



Enchantment, Treasures and the Otherworld in the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi*

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Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

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Abbreviations

CMT - *Cath Maige Tuired*

CO - *Culhwch ac Olwen*

GG - `Golychaf-i Gulwyd`

GPC - *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* – Dictionary of the Welsh Language

KG - `Kat Godeu`

KK - `Kadeir Kerrituen`

PA - `Preiddeu Annwfn`

PKM - *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*

PM - *Pedwar Marchog Ar Hugain Llys Arthur*

RB - *Llyfr Coch Hergest*

TYP - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*

TT – *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg Ynys Prydein*

WB - *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*

Abstract

This thesis examines the distribution and types of enchantments found in the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi*. The synchronic use of enchantment within the landscape, animal transformation and the use of natural magic is analysed – in particular, the role of natural magic to aid conjuring in *Math*. Alongside the discussion on enchantment is an analysis of the types and distribution of magical objects which demonstrates the purpose of these items in the Four Branches. This thesis discusses the synchronic themes of objects across the separate tales with reflections of medieval Welsh law; descriptions of magic attributes of objects rather than their appearance and the use of wands in transformative enchantment. The development from earlier, and influence upon later, Welsh literary material is considered alongside possible influences from contemporary medieval Irish materials.

There were widespread beliefs in magic during the middle-ages that were recorded in treatise by churchmen such as Isidore of Seville, or the scholarly works of the universities. Textual analysis of these has demonstrated that until the thirteenth century, many elite-writers believed that the origin of magical power was demonic influence. The thirteenth-century texts add a belief that the occult properties of natural objects could influence magical actions. This thesis examines whether these two forms of magical influence are demonstrated in the magical actions described in the Four Branches, or if there are survivals of older, native beliefs of the Otherworld suggested through the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* and other medieval Welsh and Irish literary tales.

Introduction

This thesis is not intended to further the Nativist or Anti-Nativist debate of the origins of the *Mabinogi*. The intent is to describe medieval Welsh societies` belief in magic as it is portrayed in the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi* (PKM) and to compare these beliefs to that of contemporary neighbouring countries. This thesis describes broad concepts of twelfth and thirteenth-century magical beliefs from western continental Europe, as recorded by religious and university writers, rather than describing specific continental countries. Specific examples from Irish literature are included due to the similarities with the Welsh literary tradition. This study utilises the `spectrum` approach of textual analysis as developed by Boyd and Ó Cathasaigh in the study of medieval Irish materials. A diachronic approach is taken in the study of keywords such as *hud* and *lledrith*. However, the focus is upon the textual application of the magical themes within PKM. There is also identification where these themes may have developed from earlier literary traditions in Wales alongside possible Irish literary influence but space limits the analysis of this. This thesis will demonstrate that through the use of magical motifs certain themes, actions, characters or events are emphasised to demonstrate their importance to PKM through the method of vertical structuring. Chapter One provides a historiography of the study of the *Mabinogi* as well as a summary of the current arguments surrounding the research of magical belief. Chapter Two analyses enchantment; by which is meant the use of spells, the possession of supernatural attributes and geographical locations with magical qualities. Chapter Three will consider whether patterns are discernible in the way treasures are described and for what purpose, or purposes, such items are utilised. The use of the word `treasures` refers to its exempla in *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg Ynys Prydein*. The use, or origins, of treasures and enchantments that may be linked to the Otherworld (Annwfn) is discussed together with some potential Christian-influences in Chapter Four.

Chapter 1 - Literary Review

The *Mabinogi* survives in manuscript form in two sources: *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (WB) and *Llyfr Coch Hergest* (RB). These redactions of the *Mabinogi* are dated to the mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries but it is generally accepted that the original compositions of the Four Branches (PKM) date from a period between the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.¹ The *Mabinogi* was introduced to a wider, post-medieval audience through its publication via Lady Charlotte Guess who translated the texts into English between 1838-49.² Since its original printing in the nineteenth century, the tales of the *Mabinogi* have received numerous publications and translations in print, electronic and television media. This thesis, unless indicated otherwise, utilises the 2007 translated edition by Sioned Davies and the electronic versions of the WB and RB MSS located on the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* website.³

The *Mabinogi* has a clear historiographic tradition that can be broadly divided into two chronological stages: Nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century study approximately followed the Nativist stance, whereas from the 1970s academic study has broadly followed an Anti-Nativist or literary critical stance. More recent scholarship tends to view the texts in a broader context that removes itself from polarised positions and instead separately considers composition and transmission as well as purpose. This places areas of study along a `spectrum` of Nativist to Anti-Nativist.⁴ This thesis does not intend to

¹ R. Bromwich (ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Fourth edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. xvi-xxv; W. Parker, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Bardic Press, 2005), pp. 5-6

² S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. ix

³ This thesis, due to space constraints, differentiates between the WB and RB versions of the *Mabinogi* only in its examination of the thematic phrase: *hud a'r lledrith* – see Table 1 and Table 2.

⁴ Tomas Ó Cathasaigh, Matthieu Boyd (ed.), *Coire Sois – The Cauldron of Knowledge – A Companion to Early Irish Sagas* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), p. 3

recreate a binary stance. It will instead focus on a spectrum approach as this lends itself to a more careful analysis of the texts without having to defend a body of thought that may limit its study.

Early study of the *Mabinogi* attempted to identify its origins and create comparisons to other Celtic literature – particularly Irish works such as the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*. Between the 1930s and late 1950s, W. J. Gruffydd created the exempla of what Bollard and Mac Cana referred to as the diachronic approach.⁵ Gruffydd argued that PKM was the survival of a lost cycle of Welsh tales centred around Pryderi – the only character to appear in all four branches. These original tales were then influenced, and supplanted, by other later Welsh traditions centred on the Children of Llŷr and the Children of Dôn that comprise the tales of *Branwen* and *Math*. The adaption of the ‘lost cycle’ reached its peak with the redaction of the *Mabinogi*. Gruffydd’s argument was based on the existence of oblique references and similar stories found in *Cynfeirdd* material such as that of Taliesin; in particular, the poem ‘Preiddeu Annwfn’. He also identified the use of international story-motifs, based upon Stith-Thompson’s Motif Index, within PKM as evidence not just of the ‘lost cycle’ but also development from Indo-European origins.⁶

Kenneth Jackson developed the concept of the international story-motif within PKM which he saw as weakly executed by the author. Jackson identified twenty-six

⁵ J. K. Bolland, ‘The Role of Myth and Tradition in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 6: (1983), p. 71; P. Mac Cana, *The Mabinogi* (Welsh Arts Council, 1977), pp. 28-9

⁶ W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy – An Inquiry into the Origins and Development of the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1928); W. J. Gruffydd, *Rhiannon – An Inquiry into the Origins of the First and Third Branch of the Mabinogi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953); W. J. Gruffydd, *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958)

international motifs⁷ as well as establishing the concept of Celtic story-motifs that united themes across Gaelic and Welsh tales. In this area, Jackson argued that there were six such Celtic motifs within the *Mabinogi*.⁸ Despite the author's alleged poor use of the motifs, Jackson developed Gruffydd's argument that the existence of the international motifs suggested an earlier origin for the tales in a pre-Christian context.⁹ Andrew Welsh later revised Jackson's identifications and proposed that the *Mabinogi* contained 190 international motifs together with forty Celtic variants.¹⁰ However, Welsh suggested that the motifs formed a thematic framework based on international transmission rather than a survival of pre-Christian origins. Throughout this thesis, the thematic concept as proposed by Welsh in relation to the international and Celtic motifs is the stance that is preferred for reasons that are outlined in the succeeding chapters.

Nativist study of the *Mabinogi*, as found in the works of Gruffydd, Jackson and Ifor Williams, argued that several characters had origins as pre-Christian deities. Gruffydd presented a strong case for the euhemerisation of Rhiannon from the pagan deities, Rigantona and Epona that led to her transformation into a sovereignty goddess of Dyfed.¹¹ This was comparable with his contemporaries' studies in Irish literature and the acceptance of the Túatha Dé Danaan as euhemerisations of pre-Christian deities.¹² This became a scholarly orthodoxy for much of the twentieth century with repetition of the concept found amongst scholars such as Bromwich in her overview of Welsh names located within her work on the Triads. However, Bromwich was careful to identify

⁷ K. Jackson, 'Some Popular Motifs in Early Welsh Tradition' in A. Welsh, 'The Traditional Narrative Motifs of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 15 (Winter): (1988), p. 52

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 52

⁹ K. Jackson, 'Some Popular Motifs in Early Welsh Tradition' in J. K. Bolland, *The Role of Myth and Tradition*, p. 72

¹⁰ A. Welsh, *The Traditional Narrative Motifs*, p. 54

¹¹ W. J. Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*

¹² W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, p. 20

possible problems with these arguments.¹³ Recent works by Hutton and Hemming have exposed the weaknesses in the evidence of euhemerisation of *Mabinogi* characters.¹⁴ Hemming in particular argues that the existence in a small number of cases such as Dôn and Lleu are possible due to their cognates with the Irish Danu and Lugh but previously more accepted euhemerised characters such as Aranrhod and Manawydan are less likely due to a lack, or weakness, of epigraphic or etymological evidence.¹⁵ This thesis does not focus on possible euhemerisation of pre-Christian deities. It will discuss the thematic actions or ownership of treasures by characters in a developing medieval Welsh literary tradition alongside possible external and earlier influences.

Gruffydd's arguments, although persuasive, contained flaws that were seized upon in the 1970s. At this time scholarly debate began to question Nativist arguments and developed what would become Anti-Nativist views. Bolland postulated that the *Mabinogi* should be studied for its own sake as a literary text rather than in an attempt to discover its origins. As Bolland stated, `we have led ourselves into some unclear or perhaps even fallacious thinking'.¹⁶ In his 1983 paper Bolland argued for a synchronic approach to the *Mabinogi* where themes, concepts and actions may be seen throughout PKM – a process known as thematic interlace narrative or vertical structuring.¹⁷ The central argument is that key points may be repeated across the four branches to emphasise their importance. For example, the marriage of Rhiannon and the subsequent granting of the rule of Dyfed first

¹³ R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 271-517

¹⁴ R. Hutton, `Medieval Welsh Literature and Pre-Christian Deities', *Cambrion Medieval Celtic Studies*, 61: (2011), pp. 57-87; J. Hemming, `Ancient Tradition or Authorial Invention? The "Mythological" Names in the Four Branches` in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Myth in Celtic Literatures* (Four Courts Press, 2007)

¹⁵ J. Hemming, *Ancient Tradition*, pp. 98-103

¹⁶ J. K. Bolland, *The Role of Myth and Tradition*, p. 71

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 69; W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, p. 84

occurs in *Pwyll* but the same theme is repeated in *Manawydan*.¹⁸ Welsh developed this concept with an analysis of *Math* that added the literary motif of doubling as a method of emphasising key points but not in the typical literary manner.¹⁹ Mac Cana argued against this approach suggesting that the *Mabinogi*, like many texts, developed over time with additions and redactions taking place which accounted for the repetition of actions and themes.²⁰ Mac Cana continued by arguing that Bollard understated the text's breaks and inconsistencies. Bollard regarded these as an infrequently occurrence which appeared where the tales did not fit the Nativist origin theories.²¹ Bollard argued that vertical structuring was evidence that one author was responsible for the compilation of the *Mabinogi* from a background of Welsh traditional tales. Bollard did not expand on this, leaving it for other scholars such as Breeze and Charles-Edwards to discuss.²²

The thematic approach to the *Mabinogi* developed and various scholars re-examined the text in order to identify possible themes. Gantz in 1978, soon after Bollard's first challenge to the Nativist arguments, saw the themes of Good versus Evil in the forms of goodwill, sacrifice, friendship and fairness versus treachery, greed, selfishness and betrayal.²³ McKenna during the early 1980s saw the *Mabinogi* as a princely educational text similar to Machiavelli's, *The Prince*. The themes of heroism, justice and fertility identified by McKenna were essential for a medieval ruler.²⁴ Bollard simplified the

¹⁸ S. Davies (trans.), *The Mabinogi*, pp. 15-16 and pp. 35-6. W. Parker in *The Four Branches* gives a comprehensive study of thematic interlace narrative and the various examples found within the *Mabinogi*, pp. 84-5.

¹⁹ A. Welsh, 'Doubling and Incest in the *Mabinogi*', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 15: (1988), pp. 51-62

²⁰ P. Mac Cana, *The Mabinogi*, p. 34

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 34-5; K. Bollard, *The Role of Myth and Tradition*, p. 73

²² K. Bollard, *The Role of Myth and Tradition*, p. 69; A. Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature* (Dublin, Portland OR: Four Courts Press, 1997); T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350-1064* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 651-680

²³ J. Gantz, 'Thematic Structure in the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi*' in A. Welsh, *Doubling and Incest*, p. 348

²⁴ C. McKenna, 'The Theme of Sovereignty in *Pwyll*' in A. Welsh, *Doubling and Incest*, p. 348

themes into Marriage, Friendship and Feud²⁵ which Roberts broadly agreed with in his thematic concept of Insult, Friendship and Shame.²⁶ Other thematic approaches to the *Mabinogi* also developed such as Valente's and Winward's emphasis on the challenge to, or reversal of, gender roles as exemplified by Gwydion, Aranrhod and Rhiannon.²⁷ The study of international motifs continued with the intent of supporting the idea of a thematic approach to the *Mabinogi* rather than to preserve the Nativist notion of pre-Christian origins.²⁸

In *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi = Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* – Davies returned to the diachronic approach of Gruffydd and Williams but combined this with synchronic study. Rather than forming a continuation of the Nativist arguments, Davies instead focused on a close reading of the text in order to identify linguistic and literary phrases contained in the *Mabinogi* and established how such phrases and structure were used to develop an audience expectation.²⁹ Davies represents a blending of the original approach of the *Mabinogi* scholars in a focus on the language but also utilising the literary critical skills of the contemporary academics of the early 1990s. Davies did raise an awareness that due to the linguistic and structural evidence, she found it doubtful that a single author was responsible for PKM.³⁰

²⁵ K. Bolland, *The Role of Myth and Tradition*, pp. 67-86

²⁶ B. F. Roberts, *Studies in Middle Welsh Literature* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. 81-94

²⁷ R. L. Valente, 'Gwydion and Aranrhod: Crossing the Border of Gender in *Math*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 35: (1988): pp. 1-9; F. Winward, 'Some Aspects of Women in the Four Branches', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 34: (1997), pp. 77-106

²⁸ A. Welsh, *The Traditional Narrative Motifs*; J. Wood, 'The Calumniated Wife in Medieval Welsh Literature', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 10: (1985), pp. 25-38

²⁹ S. Davies, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi = Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1993)

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 38

This thesis considers how the contemporary medieval audience may have perceived the magical actions, events or objects used within PKM. In order to do so current arguments of magical belief must be analysed. Valk states that -

In [the] late 20th century the interest declined because the category of magic seemed to lose its analytic value. Magic appeared as a vague, emic concept and scientifically oriented scholars, who preferred unambiguous and univocal definitions, found it uncomfortable to discuss it in their academic writings. Magical beliefs and practices were often overlooked in scholarship until the last decades when magic has again become a sound and valid topic of research.³¹

Arguments of magical belief may be divided into two categories depending upon the disciplinary stance of the researcher. Historical researchers such as Kieckhefer, Lawrence-Mathers, Escobar-Vargas and Borsje undertake textual analysis of the corpus of material. Psychologists and anthropologists seek to embed magical belief into psycho-analytical, cognitive or comparative studies.

From textual analysis Kieckhefer believes that medieval concepts of magic viewed the practice as a rational process that drew from two areas of origin: demonic intervention and natural magic within the natural order.³² These were not distinct and boundaries between the two could become blurred. Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas agree with Kieckhefer's arguments but expand on various actions that may be described as ritual rather than magical. This includes: astronomy, necromancy, *sortilegia* (use of Biblical texts as prophetic tools), *maleficia* (harmful magic), astral magic (involving the influence of planetary bodies) and finally *praestigia* (illusions or conjuring often involving demonic intervention).³³ Kieckhefer et al argue that natural magic – magic that uses the occult

³¹ Ülo Valk, 'Magic, Participation and Genre: Narrative Experiences of the Supernatural' in P. Espak, M. Läänemets, V. Sazonov (eds.), *When Gods Spoke: Researches and Reflections on Religious Phenomena and Artefacts* (University of Tartu Press, 2015), p. 417

³² R. Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *The American Historical Review*, 99 (3): (1994), pp. 816-820

³³ C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 31-3

properties of natural objects such as gems, plants and rocks - was considered less dangerous and was widely reported in *Mirabilia* such as that found within the *Historia Brittonum*.³⁴

The textual study of magical belief tends to follow Nativist arguments by attempting to identify pre-Christian practices. Borsje discusses the difficulty in using Christian texts to identify such activities, but suggests that texts discussing rejected beliefs may offer some help.³⁵ Watkins, in his 2004 paper, argues that study of what he terms `popular belief` is a blend of folkloric and Christian belief determined by local social and cultural demands. He stresses that stronger research should focus on contemporary beliefs rather than attempt to locate pre-Christian survivals.³⁶ Watkin`s stance is followed within this thesis focusing on PKM`s thematic use of enchantments and magical objects and what they may reveal about twelfth-century Welsh societies` magical beliefs rather than pre-Christian origins of such.

The psycho-anthropological approach focuses on the impact of magical belief upon individuals and societies. Parker in 2005 adopted a psycho-analytical approach to study of the *Mabinogi* and argued in favour of seeing PKM as a magical narrative. He argued that many of the tales revolved around a conscious versus sub-conscious conflict and that any irrational action or event must have a magical origin.³⁷ Parker continued the Nativist arguments of Gruffydd et al and proposed a pre-Christian origin for the *Mabinogi* that

³⁴ *Historia Brittonum*, Alex Woolf (trans.), [Online] Available: www.academia.edu <Accessed May 2016>, Chapter 66a – Chapter 76

³⁵ J. Borsje, `Celtic Spells and Counterspells` in Alexandra Bergholm, Ritari Katja (eds.), *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Pagan Past* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 21-9

³⁶ C. Watkins, “Folklore” and “Popular Religion” in Britain during the Middle Ages’, *Folklore*, 115 (2): (2004), pp. 140-150

³⁷ W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, pp. 103-127

had been consciously preserved by the author(s). Although persuasive, Parker's arguments struggle to convince on their ideas of pre-Christian survival. It supposes a long-term survival of pre-Roman beliefs and an extended tradition of these beliefs that survived mostly intact through the conversion process and almost 800 years of Christian worship. However, Parker's concept of irrational events stemming from magical action do support Bolland's arguments that breaks and inconsistencies in the text do not display a weakness in the authorship. Rather they are a deliberate act of the author(s) to emphasise a particular theme.

Valk's 2015 paper summarises the current argument of the psycho-anthropological approach by stating that magical belief, although prevalent in all human cultures and society, cannot be explained with universal theories.³⁸ Rather the individual culture or society must be examined in order to fully understand their beliefs. In this respect Valk is in agreement with Watkins that comparative study is not always beneficial. Valk argues that magical belief is part of a psychological need for either an individual or a community and suggests that magic is a community-created phenomena that is developed through the sharing of myths and tales that create verbal collectives of concepts that reinforce psychological expectations.³⁹ It is this stance, similar to Davies' work on literary phrases, that is most applicable to this thesis. Did the *Mabinogi* create an expectation of magical events within the medieval audience by using similar events, language or actions through an application of interlaced narrative?

³⁸ Ü. Valk, *Magic, Participation and Genre*, p. 417

³⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 423-4

In summary, it is apparent that the *Mabinogi* has had considerable historiographic developments over its period of academic study which has broadly followed scholarly debate in other fields of Celtic Studies such as study of the *Immrama*. Beginning with a Nativist attempt at locating pre-Christian origins, the academic focus has changed to a textual analysis focusing on the importance of themes in the text. Throughout this study, the use of international story motifs has been used to support one viewpoint or the other. It is important to note that despite being no longer fully accepted within academic circles, the Nativist stance that the *Mabinogi* is a survival of pre-Christian tales is still a predominate one that is featured in encyclopaedia and websites as well as some academic works such as that of Parker.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ BBC, *The Mabinogion* [Online], Available: http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/society/myths_mabinogion.shtml <Accessed July 2016>; Mary Jones, *Celtic Literature Collection and Jones's Celtic Encyclopaedia* [Online] Available: <http://www.maryjones.us/> <Accessed May 2016>; J. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopaedia* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2006); W. Parker, *The Four Branches*

Chapter Two - Enchantments

The *Mabinogi* is a text suffused with magic, supernatural events and actions. A large proportion of this is in the form of enchantments here defined as the use of spells, or either the personal or geographical possession of supernatural attributes. This chapter discusses the types and purposes of enchantments found within PKM and analyses three themes to illustrate the complexity of magical belief: magic in the landscape, use of the occult properties of plants, and transformative enchantment. It will consider who uses enchantments and if there are any patterns to be found and concludes with a consideration of whether these themes are part of an existing tradition within Welsh medieval literature, or is an innovation made by the *Mabinogi*'s author(s). This study of medieval Welsh magical belief within PKM is placed within the context of two central current scholarly theories: Kieckhefer's ideas of rational magic, and Valk's arguments regarding magical belief as a linguistic construction.

Kieckhefer argues that magic may be divided into two areas: demonic intervention and natural magic.⁴¹ Demonic intervention was believed to be the predominant cause of magic until the thirteenth century when natural magic, considered by some medieval contemporaries to be part of the natural sciences rather than magic, began to influence concepts of magical practice.⁴² PKM is recorded in a written form in a period when texts discussing magic were on the rise in universities across Europe. These texts comprised

⁴¹ See C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 31-3 for a discussion of the typologies of magic believed to exist in the Middle Ages.

⁴² R. Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *The American Historical Review*, 99 (3): (1994), p. 817; See C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 27-37 and R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Canto Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Chapter 2 for a discussion of the place of natural magic within the natural sciences.

either examples of magical spells or treatise regarding the origins of magic. Texts from the thirteenth-century included uses of natural magic.⁴³ Natural magic, as defined by Kieckhefer, utilises the occult properties of natural objects such as plants, stones and gems.⁴⁴ Demonic intervention seems not to be widely evident in the *Mabinogi* placing it at odds with twelfth-century magical theory.

Valk in his 2015 paper argues that magical belief is created by the language of the society it exists in. Moving aside from Kieckhefer's textual analysis and embracing the psycho-anthropological stance of his own discipline, Valk argues that the language used by the society to describe magic creates a psychological framework. When certain language is used, it fulfils the cognitive belief that the events described are 'magical'.⁴⁵ This diachronic approach is key to understanding magical belief in PKM. The word 'magic' is a term that conveys multiple meanings and must be approached with caution. Kieckhefer notes that common medieval Latin terms for magic were: *magia / ars magia* or *supersticio*.⁴⁶ These terms had subtle differentiations with *magia / ars magia* describing more occult practices whereas *supersticio* often referred to more negative connotations and 'implied improper or irrational religious practice'.⁴⁷

As the *Mabinogi* is a vernacular Welsh text, it is important that the language utilised to describe magic is understood in the context of the material. Modern Welsh uses the words: *hud* or *lledrith* to describe magic or enchantment. Table 1 and Table 2 outlines

⁴³ C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 27-30; R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 2-8

⁴⁴ R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 12-13; C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 29-30

⁴⁵ Ülo Valk, 'Magic, Participation and Genre: Narrative Experiences of the Supernatural' in P. Espak, M. Läänemets, V. Sazonov (eds.), *When Gods Spoke: Researches and Reflections on Religious Phenomena and Artefacts* (University of Tartu Press, 2015), pp. 423-4

⁴⁶ R. Kieckhefer, *The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic*, p. 816

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 816

the analysis of the occurrence of these words, or spelling variants, within the WB and RB versions of PKM. This suggests that the meaning of the modern words have a Middle Welsh origin. Borsje highlights that vernacular words for magic often have a variety of meanings or intent behind them which appears to be reflected here.⁴⁸

Analysis of *hud* and *lledrith* within the Four Branches⁴⁹

Red text = total frequency of *hud* and *lledrith* or alternate spellings.

Blue text = occurrence of phrases twinning *hud* and *lledrith* or alternate spellings.

Table 1: NLW MS. Peniarth 4

Branch	Hud	Hut	Total Frequency	Lledrith	Lledrith	Lledryd	Lletmih	Total Frequency	Hut and Lledrith twinned phrase
Pwyll	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Branwen	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manawydan	0	6	6	1	0	0	1	2	2
Math	0	5	5	2	0	0	0	2	2

⁴⁸ J. Borsje, 'Celtic Spells and Counterspells' in Alexandra Bergholm, Ritari Katja (eds.), *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Pagan Past* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), p. 18

⁴⁹ See Appendix I for a summary of page references and vernacular sentences containing the keywords within the original MSS. *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425*, Diane Luft, Peter Wynn Thomas and D. Mark Smith (eds.), University of Cardiff [Online]

Available: <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk> <Accessed July 2016>

Table 2. Oxford Jesus College MS. 111

Branch	Hud	Hut	Total Frequency	Lledrith	Lledrith	Lledryd	Lletrith	Total Frequency	Hut and Lledrith twinned phrase
Pwyll	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Branwen	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manawydan	1	5	6	0	0	0	2	2	2
Math	0	6	6	0	0	0	2	2	2

Hud and derivatives are used more frequently to describe magical actions than *lledrith* and derivatives. This may be due to *hud* having a wider meaning of magic ranging from sorcery and spells to illusion and charm. *Hud* also contains negative connotations with parallel meanings of deception, deceitfulness and delusion. *Lledrith* has simpler meanings of magic: spell, charm or enchantment without negative implications.⁵⁰ *Manawydan* and *Math* include the only combination of *hud* and *lledrith* in the twinning phrase: *hud a/r lledrith* with similar usage between the Pen. 4 and the Oxford Jesus College MS.111 MSS with only a minor variance in spelling. This suggests that to the medieval audience, magic associated with *hud* had different implications and contexts whereas simpler magic-types associated with *lledrith* may only occur alongside *hud*-functioning enchantment. The wider occurrence of *hud* and *lledrith* in the final two Branches also parallels the greater variety of enchantments found in *Math* (see Figure 1d) and may suggest a shift in the medieval audiences' expectations of such practice or magical beliefs.

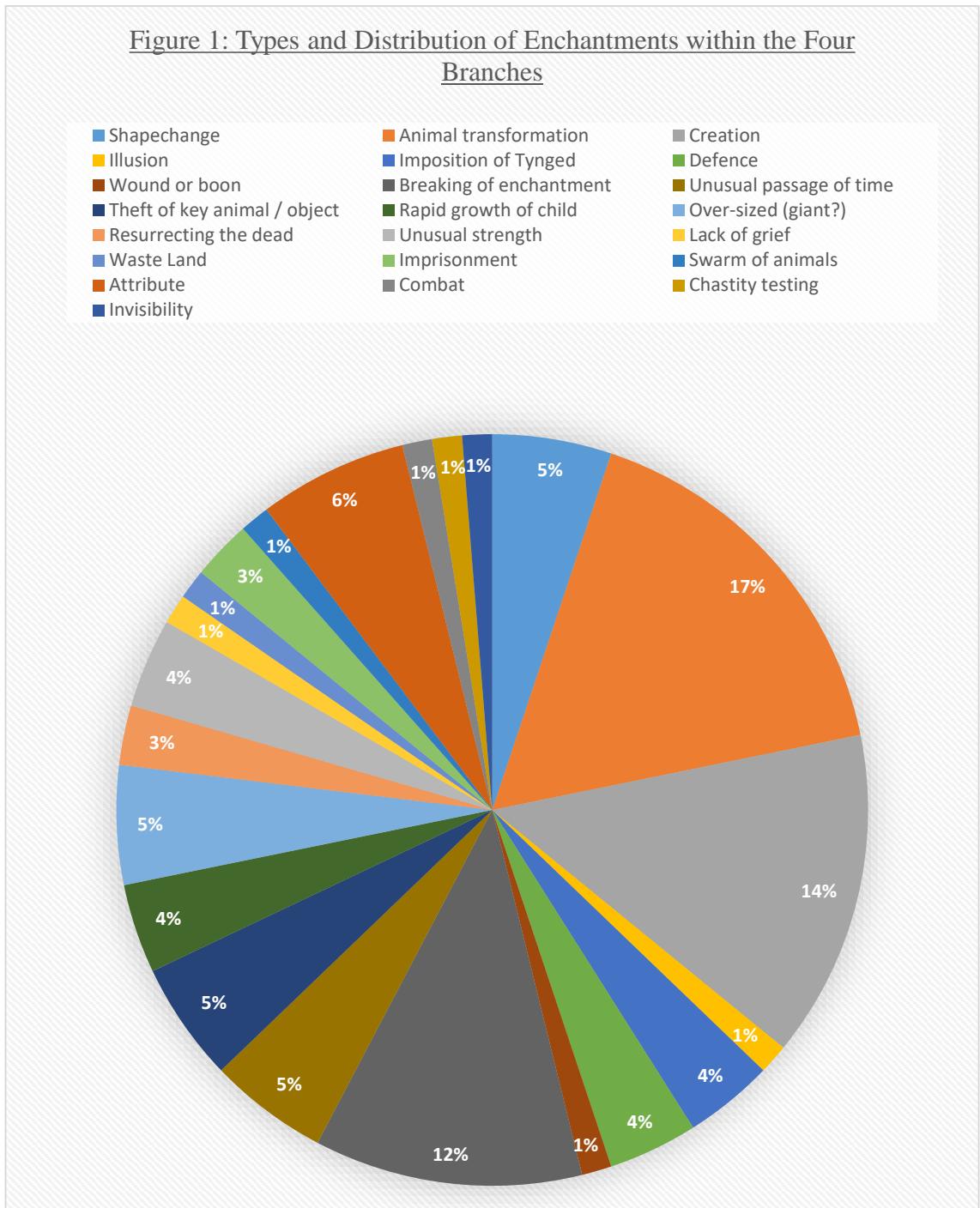
⁵⁰ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru – A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies [Online] Available: <http://www.welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/> <Accessed July 2016>

Figure 1 indicates different types of enchantments located within PKM both as a collective and as individual tales. Figure 2 indicates the origins as defined by the following terms:⁵¹

- **Otherworld:** Enchantment or treasures used or created by a character who is specifically stated as being from the Otherworld. The only example is Arawn, King of Annwfn.
- **Implied Otherworldly:** Enchantment or treasures used or created by a character who has otherworldly attributes but is not stated as originating from Annwfn. Examples include Rhiannon's magical birds and Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid.
- **Mortal:** A treasure that may possess supernatural attributes but is possessed by a mortal (here defined as a character with no personal otherworldly attributes) or an enchantment broken by a mortal. Examples include Gronw's forging of the spear that slays Lleu or Manawydan's removal of the Waste Land from Dyfed.
- **Christian:** Enchantments or treasures that are empowered by Christian beliefs. The only specified type is baptism.
- **Unspecified:** These may be personal attributes or treasures that detail a magical action. These have no description that suggests otherworldly, demonic or natural

⁵¹ The conscious placing of an enchantment or treasure within these categories is subjective and is based on shared descriptions of otherworldly attributes within medieval Welsh and Irish literature such as the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* or the Irish *Echtrai* and *Immrama* genres. For a greater description of these features see J. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture – A Historical Encyclopaedia, Volume IV* (ABC Clio, 2006), pp. 1403-1405; J. Carey, 'The Location of the Otherworld in Irish Tradition' in J. M. Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: an Anthology of Criticism* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 113-9; J. Carey, 'Ireland and the Antipodes; the Heterodoxy of Virgil of Salzburg' in J. M. Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: an Anthology of Criticism* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000); P. Sims-Williams, 'Some Celtic Otherworld Terms' in A. T. E. Matonis, D. F. Melia (eds.), *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture – a Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp* (Van Nuys, California: Ford & Bailie Publishers, 1990), pp. 237-251

magical origins. Examples include Math's wand or Gwydion's appearance transformation.



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⁵² Data based on S. Davies (ed. and trans), *Y Mabinogi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Figure 1a: Types and Distribution of Enchantments in *Pwyll*

Shapechange	Defence	Wound or boon
Breaking of enchantment	Unusual passage of time	Theft of key animal / object
Rapid growth of child		

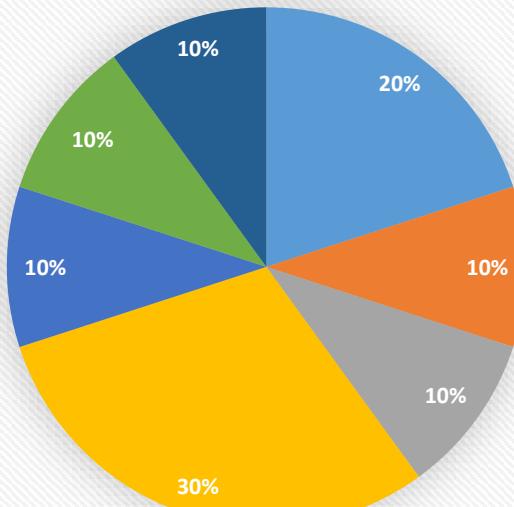


Figure 1b: Types and Distribution of Enchantments in *Branwen*

Creation	Defence	Breaking of enchantment
Unusual passage of time	Rapid growth of child	Over-sized (giant?)
Resurrecting the dead	Unusual strength	Lack of grief
Invisibility		

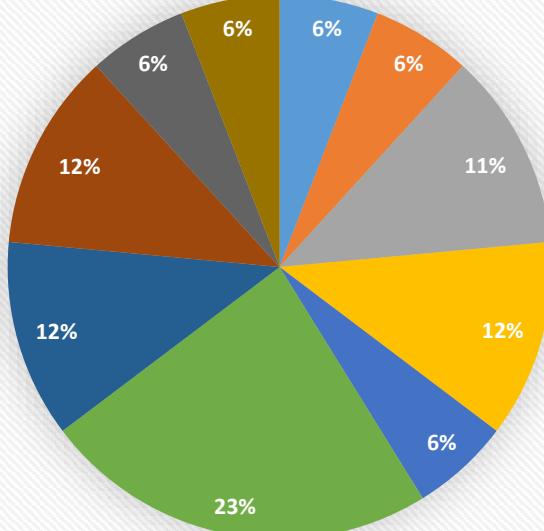


Figure 1c: Types and Distribution of Enchantment in *Manawydan*

Creation	Breaking of enchantment	Theft of key animal / object
Waste Land	Imprisonment	Swarm of animals

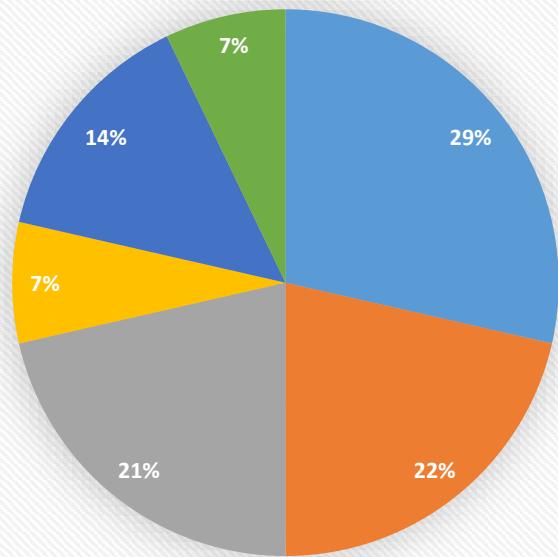
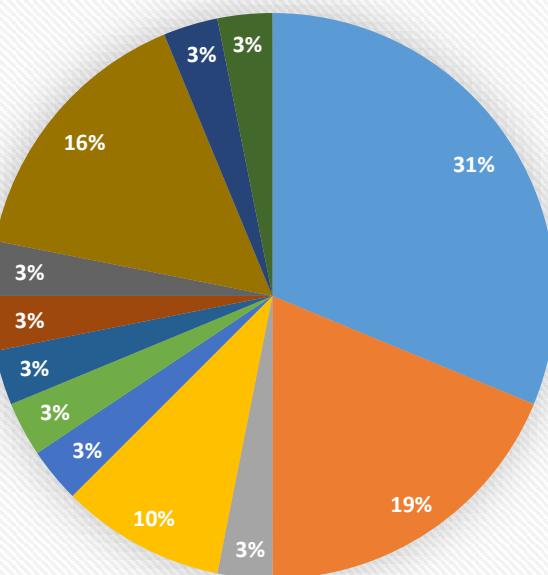


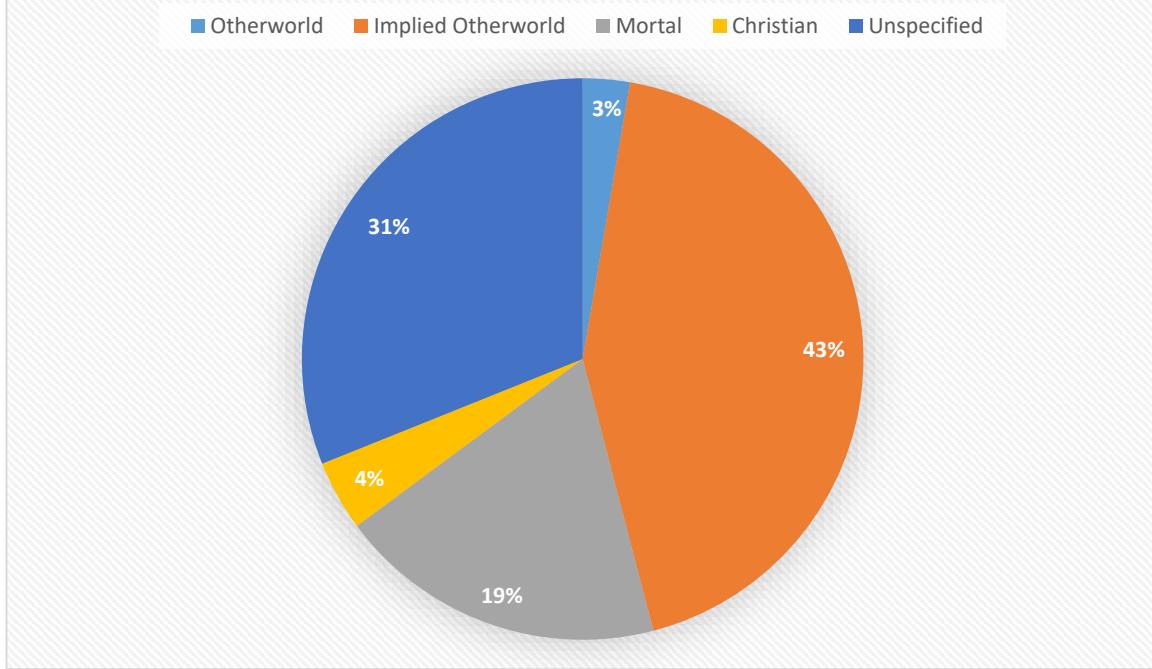
Figure 1d: Types and Distribution of Enchantment in *Math*

Animal transformation	Creation	Illusion
Imposition of Tynged	Defence	Breaking of enchantment
Unusual passage of time	Rapid growth of child	Unusual strength
Attribute	Combat	Chastity testing



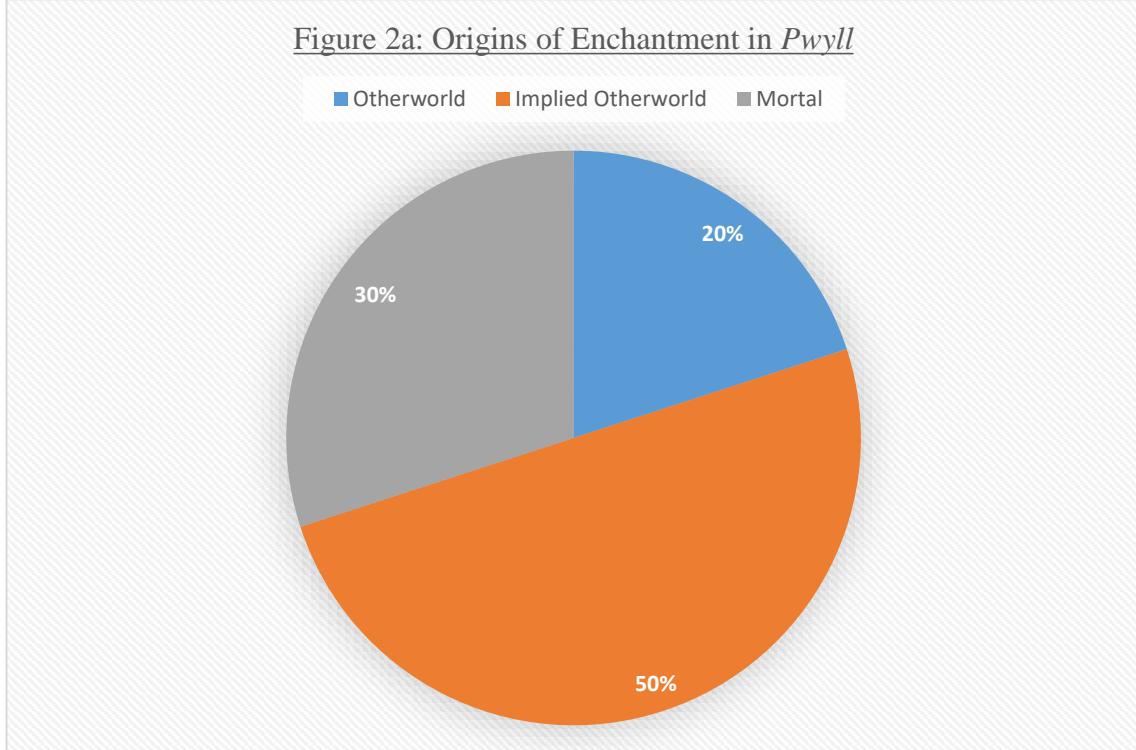
As demonstrated in Figure 1, throughout PKM there are several shared enchantment-types with Animal Transformation (17%), Creation (14%) and the Breaking of Enchantments (12%) the most frequent. However, the distribution of enchantment-types is uneven due to an imbalance in their occurrence within PKM. Some enchantment-types uniquely appear within one Branch such as the Unusual Passage of Time in *Pwyll* and the Waste Land in *Manawydan*. *Pwyll* has the smallest distribution of enchantment-types whereas the later Branches (*Manawydan* and *Math*) have a greater variety. Enchantment-types that frequently occur across PKM also tend to appear only once in a particular Branch. *Manawydan* has the highest occurrence of repeated enchantment-types due to the tales` organisation of events in triads such as the working exile in England or the theft of crops. *Math* has the greatest frequency of enchantment-types. Three-quarters of the total enchantment distribution in *Math* occurs once, leading to little repetition of such motifs within that Branch. *Math* also contains the highest occurrence of Animal Transformation that leads to that motif becoming one of the most frequent enchantment-types throughout PKM. Non-physical attributes – supernatural abilities demonstrated by characters such as Math`s preternatural hearing - are also frequently identified within *Math* (16%). Physical attributes, such as unusual strength or size, are most commonly associated (35%) with the Children of Llŷr within *Branwen* other than for one example of great strength demonstrated by Lleu in *Math*.

Figure 2: Origins of Enchantment within the Four Branches



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Figure 2a: Origins of Enchantment in *Pwyll*



⁵³ Data based on S. Davies (ed. and trans), *Y Mabinogi*.

Figure 2b: Origins of Enchantment within *Branwen*

■ Implied Otherworld ■ Mortal ■ Unspecified

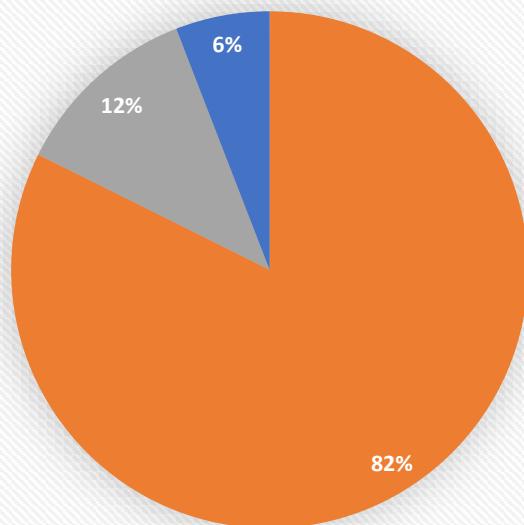


Figure 2c: Origins of Enchantment within *Manawydan*

■ Implied Otherworld ■ Mortal

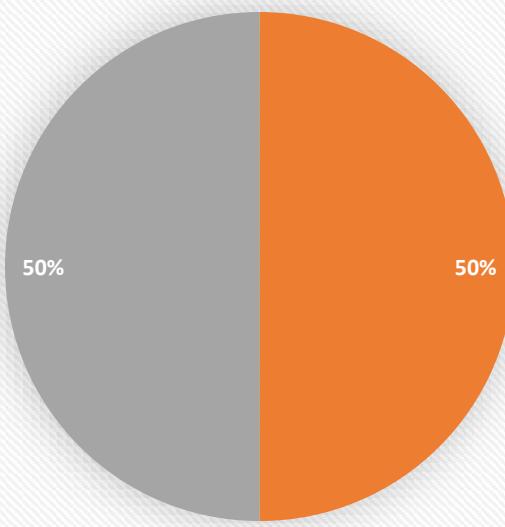


Figure 2d: Origins of Enchantment within *Math*

■ Implied Otherworld ■ Mortal ■ Christian ■ Unspecified

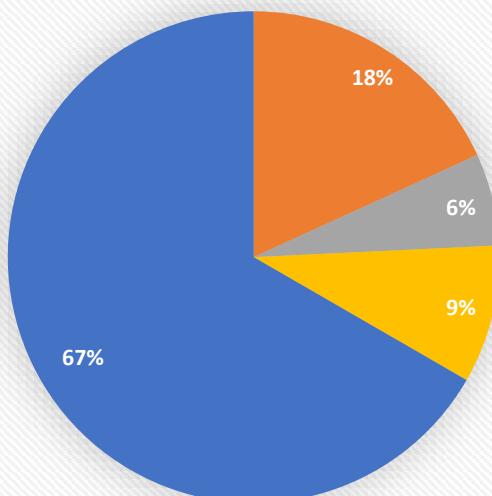


Figure 2 demonstrates that the commonly perceived origins of enchantment within PKM are Implied Otherworldly (43%) and Mortal (19%). Christian (4%) and Otherworldly (3%) are the least common. The high frequency of indirect otherworldly influence is demonstrated by Implied Otherworldly origins being twice as common as Mortal. Perhaps this suggests a shift in the medieval audiences` perceptions of magical belief to a more rational process based upon the vocabulary associated with such as per Valk`s arguments of cognitive-belief.⁵⁴ *Branwen* has a high number of Implied Otherworldly origins (82%) but several of these (6 occurrences; approximately one third of the total) describe Bendigeidfran's physical attributes; the origins or use of the magical cauldron or the Otherworldly Island international story motif. Although *Math* describes the highest number of enchantment-types (see Figure 1d) it contains the least definition of their origins (67% Unspecified). This suggests that the author(s) of *Math* wished the audience to decide the origins of the characters` magical power and possibly relied upon the medieval audiences` expectations of magical practice. The large number of Unspecified

⁵⁴ Ü. Valk, *Magic, Participation and Genre*, pp. 423-4; also see Table 1 and Table 2, pp. 14-15

Origins within *Math* is also responsible for the high frequency of such within PKM. *Manawydan* is unusual in that it is equally divided between Implied Otherworld (50%) and Mortal origins (50%). This suggests that the author(s) are making a statement about the conflict between the supernatural power of the Otherworld and the growing power of mortals to defend themselves against it – possibly with the power of Christian belief.⁵⁵ However, the only occurrence of Christian enchantment is linked to baptism and is located within *Math*. This occurs after either transformation from an animal or the creation of a new person in the form of Blodeuedd.⁵⁶ Occurrences of otherworldly power are unique to Arawn – the only character stated specifically within PKM to have originated in Annwfn and appears only within *Pwyll*.

Natural magic is found in various sections of PKM (see Figure 2a-d). One motif of natural magic is geographical locations that contain supernatural attributes. A second motif is that of enchantments being used at specific locations within the landscape. A further use of natural magic is unique to *Math*; that is the use of plants to help in the magical conjuring of objects or the forming of Blodeuedd.

An element of enchantment within PKM is how in certain locations the audience is drawn to expect supernatural events to occur there. This supports Valk's argument that magical belief may be influenced by the language used to describe it. An exemplar of this is Gorsedd Arberth. Each occasion that Gorsedd Arberth occurs within PKM, a supernatural event takes place: Within *Pwyll*, the court is warned about the `wound or

⁵⁵ See p. 60 of this thesis for a discussion of Christian-phrases occurring within *Manawydan*. Chapter Four describes possible Christian influences upon magical beliefs located within PKM.

⁵⁶ Baptism is also described when Pryderi is discovered by Teyrnion and Aranrhod gives birth to Dylan Eil Ton – see S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 18 and p. 54. See pp. 28-9 of this thesis for a comparison between these human baptisms and baptism used for people of a non-human origin.

boon` association of the Gorsedd⁵⁷ whilst in *Manawydan* upon climbing the mound, the four companions are subjected to Dyfed becoming a Waste Land.⁵⁸ The `wound or boon` element of Gorsedd Arberth is once again suggested when Manawydan`s crops that he planted at the location disappear over several nights.⁵⁹ Another named location where the audience is led to expect supernatural elements is the Isle of Gwales. Here the Assembly of the Noble Head feast for eighty years with no sorrow or effects of passing time despite the tragic events that befell them in Ireland.⁶⁰ Sims-Williams and Carey have written at length about otherworldly associations of mounds and off-shore islands⁶¹ which suggest the medieval audience already had a pre-supposition of events that may occur at these locations.

Other locations are important due to where the enchantment takes place rather than the individual qualities of that location. Hafgan is defeated at a ford and Lleu is murdered next to Afon Cynfael.⁶² Gwydion conjures a ship, leather and later an illusory fleet whilst on the foreshore of Caer Aranrhod.⁶³ Arawn changes the form of himself and Pwyll whilst in a woodland clearing, and Lleu undergoes a reversal transformation from animal to human in a valley.⁶⁴ These are all examples of what Linkletter refers to as liminality: boundaries between locations or journeys through mist and fog.⁶⁵ Rivers were often borders between kingdoms and the use of the ford in the combat between Hafgan and Pwyll illustrates this. The foreshore marks the edge of land and sea whilst the woodland

⁵⁷ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 8

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 37

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 42

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 33

⁶¹ See J. Carey, *The Location of the Otherworld*; J. Carey, *Ireland and the Antipodes*; P. Sims-Williams, *Some Celtic Otherworld Terms*

⁶² S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 6 and p. 61

⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 55 and p. 57

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4, p. 7 and p. 63

⁶⁵ M. Linkletter, `Magical Realism and the Mabinogi: An Exercise in Methodology`, *Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, XX: (2000), p. 56

clearing is a boundary in the forest. The valley represents a boundary between two areas of high ground. Linkletter argues that liminal usage for enchantment is a common theme within Celtic literature and states that it invokes a rational presence of the Otherworld to the audiences' mind; a comfort that the Otherworld is more accessible at boundary areas.⁶⁶ This mirrors Kieckhefer's idea that magic is a rational process that is usable by a set of principles⁶⁷ and Valk's arguments that language used to describe magic creates a psychological fulfilment when used in the appropriate formulas.⁶⁸

Use of the occult properties of plants is uniquely demonstrated in *Math*. The Fourth Branch is unusual in that it is the only tale of PKM where plants are used to conjure an object through enchantment. To create a ship and leather to fool Aranrhod, Gwydion uses seaweed (specifically wrack) and dulse.⁶⁹ Does the fact that seaweed is a liminal plant – it exists on the boundary of sea and land – help the enchantment to work? Is this part of a rational process? Are there specific qualities of the type of seaweeds that were known to the medieval audience but of which knowledge has now been lost? Earlier in *Math*, Gwydion tricks Pryderi by creating shields from toadstools.⁷⁰ This is alluded to in the poem, `Kadeir Karrituen'.⁷¹ `Kat Godeu` also refers to the conjuring of trees; `Trwy ieith ac eluyd` (By means of language and [materials] of the earth),⁷² that also display possible

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 56-57

⁶⁷ R. Kieckhefer, *The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic*, p. 814

⁶⁸ Ü. Valk, *Magic, Participation and Genre*, pp. 423-4

⁶⁹ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 55

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 49

⁷¹ `Kadeir Kerrituen`, Lines 14-16, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, Revised Edition 2015 (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2007), p. 316

⁷² `Kat Godeu`, Lines 52-53, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 176

earlier traditions of using occult properties in conjuring objects. Care must be taken of transmission as some of the Taliesin poems may have been written post-*Mabinogi*.⁷³

The greatest example of natural magic within *Math*, and arguably PKM, is the creation of Blodeuedd. The use of named plants to aid creation via enchantment is again demonstrated, in this case it is: oak, broom and meadowsweet.⁷⁴ That specific plants are named must attribute a significance to these plants. Davies notes that broom is often used metaphorically `...to describe maiden's hair'⁷⁵ and is specifically mentioned when describing Olwen in *Culhwch ac Olwen* – Olwen herself is linked to the Otherworld.⁷⁶ Oak appears to mirror broom's importance within *Math* as it is within the boughs of an oak that Gwydion discovers the eagle-form of Lleu and returns him to human-form. It is worth noting that the enchantment needed to create a person is so powerful it requires two people with supernatural attributes to carry it out – Math and Gwydion. The wording of the *tynged* is suggestive that Blodeuedd is associated with the Otherworld as Lleu may not marry `any woman of this earth'.⁷⁷ As discussed above, this is typical of the suggestive otherworldly origins of enchantment found within PKM and especially *Math*.

As demonstrated in Figure 1 the most common type of enchantment is the transformative motif. This is divided into two sub-categories: transformation of appearance (shape-changing) and transformation from, or to, an animal. Of these two types the animal transformation is the most common partly due to the high number of occurrences of this

⁷³ See M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, pp. 21-40 for a discussion on the dating of the Taliesin poems. Haycock concludes that the earlier praise poetry is possibly sixth-century in origin and other poems (specifically the works cited in this thesis) such as 'Kat Godeu' are likely to be pre twelfth-century compositions. However, a large portion of the Taliesin works, Haycock argues, are post twelfth-century and may belong to the *Gogynfeirdd* poets.

⁷⁴ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 58

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 243

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 243

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 58

motif in *Math*. The transformation of appearance is also the first type of enchantment encountered within PKM when Arawn and Pwyll exchange forms.⁷⁸ The only other occurrence of appearance transformation is when Gwydion and Lleu change their forms in order not to be recognised by Aranrhod.⁷⁹ The wording of the text suggests that this act is more than just simple disguises Gwydion uses to fool Pryderi and Aranrhod later in the tale.⁸⁰ Sheehan notes that during the transformed stage of the enchantment none of the characters are referred to by name.⁸¹ Pronouns are the most common form of address although Pwyll is at one point named as, '...the man who was in Arawn's place...'.⁸² This suggests that whilst existing in the transformed state, identity or sense of self is lost.

This is reflected in the reversal of transformation. After each year's punishment the animal forms of Gwydion and Gilfaethwy return with an off-spring born from their union. In each case the sequence followed is: Math transforms the young animal into human form, commands him to be baptised and then confers a name upon him.⁸³ This same sequence occurs for Blodeuedd after her creation.⁸⁴ The suggestion is that despite taking the form of a human only the act of baptism allows that person to be named and to take their place within human society *as a human*, rather than the original form they held. Welsh notes that 'transformation by baptism' is a Celtic story motif.⁸⁵ The importance of naming is clearly illustrated by the *tynged* imposed by Aranrhod on Lleu but the text

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 4 and p. 7

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 56

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, '...he took away their appearance and gave them another so that they would not be recognised', p. 56. This may be compared to, '...disguised as poets', p. 48 and '...disguised as two young men', p. 57.

⁸¹ S. Sheehan, 'Matrilineal Subjects: Ambiguity, Bodies and Metamorphosis in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi', *Signs*, 34 (2): (2009), p. 331

⁸² S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 6

⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 53-4

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 58

⁸⁵ A. Welsh, 'The Traditional Narrative Motifs of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 15 (Winter): (1988), p. 55 and p. 61.

does not state that Lleu required baptism to be accepted into society; nor is Pryderi after his re-naming by Rhiannon in *Pwyll* as both of these begin life as human.

Sheehan also notes that after the period of transformation – particularly animal, there is no attached sense of shame other than in the case of Blodeuedd's transformation into Blodeuwedd.⁸⁶ This lack of shame is particularly important when the purpose of the transformation is analysed. Punishment is often the primary cause of transformative enchantment. This may be to impose punishment as in the case of Goewin's rape;⁸⁷ Pwyll's insult to Arawn⁸⁸ or Blodeuedd's infidelity.⁸⁹ However, it may also be to inflict punishment as witnessed in *Manawydan*. The transformed retinue of Llwyd son of Cil Coed are sent to punish Manawydan via the destruction of his crops.⁹⁰ Sheehan suggests that once the act of punishment is complete, shame is no longer attached and the punished are free to continue with their status and social role which reflects Welsh law of the period.⁹¹

Evidence of vertical structuring across PKM is demonstrated within this thesis. Each tale of PKM deals with different dynasties. *Pwyll* and *Manawydan* deal with the House of Dyfed; *Branwen* and *Manawydan* describes the Children of Llŷr whilst *Math* is concerned with the end of the House of Dyfed, and primarily the Children of Dôn. Chapter One outlines the euhemerised status of several of these characters and it is not intended to retrace those arguments here.

⁸⁶ S. Sheehan, *Matrilineal Subjects*, p. 329

⁸⁷ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, pp. 51-4

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 4

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 63

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 45

⁹¹ S. Sheehan, *Matrilineal Subjects*, pp. 328-9

As noted in Figure 1, the number of enchantment types increases as the reader progresses through PKM. The Children of Dôn are certainly the most magically-inclined characters but the origins of their enchantments are not fully disclosed by the author(s). It is dangerous to suggest that the author(s) may have had a sense of possible euhemerisation of Dôn and her off-spring but, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, there may be an element of demonisation of their magical attributes. It must be remembered that according to Kieckhefer, demonic interaction was the most commonly believed form of magic prior to the thirteenth century. The Children of Dôn appear to have a lengthy tradition of magical heritage as demonstrated through descriptions in the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd*. Perhaps the medieval audience, aware of the prior traditions, needed no explanation of where the Children of Dôn acquired their power; it was merely enough that they could act so. Valk's concept that magical belief is empowered by the language used to describe it may be applied here.

A synchronic theme that appears throughout PKM is that of a mortal breaking an enchantment. This theme is also discussed in Chapter Four but certain elements follow here. In Figure 1, Mortal origins are the most commonly involved in the `Breaking of Enchantments` motif. The suggestion being the only way to defeat an otherworldly enchantment was through mortal attributes. There are two key examples of this. First is Arawn's use of Pwyll to defeat Hafgan. Despite knowing the weakness of the enchantment that protects Hafgan from death, Arawn is unable to defeat him.⁹² Instead, he gives clear instructions to Pwyll about how to do so.⁹³ Armed with this knowledge, `the man who is in Arawn's place` is able to defeat Arawn's enemy and secure peace for

⁹² S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 4

⁹³ W. Parker, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Bardic Press, 2005), pp. 235-6 argues it is due to Arawn's otherworldly instinctual behaviour that disenables Arawn from acting on his own knowledge of Hafgan's weakness.

Annwfn and the friendship of Arawn. The second example is perhaps the greater indication of mortals breaking an enchantment and is seen in both the character and tale of *Manawydan*. Despite being descended from Llŷr, Manawydan appears to have no supernatural attributes unlike his brothers: Bendigeidfran and Efnysien. Manawydan's role in the motif of enchantments is in the breaking of them. He does not fall into the trap of the Otherworld Fort that captures Pryderi and Rhiannon⁹⁴ and at the end of the tale forces Llwyd son of Cil Coed to remove the Waste Land enchantment on Dyfed and return his friend and wife from their otherworldly prison.⁹⁵ More significantly, Manawydan demands that, `...there will never be any spell on the seven Cantrefs of Dyfed, and that none will ever be cast'.⁹⁶ Is it significant that the last Branch takes the events to Gwynedd, involves Gwydion's theft of the swine gifted to Dyfed from Annwfn and the death of Pryderi by magic? Is Dyfed vulnerable to enchantment because of Manawydan's action? Parker sees *Manawydan* as an expulsion of the Indigenous Otherworld from the south of Wales and the transfer of magical `power' to Gwynedd.⁹⁷

Kieckhefer noted that the term *ars magia* implies that magic is an art.⁹⁸ Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas discuss the growth of magical texts amongst the twelfth-century universities as linked to the growth of literacy, record-keeping, bureaucracy and increased contact with the Middle-East via the Crusades leading to more knowledge and new texts – some of which were Classical texts lost in the West.⁹⁹ However, they are careful to point out that;

⁹⁴ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 40

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46

⁹⁷ W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, p. 429

⁹⁸ R. Kieckhefer, *The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic*, p. 816

⁹⁹ C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 27-30

The subjects of study in the universities were carefully defined, and were under scrutiny from intellectuals and from senior members of the Church, both locally based and in the papal court.¹⁰⁰

The implication behind these arguments is that magic is practised by a learned elite but are there any indications of this in PKM? In most cases, the practitioners of enchantments hold a variety of high status ranks from kings, such as Math and Arawn, to bishops such as Llwyd son of Cil Coed. This implies a certain level of education but it is interesting that Math and Llwyd appear to rely on an object to utilise enchantment.¹⁰¹ Perhaps Gwydion is the closest parallel to a university educational-practice as described by Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas. On two occasions Gwydion disguises himself as a bard to gain entrance into a court. This follows accepted medieval practice that poets and bards were free to travel itinerantly.¹⁰² Whilst within the courts, Gwydion is noted as being `...the best storyteller in the world'¹⁰³ as well as composing a series of *engllynion* when he discovers the transformed Lleu.¹⁰⁴ Although Bromwich disputes that the *cyfarwydd* was comparable to the *bardd*,¹⁰⁵ she does highlight the intensity and high level of education of the bardic order.¹⁰⁶ For Gwydion to have earned this epithet and the ability to compose *engllynion*, he must have achieved a certain level of this education. Unlike Math or Llwyd son of Cil Coed, Gwydion is recorded in several places as not requiring an object in order to use enchantments.¹⁰⁷ Unlike other enchantment-utilising characters such as Arawn, Gwydion does draw upon the occult properties of plants which

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 29

¹⁰¹ See Chapter Three for a discussion on the role of treasures in the use of enchantments.

¹⁰² W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, pp. 88-90; T. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350-1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 674-9

¹⁰³ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 48

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 62-3

¹⁰⁵ R. Bromwich (ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Fourth edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), p. Ixix

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp. lviii-lxii

¹⁰⁷ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 49 the creation of horses, saddles, dogs and shields; p. 55 the creation of a ship and leather; p. 56 the changing of the appearance of Gwydion and Lleu; p. 57 the creation of an illusory fleet and p. 58, the creation of Blodeuedd.

is not suggestive of otherworldly power (see Figure 1d and 2d). Are the author(s) making the suggestion that Gwydion's magical attributes are not the result of an otherworldly birth-right or possession of a magical tool but as a result of his learning? This use of occult properties of plants parallel Kieckhefer's, Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas' textual analysis that educated elites attempted to create magical texts based on their understanding of natural magic or sciences.

Although Kieckhefer states that natural magic became accepted by medieval learned elites from the thirteenth-century, the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* and the *Historia Brittonum* suggests the tradition of supernatural attributes attached to geographical features was established in Welsh literature from an earlier date. The *Mirabilia* of the *Historia Brittonum* contains several locations that have wondrous phenomena attached to them,¹⁰⁸ whereas other folktales speak of Llyn y Fan Fach joined to the Otherworld and the peoples` who live there.¹⁰⁹

The Taliesin corpus contains a number of parallels between the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* and PKM. It is commonly accepted that the author(s) of PKM drew upon these when composing the tales.¹¹⁰ `Kat Godeu` provides a comparison with:

o vlawt gwyd a godeu,
from the blossom of trees and shrubs,
o prid, o pridret
from earth, from the sod
pan y'm digonet,
was I made,

¹⁰⁸ *Historia Brittonum*, Alex Woolf (trans.), [Online] Available: www.academia.edu <Accessed May 2016>, Chapters 67-76

¹⁰⁹ G. Jones, *Welsh Legends and Folk-Tales*, (Harmondsworth: Puffin Books, 1979) pp. 208-222; J. Wood, 'The Fairy Bride Legend in Wales', *Folklore*, 103: (1992), pp. 56-72.

¹¹⁰ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. x; R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. xx-xxvi; W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, pp. 91-103

o vlawt danat,
 from nettle blossom
o dwfyr ton nawvet.
 From the ninths wave`s water.
A`m swynwys-I Vath
 Math created me
Kyn bum diameth.
 Before I was completed.
A`m swynwys-I Wytyon -
 Gwydion fashioned me -
Mawrut o brithron -
 great enchantment wrought by a magic staff.¹¹¹

This demonstrates the tradition of Math and Gwydion involved in the creation of a being from plants; specifically including the blossom of trees. Although the use of a magical staff is twinned with Math within the Fourth Branch, here it is linked with Gwydion perhaps representing a transference from *Math*`s author. The different variety of plants are worth noting, as well as the use of water that is linked to Gwydion`s other creations on the foreshore of Caer Aranhod or to his nephew: Dylan Eil Ton. Other examples of Taliesin poetry suggest an earlier tradition of enchantment-types. `Golychaf-I Gulwyd` alludes to the events in `Kat Godeu` and *Branwen*.¹¹² `Kadeir Kerrituen` refers to the creation of a woman of flowers by Gwydion and the theft of the Demetian pigs due to his learning.¹¹³ Haycock raises concerns over dating, but for these examples settles on a pre-twelfth century date. Thereby allowing us to suggest that these poems reflect a pre-*Mabinogi* tradition.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ `Kat Godeu`, Lines 158-166, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 182. See Lines 151 - 175 for the full recount of the creation of this figure from flowers together with its fostering by five sorcerers. This fostering may be tied to *Triad 27* but lack of space in this thesis precludes further study. Triadic links to *Math* are discussed on pp. 35-6 of this thesis.

¹¹² `Golychaf-I Gulwyd`, Lines 29-31, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 276

¹¹³ `Kadeir Kerrituen`, Lines 14-16, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 316

¹¹⁴ M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 21. See Note 73 for an abstract of Haycock`s conclusions.

Within TYP, only two triads deal specifically with enchantment: *Triad 27 – Three Enchanters of the Island of Britain* and *Triad 28 – Three Great Enchantments of the Island of Britain*. Bromwich argues that *Triad 27* belongs to the Early Triads that were redacted from earlier versions in the late thirteenth century and survived within the Pen.¹⁶ MSS and predate PKM.¹¹⁵ *Triad 27* marks a division with the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* in that it names three different characters as renowned enchanters other than Math and Gwydion.¹¹⁶ These same characters also appear in *Pedwar Marchog Ar Hugain Llys Arthur* where they are named as ‘Three Enchanter Knights’.¹¹⁷ This manuscript appears to originate in its present form in the fifteenth century¹¹⁸ which together with the evidence from Dafydd ap Gwilym - who also records the same characters but exchanges Math for Drystan¹¹⁹ - demonstrates that there may have been two different traditions of enchanters: *Triad 27* and *Pedwar Marchog* representing one and Math and Gwydion another. PKM and the survival of the Taliesin poetry represents a possible more popular stance for the latter.

The WB and RB versions of *Triad 28* name each of the *Triad 27* enchanters as a pupil of one of the users of the Great Enchantments.¹²⁰ Within these versions, Math and Gwydion are named as responsible for a Great Enchantment and Gwydion is revealed as Math’s pupil. It cannot be ruled out that the redactor of the WB and RB added *Triad 28* to tie TYP more closely to PKM. A similar pattern can be seen with *Triad 26 – The Three Powerful Swineherds* where the WB and RB versions add more detail to the gifting of the

¹¹⁵ R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, p. xvi

¹¹⁶ *Triad 27 – The Three Great Enchanters of the Island of Britain*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, p. 59. The Triad names Coll ap Collfrewy, Menw ap Teirgwaedd and Drych ap Cibddar.

¹¹⁷ *Pedwar Marchog Ar Hugain Llys Arthur*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, p. 268

¹¹⁸ R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, p. cx

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 59

¹²⁰ *Triad 28 – The Three Great Enchantments of the Island of Britain*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, p. 61

swine from Arawn to Pwyll.¹²¹ *Triad 37 - Three Concealments and Three Disclosures* focuses on the burying of Bendigeidfran's head with the RB addition of Arthur removing it¹²² and *Triad 67 - Three Noble Shoemakers* mentions Manawydan, Lleu and the enchantment of Dyfed but has no parallel in the earlier Pen.16 edition of TYP.¹²³ These serve to demonstrate that the author(s) of PKM drew upon earlier traditions but also that PKM influenced additions to existing texts.

The author(s) of PKM also appear to have innovated certain motifs of enchantment as well as drawing upon existing traditions. Sims-Williams and Carey both highlight the inclusion of timelessness as an otherworld theme within Welsh and Irish materials. The author(s) of *Pwyll* appears to draw upon this in a unique manner in describing Rhiannon's horse. Hemming notes that the uncatchable-attribute of Rhiannon's steed, in that it cannot be caught despite not increasing its speed, is unique in Welsh literature with only one possible Irish comparison in *Toghail Bruidne Da Derga*.¹²⁴ Hemming argues that this is a variation on the otherworld-timelessness motif. Another variation on this motif is the rapid ageing of the children: Pryderi and Lleu. Both share similar phrasing alluding to their comparison to a child double their age.¹²⁵ This motif is also used to describe the children of Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid and within *Cath Maige Tuired*.¹²⁶ In the Irish *Immrama* and *Echtrai* this rapid ageing often leads to the characters' deaths¹²⁷ but in the case of PKM and *Cath Maige Tuired* the author(s) have used the timelessness motif to

¹²¹ *Triad 26 – The Three Powerful Swineherds of the Island of Britain*, R. Bromwich (ed.), TYP, pp. 50-8

¹²² *Triad 37 – Three Concealments and Three Disclosures of the Island of Britain*, R. Bromwich (ed.), TYP, pp. 94-102

¹²³ *Triad 67 – Three Noble Shoemakers of the Island of Britain*, R. Bromwich (ed.), TYP, pp. 185-8

¹²⁴ J. Hemming, 'Reflections on Rhiannon and the Horse Episodes in "Pwyll"', *Western Folklore*, 57: (1998), p. 33; *The Destruction of De Derga's Hostel*, W. Stokes (trans.), CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 37

¹²⁵ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 18 and p. 55

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 26; see note 128 below

¹²⁷ J. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture*, p. 1404

rapidly-age the child in order for them to display supernatural attributes and to associate them with the Otherworld indirectly.¹²⁸ It must be cautioned that the existence of supernatural attributes does not reflect an euhemerised status as seen by the Nativists. It may be a narrative-tool to separate the hero from the `natural` and to enable the character to stand apart from the norm.

Several enchantment themes are also international story motifs; the rapid growth of a hero is one example of this.¹²⁹ Welsh in his 1988 article included sixty-two examples of other international story motifs that reflects a belief, and folkloric use, of magic within PKM.¹³⁰ This, together with examples in Chapter One, demonstrate that Wales was part of an international transmission of ideas and was not in isolation to develop concepts, motifs and beliefs.¹³¹

In summary, it is clear that PKM contains a variety of enchantment motifs and usage. Several of these themes may be located in early Welsh tradition and have motifs tying them into international bodies of tales. The author(s) of PKM possibly also innovated methods of using these motifs in order to present new ideas to an audience that already had some familiarity of the existing usage – this is suggested by the number of unique story motifs within PKM.¹³² This use of motifs and the language used to describe them,

¹²⁸ A similar motif is used to describe the Irish hero, Elotha, in *Cath Maige Tuired* who has ties to the Irish Otherworld and the Túatha Dé Danaan, see *Cath Maige Tuired*, W. Stokes (trans.), CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 63

¹²⁹ T615 – *Supernatural Growth*, Centre for Typological and Semiotic Folklore Studies, S. Thompson: *Motif-Index of Folk Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest Books and Local Legends* [Online] Available: <http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/> <Accessed May 2016>; A. Van Den Bosch; F. B. Karsdorp; T. Meder; M. Van Der Meulen, *Meertens Online Motif Finder*, [Online] Available: <http://www.momfer.ml/> <Accessed: May 2016>

¹³⁰ A. Welsh, *The Traditional Narrative Motifs*, pp. 56-62

¹³¹ See Appendix II for a summary of the International Story Motifs that relate to this thesis.

¹³² See Appendix II for details on the unique story motifs found in PKM.

according to Valk, helped to generate a strength of belief in their existence and principles of use thereby creating an expectation if certain criteria were met, an effect would occur.

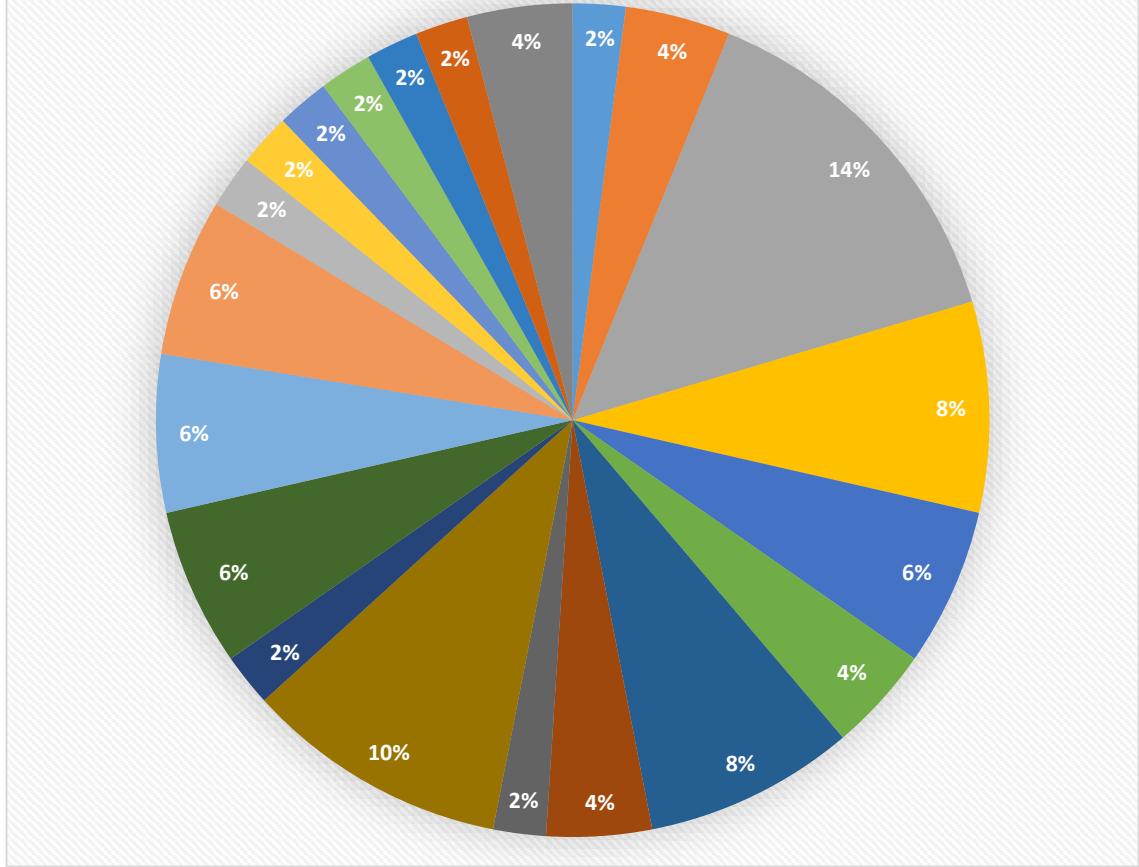
This chapter has demonstrated how certain typologies of enchantment develop in PKM and how a greater variety, with less occurrence of each type, was displayed in each successive tale. Figure 2 demonstrates how the origins of enchantments vary and how moving from an Implied Otherworldly origin to an undetermined origin, the author(s) of PKM used existing traditions but allowed the audience to determine where they believe the practitioners received their attributes from. The argument by Kieckhefer, Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas that magical belief was on the rise amongst the learned elite of the twelfth-century also appears to be reflected in the character of Gwydion, despite his older existence in *Cynfeirdd* material. The concept of natural magic being present in the occult properties of plants is demonstrated in *Math* through the examples of plants being used to conjure items and throughout PKM in the use of enchantment at key locations; either because of their specific attributes or their location within the landscape. The stance of demonic intervention being the primary cause of enchantment, as discussed by Kieckhefer et al, does not appear to be displayed in PKM suggesting that medieval Wales has a different set of beliefs to other western European countries concerning magical practice. Perhaps this is because of the use of older traditions that some like Parker, Williams and Gruffydd may argue are pre-Christian in origin but are beyond the scope of this thesis to explore further.

Chapter Three - Treasures

The term `treasures` in this thesis encompasses physical objects or animals that may contain supernatural attributes, or that may be used or owned by a character that displays such traits which then impart supernatural qualities to that item. The use of the word `treasures` derives from *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg Ynys Prydein* (TT) where other magical items from Welsh tradition are described. There are fewer examples and uses of treasures within PKM than of enchantment. Nonetheless, the examples given highlight parallels with existing traditions in medieval Welsh, Irish and Germanic literature and influence later Arthurian and Welsh literary works of the thirteenth-century and beyond. This chapter identifies types of objects and animals with their distribution across PKM as well as in individual Branches. This chapter will discuss the purpose of these treasures, and analyse the uses of wands / rods, the spear forged by Gronw and the qualities of the treasures. This chapter concludes with a discussion on the author(s) use of existing traditions and where there is innovation in the use of these treasures.

Figure 3: Treasure Types within the Four Branches

Spear	Shield	Wand / Rod	Horse
Pig	Dog	Bird	Saddles
Leash	Brocaded Silk	Cloak of invisibility	Shoes
Cordovan leather	Cauldron	Plates	Bag
Iron House	Lodestones	Magical head	Boat / Ship
Fort			



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¹³³ Data based on S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Figure 3a: Treasure Types within *Pwyll*

■ Horse ■ Dog ■ Brocaded Silk ■ Bag

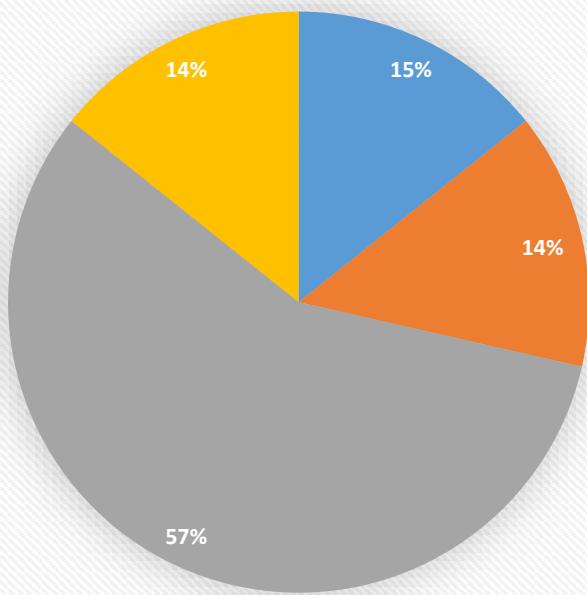


Figure 3b: Treasure Types within *Branwen*

■ Wand / Rod ■ Horse ■ Bird ■ Brocaded Silk
■ Cloak of invisibility ■ Cauldron ■ Plates ■ Iron House
■ Lodestones ■ Magical head

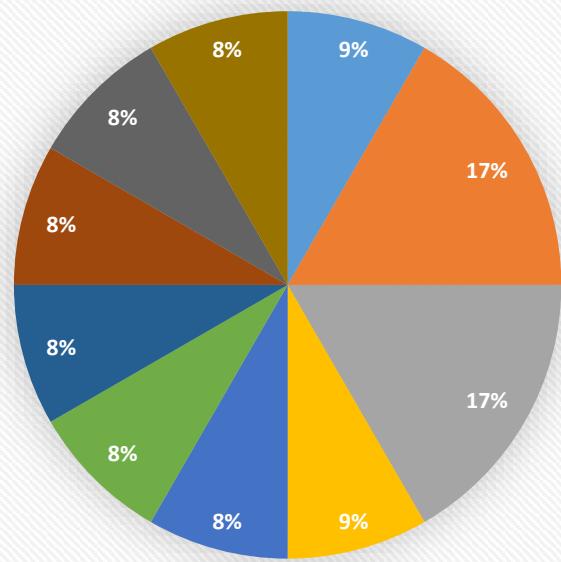


Figure 3c: Treasure Types within *Manawydan*

■ Shield ■ Wand / Rod ■ Pig ■ Saddles ■ Shoes ■ Cordovan leather ■ Cauldron ■ Fort

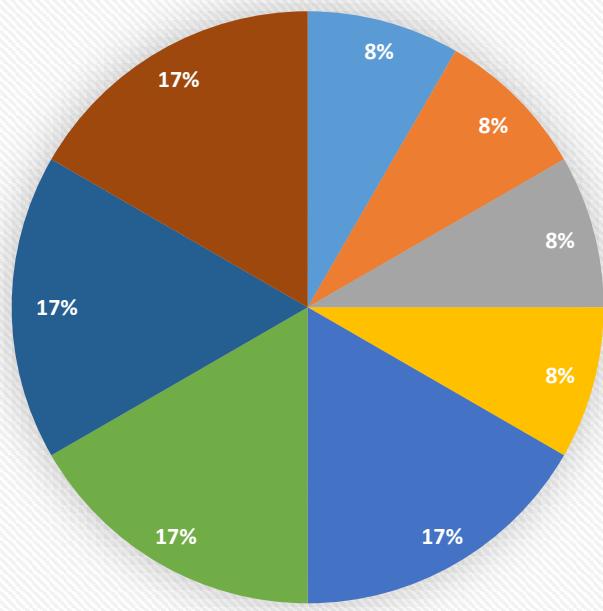


Figure 3d: Treasure Types within *Math*

■ Spear ■ Shield ■ Wand / Rod ■ Horse
 ■ Pig ■ Dog ■ Bird ■ Saddles
 ■ Leash ■ Shoes ■ Cordovan leather ■ Boat / Ship

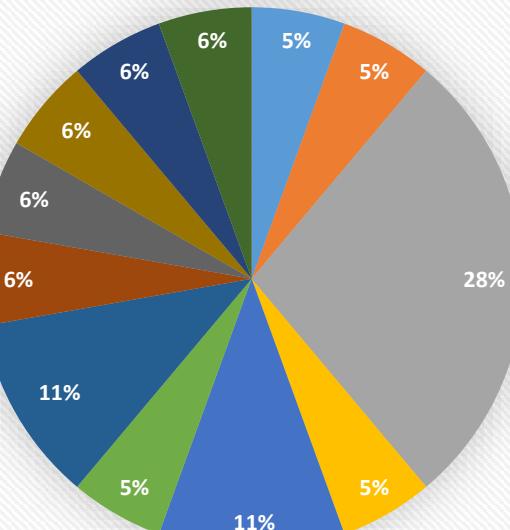


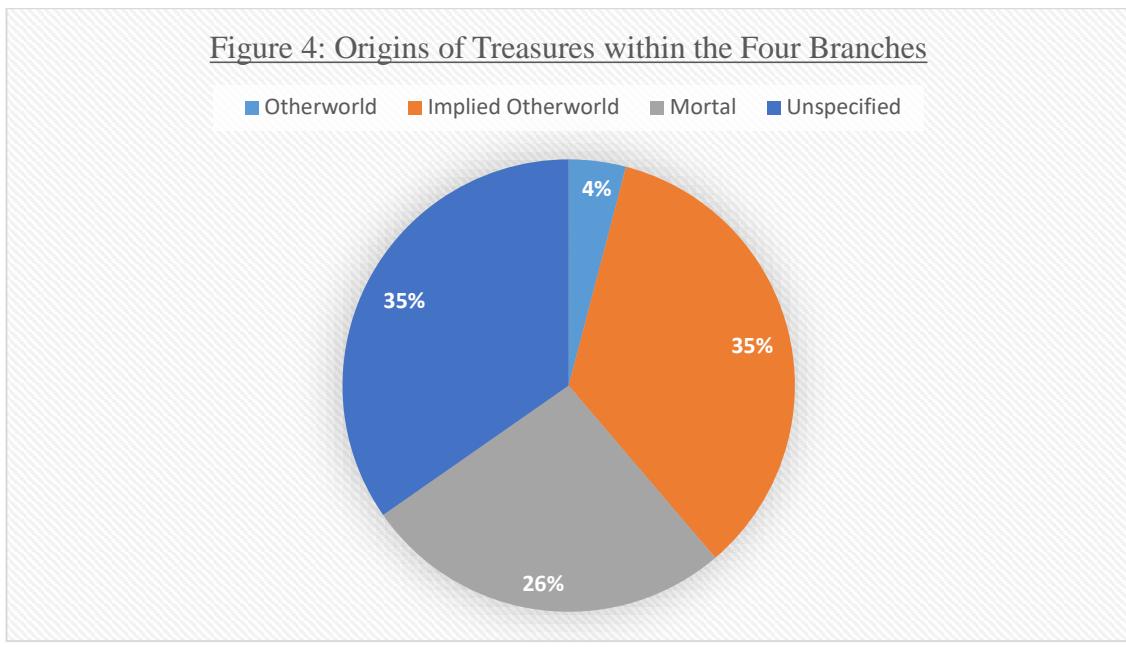
Figure 3 demonstrates that 18% of treasure-types occur only once within each Branch. The greatest concentration of these individual treasures are: 64% of the total in *Branwen*; 54% of the total in *Math*. Figure 3 and Figures 3a-d demonstrate that *Branwen* and *Math* also have the largest distribution of treasure-types (ten and twelve-examples respectively). Of the recurring treasures, wands / rods are the most common treasure-type (14%) with at least one example in each Branch other than *Pwyll*. The greatest concentration of wands / rods are located within *Math* which accounts for five of the seven occurrences across PKM and 28% of the total-treasure distribution within the Fourth Branch. As animal transformations are the result of enchantment, often via a wand, these are not included in Figure 3.¹³⁴ The animals that are included have strong associations with the Otherworld such as the swine given to Pwyll by Arawn, Rhiannon's horse at Gorsedd Arberth or the white boar that lures Pryderi and Manawydan to the Otherworld Fort.¹³⁵ Examples of Implied Otherworldly treasures include brocaded silk described within *Pwyll* which accounts for 57% of the First Branches` treasure-type distribution. Silk is associated with otherworldly figures such as Arawn's Court or the first appearance of Rhiannon. The only other occurrence of this treasure-type is a description of Matholwch in *Branwen*. This association with the Otherworld (here the western location of Ireland may be a partial-association) may be suggestive of the wealth of Annwn as could associations of Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid with *llassar*.¹³⁶ Another treasure-type associated with the Otherworld are cauldrons. These only occur within *Branwen* and *Manawydan*. In both cases the cauldrons are of otherworldly origins via

¹³⁴ See pp. 27-9 of this thesis for a discussion of this enchantment-motif.

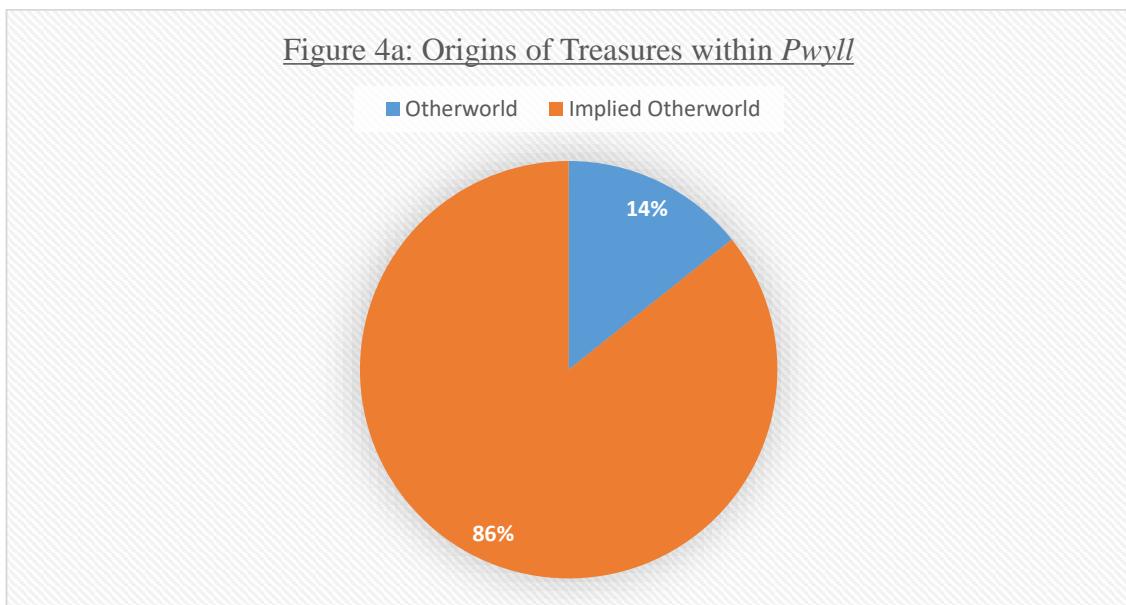
¹³⁵ See Rhian Rees, *Perceptions of Annwn: The Otherworld in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (unpublished MA, University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 2012), pp. 54-7 for a discussion of otherworldly attributes associated with these animals.

¹³⁶ See P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 251-2 for a discussion of the association of Llasar with *llassar* and its etymological ties with descriptions of shields. See pp. 47-8 and pp. 65-6 of this thesis for a discussion of the association of Llasar and his kin with otherworldly treasures and skills.

the tale of Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid in the Second Branch and the appearance of the Otherworldly Fort in the Third Branch. The possible origins of the otherworldly cauldron within PKM being derived from the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* is discussed further within this chapter.



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¹³⁷ Data based on S. Davies (ed. and trans), *Y Mabinogi*

Figure 4b: Origins of Treasure within *Branwen*

■ Implied Otherworld ■ Mortal ■ Unspecified

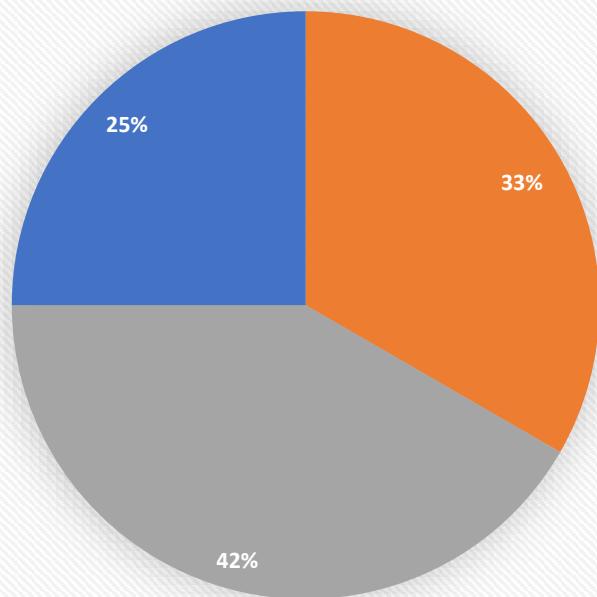
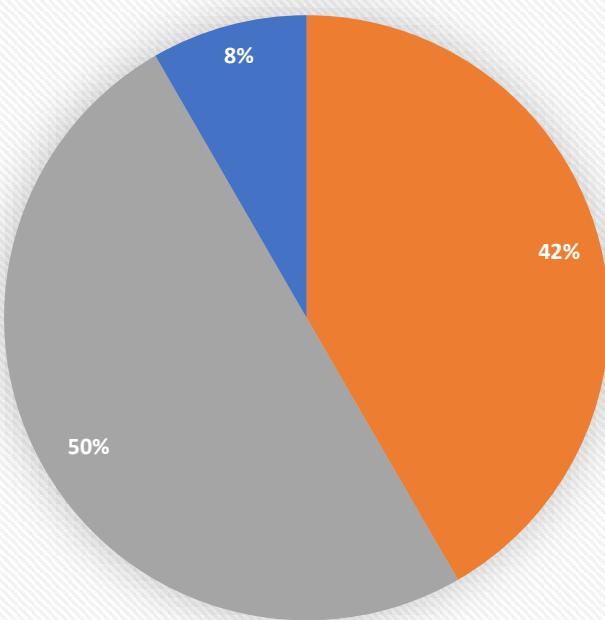
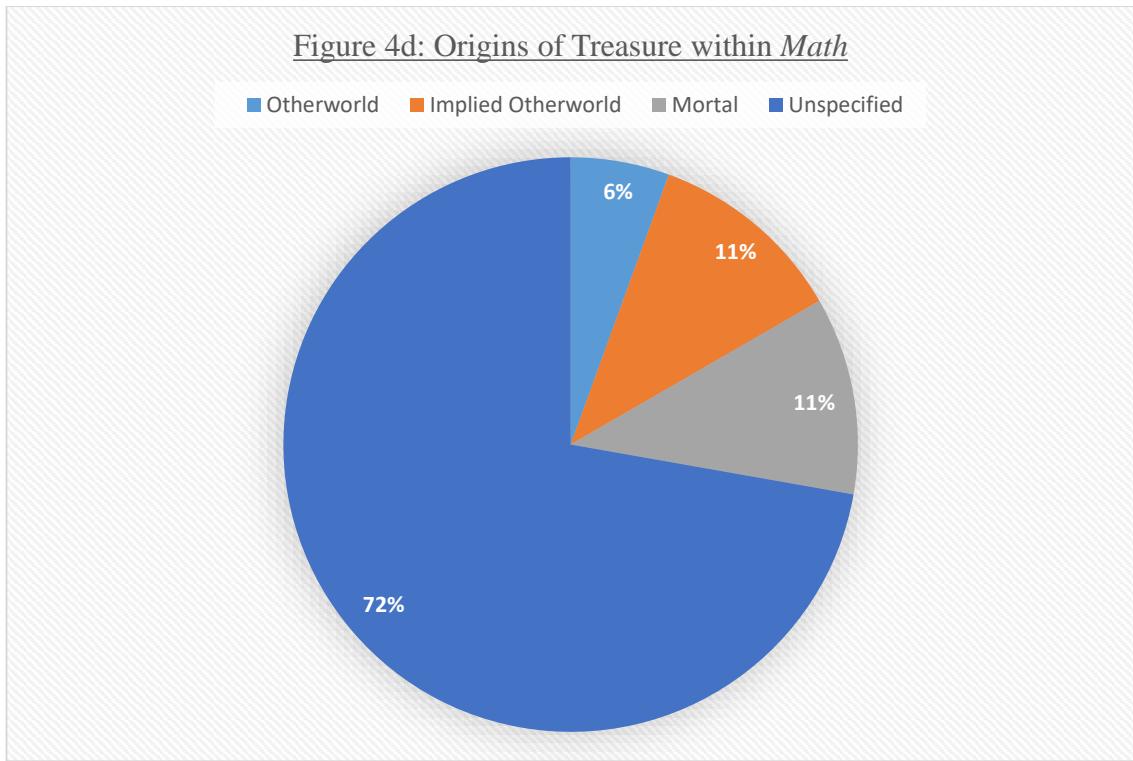


Figure 4c: Origins of Treasure within *Manawydan*

■ Implied Otherworld ■ Mortal ■ Unspecified





The origins of treasures-types are approximately equally divided between Implied Otherworldly (35%) and Unspecified origins (35%) with Mortal-origins occurring 26% of the total. The number of occurrences of Implied Otherworldly origins is approximately equal within *Pwyll*, *Branwen* and *Manawydan* however, the number of Mortal or Unspecified-types increases in each subsequent Branch. This suggests a move away from a tradition where the Otherworld provides a character with success, towards a tradition where the hero is more reliant upon their own attributes or where the audience is expected to make their own decisions regarding where supernatural attributes originate. This may be reflective of Valk's linguistic argument of magical belief. *Manawydan* reflects the enchantment distribution (see Figure 2c) by having an approximately equal division between Mortal (50%) and Implied Otherworldly (42%) origins of treasures. This could be a reflection of a change in audience expectations or beliefs and this possibility is discussed in Chapter Four. The largest distribution of Unspecified-origins occurs within *Math* and reflects the large distribution of enchantment-types (see Figure 2d). There is a

mirroring of Otherworld-origins between *Pwyll* and *Math* with the first and last Branches having the only specific occurrences of otherworldly-origins. *Pwyll* also contains the greatest concentration of Implied Otherworld origins of treasures lending weight to the argument that *Pwyll* has a stronger tradition of using otherworldly-motifs - discussed later in this chapter. There are no Christian treasures located within PKM. This coincides with origins of enchantments where only baptism is associated with Christian `magic'. This should not be seen as supportive of the Nativist stance as other factors may be at work which are reviewed in Chapter Four.

A synchronic theme across PKM is the use of treasures in a socio-economic setting. The Mortal¹³⁸ treasures that are exchanged between Bendigeidfran and Matholwch emphasise the wealth and status of their owners and reflect the medieval Welsh law of the period. Upon the maiming of his horses, Matholwch is gifted with:

A sound horse for each one that was maimed; ... a rod of silver as thick as his little finger and as tall as himself, and a plate of gold as broad as his face...¹³⁹

When compared to the Law of Cyfnerth, the above description is similar to the king's *sarhaed* for violation of his protection. The differences in the legal texts are that the silver rod need only reach the patella and horses are not mentioned.¹⁴⁰ The extended size of the rod could be authorial extravagance and may consciously emphasise the richness of Bendigeidfran's court. This is paralleled in references to brocaded silk and *llassar* where descriptions of these materials in PKM are often connected with Annwfn.¹⁴¹ Sims-

¹³⁸ See definitions in Chapter Two, p. 16

¹³⁹ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 25

¹⁴⁰ T. M. Charles-Edwards, E. Owen Morfydd, Paul Russell (eds.), *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), pp. 438-439. The phrasing is: `...a gŵialen aryant a thri ban ydeni a thri ban y erni a gyrraideo'r dayar hyt y iat y brenhin eistedo yn y cadeir kyreuet a' e arauys, a fiol eur a honno lla6n dia6t y'r brenhin yndi, kyndeghet ac e6in amerth a amerthe seith mlyned a chla6r eur a uo kyflet ac 6yneb y brenhin, kyte6et a'r foil.'

¹⁴¹ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 5 – Arawn's Court, p. 8 – Rhiannon arriving at Gorsedd Arberth, p. 11 – Gwawl arriving at the wedding feast, p. 18 – the infant Pryderi swaddled in brocaded silk, p. 23 –

Williams argues that *llassar* has otherworldly associations via its introduction to Wales by Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid.¹⁴² By describing historically expensive items the author(s) emphasises the richness of the Otherworld by association with known highly-prized items.

The specifics of the peace-gifts given by Bendigeidfran are the most detailed treasure descriptions within PKM. Other treasures are described less by their appearance than by their attributes. Ettlinger in 1945 described this phenomenon in relation to magical weapons in Celtic literature and suggested that to the medieval audience, the attribute was greater than the description.¹⁴³ This effect is noticeable in the objects created by Manawydan that have no discernible supernatural attributes but are described in terms of costly materials.¹⁴⁴ This is mirrored in TT where supernatural attributes are noted in detail but the object itself is only named and lacks description of its physical appearance.¹⁴⁵ Valk's argument that magical belief is developed by the language used to describe it may be applied to the audiences' reactions to magical objects. If these are revealed in certain formulas, then the audience has a greater acceptance of that object as magical. An example (discussed in Chapter Four) is the 'Burning Blade' motif to indicate weapons of otherworldly origin. Alongside this is the concept of sympathetic magic; that is, 'magic that works by a "secret sympathy" or symbolic likeness between the cause and the effect'.¹⁴⁶ Thus in TT treasures that help to generate food or drink are hampers, drinking

Matholwch arriving in Britain. For associations of Ireland with the Otherworld see, P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, Chapter Nine

¹⁴² P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, pp. 252-5

¹⁴³ E. Ettlinger, 'Magic Weapons in Celtic Legends', *Folklore*, 56 (3): (1945), p. 295

¹⁴⁴ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, pp. 37-8 and p. 41

¹⁴⁵ *Tri Thlws Ar Ddeg Ynys Prydein*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Fourth edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 259-60

¹⁴⁶ R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Canto Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 13; see also H. Larson, 'Keening, Crooning, and Casting Spells', *Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, XVIII: (1998), pp. 134-150; C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval*

horns or cauldrons; in *Branwen* a cauldron can be used to resurrect the dead. Associations of cauldrons and creation / resurrection are based on etymological grounds where the Welsh word for cauldron (*pair*) is similar to the words for creation or creator (*peri* and *perydd*) as well as existing traditions from the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd*.¹⁴⁷

Wands are the most common treasure-type within PKM (see Figure 3) although are often of unspecified origin.¹⁴⁸ As noted above, a wand's appearance is never described but the supernatural attributes are and these are frequently connected with animal transformation¹⁴⁹ and a single example of the testing of chastity. Together with the evidence of rods above, wands appear to be uniquely owned by high-status individuals. The examples in PKM are: Math – a king, Gwydion – Math's nephew and thus ranked highly in medieval Welsh society and Llwyd son of Cil Coed – a bishop. In Irish tradition, the Otherworld may be a source of kingly authority through the gifting of an otherworldly object.¹⁵⁰ It is possible that there is a mirroring of this motif located in *Manawydan* and *Math* with the three characters` described above possessing ownership of a wand that may, through their own associations, be connected to the Otherworld and in part tied symbolically to their rank.¹⁵¹

Society (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 63-6; B. Roolf, 'Healing Objects in Welsh Folk Medicine', *Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, XVI: (1996), pp. 106-116

¹⁴⁷ For a discussion on the etymologies of cauldrons being linked to creation see P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, p. 234

¹⁴⁸ See definition in Chapter Two, p. 16

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter Two, pp. 27-9 for a discussion of this enchantment motif.

¹⁵⁰ J. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture – A Historical Encyclopaedia, Volume IV* (ABC Clio, 2006), p. 1405; K. Murray, 'The Role of the Cuilebad in Immram Snédgusa ocus Maic Rialgá' in J. M. Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: an Anthology of Criticism* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 187; K. McCone, *Pagan past and Christian present in Early Irish literature* (An Sagart: Maynooth, 1990), p. 109; M. J. Aldhouse-Green, 'Pagan Celtic Religion and Early Celtic Myth – Connections or coincidence?' in R. Black, W. Gillies, R. Ó Maolalaigh (eds.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Celtic Studies - Vol.1, Language, literature, history and culture* (Tuckwell Press, 1990), p. 88

¹⁵¹ For a discussion of Math and Gwydion`s associations with the Otherworld see Chapter Two. Llwyd son of Cil Coed has otherworldly associations via his friendship with Gwawl ap Clud and Llwyd`s vengeance on his behalf. His name, Llwyd – meaning `grey` - may also indicate otherworld associations as Arawn is described as wearing grey hunting clothes and riding a dappled grey horse thus indicating a

What is more clearly seen is the use of a wand as a means to exert the authority of the owner. Chapter Two discusses the motif of animal transformation as a means of either inflicting or enacting punishment. In all examples of animal transformation within PKM, it is the wand that is described as causing the change once the victim is struck or touched with it.¹⁵² This implies that it is the power of the object itself, rather than an inherent attribute in the wielder, that makes the enchantment possible; a motif also demonstrated in the treasures of TT. This is particularly important in the example of Llwyd as he is removing his office of bishop from the act of enchantment and possible demonic influence.¹⁵³ By combining this authoritarian concept with the belief that the wand confers status on the individual, it becomes apparent that the use of the wand both exerts and symbolises the authority of the wielder.

Higley and Sheehan provide an alternative interpretation of the wand as a gender divider. Sheehan argues that the chastity test imposed on Aranrhod by Math sees the wand being used as a male-authority symbol and the test leads to Aranrhod's impregnation.¹⁵⁴ This latter part is doubtful as Math was in need of a virgin for his particular attribute and thus had no need for the procreation of a child. Higley, although focused on Norse evidence, argues that there is a clear division between female magic (*seiðr*) and male magic (*galdr*). *Seiðr* involves transgressions of boundaries between male and female, human and animal; it alters nature as well as destiny and tainted male-practitioners.¹⁵⁵ This reflects the

possible link between the colour grey and the Otherworld. See S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 3 and p. 286

¹⁵² S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 46, pp. 51-4

¹⁵³ For discussion about demonic influence on magical belief see R. Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *The American Historical Review*, 99 (3): (1994), p. 817; See also C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 27-37 and R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Chapter 2

¹⁵⁴ S. Sheehan, 'Matrilineal Subjects: Ambiguity, Bodies and Metamorphosis in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi', *Signs*, 34 (2): (2009), pp. 324-6

¹⁵⁵ S. L. Higley, 'Dirty Magic: Seiðr, Science, and the Parturating Man in Medieval Norse and Welsh Literature' in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 11: (1994), p. 138

enchantments that Math imposes on Gwydion and Gilfaethwy. The lack of any direct heirs argues for the possibility of Math's emasculation as Lleu (a nephew) inherits Gwynedd as opposed to any direct heir.¹⁵⁶

The spear forged by Gronw to slay Lleu in *Math* is unique in that it is the only distinct weapon mentioned in PKM despite specific swords being mentioned in *Culhwch ac Olwen* and TYP.¹⁵⁷ Other descriptions of combat describe generic use of weapons or strong blows as opposed to a specific weapon.¹⁵⁸ There is also a doubling motif when Lleu slays Gronw in the same manner to gain vengeance for the original blow.¹⁵⁹ Gronw's spear, due to the restrictions imposed on its forging, is clearly intended for the audience to recognise its magical nature: it must take a year and work on it must only be done on a Sunday during mass.¹⁶⁰ The latter restriction is significant in its suggestion that the spear is an unholy weapon as the forger must be absent during Christian-rites – the implications of this are discussed in Chapter Four but indicates another example of Valk's linguistic-formula argument within PKM.

The connection of Lleu with a spear, although not in his possession, should not surprise. Lleu is commonly held to be cognate with the Irish, Lugh¹⁶¹ who is associated with a magical spear in *Cath Maige Tuired*.¹⁶² The forging of magical spears is common within

¹⁵⁶ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 64

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 183 and p. 200; *Tri Thlws*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 259-60

¹⁵⁸ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 6 for the combat between Pwyll and Hafgan, p. 51 for the combat between Pryderi and Gwydion.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 64

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 61

¹⁶¹ J. Hemming, 'Ancient Tradition or Authorial Invention? The "Mythological" Names in the Four Branches' in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *Myth in Celtic Literatures* (Four Courts Press, 2007), p. 102; R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 412-413; P. Sims-Williams, 'Some Celtic Otherworld Terms' in A. T. E. Matonis, D. F. Melia (eds.), *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture – a Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp* (Van Nuys, California: Ford & Bailie Publishers, 1990), pp. 58-9

¹⁶² *Cath Maige Tuired*, Whitley Stokes (trans.) CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 57

the Irish tradition and *Cath Maige Tuired* recounts the smith-god, Goibniu, crafting spears for battle.¹⁶³ *Sanas Cormaic* describes Goibniu singing spells over a spear in order to make certain it will slay anyone it injures.¹⁶⁴ Puhvel notes that a smith-god is often associated with the crafting of a deicidal weapon which is then used by a mortal to slay a deity – often the smith himself. It is possible that this motif is dimly recalled in Gronw (a mortal) slaying Lleu (an otherworldly being) with a magical spear although this has not been forged by a deity.¹⁶⁵

As well as parallels in the crafting of a magical spear, it should be noted that Goibniu is considered to be cognate with Gofannon fab Dôn,¹⁶⁶ Lleu's uncle who is mentioned in *Math* as being responsible for the slaying of Lleu's twin, Dylan Eil Ton.¹⁶⁷ It is possible that the use of Gronw to slay Lleu with a magical spear may be reflective of a lost tradition of Gofannon slaying Dylan with a spear forged by himself. Davies and Parker both note the existence of a lost triad connected with this incident¹⁶⁸ and the Taliesin poem, 'Marwnat Dylan eil Ton' mourns Dylan's death as does the inclusion of Dylan's grave in 'Englynion y Beddau'.¹⁶⁹ Neither poem elaborates on the cause of death other than to provide evidence that this tale was more widely known amongst medieval contemporaries

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 89

¹⁶⁴ *Cormac's Glossary*, J. O'Donovan (trans.), W. Stokes (ed.) (Calcutta: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1868), p. 123. The specific mention of singing spells here may be significant.

¹⁶⁵ M. Puhvel, 'The Deicidal Otherworld Weapon in Celtic and Germanic Mythic Tradition', *Folklore*, 83 (3): (1972), pp. 210-11

¹⁶⁶ J. Hemming, *Ancient Tradition*, p. 103; W. Parker, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Bardic Press, 2005), p. 550

¹⁶⁷ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 54

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 242; W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, p. 550

¹⁶⁹ 'Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton', M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, Revised Edition 2015 (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2007), p. 483. Haycock argues that Gofannon may be suggested at by the line: 'what held the metal?' and that a trial by ordeal was involved – see p. 481; *Englynion y Beddau / The Stanzas of the Graves*, Stanza Four, Lines 12-13, J. K. Bolland, A. Griffiths (Aberystwyth: Gwasg Cambrian, 2015), p. 17

than the evidence now suggests. This thesis does not investigate this line of enquiry further but it should be noted that there is possibly more to investigate on this topic.

The existence of the magical cauldron in *Branwen* appears to have an extended tradition. This is demonstrated by the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* and inclusions in the twelfth-century *Culhwch ac Olwen*. This tale appears to further influence the fifteenth-century redaction of TT.

Table 3. Cauldron-Motifs in the poetry of the Cynfeirdd¹⁷⁰

Poem	Angar Kyfundawt	Golychaf-i Gulwyd	Kadeir Kerrituen	Preiddeu Annwn
Occurrences of cauldrons	2	1	1	2

Table 3 demonstrates the extant evidence of cauldrons in a selection of *Cynfeirdd* material. It is generally accepted that the use of the cauldron, and its subsequent role in Ireland in *Branwen*, is a development of a root-tale of an otherworldly raid to claim a magical cauldron – the clearest survival of such is the eighth-century poem, `Preiddeu Annwn` (PA).¹⁷¹ A development of this tale is envisaged in *Culhwch ac Olwen* where Culhwch is given an *anoethau* to claim, `the cauldron of Diwrnach Wyddel`, which has the attribute to boil food for the wedding guests.¹⁷² This description is comparable to TT which describes the cauldron of Dyrnwch the Giant whose cauldron will only cook the meat of brave men.¹⁷³ Bromwich notes that by the fifteenth-century the name Diwrnach

¹⁷⁰ Data based on M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*; Red text denotes possible otherworld connections.

¹⁷¹ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, pp. 233-4; R. Bromwich, S. D. Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), p. lix; M. Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Legendary Poems*, p. 433; S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 236; W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, p. 350

¹⁷² S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 197

¹⁷³ *Tri Thlws*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 259-60

had evolved to Dyrnwch¹⁷⁴ but the attribute of this cauldron is first attested in PA indicating an older provenance of TT.¹⁷⁵ It is perhaps surprising to find that despite the number of examples from poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* and the popularity of the motifs survival in *Culhwch ac Olwen* and the redaction of TT, that PKM only contains two examples of an otherworldly cauldron.¹⁷⁶

Compared to Irish material, PKM contains a dearth of magical weapons relative to other treasures. The discussion of rods / wands and brocaded silk has been noted above but other items such as shields, saddles and shoes also commonly appear (see Figure 3), particularly in *Branwen* and *Manawydan* which appear to be concerned with the roles and duties of kingship. The Laws of Cyfnerth and Latin B describe the entitlements of various court officials referring to the gifting of clothes of a certain value, entitlements to listed amounts of food and drink together with the granting of certain animal hides or skins.¹⁷⁷ This reflects the typologies of treasures within PKM and the Mortal origin that commonly occurs with them (see Figure 4). TT continues this trend with six items connected to domestic activities or the supernatural production of food and drink.¹⁷⁸ The suggestion that the Welsh tradition of magical objects is different from the Irish in that there is a greater emphasis on treasures reflecting the rank and status of the holder in a domestic or hierarchical context should be considered. As suggested in the discussion on wands, the ownership of one of these items is able to confer a higher status on the individual. The

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 262

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262; `Preiddeu Annwn`, Line 15-17, M. Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Legendary Poems*, pp. 435-6

¹⁷⁶ A possible second example in *Manawydan* where Pryderi is captured in an otherworldly fort by grasping either a cauldron or a well may also be a derivative of `Preiddeu Annwn`. For a fuller discussion of the role of prisoners in a comparison between `Preiddeu Annwn`, *Manawydan* and *Culhwch ac Olwen* see, R. Bromwich, S. D. Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study*, Chapter Seven.

¹⁷⁷ T. M. Charles-Edwards, E. Owen Morfydd, Paul Russell (eds.), *The Welsh King and His Court*, chapters 21 and 22

¹⁷⁸ *Tri Thlws*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 259-60. These are: the Hamper of Gwyddno Long-Shank; the Horn of Brân the Niggard; the Knife of Llawfrodedd the Horseman; the Cauldron of Dyrnwch the Giant; the Vat and Dish of Rhygyrdd the Cleric and the Chessboard of Gwenddolau ap Ceidio.

origin of the TT treasures from *y Hen Gogledd* may reflect even more status due to their provenance and the medieval Welsh emphasis on the lost Brythonic north.

In summary the treasures of PKM are not so extensive as the description and use of enchantments. The number of treasures increase in subsequent Branches of PKM with the greatest concentration found within *Math* - especially the inclusion of wands. The treasures that are described would be generally familiar in their domestic use to the contemporary medieval audience and reflect laws of the Welsh court. It would appear that the more described in appearance a treasure is, the less likely it would be magical in nature. The attribute is of more importance in describing how the treasure enacts a supernatural ability. More importantly the possession of one of these treasures, particularly if it has links to the Otherworld or *y Hen Gogledd*, seeks to enhance the status of the owner and, in the example of wands, may be a source of enchantment and a tool of authority that is separate from the wielder.

Unlike enchantment, it would appear that the treasures have received greater influence from Irish materials particularly in the case of the spear forged by Gronw. Sims-Williams has laid out a strong case for Irish influence on *Branwen* and, although more investigation is needed in order to further the study begun in this thesis, it appears that there may be similar Irish influences in *Math* in respect of Lleu and Dylan. Certainly there appears to be strong evidence for an earlier Welsh tradition of the uses of cauldrons and their connections to the Otherworld that is only reflected in part within PKM. If we accept Bromwich's argument that the fifteenth-century MSS of TT is a redaction of earlier materials, then there is a clear tradition of magical objects in medieval Welsh tradition. Based on the evidence from the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd*, the earlier versions of TYP

located in the Pen.16 MSS and PKM, there are strong indications that this tradition was in place prior to the eleventh century and developed until the fifteenth century.

Chapter Four – Otherworld and Christian Influences upon Enchantment and Treasures in the Four Branches

This chapter focuses upon possible origins of the supernatural attributes previously discussed, and places these in the context of native beliefs regarding the Otherworld and parallel examples in medieval literature. The themes of otherworldly weapons and motifs and the place of Christian belief may shed an alternative reading of the examples of enchantment within PKM alongside the context of Church and scholarly writings of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries; the possible dates of the composition of PKM.¹⁷⁹

Study of Irish texts involving the Otherworld have argued that the Christian-focused *Immrama* genre evolved from the earlier pre-Christian *Echtra*.¹⁸⁰ This same scholarship argues that the composition of these texts in an ecclesiastical setting euhemerised the pre-Christian deities within the original tales.¹⁸¹ Chapter One of this thesis outlines the early Nativist attempts to equate characters from PKM with euhemerised deities. A difficulty with the *Mabinogi* is that the authorship is unknown but there are suggestions that the same process applied to pre-Christian Irish material may also have influenced redactions of earlier medieval Welsh traditions located within PKM. McCone argues that the Irish

¹⁷⁹ For a discussion of the dating of PKM from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries see R. Bromwich (ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Fourth edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. xvi-xxv; W. Parker, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Bardic Press, 2005), pp. 5-6

¹⁸⁰ J. Carey, 'The Location of the Otherworld in Irish Tradition' in J. M. Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: an anthology of criticism* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 113-9; J. Carey, 'Ireland and the Antipodes; the Heterodoxy of Virgil of Salzburg' in J. M. Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: an anthology of criticism* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000); K. McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (An Sagart: Maynooth, 1990); Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Subversion at Sea: Structure, Style and Intent in the *Immrama*' in J. M. Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: An anthology of criticism* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 194-218; Tomas Ó Cathasaigh, Matthieu Boyd (ed.), *Coire Sois – The Cauldron of Knowledge – A Companion to Early Irish Sagas* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014)

¹⁸¹ See Tomas Ó Cathasaigh, Matthieu Boyd (ed.), *Coire Sois, the Cauldron of Knowledge*, pp. 4-8 and T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 184-201 for a discussion of this process.

Church euhemerised deities to remove them of a `pagan taint'.¹⁸² Early Church writers equated pagan deities with demons or humans who become worshipped as gods.¹⁸³ Carey discusses the fact that the Túatha Dé Danaan were viewed by the Irish Church in a variety of aspects: as demons; an alternative race of humans or as half-fallen angels.¹⁸⁴ The acceptance of demons is important when Kieckhefer, Lawrence-Mathers and Escobar-Vargas` arguments that medieval belief united magic with the involvement of demons are considered.¹⁸⁵ Are there any parallels within PKM? Sims-Williams has argued at length about Irish influence on the structure and events of these tales.¹⁸⁶ Is it possible that aspects of PKM`s depictions of characters with supernatural attributes were influenced by the Irish material?

As seen in Figure 1d, *Math* has the highest distribution of enchantment motifs and Figure 2d demonstrates that the Fourth Branch has the greatest occurrence of unspecified origins of enchantment. The central kin-group in *Math* are the Children of Dôn who may be cognate with the Irish, Túatha Dé Danaan.¹⁸⁷ The Children of Dôn have the most overt magical motifs within PKM which Hemming argues is suggestive of their origins as mythological characters.¹⁸⁸ In the Irish material, the Túatha Dé Danaan are euhemerised

¹⁸² K. McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present*, p. 7

¹⁸³ Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Stephen A. Barney (ed. and trans.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), VIII.xi.1-5; Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Roger Collins, Judith McClure (ed. and trans.) (Oxford University Press, 1999), I.30

¹⁸⁴ J. Carey, `The Old Gods of Ireland in the Later Middle Ages` in Alexandra Bergholm, Ritari Katja (eds.), *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Pagan Past* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 52-4

¹⁸⁵ See p. 8 and pp. 12-13 of this thesis for a summary of this argument.

¹⁸⁶ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

¹⁸⁷ J. Hemming, `Ancient Tradition or Authorial Invention? The “Mythological” Names in the Four Branches` in Joseph Falaky Nagy (ed.), *Myth in Celtic Literatures* (Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 98-102; W. Parker, *The Four Branches*, p. 20

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 99

but is the author of *Math* following a similar pattern to the Irish tradition? Isidore of Seville recounts how *maleficus*;

agitate the elements, disturb the minds of people and... with their summoning of demons, they dare to flaunt how one may slay their enemies with evil arts.¹⁸⁹

This parallels Gwydion using elements of the earth in his conjuring of objects, befuddling people via his illusions and slaying Pryderi through magic and enchantment. In Gwydion and Math's creation of Blodeuedd, a woman 'not of this earth', is there perhaps an allusion to the use of occult properties of natural objects?¹⁹⁰ The plants used in Blodeuedd's creation had symbolic properties that were known to the medieval audience and suggested her intended personality.¹⁹¹ Blodeuedd's abandonment of these qualities perhaps highlighted the dangers of *hud*-enchantment and how its usage demonstrated the deception and deceitfulness of such¹⁹² although a gender-biased role cannot be ruled out for her. Perhaps the author of *Math* is suggesting that the use of magic by the Children of Dôn is possibly demonic in origin without stating it as stringently as found within Irish material. Kieckhefer has noted that the boundaries between natural magic and demonic-influence were often blurred by medieval writers.¹⁹³ Recent work by Carey suggests that the Irish Churches stance towards the Túatha Dé Danaan was varied and may dispute their existence as demons but accepted they could be responsible for demonic magical practice which allows for the possibility of a similar stance by *Math*'s author(s) towards the Children of Dôn.¹⁹⁴ However, from the evidence within this thesis, the author(s) of PKM appear to be less stringent of such matters than the writers of the Irish materials.

¹⁸⁹ Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, VIII.ix.9

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter Two, pp. 24-7 for further examples of natural magic within PKM and wider medieval Welsh literary texts.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter Two, pp. 33-4 for a discussion of Blodeuedd's creation and its original pre-redacted form within earlier Taliesin poetry.

¹⁹² See Table 1 and Chapter Two, p. 15 for a discussion of *hud* and associative beliefs.

¹⁹³ R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Canto Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 12-14

¹⁹⁴ J. Carey, *The Old Gods of Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 56

PKM contains some limited suggestions of the ability of the Church to combat magic – particularly otherworldly enchantment. The motif of a mortal overcoming otherworldly magic is found throughout PKM (see Figure 1a-d). It is a key theme in *Pwyll* where Pwyll overcomes Hafgan; Teyrnon rescues the infant Pryderi from the monstrous claw and within *Manawydan* where Llwyd son of Cil Coed's magical vengeance on the House of Dyfed is defeated by the titular character. In these examples the mortal character is coming to the aid of an otherworldly one: Pwyll is aiding Arawn rid himself of a rival; Llwyd is seeking vengeance on behalf of Gwawl and Manawydan is rescuing Pryderi and Rhiannon. Perhaps the author(s) suggests that as powerful as the Otherworld is, it has limits and requires a mortal to fulfil functions that it cannot. It is significant that prior to Manawydan breaking the enchantment on Dyfed he swears, or asks a blessing, to God on several occasions throughout the discussion between himself, a cleric and Llwyd - a bishop.¹⁹⁵ This is one of the few instances in PKM where there is an overt Christian-emphasis. The majority of the description of Christian ritual occurs where animals who are transformed into humans, and the creation of Blodeuedd from plants, are named and baptised.¹⁹⁶ The only human baptism to be described occurs when Pryderi is discovered by Teyrnon.¹⁹⁷ The suggestion is that despite the occurrence of otherworldly power, the only way to be accepted into society is via the Church and the importance of being granted a name.¹⁹⁸

A problem in the discussion of the authorship and supposed audience of PKM is whether these tales reflect elite or popular views. Watkins argues that the old model of seeing the

¹⁹⁵ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 43-6

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter Two, pp. 28-9 for a discussion of this motif.

¹⁹⁷ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 18

¹⁹⁸ For a discussion of the role of baptism as a transformative Celtic story motif see A. Welsh, 'The Traditional Narrative Motifs of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 15 (Winter): (1988), p. 55 and p. 61. Also see Appendix II for occurrences of this motif in PKM.

highest members of society as fully Christianised whilst the vast majority clung to traditional beliefs, that were only recorded by the clergy in order to repress them, is not acceptable.¹⁹⁹ Rather, the two parts should be viewed in constant dialogue as the Church tried to educate the masses by repression or reinvention.²⁰⁰ The latter is reflected in the redactions of traditional tales into acceptable Christian writings and works by Church elites. Watkins and Borsje note that the written stance of the Church depends upon the genre it is writing in – strict exempla and handbooks of penitence will take a rigid stance whilst narrative sources may provide a more understanding view of popular religion.²⁰¹ Flint discusses ecclesiastic and monastic acceptance at a local level of popular beliefs with rulings from the upper Church hierarchy not always being absolute and accepted as appropriate, or applied, in a local situation.²⁰² It is more acceptable to see popular beliefs, such as magic, rather than a binary opposite to Christian doctrine as a spectrum with Christian beliefs at one end and popular beliefs at the other.²⁰³

This `spectrum` view does appear to have substance within *Manawydan*. This tale describes a bishop using a shape-changing enchantment via a wand.²⁰⁴ The treatment of this within the Third Branch suggests that it is not unusual that a bishop may have powers of enchantment. Manawydan himself expresses no surprise at Llwyd's admission or of his possession of a magical object. Manawydan's description of the mice that plague him

¹⁹⁹ C. Watkins, ``Folklore'' and ``Popular Religion'' in Britain during the Middle Ages``, *Folklore*, 115 (2): (2004), p. 141

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 141

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 144; J. Borsje, `Celtic Spells and Counterspells` in Alexandra Bergholm, Ritari Katja (eds.), *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Pagan Past* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 10-11 and pp. 21-5

²⁰² V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), pp. 207-212

²⁰³ See C. Watkins, `Folklore` and `Popular Religion` in Britain during the Middle Ages'; R. Kieckhefer, *The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic*; C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); J. Borsje, *Celtic Spells and Counterspells* for discussion of this topic although it is clear that more research is required in this area.

²⁰⁴ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, pp. 45-6

may refer to a demonic origin by stating: `a creature in the shape of a mouse'.²⁰⁵ Manawydan is expressing an unease in the origin of the creature but is not describing it as a transformed human but as possibly being of a supernatural origin. This suggests that Llwyd may be drawing upon demonic powers to enact his revenge – perhaps linking the Otherworld to Hell.²⁰⁶ Figure 2c demonstrates the origin of this transformative enchantment as unspecified in the same manner as the Children of Dôn's enchantments shown in Figure 2d. With his status of a bishop this suggestive demonic-interaction would be truly shocking to the medieval audience. Kieckhefer notes that one of the Latin terms used to describe magic - *superstitio*, suggests improper or irrational religious practice and therefore it may not be unknown for a cleric to be accused of demonically-interactive practice of magic.²⁰⁷

Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Journey Through Wales* records several examples of popular religion existing alongside Christian practice. Descriptions include the festivities of St. Eluned;²⁰⁸ soothsayers (who Cambrensis suggests may be possessed by demons but does not fully commit himself to this stance);²⁰⁹ views of the Otherworld that have parallels to examples within PKM and the Irish material;²¹⁰ sprits affecting peoples` homes (Cambrensis seems to differentiate these from demons)²¹¹ and supernatural beings that help mortals until their demonic origin is revealed.²¹² A key element of Cambrensis` writings is that these demonstrate popular beliefs of medieval Welsh society as these are

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 44

²⁰⁶ This may also be seen in later Christian writing equating Annwfn to Hell. See J. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture – A Historical Encyclopaedia, Volume IV* (ABC Clio, 2006), p. 1405

²⁰⁷ R. Kieckhefer, *The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic*, p. 816

²⁰⁸ Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Journey Though Wales*, Lewis Thorpe (ed. and trans.) (London: Penguin Classics, 1978), I.2

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, I.12; Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Description of Wales*, Lewis Thorpe (ed. and trans.) (London: Penguin Classics, 1978), I.16

²¹⁰ Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Journey Though Wales*, I.8

²¹¹ *Ibid*, I.12

²¹² *Ibid*, I.12

stories learnt from local people. These tales are useful for a study of contemporary popular beliefs as Cambrensis is creating his works at approximately the same period as PKM is written, thus reflecting beliefs that would be recognised by the medieval audience. Cambrensis` writings also demonstrate that the boundaries between demonic and otherworldly belief were often blurred - not just by the laity but also amongst the clergy. Cambrensis is often unsure whether to describe something as demonic or supernatural and in several cases will not commit himself to a specific view. The parallels that exist between PKM, Cambrensis` writings and the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* demonstrate the continuation, and acceptance, of traditions within all tiers of medieval Welsh society. Carey suggests that the continuing existence of the `Old Gods` and the Otherworld within Ireland is because `belief in the supernatural powers of the land was evidently too strong to be side-tracked by euhemerism...`.²¹³ It would not be implausible to suggest that similar belief occurred in Wales.

Although only one weapon-treasure appears within PKM (the spear of Gronw), the motif of the otherworldly weapon is suggested in other ways. Chapter Three outlines the wider medieval Welsh and Irish traditions of the magical spear, and associations with Lleu / Lugh and the continuation of popular belief alongside Christian doctrine has just been discussed above. This is reflected in the spear forged by Gronw having an unholy aspect to it via its creation only on a Sunday during mass. This grants the spear an element of sympathetic magic with the absence of the forger during this Christian-rite - creating a separation from the Christian community. The separation leads to the forger becoming un-Christian and imparts that quality and danger to the weapon he creates, perhaps suggestive of a demonic-aspect. This is the opposite of what Roolf describes as `magico-

²¹³ J. Carey, *The Old Gods of Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 57

religious` in the context of healing objects where the magical properties of an object rely on the use of holy words or actions.²¹⁴ This tradition is possibly reflected in *Sanas Cormaic* where Goibniu sings spells over a spear to enchant it.²¹⁵

A common aspect of otherworldly weapons noted by Ettlinger describes burning blades as being of otherworldly origin in Irish, Welsh and Germanic traditions.²¹⁶ TT recounts that the sword *Dyrnwyn* burst into flame if drawn by a well-born man.²¹⁷ The colour white (W. *gwyn*) is associated with the Otherworld and examples occurring in the *Mabinogi* include the hunting hounds of Arawn,²¹⁸ the white boar that leads Pryderi into the trap of the Otherworldly Fort²¹⁹ and the character Olwen in CO.²²⁰ In `Preiddeu Annwn`, the sword of Lleog is described as flashing although this may be a metaphor for a swift blade.²²¹ Puhvel associates flashing blades with otherworldly-lightning weapons and equates Arthur`s sword, *Caledfwlch*, in CO with this motif²²² whereas other treasures belonging to Arthur also appear to have a root-association with *gwyn* such as *Prydwen*.²²³ Irish material associates burning or bright blades as having otherworldly-origins and examples include the spear of Celtchar,²²⁴ the swords of Conaire and Cú Chulainn²²⁵ as well as a spear in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*.²²⁶ In *Beowulf*, the sword used to slay Grendel`s

²¹⁴ B. Roolf, `Healing Objects in Welsh Folk Medicine`, *Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, XVI: (1996), p. 107

²¹⁵ *Cormac`s Glossary*, J. O`Donovan (trans.), W. Stokes (ed.) (Calcutta: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1868), p. 123

²¹⁶ E. Ettlinger, `Magic Weapons in Celtic Legends`, *Folklore*, 56 (3): (1945), p. 298

²¹⁷ *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg Ynys Prydein*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 258-9

²¹⁸ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 3

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 39

²²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 192

²²¹ `Preiddeu Annwn`, Line 18, M. Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, Second Revised Edition 2015 (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2007), p. 436

²²² M. Puhvel, `The Deicidal Otherworld Weapon in Celtic and Germanic Mythic Tradition`, *Folklore*, 83 (3): (1972), pp. 213-4

²²³ `Preiddeu Annwn`, Line 9, M. Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Legendary Poems*, p. 436

²²⁴ *The Destruction of Da Derga`s Hostel*, Whitley Stokes (trans.), CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 301

²²⁵ E. Ettlinger, *Magic Weapons in Celtic Legends*, p. 298

²²⁶ *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*, Cecile O`Rahilly (trans.), CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 182

mother is said to have a shining hilt suggestive of a Germanic tradition of a similar motif.²²⁷

Although this demonstrates the existence of a burning-blade motif and its otherworldly associations in wider Welsh, Irish and possible Germanic traditions, it does not explain a lack of such material within PKM. As demonstrated in Figures 2 and 4, PKM contains a variety of otherworldly origins of enchantments and treasures but lack otherworldly weapons. It is possible that the author(s) of PKM wished to utilise a burning-blade motif in an innovative manner. Sims-Williams discusses the origin of *llassar* as being derived from the character Llasar.²²⁸ This character has otherworld associations via his original ownership of the Cauldron of Rebirth gifted by Bendigeidfran to Matholwch and through Llasar's appearance from the Lake of the Cauldron together with the rapid growth of his children.²²⁹ In the Third Branch, Manawydan and Pryderi craft saddles using a technique learnt from Llasar Llaesgyngwyd that involves blue enamel.²³⁰ Sims-Williams notes that *llassar* is often associated with azure shields²³¹ which Manawydan and Pryderi later manufacture. Llasar Llaesgyngwyd also appears in *Branwen* when his son, Llashar, is one of the seven men left to guard Britain during Bendigeidfran's invasion of Ireland and is subsequently murdered by Caswallon.²³² *Branwen* recounts that the weapons borne by Llasar's children are, `...the best...anyone has seen'.²³³ This epithet is used elsewhere in PKM to describe otherworldly locations and people.²³⁴ There is an implication that the weapons used, and the techniques taught, by Llasar were otherworldly in origin. Sims-

²²⁷ *Beowulf*, M. Swanton (ed. and trans.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 111

²²⁸ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, p. 252

²²⁹ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 26

²³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 37

²³¹ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, pp. 251-2

²³² S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 28

²³³ *Ibid*, p. 27

²³⁴ *Ibid*, see Pwyll's arrival at Arawn's Court, p. 5; Pwyll's description of Rhiannon during their first meeting, p. 11, description of Blodeuedd, p. 58

Williams notes that the term `*Llasar*` has etymological roots with the Irish, *lassa(i)r*. This is important as the meaning of *lassa(i)r* is flame or fire.²³⁵ There is the possibility that the author(s) of *Branwen* and *Manawydan* were aware of otherworldly associations of burning-blades as demonstrated by the tradition in TT, CO and `Preiddeu Annwfn` but instead of applying its typical usage, interpreted it in a different manner. The character of Llasar was a creation of the author(s) in order to explain an otherworldly origin for techniques recently brought to Wales from the Orient and highlighted its expense and difference from the norm.²³⁶ This is a technique similar to the association of brocaded silk with the Otherworld as discussed in Chapter Three. By suggesting the Otherworld is the origin of these techniques and weapons via Llasar, it emphasised the `otherness` of the Otherworld and its knowledge beyond that of normal people.

Several otherworld motifs described within PKM reflect a wider literary tradition. Both Pryderi and Lleu undergo a rapid ageing suggesting that the children double in size compared to a normal child of equivalent age.²³⁷ This same motif is used for the children of Llasar who are described as, `born of that pregnancy in a month and a fortnight will be a fully armed warrior`.²³⁸ Bendigeidfran reveals that the children of Llasar are `numerous and prosper`²³⁹ throughout his kingdom suggesting a rapid population growth. Sims-Williams argues that the children of Llasar may be seen as a *gormes* in a similar manner as described in *Lludd and Llefelys*. These represent the Irish settlements within Wales at the same time as emphasising that *gormes* may have a concurrent historical and mythical origin.²⁴⁰ Rapid growth also reveals otherworldly attributes in Irish literature. Cú

²³⁵ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, p. 252

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251 for a discussion of the etymology of *llasart* from Arabic and Romance language.

²³⁷ S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi*, p. 18 and p. 55

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27

²⁴⁰ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, p. 244

Chulainn when he enters his battle-distortion in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* grows to larger proportions,²⁴¹ whilst in *Cath Maige Tuired* Eloha, one of the Túatha Dé Danaan, has the same rapid growth as Lleu and Pryderi.²⁴²

In summary, PKM has otherworld influences in every Branch. Some of these motifs appear to have parallels with Irish material. The preceding chapters outlined the features of these otherworldly elements as they appear within the wider literature but what should be noted are the various possible innovations created by the author(s) of PKM. A possible example of the adaptations made by the author(s) would be the burning-blade motif for otherworldly weapons. Although attested to in *Cynfeirdd* material such as `Preiddeu Annwn`, possible analogies with lightning-weapons such as Arthur's sword in *Culhwch ac Olwen* as well as in the later medieval redaction of TT, the author(s) of PKM seem to have avoided otherworldly weapons.²⁴³ Instead there is a focus on using the burning-motif through tying the meaning of characters' names, such as Llasar, with new words in the Welsh language such as *llasart*. The author(s) attached these new techniques and materials (such as brocaded silk) with native traditions of the Otherworld to emphasize their richness and rarity adding relevance for the medieval audience. Perhaps the original audience would accept the technique came from the Otherworld rather than a distant location such as the Orient due to native traditions of the nature of the Otherworld?

Despite not being an overt influence on PKM, Christian belief does appear to be active in its composition. It is unwise to suggest that the same methods involved in the redactions

²⁴¹ *Táin Bó Cúalnge* from the Book of Leinster, pp. 201-2

²⁴² *Cath Maige Tuired*, Whitley Stokes (trans.) CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 63

²⁴³ See Chapter Three, pp. 51-3 for a discussion on otherworldly weapons and examples from other medieval Welsh and Irish materials.

of existing Welsh material and traditions follow the same intents as the usage of native material in the Irish tradition. This is due to the longer conversion of the Welsh people to Christianity and the subsequent long-term euhemerisation of their pagan beliefs. However, there are some parallels in how the author(s) of PKM may have treated the origin of the magical practice of some characters, particular the Children of Dôn, and their possible involvement in the usage of demonic influence on magical practice.

Kieckhefer, Escobar-Vargas, Lawrence-Mathers, Borsje and Carey highlight the role of the Church in emphasising that magical practice and ancient gods were held to be demonically influenced. PKM contains features of popular religion that are interwoven with Christian doctrine and which do not appear to focus on such demonic-influence. Cambrensis reports that this is widespread in the contemporary medieval culture of PKM's audience and authorship; if not with the blessing of the local Church then at least with tolerance. The otherworld motifs located within PKM are indicative of this spectrum of belief and demonstrate that although Church and university elites may view such practices as having demonic origins, or that the existence of pre-Christian deities were either demonic or euhemerised, the popular beliefs may not follow such ideals. Cambrensis' unwillingness to commit himself to naming all such practices as demonic reflects the local churches', and local communities', beliefs and adherence to older practices that became entwined with Christian belief and may be explained alongside such concepts. Carey, although discussing Ireland, summarises the issue when he states that these beliefs, `...must have continued to be formidable realities in the eyes of the population at large...'.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ J. Carey, *The Old Gods of Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 53

Conclusions

This thesis demonstrates that PKM reflects magical belief within medieval Welsh society, and therefore the original audience, at the time of composition. Examples of magical belief as they appeared to the intellectual elites of medieval England and western continental Europe are detailed by Kieckhefer, Escobar-Vargas and Lawrence-Mathers, who describe the textual analysis of these beliefs.²⁴⁵ As stated by early Church writers such as Isidore of Seville and medieval contemporaries of PKM such as Cambrensis,²⁴⁶ the root of the intellectual-elites` beliefs is that demonic interactions are the central cause of magical practice in some European countries. Natural magic – that is magic that uses the occult properties of natural objects - acts alongside, and blurs the boundaries with demonic interaction from the thirteenth century onwards. From the evidence in this thesis, PKM does not appear to follow these intellectual beliefs concerning demonic-influence that circulated in medieval western Europe.

PKM does not include any overt examples of demonic influence upon enchantment or treasures. These motifs are built instead on a development of otherworldly themes and motifs exemplified in earlier Welsh literary traditions which include some parallels within the Irish *Echtra* and *Immrama* tales. If the arguments of Kieckhefer et al. were applied concerning magical practice, PKM should include numerous exempla of demonic interactions performed by enchanters such as Gwydion and Math, together with

²⁴⁵ R. Kieckhefer, `The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic`, *The American Historical Review*, 99 (3): (1994), pp. 813-836; R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Canto Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014)

²⁴⁶ Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Stephen A. Barney (ed. and trans.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), VIII.xi.1-5; Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Journey Through Wales*, Lewis Thorpe (ed. and trans.) (London: Penguin Classics, 1978), I.12; Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Description of Wales*, Lewis Thorpe (ed. and trans.) (London: Penguin Classics, 1978), I.16

otherworldly figures such as Arawn. This would then indicate that the magical beliefs of medieval Wales were similar to that of contemporary England and other western European countries. The lack of demonic-influence amongst the descriptions of enchantments or uses of treasures suggests that a different set of beliefs is embedded within medieval Welsh society. More applicable to this thesis is Valk's concept that a belief in magic is expressed through a set-use of phrases, application of words and actions; when combined in the appropriate context this allows the audience to believe the action is magical.²⁴⁷ This is evidenced throughout this thesis. Most significantly in the role of Gorsedd Arberth; the use of liminal locations to perform enchantments – especially conjuring or illusionary forms of enchantment;²⁴⁸ the repetition of the phrase: *hud a/r lledrith*²⁴⁹ and the description of the magical attributes of treasures.²⁵⁰

Valk, Kieckhefer, Escobar-Vargas, Lawrence-Mathers and Borsje all stress the rational nature of magical practice that is suggested by medieval commentators such as Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologies*.²⁵¹ By following a formula of actions, language, or the use of certain materials with occult properties, the same, or similar results may be created on separate occasions. This is seen in the enchantments of Gwydion in *Math* where he repeatedly conjures objects or creates illusions using natural objects of a sympathetic

²⁴⁷ Ülo Valk, 'Magic, Participation and Genre: Narrative Experiences of the Supernatural' in P. Espak, M. Lääinemets, V. Sazonov (eds.), *When Gods Spoke: Researches and Reflections on Religious Phenomena and Artefacts* (University of Tartu Press, 2015), p. 417

²⁴⁸ See Chapter Two, pp. 24-6 for a discussion of geographical locations and their role in enchantment.

²⁴⁹ See Appendix I for occurrences of this phrase and Table 1 for a summary of *hud a/r lledrith* distribution in the Pen. 4 MSS and Oxford Jesus College MS.111

²⁵⁰ See Chapter Three for a discussion of the magical attributes of treasures.

²⁵¹ R. Kieckhefer, *The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic*, p. 814; R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. x-xi; C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 31-3; Ülo Valk, *Magic, Participation and Genre*, p. 417; J. Borsje, 'Celtic Spells and Counterspells' in Alexandra Bergholm, Ritari Katja (eds.), *Understanding Celtic Religion, Revisiting the Pagan Past* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 37-8; Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, VIII.ix.9-35

magical nature.²⁵² This rational process also occurs in the use of synchronic themes that span across two or more of the Branches.²⁵³ The clearest motif that demonstrates a synchronic theme is the Otherworld's dependence upon the mortal realm for aid to solve problems that are beyond its abilities, or a mortal's disenchantment of magical actions. Examples include: Arawn needing to remove a rival; Rhiannon seeking to escape an arranged marriage; Heilyn ap Gwyn breaking the enchantment of the Assembly of the Noble Head; Manawydan forcing the removal of the enchantment upon Dyfed and the restoration of Rhiannon and Pryderi from the Otherworld while Gronw slays Lleu with a mortal-forged spear.²⁵⁴

A theme that Kieckhefer et al. focus upon is the elite-level application of magical practice. Escobar-Vargas and Lawrence-Mathers make particular efforts to demonstrate that many of the medieval 'magical' texts are composed by churchmen or universities acting within a framework based on scientific or religious beliefs and are overseen by higher officials.²⁵⁵ Chapter Four describes how PKM partially reflects this stance in that several of the practitioners of enchantment are high status: kings, royal kin-groups, bishops or have some level of bardic training that could only be a result of a high-level of education. In this regard, PKM does reflect the same system of magical belief as the remainder of medieval Europe.

The language utilised for enchantment and treasures within PKM gives stronger evidence towards Valk's linguistic argument of magical belief.²⁵⁶ The demonic-influences

²⁵² See Chapter Two, p. 26 and pp. 32-3 for a discussion of Gwydion's conjuring enchantments.

²⁵³ See Chapter Four, p. 47 for a discussion of synchronic themes involving enchantment and treasures.

²⁵⁴ These examples are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

²⁵⁵ C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 26-9

²⁵⁶ Ülo Valk, *Magic, Participation and Genre*, p. 417

argument presented by Kieckhefer et al. lacks evidence within PKM but there are suggestions as to the danger of magical practice that Valk, Kieckhefer et al. agree on. The words *hud* and *lledrith* both have linguistic connotations to medieval Welsh societies` concept of magic. As Table 1 and Table 2 demonstrate, these two words, although similar in meaning, convey subtly different interpretations of magic. These words are often located together in a joined phrase: *hud a/r lledrith*, which suggests a differentiated belief in the intent of magical application when they appear separately. *Hud* is located independently and has a wider distribution within PKM and its meaning includes a wider application of magic than *lledrith* with some suggestions of negative practice of such use.²⁵⁷ This usage is found across all of the Branches whereas *lledrith* is only identifiably twinned with *hud* in *Manawydan* and *Math* and does not occur independently. If *Manawydan* and *Math* are redactions of later Welsh tales and *Pwyll* is a redaction of earlier tales, as evidenced by `Preiddeu Annwfn`, this may demonstrate a development of magical belief within the medieval audience. Firm dating of the *Cynfeirdd* material is critical here. There is not enough space in this thesis to investigate this further, but wider research in this field may offer insights into the developments of magical belief in medieval Wales and its influence from contemporaries in other countries.²⁵⁸

Greater complexities of enchantment-types occur in *Manawydan* and *Math* in comparison to the simpler examples within *Pwyll*. Figures 2a-d demonstrate that the distribution of enchantment-types increases through each successive Branch. Several of these only occur once within *Manawydan* and *Math*, whereas *Pwyll* and *Branwen* have greater

²⁵⁷ See Table 1 and Table 2 for the distributions of *hud* and *lledrith* across PKM and the comparison between the WB and RB occurrences of such. Chapter Two, p. 15 discusses the meanings of *hud* and *lledrith* and evaluates how *hud* may have been perceived by the medieval Welsh audience as containing more negative meanings. Appendix I locates and includes the sentences that contain *hud*, *lledrith* and *hud a/r lledrith* within the original MSS.

²⁵⁸ See footnote 73 for discussion of the dating of the Taliesin poetry that are referenced in this thesis.

repetition of the same enchantment-type. However, amongst these motifs the occult properties of a location remain consistent. Gorsedd Arberth, for example, remains central to any magical activity within Dyfed whether that occurs in *Pwyll* or *Manawydan*. Liminal areas are the focus of geo-magical practice such as the woodland glen where Pwyll meets Arawn or the seashore where Gwydion creates his illusions. The focus on liminality, as noted by Linkletter, is common across Irish and Welsh material.²⁵⁹ This suggests a cross-cultural influence as well as fulfilling Valk's requirement for linguistic formula creating the psychological framework needed to accept the event as magical. It must be noted that only *Math* describes the usage of occult properties of natural objects that is comparable to the medieval beliefs of such practice defined in the textual analysis of Kieckhefer et al.²⁶⁰ Does this perhaps suggest a later composition of *Math* compared to the other Branches? Space within this thesis precludes further investigation but indicates that there is more to be discovered in this field.

The function of enchantment and treasures described within this thesis complements current academic belief by adding evidence to the use of synchronicity within PKM.²⁶¹ Themes involved in animal transformation occur across both *Manawydan* and *Math*. In both Branches the function of this enchantment is a form of administering punishment. This may be inflicted upon a wrong-doer as in the examples of Gwydion, Gilfaethwy and Blodeuedd; to a perceived enemy as demonstrated by the transformed retinue of Llwyd son of Cil Coed destroying Manawydan's crops, or the transformation of Lleu into an eagle via his wounding by Gronw. In all examples the transformation is not created by

²⁵⁹ M. Linkletter, 'Magical Realism and the Mabinogi: An Exercise in Methodology', *Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, XX: (2000), pp. 56-7

²⁶⁰ R. Kieckhefer, *The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic*, p. 817; R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Chapter Two; C. Escobar-Vargas, A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Magic and Medieval Society*, pp. 27-37

²⁶¹ See Chapter One for a summary of the historiography of this argument.

the personal attributes of an enchanter but through a treasure; in all but one case a wand - the exception being the use of a spear in *Math*. Association of the wand with an elite status indicates a symbol of authority attached to the ownership of the treasure. It also separates the user from its act of transformation and possible negative influence of the magical practice.

Vertical structuring of PKM is also demonstrated by the role of otherworldly items as an indicator of wealth and splendour. As noted in Chapter Three, this shows similar patterns with the Irish material but is re-worked to appeal to a medieval Welsh audience and often mirrors the laws of the period. The role of *llassar* and brocaded silk are two indicators of this in PKM. Other examples include the role of the Cauldron of Rebirth in *Branwen* and the natures of the otherworldly courts of Arawn and Rhiannon with their bounteous feasts paralleled by the Assembly of the Noble Head.²⁶² In all examples of magical treasures in PKM, the attribute of the object is more significant than its appearance.²⁶³ It is only mortal-gifts, such as those given in *galanas* to Matholwch by Bendigeidfran, that mimic descriptions found in medieval Welsh law-codes where the treasure is described in detail.²⁶⁴ This approach is replicated in TT as well as the Irish materials.²⁶⁵

There are detachments from otherworldly traditions as described by the Irish and Germanic material. PKM demonstrates a lack of magical weapons. Although Gronw

²⁶² See Chapter Three for a discussion of these themes.

²⁶³ See Chapter Three, pp. 48-9 for a discussion of this concept. See E. Ettlinger, 'Magic Weapons in Celtic Legends', *Folklore*, 56 (3): (1945), p. 295 for a discussion of this concept across Irish and Welsh medieval texts.

²⁶⁴ See Chapter Three, pp. 47-8 for a discussion of this scene and its relationship to the Laws of Cyfnerth.

²⁶⁵ *Tri Thlws ar Ddeg Ynys Prydein*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Fourth edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 258-9; E. Ettlinger, *Magic Weapons in Celtic Legends*, p. 298; *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*, Whitley Stokes (trans.), CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 301; *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*, Cecile O'Rahilly (trans.), CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>, p. 182

creates a magical spear, no otherworldly or magical weapons are named elsewhere in PKM. In comparison to the Irish material that includes a wide plethora of spears, swords and shields²⁶⁶ this lack of martial equipment is notably, and perhaps deliberately, made by the author(s) who wished to focus on enchantment-based actions rather than physical treasures. This is demonstrated by the lack of such martial items and the range of enchantment types found throughout PKM.²⁶⁷ A lack of cauldrons in PKM compared to their multiplicity in the Taliesin poetry should also be noted. Table 3 demonstrates the variety of cauldron-motifs in the poetry of the *Cynfeirdd* but only one cauldron is described in a single Branch: *Branwen*. Although scholars have argued persuasively as to the cauldron's role in the Second Branch as a development of the otherworldly raid motif as typified in `Preiddeu Annwfn`,²⁶⁸ the lack of such objects in the remainder of PKM is significant. This thesis has furthered the study of this field by identifying the lack of martial items, other than the spear of Gronw, and the lack of a wider usage of cauldrons. Due to a lack of space in this thesis, it has not been possible to give a clear answer as to why such items may be precluded.

There is little doubt that PKM drew upon existing Welsh traditions. Sims-Williams has demonstrated the number of Irish influences upon PKM in both themes and composition,

²⁶⁶ *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel*, Whitley Stokes (trans.); *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*, Cecile O'Rahilly (trans.); *Cath Maige Tuired*, Whitley Stokes (trans.) CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts [Online] Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt> <Accessed May 2016>; *Cormac's Glossary*, J. O'Donovan (trans.), W. Stokes (ed.) (Calcutta: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1868), p. 123

²⁶⁷ Chapter Two discusses the range of enchantment-motifs and identifies examples of synchronic themes in their usage to emphasise the role of enchantment. Chapter Four, pp. 64-6 discusses the possible innovations made by PKM's author(s) in the usage of the `burning-blade` motif.

²⁶⁸ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 233-4; R. Bromwich, S. D. Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), p. lix; M. Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, Second Revised Edition 2015 (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2007), pp. 433; S. Davies (trans.), *Y Mabinogi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 236; W. Parker, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Bardic Press, 2005), p. 350

particularly within *Branwen*.²⁶⁹ This thesis has demonstrated Irish influences within *Math* in the actions upon Lleu by Gronw via the forging of a magical spear,²⁷⁰ together with the rapid childhood growth of Pryderi, Lleu and the children of Llasar.²⁷¹ These influences on the text do not appear to have prevented the author(s) of PKM possibly innovating new approaches. *Pwyll* appears to be unique in PKM in that several of its events are not directly related to an identifiable early tradition in the surviving manuscripts outside of the WB and RB.²⁷² Although `Preiddeu Annwn` is suggestive of lost tales of Pwyll and Pryderi, the core story of `Preiddeu Annwn` is transferred to *Branwen* with the shifting of the otherworldly raid to a raid on Ireland. *Manawydan*, rather than being influenced by earlier material, appears to be an influence on TYP - in particular *Triad 67*.²⁷³ *Math* appears to be significantly influenced by *Cynfeirdd* material as demonstrated by references in `Kat Godeu`,²⁷⁴ `Golychaf-i Gulwyd`²⁷⁵ and `Kadeir Kerrituen`.²⁷⁶ *Math* appears to influence TYP with later redactions exchanging earlier characters for Gwydion and Math.²⁷⁷ The original characters re-emerge in the fifteenth-century MSS, *Pedwar Marchog*²⁷⁸ suggesting a continuation of these tales that is now lost in the surviving manuscript material that is available.

²⁶⁹ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, Chapters Two and Three.

²⁷⁰ See Chapter Three, p. 51-3 for a discussion of the influences of Irish materials upon this motif.

²⁷¹ See Chapter Two, pp. 36-7 for a discussion of these supernatural properties of growth.

²⁷² The exceptions here are identifying Pwyll as *Pen Annwn* in `Preiddeu Annwn`, M. Haycock (ed. and trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 435 and *Triad 26*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 50-53 or the granting of the swine to Pwyll from Annwn described in *Math* and *Triad 26*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 50-3

²⁷³ *Triad 67 – Three Noble Shoemakers of the Island of Britain*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, pp. 185-8

²⁷⁴ `Kat Godeu`, Lines 158-166, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 182.

²⁷⁵ `Golychaf-I Gulwyd`, Lines 29-31, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 276

²⁷⁶ `Kadeir Kerrituen`, Lines 14-16, M. Haycock (ed. & trans.), *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, p. 316

²⁷⁷ See Chapter Two, pp. 35-36 for a discussion on *Triad 27* and *Triad 28* of TYP.

²⁷⁸ *Pedwar Marchog Ar Hugain Llys Arthur*, R. Bromwich (ed.), *TYP*, p. 268

This suggests that *Manawydan* and *Math* may represent a more popular form of tale amongst medieval Welsh elites that could account for the differing beliefs of magic between these, *Pwyll* and *Branwen*. The survival of the *Cynfeirdd* material from a pre-eleventh-century composition and the replacement of earlier triadic material in the WB and RB editions of TYP with characters from *Math*, argues that the stories of the Gwynedd-focused tales became more popular than the tales of the southern dynasties as described in *Pwyll*. It is worth noting that *Pwyll* in its treatment of enchantment is a simpler tale and this perhaps indicates earlier (lost) material whereas *Math* has more complex enchantment-motifs and appears to have more relevance to magical beliefs of contemporary medieval literary-elites. Sims-Williams has argued that *Branwen* is a development of the otherworldly raid-motif and should perhaps be seen as a `stand-alone` tale amongst PKM.²⁷⁹ Perhaps the differences in the use of enchantment and treasure-types between the final two Branches and *Pwyll* are partly due to a greater cultural contact with wider European traditions at the time that *Manawydan* and *Math* were redacted. However, this may fail to account for the inclusion of the *Cynfeirdd* material if the earlier dating of these is accepted. Space in this thesis precludes further investigation.

This thesis has demonstrated the role of enchantment and the use of treasures within PKM. It has shown that there are synchronic themes throughout PKM with recurring motifs. There are influences from earlier native traditions as well as from Irish materials and this appears to be combined with some contemporary medieval beliefs on how magic may be practised. Several of these beliefs may be comparable to Irish evidence which may be suggestive of the two cultures having a shared pre-Christian belief system. It may equally suggest a literary influence across the Irish sea. Questions have been raised that

²⁷⁹ P. Sims-Williams, *Irish Influence on Medieval Welsh Literature*, Chapter Two and Three.

have not been answered, either because they are beyond the intended scope or length of this thesis but demonstrate that the magical practices and beliefs of medieval Wales need to be explored in a greater depth in order to answer these queries. The evidence of this thesis suggests that medieval Wales had slightly different beliefs of magical practice to contemporary continental Europe. Although natural magic appears to be described much earlier than amongst continental beliefs, demonic-influence does not feature within PKM. Instead, a reliance upon older traditions of the Otherworld appears to account for enchantment-based beliefs. PKM may represent a transition from earlier medieval Welsh societal beliefs to later medieval beliefs with each successive Branch suggestive of this passage of change from native traditions to wider cultural-influences upon these beliefs of magic.

Appendix I: Frequencies of *hud* and *lledrith* and Combined Phrase *hud a/r lledrith*²⁸⁰

*lledrith*²⁸⁰

NLW MS. Peniarth 4 (White Book)

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Page</u> <u>Reference</u>	<u>Quote</u>
<i>Pwyll</i>	<i>Hut</i>	line 14:30, p4r	ŷ mae ýno rŷ6 ýstŷr hut.
<i>Branwen</i>	<i>Hut</i>	line 58:18, p15r	Cas6alla6n a daroed ida6 6isca6 llen hut amdana6.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 69:31, p18r	a r neb a dodes hut ar ý lat a beris bot ý gaer ý // ma.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 79:9, p20v	Guaret ýr hut a r lledrith ý ar seith cantref dŷuet
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 79:19, p20v	Miui ŷ6 ll6ýt uab kil coet a mi a do // deis ýr hut ar seith cantref dŷ // uet ac ý dial gua6l uab clut o gedýmdeithas ac ef ý dodeis i ýr hut.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 79:22, p20v	Miui ŷ6 ll6ýt uab kil coet a mi a do // deis ýr hut ar seith cantref dŷ // uet ac ý dial gua6l uab clut o gedýmdeithas ac ef ý dodeis i ýr hut.

²⁸⁰ Data compiled from *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425*, Diana Luft, Thomas Peter Wynn, D. Mark Smith (eds.), University of Cardiff [Online]

Available: <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk> <Accessed July 2016>

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Page</u> <u>Reference</u>	<u>Quote</u>
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 80:5, p20v	ac a baredaf yr hut a r lletrith y ar dýuet.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 80:10, p20v	na bo hut uýth ar seith cantref dýuet ac na dot <i>+</i> ter.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 85: 5, p22r	ac ýna ýd aeth ef ýn ý geluýdodeu ac ý dechreua6t dangos ý hut
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 86:2, p22r	ný phara yr hut namýn o r prýt p6ý gilýd.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 89:2, p23r	ýmlad a bnaethant ac o nerth grým ac angerd a hut a lledrith guýdýon a oruu.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 98:36, p25r	ac ýna ý gel6is ef ý hut a ý allu atta6
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 100:27, p25v	Je heb+ ý math keiss6n inheu ui a thi oc an hut a n lledrith huda6 g6 <i>+</i> reic ida6 ýnteu o r blodeu.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Lledrith</i>	Line 79:9, p20v	Guaret yr hut a r lledrith ý ar seith cantref dýuet
<i>Math</i>	<i>Lledrith</i>	Line 89:2, p23r	ýmlad a bnaethant ac o nerth grým ac angerd a hut a lledrith guýdýon a oruu.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Lledrith</i>	Line 100:27, p25v	Je heb+ ý math keiss6n inheu ui a thi oc an hut a n lledrith huda6 g6 <i>+</i> reic ida6 ýnteu o r blodeu.

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Page</u> <u>Reference</u>	<u>Quote</u>
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Lletrith</i>	Line 80:5, p20v	ac a baredaf yr hut a r lletrith ŷ ar dýuet.

Oxford Jesus College MS. 111 (Red Book)

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Page</u> <u>Reference</u>	<u>Quote</u>
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hud</i>	Line 749:43, p185r	G6aret yr hut a r lletrith y ar seith cantref dyuet.
<i>Pwyll</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 716:18, p176v	Je heb·y p6yll y mae yno ry6 ystyr hut.
<i>Branwen</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 737:46, p182r	Kasswall+ a6n a r daroed ida6 wisca6 llén hut ymdana6.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 744:30, p183v	a r neb a dodes hut ar y wlat a beris bot y gaer ym+ ma.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 750:4, p185v	a mi a dodeis yr hut ar seith cantref dyuet.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 750:6, p185v	ac y dial g6a6l uab clut o gedymdeithas ac ef y dodeis i yr hut.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 750:20, p185v	ac a waredaf yr hut a r lletrith y ar dyuet.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 750:24, p185v	na bo hut vyth ar seith cantref dy+ uet ac na dotter.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 753:19, p186r	ac y dechreuawd dangos y hut.

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Page</u> <u>Reference</u>	<u>Quote</u>
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 753:42, p186r	ny phara yr hut namyn o r pryt y gilyd.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 755:34, p186v	ac o nerth grym ac angerd a hut a lletirth g6ydyon.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 757:13, p187r	Sef a wnaeth ef dyr+ chael y hut.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 761:39, p188r	ac yna y gelwis ef y hut a e allu attab.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Hut</i>	Line 762:43, p188v	keiss6n ninneu ui a thi o c an hut a n lletirth huda6 g6reic ida6 ynteu o r blodeu.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Lletirth</i>	Line 749:43, p185r	G6aret yr hud a r lletirth y ar seith cantref dyuet.
<i>Manawydan</i>	<i>Lletirth</i>	Line 750:20, p185v	ac a waredaf yr hut a r lletirth y ar dyuet.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Lletirth</i>	Line 755:34, p186v	ac o nerth grym ac angerd a hut a lletirth g6ydyon.
<i>Math</i>	<i>Lletirth</i>	Line 762:43, p188v	keiss6n ninneu ui a thi o c an hut a n lletirth huda6 g6reic ida6 ynteu o r blodeu.

Appendix II – International Story Motifs relating to Enchantment, Treasures and
the Otherworld in the Four Branches²⁸¹

Branch	Enchantment Motifs	Treasure Motifs	Otherworld Motifs	Total ²⁸²
Pwyll	11	2	6	17
Branwen	9	8	10	19
Manawydan	13	3	2	15
Math	29	5	3	32

Branch	International Story Motifs	Celtic Story Motifs	Motifs unique to PKM
Pwyll	11	4	2
Branwen	11	7	1
Manawydan	12	3	0
Math	25	5	2

Pwyll

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Colours of the Otherworld	F178		✓			✓
Red as Otherworld colour	F178.1		✓			✓
Red as magic colour	D1293.1	✓		✓		
White as magic colour	D1293.3		✓	✓		

²⁸¹ Data based on A. Welsh, 'The Traditional Narrative Motifs of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 15 (Winter): (1988), pp. 51-62; Centre for Typological and Semiotic Folklore Studies, S. Thompson: *Motif-Index of Folk Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, , Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest Books and Local Legends* [Online] Available: <http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/thompson/> <Accessed May 2016>; A. Van Den Bosch; F. B. Karsdop; T. Meder; M. Van Der Meulen, *Meertens Online Motif Finder*, [Online] Available: <http://www.momfer.ml/> <Accessed: May 2016>

²⁸² All international and celtic story motifs that contain treasures only describe magical objects, not mundane types. Therefore, the total reflects the number of enchantment including magical objects, and Otherworld motifs found within PKM.

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Otherworld king	F184		✓			✓
Persons exchange forms	D45	✓		✓		
Kings exchange forms and kingdoms for a year (and a day)	D45.1		Only located in PKM	✓		
Journey to terrestrial otherworlds	F110	✓				✓
Castle in otherworld	F163.1	✓				✓
Court in otherworld	F177.1	✓				✓
Magic hill	D932.2	✓		✓		
Magic horse	B184.1	✓		✓	✓	
Magic bag (sack)	D1193	✓		✓	✓	
Deception into magic bag which closes on prisoner	K711.1	✓	Located only in PKM	✓	✓	
Child stealing demon	G442	✓		✓		✓
Ogre (demon) with long arm (demon hand) which is thrust down through chimney (door, etc.)	G369.5	✓		✓		✓
Supernatural growth	T615	✓		✓		

Branwen

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Magic cauldron	D1171.2	✓		✓	✓	
Supernatural growth	T615	✓		✓		
Resuscitation by magic object	E64	✓		✓	✓	
Resuscitation by magic cauldron	E64.2		Only located in PKM	✓	✓	
Magic cloak of invisibility	D1361.2	✓		✓	✓	
Table always set in otherworldly dwellings	F165.4	✓				✓
Abundant food in otherworld	F166.11		✓			✓
Perpetual feasts in otherworld	F173.3		✓			✓
Birds in otherworld	F167.1.2		✓		✓	✓
Magic bird's song	B172.2	✓		✓	✓	
Magic bird's song dispels grief	B172.2.2		✓	✓	✓	
Otherworld on island	F134	✓				✓
<i>Bruidhen</i> (banqueting-hall) as otherworld	F135		✓			✓
Only joy felt in otherworld dwelling	F165.6		✓			✓

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
No gloom, no envy, etc. in otherworld	F172.1	✓				✓
Otherworld land of happiness	F173		✓			✓
Supernatural lapse of time in fairyland	F377	✓		✓		
Magic head	D992	✓		✓	✓	

Manawydan

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Magic mist	D902.1	✓		✓		
Magic hill	D932.2	✓		✓		
Land made magically sterile	D2081	✓		✓		
Adventures from pursuing enchanted animal	N774	✓		✓	✓	
Colours of the otherworld	F178		✓			✓
White as magic colour	D1293.3		✓	✓		
Castle produced by magic	D1131.1	✓		✓	✓	
Magic fountain	D925	✓		✓	✓	

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Magic paralysis	D2072	✓		✓		
Magic adhesion	D2171	✓		✓		
Magic mist	D902.1	✓		✓		
Otherworld (fairyland) as place of sorrowful captivity	F165.6.1		✓			✓
Transformation: Man to mouse	D117.1	✓		✓		
Magic hill	D932.2	✓		✓		
Magic wand	D1254.1	✓		✓	✓	

Math

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Magic illusion	D2031	✓		✓		
Animals made by magic exchanged for real ones. The magic animals disappear.	K139.1		Only located in PKM	✓	✓	
Contest won by magic	K1	✓		✓		
Death or bodily injury by magic	D2060	✓		✓		
Transformation as punishment	D661	✓		✓		
Transformation of a man to animal as fitting punishment	Q584.2	✓		✓		
Transformation by touching with rod	D565.2	✓		✓	✓	

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Transformation: man to deer	D114.1.1	✓		✓		
Transformation: man to boar	D114.3.2	✓		✓		
Transformation: man to wolf	D113.1	✓		✓		
Transformation to person of different sex	D10	✓		✓		
Yearly transformation to person of different sex	D624.3		✓	✓		
Man transformed to woman has children	D695	✓		✓		
Disenchantment at end of specified time	D791.1	✓		✓		
Chastity ordeal: passing over magic rod	H412.1		Only located in PKM	✓	✓	
Transformation by baptism	D587		✓	✓		
Transformation: man to seal	D127.1	✓		✓		
Supernatural growth	T615	✓		✓		
Boat made by magic	D1121.0.1	✓		✓	✓	
Transformation of vegetable form	D451	✓		✓	✓	
Transformation to gain access to enemies camp (fortress)	D641.2		✓	✓		
Magic phantom army. Created out of puff-balls and withered leaves	F585.2		✓	✓		

Motif	Motif Number	International Motif	Celtic Motif	Enchantment	Treasure	Otherworld
Transformation: flower to person	D431.1	✓		✓		
Transformation: man to eagle	D152.2	✓		✓		
Road to otherworld	D151	✓				✓
Hospitable host entertains adventurer on way to otherworld.	F151.0.1		✓			✓
Tree in otherworld	F162.3	✓				✓
Disenchantment by song	D786.1	✓		✓		
Disenchantment by naming	D772	✓		✓		
Disenchantment by using wand	D771.4	✓		✓	✓	
Punishment: woman transformed into bird	Q551.3.2.2	✓		✓		
Transformation: man to owl	D153.2	✓		✓		

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