish connotation of English equivalent.

tir a daear ‘land and earth’, common legal phrase. ModW law, territorial rights. (Bollard p. 23, sidenote)

tormynnawc kyuoetuawc – not ‘rich in herds’ as the 1st word is not cattle but armed men. Archaic tradition measuring wealth in cattle. Ref. Gwawl's wealth. (Ellis p. 23, n. 63)

trawsgwyd bargaining, transaction (Ellis p. 104, n. 15) (B4) Gwydion & Pryderi, cf. *cyfnewid* exchange, sale same word used. (Ellis p.104, n. 14) cf. *amod* B4. Contract made without sureties. (Ellis p. 103, n.12)

tref settlement (Ellis p. 29, n.73)

troedig, ‘foot-holder’ Venedotian Laws, male office, re Goewin.

trydyd [ModW. *trydydd*] – third.

twrwf GPC. *twrf, twrw* ‘(loud) noise, din, clamour, roar, uproar, tumult, commotion, disturbance, quarrel, trouble, also fig.; (esp. in pl. ‘tyrfau’) thunder.’

tynged – destiny, fate, lot; prophecy, prediction, fortune (GPC)

tynnu to pull off. See *dynnu*.

uaes, maes.

uaranned provisions, victuals, food supplies. (Ellis p. 22, n. 61)

uarch, march.

un – one; single, individual, only, sole; unique, special; united, combined. (GPC)

unben – [general term for any sole ruler] dictator, (absolute) monarch, supreme head, autocrat, tyrant, despot; chief(tain), nobleman, prince, lord (paramount), king, monarch, sovereign, emperor. (GPC) **Unben** ‘chieftain’ polite form of address used in MW prose tales (Bollard p. 20, sidenote) See *Arglydd*.

urenhines see [brenhines](#).

wrthpwythi [ModW. *gwrthbwythi*] – obstinacy; contrariness. (GPC)

wynebwerth, WB . **wynebwarth**, RB. face shame, face value. (Ellis p. 50, n.21) Ref. Bran-Matholwch

ymborth – food, nourishment, provender, sustenance, also fig.; fodder, forage. (GPC)

ymdialwyf [MW. *dialaf: dial, diala, dialu*] – to avenge; revenge, act revengefully, wreak vengeance, retaliate. (GPC)

ymdidan [ModW. *ymddiddan*] – to talk (to one another), speak, converse, chat, also fig. (GPC)

yniueroed – (archaic) host, large number; wealth, treasure, profit, also fig.

ysgolhaig - minor cleric generally, not students at Oxford. (Ellis p. 92)

ystafell as in *gwas ystafell* page of the (private chamber) (Ellis p. 8, n. 19)

ystell – private room, chamber. **neuadd** – hall, the general public room of audience. (Ellis p.9. n.22) *gwas ystafell* – page of the chamber. Office listed in Welsh laws. *Pwyll*. (Ellis p. 8, n.19)

Byrfoddau/ Abbreviations

Publications' refs. are given in short form, see Bibliography for full data.

approx.	approximately
b.	born
BBCS	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i> (journal est. 1922)
Bibliog.	Bibliography
Biog.	Biography
Bollard 'Structure'	Bollard. 1974. 'The Structure of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi'
Bollard, Landscape	Bollard. ed., trans. 2006. <i>The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales</i>
c.	Lat. 'circa', about, approximately, usually a date.
Celtic Encyc.	<i>Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia</i> (2006)
cf.	Lat. <i>confer/ conferatur</i> , 'compare'
CMCS	<i>Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies</i>
cont.	continued
CUP	Cambridge University Press
Cyfranc	See Ford, <i>Cyfranc</i>
Cymm.	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion</i> (Society and journal)
d.	died
DIAS	<i>Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies</i>
ÉC	<i>Études Celtiques</i>
ed./ eds.	editor/ edited by, plur. editors/ edited by
edn.	edition
e.g.	Lat. <i>exempli gratia</i> , 'for the sake of an example', commonly 'example given'
EJones	Edward Jones
esp.	especially
est.	established/ founded
etc.	Lat. <i>et cetera</i> , lit. 'and the others', meaning 'and so on'
etym.	etymology
ff.	and following
Ford, Cyfranc	<i>Cyfranc Caseg a'r Mab</i> / 'The Adventure of the Mare and the Boy' From his Intro. to his 1977 <i>Welsh Tales</i> .
Ford, Welsh Tales	Ford (ed., trans), <i>The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales</i> (1977)
Gk.	Greek
GPC	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru/ A Dictionary of the Welsh Language</i> (UWP)
Guest	Charlotte Guest/ Lady Charlotte Guest (for husband see JJG)
Gwenogfryn	John Gwenogwryn Evans
Gwenogvryn	John Gwenogvryn Evans
HoG	<i>House of the Goddess</i> (publisher)
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	Lat. <i>id est</i> , lit. 'that is', meaning 'in other words'
Illust.	Illustrated/ Illustrated by
Iolo	Iolo Morganwg, bardic name of Edward Williams
Ir.	Irish
lit.	literally
JJG	John Josiah Guest (note he reversed the order of his first names)
JKB	John K. Bollard, ed., trans. 2006. <i>Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales</i>
Jones and Jones	Jones and Jones. ed., trans. 1949. <i>The Mabinogion</i>
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literally
m.	married
mabinogi	Tale of a named person and their kindred
Mabinogi	The Mabinogi/ The Four Branches of the Mabinogi/ PKM
Mabinogion	<i>The Mabinogion</i>

(Default trans.)

	(11 or 12 mediaeval Welsh prose tales published as a group, incl. the Mabinogi)
ModW	Modern Welsh
MS./MSS.	manuscript, plur. manuscripts
MW	Middle Welsh
Myv.	<i>Myvyrian Archaiology</i> (1801-07)
NLW	<i>Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru</i> , National Library of Wales
NLWJ	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
no.	Lat. <i>numero</i> , 'number'
orig.	originally
PKM	Ifor Williams. 1930. <i>Pedair Kainc y Mabinogi</i> (Default MW source text)
PKM1	First Branch.
PKM2	Second Branch.
PKM3	Third Branch.
PKM4	Fourth Branch.
plur.	plural
publ.	published / published by
Pwyll I	PKM1 1.1–8.26 (Pwyll in Annwfn)
Pwyll II	PKM1 8.27–19.18 (Pwyll Rhiannon courtship, weddings, up to/ incl. joint rule)
Pwyll III	PKM1 19.18–27.27 (Pwyll Rhiannon parents, Teyrnnon, Pryderi' marriage)
ref.	reference, with reference to
Rep.	Reprinted
RhDavies	Rhiannon Davies
SDavies	Sioned Davies
(sic)	Lat. 'thus', alerting an error in the original source, not by the current author.
sing.	singular
SM	Shân Morgain (until 2007 'Shan Jayran' also for HoG publications 'Shan' only)
Sullivan anthology	Sullivan. 1996. <i>Mabinogi Essays</i>
Sullivan, Essays	Sullivan. 1996. <i>Mabinogi Essays</i>
trans.	translated/ translated by
TYP	Rachel Bromwich. 1961. <i>Trioedd Ynys Prydein</i>
UWP	University of Wales Press
Valente, 'Merched'	Valente, 'Merched y Mabinogi' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1986)
viz.	Lat. <i>videre licet</i> / it is permitted to see, 'namely'.
vol./ vols.	volume/ volumes
WJG	William John Gruffydd
WJG, Rhiannon	William John Gruffydd. 1953. <i>Rhiannon: An Inquiry into the Origin of the First and Third Branches</i>
William Owen [Pughe]	William Owen Pughe, until 1806 'William Owen'
ZCP	<i>Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie</i> (Journal)