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La recepción de la narrativa francesa medieval en el País de Gales durante la Edad Media:

Los casos de *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* y *Cân Rolant*

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definitions

In medieval literary studies, the phenomena of intercultural exchange are fundamental; they constitute a place of convergence and of transmission of languages and texts. This thesis seeks to reappraise the reception of French narrative in Medieval Wales by examining two case-studies, that of *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* and *Cân Rolant.*[1] At least initially, this reception did not follow a uniform model: along with well-known translations into Middle Welsh such as *Cân Rolant*, whose source is clearly the Anglo-Norman poem *La chanson de Roland*, there are other texts which, arguably, have not been considered a translation. This is the case of *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn*: even recognising that the *fabula* and *story* (in narratological terms, see Bal, 1997: 8) are basically identical to those of Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain ou Li chevalier au lion*, scholars have debated the nature of the relationship of both texts for more than a century.[2] Difficulties about teasing out date and place of provenance, especially in the case of *Iarlles*, and the preservation of the tales in later manuscripts – the earliest is dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century – have contributed to the persistence of the debate (Huws, 2000; Thomas, 1993; Rodway, 2007, 2013).

The different ways in which the transmission of stories was realized entails methodological obstacles that need to be tackled at the outset. As a result, the broad concept of 'reception' was preferred here to other terms such as adaptation, transposition, and *translatio*, in order to address the translinguistic and transcultural migration of continental material into Wales during the thirteenth century, namely, that of *Yvain ou Li chevalier au lion* and *La chanson de Roland.* Both texts originated within a Francophone environment, presumably in an Anglo-Norman context. However, terminological – and hence theoretical – indeterminacy seems to prevail amongst scholars in the study of medieval translation and, to a high degree, in the field of medieval Welsh translation: are we dealing with 'translations', 'adaptations', 'transpositions' or a '*translatio'* of French texts into Middle Welsh? How do we define these categories? Are they adequate to describe the Welsh phenomena? It is

[1] Henceforth all quotations of *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* (*Iarlles*) will be from Thomson's edition (1986) with indications to line numbers. As for *Cân Rolant*, citations of the Welsh text will be from Rejhon's edition (1984), as well as translations; references will be made to numbered sections. Concerning the French texts, all quotations of the Oxford version of *La chanson de Roland* will be from Segre (2003), whereas of the Venice 4 version will be from Cook (2005). The edition of Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain ou Le chevalier au lion* (*Yvain*), is that of Uitti (1994). In all cases references will be made to verse numbers. Unless otherwise stated, we will follow Duggan and Rejhon (2012) for the translation of *La chanson de Roland,* Kibler (2004) for that of *Yvain*, and S. Davies (2007) for that of *Iarlles*.

[2] This circumstance has produced a lengthy bibliography, most of which has been reviewed by Bromwich (2008). For more recent publications see Lloyd-Morgan (2004b). In this thesis we will only make reference to the latest and more important studies, although pioneer works will be taken into consideration as they constitute foundational ideas, many of them still valid.

essential, then, to define and assess the range of terms that will be employed in the course of this dissertation and to raise any problematic issues.

'Translation' is a many-sided phenomenon.[3] First of all, it is a polysemic word that can either mean the general field of studies (as in *Translation Studies*), the product of an act of translation, or the process of translating. In this third sense, it is primarily a linguistic issue: an original written text (the source text or ST) in the original language (the source language or SL) is changed by the translator into a written text (the target text or TT) in a different language (the target language or TL). This is the more basic definition of interlingual translation according to Jakobson; that is, the interpretation of verbal signs from one language into the verbal signs of another (1966: 233; cf. Munday, 2008: 5). Traditional stances towards translation tend to define this process in terms of equivalence of a TL to its SL, whereby the meaning of the two will be approximately similar and the structure of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible without distorting entirely the structure of the TL (Bassnett, 2002: 12). Within this model, a TL that does *not* follow these premises would be deemed as a 'bad or inaccurate translation'. In medieval studies, scholars working from this perspective and facing such a translation would conclude: a) that it was the work of a 'slavish translator' who had faithfully followed his source; b) that it was produced by the opposite of the 'slavish translator', a 'bad translator', purportedly unskilled and uncomprehending of the SL; c) that it was necessary to employ another term, such as 'adaptation', in order to reinstate the role of the "translator" as a creative and dynamic agent.[4] 'Adaptation' involves, as a result, a degree of originality that a translation presumably does not have, it is susceptible of analysis as a text in its own right, and the relationship to its source needs to be examined only at a very general level (Djordević, 2002: 67-9). 'Transposition' is not a technical term within the field of translation and only derivatively connotes translation into another language. In this sense, the scope of the word seems to be rather imprecise. The Latin word "translatio" was preferred by Buridant to denote the special character of medieval translation as opposed to modern translation in the "souplesse" of the distinction between "traduction fidèle et adaptation libre" of its source (Buridant, 1993: 89). Other terms, such as rewriting ("réécriture") and version, are also employed in academic literature to highlight otherness over sameness between ST and TT. However, they are extremely broad and can describe a very

[3] There follows a very brief definition of these terms; the discussion will be reprised and expanded in chapter 5.
[4] For a summary of these positions see Djordević (2000).

wide array of works given the medieval conception of text as an open artefact, its *mouvance* and the creative use of its sources.[5]

The cultural turn in *Translation Studies* has drawn attention to the historical aspect of translation, reconceptualising it as a sociocultural event which needs to be studied in all its communicative complexity, including its literary and historical background: the appropriation of a ST belonging to a specific genre and literary system that is, to a greater or lesser degree, different from the target language and culture. The cultural dialogue created in this way can be symmetric or asymmetric depending on power relationships between languages and cultures. Despite the fact that literary history has neglected the study of translation for a long time because of its "lack of originality", its impact on the literary system of the TL, in the reappraisal of its elements and in the development of vernacular literature is not small.

In practice, the range of terms used by scholars in their study of medieval intervernacular translation (adaptation, transposition, *translatio*, rewriting, version) proves to be more rhetorical than conceptual.[6] It is important to underline that in this thesis a broader concept of translation will be used, in accordance with new perspectives that have advanced the idea of a continuum in translation (Sándor and Higgins, 2002). Translation will be considered as a working hypothesis that points to a continuum that spans from close translation (SL biased) to loose translation (TL biased) with different types and degrees of freedom in the middle. This approach is heavily indebted to modern *Translation Studies*, in particular to the branch of *Descriptive Translation Studies* (DTS), whose applicability to the study of medieval texts seems to be more and more productive.[7] As Djordević has pointed out, differences between medieval and modern translation practices are often a matter of degree and not of nature (2000: 59).

1.2 Translating in Medieval Wales: Research Questions

This study seeks to answer several questions: to what extent can *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* be considered a translation (based on the idea of a 'continuum' explained above) of Chrétien

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[5] For this definition see Zumthor (2000: 91-4): "En tant que produit par un individu, le texte est caractérisé par une incomplétude virtuelle; sa survie et sa croissance ne sont pas seulement morales mais, si l'on peut dire, corporelles (…) Chaque version, chaque «état du texte» doit en principe être considéré, plutôt que comme le résultat d'une émendation, comme un réemploi, une recréation" (p. 93). See also Cerquiglini, (1989).

[6] We agree in this point with Djordjević (2002: 52).

[7] The pioneer article on *Translation Studies* remains that of James Holmes (1985). Other important sources include Venuti (1995), Bassnett (2002), Lefevere (1992); for DTS, the fundamental author is Toury (1995). In the field of medieval translation, Djordjević's research has successfully employed DTS for the study of Middle English translations of Anglo-Norman texts. See, for instance, her doctoral dissertation (2002) and "Mapping Medieval Translation" (2000).

de Troyes' Old French *roman Yvain ou Li chevalier au lion*? Is there any internal evidence to support this assertion, narrative inconsistencies and details that could only be explained with recourse to Chrétien's text? Or is there any external evidence to prove that *Iarlles* is a translation, such as paratextual or contextual information? Or both? Is it possible to find similar patterns in the reception of other French texts in Wales? Will a contrastive analysis with *Cân Rolant* contribute to the discovery of similar attitudes to French sources amongst Welsh translators? We hope to distinguish between general translational procedures, i.e. those that characterise translation as such, from the ones which were employed by the Welsh translators as a result of their background, their resources, their literary tradition/s, their particular historical, social, economical and cultural context, their audiences (including their patron), their purposes, and the insertion of the translation into the target literary system.[8]

Hence it will be argued that *Iarlles* indeed derives from Chrétien de Troyes' famous tale *Yvain*, a contention that was long recognised by some scholars but heatedly rejected by others; a revision of this very controversial topic will be discussed in chapter 3. We believe that certain consensus towards this assertion has been reached and that our work will contribute to it.

Cân Rolant has been chosen as a contrastive case since, firstly, it is undoubtedly a translation of the Anglo-Norman epic poem *La chanson de Roland* (*The Song of Roland*) and, secondly, because it was composed roughly at the same time as *Iarlles*, namely, during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[9] It is part of the Carolingian Cycle in Middle Welsh, which also comprises a translation of the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, the *Chanson de Otinel* or *Otuel* and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*.[10] Besides being contemporary to *Iarlles*, both texts are translations – in the sense used in this thesis – of texts that originated within a Francophone environment, albeit *Yvain* was composed in Old French or Continental French and the earliest extant version of *La chanson de Roland* was written in Anglo-Norman.[11]

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[8] The distinction between textual manipulation which is translation-specific and that which is not but, instead, related to the particular context of the translator and indebted to its literary system has been posed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1990)

[9] For these dates see Rodway (2007, 2013). Further discussion in chapter 2.

[10] It should be noted that *Cân Rolant* has been isolated from the rest of the Carolingian cycle in Middle Welsh solely for the purpose of comparison with *Iarlles*. Inevitably, reference to the others tales will be made.

[11] This terminology is intended to recognise the linguistic complexity of the Francophone areas and not to distinguish between different territorial boundaries. By Anglo-Norman, we refer to the French used in England or, in Ian Short's words, "the particular variety of Medieval French used in Britain between the Norman Conquest and the end of the 15th century" (2007: 11), which most readily differs from Continental French in spelling as well as syntax and semantics. The term "Old French" or "Continental French" subsumes a variety of dialectal differences apparent from the outset in, for example, the manuscripts which contain Chrétien's text, such as the *Francien* (from the area of the Ìle de France) of the scribe Guiot, or *Picard* (from Picardie).

Moreover, both texts belong to two distinct but paradigmatic French narrative matters: “matière de Bretagne” in the case of *Iarlles* and “matière de France” in the case of *La chanson de Roland*.[12] Both tales were also extensively translated during the Middle Ages. Narratives about Arthur and his knights were already known in native Welsh literary tradition (e.g. the poem "Pa gur yv y porthaur"[13] and *Culhwch ac Olwen*[14]), whence they probably emanated but, on the contrary, the exploits of Charlemagne and his barons were arguably unfamiliar to the Welsh. As a result, *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* represent individual responses to foreign texts at roughly the same time.[15] Another reason that motivated the selection of the corpus lies in its manageability: on the one hand, *Iarlles* is the shortest of the three Welsh Arthurian tales that have French counterparts, and its tight narrative and structure allows for contrastive analysis of the kind that will be undertaken here; on the other hand, despite that *Cân Rolant* is the only tale from the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle that has been edited, too little attention has been paid to it.[16] Consequently, this thesis builds on Rejhon's work in order to present a thorough account of the tale as a translation of *La chanson de Roland*. Moreover, in the case of *Iarlles*, it has received less exhaustive attention than *Gereint* and *Peredur*.[17]

In contrast to previous studies which have generally taken a “search for origins” standpoint, whether from the "celticist" or the “Indo-European” perspective, this thesis addresses issues of cultural transfer and the moving of texts across languages and historical and social circumstances. This approach is in line with the most recent scholarship on Middle Welsh translations (Lloyd-Morgan, 2008; Poppe, 2013; Luft, 2006a, 2006b, forthcoming; Roberts, 1988) and also with recent perspectives on specific cases of medieval translation (Djordjević, 2002). Translations can thus be seen as a prime site of cultural encounter and exchange, as has been cogently recognised by Sif Rikhardsdottir (2012) in her study of

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“French” alone will be employed to refer in abstract terms to the language of both texts when differentiation between Old French and Anglo-Norman is not relevant.

[12] We owe this classification to Jean Bodel: "Ne sont qe .III. matieres a nul home antandant: / De France e de Bretaigne e de Rome la grant, / E de cez .III. matieres n'i a nule samblant. / Li conte de Bretaigne sont si vain e plaisant, / Cil de Rome sont sage e de san aprenant, / Cil de France de voir chascun jor aparant" in *La chanson des Saisnes* (Brasseur, 1989: 6-11).

[13] Sims-Williams (2008).

[14] Bromwich and Evans (2008).

[15] It should be remembered, however, that dating is very problematic. The dates proposed in this thesis are based on the latest philological research available (Rodway, 2007, 2013).

[16] The texts of the other Charlemagne tales as they appear in one of the manuscripts, the Red Book of Hergest, of were published by S. Williams (1968).

[17] In the case of *Gereint*, Roger Middleton's unpublished doctoral thesis was dedicated to the comparative analysis of the middle Welsh prose tale and Erec (1976). *Peredur* has attracted much more attention given its complex textual transmission and the peculiarities of the narrative (inserted episodes and motifs). See, for instance, Luttrell (2003) and further references there. Also Goetinck (1975). The standard editions of the tales are Thomson (1997) and Thomas (2000), respectively.

medieval translation of Old French texts into Middle English and Old Norse. Recognizing the importance of the integration of a textually-based perspective (that analyses and interprets the refashioning of the source text in the process of translation) into a broader cultural framework that could explain the translator's 'domestication' of the material is fundamental in order to justly assess the role of translations in cultural understanding.[18] The thorough textual analysis undertaken using narratology (Bal, 1997; Rimmon-Kenan, 2002) and DTS reveals numerous points of contact between the tales. Reception theory (Jauss, 1978, 1970; Iser, 1981; Gumbrecht, 1992) and reader-oriented theories (Bennett, 1995; Tompkins, 1980) will allow us to understand the changes introduced in the texts that resulted from the socio-historical and literary Welsh context, such as the introduction of the tales into the vernacular narrative tradition and the reappraisal of ideological contents present in the ST.[19] The DTS also offer a set of analytical tools and concepts that have greatly contributed to our work: not only the notion of translation itself but also that of norms and, above all, the idea of translation as process and product, at the same time target-oriented and source-oriented. Indeed the concept of norm stresses that translators do not work in a vacuum; instead, they are expected to cater to the expectations of their patrons and appeal to the taste of their audience, all of which implies an acute social knowledge in order to be successful. In turn, the audience can only construct meaning if there are shared assumptions and values important for the society that produce the translations.

Studying translation not only as process but also as product makes it possible to engage the role that it played in the literary system of the TL. DTS reminds us constantly of the relative value and function of translated texts within the broader network of other translated texts and 'native' ones. In other words, studying the reception of each of our texts in medieval Welsh literature and society enables us to reappraise them as literary pieces in their own right, instead of mere renderings of 'original' texts. In this sense, the reception of the tales within Wales will be examined in order to explore the impact that they had on Welsh literary traditions.

1.3 Intercultural Exchange between Wales and France in the Central Middle Ages

In order for literary borrowing to take place, it is necessary to demonstrate that contacts between Wales and France were common and frequent. This section will thus provide the fundamental framework from which translations of French material into Middle Welsh need

[18] Domestication / foreignization are concepts proposed by Venuti (1995). Further discussion in chapter 5.
[19] The methodology will be fully discussed in chapter 5.

to be considered. In other words, it is extremely important to consider the tale not only within Welsh native tradition but also within continental literary tradition and European literary fashion, which was, as is widely recognised, enormously popular and appealing. Likewise with *La chanson de Roland*: as well as versions in Franco-Venetian and other French variants, translations into Middle High German, Old Norse and Swedish were produced.[20] In fact, cultural exchanges were increasingly realized in terms of translation. The aim of the next section consists in reviewing the concrete evidence and critically assessing the importance that should be given to that evidence in order to support the contention of this thesis.

1.3.1 Linguistic and non-linguistic evidence of contacts between Wales and France

It is widely accepted that the French language and culture had an influence on Medieval Wales; it is the range of that influence and its degree of pervasiveness that can be debatable. The history of the establishment of a Norman presence in Wales, through which Frenchness mostly came to the island, and its relationship with the native population lies outside the scope of this thesis and need not be recounted here (see R.R. Davies, 2000a, 2000b; Bartlett, 1993). Even before William of Normandy's landing in Britain in 1066, Wales was part of European literary mainstreams: for instance, knowledge of narrative traditions from the continent can be found in the Book of Taliesin (Haycock, 1987). These exchanges increased significantly over time given the permanent settlement of the Anglo-Norman barons as they moved further into Welsh territory, not to mention the new dynasty of Angevin kings, who belonged to the French-speaking Norman aristocracy. King Henry I, for instance, was raised in Normandy and spoke French and Latin but not English. Historians such as Robert Rees Davies (2000) and Huw Pryce (2007) have long acknowledged that the history of Wales should be considered as part of the histories of Western European societies. Wales was not an isolated part of the world during the Middle Ages but, on the contrary, it was closely linked to the rest of Western Europe. It was a multilingual and multicultural society where Anglo-Norman French, English, Breton, Welsh, Irish, and, of course, Latin elements coexisted. In the case of the former, its influence was not only achieved by way of conquest – which was certainly the major engine of change in those areas under Anglo-Norman direct control – but imitation was also a powerful force, "as native elites adopted institutions, practices, and norms from their more powerful neighbours, and quite often also imported foreign personnel" (Pryce, 2007: 38). Pryce is even confident in speaking of 'Europeanization' or

[20] See the chart on medieval translations of *Yvain* on p. 35, and on medieval translations of *La chanson de Roland* on p. 57.

‘Anglicization’ of the territories held by Welsh rulers, especially from the later twelfth century onwards (2007: 40).

Anglo-Norman was also the idiolect of the dominant culture, conferring social status as well as political prestige and power on its users. By this time, England was a trilingual society polarized between the French-speaking conquerors and the English-speaking conquered, and between the two the over-arching *lingua franca*, namely Latin (Short, 2007: 11; Burnley, 1999). A similar situation existed in Wales, although here the Welsh-speaking aristocracy still held power over an extensive area of the country until 1282 and had a variable relationship with the Anglo-Norman barons, sometimes forging alliances and other times waging war on them. Under this state of affairs, Welsh literature continued to thrive, accommodating elements of the powerful Anglo-Norman culture.

As a consequence, there is a large amount of evidence of French influence on Medieval Wales. As stated above, the question remains as to the extent of that imprint and the weight attributed to the impact caused by it. Morgan Watkin is a paramount figure in this respect. In his seminal article concerning the linguistic influence of the French language upon the Welsh, he rejected the “English-conduit theory” to explain French borrowings in Middle Welsh, opening thus the path – although too optimistic – for studying the actual contact between people who spoke Welsh and people who spoke French in Britain. There he affirmed that:

> The period in the history of the Welsh language extending from the Norman Conquest down to the age of Dafydd ab Gwilym constitutes a purely FRENCH PERIOD, a period of actual contact politically, socially, and intellectually between French-speaking people on the one hand and Welsh-speaking people on the other-without the intervening offices of any third race or language whatsoever [capitals in the original] (Watkin, 1918/1919: 218).[21]

In his enthusiasm he overstated this influence, envisioning Old French traces even in places where evidence had to be strongly manipulated in order to agree with theory (for example, within the linguistic field, spelling and orthography). He went so far as to claim that the Welsh literary revival of the twelfth century was the effect of France (Watkin, 1921). Despite his overemphasis on this matter, his research was fundamental in attracting interest to translations hitherto disregarded.

Marie Surridge (1966, 1984) is another pioneering figure in this area as regards her contribution to the linguistic aspect of this issue (which bears, inevitably, on all the other aspects, social, cultural, political, and literary). In her opinion, linguistic evidence of French

[21] Further, Watkin declared that “the French linguistic influence in Wales is totally independent of that exerted by the French language in England, and that the French effect on Wales cannot have come by way of the English language” (1918/1919: 162).

borrowings is indisputable and, moreover, particularly strong given the high status of the French language (and the Anglo-Norman variety spoken by the elite living in Britain). In spite of Watkin’s resolute assertion, whether these words were borrowed directly from Old French or by way of Middle English is still difficult to ascertain. Furthermore, she identified lexical borrowings in a series of stages from ‘cultural borrowing’ of nonexistent words in Welsh to refer to luxury objects such as clothes and ornaments (e.g. OF *blïaut*, *blialt* > *bliant*, a tunic used by men and women alike; OF *palie*, *paile* > *pali*, a woollen cloth of gold or silk), to ‘pre-intimate borrowing’ of words pertaining to everyday life and social structure (e.g. household objects and titles such as OF *barun* > *barwn*, baron). The introduction of these foreign words to denote new phenomena or realities witness the pervading effect of French culture. Loanwords are very often found in *Iarlles* and in medieval Welsh prose tales in general but so far it has been considered that this feature cannot be used to prove the Welsh text's dependency on Chrétien given the alleged early date of some texts (such as *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*). However, Rodway's (2007) reassessment of the date of medieval Welsh prose tales would allow us to take this feature as another argument in the consideration of Welsh translation. Therefore, these attestations indicate an early borrowing, linguistic rather than literary. Later stages of lexical borrowing are indisputably literary: Surridge's "fully-developed intimate borrowing" is exemplified by later prose other than adaptations and translations from French, the *cywyddwyr*, and Dafydd ap Gwilym, whereas "intimate borrowing and xénisme" (the appearance of words as hapax forms, forms confined to one text, or forms written in a foreign tradition) occur in translations and adaptations from French.

Since then, scholars such as J.E. Caerwyn Williams, Huw Meirion Edwards and Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan have been key figures in the precise assessment of French influence on Medieval Welsh literature, taking advantage of the more recent investigations on historical and literary sources. Caerwyn Williams (1996) has drawn attention to the twofold component of Welsh culture during the time of the Arglwydd Rhys (1155-1197), which comprised a Latin element alongside a French element, hinting at a possible bilingualism for the King of Deheubarth, who may have had conversations in French with Henry II. Huw Meirion Edwards (2009) has reviewed the different stances towards the influence of French poetry on Welsh poetry, both favourable (J. Lloyd-Jones, Rachel Bromwich, Kenneth Jackson) and unfavourable (R.M. Jones, Manon Phillips), covering also Peter Dronke’s idea of ‘universal courtly love’ to explain similar elements in all these texts as a result of independent

developments. Although inconclusive, his study took into consideration the classical poetic tradition (Ovid is a case in point) whose influence was, in his opinion, certainly stronger than Provençal and, at the same time, reminds us of the importance of classical influence in Welsh prose tales, as will be seen later in the analysis of *Iarlles* in chapter 7. Finally, Lloyd-Morgan (1978, 2000, 2009) has extensively supported the idea of influence of continental literary tradition on Welsh literature, especially in middle Welsh prose tales, in a wide context of borrowings such as the one argued in this thesis. In her doctoral dissertation concerning the medieval Welsh versions of two French texts dealing with the story of the grail, she has successively argued for a reappraisal of medieval Welsh literature within a European context. In addition, she noted that a member of a Glamorgan gentry family, Llywelyn Bren, executed in 1317 for treason, had in his library a copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, together with Welsh books and other non-Welsh ones; tentatively, one can say that there was a degree of cohabitation of French and Welsh books in cultured houses (Lloyd-Morgan, 2008: 163).[22]

Moreover, one is able to perceive that there is plenty of non-linguistic evidence which confirms a frequent and continuous cultural exchange between Welsh and Anglo-Norman-speakers. This evidence can be outlined as follows:

(i) Mixed marriages between families of the Welsh chieftains and those of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. Two conspicuous examples are Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's marriage to Joan, illegitimate daughter of King John of England, in 1205, and his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's union with Elanor de Montfort, cousin of Edward I. They were both kings of Gwynedd, in whose court French was undoubtedly spoken by the thirteenth century (R.R. Davies 2000; cf. Roderick, 1968/9).

(ii) Politics, a broad term intended to comprise diplomatic negotiation, treatises, international affairs, and official visits. A case in point is Lord Rhys' appointment as Justiciar of South Wales in 1171. Many other examples could be cited here: acts of submission of Welsh kings to the Anglo-Norman (and later English) kings, signing of charters as witnesses, and stays (sometimes like hostages, as was Owain ap Cadwgan's case) at the court in London are just a few (R.R. Davies, 2000: 217-51; Roderick, 1952).

(iii) Warfare: emulating Anglo-Norman conquerors, Welsh rulers began to build castles from the early twelfth century, as well as using siege engines from the last years of that

[22] There has been so far a persistent focus on French influence given the scope of this thesis, but it is important to remember that it was not the only one – Latin influence was felt throughout the whole period, and English influence should be assessed particularly regarding the Late Middle Ages. As Lloyd-Morgan herself reminded us, the border was not a clear line between the Welsh and Anglo-Norman settlement, language, culture, or political interests, but instead an area whose population was mixed ethnically and linguistically (2008: 169).

century, and armoured horses in the wars of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the 1260s. Princes also adopted equestrian seals, proving their adherence to European norms of knighthood. As Crouch stated: "In the twelfth century the Welsh royal houses and the lesser Welsh magnate houses came closer together, as both imitated the repertoire of Anglo-French aristocratic attributes: the knightly image, heraldry, the castle and ecclesiastical patronage" (Pryce, 2007: 40; Crouch, 1992: 262).

(iv) Religious houses, particularly Cistercians, had direct connections to the central administration in the continent. Welsh rulers funded and sponsored these orders. The first Cistercian foundation was Tintern in 1131 and Alba Landa or Whitland in 1140, from which stemmed Strata Marcella and Strata Florida, two of the most important Welsh scriptoria. Cogently, monks travelled back and forth from the continent, where the mother house was located, to Britain (Cowley, 1986).

(v) Professional interpreters or multilingual *latimarii* who worked at courts and castles. Bullock-Davies maintained that there existed a class of linguists through whom interchange of local literature between the Celtic population (*sic*) and its Norman neighbours could have been easily and naturally made (Bullock-Davies, 1966).

(vi) Education: there are a few examples of Welshmen going abroad for educational purposes, such as that of Giraldus Cambrensis, who was a student of the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) in Paris from 1165 to 1174. Giraldus did not probably know Welsh or had very little knowledge of it, but had certainly an important influence on the affairs of the land, especially on ecclesiastical matters, and was appointed archdeacon of Brecon in 1174, taking residence at Llanddew (Powys).[23] Another Welsh-born cleric, the Franciscan Thomas Wallensis, regent master at Paris in 1238 and teacher at Oxford as Greek translator, was elected bishop of St David's on 1247 (Bateson, 2004; cf. Surridge, 1966: 71). Lastly, a canon of the Augustinian priory of Carmarthen, Simon, wrote a religious poem in Anglo-Norman French, sometime in the thirteenth century (Cowley 19771:152-153; Stengel 1892: 147-151). It is fairly certain to conclude that at least high church officials in Wales had an international education and attest some knowledge of French.

[23] For an account of Giraldus' life see Thorpe (1978: 9-24), Bartlett (1982), Roberts (1982). Regarding his poor knowledge of Welsh, Thorpe quotes a fragment of the *Journey* where Giraldus states that he preached in Latin and French, but not Welsh. Thorpe therefore asked himself: "Did he really know any Welsh? Maybe he used it when speaking to the Welsh princes. If so, he was very careful to avoid admitting it". (1978: 29). It is also worth noting that he admits that Archbishop Baldwin used an interpreter when addressing the Welsh nobles (Thorpe, 1978: 75). This latter interpreter could well have been one of Bullock-Davies' (1966) *latimarii.*

(vii) Poetry: elements of French troubadour's poems in Welsh poetry are doubtless present by the 14th century in the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym, but were they present as early as the middle of the 12th century in the work of Hywel ab Owain or Cynddelw?[24] Some attributes such as the imagery concerning women (which concentrates on snow [*eira*] and foam [*ewyn*]) and the suffering lover, the distance between the poet and his lover, and the worshipful attitude to women, may be indebted to French influence but, as Johnston pointed out, they clash with alien elements to that tradition such as the expression of sexual lust through symbolism and a shameless and fearless attitude (2009). Caerwyn Williams has also posited that it is very possible that poets and musicians from London, familiar with French *puys* (literary societies that organised poetry competitions) were invited to Aberteifi in 1176 by the Arglwydd Rhys to spread literary forms and conventions as a mechanism of royal propaganda to strengthen feudal bonds (1996: 119).

(viii) Proverbs: Richard Glyn Roberts (2005) has shown that a collection of proverbs preserved in the Red Book of Hergest was probably borrowed from French or Anglo-Norman sources as early as the mid-thirteenth century.

(ix) Orthography: recently, Rodway (2009) posited that the grapheme <k>, so common in Middle Welsh to represent the sound /k/ alternatively written k or c, is actually indebted to Norman influence instead of Old English, as previous scholars had argued.[25] In the majority of the earliest manuscripts, i.e. those dated to the thirteenth century, <k> is preferred in front of the vowels <e i y>, and he attributes this to a perfectly plausible knowledge of Old French orthography, where non-palatalised /k/ in front of /e i/ was marked using the letter <k>. This is another example of close associations of Welsh scriptoria and their continental sister houses, and cooperation and closed contacts between monks from both shores.

(x) Script: Caroline minuscule was employed in a version of Bede's *De natura rerum* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 540) copied by a Welsh scribe c. 1100 (Huws, 2000).

Pryce (2009) has also drawn attention to the fact that the contested and fragmented nature of territorial authority in native Wales prevented native rulers from settling foreign

[24] This is the question set out by Edwards in the aforementioned study (2009). As for the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym in the light of the European traditions of courtly love, see Fulton (1989). For Hywel ab Owain see Johnston (2009).

[25] "At ei gilydd, credaf fy mod wedi dangos nad o'r Hen Saesneg y daeth y <k> Cymraeg Canol fel yr honnodd Lewis [Henry Lewis] a Thomas [Peter Wynn Thomas], ond o iaith y Normaniaid"[On the whole, I think that I have demonstrated that it is not from Old English that the <k> came to Middle Welsh, as claimed by Lewis and Thomas, but from the language of the Normans] (Rodway, 2009: 130).

knights on their lands or recruiting foreign servants or courtiers, who could have acted as catalysts for further assimilation of Anglo-Norman or English institutions, norms, and practices. Such actions could have endangered the loyalty of native nobility. Furthermore, the employment of foreign officials would have demanded a high political cost. French culture was for the Welsh, as for others, a way of legitimising themselves and gaining status: "The willingness of Welsh rulers to cultivate links with the Anglo-French world and adopt aspects of its culture is probably best seen as part of a strategy of distinction designed to elevate their status within native society" (Pryce, 2009: 45).

All of the above strongly acknowledges the extent of French influence on Medieval Wales: linguistic, literary, and non-linguistic. Even before overt borrowings, as exemplified by the translations produced from the thirteenth century onwards such as the Charlemagne Cycle or the Grail tales, foreign influence was felt in Wales. The main argument in this thesis, i.e. that *Iarlles*, in its present form, does in fact derive from Chrétien's *Yvain*, finds a reasonable place within this framework of long and persistent cultural exchange.[26] Likewise, the translation of the *roman* into Old Norse, Middle High German and Middle English endorses the attraction that medieval audiences had for this tale. This body of evidence builds a strong and powerful case in favour of our contention and also sets Welsh literature within the European tradition. The counter arguments overtly propose a very complicated model of exchange that would be exceptional, for Wales and for Europe as a whole.

Before embarking on the analysis of the processes of translation of the pair of texts *La chanson de Roland* / *Cân Rolant*, *Yvain* / *Iarlles*, it is necessary to address the main questions regarding their date and place of provenance, textual tradition, genre, themes, and literary form. Given that the main concern of this thesis lies in the Middle Welsh prose tales, we will start by presenting a brief panorama of the historical and literary context of Medieval Wales in chapter 2. The following chapters will discuss each text in turn, focusing on those aspects that are significant for the subsequent analysis. Chapter 3 will be dedicated to *Yvain* and *Iarlles*; special attention will be paid to reviewing the (long and heated) scholarly debate about the relationship between both texts. Chapter 4 will cover *La chanson de Roland* and *Cân Rolant*. For that purpose, it will be important to discuss the so-called Welsh Charlemagne cycle and to explain problems of textual fluidity and manuscript transmission. In both cases, an outline of the narrative structure of the tales, including the main narrative

[26] A literature review concerning the problem of the relationship between *Iarlles* and *Yvain* will be presented in chapter 3.

sequences, will be provided as a replacement of a full narration of the stories. Translations of the French texts into other European languages will be considered too. Chapter 5 will be concerned with the theoretical framework and the methodology. We will explore medieval attitudes to translation and we will review the evidence pertaining to Wales. Chapters 6 and 7 constitute the core of the thesis: the study of translational procedures in *Cân Rolant* (6) and *Iarlles* (7). The general conclusions (chapter 8) will reprise the concluding remarks at the end of each analytical chapter in order to summarise and highlight the most important findings of this investigation.

PART II

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

2. Wales in the thirteenth-century: literary and historical context

As the other side of the process of translation is its reception, that is, the target language and culture that commissioned the translation and will give it a place in its literary system, it is important to define and describe the context and textual tradition into which the translation was inserted. This tradition played a fundamental role in the choices made by the translator: it provided a literary language in which he could accommodate the SL, as well as other texts for comparison, a set of motifs and topics socially (and literary) relevant, and narrative conventions and techniques.

Throughout the Middle Ages, multiple kingship was the norm in Wales: the political situation was characterised by the fragmentation of the territory in small jurisdictions ruled by local chieftains.[27] By the thirteenth-century the country was divided, in broad terms, into four major units, the historical kingdoms of Gwynedd (stretching across the north-east and the north-west), Powys (in the north-west and mid-west), Deheubarth (south-west), and Morgannwg ('Glamorgan' in English, the south-east).[28] For most of the twelfth century the Welsh leaders had taken advantage of the instability of the Angevin court (especially during the reign of Stephen 1134-1155) and of Henry II's campaigns in Ireland. This period is known as the 'Welsh recovery'; three kings were the main contributors to Welsh prosperity: Owain ap Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd (ruled 1137-1170), Madog ap Maredudd of Powys (1132-1160), and Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (1155-1197). It has already been said that the latter, lord Rhys, was appointed Justiciar of South Wales, a designation that clearly shows the state of affairs that had been reached during this time. The Welsh regained territories from the Anglo-Norman barons and could negotiate terms of peace with them. After the death of these kings, however, the situation in Wales deteriorated: partibility led to the division of the kingdoms, feuds between families, and political weakness.[29]

The political situation in Gwynedd was different. With the ascent to power of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (Llywelyn the Great) in 1172, the kingdom was beginning a period of almost constant expansion. Llywelyn married Joan, illegitimate daughter of king John of England. Through alliances and the defeat of all those who stood in his way (family and non-

[27] The following historical narrative is based on R.R. Davies (2000); Walker (1990); Stephenson (2014); Mound (2000).

[28] See map in Appendix 1.

[29] By the principle of partibility, inheritance was divided between all the male heirs, whether born inside the official marital union or not, as long as they had been recognised by the family.

family alike), the king consolidated the supremacy of the kingdom in Wales with the Treaty of Worcester in 1218. During his lifetime he favoured his son Dafydd, who was not his first-born, and declared him his heir, an untraditional practice in Wales, where partibility was the norm. Despite this, war broke between Dafydd and his brother Gruffudd after Llywelyn's death. The situation was stabilised again with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Llywelyn the Last (grandson of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth), who was recognised as Prince of Wales by the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267. By his time, though he was still a vassal of the king of England, he was acknowledged as over-king by the rest of the Welsh chieftains. Tensions with the English king over lands increased, especially from the 1270s onwards, but it was the Prince's brother, Dafydd, who precipitated hostilities; Edward I initiated then the campaign that would culminate in the conquest of the last standing Welsh kingdom. Llywelyn was killed on December 11, 1282, and with him died the hopes for a free Wales. The English king instituted the Principality of Gwynedd directly controlled by the crown, but allowed other Welsh chieftains, who had not participated in the rebellion, to continue ruling their territories.

Thus during the end of the twelfth century and almost all of the thirteenth a politics based on a heroic elite converged with an increasing centralised and consolidated royal power. It is at this time when forms of authority and exploitation were defined and regularised. The extraction of resources and taxes – needed for the campaigns of expansion undertaken by the Welsh kings – were organised. In Davies' words:

> Inequality and dependence remained features of Welsh society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but the nature of economic exploitation was changing. The emphasis now was on a regular and defined control over a rural peasantry and its land, on rents and mills, on the profits of justice, and on the control of the sale and marketing of surpluses. An economy of plunder was being replaced by an economy of profiteering (2000: 157).

This shift was hand in hand with a change of mentality of the ruling classes of the country: the royal dynasties, the aristocracy and the rich ecclesiastical communities (whose members came, for the most part, from the nobility). This was partly reflected in the sponsorship of monasteries, particularly of the Cistercian order, by the Welsh aristocracy; from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, Welsh kings established, supported and gave patronage to religious communities.

The state of affairs briefly described above, which matches the situation throughout the rest of Europe in terms of centralization of regal power and formalization of structures of

power and exploitation, constitutes the background for medieval Welsh literature. Poetry and prose texts were commissioned, composed, and consumed by the ruling classes; they express *their* values, preoccupations, ideology, and taste. In cultural matters, Wales was integrated to the rest of Western Europe and participated of Latin Christendom; vernacular and Latin cultures co-existed and interacted (Sims-Williams, 1998). As a matter of fact, the earliest written Welsh occurs in marginalia in Latin manuscripts; such is the case of the glosses in Early Welsh in *De mensuris et ponderibus* (Bodl. Ms. Auct f. 4.32), c. 820.[30] The conventional periodization of Welsh distinguishes four stages in the development of the language before Modern Welsh: Brythonic (*Brythoneg*) 400-700, Early Welsh (*Cymraeg Cynnar*) 700-850, Old Welsh (*Hen Gymraeg*) 850-1100, and Middle Welsh (*Cymraeg Canol*) 1100-1350 (J. Davies, 1999; 9-21; Evans, 1964: xvi-xxi; Lewis, 1946). For Old Welsh there are, again, glosses in Latin manuscripts (the so-called Surrexit Memorandum in the Book of St Chad or Lichfield Gospels, the Cambridge Juvencus, the Computus Fragment) (Falileyev, 2008). The texts studied in this thesis belong to the period of Middle Welsh, in which, despite that a certain level of literary standardisation had been achieved, the presence of orthographical variation was still very noticeable.

Welsh vernacular lore is known as *cyfarwyddyd*, usually considered a broad corpus of traditional material that included stories, genealogies, narratives of origin, as well as topography, geography, religious myths, familiar wisdom, medicine, and other subjects (Roberts, 1988). Although there is still much debate regarding the exact meaning of *cyfarwyddyd*, the *cyfarwyddiad* originally referred to the 'experts' in one field of knowledge; the narrowing of the word from the semantic field of knowledge to that of entertainment led to the modern meaning of "story", "tale" (Sims-Williams, 1998). Convincingly, all this material was first transmitted orally.

Despite that the texts examined in this thesis are literary artefacts – and they will be studied as such –traces of oral narrative tradition also inform them. The translators of the tales were familiar with the conventions of Welsh oral storytelling. This assertion surpasses the old debate about whether early Welsh prose literature is essentially oral or not. What has come down to us are written texts, the result of authors working within a literary tradition that was *performed*. This background constitutes the literary repertoire of both *Iarlles* and *Cân*

[30] This particular situation is not unique to Welsh: the first "cry" of the Spanish language, as Dámaso Alonso called it, also happened in the form of glosses (1973: 11-14).

Rolant, particularly of the former, which is composed in the main according to these conventions.

Sioned Davies has extensively studied the techniques of the *cyfarwydd* style (1992, 1993, 1995, 1998).[31] She has identified a set of narrative features that characterises Middle Welsh prose tales: 1) additive style (parataxis) with emphasis on chronological order to favour the progression of the tales and to link important episodes; 2) dialogues with speech markers such as *heb* [say] or *ateb* [answer], although there were very few cases of examples with *ateb*; 3) formulas, i.e. phrases or descriptions that are frequently employed and evince a technique. This notion of formula depends upon that of Parry and Lord (1960) but it is not identical to it. For Davies, it points to a stock of stereotyped forms of expression that does not imply oral composition but oral transmission. There are two types of formulas: a) linguistic formulas (which do not generally contribute to the development of the plot), such as greetings, oaths, curses, insults, and b) variable formulas (which present a similar structural design and repeat words), the most common in the *Mabinogion* corpus. In turn, these variable formulas can be formulaic units combined into a larger formula, identified by the repetition of keywords and a similar pattern, such as the description of physical appearance, combats, transitions from one period to another, and banquets, or they can have a unique verbal design, as it is apparent in the opening of tales, counsels, and description of horses. In addition to linguistic formulas and variable formulas, one can find doublets, that is, the combination of two synonyms generally linked by alliteration (as in *y wlat ac a'e gyuoeth*, "his land and his country" found in the *First Branch*) (I. Williams, 1964: 27).

To the above one may add other features that characterise Middle Welsh prose tales: preposed temporal clauses that resume the verbal event of the preceding sentences; the use of cataphoric expressions to direct and guide the attention of the audience (such as *llyma*, *nachaf*, *sef*); the employment of the narrative present mostly in subordinate clauses; the utilization of narrative modes with a non-finite form of the verb on its own or combined in a periphrastic construction with the finite form of *gwneuthur,* which functions as auxiliary verb (Poppe and Reck, 2006, 2008: 40).

To the period of Old Welsh is traditionally connected a corpus of poetry: on the one side, *Y Gododdin*, a heroic poem said to have been composed in the seventh century by the

[31] It should be remembered that as well as finding a shared repertoire between the texts, Davies noted many differences.

poet Aneirin and, on the other side, the twelve historical poems of Taliesin also dated to the seventh century. It should be noted, however, that there is much debate regarding the date of both corpora. Koch (1985/6, 2005; also his very controversial edition of *Y Gododdin*, 1997) believes in an early date in the sixth or seventh century for *Y Gododdin*. On the contrary, Issac (2004) convincingly argues that it is not possible to accept an early date for the poems and proposes that the composition took place in the ninth or tenth century. From an historical point of view, Charles-Edwards considers that "the poem is the authentic work of Aneirin" (1978: 66) but Dumville forcefully asserts that "[t]he case for authenticity (…) is not proven" (1988: 8). Another corpus of poetry known as *yr hengerdd* (the ancient poetry), which includes ninth-century poems related to Powys (*Canu Llywarch Hen* and *Canu Heledd*), and the prophetic *Armes Prydain* of c. 930. As is the case with much of medieval Welsh literature, these works have come down to us in later manuscripts; hence their dates of composition need to be based mostly on philological grounds.[32]

For the Middle Welsh period we have, in addition to the continuation of the poetic tradition, a very well attested corpus of prose texts. The poetry of this age is represented by the *beirdd y tywysogion* (the poets of the princes) who were also known as the poets of the court since they worked for kings and lesser lords during 1100-1300. The work of more than thirty named poets is extant. These poems were mainly eulogies or elegies, expressions of the same theme, praise of the lord, who was many times explicitly addressed, therefore permitting a precise dating of the composition. Most of these poems survive in the Hendregadredd Manuscript (NLW 6680), a compilation started after 1282 and finished in the middle of the fourteenth century (Huws, 2000: 193-226). After the Edwardian conquest, poets started working for the gentry and thus they are known as *beirdd yr uchelwyr* (poets of the gentry).

The majority of Welsh vernacular books were produced in the period 1250-1400;[33] the first manuscript entirely written in Welsh is the Black Book of Carmarthen (*Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*), dated to c. 1250, which records some of the earliest Welsh Arthurian poems. Welsh manuscripts tend to be small and without illustrations. The main centres of production and copy were monasteries, especially Cistercian houses under native patronage in the thirteenth century.

[32] For a survey of Old Welsh poetry see Roberts (1988), I. Williams (1972), and Jarman and Hugues (1976).
[33] The paramount work on Welsh manuscripts is Huws (2000).

The prose tradition comprises fictional works as well as functional prose, e.g. religious texts, scientific treatises, historical writings, and grammars. Particularly important are the legal tractates known as the *Law of Hywel* since they alone amount to 28 manuscripts of the 80 produced during 1250-1400 (Huws, 2000: 41).[34] The laws are a central genre of medieval Welsh literature; evidence of the use of legal terms can be found in many prose tales, as it will be seen in the course of the following analysis. Amongst the earliest of them there are eleven prose tales first translated into English by Lady Charlotte Guest between 1838 and 1849 and published as *The Mabinogion* (Guest, 1877). Strictly speaking, the term *mabinogi* only applies to the *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (*Four Branches of the Mabinogi*), in whose colophon the word appears. Whatever meaning was assigned to *mabinogi* (boyhood deeds, tales for youths, or simply story), it is only employed in the medieval texts to refer to this group of tales (Luft, 2011). Notwithstanding the inaccuracy of the term, it has been established by scholars as the conventional name to refer to the compilation. Other texts in the *Mabinogion* corpus include *Breudwyt Macsen*, a historical-legendary story that recounts how emperor Magnus Maximus, or Macsen Wledig in Welsh, found the woman he had fallen in love with in his dreams; *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, which first appeared as part of the Welsh translation of Geoffrey de Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and narrates pseudo-historical events symbolised in the fight of two dragons; Arthurian tales not related to Chrétien de Troyes' *romans* (so-called 'native') and three prose tales which are indeed connected to them, *Iarlles*, *Gereint*, and *Peredur*. The two independent Arthurian texts are *Culhwch ac Olwen*, a series of adventures within the folkloric frame of the story of the giant's daughter, and *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, a late satire about Arthur and his knights.[35] Guest also included the *Hanes Taliesin* (History of Taliesin) in her collection; in this she was followed by Ford's 1977 translation.

The depiction of Arthur and his court in these tales indicate that the literary figure of the famous king was not a monolithic construction but rather that many different traditions

[34] For a survey of prose texts see Owen (1976: 248-276). It is interesting to note the pre-eminence of Gwynedd in legal studies in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries due to the relative stability of the kingdom after Llywelyn the Great. The Iorwerth Redaction, associated to Gwynedd, shows even signs of the influence of the prince's Anglo-Noman wife and her entourage in words of French origin apparent in the books (Jenkins, 1986: xxvii).

[35] The standard editions of these texts are: *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (I. Williams, 1968); *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* (Roberts, 2005); *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* (Roberts, 1976); *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Bromwich and Evans, 2013); *Breudwyt Ronabwy* (Richards, 2001); In *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Culhwch has to complete a series of tasks in order to win the hand of Olwen, the giant's daughter.

converged in it. Since in this thesis an Arthurian Welsh text will be compared to an Old French *roman*, it is important to revise certain traits that belong to Welsh tradition and that are apparent in the tale under study. Several models of Arthur have been extracted from Welsh sources.[36] Early Latin texts bring the image of a historic Christian soldier: a certain Ambrosius Aurelianus is mentioned by Gildas in *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* as a leader fighting against the Saxons; the *Annales Cambriae* bring an entry on the Battle of Mount Badon as the place where Arthur and Mordred fell; the Pseudo-Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* gives us the figure of a legendary military leader. Evidently, Arthur was a popular hero, to whom local legends about places and names, as well as folkloric motifs, had been associated. Latin-Welsh hagiography portraits Arthur as a symbol of temporal power, although this does not necessarily imply a negative point of view: Arthur is presented as a model of tribal leadership that is challenged and improved by the action of the saints (as in Lifris' *Vita Cadoci*). In poems and tales written in Welsh, Arthur appears as a warrior, a leader, who faces adventures along with his companions. In the poem "Pa gur yv y porthaur?" [What man is the gatekeeper?], for instance, Arthur is trying to gain entrance to a hall – zealously guarded by the gatekeeper – so he has to introduce himself and his men (Bedwyr, Cai, Manawydan, amongst others). In the enumeration of former deeds that he accomplished, we catch a glimpse of other narratives related to Arthur, including fights with supernatural creatures (Sims-Williams, 2008).[37] The atmosphere thus created resembles that of *Culhwch ac Olwen*. In these texts, Arthur is not the passive king of the continental *roman* but, on the contrary, he is a warrior leader. For instance, in *Culhwch* he is the one who leads the hunt of the wild boar (*trwth trwyth*). We can see, then, that this is a conflicting image of Arthur as regards *Iarlles*. In this tale, Arthur is depicted as a passive king, in much the same way as in the continental *romans*, from where this image derives; it is a conflated construct based on Geoffrey's text with the additions of Chrétien: Arthur becomes emperor and the model for courteous and knightly kings.[38]

Furthermore, part of the TL literary system available in the thirteenth century included translations of Latin and Anglo-Norman texts. On the one hand, several versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, translated as *Brut y Brenhinedd*

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[36] For Arthurian tradition in Welsh see Padel (2000) and Bromwich, Jarman, and Roberts (2008). For a socio-historical perspective see Knight (1983: 1-37).
[37] This is not the only poem about Arthur. "Preiddiau Annwn" (The Spoils of Annwn), some "Englynion y Beddau" (Stanzas of the Graves) and later texts also exist.
[38] This image of Arthur will be fully discussed in chapter 5.

(*Chronicle of the Princes*) (Roberts, 1971; Parry, 1937); *Credo Athanasius*, translated by Gruffudd Bola for Efa, daughter of Maredudd ap Owain, of the house of the Lord Rhys (Lewis, 1930); and the *Transitus Mariae*, whose translator, Madog ap Selyf, is also mentioned as the individual responsible for the rendering of the *Psedo-Turpin Chronicle* into Welsh (J.C. Williams, 1959). On the other hand, the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone* was translated as *Ystorya Bevis o Hamtwn* around the middle of the thirteenth century (Poppe and Reck, 2009: 37; for the complete text see Watkin, 1958). Two grail prose *romans* were translated under the patronage of Hopcyn ap Thomas (commissioner of the Red Book of Hergest) at the end of the fourteenth century: *La Queste del Saint Graal* and *Perlesvaus* in *Y Seint Greal* (Jones, 1992; see also Lloyd-Morgan, 1978).

In conclusion, the narrative conventions exposed so far constitute the standard literary parameters of Middle Welsh texts. Therefore, they participate, to a greater or lesser degree, in the processes of translation of *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* in shaping the resulting *text*. Since it is not possible to study the Welsh texts without having discussed first the relevant characteristics of their ST, the next section will present the four texts under scrutiny in this thesis. We intend to address the following questions: what was the purpose of the ST and of the TT? For whom and by whom were they composed? Where and when? What is their textual tradition and how does it contribute to a better understanding of the texts? What kind of text is the ST and what is the background of the resulting TT? We will examine each of the pair of texts, ST and TT, in turn.

3. Chrétien de Troyes' *Le chevalier au lion* and its Middle Welsh 'translation' *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn*

3.1 Chrétien de Troyes: *Le chevalier au lion*

Very little is known about the poet Chrétien de Troyes (Crestïens de Troies), whose name appears in the prologue of one his works, *Erec et Enid*. There are no historical documents that can be associated with him for certain; therefore, all that we know about him as a historical figure must be drawn from internal evidence found in his work (Frappier, 1957; Kelly, 2009; Lacy and Grimbert, 2005; Duggan, 2001). In another prologue, the one to *Cligès*, he claims to have written a number of texts (Ovide's *Remedia Amoris*, *Comandemenz*, *La Mors de l'espaule*, a piece on the Tristan legend, some metamorphoses), but none of them are extant. Five romans are cogently attributed to him: apart from the aforementioned *Erec et Enide* and *Cligès*, he composed *Lancelot ou Le chevalier de la charrette*, *Yvain ou Le chevalier au lion*, and *Perceval ou Le conte du graal*. A few other short lyrical poems are also considered to have emanated from his pen, such as "Philomena" and *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, but the attribution is weaker in these cases.

A widely accepted view is that Chrétien was a cleric, firstly attached to the court of Champagne and, secondly, to Flanders. He dedicated *Lancelot* to Marie de Champagne, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and King Louis VII, and his unfinished work, *Perceval*, to Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders from 1168 to 1191. His narrative production spans from 1170 to 1190: the first roman, *Erec*, was finished c. 1170; the second, *Cligès*, c. 1176; *Yvain* and *Lancelot* were simultaneously written between 1177 and 1181;[39] the unfinished *Perceval* was composed in the period 1182-1190, before his patron's death in the third crusade.[40]

By Chrétien's time, the values of *courtoisie* and *fin'amor*, as well as honourable *chevalerie* and learned *clergie*, predominated amongst the aristocratic ideals of the French-speaking nobility, both in the British Isles as well as in the continent. Part of the task of the poet was, therefore, to celebrate these values and analyse them. The implied audience of the text, on its part, was capable of recognising and appreciating the rhetorical conventions and devices typical of the *roman* and of sharing with the author a body of social ideas about

[39] That would explain the complex textual-poetic relationship that bounds the two texts. The stories in the poems are intertwined: Gauvain, for instance, is absent from Arthur's court when Lunete arrives looking for help because he is trying to rescue the queen, as recounted in *Le chevalier de la charrette*. See Frappier (1952: 3-6).

[40] But cf. Luttrell, who proposes later dates for all the *romans*: he ascribes *Erec* to the years 1184-86, *Cligès* to 1185-87, *Yvain* I to 1186-7, *Lancelot* to 1187-8, *Yvain* II to 1188-89, and *Perceval* to 1189-90 (1974: 32).

courtly behaviour and obligations that did not need to be articulated since they were tacitly understood. As Köhler has cogently argued, the *roman* is inseparable from its context of production: it transposes into an ideal world of knightly adventures the problems of twelfth-century French aristocracy (1974: 77-102). The wandering young knight in search of land and wife represents, amidst the Arthurian and supernatural atmosphere, the very specific group of young males (*jovens*) from the lowest ranks of nobility without inheritance (Duby, 1989). Those ideals served to distinguish them from all other groups within society, especially from the royal family, and their expression in vernacular texts written by clerics shows the alliance between chivalry and clergy. To the highest virtues of the epic hero, prowess and pride of the lineage, the courtly hero added the distinction of language, clothing and manners, largesse, and physical beauty, as well as a peculiar form of love, equalled to strength and courage (Frappier, 1957: 10).

As a learned man of his time, educated at a cathedral school in the liberal arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, Chrétien studied the Latin *auctoritas* such as Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, s. V), Ovide and Virgil (in their medieval guise); he was also familiar with vernacular compositions such as *romans antiques*, the poetry of the troubadours, and Wace's *Brut*, through whose translation he probably knew Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

3.2. Formal devices and major themes

Yvain has attracted the attention of numerous scholars and has aroused many different readings.[41] In what follows, some relevant topics will be briefly commented upon in order to lay the foundation for the comparison to *Iarlles* in chapter 7. The poem has been praised for its compact, well-structured narrative (Uitti, 1968/9; Newstead, 1977; Frappier, 1952; Duggan, 1969). Indeed, the tale is tightly tied together by means of formal techniques (repetition with slight variation, parallelisms, interlacement of episodes, the alternation of suspense and climatic scenes) and also of the intertwined themes of chivalry and love. In this respect, the tension between love and *militia*, that is, between the obligations of marriage and the chivalric ideal of adventure, of tournaments and jousts, is one of the major themes of the poem and the motivation for much of the action. The ideal of love imbued in the poem is that

[41] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present for a full literature review of the text; only those aspects which are relevant for our discussion will be treated. For a recent discussion see Kelly (2009) and for a recent compilation of essays about the Champenois poet see Lacy and Grimbert (2005), and further references there.

of *amor courtois*, which tried to fuse the classical concept of *amor* as expressed in Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (physical and earthly love), with Bernard of Clairvaux's concept of *caritas* (spiritualised love). In *Yvain*, as in *Erec et Enide* and *Cligès*, Chrétien combined elements of the troubadours' *fin'amor* with marital love in an attempt to balance *amor* and *caritas*. It should not be inferred, however, that there was a codified system or a strict set of rules prescribing the appropriate way for loving (Noble 1982: 4). But as Noble points out, certain generalisations can be made: the secular nature of love, that love should ennoble the lovers whilst implying an effort (1982: 4), that man is transformed through the love of his lady and that he must strive to make himself worthy of her by developing all knightly virtues. The service of love performed to the lady is calqued on feudal homage.

The *roman* unfolds in 6.808 lines of octosyllabic couplets that follow the metrical pattern ‘aabbccdd’. The tale is organised into three long sections (which comprise several small narrative units): the adventure of the fountain and Yvain's marriage to the lady of the fountain; the crisis within the couple and Yvain's madness; new adventures of expiation that will lead the hero to surpass himself and regain his wife.[42] Thus the hero achieves chivalric perfection and converts *himself* into a model of loyalty and fidelity, and of moral superiority. The key here is the process of self-discovery and fulfilment of his destiny – an interior journey – which the hero undertakes while on adventure. At first, he is rather rude, impetuous, and reckless, but once he overcomes his original roughness, he *learns* and *assimilates* the rules of courtesy. Yvain transforms himself (in every respect) during the adventures while the other male characters play more stereotyped roles. The figure of Arthur is based on *Historia Regum Britanniae*: he is portrayed as an emperor, the model of courteous king, of largesse, of knighthood. Keu, for his part, is depicted as the perpetrator of slander, who enounces evil and aggressive words and who incarnates the sin of the tongue. Interestingly, he reprises this role in *Iarlles*. Gauvain, in turn, represents the flower of knighthood; he is the perfect knight but only superficially, in the exterior, since he lacks the moral integrity necessary to become the hero. The portrayal of feminine characters and their function is also remarkable and is coupled with a re-signification of the role of women in courtly literature, as patrons, as part of the audience, and as heroines. This is especially relevant in the case of Lunete, who plays the role of helper to the hero, of attending maiden to Laudine, and of intermediary between both. *She* is the master-mind behind the stratagem to

[42] For a full account of the narrative see chapter 7.

get her lady's consent to marry Yvain, for instance. More about the role of women in the tale will be discussed in relation to *Iarlles* in chapter 7.

One of the original devices introduced in the *roman*, and subsequently employed in *Yvain*, is internal discourse. Here, along with the level of actions and of emotions and sentiments, a new dimension of interpretation of events is added, an interlinear commentary that usually takes the form of self-deliberation (Vinaver, 1971: 23-4). There are two main passages of such inner dialogue: when seeing the lady of the fountain for the first time, Yvain is struck by love and ponders over the impossibility of winning the object of his passion, whereas the lady debates with herself about the propriety and convenience of marrying the murderer of her late husband. The action thus pauses for the characters to become self-conscious of their discourse, their actions and their consequences.

The topics and formal techniques surveyed so far serve to characterise *Yvain* in generic terms, i.e. as a *roman courtois*, and as such they may work as generic constraints when transferred from the ST to the TT. Chapter 7 will be dedicated to discussing the way that the Welsh translator dealt with these features.

3.3 Manuscript tradition and editions

Yvain is extant in thirteen medieval manuscripts and fragments:[43]

Manuscript signature	Date
Private collection, Annonay fragments	first quarter of the thirteenth century
París, BN, fr. 794 (Guiot manuscript)	second quarter of the thirteenth century
Paris, BN, fr. 1450	second quarter of the thirteenth century
Bruges, SA, AAJS 244	second quarter of the thirteenth century
Paris, BN, fr. 12560	second quarter of the thirteenth century
Chantilly, Musée Condé 472	mid-thirteenth century
Modena, AS, Archivio d'Este, Ministero d'Affari Esteri, Atti segreti F. 6 Miscellenea (fragment)	second half of the thirteenth century
Princeton, UL, Garrett 125	last quarter of the thirteenth century
Vatican City, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1725	late thirteenth or early fourteenth century
Paris, BN, fr. 12603	late thirteenth or early fourteenth century
Lyon, BM 743	first quarter of the fourteenth century
Paris, BN, fr. 1433	first quarter of the fourteenth century
Montpellier, BI, Sect. Méd. H 252 (fragment)	mid fourteenth century

Table 1: *Yvain*'s textual tradition

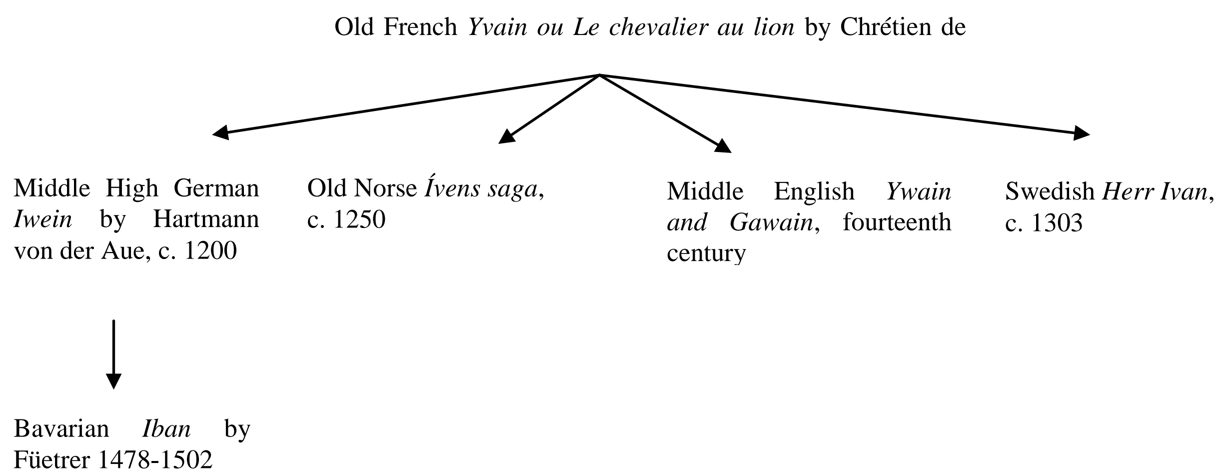
[43] For dates and a full description of the manuscripts see Busby *et al.* (1993). The manuscript Paris, BN, fr. 1638, belonging to the first quarter of the sixteenth century has been omitted from the list because it is a late version. Cf. Uitti's classification in three families (1994: 1186-1189).

Of these, only two carry in complete form the five *romans* written by Chrétien: the famous Guiot manuscript (Paris 794) and Paris 1450, both from the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[44] One point is worth mentioning: the manuscripts exhibit regional linguistic features, to a greater or lesser extent; most of them carry traits of the Picardie area while others display characteristics from the Champagne region.

The Guiot manuscript has been the favoured exemplar for editions such as Mario Roques' volume in *Classiques français du Moyen Age* (CFMA). As alerted by Hunt (1993), there were no critical editions that addressed the textual problems presented by the variants in the extant manuscripts. Later works came to meet that demand: the models of the text published by La Pléiade were primarily the two complete manuscripts (Guiot and Paris 1450) but they present all the relevant textual variants in a very extensive notes section; David Hult (1996), for his part, edited the poem from Paris 1433 with important variants from the rest of the exemplars. All in all, we have today a good access to Chrétien's text.

3.4 *Le chevalier au lion* in a European context: medieval translations of the text

Chrétien's *romans* were a success throughout the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the more than forty manuscripts that preserve his texts evince (Lacy, Kelly and Busby, 1988). He was able to speak to a specific social group, to represent its preoccupations, main values and tastes. His popularity is also demonstrated by the many translations of *Yvain* that were produced during the Middle Ages as seen in the chart below.



[44] The Guiot manuscript received its name due to a colophon that states that it was written by certain Guiot.

The first translation was the Middle High German *Iwein* composed by Hartmann von der Aue c. 1200 (Edwards, 2007). Hartmann was regarded as one of the three masters of courtly romance, along with Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Straßburg. He is also responsible for a rendering of *Erec et Enide*. From this text a Bavarian version sprung: Ulrich Füetrer wrote *Iban* for his *Buch der Abenteuer* (*Book of Adventures*) between 1478 and 1502 for the court of Albrecht IV of Bavaria.

The fourteenth-century *Ywain and Gawain* (Braswell, 1995) is one of many Middle English translations of Old French or Anglo-Norman romances that started to be produced at the end of the thirteenth century. These, as Helen Cooper stated, “tend to be more down to earth, more action based, removed from the more self-indulgent or fantasy elements of the courtly ethos: they are ‘popular’ not merely because of their choice of the language that was accessible to most" (2009: 174). *Ywain and Gawain* is a verse rendering preserved in a single manuscript, British Library MS Cotton Galba E ix, dating from the fifteenth century.

The Old Norse translation, *Ívens saga*, was commissioned by King Hákon Hákonarson of Norway (reigned 1217-1263) probably c. 1250 (Kalinke, 1999). It is part of the broader group of translated *riddarasögur*, knights' sagas or chivalric sagas, which are prose renderings of foreign language material, in the majority Old French and Anglo-Norman, produced mostly during the thirteenth century in Norway and Iceland. The *riddarasögur* are considered to have been an important instrument in the context of the civilising and feudalising efforts undertaken by King Hákon during his time (Glauser, 2005: 375). Afterwards, Old Swedish translations in verse were supposedly commissioned by Queen Eufemia of Norway (wife of Hákon V) and they are thus known as *Eufemiavisor*. *Herr Ivan*, a translation of Chrétien's *Le chevalier au lion*, is one of them, the other two being a tale about Duke Frederic of Normandy, and *Floire et Blancheflor* (Glauser, 2005: 376). Most of the *riddarasögur* have come down in Icelandic manuscripts dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Old Norse translation of *Yvain* is quite relevant for our study given that it is just a little later than *Iarlles* – on the basis of Rodway’s dating (2007) – and because it demonstrates, once more, that Old French literature and culture was a model for other European courts. Moreover, what Poppe (2013) argues in relation to the Middle Welsh Charlemagne texts, that there seems to be a similar attitude in the translation of foreign material in Wales, Ireland, and Scandinavia, could be applied to this case too. For all these reasons, references to the Old Norse translation will be introduced in the discussion of *Iarlles*

when they cast light (by contrast or by similarity) on the processes of translation of the Welsh tale.

3.5. *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn:* Manuscript tradition and modern editions

Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn [The Tale of the Lady of the Well] survives in ten manuscripts, only three of them dating from the Middle Ages (see chart below). The three medieval manuscripts are:[45]

1) Peniarth 4, the so-called Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch/White Book of Rhydderch kept at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. The tale is located in ff. 49r-54v, lacks the beginning section and the ending, comprising from the first part of Kynon's tale until Owein's arrival at the castle of the episode of the giant;
2) Jesus College 111, the so-called Llyfr Coch Hergest/Red Book of Hergest, now at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, ff. 154v-161v (columns 627-655) preserves the complete tale;
3) Jesus College 20, presumably copied c. 1375-c. 1425, ff. 16r-21v, which is a fragment containing Kynon's tale up to the arrival at the well.

Although these manuscripts have not been organised in a stemma, they all probably derive from a common archetype connected to the abbey of Strata Florida, as the textual relation of the White Book and the Red Book suggests (Huws, 2000: 255, 2003: 23). The modern copies, on the other hand, except for Llanstephan 58, carry a different version of the tale that completely omits all the episodes related to the lion.[46]

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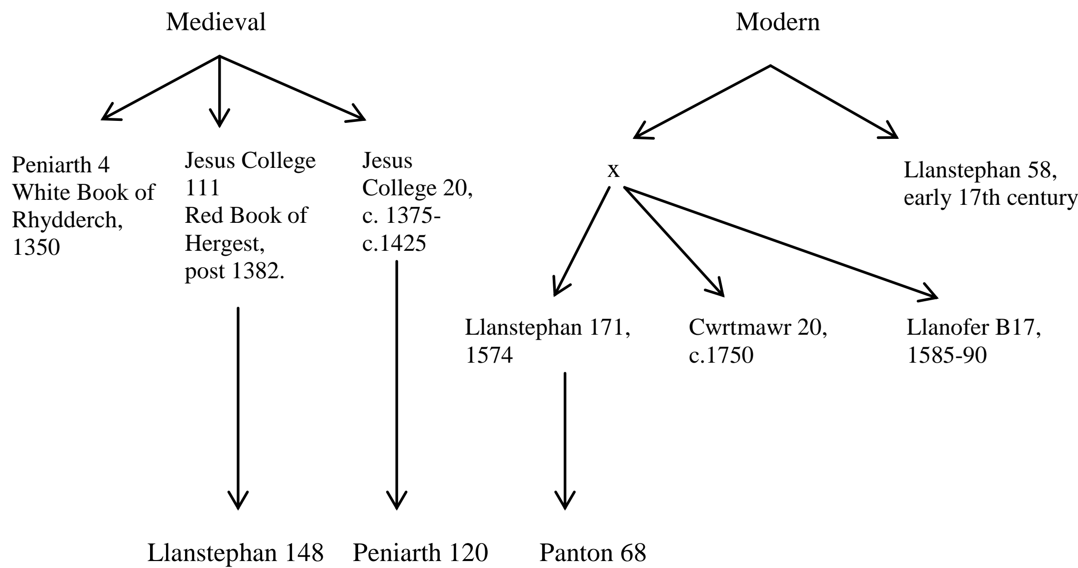
[45] The summary that follows is based on Huws (2002).
[46] For an edition of the version contained in Llanstephan 58 see Thomson (1971). For a study of the text see S. Davies (2003). The chart is adapted from Jones (1951: 18).

Iarlles y Ffynnawn – Textual tradition



Both Peniarth 4 and Jesus College 111 are miscellaneous codices that compile almost the whole of medieval Welsh literature, in prose and verse, without any evident criterion of classification and organisation.[47] There are, however, two groupings of texts: *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* and the Carolingian cycle, although it should be noted that there are other texts interposed between the tales related to Charlemagne. This lack of apparent order suggests that the main purpose of the compilation consisted in preserving everything that was available in Middle Welsh; both are collections, or repertoires, of medieval Welsh literature. Native prose tales, as scholars conventionally refer to a group of texts that lack any significant foreign influence (such as *PKM*), were copied side by side with texts translated from Latin or Anglo-Norman sources, or alongside functional prose texts such as religious or wisdom books, as can be seen in table 2 (p. 34). They were also both produced for upper-class laymen.

The White Book was probably commissioned by Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd of Parcrhydderch (c.1325-c.1398/99), Llangeitho, Ceredigion (mid-west Wales), whose name the manuscript still bears. His parents, Ieuan Llwyd and Angharad, were literary patrons associated with the first generation of *cywydd* poets, especially Dafydd ap Gwilym (the most famous of medieval Welsh poets), with the compilation of the bardic grammar of Einion

[47] The manuscripts have been digitised. The White Book is available at the NLW website: http://digidol.llgc.org.uk/METS/RHY00001/physical?locale=cy, whereas the Red Book is available at the Oxford Bodleian Library website http://medievalromance.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/The_Red_Book_of_Hergest. For a full description of each manuscript see Huws (2000, 2003).

Offeiriad, and with the Hendregadredd Manuscript.[48] Rhydderch was a descendant of the Lord Rhys, king of Deheubarth (1155-1197) via his eldest son Gruffudd; Rhys was founder of the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida, one of the more prolific and important Welsh scriptoria, and his great-great grandchildren Gruffudd ap Maredudd and Efa ferch Maredudd commissioned the translations of *Transitus Marie* and *Historia Turpini* by Madog ap Selyf and *Credo Athanasius* by Gruffudd Bola, respectively. Rhydderch himself was also a patron of poets during his lifetime, being praised by several poets such as Llewelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen, Iolo Goch, and Dafydd y Coed. He was a member of the Welsh gentry, an expert in Welsh law and an official of the government of the southern counties of the Principality. Given his links with Strata Florida by way of his family and the fact that it was 16 km. away from his home, it is highly probable that most of the book was produced there, the only place where such craftsmanship and skills as were demanded could be found. Five scribes have been identified as copyists of the book, but only two were involved in copying the texts examined in this thesis: Hand D was responsible for *Iarlles*, while the Anchorite of Llanddewibrefi copied the Charlemagne cycle (Hand B); Llanddewibrefi was less than 10 km. from Parcrhydderch. There was a collegiate church there where part of the book could also have been copied, to be later bounded in Strata Florida. All in all, it seems safe to place the White Book in Ceredigion, in the mid-west of Wales.[49]

The Red Book, for its part, is the greatest manuscript produced in Wales: it has been described as “a one-volume library” (Huws, 2000: 82). Together with the White Book, it represents the rescue work of fourteenth-century Welsh gentry and antiquarians to preserve their literary tradition.[50] Commissioned by Hopcyn ap Tomas and completed between 1382 (when the last entry of *Brut y Saesson* was written) and c. 1410 (Huws, 2003: 1-2), its more than three hundred pages contain all sort of texts, poetry and prose alike. Hopcyn was a prominent patron of bards and collector of manuscripts from South Glamorgan. Of the three

[48] The *cywydd* is a metrical form of Welsh poetry developed in the early fourteenth century. For the White Book see Huws (2000: 249-251). For the Hendregadredd Manuscript see also Huws (2000: 191-226). This manuscript is a compilation of twelfth and thirteenth-century court poetry.

[49] For the location of Strata Florida and other monasteries, see map on Appendix 2.

[50] In this respect, the Red Book is remarkable, for its content as well as for its size. Thirteenth-century manuscripts tended to be smaller and mostly plain, without rubrics or illuminations, not only because most of them are functional books but, more importantly, because the cost of producing a volume was very high for the economy of the Welsh aristocracy and church. For the basic features of Welsh manuscripts see Huws (2000: 36-56). See also Denholm-Young (1954).

main scribes, Hand A, Hand B (Hywel Fychan), and Hand C, it was Hywel Fychan who copied the text of *Iarlles*.

Oxford, Jesus College ms. 20 was produced in c. 1375-c.1425, possibly in the south.[51] It is a miscellaneous codex that contains poetry, genealogies, and prose tales. The text of *Iarlles* is the only work of a scribe who is not the main hand of the manuscript. The tale ends abruptly in the middle of the dialogue between Kynon and the wild shepherd.

The parallels between *Iarlles*, *Gereint*, *Peredur* and Chrétien de Troyes' *romans* of *Yvain*, *Erec et Enide* and *Perceval* has reinforced the assumption that they formed a group during the Middle Ages although "there is no evidence whatsoever that the three were seen as a group in the Middle Ages (Lloyd-Morgan, 2009: 129).[52] Nonetheless, the ordering of the texts in the White Book and the Red Book differ considerably:[53]

White Book	Red Book
f. 1r -28v: *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*	f. 134v-138v *Breudwyt Ronabwy*
f. 30r-45r *Peredur*	[other texts: religious, geographical works]
f.45r-48v *Breudwyt Macsen*	f. 154v-161v *Iarlles*
f. 48v *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*	f. 161v-172r *Peredur*
f. 49r-55r *Iarlles*	f. 172r-174r *Breudwyt Macsen*
[other texts: triads, genealogies]	f. 174r-175r *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*
f. 63r-79v *Gereint*	f. 175r-190r *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*
f. 79v-88v *Culhwch ac Olwen*	f. 190r-200r *Gereint*
	f. 200v-210r *Culhwch ac Olwen*
	[*Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn* and other texts]

Table 2: Order of the *Mabinogion* tales in the White Book and the Red Book

As is clear, the so-called three Welsh Arthurian tales were not copied together in the two manuscripts in which they are all preserved. On the contrary, *Gereint* seems to have a link to *Culhwch ac Olwen* and *Peredur* appears before *Breudwyt Macsen* in both cases. Moreover, fragments of the tales survive independently in other manuscripts, for example *Iarlles* is found in Jesus College ms. 20. Against this idea of a group one can also cite the literary terms found in the tales themselves: *Iarlles* is called a *chwedyl*, the most usual term to denote "tale" (etymologically, "that which is told"), while *Gereint* is designated as *ystorya* and *Peredur historia*, which suggest a written provenance (Roberts, 1988b). This is one of the reasons for treating *Iarlles* separately in this thesis.

[51] Images of this manuscript can be found on the "Early Manuscripts at Oxford University" website: http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=jesus&manuscript=ms20

[52] A case in point is Jones, *Y Tair Rhamant: Iarlles y Ffynnon, Peredur, Geraint fab Erbin* (1960).

[53] The chart was adapted from Lloyd-Morgan (2009: 130).

3.6 The date and place of composition

The tale lacks any internal or paratextual indication about its commissioner, composer, place or year of composition, or purpose for being copied or translated. Further difficulties arise because of the late date of the manuscripts in which the tale was preserved. This is a problematic issue for almost all of medieval Welsh prose tales. The editor of *Iarlles* argued that the text was already in a written form in Welsh by the middle, and even perhaps by the beginning of the twelfth century (Thomson, 1986: xxi). This is, of course, intimately related to his assumption that *Iarlles* does not depend, in any way, on a French *roman*. Scholars who discussed the three Welsh Arthurian romances as a group have tended to ascribe the text to a period somewhere between the twelfth and the end of the thirteenth century (Foster, 1959; Loomis, 2000; Bromwich, 2008; Jones, 1983; cf. Evans, 1964).[54] K. Over posited, from a postcolonial reading of the texts, that they were composed in the period of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's rule from 1218-40 but this interpretation, which takes historical facts at face value, is unreliable. Moreover, it prevents the discussion of the problems of textual fluidity, change of audience, and lateness of extant exemplars (Lloyd-Morgan, 2006b).

Therefore, the text must be dated on philological grounds. It should be remembered, however, that we only possess manuscripts that are copies of previous exemplars and, therefore, their own context of production determines the traits apparent in the texts. Peter Wynn Thomas (1993) studied three linguistic variables that he considered to be powerful dialect markers in order to establish the features of Middle Welsh texts regarding historical dialectology. Two of those variables point to a geographic distribution: 1) high incidence of yod (-j-) is interpreted as a northern mark whilst a low yod score is taken to be a southern characteristic; 2) the association of third person (both singular and plural) stem formatives <th> (Θ) or <t> (t) of the prepositions *gan* and *rwng* with northern and southern varieties, respectively. The last feature suggests a historical development: 3) the ending -ws/-wys third person singular preterit indicative was replaced by -awd by at least the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, thus high incidence of -ws/-wys indicates an early date while high incidence of -awd signals a late date. The analysis is further complicated by the intervention of scribes and by their tendency to modernise or archaise the language of their model, as well

[54] For a review of opinions see Breeze (2003); this paper is centred on *Peredur* but discusses general views on dating and place of composition.

to introduce patterns that pertain to their own dialectal area, different from that of the text of the exemplar.

In the case of *Iarlles*, Thomas examined the distribution of these variables in the two principal manuscripts, namely the White Book and the Red Book. These were the results:

Variable	White Book	Red Book
-j-	42%	0%
-th-	100%	0%
-awd	33%	60%

The figures show that the text in the Red Book, copied by Hywel Fychan, exhibit traits of south-west Wales, which is consistent with Hywel's provenance and place of work. For the text in the White Book, transcribed by Hand D, in which low incidence of *yod* points to the south and a high score of -th- to the north, Thomas suggested a mid-Wales or North Ceredigion origin. However, he acknowledged the apparent contradictory behaviour of the scribe and the impossibility of deciding whether he was a faithful copyist working from a model (or models) which was already linguistically mixed, or a content-oriented scribe who was prone to modify the language of his original.[55]

Thomas' remarkable work is still very debatable given the numerous problems of isolating dialectal features in medieval manuscripts subjected to all sorts of interventions. Rodway (2007) undertook a detailed re-examination of the issue, dismissing all of Thomas' variables except for the ending of the preterite. He assigned *Iarlles* to the first half of the thirteenth century due to the high incidence of -ws/-wys although he recognised that this may not be definitive.

Regarding place of composition, the tale has been associated with several places: 1) Glamorgan in the southeast, basically because it was the region of greater Anglo-Norman influence (Jones, 1983; Foster, 1959);[56] 2) the border along Archenfield (now Herefordshire) and Monmouth (Goetinck, 1975). Bromwich (1974) put forward a series of evidence to support the south-east provenance, arguing that all the identifiable places in the tales

[55] For a discussion of the categories of "form-oriented" or "content-oriented scribe" see Rodway (2004). In this article, Rodway comes to the opposite conclusion regarding the scribe of *Culhwch ac Olwen*: that the White Book Culhwch was copied by what Thomas would call "form-oriented scribe" and that Hywel Fychan - or the scribe of his immediate exemplar - was consistently modifying his source to make it easier to understand and to make it more consistent with the literary language of his day.

[56] Again, for a useful review see Breeze (2003).

belonged to that area. Philological traits of the exemplars also point to a southern provenance, but this may be the result of scribe intervention, and the texts could have originated somewhere else.

In brief, and with all the caveats expressed above, it seems possible to place the composition of *Iarlles* in the first half of the thirteenth century, but place of provenance is still an open question. The tale may have originated in the south of Wales, from whence two of the three medieval extant manuscripts proceed, but so far philological challenges prevent us from making any other assumptions.

3.7 Literature review: beyond the source problem

The three Welsh Arthurian tales which share the main lines of the plot with three *romans* of Chrétien de Troyes have been traditionally referred to as "y tair rhamant", that is, the three romances. In addition to *Iarlles*, *Gereint* and *Peredur*, related to *Erec et Enid* and *Perceval*, respectively, are placed in this category (Jones, 1960). The debate about the relationship between the Welsh prose tales and the Old French poems was popularised by German scholars as "die Mabinogionfrage" (the *Mabinogion* problem[57]), a confusing name given that, although *Mabinogion* normally refers to the eleven Welsh prose tales translated into English for the first time by Lady Charlotte Guest (1877), the name corresponds, strictly speaking, *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, in whose colophon the term "mabinogi" appears. However, as was discussed above, the textual tradition of the Welsh tales and their arrangement in the extant manuscripts strongly indicate that they did not form a group during the Middle Ages. Indeed, the tales exhibit a different relation to their possible sources: *Peredur* probably had more than one French text as its source (Lloyd-Morgan, 2000; Luttrell, 2003), whereas in *Gereint* there is a clear allusion to the multilingualism of the tale in the treatment that the name of one of the characters receives in different languages.[58] This is yet another reason to deal with each tale separately. Therefore, in the following discussion we will focus on *Iarlles*; the considerable body of secondary literature concerning *Gereint* and *Peredur* will be disregarded, except when relevant for the discussion.

On the other hand, it is necessary to indicate that this debate is traditionally connected with the broader context of transmission of "Celtic elements" to the continent, particularly to

[57] The term was coined by Zenker (1912).
[58] We refer to Gwiffret Petit, as he is called by the English and the French, while the Welsh call him "Brenhin Bychan," "small king" (Thomson, 1997: lines 1067-8).

the Francophone area, the *matière de Bretagne* and the origins of Arthurian romance. According to this argument, a presumably oral corpus of Celtic legends was transmitted to French storytellers through Breton *conteurs* or *jongleurs.* For instance, names of characters – such as Arthur – and motifs – such as the hunt of the white stag – were considered to belong to a Celtic mythical repertoire (apparent in Welsh literature). Hence, from this stance it was possible to reconstruct the Celtic prototype or archetype behind basically any Arthurian *roman* of the twelfth or thirteenth century, as Roger Loomis' analysis intended to achieve (see for instance 1997). Loomis' 'Celtic hypothesis' polarised the discussion between Celtophiles and Celtophobes, and his holistic approach to literary texts completely ignored the socio-historical aspect of the pieces and of their creators.[59]

In the case of the French *roman*, those supposedly Celtic elements were completely detached from Welsh narrative traditions as they are attested in a great variety of sources and can be appreciated in the *Triads of the Isle of Britain*.[60] Introduced and re-elaborated by French authors, they had no trace of the stories that they supposedly evoked; they were rather empty figures, and names were empty labels. Yvain le fils d'Urien, for example, the hero of *Le chevalier au lion*, bears a Welsh patronymic, Urien, the father of Owein and an important chieftain of the Old North of Britain. Nothing from the traditions associated with him in Old Welsh poetry, for instance, is retained in Chrétien's *roman*; merely the name. Therefore, we agree with Bromwich (2008) that it is best to consider those narrative elements as "Arthurian *topoi*" rather than late representations or concretizations of a Celtic archetype; we believe that authors like Chrétien de Troyes and his audience would have scarcely recognised that purported Celtic imprint.

Having said that, we can now revisit the (once very heated) debate about the relationship between *Iarlles* and *Yvain*, where it is possible to distinguish four different approaches or theories:[61]

1) Welsh prose tales as the source of Chrétien's *romans*. This perspective goes hand in hand with a set of *a priori* assumptions of sovereignty, original tale, national literature, and celticness. Robert Jones proposed his first theory in his master thesis in Welsh at the University of Wales, in which he denied any French influence on *Iarlles* and stated that "(…)

[59] For a review of this problem see Cormier (1972).
[60] That is, compilations of traditional knowledge in the form of triads or groups of three. See Bromwich (2006).
[61] The following groupings have been adapted from Bromwich (2008).

y chwedl wedi' i chadw ar lafar, ac wedi cael ei chofnodi o'r newydd, nid hwyrach heb wybodaeth o'r testunau cywir" (Jones, 1951: 20) [the tale was kept orally and was newly registered, not perhaps without knowledge of the correct [*sic*] texts]. Thomson, for his part, although at first seems to agree with the theory of the common source (see below), concludes by asserting that the latter must have been a French version of *Iarlles*, composed by a Breton storyteller, just as it existed in the eleventh century; following this reasoning, *Yvain* would *indirectly derive* from *Iarlles* (1986: lxxxiv).[62] Beneath this approach also lies the assumption commented upon above, about the transmission of Celtic material to the continent. Goetinck, for instance, studying *Peredur,* states that at the end of the eleventh century there existed three romances with themes and events from C*ulhwch* and the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, which were translated into French or Breton and taken (probably in written form) to France where Chrétien got to know them. Meanwhile, they continued to be related in Wales and copied there; one of the oral versions was then reworked to incorporate a French version ("with particularly unhappy results for *Peredur*"), culminating in the extant form that we possess (1975: 35-6, see also 1976). Goetinck's primal premises were that the three romances were based on ancient sovereignty myths and dynastic legends (in the case of *Iarlles*, pertaining to the Old North), and that many literary figures derived from the gods and goddesses of ancient Britain, with some elements reminiscent of the Irish tales.

From a very different perspective and analysing only *Gereint*, Neil Thomas (1987) argued that the Welsh prose tale must have originated in a pre-Galfridian and pre-Anglo-Norman time because it displays the values of eleventh-century Welsh heroic society. In continental courtly romances the equation of martial and sexual potency of Gereint would have been received uneasily, resulting in its modification to suit the taste of their audience. This paper shows the pervasiveness of the theory of Chrétien's dependency on Welsh literature.

2) Theory of local composition: Robert Jones (1977) later argued in favour of the parallel development of the *fabula* of the Arthurian tales in a bilingual environment near the south Welsh border – an area of heavy interaction between Anglo-Norman and Welsh people –

[62] To be fare, it should be noted that in his 1997 edition of *Gereint*, the author seems to favour the dependency of the tale on Chrétien's *roman*, especially as a reaction to the common source theory. He declares: "The differences revealed by an analysis of the texts of F [*Yvain*] and W [*Iarlles*], so far from requiring the assumption of a common source to explain them (…) would be adequately explained by the transformation wrought in the process of adapting the outline of F to the native narrative technique of W" (1997: lxxiv). It appears that this has not changed his position about *Iarlles*.

during the early post-conquest period (i.e. immediately after the Norman Conquest). Bullock-Davies' thesis about the multilingual *latimarii*, that is, professional interpreters that worked at the courts in the Welsh Marches, one of which was precisely in the Welsh southeast, provided the basis for this idea (1966).

3) Theory of the common source: numerous authors maintained the existence of a lost original from which both texts would derive. Thomson, *Iarlles*' editor, cleverly summarised this theory in five points: i) *Iarlles* and *Yvain* do not derive from each other but they have a common source; ii) the common source was a French written text; iii) the structure of this common source was better preserved by *Iarlles* than by *Yvain*; iv) *Iarlles* shows French influence; v) *Iarlles* is a Welsh adaptation of the common source, modified in the light of native tradition.

This perspective had a major influence throughout the twentieth century and it is still accepted by several scholars as an intermediate solution, not risky but safe, that avoids problematizing the assumptions behind the idea of a hypothetical lost original, whose characteristics are unknown. Hence this theory entails many problems: it speculates about a *lost* original by looking at its partial reflection in *actual* extant texts, even at the point of intending to reconstruct it; the concept of 'original' or *Urtext* is very debatable, in literary studies as well as in philology, because it implies the search of a text that does not actually exists, it is not certain if it ever existed, but it is assumed to be better than what was in fact preserved; many times authors resort to very complicated – but equally hypothetical – explanations to prove their argument;[63] it is never clear whether this common source was oral or written, or in which language it was composed. Moreover, scholars tend to assimilate the simplicity and orality of the Welsh tales with antiquity and, in this way, presuppose that it is closer to that alleged original. Although this idea of the common source is the basic premise, authors differentiate from each other on the disciplinary perspective from which they work, on the value assigned to each text, on the basic characteristics that they attribute to the 'lost original' and on the ways of transmission of that text.

Joseph Loth (1892), the first French translator of the Welsh prose tales, argued in favour of the common source theory after a detailed study of onomastics, showing that names in the French *romans* were versions of Welsh names that had previously passed through a

[63] For example, Jean Marx (1962/3), in his discussion of *Peredur*, posited the existence of two Welsh redactions and several instances of assimilation of French elements.

Breton filter.[64] Brown (1912), at the beginning of the twentieth century, protested against the idea of dependency of the Welsh tale defending its independent character from a common source shared by both the Welsh and the French texts, and reinforced the origins of the story as an 'otherworld tale', related to Celtic traditions. Bromwich asserted, in 1974, that "Yr unig esboniad sy'n dderbyniol ar hyn o bryd yw fod a ddau fersiwn yn mynd yn ôl i ffynhonnell gyffredin" (Bromwich, 1974: 158) [the only explanation that is admissible nowadays is that the two versions come from a common source]; cf. Bromwich (2008). She supported the idea of Anglo-Norman intermediaries of an Anglo-Norman original, although she admitted that Chrétien's narratives seemed to derive, ultimately, from Breton sources that would have adapted the insular tradition. Frappier (1957, 1978) maintained that the French influence on *Iarlles* was to be adjudged to the common source and posited that this one had been written in French under the inspiration of Celtic traditions: "les romans de Chrétien et les contes gallois dépendent de sources communes dérivées elles-mêmes de données celtiques" (1957: 49). He recalled Chrétien's own statement in the prologue of *Erec et Enide* about the Breton tale which furnished the subject of his poem as part of his arguments. Of course, nothing similar to this appears in *Gereint*. Chrétien's claims only tell us what he wanted us to know: that he could construct better narratives than the allegedly considered good storytellers; if the previous story ever existed, we are still ignorant about the similarities and/or differences between it and Chrétien's *Erec*.

Loomis, for his part, was a staunch advocate of the Breton transmission theory and argued that the common source was written in French and that, in the case of *Gereint* and *Iarlles*, they were not translations of a written text but, instead, they were retellings based on memory (2000).[65] Loomis took the search for parallels in other 'Celtic' literatures – principally Irish – further than any other scholar trying to prove the influence of Celtic tradition in the Breton original. Foster affirmed that "Geraint, Owein, and Peredur are adaptations of three French romances which provided Chrétien also with his material-adaptations which included the addition of fresh native ingredients to the blend of French and Celtic narrative" (1959: 204-5). He argued that the common source was sometimes better preserved by the Welsh while other times by Chrétien, noting that all the changes introduced

[64] Loth wrote a very good review of previous scholarship, summarising the positions of Förster, Nutt, Paris and Zimmer.

[65] Philippe Walter also agrees on an "archétype celtique" for *Owein* and *Yvain* in his introduction to the latter (1994 : 1170-1184).

in the Welsh tale, apparently for no reason, were due to oral transmission. Finally, it is worth pointing out that Hunt (1973/4), a folklore scholar, although denying the common source theory, actually validates it. According to the author, an hypothetical oral tale about Owein was transmitted by Breton storytellers to Chrétien (and to the continent in general); later, during the thirteenth century, an "antiquarian entertainer" living in the Welsh Marches composed *Iarlles*, partly isolated from narrative oral tradition but influenced by Chrétien's French fashion. As a result, the text combines features of both oral and bookish tale and is, in the form that is extant, the closest to an oral folktale.

4) **Chrétien as source of the Welsh prose tales:** a) at first, scholars such as Bruce (1923) supported this contention from a negative perspective, affirming the narrative 'simplicity' of Welsh texts. W. Förster, in the introduction to his edition of Chrétien's works (1887), maintained that the Welsh prose tales were free summaries of the stories written by the Champenois poet. b) From the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties a clear reappraisal of this thesis was undertaken. This reassessment has been conceptualised in a wide array of terms and definitions which will be studied separately in the following chapter.

We have seen that much of the research undertaken by the scholars reviewed above is based on folkloric and/or mythological comparative perspectives and their arguments depend, for the most part, on how they treat the differences and similarities between both texts: if they attribute more importance to the former, then they will tend towards translation or summarising, whereas if they value the latter more, they will favour the common source theory. Furthermore, many are guided by a 'search for origins' or 'search for the pure version' standpoint (a topic that traverses the whole of medieval literary historiography), and are driven by a nationalistic cause; for these scholars, the antiquity and / or ‘originality’ of their national literature were at stake. Even more so in the case of Chrétien's *romans* since he is considered to be the 'father' of French literature and the writer of literary masterpieces by many generations of medievalist. In view of that, scholars from 4a) did not doubt in assigning an intrinsic narrative and thematic simplicity to the Welsh prose tales as a result of the context in which they originated, more 'underdeveloped' and less 'civilised' than the French (at least in literary terms).

A brief digression about the so-called ‘postcolonial’ nature of the Welsh prose tales – and hence, of the ‘colonial’ status of Wales – is in order at this point. From this perspective, *Gereint*, *Peredur*, and *Iarlles* are considered as subversive re-readings of Chrétien’s *romans*.

Stephen Knight (2000) advanced a postcolonial reading of *Peredur* reprising Homi Bhaba's concepts of mimicry and menace. There have been a few attempts to promote readings in this line of interpretation: Over took Knight's contention further by analysing how the three Welsh romances (*sic*) "minimiz[e] with subtle intensity the cultural authority of Anglo-French overlordship in Wales" (2005: 91); Aronstein focused on *Peredur* as a postcolonial text "arguing that the tale encapsulates the ongoing negotiation to create and authorize a Welsh identity capable of surviving the political conditions of the present through a return to the past" (2005: 140). The premises upon which these readings are construed are extremely debatable: not all of Welsh territory was under direct Anglo-Norman control, but also advances and setbacks on both sides were continuous. Networks of power and interdependence were very complex and sought to reproduce the Anglo-Norman order, instead of merely creating structures of domination and extraction of resources, as is the model of colonialism (Bartlett, 1994: 306). Besides, one should ask if the perceived audience would be expecting this sort of consolatory literary response against the conditions of 'real' domination or if, on the contrary, was looking for models of 'Normanisation'. All in all, despite the contested assumptions of these readings, they have rightly stressed the hybrid character of the Welsh prose tales and their composition in a multicultural environment (Knight, 2000: 146-7).

The reappraisal of *Iarlles* promoted by Brynley Roberts (1977, 1983) had two immediate consequences: on the one side, it led to a reconsideration of the tale as a literary text on its own right, encouraging the study of its narrative and thematic features; on the other side, it re-channelled the debate about the relationship with *Yvain* to what Roberts called, following Gumbrecht (1974), "receivability". This concept allowed him to pose the cultural adaptation of Chrétien's text to befit a Welsh audience, already familiar to king Arthur and his knights, a fact which enabled its rewriting according to native conventions. Back in 1976 Roberts had observed that "The relationship between the Welsh and French romances is more complex than may be expressed only in terms of borrowing or reworking material. The Welsh authors "(…) follow native stylistic conventions while absorbing and adapting features from foreign fashionable literature. The romances are the fruit of the meeting of two cultures and two narratives forms…." (224). Consequently, he resituated *Iarlles* within the group of Middle Welsh translations of French texts, such as *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn* (a translation of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*) or Charlemagne's epic cycle.

From Roberts' papers onwards, several scholars have revisited the debate about the relationship between *Iarlles* and *Yvain*, whether individually or in the broader context that also involves *Gereint* and *Peredur*. Diverres (1981/2) acknowledged Roberts' influence concerning his own ideas about *Iarlles* and concluded that *circa* 1284 a Welsh author *adapted Le chevalier au lion* (known thanks to oral memory transmission) for a Welsh patron living in the Welsh Marches (the area occupied by barons of Anglo-Norman origin). His argument was based on differences between Welsh and English legal costumes that he said were apparent in the text. According to Diverres, the adaptation of *Yvain* had a very definite purpose: to defend the right of aristocratic women (the lady of the well and the widow countess precisely) to land property, allowed by the English law but not by the Welsh. English law comes to prominence in Wales with the Treaty of Rhuddlan in 1284 after the Edwardian conquest, a circumstance which would explain the late date of the tale. Having said that, Diverres starts his analysis from debatable assumptions, namely: 1) it is only after 1284 (after, that is, of the Treaty of Rhuddlan) that English law is executed in Wales; 2) there is only interest for French productions in areas of Anglo-Norman control; 3) the tale (i.e. *Iarlles*) narratives a real situation and does not simply express a wish and/or a state of affairs that belong to a different cultural background. Regarding 1, Welsh historians have shown that the kings of Gwynedd, particularly Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, introduce foreign elements into Welsh legal tractates (the *Law of Hywel*), elements which were probably known through the English law, such as the designation of a heir to the throne (Pryce, 2007);[66] the common traditional practice in Wales was partibility of inheritance between all the sons of a lord. As for 2, once again historians such as Pryce (2007) have expounded the widespread influence of the French culture beyond the areas of Anglo-Norman direct dominance, especially – but not exclusively – in the kingdom of Gwynedd throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the kingdom of Deheubarth throughout the second half of the twelfth. Lastly, concerning 3, Diverres argued that the omission of the episode of the Noire Épine sisters in *Iarlles* is due to the fact that the case that opposes them would have had no sense for a Welsh audience since women were excluded from inheriting land. But, one may ask, why would the Welsh *adapter* remove this

[66] Besides, the exclusion of women in the inheritance of land after the death of the husband continued in some regions, such as the north-east of Wales, characterised by legal and social conservatism, up until the fifteenth century. In other regions, in the Principality and the North and South Marches for example, this law could be relaxed, especially given the absence of direct male heirs. About this see R.R. Davies (1980: 100-1).

episode if he was fighting for women's right to land? Does this not contradict Diverres previous assertions?

The author also drew attention to the problem of the genre because, in his words, “In comparing the three *chwedlau* with the romances of Chrétien, one is not comparing like with like but two separate narrative genres with distinct traditions of their own” (1981/2: 145). In his opinion, this fact caused the process of change from *roman* to *chwedl* to be very different from a translation, as is the case of *La chanson de Roland* and *Cân Rolant*. The questions that he did not answer was what exactly defines a *chwedl* apart from being a "sophisticated literary development of the popular tale” and why he assigned to the three tales (*Iarlles*, *Gereint* and *Peredur*) the same category of *chwedl* as if this term were self-explanatory. In conclusion, Diverres defined *Iarlles* as a late adaptation. For all of the above, even though Diverres' paper resituates the understanding of *Iarlles* within a much needed socio-historical perspective, it is necessary to rethink his presuppositions and results. In this sense, this thesis seeks to continue Diverres' socio-historical standpoint but also to reappraise the Welsh tale as a medieval translation.

Regarding the aforementioned problem of genre, *Iarlles* has been classified as a *rhamant*, a term coined by Iolo Morganwg in the eighteenth century to equate the French *roman*.[67] Since then, it has been used to refer to the medieval tales of *Iarlles*, *Gereint*, and *Peredur*, reinforcing their similarities and hence their belonging together, as in Jones' *Y tair rhamant*. Roberts (1992) and Lloyd-Morgan (2004) have problematised this use, noting the anachronism of the nomenclature and the total lack of medieval authority for it. After reviewing the meaning of *rhamant* in medieval texts, Lloyd-Morgan concluded that it was used in many senses (as heroism, deed, marvel, portent) but it was neither used to denote romance as literary genre nor translation from Latin into the vernacular (as the first definition of *roman* meant). From a survey of the features that characterise the roman in *Peredur*, she ended up affirming that it was more accurate to say that the Welsh prose tale was a 'tale with romance elements' rather than a romance. This holds valid for *Iarlles* too. Furthermore, here *chwedyl* is employed as a self-referential term. Haycock affirms that "[L]iterary criticism and self-criticism must have been highly developed amongst the practitioners, even if this is not

[67] Iolo Morganwg was Edward Williams' bardic name. Amongst many other things, he is known for forging literary works by writing pieces and claiming that he had found them in old books. For a brief biography see *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (under Williams, Edward).

always satisfactorily articulated by the evidence" (2005: 344), hence we think it is valid to posit that *chwedyl* points to a type of textual practice, if not a literary genre.

So far we have established that scholarly consensus has shifted from acceptance of the common source safety to a consideration of *Iarlles* as a medieval translation of *Yvain*. The Middle Welsh text could fit remarkably well in the chart of European translations of Chrétien's text. Further evidence to support this contention will be discussed in chapter 7. A comparison with an undisputed translation will also contribute to our argument, in the spirit of Thomson himself:

> In case it should be suggested that this degree of difference between the French text (F) and the Welsh (W) is merely a normal difference between any Welsh translation and its original, i.e. that Welsh translators never did follow their original closely, it may be as well to add that the validity of our argument may be established by taking for comparison another Welsh prose text that is certainly a translation from French verse, and of which Norse prose and English verse translations also exist. Such a text is *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn*…" (1986: xxviii)

Such a text is also *Cân Rolant*, which we proceed to examine in the next chapter.

4. *La chanson de Roland* and its Middle Welsh translation *Cân Rolant*

4.1 Textual transmission: the versions of *La chanson de Roland*

In the Middle Ages, texts were not so much finished entities but rather open works often subjected to modifications. Widely diffused texts, such as *La chanson de Roland*, underwent thus a certain amount of rewriting at the hands of redactors/scribes and, later, translators. For critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this particular text became a milestone in the configuration of French national identity and it was therefore edited and commented upon many times. In fact, the title by which it is known nowadays was given to the text by its first editor, Francisque Michel, in 1837. This edition relied on one of the manuscripts, known as the Oxford manuscript. But there are other exemplars that bear witness to other *remaniements* of the poem, versions "that differ substantially but still constitute conceptually the texts of a single poem" (Duggan, 2005: 37).[68] The Roland tradition comprises two sets of texts: the assonanced versions (Oxford and part of Venice 4) and the rhymed poems (Venice 7, Châteauroux, Paris, Cambridge, Lyon, and the fragments of Lavergne, Bogdanow, and Michelant). Even though not all of these versions are relevant for the present study, a brief note on each is deemed necessary for the establishment of the textual transmission of the poem.

The earliest and most famous manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Digby 23 dated to c. 1125-1150.[69] It is widely accepted that the text of *La chanson de Roland* was composed in the years immediately following the discovery of the Holy Lance in Antioch mentioned in verses 2503-4 ("Asez savum de la lance parler/ duns nostre Sire fut en la cruiz nasfrét" [You have heard speak of the lance / with which Our Lord was wounded on the cross]) during the First Crusade in 1098, although the *Nota Emilianense* hints at a previous literary legend about Roland that probably circulated orally. [70] The extant text was copied in an Anglo-Norman script probably in the second quarter of the twelfth century. The poem is organised in *laisses* of decasyllable assonanced verses; the standard line is divided in two hemistich of 4 + 6.

[68] A comprehensive account of past editions of *La chanson de Roland* can be found in Duggan (2005).

[69] For a full description of the manuscript and its history see Short (2005: 14-20). For further references see the comprehensive list, organised by subject, compiled by Palumbo (2008).

[70] Short (2005: 19). Cf. Gilbert (2008); Menéndez Pidal (1959: 40); Duggan (2005). For the text of the *Nota* see Menéndez Pidal (1959: 359). Menéndez Pidal's book is still a classic review of the traditionalists v. individualists theses (see especially pp. 7-48). For a more recent discussion of oral composition v. oral transmission see Bäuml (1984) and Boutet (1993: 34-64). Oral and written cultural traditions are extensively studied (in the particular case of heretical groups) by Stock (1983).

The text evokes Charlemagne's military campaigns in Spain, particularly the events of 778, when the rearguard of the army was suddenly attacked by the *vascones* (the Basques) while crossing the Pyrenees. Boutet and Strubel have brilliantly asserted the complex political background of the narrative: "on ne peut nier qu'une part de la complexité politique ou juridique de ces œuvres [chansons de geste] tient au fait que des pratiques ou des modes de pensée anciens se mêlent à des préoccupations propres aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles" (1979: 50). Indeed, social relations depicted in the text are fundamentally feudal, that is, as a system of reciprocal personal relations among members of the military elite based on a graded system governing the gifting and claim of land rights in exchange for military service (Simpson 2008: 198). By an act of investiture, a man became the "hom" or vassal of a lord, who received homage and fidelity, and who granted, in turn, a "fief" or "honor" to his dependent. All the major themes addressed in the narrative are connected to, and imbued with, this set of values: the configuration of the epic hero, vengeance as duty of lordship, bonds between a king and his men, companionship and friendship, relationship between individuals and power, and treason. We will have the opportunity to discuss these topics in more detail in relation to their elaboration by the Welsh translator in chapter 6.

The poem also exists in six other manuscripts and three fragments:

i) Venice 4, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Fr. Z.4 (225): 6011 verses, more than half of the lines (Oxford v. 1 to 3682) are in assonance and the rest in rhyme. It is written in Franco-Italian or Franco-Venetian. Place and date of composition remain unknown although the *terminus ad quem* is determined by the extant copy, a manuscript produced in the North of Italy sometime around early to mid-fourteenth century (Cook, 2005: 13).[71] The poem is thus supposed to have been composed early in the fourteenth century (Cook, 2005: 20). It is a composite work that can be divided into three parts: the first comprises all the episodes up until the battle against Baligant, following closely the Oxford text; the second is an account of the *Prise de Narbonne*, the only version of this cycle being associated to the Roland tradition; the third consists of the narrative of the death of Aude and Ganelon's trial closely related to the rhymed tradition, especially Châteauroux and Venice 7. The first part will be of interest here since traces of it can be detected in *Cân Rolant*. Together with Venice 7 and

[71] See Cook's introduction for additional details about the (creative) linguistic features of the text, a hybrid Franco-Italian (pp. 17-27) and the manuscript (pp. 28-33), and also for further references.

Châteauroux, the manuscript belonged to the library of Francesco Gonzaga I, fourth marquis of Mantua.

ii) Venice 7, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Fr. Z.7 (251): 8333 rhymed lines (Oxford v.1 to 3682). The manuscript dates from the end of the thirteenth century. The text is written in Franco-Venetian (Duggan, 2005).

iii) Châteauroux, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 1: the poem comprises 8201 rhymed lines, which correspond to Oxford v. 1 to 3682 and then resume the *remaniement* proper to the rhymed versions. The exemplar dates from c. 1300 and carries a Franco-Venetian text (Duggan, 2005).

iv) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds fr. 860: 6828 rhymed lines. This manuscript is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. The text is written in a mixture of Picard, Lorrain and, to a lesser extent, Walloon. It is incomplete, lacking the beginning; it corresponds to vv. 1052-3680 of the Oxford version (Rejhon, 2005).

v) Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 3.32: 5695 rhymed lines of an acephalous text, corresponding to vv. 766-3658 of the Oxford version. The manuscript comes from West France, where it was copied at the end of the fifteenth century (Emden, 2005).

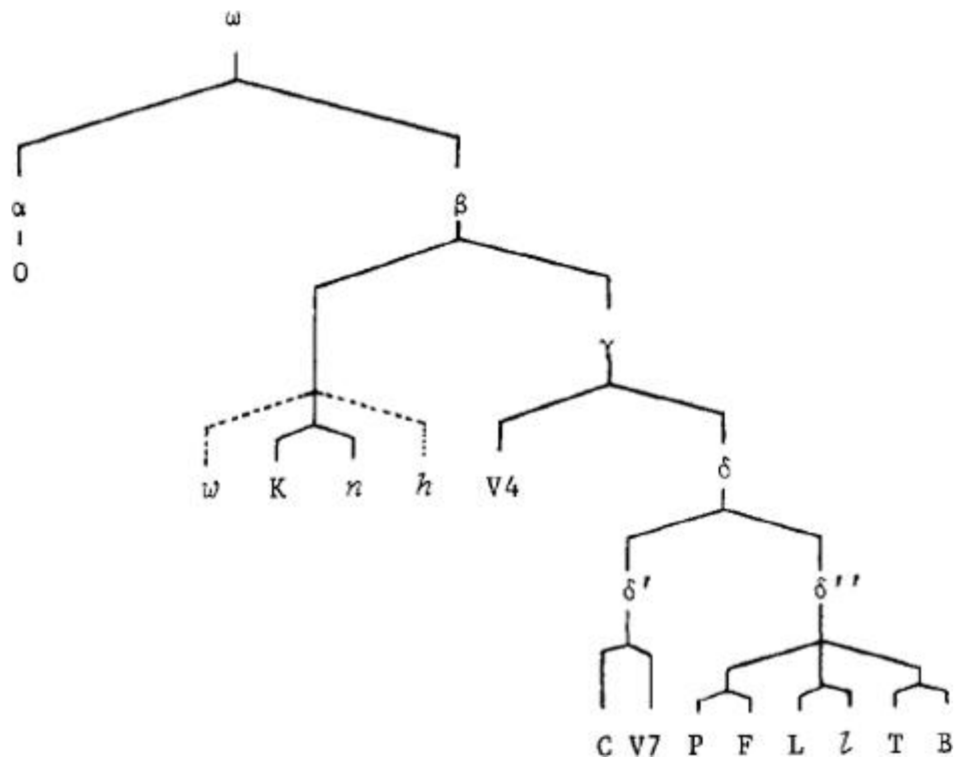
vi) Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 743: 2932 rhymed lines. The manuscript was probably copied in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in Burgundy. The prologue is unique to this text, which coincides with vv. 1153-2569 of the Oxford version (Kibler, 2005).

vii) Lavergne fragment, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 14658: 108 rhymed lines (Oxford vv.2056-2081, 2242-2286). The text is composed of two fragments that belong to the end of the thirteenth century (Kibler, 2005).

viii) Bogdanow fragment, London, British Library, Additional 41295 G: 160 rhymed lines (Oxford vv. 2776-2883). It carries a late thirteenth century text of Roland (Kibler, 2005).

ix) Michelant fragment, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 5237: 352 rhymed lines (Oxford vv. 3327-3380). The fragment is dated to the end of the thirteenth century (1280-90) (Kibler, 2005).

The relation between the manuscripts is a complex issue that has not been completely solved. A certain consensus has been reached, however, about the stemma proposed by Segre (2003: 16), and reprised by Duggan (2005):



As is clear, Oxford is the sole representative of the α-branch and it is the most authoritative version as the extant exemplar closest to the archetype. The γ family is represented by Venice 4 and by the δ-branch, one of whose branches is attested by Châteauroux and Venice 7 who had, undoubtedly, a common model. The δ family witnesses the rhymed tradition, although Venice 4 is a hybrid, belonging at the same time to the assonant and to the rhymed traditions. With regard to the date of CV7, it can only be said that it probably postdates 1180 and is perhaps as late as the early thirteenth century, like δ (Duggan, 2005: 54). In the case of P, it is apparent from the poem that the redactor had not only access to models in δ but also in γ, resulting in contamination and juxtaposition of the two traditions.

The common ancestor between α and β would suggest that *Cân Rolant* (represented with the letter *w* in the chart), although following in the main the extant Oxford text (the sole witness of α), bears some traces of the text of Venice 4 (a representative of the γ-branch of β).

4.2 The tradition of Carolingian epic in France

Epic poems, of which some eighty survive, tended to form cycles and are conventionally classified into three categories: the "cycle du roi" or "cycle de Charlemagne", to which *La*

chanson de Roland and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* belong; the "cycle de Guillaume d'Orange" in which a lineage, completely faithful to the king, is in charge of all the national undertakings that a weak king like Louis cannot perform (*Couronnement de Louis*, *Charroi de Nîmes*, *Prise d'Orange* and *Moniage Guillaume* form this group); the "cycle de Doon de Mayence" or "cycle des barons révoltés", in which royal power is continually taken down by a turbulent feudality (*Raoul de Cambrai* and the *Chanson de Guillaume* pertain to this group) (Boutet and Strubel, 1979: 40). It does seem arbitrary that the poems translated into Welsh pertain to the first grouping: these poems convey strong pro-royal values. It should be noted, however, that diversity (of form, tone, and structure) is a paramount feature of *chansons de geste*: "Ce qui frappe – writes Zumthor – c'est leur diversité, qui nous donne sans doute une image de ce que fut la première explosion créatrice du genre" (2000: 544).

The other Carolingian texts translated into Middle Welsh are the poem of Otinel and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, both in Old French, and the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, in Latin. *Le romans do Otinel*, as it is called in the *explicit*, is a poem dated to the second half of the twelfth century, composed of 2133 lines. It exists in two manuscripts and a fragment: i) Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer 168 (former Middlehill manuscript owned by Thomas Phillipps), ff. 211a-222b, copied near the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century;[72] ii) Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini, 1616, ff. 93-102 et 109-124, dated to the fourteenth century; iii) Paris, BNFr, nouv. acq. fr. 5094, ff.7-8, a fragment of 293 verses probably written in the middle of the thirteenth century by an Anglo-Norman scribe.[73] The only edition of the two manuscripts was produced by François Guessard and Henri Michelant in 1858.

The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (also known as *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*) is extant in only one manuscript: London, British Library, ms. 16, now lost. The text is an Anglo-Norman poem composed during the third quarter of the twelfth century (de Riquer, 1984). Its peculiarity lies in its humorous aspect, which borders on parody of the genre. Charlemagne, after being told by his wife that the mightiest king was Hugo, emperor of Constantinople, departs to the East accompanied by the Twelve Peers. Having arrived in Constantinople and after being welcomed by the emperor, they entertain

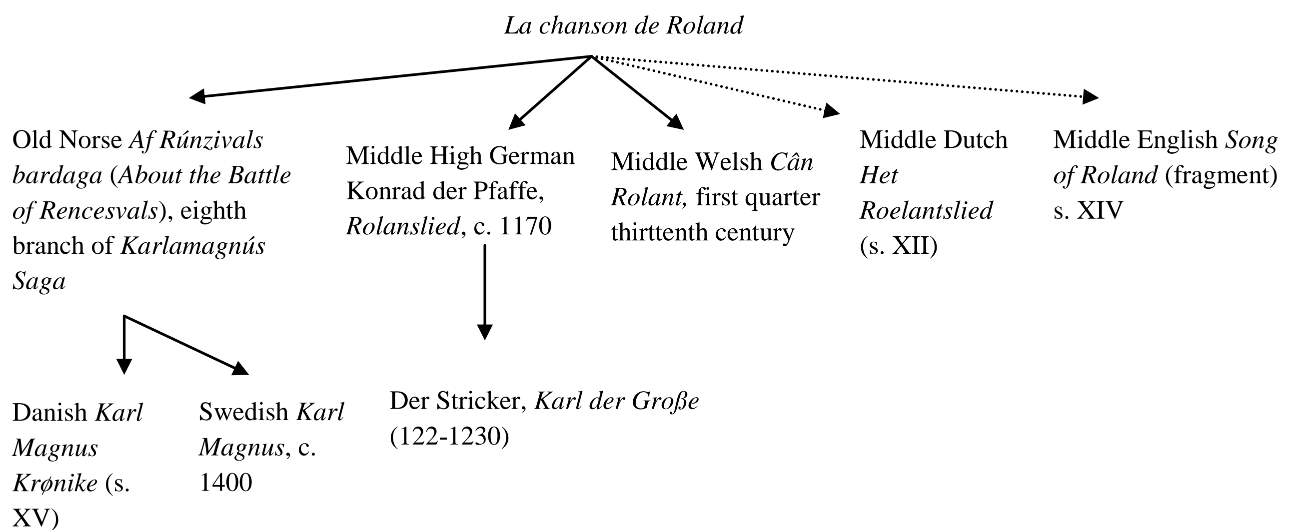
[72] Details of the manuscript can be found here: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/cb/0168#tab_details. Note that *Waldef* and *Gui de Warwick* were also copied in the manuscript.
[73] This sole folio, which also contains some lines of *Aspremont*, was found in an archive in Lozère, France, being used as envelope. See Langlois (1883, the text is on pp. 438-446).

each other during a feast by claiming "gabs", extravagant and hyperbolic auto-challenges that, if fulfilled, would be insulting towards the emperor. Olivier's gab clearly illustrates this point: he proclaims to be able to sleep with Hugo's daughter and satisfy her a hundred times.

The *Historia de Vita Caroli Magni et Rotholandi* was an immensely popular Latin text: it is attested in more than 170 manuscripts, excluding fragments, belonging to four different families (Meredith-Jones, 1936).[74] The text was purportedly written by Charlemagne's contemporary Turpin, Archbishop of Reims and one of the warriors who died at Rencesvals, c. 1165. A primary text is extant in the famous Compostellan manuscript, the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *Codex Calixtinus*, copied before 1173.

4.3 Medieval translations: the challenge of translating *La chanson de Roland*

La chanson de Roland was widely disseminated throughout Medieval Europe. Apart from all the versions noted above, it was translated into many languages: Middle Welsh, Old Norse, Middle High German, Middle English, Middle Dutch, Swedish, and Danish (see chart below), not to mention the later developments of the legend in Spanish and Italian. All of them, except maybe the Middle English poem, derive from the assonant tradition of the poem.



Konrad der Pfaffe's *Rolandslied* is the earliest translation. Commissioned by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria (1129/30-1195), and Matilda, daughter of Henry II of England (1168-1172/3), it can therefore be dated after 1168, year of their marriage, probably

[74] But cf. Hämel's critical review (1938). A full synopsis of the text can be found in Smyser (1937).

c. 1170. It is a verse translation written in rhymed couplets and it is almost twice as long as *La chanson de Roland*, counting 9094 lines. Konrad imbued the text with a very different character to that of his source: he transformed the French *chanson de geste* into a religious crusading epic. Konrad's re-orientation and political program can also be seen in that he evidently wished to emphasize that the history of the emperor had passed from French into German via the written language of the *clerici* and *literati* since he states in the colophon that he translated the poem first into Latin and then into German. He wrote: "Remember me, Priest Konrad, if you are pleased with the tale. Taking it just as it appears in the book – written in French – I put it first into Latin and from there into German" (J. W. Thomas, 1994: 107; see also Chinca,1996: 131; Gibbs and Johnson, 2000: 94-5).[75] This crusading mentality reinterpreted Charlemagne's campaigns in Spain as something more familiar to Konrad's audience and thus sets it apart from the rest of medieval European translations (Stuckey, 2008: 143-6).

Der Stricker's *Karl der Große* derives from Konrad's work although presumably he had at his disposal other French materials (lost or unidentified *chansons de geste*) since he expands his immediate source and adds new episodes. The poem has been adapted to suit a more courtly audience and centres, above all, on the figure of Charlemagne (Gibbs and Johnson, 2000: 363-4). Der Stricker was probably active during the period 1215-1250 when, apart from the epic poem noted here, also wrote other works, such as *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal* and short stories.

The Old Norse *Af Rúnzivals bardaga* (*About the Battle of Rencesvals*), eighth branch of the *Karlamagnús saga*, is of special interest for our present study. Unlike the previous translations, it is a prose rendering of texts about Charlemagne arranged in a cycle, in a similar manner to the Welsh compilation. Similarly, it comprises a translation of the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, *Otinel*, and the *Pèlerinage*, to which five more texts or branches were added: a lost Old French **Life of Charlemagne*, the *Enfances d'Ogier le Danois*, *La chanson d' Aspremont*, a tale about the Saxons (probably close to the source employed by Jean Bodel in *La chanson des Saisnes*, see Brasseur, 1989), and a reworking of the *Moniage de Guillaume* (Hieatt, 1980; Skårup, 1993: 349-50; Foote, 1959: 5-7). There are two major versions, α and β, which is an Icelandic revision. The texts are considered to be rather faithful

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[75] Note that the so-called Reinallt colophon in the Welsh Charlemagne textual tradition states that he ordered the *Pèlerinage* to be turned from Romance into Latin.

translations composed in the thirteenth century, c. 1250-1275, probably by Icelanders working at the Norwegian court of king Haakon IV (Hákon Hákonarson). It should be noted that this king was a prime literary patron and many translations of Old French material are associated to his court, amongst them *Ívens Saga*, the Old Norse rendering of *Yvain ou Li chevalier au lion*. The earliest manuscript dates from the second half of the fourteenth century; all the extant copies were written by Icelanders. The saga was almost surely transmitted from Britain, where there was more access to continental texts (for which see "The problem of source” below).

According to Halvorsen, the same translator worked on *Ogier*, *Otuel*, the *Pèlerinage* and *La chanson de Roland* (1959: 76).[76] The text of the *Runzivals þáttr* is preserved in three manuscripts and in the Norwegian fragment dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. The saga – and Runzivals in particular – is, then, contemporary to the Welsh compilation. It has a number of similarities with the Welsh *Cân Rolant*: apart from the shift from verse into prose, the Norse and Welsh translations include the episode of Margariz in the narrative (see the table on p. 100), a series of events only related in Venice 4. Unlike the *Cân Rolant*, though, *Runzivals þáttr* omits completely Charlemagne´s dreams but retains the portents (which are absent from the Welsh tale) and the long enumerations and horse names. A general anticipation of Ganelon's treachery seems to indicate that the audience was unfamiliar with the story. This confirms once more, as Halvorsen reminded us, that the variants shared by Venice 4 and the foreign translations suggest that they all have a common ancestor (β). More recently, Poppe (2013) has drawn attention to the similar attitudes of Old Norse, Welsh and Irish translators in their treatment of foreign matters. This may be due to a certain degree of 'marginality' in relation to France as a literary centre. Moreover, both texts derive from a British compilation, as we will discuss in the next section ("The problem of source"). For all these reasons, we believe that it is pertinent (and will be most useful) to resort to *Runzivals þáttr* for comparative purposes in the course of this thesis, especially for identifying translational procedures; we also think that contrasting both texts will shed light on the decisions made by the Welsh translator.

[76] It is worth remembering that Halvorsen's prime objective was to *evaluate* how close the Old Norse text was to its source. His conclusion was that it was a poor and defective translation, although he hinself had no backgroung on translation theory. See Glauser's criticism (2005: 378-379).

An abridged Danish version of the whole saga was composed in the fifteenth century (extant in one manuscript from 1480 and in later printed editions), as well as a Swedish translation of two branches, one of them *Runzivals þáttr*.

The Middle English *Song of Roland* is a fragmentary text of 1049 lines in irregular rhymed couplets dated to c.1400 and extant in only one manuscript, British Library, Lansdowne Ms. 388 (1475-1500) (Herrage, 1880). It is not directly related to any single extant text of *La chanson de Roland* and it is assumed to be a conflated version incorporating material from the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. It has also been posed that some elements of the text derive from a now lost version belonging to a branch of the rhymed versions best represented by the mss. of Châteauroux and Venice 7 (Cowen, 1996: 151). More recently, however, Hardman has argued that the poem is a "distinct, innovative treatment of the material", adapted to the tradition of Middle English romance (2011: 104). One of these changes corresponds to a shift of accent from Roland to Charlemagne, who is brought to the foreground as the main character. Other Middle English texts related to the legend of Charlemagne are *Roland and Vernagu*, *Otuel, The Romance of Duke Rowland* and *Sir Otuell of Spayne*, all dated to the fourteenth century and beyond. Despite its possible links with the Welsh compilation (to which we will refer in the introduction to *Cân Rolant* in the next section), the fact that the text is quite late and seems to be a complete reworking of the tradition precludes an adequate comparison with the Welsh translation.

Lastly, the Middle Dutch *Het Roelantslied* is considered by its critics as an 'adaptation' of *La chanson de Roland* composed in the twelfth century by a Flemish author (Besamusca, 2011: 172).[77] It consists of around 2000 verses which are extant in manuscript fragments and a printed edition, and which relate a single episode, namely the defeat of the French rearguard.

4.4 The epic poem as genre

Although the notion of genre and its validity for medieval texts can be a matter of contention, there seems to have been a certain consciousness among medieval writers of shared features between types of texts, as expressed by the vocabulary used to refer to them such as ‘epique’, ‘roman’, ‘lais’, or ‘fabliaux’. Therefore the concept will be retained in the present discussion, not as an abstract category but rather as a structural-historical notion that helps to define

[77] Unfortunately, the author does not specify to which version of the Old French poem the Middle Dutch text is related.

literary types within a specific system. It can also contribute to a better understanding of what audiences expected from texts, what meanings they were looking for given their structure and subject-matter (for this notion of genre see particularly Jauss, 1970; also Busby, 2008, and Burrow, 1982: 59-89). This concept of genre permits to analyse the links between the formal aspects of the poem, the ways of thinking, and the social and cultural conditions that produced it. A caveat needs to be raised, however, because *La chanson de Roland* is, in many respects, *unique*. It certainly helped to establish parameters of composition and motifs that became very widespread and were imitated by other composers, but it represents the outmost example of the genre, not a typical one.

What are, then, the principal features of *La chanson de Roland* which are relevant to the current discussion? Much has been written about the French *chanson de geste* and a full review is outside the scope of our research.[78] Like any other genre, it was a highly codified text-type with its own conventions, motifs, topics, and ideological values, produced within a particular literary system, by and for a particular society. First of all, the majority of the problems related to the *chanson de geste* need to be considered from the standpoint of the consubstantiality of orality and writing. Boutet states that "l'oralité et l'écriture ne doivent pas être conçues comme hétérogènes, puisqu'elles font toutes deux partie de l'horizon d'attente du public" (1993: 8). In every stage of textual evolution (production, transmission, reception, conservation, repetition), oral and written traditions were interactive (Short, 2005: 44). Secondly, the series of mono-assonanced *laisses* is a basic feature for defining the genre. As a general rule, the *laisse* can be considered the constitutive unit of the *chanson de geste*: the unit of versification and of topic; Boutet defines it as "une strophe souple, monorime ou mono-assonancée, qui structure le récit dans la chanson de geste" (1993: 77). In *La chanson de Roland*, the *laisse* is usually composed of fourteen verses. Thirdly, the discourse of the Romance epic is characterised by a set of formal narrative techniques, related to the performance, which contribute to rhythm, expressiveness, and drama, that can be sketched as follows:

i) the so-called “laisses parallèles”, i.e. a series of tirades that narrate “actions semblables mais distinctes et accomplies par des agents différents" (Short, 1990: 100). Unlike the "laisses similaires", this type of technique has a rhetorical rather than a lyrical effect.

[78] See, for instance, Boutet (1993); Zumthor (2000); Paquette (1988). For a general survey, see also Suard and Flori (1988). For a historiography of scholarship about the poem see Palumbo (2008b).

ii) the “laisses similaires”, that is, a form of incremental repetition in which lyrical effects prevail over narrative in important moments of the poem, used by the poet to emphasise episodes by slowering down the action, or even stopping it completely. They consist of the repetition of same elements in two or more successive *laisses*, with usually some sort of formal variation, primarily the change of assonance.

iii) "enchaînement": the link of a *laisse* with the precedent by way of the repetition of verses, generally the last one, with the aim of recapitulating the previous episode or anticipating the next.

iv) long enumerations of proper names, usually of knights.

v) formulaic language: stereotyped expressions in descriptions, oaths, epithets.

vi) paratactic, additive style and lack of logical indicators.

vii) the collective discourse: the "propos d'une pluralité d'individus rapporté au discours direct", a procedure "essentiellement épique" given its frequency in the *chansons de geste* (Ollier, 1995: 491). According to Ollier, this form of expression is intimately associated with the feudal society, a certain political vision of society that implies common adhesion to the same values. The collective discourse is also related to public life and community. The unity and identity of the group usually pre-exists the individuals that are part of it in a given situation. The collective word expresses the values that establish the community and, at the same time, contributes to its cohesion. It is usually expressed by way of the formula "Dient/ Respundent Franceis". This type of discourse can convey unanimity (based on the same assumptions, for instance, the Christian community of Charlemagne´s Empire) and consensus (based on a middle opinion agreed by the majority after eliminating the divergences).

viii) frequent addresses to the audience.[79]

Lastly, a series of content-related traits also characterise Romance epic:

[79] For a comprehensive study of the use of formulae and stereotypes in *La chanson de Roland* see Duggan (1973); Rychner (1955) was the first to systematise the features of the craft of the oral epic-teller. Parataxis as opposed to hypotaxis was discussed by Auerbach (1974).

v) themes: long narrative units comprising one or more motifs. For instance, the theme "preparation for battle" can include the arming of the knight, mounting the horse, spurring the horse, the invocation of God (Crépin, 1978).

vi) a repertory of narrative motifs, that is, a narrative sequence encompassing a series of independent actions: for example, the structure of personal combat scenes, punctuated by challenges and insults, singular combats, or the king's council.[80]

ix) a lack of psychological depth of narrative representation and a preference for action.

As was stated earlier, most of these features are connected to the oral transmission of the poem, that is, to its *performance*, whether at court, in fairs, at public events, in the halls of local lords, or during military campaigns, for an aristocratic or a ‘popular’ audience. The flexibility of the *laisse*, the linking procedures, the rhetorical motifs and the stereotyped formulae ease the improvisation and repetition of the poem. Zumthor has drawn attention to this *aural* character of much of medieval literature, emphasising not only its orality but also its embodiment in its actual representation (1999). It should not be forgotten, moreover, that the poem bears traces of a longstanding literary tradition that can be traced back to the scholarly analysis of ancient poets and to a method of writing poetry practised at the medieval schools, that were already developed by Macrobius' time (in the fifth century) (Curtius, 1998: 629).

4.5 *Cân Rolant*: textual transmission, modern editions and literature review

The Middle Welsh *Cân Rolant* is extant in eight manuscripts which, for the most part, derive from the same archetype *g* and, ultimately, from the same source.[81] The text is part of the Welsh Charlemagne Cycle, a group of tales that narrate stories about the French emperor and his warriors, which is composed of four texts (including *Cân Rolant*): the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, a translation of the Latin *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*; the *Pererindod Siarlymaen*, a translation of the Old French *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,* and the so-called *Rhamant Otinel*, a translation of the *Chanson d’Otinel* or *Otuel*. The extant text of *Cân Rolant* is an incomplete translation that was inserted in place of chapter XXI of the *Turpin*

[80] For a fuller discussion of narrative motifs and rhetorical motifs from a structuralist point of view see Martin (1987).

[81] For the complete stemma see Rejhon (1984: 32-58).

Chronicle. *Otinel* seems to be an interpolation too, but this is not the case for the *Pererindod*, whose independent character is highlithed by its external position as regards the *Chronicle* and all the texts framed by it in the majority of manuscripts. Consequently, the criteria upon which these texts are considered as a compilation should be at least problematised on two grounds: that not all the translations are preserved in the same manuscripts, and that they are arranged in three different groups:[82]

1) Peniarth 8a (thirteenth/fourteenth century), Peniarth 7 (thirteenth/fourteenth century), Peniarth 10 (middle fourteenth century), Peniarth 8b (thirteenth/fourteenth century), Cwrtmawr 2.

Order of the tales: *Pererindod – Historia Pseudo-Turpin* chapters I-XX (a) – *Cân Rolant – Historia Pseudo-Turpin* chapters XXII-XXVI (b).

Sample of the "immediate universe of discourse" (i.e. place in the manuscript and surrounding contents, this notion is from Poppe, 2013) as represented by Peniarth 7 (data extracted from Luft, Thomas and Smith, 2013):

Peniarth 7	
Ff. 5r-15v	*Peredur* [Additions: F. 40 *Cân Rolant* / F. 47 Ps.-Turpin]
Ff. 16r-24r	***Pererindod*** (blanck folios)
Ff. 25r-52v	***Ps.-Turpin*** (blanck folios)
Ff. 24v-46v	***Cân Rolant*** (starts in the second column)
Ff. 47r-52v	***Ps.-Turpin***
Ff. 53r-55v	*Ystorya Adaf*
Ff. 55v-62v	*Y Groglith (Crucifixion)* [parts missing]
Ff. 62v-64r	*Ystorya Pilatus*
Ff. 64r-65r	*Ystorya Judas Iscariot*

Table 3: Peniarth 7

2) Peniarth 9 (first half of the fourteenth century), Peniarth 5 (White Book).

Order of the tales: *Historia* (a) – *Otinel – Pererindod – Cân Rolant – Historia* (b)

Peniarth 5 (White Book) context (Huws, 2000: 230-1):[83]

Ff. 58-65	Quire 5	*Purdan Padrig*	Hand B
[quire 5 A]		?	-
[quire 5 B]		?	-
Ff. 66-77	Quire 6	***Ps.-Turpin***	Hand B
78-89	Quire 7	***Ps.-Turpin, Otuel***	Hand B

[82] We follow Poppe (2013) in this classification, which is based on the place of the manuscript in the stemma and the subsequent arrangement of the tales in each of them. Manuscript dates are from Huws (2000: 58-64). For a general description of each manuscript we refer the reader to Rejhon (1984: 2-31).

[83] Quires 5A and n 5B (nineteen leaves according to the medieval foliation) are missing.

90	[quire 7 A]	*[Otuel]*	-
91-102	Quire 8	***Pererindod, Cân Rolant***	Hand B
103-17	Quire 9	***Cân Rolant***	Hand B
118-24	Quire 10	*Bown*	Hand C

Table 4: Peniarth 5

As demonstrated by Huws (2000: 239, 242), scribe B, in charge of quires 5 to 9, also contributed in other manuscripts. If the colophon of Jesus 119 is taken at face value, he is the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi who, in 1346, wrote the whole of the ms. for Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip. The same hand wrote, in collaboration with another, Peniarth 18 (*Brut y Tywysogion*) and on his own Peniarth 46 (*Brut y Brenhinedd*) and Peniarth 47 part i (*Dares Phrygius*). Peniarth 8 seems to be an early work since it lacks his characteristic line-filling device, something like a mouse in red or black ink or red and black alternately. According to Thomas, the Anchorite of Llandewi Brefi shows dialect features of south-western orientation: he translated the dialect features of his originals which did not reflect his own speech. He would be thus a content-oriented scribe, that is, one who tended to modify the language of his originals, instead of a form-oriented scribe like Hywel Fychan, a professional scribe that was responsible for most of the Red Book of Hergest (Thomas, 1993: 43; but cf. Rodway, 2004).

3) Jesus 111, in hand A; miscellaneous texts are in a different hand

Historia (a) – *Otinel* – *Cân Rolant* – Historia (b) – [other texts] – *Pererindod*

Manuscript context (based on Huws, 2003):

	Dares Phrygius (Hands AB); *Brut y Brenhinoedd* (Hand A); *Brut y Tywysogion* (Hand A); *Gildas hen broffwyd* (Hand B)
Cols. 377-80	*Cantrefoedd Cymru* Hand B (list of cantrefs and commotes)
Ff. 91-102	***De Carolo Magno*** Hand A (Hand I, good textura)
	Delw y byd Llaw Hand B
	(...)
	Enweu Ynys Prydein Hand B
Cols. 605-26	***Pererindod Syarlemaen*** Hand A
	Owein Hand B

Table 5: Jesus 111

According to Huws, Hand A (or Hand I in Charles-Edwards' terminology, 1980) was familiar to Latin, is disciplined and consistent (2000: 13). Furthermore, his patron Hopcyn probably acknowledged Hand A's firmness *(cryfder)* and his untiring consistency, and trusted him with the longest and more boring texts *(testunau meithion)* such as *Dares*, *Bruts* and the Charlemagne tales.

Manuscript transmission thus suggests that the Charlemagne texts enjoyed certain popularity during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. They were read, copied and

modified. The three arrangements of the tales in the extant manuscripts indicate certain fluidity in the transmission of the material, not only in the position of each text within the 'compilation' but also in the text itself. Poppe, drawing on T.M. Charles-Edwards' three different types of textual fluidity (2001), concluded that the Charlemagne cycle belongs to the third type, "on the basis of the variation between the manuscripts noted by Rejhon", since it has "remained fairly fluid throughout its history of transmission" (2013: 187). For instance, *Otinel* is present in only two of the three gatherings, which represent only three manuscripts in total (White Book, Peniarth 9, and Red Book), against seven which do not contain a copy of the tale; these seven are the earliest testimonies. The tale has been considered a late interpolation (dated to 1336) due to the fact that it is not mentioned in the colophon known as the Madaw colophon. At the end of chapter XXI of the *Turpin Chronicle* there is a summary (a sort of 'list of contents') of the compilation: mention is made to Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem, to the Battle of Rencesvals, and to the translator of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, Madawc ap Selyf (more on him shortly), but *not* to *Otinel*. It seems reasonable to think that this colophon was originally placed at the end of the entire translation of the *Chronicle*, and that it was moved to its new location in order to account for the introduction of the *Pererindod* and *Cân Rolant*. But the *Pererindod* was copied at the end in the Red Book of Hergest; its colophon suggests, however, that the tale was intended to be put before the *Chronicle* (Rejhon, 1984: 21). Evidently, scribes treated their sources with great freedom.

Within the texts, in the case of *Cân Rolant*, wording and proper names tend to differ between the manuscripts; to a lesser extent, episodes change place or are omitted. Some changes introduced by the translator (instead of the scribe) are indeed striking, and we will have the opportunity to discuss these decisions in chapter 6. For this reason, although in the course of the analysis the examples will be based on Rejhon's edition (Peniarth 10), the White Book and the Red Book will be considered as representatives of the other two groupings of manuscripts.

This medieval popularity has not been replicated in modern times. In the case of *Cân Rolant*, the first edition and translation was published by Robert Williams in 1878 under the title of *Campeu Charlymaen* ("Exploits of Charlemagne"); this volume is quite unreliable since Williams evidently employed more than one manuscript but failed to acknowledge it. Later, in 1907, another Robert Williams translated all the texts except the *Pèlerinage* and published them with a long introduction. His study has been surpassed by Rejhon's textual

criticism and Williams' readings are in many cases erroneous (see Rejhon's critical remarks, 1984: 95-98). Williams, however, stressed – perhaps too much – the links between Wales and France during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He also asserted that the *Romance of Otuel* (*sic*) was probably introduced in order to bring the Welsh compilation into line with the English one in 1330 since it was not mentioned in the new 'summary' (the colophon of Madawc ap Selyf).

Stephen Williams was the first to produce a complete edition of the cycle based on one of the manuscripts, the Red Book (1968). He ascribed the translation of *Cân Rolant* to 1336 on the basis of the colophon of Peniarth 9 and linked the whole cycle to Gruffudd ap Maredudd's family and Strata Florida (1968: xxxviii).

Lastly, we owe to Annalee Rejhon (1984) the sole critical edition that exists; her base manuscript was Peniarth 10, which she deemed to be the closest to the archetype *g*, with only one lost testimony between them, namely α. She also proposed two different stemmata, one for the beginning (sections I-XI) and one for the main body of the text (sections XII-CVII), based on significant variants present in the manuscripts at the opening of the tale. Whereas the Red Book and Peniarth 10 descend from the same ancestor α for the main part of *Cân Rolant*, the opening section of the Red Book is closer to the White Book, which pertains to a different branch, the subarchetype θ, which in turns derives directly from the archetype *g*. Rejhon postulates that, for the opening scene, the White Book and the Red Book have a different Old French source than Peniarth 10. However, this contention appears doubtful. It seems more reasonably to suppose that the scribe had a corrupt or incomplete manuscript; it is hard to see why he would interrupt an episode to change the source: section XI, where the source changes, falls in the middle of the council of Charlemagne (see chart on chapter 6, p. 100). More research needs to be done on the Charlemagne cycle as a whole in order to elucidate the textual transmission of the tales. It is important to highlight, however, the access of Welsh translators to manuscripts containing Old French material.

Why was this compilation produced? For whom? When? Rejhon concluded that "it was translated some time in the first half of the thirteenth century by an unknown individual probably working at the monastery of Llanbadarn Fawr" (1984: 89). This assertion was based, firstly, on the colophon of some of the texts and, secondly, on philological grounds. Colophons indeed offer some information for teasing out date and place of composition of *Cân Rolant*. First, at the end of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* in three manuscripts (White

Book, Red Book, and Peniarth 9), Madawc ap Selyf is named as the translator: "Ar llyuyr hwnn a *ymchoeles* Madawc ap Selyf o Ladin yg Kymraec, o adolwyn a deissyf Grufud vab Maredud ab Owain ab Grufud ab Rys" [Madawc ap Selyf *turned* this book from Latin into Welsh at the desire and request of Gruffudd vab Maredudd ab Owain ab Gruffudd ab Rhys] (Lloyd and Owen, 1986: 229, my translation and italics). This Madawc was most likely a monk of Llanbadarn Fawr, a religious community organised on the basis of a *clas*.[84] He worked for Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Owain ap Gruffudd ap Rhys (to whom the translation is dedicated) so he probably produced the translation before 1282. Second, in Peniarth 9, after Madaw's colophon, there is a mention to a *Ieuan yscolheic* (the scholar), who copied the text in 1336 (Luft, Thomas, and Smith, 2013: Peniarth 9, f. 66r, l. 25). Third, at the end of the *Pererindod*, all the manuscripts except one state that certain "Raynallt vrenhin yr ynyssoed" [Reginald, king of the isles] ordered to "[t]rossi" [turn] Charlemagne's exploits "o rwman yn lladin" [from Romance into Latin].[85] This man has been identified as Reginald king of Man and the Western Isles (1188-1226) whose daughter married Rhodri ap Owain Gwynedd, uncle of Llewelyn the Great, king of Gwynedd (1216-1240). This same Reinallt is addressed in Peniarth 9 and the White Book's Madaw colophon before *Otinel*. This northern connection, although dismissed by Rejhon (1984), who preferred the link to Llanbadarn Fawr (cf. Poppe, 2013), needs to be re-evaluated in the light of this investigation. In chapter 7 several topics will be discussed, all of which point to the kingdom of the north, Gwynedd, as the most likely and reasonable context of production.

It must be said, finally, that Thomas' medieval dialectal markers are distributed in the text as follows:

- stem-formative *yod* (presence: northern provenance; absence: southern provenance)

  Cân Rolant 7%

- stem-formative *th* (presence: northern provenance; t: southern provenance

  Cân Rolant: 0%

-*awd* in southern texts

  Cân Rolant 90%

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[84] The *clas* was the native ecclesiastical community in Wales, composed by an abbot (who could also be a bishop) and a group of canons. They all received a share of the church income, were often married, and passed on to their children their property and ecclesiastical office. For this definition see R.R. Davies (2000: 172-215, p. 174). See also Burton (1995: 19); Evans (1992: 33-40).

[85] Rejhon (1984) considers that this reference to an earlier translation into Latin is an appeal as a guarantee of authority. Compare the same statement in Konrad's Middle High German translation.

According to Thomas, then, *Cân Rolant* could be a south-west text, which is consistent with the testimony that he used, the White Book, which was copied by the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi, a – on Thomas' terms – content-oriented scribe. This shows that this method, as useful as it can be to place manuscripts, is still rather unreliable when placing texts given the tendencies of some scribes to manipulate them, introducing modernisations, archaisms, and so on. This is a similar situation to that found in the rest of Europe.

Regarding dating, in this case as well as with most of medieval Welsh prose tales, it is difficult to assign a definitive date in part because the text survives in later manuscripts but also because we lack much information. Rejhon argues, on orthographical, morphological and syntactical grounds, that the text was translated in the first half of the thirteenth century (1984: 89). Subsequent investigations on dating middle Welsh prose tales, particularly those of Rodway (2007, 2013) and Thomas (1993), even if not directly concerned with *Cân Rolant*, would mostly favour this conclusion. The strongest – albeit unique – argument is the pre-eminence of third person singular simple past indicative forms in *-wys* against *–awdd* in some of the earliest manuscripts.[86] Given this date, and since the translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* was not produced until c. 1275, when the Welsh *Cân Rolant* replaced chapter XXII, Rejhon posits that it is safe to assume that a complete translation of the text had previously existed, although there are no traces of it whatsoever in extant testimonies (1984: 89). Notwithstanding this lack of evidence, it is hard to imagine any good reason for commissioning a partial translation.

Two other elements can be cited in favour of an early thirteenth-century date. First, the earliest reference to Charlemagne in Welsh poetry occurs in "Mawl Gruffudd ap Llywelyn", a panegyric to Gruffudd son of Llywelyn the Great of Gwynedd (c. 1198-1244) composed sometime during 1215-1220 by the poet Einion Wan (Lynch, 1995: 35-46, 3.14). The second earliest reference is to the "eliffant", that is, Rolant's corn in *Cân Rolant*. According to the editor of the poem, E. Jones, this would be the only example of the word with this sense in the early poetry. It appears in "Mawl Llywelyn ab Iorwerth", a praise poem to Gruffudd's father Llywelyn (c. 1172-1240) composed c. 1213 by Llywarch ap Llywelyn, Prydydd y Moch (E. Jones, 1991: 210-235, poem 23).

[86] This pre-eminence can only be seen in Peniarth 9 (B in Rejhon's nomenclature, dated to the first half of the fourteenth century) and in the White Book; Peniarth D, the base manuscript for Rejhon's edition, lacks any verb in *-wys* (see Rejhon, 1984: 85).

What was the purpose of replacing chapter XXII of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* with *Cân Rolant*? S. Williams argued that it was done in order to embellish the Latin chronicle. Certainly so, but the Anglo-Norman epic also provided a set of values and modes of behaviour that were interesting for the Welsh chieftains, especially for the Gwynedd dynasty. *La chanson de Roland* had, moreover, an identifiable epic tone that suited native tradition well. However, the material context probably played an important role: *La chanson de Roland* was surely part of the base manuscript which the Welsh translator/s was/were employing. This leads us to the next question: what was the source of the Welsh compilation?

4.6 The problem of source

Rejhon concluded that the source of *Cân Rolant* was "a late twelfth or thirteenth century Anglo- Norman manuscript of *La chanson de Roland* in assonance" (1984: 89). Since the Welsh text follows in the main the Oxford version and shares some features with Venice 4, the source must have been a text derived from an antecedent of both. The stemma proposed by Segre (2003), reprised by Duggan (2005) (see p. 50 above), suggests that the source of the Welsh text should have been β or a text derived from it. As already stated, the common ancestor between α and β would explain that *Cân Rolant* resembles Oxford and Venice 4, versions which are, at least for the parts translated into Welsh, fairly close to each other (see the narrative structure on p. 100 and following).

Regarding the sequence of compilation of the whole Charlemagne cycle, Rejhon introduced some modification into S. Williams's schema (1968: xxxviii). In her opinion, the order of the compilation was as follows: O) *Cân Rolant*; 1) *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, c.1275; 2) Addition of *Pererindod* and *Cân Rolant* at approximately the same time; 3) Introduction of *Otinel* in 1336 (1984: 24). These stages in the assemblage suggest that each translation had been previously composed, prior to their introduction into the compilation. Mandach, however, in his study of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, posits some ideas about what he called a "*Geste de Charlemagne* anglo-normande-franco-latine" (1961: 235) that are of interest to this thesis. To Mandach, this Anglo-Norman-French-Latin text was the archetype of the three national *gestes*, namely the Welsh, Norse, and English. His findings are especially relevant for determining the tradition to which the Welsh *Pseudo-Turpin* belongs, although it is possible to extrapolate some conclusions for the study of *Cân Rolant*. The fundamental structure of the compilation as conceived by Mandach is as follows (1961: 127-145):

I. **First Book of Turpin**, chapters 1-20: based on a Latin manuscript of the type of Turpin C-Coeur de Lion (version ms. C20g* in his nomenclature). The model of all the manuscripts of the C-type was Geoffroy of Breuil's copy of the Turpin text produced during his visit to Compostela (1171), to which he introduced some changes. This text reached the Plantagenet's court, the Aquitaine's dukes and the kings of England Richard Lion Heart and his brother John.

II. **Otuel**: Welsh-Norse-English type of *Chanson de Otuel* with ancient knighting scenes omitted in the extant French redactions. Lost Anglo-Norman ancestor whence the extant French version could have derived or to which it could be related to.

III. ***Pèlerinage***: Welsh-Norse type of *chanson de geste*.

> IIIa. **Transition**: transition between the *Pèlerinage* (the promise) and the Roncevaux (execution of the promise, link between the two parts of the literary diptych of the type Welsh-Norse-Swedish).

IV. **Roncevaux**: a) follows Turoldus' poem until the second battle of the archaic assonanced text; b) third battle until the end, based on the tradition of Maitre Jehans' Turpin (ms. CJ43g*).[87] This last part then derives from a different French model.

V. **Conclusion**: tradition of Maitre Jehans' Turpin (ms CJ43g*), continuation of IVb.

Some of Mandach's conclusions about the Welsh Charlemagne cycle are quite debatable, probably because of the lack of accurate editions and information. First, according to Mandach, the *Cân Rolant* ended abruptly and, consequently, the Welsh translator completed his work by using Jehans' text (1961: 225). He cited as evidence the word "tiester" for Germany, "tiesche terre" in Jehans´s original, which the Welsh translator did not understand. Besides, he posited that in Madawc's Latin *explicit* the form of Charlemagne's name derives from a French source rather than from the Latin Carolus Magnus. Secondly, he considered that Jevan yscholheic [*sic*] *was* Maitre Jehans (143). He finally argued that the English version followed this same pattern and that both translators worked at the same library in England, Peterborough. Walpole rejected Mandach's assertion that Ieuan is Maitre Jehans and also that this last part was translated from an Old French prototype instead of the

[87] Maitre Jahns translated a Turpin C-Coeur de Lion from Latin into French in 1205/6. After this he inserted a summary of the *Pèlerinage* in the first chapter following the *Pèlerinage* of Maitre Pierre de Beauvais (who used the tradition of the Latin Description of St Denis) thence creating the version CJ20*. This last engendered the ms CJ43* which in turn engendered Maitre Jehans' family of mss. This version is important for parts IV and V of the Welsh compilation.

Latin *Turpin*. It could also be argued that there is no evidence to support that *La chanson de Roland* used by the Welsh translator was incomplete. For her part, Rejhon observes that the Welsh *Turpin* shares the majority of the Latin C group's characteristic variants but that it has two readings present in the Old French Johannes and in the Welsh which are not present in the Latin C group. She suggests that the Middle English Charlemagne Romances (which also draw from the Johannes translation) may have influenced the Welsh (1984: 28, n. 19).

In brief, two points stand out in Mandach's work: first, his assessment of the Welsh-Norse-English model of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, that is, the insular type C; secondly, his suggestion of a common source for the Welsh, Norse, and English translations of *La chanson de Roland*. The notion of an "aire épique homogène" between Wales, the Isle of Man, Iceland, and Norway is certainly appealing (1961: 138). Foote also notes that this insular class of manuscripts had a connection to the British Isles and that this was "the route by which much romance literature reached Norway and Iceland in the early middle ages" (1959: 3). It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that the Welsh translators were working within the traditions circulating in England, perhaps with materials coming from the abbey of Peterborough. The manuscripts of group 2 (the majority of testimonies) confirm this, although it should be noted that in other two groups the *Pererindod* seems to be misplaced, losing its link to *Cân Rolant*.[88]

4.7 Literature Review

Rejhon (1990, 1983, 1981) has greatly contributed to the subject of *Cân Rolant* and the Middle Welsh Charlemagne tales. The introduction to her edition brings a very useful critical assessment of the "art of the translator", highlighting his efforts to remain close to the source, his interest in religious matters, his avoidance of repetition, and his embellishments of the tale. Many of her assertions have been re-confirmed and extended in this thesis and it has been thus noted in every case. However, two of her propositions need to be revised: place of provenance and the translator's faithfulness to the source.

Another point in which we will distance ourselves from Rejhon is on a seemingly tangential issue that leads, in fact, to an argument based on a very debatable perspective. Analysing the horn scene in *Cân Rolant* (paragraphs lxvii-lxix), Rejhon notes that the tale

[88] That the *Pererindod* should precede *Cân Rolant* seems to be valid on the grounds of narrative cohesion. Indeed, this is the order of the tales in the *Karlamagnús Saga*. This problem is irresolvable given the present state of knowledge about the textual transmission of the Welsh compilation. Evidently, more work needs to be done in the subject to disentangle the relationship between the manuscripts.

lacks the equivalent of Oxford's famous line "Rollant est proz e Oliver est sage", "with all it implies of the poet's approval of Oliver's counsel" (1981: 237). Similar interpretations of this verse have led critics to accuse Roland of *desmesure* and *folie* for not calling Charlemagne and the rest of the Frankish army to his aide (see Foulet, 1956). One is able to read here, nevertheless, a problem that, as *such* (and not as an exhibition of the heroic values for which Roland is willing to die), was concocted by scholars rather than by the poet/redactor, who never refers to Roland's *desmesure* (Foulet, 1956). On the one hand, the semantic range of the terms and the way that they are used by the poet (and the characters to which he assigns them) indicate that "proz" and "sage" pertain to two different domains (moral and intellectual, respectively) and that they are employed in this scene to describe this particular situation and *not* to characterize Roland and Oliver in general (Misrahi and Hendrickson, 1981). On the other hand, Roland's attitude can only be understood within the heroic ideal and set of values that permeate the whole poem: honour and fame are achieved through military prowess even at the expense of one's life. Or better, dying for the lord would grant eternal fame in the collective memory for the warrior and his family, and would thus increase their status.[89] Thus, it is not a *problem* about whether Roland is wrong and Oliver is right, or vice versa.

Another topic elaborated in this same passage is the theme of the Frankish sorrow which leads into a related subject, reconciliation, a topic absent from the non-Welsh versions. Reconciliation also happens between Rolant and Oliver. At this point, the two companions are more divided than before in Oxford but, on the contrary, they are on friendly terms in the Welsh text. The character of Oliver gained prominence as Roland's companion at a certain stage in the Roland tradition to provide a test of the latter's adherence to the heroic code. In Rejhon's reading, in addition to the reconciliation between Rolant and Oliver, the absence of any connection of wisdom with Oliver in this central passage indicates that the Welsh version "belongs to a stage in the metamorphoses of the Roland where the two men have become companions-in-arms, but one in which the later historical overlay has not yet blurred the perception of heroic conduct as conceived in early epic tradition" (1981: 242). Therefore, the Welsh archetype must have preserved an earlier trait of the Roland tradition than did the Oxford version. Again, Rejhon's assumes that the heroic conduct is somewhat softened in the Oxford version because of the passing of time, and that the passage in *Cân Rolant* cannot be an elaboration on the part of the translator but, instead, a derivation from an unknown lost

[89] *Beowulf* is an analogous case (Wormald, 1986).

archetype. The reasoning is appealing for a reconstruction of lost versions of *La chanson de Roland.* However, it is not our intention to follow the traditionalist perspective behind those assertions; in this thesis, we will not try to reconstruct any lost text but we will work with the texts extant in actual manuscripts.

Building on Rejhon's work, Regine Reck (2010) analysed *Cân Rolant* as one of several Middle Welsh prose tales that employ formulaic language in combat scenes. In this study she defined a set of features that characterise this particular translation: a tendency to neglect the psychological topics present in the source and to tighten the narrative by omitting descriptions and static passages; the absence of digressions present in the source text, such as descriptions of weapons or armours; more emphasis on action; a tendency to render the combats in a formulaic language;[90] the use of similes and metaphors for embellishment; interest in religious matters.

Erich Poppe, in two papers of a more general tone, revised the most important changes introduced by the Welsh translator and the additions inserted by him, which demonstrate a clear interest in martial Christian values and in reciprocity and exchange of gifts (2013, forthcoming). He also noted certain fluidity in the textual transmission of the tale; this issue, important as it is, cannot be fully resolved until a complete critical edition of the whole corpus is produced. Furthermore, his linguistic analysis of Middle Welsh prose tales has proved to be invaluable when comparing with features found in *Cân Rolant*.

Mention should also be made of Watkin's early ideas about the Welsh Charlemagne cycle (1921, 1969). By claiming that the cycle was imbued with crusading zeal and fanaticism, he connected its compilation with Archbishop Baldwin's famous visit to South-East Wales in 1188 (in which Gerald of Wales also took part). According to Watkin, this propaganda work developed in several stages: earlier translations (*Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn*, *Kedymdeithyas Amlyn ac Amic,* and even the *Pererindod*) aroused interest in the crusading movement among the Franco-Welsh baronial families, whilst later texts (*Cân Rolant*, *Otinel*), pursued a different objective, that of recruiting troops for the campaigns against the Turks in Palestine (1921: 46). For him, *Cân Rolant* was translated around 1188 in a Cistercian monastery in South Wales. Evidently, his assertions are guided by false assumptions with no

[90] Confronted with the French formulae, the translator chooses Welsh equivalents, such as tripartite structure of items. Reck acknowledged that variation within this set of parameters: patterns were engendered by native traditions but developed and varied perhaps to suit the tastes of translators, scribes and patrons, and literary taste (2010: 161). Examples of this tendency will be examined in chapters 6 and 7.

real evidence to support them and, consequently, are not valid under the light of more recent works.

Finally, Lloyd-Morgan has made some comments about *Cân Rolant*: she noted the process of summarization in translation, the loss of abstract elements and psychological analysis. She concluded that "[y]n hanes Rolant a Siarlymaen hefyd gwelir cyfieithydd yn canolbwyntio ar rai agweddau arbennig er mwyn rhoi naws Gymreig ar ei waith, yn enwedig drwy bwysleisio campau a doniau milwrol yr arwyr" [[i]t is also seen in the story of Rolant and Charlemagne that the translator focus on some special aspects in order to give a Welsh character to his work, especially by emphasizing the deeds and military accomplishments of the heroes, my translation] (1985: 142).

To conclude, although at first sight *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* may appear very different (as regards textual tradition and date and place of provenance), both texts share a number of common features and assumptions. They were written within the same literary tradition in fairly similar circumstances, as is apparent in the texts. Critical attitudes and agendas prioritized the study of *Iarlles* as a native composition in detriment of 'second-hand' tales such as *Cân Rolant*. Current scholarly trends re-evaluated the role of translations. Next chapter will be thus dedicated to them.

PART III

TRANSLATING IN WALES DURING THE MIDDLE AGES: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON OLD PROBLEMS

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5. Translation in Medieval Wales

Very little is known about translation from the translators themselves. Brother Gruffudd Bola, probably a monk of Strata Florida, working in the last quarter of the thirteenth century on the translation of the *Credo Athanasius* for Efa, daughter of Maredudd ap Owain, stressed in his prologue that it was not always possible to "*symut* y geir yn y gilyd, a chyt a hynny kynnal priodolder yr ieith a synnvyr yr ymadravd yn tec. Vrth hynny y *troes* i weitheu y geir yn y gilyd, a gveith ereill y *dodeis* synnvyr yn lle y synnvyr heruyd mod a phriodolder yn ieith ni" [*move* a word for another and, at the same time, keep the appropriateness of the language and the fare sense of the phrase. Because of that, I have sometimes *turned* word for word and elsewhere *gave* the sense for the sense, according to the way and appropriateness of our language] (Lewis 1930: 196, my translation and italics).[91] Gruffudd reprised here Jerome's considerations from Epistle 57 *Ad Pammachius* known as *De optimo genere interpretandi* (c. 395), where he stated that "ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera uoce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et uerborum ordo mysterium est, non uerbum de uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu" [I admit and confess most freely that I have not translated word for word in my translations of Greek texts, but sense for sense, except in the case of the scriptures in which even the order of the words is a mystery] (1910: sec. 1, pars. 1, epistularum pars 1, I-LXX). Jerome's ideas about the method of translation were based on textual types: religious texts ought to be rendered word for word (*verbum de verbo*) because the order and disposition of words carried, by themselves, the mystery of Scriptures. On the contrary, translation *sensum de sensu* was desirable for non-biblical texts, moral, didactic or of any other kind. These ideas were frequently quoted and reprised by medieval authors, becoming a *topos* rather than a statement of principles.[92] It could be argued, however, that in Gruffudd's case, the authoritative citation is *also* an explanation of a method of translation. As this may be true for other authors, the statement should not be dismissed at once but compared to actual practice.

Gruffudd's patroness, Efa, was none other than Gruffudd ap Maredudd's sister; this last Gruffudd commissioned the translation of the *Historia Turpini*, appearing in the Madawc colophon (see above, p. 63). Furthermore, this same Madawc was also responsible for translating the *Transitus Mariae* into Welsh for Gruffudd ap Maredudd too. The evidence

[91] See also Lloyd and Owen (1986: 224), where the authors review different contentions about Gruffudd, namely, his English surname and his knowledge of English in addition to Welsh and Latin.
[92] For this idea of *topos* and further discussion about Jerome's thoughts on translation see Copeland (1995), especially chapter 2, pp. 37-62.

strongly suggests that Gruffudd and Efa's family sponsored, at least, native translations of foreign texts. What is more, the family descended from the Lord Rhys and was closely linked to Strata Florida, the Cistercian monastery founded by him in the twelfth century.

Gruffudd Bola's commentary is *unique* as concerns a reflection about the act of translation. Whether he was citing an authority or declaring his method, he shows awareness about linguistic difference and adaptability to the needs of the TL. He even demonstrates that his repertoire of translational skills is flexible at the least. Yet, apart from brief references such as the Madawc colophon, no other direct evidence on translation survives. As a result, we need to turn to the products of translation itself for understating the processes and the principles behind them. This poses many problems, intra-textual as well as extra-textual: first, the study of translational procedures is complicated by textual fluidity, a common feature of many Middle Welsh translations, including *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant*, which point to scribal interference, making it harder to separate what is translational from what is scribal;[93] secondly, the lack of absolute certainty as to where and when the texts were composed, and for whom, compel us to assess very carefully the ideological component of translation and the impact of contextual elements in general; thirdly, the lack of evidence of the transmission of the texts translated in Wales, e.g. manuscript witnesses, needs to be counterbalanced by a detailed analysis of the texts, which are the only signs of that transmission; fourthly, the broad dating of the texts compels us to describe norms of translation in also broad periods; finally, as the texts provide very few tools to describe and explain the translational processes, one has to avoid the potential risk of anachronism when using modern scholarly categories. Any consideration of Middle Welsh translation needs to bear in mind these caveats and respond to them in the discussion.

One access into the attitudes and practice of the translators is vocabulary. In this respect, a noteworthy point in the above quotation is Gruffudd's use of verbs to refer to the act of translation itself: *symut* [to move], *troi* [turn], *dodi* [give, put]. The specific term to denote this particular activity, *cyfieithaf*, and its agent, *cyfieithydd*, are attested for the first time in 1346.[94] Translators refer to themselves as *dyallwr ystorya* [understander of story] and

[93] Textual fluidity does not affect the texts in the same way or to the same degree. In the case of *Iarlles*, medieval manuscripts carry a text that is quite stable, with minor fluidity, but modern copies preserve a version without the episodes related to the lion. *Cân Rolant*'s fluidity is found throughout all the medieval testimonies and deserves further research.

[94] In *The Elucidarium* from Jesus College 119 (the Book of the Anchorite of Llandewibrefi). It is impossible to rule out earlier possible uses of the terms, but what is important is that specific words for translation appear in later times and that unspecific terms predominate in the early period.

golystawdyr [interpreter], marking thus a difference from the *awdur* [author] and drawing attention to their active role in the process of translation. The interventionist power that they exercised could be great indeed. As Luft (2006a) has emphasised, translators were neither a passive instrument nor an impartial one: they were interpreters and mediators between a foreign aesthetics (and culture) and the native conventions. This is a fundamental issue to which modern translation studies can respond through the distinction between *obligatory transpositions*, i.e. features that tend to characterize translated language as opposed to naturally occurring language, and *specific options*, i.e. non-obligatory changes made by the translator based on his own style, preferences or ideological constraints from the broad context of translation.[95]

In addition, some 'writers' or 'scholars' are also acknowledged: "Davyd Escryvennyd" [Dafydd the writer], "Llyma diwedda llyfr kyfreitheu Hywel a yscriuennvyd gan Gvilym Wasta or Drefnewyd" [Here ends the book of the Laws of Hywel that was written by Gwilym the good servant], "y llyuyr hwnn a yscriuennwys howel vychan uab howel goch o uuellt…" [this book that wrote Howel Fychan vab Howel Goch o Fuellt] (Lloyd and Owen, 1986: 228, 230, my translation). They have been identified as copyists: Dafydd copied a legal manuscript (the now-lost Lanforda ms.) c. 1300 for Llewelyn fab Tudur, Gwilym Was Da (William the good servant) was a scribe responsible for several legal manuscripts at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Hywel Fychan was a professional scribe who contributed to the Red Book of Hergest, Red Book of Talgarth, and filled some blanks in the White Book of Rhydderch, and who worked for the family of Hopcyn ap Thomas during the fourteenth century also. This survey of the limited vocabulary concerning translation in Middle Welsh texts suggests that it was not a specialized practice – hence there was not a specialized verb to denote it – and as such it was performed by churchmen (clerics or monks) as one of several tasks amongst others.[96] There is no evidence that translators had any special training or that they had any particularly useful resources or tools for the task (like manuals, glossaries, or bilingual vocabularies) (Lloyd-Morgan, 1991).[97] This does not mean that translation was not a developed skill by the thirteenth century; multilingualism, a

[95] We will discuss in detail the value of modern translation studies for our research in the third section. These particular definitions of 'obligatory transpositions' and 'specific option' are from Vinay and Darbelnet (1990).
[96] S. Williams ascertains that *ysgolhaig* [scholar] and *crefyddwr* [religioner] were frequently used as synonyms for 'translator' (1974: 303).
[97] For the existence of this kind of material in France see, for example, Rubio Tovar (1997).

product of the multicultural environment at the time, certainly contributed to it.[98] Yet translation was seemingly not a literary genre and what scholars nowadays call "medieval Welsh translations" include all sorts of texts that were not even considered as a group during the Middle Ages, a situation paralleled in other medieval European contexts.[99] In this respect, it was probably because of their thematic unity that the Charlemagne texts were copied together in the extant manuscripts rather than because of their shared character as translations.

When focusing on the actual products of translation and trying to extract the patterns of behaviour and principles behind them, it is intended to evaluate relationships between the theory and the practice of translation. Early editors and publishers of Welsh texts had either a positive attitude towards translation, considering it as a free and direct means to enable knowledge to appear in another language, or a negative view towards it, as ineffective or inaccurate in the transmission of the original message. Consequently, since the predominant standpoint considered translations only in their reproductive capacity, in other words, as a secondary production, they were mostly disregarded.[100] Watkin and S. Williams were amongst the first modern scholars to study Welsh translations of medieval texts. Watkin carried out the first complete critical edition of *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn*, the translation of the Anglo-Norman poem *Boeve de Haumtone*, and greatly contributed to the study of French influence on medieval Welsh texts.

Williams, for his part, advanced the idea of a good 'native style' (of the *Mabinogion*, the *cyfarwydd* style) that was opposed to a bad 'style of translation'. Commenting on the style of the Welsh translation of the Latin text about the travels of Odoric of Pordenone, he asserted that there were "llawer o olion cyfieithu" [many traces of translation], namely: the overuse of the relative pronouns “yr hwnn, yr honn, y rei” (masculine, feminine and plural) before personal pronouns, too literal translations, the use of the preposition “o” to translate the genitive in Latin, and mistranslations and welshification of unknown words (S. Williams, 1929: 27-8) . This distinction was endorsed by Roberts, who maintained that *ôl-cyfieithu* [trace of translation] could be perceived in the following elements:

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[98] It is worth noting that a school of prose translators seems to have flourished in Glamorgan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, according to G. Williams (1948: 176). Note Haycock's (2005) remarks about literary criticism and self-criticism.

[99] For a critical vision of *cyfieithiadau Cymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol* (medieval Welsh translations) see Luft (2006a).

[100] See Luft (forthcoming) for an excellent survey of the opinions of editors of medieval Welsh translations; see also Luft (2006a) for a detailed account of previous editors and publishers of medieval Welsh translations.

> yn yr ansoddeiriau lluosog, a'u safle o flaen yr enw, yng nghytundeb berf â'i goddrych, yn y gystrawen berthynol, yn y defnydd o enwau haniaethol, ac o ansoddeiriau berfol i gyfleu rhangymeriad gorffennol, yn y trosi llythrennol o elfennau gair cyfansawdd, yn y cystrawennau trwsgl a'r colli gafael ar rediad brawddeg wrth geisio llunio brawddegau cymhleth yn hytrach na brawddegau cydradd, byrion y testunau brodorol [in plural adjectives and their position before the noun, in verb-subject concordance, in relative syntax, in the use of abstract nouns and of verbal adjectives as past participles, in the literal translation of elements of compound-words, in the awkward syntax and the lost of fluidity in the sentences that results from trying to formulate complex phrases instead of equal and short phrases of native texts] (1974: 289).

He also mentioned the use of several synonyms to render only one word in the original text or the use of a string of accumulative words or phrases that had a rhetorical effect. What these scholars failed to recognise is that many of these so-called "traces of translation" are not faults or mistranslations of the translator but are the result of the process of translation itself; Luft refers to them as "creithiau annileadwy" (2006a: 32) [indelible scars]. Moreover, the range of these features needs to be tested with regard to intervernacular translation, since it cannot be assumed that restraints caused by Latin are identical to those resulting from a romance language. Consequently, these features will be discussed in relation to *Cân Rolant* in chapter 6.

Lloyd-Morgan advanced some general features of Medieval Welsh translations, namely: abridgement and adaptation to the literary tradition and taste of the Welsh audience; dismantling of complex narrative structures (like interlaced episodes); divesting of abstract elements and psychological analysis; reinterpretation of the source with the aim of bringing the tale and the characters closer to a Welsh audience; problems issued from the lack of familiarity with foreign ways of thinking and behaving; finally, a native prose style in the standard literary language (1991). It is thus regularly accepted that translations into Middle Welsh follow native narrative conventions instead of trying to reproduce the style of the source text. For instance, in Roberts' words:

> The written form of the *cyfarwydd* prose became the accepted literary vehicle, with its own set of conventions and clearly marked apart from the other Middle Welsh prose styles, for Welsh narrative throughout the Middle Welsh period. Its strength may be appreciated when *one sees it used for translations of Anglo-Norman chansons de geste and for new Welsh versions of Old French romances* (1988: 77, my italics).

Like any general list of tendencies in translation, these features need to be revised in light of a detailed study of *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant*. Some of these tendencies will prove to be inaccurate in the cases under examination.

5.1 Chrétien's *Yvain* as the source of *Iarlles*: reappraisal and antecedents

As stated in the previous chapter, the attitude towards the relation between the texts under discussion has changed and recent scholarship trends regard Chrétien's *Yvain* as the source of *Iarlles* from a positive standpoint. The premises of this thesis are indebted to this approach and the aim is to contribute to its further development. Even so, scholars have written about the translation of French material in a number of different ways. Roberts used Gumbrecht's concept of "receivability" to explain the reworking of French material according to a Welsh audience and put forward the critical notion of *translatio* as an over-encompassing term to denote the processes of adaptation to a new social, literary and cultural milieu that would include translations such as *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn* (1983).[101] As discussed in chapter 3, Diverres considered *Iarlles* a plain *adaptation*. Lloyd-Morgan (1991) argued that the *adaptations* of Chrétien's texts spanned from word for word *translations* to *re-tellings*, sometimes very free. According to her, the first *adaptors* were interested in the narrative aspects of the material, especially because the new tales from the continent could be easily incorporated into the corpus of material relating to native heroes. Therefore, this first wave of *adaptations* of secular French narratives into Welsh were *translations* in the broadest sense of the term but ulterior *translations*, composed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were *translations* in the narrower sense. She thus proposed four different stages in the translation of French material: 1) pre thirteenth century free adaptation of sources, 2) thirteenth and fourteenth centuries full-scale close translation, 3) fifteenth and sixteenth centuries antiquarian patchwork, i.e. free adaptations of stories from Welsh tradition and foreign material; 4) early sixteenth century work of the antiquarian-collector Elis Gruffudd, whose re-telling of French tales about Arthur and his interpretation of the material for his countrymen implied a combination of both the previous methodologies. As can be inferred from the above, Lloyd-Morgan is fairly ambiguous in her use of the terms 'translation' and 'adaptation' but her differentiation between stages of translation could be useful as a historical frame for the different treatment of the sources that will be studied here.

Rejhon (1990) considered the transmission of continental material into Wales from the standpoint of a cognitive theory concerning the participation of the left side and the right side of the brain in written and aural reception.[102] From this perspective, she concluded that

[101] See also chapter 3, p. 48.
[102] As she explains, during an aural performance, both hemispheres of the brain are involved (combining the special perception of the right side with the verbal perception of the left), but the left, specialised in analysis,

borrowings from French into Welsh were mainly “a written and learned phenomenon” in the cases of *Cân Rolant* and *Pererindod*, resulting in faithful renderings of their French counterpart (1990: 133). But contrarily, Welsh versions of Chrétien's *romans* probably derived from a hearing or aural reception and, consequently, a profound adaptation of the source occurred (136). As useful as this insight can be to explain the cognitive side of the process of transmission of French material, it poses many problems: it disregards the cultural contexts of all the participants; it assumes that the three Welsh prose tales that have French counterparts conform a group and that they are the product of the same kind of mechanism (aural); it concludes that because of their written reception the Charlemagne texts are faithful renderings, as if this sole aspect determined the decisions made by the translator. In the end, Rejhon's findings are stimulating but they need to be questioned and extended.

From a folklorist perspective, Lindahl (2000) argued that *Iarlles* is a cultural translation of a French romance, a work through which an active Welsh storytelling tradition has domesticated a foreign tale and reshaped it to express the values and fulfil the expectations of a native aesthetic. Although Lindahl's article is a very well knit argumentative paper, it does not supersede what Roberts and Lloyd-Morgan had ascertained before him.

Poppe (2004) has compared *Iarlles*, *Cân Rolant*, and *Ystorya Bown o Hamwtn* in an attempt to establish parameters of what he terms "transcultural literary adaptation" using the concept of *relative distance* between two versions of the same *sujet*. Since medieval translation is guided by acceptability of the receptors rather than adequacy to the original, especially regarding secular narrative texts, relative distance thus characterise a particular instance of *translatio* (Roberts' critical concept), a conscious or unconscious norm on the part of the redactor. Three criteria help to measure the degree of relative distance: sequence and details of the development of the plot, purpose and meaning of the text and its adherence to generic conventions, and narrative strategies and presentational techniques. 'Relative distance' is thus a critical descriptive parameter that helps to explain different narrative intentions in the treatment of foreign material. Using this approach, Poppe arrived at the conclusion that *Bown* and *Cân Rolant* could represent a parameter of performance of medieval Welsh redactors regarding French secular narratives from the mid to the late thirteenth century. He also pointed out that the differences between the *transcultural translatio* of *Iarlles* (and, for this matter, *Gereint*), *Bown* and *Cân Rolant* were prompted by contextual particularities

predominates, whereas information received through writing is only processed by the right hemisphere and it is thus subjected to synthesis.

(chronology being an important factor) and by the character of the adapted *sujet*, native in the former case (within literary and pseudo-historic tradition) but foreign in the latter. The methodology and the perspective of this thesis are heavily indebted to Poppe's works. However, as Poppe himself noted, the notion of 'relative distance' poses many problems given the difficulties of controlling all the factors that influence its concretization in the specific processes of *translatio* of individual texts. Because of this, after considering the general situation in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, we will turn to modern translation studies in search for analytical tools and concepts.

5.2 Translation in the Middle Ages: general survey and contemporary scholarly attitudes

What can we learn from other cases of medieval translation that will contribute to the study of the Middle Welsh texts? In order to compare the situation in Wales to that of the rest of Western Europe, it will be necessary, on the one hand, to map general attitudes apparent in medieval authors (by means of the vocabulary that they employ to talk about translation and/or their comments about it) and, on the other hand, to review the relevant scholarship on medieval translation. The discussion on the critical terminology in chapter 1 will be reprised, properly contextualised and expanded, along with new considerations that are important when considering the Middle Welsh translations of *La chanson de Roland* and *Yvain* within a European framework.

Medieval translated texts have been variously approached by scholars: from synchronic and isolated studies of particular cases of translation (that usually employed an *ad-hoc* methodology), or the examination of the skills of one translator in a particular text or group of texts, to diachronic theorisations about translating in the Middle Ages and attempts to define general stable parameters. It can now be safely ascertained that medieval translation has won its place as a valid academic field and that it has considerably grown over the last decades.[103] Early scholarship tended to lay out the problem in oversimplified binary oppositions such us faithful / unfaithful, literal / loose, re-creation / slavish, form / substance, source / target, somehow reproducing Classical and medieval theoretical pronouncements, as

[103] *The Medieval Translators* series, chiefly edited by Roger Ellis, has published ten volumes so far, witnessing the development of the field. Further states of the art can be found in Ellis' "Introduction" to the first volume (1989). Key figures in this reassessment have been Jeanette Beer (1997, 1989), Ivana Djordević (2000), Michelle Warren (2007), Rita Copeland (1991), Claude Buridant (1993), Joaquín Rubio Tovar (1997). In our local milieu, Juan Héctor Fuentes (2009) reviewed the main contributions in the field, whereas Willson (2013) assessed the achievements of general theories of translation.

we shall see.[104] Critics were thus more interested in studying the extent to which medieval translations were close renderings of their respective sources from an evaluative perspective that enabled them to assess the success or failure in the task. By contrast, recent scholarship, influenced by the cultural turn in translation studies, has drawn attention to the capacity of translations to transfer cultural and ideological values and to how those can be re-evaluated, shifted or rechanneled in order to suit the needs of the target audience or patrons. Translation started thus to be treated less as a linguistic event and more as a manifestation of culture and a prime site of cultural encounter (Rikhardsdottir, 2012; Warren, 2007). This has contributed to a reappraisal of medieval translation as a more comprehensive multidisciplinary practice immersed in medieval textuality.[105] That is to say, given that medieval authors assigned a different value to originality, and the practice of writing implied re-writing (artistic skill was not meant to invent new stories but rather to build on existent material), a conception of translation as a secondary discourse demanded a re-examination because translations *are* in fact capable of transferring cultural and ideological values. This development was mainly achieved through the study of specific cases of translation, which provided important insights to a seemingly varied practice. This led to a much needed revalorisation of translation coupled with a deeper knowledge of the role that it played in the emergence of vernacular literature. Consequently, a set of concepts and notions were developed in an attempt to describe and explain the peculiarities of medieval translation.

But first of all, what did non-Welsh authors say about translation? Although precise pronouncements on this activity in the vernacular literature are scarce, in principle, translation was a multiform practice as witnessed by the varied vocabulary employed, analysed by Buridant (1993: 89).[106] In Latin, verbs derived from Greek were used, i.e. Gr. *metafero* > L. *transferre* and *convortere*. In Late Latin *mutare* and *transferre* gave way to *translatus* wherefrom *translatare* derived in the 7th century. There was a wide array of terms in Old French to describe the practice of translation, whose nucleus was *translater* (from Latin *translatare*): *metre en romanz, metre en François, torner (en romanz), trestorner,*

[104] For a useful summary see Djordević (2000).

[105] For medieval textuality see especially Zumthor (2000) and Cerquiglini (1989).

[106]" Buridant's (reductionist) notion of modern translation (that disregards differences in intention, linguistic register, purpose, etc. behind different types of translations), as useful as can be to contrast to medieval translation, is debatable. On a different note, it is not fortuitous that Leonardo Bruni was the one who coined the technical term of *traducere* in the fifteenth century whence modern terms such as Spanish *traducir*, French *traduction*, Portuguese *traduzir* emanate. According to Buridant, "(...) l'activité traductrice réclame, à partir des XVe – XVIe siècles, un terme sans équivoque qui la caractérise comme une activité unique et autonome : la terminologie nouvelle élimine les termes désignant la traduction comme une adaptation ou une activité annexe du commentaire..." (102-3). Cf. Stoll (2014).

transposer, transporter, traire, estraire, dire, espondre, reduire. Marie de France, for instance, one of the first writers to reveal an acute consciousness of translation, employed *translater* and *turner* in her version of Aesop's Fables to refer to the passing from Greek to Latin: "unes fables qu'il [Aesop] ot trovees/de Griu en Latin translatees" (Martin, 1984: vv. 19-20), but only *translater* for the transference from Latin into English. By contrast, Marie has a much wider vocabulary when describing the process from Middle English to Anglo-Norman: *faire la rime*, *rimer en français*, *traiter en romanz*, *de l'engleis en romanz traire* (Rubio Tovar, 1997: 212-4).

Apart from vocabulary, prologues and colophons provide an insight into the translator's work and ideas. A usual stand is that of the 'faithful' translation who, as Priest Konrad states in the colophon to his *Song of Roland*, took the tale "just as it appears in the book (…) adding nothing and leaving nothing out" (Thomas, 1994: 107). Many prologues in langue d'oïl from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries declare this central concern with fidelity to the original but, as in the case of Gruffudd Bola's statements discussed at the opening of this chapter, the announcement did not necessarily imply that the translation that followed was a close rendering of the source text.

But literal translation was not the only method demanded for biblical texts (Jerome's claim) or employed to draw distance from the resulting text. Both Boece and Scotus Eriugena recommended literal translation of philosophical texts as a way to certify the veracity of the source. Not every author agreed, though. A utilitarian notion of translation that prioritised sense over word was expressed by Gregory the Great when he observed that "we suffer this grave difficulty of translators: as long as none of them translate according to sense, but insist on transferring the property of every word, they confuse the meaning of every statement. The point is that without great labour we cannot in any way understand the things that have been translated".[107]

Concurrently, other authors and translators proclaimed to prefer translating the sense and not being afraid of making changes. A well-known case is Jean de Meun's concerns about facilitating the access to Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*: "se je eusse espons mot a

[107] (…) gravem hic interpretum difficultatem patimur. Dum enim non sunt qui sensum de sensu exprimunt, sed transferre verborum semper proprietatem volunt omnem dictorum sensum confundunt. Unde agitur ut ea quae translata fuerint nisi cum gravi labore intellegere nullo modo valeamus" (Hartmann, 1899: Epistle 10). Many other examples could be cited, representing the literal method of translation as well as the looser one. For instance, Roger Bacon drew attention to what we would now call linguistic untranslatability (see below) in *De linguarum cognitio* ("On the Knowledge of Languages") dated 1267 (Lefevere, 1992: 49-50); King Alfred the Great encouraged a revival of learning through accessibility to texts granted by translations, sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense (Bassnett, 2002: 57-8).

mot le latin par le françois, li livres en fust trop occurs aus gens lais" [if I had sought to render the Latin word for word in French, the book would be too obscure for lay readers] (Dedeck-Héry, 1952: 168).[108] In addition, translation was not neatly separated from other types of textual production; it could be realized in the form of interlinear glosses, commentary, or direct translation. The reason for this variety lies, partly, in that vernacularisation of Latin *auctores* was an important component of medieval education and, as a writing exercise, it was intimately related to the genre of commentary. It was Quintilian who recommended *interpretari* and *paraphrasi vertere*, that is, a close paraphrase of the original, and *aemulatio* or free paraphrase in the process of learning Latin.[109] Two of the strategies that he mentions are *breviare* and *exornare*, "abridge" and "embellish", which are rhetorical processes widely employed in medieval composition.[110] Within rhetoric, abbreviation and amplification (*amplificatio*) were intimately related to *inventio*, whereas embellish was part of *elocutio*. Rhetoric was one of the arts of the *trivium* (together with grammar and logic) taught at medieval schools, which was at the base of the normative arts composed during the mid-twelfth and thirteenth century such as Matthew de Vendôme or Gervase of Melkley's *Ars versificatoria*, or Geoffroy de Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova* (Faral, 1924; Curtius, 1998).[111] Abridgment and amplification are strategies extensively used by translators (both modern and medieval) and their link to the theories of composition strengthens even more their influence on medieval translations.

Although partially known during the Middle Ages, Quintilian, together with St Augustine and St Jerome (who were influenced by him), is part of a chain of transmission of

[108] The original Latin text and parallel translations in different vernaculars (Old English, Middle High German), including Jean de Meun's translation, can be found in the Bibliotheca Polyglotta Graeca et Latina of the University of Olso (http://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=216#permlink). For a discussion see Buridant (1993: 111) and Copeland (1991: 127-150), and further references there.

[109] He wrote: "Igitur Aesopi fabellas, quae fabulis nutricularum proxime succedunt, narrare sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente, deinde eandem gracilitatem stilo exigere condiscant; versus primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari, tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et breviare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur" [Their pupils should learn to paraphrase Aesop's fables, the natural successors of the fairy stories of the nursery, in simple and restrained language and subsequently to set down this paraphrase in writing with the same simplicity of style: they should begin by analysing each verse, then give its meaning in different language, and finally proceed to a freer paraphrase in which they will be permitted now to abridge and now to embellish the original, so far as this may be done without losing the poet's meaning] in *The Institutio oratoria* (Butle, 1922: I.IX.2-3).

[110] Gallo, for example, affirmed that "Medieval poetics and medieval poetry are both based upon rhetoric" (1974: 54).

[111] For *amplificatio*, Vinsauf recommended *descriptiones*, *circumlocutiones*, *digressiones*, *prosopopeiae*, *apostrophationes*, and for *abbreviatio* solely to present the pure subject matter (Faral, 1924: 687). Rhetoric and poetics basically coalesced during the Middle Ages. The extent of the influence or even knowledge of these rhetorical principles on Wales cannot be fully assessed in the present state of affairs. Welsh literary tradition had its own forceful conventions, as has been repeated a number of times in this thesis, although it seems safe to assume that they were at least partially known through school curricula.

two competing traditions of translation that go back to Cicero and his oft-quoted *De optimo genere oratum*, where he distinguished between translating as *interpres* or as *orator* by means of a set of concepts that would have a long and extensive dissemination throughout Europe. Cicero wrote:

> nec converti ut *interpres*, sed ut *orator*, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. In quibus *non verbum pro verbo* necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere [I did not translate them as an *interpreter*, but as an *orator*, keeping the same ideas and the forms, or as one might say, the "figures" of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render *word for word*, but I preserved the general style and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count them out to the reader like coins, but to pay them by weight, as it were] (Heinemann, 1949: 5.14-15, my italics).[112]

The two competing traditions, literal translation, especially of sacred texts, and rhetorical paraphrase, in which fidelity was considered a negative feature, persisted during the Middle Ages most fundamentally by way of Jerome's already cited *De optimo genere interpretandi* (Boucher, 2007; Pratt, 1991). Copeland (1991) cogently argued that translation resulted for the most part in an exegetical and hermeneutical praxis, as opposed to the Classical rhetorical conception, that relegated it to grammar and *enarratio poetarum* (commentary on ancient poets), which also explains why it was made concrete in the form of the commentary.[113] But both methods, since they alternatively occupied the dominant position, can be considered as poles at either extreme of a continuum: Copeland argued that an early or primary form of translation with emphasis on exegetical directives, which gave the original text an authoritative canonical status, coexisted with a later or secondary form of translation, which stressed the inventional power of the translator, closer to the Roman rhetorical mode (1995: 95). Few translations are pure instances of each model, so we should expect translations to be somewhere located on the scale. These conclusions are extremely relevant for understanding the clear difference between *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* and for their treatment as translations.

Resulting texts, i.e. translations, display also a great variety in their own terms: poems could be translated as poems, following the conventional verse patterns of the target literary tradition (e.g. Konrad's *Rolandslied*, which was rendered in the rhymed couplets

[112] Hankins summarises the central points of Cicero's attitude in the following way: 1) Latin has, potentially, the same value as Greek for philosophical expression; 2) it is necessary to keep the uses of the Latin language as well as its vocabulary; 3) Greek works written in an artistic way need to be translated in an equally artistic manner; 4) it should not be translated word for word, as illiterates do, but rather according to sense (1987: 210).

[113] Reynolds pointed out that "translation glosses are servile, are always subsidiary to the text, because the vernacular is always subsidiary to Latin", and because translation was in service of Latinity instead of the vernacular (1996: 63-4).

characteristic of his time) or as prose tales, as the Old Norse or Welsh translations of *Yvain* and *La chanson de Roland.* MORE

All in all, therefore, the general situation in Wales matches that encountered in Western Europe: varieties of methods of translation, coexistence of competing traditions, paucity of conceptual elaborations, pre-eminence of a didactic, moral, political and/or instrumental perspective. Moreover, vernacular translation became a way of broadening the participation in and granting access to a prestigious literature (the Latin academic community or the French mainstream literary trends). In this context, Folena (1991) distinguished two forms of translation: on the one hand, "volgarizzare", a form of vertical translation from a prestigious language into a vernacular, considered inferior and, on the other, "tradurre", a type of horizontal translation between equally prestigious languages such as Greek and Latin.[114] Folena referred specially to the relationship between the romance languages and Latin, but his category is very attractive when considering other types of intervernacular translation in which there are asymmetric power relations between two vernaculars (cf. Tymoczko and Gentzler, 2002). Thus Anglo-Norman/Old French, as the language of elite and of culture, plays the role of Latin in Folena's model, and Welsh occupies that of the vernacular considered inferior, although Welsh 'inferiority' is not related to a lack of literary tradition; the impact of French literature on the development of Welsh vernacularity is less marked.

5.3 Critical terminology: redefining translation

As was briefly discussed in the introduction, and as the literature review has shown so far, scholars have employed a wide array of terms to discuss intervernacular medieval translation: adaptation, *translatio*, version, transposition, rewriting, cultural appropriation. To some extent, the vocabulary manifested a difference that medieval scholars wanted to foreground: medieval translation was *not* like modern translation and therefore could not be studied under the same assumptions.[115] This was important for a better understanding and a reassessment of medieval translation, which is Buridant's prime goal instating the Latin word

[114] In Folena's words: "(…) tradurre orizzontale o infralinguistico, che fra lingue di struttura simile e di forte affinità culturale come le romanze assume spesso il carattere, piú que di traduzione, di trasposizione verbale con altissima percentuale di significanti, lessemi e morfemi, comuni, e identità nelle strutture sintattiche, di transmissione e metamorfosi continua, con interferenza massima e contrasti minimi…" (1991: 13).
[115] Consider, for example, Hunt's 1981 paper entitled "The Medieval Adaptations of Chrétien's *Yvain*: A Bibliographical Essay", in in which – from the title henceforth – he refers to the Middle-High German *Iwein*, the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain*, the Welsh *Iarlles*, the Old Norse *Ívens*, and all the texts that derive from them, as 'adaptations'. The main reason seems to be that all these works introduced, in our words, shifts of emphasis to meet the needs of the new audience.

'translatio': the "souplesse" of the distinction between "traduction fidèle et adaptation libre" of the source demanded for him a different concept of translation (1993: 89). But recent research has undermined the productivity of that vocabulary: as Djordjević has asserted, that difference is more a matter of degree than of nature (2002: 59). In addition, modern translation too is not a uniform category; even circumscribing the discussion to literary translation, there is plenty of variation according to genre, context of production, and purpose (amongst other things). Therefore if we want to advance in our discussion, we need to clarify the terms that we use to refer to the texts under discussion. It is important to realise from the outset that this is not merely a problem of terminology. It brings to the front a methodological issue: the object of study is defined in the interplay between the theoretical perspective, the method/s that we use and the object itself for which that methodology is appropriate and relevant. Therefore, 'adaptation', *translatio*, and so forth, as categories, *define* and *construct* an object and assign qualities and problems to it.

Bassnett's admittedly basic linguistic definition of translation has already been quoted;[116] Nida offered a further precision when defining translation as a "complex system of decoding and encoding on the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic levels". These can be said to be narrow definitions which are not concerned with translation as a communicative event and with the cultural context of the SL and the TL. As Lefevere contends, translation is not reflection but *refraction*; the task of the translator is to decode and re-encode complex signifying systems (1991). A broader definition of translation entails its consideration as a form of cultural transfer and is concerned with the way it is received by the target culture. Toury's assertion that "a 'translation' will be taken to be any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds" (1985: 20), clashes with the paucity of evidence as to how medieval translation was received and transmitted. In other words, what we assume to be translations today, were they considered translations? For *Cân Rolant* it is fairly safe to answer that question in the affirmative: Madawc's colophon and the dedication to Reinallt, although not strictly linked to the text, suggest that. By contrast, there is no direct indication as to how *Iarlles* was received. As a result, Koller's definition is more productive for the present purpose:

[116] See the introduction: "rendering of a SL text into the TL so as to ensure that (1) the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar and (2) the structures of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible but not so closely that the TL structures will be seriously distorted" (2002: 12). That there is no full equivalence through translation (a problem known as the untranslatability of languages) had already been noted by Jakobson, (1966). For a detailed discussion of equivalence in translation and different types of equivalence see Bassnett (2002: 32-38).

> translation can be understood as the *result of a text-processing activity, by means of which a source-language text is transposed into a target-language text. Between the resultant text in L2 (the target-language text) and the source text in L1 (the source-language text) there exists a relationship, which can be designated as a translational, or equivalence relation* (1995: 196, italics in the original).

This relative concept of equivalence is determined by the historical-cultural conditions under which the translation is produced and received in the target culture, and by textual and extra-textual factors such as the constraints of the ST, the literary traditions operating in the target culture, the translator's ideology or patronage, and the interpretation of the ST by the translation. It is the critic who establishes the translational relationship. By merging definitions, we can conclude that translation is the result of the decoding and encoding of a ST on the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic levels in accordance with the specific circumstances in which it is produced and received (see chart below). It is an interface between different linguistic, literary and cultural codes. It will be necessary, then, to discuss all the implications of this definition in the section dedicated to modern translation studies below.

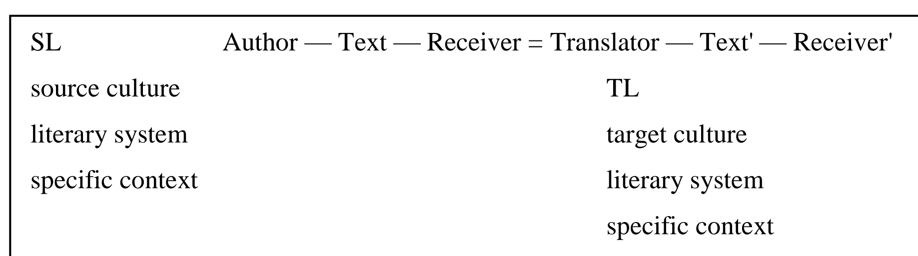
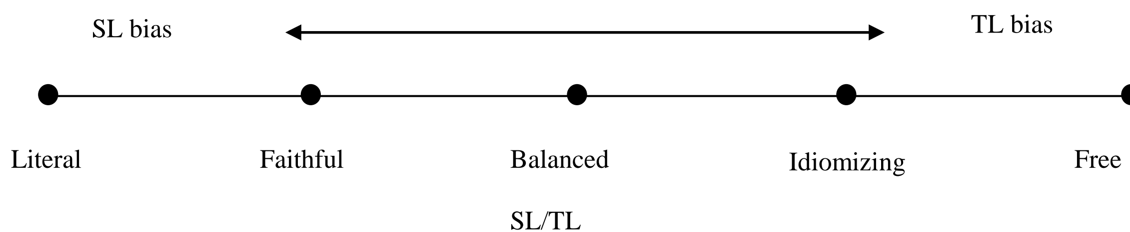


Diagram of the communicate relationship in the process of translation.[117]

By contrast, adaptation and version derive from a concept of equivalence of the TT to the ST that implies a hierarchization of those categories based on their more or less adequacy to the source. Consequently, translation is seen as the 'degree zero' of sameness, i.e. as standing for the ST as a reproduction, whereas adaptation and version express deviation from the original, allegedly in different degrees; adaptation seems to suggest less innovation than version.[118] These last two terms are also employed for extra-linguistic phenomena to denote transference to other semiotic systems, such as film 'adaptations' of novels, or dramatic performances. These notions are subsidiary to old theories, mainly prescriptive, that focused on the reproductive aspect of translation and operated through binomials: literal translation as

[117] Adapted from Bassnett (2002: 45).
[118] In addition, 'translation' (in its reproductive perspective), 'adaptation', and 'version', imply a) a concept of a passive reader and b) a hidden 'true meaning' of the text that is better reconstructed by the translation than by the other two textual types. See Bassnett (2002: 84).

opposed to free translation, faithful as opposed to inaccurate. Yet these terms lose their operational power if translation is seen as inherently manipulative of the source text, given that distance from the source will be presupposed and expected. Subsequently, the differences between translation, adaptation, and version would be blurred: every translation would be an adaptation *and* a version. Should we use these terms as if they were interchangeable? Once again, as already noted by Djordjević, the distinction between translation, adaptation, and we can add version, ends up to be unhelpful for the study of medieval intervernacular translation since it turns out to be rhetorical and strategic rather than conceptual, mainly because it is impossible to distinguish them in practice (2002: 52). This will continue until we re-channel the definitions from our 'new' standpoint. Djordjevic's solution is to consider translation and adaptation as two extreme points of a continuum on which there are no absolute positions. Instead, they should be taken as working hypothesis that enables the establishment of corpora for descriptive-explanatory studies. It can be argued, however, in accordance with recent research on modern translation theories and practice, that the current definition of translation already implies degrees of freedom of translation or a gamut from extreme SL bias to extreme TL bias. Hervey and Higgins represented this continuum, including the intermediate points, in the following diagram (2002: 15-18, 16):



At one extreme, SL bias, there is literal translation, where the translation reproduces only the denotative meaning of words; at the opposite pole, TL bias, is free translation, where there is only a general correspondence between the textual units of the ST and TT. Between them, the degrees of freedom of translation are immensely variable, and the boundaries between the positions indicated in the diagram are very fluid.[119]

Regarding rewriting and cultural appropriation, they are terms too vast to be useful as explanatory concepts. Poirion, for example, posed the concept of 'ré-écriture' as the analogue of inter-textuality for the medieval manuscript culture: "À mes yeux, l'intertextualité est la trace d'une culture dans la écriture, que je vois être, au Moyen Âge, une réécriture" (1981:

[119] "Idiomizing" calls for an explanatory note. By it, it is meant the translation that respects the content but uses TL idioms (fixed figurative expressions whose meaning cannot be deduced from the literal denotation of the words that compose them) to facilitate reading and understanding.

117). As one of the defining traits of medieval texts, this notion encompasses many types of textual production. In modern translation studies, Lefevere stated that "translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting" and later ascertained that "rewriting absolves us of the necessity to draw borderlines between various forms of rewriting, such as 'translation', 'adaptation', 'emulation'" (1991: 9, 47).[120] This terminological gateway may be relevant for modern translation, where the boundaries between original and copies are perhaps overrated, but not for medieval texts, for the reasons explained above.

In view of all this, in this dissertation 'adaptation' will be restricted to cases of conflated texts that combine multiple sources, or to transpositions into other semiotic systems, such as the plastic arts or architecture (e.g. the Arthurian relief at Modena Cathedral, see Fox-Friedman, 2009: 382-3). 'Version' will be considered suitable for intra-linguistic rewritings, as is the case with all the versions of *La chanson de Roland*. Admittedly, Franco-Veneto is not the same language as Anglo-Norman but for the sake of the argument here they are extremely akin Romance variants and are therefore seen as versions and not translations.

5.4 Modern Translation Studies: What can Modern Theories add to our understanding of Middle Welsh Translations?

Scholars working within the field of medieval translation such as Djordjević (2002), Luft (2006b) and Roberts (1988) have stimulated the use of concepts and analytical tools from modern translation theories. Luft has brilliantly summarised the debate between those scholars who take what they deem to be a "historicist approach" and disregard the value of modern categories in translation studies (e.g. Burnley, 1999) as opposed to an "anti-historicist" one:

> What can modern translation theory add to any discussion of medieval translation, when such a branch of theory did not exist when medieval translators were active, and when they were not necessarily aware of the operation of any sort of theory at all in their works? How can modern translation theory add to an understanding of medieval translated texts, without introducing an inexcusable degree of anachronism into the discussion? (2006b: 85)

We hope to have shown that there was, indeed, certain awareness of translation as a separated practice (at least intuitively) and that sometimes authors/translators directly expressed their ideas, even if they were not systematised. Concepts from modern translation studies can in fact contribute to the description and explanation of medieval translation from

[120] Lefevere is rather ambiguous in his use of rewriting and translation.

a historicist approach as long as we bear clearly in mind that translation is a culturally specific and historically variable practice.

Translation Studies as an academic discipline has shifted over the past decades from an application-ridden approach to a source-oriented or target-oriented perspective. Theoretical bases comprise a wide range of theories: applied linguistics, cognitive research, gender studies, postcolonial studies, and cultural studies.[121] Amidst all the valuable contributions, Holmes' seminal paper (1985) is still a milestone in the demarcation and development of the field and its division into branches; our primary concern here is with 'pure' (theoretically-grounded) and not 'applied' translation studies. Within the first, several concepts from the 'descriptive' branch of research have been reprised and employed during the course of this dissertation, namely, from the works of Hermans (1985), Lefevere (1992), Venuti (1995), Bassnett (2002), but, above all, from Toury (1995) and his Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). They provided the broad theoretical framework as well as the analytical tools for the study of certain processes of translation in *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant*.

As was seen in the last section, the cultural turn in Translation Studies resulted in a new concept of translation as a sociocultural event in all its communicative complexity. Although it is recognised that the linguistic side is central to translation, it is acknowledged that it also involves extra-linguistic factors related to power relations between the languages and cultures in question, their literary systems, and the historical context of translation. This notion of translation entails several implications: first is the reappraisal of the role of the translator as a cultural mediator. Venuti (1995) has especially drawn attention to the active agency of the translator as a manipulative translator: if the translator is, initially, a reader of the ST, then he/she has to interpret it in order to re-encode it into the TL (cf. Bassnett, 2002: 86). That interpretation is constrained by three elements: patronage, poetics, and ideology (Lefevere, 1992: 16). Patronage comprises an ideological component, which acts as a strong constraint on the choice and development of the form and the subject matter. The other two components, the economic and the element of status, have a lesser impact on the decisions made by the translator but they help to characterise its belonging to a social group. The

[121] Translation Studies is a thriving field in constant expansion and the bibliography is thus very lengthy. For an updated panorama see Bassnett's fourth edition of *Translation Studies* (2014) and further references there. Bassnett remarks that "The common threads that link the many diverse ways in which translation has been studied over the past two decades are an emphasis on diversity, a rejection of the old terminology of translation as faithlessness and betrayal of an original, the foregrounding of the manipulative powers of the translator and a view of translation as bridge-building across the space between source and target" (2014: 11). See also Munday (2008) and, for a keen review of basic theoretical strands, Nida (1991).

poetics include the inventory of the literary devices and a concept of what is, or should be, the role of literature in the social system as a whole. This is especially influential in the selection of themes. The translator's ideology can be independent or dependent on the patronage. In the Welsh case, all three elements are undifferentiated, hence depending on the same group.

The manipulation of the text by the translator as an inherent part of every act of translation, and hence the necessity of integrating this aspect to the analysis, is at the base of Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility*. The concepts of domestication and foreignization underscore the choice made by translators, amidst all the determinations imposed by the act itself, in relation to "the degree and the direction of the violence at work in any translating" (1995: 19). The translator can either bring the text closer to the target language cultural values (domestication method) or try and maintain the cultural differences and take the reader to the source language cultural framework (foreignizing method) (1995: 20). For Venuti, the prevailing domestication in the Anglo-American cultural agenda at the time of writing his book implied very negative values, such as the quest for fluency and transparency in translation, which hid the translator's work and the asymmetrical relations between languages and cultures. However, in any given context, domestication as an overall strategy can pursue other goals and be motivated by very different purposes.

A second implication is the study of the target culture and of the allocation of existing translations within the literary system. This has been the central concern of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) as represented by Toury's writings (1978, 1985, 1995). The core of DTS lies in overcoming the opposition of source-oriented / target-oriented and their consequent notions of *adequacy* (adherence to the norms of the SL) and *acceptability* (subscription to norms originating in the target culture) by way of an all-encompassing concept of translation as interdependence of function, process and product, at the same time source and target oriented. From this perspective, translation is considered as seeking for a compromise: to reproduce the norms of the SL and, *simultaneously*, to conform to the norm systems of the target culture. It entails the accommodation of the ST norms to the literary tradition and the existing slots of the TL.

From this point of view, every operation of transfer is produced within socio-cultural constraints that tend to develop regularities in behaviour that can be conceptualised in absolute rules, norms, and idiosyncrasies. A norm is defined as the "translation of general values or ideas shared by a certain community into specific performance instructions

appropriate for and applicable to specific situations" (Toury, 1978: 83-4); norms are thus social instructions that yield regularities in behaviour and express notions of correctness in a given culture at a given time. In a sense, absolute rules and idiosyncrasies are also norms but with a different power of enforcement or constraint. Absolute rules are basic norms that operate in most cases; idiosyncrasies manifest themselves as a personal way of realising general attitudes (and not as deviations). Hence a context needs to be precisely defined for each norm extracted from the evidence. Toury (1995) has identified three different relative types of norms: 1) initial norms, the primary choice between the requirements of the ST or the target culture, that is, adequacy or acceptability (in other words, domestication or foreignization as overall strategies or directions); 2) preliminary norms, the factors that govern the choice of text types or individual texts to be translated, and that relate to the relationship between function, process and product; 3) operational norms, which direct the decisions made during the act of translation itself and include the matricial norms (segmentation, omissions, additions) and the textual-linguistic norms. It should be stressed that norms are not a priori constructs but that, on the contrary, they are inferred from the evidence collected during the analysis. For researchers, norms function as explanatory hypothesis that link the observed regularities to shared social values or the disagreements with them.[122]

The study of norms in translation helps to demonstrate how a functional historical concept of equivalence is achieved for a specific pair of texts. Norms are by definition unstable; those valid for one text can be invalid for another. As a functional concept, equivalence contributes to an understanding of what is an appropriate mode of translation performance for the culture in question and what is not. Competing norms can be operating within a translation: those dominant in that particular time and region, those from the periphery and those from previous sets of norms. In this way, change between different stages of translation can be explained. DTS also intends to distinguish between what is universal, i.e. what pertains to the act of translation as such, from what is culture or language-specific.

In order to map the translation process and assess the translation decisions and the constraints under which they were made, DTS proposes to break down the text in the coupled pair of replacing and replaced segments. The segments of the TT are the 'solution' to problems posed by the corresponding segment of the ST. The translator can 'store' the

[122] This would be the response to Anthony Pym's challenge as to what are really norms for Toury and Hermans (1999: 108). Cf. Malmkjær (2005).

replaced segments and form a sort of repertoire that can then be part of a certain tradition or stock.

Toury's remarks about assumed translations are particularly relevant here given the debate around the relationship between *Yvain* and *Iarlles*. *Yvain* has been tentatively established as its source text in this dissertation, and under that assumption we will map the translation onto that assumed counterpart in order to settle the appropriateness of the ST as ST (1995: 43-4).

5.5 Narratology and Reception Theories

The theoretical framework within which our study was undertaken was also informed by reception theories and narratology. Each offers an approach to the objects encompassed by the definition of translation as a communicative event, that is, text and context.

Narratology is especially useful in the study of a narrative core expressed by different tales (as is the case here). From this branch of literary studies we reprised the basic distinction in three levels or layers of analysis, namely, 1) *fabula*, the "series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors", 2) *story*, a *fabula* which has been given a presentational shape by means of a specific point of view and a temporal scheme, and 3) *text*, the actual oral or written discourse produced by a narrator to tell the *story* (Bal, 1997: 5; García Landa and Onega, 1996: 8; Rimmon-Kenan, 2002: 3). These categories function as a framework for structuring the study of the processes of translation: all the cases and examples will be discussed in their appropriate narrative level for presentational and argumentative reasons.

Narratological analysis has proved to be more productive in the case of *Iarlles* given that the tale shows more disagreement with the source at the level of the story and the text. Particularly operative for assessing its dependence on *Yvain* has been the comparison of narrative motivation. Motivation, in its basic definition, is fictional causality: an element is motivated if it has a function in the literary text that contributes to the development of the *fabula* (Rimmon-Kenan, 2002: 19). According to Culler, reading means to naturalize the text, "to bring the text into relation with a type of discourse or model which is already, in some sense, natural and legible" (2002: 162). The network of motivations generates verisimilitude (*vraisemblance*); in other words, motivation constitutes the narrative as a network of causal relations and generates narrative coherence. This is important in the analysis of *Iarlles* and *Yvain* because both texts generate a different fictional verisimilitude and also because certain

incoherencies and inconsistencies in *Iarlles* can be explained by recourse to the source, i.e. to *Yvain*.

There are many ways in which a text expresses the logical and causal relations of its events:[123] story motivations, i.e. motivational elements that are part of the story (an aspect of the character's nature or an object noted in the text) and that contribute to the constitution of a fictional world; narrator motivation introduced by the narrator, general laws that justify facts, or appeals to the realm of common knowledge; recipient motivation, which imply the activation of a common frame between the author and the reader (or audience) and rely on common knowledge; actional motivation, an action that generates disequilibrium and narrative tension, and must be followed by another until some form of equilibrium is attained (to some extent, this is a form of recipient motivation since we expect causality from the 'real world' to operate in the same way in a fictional text).

Apart from narratology, our critical stance was informed by reception theory and the associated reader-response criticism, also known as reader-oriented theories.[124] No literary study can prosper now without including the reader or, in the case of most of medieval literature (which was read aloud or performed), the receiver or audience. These perspectives have drawn attention to the relationship between text and reader/receptor (understanding reception as textual and not only social or historical, as a mental library) and the role that it plays in the construction of meaning. According to Iser, meaning is not in the text or imposed solely by the reader but results from the interaction of both text and reader (1981).[125] He put forward the concept of 'implicit reader' which is defined simultaneously as a textual entity and as the process of producing meaning, comprising both the pre-structuration of potential meaning and its concretization by the reader. To a great extent, reading implies filling gaps of the text but, for communication to happen, the activity of the reader needs to be controlled by the text. For this author, the text directs the reader towards a certain direction by means of 'schematised aspects' that restrict the potentially infinite number of possibilities.

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[123] We follow here Schultz (1987: 208-213). Cf. Culler (2002: 164 and ff.), who poses five levels of *vraisemblance* which partly overlap with the categories explained here: 1) the real world (a socially given text); 2) a general cultural text, share knowledge; 3) texts or conventions of genre; 4) the text explicitly cites and exposes *vraisemblance*; 5) intertextualities. 1) can be associated to actional motivation, 2) to narrator motivation, 3) and 5) to recipient motivation, and 4) to story motivation.

[124] It is outside the scope of this thesis to give a full discussion of these theories or of their subsequent developments. For the different approaches within reader-response criticism see Bennett (1995: 1-19). The more important collection of essays are Tompkins (1980) and Suleiman and Crosman (1980). For an updated presentation see Rabinowitz (2008).

[125] Another important contribution in the field is Eco (1993). For a comprehensive account of the School of Constance, the German academic movement to which Iser and Jauss pertained, see Holub (2008).

Jauss, from a slightly different branch of reception theories (*Rezeptionsästhetik*), coined the notion of *Erwartungshorizont* or 'horizon of expectations' as a way to transcend the dichotomy of Marxism v. Russian formalism, otherwise expressed as traditional historical studies v. immanent criticism (Jauss, 1978: 21-80). The 'horizon of expectations' is a mind-set that a hypothetical individual brings to the text as an intersubjective system or structure of expectations made of implicit references, common knowledge, and past readings. In "Littérature médiévale et théorie des genres" he defined it as a "ensemble de règles préexistant" – a tradition or a group of known works – "pour orienter la comprehension du lecteur (du public) et lui permettre une réception appréciative" (1970 : 82). One of the ways in which the horizon can be materialised is through the examination of the literary text in relation to other familiar works from its literary inheritance and/or genre, and from its historical time. It is under this premise that we have paid special attention to the network of related works (or literary system), the function of *Iarlles and Cân Rolant* within it and their relationship with other texts.

Along these lines, in order to assess the reception of the texts and the way that they were read and understood, it is useful and almost necessary to look into the mechanisms and the manners in which an image of the audience is configured throughout the tales; subsequently, we can compare that image to what we know about the historical people that commissioned and/or listened to them.[126] For this purpose we followed Allen's distinction (1994), based on the theories explained above, between a) the audience within the text, addressed by the narrator, also conceptualized as 'narratee'; b) the audience implied by the narrative mode of the text, essentially an "ideal audience" capable of recognizing the stylistic subtleties of style; and c) the historical audience most likely to have responded to those textual conditions. The study of the narratee was first undertaken by Prince, who defined it as a fictive creation, someone who the narrator addresses, either directly or indirectly, whose 'zero-degree' implies knowledge of the langue and language of the narrator, and knowledge of the narrative grammar (1980). The 'implied audience' is analogous to Iser's 'implicit reader', although more focused on the narrative aspect. Its counterpart is the 'implied author', the construct that manifest itself through all the voices in the text.

[126] This is a particularly difficult task as regards *Iarlles*, since very little is known about its audience. We will tackle this problem by analysing the inscription of the implied audience in the text and comparing the results with what we know about patrons and commissioners of texts in thirteenth century Wales (see chapter 7, p. 199).

5.6 Closing remarks

All of the above seek to clearly establish that the concept of translation studies and the different branches of reception theory inform the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Narratology derives ultimately from Structuralism and Russian Formalism, but it was considered here only as a method for analysing narratives and as an intelligible vocabulary to discuss literary artefacts. This was especially relevant for the study of *Iarlles*, due to the fact that the text differs radically, at the level of the *text* and, at a lesser degree, of the *story*, from its source, *Yvain*. In contrast, since *Cân Rolant* can be paralleled on a textual basis to *La chanson de Roland*, it demanded a different approach. For this reason, we resorted to analytical tools from DTS and related theories. A case in point is Machan's research on lexical change in Chaucer's translation of Boccaccio, from whence we reprised three modes of transference from the SL to the TL: substitution of a native word for a source word (which can be predictable, unpredictable, calques or idioms), circumlocutory ways of expressing source words (doublets) or adoption of the source word (either as a native derivative or as a neologism) (1985: 14).

Although this critical standpoint may seem rather eclectic, all these theories address one aspect of the text *as a translation*: narratology focuses on the (fundamental) textual aspect, reception theory on reception and transmission, translation studies on describing and explaining the cultural transference between SL and TL. It is important to stress that the methodology that derives from this combination, which has not been hitherto employed for the study of Middle Welsh translations, will contribute to an understanding of the processes of translation of *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant*, and to a methodology of translation in Medieval Wales in general.

PART IV

CASE STUDIES

6. Translating the "matière de France": The case of *Cân Rolant*

In chapter 4 we stated that the model of the Middle Welsh translation of *La chanson de Roland*, known as *Cân Rolant,* was a text that followed in the main the extant Oxford version but which also had traces of the text of Venice 4. Conceivably, it might have been an exemplar very close to β, the branch of manuscripts from whence Venice 4 derive and which, at the same time, descends from the common ancestor of both Oxford and Venice 4 (chapter 4, p. 65). Consequently, the *fabula* of both texts coincides. Likewise the *story*: events are arranged in mostly the same order and characterization tends to follow the same principal lines. Most changes are introduced at the level of the *text*, the actual written discourse produced by a narrator to tell the *story*. Using the Oxford and Venice 4 versions of *La chanson de Roland* as source texts we will focus on the generic and linguistic constraints operating during the process of translation. Indeed, Translation Studies provide a set of analytical tools that will allow us to examine and comprehend the translational strategies employed, and the changes prompted by – broadly speaking – contextual differences such as circumstances of textual production and consumption as can be apparent in the texts.

Therefore the first part of this chapter will focus on the Welsh translation at a macro-textual level: narrative structure, point of view, and all the changes introduced by the translator at this level, whether omissions, replacements or additions, will be examined. The second part will move towards the micro-textual level where modifications in lexical items, syntax and style will be discussed. At this point it is worth remembering the contention that certain traits define a sort of 'translation style' against a 'native style' (chapter 5, p. 75). Hence it will be very important to test these assumptions. Moreover, since it has been posited that the tale had a fluid textual transmission throughout the Middle Ages, textual variants between the manuscripts will be inspected, notably from the Red Book and the White Book.[127] This will also help to strengthen the interpretations arising from the findings. Finally, given that the accumulation of modifications at the level of the *text* produce and contribute to thematic and ideological shifts the last section will deal systematically with the tale as a whole. In this way, micro and macro levels will be compared and norms will be identified, as well as intertextual and intersystemic relations with other genres and codes. Most

[127] All quotations from the Red Book version of the Charlemagne texts are from S. Williams (1968), and references are to page and line. For the White Book version we quote from Thomas, Smith, and Luft (2013); references are to column and line number.

significantly, the main aim will be to distinguish between general norms or universal norms and those that pertain to this particular text-type or mode of translation. In the end, the *process* of translation will be analysed as well as the *product* of that process.

Broadly speaking, the Welsh *Rolant* presents an abridged version of two episodes of the *La chanson de Roland*, namely, Ganelon's treason and the Battle of Roncevaux, the latter being given clear prominence in the Welsh version. Indeed, of the one hundred and seven sections into which Annalee Rejhon divides *Cân Rolant*, half are concerned with the battle between Rolant's rearguard and the Saracen army. The rest of the chief episodes – Charlemagne's return and triumph over the pagans, which includes the Baligant episode and Ganelon's trial – are subsumed within the Welsh *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*.[128] Evidently the translator was mainly interested in the battle at Roncevaux for his purpose of compiling Carolingian material.

6.1 General shift: genre

Before proceeding to the core of the discussion, it is important to say a few words about one fundamental shift that impinges on all levels of the translation (macro and micro): the generic shift. It is possible, thus, to anticipate certain behaviour (which will be fully addressed in part 4): understandably, all the traits that were acknowledged to belong to the epic genre in chapter 4 (p. 55 and ff.) need to be considered as context-bound elements susceptible of being misunderstood, or dismissed as irrelevant or unnecessary by the translator. It is difficult to tell how much he recognized of the formal features of OF epic, or how interested he was in them or upon what means he could rely to deal with them. Many of the changes that will be discussed in the next section are prompted by the incompatibility of accommodating OF epic techniques into Middle Welsh prose narrative. It can be asserted with certainty that the focus was on the story to be told and the values transmitted by it. As will be seen in section 2.5, some topics discussed in the Anglo-Norman narrative were familiar to Welsh tradition and were thereby developed to satisfy the potential audience.

The first and foremost genre-related change is the shift of decasyllabic *laisses* into prose. All translations into Middle Welsh involve this shift, partly related to the non-

[128] The transitional line runs as follows: "A gwedy na welei ef neb yn y gylch, ef a dywanod ar Sarascin du dyffygyawl yn llechu y mywn llwyn, a'e dala a oruc" (S. Williams, 1968: 155, 1-3) [And when he [Rolant] saw no one around, he came upon an exhausted black Sarracen hiding in a bush, and he overtook him, my translation].

existence of a narrative tradition in verse within Welsh literature, although narrative elements can certainly be found in poetry. This gives the translator a greater flexibility in the treatment of his exemplar since he does not have any metrical or prosodic constraints. The shift to prose also affects syntax, wording and word-emphasis due to position in the line. Other genre-related changes include typical features of an epic poem that will be analysed in the following pages. Even the role of the narrator is directly affected by these variations.

6.2 Unit of translation

Is it possible to define the unit of translation, i.e. is it possible to assess how the translator broke down the text in order to accomplish his task? He did definitely not proceed from verse to verse, or from any other small unit. For that reason there are no direct correspondences between Anglo-Norman verses and Middle Welsh lines in the majority of cases. The translator certainly knew the whole tale before undertaking his task, a fact which surfaces in the way he summarises passages, interprets situations, and anticipates events. Hence it will be argued that the unit of translation was the *laisse*, for several reasons: it was the basic unit of the epic poem, a coherent set of lines that addressed a topic, an action or an episode, and just as the verse, in the syntagmatic level of the *laisse*, possesses independence of meaning by itself, likewise the *laisse* in the context of the poem represents a complete entity.[129] This also explains why one is able to pair chunks of text from *Cân Rolant* with *laisses* of *La chanson de Roland* as Rejhon did in her edition. Consequently, the *laisse* will act as the 'problem'-segment that needs to be resolved by the translator, i.e. the coupled pair of replacing and replaced segments (Toury, 1995: 96). Despite this, there are very few cases in which it is possible to match an Anglo-Norman verse and its Middle Welsh counterpart; they will be discussed in section 2, 'The micro-textual level'. In those other cases where more than one *laisse* addressed the same object, due to repetition or exemplification of an important event, the translator tends to take them as only one translational segment, resulting in abbreviation. We will return to this shortly.

6.3 Macro-textual level

This part will deal with what is called the *story* in narratological terms. First the narrative structure of *Cân Rolant* will be examined and some conclusions will be drawn.

[129] In Boutet's words: "La laisse demeure donc, le plus souvent, l'instrument de composition et de structuration spécifique" (1993: 172).

Then, additions, abbreviations, and shifts of meaning will be studied. The reason for their inclusion at this level is that they traverse the entire text and depend on decisions at a higher level than vocabulary, syntax or style. They give shape to the structure of the text and contribute significantly to the characterisation of the point of view and the ideological framework. In any case, these (and others) are not rigid categories so a certain degree of overlap may be expected.

6.3.1 Narrative structure

In order to properly assess the number of additions, omissions, and changes made by the translator it will be useful to have a chart of the basic narrative structure of the Welsh and the French texts. As is evident, the point of departure is the Welsh text itself. Reference will also be made to the Venice 4 version since some passages of *Cân Rolant* accord with this version rather than with Oxford.[130]

Cân Rolant	*La chanson de Roland* Oxford version[131]	*La chanson de Roland* Venice 4 version[132]
Prologue/recapitulation [i]	Charles has been in Spain for seven years and has conquered all the cities except for Saragossa, held by Marsile [1]	**Reference to a *geste* of Saint Denis [1]**
Episode: Ganelon's treason		
The council of Marsli: plot to deceive Charlemagne by treachery [ii-iv]	The council of Marsile: plot to defeat Charlemagne by treachery [2-4]	[2-4]
Ten messengers are appointed to go as ambassadors to Charlemagne. Gifts are prepared [v-vi]	Ten messengers are appointed **by name. Olive branches are given to them**. The gifts are prepared [5-7]	[5-7]
Pagan embassy speaks to Charlemagne in Cordova. The kings ask for a warranty and Balacawnt promises twenty	Pagan embassy speaks to Charlemagne in Cordova. The kings ask for a warranty and	[8-9]

[130] In the following chart, bold letters are used for indicating scenes from *La chanson de Roland,* Oxford and / or Venice 4 version, not present in *Cân Rolant,* a grey shade for scenes unique to *Cân Rolant*, and italics for episodes shared by the Venice 4 version and *Cân Rolant*.
[131] For a concordance of all the versions of *La Chanson de Roland* see Duggan *et al.* (2005: 41-124). References are to *laisses*.
[132] Since this version follows Oxford, only particular elements will be mentioned.

hostages [vii-ix]	Balacawnt promises twenty hostages [8-10]	
The council of Charlemagne: Rolant, Gwenlwyd and Prince Naym's expositions [x-xiv]	The council of Charlemagne: Roland, Ganelon and Neimes's arguments [11-16]	[10-13] The equivalents of Oxford *laisses* 10-12 are omitted.
Designation of Frankish ambassador [xv-xx] -Rolant proposes himself [xv] -Oliver proposes himself [xv] -Turpin proposes himself [xvi] -Rolant proposes Gwenlwyd. Everyone agrees [xvii] -Charlemagne commends him with the honour. Gwenlwyd's public claim of revenge [xviii] -Gwenlwyd accepts the order and entrusts his son to the king [xix] -Gwenlwyd rips off his mantle and argues with Rolant [xx]	Designation of Frankish ambassador [17-23] **-Neimes proposes himself [17]** -Roland proposes himself [18] -Olivier proposes himself [18] -Turpin proposes himself [19] -Roland proposes Ganelon, who rips off his mantle and argues with him [20] **-Ganelon continues to argue with Roland. Roland laughs back at him [21]** **-Ganelon is very angry because of Roland's laugh [22]** -Ganelon accepts his fate and trusts his son to the king [23]	[14-20] Naymo proposes himself [14] Rollant proposes himself [15] Oliver proposes himself [15] Trepin proposes himself [16] Rollant proposes Gayno. Every agrees [17] Charlemagne confirms Gayno's designation [18] Gayno entrusts his son to the king [19] Gayno rips off his mantle and argues with Rollant. Rollant laughs [20]
Charlemagne gives Gwenlwyd the letter with his orders and he drops it. Oral message from Charlemagne to supplement the letter (includes half of Spain to Rolant). Gwenlwyd departs [xxi-xxiii]	**Charlemagne gives Ganelon the staff and the glove.** Ganelon publicly challenges Roland. He drops the glove. Then he departs [24-27]	Gayno is angry at Rollant and publicly challenges him, Oliver and the Twelve Peers. He drops the glove. Then he asks for permission to leave [21-22] "En sa man destra volt recevere lo guant. / Cuital tener: el fo caçá avant. (vv. 257-8)
Balacawnt and Gwenlwyd converse while riding together to the pagan's camp. They make a pact to betray Rolant to death [xxiii-xxvii]	Blancandrin and Ganelon converse whilst riding together to the pagan's camp. Pact between them to kill Roland [28-31]	**[Gayno addresses his horse, 23]** [24-27]
Gwenlwyd's embassy to Marsli	Ganelon's embassy to	[28-31]

[xxviii-xxxiii]	Marsile [32-37]	
The council of Marsil: Gwenlwyd betrays the Franks and plans Roland's death at the rearguard. Oath on the book of Mahumet's law [xxxiv-xl]	The council of Marsile: Ganelon betrays the Franks and plans Roland's death at the rearguard. Oath [38-47]	[32-41]
The pagans make gifts to Gwenlwyd as exchange for his help to kill Rolant and defeat Charlemagne [xli-xliv]	The pagans make gifts to Ganelon for helping them defeat the Franks [48-51]	[42-45]
Conversation between Gwenlwyd and Marsil: agreement and friendship [xlv]	Conversation between Gwenlwyd and Marsil: agreement and friendship [52]	[46]
Gwenlwyd returns to the Frankish camp and speaks to Charlemagne. He congratulates him for the accomplishment of a deal with the pagans. The Franks prepare to return to France [xlvi]	**Charlemagne awaits Ganelon at Valterne.** Ganelon arrives in the morning. Charlemagne receives Ganelon and congratulates him for the accomplishment of a deal with the pagans. The Franks prepare to return to France [53-54]	[47-49]
Battle of Roncesvaux		
Night camp. The pagans follow unnoticed the Frankish army. Charlemagne's dreams [xlvii-xlix]	The Franks ride back to France followed by the pagans. Charlemagne's dreams [55-57]	[50-51]
Designation of the commander of the rearguard and of the vanguard [l]	Designation of the commander of the rearguard and of the vanguard [58]	[52]
Dispute between Rolant and Gwenlwyd. Rolant asks for the bow and Charlemagne grants it, along with part of his cavalry. Rolant is upset because the help gives him *kewilyd* [li-liv].	Dispute between Roland and Ganelon. Roland asks for the bow and Charlemagne grants it. Roland accepts only 20.000 knights **because he does not want to eclipse his *geste*** [59-64]	[53-56]
Rolant arms himself and summons the Franks [lv-lvi]	Enumeration of Roland's companions [64-65]	**[Arming of Rollant, 57]** [58-59] **[Anticipation of the Battle of Roncesvaux by the narrator, 60]**

The Franks return to France. Charlemagne is sorrowful [lvii-lviii]	The Franks cross the Pyrenees. Charlemagne is sorrowful [66-67]	[61-63]
The pagan army gets ready [lix-lxii]	The pagan army gets ready. **Enumeration of the Twelve pagan peers. They brag and insult the Christians** [68-78]	[64-74]
Oliver sees the pagan army from a hill, realises Gwenlwyd's treachery, alerts and encourages the Franks [lxiii-lxv]	Oliver hears and then sees the pagan army, realises Ganelon's treachery, alerts and encourages the Franks [79-82]	[75-78]
Horn scenes [lxvi-lxviii]	Horn scenes [83-85]	[79-81]
Oliver states that he will not be responsible for the defeat of the Franks [lxix]	Oliver/Roland dialogue. **'Roland est proz e Oliver est sage' [86-87]**	[82-84]
Frankish knights' sorrow and reconciliation [lxx]		
Division and arrangement of the pagan and Christian armies [lxxi-lxxii]		
The Franks prepare for battle. Harangues from Turpin and Oliver [lxxiii-lxxvi]	The Franks prepare for battle. Harangues from Turpin, Roland and Oliver [88-92]	[85-88]
First clash. Personal combats: Temporal victory for the Christians[lxxvi-lxxxix][133]	First clash. Personal combats: **challenge and insults**. Temporal victory for the Christians. **Anticipation of Genelon's trial** [93-109]	[89-106]
	Presages of the defeat	**[107]**

[133] Laisse 99 is absent from *Cân Rolant*; it recounts the death of Turgis de Turteluse (one of the Twelve Pagans Peers) at the hands of Anseïs in between the killings of Gereint and Gerart and Engeler. Laisse 106, however, wherein Oliver kills Malsaron, Turgis and Esturguz is paralleled in paragraph lxxxvi, with the exception of the death of the latter. On account of this, there seems to be two "Turgis" in *La chanson de Roland*. Could this repetition have prompted the omission of laisse 99? Venice 4 narrates Anseïs' attack upon Torquin de Tortolose (96) and Oliver's upon Falsiron but changes the name of the last two pagans to Storgen and Storgion (102). The latter change was probably caused by the assonance (in *o*) but the modification of Turgis for Storgen cannot be explained for this same reason. On the contrary, maybe the translator realised the repetition of the name – which could lead to narrative incoherence – and decided to change it. This same reasoning may have been followed by the Welsh translator who, for his part, decided to excise the passage altogether.

	of the rearguard and of Roland's death [110]	**[Reference to the *geste* of Saint Denis 108]**
First victory of the Franks. Coming of pagan reinforcements [xc]	First victory of the Franks. Coming of pagan reinforcements [111]	**[Description of the field of battle 109-110]** **[111] [Reference to *geste Francor*]**
Narrator's outburst. Anticipation of Gwenlwyd's trial [xci]		
Margarit flees to Marsli and advices him to send more battalions [xcii-xciii]		*Malçaris flees to Marsilio and asks him to send reinforcements [112-113]*
Marsli plans to ambush the Franks [xciv]	Marsile plans to ambush the Franks [112]	[114]
Division of the pagan battalions [xcv]		
The Franks are discouraged. Second clash of armies [xcvi]	The Franks are discouraged. Second clash of armies [113]	[115] **[Grandonio joins the battle, 116-117-118]**
Pagans kill Christians and Christians kill pagans alternately [xcvii-ciii]	Pagans kill Christians and Christians kill pagans alternately [114-120]	[119-125]
Victory of the pagans. Rolant's sorrow and wrath [civ]	Victory of the pagans. Rolant's sorrow and wrath [121]	[126]
Rolant kills Grandon, the commander of the reinforcements. The pagan host retreats [cv-cvi]	Roland kills Grandonie [122]	[127]
Victory of the Franks [cvii]	Triumph of the Franks. **The pagans claim for help to Marsile [123]**	[128]
	The pagans flee [124]. Marsile returns [125]	**[129]**

Several conclusions can be drawn from this chart. First, the omission of material contained in eighteen *laisses*, which represent approximately 14% of the poem.[134] Despite the

[134] Rejhon asserts that "a division of the Welsh text into paragraph sections corresponding to the *laisse* divisions of O [Oxford] and V4 [Venice 4] shows that only six paragraphs out of 106 in the Welsh text have no corresponding *laisses* in O, and only eight lack counterparts in V4" (1981: 235). There seems to be an error in these figures in the number of paragraphs of the Welsh text, which account for 107 in Rejhon's edition, not 106. The other figures cannot be verified either. Following Rejhon's edition (wherein, it is assumed, she based her calculations), paragraph sections without corresponding laisses in Oxford amount to seven (xcii, xciii, xcv, xcvi, lxx, lxxi, lxxii), likewise with those with no parallel to V4 (ix, x, xxiii, xxiv, lxx, lxxi, lxxii). Three paragraphs overlap because they were introduced by the Welsh translator.

difficulties of comparing stanzas with passages written in prose, this figure can give us an idea of proportions. The translator retained most of the narrative units: he worked by extracting the main event or idea from the *laisse* and retelling it briefly in his own style, as we will see throughout this chapter.[135] Some sections absent from the Oxford version have nonetheless correspondences in Venice 4, hence they were probably in the source used by the Welsh translator. This is also apparent in the arrangements of two episodes which follow a slightly different order: the designation of Gwenlwyd as ambassador to the pagans (sections xvii-xx) and the second combat at Roncevaux. In the first, the cue is Gwenlwyd taking off his mantle before challenging Roland, a symbolic gesture that indicates the importance of the words to come, which occur at the beginning of the section in *La chanson de Roland* but almost at the end in *Cân Rolant* and all the other French versions including the Norse one. The author of the Oxford version could have misplaced or intentionally moved Ganelon's speech. The second change occurs before the start of the second clash of armies. Most interventionist editors of the Anglo-Norman poem (like Short, but not Segre) rearrange the *laisses*, bringing one forward, so that the outcome looks exactly like the Welsh tale. But if we take the manuscript as the departing point, then we see that approximately 43 verses are omitted (vv. 1467-1510 of Segre's edition, corresponding to Short's *laisses* 125-6 after the adjustment, with the account of the personal combat between Turpin and Abisme that happens when Marsile's battalions arrive at Roncevaux) and that the translation is following an exemplar similar to Venice 4. The episode of Margarit returning to Marsli is introduced, and the pagan's army joins the battle field with its leader Grandon at an earlier point in the narrative. All in all, in view of the significant distance from the Oxford version at this point, it will be important to examine the material carefully if we want to avoid arriving at wrong conclusions. Lastly, the only section that was undoubtedly introduced by the Welsh translator in its entirety is lxx, the Frankish knights' sorrow.[136]

To this narrative structure also belongs the division of the text. Duggan (1973: 63-7) cogently posits that the poem was divided into four blocks of narrative, separated by an "articulation motif" at the beginning of each, comprising similar elements that serve to update

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[135] Note that this general tendency to shorten the source text characterises also the Norse translation (Halvorsen, 1959: 112) and *Iarlles* (see chapter 7).

[136] Cf. Rejhon: "That these additional paragraphs, far from being the invention of the Welsh translator, were present in some form in the wider Roland tradition follows from the fact that some of the information conveyed in them appears in Konrad's *Ruolantes Liet* (= K), though dispersed dissimilarly throughout the first horn scene" (1981: 235).

the audience; each block corresponds to a sitting.[137] This is intimately connected with the oral transmission of the text. *Cân Rolant*, on the other hand, is a translation based on a *written* text, conceivably composed for an aristocratic audience. It was included in a compilation of Carolingian material, within a text which was considered a historical narrative (the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*). If it was read out aloud, as we assume other middle Welsh prose tales were, then it was under different circumstances to the Anglo-Norman text: sittings must have varied, along with the type of audience (according to Rychner (1955), *La chanson de Roland* was recited in fairs to all sorts of people), and the identification of the story as 'national' past, with all that this implies in the actual configuration of the text, resulted in a completely different transmission.[138] Finally, it should be noted that narrative units and transitions between major episodes are marked by connectives that reorganize and set the new scene-setting time and space. As will be addressed in section 6.3.2, this is consistent with storytelling techniques in the *Mabinogion*-corpus, which contain traces of oral narrative tradition. Note that along with these we find integrative subordinate clauses which characterises written style.

6.3.2 Abridgement

Despite the fact that most of the episodes of *La chanson de Roland* are retained in *Cân Rolant*, it is evident that the translator tended to abridge the ST. In Barthes' classical terminology, "noyaux" (kernels) or "fonctions cardinales", i.e. units of the tale that "constituent de véritables charnières du récit", which open a new alternative in the story are retained, whereas "catalyses" that "ne font que remplir l'espace narratif qui sépare les fonctions-charnières" tend to be elided (1966: 9). Of course these concepts need to be considered in the light of medieval narrative, where supposedly catalysis events play a major part at a symbolic level, like gestures. The mechanism of abbreviation works in different ways. The simplest form of abbreviation is omission. Amongst the most noticeable omissions are proper names of characters, places, swords, and horses. The translator also tends to get rid

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[137] "On the narrative plane, the four large movements of the plot are each composed of a series of actions termed motifs, themselves composed of formulas. In actual performance, the largest division is the sitting, a segment of the poem sung before an audience as a continuous presentation (…) To the analytic sequence of narrative levels, theme-motif-formula, corresponds the sequence of performance, sitting-laisse-hemistich" (Duggan, 1973: 67).

[138] The implicit audience and author will be discussed in section 6.4.

of superfluous details, repetitions and superficial descriptions;[139] in this way, extensive parts of the narrative are excised even when every chief episode is retained.

All the epic techniques that contribute to develop dramatic moments or nuances of characters by way of repetition alone or repetition with slight variation are perceived simply as reiteration without aesthetic value and are 'cleansed' from the narrative. The same happens to long enumerations of names that could have evoked important meanings or stories to a French audience but that would have distanced a Welsh recipient. Thus, for example, the first and the last verses of the successive *laisses* 5 and 6, verses 62-3 and 77-8 respectively ("Dïent paien: 'Issi poet il ben estre' / Li reis Marsilie out sun conseil finét" and "Dïent paien: 'Bien dit nostre avoéz' / "Li reis Marsilie out finét sun cunseil" [The pagan say: "This can well be!" / lit. King Marsile his council finished // The pagan say: "Our lord speaks well!" / lit. King Marsile finished his council]) are disposed of. Likewise, the enumeration of Roland's eleven companions (Oliver, Gerin, Gerer, Ote, Berenger, Sansun, Anseïs, Gerart de Russillon, Gaifier, Archbishop Turpin and Gualter) is replaced by the statement "Oliuer, y vydlonaf gedymdeith, ac y am hynny y Deudec Gogyuurd a doethant yn diannot attaw, ac y gyt ac wynteu Turpin Archescob…" (LV) [Oliuer, his most faithful companion, and in addition the Twelve Peers, and together with them Archbishop Turpin]. As is apparent, this change produces an error regarding the number of Rolant's followers: Oliver plus the Twelve Peers plus Turpin equals fourteen. Moreover, the count of the ten Saracen leaders is summarised with a synecdoche "yd ychwanegwyt dec cledyf ereill" (LXII) [ten other blades were added] whereas in *La chanson de Roland* all except two are introduced in a different *laisse*: Corsablis de Barbarins and Malprimis de Brigal (l. 71); Balaguez (l. 72); uns almaçurs de Morïane (l. 73); Turgis de Turtelise (l. 74); Escremiz de Valterne (l. 75); Esturganz and Estramariz (l. 76); Margariz de Sibilie (l 77); Chernubles de Muneigre (l. 78). The same happens with the names of the Saracens summoned to be ambassadors to Charlemagne: "Riuaw naw ketymdeith a wnaethpwyt idaw..." (V) [Nine companions were counted for him] instead of the naming of each pagan, Clarin de Balaguét, Estramariz, Eudropin, Prïamun, Guarlan, Machiner, Maheu, Joüner, Malbien d'Ultremer, Blancandrins. Note that here the excision is carefully accomplished: *La chanson de Rolant* counts up to ten names and summarises the counting by stating "Des plus feluns dis en ad apelez" (69) [He addresses

[139] Cf. Rikhardsdottir's (2012) comments on the Old Norse version.

these ten of his most ruthless men]; as quoted above, the translator wisely added the number of companions to the previously named character.

Some *laisses similaires* link three *laisses*, such as 40-42*,* where Marsile asks Ganelon how to defeat Charlemagne. This scene is repeated with variation three times, using a common stylistic epic device of repetition and progression. Each answer shows certain psychological progression revealing Ganelon's hostility towards Roland and his subsequent plan to betray the Franks. To the contrary, the Welsh tale summarizes the episode in one long section of twenty four printed lines (the majority of the sections have less than ten lines) omitting this *crescendo.* The same topics are addressed in each text but the Welsh translator omits these repetitions:

<table>
<tr><th>La chanson de Roland</th><th>Cân Rolant (xxxvi)</th></tr>
<tr><td>L. 40 Marsilie grants his friendship to Ganelon and enquires about Charlemagne: he is old (he is hoary and must be more than two hundred years old) and has battled a lot in numerous places (his shield has taken too many blows, he has converted many kings into beggars), when will he rest?
Ganelon: Charlemagne is not to blame, he is brave and noble, will die for his men.</td><td rowspan="3">Marsli wants to bind himself in friendship with Gwenlwyd which implies sharing advice. He enquires about Charlemagne: his grey hair shows that he is old (two hundred years old); he is weary of battle (he has conquered many kingdoms and defeated many kings). When will he rest?
Gwenlwyd: no youth can stand against Charlemagne; he has many good qualities and has obtained many talents [donyeu] from God. "Ny dywedaf i, hagen, na ellit pylu y ruthr ef ychydic pei gostygit Rolant" (litotes). Rolant, and Oliver, and the Twelve Peers and twenty thousand knights protect the rear; no one dares to face them. Rolant is tried [brouedic], renowned [honneit], and invincible [anorchyuygedic].</td></tr>
<tr><td>L. 41 Marsilie: enquiries about Charlemagne (he is old and has battled in many places, taken many blows of lance and sword, and reduced many kings to begging), when will he rest?
Ganelon: Charlemagne will never stop fighting until his nephew dies, and Oliver and the Twelve Peers who support him, and the rest of the rearguard of twenty thousand knights</td></tr>
<tr><td>L. 42 Marsilie: enquiries about Charlemagne (he is old and has battled in many places, taken many sword strikes and defeated and killed many mighty kings), when will he rest?
Ganelon: Charlemagne will never stop until Rolant is dead and Oliver and the Twelve Peers who support him, and the rest of the rearguard of twenty thousand knights</td></tr>
</table>

The example shows how the three Anglo-Normand *laisses* are reduced to one section in the Welsh version.[140] The subject of the episode, the important information, has been conveyed in each case: Marsile asks Ganelon how to defeat Charlemagne, Ganelon responds that it can be achieved by defeating Roland. In *La chanson de Roland* this is expressed by a set of stanzas that are characterized by repetition and progression; in *Cân Rolant* the iteration of Marsli's questions are excised and Gwenlwyd's answer is digested. It can be argued that part of this

[140] A similar omission can be found in the Old Norse translation (Hieatt, 1980: 241).

process of condensation of Ganelon's word still retains a certain nuance by the employment of the litotes. This double negative, "Ny dywedaf i, hagen, na ellit pylu y ruthr ef ychydic pei gostygit Rolant" ["I will not say, however, that his assault could not be blunted a little if Rolant were subdued"] may perhaps convey a hesitation on Gwenlwyd's part on condemning Rolant immediately.

On the side of the Saracens, the terms of peace – repeated four times in *La chanson de Roland* – are only stated three times in the Welsh tale. In *La chanson de Roland*, repetitions contribute to drama and expressiveness. But for the Welsh translator, this omission may have implied the avoidance of the awkward situation in which Marsli repeats to Balacawnt his *own* original plan. Instead, the narrator states "yd erchis Marsli Vrenin y Vlacawnt kwplau o writhret y dechymic" (V) [King Marsli asked Blacawnt to carry out his plan by deed].

Another type of abbreviation is summarisation, that is, a procedure employed by the translator whereby he renders the meaning of the ST in slightly different words, rearranging the information under an economic bias: greatest amount of meaning with fewer words. This method of working is easily perceived in *Cân Rolant*, as the following case in point will illustrate:

Tant li preierent li meillor Sarrazin	Y gwyr prudaf a agrefftiassant Varsli,
Qu'el faldestoed s'est Marsilies asis.	
Dist l'algalifes : 'Mal nos avez baillit	gan dywedut idaw bot yn gewilyd
Que le Franceis asmastes a ferir;	mawr codi kennat ac na warandawer
Lui doüssez esculter e oïr.'	y emadrodeon heb gywira.
'Sire', dist Guenes, 'mei l'avent a suffrir.	"Mynno na vynno ef, dir vyd idaw
Jo ne lerreie, por tut l'or que Deus fist	warandaw," eb y Gwenlwyd,
Ne tut l' aveir Id seit en cest païs,	"gorchymyn Chiarlymaen y gennyf vi,
Que ne li dïe, se tant ai de leisir,	ony daw ym ageu yn y blaen; ac ef a ryd
Que Charlemagnes, li reis poësteïfs,	ettwa ostec y'r ymadrawd o'e dechreu."
Par mei li mandet, sun mortel enemi.'	
Afublez est d'un mantel sabelin	A diosc y vantell dros uwnwgyl
Ki fut cuvert d'un palie alexandrin;	
Getet l'a tere, si l' receit Blancandrin.	
Mais de s'espee ne volt mie guerpir :	a daly y gledyf yn y law. (xxxi)
En sun puign destre par l'orié punt la tint.	
Dïent paien: 'Noble baron ad ci!' (454-467)	

The highest-ranking Saracens entreat him so	The wisest men rebuked Marsli,
that Marsile sits down on the throne.	saying to him that it was a great
The caliph says: "You have compromised us	shame that a messenger be offended and that his
by threatening to strike the Frenchman;	words not be heard without quarreling
You should have listened and paid attention to what he said".	"Whether he wants to or does not want to,
"Sire", says Ganelon, "I have to put up with this.	he must," said Gwenlwyd,
I would not neglect, for all the gold that God made	"hear Chiarlymaen's command from me,
or all the wealth that this land holds,	unless death come to me first; and he will again
to say, if I have the opportunity,	accord silence to the speech from its beginning."
what Charlemagne, the mighty king,	

informs him, his mortal enemy, through me".
He is dressed in a sable-lined cloak
covered with Alexandrian silk brocade;
he throws it to the ground and Blancandrin picks it up.
But he does not wish to give up his sword:
he grips it in his right hand by the gilded pommel.
The pagans say: "This is noble baron!".

And he stripped off his mantle over his neck
and held his sword in his hand.

The sequence of kernel events can be outlined in the following way:

(1) Reprimand of Marsli by his men
(2) Firm response by Gwenlwyd about his duty as ambassador from Charlemagne
(3) Stripping of his mantle and retention of sheathed sword.

Having said that, if the catalysts of *La chanson de Roland* are added, the sequence would be completed thus:

(1) a) Pagans rebuke Marsile; b) Marsile sits down; c) Falsaron recalls Marsile of the obligations towards a foreign ambassador;
(2) Ganelon affirms his responsibility as Charlemagne's messenger;
(3) a) Ganelon strips off his mantle; b) Blancandrins picks up the mantle; b) Ganelon keeps his sword in his hand; c) Pagans admire Ganelon because of his bravery.

Cân Rolant retains events 1a, 2, and 3a which are, as has been shown, the core of the event, the kernel actions. For the rest, 1b is unnecessary for the continuity of the story; in *La chanson de Roland* it serves to reassure that Marsile is indeed calmed. Regarding 1c, Falsaron's words are subsumed within the pagan's rebuke. In 2, Gwenlwyd is much more direct and concrete than Ganelon, whose replica is completely personalised and centred on him. Despite that 3 does not push the action forward, it has a symbolic value in that it anticipates the nature of the following speech. The omission of 3b can be explained with the same arguments as 1b, while 3c is a collective discourse, a narrative device that will be discussed in section 6.3.3.1 below (p. 117). Here it is omitted but this is not always the case. Lastly, 2c has a twofold significance, referring back to the previous threat to Gwenlwyd and joining 2 as defiance to the pagans.

The next example from the very beginning of *Cân Rolant* is also a close rendering of the corresponding passage of *La chanson de Roland* but displays more freedom in the arrangement of the events. This is shown by the reorganization of the Welsh sentences:

Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes, --	Charles the king, our great emperor
Set anz tuz pleins ad estét en Espaigne:	has been a full seven years in Spain
1 Ac ny orffwyssawd ef saith mlyned o auylonydy ar y paganieit anfydlawn	*And he did not cease for seven years from harrying the faithless pagans*
Tresqu'en la mer cunquist la tere altaigne.	he has conquered the high land down to the sea.
2.3 a diwreidiaw a hyt y mor yr Yspaen	*He laid waste (...) as far as the sea of Spain*
N'i ad castel ici devant lui remaigne;	Not a castle remains standing before him,
2.2 a'r kestyll kedyrn / 2.6 nac a allei ymgynnal racdaw ynteu.	*and the mighty castles / nor one which could defend itself against him.*
Mur ne citét n' i est remés a fraindre	Not a wall or city left to destroy
2.1 Y dinessyd a'r keiryd / 2.4 nyt edewis ef gedernyt heb y diua	*the cities and the forts / he left no stronghold undestroyed*
Fors Sarraguce, k' est en une muntaigne.	save Saragossa, which is on a mountain.
2.5 eithr Sarragis / 3 Y dinas hwnnw a oed ar benn mynyd uchel diffwys (...)	*except Saragossa / That city was on the top of a high, steep mountain*
Li reis Marsilie la tient, ici Deu nen aimet;	King Marsile holds it, who does not love God:
4 Ac yn y dinas hwnnw yd oed Marsli, vrenin yr Yspaen, yn gwledychu, (...)	*And in that city ruled Marsli, king of Spain*
Mahumet sert e Apollin recleimet:	he serves Mohammed and prays to Apollin:
a rwymedic o gwbyl y diwyll Mahumet yn lle Duw idaw	*and [he was] bound completely to the worship of Mahumet as his god*
Ne s' poet guarder que mals ne l'i ateignet.	he cannot keep misfortune from reaching him [there.
Ac yn aryneic ganthaw [Marsli] yn y diwed gallu ohonaw darostwg y dinas yd oed ynteu yndaw	*And he [Marsli] was in dread that he [Charlemagne] would be able at last to conquer [the city in which he was*

The basic information is the same (the kernel sequence): it constitutes a sort of prologue – *in medias res* – that recapitulates previous events (Charlemagne's campaigns in Spain for the past seven years), states the current state of affairs (all cities and fortresses conquered by the Frankish army), and sets out the future target (Saragossa) and enemy (Marsile). But the presentation of these facts is completely different, not only because two lines (out of nine) are omitted but mostly because the order has been completely altered. In the preceding quotation we changed the order of the Welsh tale in order to make the comparison easier, but included numbers to show the original location. Rather than a narrator

speaking to an implied French audience with whom he shares "nostre emperere magnes", the initial paragraph shows a narrator recounting legends from the past but not altogether in an impersonal tone. A sentence about Marsli was added to expand the portrayal of his character: "yr hwnn petvei ganthaw fyd Gatholic ni ellid caffel gwr brudach nag well noc ef. A chemaint ac a oed gantho a ragoreu ac ethrylith ympetheu ereill, hynny oll a oed ganthaw yn erbyn fyd Gristonogawl…" ["whom, if he had the Catholic faith, it would not be possible to find a man wiser or better. And as much as he had of superior qualities and skill in other matters, all that did he have [to use] against the Christian faith…"].

6.3.3 Additions

There are three main types of additions (the three 'es'): expansions, explicitation, and exemplification. The translator may supplement the narrative with extra information that is important for him in some way (6.3.3.1), he may want to clarify motives or fill logical gaps in the story as a result of his own interpretation of *La chanson de Roland* (6.3.3.2), or he may graphically exemplify a rather abstract concept (6.3.3.3). One last possibility consists in a special form of expansion whereby some meanings already present in the source text are displaced or highlighted, sometimes expanded, contributing to emphasise certain topics; these will be discussed together with other forms of expansions.

6.3.3.1 Expansions

Reprising the conversation between Gwenlwyd and Marsli, it seems that the translator of *Cân Rolant* interpreted the scene literally, as if a three-part conversation had taken place. This is suggested by the narrator's comment "ac yn diannot ar yr ail ymadrawd" (XXXVI) [and immediately upon the second speech] and then "Ymadrodwn weithion" (XXXVI) ["Let us speak now"]. The conversation had already started in the previous section, "Ac val hynn y dechreuawd Marsli amynhyed ac ef" (XXXV) [And Marsli began to make up to him thus]. These are expansions that the translator introduced to punctuate the time segments of the narrative which seem repetitive to him because of his probable misunderstanding of stylistic procedures. Another instance of this same procedure is the well-known horn scene, where each new request by Oliver is punctuated by *eilweith* (LXV, LXVI, LXVII). Likewise, when Gwenlwyd states Charlemagne's orders twice, the translator needs to explain the reason for that: "Ac yny vei uwy y gyffro, o hyt y benn dechreu *ymadraw o'e newyd*" ["And so that his

agitation would be greater, he began at the top of his voice anew", my italics], and then Gwenlwyd himself reinforces it by saying "Ual y bo mwy dy dolur a'th irlloned, Varsli, mi a draethaf yt *yr eilweith...*" (XXXII) ["So that your pain and your wrath may be greater, Marsli, I shall relate to you *once again*", my italics].[141] These expansions are justifications; in other words, the translator feels the need to excuse the iterations.

Another set of expansions is related to the translator's knowledge of the whole Anglo-Norman poem. In II, for example, the expanded passage corresponds to an anticipation of the pagan's plot to deceive Charles, which is accomplished by the introduction of a short phrase: Marsli summons his men to advise him "o ba rat neu o ba ystryw y gellynt wy wrthwynebu y rwthr Chiarlymaen" [by what gift or what cunning they could withstand Chiarlymaen's attack]. At this point in the Anglo-Norman text Marsli is simply referring to the calamity (i.e. Charles) that is about to befall the pagans.

Furthermore, the narrator of the Welsh tale places special emphasis on certain topics, more than his Anglo-Norman counterpart. Rejhon (1981) has drawn particularly attention to the importance of companionship and solidarity in the tale, whilst Poppe (2013; forthcoming) has highlighted the particular focalization on Christian martial values and exchange mechanisms. For her part, Reck (2010) has exhaustively studied the aesthetics of combat, concurrently pointing to the stress on action and the neglect of psychological themes. Vengeance and insult are also themes more developed in the tale, as we will see below. These modifications rely on vocabulary and sometimes on the narrator's voice. The translator´s special interests explain several major changes that are introduced in the source such as the introduction of sections LXX-LXXI-LXXII and the so-called rhetorical outburst of the narrator. The former sections introduce the theme of the Frankish knights' sorrow which leads to a related subject, namely the reconciliation between Rolant and Oliver, a topic absent from the other versions.

It is also evident that martial values are important for the Welsh translator. It is almost as if the wish for eternal fame and glory that the Frankish warriors seek has been somewhat displaced by the wishful expectation of eternal life in heaven: "yn emlad dros wlat nef, canys gan ymadaw a buched amharaus y kefir buched dragywyd" (LXX) [fighting for the kingdom

[141] The repetition of Charlemagne's orders to Marsli (go to France in order to embrace the Christian faith, accept kinship from him and to hold half of Spain under Charlemagne's lordship) happens almost word for word three times and in addition it echoes the pagans' offer of peace in almost every detail, except for the division of Spain in two, half for Marsli and half for Rolant. This repetition lacks the subtle variations common to Middle Welsh storytelling.

of heaven, for it is by abandoning transitory life that eternal life is attained]. References to the soul and eternal life are numerous: "a'r eneit detwyd yn kymryt buched dragywyd" (XCIX) [and his blessed soul received eternal life], "y gerdet ar getymdeithas egyleon, gan newidio buched lithredic dros vuched dragywyd" (CI) [to go to the fellowship of the angels, exchanging transitory life for eternal life]), "a'e eneit detwyd yn kerdet ar vuched dragywyd" (CIII) [his blessed soul going to eternal life].[142]

The theme of vengeance as duty of lordship and family, already present in *La chanson de Roland,*[143] is definitely emphasised in the Welsh tale. Conceivably this theme would be readily recognizable as linked to family obligations which form part of the relationship between a lord and his men (avenge a wrong or insult or feud), a topic that traverses Welsh medieval history, as is clearly perceived by reading merely a few entries of the annals.[144] Rolant's opening discourse in the council highlights the need for reparation of a previous wrong: "Beth heuyt yssyd iewnach yno no dial arnaw ef y bratwreath hwnnw a galanas yn gwyrda? (...) Nyt teilwg yni adaw hab dial a oruc o anfydlonder yni", ['What is, moreover, more justifiable for us than to avenge [*dial*] upon him that treachery and the slaughter [*galanas*] of our barons?']. The term *galanas* is also used by Gwenlwyd to talk about the murder of Basin and Basil (XXXIII). At the same time, Gwenlwyd threatens to take "dial y vrawt enwir"[145] (XVIII) [vengeance of that evil judgement [upon the Franks]. Clearly vengeance is a powerful force in the text: before dying, Margarit counsels the king "(...) to wreak vengeance [*dial*] upon the arrogant ones for the blood and wounds and massacre of our men [*gwaet a gweli a galanas an gwyr*]" (XCIII), a passage in which the use of a string of three alliterating coordinated nouns expressing roughly the same idea and ending with a fourth alliterating noun emphasises the loss of the pagans.[146] In the laws, *galanas* is both

[142] More examples illustrate this emphasis on the afterlife: "A gwedy yr ellygdawt y kyuodes y gwyrda ac escynnu eu meich; ac, yn dibryder o gafel nef, dielwi ac ysgeulussaw eu buched amserawl ac eu allduded daearawl. Eu havev a damnunynt yr cafel buched a vei well" (LXXV) [And after the absolution, the barons rose and mounter their horses; and, assured of attaining heaven, they disdained and disregarded their temporal life and their earthy exile. They were wishing for their death in order to obtain a life that would be better].

[143] According to Cook (1987), peace is only achieved once Charlemagne has finally avenged Basin and Basile and Roland as well.

[144] These are mostly concerned with describing treason between relatives (nephew to uncle, brother to brother, son to father), vengeance, military alliances between the Welsh, the Welsh and the Anglo-Norman, the Welsh and the English king, raids, attacks, and the like.

[145] "Enwir" is also the principal attribute of Marsli.

[146] This passage is absent from the Oxford version of *La chanson de Roland* but, according to Rejhon, it is modeled on the Venice 4 version. Here, the pagan speech is focused on the Frank's helplessness (Cook, 2005: vv. 1402-09). The passage is also present in the Norse version, see Halvorsen (1959: 193-4). There is another

“enmity, homicide, feud” as “compensation for homicide”, which depended on the status of the victim. *Dial*[147] or *sarhaet*, “insult, offence” (but also its compensation), which together with *galanas* are very destructive forces of society, also figures in the text. Marsli, for instance, apologises to Gwenlwyd after having a moment of fury and asks to “leave aside the injury [*enwiwet*] and the insult [*codeant*]” while promising to compensate him (XXXV). *Dial* and *sarhaet*/*codyant* (a variant spelling for *codeant*) is a recurrent theme in Welsh medieval history, full of treachery and treason (*dwyll a brat*) between relatives and non-relatives alike. Even in the highly rhetorical outburst of the narrator in section XCI that foretells the Trial of Gwenlwyd, the idea of payback is stressed: “Och a Duw! mor da y talut idaw ynteu yn y diwed pwyth y vratwreaeth" [O God” how well would You pay him, in the end, the price of his treachery]. Reciprocity is fundamental: “Ac uelly y digolledut o gollet arall y gollet, ac y didanut o dolur arall y dolur ynteu” [And thus would You compensate his loss by another loss, and console his grief by another grief]. This phrase is also governed by alliteration and repetition, enforcing the relevance of the topic for the translator and his recipient.

The theme of friendship, companionship and solidarity is very strong and it is reinforced by the introduction of a whole section (LXX) dealing with the motive of the sorrow of the Frankish knights and their reconciliation, and of relevant additions in other scenes.[148] The narrator highlights the “warder a chareat a rybuchet pawb onadunt y’w gilyd” (LXX) [love and good will of every one them for each other]. In Turpin’s discourse to the Franks and subsequent blessing, the Welsh tale emphasises gifts and counter-gifts to achieve *kedymdeithas* whereas in the Anglo-Norman poem the key-words are “Pur nostre rei devum nus ben murir / Chrestïentét aidez a sustenir” (1128-9) [it is our duty to die for our king. / Help to uphold the Christian religion!]. The Welsh Turpin says:

> A wyrda fenedic (…) cofewch pan yw y gan Grist ywch gelwir yn Gristonogeon, ac, ual y gwdoch, pan yw yrawch y diodeuawd ef agheu; uelly y dylywch chwitheu diodef agheu yrdaw ynteu, ac uelly keissiaw kedymdeithas Grist oc awch agheu vegis y paratoes ynteu y chwi y gedymdeithas drwy y ageu ehun (LXXIV)
>
> [O bold barons (...) remember that it is because of Christ that you are called Christians, and that, as you know, it is for you he suffered death; so ought you to suffer death from him, and thus seek the fellowship of Christ by your death, even as He, on His part, prepared His fellowship for you through His own death]

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string of three nouns roughly synonymous but which do not alliterate: “na grym na nerth na chalonn” [LXXIX, nor strength nor might nor heart]. All these examples are inventions of the Welsh translator.

[147] Lit. “without ‘gal’. Vengeance is also demanded by Oliuer for Engeler of Gascony’s death (XCVIII).

[148] Section LXX has been analysed by Rejhon (1981). Friendship is one of the major topics of the *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, as Bollard argues (1974-1975).

Cân Rolant adds that even the infidels will get their 'reward' in hell: "Kymer yr awr honn yn ufern dy gyuyloc am wassanaethu y ryw wr hwnnw!" (LXXXI) [Take now in hell your wages for serving such a man as that [Mahumet]] tells Engeler a pagan. The exchange of gifts for friendship between Maldebrwn, Kilbrwn, and Braimwnt to Gwenlwyd (XLI-XLIII) is more developed and presents a clear stress on the notion of transaction and reciprocity:

> Myn y cledyf hwnn! (…) mi a ymrwymaf a thi yghymdeithas. A thros hynny, wareanc bonhedic anrydedus, yd archaf vi ytti raglydu imi, herwyd dy allu di, y ymlad ymlaen nep a Rolant (XLI) ['By this sword' (...) I will bind myself to you in friendship. And for that, noble, honourable vassal, I ask that you arrange, as far as you are able, for me to fight with Rolant before anyone']
>
> Ac attep ditheu y mi o bwyth rod kymint a hwnnw o ymgafel a Rolant val y gallom ystwg y syberwyt ef. "Ot atwen i drawsgwyd," heb y Gwenlwyd, "mi a baraf yt am hynny caffel dy ewyllys." (XLII) ['And reciprocate to me, by way of recompense for so great a gift as that, by having us meet Rolant so that we can bring low his pride'. If I understand the transaction, I shall bring it about that you have your desire concerning that]
>
> A Gwenlwyd a gymyrht y cae a'e diolwch y'r vrenhines, gan adaw, os Duw a rodei y vywyt ef, yd attebei ef y'w hanryded hi ac o rodyon gan ragor o okyr (XLIII) [And Gwenlwyd took the brooch and thanked the queen for it, promising that, if God would give him his life, he would repay her praise and gifts]

In all these cases, it is remarkable the expansion and variation of Gwenlwyd's answer in the first and second exchange in view of the "Bien sera fait" of the Anglo-Norman text. The tale – like the *chanson de geste* – also comprises a public break up of friendship, which partly leads to the final disaster: Gwenlwyd says "in everyone's presence" that he "shall not be a friend" to the Twelve Peers nor will he love his stepson anymore (XVIII) (cf. Poppe, 2013).

Related to this is the use of "metaphoric embellishments" used to "heighten a moment in the narrative with a vivid image" (Rejhon, 1984: 90). Rejhon places in this category the image of Rolant as reaper (LXXXV, C)[149] and as a lion (LXXIII). Reck has demonstrated that the first metaphor belongs to Welsh poetic tradition, as it is also present in *Y Gododdin* (2010: 172). The second metaphor is an elaboration on the translation of [Roland] "Plus se fait fiers que leon ne leupart" (1111) [he grows more fierce than a lion or leopard]: "hep aryneigio mwy no llew bonhedic pan dyrchauei y wyneb yn erbyn morynneon" [he was no

[149] Rolant rides amongst the pagans "mor ehwybr ac y digwydynt gan y gledyf val y digwydei yr yt aduet gan vedelwr kyfrwys y kynhaeaf" (LXXXV) [so swiftly that they fell by his sword as the ripe corn would fall before a swift reaper in harvest] and afterwards he strikes his enemies "val y dyn yn llad a phaladur" (C) [as a man striking with a scythe].

more afraid than a noble lion when it would raise its face before maidens], in which Rolant is compared to a lion. Similar references occur in *Y Gododdin*: Cynon is praised as "Mor hael, baran llew, llwybr fwyaf" [So noble, with lion's fury, widely faring] (Jarman, 1990: 392), and Bubon is described as "Tri gwaeth ffrawdd ffrawddus lew" [Three times fiercer than a (lit.) fierce lion] (Jarman, 1990: 945). Comparison of the hero's attributes or strength to that of an animal (a lion, a bear, a hound) is fairly common in medieval literature. For instance, more examples of this type of metaphors can be found in other passages of *La chanson de Roland*: "Pur ço sunt Francs si fiers cume leüns" (1888) [on this account the French are fierce as lions].

Reck also adds to this list the image of Rolant's sword, Durendal, as "lluchaden vuan llem" (LXVI) [swift, sharp flash of lightning]. What is important from these considerations is the markedly visual aspect of all these additions. Another insertion is the analogy of the huntsman hunting in the last of the horn sections. Roland recalls his duties to his family and his prowess in battle whereas the Welsh translator prefers a concrete analogy: "Nyt ef a wnel Duw ymgyffelybu o Rolant ymrwydyr y helwyr yn hely, nyt oes na gweithret idaw na llauur namyn o lef y gorn kyuodi bwystuiled o lwyneu…" (LXVIII) [God forbid that Rolant should resemble in battle the huntsman hunting, for whom there is neither deed nor labor but to start wild beasts from bushes by a blast of his horn…]. Here, hunting (needless to say, one of the main activities of Welsh nobility, as well as of nobility elsewhere) as a leisurely activity is negatively view. The comparison is elaborated on the basis of the horn.

Despite the fact that the majority of the epic techniques were excised, one was reinterpreted in the Middle Welsh prose literary tradition, whereby suffering transformation: the collective discourse.[150] A direct speech attributed to the Franks as a group, a common procedure in *La chanson de Roland* that expresses certain shared opinions or values, is usually replaced by an indirect account.[151] Of seven instances, five are conveyed by reported speech and only two keep the direct collective discourse. The replacement can be seen in all the council scenes: in the debate around accepting or not Marsli's proposal, "Ac y'r gytsynnyedigaeth honno y duhunawd pawp yn vn geir" (XIV) [And to that agreement everyone consented with one mind]; at Charlemagne´s council, "Ac yna ymadrawd Rolant a ganmoles pawb o'r Freinc yn gytuhun gan varnu…" (XVII) [And then every one of the

[150] Cf. *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* and other Mabinogion tales.
[151] For the collective speech see the reference to Ollier (1995) in chapter 4.

Franks praised Rolant’s speech unanimously]; at Marsli's council, "Pawb onadunt a gytsynneawd y'r kygor hwnnw yn gyvun, gan ganmawl dychymic Balacawnt" (IV) [Every one of them agreed to that counsel unanimously, praising Balacawnt’s plan]. It also happens in the scene in which Gwenlwyd drops the letter (XXI) and during the battle (XC). The two exceptions are: the first, the speech of Gwenlwyd´s kinsmen on his departure to the pagan´s camp (XXIII) and secondly the Franks' response to Oliver´s harangue, "'Pwy bynnac', eb y Freinc o vn uryt, 'a dangosso hediw y geuyn y'w elyn ohonam ni, dangossit Duw y war idaw ynteu" (LXV) [“Whoever of us”, said the Franks with one accord, “shows his back to the enemy today, let God show the nape of His neck to him!”]. Both speeches are directly connected to the particular emphasis that the narrator places upon the topic of companionship which would thus justify its conservation. On the aesthetic level, given the preference for dialogue in tales oriented to performance, the incorporation of the voices of characters into the flow of narrative highlights, in a way, the written imprint in the text.

By contrast, another change is related to the system of values conveyed by the text. It has been argued that many important topics were familiar to Middle Welsh literary tradition. Consequently, the way the translator deals with the following speech by Roland is indeed striking.

'E Deus la nus otreit!
Ben devuns ci estre pur nostre rei:
Pur sun seignor deit hom susfrir destreiz
E endurer e granz chalz e granz freiz,
Si'n deit hom perdre e del quir e del peil.
Or guart chascuns que granz colps i empleit,
Male cançun de nus chantét ne seit!
Paien unt tort e chrestïens unt dreit.
Malvaise essample n'en serat ja de mei.'
(1008-1016).

"Yr Hollgywaethawc Duw a ganhyatto yn hynny”, eb y Roland. “Nyt oes na *mal* na *threth* a dylyom ni y dalu y Chiarlymaen namyn *brwydraw* drostaw yn wrawl. A goleu direidi y barnaf inneu na chafet achos na defnyd y dalu y dylyet honno; ac aruerwn nineu yn ehelaeth o’r defnyd hwnnw – val y gweda y’r Freinc – gan ymlad yn wychyr geluyd, rac rodi ohonom agreifft gywilyduus y’r a vo yn ol rac llaw.” (LXIII)

[“May God grant us this!
Me must make a stand here to serve our king.
For his lord a man must suffer hardships
and endure both great heat and great cold,
and must lose some hide and some hair.
Now let each man take care to strike great blows
so that a bad song not be sung about us.
Pagans are wrong and Christians are right.
A bad example will never be set by me”]

[May almighty God grant us that”, said Rolant. “There is neither *tribute* nor *tax* that we ought to pay Chiarlymaen except to *battle* for him bravely. And I shall judge [it] a clear misfortune that no opportunity or occasion was granted to pay that debt; but let us use that occasion fully – as befits the Franks – by fighting valiantly and skilfully, lest we set a shameful example to those who may follow us in the future”]

The passage in *La chanson de Roland* is one of the most often quoted of all, especially verse 1015 "paien unt tort e chrestïens uns dreit" [Pagans are wrong and Christians are right] (see Kinoshita, 2001). It has been read as the "epic creed", its importance being

foregrounded because it is Roland himself who claims these heroic values. As Cook has argued, "What is less often recognized is its degree of generality: it is true in its essence, without respect to persons or to particular circumstances" (1987: 62).[152] The duty every *hom* (a vassal) owes his lord is illustratively characterised by toil. Facing this, the Welsh translator opted to actualise this content referring to the specific obligations that the Welsh aristocracy had, according to the laws: instead of paying tribute (*mal*) and tax (*treth*), free men provided military assistance (*brwydraw*) (as well as hospitality).[153] This is reinforced by the use of the first person plural (*ni*) and singular (*inneu*) instead of the impersonal third person singular of *La chanson de Roland*, which gives the idea of something abstract, contrary to the shared values of the Welsh Franks. The translator shows a somewhat more precise social concern but also, and more importantly, shared knowledge – albeit very basic, one has to admit – of the laws and of social structure with his audience. We have seen this already in the preceding section regarding the particular vocabulary of insult and vengeance. Above all, it is argued that the Welsh translator is accommodating the "heroic or feudal creed" to his target language and culture.

A similar actualisation can be seen in Rolant's assertion that Charlemagne "na chyll (…) kywerthyd keiniawc" [will not lose (…) the worth of a penny], as long as he is the commander of the rearguard. In contrast to this, the lines in *La chanson de Roland* are actually more in accordance with the semantic field of war as well as with the martial atmosphere: "N'i perdrat CarIes, li reis ki France tient, / Men escïentre, palefreid ne destrer, / Ne mul ne mule que deiet chevalcher; / Nen i perdrat ne muncin ne sumer".

6.3.3.2 Explicitation

An excellent example of explicitation is found in the scene in which Gwenlwyd drops the letter and, in doing so, presages the massacre of the Frankish rearguard. *Cân Rolant* clearly states: "A phan rodes y brenin y llythyr hwnnw yn llaw Wenlwyd, y digwydawd o'e llaw y'r llawr *rac kymraw*" (XXI) [And when the king put that letter in Gwenlwyd's hand, it fell from his hand to the ground because of fear, my italics].[154] The Welsh account is explicit

[152] On the subject of the epic creed, cf. Cook (1987: 127-146), for whom feudal duty comes first than heroic values *per se*.
[153] "The entertainment of the king—the duty and the privilege of the *optimates*—was a permanent due owed to the king as king, not because of any grant (...) It was something that he could do; and, because he could do it, it was an honourable duty" (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 461).
[154] Cf. "Quant le dut prendre, si li caït a tere" (333) [As he is about to take it, it falls to the ground].

as to Ganelon's feelings and character and the meaning of the scene as a whole. Instead of implying by juxtaposition of phrases (as *La chanson de Roland* does) that Ganelon dropped the letter, he expands the passage and openly states that it fell because Ganelon was afraid.

Explicitation also occurs with regard to the brief passage narrating the cross of the Pyrenees back to France. Employing a formula, the Anglo-Norman text opens the *laisse* thus: "Halt sunt li pui e li val tenebrous, / Les roches bises, les destreiz merveillus. / Le jur passerent Franceis a grant dulur…" (814-6) [High are the hills and the valleys dark, / the rocks hard, the gorges awe-inspiring / Thar day the French cross with great pain]. Here, the pain of the Franks is related to the rough road, but the previous lines, considered in the light of what we know is going to happen to the rearguard, suggest the future affliction of Charlemagne's men. The Welsh translator evidently understood this since he makes it clear by connecting the phrases: "Mynyded vchel amdyfrwys a glynneu issel tywyll a ford gyvinc dyrys a garw – y peth mwyaf y adaw blinder y lu Freinc…" (LVII) [High, rugged mountains and low, dark valleys with a narrow, difficult and rough road – which most promised affliction to the French host].

A similar case of explicitation happens during Charles' dreams. The translator provides his interpretation of the visions' symbolism: "A'r hun honno yn amlwc a dangosses idaw darystygedigaeth y wyr" (XLVIII) [And that sleep showed him clearly the subjugation of his men]. Likewise, when Rolant is about to propose Gwenlwyd as ambassador to Marsli, the motivation for his action is clearly stated: "Ac yna y doeth cof y Rolant yr ry aghanmawl o Wenlwyd y emadrawd ef" (XVII) [And then Rolant remembered that Gwenlwyd had disparaged excessively his speech]. The Anglo-Norman text remains silent at this point, a fact that has led to many different interpretations regarding Rolant's supposed enmity with his stepfather (Cook, 1987: 20-4, and references cited here).

For a special word such as "olifan", the translator evinces the need to provide explanations. Whilst the Anglo-Norman epic poem simply says "olifan" without further modifiers since it is assumed to be already meaningful within the referential system of the *chansons de geste*, the White Book Welsh tale uses "dy gorn, yr eligant", where *eligant* seems to be working as an apposition to determine the horn. In Peniarth 10, the position of the elements is inversed "yr Eliphant, dy gorn" (LXVI) that is, the supposedly unknown part of the phrase comes first and so the status of "dy gorn" as appositional clause is slightly undermined. In any case, the translator felt the need to explicitate what *eligant* or *eliphant*

meant in this context. Likewise, the symbolic function of the branches of olive is explicitly stated: “Keingeneu o’r oliwyd a arwedassant yn eu dwylaw *yn arwyd eu bot yn gennadeu* y erchi tagneued a chyttuhundep” (VI) [They carried branches of olive trees in their hands *as a sign that they were ambassadors* to ask for peace and accord, my italics].

6.3.3.3 Exemplification

Again the scene in which Gwenlwyd drops the letter gives an example of this procedure: “Ac yn y dyrchauel y ar y llawr, y kymhellawd y gewilyd chwys y dyuot idaw rac a oed yn disgwyl arnaw ac yn ryuedu y vygylder” (XXI) [And as he picked it up off the ground, his shame made him break into a sweat before those who were looking at him and wondering at his cowardice]. This exemplifying amplification is completely absent from *La chanson de Roland* because here the meaning is implied but not stated. On the contrary, the vivid image of a sweating man serves as exemplification of cowardice.

Descriptions in *La chanson de Rolant* specify space, characters, armour, and they can be expressed using formulas. In *Cân Rolant* a main trend characterises descriptions: they are visually oriented (also in gestures, *gwrogaeth*) and they contribute to exemplification – frequently by way of visual elements – which in turn replace abstractions and/or conceptualizations. Thus, whereas *La chanson de Roland* reads “Meillor vassal n’aveit en la curt nul” (231), the Welsh tale provides a brief description as exemplification of that notion: “A gwedy ymadrodyon Gwenlwyd, y kyuodes Naym Dwyssawc rac bronn Chriarlymaen, *yr hwn a dangossei y oetrann y vot yn brud dosparthus a’e wyneb creithiawc a vynagei y vot yn wr cadarnlew*” (XIV) [And after Gwenlwyd had spoken, Prince Naym, whose *age showed him to be grave and wise and whose scarred face told that he was a brave, mighty man*, my italics]. The graphic elements that are used here to define a wise man (*gwyneb creithiawc – cadarnlew*) echo the Venice 4 version of the poem that says about Naim that “Blança oit la barba et li cevo tut çanù” (158).[155] A similar strategy is employed to describe Gwenlwyd’s cowardice with a vivid image of a sweating man (XXI).

The study of the macro-textual features of *Cân Rolant* shows that, while keeping almost all of the narrative sequences, the translator frequently intervened in the text, rearranging scenes, summarising, condensing, filling logical gaps, adding explanations. The

[155] Rejhon (1984: 119) notes that all the other manuscripts, the White and Red Book amongst them, mention Naym's greyness at this point, which reinforces the point made here.

focus is on the narrative itself, the events and actions that form the *story*. Genre-relates characteristics are elaborated or 'cleanse' from the narrative: repetitions (in all their forms) are devoid of their aesthetic value and omitted or reinterpreted. The translator tends to domesticate the ST, emphasising the topics that are relevant for a Welsh recipient.

6.4 The micro-textual level

The text is shaped by the narrator, who tends to be a hidden figure in Middle Welsh literary tradition.[156] In other words, in the scale of perceptibility that goes from a maximum of covertness to a maximum of overtness, a Welsh narrator is usually located closer to the first, the maximum covertness.[157] Even though *Cân Rolant* tends to follow this same tendency and, therefore, the narrator is much more absent than his Anglo-Norman counterpart, he is certainly more present than other narrators in middle Welsh prose tales. The differences between the implicit audience configured in *La chanson de Roland* and in *Cân Rolant* are striking, as the next case will illustrate.

Precisely, medieval performance of the *chansons de geste* involved the use of certain strategies to catch and sustain the attention of the audience. Apart from the use of formulae and motifs, the narrator constantly addresses the narratee, a textual position which can be identified with the implied audience. This is certainly important in the case of *La chanson de Roland*: the text has a strong tie with the representation of the past for the society that produced it. Both narrator and narratee are part of the same community and the poem plays an important role in the configuration of a common past – a collective memory – and the system of values and beliefs shared by all of its members (Suard, 1988). This sense of belonging to a certain community is directly stated from the very beginning: "Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes, / Set anz tuz pleins ad estét en Espaigne" (1-2). Here, the possessive pronoun "nostre" founds both the narratee and the audience whose vision of the world will be expounded throughout the epic. In this way, the frequent addresses to a third-person plural are twofold: on one side, they relate to the actual performance and, on the other side, they are a constant reminder of the "us" behind the composition and consumption of the poem.

[156] See next chapter for further discussion about this particular statement.
[157] The degrees of perceptibility of the narrator ranges from maximum of covertness to a maximum of overtness and this can be perceived in the description of settings, the identification of characters, the temporal summaries, the definition of character, the reports of what characters did not think or say, or commentary (interpretation, judgements, generalization) (Rimmon-Renan, 2010: 96-98).

On the contrary, *Cân Rolant* does not seek to reproduce these references within its own framework, that is, it does not construct an "us". A distance is set from the events and the characters that perform or suffer them. The aim is to narrate a foreign exemplary and legendary story. This distance can be seen in, for instance, all the time that characters such as Charlemagne or Rolant refer to themselves in the third-person. XVIII

Having addressed the configuration of the narratee and implied audience, the rest of the section will concentrate on the study of vocabulary, semantics, syntax, and style. Section 6.4.1 will deal with lexical change classified, following Machan (1985), in substitutions (6.4.1.1), circumlocutions (6.4.1.2), and adoptions (6.4.1.3). Section 6.4.1.1 will highlight what is considered to be an unpredictable substitution from the TL perspective, that of Old French *empereur* as *brenin* instead of *amherawdyr*; it will also comprise a discussion of why the term *teulu* (which could be used to describe the twelve peers) is completely avoided. Both words are frequent in contemporary Middle Welsh prose. Syntax will be the focus of section 6.4.2 where syntactical patterns and connectives will be discussed. Finally, section 6.4.3 will examine the style of *Cân Rolant* in the light of the storytelling tradition of Medieval Wales. Therefore this part of the chapter will be broken down into categories that shape style, such as the use of tags in dialogue, terms of address and politeness, greetings, etc.

6.4.1 Lexical change

Technical terms, special vocabulary – such as strongly context-bound words –, place names and proper names, are usually the most difficult to translate and translators have a wide spectrum of possibilities to solve these potential problems. A translator may or may not use a word with the same semantic range of the word he is translating in accordance with the purpose of the translation. Misunderstandings or confusions are easily perceived especially in proper names; unfamiliarity usually leads to omissions. Machan (1985: 14) has identified three main modes of transfer in Chaucer's translation of Boccaccio that may be useful for the present study: substitution of a native word for a source word (which can be predictable, unpredictable, calques or idioms), circumlocutory ways of expressing source words (doublets) or adoption of the source word (either as a native derivative or as a neologism).[158]

[158] See also Djordević (2002: 145-6). As part of an apparently universal tendency to generalize, translators often choose superordinate terms (also known as hypernyms): for example, a translator may use "dog" for the original's "Alsatian" when the context suggests that the breed is irrelevant (Djordević, 2002: 146, n. 120).

Some misunderstandings of these so-called difficult words have already been noted by Rejhon, such as the Frank's war-cry "Munjoie", literally translated *Vrynn y Llewenyd*, "Hill or mount of joy", probably misguided by the war-cry being also called “enseigne”, which means "banners". We can add to her comments – anticipating the next part – that the translator actually produced a calque after the Old French word: he broke down the word and replaced its constituent elements with equivalents in his own language, i.e. Mun > bryn [hill], joie> llewenyd [joy].[159] Note that the Norse translator completely misunderstood the word and consequently rendered "escrier Munjoie" as "blow their trumpets" (Halvorsen, 1959: 128-9). In addition to this, Rejhon mentions that Rencesvals is literally translated as *Lynneu y Mieri* (LVI), "Valleys of Briars" and "umbre" is interpreted by the translator as a kind of tree, *wmbyr*, instead of what is meant, that is, shade. What is interesting to note is that the translator operated a series of concomitant changes to make sense of those terms. The example of “Hill of joy” illustrates the point:

"L'enseigne Carle ni devum ublïer," A icest mot sunt Franceis escrïét. Ki dunc oïst Munjoie demander, De vasselage li poüst remembrer. (1179-1182)	"Ac ymoralwwn y gyt ar Vrynn y Llewenyd am arwydeon Chiarlymaen". Ac yn diannot y dechreuawd pawb onadunt wynteu ymoralw y gyt ac euo, a dodi gawr ar y paganieit a wnaethant (LXXVI)
We must not forget Charles´s battle cry. At these words the French call out. Whoever could have heard the cry "Muntjoie" would have been reminded of courageous exploits	And let us shout together on the Hill of Joy around Chiarlymaen´s ensigns. And without delay all of them on their part began to shout together with him, and they raised a battle cry against the pagans.

Given the shift of meaning of “Munjoie” from Charlemagne’s battle cry to a (special?) hill, the translator introduces in Oliver’s harangue the call to the Franks to shout *on* the Hill of joy.

6.4.1.1 Substitutions

Substitutions of native or current words for source text words are the most common lexical translation technique. *Cân Rolant* displays both predictable and unpredictable substitutions. Predictable replacements are those which accord with the general understanding of French, showing the decisions made by the translator, which underscore his translation skills. Unpredictable substitutions are much more interesting because they provide valuable insights into the semantic of Middle Welsh but more importantly into the mind of

[159] For this notion of calque see Machan (1985: 18).

the translator. The criterion for distinguishing between them is based on the available system of lexical items in Middle Welsh as can be tell by other prose texts of the same period. They will be examined by turn, leaving aside the special case of *amherawdyr* and *teulu* that deserve close attention.

Predictable substitutions

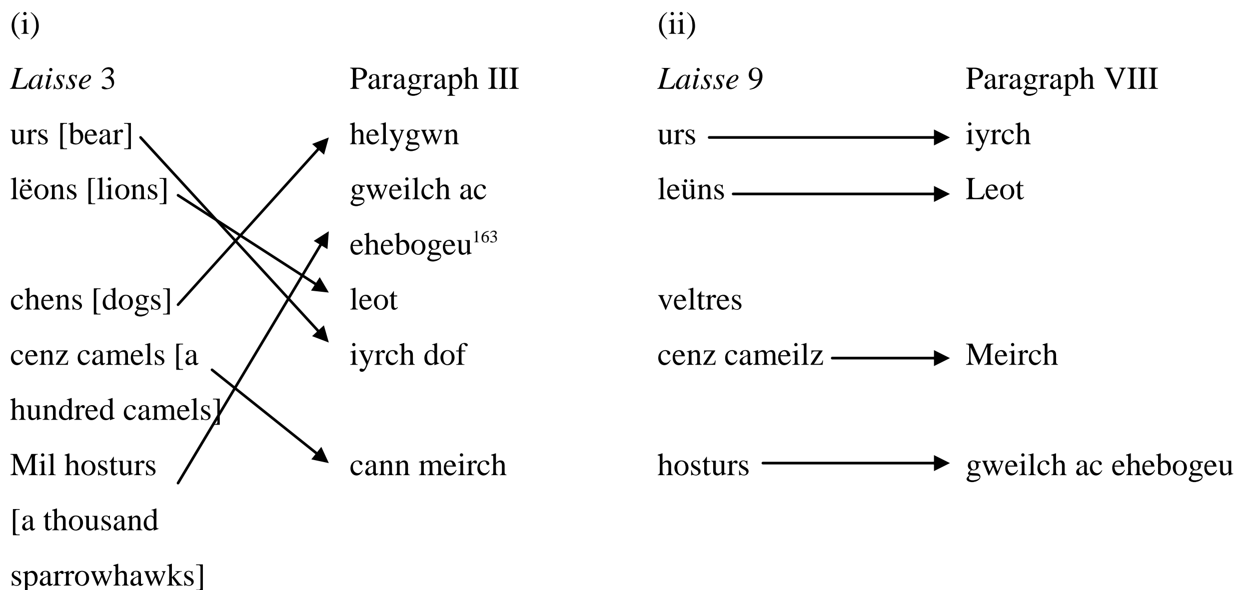
The following examples are a representative sample of predictable replacements found in *Cân Rolant*. The selection is based on two principles: on the one hand, vocabulary belonging to a semantic field that could be problematic for the translator (such as context-bound words) and, on the other hand, specific cases noted as part of a tendency to exemplify coherently or to employ available lexical items in the TL. To the first group belong armament and animals. Regarding the second group, two substitutions are examined: letter for glove and Saragossa for Cesar Augustam.[160]

War is the background and foreground of the tale, hence the varied vocabulary to refer to armour, armament, and weapons.[161] The Welsh text renders *helym* (modern Welsh *helm*, “helmet”) for "helme". *Helym* is a borrowing from Middle English first attested in the *Cân Rolant* text of Peniarth 8a and then in the White Book *Peredur* and in NLW 2026 (Mostyn 117) *Brut y Brenhinoedd*. The French word, “helme”, is a Germanic word, as much of the vocabulary of war in Old French. *Carbunculus*, for its part, is a learned borrowing from Latin first attested in *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn*. In both cases, then, he uses a borrowing that seems to be in use at the time (although the dates of all these texts are approximations). The word “algier” denotes a “sorte de jovelot” which “d'or fut enpené” (439). Bédier states that it is a “[m]ot rare” given that there are only four attestations of it, three of them in *La chanson de Roland* (1927: s.v. *algier*). There are variations in its rendering into Welsh. Peniarth 10 gives the reading “ffonn drom a oed o eur”, that is, “a heavy lance of gold” (xxix). In spite of the excessive weight conveyed by “drom” and the unsuitability of the meaning of *ffon* as lance in this context (the lance is used by a mounted warrior, contrary to the spear, typical of infantry), all of which goes against the idea of a throwing javelin, the identification javelot-ffon as a weapon remains sensible. The White Book gives *wialen* at this point, a word whose primary sense is “rod” but can also figuratively mean “spear” or

[160] Proper names tend to follow a different type of translation (adoption) which is analysed below.
[161] For military strategies and equipment in *La chanson de Roland* see De Vries (2006).

"arrow". Red Book uses *chnwmp*, "club", which is also suggested by a secondary definition of *ffon*, "rod". It is clear then that the word was difficult – even in Anglo-Norman or Old French – and translators were skilful enough to understand its basic meaning, and choose different options in each branch of manuscripts.[162] All in all, it is evident that the translator understood these terms related to weaponry and armour even though they were culturally-bound.

Regarding animals – another possible field of contention given the probable unfamiliarity with certain species – a strongly context-bound word such as "camels" is replaced by *meirch*, "horses" (XLIV), something much more familiar to the translator. Instead of omitting the word altogether he replaced it by another with the more or less same function in the context; after all, the reference was to a pack animal whose job was to take Marsli´s treasure to Charlemagne. This is a clear case of domestication. Concerning the gifts sent to the emperor, the enumeration of each one of those gifts occurs in *laisse* 3, when Blancandrin discloses his plot to Marsli, and afterwards in *laisse* 9, when this same character is acting as ambassador at Charlemagne's court. The list is not identical in both speeches, as shows the following chart:



[162]Cf. Rejhon (1984: 147, n. 34). Another word used for spear is *paladyr* (LXXXV). *Paladyr* and *ffyn* (plural of *ffon*) seem to be interchangeable if we attend to section LXXXVI where the narrator describes Oliver's weapon as a *paladyr* and then Rolant says that they do not need *ffyn* to fight but swords.

[163] According to Jenkins (1986), the translation for the words *gwalch* and *hebog*, which belong to the vocabulary of hunting in the laws, is not authoritative but rather conventional or arbitrary. *Hebog* is translated as "hawk" because they both derive from Anglo-Saxon *heafoc*. "Falcon" is used for *gwalch* but altought they seem cognates, they are not. "Sparrowhawk" is the traditional translation for *llamysten* (1986: 343).

The order of the presentation of animals is different from *La chanson de Roland*, where they are listed in the order bear, lion, dog/hound, camel, sparrowhawk.[164] Tame roebucks ("iyrch dof", variant medieval spelling like in modern Welsh "iwrch") seem to stand for "urs" (bears) given that it is the only species with no straightforward translation in (i) and it precedes the list in (ii) concurrently with "urs". This may seem an unpredictable substitution but, if we consider the case from the point of view of the target culture, the change may be explained as a sort of communicative translation (i.e. by employing an equivalent from the TL). During most of the Middle Ages, the bear was considered the 'king' of the animals, and important symbolic attributes were given to it: "l'ours septentrional est partout un emblème de chef, un attribute du pouvoir, une image de la souveraineté" (Pastoureau, 2007: 81). More significantly, it was the best game for hunting; it is not by chance that it appears first in the list of presents sent to Charlemagne, repeated *three times*. It was "le plus beau cadeau qu'un roi puisse faire à un autre roi" and it was common to conclude treaties of peace or alliances by exchanging gifts for their menageries (private collections of animals) (Pastoureau, 2007: 84). Although roebucks in the Welsh laws appear as animals of little worth, being tamed added extra value to them (Jenkins, 1986: 187).

In the king's symbolic and premonitory dreams he sees a "vers" (boar), a "leopard" and a "veltres" (hound). The boar is rendered *arth*, "bear";[165] the form *llewpart* is actually a borrowing from Old French first attested also in *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwm,* the White Book spells it completely in French, "leopard" (col. 187.35); lastly, "veltres" is well understood as *helygy* (modern *helgi*), a hound. The same happens with "palefreiz" (1000) which is translated *palfreiot* (plural form of *palfrei*), a borrowing also attested in *Iarlles*, *Peredur*, and *Breudwyt Macsen* (Davies, 1997: 124-5).

The second group of changes deal with the substitutions of the glove and Saragossa. The glove as symbolic object is consistently replaced by a sealed letter,[166] which diminishes

[164] *Laisse* 13 brings the same set of animals in the same order. Note that the Welsh translator prefers to resort to a pragmatical hypernym (a word that implies a semantic broadening of the original term in this particular context), "rodeon" (XI) [gifts].

[165] Maybe due to a misunderstanding of "vers" as "ours" in the Anglo-Norman model? See also Short's glossary about how modern editors proceeded in the same way.

[166] Rolant later remembers this episode correctly, mentioning the letter and not the glove, unlike the Anglo-Norman *La chanson de Roland*. However, in LX/LXI the Welsh translator renders word for word gaunt as glove as token of honour. In the Norse version, Ganelon also drops a letter and not a glove. This episode serves to underpin Halvorsen's contention that all the French later versions (including Venice 4) derive from a composite text modeled on the Oxford version and the prototype of the *Runzivals þáttr* (1959: 253). Evidently the Norse

the effect and symbolic importance of the glove and staff as tokens of the ambassadors, significance noted by Bédier in his glossary to the Anglo-Norman text:

> Le gant a un rôle symbolique important. On le voit donné, accepté, offert ou simplement frappé sur le genou, pour affirmer solennellement une promesse, pour confirmer un don, pour rendre hommage, soit à Dieu, soit à un suzerain, pour proposer ou accepter un défi; enfin, il est, avec le bâton, la marque distinctive de l'ambassadeur (1927: s.v. *gant*).

In *La chanson de Roland*, Charles entrusts Ganelon with a sealed letter (the'bref') which, it is assumed, contains his command. But at least the part which is disclosed by Marsli refers only to the murder of the previous messengers Basin and Basil; thereby the rest of the letter – if it included more information – remains hidden. Scholars have thus interpreted that Ganelon's first lie consisted in stating that Rolant would receive half of Spain, a fact that had not been mentioned before, presuming that the letter from Charlemagne did not bring that important element because, otherwise, Marsli would had referred to it. However, given the role of sealed letters in Medieval France as 'writs' it seems safer to assume that it did in fact contain all of Charles' decisions, including granting Roland half of Spain.[167] This reading is also supported by *Cân Rolant*: the Welsh tale downplays the symbolic value of the *bref* and instead states that the king´s orders were noted in a *llythyr* (XXI) [letter]. Later Charlemagne commands Gwenlwyd to "achwaneca y neges ar dorr y llythyr o'th ymadrawd ual hynn" ["supplement the message over and above what is in the letter orally thus"], and then practically repeats his previous words (XXII). Therefore, when Gwenlwyd delivers the message to Marsli, he is reporting the letter and following the king's instructions. The translator was thus following this reading when he chose the word *llythyr*.

Concerning Saragossa, the name of the city is adopted as Sarragis in the Peniarth 10 version of *Cân Rolant*. However, *cesar augustam,* which is a form based on the old Roman name of the city, *Caesaraugusta*, is employed twice in the White Book (Luft, Thomas and Smith, 2013: col. 162.33-36, col. 173.34). Likewise proceeds the Red Book but in Welsh spelling: Sesar Awgustwm (S. Williams, 1968: 113. 22-23), Cesar Awgustwn (116.5), Cesar Awgustam (121.10), Sesar Awgwstam (124.14-5) but also Saragus (131.29), Saragys (132.19, 138.21). Evidently, there was a great extent of fluidity in spelling and translation, but all the forms were interchangeable. The introduction of the Latin forms of the name of the

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and the Welsh versions are drawing on a similar source. If this is so, then *Cân Rolant* – as Venice 4 – also depends on that composite text. This would suit well with Mandach's study, for which see chapter 4 above.

[167] Regarding the *bref* in the Anglo-Norman poem and its connection to Ganelon´s lie and treason see Bennett (1998).

city seems to have been prompted by the presence of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* in the manuscript context, where that name is employed (S. Williams, 1968: 164.20-1).[168]

Unpredictable substitutions

The analysis of titles of nobility shows that the Welsh translator did not intend to render them literally but instead preferred traditional terms even at the expense of losing specification. In this way, "quens, cuntes", "dux", and "hume" are rendered as *gwr/gwrda* (singular) and *gwyr/gwyrda* (plural), retainers or noblemen, which, at the same time that denote someone's followers, seems to emphasise, to a certain extent, the moral qualities of high birth.[169] This term is applied to both Marsli's and Chiarlymaen's men. For example: "Cil duc e cil cunte" (378) [These dukes and counts] is rendered as *dwyssogeon a gwyrda Freinc* (XXV) [princes and barons of France]. In this case, then, *gwyrda* seems to be a synonym for *breyr* or *uchelwr*, the legal terms to refer to the aristocracy or free men.[170] It should be remembered the vast vocabulary that existed in Middle Welsh to denote authority, as R.R. Davies points out: "The variety of native Welsh terms by which they were described (…), emphasizing their nobility (*boneddigion*), their superiority (*goreugwyr*, *uchelwyr*, *arglwyddi*), their leadership (*penaethau*, *penaudiriaid*, *pendefigion*), their king-like status in the localities (*tywysogion*, *brehyrion*), and the almost moral qualities of high birth (*gwyrda*)" (2000: 69).

Barun/barons is another term translated as *gwr* or *gwyrda* even though there was at the translator's disposal a lexical borrowing from the French (in Welsh spelling), i.e. Old French *barun* > Middle Welsh *barwn*, attested in medieval Welsh prose tales and historical

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[168] It also occurs in Peniarth 10, folio 57v, line 2, at the same point.

[169] The University of Wales Dictionary (GPC) glosses *gwrda* as "nobleman, chief, peer, lord (sometimes of God and Christ); worthy man, good man, good fellow; hero". Jenkins (1986: 348) translates it as "goodman" in *The Laws of Hywel Dda*. In the legal tractates, the term refers to the aristocracy, as is seen in the value of the *agweddi* (part of the shared patrimony that corresponds to the wife when divorcing her husband before seven years of marriage had passed): "Three legal *agweddïau*: the *agweddi* of a king's daughter, twenty-four pounds (and her *cowyll* eight pounds); the *agweddi* of a goodman's daughter, three pounds (and her *cowyll* a pound); the *agweddi* of a villein's daughter, a pound (and her *cowyll* six score pence)" (Jenkins, 1986: 50) [the *cowyll* is the morning-gift]. T. Lewis explains that *gwrda* is a nobleman of "the highest class next to the royal house" (1913, s.v. *gwrda*).

[170] "The three main categories of status above the slave are the *brenin* 'king', the *breyr* or *uchelwr* 'noble', and the *taeog*, a man who is not a slave but yet is tied to the land and to the lord. The *breyr* or *uchelwr* is also, more precisely, defined as the noble whose father has died and who has therefore inherited land and is the head of his own household, as against the *bonheddig*, noble who is not yet the head of his own household (T. Charles-Edwards, 1993: 172-3).

writings.[171] As Bédier explains in his glossary to *La chanson de Roland*, the term is actually a form of address rather than a title and in this way it acquires a formulaic expression in, for example, "seignurs barons". It can also be used to qualify characters denoting in this way the good qualities of noblemen, especially courage; in this sense it functions like an epithet for the highest ranks of the aristocracy (Bédier, 1927: 341-2). Is this a case of matching by a native word with a comparable semantic range or is there a narrowing or broadening of sense? It can be argued that the overlap of meanings in the Old French *barun* which, as form of address, also applies to all the men who carry nobility titles, may have led to the generalised use attested. In this way, a definite broadening of sense occurred.

Tywyssawc (variant spelling *dwyssoc*) usually translates Latin "princeps" and in *Cân Rolant* is used with reference to two characters only: Gwenlwyd and Naim (*quens* and *dux* respectively in the Anglo-Norman text). During the second half of the twelve century *tywyssawc* becomes more usual and its sense is specialised: from the traditional notion of leader or chief, it comes to designate, in this period, the highest ranks of aristocracy, a lower level than the king but above the *gwyrda* (Jenkins (1974/6).[172] It seems, then, that the Welsh translator is highlighting the special status of these characters, placing them in a superior level than the rest of the Franks, acknowledging the important role that they play: Gwenlwyd is the head of a household and kinsman of Charlemagne, and Naim intercedes to the king on behalf of the knights. They are both older men than the young *gwyrda* like Rolant or Oliver. The privileged position that the narrator concedes to Gwenlwyd is however undermined by the terms of address employed by the pagans to greet him, as will be seen in the following section.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that other titles mentioned in the Anglo-Norman text such as "vezcontes", "almaçurs", "almirafles" (variant "almurafles", v. 894) (849-50), all of them referring to the Saracen army, are part of a enumeration absent from the Welsh tale; so is Rolant's title of "marquis" (630). We could argue, none the less, that they would not have been easily interpreted by the Welsh translator since Old French "algalife", i.e. caliph, is seemingly understood and employed as a proper name for Marsli's uncle, who is called Algalif. The lack of the definite article allows for this interpretation, accepted by the editors

[171] For example, in *Brut y Tywysogion* (Jones, 1955: 138), *Gereint* (Thomson, 1997: 1336).

[172] In this paper, Jenkins sets out to prove T. Jones Pierce´s statement about the growing preference of *arglwydd* for *brenin* based on the political situation in twelfth and thirteenth-century Wales, basically the agreement between the leading princes to drop the title of king, which coincided with the assertion by Henry II of the principle of Anglo-Norman lordship over Wales.

of both the published versions (Peniarth and Red Book): “Ac erchi y mineu, dros y rei hynny, anuon Algaliff idaw ef, vy ewythyr” (XXXIII) [And he orders me, in recompense for them, to send Algaliff, my uncle], “Ac ymlith y rai hynny, yd oed Algaliff, ewythyr y brenin” (XXXIV) [And among those were Algaliff, the king’s uncle].[173] It all points to the rendering of the Saracen title as a proper name. What is also interesting to note here is that in the Red Book there is another instance of this word. In the Anglo-Norman poem, Gerers attacks the “almurafle”, which is in turn rendered as “algaliff”[174] whilst the rest of the versions bring the name “Lannalis” (Peniarth 10, section LXXX and White Book, col. 205.23). All in all, there was a great variety of spellings of this particular name in all the *chansons de geste*: algalife (s), augalie (velarization l>u), laugalie, lagaillie, lagalie, largalie (Moisan, 1986: 134). The Norse translation brings a similar reading, "Langalif" (Halvorsen, 1959: 114, 148-9). Perhaps this reading was already present in the source text, the prototype of both the Welsh and Norse versions; alternatively, it could be a scribal error.

Another case that deserves explanation is the rendering of ‘faldestoet’, a chair (usually translated as throne) made of wood, metal or ivory, that was easily transported (Bédier, 1927: s.v. *faldestoet*). In its first occurrence in *Cân Rolant*, the Middle Welsh word employed is *cadeir* (XXVII), referring to Marsli's golden *faldestoet* (v. 407). This predictable translation has been cited to contrast with the second occurrence. Here, Marsli asks for the book of Mahumet and places it “[a]r warthaf tarean eureit” (XL) [upon a golden shield] where the Anglo-Norman text seems to imply that it was placed on a “faldestoed d’un olifant” (v. 609) [a throne of ivory]. Note that the Norse translation brings a similar reading, “Then a large book was brought forward and it was laid upon a white shield” (Hieatt, 1980: 242). It is fair to conclude that it was probably in the common source that both translators consulted.

It was also observed that some words included in formulas describing static scene-settings were translated by unexpected terms.[175] For instance, in the following passage, “Li empereres est en un grant verger” (103) [The emperor is in a large garden] and, further, "Desuz un pin, delez un eglenter, / Un faldestoed i unt fait tut d'or mer: / La siet li reis ki

[173] Also in XLVI “Algalif, y ewythyr” [Algalif, his uncle].

[174] It is capitalized by Williams in *Ystorya de Carolo Magno* (1968: 147) but if one takes a look at the manuscript, the scribe sometimes capitalises and rubricates – although barely – the names of the Frankish warriors Gereint and Gerard but not the names of the Saracens malcabrin and algaliff (Luft, Thomas and Smith, 2013: col. 480).

[175] Some are not translated at all, like *verger* in verses 11, 159, 501, 510.

dulce France tient" (114-6) [Beneath a pine, beside a briar rose, / they have set a thone of solid gold: / there sits the king who holds the sweet France], Charlemagne is in a *verger*, i.e. a big garden or orchard (a plot with fruit trees) sitting on a golden throne under a pine near a briar. *Cân Rolant* brings the following reading: “y brenin a’e wyrda yn eisted y mewn herber yn llawen y gyt a dan brenn godywyll” (VII) [the king and his barons were sitting in an arbour happy together under a shady tree]. *Herber* means arbour, flower-garden, and orchard. It may be of relevance to note that the greatest amount of attestations of *herber* is in *Ystoriau Saint Greal* (Peniarth 11). It can be argued that the meaning of *herber* is trying to combine *verger* + *eglenter*, that is, a flower-garden. The pine has a symbolic value that lacks the simply *brenn*, so that meaning would be less redundant (Charlemagne was in a place full of trees seated below a tree). Modern translators of the text usually render *verger* as garden as there is no doubt that this is the more proper meaning in cases like v. 159 when Charlemagne pitches tents in a *verger* (otherwise it would be difficult to do it in a land with trees). Marsilie “Enz el verger s'en est alez li reis” (501) [The king goes into a garden] is rendered as “(…) y kerdawd Marsli y eiste a dan wasgawt oliwyden” (XXXIV) [Marsli walked (…) to sit under the shade of an olive tree], which is probably influenced by the previous line, “Vait s'apuier suz le pin a la tige” (500) [he goes to lean against the trunk of the pine] although in *La chanson de Roland* it is Ganelon who performs this action.

A semantic field of great richness is constituted by verbs of diction, which express a particular nuance. Whereas the Anglo-Norman text utilises an inflected form of the verb “dire”, (to say), usually the third person singular simple past “dist”, *Cân Rolant* employs a much more specific verb which denotes the particular illocutionary force of the speaker, i.e. his intention. The following is a list of such verbs with examples:[176]

(i) *annoc/annog* [encourage]: “fierement cumencet sa raisun et dist” (219-220) [Angrily he begins his speech] > annoc gwrthwynep (XIII) [urge opposition]; v. 1170/lxxvi; v. 1237/lxxix; v. 1349/lxxxv

(ii) *canmol* [commend, praise]: collective discourse > “ymadrawd Rolant a ganmoles pawb o’r Freinc” [every one of the Franks praised Rolant’s speech] (reported speech); v. 776/liii

(iii) *ymliw* [chastise]: v. 286/ xx

(iv) *amouyn* [inquire]: v. 740/l

[176] For a discussion of verbs of diction of ample range, e.e. *attep*, *mynegi*, *ymadrod*, and traditional patterns of dialogue see below, p. 147.

(v) *annoc ac hyvyrydu* [encourage and console] (lxxiv), “dire sermun” (1126)
(vi) *agreifftiawd* [anghreifftiaf, challenge scornfully, 1346] : "dire de mals moz" (v. 1190) / lxxvii
(vii) *hoffi* [praise]: v. 1274/lxxx
(viii) *cerydu* [rebuke]: v. 1360/lxxxvi

In all the cases, the translator extracted the illocutionary force from either the context or the speech which the verb introduced and opted for a specific verb instead of the unmarked Anglo-Norman “dire”. This is very probably due to the change from performance to writing. Regarding this issue, Brewer writes that "[i]n decontextualized written stories the character information has to be placed in the discourse, but in oral stories the performer can act out characters' emotions and internal states, so that such information need not be placed explicitly in the discourse" (1985: 189).

Unpredictable substitutions: *Amherawdyr* and *teulu*

Within the context of unpredictable substitutions, the absence of the title of emperor applied to Charlemagne poses a significant question. From the beginning of *La chanson de Roland* Charlemagne is referred as king and emperor: “Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes” (1). It is known that "reis” and “emperere” could alternate on metrical constraints, that is, the composer of the Anglo-Norman text preferred one over the other depending on the assonance or on which one would fit in the count of syllables of the verse line. In *Cân Rolant*, both terms are consistently replaced by *brenin*, “king”; in the case of "rei", that represents a predictable substitution, but not for "emperere". This unpredictable replacement happens in every metrical position: when "emperere" is located in the first hemistich before the caesura after the fourth syllable (v. 96);[177] when it is at the beginning of the verse (v. 163), even introducing a new *laisse* (v. 139); when it is placed in the second hemistich but not in the assonance (v. 1); when it is in the assonance, it is not translated at all. However, the Welsh term for emperor, *amherawdyr*, a Latin loanword (probably from the time of Roman occupation,[178] but first attested in the twelfth century) was available to the translator from literary and historical writings. It appears in contemporary texts to *Cân Rolant*: in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Julius Caesar is called *amheravdyr* (Roberts, 1971: 270-1, 275); in *Brut y*

[177] The examples provided do not mean to be exhaustive but rather to illustrate the case in point.
[178] As the majority of Latin loanwords (Lewis, 1946)

Tywysogion, Henry IV, the Holy Roman Emperor who died in 1106, is recorded as *amherawdyr* too. In the Arthurian tales derived from Chrétien de Troyes' *romans*, Arthur is called *amherawdyr* (*Iarlles*, line 1). It even appears in other Welsh translations of Carolingian texts. For instance, at the beginning of *Otinel*, Charlemagne is evoked as "yr amherawdyr bonhedickaf a chyuoethockaf" (S. Williams, 1968: 43. 5-6) [the most noble and wealthy emperor, my translation].

Yet, in the documents produced by royal chanceries, Welsh kings called themselves "princeps" (the equivalent of Welsh *tywyssawc*), but not *brenin* ("king"). In fact, "prince" was the title chosen by the leaders of Gwynedd to refer to themselves in the thirteenth century (Crouch, 1992: 70; Stephenson, 2014).[179] In poetry, the political situation in Wales probably led to the replacement of the title of *brenin* for that of *arglwydd* ("lord"), change that coincided with the consolidation of Henry II's dominion over Welsh territory (Jenkins, 1974/6). As historians have pointed out, during the last quarter of the twelfth century and the first decade of the thirteenth century, oaths and bonds of loyalty became more and more formal and Welsh leaders frequently pledged homage to the English king (Davies, 2000: 245). In point of fact, homage, which was primarily a political and symbolic act, included in 1177 a grant of land from Henry II to two Welsh princes (Roderick 1952: 205-6).

In addition, *brenin* ("king") is also attested in prose tales, although to a lesser extent. In the *Second Branch*, Bendigeidfran is introduced as "brenhin coronawc" [crowned king] of the Island of Britain and Matholwch is "brenin Iwerdon" [king of Ireland]. However, in the *Fourth Branch*, Math is "arglwydd" of several *cantrefi* in the North, whereas Pryderi is "arglwydd" of the South. In these contexts, *brenin* highlights the character of overking of these rulers.

So if the translator had the option of *amherawdyr* at his disposal, why did he prefer *brenin*? Has b*renin* the same semantic range in the context of *Cân Rolant* as *emperere* in the Anglo-Norman text, i.e. a king above kings, overking? Is this choice related to a strategy aimed at accommodating the text to the Welsh context, or to the type of narrative matter of the ST?

The calculated omission of the term *amherawdyr* underscores three particular aspects of the translation. First, by introducing new passages, the translator shows his interest (and

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[179] A few cases to illustrate this point: "Lewelinus Gervasii filius Norwallie princeps" in a grant of land and privileges to the abbey of Cymer in 1209; "Llywelyn princeps Northwallie, in a grant of land and privileges to the convent of Ynys Lannog in 1221 (Stephenson, 2014: 199-204).

probably that of his perceived recipient) in Christian martial values, life after death, companionship, friendship, and reciprocity (all topics already discussed). Secondly, the rather easy way of connecting *Cân Rolant* with Welsh heroic tradition as illustrated by *Y Gododdin*. As it is known, this poem is an elegy, a long *planctus* that evokes British warriors fallen at Catraeth (Catterick today) c. 600, expressing primarily the heroic ideals of a warrior aristocracy (Jarman, 1988; Charles-Edwards, 1978a). Whether the poem is authentic or not (the debate is still open amongst scholars),[180] the basic topics addressed comprise stereotyped concepts of heroic poetry (warrior prowess, loyalty to the lord, desire of glory and fame even at the expense of life itself, liberality in times of peace), the severity of the inescapable fate that led to Catraeth, and sorrow for the death of the warriors in the prime of their youth. These themes are very close, even identical, to the ones present in *Cân Rolant*.

Despite that many of the topics dealt with in the Welsh translation are familiar to medieval Welsh literature and express important preoccupations of its recipients, such as loyalty and companionship as means of preserving social order, the translation also reveals a degree of unfamiliarity with Carolingian matter. In contrast to the characters that belonged to the Arthurian matter (which will be discussed in the next chapter), the exploits of Charlemagne and his warriors were foreign to the Welsh. What reasons could have led to request the translation of *La chanson de Roland*? The interest on the Carolingian text seems to be oriented mostly to extracting a model of royalty and a group of values especially relevant to the king and the nobility in the thirteenth century. We will address this issue in extenso in the conclusion of the chapter.

The other important absence is the term *teulu* (“retinue”, “retainers”) to refer to the close military circle around the king. Although the *teulu* is nowhere defined in the laws, there are many references to it and parallels can be drawn from others societies. This close circle was a fundamental element for Welsh kings – as well as for all sorts of leaders of early societies, whether Welsh, Anglo-Saxon or Norse –, the war-band or household troops, the *comitatus*. The function of the *teulu* was to attend to the king´s needs with absolute loyalty and in return they expected full generosity from him. In R.R. Davies' words: "The *teulu* was more than a royal bodyguard; it was the fighting force which protected the king´s authority and title and promoted his cause in the endlessly competitive world of Welsh dynastic

[180] As was stressed in chapter 2, date of composition is still an open debate, as well as the authenticity of the poem. A ninth or tenth-century date (Isaac, 2004) would not undermine the contention made here, namely, that the poem conveys strong heroic ideals.

politics" (2000: 66-7; cf. Carr, 2000). These men were drawn from the highest ranks of the aristocracy and were many times the king´s own relatives by blood or alliance. In the texts under discussion, for example, Rolant is Chiarlymaen's nephew, his sister's son, and Gwenlwyd is his brother-in-law; Balacawnt and Falsaron are Marsli's uncles, and his unnamed nephew is also part of his host. The *teulu* features very prominently in Welsh medieval poetry and prose, and in historical writings. For instance, in the *First Branch*, Pwyll's *teulu* helps him take down Gwawl's men (I. Williams, 1964: 17). The *Triads of the Island of Britain* record two series of three different *teuluoedd*: "Tri Diweir Deulu", "The Three Faithful War-bands", and "Tri Anniweir Deulu", "The Three Faithless / Disloyal War-bands" (Bromwich, 2006: triads 29 and 30). In *Brut y Tywysogion*, the earliest mention to a *teulu* is in c. 1047 when "seith ugeinwyr o teulu Gruffud [ap Llywelyn]" [one hundred and forty men of Gruffud's household] were slaughtered because of "dwyll gwyr Ystrat Tywi" [the treachery of the men of Ystrad Tywi] (Jones, 1955: 24-25). Rhys ap Tewdwr's *teulu* fell at the battle of Pwllgwdig (1078) fighting against Trahaearn ap Caradog (Jones, 1955: 28-9); later on, in 1096, Uchdryd's sons' *teulu* are commanded to defend their territory, a fact which shows that a ruler´s sons could also have their own war-band (Jones, 1955: 50). A relative of the king – many times a nephew, as in *Iarlles* – was the *penteulu*, the head of the *teulu*, a very honourable position.

Unexpectedly, this term is completely absent from *Cân Rolant* despite the fact that the Twelve Peers could be understood as Charlemagne's own *teulu*, with his nephew, Rolant, at its head, acting as *penteulu*. As we have already seen, complete loyalty to the lord – the principal obligation of the war-band - is one of the major topics of the tale and the "deudec gogyfurd" [Twelve Peers] die for Charlemagne, their lord. But before trying to explain the choice made here by the translator, let us first examine the word he uses to render "peer": *gogyfurd*. According to the GPC it is a compound formed on the basis of *go-*, a prefix meaning "rather, somewhat, slightly, partly", + *cyfurdd* (also a compound of *cyf-+urdd*), "of equal rank, status, dignity".[181] It can either be employed as an adjective or a noun, meaning "equal in rank or dignity, of equal value" or "one of equal rank or dignity, an equal, peer,

[181] However it could be have been constructed by joining *gogyd-*, a prefix that carries the sense "co-equal", + *urdd*. This would suit better its final meaning in this context.

douzeper(s)", respectively (GPC, s.v. *gogyfurdd*).[182] As an adjective its first occurrences predominantly appear in the laws. As a noun it is initially attested in the Charlemagne cycle. But a quick search in the *rhyddiaith gymraeg* website (Luft, Thomas and Smith, 2013) shows that it also occurs in the texts of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, another translation of roughly the same period to *Cân Rolant*. Here it also denotes the *deudec gogyfurd ffreinc* [the Twelve French Peers] at Arthur´s coronation, a rendering of the Latin "duodecim pares Galliarum" [the Twelve Peers of Gaul] (Parry, 1937: 169; cf. *Historia Regum Britanniae* IX.350). Interestingly, the translator of the *Brut* employed this same phrase for "duodecim reges in Galliam", the twelve kings of Gaul that helped Goffar the Pict against Brutus; the anachronism was probably irrelevant.[183] In brief, it seems that the translator nominalised the adjective *gogyfurdd* in order to convey the sense of the Old French "per", also a nominalised adjective but with the restricted reference to the twelve peers of France. The phrase is employed in a few instances to refer to that sort of evil counterpart represented by the twelve peers assembled by Marsli (for example in LXXI, LXXXII), but its main association remains to be the Christian knights.

In his article, Carr (2000) posits that during the thirteenth century the *teulu* developed into a body of household troops (including mounted knights) which formed the nucleus of a prince army in response to political circumstances, mainly the emergence of the principality of Wales and the need for a largest and more professional military force. The long campaigns undertaken by the rulers of Gwynedd demanded the employment of mercenaries and the adoption of a form of feudal contract whereby lands were granted in exchange for military service, although it should be noted that the evidence for this practice belongs to the fourteenth century. Subsequently, the bonds of personal relationship between lord and *teulu* would be diluted. Side by side with the war-bands other types of military forces were employed according to the type of campaign in process: in *Cân Rolant*, *llu*, "host", refers to Charlemagne and Marsli's troops; *byddin*, "army" or "battalion" to smaller military units (LXXII). Besides, garrisons were posted at castles, whether conquered by the Welsh or built by them.

[182] The word *urdd* is employed in twelfth century poetry to denote dignity, honour, a dubbed knight. In the fourteenth century it acquired the meaning of order, as of chivalry, body or guild of people sharing the same occupation or interests. It is probably with the first sense that the compound was created.

[183] We read in *Brut y Brenhinedd*: "Ac yna yfoas goffar fichti ac adienghis oy wyr. hyt ardeudec gogyuurd freinc…" [And then Goffar the Pict and those of his men who escaped fled to the twelve peers of France] (Parry, 1937: 20). Cf. *Historia Regum Britanniae* I.385.

In view of all of the above, the calculated omission of the term *teulu* to refer to the “deudec gogyfurd” [Twelve Peers] could be explained because by the time the Anglo-Norman was translated, the role played by the *teulu* was diminishing. In its place, a form of feudal contract was becoming more common, as the many references to “gwrogaeth” [homage] also suggest. However, it could be argued that the *teulu* was perceived as an inherently native institution and therefore impossible to assimilate to the war-band of the Frankish king. In this sense, it was a way to create a distance from the text.[184]

6.4.1.2 Circumlocutions

Few cases of circumlocutory techniques can be counted and they are problematic since various answers can be given to explain them. First, the patronymic of Blancandrins, “de Castel de Valfunde” is translated as a relative clause: "Balacawnt, yr hwnn a oed lyweawdyr ar arglwydiaeth a holl gedernyt y glynn issel" (II) [Balacawnt, who was ruler over the domain and the whole strongwhole of the low valley]. In this passage, "glynn issel” literally renders "valfunde". This could be interpreted as a literal understanding of the place name; alternatively, it could be the result of a complete misunderstanding of the name as a place name. Either way, the translator used a rather convoluted mode to translate a simple phrase.

Another example is a case of doublets, i.e. the use of two words to translate a single one in order to capture the semantic range of the word. The cases to be examined belong to a very particular field: emotions. Falsaron, Marsli’s brother, feels “doel” when he sees his nephew ling dead in the battlefield: “Asez ad doel quant vit mort sun nevold” (1219) [lit. great sorrow had when he saw his nephew dead] . *Doel* denotes a “chagrin violent causé par une affection blessée, l’indignation ou la honte" (Bédier, 1927: s.v. *doel*). Maybe due to the polysemy of the word or to the adverb “asez”, “too much, great”, or to both, the translator employed two nouns at sentence-initial position: "Dolur a gorthrwm vu gan Falsaron gwelet agev y nei” (LXXVIII) [lit. Saddened and oppressed was Falsaron to see his nephew’s death].[185] Further on, when Roland sees Samson dead, the narrator comments that “Podez saveir que mult grant doel en out” (1538) [you can well know he feels very great grief] which

[184] It is no doubt very curious the image of the Franks constructed in *Brut y Tywysogion*. They are twice called deceivers: “As it is the way of the French to deceive people with promises...” (Jones, 1955: 85); “And then, as it is the way with the French to do everything by guile...” (95). This is certainly Gwelwyd's code of behaviour.

[185] For a discussion of sentence-initial position and topicalization, see part 6.4.2.

is in turn rendered as "A dolur a llit a gymryth Rolant o welet Samson yn varw" (C) [lit. And grief and anger felt Rolant at seeing Samson dead]. Again, the sentiments are moved to sentence-initial position, fulfilling the role of topic, thus drawing attention to them. Note the modifiers of "doel", "mult" and "grant". The translator is very consistent in these cases, for a third occurrence happens almost at the end of the tale. With the pagan's victory, Rolant hears the Franks lamenting and "Si grant doel ad que parmi quïet fender" (1588) [he feels such grief, he feels he will split apart]. Context hinders the translator from choosing – again – sentence-initial position for Rolant's feelings because he needs a reference to the previous statement to indicate the reason for them: "A'r kwynuaeu hynny a gyfroassant clustyeu Rolant ar dolur a llit" (CIV) [And those lamentations moved Rolant's ears to sorrow and wrath]. The same pair of nouns as in the preceding case are employed to render the same Old French noun, which is again accompanied by the magnifier "si grant". One last example remains to be examined. It is actually a doublet: "yn y wlat a'e vedeant ehun" (XCI) [in his country and his own fief], a phrase added by the translator, probably drawn from native tradition (cf. "y wlat ac a'e gyuoeth" [his land and his country] in the *First Branch*) (I. Williams, 1964: 27).

6.4.1.3 Adoptions

Despite the fact that several spelling variations occur, proper names are usually rendered by adopting the same word. A sample will show this:

La chanson de Roland	*Cân Rolant*
Mahumet	Mahumet
Carles / Carlemagne	Chiarlymaen / Chyarlys (Red Book)
Blancandrins	Balacawnt
Marsilie	Marsli
Valdabruns	Maldebrwn
Climborins	Kilbrwm / Cilborus / Cliborin (Red Book)
Bramimunde	Braimwnt
Malquïant	Malquidon / Malkwidon (Red Book)
Anseïs	Gansel
Grandonies	Grandon

Gerier	Gereint
Berenger	Brengar
Guiun	Gwimwnt
Austorje	Astorius

There are certain regularities in the translation of proper names: on the one hand, the ending -wn(t) for either male or female names. Also the standardization of the Anglo-Norman names which, it needs to be remembered, are subjected to the whims of the assonance. However, exceptions occur such as the use of a familiar Welsh name Gereint for Gerier. Moreover, in all the versions Mahumet is an unassimilated loanword from the source (the -u- does not even change to -w-). The name of Oliver's sword follows the same reasoning of welshification: Anglo-Norman Halteclere > Hawtykylyr (LXXXVI, variant Hawtklyr XCVIII, Hawtcler in the White Book, col. 208.27-8).

In the rendering of place-names, no mention is made of Aix, Charlemagne's chief court, but Guascuigne > Gwasgwyn,[186] Cordres > yGhordybi (VII).

6.4.2 Syntax

When dealing with the syntactical features of his source-text, the translator is faced with basically grammatical problems: to naturalize the word order of the source and translate constructions which may be outside of the formal possibilities of his own language, or to accommodate the source text into the possibilities offered by his language (Machan, 1985: 60). To what extent, then, did the Anglo-Norman source exert influence on the syntax of *Cân Rolant*? How did the Welsh translator deal with, for instance, the loose word order of Old-French, for example, which allows for certain mobility due to the existence of the two cases, *régime* and *sujet*? Or the constraints of metrics on language, which also contributed to syntactic order? Or the regular positioning of words, such as adjective-noun instead of noun-adjective as in Welsh? Or the ancient combination of nouns in the order determining – determined (e.g. *roi cort*: court of the king)? (Raynaud de Lage, 2004; Joly, 2009). Did the Welsh translator comprehend these usages and try to accommodate them into Middle Welsh? Did he feel compelled to follow them?

[186] *Gwasgwyn* also in "gascon horse" in *Iarlles*.

Let us start by examining one particular feature, the use of the demonstrative pronouns *yr hwn(n)*, *yr hon(n)* as relative pronouns to introduce adjective subordinate clauses since D. Simon Evans posited that "The demonstratives yr hwnn, yr honn, &c., commonly occur before a relative clause, especially in translated works, and it appears that they were sometimes regarded as proper relative pronouns" (1964: §74, N. 1-2). These relative pronouns are fairly common in *Cân Rolant*, which goes against the characteristic paratactic style of the epic. But are they triggered by the source language? Do they translate an equivalent relative pronoun in Old French? It should be remembered, though, that critics defined the so-called 'style of translation' based on Welsh translations of Latin texts. Although different languages (even when one derives from the other, as in the case of French from Latin) presumably trigger different responses in translation, it is worth testing to see if there are correspondences between the use of *yr hwn(n)*, *yr hon(n)* and French relative pronouns. The answer is no. A sample will show this:

i. Ac yn y dinas hwnnw yd oed Marsli (…) *yr hwnn* petvei ganthaw fyd Gatholic, ni ellid caffel gwr brudach na gwell noc ef [And in that city ruled Marsli (…) than whom, if he had the Catholic faith, it would not be possible to find a man wiser or better] (I) / can translate "ki Deu nen aimet" (7)

ii. Balacawnt, *yr hwnn* a oed lyweawdyr ar arglwydiaeth a holl gedernyt y glynn issel [Balacawnt, who was ruler over the domain and the whole stronghold of the low valley"] (II) / translates "Blancandrins de Castel de Valfunde" (23)

iii. y Gwr yssyd iechyt y bop peth, *yr hwnn* a gymyrth knawt o'r Wyry [He who is the salvation of every thing, who took flesh of the Virgin] (VIII) / expansion

iv. y kyuodes Naym Dwyssawc rac bronn Chiarlymaen, *yr hwnn* a dangossei [rose before Charlemagne Prince Nay, whose age [showed]] (XIV) / cf. "Aprés iço i est Neimes venud / Meillor vassal n' aveit en la curt nul" (230-1)

v. 'Rolant', eb y Gwenlwyd, 'a dechreuwad honni hynn, *yr hwnn* a atwen i arnaw ys llawer o amsser na mynnei hir bara ar vy hedyl i' ['It is Roland', said Gwenlwyd, 'who began to assert this –of whom I have known for a long time that he did not wish my life to last long'] (XVIII) / cf. 'Sire', dist Guenes, 'ço ad tut fait Rolant: / Ne l'amerai a trestut mun vivant (322-3)

vi. 'Llawer a erlynhaa', eb ef, 'gormot chwant, *yr hwnn* ny wyr dodi teruyn yn y kymryt tra vo yn adolwyn' ['Greed', he said, 'which does not know how to put an end to acquiring while it is craving, afflicts many'] (XXIV) / expansion

vii. (…) y Freinc, *y rei* nyt llei a veidiant ac nyt llai eu gallu noc a chwenychont [the Franks, who dare no less and are able [to do] no less than they wish] (XXVI) / cf. 'Par la franceise gent: / Il l'aiment tant ne li faldrunt nïent (396-7)

viii. 'Ymadrodwn weithion', eb ef, 'am yr hen Chiarlymaen, *yr hwnn* a dengys y lwydi y heneint' ['Let us speak now', he said, 'of old Chiarlymaen whose greyness shows his old age'] (xxxvi) / Dist li paiens: 'Mult me puis merveiller / De Carlemagne, *ki* est canuz e vielz (vv. 537-8).

Even though it is sometimes quite complicated to assess the 'coupled pair' of replaced and replacing, we can deduce from the above that the demonstrative used as relative pronoun can translate a wide variety of Old French words, fulfilling and not fulfilling the same function, and that it can also be employed in expansions, where there is no correspondence in the source-text. Therefore it is safe to dismiss this syntactic trait as a feature of translation. Some words are rendered literally and welshification (*cymreigeiddio*) of names happens, but this is not enough to define a Welsh attitude to Old French material. Concerning the position of adjectives in front of nouns, the regular pattern in Old French, there are few examples, although at significant points: “damunedic Freinc” (XLVI), “dulce France” (702). This phrase appears a number of times in *La chanson de Roland* recalling the home of the Franks. The Welsh translator conveyed thus the force of the symbolic associations of this phrase.[187] Gwenlwyd’s “tylwyth” [kindred] farewells him by saying “A detwyd a doneawc dwyssawc” (XXIII) [“O fortunate and gifted prince”] but there is no actual correspondence in *La chanson de Roland*.

What syntactical features distinguish this tale from other tales pertaining to Middle Welsh prose literary tradition? For instance, there are no sentences introduced by *sef*, which is quite common in middle Welsh prose tales (Evans, 1964: 52). The translator uses mostly one type of construction in main affirmative statements: adverbial or nominal clause + y/a + verb + (subject) (e.g., *ac yna yd aeth X*, *ac X a welei*) which is, according to Poppe, “the dominant pattern” of the literary language in Middle Welsh (2000: 43-4).[188] More precisely, he employs the (traditionally called) 'abnormal order' – which is not abnormal at all – in the following basic distribution:

(a) adverbial phrase + particle y + finite verb: 133 instances
(b) nominal subject + particle a + finite verb: 64 instances
(c) verb noun + particle a + auxiliary verb: 45 instances[189]
(d) pronominal subject + particle a + finite verb: 45 instances
(e) nominal object + particle a + finite verb: 43 instances

[187] On the contrary, the Norse translator produced the closest rendering following its own syntax, "Frakkland it góða", "the good France" (Halvorsen, 1959: 138). Examples of adjectives preceding nouns occur in *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwm*; interestingly with *damunedic* (*ywyllus* and *serch*) and *racdywededic*, see Poppe and Reck (2009: 43).
[188] This is based on statistical data. See also Charles-Edwards (2001).
[189] See fuller discussion below, p. 143.

(f) verb-initial : 16 instances

Comparison of these results with Poppe's figures for *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, *Second* and *Third Branch of the Mabinogi*, and *Breudwyt Maxen* reveal that, along with these, *Cân Rolant* tends to avoid the use of sentence-initial finite verbs (f) (1991: 169-70). The Welsh translation shares large proportions of (a), (b), and (d) with *Cyfranc* but presents far more examples of (c). In this it is closer to *Culhwch ac Olwen*, the *Third Branch*, and *Breudwyt Ronabwy*. The pattern in (e) is usually infrequent but also happens within pragmatically conditioned contexts in *Breudwyt Maxen*.

However, other constituents, such as connectives or adverbs, which do not trigger the pre-verbal particle, are usually fronted too. Fife and King (1991), as well as Poppe (1991, 2012), posit that the selection of pre-verbal constituents seems to be governed by some pragmatic principles, i.e. a functional sentence perspective could accounts for the effects that the flow of information and its communicative function has on the grammatical structure of the sentence. Topic and comment (or theme and rheme) are the most widely accepted of those principles; sentence-initial position implies focus, and topicalization is one of its main functions. Topics set a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds; they can be connected to old or previously given information that the speaker wants to convey in that particular occasion.[190] Hence they contribute to scene-setting: adverbial or nominal phrases establish points of reference and orientation, defining the background for specific narrative units and/or for the following assertion. They can have an intra-sentential function (add salience, set theme of sentence, natural hierarchy or progression) and simultaneously an extra-sentential function which links statements with each other, providing cohesion and progression to the narrative, or allowing for a topic shift (Poppe, 1991: 187; Fife and King, 1991: 123-132). Paragraph markers of time ('one day', 'the next day') or location ('there') can be realised either in pre-verbal or post-verbal position, depending on the constituents available to the narrator and his purpose. We can re-interpret the patterns of *Cân Rolant* in this light as follows:

[190] Focus refers to the degree to which an item is made more prominent in the communicative structure of the sentence (Fife and King, 1991: 95). Cf. Poppe (1991: 186).

(a) adv.+ y + verb: This structure provides the temporal or spatial background of the sentence, or names the new or old entity described by the comment; it usually makes anaphoric reference to the previous statement.

Example 1: "A gwedy yr ymadrodeon hynny, y kennadeu a ducpwyt y eu llettyeu" (X) [And after those words, the ambassadors were led to their lodgings].

The prepositional phrase sets the temporal frame of the following assertion and at the same time contributes to the cohesion of the text by an anaphoric reference to Chiarlymaen's speech in the previous section (IX). Therefore, it fulfils a sentential function as well as contributing to tightening up the narrative.

Example 2: "'A diwyrnawt', eb ef, 'yd oed Chiarlymaen yn eiste a dan brenn wmbyr tywyll. Ac y doeth Rolant attaw yn gyweir o arueu ac estynnu aual eur a oruc y Chiarlymaen'" (XXV) ['And one day', he said, 'Chiarlymaen was sitting under a dark wmbyr tree. And Rolant came to him fully equipped with armor, and he held out a golden apple to Chiarlymaen'].

The adverb "diwyrnawt" [one day] provides the temporal background of this little anecdote that Gwenlwyd tells Marsli. The beginnings of new narrative units that imply a shift of setting follow a similar pattern: "Yna yd oed vrenin Freinc yGhordybi" (VII) [At that time the Frankish king was in Cordova]; "Ac ar hynny yd oed Varsli yn eisted y mewn cadeir eur" (XXVII) [And at that Marsli was sitting on a gold throne].

(b) subj. (nom) + a + verb:

Example: "A'r gordetholwyr hynny a disgynnassant ar hyt ystlys y mynyd yn erbyn y Cristonogyon ac eu deudec gogyuurd yn eu blaen" (LXXI) [And those chosen men descended along the side of the mountain to meet the Christians with their twelve peers in front of them]

The pronominal subject does not provide new information but instead individualise a certain group by referring back to the previous passage which tells about the pagan's army.

(c) obj. (nom) + a + verb: this patter seems mostly to cluster in specific passages of the narrative although there are a number of exceptions.[191]

Example 1: "*Llawer o'e gedernyt* a distriwassut, *a llawer o'r Yspaen* a oresgynassut a danat duhunan. *Yr vn geirieu hynn a'e gennadwri a* anuones ef attati yna, *yr vn peth hwnn* a edewis yr anfydlon y wneuthur yt yna. (…) *A'r rei hynny* a beris y brenin enwir llad eu penneu rac y vronn" (XII) [lit. Much of his might you had destroyed, and much of Spain you had subjugated under yourself. These same words and message which he sent you then, this selfsame thing the infidel promised to do for you then. (…) And those the wicked king caused to be beheaded before him].

This passage is framed by Rolant's first speech in the council. He is addressing the king and so there is no place for ambiguity and confusion between subjects and objects.

Example 2: "'A vrenhin anrydedus', eb ef, 'a'm caredic inneu, *llawer kedernyt* a darystygeis i ytti, a *llawer gelyn yt y'th reit* a diueeis'. (…) *Yr anryded* a erchis a ganhyadawd Marsli idaw" (LX) ['O honourable king and my friend', he said, 'many a stronghold I have conquered for you, and many an enemy have I destroyed for you in your need'. (…) The honor that he requested granted Marsli to him]

Again, the first sentence is part of the request that his nephew puts forward to Marsli. The topicalization of the object confers salience to the elements in question.

(d) subj. (pron.) + a + verb: The fronting of a pronominal subject usually occurs within a direct speech in the first person or second personal singular, enforcing that discourse.

Example 1: "'A mi a adolygaf ywch cadw wrthunt wy vyg ketymdeithas i a'm ymgeled wedy agheu'" (XXIII) ['And I beg you to keep toward them the friendship and care you have for me after [my] death'].

This favours Poppe's contention that there are two pragmatic principals behind the pronoun fronting: the greater tendency to topicalize subjects and to prefer first and second person over third person (1991). However, this is not the case in the next example:

[191] Poppe noted that this pattern is fairly infrequent but tends to appear in pragmatically conditioned environments (1991: 169-170).

Example 2: "A gawr a dodes y paganieit ar y Freinc, ac wynteu, o vn vyryt, a anganvuant vot y paganieit yn mynet trostunt ac yn eu kywarsagu yn ormot" (CIV) [And the pagans raised a shout at the Franks, and they, with one will, perceived that the pagans were overcoming them and pressing them excessively]

The pronominal subject of the second co-ordinated clause clearly introduces a new agent allowing for distinction and contrast with the former subject, the pagans, enabling topic shifting. Note also that the first clause begins with a nominal object. At this point in the narrative, the pagans are triumphing over the Christians and several single combats have been told. In this context, the topicalization of the object *gawr* is relevant since the pagans are the main subject of the preceding passages.

This analysis confirms that the syntactical patterns employed by the translator follows Middle Welsh regular traits. More importantly, it is arguably a person well aware of the range of possibilities afforded by his own language.

Amongst the patterns discovered by Poppe while studying the selection of frontings in positive statements with *mynet* and a locative, one appears to be an unmarked order (subj+part+vb+loc) while another is employed to mark the narrative's coherence and progression (temp+part+vb+subj+loc). This becomes very relevant when dealing with the syntax of *Cân Rolant*. The text is punctuated by connective phrases such as:

(a) Conjunctions

A(c) [and]: This is the most common conjunction to link clauses in Middle Welsh prose, in all types of texts (the *Mabinogion* corpus, religious, and historical texts). Parataxis points to the oral narrative tradition (S. Davies, 1995: 101).

(b) Prepositional connectives

A gwedy + nominal clause / verbal noun (*yr ymadrodeon hynny / klybot o*) [and after + those words / hearing that]: according to Poppe (1991), prepositional phrases introduced by *gwedy* with verbal noun as core are equivalent to a subordinate temporal clause and defines the situational frame for the rest of the sentence combining intra-and extra-sentential functions of topics.

Ac yn ol + nominal clause (*hynny*) [and after + those]

(c) Time connectives

trannoeth y bore [next morning]

Ac yn diannot + verb noun (*tynnu a oruc*) [and without delay + drew]

A phan [and when]

Ac ar hynny / Ac yn hynny / Ac ymplith hynny [and at that]

Ac yna [and then]: The fronting of temporal adverb *yna* is very frequent in Middle Welsh. It usually refers back to the previous statement.

Ac odyna + pre-verbal particle + verb (*y dyuot / yd erchis*) [and then + came / asked]

All these connectives are part of the repertoire of connectives within Middle Welsh literary tradition, which also includes others not employed in this text. They have a double functionality: intra-statement and inter-statement. Therefore they contribute to the conjunctive cohesion of the narrative. Moreover, they provide the framework for the subordination of clauses and the account of simultaneity of action, which is accomplished, for example, by the temporal connective “a phan” [and when]. Conjunctions and prepositional and temporal connectives such as “ac” [and], “yna” [then], “trannoeth” [next day] present the events in chronological order and connect them together. Sioned Davies has shown that a set of formulas is employed to separate sub-episodes and that the authors “yn defnyddio’r diwrnod fel uned amseryddol gan roi amlinelliad o weithgareddau o un dydd i’r llall” [“use the day as temporal unit giving an outline of the activities from one day to the next”] in the *Mabinogion* corpus (1995: 167). Given the nature of the narrative under scrutiny, which is not always concerned with supplying a realistic frame of the passing of time (e.g. “Ac wedy ymadaw uelly, wynt a gytgerdassant yny doethant hyt yn Saragis rac bronn Marsli Vrenhin” (XXVII) [And after having thus pledged, they travelled together until they came as far as Saragossa, before King Marsli]) it seems that the events narrated happened within three days. The first sub-episode (the pagans’ council scene and embassy to Charles) apparently takes one day; the next day, Charlemagne’s own council takes place and Gwenlwyd’s embassy is appointed for “thrannoeth y bore” (x)[the next morning]. Within these, events are ordered by way of connectives but no more exact account of time is specified. The next sub-episode, however, is clearly framed in time: “A’r dyd hwnnw, ual peunyd o’e deuawt ry gyuodassei Chiarlys y boredyd” (XLVI) [And that day, as every day, according to his customs, Chiarlys had arisen at dawn] / cf. “De grand matin l'empereur s'est levé” (669) [The emperor rises in

the morning]. Mention is also made of the evening of that same day ("pyrnhawn", XLVII) and of the night ("y nos", XLVIII). The next day is the last one to be given a temporal reference of this kind: "A phan doeth y dyd drannoeth, kyuodi a oruc Chiarlymaen" (L) [And when the next day came, Chiarlymaen rose]. We have jumped ahead to matters of style in this last paragraph but these considerations were necessary to assess the use of syntactical connectives.

Alongside the frequent use of finite verbs, *gwneuthur* periphrases are also employed, though to a lesser extent.[192] They follow the structure verbal noun + auxiliary, e.g. phrases comprising *a wnaeth* (third person singular), *a wnaethant* (third person plural), *a wnaethum* (first person singular), and *a wnaethpwyt* (impersonal past). The majority of cases, however, involve the use of *goruc* as auxiliary verb especially in this form, the third person singular: there are thirty two examples in the tale. Next are the five instances of the third person plural *a orugant*; this gives forty five tokens in total.[193] *Gwn*- and *gor*- forms can alternate in the same passage, as in section XCVI.[194] It is true that conjugated forms of the verbs are preferred in the first part the tale (if we divide the text in two halves for the sake of argument, the first part would comprise sections I-LIII). The last part has around twice the number of *gwneuthur* periphrasis. It is not clear though what we can infer from all this. Thomas' study of these forms was inconclusive (2003).[195] Regarding this particular use, Poppe has argued that the location of the verbal noun in the topic position is employed "for continuous neutral narration in which no nominal participant of the verbal action has to be topicalized" and where the subject will be recoverable from the context (2000: 45).

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[192] *Gwneuthur* and *goruc* are forms of the verb "to do" that function as auxiliary, as "to have" in English or "haber" in Spanish. *Gwneuthur* periphrases particularly characterise other middle Welsh prose tales such as *Iarlles*, in which constructions that follow the pattern "A gofyn a oruc Owein" and "Ac ef a welei" are mostly found. In contrast, the syntax of *Cân Rolant* presents more variation within narrative syntactical patterns.

[193] *a wnaeth*: XXXVIII, LI, XCVI; *a wnaethant*: LIX, LXXVI, XC; *a wnaethum*: LX; *a wnaethpwyt*: V*; a oruc*: II, XII, XX, XXIII, XXV, XXXIII (2 tokens), XXXV, XLI, XLVI, L, LV, LVIII, LXIII, LXX (2 tokens), LXXIII, LXXVII, LXXVIII (2 tokens), LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, XC, XCIII, XCV, XCVII, CII, CV, CVII; *a orugant*: VII, LXII, LXXII, LXXXVII, XCVI. Note that the number of auxiliaries is less than the number of verb nouns since more than one verb noun can accompany an auxiliary.

[194] "Ac ymgadarnhau *a wnaeth* pawp onadunt o'r ymadrawd hwnnw (…) A gwedy dodi gawr onadunt ar Vyrynn Llewenyd, ymgymyscu a *orugant* a'r paganieit…" [lit. And steeled himself every one of them with that speech (…) And after raising the shout on the Hill of Joy, they intermingled with the pagans…].

[195] Based on a detailed examination of the distribution of both forms of verbs, Thomas concludes that *goruc* characterises a formal style of writing until around 1350 in native tales and that, after that time, is replaced by *gwnaeth*. What is difficult to assess is if writers use *goruc* in order to intentionally archaise their texts or if the difference in use are grounded on dialectal differences (2000: 268).

Given the above, it is safe to argue that the Welsh translator worked within the regular parameters and possibilities of Middle Welsh literary prose and accommodated its source to it. The following sample comprises a few instances that point to different degrees of influence of the Anglo-Norman source on the syntactic structure, i.e. in the selection of word order and thus of pre-verbal constituents. They range from slight or probable (i-ii) to almost certain influence (iii)

(i) “Blancandrins fut des plus saives paiens” (24) [Blancandrin, one of the wisest pagans]
“Y pagan hwnnw prudaf oed onadunt” (III) [That pagan was the wisest of them]

This line opens a new narrative unit, Balacawnt's speech at the first pagan council. The use of a copula sentence in Middle Welsh may have been prompted by the use of the same form of the verb 'estre' in the Anglo-Norman text, although with a change in the tense to suit better Middle Welsh prose (simple past 'fut' to imperfect 'oed'). Note that whilst the Anglo-Norman verse repeats the name Blancandrins, who was named in the last line of the previous *laisse*, to link both *laisses*, the Welsh translator avoids this repetition but, despite this, he succeeds in conveying the sense of continuity by the use of 'hwnnw' [demonstrative pronoun masculine and singular, expressing certain distance from the speaker, ‘that’ in English or ‘ese’ in Spanish] which refers anaphorically to the first mention of Balacawnt in the previous section. A similar procedure occurs with the presentation of other characters or with changes of characters, such as in "A blaenaf o'r paganieit oed Alsarot" (LXXVII) [And foremost of the pagans was Alsarot] v. Li niés Marsilie, il ad num Aëlroth, / Tut premereins chevalchet devant l'ost (1188-9) [Marsile’s nephew is named Aelroth; / he rides at the head of the army]. Repetition of this type serve to link *laisses* in *La chanson de Roland* to stress narrative sequences or for expressiveness.

(ii) “Dis blanches mules fist amener Marsilies” (89) [Marsile has ten white mules led forward]
“Deg mil a roes Marsli vdunt kyn ganwelwet a’r eiry oc eu lliw” (VI) [lit. Ten thousand [horses] gave Marsli to them as pale white as the snow in colour]

The fronting of the nominal object and its braiking in two, one at the beginning and one at the end of the clause – the latter an expansion of the adjective 'blanche' –, is better understood in the light of the Anglo-Norman verse. In *Cân Rolant*, it is necessary to recover the missing

object of the sentence ("meirch" [horses]), from the preceding section (V) which leads to a confusion between the horses given to the ambassadors to go to Charlemagne's camp and those selected as gifts to the king.

(iii) "Halt sunt li pui e li val tenebrus, / Les roches bises, les destreiz merveillus. / Le jur passerent Franceis a grant dulur" (814-6) [High are the hills and the valleys dark, / the rocks hard, the gorges awe-inspiring / Thar day the French cross with great pain].
"Mynyded vchel amdyfrwys a glynneu issel tywyll a ford gyvinc dyrys a garw – y peth mwyaf y adaw blinder y lu Freinc yn ymadaw a phyrth yr Yspaen" (LVII) [High, rugged mountains and low, dark valleys with a narrow, difficult and rough road – which most promised affliction to the French host leaving the gates of Spain]

This sentence lacks any possible structure in Middle Welsh (VSO, SVO, OVS);[196] it has no initial-sentence constituent, or topic/comment for that matter. This unusual syntax can only be explained in relation to the parallel Anglo-Norman verse already quoted. In this case, the new spatial setting is conveyed by way of the juxtaposition of a formula used elsewhere as well (e.g. "Halt sunt li pui e tenebrus e grant,/Li val parfunt e les ewes curant", 1830-1, cf. also 2271-2) always providing a framework for action. In *Cân Rolant*, the juxtaposition is made explicit by adding the co-ordinative conjunction "a" (and) but the string of nouns and modifier adjectives echo lines 814-815 of *La chanson de Roland* almost word for word: "halt pui" [high hills] > "mynyded uchel" [high mountains]; "val tenebrus" [valleys dark] > "glynneu issel tywyll" [low, dark valleys]; "destreiz merveillus" [gorges awe-inspiring] > "ford gyvinc dyrys a garw" [narrow, difficult and rough road].

It is hoped to have shown that, in line with what Fife and King (1991) and Poppe (1991) have argued, the possibilities in the selection of the fronted constituents – and their concomitant topicalization – is very varied within Middle Welsh prose literary tradition and does not depend on purely stylistic grounds. Multiple frontings, as the ones apparent in *Cân Rolant* and other translated works, are also present in native prose. Lastly, as Fife and King assert with respect to the frequent fronting of the temporal adverb *yna* [then], which is a structure more peculiar to Welsh than to Latin or French, "[t]his shows that fronting is a process with much wider scope in Welsh than could be justified as foreign influence via translation" (1991: 91).

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[196] VSO: verb-subject-object; SVO: subject-verb-object; OVS: object-verb-subject.

6.4.3 Style

6.4.3.1 Terms of address and politeness

Terms of address are basically translations from the Anglo-Norman *chanson de geste* and usually follow the pattern noun + adjective. Marsli addresses his men as “wyrda dosparthus” (II) [wise noblemen], a rendering of the neutral "seignurs" (15) [lords]. Charlemagne starts his discourse in the first council scene in exactly the same way, by calling his men “wyrda dosparthus” (XI) (cf. “Seigneurs barons”, 180). For his part, Charlemagne is addressed by his people as “brenin dosparthus” [wise king], “brenin arderchawc” [exalted kin] (XII, Rolant), “brenin bonhedic” [noble king] (XIV, Naim), “brenin gwaredawc” [merciful king] (XVI, Turpin), “brenin kywaechoc” [mighty king] (XLVI, Gwenlwyd), “brenin da, kywaethoc, bonhedic” [good, mighty, noble king] (LII, Rolant), or simply by his name (as Gwenlwyd does in XLVI). Only Gwenlwyd addresses Charlemagne as “arglwydd” [lord] but he does so in a special situation, positioning himself as his brother-in-law and trying to convince him out of sending him as ambassador (XIX). In this same situation Charlemagne addresses Gwenlwyd as “arglwydd” (XXII). In moments of great tension other epithets are employed to address a collective, such as “wyrda etholedic” [chosen barons] (Oliver to the Franks, LXX), “wyrda fenedic” [bold barons] (Turpin to the Franks, LXXIV), or Marsli calling his men “Vy fydloneon i” (XXXIII) [my faithful ones].

The translation is easily recognizable in the terms used by Oliver and Rolant in their dialogues. Oliver is "cumpainz" (793) [companion], that is “vydlonaf gedymdeith” (LV) [most faithful companion] or, during the horn scene (LXVI-LXVIII), he is addressed by Rolant as “garu gedymdeith” (XCVIII) [dear companion] (cf. “Sire cumpainz”, 1503). He is also addressed as “gedymdeith da” (LXXXVI) [good companion]. In turn, Oliver calls Rolant “vyg kedymdeith” (XV) [my companion]. In this case the lexical choices work at a higher level to underpin the topic of companionship. Engeler of Gascony is referred by Rolant as “gwas clotuawr dewr” (XCVIII) [praiseworthy valiant youth]. Gwenlwys is presented to Marsli by Balacawnt as "noble barun" (421) but in *Cân Rolant* he is introduced as “wareanc bonhedic” (XXVIII) [young noble], an inappropriate term for a married man and also head of a household. He is also addressed as “wareanc da” (XXXV, XLII) [good vassal] (cf. “bel sire”, 512), “wareanc bonhedic anrydedus” (XLI) [noble, honourable vassal] (cf. “bel sire”, 622), always by a Saracen character. This clearly undermines his status as *twyssawc* [prince].

This diminishing of a character that becomes the principal instigator of the hero´s death suits well the moralising tendency of the narrator and could be read as a poetic punishment of the character. In his turn, Rolant is also called "gwareanc da bonhedic" [good noble vassal] by Naim (LIII) but in his case it is more acceptable since he is a young warrior.

Interestingly, the Red Book of Hergest offers a set of traditional terms of address absent, on the other hand, from the rest of the versions which, as we have seen, tend to be as close as possible to the model. These four instances occur during a council scene and they are uttered by a speaker with a lower status than the addressee. Baligant starts his discourse by addressing Marsli as "Arglwyd Varsli" [Lord Marsli] twice in the same scene; Turpin and Naym start a speech with the phrase "Arglwyd vrenhin" [Lord king] directing themselves to Charlemagne. This use of conventional formulas is unparalleled in the rest of the tale.

Lastly, it should be noted that the second person singular pronoun is employed where the Anglo-Norman poem prefers the plural form of politeness "vos" or "vus", employed to refer to a single person. This does not go, however, in detriment of the sense of propriety of *Cân Rolant*. The pragmatics of politeness available to the Welsh translator did not include the use of plural forms to address a sole individual.

6.4.3.2 Speech and greetings

Dialogue is an element that tends to attract formulae and standardization in the Middle Welsh prose literary tradition. It is similarly important for both the epic and middle Welsh prose tales especially if we consider the public world of the *chanson de geste*. As Sioned Davies indicates, its main function lies in the fact that, rather than paraphrase feelings and thoughts of characters, they usually let the characters act through dialogue (1995: 197).

Direct discourse is always tagged in *Cân Rolant*, and follows the following of Davies' categories:

(a) Heb [say]

- (i.) -heb (eb) x: this is fairly common
- (ii.) -heb x – heb x: "'Hyt y hatwen I', eb y Rolant, 'teilwg wyf I', eb ef…" (XV) ['As far as I know', said Rolant, 'I am worth', he said]; "'A mi a gerdaf', heb y Gwenlwyd, 'ar Varsli', heb ef…" (XIX) ['And I shall go', said Gwenlwyd, 'to Marsli', he said].

(d) Dywedut / dywawt (wrth) [say/speak to]: "dyuot mal hynn" (XXXIV, cf. “dist”, 506) [spoke thus]; "dywedut wrthaw" (XXXIX, cf. “dist”, 603) [said to him]; "dyuot (…) wrth" (XLV, cf. “ad dit”, 642; LII, “dist”, 766; LXIV, “apelat”, 1020) [said...to]
(i.) (+ heb x)

There are other introductory phrases built on saying verbs such as *attep* [answer], *ymadraw* [speak, converse], *mynegi* [express], and *ymdidan* [converse]:[197]

(i) ymadraw: “Ac val hynn y racvylaenwd wrthaw y ymadrawd” (VIII) [opened his speech to him thus]; "dechreu ymadrawd val hynn (XXIX) [began to speak thus]; "ymadrawd ac ef van hynn" (XLI) [spoke with him thus], "ymadrod ac ef" (XLIV) [spoke with him]; "ymadrawd (…) a oruc val hynn" (LXIII) [spoke (...) thus]; "gan yr ymadrawd hwnn" (XLII) [with this speech]; "dywedut yr ymadrawd hwnn" (LV, Rolant on the hill) [spoke this speech aloud].
(ii) mynegi: "mynegi (…) val hynn" (IX) [expressed (…) thus]. Also XXXIII.
(iii) attep: “attep idaw” (XII) [answer him]
(iv) ymdidan: "y emdidan ac ef val hynn" (XLIII) [to converse with him thus]

Therefore, as we can see, faced to the unmarked verb "dire" usually employed in the Anglo-Norman text,[198] the Welsh translator resorts to an equal communicative option offered by his literary system, a traditional pattern of introducing dialogue. Likewise, was discussed above in section 6.4.1.1 (p. 132), he is also much more preoccupied with using a specific verb that will convey the illocutionary force of the speaker, i.e. his intention. A case in point is Roland’s reproach to Oliver for not using his sword in vv. 1360-1364. The Welsh translator opted for the verb “ceryddu” (LXXXVI) [rebuke], which actually transmits the specific meaning of the speech.

Furthermore, the representation of speech does not always follow the source. Some direct discourses are deleted (Marsli's discourse on *laisse* 6) while others are reported; this fact also changes between extant exemplars. For instance, Rolant´s instructions to Gwallter are reported by the narrator in the text found in Peniarth 10, but it is quoted in full in the Red Book of Hergest (S. Williams, 1968: 137). In the scenes of singular combat the suppression

[197] Verbs with specific nuance such as *annog* [urge, insist, incite] are not considered here; for a fuller discussion see above, p. 128.
[198] For the formulaic speech pattern present in *La chanson de Roland* see Duggan (1973: 109-113).

of the boast (or vantance motif) or the insult is frequent. Another peculiar element is Rolant's self-references in the third person during the horn section in marked contrast with Roland's strong 'I' in *laisses* 83 to 85.

Greetings do not tend to follow the traditions of native narrative storytelling in neither the order of the speakers nor in the employment of linguistic formulae (Charles-Edwards, 1978; Davies, 1995). Thus the usual deference to status and hierarchy is somewhat undermined. Davies identifies several formulas such as *dyd da it / henpych guell* [good day to you / greetings] or the indirect greeting *kyuarch guell* [greetings] and its most usual answer, *duw a rod a yt* (1995: 116-121).[199] Only two of these formulas appear in *Cân Rolant*. When the pagan ambassadors arrive at Charlemagne's camp, "a chyuarch gwell idaw a orugant yn vuyd" (VII) [and they greeted him humbly] and then Balacawnt says "Hanbych gwell, vrenin bonhedic, a hedyl a iechyt yt y gan y Gwr yssyd iechyt y bop peth…" (VIII) ['Greetings, noble king, and life and salvation to you from Him who is the salvation of every thing']. The amplification of the traditional formula in this last case is based on the parallel passage in La chanson de Roland: "Salvét seize de Deu, / Le glorius, que devuns aürer!" (123-4) ['May God save you, / the glorious one whom we should adore!]. Terms of address that usually occur as part of the greeting ("arglwydd", "unben" [lord]), as has already been discussed, are also absent. On the contrary, the Welsh translator follows closely his source in the translation of particular phrases that accompany greetings, such as "salvez seize de Deu" or other references to the Christian God or the pagan "gods". Linguistic formulas for oaths are not used either. In direct speeches the character says "kadarnhaaf o'm llw" (Marsli, XXXIX) [I shall confirm by my oath] or "A mineu a dygaf yti y greirieu Mahumet" (Maldebrwn, XLI) [And I swear to you on the relics of Mahumet]. In the scene in which the pagans make the oath of killing Rolant, the narrator tells "Ac o lw Marsli a'e wyrda y'r llyuyr hwnnw y cadarnhaassant eu hedewit…" (XL) [And by the oath of Marsli and his barons on that book, they confirmed their promise].

[199] The text in the White Book includes one token of the indirect greeting "kyuarch guell" [greetings] when Blaccand returns with Gwenlwyd to Marslí's camp. The narrator says that Blaccand "a chyuarch gwell idaw [Marsli] yn anrydedus yn y mod hwnn" (Luft, Thomas and Smith, 2013: col. 174. 10) [and greeted him respectfully in this fashion, my translation]. Peniarth 10 uses the expression "ac ymadrawd ac ef yn anrydedus" (XXVIII) [spoke with him respectfully].

6.4.3.3 Formulaic style

There is yet certain delight in repetition, but based on a different logic, that comes from syntactical patterns. When Rolant is designated as commander of the rearguard, he affirms his complete commitment to the cause and thanks Gwenlwyd, who in his turn replies: "Vn peth a wdam ni (…) yn yspys dy vot ti yn dywedut gwir am hynny; ac nyt oes neb o'r a'th atnapo ny wypo dy vot ti yn dywedut gwir am hynny" (LI) [We know one thing for certain (…) that you are speaking the truth about that; and there is no one of those who know you who does not know that you are speaking the truth about that].

There is a predilection for the profusion of adjectives especially to describe people: "A iewn yw yt anuon ar Varsli gwrda prud, dosparthus, huawdyl o'th dylwyth" (XIV) [And it is right for you to send a serious, wise, eloquent baron from your household]; "Ac yna yd amouynnawd y brenin am wr prud, doeth, fydlawn, canmoledic, teilwg…" (XV) [And then the king sought a serious, wise, faithful, commendable man]. Likewise Gwenlwyd predicates of Rolant that he is "brouedic, honneit, anorchyvygedic" (XXXVI) [tried, renown, invincible] when in *La chanson de Roland* he states that "N'ad tel vassal d'ici qu'en Orïent" (558) [There is not such a vassal from here to the Orient]. Maybe this last change was prompted by the word "vassal" which had multiple meanings. As a noun, the term designates a social and legal relationship within feudal society that involved the exchange of services or resources between a lord and his vassal; the valorisation of such an exchange led to the identification with the nobility. Since the most usual service due by the "vassal" was fighting for his lord, as an adjective the word was associated with bravery and prowess (Andrieux, 1989: 135-7). As Bédier pointed out, "[v]assal y indique toujours celui qui possède les vertus essentielles du noble féodal et surtout la bravoure: c'est le guerrier (…) et plus particulièrement celui qui possède ces vertus au plus haut degré" (1927: s.v. *vassal*).

Reck (2010) has amply demonstrated the use of traditional formulaic language in combat scenes.[200] Notwithstanding this, and considering Sioned Davies' remarkable work on the traditional narrative conventions (1992, 1993, 1995, 1998), the preference for not using traditional formulae in *Cân Rolant* is truly notable. We have already encountered this

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[200] See examples in pp. 166-174. For instance, Welsh formulaic style regarding combats in *Cân Rolant* includes a predilection for the idiom "dwyn ruthyr" ("to rush at"), "vrathu trwy" ("struck through"), and finally "daflu / bwrw yn varw y'r llawr y ar y varch" ("threw dead to the ground off his horse).

situation concerning terms of address (p. 151). In this respect, the text closely follows its exemplar, rendering its readings as faithfully as possible.

There are two pairs of parallel council scenes with a similar pattern, two held by Chiarlymaen and two by Marsli. In the first, situated at the beginning of the text, the pagan king "dyfynnu y wyrda a oruc y gyt ymgygor" [summoned his barons together to consult] and asks them to "rodi (...) gygor" [give (...) advice] (II). This is followed in the tale by the first of Charlemagne's councils where they ponder over Marsli´s proposal. It is only said that "dyuot ef a'e wyrda y blas y kwnsli y ymgygor" (X) [he and his barons came to the council place[. The third, in which the Saracens consider the Christian king´s request, is opened by Marsli's command "awn ninheu y ein gyghor" (XXXIII) [let us go, on our part, to our council].[201] In the fourth and last Charlemagne "galw y wyrda y amouyn ac wynt" (L) [called his barons to inquire of them]. The point in this case is that there are no council formulae as Davies found in middle Welsh prose tales. Those usually have two parts: “kymryt kynghor” [take council] (variants with verbs such as meddwl [think] or ymgynghori [consult]) … “sef a gaussant/gauas yn y kynghor” (1995: 138).[202] So it seems that the Welsh translator is deliberately trying to preserve features from his model by not using native conventions.

Imitation of the source text results in the creation of a new formula “[n]yt ef a wnel Duw” (LXXXIII) [May God not bring it about for us], a rendering of “[n]e placet Deu” (first hemistich, 1073) [God forbid] or “[n]e placet Damnedeu” (second hemistich, 1062) [The Lord God forbid]. This exclamation is used twice in the horn scene to introduce Roland’s complaints to Oliver’s plan (sounding the horn) but in *Cân Rolant* it is employed a third time, when the Anglo-Norman text reads “’[j]o fereie que fols” (1053) [I would be acting like a fool], and a fourth time at a point where Roland’s words are “Tais, Oliver!” (1026) [Be quiet, Oliver!]. This use of *nyt ef* + present subjunctive also occurs in *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn* in the same context (as a rendering of “ne place a damedé”) (Poppe and Reck, 2009: 69). Could the phrase belong to a repertoire of Welsh translators?

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[201] In this passage, Marsli states that a good council is that which is accomplished by deed (XXXIX) – a phrase that echoes an entry of the annals (*Brut y Tywysogion*) where the French say to the Welsh: “Speak as you may, show by your deeds that which promise with your tongue” (Jones, 1955: 89). The verse in the Anglo-Norman poem reads “advice is of no value unless one swears to it”, but it is problematic since it is truncated in most of the mss. Cf. below, p. 204.

[202] Variations in the Red Book: "A dywet titheu dy gyghor" (Marsli to Beligant, S. Williams, 1968: 114.10) [And speak yourself your advice, my translation]; "Ac yna y goyunnwys Chyarlys o'e gyghor" (S. Williams, 1968: 115.12) [And then Chyarlys asked for their advice, my translation].

6.5 Conclusions: considerations about norms of translation for *Cân Rolant*

The survey presented in the previous pages suggests, at first glance, that the translator attempted a compromise between adequacy to the source text and acceptability to the target language and culture. This initial norm seeks to account for regularities in translational behaviour and not for absolutes ideals.

A primary operational norm was the shift from verse into prose. Concomitant to this shift was the recourse to the native literary style of the *cyfarwydd*. This was a powerful and thriving narrative tradition that the translator had at his disposal. This traditional lore provided a vast repertoire of vocabulary, stereotyped expressions and formulas. Regarding vocabulary, we can detect three different attitudes: direct adoption of the source text word or phrase, with o without some degree of welshification (e.g. proper names, terms of address, greetings); replacement by a word or phrase with the same semantic, contextual, or communicative function (e.g. some animals, some weapons, speeches); employment of traditional terms or literary language (e.g. syntax), even when those terms are less specific (titles of nobility). In the case of titles of nobility, the translator had recourse to a set of terms belonging to his repertoire that were more familiar to a Welsh audience. His choices depend, too, on thirteenth century Welsh usage instead of Anglo-Norman cultural signs that would be, in some cases, probably incomprehensible.

Two things stand out: narrative connectives and the variety of verbs of diction. The set of narrative connectives is not unknown to Middle Welsh literature but it is certainly not present in *La chanson de Roland*. The result is a tighter narrative, very punctuated in the organisation (and subordination) of episodes. The wide array of verbs of diction, that convey the particular nuance expressed by the enunciation or the enunciator, points to the evident change of reception: from the performance of *La chanson de Roland* to a written transmission. In this respect, the translator's remarkable preoccupation for narrative cohesion and for expressing verbal nuance reveals a skilful and knowledgeable translator.

As for the macro-textual level, particularly the *story*, we have focused on the translational procedures apparent in the text, the abbreviations and additions (in the form of expansions, exemplifications, and explicitations).

It is clear that two purposes guided the task of the translator: on the one hand, to narrate in full a series of events of exemplary value that illustrated the chapter on the Battle of Roncesvaux within the Welsh *Historia Turpini*; on the other hand, to extract from the ST

significant principles and a moral code that undoubtedly interested its recipient, the Welsh king and the nobility. Historians of Medieval Wales (R.R. Davies 2000; Pryce, 2007; Stephenson, 2014) draw attention to the progressive political change that took place during the end of the twelfth century and the thirteenth century: a politics mainly based on a heroic elite gave way to a centralised royal power, an analogous process – although probably later – to that of the rest of Western Europe. During the Early Middle Ages and most of the twelfth centuty, Welsh society was highly militarised, competitive and volatile; beneath blood feuds and family vengeance laid conflicts over land and domination. It was during the thirteenth century that kings strengthened their ruling powers. This centralisation of royal power was accomplished by (and resulted in) the definition and regularisation of forms of authority and exploitation: laws were compiled, the extraction of resources was sistematised, as well as the collection of taxes, and local officials were appointed. At the same time, a change of *mentalité* was occurring within dominant groups: monasteries were founded or given privileges, and translations from Latin and/or French were sponsored.

In this political context, the values expressed in the Roland text and the topics addressed in it become extremely significant from an ideological point of view, especially for the Gwynedd dynasty, the main advocates and executioners of these changes. *Cân Rolant* could serve as a powerful tool in re-educating the aristocracy.[203] The model of a good king proposed by *La chanson de Roland* and the bonds between a lord and his men seem particularly useful. Charlemagne is a warrior leader of supreme qualities (*arderchawc*), a wise man (*dosparthus*) and merciful (*gwaredawc*). He embodies the model of a Christian king on a conversion crusade, as Gwenlwyd stresses in a statement that has no parallel in the Anglo-Norman text: "Nyt oes dim uwy heuyt gan Chiarlymaen yn achaws y lauur noc ymchwelut anfydloneon ar fyd a chred Grist, yn uwy lawer noc y eu medu a dan y enw ef a'y arglwydiaeth" (XXIV) [Besides, Chiarlymaen has no more reason for his labor than to turn infidels to faith and belief in Christ – far more than to possess them under his name and lordship]. He is a strong and successful leader, supported by a group of nobles that serve him in fidelity and love, and that play an important part in councils and decision-making. In *Brut y Tywysogion*, ideas about a good king are expressed several times in similar terms:

[203] A similar view regarding the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* was advanced by Fulton (2005): "It is fairly certain, then, that the educated Welsh were exposed to the mainstream of medieval European political thought, including models of kingship, especially as these models were enacted for them both by the Anglo-Norman and English kings to whom they were subject, and by their own peers, the thirteenth-century princes of Gwynedd" (232).

excellence of character, generosity, prowess in battle, wisdom in councils, desire for peace, and protection of the church (see also W. Davies, 1982). Opposed to Charlemagne, Gwenlwyd embodies the model of a negative leader, the traitor who turns against his king and family, representing the worse of old (and not so old) blood feuds.

Apart from these appealing topics, *La chanson de Roland* could also be accommodated into the heroic branch of Welsh literary tradition. Therefore, French culture represented a way of legitimization and a strategy for gaining distinction and status within Welsh society (Pryce 2007: 42-45). Particularly, from Carolingian matter could be extracted a heroic model and a royal model which would contribute to pacify the country and stabilize regal power. In point of fact, from the translation of *La chanson de Roland* onwards, Charlemagne starts to appear in poetry as an exemplary kingly figure. The first reference to the French king can be dated to sometime between 1215 and 1220: in a praise poem to Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, king of Gwynedd (c. 1198-1244), "Mawl Gruffudd ap Llywelyn", the poet Einion Wan compares his strength and power to those of Charlemagne.[204] Other references occur, both to Charlemagne and the olifant, during the thirteenth century.[205]

We see, then, in relation to previous models expressed in poems and texts prior to the thirteenth century, that the model of king as essentially a warrior leader is replaced by a model that combines virtue and lineage (R.R. Davies 2000: 77). To this change contribute the absence of the terms *amherawdyr* [emperor] and *teulu* [retainers]. As Frame ascertains, "(…) the growing habit of describing the other Welsh lords as 'barons of Wales' signified their incorporation within the princely structure; like the barons of Chester, or the barons of England, they were being presented as members of a feudal community" (1995: 121). We argue that, apart from its appeal as a combination of Christian and martial values and its international popularity (attested by all the translations into different languages), *Cân Rolant* could be especially attractive for a Welsh aristocratic audience in a thirteenth-century context given its focus on good kingship, reciprocity between lord and vassal but also between peers, and companionship. These considerations can be viewed as the preliminary norms, the factors that govern the choice of text types or individual texts to be translated.

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[204] Syller e hyder! Hydyr raen – y ongyr / бn angerd a Serlymaen" [Note his strenght! Strong and terrible - his spear / same fierceness as Charlemagne] (Lynch, 1995: 35-46, 3.13-14, my translation).

[205] For instance: "Mawl Llywelyn ab Iorwerth", a panegyric dedicated to Gruffudd's father, Llywelyn the Great (c. 1172-1240) composed c. 1213 by Llywarch ap Llywelyn, Prydydd y Moch (Jones, 1995: 210-235, poem 23).

For all the reasons presented above, *Cân Rolant* suggests a mid-Wales / North connection which is endorsed by historical writings: under Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, the region of Ceredigion, although in dispute, was within his area of influence and, for periods, under his direct control or that of his allies (Maund, 2000: 119-126). In making this contention, we do not forget Lloyd-Morgan's (2006) cautions about using historical facts to date or place literary texts. It is argued that the connection with North Wales emerges from the text itself, in the specific purposes that led to the translation of *La chanson de Roland.* Furthermore, it is possible that Reginald, king of the Isle of Man, of the 'Reinallt colophon' associated to the Carolingian Welsh cycle through *Otinel* (chapter 4, p. 63) may have been linked to the translation of *Cân Rolant* and/or the other tales.

In summary, the study of the macro and micro-textual levels of *Cân Rolant* shows that in the process of accommodating the source text to the target language, the translator created an individual style led by idiosyncrasies or personal ways of realizing general attitudes. He sought to balance the repertoire offered by his native style with the reproduction of his source text style, enabling him to innovate.

7. Translating the “matière de Bretagne”: *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn*

In chapters 2 and 3 we studied the different perspectives from which the Welsh prose tale *Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* has been considered, especially in respect to Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain ou Le chevalier au lion*. Many scholars have indeed argued that the many differences, as well as the similarities of plot, between *Yvain* and *Iarlles* proves either that both texts derive from a common source or that Chrétien adapted the Welsh tale. True, by and large the *fabula* is identical and the *story*, although it presents a different arrangement of events, follows in the main the sequence present in *Yvain*. As in the case of *Cân Rolant*, it is at the level of the *text* that most of the changes between both narratives take place: it is widely accepted that the tale was completely refashioned according to Welsh narrative conventions (Thomson, 1986: 98; Roberts, 1983; Hunt, 1973/4).

Given this panorama, it is striking to find passages that perhaps can only be explained with recourse to a source. But there is no need to postulate a lost 'common' source or a lost original: *Yvain* presents all the relevant elements to satisfy the requirements for that source. Therefore, *Iarlles* will be treated as an "assumed translation" of *Yvain*. In this chapter we will focus on providing more evidence than hitherto in terms of processes of translation in order to confirm our hypothesis.[206] It is important to note from the outset that *Iarlles* is a prose tale, so the first shift from the source implies prosification from the Old French octosyllabic couplet, as in the case of *Cân Rolant*. It has already been established that Welsh literary tradition lacked a trend of narrative verse. Other genre-related changes from the Old French *roman* (in verse) to the Middle Welsh prose tale occur and they will be analysed in the ensuing discussion. Finally, as regards the 'coupled pair' of replaced and replacing, it is difficult to assess these precisely. What is possible to deduce is that the Welsh translator had prior knowledge of the entire tale and that he probably used episodes as translational segments.

The first section (7.1) will deal with the narrative structure and will explore the changes introduced at this level. The second section (7.2) will examine shifts at the level of the *story*, their nature, function and impact on the tale, especially with regards to narrative

[206] In the introduction to his edition of *Iarlles*, Thomson made a detailed comparison of the French, English, Norse, and Welsh versions of the tale, after which he concluded that the Welsh tale could not be regarded as dependent on Chrétien's text. The criteria in this thesis are based on completely different grounds. When appropriate, some of Thomson's interpretations will be discussed, but many points of our analysis lie outside his scope.

motivation, characterization and the configuration of space. Lastly, section 7.3 will discuss the *text:* lexical change and style.

7.1 *Fabula* and *story*: Narrative Structure

McCann (1985) analysed the structure of *Iarlles* according to the textual divisions marked in the Red Book by way of majuscules, which divide the tale in five sections: Kynon's narrative (256 lines), Owein's journey to the well and marriage (252 lines), Arthur's journey to the well and Owein's departure from his court (122 lines), Owein's crisis and adventures of redemption (238 lines), episode of the Du Traws and ending (47 lines). In the diagram that follows we divided the tale into these five sections and into smaller narrative sequences. It is important to note, however, that neither the White Book nor Jesus College 20 make use of majuscules, not even at the locations where they are found in the Red Book.[207]

Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn	*Yvain ou Le chevalier au lion*[208]
Kynon's narrative	
Arthur's court in Kaer Llion ar Wysc [1-30]	Whitsuntide at Arthur's court in Carduel en Gales: **Keu's taunts** [1-141]
Kynon's tale: departure of the knight towards remote regions and inhabited lands; stay at the castle of hospitable host; meeting with the big black man (giant herdsman); adventure of the well: defeat at the hands of the Black Knight; return to Arthur's court [31-218]	Calogrenant's tale: ***captatio benevolentiae***; departure of the knight in search of adventures in the forest of Brocéliande; stay at the castle of the hospitable vavasour; meeting with the ugly villein; adventure of the fountain: defeat at the hands of the knight of the fountain (Esclados the red); return to Arthur's court [142-578]
Kei's taunts and dinner [219-230]	Keu's taunts [579-647] Arthur's awakening: **the queen recounts Calogrenant's story. Arthur promises to undertake the adventure of the fountain before the end of a fortnight, on Jean Baptist's day** [648-688]
Owein's journey to the well and marriage	
Owein's departure from Arthur's court [230-238]	Yvain's departure from Arthur's court to avenge his cousin [689-774]
Stay at the castle of the hospitable host [238-256]	Stay at the castle of the hospitable vavasour [775-790]
Meeting with the big black man (giant herdsman) [257-261]	Meeting with the ugly villain [791-797]

[207] In the following chart, narrative sequences absent from *Iarlles* are written in bold letters and scenes unique to the Welsh tale are highlighted in grey.

[208] This outline is for comparative purposes. For a complete list of episodes and sub-episodes see the chart on pp. 1525-6 of Uitti's edition.

Adventure of the well: defeat of the Black Night, escape and chase [261-279]	Adventure of the fountain: combat against the knight of the fountain (Esclados the red), his defeat and escape. Yvain chases him [798-904]
Arrival at the black knight's castle and entrapment [279-287]	Arrival at the knight's castle and entrapment [905-967]
Meeting with Lunet: delivery of the invisibility ring and hidden stay [288-330]	Meeting with Lunete: delivery of the invisibility ring and hidden stay [968-1141]
Death of the Black Knight and funeral procession. Owein sees the lady of the well and falls in love with her [331-383]	Funeral procession. **Laments of the lady of the fountain.** Yvain falls in love with her. **Inner monologue** [1142-1590]
Lunet's first interview with the lady of the well [384-404]	Lunete's first interview with the lady of the fountain [1591-1654]
Second interview: Lunet promises to bring someone from Arthur's court to protect the well [405-419]	Second interview: Lunete affirms that the best husband would be the one who defeated the knight of the fountain (Esclados the red) [1655-1728] **Third interview: Lunete discloses the name of the killer of the knight of the fountain (Esclados the red) and promises to deliver him [1729-1879]**
Meeting between Owein and the lady of the well [420-441]	Meeting between Yvain and the lady of the fountain. **Reconciliation** [1880-2039]
Council of the lady of the well and marriage with Owein [442-454]	Council of the lady of the fountain. Laudine marries Yvain [2040-2160]
Arthur's journey to the well	
Three years later. Arthur misses Owein and decides to go after him: departure with his knights, arrival at the castle of the hospitable host, meeting with the black man, adventure of the well [454-497]	Arthur's arrival at the fountain and unleashing of the tempest [2161-2223]
Double defeat of Kei at the hands of Owein. He overthrows all the knights except for Arthur and Gwalchmei [497-512]	Defeat of Keu at the hands of Yvain [2224-2276]
Combat against Gwalchmei. Recognition by Owein. Reunion with Arthur [513-556]	Yvain discloses his identity. Reunion with Arthur. Arthur and his knights join the wedding celebrations. **Gauvain and Lunete** [2277-2477]
Next day, departure of Owein to Arthur's court with the lady's consent. Stay for three years [557-563].	Arthur´s departure. **Gauvain's arguments convince Yvain to join them. Laudine's consent: delivery of a ring as token of love. Yvain's promise of returning in one year** [2478-2659]
Owein's crisis and testing adventures	
Appearance of the mounted handmaiden:	**Tournaments**. Arthur's court. Yvain

takes the ring from Owein's hand and claims his unfaithfulness and dishonour [564-573].	realises that he broke his promise. Appearance of the mounted handmaiden: claims Yvain's unfaithfulness and dishonour and takes Laudine's ring [2660-2782]
Departure of Owein towards remote regions and desolate mountains. Owein's madness and life as a wild man [574-581].	Departure of Yvain to the forest. Madness and life as a wild man **Encounter with the eremite. Exchange of food** [2783-2889]
Owein is found by the widowed lady and her handmaidens. Spread of the ointment over his body and healing. Return to society [582-621].	Yvain is found by the lady of Noroison and her handmaidens. Spread of Morgane's ointment over his whole body and healing. Yvain regains his force slowly. Return to society [2890-3143]
Combat against the earl [622-657].	Combat against count Alier's forces. Defeat of Alier [3144-3342]
Adventure of the lion [657-672].	Adventure of the lion [3343-3483]
Meeting with Lunet [673-710].	Arrival at the fountain and laments. Yvain finds Lunete imprisoned in the chapel near the fountain and promises to be her champion (beginning of the episode "defence of Lunete") [3484-3769]
Adventure of the giant [711-757].	Adventure of the giant Harpin de la Montagne. **Yvain takes the name "Chevalier au lion" (Knight of the lion)** [3770-4303]
Defence of Lunet [758-778].	Defence of Lunete. She promises to help Yvain reconcile with Laudine [4304-4661] **Hospitable host helps Yvain and his lion** [4662-4702]. **Episode of the sisters of the Noire Épine** [4703-5108] Adventure of the Pesme Aventure ("Worst adventure") [5109-5812] **Episode of the sisters of the Noire Épine.** Combat against Gauvain. Recognition and reunion with Arthur [5813-6528] Reconciliation with Laudine prepared by Lunete [6529-6820]
Reconciliation between Owein and the lady of the well [778-781]	
Episode of the Du Traws	
Episode of the Du Traws (the Black Oppressor) [782-814].	
Return to Arthur's court [814-822].	

This outline of the narrative structure shows that the sequence of events (the *fabula*) in both texts is identical. The Welsh translator abridges and condenses his ST systematically

which results in the omission of episodes, an almost complete indifference to the psychological depth of characters, and a reduction in the narrative space dedicated to love and courtly customs. The two important episodes that were not translated into *Iarlles* are the episode of the Noire Épine, whose unsuitability for a Welsh audience has been cogently argued for by Diverres (1981/2), and the reconciliation with the lady. This latter episode, which involves Lunete's ruse and game of words, is presupposed in *Iarlles* with Owein's returning to the land of his wife and their later departure to Arthur's court, but it is absent from the extant text.

It is difficult to see, however, why the Welsh redactor eliminated the episode of the Noire Épine because of the theme of female inheritance whilst keeping the episode of the widowed countess (the lady of Noroison in *Yvain*), whose husband had left her two earldoms, and that of the lady of the well. The two sisters fighting over land was indeed the main topic of the deleted sequence nonetheless, which could have struck the translator as absolutely unusual. Of the other two women with land, the lady of the well re-marries within days and Owein takes control of the land and people, and the widowed lady, because she has not re-married, is threatened by her neighbour and almost deprived of her possessions. Both cases are unusual in the context of Welsh law: "(…) women were not only debarred from inheriting land but also for receiving dower in land by their husbands to be enjoyed after their partners' death" (R.R. Davies, 1980: 101). Perhaps the translator was indeed endorsing women's right to land, as was Diverres contention (1981/2) but, at the same time, he was drawing attention to the extremely weak position of women in charge of land, unable to defend it. In this latter sense, he would be actually claiming the dangers of women's claim to land.

7.2 The *story*

In terms of macro-structure design, *Yvain* has a tripartite structure according to Frappier: 1) the adventure of the fountain and Yvain's marriage to the lady of the fountain (vv. 1-2638); 2) Crisis / fall and Yvain's madness (vv. 2639-3042); 3) adventures of expiation, learning, and regaining of his wife (vv. 3043-6808) (1952).[209] The first and third parts are of approximately the same length – although the last one is given prominence as it narrates Yvain's heroic progression – and are clearly divided by the pivotal episode of Yvain's crisis that falls almost exactly in the middle of the narrative. Although *Iarlles* is a well-knit tale like its source

[209] Verse numbers have been slightly adapted to the narrative structure presented in this chapter.

(except for the displacement of the episode of the Du Traws or Black Oppressor), the changes introduced in the overall balance of the narrative, as expressed in the length of the different parts, suggest a shift of emphasis. Chrétien's masterly arrangement of episodes (in Frappier's words, "Yvain est, avec Erec, le roman le mieux construit de Chrétien", 1952:8) is not sought after by the Welsh translator, who gives more importance to the first part, up until the first 'happy ending', i.e. Owein's marriage with the lady of the well. This section comprises 556 lines in Thomson edition, roughly two thirds of the whole tale. Owein's madness and early recovery is dealt with in 64 lines (557-621) whilst the hero's adventures and reconciliation with his wife account for 201 lines. The emphasis is clearly on the adventure of the well, which gives its name to the tale: "A'r chwedyl hwn a elwir Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn" (822) [And this tale is called 'The Tale of the Lady of the Well'].

Both texts are centred on an adventure that is narrated three times and performed by three successive different characters.[210] The repetition with variations that results from this structure is the first element in the narrative cohesion. The adventure of the well / fountain narrated by Kynon / Calogrenant is the first and fullest account of this set of three successive identical quests. Kynon/Calogrenant's tale (lines 31-218 / vv. 142-578) is an embedded episode which has the same function in both texts at the level of the *story*: it fulfils an actional and a thematic role in relation to the primary plot line, that is, it advances the action of this first narrative and presents us with an analogy of future events that helps the audience to predict the future adventure (Bal, 1997; Rimmon-Kenan, 2002). The particularity is that this anticipation works by contrast, since it will be the opposite outcome to Kynon/Calogrenant's adventure. The other two adventures are undertaken by Owein and by Arthur, and they are related by the narrator in a shorter form, as a reduced repetition with variations, which is more marked in *Iarlles*, giving a fluid rhythm to the story (Roberts, 1983). Here, moreover, the narration is punctuated by variations of 'what he saw was better than what he had been told', expression of the character's wonder at what he sees: "A hoffach o lawer oed gan Owein e tecket ac eu hardet noc y dywawt Kynon idaw" (246-7) [And Owain thought that they were far more beautiful and attractive than Cynon had described], "A hoffach vu gan Owein y borthant no chan Gynon" (248-9) [And Owain thought his food more impressive than Cynon had said], "A hoffach uu gan Owein meint y gwr du no chan Gynon" (259-60) [Owain thought the black-haired man was far bigger than Cynon had said],"Mwy o

[210] Davies draw attention to this preference for triadic structure in *Iarlles* (1995: 78-82).

lawer noc y dywedassei Gynon oedynt" (265-6) [They were far greater than Cynon had described]. This same device is employed, to a lesser degree, in Kynon's narrative, stressing again wonder through visual matter as opposed to discourse: "Mawr y dywawt y gwr y mi y vot ef: mwy o lawer oed ef no hynny " (123-4) [The man had told me he was big, but he was far bigger than that]. Poppe and Reck (2006: 157) observed a similar use of evaluative hyperbolical description in their study of *Bown o Hamtwn* (the translation of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*), but the structure included a verb of perception, most frequently *gwelet* [see], instead of a verb of intellectual perception as *hoff gan* [think]; the visual element is predominant in all cases.

Kynon/Calogrenant's discourse thus represents the most expanded form of the adventure of the well: it includes the longest descriptions, and also the dialogues between the knight and the hospitable host, and later the conversation with the herdsman. It is worth noting that each character anticipates what lies ahead for Kynon: the hospitable host describes the clearing and the herdsman; the herdsman describes the well and the storm. In *Yvain*, Calogrenant arrives at the castle of a *vavasor* (209), who points the way to the fountain. Whilst following that path, he finds a *vileins* (286) with whom he has a very peculiar conversation about knighthood, adventures, and marvels. Given the radical change in the features of this character in *Iarlles*, this dialogue is absent in the Welsh text; characterization will be treated below (p. 187).

The opening sequence (1-30 / vv. 1-141) poses from the outset a set of differences between *Iarlles* and *Yvain*. Unlike Chrétien's other *romans*, the opening of *Yvain* lacks the authorial prologue and instead the text begins directly at Arthur's court in Carduel (Caerlion, Wales) during the feast of Pentecost, a conventional setting in the opening of Arthurian *romans* (Newstead, 1977). The ludic atmosphere, the narrator’s discussion of love, and the irony that emerges from the contradiction between the reputation of Arthur and his court and their behaviour, with Arthur retiring early to sleep, apparently unaware of courtly conventions, Keu's quarrelsome attitude, and Calogrenant telling a shameful story rather than narrating honourable deeds (cf. Uitti, 1979/1980) is undermined in *Iarlles*. Here, the opening phrase follows conventional features by naming a character, his status and his dominions, a type of variable formula with one verbal pattern (Davies, 1995:39): “Yr amherawdyr Arthur oed yg Kaer Llion ar Wysc” [The emperor Arthur was at Caerllion ar Wysc] - as, for example, in *Pwyll*, "Pwyll, Pendeuic Dyuet, a oed yn arglwyd ar seith cantref Dyuet" [Pwyll,

Prince of Dyfed, was lord over the seven cantrefs of Dyfed].[211] Only those characters who speak are named: Arthur, Owein vab Urien, Cynon vab Clydno, Cai vab Kyner and Gwenhwyfar, whereas in *Yvain*, all the present knights are listed: Dodinel, Sagremors, Gauvain, Yvain, Calogrenans and Keus. The tale introduces a reference to "moes y llys" (7-8) [customs of the court] and to two officers of the court, Glewlwyt Gafaelfawr (6), the "porthawr" [gatekeeper][212], and Kei the steward, who is in charge of providing food and drink (25).[213] It should be noted that it is Arthur who fosters Kynon's tale by direct speech unique to the Welsh tale that justifies his and facilitates the advance of action.

Nonetheless, the general atmosphere created in both texts from the start and maintained throughout the entire narrative is very similar, and gives them a distinctive character different from the atmosphere of the contemporary court poets (Owen, 2000), or the 'native' compositions for that matter. The value of courtesy and the social customs of the court ("llys y rhamantau"), tournaments, and errant knights are, as far as the evidence indicates, introductions based on French influence.

In *Iarlles*, Kynon's tale takes place before dinner at the request of Arthur, who asks the knights to entertain each other whilst he sleeps, waiting for the food (14-15). The "ymdiddan" that Kynon tells, which corresponds to the "conte" that Calogrenant narrates in Yvain (v. 59), is a compound word from *ym+diddan* ("to entertain each other") which means "conversation" and suggests a specific type of narration, a frame for an oral performance that takes the form of dialogue (Davies, 2005).[214] But in this case, it is a fictive conversation, a prose monologue that narrates a personal experience but that does not demand a response from the addressee, Kei, who is constantly addressed by Kynon as the recipient of his narration (in lines 60, 83, 125, 172, 181, 213) but remains silent. In keeping this conversational structure, the recipient is reminded that this is a story within a story. However,

[211] Cf. "Bendigeiduran uab Llyr, a oed urenhin coronawc ar yr ynys hon, ac ardyrchawc o goron Lundein. A frynhawngueith yd oed yn Hardlech yn Ardudwy, yn llys idaw" (I. Williams, 1964: 29) [Bendigeidfran son of Llŷr was crowned king over this island and invested with the crown of London] / "Math uab Mathonwy oed arglwyd ar Wyned" (I. Williams, 1964: 67) [Math son of Mathonwy was lord over Gwynedd]. Cp. the introduction of the Norse translation, which provides explanations about Arthur for the recipient: "The excellent King Arthur ruled England, as is known to many. After a time he became king of Rome. He was the most illustrious of the kings who had lived on this side of the ocean and the most popular other than Charlemagne. He had the bravest knights who lived in Christendom" (Kalinke, 1999: 39).

[212] Glewlwyd Gafaelfawar ("Brave Grey Mighty Grasp") fills the office of Arthur's gatekeeper at one of the three chief festivals of the year in *Gereint*, and on the first of January in *Culhwch ac Olwen*.

[213] For a list of the king's officers see Jenkins (2002: 15-28) and for the text of the laws indicating their obligations and rights see Jenkins (1986: 8-41).

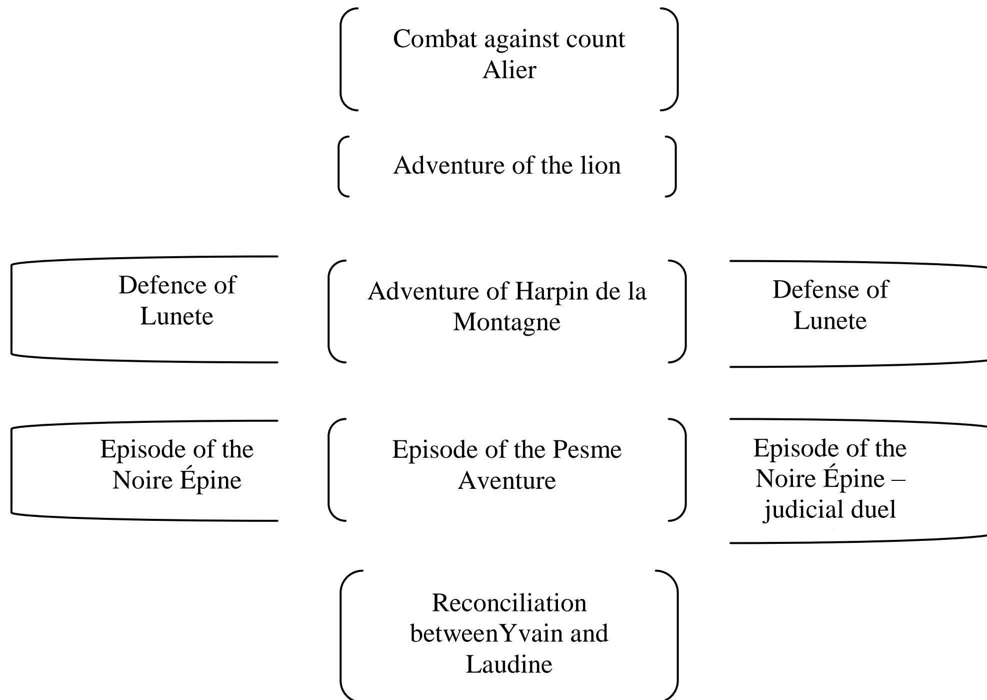
[214] There are other *ymddiddanau* in the tale and in Welsh literature at large: Owein and Lunet converse whilst sharing chops of roebuck ("ymdidan", 701); Owein converses with the family harassed by the giant (737).

he is not actually the only one listening to the story: Owein and Gwenhwyfar are also part of the audience. Another particular detail is that they are eating and drinking mead before the tale. Once finished, Kynon refers three times to his tale as "chwedyl" (in lines 214, 216, 217), a term that has already been discussed (see p. 34, p. 45); along with "ymddiddan", they stress the spoken nature of the material and point to Welsh oral storytelling.

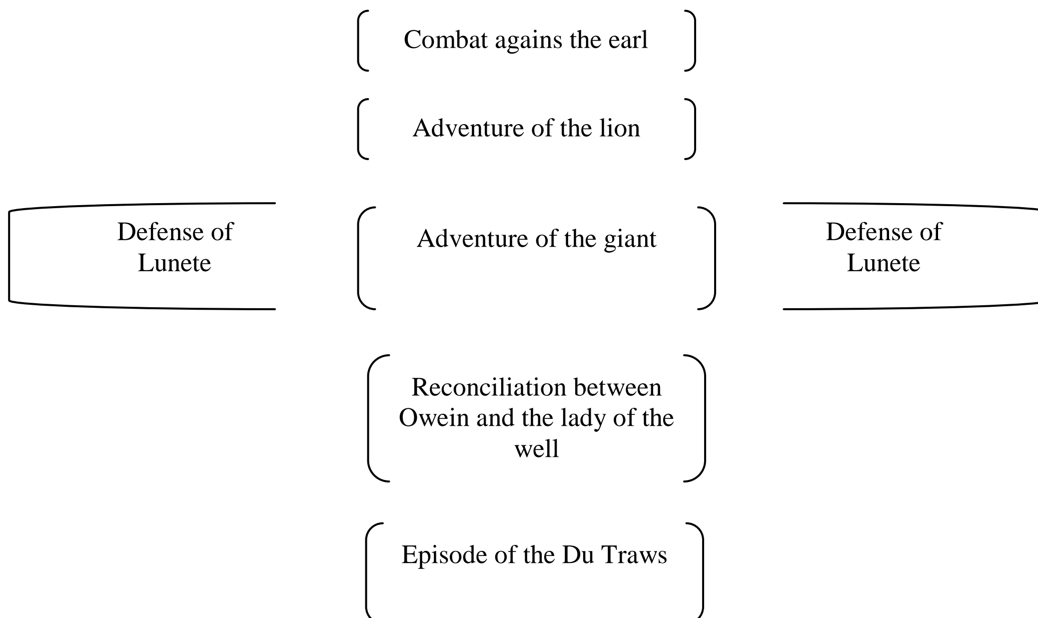
At the level of the *story*, two major shifts are introduced in *Iarlles*: first, the relocation of the personal combat between Yvain and Gauvain and, secondly, the displacement and rewriting of the episode of the Pesme Aventure. Yvain's judicial duel against Gauvain (vv. 5813-6528) is the culminating phase of the episode of the Noire Épine that will determinate whether the elder or the younger sister is right. It is also the climax of Yvain's social redemption and hence marks the highest point in his reintegration into the Arthurian society. It can also be read in political terms as a criticism of how the Arthurian court functions, especially in the role played by Gauvain, the flower of knighthood, who, as the champion of the elder sister, is fighting for an unjust cause (Maddox, 1991: 71). Coupled with this is Arthur's impossibility of dispensing justice by himself and dealing with the claims of the elder sister, which he knows are unfair. Dealing with female heirs to land and patrimony, this episode is excluded in *Iarlles*, as well as the judicial combat and the social and legal issue that follows. Yet the confrontation of the knights, together with the theme of recognition and reunion with Arthur, is moved to a new position (513-556). It is very tempting to see here a case of translation compensation: the loss of the episode (due to its location at the heart of an episode whose cause would have been alien for a Welsh recipient) is compensated for by the creation of a corresponding scene at an earlier place in the TT.[215] After – twice – defeating Kei acting as the defender of the well, Owein overthrows all the other knights up until only Arthur and Gwalchmei remain. Similarly to *Yvain*, he faces Gwalchmei for three consecutive days; tired and using worn weapons and armour, Gwalchmei loses his helm and is recognised by Owein, which leads to the reconciliation and reunion with Arthur. Despite the fact that the displacement changes the sense of the entire episode and its contribution to the configuration of the characters, it maintains the dramatic effect implied by the incognito fight between the two friends.

[215] For the concept of compensation see Hervey and Higgins (2002: 47). Compensation here refers to the introduction of an equivalent effect in the TT in order to compensate for the loss of a particular effect present in the ST.

Before the episode of the Pesme Aventure, the third part of *Yvain* features a series of interlaced adventures, as the following diagram shows:



Iarlles follows a similar pattern as regards the episode of the defence of Lunet:



Interlacement seems to be an importation into Middle Welsh literature. Diverres asserted that there is no model of interlaced episodes within medieval Welsh tradition

(1981/2: 154): *Pedeir Ceinc y Mabinogi* is characterised by linearity, whereas the folkloric frame of the 'giant's daughter' surrounds the story of *Culhwch ac Olwen*. At the same time, with reference to *Peredur*, Lloyd-Morgan argues that "(...) the very existence of interwoven narrative threads, or interlace, is in itself strong evidence that the text has not been written down directly from oral tradition but has undergone conscious literary reworking" (1981: 221). Therefore, the adventures interwoven in *Iarlles* not only suggest literary writing but could also be another sign of derivation from *Yvain*, although it should be noted that interlacement is not unique to the *roman.*[216]

What deserves further attention is the displacement of the episode of the Du Traws or Black Oppressor (782-814), which corresponds to the Pesme Aventure (vv. 5109-5812) in *Yvain*. This adventure, accomplished without the lion and once Owein has already been reconciled with his wife (and hence seemingly unnecessary for the progression of the hero, whose ultimate goal consisted in becoming worth of regaining the lady), deserves a closer look. Thomson asserts that "The Du Traws story at first sight appears somewhat detached from what has gone before (and in the Red Book its beginning is marked by the same large capitals as marks the beginning of *Peredur*), but 814-15 suggest that it is supposed to take place as Owein is on his way back to Arthur's court" (1986: 60). Contrarily, in his analysis of *Iarlles* as *Märchen*, Hunt (1973/4) proposes that the episode of the Du Traws softens the tension associated with the central topic (regaining the lady) and redirects the story to the more conventional channel of military prowess, where the hero defeats an evil force and liberates prisoners. The displacement of the episode responds, then, to the structure of the folkloric tale. For his part, Roberts (1983) draws attention to four points: firstly, that the episode could have been already connected to the hero given the traditional material introduced: secondly, that it was probably added after the artistic conclusion of the tale, drawing a parallel with *Breudwyt Macsen*; thirdly, that the addition of the prophesy in the oppressor's words could express an attempt to restructure an episode recognised as incongruous; lastly, that the composer could have borrowed the motive from *Peredur*, in which the hero also faces a *du trahawc* [Black Oppressor] (Thomas, 2000: line 697).

The first thing to notice is that the episode is prefaced by a summary of events that anticipates the story: "Ac yna y deuth ef fford y lys y Du Traws, ac ymladawd ac ef, ac nyr

[216] Interlacement is found in Anglo-Saxon poetry (Leyerle, 1967-1968) and in *chansons de geste* (Rychner, 1955).

ymedewis y llew ac Owein yny oruu ar y Du Traws" (782-3) [And after that Owain came to the court of the Black Oppressor, and fought against him, and the lion did not leave Owain until he had overcome the Black Oppressor].[217] This opening is preceded by a capital letter in the White Book. The second is the 'proper' beginning: "A phan doeth ef fford y lys y Du Traws y neuad a gyrchwys, ac yno y gwelas ef pedeir gwraged ar hugeint…" (783-5) [And when Owain came to the court of the Black Oppressor he made for the hall, and there he saw twenty-four ladies]. The number of the maidens, a common *topos* also employed to refer to the maidens at the castle of the hospitable host (59), and the value of their garments, which was not worth twenty-four pieces of silver, point to a traditional stereotyped pattern. The maidens tell Owein that a "kythreul" [devil] owns the court; this character is also referred to as a knight (799) and as the black oppressor (800-1). Having been defeated by Owein, he asks for mercy and a conversion ensues: from "yspeilwr", "despoiler" (808) who lived in a "yspeilty", "despoiler-den" (808), to "yspyttywr", "hospitaller" (809) who keeps a "yspytty", "hospital" (810). This paronomasia, based on the likeness of both pairs of opposite terms, probably involves also a reference to the order of St John, the Hospitallers. Back at Arthur's court, Owein is rewarded with the title of *pennteulu* (818), chief of the king's personal warriors. He then sets off for his land, "trychant cledyf Kenuerchyn a'r vranhes" (820) [the Three Hundred Swords of Cenferchyn and the Flight of Ravens]), which promptly evokes the Old North and the stories related to it in the form of poems composed by Taliesin and triads compiled in the *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (see below, p. 189).

It is true that the episode takes places *after* the end of the story, i.e. the reconciliation between the hero and his wife. The lion, whose presence is guaranteed by the narrator, suddenly disappears and is never mentioned again. What seems clear is that the episode was not accidentally misplaced. In the process of translating *Yvain*, the omission of the episode of the Noire Épine, within which the Pesme Aventure is intertwined, allowed the translator to alter the location of those events (probably purposely) and conclude with an epilogue that exalted Owein’s warrior prowess and relocated him within Arthur's family: "[I]n many oral traditions stories contain a conventionalized epilogue that makes a meta-comment on the story, gives a summary, or give some postresolution information about the characters" (Brewer, 1985: 183).This fact is endorsed by the presence of the episode in the modern

[217] Probably due to the fact that Yvain and the handmaiden of the younger sister were headed to Arthur's court when they reach the castle of Pesme Aventure.

copies, of which Llanstephan 58 is the most interesting (Thomson, 1971: 87-88; S. Davies, 2003). Here, a temporal link is provided to connect the events with the preceding ones: "Some time after this [his reconciliation] Owain went to the court of Prydwas Du…" (Thomson, 1971: 87). The prophesy recalled by the Black Oppressor functions in the same way, as another element of connection, as Lloyd-Morgan affirmed in respect of *Peredur*: "(...) many events that would otherwise seem completely arbitrary are explained by the idea of destiny or fate" (1981: 226). Two more factors give cohesion to this last episode in relation to the rest of the tale: family ties and responsibilities (the appointment of Owein as *pennteulu*) and the journey motif that opens the sequence, which divides but also prepares the way for a new adventure, operating like an actional motivation. The addition of the Du Traws episode testifies to the potentiality of attaching more adventures to Owein's story.

Another sequence omitted is the encounter with the eremite and the subsequent exchange of food. Eremites populate the forest in the *roman*, as well as in Béroul's *Tristan*. Their functionality as helpers of the hero, playing an important role in their reintegration into society, is combined with their position as representatives of the divinity (and thus of divine judgment) and, at a more historical level, with their actual isolation from society and their settlement in secluded places, enclaves of 'civilisation' in the midst of 'nature' (Le Goff and Vidal-Naquet, 1999: 590-595). The literary function of eremites was probably hard to accommodate to the Welsh context. In this respect, in *Peredur*, the eremite is replaced by "varcha6c (…) ar6yd bala6c arna6a" (Thomas, 2000: lines 1001-2) [a rider (...) with the mark of a priest on him"].

One of the features that scholars have identified as a result of French influence is the flexibility of chronotope, that is, the configuration of time and space in literary texts (Bromwich, 2008). Whereas the so-called native tales such as *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* abound in precise onomastic information, a vague space and a loose temporality prevail in *Iarlles*. Certain events tend to be static and timeless or completely outside the passing of time; for instance, every time a knight arrives at the castle of the hospitable host, its inhabitants are engaged in the same activity and the same scene, identical in its details, ensues: young males throwing knives, the lord of the castle standing beside them, the twenty-four maidens sewing.

References to time and space are imprecise and stereotyped: "diwarnawt" (2) [one day] at Arthur's court, "a'r bore trannoeth" (481) [the next morning]. Time-scale is also very

different, as Thomson has analysed (1986: xxix-lvi); suffice it to say that the urgency of Yvain's adventure and marriage created by Chrétien, as well as the climax that time configures in the tale, is replaced in *Iarlles* by a relaxed passing of time. The chronotope has a "scene-setting function" that grants coherence to the tale by relating sub-episodes through the employment of repetitions and formulae (Davies, 1998: 141). The space of the adventure is located in "eithauoed byt a diffeithwch" (35) [remote and uninhabited regions of the world], variation "eithauoed byt a diffeith vynyded" (234-5) [remote regions of the world and desolate mountains], beyond the world of the culture of the castle. The road to the well comprises a series of *topoi*: the knight takes a path that leads him to a *hill*, from where he can see *broad valley*. In the middle of the *valley* there is a *tree* that has the greenest branches and leaves. Under the *tree* there is a *well* and at one of its sides there is a big *slab* that holds a *silver bowl* suspended from silver chains.[218] The terrible storm released by pouring water on the bowl, followed by the singing birds on the tree, constructs a supernatural space of the 'otherworld'.

In *Yvain*, the domain of Laudine is called Barenton, and the different characters reach this supernatural space by crossing the famous forest of Brocéliande in Brittany. This particular forest was part of the setting of the "matière de Bretagne" and several *romans* locate part of the action there. Of course, the forest was in itself a space loaded with several meanings: it was the space of the wild and uncivilised *par excellence*, but it was also the location of the unknown and the unexpected, of the adventure. The forest was a place where social norms and laws did not apply. On top of that, the forest of Brocéliande was associated with marvels: "the region of Brocéliande, about which the Bretons often tell stories, a very long, broad forest which is highly praised in Brittany. To one side, the fountain of Barenton emerges beside the stone slab" (Burgess, 2004: 162).

However, the narrator employs a double displacement (spatial and temporal) that encloses the otherworldly elements within an *ailleurs* and an *autrefois:* a device of enunciation that evokes the narrative conditions of the traditional folktale, where the marvellous is considered as the reality of the *ailleurs*, brought to our knowledge as the reality of the *autrefois*, i.e. the golden age of Arthur and the Round Table (Dubost, 1988) Thus the supernatural is circumscribed to a determinate location, the forest in Brittany, which is

[218] Cf. the description of the bowl in *Pwyll*: "But he could see in the middle of the floor, as it were, a well with marble-work around it. At the edge of the well there was a golden bowl fastened to four chains, over a marble slab, and the chains reached up to the sky, and he could see no end to them".

reached by the knights without crossing the sea from Arthur's court in Wales, a factor that contributes to the lost of geographical reality: "[t]hus Chrétien has it both ways: he neither denies the geographical actuality of Barenton nor affirms the objective existence of its magical properties" (Morris, 1988: 269). Furthermore, the appearance of marvels are associated to the semantic field of the word *merveille* (*merveilleux*, *mervoille*), to a verb of vision, and to a person, place, object or power (Le Goff, 1999). Chrétien exerts a powerful demythologising over beliefs, re-signifying them as literary strategies rather than folkloric or mythic (Ferlampin-Acher, 2003: 10). The fountain's supernatural qualities are played down not only because of Calogrenant's 'excuse' ("Me trop en i verssai, ce dot", 437 [But I poured too much, I fear]) but also because of the knight's recrimination, which "assumes the tone of a formal legal indictment" by the introduction of an array of legal terms such as *droiture*, *garanz*, *plaindre* (vv. 489-514) (Maddox: 56). In brief, the *merveille* is moralised, Christianised and rationalised by Chrétien.

In *Iarlles*, the description of different spaces is short and stereotyped; even if space could elicit legendary themes in the recipient, it is primarily a background against which characters act. There is no forest of Brocéliande or Barenton, which are alien to Welsh tradition. The marked contrast between the court / the forest / the fountain, and the number of meanings attached to them in *Yvain* are hard to find, except for a set of values associated with the court such as hospitality, courtesy, etc. There is a certain degree of modulation of the supernatural in the Welsh tale, with the exception of the giant herdsman whose supernatural qualities are enhanced, as we shall see. Otherwise, Owein's opponents tend to be more human than monstrous. Moreover, the ointment that the widowed countess spends on the hero is, in *Yvain*, a gift from Morgan la sage (v. 2955) but, in *Iarlles*, it is an ointment "gwerth seith ugein punt o iryeit gwerthuawr" (615-6) [one hundred and forty pounds worth of precious ointment]. The emphasis on magic has been shifted to market price. A similar transition to more concrete or 'real-grounded' explanations occurs throughout the tale revealing a preference and a tendency on the part of the translator.

The treatment of the otherworld in *Iarlles* follows, in this respect, a development in Welsh tradition available to the translator. The otherworld is primarily scenery where characters find themselves in situations that can be judged according to idealised concepts of 'right and 'wrong'. Even though it is a world ruled by unnatural laws, characters act according to entirely human laws: the well, located in the dominions of a widowed lady,

needs to be protected. In this way, the tale can explore issues of fellowship, alliance, family ties; more particularly, the text investigates the negative results of political irresponsibility (Owein's outmost fault) and the positive results of friendship.[219]

7.2.1 Narrative motivation

Motives are important in Chrétien's text. The analysis of the characters' motivations and sentiments and a preoccupation for coherence was an important part of the meaning of poetic composition (Vinaver, 1971: 41). In addition, in *Yvain*, love is a powerful motivating force of action, as well as the tension between marriage and chivalry. As such, these themes pertain to a common frame shared by the narrator and the recipient, as a general law that can justify actions and events. Contrarily, *Iarlles* tends to show a particular interest in the progression of action, a paratactic style. Moreover, a particular form of translational expansions occur within motivations, that of explicitation, employed by the narrator to clarify motives or fill logical gaps in the story as a result of his own interpretation. Therefore, in the system of motivations that configures the fictional world (*vraisemblance*), as defined by fictive causal relationships, the differences between *Iarlles* and *Yvain* are considerable.[220] The alleged gaps in narrative coherence and certain inconsistencies in the development of the story in *Iarlles* (the dearth of motivation for the action of characters, repetition of actions, or the sudden appearance of an object that advances the tale) have been interpreted along two different lines: on the one side, as a result of narrative conventions associated with traditional folktales that would guarantee coherency under their own generic terms (Hunt, 1973/4; Thomson, 1986) and, on the other hand, from a cognitive perspective, as a consequence of an aural adaptation of *Yvain* (Rejhon, 1990). A close examination of narrative motivation following Schultz's classification in story, narrator, recipient, and actional motivations (1987) will permit a reappraisal of the way that the text configures its own verisimilitude and of its relationship with its source.

After a *captatio benevolentiae*, Calogrenant introduces the topic of the knight errant: "Aloie querant aventures, / Armez de totes armeüres / Si come chevaliers doit estre" (175-7) [in search of adventures, fully armed as a knight should be], which will be at the core of his conversation with the villain afterwards. Searching for an "avanture" (360) or a "mervoille" (364) to prove his "proesce" and "hardemant" (361, courage and strength) which, one may

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219 This perspective is heavily indebted to Bollard's analysis of the otherworld in *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (1974/5).

220 See the discussion in chapter 3 for the concept of motivation.

say, eventually finds the knight, rather than being encountered by him, sets much of the action into motion. The adventure is a multilayered phenomenon: it is not only a structural element of the *roman*, one of the main ways for individual perfection, but it also represents the privilege of the nobility and the specific ideal of the feudal class as a united group (Köhler, 1960: 82). So testing himself in an adventure is Calogrenant's prime reason for leaving; that is what knights do. As an intradiegetical narrator, Calogrenant actives a common frame of shared knowledge that functions at two levels: intradiegetical, in relation to his narratees (the other knights and the queen) and extradiegetical, as regards the implied recipient of the text. In contrast, in *Iarlles*, Kynon describes himself as high-spirited ("drythyll", 31) and arrogant ("mawr oed vy ryvic", 32), two traits of character that takes him away looking for feats of arms outside his lands. The nature of the character, a form of story motivation, justifies the adventure.

In *Yvain*, Calogrenant's narration occurs after dinner (v. 8), which may have led to the repetition of meals in *Iarlles*. When Arthur wakes up, they all go and have dinner, the second one for Owein, Kynon and Kei (vv. 227-230). Rejhon attributes this repetition to a clash of two different tendencies: on the one hand, the redactor's wish to follow Chretien's version and, on the other hand, a Celtic eating taboo that prevented Arthur from having meat on a feast day before hearing a tale of adventure (1990: 137). But he never actually hears the story at this point, and it is not until much later that the recipient is informed that he is in knowledge of it (vv. 462-3). Unlike what happens in *Yvain*, Arthur's knowledge of Kynon's adventure does not function as motivation for his quest to the fountain. Therefore, the Celtic taboo proposed by Rejhon (1990: 137) results rather unfounded. It can be agreed with Rejhon, though, that the Welsh translator was trying to reproduce his source; whilst involved in this task, he was also constrained by other two elements: the *ymddiddan* [conversation] is usually associated with a meal in this and in other texts (I. Williams, 1964: 4 (*First Branch*), 34 (*Second Branch*)) and Arthur declared he would sleep before dinner, so he had to eat once he had awakened. In this way, literary tradition and narrative coherence can help to explain the inconsistency of the two meals at the beginning of *Iarlles*.

Yvain's main motivation for leaving Arthur's court and pursuing the adventure of the well is clearly stated from the outset; his primary reason consists in avenging his cousin's humiliation: "G'irai vostre honte vangier" (587) [I'll go forth to avenge your shame], "Qu'il vangera, s'il puet, la honte / Son cosin, einz que il retort" (746-7) [for he intended if he could

to avenge his cousin's shame before his return], which will not be possible if he joins the king, because both Keu and Gauvain will claim the combat first (as the narrator explains in vv. 680-86). This prime reason is repeated (and remembered) throughout the whole tale with the addition of a secondary and derivative motivation that justifies chasing the knight into his castle: to produce proof for Keu's benefit in order to retort his mockery. Certain pride guides his behaviour at this point:

> [Yvain] Qu'il crient sa poinne avoir perdue / Se mort ou vif ne le retient, / Que des ranpones li sovient / Que messire Kex li ot dites. / N'est pas de la promesse quites / Que son cosin avoit promise, / Ne creüz n'iert an nule guise / S'anseignes veraies n'an porte (890-9)
>
> [Yvain] feared his efforts would be wasted if he were unable to capture the knight dead or alive, for he recalled the insults that Sir Kay had flung his way. He had not yet fulfilled the promise he had made his cousin, and no one would believe him at all if he did not bring back real proof].

Although these reasons are not devoid of certain self-indulgence, especially in contrast to Yvain's motivations in the third part of the tale (Duggan, 1969), they constitute the purposes that guide Yvain's actions.

On the contrary, there is no clear motivation for Owein's departure from the court. Once Kynon finishes his tale, he asks "Ha wyr (…) pony oed da mynet y geisaw dywanu at y lle hwnnw?" (219-220) [‘Men’, said Owain, ‘wouldn’t it be good to try and find that place?'] very likely in direct response to Kynon's last words "a bot defnyd y chwedyl hwnn yg kyfoeth yr amherawdyr Arthur heb dywanu neb arnaw" (217-8) [lit. that the matter of this tale [is] in the kingdom of the emperor Arthur without anyone else coming across it]. Therefore, and since Arthur is not planning to go to the well, Owein seems to be driven by a curiosity or suspicion about a place that *is*, in fact, within the king’s dominions, but that has not been properly ‘dominated’ and hence remains a mystery. Are we also left to assume that Kei's challenge is part of Owein's motivation too? Although vengeance does not play a major role in *Iarlles*, it is again the main motivation in the Old Norse translation of *Yvain*, *Íven’s Saga*: “‘I shall avenge your disgrace’ [says Íven] (...) Now Íven considered this situation: if he went with the king, Kæi would deride his words as before and there was no certainty that the single combat would fall for his lot, and he thought that he should set out alone” (Kalinke, 1999: 45, 47).

In *Íven’s Saga* and in *Yvain*, the hero’s motivation is intimately connected to Arthur’s decision to journey to the fountain. In contrast, in *Iarlles* Arthur is sad (v. 456) because he

misses Owein, whom he has not seen for three years: "hiraeth yssyd arnaf am Owein a golles y gennyf meint teir blyned" (460-1) [I miss Owain who has been gone for three years], he says to Gwalchmei. Arthur is also certain that it is because of the adventure narrated by Kynon that Owein is missing (462-3). This commentary makes explicit the actional motivation behind Owein's departure whilst, at the same time, reinforcing it as a proper motivation. Gwalchmei's answer introduces the vengeance theme: "ti a gwyr dy ty a eill *dial* Owein or llas, neu y rydhau ot ydiw yg karchar, ac os buw, y dwyn gyt a thi" (464-6) [You and the men of your household can avenge Owain if he has been killed, or free him if he is in prison, and if he is alive, bring him back with you]. The fact that the theme of vengeance is displaced to this position expresses that it is a family duty merely if a kinsman has been killed, and not if he has only been defeated in fair combat, as was Kynon's case. Note that defeat and death are the results of fighting against the Knight of the Fountain that the vavasour informs Calogrenant in vv. 570-75: “Et disorient c’onques mes hom / N’an eschapa, que il seüssent / Ne que il oï dire eüssent, / De la don j’estoie venuz, / Qu’il n’i fust morz ou retenuz” [and they said that never before had anyone escaped from where I had come, as far as they knew or had heard tell, but that everyone had been killed or captured]. This is consistent with native law, whose knowledge was most likely shared between narrator and audience (a case of recipient motivation).

Upon arrival at the castle of the defender of the well / fountain, Yvain / Owein is trapped between two sliding gates (portcullis) and is helped by a maiden, Lunet / Lunete. In *Yvain*, her assistance is motivated by reciprocity, since he had previously defended the girl at Arthur's court (vv. 1001-1013). Therefore, she offers her services as *guerredon*, “reward or gift for a good action” (Godefroy: s.v. *guerredon*). In comparison, Lunet's actions seem again rather unclear: it is out of pity ("dyhed", 295) and on a moral basis ("it would only be right for a woman to help you") that she assists Owein, and her sentiment arises from seeing that he could be a good husband (297-299); it is also possible to posit that in this case there is a retrospective motivation: Lunet's intention to marry her lady may have prompted her assistance to the knight whom she knows has killed her lord. Interestingly, after giving the ring to Owein and explaining how to use it, Lunet advises him to put a hand on her shoulder in order to make her aware of his presence whilst using the ring. This is a form of explicitation commonly introduced by the Welsh translator with the aim of clarifying the how and why of character action; it displays a down-to-earth attitude on the part of the translator,

not unlike other examples discussed earlier. A similar instance occurs during Kynon's journey back to the court: he has been unhorsed by the Black Knight, so the hospitable host gives him a remarkable horse – which he still possesses – for returning home. There is no mention whatsoever of a horse in *Yvain*.

The next motivation worth examining is Laudine's reasons for marrying Yvain. Lunete makes a strong case in favour of marrying as soon as possible on several grounds: 1) the land needs to be protected when Arthur comes, which will occur next week, according to the information provided by the "Dameisele Sauvage" (vv. 1615-1639); 2) a long mourning is not advisable for someone of her status and nobility (vv. 1672-1675); 3) the best candidate would be the knight who defeated her husband who, by winning, has proven to be his superior (vv. 1694-1728). The main reason is the first, which is the argument employed to convince the lady's council: "Por la *costume* maintenir / De vostre fontainne desfandre (…) Lors porroiz dire tot a droit / Que marïer vos convendroit" (1850-1, 1855-6) [In order to maintain the custom of defending your spring (…) Therefore you can properly say that you must remarry], reaffirmed later by the seneschal: "Löez li tuit que seignor praingne, / *Einz que la costume remaingne* / Qui an cest chastel a esté / Plus de soissante anz a passé" (2103-6) [all of you must urge her to take a husband *so that the custom remains*, which has been observed in this town for more than sixty years, translation modified, my italics]. The custom of the fountain, a specialised form of the custom of the castle (by defeating the defender of a castle, the winner is required to replace him), introduces the bride-winning motif by which Yvain is able to earn Laudine's love by way of chivalric achievements and, as a consequence, to become the defender of the fountain (Lacy, 2005: 979, n. 7). As a result, Yvain incorporates Barenton into the sphere of action and influence of the Arthurian court, thus reinforcing his right (*droit*) to it (Köhler, 1960). This idea is at the core of Owein's motivation for undertaking the adventure: the land of the marvellous well, located within Arthur's dominions and yet foreign and menacing, must be brought into the orbit of the king.

Custom is, thus, a multilayered phenomenon that works on multiple levels: it functions as a compositional as well as a conventional element of the *roman* as genre, playing a key role as part of the 'laws' of romance (Lacy, 2005: 985), but also has legal (Maddox, 1991) and political connotations (Köhler, 1960: 394-97).[221] Customs, as well as the adventure itself and other types of imperatives, contribute to the configuration of the system of

[221] In Knight's words, they are not only plot-devices but they also have a structural character (1983).

motivations and, therefore, to the notion of *vraisemblable*. Hence it is not surprising that it loses its force in *Iarlles*.

Two more customs appear in *Yvain* at the castle of Pesme Aventure: the principal compels everyone who has received hospitality to fight against the two sons of *netun* (vv. 5502-05) and an accessory one, which forces local people to be inhospitable towards foreign knights (vv. 5154-6). Both customs are different from the previous: they are abolished by the hero in an act of "social liberation" (Köhler, 1960: 394).

In *Iarlles*, the conversations between the lady and Lunet are shorter; the arguments are basically the same but there is obviously no reference to the custom of defending the well: Lunet insists on the need to replace her dead husband for a man that is equally good or even better in order to defend her kingdom. Love is completely absent from their dialogue.

One can say that a first 'happy ending' is reached when Yvain/Owein marries the lady and Arthur joins them. Gauvain's arguments make the conflict between chivalry and conjugal obligations (a major topic in Chrétien's *romans*) the prime subject. *Iarlles* downplays this theme, almost to the point of extinction: Owein leaves his wife in order to visit with Arthur "y vyrda Ynys Prydein a'y gwragedda" (559) [the noblemen of the Island of Britain and their ladies] and to be "ym plith y genedyl a'y gytgyuedachwyr" (562) [among his people and drinking companions], in what can easily be read as the king and his retinue going on circuit around the land. The replacement of the conflict *amor* v. *militia* with kinship obligations has a twofold impact on the translation: on the one hand, by reinterpreting chivalric duties as duties owed by the Welsh nobility to the lord, it tones down Yvain's transgression of the chivalric code and the necessity of a process of learning that will take him on the path of maturation and perfection as husband and knight; on the other hand, it redirects the tale into Welsh traditions.

The episode of the handmaiden sent by the lady presents a gap in the narrative whose importance for assessing the relationship between *Yvain* and *Iarlles* has not been sufficiently stressed: the mounted maiden enters Arthur's court and takes a ring from Owein's hand, calling him "dwyllwr aghywir bradwr" (569-70) [deceitful cheat and traitor].[222] Is this the same ring that Laudine gives to Yvain as a token of love and, symbolically, as a way of ascertain her 'authority' over him? Is she accusing him of breaking the promise made to his

[222] By contrast, it is the narrator who reproduces in reported speech the words of the damoisele in *Yvain*. For a discussion of speeches in both tales see p. 205.

wife of returning within a year? The scene between the espouses in which the lady gives the ring to Owein and in turn he promises to return within a certain period of time was not translated into Welsh;[223] yet it is presupposed for the events to make sense. The translator was obliged to include the claiming of the ring, and the insults that go with it, because of its importance as a motivation in the story (without it, Owein had no excuse to become mad and go on adventures to redeem himself).[224] The ring and the promise are part of a code of romantic relationship imbued with *amour courtois* whereby the lady becomes the lord to whom the lover owes allegiance, loyalty, and obedience. Because of such feelings, Yvain must seek Laudine's permission and abide by her conditions. But this was hard to interpret in a Welsh context, so the scene was omitted.[225] Hence the ring appears as a necessary *deus ex machina* to motivate – justify – the next episode and the rest of the tale. We should note, however, that the handmaiden's words stress indeed Owein's failure by means of the phrase "meuyl ar dy varyf!" (570) [shame on your beard], which was a deadly insult according to the laws (see below, p.204). Consequently, the ring and the promise work at multiple levels: narrative, literary, social.

Another motivation deleted occurs in the adventure of the lion and the slaying of the serpent. Yvain runs into a lion that is being attacked by a serpent and he decides to help him because he is a noble beast and *pitiez* moves him to help him (v. 3375). This consideration is absent from Owein but the narrative that follows is practically the same:

Iarlles (668-70)

y tharaw a oruc
Owein a chledyf yny vyd yn *deu hanher* y'r llowr, a *sychu y gledyf*, a dyfot
y fford val kynt.

Yvain (vv. 3378-3383, 3410-3)

A s'espee, qui söef tranche
Va le felon serpant requerre;
Si le tranche jusqu'an terre
Et les deus mitiez retronçone,
Fiert et refiert, et tant l'en done
Que tot lea demince et depiece.
(...)
Por le venin et por l'ordure
Del serpant, *essuie s'espee,*
Si l'a el fuerre rebotee,
Puis si se remet a la voie.

[223] The scene is summarised in the following way: Arthur sends messengers to the lady to ask if Owein can go with them for three months (557-8).

[224] It could be possible to say that Owein's ring is the ring of invisibility that Lunet gave him, which is the only one mentioned in the Welsh tale. If this were so, the claiming of the ring, related to the accusations made by the handmaiden, would be rather unfounded.

[225] Is it not a great example of this misinterpretation Lunet's opposition of *kar* [friend] and *gorderch* [lover]: "[I]f you had a woman *friend* [*kar*], you would be the best friend [*kar*] a woman could have; if you had a *mistress* [*gorderch*], you would be the best lover"? (298-9).

Owein struck it [the serpent] with his sword so it lay in two halves on the ground, and he wiped his sword and continued on his way as before.	He pursued the wicked dragon [sic] with his sharp sword: he cut it through to the ground and then cut the two parts in half again; he struck it repeatedly until it was hacked into tiny pieces. (…) He wiped the dragon's [sic] poisonous filth from his sword, replaced it in his scabbard, and set off again upon his way.

Both tales display the same sequence of events: the serpent is cut in two and then the hero wipes the sword. But Owein seemingly wipes the sword for no reason whereas in the French romance it is clearly stated that the serpent was poisonous and therefore the sword needed to be cleaned in order to remove the venom. The venomous condition of the serpent had been established –twice– earlier in the tale: "Qu'a venimeus ne a felon / Ne doit an feire se man non, / Et li serpanz est venimeus" (3359-61) [since a venomous and wicked creature deserves only harm: the dragon was venomous]. Chrétien's story motivation is replaced by a weak actional motivation that cannot be fully understood without reference to the French text.

Similar omissions happen in the series of adventures undertaken by Yvain / Owein in the third part of the tale. Chrétien is very careful in displaying the hero's feelings and reasons for helping people. In the first episode of the park (the episode of Noroison in *Yvain*), the narrator indicates that Owein reached a park that was owned by a widowed lady. One day, while the lady and her handmaidens were strolling around the park, they found him asleep; even though they were afraid, they confirmed that he was alive; as a result, the lady went back to the castle in search for a valuable ointment. By contrast, Yvain is found by the lady and her handmaidens in the forest whilst sleeping; one of them identifies him because of a scar on his face. She then goes back to the lady and tells her that she found Yvain, the great knight, looking like a mad man and that, if God could give him his reason back, he could help them against count Alier. At this point the lady remembers Morgana's ointment and they all return to the castle. The recognition of Yvain as a knight and the assumption that he will fight for the lady's cause are clearly established as motivations for providing the ointment to 'cure' Yvain. The story motivation also activates the code of chivalry that state that knights behave courteously. *Iarlles*, nonetheless, even when relying on actional motivation provides a coherent frame for the encounter of the hero: the lady's park inside her dominions. *Yvain*, in this respect, activates once more the code of the *roman*, which allows women to wander a forest alone. Owein, however, incorporates the theme of reciprocity, giving the earl as a

'present' to the widowed lady and saying "Wely di yma ytti pwyth yr ireit bendigedic a gefeis i genhyt ti!" (653-4) [Here is your payment for the healing ointment I received from you].

Reference to this same code explains the motivation that leads Yvain to the fountain and his encounter with Lunete, imprisoned in the chapel: "Tant qu' aventure a la fontainne / Desoz le pin, les amena" (3490-1) [until chance brought them to the spring beneath the pine tree]. In this context, *aventure* works as a self-explaining term. *Iarlles* employs a straightforward story motivation, without any mention to the well: "Ac val y bydei Owein y velly ef a glywei och mawr, a'r eil, a'r trydet, ac yn agos attaw" (681-3) [And as Owain was doing this he heard a loud groaning, and a second, and a third, not far from him]. This procedure is employed twice in successive events: "ef a glywei discyr vawr y mywn coet, a'r eil, a'r drydet" (661-2) [he heard a loud shriek in a forest, and a second, and a third] allowing the narrator to take Owein to the lion (note here the tendency to triadic structure). [226] Another instance of this same shift in motivation happens in the way that Yvain/Owein reaches the castle of the lord harassed by the giant. In *Iarlles*, Lunet directs him towards the castle (703-8), whereas in *Yvain* the discovery of the castle is subjected to the same laws of fate as other adventures.

The defence of Lunet/e, though, is motivated in both cases by their prior acquaintance: Yvain / Owein is responsible for her imprisonment. In *Iarlles*, Lunet tells Owein that two of the lady's chamberlains ("weissyon ystauell y iarlles", 690-1) made fun of him and called him "dwyllwr" (691) [deceitful], against which she defended him; as a result, she would be killed the day after the following day. In *Yvain*, however, Lunete is accused of treason by the seneschal but before being sent to the chapel she tries to find a suitable champion for her cause; we learn that Gauvain was not available (he was, after all, trying to rescue the queen in *Lancelot ou Le chevalier de la charrette*), hence she will be sent to the stake the following day. Lunete explicitly and repeatedly blames Yvain but accepts to hide his identity. The theme of the hidden name of the knight is absent in *Iarlles* and it is not clear if Lunet realises that Owein will be her defender.

The adventure of Harpin de la Montagne also lacks the main motivation: the family connection between the owner of the castle and Gauvain. Owein only sees that they are very sad and later learns the story of the giant, but there are no hints at a possible involvement in

[226] A similar triadic sequence takes place the night when the knight of the well dies: Owein and Lunet hear crying in the castle, then more crying at midnight and finally crying and wailing after dawn.

favour of his host. An action is followed by another action: "The next morning they heard an incredibly loud noise – it was the huge man coming with the two lads. And the earl wanted to defend the castle from him and abandon his two sons. Owain put on his armour and went out to contend with the man, followed by the lion" (135-6). Once again, an elaborated story motivation (comprising family history) is replaced by actional motivation, a succession of events that are left to be connected by the recipient. Likewise happens with the reconciliation of Owein and his wife.

Lastly, the adventure of the Pesme Avanture, recast in the episode of the Du Traws, lacks the power of enforcement of the custom of the Old French text and replaces it with the injustice committed towards the maidens and the provocation of the black oppressor, who greets Owein rather too fondly. The episodic character of the event is highlighted by the complete lack of motivation for the episode. *Yvain* elicits once again the code of the *roman*: the arrival at the castle of Pesme Avanture by chance and the decision to enter because night was upon them (remember that Yvain is travelling with the handmaiden of the younger sister of the Noire Épine, vv. 5109-5113).

The difference between how each tale is articulated can also be seen in the way that each adventure is introduced. This is most obvious in Arthur's arrival at the fountain, which causes the necessary disequilibrium for the story to advance. As has already been noted, Arthur had planned to go to the fountain ever since Calogrenant recounted his adventure, and the time frame for the journey was a dramatic element in the narrative, as well as one of Lunete's arguments for rushing Laudine into her decision of marriage. Chrétien thus introduces early in the text this story motivation. In *Iarlles*, on the contrary, the translator re-focalises the story by shifting from Owein to Arthur's court by way of a stereotyped opening, "Ac ual yd oed Walchmei diwarnawt yn gorymdeith y gyt a'r amherawdyr Arthur…" (455-6) [One day as Gwalchmai was out walking with the emperor Arthur].[227] There is no link between the previous scene (Owein receiving the homage of his 'new' people) although the last phrase "A their blyned y bu ef uelly" (454) [And he stayed thus for three years] functions as an ending of a state of equilibrium that demands a new event for the story to continue.

Along this same line, Chrétien tends to be explicit as far as motivations are concerned: Calogrenant tells his tale because telling stories is part of entertainment at court, a

[227] Roberts refers to this procedure as "return to the ranch" technique, which is employed to describe two contemporary sequences merging at a single point (1983).

general law that the narrator clearly states in the prologue ("Li un recontoient novels, / Li autre parloient d'Amour", 12-13 [Some told of past adventures, other spoke of love]). *Iarlles*, by contrast, relies on story or actional motivation: in this particular case, it is Arthur who demands a tale (14-15). In all cases, motivations tend to be supplied by the voice of characters, taking to a minimum the presence of the narrator.

The analysis shows that, in *Iarlles*, recipient and actional motivations prevail, followed by story motivations. They tend to be external, punctual, and open, based on the logic of events and involving to a high degree the presence of the recipient. Extradiegetical motivation, in the form of recipient or actional motivation, demands the recipient to supply the connections between adjacent events or actions, which seem to emerge from the preceding ones. The narrator is completely detached from narrative motivation, much unlike Chrétien, who adds commentaries of his own to explain the characters' actions. A clear example of this procedure is the passage that contains a long digression about Love, followed by Yvain's interior monologue reprising this topic and ending with the personification of Love and Shame (vv. 1358-1542). At that point in the narrative, Yvain is drawn apart by both love and shame, to which the narrator refers: "Amors et Honte le retienent / Qui de dues parz devant li vienent: / Il est honiz, se il s'en va, / Que ce ne recresroit en ja / Qu'il eüst ensi esploitié / D'autre part, ra tel covoitié / De la bele dame veoir (1533-39) [Shame and Love, who opposed him on both sides, held him back: what shame if he leaves! No one would believe his exploits. On the other hand, he was so eager to see the beautiful lady, translation modified]. These conflicting feelings of imprisonment (the 'prison of love') explain Yvain's attitude and decisions; Chrétien relies on this kind of elaborate and internal motivations that create a strong idea of cohesion and causality which can explain even those seemingly fortuitous encounters. The *roman*'s *vraisemblance* is heavily indebted to the general laws of the genre that it helps to configure and maintain and that presupposes a recipient able to understand and delight in such literary code.

The translator of *Iarlles* endows his text with a set of narrative motivations that configures a verisimilitude anchored in Welsh narrative tradition. Domestication of motives is a common feature of translations: the translator accommodates the text to the standards and conventions of the literary system of the TL. We can assume that the literary conventions of Chrétien's *roman courtois* in terms of motivations would pose a challenge, especially the concept of *aventure* and the deep exploration of sentiments and of interpersonal relationships.

Concerning the first, Owein's observation about the adventure of the well – which, as was noted, seems to motivate his departure from court – makes explicit the reception of the notion of adventure and of its implications: how could it be that nobody knew about the phenomenon of the well if this supernatural entity (the otherworld space) was within Arthur's dominions? One of the rules of the *roman* indicates that the adventure is out there waiting for the chosen knight. It seems that this type of explanations, deeply imbued with a generic code as well as the code of courtly love and chivalry, presented a problem for the translator, who resorted, when possible, to traditional conventions of the TL. In this way, the tale acquires a more marked episodic character, a feature that characterises Welsh narrative. In this state of things, the only exterior element introduced is the promise and the ring; this ad-hoc motivation betrays the presence of the source. In all the other cases, despite the seemingly loose connections, actions and events are motivated by elements or objects of the story, either present in the narrative or in the discourse of characters. Narrator motivation is completely absent from *Iarlles*, which should not be surprising given that the narrator is a hidden figure in medieval Welsh prose tradition: "There are no authorial comments on the significance of events or situations, there are no formal rhetorical passages to amplify the material or to explore the emotions. It follows that there can be no soliloquies, descriptive monologues or imaginary debates" (Roberts, 1983: 180-1). Owein's silence as regards his motivation: "the point may be that after breaking faith with his wife he is unwilling to make any sort of promise (Thomson, 1986: 57). Lastly, it is important to note that the story and actional motivations displayed in *Iarlles* express a marked tendency for explicitation, which is a widely employed procedure in translations.

7.2.2 Characterization

Byfield (1993) distinguished four techniques of characterization within the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* that could help to delineate the configuration of characters in *Iarlles* with respect to *Yvain*: 1) Authorial presence or authorial voice; 2) Actions performed by the characters themselves through which we may infer their motivations and the extent to which their roles determine their behaviour; 3) Interplay between characters; 4) Dialogue: how characters perceive themselves and others; and how they perceive and respond to the responsibilities and duties inherent in the roles they represent. In *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, as in *Iarlles*, actions are the primary means of characterisation and introspection.

The Giant herdsman

The "gwr du mawr" [108, big black man] or wild herdsman marks a deep contrast against Yvain's rustic villain. The fullest physical description of this character is provided in the hospitable host's voice; in fact, the speeches delivered by both him and Kynon give details of this character, while the narrator only states that to Owein and Arthur he was larger than they expected. His monstrous features are much more accentuated: he is a giant ("ny bo llei no deuwr o wyr y byt hwn" [no smaller than two men of this world], 108-9; also the (rather amusing) vocative to Kynon, "dyn bychan" [little man], 130, 138) with only one foot and one eye in the middle of the forehead (109-110), and wields an iron stick that cannot be raised by two common men (111). The hospitable host declares also that "nyt gwr anhygar efo: gwr hagyr yw ynteu. A choydwr ar y koet hwnnw yw" [111-4, he is not an unpleasant man, but he is ugly. And he is the guardian of the forest]. In a way, he is drawing attention to the fact that appearances can be deceitful, the tension between words and actions or the visual world. The giant herdsman looks after wild animals, serpents, vipers, and lions (134), all of which, at his command, "adoli ef val y gwnaei gwyr gwaredawc y eu harglwyd" [137-8, pay homage to him like obedient men would to their lord).[228] He demonstrates his power over these creatures to Kynon, instead of just referring it as his counterpart in *Yvain* does. This form of addition is exemplification.

Like his counterpart in *Yvain*, the giant herdsman functions as helper to the hero by guiding him to the adventure of the well. Unlike him, however, he is a villain, a rustic or peasant, who is represented as a blend between nature and culture: he inhabits the forest (wilderness) but, still, he knows about the marvel of the fountain. He is introduced by Calogrenant in his in-tale with a rhetorical inversed portrait that compares each of his features with animals and his overall aspect with the 'other' *par excellence*, a Moor (vv. 286-311).[229] Even the narrator expresses his disgust at the villain hyperbolically ("Comant Nature feire sot / Oevre si leide et si vilainne", 796-7 [how Nature could have created such an ugly and base-born creature]). The oft-quoted dialogue that he maintains with Calogrenant (vv.326-405)

[228] Mac Cana identified the giant herdsman with Cercunnos, the horned Celtic god, which is represented surrounded by wild animals and incarnates fertility, abundance, wealth, and prosperity (1983).

[229] Colby (1964: 21) draws the following pattern from his portrait: identity and complexion 1 line, size ½, ugliness (indescribable) 2 ½, setting 1, weapons 1, action 1, head 2, hair ½, forehead 1 ½, ears 2, eyebrows ½, face (complexion not mentioned) ½, eyes ½, nose ½, mouth 1, teeth 1, beard ½, moustache ½, chin 1, back 1, weapons 1, clothing 5. For the stylistic devices employed by Chrétien in this description see esp. pp. 170-73.

defines chivalry as a social group by differentiating it from all of the others, including the 'rustics', and shows the superiority of the knight and the disdain for the villain, which will create a strong irony in Calogrenant's disgraceful return home. Kynon, Owein and Arthur, on the other hand, treat the wild herdsman with a respectful equality; there is even a slight superiority on the part of the herdsman as regards Kynon: Kynon greets him using a traditional indirect formula (*cyfarch well*, "greetings") and although he is rude and discourteous, he describes step by step the road to the well, and he even ridicules Kynon on his way back. In his interaction with other characters, as well as in the dialogues to which he contributes, he is exactly as anticipated by the hospitable host. Moral character is thus incorporated into the physical portrait. Finally, it is interesting to note that the primary narrator or authorial voice amplifies the supernatural qualities of the herdsman but minimises those of Owein's opponents.

Yvain / Owein

The name Owein ap Urien of Rheged would have most probably elicited for the Welsh audience the historical figure of the warrior from the Old North (now Southern Scotland and North of England), the son of one of the leading kings of the Britons in the sixth century.[230] He was a familiar character in Welsh traditions, particularly in the poetic corpus. The earliest sources about Owein are two of the so-called ‘historical’ poems of Taliesin (i.e. of the twelve that Williams deemed to be composed by the sixth-century poet): "Marwnat Owein", a lament for his death, and a mention to his participation in the Battle of Argoed Llwyfein (poem VI) (I. Williams, 1977). Owein, as other independent characters of Welsh tradition, had already been drawn into Arthur's orbit by Geoffrey of Monmouth's time (Reeve, 2007: 177.24: "Hiwenus filius Vriani"). The allusion to the flight of ravens and the three hundred swords of Cynferchin at the end of the tale can also be explained by Welsh native tradition: the ravens may have originally denoted Owein’s own band of fighting men since *brân*, "raven" (pl. *branhes*), is used figuratively in poetry for "warrior". As for the swords of Cynferchin, it is a metonymy for the *teulu* or band of followers, which usually summed three hundred men; Cynferchin means "the descendants of Cynfarch", and refers to a post-Roman

[230] For the history of the name Owein (< Latin Eugenius) and its different spellings see Bromwich (2006: 466). His name and patronymic passed from Welsh to French sources almost unchanged, although not the narratives attached to him, which endorses the notion of "Arthurian topoi" discussed in chapter 2. The traditions associated with Owein are examined in detail by Bromwich (2006: 467-72).

northern Brythonic dynasty whose most renowned members were Owein and his father, Urien.[231] It is perhaps the familiarity with this character that might have motivated the translation of the French tale.[232]

In the Old French text, the main theme of the tale is Yvain's learning trajectory that takes him from madness and a wild life to his establishment as the perfect knight, worthy of the social recognition of his peers and of Laudine's love. Prior to his crisis, Yvain's motivations can be seen as self-indulgent and even selfish, and his actions driven by recklessness. His exile in the forest, divested of reason (he is called "hom forsenés et sauvage", 2828 [like a madman and a savage]; the narrator states that "il n'avoit mie le sens tout", 2834 [he had lost all his senses]) and of clothes, in total self-oblivion, results in his deculturation, i.e the abandonment of culture and, consequently, of a structured social and economic system, as well as of habitation (Le Goff and Vidal-Naquet, 1999: 590). The spear and sword are replaced by a bow, the weapon of the hunter rather than of the knight. Upon mental and physical recovery at the castle of the lady of Noroison, Yvain turns into a knight with a cause: protect the weak and the wrongfully attacked, help the dispossessed and desperate, fight for justice. His combats are not jousts; they acquire a moral sense. The adventures set him on a path whose ultimate goal is abnegation and altruism. In the first adventures, Yvain helps those with whom he has a debt of gratitude: the lady of Noroison and Lunette. In the episode of Harpin de la Montagne, he fights out of love for Gauvain, his friend. In contrast, he agrees to help the younger sister of the Noire Épine, whom he does not know, and he has no obligations towards the maidens imprisoned at the castle of the Pesme Aventure. During each step of the road, he resists sexual and material temptations (Noble, 1982: 58-9): the lady of Noroison offers him her hand and lands (and a service pay after being turned down); the lord of the castle wants to reward him by granting his daughter, whom he saved from the giant Harpin; Laudine invites him to stay with her until he and the lion are cured; the lord of Pesme Aventure is even angry at Yvain's refusal of his daughter; finally, he rejects chivalric glory by surrendering to Gauvain. At the end, Yvain's motives are absolutely deprived of selfishness.

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[231] These are the aspects reprised by the poets of the court such as Cynddelw, who recalls Owein's flight of ravens riding upon the dead warriors of Bernicia. It is also present in *Breudwyt Ronabwy*: Owein and Arthur are playing *gwyddbwyll*, a board game similar to chess, and the game parallels the confrontation between Arthur and Owein's men, who are ravens.

[232] Owein also features in *Breudwyt Ronabwy*.

The progression of his journey, that unfolds simultaneously as an exterior and interior journey, also finds expression at two more levels: on the one hand, concerning the opponents that he defeats and, on the other hand, the scope of his service. Yvain confronts opponents in a gradation that goes from less powerful to more powerful and dangerous, involving different supernatural creatures too: count Alier, the serpent (which is traditionally connected to the devil), the giant, the three traitors, the two sons of netun and, finally, Gauvain. As regards the range of his service: an individual (Lunete), a family (Gauvain's kin), and lastly an entire community (lord of the castle, his family and three hundred captives) (Maddox, 1991: 69).

In this respect, the lion plays an important role in his learning trajectory. Amongst many possible things, perhaps the lion symbolises primarily prowess, whose ultimate source is God (Duggan, 1969; cp. Harris, 1949 but cf. Hunt, 1983). Yvain fights for justice and for God, asserts the narrator no less than four times in this part of the narrative (in verses 4327, 4439, 5098-5100, 5977-5982). As a dishonoured man, Yvain must regain his name; he relinquishes his 'old' one and becomes 'the knight of the lion'.[233] He constructs a new identity linked to his new name that will allow him to build a new and better reputation and ultimately reconcile with Laudine. Yvain's post-crisis adventures also requalify him to *tenir sa terre* according to the custom, since he learns how to restore social order and peace elsewhere (Maddox, 1991: 63). He thus attains chivalric perfection and turns himself into a model of loyalty, fidelity, and moral superiority. Self-knowledge and self-improvement are key elements in this process.

In the Welsh tale, on the other hand, the theme of triumph, loss and rehabilitation is not explicitly addressed but rather has to be gleaned from reading between the lines (Reck 2010: 78).[234] We can agree with Roberts that the theme of the tale is Owein's coming to know himself and recognise the maturity in his character by the achievement of *moderatio* as a knight and as a husband (1983). This is also the prime topic in Chrétien's text, as discussed earlier. Although there are no lengthy digressions on the characters' ponderations or monologues about their feelings, the Welsh translator shows interest in the feelings of characters and in their development, not only in the case of Owein. In his narrative, Kynon makes a series of subjective judgements at multiple levels: at the level of the action and as the

[233] Chrétien builds up the moment up until he takes that name: firstly, the people of Noroison compare him to a lion when he attacks count Alier; secondly, he moves from association to companionship between the knight and the lion; lastly, he substitutes the name of Yvain for 'the knight of the lion' (Duggan, 1969).
[234] Reck also recalls the personal development of Pwyll in the *First Branch*, which reinforces this argument (2010: 94); see also Byfield (1993).

narrator, by means of interventions on the tale, that help to delineate his character and progression. He refers to personal traits that lead him to adventures, his youthful enthusiasm and arrogance (lines 31-2), endorsed by personal impressions such as “A hir uu genhyf i y nos honno" (117) [that night seemed long to me]. He displays certain rudeness to his host ("And I said it was high time I had someone to talk with, and that the greatest fault of the court was that they were such poor conversationalists"), he feels deeply ashamed for not even having been taken seriously by the Knight of the Well and made prisoner, and for being ridiculed by the Giant herdsman; above all, we know of his maturation because prior to quoting his words to the host that had treated him with so much honour and hospitality, he says "when the man thought that I would prefer to talk rather than eat, he asked me where I was going and who I was", confirming that present-Kynon has learnt the lesson of courtesy. In this respect, we cannot but agree with Reck's analysis (2010) and add that, contrary to Calogrenant, Kynon is a dynamic character in *Iarlles* because he does not represent a competing knight to Owein but, far from it, he is a member of his social group, of Arthur's *teulu*.

The extradiegetical narrator also makes comments about Owein’s sentiments: his sadness and preoccupation for having forgotten his lady, his *kewilyd* [shame] for being found naked and in such poor sate by the lady in the park (597). In his actions, Owein's chivalric qualities as a knight and as a lover are downplayed and even put into question. His helpers, the lion and Lunet, replace him in both roles, as surrogates in knighthood and love, respectively. The lion is the one who defeats all of the opponents (except the Du Traws, against whom he is not apparently present) and it is explicitly said that “A gwell o lawer yd ymladei y llew a´r gwr mawr noc Owein" (744-5) [And the lion fought much better than Owein against the huge man”]. He plays a more important part in the defeats of the giant and of the two lads that imprisoned Lunet than in *Yvain*. It is repeatedly emphasized that Owein is weak and has not fully recovered from his time in the wilderness: "A gofut a gafas Owein gan y deu was" (767-8) [he came to grief at the hands of the two lads], "Ac ny dothoed Owein y nerth ettwa, a hydyr oed y deu was arnaw" (774-5) [But Owain's strength had not fully recovered, and the two lads were getting the better of him]. Concerning Owein as lover, he has no dialogue with the iarlles and Lunet is the one who undertakes the *gorderchu* [courting] on his behalf.

Word and obligations attached to discourse are also an important issue in *Iarlles* as well as in *Yvain*: Yvain promised to save Lunette and is constantly worried about being on time for fighting the three seneschals, even at the expense of not helping Gauvain's niece. Owein, on the other hand, finds it difficult to commit verbally by making promises (he is the "silent hero" according to Reck, 2010: 90-6) but it is possible to read commitment from his actions.

The episode of the Du Traws, read in this context and in connection to Owein's career as hero, foregrounds his maturity and the achievement of supreme martial skills and virtuosity: he overcomes by himself his opponent, without the help of the lion, and, unlike his frenzied pursuit of the Knight of the Well, he shows him mercy, permitting his conversion. Therefore, at the end of this episode, Owein has not only been reinstated as defender of the well but also invested with the highest office at Arthur's court (an honour that had already been anticipated, in a way, by Owein defeating all the members of the *teulu*, "family", at the well).[235] By downplaying the chivalric ethos, the Welsh narrator constructs a hero that has identifiable human traits, who is not the perfect, ideal knight, and can thus arouse more sympathy in his recipient. This is a new dimension introduced by the Welsh translator to the hero, and reinforces the structural function of the episode of the Du Traws.[236]

Another shift introduced in *Iarlles* is the depiction of Owein as social being rather than individual. His individual progression happens within the social group, a network of family ties and obligations. This is clearly observed in Owein's reaction after hearing Kynon's tale: he addresses the whole, namely Arthur's *teulu*, with the intention of setting forth on a collective quest (against the solitary quest of the continental *roman*). In fact, as Fulton has cogently argued, the development of the hero relies on a marked collectivism rather than individualism by reinforcing the values of the kin-group, the *uchelwyr* or nobility: "[I]n the Welsh romances, then, the discourses of courtly love and chivalry which seem to construct the aspirational knights of French romance, have very little relevance to the Welsh characters as social subjects" (2001: 35). The different situation of the French nobility can explain these

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[235] Once married to the lady, Owein receives the homage of the men of the land: "A gwrhau a orugant gwyr y iarllaeth y Owein" (449) [And the men of the earldom paid homage to Owain], which can be interpreted as submission and alliance rather than homage in the Anglo-Norman feudal sense. The former meaning is already present in *Pwyll*, for example, as well as ordeals by battle (Charles-Edwards, 1971).

[236] This human dimension of Owein is also strengthened by the description of combat scenes in the series of adventures of rehabilitation, which are shorter and less stereotypical than the previous ones because they have a special function: to show a human being in his learning trajectory, balancing his words and actions, and not the perfect knight (Reck, 2010: 97).

differences: a fractured nobility, on the one hand, whose landless *juvens* seek upward mobility by way of personal initiative (in terms of love and chivalry) in opposition, on the other hand, to a more cohesive group which brings together noblemen, tribal leaders, and princes, and who own land by lineage and not by gift. It is true, as the author shows, that Owein's quests lead to a more responsible kind of lordship which is not completely independent of the stable overlord, Arthur (Fulton 2001: 25). However, her assertion that the lady of the well is relocated in Arthur's realm (25) disregards the episode of the Du Traws that ends with Owein relocating *to his own lands*. Clearly, there are significant cultural, social and political differences between the audiences of each text.

Owein features in several triads belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries[237] as well as in poems of the *cywyddwyr* (the poets of the gentry), in which the majority of allusions are to episodes of *Iarlles*. It is interesting to note that he is called "Iarll y Cawg", "Earl of the basin", by Tudur Aled (fl. 1480-1526) in a poem addressed to Syr Rhys ap Thomas, which is the title assigned to the tale in Llanstephan 58 (Thomson, 1971: 88). The reception of the story within Welsh literary circles seems to show more interest in Owein than in the *iarlles*.

Arthur

Scholars have long agreed that the portrayal of Arthur in *Iarlles* (and in the other two Arthurian prose tales *Gereint* and *Peredur*) is more akin to the emerging continental model than to earlier Welsh or Latin sources (Roberts 1983; Bruce, 1923). This is clear from the outset: at the opening scene, he is styled "amherawdyr" [emperor] twice. Three different traditions about Arthur emerge from early Welsh sources:[238] as a legendary military leader, to whom onomastic tales were attached (as in pseudo-Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*); as a tribal leader who represents temporal (in the Latin-Welsh lives of saints); as the chief of a band of warriors who contends against supernatural creatures in vernacular poems and tales such as "Pa gur yv y porthaur?" (What man is the gatekeeper?) or *Culhwch ac Olwen*. This is the 'heroic' Arthur, closer to the ideals expressed in the heroic Welsh poem *Y Gododdin*, such as generosity of the lord, praise of individual prowess, emphasis on exploits, than in *Iarlles*. In

[237] He is called one of the Fortunate Princes and reference is made to his horse and his bard. See Bromwich (2006), triads 3, 11, 40, 70 and App IV.3.
[238] The best narrative about the Welsh Arthur can be found in Padel (2000) and further references there. See also chapter 2.

Culhwch ac Olwen, though, Arthur's court is already firmly established as a place from where adventures depart; his court is located in Celli Wig instead of Caer Llion, which was introduced by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Chrétien's image of Arthur does not seem to derive from those Welsh sources directly but rather through Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Brittaniae* via Wace's *Brut*. In this way, Arthur becomes the embodiment of royal inadequacy as a *rex inutilis* (Peters 1970: 170-209) or *roi fainéant*, a figurehead, in accordance with Chrétien's ideological purposes regarding royalty (Köhler 1960).[239] Unlike, for example, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, where Arthur commands the hunt of the Twrch Trwyth [Wild Boar], in *Iarlles* he is idle at court, sitting as an emperor none the less, but sleepy and seemingly old. The court and, by extension Arthur, are reinterpreted as literary devices that frame the errant knight's adventures. In spite of the predominance of this latter aspect of the king, traces of a conflicting image of Arthur are manifest on three occasions: when he gets ready to fight against the Knight of the Well (Owein incognito), when Owein abandons his land and wife to go on circuit with him and when Arthur appoints him *pennteulu*. In all these instances, Arthur appears as a chieftain, an overlord, and the head of the family to which Owein belongs. Consequently, an assertion like Over's (2005: 91): "The most striking aspect of the tales remains, to my mind, their adoption of Chrétien's weak king Arthur, their imported Arthurian framework that marginalizes the king to foreground and idealize the ambitions of warrior knights" cannot be accepted. Not only is there no uncritical importation of Arthur's literary figure: a sense of community, contrary to Yvain's exaltation of individualism, pervades the Welsh tale. Arthur's depiction is yet alien to Welsh tradition, as is the portrayal of several knights and women in the tale.

Kei, Kynon, and Gwalchmei

These three characters are attested in earlier Welsh sources and were drawn into Arthur's orbit at an early stage of the development of his legend.[240]The poem "Pa gur yv y porthaur", [What man is the gatekeeper?] (c. 1100) starts with the conventional device of a hero attempting to gain admittance to a hall. The hero is none other than Arthur and the gatekeeper is Glewlwyd Great Grasp (whom we know from *Iarlles* and *Gereint*). In the dialogue that

[239] Arthur as *roi fainéant* permits the resolution of a tension between valuing kingship and fear of the power of a real king (Knight, 1983: 78)
[240] For a fuller history of Kei, Kynon and Gwalchmei see Bromwich (2006: 308-311, 326-7, 367-71, respectively). For the origin of their names see also Bromwich (1983).

ensues, Arthur makes references of varying lengths (some are only very brief mentions, others several lines long) about the deeds of his companions, Kei and Bedwyr above all. Kei's exploits occupy most of the narrative, for instance:[241]

> Before the lord [or lords] of Emrys [i.e. Gwynedd] / I saw Cai hastening. / Prince of plunder, / He was a warrior long (=unrelenting) as an enemy. /Heavy was his vengeance, / Painful was his fury. / When he would drink from a horn / He would drink enough for four. / When he came into battle, /He would slay enough for a hundred (Sims-Williams, 2008: lines 64-73)

The status of Kei "the fair" is that of Arthur's closest companion. Likewise, the portrayal of Kei in *Culhwch ac Olwen* lets us see the "prominent Welsh representative of the ancient Celtic heroic tradition" (Gowans, 1988: 16). Conversely, in *Iarlles* Kei resembles his Old French model. In *Yvain*, Keu's role has a very important function in the narrative as a troublemaker and as part of the motivation for Yvain's undertaking of the adventure at the fountain, but he is also a negative character. This mainly negative image is reprised in *Iarlles* with minor variations on the part of the translator, which arise as by-products of the changes introduced by him. Although Kei's rebukes to Owein are shorter than Keu's, he is still malicious and presumptuous: "mynych y dywedut ar dy dauawt yr hynny peth nys gwnelut ar dy weithret" (221-2) [you often say with your tongue what you would not perform in deed] he exclaims after Owein had expressed his desire to search for the well.[242] He is quickly defeated at the hands of Owein twice: "the [first] fighting did not last long" so Kei asks Arthur to confront the knight again because "kam y'm byrywyt i doe" (504) [lit. 'wrong was I overthrown yesterday'] with the same result, "at once he [Owein] overthrew Cei" and even humiliated him with a strike to his head using the butt of his spear. It should be noted that to claim that someone did a *cam* [wrong, injustice] is to claim that one was insulted, as happens in *Pwyll*: after realising that Arawn's dogs had acquired the prey and that Arawn himself was a king, Pwyll says that if he had performed *cam*, he would compensate Arawn by buying his friendship (Williams, 1964: 2). In a way, Kei feels here insulted by the knight and stressess thus his vanity and pride.

Regarding Kynon vab Clydno, he does not seem to be associated with Arthur in previous sources, but with Owein. According to Bromwich, he was a "[t]ywysog o Aeron yn

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[241] Gowans (1988) gives a comprehensive survey of the changing image of Kei throughout Welsh and French sources (and others from the modern period) but her uncritical use of the 'Celtic' background of the tales is rather debatable, as well as the permanent turn to Irish sources for drawing parallels and conclusions. In this respect, her work seems heavily indebted to Loomis 'celticist' perspective already discussed in chapter 2.

[242] See below for an analysis of Kei'r response to Owein in terms of proverbial translation.

ne-orllewin yr Alban, ac yn debyg o fod mewn cysylltiad agos gyda'i gymdogion drws nesaf yn Rheged" (1978: 164) [a prince of Aeron in the south-west of Scotland, and it is likely that he was in close contact with his neighbours next door in Rheged] and probably because of this connection with Urien's family he was introduced into *Iarlles* playing the role of Calogrenant.[243]

As for Gwalchmai, he is also a prominent legendary hero from the Old North, the early British kingdom situated in southern Scotland and northern England, who was relocalised to Wales and attracted to Arthur's court at some point. He appears in *Stanzas of the Grave*, his horse is mentioned in one of the *Triads of the Horses*, and *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Bromwich, 2006: 367-71; he also appears in "Marwnad Owain" by Cynddelw). In this last tale, he is named as Arthur's nephew (Bromwich and Evans, 2008: 345) and he is one of the helpers of Culhwch on their quest to win Olwen. His interventions in *Iarlles* place him as one of Arthur’s *teulu*, Owein’s first cousin and closest friend; in this respect, his role is analogous to that of Gauvain. His single combat against Owein incognito enables his reconciliation with Arthur (reconciliation that he also achieves in *Gereint* and *Peredur*).[244]

Feminine characters

The portrayal and role of women in *Iarlles* is evidently at odds with their portrayal in, for example, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*. Here, women depend completely on their closest male relative (father or brother) and are given in marriage to form political alliances; their experiences are thus rather 'real' with respect to Welsh history. Contrarily, "[m]ae cymeriadau benywaidd y rhamantau i gyd yn brydferth, yn uchelwrol, yn ddelfrydol. Mae'n rhan fwyaf ohonynt yn deipiau di-enw, a'u swyddogaeth yn bwysicach na'u cymeriad" (Davies, 1994: 29) [all the feminine characters of the *rhamantau* are beautiful, aristocratic, ideal. The majority of them are unnamed types, and their role is more important than their character]. Important feminine characters in *Iarlles* are very active either because they have certain status, land and power (the widowed lady who rescues Owein and the lady of the well herself) or because

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[243] Bromwich's paper (1978) studies all the references to Cynon in *Y Gododdin* and in the *Stanzas of the Graves*; we refer the reader to her work for more details; see also Bromwich (2006: 326-7).

[244] Bromwich draws attention to Arthur's words about Gwalchmei in *Peredur*: "‘Ma a wyd6n na bydei reit y walchmei ymlad a’r marcha6c. A diryfed y6 ida6 kaffel clot. M6y a wna ef o’e eireu tec no nini o nerth an harueu’" (Thomas, 2000: 509-11) [I knew it would not be necessary for Gwalchmai to fight with the knight. It is no wonder that he wins fame, for he does more with his fair words than we by force of arms], which reflect Gauvain's reputation in continental *romans* (2006: 371).

they have a direct relation to the hero by helping him (Lunet or, to a much lesser degree, the daughters of the hospitable hosts) or by opposing him (the mounted handmaiden). Others are passive characters who play the role of damsels in distress or are simply handmaidens (*llawuorynyon*) whose nobility is stressed by the activity of sewing (Morgan, 1992).

Similarly to Owein, feminine characters are carefully treated by the translator. Both the iarlles and Lunet receive plenty of attention from the part of the narrator and even a physical description. Owein sees the funeral procession of the Black Knight from where he is hiding and sees the widowed lady (the iarlles), who is introduced by one of the longest portraits in Middle Welsh prose:

> gwreic velen a'e gwallt dros y dwy ysgwyd, ac a gwaet briw amyl yn y brigeu, a gwisc o bali melyn ymdanei gwedy y rwygaw, a dwy wintas o gordwal brith am y threat. A ryued oed na bei yssic penneu y byssed rac dyckynet y maedei y dwylaw y gyt. A hyspys oed gan Owein na welsei ef eiryoet gwreic kymryt a hi, beyt uei ar y ffuryf iawn. A uch oed y diaspat noc a oed o dyn a chorn yn y llu (353-60)[245]
>
> a lady, her yellow hair let down over her shoulders and covered with the blood of many wounds, and she was wearing a dress of yellow brocaded silk, which was torn, and boots of speckled leather on her feet. And it was surprising that the tips of her fingers were not worn away, so violently did she wring her hands together. Owain was sure that he had never seen such a beautiful woman, if she had been in her usual form. And her cries were louder than those of all the men and trumpets in the crowd.

In *Yvain*, the portrait of Laudine follows a set of conventional devices employed elsewhere by Chrétien in descriptions of this sort (of ladies and knights). There is a structural tendency to start the portrait by identifying the character and then proceeding to a description of the head; physical appearance, which includes parts of the body in descending order, is often introduced or concluded by an explanation of Nature's contribution to handsomeness (Colby, 1965: 16-17).[246] Laudine's description, which occupies forty-seven lines (vv. 1463-1510), is narrated within Yvain's internal monologue and is punctuated by his lamentations over her grief. It comprises a full physical description: hair (golden, bright) and action (pull

[245] Cf. Olwen's description: "chamse sidan flamgoch amdanei, a gordtorch rudeur am y mynwgyl y uorwyn, a mererit gwerthuawr yndi a rud gemmeu. Oed melynach y fenn no blodeu y banadyl. Oed gwynnach y chnawd no distrych y donn. Oed gvynnach y falueu a'e byssed no chanawon godrwyth o blith man grayan fynhawn fynhonus. Na golwc hebawc mut, na golwc gwalch trimut, nyt oed olwg tegach no'r eidi. No bronn alarch gwynn oed gwynnach y dwy uron. Oed kochach y deu rud no'r fion" (487-496) [with a robe of flame-red silk about her, and a torque of red gold about the maidens' neck, with precious pearls and red jewels. Yellower was her hair than the flowers of the broom. Whiter was her flesh than the foam of the wave. Whiter was her palms and her fingers than moist cotton grass amidst the fine gravel of a bubbling spring. Neither the eye of a mewed hawk, nor the eye of a thrice-mewed falcon – no eye was fairer than hers. Whiter were her breasts than the breast of a white swan. Redder were her cheeks than the reddest foxglove. Whoever saw her would be filled with love for her].

[246] Colby (1965: 5-7) clearly shows the inconsistencies of Faral's classic work on the codification of the rules of composition of portraits (*Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle*).

hair) 5 lines, eyes and action (cry) 7, face and action 5, throat and action 8, hands and action 1 ("detort ses beles mains"), chest and action 1 line, beauty despite grief 3, beauty (God's work since Nature would be incapable of such work) 16 (Colby, 1965: 19, 159-164). The Welsh portrait reprises the elements considered more relevant following the same order: identity and age (*gwraic*, married woman), hair (golden), action over hair (explicit mention of the result of tearing it), hands and action (with explicit reference to the result of wringing them) and the addition of an hyperbolic reference to her grief in the form of her wailings, which condense the longer demonstrations of pain in *Yvain*, that is, the young widow inflicting wounds upon her throat, chest, etc. The portrait thus combines elements from classical tradition, probably via the ST, as well as from Welsh tradition: on the one hand, the hair, with the emphasis on colour, and the mourning component (fingers, public demonstration of grief) and, on the other hand, the stereotyped depiction of clothes and shoes.

Physical appearance, together with the traits of her personality, generosity (*haelioni*), chastity (*diweirdeb*), nobility (*bonedd*) and fairness (*tegwch*), all of which she has at superlative level (364-5), construe the stereotype of the perfect aristocratic woman, endorsed by both the titles of *iarlles* and *arglwydes* employed with reference to her (Morgan, 1992: 149). Owein is inflamed by love at her sight: "A phan welas ef y wreic ennynu a wnaeth o'e charyat yny oed gyflawn pop lle yndaw" (360-1) [And when he saw the woman he was inflamed with love for her until it filled every part of him].

The iarlles also has to give her consent, at least theoretically, to marry Owein; she needs the approval of her council too, who grants her permission to marry a man "o le arall" (446) [from elsewhere]. Spousal consent, especially the woman's consent to marriage, was introduced by the church as part of marriage and was a usual practice in France by the twelfth century (L'Hermite-Leclercq, 1991: 229). Chrétien problematizes consent in the aristocratic context, either by actually making consent to marriage an issue, as he does in *Cligés* and *Yvain* (Kelly, 2009: 167). Moreover, the involvement of priests and bishops in the ceremony of marriage was also a practice that started to become common, at least as part of the ritual, in the second half of the twelfth century (Duby, 1981: 267-8).[247] In Wales the situation was quite different: in the laws as in literary texts, marriage was a contract between families; even though the woman was not asked for her consent, she had the right to divorce and she was entitled to a share of the common patrimony depending if more than seven years had elapsed

[247] Matrimony as sacrament appeared in the Second Council of Lyon in 1274.

from the date of consummation (Chapman Stacey, 2002). In *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, it suffices to say "that night they slept together" to consummate the contract of marriage. In *Iarlles*, the lady summons "escyb ac archescyb o'e llys y wneuthur y phriodas hi ac Owein" (448-9) in correspondence to the ceremony of marriage in *Yvain*: "Veant toz ses barons se done / La dame a monseignor Yvain. / Par la main d'un suen chapelain / Prise a Laudine, de Landuc" (2150-53) [In the presence of all her barons the lady gave herself to my lord Yvain. By the hand of one of her chaplains he took Laudine, the lady of Landuc]. The ceremony conforms to the account of marriages of aristocratic couples in twelfth-century France.

The supernatural character of Laudine has been noted by several scholars (Walter, 1994: 1206; Loomis, 1949: 49), especially her representation as a water *fée* (Nitze, 1955), and this contention was endorsed by Morgan in her thesis: Iarlles is "[m]erch y Tylwyth Teg, amhosibl yw credu ynddi fel merch real" (1992: 166) [a fairy, it is impossible to believe that she is a real woman, my translation]. On the contrary, Frappier ascertains that "[L]e remariage de Laudine doit d'abord s'interpréter relativement au devoir féodal" (1968: 158) and Kratins stresses that the role of the lady in Yvain's life is symbolic, representing the embodiment of the almighty and unattainable Love (1964: 34). The Welsh iarlles retains these characteristics although to a lesser extent: she incarnates the perfect aristocratic woman and she is also an example of a woman on a pedestal, but her personality is never developed.

Lunette/Lunet is the most active female character throughout. She plays several different roles: damsel in distress, attendant, courtier, supernatural helper, and the first faithful handmaiden in Welsh literature (Morgan, 1992). It is not too much to say that she is unique amongst female characters in Chrétien's *romans*. She is a witty girl, the ideologist of all the ruses (especially in Chrétien's text); she knows the power of words and uses it subtly to manipulate others in order to achieve her goals (Germain, 1991: 15). Chrétien sketches her as "une dameisele, / Gente de cors et de vis bele" (971-2) [a damsel with an attractive body and a fair face] whereas the Welsh translator presents her in a stereotyped fashion as "morwyn benngrech uelen, a ractal eur am y phenn a gwisc o bali melyn ymdanei, a dwy wintas o gordwal brith am y thraet" (290-2) [a maiden with yellow curly hair, a band of gold on her head, and wearing a dress of yellow brocaded silk, and boots of speckled leather on her feet]. Her status as *morwyn* and *unbennes* defines her as an aristocratic and unmarried young woman who has been favoured by the lady (390) but, unlike most women, she is extremely independent. In both texts "she frequently appropriates male roles" (Germain,

1991: 18) in giving advice and behaving like an equal to knights. Lunet's male attitude is apparent above all in the courtship of the lady to which she explicitly refers: "'Dos yma', heb hi, 'y gysgu, a minneu a af y orderchu itti'" (380-1) [Come and sleep here, she said, and I shall go courting on your behalf]. Again, explicitation is a translational procedure widely employed in *Iarlles*.

Lunet's character seems to have enjoyed certain fame in the poetry of the poets of the court and the *cywyddwyr*. In the triads, the ring that she gives to Owein is listed as one of the Thirteen Treasures of the Island of Britain dated to the sixteenth century: "The Stone and Ring of Eluned the Fortunate, which she gave to save Owain son of Urien, who was between the portcullis (*ôg*) and the gate, in the contest with the Black Knight of the Fountain (*ffynnon*): it had a stone in it, and if the stone were hidden, the person who hit it was not seen at all" (Bromwich, 2006: Appendix III.15). Once more, the tale of *Iarlles* is recalled here.

To conclude, we completely agree with Roberts when he affirms that "the interest of Welsh story-tellers was beginning to turn away from purely external actions to the feelings and mental conditions of their heroes" (1983: 173). The translator is implementing a shift from characters as narrative functions or merely 'actors' to (slightly developed) individuals. It is very likely that this was the result of a process already started in Welsh tradition (as the character of Pwyll attests) boosted by French influence, especially in the case of *Yvain/Iarlles*.

7.3 *Text*

When we turn to the study of the written discourse produced by the narrator to convey the *story*, we immediately perceive the degree of accommodation of the ST to the recipient target language and culture. The conventions of Welsh literary tradition were a powerful mould for the translator especially when treating a familiar subject such as the Arthurian matter. However, the particularity of *Iarlles* (as well as the other Arthurian tales) with respect to other prose tales, is the relative large proportion of Romance loanwords. Consequently, we will address the issue of Romance loanwords in *Iarlles*. In this section, as we did in the chapter dealing with *Cân Rolant*, we will examine vocabulary, syntax and style.

As we saw in the previous section, the narrator seems to be an absent figure in Middle Welsh prose tales: he is closer to the point of maximum covertness. However, we have referred to this elusive narrator in the discussion of the *fabula* and the *story*: traces of his

presence are found throughout the tale. Following Allen (1994: 122), we will analyse the inscription of narratee/s (a) and audience/s (b) within the text; regarding (c), we will systematise at the end our knowledge of the elusive real or historical recipient and translator.

There is no explicit reference to the narratee, as well as there is no 'I' that assumes the narration but an anonymous third-person narrator who does not participate in the events related (an 'extradiegetic' and 'heterodiegetic' narrator). However, there is a very interesting passage at the beginning of the tale: "A chyt *dywettit* uot porthwar ar lys Arthur, nyt oed yr vn. Glewlwyt Gauaeluawr oed yno hagen ar ureint porthawr y aruoll ysp a phellennigyon, ac y dechreu eu hanrydedu, ac y uenegi moes y llys a'e deuawt udunt" (4-7) [And although *it was said* that there was a gatekeeper at Arthur's court, there was none. However, Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr was there in the role of gatekeeper, to welcome guests and travellers, to begin honouring them, and let them know the court's conventions and customs, my italics].

We have here an oblique way of addressing the audience and distancing itself from the statement in this use of the impersonal form of the verb "dywedut", "to say". But with whom is he arguing? In *Gereint*, the narrator states that Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr ("Brave Grey Mighty Grasp") fills the office of Arthur's gatekeeper at one of the three chief festivals of the year whilst in *Culhwch ac Olwen* he assumes that role on the first of January. The narrators of both these tales would agree with *Iarlles*: Glewlwyd is *not* the *permanent* gatekeeper so the affirmation that there was not a gatekeeper at Arthur's court is not completely false but neither is that there was one (during special feasts). Is the narrator of *Iarlles* disputing with Welsh tradition on the grounds of this logical issue or is he influenced by its source, *Yvain*, in which there is no gatekeeper? Although it was said by Welsh tradition that there was a gatekeeper, there was none in French tradition. In any event, right at the opening sequence the translator submerges us in a familiar Welsh atmosphere, with familiar characters from Welsh texts in a place where the *moes y llys*, "customs of the court" function, to which we shall return later.

The narrator knows what characters think and feel; he knows, for instance, Owein's thoughts during his travels through wilderness, and his shame during his time as a wild man. Nevertheless, its degree of perceptibility is certainly low. Its 'covertness' is intensified by the traditional narrative conventions which are being followed and that constraints the narrator. For example, the lowest sign of 'overtness' (the opposite to the previous concept, i.e., presence of the narrator) lies in the description of the opening setting: identification of

characters and places, information supposedly unknown by the narratee, are treated as known facts; they follow native conventions and are usually succinct and plain. The narrator also provides the recipient with anticipations of future events or knowledge. A case in point is the statement "A iarlles wedw biewed y parc" (581) [and a widowed countess owned the park] before the encounter with Owein.

There is, however, an 'intradiegetic' narrator, who is also a character and participates in the main chain of events: Kynon. We have already discussed the implication of this embedded tale within the *story* and the narratee configured by Kynon himself. Regarding the implied audience,[248] the recognition of the narrative mode is especially important in this case since the tale was composed according to the traditional technique of the story-tellers or *cyfarwyddiaid*. *Iarlles* is undoubtedly a composition-in-writing, an "oral-derived text" (Davies, 1998: 134-5) intended to be enacted; it is intended for a knowledgeable audience of oral performed tales (in an aural context).

The relation between implied audience and implied author –its counterpart, the construct that manifest itself through all the voices in the text– also includes a set of references to a familiar world, culture, past, and literary tradition. First of all, a background in Arthurian legends and characters, plus knowledge of the legends of the Old North that would allow the recipient to understand the last section of the tale.

Secondly, an acquaintance with "the court's conventions and customs", "moes y llys a'e deuawt" (8). Six officers of the Welsh court are mentioned in the text: the gatekeeper (*porthawr*, 6), the chamberlain (*gweissyon ystauell*, 690-1), the queen's handmaidens (*Gwenhwyuar a'e llawuorynion*, 4), the watchman (*gwylwr*, 708), the chief of the war-band (*pennteulu*, 818), and, lastly, the allusion to the office of steward in Kei's task to go to the kitchen and bring some food. Different spaces of the court ("llys") occur: "neuad" (hall), "ystafell" (chamber), "cegin" (kitchen), "medgell" (mead-cellar). The implied author displays and presupposes an acquaintance with courtesy and the social customs of the court: good manners are, for instance, referred to as "[g]wybot" (56). Owein is a "marchawg", a knight, but also acts as a native Welsh king inasmuch as he shares his wealth with his retinue (452-3). Besides, the love element is quite strong in the tale and it cannot be separated from the ideals of courteous behaviour and knighthood. After seeing the iarlles, Owein says that "mae

[248] Notwithstanding that the 'extradiegetic-heterodiegetic' narratee may be considered basically parallel to or identical with the implied audience in the case under study, we will maintain the distinction on the theoretical level.

mwyhaf gwreic a garaf i yw hi" (367-8) ['she is the woman I love best'], and later on Lunet decides to go courting on his behalf. Some characteristics of *amour courtois* are recognizable though to a much lesser degree than in the French *roman*: love as basis for all virtue, love as service to the lady, knight is perfected thanks to the love for his lady. It is combined with chivalric themes: the knight must be worthy of his lady's love by feats of arms. Alien conventions of marriage, as described in both tales, point to the ST. Thus the audience must have delighted in listening to the conventions of courtly love.[249]

Thirdly, there is also a clear allusion to the laws in the maiden's insult to Owein: "meuyl ar dy varyf" (570) ['shame on your beard'].[250] This was a deadly insult that entitled a man to strike his wife without reparation on his part (Thomson, 1986: 56). The law states: "these are the three [things] for which he [the husband] is entitled to beat her: for giving away a thing which she is not entitled to give; and for her being found with a man under deception; and for wishing a blemish on his beard (Jenkins, 1986: 53).

Finally, another particular aspect of the tale, in opposition to other texts of the Welsh native corpus, is its feminine atmosphere, to which we have referred when dealing with female characters. The portrayal and role of women and their independence tends to suggest a female audience or at least a mixed one who would not be offended or disgusted by these lady-messengers wondering around alone and these heroines making decisions instead of men (like the iarlles herself and Lunet). In fact, poems and religious works were dedicated to women: Efa, daughter of Maredudd ap Owain, sponsored Gruffudd Bola's translation into Welsh of the *Credo Athanasius*. Another Efa, daughter of Madog ap Maredudd, was the addressee of a poem by Cynddelw in the second half of the twelfth-century.[251]

The historical audience which commissioned, produced, and consumed this tale was (obviously) Welsh, aristocratic, female and male, and centred on the royal court. As Roberts explains,

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[249] Phillips, however, argues that there was a rich Welsh vocabulary in native prose tales, romances and poetry that evinces the independency of courtliness from French influence: "What emerges, therefore, is the existence of a range of vocabulary to render the concept of courtesy in Middle Welsh. This could be taken to suggest that it was a well-established feature of medieval Welsh literature" (2002: 358). The author draws on R. M. Jones' ideas about Celtic courtesy which are, at least, debatable.

[250] Ellis (1928) listed all the legal references in the *Mabinogion*-corpus.

[251] Lloyd-Morgan also seems to suggest a female-oriented bunch of literature: "The gender of the audience of both the native and French-influenced included in this manuscript [White Book of Rhydderch] is uncertain, but it is significant that a group of vitae of female saints, namely Catrin, Marged and Mary of Egypt, were included, and copied as a series. It is worth noting that lives of these particular saints are often found in books owned by women in England. The White Book also contains, in close proximity to these *vitae*, copies of other Christian texts relating to females..." (1998: 158).

> there were in thirteenth-century Wales courts and houses of wide culture where there was to be found an audience able to recognize contemporary aspects like castles, towns, knights (...) but who could also and more significantly comprehend a narrative with an implicit underlying significance and appreciate the ideas of the romances and the ideals of knighthood (1992: 142)

We believe that we are in the presence of an audience that preserves traditional cultural patterns but whose taste has also shifted, resulting in a demand for French influenced materials. After all, Chrétien's text, as we have established, was 'mainstream' literature.

On the whole, the narrator is a minor figure in the tale and the predominant role is fulfilled by the implied author. They do not seem to be in conflict though, as well as the latter seems to be satisfying its audience's demands. Finally, a word of caution: the dates of the extant exemplars have direct implications on the intended audience, its expectations and characteristics. We probably have two main and distinct audiences: the one belonging to the composition period (thirteenth century), for whom courtly love may have been a new tradition; and the later one (fourteenth century) who was much more familiar to courtly love elements. How did this impact on the attitude of the scribes towards the material they were copying? For example, in the White Book, Lunet refers to Owein as "gwraang" (687) when she is imprisoned. Instead, in the Red Book, the copyist prefers the common "marchawc" (the same choices are made in line 698). Do these examples show different attitudes from the copyist motivated by the audience?

7.3.1 Lexical change

In the previous chapter we analysed the skill of the translator of *Cân Rolant* in dealing with the vocabulary of his ST, which was possible thanks to the fact that we could usually assess the 'coupled pair' of replaced and replacing. This is much more difficult in *Iarlles*, not only because of the change undergone by the *text* but also because, as we have already stated, the unit of translation was probably the episode. Nevertheless, we will address first the issue of romance loanwords in *Iarlles* and, then, the transfer of linguistic items with the aim of recognising substitutions of a native word for a source word (predictable, unpredictable, calques or idioms), circumlocutions (doublets) or adoptions of the source word (as a derivative or as a neologism).[252]

Surridge (1984) elaborated a list of French borrowings in the *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, the so-called 'native' tales, and the so-called 'romances' i.e. the three Welsh

[252] As before, we follow Machan (1985).

Arthurian tales of *Gereint*, *Iarlles* and *Peredur*. Loanwords in *Iarlles* comprise three types of words: luxurious and fashionable clothing and ornament, everyday life, and social structure. Some of them are already present in Welsh poetry, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, or other 'native' tales. Given this last factor and what was discussed in chapter 1 with regards the difficulty of assessing the exact channel of loanwords, whether any form of written French was involved in the process, or Latin or Middle English, the evidence that can be drawn from this sort of analysis is perhaps limited. Nonetheless, borrowings in *Iarlles* show the pervasiveness of French influence on Welsh literature and with this contention in mind we will address the issue.

The following is a list of Surridge's identified Romance loanwords attested in *Iarlles*; we provide the meaning of each word plus a plausible reconstruction of its origin based on the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (*The University of Wales Dictionary*):[253]

1. W *bliant*, "tunic" (lines71, 77, 80, 335) < OF blialt, bliant or AN bliaut, bliant or ME bliand. *Bliaut* (and its many variants) was a "sorte de robe commune aux deux sexes. (...) Les hommes le portaient par dessus l'armure ou par dessus le pourpoint lorsqu' ils étaient desarmés" (Godefroy: s.v. *bliant*). First attested in poetry (twelve or thirteenth century).

2. W. *cordwal*, fine Spanish leather used in the Middle Ages to make shoes for rich people (lines 43, 54, 292) < OF cordoan, AN cordewan/-wen, ME cordwain. Origininally from Spanish cordován > OF cordoan c. 1150 > ME cordewan (1350-1400) > cordwan 1346,

3. W. *pali*, "brocade", "rish silk cloth" ("brocaded silk" is the most common English translation), "étoffe de soie ou d'autre matériel précieux, et, par métonymie, qch. fabriquée par cette étoffe" (*Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français*, s.v.) (lines 11, 12, 43, 52, 498) < OF palie, palie, AN paile. First attested c.1300 in a poem written by Meilyr Brydydd (*Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*)

4. W. *palffrei*, "palfrey, light horse" (lines 207, 212) < OF, AN palefrei, palefroi. First attested in the *Laws of Hywel* Llyfr Iorwerth in the thirteenth century. (There is an extended discussion about horses below).

5. W. parc, "park" (lines 580, 583) < OF, AN park

[253] In the following account, we will use: W for Welsh, OF for Old French; AN for Anglo-Norman, ME for Middle English.

6. W. swrcot, "tunic" (lines 71, 431) < AN surcote / surcot

7. W. syndal, "sandal, a silken fabric" (DEAF) (lines 335, 353) < OF cendal, cendel, AN cendal or sandal. First attested in poetry in the twelve century.

8. W. twel, "towel" (lines 77, 322, 371) < OF taaille, AN tuaille

9. W. ysgarlat (line 335), "a rich material, often scarlet" (DEAF) < OF escarlate, AN scarlet (and variants). First attested in poetry in the twelve or thirteenth century.

10. W. mantell (lines 52, 71, 431), "cloak, mantle" (DEAF), luxury clothing < L mantellum through OF mantel or ME?

11. W barwn (lines 351, 452) < OF barun, AN baron or ME barun. First attested in the thirteenth century in the *Historia Gruffudd vab Kenan*.

The word *pwrqwin* (274) should be included in the list, but the filiation is uncertain. According to the GPC, it is a careless form of *Bwrgwyn*, "Burgundy", that is only attested here and in *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn*. In *Iarlles*, it denotes the material of which the hood of the Black Knight is composed (cf. Thomson, 1986: 46).

It is interesting to note that the majority of loanwords referring to foreign materials and clothes occur within descriptions of characters that highlight their social status and richness in highly rhetorical passages that tend to incorporate 'doublets'. For example, Owein's attire for meeting the lady consists of "peis a swrcot a mantell o bali melyn" [431, a tunic and surcoat and cloak of yellow brocaded silk] cf. in *Yvain* "Robe d'escarlate vermoille, / De veir forree atot la croie" (1886-7) [a robe of red scarlet, lined with vair with the chalk still upon it] and at the castle of the hospitable host Kei is provided with "ffeis a swrcot a mantell o bali melyn" (71) cf. "cort mantel / vair d'escarlate peonace" (230-1) [short, fur-lined mantle of peacock-blue scarlet]. Although tunic and surcoat are not entirely synonyms, a certain exaggeration on the description of clothes can be perceived.

7.3.1.1 Predictable substitutions

For proper names, which pertain to the class of 'special vocabulary', see above chapter 6, examples are limited. On the one hand, Welsh forms of the characters of Brythonic origin such as Arthur, Kei, Gwalchamei and Owein were at the translator's disposal, hence he

employed those instead of any form of translation of the Old French ones. On the other hand, the only case of translation of a foreign name is an adoption of the SL with minor variations: Lunete is rendered as Lunet.[254]

A few other cases of predictable substitution can be detected in *Iarlles*. First, "dames", "damoiseles", and "puceles" are all translated by "llawforynyon" [handmaidens]; a semantic analysis shows that this is a case of partial overlap of meaning (it is not an exact hyperonym or hyponym). Different nuances distinguish the Old French words: the primary meaning of "pucel" is 'unmarried young girl' without indication of social status; at the level of social connotation, it is opposed to "damoisele" (noble young girl, virginity is implied) and at the level of age and/or marital situation it is opposed to "dame" (Bertrand and Menegaldo, 2006: s.v. *dame*). "Morwyn", on its part, signifies 'unmarried girl, virgin' to which the prefix llaw- [hand-] was added, giving 'handmaiden' with the sense of ladies in waiting, attendants.[255] Their noble status is highlighted by the action of sewing, which Gwenhwyfar's *llawforynion* perform at the beginning of the tale and which keeps young girls busy at the court of the hospitable host.

The different forms employed in Welsh to denote 'horse' shows that the majority of cases are predictable substitutions whilst three are unpredictable substitutions. "March" (horse, steed, stallion) is the most commmon word for translating "cheval": in five instances it translates the Old French "cheval" (line 65 / v. 222, line 118 / v. 268, lines 283 and 285, sequence v. 940 and ff., line 640 / v. 3142); in five cases there is no correspondence in *Yvain* but the mention of a horse is motivated by narrative context (lines 74, 277, 346, 526, and 793). There are two occurrences of a hyperonym: "march" (566, 599) for "palefroi" (v. 2709, v. 3061). The first example, the mount of the maiden sent by Owein's wife to reproach him of his broken promise, is described as "varch gwineu mynggrych", "curly-maned brown steed"

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[254] But cf. Jones, for whom llun > Lunet (1951: 184). He concedes, though, that this is the only element that suggests a French origin: "Ar wahân i hyn, nid oes yn Owain a Luned na Pheredur ddim prawf o darddiad Frangeg" (ibid.) [Apart from this, there is no proof in Owain and Luned and Peredur of a French source]. Thomson adds that "the invariable initial L- in permanent lenition suggests a loan-word never fully assimilated in Welsh (1986: lxii). His commentary that the name of Lunet appears at an earlier point in *Iarlles* than in *Yvain* could be explained by the narrator's knowledge of the whole tale. "Rangyw" (517), "Anjou", place of provenance of the cloak wore by Gwalchmei in his combat against Owein, given by the daughter of the earl of Anjou to him) is another foreign name translated by a predictable substitution, although there is no equivalent in *Yvain*. Thomson convincingly affirms that it is probably a misspelling on the part of the copyist for "yr Angyw" (1986: lxiv).

[255] Note that the ME hondemaiden / hondmaide is attested for the first time c.1300 (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED21102).

which renders "un noir palefroi baucent" (2709) [dappled black palfrey].[256] The Welsh text echoes the dark colour of the horse. Two instances of the corresponding "palffrei" ocurr in *Iarlles* with reference to the horse given to Kei by the hospitable host (207, 212) but they have no counterpart in *Yvain*, where there is no mention of the horse. This introduction is part of the translator's strategy of explicitation and references to "palefroiz" appear in *Yvain*, as was noted earlier.[257]

A hyponym is used: "gwascwyn du telediw" (636-7) [fine black gascon horse] for "cheval / Grant et bel et fort et hardi" (3142-3) [a horse, a large and handsome, strong and hardy]. Although this is a somewhat elaborated translation of the simple "cheval" of the Old French text, there were references to imported horses in the poetry of the Poets of the Princes: firstly, Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr describes Madog ap Maredudd, Prince of Powys (d. 1160) as "Gwesgwyn ganhymdaith" [companion of Gascon horses] (Jones and Parry Owen 1991, 7.16); secondly, Llywarch ap Llywelyn depicts the mounts of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd (d. 1240) as "Gwasgwyn feirch goseirch gosathar" [horses from Gascony, harnessed and prancing] (Jones 1991, 23-58). N. Jones ascertains that these were not necessarily horses bred in Gascony, but were probably Spanish horses, possibly acquired by the princes themselves or given to them as diplomatic gifts, shipped at great cost to Wales from Bordeaux to be crossed with Welsh marres in the royal stables of Gwynedd and Powys (1997: 91).

Another case of predictable substitution based on the TL cultural constraints is the translation of "bois and chastel" (506), locations destroyed by the tempest caused by Kynon. The Welsh translator opts for *dyn* and *llwdyn* (187), "man" and "beast", living things rather than buildings or places, revealing different social values as for what valuable to be lost and hence avenge, in a way, by the Knight of the Fountain.

Strong evidence of the translator’s work in *Iarlles* can be seen in the translation of the passage concerning the arrangement of the first meeting. The episode includes a conversation between the lady and her handmaiden in which they organize Owein’s first encounter with the lady.

Iarlles (427-29)	*Yvain* (vv. 1901-1905)
“Dyret ti ac ef”	-Ceanz est il? Veigne donc tost,
heb yr iarlles, am hanner dyd avory	Celeemant et an repost

[256] "Baucent": "piebald, with black and white patches" (*Anglo-Norman Dictionary*). For the pattern behind the description of horses see S. Davies (1997: 121-140).
[257] For the different types of horses and their uses see Lefèvre (1994: 1471-2).

y ymwelet a mi. a *minneu a baraf*
ysgyfalhau y dref erbyn hynny."
A dyuot a wnaeth hi adref

"Bring him to visit me at midday tomorrow",
said the countess, "and I shall have the town
cleared by then"

Demantres qu'avoec moi n'est nus.
Gardez que n'en i veigne plus
Qu g'i harroie mout le cart.

Then have him come at once, secretly
and privately while there is no one here
with me. See to it that no one else comes,
for I would hate to see a fourth person .

The problem in this case is the meaning of the phrase "ysgyfalhau y dref". It is rendered as "empty the town" but "ysgyfalhau" suggests the idea of emptying a place in order to grant privacy. The adjective "ysgyfala" (and its forms) and the noun "ysgafalwch" (and its forms) all refer to secrecy, privacy, concealment. Then, if "tref" is understood as "home" instead of "town"[258], the scene resembles the one in the French *roman* and clarifies an the passage.[259]

7.3.1.2 Communicative translation

Proverbs are an elaborate form of idiomatic expression. The Old French proverb "Plus de paroles an plan pot / De vin qu'an un mui de cervoise" (590-1) [There are more words in a pot of wine than in a barrel of beer] is translated as "mynych y dywedut ar dy dauawt yr hynny peth nys gwnelut ar dy weithret" (221-2) ['you often say with your tongue what you would not perform in deed']. The Welsh expression keeps the binary structure of the idiom but replaces the proverb by a communicative equivalent target-culture expression standard for that situation, thus avoiding a potential situation of foreignness or misunderstanding. This is a clear example of a communicative translation; [260] the translator proves to be attentive to the ST linguistic structure and displays a solid semantic competence of the SL.[261]

The expression employed by the Welsh translation can be viewed as part of the broader repertoire of forms available to him. It appears in a similar form in *Cân Rolant*

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[258] The word itself could have been influenced by the use of "adref" in the next line.

[259] A search of these and related forms using the search tool from the *rhyddiaith cymraeg* website produces twelve cases, five out them involving a scene between wife and husband having a conversation in a private and intimate situation (see Table on Appendix 3). Note also that modern French translations tend to support this view. Pierre-Yves Lambert, for instance, renders thus the phrase : "Je ferai fermer la maison à ce moment-là" (1993: 224) and explains in footnote : "Littéralement "rendre privé" (*gall. ysgyfalhau*). La dame fait fermer sa maison à toute intrusion, toute visite inopinée ou indiscrète. J. Loth: "Je ferai débarrasser la maison pour cet entretien particulier". Les Jones vont plus loin: "I shall have the town emptied against that time" (probablement inexact : tref est l'unité d'habitation)" (Lambert, 1993: 393). In turn, the translator of *Íven's Saga* understood the same thing as the Welsh translator: "Let him come here as quickly as possible (...) secretly, when no one is in the vicinity. Make sure that no one else comes here" (Kalinke, 1999: 57).

[260] For this definition of communicative translation see Hervey and Higgins (2004: 36-38).

[261] Cp. Rikhardsdottir (2012: 96-7) for and analysis of the Middle English and Old Norse relevant passage.

(xxxix) and both echo a statement found in *Brut y Tywysogion* (which is itself a translation of a lost Latin original). The context is relevant for the discussion: after being marauded by some Welsh 'hotheads', the French summon the Welsh chieftains of the land and ask them if they are loyal to the king Henry I; the Welsh respond that they are and the French reply: "[d]ywedwch val y dywetoch, dangosswch ar awch gweithredoed yr hynn yd ytywch yn y adaw ar awch tauawt" [speak as you may, show by your deeds that which promise with your tongue] (Jones, 1955: 89). There is a particular emphasis on action over words.

7.3.1.3 Unpredictable substitution

Only one instance of an unpredictable substitution could be located: the problematic "llestyr maen" [stone vessel] which seems to render "chapele" (3565), the building in which Lunette is imprisoned (694) and where the lion is taken during the fight against the two lads, although here it is simply put "y lle y buassei y uorwyn yg karchar" (772) [where the maiden had been imprisoned]. Jones, in line with his general theory about the relationship between *Yvain* and *Iarlles*, maintained that the "chapele" was an error from the French copyist who saw "llestyr maen" and translated it as "chapele" instead of "bacin": "That the chapel is an alien and intrusive element seems indicated by the fact that it is absurdly represented as Lunete's prison in *Yvain* vss. 3563 ff." (1951: n. 9). It seems evident that the opposite contention can be true under these same arguments: that the Welsh translator saw "chapele" and rendered it as stone vessel, which is represented as Lunet's prison. By contrast, Thomson argued that the "chapele" / "llestyr" issue is not a mistranslation but "an unhappy conjecture by a puzzled copyist very early in the history of the text" (1986: lxi). Note that Lanstephan 58 brings the same phrase (Thomson, 1971: 82),[262] which suggests that it was not so unintelligible as to force the copyist to change it. The important point here is that this case reinforces the dependence of *Iarlles* on *Yvain*.

7.3.2 Style

Davies (1995) and Roberts (1983) have shown that *Iarlles* was composed according to Welsh narrative conventions, thus displaying the influence of oral performance in the rhythms of sentences, in description, in threefold rhetorical development or triadic repetitions to create tension, in linking formulas. Greetings, oaths and speech markers follow native tradition. The

[262] Although the lion is locked inside a castle (84) and not in the same place as Lunet.

high proportion of indirect speech, the large portion of narrative in direct speech plus four instances of slipping found in the text, i.e. sudden switching from *oratio recta* to *oblique*,[263] make *Iarlles* particular with respect to other Welsh prose tales. In fact, these features underline the literary written background of the tale: “[g]ellid dadlau ei fod yn ymbellhau [the author of Iarlles] o’r crefft lafar yn hyn o beth, a gwelir mwy o ôl y llenor disgybledig ar ei waith” [It could be argued that [the author of *Iarlles*] is far from the oral craft in this matter and it is seen more of the trace of the trained writer at work (Davies, 1995: 211)]. Proof of the literary background of the tale endorses the contention of this thesis.

Despite that many dialogues were omitted, mostly because the entire surrounding sequence was deleted, there is a certain tendency to reproduce discourse which is manifest in the introduction of speeches and of direct speech to render indirect speech. This fact is well illustrated by the addition of a number of new discourses such as: i) the dialogue between Owein and the handmaiden of the widowed lady, in which Owein asks for horse and armour and the maiden replies by using "wnaf yn llawen" (630) [will do gladly], a phrase that expresses affirmation and compromise; ii) Arthur's direct speech (13-6); iii) the direct speech of the hospitable host (101-16); iv) the dialogue between Owein and the squire who directs him to the earl (642-46); v) the words uttered by the giant in relation to the lion (745-7). Cases of indirect to direct speech occur in the words spoken by the maiden that reproaches Owein (569-70) (although her later direct speech in *Yvain* is omitted), and in the instructions given by the widowed lady to her maiden regarding the ointment (589-93). The majority of these dialogues can be reconstructed from *Yvain* but it is important to note how they function in the Welsh tale to draw attention to a particular action or passage, to explicitate intentions or to anticipate future events.

We have already discussed the use of formulas at the opening of scenes and sub-episodes as regards *Cân Rolant* (p. 147). The repertoire of connectors that contribute to the conjunctive cohesion of *Iarlles* includes the conjunction *a(c)*, [and], the most common particle to link clauses; time connectives such as *a thrannoeth* [and next day], lines 520, 548, 703, 812, *a thrannoeth y bore* [and next morning], 574, *a'r bore drannoeth* [and the morning of the next day] 117, 257, 481, 739, *a diwarnawt* [and one day] 582; *a phan* [and when] 54, 88, 120, 179, 182, 197, 206, 384, 473, 641, *(ac) ar hynny* [and thereupon, at that] 13, 76, 189, 226, 264, 279, 310, 370, 497, 622, *ac yna* [and then] 94, 96, 180, 192, 228, 275, 557, 711,

[263] For slipping see also Poppe (2005).

782; the prepositional connective *a gwedy* [and after] + nominal clause / verbal noun 33, 209, 230, 266, 494, 701. Constructions introduced by the particle 'sef' (variously translated into English) are very frequent in Middle Welsh and also in *Iarlles*. They follow the distribution established by Evans (1964: 52): i) adverbial meaning with the sense of 'thus, now, then' 1, 240, 450, 586, 620, 670, 692; ii) substantival meaning of 'what' or 'that' to introduce new information or present new characters or events 446, 469, 696, 729, 740, 800, 819; iii) *sef + a+ goruc / gwnaeth* (a type of ii), usually equivalent to the simple preterite 632, 666, 690. Another idiomatic expression, frequently employed to open a new episode is *Ac ual yd oed*, a phrase that functions as a narrative setting in the past to introduce an action, usually translated "And as [name of character] was [action]…"; it occurs at lines 455, 564, 661, 667-8. The formula *nachaf* [lo! behold! or thereupon] with mirative character, to express surprise or an unexpected event is attested in lines 331, 565; there is only one example of *llyma* [539, lo here!]

Regarding oaths, expressions and similar exclamations which are employed throughout the *Mabinogion*-corpus, some are found in *Iarlles*: *dioer*, *y rof a Duw* (lit. between me and God) (211-2, 394, 396), *Duw a wyr* [God knows] (222, 295). For instance, the dialogue between Owein and *Lunet* about the iarlles is punctuated by *Duw a wyr* (362-69).

Descriptions of physical appearance, combats, preparations for dinner (reference to washing up, to the disposition of plates and the richness of the tablecloth), and approaching to a building fall into Davies' category of "variable formula" (where identity is established by similar structural patterns and repetition of key words (1995: 36). The description of people tends to follow short formulaic units of noun + adjective + material of dress. In *Iarlles*, they appeared highly stereotypical and stylised:

> deu was pengrych melyn, a ractal eur am pen pob vn onadunt, a ffeis o bali melyn am bop vn onadunt, a dwy wintas o gordwal newyd am traet pob vn, a gwaegeu eur ar vynygleu eu traet yn eu kau (41-45)
> [two lads with curly yellow hair, and a band of gold on their foreheads, and each wearing a tunic of yellow brocaded silk, and boots of new Cordovan leather on their feet with golden buckles fastening them around the ankle]

> gwr pengrych melyn yn y dewred, a'y waryf yn newyd eillaw, a ffeis a mantel o bali melyn ymdanaw, ac ysnoden eurllin yn y vantell, a dwy wintas o gordwal brith am y draet a deu gnap eur yn eu kau (51-4)
> [a man with curly yellow hair in the prime of life, his beard newly trimmed, and wearing a tunic and mantle of yellow brocaded silk, and a ribbon of gold thread in his mantle, and buskins of speckled Cordovan leather about his feet and two golden buttons fastening them]

gwisgwys Owein ymdanaw peis a swrcot a mantel o bali melyn, ac orffreis lydan yn y vantell o eurllin, a dwy wintas o gordwal brith am y draet a llun llew o eur yn eu kaeu (430-33)
[Owain put on a tunic and surcoat and cloak of yellow brocaded silk and a wide border of gold thread in the cloak, and boots of speckled leather on his feet with an image of a golden lion fastening them]
cf. "Robe d'escarlate vermoille, / De veir forree atot la croie / N'est riens qu'ele ne li acroie / Qui conveigne a lui acesmer: / Fermail d'or a son col fermer, / Ovré a pierres precïeuses / Qui font les genz mout gracïeuses, / Et ceinturete, et aumosniere, / Qui fut d'une riche sainiere" [1886-94, a robe of red scarlet, lines with vair with the chalk still upon it. She was able to provide whatever he needed to adorn himself: a golden clasp at his neck, worked with precious stones, which makes the wearer look especially fashionable, and a belt and purse made of a fabric trimmed with gold]

deu was penngrych wineu dellediw (758-9)
[two handsome lads with curly auburn hair]

The following pattern emerges: person (often with status connotations) + hair + colour + attribute + dress + material + colour + shoes + material + fastener, which tends to repeat the details; men have curly yellow hair and wear a tunic of yellow brocaded silk and boots of Cordovan leather. Even the description of the iarlles and Lunet follow this account (see above, p. 198).[264] It is worth noting the description of Owein's laces with an image of a golden lion, a picturesque detail of the translator. These examples show different ways of expressing richness of clothes and status but generally they proceed in a descending order (beginning with the head and ending with feet), may have been the result of the regular scholar education or simply common sense.

In the section dedicated to *Iarlles* in her excellent study of the aesthetics of combat in Middle Welsh prose tales, Reck ascertained that the descriptions of combat "are highly indebted to native literary tradition and employ formulaic language and stereotypical motifs" (2010: 67) and although they tend to reproduce the sequence of events present in *Yvain* the result highlights, once more, the elaborated technique of the Welsh translator.[265] The formulaic pattern that involves the description of the results by means of postponed subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *yny* [so that], and the frequent use of a verb in the present tense is used seven times in *Iarlles* (Reck, 2010: 49). What is interesting to note, for our present purposes, is that the eight instances of combat in *Iarlles* correspond, with only minor variations, to those of *Yvain*:

1) Kynon's combat with the Knight of the Fountain

2) Owein's combat with the Knight of the Fountain

[264] Similar descriptions appear in *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, *Breudwyt Macsen* and *Gereint*.

[265] For example, the combat between Owein and the Knight of the Well is a highly rhetorical passage dominated by alliterating nouns and adjectives (*pennffestin, penngwch, pwrqwin, kroen* and *kig*) that contrasts to Chrétien's more graphically realistic narrative. See Reck (2010: 74 and ff).

3) i. Kei’s first fight with Owein

ii. Kei’s second fight with Owein – no correspondence in *Yvain*

iii. Fight between Owein and Gwalchmei – displaced

4) Battle against the invading earl

5) Owein kills the serpent

6) Owein’s defeat of the giant man

7) Rescue of Lunet

8) Du Traws episode

Furthermore, the expression “dros pedrein y farch i'r llawr” (526) [over his horse’s crupper to the ground] is calqued on the Old French epic ‘unhorsing formula’ “par desus la crope del cheval a terre” (Raoul de Cambrai?).

There is one description, though, that evidences the extent of *Iarlles’* dependency on *Yvain*. After pursuing the Knight of the Well into his castle, Owein is trapped in the gateway and is helped by Lunet. She takes him to a chamber which is described in the following terms:[266]

Iarlles (318-20)	*Yvain* (vv. 961-963)
Ac edrych ar hyt y llofft a oruc owein: ac nyt oed yn y llofft un *hoel heb y lliwaw a lliw gwerthuawr,* ac nyt oed un *ystyllen heb delw* *eureit arnei* yn amryual.	Remest dedanz la sale a clos, Qui tote estoit cielee a *clos*, *Dorez*, et *pointes* les *meisieres* De boene oevre et de *colors chieres.*
Owein looked around the chamber; and there was not a single nail in the chamber not painted with a precious colour, and there was not a single panel without a different golden pattern on it	[He] remained locked within the hall, whose ceiling was studded with gilded bosses and whose walls were painted masterfully in the richest colours.

As we can see, the visual elements in the description are exactly the same although they have been interchanged: in the French romance, the nails are made of gold and the walls are lavishly coloured whereas in the Welsh tale the nails are coloured and the walls are golden.

Syntax is very varied, complying with the conventions of Middle Welsh prose tales; the same can be stated about the selection of pre-verbal constituents (for which see above, chapter 6, p. 143). Forms of verbal noun + *goruc* / *gwneuthur* (auxiliary “to do”), in the present or the preterite, plus conjugated forms of verbs are attested. For example: “*Mynet*

[266] This is the only element considered by Thomson to be derived from French influence (1986: lxxxi). Compare it with the description in *Íven’s Saga:* “the walls were stained with varicoloured designs and inlaid with gold.”

[verbal noun] a *oruc* [auxiliary *goruc*: third person singular preterite] Kei y'r gegin ac y'r vedgell" (21-2) [Cai *went* to the kitchen and the mead cellar], "A *cherdet* [verbal noun] y fford a *wneuthum* [auxiliary *gwneuthur*: first person singular preterite] hyt hanher dyd" (38) [And I travelled along the path until midday], "Ac odyno ti a *wely* [second person singular of the verb "to see"] ystrat…" (145) [And from there you will see a broad river valley], "Ac y porth y gaer y *deuthant* [third person plural of the verb "to come"]" (280) [They came to the castle gate], "A'r bore trannoeth y *kychwynnwys* [third person singular of the verb "to start, to set out" Arthur" (481) [The next morning Arthur set out].

7.4 Conclusion: Rethinking *Iarlles* as a translation

The aim of the preceding pages was to reappraise *Iarlles* as a translation and survey translational procedures apparent in it. Familiarity with the subject matter and the characters indicate several stages of cultural transmission but only of a number of Arthurian commonplaces or *topoi* and *not* of the *fabula* related to Yvain / Owein and the fountain / well. In the present state of knowledge and evidence, a hypothetical common source or a bilingual development of the story cannot be positively and completely ruled out. Older traces of an alleged 'original' could have existed.[267] However, the main weakness of such theories is that in order to understand the *extant text* of *Iarlles*, as survives in the manuscripts and later copies that reached us, there is no need to resort to a lost and unknown text: *Yvain* can perfectly function as its source. Moreover, Translation Studies, both in vocabulary as in theory, can account for a text like *Iarlles*.

It is clear that we have here a case of domestication of the ST to the TL. In the continuum that spans from literal to free translation, *Iarlles* stands for a balanced translation, target-culture biased. Types and degrees of departure from literal translation are referred to by the general term of cultural transposition by Hervey and Higgins:

> Any degree of cultural transposition involves the choice of features indigenous to the TL and the target culture in preference to features with their roots in the source culture. The result is to reduce foreign features in the TT, thereby to some extent naturalizing it into the TL and its cultural setting (2002: 33).

Unlike what a 'common source theory' would claim, *Iarlles* is not an extreme form of free translation (cultural transplantation) but something between cultural borrowing and a

[267] Foster (1959) and Thomson (1986) claimed that there were Irish texts as ultimate sources and several intermediaries between those Irish tales and Chrétien de Troyes. For a general answer to this type of contentions see Sims-Williams (2011, esp. 334-9).

communicative translation. On the one hand, it introduces elements of foreignness: the chivalric code combined with the ideals of courtesy and love, strong feminine characters, a more marked psychological depth and development of characters, and geographical vagueness; on the other hand, it employs communicative equivalents available in the TL: motivations, narrative conventions, proverbs. This foreignness that the translator seeks to imprint in his text verges on exoticism in, for example, the introduction of loanwords or terms that refer to special or valuable items, such as the Gascon horse or the Burgundian hood, both as attributes of a knight's armour. Perhaps the strong TL bias of *Iarlles* is related to the status of vernacular translation in the first quarter of the thirteenth century in South Wales: "The more peripheral the status of translation, the more translation will accommodate itself to established models and repertoires" (Toury, 1995: 278). On top of this, a known subject-matter most surely contributed to the high level of accommodation to native literary conventions (cf. Poppe, 2004).

Let us recapitulate what was exposed in the course of this chapter. It has been possible to recognise different procedures that characterise translation practice in general (as we saw in the analysis of *Cân Rolant*): at the level of the *story*, abridgment or abbreviation, additions in the form of explicitation and exemplification. Even descriptions operate as exemplification of the status of certain characters: instead of statements about their nobility or courtesy, clothes and attitudes – in a way – imply those qualities. Anticipations, within characters' discourses or direct intervention of the narrator, are forms of addition that contribute to structure the tale. At the level of the *text*, syntax and style follow native narrative conventions; the translator introduces plenty of variety in order to avoid boredom and ensure enjoyment during the aural reception of the tale. Clearly, in this respect the TL exerted more constraints than the SL. Lexical change exhibit both the effort of the translator to transmit social and cultural messages unfamiliar to the recipient and the preference for equivalents available in his TL. These changes were presumably prompted by the translator's narrative tastes and interests and those of his presumed audience. Adherence to the ST is apparent not only in the overall structure and content (the *fabula* and the narrative sequences) but also in the introduction of external agents or implicit reasons in the system of motivations; resorting to *Yvain* as ST can also cast light on otherwise confusing passages. The translator shows certain preference for retaining visual elements (the swiping of Owein's sword after killing the serpent, the rude demand of the ring). Rikhardsdottir (2012) recognised certain features in

Old Norse translations that are also observed here: more focus on action instead of psychological or emotional life of characters, narratorial interventions kept to a minimum or absolutely avoided, invocation of the collective memory of the audience, familiarity of values.

To conclude, it should be noted that most of the examples studied in this chapter may have little value as isolated cases, but taken together and integrated within a broader context, they strongly ascertain the status of *Iarlles* as a translation.

PART V

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

8. Attitudes to translation in medieval Wales

The primary aim of this thesis consisted in assessing to what extent can *Iarlles* be considered a medieval translation of Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain* by mapping assumed translational processes present in the text and comparing them with those of a text known for certain to be a translation, namely *Cân Rolant*. In order to achieve this goal, it was first necessary to discuss the multiple forms of intercultural relations that would have enabled and fostered the exchange between the French and the Welsh.[268] Only by proving that intercultural exchange did, in fact, occur in many different spheres, can it be argued that cultural borrowings in the form of translations took place. After reviewing in the "Introduction" the results of research undertaken in the fields of linguistics, social history, religious history, literature (poetry and prose) and literary history, was it possible to conclude that contacts and cultural borrowings channelled by them were really frequent and productive. In addition, Pryce observes an unrelenting process of the "Europeanization" of Wales and argues that this should be seen as imitative and reactive in the appropriation of foreign models (2007: 48).

Once established in the "Introduction" that there was indeed a fertile context for the transmission of French texts, it was necessary to study the main features of the texts, the STs and TTs. Most significantly, a set of questions needed to be addressed: when and where were the texts produced? Why and for whom? The presentation of each pair of translated text and translation (*Yvain* / *Iarlles* in chapter 3 and *La chanson de Roland* / *Cân Rolant* in chapter 4) was intended to answer those interrogations and to scrutinise all the problems related to the textual tradition of the texts.

It was argued that one of the reasons for choosing to compare *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* is that both texts are fairly contemporaneous, dated to the period of early to mid-thirteenth century, as latest research indicates (Rodway, 2007, 2013).[269] Concerning place of composition, insufficient evidence hinders any conclusive assertion. Nevertheless, evidence was cited in support of the contention that the text of *Cân Rolant itself* suggests a North connection, and that the Reinallt colophon should not be

[268] It should be remembered that "French" alone is employed to refer in abstract and general terms to Old French and Anglo-Norman when differentiation between both languages is not relevant.

[269] On the basis of this dates, the findings of our research do not permit to endorse Lloyd-Morgan's (1991) contention on different stages of translation in medieval Wales: coexistence, rather than succession, seems to prevail as regards methods of translation.

completely dismissed for the study of the cycle as a group. The case of *Iarlles* is more uncertain and, as stated in chapter 3, it is not possible to make any conclusive assumptions about its place of composition. Based on the analysis of the inscription of the narrator, narratee, and implied audience, it can be advanced that they all shared a common knowledge and interests. The nobility and the royal dynasties were responsible for the patronage and commission of translations.

The study of the STs and TTs proved significant in estimating genre-related characteristics that could function as translational constraints. It was posed in chapter 3 that techniques and conventions associated with the *chanson de geste*, that had a specific function within epic texts, were more subjected to intervention from the translator, or to re-signification when cast into a different set of narrative conventions. Likewise in chapter 4 as regards the formal devices and major topics present in *Yvain*.

From the outset, we faced the difficulty of the wide range of terms employed to describe medieval translations, mostly imprecise and vague, such as 'adaptation', 'version', 'transposition', 'rewriting'. This problem was briefly tackled in the "Introduction" and discussed in detail in chapter 5. Adopting theories from the field of Translation Studies, especially Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), 'translation' was defined as the result of the decoding and encoding of a ST on the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic levels in accordance with the specific circumstances in which it is produced and received. This type of text-process activity implies a *continuum* that spans from literal, source-biased translation, to free or target-biased translation; we argued that this scale is not exclusive to modern translations. Coexistence of different, and even conflicting, types of translation was not uncommon in the Middle Ages, as Copeland indeed shows: forms of translation with emphasis on exegetical directives coexisted with forms of translation which stressed the inventional power of the translator (1991: 95). By addressing these questions, we sought to reveal a shared poetics in two texts presumably produced under similar translational constraints and to interpret this in terms of translational norms.

On the grounds of DTS, narratology and reception theories, the core of chapter 6 aimed at attempting to show that the Welsh tale is indeed derived from the French. We were able to identify regular attitudes of translational behaviour in *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* from the analysis presented in chapters 6 (*Iarlles*) and 7 (*Cân Rolant*). These

regularities can be organised in norms,[270] which help to describe and explain translational procedures. The initial norm (the choice between following the requirements of the ST or of the target culture) that can be extracted from *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* points largely to a target-biased tendency in translation, which seems to be an overall strategy of other medieval Welsh translations too (Poppe and Reck, 2008). This same tendency prevails in the wider context of medieval translation, in which there is a marked general inclination to recast the unfamiliar in more familiar terms, expressing cultural preferences for specific narrative presentations (Rikhardsdottir, 2012: 58). In other words, domestication is the method behind both translations.

However, this tendency was realised differently by the translators: *Iarlles* represents a blend between cultural borrowing and communicative translation (closer to free than to literal translation) whereas *Cân Rolant* expresses a stronger compromise between the ST and the target language and culture, resulting in a balanced translation. Evidently, these strategies were determined to a great extent by the characteristics of the STs, the context of production of the translation, and the translator himself, an active agent in this process. In other words, preliminary norms play a key role in the establishment of the initial norm.

Preliminary norms (the general factors that govern the choice of text types or individual texts to be translated) are related to the purposes that guided the task of the translator. In the case of *Iarlles*, familiarity with the Arthurian material permitted the ST to be accommodated more freely to existing narrative frames. By contrast, *La chanson de Roland* introduced the Welsh audience to a story of a foreign legendary past whose exemplary nature most likely prompted the translation, as argued in chapter 7. Both texts, however, can be seen as means to legitimatise the ruling classes: “For the native rulers of Wales, then, an openness to new influences from the Anglo-French world formed part of a broader strategy to increase their power and status vis-à-vis not only other native rulers and Marcher lords but also especially, perhaps, the nobility within their own lands” (Pryce, 2007: 50). This use of foreign models, particularly of literary texts, with the aim of strengthening the power of native rulers and transforming them into valid interlocutors at the international level, as participants of a wider international

[270] Norms are the "translation of general values or ideas shared by a certain community into specific performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to specific situations" (Toury, 1978: 83-4).

culture, could be compared with the roughly contemporary situation in Norway. As we attempted to show during the course of the analysis, the decisions made by the Welsh translators are similar to those of the Old Norse translators. Our findings endorse, in principle, Poppe's contentions (2013) but more comparative research needs to be done.

According to DTS, the initial norm and the preliminary norms are the overall strategies that guide the translator. The operational norms are the ones which direct the decisions made during the act of translation itself. They include the matricial norms and the textual-linguistic norms. Regarding the first, the changes introduced in *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* can be explained as the result of translational procedures that tend to characterise translated discourse in general: abridgement (whether by omission or rewriting), expansion, exemplification, and explicitation are techniques common to both texts that function at the level of the story. At the level of the text, the translator was heavily influenced by his own literary tradition, although the influence is slighter in the case of *Cân Rolant*. In this text it is possible to perceive competing norms: on the one hand, adherence to native narrative conventions and, on the other, importation of phrases from the ST. This conflicting tendency was also observed by Poppe and Reck in their study of *Ystorya Bown o Hamtwn* (2006, 2008). Traces of the ST appear under a different form in *Iarlles*: as exterior motivations, in the awkward perception of the codes of chivalry and love, in the clash of incompatible images (Arthur is a case in point). It is important to underline that the cases studied cannot endorse the idea of a special 'style of translation'. In fact, the conventions of the ST seem to generate very little constraints on the Welsh tales. A detailed examination of the syntax and style of *Cân Rolant* shows that the translation shares the prose conventions of the so-called 'native' tales (cf. Luft, forthcoming).

The choices made by the translators at both levels also highlight the particular interest in narrative cohesion, in addressing social preoccupations, and in visual perception or visual elements to convey abstract meanings. They underline the high degree of development of native narrative conventions and literary production, which could explain the low impact of translations in the development of vernacular literature in Wales.

Perhaps one of the more valuable findings from a comparison of *Iarlles* and *Cân Rolant* is that it allows us to see how translators accommodate narratives into existing

narrative models. By doing this, they express important information: why was the text translated, what were the main preoccupations at the time, how did the translator and the envisioned public read and understand literary pieces. It has already been suggested how this works in *Cân Rolant* and *Iarlles*. Following this line of thought, other translations could be assessed: for example, in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* the journey is the basic narrative pattern. This is familiar within Welsh tradition: *Preiddeu Annwn* [*The Spoils of Annwn*] (Higley, 2007), for instance, narrates Arthur's journey to Ireland, while *Breudwyt Macsen* is about a quest in search of a lady. Contrarily, in other STs narrative patterns would be completely foreign and more difficult to accommodate into Welsh tradition. This could be the case of *Y Seint Greal*.

In brief, for all of the above reasons, we believe that this thesis has demonstrated that *Iarlles* depends more on *Yvain* than argued hitherto and that it can be reappraised as a translation, provided that the particular conditions of composition and transmission of medieval texts are acknowledged. Similar processes of translation were described and explained. It is clear that Welsh translators were active ideological agents, ready to become engaged in accommodating the ST to the Welsh context. This is coupled with textual fluidity in the case of *Cân Rolant*. Textual instability, whether as a result of the translator or of scribal intervention, is seen as conceptually identical by Poppe (2006).[271]

This thesis was mainly concerned with the transmission of narratives from France to Wales during the thirteenth century, in other words, with translinguistic and transcultural transference of continental material. It was of prime interest to set medieval Welsh literature within the wider context of literary developments in Western Europe and to contribute to strengthening the idea of cultural reciprocity and intercultural exchange. In our view, reciprocity and exchange can only be properly assessed by a careful examination of texts and of their intertextual relations within their own literary tradition and with foreign traditions. This widely attested phenomenon is attracting more and more scholarly attention.

[271] Poppe suggests that "the typical medieval attitude towards a foreign-language source in the process of trans-linguistic and trans-cultural rewriting is conceptually the same, or at least very similar to, the ones towards the exemplar in the manuscript transmission of a text – and this would go a long way towards explaining the freedom with which medieval translators, not only in Ireland, treated their sources" (2006: 67).

Prospective lines of research

Much work needs to be done on the Welsh Charlemagne cycle. *Cân Rolant* is the only edited text; critical editions of the *Pererindod*, *Otinel*, and the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* need to be produced in order to elucidate their complex textual tradition. A substantial project on Charlemagne (Charlemagne: A European Icon), within which Helen Fulton is studying the Welsh text is under way, and results should be expected soon. We hope to continue our research in that direction. A proper understanding of the Welsh Charlemagne texts will permit us to achieve the following:

i) a reassessment of the possible source/s: is Mandach's hypothesis (1961) of an English compilation correct?

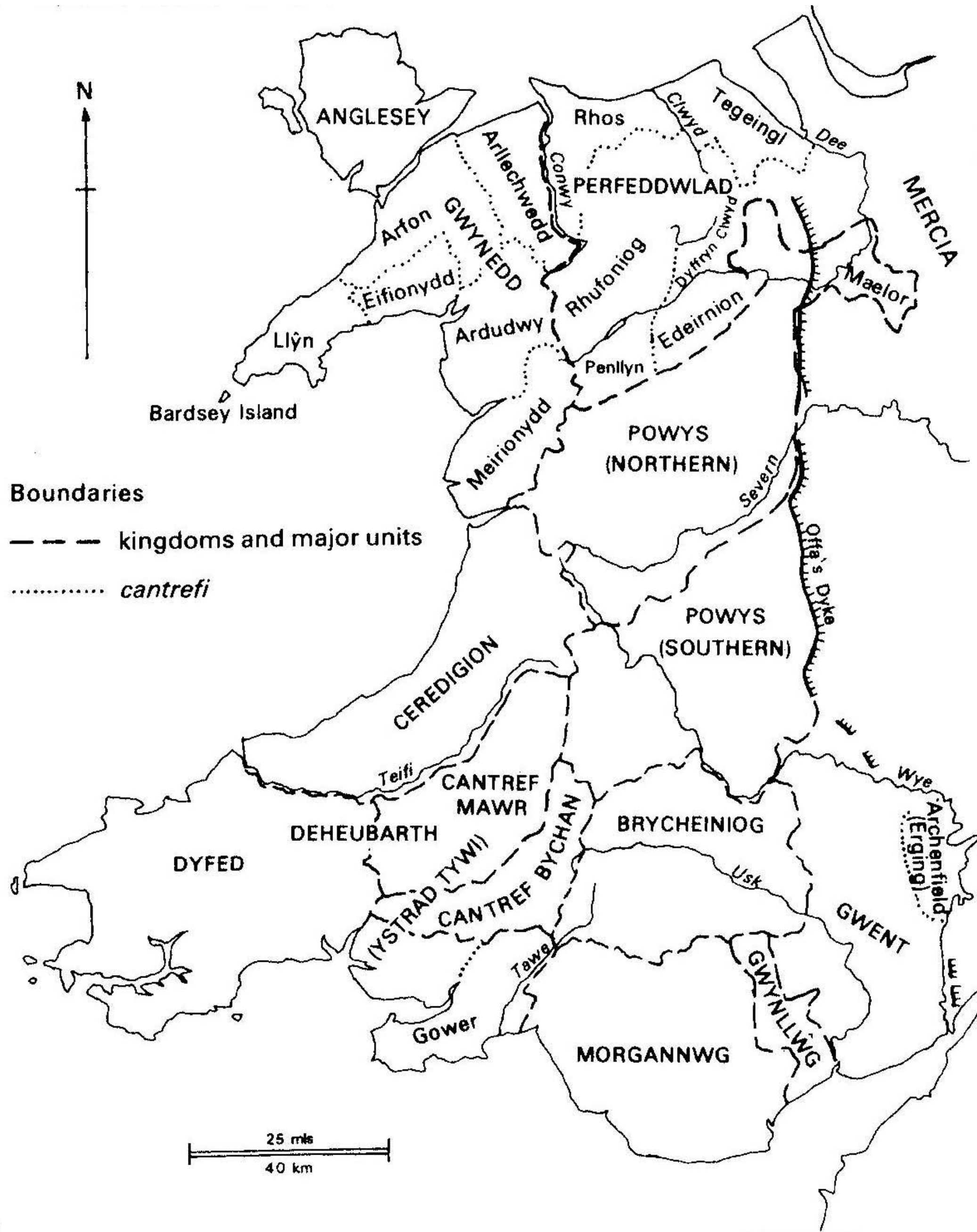
ii) a better knowledge of the transmission of Carolingian material into Wales

iii) a careful study of the processes of translation of each text, which will cast light on the method of translating in Wales

iv) a proper reconsideration of the place of the Welsh translations within the dissemination of Carolingian material in Europe

Further research on the Welsh Charlemagne texts will surely give us more insights on *Iarlles* and on translational practices in Wales.

Appendix 1



The Historical Kingdoms of Medieval Wales (Gwynedd, Powys, Deheubarth, Morgannwg) and smaller units (from W. Davies, 1982: 3).

Appendix 2

The Dioceses and Monasteries of Wales at the end of the thirteenth century (from R.R. Davies, 2000: 198). Llanbadarn Fawr and Strata Florida are highlighted.

Appendix 3

Attestations of *ysgafalhau (verb) / yscaualwch (noun) / yskyfala (adjective)*

	Manuscript	Text	Room	Wife	Sense
Verb					
yscaualaf	White Book Add 19709	Cronicl Turpin (1) Brut y Brenhinedd			
yskaualaf	NLW 3035 (Mostyn 116)	Brut y Brenhinedd			
yskyfalaf	BL Add 19709	Brut y Brenhinedd			
yskyfalaff	NLW 3035 (Mostyn 116)	Brut y Brenhinedd			
yskyuaelaf	Red Book	Brut y Brenhinedd			
ysgyfalaf	Red Book Peniarth 19	Ystorya Carolo Magno: Pererindod Siarlymaen Brut y Brenhinedd	+		
ysgyualaf	White Book Peniarth 46 Peniarth 19	Ystorya Carolo Magno: Pererindod Siarlymaen Brut y Brenhinedd Brut y Brenhinedd	+		
Noun					
yscaualwch	White Book Red Book	Pwyll (1) Gereint (3) Gereint (1)	 +	+ +	private alone alone
yscafalwch	Red Book	Gereint (1)	+	+	alone
ysgyualawch	Red Book	Cronicl Turpin (1)			
Ysgyuaelach (sic)	Red Book	Ystorya Carolo Magno: Rhamant Otinel			
Adjective					
yskyuala	White Book	Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn			

- **yscaualwch**

Peniarth 4 (White Book), p. 9, col. 34, l. 18 - *First Branch of the Mabinogi*

A phan gauas gyntaf o *yscaualwch* ar y wreic, ef a uenegis idi hi, nat oed iawn udunt wy attal y mab ganthunt, a gadu poen kymmeint ac a oed, ar wreicda kystal a Riannon o'r achaws hwnnw, a'r mab yn uab y Pwyll Penn Annw (I. Williams, 1964: 24) [As soon as he had the first chance to talk privately with his wife, he told her that it was not right for them to keep the boy, nor to let a noblewoman as good as Rhiannon be punished so terribly for it, when the boy was the son of Pwyll Pen Annwfn (S. Davies, 2007: 19)].

Peniarth 4 (White Book), p. 70, col. 415, l- 40 - *Gereint*

A ffan wybu ef hynny, dechreu caru esmwythder ac *ysgyualwch* a oruc ynteu (...) a charu y wreic a gwastadrwyd yn y lys, a cherdeu a didanwch, a chartreuu yn hynny

dalym a oruc, ac yn ol hynny caru *yscaualwch* o'e yatauell a'y wreic hyd nad oed digrif dim ganthaw namyn hynny (Thomson, 1997: 689-93) [When he saw that, he began to enjoy relaxation and leisure (...) and making love to his wife and being at peace in his court with songs and entertainment, and he settled down to hat for a while. But then he began to enjoy staying in his chamber alone with his wife so that nothing else pleased him (S. Davies, 2007: 157)].
Cf. same passage in the Red Book, p. 194, col. 787, l. 44.

Peniarth 4 (White Book), p. 71, col. 417 - *Gereint*
A medwl arall a'e kyffroes ynteu, nat yr ymgeled ymdanaw ef y dywedassei hi hynny, namyn yr ystyryaw caryat ar vn arall drostaw ef, a damunaw *yscaualwch* hepdaw ef (Thomson, 1997: 717-20) [And a different thought disturbed him, that it was not out of concern for him that she had spoken those words, but because she was contemplating love for another man instead of him and longed to be alone, without him (S. Davies, 2007: 158)].
Cf. same passage in the Red Book, p. 195, col. 788, l. 34.

Peniarth 4 (White Book), p. 71, col. 417, l. 31 - *Gereint*
"ac y gyt hynny o byd kyn yscafalahet it ac yd oed dy damunet y geissaw *yscaualwch* am y neb y medylyut ymdanaw" (Thomson, 1997: 728-30). ['if it will be as easy for you as you hoped to seek a meeting alone with the one you were thinking of' (S. Davies, 2007: 158)].

- **ysgyualawch**

Red Book, p. 92, col. 387, l. 14 - *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*
a'r trydyd dyd yd aeth Aigolant y goelaw yn *ysgyualawch*, pwy bieiffei y uudugolyeth y dyd hwnnw. Ac erchi y Charlys rodi kat ar uaes idaw y dyd hwnnw, os mynnei. A hynny a ganhat6yt o pob parth (S. Williams, 1968: 15-20).
cf. White Book, Peniarth 5, p. 68, col. 42, l.1: a'r trydyd dyd yd aeth aigoland y coylaw y le yscaualaf pwy bieiffei y vudugolyaeth y dyd hwnnw.

- **yscaualaf**

BL Add 19709, p. 53, l. 20 - *Brut y Brenhinedd*

anuon a wnaeth hẏt yn germania y erchi y hengyst dyuot drachefyn y ynys prydein yn yn *yscaualaf* y gallei o nifer rac ofyn teruyscu eilweith y rydunt a'r brytanyeit.
Cf. "yskaualaf", NLW 3035 (Mostyn 116), p. 78, l. 25; "yskyuaelaf", Red Book, p. 28r-c109-l44; "ysgyualaf", Peniarth 19, p57r-c234-l28

- **yscyfalaf**

BL Add 19709, p45v-l17 – *Brut y Brenhinedd*
ac ym pen y deudec mlyned gvedy hẏnnẏ y doeth vn or fichteit aruuassei vr idav kyn no hyny a galv y brenhin attav megys y gyfrvch yn lle *yscyfalaf* a gvedy gyrru pavb y wrth unt y lad a chyllell.
Cf. "yskyfalaff", NLW 3035 (Mostyn 116), p72r-l17; "ysgyfalaf", Peniarth 19, P52r-c214-l3 – Brut y Brenhinedd; "ysgyualaf", Peniarth 46, p168-l11.

- **yskyuala**

Peniarth 5 (White Book), p119r-c239-l34 - *Ystoria Bown o Hamtwn*
ac ymdirgelu yno a dywedut y parei hitheu yr iarll vynet yn oet y dyd hwnnw a niuer *yskyuala* gyt ac ef heb arueu megys y gallei llad y iarll.

- **ysgyfalaf**

Red Book, p151v-c615-l21 - *Pererindod Siarlymaen*
Hu gadarn a ganhebryghwys Chyarlymaen a'e deudec gogyfurd y *ystauell ysgyfalaf* (S. Williams, 1968: 191, 12-14).
Cf. "ysgyualaf", Peniarth 5, p95r-c144-l25

- **ysgyuaelach** occurs in the following 1[1] place(s):

Red Book, p106v-c443-l40 - *Otinel*
Chyarlys Amherawdyr ynteu a gyuodassei yn vore, ac adathoed y chware ac y gymryt awyr ar hyt glann y dyfwr (Toon oed y enw), a rei o oreugwyr y lys y gyt ac ef yn *ysgyuaelach* (S. Williams, 1968: 89, 15-18).

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