Dreams in Medieval Welsh Literature

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SUMMARY

This study examines dreams found in medieval Welsh literature from c. 1100 to c. 1550. The scope of the research covers secular and religious prose and poetry of the period. The purpose of this study is to provide an insight into dream literature in medieval Welsh by analysing the various functions of dreams in different types of texts in relation to the narratives and genres.

Chapter 1 lays out the conceptual and methodological framework necessary for analyses in the subsequent chapters, and maps out the European context of medieval Welsh dream literature. Chapters 2 examines dreams in medieval Welsh prose, including the two 'breuddwyd' texts of the Mabinogion and three texts belonging to the genre of *areithiau pros*. Chapter 3 examines dreams in medieval Welsh secular poetry. Chapter 4 examines dreams in medieval Welsh religious writings, including hagiographies and anti-hagiographies, apocalyptic and mystic visions. Finally, a conclusion summarises the roles that dreams play in different textual contexts within the field of medieval Welsh literature, and in which I argue that 'breuddwyd' does not constitue a specific genre; instead, working within the various contexts and genres in which Welsh texts containing dreams are situated, the dreams play an essential and dynamic part in the formation of the plot, world-building, liminality, as well as have the capacity for revealing many interesting features of the text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

> Breuduid a uelun neithiwr
>
> ys celuit ae dehoglho
>
> Ny ritreithir y reuit
>
> nis guibit ar nuy guelho.
>
> (I had [lit. saw] a dream last night, / it is a skilled man who may interpret it. / Its lasciviousness cannot be related, / whoever has not seen it will not know it.)[1]

This is the beginning of a poem, probably from the twelfth century, found in the Black Book of Carmarthen, the earliest manuscript of medieval Welsh poetry. Apart from the challenges posed by the orthography, the distance of nine centuries does not seem to hinder our understanding of the human experience conveyed by these lines: the poet has had an erotic dream; it is known to him and to him alone, and somehow it puzzles him; he wishes to understand the meaning of the dream, to have it interpreted, either by himself or by someone skilled in interpreting dreams. Our ability to understand comments about dreams written centuries ago comes ultimately from our own experience of dreaming, an activity that happens regularly to many of us while we sleep.

Whereas modern neuroscience and sleep studies have revealed much about what our brain is doing while we dream, confirming that dreaming is a cognitive activity

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[1] Transcription and translation by Myriah Williams, "Ys celuit ae dehoglho. Interpreting a dream?" *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* 1 (2017), 121-50 (142-43). A detailed discussion of the poem will be given in Chapter 3.1. It is worth nothing that an interpreter of a dream need not be masculine; we see for example in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem 'Y Breuddwyd' that the interpreter of the dream is a woman (see my discussion in Chapter 3.31). Therefore, it might be more adequate to translate the second line as 'it is a skilled one/person who may interpret it'.

occurring during sleep,[2] they tell us nothing about dreams themselves—what exactly do dreams consist of, who or what appears in dreams, how do dreamers perceive the lapse of time and the perception of space in their dreams, and so on. A dream remains a personal and private experience inaccessible to others until it is related to someone else or written down; in other words, there is no way for others to learn about the content of the dream until it is narrated. The connection between dream and narration is already present when we read about dreams in literary works. Therefore, the terms 'dream narrative' and 'literary dream' are used in this thesis to refer to literary texts that tell a story, with either the story containing a dream or the story itself occurring within a dream.

The study of medieval dream narratives is not in itself a new field; scholarly works on the subject have been published for decades, and academic interest in this research area continues to develop.[3] Some scholars have focussed on a particular European literary tradition, while others take a more comparative approach. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that there has not been a study dedicated to medieval Welsh texts that recount dreams. This thesis intends to address the issue and explore the rich corpus of medieval Welsh dream narratives, contributing a valuable piece to the jigsaw puzzle of medieval European dream literature.

Texts recorded in medieval Welsh manuscripts do not often include titles; yet the term 'breuddwyd' (dream) does sometimes appear in the title of medieval Welsh

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[2] Dreaming is described as a phenomenon occurring during the stage of REM (Rapid Eye Movement) sleep, when there are detectable changes of brain activity indicating that one is dreaming. See for example Harry T. Hunt, 'Dreams as literature/science of dreams: An essay', *Dreaming: Journal of the Association for the Study of Dreams* 1(3) (1991), 235-42; Calvin Hall, 'A cognitive theory of dreams', *The Journal of General Psychology* 49 (1953), 273-82; J. Allan Hobson, *The Dreaming Brain* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), especially Part III.
[3] See Chapters 1.3 and 1.4 for more detailed discussion of the scholarship in this research area.

texts. This encourages us to ask whether medieval Welsh texts that recount a *breuddwyd* constitute a specific genre? In medieval English literature, for example, 'dream-vision' is indeed recognised as a genre with identifiable distinctive stylistic and thematic features.[4] Can a definition be similarly established for medieval Welsh dream narratives? Or do these texts belong to a variety of different genres, and if so, to what genres? Furthermore, what is the function of the dream in the various texts, what is its purpose, and what is the relationship between the author and the audience in each text? By examining dream narratives in medieval Welsh literature with the assistance of genre theory, this thesis seeks to answer these questions, as well as highlight aspects that might also be of interest to researchers in fields beyond that of medieval literature, such as literary 'world-building' and intertextuality.

Genre theory has the innate advantage of being an inter-disciplinary area of research. We can speak not only of the genre of a literary text, but that of a painting, a film, a news report, a drama, for example, in which the dynamic between the participants in the creation and the understanding of the work is more easily recognised. We need not, however, be discouraged by the fact that written texts are in most cases all that is available to researchers of medieval literature. The reason is that texts are not, as some structuralists might claim, autonomous objects whose value for analysis lies entirely in their structural features and semantic relations with each other, nor, as the New Critics might argue, that meaning is immanent to the text and that the aesthetic values are self-contained, only waiting to be revealed via close reading.[5] On the contrary, as I will argue in Chapter 1, static as the written texts seem, a text

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[4] For a detailed discussion of the 'dream-vision' genre see Chapter 1.4.

[5] For a detailed discussion of the main arguments of the New Criticism and Structuralism, see for example, Raman Selden, Peter Widdowson, and Peter Brooker, *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory* (Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 1st edn. 1985; 5th edn. 2005), pp. 18-23 and pp. 67-72.

participates in an interactive engagement the moment it comes into contact with the reader. By analysing texts in the course of this thesis, I hope to show that in most cases the author invites the reader to play his or her part in the realisation of the potentials by making use of his or her imagination and pre-existing knowledge base and by following the clues given by the author in the text, thereby jointly constructing an imaginary world of the dream. An audience is always intended in the text, and the understanding of the dream narrative is complete only with the response and co-operation of the reader. The role of the reader or the audience will be a point constantly referred to throughout the analyses of the texts in this thesis.

The details of the methodology applied in this thesis will be laid out in Chapter 1. The aim of this Introduction is to discuss several elements that will support the analyses in the main chapters, elements that do not in themselves occupy the central stage in this study, yet they are of immediate relevance to our analyses.

a.   Time-frame

The texts considered in this thesis may be dated between c. 1100 and c. 1550. These dates are based on the dates of the texts themselves or the dates of the manuscripts; in some cases specific dates of compositions are difficult to ascertain. In poetry ascribed to named poets, we are generally able to estimate their *floruits*, even if it is not possible to know the composition date of every single poem; thus we are often able to date poetry with a relatively high level of accuracy. It is generally more difficult to date prose texts, as their authorship often remains unknown. We thus have to depend on the dates of the manuscripts as *termini ante quem* for the texts. The date c. 1100 marks the beginning of the century during which 'Breuddwyd

Gwalchmai', the earliest Welsh poem with a known author that refers to a dream, was likely to have been composed,[6] while the date c. 1550 marks the end of the medieval period and the beginning of the Welsh Renaissance (Y Dadeni Dysg).

b.   Vocabulary

Middle Welsh has a relatively fixed vocabulary consisting of several terms related to dreams and sleep, consisting of nouns, verbs, and a few phrases. The most common word for 'dream' in Middle Welsh is 'breuddwyd'. The etymology of the word 'breuddwyd', however, is not clear. Its first appearance in a manuscript was recorded as 'breuduid' in a poem in Peniarth MS 1, known as the Book of Taliesin, dated to c. 1250. In Welsh manuscripts of later centuries it is most often spelt as 'breudwyt', already very similar to its spelling in modern Welsh. When describing the experience of having a dream, the expression in Middle Welsh is always 'gweld breuddwyd', as in for example the description of the occurrence of the dream in *Breuddwyd Maxen*: 'ac ena e gwelei vreudwyt. Sef breuduyt a welei [...]' [Then he saw a dream. The dream that he saw was...].[7] The expression often found in modern Welsh, namely, 'cael breuddwyd', is not seen in medieval Welsh dream literature. The most obvious explanation for the absence of other expressions is that 'gweld breuddwyd' is an idiomatic use of the language, but we may also infer that in the context of medieval Welsh, the dream may have been regarded primarily as a visual experience. In 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall', for example, the word 'gweld' (to see) appears together with 'nos'

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[6] See my discussion of the poem in Chapter 3.2 for more details.
[7] Brynley F. Roberts, ed., *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 2005), p. 1, lines 18-19. *Breuddwyd Maxen* will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.1. Note that here I have given a very literal translation to emphasise the term 'gweld breuddwyd'; it would normally be translated as 'Then he had a dream. The dream that he had was...'.

(night) and 'huno' (to sleep).[8] In most medieval Welsh dream narratives, the dream occurs during the night, and a dream always occurs when one is asleep. Also the verb 'breuddwydio' (to dream) cognate to the noun 'breuddwyd' (dream), and 'golwg' (vision) are found in the same poem, affirming a connection between dreaming and seeing.[9] *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* alone stands as the exception in that it uses the term 'drych' for a dream.[10]

The term 'huno' mentioned above is the verb form of 'hun', which together with 'cysgu' ('cwsg' is the noun) mean 'to sleep'. 'Cwsg', according to *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, is first attested in the fourteenth century in the poem 'Y Cloc' by Dafydd ap Gwilym: 'Bryd *cwsg* dyn, a bradw y'i caid' [When my mind is asleep (and broken was [the sleep] I had)],[11] whereas 'hun' appears earlier in written form, found for the first time in the Black Book of Carmarthen (c. 1250), and covers a broader meaning including 'sleep, slumber, nap, drowsiness, rest', and even figuratively 'death'.[12] In a few cases in our discussion of medieval Welsh dream literature, we shall see that 'hun' appears in a compound form, usually with its meaning modified by the prefix, such as 'dargwsg', which is found in the poem 'Y Breuddwyd',[13] and 'marwhun', in *Ymborth yr Enaid*.[14] The phrase 'trwy y hun' (in/through one's sleep) is one of the most frequently used expressions to describe the occurrence of a dream in Middle Welsh. The equivalent expression 'yn y

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[8] Lines 1-4 of the poem. About the poem, see my discussion in Chapter 3.4.

[9] The verb 'breuddwydio' is also found in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem 'Gwawd Morfudd' (Morfudd's Mockery, dafyddapgwilym.net, poem number 106, line 41), but there its meaning is closer to imagining something unrealistic, and not having a dream as one is asleep. That poem is not a dream narrative, and is not included in this study.

[10] See my discussion of the text in Chapter 2.2.

[11] 'Y Cloc', dafyddapgwilym.net, poem number 64, line 11 <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm> [accessed 11 December 2020].

[12] For 'cwsg' and 'hun', see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 07 July 2019].

[13] See my discussion in Chapter 3.3.1.

[14] See my discussion in Chapter 4.4.

gwsg/chwsg' (in one's sleep), however, is rarely found in medieval Welsh dream narratives and other medieval Welsh texts containing dreams; it is testified only on two occasions.[15] The term 'cyntun', meaning 'the first sleep', is also found in two of the dream narratives discussed in this thesis.[16]

This section summarises the fairly limited vocabulary related to dreams and dreaming in Middle Welsh. Although limited, in most cases they fulfil the function of identifying the type of the experience and avoiding confusion. Cases of unusual terms and usage of the vocabulary dream and sleep will be discussed separately in our study of the individual Welsh dream narratives.

c.   Corpus

In this section we give an overview of medieval Welsh dream literature, from which texts for further examinations in Chapters 2 to 4 are selected, divided into secular prose, secular verse, and religious writings according to their formal structure and thematic contents. The Welsh corpus of dream narratives may initially seem small compared to some other medieval languages, yet with a little scrutiny medieval Welsh literature can prove to be a productive field. For example, if the term 'breuddwyd' appears in the title of a text, it indicates a fair chance that the content of the text may contain a dream. The appearance of other terms related to sleep such as 'cwsg' and 'hun', or their verbal forms 'cysgu' and 'huno', can also be followed as a clue to help identity possible references to dreams in the text.

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[15] See my discussion of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* in Chapter 2.3.2.
[16] See my discussion of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* in Chapter 2.3.1 and of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* in Chapter 2.3.3.

Like many other western European literary traditions in the Middle Ages, there exist texts that were originally composed in the vernacular, and also texts that were translated or adapted from other languages. What may be called 'native' dream texts in medieval Welsh literature consist of original texts composed in Welsh; some such texts contain the term 'breuddwyd' in their titles, for example, *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, although we need to bear in mind that some dream narratives do not have the word 'breuddwyd' in their title and may not even have a title at all in the manuscript, as is the case in some of the poems to be discussed in Chapter 3 and most of the religious prose to be discussed in Chapter 4.

Translated literature accounts for most dream texts preserved in medieval Welsh. This is hardly surprising for medieval Wales, though perhaps geographically peripheral as regards the medieval western European world-view reflected in its cartography which placed Jerusalem at the centre of the known world, was far from an isolated region cut off from the rest of Europe.[17] Contacts and cultural exchanges with England and the continent developed via individuals in war, trade, pilgrimage and a number of other activities continued throughout the Middle Ages for the Welsh.[18] A natural result of these contacts and exchanges was the introduction of a range of popular continental European literary texts, both religious and secular, to medieval Wales.

The distinction between 'native' and translated texts is no doubt somewhat artificial, and it is not always possible to be certain if a text is best understood as a translation

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[17] For medieval western European thoughts of cartography, see for example Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001; reprint 2003).
[18] For a brief survey of the connection between medieval Wales and the rest of Europe, see for example, A. D. Carr, 'Inside the Tent Looking Out: The Medieval Welsh World-View', in R. R. Davies and Geraint Jenkins, eds., *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), pp. 30-44.

or an original composition, as for instance in the case of *Ymborth yr Enaid*. Diana Luft has pointed out that modern classification of texts often implies a superiority in status of 'native' texts over the translated literature that certainly did not exist in the Middle Ages.[19] Because of the official status of Latin as the *lingua franca* of the Church in western Europe in the Middle Ages, and the interaction between ecclesiastical institutions in different countries, it is more natural to regard medieval Welsh religious writing as a part of an overarching tradition of medieval European religious literature that bestows a unified style on writings in vernacular languages, modelled on Latin. Medieval secular literature, on the other hand, allows for vernacular languages to develop distinctive characteristics. It is, therefore, not only possible but reasonable to differentiate when analysing 'native' and translated works. This thesis will focus on the so-called 'native' Welsh dream narratives and analyse every single text in this group, whereas of the 'translated' dream literature, only those of a religious nature will be analysed individually in Chapter 4, and a summary of the other translated dream literature will be given here in this section. For convenience of discussion I will divide the texts according to their thematic contents, following roughly the three 'Matters' described by the twelfth-century poet Jean Bodel, namely, the Matter of France that relates the deeds of Charlemagne; the Matter of Britain that deals with the legendary history of Britain and stories of King Arthur and his knights; and the Matter of Rome that contains material derived from classical mythology.[20]

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[19] Diana Luft, 'Tracking *ôl cyfieithu*: Medieval Welsh Translation in Criticism and Scholarship', *Translation Studies* 9 (2016), 168-82.

[20] Bodel mentions in his poem *Chanson de Saisne* that '*Ne sont que III matières à nul homme atandant, / De France et de Bretaigne, et de Rome la grant.* [There are but three matters that no man should be without, / That of France, of Britain, and of great Rome.] See Christian Bratu, 'Literature', in Albrecht Classen, ed., *Handbook of Medieval Culture:*

With regards to the Matter of France, a collection of four stories related to Charlemagne the Great as a literary character, known as the Charlemagne cycle, was introduced into Wales in the thirteenth century.[21] Conventionally, the four stories constituting the Welsh Charlemagne cycle are: *Cronicl Turpin*, translated from the Latin *Historia Caroli Magni et Rotholandi* (History of Charlemagne the Great and Roland), sometimes also called the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*; *Cân Rolant* translated from the Old French *La chanson de Roland* (The Song of Roland); *Pererindod Siarlymaen*, translated from Old French *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne);[22] and *Rhamant Otuel*, translated from Old French *Chanson de Otuel* or *Otinel*.[23] These stories, loosely related to each other in respect of characters, timeline, themes and so on, often appear as a group in medieval Welsh manuscripts, the earliest of which can be dated to the mid-thirteenth century.[24] The Welsh Charlemagne cycle as a whole has not been critically studied by any scholar to date, and there has not been an edition of the complete cycle since Stephen J. Williams's 1930 edition. *Cân Rolant*, however, was edited, translated and meticulously studied by Annalee Rejhon in her work *Cân Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland*, published in 1983.[25] It is also studied with the focus on the process of translation and transmission by Luciana Russo in her 2014

Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages, 3 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), vol. 2, pp. 864-900 (p. 893).

[21] Stephen J. Williams, ed., *Ystorya de Carolo Magno* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1930; reprint 1968), pp. xxix-xl.

[22] The work is also known as *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople* (Voyage of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople).

[23] These titles are used by Stephen J. Williams in his edition of the Jesus College MS 111 (the Red Book of Hergest) text of the Welsh Charlemagne cycle, and are not found in the manuscript itself.

[24] For a detailed list of the Welsh manuscripts, see Analee Rejhon, *Cân Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 2-21.

[25] Annalee Rejhon, *Cân Rolant: The Medieval Welsh Version of the Song of Roland* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1983).

article 'Translational procedures in *Cân Rolant*, the Middle Welsh translation of *La chanson de Roland*'.[26]

Dreams do not feature heavily in the Welsh Charlemagne cycle. No dreams are found in *Pererindod Siarlymaen* or in *Rhamant Otuel*, and there is only one dream in *Cronicl Turpin*. Appearing at the beginning of the story, it recounts that Charlemagne, tired of conquering lands and waging wars, is thinking of retiring from his military life and rule in peace, yet the divination of the stars says otherwise. A dream occurs to Charlemagne as he is pondering what the positions of the stars may signify, in which St James (*Iago Ebostol* in Welsh) appears to him and urges him to liberate the lands currently occupied by the Saracens, as far as Galicia. Thereupon Charlemagne sets out to conquer Spain.[27]

The only story in the Charlemagne cycle in which dreams play a relatively significant role is *Cân Rolant*. Charlemagne has two dreams on a night when Count Ganelon, Roland's stepfather, has secretly betrayed Roland and Charlemagne.

In the first dream Charlemagne goes to sleep when the day has passed and the night has come, and he dreams that he is holding his lance in his hand. Then Ganelon seizes it from his grasp and breaks it into pieces so that the splinters fly up into the sky.[28] The first dream troubles Charlemagne, but he does not wake up. He sleeps on

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[26] Luciana Russo, 'Translational procedures in *Cân Rolant*, the Middle Welsh translation of *La chanson de Roland*', *Brathair* 14 (2014), 109-28(110).

[27] Stephen Williams ed., *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, pp. 1-2.

[28] *La chanson de Roland*, *laisse* 56, lines 717-724. A *laisse* is the name for a stanza in *chansons de geste*. See Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 23. As Gaunt and Kay point out, there are seven known versions of *La chanson de Roland*. The *laisse* and line numbers quoted here are from the so-called Oxford *Roland* version, preserved in Oxford Bodleian Library Digby MS 23. For an edition of the Oxford *Roland*, see for example, T. Atkinson Jenkins, ed., *La Chanson de Roland: Oxford Version* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1924); for an English translation of the Oxford *Roland*, see for

and has a second dream. In this second dream it seems to Charlemagne that he is in his chapel at Aix in France, and his right arm is being bitten by a ferocious boar. From the direction of Ardennes comes a leopard and joins the attack. Then a hound leaps from within the hall of the chapel and comes to Charlemagne's succour, fighting with the boar and the leopard. He does not know which side will prevail. He sleeps on after having the second dream until the break of dawn.[29]

Both dreams, as evident from the synopsis, are symbolic and prognostic dreams. In the French *La chanson de Roland*, Charlemagne has two further animal symbol dreams after he has found that Roland and his companions are all dead, but only the first two dreams are translated into the Welsh *Cân Rolant*, which is not a complete medieval Welsh translation of *La chanson de Roland*, but a partial one. When translating the text into Welsh, the translator or redactor replaced the description of the battle of Roncevaux in *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* with part of *La chanson de Roland*, and switched back to the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* text before describing the death of Roland, and the omission of the two dreams is a result of such selective translation and adaptation.

Two further texts that do not belong to the Matter of France itself but are distantly related to stories of Charlemagne and are often classified as medieval romances also contain dreams and have medieval Welsh translations in which the dreams are preserved.

The story of Boeve de Haumtone (Bevis of Hampton in English) was a popular tale in medieval Europe and exists in three continental French and three Anglo-Norman

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example, Gerard J. Brault, *The Song of Roland: Oxford text and English Translation*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003; reprint 2010).
[29] *La chanson de Roland, laisse* 57, lines 725-736.

texts.[30] The Anglo-Norman version, known as *Geste de Boeve de Haumtone*, dated to late twelfth century,[31] has been identified as the source of the Welsh *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn* (Story of Bown of Hampton), although textual comparison has also revealed that no single extant manuscript is the direct source of *Bown*; it is more correct, therefore, to see *Bown* as a Middle Welsh adaption of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve* rather than a direct translation of it.[32] The Welsh Bown appears in Peniarth 5 (part of the White Book of Rhydderch, c. 1350), following the Medieval Welsh Charlemagne cycle discussed above, marking the end of a section of translated continental tales.[33] Dreams do not play a central role in the story; two dreams occur but they are not dreamt by the hero of the tale, but rather by his instructor Sabaoth. Both are similar in nature in that Sabaoth dreams of something terrible happening to Bown, he tells his wife about his dream upon waking up, his wife interprets the meaning of the dream as Bown having lost either his wife or his horse, and Sabaoth sets off to find Bown and to help him.[34] The dream thus moves the plot of the narrative forward by providing Sabaoth with a motive upon which to act and become helper to the hero.

The tale of an ideal friendship between two friends, called Amicus and Amelius in Latin, Ami and Amile in Old French, Amis and Amilun in Anglo-Norman, Amis and

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[30] Erich Poppe and Regine Reck, 'A French Romance in Wales: *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn*. Processes of Medieval Translations', part 1, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 55 (2006), 122-80 (124-25).

[31] For a detailed discussion of the date, see Judith Weiss, 'The date of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*', *Medium Ævum* 55 (1986), 237-41.

[32] For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the Anglo-Norman and Welsh versions, see Morgan Watkins, ed., *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958), pp. lix-c.

[33] Erich Poppe and Regine Reck, 'Rewriting Bevis in Wales and Ireland', in Jennifer Fellows and Ivana Djordjević, eds., *Sir Bevis of Hampton in Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), pp. 37-50 (p. 38).

[34] For the Anglo-Norman version of the text, see *Boeve, laisse* clxxv, lines 2731-43 and , *laisse* cxcii, lines 3436-2445; in Albert Stimming, ed., *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1899), p. 96 and p. 116. For the edited text of the Welsh version, see Watkins, ed., *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn*, p. 49.3163-3177 and p. 60.3905-3918.

Amiloun in Middle English, and Amlyn and Amic/Amig in Middle Welsh, was another tale popular across western Europe.[35] The Middle Welsh version of the tale was known as *Cydymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic* (The Companionship of Amlyn and Amic). It possibly used the twelfth-century Latin prose version *Vita Sanctorum Amici et Amelii carissimorum* as its immediate source, but it is not a word-for-word translation of the Latin version.[36] It contains one dream at the beginning of the story: Amlyn's father dreams that the Pope of Rome is baptising boys at the time his wife is pregnant. He wakes up and relates his dream to his noblemen who interpret the dream as an auspicious one regarding his unborn son and advise him to go to Rome.[37] There follows the meeting of the families of Amlyn and Amic in Rome, from which point the fate of the two main characters intertwine. The function of the dream here is clearly to provide an initiative for the main characters to be brought onto the stage, and is therefore ancillary to the plot of the narrative.

Turning to the Matter of Britain, there are *Brut y Brenhinedd* (Brut of the Kings) and *Y Seint Greal* (The Holy Grail). *Brut y Brenhinedd* is the Middle Welsh translation of *Historia Regum Britanniae* (The History of the Kings of Britain), written by Geoffrey of Monmouth around 1136 in Latin, translated into Welsh by the mid-thirteenth century, as reflected in its manuscript history.[38] There are two dream

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[35] For a discussion of this friendship, see David Clark, 'The Ideal of Friendship in *Amis and Amiloun*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 60 (2016), 161-86.

[36] Patricia Williams, ed., *Kedymdeithyas Amlyn ac Amic* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), p. xxviii.

[37] A description of the dream in the Latin version can be found in Eugen Kölbing, ed., *Amis and Amiloun* (Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1884), p. xcvii, and the Middle Welsh version in Patricia Williams, ed., *Kedymdeithyas Amlyn ac Amic*, p. 1.

[38] There are three known independent Welsh translations of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, represented respectively by Llanstephan 1 (mid-thirteenth century), Peniarth 44 (mid-thirteenth century), and NLW MS 5266B (*Brut Dingestow*, second half of the thirteenth century). See John Jay Parry, ed. and trans., *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version* (Cambridge, MA.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1937), pp. ix-xii; Brynley F. Roberts, ed., *Brut y Brenhinedd: Llanstephan MS.1 Version, Selections* (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies,

episodes in *Historia Regum Britanniae,* one occurring in I.11, the other in X.2.[39] The

first dream is experienced by Brutus on a deserted island in front of the altar in the

temple of Diana, in which the goddess Diana gives instructions to Brutus regarding

where he may find a permanent place for himself and his people to live.[40] The

second is experienced by Arthur on the night before he goes to fight with the giant

on Mount St Michael, in which he sees a bear and a dragon fighting each other for a

long time; eventually the dragon defeats and kills the bear.[41] The two dreams differ

from each other in terms of context, description, and function within the narrative of

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Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1971), pp. xxiv-xxxi. For detailed studies of the manuscript tradition of the *Historia* and the Welsh translations, see Acton Griscom, ed. and trans., *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London: Longman, 1929); Roberts, , *Astudiaeth destunol o'r tri chyfieithiad Cymraeg cynharaf o Historia Regum Britanniae, Sieffre o Fynwy, ynghyd ag 'argraffiad' beirniadol o destun Peniarth 44* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1969); Julia Crick, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, III: A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989); and Patrick Sims-Williams, , *Rhai Addasiadau Cymraeg Canol o Sieffre o Fynwy* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2011).

[39] The division of the *Historia* into twelve 'books' does not exist in medieval manuscripts. It was created by Griscom for the purpose of cross-reference in his edition of the Latin text of the work, and has been adopted by most scholars thereafter. Reeve and Wright choose not to use the referential numbers in their edition. Unfortunately this elimination does make their edition more difficult to follow than those of Griscom and Thorpe. For convenience of reference, I use the Book numbers in the present study when referring to the relevant episodes. For Reeve and Wright's edition, see Michael Reeve, ed., Neil Wright, trans., *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum* (Historia Regum Britanniae) (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007).

[40] For an edited version of the Latin text, see Neil Wright, ed., *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, I: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), pp. 9-10. For the three Welsh translations, see Llanstephan 1, pp. 14-15. For a transcript of Llanstephan 1, see G. R. Issac and Simon Rodway, 'Llanstephan 1', *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13ef Ganrif: Testun Cyflawn* (2002) <http://hdl.handle.net/2160/5817> [accessed 15 March 2019]; NLW 5266B, fols 15-16, Henry Lewis, ed., *Brut Dingestow* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1942; reprint 1974), p. 16; Brynley F. Roberts, *Astudiaeth destunol o'r tri chyfieithiad Cymraeg cynharaf o Historia Regum Britanniae, Sieffre o Fynwy, ynghyd ag 'argraffiad' beirniadol o destun Peniarth 44* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1969), p. 13. line 30-p. 14, line 17.

[41] For an edited Latin version see Wright, *The Historia Regum Britanniae*, p. 116. The paragraphs containing this dream are preserved in *Brut Dingestow* and Llanstephan 1, but not in Peniarth 44. See NLW 5266B, fols 259-60, Henry Lewis, ed., *Brut Dingestow* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1942), pp. 167-68; Llanstephan 1, pp. 166-67, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13ef Ganrif: Testun Cyflawn* <http://hdl.handle.net/2160/5817> [accessed 14 August 2019].

the story. Brutus has his dream in the third hour or part of his sleep, whereas Arthur has his around midnight; Brutus sleeps in front of Diana's altar in the temple of the goddess, therefore a static indoor setting, whereas Arthur has his dream while sailing on the sea in a ship, a mobile indoor setting. In Brutus's dream it is a goddess who delivers a message which is in itself clear and requires no interpretation, whereas Arthur's dream is perhaps intentionally ambiguous for the purpose of storytelling, and requires someone to interpret and decode the symbolic meaning of the animals, as in the case of Charlemagne's dreams in *La chanson de Roland* and its Welsh version *Cân Rolant*.

Stories of the Holy Grail also found their way into medieval Welsh under the title *Y Seint Greal*, the name given by contemporary scholars of the Middle Welsh translation of two Old French Arthurian texts, *La Queste del Saint Graal* and *Perlesvaus* or *Le Haut Livre du Graal*, combined and presented as two parts of a continuous narrative. The *Queste* is part of a series of five Arthurian tales, collectively known as the Vulgate Cycle or the Lancelot-Grail Cycle in present-day Arthurian scholarship, composed in Old French between 1215 and c. 1235.[42] It brings together five stories: *L'Estoire del Saint Graal*, which relates the origin of the Holy Grail and its subsequent transport to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea; *Estoire de Merlin*, which recounts the life story of Merlin, including the now well-known episode of his encounter with Vortigern, his work in Uther's court and his role in bringing about the conception of Arthur, and the establishment of the Round Table; the *Prose Lancelot*, which focuses on Lancelot's exploits in the chivalric world, and his love with Guinevere; *La Queste del Saint Graal*, which tells of the arrival of

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[42] Norris J. Lacy, 'Preface', in Norris J. Lacy, general editor, *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation,* 10 vols. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), vol.1, p. v.

Galahad to Arthur's court, the appearance of the Holy Grail to Arthur and his knights in Arthur's court and the beginning of the Grail quest, the adventures of various knights in their search for the Holy Grail, of Galahad, Perceval, and Bohort's final success in finding the Grail after passing multiple tests, and of the departure of the Grail from the world; *La Mort le roi Artu*, which relates the discovery of Lancelot and Guinevere's secret love by Arthur, the downfall of the Arthurian world, and Arthur's death.[43] *Perlesvaus*, on the other hand, has always been regarded as an independent story in the tradition of medieval French Arthurian romance since its appearance in the thirteenth century.[44] When translated into Welsh, at first the translator adhered closely to the original French text. The translation moved further from the source text and was abridged as the process went on, to the extent that the continuity of the plot was affected in places.[45]

The *Queste* contains many dreams and visions, and it is not always clear whether a character is asleep or awake when having his vision.[46] Six dreams are found in the first part of *Y Seint Greal*, being the Welsh translation of the *Queste*, experienced by Perceval/Peredur, Lancelot/Lawnslot, Gawain/Gwalchmai, Hector/Ector, Bort/Bwrt, and King Solomon/Selyf respectively. The *Perlesvaus*, which became the second part of *Y Seint Greal*, describes one dream at the beginning of the narrative,

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[43] For a synopsis of the Vulgate Cycle with fuller details and a brief discussion of the relationship between the five tales of the Cycle, see Elspheth Kennedy et al., 'Lancelot with and without the Grail: *Lancelot do Lac* and the Vulgate Cycle', in Glyn S. Burgess and Karen Pratt, eds., *The Arthur of the French: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval French and Occitan Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), pp. 274-324.

[44] Thomas A. Kelly, *Le Haut Livre du Graal: Perlesvaus, A Structural Study* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974), pp. 14-15.

[45] For a detailed study of the Welsh translator's treatment of the text in question, see Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, *A Study of "Y Seint Greal" in Relation to "La Queste del Saint Graal" and "Perlesvaus"* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1978), pp. 175-203.

[46] For a discussion of the dreams and visions in the *Queste* without further distinction, see Pauline M. Matarasso, *The Redemption of Chivalry: A Study of the "Queste del Saint Graal"* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), pp. 162-79.

experienced by Arthur's squire Cahus/Gawns,[47] a strange dream in which Gawns perceives himself stealing a candleholder from a church, he is then stabbed by a knife held in the hand of a knight. He wakes up to find that he has been wounded by the knife and that he is carrying the candleholder. He eventually dies of the wound he received in the dream. We will not go into details about these dreams here. It suffices to sum up that all the main characters in the Grail quest, with the exception of Arthur and Galaath, experience a dream at certain stages in their search for the Holy Grail. The dreams function differently according to the context: some are full of symbolic meanings and require interpretation in order to be understood, as in the case of Peredur, Lawnslot, and Bwrt; others are accompanied by a vision in a waking state, as in the case of Gwalchmai and Ector, and Bwrt; some predict in an indirect way the test that the character is meant to go through, as in the case of Peredur and Bwrt, while others serve as a warning to characters who are doomed to fail in their quest for the Holy Grail because of their sin, as in the case of Lawnslot, Gwalchmai and Ector; a dream can also be embedded in the main narrative storyline as a second layer of narration, as in the case of King Solomon; and finally the effect of a dream can cross the boundary between the dream world and the waking real world, as the dream of Gawns showcases.

With respect to the Matter of Rome, or rather texts based on a classical theme, these include *Breuddwyd Sibli Ddoeth* (The Dream of Sibyl the Wise) and *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* (Stories of the Seven Sages of Rome).

Breuddwyd Sibli Ddoeth is the Welsh version of a popular medieval Latin text known as *Sibylla Tiburtina*, which is situated in a long-standing literary tradition of a

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[47] For a detailed study of the dreams and visions in *Perlesvaus*, see Andrea M. L. Williams, 'Dreams and Visions in the *Perlesvaus*', in Bonnie Wheeler, ed., *Arthurian Studies in Honour of P.J.C. Field* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), pp.73-80.

female figure (or figures) called Sibyl.[48] Though appearing as an individual feminine name, Sibyl is actually not one person, but was originally understood as a collective name for a number of female prophetesses who received inspiration from a deity and pronounced oracles.[49] The Sibyl that is of literary significance is the Tiburtine Sibyl. A Latin prophecy about the ages of the world and the end of the Roman empire is attributed to her, and the text is known as *Sibylla Tiburtina*. Several scholars have pointed out that it is a tenth- or eleventh-century Latin translation of a text originally composed in Greek between about 378 and 390.[50] The Welsh version *Breuddwyd Sibli Ddoeth* was translated from Latin by the second half of the thirteenth century. There are two independent Welsh translations of the Latin *Sibylla Tiburtina*, studied in a line-by-line close reading by Nely van Seventer in her doctoral thesis.[51]

The story is set in the reign of the Roman emperor Trajan (98–117AD), when a hundred senators had the same dream one night, in which they saw nine suns. The

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[48] For general studies of the Sibylline tradition, see for example Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius, Adso und Die Tiburtinische Sibylle* (Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1898), pp. 114-77; Bernard McGinn, 'The Tiburtine Sybil', in Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 43-50; H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, ed., B. C. McGinn (London and New York: Routledge, 1988); and David Potter, *Prophets and Emperors: Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius* (Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1994).

[49] We learn from the fourth-century Latin Christian author Lactantius that there were already ten known Sibyls by the first century BC. The ancient Roman scholar Varro (116-27BC) introduced them briefly in what he believed to be a roughly chronological order: the Persian, the Libyan, the Delphic, the Cimmerian, the Erythræan, the Samian, the Cumæan, the Hellespontine, the Phrygian, and the Tiburtine. See Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, Book 1, Chapter 6. Varro's own work has not survived to this day. For the characters of various Sibyls mentioned by Varro, see Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy*, pp. 30-31.

[50] Paul Julius Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967); Arnaldo Momigliano, 'From the Pagan to the Christian Sibyl: Prophecy as History of Religion', in *Nono Contributo: Alla Storia degli Studi Classici e del Mondo Antico*, ed. by Riccardo di Donato (Rome: Edizioni di Storia Letteratura, 1992), pp. 725-44 (740); and Anke Holdenried, *The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c.1050-1500* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. xvii.

[51] Nely van Seventer, *The Welsh "Tiburtina": One Text, Two Translations* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aberystwyth University, 2019).

nine suns are of different shapes with distinct features, some bright, some dark and bloody, some with a spur or a sword inside. Sibli is invited to Rome because of her fame in making accurate and wise prophecies. She agrees to explain the meaning of the dream but asks that they go to a place where the air is purer than in the city of Rome. Then they relate the dream to her, and Sibli interprets for them. She explains that the nine suns represent the nine generations of the world. Mentioning the first three only briefly, Sibli gives an elaborated explanation of the fourth generation, including a detailed account of the conception, birth, deeds, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Treating generations five to eight again concisely, she discusses the ninth and final generation in detail, prophesising future Roman emperors and their deeds (referring to most of them by their initials), and the eventual coming of the Antichrist at the downfall of the Roman empire. She concludes with a description of the Day of Judgment.

Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein is the Welsh version of a popular medieval European text known as *The Seven Sages of Rome*. Strictly speaking, *The Seven Sages of Rome* is not one tale, but a series of sub-tales posited within a frame tale. The frame tale tells of the queen who, after a failed attempt to seduce her stepson, a prince, accuses him in front of the king of trying to violate her. The prince is condemned to death, but the seven sages of Rome, teachers to the prince, tell a story every day to the king about the wickedness of women, persuading him to postpone the execution for one more day. The queen, at the same time, tries to convince the king to carry out the execution of the prince immediately, and tells a story every day about the danger of trusting one's son and counsellors, and these sub-tales are arranged in an alternative order highlighting the two contrasting themes. The storytelling goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day, the prince himself speaks

and tells a story that makes the king realise in the end that it is the queen who is malicious, and the queen is put to death.

The sub-tales have been given conventional titles according to their content; their order of appearance in the *Seith Doethon* is: (1) *arbor* (the tree); (2) *canis* (the dog); (3) *aper* (the boar); (4) *medicus* (the physician); (5) *gaza* (the treasure); (6) *puteus* (the well); (7) *ramus* (the branch); (8) *Roma-lupus* (Rome-wolf); (9) *Virgilius* (Virgil); (10) *vidua* (the widow); (11) *sapientes* (the sages); (12) *inclusa* (the immured lady); (13) *senescalcus* (the seneschal); (14) *tentamina* (the trials); (15) *vaticinium* (the prophecy).[52] Three dreams are found among these sub-tales: one in *Virgilius*, one in *sapientes*, and a third one in *inclusa*. In *Virgilius*, a powerful mirror is set up by Virgil on a pillar in the heart of Rome that enables the emperor to see all his enemies far and near. The mirror frightens all his opponents, but in the end it is destroyed by the Roman emperor himself after listening to two brothers who claim that they can find the hidden treasures in his kingdom by dreaming of their locations, and reveal that there is gold beneath the pillar. In *sapientes*, the king who rules the cities of Rome dreams every night of a seven-footed cauldron with fire and smoke coming out of it and binding him. A young man interprets the dream for him as symbolising seven governors to whom the king has entrusted the governance of the city; they are amassing wealth for themselves and are conspiring to kill the king and divide his kingdom among themselves, and unless he acts quickly, the dream will come true. The king does not listen to the young man's advice, and soon afterwards the dream does come true. In *inclusa*, a knight sees a beautiful lady in a high tower every night in his dream, he falls in love with the lady whom he has never met in real

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[52] Henry Lewis, ed., *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1925; reprint 1958), p. 26. Lewis uses these Latin titles in his edition for the convenience of reference, and I follow him here.

life, sets out to look for her, finds her to be the queen to a certain king and meets her, then the two lovers tricks the king, get married and finally escape together. The three dreams are quite different in terms of functions. Whereas the dream in *inclusa* can be regarded as belonging to the popular literary motif of falling in love with a woman seen in one's dream, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.1 on *Breuddwyd Maxen*, the dream in *sapientes* is clearly symbolic and prognostic, which requires an interpretation for its exact meaning to be understood. The dream in *Virgilius* is a minor device that would not affect the narrative even if it were omitted.[53]

Finally, there is a dream in a text that cannot be grouped under any of the three Matters; rather it belongs to a type of text that deals with the landscape, flora and fauna, wonders and marvels of distant exotic lands, which according to Gwyn Thomas may be regarded as the medieval equivalent of today's science fiction.[54] Thomas lists three medieval Welsh texts in this category: *Ystorya Gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit* (The Story of the Land of John the Blessed), *Delw y Byd* (The Image of the World) and *Ffordd y Brawd Odrig* (The Journey of Brother Odrig). *Ystorya Gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit* is the Welsh version of *Epistola Presbyteri Johannis* (The Letter of Prester John), a Latin text that appeared in the 1160s in the form of a letter from Prester John, a mysterious Christian king of an unknown Eastern land, to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. Manuscripts in Latin containing the story of Prester John started to circulate around c. 1165–1170, and soon the text gained immense popularity, and interpolations began to be added to the original text from an

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[53] The dream is indeed omitted in the Welsh version preserved in Cardiff MS 3.4, where the discovery of the locations of the hidden treasures is not presented as by means of dream at all. For a transcription of the description of the event in Cardiff 3.4, see Henry Lewis, 'Y Seithwyr Doethon', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 2 (1924), 201-28(213).
[54] Gwyn Thomas, 'Bras Ddosbarthiad ar ein Rhyddiaith Gynnar', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 11 (1979), 28-51 (36-37).

early stage of its circulation.[55] The dates of the Welsh manuscripts containing a version of the text appear relatively late, the earliest of which are dated to the fourteenth century.[56] One of the interpolated sections contains a dream that mentions one of Prester John's palace which was built after his father had been told to do so by a voice in a dream before Prester John was born. The dream is of little importance in the narrative except as an explanation of the building of the palace, but at least its existence in the text provides us with an example of the flexibility of the literary dream as a device in the narrative.

[55] Keagan Brewer, ed. and trans., *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 11.

[56] For the details of the Welsh manuscripts, see Gwilym Lloyd Edwards, ed., *Ystorya Gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit (Llythyr y Preutur Siôn): Cyfieithiadau Cymraeg Canol o Epistola Presbyteri Johannis* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), pp. xcvi-xcvii.

CHAPTER 1   GENRE AND MEDIEVAL LITERARY DREAMS

As explained in the Introduction, this thesis intends to determine the relationship between medieval Welsh dream narratives and genres, and answer the question whether medieval Welsh dream narratives may be attributed to a single genre and thus defined. In order to answer this question, we need first to explore the concept of 'genre', and to build a methodological toolkit specifically tailored to our analyses of medieval Welsh literary dreams. Genre is generally regarded as a concept involving categorisation and classification, yet as with many other concepts in literary criticism, the definition of 'genre' itself is far from clear-cut and indisputable. Therefore, the first section of this chapter will discuss the concept of 'genre' and its key elements.

1.1   The concept of genre

'Genre' came to the English language from French (in which it means 'kind', 'sort') no earlier than the eighteenth century. In the second edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, for example, it is defined as 'a particular style or category of works of art; esp. a type of literary work characterized by a particular form, style, or purpose'.[1] The OED definition of 'genre' gives a highly condensed version of what can be regarded as the classical concept of the term. The concept is retraceable back to Plato and Aristotle, but the development of the meaning that we are familiar with is

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[1] Oxford English Dictionary Online, entry 'genre' <https://www.oed.com/oed2/00093719> [accessed 12 April 2020].

particularly connected to the Romanticists in the nineteenth century and to the American New Critics of middle of the twentieth century. They regarded 'genre' largely as a classification system as defined by style, theme, structure or function, though it is acknowledged by later theorists with this theoretical affiliation that the concept is a dynamic one.[2] As Lewis notes the word came into the vocabulary of modern Welsh as a loanword through English.[3] The term 'genre' may be used in the singular or plural form, with emphases on different aspects of the meaning of the term. Barry Lewis, for example, uses the singular form 'genre' when referring to the topic as a general phenomenon, and the plural form 'genres' when referring to the various and particular types of texts.[4] We will apply the same usage in this thesis.

During the twentieth century, the classical definition of genre as a categorising system in literature proves more and more insufficient in the wake of the appropriation of the concept in other fields of research including visual art, music, film studies, and performance theories. Being aware of this insufficiency some theorists, such as Benedetto Croce and Jacques Derrida, reject the concept of genre altogether as being too broad and vague.[5] Most theorists, however, take a less extreme view and call for the concept to be revisited and modified. A recent attempt at re-addressing this concept was undertaken by John Frow in his work *Genre*, first published in 2006 (a revised second edition appeared in 2015). Frow's work gives an excellent overview of the main questions and aspects related to the concept of genre,

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[2] For a brief history of the concept of 'genre', see for example Heta Pyrhönen, 'Genre', in David Herman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 110-14.

[3] Barry James Lewis, *Genre a Genres ym Marddoniaeth Grefyddol y Cynfeirdd a'r Gogynfeirdd* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2003), p. 12.

[4] Ibid., p. 3.

[5] Wai Chee Dimock, 'Introduction: Genres as Fields of Knowledge', *PMLA* 122 (5), Special Topic: Remapping Genre (2007), 1377-88 (1377).

which makes it an ideal starting point for us to gain a further idea of the status quo surrounding the concept of 'genre'.

Frow agrees with the classical view that genre is a matter of taxonomy, 'of organising things into recognisable classes', and that 'it belongs to a much larger group of classifying activities that permeate every aspect of daily life'.[6] Yet, he criticises two prevailing models of literary genres that misunderstand the relationship between genres and individual texts. The first model that Frow calls the 'biological' metaphor dominated literary criticism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is given a systematic elaboration in Ferdinand Bruntière's *Evolution of Genres in Literary History* (1890), which sought to install 'the authority of scientific discourse to genre'.[7] The 'biological' metaphor treats genre as a system of rules which evolve in the same pattern as organic species do in the natural world. This metaphor of genre leads to attempts to find a hierarchy, an arrangement with strictly levelled rankings and distinct borders. Such attempts never succeed in practice without purposefully ignoring the difference between genres, which are facts of culture, and biological species, which are facts of nature. As facts of culture, genres are always open-ended and indeterminate; they can cross-influence each other and form new genres in a way that would be impossible with biological species; and contrary to the natural world where individual organisms exemplify the group of species to which they belong, every single text to some extent modifies and changes the genre to which it is attributed.[8]

The second model, built on Wittgenstein's concept of 'family resemblance', emerged in the twentieth century perhaps as an attempt to address the inflexibility of the

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[6] John Frow, *Genre* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2nd edition 2015), p. 56.
[7] Ibid., p. 57.
[8] Ibid., pp. 56-58.

'biological' metaphor. This model has become popular during the past three decades through works such as Alastair Fowler's *Kinds of Literature*,[9] and its influence in the context of medieval Welsh literature can be found in studies of medieval Welsh poetry by scholars such as Bleddyn Owen Huws and Barry Lewis.[10] It recognises the open-endedness and fuzziness with regards the relationship between texts and genres. Nevertheless, Frow argues that it is based on the same organic metaphor as the 'biological' misconception, and as such it seeks a prototype that demonstrates the maximum of typicality for a genre. It might be relatively easy to identify or assign a text as a prototype of a certain genre, yet it becomes more difficult once non-typical or not-so-typical texts are considered together with the nominated prototype. Frow gives an example of the genre epic, in which the *Illiad* may be regarded as the prototype of epic. But what about the *Odyssey*, the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, and *Paradise Lost*? To what extent can those text be classified as epic too? The classification depends on how much dissimilarity one should tolerate under the same genre; according to Frow, it becomes inevitably arbitrary in the end as regards where to draw the line.[11]

Frow's own solution to the difficulties of the 'biological' and the 'family resemblance' models of genre is radical in that it calls for a complete turn of direction. It annuls the value of seeking an ultimate system of taxonomy and instead highlights the importance of reflecting on their functions in particular contexts and circumstances. He holds that 'in dealing with questions of genre, our concern should

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[9] Ibid., p. 59. For Fowler's theory, see his *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
[10] Bleddyn Owen Huws, 'Astudio *genres* y cywydd', in Bleddyn Owen Huws and A. Cynfael Lake, eds., *Genres y Cywydd* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2016), pp. 13-28; Barry James Lewis, *Genre a Genres ym Marddoniaeth Grefyddol y Cynfeirdd a'r Gogynfeirdd* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2003). We will be reviewing their works shortly.
[11] Frow, *Genre*, pp. 58-60.

not be with matters of taxonomic substance...but rather with questions of use'.[12] We will see in the course of analyses in this thesis, that this point is relevant in the way it emphasises the function of a text as an indispensable aspect when considering dream narratives, and especially as we focus on the world-building function of the dream. Frow regards genre as inherently related to the meaning-making activity of us as human beings, the production and interpretation of meanings, whose roots are beyond the field of literature itself and are found in human knowledge gained through experiences of daily life and social practices; genres provide 'frames that establish appropriate ways of reading or viewing or listening to texts.'[13] Texts and genres do not 'belong' to each other; yet they have a reflexive relation to each other. In other words, genres cannot be reduced to mere abstracts of a certain number of common features found in individual texts; they both enable and restrict the ways of meaning-making in texts thematically, stylistically, and structurally, and raise particular types of expectations on the part of the reader or the audience. Texts, by the same token, are not mere examples of genres—they can expand, modify or even betray the established implication of genres through their very existence.[14] As such genres are open-ended and should be examined in the light of 'a set of intertextual relations' including the 'dialogical relation of two texts in a single setting or "ceremony" in which they "talk" to each other', 'the relation between all those texts that are perceived to be relevantly similar', as well as texts 'that are perceived to be relevantly dissimilar'.[15] The emphasis on intertextual connections in Frow's elaboration of the genre is significant as regards this study of medieval Welsh

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[12] Ibid., p. 60.
[13] Ibid., p. 31.
[14] Ibid., pp. 7-31.
[15] Ibid., p. 26.

literary dreams, as we explore the possible links and cross references between the texts in our scope.

To build up the terminology of his theory, Frow first distinguishes between mode and genre. *Mode*, according to Frow, should be used in its adjectival sense 'as a thematic and tonal qualification or "colouring" of genre', thus terms such as 'the tragic', 'the comic', 'the romance' or 'the didactic' are terms describing modes rather than genres.[16] In relation to the concept of mode, *genre* is 'a more specific organisation of texts with thematic, rhetorical, and formal dimensions'.[17] The concept of *sub-genre*, 'the further specification of genre by a particular thematic or formal content' is a further division of genre. Frow claims that a valid analysis of the genre of a text needs to examine the 'constellation' of these three dimensions, namely, the formal organisation, the rhetoric structure, and the thematic content.[18] The *formal organisation* involves not only the 'material' elements including the physical setting of the text such as the layout of the page, the material properties of the language such as sound and pitch, grammar and syntax, but also 'immaterial' elements such as the construction of time and space, the relationship between the 'voices' in the narrative and the figure of the author, the manner of presentation (whether it is elevated or modest, etc).[19] The *rhetorical structure* negotiates the relationship between the sender and the receiver of the messages in a structured semantic situation, in other words, whether in speech or written media, the sender and the receiver need to achieve 'an agreement (or disagreement) about the kind of truth status that is to be attributed to what is being talked about'.[20] The *thematic*

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[16] Ibid., p. 72-73.
[17] Ibid., p. 73.
[18] Ibid., p. 83.
[19] Ibid., pp. 81-82.
[20] Ibid., p. 82.

content 'can be thought of as the shaped human experience that a genre invests with significance and interest'.[21] It is an action with variable duration and intensity performed by the human or non-human characters, but it has to be recognisable according to our experience in this world. Following Jauss, Frow notes that

> Together, the actions and actors form a world with a particular organisation of space and time and a particular mode and degree of plausibility: it will be symbolic, or exemplary, or empirically factual, and it will be presented as historically true, or as possible, or as probable. Represented worlds are always, and by definition, generically specific.[22]

The three dimensions may overlap with each other, and the degree of significance is not always equal between the three.[23]

Frow points out that texts represent or construct a world that is 'schematic', 'a limited piece of reality', which has 'its own coordinates of space and time',[24] and its presentation is always shaped by the concept of relevant genres. In this way genres also play a part in what Jauss calls the 'horizon of expectation', an expectation on the part of the reader or the audience of what could possibly happen in this constructed world in the text based on their prior knowledge and experience of other texts and their own life.[25] The knowledge of genres acts as an indicator and guides the reader or the audience towards a certain direction of engaging with the text.[26] We will see in the course of our analysis, how some medieval Welsh dream narratives cooperate to realise the expectation of conventional medieval literary dreams, and how others contradict this expectation and outwit the reader or audience as the narrative unfolds.

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[21] Ibid., p. 83.

[22] Ibid., p. 83. For Jauss's argument, see Hans Robert Jauss, 'Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature', in *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), pp. 83-87.

[23] Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[24] Frow, *Genre*, p. 7.

[25] For Jauss's definition of this term, see Hans Robert Jauss and Elizabeth Benzinger, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', *New Literary Theory* 2(1) (1970), 7-37.

[26] Frow, *Genre*, p. 113.

The process of reading or listening to a text is at the same time a process of understanding and interpreting. The cues provided by knowledge of genres specify 'how to use the text, what one can expect to happen at different stages, and what to do if these expectations are not confirmed'.[27] Some of these cues are internal to the text, such as a laugh track on a television sitcom, whereas others are located at the edge of the text, working as frames that, in the case of literary texts, enclose the textual world within and exclude the space of reality without, but this exclusion is also an inclusion of the text within this space of reality. In other words, through differentiation it works both ways, and is thus a constructive element in the understanding of the text.[28] When addressing an unknown audience, the cues need to be strengthened to carry more information about the 'situation to which the text responds and in which it has a particular communicative point' than when addressing an immediately known audience.[29] We will see, especially in our analysis of the dream *areithiau pros* in Chapter 2.3, how the author invites co-operation from the audience concerning which kinds of expectations are anticipated as the plot progresses, by leaving distinctive cues at various points of the narrative. This is a dynamic process which requires active participation from both sides throughout the reading or the performance of the text.

Frow's theory of genres and his explications of its key concepts will form the base of the methodology in this study, and we shall return to these concepts in our analyses of the texts whenever necessary. Researching medieval Welsh literature in relation to genres and theories of genre is not altogether new in the field. Several monographs have appeared over the past few decades, which we will review below.

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[27] Ibid., p. 113.
[28] Ibid., pp. 114-17.
[29] Ibid., pp.125 and 133.

It seems that the topic of genre has received more attention in studies on poetry than on prose. Jenny Rowland's study and edition of early Welsh *englynion* under the title *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (1990) approaches the early Welsh *englyn* poems with a mixed methodology and part of its emphasis on genres.[30] Although not obviously following any particular theory of genre, the grouping of the texts and the order of discussion in her work demonstrates an awareness of the need for considering formal features, narrative context, and subject matter together when dealing with a corpus of texts as varied as that of early Welsh *englynion*, and is thus performing a practice not very different from the methodology in this thesis. Rowland devotes the first three chapters of her work to discussions of three major groups of *englynion*, those of Llywarch Hen, Urien Rheged, and Heledd, each of them evolving around a central character and his or her family members or courtly hosts, and a loosely chronological narrative of the life of the central character can be figured out by placing the poems attributed to the group in a certain order. These *englynion*, as such, can reasonably be regarded as cycles in a sense similar to that of the Irish Finn cycle, though no prose is found accompanying the verse in the Welsh *englyn* cycles as in the latter.[31] The fourth chapter of her work examines what she names 'penitential lyrics', as all of the poems in this chapter 'concern the attempt of the narrator persona to win acceptance and salvation from God'.[32] This is a kind of thematic unity. There are a few *englynion* that cannot be included in any of the cycles, nor of a penitential theme, and these *englynion* are discussed in the fifth and ultimate chapter dealing with the

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[30] Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990).
[31] Rowland, while disapproving the rigidity of Ifor Williams's hypothesis of a relationship between the poems and accompanying prose that possibly existed but is now lost, acknowledges the validity of Ifor Williams's effort to reconstruct a narrative background for the Llywarch Hen cycle, and for englyn cycles in general. See Rowland, ibid., pp. 10-11.
[32] Ibid., p. 190.

texts edited in her work under the label 'miscellaneous saga poems'.[33] Rowland regards all the poems she discusses as belonging to the same genre of 'saga *englynion*'. Those further thematic groupings are more or less equivalent to sub-genres, as she makes it clear in Chapter six of her work that there are poetry of other genres using the *englyn* metre, including gnomic, religious, prophetic *englynion*, as well as other types of antiquarian *englynion* that cannot be ascribed to any of the three categories.[34] Rowland's work demonstrates how with one fixed point (in her case the metrical form of the *englyn*) one is able to do meaningful research from the perspective of genres and sub-genres in the field of medieval Welsh literature.

Although the adoption of the term 'genre' in the Welsh language was relatively recent, systematic categorisations of types of Welsh poetry may be found in medieval Welsh bardic grammars as early as the fourteenth century. In his study of *trioedd cerdd* ('poetical triads') in the medieval Welsh versions of *Gramadegau Penceirddiaid*, Paul Russell summarises the structure that all medieval versions of the *Gramadegau* follow: a. letters; b. syllables; c. parts of speech; d. sentence; e. figures of speech; f. 'metre and versification', and g. triads. The discussion of f. is further divided into i) the three 'branches' (*cainc*) of *cerdd dafod*: *englyn*, *awdl*, *cywydd*; ii) faults and errors; iii) how to praise.[35] He draws our attention to various scholarly opinions regarding the term 'cainc'—its exact meaning and implications in literary use, and while he himself chooses to avoid attaching too much significance to the term, he agrees that '*cainc* was a term imported from pedagogical discourse as a term of classification and sub-division', as befits the pedagogical purpose of the

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[33] Ibid., p. 229.
[34] Ibid., pp. 276-304.
[35] Paul Russell, 'Poetry by numbers: The poetic triads in Gramadegau Penceirddiaid', in Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell, eds., *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA.: John Benjamin, 2016), pp. 161-80 (p. 162).

medieval Welsh bardic grammars.[36] Russell also notes that the passages in the *Gramadegau* on each of the metrical forms of *englyn*, *awdl* and *cywydd* take on a framework of hierarchical triadic groupings. He quotes a section on *englyn*, where *englyn* is divided into three types, and each of the three types is further divided into three sub-types.[37] Although the divisions and sub-divisions of the three metrical forms of the *cerdd dafod* in the *Gramadegau* mainly concern their grammatical characteristics, and thus cover only part of the aspect of 'formal organisation' in Frow's theory of genre, it is clear that medieval Welsh poets already began to view their art with a mind conscious of various grammatical and stylistic norms, and perhaps oriented their professional practices by following a framework of categorisation that was yet to develop be modified by poems functioning as examples.

Technical terms for classifying medieval Welsh poetry as these of *englyn*, *awdl* and *cywydd* grew larger in number over time, mainly growing in the direction of sub-divisions. Of the metrical form of *cywydd* alone, Bleddyn Owen Huws was able to list fifteen different types in his 'Astudio *genres* y cywydd', first published in 1995 as an article in *Dwned* and later revised and included as a chapter in *Genres y Cywydd* (2016).[38] Huws's study accentuates the confusing historical situation regarding the usage of descriptive terms of different types of *cywydd* and calls for a thorough review of those terms in light of genre theory. Favouring Fowler's view of treating individual texts as members of a 'family' of a certain genre, he exemplifies with a comparison of *cywydd llatai* and *cywydd gofyn* to show what may be achieved

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[36] Ibid., pp. 173-76 (p. 176).
[37] Ibid., p. 171.
[38] Bleddyn Owen Huws, 'Astudio *genres* y cywydd', in Bleddyn Owen Huws and A. Cynfael Lake, eds., *Genres y Cywydd* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2016), pp. 13-28 (pp. 17-18).

by studying *genres* of *cywydd* by regarding them as families and revealing variations as regards form, theme and function.[39]

Huws's appeal to study medieval Welsh poetry in terms of genres was answered on a more extensive scale by Barry Lewis in his doctoral thesis *Genre a Genres ym Marddoniaeth Grefyddol y Cynfeirdd a'r Gogynfeirdd* (2003). Lewis aims in his work to untangle the somehow confusing state of affairs concerning categorisation of medieval Welsh religious poetry, and to establish the validity of an approach towards the topic from the perspective of genre. Adopting Fowler's theory of genre based on the 'family assemblance' concept, Lewis argues that in order to talk about genres meaningfully, it is not enough to consider the content, but to consider form, content and style in combination.[40] The first chapter of Lewis's work gives an overview of the texts within the scope of his study with a focus on the relationship between Christianity and medieval Welsh poetry, as well as the relationship between religious poetry and other types of poetry, in order to provide a context for the poems that he will examine next. The second chapter deals mainly with the material vehicle of medieval Welsh poetry, namely, the manuscripts containing collections of such poems, to see what was the principle for particular poems to be included in a manuscript, what principle decided the order of their appearance in a manuscript, what was the scribe's understanding of the poems noted down, and what was the normal practice of a scribe with regards giving titles to the poems, and the relationship between metrical forms and genre; all these questions are closely related to the question of genre. Chapters three and four of Lewis's study offer in-depth case studies of two particular types of medieval Welsh poetry, those addressing God, to

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[39] Ibid., pp. 21-25.
[40] Lewis, *Genre a Genres*, pp. 17-18.

explore the relationship between poems composed to praise God and eulogies of a secular nature as well as the 'voice' of the poet may reveal with regards genre, and those dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to explore the historical development and changes in a genre. Lewis concludes that whereas neither the cultural background of a Christian society, nor the order of texts in the manuscripts, nor our knowledge of the role of the patron or the poet, nor the conventional technical terms for grouping poetry known to have existed in medieval Welsh alone can provide a definitive answer regarding the genres of medieval religious poetry, an integral examination of all those elements and a few more relevant ones in the context of medieval Welsh poetry has helped elucidate their nature in relation to genre.[41]

As Lewis notes above, the material aspect of medieval Welsh manuscripts containing collections of poetry often include some clues regarding how genres were devised by medieval Welsh poets and scribes, such as the grouping of the poems and their titles. Prose texts, on the other hand, in most cases, do not offer any clues to help determine their genres. Most of the dream narratives that we are going to examine in this thesis have the noun 'breuddwyd' in the title, the sub-heading, or the colophon of at least some of the manuscripts containing them. Yet it cannot be taken for granted that 'breuddwyd' was regarded as a separate genre in the context of medieval Welsh literature.

Krista Kapphahn's doctoral thesis *Gender and Genre in Welsh Arthurian Literature* is a good example of a discussion on medieval Welsh prose in connection with genre theories.[42] Kapphahn explores the group of texts traditionally known as medieval Welsh Arthurian literature, namely, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, the poems 'Preiddeu Annwn'

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[41] Ibid., pp. 257-61.
[42] Krista R. L. Kapphahn, *Gender and Genre in Welsh Arthurian Literature* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aberystwyth University, 2015).

and 'Pa gur yv y porthaur?', as well as the three 'romances' in the Mabinogion collection: *Owein*, *Gereint*, and *Peredur*. The originality of her work with regards methodology lies in her attempt to integrate her pursuit of the question of the dynamics between masculinity and femininity in her chosen corpus of texts with theories of genre, especially the concept of 'horizon of expectation' by Jauss and speech act theory, thus merging the areas of gender study and that of genre theories. Her discussion of the medieval Welsh Arthurian texts is based on a classification of several 'models': the warrior, the clerical, and the bardic, traditionally associated with masculinity, and those conventionally feminine models of maidens, mothers, old women and witches, each of them having a number of archetypal characteristics as a hard core and various degrees of digressions as nebulous fringes. To better support her analysis, she further introduces two parameters that would be equivalent to what Frow names as *modes*: the heroic and the courtly. These two modes and the models (especially the masculine ones) can be found interwoven in the medieval Welsh portraits of different Arthurian figures. The practice of cross-breeding the two strands of concepts leads to her conclusion that texts that can be regarded as belonging to the heroic mode centre on the masculinity of the hero, often painting an idealised picture of a warrior, and the roles of women are largely secondary and often excluded from the power system; whereas in texts of the courtly mode, the masculinity of the male character is often gained through a process of overcoming challenges, and female characters have more power in the system tailored to stage the male character, although instead of straightforward action they tend to use speech act power to influence and to achieve what they want.[43]

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[43] Ibid., pp. 300-03.

1.2 World-building and literary dreams

The term 'world-building' was mentioned several times in our review of Frow's theory of genre at the beginning of this chapter. What does it mean exactly, and how is it related to genre? This section will give a detailed explanation. Frow mentions at the beginning of his work that a text that tells a story (i.e. a text that is a narrative) constructs a schematic world, a world with a limited degree of reality.[44] Much later in his work he also refers to such worlds as 'projected worlds', in which 'world' means 'a relatively bounded and schematic domain of meanings, values and affects, accompanied by a set of instructions for handling them', and genres serve as that instructive force that regulates the expectation.[45] He draws on the proximity between his 'projected worlds' and Seitel's 'generic worlds' which consists of 'time, space, categories of actors and settings, causality, and motivation—and the interpretation they call for'.[46] A few examples are given to demonstrate that which he regards as generically projected worlds, including the world of tabloid journalism, the picaresque novel, the Petrachan sonnet, curse, the television sitcom, and the haiku.[47] The spectrum of examples drawn reflects Frow's view that there is an inherent connection between the concept of genre and that of a created literary world. Yet throughout his work Frow does not specify how this world is built or created in relation to the concept of genre, and in this regard we need to turn to a more specific theory on world-building as a supplement. We will highlight some points relevant to this thesis by turning to Mark Wolf's *Building Imaginary Worlds: The Theory and*

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[44] Frow, *Genres*, p. 7.
[45] Ibid., p. 93.
[46] Ibid., p. 93. For Seitel's complete discussion of 'generic worlds', see Peter Seitel, 'Theorizing Genres: Interpreting Works'*, New Literary History* 34(2) (2003), 275-97(279).
[47] Ibid., pp. 93-94.

History of Subcreation,[48] one of the recent efforts in bringing the concept and techniques of world-building to academic attention from the perspective of media studies.

The term 'world-building' (sometimes without the hyphen) is not a contemporary invention. The earliest appearance of this term can be traced back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was used to refer to possible geologic formations of the earth; by the end of the nineteenth century the term had been adopted by literary critics to describe the imaginative architecture in novels and poetry; and by the second half of the twentieth century it began to assume a more specialised use 'referring not simply to an author's imagination of the world, but also denoting the creation of an entirely new world'.[49] Recent years have seen a surge in its use mainly in the context of fantasy and science fiction, not only in relation to traditional media such as novels or films, but especially with reference to the emerging new medium of online role play video games designed for multi-player participation. The activity of world-building itself, on the other hand, has a history in literature of over three thousand years, which is revisited and commented upon in the second and longest chapter of Wolf's *Building Imaginary Worlds*. We will shortly be discussing some of the subcreated or imaginary worlds in the history of literature, those that are relevant to our research on medieval Welsh literary dreams, but first let us examine a few key concepts that are central to our discussion of dreams as world-building.

1.2.1 Terms and concepts

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[48] Mark J.P. Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds: The Theory and History of Subcreation* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

[49] <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/what-is-world-building> [accessed 24 May 2020].

Wolf holds J.R.R. Tolkien's essay 'On Fairy-Stories' in high regard as a founding stone of contemporary theoretical reflections on world-building, from which he borrows a few concepts for use in his own work. These terms include 'Primary World', 'Secondary World', and the set 'subcreator', 'subcreation' and 'subcreated world'. Tolkien uses the phrase 'Primary World' to denote the world we inhabit, or what we call reality or real-life,[50] although to clarify further, which Tolkien himself does not, the phrase refers not to the material world itself, but the representation of this world in literature. 'Secondary World', on the contrary, is a fictional world created by human imagination, in which objects and events impossible in the Primary World can exist and take place, such as a world with a green sun shining in it.[51] Tolkien speaks of Fantasy as a 'sub-creative art', which is a natural human activity functioning to build imaginary worlds by combining and altering existing concepts and ideas in the Primary World. In this 'subcreation' the role of the author or 'subcreator' mirrors that of God in creating the real world, the prefix 'sub-' indicating the derivative nature of this creation compared to God's creation *ex nihilo*.[52] Wolf appropriates these terms and their usage in Tolkien's essay and applies them to his discussion of imaginary worlds. 'Imaginary World' itself is Wolf's own concoction, which he defines as follows:

> All the surroundings and places experienced by a fictional character (or which could be experienced by one) that together constitute a unified sense of place which is ontologically different from the actual, material, and so-called "real" world. As "world" in this sense refers to an experiential realm, an imaginary world could be as large as a universe, or as small as an isolated town in which a character resides.[53]

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[50] J.R.R. Tolkien, 'On Fairy-Stories', in J.R.R. Tolkien, *Tree and Leaf; Simith of Wootton Major; The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), pp. 11-79 (pp. 43, 50, 54).
[51] Ibid., p. 51.
[52] Ibid., pp. 55-57.
[53] Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds*, p. 377.

In other words, the imaginary world is something different to the narrative or the plot of the story itself; it is a kind of setting or background against which the characters act and the storyline unwinds. 'Imaginary world', as Wolf notes, is the broadest and least technical term among a group of more or less interchangeable terms denoting the same phenomenon, including 'subcreated world' and 'Secondary World' from Tolkien, 'diegetic world' from narratology, and 'constructed world' from popular culture, each though with varied emphases and perspectives.[54] For this reason, Wolf opts for this term as a default to refer to the product of world-building. To this group we may add at least two more terms that often appear in such a context, namely that of 'storyworld' by narratologist David Herman, and that of the 'otherworld' in general. 'Storyworlds' are 'mental models of who did what to and with whom, when, where, why, and in what fashion in the world to which recipients relocate as they move around, working to comprehend a narrative'.[55] This definition, as Ekman and Taylor point out, though having the advantage of suggesting a holistic approach to the notion of imaginary worlds, falls short of making a required distinction between the narrative and the world.[56] Perhaps this is why Wolf has not included 'storyworld' in his discussions of imaginary worlds. 'Otherworld' does not have such a stringent technical tone as that of 'storyworld'; as Aisling Byrne points out, even if we limit the context to the field of medieval studies, it can mean 'any number of things, including the next world, the world of the fairies, an imaginary fantastical realm, or less frequently, far-flung corners of the globe such as the wondrous East or

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[54] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[55] David Herman, *Story Logic: Problems and Possibilities of Narrative* (Chesham: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), p. 5.

[56] Stefan Ekman and Audrey Isabel Taylor, 'Notes Toward a Critical Approach to Worlds and World-Building', *Fafnir: Nordic Journal of Science Fiction and Fantasy Research* 3(3) (2009), 7-18(9).

Antipodes'.[57] It can be used to describe a world that exists presumably as a remote island in the sea, as in the Middle Welsh poem 'Preiddeu Annwn' in The Book of Taliesin, or the realm of the Tylwyth Teg, or even the Purgatory or Hell without seeming too impropriate. Its connotations can be so broad as to include any world that is not our own familiar corner of the real world, any world other than the real world. Such an overarching term would be too broad for this thesis that focuses on one particular type of imaginary world—dreams. Another reason that the term 'otherworld' should be avoided in the discussions in this thesis is that, as Patrick Sims-Williams points out, in the field of Celtic studies, modern scholarship has established a useful but somehow misleading definition of the term as a domain with supernatural power operating in it, mainly to be found either under the ground, beneath a lake or a spring, or on a remote island in or under the sea unknown to most people.[58] This concept would cause more confusion than needs be in our discussion of medieval Welsh literary dreams.

1.2.2 Examples of dream worlds in pre-modern European literature

Imaginary worlds are not merely products of the digital era, though the advance of technologies such as virtual reality tend to make such worlds feel more 'real', or more immersive in Wolf's words.[59] Wolf traces the history of imaginary worlds back to the time of the Old Testament. He notes that 'the simplest literary indication that a world exists beyond the details needed to tell a particular story is a transnarrative character', 'a character who appears in more than one story', and the first

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[57] Aisling Byrne, *Otherworlds: Fantasy and History in Medieval Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 5.
[58] Patrick Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 53-54.
[59] Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds*, pp. 48-49.

transnarrative characters, in his opinion, were actual historical figures like King Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon, who appears in several books of the Old Testament as well as in other historical texts.[60] The Old Testament and the historical records (at least to the first audiences of these texts) appeal to the belief that both the character and the world in which they are present, are or were real. Therefore, the earliest transnarrative characters are set in the Primary World. The first departure from the Primary World in literary composition is to be found in Homer's *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus visits many fictional islands on his homecoming journey.[61] These islands are uncharted and did not exist in the real world of Ancient Greece, and as such they cannot be set in the Primary World. Yet the character of Odysseus and other characters give accounts of such places including the landscape, flora and fauna, as well as other features as if they were describing places that exist in the real world, thus inviting the audience to participate in a way which Tolkien would call 'Secondary Belief',[62] a belief that the existence of such places is logically possible and intelligible in the context of mythology if not the real world.

Allegedly remote islands with strange inhabitants is just one type of imaginary world that can be found in the *Odyssey*. Although less explicitly, dreams in the *Odyssey* are actually presented as originating from a place. We are told in Book 19 of the text, that Penelope, the faithful wife of Odysseus, has had a dream that the geese she keeps in her palace are killed by an eagle. The eagle then appears again with a human voice, revealing himself as Odysseus, and interprets the killing of the geese as the death of the suitors in her house. The next day, when relating the dream to whom she believes to be a mere beggar, but is in fact Odysseus in disguise, Penelope

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[60] Ibid., p. 66.
[61] Ibid., p. 68.
[62] Tolkien, *Tree and Leaf*, p. 51.

expresses her doubts concerning the authenticity of the dream by commenting that there are two gates through which dreams are dispatched to human beings, one gate made of horn and the other of ivory. The dreams that have travelled through the gate of horn are true and will be fulfilled, but those having travelled through the gate of ivory are deceptive and will not be fulfilled. There is no way for a mortal to tell through which gate the dream has arrived, and therefore she does not know if the dream is an authentic or a deceptive one.[63] The reference to the two gates indicates the idea of a space, and dreams seem to be creations (presumably by a god) in a form similar to a parcel or a bundle that can be sent out to a receiver. Thus, despite the minimalistic description, the audience is made aware that Penelope is referring to a specific world, a place that is different to the Primary World, where a divine being or beings create dreams and despatch them to mortals.

This type of imaginary world, that of divine dwellings, is not further explicated in the *Odyssey*. Some other texts of Classical Antiquity provide more detailed accounts. Taking a dream once again as an example, Book XI of the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid describes a visit to the land of Sleep. According to Ovid, King Ceyx of Thessaly has a happy married life with his wife Alcyone. They compare themselves to Zeus and Hera, which angers the god Zeus. One day Ceyx insists on going on a sea-journey in spite of Alcyone's ominous premonition. While he is at sea, Zeus causes a storm, sinks the ship, and Ceyx is drowned. Meanwhile, not knowing of her husband's death, Alcyone continues to burn incense at the altar of Juno, begging the goddess for news of her husband. When Juno can no longer bear to hear her request, she sends Iris to conjure up a dream to tell Alcyone of her husband's true fate. Iris goes to the land of Sleep to seek assistance from Morpheus, who is said to be a master

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[63] *Od.*19.509-581.

imitator of human beings in their appearance and their speech. Morpheus goes to Alcyone's bedside in the form of the drowned Ceyx and conveys the message to her. Grieved by the image of her dead husband seen in the dream, Alcyone goes to the seashore at daybreak, and upon seeing Ceyx's dead body washed ashore by the waves, she determines to cast herself into the sea to join her husband. Eventually the gods pity them, for Alcyone is turned into a kingfisher ('halcyone') as she is putting an end to her own life, and her dead husband is miraculously brought back to life in the form of another bird.[64]

Whereas the story itself may be regarded as a mythological explanation of the etymology of the word 'kingfisher' in ancient Greek ('halcyone' from 'Alcyone'), the land of Sleep described in it is a well-developed Secondary World with most of the key elements that Wolf sees as necessary for the successful construction of an imaginary world. Wolf points out that a Secondary World, however bizarre it may appear at first sight, unavoidably bears parallels and similarities to the Primary World, and there are many 'Primary World defaults', facts, concepts, phenomena, and experiences that hold true in a Secondary World also,[65] otherwise the subcreated world would not be intelligible to human intellect. Besides these 'Primary World defaults', a Secondary World will need some infrastructures that can organise and incorporate individual fragments of information into a broader context, in order for them to be fully understood and appear consistent as an integrated world to the audience. Apart from *narrative*, which is the most common infrastructure of subcreated worlds, three elements are regarded by Wolf as basic or essential for the successful building of an imaginary world: maps, which 'structure space and connect

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[64] Ov.*Met*.XI.410-748.
[65] Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds*, p. 154.

a world's locations together'; timelines, which 'organise events into chronological sequences and histories which show how they are temporarily related'; and genealogies, which 'show how characters are related to each other'.[66] He holds that these three structures are almost always present in some form in an imaginary world, while five other infrastructures, namely, nature, culture, language, mythology, and philosophy, whose presence enrich the completeness of a world, may or may not be found in an imaginary world, and may be present in various degrees, depending on the purpose of world-building in individual texts and by individual authors.[67]

In the *Metamorphoses*, when describing Iris's visit, Ovid relates that the house of Somnus, the god of sleep and father of Morpheus, is a deeply cut cave within a hollow mountain, always covered by foggy clouds, shadows and twilight, where no sound is heard except the murmur of the waves of the Lethe stream (the river of amnesia). In front of the cave abundant poppies bloom, and countless herbs grow. There is no door anywhere in the house, nor guardians; in the central space of the cave there is a soft couch on which the god Somnus himself sits, half asleep. Around him there are innumerable dreams, taking on different shapes. [68]

From this description it is not difficult for us to visualise the land in which Morpheus and other gods dwell, the land that the author intended his audience or readers to 'see', for although there is no map, the landscape is clearly laid out in words. Here we find concepts that we as adults have become familiar with from our experiences in the real world in which we live: concepts of a mountain, a valley, foggy clouds, shadows, twilight, the sound of a flowing stream, a cave, a house, a door, a guard, a couch. And we also know, for example, that a valley is usually found in a mountain,

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[66] Ibid., pp. 154-55.
[67] Ibid., p. 155.
[68] Ov.*Met*.XI.591-615.

not vice versa; a door is usually found on a house and not a house on the door. In other words, we are familiar with the relationships of those concepts with each other. All this pre-existing knowledge helps us to imagine the landscape of the realm of Somnus as a place that is possible and intelligible to our mind. Once the landscape is established, it is equally easy to derive from the element of nature present in the description what we would like to place in the designated spaces: some blooming poppies in front of the cave, in tens or hundreds or as many as the audience wishes; or any mixture of herbal plants, as long as they are in large quantities, as 'countless herbs' cannot be for example just one rosemary plant. There is a further clue as to the location of the land of Sleep, which requires broader intertextual knowledge, namely the reference to Lethe. An audience or a reader familiar with Greek mythology may know that Lethe is one of the five rivers that flow in the realm of Hades, the world under the earth where the deceased go when they die, which is itself a well-established intertextual imaginary world. This knowledge is not necessary for the understanding of the landscape of the land of Sleep; it nevertheless connects the description here with those of other parts of the Greek underworld and all the stories related to the inhabitants of the realm. This intertextual link enables the audience or readers who have the knowledge of Greek mythology to experience the Secondary World presented here as more complete and believable (in the sense of evoking the Secondary Belief, a sense of believing that what is presented in the Secondary World can be 'true' in its own particular context).

The element of the timeline in this description is quite weak, and depends heavily on the intertextual link via the reference to Lethe to establish a sense of the temporal dimension of the world. The element of genealogy, by the same token, is limited in this description: it mentions no more than that Somnus is the father of Morpheus,

and that he has other sons too, and here it is not essential for the understanding of the world.

The world with two gates to despatch dreams mentioned by Penelope or the land of Sleep visited by Iris are very different from the type of medieval dream worlds that is most characteristically represented by the medieval French *Le Roman de la Rose*. This co-authored work depicts a world dreamt of by the Lover, namely an enclosed garden belonging to a nobleman called Déduit, the name meaning 'pleasure' in Old French. There the Lover is struck by the arrow of the God of Love and his heart is filled with a longing for the Rose. He encounters various figures with obviously allegorical names, and they talk and act as typical of their names (Reason, Nature, Genius, and so on), as he sets out to find his Rose guarded deep in the innermost chamber of the garden. *Le Roman de la Rose* was extremely popular in the Middle Ages. There are over three hundred manuscripts and fragments that have survived to the present day, many of which being illuminated manuscripts with miniature paintings of the garden and the figures.[69] Such illustrations may be regarded as demonstrating the transmedial potential of a dream world, in this case a transformation from the written text to a form of visual art; the illustrations enhance the experience of reading the work, especially as they exist side by side with the text.[70]

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[69] Lori J. Walters, 'Rose Summary—History and Summary of the Text', Digital Library of Medieval Manuscripts <https://dlmm.library.jhu.edu/en/romandelarose/rose-summary/> [accessed 31 May 2020]. The same webpage shows a few examples of miniature illustrations of the figures.

[70] For a detailed discussion of the transmediality of imaginary worlds, see Wolf, *Building Imaginary Worlds*, Chapter 6. Wolf's focus is mainly on contemporary media such as films and video games, yet he does note that words, images, sounds, and interactions are the basic elements that the medium must make use of (at least one of them) in order for the imaginary world to become transmedial (p. 248).

This brief discussion is by no means exhaustive, but only intends to exemplify different types of imaginary worlds related to dreams in the pre-modern era. From remote islands that are supposedly located in the Primary World to a mythical underworld that is the dwelling of gods, or a highly unrealistic symbolic garden with allegorical figures, pre-modern literary dreams strike us with their competence of world-building.

1.3   Medieval European dream culture

On the level of the individual, dreams and dreaming may be a physical, psychological, mystical, or even nonsensical experience. On the level of society, on the other hand, it is possible to speak of dreams and dreaming as a cultural phenomenon in that some dreams were believed to have an effect on real life by their prophetic power. The fact that dreams appear in so many literary works in pre-modern times implies that dreams were regarded by members of medieval European society as having great significance—they were worthy of being written down.[71] This significance is not merely aesthetic; although there is nothing to prevent a literary work from including a dream simply because it is of some aesthetic value, in pre-modern times there was a consensus across western Europe that dreams, or certain types of dreams, contained important messages that were otherwise impossible or very difficult for mortals to obtain, such as information concerning the future of the dreamer or those who had a connection with the dreamer, or information for society as a whole. The focus on dreams in medieval times was mainly on their prognostic function, and this social interest influenced the status of

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[71] Pre-modern dreams are also found in texts that are outside the scope of this thesis, such as records of dreams in ancient and medieval historical documents.

dreams in literary works. Medieval Wales was no exception in this regard. Therefore a brief overview of the ideas about and attitudes towards dreams in medieval European culture can help us acquire a better understanding of the medieval Welsh dream texts that we are going to discuss in this thesis. We will first review briefly two seminal works on medieval dreams, namely, Kathryn Lynch's *The High Medieval Dream Vision* and Steven Kruger's *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, both of which contain discussions relevant to our research on medieval Welsh literary dreams.

Lynch's work examines medieval European literary dreams in the context of philosophical thoughts and theory of genres. She emphasises the diachronic dimension of genres. She regards genres as being 'made up of a repertoire of features that evolve slowly over time'.[72] Following Fowler, she holds that a literary work can normally be attributed to one single genre, which determines the external form and structure of the work, although traits of other genres may exist in the same text. In this sense, Lynch regards literary vision as a genre, with the external form of a dream or a waking vision.[73] Furthermore, adopting Fowler's terminology 'subgenre', Lynch categorises the philosophical vision exemplified by texts such as Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and Alain de Lille's *De Planctu Naturae* as a subgenre. The subgenre, according to Lynch, functions 'to assist the reader in understanding the aims of a group of works that adhere to a set of relatively precise and limited norms' and is a category with a historical dimension as that of 'genre'.[74] In a philosophical vision the character has a dream, and as a dreamer he embarks on an

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[72] Kathryn L. Lynch, *The High Medieval Dream Vision: Poetry, Philosophy, and Literary Form* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1988), p. 5.
[73] Lynch, *The High Medieval Dream Vision*, pp. 6-7. For Fowler's view, see Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
[74] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

interior epistemological journey, and gains knowledge through imagination, reason, and memory, from the concrete to the abstract. In the definition of this particular subgenre of philosophical dreams, the terms 'vision' and 'dream' appear to be interchangeable, and this is indeed the way in which Lynch uses the two terms in her monograph. She emphasises the liminal state of dreaming, describing it as 'an experience that happens to a man when he is between stable physical states—neither of the body nor removed from it.' [75] Whereas this thesis does not focus on philosophical dreams or the relationship between the body and the consciousness in dreams, the marginal status of dreams is nevertheless of interest to us particularly as regards the perception of space and time by the dreamer and the reader of the dream narrative involved in presenting literary dreams as a world-building activity.

Steven Kruger's *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* may be regarded as another seminal work on the study of medieval dreams with a universal European perspective. His work approaches the topic not only from literary texts containing dreams; as Lynch comments in her review of the volume, 'his primary interest is in the dream as a cultural phenomenon',[76] and thus analyses of literary dreams are found alongside theological and philosophical treatises and even scientific texts on dreams. Kruger emphasises the popularity of dream divination in the Middle Ages across Europe, namely, divination by searching for the meaning of one's dream in dreambooks and dream lunaries, among which the most popular was *Somniale Danielis,* a dreambook claimed to have been composed by the biblical prophet Daniel.[77] He discusses the somewhat awkward position of dreams between the divine and the mundane, the

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[75] Ibid., p. 51.
[76] Kathryn Lynch, '*Dreaming in the Middle Ages* by Steven F. Kruger (review)', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, Volume 16 (1994), pp. 215-19.
[77] Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 7-16.

corporeal and the purely intellectual, stressing the dilemma faced by authors from Classical Antiquity to the patristic period regarding the origins and typologies of dreams, which led to divided opinions concerning the authenticity and validity of dreams.[78]

The discussion is then oriented towards the medieval reception and the revival of interest in dreams and renewal of dream theories in the twelfth century.[79] Here Kruger reviews one of the most influential medieval dream theories, systematised in Macrobius's *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* (Commentary on Scipio's Dream) (c. 400). The work known as *Somnium Scipionis* (Scipio's Dream) is the sixth Book of Cicero's *De Re Publica* (On the Commonwealth). Cicero himself was not over enthusiastic about the significance of dreams. He expressed a naturalist view of dreams in his *De Divinatione* (On Divination).[80] Macrobius, however, managed to turn it into a prestigious text about the theory and interpretation of dreams. Cicero's work circulated only in fragments during the Middle Ages. Until the rediscovery of about one third of the original text of *De Re Publica* in 1820, *Scipio's Dream* was the only long excerpt of this work known to us, mainly because of the number of copies preserved in manuscripts of Macrobius's *Commentary* on this text, suggesting its popularity and wide circulation in medieval times.[81]

The style adopted by Macrobius in this work is typical of commentaries of his time, namely, he quotes an original paragraph of Cicero's work, and then gives an elaboration of the implications of the paragraph. However, we should not be beguiled by this seemingly humble style into believing that it is merely an

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[78] Ibid., pp. 17-56.
[79] Ibid., pp. 57-122.
[80] Cic.*Div*.I.39-71 and II.119.
[81] Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, ed. and trans. William H. Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 10-11.

explanation of Cicero's work. On the contrary, Macrobius displays a high degree of inventiveness in interpreting the simple meanings of the original text and develops a systematic discussion of the Neo-platonic view of the universe.

Macrobius's *Commentary* consists of 39 chapters in total. The sections most frequently quoted by researchers of dreams and visions are Chapters 2 and 3. In Chapter 2 he defends the value of his *Commentary* by making a division between different kinds of fables (*fabula*). In Chapter 3 he puts forward his five-type classification of dreams:

(1) enigmatic dream (*oneiros* in Greek and *somnium* in Latin),

(2) prophetic vision (*horama* in Greek and *visio* in Latin),

(3) oracular dream (*chrematismos* in Greek and *oraculum* in Latin),

(4) nightmare (*enypnion* in Greek and *insomnium* in Latin),

(5) apparition (*phantasma* in Greek and *visum* in Latin, the term used by Cicero).[82]

Nightmare and apparition are excluded from the discussion, because they are regarded by Macrobius as having no prophetic significance. Enigmatic dreams, by contrast, receive special attention, as he sees them as containing hidden information represented by all sorts of symbols and requiring an interpretation for their meanings to be understood.[83] This type of dream is divided further into five sub-types: personal, alien, social, public, and universal. According to Macrobius, the dream of Scipio embodies all these five variations on the enigmatic dream.[84] Macrobius is not the inventor of this fivefold classification of dreams; he incorporated the dream

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[82] Macrob. *In Somn.*I.3.7.
[83] Ibid., I.3.10.
[84] Ibid., I.3.12.

theories of his predecessors such as Artemidorus, and systematised the classification

into a typology that would dominate concepts concerning dreams and their functions

in western Europe throughout the Middle Ages.[85]

The influence of the *Commentary* in the Middle Ages was so far-reaching that, as

Stahl points out, all chapters but four were referred to or used by writers of the

period, the most famous among them being Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Bede,

Abelard, Albert Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Dante, and Petrarch. The *Commentary* is

best known to English readers through Chaucer's works, particularly 'The Nun's

Priest's Tale' in the *Canterbury Tales*, and *Parliament of Fowls*.[86] In medieval

Welsh literature the influence of the *Commentary* and the Macrobian dream theory is

more elusive, as no medieval Welsh translation of the *Commentary* is known to us,

and there seems to be no reference to Macrobius's name or the title of his work in

any medieval Welsh literary text. However, we know that the *Commentary* was

known in Wales no later than the eleventh century, as convincingly argued by

Peden.[87] We may also find indirect evidence of its impact in texts such as

Breuddwyd Rhonabwy, as McKenna argues, which will be examined in detail in

Chapter 2.2.[88]

Kruger's work ends with an examination of the relationship between dream theories

as philosophical thoughts and as literary compositions, especially in the context of

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[85] Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 19-20.
[86] Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, pp. 39-55. Also see Alison M. Peden, 'Macrobius and Medieval Dream Literature', *Medium Ævum* 54 (1985), 59-73.
[87] Peden, 'Science and philosophy in Wales at the Time of the Norman Conquest: a Macrobius Manuscript from Llanbadarn', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 2 (Winter, 1981), 21–45.
[88] See Catherine McKenna, '"What Dreams May Come Must Give Us Pause": *Breudwyt Ronabwy* and the Red Book of Hergest', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 58 (2009), 69-99 (75-79), and also her 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages: The Arthurian Legend in the Celtic Literatures and Traditions*, eds. by Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), pp. 80-91 (p. 61).

medieval dream poetry.[89] The position of Kruger's work as a universal appraisal of medieval dreams and dream theories has not so far been surpassed. While the philosophical thoughts behind the literary presentation of dreams is not the focus of this study, an awareness of this element may assist us in understanding the possible knowledge background and mindsets of the audiences of medieval Welsh dream literature.

No matter how popular and influential the Macrobian dream theory was during the Middle Ages, it would not be able to compete with the Bible. Though not translated into vernacular languages in Europe until the late medieval period, parts of the Bible were made known to even the illiterate through sermons and biblical stories. The Bible is not devoid of accounts of dreams. On the contrary, over forty dreams are described in the Old Testament and over ten in the New Testament.[90] There is no need for us to examine all the biblical dreams in detail as they have received plenty of scholarly attention over the past few decades.[91] However, it will be useful to highlight some elements of biblical dreams and patristic writings about dreams which are relevant to our study of medieval Welsh literary dreams with a brief review of Jacques Le Goff's 'Christianity and Dreams' (1988).[92]

Le Goff notes that dreams in the Bible are a nocturnal phenomenon. The Bible distinguishes clearly between a waking vision and a dream. Daydreams or 'waking

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[89] Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 123-65.
[90] Wei in his doctoral thesis in 2011 includes a list of all dreams found in the Old and the New Testament, noting that there are 45 in the Old Testament, and 11 in the New Testament. See Lien-Yueh Wei, *Doctorinalising Dreams: Patristic Views of the Nature of Dreams and their relation to Early Christian Doctrines* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011), Appendix C, pp. 361-67.
[91] For a summary and review of such studies see Wei, *Doctorinalising Dreams*, pp. 24-29.
[92] Jacques Le Goff, 'Christianity and Dreams (Second to Seventh Century)', in Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans., Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 193-231.

dreams' do not count as dreams, but nightmares do, such as the nightmares of Job in Job 4:12-16 and 7:13-14. Dreams in the Bible involve more than one sense of perception—they are often both visual and audial. No apparitions of the dead or of demons are found in the biblical dreams. Whereas God can indeed be the origin of a dream, more often dreams are illusions. Some deceitful prophets are also able to send false dreams to sleepers and then interpret them in a way that seems to prove their authority.[93] In short, the Bible shows a dubious and generally distrustful attitude towards dreams. This attitude greatly influenced if not completely determined the suspicious attitude toward dreams found in patristic writings.

Le Goff points out that early Church Fathers such as St Augustine had a deep distrust of dreams, but as Christian theology evolved, it absorbed the tradition of pagan dreams, especially royal dreams, into its new system of values. At the same time it introduced a new type of 'dream elites', namely the saints, such as Martin of Tours,[94] of whom there is a Welsh version of his Life which will be discussed in Chapter 4.1.3. Christianity also developed its own typology of dreams based on the origins of dreams, and by the seventh century this had been codified into the form seen in the Middle Ages.[95] Keskiaho reviews Le Goff's article at the beginning of her work, acknowledges his contribution to research on medieval attitudes towards dreams from more than one angle, but criticises him for basing his conclusions too heavily on his reading of Gregory the Great, assuming his influence in later centuries without positive evidence, and ignoring an important part of Augustine's view of dreams— that of the theory of three visions.[96] Augustine elaborated his theory of three visions

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[93] Le Goff, 'Christianity and Dreams', pp. 194-95.
[94] Ibid., pp. 214-18.
[95] Ibid., pp. 223-25.
[96] For a more detailed introduction to Augustine's three types of visions, see for example, Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 36-43. For Keskiaho's review of Le Goff's article,

in Book XII of his *De Genesi ad litteram*, where he divides visions into corporeal vision, spiritual vision, and intellectual vision. The corporeal vision is the physical sense of sight; the intellectual vision is the intellectual knowledge of God and direct intuition that can be grasped purely by intellect. Spiritual vision is located between these two, and is regarded as the knowledge one obtains by means of imagination, or in other words what one sees with the mind's eye. Therefore, to Augustine, dream is a sub-type of the spiritual vision.

For almost three hundred years, from the first to the fourth centuries, the Christian Church wrestled with the secular power of the Roman Empire and fought for its very existence and position in society. In the course of the establishment and early development of the Church amidst political, social and cultural unrest during the last years of the reign of the Roman Empire from without, and struggles to set up a standardised dogmatic system from within the Church, many patristic works emerged as apologies for the Christian doctrine, posed generally as against Roman paganism or specifically against a certain dissenting opinion. Commentaries on the Bible also appeared during this period, which were often used to defend the author's argument.[97] Dreams, when serving this purpose, were certainly not excluded from patristic writing.

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see Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: the Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400—900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 8-10.
[97] For a concise mapping of dreams in Early Church writings, see for example, Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Dreams and Visions in Early Christian Discourse', in *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming*, eds. by David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 189-212, and Bronwen Neil, 'Studying Dream Interpretation from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam', *Journal of Religious History* 40(1) (2016), 44-64. Both studies offer a good starting point for further explorations of the topic. For more in-depth studies, see for example Wei, *Doctorinalising Dreams*, and Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages*.

Several prominent early Christian theologians, including Tertullian, St Augustine and Gregory the Great have all written commentaries on dreams. Tertullian was the first Christian theologian to elaborate a systematic doctrine of dreams. In his *De Anima* (On the Soul), he places dream between sleep and death. When a person dies, the soul leaves the body completely, but when one is asleep and the body is immobile, the soul is temporarily freed from external influences and emits products of its own activities; dream is one of these products. This suggests that the human soul itself can be an origin of dreams. Tertullian also believes that no soul can return from hell, so in the case of apparitions of dead persons in dreams, these dreams are from the devil. Ultimately, God can be the source of dreams, in the case of true prophetic dreams, although it can be difficult to distinguish through the content of the dream itself whether it has come from God or from the devil. Dreams occur to anyone regardless of their ethnicity, moral status, or whether the person is a Christian or a pagan, and it is possible to have meaningful dreams regardless of the place where one sleeps. In other words, Tertullian is against the validity of incubation, in which one purposefully seeks a dream by performing a ritual and sleeping in a particular sacred place.[98]

The Christian Church grew more suspicious of dreams during the next few centuries. St Augustine in the fourth century, for example, although he recorded a dream of his mother's in his *Confessions*, 3.11.19, which predicted his conversion to Christianity, was rather distrustful of dreams. Similarly, Gregory the Great treated dreams as a

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[98] Tertullian, *De Anima*, chapters 45-49. For a summary of Tertullian's doctrine, also see Le Goff, 'Christianity and Dreams', pp. 207-10.

sickness of the soul, except those sent by God himself, such as the dreams experienced by Daniel (Daniel 2:31) in his *Moralia* and *Dialogues*.[99]

The same century saw an increase in the number of hagiographical texts of saints and martyrs, known as *vitae* in Latin, which tell of the saint or martyr's life from birth to death, including descriptions of miracles and deeds performed by the character. Some of them also contain descriptions of dreams, usually to highlight the virtue of the protagonist and testify him or her as distinguished in faith. Perpetua's dreams in *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* may be regarded as a typical example of the dream of a martyr, while the dream of St Martin is typically that of a saint.[100] Hagiographical writing developed a fixed pattern of depicting the main character with various literary devices, dreams being one of them. We will discuss this point further in Chapter 4.1 when examining the *bucheddau* (saints' Lives written in medieval Welsh).

The discussion in this section suggests that ideas about and attitudes towards dreams were divided in both the secular and the religious context in medieval European culture. In both contexts a typology was developed to explain this division that had manifested itself as early as the metaphor in the *Odyssey* of the two gates through which dreams travel. In the secular context, the theory of Macrobius, established upon a fivefold categorisation of dreams, was the most influential, whereas in the religious typology of dreams the authenticity and value of a dream depended on its

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[99] *Mor*.VIII.42 and *Dial*.IV.50. For a detailed study of Gregory's thoughts of dreams, see Arnold Smeets, 'The Dazzle of Dawn: Visions, Dreams, and Thought of Dreams by Gregory the Great', in *Dreams as Divine Communication in Christianity: From Hermas to Aquinas*, ed. by Bart J. Koet (Leuven and Walple, MA.: Peeters, 2012), pp. 157-78.
[100] See Leslie Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks and Lazy Romans: Disciplining Sleep in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 21(2) (2013), 209-39 (228-230); Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 148-83. For more details of the *Passion*, see Thomas J. Heffernan, ed., *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

origin: whether a dream came from God and angels, the human soul itself, or the devil. We will see that the difference in contexts in which the medieval Welsh texts containing literary dreams appear has a significant role to play in the presentation and functions of the dreams.

1.4   The 'dream-vision' genre

So far we have discussed the concepts of genre and world-building, as well as dreams as a culture phenomenon in medieval Europe and its related typology. In this section we will examine a specific genre in medieval European literature, namely that of 'dream-vision', which seems to be the most obvious candidate for our attribution of medieval Welsh dream narratives. Solopova, having drawn on some examples in Middle English, gives a definition of 'dream-vision' that is applicable to a broader European context as well:

> What we describe here as a 'dream-vision' was one of the most popular medieval literary genres. Most works which belong to this genre are narratives written in the first person singular which present their events as seen in a vision or dream by a narrator. They usually have an introductory scene or a prologue describing the circumstances of the vision, and frequently combine narrative with meditation and an interpretation of the events described. The content of dream-visions is varied and may include religious, philosophical, political, satirical, lyrical, and fictional subject matter.[101]

We will find no difficulty in matching the features referred to in the definition with texts in Old and Middle English, as they are the texts used to establish the definition. To look at some examples in further detail and gain a more concrete idea of what the features of 'dream-vision' mean, for example, that of the prologue, we may quote

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[101] Elizabeth Solopova, and Stuart D Lee, *Key Concepts in Medieval Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 175.

these opening lines of *The Dream of the Rood*, composed no later than the tenth century, one of the most characteristic dream-vision texts in Old English:

> Hwæt! Ic swefan cyst   secgan wylle,
>
> hwæt me gemætte   to midre nihte,
>
> syðþan reordberend   reste wunedon!
>
> Þuhte me þæt ic gesawe   ... (lines 1-4)
>
> [Listen! I wish to relate the choicest vision / that came to me in the middle of the night / when speech-bearers dwelt at rest. / It showed itself to me that I saw...][102]

The introductory section of the poem following these opening lines describes the dreamer and visionary seeing the Cross in his dream. The Cross appears to change its appearance, one moment wet and soaked with blood, and then glittering with precious gems. The Cross itself begins to talk to the dreamer, telling him of its thoughts and feelings about being the Rood upon which the Christ is crucified, and bids the dreamer to make known his vision publicly for the sake of future generations of human beings. The poem closes with an expression of the dreamer's strong yearning to leave this world and to share the joy of heaven after seeing the Cross in his dream.

Several features regarded as typical of a dream-vision are immediately recognisable from the short quotation: the presentation of the text in verse, the use of first-person narration, the dream as the framework of the narrative, and a vision as the content of the text, all of these matching the definitions mentioned above perfectly.

Middle English literature contains a larger body of texts which can be labelled as 'dream-vision', many of which date from the fourteenth century, including *Pearl*,

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[102] The original Old English text together with modern English translation are quoted from Richard North, Joe Allard and Patricia Gillies, eds., *The Longman Anthology of Old English, Old Icelandic and Anglo-Norman Literatures* (Harlow: Pearson, 2011), p. 285.

Piers Plowman, and four of Chaucer's earlier works—*The Book of the Duchess*, *The Parliament of Fowls*, *The House of Fame*, and the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*. In the opening lines of Piers Plowman, for example, we perceive a very similar narrative pattern to that of *The Dream of the Rood*:

> Ac on a May morwenynge on Malverne Hilles
>
> Me befil a ferly, of Fairye me thoghte.
>
> I was wery [of] wandred and wente me to reste
>
> Under a brood bank by a bournes syde;
>
> And as I lay and lenede and loked on the wattres,
>
> I slombred into a slepyng, it sweyed to murye.
>
>   Thanne gan [me] to meten a merveillous swevene--
>
> That I was in a wildernesse, wiste I nevere where. (lines 5-12)
>
> [But on a morning in May, among the Malvern Hills, a strange thing happened to me, as though by magic. For I was tired out by my wanderings, and as I lay down to rest under a broad bank by the side of a stream, and leaned over gazing into the water, it sounded so pleasant that I fell asleep. / And I dreamt a marvellous dream: I was in a wilderness, I could not tell where,...][103]

As in *The Dream of the Rood*, the narration is conveyed through a voice in the first person, the dream is presented as the frame of the narrative, and the text is composed in verse. The structure of *Piers Plowman*, however, is more complicated than *The Dream of the Rood*. It contains eight dream-visions between which the dreamer wakes up intermittently; the visions can be read on their own without reference to the others; and above all, the third and fifth dream-visions contain a dream-within-a-dream.

Scholarship on Middle English 'dream-vision' texts and the delineation of the features of this particular genre has developed into a matured field of study over the

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[103] J. F. Goodridge, ed. and trans., *Langland: Piers the Ploughman* (Hamondsworth, Middlesex, and New York: Penguin Books, 1959; revised edn. 1966, reprint 1984), p. 25. Goodridge's prose translation instead of a verse translation is chosen, for the focus here is not on the form of the poem but on its content.

past fifty years or so, with monographs such as Constance Hieatt's *Realism of Dream Visions* and A. C. Spearing's *Medieval Dream-Poetry*,[104] not to mention a large number of journal articles.

Similarly, we may find texts composed in other medieval European languages, such as *Le Roman de la Rose* referred to in Chapter 1.2, that have exactly the same features as those described in the definition above, and scholarly discussions have paid attention to similar elements of the texts, sometimes purposefully highlighting the coherence between the text and the definition of the genre.[105] It is not difficult to see that the widely accepted definition of 'dream-vision' has been obtained by assigning a group of texts as prototypes or most typical ones, and afterwards other texts are allocated positions in this genre on a descending scale of similitude. Our analysis of medieval Welsh dream narratives in the following three chapters will show that the Welsh texts as a whole demonstrate too much dissimilarity from the typical examples of 'dream-vision', and medieval Welsh dream narratives would appear as very poor examples of the genre 'dream-vision', if we try to model our categorisation of the Welsh texts according to the model used for Middle English texts. It is, therefore, necessary to find an alternative definition of medieval Welsh dream narratives without expecting exactly the same features as those present in the medieval European 'dream-vision', and the term itself might not be appropriate in the medieval Welsh context.

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[104] Constance B. Hieatt, *The Realism of Dream Visions: The Poetic Exploitation of the Dream Experience in Chaucer and His Contemporaries* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1967). A.C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
[105] For the connection between *Le Roman de la Rose* and the wider medieval European dream culture, especially Macrobius, see for example, C. H. L. Bodenham, 'The Nature of the Dream in Late Mediaeval French Literature', *Medium Ævum* 54 (1985), 74-86.

CHAPTER 2   DREAMS IN MEDIEVAL WELSH PROSE

As demonstrated in the Introduction, dreams are found across various types of prose texts in medieval Welsh, both secular and religious, both among the 'native' prose and translated literature. In this chapter we will examine five dream texts in medieval Welsh prose, including two of the so-called Mabinogion texts, *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, and three of the *areithiau pros* texts, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd*, *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*. All these five prose texts are examples of 'native' medieval Welsh literature. We will see, by surveying the spectrum of imaginary worlds and the operations of world-building activities in these texts, how dreams are presented in each of these narratives, what is the function of the dream within the narrative in each case, how they engage with the reader or the audience, and what these texts reveal about genre.

2.1   *Breuddwyd Maxen*

Breuddwyd Maxen (Maxen's Dream) is one of the two 'breuddwyd' texts in the Mabinogion. This work is preserved in three medieval manuscripts. The earliest is NLW MS Peniarth 16 (second half of the thirteenth century), fols 40v–45v, in which the text breaks off at the point of Maxen's return to Rome. Another incomplete copy appears in Peniarth 4 (which together with Peniarth 5 forms the White Book of Rhydderch, mid-fourteenth century), fols 45r–48v / cols 178–191, breaking off at the point at which Maxen is besieging Rome. The earliest complete copy is preserved in

Jesus College MS 111 (the Red Book of Hergest, 1382x1405), fols 172r–174r / cols 697–705.[1] The differences between the text in the three are mainly orthographical and do not affect our understanding of the dream, therefore Brynley Robert's edition based on Peniarth 16 and Peniarth 4 is used for quotation purposes here.[2] The possible composition date of the tale itself is the second half of the twelfth century (or 'late' twelfth century), although as Roberts notes, an earlier date is not impossible, given the possibility of the author being motivated by the political situation in Gwynedd at that time.[3] The text is introduced in the Red Book with the rubric heading 'Llyma vreid6yt maxen wledic',[4] and the title is mentioned again in the colophon: 'A'r chwedyl hon a elwir Breudwyt Maxen Wledic, amherawdyr Rufein. Ac yma y mae teruyn arnaw' [And this story is called Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig, emperor of Rome. And here is the end of it].[5]

Compared to most of the Mabinogion tales, *Breuddwyd Maxen* has attracted relatively little scholarly attention. It was not until the publication of Brynley Roberts's English-language edition of *Breuddwyd Maxen* in 2005 that an up-to-date and reliable edition became available for scholars and students of medieval Welsh literature.[6] The earliest modern critical analysis is found in the comparative study of *Breuddwyd Maxen* and the Irish tale *Aislinge Oenguso* by Sir John Rhŷs in his

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[1] Brynley F. Roberts, ed., *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 2005), pp. xi-xvi.
[2] Ibid., pp. xxiv-xxv.
[3] Brynley Roberts, 'Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig: Why? When?', in *CSANA Yearbook* 3-4, eds., Joseph Falaky Nagy and Leslie Ellen Jones (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), pp. 303-14 (pp. 311-12).
[4] Jesus College MS 111, fol. 172r / col. 697, line 39.
[5] Roberts, ed., *Maxen*, p. 11, lines 321-22. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.
[6] Formerly there was a Welsh edition by Ifor Williams: *Breuddwyd Maxen, gyda Rhagymadrodd, Nodiadau a Geirfa Lawn* (Bangor: Jarvis & Foster, 1908; 2nd edn 1920; 3rd edn 1927), but the edition is over a century old by now. George W. Brewer also edited the text in his Master's thesis (*Astudiaeth Feirniadol o'r Chwedl Breuddwyd Macsen* (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wales, Bangor, 1965), but the thesis remains unpublished to date and its circulation and influence have been limited.

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom
in 1892. Rhŷs's main argument is that instead of being a story about Maxen the
Roman emperor, *Breuddwyd Maxen* is essentially a tale of the primitive Celtic dawn-
goddess Elen, as is suggested by place names in the tale and Elen's epithet *lluyddog*
for which parallels can be found in Irish history.[7] However, George Brewer revisits
this argument and repudiates the validity of its conclusion by revealing the limitation
of the comparison. He points out that no feature occurs in *Aislinge Oenguso*
corresponding to the detailed description of the journey in the dream and the
repetition of the journey twice in real life in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, and notes that the
parallels in place-names are not confined to Celtic sources.[8] More recently, Jerry
Hunter explored the onomastic and the epithetic aspects of the tale and argued that
the existence of the love story of Maxen is a structural necessity for the elaboration
of the place-names related to Elen, and for the tale to form a coherent whole.[9] He
suggests that the tale may be regarded as a textual reflex of onomastic lore. His
argument places the dream in a secondary position with regards to narrative function,
as an arrangement created to bring Maxen and Elen together, which further brings
about the place-names related to Elen as a result of their union. None of these studies
pays attention to the dream as a Secondary World, which is the focus of this thesis.

Let us first take a look at the overall structure of the narrative. Unlike the other four
dream narratives that we are going to discuss in this chapter, which have a framed
structure, it can be argued that *Breuddwyd Maxen* has an episodic structure. As

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[7] John Rhŷs, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic
Heathendom* (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1892), pp. 167-75.
[8] George Brewer and Bedwyr Lewis Jones, 'Popular Tale Motifs and Historical Tradition in
Breudwyt Maxen', *Medium Ævum* 44 (1975), 23-30.
[9] Thomas Gerald Hunter, *Onomastic Lore in the Native Middle Welsh Prose Tales*
(unpublished master's thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1988), p. 70. Quoted from
Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), p. 75.

Sioned Davies notes, the narration of the dream takes up two-thirds the length of the text in its known complete form. It is possible to divide the tale into two parts: the dream and additional stories. Alternatively, it can be divided into three parts: the dream of Maxen, the search and union, and the additional stories.[10] Divided either way, the dream takes up a significant part of the length of the text. The theme of the dream itself is love, whereas in relation to the rest of the tale other themes and aspects, such as marriage, kingship, place-names and origin legend are also present.[11]

Structurally, the dream episode has an opening, a middle part, and an end. At the beginning of the tale, the Roman emperor Maxen goes hunting. It is a sunny hot day in summer, and the emperor soon feels tired. He falls asleep as his chamberlains shelter him from direct sunlight by raising their shields on spear-shafts around him; and he has a dream. The function of the opening scene is to build up a picture of the world outside the dream, a Primary World that is mirrored in the dream itself. Unlike most of the dream narratives we are going to analyse in this thesis, in which the dream occurs during the night, the dream in *Breuddwyd Maxen* happens at midday, with a justifiable natural cause: the fatigue after hunting and the heat of the day. The *locus* where Maxen falls asleep also has an outdoor setting in a natural environment: Maxen sleeps presumably on flat ground in a valley by a river, with a shield under his head, and not, for example, in a luxurious bed in his court. This description of time and place is similar to some of the dream-visions discussed in Chapter 1.4, especially *Piers Plowman*, in which the dreamer falls asleep on a broad bank by the side of a stream on a warm morning in May. In both texts, the descriptions of the

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[10] Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*, pp. 74-75.
[11] For a more detailed discussion of the themes in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, see Roberts, ed., *Maxen*, pp. lxi-lxxi.

environment in which the dreamer falls asleep may be regarded as belonging to the same type of *locus amoenus*.[12] The transition into sleep is smooth and peaceful, and the dream world blends into the real world so perfectly that the dreamer does not realise immediately that he is dreaming.

The dream itself contains many actions; it is a long and difficult journey. Although Maxen's body appears motionless in the eyes of his attendants as he lies asleep, from his own perspective he is experiencing something very active. The starting point of the journey is familiar to him: it is the valley in which he fell asleep. In this sense it is possible to imagine from the dreamer's perspective that he is waking up in the dream or even into the dream, and the overlap of the same *locus* in the real world and the dream world enables a seamless transfer of the dreamer into the dream world.[13] Then the action begins: Maxen climbs 'e menyd uchaf o'r a welsei eryoet' [the highest mountain that he had ever seen].[14] After crossing the mountain, he travels through 'gwladoed gwastat teccaf o'r a welsei den eryoet' [the fairest level countries that he had ever seen],[15] and walks along large rivers until their estuaries. There is a time indicator at this point, but an ambiguous one: 'p[h]a hyt bennac y kerdei velly' [however long he so journeyed][16] which, rather than marking the lapse of time in the dream, retains a feeling of vagueness. The journey goes on with Maxen seeing a mighty fortress at the largest river, and a city with multi-coloured strong towers, and a fleet at the river mouth, again described as 'mwyhaf llynges oed honno o'r a welsei

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[12] For a detailed discussion of this concept, see for example Ernst Robert Curtis, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ. and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp.192-202.
[13] A similar technique is used by the *Pearl* poet and Chaucer in their works.
[14] Roberts, ed., *Maxen*, p. 1, line 20.
[15] Ibid., lines 22-23.
[16] Ibid., line 26.

ef eryoet' [the fleet was the largest that he had ever seen].[17] The use of superlative adjectives at once conveys a sense of unreality and enhances the emotion of the reader or listener by creating a feeling of wonder. Then Maxen sees the biggest ship of the fleet, and somehow he boards the ship and sails in it across the sea. After crossing the sea he sees an island, 'er enys decaf o'r byt' [the fairest island in the whole world].[18] Travelling across the island from one end to the other, he sees valleys, cliffs, another island, plains, woodlands and mountains, and a river flowing down from the mountains. Following the direction of the river, Maxen finally sees a castle, and the maiden with whom he falls in love simply by seeing her in his dream. The same application of superlative adjectives runs through the description of the dream, putting the reality of the dream on hold for the reader and the protagonist of the story alike.

The end of the dream is not as smooth as its beginning. On the contrary, it seems from the dreamer's point of view that his dream is interrupted. Maxen is just about to kiss the maiden when he is woken up: 'rac angerd e kwn urth e kynllyvaneu a'e ysgwyd urth e taryaneu en kyuarvot y gyt, a pheleider e gwaeur ygyt en kyflad a phystolat e meirch defroi a wnaeth er amperauder.' [because of the fierceness of the dogs at their leashes, and the clashing of the shield edges against each other, and the shafts of the spears striking together, and the stamping of the horses, the emperor woke up.][19] In short, several sounds (or noises to Maxen) are involved in the process of his awakening, in contrast to the tranquil and peaceful way in which he fell asleep. The description of the dreamer being awoken by a noise is also found in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, although there it seems that Rhonabwy is woken up by the noises inside

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[17] Ibid., p. 2, lines 30-31.
[18] Ibid., lines 37-38.
[19] Ibid., p. 3, lines 81-84.

his dream. We will return to this point in our discussion of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* in the next section.

From this point onwards the relationship between the dream and the real world is reversed. The dream comes to dominate the advancement of the plot, until it is fulfilled in the real world exactly as it was in the dream. After experiencing the dream Maxen cannot think of anything else but the maiden he saw in his dream, and he becomes love-sick. Readers are also told that he enjoys nothing else but going to sleep, because 'en e mynychet y kyskei, e wreic uwyaf a garei a welei trwy e hun y gyt ac ef.' [as often as he slept, he would see the maiden he loved most with him in his sleep].[20] In the eyes of his own men, he becomes a powerless and stationary figure after having the dream, as if he is paralysed by the power of love associated to the maiden in his dream, and the only action that can bring him back to a normal state is to search for the maiden and make the dream come true.

The mirroring of the dream landscape on a particular part of the real world is revealed to the reader when Maxen listens to the advice of his men and begins a three-year long search for the maiden in the real world. The search in the first year yields no results, and the same is true of the second year. Then the emperor listens to a piece of additional advice and adopts a new strategy when searching. He takes his messengers to the *locus* where he fell asleep and began his journey in the dream, and tells them to set off westwards, the direction in which he travelled in his dream.[21] As the messengers travel on, they see and recognise the landmarks that appeared in

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[20] Ibid., p. 4, lines 101-03. Voluntary sleep in order to see or be united with the loved one in a dream is an element that occurs in several dream narratives in medieval Welsh, both prose and verse, such as *Chweldeu Seith Doethon Rufein* (summarised in Chapter 1.3), and 'Y Cloc' and 'Yr Hun Felys', which will be examined in Chapter 3.3.
[21] Sioned Davies, ed. and trans., *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 106.

Maxen's dream, and they use them to check and confirm that they are travelling in the right direction. In this way the reader, together with the messengers in the story, learn that the second island seen by Maxen in his dream is Anglesey (and the reader can thus work out that the first island he saw is the Island of Britain, a speculation confirmed later in the text in the description of the ensuing journey made by Maxen himself), that the great river is the Menai Strait, and the castle is that of Caernarfon.[22] At the end of their journey, the messengers see, as was seen by Maxen in his dream, the maiden in the castle and converse with her, stating the emperor's love for her and his intention to take her as his wife. She requests that Maxen himself come and meet her if he truly loves her as the messengers state. The messengers return to Maxen with the message, and the emperor embarks on the same journey as he did in his dream, this time in the real world. He reaches where the maiden is, marries her, and lives with her for seven years there. Then, and only then, is Maxen able to act as a proper emperor and exercise his ruling power effectively again. Through the mirroring of the dream and the real world and a dynamic transfer of narrative power from the real world to the dream and back, the dream leads the plot and rounds up the main episode of *Breuddwyd Maxen*.

In terms of world-building, what kind of world is the landscape described in Maxen's dream? Is it a Secondary World or not? And what does the dream tells us about genre? To begin with, Welsh audience or readers in the Middle Ages may hold a different opinion to that of a twenty-first century reader. To a medieval Welsh audience, the description of the landscape in the dream, though at first seems fancy, comes to be recognised as that of northwest Wales as the story unfolds and the place-names are revealed. Their existing geographical knowledge would do the matching

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[22] Ibid., pp. 106-07.

work for them, and thus to them the entire story is set in the Primary World, and what Maxen experiences in his dream is not an experience in an imaginary world that exists apart from the real world, but a type of prophetic visual experience. If they were familiar with the Middle English dream-visions, it would not be difficult for them to recognise in the presentation and the theme of the dream, many elements in which *Breuddwyd Maxen* shares with some dream-visions: the *locus amoenus*, the journey in the dream, falling in love with a maiden seen in a dream. However, there are other elements that are different, the most significant being that the story is not narrated in the first person singular, and there is no contemplation of the meaning of the dream, nor moral lessons to be learnt from it, as is the case of most Middle English dream-visions. Whether the differences were sufficient to prevent them from classifying *Breuddwyd Maxen* as a dream-vision text (without labelling it with the particular term of course), we can only speculate, but it is safe for us to say that it is possible.

Modern readers, on the other hand, and especially those who are not familiar with the geography of Wales, may regard the story altogether as being set in a temporal-spatial coordination whose reality is suspended or even irrelevant. By suspended or irrelevant it is meant that it does not affect their understanding of the basic storyline of the narrative, whether or not they take the figure of Maxen to be the Roman emperor Maximus Magnus in historical record, and whether or not they know where Caernarfon is and how the castle there looks like. Therefore, to a contemporary reader the description of the landscape in Maxen's dream can be regarded as a Secondary World without too much difficulty, as authors of many historical fantasy novels do purposefully with the background of the stories in their works. By reading *Breuddwyd Maxen* in this way, the reader would be taking the text as a concise

example of the genre of historical fantasy, a category that did not exist in the Middle Ages.[23]

2.2 *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*

Breuddwyd Rhonabwy (Rhonabwy's Dream) is a medieval Welsh text that has provoked much interest among researchers of Celtic literature. The manuscript history of the text is quite simple. It is preserved in a single manuscript, Jesus College MS 111 (the Red Book of Hergest, 1382x1405), fols 134v–138v / cols 555–571. It is grouped with other prophetic and dream texts, preceded and followed by two other texts that contain dreams: *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*, and *Breuddwyd Sibli Ddoeth*. Unlike the scholarship of *Breuddwyd Maxen* which leans towards the historical elements of the text, the scholarly interest and arguments about *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* seem to focus on its style and its position in the range of medieval genres.[24] Thomas Parry and Catherine McKenna identify it as a satire that operates on multiple layers, including conventional descriptions of heroic figures like Arthur, purposeful anachronism in terms of the timeline of the story, as well as the art of storytelling itself.[25] Higley argues that *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* is a satire, and yet

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[23] For a detailed discussion of the genre 'historical fantasy', see for example Veronica Schanoes, 'Historical fantasy', in Edward James and Farrah Mendlesohn, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 236-47.

[24] This is not to say that academic works dealing with other aspects of the text do not exist. Helen Fulton, for example, published an article in 1999 that focuses on the political context of the tale in twelfth-century Wales. See Helen Fulton, 'Cyd-destun Gwleidyddol *Breudwyt Ronabwy*', *Llên Cymru* 22 (1999), 42-56 (42-3).

[25] Thomas Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900*, trans. and expanded by Harold Idris Bell, *A History of Welsh Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955, pp. 83-84; Catherine McKenna, '"What Dreams May Come Must Give Us Pause": *Breudwyt Ronabwy* and the Red Book of Hergest', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 58 (2009), 69-99 (95), although the focus of McKenna's article is not on the satiric elements of the tale, and in her 2019 book chapter she admits that it is very difficult to reconstruct the author's rhetorical

what exactly it satirises remains a moot question; that it can be read as a 'romance', albeit an unusual one against the model of medieval French romance, which is understood as having established the standard for discussing the genre of medieval romance; it is a dream narrative, yet it differs enormously from the typical form of medieval dream-vision as seen in Middle English dream poetry.[26] Dafydd Glyn Jones discusses the elements of parody in the text and compares it to the Irish tale *Aislinge Meic Conglinne* (The Dream of Mac Conglinne).[27] Bollard regards the style of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* as being similar to that of *araith*, a particular type of text characterised by rhetorical richness.[28] We will explore three examples, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, later in the chapter.

Other scholars seek to approach *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* with regards style and genre in other ways. Carson, for example, compares the form and style of the tale to other dream narratives in Celtic literary traditions, in particular the Irish *aisligne*. She reads Rhonabwy's sleeping on a yellow ox-skin ('croen dinawet melyn') in relation to what was thought to be the sleeping rites of priests in the ancient Greek polytheist religion and the druids in Ireland, interpreting it as opening the possibility of receiving wisdom from the Otherworld, just as what would happen to a *fili* (a

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intentions. See Catherine McKenna, 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', in *Arthur in the Celtic Languages: The Arthurian Legend in the Celtic Literatures and Traditions*, eds. by Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), pp. 80-91 (91).

[26] Sarah Lynn Higley, 'Perlocutions and Perlections in *The Dream of Rhonabwy*: An Untellable Tale', *Exemplaria* 2(2) (1990), 537-61 (539). For my discussion of the genre of the Middle English 'dream-vision', see Chapter 1.2.

[27] Dafydd Glyn Jones, 'Breuddwyd Rhonabwy', in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. by Geraint Bowen (Llandysul: Gomer, 1974), especially pp. 189-91.

[28] John K. Bollard, 'Traddodiad a Dychan yn *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*', *Llên Cymru* 13 (1985), 155-63.

medieval Irish poet) if he slept alone in the dark.[29] Higley interprets *Breuddwyd Rhonabw*y in the light of J. L. Austin's concept of 'perlocution', a deed enacted by saying something; and *perlection*, a term she creates herself, based upon Wolfgang Iser's concept of 'act of reading', to denote the result of the act of reading.[30]

The two most frequently cited studies of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* so far have been Slotkin's article in 1989 and McKenna's in 2009. Slotkin's 1989 article applies a theory that was new at the time, that of Mieke Bal's narratology, explicated in Bal's *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (1985).[31] Slotkin's article makes use of three terms in her work to analyse the three layers of the narrative: 'fabula', 'story' and 'text'. According to Bal, *text* is the linguistic substance of the narrative, namely, what we read or hear. *Story* is the particular ordering of the narrative elements. The elements themselves, including events, actors, a chronology, and locations make up *fabula*, the most abstract layer of the narrative, and can be transformed into what Bal calls the aspect of the story.[32] Both *fabula* and *story* are only accessible through the *text*.[33] *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* is to Slotkin at once a dream-vision and a satire of the genre. It has a framework like other dream-vision narratives, which consists of events leading up to the dreamer having a dream, and the dream itself. In this regard the *story* and the *fabula* are completely coherent.[34] On the other hand, the tale is a peculiar dream-vision, as the chronology runs backwards,

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[29] Angela Carson, 'The Structure and Meaning of *The Dream of Rhonabwy*', *Philological Quarterly* 53 (1974), 289-303.
[30] Higley, 'Perlocutions and Perlections', 540-42.
[31] Edgar M. Slotkin, 'The Fabula, Story, and Text of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 18 (1989), 89-111 (91). Bal's monograph has become a monumental work in the field of narratology, and has published four editions since 1985, the latest being the fourth edition in 2017. Mieke Bal, *Narratology*: *Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 4th edition (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2017).
[32] Here the term 'actor' should be understood as one who does a certain action, and not necessarily in the context of stage performance or drama.
[33] Slotkin, 'The Fabula, Story, and Text', 91-92.
[34] Ibid., 94.

and the dream itself is about the past; descriptions are also used as a device to slow the narrative down and to disguise the emptiness of the narration itself by creating an illusion of abundance through proliferate descriptions.[35] In short, it resembles a real dream that everyone may have more than a carefully designed literary dream-vision, and this presentation of the dream is itself the most devastating satire of the 'dream-vision' genre.[36]

McKenna's 2009 article draws our attention to a broader picture of literary traditions related to *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*. Her article focuses on the Western European popular culture and literary tradition of dream in the Middle Ages and its possible influence on the composition of the text. She quotes the Macrobian taxonomy of *insomnium*, *visum/phantasma*, *somnium*, *visio* and *oraculum* in her discussion, yet the scope of her analysis is much broader than merely applying Macrobius's theory of dreams to the text of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*. Her discussion touches upon the popularity of dream interpretation represented by dreambooks, and in this particular case, *Somniale Danielis* (The Dreambook of Daniel), which was known in Wales by the time *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* was copied into the Red Book of Hergest around the end of the fourteenth century. The knowledge of popular dreambooks in medieval Wales offers the possibility of an oneirocritical analysis of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, that is, an analysis that enables us to read it from the perspective of dream interpretation. As regards genre, McKenna argues that the grouping of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* together with some other dream and prophetic texts and separate from other Mabinogion texts reflects the view of Hywel Fychan, one of the scribes of the Red Book. To him, dreams and prophecies seem to belong to the same category of

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[35] Ibid., 94-101.
[36] Ibid., 92.

prognostic texts. The colours described in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and their associations with the humours in medieval medicine offers a medical perspective of reading the text. Finally, there is a connection between reading dreams and reading stories, touched upon but not elaborated in McKenna's article. These aspects suggest multiple ways in which the narrative may be read, interpreted and understood.[37]

The existence of lasting academic interest in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* summarised only briefly above speaks soundly of the potential of the text and the challenges it poses to scholars concerning generic categorisation. In this section our own examination of the text hopes to bring an answer regarding to which genre the text belongs come as a natural conclusion at the end of our analysis of the world-building activity involved in the presentation of the dream.

The tale opens with a brief description of the conflict between the Powysian prince Madog ap Maredudd and his brother Iorwerth, and how Rhonabwy and two others are sent by Madog to look for Iorwerth. They arrive at the house of Heilyn Goch, which is in an awful condition, and receive a cold welcome. They go to sleep, but Rhonabwy cannot sleep because he is bitten by fleas in the blanket on which he is lying, and he moves to a yellow ox-skin, which is said to bring good luck to whoever sleeps on it. As soon as he falls asleep, he has a dream.

Despite being entitled 'breud6yt ronab6y' and mentioned again in the colophon: 'A'r ystorya honn a elwir Breidwyt Ronabwy' [And this story is called Breuddwyd Rhonabwy],[38] the word 'breuddwyd' does not appear in the narration of the story itself. An unusual word 'drych' is instead used to describe the occurrence of the

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[37] McKenna, "'What Dreams...'", 97.

[38] Jesus College 111, col. 555, line 10, and col. 138v, lines 16-23. Melville Richards, ed., *Breudwyt Ronabwy* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1948), p. 1, line 0, and p. 21, line 9.

dream, which is not found in any other instance in medieval Welsh: 'Ac yn gytneit ac yd aeth hun yn y lygeit y rodet drych idaw y vot ef a'e gedymdeithon yn kerdet ...' [And as soon as sleep entered his eyes he was granted a vision, that he and his companions were travelling ...].[39] This sentence is quoted in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* as the earliest example of the usage of 'drych' meaning 'vision; manifestation'.[40] McKenna points out that 'drych' can mean 'image' or 'form' in the context of medieval Welsh prose in the Red Book, and is used in this sense more frequently than the meaning 'mirror', which is more familiar to us in the present day.[41] She also notes that 'drych' is semantically closer to *visio* (prophetic vision) and *visum* (apparition) in Latin than to *somnium* (enigmatic dream).[42] Compared to the term 'gweld breuddwyd' used in *Breuddwyd Maxen* and seen many times in other dream narratives and other texts containing dreams, the expression 'rodet drych idaw' seems unusual. It conveys a sense of passiveness, that the dream is something given to the dreamer from outside, in contrast to the active perception of the dream in 'gweld breuddwyd'. It is not exactly clear why the author of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* chose this particular phrase, yet in relation to McKenna's argument, one could suggest that the author was trying to highlight the prophetic nature of the dream, or that he was mocking the value of dream prophecy itself, as the dream turns out to be absurd. The expression 'yd aeth hun yn y lygeit' also conveys a sense of exteriority and objectivity, which presents sleep as something that exists independently of the body's physical function, and instead of falling asleep, or, to be more accurate, *falling into* sleep, here sleep enters into one's eyes. The idea that

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[39] Ibid., p. 3, lines 25-26. For the English translation see Sioned Davies, ed. and trans., *The Mabinogion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 215.
[40] See 'drych', *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 03 July 2019].
[41] McKenna, '"What Dreams..."', 88-89.
[42] These terms are used by Macrobius, discussed in McKenna, '"What Dreams..."', 91.

sleep and dreams are objective entities with their own agency, and that human beings are receivers of sleep and dreams is found in Homer's *Odyssey*, which we referred to in Chapter 1.2. We cannot be completely certain whether this suggests that the author of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* was familiar with classical dream literature and was applying the Homeric idea of dreams to this work, or whether he was drawing on the oral tradition of his time, or whether the presentation of sleep as an external objective existence came from his own ingenuity. What can be said is that both sleep and the vision are depicted as objective and active forces, whereas the dreamer is on the receiving end, passive and with no control over what happens to him. This depiction of the dreamer as a passive receiver of a dream places the dream world on a higher level of independent existence than that in *Breuddwyd Maxen*; as will be seen shortly, the dream world in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* does not mirror any part of the real world.

At the beginning of his dream Rhonabwy perceives that he and his two companions are travelling across eastern Powys. At first the landscape is real and familiar to Rhonabwy, as it seems to him that he and his companions are riding across Maes Argyngroeg, a real place in eastern Powys, the region they have travelled to in their real life. Then they are overtaken by Iddawg son of Mynio. At this point a description of the unusual colours of Iddawg's appearance, his horse and his apparel is given, and the reader senses the first sign of unreality and absurdity: Iddawg has yellow hair, is riding a yellow horse, and from the top of the front legs to the kneecaps downwards the horse is green. Iddawg himself is wearing a yellow silk robe embroidered with green threads, carrying a gold-hilted sword with a golden clasp on its sheath, and a yellow mantle over these with green embroidery and green

threads.[43] Alaw Mai Jones has pointed out that a similar description of Cynon wearing a yellow silk brocaded mantel (without the green threads) is found in *Iarlles y Ffynnon*, and this might suggest that thirteenth-century French fashion influenced depictive of dress in Welsh texts.[44] Whatever the reason for which these two colours were chosen in the text, the combination creates a sense of weirdness. As if this combination of yellow and green colours is not enough to create an unrealistic image of the knight and the horse, the author further tells us that the green colour is 'kyn lasset a deil y ffenitwyd' [as green as the leaves of the pine-trees], and the yellow colour is 'kyn uelynet a blodeu y banadyl' [as yellow as the flowers of the broom].[45] Although such descriptions of clothing and colours, as Sioned Davies notes, are formulaic in medieval Welsh literature,[46] the high saturation of colours embellishes the image with a comic twist, from which we may appreciate the author's sense of humour alongside the image itself. More significantly, however, this can be taken as a first brick towards building up a Secondary World that is highly different from the Primary World, the twelfth-century Powys in which the story prior to the occurrence of the dream is set.

Iddawg then introduces himself as being better known by his nickname 'Idawc Cord Prydein' [Iddawg the Agitator of Britain].[47] In explaining the origin of his nickname, king Arthur is introduced into the narrative through the words of Iddawg. Here the sense of the anomality regarding the timeline, one of the three basic elements of the building of an imaginary world, begins to seep in to the mind of the reader. Iddawg

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[43] Richards, ed., *Ronabwy*, p. 4, lines 1-13.
[44] Alaw Mai Jones, *Gwisgoedd ac Ategolion yn Llenyddiaeth yr Oesoedd Canol c. 700 — c. 1600* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aberystwyth University, 2007), pp. 99-100.
[45] Richards, ed., *Ronabwy*, p.4, lines 11-13. For the English translation see Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 216.
[46] Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*, pp. 144-58.
[47] Richards, ed., *Ronabwy*, p. 4, line 27.

mentions the battle of Camlan in the first place in the past tense, that he left Arthur three days before the battle, and did penance for seven years. This piece of information implies that the battle took place years ago, and Arthur must be dead or has gone to the Otherworld by the time the conversation takes place.[48] Contrary to our expectations, however, the interlocutors almost immediately see Arthur and some of his men not too far from where they are standing, all alive and well, and Iddawg even introduces Rhonabwy and his companions to the legendary king and warrior.

Then another clue that indicates the unreal nature of events appears with the reference to a magical stone that Arthur is wearing. Iddawg asks Rhonabwy if he can see a gemstone in a ring on Arthur's hand, and Rhonabwy replies that he does, and Iddawg then tells him that '"[V]vn o rinwedeu y maen yw, dyuot cof yti a weleist yma heno; a phei na welut ti y maen ny doei gof ytti dim o hynn o dro"' ["[O]one of the virtues of the stone is that you will remember what you have seen here tonight; and had you not seen the stone, you would remember nothing about this"].[49] Gemstones and other objects with supernatural powers are frequently found in folktales and other genres with a high degree of fictionality, and the appearance of such an object here raises the expectation of the reader concerning the level of fictionality of the narrative. Moreover, when we read to the end of the story, we will learn that Rhonabwy finds himself having slept for three days and three nights on the ox-skin, but here in the dream itself, the time is referred to as 'heno' (tonight), which indicates that from the dreamer's point of view the dream lasts for a single night. The discrepancy between the experience of time by the dreamer inside the dream and the

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[48] Ibid., p. 5, lines 12-16.
[49] Ibid., p. 7, lines 5-8. For the translation see Davies, ed. and trans., *The Mabinogion*, p. 217.

lapse of time outside the dream is unique among all dreams described in medieval Welsh literature, as in all the other cases that we have referred to and will examine in this thesis, the length of the dream is either one night or it is not specified. This might be a minor point with regards the construction of the imaginary dream world, it is nevertheless worth noting.

Further on in the narrative we read that Arthur is negotiating a peace treaty with Osla Gyllellfawr, before the battle of Caer Faddon was meant to take place. By this point it is clear that the biographical chronology of Arthur is presented in a reversed order in the dream, as readers who have some knowledge of the Arthurian tradition in medieval Welsh would know that the battle of Caer Faddon is described as one of Arthur's most significant victories, and that of Camlan is the last battle Arthur fought, in which he was mortally wounded and was taken to Avalon.[50]

As the narrative proceeds, further characters are introduced, including other figures that appear in the Arthurian legendarium, such as Cai and Owain, but also many figures that have no explicit Arthurian connection, such as Rhuawn Bebyr son of Deorthach Wledig and Elphin son of Gwyddno.[51] Most of the time the introduction takes the form of Rhonabwy asking 'Iddawg, who is...?' and Iddawg giving an answer. This dialogical form resembles very much that of didactic literature, in which a pupil asks a teacher questions about various things and learns from the teacher's answers. The authority of the answers is guaranteed by the teacher's status

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[50] For the most up-to-date general introduction of the Arthurian literary tradition in medieval Welsh, see Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe, eds., *Arthur in the Celtic Languages: The Arthurian Legend in Celtic Literatures and Traditions* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), chapters 1-11.

[51] For these characters see the explanatory notes 68, 66, 217 and 218, in Davies, ed. and trans., *The Mabinogion*, pp. 245-46, 277-78.

and reputation.[52] It is possible that the author of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* was satirising the form, for instead of obtaining an answer with a certain degree of authority, Iddawg's answers have no special authority, but it is equally possible that the author simply found it convenient to introduce more characters to the reader using this pattern. The purpose of introducing those characters, perhaps, was to deepen the sense of unreality by evoking the internarrative connections of these characters so that readers with knowledge of other texts related to them in medieval Welsh literature could easily make cross-references as they read about them in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, for example, Elphin with the Taliesin legends, or Cai and Owain with multiple different texts such as *Peredur* or *Culhwch ac Olwen*. The assembly of these characters in the same narrative further furnishes the dream world with contents and affirms the existence of a Secondary World, for in what kind of world can all these literary figures appear together? Certainly it cannot be the Primary World of the twelfth-century Powys laid out in the beginning of the text?

At this point the reader might not be yet aware, but along with the timeline of the story the description of the landscape too is gradually shifting from reality, or rather it is gently fading into the background, giving way to the series of events that take place further on in the narrative. We are told that Rhonabwy and his companions have travelled across the plain of Argyngroeg as far as the ford Rhyd-y-Groes on the river Severn, when they see Arthur, and then they see a great host moving towards Cefn Digoll, the Long Mountain, a hill located to the south of Welshpool, and Iddawg takes Rhonabwy with him.[53] This is the last time that a place-name in the real world appears in the text. We may regard the landscape in an incomplete sense

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[52] For a general introduction to the dialogical form of didactic literature in the Middle Ages, see for example Juanita Feros Ruys, ed., *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).
[53] For the placename of Cefn Digoll, see Davies, ed. and trans., *The Mabinogion*, p. 278.

as another essential element in world-building, the element of the map, in the sense that readers with a geographical knowledge of Wales would be able to draw a map and the route of Rhonabwy's journey up to this point according to the description in the text.

The description of the game of *gwyddbwyll* between Arthur and Owain takes the text to an ultimate level of unreality. The indifference of Arthur and his ignorance of Owain's request when his men are attacking the ravens of Owain and later vice versa, the sudden restoration of peace when in the end Arthur crushes the pieces on the board and Owain lowers his banner, all these contribute to the incredulity of the narrative if it were set in the Primary World, yet does no harm and even enhances the dramatic effects for an imagined Secondary World.

The end of the dream in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* is as sudden as that in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, and both dreamers wake up because of noises. The difference is that in *Breuddwyd Maxen* it is very clear that Maxen is woken up by the noises in the real world outside the dream, whereas Rhonabwy is woken up by the commotion following Cei's announcement within his dream. We read '[A]ac rac meint kynnwrwf hwnnw deffroi a oruc Ronabwy. A phan deffroes yd oed ar groen y dinawet melyn, gwedy ry gyscu ohonaw teir nos a thri dieu.' [So loud was that commotion, Rhonabwy awoke. And when he awoke he was on the yellow ox-skin, having slept for three nights and three days.][54] It is not clear whether it was some noise in the real-life world reflected in Rhonabwy's dream as the commotion, or if it was purely the scene in the dream itself that caused Rhonabwy to wake up. When he wakes up, he is on the same yellow ox-skin mentioned in the narrative prior to the

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[54] Richards, *ed., Ronabwy*, p. 21, lines 5-8. For the translation see Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 226.

description of the dream, that 'blaenbren oed gan vn onadunt a gaffei vynet ar y croen hwnnw' [good luck would befall whichever one of them got to lie on that skin].[55]

We do not know whether sleeping on it has brought good luck to Rhonabwy, as the story ends at this point; it might have been purposefully devised by the author to end the tale at this point and leave the space open for the reader to imagine what happens after the dream, or it might be for any other reason that needs not concern us. Structurally this closes up the frame surrounding the dream, namely that the dream begins when Rhonabwy goes to the ox-skin to sleep, and ends with Rhonabwy waking up, finding himself on the same ox-skin. The framed structure of describing a dream from the dreamer falling asleep, having the dream, and waking up is the most common structural pattern used in descriptions of dreams. In case of dreams the entrance into and exit out of the dream world is technically easy to treat compared to some other types of imaginary world such as the extraterrestrial ones, now that we have recognised it as a Secondary World.

The colophon of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* might have puzzled medieval readers as much as it puzzles us today. It emphasises that no-one would be able to memorise the tale without a book, and the reason is the number of the colours on the horses and the armour and trappings, and the clothes, and the gemstones. Is the author seizing the last chance in the text to mock the training of storytellers, the *ars memoria*, or himself as one of the storytellers? This is hitherto an open question. On the other hand, it cannot be said that the author is talking nonsense here, as remembering the number of colours in the dream would be a demanding task—*Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* is indeed a colourful dream.

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[55] Ibid., p.2, lines 25-26. For the translation see Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, p. 215.

From our examination of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* in this section, the possible satirising of literary conventions is evident throughout the narrative, evident enough to shelf it together with other medieval satires in Middle Welsh and in other medieval European languages, if we are to make a classification. Yet *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* is more than a satirical text in terms of world-building. The author carefully plans the level of unreality alongside the progress of the narrative, the introduction of new characters, and the development of the storyline, thus giving an example of a well balanced world-building process in relation to the characters and the storyline. The further the reader reads on, the more confirmed he or she is of the fictionality of the dream world and its existence as a Secondary World. In this regard *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* has adopted a completely different direction to the presentation of the dream in *Breuddwyd Maxen*.

2.3   The *areithiau pros*

The three dream texts that we are going to examine in this section are those that are categorised as *areithiau pros* by D Gwenallt Jones. It is clear that he has intended for the term to be used as one describing a specific genre of medieval Welsh prose. According to Jones, an *araith* is in grammatical terms 'clwm o eiriau yn mynegi meddwl crwn; brawddeg' [a group of words expressing all-round thought; a sentence], and in terms of rhetoric 'brawddeg wedi ei thecáu â throadau a ffigurau ymadrodd a geiriau cyfansawdd' [a sentence embellished with tropes and figures of speech as well as compound words].[56] The purpose of composing *areithiau* texts, according to Jones, was to enable the novice poets to improve their language skills

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[56] D. Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), p. xvii.

through rhetorical exercises.[57] This definition of *araith* covers the three dimensions

of what Frow names formal organisation, rhetoric structure, and thematic content,

the constellation of which determines the features of a genre.[58] In 1934, Jones

published an anthology of *areithiau pros* based on his understanding of the term, in

which individual texts are grouped into parodies, love *areithiau*, requesting *areithiau*,

and favourite and disliked things. Whereas the term itself is widely accepted by later

generations of scholars, Jones's definition of *araith* has not remained unchallenged.

Dafydd Johnston argues that with the exception of one or two cases, we cannot be

certain about the purpose of *areithiau* texts,[59] and therefore a question mark should

be put on the validity of grouping these texts together. Huws follows Johnson

arguing that there is generally no decisive evidence regarding the purpose of the

areithiau texts, although we may be able to develop a fairly grounded hypothesis

regarding what their function might have been.[60]

Not many of *areithiau pros* have been edited and published. In fact, apart from

Bleddyn Owen Huws's recent edition of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, Jones's

anthology is the only published edition of *areithiau* texts to date.[61] Perhaps an in-

depth study of this particular type of texts by a close reading of a greater number of

examples will reveal more of its features and purposes, and thus enable us to learn

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[57] Ibid., pp. xvii-xix.
[58] See my discussion in Chapter 1.1.
[59] Dafydd Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr: Hanes Beirniadol Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1300-1525* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005; 2nd edn., 2014), p. 429.
[60] Bleddyn Owen Huws, 'Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill', *Dwned* 25 (2019), 57-70 (61-62).
[61] D. Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros*, p. 66. In his anthology, there are two texts bearing the title 'breuddwyd': *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd*, and *Breuddwyd Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen*. The earliest extant manuscript containing *Breuddwyd Llywelyn Goch* was NLW5282, written down by Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw in 1609. According to Rachel Bromwich was probably an expanded version of a triad about the three most Loveable (Tri serchawc) found in Peniarth 267, and the term stating it as a dream 'freuddwydiodd' was likely to be a scribal error from 'vwriodd'. Therefore it will not be discussed in this thesis. See Rachel Bromwich, ed. and trans., *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, 4th edn. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 200-01.

more about its characteristics related to genre. For the purpose of this study, we will limit our attention to three *araith* whose narrative is framed as a dream.

2.3.1 *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd*

Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd (The Dream of Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd) is an *araith* that recounts a dream claimed to have been dreamt by the fourteenth-century poet after whom the text is entitled. The poet Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd was a historical figure who apparently enjoyed a reputation for composing love poems: two poems believed to be his work have been preserved, one entitled 'I'r fedwen' (To the birch) and the other 'Lleidr serch' (Thief of love).[62] Here in the *Breuddwyd*, of course, we need not take the protagonist in the text as referring to the real historical poet; he may be regarded here as a fictional character.

According to Gwenallt, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* is preserved in four post-medieval manuscripts: Peniarth 205ii (fifteenth to sixteenth century), pp. 19-29; British Museum MS 32 (1594–1596), fol. 10b; NLW MS 3077B (c. 1642–1644), NLW MS 5282B (sixteenth to seventeenth century; later than 1598),[63] while in Daniel Huws's *Repertory* only the Peniarth 205 text is noted.[64] No English translation of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* has ever been published to my knowledge, and for a good reason – many of the compound adjectives in the text are extremely difficult to translate into another language without losing the dynamic. Therefore, I will give a detailed synopsis of the text.

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[62] An edition of both poems can be found in Ifor Williams and Thomas Roberts, eds., *Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1935), pp. 113-16.
[63] D. Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros*, p. 92.
[64] Daniel Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming.

We are told that the lad Gruffudd has been suffering from the pain of love (presumably for a maiden, but her name is not given in the text) from St. Andrew's Eve in winter to St. Dwynwen's Eve in summer. One day, after drinking a great deal, he goes to his chamber, upstairs in a monastery, where there is a bed richly decorated and comfortably made. He goes to bed, falls asleep, and has a dream.

At first, he hears angelic organ music; and during the first period of sleep he sees himself walking along the bank of a river through a forest, where on top of the trees there are birds singing beautifully. Gradually the birdsong fades into the fog from the mountain and the forest. Then he descends into a level and fair valley where trees are growing of equal height and their leaves of equal breadth, and there is a river dividing the valley. On one side of the river he can see many animals playing, including deer, goats, hares and rabbits, while plants, such as red and white clover and daisies grew there. On the other side of the river there are swans and peacocks and grouse, and on that side of the river there grow red fennel, mint, and meadow sweet. To the south of the valley he can see a fortress with many towers, and in the highest tower he sees a noble lady sitting in a chair of white ivory. The lady's jewelled frontlet is then described, and then her face and figure, with the emphasis on her beauty and elegance. Gruffudd is attracted by her beauty and he fixes his eyes upon her.

And thereupon the lady says to him: 'It is better for you to look at the host beyond you than to gaze at me.' So he turns around and see two large armies, one approaching the valley from the north and the other from the south. By the time the sun is as high as the tops of the trees, they begin to prepare for battle. What follows is a vivid description of the battle with an abundant use of adjectives describing

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weapons clashing, men shouting and fighting, horses going awry, and crows feeding on the blood.

Then Gruffudd turns again to the lady in the tower. He sees the lady examining her gold rings, seemingly indifferent to the slaughter. He asks her the reason for the battle. She replies that it was because of her that the battle took place. Gruffudd asks: 'Is there hope for the young lad who loves you?' And the lady answers: 'No, there never was, there is not, nor will there be.' NLW MS 3370 includes a sentence stating 'ag ar hynny i ddeffrodd y mackwy. terfyn' [And upon that the lad woke up. end];[65] otherwise the text ends with the lady's answer.

Let us look in more detail at the way in which the dream is presented. The word 'breuddwyd' itself only appears at the very beginning of the text, presumably as a title, although in Peniarth 205 it is not called 'Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd' but simply 'Breuddwyd y Mab o gywaeth Arwystl'. As in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, the physical setting of the *locus* where the protagonist falls asleep and has the dream is an intimate indoor setting: a comfortable bed with luxurious bedding in the bedchamber of the dreamer.[66] The transition into sleep in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* is as smooth as that in *Breuddwyd Maxen*: 'ac yna ydoeth organ engylaidd yn i glustie, ac ar broffwydoliaeth y Kyntvn kyntaf a gysgodd ef y vo ai gwelai ...' [And then (the sound of) an angelic organ came to his ears, and on the prophecy of the first sleep he slept, it seemed to him that he saw ...].[67] Falling asleep to the accompaniment of some kind of soft and hypnotical sound, such as birdsong, the sound of the trickling water of a river, or sweet music as played on a musical instrument is a frequently adopted form of describing the transition into sleep in

[65] D. Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros*, p. 23, footnote 4.
[66] Ibid., p. 18, line 6-p. 19, line 4.
[67] Ibid., p. 19, lines 4-6.

medieval French and English dream narratives, such as *Le Roman de la Rose*, *The Parliament of the Fowls*, and *Piers Plowman*. There is also reference to sound helping a character fall asleep in Arthur's dream in *Brut y Brenhinedd* briefly discussed in the Introduction. Specific to the induction of sleep by music or chanting, there is, for example, reference to a kind of sweet fairy music in the Irish tale *The Chase of Slieve Fuad* that makes whoever listens to it fall into a deathlike deep sleep,[68] and the birds of Rhiannon in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, whose singing is referred to as waking the dead and lulling the living to sleep.[69] It may be suggested that the Welsh author of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* was playing on the same idea of the otherworldly origin of the kind of music that causes a prophetic dream to the listener, although no direct borrowing from the Irish text can be detected here.

With regards terminology related to dreams, two new terms occur, namely 'proffwydoliaeth' (prophecy) and 'y cyntun cyntaf' (the first sleep). This raises two more important features in the literary presentation of dreams in medieval Welsh, namely the connection between dream and prophecy, and between dream and sleep. Prophecy deals with the future. It foretells what is going to happen or what is likely to happen if a certain condition is met, usually in an authoritative tone or from a figure with an established reputation in announcing prophecies that come true. In the Middle Ages a number of historical and fictional figures were credited as being famous prophets and prophetesses in the European literary context, some of them originating from the classical tradition, such as Virgil (*Fferyll(t)* in Welsh) and Sibyl

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[68] For a discussion of the fairy music as enchantment, see Karen Morgan, *What's in a Dream? The Role of Sleep, Dream-Visions and Dreaming in the Medieval Tales of Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* (unpublished master's thesis, Cardiff University, 2006), pp. 24.
[69] See Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Cardiff: University of Cardiff Press, 1988), p. 24, lines 632-33.

(*Sibli* in Welsh),[70] others belonging to the biblical tradition, such as Daniel and Joseph (*Ioseph* in Welsh).[71] Apart from these universal or cross-cultural figures, medieval Wales also had its own prophetic figures, such as Taliesin and Myrddin.[72] Medieval prophecy is in itself a very broad area of research, and the number of publications in this area prevents us from giving a comprehensive review due to the limited space and scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, there are several works focusing particularly on Welsh medieval prophecies, such as *Darogan: Prophecy, Lament and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature* by Aled Llion Jones, and *Welsh Prophecy and English Politics in the Late Middle Ages* by Helen Fulton.[73] In medieval texts, prophecies often take on the form of dreams, and when this is the case the dream can be regarded as prophetic. Although prophecy is too broad a term for a genre in the dimension of formal organisation, as it is found across so many literary forms, yet its thematic content enables it to work efficiently with that of dreams, and thus a corporation of the two is not to be surprised.

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[70] For a detailed study of the figure Virgil in medieval Wales, see for example, Juliette Wood, 'Virgil and Taliesin: The Concept of the Magician in Medieval Folklore', *Folklore* 94 (1983), 91-104. For that of Sibyl, see for example Marged Haycock, 'Sy abl fodd, Sibli fain: Sibyl in Medieval Wales', in in *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition: A Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford, CSANA Yearbook 3-4*, eds. by Joseph Falaky Nagy and Leslie Ellen Jones (Dublin: Four Court Press, 2005), pp. 115-30; also see Nely van Seventer, *The Welsh "Tiburtina": One Text, Two Translations* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aberystwyth University, 2019).

[71] Dream manuals attributed to Daniel and Joseph were popular in medieval Europe, and Welsh translations of these dream manuals were already being made by the fifteenth century.

[72] A typical text presenting the two figures together as prophetic is 'Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin', which is edited by A. O. H. Jarman. See Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951). A dream narrative entitled 'Myrddin a Phum Breuddwyd Gwenddydd' (Myrddin and the Five Dreams of Gwenddydd), is preserved in NLW MS 5276D, as part of Elis Gruffydd's Chronicle, written around 1550. See Thomas Jones, 'The Story of Myrddin and the *Five Dreams of Gwenddydd* in the Chronicle of Elis Gruffudd', *Études celtiques* 8 (1958-59), 315-45.

[73] See Aled Llion Jones, *Darogan: Prophecy, Lament and Absent Heroes in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013); Helen Fulton, *Welsh prophecy and English Politics in the Late Middle Ages* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2008).

Returning to 'y cyntun cyntaf', the term 'cyntun' already contains the meaning 'the first sleep', and therefore the adjective 'cyntaf' here appears as either a doublet or for emphasis.[74] Nowadays most of us take continuous sleep through the night for granted. A. Roger Ekrich argues in his article 'Sleep we have lost: Pre-industrial slumber in the British Isles' (2001) that the eight-hour continuous sleep pattern most of us are familiar with is to a large extent an invention of the Industrial Revolution, a product of modern culture. Throughout the Middle Ages most Europeans used to sleep in a biphasic manner. The sleep they have from the time they first go to bed until they wake up in the middle of the night is called 'first sleep', 'first nap', or 'dead sleep'. The state of quiet wakefulness sometime after midnight usually lasts for an hour or so, and then individuals fall back to sleep again, until they wake up again in the morning. This second period of sleep is called 'second' or 'morning' sleep, which lasts for a length of time roughly equivalent to the 'first' sleep.[75] Messer points out the significance of the time of the occurrence of the dream in his study of Homeric dreams. He mentions that most ancient Greek and Roman authors place deceptive dreams as occurring before midnight, whereas in Homer's works false dream are presented as occurring after midnight and near dawn.[76]

Considering the phrase 'proffwydoliaeth y Kyntvn kyntaf' as a whole in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, it is clear that the author was introducing the concept of biphasic sleep and the link between the 'first sleep' and prophecy as an idea widely accepted or even taken for granted by himself and others, no less than we regard the continuous sleep

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[74] See 'cyntun', *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 04 September 2019].

[75] A. Roger Ekrich, 'Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-Industrial Slumber in the British Isles', *The American Historical Review* 106(2) (2001), 343-86 (363-67).

[76] William Stuart Messer, *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy* (New York: Columbia University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918), pp. 11-12.

mode in our own days. On the other hand, he is ambiguous about his own opinion of the validity of prophecy acquired through a dream, as a prophecy can be true or false, as can the dream itself. It is possible that this vagueness was created purposefully to blur the nature of the work and in a sense to invite the reader to judge for him- or herself whether the dream is true or false. Is the dream a spontaneous action of the body under the influence of alcohol and thus belongs to the Macrobian category of *insomnium*? Does the dream have genuine prophetic value? Or else, is it a mockery of the conventional way of presenting love dreams as exemplified in *Breuddwyd Maxen*? As mentioned above, Dafydd Johnston argues that the purpose of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* is in fact not so clear, and whereas it is easy to believe that such a text is mocking the style and narrative modes of Arthurian legends such as *Culhwch ac Olwen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, it may be that *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* is developing an element of self-mockery that already exists in tales such as *Culhwch ac Olwen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*.[77] D. Gwenallt Jones classifies it as a parody in his anthology and edition of *areithiau* texts.[78] No matter what the purpose of the text, it is indisputable that the framing of the story as a dream occurring during the first sleep, a time associated with prophecy, certainly helps to create and maintain the ambivalence of the work and to increase its interpretive potential.

The theme of the dream in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, as is in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, is falling in love with a maiden seen in one's dream, and in both texts the dreamer embarks on a journey in his dream. One difference between the two texts in this regard is that Maxen did not have a love before he had the dream, while Gruffudd was already lovesick of a maiden prior to the occurrence of the dream, though it is

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[77] Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, pp. 429-30.
[78] D. Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros*, pp. 18-23.

not certain whether the lady he sees in his dream corresponds to the love of his real life. Another difference is that in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, the journey is repeated twice in real life, once by Maxen's messengers and once by Maxen himself, whereas no such real-life equivalent is found in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, as the narration ends with the dream itself, as in the case of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*. Most significantly, however, is the description of the landscape in the dream, which builds up the dream world in the text. Unlike in *Breuddwyd Maxen* or *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, the dreamer in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* begins his journey from an initial spot in the dream unfamiliar to the dreamer and unidentifiable in the real world. Gruffudd feels at first that he is walking on a main road by the side of a river through a wild forest, with birds singing in the trees. At this point we cannot be sure yet if the author is setting the landscape in the Primary World or a Secondary World of his creation, but a clue is soon to follow. Walking through the forest Gruffudd descends into a valley divided by a stream, and he sees many trees. Here the first sign of unreality reveals itself: we are told that the trees that Gruffudd sees in the valley are of the same height, the leaves on the trees of the same breadth. We know from our knowledge of nature that this would be impossible in the real world, and thus it is suggested to the reader that the dream world may be an imaginary world. The assumption is further confirmed by the description of the flora and fauna of the valley, in other words, nature, one the five ancillary elements in world-building according to Wolf. We are told that on one side of the stream that divides the valley Gruffudd sees ruddy stags, speckled does and fawns, roebucks and roe-deer, fallow deer, goats, ruddy hares, grey, white, and black rabbits, red and white cloves and daisies; on the other side he sees white and grey swans, wild and tame peacocks, black grouse and cocks, red fennels, mint and meadow sweet. The plants and animals are not said to be magical or supernatural in

themselves, yet their appearance together in the same place creates a sense of fictionality that helps enhance the belief of the dream world as a Secondary World.

The building of the dream world is completed with a reference to a fortress and a tower in which the lady sits. The second half of the narrative is much more eventful. A switch of mode of speech can also be noticed in line with the change in the plot. Up to this point the narration of the story has been undertaken in indirect speech, but as Gruffudd is staring at the lady, presumably stunned by her beauty, the lady speaks to him in direct speech: 'Iownach yt edrych ar ynifver or tv hwnt yt noc edrych arnaf i yn dungwaith.' [It is better for you to look at the host beyond you than to gaze at me.][79] And this sentence introduces the battle scene that is carefully described in detail. Direct speech is used again when Gruffudd is confused by what he has just seen and asks the lady for an explanation: 'Gwen or gaer glaer glod gyvwiw, gwell nor vn illun ai lliw, pa ham vvr ymladd heddiw' [The fair one from the splendid castle worthy of fame, better than any in terms of her form and her colour, why was there fighting today?][80] The lady's answer is again delivered in the same style: 'Nid ir boksach yn vyngradd, kyd boed mynor amain nadd. om achos j vvr ymladd' [Not to boast my status, even if it were marble and carved stone. Because of me there was fighting.][81] And Gruffudd further addresses the lady in a question beginning with a comment echoing his previous question, seemingly expressing his own opinion of the battle at the same time: 'Gwen vein ... oes obaith jr mab ath gar' [Slender maiden ... Is there hope for the young lad who loves you?] [82] And the lady's answer is most devastating to Gruffudd: 'ni bv ni hoes ni bydd' [There never was, there is

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[79] Ibid., p. 21, lines 4-6.
[80] Ibid., p. 23, lines 6-7.
[81] Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros*, p. 23, lines 7-9.
[82] Ibid., p. 23, lines 9-14.

not, nor will there be.][83] The author of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* is very skilful in keeping the reader's expectation of a happy ending of the dream until the very end of the story, and when it is finally revealed, it is not only frustrated love, but love rejected completely, in the past, present, and future. The parody on love exerts full power in the last sentence of the narrative (not counting the colophon); the reader has been led to believe that the descriptions of various objects and events were building up towards a happy ending; now suddenly the last sentence creates a sharp contrast to all expectations as the narration ends abruptly, not only mocking Gruffudd the dreamer but also readers who have fallen for the ruse.

In this sense *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* is a well-devised parody on courtly love. Yet again it is more than that. The landscape of the dream world is obviously a beautiful and pleasant one, and may be regarded as a *locus amoenus*, helping with the author's design in luring the reader to expect a conventional love story that is normally associated with such landscapes are typical of dream-visions in medieval French and English literature. There is no anomality with regards the timeline, and unlike *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, the sense of fictionality is mainly built up by highlighting the element of nature in the description, or more precisely by presenting the strangeness of certain features of the flora and fauna in the dream.

2.3.2 *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*

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[83] Ibid., p. 23, line 16.

Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu (The Dream of Gronw Ddu) is another medieval Welsh dream text that is classified as an *araith*.[84] Johnston notes that this work is very popular in manuscripts from the end of the fifteenth century onwards.[85] From the period earlier than c. 1550 there are only two manuscripts containing *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu:* Llanstephan 28 (c. 1456), pp. 222–223, written in the hand of Gutun Owain; and Cardiff MS 3.4 (c. 1527), 232–233, written by Elis Gruffydd. Johnston mentions that there is also a copy of the text in Peniarth 54 (c. 1480), p. 193,[86] but a closer reading of the manuscript shows that this note is partially incorrect. Apart from the opening line quoting the name of Gronw Ddu ('Llyma vreiddwyd gronw ddu'),[87] the content of the text in Peniarth 54 is completely different from the prophetic *araith* discussed in Johnston's work. In other words, the opening line in the manuscript is misleading. The Llanstephan 28 and Cardiff 3.4 texts are quite similar to each other, but the difference between them is beyond that of orthographical variation and scribal errors. Note especially that the Llanstephan 28 text has a colophon that is not found in the Cardiff 3.4 text, suggesting that these two texts may not have used the same source copy, and that the latter is not a direct copy of the former. There is a transcription of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* in the 1807 volume of the journal *Y Greal*, but without specifying which manuscript was used for the transcription, and with an odd interpolation from the text of *Iessu Nerth* which is not found in either of the two manuscripts. The transcription is, therefore, not sufficient

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[84] Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, p. 350 and p.429. It is not included in D. Gwenallt Jones's *Yr Areithiau Pros*, perhaps because his anthology does not include prophecies, and as Johnston points out, *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* is unmistakably a prophetic text (p. 350).
[85] Ibid., p. 350.
[86] Ibid., p. 350, footnote 12.
[87] Peniarth 54, p. 192, line 7. The reading is mine, from the microfilm of the manuscript.

for the purpose of this study.[88] I have provided a transcription of the Llanstephan 28 and Cardiff 3.4 texts in Appendix I.

Contrary to its popularity in the fifteenth century and some time afterwards, almost no scholarly attention has been turned to the text during the twentieth and the first two decades of the twenty-first century. I have not found a single article that is devoted to a discussion of this text beyond Johnson's reference to it in his work. It appears that there was a historical poet named Gronw Ddu who lived in Anglesey in the fifteenth century, to whom the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* attributes two poems: 'Marwnad Gronwy Ddu ap Tudur ap Heilyn' and 'Goronwy Ddu i Ferch'.[89] Otherwise little is known about him.[90] As in the case of Gruffudd in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, we can take the figure Gronw Ddu in *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* simply as the main character in the narrative regardless of his historical existence.

The description of the beginning of the dream in *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* is simple. Unlike the dream texts that we have examined so far, we are not given any information as regards the time, the setting of the surroundings, or the condition of the dreamer prior to the occurrence of the dream. After stating 'Llyma vrrevddwyd Grono ddv o Von' [this is the dream of Gronw Ddu of Anglesey] ('Breuddwyd gronnw ddu o voon yw hyn' [this is the dream of Gronw Ddu of Anglesey] in Cardiff 3.4), the narrative begins immediately with 'Val hynn yr ym ddangoses yr

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[88] 'Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu o Von', *Y Greal* 8 (1807), 370-371. Regarding the interpolation, see Brent Miles, '*Iessu Nerth*: A Text from Peniarth 50 on Prophetic Healing and the Reading of Welsh History', in Michael Hornsby and Karolina Rosiak, eds., *Eastern European perspectives on Celtic studies* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), p. 186, endnote 1.

[89] William Owen Pughe, Owen Jones, and Edward Williams, eds., *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, 2nd edn. (Denbigh: Thomas Gee, 1870), p. 337. See also Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, p. 75, footnote 105.

[90] Dafydd Johnston mentions that he was a squire of Tudur Fychan of Penmynydd family. See Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, p. 350.

ysbryd iddo yn i gwsc. "Myvi a bair tervyn gelyn [...]"' [This is how the spirit appeared to him in his sleep: 'I will put an end to the enemy ...'].[91] The noun 'ysbryd' is used to denote the main character of the narrative, the one who speaks most of the time in the dream and makes the prophecies that construct the theme and content of the narrative. Note that *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* is one of only two examples in our study where 'yn i gwsc' is used instead of 'trwy y hun' for the expression 'in his sleep'.[92] Although we might not wish to attach too much significance to this, at least it implies that there may have been a choice of two phrases for the expression 'in his sleep'. There is no mention either of how the dream ends in *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, although the colophon in Llanstephan 28 states: 'ac velly y tervynna brevddwyd gronw ddv o von' [and thus ends the dream of Gronw Ddu of Anglesey].[93] This abrupt way of ending the narrative is also found in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* and other *areithiau* texts in Jones's anthology, and we may regard it as a stylistic feature of the *areithiau*.

The main narrative follows the pattern of a dialogue between Gronw Ddu and the spirit, with Gronw asking and the spirit giving an answer every time as follows: "'Arglwyth," heb y Gronw, "pa bydd [w]vydd hynny?" "pan ddel [...]"' ['Lord,' said Gronw, 'When will that be?' 'When there comes ...']" [94] And then this Question and Answer pattern runs until the end of the narrative. The same pattern is found in another *araith* text, namely *Araith Iolo Goch*, categorised by Gwenallt as a parody, where the narrative runs into the pattern soon after the opening: "'Arglwyddes", heb

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[91] Llanstephan 28, p. 222, lines 1-3. The Llanstephan 28 text is used for quotation, considering its earlier date than Cardiff 3.4, unless there are significant textual variations.
[92] The other example is in Lawnslot's dream in *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal*, where the text reads 'ef a dywawt idi y antur yn y twrneimant y dyd gynt a'r weledigaeth a welsei y nos yn y gwsc', in Thomas Jones, ed., *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal, Rhan I: Y Keis* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), lines 2799-2801.
[93] Llanstephan 28, p. 223, lines 12-13.
[94] Ibid., p. 222, lines 6-8.

y gwas, "Pa bryd vydd hynny?"' ['Lady,' said the lad, 'when will that be?'], and the answer from the lady always begins with 'Pann vo [...]' ['When there will be ...'].[95] *Araith Iolo Goch* does not contain any dreams. This resemblance in the layout of the narration between a text with a dream and one without not only marks *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* as an *araith* stylistically, but also exemplifies once again the importance of direct speech in dream narratives in medieval Welsh. As is in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, here the direct speech creates a sense of immediacy and sets up the rhythm for the progression of the narrative.

The description of the dream that frames the prophecies is the simplest that a narrative can be. It can be summarised in one sentence: a spirit appears in Gronw Ddu's dream and makes a series of prophecies; there is no elaboration at the beginning or at the end of the dream, but bare bone statements regarding the victory of the Welsh over the English. In other words, in stark contrast to the detailed description of the dream landscape in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, there is barely any world-building activity going on in the text. Nevertheless, *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* is a typical prophecy that adopts the dream as the frame of the narrative, and while it can be said that the application of the dream here is merely a literary device to contextualise the prophecies in some way, it does demonstrate the connection between dream and prophecy. Furthermore, the author of the narrative might have purposefully chosen to present political prophecies within the context of a dream because of the ambiguity of the value of the dream. As seen in the example from Classical Antiquity in Chapter 1.2, where true and false dreams come through two different gates, the general attitude towards dreams in western Europe has always been polarised: some dreams are regarded as a means of communication between the

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[95] D. Gwenallt Jones, *Yr Areithiau Pros*, pp. 12-17.

mortal and the divine, carrying messages that reveal the future; others are dismissed as spontaneous reaction generated by the human body itself, and not having any value as regards dream interpretation. It seems that in the case of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, the author was taking advantage of the polarisation of this general attitude to present something that would have been politically sensitive during the first half of the fifteenth century, when the memories of the Glyndŵr uprising were probably still fresh. The vagueness of the value of the dream offers protection to the author to some extent granting him the possibility to distance himself from the content of the narrative, a feature which is unique among the medieval Welsh dream texts that we have discussed so far.

2.3.3 *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*

Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill (The Dream of Iorwerth Deircaill) features a figure whose historical existence is more elusive than that of Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd and Gronw Ddu. No poem has been preserved under his name to our knowledge, therefore we do not know if he was a poet, should a real person with this name actually existed. There is little reference to him by other medieval Welsh poets except one by Dafydd ab Edmwnd when he satirised Guto'r Glyn, comparing his testicles to that of Iorwerth Deircaill.[96] This reference does not provide any historical information concerning the character, but simply makes use of the coarse humour found in the epithet 'teircaill', for 'Iorwerth Deircaill' can be translated as 'Iorwerth Three Ball', which sounds very much like an old school prick. Such an epithet cannot possibly be a family name of the person, and there have been suggestions

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[96] Huws, 'Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill', *Dwned* 25 (2019), 57-70 (60).

regarding Iorwerth's real identity. Huws notices that the character's full name is written down as 'Iorwerth ab Adda ap Dafydd' in one of the manuscripts, and that there is an 'Iorwerth ab Adda ap Dafydd' recorded in the Welsh genealogy. Yet he also points out that the two records cannot be referring to the same individual, unless there should be in the future strongly positive evidence suggesting otherwise. Huws concludes by arguing that the character of Iorwerth Deircaill is likely to be a creation of fiction altogether.[97]

Huws notes further that the name Iorwerth Deircaill was already known to be related to a dream narrative in an erotic context by the late sixteenth century, when the *Breuddwyd* was referred to in a cywydd by Wiliam Cynwal and Huw Llŷn as the favourite story that Siôn Phylip liked to relate at lunch- and dinner time.[98] *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* is preserved in two manuscripts, an incomplete copy in Peniarth 254Diii, p. 57 (1581-1609), and a complete copy in NLW MS 13215E, pp. 86–87 (c. 1588; c. 1698-9).[99] Both manuscripts date several decades later than c. 1550, yet the story itself was possibly composed before the second half of the sixteenth century, and for this reason it is included for discussion in this thesis. A title is given to the text in NLW 13215, stating 'Breuddwyd Ierwerth ab Adda ab Dd / yr hwnn a elwid Ierwerth deirkeill' [The Dream of Iorwerth ab Adda ap Dafydd / the one who is called Iorwerth Deircaill], whereas the Peniarth 254 text begins directly with 'llyma frevddwyd Ierwerth tair kaill...' [Here is the dream of Iorwerth Deircaill...].[100] Huws's edition includes both versions.[101] A synopsis of the story is given as below.

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[97] Ibid., 61, footnote 11.
[98] Ibid., 57-58.
[99] Ibid., 57.
[100] Ibid., p. 66 and p. 69.

The narrative of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* consists of two parts: the first part in prose introducing the circumstances under which the dream occurs as well as the environment felt by the dreamer in his dream, and the main event in the dream in the form of a dialogue in verse between Iorwerth and the girl he loves. This formal organisation differs from the other two *areithiau* texts discussed above, which consist of prose only. We are told that Iorwerth goes to lie on a rock covered with dust and heavily soiled by animals on the night of Shrove Tuesday, after eating scorched unleavened rye bread and drinking tasteless weak wine. The place where he lies down is a mucky gap between two byres, but we are told that Iorwerth does not mind. He wraps himself in a coarse thick blanket and falls asleep. Thereupon he smells what seems to him the best scent in the world: it is either the smoky scent of moist broom burning, or the breath of the girl he loves over his head. Then he stands up and begins to walk along a muddy path in an enclosed field full of dung, which is divided by a stream of faeces into two halves. There he sees the girl he loves walking towards him, carrying a unicorn antler in her hand. She is wearing a grey robe with three buttons, one at the top near the collar, a second at the level of the navel, and a third just above the level of her vulva. She walks with one foot on each side of the stream, and a lump of dung drops to the ground with every step she walks. Thereupon begins the part in verse, and Iorwerth speaks first:

> Duw /n/ rhwydd riain fain fowki
>
> i mae d'anadl di yn drewi
>
> pa beth a nae fab a thydi[102]
>
> [Generous Lord, dirty thin maiden / your breath stinks / what should a lad (like me) do with you?]

And the girl replies:

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[101] Ibid., 66-70.

[102] Ibid., 66. The English translation is mine.

Ierwerth grach i ddau benelin

arnad ti mae sawyr kenin

blaen dy dafod yn fy nhîn[103]

[Iorwerth of scabby elbows / you smell of leek / (put) the tip of your tongue
in my arse.]

Thus the conversation rolls into an exchange of numerous libidinous comments on each other's sexual organ, until the end of the narrative. There is no reference to how the dream ends or how Iorwerth wakes up.

The term used to describe the main character's sleep in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* is 'cyntun' (the first sleep), the same as that found in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*. Unlike *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, however, the narrative in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* does not suggest the presence of the prophetic element that is usually associated with the concept of 'cyntun'. Instead, the satiric element is present throughout. The anonymous author applies an arrangement almost identical to that found in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* for introducing the characters and the dream landscape; yet, because of the differences in content, here the description creates a comic and vulgar image instead of a otherworldly and romantic one.

In *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, the dream occurs on one night between two religious feast days of St. Andrew's Day and St. Dwynwen's Day. In *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, on the other hand, the dream occurs on the night of Shrove Tuesday, the last night on the liturgical calendar before the commencement of the penitential season of Lent, a period that lasts for around six weeks, during which one is expected to fast and pray. Shrove Tuesday is traditionally related to indulgence and gluttony, suggested by its other names 'Fat Tuesday' (Mardi Gras) and 'Pancake Tuesday'. Sexual desire can probably be compared to hunger in food terms, and in this sense we may not be

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[103] Ibid., 66.

surprised to read that Iorwerth has a sexual dream on such a night. As in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, next comes a description of the food that Iorwerth consumes before going to bed. It is not the strong good wine that Gruffudd enjoys in his story, but scorched rye bread and tasteless wine, and the description strives to make the impression that they are extremely disgusting. After that the 'bed' in which Iorwerth lies down to sleep is described—a rock heavily soiled with animal filth in a gap full of mud and muck between two dirty byres. This is very different to Gruffudd's richly decorated bed in the warm upstairs chamber with soft and beautiful beddings. Indeed Iorwerth's sleeping place seems even worse than Rhonabwy's, who at least has a roof over his head. Together these aspects present an outdoor *locus* whose condition is as bad as one could imagine, and yet we are told that Iorwerth does not mind sleeping in such a place. The contrast between the condition of the place and the attitude of the character towards it depicts the main character of the story the as a happy-go-lucky figure, and leads the reader to expect something roguish or mischievous to happen in the dream itself.

The reader's expectation of a vulgarly comic dream is enhanced as the author proceeds to present the imaginary world that has been prepared for the dreamer. The transition into the dream world is as smooth as in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, but instead of angelic music and birdsong we have an odour that would normally be regarded as unpleasant at the very least, and yet it appears to be the loveliest scent in the world to Iorwerth. At this point we learn that Iorwerth is in love with a girl, and the statement that the foul smell could possibly be the girl's breath gives us a clue that she too may be involved in the dream.

As in all dream narratives we have discussed in this chapter, except *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* (in which there is little world-building), the protagonist begins to walk

from the *locus* where he fell asleep. The landscape unfolding in front of his eyes is nothing comparable to what Gruffudd sees in his dream, namely, a fair valley with strange trees and exotic animals. It is a filthy field through which Iorwerth walks, which features but one object: cattle dung. In *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* the valley is divided by a river; here the field is similarly divided by something liquid into halves, yet it is a 'river' of faeces. We as readers may supply the details in our imagination as we like, as long as we get the point that the author tries to convey through building this dream world, that it is an extremely filthy and disgusting environment.

Thereupon the second character, namely the girl whom Iorwerth loves, enters the scene. Again as if contradicting purposefully the convention of presenting a beautiful lady in one's dream, as exemplified by *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, the author of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* presents an image of the maiden that is impressive in its own way, and is coherent to the vibe that the narrative attempts to give so far, but not in the way we would normally expect to see in a dream themed on love. Instead of rich and delicate attire she wears a grey gown, with only three buttons placed at awkward places. We are told that she is carrying a unicorn horn in one of her hands, which is traditionally a symbol of chastity in the Middle Ages but has obvious satirical overtones here; it may also have a sexual implication as a phallic symbol.[104] Next we learn about the motion of the maiden, as she walks towards Iorwerth the dreamer in a cumbersome manner, dung dropping from her legs with every step she walks.

The entire prose part of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* can be regarded as a prologue to the dialogue between Iorwerth and his love that takes place in the second half of the narrative. This part is the highlight of the dream in terms of content, and no doubt

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[104] I wish to thank Dr Bleddyn Owen Huws for drawing my attention to this point.

it might entertain readers or an audience who are not excessively prudish. With regards genre and world-building, the prose part of the *Breuddwyd* is of as much significance as the verse part. It is the prose prologue of the text that frames the verse and thus defines the entire narrative as a dream. Although the construction of the dream world in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* is not as detailed as that of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, it nevertheless successfully communicates to the reader or audience the type of expectation that the author wishes them to have. Parody is indeed the intended function of the story, and its purpose is to entertain, as Huws points out.[105] Unlike *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, which takes a turn on the mood of the narrative at the last minute, *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* is constant in creating as much parody as possible in the story from the very beginning. Parody is a *mode* (in Frow's term); it helps determine the genre of a text by limiting the possible genres the text could possibly be attributed to.

Huws notes that entitling an *araith* as a 'breuddwyd' is a means to remind the audience of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* in particular, and foster an intentional and immediate connection between the two texts on the part of the audience in the case of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*.[106] I agree with Huws on this point, if we focus on the parodic mode of the text, though in my opinion there is no reason to exclude *Breuddwyd Maxen* as another candidate for establishing an intertextual connection, as the two stories share the thematic element of love, as well as the presence of a journey in the dream. The textual relationship between *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* can be an intricate one. The two texts are contemporary, if the dates of the manuscripts are correct, yet they do not appear

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[105] Ibid., 60-63.
[106] Ibid., 62.

together in the same manuscripts. As the authors of both texts are unknown to us, we are not able to find out any possible links between the two from evidence outside the preserved written texts themselves. Nevertheless, these two texts can be closely compared regarding the order in which the key elements and main characters appear in the narrative, the manner in which different elements are presented, and above all the way of depicting the occurrence of the dream and the dream landscape. It seems to me that *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* presents an ideal or model that is mocked in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, rather than the other way round, although as we have already discussed above, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* itself might be mocking the conventions of the medieval love story that requires a happy ending. This may lead us to a further hypothesis that either the two texts were responding in their own unique ways to a common pattern of traditional love prose that had developed into an established standard of composition by the sixteenth century, or that the author of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* had read (or listened to) *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* and therefore had knowledge of it at the time when he composed his work. Whatever their actual relationship, the parallels between these two narratives concerning structure and style enable us to group them together in the same category of 'breuddwyd' *araith*, of which I propose a status of sub-genre.

2.4   Conclusions

In this chapter we have discussed five medieval Welsh dream narratives, in which the dream is either the focus and the founding element of the narrative, as in the case of *Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, or in which the dream is the framework for the narrative, as in the case of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap*

Dafydd, *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*. Now we are able to summarise a number of unique or shared characteristics with regards to the presentation of the dreams in our prose texts, and draw conclusion in relation to the question of genre of these dream narratives.

With the exception of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, the process of falling asleep and waking up are described in the narrative. In *Breuddwyd Maxen*, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* the process is smooth and gradual, whereas in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* the transition is difficult. In *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* the dreamer falls asleep to the accompaniment of soft music, a feature also found in some medieval dream narratives in other European languages, and which is mocked in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* by substituting it for a repellent odour.

The *locus* where the dreamer falls asleep and wakes up is also referred to in these four texts. In *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* both have an indoor setting, although these two texts contrast each other sharply in terms of the comfort of the sleeping place. *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, on the other hand, have an outdoor setting, although again very different as regards comfort. The description of the *locus* in *Breuddwyd Maxen* is similar to that found in some medieval English dream narratives such as *Piers Plowman*, though there is no evidence of influence and borrowing from the latter.

The time of the occurrence of the dream is alluded to in four of the five texts discussed in this chapter. In *Breuddwyd Maxen* the dream occurs at midday, while in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, the dream occurs during the night. In *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* it is further specified that the dream occurs during the 'first sleep', which is

traditionally associated with symbolic dreams and prophecy in classical dream theories, although in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* the presence of the element of prophecy is vague if any, and in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* non-existent. *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* does not give precise information as regards the time of the dream, so readers may assume that it takes place during the day or night.

With the exception of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, the other four dream narratives present an honest attempt to build an imaginary dream world. The dream world depicted in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* is the most otherworldly of the four, and therefore most unmistakably a Secondary World according to Wolf's definition. *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* gives the initial impression that the narrative is set in the Primary World, indicated by the references to real place-names, yet the dream becomes more and more unrealistic as the narrative proceeds, and towards the end of the story one can be sure that the dream world in this text is also a Secondary World. The landscape of the dream world in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* is much closer to the real world, and its status as a Secondary World is only delivered through the excess of filthiness, although the elements of what is described could exist in the real world. The presentation of the dream land in *Breuddwyd Maxen* works in the opposite direction to that of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*: at first it gives the impression that the court in which the maiden lives is situated in an otherworldly Secondary World; as the story unfolds it turns out to be a remote location in the real world, thus drawing us back to the Primary World.

Direct speech in the form of a didactic dialogue features in four of the five dream narratives in this chapter, with the exception of *Breuddwyd Maxen*. The dreamer takes on the role of the pupil in these three texts, and the interlocutor, who is another character (Iddawg) in the dream in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, and a spirit in *Breuddwyd*

Gronw Ddu, plays the role of the teacher, giving answers that contain appropriate information. *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* also contains a conversation within the dream itself; however, there it is not used for didactic purposes, but to bring the story to a dramatic and sudden end. *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* features a dialogue in verse, which can be regarded as the climax of the plot and a show-off of parody. Direct speech is not present in the dream itself in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, although it is found in subsequent parts of the story following the occurrence of the dream. Nevertheless, the themes of the four texts are very different: multivalent but certainly satirical in the case of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, love in the case of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, outright satire in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, and prophetic in the case of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*. This may suggest that direct speech is a flexible stylistic form and a prominent feature of medieval Welsh dream narrative; indeed it is a common feature of medieval storytelling and not limited to dream narratives.

The dream is presented as a predominantly visual experience in all the dream narratives that we have examined in this chapter. In *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* especially, the visualisation is realised through detailed descriptions of clothing, decorations, colours of high saturation and unusual combinations of colours on people and horses. We may infer that hearing is also presented where there is a conversation in the dream, and this includes all five dream narratives discussed in this chapter. *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* stands out as incorporating the sense of smell in the presentation of the dream in addition to the other senses.

The medieval Welsh dream narratives included in this chapter display a variety of themes in terms of the nature of the dream. *Breuddwyd Maxen*, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* all feature love, but there is a noticeable degree of

parody in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* at the same time, and in *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* the parodic tone is the most prominent, with love being reduced to little more than sexual desire. In *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* it has been argued that parody is one of the main purposes of the narrative. *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* presents the dreams as a prophetic one, with political prophecies thinly veiled in the form of a dream. The element of prophecy is perceptible in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* too, although its function is totally different in these two texts. Instead of giving credit to the connection between dream and prophecy, it seems that in these two cases the connection itself and thus the value of the dream in revealing the future is derided. *Breuddwyd Maxen* does not present the dream as a prophetic one at the outset, but the reader comes to realise that it is indeed a prophetic dream as Maxen finally meets Elen and marries her.

In four of the five dream narratives in this chapter the dream involves a journey undertaken by the dreamer. In *Breuddwyd Maxen*, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* the journey is spontaneous. In *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* it is spontaneous to begin with, but turns into a somewhat escorted journey after Rhonabwy has met Iddawg. The actions and movements of the dreamer are described in all these four dream narratives, but in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* the dreamer takes the initiative to explore the landscape in the dream, and so their actions are more voluntary than that in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*.

Breuddwyd Maxen and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* mention how the dreamer wakes up. In both cases the cause is some kind of noise. In *Breuddwyd Maxen* it is unmistakably noises from the real world outside the dream, but in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* it is not totally clear where the noises come from. *Breuddwyd Maxen* has

follow-up narration and plot development based on the dream, as the dream is not the framework of the entire narrative. In this regard *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* proves a surprising exception, as the dream is preceded by a real life event, and readers would probably expect the narration of the real life event to resume after the account of the dream, but it does not.

In view of the elements highlighted above, we may come to conclusions regarding the genre of dream narratives in the context of medieval Welsh prose. All the dream narratives discussed in this chapter have a title and sometimes a colophon in some if not all the manuscript versions, marking the texts as a 'breuddwyd'. I would argue that this is more than a mere coincidence. My suggestion is that 'breuddwyd' had not become a genre-related term at the time the two Mabinogion dream narratives were composed. By the time that *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill* were composed, however, it had developed into a relatively fixed term denoting a specific type of the *areithiau pros*, those that are presented as dreams while sharing other common features with non-oneiric *areithiau* texts. 'Breuddwyd' in the particular context of late medieval Welsh prose can be regarded as a sub-genre of the *areithiau pros*—the 'breuddwyd' *areithiau*.

The *areithiau* dream narratives appear, to a certain extent, to have been influenced by the two Mabinogion dream narratives, reflected in the similar patterns of narrating the dreams, the relationship between the characters, and the various objects referred to in the dream. Given that the dates of *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* are significantly earlier than the three *areithiau* dream texts, of course, it can only be that the authors of the *areithiau* dream narratives looked to the two Mabinogion dreams as resources for inspiration or standards to be satirised. In other words, the influence was travelling one-way from *Breuddwyd Maxen* and

Breuddwyd Rhonabwy to later *areithiau* dream texts, or to be more specific, *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*. *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* shows no visible influence from the earlier Mabinogion dream narratives. It is the earliest among the three *areithiau* dream texts, belonging to the fifteenth century, whereas the other two are works of the sixteenth century in all probability. It is also the most removed from other dream narratives in terms of content, structure, and style, and the dream appears only to serve the political prophecy contained in the text, in short, the defeat of the English and the eventual victory of the Welsh. Nonetheless, it demonstrates the flexibility of 'breuddwyd' as a sub-genre of *areithiau pros*, able to accommodate various thematic contents from that of political prophecy to frustrated and vulgarised love in a surreal world.

CHAPTER 3   DREAMS IN MEDIEVAL WELSH POETRY

As is to be expected, dreams are found not only in medieval Welsh prose, but also in poetry. Unlike medieval Welsh prose, medieval Welsh poetry does not have an extensive narrative tradition—relatively little narrative is found in the poetry of the Beirdd y Tywysogion and Beirdd yr Uchelwyr, which covers a period from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. However, the dream is one of the storytelling topics found among medieval Welsh narrative poetry. Not all poems that contain the word 'breuddwyd' (dream) are narrative poems: they may simply refer to one of the prose dream narratives for the purpose of comparison, as for instance in 'Marwnad Gruffudd ap Madog ab Iorwerth' by Madog Dwygraig;[1] or 'breuddwyd' may be used metaphorically, such as in 'Y Drych' (The Mirror) and 'Morfudd yn Hen' (Morfudd Grown Old) by Dafydd ap Gwilym, in which the dream is a metaphor of the illusory image shown in the mirror and life itself respectively.[2] Such poems are not discussed in this chapter, where the focus is on poems that tell a story about a dream.

As in the discussion of medieval Welsh prose dream narratives in Chapter 2, the poetry considered here belongs to the period between c. 1100 and c. 1550. As is discussed in the Introduction, in dealing with medieval Welsh prose, we have to rely heavily on the dates of the manuscripts to define a *terminus ante quem* for the texts, as most of them are anonymous; whereas for medieval Welsh poetry the situation is quite different. In many cases the author of a poem is clearly identifiable, even though some poems are only preserved in post-medieval manuscripts. Therefore, our chronology is usually based on the *floruit* of a poet, and not necessarily the dates of

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[1] See my discussion of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* in Chapter 2.2.
[2] For the two poems see dafyddapgwilym.net numbers 132 and 150.

the manuscripts containing that poet's work. To be included in our discussion, poems need to meet two criteria. They must have a clear narrative element; moreover, the dream must be either fundamental to the narrative or provide a framework for it. Individual references to dreams have not been systematically collected as this would create a corpus of too large a size.

Seven poems have been identified based on these criteria, making use of the indices of the works of the Beirdd y Tywysogion and the Beirdd yr Uchelwyr by Ann Parry Owen,[3] as well as the online Index to Welsh Poetry in Manuscript (MALDWYN) on the National Library of Wales website.[4] From a relatively early but uncertain date there is 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr' from the Black Book of Carmarthen, and from the corpus of the Beirdd y Tywysogion there is 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr (fl. c. 1130-c. 1180). The majority of the poems belong to the period of the Beirdd yr Uchelwyr: three poems composed by or attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, one poem by Iolo Goch, one by Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch, and one by Llywelyn ap Gwilym Lygliw. It should be noted that even so other texts may yet await identification.

Most of the poems discussed in this chapter have been edited and published in *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* and *Cyfres Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, therefore this study will make use of the edited texts in these two series.[5] The first poem examined in this

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[3] Ann Parry Owen, 'Mynegai i Enwau Priod ym Marddoniaeth Beirdd y Tywysogion'*, Llên Cymru* 20 (1997), 25–45, and her 'Mynegai i Enwau Priod yng Ngwaith Beirdd y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Ddeg', *Llên Cymru* 31 (2008), 35–89.

[4] <http://maldwyn.llgc.org.uk/> [accessed 23 December 2020].

[5] For the publication information of the two series, see Centre for Advanced Welsh & Celtic Studies website:
<https://www.wales.ac.uk/cy/YGanolfanGeltaidd/Publications/Project1/SeriesProject1.aspx> and
<https://www.wales.ac.uk/cy/YGanolfanGeltaidd/Publications/Project3/SeriesProject3.aspx> [accessed 09 September 2019].

chapter, 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr', is not included in either of the series. It has, however, been edited by A. O. H. Jarman in his *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (1982),[6] and again edited, translated, and closely studied by Myriah Williams in 2017.[7] Williams's edition of the text will be used for quotation purpose. The most up-to-date critical edition and translation of the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym appear in a website and database dafyddapgwilym.net; a published edition is also available.[8] 'Yr Hun Felys', the apocryphal poem attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym in some manuscripts, is another poem not included in either of the two series, nor in any modern edition of the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym. The most recent published edition is in *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* edited by Robert Ellis (Cynddelw), published in 1873. I provide my English translation of the poem in Appendix II.

3.1   'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr'

What is perhaps the earliest reference to a dream in Welsh poetry is found in an anonymous and untitled poem which is conventionally named after its opening line 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr' (I had a dream last night), in fols 3r–4v of NLW MS Peniarth 1, better known as the Black Book of Carmarthen, dated to c. 1250.[9] It is the second poem in the Black Book, and the only one not attributed to any genre by Jarman in his edition of the manuscript: 'Yr unig un nas cynhwyswyd yn y dosbarthiad uchod yw rhif 2, *Breuddwyd a Welwn Neithiwr*, sydd gan mwyaf yn

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[6] A. O. H. Jarman, ed., *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982).
[7] Myriah Williams, 'Ys celuit ae dehoglho. Interpreting a dream?', *North American Journal of Celtic Studies* 1 (2017), 121-50.
[8] Dafydd Johnston, general ed., *Cerddi Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010).
[9] For a detailed discussion of the manuscript itself, see Jarman, ed., *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, pp. xiii-xxiv; Daniel Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming. At present the specific date of the composition and its author remain unknown.

gasgliad o ddiarhebion wedi eu mydryddu.'[10] [The only one that was not included in the classification above is number 2, *Breuddwyd a Welwn Neithiwr*, which is largely a collection of versified proverbs.] The poem as it stands now has 26 complete lines, and a partial twenty-seventh line after which the poem breaks off when the transcription reaches the end of a page in the manuscript. It opens with two couplets, stating clearly that the narrator has 'seen' a dream that only a skilled person can interpret:

1   Breuduid a uelun neithiwr.

2   ys celuit ae dehoglho.

3   Ny ritreithir y reuit.

4   nis guibit ar nuy guelho.

[I had a dream last night, / it is a skilled man who may interpret it. / Its lasciviousness cannot be related, / whoever has not seen it will not know it.][11]

Then comes a proverb whose relevance to the preceding lines is not clear:

5   Gueithred llara llyuiau niuer

6   nid hoffet meiuret bro.

[Leading a host is a generous act, / the cowardice of a land is not something to boast about.]

The description of the dream resumes in lines 7 and 8:

7   Neur uum y dan un duted

8   a bun dec liu guanec gro.

[Indeed I was under the same duvet[12] / with a fair girl the colour of a wave on shingle.]

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[10] Jarman, ed., *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, p. xxvi.
[11] The translation here and below is from Williams, 'Ys celuit ae dehoglho', 142-43.
[12] An alternative translation of *tuted* here is 'blanket'.

What follows until the end of the poem are proverbs that seem to be unrelated to the dream, or rather, to the expectation of the dream aroused by the narrative of the opening part.

It is hard to say how much Jarman's dismissive assessment of the poem ('largely a collection of versified proverbs') has contributed to the lack of attention it has received. Yet it is certainly the case that there has been little discussion of it between his edition of 1982 and Myriah Williams's study of the poem in 2017. In her study Williams provides an ambitious new explanation for the abrupt breaking-off of the dream narrative. She argues on the basis of line-by-line close reading, that the core of the poem was originally lines 9–22, and that lines 1–4, together with lines 7–8, were originally additions in the margin, which, having been mistaken as part of the main text, were copied into the Black Book as we see it now. This explains also why lines 5–6 seem to be displaced in the current state of the poem. If this is the case, the poem is then composed of four different parts: the dream poem (lines 1–4 and 7–8), a stray proverb couplet (lines 5–6), the core poem composed of proverbs in couplets (lines 9–22), and finally additional proverbs (lines 23–26).[13]

Myriah Williams further argues that the dream narrative is a compact but complete bawdy poem. It was probably written by a scribe with a sense of humour that contrasts with the sober tone of the moral teachings in the core poem of proverbs, and that the marginalia found its way into the main text in consequent copying.[14] This interpretation offers a fresh explanation of the relationship between the dream narrative and the rest of the poem. If we accept her assumption that the lines containing the dream were marginal additions copied into the main verse (the

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[13] Williams, 'Ys celuit ae dehoglho', 144-45.
[14] Ibid., 128.

gnomic poem), it means that the description of the dream can be examined on its own as a dream narrative. This reading would reconstruct the poem as a very short one of only six lines, and because of its brevity it would be difficult to comment in detail on it. Therefore, Williams's reading produces certain difficulties that prompt us to seek an alternative way of decoding the poem.

Several observations can nevertheless be made. First, we are told in line 1 and line 4 that the dream was seen and not heard or perceived by any other sense of perception, thus making it one of the earliest testimonies of the idiomatic use of 'gweld breuddwyd', and of the relationship between 'dreaming' and 'seeing' in Welsh; in other words, it is implied here that dreams are visualised.[15] Secondly, line 2 suggests that it was a recognised practice for dreamers to seek a skilled interpreter (*celfydd*), to have their dreams interpreted (*dehongli*). This provides a link to medieval Welsh prose dream narratives such as *Breuddwyd Sibli Ddoeth* and *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*, in which the dreamers ask someone more knowledgeable than themselves to interpret and reveal the hidden meanings of their dreams. Thirdly, in lines 3–4 the narrator states that only those who have seen the dream, in this case, himself or herself, would be able to know it, thus informing the reader that there are no external means to access the dream, and that the reader has to rely on the narrator's perspective and be satisfied with what is told in the narrative. At the same time the reader is told that the dream is an extremely lustful one, and lines 7–8 further prove the statement. It seems that lines 3 and 7–8 work to emphasise the significance of direct experience in the dream, yet the verb used to describe the occurrence of the dream is still 'gweld' (to see). The first person 'I' is used

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[15] Indeed, the first couplet of 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr' is one of the earliest examples used by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* for 'breuddwyd', *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 16 October 2020].

throughout these lines, giving us a perspective that is not found in medieval Welsh prose dream narratives, namely that of the first-person narration, as opposed to the third-person narration found in all dream texts examined in Chapter 2.

Yet it is equally possible that in the case of 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr', the dream narrative was not originally a separate short poem, but had always been part and parcel of the poem as we see it now. Sarah Higley's concept of 'intentional difficulty' may help to elaborate this alternative possibility. Higley argues on the basis of some poems from the Book of Taliesin, 'Gorhoffedd Owain', and some of the early Welsh *englynion* poems, that there is a technique used in the composition of early Welsh poetry, whereby the text is intentionally made to appear obscure, disjointed, and puzzling, both in words and in context. As a result, it is apparently difficult to understand.[16] One of the ways to create this kind of difficulty is 'the juxtaposition of elements without explanation',[17] as is found in 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr', elements without explicit logical connections are juxtaposed, and the description of the dream is one of these elements. If we accept this argument that the lines describing the dream are one of the juxtaposed elements meant to create the effect of 'intentional difficulty', then there is one more dimension to consider with regards to the structure of the poem, namely the relationship between the description of the dream and the rest of the poem. Little can be said for certain about how the content of the dream is related to the proverbs in the rest of the poem, as none of the lines address the topic of love or lechery. Yet it is possible that even though the dream does not play any part in the construction of the theme or themes of the narrative, at least it can serve as a teaser to the reader, as lines 1–4 present the poem

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[16] Sarah Lynn Higley, *Between Languages: the Uncooperative Text in Early Welsh and Old English Nature Poetry* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), pp. 187-220.

[17] Ibid., p. 194.

as if it were going to tell a story about a dream, and perhaps reflect upon the meaning of it.

Another possible interpretation is to read the dream as the framework of the poem, and in this scenario the proverbs would in turn become teachings received in the dream. Myriah Williams notes, with regards to her hypothesis that the dream was originally an independent marginal composition, that 'the dream poem is clever in the way it subverts the expectation of a prophetic vision with which dreams are often associated in Western traditions'.[18] This argument, however, would not hold if the description of the dream was intended to be an integrated part of the poem from the very beginning. As has been demonstrated by our examination of the medieval Welsh prose dream narratives in Chapter 2, the prophetic element of the dream can be presented unrealistically, didactically, or symbolically, and the themes can range from love to politics, to religion, or to apparently nothing specific. In the case of 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr', although a parodic humour can be sensed in the opposition between the mood of the dream and that of the proverbs, the dream can actually be regarded as the circumstances in which the serious moral teachings take place. We can imagine that the narrator dreams that he is sleeping with a fair girl in a highly erotic mood, and apparently is going to have sexual intercourse with her, when suddenly a voice interferes and interrupts the erotic scene. The dreamer tries to recreate the love scene, but soon the voice of wisdom teaching prevails, and the dreamer gives up his attempt to maintain his previous dream, and turns to receive the teachings given in the dream. Though somehow contrasting and even a little comic if the poem is read in this way, it could possibly be the author's intention to design the

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[18] Williams, 'Ys celuit ae dehoglho', 130-31.

poem in this manner, and this leads to the next point, namely that of the narrative voice and characterisation.[19]

As mentioned above, if the lines containing the dream are taken as an independent short poem, the poem would be a simple first-person narrative with one voice, that of the narrator and dreamer. On the other hand, if the description of the dream is taken as the frame of the poem, it is still a first-person narrative, but there would be an additional layer of narrative voice. In other words, there would be two voices instead of one: the voice of the narrator and dreamer indicated in the first person 'I', and the unnamed voice that gives the wisdom teaching to the dreamer. This would not be an exception in medieval Welsh dream narratives, as we find a similar coordination of voices in *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, in which the voice that makes prophecies in his dream is simply referred to as an 'ysbryd' (spirit). Nevertheless, there is a difference between the two texts in terms of characterisation, and perhaps this is the most notable one existing between medieval Welsh dream narratives in prose and poetry, that all the prose dream narratives we have discussed in Chapter 2 are third-person narratives, whereas all the poetical dream narratives scrutinised in this chapter are narrated from a first-person perspective. As Spearing points out in his study of the narrative 'I' in medieval English literature, first-person narrative or what he calls 'the textual first person' differs from third-person narrative in that '[T]the third persons have to be represented in language and thus characterized', although in medieval texts the characterisation is minimal. The first person, by contrast, need not necessarily be characterised at all: it does not have to be assigned gender, age, social position and so on, and 'it may be characterized to some extent in some passages

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[19] For a general discussion of 'voice of narrative', see for example Paul Cobley, *Narrative*, 2nd edn. (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 93-97. For 'characters', see for example H. Porter Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 130-43.

(and perhaps differently characterized in different passages within a single text), while remaining elsewhere no more than an anonymous unobtrusive channel of narration or discourse.'[20] Such is the case of 'Breuddwyd y welwn neithwyr'. We learn from the narration that the dreamer is likely to be a male, in his youth or at the oldest middle-aged, is a poet, but little more can be obtained from the narration itself without the supplement of imagination on the reader or listener's part, owing to the extreme economical nature of the narrative. The world-building activity in this poem, by the same token, is next to none. The occurrence of the dream suggests the existence of a dream world that is separate from the Primary World where the physical body of the dreamer lies when he has the dream, yet there is no information feeding into the description of the indicated dream world. The reader or audience is not given any information regarding how the environment in which the dream takes place, nor any clue to the timeline in the dream or genealogy of any of the characters. It can be described as a dream narrative with a blank dream world. We will come back to these points later in this chapter as more examples of dream narratives in medieval Welsh poetry are examined. For now we may summarise of 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr' that depending on our understanding of the poem as a self-contained short poem or an integrated part of a longer poem, the number of narrative voices varies between one and two, while the characterisation remains first-person narration as opposed to the third-person narrations of the prose dream texts.

3.2 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr

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[20] A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Autography: The "I" of the Text* (Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), pp. 13-14.

'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' is, as far as we know, the earliest medieval Welsh dream poem with a known author and a relatively certain composition date. The 32-line long *awdl* was composed by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, a poet mainly associated with the court of Gwynedd, who was active between c. 1130 and c. 1180.[21] He had several patrons during his life, of which the most important were Owain Gwynedd and Madog ap Maredudd of Powys. Nine of his poems are known to us, and 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' is thought to have been composed during the later years of his life, probably in 1169 or 1170.[22] The only medieval copy is NLW MS 6680B (the Hendregardredd Manuscript, c. 1300), of which there are six post-medieval copies.[23] The only English translation of the poem to date is in Joseph P. Clancy's anthology of medieval Welsh poems.[24] It is the only Beirdd y Tywysogion poem entitled 'breuddwyd' in the manuscript.[25]

The poem can be divided into three narrative parts. Lines 1-8 form an opening in which the poet pleads with God to teach him to defend himself fearlessly against death, just as God had taught the prophet David.[26] D. Myrddin Lloyd regards the reference to King David here as being of special significance, as it is the earliest example of a reference to a human character of the Old Testament in medieval

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[21] Meic Stephens, *The New Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), p. 290.

[22] For the possible composition dates of Gwalchmai's poems, see Rhian M. Andrews, 'Golwg ar Yrfa Gwalchmai', *Llên Cymru* 27 (2004), 30-47 (44).

[23] J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., eds., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), p. 254.

[24] See Joseph C. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), pp. 129-30, under the title 'Gwalchmai's Dream'.

[25] The title is shown as 'breutuyd Gwalchmei' on the top of the folio 10r in the Hendregadredd Manuscript. A digital diplomatic copy of the manuscript can be viewed on National Library of Wales website: <https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/manuscripts/the-middle-ages/hendregadredd-manuscript/> [accessed 02 December 2020].

[26] Williams et al., eds., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, p. 256: 'Boed a'm dysgwy Dwy dwywawl annwyd / Mal y dysgws Dwy Dafydd Broffwyd.'

Welsh poetry.[27] We may add that it demonstrates the poet's familiarity with the biblical tradition that relates the figure David to that of prophecy and dream interpretation.

Lines 9–22 form the second part of the poem, where Gwalchmai turns to mourn the loss of three persons close to him: Madog (ap Maredudd), his former patron, who died in 1160 (lines 9–12);[28] Goronwy, one of Gwalchmai's sons (lines 13-18); and Genilles, Gwalchmai's wife (lines 19–22). When talking about his memory of Madog's death, the poet says

11   Ni'm hethremyg Duw â digfryd oseb,

12   Ni lluddiwn i neb newid breuddwyd.[29]

[God will not disgrace me with a wrathful gift, / I would prevent no one from exchanging a dream with me.][30]

Here the awareness of a connection between a dream and its narration is clearly present, expressed by the term 'newid' (exchange), similar to what we saw above in 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr'. Then in lines 17–18 the poet becomes more emotional, thinking of his loss of Goronwy:

17   Dyfrydedd fonedd! Fennig ydd wyd,

18   Dychrydd hun a hoen hân pan ddoddwyd.[31]

[Sadness for a nobleman! Wherever you are, / sleep and joy differ less when you come.][32]

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[27] D. Myrddin Lloyd, *Rhai Agweddau ar Ddysg y Gogynfeirdd* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 23.

[28] For a biographical note of Madog ap Maredudd as a historical figure, see for example, Meic Stephens, *New Companion*, p. 477.

[29] Williams et al., eds., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, p. 256.

[30] Clancy translates the couplet as 'God will not disgrace me with a wrathful gift: / I would keep no one from sharing a dream.' See Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, p. 129.

[31] Williams et al., eds., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, p. 256.

[32] Clancy translates as 'Sadness for a noble man—where you exist, / Sleep and bliss differ less when you come.' See Joseph C. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, p. 129.

These lines imply that the dead could appear to the living while they are asleep, a feature well established in the classical literary tradition and absorbed into Christian literature. The final section (from line 23 to the end of the poem) consists of a prayer to God to keep the poet safe and secure until the time comes for him to meet death.

Several scholars have pointed out that this poem has a strong religious overtone.[33] The poem begins and ends with 'Boed ... Dwy ... / Boed Duw ...' (May God ...), which makes it possible to read the entire poem as a personal and private prayer to God, instead of a poetical work to be recited publicly in front of a courtly audience. Yet the nature of the poem is different from that which we will see in the case of 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' (to be discussed in Chapter 4.3.2). It is an expression of personal feelings and not a verse rendering of a well-known religious story of the time. The intimacy of the tone can be perceived in the first place from the narrative voice of the poem. It is presented by a single character in the first person, and the personal feeling of the first-person narration makes the image of the narrator more vivid to present-day readers.[34] It is, however, a little problematic to read the poem as a dream narrative in spite of the title 'Breuddwyd' Gwalchmai in the manuscript, as there is no description of falling asleep and waking up, or anything seen or heard in the dream, as one would expect in an account of a dream. Besides, the narrative element of the poem is sparse; in other words, the story told in this poem is minimal: we learn that the narrator has lost three persons close and important to him, that he grieves of his loss, and that he can see his dead son in his dream sometimes. The repetition of the dream may remind us of *Breuddwyd Maxen*, but there are notable

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[33] For example, Peredur Lynch, 'Cân Gwalchmai "Y Eua Y Wreic"', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 19 (1993), 29-45 (33); J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., eds., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, p. 253; Andrews, 'Golwg ar Yrfa Gwalchmai', 30-47 (39), where she also suggests that the poem was probably performed in front of an ecclesiastical audience.
[34] Peredur Lynch, 'Cân Gwalchmai "Y Eua Y Wreic"', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 19 (1993), 29-45 (33).

differences between the treatment of the reoccurrence of the dream. In *Breuddwyd Maxen* it is a living person that is dreamed of, and the dream eventually leads the dreamer to find her in real life, therefore there is a kind of correspondence between the dream and reality. In 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai', on the contrary, no such correspondence is possible, as the person appearing in the dream is already dead. Maxen desires to go back to sleep after seeing the maiden in his dream for the first time, and whenever he goes to sleep he can see the maiden again in the dream without fail, whereas for the character in 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' there is no guarantee that his son will appear to him in his sleep.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to argue that the dream is the focus of the poem, that the dream creates a special type of dream world for the dreamer, a space that is hinted at only to the slightest degree in the poem. It is an intimate narrative space that is directly accessible only to the poet himself; the reader who approaches the dream from outside the narrative can only gain access to the space through the poet's narration. Since the poem itself offers no information about the dream, we are left to wonder what exactly did the poet see in his dream. Thus the content of the dream remains a space inaccessible to the reader. In this intimate space characters normally not brought forward in front of a public audience are presented, in this case the poet's own wife and son, alongside his patron, a character who would be a conventional subject of an elegy. The use of the dream in 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' differs from other poetical dream narratives, such as those attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym discussed in the next section. It exhibits the potential for using the dream as

a channel to make the personal emotion of grievance public in a highly individualised way.[35]

3.3 Poems composed by or attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym

Dafydd ap Gwilym has been called 'the most distinguished of medieval Welsh poets and perhaps the greatest Welsh poet of all time'.[36] Dafydd's major contribution to medieval Welsh poetry was his mastery of the *cywydd*, a metre that ousted the *awdl* as the predominant form in medieval prosody. Dafydd ap Gwilym was a prolific author.[37] From love to old age, from secret springtime trysts to jealous husbands, from the series of metaphors known as *dyfalu* to the use of poetic love-messengers (usually animals) known as *llateion*, Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry extends over a wide range of topics and multiple literary devices.[38] In addition to that, Dafydd ap Gwilym was a good storyteller. The stories in poems such as 'Trafferth mewn Tafarn' (Trouble at an Inn) or 'Merched Llanbadarn' (The Girls of Llanbadarn) can even be

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[35] For a general introduction of classifications and theories of emotions in the Middle Ages, see for example Peter King, 'Emotions in Medieval Thought', *The Oxford Handbook on Emotion*, forthcoming <http://individual.utoronto.ca/pking/articles/Emotions_in_Medieval_Thought.pdf> [accessed 26 July 2019].

[36] Stephens, ed., *New Companion*, p. 145.

[37] 'A list of the 170 poems included in the edition on dafyddapgwilym.net, divided into those which are considered to be the genuine work of Dafydd ap Gwilym (poems 1–151) and poems of uncertain authorship (152–170); the genuine poems are arranged in group according to subject.' <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/canllawiau_eng.php#faq12> [accessed 01 December 2018]. An additional poem with uncertain authorship was added after the launch of the main edition, making the total sum 171. Four poems by Gruffudd Grug, the rival of Dafydd in a poetic debate (*ymryson*) between the two poets are included in the online edition among Dafydd's own works, and are numbered 23, 25, 27, 29.

[38] For a detailed discussion of the extensiveness of Dafydd ap Gwilym's composition and his inheritance from the Beirdd y Tywysogion as well as the relationship between the popular tradition of fourteenth-century Wales and Dafydd's poetry, see Helen Fulton, *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1989), Chapters 5 and 6.

performed as mini dramas without much difficulty.[39] It is not unexpected, therefore, that two poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym and one attributed to him contain dreams.

Dafydd ap Gwilym is by far also the most studied medieval Welsh poet. His complete work has been edited twice since the middle of the twentieth century, the first time by Thomas Parry as *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* in 1952 (revised in 1963), and a second time by dafyddapgwilym.net project during the first decade of the twenty-first century.[40] An English translation of his complete work was undertaken by Gwyn Thomas in his *Dafydd ap Gwilym: His Poems* (2001), by Joseph P. Clancy in *The Poems of Dafydd Ap Gwilym* (2003), and as part of the dafyddapgwilym.net website project (2007). Selections and selective translations of his poems are included in almost every anthology that covers medieval Welsh poetry, in Welsh and in English.[41] My quotations from the Welsh text together with their English translation will be taken from dafyddapgwilym.net.

3.3.1 'Y Breuddwyd'

'Y Breuddwyd' (The Dream) was presumably quite popular among Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems, as it is preserved in over thirty manuscripts. It is widely accepted

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[39] For the two poems see dafyddapgwilym.net numbers 73 and 137.

[40] The poems regarded as the genuine work of Dafydd ap Gwilym in this edition also appeared in the hard copy *Cerddi Dafydd ap Gwilym* in 2010.

[41] For example, *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, edited by Thomas Parry, published in 1962 (Oxford: Clarendon Press), and its counterpart in English—The *Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English*, edited by Gwyn Jones, published in 1977 (Oxford: Clarendon Press); *Penguin Book of Welsh Verse*, edited by Anthony Conran and J. E. Caerwyn Williams, published in 1967, revised in 1986, reprinted in 1992, 2003, 2017 (Hamondsworth: Penguin); *Dafydd ap Gwilym: A Selection of Poems*, a selective translation by Rachel Bromwich together with Parry's edited text (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1982, reprinted 1987, 2003); *Medieval Welsh Poems*, edited and translated by Joseph P. Clancy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003).

as an authentic piece of work composed by Dafydd ap Gwilym. [42] This 48-line *cywydd* can be divided into four sections, the first of which (lines 1–28) introduces the dream. The initial four lines tell of the *locus* of the dreamer, and the time of the day in the real world when the dream happens:

> 1   Fal yr oeddwn, gwn heb gêl,
>
> 2   Yn dargwsg mewn lle dirgel,
>
> 3   Gwelais ar glais dichlais dydd
>
> 4   Breuddwyd ar ael boreuddydd
>
> [As I was slumbering in a secluded place, / I will tell it without concealment, / I saw at dawn and break of day / a dream on the brink of morning.][43]

The content of the dream itself is as follows: the dreamer (the persona of the poet) thinks that he is walking through a landscape that is very familiar to him. With a pack of hunting dogs at hand, he walks into a forest (lines 5–10). He releases the dogs immediately as he thinks that he is a good huntsman and is participating seriously in a hunt, and before long he hears noise of dogs barking, chasing the game (lines 11–16). Then he sees a perfectly shaped white hind above the field, being hunted by his dogs, and it comes tamely to the poet, and he seizes it excitedly (lines 17–26). At this point he wakes up, finding himself in an outbuilding, and the heavy breath of an animal (probably his dog) upon his face (lines 27–28).

In the second section (lines 29–34) the poet seeks an interpreter for his dream:

> 29   Cyrchais gongl ar ddehonglydd
>
> 30   Drannoeth fal y doeth y dydd.
>
> 31   Cefais hynafgwraig gyfiawn

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[42] See 'nodiadau' ('notes') of the poem (number 79) on dafyddapgwilym.net: < http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/cym/3win.htm> [accessed 11 December 2020]. The notes on the website in English do not contain as much detail as the notes in Welsh.

[43] 'Y Breuddwyd', dafyddapgwilym.net, poem number 79 <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm> [accessed 11 December 2020].

32   Pan oedd ddydd yn ddedwydd iawn.

33   Addef a wneuthum iddi,

34   Goel nos, fal y gwelwn i.

[As soon as daylight came the next day / I went to seek an interpreter nearby. / I was fortunate enough to find / a righteous old woman when it was day. / I told her everything I had seen, / omen of the night.][44]

The third part (lines 35–38) is the poet's request to the woman, presented in direct speech:

35   'Rho Duw, wraig gall, pe gallud

36   Rhyw derfyn ar hyn o hud,

37   Ni chyfflybwn, gwn ganclwyf,

38   Neb â thi. Anobaith wyf'.

['By God, wise woman, if you could / put an end to this enchantment, / I would consider none to be your equal, / I suffer a hundred pangs, I am without hope.'][45]

The final part (lines 39–48) is the woman's answer and interpretation of the dream, also presented in direct speech:

39   'Da beth, y diobeithiwr,

40   Yw dy freuddwyd, od wyd ŵr:

41   Y cŵn heb gêl a welud

42   I'th law, pe gwypud iaith lud,

43   Dy hwylwyr, diau helynt,

44   Dy lateion eon ŷnt,

45   a'r ewig wen unbennes

46   A garud ti, hoen geirw tes.

47   Diau yw hyn y daw hi

48   I'th nawdd, a Duw i'th noddi.'

['O hopeless one, your dream / is a good one, if you are a true man: / the dogs you saw plainly / at your hand, if you only knew their pleading language, / are your envoys, certain course, / your bold love messengers, /

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

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and the white hind is the lady / you loved, colour of sunlit foam. / It is quite certain that she will come / to seek sanctuary with you, and may God bless you.']⁴⁶

It seems that Dafydd ap Gwilym used most of the terms related to dream found in medieval Welsh prose dream narratives in this poem, with the exception of the term 'dargwsg' (to sleep lightly, slumber, doze, nod) in line 2.⁴⁷ As opposed to the deep sleep (we will see the term 'marwhun' in *Ymborth yr Enaid* in Chapter 4.4) or 'first sleep' (as 'y cyntun cyntaf' in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* in Chapter 2.3) during the first half of the night, 'dargwsg' is a light sleep associated with the dawn or the early morning, as is mentioned in this poem.⁴⁸ This is the first example of a dream occurring at dawn in our examination of medieval Welsh dream narratives. The term 'dehonglydd' in line 29 stresses the significance of an interpreter in this context. The interpreter of the dream in 'Y Breuddwyd' is an old woman, addressed as '[g]wraig gall' ('wise woman', line 35), whose role of interpreting the dream may be loosely compared to that of the 'old hag' (*gwrach*) at the beginning of the story in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, where the old woman tells the new queen that the king is prophesied to have an heir, and that he has a son already.⁴⁹ Old women were often regarded in the Middle Ages as having the ability to interpret dreams and omens, even if they were not considered witches.⁵⁰ The reason why the dream needs an interpretation seems to be that characters appearing in the dream

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⁴⁶ Ibid. Here the poet brings forward one of the prominent characteristics of his own poetry, that of the love messenger (*llatai*), thus creating an intertextual link between this poem and other *llatai* poems of his own work. Perhaps the poet was marketing his own poetry in this way?

⁴⁷ 'dargysgaf: dargysgu, dargwsg', *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 13 May 2020].

⁴⁸ The prefix 'dar-' serves to weaken the meaning of 'cwsg' in the case of 'dargwsg', in the same way as it works with 'dargysgu' and 'darhuno'. See 'dar-', *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 10 September 2019].

⁴⁹ For the scene in the story see Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans, eds., *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Cardiff: University of Cardiff Press, 1988), p. 2, lines 34-42.

⁵⁰ For the attitude towards old women in the Middle Ages, see for example, Shulamith Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages: 'Winter Clothes Us in Shadow and Pain'*, trans. Yale Lotan (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

apart from the dreamer himself are animals, and animals are often regarded as representing human figures or certain attributes of humanity in one's real life in medieval literature in general, as is found in the dreams of Charlemagne in *La chanson de Roland*.

Helen Fulton's brief analysis of the poem focuses on the woodland setting of the dream.[51] She regards the poem as clearly belonging to the mainstream European poetic tradition of dream-vision genre, reflecting foreign influence of the continental dream-vision genre. She argues that Dafydd's innovation is demonstrated by his setting of the woodland as part of the dream and not a reality, as a metaphorical court that provides a context for the vision of the loved one, and not fully realised courtly love in the world of court life: '[T]the dream represents a world isolated from social reality, where love remains locked in a vision, unable to be realized'.[52] In other words, it is an alternative world, presented as conceptually challenging to the poet as regards the meanings of the images in it. I tend to be more reserved on this point, for it remains a moot question exactly how much of European influence is present in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry. It might not be completely convincing to regard this poem generically as a dream-vision similar to those Middle English dream poems according to the description of the dream landscape. It is equally possible to argue instead, for example, that Dafydd ap Gwilym was establishing a new genre or sub-genre in Middle Welsh, which adopts the metre of *cywydd* and the voice of first-person narration as its formal organisation, the presentation of the dream as a narrative as its rhetoric structure, and love as its thematic content. To support this argument one only needs to point out that he did not lack followers, as will be seen

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[51] Helen Fulton, ed. and trans., *Dafydd ap Gwilym: Apocrypha* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1996), p. 164.
[52] Ibid.

in our discussion of 'Y Cloc' and 'Yr Hun Felys' shortly. It is not the place to develop a full argument on this point here, as Dafydd ap Gwilym's literary inheritance and his innovation are not the focus of this thesis, but literary dreams in medieval Welsh literature with regards genre, yet it is useful to point out the existence of various possibilities concerning the genre of this poem.

Whatever the validity of Fulton's argument, it brings forward the significance of the dream landscape, an element that is key to the construction of the dream as a Secondary World. We have discussed this element in Chapter 2 in our analysis of the journeys made in the dream, but have not come across in the two poems discussed hitherto. We have discussed in Chapter 2 that in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* the dream is depicted within a landscape, beginning with something familiar to the dreamer, or even overlapping with the location in the real world, then gradually developing into an exotic and fantastic world as the dreamer moves or travels in the dream. In this regard 'Y Breuddwyd' is similar to those prose texts to a certain extent. We are told that at the beginning of the dream the dreamer thinks that he is 'yn cerdded y gwledydd / A'r tir adwaenwn hyd dydd' (walking the regions and lands / I knew all day long).[53] On the other hand, unlike the prose dream texts, there is no reference to the landscape changing into something unfamiliar to the dreamer: he walks into a forest, releases his dogs, and stays there for the rest of the dream. A white hind, at first seen 'above fields' (*goruwch llennyrch*, line 17) from where the dreamer stands, becomes the object of the chase by his dogs, and it starts to move, first towards the hill (*cyrchu'r allt*, line 21), then over two ridges (*tros ddwy esgair a thrum*, line 22),

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[53] 'Y Breuddwyd', dafyddapgwilym.net, poem number 79, lines 7-8
<http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm> [accessed 11 December 2020].

over the slopes (*dros y cefnydd*, line 23), and finally towards the dreamer to seek protection (*i'm nawdd i*, line 26). In other words, the dreamer himself does not participate in a journey in 'Y Breuddwyd'; he is the one at home in his familiar environment. It is the object seen in the dream that takes the tour across a landscape within sight of the dreamer, and finally comes to his side. The distribution of action and immobility of characters in the dream is reversed to that in *Breuddwyd Maxen*. Could it be that Dafydd was implicitly making fun of the story of Maxen? Perhaps not—the symmetry is not complete. Maxen embarks on the journey of his own accord, whereas the hind, later interpreted by the old woman as the one loved by the dreamer, is running as it tries to escape the chase of the dogs, interpreted as representing the dreamer's love-messengers. Therefore the journey of the hind is involuntary. Maxen, too, has messengers, and he sends them to find out where the maiden he has dreamt of lives, but in the dream itself the messengers do not appear in either human or animal form.

Direct speech is another significant element of dream narrative that is present in some of the dream texts discussed in the previous chapter, but is seen for the first time in this chapter. Unlike *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, in which the dialogue takes place over a number of turn-takings, there is only one turn taken by each of the two interlocutors (the dreamer and the old woman) in 'Y Breuddwyd', although the conversation does not occur in the dream, as is the case of these two *areithiau* texts, it gives enough information to explain the meaning of the dream and to conclude the plot of the narrative. Again different from those prose dream narratives but similar to 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr' and 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai', the narration is conducted in the first person. The combination of first-

person narration and direct speech in one dream narrative in 'Y Breuddwyd' is a distinctive feature of the poem.

As its title suggests, the dream is the focus of the poem. Dafydd ap Gwilym successfully uses the dream to create a mini story tailored to a well-known aspect of his own poetry—the *llatai*. The plot may be short and simple, yet it presents a complete story, and in this sense this poem is a dream narrative. It exemplifies a dream occurring at dawn in a status of slumber, as opposed to the deep sleep in the night; it makes use of animal symbolism popular in continental European dream narration; it presents a dialogue together with the first-person narration; and it highlights the relationship between dream and interpretation. Fulton's observation of the significance of the woodland landscape in the dream agrees with our focus on literary dreams as Secondary Worlds in this thesis, although we cannot agree completely with her conclusion with regards genre upon this point. The next two poems we are going to discuss have a similar narrative structure and style to 'Y Breuddwyd', and an examination of them may throw light on the question with regards to the genre of these poems.

3.3.2 'Y Cloc'

'Y Cloc' (The Clock) is a poem traditionally attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, yet its authorship is not certain. Thomas Clancy hesitantly dates it to the 1370s, whereas Gareth Evans suggest that it might actually be a poem from the fifteenth century, and thus not composed by Dafydd ap Gwilym at all.[54] The *cywydd* consists of 50 lines,

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[54] Thomas Clancy, 'Sequencing Dafydd ap Gwilym', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 36 (2016), 30-49(38); Gareth Evans, 'Cywydd Y Cloc', *Y Traethodydd* 137 (1982), 9-16(14).

divisible into four parts. The first part (lines 1–10) sets the scene for the dream. The poet tells us of a settlement by Rhiw Rheon,[55] where the girl he falls in love with lives. The poet dreams that she comes to greet him every night:

> 7 Hawddamor heddiw yma
>
> 8 Hyd yn nhyddyn y dyn da.
>
> 9 Beunoeth, foneddigddoeth ferch,
>
> 10 Y mae honno i'm hannerch.
>
> [Salutations here today / to the house of that good one. / That wise noble girl / does greet me every night.][56]

Part two (lines 11–20) relates how the dream happens, and is worth quoting in full:

> 11 Bryd cwsg ym, a bradw y'i caid,
>
> 12 Breuddwyd yw, braidd y dywaid,
>
> 13 A'm pen ar y gobennydd,
>
> 14 Acw y daw cyn y dydd
>
> 15 Yng ngolwg, eang eilun,
>
> 16 Angel bach yng ngwely bun.
>
> 17 Tybiaswn o'm tyb isod
>
> 18 Gan fy mun gynnau fy mod.
>
> 19 Pell oedd rhyngof, cof a'i cais,
>
> 20 A'i hwyneb pan ddihunais.
>
> [When my mind is asleep (and broken was [the sleep] I had), / it is a dream, scarcely does it utter a word, / with my head on the pillow, / it comes yonder before daybreak / in the form of a little angel (far-reaching spectre) / into the girl's bed. / I was under the impression then / that I was with my sweetheart there. / When I awoke her face / was far from me, the mind [still] seeks her.][57]

This part contains a record of the belief in the Middle Ages that one's soul or spirit leaves the body when one is asleep, as Rachel Bromwich and Huw Meirion Edwards

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[55] About its possible locations, see 'Y Cloc', dafyddapgwilym.net, poem number 64, note 3 <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/cym/3win.htm> [accessed 28 June 2020].
[56] 'Y Cloc', dafyddapgwilym.net, poem number 64 <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm> [accessed 03 August 2019].
[57] Ibid.

have both discussed.[58] This kind of experience is clearly defined as a 'breuddwyd' and happening in 'cwsg' in the poem. Moreover, this kind of dream happens 'cyn y dydd' (before daybreak), after some time of sleeplessness or sleep of poor quality, therefore similar to the description in 'Y Breuddwyd' and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*.

The third part (lines 21–38) conveys the poet's frustration at being woken up by the sound of a clock. The condensed use of a number of words with the 'cl' sound lively mimics the sound of the clock, which creates a comic effect when performed orally.

In the final part (lines 39–50) the narrator describes the sleep as 'a heavenly sleep at midnight' ('Hun o'r nef am hanner nos', line 40), and utters his desire to have such a sleep again, in which he could see the vision ('gweledigaeth') of the girl (line 44). He urges the dream to hurry to his love again without delay:

45   Eto rhed ati ar hynt,

46   Freuddwyd, ni'th ddwg afrwyddynt.

47   Gofyn i'r dyn dan aur do

48   A ddaw hun iddi heno

49   I roi golwg o'r galon,

50   Nith yr haul, unwaith ar hon.

[Hurry along to her again, / dream, nothing will hinder your course. / Ask the girl beneath the golden canopy / whether sleep will come to her tonight / to give one more sight from the heart / of her, niece of the sun.][59]

From the synopsis of the content of the poem it is unmistakable that thematically it is a love poem. In terms of genre, Huw Meirion Edwards points out that 'Y Cloc' can be regarded as showing influences from continental European literature of the time, particularly from northern France, and also England, in terms of seeing the beloved

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[58] Rachel Bromwich, *Aspects of the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1986), p. 76; Huw Meirion Edwards, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: Influences and Analogues* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 198-99.
[59] 'Y Cloc', dafyddapgwilym.net, poem number 64 <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm> [accessed 03 August 2019].

in one's dream but waking up finding the person not there. However, he also mentions another possibility, namely that 'it is possible that this is among those widespread and timeless elements in love-poetry which may arise spontaneously in courtly and popular traditions independent of each other.'[60] Edward's comment reflects upon the theme of love in an example of poetical dream narrative, directly comparable to prose dream narratives such as *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, as well as 'Y Breuddwyd' discussed above. Apart from the theme of love, the two poems have a few other features in common, including the first-person voice of narration, the focus on the dream, and the time of the occurrence of the dream, at dawn.

On the other hand, although 'Y Cloc' shares elements with 'Y Breuddwyd', the differences between the two poems in presenting the dream are just as distinct. In 'Y Breuddwyd' the dream is symbolic and therefore an interpreter is required. In 'Y Cloc' the dream itself does not require interpretation; seeing the object of the dream is in itself the purpose of the dream. In the final part of 'Y Cloc' the persona of the poet addresses the dream as if it were a person, a *llatai*, and in the same way as other *llateion* of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry. This way of handling the dream is not found in 'Y Breuddwyd', or indeed any other poetical dream narratives included in this chapter. The form of dialogue in 'Y Breuddwyd' is not found in 'Y Cloc'; 'Y Cloc' is a monologue. The dream world is described with a certain amount of details in 'Y Breuddwyd', but no details are found at all in 'Y Cloc'; in other words, there is no world-building activity occurring regarding the dream in the latter. Lastly, the description of the dream in 'Y Cloc' contains a sexual indication similar to that found in 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr', which is not present in 'Y Breuddwyd'. In

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[60] Huw Meirion Edwards, *Influences and Analogues*, p. 200.

this regard, 'Yr Hun Felys', the next poem that we shall examine, is a skilful imitation of Dafydd ap Gwilym's iconic love theme, if the poem was not composed by the poet himself.

3.3.3 'Yr Hun Felys'

'Yr Hun Felys' (The Sweet Sleep) is probably a fifteenth-century composition. It is attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym in most manuscripts containing the poem, and is referenced on dafyddapgwilym.net as one of the 204 apocryphal poems (A120).[61] It was first printed in the 1789 edition of *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* by Owain Myfyr, William Owen Pughe, and Iolo Morganwg, and remained there in the second edition and reprint, supervised by Robert Ellis (Cynddelw) in 1873.[62] The poem is not included in Helen Fulton's edition and translation *Dafydd ap Gwilym: Apocrypha* (1996). I have therefore used the 1873 edition of the poem, and have produced my own English translation (quoted below and found in full in Appendix II).

'Yr Hun Felys' is a *cywydd* of 54 lines, from which three narrative sections are recognisable. The first section runs from lines 1–20. Lines 1–4 read:

1	Nos da i'r sernos dawel,
2	Neithiwyr, mi a'i gwyr heb gêl;
3	A channos da'n ychwaneg
4	A'r gwely a'i dyly'n deg.

[Good night to the peaceful starry night, / Last night, I know it without concealment; / And a hundred more good nights, / And the bed that deserves it fairly.]

Lines 5–16 states that after some time of sleeplessness, the narrator has a long sleep, when he sees himself and his beloved maiden lying together, embracing each other, perhaps even having sexual intercourse, in an enclosed place:

5   Yn ol anhunedd, meddir,

6   Yn hwn y cefais hun hir,

7   Yn gweled fy nyn gulael

8   Trwy fy nghwsg, deryw fy nghael.

9   A'm anwyl gyda minau,

10   Lle nid oedd ond llai na dau;

11   Yn eilio'n glyd ael yn glos,

12   A breichiau, mawr bu'r achos:

13   Gwyn 'y myd, Gwen a'm edwyn,

14   Tra fu nos yn troi fy nyn

15   O'r llaw, er dyhuddaw dall

16   Er lliw eiry, i'r llaw arall.—

[After sleeplessness, it is said, / In it I had a long sleep, / Seeing my narrow-browed maiden / In my sleep, she had me. / And my dear one with me, / Where there was fewer than two; / Snugly cuddled arms woven together, / Brows close, the occasion was great: / I was blessed, Gwen knew me, / During the night my maiden turning / From one hand, to console a blind one / For the one the colour of snow, to the other hand. –]

Lines 17–20 continue to praise the fairness of the maiden, comparing her embraces to Simeon's carrying the baby Jesus in his arms.

Then, just as in 'Y Cloc', the reader is told that the poet has woken up to find the maiden no longer by his side, and feels frustrated. The exclamation of the frustration forms the essence of the second part, between lines 21–36, in which the sleep experienced by the poet is described as 'a golden sleep' (*hun euraid*, line 34), 'sleep from heaven above' (*hun o nef fry*, line 35), 'sleep of my life' (*hun o'm hoedl*, line

143

36), in addition to exaggerated claims such as that he would not sleep more while he is alive (line 32).

The third and final part of the poem (lines 37–54) is the dreamer's plea to God to let him have a sleep as sweet as the one he had before in order to see his love again, with extensive references to famous sleepers in biblical history and secular literature, including Paul the Apostle (line 41),[63] the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (line 43), Melwas (line 44), St John (lines 47–48), St Rhystud (lines 49–52). The section and the entire poem end with a couplet expressing his sadness and frustration once again:

> 53 Tristeais lle i'm trais dihun,
>
> 54 Trist wyf na bai hwy fy hun.
>
> [I was saddened where I was woken by force, / I am sad that my sleep could
> not be longer.]

In terms of vocabulary, 'hun' (sleep) is the key word in 'Yr Hun Felys'. It appears twelve times in the poem, and we may add 'huno' (the verbal form of 'hun', once), 'dihun' ('awake', twice), and 'anhunedd' ('sleeplessness', once), all of which are related to 'hun'. Also, the expression 'trwy fy nghwsg' is used for the meaning 'in my sleep' instead of the more frequently seen 'trwy fy hun', or 'yn fy nghwsg', which we have seen once in *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*. The expression may have been chosen for the purpose of forming *cynghanedd groes* ('drwy' with 'deryw' and 'nghwsg' with 'nghael'); or it may be another popular expression for marking the experience as a dream. The word 'breuddwyd' (dream) itself is not found in this poem, as in the other poems we have discussed so far, nor is 'gweledigaeth' (vision), as in 'Y Cloc'. Nevertheless, the experience described in the poem is easily recognisable as a dream.

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[63] We will discuss the dream narrative featuring Paul the Apostle, *Breuddwyd Pawl*, in Chapter 4.3.1.

Firstly, the initial four lines give the information about the time of the occurrence of the experience: it was at night, and a peaceful starry night. Next, we are told that the character (the textual 'I') had a long sleep after some difficulties falling asleep, which reminds us of how Rhonabwy fell asleep in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*. Then the content of the dream is described to the reader, which turns out to be an erotic love dream. There is no mentioning how the dreamer was woken up, but the positive adjectives used to describe the sleep, the frustration of having been woken up, and the yearning to have such a sleep again mirror what we have seen in *Breuddwyd Maxen* and 'Y Cloc', to the extent that we may wonder if the poet was inspired by these two texts. It is arguable whether the dream is the framework of the poem, but it is definitely the focus of the poem, and this qualifies the poem as a dream narrative.

The thematic content and rhetoric structure in 'Yr Hun Felys' suggests that the poem, just as many other poems attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'represents the work of a school of poets of whom Dafydd ap Gwilym was evidently a prominent member'.[64] Indeed 'Yr Hun Felys' and 'Y Cloc' parallel in a number of aspects with regards the presentation of the dream. The same pattern of describing a pleasant dream of a lovely maiden and the frustrated feeling upon being woken up by force is employed for the narration of the story in both poems. The dream itself is highly erotic in both cases, and there is no reference to a dream world in either poem as is in 'Y Breuddwyd'. No interpretation is needed for the meaning of the dream; they are not symbolic dreams as in 'Y Breuddwyd'. Furthermore, both 'Yr Hun Felys' and 'Y Cloc' end with an overt assertion of the narrator's desire to sleep and have the same dream again, conveying the hope of having recurring dreams as in *Breuddwyd Maxen*. While it is not possible to determine whether one had an influence on the

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[64] Fulton, *Apocrypha*, p. xvi.

composition of the other, it can be said that they have the same style of deciphering the dream, and therefore can be regarded as the belonging to the same type of poetical dream narrative in medieval Welsh.

3.4 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' by Iolo Goch

Iolo Goch was a younger contemporary of Dafydd ap Gwilym and another key figure in medieval Welsh poetry. He was born around 1325 and probably died at the end of the fourteenth century or slightly later.[65] Iolo Goch composed poetry both in the traditional style of *awdl*, and the emerging new *cywydd* style of his time.[66] Dafydd Johnston has identified 39 poems composed by Iolo Goch, with the earliest dated to before 1345 and the latest to 1397, in his critical edition of the poet's work, which has become the standard edition since its publication in 1988.[67] I use Johnston's 1993 version for the Welsh text and the English translation, as the Welsh text in this book is identical with that from his own edition of 1988.

One poem among the 39 poems of Iolo Goch, namely, 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' (To Sir Hywel the Axe), is within the scope of the present study, as the poem focuses on a dream, and its way of presenting the dream demonstrates a connection to *Breuddwyd Maxen*. 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' is preserved in 52 manuscripts, indicative of its popularity, and its composition date can be located to somewhere between 1377, when Richard II became king of England, and 1381, the year when

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[65] For a brief discussion of Iolo Goch's life, see Johnston, ed., *Gwaith Iolo Goch* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), pp. xv-xxii.
[66] Stephens, *New Companion*, p. 351.
[67] Johnston, ed., *Gwaith Iolo Goch*, pp. xxii-xxvii.

Sir Hywel died.[68] The poem is a 82-line long *cywydd*, divisible into four parts. Lines 1–26 form the first part of the poem, in which the poet describes his dream. The second part, lines 27–52, tells of the poet seeking an interpretation of his dream and how he obtains it from an unidentified interpreter. The third part, lines 53–68, comprises the poet's praise of Sir Hywel, and a description of his prowess and fierceness in battle; and the final part, lines 69–82, concludes the poem with a toast to Sir Hywel's health, featuring a number of lines beginning with the word 'cadw' (to keep) which creates a fast-pace dynamic and ends the poem in a high-spirited way.

The first two parts of the poem then, are those focusing on the dream. Lines 1–4 can be regarded as a prologue to the dream, where the persona of the poet, adopting the roles of the narrator and protagonist at once, tells the reader that he is an aged man, who has difficulty falling asleep:

1   A welai neb a welaf

2   Yn y nos—pand iawn a wnaf?—

3   Pan fwyf, mwyaf poen a fu,

4   Yn huno, anian henu?

[Did anyone ever see what I see / at night—do I not do well?— / when I, greatest pain that ever was, am sleeping, ageing nature?] [69]

These lines tell us that the dream in this poem occurs during the night, unlike that of Maxen, which happens during a midday nap. However, there is a high degree of resemblance in the content of the dream. The poet sees a castle and its stone walls, and sea waves battering against the base of its tower (lines 5-10); There is a feast going on in the castle, with men singing and dancing to the accompaniment of music,

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[68] Ibid., pp. 185-86; see also Johnston, ed., *Iolo Goch: Poems* (Llandysul, Gomer, 1993), p. 158.

[69] The text of the poem and the translation are both taken from Johnston's 1993 edition, in which the poem is number 2.

maidens weaving, and noble men playing games (lines 11-17). Then he sees a grey-haired fierce-looking man (lines 18-22), and behind him the banner of three *fleurs-de-lis* on a black background (lines 23-26).

The opening of the second part is more intriguing, in the sense that the narrator-dreamer seeks an old sage (*henuriad*) to interpret the meaning of the dream for him, but cannot find any such person in Gwynedd (lines 27–30):

> 27 Eres nad oes henuriad
>
> 28 Ar lawr Gwynedd, wledyddfawr wlad,
>
> 29 O gwbl a'r a allo gwybod
>
> 30 Petwn lle mynnwn fy mod.
>
> [Strange that there is no old sage / in Gwynedd, land of many feasts, / at all who might know / where it is that I desire to be.]

Then suddenly the reader is told that the poet has obtained an answer from 'one' (yr un), that he has dreamt wisely (lines 31–32):

> 31 'Oes', heb yr un, 'syberw wyd,
>
> 32 Breuddwydio'n brudd ydd ydwyd.
>
> ['There is', said one, 'you are refined, / you are dreaming wisely.][70]

Despite the fact that the reader is left to wonder who is the 'one' who gave the sought-after interpretation of the dream, the interpretation itself is laid out in detail: the castle is that of Criccieth (lines 33–39), the grey-haired man is Sir Hywel (lines 39–40), the woman is his wife (lines 41–42, whose presence is not actually referred to in the dream), and the weaving maidens are the servants of Hywel's wife (lines 43–46). There follows a reference to the dream as a 'golwg' (vision):

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[70] Here 'syberw' is translated as 'refined', which is one possible reading of the word in this context, but 'syberw' is a fairly equivocal word. It can also mean 'proud' both in a positive and in a negative sense, and also 'generous', 'wise', or 'honest', and so on. See 'syber, syberw', *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 10 September 2019].

47   Tau olwg, ti a welud

48   Ystondardd—ys hardd o sud;

[Your vision, you did see / a standard—beautiful decoration;]

And then the standard is disclosed as Sir Hywel's banner.

From this close reading it seems obvious that Iolo Goch was purposefully making use of the dream in *Breuddwyd Maxen* to construct his own narrative in the poem and perhaps to create a purposeful reference to the medieval Welsh dream narrative of Maxen. For instance, there is a close parallel in the content of the dream between 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' and *Breuddwyd Maxen*. The description of the castle with its stone walls and sea waves battering against the base of its tower remind us of the magnificent castle Maxen sees at the end of the journey in his dream (*Breuddwyd Maxen* 2.45–46); the scene of the feast in the castle echoes what Maxen sees in the hall of the castle (*Breuddwyd Maxen* 2.47–59); the description of the aged man looks almost like a copy of the grey-haired man sitting in the chair carving *gwyddbwyll* pieces in *Breuddwyd Maxen* (*Breuddwyd Maxen* 2.59–3.66). However, the parallel comes to an end at this point, as there is no mention of a fair maiden, but a banner later interpreted as belonging to Sir Hywel. One could argue, therefore, that the poet was not simply repackaging the contents of a medieval Welsh prose text into verse.

'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' provides us with a unique example regarding dream as a world-building activity. When the dream is first presented, it creates the impression that a dream world existing separately to reality is being revealed in front of the poet's eyes, an imagined Secondary World. The dream world in this poem is very small in that it composes only of one castle by the sea, and yet it is complete enough in its own right. After the identification in the interpretation of the dream, we come to realise that what was seen in the dream is actually located in the Primary World,

and at that moment the expectation of a Secondary World collapses. This transformation of the setting from a Secondary World back to the Primary World happens in *Breuddwyd Maxen* as well, in which Maxen sent out messengers to find the place he dreamt of and finally managed to identify its location in the real world.

The perception of similarities and dissimilarities between the descriptions in the poem and in *Breuddwyd Maxen* at the same time enables a reader who has knowledge of the tale of Maxen to make intertextual connections, such as what we would be able do as twenty-first century readers, namely, to build up an image in our mind of how Criccieth castle would have looked like in its heydays, even if one has never been to Criccieth and seen the castle.[71] Those who are familiar with the custom of medieval banquets can go one step further and furnish their picture in mind with details of the feast scene, from the decoration of the table, the foods served, to the music being played and the type of the dance, not necessarily accurate to that would have been in the historical period of fifteenth-century Wales, yet enough to satisfy the need of constructing a meaningful imagined picture on the part of the reader or the audience. For Iolo Goch's contemporaries and especially whose who were acquainted with Sir Hywel and had visited his castle at that time, the experience with the text would have been all the more engaging, as they would have been able to make a triple interactive comparison between the castle described in the poem, the real Criccieth castle they had seen, and the castle described in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, and the same with the characters. With regards genre this poem belongs to the traditional type of eulogy to a patron, yet by making use of the dream as a literary device, Iolo Goch renewed part of the Welsh prose literary tradition in the form of

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[71] It would not make too much difference even if one has seen the castle today, as it stands only in ruins and would require a powerful imagination to reconstruct its glory in one's mind whatsoever.

verse and explored the potential of literary dreams. It is in this sense that 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' stands as a unique dream text in medieval Welsh poetry.

3.5 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' by Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch

Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch was probably a contemporary of Iolo Goch, and was active during the second half of the fourteenth century.[72] Little is known about the poet. The only information that might be assembled from genealogies and other indirect sources is that he was probably born around 1330 into a family of prominent lawyers in north Wales. 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' is the only poem surviving under the name of the poet, and it is preserved in a single manuscript, Peniarth 126 (c. 1505).[73] The 64-line *awdl* (in four-line stanzas) has been edited three times, first by T. Gwynn Jones in 1929, a second time by Rhiannon Ifans in 1997, and a third time by Rhiannon Ifans again in the same year for the edition in the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* series. My own English translation of the complete poem is provided in Appendix II, as it has never been translated into English before.

The poem can be divided into two parts, the first being a description of a dream (lines 1–36), and the second an expression of the dreamer's feelings after having the dream, as well as his desire to have it interpreted by someone skilful (lines 37–64). Part one opens straightforwardly with 'Gwelwn drwy fy hun' [I saw in my sleep, line 1],[74] with the description of a landscape. Lines 2 to 12 map out the dream landscape with a zoom-in focus: first mentioned is a land of 'the magic of Gwydion' (*hud*

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[72] Rhiannon Ifans, 'Cerdd Freuddwyd', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 22 (1997), 143-60 (143-44); also Ifans et al., eds., *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog*, p. 117.

[73] Rhiannon Ifans et al., eds., *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog, Mab Clochyddyn, Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch ac Ithel Ddu* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 1997), p. 117.

[74] Ibid., p. 119.

Wyddion, line 2),[75] then a valley (line 3), a lake with a foamy surface, and a great river (line 4), a large forest (line 5), a meadow with streams flowing across it (line 6), a splendid castle standing on pleasant fields (line 7), a high mountain with fine fresh forests above the castle (line 8). In the castle grounds, presumably, he sees a pavilion, and everybody in peace (line 9), and candles, maidens (line 10), and a tent of lattice-like layers of three sorts of golden colours (lines 11–12).

At this point the narrative turns to describe the clothing and appearance of the noble lady. First the reader is told that her beauty is extraordinary (line 13), that she wears a fine loose and white mantle with blue fringe (line 14), and she has further purple clothes as gifts (line 15), and that her grand mansion matches her banners (line 16). The lady's beautiful appearance is unanimously agreed upon (line 17): she has fair skin (line 18), a vivacious forehead (line 19) and discretion (line 20), black eyes (line 21), thin eyebrows (line 22), bright face (line 23), golden headdress and rosy cheeks (line 24). Her speech shows advanced learning (line 25), which come from elegantly shaped white teeth (line 26). The poet praises the beauty of the lady by stating that the noblemen of Anglesey will grieve for him if he is lost from this world because of her beauty (line 27). This praise is followed by a general comment on the lady's body shape and manner, comparing her with Rhiannon, possibly the Rhiannon in the First Branch of the Mabinogi (lines 27–28), and a description of her fingers, which are tender, long, and white (lines 29–30).

The next stanza (lines 33–36) paints a picture of the tumult of horse and men around the castle where the lady is, by suitors from different lands, packing the place: 'Rhif y sŷr o wŷr yn ymryson' [The number of men contending was numerous as the stars,

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[75] Gwydion fab Dôn is referred to here, who is mentioned in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi as the best storyteller in the world. See ibid., p. 126, note for 'hud Wyddion'.

line 34].[76] Although we are not told directly, it is readily understood that the dreamer wakes up upon the noise of the commotion, just as in the case of Rhonabwy in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*.

Here the narrative of the poem enters the second part. The narrator tells the reader that his mind is burdened with burning love upon waking (line 37), and he likens himself to Cynog the saint,[77] or Cynon son of Clydno Eidin, who loved Morfudd, daughter of Urien Rheged, and that he will be suffering the same kind of pain inflicted upon Cynon (lines 38–40). He claims that he will praise his love with brilliant poems with the eloquence of Aron (lines 41–44),[78] in the manner represented by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (lines 45–46) and what Llywarch ap Llywelyn did when he sang the eulogy of Gwenllian of Caerllion (lines 47–48).

The next stanza (lines 49–52) can be taken as the most philosophical lines of the poem, where the poet reflects on the nature of dreams. He states that

49   Gŵyl arfeddyd bryd yw breuddwydion.

50   Gwelais mal gwyddau, cylchau ceilchion,

51   Â'm gwyniaid lygaid olygon, —meddwaint

52   A gywaint gofeiliaint gofalon.[79]

[Dreams are a modest intention/exercise of mind. / I saw as geese, circles of chalk / With the gazes of my young salmon's eyes—that of drunkards, / Gathering anxiety and care.]

Lines 53–56 express once more the dreamer's longing for seeing the scenes he saw in his dream again:

53   Gwedi a wnaethoedd gwydn annoethion

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[76] Ibid., p. 120.

[77] The context of the reference to Cynog here is not completely clear. As Ifans notes, Cynog the saint is not usually associated with courtship. See ibid., p. 132, note 38.

[78] Aron brother of Moses is referred to here, who according to the Old Testament received the gift of speaking eloquently from God. ibid., pp. 132-33, note 44.

[79] Ibid., p. 120.

54   Eithr fy hun o boen, gwae! hoen hinion,

55   Gwae! bryd ewyn llyn, llanw afon—ynial,

56   Rhag gofal dial Duw a dynion.

[After such pain as the tough unwise ones brought about, / Outside of my sleep, alas! The one with the liveliness of good weather, / Alas! the one with the appearance of foam on a lake, the flow of a wild river, / Because of anxiety about the vengeance of God and people.]

As the poem draws to the end, the poet-narrator wishes that he should be able to find Daniel the prophet to interpret his dream (lines 57–60), and finally posits his hope on God, whom he calls 'Lord of Heaven', 'King of virgins', 'Ruler', 'Author of poetry and learning', 'Sweet Creator', 'Giver of gifts of happiness', to be the interpreter of his dream (lines 61–64).

Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch seems to have a similar vocabulary related to dreams to that we summarised in Introduction, section c. For instance, we find 'gweld' and 'trwy/drwy fy hun' appearing together at the beginning of the poem. The term 'hun' appears again in line 54, but there it is associated with pain, contrary to the 'hun felys' or 'hun o nef' that we encountered in 'Yr Hun Felys' and 'Y Breuddwyd'. The pain of not being able to have the same dream and see the maiden again is the same pain as that felt by Maxen, the dreamer in 'Y Cloc', and the dreamer in 'Yr Hun Felys'. Other than in the title, the term 'breuddwyd' only appears in line 49 in its plural form 'breuddwydion'. This is the only occasion so far in our discussion that it is found in the plural. The line is a philosophical reflection on the nature of dreams, unusual in its generality: it is a general comment on dreams, and not on the particular dream described in the poem. The word 'dehonglydd' is found in the last line of the

poem ('A fo dehonglydd gwerydd gwirion'),[80] highlighting, as in 'Y Breuddwyd', the relationship between dream and interpretation.

There is no mention of how the dreamer falls asleep or what causes him to wake up, what time the dream occurs, or what is the *locus* of the dream. Through the narration of the dreamer's voice in the first person, the reader nevertheless gains a pretty concrete idea of what the dream world is like in this poem. We learn from the details of the description that the dreamer here embarks on a journey similar to that in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd*: at first he sees a valley above a lake and a great river, then a forest, a meadow with a stream flowing through it, a castle and its grounds, and the lady. Although there is no indication of movement on the dreamer's part in the poem, the shift of the landscape is only possible either if the dreamer moves, or if the objects move towards the dreamer, of the two possibilities the former one would appear more natural even in an imagined Secondary World as in the dream here. The description of the beauty of the lady also enables us to draw a close parallel to *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*. Further on in the dream, the dreamer sees massive hosts and hears horse bellowing and men shouting, making ready for war, again the same as is in *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*. At this point the dreamer wakes up, and the description of the dream itself comes to a halt. There is no way for us to determine the exact relationship between the two texts, one in verse and the other in prose, yet the similarity in the presentation of the dream world in these two texts exemplifies the flexibility of the dream concerning literary forms without losing its world-building capability. In both cases the reader is able to visualise in his or her mind a dream world that makes sense, although in the case of the poem slightly more imagination is needed to supplement the details.

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[80] Ibid.

The second half of the poem is imbued with references to secular and religious characters in other literary works whose stories are relevant to the context of the poem. Both Ifans and Johnston have pointed out that the poem is unusual among medieval Welsh poetry of the Beirdd yr Uchelwyr in its extensive cross references to native Welsh tales including *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Iarlles y Ffynnon*, the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and the triads, thus showing the poet's familiarity with the medieval Welsh prose literary tradition.[81] Also evidently demonstrated in the poem is the poet's knowledge of the Old Testament, particularly Daniel as a prophet and skilful interpreter of dreams. Johnston comments further that the inventiveness presented in the poem is closer to that of the *areithiau pros* in terms of rhetoric style,[82] and Ifans draws our attention to the possible influences of the use of the dream as a literary device in medieval English literature, some elements in *fabliaux*, and the codes of *amours courtois*.[83]

There are nonetheless elements in the presentation of the dream in 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' that deviate from the convention of medieval dream narrative. The description of the dream landscape and the maiden is conventional, as conventional as in *Breuddwyd Maxen*. However, unlike *Breuddwyd Maxen*, no interpretation of the dream is provided in the poem itself. The absence of an interpretation of the dream is more akin to *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd*, in which the narrative concludes with the dream itself, and keeps the reader's expectation of an explanation until the very end of the narrative. Ifans argues that the poem may be read on more than one level, that 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' is at once a demonstration of

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[81] Ibid., p. 117; Ifans, 'Cerdd Freuddwyd', pp. 144-45; Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, pp. 77-78.

[82] Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, p. 78. For dream narrative belonging to the *areithiau* style, see my discussion of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ap Adda ap Dafydd* and *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* in Chapters 2.4 and 2.5.

[83] Ifans, 'Cerdd Freuddwyd', pp. 148-51.

the possibility that a traditional love dream can be rendered in verse, and a satire of the literary convention of love dream.[84] Our analysis of the poem favours her argument. In other words, 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' is both a love poem via a dream and a satire; it belongs to the two genres at the same time. Love is undoubtedly the theme of the dream, but the dreamer is not simply depicted as a slave of his passion of love after having the dream, as in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, 'Y Breuddwyd', and 'Yr Hun Felys'. Although the dreamer in 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' is as keen to find out the meaning of his dream as the dreamers in the texts discussed above, he entrusts his final hope in God, and this gives a slightly devotional tone to the narrative, which is not visibly present at all or very weakly detectable, in the medieval Welsh dream narrative poems that focus on love.

3.6   Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined seven medieval Welsh dream narratives in verse, and we may summarise by considering features exhibited in these poems with regards to the presentation of the dream. Medieval Welsh poetical dream narratives show no significant difference concerning the vocabulary used in prose dream narratives discussed in Chapter 2. The term 'breuddwyd' itself is found, unsurprisingly, in the title and the narrative of all poems except 'Yr Hun Felys'. All of the dreams described in these poems are visual experiences, marked by a combination of the verb 'gweld' and a word or phrase stating that one is asleep: 'hun', 'huno', 'cwsg', 'dargwsg', 'drwy fy hun' and 'trwy fy nghwsg'. The content of the dream is described as a vision: 'gweledigaeth' and 'golwg' are used. This

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[84] Ibid., pp. 152-53.

definition of dream is consistent with that have been summarised at the end of Chapter 2. The terms 'dangos' and 'ymddangos' are, however, absent in the poetical dream narratives in medieval Welsh, and this may tentatively be ascribed to the difference in the narrative voice. All the prose dream narratives examined in Chapter 2 use the third-person narration, whereas all the poetical dream narratives analysed in this chapter adopt the first-person narration. This does bring different perspectives to the narrative, as third-person narration can take on an omniscient tone that first-person narration cannot, due to the limitation of the knowledge of the textual 'I'; on the other hand, first-person narration can articulate personal feelings and emotions more directly and powerfully, to a depth that the third-person narration cannot achieve.

Direct speech is found in 'Y Breuddwyd' and 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall', presented in the same pattern of a one-turn conversation which purports to offer an interpretation of the meaning of the dream. This varies from the direct speech found in the prose dream narratives, where the conversation contains multiple turns, usually to serve a didactic purpose, and takes place within the dream.

The time of the occurrence of the dream is more varied in the poetical dream narratives than in the prose texts, where the occurrence of the dream, if specified in the text, is during the night. In the corpus of medieval Welsh dream narrative poetry, however, the dream can happen during the night, as in 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr', 'Yr Hun Felys', and 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall', or at dawn, as in 'Y Breuddwyd' and 'Y Cloc', or else it is not specified, as in 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' and 'Awdl y Breuddwyd'. The *locus* where the dreamer sleeps and the dream takes place is unidentified in most poetical dream narratives, with the exception of 'Y Breuddwyd' in which we are told that the dreamer is sleeping in a grove.

The process of falling asleep and waking up is not described in most of the poems discussed in this chapter, but the contrast between the sleep and the waking status is clearly highlighted in three of the seven poems examined in this chapter. In 'Y Cloc' and 'Yr Hun Felys' the dreamer is woken up by force and feels frustrated that the loved one is not present in the real waking world. In 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' it is not clear whether the dreamer was woken up by force, but the same feeling of frustration is clearly expressed. Sleep is referred to as something sweet and pleasant in these poems, and the contrast between the joy that the dreamer feels in his sleep and the sadness in the real world when he wakes up creates a dramatic flow of emotions. In this regard the dream amplifies the theme of frustrated love in a way few other literary devices can achieve with such efficiency. This type of contrasted description is found in some medieval Welsh prose dream narratives as well, such as *Breuddwyd Maxen*, but not in all of them. In these three poems, as in *Breuddwyd Maxen*, there is an indication that whenever the dreamer goes to sleep, the dream reoccurs, and the dreamer sees his love in the dream. Given the dates of the poems, it might be that by the fourteenth century the description of the recurrence of the dream had been absorbed into poetry as a common device to portray the power of love.

The theme of love, presented as dreaming of one's love or indeed lying together with the loved one, is a type of dream most frequently found in the medieval Welsh dream narratives examined here. Five of the seven poems discussed feature love as their theme. In 'Y Breuddwyd' and 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' the allusion to love is moderate, while in 'Breuddwyd y welwn neithwyr', 'Y Cloc', and 'Yr Hun Felys' there is an explicit illustration of sexuality. Other themes, such as sovereignty and prophecy, do not play a central role in the narrative, although the names of famous prophets are quoted. The relationship between dream and interpretation is highlighted in most of

the poems, indicated by the verb 'dehongli' (to interpret) and its cognate noun 'dehonglydd' (an interpreter). The interpretation is however not always given in the narrative: in 'Y Breuddwyd' and 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' it is, but in 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' and 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' the poem ends with an expression of the wish to obtain an interpretation of the dream.

With the exception of 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai' and to a limited extent 'Awdl y Breuddwyd', the rest of the poems discussed are of a completely secular nature, even though there are expansive references to biblical figures and legends in some of the poems. This seems to suggest that the dream as a literary device is more favoured by the medieval Welsh poets for secular topics, especially love.

The presence in the poems of references to various medieval Welsh dream texts in prose is sound testimony to the fact that medieval Welsh poets were well aware of the literary tradition of dream of their times, particularly the tale of *Breuddwyd Maxen*. Though we are not sure exactly how detailed was their knowledge of medieval Welsh prose dream narratives, as the references in the poems are usually concise and with minimal contextual information, it is nonetheless clear that some of the most skilful medieval Welsh poets such as Dafydd ap Gwilym and Iolo Goch were actively reflecting and incorporating the cultural materials of medieval Welsh prose in their works, possibly creating an intertexuality that would make the reader of their own times appreciate the learnedness of the poets and at the same time be pleased with themselves for being able to enjoy a doubled sense of belonging to the literary tradition in a single work.

CHAPTER 4   DREAMS IN MEDIEVAL WELSH

RELIGIOUS WRITING

So far our discussions have demonstrated that in the context of medieval Welsh secular literature, 'breuddwyd' is not a specific genre, but a narrative device at first, and later developed into a sub-genre in the prose *areithiau pros*, while it has remained a narrative device in poetry. Turning to medieval Welsh religious literature, we are examining texts in an immensely different context. Although the boundary between the sacred and the secular is not always clear in every single text, and composition techniques were often borrowed from one to the other, medieval European religious writing differs from secular works of the same period in that medieval European religious writing had its own established literary tradition and regulated practice of composition, not distinctive to particular regions but a coherent coalescence of forms, styles and contents modelled on Ecclesiastical Latin, with local variations when adaptations or translations in vernacular languages were made.

As has been summarised in Chapters 1.3 and 1.4, dreams have an exigent presence in the Bible itself, especially in the Old Testament. Although the attitude of the Church towards dreams showed an increasing degree of distrust, the trident typology of dreams according to their origins in the religious culture of medieval Western Europe leaves plenty of room for the positive presentation of dreams in devotional literature. If it can be proved that a dream originates from God himself directly or via an angel, and not from the human body nor from the devil, it is possible for the dreamer to claim that the content of the dream is authentic and meaningful, whether the content is a direct instruction related to a certain event, symbolic imagery, or a prophetic statement. Dreams are, therefore, not regarded as valuable or having a

purpose in themselves; they can be justified only if they act as a channel through which communication between God and mortal human individuals is conducted. Such a communication is an event, a story that is worth telling. As has been noted at the beginning of this thesis, there exists an inherent connection between dream and narrative, which has already been formed when a dream is presented in a literary work. A literary dream is inevitably a narrative. Dreams can thus be expected to be found more often in types of religious texts with a stronger narrative element, such as hagiographies and mystical texts, than in genres that tend to have little or no narrative at all, such as hymns and pastoralia.

Within medieval Welsh religious literature, dreams are found in two types of texts: hagiography and religious visions. For hagiography there are four Welsh *bucheddau* of saints, including a Welsh translation of a popular biblical story, namely *Ystoria Judas* which, being an anti-hagiography, still belongs to the genre of hagiographical writing in the broader sense; for religious visions there is an apocalyptic vision *Breuddwyd Pawl* and its poetical spin-off 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern', as well as a unique Welsh religious prose text *Ymborth yr Enaid*, which is difficult to ascribe to a single existing literary genre but may be regarded as a mystical treatise for the most part. We will examine these texts presently according to the generic features of each type, and examine the dreams contained in these texts in terms of their respective functions in each genre.

4.1 *Bucheddau* of Welsh and universal saints

Hagiography or *vita* of saints in medieval Latin is one of the most important genres of religious literature in medieval Europe. A *vita* is a biographical account of the life and deeds of a saint, who can be male or female, with an episodic structure and highly patterned content that

> typically but not invariably include a sequence of infancy episodes, a description of the saint's persons and qualities, an account of his or her career with a heavy emphasis on miracle stories, a death narrative, and a series of posthumous miracles.[1]

As such, *vitae* can appear repetitive and tedious to a modern reader. The formation of such characteristics originates in non-literary records of the acts and deeds of martyrs in the three centuries prior to the official establishment of Christianity in Europe. Townsend names the memoir of Perpetua as an example of such records.[2] With the change of the political status of Christianity following Constantine's conversion in the fourth century, the need to record martyrdom gave way to that of writing biographies of prominent Christian figures of the time, as the criteria of sanctity changed from openly announcing and keeping one's faith to living one's life as a model Christian and performing miraculous deeds. The Latin biography of St Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus belongs to this period.[3] The Carolingian era (c. 750-c.920) saw an increasing trend of portraying powerful European monarchs as saintly figures, giving rise to works such as *Vita Karoli* (The Life of Charlemagne the Great) by Einhard (c. 830) and *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* (The Life of Emperor Louis [aka Louis the Pious]) by Thegan of Trier (c. 837).[4]

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[1] David Townsend, 'Hagiography', in F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg, eds., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, DC.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 618-28 (p. 619).
[2] Ibid., p. 619.
[3] Ibid., pp. 619-20.
[4] Walter Berschin, 'Biography', ibid., pp. 607-17 (p. 612).

Around the same period or slightly earlier, the earliest known *vita* of a Welsh saint, the Life of Saint Samson, was written in Latin in Brittany, in the seventh or the eighth century.[5] It was not until the eleventh century, however, that most Latin *vitae* of Welsh saints were written, including those of Gwynllyw, Cadog, Illtud, David, Beuno (now lost; only the Welsh *buchedd* has survived), Cybi, Padarn, Tatheus, Teilo, to name but a few.[6] During the same period at least twenty five universal saints were introduced to Wales through adaptations of their Latin *vitae* into Middle Welsh, including those of Martin, Mary Magdalene, Martha, Mary of Egypt, Katherine, Ursula, and others.[7] Cartwright notes that the medieval populace in Wales may not have differentiated between 'native' saints and 'non-native' universal saints as we do today, and the name of a universal saint is often found alongside that of a Welsh saint in medieval Welsh poetry.[8] Therefore, our discussion of dreams in the saints' biographies will not be based on the distinction between Welsh and universal saints; rather consideration will be given to all hagiographical texts that have extant Welsh versions and that involve dreams.

4.1.1 *Buchedd Dewi*

Saint David is the patron saint of Wales, celebrated in Wales to this day on the first of March. The small city of St Davids is named after the saint, and the cathedral there is a popular destination for pilgrims and visitors alike. During the last few decades of the eleventh century, the position of the bishop of St Davids was held by

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[5] Jane Cartwright, ed. and trans., *Mary Magdalene and Her Sister Martha: An Edition and Translation of the Medieval Welsh Lives* (Washington, DC.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), p. 2.
[6] Ibid., p. 6
[7] Ibid., pp. 9-11.
[8] Ibid., p. 11.

Sulien who served two terms during the years 1073/4-1078 and 1080-1085.[9] Sometime between the years 1081 and 1095, Sulien's son Rhigyfarch composed a Latin *vita* of St David, known as *Vita Sancti Davidis* (Life of Saint David).[10] The *vita* is preserved in twenty-four Latin manuscripts.[11] There also exists a Welsh text called *Buchedd Dewi* (Life of David), in a total sum of fourteen manuscripts. The three earliest manuscripts contain the complete text, namely Jesus College MS 119 (the Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi, c. 1346), 93r–103v; Llanstephan 27 (the Red Book of Talgarth, c. 1375–c. 1425), fols 62v–71v; and BL Cotton MS Titus D xxii (1429), fols 138–155v.[12] The orthographical variations in the three manuscripts indicates that Llanstephan 27 and Titus D xxii used the same source text (now lost), which is different from that used in Jesus College 119.[13] A close textual study by J. W James reveals that *Buchedd Dewi* is an adaption based on the texts of two Latin manuscripts of the Latin *vita*, BL Cotton MS Vespasian A xiv and Lincoln Cathedral MS 149.[14] The existence of other Welsh versions, such as the Welsh version in Peniarth 27ii (second half of the fifteenth century), pp. 35-49 suggests that the relationship between the Latin *Vita* and the Welsh *Buchedd* might not be quite as simple as James holds,[15] yet it does not affect the validity of his general conclusion, that the Welsh *Buchedd Dewi* is an abridged and paraphrased adaption of the Latin *Vita Sancti Davidis*. Evans suggests that *Buchedd Dewi* may have been written in the

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[9] For the importance and influence of Sulien and his family, see for example John Edward Lloyd, 'Bishop Sulien and His Family', *National Library of Wales Journal* 1 (1941), 1-6.

[10] See D. Simon Evans, ed., *The Welsh Life of St David* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), pp. xxiii-xxv for scholarly opinions regarding the possible composition dates of the *Vita*.

[11] J. W. James, 'The Welsh Version of Rhygyfarch's "Life of St. David"', *National Library of Wales Journal* 9(2) (1955/56), 1-21(4).

[12] D. Simon Evans, ed., *The Welsh Life of St David*, pp. lv-lviii. Dates of the manuscripts given here follow Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming.

[13] Ibid., p. lviii.

[14] James, 'The Welsh Version of Rhygyfarch's "Life of St. David"', 4-7.

[15] For a digital version of the Peniarth 27ii text, see the National Library of Wales digital gallery <http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4575723> [accessed 21 July 2020].

first half of the fourteenth century.[16] If this is the case, then the Welsh version is more than two centuries later than the composition of the Latin *vita*.

The Latin *Vita Sancti Davidis* follows the conventional pattern of saints' *vitae*, beginning with a dream experienced by David's father before moving on to the conception of the saint, his birth and education, how he became a priest, followed by short episodes that describe, among other things, his journeys, miraculous deeds, founding of monasteries, participation in a synod, death and burial, culminating in his genealogy. Two dreams are found in *Vita Sancti Davidis*, one at the beginning of the narrative, the other occurring during St David's visit to Jerusalem.[17] As mentioned above, the Welsh *Buchedd* is much shorter than the Latin *Vita*, and the second dream in the *Vita* is completely omitted in the *Buchedd*. The section that contains the first dream, however, is rendered faithfully into Welsh. Here is the description of the dream in the Latin text in BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (first quarter of eleventh century to second half twelfth century):

> Nam quodam tempore pater eius, meritis et nomine Sanctus, Cereticę gentis regali potential fretus, qua tandem deposita cęleste regnum comparans, angelica in somnis monitus uoce audiuit, 'Crastina die expergefactus uenatum iturus, ceso prope fluuium ceruo, tria ibi munera repperies ˹iuxta amnem Theibi˺, ceruum scilicet quem persequeris, piscem, apumque examen ˹in arbore positum, in loco qui uocatur Linhenlann˺. Ex his itaque tribus reserues fauum scilicet partemque piscis et cerui, quę custodienda filio ex te nascituro transmitte ad Maucanni monasterium,' quod nunc Depositi Monasterium uocatur.[18]
>
> [One time, his father, Sanctus (by merits and by name), who enjoyed sovereignty over the people of Ceredig (sovereignty he later laid aside to win a heavenly kingdom), heard the voice of an angelic prophecy in a dream: 'When you wake up tomorrow, you will go hunting; having killed a stag near the river, you will find there beside the river Teifi three gifts: namely, the stag that you will pursue, a fish, and a swarm of bees situated in a tree,

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[16] D. Simon Evans, ed., *The Welsh Life of St David*, p. liv.

[17] §2 and §46 in Sharpe and Davies's edition: Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies, ed. and trans., 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, eds. by J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp.107-55.

[18] See Sharpe and J. R. Davies, ed. and trans., 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', pp. 108-9.

in a place called Llyn Henllan. You should set aside, out of these three, the honeycomb, and a portion of the fish and the stag; and you should deliver them to the monastery of Meugan, keeping them for the son who is going to be born to you.' (To this day it is called the Monastery of the Deposit.)][19]

And the Welsh text in Jesus College MS 119:

> Keredic vrenhin a wledychawd lawer o vlwynyded, ac o'e enw ef y kauas Keredigyawn y henw. A mab a uu idaw, ac enw y mab oed Sant. Ac y hwnnw yr ymdangosses angel yn y hvn, a dywedut wrthaw: 'Auory,' heb ef, 'ti a ey y hely, a thi a geffy tri dyuot ger lan auon Teiui, nyt amgen, karw a gleissat, a heit wenyn y mywn prenn vch benn yr auon, yn y lle a elwir yr awr honn Henllan. Dyro dylyet y tir y gadw y vab ny anet etwo; ef bieiuyd deu le hyt Dyd Brawt, y rei a dywetpwyt vchot, Lin Henllan a Liton Mancan.'[20]

> [King Ceredig ruled for many years, and from his name Ceredigion got its name. He had a son, and the name of the son was Sant. And an angel appeared to him (i.e. Sant) in his sleep, and said to him: 'Tomorrow,' he (the angel) said, 'you will go hunting, and you will find three treasures near the bank of the river Teifi, namely, a stag and a young salmon, and a swarm of bees in a tree above the river, in the place that is today called Henllan. Reserve the rights of the land for a son who has not been born yet; he will own two places till the Day of Judgment, those mentioned above, namely Lin Henllan and Liton Mancan.']

A comparison of these two quotations shows clearly that apart from the references to some place-names, the description of the content of the dream in *Buchedd Dewi* is identical to that found in *Vita Sancti Davidis*. With regards to the terms describing the occurrence of the dream, although the word 'breuddwyd' itself is not present in this account of the dream in the Welsh text, there is no difficulty in understanding the phrase 'yd ymdangosses angel yn y hun' [an angel appeared in his sleep] as referring to a dream. There is a difference between the Welsh and the Latin versions at this point: in the Welsh version an angel appears to the dreamer, whereas in the Latin version only the voice of the angel is heard in the dream ('in somnis monitus

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[19] Ibid. The English translation is also by Sharpe and Davies.
[20] See D. Simon Evans, ed., *The Welsh Life of St David*, p. 1. The textual variance between the Jesus College 119 text and the Llanstephan 27 and Titus D xxii texts of this section are insignificant and can be safely ignored. The Jesus College 119 text is quoted here as it is the earliest of all extant Welsh copies.

uoce audiuit'),[21] delivering the message. In other words, the Welsh *Buchedd Dewi* presents the dream as a visual and audial experience, whereas the Latin *Vita* presents it as an audial experience only. There is no description of the transition into sleep and the process of waking up in either the Welsh or the Latin versions, as is found in some of the dream narratives discussed in Chapter 2, which may indicate that the authors are concerned more with the content of the dream than the circumstances surrounding the occurrence of the dream.

A parallel can easily be drawn by a reader who is familiar with the Bible between the three treasures instructed to be prepared for David and the three gifts given to baby Jesus by the magi as described in Matthew 2:11. Just as the magi brought gold, frankincense and myrrh to the Christ, which were standard gifts to honour a king or a deity in ancient Rome, Sant is told to prepare a stag, a salmon, and a swarm of bees for his unborn son, which also have symbolic meanings in both the native Welsh literature and the Christian literary tradition.

The stag is presented as a creature that connects this world and the Celtic Otherworld, as we see in the first branch of the Mabinogi. It is by hunting and chasing a stag and the dispute over the ownership of the game that Pwyll first comes into contact with Arawn, Lord of the Annwn. In Christian literature the stag is portrayed as a helper in the conversion of Saint Eustace, when he sees the sign of the cross between the antlers of a stag. The salmon is a traditional symbol of wisdom in Celtic mythology, as for instance, in the depiction of the salmon as the oldest and wisest animal in the world in the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*. It is interesting to note that the Welsh *Buchedd* is more specific here than the Latin *Vita* on this point. Where the Latin

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[21] Davies and Sharpe translate the phrase as 'heard the voice of an angelic prophecy in a dream', whereas a more literal translation can be rendered as 'heard an angelic voice advising him in a dream/in his sleep'.

version has simply 'fish', a traditional acronym of Jesus Christ, the Welsh version specifies the fish as a 'salmon'. Perhaps the Welsh author was attempting to give the text a local flavour, trying to make it more appealing to the medieval Welsh audience, purposefully or subconsciously. Though a minor point, it may be regarded as the author's attempt to localise a text that was originally aimed at a more general readership. Swarms of honey-bees were closely associated with Christian monastic life in medieval Europe, not only because they were a metaphor for the spirit of the monastic community, but also because they produce two practically useful and much sought after products, namely honey and wax. The value of honey is praised in the Bible, as is unmistakably conveyed in the lines of Proverb 16:24: 'Gracious words are like a honeycomb, sweetness to the soul and health to the body.' Bees and honey were also held as important in medieval Welsh culture. The Welsh law of Hywel Dda states that bees originate from Paradise, and that the value of an old colony (hive) is twenty-four pence.[22] Although the sum is not a fortune, the fact that bees have a place in the Welsh law indicates their significance to the society. Taken together, these three items are provisions suitable for a prince of noble lineage, but especially for someone who is going to excel in religious life.

Although the content of the dream is centred around animals with symbolic significance, the dream itself is not symbolic and does not require an interpretation; it is a plain instruction given to the dreamer through a divine medium. Nevertheless, the symbolic implications of the animals referred to in the dream and their possible comparison to the three gifts to Jesus by the magi helps to communicate the idea that a saint's life should follow the model of the Christ.

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[22] Dafydd Jenkins, ed. and trans., *The Law of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1986), pp. 183-84.

4.1.2 *Buchedd Collen*

Collen is a regional saint particularly associated with Llangollen in Wales, Colan in Cornwall, and Langolen in Brittany.[23] The saint himself is said to have lived in the sixth century but his biography, as with the case of many other saints, appears much later. [24] There is one Welsh *Buchedd* of the saint, known as *Buchedd Collen.* Delphino notes that it could possibly have derived from a Cornish source, as the cult of Saint Colan was popular in Cornwall in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; or it could have been composed originally in Welsh not long before 1536, the date of the earliest manuscript containing the text, as no Latin source has so far been found, nor any references in any other works to a Latin source now lost.[25] For the purpose of this study it suffices to say that the provenance of the story is uncertain. The *Buchedd* is preserved in a few manuscripts, including Cardiff MS 2.629 (*olim* Havod 19, 1535–1536), pp. 141–50, Llanstephan 117 (1542-1554), fols 92r–94r, Llanstephan 34 (1580 x 1600), pp. 315–20, BL Add MS 14987 (c. 1673), fols 17v–20r, as well as a few more recent copies.[26] We may assume that some form of the story had been circulating before the *Buchedd* was written down, yet the earliest written version that has come down to us belongs to the sixteenth century. The Cardiff 2.629 text has been edited twice, first by Parry-Williams and published in

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[23] T. D. Breverton, *The Book of Welsh Saints* (Cowbridge: Glyndŵr Publishing, 2000), p. 151. On Collen, see Mary Delphino's thesis *A Study of 'Ystoria Collen' and the British 'Peregrini'* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1980). Also see Hywel Gwynn Williams, '*Llyma Ystoria Kollen Vilwr', Golygiad o Fuchedd Collen* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, 2003).
[24] Ibid., p. 151.
[25] Delphino, *A study*, pp. 10-35 and pp. 145-67.
[26] Williams, '*Llyma Ystoria Kollen Vilwr'*, pp. 20-29. The dates of the manuscripts noted here follow Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming.

1954,[27] and again by Delphino in her thesis in 1980, which, together with her edition of the Llanstephan 34 text, remain unpublished.[28] Hywel Gwynn Williams provides an edition of Llanstephan 117 text in his thesis, also unpublished.[29]

Although the *Buchedd* is relatively concise, Williams identifies six episodes in its storyline.[30] The first two episodes trace the lineage of Collen, followed by the narration of his conception, his childhood and education in France. The third episode begins with the time when Collen was in France. The bishop there was waging a war against a group of pagans called Grix, and the situation was disadvantageous to the Christians. The pagans ask the bishop to send his best soldier to fight against a warrior of their choice, to see which one would prevail and thus whose belief would be proven true. Collen is chosen to fight on behalf of the Christians. He defeats the pagan warrior and converts the entire Grix people to Christianity. We are told then in the fourth episode that after a few years of visiting places in Cornwall and preaching, Collen goes to live as a hermit on a hill called Glassymbyri (Glastonbury). Thereupon comes the fifth and most dramatic episode of the story: one day Collen hears two voices talking about Gwyn ap Nudd outside the cave where he is living, and he tells them to be quiet. He is told that he has got himself into trouble, and the next day one who claims to be a messenger of Gwyn ap Nudd asks Collen to go with him to Gwyn's castle. Collen refuses twice, but agrees the third time. There he meets Gwyn, who entreats him with a feast and boasts about his wealth. Collen refuses to eat anything offered to him, and finally takes out the bottle of holy water he has brought with him, and sprinkles it around. In an instant everything disappears, and

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[27] T. H. Parry-Williams, ed., 'Buchedd Collen', in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg: Detholion o Lawysgrifau 1488-1609* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954), pp. 36-41.
[28] Delphino, *A Study*, pp. 168-208.
[29] Williams, '*Llyma Ystoria Kollen Vilwr*', pp.76-91.
[30] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

Collen finds himself sitting on top of a mound with nothing but grass on it. That night he receives a message from God as to where he can find a permanent lodging. Collen obeys, and events happen as described in the message. Finally, a brief sixth episode relates the saint's death and burial.

Williams points out that the style of writing in *Buchedd Collen* is similar to that of the Mabinogion, and that the motifs in the story, especially the encounter with Gwyn ap Nudd, suggest a strong folkloric connection.[31] Indeed, the folkloric element of the story also seems to have attracted the most academic interest.[32] The reason that the story is discussed in this chapter, however, is that it contains a dream. The dream occurs to Collen's mother on the night the saint is conceived, and is described in Cardiff 2.629 as follows:

> Ar nos y kad kollen. Ef a welai i vam dyrwy i hvn g[o]lomen yn yhedec tvac ati hi, ac yn i byrathv hi dan ben i bron, ac yn tynv i chalon allan ac yn yhedec a hi tva'r nef. Ac o'r lle yr aeth a hi yn dyvod a hi ac yn i hyrdoddv i mewn i'r lle y dynasai, ac yni i gosod yn i lle dynasai gida gorogle [read as 'arogle'] tec. Ac yna y glomen aeth o'i golwc hi.[33]

> [On the night Collen was conceived. His mother saw in her sleep a dove flying towards her, and biting her under her breast, and pulling her heart out and flying with it towards heaven. From where it took it (the heart) it (the dove) brought it back and pushed it into where it had pulled it out, and thereupon put it in where it had been pulled out with fair scents. And then the dove went out of her sight.]

The description of the dream in the Llanstephan 34 and Llanstephan 117 texts are very similar to the one quoted here, except in Llanstephan 117 it is stated that 'ef a weles i vam ef trwy i hun vreiddwyd' [his mother saw/had a dream in her sleep], whereas in the other two manuscripts the word 'breuddwyd' itself does not appear,

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[31] Ibid., pp. 51-67.
[32] See for example, Angelika Heike Rüdiger, 'Trawsffurfiadau *Gwyn ap Nudd*: o lenyddiaeth Ganoloesol i Gredoau Neo-Baganaidd', in Aled Llion Jones and Maxim Fomin, eds., *'Y geissaw chwedleu': Proceeding of the Seventh International Colloquium of Societas Celto-Slavica* (Bangor University: School of Welsh, 2018), pp. 119-34 (pp. 123-24).
[33] Delphino, *A Study*, pp. 191-92. Delphino's unpublished edition is quoted here instead of the edition by Parry-Williams, because the last sentence is missing in his edition.

and the experience is to be understood as a dream from the phrase 'ef a welai i vam dyrwy i hvn' [his mother saw in her sleep]. The dream is a visual experience but also one that involves close physical contact, which is unique among the dreams we have examined hitherto. The dove is known as a symbol of the Holy Spirit and the purity of the soul in Christian symbolism, and fair scents are often associated with Heaven, as opposed to the fowl stench of Hell, as we shall see in *Breuddwyd Pawl*. The purpose of including the dream in the narrative is simple: to demonstrate the sanctity of Collen, foretold even before he is born. Sanctity before birth is a traditional way to begin the narration of the life of a saint in hagiographies, and various designs can be applied to project the idea to the audience. In the case of St David, for example, it is conveyed by the fact that St Gildas is unable to preach or even speak when Non, pregnant with the saintly child at the time, is present among the congregation of a church gathering, and his ability to speak is only restored when Non has departed.[34] In the case of Collen it is the dream that presents the idea.

4.1.3 *Buchedd Sant Martin*

The *Buchedd* of Saint Martin of Tours is a good example of a Welsh hagiography of a universal saint, one of the most popular saints in medieval Europe, whose cult spread from Hungary to Ireland. A biography was written by Sulpicius Severus, a contemporary of St Martin himself who claimed to have visited St Martin in his last days, which would be at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.[35]

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[34] Sharpe and J. R. Davies, ed. and trans., 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', pp. 109-10.
[35] E. J. Jones, ed., *Buchedd Sant Martin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1945), p. v. See also Jenny Day, 'Agweddau ar gwlt Martin o Tour mewn Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd c. 1525', *Llên Cymru* 40 (2017), 3-39. Also Jenny Day, ed. and trans., 'Buchedd Martin', in Saints in Wales project <https://www.welshsaints.ac.uk/edition/texts/prose/BMartin/edited-text.eng.html> [accessed 18 March 2021].

One Welsh *Buchedd*, though not having a title in the manuscripts, is referred to as *Buchedd Sant Martin* by modern scholars. It is preserved in several medieval and post-medieval manuscripts, the earliest of which is NLW 3026C (*olim* Mostyn 88, 1488-1489), pp. 32–67.[36] The NLW 3026C text has been edited by Evan John Jones, which is the only available modern edition of the *Buchedd* to date. On page 62 of the manuscript, at the end of the text, it is mentioned that 'John Trevor a droes y vvchedd honn or llading yn gymraec a gvttvn owain ai hysgrivennodd pan oed oed krist Mil cccc lxxxviij o vlynyddoedd yn amser Harri Seithved nid amgen y drydedd vlwyddyn o goronedigaeth yr vn Hari', stating that the *Buchedd* is a translation.[37] The text of the Latin *Vita* of Saint Martin known as *Vita Sancti Martini, Epistulae, Dialogi* (Life of Saint Martin, Correspondences, Dialogues), written by Sulpicius Severus, has survived to this day,[38] and was used as one of the sources by the Welsh author of *Buchedd Sant Martin*. Yet, this work is not the only source used for the *Buchedd*; E. J. Jones points out that part of the *Buchedd* made use of Gregory of Tour's *Historia Francorum* (The History of the Franks) and *De Miraculis Sancti Martini* (On the Miracles of Saint Martin).[39] Therefore one can argue that the *Buchedd* is a compound adaption of several Latin sources.

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[36] Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming. Later manuscripts containing the text include BL Add MS 14967 (mid-sixteenth century, later than 1527), Cwrtmawr 530 (1582), Llanstephan 34 (1580 x 1600), Cardiff 2.633 (1604-1610), Peniarth 217 (1608-1611), and Llanstephan 104 (c. 1710 x1715). The dates of the manuscripts noted here follow Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming.

[37] E. J. Jones, ed., *Buchedd Sant Martin*, p. 35. [John Trevor turned this Life from Latin to Welsh, and Gutun Owain wrote it down in the year of Christ 1488 in the time of Henry the Seventh, that is, the third year of the reign of the same Henry.]

[38] The text is edited in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, series 1, vol. 20 (Paris, 1845), cols 0162B-C.

[39] E. J. Jones, ed., *Buchedd Sant Martin*, p. v. See also Jenny Day's Introduction to her edition of the *Buchedd* <https://www.welshsaints.ac.uk/edition/texts/prose/BMartin/introduction.eng.html> [accessed 18 March 2021].

Buchedd Sant Martin contains one dream. It occurs in an episode early in Martin's life, when he is still a pagan soldier, stationed in Gaul with a Roman army. One cold winter day he happens to ride past the gate of the city of Amiens and sees a poor man without clothing. Martin cuts his own cloak in two and gives one half to the beggar. The following night he sees Jesus appearing to him while he is asleep, wearing the half cloak, and telling him that he was the poor man whom Martin clothed. This experience encourages Martin to be baptised shortly afterwards. The Welsh *Buchedd* describes the dream as follows:

> A'r nos honno ef a welai Varthin drwy i hvn yr Arglwydd Iessu Grist wedy wisgo dryll y vantell a roddasai Varthin y'r tlawd amdano ef, ac ef a'i klywai yn erchi iddo edrych yn hysbys y wisc a roddasai. A heb ohir ef a glywai yr Arglwydd yn dywedud wrth aneirif o engylion a oeddynt yn sevyll gar i law ef, 'Marthin, y gwr sydd heb vedyddio etto, a'm trwsiodd i o'r wisc honn', kanis yr Arglwydd oedd gof gantho y geiriav a ddywedasei yn yr evengyl: 'Pann wneloch les y'r lleiaf o'r mav vi, i mi y gwnaethoch.' Ac i gadarnhav tystiolaeth o weithred gystal a hi, y bu wiw gan yr Arglwydd ymddanngos yn yr vnrhyw wisc a roddasai Varthin y'r tlawd. Pann weles Marthin y weledigaeth honn nid balchav a oruc mewn llywenydd dyniol namyn kyvadnabod daioni Duw yn i weithredoedd.[40]

> [And that night in his sleep, Martin saw the Lord Jesus Christ wearing the piece of the cloak that Martin had given to the poor man, and he heard him asking him to examine closely the garment he had given. And without delay he heard the Lord saying to a multitude of angels who were standing beside him, 'Martin, the man not yet baptized, clothed me in this apparel', because the Lord remembered the words he had spoken in the gospel: 'Whenever you do good for the least of my people, you did it for me.' And to confirm the testimony of so good a deed as this, the Lord saw fit to appear in the same garment that Martin had given to the poor man. When Martin saw this vision he did not grow proud with mundane rejoicing but rather recognized God's goodness in his deeds.]

As in *Buchedd Dewi* and *Buchedd Collen*, the word 'breuddwyd' does not appear in *Buchedd Sant Martin*; the experience can instead be identified as a dream through the presence of the verb 'gweld' together with the expression 'drwy i hvn'; furthermore, the experience is described as a 'gweledigaeth' (vision) when referred

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to again later. It seems that medieval Welsh hagiographies adopted the same group of terms as are frequently used in secular literature when describing dreams,[41] and the term 'gweledigaeth' here appears to emphasise the content of the dream rather than its occurrence.

The dream is presented in the story as proof of the value of Martin's deed according to the standard of Christian belief, together with his moral status, for this is the Christ himself who appears in the dream, wearing the half of the mantle given to the 'poor man' by Martin. This communicates the message that Jesus Christ approves of Martin. It also expresses the Christian ideal of almsgiving which was practised to the utmost by Jesus himself when he sacrificed his life on the Cross for the love of human beings. Moreover, Martin's deed mirrors to a certain extent that of a poor widow giving offering to a temple, commented on by Jesus himself in Luke 21:1-4:

> As Jesus looked up, he saw the rich putting their gifts into the temple treasury. He also saw a poor widow putting in two very small copper coins. 'Truly I tell you,' he said, 'this poor widow has put in more than all the others. All these people gave their gifts out of their wealth; but she out of her poverty put in all she had to live on.'[42]

In other words, it is not the quantity but the quality of the offering that is valued by Jesus, and Martin's sharing his mantle with the poor man reflects virtues of sympathy and generosity that match the Christian value of charity, even before he officially converts to the Christian belief. In this way the dream episode builds up the image of the character as a saint, the main purpose of writing the *Vita* and the *Buchedd* being to praise him.

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[41] See Introduction, section b of this study.
[42] A similar comment is noted in Mark 12:41-44. The version of the Bible quoted here is the New International Version.

4.1.4 *Buchedd Mair Fadlen*

The only *Buchedd* of a female saint that contains a dream is *Buchedd Mair Fadlen*. Mair Fadlen is the Welsh form of Mary Magdalene, one of the women followers of Jesus who according to the four Gospels witnessed his crucifixion, burial, and resurrection. In the Middle Ages, her character was conflated with that of Mary of Bethany, an unnamed female penitent in Luke 7:36-50, and further, the woman of Samaria in John 4:18 and another adulterous woman in John 8:3 in western European.[43] The fact that there were three separate Marys was not recognised until the sixteenth century.[44] Therefore it is no surprise for us to see a compound image of Mary Magdalene present in the Welsh *Buchedd Mair Fadlen*.

According to Cartwright, *Buchedd Mair Fadlen* is preserved in thirteen manuscripts dating from the mid-thirteenth century to the nineteenth century, and five of them are dated earlier than the second half of the sixteenth century. The earliest extant text of the *Buchedd* is found in Peniarth 5 (part of the White Book of Rhydderch, mid-fourteenth century), fol. 26r–26v, followed by Llanstephan 27 (c. 1375–c. 1425), pp. 132r–135v; Peniarth 27ii (second half of the fifteenth century), pp. 51–59; Cardiff 2.629 (*olim* Havod 19, 1535–1536), fols. 68r–72v; Llanstephan 117 (1542–1554), pp. 177–179.[45] The earliest two Welsh texts are those in Peniarth 5 and Llanstephan 27. Although the story of Mary Magdalene is a popular tale found in the *Legenda Aurea* (the Golden Legend), a thirteenth-century legendary (i.e. a collection of biblical stories and saint's *Lives*) compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Cartwright points out that *Buchedd Mair Fadlen* is not a direct adaptation from the Latin text in *Legenda*

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[43] Jane Cartwright, ed. and trans., *Mary Magdalene and Her Sister Martha: An Edition and Translation of the Medieval Welsh Lives* (Washington, DC.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), pp. 14-15.

[44] Ibid., p. 15.

[45] Ibid., pp. 30-35.

Aurea; rather the author is more likely to have used an intermediate Latin version, and the exact source has not so far been identified.[46]

The story begins by stating that fourteen years after the passion of Jesus Christ, Mary Magdalene is banished from the Jewish community, together with her sister Martha, her brother Lazarus and some other Christians. They are put into an old boat without a sail and cast away. They land at Marseilles with the help of God, and Mary Magdalene starts to preach the Christian belief there. Noticing a rich but childless couple leaving an offering to an idol in a pagan temple, Mary preaches and encourages them to convert. Apparently, they do not listen, or at least do not believe her wholeheartedly, and what follows is the dream episode, which is worth quoting in full:

> A g6edy bychydic o nosseu, ef a ymdangosses Meir Uadlen y wreic y tywyssa6c tr6y y hun, ac a dywa6t 6rthi, "Paham" heb hi, "a chi yn gyuoetha6c o da a goludoed y byd y ged6ch seint yr Argl6yd y veir6 o newyn, a sychet, a noethi?" Ac achwaneckau byg6th idi o ny manackei y weledigaeth honno y g6r. Ac uelly yr vnry6 rybud y d6y nos ar vntu. A'r dryded nos yd ymdangosses Meir y bob vn ohonunt, y'r g6r ac y'r wreic, yn dic ac yn irlla6n a'e h6yneb megys tan, ual y tebygei ba6p bot y ty yn llosgi. Ac yna y govynna6d hi, "A ytt6yt ti yn kysgu vab kythreul, gelyn Crist, gyt a'th gymar wennwynic, yr honn ny menegis ytti vyng geireu i?" A bygythya6 y g6r a'r wreic am adu y seint y veir6 o newyn. A phan deffroassant, y menegis pob un y gilyd yr vn weledigaeth. "Beth," heb y tywyssa6c, "a wna6n ni?" "G6ell," heb y wreic, "y6 ynni wneuthur hynn no haedu bar Du6." Odyna y rodassant b6yt, a dia6t, a lletty udunt.[47]

> [And a few nights later, Mary Magdalene appeared to the prince's wife in her sleep, and she said to her, 'Why do you leave the Lord's saints to die of hunger, thirst, and exposure when you are rich in worldly goods and possessions?' And she added the threat (that she would punish her) if she did not tell her husband about this vision. And thus (the lady received) the same warning on the following two nights. And on the third night Mary appeared to both of them, to the man and the woman, angry and outraged and her face like fire, so that everyone assumed that the house was ablaze. And she asked, 'Son of the devil, Christ's enemy, are you sleeping with your venomous wife, she who failed to tell you my message?' And she threatened the man and his wife for leaving the saints to die of hunger. And

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[46] Ibid., pp. 29-30.
[47] Llanstephan 27, fol. 132r: 24-132v: 13. The quotation is taken from Cartwright, ed. and trans., *Mary Magdalene and Her Sister Martha*, pp. 92-3.

when they awoke, they each described to the other the same vision. 'What shall we do?' asked the prince. 'It would be better for us to obey than incur the wrath of God,' said his wife. (And so), from then on, they gave them food, drink, and shelter.][48]

The description of the dream here displays vocabulary similar to that we have seen elsewhere in this study. In Llanstephan 27, as quoted above, the experience is described as a 'gweledigaeth' (vision), whereas in Peniarth 5, as Cartwright points out, it is referred to as a 'breud6yt'.[49] Cartwright's examination shows that the Llanstephan 27 and the Peniarth 5 texts are fairly close to each other,[50] yet this is one of the small but revealing differences: it might be inferred that in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, 'breuddwyd' and 'gweledigaeth' were interchangeable terms for describing dream in a hagiographical context.

Visions of saints appearing to believers and non-believers in dreams had become an established way of highlighting the sanctity of the saint by the early Middle Ages. Keskiaho points out that early medieval hagiographies tend to favour the authenticity of dreams,[51] in opposition to the increasing doubts towards dreams and visions from the Church and social or political powers of the time, as discussed in Chapter 1.3. Several tactics were applied by authors of saints' *vitae* to vindicate the authenticity of dreams included in their works. First, the dreams are made clear and with little or no interpretation necessary. Secondly, the apparition of the saint (or other divine

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[48] Cartwright, ed. and trans., *Mary Magdalene and Her Sister Martha*, pp. 103-4.
[49] Ibid., p. 36. Neither Cartwright nor the Welsh Prose 1300-1425 website have provided a transcription of the Peniarth 5 text. The Peniarth 5 text, though digitally available, is too difficult to read, as the page containing the description (fol. 26r) is heavily stained, and therefore I have not been able to provide a transcription of the dream episode using the online version. For the digital copy, see
<https://viewer.library.wales/4682879#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=69&xywh=-1047%2C0%2C5073%2C3857> [accessed 08 March 2019]. In the more recent Peniarth 225 text it is also referred to as a 'gweledigaeth'. See D. Gwenallt Jones, 'Buchedd Mair Fadlen a'r *Legenda Aurea*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 4 (1927), 325-39 (331).
[50] Cartwright, ed. and trans., *Mary Magdalene and Her Sister Martha*, pp. 35-44.
[51] Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: the Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400—900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 25-6.

figures) is accompanied by bright lights and lightning. Thirdly, the dreamer is described as being in a stable and clear state of consciousness, similar to that of the waking state. And finally, if the dreamer appears stubbornly disbelieving, the dream is repeated, so that the dreamer is forced to believe in its authenticity in the end.[52] All these tactics of presentation can be found in the description of Mair Fadlen appearing in the rich couples' dreams in *Buchedd Mair Fadlen*. In this sense it can be said that the Welsh redactor of the *Buchedd* was following the practice of a developed literary tradition within the particular genre of the hagiography.

What is unique in *Buchedd Mair Fadlen* is that Mair appears in other people's dreams while she is still alive in this world. We remember that in *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* it is a spirit that appears to the dreamer,[53] and we have just seen that in *Buchedd Dewi* it is an angel; in both cases it is a supernatural and otherworldly figure. The description of Mair's appearance in the dreams might reflect an unusual idea of a living person being able to act in a supernatural way exclusively associated with the idea of a saint. Another possible explanation is that the description is a misplacement of a section that originally belonged to the episode relating the posthumous miracles of Mair, a misplacement that occurred in the source text at an earlier stage of the copying process.[54] Whatever the reason, it has made the story less conventional than most of hagiographical writing in the Middle Ages.

4.1.5 Summary

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[52] Ibid., p. 26.
[53] See my discussion in Chapter 2.3.2.
[54] I wish to thank Dr Jane Cartwright for drawing my attention to this possibility during the examination.

From the discussion above of the four Welsh *Bucheddau*, it is clear that dreams in these texts may be audial or visual or both, and the content of the dream is instructive, symbolic, approving or admonishing. The location of the dream in the narration may vary according to the content and function of the dream: it usually appears at the beginning of the *buchedd* if it happens to a parent of the saint, and in the middle of the narrative when it is related to a deed performed by the saint. The writers of the *bucheddau* may have been working with an underlying preconception that a saint's life should imitate that of Jesus Christ, or at least their life events should be presented as following the same model, as parallels can easily be perceived between the two. In *Buchedd Dewi* it is instructed in the dream that three treasures should be prepared for the unborn child David, just as three gifts are given to the newborn baby Jesus; in *Buchedd Collen* the saint's mother has a conception dream which carries a clear symbolic meaning regarding the purity of the soul; in *Buchedd Sant Martin* Jesus himself appears in Martin's dream and approves of his deed of generosity, giving an authoritative sanction of the coherence between Martin's action and the idea of charity held by Jesus. *Buchedd Mair Fadlen* is the only exception, but this is no surprise, as Mary Magdalene herself is a figure of the New Testament and therefore her biography belongs to biblical literature rather than that of a female saint of the succeeding centuries.

Unlike the dream narratives examined in Chapter 2, in which the word 'breuddwyd' often flags up the nature of the experience, in these four *Bucheddau* the term seems largely interchangeable with 'gweledigaeth'. There is no description of the transition into sleep or the process of waking up in any of the four *Bucheddau*, as in some of the secular dream narratives discussed in Chapter 2. This suggests that it is the content of the dream and not the experience of dreaming itself that was the reason

for its inclusion in a *buchedd*. Bitel points out in her study of early medieval hagiographies that dreams in hagiographical texts are not first-hand descriptions but selective records serving a defined purpose, sometimes interpreted by the scribe immediately following the narration of it in the text.[55] The same argument is valid for hagiographies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Welsh *bucheddau*, similar to their Latin counterparts, vary as regards the reasons why they are composed—some with the explicit intention of campaigning for the official status of the saint, others to promote the cult of the saint locally, and others to make available an account of the saint's life in a vernacular language. Nevertheless, they show unity as regards the purpose of dreams, in other words, the dreams do not exist for their own sake in these texts, but always to highlight the greatness, sanctity, or power of the saint, as in the case of the other events in the narrative. This makes the *bucheddau* very different to secular prose dream narratives such as *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd*, where there seems to be no purpose beyond the literary presentation of the dream itself. This explains also why the saints in the *Bucheddau* are described as appearing almost in a blank space, and why so little effort is spent on building an imaginary dream world in the *bucheddau*—it simply was not the concern of the authors.

4.2   *Ystoria Judas*

Apart from the saints' Lives, biblical stories in prose were also extremely popular in medieval western Europe. Such stories usually feature a biblical character, in most cases positive figures including Jesus Christ himself, his disciples, and saints, but

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[55] Lisa M. Bitel, '"In Visu Noctis": Dreams in European Hagiography and Histories, 450-900', *History of Religions* 31(1) (1991), 39-59 (40).

can also feature a villain such as Pilatus or Judas; they carry a moral message and are usually composed with a didactic purpose in mind.[56] Some of these texts were translated or adapted into Welsh in the Middle Ages, and one of these translated stories contains a dream in its Welsh version, namely *Ystoria Judas*, which relates the life story of Judas Iscariot, the chief villain in the four Gospels who betrayed Jesus to the Romans and the Jewish priests for thirty pieces of silver.

Ystoria Judas is a medieval Welsh adaption of a popular continental religious tale known as *Vita Judae* (Life of Judas) or *De Juda proditore* (On Judas the Traitor). Versions of the story survive in Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Middle Welsh.[57] The story in Latin was attested in a written form as early as the twelfth century, and Baum notes that the fact that it was included in the *Legenda Aurea* bears testimony to its popularity in the Middle Ages.[58] The story of Judas Iscariot was already introduced into Wales by the end of the thirteenth century. *Ystoria Judas* is known to have been preserved in eleven Welsh manuscripts, four of them dated to earlier than the 1550s, namely, Peniarth 3ii (c. 1275–1325), p. 40; Peniarth 7 (c. 1275–1325), fols 64–65 / cols 237–241; Peniarth 14iv (c. 1300–1350), pp. 161–165; and Peniarth 5 (mid-fourteenth century), fols 11r–11v.[59] The text in Peniarth 3 is a one-page

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[56] For an overview of the main elements of didactic literature, see for example Juanita Feros Ruys, 'Introduction: Approaches to Didactic Literature—Meaning, Intent, Audience, Social Effect', in Juanita Feros Ruys., ed., *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 1-38.

[57] For a detailed list of the extant manuscripts in these languages see Brandon W. Hawk, 'Life of Judas' *e-Clavis: Christian Apocrypha* <http://www.nasscal.com/e-clavis-christian-apocrypha/life-of-judas/> [accessed 31 July 2020]. Note that Hawk's list of Welsh manuscripts is incomplete.

[58] Paull Franklin Baum, 'The Mediaeval Legend of Judas Iscariot', *PMLA* 31(3) (1916), 481-632 (481).

[59] J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'The Middle Welsh Text *Ystorya Judas*', in *Celtic Linguistics / Ieithyddiaeth Geltaidd: Readings in the Brythonic Languages: Festschrift for T. Arwyn Watkins,* eds. by Martin J. Ball et al. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1990), pp. 363-71; Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming. Also see Lennart Van der Wielen, *Ystoria Judas: An Edition of the Apocryphal History of Judas Iscariot* (unpublished bachelor's dissertation, Utrecht University, 2015), p. 5.

fragment, preserving only the beginning of the tale, but the other three manuscripts contain complete texts of the story. Van der Wielen follows J. E. Caerwyn Williams's argument that these four manuscripts originate from the same Latin source.[60] He further discovers through a comparison between the Welsh texts and several Latin redactions that the Welsh texts probably used a Latin source that belongs to a redaction group labelled as L by Baum, but is unlikely to have derived from the text in the *Legenda Aurea*.[61]

The plot of the story is straightforward and follows a chronological order, similar to the narrative order found in biographies of secular kings and religious saints. It opens with Judas's mother having a dream on the night he was conceived in which a voice tells her that she will bring forth a son who will bring damnation to their tribe. Then it proceeds to tell of Judas's birth, how his natural mother abandons him in fear of the prophecy in the dream, how he is found by the queen of Iscariot who adopts him as her son, how he bullies and kills the queen's own son in his youth, flees to Jerusalem and enters the service of the Roman governor Pilatus, incidentally kills his father and marries his mother, how he becomes a disciple of Jesus, how he betrays Jesus for thirty pieces of silver, and eventually repents and kills himself.

Let us now look at how the dream is narrated in the Welsh text in Peniarth 7, as it is the second earliest version and the text is not as corrupt as that in Peniarth 3:[62]

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[60] J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'The Middle Welsh Text *Ystorya Judas*', p. 365.
[61] Van der Wielen, *Ystoria Judas*, pp. 4, 7-8. For a detailed discussion of the Latin redaction of the story of Judas, see Baum, 'The Mediaeval Legend of Judas Iscariot', 484-521.
[62] Although the texts in all four manuscripts vary as regards vocabulary, there is no significant digression to be noted. All four texts have been edited and are available on the Welsh Prose 1300-1425 project website. See the 'Texts' category, and the links to the texts corresponding to the 'Ystoria Judas' item <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/texts.php?genre=religious> [accessed 08 March 2019].

> Gwr a oed gynt yng Kaeruselem a Rvben oed y henw. Ereill a'y galwei
> Simion o lin Judas ac o lin Iacar herwyd ereill. A Ciborea oed hynny y wreic.
> A nossweith wedy bot kyt idaw a'y wreic. Breudwyt a weles y wreic a phan
> diffroes y wreic y datkanawd y breudwyt o'y gwr gan gwynvan ac
> ucheneidiaw. 'Myvi' eb hi, 'a welwn vy mot yn esgor mab bonhedic ac ef a
> vydei achos y gyvyrgolli kenedyl.' 'Ysgymvn a datanyat' eb ef, 'yw y tev di
> ac nyt o rat duw yd wyt yn arwein dy seithvc.' 'Os beichiogi a gevis' eb hi,
> 'nyt seithvc namyn gweledigaeth.'[63]

> [Long ago there was a man in Jerusalem and Ruben was his name. Others
> called him Simion from the tribe of Judas, and according to others he was
> from the tribe of Issachar. And Ciborea was his wife then. And one evening
> after he and his wife had slept together, his wife had a dream and when she
> awoke his wife related her dream to her husband, lamenting and wailing. 'I'
> she said, 'saw that I bore a noble son, but he would be the cause of the
> damnation of a people.' 'An evil prophecy' he said, 'is yours and it is not
> with God's blessing that you are conducting your deceit.' 'If I become
> pregnant' she said, 'it is not deceit, but a vision.'][64]

Here the terms 'breuddwyd' and 'gweledigaeth' appear in the description of the same event, and their meanings appear to be largely interchangeable. However, 'breuddwyd' here may be associated with 'seithug' (deceit), whereas the concept of 'gweledigaeth' is connected to truth, as Judas' mother emphasises that it is a 'gweledigaeth' if it turns out to be true. It seems that *Ystoria Judas* shares the dubious attitude towards dreams held by the medieval Church, as discussed in Chapter 1.3.

Judas is a biblical character in the New Testament especially connected with the trial and death of Jesus Christ, and his life events included in *Ystoria Judas*, originating in an unidentified Latin source, are presented in a particular way in order to make them fit the negative image of the chief villain. As Mackley has succinctly summarised, the purpose of the story is 'a pious blackening of his name', and to qualify as such a super malefactor Judas needs to have committed multiple deadly sins no less than those of fratricide, patricide, patriarchal incest, betrayal and finally, suicide, and therefore events leading to the accomplishment of those crimes are heaped onto his

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[63] Van der Wielen, *Ystoria Judas*, p. 10. The English translation is also by Van der Wielen.
[64] Ibid., p. 12.

character by the author of the *Vita*.[65] In short, he needs to be bad enough, or he cannot play the role of the supervillain properly. To achieve the narrative effect, the author of the *Vita* adopts a writing structure that imitates that of saints' Lives, dividing the life of the character into episodes dominated by significant events at different stages of the character's life, replacing the positive deeds meant to highlight the sanctity of the saint with negative ones serving to emphasise the evil of the character of Judas. Because of the similarity concerning the formal organisation and the rhetoric structure, but the contrast in thematic content, Mackley reasonably describes such texts as 'anti-hagiography'.[66] In other words, anti-hagiography can be regarded as a variant of the genre hagiography.

The dream in *Ystoria Judas* provides an immediate example of how the anti-hagiography plays out the contrast in content and in character between Judas and the saints. Compare, for example, the Lives of Judas and Collen. In both narratives the dream occurs to the mother of the main character on the night he is conceived, and serves a similar purpose, namely foretelling the importance of the main character. Yet in opposite ways: Collen is to become a Christian hero and Judas a chief villain who is to betray Christ. The dream hints that Judas's role as a villain is set from the very beginning: his fate is doomed, no matter how he and others try to avoid it, just as the sanctity of Collen is predicted by the symbols in the dream. The dream serves as a prologue and sets the moral tone of the character for the entire story.

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[65] J. S. Mackley, 'The medieval legend of Judas Iscariot: the Vita of Judas and the Gospel of Barnabas', Paper presented to York Medieval Religion Research Group Meeting, King's Manor, University of York, 01 February 2007, pp. 10-13. <https://pure.northampton.ac.uk/files/208365/Mackley20075008.pdf> [accessed 26 August 2020].
[66] Ibid., p. 13.

4.3 *Breuddwyd Pawl* and 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern'

In this section we are going to examine two texts, one in prose and the other in verse, that are related to each other in that they share the same thematic content, namely, that of St Paul's vision in Hell. The genre of 'visions of Heaven and Hell', or 'vision' in short, is a popular genre of medieval Latin literature.[67] In her sourcebook of medieval visions, Gardiner defines 'vision' as 'narratives that attempt to describe the afterlife in terms of an otherworld, a world beyond this life'.[68] She notes that these visions are usually experienced by one individual visionary, in most cases a male. Sometimes the vision involves a spiritual or physical journey of the visionary, accompanied by a guide, who can be an angel, a saint, or a family patron who is concerned about the visionary's soul. The regular route of the vision is that the visionary is first led to hell and sees or, in some cases, suffers various kinds of punishments afflicted upon the sinners, culminating in a vision of Satan torturing souls of human beings and himself being tortured by other devils at the same time; the visionary then ascends to heaven and sees all the glories God has prepared for the righteous.[69] The vision is primarily a visual experience, but other senses such as hearing and smell also play an active part in forming the experience for the visionary.[70] As a result of the vision, the individual who has such an experience usually turns to a more pious and virtuous way of life, and adheres to the standard of a good Christian.[71]

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[67] For a brief discussion of medieval Latin vision literature, see for example, F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg, eds., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, DC.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 688-93.
[68] Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York and London: Garland, 1993), p. xii.
[69] Ibid, pp. xv-xx.
[70] Ibid., p. xxi.
[71] Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii.

This summary of the thematic pattern of the 'vision' highlights the prominent position that the world-building activity occupies in this genre. Indeed, contrary to the minimalistic degree of world-building present in dreams found in the *bucheddau*, the imaginary world described in medieval texts ascribed to the genre of 'vision' tends to be abundant in details and vividly depicted. This will also be the focus in our discussion of the two texts in this section, the first being *Breuddwyd Pawl* (The Dream of Paul), a medieval Welsh translation of *Visio Sancti Pauli* (The Vision of Saint Paul).

4.3.1 The prose *Breuddwyd Pawl*

Visio Sancti Pauli contains all the common elements listed by Gardiner in her definition of the genre except the last one, namely, turning to live a better life after experiencing the vision, presumably because Paul was already considered to be a saint and living a virtuous Christian life. It is generally accepted that the *Visio* is a Latin translation of a now lost fourth-century Greek version of the apocalypse of Paul the Apostle, and there are twelve extant Latin redactions, identified and assigned the letters I-XI and Br by Brandes, Silverstein and Dwyer.[72] The most complete version of the *Visio* is found in MS 1631 Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, an eighth-century manuscript produced in the Loire region, which is also called the

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[72] See Menna Rempt, *Visio Sancti Pauli/Breudwyt Pawl: A Bilingual Edition of Redaction IV* (unpublished bachelor's dissertation, Utrecht University, 2015), p. 9, footnote 25. See also John Ellis Caerwyn Williams, *Breuddwyd Pawl a Phurdan Padrig*, 2 vols (unpublished master's thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1936), vol.1, pp. 1-22.

'long Latin text' because of its completeness.[73] The content of the long Latin text can be summarised as follows:

§1-§2 Discovery of the Vision

§3-§6 Appeal of Creation to God against sinful man

§7-§10 Reports of the angels to God about man

§11-§18 Death and judgment of the righteous man and the wicked

§19-§30 Paul's vision of Paradise

§31-§44 Paul's vision of Hell; Rest on Sundays of the damned is obtained by Paul

§45-§51 Second vision of Paradise[74]

The twelve Latin redactions have various degrees of omission and digression from the long Latin text, which have been examined in great detail by Silverstein and Dwyer.[75] Such detail is not required in the context of this study, as we focus on the Welsh *Breuddwyd Pawl*, and that only redactions I and IV were involved in the Welsh translations.

Breuddwyd Pawl is preserved in twenty-four manuscripts dating from c. 1300 to the eighteenth century, of which fifteen are dated to prior to the second half of the sixteenth century, testifying to the popularity of the story in Wales in the Middle

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[73] Thomas Glyn Davies, *La Vision de Saint Paul: A Comparative Study in the French, Latin and Welsh Literatures in the Middle Ages* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, 1934), p. 31.

[74] J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 619-20.

[75] See Herman Brandes, 'Ueber die quellen der mittelenglischen versionen der Paulus-vision', *Englische Studien* 7 (1884), 34-65; Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalypse in Latin together with Nine Texts* (London: Christophers, 1935); Mary Elizabeth Dwyer, *Contributions to the History of Medieval Latin Redactions of the Visio Pauli* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Tasmania, 2004).

Ages. The majority of these fifteen manuscripts contain a Welsh translation of the *Visio* derived from Latin Redaction IV: Peniarth 3ii (c. 1300), pp. 25–29; Peniarth 14iv (c. 1325–1350), pp. 151–61; Jesus College MS 119 (1346), fols 129r–132v; Peniarth 15 (c. 1375–c. 1425), pp. 7–11; Llanstephan 27 (c. 1400), fols 52r–54v; Peniarth 191 (c. 1450), pp. 119–28;[76] BL Add MS 14919 (c. 1500), fols 144r–146v; Cardiff MS 2.629 (Havod 19, c. 1535–1536), fols 30v–34; Llanstephan 117 (1549–1552), pp. 213–20; and BL Add MS 14967 (mid-sixteenth century), pp. 323–30, being direct or indirect copies from a Welsh translation now lost, and Llanstephan 4 (c. 1400) 35v–38r standing alone as a separate Welsh translation. The remaining manuscripts contain a translation related to Latin Redaction I: Shrewsbury School XI (c. 1400), pp. 132–143; Peniarth 50 (c. 1425–1456), pp. 177–182; NLW MS 5267B (1438), fols 57v–59v; and Peniarth 32 (c. 1450), pp. 234–239.[77] The difference between Latin redactions I and IV of *Visio Sancti Pauli* lies predominantly in the opening sentence and the details of the visions seen by Paul in Hell. Both redactions vary from the long Latin text in that they both omit the episodes of Paul's visit to Paradise. J. E. Caerwyn Williams undertook a comparative reading of the beginning and the end of the Latin and the Welsh texts, which shows that in general the Welsh

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[76] Pages 1, 2, 38, 39 in Bangor MS 1 originally belong to the same text. See Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh Versions of the Visio Pauli', *Études Celtiques* 10 (1962), 109-26 (111).

[77] For a complete list and detailed discussion of the manuscripts containing *Breuddwyd Pawl*, including the post-modern ones omitted here, see Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh Versions of the Visio Pauli', 104-23. Transcriptions of the texts of *Breuddwyd Pawl* in Shrewsbury XI, Peniarth 32, Peniarth 3, Peniarth 14, Peniarth 15, Llanstephan 27, Oxford Jesus College 119, and Llanstephan 4 are available online at Welsh Prose 1300-1425 website. The Llanstephan 4 text is also available in Caerwyn Williams's 1962 article, the Peniarth 32 text in Parry-Williams's 1926 article, see T. H. Parry-Williams, ed., 'Breuddwyd Pawl', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 3 (1926), 81-98, and the Jesus College 119 text in Morris-Jones and Rhŷs's 1894 edition of the Book of the Anchorite, see John Morris-Jones and John Rhŷs, eds., *The Elucidarium and Other Tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894). The text in NLW MS 5267B has been edited by Rebecca Try in her Master's thesis *NLW MS 5267B: A Partial Transcription and Commentary* (unpublished master's thesis, Cardiff University, 2015).

translates are fairly close to their Latin sources.[78] In short, there are three Welsh translations of two Latin redactions: the Peniarth 3ii and Llanstephan 4 texts from Latin Redaction IV, and the Shrewsbury XI text from Latin Redaction I are their earliest representatives. For this reason, the following discussion of *Breuddwyd Pawl* will be based on these three texts.

Let us look at the opening sentences of *Breuddwyd Pawl* in the three manuscripts mentioned above. In Peniarth 3ii the text reads:

> Diw sul ysyd dyd etholedic gan duw yn|yr hwnn y|llawenhaayr eneidiev yn vwy noc yn|y dydyeu ereill. A gwybydet bawb pan yw pawl ebostol a mihanghel y|dangosses duw vdunt boeneu vffern. Ac yna pawl a|weles gyr bronn porth vffern. ...[79]

> [Sunday is the day chosen by God, on that day the souls rejoice more than on other days. And let everyone know that (is the day on which) God showed to Paul the Apostle and Michael the pains of Hell. And thereupon Pawl saw in front of the gate of Hell ...]

In Llanstephan 4:

> Pwy bynnac a vynno g6ybot p6y gyntaf a|auurya6d. y|beri gorffowys du6 sul y|r eneityeu a|vei yn uffern; g6ybydet ef mae pa6l ebostol a mihangel archangel a|e peris pan aethant y vffern. Sef y g6eles pa6l geyr lla6 porth uffern deri tanllyt. ...[80]

> [Whoever wishes to know who was the first that cried out to bring rest on Sunday to the souls that were in Hell; let him know that it was Paul the Apostle and Michael the archangel who caused it to happen when they went to Hell. Such was what Paul saw in front of the gate of Hell: burning oak-trees ...]

And in Shrewsbury XI:

> Reit eit y6 yni urodyr karu digriu6ch parad6ys ac ofnocau poyneu vffern y rei y uuant dangossedic y Pa6l ebostol pan vu yg karchar yn|y byt h6nn Du6

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[78] Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh Versions', 114-16, 120-21. See also his unpublished Master's thesis, *Breuddwyd Pawl a Phurdan Padrig*, vol.2, pp. 1-77.

[79] <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen3ii&page=25&l=c0l17> [accessed 09 March 2019].

[80] <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Llst4&page=35v&l=c0l1> [accessed 09 March 2019].

> a |uynnei dangos yda6 y nef ac uffern ac am hynny yd anuones du6 vihagel
> yn yspryt yn|y ulaen a dyuot a wnathant y auon ua6r ...[81]

> [We brothers must love the delight of Paradise and fear the pains of Hell,
> which were shown to Paul the Apostle when he was in prison in this world.
> God wished to show him Heaven and Hell and for that reason God sent
> Michael in spirit in front of him, and they came to a wide river ...]

Contrary to our expectations perhaps, the term 'breuddwyd' does not appear in any
of the three quotations, nor does the term 'gweledigaeth'. An exception to this is
Peniarth 15. In this manuscript, reference is made in the opening of the text that Paul
did indeed see the pains of Hell in a dream:

> Dyw Sul dyd etholedic yny* yr hwn y|danvones dvw viangel y|dangos trwy
> vrevdwyd y bawl ebostol yr hyn a|ydoed yn damvnawy|welet Sef oed hynny
> poenev vffernn A|phan yttoed bawl yn mynet dybyget ef ygyt a Minhangel
> ef a|welas geir bron pyrth vffernn Deri tanlyt...[82]

> [On Sunday, that chosen day, God sent Michael to show in a dream to the
> Apostle Paul those things He wished (him) to see, namely the pains of Hell.
> And when Paul was travelling, he assumed, with Michael, he saw, in front
> of the gates of Hell fiery oak-trees...]

We may also notice here the absence of the conventional phrase that signposts a
dream, namely 'trwy i hun'. In fact, were it not for the phrase 'trwy vreuddwyd', it
would have been difficult for the reader to tell in the case of the Peniarth 15 text
whether Paul is asleep or awake when he sees the scenes in Hell, or whether he
enters into Hell physically, as in the case of the knight Owen in *Purdan Padrig* (The
Purgatory of St Patrick).[83] Shrewsbury XI bears the caption 'llyma ureidwyt paul'
[here is the dream of Paul].[84] Similar captions are found in Peniarth 14, Peniarth 15,
Cardiff 2.629, and Llanstephan 117, all containing the word 'breuddwyd'.[85] In

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[81] <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Shrewsxi&page=134> [accessed 09 March 2019].

[82] <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen15&page=8 > [accessed 01 April 2019].

[83] For a detailed study of *Purdan Padrig*, see for example, J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Breuddwyd Pawl a Phurdan Padrig*, 1936, vol.1, pp. 94-183, and vol.2, pp. 1-77.

[84] Shrewsbury XI, p. 134, line 15 <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Shrewsxi&page=134> [accessed 1 Apr 2019].

[85] Caerwyn Williams, 'Welsh Versions', 109-14.

addition, the text is entitled *Breuddwyd Pawl* or *Breuddwyd Pawl Ebostol* in Peniarth 50, NLW 5267B, Jesus College 119, and Llanstephan 27.[86] Three manuscripts dated to mid- to end of the sixteenth century, namely, BL Add 14967, Peniarth 94, and Cwrtmawr 208, include in the title or caption the word 'gweledigaeth'.[87] Indeed, there is little in the text itself that goes for or against it being interpreted either as a dream or as a vision experienced when one is awake. It seems that 'breuddwyd' and 'gweledigaeth' are interchangeable terms when translating the Latin 'visio' in this case, and that the choice was made more or less erratically by the scribes. In other words, the qualification of *Breuddwyd Pawl* as a dream narrative is not as firm as the other dream narratives that we have discussed; nevertheless, there is justification in including an analysis of the text, especially as Paul's experience has the potential to be read as a dream, and this possible reading offers a rare opportunity for us to explore the dynamic position of dreams in the genre of 'vision'.

As in the case of some secular prose dream texts such as *Breuddwyd Maxen*, *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd*, the dreamer in *Breuddwyd Pawl* goes on a journey. Unlike those texts, however, there is no description of the transition into sleep, nor of the starting point of the journey. It may be more accurate to describe the journey Paul makes in his dream as a tour, as he is guided by the archangel Michael, whereas in the three secular dream narratives the dreamer is not guided.[88] As the quotation from the beginning of the story shows, the narration of *Breuddwyd Pawl* gives the reader the impression that Paul suddenly finds himself in front of the gates of Hell and begins his journey. In other words, the dreamer finds

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[86] Ibid., 109-14.
[87] Ibid., 112-13.
[88] The character Iddawg in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* may be regarded as a guide considering that Rhonabwy follows him after their initial encounter. However, Iddawg does not actually offer to be Rhonabwy's guide.

himself at the beginning of a journey in a dream world whose landscape, inhabitants and their characteristics are about to be unveiled. This sort of a sudden enlightenment on the part of the dreamer is a technique commonly found in secular dream narratives both in Welsh and in other medieval vernacular languages, such as in the Middle English *Piers Plowman*.[89]

Hell as a dream world is different from other dream worlds that we have discussed so far in medieval Welsh secular literature. Dream worlds depicted in secular dream narratives such as those found in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and *Breuddwyd Gruffudd* can be dismissed or given a naturalistic explanation by a reader who chooses not to believe in the value of the dream; it can be explained away as sheer imagination or spontaneous activities of the human mind in sleep because of a tired body or the effects of alcohol. This is not so in the case of Hell. It was accepted as a self-evident fact in medieval western Europe that Hell exists as the lowest domain of the tertiary structure of Christian cosmology. One would have to be prepared to face accusations at the highest degree of blasphemy if a person born into such an all-encompassing Christian culture dared to doubt the existence of Hell in medieval Europe. Through preaching and other media of communication, commoners and aristocracy alike in the Middle Ages gained an idea of what to expect of Hell—fire and brimstone and so on. Therefore, the author of any text describing Hell cannot invent landscapes, objects and inhabitants that are incompatible with the commonplace idea of Hell, which in a way restricts the author's freedom in producing narratives related to the place.

This conceptual precept gives rise to the second difference between Hell and the dream worlds of secular narratives. Because Hell was regarded as an actual spatial

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[89] See my discussion in Chapter 1.4.

domain, the next question is how to gain access to that domain without losing one's physical existence in this world. According to the Christian belief, the soul of a sinner will be dragged down to Hell by devils upon the individual's death, but what about the period in the middle of one's life? The medieval translator of *Breuddwyd Pawl* must have found the dream a convenient frame in order to avoid the dilemma, a frame that would have been readily acceptable to a medieval audience. To audiences in medieval Europe, dreams were not a medium to present Hell as a world created by the human mind, but as a channel through which to gain access to a place that actually exists in the universe, but is inaccessible to mortals when they are living in this world. It was accepted in the Middle Ages that the soul could temporarily leave the body, be taken to somewhere else, see unusual scenes and then return to the body. This could take place either during sleep, occurring as a dream in this instance, or during a waking state when the occurrence of such temporary departure gives the person a rapture-like status when the soul has left the body.[90] Such experiences are endowed to a person by divine grace only, and are thought of as extraordinary events worth noting down. Throughout the Middle Ages there were plenty of devotional writings recording such mystic visions, especially by women, the most well-known cases in Britain being by Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. These kinds of visions construct a sub-genre, that of the mystic vision, to which *Ymborth yr Enaid* that will be discussed shortly can be ascribed, but the vision of Paul belongs to another sub-genre of 'vision', that of the apocalyptic vision.

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[90] For a detailed discussion of rapture, see for example Dylan Elliott, 'Raptus/Rapture', in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, eds. by Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman (New York: Cambridge University press, 2012), pp. 189-99.

Paul finds himself at the gate of Hell ('porth vffern') at the beginning of the story (§2).[91] The mention of a gate suggests the idea of an encircled space that has its boundaries and an entrance. Then he begins his tour, and each time the phrase 'odyna' indicates the shifting to a new place and a new scene for him to see. The first apparatus of punishment he sees is a furnace with seven flames of different colours rising up (§3-§4), and then a fiery wheel (§5). Moving further on he sees a river full of diabolical creatures with a bridge upon it, and only the souls of righteous persons may be able to walk on the bridge and cross the river without falling into it (§6-§7). We are not told if Paul himself walked across the bridge, or whether he merely passed by the river along one of its banks and then turned away. After seeing several sinners being burnt in a fire that reaches up to various heights of their bodies, Paul comes to another place where he sees all kinds of punishment (§16-§20). There is no description of the landscape of the dreadful place. Thereupon we are told that Paul goes to yet another place, again with no description of the place itself, but he sees a negligent bishop being punished by four devils at the same time (§21). Then the archangel Michael tells him: 'Ni weleisti eto dim o boenev uffern' [You have not yet seen anything of the punishments of Hell] (§22).[92] This remark renews the expectation of the audience, and indeed we learn immediately in the story that the angel shows Paul a pit in which the most severe sinners are receiving the harshest punishments of Hell (§22-§24). Hell has levels or layers, and the deeper one descends, the more horrible the torture. At this point the scene of a righteous soul being lifted up to Heaven is introduced, in order serve as a testimony of the angel's words that what one receives after death relates to what one does in the world (§25-§26). In terms of spatial construction, this description enhances the concept that

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[91] The sections numbers follow Rempt's edition.
[92] The Welsh quotation and English translation here are Rempt's.

although totally different in nature, Heaven and Hell belong to the same continuum of space, so that Paul and the archangel Michael can see from the depth of Hell what is happening in the world of the living and to a certain degree in Heaven. Heaven is high up and Hell is down below, and between the two places lies the world in which mortals live—this is the information that the description confers.

Breuddwyd Pawl is unusual in its inclusion of four of the five senses. All the dream narratives we have seen so far present the dream as a visual experience; in most cases the sense of hearing is also involved in the dream, and even plays an important part in bringing the dream to an end, as in *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*. In *Breuddwyd Pawl*, it is readily understood that everything described in the narrative is seen by Paul, but in addition to that, Paul hears the sinners weeping ('wylaw'), wailing ('vdaw'), and lamenting ('kwynaw') soon after his tour begins;[93] hearing is involved. As the details of the punishments are revealed as the narrative progresses, we learn that Paul sees sinners amidst fire and ice, with half of their bodies burnt by fire and the other half frozen by ice.[94] Although what is depicted here is just seen and not felt by Paul himself, as his own body is not suffering the punishments of the sinners, it includes the sense of feeling in an indirect way through imagination provoked by the scene he sees, just as one 'feels' cold when he or she sees a character on a snow-capped mountain peak in a film. Further on in the narrative, when Paul is shown a pit, the angel Michael warns him to stay far away because of the stench of the pit. 'A phan egoret y pydew y kyuodes dreweant ohonaw mal y tebygei Bawl y uot yn waeth no holl boenev vffern.' [And when the pit was opened a stench rose up from it as Paul thought to be worse than all the

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[93] Rempt, *Visio Sancti Pauli/Breudwyt Pawl*, p. 23, §4. The English translation here is Rempt's.
[94] Ibid., p. 28, §19.

punishments of hell.][95] It is stated clearly here that Paul smells the stench. The appearance of four of the five senses in a dream is rarely found in medieval dream narratives in other European languages, except in a few very long works such as *Le Roman de la Rose*.

Our discussion of *Breuddwyd Pawl* has enabled us to note that the main part of the narrative in the Welsh text, as is in the Latin sources, is what Paul sees in the course of the tour guided by the Archangel Michael. As expected, we learn that he sees hellish landscapes and various types of tortures inflicted on the sinners, and each time as he goes deeper into purgatory the punishments become more severe. The landscape of Hell itself is not described in detail; indeed, more often than not there is no description at all, leaving it to the imagination of the audience to fulfil this part of world-building. By contrast, the horror of the multiple punishments in Hell are described in great detail, in order to teach a lesson to those who do not obey Christian morality during their lives of the consequences after one's death. In other words, the scenes of punishments in Hell have to be terrifying enough for anyone who reads or listens to the story to fear such torments being inflicted on themselves. On the other hand, the author of *Breuddwyd Pawl* misses no opportunity to place Hell in the correct position within Christian cosmology or spatial coordination, demonstrating the concepts of 'in' and 'out', 'up' and 'down' throughout the narrative.

4.3.2 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern'

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[95] Ibid., pp. 29-30, §22.

Breuddwyd Pawl has a counterpart existing in the poem 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern', which is in part a poetic re-working of *Breuddwyd Pawl*. Due to its close relationship with *Breuddwyd Pawl*, it will be discussed here. The Welsh *bucheddau* examined earlier, and *Ymborth yr Enaid*, to be discussed presently, are all prose texts. Welsh poetry is certainly not short of references to biblical figures and saints.[96] However, dreams noted in saints' *bucheddau* are not mentioned at all in the poems, even in cases where the reference is beyond a simple naming of the saint. This makes 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' all the more unusual. Not only is Paul's vision in Hell described at length in a poem, but that it is the main argumentative tool of the moral lesson which was the purpose of the poem.

The poem is a *cywydd* of 92 lines, preserved in 25 manuscripts, suggesting a circulation of a moderate extent in the Middle Ages. Its authorship is not totally certain, but an ascription to Llywelyn ap Gwilym Lygliw is favoured by Rhiannon Ifans, whose edition of the poems of the Llygliwiaid (a family of poets who were active from the late fourteenth century to the early fifteenth century) is the standard edition of their works.[97] Little is known about the life of Llywelyn ap Gwilym Lygliw, except that he was one of the members of the Llygliwiaid, and if we accept Ifans's argument, 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' would be the only poem that has been preserved under his name. The poem is most likely to have been composed towards the end of the fourteenth century; a more precise date is not available due to our limited knowledge of the poet's life.[98] This means that 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn

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[96] For medieval Welsh poems to saints, see for example Barry Lewis, ed., *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2015), which includes 25 poems composed between c.1440 and c.1540.
[97] For Ifans's argument regarding the authorship of the poem, see Rhiannon Ifans, ed., *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd a'r Llygliwiaid Eraill* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2000), pp. 35-6.
[98] Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, p. 210.

Uffern' appeared at least a century later than the earliest known manuscript date of *Breuddwyd Pawl*.

The content of 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' can be divided into three parts. The first part (lines 1-34) draws on the biblical history of the Old Testament, demonstrating the poet's knowledge of the five ages before the birth of Jesus Christ, namely, those of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and King David. The poet claims that he has obtained the knowledge by reading a great book ('llyfr mawr', line 2), a book of the Welshmen ('llyfr Brytwn', line 12), and that book is no other than the Bible ('y Beibl', line 28). The reference to the Bible here is either referring to a Latin version with which the poet might have been familiar, or, if referring to a vernacular version, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*, a synopsis of the first five books of the Old Testament,[99] not the complete Bible which was translated into Welsh in 1588. The first part of the poem ends with a reproach to Eve for being persuaded by the serpent to eat the fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and thus driving the entire human race into Hell for five ages.

Part two (lines 35-70) is the section that corresponds to the descriptions found in the prose dream narrative *Breuddwyd Pawl*. Reference is made to the icy wind and fire and the Devil with its horns, and to sinful souls thrown into a cauldron or bound amongst snakes or hanged by their tongue or roasted on a skewer held by the Devil.

The final part (lines 71-92) is mainly instructive or admonishing, in which the narrator warns readers against living a sinful life and urges them to start repenting and praying immediately in order to stay away from the dreadful torments in Hell

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[99] Ibid.

prepared for sinners. Ifans argues that the moral lesson is the ultimate purpose of the poem, and the vision in Hell is adopted to serve this purpose.[100]

The content and structure of the poem clearly reveals that 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' is a didactic poem, and the appropriation of *Breuddwyd Pawl* is a means to enhance the force of the moral teaching by supplying it with vivid imagery. Both Ifans and Johnston point out that the rendering of the content of *Breuddwyd Pawl* in verse showcases the influence of the genre of the vision from the continent on medieval Welsh poetry.[101] Ifans comments that after turning the reader's attention to Hell, it is natural for the poet to extend the thread of the narrative with Paul's vision in Hell.[102] Ifans notes that the poetical artistry of this poem is limited, and it is undoubtedly not for the sake of rhetoric that the intertextual appropriation was made.[103]

A few comparisons between 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' and *Breuddwyd Pawl* may offer us some useful insights into the characteristics of the poem. First, it is even less clear in the poem than in *Breuddwyd Pawl* whether Paul's experience is regarded as a dream or a vision in a waking status. The word 'breuddwyd' itself does not appear in the poem, and the only place where the faculty of seeing is referred to is in line 37, 'Lle y gwelas Pawl Ddiawl ryw ddydd' [where Paul saw the Devil the other day],[104] which leaves a wide range of possibilities concerning Paul's status of consciousness at the time of his experience. Moreover, the part adapted from *Breuddwyd Pawl* ends suddenly after a number of enumerations of the punishments

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[100] Ibid., p. 37.
[101] Ifans, ed., *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd a'r Llygliwiaid Eraill*, pp. 26-7; Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, p. 210.
[102] Ifans, *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd*, p. 36.
[103] Ibid., p. 40.
[104] Ibid., p. 37.

of the sinners in Hell; obviously the author did not attempt to round up this part of the poem as a dream. This treatment of the material leads to the likelihood that the author of the poem regarded *Breuddwyd Pawl* simply as a pool containing usable materials for his own moral teaching, and not as a self-contained narrative worth preserving in its entirety, be it a dream or a waking vision.

Secondly, since only Paul's vision in Hell is mentioned in the poem, it may be inferred that it was one of the Welsh versions of *Breuddwyd Pawl* that the poet used as reference in composing the poem, and not the Latin *Visio Sancti Pauli*. The Latin *Visio* contains an extensive description of Heaven, and would probably have been reflected in the poem. Yet, there is no way for us to know for certain, for a poet can always choose to leave out certain parts of his source material and tailor them to his own needs.

Thirdly, the references to the senses in this poetic adaptation are much diminished and reduced to a visual presentation: although there are still references to moaning and lamentation (line 40), snow and icy wind (lines 41-42), there is no reference to smell, nor to the visual perception of the sinners' bodies feeling the coldness. In short, the picture that is presented in the poem of the punishments in Hell is much less detailed and lacks the vivacity found in *Breuddwyd Pawl*. This again suggests that the poet was not so concerned about the story of Paul's vision itself, provided that it contained the cliché-like elements associated with the concept of Hell.

Perhaps we should not overemphasise the comparisons between the two texts beyond those points, as the prose *Breuddwyd Pawl* and the verse 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' probably address different audiences. Although we have no direct evidence regarding the type of audience intended for either text, their groupings with other

texts in the manuscripts may shed some light in this regard. We find that in most manuscripts containing *Breuddwyd Pawl*, the text appears together with other translated religious prose. In Peniarth 15, for example, it is preceded by *Marwolaeth Mair* and *Rhinweddau Gwrando Offeren*, and followed by *Epistol y Sul*, *Rhybudd Gabriel* and more religious prose texts.[105] 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern', on the other hand, is always found together with other verse, most frequently poems attributed to Siôn Cent, a contemporary of Llywelyn ap Gwilym Lygliw, a poet well-known for his religious poems, as is the case in Cardiff 2.619 (*olim* Havod 5, c. 1586).[106] There is no manuscript that is known to contain both texts, nor are there two manuscripts produced by the same scribe or for the same patron containing both texts. The textual context of *Breuddwyd Pawl* seems to suggest that it was part of a larger project of making available popular continental religious literature in the vernacular language of Wales, whose audience would include Welsh gentry and members of certain religious orders who might be learned otherwise but unable to read Latin. The intended audience of 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' is more difficult to surmise. Ifans, quoting the example of William Herbert's English translation of Latin and Anglo-Norman verse, claims that the poem has a practical use in the context of preaching and a more general purpose of promoting learning.[107] The intended audience that would befit these functions would be commoners with a limited degree of learning or who may even have been totally illiterate. The difference as regards implied audience may have contributed to the difference in terms of style and rhetorical features, placing the two works in two different

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[105] For a list of texts in the manuscript see <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-home.php?ms=Pen15> [accessed 14 August 2020].
[106] For a list of the texts in this manuscript see Huws, *Repertory*, forthcoming.
[107] Ifans, *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd*, p. 37.

categories as regards genres: *Breuddwyd Pawl* in the category of 'vision', and 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern' in that of religious propaedeutics, an introductory text of religious education.

4.4   *Ymborth yr Enaid*

The last text that we are going to discuss in this chapter is *Ymborth yr Enaid* (Food of the Soul).[108] A work that does not fit comfortably into any medieval genre of religious writing, *Ymborth yr Enaid* stands out in many ways from the rest of medieval Welsh religious prose. It contains multiple dreams and visions described in various ways, and also includes something that is not found in any other surviving medieval Welsh religious text, namely, instructions as to how to create the experience of a mystical union with God through certain practices.

There are twenty-three known copies of the text preserved in twenty-one manuscripts, of which eight are dated to earlier than 1550, i.e. Jesus College 119 (The Book of the Anchorite, 1346), fols 78r–92v; Llanstephan 27 (The Red Book of Talgarth, c.1375–c.1425), pp. 26–41; Llanstephan 3 (c.1400–c.1450), pp. 455–467; Peniarth 190 (c.1375–c.1425), pp. 167–224; Jesus College 23 (c.1400–c.1450), pp. 111–144; Jesus College 20 (c.1375–c.1425), fols 22–30; Peniarth 15 (c.1375–c.1425), pp. 36–54, and Llanstephan 10 (1515), pp. 3–13.[109] The earliest manuscript containing the text is Jesus College 119, in which the text is incomplete. Llanstephan

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[108] The term 'ymborth' can mean 'food', 'nourishment', 'provender', 'sustenance' (see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 01 February 2018]).

[109] Iestyn Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), pp. lxiv-lxxiii. Daniel mentions an additional copy in the earliest printed book in Welsh *Yny lhyvyr hwnn*, printed in 1546. Since this is not a manuscript, it is not included here.

27 and Peniarth 15 (a direct copy of Jesus College 119) are the only two medieval manuscripts that preserve a complete text of *Ymborth yr Enaid*.

Unlike some medieval Welsh prose texts whose titles are provided by modern scholars, the title 'Ymborth yr Enaid' is embedded in the text itself, and thus represents the thoughts of the author himself or the scribe. In Llanstephan 27, for example, the opening sentences states that 'Y llyvyr hwnn yw y trydyd llyvyr o'r llyvyr a elwir kyssegyrlan vuched, ac a elwir ymborth yr eneit' [This book is the third book of the book that is called *Cysegrlan Fuchedd*, and it is called *Ymborth yr Enaid*].[110] This suggests that *Ymborth yr Enaid* was originally part of a larger work called *Cysegrlan Fuchedd*,[111] which once consisted of at least three books. Unfortunately, the other two books of *Cysegrlan Fuchedd* are now lost, and we can only speculate as to how many books in total there may have been in *Cysegrlan Fuchedd*, and what their contents could have been.[112] The structure of the original *Cysegrlan Fuchedd* would be as follows, if we accept Daniel's argument that it contained three books only:

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[110] Iestyn Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, p.2, lines 1-2, and Welsh Prose 1300-1425 project website
<http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/ms-page.php?ms=Pen190&page=167> [accessed 14 December 2017].

[111] Daniel translates 'kyssegyrlan vuched' as 'The Holy Life': see Iestyn Daniel, *A Medieval Welsh Mystical Treatise* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 1997); Oliver Davies translates it as 'Holy Sanctuary of Life': see Oliver Davies Oliver, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales: The Origins of the Welsh Spiritual Tradition* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996). The disagreement regarding translation indicates different perceptions of the word 'cysegrlan'. It seems that Daniel takes it as a composite of 'cysegr+glân', therefore an adjective, while Davies treats the word as being 'cysegr+llan', therefore a noun. I choose to retain the Welsh form in my discussion.

[112] Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, p. 1; also his *A Medieval Welsh Mystical Treatise*, pp. 13-14. Suggestions have been made by Daniel that *Cysegrlan Fuchedd* consisted of three books only, and that *Ymborth yr Enaid* is the third and final book. He surmises that the content of the first two books would have represented the contemplative and active aspects of the Dominican Order. Oliver Davies is in agreement with Daniel on this point. See Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, pp. lxi-lxiv, and Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales*, p. 121.

Cysegrlan Fuchedd

   Book One (now lost)

   Book Two (now lost)

   Book Three: Ymborth yr Enaid

      Part I: on vices to be avoided and virtues to be practised

      Part II: on divine love

      Part III

         Section i: 'perlewycuaeu' and 'marwhuneu' of the Brother[113]

         Section ii: 'Pryd y Mab'

         Section iii: Incubation Manual

         Section iv: the nine orders of angels

Part I concerns the sins to be avoided and the virtues to be practised by a good Christian. Part II discusses divine love. Part III.i gives a vivid description of a series of 'perlewycuaeu' and 'marwhuneu' experienced by 'neb vn Vrawt o greuyd Brodyr Pregethwyr' [a certain Brother of the religion of the Friars Preachers],[114] in other words, a Dominican friar, culminating in seeing Jesus Christ himself (III.ii). This is then followed by instructions as to how one might possibly engender similar experiences (III.iii). Finally, III.iv changes direction again and discusses the ranks of angels, which seems to bear no direct connection to III.i-iii. The style of III.iv is similar to that of parts I and II, which is almost completely impersonal and highly formulaic.

The contrast in writing style between Part III.i-iii and the rest of *Ymborth yr Enaid* leads us to consider whether the text is a compound work, combining translations

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[113] The two Welsh terms left untranslated here will be discussed shortly.

[114] Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, p. 14. For a discussion of the identity of this 'Brother', see Daniel, *A Medieval Welsh Mystical Treatise*, pp. 8-10.

from other sources together with elements of original composition by the author. Daniel notes that whereas no correspondences to religious works in Latin or other vernacular languages have been found to the content of Part III.i-iii, the other parts of *Ymborth yr Enaid* are indicative of works written by or attributed to Hugh of St Victor, especially *De Fructibus Carnis et Spritius* and *De Creatione et Statu Angelicae Naturae*, as possible sources referred to and utilised by the author.[115] If it was indeed works by Hugh of St Victor that were used by the author of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, this would place the text in the broader context of medieval Christian mysticism.

The term 'mystery' (*mysterion* in Greek, *mysteria* in Latin) exists in the Bible itself, in both the Old and the New Testaments. Whereas in the Old Testament it means little more than 'secret',[116] its usage in the New Testament carries a meaning similar to that which would later appear in the context of Christian mysticism. What is described as 'mystical' in the New Testament is no doubt a secret not to be known to all; yet it has another layer of meaning, namely, that the nature of the event or truth referred to is beyond the understanding of natural reason.[117] The element of mystery accompanied monastic life from the early days after the Christian religion obtained for itself an official status in Europe. Individuals participating in monastic institutions under the rules drawn up by St Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-547) followed a highly disciplined schedule when conducting their daily life, consisting of praying, fasting, manual labour, and above all engagement with the Psalms and other texts

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[115] Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, pp. xliv-xlix.
[116] See for example Prov 20:19.
[117] See for example Matt 13:11; Col 2:2; Rom 16:25.

through the performance of singing and chanting during the Divine Office.[118] These rules of practice were designed to accommodate the physical and spiritual needs of Benedictine monks, but were later extended to include nuns as well.[119] Reciting the Psalms and other prayers is central to the spiritual advancement of one's soul on the path to seeking God. A state of rapture or ecstasy is often triggered by the performance, in which the mystical experience takes place, as described in Hadewijch's *Book of Visions* (c. 1240)[120] which, despite its relatively recent date compared to the original Rule of Benedict and the background of the author as a beguine, demonstrates the connection between prayers and the occurrence of mystical experiences, a connection which also features prominently in Part III.i-iii of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, which will be discussed in full shortly.

Daniel dates *Cysegrlan Fuchedd* (and therefore *Ymborth yr Enaid*) to a period during the years c. 1240 and c. 1260.[121] Following Williams, he argues that the work was probably written by a Dominican friar proficient in Welsh verse and who had close affinity to the bardic circle of his time, and that it was intended for novice Dominican friars or possibly nuns too.[122] This hypothesis regarding the date, authorship and purpose of the work is compatible with the possibility of *Ymborth yr Enaid* being a composite work of translation and creative writing, and explains why all dreams found in this work appear in Parts III.i-iii, the sections regarded as being

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[118] Amy Hollywood, 'Song, Experience, and Book in Benedictine Monasticism', in Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 59-79.
[119] Ibid., p. 61.
[120] Ibid., pp. 77-79.
[121] Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, pp. lvi-lix.
[122] J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Medieval Welsh Religious Prose', *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Celtic Studies 1963* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), pp. 65-97. For Daniel's argument, see Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, pp. l-lxi.

positively original work by Daniel.[123] This allows us to analyse these parts of the text with a certain degree of independence in terms of their relation to the rest of the work—Parts I and II of *Ymborth yr Enaid* may be regarded as preparatory stages for the practice and experience described in Part III.i-ii. We will return to the possible relationship between the three Parts of the text later, but first let us familiarise ourselves with the content of the dreams in this text.

The first dream (III.i.4-23)[124]

The Friar, having practised the virtues and renounced the vices mentioned in Parts I and II, hears an instruction telling him to love the Holy Trinity with all his heart, three Persons in one, and particularly to put his trust in the Son, 'kannys ef a gymerth yn knawt ni amdanaw a gat o'r Yspryt Glan, ac a anet o Veir Wyry' [for he took on our flesh and was begotten from the Holy Spirit, and was born of the Virgin Mary].[125] The narrative then continues with a sentence stating that he hears the words in a dream: 'Ac velle y dywetpwyt y'r Brawt yn y vreudwyt' [And this was what was told to the Friar in his dream].[126] After this the narration proceeds swiftly, telling us in no more than a few lines that the Friar obeys what he has heard in his dream. This is then followed by the account of the second dream. It should be noted that this is the only time that the word 'breuddwyd' occurs in *Ymborth yr Enaid*.

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[123] Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, pp. xlvi-xlix.
[124] The upper- and lower-case Roman numbers refer to my summary of the structure of *Ymborth yr Enaid* above, and the Arabic numbers refer to the line numbers in Daniel's edition.
[125] III.i.14-15.
[126] III.i.18. 'yn y vreudwyt' can also be read as 'in the dream', but this does not affect our understanding of the paragraph.

The second dream (III.i.23-38)

> —ac ynn hynny, dydgweith, y boredyd, yn y varwhun, ef a glywei lef arafber garueid<d>los yn dywedut wrthaw val hynn: "Da yawn y gwney di, yn karu ni pob person ar neilltu. Ac eissoes, kannys anawd yw ytti dyall traet y Tat neu yr Yspryt Glan na'e a[a]dnabot, vrth hynny, ymdiryona di yn garedic a'r Mab ac ymgar ac ef. Kannys ohonawch chwi yr henyw ef. A throssoch y ganet ac y godeuawd. Ac a wnnelych di erdaw ef, kymeredic yw gennym ni. Ac yni y gwney megys idaw ef, kannys vn ym ni ac ef yn tri y gyt." (III.i.23-32)

> [—and then, one day, at dawn/early in the morning, in his 'marwhun', he could hear a gentle and sweet, loving voice speaking to him thus: 'You do very well, loving each one of us individually. And yet, as it is difficult for you to perceive the feet of the Father or the Holy Spirit and to know them, therefore, delight yourself lovingly in the Son and love him, since he springs from you. And it was for you that he was born and suffered. And whatever you might do for his sake is approved by us. And you do for us just as for him, for we and he are three together.']

Upon having this second dream, the Friar prays fervently for something that he can cherish perpetually in his memory to be shown to him, and soon the third dream follows.

The third dream (III.i.39-69)

The third dream also takes place at daybreak, but this time on Trinity Sunday:

> yna, y boredyd, y syrthyawd marwhun ysbrydawl ar y Brawt. Ac yn y varwhun honno ef a welei, herwyd y debic ef, vot y byt oll y gyt ar benn brynn vchel, a phawb yn ergrynnv yr arderchawc weledigaeth a oed yn dyuot yn ebrwyd. Ac yna, yn y lle, ef a welei y Brawt y nef oll yn ymdorri, ac yn ymegori, ac yn gollwg ohonei glaerheul anueidryawl eglurder, ac yn y vann vchaf idi megys wybrenn ganneit a'e hanueidrawl ovyn ar bawp; kannys hi a allei egluraw pann vynnei, a thywyllv pann vynnei. Ac o'r tu asseu y'r ganneitlathyr wybrenn honno yd oed llathredicfflam o dan arafdec serchlawn yn kyniret gwres goleuni y rwg yr heul a'e phaladyr. Ac o'r tu deheu y'r wybrenn gynntaf yr oed paladyr yr heul yn disgleiraw ac yn goleuhav yr holl vedyssyawt. (III.i.43-56)

> [then, at dawn, a spiritual 'marwhun' fell upon the Friar. And in that 'marwhun' he could see, so he supposed, that the whole world was on top of a high mountain, and everyone was trembling in front of the splendid vision that was coming quickly. And then, immediately, the Friar saw the whole sky breaking and opening itself up and releasing from it an extremely splendid sun, and in the highest place of the sky he saw something like a

shining cloud which aroused immense fear in everyone; because it could brighten up and become dark as it wished. And to the left of that shining cloud there was a bright flame of fire, slow, fair, and loving, gathering the warmth of the light between the sun and its rays. And to the right of the first cloud the beam of the sun was clear and was lighting up the whole universe.]

Thereupon, the Brother, still in the 'marwhun', is told by a voice from Heaven of the meaning of everything he has seen in relation to the Holy Trinity. The interpretation begins with the phrase 'dywetpwyt wrth y Brawt val hynn' [the Friar was thus told],[127] in which no agent is mentioned.

The fourth dream (III.i.70-III.ii.207)

Having seen the vision in his third dream, the Brother prays earnestly for the Son to appear to him more clearly:

Ac yna glutwediaw a oruc y Brawt drwy wylofein am ardangos idaw y Mab a vei hysspyssach no hynny. Ac yn ebrwyd wedy hynny, nachaf y klywei y Brawt yr arafber ymadrawt yn dywedut vrthaw: "Dyret, llyma dangos y Mab ytt". Ac yn y lle, nachaf y gw<e>lei ... (III.i.70-74)

[And thereupon the Friar prayed earnestly by weeping for the Son to appear to him more clearly than that. And straightaway, behold, the Friar could hear a gentle and sweet voice telling him: 'Come, here is the Son / let me show you the Son'. And immediately, behold, he could see ...]

What the Friar sees is Jesus Christ himself, appearing to him as a twelve-year-old boy, the age at which, according to Luke 2:40-52, he was seen conversing intelligently with the learned in the temple in Jerusalem. The anonymous author of *Ymborth yr Enaid* notes that no one who has seen Jesus could retain a hundred-thousandth of his shining beauty in their memory; nevertheless, a description of the beauty of the Son as recalled by the Friar is given.[128] The description (III.ii, 'Pryd y

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[127] III.i.57.
[128] III.i.74-91.

Mab') is regarded by Daniel as 'the literary high point of *Ymborth yr Enaid*'.[129] Both Daniel and Oliver Davies point out that the rhetorical effect in the description of the beauty of the Son is enhanced to the maximum by the use of compound adjectives in a cumulative and ornamental way, the frequent uses of similes, and lavish and detailed descriptions of the jewellery that the boy Jesus is wearing.[130]

The account of the fourth dream ends with a direct conversation between the Friar and Jesus Christ which, as Daniel notes, is unusual in its reference to the poets, and therefore is worth quoting in full:[131]

> Ac yna y syrthyawd y Brawt ger bronn yr euruab yn y varwlewyc o dra annwylserch garyat ar y dwywawluab hwnnw. A'e gyuodi yn drugarawc a oruc yr adwynvab a dywedut vrthaw, "Kyuot a char vi bellach yn gymeint ac y gellych vwyhaf". "Och Arglwyd", heb y Brawt, "nyt oes diolch ym yr dy garu, kannys nyt oes neb o'r a'th welei ar ny'th garei". "Oes", heb ef, "kannys nyt amdangosswn yt onyt yr vyg karu ohonat. Ac ny chery di vivi yn gymeint ac y karafi di. Ac etwa ny weleisti vi yn gwbyl. A phann ym gwelych, ti a'm kery yn amgen ystyr. A manac y'r prydydyon y rodeis i vdunt gyfurann o yspryt vy nigrifuwch i y mae yawnach <oed> vdunt ymchwelut y'r yspryt hwnnw y'm diwyll i noc y ganmol ynvytserch gorwagyon betheu tranghedigyon yn amsserawl". (III.ii.194-207)

> [And then the Friar fell before the golden boy in his dead faint of extreme affectionate love towards that divine boy. And the gentle boy raised him up compassionately and said to him: 'Arise and love me as much as you can.' 'Oh Lord', said the Brother, 'there is no thanks to me for loving you, as no-one who saw you would not love you.' 'There is', he said, 'for I would not have appeared to you if you had not loved me. And you love me not as much as I love you. And yet you have not seen me wholly. And when you see me, you will love me in another sense. And tell the poets, to whom I have given a share of my delightfulness, that it would be better for them to return to that spirit to worship me than to praise the foolish love of the empty and transient things of time.']

The message that the boy Jesus asks the Friar to deliver to the poets somehow strikes us with its oddity in this context. Daniel has not found any known parallel in

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[129] Iestyn Daniel, 'Medieval Mysticism: An Example from Wales', in *Exeter Symposium VI: The Medieval Mystical Tradition England, Ireland and Wales*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999), p. 42.
[130] Ibid., pp. 42-44; Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales*, pp. 137-39.
[131] Daniel, *A Medieval Welsh Mystical Treatise*, p. 17; also 'Medieval Mysticism: An Example from Wales', p. 41.

European literature to such a description. This description creates a connection between the Christian belief and the gift of poetry in which the poets appear in a positive light.[132] This favours Daniel's argument that *Ymborth yr Enaid* was an original composition in Welsh rather than a translation or paraphrase of a Latin source.[133]

These four dreams should be considered together as a continuous process in practising the contemplative life, as later dreams are built upon the previous ones. Here we are able to make a few observations. First, we will discuss the two key terms that have been left untranslated in our discussion so far, namely, 'marwhun' and 'perlewyg'. The term 'marwhun', which we find again in Part III.iii of *Ymborth yr Enaid* itself, is rarely used in other medieval Welsh dream narratives. It appears at first sight that the Welsh term 'marwhun' might be equivalent to 'dead sleep' or 'deep sleep' in English, if we take 'marwhun' as a combination of 'marw' (dead) and 'hun' (sleep). But a closer look at its usage reveals something different. The English translations listed in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* for 'marwhun' are: trance, ecstasy; deep sleep. Synonyms in Welsh: *llesmair*, *perlewyg*, *ecstasi*; *trymgwsg*.[134] The earliest testimony of this word listed in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* is no other than *Ymborth yr Enaid* itself, in the opening sentences of section III.iii. There is only one other example that can be dated before 1588, the year of the publication of the Welsh Bible. It is found in the MS Cotton Cleopatra version of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, describing how king Pandrassus's daughter, newly wedded to Brutus, is about to leave her homeland with her new husband. When the fleet of the British departs from the port, she looks back to her homeland for one last time and begins to cry, and

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[132] Daniel, *A Medieval Welsh Mystical Treatise*, p. 17.
[133] Ibid., pp. 6-8.
[134] Entry 'marwhun', *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* <http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html> [accessed 02 February 2018].

Brutus does his best to comfort her. Eventually 'yna y ssyrthiawt *marw hun* arnei o tra blinder' [then she fell into a *marw hun* out of extreme fatigue].[135] It seems in the Welsh context that 'marwhun' refers to a sudden transition into a state of unconsciousness, and that its exact meaning in Welsh is different to that of 'deep sleep' in English, and therefore I find Daniel's translation of it as 'trance' rightly fitting in the context of the work.[136]

The term 'perlewyg', always appearing in its plural form in Part III of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, is regarded by Daniel as corresponding to *exstasis* in Latin.[137] Although listed as a synonym of 'marwhun' in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, in the particular context of this Part of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, the two terms are not completely interchangeable. We are told in Part III.iii first that 'yny syrtho arnat vynych berlewycuaeu yn dissymwth, hyt na mynnut da y byt oll hebdunt' [until there falls on you suddenly frequent raptures without which you would not wish the wealth of the whole world],[138] and 'yny syrthyo arnat per varwhun digrifdlos o'r mynychyon berlewycuaeu a racdywetpwyt' [until there falls on you a sweet trance, delightful and lovely, from the frequent ecstasies previously mentioned].[139] It is clear that 'marwhun' and 'perlewyg' are two closely related yet different types of mystical experiences, and thus I agree with Daniel's translation of 'perlewyg' as 'rapture' and 'ecstasy', whose meanings are close but not equivalent to that of 'trance'.

Secondly, concerning the senses involved in the dreams, there is a gradual advance from audial only to audio-visual and again to all-encompassing. In the first and the

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[135] MS Cotton Cleopatra fol. 7v. J. J. Parry, ed. and trans., *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version* (Cambridge, MA.: Medieval Academy of America, 1937).
[136] See Appendix III.
[137] See Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid*, p. 52.
[138] Ibid., p. 25. The English translation is Daniel's, see Appendix III.
[139] Ibid.

second dreams, the Friar only hears a voice, and no visual experience is involved. The voice of a divine source instructs the dreamer to act in a certain way or perform a specific task, as in the dream in *Buchedd Dewi*. In the third dream, the Friar at first sees a scene with multiple objects, and then he is given an explanation of everything he sees. This makes it a symbolic dream, where images shown in the dream have hidden meanings and an interpretation is needed for the understanding of the dream. We have seen similar examples time and again in our discussion of medieval Welsh dream narratives, both religious and secular; in *Breuddwyd Sibli Ddoeth*, for example, the Roman senates dream of nine suns, and in *Buchedd Collen*, St Collen's mother dreams that a dove pulls her heart out, flies with it towards heaven and then brings it back to her.[140] In the fourth dream, Jesus Christ himself appears directly to the Friar. It is primarily a visual experience, but other senses are also involved, resulting in the whole person of the Friar engaging with the divine being. This fourth dream or 'Pryd y Mab' is not only 'the literary high point of *Ymborth yr Enaid*' as Daniel notes,[141] but also the climax in terms of religious experience.

Thirdly and more importantly, the ascription of these experiences to dreams is just one way of interpreting their nature, as is always the case when defining the mental status of the receiver of a mystical experience at the time of its occurrence. In this regard we have examples from later centuries, such as Julian of Norwich (1342-after 1416) describing in her *Revelations of Divine Love* (also known as *A Book of Showings*), that she felt the Passion of Christ when she was suffering from a severe illness, so severe that she was struggling on the brink of life and death. She had been in such a state for several days, and eventually it seemed that she was going to die, as

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[140] See Introduction, section c, and Chapter 4.1.2 above.
[141] Daniel, 'Medieval Mysticism: An Example from Wales', p. 42.

she could feel part of her body dying and her sight growing dim. There was an image of the crucifixion of Jesus in the room brought by the priest who came to tend to her last needs, and she concentrated on the Cross. Suddenly she felt that all the pain had been taken away from her, and she saw the vision of blood trickling down the garland that Jesus was wearing at his crucifixion, and her heart was filled with love for the Trinity.[142] This is only the beginning of a series of fifteen *showings* revealed to her that night. Julian does not refer to the experience as taking place in a dream, yet it is clear that her consciousness was in a liminal status at that time, somewhere between waking and sleeping, and not half asleep either, but another status that makes sleeping and waking irrelevant to the visionary. Only from the outsider observer's perspective does the question exist whether the visionary is dreaming, as he or she can certainly be perceived not as wide awake, and that his or her body remains still during the process. The same can be said of the Friar's experience of 'marwhun' and 'perlewyg' in *Ymborth yr Enaid*—it is up to the reader to decide whether the protagonist is dreaming when such mystical experiences take place.

Part III.iii of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, which relates how one may possibly evoke a dream similar to that which the Friar experiences by performing a series of rituals and actions, is perhaps the most interesting and the most challenging to a modern reader at the same time. Such descriptions are not found in any other medieval Welsh religious texts. The only other example that can be found in medieval Welsh dream narratives of a character practising certain rituals in order to elicit a dream is

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[142] Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings*, Chapter III. For the critical edition of Julian's *Showings*, see Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, eds., *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich*, 2 vols (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978). For a detailed study of Julian of Norwich's *Showings*, see for example Denise Nowakowski Baker, *Julian of Norwich's "Showings": From Vision to Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2014).

Brutus's dream in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, yet it is nothing close to the description here in terms of the details.

The content of this section of *Ymborth yr Enaid* can be justifiably classified as 'dream incubation' according to Kelly Bulkeley's widely accepted definition of the term, namely, that it is 'the general term for all the various kinds of pre-sleep rituals and prayers whose aim is to create a heightened context for the reception of clear, vivid, meaningful dreams.'[143] Therefore we give tentatively the title 'incubation manual' to the section in question for the convenience of discussion, although we are well aware that this cannot be more than a makeshift summary of its content that does not do justice to the significance of the section in relation to the work as a whole. While modern psychology concentrates on the problem-solving potential of dream incubation,[144] the practice of dream incubation itself can be traced back to Classical Antiquity. The Graeco-Roman process of dream incubation usually contains these elements: a person who wishes to resolve a problem in his/her life, to receive a message from a divinity about an important issue in his/her life or to cure a disease, goes to a sacred place, performs a certain ritual, and sleeps in that place. The incubation is regarded as successful if a dream occurs to that person in his /her sleep, and the intention of the person is fulfilled.[145] We have referred to Brutus's dream in

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[143] Kelly Bulkeley, *Dreaming in the World's Religions: A Comparative History* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), p. 278.

[144] See for example, Deirde Barrett, 'The "Committee of Sleep": A Study of Dream Incubation for Problem Solving', *Dreaming: Journal of the Association for the Study of Dreams* 3(2) (1993), 115-23. The dreamers, before going to sleep, concentrate their mind and ask a question of their choice about a problem related to their lives that needs solving, and then go to sleep and try to see if they have dreams related to their problems and contain an answer, and if they can recall the dreams afterwards. And the practice is repeated for a certain length of time.

[145] For dream incubation in Classical Antiquity and Late Antiquity, see for example Juliette Harrisson, *Dreams and Dreaming in the Roman Empire: Cultural Memory and Imagination* (London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), especially Chapter 4; C. A. Meier, *Healing Dream and Ritual: Ancient Incubation and Modern Psychotherapy* (Einsiedeln:

Brut y Brenhinedd, in which Brutus performs a ritual and sleeps in front of Diana's altar, and has a dream that contains the information he requests.[146] The author of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* also makes use of the idea of incubation in describing Rhonabwy as accidentally sleeping on a special ox-skin that is said to bring good luck to whoever lies on it.[147]

When Christianity developed its unique theology alongside its institutional expansion across Europe, it absorbed numerous ideas and elements that previously existed in various pagan polytheist religions. Although none of the dreams recorded in the Old Testament or the New Testament involve intentionally seeking a sacred place to sleep and experience a dream,[148] and incubation after an openly or covertly pagan fashion was certainly not encouraged by the Church in the Middle Ages,[149] dream incubation nevertheless became a legitimate practice in Western Christian mysticism, provided that the aim of the dreamer or visionary was a mystical union with God, as exemplified here in *Ymborth yr Enaid*.

The first half of Part III.iii is all about the preparations, including choosing the right time, adjusting one's physical and mental condition, praying and calling upon sacred and secret names. When these are all done, a 'marwhun' will fall upon the person. Then in that 'marwhun' there will be a second one, then in that second 'marwhun' comes a third one, each one more pleasant than the other, and finally in the third one perhaps the dreamer will have a fourth sleep, the most pleasant one, and what the

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Daimon, 2003), especially Chapter V: 'Incubation Ritual in the Sanctuaries of Ascelpius', pp. 49-60.

[146] See Introduction, section c.

[147] See Chapter 2.2.

[148] For dreams in the Bible and early Christian writings, see Chapter 1.3.

[149] For the general attitude of the Church towards dreams shortly before *Ymborth yr Enaid* was composed, see Michael Goodich, 'Visions, Dream and Canonization Policy under Pope Innocent III', in Michael Goodich, *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 151-63.

person sees in it is perfect.[150] In this sense it is not only a simple incubation, but a multifold incubation in a multi-layered sleep with a Russian nesting doll structure. This is unique in the context of the medieval Welsh dream narratives we have discussed so far, and perhaps unique within medieval European dream narratives too.

Apart from the 'marwhun' discussed above, other phrases related to 'hun' (sleep) are also found in this section of *Ymborth yr Enaid*: 'hun dwyvrwyt' (twofold sleep, III.iii.99), 'hun arall dribwyt' (another threefold sleep, III.iii.104) and 'hun uudugawl' (victorious/skilful sleep, III.iii.109). The component 'brwyd' (embroidering frame) in 'dwyfrwyd' (two-fold) and 'tribrwyd' (three-fold) gives us a glimpse of the idea the author had in his mind when composing the work, the idea that the phases of sleep are interwoven like a work of embroidery. These usages are not testified in any other medieval Welsh dream narratives, secular or religious; these terms and expressions may have been created specifically by the author to describe the unique experience.

Beyond the peculiarity of vocabulary, however, the content of this section is not all novel for today's readers who are familiar with the medieval mystical literature in other languages. The fourteenth-century English mystical treatise *The Cloud of Unknowing*, for example, would be much in accordance in spirit with this section of *Ymborth yr Enaid*. The entire work of *The Cloud of Unknowing* by an anonymous author is a detailed guide to contemplative prayer and a discussion of how to obtain a share of the knowledge of God's mystery in an ecstatic experience while one is still living in this world.[151] As Clark points out, it is heavily influenced by the mystical

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[150] Dr Iestyn Daniel has kindly provided a complete English translation of this section, which can be found in Appendix III.

[151] For a modernised edition of the work, see for example Clifton Wolters, trans., *The Cloud of Unknowing* (London: Penguin, 1961).

tradition of Pseudo-Dionysius of Areopagite, to the extent that the image of the 'cloud of unknowing' in its title derives from the reference to the hidden presence of God in the darkness of Sinai in Mystical Theology by Pseudo-Dionysius.[152] Hugh of St Victor's influence is also perceptible with regards to the contents of the prayer to choose and the way of uttering them as is recommended in *The Cloud of Unknowing*.[153] This comparison helps us position Part III.iii of *Ymborth yr Enaid* in or at least close to the long established tradition of Pseudo-Dionysian mysticism, which might have been known in medieval Wales through influences from the European continent, although there is no evidence of its wide circulation.

Returning to the question we asked earlier, what is the relationship between the parts and sections of *Ymborth yr Enaid*? Or, to consider it as an organic work, which genre(s) does *Ymborth yr Enaid* belong to? And what is its significance to this study? Daniel classifies the text as a medieval Welsh mystical treatise or a Welsh example of medieval mysticism.[154] Our discussion in this section has led us to agree with his definition. Moreover, if we place *Ymborth yr Enaid* in the context of medieval Christian mysticism, the ostensible incoherence between the first two Parts and the third Part disappears. The themes of the first two parts of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, that of fulfilling Christian virtues in life and progressing in divine love can be read as the required preparation before one can proceed to seek the mystery of God. The last section of Part III.iv on angels, in a similar light, can be read as an explanation of what one has already seen in his or her mystical experience and thus enhances the understanding of it. The well-balanced combination of scholastic elaboration,

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[152] John P. H. Clark, 'The Cloud of Unknowing', in Paul E. Szarmach, ed., *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe* (Albany, NY.: State University of New York Press, 1984), pp. 273-91(277-81).
[153] Ibid., p. 279.
[154] Daniel, *A Medieval Welsh Mystical Treatise*, pp. 1-2.

mystical description and practical instruction has something for the interest of different types of readers: those who are interested in Christian mysticism may read it as a mystical treatise; those interested in theology may read it as a theological work. For us who are interested in dreams in medieval Welsh literature, it is a unique example of religious writing preserved in the Welsh language where dreams and visions merge together in the same mystical experience.

4.5   Conclusions

Our discussions of dream narratives in this chapter has enabled us to draw certain conclusions regarding the vocabulary, content, function, and purpose of dreams in medieval Welsh religious writing.

With the exception of *Ymborth yr Enaid*, the vocabulary used to describe sleep and dreaming is similar to that found in medieval Welsh secular dream texts, and also the terms have the same meanings as in the secular dream literature, namely, 'breuddwyd' for 'dream', 'gweledigaeth' for 'vision', and 'hun' for 'sleep'. The occurrence of the term 'breuddwyd', however, is less frequent than in the secular dream narratives, and sometimes appears to be interchangeable with 'gweledigaeth'. Nevertheless, the vocabulary does not tell us much about the relationship between dream and vision in terms of genre.

The content of dreams examined in this chapter vary according to their respective position in and significance to the plot of the narrative. In the category of hagiographical (and anti-hagiographical) writing, dreams occur to a parent of the main character at the beginning of the narrative in *Buchedd Dewi*, *Buchedd Collen*, and *Ystoria Judas,* before the birth of the protagonists of the stories. In such cases

the dreams can either be plain or symbolic, as long as they serve the purpose of foreshowing the moral quality of the main character. In *Buchedd Sant Martin*, St Martin himself is the dreamer, and the dream is a non-symbolic one with Jesus himself speaking and confirming the value of Martin's deed in relation to the Christian idea of charity. The receivers of dreams in *Buchedd Mair Fadlen* are a pagan couple who neglect the needs of Mary Magdalene and her company, and after Mary has appeared directly in their dreams several times reproaching and giving warning to the couple of the result of their negligence, they are finally forced to change their behaviour out of fear. It seems that in the genre of hagiography, dreams often play an ancillary yet active role in the narrative, but the dream itself is not the most important part of the narrative.

The importance of the dream is greater in the genre of vision, apocalyptic and mystical, as the quasi-sleeping status of the visionary is a key element of this genre. It is, however, usually more difficult for the reader of a visionary text to determine whether the main character is dreaming when the vision happens, or whether the experience may be regarded as a trance or ecstasy when the soul is believed to depart from the body temporarily. Contrary to what the term 'vision' itself might suggest, a vision not only involves seeing, but hearing, smelling, touching and, to a lesser degree, tasting, as is most typically exemplified in *Breuddwyd Pawl* and briefly referred to in Part III.iii of *Ymborth yr Enaid*; it tends to be an all-round experience that includes all human senses. Nevertheless, the dream itself is again not the main purpose of the narrative; the imagery of the vision and the moral significance are given much more attention by the authors of visionary texts than the presence of the dream itself. Depicting the experience as a dream fulfils the expectation of the genre of vision in a convenient way. It matches the idea that visions with extraordinary

content and implications should occur in a supernatural way—they can occur in a dream or in a trance. The dream offers itself here as a possible way to explain the physical and mental status of the visionary, an explanation which would be safely situated within the authoritative opinions of medieval western Christianity regarding the origin and nature of dreams.

The absence of world-building activity in the presentation of dreams in medieval Welsh religious literature is another prominent feature. With the exception of *Breuddwyd Pawl*, almost no effort is spent on constructing a dream world in the other texts discussed in this chapter. Even in *Breuddwyd Pawl*, the world presented, that of Hell, cannot be compared to dream worlds presented in medieval Welsh secular writings. Hell was believed to exist with more certainty by a medieval audience than any dream world described in secular literature of the Middle Ages, and therefore the task of a narrative related to Hell is reduced to faithfully describing the multiple features of the world to the reader, rather than creating something unknown and exotic. This does not mean that the author does not have any power over the details of the presentation, as has been proved by our comparison of *Breuddwyd Pawl* and 'Gweledigaeth Pawl yn Uffern', yet the main features of Hell as a constructed world in literature is largely pre-determined.

Our examination of *Ymborth yr Enaid* shows that while it is a unique example of a mystical treatise written and preserved in Middle Welsh, it is not only possible but fruitful to compare it with other medieval European mystical texts, which helps place the work within the broader medieval tradition of mysticism in western Europe. The choice of a highly distinctive vocabulary including terms such as 'marwhun' and 'perlewyg', rarely seen elsewhere in medieval Welsh dream narratives, as well as the description of an unusual multi-layered sleep demonstrate the efforts of the author to

find the most appropriate terms and expressions to convey the experience of sleeping and dreaming in the particular mental status that may be regarded as ecstasy, together with his desire to emphasise the theological significance of such an experience. The mysteriousness of the experience and its intimate relation to the secret of true Christian belief and to Jesus himself is the focus of *Ymborth yr Enaid* in its entirety.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study we have explored dream narratives in medieval Welsh prose and poetry, with a focus on the 'native' literature when discussing texts of a secular nature, and with attention shared equally between 'native' and translated literature when dealing with religious texts. Now it is time for us to draw some final conclusions as regards the questions posed at the beginning of this thesis.

In Chapter 1, the discussion of genre theory and its key concepts, together with the review of recent genre-related scholarship in the field of medieval Welsh literature suggest that it is not only meaningful to research medieval Welsh literature in relation to genre, but that it has great potential for throwing light on the topic of medieval literary dreams from a fresh perspective. The discussion in the second half of the chapter shows that whereas medieval Europe enjoyed a rich dream culture, and that the 'dream-vision' genre flourished in literature composed in some other medieval European vernacular languages, 'breuddwyd' cannot be regarded as the Welsh equivalent to 'dream-vision'. This conclusion has urged us to find our own way to comprehend the nature of the corpus of medieval Welsh dream narratives via analysis of elements and aspects related to the presentation of dreams and the relationship between the text, the author, and the reader.

Our analysis of Welsh prose dream narratives began with five 'native' texts in Chapter 2. Whereas certain features of these texts have attracted scholarly attention, the importance of the dreams and their functions in forming a successful narrative has been scrutinised for the first time in this study. Our analysis has led us to the conclusion that 'breuddwyd' was a narrative device that was not particularly genre-related but was crucial to the design of the plot in the two Mabinogion dream

narratives. The three *areithiau* dream narratives, on the other hand, exemplified that 'breuddwyd' can also work as a successful sub-genre within the already established genre of the *araith*, especially in the two texts of a parodic nature. By examining the construction of the dream world in every text where relevant, we have been able to discover ways in which the dreams play a crucial role in the establishment and development of the plot. The dream is normally the founding element indispensable to the narrative plot in these texts. The significance of the dream is conveyed via a vivid description of the dreamer's journey, following a certain recognisable structural pattern. With the exception of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu*, which is extremely terse as regards the descriptive elements of the dream itself, the reader or the audience is usually informed first of the time and *locus* of the dream (often with particular attention paid to the condition of the sleeping place), followed by a description of the transition into sleep. The dream itself contains a journey in the dream world. Sometimes, as in the case of *Breuddwyd Maxen* and the beginning of *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*, the dream world overlaps with the 'real' world, and it depends on the reader's geographical knowledge whether the dream world will turn out to be a Secondary World or remain the Primary World. In such cases, the readers are invited to participate in the completion of the meaning of the narrative by projecting their understanding of the nature of the dream world presented in these texts. In other words, the reader has a role to play in the fulfilment of the understanding and interpretation of such texts. The author of *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd* presents the dream world as a Secondary World from the outset, with detailed descriptions of the otherworldly landscape and the flora and fauna that catch the dreamer's eye on his journey; whereas in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* the shift from the familiar and possible 'real' setting of a dream world into an unrealistic

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Secondary World is gradual, and becomes more and more unmistakable as the narrative unfolds. The authors of these texts also invite the reader to participate, yet in different ways: the reader is invited to imagine with the assistance of details concerning sizes, shapes, colours, characters other than the dreamer and their actions, as well as interactions between the dreamer and these other characters. The presentation of the dream as a predominantly visual experience gives the reader a quasi-cinematic experience, not too different from watching a film in the cinema or at home, with all the lights turned off. This is also true of *Breuddwyd Maxen* and *Breuddwyd Iorwerth Deircaill*. The point is to see, to know, to experience.

We then proceeded in Chapter 3 to analyse seven Medieval Welsh secular poems featuring dreams. Some poems acknowledge openly their connection to a Welsh prose dream narrative, such as 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall' with its links to *Breuddwyd Maxen*, while others are less manifest, such as 'Awdl y Breuddwyd' and its relationship to *Breuddwyd Gruffudd ab Adda ap Dafydd*; other poems bear no ostensible connection to the prose dream texts examined in Chapter 2. We were able to see that there is no significant difference between medieval Welsh secular prose and poetical dream narratives in relation to the vocabulary used to describe sleep and dreaming, or the way the dreams are presented. The most significant difference between prose and poetical dream narratives lies in the narrative person. In prose, the dream is always narrated in the third person, whereas in poetry it is always narrated in the first person. This distinction, as our discussion has revealed, is largely due to the different requirements of styles between prose and poetry and is not specific to the presentation of dreams. Our analysis in this chapter enables us to conclude that as in the context of medieval Welsh prose dream narratives, 'breuddwyd' is not particularly genre-related, but is rather a narrative device that is applied to bring out

a variety of themes and narrative effects in medieval Welsh secular poetry. We have been able to see that the dream is extremely versatile in bringing out the theme of love in poems: there is erotic love, as in 'Breuddwyd a welwn neithwyr'; the promise of love, as in 'Y Breuddwyd'; frustrated love, as in 'Y Cloc' and 'Yr Hun Felys'; or simply seeing a loved one in the dream, as in 'Awdl y Breuddwyd'. Using the dream as a framework, the poet is able to convey the feelings of the dreamer/lover in all these different scenarios related to love. The dream is also competent in conveying the emotions in poems with other themes, such as mourning, as in 'Breuddwyd Gwalchmai', or praise, as in 'I Syr Hywel y Fwyall'. Less world-building is perceived in the medieval Welsh dream poems discussed in the chapter, as they often do not recount a complete narrative involving the dream; yet this does not deter us from appreciating the agility and flexibility of 'breuddwyd' as a narrative device.

The last chapter of this study discusses prose and poetry together in the context of medieval Welsh religious literature. Unlike the secular literature, medieval religious texts need to be placed and examined within the broader literary tradition of the Christian literature of medieval western Europe, where maturely established genres with relatively fixed patterns of presentation were already in place in Latin by the beginning of the twelfth century. Our discussions in Chapter 4 have demonstrated that when composing in Welsh or translating into Welsh, medieval writers of religious works were inclined to follow these patterns and work within the genres already developed in Christian literature in Latin. Dreams are found in medieval Welsh religious writings which may be attributed to two established genres in medieval Latin: hagiography (including its variant anti-hagiography), and 'vision' (including its two sub-genres—the apocalyptic and the mystic). Regardless of the variety in form of the presentation, the main function of dreams in such narratives is

to convey the theological message determined by the purpose of the text and required by the norm of its genre. In hagiography, a dream can appear at different stages of the life of the saint, and can occur to a parent of the saint, to the saint himself, or to someone else whom the saint encounters. The message that the dream delivers is always the same: it is to highlight the sanctity of the character; or in anti-hagiography it emphasises the wickedness of the villain. In the apocalyptic vision of *Breuddwyd Pawl*, the world-building activity of the dream plays an essential part in supplying details concerning Hell, enabling the reader to envisage the horrors of the punishments in Hell, and thus achieve the aim of educating individuals to avoid leading a sinful life in this world. *Ymborth yr Enaid* is exceptional and more complex in nature than the other texts discussed in this chapter, yet it may still be regarded as a mystic vision. The dreams in *Ymborth yr Enaid* are best understood in the context of the medieval Christian mystical tradition, in which the purpose of recounting the mystical dream experience is not only to make the content of such unique experience accessible to others via narration, but also to exemplify what could possibly be expected by following a certain carefully chosen path of self improvement, thus encouraging individuals to emulate the successful practices of the visionary in the text.

We conclude, therefore, that texts narrating a *breuddwyd* do not constitute a single specific genre; instead, the texts that we have discussed in this thesis belong to a variety of different genres. When the corpus of medieval Welsh dream narratives is examined in relation to the genres of the individual texts, the dreams demonstrate a wide range of capacities relating to plot formation, world-building, liminality and the blurring of the boundaries between 'reality' and fiction. The dreams also demonstrate an amazing flexibility in adapting to a variety of different narrative

purposes and themes, from entertaining to edifying, from satirising to praising, from expressing the most worldly love to reflecting the most spiritual religious devotion. The dreams frequently offer the reader an opportunity to step into an unfamiliar world, where almost nothing is impossible, enabling us to see, hear, and feel alongside the dreamer in the narrative, and making an otherwise private experience publicly accessible, sometimes even expecting the reader to contribute in order to make the experience complete. Perhaps this is why medieval Welsh dream narratives still intrigue readers of the present day, so many centuries after they were first written.

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APPENDIX I: A TRANSCRIPTION OF THE

LLANSTEPHAN 28 AND CARDIFF 3.4 TEXTS OF

BREUDDWYD GRONW DDU

Llanstephan 28, pp. 222-223

The text begins from line 1, with an additional caption line on the top of the page

[p. 222]

(00) Llyma vrrevddwyd grono ddu ...

(01) Llyma vrrevddwyd Grono ddv o Von ac val

(02) hynn yr ym ddangoses yr ysbryd iddo yn i gwsc

(03) Myvi a bair tervyn gelyn gilmant gwr

(04) llydan i gledd balch i vonedd kynydd karant

(05) addaw i oresgyn saesson trychion trechaf a

(06) neirf llebad[1] bob ddav i gwasgarant arglw-

(07) yth heb y Gronw pa bydd wydd hynny pan

(08) ddel llynges o iwerddon a dav ymyrwael

(09) ddynion kymrv a gwyddyl ai eiddilion a

(10) ddaw i ynnill yn wir tir peryddon yna

(11) y dywaid y dewinion gwynn i vyd gymrv

(12) gwae hwynt saeson arglwyth heb yntev

---

[1] Read as 'llefad'?

(13) pabryd vydd hynny pan ddel hael o hil

(14) lywelyn ai vryd ar ddeifyr oresgyn ai va-

(15) ner yn goch ac yn velyn ef pioydd yr

(16) wir tir tervyn kynvyn arglwyth heb yn-

(17) tav pa bryd vydd hynny pan ddel henri

(18) vrenyn i ryveddv ar glawr tair gaw

(19) _in. kymro taleithioc vrennioc vrenin a

(20) __ry y mysc i werin llydan i gledd pell

(21) dervyn gwenwynawc lidiawc yn lladd i

(22) elyn arglwydd heb yntev pa bryd vydd hynny

(23) pan vo ar loygyr ddirvawr ddygnv ac ym-

(24) laen kad kavawd orddv ydaw i loygyr

(25) ledan dan o bob tv arrai o honvnt i hvn

(26) yn i llwyr lygrv arglwyth heb yntev

(27) pa bryd vydd hynny pan vo yr gwyr

[p. 223]

(01) gallioc ar gwragedd yn griboc ai mey-

(02) bion yn ysgwyddocac ysgafn seigiav

(03) ac ysgar beyvmith a chlod am bech__

(04) a chler yn waglaw a diffaith vyinw__

(05) edd a sseithuc ac ddelwav ar bry __

(06) kodi ar tonnav yn gostwng arrew ai____

(07) roedd ar havl yn koegi ac arver o ar___

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(08) hirion ac arver o waed a brothon da_

(09) draed a brithvyd kyflawndrist achroc

(10) wr a chlefri ar arian a bryd ai ddilla__

(11) a kradoc gyvillach affennav a chwydd a

(12) marvolaeth heb gwyn ac velly y tervynna

(13) brevddwyd gronw ddv o von

(14) Bid o weddeles yn weddilion

(15) Bid frwythoc a vall

(16) Bid ball ar saysson saysson

(17) B___y ar grwydyr gwedi brwyddyr vrrion

(18) Bid fi yn rrychor ynghor yngylion

(19) B___ol yn osvo th ar arch ynghyvyon

(20) Bid ef ddygwyn addwyn gylynion

(21) Bid yno gymro yn kynired alltndion[2]

Cardiff 3.4, p. 232-233, the text of *Breuddwyd Gronw Ddu* begins on line 10

[p. 232]

(10)   Breuddwyd gronnw ddu o voon

(11)   yw hwn

(12) Val hyn j dangoses yr|ystryd jddo yn|i|gwsc / myvi|a|bair tervyn gelyn

(13) gylbant gwr llydann j gledd balch j vonnedd kyvedd kariad addaw j

(14) osdwng Saysson trychion aneirrif / kant bobddaw j gwasgarant // arglw-

---

[2] Read as 'alltudion'.

(15) ydd heb|yr gronnw pa|bryd j bydd hynny // pan|ddel llyngges o|iwerddon

(16) a daw ryw ymravelddynion // kymru a gwyddyl dieddilion a|ddaw j yaill

(17) yn|wir tiir peryddon // ynna dywaid y derwinion gwyn|i|vyd kymrv gwae

(18) y Saysson // Arglwydd heb|yr Gronw pa|bryd vydd hynny // pann

(19) ddel hael o hiil lywelyn ai vryd ar ddeivyr oresgyn ai vanner yn

(20) goch ac yn|velyn // ef biau vydd yn wiir tiir teeyrn kynvyn //

(21) pa|bryd vydd hynny arglwyd heb|r Gronnw // pan ddel henrri

(22) Vreiniawc Vrenin j reyveddu ar glawr j trichawr hin // kymro

(23) talerthioc Vreinoc Vrenin. j warre ymysc j werin // llydan i

gledd

[p. 233]

(01) peell j ~~voned~~ dervyn gwennwynnoc llidioc yn lladd i elyn // Pa|bryd

(02) bydd hynny heb|r gronnw / pan|vo ar loygyr ddirvawr ddygav // ac ym-

(03) laen kaad kavad oyrddu / y daw i llygyr lydan dan o bob|tv // a hrai

(04) o honnvnt j hun yw llwyr lygrv // Pa amser vydd hynny // pan vo

(05) gwr gwallioc a|r gwragedd yn gribok a|r meibion yn|ysgelloc ac ysgavyn

(06) Seigiav / acsgar beunnudd / a chlod am bechod / a chler yn waglaw / a

(07) diffaith vynnwenoydd / A devyni ar ddelwav // Ar breinie yn kdi //

(08) Ar tonnav yn gosdwng // Ar hrew ar ddyvredd // ar haul yn koygi // Ar

(09) arvav yn hirion // ac arver o|wayd y Bryddon dan drayd // A brithvyd

(10) kyvlawn|drist a chrogi yr avr j a chleuryd ar yr arian / A bryd ar ddi-

(11) llad // a bradoc kyveillach a ffen a|chwyn a marvolayth heb gwyn

(12) a drvd heb newyn

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APPENDIX II: AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 'YR HUN FELYS' AND 'AWDL Y BREUDDWYD'

'Yr Hun Felys'

1   Good night to the peaceful starry night,

2   Last night, I know it without concealment;

3   And a hundred more good nights,

4   And the bed that deserves it fairly.

5   After sleeplessness, it is said,

6   In it I had a long sleep,

7   Seeing my narrow-browed maiden

8   In my sleep, she had me.

9   And my dear one with me,

10   Where there was fewer than two;

11   Snugly cuddled arms woven together,

12   Brows close, the occasion was great:

13   I was blessed, Gwen knew me,

14   During the night my maiden turning

15   From one hand, to console a blind one

16   For the one the colour of snow, to the other hand. –

17   O Mary! How fair a maiden,

18   That was such a gentle burden on the arm!

19   Simeon did a guileless thing,

20   That he carried his God in his embrace.

21   I had, like the righteous man,

22   Embraced the fair Golden one with the same colour as the wave;

23   My loved one through bliss there,

24   Slender Olwen, between my hands!

25   If I should venture to ask for heaven,

26   My heaven would be to see my maiden:

27   It was more tiresome and more frustrating than before,

28   To wake up after that.

29   And a maiden has enchanted me,

30   Day came to be but she was not mine:

31   Only that which befell was cold,

32   I would not sleep while I am alive.

33   I was given, extremely good occurrence,

34   A golden sleep about my slender beloved one:

35   Sleep from heaven above, I call it an honour,

36   Sleep of my life, it afflicts me.

37   O God! Even if there were not two persons,

38   Will I ever have such sleep again?

39   There was in a bed, a small person

40   Like sweet wine, a sweeter sleep.

41   The Sleep of Paul the Apostle was sweet,

42   This was sweeter by half;

43   Sleep of the seven sleepers,

44   Sleep of Melwas under the blue cloak;

45   A man would not have, delivered from suffering,

46   A better little sleep in all of Christendom;

47   Sleep of John was my aim,

48   When he put his head on Jesus!

49   Saint Rhystud, some period of love,[508]

50   And his knees on the glade,

51   And his head on Dwynwen for a while,

52   He slept for the longest in the world—

53   I was saddened where I was woken by force,

54   I am sad that my sleep could not be longer.

'Awdl y Breuddwyd'

1   I saw in my sleep, not Rhun, not Rhôn,

---

[508] Lines 49-52 seems to indicate that the two saints had a relationship as lovers. Baring-Gould noticed the oddity with the content of these lines: 'he couples her with S. Rhystud. Though obscurely, he seems to refer to a genuine tradition of a "love affair"'. See Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fischer, *The Lives of the British Saints*, vol.4 (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1913), p. 117, footnote 3. Perhaps there was a legend of the relationship between the two saints in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but it has certainly not been preserved.

2 A desire for sorrow through the magic of Gwydion,

3 A splendid valley of the lightning-fast setting off of poets who receive shelter,

4 Above a foam-covered lake and a great river.

5 And big woods, the cause of death to the jealous ones,

6 And a prime land with pale streams flowing,

7 And an extraordinary and splendid castle, fearless, on pleasant fields,

8 Under the big mountain there were fine fresh forests.

9 And a pavilion, and everyone in harmony,

10 And candles, and maidens,

11 And a tent, as I understand it, for my noblemen—it was excellent,

12 Lattice-like layers of three sorts of golden colours.

13 And a beautiful girl, an adversary with modest responses,

14 And a loose and white mantle, its edge blue,

15 And gifts of dignity of distinguished purple attire,

16 And one who has a grand mansion and suitable banners.

17 And in the beautiful form of a maiden of harmonious remembrances,

18 A beautiful woman with white flesh the colour of the blossom of clove flowers,

19   And her forehead beneficial and vivacious, the likeness of berries—at Epiphany,

20   The best of her fairness to strangers is her discretion.

21   And above the complete authority and the light of her black eyes,

22   The noble liveliness of thin eyebrows

23   In a face as bright as that of the fighting enemies in a battle

24   [And] in a [head]dress crafted with gold, worthiness of the rosy cheek.

25   And irreproachable speech, a full measure of learning

26   From around the teeth, elegant their shape and white,

27   The noble men in Anglesey will grieve for me, if I am lost [from this world]

28   Because of the girl with her long neck, slender and tall, a queen.

29   And proportionate growth, solid, quiet,

30   Lady of praise, maidenly like Rhiannon,

31   And fingers tender, long—and her whiteness

32   Is like [the brilliance of] noble ladies.

33   All around the castle of my darling, a spear of bitter pain,

34   The number of men contending was numerous as the stars,

35   With the great noise of the commotion of warriors—from hostile land,

36   [And] the bellowing of horses ready for war and knights.

37   When I woke up, under the oppression of men in love,

38   I was a second Cynog, or a second Cynon

39   Because of Morfudd, great was her hinderance of the requests of desire,

40   Daughter of Urien Rheged, with his granting of horses.

41   Your enemy will be a watcher of pain,

42   A wealthy praised one who gives gifts,

43   I will praise, I will deliver unhindered expressions,

44   Bright poetry with the eloquence of Aron.

45   The fatigued host of Cynddelw, defender of beautiful things,

 46   Improved the instructions of learnings of disciples,

47   Llywarch was brilliant in his renown, [like] the flow of [River] Daron, when he sang

48   The eulogy of Gwenllian of Gaerllion.

49   Dreams are a modest intention/exercise of mind.

50   I saw as geese, circles of chalk,

51   With the gazes of my young salmon's eyes—that of drunkards,

52   Gathering anxiety and care.

53   After such pain as the tough unwise ones brough about,

54   Outside my sleep, alas! The one with the liveliness of good weather,

55   Alas! the one with the appearance of foam on a lake, the flow of a wild river,

56   Because of anxiety about the vengeance of God and people.

57   If Daniel the wise were alive, in accordance with my humanly utterance,

58   Prophet, whose [words] were taught to scholars,

59   He could produce a far-reaching interpretation of the land of Gwydion,

60   If it were someone less [than Daniel], he would not master more than Modron.

61   May it be He, Lord of Heaven, King of virgins,

62   Chief, Author of poetry and learning,

63   Sweet Creator, Giver of gifts of happiness,

64   Who shall be the interpreter of [the meaning of the dream of] the chaste maiden.

APPENDIX III: AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF

YMBORTH YR ENAID, SECTION III.III

[English translation by Iestyn Daniel, source text: Iestyn Daniel, ed., *Ymborth yr Enaid* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), pp. 23-26.]

Since it is from the divine fondly affectionate love of the Holy Spirit that the said Spirit grants the spiritual visions in the trances and ecstasies which may come from that affectionate love, let it be know now in what form they may come.

And first, when you wish them to come, make sure that you are sinless by your believing in the right faith of the Holy Catholic Church; and that you have full hope in the Creator, meriting it from him through your meritorious pious deeds, and true love of God and of your neighbour.

And reject vices and practice the potent virtues, and prepare and dispose yourself in your bed after matins, or after midnight, following the first sleep or both, having made sure that your nature is in a restful and relaxed state, unaffected by any great excess or great need.

And then, with true love and full will of your heart think earnestly of the great beauty of the divine loving son mentioned above, and imagine that he is between your arms and you between his arms caressing and loving him, firmly believing and trusting therein.

And then, by praying to him, call lovingly on the Holy Spirit by saying this hymn of the Holy Spirit, making your heart carol, or dance, to him with all its willed affectionate love.

Come, Spirit, holy Creator of the world, excellent Lord of ages,
To our hearts and breasts, privileged Elder.
Visit our minds, change our intention, fine and fair Defender,
Fill us with your grace and love, valiant Adam.
Your are our fair tower and our comforter, the most comforting,
Fount of living grace, gift of God the Father, from the highest region,
Fire of love, affection and holiness, most excellent holy temple.
Finger of God's right hand, wise words, brilliant shelter,
Sevenfold gifts of seven kinds, most heavenly blessing,
Who gives us readily powerful, gentle speech.
Kindle light for us, Lord, bright hue of summer sun,
Affectionate songs for our senses, loveliest affection;
Strengthen the weakness of our vile flesh, vilest covering,
Fortify us against arrogance by boldest strength.
Drive afar the enemy from every man, hurt of men.
Grant us peace joyously from the course of riches,

So that we may avoid every deception, worst change,
Every harm and every evil, most valiant hero.
Grant us to know the Father through you, most divine happening,
And the blessed Son, thou Holy Spirit most spiritual.
Great praise be to the glorious Father, gentlest might,
Unstinted praise to Mary's only son, fairest maiden;
And may the son of the Lord of Christendom, greatest creator,
Send us the loving fire of the Holy Spirit, dearest perl. Amen

And then strive to love the blessed Son with all your strength just as if he were physically between your arms, until you feel, from the power of that affectionate love, a sweet tingling in the nerves and veins, and along the whole flesh, and in the throat like draughts from the honeycomb of a first swarm of bees, and in the heart as playing of delightful love causing it, as it were, to sweetly carol or sweetly dance from the power of that sweet affectionate love's delightfulness.

And then know that it is the small sparks of the Holy Spirit mentioned above as scattering forth from the protrusion of the lips of the sacred Son that are entering your throat and breast, and that it is the fine dew of the Holy Spirit mentioned above as billowing like small tears from his brown eyes that are entering your heart. And abandon yourself increasingly to that sweet love by diligently and tenaciously caressing the dear son: although it be presumptious for anyone to entertain caressing him, yet remember that his affectionate mercy's delighting to caress you so as to love you is greater than your ability to entertain caressing and loving him.

And then remember clearly that your mind does not turn to anything fleshly or to anything other than itself. And then as steadfastly as you can call upon these mystical names by worshipping them with true affection in your mind and believing in their power: Messias + Sother + Emanuel + Tetragramaton + Sabaoth + Adonai + Alpha + & O + Agios + Amen Alleluia +. And with diligence and tenacity by calling lovingly on those dear names, abandon yourself again with greater effort to the affectionate love of the heavenly son, until you smell around you the pleasant and sweet scents of incense filling the whole sense of your nostrils and your whole soul with the delight of that savour.

And then know that his spiritual breath has approached you, until you know that he is physicaly with you although you do not see him.

And then diligently and tenaciously invoke the names with all your will until there falls on you suddenly frequent raptures without which you would not wish the wealth of the whole world.

And then – unless you cannot, because of excessive affectionate love, call on all the names – call always on this blessed name: Jesus, only son of the Virgin Mary.

And then, if you hear certain delightful, sweet, melodious chants, know that it is his angels who are singing them. And if you see a certain brilliantly white cloud suddenly filling your whole gaze and your whole heart – swiftly shining like lightening – with the noble love of eternal life, know that it is he himself who is there in jubilant spiritual incarnation.

And then diligently and tenaciously invoke + Jesus + only son of the Virgin Mary, until there falls on you a sweet trance, delightful and lovely, from the frequent ecstasies previously mentioned.

And then, if you see in that trance something like another one which is sweeter and gentler than the first coming to you, know that you are outside of your flesh and in a twofold spiritual trance.

And then if, because of the delightfulness of that trance, you remember, call with loving intent on + Jesus + in your mind, although you cannot utter it.

And then, if you see, as you suppose, that you are having in that trance another one, threefold, which is sweeter and gentler than the other ones, then abandon yourself altogether to the spirit, and the vision which you see in that one will be genuine. For it comes from the Holy Spirit. And there is no need to express it to anyone except confidentially to a fellow religious, nor boast about it in case it does not return. And that trance is called a *victorious trance*: for it is victory to experience it, and victorious is whoever experiences it. The best time you should seek it is on Saturday, after midnight assiduously till daytime, or between night and day, after you have prepared yourself previously by fasting and prayer on Friday and Saturday, and by holy confession devoted yourself to the blessed Trinity from heaven.

And then, on that day, namely Sunday, receive the Communion of the body of Christ. And that night, by the honour of the Trinity and by the power and miracles of the body of Christ, you will perhaps have another trance sweeter than that one and a vision which may be more perfect.

And then, thank the Trinity by saying these words:

> May glorious praise be sung as a paean
>   To the Trinity, oneness of single divinity;
> May great jubilation be accounted to them together:
>   Father and Son, Spirit of warm brightness.