DIGITAL ACCESS TO SCHOLARSHIP AT HARVARD
DASH.HARVARD.EDU

HARVARD LIBRARY
Office for Scholarly Communication

Musique Naturelle and Cerdd Dafod: An Exploration of Sound Poetics in the Fourteenth Century

Citation
Furchtgott, Deborah. 2019. Musique Naturelle and Cerdd Dafod: An Exploration of Sound Poetics in the Fourteenth Century. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences.

Permanent link
http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:42029510

Terms of Use
This article was downloaded from Harvard University's DASH repository, and is made available under the terms and conditions applicable to Other Posted Material, as set forth at http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:dash.current.terms-of-use#LAA

Share Your Story

The Harvard community has made this article openly available.
Please share how this access benefits you. Submit a story .

Accessibility

Musique Naturelle and *Cerdd Dafod:*
An Exploration of Sound Poetics in the Fourteenth Century

Deborah Furchtgott

May 2019

© 2019 - Deborah Rachel Furchtgott

All rights reserved

Dissertation Advisor: Catherine McKenna Deborah Furchtgott

"*Musique Naturelle* and *Cerdd Dafod:* An Exploration of Sound Poetics in the Fourteenth Century"

Abstract

This dissertation studies the development of interest in sound in poetry in a variety of texts dating from the fourteenth century in Wales and France. It examines these texts in two parts: first, the development of attitudes towards poetry in treatises about poetry from Wales and France, and, second, the development of poetics of sound in the poetry itself.

I begin my dissertation looking at the Welsh grammar from the fourteenth century, and I argue that, in their attention to syllables and diphthongs, poetic faults, and rhyme, they betray an implicit interest in the building blocks of sound that go into making poetry. I compare this interest with the rhetorical tradition represented by the thirteenth-century *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf, which considers the subject of sound in poetry from the perspective of *elocutio* (delivery). I next consider the *Art de dictier*, composed in 1392 by Eustache Deschamps, only a few decades after the probable original composition of the Welsh grammar. The *Art de dictier* opens with a brief account of the seven liberal arts, and focuses in on *musique*, which it divides into two parts: *musique artificielle* (instrumental music) and *musique naturelle* (poetry). Deschamps sets poetry above instrumental music, because only one whose heart naturally inclines to it can learn to compose it. I argue that all of these treatises show an interest in the sounds used in the composition of poetry, and, in particular, that Deschamps makes this interest in sound explicit, putting into clear words the implicit interest of the Welsh grammarians. I then turn to fourteenth-century poetry to prove that this interest in sound wasn't merely theoretical, but was exhibited in practice, too. I first argue in my reading of Deschamps' poetry that his use

of sound was both extraordinary and tactical: that it could support, overwhelm, or subvert the plain meaning of the text, depending on his desired outcome. Finally, I read the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym to demonstrate that in Welsh poetry of the same period, poets were using similarly extraordinary poetics to ornament their poetry and inform the sense of it, thus creating a Welsh equivalent to the French *musique naturelle*.

The main argument of my dissertation is that in both France and Wales in the fourteenth century, a growing interest in the sound of poetry is discernible, both in the poetic treatises surrounding poetry and in the poetry itself. Both traditions experience a burgeoning of *musique naturelle*, and both manifest that in a flowering of sonorous verse. Thus, the name *musique naturelle* might have a very specific locus in one French poet's treatise, but it has implications that resonate far beyond it.

This dissertation is dedicated to Nerrida Kogitz with thanks for her love and encouragement.

Acknowledgments

I wish, first, to thank Harvard University for its financial support, and, in particular, Dr. Elizabeth Gray and the Friends of Harvard Celtic Studies.

Second, I owe a huge debt of thanks to my advisor and the members of my committee: Catherine McKenna, Virginie Greene, and Ann Matonis have provided countless readings, revisions, and thoughtful comments at various stages throughout the writing of this dissertation, and without their support and readings of my readings, there would be no dissertation at all.

For their thoughtful and kind contributions on the subject of the rhetoricians and the *artes poetriae*, I thank Jan Ziolkowski and Nicholas Watson, neither of whom was in any way obligated to give me of their time, and both of whom were incredibly generous to me. For her expertise on *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, I thank Ann Parry Owen, who was likewise generous with her time.

I also owe many thanks to my colleagues. I single out in no particular order Sarah Zeiser, who first brought me to visit Harvard; my cohort and friend Matthew Holmberg; all those who gave me support in the form of various coffees and pep talks over the years: Kassandra Conley, Natasha Sumner, Georgia Henley, Joey McMullen, among others. For his substantive and insightful discussions regarding Dafydd ap Gwilym I thank L. A. Brannelly, and for reading Chapter 1 of this dissertation and offering thoughtful suggestions, I thank Michaela Jacques.

For their constant support and kindness, I thank my parents, Marjorie and Andrew Gann. For his copyediting prowess I thank my brother-in-law, Godfrey Furchtgott. For his unflagging interest, for putting up with everything a dissertation entails, and for reading countless drafts of all of these chapters and trying his best to pronounce the Welsh properly, I thank my husband,

Leon Furchtgott. For her sweetness and for cheering me up no matter how my work went that day, I thank my daughter, Alice Freda Furchtgott. I even thank my cats, for not distracting me too much while I worked.

Lastly, there were times when I was tired and it was hard to hear the *musique naturelle*. Sometimes I needed a little *musique artificielle* to stimulate my brain back to work on poetry. For that, I thank Dame Joan Sutherland and Sigiswald Kuijken, who never let me down.

Table of Contents

Abstract……………………………………………………………………………………...iii

Dedication…………………………………………………………………………………v

Acknowledgments …………………………………………………………………………vi

Table of Contents…………………………………………………………………………..viii

Introduction………………………………………………………………………………..1

Chapter 1— Fourteenth-Century Welsh Poetic Thought: The Grammars and Grammarians...…14

Chapter 2— Fourteenth-Century Welsh Poetic Thought in the European Context……………...63

Chapter 3— Practical Sound-Play: Musique Naturelle in the Oeuvre of Eustache Deschamps.118

Chapter 4— Cynghanedd and Musique de Bouche: Musique Naturelle in the Oeuvre of Dafydd ap Gwilym……………………………………………………………………………164

Envoy…..……………………………………………………………………………217

Appendix A….………………………………………………………………………….223

Appendix B……………………………………………………………………………..243

Works Cited………………………………………………………………………….244

Introduction

De la musique avant toute chose,
Et pour cela préfère l'Impair
Plus vague et plus soluble dans l'air,
Sans rien en lui qui pèse ou qui pose.

Il faut aussi que tu n'ailles point
Choisir tes mots sans quelque méprise :
Rien de plus cher que la chanson grise
Ou l'Indécis au Précis se joint.

Verlaine, "Art poétique," ll. 1-8.

It may seem odd to begin a dissertation regarding fourteenth-century poetry in Wales and France with a citation from a nineteenth-century French poem. But Verlaine's equation of music with poetry brings to mind two literary traditions of the fourteenth century which form the foundations of this dissertation. First, and most clearly, there is the *Art de dictier* of Eustache Deschamps, in which Deschamps names poetry a *musique naturelle*, which he considers of a higher order than *musique artificielle*, instrumental music.[1]Second, less clearly, but no less potently, there are the terms describing music and poetry in Wales. *Cerdd dant* (instrumental music) and *cerdd dafod* (poetry) are both formed on the word *cerdd*, which means both song and poem, and *cynghanedd*, the system of alliteration and internal rhyme which flourishes in the fourteenth century, literally means "harmony."

Verlaine's poem "Art poétique" fits beautifully into the argument of my dissertation, which centres on the art of poetry. It is so relevant, in fact, that I contend it could not have been

[1] The full text of this passage will be found below, or in Eustache Deschamps, *L'Art de dictier*, trans. Deborah Sinnreich-Levi, East Lansing, 1994, pp. 61-5.

written without the advent of *musique naturelle* in the fourteenth century which is the subject of this dissertation.

Prior to the fourteenth century, lyric poetry in France and Wales was inextricably tied to music: it was performed publicly to musical accompaniment and written with music in mind. Lyric poetry read privately was simply not a concept then as it is now. Today, some critics contend for the value of reading poetry aloud in order to appreciate the ineffable auditory value of the verse[2]; prior to the fourteenth century, the idea of reading a poem silently, or even hearing it aloud without music in a court or public setting, was not understood. The consequence is that readers today may not necessarily appreciate the transition which occurred in the fourteenth century from public, musical performance to private, intimate reading.[3] The fourteenth century sees the first appearance of Middle French lyric texts not set to music; while Guillaume de Machaut wrote lyric poetry with and without music, the next generation of poets, including Eustache Deschamps and Jean Froissart, only wrote poetry unaccompanied by music.[4] Eustache Deschamps' declaration that poetry is *musique naturelle* underscores that in the fourteenth century, poetry shifts from being performed musically to being a musical art in its own right.

---

[2] Angela Leighton *Hearing Things: The Work of Sound in Literature*, Cambridge: the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019, p. 48.

[3] For the general historical trend towards private reading, see Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997. The question of silent reading in the Middle Ages is currently under debate; for more on that question see Daniel Donoghue, *How the Anglo-Saxons Read Their Poems*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

[4] The relationship between music and poetry in fourteenth-century France is described and complicated in the essays in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry* ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991, and in Yolanda Plumley, "Crossing Borderlines: Points of Contact between the Late-Fourteenth Century French Lyric and Chanson Repertories," *Acta Musicologica*, 2004, Vol.76(1), pp.3-23. The question of performance practices is considerably more murky in Wales because of the scarcity of manuscript evidence of musical notation. Apart from evidence within poetry and the grammar, there is no recorded evidence of the specific musical accompaniments to poetry. For a full discussion of the available evidence, see Sally Harper, "Dafydd ap Gwilym: Poet and Musician," at http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/docs/sally_harper/Musical%20Background.doc, Peter Greenhill, "The Robert ap Huw Manuscript: An Exploration of its Possible Solutions," and Patrick Ford, "Performance and Literacy in Medieval Welsh Poetry," at https://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/musicfiles/manuscripts/aphuw/.

When Verlaine writes, "De la musique avant toute chose," he is going back (undoubtedly unconsciously) to the fourteenth century, when Eustache Deschamps and Dafydd ap Gwilym were writing, and is delivering their new understanding that poetry *is*, or perhaps, *should be* musical. The fourteenth century thus represents the historical point in time to which one can point as the beginning of a consciousness of poetry as an independent musical art.

The argument of this dissertation is regarding the use of sound in poetry: it is my contention that sound in both Welsh and French poetry becomes a matter of growing significance in the fourteenth century and consequently, becomes a tool increasingly used by poets in order to communicate with their audiences. The chief fourteenth-century texts I examine to prove this point are varied: first, I present the Welsh bardic grammar which shows an implicit interest in sound in poetry throughout; second, I demonstrate that the *Art de dictier* of Eustache Deschamps provides an explicit enunciation of the importance of sound to poetry; third, I turn to Deschamps' poetry in its own right to prove that the interest in sound is not merely theoretical, but practical; finally, I lay out the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym as evidence that the mastery of sound as poetic device was at least as rich in Wales as in Europe. Altogether, these texts come together to illustrate the point that the fourteenth century in France and Wales sees a burgeoning of what Eustache Deschamps calls a *musique naturelle* in poetry.

From this list of texts, it will be readily apparent that the fourteenth century sees a confluence of seemingly unrelated poetic developments. At the same time as the compilation of the first Welsh bardic grammar, Welsh poetry sees the flowering of certain metrical developments: the *cywydd* metre (rhyming couplets of seven-syllable lines; "pour cela préfère l'Impair") adorned with *cynghanedd* (harmonic sounds based largely on alliteration and internal rhyme). Contemporaneous with the rise of *cynghanedd* (harmony) comes the condemnation in

1324-5 by Pope John XXII of harmony and polyphonic music[5]; forty years later sees the first polyphonic Mass by Guillaume de Machaut, the great poet-musician.[6] Meanwhile, Eustache Deschamps' *L'art de dictier* promulgates the idea of poetry as *musique naturelle*, a strong theoretical declaration about the relationship between music and poetry, while in his lyric verse Deschamps breaks through the traditional adherence to topics of love poetry and instead writes about everything from politics to the toothache. Likewise, in Wales, a flowering of topics of poetry develops in the same period; in particular, Dafydd ap Gwilym begins to write humorous poetry, a true break with prior tradition. Together, these developments in both poetic output and poetic theory point to a consistent interest in the sound and nature of the poetry in and of itself.

France and Wales share many traits in the fourteenth century which make them a good pair for a study of their poetry at this juncture: both move towards a greater awareness of and interest in sound, both feature self-conscious accounts of their vernacular poetry, and both open up the doors to a wider variety of topics in poetry. I should highlight that I am not the first person to note parallels between French and Welsh medieval verse; there is, in fact, a long history of scholarship comparing the poetry of the Welsh poet Dafydd ap Gwilym with earlier French poetry. This dissertation follows in the footsteps of the scholarship of Theodor Chotzen, Rachel Bromwich, and Helen Fulton, all of whom extensively study the possibilities of influence from various French *troubadours* on Dafydd's verse. France and Wales have a long history of comparison in Welsh scholarship; partly, this can be attributed to the very real possibility of some form of influence on Dafydd's poetry. My argument in this dissertation is that there is also parallel development in the poetic circles between France and Wales: both are very interested in

[5] "John XXII [Duèse, Jacques]," Ed. Mary Barry, *Grove Dictionary of Music*, OUP, 2001.
[6] Daniel Leech Wilkinson, *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

sound, and this comes across both in their works of theory and in their poetry in the fourteenth century.

Chotzen's, Bromwich's, and Fulton's work belongs to a long and rich history of scholarship assessing parallels between France and Wales, which I will revisit in Chapter 4. What the three scholars have in common is that they challenge the view, prevalent before the time of Chotzen, that the innovative techniques and, particularly, topics and love motifs found in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry must have come from a Continental source. Chotzen is the first to lay out the evidence and question the extent of *troubadour* influence, in particular, on Dafydd's work, arriving at the conclusion that there was likely some indirect influence, but that Dafydd's own, innovative techniques were largely responsible for the alterations in style.[7] Bromwich takes it to the next level of detail, identifying particular passages from Dafydd's *Hwsmonaeth Cariad* and the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun which could, potentially, mark influence—or, by contrast, could show a development of Dafydd's own, particular style. Finally, she argues for attention not only to such major, heavily circulated texts as the *Roman de la Rose*, but also to the possible influence of media that is trickier to track, such as popular song.[8] Fulton takes these explorations further, examining Dafydd's poetry in the full tradition of Welsh poetry from Dafydd's predecessors, the court poets, and placing Dafydd in the larger context of European poetry.[9] Fulton thus examines not only the minutiae of Dafydd's verse, but also the changing socio-political landscape of Wales. Fulton proves throughout her work that the line from Dafydd's Welsh poetic predecessors to his own verse was long, intricate, and complex:

[7] Theodor Chotzen, *Recherches sur la poésie de Dafydd ab Gwilym*, Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1927, pp. 333-4.
[8] Rachel Bromwich, *Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym*, Cardiff: Wales U. P., 1967:pp. 49-50.
[9] Helen Fulton, *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context*, UWP: Cardiff, 1989.

Dafydd shows influence from the *jongleurs* and popular song, but even in poems that decidedly show the tradition of courtly, unrequited love, he was a strong adherent to Welsh tradition.

Thus, while none of these three scholars argues for direct influence, all three find it useful to explore the parallels between these two literary traditions. It is my intention to follow in their footsteps and prove that there are strong reasons to study Welsh and French poetry in tandem, without claiming direct influence between one and the other. Unlike previous scholarship which has studied the relationship between Dafydd and the *troubadour* tradition, my focus is on the parallel contemporary developments in the fourteenth century in Wales and France, a topic that has received far less attention.

The insights which arise from this comparative study are twofold and fall roughly into the two halves of the present dissertation. First, on a theoretical level there are interesting similarities between European rhetorical tradition, Deschamps' *Art de Dictier*, and Boethian speculative music theory on the one hand, and the Welsh tradition on the other hand, particularly as exemplified in the fragment *Gramadeg Gwysanau*. This theoretical material will be examined further in Chapters 1 and 2. Second, when looking specifically at the poetry itself, the methods presented in the first half, particularly the tradition of *musique naturelle* explored in Chapter 2, give new ways of reading Dafydd's poetry. This leads me to suggest the concept of a Welsh tradition of *musique naturelle*, which is the culmination of this dissertation.

A key theme of this dissertation is the relationship between poetry as described in the contemporary theoretical or prescriptive manuals, and poetry as written by poets. Although scholarly attention has been paid individually to Eustache Deschamps's *Art de Dictier* on the one hand and to his ballades and other poetic output on the other, no study that I am aware of has attempted to read Deschamps' poetry and criticism in light of one another. Meanwhile, in Wales,

while scholars have considered the evidence of the grammar in a historical light in reading Dafydd ap Gwilym, the poetics implicit in the grammar have not been applied to Dafydd's poetry. This dissertation undertakes a comprehensive and integrated reading of the varied literary texts that concern poetic sound in both Wales and France.

This leads me to the specifics of this dissertation, but before I present a summary of the chapters themselves, it will be helpful if I explain some of the terminology which will occur not only throughout this summary but throughout the dissertation itself.

- *cerdd dafod*: "song of the tongue," the poetic art, poetry; can also refer to music.
- *cerdd dant*: "song of the string," instrumental music.
- *cynghanedd*: harmony; the system of alliteration and internal rhyme occurring in strict metre Welsh poetry.
- *cymeriad*: linking lines of Welsh strict metre poetry by alliteration.
- *odl/prifodl*: rhyme; main rhyme continuing throughout an entire strict metre poem.
- sound poetics/sound effects: my general terms to describe the rich occurrence of sounds in the Welsh and French poetry I will examine in the present dissertation; may overlap heavily with *cynghanedd* and *musique naturelle*.
- *musique naturelle*: in the *Art de dictier* of Eustache Deschamps, his term to describe poetry.
- *musique artificielle*: in the *Art de dictier* of Eustache Deschamps, his term to describe instrumental music.

The arc of the dissertation is founded upon sound. I begin with the theory of sound, as explored in the Welsh grammar (Chapter 1) and in Deschamps' *Art de dictier* (Chapter 2). I

move on to exploring how this theory is put into practice in Deschamps' poetry (Chapter 3) and, finally, draw all of those threads together in presenting new readings of Dafydd's poetry according to the theories and practice seen in the preceding chapters in Chapter 4. I will now summarize each chapter in greater detail.

Chapter 1 of my dissertation, "Fourteenth-Century Welsh Poetic Thought: The Grammars and Grammarians," details the advent of the Welsh grammar in the 1320s. This is commonly called the "bardic grammars;" indeed, the title of the main edition of the grammar is *Gramadegau'r Penceiddiaid*, "The Grammars of the Chief Bards." My argument is twofold. First, that the grammar is more generally reflective of the educated classes of Wales in the fourteenth century and of a cultural relationship with language in general and poetry in specific than being related to any given class of poets. Second, that the grammar thereby reflects a deep interest in Welsh poetry as a medium, and, consequently, implicitly betray a strong connection to sound. In order to show this connection, I analyze not only the *ars metrica*, or *Prydlyfr*, which is perhaps the more intuitive avenue for demonstrating a link to poetry, but also the first part of the grammar, the *ars grammatica*. I demonstrate that the *ars grammatica* leads into the *ars metrica* with a strong implicit interest in sound; that the sections on syllables and diphthongs in particular are of intuitive and practical use to poets; and that the sections on *beiau*, or poetic faults, betray an equally strong interest in sound through, once again, interest in diphthongs, but also through the rules of rhymes. To sum up, I prove that the grammar, rather than being a collection of historical documents used to understand the bards of the fourteenth century or before, is best read as a window onto the Welsh language of the period and its implicit fascination with the use of language for sound in poetry.

In Chapter 2, "Fourteenth-Century Welsh Poetic Thought in the European Context," I turn from the Welsh grammar to the Latin and French traditions, showing how the rhetorical and poetic manuals from these traditions, too, show an interest in sound. Thus, Chapter 2 functions as a parallel structure to Chapter 1, but demonstrating similar trends in the Latin *artes poetriae*, particularly focusing on the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf, and the French *Art de dictier*. I begin with a very brief account of the cross-Channel relationship between France and England, noting the fluidity of the relationship between "Frenchness" and "Englishness" in the fourteenth century, including the use of similar school texts. Turning to the school texts which were popular on both sides of the Channel, I begin with the *Poetria nova*, composed c. 1200-1215, highlighting the elements which focus on sound in the section on *elocutio*. However, I particularly consider its possible rhetorical influence over the Welsh fragment *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, notably through its comparison between the craft of poetry with the craft of carpentry.

Finally, I turn from the *Poetria nova* to focus in on the *Art de dictier* of Eustache Deschamps, composed 1392, mentioned above. *L'Art de dictier* is a manual of poetry rather than rhetoric, but is particularly notable for its account of the seven liberal arts before the poetic instructions begin. In this account, Deschamps differentiates between *musique naturelle* (poetry) and *musique artificielle* (instrumental music), effectively both freeing poetry from its musical accompaniment and commenting on its inherent musicality. *Musique naturelle* and *musique artificielle* are privileged above the other arts for their therapeutic, medicinal qualities; *musique naturelle* is then privileged above *musique artificielle* because only one who's heart is naturally inclined to it can practice poetry, whereas instrumental music can be taught to anyone. I quickly review the scholarship of Deborah Sinnreich-Levi, who focuses on Deschamps in the context of

other vernacular treatises; Roger Dragonetti, who sees Deschamps writing in the tradition of, while revolutionizing, the field of Boethian speculative music theory; and Philipp Jeserich, who argues against Dragonetti that Deschamps works in an unbroken line of Boethian tradition. I, by contrast, consider that the missing piece of the puzzle is not historical or theoretical context, but a practical study of the application of Deschamps' ideas; rather than focusing on Boethius, I argue that Deschamps considers the poet as inspired by nature to create natural music in perfect proportions, as reflected in the sound of poetry. This begs the question of whether Deschamps employs sound effects that could constitute *musique naturelle* in his own poetry, which is the question that I examine in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3, "Practical Sound-Play: *Musique Naturelle* in the Poetry of Eustache Deschamps," is a challenge in understanding what *musique naturelle* means in practical terms. I begin by surveying the range and nature of Deschamps' poetic output, and the manuscript, BnF fr. 840, which preserves his oeuvre as it comes down to readers today, through the eleven-volume Société des Anciens Textes Français (SATF) edition of the manuscript. The manuscript is, indeed, massive: it consists of 1,501 individual texts, of which the vast majority are *ballades*. Thus, it will be readily apparent that Deschamps was an extraordinarily prolific poet with a marked preference for the *ballade* as a form. I go on to note Deschamps' exceptionally wide range of topics, for his period. He himself appears to have been aware of his departure from the norm of writing lyric love poetry, and notes it in the *Art de dictier*, but his casual recording of every event around him in poetry is notable for more than its mere departure from "la louenge des dames;" its journalistic nature is worth study in its own right.

My key contribution in this chapter is to elucidate the impact of *musique naturelle* on Deschamps' poetry by performing a series of readings for the remainder of the chapter which

prove that the use of alliteration, rhyme, and strict syllable count are not merely accidental or incidental to Deschamps' poetry, but are absolutely integral to appreciating the individual nature of each poem. I prove this by reading a cross-section of Deschamps' verse, including a narrative *ballade*, a *ballade* described by the SATF as a "Tour de force poétique," a *virelais*, and a short *rondeau*. Each one utilizes sound-effects to different effect, but none is devoid of serious sound poetics. I pause to consider the utility of sound theory, including the works of Benjamin Harshav and Reuven Tsur, to my readings, and apply their arguments regarding whether any particular sound may have universal meanings to my own in-depth analyses of Deschamps' *ballades* to Geoffrey Chaucer and Christine de Pizan. In the *ballade* to Chaucer, I prove that the grammar of personhood ("me-ness" and "you-ness") is inextricably linked to the sounds of the poem, and showcase the tension between praise and conflict in the poem. In my reading of the *ballade* to Christine, I note the contrast to the Chaucer *ballade*; the elegance and gentility of the sound poetics used for Christine only underline the poetic war at play in the Chaucer ballade. I conclude that rather than looking for either a universal sense of meaning in the sounds, or any one pattern of sound-poetics, the ideal reader of a Deschamps poem should be prepared to be flexible, to move with his shifting sounds, and to indulge in both the poet's and the reader's subjectivity.

Chapter 4, "*Cynghanedd* and *Musique de Bouche*: *Musique Naturelle* in the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym," adopts this subjective and flexible method of reading and carries it back across the Channel to Wales. I begin with a survey of the Welsh history surrounding the poetics of the fourteenth century, particularly the changes in poetic patronage which take place following the English conquest of Wales in 1282, and the transition from the era of *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (the Poets of the Princes) to *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* (the Poets of the Gentry), which demarcates the

shift both in the political landscape (the patrons move from nobility to gentry) and the poetic landscape; as a result of this political shift, the poets are no longer associated with a single political ruler at a time, but go from patron to patron, house to house, composing for the gentry who wish for the prestige that comes with a bard.

Not only does patronage shift with the political landscape, but the techniques of sound poetics likewise alter and develop at this juncture. I devote the next section of the chapter to metrics and poetics, outlining the key metrical forms and poetics, some of which I defined above in the list of terminology, including *cynghanedd*, *cymeriad*, and *odl*/*prifodl*. Before turning to the sound poetics I offer a survey of the key classes of metres: in brief form, the *englyn* (rhyming strophic verse), the *awdl* (monorhyming long form verse), and the *cywydd* (rhyming couplets of seven-syllable lines). I focus on the *cywydd* and its development in the fourteenth century as ornamented by *cynghanedd*. *Cynghanedd* itself forms my next focus, and I illustrate each form of *cynghanedd* (*cynghanedd lusg*, *cynghanedd draws*, *cynghanedd groes*, and *cynghanedd sain*) with an example from Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem "Yr Haf," which allows me to prove the variety and intensity of Dafydd's *cynghanedd* in a single poem. I also offer a comparison between a passage from the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* poet Cynddelw and Dafydd ap Gwilym in order to demonstrate in a single side-by-side example the difference full *cynghanedd* makes in a poem.

Next, I turn to Dafydd's verse. After a survey of the history of readings of his poetry, including further discussion of Chotzen, Bromwich, and Fulton's scholarship, I sum up my own approach to reading Dafydd's poetry as being more divorced from the socio-political milieu than, for example, Fulton's, and more focused on the poetics which he used. My argument is that Dafydd was developing a Welsh equivalent to the French *musique naturelle*, and so I read

several poems by Dafydd with much the same methodology as I applied to Deschamps' poetry, only adapted to the Welsh poetics at play: *cynghanedd*, *cymeriad*, and *odlau*. The poems I read are "Marwnad Angharad," "Yr Haf," "Y Gwynt," "Trafferth mewn Tafarn," "Y Rhugle Groen," and "Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym ac Gruffudd Gryg." My aim and conclusion is to prove a single-minded love of sound, but varied methodology in execution; a harmony as rich as *cynghanedd* itself.

To sum up, the goals of this dissertation are threefold. My first goal is to prove that Wales was not an isolated province in the fourteenth century, but operating in a rich and dynamic literary and scholastic milieu, and that it participated in the grammatical, rhetorical, and poetic expressions of that time period. Second, I prove that the grammar, generally called bardic, which was produced in the fourteenth century, may or may not have had anything to do with the bardic schools which there is no certainty existed at that juncture, but that a close examination of its contents and structure demonstrates both a keen interest in poetry and a love of the Welsh language, allowing the reader to determine that the authors were literate and educated participants in the grammatical, rhetorical, and poetic fields. My third goal is to prove that Welsh poetry in the fourteenth century was emanating from both a rich native tradition and an educated and varied cultural context, one which informed such poets as Dafydd ap Gwilym. Regardless of exactly which lines may have been influenced by native or Continental verse, the structure and poetics are informed by a distinctively fourteenth-century interest in sound both to illuminate the sense of the poem, and, ultimately, to create beautiful sound for its own sake. Thus, I end where I began, and begin where I end, with the richness of sound in poetry: "De la musique avant toute chose," a lesson which, I argue, the grammarians I will be introducing in the next chapter understood, even if they did not articulate it.

CHAPTER 1

Fourteenth-Century Welsh Poetic Thought: The Grammars and Grammarians

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the modes of thought regarding poetry in Wales in the fourteenth century. There are two avenues towards answering that question: one is to look at the poetry itself, which I will do in Chapter 4, but that is best done after pursuing an in-depth analysis of the bardic grammar, which is the purpose of this chapter. In it, I will explore what the grammar is, who wrote it, for whom, for what purpose, and when. Further, I will ask how it relates to the fourteenth-century understanding of poetry and poetics, and, in particular, to the forms of poetics which relate to sound, as I discussed in the Introduction. The ultimate goal will be to show that the sound poetics examined in the grammar lay the groundwork for a form of Welsh *musique naturelle*.

In discussing the grammatical tradition in Wales I will be referring to the texts contained in the volume *Gramdegau'r Penceirddiaid*, edited by G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones. Because of this title, translated as "The Grammars of the Chief Bards," and because of the complicated manuscript history within the grammatical tradition, which includes several recensions and sometimes several versions of one recension, it has become common to refer to the "bardic grammars," or simply to "the grammars," when discussing this tradition in scholarly discourse. Despite the common use of the plural "grammars", in a sense there is a single grammar with multiple recensions and versions. Therefore, I will mostly be writing "the grammar" when referring to the grammatical tradition as a whole and to the many elements shared between the recensions. I will only refer to "the grammars" in the plural when discussing multiple recensions.

I will also default to quoting the Einion Offeiriad recension in the Red Book of Hergest[10] text unless I see reason to quote a different text.

"The Welsh grammar" is the name scholars have assigned to grammatical texts almost certainly first produced in the fourteenth century in Wales which combine an *ars grammatica* drawn heavily from Priscian and Donatus, and an *ars metrica* outlining native Welsh modes of writing poetry. I will refer to two recensions in this chapter, the first thought to have been written by Einion Offeiriad (Einion the Priest) and then revised in a second recension by Dafydd Ddu. The first recension seems to have been composed in approximately the 1320s, with the second recension perhaps a decade later.[11]

But the questions remain: Who wrote the grammar, when, for whom, and why? I will discuss these questions in more detail below, but in brief: the two principal grammarians seem to have been Einion and Dafydd Ddu, they seem to have been writing in the early fourteenth century and I agree with those scholars, Matonis perhaps chief among them, who hold that their goal was surely at least partially didactic, perhaps geared in part towards the bards. That being said, while the traditional line of reasoning is that the audience cannot be determined without first ascertaining the authorship and authorial intent, I wish to decouple these two questions as much as is possible, toying with the ideas of audience as distinct from authorship. My reason is that I consider it impossible to fully determine the authors of the grammar or their intentions, and, that being the case, tying the scholarship to such a very tenuous anchor seems to me to be limiting the scope of the possibilities.

---

[10] See below p. 29 for further details about manuscripts and recensions.
[11] R. Geraint Gruffydd, "Wales's Second Grammarian: Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. 90, 1-28, at p. 5.

The very name of the edition of the grammar in common use, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, references the issue of who the authors were, and what they intended in writing the grammar. As the opening of the edition says, "Rhoddir yn y gyfrol hon gasgliad o ramadegau a elwir gennym yn 'ramadegau'r penceirddiaid,' oherwydd cynhwysant grynodeb o'r cyfarwyddiadau a gâi'r disgyblion yn ysgolion y beirdd." Or, in short, the reason given for the title of this collection of grammars is "because they contain a compendium of the instructions received by the students in the bardic schools."[12] The assumption here is that the grammar was written with the express purpose of being imparted to students in organized schools of poetry. However, there are problems with this assumption: the lack of any evidence, first, that there were bardic schools, and, second, that the grammarians were directing their writings towards such a school.[13]

Thus, I would like to posit a different mode of approaching the tangled questions of authorship and audience. Previous scholarship has tied the writing of the grammar to the final conquest of Wales in 1282, and has hypothesized that the grammar was recorded in an effort to crystallize in place the old order of poetry, in a somewhat conservative or antiquarian impulse not to concede to the changes or the new order of poetry.[14] As an alternative, I wish to refer to Thomas Charles-Edwards's work which suggests the possibility that the *ars grammatica*, at least, may have preceded the Conquest.[15] If that is the case, it is possible to imagine a more gradual growth of the grammar, in which the *ars metrica* grew up around the *ars grammatica*. Charles-

---

[12] G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones, eds., *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (Caerdydd, 1934), p. v. Translation mine.
[13] A. T. E. Matonis, "The Welsh Bardic Grammars and the Western Grammatical Tradition," *Modern Philology*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (Nov., 1981), pp. 121-45.
[14] Sir Thomas Parry, "The Welsh Metrical Treatise Attributed to Einion Offeiriad," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol.47, 1961, pp. 177-95, at p. 192.
[15] Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The Welsh Bardic Grammars on *litterae*', in Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (eds.) *Grammatica, Gramadach, and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales,* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2016), 149-60, at 159-160.

Edwards's work suggests a possible alternative to the theories which place the grammar as being somehow associated with the bardic schools; as there is no certainty that the bardic schools existed at the time of the grammar, or that, if they did, the grammar was written with the intention of being used as school texts, I am curious to imagine what alternatives might have existed. Thus, if I may posit this longer, more gradual timeframe, I see less of a need to strictly connect the grammar to one particular audience: the bards. It seems to me that they may have been written as an intellectual exercise and text in their own right, one which was thereafter of use to bards, but wasn't necessarily written by or for the bards, but as part of a developing interest in poetry as a cultural possession as a whole.[16]

This all adds up to a very tricky background, further complicated by the recent discovery of the fragment of another grammar, *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, discussed later in this chapter, which shows substantial differences in content and tone from the *Gramadegau* discussed here: thus, the history of the grammar is difficult to pin down. The dating is difficult, as is the authorship and potential audience. All that is certain is that the grammar was written with a deep interest in poetry, and was, by the time of the fifteenth century, adopted by and rewritten for a bardic audience by Gutun Owain. That being said, I consider it here as an independent text in its own right, written by and for an intellectual class, people with knowledge of Latin and Welsh, and with a deep interest in the use of language for writing poetry. Questions remain: if the grammar was written by and for educated Welshmen, then why were only Donatus and Priscian referenced and consulted, and not some of the more up-to-date texts and manuals at the universities? On the

[16] The grammar also exhibits an encyclopedic mindset which may be related to an encyclopedic trend which developed in the thirteenth century. See Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

whole, however, I consider this the best possible reading of the tangled histories of the grammar, and for my purposes it is the best available theory.

With this in mind, I now set forth my own purposes in looking at the grammar. These purposes are, to a large extent, divorced from matters of authorship and audience, and focus more specifically on the poetic purposes of the grammar. That there is a poetic purpose is self-evident: whether or not the *ars grammatica* was written in advance of the *ars metrica*, the two parts of the work both lead strongly to the topic of Welsh poetry and how to write a good, correct Welsh poem. To that end I will read the text to show the interest in what I'm calling sound poetics; that is, the techniques used to highlight the sound of the poem and the impact of this sound on the reading of the poem. My argument is that this interest in sound poetics is implicit both in the *ars grammatica* and the *ars metrica*, or *prydlyfr*, including the list of *beiau* or poetic faults. I will be reading both parts of the grammar closely in order to uncover this implicit interest and demonstrate why it is of value in reading the poetry of the period of the grammar.

My argument for situating Welsh sound poetics in its grammatical tradition must rest, first, on the historical development of the grammar, and, necessarily, the grammarians who produced this tradition (insofar as we are able to understand who they were), and, second, on the content of the grammar itself. Thus, the pattern of this chapter will begin with a historical account of the grammar, its manuscripts, and its grammarians. I will demonstrate that, for the purposes of this dissertation, the identity of the grammarians, tantalizing as it is to conjecture who they might have been, is largely irrelevant; of greater importance to my work is the tangled manuscript evidence which, I will argue, shows a process of revisions and editorial work going back to the very earliest grammar. Once this is established, I will investigate and analyze the contents of the grammar to show its dual nature: that the grammar is written in two parts, first an

ars grammatica and then an *ars metrica* (called the *Prydlyfr* in Welsh) is of prime importance. I will emphasize that, despite the reliance on Priscian for, in particular, the *ars grammatica*, the grammar consistently and forcefully looks forward to the *ars metrica*, carrying over the didactic point of view from the *ars grammatica*, but always leaning towards an interest in poetry and even poetics. Further, following the outline of the twenty-four metres in the *Prydlyfr*, I will survey the *beiau*, or list of poetic faults, to determine to what degree they, too, play into the pattern of interest in sound poetics. Finally, I will turn to the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* to demonstrate the extent to which this recently discovered fragment differs from the established text, and how it, too, in its own manner and style, shows an implicit interest in the sound of Welsh poetry.

Before I delve into the historical development of the grammar, who wrote the grammar, and how it evolved, I would first like to posit my argument for what it was and how it operated. I mentioned above that, traditionally, it has been viewed as a conservative text, preserving a poetic method which had been superseded by the new patronage system and metres of the fourteenth century.[17] I see things somewhat differently.[18] It is my view that the grammar preserves an entire manner of thinking about language. It is not odd that they are so heavily based on the Latin tradition given that their entire *raison d'être* is to frame the Welsh language and its usage. What is notable, however, is not the generally slavish reproduction of Priscian in Welsh, which has been comprehensively investigated and articulated by Ann Matonis[19], but the areas in which the grammarians diverge from the Latin tradition and reframe the grammar for purely Welsh

---

[17] Parry, "The Welsh Metrical Treatise Attributed to Einion Offeiriad," p. 192.
[18] At this juncture I must own my indebtedness to long conversations regarding the grammatical tradition with Michaela Jacques of my department; her thoughtful and knowledgeable views have greatly informed this survey. Any problems or inaccuracies are my own.
[19] Matonis, "The Welsh Bardic Grammars and the Western Grammatical Tradition."

purposes; these areas are almost exclusively sections of the grammar which speak to bardic purposes.

I will here begin by laying out the chronology of the grammar, when they were written, and what we know of the Welsh grammarians. The matters of the authorship of the grammar and the development of the grammar are closely related, and traditional scholarship considers them in parallel: the story goes that Einion Offeiriad wrote the original grammar in the early 1320s, probably at the behest of, or perhaps as a gift for, Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd, a gentleman in south-west Wales.[20] Then, approximately a decade later, c. 1330, Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug, a canon of St. Asaph, created a second recension of Einion's grammar, reorganizing and editing the original text. Both grammarians are traditionally considered highly literate clerics, either knowledgeable of poetry, or, perhaps, accomplished as poets; indeed, depending on the manuscript, three new metres, the *hir-a-thoddaid*, the *cyrch-a-chwta*, and the *tawddgych cadwynog*, are attributed to either Einion Offeiriad or Dafydd Ddu Athro. Finally, the story of the grammarians usually ends with the arrival of the Gutun Owain grammar in the mid-fifteenth century. It is in this grammar that the rules of *cynghanedd*, the harmonizing of sounds in Welsh poetry, are first codified. Thus, the traditional understanding of the development of the Welsh bardic grammar begins with Einion Offeiriad in the early 1320s, goes on to Dafydd Ddu in a straightforward revision of Einion's text, and ends with Gutun Owain's much later reconstitution of the whole grammatical tradition to include *cynghanedd*.

The first, and major, problem with this straightforward tale is the manuscript evidence. For the sake of clarity, I will be calling the texts the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar* and the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar*; this will allow me to refer to the two recensions of the text without implying

[20] Gruffydd, "Wales's Second Grammarian," p. 5.

knowledge of the actual authorship as personalities. I will now lay out the thorny problems of understanding the actual manuscript history of the two recensions of the Welsh bardic grammar. The best and earliest manuscript of the grammar is Peniarth 20, dated by Daniel Huws to c. 1330, and produced in the scriptorium of the Cistercian abbey of Glynegwestl, Valle Crucis.[21] However, this manuscript does not contain the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar*, but the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar*. Thus, the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* survives in only one early manuscript, but that one happens to be the earliest and most complete of all of the early manuscripts of the grammar. The earliest manuscript of the *Einion Grammar* dates to c. 1400: Oxford, Jesus College MS 111 (the "Red Book of Hergest"). Other notable manuscripts of the Einion Grammar are the National Library of Wales Aberystwyth MS Llanstephan 3, c. 1425; the University of Wales Bangor MS 1, c. 1450; and Balliol College Oxford MS 353, which was carefully copied c. 1550 from an exemplar dating to around 1400.

If the manuscripts place the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* before the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar*, what basis is there for considering Einion the earlier grammarian? Unfortunately, the records tell us little about either Einion or Dafydd Ddu in their own rights: Einion is mentioned in records emanating from southern Cardiganshire and northern Carmarthenshire between 1344 and 1354. He's described as parson of Llanrug in the commot of Is Gwyrfai in what R. Geraint Gruffydd describes as a notice of his death in a document from northern Caenarfonshire in 1349. This makes it likely that he died during the first visitation of the Black Death.[22] As for Dafydd Ddu, he was, according to Gruffydd, an important figure at St. Asaph in the fourteenth century, and therefore working somewhat in parallel to Einion Offeiriad, both in the ecclesiastical fields.

---

[21] Daniel Huws, "Welsh Vernacular Books," Chapter 3 in *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp. 36-56 at p. 47.
[22] "Wales's Second Grammarian," pp. 3-4.

Gruffydd believes that we can see our Dafydd Ddu in a certain Magister David de Englefield, a canon of St. Asaph, appointed by Archbishop Islip to be Vicar-General of the diocese, who appears eight times in Simon Islip's register in Lambeth Palace Library during the period February to November 1357.[23] Alas, Gruffydd believes that this is the only clear reference which has so far come to light. A somewhat more tenuous reference appears in 1318: a Dafydd de Rhuddalt who seems to have been climbing the first rungs of the ecclesiastical ladder in Bangor, in which case, if he were the Dafydd Ddu of the grammar, he'd be transferred to St. Asaph later.[24] Thus much for whatever there is to know of either Einion or Dafydd Ddu.

To sum up, then, the story above, assembled with care, is still woefully incomplete. The manuscript evidence is somewhat scrambled and out of order; it cannot prove that the *Einion Grammar* was written before the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* nor is there strict evidence to tell a sufficient story of the authorship of either version. What is known for certain is that there are two grammatical texts, likely composed in close proximity to one another historically, both in terms of time and place, and that they appear to emanate from clerical circles rather than poetic ones. They certainly date to the early fourteenth century in Wales and were composed by clerics familiar with both the Latin grammatical tradition and with the Welsh poetic tradition. These early grammarians were driving primarily towards the creation of a Welsh *ars poetica* and certainly saw the *ars grammatica* as a means towards a poetical end, so we can surmise that they saw this text as a useful tool, not just a repository of knowledge. Thus much for the authorship and development of the grammar.

[23] Ibid. p. 8
[24] Ibid. p. 8-9

Having established the historical background and development of the grammar in Wales, as well as some notes on the authorship, I will turn to the contents. The aim here is to establish the nature of this grammar: what it is, how it speaks to the sound of poetry, and how the different versions show the ongoing development of the grammatical tradition. As I said above, none of these points stands in isolation. The full action of the text is poetical; that means that the *ars grammatica* leads, philosophically and practically, directly into the *ars metrica*, also called the *Prydlyfr*. It is, in many ways, a didactic tool as well as a theoretical text, and it appears to have been regarded as such since its inception. This is why the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* edits and reorganizes the *Einion Grammar*. The second recension was written, I would argue, as a means of making it more suited to how our second grammarian would represent poetry, to make it more useful: this is no antiquarian book, but a living, breathing, useful and used text. One final point: in the initial exploration of the contents of the grammar below, particularly of the *ars grammatica*, I will be reading the grammar as one text; the two recensions are very similar in those initial sections and it would both confusing and redundant to go through the two grammatical histories separately. Once I reach the later sections of the grammar, where the two paths diverge with somewhat more force, I will pause to explain the differences between the two trajectories and to demonstrate how they diverge and why these differences are significant.

To begin with, however, I will start by demonstrating the two-pronged nature of the grammar. These texts, as I said above, are living and developing in the fourteenth century, and this evolution follows two tracks: grammatical (the *ars grammatica*) and poetical (the *ars metrica* or *Prydlyfr*). While these two sections are evidently different in substance, it would be a mistake to look at them in isolation from one another. Therefore, I wish first to rapidly walk through the organization of the grammar and *Prydlyfr* and explain the different sections. I will

then demonstrate how the grammatical section is relevant, largely in terms of what I call "sound effects," or "sound poetics," to the *Prydlyfr*.[25] Finally, I will discuss the *Prydlyfr* itself and how it demonstrates engagement with the sound of poetry, despite not containing a section explicitly on sound effects such as *cynghanedd*. The ultimate argument is that the early grammar implicitly engages with sound poetics even though it doesn't explicitly engage with contemporary developments in the practice of poetry in Wales.

The basic categories of the grammar are as follows (and this outline of categories is drawn directly and unapologetically from Ann Matonis's "The Welsh Bardic Grammars and the Western Grammatical Tradition"): (1) discussion of the letters of the alphabet; (2) the syllables and diphthongs; (3) the parts of speech; (4) syntax and units of discourse, including figures of speech; (5) the measures of *cerdd dafod* (i.e. the poetic art); (6) *beiau*, or forbidden flaws in poetic composition; and (7) the manner in which to praise each thing: that which pertains to poetry; the *Trioedd Cerdd* (the Poetic Triads).[26] The *ars grammatica* section (categories 1-4) is heavily indebted to Priscian, but shows distinct innovation in certain areas which are of particular use to poets; I will particularly note this in category 2, regarding syllables and diphthongs.

The primary point to be derived from Matonis's "The Welsh Bardic Grammars and the Western Grammatical Tradition" mentioned above is that while the Welsh bardic grammar is heavily based on Priscian, the ultimate goals of the text are different. Whereas Priscian wrote a purely grammatical manual, an *ars grammatica*, the driving force behind the grammar is poetic:

---

[25] By "sound effects" or "sound poetics" I mean the usage of sound for a specific impact on poetry; this has been examined briefly in the Introduction and will be explored in significant detail in Chapters 3 and 4 in reference to actual poetry. I will provide a brief example of the impact of sound effects on poetry in the analysis of the contents of the grammar below.

[26] Matonis, "The Welsh Grammars and the Western Grammatical Tradition," p. 128.

the *ars grammatica* moves ever towards the *ars metrica* (the *Prydlyfr*), and exists solely to provide the building blocks of poetry. Despite likely being composed by clerics, this text shows a strong poetic force, by which I mean not only that the force is to explicate poetry, but to demonstrate how good poetry should be constructed and should sound. Given that the *Prydlyfr* is twice the length of the *ars grammatica*, it is clear on every level that the ultimate goal is to present a manual of poetry, not simply of the Welsh language. This is not to say that I subscribe to the earlier view that the grammar was intended for use in bardic schools; as I mentioned above, the evidence for such a claim is too tenuous for me to feel comfortable positing it as fact.[27] That said, it is probable that bards did make use of the grammar, as suggested, for example, by Gutun Owain's rewriting of the grammar in the mid-fifteenth century.

None of this should diminish, however, the very evident influence of Priscian underlying, in particular, the grammatical categories, 1-4 above, of the grammar. Following Matonis's analysis, I would argue that the following types of interaction with Priscian's text are evident: a) direct copying; b) abbreviation; c) amplification or adaptation. Thus, in the section on letters, all three categories are at play. In the inclusion of *q* and *x*, for example, the grammar hews very closely to the Latin texts, apparently without considering that these are unnecessary to Welsh. Further, in the classification of the consonants, Matonis notes that the Welsh compiler fails to record any observations on the Welsh system, such as the Welsh system of mutations, and instead "slavishly reproduced the Latin categories" of liquids and mutes, with the "liquids" being the Welsh semivowels.[28]

---

[27] Ibid, pp. 123-4.
[28] Ibid., p. 131.

By contrast, I wish to draw attention, for example, to the graph *w*, which Matonis states "represents an important development in Welsh orthography, having been adopted at some time in the Middle Welsh period to indicate both the vowel /*u*/ and the consonant /*w*/, which is in actuality a voiced semivowel."[29] This appears in all of the Welsh grammatical manuscripts, and represents both a development from the Old Welsh, which used *u* regularly for both the vowel and the consonant, and an awareness of Welsh phonetic needs as opposed to the Latin. In terms of the vowels, Matonis notes that the grammar shows "some independence of thought," both in expanding the Latin offerings from *a*, *e, i, o, u* to *a, e, i, o, u, y, w* and in "reusing symbols which were physically proximate."

By way of example of abbreviation, Matonis notes that the grammarians omit "the definitions supplied in the Latin (*Littera est pars minima vocis articulatae*), and in so doing they reduce the treatment considerably, omitting an essential linguistic criterion."[30] Taken from a linguistic perspective, this is a notable omission, but I would argue that from the perspective of a poet, this is, perhaps, a negligible point, whereas, for example, amplifying the vowels, which carry a great deal of the force of poetry, and, again, I refer to how sounds are used in constructing good poetry here, may have seemed a point of greater significance to our grammarians.

For a deeper understanding of how deeply the grammar is intertwined with Priscian, I will now turn to categories 3 and 4 above: parts of speech, and syntax and units of discourse. Once again there are many examples of the grammarians' decision to copy directly from Priscian, even when to do so obscures points of Welsh grammar. Thus the grammarians, for example, describe three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in Latin) when Middle Welsh had only two,

---

[29] Ibid., p. 129
[30] Ibid, p. 128.

masculine and feminine. In a further example of blind adherence to Priscian, the grammar includes Latin's traditional five moods (indicative, imperative, optative, subjunctive, and infinitive) although the optative and infinitive have no place in Welsh. For the optative, the grammar supplies an example inflected in the imperfect. Matonis indicates an intriguing additional attempt in *Llyfr Coch Hergest* by the compiler or scribe; in addition to the example in the imperfect, the grammarian includes a definition of the optative, "as when one prays for a thing, as: *God, have mercy on me*." ("… pan wedier am beth, val y mae *Duw, trugarhaa wrthyf*.") This example, of course, is in the imperative, which is additionally noted by the compiler or copyist. Other mistaken inclusions worth noting are of the future tense (there was no separate set of inflections in Welsh, and they expressed the future by the simple present) and three voices (active, passive, and common, *cyffredin yryngthunt*, "common to both of them") although Welsh made use only of the active and the passive.

While this blind copying and these omissions may seem to show inattentive or rote grammarians, my argument, based on Matonis's assessment, is that they are simply heavily focused on the poetic goals of the grammar. I argue, as mentioned above, that the elements the grammarians focus on are those portions of the *ars grammatica* which will be of greatest use in the *ars metrica*. As I have already demonstrated, those elements happen to be ones which have a lot to do with building the sound of a poem. Thus, anything that does not speak to a poetic end goal is given short shrift. In the cases cited above, these points of grammar, such as usage of the optative mood or the future tense, simply have little place in the grander scheme of assessing the influence of language on poetry. This is not to say that poor grammar wouldn't damage an otherwise fine poem, but, whereas the *Prydlyfr* devotes much time to syllables and diphthongs in its instructions on building a poem, it devotes no time at all to proper grammatical usage of the

future tense.[31] The grammarians devote their considerable skill not to encyclopedic layout of the Welsh tenses, then, but to building, as I will demonstrate below, a full roster of *englynion* rhyming in different patterns of diphthongs and vowels. This is not, then, a matter of poor skillsets, but of very specific interests, in this case in poetry. In this sense the Welsh bardic grammar is similar to other European vernacular adaptations of the Classical grammars from Priscian and Donatus in that they are appropriating the Classical framework with specific goals in mind.[32]

In contrast to the treatment of the categories on the letters of the alphabet, the parts of speech, and the syntax and units of discourse outlined above, the section on syllables and diphthongs treats the topic with precision and accuracy, at considerable length, and organizes the material with encyclopedic detail. As has already been mentioned, this becomes significant in the treatment of poetry in the *Prydlyfr*. The grammar first defines a syllable, in a somewhat abbreviated fashion compared to Priscian, then provides examples of syllables from one to seven letters long, such as *gwnaeth*, for example. It then provides three different methods of classifying syllables: *lleddf* (inclining) or *talgron* (rounded), *trwm* (heavy) or *ysgafn* (light), *hir* (long) or *byr* (short). The organization of diphthongs follows a similar system which is derived directly from the organization of syllables: *talgron* (*aw*, *ew*, *iw*, *yw*, and *uw*), *lleddf* (*ae*, *oe*, *wy*, and *ei*), *wib,* "straying," (*oi* and *oy*). Unlike the rather odd delineations of parts of speech mentioned above, these forms of classification are both functional and useful in understanding poetry. Moreover,

[31] Perhaps this discrepancy is due to the fact that the poetic sense of sound must be cultivated even in one's own mother tongue, as a skill to be taught and learned, and would not have come intuitively.
[32] Deborah Hayden, "Language and Linguistics in Medieval Europe," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019) discusses a variety of European vernacular adaptations of Donatus and Priscian. Specifically the *Donatz proensals* by Uc Faidit (c. 1240) is discussed with more detail in Elizabeth Poe, *From Poetry to Prose in Old Provençal: The Emergence of the "Vidas," the "Razos," and the "Razos de trobar,"* (Summa Publications, 1984). Uc Faidit similarly attempts to fit the Provençal vernacular into Priscian's grammatical framework, leading to various grammatical inaccuracies.

this classification is entirely new to the Welsh grammar; Priscian's treatment of syllables does not use these categories and instead surveys examples of syllables ending in each of the letters of the alphabet, in alphabetical order.[33] The syllable categories will reappear in later sections in the *Prydlyfr* and syllables, so important to metre and to *cynghanedd*, will reappear throughout both this chapter and Chapter 4. Certainly it should be understood that in the composition of poetry, particularly syllabic poetry, it is important for the poet to understand what constitutes a single syllable.

As an illustration of that point, consider the following *cywydd* (couplet of seven-syllable lines), lines 5 and 6 from Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem "Yr Haf,"[34] a poem I will return to in greater depth in Chapter 4:

> A | lled|nais| wybr| e|hwy|braf,
> A | llaw|en| haul| a'i| lliw'n| haf,

I have here separated out the syllables so that the reader can readily see the importance of understanding that, for example, the word *wybr* in line 5 is a single syllable, and, likewise, that *ehwybraf* is three syllables, not four. By contrast, in line 7 of the same poem, "Ac| aw|yr |er|wyr| ar|af," *awyr* is two syllables. It is on account of such rules of syllable boundaries that Welsh syllabic poetry relies on the structure laid out in the grammar; whether or not it was composed with the bards in mind, it is small wonder that this structure was of use to later bards. Even in its own being, as it stands in the fourteenth century, the grammar reinforces the idea that it was

---

[33] Priscian, "Institutiones grammaticae" in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* vol. 2, (Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri: 1870), pp. 44-53.

[34] These titles, while they have become conventional, were developed in 1952 by Sir Thomas Parry when he collected *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*. That said, some are suggested by the manuscript sources, as is clear from, for example, the manuscript images attached to the "Marwnad Angharad" on dafyddapgwilym.net. There one can see the manuscript heading "marwnad angharad hael mam Rydderch ap ieuan Lloyd" preceding the text of the poem. As Dafydd Johnston further notes, the modern titles of Dafydd's poems come in a rather convoluted history; they were becoming common in the second half of the sixteenth century. Many were suggested by Ifor Williams and were retained by Parry. For further detail see Dafydd Johnston, "The Principles of the Edited Texts," at http://dafyddapgwilym.net/docs/The%20Principles%20of%20the%20Edited%20Texts.pdf.

composed with the idea of poetry in mind: implicit in its layout is the notion that the sound of each syllable is important in building up to a line of poetry, and, thus, to a *caniad* (roughly translated as “stanza”), and, further, a poem as a whole.

To sum up what I’ve derived from the *ars grammatica*, I argue that the grammarians who compiled the grammar revealed their priorities in how they interacted with the earlier Latin grammarians, such as Priscian. The priorities of the *ars grammatica* were not to provide a philological analysis of Welsh, but to set up the fundamentals for understanding Welsh metrics. The compilers trimmed sections which weren’t relevant to poetry, copied other areas slavishly, and amplified or simply rewrote sections which were of greater use to poets. Thus, while the sections on letters, parts of speech, and syntax are brief and of little practical use to a poet, the section on syllables and diphthongs is almost entirely new and geared towards use by poets and, presumably, instructors of poetry. It may be anachronistic to say that the Welsh grammarians therefore saw or presented Welsh as a language eminently fit for poetry, but the structure for that belief is there in the grammar, and perhaps, as over time the English worked to stamp out the Welsh language, this framework became a bulwark for the proof that the Welsh language is somehow inherently poetic. Whether or not that speculation is true, it is undoubtedly fair to say that the Welsh grammarians were treating the language with great respect; would they have put this level of effort into the grammar if they hadn’t seen Welsh as a language worthy of use in poetry—and doubtless in prose, as well? They clearly saw the language as literary, in any case, and were according it the seriousness they saw as its due.

This leads me back, temporarily, to the questions of authorship, authorial intent, and audience. I do not wish to linger here long; I believe that my point regarding the grammar and its intrinsic ties to poetry stands regardless of authorship or audience. That said, it is worth returning

to the question of whether this inherent interest in poetry therefore reveals a bardic authorship or audience. I do not believe that to be the case. I continue to be skeptical of links to a bardic school or bardic authority in any sense; if, indeed, Einion Offeiriad and Dafydd Ddu were authors of the grammar, as tradition presents it, there may be clerical links. Certainly, when I come to speak of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* I will note the links to Iolo Goch and his patron, Ithel Berson, both mentioned in the fragment. That being said, these are all tantalizing hints, not firm evidence, of associations either with bardic or clerical figures. What is known is that the *ars grammatica* I've analyzed above is written by an educated person from Wales, that the author knew and was familiar with the Latin tradition, which he appropriated and reworked from a literary, indeed, poetic perspective, and that it was later of use to Welsh poets. It is my contention that this person may well have belonged to the educated upper-middle classes of Wales and enjoyed a dual knowledge of Latin tradition and Welsh poetry from a written as well as auditory perspective.

Having established the contents of the *ars grammatica* and how it forms the building blocks which are used throughout the *ars metrica*, it is time to turn to the much heftier second half of the grammar. In this half, I argue that the *ars metrica*, the *Prydlyfr*, having been built on the foundations of the *ars grammatica* discussed above, is in a strong position to teach not only the individual metres at hand, but the entire basis of Welsh syllabic verse. Thus, not only does the *Prydlyfr* clearly outline how to write in the various metres of *englyn*, *awdl*, and *cywydd*, which form the three categories of verse in the *Prydlyfr*, but it also carefully displays how each metre is formed of the various building blocks of sound presented in the *ars grammatica*. In point of fact, this is not only clever, but, I posit, unavoidable: while Welsh metres do rely on stress and accent, they are fundamentally syllabic, based heavily on the number of syllables which appear per line,

and it is impossible to fully discuss each metre of the twenty-four at hand without discussing the syllables that make up the metre.

This section of the *ars grammatica* was already emphasized in the above pages; its importance to the *ars metrica* cannot be overstated. These syllables and diphthongs have been explored fully above, and their importance is only stressed by the rules of rhyme and internal rhyme which frequently occur in the *englynion* in particular. What this means for my purpose is that the natural emphasis on these points demonstrates that even when not explicitly referenced, sound, or *musique naturelle*, inevitably occurs in the grammar, and to a pretty lofty extent, at that. This interest in sound is reinforced by one of the terms used in the grammar to reference poetry, *cerdd dafod*. The term *cerdd* can be variously translated as "song, craft, poem," while *dafod* (*tafod*) means "tongue." Thus, the term emphasizes the auditory experience of poetry.[35]

One thing I'd like to indicate here is that the grammarians appear to have been men of obsessive and encyclopedic interests in Welsh poetry. Thus, the grammar is organized according to categories upon categories. It begins with three categories of metre: the *englyn*, *awdl*, and *cywydd*. Each of these will be described more fully in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, with accompanying examples, but for the purposes of this section I wish to reiterate that each of these metres is linked by complex rules of syllable count and rhyme. Within the *englyn* we find: *englyn unodl*, *englyn proest*, and *englyn o hen ganiad*. The first section of the category focuses on *englyn unodl*. These encompass a further three kinds of *englynion*: *englyn unodl union* (a four-lined rhyming stanza of ten, six, seven, and seven syllables respectively), *englyn crwca* (the same as the *unodl union*, but reversing the couplets: seven, seven, ten, and six syllables), and *englyn cyrch* (a four-line stanza where the first, second, and fourth lines rhyme with one another,

---

[35] See, for example, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* p. 6, ll. 33-4; p. 13, ll. 14-5.

and the third line rhymes with the middle of the fourth; the lines are of seven syllables). This is, as has been noted many times before, the work of a highly driven, even obsessive, grammarian who wishes to produce an encyclopedic work, perhaps of antiquarian interest, including even metres which were not in common use in the fourteenth century, and omitting certain features of contemporary poetics, including *cynghanedd*.

In order to prove the didactic use of the grammar I will pull forward some of the examples of the *englyn unodl union* and demonstrate how carefully it is described and how comprehensively it is recorded. Indeed, the grammarians provide no fewer than six examples of the *englyn unodl union* to demonstrate the differing effects of different forms of rhyme endings: a vowel, different forms of diphthongs, the combination of a vowel and consonant, and the combinations of diphthongs and consonants. The grammar opens this section by defining the rules of the form: "Eglyn unawdyl unyawn a vyd pan uo y geir hir yn gyntaf, a'r deueir vyrryon yn diwethaf," or "It is an *englyn unodl union* when the long word ("geir hir") is first and the *deuair fyrion* last."[36] This is to say, it's a monorhyming quatrain beginning with *toddaid byr* and ending with a *deuair* couplet. What is striking in this section is that the proliferation of examples produced here is highly unnecessary; the rules of the *englyn unodl union*, that is: four lines of ten, six, seven, and seven syllables respectively, rhyming throughout, remain the same throughout and the only matter which is exemplified is the wide range of sounds which can be used to pull each *englyn* together. I will provide two examples here to emphasize the sounds at play:

Over o iawnder vndawt,—hwyl anaw,

Haelyoni vedyssyawt

---

[36] *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, p. 6, ll. 43-5. All citations are from the Red Book of Hergest text unless I note otherwise.

Wrthyt, eil Arthur, yrthwawt

Kadwgawn, kadyr ffynnawn ffawt.[37]

And:

Kathleu eos nosy n oet—y kigleu,

Neu gofeu gofalhoet,

Koethlef, herwodef hiroet,

Kethlyd, kein awenyd koet.[38]

Note the repetition of both the diphthong /aw/ and of the consonant /k/. These aren't the only sounds at work in these examples, but I wish to emphasize that within the confines of the syllable count and rhyme structure, each of these examples, drawn from a variety of poets, uses widely different sounds to unify and tighten their structure.[39]

I also wish to point out that the syllables and diphthongs discussed in the *ars grammatica* come into play here in a number of ways: first, in terms of counting the syllables to make sure the *englyn* is constructed correctly. It is integral to the rhyme, for example, to understand that the diphthong /oe/ is one syllable and not two. Second, as mentioned above, the rhyme is all-important in these verses, and must be constructed properly. This demonstrates, I argue, that the grammarians are quite gratuitously pointing out all of the forms of syllables and diphthongs which are essential to poetry: note that this could have been mentioned quite concisely, but is

[37] Ibid, p. 7, ll. 28-31. I refrain from translating excerpts of poetry from *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* here and below, which I only cite to illustrate points of metrics and poetics.
[38] Ibid, ll. 34-7.
[39] It is thus possible to consider the grammar as miniature anthologies of Welsh verse, although that was surely not the primary intention in assembling it.

instead displayed in a show of every type of sound to hand: vowels alone, diphthongs, vowels and consonants in concert, diphthongs and consonants in concert. Each form of sound is tried out in turn. In its own right this seems an example of playing with sound, but when I look more closely at the two examples cited above, I see more than just the rhymes the grammar asks the reader to consider. Indeed, in the second example there is alliteration and *cymeriad* (a method of linking verses by repeating a sound at the beginning of each line) at play, and in the first example some pretty extensive use of assonance links the verse. Further, in the line cited above: "Koethl*ef*, **h**e**r**wod*ef* **h**i**r**oet" one can see a fine example of *cynghanedd sain*, as marked here in italics and bolding.[40] To me, this suggests that the grammarians are consciously demonstrating the forms of *musique naturelle* available to Welsh poets. That said, it is important to note that the elements I have drawn forth are not called out by the grammarians themselves; these forms of poetics remain implicit, not explicit in the text.

As for the remainder of the *Prydlyfr*, the sections on the *awdl* and *cywydd* forms of verse (both of which are formed of longer *caniadau*, or stanzas, often with complex rhyme schemes holding them together) follow the same model. They are introduced with similar definitions, similarly broken down into categories of metres, and each individual metre is exemplified through a fragment of verse. Naturally, as the verse is syllabic, the same richness of syllables and diphthongs is essential to understanding the function of each form of poetry, and this is apparent through their examples. Not only out of a desire for completeness, but also impelled by a wish to prepare for the forms of verse I will be analyzing later in this dissertation, I will provide an example of each of the following: the *toddaid*, measured in lines of nineteen syllables, and the *cywydd* measure regularly used by Dafydd ap Gwilym, the *cywydd deuair hirion*. The grammar's

---

[40] For more details on how *cynghanedd sain* functions, see Chapter 4 below.

example of the *toddaid* follows. Note that it is formed of nineteen syllables divided into lines of ten and nine; the main rhyme occurs before the end of the first line, while the end of the first line rhymes with the middle of the second line. In this example, the *–at* carries the main rhyme (*prifodl*) while the other rhymes marked in green and orange are secondary:

*Nyt digeryd Duw, neut digar**at**—kerd,*

*Neut llei gwyrdd y vyrd o veird yn r**at**;*

*Neut lliaws vrwyn kwyn kanwl**at**—yg kystud,*

*O'th attal, Ruffud, waewrud rody**at**.*[41]

As for the *cywydd deuair hirion,* the example presented in the grammar is as follows:

Breichffyryf, archgrwn, byrr y vlew,

Llyfyn, llyatrwth, pedreindew.[42]

To fully appreciate the *cywydd deuair hirion*, a longer example is essential, and, indeed, Chapter 4 will largely be spent analyzing full *cywyddau*, but note here the seven syllable rhyming lines (here, *–ew* carries the rhyme); note further that the rhyme is between a monosyllable, which is stressed, and the last syllable of a multisyllabic word, which is unstressed. It is worth indicating at this juncture that stressing the penultimate syllable of the word is the norm in Welsh.

I wish to take a moment to emphasize that the brief sound analysis I have performed on the *englynion*, *toddaid*, and *cywydd deuair hirion* is both incomplete and entirely my own. The grammar itself says nothing about sound save for a few lines in between the discussion of the

---

[41] *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, p. 9, ll. 33-6.
[42] Ibid, p. 12, ll. 29-30.

twenty-four metres and the outline of the poetic faults (*beiau*) which follows. Those brief lines say only, "Mywn tri lle ar gerd y gellir beiaw, nyt amgen, yn y kymeradeu, a'r kynghaned, a'r odleu, a chyt a hynny […]. Y kymeradeu a uydant mywn dechreu y geirev a'r pennilleu, a'r kynghaned yn y kanawl, a'r odleu yn y ydiwed."[43] That is to say, "There may be errors in three places in a poem, namely, in the *cymeriadau*, and the *cynghanedd*, and the rhymes […]. The *cymeriadau* are in the beginning of the word and the lines, and the *cynghanedd* in the middle, and the rhymes in the end." The grammarians do not explicitly indicate the rhymes in the lines which I cited above, nor do they define the rules of *cymeriad*, nor *cynghanedd*; and yet, rhymes, *cymeriad*, and *cynghaned* are all present in the examples the grammarians present, and I highlighted examples of all three in the extracts I drew from them.

However, after this somewhat limited and puzzling allusion to sounds in the poetry, the grammar next turns to a discussion of poetic faults, or *beiau*. The *beiau* are a list of faults of prosody: what must be avoided to create a correct poem in Welsh. These are not, generally, matters of taste, nor do the grammarians suggest any means of creating a good poem apart from a correct poem; the *Einion* and *Dafydd Ddu Grammars* are strictly about creating a poem according to the rules. That said, there are times when the grammarians allow a fault to be utilized under certain circumstances, and I will point these out as they arise. This attitude, as I will explain below, develops further with the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* fragment, but in the *Einion* and *Dafydd Ddu Grammars* there is a certain staunchness to the rules which precludes frequent deviations according to taste.

The *beiau* presented in both recensions of the grammar cover several types of faults: grammatical or syntactical, prosodic, and stylistic. These are not categories explicitly defined by

[43] Ibid, p. 13, ll. 15-9.

the grammar, nor are these strict categories; I present them merely for convenience in understanding the range of issues the grammar concerns itself with. Thus, for example, the *beiau* begin with agreement errors: not to combine the single and the many ("unic a lluossawc") offering as example the word "ugeinwr" instead of "ugeinwyr" (twenty men). "Ugeinwr" combines *ugain* "twenty" with (g)*wr* "man," rather than (g)*wyr* "men."[44]

Stylistic matters are also covered under the *beiau*, such as, for example, repetition of a word throughout an *englyn*. This injunction against repetition, however, is lightened by the immediate account of circumstances under which repetition is acceptable: for example, if overwhelming love excuses it. Examples are provided for circumstances under which repetition is acceptable due to *hytgyllaeth* (grief) or *ysmalhawch karyat* (overwhelming love), but not for cases in which it is unacceptable.

Apart from matters of grammar and agreement, there are also *beiau* regarding rhyme, such as "*trwm ac ysgawn*," or "heavy and light," which is rhyming between a short and a long syllable, for example: between *tân* (*ysgawn*, short) and *llan* (*trwm*, long).[45] Nor is this the only example of rhyming faults given by the grammar. "Bei ar gerd yw lledyf a thalgrwm," where "lledyf a thalgrwm" means "falling and rising diphthongs," such as rhyming between /ŵy/ and /wy/. Likewise, there are cautions against rhyming between *proest* and *unawdyl* rhymes; I will elucidate these forms at greater length in Chapter 4, but suffice it to say for the present that these are different forms of rhymes which are present in different forms of *englynion* defined in the *prydlyfr*.

---

[44] Ibid, p. 13, ll. 21-2.

[45] J. Morris Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925), at p. 232.

I wish to draw attention to two further types of *beiau*: faults related to form, and faults related to style or content. These two elements are not as distinct from one another as it might appear at first blush. The *beiau* related to the poetic form are all presented as being faults related to the *englyn* form, and yet these faults would apply equally to a *cywydd* or *awdl*. For example, the grammar states that, "Bei ar englyn yw bot molyant a gogan y gyt yndaw, mal pei dywettit *gwreic dec, dissemyl, aniweir*," "It is a fault in the englyn that there be praise and satire together in it, such as when it is said, *a woman fair, noble, unchaste.*"[46] This is a fascinating rule in that it appears to be a fault of style or taste, and yet it is presented as a rule of poetry alongside rules regarding grammar, syntax, and rhyme. Thus, the *beiau* cover considerable ground, and consider matters of taste and style as well as rules for form. And yet, even the faults of style seem to me to come back to what is *correct* as opposed to what is in *good taste*.

To sum up, many of the *beiau* fall into distinct categories, such as grammatical faults, faults of prosody, and faults of style. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, I wish to draw attention to one particular aspect common to many of the *beiau* I've outlined; a large number of the *beiau* have to do with rhyme or other forms of sound poetics. Permitted rhymes form a very large contingent of the *beiau*; thus, no rhymes are permitted between rising and falling diphthongs, or between long and short vowels. Of great interest to me is that there are no faults related to the patternings of consonants, despite, as will be evident in Chapter 4, their intense role in the rules of *cynghanedd*, which has a very high impact on the sound patternings of the poetry I will be examining in Chapter 4. That being said, the impact of the *beiau* is much the same as the rules laid out in the rest of the grammar; that is to say, while there is no overt reference to sound as an important building block of poetry in Welsh, the implicit allusions to

---

[46] *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, p. 14, ll. 17-8.

sound crop up throughout the *beiau*, and their significance to Welsh poetry is clear: it is impossible to write about it, or record its rules, without at least dealing with the question of sound.

What I have shown in the readings of the *Prydlyfr* and the *beiau* is, first, how much they rest on the information provided in the *ars grammatica*. Second, I have demonstrated how useful they must have proven to bards of the fourteenth century and beyond. One point of evidence that these were useful texts must be that they were never static; there is no one grand line of Welsh bardic grammar, rather, as mentioned above, these were constantly revisited and edited texts with a living, breathing existence. The next portion of this chapter will explore the editorial tradition of the bardic grammar through a comparison of the *Einion Offeiriad* and *Dafydd Ddu Grammars*.

Up until now, this chapter has treated "the grammar" as a single unit with a single text for the sake of simplicity and in order to provide a clear overview of the contents of the grammar and its influence in the realm of how poetry was understood in fourteenth-century Wales. It is now necessary to introduce the differences between the two recensions of the grammar. The grammatical tradition in Wales was not singular; as I have mentioned, the manuscript tradition is complex and contains two streams of texts, those attributed to Einion Offeiriad and those attributed to Dafydd Ddu. At this juncture, I wish to complicate the story further by indicating that, given the nature of the manuscript evidence, it is difficult to establish a clearly linear story in which, for example, one might claim that while Einion was first, a young Dafydd Ddu came along and edited his text, and both were copied over the course of time. The fact is that the evidence for such a clear story does not exist. The history is messy, and it makes sense that the extant manuscripts show it to be so.

I have already cited R. Geraint Gruffydd's "Wales's Second Grammarian" as the best account of a more linear story in which Dafydd Ddu is understood to succeed Einion Offeiriad and produce a highly edited second version of Einion's grammar. While I have certain qualms about viewing the texts in such a linear progression, Gruffydd's work remains highly valuable in teasing out the differences between manuscript versions, and I have used it heavily in this section to demonstrate the messy history of these recensions.

First and foremost, Gruffydd notes a distinction which takes place not in the metrical section, but in the section on figures of speech which, as noted above, appears at the end of the fourth section of the *ars grammatica*, the section on syntax and units of discourse. It acts as a bridge between the *ars grammatica* and the *ars metrica*. Both the *Einion* and *Dafydd Ddu Grammars* discuss the figure called *ymoralw*, which the two recensions note excuses the fault *gwydd ac absen* ("presence and absence," or, to define it more clearly, a solecism such as lack of agreement between subject and verb).[47] The difference between the recensions comes in the definition of *gwydd ac absen*. The *Einion Offeiriad Grammar* restricts itself to defining it as an agreement error between subject and finite verb, but *Dafydd Ddu* amplifies the text by adding a second part to the definition, a category "in which two different tenses of the verb occur in the same sentence."[48]

Now, the next question may be whether this type of amplification is particularly common in the *Dafydd Ddu* text, and, if so, does it show any particular kind of pattern? The answer, unfortunately, is that the *Dafydd Ddu* text adheres rather firmly to the *Einion* text and this type of amplification doesn't occur often. For example, in the list of *beiau*, or metrical faults, there are

---

[47] Gruffydd, p. 15.
[48] Ibid, p. 46, ll.1-2.

very few discrepancies between the two texts. *Gwydd ac absen*, which appeared above in the context of the *ymoralw*, makes an appearance again in both texts[49], but without any form of amplification at all in the *Dafydd Ddu* version. In fact, it is interesting to note that in this instance, it is the *Einion Offeiriad* which has the fuller definition, including the use of two different tenses in the same sentence, illustrated by an example. *Dafydd Ddu*, by contrast, renders the definition far more concisely, merely referring the reader to his description above, which is, indeed, a very sensible editorial measure.

There are very few other instances of substantial additions or amplifications of this sort in the *Dafydd Ddu* recension of the grammar. Another brief insertion, also noted by Gruffydd, nearly exhausts the store of comments in the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar*: following the description of the *englyn cyrch* metre the grammarian writes: "A'r modd hwnnw ar englyn ni pherthyn ar brydydd ei ganu namyn ar deuluwr diwlaidd, rhag ei hawsed a'i fyrred." In translation: "And it is not appropriate for a master-poet to compose that kind of *englyn* but only for a cultivated apprentice-poet, because it is so easy and short."[50] We might pause to note here that this is, in itself, an interesting comment; it shows a great reliance on a hierarchy of poetic ranks and particularly on what is appropriate to each class of poet.

This interest in poetic rank pops up again in the only other substantial addition in the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar*. It appears at the very end of the grammar, right before the triads, and is a rather lengthy paragraph outlining what is appropriate to each class of poet; it is, in fact, in a very similar vein to the brief comment on the *englyn cyrch* noted above, but at greater length. This paragraph does not appear in the Red Book of Hergest text of the *Einion Offeiriad*

[49] Ibid, Einion Offeiriad: p. 13, ll. 25-30; Dafydd Ddu: p. 53, ll. 28-29
[50] Gruffydd, p. 16

Grammar, but it does appear in the Llanstephan 3 version. Therefore I find myself once again returning to the problem of the scrambled manuscript history. The paragraph does appear in some *Einion Offeiriad* manuscripts, but not in all of them, and not always in the same form. It's impossible to say for certain what the course of history is in this case; one might argue that the paragraph does originate with Einion, and its inclusion in Peniarth 20 in full form simply affirms that this is a topic of interest to Dafydd Ddu. This is mere speculation, however, and I would posit that this paragraph is simply further evidence of the tangled history of these manuscripts, and, therefore of the ongoing evolution of the bardic grammar.

Thus I have outlined a noticeable but rather confined set of additions or amplifications in the *Dafydd Ddu Grammars*. In what other ways do the *Dafydd Ddu* texts leave their mark on the grammatical tradition, and what does it all amount to? I would argue that the contribution to the rest of the grammar is, as I have said above, an editorial one: the *Dafydd Ddu* texts rearrange material to suit the compiler(s) and occasionally tinker with the wording or examples, but do not substantially alter the existing text. Thus, while almost all of the *Einion Grammar* text remains fairly intact, there can be a lot of jumping around to locate the pieces you might expect. For example, in the section on *englynion*, the *englyn proest* is moved up considerably earlier than might have been expected[51] while the *englyn o'r hen ganiad* is moved much later.[52] At the same time, the examples for the different styles of *englyn unodl* are substantially different, and even somewhat reduced. The various classes of *englyn unodl* may serve as an example: three consecutive classes of this form of *englyn* (p. 47, ll. 3-6, 10-13, and 16-19) are all given different

[51] You can find it on p. 47, ll. 20 and onwards
[52] Ibid 49, ll. 21-31.

examples than in the *Einion Offeiriad* version. They all appear to function perfectly as examples, and I cannot tell what impetus there was to change them, but they are indeed altered.[53]

For example, note the example in the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar* here below:

"Pan teruyno yr englyn yn y kytseinanyeit, yna gweitheu y teruyna yn vn vogal a chonsonans, val y mae yr englyn hwnn:

Llawnlwys lys Rys, Ros genniret—kat,
Kedernyt Edelffet,
Llyw diuei, llywyawdyr Dyyet,
Llafyn gynniweir, kreir cret.[54]"

The prose text reads: "When the englyn ends in the consonant, then sometimes it ends in a vowel and consonant, as does this englyn." Here, by way of contrast, is the example from the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar*:

"Pan deruyno yr ynglynn vnawdyl yn y kytseinannyeit, yna gweithyeu y teruyna yn vn vogal a chonsonans, val y mae hwnn:

Prit yw dy dilit, deuliw ewyn—gloyw,
Arglwydes vro Gynuyn,
Keryd a dyuyd y dyn,
Kur with dolur o'th dylyn. Bledyn Llwyt a'y kant."[55]

Once again, the prose reads: "When the *englyn unodl* ends in the consonant, then sometimes it ends in a vowel and consonant, as does this."

[53] It is possible that the author of the second recension wanted to clarify the point by using a simple vowel rather than a diphthong, as in *cwyn*. But this is speculation; it is not explicit in the author's edits.
[54] GP; P. 7, ll. 19-24.
[55] *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*; p. 47 ll. 1-6.

Further examples of the *Dafydd Ddu* compiler's editorial touch involve providing additional poetry by way of examples. One of the more complete examples appears in the section on *beiau*, or poetic faults, in an explanation of the rule that a proper rhyme is between an accented and unaccented syllable. In practical terms, that means that in Welsh a rhyme should be between a multisyllabic and a monosyllabic word. In the *Einion Grammar* this is explained clearly enough and an example of an inappropriate rhyme is provided, but in the *Dafydd Ddu* version this description is slightly more diffuse: it switches out the *Einion* example for a different example highlighting a rhyme between two monosyllabic words, and also includes a separate example to illustrate the proper rhyming between a multisyllabic word and a monosyllabic word.[56] I present this example here because it highlights a number of the *Dafydd Ddu* tendencies in the revisions of the grammar: a) it slightly revises the description, not to add new information, but to render it a bit more clearly; b) it switches out one of the *Einion* examples for its own choice; c) it adds a new example to illustrate another aspect of the grammar.

I'd like to end the description of the *Dafydd Ddu* alterations to the *ars metrica* section with a few words on how the compiler alters and amplifies the final section before the triads: the description of how everything is to be praised. According to Gruffydd this section is "much more elaborate in Dafydd Ddu's version than it is in Einion Offeiriad's" and contains "twenty categories of people worthy of praise compared to Einion's eight."[57] Note that Gruffydd was working from the Llanstephan 3 text of the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar*, whereas the Red Book's section of "how each thing is to be praised" in the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar* is somewhat longer. Whichever version is consulted, however, it is clear that the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* does

---

[56] Ibid, p. 54, ll. 14-27.
[57] Gruffydd, p. 17.

expand this section considerably, and, as Gruffydd also notes, the *Dafydd Ddu* explanation of how the *athro* is to be praised shows an "awareness of the university curriculum of the day," as opposed to the *Einion* definition of *athro* as one of the lower clergy. While this has little to do with the metrical workings of poetry, it is an important aspect of the Welsh poetic tradition, particularly given that the grammar stresses the importance of praise-poetry as being the role of the *prydydd*, the master-poet.

Before leaving this comparison of the Einion Offeiriad and Dafydd Ddu grammars, I should point out what it has to offer. In some cases, I have indicated that the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* editorializes considerably and makes good, clear editorial choices. In others, which may appear more perplexing to the modern reader, the switching out of examples appears obscure. That being said, even if I cannot comment on what the choice is intended to convey, I strongly believe that it shows thought about poetry; that the grammarian or redactor cares about poetry, has preferences (perhaps only of personal taste), and has ideas about what best exemplifies a given form. Overall, however, it complicates the story of the grammar, makes it less linear, and teaches us that the grammarians were thinking about poetry and about what poetry means.

One consequence of casting doubt on the linear progression from the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar* to the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* is that it is more complicated to characterize these alterations as the work of one scholar approaching another scholar's text; now it must be understood differently. My argument is that these edits, which seem to have gone back and forth rather than simply following a smooth trajectory from one scholar to the next, may be the work not of one cleric revising another's work, but of a more complex cultural event: there was sufficient interest in this grammar in fourteenth-century Wales to produce multiple texts, each

one slightly different as different copyists or compilers took it upon themselves to make edits to the text at hand. What could be more exciting than to know that there were sufficiently interested readers and writers to contribute to this tangled tale of the Welsh bardic grammar? I would argue that this story, one which, to my mind, fits the somewhat messy manuscript history, tells a stronger story of the fourteenth century in Wales: that there was interest in this text, and that there was a variety of opinions converging around them regarding a growing literary theory.

This view is strongly supported by the recent discovery of the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* manuscript, which provides more evidence of widespread interest and innovation in the grammatical tradition. *Gramadeg Gwysanau* was first brought to light in Ann Parry Owen's article, *Gramadeg Gwysanau (Archifdy Sir y Fflint, D/GW 2082)* published in *Llên Cymru* in 2010.[58] I will begin with a discussion of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* itself. To sum it up in a sentence, *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is a fragment of a late-fourteenth-century bardic grammar from north-eastern Wales which shows marked differences from the other extant early recensions of the grammar, discussed above. It unfortunately is only a very small fragment of what appears to have been a particularly interesting text. I should note here that the only study of this manuscript thus far comes from Ann Parry Owen's article, thus the entire description I will now provide is heavily indebted to her work. It may be helpful to start with a general impression of the manuscript: it seems that it would have been a fairly utilitarian object without any ornamentation or graceful touches, probably a working copy, perhaps to be copied later, written by a clever and experienced scribe.[59]

---

[58] Ann Parry Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau (Archifdy Sir y Fflint, D/GW 2082)," *Llên Cymru* 33(2010), 1-31. A later book chapter, "Gramadeg Gwysanau: A fragment of a fourteenth-century Welsh bardic grammar," pp. 181-200, in *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular grammar and grammarians in medieval Ireland and Wales* Ed. By Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell, further elucidates her views.
[59] Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau," p. 183.

A physical description will be useful. I have appended photographs of the fragment in Appendix B. The fragment is one piece of parchment in a single bifolium, thus leaving only four pages of text, or 93 lines, all in somewhat broken condition. It was written in anglicana script, probably in the late fourteenth century in the north-east of Wales, likely by a layman rather than a specialist.[60] This makes it one of only two Welsh manuscripts in anglicana before 1400, the other being Peniarth 164; as the two manuscripts are very similar in some respects, Owen toys with the suggestion that they were possibly even written by the same scribe, but notes that both she and Daniel Huws, the foremost expert on Welsh palaeography, consider it too much of a coincidence to be certain.[61] Certain portions even of these pages have been lost altogether: the bottom corner on the right of folio 1r, meaning likewise the left-hand corner of 1v, were chewed away, probably by mice, and therefore several lines of text are disrupted by these rodents. As only this folio was harmed, Owen believes that the bifolium was lying open, perhaps among other documents, at the time the damage was done. The parchment itself is in poor condition. The hair side of the parchment still has visible stubble of black hair where it was poorly prepared, and the ink did not adhere well to that side.

Owen notes that a later hand (c. 1500) traced over the original writing in dark ink, especially the first half of folio 1r. Since the later hand was very faithful to the original hand, it causes some editorial trouble, but it does occasionally betray itself around, for example, the letter *g*. It also seems that it's this later hand which is responsible for some inconsistencies and errors of orthography which appear in the first half of folio 1r. Given the consistency of the orthography and script, it seems likely that the scribe was experienced, but it also seems that he

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid, 183-4.

was somewhat messy in his habits: he drew borders freehand, without use of a ruler, for example. This habit, in addition to the free use of notes and observations in the empty spaces suggests that this was a copy for the scribe's own use. That said, there are signs that the manuscript was meant to be copied into a finer manuscript later: there are words underlined, probably to be rubricated in the final copy, and Owen thinks it likely that the final copy would be in a book hand, not the documentary script of this fragment.[62]

In order to better understand what we mean when we call the manuscript a utilitarian object, it's important to remember what textura and anglicana are, and what it means in Wales when anglicana is chosen over textura. According to Daniel Huws, "By the time of the making of our earliest vernacular Welsh books, continental methods and fashions of book-production were prevalent. […] The script of all our thirteenth-century books is textura ('text hand', 'book hand'), the standard contemporary high-status script of western Europe, varying only in grade and quality of execution."[63] Thus, textura, the heavy, Gothic script of, for example, the Black Book of Carmarthen, is the standard script in for the greatest portion of medieval Welsh manuscript history, including the early *Einion* and *Dafydd Ddu Grammars*.[64] Anglicana, the cursive script which was in common use in England in the thirteenth century, was only, according to Daniel Huws, used in Wales for business and administrative documents before 1400. Apart from occasional additions to existing manuscripts, as in the Hendregadredd Manuscript, "anglicana cannot be said to have gained recognition as a script worthy of literature until after 1400."[65]

---

[62] Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau," *Llên Cymru*, pp. 1-2.
[63] Daniel Huws, "Welsh Vernacular Books, 1250-1400," *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, University of Wales Press, 2002, pp. 36-56, at p. 43
[64] The manuscripts I have referred to above are primarily the Red Book of Hergest and Peniarth 20.
[65] Daniel Huws, "Medieval Manuscript in Wales," *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, pp. 1-23, at pp. 17-18.

Thus, *Gramadeg Gwysanau* was written in a cursive script, anglicana, which wasn't commonly used for literary works or formal books before 1400 in Wales. It was written by an experienced scribe, although he was somewhat reckless with his work on this manuscript. The parchment was poorly prepared and in somewhat shabby condition, recalling the black stubble on the hair side. Evidently this wasn't meant as a manuscript intended to endure to be studied in the twenty-first century, more's the pity; such a working manuscript has at least as much to tell us as such a finely preserved manuscript as the Red Book, mentioned above. It seems more likely, as Owen notes, that the manuscript was meant to be copied into a finer final copy; whether this was done, of course, can't be known, but this was likely a private copy. Possibly it was also for the scribe's own reading pleasure, or possibly it was meant only to be used as a working copy, but it wasn't likely a final piece of work for a noble family.

While the surviving text of the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* differs in many respects from the text of the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar*, Owen posits that there are strong reasons to believe that the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* was of similar background: a learned man with strong interests in Welsh poetry, but not himself a bard. His experienced documentary hand demonstrates that he was either a churchman or held an administrative position, likely both in his training and in his ultimate profession. While he would have used Latin on a daily basis, his experience with written Welsh is completely evident. Owen suggests a number of areas in the north-east which were strong in learning: the scriptorium of Valle Crucis, and the cathedral at Llanelwy (St. Asaph's). Owen also cites several scholars who may have been connected to the manuscript, including Ithel ap Robert, archdeacon of St. Asaph's and patron of the eminent poet, Iolo Goch.

As mentioned above, one of the most tantalizing aspects of the fragment is that it provides a much earlier example of a fairly comprehensive rewriting of the Welsh grammar than had previously been known. It shows that in the years after the early dialogue of *Gramadeg Einion Offeiriad* and *Gramadeg Dafydd Ddu* and before the advent of *Gramadeg Gutun Owain*, there is at least one other thoughtful and invested grammarian at work: a grammarian who was not a poet, yes, but who was also conversant with the traditions of Welsh poetry, and, indeed, conversant with Welsh bards. The material nature of this fragment shows that there was a level of personal interest involved: it was a manuscript for personal use, after all, not a finished object for display in another's home. Thus, this is a manuscript fragment which can tell a story about participating in a discourse regarding language and poetry of the fourteenth century in Wales, and it is notable that poets, as well as non-poets, seem to be participating in this discourse.

As I mentioned already, one problem with *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is that, being a fragment, there is no overall map of the grammar. Unlike with *Einion Offeiriad* and *Dafydd Ddu*, it is impossible to look to Priscian or Donatus for an analogous text, nor is there a clear trend overall from *ars grammatica* to *ars metrica*. There is likewise an insufficient mass of text to see an internal logic to the trajectory of the text: what we're coming from and where we're going. That said, there is some familiar territory: a) praise poetry and how it ought to be constructed; b) faults and how to avoid them; c) the importance of correct orthography and basic technical elements to smoothly working poetry. Here, I intend to lay out the familiar points and then proceed to delineate the newer ground.

The very first portion of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* begins with a poem in praise of Ithel Berson as a lord who gives satisfaction, an ecclesiastical chief, hospitable host, and leader of scholars. No principles of how to construct praise poetry are laid out, and it isn't even clear

whether this sample of praise poetry is truly intended as a lesson in how effective praise poetry is written or whether the text simply moved into praising Ithel Berson, but it is striking how it is framed: "… kanys ef y syd kydernit y llygion ac advwynndra yr ysgolheicyon. Tysst yrr chwedyl yw yr englyn a gant ef:"; "… because he is the strength of the laymen and the gentleness of the clerics. The *englyn* which he[66] sang is testimony to the story:" and then following the *englyn*, "A llyna englyn," "And this is the *englyn*."[67] It seems that there is some lesson being taught by this example, although I am not clear on what the intended message would have been; perhaps to demonstrate how to convey in *englyn* form the qualities which one appreciates, but it must remain unclear.

The *englyn* in question is followed by a brief remark that "Pe arall a ganei yr englyn hwnn, ef a veit arnaw am adu y gair kyrch ar diwed y kwpyl ol o'r englyn," "if anyone else were to sing this *englyn*, he would be blamed for leaving the *gair cyrch* at the end of the last line of the *englyn*." While it does have other meanings, in this context *gair cyrch* is an old name for *cynghanedd lusg*, or "trailing *cynghanedd*," a technique which will be explored further in Chapter 4. For here, suffice it to say that according to the rules of Welsh prosody it ought not to appear in the last line of an *englyn*. Here below I have marked the *gair cyrch* in italics:

> Dreul hyglyw o Vynyw Von;
> Dreic dros *eic* ysgolh*eig*ion.[68]

This, once again, returns to familiar territory. As seen above, both the *Einion* and *Dafydd Ddu* recensions found it important to list metrical and poetic faults at considerable length, and, in fact, *Gramadeg Gwysanau* goes on to acknowledge this: "Wedi Dauyd Athrro y gweles prydydyon

[66] Who was singing it is not known.
[67] All English translations of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* are Ann Parry Owen's.
[68] Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau," p. 196, ll. 6-7.

eraill beiev ar gerd dauawt a dylir y gochel. Amsserev amgen a chymeryadeu desstlussach y [ ] ny chymwyllad Dauyd Du na Chneppyn o Werthynyon amdanunt."; "After Dafydd Athro, other poets saw faults that should be avoided in poetry. Neither Dafydd Ddu nor Cnepyn of Gwerthynion[69] mentioned the conflicts of tenses and how to create finer *cymeriadau*." The difference, once again, is in precision: the fault recognized by the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* doesn't come from a list or a category, but seems to have arisen incidentally, from the example offered. The author then continues on to a more general point about how faults have been discussed in prior works, and this discussion will lead him to a broader discussion of how to declaim a poem properly. Thus, while the earlier recensions of the grammar take a more encyclopedic approach to the *beiau*, or faults, the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* takes a general approach with the ultimate goal of heading towards a different, more philosophical discussion of how a poem ought to be constructed properly.

I wish to draw attention to the use of the term *cerdd dafod*, which appears in both the *Einion Offeiriad Grammar* and the *Dafydd Ddu Grammar* and was discussed earlier. Once more its use in *Gramadeg Gwysanau* indicates an attunement to the auditory experience of poetry. It was evidently a term in currency among grammarians as it is used in all three versions of the grammars explored here.

The final point of similarity I want to examine is orthography, which arises later in the fragment: "Llyma bellach mal y dylyir ysgriuennv kerd dauawt o orgraff da, a ffob geir ar wahan, hagen, kany ellit dyall y gerd pes ysgriuennit yn vngwys oll mal hynn yma," "Now this is how you should write poetry with good orthography, with each word also written separately,

[69] Cnepyn of Gwerthynion was reputed to be a poet and grammarian of the thirteenth century, although none of his works has survived. For further details, see Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau," p. 186.

because it would not be possible to understand the poem if it were written in one furrow [i.e. as one word] like this" which is followed by the example of an *englyn* written without spaces between words, which is unusual for the time. Orthography itself isn't a concern to the early grammarians, but the various building blocks which go to make good orthography (letters, diphthongs, words, and parts of speech) all make up the entire first part of their recensions of the grammar, as I have shown above. Thus, I feel strongly that these early grammarians would have approved some discussion of correct orthography in a revised grammar.

These three aspects mark the points of resemblance between what we have of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* and the original grammar. I wish now to turn to discussing in which ways they diverge. In particular, I am interested to identify a drive or a motive which resonates throughout *Gramadeg Gwysanau* and can explain the differences from the original grammar in how it is constructed. I will first outline the drive for the early grammarians in writing the grammar: to build up the Welsh language from letters to poetry, thus demonstrating the very fundamental building blocks of putting together a correct poem. I believe that *Gramadeg Gwysanau* functions differently, and I can define that difference in looking at the divergences from the original grammar.

I want to start here by giving some more general notes about the feeling and atmosphere of the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* fragment in comparison with the *Einion* and *Dafydd Ddu Grammars*. I will show that whereas the original grammar is rather formulaic in tone, rigorous and didactic, *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is comparatively passionate, warm, and philosophical: consider, for example, the exhortation to the reader above, "Llyma bellach mal y dylyir ysgriuennv kerd dauawt o orgraff da[…]," or "Now further, this is how poetry ought to be

written with good orthography[…].”[70] This exhortation draws the reader into the text, bringing audience and author together in their love for poetry. Both the original grammar and *Gramadeg Gwysanau* certainly convey the impression that the authors were passionate about poetry, but while the original grammar gives that feeling through thoroughness and rigour, *Gramadeg Gwysanau*’s more diffuse and rhetorically elaborate style conveys passion in almost every line.

I will now demonstrate how this different atmosphere emerges by giving a more in-depth look into the overall sweep of the text as we have it and investigation into some of the truly remarkable and original aspects which arise in this fragment. As I have already demonstrated, the fragment begins with a praise *englyn* to one Ithel Berson, and moves on to a more general discussion of metrical faults. The author then singles out Iolo Goch as one poet who steers clear of faults and write his poem correctly. And this leads us to what I might call the heart of the fragment: “Am hynny ni a dywedwn bellach pa delw y dylit datkanu”; “Therefore we shall now discuss how to declaim [a poem].” In this section, the author addresses multiple elements of how to build a poem correctly: first he needs a good idea, then there’s putting it together correctly, and finally there’s declaiming the poem effectively. This section occupies the greater part of the fragment, and is also, both in material and construction, the most elaborate and original section; there is no comparable section in the texts I analyzed above.

It’s time to examine the text a little more closely:

“Kyntaf peth a dyly prydyd da: gwneuthur y gerd yn divei a medylyaw dychymic da diarfford. Megys y dyly y penssaer kyn dechrev edeilat y ty keissiaw y defnydyev y’r maes oll, a

[70] In Ann Parry Owen’s translation, cited above, this reads, “Now this is how you should write poetry with good orthography.”

bwrw messur y ty a gwneuthur y grwndwal y'r ty yn lle sauo yn gadarn. Odyna y kyppleu a'r breichiev a'r tulathev6 a'r trostyev."

"The first thing that a good poet should do: fashion his poem faultlessly and think of a good and unusual idea. In the same way as the master-builder, before he starts to build the house, goes out to find all his source materials, then measures out the house and lays firm foundations for the house where it is meant to stand. After that [comes] the crucks, the beams, the purlins and the rafters."

While this comparison between raising a house and building a poem is strikingly new among the Welsh grammatical texts, it appears elsewhere in the European tradition, and, notably for the purposes of this dissertation, occupies a significant place in Geoffrey de Vinsauf's widely-read work, *Poetria nova*. Geoffrey de Vinsauf will be discussed at considerably more length in the next chapter, but for now I should note that he was a thirteenth-century rhetorician and that his *Poetria nova* was written c. 1220 in Latin hexameters. Towards the beginning it reads:

> "Si quis habet fundare domum, non currit ad actum
> Impetuosa manus : intrinseca linea cordis
> Praemetitur opus, seriemque sub ordine certo
> Interior praescribit homo, totamque figurat
> Ante manus cordis quam corporis; et status ejus
> Est prius archetypus quam sensilis."[71]

"If a man has a house to build, his impetuous hand does not rush into action. The measuring line of his mind first lays out the work, and he mentally outlines the successive steps

[71] Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ll. 43-8, in Ernest Gallo, *The* Poetria nova *and its sources in early rhetorical doctrine*, Mouton: The Hague, 1971, p. 16.

in a definite order. The mind's hand shapes the entire house before the body's hand builds it. Its mode of being is archetypal before it is actual.")[72]

Geoffrey de Vinsauf's text is remarkable in that it uses the example of constructing a house to urge the reader to understand the slow and deliberate process which goes into constructing a poem, and the preparation and caution which is required. The author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* uses the same material but takes the example farther, likening the choice of metre to laying the foundations. He goes on to compare effective *cymeriadau*, meaning and *cynghanedd* to the beams and rafters, and "a'r pyst yw kyfniferwch o bennillev ac odleu."[73]; "the posts are the equal numbers of lines and rhymes." He takes his comparison further yet: "Dyrchauel [y]r adeilat y vyny yw y datkanv yn vchel groyw"[74]; "The raising up of the building is the loud and clear reciting of it [i.e. the poem]," the text continues, and then turns to a new analogy:

"Rei a dechrev kanv y gerdd o'r penn kynt[af] ac a gerdant racdunt ac a'e gadawant yn diystyr, diffeith, dissynnwyr ac yr hynny y gerd herwyd rwymev yn iawn ac yn diva[i]. Sef tebygir hynny y eredic maes mawr o'e benn a'e adaw lle bai orev tir heb eredic. A cham yw hynny. Gorev yw kanv y penn ol y'r englyn yawn destungar kanys hwnw a<goui>r."[75]

"Some start to sing the poem from the beginning and march onwards leaving it without meaning, barren, senseless, and yet the poem being without fault as regards its [metrical] ties. That can be likened to ploughing a big field to its edges and leaving the best land unploughed.

---

[72] Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, trans. Margaret Nims, Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 1967, at ll. 43-8.
[73] Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau," p. 197, l. 35.
[74] Ibid, l. 36.
[75] Ibid., ll. 42-7.

And that is a fault. It is best to have good subject matter in the final line of the *englyn* because that is what will be remembered."

The author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is, I would argue, borrowing the emphasis on preparation and accuracy from *Poetria nova*: lay out your tools and materials in advance and be ready to follow an explicit plan in assembling your poem. But there are other elements that are original to *Gramadeg Gwysanau*. First of all, adapting it meticulously for use with Welsh material rather than Latin: the author specifically outlines which Welsh metres are eligible to function as the foundation. He also goes on to emphasize the importance of such purely Welsh elements as *cymeriad* and *cynghanedd*, which he likens to the rafters. Finally, and perhaps most intriguingly, he lays a very strong emphasis on declaiming poetry properly, but the emphasis is based on ingenuity and subject matter, not necessarily just on speed, rhythm, or intonation, which are not mentioned at all. That, he says, is like raising the building, but then he goes on to arrange a whole new set of comparisons, the ploughed field, for a badly declaimed poem. He also adds a bit of practical advice at the end of this section, before turning to orthography: "It is best to have good subject matter in the final line of the *englyn* because that is what will be remembered." In sum, I think it's fair to say that this section of the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is notable for its beautiful use of Geoffrey de Vinsauf's device of comparing writing poetry to raising a building. And yet, it should also be noted how much farther it actually goes by truly adopting it for Welsh poetry and notable Welsh elements; the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* borrowed a device, but then fundamentally adapted it to suit his own material.

The energy of this innovative treatment moves us forward into the next section, the section on orthography. Once again this is treated in a different style and with a different aim from the original grammar's treatment of the rules of grammar. Whereas Einion and Dafydd

conveyed that letters, syllables, and words were the basic building blocks of poetry, the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* seems to be focused on conveying that letters, words, and orthography are likewise essential to performance. Rather than stopping at the construction of verses, as the early grammarians do, our author drives us another few steps forward: someone who declaims poetry, he says, may be working from written text, and unless it is written clearly with appropriate spaces between the words, it cannot be learnt properly.

I have already touched quickly on the elements that go to make this fragment important, but I'd like to sum them up here and then see if we can frame a picture of this new grammarian. I have already discussed the historical implications above, noting that this fragment is proof that there were other minds at work on the grammar in between the early grammarians, perhaps Einion Offeiriad and Dafydd Ddu, in the early fourteenth century and Gutun Owain in the mid-fifteenth. Having now looked at the text itself, however, and having seen more precise elements of innovation, it is possible to say that, generally speaking, the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* seems to take a more conversational, "big picture," approach to Welsh poetry. Rather than breaking the grammar down to precise categories, at least in this fragment, he seems to flow from topic to topic: moving from an *englyn* of praise to Ithel Berson to *beiau* (poetic faults) to how a poem ought to be constructed and declaimed to orthography and its importance. Each of these is addressed with energy, but not with the same minute attention that was so evident in the early grammar of the fourteenth century on similar topics.

This is not to say that the content is skimpy, however. The author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is particularly attentive in his approach to the construction of poetry, and it does seem to be a topic which is particularly dear to his heart. He lavishes a more rhetorical approach to this section of the *Gramadeg*, one which appears to be borrowed from Geoffrey de Vinsauf, but

which is then rendered more elaborate: the analogy between constructing a poem and building a house is itself meticulously followed through from the ideas stage right up to the point where it's declaimed. All of this material is completely new to the Welsh grammar; the analogy itself is fresh, but the ideas which drive it are also quite original: the idea that there is a particular order of operations to the construction of poetry, and the idea that there is a close link to be observed between the construction of the poetry and its performance.

The last piece of truly original material I wish to emphasize is the question of orthography. I wish first to acknowledge that, while the original grammar discussed the construction of words, neither Einion nor Dafydd emphasized the need for clear and accurate orthography. As I mentioned above, I see two consequences to this addition: first, that there's an emphasis on written transmission, and, second, that the ultimate goal is for clearly and accurately declaimed poetry. If I am correct, then this means that, at least to the author of the *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, both methods of poetry had importance: it had to be written clearly and it had to be declaimed clearly; indeed, it had to be written clearly in order to be declaimed clearly. I do think that, as I said above, the overall drive of the fragment we have is to convey the ultimate importance of declaiming poetry: that a poem hasn't fully realized its potential until it's been properly declaimed. That being said, it isn't too much of a stretch to say that once poems were being recorded in writing to be declaimed, other people might enjoy reading them privately, too, including, perhaps, the author of this grammar.

So, then, what can all of this fresh material tell us about this new grammarian, the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau*? Is he very like Einion Offeiriad and Dafydd Ddu, or is this a new sort of grammarian? In terms of his curriculum vitae, as Owen explains, they have much in common, being well-educated laymen, rather than professional poets, all of whom appear to have a

particular drive towards poetry.[76] That being said, I think a slightly different approach in the author of the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is discernible. As I've indicated above, he seems to have more of a drive towards the rhetorical, writing, perhaps, with a bit more of a flourish. His acknowledged partiality towards Iolo Goch shows that he associated with at least one major poet of his time, and, indeed, Owen suggests that there's every possibility that he and Iolo Goch were known to each other as friends.[77] It seems, then, that this was a figure who, if not a professional poet himself, at least had close familiarity with the Welsh poetic world.

Beyond that, he seems to have been a good scholar, one who had at least a passing familiarity with major continental works such as the *Poetria Nova* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf, and who also had the skill and imagination to expand on Geoffrey's techniques. To move from the more concrete points to the more speculative, he also seems to have been less precise and regimented in his style than the earlier grammar, but to have a more dashing and energetic style, with a willingness to show a certain excitement for his material. That being said, if I can allow myself this flight of imagination, I can certainly see those early grammarians murmuring approval to the clear and sensible approach the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* lays out to writing and declaiming poetry. To sum up, I see the innovations in *Gramadeg Gwysanau* and its author as respectfully building on the work of Einion and Dafydd rather than running into any conflict with it.

This discussion has brought us to the end of the fourteenth-century grammatical sources available. After *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, the next major rewriting of the Welsh grammatical sources is Gutun Owain's in the fifteenth century. It is worthwhile, then, to take stock of what

---

[76] Ann Parry Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau," p. 194
[77] Ibid, p. 195

this grammatical tradition has revealed. First and foremost, it is clear that the grammar, in all of its forms, teaches, and I use the verb advisedly, since I do believe there is a didactic element to the early grammar, about the nature of poetry. This covers everything from the smallest building blocks of words used in creating poetry to the grand affair of outlining each metre and the faults to be avoided in creating poetry. More specifically, this grammar speaks to poetry not simply as a constructed text on a page, but as a lived aural experience: the sections on syllables and diphthongs, and, in *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, the references to declamation, all speak to poetry as it might be heard. Metre isn't simply syllables on a page, but is made of rhyme, internal rhyme, assonance and alliteration, and all of these would be of utmost significance when performed aloud. Finally, as I look forward towards Chapter 2 in particular, I note the interesting link between *Gramadeg Gwysanau* and Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova*. It is a reminder that Welsh poetry, and the sound of Welsh poetry, did not exist in a vacuum, but was part of a broader European conversation regarding the nature and sound of poetry.

CHAPTER 2

Fourteenth-Century Welsh Poetic Thought in the European Context

The previous chapter examined the Welsh grammatical tradition in the fourteenth century, and, in particular, how this tradition demonstrated an implicit interest in poetic sound-play. One potential danger of studying this in isolation is to infer that this development occurred in a literary vacuum; rather, the fourteenth century also sees a development on the continent of interest in the sound in poetry, as represented in the flourishing of the *artes poetriae* tradition and in the composition of Eustache Deschamps' *Art de dictier*. To read the Welsh grammars, both *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* and *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, in isolation from England and the continent is to ignore the very real points of intellectual contact between Britain and, in particular, France during the course of the fourteenth century.

By the fourteenth century, the new Welsh gentry, the *uchelwyr* families, were in frequent dialogue with England, and, in terms of intellectual life, there was a rise in the number of Welshmen attending university at Cambridge and Oxford. In *The Age of Conquest*, R. R. Davies points to Welsh students attending Oxford by the 1170s, leading to notable graduates in the upper echelons of the Welsh church.[78] By the 1400s, the number of Welsh students attending the universities was of sufficient concern to be noted in the Rolls of Parliament in 1401 in relation to the Owain Glyndŵr rebellion: "et coment ore les escolers de Gales qi feurent demurantz en les univeresitees d'Oxenford et de Cantebrigg sont departiz d'illoeqes en leur paiis;" "and that now Welsh scholars who had been residing in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had left for

[78] R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991 at p. 193.

their country."[79] This provides evidence of the involvement of the Welsh in the major scholastic centres of England by the turn of the fifteenth century.

This chapter will first explore the major rhetorical works, the *artes poetriae*, which were studied at Oxford and Cambridge in the fourteenth century, and, thus, may have influenced scholars who may have brought these ideas back to Wales. It will go on to study Eustache Deschamps' *L'Art de dictier*, which was written shortly after the Welsh bardic grammar, and which explicitly distinguishes between the arts of music (*musique artificielle*) and poetry (*musique naturelle*), thereby equating poetry with a higher form of music. I first argue that both the *artes poetriae* and the *Art de dictier* show either an implicit or explicit interest in the sound of music and poetry. Also, through a comparison between the *Poetria nova* and *Gramadeg Gwysanau* I uncover potential links between the two works. More broadly, I show that reading the Welsh and French materials in parallel shows a convergence in the fourteenth century of literary, grammatical, rhetorical, and musical traditions, all of which come to inform the conception of the sound of poetry.

It is worth noting that the Rolls of Parliament quoted above are written in Anglo-Norman; this is not exceptional, and that fact in itself testifies to the consistently porous nature of the Channel between England and France. Even before the Conquest of 1066, the Channel had been crossed by many people for many reasons. That said, the particular nature of the literary relationship between Wales, England, and France in the fourteenth century is what concerns me at the beginning of this chapter.

Studies of the literary dialogue between Britain and France have typically focused on the influence of French poetry on Geoffrey Chaucer's writings, and, although that undoubtedly

---

[79] *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013 at p. 44

limits the full scope of the poetic conversation ongoing during the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), the depth of scholarship on this topic makes it a useful place to begin this discussion.

One of the most seminal studies of Chaucer and his relationship with the French poets of the era comes from James Wimsatt in *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries: Natural Music in the Fourteenth Century*. Wimsatt demonstrates the importance of the Middle French *formes fixes* lyrics to Chaucer as source material. Wimsatt highlights both Chaucer's skill as an author of lyric poetry and the importance of the Middle French poets who inspired these elements, including Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, Oton de Granson, and Eustache Deschamps. Wimsatt's argument makes it clear that Chaucer had familiarity with French modes of writing lyric verse, even if it isn't possible to glean much of a personal relationship between him and any one poet.

Ardis Butterfield in *The Familiar Enemy* has more recently taken a different approach to the question of how well-known these French poets were to Chaucer, and Chaucer to the poets. Rather than approaching the problem exclusively from the perspective of source-study, she explores the linguistic and literary atmosphere of England and France during the Hundred Years' War with the aim of understanding how intertwined the two cultures were during that period. Butterfield's premise is that the very depth to which English and French were mixed in England obfuscates a clear sense of "Englishness" vs. "Frenchness." Thus, rather than treating such poets as Machaut and Deschamps merely as possible sources which Chaucer may have utilized in his compositions, Butterfield sees them as "an overwhelming, insistent, and conflicted presence," and further notes that "French was a co-vernacular in England."[80]

---

[80] Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, language, and nation in the Hundred Years War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, at pp. XXVI-XXVII.

Butterfield's aim is to destabilize a good deal of the conventional wisdom surrounding our understanding of England and France, and English and French during the fourteenth century, and Chaucer serves as a useful lens onto that process. Chaucer, in her estimation, is "a cross-channel author" rather than solely an English poet; he is "committed to a plural linguistic texture and an international imagination that speaks directly to our own."[81] Thus, she has us rethinking what "nation" meant, what it meant to be "English" or "French," and, likewise, what it meant to speak or write in "English" or "French."

Equally central to her argument is that this flexible and complex fabric of linguistic and literary relationship between England and France is set not during peace, but in wartime. According to Butterfield, "Those cross-channel literary relationships, in other words, which seem to show nothing but close and easy familiarity, are also breathing the uneasy atmosphere of a fluctuating and fitful war."[82] Set in this perspective, the literary environment and atmosphere becomes a good deal more fraught and complex than straightforward source study would suggest. Indeed, Butterfield rereads Deschamps's *ballade* to Chaucer, typically read as complimentary, as fraught with all of the tensions of the Hundred Years' War.[83]

One of the other consequences of Butterfield's shift from pure source study is that Eustache Deschamps becomes a more complicated and interesting figure to work with. Wimsatt's conviction that Deschamps was, to some degree, important in relation to Chaucer is vindicated, not because of any striking proof that Chaucer was influenced by Deschamps' verse, but because they were both major participants in the tense, multilingual literary exchange between England and France.

[81] Butterfield, xxix.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid, 148-50.

This glimpse of the cross-channel relationships among poets in the fourteenth century suggests a few points worth keeping in mind. First of all, there are few clear answers as to exactly which poems were known to exactly which poets, but it is clear that poetry was shared across the Channel. Second, concepts of "Frenchness" and "Englishness" were very fluid during the Hundred Years' War. Third, there was, at one and the same time, a great deal of familiarity and free exchange of ideas, but also a certain tension in the poetic atmosphere. Thus, altogether, this is a rich time in terms of poetry and poetic relationships, and a very complex literary atmosphere.

To return to Wales, then, I will first indicate how much broader and more dynamic the literary and scholastic world was in the fourteenth century than might be appreciated from reading the Welsh grammar in isolation. As mentioned above, Welshmen in the fourteenth century were attending the universities in England, both Oxford and Cambridge, and were learning the manuals of rhetoric there, likely including the *Poetria nova*. At the same time, the literary sphere of the fourteenth century in England was in constant dialogue with that of France and its surrounding areas. My work links these points: even if specific French poems or poetic treatises never reached Wales, it is very possible that what was being discussed in the literary worlds of France and England affected the literary world in Wales.

In this chapter, I will be discussing both the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf and *L'Art de dictier* of Eustache Deschamps. This chapter describes the evolution of European poetic thought in the fourteenth century and the continued interest in poetic sound-play throughout the period. Reading the *Poetria nova* in dialogue with the Welsh grammar examined in Chapter 1 shows striking parallels between the texts and, indeed, possible influences from the *Poetria nova* on *Gramadeg Gwysanau*. Further, reading *L'Art de dictier* in relation to *Gramadegau'r*

Penceirddiaid and *Gramadeg Gwysanau* reveals a text which announces explicitly the interest in sound-play which is implicit in the Welsh tradition. Finally, *L'Art de dictier*'s allusions to speculative music theory create a framework to understand fourteenth-century theories on the natural music of poetry. In sum, this chapter will argue that the contemporary European context is essential to understanding the developments in fourteenth-century Welsh poetics.

Before introducing the *artes poetriae*, it is important to delineate the distinctions between the grammatical and rhetorical traditions. The two major traditions of importance to the study of poetry in medieval Europe were, originally, grammar and rhetoric. These two disciplines, along with logic, comprised the *trivium*; together with the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) these comprised the standard university curriculum.[84] This dissertation has already covered the significance of grammar in the first chapter; it is now time to discuss the significance of rhetoric. First, it is necessary to define the differences between these two related fields. While both traditions consider figures and tropes as essential to poetry, early grammarians saw these as deviations from normal usage, *vitiae,* or faults, which could be used by the skilled poet to achieve a certain effect, whereas rhetoricians saw them as necessary adornments to a core text.[85] Both the grammatical and rhetorical traditions are based on texts dating back to antiquity, and the texts in question remained of essence well into the Middle Ages. The major texts in question for grammar are, as seen in Chapter 1, Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* from the sixth century, and Donatus's *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* from the fourth century. The foundational

---

[84] Copeland, Rita and Ineke Sluiter, *Medieval grammar and rhetoric: language arts and literary theory, AD 300-1475*. Oxford, OUP, 2015. p.6. These were also clearly studied in Wales; see Nicholas Orme, "Education in Medieval Wales," *Welsh History Review* (27/4), 2015, pp. 607-644.

[85] Copeland and Sluiter, p.28. The very notion of deviations from normal usage suggests strong grammatical understanding.

rhetorical texts are Cicero's *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, along with Horace's *Ars poetica*.

Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Ad Herennium* remained popular, frequently copied, and in active use throughout medieval Europe; new works on rhetoric only began to crop up in the twelfth century, beginning with Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* in c. 1170.[86] This was the first of what have come to be known as the six *artes poetriae*. It was followed by Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, c. 1200-15 and *Documentum de modo de arte dictandi et versificandi*, after 1213; Gervase of Melkley's *Ars versificaria*, c. 1215; John of Garland's *Parisiana poetria de arte prosayca, metrica, et rithmica*, c. 1220 and revised c. 1231-5; and Eberhard the German's *Laborintus*, after 1213 and before 1280.[87]

The twelfth century saw not only the rise of the *artes poetriae*, but two other sets of specialized rhetorical treatises: the *artes dictaminis* and the *artes praedicandi*. The *artes dictaminis* provided instruction in epistolary writing, such as Anonymous of Bologna's *Rationes dictandi* (c. 1135).[88] The *artes praedicandi* taught the art of preaching, through such works as Alan of Lille's *Ars praedicandi* (no later than 1200).[89] Thus, the development of this specialization within rhetoric made space for more focused thinking about poetics.

It is first essential to understand what is common to the six rhetorical treatises outlined above; in a word, what groups them together as *artes poetriae*? The first point to understand is what these texts have in common in terms of contents, and the second is how those contents were put to use. According to Douglas Kelly, all six *artes poetriae* exemplify the five parts of rhetoric

[86] Ibid, p. 545. For an overview of rhetoric in the Middle Ages, see also James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley, 1974.
[87] Copeland, p. 547.
[88] Murphy, James J. ed., *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*. Berkeley, 1971.
[89] Alain de Lille, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*. Ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCX, cols. 110-98.

which originated in the classical rhetorical tradition: *inventio* (invention or thought), *dispositio* (disposition or arrangement), *elocutio* (style, including parts of speech, tropes, etc.), *memoria* (memory), and *actio* or *pronuntiato* (declamation).[90] While individual *artes poetriae* treat these parts of rhetoric with various levels of detail or emphasis, each topic is treated in each treatise. Further, all of these texts are intended for didactic purposes.

The *artes poetriae* filled the need for a classroom text: Horace's *Ars poetica* had been the classic instructional text up until the twelfth century, but it spoke to fellow poets rather than to students, and it assumed a level of Latin which could not be counted upon in the medieval schoolroom.[91] The innovation of the *artes poetriae*, as Copeland notes, was that they combined three traditions: "the formal and stylistic outlook of Horace's text; the more systematic Ciceronian teaching on composition and style; and the grammatical tradition of figures, tropes, and versification."[92] The texts were used in a classroom as part of the tradition of *enarratio poetarum*, commentary on the poets. This was a pedagogical tradition involving exercises in analyzing and imitating the styles of master poets. As Kelly notes: "From antiquity to the Renaissance, the art of poetry and prose was mastered by study of prescribed authors, practice in writing set pieces, and study of commentaries on the authors and the treatises on grammar, rhetoric, and poetics that defined and illustrated principles of composition, especially literary composition."[93] Further evidence of the practical uses of the treatises becomes apparent by study of the manuscript tradition. For example, Matthew of Vendôme's manuscript history shows the

[90] Kelly, *The Arts of Poetry and Prose*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1991 at pp. 139-45.
[91] Copeland, p. 548.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid, 49-50.

transmission of his treatise in fragmentary state or in excerpts, demonstrating that it was frequently adapted to suit local needs.[94]

All of the *artes poetriae* were of practical use in medieval European classrooms and represent the teaching of poetry in medieval Europe, but one stands out as the most copied, the most widely disseminated, and the most commented upon: the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf. According to Marjorie Curry Woods, "The commentators saw Geoffrey's *Poetria* as a new version of Horace's *Ars poetica*, called the *Poetria* during the Middle Ages," and, indeed, these two *poetriae* were found together in more than ten percent of manuscripts of the *Poetria nova*.[95] The name, possibly given by commentators, also echoes the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, called the *Rhetorica nova* in order to distinguish it from Cicero's *De inventione*, also called his *Rhetorica vetus*.[96] Thus the *Poetria nova*'s name reflects its high standing on a level with the texts from antiquity which preceded it, and which remained highly influential. Its high level of influence is also reflected in its manuscript tradition: the *Poetria nova* is preserved in 237 manuscripts from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and these are distributed all over Europe. Of these manuscripts which Woods lists in *Classroom Commentaries*, approximately 90 of them are concentrated in Italy, which also produced numerous commentaries on the text, and above 50 manuscripts remain in Central Europe, where it was a required text at many universities.[97] Of particular interest to the present work are several manuscripts located at Oxford (four dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) and Cambridge (four dating to the thirteenth century; Woods further notes that Godshouse and Peterhouse colleges at Cambridge

---

[94] Kelly, 98.
[95] Marjorie Curry Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010 at p. 13.
[96] Ibid, p. 14.
[97] Ibid, 227. All mentions of manuscripts are drawn from the *Manuscript list of the* Poetria nova *and Commentaries* in *Classroom Commentaries* by Marjorie Curry Woods. This is the most current and precise list to date.

each had copies of the *Poetria nova* in the fifteenth century), where we know Welshmen were attending university.[98] Thus we can see that it was in common use in England throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and it is likely to have been familiar to anyone educated in the universities, as a standard textbook for the rhetorical component of the *trivium*. Further evidence of the *Poetria nova*'s importance in England can be seen in Chaucer's allusions to it in a number of his works, including *Troilus and Criseyde* and *The Canterbury Tales*. Although Woods does not provide an overview of the use of *Poetria nova* in France in the Middle Ages, and its manuscript evidence is certainly slimmer than England's, it continued to produce manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* going into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[99] Therefore, while I discuss the traditions of fourteenth-century poetic treatises in Wales and in France, the earlier *artes poetriae* tradition, particularly the *Poetria nova*, was still in widespread use and relevant to the fourteenth-century poetic discourse.

To turn to Geoffrey of Vinsauf himself, we know very little of his life except that he was a grammar school teacher for much of his life, with his long career extending from the mid-1170s to the 1220s, at the very least.[100] According to Martin Camargo, during his career, Geoffrey was dedicated to producing and revising teaching materials both in prose and poetry for his students.[101] Marjorie Curry Woods, in *Classroom Commentaries*, concisely relates what there is to know about Geoffrey's life: he was an Englishman who studied rhetoric in Paris and returned to England to teach. While he was lecturing at Northampton he "fell afoul of another teacher named Robert, who tried to take Geoffrey's students and even attacked him

---

[98] Ibid., pp. 228-9; 289-307.
[99] Ibid, pp. 289-307. Woods mentions five manuscripts from France which I consider relevant: Angers 14th C, Leiden 14thC?, BnF 13th/14th C, Sibinik 15th C, Vatican 13th/14th C.
[100] Martin Camargo, "Introduction" to *Poetria Nova*, trans. Margaret Nims, Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 1967 at p. 8.
[101] Ibid.

physically."[102] We know of this from a short poem Geoffrey wrote to present the case to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Apart from this we know little more than that he taught for many years in England, and that he states in the dedication of the *Poetria nova* that "England sent me to Rome." Although, as Marjorie Woods notes, there is no archival evidence recording either the case against Robert or of a trip to Rome, there is likewise no evidence discounting these events, and, in fact, she also notes a strong rumor that Geoffrey taught at the University of Bologna.[103] From all of these facts we can glean a picture of a decidedly scholastic man, part and parcel of the university life of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Europe.

We are somewhat more fortunate when it comes to looking for other works by Geoffrey, however. According to Martin Camargo there are four groups of extant works generally accepted as his in addition to the *Poetria nova*: a) three short poems in praise of King Henry II, dealing with "events that occurred in 1173-1174, and probably were composed while memories of those events were still fresh"; b) the poem "Causa Magistri Gaufredi Vinesauf," the complaint poem addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury as described above; c) an elementary composition textbook in prose: *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis* (*Treatise on the Colours of Rhetoric*); d) a more advanced composition textbook in prose: *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* (*Instruction in the Method and Art of Composing in Prose and Verse*).[104] While there is no question that these texts reinforce Camargo's assertion that Geoffrey was in the habit of composing teraching materials for his students, it is worth stressing upfront that while the prose *Documentum* survives in five medieval manuscripts (a single one encompassing all four groups noted above, one from the thirteenth century and three from the fifteenth century),

---

[102] Woods, *Classroom Commentaries*, pp. 1-2.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Camargo, "Introduction," *Poetria Nova*, at p. 6.

the *Poetria nova* is preserved in 237 manuscripts from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, from all over Europe.[105]

The *Poetria nova*, like the other *artes poetriae* discussed above, is organized according to the five parts of rhetoric: *inventio* (invention; ll. 43-70), *dispositio* (disposition; ll. 87-202), *elocutio* (style; ll. 203-1973), *memoria* (memory; ll. 1974-2035), and *actio* or *pronuntiato* (declamation; ll. 2036-70). It is well worth looking at what's emphasized through the arrangement of material, and, as is evident from a mere glance at the line numbers, *elocutio* receives the brunt of Geoffrey de Vinsauf's focus in this treatise. I will walk through each of these sections both to give a sense of what the *Poetria nova* is and to convey how it is distinctive. Finally, this reading will set the stage for a comparison with *Gramadeg Gwysanau*.

Geoffrey opens his treatise with an introductory dedication, what I might call an overture. Like an overture to a piece of music, it introduces key themes that will arise throughout the work; in this case, the humor, elegance, and didactic nature of the work are clearly exemplified in the introduction. The introduction starts:

"Papa stupor mundi, si dixero Papa Nocenti,
Acephalum nomen tribuam; sed, si caput addam,
Hostis erit metri. Nomen tibi vult similari:
Nec nomen metro, nec vult tua maxima virtus
Claudi mensura" (ll. 1-5)

("Father, wonder of the world, if I say Pope Nocent I shall give you an acephalous name; but if I add the head, your name will be at odds with the metre. That name seeks to resemble you: it will no more be confined by metre than your great virtue by the shackles of measure.")

[105] Ibid, pp. 6-7.

Geoffrey dedicates the treatise to Pope Innocent III, but meets with a problem: his name doesn't fit the dactylic hexameter in which the didactic treatise is written. Therefore, Geoffrey, as Woods notes, "decapitates" his name and uses this tactic to praise the dedicatee, thus turning a major metrical problem into an elegant exemplar of how he will be teaching how to praise Pope Innocent.[106] This *tour-de-force* serves a few purposes: a) it sets a playful and audacious tone Geoffrey returns to throughout the *Poetria nova*; b) as the verb *nocere* ("to harm, to injure") returns throughout the dedication, it goes slightly beyond "audacious" into "subversive"; c) it seems clear that this is a teaching moment in how to turn a difficult writing scenario to one's advantage.[107]

The dedication to Pope Innocent sets up a dual audience for the *Poetria nova*: first, it appeals directly to the Pope, but its second and primary audience must be the students who learn from the exemplary lesson in the dedication. As mentioned above, Geoffrey and the other writers of the *artes poetriae* primarily wrote to provide teaching materials for their students. Woods notes that the early-thirteenth-century English manuscripts which contain the *Poetria nova* make it clear that, although eventually it was used at multiple teaching levels, the *Poetria nova* was originally intended for intermediate students, what we would now call adolescents, who were entering university and could comprehend larger sections of text at a time.[108] The intended youthful audience of the *Poetria nova* is evident in elements of Geoffrey's style through the work: transgressive or subversive elements, such as the "decapitation" of the Pope's name, bold and heroic action described in many rhetorical examples including the *Ilias latina*, many examples of wordplay and light humour, and the use of direct address to the reader. Thus,

[106] Woods, p. 3.
[107] I will discuss Deschamps' use of poetic *tour-de-force* in Chapter 3.
[108] Woods, 3-7.

Geoffrey's introduction both invokes a certain level of sophistication and elegance by praising the Pope, but also encapsulates many of the techniques that he will teach later in the text, thereby leading the student by example from the very start.

Following this introduction, Geoffrey's text lays out the different parts of rhetoric, starting with *inventio*. Whereas the texts in the grammatical tradition, following Priscian and Donatus, start with the smallest element (*litera est pars minima vocis*) and systematically build to successively longer parts of speech, Geoffrey organizes the *Poetria Nova* according to the five parts of rhetoric, guiding the reader through the lived process of crafting a narrative, whether in prose or verse. The first step of this process is coming up with an idea:

"Si quis habet fundare domum, non currit ad actum
Impetuosa manus: intrinseca linea cordis
Praemetitur opus, seriemque sub ordine certo
Interior praescribit homo, totamque figurat
Ante manus cordis quam corporis; et status ejus
Est prius archetypes quam sensilis." (ll. 43-48)

("If a man has a house to build, his impetuous hand does not rush into action. The measuring line of his mind first lays out the work, and he mentally outlines the successive steps in a definite order. The mind's hand shapes the entire house before the body's hand builds it. Its mode of being is archetypal before it is actual."

While the running metaphor comparing the crafting of a literary work to the building of a house is not original to Geoffrey, indeed, it appears in Quintillian's *Institutio oratoria*, the *Poetria nova* is the only one of the *artes poetriae* to make the comparison, and the metaphor has

since become strongly associated with that work.[109] Thus, for example, Gallo argues convincingly that Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* contains a passage which draws directly on Geoffrey's metaphor.[110] It is striking to see that similar metaphors also appear in two fourteenth-century Welsh texts: *Gramadeg Gwysanau* described in Chapter 1, and the *ymryson* between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Gruffudd Gryg, which will be fully discussed in Chapter 4. In the case of *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, certainly, it seems to me very likely that the metaphor is inspired directly by the *Poetria nova*, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

Geoffrey next turns to his section on *dispositio*, in which he discusses different ways to arrange the contents of a text, focusing specifically on how to begin a narrative. He distinguishes between two courses, one which follows the pathway of art ("limite artis" l. 87), the other following the path of nature ("stratam naturae" l. 88). The path of nature follows chronological order whereas the path of art can be more fertile ("fertilis" l. 102) and elegant, and is to be preferred:

"ars callida res ita vertit,
Ut non pervertat; transponit ut hoc tamen ipso
Rem melius ponat. Civilior ordine recto
Et longe prior est, quamvis praeposterus ordo." (ll. 97-100)

("Deft artistry inverts things in such a way that it does not pervert them; in transposing, it disposes the material to better effect. The order of art is more elegant than natural order, and in excellence far ahead, even though it puts last things first.")

---

[109] Gallo, 137.
[110] Ibid.; see also James J. Murphy, "A New Look at Chaucer and the Rhetoricians." *Review of English Studies*, February 1964, Vol. 15, pp. 1-20.

After using the story of Minos and Scylla as an exemplary narrative, Geoffrey walks the student through the differences between the natural order and the order of art. Whereas the natural order has one form only (chronological order), the order of art has eight: 1) starting with the end, 2) starting with the middle of the narrative, 3) - 5) starting with a proverb epitomizing the beginning, middle or end, and 6) – 8) starting with an *exemplum* drawn from the beginning, middle or end.

By far the broadest and most detailed of the five parts of rhetoric discussed in the *Poetria nova* is *elocutio,* style. This is fitting because, in contrast to the other parts of rhetoric which in many respects are more theoretical, *elocutio* is the most practical application of rhetoric and gets into the nitty-gritty of such issues as the application of ornament as opposed to clarity of text. One further element to note is the change of Geoffrey's own style as he enters the heart of *elocutio*: whereas in his discussions of other parts of rhetoric, Geoffrey explains and speaks in his own voice, the farther he gets into *elocutio*, the more he slides into giving a series of example without directly addressing the reader or student. This is not to say that the examples aren't produced by Geoffrey – they are – but for much of the section on *elocutio*, the use of direct address and the narrator's voice are subsumed beneath a barrage of examples.

Geoffrey begins the section on *elocutio* with the two sections which bear the force of his narrative emphasis: amplification and abbreviation. These are emphasized both by being brought to the forefront of the section and by his in-depth explanations of each section. He first lays out the eight techniques of amplification: repetition, periphrasis, comparison, apostrophe, personification, digression, description and opposition, each illustrated by extensive examples in the framework of his explanations. Abbreviation is covered in relatively short order: whereas amplification takes 491 lines, abbreviation takes only 46. Further, such a self-conscious author is

doubtless aware of the impact of this contrast; an extremely amplified section on amplification and extremely abbreviated section on abbreviation fits into his narrative style.

The remainder of the section on *elocutio* is devoted to various ornaments, and this covers first difficult ornament (*ornatus gravis*), then easy ornament (*ornatus levis*), then conversion and determination between parts of speech, and finally various injunctions regarding diction. These sections are particularly notable for the purposes of this dissertation as the locus of Geoffrey's interest in the sound of poetry. While he does not describe or advocate for sound ornament, he constantly has in mind the importance of writing a text which can be delivered orally with clarity and meaning for the audience, and this goal can only be achieved by elegant use of sound. Thus, throughout the section on *elocutio*, Geoffrey will make reference to where it is particularly necessary to be cautious about using sound to the greatest effect.

To begin with, *ornatus gravis* includes metaphor, allegory, metonymy, hyperbole, synecdoche, and other figures of speech. Geoffrey defines each and provides illustrative examples. However, he warns against overuse of *ornatus gravis* out of fear that it will become too complex to be easily understood by the listener, thus emphasizing the importance of declamation and the auditory experience:

"Si qua feras igitur peregrina vel abdita verba,

Quid possis ex hoc ostendis jusque loquendi

Non attendis." (ll. 1079-81)

("If, therefore, you introduce any words that are strange or recondite, you are displaying your own virtuosity thereby and not observing the rules of discourse.")

Put more simply: "Proprias igitur ne respice vires, immo suas, cum quo loqueris" (ll. 1089-90) ("Regard not your own capacities, therefore, but rather his with whom you are speaking.")

This is not to say that he discourages *ornatus gravis*, but that he thinks it is to be used with skill and caution, and, ultimately, in the service of the auditory experience. As he puts it:

"Quando venit tali sententia culta paratu,

Ille sonus vocum laetam dulcescit ad aurem,

Et fricat interius nova delectatio mentem." (ll. 954-6)

("When meaning comes clad in such apparel, the sound of words is pleasant to the happy ear, and delight in what is unusual stimulates the mind.")

Turning to *ornatus levis*, Geoffrey largely shifts to direct examples. Unlike amplification and abbreviation, and even unlike *ornatus gravis*, Geoffrey gives very little framework to *ornatus levis*; he is following the *Ad Herennium* so closely that an educated reader understands the distinction between the figures of diction and figures of thought which make up this category. What commentary he does provide makes it clear that, unlike *ornatus gravis*, *ornatus levis* uses simple words, "quorum planities turpis ne terreat aures." (l. 1101) ("Of a simplicity that does not shock the ear by its rudeness.") The emphasis is, therefore, once again on the auditory experience, and he follows this with an extensive list of examples. Of these examples, I draw attention to a few of those which make use of word-play based on sound:

Traductio: Use of words with the same sound but different meaning, e.g. *mali*, apple or evil ("Fuit haec gustatio **mali** / Publica causa **mali**." ll. 1106-7)

Similiter desinens: Two or more indeclinable words with the same endings, within one sentence, e.g. *expertus* and *misertus*. ("Hoc erat **expertus**, cujus fuit ille **misertus**." l. 1137)

Adnominatio: word-play depending on a slight change or transposition of letters, or the addition of a prefix, or a variation in word form or case. ("Hic in **carne** sine **carnie**." l. 1140)

Regarding conversion and determination, Geoffrey once again describes these as ornaments; they should be well-crafted and aesthetically pleasing (ll. 1741-65). Conversion is the process of turning a verb into noun and other conversions between parts of speech, while determination is the modification of nouns by verbs or adjectives.

Geoffrey concludes his section on ornaments with a series of injunctions. Those that concern this dissertation are first his description of metre as opposed to prose; second, his description of faults in composition; and finally, the criteria he uses for revising a text.

Geoffrey's description of metre is, typically, prettily constructed as a metaphor: the verse becomes the lady of the house, and she must be shapely in herself and finely adorned. Interestingly, he once again refers to how this text appeals to the ear, and adds that "prosaicus versus res grossior" (l. 1868) ("Prose is a grosser thing.") While this is a far cry from Deschamps' declaration of poetry as natural music, the distinction between the sweetness to the ear of poetry as opposed to prose shows a keen awareness of crafting poetry for the auditory experience as much as for sense.

The section on faults in composition is decidedly brief when compared with the *beiau* of the Welsh bardic grammar. That said, I wish to draw attention to one aspect of the faults in particular: once again, Geoffrey slips into describing matters which pertain to sound. Thus, the first of the faults, hiatus (e.g. "Ecce deae aethereae advenere," l. 1928), is given as a fault purely on the grounds that it sounds appalling (ll. 1925-32). Other faults, such as the excessive repetition of a letter, are not described as being problems of sound, but the fault can only be understood as an auditory problem: "Littera sic eadem pudor est repetita pudenter / Et nimis assidue; décor est repetita decenter" (l. 1934-5). ("The graceless and too frequent repetition of a single letter is a cause for censure, whereas tactful repetition is a grace.")

The final portion of the section on *elocutio* is given over to how one should revise one's text, and once again the sound of the text is given equal weight with other considerations:

"Cum faciem verbi speculeris, an inquinet illam

Forte latens aliquis naevus, non sola sit auris

Nec solus judex animus: diffiniat istud

Judicium triplex et mentis et auris et usus." (l. 1951-4)

("When you examine the appearance of a word to see whether some lurking blemish may mar it, do not let the ear be the sole judge, nor the mind be the sole judge; let a triple judgement of mind and ear and usage decide the matter.")

There are two points I wish to emphasize from this section on *elocutio*. First, when compared to the Welsh bardic grammar, while both are replete with pedagogical examples and learning tools, Geoffrey addresses the reader directly, exhorting him as to how to implement his rules of rhetoric. Second, despite the lack of explicit guidance as to how one should implement sound-play in poetry, Geoffrey puts a great deal of emphasis on ensuring that one's poetry should sound easy and graceful to the ear.

The *Poetria nova* moves on to the final parts of rhetoric: memory and delivery. Each of these sections is rather brief when compared to the lengthy and detailed part on *elocutio*. For memory, according to Gallo, Geoffrey departs significantly from the *Ad Herennium*, which uses techniques such as the memory palace (III.28-32). Geoffrey has little faith in that system and instead recommends breaking down the text into manageable portions, memorizing them, and linking them up (ll.1977-2011).[111] It is also notable that Geoffrey moves from a visual system to a memorization system which is more apt for memorizing auditory works, such as music.

[111] Gallo, p. 220-1.

Finally, regarding delivery, Geoffrey leans heavily on Quintillian's *Institutio oratoria* (XI.3), which divides delivery into three "tongues": voice, face, and gesture.

"In recitante sonent tres linguae: prima sit oris,

Altera rhetorici vultus, et tertia gestus

Sunt in voce suae leges, et eas ita serves:

Clausula dicta suas pausas, et diction servet

Accentus." (ll. 2036-2040)

("In reciting aloud, let three tongues speak: let the first be that of the mouth, the second that of the speaker's countenance, and the third that of gesture. The voice has its own laws, and you should observe in them in this way: the period that is spoken should observe its natural pauses, and the word its accent.")

The final product, according to Geoffrey, should be a harmonious whole built of all of the previous rhetorical steps, from *inventio* onward. Delivery brings together all prior work and displays it clearly and elegantly. Thus, at this juncture, Geoffrey has nothing further to say regarding the role of poetry or sound-play in declamation; that has already been covered to the extent necessary under *elocutio*. The full and final purpose of delivery is to display all of the elegancies of that work to its greatest advantage.

Geoffrey's pedagogical approach to poetry, then, is remarkably different from the grammatical tradition described in Chapter 1. Whereas the bardic grammar, following Priscian, builds from the smallest element (the letter) up to sentences and figures of speech, Geoffrey, working in the rhetorical tradition, constructs the *Poetria nova* according to the five parts of rhetoric, starting with an overarching picture or idea, and getting more precise from there. Both traditions have some elements in common, such as certain figures of speech and lists of faults,

but the overall ethos of each work is strikingly different. What both have in common, however, is an implicit interest in sound and the importance of sound as an element of poetry.

Reading the Welsh grammar in the context of the *Poetria nova* forces a rereading of, in particular, *Gramadeg Gwysanau*. Whereas *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* remain very much in the mold of Donatus and Priscian, the innovative aspects of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* noted above in Chapter 1 come into their own when compared with the rhetorical tradition, and especially so when read in dialogue with the *Poetria nova*.

The first point to be emphasized here is that *Gramadeg Gwysanau* is a fragment. It is impossible to make sweeping claims regarding its full nature or to determine what else the manuscript may have contained. That said, this fragment is most revealing when read against the backdrop of the manuals of rhetoric, particularly the *Poetria nova*, rather than *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*. To begin with, I will consider the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* from the perspective of the five parts of rhetoric. I will show what in the text fits into that framework and where it differs from the *Poetria nova*. Finally, I will discuss the likelihood of influence from the *Poetria nova* on *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, and what the implications of that influence might mean.

To begin with, although the fragment doesn't begin with *inventio*, it does appear fairly close to the beginning of the extant text:

"Kyntaf peth a dyly prydyd da: gwneuthur y gerd yn divei a medylyaw dychymic da diarfford. Megys y dyly y penssaer kyn dechrev edeilat y ty keissiaw y defnydyev y'r maes oll, a bwrw messur y ty a gwneuthur y grwndwal y'r ty yn lle sauo yn gadarn. Odyna y kyppleu a'r breichiev a'r tulathev6 a'r trostyev." (ll. 22-6)

("The first thing that a good poet should do: fashion his poem faultlessly and think of a good and unusual idea. In the same way as the master-builder, before he starts to build the

house, goes out to find all his source materials, then measures out the house and lays firm foundations for the house where it is meant to stand. After that [comes] the crucks, the beams, the purlins and the rafters.")

The thrust, that it is important to come up with a good idea, does not appear in *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, but, as I have already noted above, this passage bears striking resemblance to Geoffrey's extended metaphor in his description of *inventio*. Where the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* differs is that it does not neatly divide between what is *inventio* and where *dispositio* begins; rather, *Gramadeg Gwysanau* moves from the section on *inventio* to an emphatic description of ending an *englyn*, *awdl*, or *cywydd* with strong material, "sef yw hynny kael geiriev kyfanssodedic ar destun da, digrif o'r kypplev ol y'r englyn" (ll. 30-1), ("in other words he should find composite words on a good and pleasing subject for the final lines of the *englyn*"). It is worth noting that in the *Poetria nova* Geoffrey's emphasis in his section on *dispositio* lies with how to begin a poem or narrative, whereas the author of the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* strictly focuses on the final line of the *englyn*. The reason for focusing on the final line is because "hwnw [a] geidw y neb a'e gwarandawo o byd da ac a ddeily arnaw o byd drwc a diffeith" (ll. 31-2). ("That is what the listener will remember if it is good, and it is what will make an impression on him if it is bad and without substance.") The author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau* appears to be quite concerned with the ending of an *englyn* as he returns to this point again: "Gorev yw kanv y penn ol y'r englyn yawn destungar kanys hwnw a<goui>r," (ll. 46-7) ("It is best to have good subject matter in the final line of the *englyn* because that is what will be remembered.") This seems to me to have moved into the sphere of *dispositio*, how one's material should be arranged, but the author continues the metaphor for *inventio* throughout this section, adding: "a llyna y trosteyu a'r breichyev; a'r pyst yw kyfniferwch o bennillev ac odleu." (ll. 34-

5) ("and there we have the beams and the rafters; and the posts are the equal numbers of lines and rhymes.") Thus, the great idea for the poem and the disposition of the poem are equal elements of the house building.

Gramadeg Gwysanau thus bears strong, direct comparisons to *Poetria nova* in *inventio* and *dispositio*. The comparison is weaker, however, when it comes to *elocutio*. There are, it is true, references to ornamentation, including *cymeriadau* and *cynghanedd*, elements which are strikingly lacking from *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiau*, but when compared to Geoffrey's extensive, rich sections on *elocutio* in the *Poetria nova*, these references seem rather slim. Another comparison to *Poetria nova*'s section on *elocutio* is the emphasis on being understood. That said, this emphasis might bear closer relation to delivery than to *elocutio*.

Finally, we turn to memory and delivery. In terms of memory, the only possible hints that I can find in the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* are "val y gallo dynyo[n] hydysc y gwy[b]ot a'e dysgv," (l. 38), "so that skilled men can understand and learn it," and "kanys hwnw a <govi>r," "so that it will be remembered" (l. 47). Generally speaking, *Gramadeg Gwysanau* shows little evidence of an interest in the practice of memorization as described in the *Poetria nova*; still, the mention of memory is distinct to *Gramadeg Gwysanau* as compared to *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*.

Lastly, we come to delivery, and this is where *Gramadeg Gwysanau* shows its strongest interest. The emphasis on delivery is interspersed throughout the fragment, blended in with the discussions even of *inventio* and *dispositio* discussed above. The discussion begins right before the metaphor of house-building: "Am hynny ni a dwedwn bellach pa delw y d<ylit datka>nu," (l. 21), ("Therefore we shall now discuss how to declaim [a poem]"). The subjects are so intermingled that it becomes evident that the author sees the drive of the text not towards appropriate arrangement or composition of a poem, but towards clear delivery. Thus, he tells his

readers that good orthography is essential not just because clear writing is necessary for a reader but because a fault in the writing might lead to poor delivery: “Ac val y may kam ysgriven, velly bei kam datkan ar gerd,” (l. 53), (“And as there is a fault with the writing, there would be a fault in the declaiming of the poem.”). This emphasis on delivery is unique to *Gramadeg Gwysanau*; the bardic grammar focuses on the correct construction of the twenty-four metres, not on the delivery of those poems.

In summary, I argue that in terms of the contents of *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, the fragment has more in common with the manuals of rhetoric, specifically the *Poetria nova*, than with *Gramadegau’r Penceirddiaid*. This is a rhetorical text, not a grammatical text. In addition to the content, however, I see other points of comparison between the *Gramadeg Gwysanau* and the *Poetria nova*. In terms of style, I’d like to draw attention to three particular points. First, like the *Poetria nova*, which opens with praise to the Pope, the fragment opens with an *englyn* of praise to Ithel Berson. In both cases the praise poetry is used as a lesson in how to handle a difficult poetic challenge, in this case regarding the use of the *gair cyrch*[112] at the end of the *englyn*. I should note that we have no way of knowing whether this puts the *englyn* at the head of the manuscript, but certainly it precedes the sections on *inventio*, some *dispositio*, and a discussion of delivery.

Second, while I wouldn’t call *Gramadeg Gwysanau* funny, it does have a level of playfulness which is not present in *Gramadegau’r Penceirddiaid* but which is present in the *Poetria nova*. The extended use of the metaphor to define each aspect of the process of writing and declaiming a poem is both new to *Gramadeg Gwysanau* and more lighthearted than the rather dry procession of steps in *Gramadegau’r Penceirddiaid*. It is, in fact, so new that I

---

[112] *Gair cyrch* is an old name for *cynghanedd lusg*, a form of *cynghanedd* which will be discussed with examples in Chapter 4.

consider it good evidence that the *Poetria nova* itself may have been known to the author of *Gramadeg Gwysanau*.

Finally, whereas *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* are written exclusively in the third person, *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, like the *Poetria nova*, makes extensive use of the second person, thus speaking engagingly with the reader or student.

This is not to say that there are no points of comparison with *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*: both texts speak of faults (although so, too, does the *Poetria nova*) and the fragment does end with a lesson on the development of orthography and how to write properly and clearly. This might be compared with the sections on letters and words in *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, but then it might also be related to the context, the need for proper orthography for proper delivery, which is of more interest to rhetoricians than grammarians. Thus, on balance, I see *Gramadeg Gwysanau* as fitting more neatly into the category of rhetoric than grammar, and, more specifically, I consider it far from unlikely that the author had some familiarity with Geoffrey's *Poetria nova* which, after all, was being taught at the same universities (Oxford and Cambridge) which were attended by Welshmen in the fourteenth century, as discussed above.

At this point in the dissertation I have explored and analyzed the Welsh bardic grammar, which relies heavily on Priscian and Donatus, and the *Poetria nova*, a rhetorical treatise. Despite their major differences, I have identified key similarities in their approaches to constructing a poem and their implicit interest in the sound of poetry. Now I turn to a third treatise on poetry, *L'Art de dictier* by Eustache Deschamps. This, again, differs from the other texts I've examined; it is neither a grammatical nor a rhetorical treatise, and its interest in the sound of poetry is explicit rather than implicit. This is not to say that it cannot be compared with earlier texts or

with *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* and the *Poetria nova*, but that it brings its own distinct character and content to the field.

It was not until late in Deschamps' life, 1392, that he wrote *L'Art de dictier*. The text is nothing short of revolutionary in several different ways: a) unlike the *artes poetriae* which preceded it, it was written in French rather than Latin; b) it devotes far less attention to content and far more to formal characteristics[113]; c) perhaps most famously, it differentiates between *musique artificielle* and *musique naturelle*, freeing lyric poetry from its musical accompaniment. We will consider these points in more detail below, but first we should consider its composition and context more fully, including the manuscript history.

Eustache Deschamps, also known as Eustache Morel, was likely born in 1346, and was apparently mentored by Guillaume de Machaut, who was one of the greatest and most prolific poets of the age.[114] Deschamps himself would come to be, if not as well-known as Machaut today, quite as prolific and important in his own right, as his mentor. He was, in his own time, aware of Chaucer's poetry and apparently was known to the English poet as well. Deschamps attended university at Orléans in the late 1360s, although there is no evidence he received a degree there. In 1368, he began his career of courtly service under the protection of the Duke of Orléans, and his relationship to the house of Orléans would last almost his entire life.[115]

---

[113] Glending Olson, "Deschamps' Art de dictier and Chaucer's Literary Environment," *Speculum*, October 1973, Vol. 48(4), pp. 714-23.

[114] Deborah Sinnreich-Levi, p. 1. According to Philipp Jeserich, the story that they were related comes from a single source which has now been refuted; in *Musica Naturalis: Speculative Music Theory and Poetics, from Saint Augustine to the Late Middle Ages in France*. Trans. Michael J. Curley and Steven Randall. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013, pp. 367-8 n.1. That said, the two men were evidently known to each other and it is certain from Deschamps' poetry that he held Machaut in the highest regard. See, for examples, Ballades 123 and 124.

[115] Sinnreich-Levi, pp. 1-4.

Throughout the following decades, Deschamps continued his service at court, chronicling the people and political and social events in his poetry: "Indeed, few people or significant political or social events went unchronicled by Deschamps in his capacity as semi-official court historian."[116] The death of Charles V in 1381 put Deschamps' position at court in jeopardy, but, ultimately, Charles VI confirmed his rank as a gentleman usher at court and compensated Deschamps for his house, "Des Champs," which had been burned down by the English, perhaps accounting for the virulent attacks on the English in his poetry. The king also gave him the tower of Fismes, although it was occupied by someone else at the time, and Deschamps had to resort to extensive litigation to take possession of it. In 1389, after a decade of active service at court, Deschamps was named bailiff of Senlis and Lord of Barbonval, a seigneurie near Fismes.[117]

In 1392, having retired to his country property "anticipating unrest at court following what he believed was the impending death of Charles VI," Deschamps wrote *L'Art de dictier*.[118] The following decade saw some difficult years for Deschamps: he was required by a new ordinance in 1394 to live within the bailiwick of Senlis, making it difficult for him to support his country household comfortably, and, in 1404, he resigned the bailiwick of Senlis "but not before a rival, who claimed Deschamps had already died, tried to claim the title as his own."[119] Deschamps died two or three years later, in 1406 or 1407.

There are three manuscripts which contain *L'Art de dictier*, two at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, and one at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The two at the BnF (MS.

[116] Ibid, p. 2
[117] Ibid, p. 3.
[118] Ibid
[119] Ibid, p. 4.

Fonds français 840 and MS. Nouvelle acquisition française 6221) are by far the earlier texts; the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal text, contained in three volumes numbered 3291-3293, was copied from MS. ff 840 for "La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, the eighteenth-century scholar and lexicologist, and has glosses in his own hand."[120] Regarding the BnF texts, the two agree in large measure; both begin with the opening: "Ci commence l'art de dictier et de fere chancons, balades, virelais et rondeaulx…" Likewise, both end with the notation: "Ce fut fait le XXVe jour de novembre, l'an de grace de Nostre Seigneur, mil.ccc.iiii^{xx} et douze."[121] As Deborah Sinnreich-Levi notes: "The fact that both manuscripts agree that *L'Art de dictier* was composed in 1392 allows us to accept the date as that of the exemplar (which must have served as the source for both extant manuscripts) if not the actual date of composition."[122]

Of the two BnF manuscripts, MS. ff 840 is by far the finer manuscript both in terms of material form and text. It contains Deschamps' complete works and was likely commissioned "within a few years of Deschamps' death in 1406 or 1407 by Arnaud de Corbie, a poet himself and a close friend of Deschamps'."[123] The manuscript was probably completed before Arnaud de Corbie's death in 1414. It seems to have been prepared by a scribe at a major atelier, and although it is not free from errors, it is a relatively good text. To provide Deborah Sinnreich-Levi's description:

"The manuscript is vellum and fairly plain, having only occasional, undistinguished rubrics (in red, blue, and yellow) and no illuminations. It was written in several reasonably clear

[120] Ibid, p. 7.
[121] Ibid, 6-7.
[122] Ibid, 6.
[123] Ibid, 7

hands. The text is contained in 581 folios, and there are an additional twelve folios containing the table of rubrics, which are organized alphabetically by genre. It is bound in red leather."[124]

As for the other manuscript, MS. nafr 6221, as noted above, it was probably copied from the same source as MS. ff 840, given that they share errors and lacunae. It is less comprehensive than MS. ff 840, but it contains *L'Art de dictier* and a number of Deschamps' poems. To rely once again on Deborah Sinnreich-Levi's description: "Written on paper, in a difficult, cramped hand, with many abbreviations, MS. nafr 6221 was formerly part of Ms. Saint-Victor 275, which was stolen from the BnF and cut into five separate pieces. Although finally returned to the library in 1888, it remains in five pieces, the second of which contains *L'Art de dictier*."[125] Unlike MS. ff 840, the manuscript seems to have been made for an individual's use and the relative lack of care that went into it is discernible through the errors it contains, "such as missing words or phrases."[126]

It is first worth noting that *L'Art de dictier* is incomplete; as Deborah Sinnreich-Levi notes, it may have been a set of notes for a longer treatise.[127] That said, as it stands it challenges our perspectives on poetic treatises and poetic thought in the fourteenth century, and the substantial text which endures is worth close attention. What is left is a text divided in two parts: the first is an introduction surveying the seven liberal arts, and the rest is devoted to discussing different forms or genres of poetry, accompanied by examples.

The text opens with the plan to teach, in practical terms, "l'art de dictier et de fere chancons, balades, virelais et rondeaulx," or, "the art of composing poetry and songs, balades,

---

[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid, 8.
[127] Sinnreich-Levi, *L'Art de dictier*, p. 11.

virelais and rondeaux," but quickly moves to a more theoretical form of instruction: "comment anciennement nul osoit apprandres les vij ars liberaulx ci apres declarez se il n'estoit noble," "how, formerly, no one dared learn the seven liberal arts hereafter explained unless he were noble."[128] Deschamps, indeed, goes on to define the seven liberal arts at some length before moving onto his practical instruction regarding various forms of poetry. The opening section on the seven liberal arts passes very quickly through all but music. The discussion of the 7 liberal arts further distinguishes the work from the grammars and manuals of rhetoric discussed above, as these focus quickly on their intended subject without providing such context. The result is that *L'Art de dictier*, although it is strictly and practically focused on *musique naturelle*, begins with more of a conscious theoretical framework than is found in the other manuals discussed thus far.

Turning to the text itself, all of the seven liberal arts are seen as having practical uses; thus grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy are all explicated quickly according to their purpose, and then music is investigated at more than twice the length of all the other six sections combined. It is particularly interesting to look at Deschamps's explanation of the two arts this dissertation has already encountered: Grammar and rhetoric. Grammar is credited with being foundational: "par lequel l'en vient et aprant tous les autres ars par les figures des lettres de A, et B, C, que les enfans aprannent premierement, et par lesquelz aprandre et scavoir l'en peut venir a toute lettre science, et monter de la plus petite lettre jusquelz a la plus haulte," "Through Grammar, one comes to learn all the other arts by means of the letters of the alphabet which children learn first. By learning and understanding these, one can arrive at all knowledge and rise from the least letter all the way up to the most exalted science."[129] This was, of course, the structure and the purpose of the structure behind *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* as I

---

[128] Ibid., pp. 54-5.
[129] Ibid, pp. 54-55; ll. 14-18.

detailed in Chapter 1, and so Deschamps' words are an apt description of the method and goals underlying the Welsh grammar, which has as its "science […] la plus haulte" poetry.

By contrast, here is the full text of his passage on rhetoric: "Rethorique est science de parler droictement, et a quatre parties en soy a lui ramenees, toutes appliquees a son nom; car tout bon rethoricien doit parler et dire ce qu'il vault monstrer saigement et briefment, substancieusement et haridement," "Rhetoric is the science of speaking rightly. It has four parts assigned to it, all components of its study. For every good rhetorician should speak and say what he wishes to demonstrate wisely, briefly, concisely, and forthrightly."[130] The value Deschamps holds for speaking "briefly, concisely, and forthrightly" is demonstrated in his very concise and forthright definition of rhetoric. In fact, Deschamps emulates Geoffrey de Vinsauf on that point: just as the *Poetria nova* exemplifies key lessons in its own explanations, so too does Deschamps in this instance. That said, he also truncates the role of rhetoric: he doesn't mention the conventional five parts of rhetoric: the "quatre parties" appear to refer to his four adverbs, "saigement et briefment, substancieusement et hardiement," "wisely, briefly, concisely, and forthrightly."[131] Of the classical parts of rhetoric, he only draws forward *pronuntiatio*, calling rhetoric "science de parler droictement," "science of speaking rightly," and, perhaps, in his use of the adjective "briefment," he makes reference to *abbreviatio*, which falls under the purview of *elocutio*.[132] Apart from these elements, he appears to appropriate the rest of the functions of rhetoric to music.

I would also, to return to my earlier point that this treatise doesn't fit in either the realm of grammar or rhetoric, point to his perfunctory survey of both, as compared to his in-depth,

---

[130] Ibid, pp. 54-7; ll. 24-28
[131] Ibid., 56-7
[132] Ibid.

warm encomium on music. That said, Deschamps demonstrates warmth and even affection towards grammar and rhetoric in these short passages; much less so towards logic, which he describes as a science "qui rent l'homme plus subtil en parole et plus habille entre les autres," "It renders the individual more subtle of speech and more adept among others."[133] Note the contrast with rhetoric, which he describes as "science de parler droictement," and grammar which leads to "science […] la plus haulte." To my ear and mind, these seem to be much warmer encomiums of praise than the relatively ambiguous "subtil."

The section on music, as mentioned above, is the lengthiest of the sections on the seven liberal arts, and if I mentioned warmth and affection in his passage on grammar, that warmth comes through even more powerfully in this section. The section comes in three parts: an opening encomium on the value of music; a paragraph on *musique artificielle*; and, finally and at greatest length, a full exploration of *musique naturelle*.

The opening encomium on music is diffuse and enthusiastic: "Musique est la derreniere science ainsis comme la medicine des vij ars; car quant le couraige et l'esperit des creatures ententivew aux autres ars dessus declairez sont lasses et ennuyez de leurs labours, musique, par la doucour de sa science et la melodie de sa voix, leur chante par ses vj notes tiercoyees, quintes et doubles, ses chans delectable et plaisans," "Music is the last science—the medicine of the seven arts. For when the hearts and spirits of men intent on the other arts elucidated above are fatigued and tired by their labors, music, by the sweetness of its science and the melody of its voice, sings its delectable and pleasing songs to them with its six notes, in thirds, fifths and octaves."[134] Deborah Sinnreich-Levi notes that "unlike his predecessors such as Boethius, he

[133] Ibid, pp. 54-7; ll. 19-23
[134] Ibid, pp. 60-1; ll. 85-91

does not base it on arithmetic. Having disassociated music from rhetoric and arithmetic, Deschamps casts music as the 'medicine' of the liberal arts […]"[135] However, Glending Olson notes that "Boethius, Cassiodorus, and earlier writers on music acknowledged its therapeutic value but did not make that the primary attribute of the art."[136] There is absolutely no doubt that Deschamps is writing from a strength of feeling about music as well as seeing it in practical terms. Practicalities aside, I do think there's an enthusiasm here which must be noted as we go into the heart of Deschamps' text. Thinking about Deschamps' biography, it is likely that this enthusiasm or affinity for music may have come to him directly from his mentor, or "maistre," Guillaume de Machaut. It is important to recall that Machaut was one of the first composers of polyphonic music to be known by name.[137]

Interestingly, although he is describing music in general, Deschamps seems to be emphasizing *musique artificielle* in this opening passage: "lesquelz elle fait aucunefoiz en orgues et chalumeaux par souflement de bouche et touchement de doiz ; autrefoiz en harpe, en rebebe, en vielle, en douçaine, en sons de tabours, en fleuthes et autres instrumens musicans," (ll. 91-4) "These songs are made sometimes on organs and reed-pipes, by means of breath of the mouth and touch of the fingers; other times on harp, on rebec, on vielle, on douçaine; in sounds of drums, flutes and other musical instruments." Oddly, since the focus of the text is *musique naturelle*, and he is about to make a strong argument that it is superior to *musique artificielle*, here he appears to be describing only an instrumental musical performance. It is possible that this involves the act of declaiming poetry, but this is not made explicit, nor is there any indication of

[135] Ibid, p. 13
[136] Glending Olson, "Deschamps' Art de dictier and Chaucer's Literary Environment," at pp. 714-5.
[137] For more details on the importance of Machaut, see his compositions, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, ii–iii, ed. L. Schrade (Monaco, 1956/R1977 in 5 vols.) and Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, New York, 1995.

the possibility of enjoying poetry as a "medicine" as distinct from *musique artificielle*. That said, he very quickly moves on from *musique artificielle* altogether.

Having discussed music and its medicinal qualities in general terms, Deschamps goes on to make the distinction between *musique naturelle* and *musique artificielle*:

"Et est a scavoir que nous avons deux musiques, dont l'une est artificiele et l'autre est naturelle,"

"It should be known that we have two kinds of music, one of which is artificial and the other natural."[138]

Deschamps goes on to define and discuss each kind of music, beginning with *musique artificielle*:

"L'artificiele est celle dont dessus est faicte mencion; et est appellee artificiele de sont art, car par ses vj notes, qui sont appellees us, re, my, fa, sol, la, l'en puet aprandre a chanter, accorder, doubler, quintoier, tiercoier, tenir, deschanter, par figure de notes, par clefs et par lignes, le plus rude homme du monde, […] par laquelle et les notes dessus dictes, l'en acorde et donne l'en son divers aux aciers, aux fers, eux boys et aux metaulx, par diverses infusions interposes d'estain de plomb, d'arain et de cuivre, si comme il puet apparoir es sons des cloches mises en divers orloges, lequels parle touchement des marteaulx donnent sons acordables selon les dictes vj notes, proferans les sequences et autres choses des chans de saincte eglise."

"The artificial is the one that was mentioned above. It is called artificial because of its art, for through six notes, which are called *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, one can teach the most uncultivated man in the world – by means of the shape of the notes, by clefs, and by lines—how to sing, make harmony, sing in octaves, fifths, thirds, sing the treble part, and descant. […]

[138] Sinnreich-Levi, *L'Art de dictier*, pp. 60-1; ll. 100-1.

Through this and through the notes named above, one tunes and gives different sounds to steel, iron, wood and metals, by allowing them with various proportions of tin, lead, bronze and copper, as is clear in the sounds of bells placed in diverse clocks, which, through the touch of hammers, produce harmonious sounds according to the above-mentioned six notes, bringing forth the sequences and other melodies of the chants of Holy Church."[139]

There are two related points to be drawn from this description of *musique artificielle*: a) I would argue that his description of composing music according to the six notes and musical intervals is comparable to how Priscian, as we saw in Chapter 1, built his grammar from the letters of the alphabet through to syntax and parts of speech; b) Deschamps brings forward the very physical nature of the various musical instruments available, which therefore emphasizes the acoustic nature of strings, bells, and other musical instruments. Both of these elements, to Deschamps' mind, make *musique artificielle* more concrete and achievable by any person who would learn to compose or perform this music. Just as Priscian expects those students who follow his instructions to write properly, Deschamps expects any student who studies these elements of *musique artificielle* to succeed at producing vocal or instrumental music.

This is not the case with *musique naturelle*:

"L'autre musique est appellee naturelle pour ce qu'elle ne puet ester aprinse a nul, se son propre couraige naturelement ne s'i applique, et est une musique de bouche en proferant paroules metrifiees, aucunement en laiz, autrefoiz en balades, autrefois en rondeaulx cengles et doubles, et en chancons baladees, […]. Et ja soit ce que ceste musique naturelle se face de volunte amoureuse a la louenge des dames, et en autres manieres, selon les materes et le sentiment de ceuls qui en cest musique s'appliquent, et que les faiseurs d'icelle ne saichent pas communement

[139] Ibid, pp. 60-63.

la musique artificiele ne donner chant par art de notes a ce qu'ilz font, toutesvoies est appellee musique ceste science naturelle pour ce que les diz et chancons par eulx faiz ou les livres metrifiez se lisent de bouche et proferent par voix non pas chantable, tant que les douces paroles ainsis faictes et recordees par voix plaisant aux escoutans qui les oyent, si que au puy d'amours anciennement et encores acoustumez en pluseurs villes et citez des pais et royaumes du monde,"

"The other music is called natural because it cannot be taught to anyone unless his spirit is naturally inclined to it. It is an oral music producing words in meter, sometimes in lais, sometimes in balades, sometimes in single and double rondeaus, and in chansons baladées. […] And even though this natural music originates from amorous desire in the praise of women, and in other ways, according to the subjects chosen and the inclination of those who apply themselves to this music; and even though those who make natural music generally don't know artificial music or how to give their lyrics an artful melody, nevertheless, this natural science is called always music because the *diz, chançons,* and *livres metrifiez* that they compose are read out loud and produced by a voice that can't sing in such a way that the sweet words thus composed, recited aloud, are pleasing to those who hear them, as it used to be at the Puys d'amours of old and as it is still the custom in several towns and cities of the countries and kingdoms of the world."[140]

The two elements which make *musique naturelle* what it is are, first, Deschamps argues, that the words in metre are, indeed, music; and, second, that this music cannot be taught, except to one who is naturally inclined to it. The reference to natural inclination is particularly interesting because, I would argue, it does not necessarily map onto our current notions of music and poetry; it puts poetry into a very privileged place, and, while I certainly accept that as

[140] Ibid., pp. 62-5.

consumers of poetry we believe that poets must come from a place of almost exalted inspiration, surely we hold that to be true of *musique artificielle* as well. What interests me further concerning the place of *musique naturelle* as a natural inclination is that it is conjoined with a practical description of poetry as regimented and metrically correct; Deschamps was a champion of *forme fixe* poetry and this juxtaposition of the precise and accurate use of metre along with a description of natural inclination is decidedly intriguing to the modern reader.

Deschamps, having relatively perfunctorily defined and defended *musique naturelle* as *naturelle* moves on to defend it as *musique* at relative length. Having read *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* in Chapter 1, one term in particular jumps to the attention of a Welsh speaker in the paragraph quoted above: he refers to *musique naturelle* as "une musique de bouche," "music of the mouth," coming forth from "paroules metrifiees," "words in metre." Thus, the metre of the *forme fixe* poetry described above produces, when declaimed, a natural "musique de bouche." The Welsh scholar would recognize in the terminology an analogue to Welsh *cerdd dafod* ("song of the tongue" from *tafod* for "tongue"), the poetic art, and *cerdd dant*, ("song of the string" from *tant* for "string") instrumental music. There seems to be an intimate connection between "mouth words" and poetry and music in these traditions. Further, as seen from Chapter 1, and as will be revisited in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4, both traditions see this sonority of declamation as intimately connected with strict metre poetry.

This paragraph concludes with a strong defense of *forme fixe* poetry as musical: no matter the content, even when it is in praise of women, as it was originally, and even when it is in no way written for *musique artificielle*, as, he argues, is unknown to many poets, nevertheless *forme fixe* poetry is musical. The reason that poetry in these forms is considered musical is because it is, in fact, declaimed out loud, like other music: "tant que les douces paroles ainsis faictes et

recordees par voix plaisant aux escoutans qui les oyent," "in such a way that the sweet words thus composed, recited aloud, are pleasing to those who hear them."[141]

Deschamps then brings an explicitly historical dimension to this discussion with his account of the poetic recitations in competition before the "prince du puys," which he notes are ongoing in his day in certain cities; and, indeed, a number of his own poems are addressed to the "prince du puys."[142] In this context, Deschamps appears to be referencing the importance of declaiming these poems as *musique naturelle*: "pour ce que neant plus que l'en pourroit proferer le chant de musique sanz la bouche ouvrir, neant plus pourroit l'en proferer ceste musique naturelle sanz voix et sanz donner son et pause aux dictez qui faiz en sont," "just as one has to open his mouth in order to sing, so one has to recite and render in sound and silence the poems thus composed in order to produce this natural music."[143] The reference to "silence" is interesting, as it appears to equate pauses in the recitation of with rests in *musique artificielle*.

Having discussed each *musique artificielle* and *musique naturelle* in turn, Deschamps turns to the relationship between the two kinds of music:

"Et aussi ces deux musiques sont si consonans l'une aveques l'autre, que chascune puet bien ester appellee musique, pour la douceur tant du chant comme des paroles qui toutes sont prononcees et pointoyees par doucour de voix et ouverture de bouche; et est de ces deux ainsis comme un mariage en coniunction de science, par les chans qui sont plus anobliz et mieulx seans par la parole et faconde des diz qu'elle ne seroit seule de soy. Et semblablement les chancons natureles sont delectable et embellies par la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs du chant de la musique artificiele. Et neantmoins est chascune de ces deux plaisant a our par soy; et

[141] Ibid, 64-5

[142] Sinnreich-Levi, *Art de dictier*, n. 64 on p. 113.

[143] Ibid, pp. 64-5.

se puet l'une chanter par voix et par art, sanz parole; et aussis les diz des chancons se puent souventfoiz recorder en pluseurs lieux au ilz sont moult voulentiers ois, ou le chant de la musique n'aroit pas tousiours lieu, comme entre seigneurs et dames estans a leur prive et secretement, ou la musique naturelle se puet dire et recorder par un homme seul, de bouche, ou lire aucun livre de ces choses plaisans devant un malade, […]."

"And these two kinds of music are so consonant with each other, that each one can well be called music, as much for the sweetness of the melody as for that of the words that are all pronounced and made distinct by the sweetness of the voice and the opening of the mouth. It is as if these two were married in a union of knowledge, through the melodies which are more ennobled and fitting because of the text and the eloquence of the lyric than either would be alone. Similarly, *chançons natureles* are made delightful and embellished by the melody, and tenor, soprano, and contra-tenor parts of artificial music. Nevertheless, each of these two is pleasing to hear by itself. One can be sung by voice and by art without any words. Also the lyrics of the songs can often be recited in places where they are most willingly heard—even where artificial music would not always be performed, as among lords and ladies in private and secret. Natural music can also be uttered and recited by one man alone aloud; or any book of these pleasing things can be read before a sick person."[144]

The word Deschamps uses to describe the harmonious interchange between *musique artificielle* and *musique naturelle* is "consonance," which is a term which begs to be unpacked. First and foremost, it is a poetic term in its own right, referring to the harmonious confluence of sounds in verse, an aural cousin to "alliteration" and "assonance."[145] Each sound may be

[144] Ibid. 64-67

[145] In contemporary English poetics, at least, consonance is distinguished from assonance and alliteration in that it is the repetition of a consonant, rather than the beginning of a word. "Consonance," *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. Ed. in Chief Roland Greene. 4th Ed., PUP: Princeton, 2015, pp. 299-300.

attractive in its own right, but when brought together in consonance, they should create a distinct aural impression: whether strong and strident or muted and nuanced, there ought to be an underlying sound-effect which adds a new dimension to the poem in question.

However, there are other facets to the word "consonance" in the fourteenth century. In speculative music theory as described by Boethius in the fifth century in *De institutione arithmetica* and *De institutione musica*, *consonantiae* refers to different arithmetic relations between numbers which also correspond to musical intervals.[146] Philipp Jeserich in *Musica Naturalis* describes Boethius's view of consonance, "'Consonance' can be said to exist wherever the corresponding numerical relationships are present—independently of whether the statement refers to acoustic or other phenomena. The concept of consonance in speculative music theory is initially conceived purely arithmetically. It potentially refers to *any* referent, so long as it is, as a 'discrete' or 'discontinuous' multitude, quantifiable."[147]

The use of the term "consonance" is thus evocative of Boethian music theory, which is starkly arithmetic. Deschamps was evidently aware of this form of music theory, as is evident not only from his use of the term "consonance" but also of his discussion of the notes, clefs, intervals (thirds, fifths, and octaves), and harmony. That said, he uses the term consonance in a looser fashion than Boethius and the tradition of speculative music theory. Rather, Deschamps plays in this paragraph with the relationship between the two kinds of music. They are, he asserts, to be understood as a married couple in "coniunction de science," or union of knowledge, each the greater for their union; and yet, he concludes, each is pleasing to the ear on its own. Thus, consonance in Deschamps' mind and text is a tension between a new whole born of two

---

[146] Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica* and *De instiutione musica*. Ed. Friedlein Gottfried, Leipzig, 1867. Vol. II. 54, p. 172.
[147] Jeserich, *Musica Naturalis*, p. 133.

independent wholes, poetry and music, and each is considered noble in its own right as well as pleasingly harmonious when brought together. Indeed, this consonance of voices recalls Machaut almost more than Boethius; the reference to "la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs" all together brings polyphonic music to my mind and, with polyphony, Machaut.

One of the interesting consequences of this view of consonance is that poetry and music haven't really lost anything by being enjoyed independently, and Deschamps is happy to point out the various points at which poetry may be enjoyed on its own, "as among lords and ladies in private and secret." Other occasions for reading privately include before a sick person, thus recalling to the reader the therapeutic effects of music, and at times that *musique artificielle* would be too loud or disruptive. Deschamps' account of these uses of poetry for quieter or more private enjoyment seem somewhat more modern, perhaps, but I would argue still are to be understood musically: perhaps it must not be sung "because of its loudness and the trio of voices," but the sweetness of sound is not necessarily disrupted when performed without *musique artificielle*. Thus for Deschamps, poetry without musical accompaniment (whether vocal or instrumental) retains musicality.

The discussion of consonance concludes Deschamps' explicitly theoretical discussion of poetry and music within the seven liberal arts. Following the theoretical discussion above, Deschamps announces his transition to training the nascent poet in practical terms: "vueil je traictier principaument, en baillant et enseignant un petit de regle ci apres declare a ceuls qui nature avra encline ou enclinera a ceste naturelle musique, afin que ilz saichent congnoistre les facons et couples des lais, la maniere des balades […]," "I want first to deal with and teach something of the rule elucidated hereafter to those whom nature has inclined or will incline to this natural music, so that they might learn to know the structures and paired strophes of lais, and

the method of composing balades […].”[148] Thus, he signals the tricky business of teaching poetry to the select few who are poetically gifted or nat to *musique naturelle*.

The ensuing paragraphs which lead to his in-depth exploration of the craft of *forme fixe* poetry mark, interestingly, a shift from the preceding discussion of *musique naturelle* and consonance, and are instead devoted to a practical discussion of the minutest building blocks of language: the letters. This brings me back to *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* and Priscian; as was discussed in Chapter 1, letters are the foundations of the grammatical tradition. Further, as noted above, Deschamps appears both aware of the grammatical tradition and, in fact, holds affection for it, as seen in his discussion of grammar at the opening of his section on the seven liberal arts. Nevertheless, he does not choose a grammatical discussion for his treatise on poetry, nor is his discussion of the letters grammatical in nature; rather, he appropriates and describes this investigation of letters as a musical discussion of poetry.

As in *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*, *L'Art de dictier*'s ultimate interest is in poetry, and so his discussion of the letters homes in on the aspects which are of use from a poetical standpoint. Unlike the grammar, however, Deschamps' interest in poetry, and, in fact, in the sound of poetry, is explicit. In point of fact, this confirms the argument made in Chapter 1 that the bardic grammar was interested in sound: both the grammar and Deschamps focus on the same building blocks of sound; the only difference is that while Deschamps avows their importance to poetry, the grammar wastes no words and does not discuss the sonority of these elements of language explicitly. To return to Deschamps, he begins with the vowels because "Et sont diz voyeulx, pour ce que sanz yceulx ou aucun d'eulx ne se peut former voix ne sillabe de letter ne mot que l'en peust prononcer ne proferer a nul vray entendement. Et entre ces cinq

[148] Sinnreich-Levi, *Art de dictier*, ll. 185-9, pp. 66-7.

voyeux en y a deux, c'est assavoir et I et U, qui se mettent bien ensemble, ainsi comme 'Julien,' […]," "They are called vowels because without them or any one of them, neither the sound nor the syllable of a letter could be formed, nor could one pronounce or utter a single word in any understandable way. Among these five there are two, namely, "i" and "u" which are euphonious together, as can be heard in "Iulien," […]."[149] From the very beginning, then, Deschamps is making it clear that a pleasurable sound is significant in its own right, and that vowels are important as keystones to the structure of poetry.

Deschamnps goes on to discuss different types of consonants (which he refers to as "liquides") and their roles as elements in building sound: thus, "n'est pas 'h' proprement letter, mais n'est que une aspiracion sonnant sellon la maniere des noms […]," "'H' is not properly a letter but is only an aspiration pronounced according to the word."[150] In this way, each example of a letter is discussed with reference to its role in pronouncing a word: "Et des dictes liquids les unes sont consonans, les autres demi voyeux, et les autres mutes qui donnent pou ou neant de son," "Of the above-mentioned liquids, some are consonants, others semi-vowels, and others, mutes, which give little or no sound."[151] In this way, grammar melds into music in *L'Art de dictier*: this discussion is only hinted at in the bardic grammar, as mentioned before, and it is in no way present in the *artes poetriae*; this is a formulation original to Deschamps and constitutes his most general introduction to the practice of poetry.

After the introduction, Deschamps turns to defining a variety of *forme fixe* poetry. Although the prescriptions for composing poetry form, by line count, the meat of the text and the introduction on the seven liberal arts is simply a preface, in point of fact modern scholarship has

---

[149] Ibid, pp. 66-9.
[150] Ibid., pp. 68-9.
[151] Ibid.

shown very little interest in the prescriptive section as compared to the introduction. As Roger Dragonetti muses, "Tout ne se passe-t-il pas comme si l'énoncé de quelques règles techniques n'avait été qu'un prétexte pour faire passer une sorte de manifeste? Simple suggestion de notre part et rien de plus."[152]

Deschamps gives minimal explanation for each form, and instead provides numerous examples. He confines himself to providing syllable counts, rhyme schemes, whether an *envoy* is required, and occasionally delineates in what fashion a given form is differentiated from other forms. At some points in his examples he jumps from one genre of poem to the next without explanation (see: l.477 he jumps to *virelai* from *sirventes.* After the *virelai* he jumps to a *rondeau*, again without marking the transition). It is, however, a mistake to pass over this section altogether; in the brief explanations of each form I found hints of Deschamps' own perspective on good poetry.

For example, in the section defining the "Balade equivoque, retrograde et leonime," he first defines what makes it particularly difficult: "Et sont les plus fors balades qui se puissant faire, car il couvient que la derreniere sillabe de chascun ver soit reprinse au commencement du ver ensuient en autre significacion et en autre sens que la fin du ver precedent," "Those are the hardest balades that can be written, for the last syllable of each line must be taken up again at the beginning of the following line, in another meaning and in another sense than at the end of the preceding line."[153] Thus, it is clear that an interweaving of sound effect and sense is at play. What stands out, however, is that Deschamps makes it clear that this is a specifically aural effect:

---

[152] Roger Dragonetti, "'La Poesie… ceste musique naturele.' Essai d'exégèse d'un passage de l'*Art de Dictier* d'Eustache Deschamps," in *Fin du moyen âge et renaissance*. *Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guiette*. Anvers, 1961, pp. 49-64p. at 64. Translation: "Doesn't everything appear like the enumeration of a few technical rules was only a pretext to write a manifesto? Just a suggestion, nothing more."
[153] Sinnreich-Levi, p. 74-5.

"Et ne se pourroit congnoistre que par la maniere du prononcer en langue francoise, car les mos sonnent par la prononciacion l'un mot une chose et l'autre une autre; […]," "One can recognize this only by the manner of pronouncing words in French, for words are pronounced one way for a certain meaning, and another for another."[154] This is not, it is apparent, a form to be read silently, but one to be appreciated for its musical qualities in performance.

Interestingly, Deschamps is far more concerned with form than with content or morality. For example, he includes no examples or explanation of *sotes balade* or *pastourelles* but only says this: "Item, quant est aux pastourelles et sotes chancons, ells se font de semblables taille et par la maniere que font les balades amoureuses, excepte tant que les materes se different selon la volunte et le sentement du faiseur. Et pour ce n'en faiz je point icy exemple pour briefte et pour abregier ce livret," "As for pastourelles and sotes chansons, they are similar in length and style to balades amoureuses, except their contents are different according to the desire and sentiment of the poet. Therefore, I won't include any examples here for the sake of brevity and abridging this little book."[155] This recalls a quote from the introduction to music in which he emphasizes that "Et ja soit ce que ceste musique naturelle se face de volunte amoureuse a la louenge des dames, […] toutesvoies est appellee musique ceste science naturelle pour ce que les diz et chancons par eulx faiz ou les livres metrifiez se lisent de bouche […]," "And even though this natural music originates from amorous desire in the praise of women, […]nevertheless, this natural science is called always music because the *diz*, *chançons*, and *livres metrifiez* that they compose are read out loud […]."[156] In both cases the content is brushed aside to privilege the form, and, in particular, how the powers of form appear in performance. I wish to pause to take note of a few

[154] Ibid, pp. 76-8.
[155] Ibid, p. 94-5
[156] Ibid., 62-3.

elements here: a) he groups together the *pastourelles* and the *sotes balades* due to similarity in form; b) he notes that they differ very little from the *balades amoureuses* in form and style; c) while they do differ in terms of contents, he takes no interest in describing the type of content one might expect, or in determining whether that style of content is suitable or not.

The preceding overview of the contents of *L'Art de dictier* reveals a text which stands alone against the backdrop of the grammatical and rhetorical traditions discussed thus far. Although *L'Art de dictier* professes great respect for both traditions, and, in fact, draws to a certain extent on each, Eustache Deschamps has in mind a project of his own, and pursues it by adopting elements from a variety of traditions and assembling an entirely new sort of text. Thus, as seen above, Deschamps does, in fact, play with the letters of the alphabet, but, having appropriated the alphabet to the category of music, he does so only with the goal of uncovering the phonetic values of each letter, particularly the vowels. Further, no elements of the rhetorical tradition, with the exception, arguably, of delivery, make their way into *L'Art de dictier*. The entire structure of *L'Art de dictier*, from beginning with the outline of the seven liberal arts and carrying on to teach entirely by examples of form, constitutes a rejection of the rhetorical tradition at a time when the *Poetria nova* dominated poetic teaching in universities across Europe.

If *L'Art de dictier* deliberately distances itself from grammar and rhetoric, what lies behind its form and teachings? The answer is somewhat complex. Deborah Sinnreich-Levi looks to the vernacular traditions primarily from Provence to compare their major teachings to Deschamps's. Before turning to the troubadours, however, she looks to Dante, another poet writing a poetic manual, in his case about writing in the vernacular. Unlike Deschamps, Dante wrote his *De vulgari eloquentia* in Latin rather than the vernacular. By the late fourteenth

century, Deschamps was so entirely comfortable writing in the vernacular that he felt no need to comment on his own performance, a mindset Dante did not share. That said, Dante focuses heavily on grammar and continues to see the arrangement of instrumental or vocal music as integral to the poetic process, whereas Deschamps cleanly separates the two processes.[157]

Nor are the troubadours any more akin to Deschamps's views on music. Beginning with Raimon Vidal de Besalú's *Razos de trobar*, a largely grammatical treatise with only a brief treatment of phonology, Sinnreich-Levi walks through a set of six Provençal treatises on poetry.[158] Of the remaining five treatises, Sinnreich-Levi considers the *Doctrina de compondre dictats* the closest to Deschamps's text. Unlike the grammatical treatises, the *Doctrina* concerns itself with questions of form and content, although it does not include examples of the forms it cites, but the author of the *Doctrina* continues to view music as coupled with each poetic form mentioned. Thus, Sinnreich-Levi's study draws attention to other poets working on vernacular poetry and commenting on their use of poetics, but even in this context Deschamps stands alone for his perspective on poetry as a form of music.

In contrast to Sinnreich-Levi's research into vernacular treatises written by poets for poets, another stream of scholarship dating back to Roger Dragonetti's 1961 article "La poesie… ceste musique naturelle" has Deschamps drawing heavily from, while at the same time revolutionizing, the field of speculative music theory going back to Boethius' *De Institutione Musica*. Boethius, writing in the first decade of the sixth century, considers music as one of the quadrivium: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Within the category of music, he divides music into three varieties: "Sunt autem tria. Et prima quidem mundana est, secunda vero

[157] Sinnreich-Levi, p.21.
[158] Ibid., pp. 21-9.

humana, tertia, quae in quibusdam constituta est instrumentis, ut in cithara vel tibiis ceterisque, quae cantilenae famulantur." ("There are three kinds of music. The first concerns the world, the second concerns humans, and the third is produced by instruments, such as the cithara or the tibia and other instruments that are the servants of song.") (Bk 1, Ch. 2) For Boethius, instrumental music (*musica instrumentalis*) merely reflects the higher orders of music: cosmic music (*musica mundana*) which corresponds to the harmonies of celestial phenomena, and human music (*musica humana*) which unites the body and soul. Thus all *musica instrumentalis* is reflective of a music ordered on the principles of mathematics, which itself relates to metaphysics, theology, and ethics. To Boethius, the *musicus*, or true musician, is neither a performer, composer, or poet, but is one who has pure knowledge of music, which is to say who employs reason and speculation regarding music: "isque est musicus, cui adest facultas secundum speculationem rationemve propositam ac musicae convenientem de modis ac rythmis deque generibus cantilenarum ac de permixtionibus ac de omnibus, de quibus posterius explicandum est." ("He is a musician, who has the faculty, acquired through speculation and the application of reason to musical matters, about the modes and rhythms, the genera of melody, chords, and all things which we will explain subsequently.") (Bk. 1, Ch. 34) Boethius has less to say regarding the poet, whom he sees as inferior to the *musicus*, but he does note that the poet is one who is naturally inclined to song, but not through speculation or reason: "Secundum vero musicam agentium genus poetarum est, quod non potius speculatione ac ratione, quam naturali quodam instinctu fertur ad carmen." ("The second category of those who concern themselves with music is that of the poets, who are led to music not so much by speculation and reason, but by some natural instinct.") (Bk. 1, Ch. 34)

Returning to *L'Art de dictier*, Dragonetti notes how Deschamps's conception of music borrows the language of Boethius's speculative music theory, and yet identifies key areas where, he argues, Deschamps has broken with the Boethian tradition. The heart of Dragonetti's argument is that *L'Art de dictier* occasions a double break with earlier literature on lyric poetry: a) it breaks with earlier French lyric poetry in its liberation of poetry from melody, b) it breaks with the transcendence of Boethius's *musica mundana*. According to Dragonetti, while both Boethius and Deschamps view poetry as music, and while both claim that the poet writes from a natural inclination to produce poetry, Boethius sees the poet as of a lower order than the *musicus*. For Deschamps, by contrast, "cette inclination de nature suffit à caractériser le poète comme musicien authentique."[159] In short, to Deschamps, speculation and reason are not of the highest order; in fact, they aren't mentioned at all. Nature, and *musique naturelle*, form the highest order of music in Deschamps's world, and, while Deschamps uses the language of *De institutione musica*, the poets who produce this *musique naturelle* are the true musicians, and thus the Boethian theory has been lost.

In *Musica Naturalis*, Philipp Jeserich writes in response to Dragonetti that Deschamps does not, in fact, break with the Boethian worldview or the traditions of speculative music theory; rather, he works entirely within that framework. Whereas Dragonetti moves directly from Boethius to Deschamps, Jeserich attempts to trace a lineage beginning with Augustine, through Boethius, and onward to potential fourteenth-century sources Deschamps could potentially have read at the university in Orléans. He singles out the work of Regino of Prüm, the *Epistola de armonica institutione* (c.840-915) in particular, noting that it provides the first distinction between *musica naturalis* and *musica artificialis*: "Quamquam omnis harmonicae institutionis

---

[159] Dragonetti, p. 58. "This natural inclination is sufficient to characterize the poet as an authentic musician."

modulatio una eademque sit in consonantiarum sonis; tamen alia est musica naturalis, alia artificialis. Naturalis itaque musica est, quae nullo instrumento musico, nullo tactu digitorum, nullo humano inpulsu aut tactu resonat, sed divinitus adspirata sola natura docente dulces modulatur modos: quae fit aut in coeli motu, aut in humana voce. Nonnulli adiiciunt tertium, videlicet in irrationabili creatura, sono vel voce," "Although all modulation considered by the harmonic discipline is one and the same in sound of consonances, yet some is natural music, and some is artificial. Natural music is that which is made by no instruments nor by the touch of fingers, nor by any touch or instigation of man: it is modulated by nature alone under divine inspiration teaching the sweet modes, such as there is in the motion of the sky or in the human voice. Some say there is a third type, namely the voice or sound of irrational creatures."[160] Regino distinguishes here between instrumental music (*artificialis*) and natural music which includes both *coeli motu*, the motions of the heavens, and *humana voce*, the human voice.

As Jeserich notes, the language here lies strictly in the sphere of speculative music theory, with natural music drawing on the Boethian *musica mundana*. Regino's innovation is to extract "Christian choral chant from the general devaluation of the practice of music, without endangering the conceptual rigor of the discourse of speculative music theory itself."[161] Jeserich thus underlines, here and elsewhere, the Christian theological and ethical worldview behind speculative music theory; he notes it in Regino's *Epistola de armonica institutione*, and maps it directly onto Deschamps's *Art de dictier*. Jeserich, who sees Regino's *humana voce* as exemplified in choral chant and thus representative of *musica humana* (a perfect accord between body and soul), turns to Deschamps's *musique de bouche*, which he sees as similarly "bound—

[160] Latin from Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica* (St. Blasien, 1784), I, 230-247. Translation by Calvin M. Bower in "Natural and Artificial Music: The Origins and Development of an Aesthetic Concept," Musica Disciplina, Vol. 25 (1971), pp. 17-33.

[161] Jeserich, 185.

and this must be strongly emphasized—to precisely this theocentric constitution of the Christian order of discourse."[162] Finally, Jeserich sees evidence of Deschamps's continuation of the Boethian tradition of speculative music theory in what he characterizes as "the dominance of ethical subjects in Deschamps's work."[163]

It should be noted that, despite their differences, Dragonetti and Jeserich both see Deschamps's home in neither the grammatical nor rhetorical spheres, but in the Boethian world of music. Where they come to disagree is on the question of whether Deschamps was striking out on his own in his conception of *musique naturelle* or whether it constitutes a continuity. What is significant for the purposes of this dissertation, however, is that, in their views, when it came time for Deschamps to write a poetic treatise, he eschewed the traditions both of the grammarians and the rhetoricians and instead used the language of Boethius and the world of speculative music theory. Thus, in reading the treatises of lyric poetry in the fourteenth century, I have now encountered grammar, rhetoric, and music; evidence, I would argue, of a world in flux as to how to understand what constitutes poetry.

In response to both Dragonetti and Jeserich, I would say that where I deviate from both is in that neither looks to what I might call the practical applications of *musique naturelle*. Both focus more heavily by far on the introduction to *L'Art de dictier* than on the treatise as a whole, nor do they analyze in any detail his oeuvre beyond *L'Art de dictier*. Thus, I would argue, while placing Deschamps in the musical tradition is decidedly useful, both run into pitfalls; Dragonetti, as quoted above, cannot conceive of the usefulness of the treatise as a whole text and conjectures that writing the whole thing was a "prétexte pour faire passer une sorte de manifeste," while Jeserich entirely mischaracterizes Deschamps's writings as belonging strictly within a

[162] Jeserich, 187.
[163] Jesersich, 333.

theocentric ethical order of Christian discourse. As he himself says in the introduction to *L'Art de dictier*, and as quoted above, *musique naturelle* stems from "volunte amoureuse a la louenge des dames," and, further, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 3, Deschamps covers a wide range of content. Moreover, his style is flexible, often humorous, and not overly pious.

I propose, by contrast, that the introduction is somewhat more complex than either Sinnreich-Levi, Dragonetti, or Jeserich would have it, and that it can only be fully understood in the context of Deschamps's oeuvre as a whole. Thus, the brief passage on phonology, which doesn't feature in either Dragonetti or Jeserich's argument, is an important element showing the influence of the grammatical tradition. Combined with the influence of Boethius and music theory, it becomes clear that the poet is, in Deschamps's view, more than just a craftsman: he is inspired by nature to create music in perfect proportions. How he does this can only be understood by reading his poetry and analyzing the rules of sound he follows, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 3.

It is time to return to the Welsh texts discussed in Chapter 1 and ask how they intersect with the *Poetria nova* and *L'Art de dictier*. I would argue that what we see in each fourteenth-century manual of poetry examined thus far, whether in the bardic grammar from Wales or in the music theory background to *L'Art de dictier*, is a growing interest in the nature and sound of poetry. In the grammatical tradition, this interest is implied by the level of detail devoted to the rules of diphthongs and vowels. In *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, which shows more ties to the rhetorical tradition, as I demonstrated by comparison with the *Poetria nova*, this interest is more explicitly stated due to the heavy focus on declamation of poetry. In *L'Art de dictier*, which blends elements from the grammatical and (to a lesser extent) rhetorical traditions with a heavy interest in music theory, the interest is absolutely explicit and manifests itself both in an interest

in vowels comparable to that in the grammatical treatises, and also in elevating the importance of the role of the poet from Boethius's craftsman to a being gifted by nature to create sounds in perfect proportions. According to the new conception of the poet in the fourteenth century, the poet is concerned not only with the contents of the poetry, but with form and, generally, delivery.

I believe I have demonstrated in this chapter the absolute necessity of considering a cross-Channel literary atmosphere when studying the development of fourteenth-century poetry. My exploration of the grammatical, rhetorical, and musical traditions has shown how each of these treatises appears to feed off of other texts, theories, and traditions. *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* is indebted heavily to the grammatical traditions of late antiquity, but goes beyond their boundaries by discussing poetic forms and linking the building blocks of sound to metre. *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, by contrast, appears to be, insofar as it's possible to judge from the fragment, predicated on the rhetorical tradition, particularly with respect to the emphasis on *inventio* and *pronunciatio*. Finally, although Deschamps' *L'Art de dictier* shows glimmers of influence from both the grammatical and rhetorical traditions, ultimately it appears to draw on Boethian music theory, although he elevates the role of the poet as musician as compared to the image of the musician as craftsman in Boethius. All of these texts enrich each other when seen together, and in Chapters 3 and 4 I intend to demonstrate just how strongly they can inform an understanding of poetry as natural music.

The context described above lays the basis for the readings of poetry I will undertake in Chapters 3 and 4. It is the focus on form and the accompanying use of sound-effects which will concern me most heavily in these chapters. Having established thus far the many developments of the fourteenth century in terms of interest in metrical form and the sound of poetry, I will turn to the poetry itself for evidence of the impact of these developing interests. The background

context gained from this chapter will serve as a basis for examining the practical applications of *musique naturelle* in both France and Wales. These readings will demonstrate both the impact of *musique naturelle* on reading fourteenth-century Welsh and French poetry and, more broadly, speak to the importance of situating fourteenth-century Welsh literature in contemporary European thought.

CHAPTER 3

Practical Sound-Play: Musique Naturelle in the Oeuvre of Eustache Deschamps

The previous chapter establishes that the *artes poetriae* and particularly Eustache Deschamps' *Art de dictier* show an underlying fascination with the musicality of poetry. I demonstrate that, taken together with the examination of the Welsh bardic grammar in Chapter 1, the fourteenth century sees an increasing interest in what Deschamps terms *musique naturelle*.

The obvious question is whether this interest in poetic musicality is purely theoretical or whether it is borne out in practice. The importance of the question is heightened given that the theorist behind the term *musique naturelle*, Deschamps himself, was also a poet, and a decidedly prolific poet at that. The natural next step is to examine his oeuvre, both to establish its nature as a whole and, most importantly, to explore his use of *musique naturelle* in practice.

The order of this chapter will be as follows. First, I will provide a brief survey of Deschamps' poetic output and the manuscripts in which his poetry comes down to us. Second, I will review the scholarship dealing with Deschamps' merit as a poet, the musicality of his poetry, and the nature of *musique naturelle* as a term. Finally, the core of the chapter will determine Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle* through a series of close readings of a range of individual poems, both in terms of the relationship between sound and content and in terms of the nature of the sounds in their own right. I will then argue that in order to understand what *musique naturelle* means, it is essential to understand Deschamps' oeuvre, while, by the same token, in order to fully appreciate his verse, and furthermore, the sonority of his verse, the reader must approach his poetry not just as a collection of words, but as a form of natural music.

To begin with, then, I will **survey** Deschamps' oeuvre. Preserved in the massive manuscript BnF fr. 840, and still fully replicated only in the eleven-volume Société des Anciens

Textes Français (SATF) edition, Deschamps' works of poetry and prose come to 1,501 individual texts.[164] Deborah Sinnreich-Levi, who is one of the principal scholars of Deschamps' oeuvre, notes that there is some margin for error as some works appear two or three times and others defy easy categorization. Acknowledging those difficulties, she goes on to break this number down into: 1,014 *ballades*,[165] 138 *chansons royales*, 173 *rondeaux*, 84 *virelais*, 14 *lays*, 34 *nonstrophic dits*, 10 non-fixed-form lyrics, and 11 pieces in Latin, as well as four prose works, including one in Latin and *L'Art de dictier*. Two observations immediately present themselves. First, Deschamps was extraordinarily prolific as a poet, and second, he had a marked preference for the *ballade*, but was by no means ignorant of or deficient in writing other forms of poetry. Would his output have seemed so extraordinary if he had been equally prolific in prose? There is no easy answer, but it is worth noting that his barrage of *ballades* on every aspect of his life is what strikes us today, and strikes us in particular as being journalistic.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Sinnreich-Levi notes that he was a "compulsive writer," and lists the places he would write as including his own law courts, church, active military campaigns, and doubtless others, such as the inns of Bohemia or while watching diners at court.[166] Poetry seems to have been his preferred method of corresponding with the world around him, and those correspondents included, but weren't limited to, according to Sinnreich-Levi, "the Deity and certain allegorical or mythological personages, kings, princes, aristocrats,

---

164 Deborah Sinnreich-Levi, *Eustache Deschamps: Selected Poems*, p. 20.

[165] There are normally three strophes and the last line of each strophe is the refrain. There is normally, but not always, an envoy; it was Deschamps who popularized the envoy. The refrain exerts a great deal of influence over the strophe: it normally rhymes with lines in the strophe, and would share syllable count with the other lines of the strophe, but there is no set structure to either rhyme or syllable count or even number of lines in the strophe. For example, the Ballade to Chaucer has ten lines to each strophe with a six-line envoy, whereas the Ballade to Machaut has eight lines per strophe and no envoy.

[166] Sinnreich-Levi, p. 21.

courtiers, the middle classes, peasants, enemies, criminals, foreigners, friends, his children, and, most of all, himself."[167]

If he was varied in his choice of form, the places he wrote, and the interlocutors he addressed, he was even more varied in the topics of his verse, which defy any attempt at organization. True, he wrote rather dry, solemn poetry on the immorality of the world around him, which unfortunately doomed his reputation as a poet. For example, Daniel Poirion wrote of Deschamps in his magnum opus *Le Poète et le Prince*, "il n'a rien à offrir qui lui appartienne vraiment."[168] However, Deschamps also wrote extensively about the politics of his own country, speaking out freely against his own patrons' views, those of Louis, Duke of Orléans and even Charles VI.[169] Beyond the worlds of morality and politics, he wrote vivid, humorous poetry against the toothache (Ballade 834), against the inns of Hainaut and Brabant which brought him "tousjours, sanz demander, moustarde" with every meal (Ballade 780), and in praise of Paris (Ballade 169). Surely this breadth of topics, written with zeal and enthusiasm, belongs to him truly.

Some of the broader categories which appear in Deschamps' collected works include: war poetry, commemorative verse, moral verse, and hundreds of lyrics which don't fit into any particular category, and which are often more playful than the serious commemorative and moral verses. Some of the ones I consider to be "miscellaneous" form their own little subcategories: religious poetry, fables, love poetry, and poems addressed to or about other poets. Then again, there are also poems which are grouped together by key thematic words, most noticeably

[167] Ibid.
[168] Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le Prince*, PUF 1965, p. 235. However, Deschamps has seen a renewal of interest in recent years, including, for example, Susanna Bliggenstorfer's *Eustache Deschamps: Aspects poétiques et satiriques*, Tübingen: Francke, 2005; Mirren Lacassagne and Thierry Lassabatère, *Les « Dictez vertueulx » d'Eustache Deschamps : Forme poétique et discours engagé à la fin du Moyen Âge*, PUPS :Paris, 2005; and Karin Becker, *Le Lyrisme d'Eustache Deschamps: Entre poésie et pragmatisme*, Classiques Garnier : Paris, 2012.
[169] Sinnreich-Levi, pp. 21-2.

"convoitise," which, along with variants such as "convoiteus," appears hundreds of times in the course of Deschamps' work.

Considering these broad categories reveals not only the great diversity of Deschamps' work, but also some of the overall drift of his oeuvre: Deschamps tends to stick to such topics as are applicable to his day and age, and the overall thrust of his poetry is generally extremely practical. By "practical" I don't mean that his poetry is in any fashion dull or lifeless; indeed, his most practical poems (such as "Plus ne prestray livre quoy qui aviengne" [Ballade 24]) are often his liveliest or most humorous. What I mean by "practical" is that the poetry is concrete and experiential; it often relates closely to Deschamps' own world and immediate surroundings and elicits some direct commentary from him as to how people ought to conduct themselves. In short, many of Deschamps' poems are very firmly rooted in the tangible world surrounding him, and this is as true of his religious poems as of those about toothache. My reading of his *Art de dictier* is rooted in this practical vision; Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle* in his poetry puts into practice the theory explored in *L'Art de dictier*.

It is worth noting that he was also not lacking as a love-poet; Sinnreich-Levi calculates that just over 23 percent of Deschamps' *virelais*, *rondeaux*, *ballades*, and *chansons royales* are love lyrics.[170] She goes on to point out that this proportion was extraordinarily unusual for the time: "Deschamps's choice of topics no longer seems remarkable to us, but it was almost revolutionary in the context of medieval French lyric before him, where the preferred subject, indeed for many poets the only suitable subject, was love," and: "The fact that he wrote more on 'other subjects' was his artistic signature: it is what distinguished him from other lyric poets in the eyes of his contemporaries."[171] It is also worth noting that among those poems which

---

[170] Ibid, p. 22.
[171] Ibid.

Sinnreich-Levi is counting as love lyrics she doubtless includes ones which I read as being relatively tongue-in-cheek, such as the poems to and about Peronne which I will discuss in greater detail below (Ballades 447 and 493).

Deschamps seems to have been aware of his own departure from exclusively writing love poetry. As quoted in Chapter 2, he writes in *L'Art de dictier*: "Et ja soit ce que ceste musique naturelle se face de volunte amoureuse a la louenge des dames, […] toutesvoies est appellee musique ceste science naturelle pour ce que les diz et chancons par eulx faiz ou les livres metrifiez se lisent de bouche […]," "And even though this natural music originates from amorous desire in the praise of women, […] nevertheless, this natural science is called always music because the *diz*, *chançons*, and *livres metrifiez* that they compose are read out loud […]."[172] This passage can be read in a few ways. First, and most traditionally, it might suggest that the font of poetic inspiration is love. Second, and slightly more subversively, it's possible to put emphasis on the beginning of the sentence and say that Deschamps is allowing that not all poetry is currently concerned with "louenge des dames." Finally, Deschamps is arguing that the fact that love is the source of poetry is actually somewhat irrelevant, since form is the overarching force behind poetry, not content, and this justifies calling poetry music. This emphasis on form, not content, is in itself revolutionary and explains a great deal about Deschamps' fluidity when it comes to topics for his poetry.

A word about the key manuscript which houses his poetry is in order. BnF fr. 840 is the earliest and most complete manuscript of Deschamps' work by a great margin. It was assembled soon after Deschamps' death by Arnaud de Corbie, "a poet himself and a close friend of Deschamps'," and the manuscript was probably completed before Arnaud de Corbie's death in

[172] Deborah Sinnreich-Levi, *L'Art de dictier*, 62-3.

1414.[173] The manuscript was written in the atelier of Raoul Tainguy, a friend of Deschamps' who may have been familiar with his preferred organization of his poetry, and is signed by him on the last page.[174] The text is contained in 581 folios, with an additional twelve folios containing the table of rubrics, organized alphabetically by genre. It is bound in red leather.[175]

BnF fr. 840 is a large manuscript in two books, the first somewhat more elegant than the second. Clotilde Dauphant, the chief scholar of the manuscript, estimates that Tainguy worked on the first book with two professional copyists and one novice. It contains the first six sections of the manuscript (i. *Balades de moralitez* [ff. 1-67r], ii. *Pluseurs lays* [ff. 67v-102r], iii. *Chançons royales* [ff. 102r-140v], iv. an untitled section of love ballads [ff. 141-172], v. *Rondeaulx et virelays* [ff. 173-202r], vi. an untitled section of moral ballads [ff. 202r-314]), and was copied out by Tainguy (sections 1-3 and the end of section 6, with a little help from copyist 1 in section 3), copyist 1 (section 4), and copyist 2 (section 5 and the beginning of section 6). A third, novice copyist comes in briefly in section 6.[176]

The second book is in somewhat rougher shape: it's written on poorer quality parchment by Tainguy without a collaborator except for copyist 4 on three folia [ff. 415c-417d]. It is made up of 34 booklets for 267 folios. It begins with the seventh section (ff. 315-431r), a heterogeneous set of 240 pieces ranging from parodies and farces to moral ballads and *L'Art de dictier*. The eighth section, *Pluseurs balades morales* (ff. 431r-454) is short and unified in its construction and is bracketed by an incipit and explicit. Separated booklets contain the ninth section (ff. 455-486) and then the *Miroir de Mariage*, an unfinished work nevertheless closed out

---

[173] Ibid, p. 7.
[174] Eustache Deschamps, *Anthologie*, 2014. Ed. Clotilde Dauphant. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2014, pp. 33.
[175] Sinnreich-Levi, p. 7. To see the full manuscript in digital form, see: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105375900
[176] Dauphant, pp. 33-8.

by an explicit. The manuscript is finished by the original Latin of the *Complainte de l'Église* which appears in the seventh section, and then the signature of the scribe. The entire manuscript, although unornamented, is written in an elegant bastarda hand, with the occasional majuscule heightened in yellow or red.[177]

Dauphant argues the key to understanding the collected oeuvres of Deschamps in this manuscript is to be found in *L'Art de dictier*; she claims that it forms a unifying principle in an otherwise somewhat disorganized manuscript.[178] That said, I am cautious of imputing too much power to *L'Art de dictier*. While I wholeheartedly agree that *L'Art de dictier* is an important key to reading and understanding Deschamps' poetry, and, indeed, the purpose of this chapter is to argue that very point, at the same time it is important to recall that Tainguy and de Corbie were assembling this manuscript with the apparent goal of completeness, and it would be more surprising to find that *L'Art de dictier* had been omitted than included. Does it present an overarching aesthetic for the manuscript, as Dauphant argues? Perhaps it does; at least it stands as a testament to Deschamps' devotion to *forme-fixe* verse.

To sum up thus far, Eustache Deschamps was a prolific poet, theorist, and courtier. Naturally, he's remembered most of all as a poet, and yet I don't think that is mere anachronistic hindsight. Deschamps wrote, to borrow Sinnreich-Levi's word for him, compulsively, or in my term above, journalistically. If anything happened in his life, he wrapped it in poetry. I'm unsure, in fact, whether it would be more apt to say that he or the poetry was in charge; in a sense, the poetry appears to have ruled him, although he was the one writing poetic rules. In that vein, it's worth considering that any description we have of Deschamps' life comes almost entirely from his own verse, so the poetry he wrote speaks for him. Frequently, the picture he draws is tongue-

[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid, p. 32.

in-cheek, as a large part of his poetic aesthetic is humorous jabbing at himself. This isn't proven through any single lovingly crafted work: there is no *Canterbury Tales* to rule Deschamps' oeuvre. What we have is poetry from seemingly every event, every key, or even minor, moment of Deschamps' life, and while the personae he draws can and do shift, one of the dominant images is decidedly self-deprecating: his failure to win over Peronne on the death of Machaut is a key example.

Thus, poetry seems to have ruled his world; not in any Romantic sense of living through poetry, but in a practical sense of expressing each moment's thought or feeling through verse. Without Deschamps' revolutionary role in opening up all of life to poetry, however, I wonder whether the Romantic vision of how to create poetry would have been able to emerge at all: would Alphonse de Lamartine have been able to write his meditation on a lake without Deschamps' meditations on the misery of life at sea? And, of course, that is not to discount his immediate influence on such poets as Charles d'Orléans and François Villon, who would never have been able to write about the myriad topics they did had not Deschamps paved the way. There's no way to know for sure, but it's incontestable that Deschamps (although he drew on the traditions that preceded him, including the work of Rutebeuf) did open up many possibilities: French poetry after Deschamps could be humorous, erratic, and deeply personal.

The particular question this chapter seeks to answer is whether Deschamps' poetry was not just varied in tone and content, but also musical, and, if so, what "musical" means. The previous chapter examines the emergence of the terms *musique naturelle* and *musique artificielle* in Deschamps' *Art de dictier* in the context of earlier *artes poetriae*, and it follows the scholarly debate regarding its origination of these terms. The present chapter will delve into the practical meaning of the term *musique naturelle*, and, to this end, I will begin by surveying what other

scholars have understood *musique naturelle* to mean and I will then demonstrate my own understanding of the term, informed by a close analysis of the musical sound effects I observe in Deschamps' lyric poetry.

In Chapter 2, I devoted attention to the debate between Dragonetti and Jeserich regarding how to read *L'Art de dictier* and, in particular, exactly how new Deschamps' idea of *musique naturelle*, or *musica naturalis*, was in the fourteenth century. I turn now to the topic of *musique naturelle* in its own right: what scholars consider the term to mean as it might have been practiced, and by contrast, how I would define it based on a reading of Deschamps' oeuvre. The scholarly literature I will survey comprises I. S. Laurie's "Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music," and James Wimsatt's "Chaucer and Deschamps' 'Natural Music.'"

In "Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music," Laurie argues that, while Deschamps didn't make any sweeping changes to the nature of lyric poetry in France, he did, through his use of rhyme and, to some extent, alliteration, participate in an ongoing trend towards using richer sound-effects in his verse. In interpreting Deschamps' *Art de dictier* and his poetry, Laurie errs on the side of caution; he contends that "the fact that Deschamps describes poetry as music at all might be explained without any reference to the musicality of his own verse."[179]

Laurie appears to vacillate over how extensive Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle* in his own verse really is. Thus, for example, he wonders along with G. Lote in *Histoire du vers français* whether one ought to dismiss "examples of alliteration on the caesura and rhyme or on successive caesuras in medieval French verse" as "mere chance" and deny that they "ever act as a structural device."[180] He goes on to note, however, that Lote's skepticism seems to be based

[179] I. S. Laurie, "Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music," *The Modern Language Review*, October 1964, Vol. 59(4), pp. 561-70 at p. 562.
[180] Laurie, 566

mainly upon twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples. Laurie continues, “By the fourteenth century it is more difficult to dismiss the practice as a mere accident of language,” and proceeds to note several examples of alliteration being used to “bring an important line or word into relief.”[181] Even so he states that, “Alliteration used for any purpose other than emphasis in Deschamps is less common,” before going on to detail an example where alliteration abounds and reinforces the sense of the poem (Virelai 548).[182] He remarks upon this example that “it is precisely this kind of ‘musique naturele’, which includes not only alliteration but the arrangement of words, the rhythm of the line, the quality of vowels and consonants, onomatopoeia, which it is most interesting to find in Deschamps.”[183]

Nor is Virelai 548 completely alone; Laurie finds much to say about a number of other poems he cites, including, for example: “When Deschamps attacks Montagu as an effeminate dandy, the lines themselves take on a derisively mincing parallel rhythm” (regarding Ballade 784).[184] Nevertheless, despite the abundance of evidence Laurie presents which proves that Deschamps was thinking about sound as he wrote, Laurie concludes that even a generous reading of Deschamps’ work does not prove a heightened sense of musicality compared to his predecessors. Laurie does concede that “if the musicality of Deschamps’ verse can be distinguished from that of the trouvères in any respect it is by techniques which were common in Machaut and in Deschamps’ contemporaries,” including more frequent alliteration, polysyllabic rhymes, and the practice of mixing masculine and feminine rhymes.[185]

---

[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid., 567
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid

Thus, Laurie hesitates over the true importance of developments in Deschamps' work: To what extent are they extraordinary? Where does he break or push the rules? Laurie notes that Deschamps' definitive, and unarguable, break with tradition came through his breach with the traditional love lyric; he notes, as Sinnreich-Levi does, that less than a quarter of his oeuvre is devoted to the love lyric, and goes on to detail the full range of topics in which Deschamps indulges his wide-ranging interests.[186] He concludes that Deschamps was "the first French poet to break decisively with trouvère conventions of subject-matter in the lyric and also the first to describe the French lyric as poetry rather than song. It is in this sense that Deschamps' lyric is a substantial and autonomous art form, a 'musique naturele.'"[187] Any musicality or use of alliteration and rhyme for emphasis are either considered part of the natural development of poetry in the fourteenth-century, or else are mere happenstance.

Whereas Laurie sees Deschamps as working closely in line with earlier traditions of French poetry in his use of rhyme and alliteration, Wimsatt sees a stronger use of sound-effects. In "Chaucer and Deschamps' 'Natural Music,'" Wimsatt lays out the history of *formes fixes* poetry from Adam de la Halle and his colleagues, who tended to be musicians, to Machaut, who was the first to publish his poetry without musical notation. Thus, he argues, the lyric forms Deschamps used and lays out in *L'Art de dictier* were developed by musician-poets, and taking into consideration Machaut's habit of composing poems without notation, gives weight to Deschamps' claim that the poems were inherently musical.[188] Wimsatt acknowledges this

---

[186] Ibid, 569.
[187] Ibid, 570.
[188] Wimsatt, "Chaucer and Deschamps' 'Natural Music'" in *The Union of words and music in medieval poetry*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991, p. 134

inherent musicality, pointing out that verse has regular measure and prominent phonetic patterns, and "lends itself to description in terms that medieval theoreticians applied to music."[189]

He notes further that to these medieval theorists, music was mathematical, as reflected in the writings of St. Augustine. As discussed in Chapter 2, Boethian speculative music theory is distinctly arithmetic, and Deschamps appears to have been cognizant of this tradition. One consequence of the mathematical conception of music is that "mimetic and expressive properties were not commonly attributed to music. It was only in the Renaissance that music generally was seen as directly representing ideas and embodying emotion."[190] Indeed, although Deschamps describes in *L'Art de dictier* the healing and joyful properties of music, Wimsatt insists that "[Machaut and Deschamps] do not, however, see music as exerting its power by representing emotions, employing soothing notes to calm the ireful, or creating sprightly melodies to cure the invalid."[191] It is, they argue, rather because the perfect proportions and harmony of music are reflected in the hearers that it results in their calming and healing. He goes on to explain that "Since Machaut and his contemporaries thought of music as mathematical in its nature, they are not concerned in their music with establishing a relationship between text and music," and that, "Indeed, in many of their complex polyphonic arrangements the comprehensibility of the text is not a first concern."[192] And so, Wimsatt argues, that just as *musique artificielle* is in no way mimetic or expressive, *musique naturelle* is likewise "conceived in mathematical and abstract, as opposed to expressive and naturalistic, terms."[193] Thus, he sees the music of the verse expressed via the strict syllable count and strong effects of rhyme.

---

[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid, 134-5.
[192] Ibid, 135.
[193] Ibid, 136.

While Wimsatt performs valiant work in explaining *musique naturelle* at the practical level, he unfortunately misses the opportunity to assess the relationship between Deschamps' explanation of *musique naturelle* in *L'Art de dictier* and his use of it in his poetry. In point of fact, Wimsatt uses a *ballade* by Machaut from the *Louange des Dames* (204)[194] to explore the impact of *musique naturelle* on Middle French poetry. While this is certainly a valuable exercise (it demonstrates the use of *musique naturelle* before *L'Art de dictier* and shows that Machaut was thinking about sound in his poetry beyond its musical settings), it doesn't explain how the theorist who first distinguished *musique naturelle* as a force in French poetry employed it in his own work.

What I propose to do now is to demonstrate that the union of Deschamps' texts, both the theoretical and the poetic, demonstrate that he was consistently thinking and practicing in terms of sound-play in poetry, creating a *musique naturelle* which is quite audible in at least some of his poetry, and flexible in how it can be used. I do not in the least wish to dispute the evidence laid forth by Laurie and Wimsatt, but I would like to add a layer to their methods of analyzing Deschamps' poetry.

In order to fully illustrate my argument it is necessary to examine a selection of Deschamps' poetry in close detail. What I propose to do here is to take Wimsatt's method of analyzing the *ballade* by Machaut and apply it to Deschamps' oeuvre. What I discover as a result of this analysis is that Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle* is more extensive than what Wimsatt sees in Machaut's *ballade*: the techniques he uses are both more diverse and flexible than Machaut's simple use of the *formes fixes* prescribed end-rhyme, and the resulting impact on

[194] Nigel Wilkins, ed. *La Louange des Dames by Guillaume de Machaut*, no. 204 (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972).

the poetry itself is far more profound than Wimsatt allows, judging from the more subtle use of *musique naturelle* in the Machaut *ballade* analyzed by Wimsatt.

Performing a set of close readings necessarily entails selecting a range of poems for analysis. In order to do this, I determined a flexible set of categories within Deschamps' work. The aim was not to reduce Deschamps' oeuvre to a rigid set of categories, but instead to determine the breadth and range of his writing. My categories frequently overlap: love poetry can also be humorous or at least tongue-in-cheek; war poetry can also show a deep involvement in either politics or morality or both. That being said, these categories do delineate just how extensive and flexible Deschamps' art is, both in terms of the topics he covers and the sound techniques he loves to use. This is valuable because it demonstrates three aspects of Deschamps' craft at once: a) his innovation in terms of the topics he covers; b) the range and depth of his *musique naturelle*; and c) how his use of *musique naturelle* plays with the content of his poetry to a variety of effects, whether to subordinate itself to the poem's sense, to dominate the poem's sound, to underline certain points, or to subvert meaning. In short, I intend to prove that the full meaning of a Deschamps poem cannot be understood without taking its use of *musique naturelle* into account.

In order to prove the importance of understanding Deschamps' *musique naturelle*, I selected poems that traverse multiple levels of Deschamps' poetry: first, I will look at the extreme points of Deschamps' verse, which is to say sample poems which show his use of *musique naturelle* at its least involved (Ballade 58) and most developed (Ballade 9) levels; second, I will look at how *musique naturelle* involves itself in a variety of *formes fixes*, a *virelai* (548) and a *rondeau* (1326); I next look at how these various types of *musique naturelle* can change our understanding of the poems, or at least underline certain types of reading. I turn to

Deschamps' famous *ballade* to Chaucer and argue that Deschamps' use of rhyme and alliteration underline his tension with Chaucer. Finally I examine his poems addressed to his fellow poets Guillaume de Machaut and Christine de Pizan and demonstrate how Deschamps' *musique naturelle* either adds layers of meaning to these poems or underlines the sense and tone carried by the words. Thus, I will present a better picture of the full dynamic force of Deschamps' oeuvre, of the equally dynamic power of *musique naturelle*, and of the full importance of *musique naturelle* in fourteenth-century French poetry.

I will begin with the quietest, most quiescent example of Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle*, which appears in one of Deschamps' best-known, most dynamic and narrative poems: "Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?" (Ballade 58). The poem is one of Deschamps' most traditional, basic *ballades*. It is octosyllabic, with the rhyme ababbcbC, with the *envoy bcbC*. I copy the full text of the poem here:

> Je treuve qu'entre les souris
> Ot un merveilleux parlement
> Contre les chas, leurs ennemis
> A veoir manière comment
> Elles vesquissent securement
> Sanz demourer en tel debat.
> L'une dist lors en arguant:
> "Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?"
>
> Cilz consaulz fut conclus et prins;
> Lors se partent communement.
> Une souris du plat pais
> Les encontre et va demandant
> Qu'om a fait; lors vont respondent
> Que leur ennemi seront mat
> Sonnette aront ou coul pendant

"Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?"

"C'est le plus fort," dist un ras gris.
Elle demande saigement:
"Par qui sera cilz fais fournis?"
Lors s'en va chascune excusant;
Il n'y ot point d'executant;
S'en va leur besogne de plat.
Bien fut dit mais au demourant:
Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?

L'envoy
Prince, on conseille bien souvent
Mais on puet dire, com le rat,
Du conseil qui sa fin ne prant:
Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?

This poem conforms strongly to Wimsatt's description of *musique naturelle* in Machaut: it has no meaningful examples of alliteration, assonance, or internal rhyme; the sound structure falls solely and heavily on the intensive end-rhyme. Likewise, as Wimsatt says regarding the *ballade* by Machaut, the words selected for the end-rhyme seem to be there just because that's where good grammar places them: "However, the nature of rhyme minimizes or reverses such effect because—especially with the characteristically polysyllabic Romance tongues—rhyme typically falls on suffixes, both derivational and inflectional, which, while they carry grammatical meaning (presentness, pastness; verbness, nounness), have negligible lexical content."[195] Thus, the words on which the rhyme falls seem to have little by way of emphasis on

[195] Wimsatt, "Chaucer and Deschamps' 'Natural Music'," 140.

the meaning: I see no particular connection, that is, between the rhymed words *parlement*, *comment*, *seurement*, and *arguant* in the first stanza.

Do I likewise see the diction and sense of the poem as Wimsatt sees them in the Machaut *ballade*? "Conventional, abstract, and unobtrusive, the sense becomes the handmaiden of the sound."[196] Not at all; that, in fact, is where the two poems decisively differ: despite the lovely interweaving and linking that goes on in the end rhymes, the poem sings along in order to convey its sense. The poem is almost wholly narrative, a fable intended both to amuse and inform with its story; the sound is here the handmaiden of the sense. The story is of a parliament of mice which decide amongst themselves to hang bells from the cats' necks in order to give them warning of any approaching feline. They're busy congratulating themselves on a great plan when one mouse asks the key question—who's going to undertake the dangerous task? Unsurprisingly, no one steps up. The *envoy* sums up the lesson neatly: advice is great, but how often is it tossed around without actually being feasible? In this case, the sound pulls the story along neatly to a sweetly enveloped *envoy*, but it lets the sense speak for itself, while the sound simply underlines what's already there. As I remarked above, this is a case where the sound draws the sense of the poem along unobtrusively.

I now turn to a poem which lies on the other end of the spectrum: those where the sound-play is at its most involved. The example I chose for this is *Ballade 9*, described by the SATF edition as a "Tour de force poétique," which is a neat way of summing up the poem. It is decasyllabic, rhymed *ababbabA*, without an *envoy*.

> Virginité, Beauté, Bonté, Saincté,
> Amoureuse, precieuse, agreable,
> Humilité, Pitié, Eternité,
> Glorieuse, piteuse, charitable,
> Vertueuse, doucereuse, honourable,

---

[196] Ibid.

Tressainctement pour nous tous destinée
Divinité, Verité inmuable,
Certainement le siecle ains ordenée.

Felicité, Purté, Bien, Honnesté,
Tresjoieuse, aux humains proufitable,
L'Iniquité as osté et porté
Dolereuse, convoiteuse, et dampnable,
Orgueilleuse, derve, vaine et muable ;
Benignement no vie est de toy née
Charité; O! tu es remerciable,
Certainement le siecle ains ordenée.

Deité fut, Purté, t'affinité
Non doubteuse, Gabriel parcreable.
Humanité prinst Dieux en ton costé,
Soufraitteuse, crueuse, piteable,
Redempteuse Marie tresamable,
Le sauvement a touz, predestinée :
Benignité ta nous soit secourable,
Certainement le siecle ains ordenée.

A simple first glance, without even reading a word for sense, reveals an immense emphasis on rhyme, one which goes far beyond the simple use of heavy end-rhymes in *Qui pendra*, *Ballade* 58, which I analyzed above. Further reading reveals just how far this use of rhyme goes. Allow me to highlight the full extent of the rhyme-weaving in the first stanza:

Virginité, Beauté, Bonté, Saincté,
Amoureuse, precieuse, agreable,
Humilité, Pitié, Eternité,
Glorieuse, piteuse, charitable,
Vertueuse, doucereuse, honourable,
Tressainctement pour nous tous destinée
Divinité, Verité inmuable,
Certainement le siecle ains ordenée.

This does not exhaust the full arsenal of *musique naturelle* at work (I suspect that the use of ‘i’ in *virginité*, *humilité*, and *pitié*, as well as several later words in the stanza, is also intentional), but it does demonstrate already just how densely interwoven the use of rhyme,

internal rhyme, and assonance is in this poem. Contrasting with the strong spine formed by the alliteration on the letter /t/, the densest form of sound at play in this poem is the fluid effect of the vowels, and that is what Deschamps is emphasizing here. Read aloud, the sense of this poem is hardly noticeable at all, and certainly doesn't ask for additional notice; indeed, I wouldn't even call the effect of this *ballade* "incantatory," which is Wimsatt's preferred description for the Machaut *ballade* from the *Louange des Dames*. In hunting for *le mot juste* in this case, the difficulty is to describe a harmonious sound without relying on a term which hunts for meaning in the words; I would therefore press the poor, overworked word "lilting" into service here, or, perhaps, simply "harmonious."

Between these two *ballades*, I would argue that Deschamps employs *musique naturelle* to widely varying degrees depending on the emphasis he's looking for, whether on sound or on sense. However, in order to see how Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle* works across the board, it behooves us to look not only at his *ballades*, although these are by far the most numerous of his poems, but also at some of the other *formes fixes* he made use of, particularly the *virelay* and *rondeau*. To that end, I will look briefly at both Virelay 548 and Rondeau 1326. I selected these to present a range of poetic forms and of topics. In these poems there are a number of techniques at play, including assonance, rhyme, and alliteration, and I will demonstrate how they function in different ways given the differences of these lyric forms from the *ballade*.

I will begin with Virelay 548. I would first like to draw attention to Sinnreich-Levi's note on the poem, that it "is perhaps the most original and unusual of all Deschamps's virelais, given its novel theme in a genre normally devoted to conventional love poems."[197] I would say, rather,

[197] Note to Virelai 548, p. 221.

that it is an unconventional love poem: one of Deschamps' many poems professing love for France and distaste for another country, in this case Flanders. In form, it is a regular *virelay*: heptasyllabic, with a lovely interlocking rhyme scheme between only A and B, which, given the short lines, is a particularly potent repetition of the same sounds. The end-rhymes run as follows: *AAB*B*A b*b*a b*b*a aab*b*a AAB*B*A*. This in itself would have, as Wimsatt puts it "heavy sound effects,"[198] but Deschamps pushes the envelope here, particularly in the refrain:

Puis que j'ay passé le Lis
Je seray gais et jolis
En ce doulz pais de France
Et vivray a ma plaisance
Maugré Flandres et le pais

Note the repetition of the *é/ay* sound, a repetition which gradually, but almost completely, disappears in the body of the poem. The effect is a contrast between the brightness of the *é/ay* sound in the refrain and a consequent heaviness in the body as that warmth disappears. I would even tentatively suggest that as that assonance evaporates it is replaced by a kind of narrative of misery: "Eu faim, froit, pluie et soufrance, / Sanz couvert, sans avoir lis…" and so on. The effect is that the refrain stands out forcefully against the background of the poem, making the description of *gais* and *jolis* France appear almost like the luminous subject of *Girl with a Pearl Earring* against the dark background.

Turning to Rondeau 1326, we find a poem which packs an immense punch into thirteen octosyllabic lines. The very structure of the piece, with the frequently repeated lines of the *rondeau* in a short stanza, doubly reinforces any type of sound-play. In this case, we have a veritable medley of alliteration, assonance, and, of course, the intense end-rhymes of the *rondeau* form. It is worth reading the whole poem through, and noting the sound-play which I have highlighted in various colours:

[198] Wimsatt, "Chaucer and Deschamps' 'natural music'," p. 138

Poulz, puces, puour et pourceaulx
Est de Behaingne la nature,
Pain, poisson sallé et froidure,
Poivre noir, choulz pourriz, poreaulx,
Char enfumée, noire et dure;
Poulz, puces, puour et pourceaulx.
Est de Behaingne la nature,[199]
Vint gens mangier en deux plateaux,
Boire servoise amere et sure,
Mal couchier, noir, paille et ordure,
Poulz, puces, puour et pourceaulx
Est de Behaingne la nature,
Pain, poisson sallé et froidure.

This is, perhaps, one of the Deschamps poems most replete with heavily repeated sound-play outside of his *tour de force* poems, and much of that is due to the intense repetition natural to a *rondeau*. Most interesting to my ear is the intermixture in this poem of alliteration and assonance. What's interesting here is that, unlike in the *tour de force* poem, there really is a nearly narrative element: a litany of complaints against Behaingne. The question then becomes whether this intermixture of alliteration, assonance, and rhyme in a short space has any effect on the meaning of the poem. I would state first that I do not see any evidence that the rhyme is emphasizing any particular words or phrases; the very nature of the *rondeau* requires repetition and resists pairing the repeated words with much other vocabulary. Thus, for example, Deschamps gives us *pourceaulx*, *poreaulx*, and *plateaux*: I don't see much additional meaning to be derived from these selections. However, the pairing of the alliteration/assonance with the litany of evils in Behaingne does call for comment. We have a constant repetition from line to line of the refrain of such sounds as *pu*, *pou*, and *poi*. It is impossible for me to believe that Deschamps wouldn't have heard these sounds as expressing disgust—almost spitting out the salted fish he despises so heartily.

---

[199] This line is omitted in SATF, 7:90.

I pause here to examine the question of whether a reader can, in fact, read such sounds as visceral disgust, or whether that is, conversely, imposing the sense of the words onto the sounds of the words. Simply put, can sounds be inherently "disgusted," or—for that matter—inherently "loud," "soft," "metallic," etc. This is a question which has been investigated by Benjamin Harshav in *Explorations in Poetics* and Reuven Tsur in *What Makes Sound Patterns Expressive?: The Poetic Mode of Speech Perception*, and their respective works rather underline the ambiguity and power of sounds than provide any particular prescription for whether sounds convey inherent meaning, or the reverse.

Harshav questions whether sounds can "mean" something by breaking down the impact of sibilants in several poems: Shakespeare's "Sonnet 30," Poe's "The Raven," and Eliot's "The Wasteland." Beginning with a reading which he cites as emphasizing the "hushing quality" of the alliteration on *s* in Shakespeare's "sweet silent thought," Harshav notes that the self-same sibilants in Poe, "the silken, sad, uncertain rustling of each purple curtain," convey "the rustling of silken curtains, muted by overtones of uncertainty, sadness, 'fantastic terrors,' and expectation." Meanwhile, Harshav quotes from Eliot's "Wasteland," which he describes as conveying "powerful noise," "There is not even solitude in the mountains/But red sullen faces sneer and snarl." Harshav comments on this passage: "Here the strong sound effect of the sibilants in the text hardly represents any real sounds in the description"; and Harshav continues "in other examples of patterning of sibilants hardly a trace of either sound or silence remains."

Harshav's conclusion from this mixture of sound effects among sibilants is that "sibilant sounds may represent silence or noise, and, at that, very different kinds of noise that are shaded by different emotive qualities, or have no relation to noise at all. It seems that no meaning can be imputed to the sounds themselves. Therefore they cannot be said to have a 'hushing quality.' It is

rather the meanings of the words that make the sounds carriers of some expressive meaning, or shades of meaning."[200] In short, Harshav sees no direct line from a constant type of sibilant to a constant shade of meaning; it must be informed by the meaning of the words and, he adds, "the problem of interpretation (or reader's constructs) enters irrevocably in any analysis of literary structure."[201] This suggests a sort of fluidity around reading sounds, and allows for multiple interpretations and "an inherent and unresolvable ambiguity in the discussion itself."[202] Of most interest to me, in this context, is that Harshav sees a two-directional street between interpretation of sound and meaning; in my readings of Deschamps, I indulge heavily in this bidirectionality, but see this as a feature of the reading, not a problem.

Reuven Tsur takes Harshav's investigations further and attempts to solidify some of his musings in *What Makes Sound Patterns Expressive?: The Poetic Mode of Speech Perception*. Where Harshav embraced ambiguity and made room for self-contradictory evidence, Tsur seeks more phonological certainty, or at least a basis in linguistic realities. Thus he explains his argument in the opening chapter, "How Do Sound Patterns Know They Are Expressive? The Poetic Mode of Speech Perception":

> My argument relies on the assumption that sounds are bundles of features on the acoustic, phonetic, and phonological levels. The various features may have different expressive potentialities. The claim I shall elaborate is that in different contexts, different potentialities of the various features of the same sounds may be realized. Thus, the sibilants /s/ and /š/ at *some* level of description may have features with noisy potential

[200] Harshav, "The Meaning of Sound Patterns in Poetry," in *Explorations in Poetics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007, at p. 143.
[201] Ibid, 160.
[202] Ibid.

and others with hushing potential. In Poe's line the former is realized by the contents, in Shakespeare's quatrain the latter.[203]

Thus, Tsur, while fully supporting Harshav's reading of the texts in question, attempts to solidify the evidence: It can both be true that sibilants "mean" different things in different contexts, and that sibilants have certain potential "meanings" baked into their very being.

In the following chapter, "On Musicality in Verse and Phonological Universals," Tsur turns to the question of whether there is such a thing as a beautiful sound: "In what follows, I shall take up the notion that some speech sounds are more musical, more emotional, or more beautiful than others and attempt to anchor those judgments in a system of phonological universals in such a way that they can be maintained more or less consistently." Unfortunately, Tsur does not appear to distinguish between the natures of the qualities he lists. I find myself asking, as I turn from reading Deschamps's verse, whether "musicality" and "beauty" are the same thing in a poem replete with skillful sound effects. That said, Tsur's attempt to situate such sounds within a "system of phonological universals" is intriguing. Are there inherent qualities of musicality and/or beauty to any particular sounds? Clearly, not only Tsur but Deschamps himself believes there are, as can be seen from his discussion of the vowels: "Et entre ces cinq voyeux en y a deux, c'est assavoir et I et U, qui se mettent bien ensemble, ainsi comme 'Julien,' 'Vivien,' ou ainsi comme 'Jacob' et 'vates.'"[204] Although this passage cannot be explained by such rules of linguistics as Tsur employs, it is telling that, in explaining the rules of vowels and consonants, Deschamps suddenly dips into this brief side note on euphony.

---

[203] Reuven Tsur, *What Makes Sound Patterns Expressive?: The Poetic Mode of Speech Perception*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992, at pp. 2-3.
[204] *L'Art de Dictier*, pp. 66-8. Translation by Sinnreich-Levi, "Among these five there are two, namely, 'i' and 'u' which are euphonious together, as can be heard in 'Iulien,' 'Uivien,' or as in 'Iacob' and 'uates,'" pp. 67-9.

Tsur bases his system on the order of sound acquisition experienced by infants, and suggests that the later the acquisition, the more useful it is to poets in creating beautiful sounds. Thus, unlike Harshav, Tsur argues that there truly are qualities inherent to certain sound patterns: what we perceive as "beautiful" or "musical" is an intrinsic quality in certain sounds, while what is "metallic" or "hushed" is equally universal.

This is all important information to keep in mind. The question I ask myself as I read is to what extent I can depend on my intuition as a reader of poetry: is it legitimate to say, as I did above, that the repetition of the letter /p/ is a mark of Deschamps' disgust? Evidently, I believe it is a legitimate reading, but I fully acknowledge that Harshav might say that, to some extent, at least, my understanding of the meaning of the poem informs my analysis of the sound's meaning. That is very possible, and yet I stubbornly consider that there is an aggressive factor to the letter /p/, particularly followed by front vowels, just as there is, I believe, a muted quality to the sibilant /s/ which underlies every example Harshav cited in his analysis of the sibilants in poetry: even "sullen," "sneer," and "snarl," the most forceful of the words Harshav quotes, appear to me to be less aggressive than Deschamps' line: "Poulz, puces, puour et pourceaulx." Doubtless there is a deeply personal angle to this type of reading; and yet I am mindful of Tsur's little sound experiment with "metallic" sounds: When Tsur asked friends and colleagues, "Which sound is more metallic, /b/ or /g/?" he reports that "without exception they had no doubt that /g/ was the more metallic sound of the two."[205] As will be discussed briefly in Chapter 4, in which I return to the letter /p/ in a very different context, I question the universality of this approach

[205] Tsur, "How Do Sound Patterns Know They Are Expressive?", 14-5. I might add that Vincenzo Bellini seems to instinctively feel this in the chorus "Guerra! Guerra!" at the end of *Norma*, which is accompanied by much percussion.

across languages; that said, I cannot read this poem without spitting the "puour" and I question whether anyone ever could.

Before turning to any more poetry, I wish to pause here to take stock of the poems I have read thus far. First, and perhaps most importantly, I have shown how flexible *musique naturelle* is in Deschamps' hands: how much and how little he does with it, depending on the poem, and, perhaps, how much he does with how little. In *Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?* the rhymes are subtle and elegant, moving the story along without disrupting the narrative. In *Ballade* 9, the *tour de force*, the relentless *musique naturelle* overwhelms the sense of the poem, reducing it to a receptacle for beautifully patterned sounds. These aspects alone would make for an interesting form of *musique naturelle*, but Deschamps doesn't stop at these extremes. Neither of these poems show any particular layers of meaning attached to the *musique naturelle* involved.

In the *virelai* and *rondeau* I analyzed above, however, I detect a new dimension to Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle*. First of all, I pointed out how strongly the form of the poem affects the use of *musique naturelle*, or, to put it another way, how each poetic form has the potential for different styles and uses of *musique naturelle*; the *virelai* has the lovely repeated refrain and the extended body, whereas the *rondeau* has a concise, plump form with repeated lines strung throughout. Second, in the selections I have brought forward, I indicated how Deschamps used those features of each form in order to add another dimension to his meaning in each poem. The *virelai*, as shown above, contrasts the assonance of the refrain with the narrative bitterness of the body; this allows Deschamps to underline the brilliance of France against the darkness of Flanders without ever saying so directly. In the *rondeau*, it's the variety of sound, the spitting *pu*, which emphasizes his literal distaste for Behaingne. Thus, I see a new layer to the flexibility of *musique naturelle* in Deschamps' works: in order to fully understand each

poem, it is important not only to read and analyze the content, but to listen to the sound, as well. In the poems seen thus far, the sound has underlined particular, and admittedly predictable, aspects of the sense, but it raises the question of whether in other poems *musique naturelle* provokes other layers of meaning: is it possible that the meaning of the *musique naturelle* might reveal unexpected aspects to some poems?

The intention behind this survey of Deschamps' poetry was to convey both the breadth of his poetic oeuvre and to demonstrate that he was as adventurous in his use of poetics and diction as in his range of topics. I would now like to show where his most-studied poem, the *ballade* addressed to Geoffrey Chaucer, fits into this survey. The *ballade* in question is not only interesting for its place in scholarship on poetry, but because it is from a poet to a poet; it speaks not only to the history of poetry, but to poets' views on the nature of poetry. My intention is to look at it not only as a historical document, but as a poem in its own right, one written by a skilled poet using the full range of poetics at his disposal, which would have included sound effects, or, more precisely, *musique naturelle*. I will, finally, compare it to other poems by Deschamps in the same genre: his poems addressed to, or about, Machaut and his *ballade* to Christine de Pizan. I will begin by looking at the *ballade* to Chaucer, and so present the full text here:

O Socrates plains de philosophie,
Seneque en meurs et Anglux en pratique,
Ovides grans en ta poeterie,
Bries en parler, saiges en rethorique,
Aigles treshaulz, qui par ta theorique
Enlumines le regne d'Eneas,
L'Isle aux Geans, ceuls de Bruth, et qui as
Semé les fleurs et planté le rosier,
Aux ignorans de la langue pandras,
Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier!

Tu es d'amours mondains Dieux en Albie:

Et de la Rose en la terre Angelique,
Qui d'Angela saxonne et puis flourie
Angleterre, d'elle ce nom s'applique
Le derrenier en l'ethimologique;
En bon anglès le livre translatas;
Et un vergier ou du plant demandas
De ceuls qui font pour eulx auctorisier,
A ja longtemps que tu edifias
Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier!

A toy pour ce de la fontaine Helye
Requier avoir un buvraige autentique,
Dont la doys est du tout en ta baillie,
Pour rafrener d'elle ma soif ethique,
Qui en Gaule seray paralitique,
Jusques a ce que tu m'abuveras.
Eustaces sui, qui de mon plant aras:
Mais pran en gré les euvres d'escolier
Que par Clifford de moy avoir pourras,
Grant translateur, noble Geoffroy Chaucier!

L'envoy
Poete hault, loenge d'escuiye,
En ton jardin ne seroie qu'ortie:
Considere ce que j'ay dit premier,
Ton noble plant, la douce melodie.
Mais pour scavoir, de rescipre te prie,
Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier!

Before jumping into my own reading of the *ballade* to Chaucer I wish to present a short overview of the scholarship which precedes mine. The three scholars whose work is most relevant are James Wimsatt, Ardis Butterfield, and, most recently, Madeleine Elson. All three take, to varying extents, historical perspectives on the relationship, such as it was, between Deschamps and Chaucer, and all weigh in on the question of to what extent Deschamps was familiar with Chaucer's work, given that Deschamps refers to him only as the translator of the *Roman de la Rose*.

Wimsatt, in *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries*, begins his chapter on Eustache Deschamps by pointing out that "The inclusive bibliography of Chaucer's sources lists thirty-nine different works of Eustache Deschamps that scholars have presented as offering significant parallels to Chaucer's poetry," and goes on to add that "it is somewhat surprising to find that no one of the parallels that has been cited is so close that we can say that *in this case* Chaucer was surely following Deschamps, or vice versa."[206] This perspective is indicative of Wimsatt's overall perspective on the relationship between Chaucer and Deschamps: that there was some communication across the Channel between the poets he doesn't doubt, but to pin down the specifics he considers a much more difficult proposition. Wimsatt hypothesizes that Deschamps' flower imagery and high praise suggest that he knew not only of the *Rose*, but was an admirer of Chaucer's full corpus.

Butterfield approaches Ballade 285 from an altogether different perspective. She sees the *ballade* as "full of puns and inversions, sly jokes that stretch out the representations of 'English' from Anglux (Latin) to Angela (Saxon) and Angleterre (Anglo-French). […] In the Chaucer *ballade*, this enables Deschamps to spin an etymological narrative that shows the English turning through different languages into their present aggressively hybrid condition."[207] More than that, Butterfield sees something weightier at stake in Deschamps' diction: his use of *en ta baillie,* "a choice of word which pointedly underlies the uncomfortable fact of English military control," while *pandras*, which is of disputed meaning, but which she suggests derives from the verb *prendre*, "could similarly be alluding to a boastful taking."[208] Butterfield goes on to point out that "the spirit of contest is generally uppermost in a request for a poem in late medieval French

---

[206] Wimsatt, *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, at p. 242.
[207] Butterfield, p. 149-150.
[208] Ibid, p. 150.

poetry: the request functions as an aggressive challenge."[209] Thus, it is clear that in Butterfield's reading of Ballade 285 the tone of the poem is more of a challenge to Chaucer than pure praise, and it recalls the embattled status of France and England during the Hundred Years' War.

Madeleine Elson takes this reading a step further in her doctoral dissertation, *Chaucer's French Sources: Literary and Codicological Play and the Author's Persona*. Elson first weighs in on the debate over *pandras*, offering by way of reading "a French coinage of the Latin *pando, pandere* (its primary meaning in Lewis and Short is 'to spread out, extend, unfold, expand')." It was also used to mean "publish," but by coining the term from Latin rather than using the common French term *publier* he was able to give the line a more elevated tone.[210] Thus, the reading becomes "to those ignorant of the language you will publish [*scil.*: it, the *Rose*, *or*: yourself as] / Great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer."[211] Elson reads this as a clear sign of invective, a barely subtle thrust at Chaucer for putting himself forward or being self-promoting.[212] Thus, Elson is able to detect considerable signs of invective in Ballade 285, and she suggests that this was an invitation to a public debate in emulation of an earlier performance between the French poets Philippe de Vitry and Jean de le Mote. As she states: "Whether he had read Chaucer's work or had heard of it through Clifford, Deschamps recognized that they were uniquely situated to do something interesting poetically: to be the Vitry and Le Mote of their generation."[213]

It is worth noting a few conclusions from these earlier analyses. First, it seems clear that the cross-Channel exchange of culture I brought forward in Chapter 2 was strongly at play in this

[209] Ibid.
[210] Madeleine Elson, "Chaucer's French Sources: Literary and Codicological Play and the Author's Persona," (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2016), p. 159.
[211] Ibid, p. 165
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid

poem, and that, to some degree, Deschamps must have been aware of Chaucer's work and held it in considerable regard. Second, it also seems clear that the poem is something of a cross-grained compliment: it shows Deschamps' regard for Chaucer's poetry, certainly, but, at the same time, it demonstrates a challenge and invitation to invective. In short, the context of the Hundred Years' War is evident here: there is familiarity between the poets, but tension as well. This is a multifaceted poem, containing praise, bitterness, and playful challenge.

Having established earlier readings of Ballade 285, I will move beyond the historical questions of the Chaucer *ballade* and turn to a closer reading of the text. Up to this point, I have been presenting it largely as a historical document, ferreting out the degree of familiarity between the poets and their relationship. I'd now like to turn to see whether, when approached as pure literature, the poem has more to tell the reader: does a close reading of the sounds in the text contribute anything to the discussions?

First of all, I want to further analyze Wimsatt's claim that "However, the nature of rhyme minimizes or reverses such effect because—especially with the characteristically polysyllabic Romance tongues—rhyme typically falls on suffixes, both derivational and inflectional, which, while they carry grammatical meaning (presentness, pastness; verbness, nounness), have negligible lexical content."[214] In response, I would say that the grammatical meaning they carry is interesting in its own right: a preponderance of, for example, first person present tense verbs carries a certain narrative drive with it, an interesting "me-ness." Second, and more generally, I simply don't see why the grammatical meaning supersedes or obviates the need to examine the lexical meaning.

---

[214] Wimsatt, "Chaucer and Deschamps' 'Natural Music'," p. 140.

This is visible in action by looking at the course of the verb use in the *ballade* to Chaucer. There are several patterns ongoing throughout the *ballade*. The general trajectory is from sparse verb use in the first stanza, to a second person verb-rich second stanza, to a mixed first and second person third stanza. The immediate impact is to go from a fairly remote and neutral stance, to a heavily "you-focused" middle, to a "me-focused" conclusion.

Within that general context, I note that there are two types of verbs at play in this *ballade*: those that are featured in the end-rhyme, and those that aren't. A quick glance down the rhymes shows that the verbs in the end-rhyme tend to be expressed in the second person, ending in -*as*. However, before narrowing it down, I will break down all the verbs by stanza to begin with: Stanza One—*enlumines*, ***as*** *semé* et *planté*, and (possibly) ***pandras***; Stanza Two: *es*, ***flourie***, ***applique***, ***translatas***, ***demandas***, ***edifias***; Stanza 3: *requier*, *est*, *seray*, ***abuveras***, *sui*, ***aras***, *pran*, ***pourras***; Envoy: *seroye*, *considere*, *ai dit*, ***prie***. I have bolded the words which appear at the end of a line; eight of eleven end in -*as*. Those which are in the body of the stanza (not bolded), for the most part, are first-person verbs, so there is a fairly even split between second-person verbs (which appear in the end-rhymes) and first-person verbs (which appear in the body of the stanza).

The next question is, of course, what this means for reading the poem. Since verbs, broadly speaking, direct the *action* of a sentence, or, in this case, a stanza, the shifts I observed above from stanza to stanza matter a good deal here, since they shift the direction of the poem as a whole. The effect of the gradual shifts from one person to the next is telling; the first stanza is the simplest, then the effects become steadily more complex as the poem progresses.

In the first stanza, Deschamps starts off extremely generally, with a series of apostrophes occupying the first five lines until he introduces the first verbs, the second person *enlumines*, on

line 6, closely followed by *as semé* and *planté*. The next second person verb comes (probably) in the form of the obscure word *pandras*, on line 9. The set of apostrophes naturally suggest a "you," but no direct mention or identification of a "you" comes until either *pandras* (if one accepts it as a second person verb), or until Geoffrey Chaucer's name is mentioned in the refrain.

Things get more interesting, as far as the verbs are concerned, in the second stanza. The very beginning of the first line (line 11) begins with "Tu es," "You are," and, after a digression into the etymological derivation of the name "Angleterre," he returns to hammer home the second person verbs: "translatas" (l. 16), "demandas," (l. 17), and "edifias" (l. 19). The impact on the reader is a complete reversal from the first stanza: in the first stanza the reader needs to wait to the last line to know who this lofty personage is, but in the second stanza, the question being solved, the "tu" comes first as an agent. I argue that Deschamps has moved from the completely impersonal into the direct address, and so the *ballade* focuses in much more intimately on what *you*, Geoffrey Chaucer, have done: namely, translated the *Roman de la Rose* into good English, and constructed an orchard for which you have asked to be given plants.

Things take another turn in the third stanza: Deschamps continues to employ direct addresses to Chaucer, as well as use verbs in the second person, but he adds fairly heavy use of the first person, both in verbs and in pronouns. Thus, he begins the stanza in another address directly to Chaucer, but this time combining a first-person verb with a second-person pronoun: "A toy […] Requier," or, "I request from you" (ll. 21-2), and "est […] en ta baillie," "is in your jurisdiction" (l. 23). Then he returns to first person verb, "seray paralitique," "I will remain paralyzed," (l. 25), and quickly swaps back to the second person—but this time with first person pronouns: "tu m'abuveras," "you let me drink" (l. 26), plus a quick note, just to reinforce the "me-ness" that, "Eustace sui," "I am Eustace," until he plunges back into one of his second

person rhyming verbs: “qui de mon plant aras,” “whose plants you will have” (l. 27). He returns to the second person with an imperative, but one which is linked again to another second person rhyming verb accompanied by a first person pronoun: “pran […] de moy avoir pourras,” “take […] what you will receive from me” (ll. 28-9).

What I hope is visible from this slow breakdown, verb by verb, is that the verbs and their grammatical meaning have a definite lexical importance, and actually drive the action and import of the poem. Deschamps starts with a slow lead-up from a vague background character to an unnamed “you,” then, with each successive verb in the second stanza, this “you” dominates the poem (with one important caveat): the “You” is the “earthly God of love” in Albion, a translator, and a gardener who keeps an orchard. The reader’s view of Geoffrey Chaucer begins to crystalize in that stanza. Gradually, in the third stanza this shifts again: the verbs continue to (largely) be in the second person, but each of the rhyming second person verbs is preceded by a first-person pronoun; the grammatical thrust of those verbs is blunted by the overwhelming pronouns. The reader or audience can even hear it: each rhyming *-as* is accompanied by an *m*: “m’abuveras,” “mon plant aras,” and “moy avoir pourras.”

This pattern shifts once more in the Envoy, but only slightly: the pattern becomes reversed and it is full of first person verbs with second person pronouns. Deschamps begins over again with apostrophes, as in stanza one, then promptly goes to “ton jardin” plus “seroie;” “Considere” (an imperative) plus “j’ay dit;” “ton plant” and “ta melodie;” and end with “te prie.” It is not a terribly subtle shift: we have gone from *m* blunting the force of the *-as* endings to a complete eviction of the *-as* ending but a proliferation of *t* words: *ton*, *ta*, *te*. More significantly, while you might expect the *t* words to have the same blunting effect as the *m* words, instead there is an odd sense of invasive behaviour if the meaning is taken into account: “En *ton* jardin ne

seroie qu'ortie," "In *your* garden *I would be* but a nettle." Deschamps wants to insert himself in Chaucer's garden as an invasive, stinging weed, a generally unwelcome plant.

I wish to sum up the reading of these grammatical rhymes thus far. I would argue that Deschamps' rhymes really emphasize the verbs, especially in the second and third stanzas, and that that emphasis draws us strongly into Chaucer the translator and gardener. In the second stanza in particular, the verbs are strongly emphasized: *translatas*, *demandas*, and *edifias* all have strong, evocative meanings in their own rights. This becomes clearer yet by comparison to, for example, "as / semé" in lines 7-8, where the reader has to wait until the beginning of the ensuing line to complete the sense of the verb. Likewise, in the third stanza *m'abuveras* is the only particularly interesting verb in its own right, and it is run together with the first person pronoun. In the envoy, where the rhyme -*as* is removed, so is Chaucer's activity, and he becomes almost the victim of Deschamps' writerly activity.

I wish to return for a moment to the one important caveat I mentioned above regarding *musique naturelle* in the second stanza. I noted that the -*as* ending resulted in dominating the stanza with a sound of "you-ness." However, there is a long lacuna (about four and a half lines) between the "Tu es" which begins the "you-ness," and the rapid-fire succession of *translatas*, *demandas*, and *edifias*. That lacuna contains a set of playful twists on the etymological development of the name *Angleterre*. Deschamps progresses from calling it "la terre angelique" to referencing "Angela saxonne," to concluding with "Angleterre" and then swiftly links this interlude back to Chaucer by reminding Chaucer that he translated the *Rose* "en bon anglès." The purpose of this section is somewhat obscure; in a poem written to praise the English poet this decision to zoom out and encompass the ancient history of England's name is perhaps

slightly baffling. It can, and usually has been, read simply as a courteous reminder of England's noble history.

However, I note that there is another effect which arises from this little interlude; that is, that it is effectively a musical interlude playing on A-N-G-L as well as a little laudatory interlude drawing on the role of those letters in English history. In short, it is another way of playing with the confluence of sense and sound: the reader "sings" the words *angelique*, *Angela*, *Angleterre*, and *anglès*. Of course, there is a difference of pronunciation between *angelique* and *Angela* as opposed to *Angleterre*, and *anglès*, but, despite what we might call a modulation from the soft *G* to the hard *G*, the density of *musique naturelle* in those four and a half lines is the greatest concentration of "musicality" in the poem. What's interesting is that this concentration of *musique naturelle* encompasses the development of Englishness, and this very Englishness is what is taking on the *Rose* from France, and, in political terms of the period, is threatening the Frenchness of France. So, the question remains, how much is this *musique naturelle* laudatory, and how much of it is an attempt to integrate Englishness in the orchestral musicality of the rest of the poem? Or, alternatively, is *musique naturelle* the *melodie* which requires no translation—even from such a *grant translateur* as Chaucer?

There is one last sound effect I want to consider before moving on, and that is to return to the rhyme endings, this time in -*ique* and -*ie*. As with the -*as* endings, the -*ique* and (in most cases) the -*ie* carries a certain force, this time of noun-ness. More than that, however, his word selection carries a real concrete impact. I examine these nouns in the chart below:

Philosophie	Pratique
Poeterie	Rethorique
Albie	Theorique
Flourie (adj: derived from past participle)	Angelique
Helye	Applique
Baillie	Ethimologique
Escuiye	Autentique
Ortie	Ethique
Melodie	Paralitique
Prie	

Of the words which I note here, note how strong these nouns are, especially as they play off of each other. I lump them into rather vague categories: the seven liberal arts encompass at the very least "philosophie, poeterie, Helye, melodie, rethorique, and theorique"—perhaps "ethimologique" fits in here, as well; negative traits come out in "baillie, ortie, and paralitique"; ambiguous words include "Albie, prie, pratique, angelique, applique," and, of greatest interest to me, "autentique." As this list and categorization shows, the rhymes have a number of different emphases going on: there is no single unified argument being made through this *musique naturelle*. However, I do think that there are emphases being played with, and that these become particularly potent if Deschamps' audience looks beyond the borders of Ballade 285. In my reading below, I start within Ballade 285 and then branch out to Deschamps' four Machaut-adjacent *ballades* for good measure.

I would like to blatantly overgeneralize for a moment: I would argue that while Deschamps can play with layers of meaning in his poetry, and while he certainly uses various techniques to underline this process of layering, he's not a very elusive poet. He generally makes his meaning quite plain; I'd even call him straightforward, particularly through diction. Thus, while there may be various layers to Ballade 285 as Butterfield and Elson argue, one does not have to dig very far to find the combativeness which underlies his praise of Chaucer. Thus, in the case of these -*ique* and -*ie* words, I see much of the same playfulness going on as I have through each other technique I detected: many of these end-rhyme nouns are heavily related to the arts, and they speak to what Deschamps admires in the seven liberal arts; others poke at those very same artistic accomplishments; others still are, for various reasons, ambiguous in their effects, although they can show some interesting effects.

I wish to return to the survey of categories above, and, after I demonstrate the impact on the Chaucer *ballade* itself I will apply the same technique to see whether the Machaut *ballades* bring forward any further thoughts about Deschamps' diction and emphases. First of all, I would note that, without ever invoking them by name, Deschamps is really putting heavy emphasis on the seven liberal arts, with which he opens the *Art de dictier*: Grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy. His mentions of *philosophie*, *poeterie*, *rethorique*, and *theorique* right at the beginning draw us into that solemn context and I would remember that this is during the stanza which is more global, less verb-related. The "you" focused second stanza draws back from that context a bit and our reintroduction to the arts comes with the mention of *Helye*, the fount of Helicon, at the beginning of the third stanza, which is when Deschamps switches to the "me" focused diction. Note that the word in stanza 3 which rhymes with *Helye* is *baillie*, a reminder of the military divide between the two poets. The *envoy* builds

even more ambiguity into the -*ie* rhymes: *escuiye, ortie*, and *prie*, all meant to be indicators of Deschamps' personal humility, rhyme with *melodie*, which draws us right back into the liberal arts—and in particular to Deschamps' preferred art: music, *musique naturelle*. In some sense these few lines are a miniature *ars poetica* drawing the main strands of Deschamps' aesthetic together: that poetry should be humble, personal, learned, humorous, and melodic.

This pattern shows a constant pull towards the seven liberal arts, frequently undercut by other considerations: the entire second stanza pulls away from the liberal arts to focus on the journey *ethomologique* from *Angela* to *Angleterre*, accompanied by the description *angelique* and the verb *applique*, neither of which has anything to do with the liberal arts. Indeed, even the -*ie* words in the second stanza pull back from the noun-ness of the other stanzas. Thus, the "you"-focused second stanza simply sidesteps the pull of the arts which occupy the end-rhymes in the other stanzas. The third stanza and *envoy* overwhelmingly make up for the lack in the second-stanza: as the *ballade* refocuses on Deschamps himself, it returns heartily to the issues of poetry; in fact, it goes to its very source: *la fontaine Helye*. As noted above, *Helye* is rhymed with *baillie*, and later with *escuiye*, *ortie*, *melodie*, and *prie*. The tension between the art of poetry and Deschamps' push-back against Chaucer is intense at this point: *baillie* invokes thoughts of the war, *escuiye* and *ortie* of prickly faux-humility on Deschamps' part, while the *douce melodie* ties us straight back to the liberal arts, and simultaneously demarcates the *poeterie* of the first stanza as musical. To sum up, the rhymes of Ballade 285 mimic the very tensions going on within the text: there is considerable emphasis on the art of poetry and the liberal arts in general. However, as the text focuses most on Chaucer, the rhymes pull away from the arts, and when it adjusts its focus to Deschamps, the rhymes underline both the beauty of the poetic arts and the political tension surrounding the poets.

Ballade 285 is not, however, the only praise poem Deschamps addressed to a poet. Deschamps wrote two *ballades*, 123 and 124, addressed to Machaut after his death, and he also wrote Ballade 1242 to Christine de Pizan. The question I ask myself at this juncture is how these poems compare to the *ballade* addressed to Chaucer. Is the delicate complexity of the rhymes I observed above particular to the Chaucer *ballade*, or is it likewise present in the *ballades* to Machaut and Christine? It is my intention to show that Deschamps, as always, plays with poetics to achieve a desired result. In the case of Machaut, the praise is sincere and straightforward, with a slightly percussive hint to the grief; in the case of Christine de Pizan, it is direct, elegant, and dignified.

I will begin with Ballades 123 and 124, written following the death of Machaut. I don't raise the subject of these *ballades* because of any impressive display of sound-play; in point of fact, these somewhat earlier poems lack the impressive sound-play of either the *tour de force ballades* or the more attenuated but directed sound-play of Ballade 285. What does stand out, however, is the diction. In his praise of Machaut, Deschamps uses much the same language as in his praise of Chaucer. Thus:

Ballade 285: pratique, poeterie, rethorique, amours mondains Dieux, noble, la fontaine Helye, autentique, melodie

Ballade 123: noble, poeterie, melodieuse, rethorique, amours, autentique, pratique

Ballade 124: melodie, mondains dieux d'armonie, noble, rethorique, la fontaine Helie

While it is true that some of these are fairly common terms (e.g. noble, pratique), none occurs very frequently in Deschamps' poetry and some (dieux mondains) only appear in these *ballades*. What is most striking is the density of these terms appearing together in poetry praising another poet. For my purposes, what's particularly noteworthy is that Deschamps was

able to use similar diction in discussing these two poets, evidently at different points in his life and career, but with widely differing results: no one would question the sincerity of his praise of Machaut.

Given the great similarities between these poems, both in terms of structure and of diction, how is it that Deschamps produced such diverse poems? I would argue that there are two key differences: a) the lack of *envoy* in the earlier poems; b) the lack of any significant *musique naturelle* in the Machaut *ballades*. Both the *envoy* and the diverse forms of *musique naturelle* allow Deschamps to compose poetry with more layers of meaning, as we've observed in Ballade 285. While Ballades 123 and 124 are moving and sincere poems to the memory of a great figure in Deschamps' life, they are also simple, steady, and straightforward, with only the most basic forms of *musique naturelle* in the rhymes and the occasional foray into alliteration. Contrasting this with the *musique naturelle* observed in Ballade 285 truly highlights the multiple layers of meaning reinforced by Deschamps' treatment of sound in his poetry.

One remarkable feature of the poems to Machaut arises not from the two *ballades* themselves, but from two other *ballades* written shortly after Machaut's death: one, Ballade 447, addressed to Machaut's (probably fictional) beloved, Peronne, requesting that she transfer her allegiance to him following Machaut's death; and the other, Ballade 493, after Peronne's "rejection" of him, turning his offer of love to another lady, Gauteronne. Taken together with the earlier *ballades* on the death of Machaut, the effect is, to my mind, gently humorous and playfully competitive; Deschamps is not rudely jumping into his erstwhile mentor's place, but is playing at continuing his legacy, while at the same time ruefully concluding that his path is different and the courtly Peronne would never accept him.

The contrast with the *ballades* on the death of Machaut is clear, and is marked by the contrasting sounds between the two sets of *ballades*: whereas Ballades 123 and 124 are relatively sedate and marked only by the occasional percussive alliteration on /t/, Ballades 447 and 493 are heavily marked by the cooing repetition of the sound /ou/. In Ballade 447, this is strongly emphasized because it appears in the rhyme scheme: in the first stanza, *flours* rhymes with *d'amours* and *doucours*, but is drawn further into the stanza by *vous, toutes,* and *nourri*. Even in Ballade 493, however, it turns up seven times in the first stanza alone: *vous, doulce, tous, toute, souveraine, toudis, vous*. The impact is of comically heavy-handed tenderness. Consider, for example, the line "Par vo doulcour tres doulce Gauteronne" (l. 13), pushing both the sense ("sweetness," "sweet") and sound simultaneously. The effect is cloying, practically irritating in its persistence across the two *ballades*.

Keeping both the percussive, grief-stricken /t/ of the *ballades* to Machaut and the cooing /ou/ of the *ballades* related to Peronne in mind, I now turn to Christine de Pizan, addressed in Ballade 1242. Once again, I see a marked difference in tone, and, concurrently, in sound. The poem itself emphasizes Christine's great learning and, in fact, her lineage of learning: not only is she learned in her own right, but she is the daughter of a "docteur d'astronomie" (l.16). Thus she is wise, from a learned lineage—and she is completely unique in her level of accomplishment.

Her unique brilliance is emphasized not only in the text, but, as I mentioned, in the sound. In this case, the rhyme scheme is only somewhat interesting: the rhyming sounds are -*ine*, -*ui*, and -*ance*. All are, I would argue, relatively gentle and unobtrusive. That said, the real power of *musique naturelle* in this *ballade* comes from the alliteration on /s/ and /l/, particularly in the first stanza: *saiche*, *sens*, *science* all turn up in the first four lines, for example, and *livres*, *luy*, *lieux*, and *philosophie* in the following two lines. From these I hear a susurration which is called up

again at the beginning of the second stanza: "Dieu t'a donné de Salemon le signe" (l.11). I note that the sibilant sounds and the emphasis on learning coincide powerfully in this line. To call back to the work of Harshav and Tsur, this is no hushed sibilant as in Shakespeare, nor is it particularly loud or sneering as in Eliot. If it carries any similarities with the cases cited by Harshav, it is with Shakespeare's "Sonnet 30" in that there's a gentility to the voice of the poem, but even there I wouldn't strain the comparison. Deschamps is, once again, going his own way and using the sibilant in this context to emphasize Christine's high dignity and learning.

Taken together, Deschamps' poems to Chaucer, Machaut, and Christine demonstrate that, in his poems to other poets, Deschamps plays freely with poetic tools to underline, or even subvert, his own meaning. This concludes my set of close readings of Deschamps' poems. Through these readings, I have argued that Deschamps not only refers to *musique naturelle* in *L'Art de dictier* as a theoretical construction, but that he actively employs it in his own poetry in various flexible ways to underline meanings and emphasize tone and voice. Given this work, I now return to Laurie and Wimsatt's arguments regarding Deschamps' use of *musique naturelle* with a deeper understanding of it in practical terms.

To begin with Laurie, there are a few points to which I wish to draw some attention. First of all, while he never comes down firmly on one side or the other as to whether, in Lote's view, the use of alliteration is "mere chance," I believe his own readings of Deschamps' verse prove that they are far from mere chance, and my own close readings have made it clear that the use of alliteration has a real and genuine bearing on how one ought to read and interpret the poetry.

This leads to my second point, regarding Laurie's statements that: "the fact that Deschamps describes poetry as music at all might be explained without any reference to the

musicality of his own verse,"[215] and that "even when every concession is made to subjective judgement in evaluating them, it is impossible to pretend that they prove that Deschamps was more sensitive than his predecessors to the musicality of the unaccompanied lyric."[216] The main claim at the root of both statements is that it's impossible to find a link regarding poetic sound-play between the theories in *L'Art de dictier* and Deschamps' poetic practice, that one doesn't reflect the other. Once again, I believe that Laurie's own examples disprove that claim, and my close-readings of Deschamps' poetry demonstrate, on the contrary, that Deschamps practices as he preaches, and his poetry features many rich examples of *musique naturelle* in various flexible forms.

Finally, I would note that while Laurie does acknowledge Deschamps' singular expansion of topics available to the lyric poet, he doesn't take note of the link between the unusual topics and how they react with *musique naturelle*. However, my survey of the variety of Deschamps' poems shows that the choice of topics is very much relevant to the discussion of *musique naturelle*. That is to say that, for example, the *tour de force poétique* I analyzed shows a distinctly different style of *musique naturelle* than the more nuanced approach to be found in the *ballade* to Geoffrey Chaucer. Deschamps, who is quite a master of the use of *musique naturelle*, knows exactly how much to use and how to implement it in his approach to different poems.

To turn to Wimsatt, he states, as noted above, that one consequence of the mathematical conception of music is that "mimetic and expressive properties were not commonly attributed to music. It was only in the Renaissance that music generally was seen as directly representing

[215] Laurie, 562
[216] Ibid, 568.

ideas and embodying emotion."[217] I do not wish to go into the full debate regarding when "mimetic and expressive properties" were attributed to music, but I do wish to note that some of the alliterative and onomatopoeic effects which I explored in detail above are, I would suggest, decidedly mimetic. Further, the fashion in which Deschamps employs these sound-effects, to elicit humour or quietly subvert an overarching message, seems to me to be expressive. Finally, Deschamps' habit of dialing his use of sound-effects back and forth, depending on how intense or nuanced he wants his sound-play to come across, seems to me to be at odds with the mathematical framework suggested by Wimsatt via St. Augustine. Deschamps' sound world is developed not via formal rules of mathematics, but rather through subjective experiences and interpretations of combinations of letters.

Taking into account the scholarship which is leery of imputing too much originality to Deschamps' account of *musique naturelle* in *L'Art de dictier*, I will not say that intricate rhymes or detailed alliteration began with Deschamps; evidently these were all around before his time. What I will say is that the flexible use of sound-play in conjunction with the sense of the poem appears to me to be new to Deschamps, and, when united with the text of *L'Art de dictier*, seems to be a very deliberate attempt at making the experience of reading the poem aloud more melodic, even when devoid of instrumental music. The variety of poems which I have examined place the sound at the service of the sense, with alliteration or rhyme being drawn on to highlight particular words, or with an alliterative sound conveying noise of disgust which matches the overall sense of the poem. Thus, *musique naturelle*, while less rigidly structured than the Welsh *cynghanedd*, has equal flexibility in matching the music of the voice to the sense of the word.

---

[217] Wimsatt, "Chaucer and Deschamps' 'Natural Music,'" p. 134.

Overall, my readings of Deschamps' poetry reveal a complex interplay between sound and sense, an interplay that at its best can only be understood by a subjective listener hearing the poetry read out loud. Angela Leighton describes this dynamic in *Hearing Things: The Work of Sound in Literature*. To quote her directly, "It is not just that the writer consciously hears something, writes it down, and then invites a hearing from the reader to match. In fact the match is never exact and cannot be pre-planned. For it is part of the fascination of hearing things in literature that words shift, change, and deepen, loaded as they are with the half-conscious counterweave of other texts and usages, and renewed in their silent voicings at each new meaning."[218] Deschamps' description of poetry as *musique naturelle* seems to capture this view of poetry, and my readings of his poetry definitely fit into this vein.

---

[218] Leighton, 48.

CHAPTER 4

***Cynghanedd* and *Musique de Bouche*: *Musique Naturelle* in the Oeuvre of Dafydd ap Gwilym**

Thus far in this dissertation I have explored the use of sound in three areas of literature. In Chapter 1 I argued that the Welsh bardic grammar displays an intrinsic interest in the use of sound in Welsh poetry from the *cynfeirdd* (the early poets) to the *cywyddwyr* (poets contemporary to the grammarians). In Chapter 2 I showed that the major continental *artes poetriae* and, particularly, Eustache Deschamps' *Art de dictier* also show a keen preoccupation with how sound manifests in poetry. I showed parallels between Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* and the Welsh *Gramadeg Gwysanau*, and argued for potential influence of Geoffrey's work on the Welsh text. In Chapter 3 I demonstrated how Eustache Deschamps' theory of sound was put into practice in his oeuvre: I laid out the methods he used to enrich his poetry with sound-effects, both for ornament and to deepen his ostensible meanings. Together, these three chapters convey the developing richness of sound in poetry in the fourteenth century in France and Wales.

Given this background, the logical next step is to ask whether any of these developments manifest themselves in Welsh poetry of the same period. In particular, given the interest in the sound of poetry in Welsh and French theoretical works, and given the contemporaneous practical application of *musique naturelle* in Deschamps' oeuvre, is there a flowering of something akin to *musique naturelle* in Wales, and, if so, how can it affect future readings of Welsh fourteenth-century poetry?

Given the reference to "*musique naturelle*" in Wales, any reader of Welsh poetry will immediately think of *cynghanedd*, the Welsh poetic system literally meaning something akin to

"harmony," which fully developed in the fourteenth century. I place *cynghanedd* in the wider context of all sound poetics used in Welsh poetry, some distinctively Welsh (such as *cymeriad*, the linking of subsequent lines in Welsh verse by beginning them with the same letter or word; there is also *cyrch-gymeriad* which links the end of one line with the beginning of the next), and some of wider use, such as alliteration, internal rhyme, and assonance. These developments, which can be seen from close readings of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry, should be viewed in their broader European context.

In this chapter I will first examine the development of Welsh poetics in the fourteenth century. I will highlight the flowering of *cynghanedd*, although I will argue that the seeds of *cynghanedd* are seen somewhat earlier. I will then focus my lens onto the use of these poetics in the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym, arguably Wales's best-known medieval poet, a master of the then-new techniques of *cynghanedd*. The heart of the chapter will be readings of Dafydd's poetry demonstrating his technical achievements in both *cynghanedd* and other techniques which I argue comprise the Welsh "*musique naturelle*." I demonstrate how taking these techniques into account enriches any reading of Dafydd's poetry. I will conclude by aligning these readings with my prior readings of Deschamps and arguing that together they present a new perspective on the fourteenth century's poetic developments: one that privileges sound, not just as a novelty, but as a key element in the construction of poetry.

The defining event for the transition to the use of the *cywydd* metre and *cynghanedd* which will form the backbone of this chapter was the final conquest of Wales by England in 1282. Before 1282, the poetry which has survived in manuscript form until today was written by court poets. The poets of the period dating from approximately the late-eleventh century until 1282 are referred to synonymously as the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* ("Poets of the Princes") or

gogynfeirdd (the "rather early poets"). While there were doubtless popular poets from this period, their work hasn't survived in manuscript form, so when I speak of the poetic transition which occurred in 1282, I speak only to the transition in the form of patronage for high ranking poets, and how this had an impact on the poetic forms in use by these poets.[219]

Before 1282, Wales was ruled in parcels by more or less powerful lords and princes in different provinces. The *Beirdd y Tywysogion* were poets who composed poetry for these princes, and the poetic output that survives from this period is generally poetry related to these princes in some form or other. Most of the extant *Beirdd y Tywysogion* poetry is panegyric, but it's also evident that it was the responsibility of the poet to write in warning to their prince if he wasn't behaving in a suitably princely fashion. The poet might also compose *rhieingerddi*, praise poetry addressed to a lady, often the daughter or wife of the prince in question. While such poetry might sound like love poetry to a modern ear, it was different from the troubadour tradition in which the lady was praised for her beauty and nobility; rather in *rhieingerddi* she was praised as related to the prince for whom the poet composed.[220] Lastly, there is a quantity of extant, and deeply moving, *marwnadau* ("laments") to a noble prince or lady.

One of the greatest and most prolific surviving poets of this period is Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr ("Cynddelw the Great Poet"), who wrote for a number of lords, perhaps most notably Madog ap Maredudd, prince of Powys (d. 1160) and Owain Gwynedd, prince of Gwynedd (d. 1170). In Cynddelw's oeuvre all of the categories of poetry described above are extant, as are a number of poetic forms which I will discuss and describe in more detail below.

---

[219] For further details on the history of this period, see R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest* and Dafydd Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 2005.
[220] Helen Fulton, *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context*, UWP: Cardiff, 1989, p. 84.

After 1282, however, this system of patronage fell apart; Edward I of England effectively eliminated the princely class in Wales, and so the distinction between the poetic classes which looked to princely patronage and the popular poets began to erode. Poets such as Cynddelw, attached to a princely family, simply are not found after 1282. A new wealthy class arises in Wales, called the *uchelwyr* (the "gentry"), and so the poets who look to them for patronage are called *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, or sometimes *cywyddwyr* ("composers of the *cywydd*"). Many of the same poetic forms are written, praise poetry and *marwnadau* among them; the *uchelwyr* seek reassurance for their high status and an *awdl* of praise in the form Cynddelw had used would be understood to tell the patron that he was as powerful and worthy as an Owain Gwynedd. However, given the socio-political changes in the poets' role, it is unsurprising that there were likewise changes in poetic form and subject, including the introduction of love poetry and humour. It is the poetic changes that appear at this transitional period, namely the rise of the *cywydd* metre and of *cynghanedd*, which interest me here. I will begin by looking more closely at poetic form. For ease of reference, my examples from the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* period will come from Cynddelw and my examples from the *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* will be drawn from Dafydd ap Gwilym.

In order to understand the formal developments in fourteenth-century Wales, it is first necessary to outline the popular *Beirdd y Tywysogion* forms. Prior to the fourteenth century, the common metres in use were the *awdl* measures and the *englyn*, both of which tend towards longer line lengths, although this is not universally true, whereas the *cywydd* metre is based on the seven-syllable line.[221] It is worth emphasizing right here from the beginning that while these

---

[221] For a full discussion of the various *awdl* measures, see Peredur Lynch, "Yr Awdl a'i Mesurau," *Beirdd a Thywysogion: Barrdoniaeth Llys yng Nghymru, Iwerddon, a'r Alban*, eds. Morfydd E. Owen and Brynley F. Roberts, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press,1996) at pp. 258-87.

metres were, indeed, popular before the development of the *cywydd*, the *cywydd* in no sense eradicated them. Indeed, many forms continue to be composed to the present day, and, certainly, poets such as Dafydd ap Gwilym composed *awdlau* and *englynion* in addition to their *cywyddau*. Further, I will be presenting a *marwnad* below which combines the *awdl* and *englyn* forms.

One of the forms popularized during the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* period was the *englyn unodl union*, one of the forms of *englyn* of most enduring popularity, right to the present day. The *englyn unodl union* is based on a quatrain of ten, six, seven and seven syllable lines respectively, and is marked by one main rhyme. An example of the *englyn unodl union* from Cynddelw reads:

Mae im flaidd a'm câr o'm caffael—wrthaw,

Yn wrtheb archafael;

Nid blaidd coed coll ei afael,

Namyn blaidd maes moesawg hael.[222]

Among the various *awdlau* in use during this period was the *cyhydedd naw ban*, nine-syllable lines arranged into couplets, of which a prime example is "Arwyrain Madawg fab Maredudd," a praise poem by Cynddelw to Madog ap Maredudd. The opening reads as follows:

Arddwyreaf naf o naw rhan—fy ngherdd,

O naw rhyf angerdd, o naw rhyw fan,

I foli gwron gwryd Ogrfan,

Gorun morgymlawdd a'i goglawdd glan.[223]

---

[222] All Cynddelw examples will be drawn from the *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* edition, volume 3, edited by Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991. This *englyn* is found on pp. 286-7, no. 23.

[223] Ibid, pp. 4-5, no. 1.

Note that in this poem the opening lines are a *toddaid*, which consists of nineteen syllables divided into two lines of ten and nine each. The main rhyme occurs before the ending of the first line, while the end of the first line rhymes with the middle of the second line.[224] There are two further *toddeidiau* in the poem. The *toddaid* is notable as being related to the *cyhydedd hir*, a line of nineteen syllables which, for convenience of writing or printing, may be divided into ten and nine, or into sections of five, five, five and four or five, five and nine syllables.[225]

An example of the *cyhydedd fer*, which will be relevant below in my discussion of the *cywydd* metre, is Cynddelw's "Canu Tysiliaw," addressed to Saint Tysilio of Powys:

> Duw dinag, dinas tangnefedd,
>
> Duw, dy nawdd, na'm cawdd i'm camwedd!
>
> Duw doeth i deithi teÿrnedd,
>
> Teÿrnas wenwas wirionedd;
>
> Dew a'm dwg i'm dogn anrhydedd
>
> I'w wenwlad, i'w rad, i'w riedd,
>
> Yn elwch, yn heddwch, yn hedd,
>
> Yn hoddiaw yn hawdd farannedd.[226]

The *cyhydedd fer*, as seen above, consists of eight-syllable lines in rhyming couplets, and the rhyme often, as here, carries throughout the *awdl*.[227]

Given this overview of *Beirdd y Tywysogion* metres, the innovations of *cywydd* and *cynghanedd* stand in greater relief. Whereas most of the popular *Beirdd y Tywysogion* forms are

---

[224] Gwyn Williams, *An Introduction to Welsh Poetry, from the beginnings to the sixteenth century*. Philadelphia: Dufour Editions, 1952 at p. 240.
[225] Ibid, p. 239.
[226] *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*, vol. 3, p. 29, no. 3.
[227] Williams, 238.

longer of line (with the notable exception of the *cyhydedd fer*) and rarely feature accent, the *cywydd deuair hirion* is a the seven-syllable couplet in which the rhyme falls on an accented syllable in one of the lines and an unaccented syllable in the other. There are three other forms of the *cywydd* among the twenty-four metres, but this is the metre used by Dafydd ap Gwilym, ornamented with *cynghanedd*. It has become the metre most frequently thought of when one hears the word "*cywydd*." The shift from the *englyn* or *awdl* to the *cywydd* with *cynghanedd*, whether or not it was a change softened by coming through popular song or gradually developing through a shorter form of *awdl*, was still a marked alteration brought about in the fourteenth century, and from the perspective of modern scholarship, driven by manuscript studies, was quite a radical alteration. Although this is a broad generalization, perhaps the seven-syllable line is more amenable to intense musicality than the longer lines of the *awdl*, which was more diffuse and oratory.

The most notable change in the fourteenth century must be the full development of *cynghanedd*, which is frequently translated as "harmony." *Cynghanedd* is an intriguingly musical word, a musicality brought sharply into focus by the translation "harmony," which literally is derived from the prefix *cyn*-, "together," and *canu*, "singing," "chiming," and "ringing." Thus it means "singing/chiming/ringing together," or "harmony." But, while there is merit to such varied English equivalents, ultimately the word is untranslatable; it is, in fact, a uniquely Welsh phenomenon. The *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics* defines it as "an elaborate system of sound correspondences involving accentuation, alliteration, and internal rhyme occurring within a single line of verse."[228] This is, technically, entirely accurate, but does little to convey the auditory symphony of a perfect *caniad* (best translated as "stanza") of intense *cynghanedd*.

---

[228] *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 4th Ed., Ed. in Chief, Roland Greene, Ed. of article D. Myrddin Lloyd, PUP: Princeton, 2012, p. 328.

The article concludes, "It is an art form capable of a very rich, subtle, *melodious*, and highly wrought effect that has been extensively exploited by Welsh poets," (my emphasis) which brings me right back to my main argument: that *cynghanedd* cannot be understood without reference to music.[229]

I wish to provide a brief overview of *cynghanedd* which both covers the technical aspects of the system and which conveys why it is that I, and others, consider it "musical." To begin with, there are four main categories of *cynghanedd*, all of which are based on a mixture of alliteration and internal rhyme: *cynghanedd lusg*, *cynghanedd draws*, *cynghanedd groes*, and *cynghanedd sain*. The simplest way to explain these four categories will be to provide a brief example of each type. I will draw all examples from Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem "Yr Haf," ("The Summer") as it is particularly rich in all forms of *cynghanedd* and I will be discussing it in more detail below as a proof of the intensity of *cynghanedd* in his poetry. I will mark the sound correspondences of *cynghanedd* by various means: alliteration by bolding and internal rhyme by italics. The full poem and translation will appear later in this chapter.[230]

To begin with, I will examine two examples of *cynghanedd lusg*. In a line of *cynghanedd lusg* the final syllable of the first half of the line (which can occur at any point convenient to the poet) rhymes internally with the accented penultimate syllable of the line. The first rhyme can be accented or unaccented. Two examples of *cynghanedd lusg* are "Rho Duw, gw*ir* mae dih*ir*af" (3) and "A llednais *wybr* eh*wybr*af" (5).

---

[229] Ibid., 329.
[230] The following explanation of the different forms of *cynghanedd* is indebted to Gwyn Williams's *An Introduction to Welsh Poetry*, particularly his helpful Appendix A, and to Mererid Hopwood's *Singing in Chains: Listening to Welsh Verse,* Llandysul: Gomer, 2004.

Cynghanedd draws and *cynghanedd groes* are related; both feature alliteration and they both appear under the chief category *cynghanedd gytsain*. *Cynghanedd groes* is fairly straightforward: all consonants appear in the same order in each half of the line; *cynghanedd draws* differs only in that the two sets of consonants are interrupted by a series of other consonants not part of the pattern. An example of *cynghanedd groes* is "**Cn**w**d d**a iaw**n**, **cn**aw**d d**ia**n**af" (9) whereas *cynghanedd draws* appears in "**P**a**r**a**d**wys, iddo **pr**y**d**af" (15). Note that in these forms of *cynghanedd* the vowels are irrelevant to the formal patterning; they may, however, have great relevance to the sound of the poetry, as I will argue below.

Cynghanedd sain is, perhaps, somewhat older than the other forms of *cynghanedd*; at least, it appears throughout *Beirdd y Tywysogion* poetry. It features an interplay of alliteration and internal rhyme: the line is divided into three, the first part rhyming with the second and the second alliterating with the third. Thus: XXY| ABCY| ABCZ. It is the inaugural form of *cynghanedd* in "Yr Haf," the first line of which features a simple but lovely example of *cynghanedd sain*: "Gwae ni, h*il* ei**dd***il* A**dd**af."

What all of these examples will have demonstrated is that *cynghanedd*, of no matter which variety, is based on stresses and sounds. Putting aside all other forms of sound effects, the system of *cynghanedd* which arose in the fourteenth century represents, in and of itself, the advent of a system of musical effects in Welsh poetry based off of what seems to have been earlier play with alliteration and internal rhyme, as will be seen in my discussion below of the appearance of *cynghanedd sain* in the "Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd." The amplification of the earlier incidences of *cynghanedd sain* in an *awdl* to the full system of all four kinds of *cynghanedd* in the *cywydd* measure is an alteration better understood by hearing than by silent reading, but I will attempt to show it by a side-by-side comparison of a few lines of Cynddelw,

whom I used above to represent classic *beirdd y tywysogion* poetry, to a few lines of "Yr Haf," both beautiful to hear, but representing widely different styles and intensity of sound. Note also that the shorter line length of the *cywydd* condenses the amount of space available to play with in auditory form; this is notable because when heard aloud each sound in the line matters all the more. Altogether, as the basis for a system of *musique naturelle* in Wales, there could be no more perfect foundation than *cynghanedd*.

Cynddelw, "Arwyrain Madawg fab Maredudd"	Dafydd ap Gwilym, "Yr Haf"
Arddwyre*af* **n***af* o **n**aw rhan—fy ngherdd, O naw rhyf angerdd, o naw rhyw fan, I foli gwron gwryd Ogrfan, Gorun morgyml*awdd* a'i go**gl***awdd* **gl**an.	Gwae ni, h*il* ei**dd***il* A**dd**af, **Ford**wy rhad, **fyrred** yr haf. Rho Duw, gw*ir* mae dih*ir*af, Rhag ei ddar*fod*, dy*fod* haf,

Note also the incidences of alliteration and internal rhyme which occur without being part of the *cynghanedd*: the repetition of *–dd* and *g* in the Cynddelw passage are notable; the rhyme in *–af* in the Dafydd, as well as the *cymeriad* on *rh* are also worth pointing out. Both are rich in sound, but the musicality of Dafydd's, based on the use of *cynghanedd* but not exclusive to it, is more strongly condensed and creates a powerful sound punch when heard.

The question which inevitably arises, given the large shifts in metrics, is how and when the *cywydd* metre accompanied by *cynghanedd* first appeared in Welsh verse. Unfortunately, this is not an easy question to answer. To judge by the manuscript evidence, it spontaneously broke out among poets after the conquest of Wales and the fall of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282 and the rise of the *cywyddwyr*. There doesn't appear to be any middle ground during which, for example, Cynddelw or, later, Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, wrote a proto-*cywydd* poem. To put it

simply, there aren't any signs of the early development of the new metre; it simply appears, fully-formed, on the scene with Dafydd ap Gwilym and his fellows. In this way, it is like any other medieval poetic form: just as there are no examples of proto-alexandrines in French poetry, I would not look for proto-*cywydd* in Welsh poetry.

Although there is no evidence of a proto-*cywydd*, one might be tempted to look to earlier metres with shorter line-lengths for some hints as to how the *cywydd* may have developed. It should be understood, however, that there is no evidence of these forms suddenly being used more frequently in the years before the popularization of the *cywydd*. That said, forms such as the *englynion proest*, consisting of four seven-syllable lines, and the *cyhydedd fer*, rhymed couplets of eight-syllable lines, were in common use. However, as I have demonstrated above, the *cywydd deuair hirion* is a unique combination of poetic elements and there is no clear line from the seven-syllable line couplet in the *englyn unodl union*, and the *englyn proest*, or the eight-syllable line of the *cyhydedd fer* to the *cywydd*.

Naturally, that seems a little too spontaneous, a bit too on the nose, to be realistic. Thus, Gwyn Williams in *An Introduction to Welsh Poetry*, and, later, Dafydd Johnston in *Llên yr Uchelwyr*, suggest that this was a form of poetry already in use among the lower orders of poets in Wales, probably the travelling minstrels (the *clêr*), and, since their poetry went unrecorded, so too did the development of the *cywydd* metre. I note that this suggestion is not a solution in that it only displaces the problem of the origins of the *cywydd* metre to these unrecorded poets. It is slightly humorous to think that the poetry which went unrecorded as being unworthy ultimately became the poetry which is today revered for its technical challenges and beauty of sound. And yet we can never be certain of its origins since they were deemed unworthy of parchment until the fourteenth century.

While there is no evidence of the origins of the *cywydd* metre, early forms of *cynghanedd*, notably *cynghanedd sain*, do make their appearance quite frequently in *Beirdd y Tywysogion* poetry. I would like to illustrate this point by making a brief but careful study of Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch's *Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*. I make this choice of poem because it is written after the conquest of Wales in 1282, so it straddles the poetic periods to which I am referring, and while it is very firmly a late text of the *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, it is also unafraid to challenge the traditions of those poets. Thus, while it is in many ways quite a traditional elegy to a dead leader, it also touches on much broader themes of the destruction of its land, and, as a consequence, it breaks with elegiac tradition in Wales in subject, form, and sound.

The poem features several traditional elements. Naturally, the subject matter, an elegy to a departed lord is very traditional. The form, too, is traditional: an *awdl* measure is common and very suitable to elegiac poetry in Wales. Earlier poems such as Taliesin's *Marwnad Owain ap Urien* or Cynddelw's *Marwnad Madog ap Maredudd*, both employ the *awdl* measure and are both clear examples of traditional *marwnadau*.[231] The particular focus of this dissertation, however, is on sound, and so I wish to note first and foremost that the poem is notable as much for its sound as for its subject matter; notably, the *prifodl* is in -*aw* throughout the poem, a sound which, repeated, must have accentuated that emphasis on lamentation and grief, and come through as an almost visceral cry of pain. However, I noted above that in addition to the *prifodl* the poem is notable for its examples of *cynghanedd sain*. Two fine examples appear in lines 15 and 21: "Bucheslawn argl*wydd* ni'n **ll***wydd* ein **ll**aw" and "Ys mau ei ganm*awl* **h**e**b**

---

[231] For a comprehensive survey and analysis of *Beirdd y Tywysogion marwnadau*, see Nerys Ann Jones, "Marwnadau Beirdd y Tywysogion: Arolwg," *Cyfoeth y Testun: Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesodd Canol*, (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 2003), pp. 176-99.

d*awl*, **h**e**b** **d**aw." Note also that in both of these lines, the *–aw* of the *prifodl* is echoed earlier in the line.

It is not only the *prifodl* and *cynghanedd sain* that demonstrate the attention to sound that Gruffudd invested in this work. His repeated use of the consonants *–wydd*, *-dd*, *-gw, -ll* throughout lines 7-10 marks the passage by their softness. This softness allows the high wailing of the vowels, -*ae*, -*i*, -*aw*, to dominate these lines, with an effect like keening. A little later, in line 16: "Buchedd **dr**a**g**wy**dd** a **dr**i**g** i**dd**aw," the early attention to alliteration which also dominates *cynghanedd* (particularly *cynghanedd draws* and *cynghanedd groes*, as seen above) begins to come through.

I will not go into too many further examples of the early forms of *cynghanedd* at work in this poem, but I wish to highlight two aspects of what I've drawn forth already. First, the formal patterns of sound-effects: *cynghanedd sain* and the *prifodl*. These become ever more formalized, as seen already in my account of *cynghanedd* and as I will explore further in my analysis of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry. However, I also noted the echoes of *–aw* within the lines, and drew attention to alliteration unrelated to *cynghanedd*. Other examples of such free-flowing sound-effects abound: Gruffudd appears to particularly make use of repetition of key phrases at the beginning of lines. Lines 7-10 begin with *Gwae fi*, but that keening is balanced by the harsh call of *Ys mau* (lines 17-23) and the extraordinarily expressive *Poni welwch chwi* of lines 65-68. Thus, while the ends of the lines showcase the visceral pain of *–aw*, the beginnings often have their own powerful impact on the sound, as well as the sense, of the poem.

This brings me back to the question of form: what Gruffudd has provided here is an *awdl*, in a set of very traditional metres for the subject matter, turned to very untraditional ends. This is, therefore, a traditional poem which uses sound in a whole set of original and inventive

forms.[232] What this shows is the flexibility of what will become a type of *musique naturelle* in Welsh poetry: it is used here for making specific sound-effects which comment on the text. Thus, the wailing of the *prifodl* and the *Gwae fi* of lines 7-10, and the comparative harshness of *Ys mau* as the poet rails against the English for the harm they've done him.

In time *cynghanedd* will be fully fleshed out and it will find its natural home in the *cywydd* metre. However, the tender beginnings in *Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd* are already quite extraordinary in what they prefigure: *cywydd* and *cynghanedd* will be used until the present day in a number of fashions with as much flexibility as Eustache Deschamps and his *musique naturelle*. They will occasionally be used sparingly to, perhaps, allow a narrative to shine through, or heavily and with great nuance to the extent that the story seems almost secondary to the sound (Dafydd ap Gwilym's *Y Gwynt*). But this is where it begins, with sound-effects in otherwise very traditional *Beirdd y Tywysogion* poetry.

To summarize, it is important to note that the final conquest of Wales in 1282 brought with it significant changes in the sound and form of Welsh poetry. These changes include the development of the *cywydd* metre and, with it, the system of adornment called *cynghanedd*. While the earlier forms of poetry do not die out, indeed, the *englyn* and *awdl* measures continue in use until the present day, the development of these new forms and systems of poetry are notable, and are an explicit indication of the implicit interest manifested in the bardic grammar, as discussed in Chapter 1. Where Chapter 1 described how the bardic grammar evinces a practical, indeed, didactic interest in the building blocks of sound grammatically, this chapter is exploring the practical manifestation of this interest in poetry, and this all begins with the

[232] The question, certainly, of whether a poem is traditional is complicated. Gruffudd's poem is unusual and very creative, and it emanates from a tradition which must have fostered such flexibility.

developments occurring at the turn of the fourteenth century. It is equally notable that these changes mirror developments in France as explained in Chapter 3. The alterations in sound and form in Welsh poetry are more striking when viewed in comparison with Deschamps' *Art de dictier* and poetry; although Dafydd ap Gwilym comes earlier than Deschamps, it is notable that Deschamps' vocabulary is absolutely perfect for describing the developments in Welsh poetry, and striking that he is more explicit in his description of the use of sound in poetry than are the Welsh bardic grammar.

Certainly *cynghanedd* has certain very distinctive rules that don't exist in French poetry, but Eustache Deschamps' delineation of *musique naturelle* in *L'Art de dictier* and his use of sound-play in his own poetry speaks to the same movement to understand sound in poetry as an independent force. In Chapter 3, I showed how Deschamps uses *musique naturelle* in a variable and flexible manner, making use of alliteration, rhyme, and assonance in particular, but not with any regularity. *Cynghanedd*, by contrast, is a highly structured system of sound poetics, but one for which prescriptive rules were only codified after their inception.[233] That said, both Deschamps' *musique naturelle* and *cynghanedd* in Welsh poetry are used in similar fashions: at the simplest level, for ornament; at a higher level, for commentary on the text; at other times, as a poetic form in their own right. I have demonstrated this in some detail in Deschamps' poetry, and in this chapter I will explore similar uses of *cynghanedd* in Dafydd's oeuvre.

My argument that the poetic developments in fourteenth-century Wales should be viewed in the broader context of *musique naturelle* leads me to consider the long tradition of scholarship focusing on parallels between Welsh and French poetry, and on the potential Continental

[233] As mentioned earlier, the Gutun Owain recension of the grammar, which first codifies the rules of *cynghanedd*, dates to the fifteenth century.

influences on fourteenth-century Welsh poetry and on Dafydd's poetry in particular. I will survey three of the seminal works on the subject in order to place my work in the context of previous scholarship. Unlike previous scholars, who focus on the question of the influence of troubadour poetry on Dafydd's poetry, I am more interested in exploring parallels between Dafydd and his contemporaries in the European context.

According to Theodor Chotzen in *Recherches sur la poésie de Dafydd ab Gwilym* (published in 1927), the long tradition of readings of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry before Chotzen's time was based almost entirely on placing Dafydd's poetry in the context of some set of influences or other, from the Classical tradition to Petrarch to the troubadours. Chotzen's considered study of the purported influences on Dafydd was the first to lay out and survey these proposals in full, and to question them based on the evidence he could discover. Chotzen considers various assumptions in the literature from his predecessors, ranging from the assumption that Dafydd was working entirely within a native tradition to one that was entirely a Welsh imitation of troubadour poetry to some point of interface between these two extremes, mediated by Dafydd's own character: "un savant considerable et un éclectique."[234] His conclusion lies somewhere along the median line; his weighing of the evidence leads him to believe that there was some indirect influence, but the influence of troubadour poetry in Wales seems less than had been suggested by earlier critics.[235]

Rachel Bromwich, in *Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym*, examines several precise points of comparison more minutely in order to assess to what degree literary influences from outside Wales had an impact on Dafydd's work. She carefully assesses

[234] Theodor Chotzen, *Recherches sur la poésie de Dafydd ab Gwilym*, Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1927 at p. 26.
[235] Ibid, 333-4.

the degree to which Dafydd was indebted to outside influences for various poetic achievements; for example, as regards Dafydd's poetic contention, or *Ymryson*, with Gruffudd Gryg, she asserts that there is no need to look to Provençal poetry for influence on this development given the lengthy native Celtic precedents in both Wales and Ireland.[236] Bromwich notes likewise that Dafydd's *llatai* or love-messenger poems, which she points out are almost entirely new to Welsh poetry, retain many facets of the older tradition of praise-poetry.[237] Thus, even in Dafydd's newer forms, older Welsh tradition persists.

Bromwich pays particular attention to the older forms of comparison between the thematic similarities in Dafydd's poetry and the Provençal conventions of *amour courtois*, based in, although considerably different from, Ovid. Returning to the *Ymryson* with Gruffudd Gryg, Bromwich points out that it was these influences on Dafydd's poetry which Gruffudd Gryg regarded as "artificial and alien" to the tradition in which Dafydd wrote.[238] The question Bromwich concerns herself with is to what extent Dafydd actually was influenced by *amour courtois* and, by extension, Ovid. She concludes that Dafydd likely had exposure to Ovid via an indirect source, such as the *Roman de la Rose* and possibly directly to Ovid's *Amores*.[239]

Moving on to possible French influences, Bromwich is equally circumspect. She draws extensive comparisons between *Hwsmonaeth Cariad* and the *Roman de la Rose*, both of which explore a simile between the lover who sows his grain only to see the potential harvest destroyed by a storm[240], but is less convinced of the probable influence of Jean de Condé's *La Messe des*

---

[236] Rachel Bromwich, *Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym*, Cardiff: Wales U. P., 1967 at pp. 14-5.
[237] Ibid, p. 18.
[238] Ibid, p. 21.
[239] Ibid, 25-27.
[240] Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. and trans. by Armand Strubel, (la Bibliothèque des Lettres: Paris, 1998), ll. 3958-68. Bromwich notes that the lover in Guillaume's part of the *Roman* applies this to himself at the point when the beloved has been rendered inaccessible to him. It is worth noting, too, that the *Rose* is

Oiseaux on Dafydd's *Offeren y Llwyn* (The Woodland Mass).[241] In Dafydd's other nature poems, Bromwich argues that he appears to be reaching back to the earlier Celtic tradition rather than looking to either the French poems or, indeed, Welsh *canu rhydd*, both of which feature bird-protagonists as thinly-disguised humans. Bromwich notes that it is possible that Dafydd is simply part of a new tradition, but these traits are so very pervasive in his poetry that they may be personal characteristics of his poetry. Finally, Bromwich suggests that scholars ought to carefully distinguish between influences from such well-known and well-circulated texts as the *Amores* and the *Roman de la Rose* and such indirect influences as might have reached Dafydd via songs and poetry "current in Latin, French, English, and even Welsh [which] must have been the medium of popular entertainment in the Norman boroughs established in Wales in the wake of the Conquest."[242] Thus, she argues for renewed attention not only to direct influence from the continent through major works, but also for attention to popular song and other media through which influences may have spread in the poetic underworld.

In *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context*, Helen Fulton, responding to Chotzen and Bromwich, investigates the content of Dafydd's poems for clues as to what was inherited from the Continent, coming through the troubadours, and what comes in a direct line of native tradition. Fulton's main contribution is a strong account of the transition from the *gogynfeirdd* to the *cywyddwyr* covering the changing socio-political landscape in Wales and how these changes had an impact on, and are visible in, Welsh poetry. In this way, Fulton establishes clearly and cogently where Dafydd fits into the poetic tradition in Wales. Fulton agrees with and expands upon Bromwich's theory of the importance of popular verse to Dafydd's poetry: "His poetry can

---

so long and complex that one is nearly certain to find a given love simile or metaphor at some point in the length of the poem.

[241] Bromwich, 30; 34-5.

[242] Ibid, 49-50.

best be regarded as a blending of extended courtly love conventions from Europe into a base of native *gogynfeirdd* tradition, with a leavening of popular material both oral and literary."[243]

The primary question which concerns Fulton is to establish whether there was a pre-existing native tradition of love poetry in Wales and whether it had any relation to the troubadour tradition. Thus, she first provides a social and political overview of the Wales in which the *gogynfeirdd* were composing poetry, and draws connections between the conditions in which the *gogynfeirdd* worked and the world of the troubadours. Thus, both composed official eulogistic verse for a social élite; both worked in court-centred societies; both wrote to reaffirm the power and prestige of the ruling class.[244]

Despite these similarities, however Fulton is skeptical that *Beirdd y Tywysogion* poetry was directly derived from troubadour courtly love tradition. She expresses doubt that troubadour influence could have reached Wales by the mid-twelfth century. Additionally, she draws several distinctions between the troubadours and *Beirdd y Tywysogion* poetry. Troubadours show the emergence of a new aristocracy of knights and praise women as idealized courtly love objects, whereas *Beirdd y Tywysogion* support an ancient power structure of tribal dynasties and praise women merely as an extension of their lords. Thus, because of the distinctions between women's status in Wales and France, "The persona of Welsh court-poetry is not the lover-knight of troubadour verse, but rather a warrior-poet who worships a symbol of aristocratic power based on landownership."[245] In sum, Fulton concludes that, "Those motifs and attitudes of the *rhieingerddi* which appear to be 'borrowed' from troubadour poetry can be explained partly as

[243] Ibid, xii.
[244] Fulton, p. 76.
[245] Ibid., 77.

synchronic and parallel expressions arising from a similar courtly poetic function, and partly as influences from northern French *jongleur* song."[246]

The English conquest of Wales brings changes to the *rhieingerddi*, including much heavier influence from French sources, both popular and courtly. As Fulton notes, the conquest increased Norman settlements in Wales, and "marriage became an increasingly significant means of assimilating the new rulers."[247] Norman lords who wanted to consolidate their power looked for marriage with noble Welsh families, and, at the same time, Welsh poets were seeking new sources of patronage, Welsh and Norman. Thus, a shift in eulogistic poetry to women becomes apparent: "These are more overtly love-poems: the women are described in terms of their physical beauty, instead of being associated with the world of warrior activity."[248] She observes a greater emphasis on the sufferings caused by love and on love-worship as opposed to eulogy, tendencies which betray continental influence.[249] Thus, Fulton shows that through the *gogynfeirdd* era, love poetry develops and slowly unfolds, admitting more influence from France, although "even in the work of the later *gogynfeirdd*, the native bardic inheritance strongly outweighs any foreign influence."[250]

Fulton's analysis of Dafydd's European influences emphasizes his place in the socio-political currents of the fourteenth century. She begins her analysis of Dafydd by talking about his court poetry, and in so doing she makes it clear that he was a very staunch adherent to the tradition of the *gogynfeirdd*, even while absorbing the courtly tradition of unrequited love in his formal love-lyrics. Fulton remarks, "These two sets of literary traditions must have had a

---

[246] Ibid, 79.
[247] Ibid, 95.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid, 105.

particular appeal for Dafydd's audiences. The first reminded them of their native cultural inheritance as successors to the old Welsh nobility, while the second reinforced their identification with the Anglo-Norman aristocracy."[251] Fulton notes that his two "beloveds" are representative of this new world: Dyddgu, representative of a native aristocracy, is "unattainable, far above the poet's reach, talisman of a vanished and irrecoverable Wales"; Morfudd, by contrast, "represents, not the old aristocracy, but the new class of *uchelwyr* who have to be courted by the poets in return for their patronage."[252] The new political landscape in Wales, then, requires a merger of old and new, and a flexible, innovative, yet learned, hand to practice that.

What comes clear from this summary of Chotzen's, Bromwich's, and Fulton's arguments is that they do not argue for a great deal of direct influence from France. This is not to say that they deny the role of French literature in, particularly, late *gogynfeirdd* poetry and Dafydd's love-poetry, but that the role of European poetry in informing medieval Welsh poetry must be regarded with caution. Influence is difficult to prove, particularly since the popular verse with which Dafydd must have been familiar hasn't survived. Thus, Fulton carefully lays out as much of a continuum as she can derive for an unbroken native tradition, and when comparisons with the Provençal or French literary tradition emerge, she notes the analogue and cautiously allows that we may be able to detect some influence. Also worthy of note is that this is a very socio-political line of argument; Fulton in particular methodically tracks the fall of the Welsh aristocracy and the rise of the *uchelwyr*, and notes the changing place of the bard in this political upheaval.

---

[251] Ibid, 114.
[252] Ibid, 124.

Fruitful as these studies have been, one area that previous scholarship does not explain is the revolution in poetics which accompanied the political shift from an independent Wales to a Wales under the English yoke; that is, Fulton and others do not fully cover the development of the *cywydd* metre adorned with *cynghanedd*. It is my belief that the development of poetics, and particularly of sound-effects, at this juncture is as much a part of the picture as the political landscape. Further, these poetic developments also raise questions about native lineage and Continental analogues which I consider well worth investigating when considering the European context for Welsh poetry. Accordingly, I will explore the developments I see in Welsh poetics at this juncture and look at how they fit into both the native poetic inheritance and contemporary French poetic developments.

In order to understand the developments in Welsh poetics, it is important to perform some close readings of the transitional poetry; in this case, I intend to focus on the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Rather than emphasizing the socio-political story told by Fulton, my analysis of Dafydd has an eye towards his poetics and the potential parallels with *musique naturelle*. Since my argument is that there is a Welsh equivalent to French *musique naturelle* developing in Wales in the fourteenth century, I propose to read Dafydd's poetry with an eye and an ear to drawing out how he uses sound below. I should note once more that Eustache Deschamps's language describing *musique naturelle* in *L'Art de dictier* occurs in the late fourteenth century, after the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Nevertheless, this nearly contemporaneous development is notable as the language of *L'Art de dictier* is a much more powerful and explicit tool for understanding the development of *cynghanedd* in the fourteenth century than any of the language found in the Welsh grammar.

Thus, it is worth considering what I demonstrated regarding *musique naturelle* in reading Deschamps's poetry in Chapter 3. In his case, much of the sound effects came from alliteration and rhyme, and he would carefully attenuate his use of sound effects depending on the poem in question, and what he wanted to emphasize. Thus, if he was alliterating on the letter *p*, the effect might be to underline his feelings of disgust. By contrast, he heavily scales back the *musique naturelle* in his narrative verse, as represented by "Qui Pendra?" At the other end of the spectrum, his *tour-de-force* poem used sound-effects ramped up so intensely that it quite overwhelmed the sense of the verse, creating a vivid, sonorous effect, a fine example of *musique naturelle* when taken to the extreme.

It is with this set of poems in mind that I now turn to Dafydd's verse. As already mentioned, the goal is to demonstrate the usefulness of applying the same form of analysis of *musique naturelle* I used when reading Deschamps' poetry to Dafydd's poetry. The methods at play are, necessarily, different: Deschamps confined himself to rhyme and alliteration, for the most part. Welsh, by contrast, is rich with poetic methods of enhancing sound-effects in poetry. First and foremost, of course, is Dafydd's extensive use of formal *cynghanedd*, but equally important is his frequent use of *cymeriad*, rhyme, and supplementary tools such as alliteration which extends beyond the confines of *cynghanedd*. My analysis will show that Dafydd uses a robust and flexible system of sound-effects, and he tweaks his use of the tools already mentioned to best suit each poem and the effect he is trying to produce. By reading his poetry for the same attentiveness to sound as we did earlier with Deschamps' poetry, I will demonstrate that, like Deschamps, he uses this *musique naturelle* for emphasis, a form of underlining a given aspect of the poetry. Further, it can be mimetic, speaking *for* the poem in its own right. Finally, I argue

that the sound can play in tandem with the sense, giving a lesson in poetics beyond what the text has to say.

The poems in question are: “Marwnad Angharad,” “Yr Haf,” “Y Gwynt,” “Trafferth mewn Tafarn,” “Y Rhugl Groen,” and “Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym ac Gruffudd Gryg.”[253] I have carefully selected poems which show a range of sound-effects with differing impacts on how the poem is best read. Below, I carefully read each poem to answer the same question: what contribution does the sound-effect make to the reading of the poem? And, by extension, what does Dafydd’s *musique naturelle* look like, and how does it function, as compared with that of Eustache Deschamps? I will begin with the “Marwnad Angharad.”[254]

“Marwnad Angharad”: Studied Elegance

The “Marwnad Angharad” is an excellent example of the way Dafydd can both take an extremely traditional line in his poetry and be remarkably innovative in his style at one and the same time. Thus, the poem in question is constructed in a combination of *englynion* and *awdl* measures, as mentioned above, and serves as praise as much as lament, all of which falls in the traditional line when it comes to *marwnadau*, particularly those regarding women. In such cases, Helen Fulton says that although the text sometimes simulates a lover’s address to the beloved, the real force of the poem comes from the praise of the woman in such a fashion as it communicates praise of the father or husband of the woman; in short, it still functions as praise

[253] These titles, while they have become conventional, were developed in 1952 by Sir Thomas Parry when he collected *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*.

[254] All citations will be taken from dafyddapgwilym.net for the sake of consistency between edition and translation, except where noted. I provide translations from dafyddapgwilym.net in an Appendix to this dissertation for the sake of ease and consistency, but where I present translations in line within the dissertation, these will be my own, much more literal, translations. I will note discrepancies from the dafyddapgwilym.net translations where relevant.

of the lord, just via the vehicle of a lament for the woman.[255] Indeed, the "Marwnad Angharad," like some other *marwnadau*, may have been composed while Angharad was still alive, simply as a vehicle for praise. What I intend to demonstrate, however, is that while the form and textual techniques bring this *marwnad* into line with tradition, the aural techniques are an innovative measure to keep it tight and deliver its message smoothly.

I will begin by laying out the subject and structure of the poem, and then I will progress to teasing apart the different sound-effects used and show how they pull together the poem and give it a genteel polish which emphasizes the elegance of the text and tone of the poem. To begin with, the first thirty-six lines of the "Marwnad Angharad" are written in the *englyn unodl union* and the final forty-six lines are in *awdl cyhydedd hir*. In terms of the sound-effects used, I want to single out three points in particular, elements which will be of importance throughout all readings of Dafydd's poetry: a) the rhymes; b) *cymeriad*; c) *cynghanedd*. Together, these three elements go to create an intense musicality somewhat akin to the *tours-de-force* of Eustache Deschamps discussed in Chapter 3. I immediately qualify: unlike the Deschamps *tour-de-force*, the sound isn't so strong that it overwhelms the sense, but, at the same time, there's a plethora of sound which surpasses the *need* for any sense.

To explain this distinction, I will first outline the technical achievements, and then move onto the reading of the poem as a whole. The rhymes are regular and strictly observed. They help link each *englyn* tightly together and, in the case of the *awdl* measure, the rather more complex rhyme scheme chains each couple of lines together both within each couplet and, through the

---

[255] As mentioned above, *rhieingerddi*, poems of praise addressed to women, fall into this category. See Fulton, *Dafydd ap Gwilym in the European Context*, p. 84.

prifodl (main end-rhyme), within the *awdl* as a whole. Note also that the rhyme scheme ties into the *cynghanedd* in interesting patterns.

Beyond the rhyme, Dafydd makes extensive use of *cymeriad* and it links together the beginnings of lines as thoroughly as the rhymes link the endings. Consider the following lines of the poem:

Pa un â'm aur fun mor fyr – o'i hoedlddydd?
Aml hidlddeigr a'm tragyr.
Pwyll rhadfaith, pall iradfyr,
36 Pefr nith haul, py fron ni thyr?
Gorhoffter eurner, arnad – Dduw Dofydd
Y mae fy ngherydd am Angharad,
Gyflawned y rhoist gyfluniad – diwael
40 O ddawn, gyfiawn gael, Ŵr hael, a rhad,
Gan yt fynnu, bu bwyllwastad, – ei dwyn
Yn rhwyf ebrwydd frwyn yn rhefbridd frad.
Gorugost rydost rediad – ei hoedlddydd,
44 Gŵyr ei charennydd â Dofydd Dad.
Gwasg chwyrn ar f'esgyrn, eirfysgiad – bu ddig,
Gorwyr i Gynwrig, gorf brig bragad.

It will be seen at a glance that three of the lines of the last *englyn* (ll. 33-36) begin with /p/. The transition to the *awdl* section is heavily marked by *cymeriad llythrennol*, although the use of *cymeriad* is not terribly abrupt, interrupted by other letters on lines 38, 40, and 42. Indeed, only beginning at line 43 does the *cymeriad* on /g/ become complete, and will be continued for the entire remainder of the poem.

The transition from *englyn* to *awdl* marks two changes in the use of sound. Although *cymeriad* and rhyme are used throughout the poem, tying the text together and promoting a sense of unity and wholeness, the *cymeriad* in the *englyn* section changes from *englyn* to *englyn* (/d/, /ll/, and /rh/ for example), whereas in the *awdl* section the letter /g/ is emphasized for approximately forty lines. Similarly, the rhymes which are compact and self-contained *englyn* to

englyn open up in the *awdl* section to link and interweave the various lines of the *awdl* through the *prifodl* (main rhyme) on *–ad*. Both *cymeriad* and rhyme, through their consistent use, are thus unifying elements of the poem: both are present throughout the entire poem, but in the shift that occurs from the *englyn* to the *awdl* section, both are agents for change in the sound focus of the poem.

The emphasis on the *cymeriad* in /g/ is a particularly striking shift in the poem and I wish to unpack it further. I here wish to refer back to the discussion of universality of sound poetics in Chapter 3. In that chapter, I noted two conflicting aspects of sound poetics: first, that sense had an influence over how we interpret sound, and, second, that there may be cases (as in /g/) where a sound may be perceived universally (e.g. /g/ was, in an anecdotal survey, considered "metallic"). In this poem, the universality of /g/ as metallic and the sense of the words beginning with /g/ run into conflict. While some of the words featured by *cymeriad* are, indeed, in the "harsh" or, even, "metallic" category (l. 45: *gwasg* means "pressure, squeezing"; l. 53: *gofalus* means "anxious") many others are what I'd describe as "neutral" (l. 41: *gan* is a preposition denoting, in this case, "since, because") while still others are decidedly "positive," or even "noble" (l. 37: *gorhoffter* means "praise"). Worth noting, too, is the /gw/ sound noted above in my discussion of the "Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd": the /w/ softens the /g/, adding to the keening tone of lamentation and, to my ear, reducing the harshness of the metallic /g/.

That being said, there is a decided negative shift in the tone of the poem overall in the *awdl* section of the poem; it begins with a direct, and decidedly angry, address to God: "Gorhoffter eurner, arnad – Duw Dofydd | Y mae fy ngherydd am Angharad," "Golden chieftain of praise, to you, Lord God | is my rebuke about Angharad" (ll. 37-8). Note that the *cymeriad* falls on *gorhoffter*, "praise," and the rebuke is couched in terms of the lushest praise. And yet, it

is a decided alteration from the keen and beautiful praise of Angharad above as, for example, "Ail Essylt," "a second Isolde" (l. 14). The tone is angry: Angharad is taken too suddenly, "Yn rhwyf ebrwydd frwyn yn rhefbridd frad," "Too suddenly grievously the treachery of the thick soil" (l. 42). The following two lines, which complete the transition to full *cymeriad* on /g/, are shocking in their attack on God, and recall that the direct address here is still addressed to God, "Gorugost rydost rediad – ei hoedlddydd, | Gŵyr ei charennydd â Dofydd Dad," "You made too harsh the course of her lifespan, | Unjust[256] her relationship with God the Father." Once again, the *cymeriad* isn't necessarily too negative; g*ŵyr* is, indeed, highly negative, but *gorugost* is simply a form of the verb "to make," *gwneuthur*. Thus, the transition to the *cymeriad* is also a transition from praise of Angharad as a courtly lady, to anger at God over her demise.

What I would argue is universal, however, is the nobility of grief in this poem. Thus, the /g/ does strike a discordant note when it appears: the metallic clang, a funereal bell, is occasionally emphasized by further alliteration on /g/ in, for example, l. 46: "Gorwyr i Gynwrig, gorf brig bragad." Note, further, the military parlance of that line: "pillar of a battallion's front rank." However, the metallic, perhaps grieving, /g/ (and, indeed, where it appears, the /gw/ might evoke *gwae*) is ennobled by the sense of other words, such as praise, mentioned above, but also l. 39: *gyflawned* (complete, fulsome), l. 46: *gorwyr* (descendant), l. 47: *goroen* (brightness). All of these are warm, elegant words, which elevate the grief from *gwasg* to *goroen*. While I would not argue that there is a discernible auditory difference between the "positive /g/ words and the "negative" ones, I do think that there is an audible "clang" when reading a succession of these opening words aloud. There is, therefore, a unique set of attributes to this poem; on the one hand, it is riven, quite literally, in half: there is the transition from *englyn* to *awdl*, from one use of

[256] This literally means something like "askew," or "slanting," or "distorted."

poetics to another. On the other hand, while the *use* of poetics is different, the *techniques* (*cymeriad* and *prifodl*) are not. Likewise, although there is a rift in the sense of the poem (from praise to anger), the driving force is the same: praise of and mourning over the deceased lady. The entire effect is of theme and variations, to use a musical analogy.

"Yr Haf": Today and Yesterday

"Yr Haf" is in part a love poem, in part a nature poem, and entirely a paean of praise to the summer, with winter always lurking in the wings. It is written entirely in the short lines of the *cywydd deuair hirion*, making the use of *cynghanedd* slightly more concentrated than in the "Marwnad Angharad." It is also monorhymed throughout with the *prifodl* in *–af*, which has an interesting impact both on the grammar and the sense of the poem, given that the verb ending *–af* is the first-person singular present (or future) tense.[257] Thus, the *prifodl* helps give the poem all of the punch of "me"-ness and "now"-ness, or, occasionally, of futurity. The *cymeriad* of the "Marwnad Angharad" is not a consistent feature of "Yr Haf," although it does make a notable appearance towards the end of the poem, marking the fear of winter and drawing its coldness into the heart of summer.

A sense of immediacy and personal intimacy renders this poem distinctive and powerful, and most of the sound poetics involved underline these attributes. As mentioned above, one of the most notable aspects of "Yr Haf" is the *prifodl* in *–af* which results in a heavily first person, present tense poem. Each *cywydd* ends in *haf*, meaning that each accented ending in *–af* is the word *haf* ("summer") while the unaccented endings in *–af* are the verbs and other assorted endings. Of these, another ending in *–af* in the Welsh language is the superlative of the adjective,

[257] In Middle Welsh, the present and future tenses are highly ambiguous and often bear the same form.

although these are fewer than the verbs; six lines out of twenty-six end unaccented lines end in a superlative (l. 3: *dihiraf* "most vexatious", l. 5: *ehwybraf* "most cloudless", l. 11 *glwysaf* "prettiest"; l. 25: *dlosaf* "fairest", l. 29: *harddaf* "most pleasant", l. 43: *oeraf* "coldest"). While these superlatives are both less frequent than the endings in the first person singular, present tense, and don't share the "me"-ness and "now"-ness of those endings, they do forward the forcefulness and potency of feeling in the poem. In the lines mentioned above these superlatives push the power of both summer and winter forward in a fashion which will be caught up in the "me"-ness and "now"-ness of the rest of the poem.

The first person, present tense verbs I've mentioned so often now are *chwarddaf* (l. 13 "I laugh"), *prydaf* (l. 15 "I sing"), *molaf* (l. 17 "I praise"), [*c*]*araf* (l. 19 "I love"), *archaf* (l. 21 "I ask"), [*c*]*aniadaf* (l. 23 "I will allow"),[258] *ciliaf* (l. 29 "I retreat"), *mynnaf* (l. 35 "I desire"), [*d*]*adeilaf* (l. 39 "I will untwine"), *anerchaf* (l. 41 "I greet"), *gwisgaf* (l. 45 "I wear"), *ymddiheuraf* (l. 47 "I will exonerate"), and *gofynnaf* (l.51 "I shall ask"). That is thirteen verbs compared to six superlatives of the twenty-six unaccented endings. Another two are *Addaf* (Adam), and the remaining five words are a mixture: *araf* (l. 7 "pleasant"); *dianaf* (l. 9 "unblemished"); *gaeaf* (ll. 31, 49 "winter"); *amdanaf* (l. 37 "about me"). I will draw attention in particular to *gaeaf*, repeated twice and a clear foil to *haf*, especially when paired with the superlatives pertaining to winter in the poem, *dihiraf* and *oeraf*. I also wish to note *amdanaf*, the preposition *am* conjugated in the first person singular[259], which brings me right back to the "me"-ness of the poem, even without being a verb.

---

[258] In Middle Welsh the present tense can double as the future tense, and in this case the translator of the poem chose to translate *caniadaf* as the future tense; in my view, either tense works, but for the sake of consistency, I chose to represent the translator's view hereabove.

[259] In Welsh, a preposition can be conjugated, thus: *am* "about"; *amdanaf* "about me."

This enumeration of the endings has amply demonstrated that the *prifodl* forwards the immediacy and intimacy of the poem, much as in Chapter 3 I argued that the *ballade* to Chaucer vacillates between being “me-focused” and “you-focused” based on the verb use. However, the immediacy and intimacy of the poem, brought about through the *cynghanedd* and *prifodl*, undergoes a rupture underlined by the use of *cymeriad* on /g/ later in the poem. I will begin by drawing out some of the examples of *cynghanedd* which most strongly emphasize the traits signaled by the *prifodl*: “me”-ness, “now”-ness, and how these link to the twenty-six repetitions of *haf*, which is inextricably linked with the poet himself, the agent of *haf* in the here and now.

The entire drive of the poem is to render summer immediate and personal while winter (and there comes the rupture in the poem’s smoothness) tears that joyful immediacy away from the poet, the girl, and the audience. Thus, the verbs I examined above feature words including to laugh, sing, praise, and desire, all of which are “joyful” and “positive” verbs. Others are equally “positive” in context: to retreat from battle (l. 27: *o frwydr y ciliaf*), and to gracefully allow (l. 23: *glwys ganiadaf*) the cuckoo’s song. Likewise, the superlatives and assorted other words also have a very positive drive: *ehwybraf*, *glwysaf*, *dlosaf*, and *harddaf* all have very positive connotations, as do *araf* and *dianaf*. Finally, there are those verbs and assorted other words which speak against the rupture represented by *gaeaf* and *oeraf*, the wintery words: l. 3: *gwir mae dihiraf*— (“it is true that most vexatious”) it is true that the end of summer is most vexatious; l. 35: *ni mynnaf*— (“I do not desire”) the poet doesn’t desire anything but summer; l. 39: *Eiddew ddail a ddadeilaf*— (“I untwine[260] the ivy leaves”) the poet untwines the ivy leaves of winter.

---

[260] As mentioned in note 37, there is considerable ambiguity between present and future tense verbs in Middle Welsh. This verb could be interpreted either as a future or present tense verb. The translation I cite uses the future tense; I see no strict reason for this and chose the present tense here, but either is a valid choice.

The *cynghanedd*, therefore, supports this view of *haf* and the words associated with it: *ehwybraf*, *dianaf*, *chwarddaf*, and so many others. Simply put, the rich intensity for which I chose this poem as the first example I'm analyzing of the art of the *cywydd* is the basic reason it supports the message of summer's beauty: a beautiful sound supports the message of joy, praise, and, yes, beauty. But there are, of course, more specifics than that most basic element. Consider line 15: ***Paradwys, iddo prydaf*** ("Paradise, to it I sing.") This example of *cynghanedd draws* aligns the words *paradwys* (paradise) and *prydaf* (I sing; or compose poetry), which is telling in its own right. However, taken with the ensuing line, *Pwy ni chwardd pan fo hardd haf?*[261], I would draw attention to the continued alliteration on /p/, so different from Deschamps' repetition of /p/ seen in Chapter 3! Rather than the putrefaction of Rondeau 1326, I see here—and I would call to mind Harshav's warnings on sense informing sound—words of beauty and peacefulness. Yet, note that the second line, marked by *cynghanedd sain*, emphasizes not the /p/ (although I do not deny the power of alliteration) but the internal rhyme on *–ardd* and the sighing alliteration of /h/, which I argue soften the potential harshness of excessive repetition of /p/. I might also note that the syntax of the sentence, for *pwy* is an interrogative pronoun and *pan* is a conjunction, relieves these two words of stress. Am I justifying the result I wish to see? Possibly, but I posit that if it were possible to hear both sets of lines read aloud, the contrast between the sounds of lines 15-16 of "Yr Haf" and the first three or four lines of Rondeau 1326 would speak for themselves.

Nor is this couplet isolated. I have, above, already demonstrated the rich beauty of the opening. I will now point to some later examples, such as the successive lines 38 and 40: *Pybyr gwnsallt harddwallt haf* (*cynghanedd sain*); and *Annwyd ni bydd hirddydd haf* (*cynghanedd*

[261] "Who does not laugh when summer is beautiful?"

sain). Once again, I will point to the sighing alliteration on /h/ in lines 38 and 40, which are part of the *cynghanedd*, but I wish to note also the alliteration on the soft, supple sound /dd/ (the voiced /th/, or /ð/), so perfect to representing summer "fair hair" (note that hair, *gwallt*, comes up in line 14, as well) and that particular flexibility in the texture of summer leaves: was Dafydd conscious of alliterating the suppleness of hair and of leaves? I can't be positive that he was; nor would I argue that he wasn't.

I will now turn to Dafydd's use of *cymeriad* in "Yr Haf," which is much more nuanced than the more straightforward *cymeriad* on /g/ in the "Marwnad Angharad." Only the occasional *cywydd* is linked by *cymeriad*; lines 3-4 begin with /rh/; lines 5-8 with *a*(*c*), "and;" lines 17-8 with /gl/; and several more cases. Of greatest interest, however, is the *cymeriad* on /g/ beginning lines 43-6: *gwawd*, *gwahardd*, *gwynt*, *gwŷdd*. The only one of these words with a distinctly negative sense is *gwahardd*, "prohibition," and yet the lines themselves are negative in every sense. They are discordant, not just in sense but also in sound: the *cymeriad* on /g/ is echoed in alliteration on /g/ in the lines themselves, particularly lines 45-6: *gwynt gwasgad gwisgaf gwŷdd gwae*. Seven repetitions of /gw/ in two seven-syllable lines, following two other lines with *cymeriad* on /g/ is no small matter; it occurs only once even in the heavy *cymeriad* of the "Marwnad Angharad," lines 61-2. I fully acknowledge that there is a significant difference between /g/ and /gw/, as I noted above in my analysis of "Marwnad Angharad," but here I'm emphasizing the shift towards a harder edge in "Yr Haf;" I believe that the shift to the *cymeriad* on /gw/ emphasizes the sense of rupture in the poem, which is turning from the pleasures of summer to the cold, aggressive winds of winter.

The rupture doesn't begin at line 43, of course. It begins with the very first word of the very first line: *gwae*, "woe." *Gwae* occurs three times in the poem: lines 1, 46, 51. *Gwae*, of

course, isn't an uncommon word. It's appeared in this chapter in the "Marwnad Angharad," of course, but also in the "Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd," where its role in the keening sound of the poem was deeply important to my analysis. Therefore, I would argue that *gwae* means more than "woe;" to begin a poem with *gwae*, or, in this case, *Gwae ni, hil eiddil Addaf*, or "Woe to us, Adam's feeble progeny," is to signal lamentation. While it is not unheard of for *Gwae* to appear in Dafydd's non-*marwnad* poetry (it does appear, for example, in his *ymryson* with Gruffudd Gryg which will appear below), it's fair to say that it is not a prominent feature of his nature poetry, though it does appear in "Y Gwynt," as well; in short, it's a word of lamentation, wherever it appears. I will also note that it isn't purely the *cymeriad* on /g/, or beginning a line on /g/, which marks the intrusion of wintery imagery in the poem; the consonant clusters /gw/ and /gl/ thus play an important role. For example, lines 17-8, 23-4 all begin with /gl/ and the sound is positively limpid: note 23-4 in particular, where the /gl/ is echoed again in *glwys*. The words beginning in /gl/ are worth marking: *glasgain* "bluish-grey," *glwys* "comely," *gloch* "bell," all words describing the cuckoo. All of these elements underline the complexity and nuance of the *cymeriad* in this poem; the *prifodl* wasn't simple, nor was the *cynghanedd*; no more is the *cymeriad*.

And yet. The four lines cited above, 43-6, featuring nine instances of /g/ in twenty-eight syllables, one of the three instances of *gwae* numbered among those instances, with the final *gwae* five lines later, is an example of powerful repetition, particularly when the superlative *oeraf* (coldest) is reckoned into these lines. I will also point out that this *oeraf* is in reference to, at the risk of sounding too Romantic, the death of poetry in winter: *Gwawd ni lwydd, arwydd oeraf, Gwahardd ar hoywfardd yr haf*, "Praise poetry does not succeed, coldest sign, A prohibition on the nimble poet of the summer" (ll. 43-4). At this juncture it's worth asking:

When was this poem written? Summer or winter? It doesn't do to stress the point or the reader will be drawn into seeing the poetry as biographical, but it's worth a glance. Is it, perhaps late summer, the last full flush of roses are in bloom, and poetry comes easily while the poet contemplates what he will be able to write when they are gone? Or is that to fall into the trap the poet is setting for his audience?

Gwae ddoe am haf! (l. 46) *Yr haf*, and this poem, is todayness, but the upcoming death of summer and the advent of *y gaeaf*, the winter, is *ddoe*, the stuff of yesterday. But the poem itself celebrates both summer and the endurance of summer's memory in wintertime; the poet, at whatever season he is writing, is composing in full *cynghanedd* and applying, let it be noted, a similar *cynghanedd sain* on /dd/ and /h/ when he is describing the peak of summer and the onset of winter. Thus, though the sense is very different, lines 40 and 44 echo each other: *Annwyd ni bydd hirddydd haf* ("coldness will not be in the long summer's day"; note the *bydd*, the only unambiguous future verb in the poem) vs. *Gwahardd ar hoywfardd yr haf* ("A prohibition on the nimble poet of the summer"; note the absence of any verb, thus of any tense). Both feature *cynghanedd sain* on a very similar set of letters, /ydd/ and /h/ in line 40 vs. /ardd/ and /h/ in line 44, but one celebrates the endurance of summer into the future, while the other laments the prohibition on poetry which belongs only to that summer vision. But the poetics are the same. Thus, Dafydd through his virtuoso use of a Welsh equivalent to *musique naturelle* is accomplishing two things: through the *cymeriad* on /g/ he establishes a contrast between winter and summer; while through the uniting force of the *cynghanedd sain* he pulls summer's beauty out of its own sphere and allows it to endure into winter, whenever it may come.

I referred above to the risk of falling into Romanticism when discussing the death of the poet. I will now wholeheartedly fall into that problematic space, I believe with good reason. The

quintessential fall of the poet is the descent of Hoffmann in Offenbach's *Contes d'Hoffmann*, libretto by Jules Barbier. In this opera, Hoffmann, the poet, tells of his three great loves, each mirroring the love for the opera singer, Stella. As he spirals from story to parallel story, each permutation showing something slightly different, and yet each featuring, as it were, the same *cynghanedd* (indeed, in my preferred production, all three beloveds and Stella are performed by Joan Sutherland, providing that essential sense of continuity), he falls ever downward, into depression, drunkenness, and loss of selfhood, until all that is left is his Muse, and a nagging wonder whether he will be able to rekindle the fire of inspiration and poetry.

I no more claim that Offenbach or Barbier was familiar with "Yr Haf" than that Dafydd debated *musique naturelle* with Deschamps, and yet I will claim freely that this poem features both *musique naturelle* and the death of the poet. The *musique naturelle* is evident in the multifaceted interaction of *cymeriad* with *cynghanedd* with *prifodl* overlaid with patternings of further alliteration, often drawn from the *cymeriad*. The death of the poet arising towards the end of the poem interacts with the *musique naturelle* to a powerful degree; Dafydd is the poet, and the poet cannot exist without summer, thus, at the onset of winter, a reader might anticipate that *musique naturelle* must dissipate. Except that instead of dissipating, its intensity grows: is it the accretion of snowfall or the bloom of flowers is the question, and the audience doesn't get that answer. Hoffmann doesn't truly die in the Offenbach opera. Drunk, yes, he loses Stella who is handed off instead to the enigmatic Lindorf, the satanic figure who pursues Hoffmann throughout the opera, but while Stella and her soprano voice pass away, the Muse's voice rings through in a mezzo-soprano drawing on some of the very melodies of the three lost loves. *Gwae ddoe am haf*? "Woe yesterday for summer?" (l. 46) Perhaps, but Dafydd and Offenbach enjoy

their winter woes too much for me to fear for the absolute loss of poetry, *cynghanedd*, or of *musique naturelle*, in any sense.

“Y Gwynt”: The Voice of the Poem

The same process of various forces going to make a *musique naturelle* is at work in the next poem I wish to address, “Y Gwynt,” but instead of the refined lamentation of the “Marwnad Angharad” or the summery beauty under siege by winter in “Yr Haf,” the *cynghanedd* and *cymeriad* of “Y Gwynt” paint a picture for the reader. In genre, this poem is a *llatai*, a love-messenger poem, with the wind taking the role of messenger to the speaker’s beloved, Morfudd. And yet, the role of the beloved in this poem is perfunctory; she is there, she is the destination of the wind, she is faithful, and she is fair. There is little more to be said about Morfudd in this poem, and so I will say little more, except to add that even the content of the poem is thin in its description of love.

If both sound and content have little to say about Morfudd and love, the natural question is to ask what the poem is about. Interestingly, though this poem has more of a “story,” as it were, than “Yr Haf,” the story of the poem has no grand operatic moments I can relate to *Les Contes d’Hoffmann*, rather, the obvious answer, and my first instinct, was that it comes back upon itself, as the wind is wont to do, and, thus “Y Gwynt” is simply about the wind, an earlier Welsh equivalent to Christina Rossetti’s exquisite portrait, “Who Has Seen the Wind?” This answer is unsatisfactory on many fronts, however; the poem itself undercuts that assessment, making the wind a messenger rather than a power in its own right. Just as “Yr Haf” was, in fact, a story of intimacy with the poet, therefore, I would say that “Y Gwynt” is, at the most basic level, a poem about poetry, and the purest visceral representation of *cynghanedd* I have yet seen in Dafydd’s oeuvre. The wind, in the poem, is a poem and a poet in one, and, thus, the reader has

a rather tangled web to ravel: who is the speaker, Dafydd or "Y Gwynt"? Is this a portrait, or a self-portrait?

To an extent, this is rather a silly question: Dafydd is the poet writing about the wind as a poet singing its own song. And yet the love poem isn't a love poem, unless to the wind as another poet; and what song would the wind sing if not this one, at the behest of the poet, to the poet's beloved, whether that beloved be Morfudd or the wind itself? What I want to unravel here, however, isn't the story of who's speaking, precisely, but of the poem in the poem. Is the poem "Y Gwynt" talking about a *cywydd*, ornamented with *cynghanedd*? Does it feature *musique naturelle*? I intend to argue that the answer is yes, on both counts, but the interest lies in how the audience arrives at that answer.

First and foremost, it is worth noting that, in terms of content, Dafydd is hardly hiding the link between the wind and poetry; if the wind is a love-messenger, he simply must be a bard. The genre of Dafydd's *llatai* is replete with birds, in particular, which sing love-poetry to the beloved at the behest of the poet. But the wind is not a bird, nor is it speaking a particular poem to Morfudd at Dafydd's behest. Unlike in "Yr Wylan," "The Gull," for instance, in which the speaker begs the gull: *Dywaid fy ngeiriau dyun*, "speak my ardent words" (l. 15), in "Y Gwynt" Dafydd instead asks the wind to deliver a particular message:

> *A chân lais fy uchenaid. […]*
> *Dywaid hyn i'm diwyd*[262] *hael:*
> *Er hyd yn y byd y bwyf,*
> *Corodyn cywir ydwyf.* (ll. 54, 56-8)
> "and sing the voice of my sigh. […]

[262] *diwyd* can have the sense of a "faithful maid or follower," but here I believe the poem to be speaking clearly of devoted love, not of subservience.

Say this to my faithful noble [maiden]:
As long as in the world I be,
A servant true I am."[263]

The difference is clear: the message may be the speaker's, which I am associating with the name of Dafydd for the sake of both convenience and tradition, but the words, unlike in "Yr Wylan" are left to the wind itself. Rather than asking the wind to declaim the words, Dafydd appeals for the voice.

Perhaps, to play with my own argument, one might reply that *hyn*, "this," above is equivalent to *fy ngeiriau*, "my words," in "Yr Wylan." But "Y Gwynt" doesn't like that answer. Indeed, "Yr Wylan" is a bird, but the wind is, as I've been arguing, more than the wind: it is *Gŵr eres wyd garw ei sain* ("A wonderful man you are rough its sound" l. 3)[264]; *diwyd emyn* ("constant hymn" l. 9), *yn eglur dôn* ("a clear song" l. 14); and, finally, *Hyawdr*[265]*awdl* ("Eloquent [composer?] of an *awdl*" l. 43)[266]. These specific phrases are inconclusive, but waver between calling the wind the author or speaker and referring to the wind as a text (*emyn* or *awdl*), or sound (*tôn*). Thus, the space between the speaker and the poem and the subject of the poem all begin to shrink. If, therefore, the wind is, in some sense a poet or poem, perhaps even *this* poem,

---

[263] Here I have merely rearranged the words to provide a more word-to-word correspondence between the Welsh and the English.

[264] I offer the translation from dafyddapgwilym.net for the sake of consistency; however, in this case I do not love this translation, which makes a leap of interpretation, in my view, so I will point out that *gŵr eres* is more literally to be translated as "wondrous being." That said, a strange or wonderful being roaming the world with an uncultivated voice may well be a minstrel.

[265] Or *hyawdl* in GDG.

[266] This line shows the ambiguity which arises in strict Welsh metre poetry. Given the limited syllable-count, there isn't much room for expanding the sense of the line. Thus the line as a whole reads literally: "Eloquent *awdl* snowdrift you are," but that evidently makes no sense, so dafyddapgwilym.net expands it to "You are a fine author of an *awdl* who scatters snow." To keep more strictly to the strict sense, perhaps I might render it: "Eloquent *awdl*, you are a snowdrift." But I truly believe there is the sense of a "composer" or "*awdl*-maker" in there, which requires the insertion of a term of authorship.

the reader should think more closely about these phrases: is the wind harsh-sounding or a clear voice, for example?

This brings me to the sound of the poem itself, particularly its *cymeriad* and *cynghanedd*. The rhymes will also be of some importance, naturally, but the intensity of the *prifodl* in "Yr Haf" should not be expected here, as this poem does not end in a monorhyme. I will, rather, begin with a careful examination of the poem's *cymeriad*. First, before jumping into the *cymeriad*, I will point out that up to this point I have drawn forth only those phrases which represent the wind as poetry, and not as wind; as mentioned above, the simplest reading of the poem is as a poem about wind, and so, while reading the *cymeriad*, it is essential likewise to read these "windy" passages; indeed, it is unavoidable. My question, in reading the *cymeriad* and *cymghanedd*, however, will be to ask whether these passages of extended description (*dyfalu*) of the wind are solely about the wind, or whether reading the sound permits us additional insight into the wind as poet(ry).

I will jump to the middle of the poem to begin with; the most extended passage of description is the *caniad* with full *cymeriad* in /n/, lines 19-32.[267] There is no word of poetry or song in this passage, no account of voice or tone. Even so, it is a powerful source of sound in its own right, and if this poem is about poetry, there is not better illustration of the power of *cymeriad* in *dyfalu*, or, to put it more universally, in delineating the portrait of the subject, than this sequence of lines beginning with /n/. Oddly, it is not a passage which straightforwardly describes the wind; rather, beginning with /n/, it speaks in negatives throughout; note the

[267] It is worth noting that in this case the placement and line ordering of this *caniad* is significantly different in *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, where it occupies lines 9-24. While I will continue to refer primarily to the edition from dafyddapgwilym.net for the sake of consistency with the translation, note that this passage appears significantly earlier in the other editions. That said, no matter which edition is in use, there is no significant effect on my argument.

negative verbs through the first lines of the *caniad*: *ni'th dditia neb, ni'th etail, ni'th ladd mab mam, ni'th lysg tân, ni'th lesga twyll*. Not only are these all negative verbs in constant repetition, but all have infixed second person singular pronouns as the object: *no* [verbing] to *you*. Thus, in terms of sound repetition, these passages repeat not only the /n/ of the negative particle but also the /th/ of the pronoun; in terms of sense, there is a profound sense of negative description—of description by absence, but also a "you"-ness which pervades not only this *caniad* but the rest of the poem as well.

I wish to contrast this passage with another, briefer, passage of *cymeriad*, this one on /h/: ll. 43-6[268] feature repetition on /h/, which is entirely positive in its sense, and entirely descriptive. The wind, in this passage, is, as I indicated above *hyawdr awdl* (an eloquent *awdl*) and a *heod* (snowdrift), but it is also *hëwr* (scatterer), *dyludwr dail* (pursuer of leaves), *breiniol chwarddwr* (free laughter), and, in, arguably, one of the loveliest descriptions to appear in Dafydd's verse: *hyrddwr* (thruster) […] *Hwylbrenwyllt heli bronwyn* (wild-masted white-breasted sea). As Tsur remarks, however, it is easy to say that something has a beautiful sound, but what makes it so? In this case, it is the perfect synchronicity between sound and sense in line 46. The /h/ carries the rushing of the wind, while the alliteration on /b/, /r/, and /n/, and, particularly, the hissing of /llt/ convey the whipping of the sea. I consider it, altogether, mimetic. The repetition of /h/ before is also notable for its windy sound, which appears even at the beginning of the poem in the alliteration of *helynt hylaw*; but, then, what of the negative description of the *caniad* on /n/ and /th/? Does that passage exude anything other than negativity?

[268] In the *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* edition ll. 35-8, right adjoining two other lines beginning with *cyneriad* on /h/, thus compounding this effect.

For that, I wish to turn to the *cynghanedd* in order to assess not only the *cymeriad* which describes by drawing back from description, but also to engage more with the "you"-ness of the /th/ which features in the alliteration so often. First of all, I would loosely argue that while I drew most often on examples of *cynghanedd sain* in the discussion of "Yr Haf," in this *caniad* I am seeing more intensity of alliterative lines: *cynghanedd draws* and *groes*. This is undoubtedly confirmation bias, as both poems feature fine examples of each internal rhyme and alliteration which are heavily relevant to understanding the poem, but in this case the heavy alliteration is relevant in repeating the /n/ and /th/ sounds, among others: /dd/ (l. 19); /ll/, /rh/, and /gl/ (l. 21-2); and /l/, /s/, /g/, and /t/ (l. 24) appear for lines of *cynghanedd groes* and *draws* and a few examples of *cynghanedd sain* contribute /m/ and /g/ in line 23 and heavy repetition of /dd/ and /bl/ in line 30. While there is something of a winnowing effect with the /th/ and /dd/, I simply do not hear the same mimetic impact as in line 46. That said, the negativity of /n/ is decidedly in accordance between sound and sense, while the negativity is powerfully softened by the "you"-ness of the *caniad*. In this *caniad*, then, it is the sense which so heavily informs the sound rather than the sound driving the sense.

If the driving force in this passage is the sense rather than the sound, it is worth asking whether the combination of *cymeriad* and *cynghanedd* forms the same intensity of *musique naturelle* as I argued for in "Yr Haf." Further, if this is a poem about a poem, it's worth pressing more on those poetic devices; if the sound isn't mimetic, and is primarily grammatical, is it telling the reader anything about poetry? First of all, I would remember that I have only examined one *caniad* in detail; as I have already demonstrated through the *cymeriad* and *cynghanedd* on /h/, other passages are, indeed, mimetic and the sound has a profound impact on the sense. To move this point forward, "Yr Haf" has already demonstrated that the intersection

between grammar and sound has a great deal to say about a poem. Thus, the poetics here are conveying a great deal about the "you" of the poem: the negatives might seem to take away from the "you" but in point of fact describe a great deal by omission. Finally, the "you"-ness of the rest of the poem (consider, for example, the repetitions of *wyd*, ll. 33 and 44, and *ydwyd*, l. 43, meaning "you are") both contribute to the softness of sound and turn the earlier negative "you" words into positive ones.

Thus, the extensive description of the poem, the *dyfalu*, comes back, whether through positive or negative clauses, to "you," the wind—or rather to the poem, *hyawdr awdl*, *eglur dôn*. Is the poem in question a *cywydd*, and what does it feature in sound? This is all left ambiguous: the wind is a clear voice or song (*eglur dôn*) but it also has a harsh sound (*garw ei sain*); it is also described as an *awdl*, which could refer to an *awdl* measure, but could also refer to a poem in any of the twenty-four metres discussed in Chapter 1. I will play with the idea that the poem of the wind is this poem: that Dafydd, in making the wind his messenger, is making himself the wind. His words are the wind's words and his voice the wind's voice: *A chân lais fy uchenaid* (l. 54). It is worth remembering here that Deschamps also refers to *musique naturelle* as *musique de bouche*, thus reinforcing the link between the wind as voice and as poem. Unlike the case of "Yr Wylan" where the poet is giving words to the gull to sing to his beloved, Dafydd is here transfusing himself into the wind, allowing the wind to swallow him; the speaker of the poem is the wind, and the wind becomes the poem. The sound, then, is frequently (when positive) the wind's mimetic voice on /h/, but in negative description loses mimesis for a still-soft sound, but one more focused on the "you" of the poem than on the sound itself. And yet, always it comes back to song and sound and poem. This is, fundamentally, a poem about a poem.

"Trafferth Mewn Tafarn," "Y Rhugl Groen": Frustration Sounds

Thus far, I have moved from Dafydd's traditional poetry, represented by the "Marwnad Angharad," to his nature and love poetry, represented by "Yr Haf" and "Y Gwynt." While these represent an important portion of the range and depth of Dafydd's oeuvre, and, as I have demonstrated above, they likewise represent a range of the techniques of what I might call the Welsh equivalent to *musique naturelle*, they are not either the most distinctive of Dafydd's works or the closest in character to the poems I read in Chapter 3 to represent Deschamps' work. One of the most distinctive shared characteristics between these two poets must be their humour; both enjoy poking fun at themselves and others, and both occasionally use that humour like a weapon, striking out at, as I demonstrated in Rondeau 1326, Behaingne, and, as I will demonstrate in Dafydd's poetry, the obstacles to the satisfaction of love.

In both cases, it is a sound which interrupts the satisfaction of love, and in both cases mimetic or emphatic sound effects are employed to manifest the anger or frustration in response to the intrusion of that sound interruption. In the case of "Trafferth Mewn Tafarn," the bold young man is about to achieve his love when he is interrupted by a succession of falling pots and pans and then by three Englishmen worrying that the sound has betrayed a thieving Welshman; in the case of "Y Rhugl Groen" it is the *rhugl groen*, or rattle-bag itself which interrupts the love-making. In neither case does the young man come off looking particularly good; morally he is always in the wrong, of course. Unlike in *amours courtois* where there is a nobility to unachievable love, or in the *fabliaux* where triumph over an aged, usually disagreeable husband is seen as desirable, in these cases the lover is simply lustful. While he is sympathetic to a degree, there is no particular desire to see him succeed; indeed, taking a step back from the stories, if there were no interruption, there would be no humour.

I will briefly contrast these stories with the one story of rejected love I mentioned in Chapter 3: in Balade 493, Deschamps turns to Gauteronne after Peronne, Machaut's former beloved, rejects him. It is a much more gently humorous story than Dafydd's farcical failed romances, and, although Deschamps comes off as a bit of a failure, the poem is still elegant, perhaps a touch too elegant, with internal rhymes on *–ant* and final rhymes on *–onne* and *–aine*. By contrast, Dafydd's two poems run through beautiful sounds until vexation hits, and then coarseness or frustration breaks through audibly. In "Trafferth Mewn Tafarn" this interruption is less decisively mimetic, but it is noticeable; in "Y Rhugl Groen" the *cymeriad* imitates the sound of the rattle-bag.

I will quickly demonstrate first the loveliness of the two settings, "Trafferth Mewn Tafarn" being urban and "Y Rhugl Groen" natural, and then show how the interruptions stand out against these beautiful backgrounds. To begin with, in "Trafferth Mewn Tafarn," the young man waltzes into the inn and begins to show off his wealth, ordering a sumptuous dinner and sharing it with the young woman he intends to seduce. The rhymes are regular, there is very little *cymeriad*, and the *cynghanedd*, while regular, is relatively unobtrusive at this point; the emphasis is on the story, not the sound. That said, there are several lines I can indicate where the *cynghanedd* underlines the sumptuousness of the feast, for example: the *cynghanedd sain* in *Cyffredin, a gwin a gawn* (l. 6) feels dark red to me, like the wine pouring. The simplicity of the *cynghanedd lusg* on *Prynu rhost, nid er bostiaw* (l. 11), however, is more typical. Even the sweetness of *Gwneuthur, ni bu segur serch* (l. 21) is not overwhelming. This is not to say there is no loveliness of sound; the alliteration on /r/ and /s/ in the line just cited rolls beautifully off the tongue, but it's hardly as obtrusive as the *cynghanedd* I just highlighted in "Y Gwynt," for example.

However, the intensity of sound changes when tragedy strikes: *Gwymp dig, nid oedd gampau da* (l. 30) begins the obtrusive humour of sound, /g/, /m/, /p/ in rapid succession must sound funny, and there quickly follows a series of descriptions of injuries and clangs: *briwais* ("I hurt", l. 31), *ni neidiais yn iach* ("I didn't jump safely", l. 31), *trewais* ("I struck," l. 35), *syrthio* ("to fall," l. 41), *rhoi diasbad o'r badell* ("The pan let out a clamour," l. 43), and *gweiddi […] o'r cawg* ("a clamour from the basin," ll. 45-6). The crashes throughout the *caniad* are evident. It morphs into a different sort of sound in the ensuing *caniad* as the interruption moves from the clanging of pans to the three Englishmen worrying about their packs:

> *Yn trafferth am eu triphac,*
> *Hicin a Siencin a Siac.*
> *Sygannai'r delff soeg enau,*
> *Aruthr o ddig, wrth y ddau*. (ll. 53-6)

In these lines, there is no *cymeriad*, the rhymes are no more than regular, and there is no particularly obtrusive *cynghanedd*. However, the sound of disgust at Hickin and Jenkin and Jack is certainly audible, particularly in line 55, marked by a simple *cynghanedd draws* on /s/, /g/, and /n/.

The sounds of frustration and anger are yet more audible in "Y Rhugl Groen," which has much more obtrusive *cynghanedd* throughout the opening as well as the *cymeriad* mentioned in the section on the rattle-bag itself. The very opening line features lovely *cynghanedd draws* on the letters /f/, /l/, /r/, and /dd/: *Fal yr oeddwn, fawl rwyddaf*. Line 6 is another example of the subtle and sweet sounds of *cynghanedd draws* in a natural setting: *Lle'r eddewis, lloer ddiwad*. Note in particular the repetition of /dd/ and /r/; there is a rolling softness to these sounds which I would argue speak to the gentleness of the first *caniad* before the aggression of the rattle-bag, *y rhugl groen*, appears on the scene.

When the rattle-bag shows up there is a gradually increasing change towards the harsh, clanking sounds of the rattle-bag itself, starting with such lines as: *Salw ferw fach, sain gwtsach sail*, "A small burbling noisy (the sound of the bottom of a sack)" (l. 15). There is, of course, *cynghanedd sain* in this line, but note also the alliteration on /s/ and /f/, emphasizing the "small burbling noise" shaking around the bag. The small noise becomes more robust and aggressive as the *caniad* progresses, especially at the mention of the *rhugl groen* itself: *Rugl groen flin gerngrin gorngras* (l. 18). There is the *cynghanedd sain* on *–in* and /g/, but note also the repeated, decidedly aggressive /gr/ underlining not only *groen* itself but the revulsion and anger of the lover.

The final *caniad* comes to a head with the heavy *cymeriad* on /c/, many words with meanings as graceless as the sound: *cynar* ("sow"), *cod* ("pouch"), *cloch* ("bell"), *crwth* ("vessel"), *crynedig* ("quaking"), *cawell* ("basket") and others are all agents of the angry sound in the poem. Some of these are picked up by *cynghanedd*, resulting in repetition of the /c/ sound even within the line: *Crynedig mew croen eidion* (l. 30), for example. The *cymeriad* ends, but the sound continues with *Greithgrest garegddwyn grothgro* (l. 37), featuring *cynghanedd draws* augmented by further alliteration on /gr/. The sound softens slightly towards the end, as the speaker prays for *oerfel*, a coldness or illness, to fall on the slovenly churl (*carl gwasgarlun*) who frightened the girl away.

What these two poems demonstrate together isn't simply that Dafydd can write humour; that is clear enough from the content. The sound, however, underlines and emphasizes this humour. The poems wouldn't be half as funny without the clanging of the pots and pans, the banging of the hurt head and leg, and the clanking of the stones in the rattle-bag. Further, the noise underlines Dafydd's skill in poking fun at himself; the speaker comes off badly in both

poems, the victim of the clanging sounds. Finally, but not least, the clanking, clanging, mimetic, effective sounds are decidedly rich, powerful, and even beautiful in their own fashion. *Greithgrest gareddwyn grothgro* is at least as effective a line of *cynghanedd* as the line from "Y Gwynt" I praised above: *Hwylbrenwyllt heli bronwyn*. The line is both packed with sound and sense and each mirrors the other. Like Rondeau 1326, the sounds convey anger and disgust, and yet it's impossible to listen without smiling.

Yrmryson Gruffudd Gryg a Dafydd ap Gwilym:

The *Ymryson*, or poetic contention, between Gruffudd Gryg and Dafydd ap Gwilym crystallizes many of the elements I've examined in the above analyses. They aren't precisely comedic, nor, in my view, are they fully serious. They contain references to love and nature, and yet they are in no fashion love or nature poetry. They are, fundamentally, poems about poetry, and, also, vitriolic exchanges of insults between two poets in defense of their understanding of the art. In the exchange of vitriol there is much humour, but in the defense of poetry I believe them to be serious. There are four exchanges, each beginning with a poem of Gruffudd Gryg with a response by Dafydd; Dafydd, therefore, completes the exchange. There is no record of whether either is said to have "won" the debate or any other associated contemporary literature; there are, however, two *marwnadau* to Dafydd by Gruffudd Gryg and one by Dafydd to Gruffudd Gryg. Thus, it seems unlikely that their rivalry was too vehement in real life, rather, I believe the insults to be composed gleefully, with each poet vying with the other to outdo him in inventiveness and *cynghanedd*. In the following analyses, however, I will be focusing on Dafydd's poetry, particularly the first and fourth of the *ymrysonau*, given the topic of this dissertation, and will be reading in particular for what the poetics have to say about the poetry.

The course of the four *ymrysonau* are as follows: In the first *ymryson* Dafydd is responding to Gruffudd's attack on his truthfulness in poetry, saying that Dafydd lies about dying of love when, in fact, he is not suffering at all. Dafydd responds with an attack on Gruffudd's originality, accusing him of plagiarism. The second and third *ymrysonau* gradually accelerate beyond the vitriol and sonority we see in the first *ymryson*. Neither of these poems is marked by the self-conscious analysis of poetics which makes the first *ymryson* so fascinating, and they both lose the ambiguity which marks the first *ymryson*: they are definitively taunting Gruffudd Gryg, and in no uncertain terms. The fourth and final *ymryson* loses all semblance of serious discussion, and turns entirely to rhetorical vitriol.

The serious discussion which opens the *Ymryson* is regarding originality in poetry. Gruffudd Gryg, as mentioned before, accuses Dafydd of lying, and Dafydd retorts:

> *Ni chân bardd i ail hardd hin*
> *Gywydd gyda'i ddeg ewin,*
> *Ni chano Gruffudd, brudd braw,*
> *Gwedd erthwch, gywydd wrthaw.* (ll. 39-42)
> "There is no poet that sings to the likeness of summer's beauty
> A *cywydd* with his ten fingernails,
> That Gruffudd doesn't sing, bleak trial,
> Grumbling face, the [same] *cywydd* to him."

He compares Gruffudd, likewise, to *Cwrrach memrwn, wefldwn waith*, "An old battered book of parchment, with ragged edges," (l. 21). Most potent of all, perhaps, is his comparison, as I mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, to the carpenter harvesting wood to make a grand building, and suggesting that *O myn gwawd, orddawd eurddof, Aed i'r coed i dorri cof* ("If he wants a praise-poem, noble and strong blow, let him go to the woods to cut down materials [lit. memory, or lore]" l. 47-8). Like *Gramadeg Gwysanau* and the *Poetria nova*, Dafydd draws on the image of

the carpenter preparing his materials in order to delineate the proper way to construct a poem; in this case, with fresh and original ideas (*inventio*, as delineated in Chapter 2). This is the one element of the parts of rhetoric which Dafydd clearly and plainly delineates, although his references to the "ten fingernails" does, perhaps, suggest *proclamatio* (declamation).

It is in the poem, and the ensuing poems, that *dispositio* and *elocutio* truly come across: the originality of the idea is necessary, but so is the execution of the *cywydd* and the arrangement of the *cynghanedd*, and this is what Dafydd shows off rather flamboyantly not only in the first *ymryson*, but particularly by the fourth. Once again, in addition to the formal *cynghanedd*, Dafydd makes little use of *cymeriad*, minor use of rhyme, but extensive use of associated sound effects; he conveys his powers of execution by execution of elevated sounds even at the basest level of vitriol, thus raising the act of contention to an art form in its own right.

Consider the opening lines of the first *ymryson*:

> *Gruffudd Gryg, wŷg wag awen*
> *Grynedig, boenedig ben.*
> "Gruffudd Gryg, empty dross of a muse,
> With his trembling tortured mouth."

Both feature *cynghanedd sain*, but they are also linked by *cymeriad*, and the /gr/ of the *cymeriad* is, of course, repeated in Gruffudd Gryg's name. It is tight, well-constructed, and features formal *cynghanedd*, *cymeriad*, and alliteration. Now consider the opening lines of the fourth *ymryson*:

> *Arblastr yw Gruffudd eirblyg,*
> *A bwa crefft, cyd bo cryg*.
> "A crossbow is Gruffudd, liar,
> And a bow of craft, although he has a stutter."

Note that both poems, in terms of content, these lines are very similar: each opens with a criticism of his artistry, and the second line is a criticism of his ability to deliver a poem properly: in the first his mouth is trembling, and in the second he has a stutter. Both sets of lines are also linked by *cymeriad*, and marked both by *cynghanedd* and additional alliteration. And yet, to my ear, the second set of lines reads far more viciously than the first. In part this is due simply to the word *arblastr*, crossbow, a borrowing from Middle English, itself borrowed from France, which was new to Welsh at this time. The sequence /rbl/, however, is also an aggressive sound, echoed in *eirblyg*, a compound of *gair* and *plyg*.[269]

While it is the easiest and most succinct parallel to the first *ymryson*, this is far from the only example of intense aggression in the fourth *ymryson*. Interestingly, as I noted above, the aggression in no fashion diminishes the beauty of Dafydd's lines. Consider the following line, a direct attack against Gruffudd's physical appearance: *Gruffudd liw deurudd difrwd* ("Gruffudd the colour of his cheeks lifeless" l. 33). The meaning is simple and, to put it plainly, ugly and low. And yet the *cynghanedd sain* augmented by repetition of not only the alliteration, but also the gentle vowels, is quite lovely and leaves the aggression to the sense rather than the sound—until the following line: *Mold y cŵn, fab Mald y Cwd* ("The imprint[270] of the dogs, son of Malkin"). There, the alliteration of the *cynghanedd draws* is aggression enough, even without the comparison to dogs.

To sum up, throughout the *Ymryson Gruffudd Gryg a Dafydd ap Gwilym*, the sense of the poems slowly degenerate from a fairly elevated discourse on rhetoric and originality into a vitriolic exchange of insults. However, while the sense of the discussion has vanished, an

---

[269] This is, in fact, the only citation of this word in the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*.

[270] Later, the term *mold* would come to denote, figuratively, printing-type. I like the comparison, although, of course, in this context it is not of striking use. Still, I consciously used "imprint" in my translation!

exploration of sounds continues as Dafydd presents aggression after aggression in the form of *cynghanedd*, the occasional *cymeriad*, and assorted forms of alliteration and internal rhyme. The sense, therefore, may be said to have degenerated, but the sound remains at an elevated level of experimentation and even beauty.

In order to wrap up this series of close readings, I wish to both consider them in their own rights and turn briefly back to the readings of Eustache Deschamps from Chapter 3 to see what they might have to teach in comparison. Several recurring themes have emerged in my readings of both Eustache Deschamps and Dafydd ap Gwilym. First, and most substantively, I am arguing that there is a concept of what I've been calling a Welsh equivalent to Deschamps's *musique naturelle*. Thus, when I take together all of the Welsh techniques of sound poetics, *cynghanedd*, *cymeriad*, rhyme or *prifodl*, and other assorted techniques including alliteration and internal rhyme, it becomes clear that Dafydd has a whole roster of tools at his disposal which together form a powerful and flexible system of sonority. This sonority is inseparable from harmony or musicality and informs each poem according to its relationship to the sense of the poem, just as I demonstrated was the case with Deschamps' poetry.

Second, in both Deschamps's and Dafydd's works I noted the expansion of topics and the development of humour, which allowed for a wider implementation of *musique naturelle*. That is to say, a love poem or nature poem takes sound differently from a narrative or a humorous poem. In Deschamps, this was notable in, for example, Balade 58 ("Qui pendra la sonnette au chat?") as opposed to Rondeau 1326 ("Poulz, puces, puour et pourceaulx"); the first is relatively restrained in sound and, while lyrical, allows for the narrative to flow undisrupted, whereas the second is profuse in sound and the narrative and sound are indistinguishable one from the other. In the case of Dafydd, the sound is inevitably more forceful throughout, no matter the topic; the rules of

cynghanedd and rhyme mean that even a relatively restrained poem, such as “Trafferth Mewn Tafarn,” is going to be harmonious of sound. However, I noted a wide variety of qualities of sound, from the mimetic to the aggressive to the restrained, and these varied according to topic: “Yr Haf” was much more profuse than either “Y Rhugl Groen” or “Trafferth Mewn Tafarn,” and the “Ymryson” was more aggressive than any other poem I analyzed. I also noted that the intensity could be augmented by the addition of *cymeriad*, *prifodl*, or other assorted sound poetics which go to make up the roster of tools available for *musique naturelle*.

To conclude this chapter, I wish to return to the concept of harmony. There are a number of threads, or voices, speaking through this chapter, indeed, through this dissertation, and I here wish to acknowledge several of them briefly. First, I began with the roots of *cynghanedd* and the *cywydd*, perhaps emerging from popular song, at the turn of the fourteenth-century. Thus, at approximately the same time as Deschamps was at work in France, and shortly before he composed *L’Art de dictier*, Wales was likewise experiencing an aural revolution in sound poetics. Second, I explored the work of previous scholars: Theodor Chotzen, Rachel Bromwich, and Helen Fulton. All were agreed that it was difficult to pin down Dafydd ap Gwilym’s work to clear sources among, in particular, the French tradition of *amours courtois*. I argued further that it is unnecessary to seek influence or sources, but, perhaps, useful to examine contemporary trends in sound poetics occurring in France, given the clear parallels in development. Finally, I examined the ramifications of these points in practical terms, looking for precise examples of *musique naturelle* in Welsh poetry. Rather than being disparate threads of history, literature, and poetics, I draw these into harmony to produce a single sonorous angle on the poetry of the fourteenth century.

Envoy

Como poeta carpintero
busco primero la madera
áspera o lisa, predispuesta:
con las manos toco el olor,
huelo el color, paso los dedos
por la integridad olorosa,
por el silencio del sistema,
hasta que me duermo o transmigro
o me desnudo y me sumerjo
en la salud de la madera,
en sus circunvalaciones.

Lo segundo que hago es cortar
con sierra de chisporroteo
la tabla recién elegida:
de la tabla salen los versos
como astillas emancipadas,
fragantes, fuertes y distantes
para que ahora mi poema
tenga piso, casco, carena,
se levante junto al camino,
sea habitado por el mar. […]

Comprendo que mis experiencias
de metafísico manual
no sirvan a la poesía,
pero yo me dejé las uñas
arremetiendo a mis trabajos
y ésas son las pobres recetas
que aprendí con mis propias manos:
si se prueba que son inútiles
para ejercer la poesía
estoy de inmediato de acuerdo:
me sonrío para el futuro
y me retiro de antemano.

As carpenter-poet, first
I fit the wood to my need—
on the knotty or satiny side:
then I savor the smell with my hands,
smell the colors, take the fragrant
entirety, the whole system
of silence, into my fingertips
and slip off to sleep, or transmigrate,
or strip to the skin and submerge
in woody well-being:
the wood's circumlocutions.

Then I cut into the board
of my choice
with the sputtering points of my saw:
from the plank come my verses,
like chips freed from the block,
sweet-smelling, swarthy, remote,
while the poem lays down its deck
and its hull, calculates list,
lifts up its bulk by the road
and the ocean inhabits it. […]

Granted: one poet's experience
with manual metaphysics
doesn't make a poetics;
but I've pared my nails to the quick
to temper my craft
and these shabby prescriptions
I learned for myself, at first hand:
if you find them uncouth
for a poet's vocation,
I agree—no apologies needed!
I smile toward the future
and am gone before you can give me your reasons.

Pablo Neruda, *Artes Poéticas 1*[271]

I began this dissertation with Paul Verlaine, I went on through Eustache Deschamps and Dafydd ap Gwilym, I conclude with Pablo Neruda. What does this florilegium have in common?

[271] Pablo Neruda, *Five Decades: A Selection*, ed. and trans. Ben Belitt, Grove Press: New York, 1974, pp. 368-71.

All of these poets are, I would argue, writing their own *artes poetriae*, consciously or unconsciously, and all of those *artes poetriae* have to, at the very least, grapple with sound, explicitly or implicitly. It is my contention in this dissertation that the fourteenth century sees the development of poetry as *musique naturelle*, and, thus, that Verlaine and Neruda are who they are because of the work of such poets as Dafydd and Deschamps.

I called this conclusion an Envoy. That is because, as in a *ballade*, I intend to write a conclusion which will both wrap up this dissertation, but will also add to it and elucidate it further. I intend to write more than a mere summary of my conclusions; hence Neruda, and my return to the theme of the carpenter. To carry the metaphor further, I laid the foundations, built the body, and am now adding the trim and finishing touches which will turn this into a proper, completed house.

It is curious, perhaps, that the motif of the carpenter wends its way through so many of the texts I've examined here, or perhaps not; Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* explicates laying the foundations of his house with care; *Gramadeg Gwysanau* organizes its carpentry into a careful order; Dafydd ap Gwilym goes out and splits new wood; Pablo Neruda, by contrast, listens to (and smells and feels) his wood in a more hands-on, personal manner. There is, I would argue, a development. Geoffrey, as it were, laid the foundations of the metaphor, but the others play with it, and the play ends up in Neruda's "silencio del sistema" and, finally, "en sus circunvalaciones." To Neruda, poetry doesn't just tickle the senses, it ensnares and overwhelms them in the most decadent[272] and intermixed sense: the wood is "lisa," yes, but "con las manos

[272] I use this word advisedly, thinking of Verlaine, who belonged to the Decadent movement.

toco el olor," and "huelo el color" and, in the ensuing stanza, is it the wood or the poem which is "fragantes"?

As reader, I feel rather than know the logic of this poetry; Neruda's wood is both part of a silent system, and circumlocutory. How is that possible, logically? And yet it makes sense: Neruda is playing with the sense consciously, and the reader falls into the lush imagery. I would lastly note the obvious: to Neruda, even more than to Dafydd in his use of the metaphor, poetry is manual labour. To Dafydd, a poet's fingers pluck harp strings[273], whereas Neruda's poets work their nails to the quick at their labours: "yo me dejé las uñas | arremetiendo a mis trabajos."[274] To extend the metaphor, the grammarians and Dafydd were, perhaps, architects, planning and theorizing about constructing the house, but Neruda is the craftsman, performing the actual hands-on labour.

This dissertation has been, at base, about the relationship between the theory and the labour. The first half of the dissertation was about the theory (the architecture) and the second half about its practical applications (the actual building). To mix that structure up and view it chronologically, the key developments covered in this dissertation arose with the Welsh grammar, whether bardic or not, and its fascination with the syllables and diphthongs. Around the same time, Dafydd was implementing those syllables and diphthongs in patterns of sound, highlighted by *cynghanedd*, *cymeriad*, and *odlau*, which brought their richness to life. A few decades later, the vocabulary I used to describe this rich sound patterning, the *musique naturelle*, was first utilized in 1392, from the *Art de dictier* of Eustache Deschamps, although it was implemented throughout his oeuvre in practice.

---

[273] "Cywydd Ymryson Cyntaf" Dafydd ap Gwilym, ll. 39-42.
[274] Neruda, ll. 46-7.

Thus, my dissertation juggled time and place to draw together the key points of poetry and theory of sound poetics, piecing together a house built of words, not wood. The key original idea here, that runs through all of my chapters, is sound. To reiterate what I said in my Introduction, others have written much about the socio-political background to Dafydd's poetry, and have parsed the degree to which any European influence was exerted on his poetry. The Welsh grammar, for that matter, has been studied largely as a historical document, with attempts to place it in a particular school or class, generally bardic schools. Likewise, *L'Art de dictier* has been studied extensively for its place in Boethian speculative music theory. My innovation has been to draw these various threads of thought together; I have approached each text as a text involving sound: the grammar as the sound-blocks of poetry; the *Art de dictier* as a pure theory of sound; the poetry of each poet as the practice of sound-as-music. To Deschamps, poetry *was* music; was that the case for Dafydd? I can't say for certain what he would have said if asked, in terms of his own views on poetic theory, but I can intuit what Deschamps would have said on encountering Dafydd's verse, and I wonder what *ballade* he might have addressed to him? Would he have addressed it to a "Grant poète," "Noble Dafydd ap Gwilym," praised his "douce melodie"? Would he have compared him to Ovid or to Orpheus? To Deschamps, was there a difference?

I wonder, now, whether in the present day, readers of poetry, so accustomed to flat words on a page, can understand and appreciate the revolution of the fourteenth century. First, lyric verse was only performed to be sung to music. Next, it could be read rather than sung, or so I conjecture from manuscripts appearing without musical notation. Was it read silently, or read aloud in chambers to small groups or families? It can't be said for certain, but when I read the poetry of Deschamps, so rich with alliteration and rhyme, it seems unthinkable to me that it

wouldn't have been read aloud on occasion, but, surely, read for its own sake, for its natural musicality, or *musique naturelle*. Likewise, it is certainly possible, as Patrick Ford contends[275], that readers of *cywydd* and *cynghanedd* today may be missing out on how such poetry was to have been performed to the harp or *crwth* in the fourteenth century and beyond; but is it equally possible that it may have been declaimed without musical accompaniment, the harmony of *cynghanedd* and other sound poetics its only music? It is impossible to say, but one thing is for certain: any notation for musical accompaniment is lost today, but the music of *cynghanedd*, *cymeriad*, and *odl* remains and should be cherished.

By way of comparison, allow me a small musical rhapsody. I have spoken to date of *musique naturelle*; what of *musique artificielle*? If the most perfect form of *musique naturelle* is rich lyric poetry, what can we appreciate today as the most perfect form of *musique artificielle*? I don't know what Deschamps or Dafydd would have said, but I would argue that, today, opera is the best example of *musique artificielle* extant: the obsession with sound in its purest form is the same, with layers of repetition. The text, singers' voices, and orchestra intermingle at various layers of sound to reinforce each other, just like *cynghanedd* and *cymeriad* and *prifodl* in Welsh verse. Indeed, arguably, there is story interfering with sound, but I would argue that at the height of the *bel canto* tradition the libretto does not detract or distract from the sound, but heightens its purpose and effect: consider, for example, the clashing, metallic chorus of "Guerra! Guerra!" at the end of *Norma*, or the lilting "Pace!" sung by Amelia in *Simon Boccanegra* to the accompaniment of the harp (or is her voice the accompaniment to the harp's melody?). In *Les*

[275] Patrick Ford, "Performance and Literacy in Medieval Wales." *Modern Language Review*, October 2005, Vol. 100, pp. 30-48.

Contes d'Hoffmann: consider the multiple roles played by the same figures: it is their voices which inform the auditor of the story.

Musique artificielle, then is the instrumental equivalent to *musique naturelle*. Both are obsessed with sound, and both are represented in a variety of genres, each with its own personality and peculiar characteristics. My dissertation broke down *musique naturelle* instance by instance; it explored it as narrative ("Trafferth mewn tafarn" and "Qui Pendra," for example; operas of words?), as self-conscious poem about poem ("Y Gwynt," for example; a violin concerto?), as self-indulgent virtuosic demonstrations of skill ("The tour de force poétique" and "Ymryson Gruffudd Gryg and Dafydd ap Gwilym"; I can think of no better comparison than the Niccolò Paganini's virtuosic 24 Caprices). This is not meant to be a comprehensive list by any stretch; I have examined so many varied poems that it should be evident by now that it would be a fool's errand to categorize them all neatly.

That being said, to categorize was not my intention; the purpose of this dissertation was rather to elucidate each poem I read by the sound it made, and to prove that to read the words flat on the page in silence is to lose something; to lose the chance at a certain form of music which was invented in the fourteenth century, and which can still resonate today even when the musical notation for fourteenth-century *musique artificielle* is lost.

APPENDIX A: Poems and Translations for Chapter 4

Edited Text: 9 - Marwnad Angharad

Marwnad Angharad
Didyr deigr, difyr adafael, – o'm drem
Am drymed i'm cof gwael
Dodiad hoyw Angharad hael
4 Dan ddaear, duon ddwyael.
Aele yw nad byw buail – win aeddfed,
Awenyddfardd adfail;
Alaf ar waesaf wiwsail,
8 Aelaw fu o'i hoywlaw hail.
Heilwin fu, medd llu, lleufer – cain Indeg,
Cyn undydd breuolder;
Hoedl dangnef neb ond nef Nêr,
12 Hudol yw hoedl i lawer.
Llawer bron am hon ym Mhennardd – a hyllt,
Ail Esyllt ŵyl lwysardd;
Llawer cyfarf galarfardd,
16 Llwyr wae, ni chwarae, ni chwardd.
Ni chwardd cywirfardd cyweirfad, – cwyn uthr,
Can eithyw Angharad,
Ni dau o'm bron, neud ym brad,
20 Ne llif geirw, naw llef girad.
Rhy irad, ddygiad ddigudd, – fu orfod,
Ddrem fwyarfalch wrmrudd,
Rhieinaidd ferch, rhannodd fudd,
24 Rhwymo derw rhôm a'i deurudd.
Deuruddlas fain was wyf yn wael – can gŵyn
Cain gannwyll yn urael,
Darfod dyfod, dwfn ddeigrgael,
28 Derfyn hir diweirfun hael.
Haelaf, digrifaf goreufun – yng Nghaer
Oedd Angharad wanllun,
Hoen ffysg, da ddysg, nid oedd un,
32 Huan wybr, â hi nebun.
Pa un â'm aur fun mor fyr – o'i hoedlddydd?
Aml hidlddeigr a'm tragyr.
Pwyll rhadfaith, pall iradfyr,
36 Pefr nith haul, py fron ni thyr?
Gorhoffter eurner, arnad – Dduw Dofydd
Y mae fy ngherydd am Angharad,
Gyflawned y rhoist gyfluniad – diwael
40 O ddawn, gyfiawn gael, Ŵr hael, a rhad,
Gan yt fynnu, bu bwyllwastad, – ei dwyn
Yn rhwyf ebrwydd frwyn yn rhefbridd frad.

Gorugost rydost rediad – ei hoedlddydd,
44 Gŵyr ei charennydd â Dofydd Dad.
Gwasg chwyrn ar f'esgyrn, eirfysgiad – bu ddig,
Gorwyr i Gynwrig, gorf brig bragad.
Goroen cywiwgroen Eigr, un gariad – Uthr,
48 Goruthr yn un rhuthr fu'n anrheithiad.
Gorne bron hoywdon ehediad – gwyndraeth,
Gŵyr ei brodyr maeth alaeth eiliad,
Gwrm ael yn urael, un irad – nad byw,
52 Gwae ryw Eigr unllyw o'r gaer winllad.
Gofalus fronllech, gafaeliad – oer gawdd,
Ymy a neidiawdd o'i mynediad.
Gwrygiant ardduniant eurddoniad – facwy,
56 Gwreigaidd olywy, gwragedd leuad,
Gweddeiddwar gymar geimiad – yng ngarthan,
Gwayw awchdan Ieuan, cyflafan cad,
Gwaedgoel saffwy rhwy, rhwym gwlad – a'i gafael,
60 Gwawdgael, llwydgun hael, llydw gynheiliad,
Gwrthwyneb galon, gartheiniad – gytbar,
Gwrddfar, gwingar ddâr, gwengerdd uriad.
Gwaisg y'm clwyfawdd cawdd, coddiad – y'i galwer,
64 Gweler ar lawer galar liwiad.
Gwenynen addien a wyddiad – ei dawn,
Gwawn Geredigiawn, garw ei dygiad,
Goleuddyn â'i hŷn o had – bonheddfaith,
68 Goluddiai wagiaith, gŵyl ddiwygiad.
Gwedy hoedlddwyn gŵyn wyf geiniad – bronddellt,
Gwedd eiry blisg gwisgwellt, gwawr Fuellt fad,
Gwenfun ddiwael, hael heiliad – yng nghyfedd,
72 Gwinfwrdd a berthedd, gwynfeirdd borthiad.
Gwayw o'i chof drwof drawad – a'm gwarchae,
Gwae, em oleugae, y mau lygad!
Gwedd, dig argywedd, deigr gawad – a'i gwlych,
76 Gwyrdd fy ngrudd a chrych, fawrnych farwnad.
Gwenwyn ym ei chŵyn, ni chad – o'm ystlys,
Gwanas gywirlys, gŵn ysgarlad.
Gwaith drwg i olwg fyddai wyliad – caeth,
80 Gwaeth, cyfyng hiraeth, cof Angharad.

English Version: 9 - Marwnad Angharad

Elegy for Angharad
Tears flow from my eyes (a long distraint)
because the putting of gay noble Angharad
under the earth is so heavy to my piteous mind,
4 she with the black eyebrows.
It is grievous that the one with the horns of vintage wine is not alive,

demise of an inspired poet;
wealth on the firm foundation of a patron,
8 lavish was the service from her fair hand.
She served wine, so say all, fine Indeg's sheen,
before the one day of mortality;
there is no life of peace but the Lord of heaven,
12 life is illusory for many.
Many hearts are breaking in Pennardd for her,
a second Isolde, modest and beautiful;
there are many well-attired poets of mourning
16 who play not, laugh not, complete woe.
The faithful well-equipped poet does not laugh
since Angharad went, aspect of a foaming torrent,
a mighty lament from my breast is never quiet,
20 I am betrayed, it is a grievous cry.
Too grievous, open abduction,
(proud dark eyes like blackberries,
aristocratic girl, she dispensed benefit)
24 was the necessity to bind oak between us and her cheeks.
I am a thin pale-cheeked youth sick from lamenting
the fine linen-clad candle,
because the pure noble girl's long end
28 has come, cause of deep tears.
Angharad frail of form was the noblest, sweetest,
best maid in Caer,
sprightly cheer, good education, no one
32 was her equal, sun of the sky.
Who had such a short lifespan as my golden girl?
Frequent floods of tears oppress me.
Gracious sense, grievously sudden loss,
36 sun's radiant niece, what heart does not break?
Golden chieftain of praise, my rebuke
about Angharad is to You, Lord God,
that You gave such a fulsome splendid array
40 of blessings, righteous acquisition, generous Man, and grace,
since You insisted (she was level-headed) on taking her
too terribly suddenly by the treachery of thick soil.
You made the course of her lifespan most wretched,
44 her relationship with God the Father was unjust.
There is vicious pressure on my bones, it was a cruel massacre,
descendant of Cynwrig, pillar of a battalion's front rank.
Lovely brightness of Eigr, Uthr's one love,
48 we were despoiled in one awful attack.
Radiance of a swift wave's crest flowing over a white beach,
her foster-brothers know a web of grief,
dark brow in linen, sad that she is not alive,

52 woe the kin of Eigr's one lord from the wine-serving fortress.
Anxious pain pierced my breast from her departure,
grasp of cold despair.
Flourishing of the honour of a gold-giving knight,
56 womanly beauty, moon of women,
comely gentle partner of a battle champion,
Ieuan of the fiery spear, battle slaughterer,
bloodied lance of a lord, bond and support of a land,
60 much-praised, grey noble lord, upholder of a host,
opposer of enemies, companion of stronghold's defender,
wine-loving hero, mighty his rage, lord of perfect song.
Pain stabbed me suddenly, it may be called a tribulation,
64 colour of grief is to be seen on many.
A fair bee who knew her gift,
gossamer of Ceredigion, her abduction was cruel,
a fair girl whose ancestors were of long noble stock,
68 she allowed no vain speech, modest deportment.
After lamenting the taking of a life I am a brokenhearted singer,
countenance like a layer of snow covering grass, good lady of Builth,
splendid white maid, generous pourer in a banquet,
72 wine-table and riches, feeder of fair poets.
A spear thrust through me from the memory of her holds me captive,
jewel of a bright diadem, woe my eye!
A shower of tears wets the face, savage hurt,
76 my cheek is green and furrowed, most grievous elegy.
The lament for her is poison for me, it cannot be moved from my body,
buttress of a true court, scarlet gown.
Ceaseless weeping would be bad work for the eyes,
80 worse is the memory of Angharad, terrible grief.

Edited Text: 34 - Yr Haf

Yr Haf
Gwae ni, hil eiddil Addaf,
Fordwy rhad, fyrred yr haf.
Rho Duw, gwir mae dihiraf,
4 Rhag ei ddarfod, dyfod haf,
A llednais wybr ehwybraf,
A llawen haul a'i lliw'n haf,
Ac awyr erwyr araf,
8 A'r byd yn hyfryd yn haf.
Cnwd da iawn, cnawd dianaf,
O'r ddaear hen a ddaw'r haf.
I dyfu, glasu glwysaf,
12 Dail ar goed y rhoed yr haf,
A gweled, modd y chwarddaf,

Gwallt ar ben hoywfedwen haf.
Paradwys, iddo prydaf,
16 Pwy ni chwardd pan fo hardd haf?
Glud anianol y molaf;
Glwysfodd—wi o'r rhodd!—yw'r haf.
Deune geirw, dyn a garaf
20 Dan frig, a'i rhyfig yw'r haf.
Cog yn serchog, os archaf,
A gân ddiwedd huan haf,
Glasgain edn, glwys ganiadaf,
24 Gloch osber am hanner haf.
Bangaw lais eos dlosaf,
Pwyntus hy mewn pentis haf,
Ceiliog, o frwydr y ciliaf,
28 Y fronfraith hoyw fabiaith haf,
Dyn Ofydd, hirddydd harddaf,
A draidd, gair hyfaidd, yr haf.
Eiddig, cyswynfab Addaf,
32 Ni ddawr hwn oni ddaw'r haf.
Rhoed i'i gyfoed o'r gaeaf
A rhan serchogion yw'r haf.
Minnau dan fedw ni mynnaf
36 Mewn tai llwyn ond mentyll haf,
Gwisgo gwe lân amdanaf,
Pybyr gwnsallt harddwallt haf.
Eiddew ddail a ddadeilaf,
40 Annwyd ni bydd hirddydd haf.
Lledneisferch, os anerchaf,
Llon arail hon ar ael haf.
Gwawd ni lwydd, arwydd oeraf,
44 Gwahardd ar hoywfardd yr haf.
Gwynt ni ad, gwasgad gwisgaf,
Gwŷdd ym mhwynt, gwae ddoe am haf.
Hiraeth, nid ymddiheuraf,
48 Dan fy mron am hinon haf.
O daw hydref, ef aeaf,
Eiry a rhew i yrru'r haf,
Gwae finnau, Grist, gofynnaf,
52 Os gyr mor rhyfyr, 'Mae'r haf?'

English Version: 34 - Yr Haf

Summer
Woe to us, Adam's feeble progeny,
(upsurge of grace) how short is the summer.
Between me and God, it's true that most vexatious—
4 since it ends—is the coming of summer,

and a gentle most cloudless sky,
and a merry sun and its colour in summer,
and a pleasant evening air,
8 and the world joyful in summer.
A very good crop, unblemished flesh,
comes from the old earth in summer.
In order to grow (prettiest greening)
12 leaves on trees was summer given,
and to see, so that I laugh,
hair on the head of the fine summer birch.
[It's] paradise, I sing to it,
16 who does not laugh when the summer is beautiful?
I praise very consistently;
of beautiful form—such a gift!—is the summer.
Twice the brightness of foam, I love a girl
20 under the tops [of the trees], and the summer is her boldness.
[The] cuckoo lovingly, if I ask it,
will sing at the end of a sunny [day] of summer,
fair blue-grey bird, I will gracefully allow [it],
24 vesper-bell at midsummer.
[The] fairest nightingale of eloquent voice,
sleek and bold in summer's porch,
the cock (from battle I retreat)
28 thrush with the lively language of a child in summer,
Ovid's man (most pleasant long day)
come and go (a bold word) in the summer.
Eiddig, Adam's bastard son,
32 he doesn't worry if the summer doesn't come.
[A share] of winter has been given for his like
but summer is the share of lovers.
I myself under the birches do not desire,
36 in the houses of the grove, anything but the cloaks of summer,
and to wear fine woven web,
a fine cloak of the fair hair of summer.
I'll untwine the ivy leaves,
40 there will be no cold in summer's long day.
Gentle girl, if I greet her,
[it's] a merry thing to take care of her at the beginning of summer.
Poetry does not succeed, coldest of signs,
44 [there is] a ban on the lively poet of summer.
The wind does not leave (I wear a cloak)
[the] trees in a healthy state, woe yesterday for summer.
[There is] longing (I won't exonerate myself)
48 in my breast for the fair weather of summer.
If in autumn there comes (it's winter)
snow and ice to drive [away] the summer,

woe me, Christ, I shall ask,
52 if it drives [away] so soon, 'Where's summer?'

Edited Text: 47 - Y Gwynt

Y Gwynt
Yr wybrwynt, helynt hylaw,
Agwrdd drwst a gerdda draw,
Gŵr eres wyd garw ei sain,
4 Drud byd heb droed heb adain.
Uthr yw mor eres y'th roed
O bantri wybr heb untroed,
A buaned y rhedy
8 Yr awr hon dros y fron fry.
Dywaid ym, diwyd emyn,
Dy hynt, di ogleddwynt glyn.
Hydoedd y byd a hedy,
12 Hin y fron, bydd heno fry,
Och ŵr, a dos Uwch Aeron
Yn glaer deg, yn eglur dôn.
Nac aro di, nac eiriach,
16 Nac ofna er Bwa Bach,
Cyhuddgwyn wenwyn weini.
Caeth yw'r wlad a'i maeth i mi.
Nythod ddwyn, cyd nithud ddail
20 Ni'th dditia neb, ni'th etail
Na llu rhugl, na llaw rhaglaw,
Na llafn glas na llif na glaw.
Ni'th ladd mab mam, gam gymwyll,
24 Ni'th lysg tân, ni'th lesga twyll.
Ni boddy, neu'th rybuddiwyd,
Nid ei ynglŷn, diongl wyd.
Nid rhaid march buan danad,
28 Neu bont ar aber, na bad.
Ni'th ddeil swyddog na theulu
I'th ddydd, nithydd blaenwydd blu.
Ni'th wŷl drem, noethwal dramawr,
32 Neu'th glyw mil, nyth y glaw mawr.
Rhad Duw wyd ar hyd daear,
Rhuad blin doriad blaen dâr,
Noter wybr natur ebrwydd,
36 Neitiwr gwiw dros nawtir gŵydd,
Sych natur, creadur craff,
Seirniawg wybr, siwrnai gobraff,
Saethydd ar froydd eiry fry,
40 Seithug eisingrug songry',
Drycin yn ymefin môr,
Drythyllfab ar draethellfor,

Hyawdr awdl heod ydwyd,
44 Hëwr, dyludwr dail wyd,
Hyrddwr, breiniol chwarddwr bryn,
Hwylbrenwyllt heli bronwyn.
Gwae fi pan roddais i serch
48 Gobrudd ar Forfudd, f'eurferch.
Rhiain a'm gwnaeth yn gaethwlad,
Rhed fry rhod a thŷ ei thad.
Cur y ddôr, par egori
52 Cyn y dydd i'm cennad i,
A chais ffordd ati, o chaid,
A chân lais fy uchenaid.
Deuy o'r sygnau diwael,
56 Dywaid hyn i'm diwyd hael:
Er hyd yn y byd y bwyf,
Corodyn cywir ydwyf.
Ys gwae fy wyneb hebddi,
60 Os gwir nad anghywir hi.
Dos fry, ti a wely wen,
Dos obry, dewis wybren.
Dos at Forfudd felenllwyd,
64 Debre'n iach, da wybren wyd.

English Version: 47 - Y Gwynt

The Wind
Sky-wind, unhindered course,
mighty commotion passing yonder,
you are a harsh-sounding minstrel,
4 world's fool without foot or wing.
It's amazing how wondrously you were sent
from the pantry of the sky without any feet,
and how swiftly you run
8 now across the hilltop on high.
Constant hymn, tell me your destination,
you north wind of the valley.
You fly the length and breadth of the world,
12 hilltop weather, be on high tonight,
oh man, and go to Uwch Aeron
nice and gently, a clear song.
Don't wait, don't restrain yourself,
16 don't be afraid despite Bwa Bach,
[he who] serves a malicious accusatory complaint.
The land and its nurture is closed to me.
[One who] steals nests, though you winnow leaves
20 no one indicts you, you are not restrained
by any swift troop, nor officer's hand,

nor blue blade nor flood nor rain.
No mother's son can kill you (false expression),
24 fire won't burn you, deceit won't weaken you.
You won't drown, you've been forewarned,
you won't get entangled, you are smooth.
There's no need for any swift horse beneath you,
28 or bridge over estuary, nor boat.
No official or retinue will arrest you
to bring you to judgement, winnower of treetop foliage.
No eyesight can see you, huge open lair,
32 thousands hear you, nest of the great rain.
You are God's blessing over all the earth,
roaring, fierce shattering of oaktree tops,
swift-natured notary of the sky,
36 fine leaper over many barren lands.
Dry nature, powerful creature,
trampler of the sky, immense journey,
shooter on snowfields up above,
40 noisy disperser of chaff-heaps,
storm agitating the sea,
high-spirited lad on beach waves,
you are a fine author of an awdl who scatters snow,
44 you are a scatterer, a pursuer of leaves,
free laugher [on] hilltop,
thruster of the wild-masted white-breasted sea.
Woe is me that I placed deep love
48 on Morfudd, my golden girl.
A maiden made me an exile,
run on high to her father's house.
Knock on the door, make it open
52 to my messenger before daybreak,
and seek a way to her, if there be one,
and sing the voice of my sigh.
You come from the splendid stars,
56 say this to my noble faithful maid:
as long as I be in the world,
I am a true servant.
Woeful is my face without her,
60 if it is true that she is not untrue.
Go up on high, you will see the fair girl,
go down below, sky's favourite.
Go to fair-haired Morfudd Llwyd,
64 come back safely, you are the sky's treasure.

Edited Text: 73 - Trafferth mewn Tafarn

Trafferth mewn Tafarn

Deuthum i ddinas dethol
A'm hardd wreang i'm hôl.
Cain hoywdraul, lle cwyn hydrum,
4 Cymryd, balch o febyd fûm,
Llety, urddedig ddigawn,
Cyffredin, a gwin a gawn.
Canfod rhiain addfeindeg
8 Yn y tŷ, f'un enaid teg.
Bwrw yn llwyr, liw haul dwyrain,
Fy mryd ar wyn fy myd main,
Prynu rhost, nid er bostiaw,
12 A gwin drud, mi a gwen draw.
Gwaraeau a gâr gwŷr ieuainc,
Galw ar fun, ddyn gŵyl, i'r fainc,
A gwledd am anrhydedd mawr
16 A wnaethom, mwy no neithiawr.
Hustyng, bûm ŵr hy astud,
Dioer yw hyn, deuair o hud.
Gwedy myned, dynged yng,
20 Y rhwystr gwedy'r hustyng,
Gwneuthur, ni bu segur serch,
Amod dyfod at hoywferch
Pan elai y minteioedd
24 I gysgu; bun aelddu oedd.
Gwedy cysgu, tru tremyn,
O bawb onid mi a bun,
Ceisiais yn hyfedr fedru
28 Ar wely'r ferch, alar fu.
Cefais, pan soniais yna,
Gwymp dig, nid oedd gampau da.
Briwais, ni neidiais yn iach,
32 Y grimog, a gwae'r omach,
Wrth ystlys, ar waith ostler,
Ystôl groch ffôl, goruwch ffêr.
Trewais, drwg fydd tra awydd,
36 Lle y'm rhoed, heb un llam rhwydd,
Mynych dwyll amwyll ymwrdd,
Fy nhalcen wrth ben y bwrdd,
Lle'r oedd cawg yrhawg yn rhydd
40 A llafar badell efydd.
Syrthio o'r bwrdd, dragwrdd drefn,
A'r ddeudrestl a'r holl ddodrefn.
Rhoi diasbad o'r badell,
44 I'm hôl y'i clywid ymhell.
Gweiddi, gŵr gorwag oeddwn,
O'r cawg, a chyfarth o'r cŵn.

Haws codi, drygioni drud,
48 Yn drwsgl nog yn dra esgud.
Dyfod, bu chwedl edifar,
I fyny, Cymry a'm câr,
Lle'r oedd garllaw muroedd mawr
52 Drisais mewn gwely drewsawr
Yn trafferth am eu triphac,
Hicin a Siencin a Siac.
Syganai'r delff soeg enau,
56 Aruthr o ddig, wrth y ddau:
'Mae Cymro, taer gyffro twyll,
Yn rhodio yma'n rhydwyll;
Lleidr yw ef, os goddefwn,
60 'Mogelwch, cedwch rhag hwn.'
Codi o'r ostler niferoedd
I gyd, a chwedl dybryd oedd.
Gygus oeddynt i'm gogylch
64 Bob naw i'm ceisiaw o'm cylch,
A minnau, hagr wyniau hyll,
Yn tewi yn y tywyll.
Gweddïais, nid gwedd eofn,
68 Dan gêl, megis dyn ag ofn,
Ac o nerth gweddi gerth gu,
Ac o ras y gwir Iesu,
Cael i minnau, cwlm anun,
72 Heb sâl, fy henwal fy hun.
Dihengais i, da yng saint,
I Dduw'r archaf faddeuaint.

English Version: 73 - Trafferth mewn Tafarn

Trouble at an Inn
I came to a choice town
followed by my handsome page-boy.
Fine merry expense, an excellent place for dinner,
4 I took a pretty dignified public lodging,
I was a proud / fine young man,
and I had some wine.
I spotted a fair slender maid
8 in the house, my one fair sweetheart.
I set my mind entirely upon
my slender darling, colour of the rising sun,
I bought roast and expensive wine,
12 (not to show off) [for] me and the beauty over there.
Young men love playing games,
I called the girl, a modest maid, to [me on] the bench,
and we had a very grand dinner,

16 greater than a wedding feast.
I whispered (I was a bold diligent man,
that's for sure) two alluring words.
After the obstacle was cleared
20 by the whispering (close fate),
I made an agreement (love was not idle / easy)
to come to the lovely girl
when the crowds had gone
24 to sleep; she was a dark-browed beauty.
When everyone except me and the girl
had gone to sleep (exceedingly piteous),
I tried most adeptly to make my way
28 to the girl's bed, [but] it turned out disastrously.
I had a nasty fall making a commotion there,
there were no good feats.
I hurt my shin (my poor leg!),
32 I didn't jump safely, above the ankle,
on the edge of a stupid shrill stool,
because of the inn-keeper.
I hit my forehead (excessive desire is bad),
36 where I ended up, without any free leap,
frequent confusion of wild crashing,
on the end of the table,
where there was a loose basin now
40 and a noisy brass pan.
The table fell, a heavy piece,
and the two trestles and all the utensils.
The pan let out a clang,
44 it could be heard a long way behind me.
The basin boomed (I was a vain man)
and the dogs barked.
It's easier to get up awkwardly
48 (foolish wickedness) than swiftly.
I came up (it was a remorseful tale)
— Welshmen love me! —
by thick walls where there were
52 three Englishmen in one stinking bed
worrying about their three packs,
Hickin and Jenkin and Jack.
The churlish slobber-chops
56 (cruel hate) hissed to the [other] two:
'There's a Welshman, fierce deceitful commotion,
roaming around here most cunningly;
he's a thief, if we allow it,
60 watch out, keep clear of him.'
The inn-keeper roused up all the host,

and it was a woeful tale.
Nine at a time they searched for me
64 scowling all around me,
whilst I, covered in painful bruises,
kept quiet in the darkness.
I prayed, not in fearless fashion,
68 in hiding, like one afraid,
and through the power of dear sincere prayer,
and through the grace of Jesus,
I got back (sleepless confusion)
72 without any gain to my own lair.
I escaped (thank goodness that saints are close by),
I beg to God for forgiveness.

Edited Text: 62 - Y Rhugl Groen

Y Rhugl Groen
Fal yr oeddwn, fawl rwyddaf,
Y rhyw ddiwrnod o'r haf
Dan wŷdd rhwng mynydd a maes
4 Yn gorllwyn fy nyn geirllaes,
Dyfod a wnaeth, nid gwaeth gwad,
Lle'r eddewis, lloer ddiwad.
Cydeiste, cywiw destun,
8 Amau o beth, mi a bun;
Cyd-draethu, cyn henu hawl,
Geiriau â bun ragorawl.
A ni felly, any oedd,
12 Yn deall serch ein deuoedd,
Dyfod a wnaeth, noethfaeth nych,
Dan gri, rhyw feistri fystrych,
Salw ferw fach, sain gwtsach sail,
16 O begor yn rhith bugail.
A chanto'r oedd, cyhoedd cas,
Rugl groen flin gerngrin gorngras.
Canodd, felengest westfach,
20 Y rhugl groen; och i'r hegl grach!
Ac yno heb ddigoni
Gwiw fun a wylltiodd, gwae fi!
Pan glybu hon, fron fraenglwy,
24 Nithio'r main, ni thariai mwy.
Dan Grist, ni bu dôn o Gred,
Cynar enw, cyn erwined:
Cod ar ben ffon yn sonio,
28 Cloch sain o grynfain a gro;
Crwth cerrig Seisnig yn sôn
Crynedig mewn croen eidion;

Cawell teirmil o chwilod,
32 Callor dygyfor, du god;
Cadwades gwaun, cydoes gwellt,
Groenddu feichiog o grinddellt.
Cas ei hacen gan heniwrch,
36 Cloch ddiawl, a phawl yn ei ffwrch.
Greithgrest garegddwyn grothgro,
Yn gareiau byclau y bo.
Oerfel i'r carl gwasgarlun,
40 Amên, a wylltiodd fy mun.

English Version: 62 - Y Rhugl Groen

The Rattlebag
As I was (easiest praise)
one day of summer
under trees between mountain and field
4 awaiting my soft-spoken girl,
she came (it's worthless to deny)
to where she had promised, an undeniable moon.
We sat together (splendid topic,
8 a hesitant thing), the girl and I;
I exchanged (before a claim should fail)
words with an excellent girl.
And as we were thus (she was modest)
12 the two of us understanding love,
there came (a feebleness bereft of [good] nurturing)
with a cry (some stinking feat)
a small ugly noisy (the bottom of a sack [making] a sound)
16 creature in the guise of a shepherd.
And he had (hateful declaration)
a rattle-bag, angry, with a whithered cheek [and] harsh-horned.
He sounded (yellow-bellied lodger)
20 the rattlebag; woe to the scabby leg!
And then without gaining satisfaction
the fair girl was frightened, woe me!
When she heard (breast made brittle by a wound)
24 the winnowing of the stones, she would stay no more.
Under Christ, there was never a sound in Christendom
(a sow's fame) as harsh:
a bag sounding on the end of a stick,
28 a bell's sound of small stones and gravel;
a shaking vessel of English stones making a sound
in a bullock's skin;
a basket of three thousand beetles,
32 a surging cauldron, a black bag;
guardian of a meadow, cohabitor of grass,

black-skinned [and] pregnant with dry wood-chips.
It's voice [is] hateful for an old roebuck,
36 a devil of a bell, with a pole in its crotch.
A scarred scab with a stone-bearing gravel-womb,
may it be buckle-laces.
[May] coldness be on the shapeless churl,
40 (amen) who frightened my girl.

Edited Text: 24 - Cywydd Ymryson Cyntaf Dafydd ap Gwilym

Cywydd Ymryson Cyntaf Dafydd ap Gwilym
Gruffudd Gryg, wŷg wag awen,
Grynedig, boenedig ben,
Cynnydd cerdd bun o unflwydd,
4 Coeg yw, un dyfiad cyw gŵydd.
Nid mwy urddas, heb ras rydd,
Gwawd no geuwawd o gywydd,
Cywair ddelw, cywir ddolef,
8 Cywydd gwiw Ofydd, gwae ef!
Un a'i cas, arall a'i cân,
Enw gwrthgas, un a'i gwrthgan.
Telyn ni roddid dwylaw
12 Ar ei llorf, glaeargorf glaw,
Ni warafun bun o bydd
Ei cheuedd gyda chywydd.
Traethawl yw, o cheir trithant,
16 Traethawr cerdd, truthiwr a'i cant
Yn nhafarn cwrw anhyful,
Tincr a'i cân wrth foly tancr cul.
Hwn a'i teifl, hyn neud diflas,
20 Hen faw ci, yny fo cas.
Cwrrach memrwn, wefldwn waith,
I'r dom a fwrid ymaith,
A geisir, â'i ddyir ddail,
24 A'i bensiwn serch, heb unsail;
Diddestl fydd o'i fedyddiaw
Ei bennill ef, bin a llaw.
Bustl a chas y barnasam
28 Beio cerdd lle ni bo cam.
Pam y'm cên yr awenydd
Draw i'm diswyddaw y sydd?
Gruffudd, ddigudd ymddygiad,
32 Ap Cynwrig, Wyndodig dad,
Gŵr heb hygarwch Gwyndyd,
Gwyrodd â'i ben gerdd y byd.
Nid oes gwaith, lle mae maith medd,
36 I geiniad cerddau Gwynedd,

Eithr torri, ethrod diraen,
Braisg gofl yw, y brisg o'i flaen.
Ni chân bardd i ail hardd hin
40 Gywydd gyda'i ddeg ewin,
Ni chano Gruffudd, brudd braw,
Gwedd erthwch, gywydd wrthaw.
Pawb a wnâi adail pybyr
44 O chaid gwŷdd, a iechyd gwŷr.
Haws yw cael, lle bo gwael gwŷdd,
Siwrnai dwfn, saer no defnydd.
O myn gwawd, orddawd eurddof,
48 Aed i'r coed i dorri cof.
Nid tra chyfrwys, lwys lysenw
Awenydd clod, hynod henw,
A fai raid ofer edau
52 I ddefnydd ei gywydd gau.
A'i law ar ganllaw geinllwyr,
Rydain hen, y rhed yn hwyr.
Caned bardd i ail harddlun,
56 Gywydd o'i henwydd ei hun.
Rhoddaf, anelaf yn ôl,
Rhybudd i Ruffudd ryffol,
Crair pob ffair, ffyrf a'i gweheirdd,
60 Cryglyfr bost, craig lefair beirdd:
Taled y mab ataliaith
Tâl am wawd, talm ym o'i waith.

English Version: 24 - Cywydd Ymryson Cyntaf Dafydd ap Gwilym

Dafydd ap Gwilym's First Debate Poem
Gruffudd Gryg, empty and worthless muse,
with his painful trembling mouth,
the development of a girl's poem after only a year,
4 it is vain, like the growth of a goose chick.
There is no more nobility, apart from plenty of grace,
to a praise poem than to a *cywydd* of false praise,
an appropriate form, being correctly recited,
8 it is a worthy love poem, woe be to him!
One may hate it, another will sing it,
hateful name, and yet another man will repeat it.
A harp on whose column hands have not been placed,
12 a sweet pillar of rain,
a girl will not be dissatisfied if
the harp's cavity is an accompaniment to a *cywydd*.
It produces sound, if there are three strings,
16 proclaimer of poems, a sycophant sang it
in a common beer tavern,

a tinker sings it beside his narrow beer tankard.
This one throws it away, it is useless,
20 old dog shit, so that it is a hateful thing.
An old battered book of parchment, with ragged edges,
which was thrown away onto the dung heap,
it will be sought, with its scrappy pages,
24 and its stock of love, without any basis for it;
its stanza will be slovenly
when it is baptized with pen in hand.
We judge that it is bitter and nasty
28 to find fault with a poem where there is no wrong.
Why is that poet bothering me
and trying to make me lose my occupation?
Gruffudd, with his blatant gestures,
32 son of Cynwrig, father from Gwynedd,
the man who doesn't have Gwynedd men's friendliness,
he corrupted the world's poetry with his mouth.
There is no work, where mead is plentiful,
36 for the one who sings the poems of Gwynedd,
but cutting, pathetic libel,
it's a great load, the path before him.
There is no poet that sings a *cywydd* to the likeness of summer's beauty
40 with his ten fingernails,
that Gruffudd doesn't sing, sad test,
whingey appearance, the same *cywydd* too.
Everyone would make a grand building
44 if wood were to be had, and the health of men.
But it is easier to get, where the wood is no good,
hard journey, a carpenter than the materials.
If he wants a poem, noble and strong blow,
48 he should go to the woods to seek materials.
He is not skilful, beautiful nickname,
the famed poet, renowned name,
if he needs to get vain threads
52 as the materials for his false *cywydd*.
With his hand on a fine handrail,
old hind, he runs slowly.
Let a poet sing to one who is fair of face
56 a *cywydd*from his own old wood.
I give, aiming a shot back at him,
a warning to the very foolish Gruffudd,
the toy of every fair, the strong prevent him,
60 the cowardly stuttering boaster, echo–stone of the poets:
let the stuttering lad pay
fees for a poem, some of his own work to me.

Edited Text: 30 - Pedwerydd Cywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym

Pedwerydd Cywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym
Arblastr yw Gruffudd eirblyg,
A bwa crefft, cyd bo cryg;
Saethu y mae, wae wahawdd,
4 Pob nod, nid rhydd i'r Pab nawdd,
Ac odid, elyw–wrid liw,
Un a fedr, anaf ydiw,
Ond dwyn y gerdd wrthwyneb,
8 Y glod yn anghlod i neb.
Petawn heb ynof angerdd,
Oedfedw cof, adfydig gerdd,
Llai cywilydd oedd iddaw,
12 Dial fy llid, dal fy llaw
Nog edliw ym, gyflym gawdd,
Fy mhrudded – fy mâr haeddawdd.
O chafas y gwas, wg wên,
16 Urdd newydd ar ddwyn awen,
Is gîl eto, os gwelwyf,
Esgeulus fydd nofus nwyf.
O rhoir ffyrch, nid llyfrgyrch llesg,
20 Dan aeliau gwas annilesg,
Ef a eill tafawd, wawd wâr,
Gwan unben, a gwenwynbar,
Dygyfor a digofaint
24 Dan ei fron, a dwyn ei fraint.
Haws oedd yng Ngwynedd weddu
Tad i Fleddyn o'r dyn du,
Nag efô, hwylio heli,
28 O dud Môn yn dad i mi.
Dyn ydwyf dianudon
A fu gan wreigdda o Fôn,
Ac a wnaeth, arfaeth aerfa,
32 Mab cryg, nid mewn diwyg da:
Gruffudd liw deurudd difrwd,
Mold y cŵn, fab Mald y Cwd,
Gwas i gleifion Uwch Conwy,
36 Gwn, gwn, pam na wypwn pwy?
Ystyried Gruffudd ruddlwm,
A blaen ei dafod yn blwm,
Gantaw na ddaw'n ddilestair
40 Druan gŵr, draean y gair,
Cuc cuc yn yfed sucan,
Ci brwysg yn llyncu cyw brân,
Nâd diswrth, ond tywysaw
44 Gŵr dall ar draws ysgall draw.

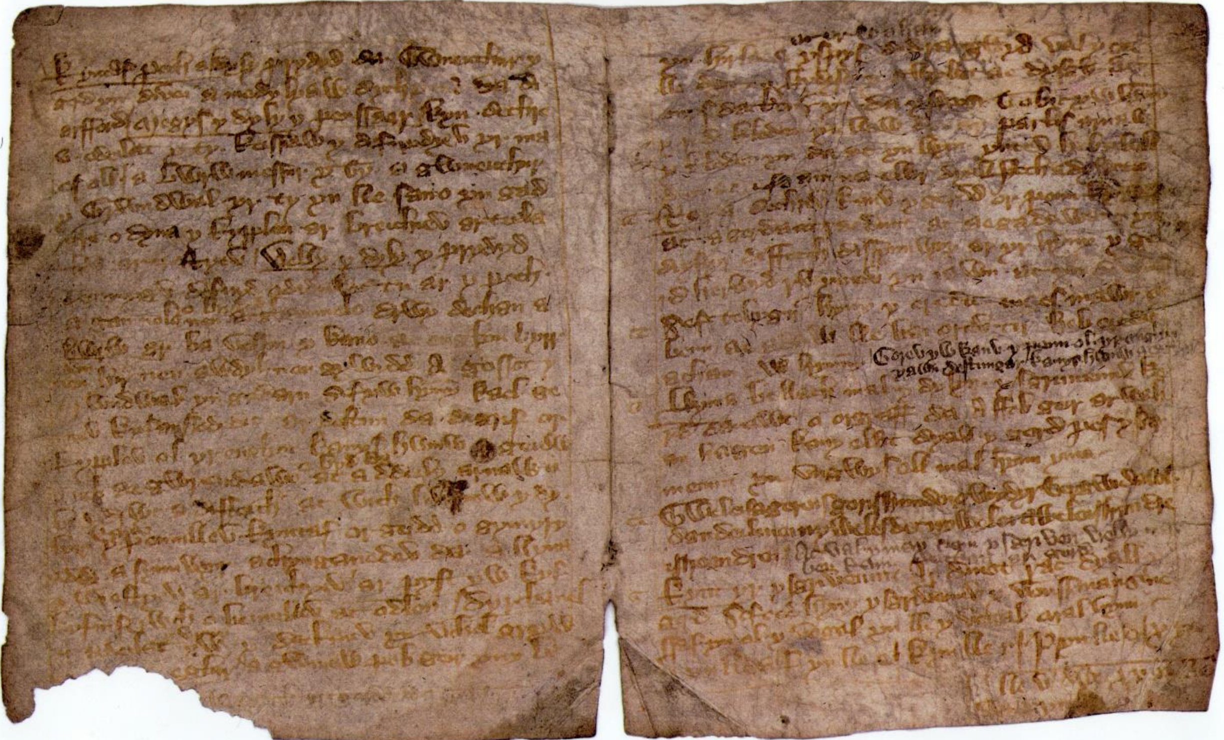
Anodd i brydydd unig
Ymwrdd â dyn agwrdd dig;
Ef a eill, gwufr arddufrych,
48 Cern oer, gael llonaid corn ych,
Oni wna Duw, ni wnâi dwyll,
Bod dygymod dig amwyll.
To llingarth, tywyll angerdd,
52 Tudur Goch, taw di â'r gerdd.
Grawys, henw o groesanaeth,
Grafil mefl, a fu wefl waeth?
Rhywyr gas, rhwyf argyswr,
56 Rhefr gŵydd, gad rhof i a'r gŵr.

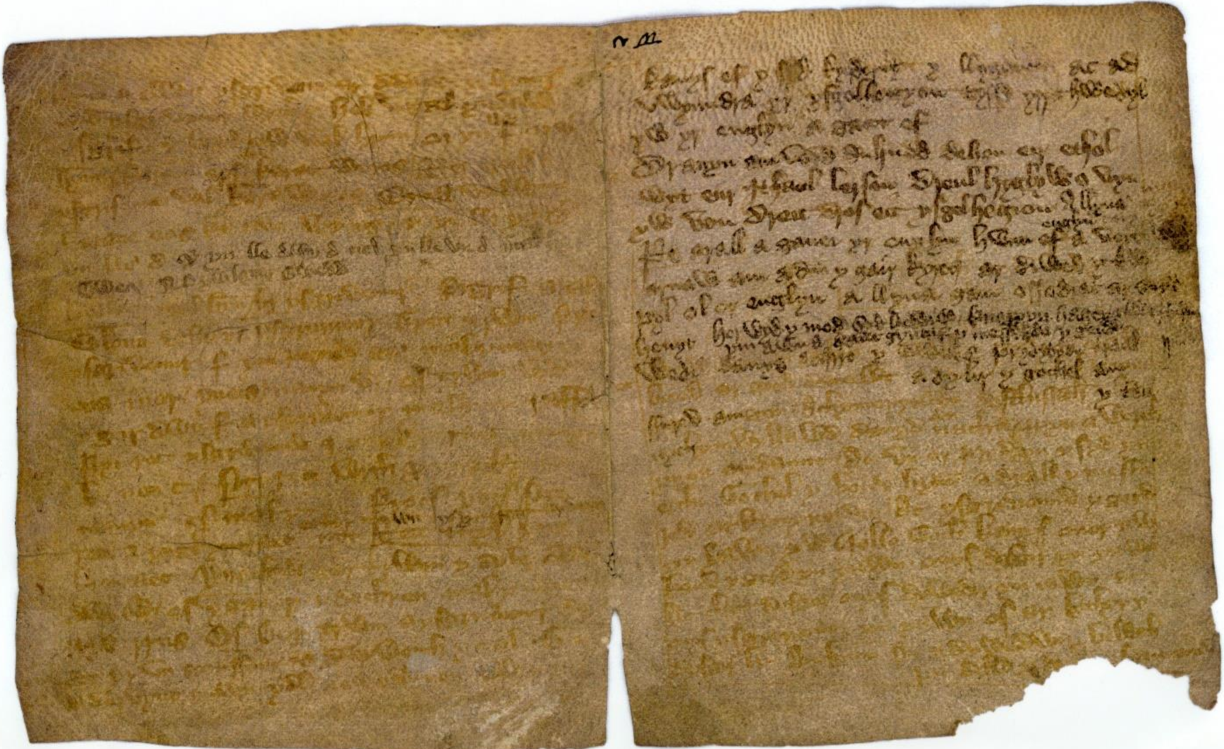
English Version: 30 - Pedwerydd Cywydd Ymryson Dafydd ap Gwilym

Dafydd ap Gwilym's Fourth Debate Poem
Gruffudd, word twister, is a crossbow,
and a bow of art, although he has a stutter;
he shoots, he invites pain,
4 every target, not even the Pope has respite,
and barely he strikes one, aloe–red,
he's injured,
only perverting poetry,
8 turning praise into satire for anyone.
If I had no skill at all,
recollection of a woodland tryst, pitiful poem,
it would be less shame to him,
12 to revenge my anger, to support me
than to rebuke me, quick anger,
for my sadness — he deserved my wrath.
If the lad had, smiling scowl,
16 a new honour for composing poetry,
lagging behind again, if I see him,
the novice of love will be sloppy.
If forks are put, not a cowardly weak attack,
20 under the brows of a sickly man,
a tongue can, civilised poetry,
weak chieftain, and a poisoned spear,
cause trouble and anger
24 in his chest, and take away his honours.
It would be easier to fit the black man
as a father to Bleddyn in Gwynedd
than him, sailing the sea,
28 from the land of Anglesey as a father to me.
I'm a truthful man,
who has been with a noblewoman from Anglesey,
and I sired, with the intention of causing devastation,

32 a son with a stammer in a rather bad way:
pale–cheeked Gruffudd,
the spitting image of the dogs, son of Malkin,
servant of lepers from Uwch Conwy,
36 I know, I know, why should I not know who?
Pasty–cheeked Gruffudd should,
tongue tipped with lead,
consider that not even a third of the words
40 come from him without obstruction, the pathetic man,
but a glug glug noise like someone drinking gruel,
or a drunken dog swallowing a crow chick,
a slow howl, but leading
44 a blind man across thistles over there.
It's a tricky thing for a lonely poet
to fight with a strong, indignant man;
he can, the speckled–black quiver,
48 sad–cheeked, have a ox's hornful,
if God does not, he would not commit deception,
make a truce of angry rashness.
Covering of tow, a dark passion,
52 Tudur Goch, give up your poetics.
In Lent, he's famous for his tomfoolery,
the insulting creature, was there ever a worse lip?
Long–standing hatred, the chieftain of fear,
56 goose arse, leave this between me and that man over there.

APPENDIX B: Images of Gramadeg Gwysanau: Flintshire Record Office, D/GW 2082





Reproduced from the Flintshire Record Office by kind permission of the Gwysaney Estate.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Alain de Lille, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*. Ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCX, cols. 110-98.

Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica* and *De instiutione musica*. Ed. Friedlein Gottfried, Leipzig, 1867. Vol. II. 54.

Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion, edited by Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1991.

Dafydd ap Gwilym, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*. Ed. Thomas Parry. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1979.

---. *Dafydd ap Gwilym.net*. Accessed April 15, 2019. http://dafyddapgwilym.net/

Deschamps, Eustache, *L'Art de dictier*, trans. Deborah Sinnreich-Levi. East Lansing, 1994.

---. *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Gaston Raynaud and Auguste-Henry-Edouard, marquis de Queusx de Saint-Hilaire, 11 vols., Paris 1878-1903 [Société des anciens textes français].

---. *Eustache Deschamps: Selected Poems*, ed. Deborah Sinnreich-Levi and Ian S. Laurie; trans. Jeffrey Fiskin and David Curzon. New York: Routledge, 2003.

---. *Anthologie*, ed. Clotilde Dauphant, Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2014.

---. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France. BnF f.fr. 840.

Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, in Ernest Gallo, *The* Poetria nova *and its sources in early rhetorical doctrine*, Mouton: The Hague, 1971.

Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, trans. Margaret Nims. Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 1967.

Gramadeg Gwysanau in Ann Parry Owen, "Gramadeg Gwysanau (Archifdy Sir y Fflint, D/GW 2082)," *Llên Cymru* 33(2010), 1-31.

Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid ed. G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1934.

Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. and trans. Armand Strubel. Paris: la Bibliothèque des Lettres, 1998.

Neruda, Pablo. *Five Decades: A Selection*, ed. and trans. Ben Belitt, Grove Press: New York, 1974.

Priscian, "Institutiones grammaticae" in Keil, H. *Grammatici Latini* vol. 2, Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri: 1870.

Regino of Prüm, *Epistula de armonica institutione*, in Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica* (St. Blasien, 1784), I, 230-247.

Secondary Sources

Becker, Karin. *Le Lyrisme d'Eustache Deschamps: Entre poésie et pragmatisme*, Classiques Garnier: Paris, 2012.

Bliggenstorfer, Susanna. *Eustache Deschamps: Aspects poétiques et satiriques*, Tübingen: Francke, 2005.

Bower, Calvin M. "Natural and Artificial Music: The Origins and Development of an Aesthetic Concept," *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. 25 (1971).

Bromwich, Rachel. *Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym*, Cardiff: Wales U. P., 1967.

Butterfield, Ardis. *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, language, and nation in the Hundred Years War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Charles-Edwards, Thomas. "The Welsh Bardic Grammars on *litterae*," in Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (eds.) *Grammatica, Gramadach, and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales,* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 2016), 149-60.

Chotzen, Theodor. *Recherches sur la poésie de Dafydd ab Gwilym*, Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1927.

Copeland, Rita and Ineke Sluiter, *Medieval grammar and rhetoric: language arts and literary theory, AD 300-1475*. Oxford, OUP, 2015.

Davies, R. R. *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Donoghue, Daniel. *How the Anglo-Saxons Read Their Poems*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018

Dragonetti, Roger. " 'La Poesie… ceste musique naturele.' Essai d'exégèse d'un passage de l'*Art de Dictier* d'Eustache Deschamps," in *Fin du moyen âge et renaissance*. *Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guiette*. Anvers, 1961, pp. 49-64.

Earp, Lawrence. *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, New York, 1995.

Elson, Madeleine Beth. "Chaucer's French Sources: Literary and Codicological Play and the Author's Persona," PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2016.

Ford, Patrick. "Performance and Literacy in Medieval Welsh Poetry." *Modern Language Review*, October 2005, Vol. 100, pp. 30-48.

Franklin-Brown, Mary. *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012

Fulton, Helen. *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context*, UWP: Cardiff, 1989

Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1968-87.

Greenhill, Peter. "The Robert ap Huw Manuscript: An Exploration of its Possible Solutions," Accessed April 15, 2019. https://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/musicfiles/manuscripts/aphuw/

Gruffydd, R. Geraint. "Wales's Second Grammarian: Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. 90, 1-28.

Harper, Sally. "Dafydd ap Gwilym: Poet and Musician," Accessed May 1, 2019. http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/docs/sally_harper/Musical%20Background.doc

Harshav, *Explorations in Poetics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Hayden, Deborah. "Language and Linguistics in Medieval Europe," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Linguistics*, OUP, 2019.

Hopwood, Mererid. *Singing in Chains: Listening to Welsh Verse*. Llandysul: Gomer, 2004.

Huws, Daniel. *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000.

Jeserich, Philipp. *Musica Naturalis: Speculative Music Theory and Poetics, from Saint Augustine to the Late Middle Ages in France*. Trans. Michael J. Curley and Steven Randall. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.

"John XXII [Duèse, Jacques]," Ed. Mary Barry, *Grove Dictionary of Music*, OUP, 2001.

Johnston, Dafydd. *Llên yr Uchelwyr: Hanes beirniadol llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1300-1525*. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 2005.

--- "The Principles of the Edited Texts," Accessed May 1, 2019 http://dafyddapgwilym.net/docs/The%20Principles%20of%20the%20Edited%20Texts.pdf

Jones, Nerys Anne. "Marwnadau Beirdd y Tywysogion: Arolwg," *Cyfoeth y Testun: Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesodd Canol*, Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 2003.

Kelly, Douglas. *The Arts of Poetry and Prose*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1991.

Lacassagne, Mirren and Thierry Lassabatère, *Les « Dictez vertueulx » d'Eustache Deschamps : Forme poétique et discours engagé à la fin du Moyen Âge*, PUPS: Paris, 2005.

Laurie, I. S. "Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music," *The Modern Language Review*, October 1964, Vol. 59(4), pp. 561-70.

Leighton, Angela. *Hearing Things: The Work of Sound in Literature*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018.

Lynch, Peredur. "Yr Awdl a'i Mesurau," *Beirdd a Thywysogion: Barrdoniaeth Llys yng Nghymru, Iwerddon, a'r Alban*, 1996.

Matonis, A. T. E. "The Welsh Bardic Grammars and the Western Grammatical Tradition," *Modern Philology*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (Nov., 1981), pp. 121-45.

Murphy, James J. ed., "A New Look at Chaucer and the Rhetoricians." *Review of English Studies*, February 1964, Vol. 15, pp. 1-20.

---. *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*. Berkeley, 1971.

Olson, Glending. "Deschamps' Art de dictier and Chaucer's Literary Environment," *Speculum*, October 1973, Vol. 48(4), pp. 714-23.

Orme, Nicholas, "Education in Medieval Wales," *Welsh History Review* (27/4), 2015.

Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook, ed. Michael Livingston and John K. Bollard. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.

Owen, Ann Parry. "Gramadeg Gwysanau (Archifdy Sir y Fflint, D/GW 2082)," *Llên Cymru* 33(2010), 1-31.

---. "Gramadeg Gwysanau: A fragment of a fourteenth-century Welsh bardic grammar," pp. 181-200, in *Grammatica, Gramadach and Gramadeg: Vernacular grammar and grammarians in medieval Ireland and Wales* Ed. By Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016.

Parry, Thomas. "The Welsh Metrical Treatise Attributed to Einion Offeiriad," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol.47, 1961, pp. 177-95.

Plumley, Yolanda. "Crossing Borderlines: Points of Contact between the Late-Fourteenth Century French Lyric and Chanson Repertories," *Acta Musicologica*, 2004, Vol.76(1), pp.3-23.

Poe, Elizabeth. *From Poetry to Prose in Old Provençal: The Emergence of the "Vidas," the "Razos," and the "Razos de trobar,"* Summa Publications, 1984.

Poirion, Daniel. *Le Poète et le Prince*, PUF 1965.

Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, ii–iii, ed. L. Schrade (Monaco, 1956/R1977 in 5 vols.).

Saenger, Paul. *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics. Ed. in Chief Roland Greene. 4th Ed., PUP: Princeton, 2015.

The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991.

Tsur, Reuven. *What Makes Sound Patterns Expressive?: The Poetic Mode of Speech Perception*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.

Wilkins, Nigel, ed. *La Louange des Dames by Guillaume de Machaut*, no. 204 (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972).

Wilkinson, Daniel Leech. *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Williams, Gwyn. *An Introduction to Welsh Poetry, from the beginnings to the sixteenth century*. Philadelphia: Dufour Editions, 1952.

Wimsatt, James. *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries: Natural music in the fourteenth century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Woods, Marjorie Curry. *Classroom Commentaries*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010.