

Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin

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from the
Book of Taliesin

edited and translated by

Marged Haycock

CMCS Publications,
Department of Welsh,
Aberystwyth University,
Old College, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion
SY23 2AX, Wales, GB

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Preface

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Abbreviations

<	deriving from	ModW	Modern Welsh
>	developing to	ms	manuscript
abs.	absolute	MW	Middle Welsh
adj.	adjective	n.	note
BL	British Library	neg.	negative
Britt.	Brittonic	NLW	National Library of Wales
cf.	compare	OB	Old Breton
def. art.	definite article	OCorn	Old Cornish
E.	English	OE	Old English
em.	emendation	OIr	Old Irish
<i>et alii</i>	<i>et alii</i>	ON	Old Norse
etc.	et cetera	OW	Old Welsh
f.	folio	p.	page
fem.	feminine	pl.	plural
Fr.	French	plup.	pluperfect
fut.	future	prep.	preposition
gl.	gloss(ing)	pres.	present
imperf.	imperfect	pret.	preterite
impers.	impersonal	pron.	pronoun
impv.	imperative	rel.	relative
indic.	indicative	s.n.	sub nomine
L.	Latin	s.v.	sub verbo
lit.	literal(ly)	sg.	singular
masc.	masculine	subjunct.	subjunctive
MBr	Middle Breton	trans.	translated
ME	Middle English	vb	verb
MIr	Middle Irish	VL	Vulgar Latin
ModIr	Modern Irish		

General Introduction

The manuscript

In 1696 Edward Lhuyd, the greatest Welsh scholar of his day, was hustled in and out of the fabled library at Hengwrt near Dolgellau. Twenty-nine years had passed since the death of the old squire, Robert Vaughan, and Lhuyd's visit, for the purpose of making an inventory of surviving medieval Welsh manuscripts, was curtailed since it was 'a busy time with the gentleman that admitted me into the study'. One of the ancient Hengwrt manuscripts that he was to list in his *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707) was no. 26, *Llyvyr Taliessin* 'The Book of Taliesin', a title that has continued in use to the present day. There is no evidence, however, to show that *Llyvyr Taliessin* was a medieval designation, and the title may have been coined by Vaughan, a formidably able historian and textual scholar whom Lhuyd himself was prepared to acknowledge as 'that learned and candid antiquary'. Today, three centuries later, the Book of Taliesin is kept in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth (manuscript Peniarth 2). Access is still restricted, but its digitised pages can be turned and viewed in high resolution detail by anyone with web access to www.nlw.org.uk. It is small and plain with poem titles mostly in red, and alternating red and blue capitals marking the start of most of its sixty-two poems. It was written, and for the most part rubricated, by a single, 'excellent' hand using a regular textura (textualis formata) script which Daniel Huws dates to the first half of the fourteenth century.¹

The manuscript is incomplete, missing the first leaf of the first and fourth of its five quires; in addition there may be a whole quire or quires missing between quires 3 and 4, at the beginning, and at the end (as the unmatched catch-word of the last quire indicates). This affects three of the poems included in this present edition: the beginning of §16 Alexander 1; the end of §11 Kanu y Gwynt; and the beginning of §1 Prif Gyuarch Geluyd, which can be supplied from a full text in the Red Book of Hergest.²

There are four other extant manuscripts written by the Book of Taliesin scribe: National Library of Wales 3036 (Mostyn 117), a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* which belongs to the Brut Dingestow family of texts; Peniarth 6 part iv, containing almost two-thirds of the

¹ MWM 79. The handwriting may be compared with the similar, though in some ways slightly more innovative script used by Gwilym Was Da, known to be holding a burgage in Dinefwr in 1302/3. He copied three law texts of the Blegywryd family (Peniarth 36A, Peniarth 36B, and Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.7.1). Also very similar is the script of the Bodorgan manuscript. Peniarth 9, written by Ieuan Ysgolhaig in 1336, provides another important dating anchor, and appears to be somewhat later than the Taliesin group. A description of the Book of Taliesin and its history, which could not have been prepared without the generous guidance of Daniel Huws, was published in 'Llyfr Taliesin', *NLWJ* 25 (1988), 357-86.

² See introduction to poem §1.

story of *Geraint fab Erbin*;³ and British Library Harley 4353 and Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv, both law texts belonging to the Cyfnerth group generally associated with mid- or south-east Wales. Instances of orthographic *wh-* and *hu-* for *chw-*,⁴ and avoidance of yod in words such as *keinhawc* together suggest a scribe from mid or south Wales, while BL Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv, known in the second half of the fourteenth century as *Liber Cardiff de consuetudinibus Walliae*, has a definite early connection with Glamorgan. As to milieu, it is likely that he was working in an institutional scriptorium: the few scribal colophons of this period indicate men in orders⁵ and our scribe was clearly producing texts in quantity (and fitted for use in the case of the law-books, designed for ease of reference with fewer lines to the page). J. Gwenogvryn Evans favoured one of the Cistercian houses of Neath and Margam, although they were hardly allied with Welsh cultural and political aspirations at this period. Ystrad Marchell and Strata Florida, the *pura Wallia* choices of Denholm-Young, are not particularly compelling: Ystrad Marchell is beyond the dialect boundary for *wh-*, and Daniel Huws has noted as significant the absence of our scribe's hand from the unparalleled array of hands who wrote in the Hendregadredd manuscript at Strata Florida from c. 1300-50. Other possibilities might include Llantarnam (a daughter house of Strata Florida in Gwent), and particularly Cwm Hir.⁶ It was in this area, too, possibly Maelienydd, that the earliest extant prologues to the law-books, those of the Cyfnerth redaction, had been composed in the later twelfth century, as indicated by the mention of the stream Cyrchell, part of the boundary between Maelienydd and Gwerthrynion.⁷

If the place of writing is uncertain, we know that by the end of the sixteenth century, the Book of Taliesin was in Radnorshire, in the possession of Hugh Myles, son of the historian John Myles of Harpton (Tre'rdelyn). The Myles family, prominent in the Old Radnor (Pen-craig) and Evenjobb area, were descendants of Dafydd ap Rhys ap Meurig, a nobleman praised by the fifteenth-century poet, Lewys Glyn Cothi. In a eulogy to Dafydd, Lewys used the topos of patron and poet perusing books together, a device often used to spotlight

³ The edition by Robert L. Thomson, *Gereint*, is based on the full texts in the White and Red Books (with the White Book text, copied c. 1350, as the base text). See *Gereint* xi-xxi on the relationship of the W/R stream versus that of Peniarth 6 part iv/Peniarth 6 part iii (the latter now dated to the end of thirteenth century/beginning of the fourteenth century, according to Daniel Huws' unpublished corrigenda to MWM 58).

⁴ See *NLWJ* 25 (1988), 364 for details; note that in the Book of Taliesin, the *wh-* spellings are numerous in poem §5 Kat Godeu, viz. §5.149 *wherthinawc*; §5.192 *whant* contra §3.13 and §24.29 *chwant*; §5.217 *whech*; §5.80 *anwhant* contra §5.187 *anchwant*; also §8.51 *whegach* and cf. §9.73 *chwhefrin*. See below on the orthographic norms of the manuscript.

⁵ By c. 1400 lay copyists such as Hywel Fychan (the main scribe of the Red Book of Hergest) are more in evidence.

⁶ See Paul Martin Remfry, *A Political History of Abbey Cwmhir and its Patrons 1176 to 1282* (Worcester, 1994), 14; Remfry questions the assumption that chronicles were kept there given the extreme paucity of mentions of its personnel, and indeed of events in the Middle March in general.

⁷ Huw Pryce, 'The prologues to the Welsh lawbooks', *B* 33 (1986), 151-87, pp. 154-5; Morfydd E. Owen, *WKC* 428-9; further on the phrase *tra Chyrchell*, see *GPB* 14-15.

treasures in the patron's library. In this instance, the two are pictured discussing textual difficulties: Dafydd poring over 'the verse of Gwiawn' (*wrth gywydd Gwiawn*), and being admired for understanding it correctly (*a'i ddeall mewn dull iawn*). It would seem possible, even likely, that this was the Book of Taliesin itself; the fifteenth-century English marginalia may be a further pointer that the manuscript was already in this region just a few miles west of Offa's Dyke.

After Hugh Myles' day, the manuscript passed to his famous kinsman, the historian John Lewis of Llynwene. His father had been a patron of poets, and one of the commissioners who had signed Gruffudd Hiraethog's bardic licence in 1545.⁸ His second wife, John Lewis' mother, Sybil, was a daughter of the Hergest family, part of the great web of Vaughan patrons and collectors in Breconshire and Herefordshire, related to the powerful Devereux and Herbert families, as well as being the grand-daughter of Thomas Cromwell. Lewis made use of the Book of Taliesin in writing his *History of Great Britain*, referring to 'a Treatise called Kat Godeu which I can shew written in parchment 3 or 4 hundred Yeares past', and 'Gweith Argoed Llwyfein, not mentioned in any writer that I have read but Taliesin, the chief poet of the Britons, of which I have a copy, written many hundred years past, in Parchment, which hath not yet been regarded (as I think) in respect of the hardness of the Phrase of the British Tong, above 100 years past'. Lewis also wrote on the manuscript, adding titles (such as *Marwn[at] Corroi*, f. 31v) and improving faint readings with his dark ink (e.g. f. 8r). Lewis' substantial collection of manuscripts was bequeathed to his grandson on his death in 1616, and some came to the Hengwrt library, possibly through the good offices of Meredith Lloyd of Welshpool. The Book of Taliesin was certainly at Hengwrt by 1655, and probably much earlier. Dr John Davies, Mallwyd, made a copy in modern orthography between 1631-4 (NLW 4973B), the source of scores of subsequent copies, and Robert Vaughan himself made a copy in his now largely lost anthology, *Y Kynfeirdd Kymreig*, which Edward Lhuyd had recourse to on his hurried visit to Hengwrt in 1696. The contents of the Hengwrt library passed to W.W.E. Wynne of Peniarth in 1859 and were purchased by Sir John Williams as the foundation collection for the National Library of Wales in 1909.⁹

Only a brief summary can be given here of the subsequent study of manuscript in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Evan Evans' cautious work, *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards* (1764) stressed the difficulty of those poems he identified as early: 'It is too great a task for any man at this distance of time to go about a translation of them'. He turned instead to a later 'Taliesin' poem (one associated with the *Ystoria* or *Hanes Taliesin*) since, as he remarked candidly, 'it was the only one I could thoroughly understand.' His *Dissertatio de Bardis* included some extracts, but perpetuated the confusion between the contents of the Book of Taliesin and the later poems associated with

⁸ GLMorg II, poem 72 (and notes, pp. 582-3); D.J. Bowen, GGH xxv, suggests that Gruffudd Hiraethog's bardic warrant may have been awarded on the occasion of the wedding-feast when Huw Lewys married Sybil Vaughan of Hergest.

⁹ Details on the foregoing material in *NLWJ* 25 (1988), 362-70.

Hanes Taliesin. This was the case, too, with the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (1801), in which copies of copies of the Book of Taliesin poems, made by the Morris brothers of Anglesey and Edward ‘Celtic’ Davies, were interspersed with other later items. These shortcomings were to hamper Sharon Turner in his spirited defence of the authenticity of old Welsh poetry against the Ossian sceptics (*A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems &c*, 1803), as they hindered Thomas Stephens’ *Literature of the Kymry* (1849), and D.W. Nash’s pioneering and demystifying study, *Taliesin; or, The Bards and Druids of Britain*, published in 1858.

Nash was reacting to the ‘monstrous imposture of Edward Williams [Iolo Morganwg] and his son Taliesin Williams’, and particularly to Edward Davies’ ‘two monuments of misapplied learning’, *Celtic Researches* and *The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids*. Here was some sense at last, and reasonably sensible translations for the most part, demonstrating that the worst excesses of the druidical and Helio-Arkite interpretations of the poems were ‘a fallacy, originating in an erroneous conception of the meaning of the passages produced, or derived from documents tainted with the suspicion of modern forgery and fraud’.¹⁰ Matthew Arnold was to acknowledge that Nash ‘cleared much rubbish away’, adding, however, that ‘this is no such very difficult feat, and requires mainly common-sense’. But Nash’s extreme scepticism as to vestiges of paganism or mythology and claims for the antiquity of the poems was anathema to Arnold. He abhorred Nash’s levelling comparativism, his denial of the primitive, the ‘Celtic, the essential’ parts of the material. Famously, Arnold said that ‘the secret of Wales and its genius is not truly reached until this *detritus*, instead of being called recent because it is found in contact with what is recent, is disengaged, and is made to tell its own story’.¹¹ The first printed text based on the manuscript itself, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (1868), was an advance in this respect, and W.F. Skene’s authoritative introduction was seminal in the shaping of ideas about the history and culture of the Old Brittonic North.

In 1910 the great printer and palaeographer J. Gwenogvryn Evans provided a magnificent collotype facsimile and typography text so that ‘every worker can thus examine the materials in their earliest known form, and in his own workshop’ — to test Gwenogvryn’s novel conclusion that Taliesin lived in the twelfth century, and was active in Wales and the north-eastern borderland. His accompanying volume of translations, *Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (1915), was ripped to shreds as ‘one huge mistake’ in a cruel book-length review published in *Y Cymmrodor* 28 in 1918. The reviewer, the newly-ennobled Sir John Morris-Jones, was at the height of his powers, an internationally known grammarian and philologist, a suave arbiter of literary taste, and a specialist in the technical aspects of medieval poetry. He carried the day against ‘all this trash. . . printed in the best ink on the finest paper’, and presented an edition in

¹⁰ D.W. Nash, *Taliesin; or, The Bards and Druids of Britain* (London, 1858), 341.

¹¹ Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, popular edition (London, 1912), 37, 59 and 55.

embryo of five of the poems addressed to Urien Rheged and an edition and translation of a Cunedda poem (§23 in this collection), as well as copious commentaries on other items in the manuscript. The heroic age of hengerdd scholarship set in train by Morris-Jones was to culminate in the work of his disciples, most notably in Ifor Williams' editions, *Canu Llywarch Hen*, *Canu Aneirin*, *Armes Prydein* and *Canu Taliesin*, and John Lloyd-Jones's *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg*. The present work engages primarily with this modern body of scholarship and its beneficiaries and, with a few exceptions, does not seek either to correct or endorse the interpretations of critics working before c. 1918.

Contents of the Book of Taliesin

As well as the Welsh poems discussed below, the manuscript contains a corrupt Latin passage beginning 'Qui venerunt angeli/ in natali Domini' that describes the Day of Judgment and the heavenly host before the Judgment seat. It is found in BT 6.17-7.1 in the middle of a long poem listing and praising the saints and martyrs of Christendom, a poem perhaps associated with the feast of the Holy Innocents or All Saints. It appears that the Book of Revelation is its main inspiration, and it has been considered to be a sequence, that is a liturgical piece sung at Mass after the Alleluia. But Sally Harper notes that it lacks conventional sequence structure (seen, for example, in the Cambridge Juvenius 'Arbor eterna, diva, summus' sequence); she suggests that a direct association with the liturgy is 'perhaps unlikely' although its mention of the archangel Michael has 'apparent resonance' with the feast of St Michael and all Angels.¹² The piece has been printed and discussed several times, and translated into modern Welsh.¹³ Another religious item, a short penitential 'death-bed' poem, has been glossed in Latin using a number of words and phrases from Psalm 24.¹⁴

The manuscript contains sixty-one poems, listed in order in the Conspectus at the end of this volume. Eight are religious and Scriptural, with a further three which relate to Christian learning and doctrine of the sort associated with the Taliesin figure in other poems (nos 22, 59 and 60, §§ 13, 25 and 26 in this collection).¹⁵ Much prophetic material is included, with ten poems unequivocally vaticinations, several of them running to hundreds of lines (no. 8 Armes Prydein Vawr and no. 56 Gwawt Lud y Mawr are the longest). These together with a

¹² Harper, *Music* 177, 183, referring also to Peter Dronke, 'Arbor Eterna: a ninth-century Welsh Latin sequence', in *Britannia Latina*, edited by Charles Burnett (London, 2005), 14-26.

¹³ Printed in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, edited by A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (Oxford, 1967-71), vol. I, 623-4; and in *Wissenschaftliche Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benedictiner-Orden*, 3 (1880), 192. See C.U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols (Louvain, 1892-1921), no. 16536; Michael Lapidge, 'The Welsh-Latin poetry of Sulien's family', *SC* 8/9 (1973/4), 68, n.4; CC 248-9, with text and translation at 256-7.

¹⁴ CC 151-4.

¹⁵ All eleven are edited and translated in Welsh in CC; a portion of the material is discussed by Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales: The Origins of the Welsh Spiritual Tradition* (Cardiff, 1996), 72-91.

mixed item, no. 20 *Kychwedyl a'm dodyw*, are treated separately in a forthcoming companion volume, *Prophetic Poems from the Book of Taliesin*.

Nos. 34-42 present a solid block of poems sung to and about Urien Rheged, with the exception of no. 41 to another North British ruler, Gwallog. At some distance (no. 13) is another Gwallog poem, and an elegy for Owain son of Urien (no. 48) which is placed in a section of elegies (see below). A piece in praise of Cynan Garwyn, a ruler in Powys, also stands apart (no. 26). These twelve poems were edited in one collection by Ifor Williams, since he regarded them as compositions by an historical poet, Taliesin, living in the sixth century, active first in Wales, then in North Britain. This contested 'core' of the Book of Taliesin is not part of the present investigation: it requires renewed, detailed comparative work on its language, metrics and diction before a judgment can be passed with any real confidence. In the commentaries and discussions which follow, these texts are not privileged in any way as the work of the 'authentic' or 'real' Taliesin since I am not here taking up a position on their date — nor indeed on the dating of other Book of Taliesin items not edited in this book, such as no. 8 *Armes Prydein*, no. 24 *Edmyg Dinbych*, and no. 49 *Echrys Ynys*.¹⁶

Behind and beyond the manuscript

The ordering of the manuscript is not necessarily the work of the present scribe. It is rather more likely — given that he was occupied in multiple production — that he just made a fair copy of an existing anthology. But he may have made an amalgam, perhaps of several large blocks of preassembled material. There seems to be some deliberate ordering: the two very long and similar poems *Angar Kyfundawt* and *Kat Godeu* stand together (§§4 and 5); the long secular prophecy *Armes Prydein* stands next to the long religious poem on the Day of Judgment (nos. 7 and 8); the original *Kadeir Taliessin*, *Kadeir Teyrmon* and *Kadeir Kerrituen* are together (§§8, 9 and 10),¹⁷ as are *Kanu y Med* and *Kanu y Cwrwf* (§§12 and 13), and *Kanu y Byt Mawr* and *Kanu y Byt Bychan* (§§25 and 26); the elegies are in a very definite group (nos 43-50, of which five are included here as §§19-23); a good proportion of prophecy comes together, as does the Urien group already mentioned. Despite the mid- or southern features of the orthography, the content of the texts is overwhelmingly to do with North Wales — the majority of the prophecies, most of the legendary Taliesin poems in the

¹⁶ *Echrys Ynys* contains an important mention of the creation of a poet — a *celuyd* 'a skilful one', *ryd eluinor* 'an unrestrained utterer' — undoubtedly Taliesin, by Math and Euuyd in whose time, it is implied, poets were accorded proper consideration and patronage. The speaker of the poem is not only lamenting the passing of an unidentified Anglesey ruler, Aeddon (and his wife), but is also drawing attention to the fact that those now in control are not upholding the former stability and standards of patronage; he himself seems to have been cast aside. This poorly contextualised poem, at once a keen and a *cwyn* in the sense of a complaint, which also mentions *Seon*, is discussed in the commentary to §11.91. It is edited and discussed in BWP 172-80, and by R. Geraint Gruffydd in FS Mac Cana 39-48.

¹⁷ See introduction to §7 on the probable misplacing of the title *Kadeir Taliessin* with §7 instead of with §8.

present volume, and Echrys Ynys — a point returned to below (see pp. 34 and 36).

Since the efficiency of the scribe is in no doubt, the occasional misplaced title may indicate a confused or difficult exemplar. A slip here and there on his part can be as revealing of knowledge as of ignorance: he evidently knew the traditional cognomen *Naw Nant* of the character Nefenhyr (§5.41), as used in the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and started to write it, only to realise it was not in the poem and needed to be marked with deleting points. Orthography is regular for the most part,¹⁸ but with a few instances of copying from an exemplar or exemplars with *d* for -d (e.g. §17.9 *eithyd*, §25.46 *artymherawd*) and *t* for -d- (e.g. *Gwytyon* v. *Gwydyon*; *hantit*; *coetdyd*); this feature is often associated with the Black Book of Carmarthen-type of orthography (c. 1225-50), but it is used later too, for example by the Alpha hand of the Hendregadredd manuscript (c. 1300). So-called 'Old Welsh' orthographical features¹⁹ comparable with the unusual cluster in no. 26 *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn*²⁰ are not seen in the poems of this present collection: i.e. forms such as *Dymet* (ModW *Dyfed*); *trefbret* (trefred, with corrected form as well as the original *b*), *ebrifet* (efrifed), *kymangan* (cyfanian). The fact that he has not modernised such forms in *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* may suggest that he was not confident with Old Welsh; their infrequency elsewhere implies, then, that he was working from an exemplar or exemplars which had already been largely updated, or one(s) which contained materials which had never been written down in Old Welsh. All discernable departures from the orthographic norm are indicated in the commentaries to the poems.

The materials assembled by the unknown anthologist were exceptionally varied. We have already noted three substantial categories, religious, prophetic and encomiastic, but the rest, all included in this collection under the broad designation of legendary (see below on the use of the term), present a range of topics and genres unparalleled in pre-1283 poetry. They include an extended riddle poem about the wind, and two differently handled riddling treatments of grain; a poem listing 'fair' or favourite things next to another full of futile things

¹⁸ The norm may be summarised: *t* for final -d; *f* for final -v; *f* and *u* for -v-; *v* and *u* for v-; *d* for -ð and medial -ð-, and *t* as well as *d* for medial -d-. There is a tendency to avoid yod in plural and adjectival endings (e.g. *meibon*, *keinhawc*). The letter *i* is generally used for initial yod and yod in the second element in compounds (e.g. *ieithoed*; *Taliessin*). Lenition of initial *p*, *t* (and *d*) are not generally realized; final heavy -nn is normally written with a single *n* (but §5.100 *onn*; §5.231 *hirwynn*; §6.15 *cann*; §6.70 *llenn*; §22.5 *glann*); similarly final heavy -rr.

¹⁹ Still being used into first half of the twelfth century: see David N. Dumville, 'Palaeographical considerations in the dating of early Welsh verse', *B* 27 (1976-8), 249-51; T.M. Charles-Edwards, in *AH* 50-1; Jenny Rowland, 'An Old Welsh orthographical feature', *B* 29 (1981), 513-20; T. Arwyn Watkins, 'Englynion y Juvencus', in *Bardos* 29-43; Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton orthography, 600-800: the evidence of archaic Old Welsh', *B* 38 (1991), 20-86. The fundamental account remains that of Meinir Lewis, 'Disgrifiad o Orgraff Hen Gymraeg gan ei Chymharu ag Orgraff Hen Wyddeleg', unpublished MA dissertation, University of Wales (Aberystwyth), 1961.

²⁰ PT I.

(another instance of deliberate placing of items by a discerning anthologist). Then there are poems built around questions and brain-teasers, and lists, such as the impressive tree-catalogue in *Kat Godeu*, or the collection of famous horses in 'Canu y Meirch'. Classical heroes like Alexander the Great, are living moving people here, not just the shadowy paragons invoked in praise-poetry. Figures and episodes from native story and legend figure prominently. And a number of poems draw in various imaginative ways on internationally known material, not just Scripture but accompanying Christian book-learning of the more popular kind seen in encyclopaedic and catechetical sources. I hope that this edition, like previous work on the religious and Scriptural poems in the manuscript, will underline the range and variety of Welsh poetic activity.

There are categories of material notably absent from the Book of Taliesin in its present form. The most striking is that there are no englynion at all.²¹ This is all the more curious since we know that there *was* englyn material associated with Taliesin: from the Black Book of Carmarthen, copied in the mid-thirteenth century, we have the dialogue between Ugnach and Taliesin, as well as the Englynion y Beddau in which he appears to be the speaker relaying traditional knowledge about the graves of heroes of the past. And in the propaganda story 'The Privileges of the Men of Arfon' embedded in the law texts in Peniarth 29 (the Black Book of Chirk) and BL Addl. 14931, both also dated to the mid-thirteenth century, we have an irregular englyn milwr which 'he' supposedly sang to Rhun ap Maelgwn. These manuscripts indicate that the englyn form was not considered to be at odds with the repertoire of the Taliesin figure. It is not impossible, of course, that englynion were kept apart from verse in the awdl metres (as they were in the *Hendregadredd* manuscript, for example, and in the *Red Book of Hergest*), and that the missing quires contained englyn material.

The second obvious blank is any material relating to the Gododdin, apart from the mention of Gwarchan Maeldderw in *Kat Godeu* (see commentary on §5.148), the Taliesin boast that he has drunk wine in Uffin and Gododdin (see §14.34-6), and one instance of the name in no. 39 PT VII.16. The third absence is that Myrddin, apart from one incidental mention in *Armes Prydain* (AP line 17), does not feature at all, despite his prominence in the Black Book of Carmarthen (mid-thirteenth century), where he engages in dialogue with Taliesin, as he does in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* (1148 × 1155).²² The fourth point is that there are no praise poems to named nobles and kings of the late eleventh or twelfth centuries such as we find in the Black Book of Carmarthen (there to Hywel ap Goronwy, Cuhelyn Fardd, Madog ap Maredudd of Powys, and Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth).²³

Daniel Huws has taught us to think of the Black Book of Carmarthen scribe as something of a 'headstrong eccentric' putting together an anthology of items which particularly caught his fancy, and copying them out as and when they

²¹ Unless there are three four-lined Englynion Gwastad hiding in §10.1-12, as discussed in the introduction to §10 *Kadeir Kerrituen*.

²² VM 40-42.

²³ Again with a caveat because of the manuscript's missing quires.

came to hand in a leisurely way, 'a slowly built-up work of love'.²⁴ By contrast, the Book of Taliesin scribe seems to have been doing *his* copying to order. But it is difficult to say precisely what his commission might have been. If just a 'book of hengerdd', where were the saga and legendary englynion, and the Gododdin material? If a 'North Wales anthology' why include Edmyg Dinbych in praise of the promontory fort at Tenby in Pembrokeshire (unless it was by a northern poet)? If 'a book of prophecies', why the material about Alexander the Great, and elegies for Dylan and the legendary Irish hero, Cú Roí? If we imagined the order was for 'a Taliesin collection', there might be a danger of straining to define all the items as being within 'his' orbit of interest or expertise, and coming round full circle to define 'him' as the sum or essential of poems in 'his' manuscript — with their prophecy, boasting, questions, arcane knowledge, cosmology, but also religious and Scriptural poems, and praise of Elffin and others stacked back to Urien, Maelgwn and Cunedda. A variant of this approach is to conceive of a layered anthology which brought together manifestations of several conceptions of Taliesin, perhaps deriving from different periods: this approach allowed scholars such as Ifor Williams to have their 'historical' Taliesin rubbing shoulders in the manuscript with a later 'legendary' persona. Nevertheless, the 'Taliesin compendium' thesis has more force than the others mentioned above, and any possible circularity of argument can be short-circuited by the fact that many *individual* items evidently spoken in his persona combine elements of prophecy, boasting, book-learning, associations with characters of history and legend, and religious sentiments, in short, forming poems that are microcosms of the larger manuscript whole.

Legendary poems and the Taliesin voice

In this volume, the term legendary poems is used to mean pieces in which a poet assumes the speaking persona of a being whose biography is alluded to in the work itself, and whose character and activities were in all probability known to the audience through their background knowledge of his story, and their familiarity with other similar pieces.²⁵ Jenny Rowland understandably prefers the term 'saga poetry' for Canu Llywarch, Canu Urien, and Canu Heledd, monologues and dialogues which tally with the minimal definition given above. This is because 'legendary' might rule out the element of historical truth she shows to have been transmitted by the englynion; more seriously, the term would be at odds with the historicity of a figure such as Urien, whatever the case might be for Llywarch or the shadowy Heledd. My own use of 'legendary' is not intended to be contrastive with a 'historical' or 'real' Taliesin. It simply denotes that the poems of the present collection are clearly dealing with a legendary and extraordinary being — a figure who claims to have been created at the world's beginning, not born of mortal father and mother, who has been in the company of

²⁴ MWM 72 and 71.

²⁵ Later medieval poets often use various masks or personae — for example, the wronged lover, the lady-killer, the bungling buffoon in the case of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and the indigent old man in the case of the fifteenth-century Lewys Glyn Cothi.

the divine family of Dôn and has lived in many different forms. As such, he can claim familiarity with an impossible range of coevals, from Arthur, Maelgwn Gwynedd, Brochfael Powys, to Urien Rheged, as well as being licensed to associate with Math or Gwydion or Brân. This makes him a very different proposition from the characters in the great englyn cycles, especially the figures of Llywarch and Heledd whose power derives in large measure from their portrayal as frail and fallible humans.

In the case of these englynion, Jenny Rowland has argued that the knowledge of the back story required to understand the verse could vary considerably from poem to poem: some would require more contextualising than others to be intelligible.²⁶ In the case of Taliesin, the mask assumed by the real poet(s) responsible for his dramatic monologues is another poet,²⁷ a very readily grasped concept. Though clearly 'other', 'Taliesin' is principally a court poet writ large. In the work of the most successful twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets, such as Gwalchmai, Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr or Prydydd y Moch, we see ample evidence of their penchant for boasting about their bardic skills and knowledge, their claims to precedence, and their developed sense of their own importance; this self-dramatising was undoubtedly a professional requirement. In the Taliesin character, these elements are greatly exaggerated and combined with the fantastic strands already mentioned. A similar strategy seems to have been employed to create the speaking figure of the legendary Old English scop, Widsith, with his contacts across space and time, with the Persians, Assyrians and Alexander the Great, as well as with the luminaries of the early Germanic homelands. In Icelandic sources, there are several instances of the figure of Óðinn, the god associated with poetry as well as warfare, as a 'wise and ancient wanderer among men', sometimes travelling under assumed names (such as *Gestr* 'guest') and recounting his exploits with the kings of old. As Margaret Schlauch noted many years ago, 'it seems not unlikely that a pseudo-autobiographical account by a minstrel of his supposed adventures among these heroes — even those who lived centuries apart — was a welcome form of entertainment after the banquet at the courts of Scandinavian kings'.²⁸ In early Ireland, the dialogue between the Irish proto-poets, Ferchertne and Néde, was primarily a device for demonstrating the range of the poetic repertoire, and the arcane knowledge, prophetic skills and verbal dexterity of its practitioners.²⁹ In the Taliesin character, we see a number of these features being combined.

The legendary Taliesin poems in this volume divide into three types. The first category, in which he is evidently the speaker, is straightforward enough. In some poems, he announces his name (e.g. §4.53 and 263 *Mitwyf Taliessin*; §23.1

²⁶ Jenny Rowland, 'The prose setting of the early Welsh *englynion chwedlonol*', *Ériu* 36 (1985), 29-43; EWSP 260-75.

²⁷ Not a mere *datgeiniad* (reciter) akin to the Homeric rhapsode, both of whom were trained to recite work recognised to be the work of others.

²⁸ Margaret Schlauch, 'Widsith, Vithförlull, and some other analogues', *PMLA* 46 (1931), 969-87, at pp. 976 and 973.

²⁹ *Immacallam passim*.

Mydwyf Taliessin; §25.58 *Mydwy Taliessin*; §1.84 *wyf hen, wyf newyd, wyf Gwion*). In nearly all the pieces, he reminds us of his poetic credentials (e.g. §2.50 *Wyf bard neuad* ‘I’m a poet in the hall’; §5.25 *keint yr yn bychan* ‘I’ve sung from infancy’; §7.13 *Nyt mi wyf kerd uut* ‘I’m not mute of song’; §14.40 *wyf kyfreu lawen* ‘I am joyful of song’). Of course, court poets frequently do this; but unlike them, Taliesin professes to be a sage who knows about science, materia medica, the movements of planets, winds and waters (e.g. §2.9 *wyf dryw, wyf syw* ‘I’m a wizard, I’m a sage’; §11.91-2 *Seon syweddyd/ a wyr eu defnyd* ‘the sage of Seon knows their properties’). Characteristic of the voice are challenges to other poets and other supposedly learned groups, such as monks and clerics, barrages of questions, boasts of past exploits and contacts, a tendency to break into prophecy, a delight in recounting his transformations, references to a patron, Elffin, and to his home base, (Caer) Seon. Eighteen poems out of the twenty-six belong to this category: §§1-2, 4-10, the last portion of §11.69-104; §12, §14, the end of §15.59-75; §18; §23; the second part of §24.25-36; and §25 and §26.

The second small overlapping category includes §6 and §8,³⁰ but also poems that lack the density of features characterising the first group. These are associated with Taliesin by their titles or rubric: §3 *Aduwyneu Taliessin*, §22 *Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton (Tal[iessin] a’e cant* ‘Taliesin sang it’) — possibly, but not necessarily, a secondary development.³¹ The third group is of six poems which have neither explicit ‘Taliesin’ attributions, nor a concentration of typical features: these are the first portion of §11 *Kanu y Gwynt*; §13 *Kanu y Cwrwf*; §§16 and 17 the two Alexander the Great poems; §19 the elegy for Hercules; and §21 the elegy for the Irish hero, Cú Roí. The first items in this group involve two applications of riddling: one is about the Wind, and the other, though ostensibly a treatment of the brewing process, is actually a trope on Scripture. Both of these items are linked to Taliesin’s sphere as seen in other poems — hard questions, the play of metaphor, and biblical exegesis. The two poems about Alexander and one about Hercules, as discussed in their respective introductions, are more exotic pieces probably based on written sources, and reflecting the vogue for such materials from the tenth century onwards, increasing greatly in the twelfth century. It is not hard to imagine these, too, as being performed by the Taliesin character within his story, or at least being included in a Taliesin compendium. Lastly, the elegy for the Irish hero, Cú Roí, a sort of ‘Irish Alexander’ famed for his exploits beyond the Red Sea and his command over the southern ocean, as well as his raid on the men of Falga (Man) to secure spoils including a cauldron, and his fateful clash with Cú Chulainn, certainly resonates with other Taliesin material, and is therefore included in this collection.

³⁰ I argue that §8 was the original Kadeir Taliessin rather than Mydwyf Merweryd: see discussion in the introduction to §7.

³¹ Another such poem, but prophecy, is *Glaswawt Taliessin*, PBT 2. For a summary of other poems outside the manuscript attributed to Taliesin, see below.

Connections with other Taliesin materials

The commentaries to the poems in this collection note all significant parallels with material outside the Book of Taliesin, but the main threads may be summarised briefly here for convenience.³²

¶1 The first item which must be attended to is Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae* (early sixth century) in particular its famous excoriation of Maelgwn Gwynedd as a godless fratricide, an image which might be thought to have cast its long shadow down the centuries colouring his treatment as tyrant and stock opponent, a 'bully and a trouble-maker', in the saints' lives.³³ In fact, his function in these stories is more to represent the secular power which the saint is able to confront and control, and it is as a famous and important early ruler that he is portrayed in the propaganda put out by the Gwynedd rulers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as he is in the poems of the present collection. More serious and embarrassing was the slur which Gildas made on Maelgwn's court poets as sycophantic yes-men, as unappealing in their bodily comportment as in their poetic repertoire, set up as being in direct opposition to the praises of God which should have been Maelgwn's real concern.³⁴ I suggested in 1983/4 and again in 1995 that the Taliesin persona was developed partly with an eye to enhancing the image of the bardic order, and in particular to reclaim the moral high ground so memorably undercut by Gildas.³⁵ Thus 'Taliesin' is not only made to trounce Maelgwn's court poets (at a stroke distancing the Taliesin icon from that foaming rabble), but proves himself as master of Christian learning — even surpassing the monks and clerics — and pious to a fault.

¶2 Taliesin first appears in *Historia Brittonum* ch. 62 along with Talhaearn Tad Awen, (A)neirin, Cian, and Blwchfardd as one of the poets renowned in Brittonic song. Although the earliest manuscripts containing this passage are twelfth century, a date of composition in the early ninth century, whether post 816 or in 829 × 30, is generally accepted. The entry is found between the account of King Ida's joining of Deira and Bernicia and the mention of Maelgwn ruling in Gwynedd 146 years after Cunedda's arrival to clear out the Irish. Then follows the account of success of the Northern alliance (Urien and his sons, Rhydderch Hen, Gwallog and Morgant) against Theodoric at Lindisfarne, and the

³² For a different sort of interpretative conspectus which takes in the Book of Taliesin material, see TYP³ 500-503.

³³ Elissa Henken, TWS 301.

³⁴ See especially J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Gildas, Maelgwn and the bards', in *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays presented to Glanmor Williams*, edited by R.R. Davies, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones and Kenneth O. Morgan (Cardiff, 1984), 19-34; Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Gildas and vernacular poetry', in *Gildas: New Approaches*, edited by David N. Dumville and Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge, 1984), 169-90; Barry Lewis, 'Trafod barddoniaeth yn yr Oesoedd Canol: y traddodiad mawl a chrefydd', *Dwned* 8 (2002), 9-34.

³⁵ 'Preiddeu Annwn and the figure of Taliesin', *SC* 18/19 (1983/4), 52-78; "'Canu y Medd" o Lyfr Taliesin', *Dwned* 1 (1995), 7-24, p. 9. Similarly John T. Koch, 'De Sancto Iudicaelo Rege Historia and its implications for the Welsh Taliesin', *CSANA Yearbook* 3-4 (2005), 247-62, p. 261.

assassination of Urien. Talhaearn is mentioned in our poems, §4.71 and 165-6, as is Cian §4.9.

¶3 The HB naming of Taliesin may have been an impetus for a partial Breton appropriation of Taliesin. This occurs in the *Life of St Iudicael* surviving in manuscripts after 1400, and attributed to the early-eleventh-century monk, Ingomar. Taliesin appears as an overseas traveller and exile for religion on a visit to the monastery of Gildas in the Vannes region. He is consulted as a prophet and interpreter of dreams, in this case predicting the birth of St Iudicael. His styling as *Taliosinus bardus filius Donis* 'son of Dôn',³⁶ not found at all in our poems, may indicate knowledge that Taliesin was associated with the children of Dôn (Gwydion, Aranrhod, Gofannon, etc.) or their area of activity in Arfon, north-west Wales.³⁷ The same idea that Taliesin was in Brittany with Gildas occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* (c. 1148-55): there Telgesinus had been 'enjoying the sweets of learning under the wise Gildas'.³⁸

¶4 Also in the *Vita Merlini* are Telgesinus' learned dialogues with the prophet Merlin. His first speech explains about the four elements, the setting of the heavens, day and night, the heavenly bodies and the connection between the world-Ocean and the four winds; thence to the Earth 'which stands by its own strength' and its five zones, the water-cycle and the connection between the winds and the zones from which they derive; the division of the heavens and the sub-lunar region with their respective orders of angels and spirits; the threefold division of the seas (hot, leading off into an infernal region, cold, and temperate), and a long catalogue of fish species based on Isidore. He proceeds to describe the natural bounties of Britain, and the characteristics of the nearby islands, still following Isidore, finishing his disquisition with the *Insula Pomorum*, where Morgen, skilled in healing and astrology, and her eight sisters tended Arthur after the battle of Camlan. Telgesinus himself was on the ship that conveyed him there. His second speech, also based on the *Etymologiae* (XIII.xiii), deals with springs, rivers and lakes. There are parallels here to poems in this collection, notably §25 Kanu y Byt Mawr and §18 Preideu Annwfyfyn, as well as a section of Angar Kyfundawt (§4.187-90).

¶5 Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* was translated into Norman French by the Jersey born writer, Wace, in 1155, with some additions, including the information that Taliesin (like Virgil) had prophesied the birth of Christ. This tallies with the end of §5 Kat Godeu, as discussed in the commentary on §5.249 and the introduction to that poem.

¶6 Already c. 1100-30, before the period when Geoffrey and Wace were writing, a poet in Cemais, north Pembrokeshire, had requested from God 'the dignity of Ceridfen's song'; in the 1160s Cynddelw knew 'the ways of Ceridfen's arts', and referred to Taliesin as 'the poet of the Cynferching' (Urien was the son of

³⁶ See on §4.7.

³⁷ Léon Fleuriot, 'Sur quatre textes bretons en latin, le *liber vetustissimus* de Geoffroy de Monmouth et le séjour de Taliesin en Bretagne', *ÉC* 18 (1981), 207-13; John T. Koch, *CHAge* 387-9, and 'De Sancto Iudicaelo Rege Historia', 247-62.

³⁸ VM lines 685-8

Cynfarch). The first datable mention of Ceridfen's cauldron is by Prydydd y Moch at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In a poem dated *c.* 1217 he asks God for 'the words of Ceridfen', and also provides the first datable mention of Taliesin releasing his patron, Elffin.³⁹ Two further mentions of Taliesin occur in poems to the same prince, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, one by Elidir Sais (not dated with any certainty) referring to 'the many poems of Taliesin', and the second by Dafydd Benfras (*c.* 1223) saying that even if he were a seer (*dewin*) he would not be able to praise sufficiently the prince's martial skill, and neither could Taliesin. Llywelyn is also likened in this poem to Elffin. Phylip Brydydd in the same period (between *c.* 1216 and 1222) mentions Elffin in poetic contest at Maelgwn's court, and provides the first mention of Gwiawn *and* a tantalising reference to *hengerdd*, the first attestation of the word — in fact *Hengerd Telessin y teyrned—el6yd./ Hi a bu nebyd naw seyth mlyned* 'the old poetry of Taliesin to the kings of the world — it has been new for nine times seven years' (see commentary on §4.15).⁴⁰

¶7 The Black Book of Carmarthen *c.* 1225-50 contains two Taliesin dialogues, neither very certainly dated. The dialogue (*ydddiddan*) between Myrddin and Taliesin is a very different affair from the *Vita Merlini* dialogue: here the two recall the valour of heroes of old, Taliesin mentioning 'Maelgwn's host' and prompting Myrddin to describe the battle of Arfderydd. The use of the word *tarian*, a loan-word from Old English, prevents its editor from dating the poem earlier than *c.* 1000-1100, while an unproven suggestion that the *Ydddiddan* Myrddin a Thaliesin was a source for the *Vita Merlini* leads him to favour a date before 1148.⁴¹ The second dialogue between Ugnach and Taliesin pictures Taliesin on his way to Caer Leu a Gwydion (i.e. Dinas Dinlle on the north-west coast of Arfon) from Caer Seon (see on §11.91 and cf. §14.33) where he has been 'fighting with Jews' (i.e. enemies?).⁴² He is also addressed by Ugnach as a 'challenger in poetic contest'. As already noted above, the Grave Stanzas (*Englynion y Beddau*) in the Black Book of Carmarthen appear to have been imagined as spoken by Taliesin at the behest of Elffin: 'Elffin brought me in order to demonstrate my [knowledge of] bardic mystery' (see on §4.56).

¶8 We have already noted that the propaganda story 'The Privileges of the Men of Arfon' in the law texts in Peniarth 29 (the Black Book of Chirk) and BL Addl. 14931, both dated to the mid-thirteenth century, contains an englyn to Rhun ap Maelgwn attributed to Taliesin.

¶9 The rubric in the Book of Aneirin *c.* 1250 attributes Gwarchan Maeldderw to Taliesin, assigning to it a fantastic status equivalent to all the Gododdin awdlau

³⁹ For references and discussion, see introduction to §10.

⁴⁰ Court poetry references to Taliesin, Aneirin, Myrddin and other putative early poets are discussed by Morfydd E. Owen, 'Chwedl a hanes: y Cynfeirdd yng ngwaith y Gogynfeirdd', *YB*, 19 (1993), 13-28.

⁴¹ YMaTh 50-53.

⁴² See further on §11.91 for G.R. Isaac's suggestion that Jews here is used loosely for infidels, that Caer Seon is Zion (as suggested by John Rhys), and that the poem's background is the Crusades.

and its three gwarchanau in poetic context (*kerd amrysson*), as discussed in the commentary to §5.148. He is mentioned in the famous awdl of the Gododdin which contains a germ of an Aneirin legend: 'I, yet not I, Aneirin — Taliesin of skilful utterance knows it — sang the Gododdin before the dawn of the following day'.⁴³

¶10 Taliesin is mentioned in prose tales: in *Culhwch ac Olwen* he is named as *Teliessin Penn Beird* 'Chief of Poets', next to Manawydan mab Llŷr in the list of those at Arthur's court. In the story of *Branwen*, he is named as one of the seven men who return from the fated expedition to Ireland along with Branwen and Bendigeidfran (see on §8.31-2). His son, *Adaon fab Telessin* (*Telyessin*) figures in the story *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* and elsewhere: see on §10.9 for details. It is curious that Taliesin features in only one triad (no. 87, in the seventeenth-century manuscript, Peniarth 252): there he is one of 'the three skilful poets' at Arthur's court, along with Myrddin son of Morfryn, and Myrddin Emrys.

¶11 The prophetic poem, Anrheg Urien, in the Red Book of Hergest (c. 1400) stands at the head of a section of vaticination with the name *Taliessin* written above: see introduction to poem §1. As well as mentioning Urien several times, it shows clear evidence of recycling portions of Book of Taliesin material, notably the 'tag' found at the end of several of the Urien Rheged poems: *Minneu Dalyessin/ o iawn llyn (recte llin) geirionnyd./ Ny dalywyf yn hen/ ym dygyn aghen/ ony molwyf-i Vryen* (R1050.4-6). Also to be noted are *Vryen o Reget haelef (recte haelaf) yssyd/ ac a uyd ac a vu yr Adaf* (echoing PT III.1 and 21-2); *y lewenyd* (R1049.9), cf. PT III.5; the use of the verb *gogyfarch* (R1049.7-8: see on §4.63); *eur ac aryant* (R1049.10, cf. §4.48).

¶12 Many references to Taliesin are found in the work of the Cywyddwyr, very occasionally associating him with Urien (e.g. GGG 91.1-6), or with Rheged (GDG 9.34-5), but more usually connecting him with his patron, Elffin, particularly the episode of his release (see on §4.56 for documentation). Other instances refer to his eloquence (e.g. GIG 22.47 [*T*]aliesin *finrhasgl* 'smooth-lipped Taliesin', GIG 35.2 *ffraethfin ffrwythfardd* 'eloquent-lipped fruitful poet'); and his status as an illustrious and successful poetic forebear (e.g. GDG 10.28-34 *Cywoethog ac enwog wyf,/ O eiriau teg, o ariant/ . . ./ O dlysau, ail Daliesin*; GDG 20.2 where the poet Gruffudd Gryg is remembered as *Taliesin mawl*; IGE² 159.9 and 15-16, Rhys Goch Eryri's elegy for his fellow-poet, Gruffudd Llwyd; GGG 82.63-6, etc.). He is mentioned, in particular, by poets who are engaged in contests or debates about the nature of true poetry. We see this, for instance, in the fifteenth-century *ymrysonau* in which Rhys Goch Eryri took part (e.g. IGE² 160.8; 164.29-32 *O wir Taliesin, a'i wawd*; 167.25-32; 172.1-2), and Taliesin figures again, whether as the inventor of metres, a successful contest-poet, or as releaser of Elffin, in the sixteenth-century debate between Edmwnd Prys and Wiliam Cynwal.⁴⁴ Cywyddwyr references to him as Gwiawn/Gwion are also

⁴³ CA lines 548-52; see Morfydd E. Owen, "'Hwn yw E Gododin. Aneirin ae cant'", in AH 123-50; Patrick K. Ford, 'The death of Aneirin', *B* 34 (1987), 42-50.

⁴⁴ YPaCh 9.18; 26.24 and 34; 27.30; 36.53-6; 48.83 and 88; 51.49-53.

legion (see on §4.15). Many more such references have been collected up by others and a complete survey cannot be attempted here.⁴⁵

¶13 The sprawling mass of prophetic material attributed to Taliesin in Welsh manuscripts from the fourteenth century onwards is currently the subject of a major investigation by Gruffudd Fôn Gruffudd.⁴⁶ Some of these items vary in attribution between Taliesin and Myrddin. The Red Book series of prophetic material containing Anrheg Urien, attributed to Taliesin, has already been mentioned in ¶10.

¶14 Religious and Scriptural poems are also attributed to Taliesin though these are far less common than prophecies. One such example is the popular Difregwawd Taliesin in the Red Book of Hergest (and forty and more other manuscripts), also attributed to Johannes Athro Mynyw (St Davids): this is a simple conspectus of biblical information with the basic precepts for a virtuous Christian life. Other items include Ymgroesiad Taliesin and Pader Taliesin, and some didactic material is similarly attributed to his son, Addaon.⁴⁷

¶15 Of more direct relevance to the present investigation are the materials in poetry and in prose which belong to, or relate to what is often called 'The Tale of Taliesin' (both *Ystoria Taliesin* and *Hanes Taliesin* are used loosely and interchangeably for the prose tale with its embedded poems). First, the poems, some twenty altogether, are found in some 153 manuscripts from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries:⁴⁸ some were copied without accompanying prose, but many of them are found in the versions of the prose tale (see below). The language of the poems is evidently a good deal later than the poems in our present volume (with forms from English such as *ffyrment* 'firmament', *elment* 'element', *helpu* 'to help', *ffals* 'false', *rhigwm* 'rhyme, doggerel', etc.) but nevertheless there are a multitude of similarities that suggest knowledge of the Book of Taliesin poems, or items very much like them. Some of these correspondences are signalled in the commentaries to our poems, but a sample here may indicate the position:

Book of Taliesin

Ystoria Taliesin poems

§4.63 *gogyfarch*, etc.

YT line 312 *gogyfarch a wnaf*

§8.27 *teir kadeir kyweir kysson*

YT 317 *y gerdd gywir gyson*

⁴⁵ TYP³ 502; the most exhaustive collection is in the exemplary study by Gruffudd Fôn Gruffudd, 'Cerddi Taliesin Ben Beirdd y Gorllewin: Detholiad o Gerddi a Briodolir i Daliesin', 2 vols (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Wales, Bangor, 1997) [CTalBB]

⁴⁶ Items in the Book of Taliesin itself, such as no. 14 Glaswawt Taliessin (see Conspectus), and others tacitly attributed to him, or connected with 'his' voice (such as no. 12 Daronwy) are edited separately, in PBT, forthcoming.

⁴⁷ See CC poem 33 (Difregwawd Taliesin), poem 28 (Cysul Addaon). Full lists of manuscripts which contain such poems can be accessed via MALDWYN, the on-line index of medieval Welsh poetry at <http://maldwyn.nlw.org.uk>.

⁴⁸ The essential study is that by Gruffudd Fôn Gruffudd (see n.45 above).

General Introduction

<i>passim</i> , series of <i>bûm</i> 'I have been'	YT 404-60 ⁴⁹ series of <i>Myfi a fûm</i>
§§16 and 17 Alexander	YT 409 <i>Myui a vum yn arwain manner/ ymlaen Alexander</i>
§10.26 <i>llys Don</i>	YT 418 <i>llys deon; llys meibion Dôn</i>
§24.31 <i>Wyf bard ac wyf telynawr</i>	YT 444 <i>Myfi a fum fardd telyn</i>
§4.212 <i>pan yw du pysgawt, /moruwyt uyd eu cnawt</i>	YT 456-7 <i>ny wyddys beth yw fy nghnawd/ ai cig ai pysgawd</i>
§16.9 <i>hual eurin</i>	YT 492 <i>hual goreurin</i>
§1.26-7 <i>Pa uessur mwynaf/ a oruc Adaf?</i>	YT 505-6 <i>Pa ddyn gynta/ a orug Alffa?</i>
§12.13-14 <i>Yn dillig vdunt yn dillat, y(n) da, yn uwyt, yn diawt</i>	YT 509-10 <i>pa fwyd, pa ddiod/ pwy ddoeth J ddillad</i>
§6.23 <i>Pan yw mor trwm maen?</i>	YT 513-16 <i>Paham J mae kaled maen/ Paham y mae blaenllym y draen/ pwy sydd galed val maen ac yn hallt fal halen</i>
§6.24 <i>pan yw mor llym draen?</i>	YT 699 <i>y mars gyffyrâu</i>
§4.143 <i>pan yw hallt halwyn</i>	YT 705 <i>hyd tydd wltima</i>
CC 17.15 <i>vy bardgyfreu</i>	<i>Pam mae eco'n dwyn ateb:</i> see CTalBB 729
§12.14 <i>hyt Vrawt yt parha, etc.</i>	<i>Pam aeth y brenin/ I'r corwg gwydrin:</i> see CTalBB 'Canu'r Porth Mawr', pp. 294-309, line 61
§4.126 <i>pan atsein aduant</i>	
7.46 <i>a chorwc gwytrin</i>	

There are very many more generalised correspondences. In the *Ystoria* poems, Taliesin claims to have been with Gwydion, Aranrhod, Alexander, Lucifer, to have been Gwion, to have been nine months in the womb of Ceridwen *y wrach* 'the hag', to have been to been in *Caer Sidydd*. There is taunting of the bards — *Beirddion bychain J bro, / paham nad ewch ar ffoo*, and the *posfeirddiaint* (see on §1.94) and outspoken condemnation of the indolent *clêr* 'lesser minstrels', who like robbers and Jews (*Jddewon diuwyniantt*) take their ease while all other living things strive to provide for themselves. He uses dog Latin (*rex rexedd* 'king of kings!'), and bits of pretend Hebrew (*ramin, rimin, ramiad*). There are questions similar to those in the Book of Taliesin: *Beth ydych pan fyddwch yn cysgu?* 'What are you when you are asleep?'; *Pam y mae gwyrddlas llosgwrn brân* 'Why is a raven's tail turquoise?'. And he knows about the movements of waters: *Mi a wn pam y mae'r mor heli yn treio ac yn llenwi* 'I know why the salt sea ebbs and flows'. He slips easily into prophecy, foretelling that although the Britons will be dispossessed by the Saxons they will bide their time, keeping

⁴⁹ This sort of formula is taken up elsewhere: see the long run of *Hi a fu . . .* (describing the various companions, travels and guises and activities of a surcoat described by the late fourteenth-century poet, yr Ustus Llwyd: see the edition by D. Huw Evans, 'Yr Ustus Llwyd a'r swrcot', *YB* 17 (1990), 63-92, who makes the comparison with the Taliesin material on pp. 66-7. See also CBT I, p. 434 on the same formula in 17c NLW 9083E, 73: *Bûm yn Ngent, bûm yn Ngwent . . . / Bûm yn Maenol Llwyn Dafydd, / Bum yn nyffryn gwyn y gwydd*. The same sort of literary allusion is used by another fourteenth-century satirist, Madog Dwygraig, who draws on the *Afallennau* in his vicious defamation of Maald daughter of Dafydd (see now GMD poem 9 *passim*, and 103-4).

their faith and language: *J Ner a volant/ J hiaith a gadwant/ a'i tir a gollannt/ onid gwyllt Walia*. Then they will sweep the intruder away: *a'r bobyl esdronion/ a ddiulana*. In some manuscript versions, the description of the strange creature that is incited to bring about Maelgwn's death at Morfa Rhianedd (the strand near Llandudno and Degannwy) is elaborated with elements that recall the infernal beast in Kat Godeu (see introduction to §5, and commentaries on §5.30-40 and §1.18). The provisional conclusion is that these later Taliesin poems represent reworked, modernised and simplified versions of material either from the Book of Taliesin poems or copies, or from similar items which were in oral or written circulation, probably the latter.⁵⁰ The myriad manuscript versions of the later poems and the unclear relationship between them make it difficult to be more precise, as Gruffudd Fôn Gruffudd acknowledges in his pioneering treatment of the material.

The manuscript versions of the prose tale have been thoroughly investigated by Patrick K. Ford: the earliest version of the form which concentrates on the tale of Gwion Bach (with far less about Taliesin's later activities at the court of Maelgwn) was copied by Roger Morris, Coedytalwrn in the late sixteenth century. John Jones's copy c. 1600 of this text is printed as an appendix to Ford's *Ystoria Taliesin*. The earliest version of the second form of the tale, which contains a far more detailed account of the events at Maelgwn's court at Degannwy, is found in Elis Gruffydd's Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World (NLW 5276D, mid sixteenth century). Elis Gruffydd claims that the *ysdoria* was commonly known (*sathredig*) in Wales, and emphasises over and over again the existence of an account in writing (*ysgriuen*) — almost as though to distance himself from some of the more fantastic elements (*y mae yr hanes honn yn anrhesymol ac yn erbyn ffydd a santeddrwydd* 'this account is irrational and contrary to faith and sanctity'). Elis Gruffydd's text is the basis of Ford's *Ystoria Taliesin*, with a missing portion supplied from David Parry's copy of a copy made by John Jones, y Gellilyfdy.

Reference is made to the prose tale (as well as to the poems) throughout this present edition, since there are undoubtedly points of contact between our poems and this body of material, which may be summarised as follows: 1. Taliesin is also Gwiawn/Gwion; 2. Taliesin's powers emanate in part from Ceridwen's cauldron; 3. Taliesin undergoes many transformations; 4. Taliesin's patron is Elffin; 5. Taliesin effects the release of Elffin through his bardic eloquence and knowledge; 6. Taliesin is pitted in contest against other poets; 7. The contest is set in Degannwy at Maelgwn's court;⁵¹ 8. Taliesin possesses a wide range of

⁵⁰ Cf. the modernised and simplified version of Armes Dydd Brawd, discussed CC 170-71. For the same idea, see my earlier discussions in *Dwned* 1 (1995), 15-16, and CyT 166-71.

⁵¹ 5-7 as relayed by versions of the prose tale may be summarised briefly here: at a Christmas feast at Maelgwn's court at Degannwy, Taliesin curls up in a corner, flapping his lips ('blerwm, blerwm') as the court poets process past. So when the poets attempt to publicly praise the king, only this senseless mouthing comes out (cf. perhaps §2.51 *digonaf-i veird llafar llesteir*). The king thinks they must be wasted, but their chief bard, Heinin, says that they are neither drunk nor struck dumb through ignorance: the impediment is caused by some spirit lurking in the hall.

arcane knowledge; 9. He has a wide range of contacts, and is connected in both BT and YT with Gwydion and Aranrhod (offspring of Dôn). Our poems say nothing of Tegid Foel (Ceridwen's husband) or of the finding of Gwion in the weir by Elffin and his renaming as Taliesin. As Juliette Wood indicates, it appears that other parts of the prose tale combine international folk-motifs, novella and *Märchen* features⁵² with native elements, such as the origin of poetic inspiration, the concept of poet as magus, or the delineation of Maelgwn.⁵³ As a general principle, especially in view of the seeming dependence of some of the later poems on earlier texts as mentioned above, I am somewhat reluctant to follow Ifor Williams' dictum that '[Angar Kyfundawt, poem §4] and others of the same category [in the Book of Taliesin] cannot be explained without reference to [the] folk-tale called Hanes Taliesin.'⁵⁴ Instead of projecting backwards and assuming that a similar, developed story was already known to the audiences of the Book of Taliesin poems, the reverse process might also be considered in some cases: thus it is suggested tentatively in the commentary to §4.252 that the episode in YT in which Ceridwen ingests a grain and gives 'birth' may derive from an over-literal interpretation of a difficult riddling passage in Angar Kyfundawt.

¶16 Another text of ultimately uncertain date preserved in a copy by John Jones, y Gellilyfdy (NLW Peniarth 113) is known as Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin. This series of twelve poems together with a version of the poem Dyhuddiant Elffin (which belongs to the body of material outlined in section 14) was taken from 'two old darkened leaves' in a book belonging to Jasper Gruffydd, now identified by Graham Thomas as the gallstained pages of Peniarth 27 (II), 123-6, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century. These short poems use the same short line as many of the poems in our present

Taliesin then declares his allegiance to Elffin and recounts his own history (the poems 'Prifardd cyffredin/ Wyf i Elffin' and 'Mi a fûm gyda'm nêr'). Then he presents his plea for Elffin's release (*Culfeirdd, ceisio yr wyf . . . / Elffin o gystwy/ O Gaer Ddegannwy*) finishing with the ringing lines 'And I am Taliesin, chief of the poets of the West, who will release Elffin from his golden fetter' (*A minnau yw Taliesin,/ Ben beirdd y gorllewin,/ A ollyngaf Elffin/ O'i hual goreurin*). Then he sang a poem called a *cerdd amborth*, an efficacious incantation to bring down a terrible tempest of wind. Elffin was brought from prison and put before Taliesin; he sang another poem which caused the fetters around his feet to open. Then follow 'Gorchestion y Beirdd', with many echoes of the Book of Taliesin questions. The following two poems, 'Cystwy y Beirdd' and 'Bustl y Beirdd', scourge the court poets and the lesser poetasters for their ignorance and their godlessness (with strong echoes of a religious poem frequently attributed to Taliesin, i.e. Difregwawd Taliessin (CC poem 33). In this way was Elffin released and the opposition silenced.

⁵² See Kenneth Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff, 1961), 115-17; and the important treatments by Juliette Wood, 'The folklore background of the Gwion Bach section of Hanes Taliesin', *B*, 29 (1980-82), 621-34; 'The Elphin section of Hanes Taliesin', *ÉC* 18 (1981), 229-44.

⁵³ See above on ¶1 and more generally Juliette Wood, 'Maelgwn Gwynedd: a forgotten Welsh hero', *Trivium* 19 (1984), 103-17; Edgar Slotkin, 'Maelgwn Gwynedd: speculations on a Common Celtic legend pattern', *CSANA Yearbook* 3-4 (2005), 327-35.

⁵⁴ PT xvi.

collection (see below on metres), and apart from the first in the series, are addressed to an officer in the court (the *ynad* 'judge', the household priest, the butler, etc.). Several points, as well as the attribution at the end, indicate that the poem was imagined as forming part of Taliesin's performance at Maelgwn's court: the queen addressed is Sanant (the wife of Maelgwn (see on §8.23-4)), the Butler is addressed as *May[l]gun gynheiliad* 'Maelgwn's sustainer', and it is said that 'the men of Gwynedd do not know that Elffin is free'. As with some of the poems noted in section 14, there are several verbal correspondences with the Book of Taliesin material, noted in the commentaries. They include *Puy henwe/r/ tair k[ae]r* 'what are the names of the three fortresses' (cf. §9.43, rhyming in both instances with *maer* 'steward'), *gorug lafanad* 'he made the element' (on this rare word, see §5.154), the rhyming pair *arad/had* (see on §11.73-4), and the use of the 'trademark' verb *golychu* 'to praise' at the beginning of the individual sections (see on §8.1). The emphasis on alcoholic drinks and the pious references to God and to Scripture are also characteristic of Taliesin's 'voice'. Forms such as *klyuittor* 'is heard', the unusual (and perhaps pretty-much obsolete) *machdaith* 'maid-servant', as in the Black Book englynion on the inundation of Maes Gwyddnau,⁵⁵ lend an air of archaism to the diction. The line *Kain ni bu mad* 'Cain was not good' recalls a Scriptural poem in the Book of Taliesin (see CC 10.28), and *ruinad* 'was ruined' (cf. §11.86) may further suggest that the manuscript or something like it was known to the author. Thus the series tends to confirm the suggestion made above that the Ystoria Taliesin poems were drawing on earlier, probably written, texts. The Peniarth 113 version was printed by Ifor Williams, 'Darnau o Ganu Taliesin', *B* 5 (1929-31), 130-34, and the discovered leaves of Peniarth 27 were printed by Graham C.G. Thomas, *B* 34 (1987), 132-3. In this volume, Paul Russell's edition (with translation), in *The Welsh King and his Court*, is referred to as *Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin*, by line number.

¶17 Peniarth 111, copied by John Jones, y Gellilyfdy, contains two items on pp. 375-80 that he denotes as *hen gerdd*, both printed by Ifor Williams, 'Dalen o Femrwn', *B* 4 (1927-9), 41-8. The second item is a poor text of a prophecy in the Book of Taliesin (Conspectus no. 54 = PBT 6 Rydyrchafwy Duw ar plwyff Brython). The first, which begins *Dyt dduit: trengit deweint/ dyv a rit aran breeint* (referred to in the present work as *Dydd dyfydd*), is a garbled poem attributed to Meugan which echoes some Book of Taliesin words and phrases.

¶18 Miscellaneous Taliesin material includes the use of his name in connection with the invention of awdl metres, such as the *pvmp kolofn kerdd Daliessin* explained in Simwnt Fychan's sixteenth-century bardic grammar (*Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth*)⁵⁶ as comprising *toddaid*, *gwawdodyn byr*, *cyhydedd hir*, *cyhydedd fer* and *rhpunt byr*, otherwise known as the *pvmp kadair kerdd davod* (on *kadeir*, see on the title of §7); these are followed by others associated with Cynddelw, Dafydd Ddu, Einion Offeiriad and Dafydd ab Edmwnd. His pseudo-

⁵⁵ LIDC 39.7.

⁵⁶ GP 117, and see also 219.

scientific reputation, or the *llyisiau* 'herbs' associated with Ceridwen's cauldron, may have given rise to plant-names such as *Arian Gwion* (Crista Galli), *Eirin Gwion* (Bryonia), *llyisiau Taliesin* (Senecio, anagallis aquatica; also equated with Glastum, i.e. woad) already in Dr Davies' *Dictionarium Duplex* (1632); Davies also has *Berwr Taliesin* (Fabaria), intriguing since one of our poems mentions the same plant (§7.35).

Language, diction and authorship

In treating the twenty-six poems in this volume, I have not assumed that they are all necessarily from the same period. But the many internal parallels within this body of verse, of content, vocabulary and form, have been identified in the commentaries, as well as other comparanda. It has long been something of an embarrassment that we lack a set of agreed and dependable linguistic dating criteria for pre-c.1096 Welsh verse (as well as for the *non-panegyric* poetry during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). But there have been incremental advances in some areas of the history of the language, notably in phonology and morphology, while the matter of the accent-shift is now in much clearer focus (its implications for metrics are referred to see below). Simon Rodway, in particular, has succeeded in building on D. Simon Evans' work,⁵⁷ identifying more precisely those features that are in decline in the poetry of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets.

The commentaries discuss data from our poems that have diagnostic potential, and attention is directed here to the main points only. The overall picture is that most of the language cannot be said conclusively to pre-date the language of the twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century court poets. Thus, starting with verbal forms, we see 1sg. present invariably in *-af*, not showing the forms in *-if* which were still in use but in decline in the twelfth century: §23.15, §23.29 *cwynaf* confirmed by rhyme, contra *cwynif* in CBT I 3.32 and 87; §4.179 and §26.1 *kanaf* contra *cenif* in CBT I 3.15, 163, and IV 9.20; §4.180 *dygaf* contra *dygif* in CBT I 3.163; §2.25 and 27 *caraf* contra *carif*⁵⁸ in CBT I 9.61.

The 3sg. present subjunctive in *-wy*⁵⁹ is used for a small set of verbs (§3.15 *llanhwy*; §4.63 *gogyfarchwy*; §8.20 *nothwy*; §10.40, §12.19 *rothwy* and §19.21 *rodwy*; §11.70 and 72 *molhwy*; §24.6 *rithwy*). But the innovative *-o* forms (which are on the increase in the twelfth century, and which overtake *-wy* by a

⁵⁷ GMW, and Evans' comprehensive chapter, 'Iaith y llys a Beirdd y Tywysogion', FS Gruffydd 60-74. Unfortunately, the latter does not separate out the work of the named (and generally dated) court poets from that of the anonymous religious poetry printed in HGC.

⁵⁸ See commentary on §18.29 for Gwalchmai's apparent echo of a phrase in Preideu Annwfn in CBT I 9.61 (?with bogus archaism *carif*, ms *caryf*, although this is next to a tear in the leaf of the manuscript and not very legible, see CBT I, 97). See KPV 347 for comments on CBT I 4.9 *gweiniui*, the emendation of which to *gweiniuiu* Schumacher rejects.

⁵⁹ See the full discussion by Simon Rodway, 'Two developments in medieval literary Welsh and their implications for dating texts', in HI 67-74, pp. 71-4.

huge head in the first half of the thirteenth century)⁶⁰ are commoner: as well as *bo* throughout (§§1.5; 4.4; 8.46; 9.45, 50, 51 and 52; 13.25, 27, 32), we see §2.6 *gwypo*; §4.2 *canho*; §4.3 *darffo*; §4.5 *nacco*; §9.40 *catwo*; §9.54 *dirbo*; §9.58 *sorho*; §9.60 *katwo*; §14.10 *dyro*; §11.78 *bendicco*; §17.11 *ceisso*. Comparing §12.19 *rothwy* and §19.21 *rodwy* v. *rotho* in §4.6 cannot of itself tell us anything meaningful about their relative date because the two forms must have coexisted for many centuries.

3sg. present absolute endings *-it/-yt* are present, but rare: §4.181 *beryt*; §6.7 *lëit* (possibly 2pl.); §9.53 *tohit*; §15.1 *torrit* (?); §19.10 *egyt* (?); §26.18 *llethrit*. Such forms are also in continuing sporadic use, even by thirteenth-century court poets (e.g. CBT I 17.11 *chwerthid*; 21.24 *gwypid*; VII 29.23 *rettid*; VI 10.40 *treiklyd*).⁶¹ Similarly, our collection includes 3sg. endings in *-(h)awt*:⁶² §1.67 *bydhawt*; §3.33 and §10.4 *llewychawt*; §3.54 *gwaryhawt* (?); §4.23 *dydyccawt*; §4.61 *chwenychawt* (em.); §4.66 *dispyllawt*; §4.195 *rannawt*; §4.55 *paräwt*; §4.265 and §8.28 *parahawt*; §10.39 *paräwt*; §18.8 and §25.60 *parahawt*; §9.68 *drychafawt*; §9.70 *breuhawt*; §23.7 *ergrynawt*; §23.9 *llupawt* (?recte *lluydawt* or *lludawt*). This class is also evidenced in the court poet corpus, with examples continuing into the thirteenth century (e.g. CBT VII 30.7 *llifa6d*).⁶³

3sg. preterite forms with absolute ending *-it/-yt* attached to *s*-preterite are found in our collection, but are restricted to three poems: §4.99 *dygyfrensit*; §5.47 *gelwyssit*; §5.91 *senyssit* (?recte *seiny(e)ssit*); §5.93 *gwiscyssid*; §5.106 *bernissit*; §5.111 *ffynyessit*; §5.112 *glessyssid*; §5.117 *gorthoryssid*; §16.2 *gwledychyssid*. The dense run of such forms in §5 Kat Godeu, a poem which is in part a pastiche of heroic poetry, may be intended to strike an archaic note, as discussed in the introduction to §5. On the other hand, the forms cannot be classed as exclusively ‘early’ since forms with comparable endings occur, albeit rarely, in the work of Cynddelw, Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, and even in Meilyr ap Gwalchmai (CBT I 33.34 *rodyssid*).⁶⁴ We may include in this sub-section the forms in our poems which show absolute endings attached to *t*-preterite: §5.83 *eithyt*; §17.9 and 13 *eithyt* (em.); and §5.85 *gwneithyt*. The first is matched by an early-thirteenth-century example by Elidir Sais, CBT I 24.17 *Du6 Sad6rn ys aeth, ys eithyt—ym med* ‘On Saturday [Christ] went [away], he went to the grave’. The other example, from the twelfth century, is CBT III 21.171 *Eithid y esbyd y ysborthyon* ‘his guests went to his feasts’. The *gwneithyt* form is a hapax (see commentary on §5.85).

⁶⁰ See Simon Rodway’s discussion with graph at HI 73. The *-o* ending is the only form found in the saga englynion (five examples). It is found consistently in the Llyfr Llandaf *Braint Teilo* prose text (early twelfth century).

⁶¹ A full listing of absolute forms may be found in Simon Rodway’s important article, ‘Absolute forms in the poetry of the Gogynfeirdd: functionally obsolete archaisms or working system?’, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 7 (1998 [2002]), 63-84.

⁶² For views on the origin of the ending, see Rodway, ‘Absolute forms’, 64.

⁶³ See full listing in Rodway, ‘Absolute forms’.

⁶⁴ Rodway lists nine certain examples, ‘Absolute forms’, 71-3.

Impersonal forms in *-(h)awr* are found in seven poems: §1.22 *gor-ith-gyuarchawr*; §3.24 *carhawr*; ?§4.241 *melinawr*; ?§4.242 *amaethawr*; §4.245 *mettawr*; §4.245 *dottawr*; §4.246 *gyrrawr*; ?§4.247 *y'm ry giawr*; §6.45 *cwynawr*; §8.18 *dyrehawr*; §13.8 *ymaruogawr* (em.); §13.9 *ymorffowyssawr*; §13.10 *molhawr*; §13.33 and 34 *dydyccawr*; §23.5 *ergrynawr*. These may be compared with several *-(h)awr* forms seen in the twelfth century, especially in the work of Cynddelw, occasionally persisting into the thirteenth (e.g. CBT VI 8.38 *rygarha6r*; 15.41 *meflawr*). On the problematic §18.54 *gwidyanhawr* (and related §18.50 *gwidanhor*) and §18.23 *clywanawr*, see commentaries. Impersonal forms in *-et(t)awr*, *-etor*, *-a(t)tor*, *-itor* are found: §13.16, 18 *galwet(t)awr*; §13.30 *golchettawr*; §18.25 *kymyscetor*; §1.54 *prouator*; §1.63 *gwelattor*; §4.51, 226, 261 *traethat(t)or*; §4.52, 262 *molhator*; §23.16 *cwynitor*; §9.61 and 62 *keissitor*. The last two types are found with surprising frequency in the CBT corpus, as documented with further comparanda in the commentary on §4.51.

1sg. preterites in *-t* are restricted: *keint* in §4.2; §5.25, 26; §8.3, 4, 7, 9, 42, but the later analogical form is also present in §26.1 *keingeneis*. The older form is used three times in CBT corpus, including an instance by the thirteenth-century poet, Dafydd Benfras (see on §5.25 for references). Its partner, *gweint* in §5.28, 30 and 192, is used by Gwalchmai in the mid-twelfth century (see on §5.28). 3sg. pret. in *-t* in §5.76 *gwant* is found in CBT V 23.177 (see on §5.76); §16.14 *kymerth*, §4.45 *darogant* and §22 rubric *cant* are also instanced into the thirteenth century.

The differences between 3sg. preterite forms in *-as*, *-es*, *-is* and *-wys* do not appear to be very useful diagnostically in poetry as far as I can tell. A form such as *kafas* (§16.11; §17.21; §23.10) remains the standard ending until displaced eventually by *-awd*, and a number of other *-as* endings are in use by the court poets (e.g. *swynas*, *creas*, *dyfnas*, *gallas*). Therefore no particular weight can be placed on §4.49 *diadas*; §4.173 *dylifas*; §4.174 *gorffennas*; §4.175 *pregethas*; §5.145 *deilas*; §5.147 *maglas*; §18.2 *lledas*; §20.6 *dywystlas*.⁶⁵ Nor can a definite conclusion be reached as to the relative dating of §6.46 *gwelas* v. *gweles* in §17.16, 18; or §22.2 *swynas* v. *swynwys* in §5.163, 165, 172, 174.⁶⁶ There are no

⁶⁵ Fuller instances from poetry and prose are collected by Patrick Sims-Williams, 'A new Brittonic gloss on Boethius: *ud rocashaas*', *CMCS*, 50 (2005), 77-86, at pp. 84-6.

⁶⁶ 3sg. preterite forms in *-es*: §4.75, 260; §5.131; §12.17 *rodes*; §4.249 *aruolles*; §4.259 *kyghores/kyghn6es* (if em.); §5.103 *osg6es* or *osgoes*; §5.132 *gwrthodes*; §5.133 *gotylles*; §8.13, 19; §13.12, 14 *digones*; §16.5 *torres*; §19.1 *ymchoeles*; §21.3 *kyffr6es*; §24.3 *dodes*. 3sg. pret. forms in *-is*: §4.199 *llenwis* and §7.23 *amlenwis*; §4.28, §5.96 and §22.2 *delis*; §4.112-13 and §6.12 *echenis*; §4.243 *erkennis*; §5.70 *chweiris*; §6.27 and 63 *peris*; §6.41 *dyrchefis*; §9.24 *gwerchetwis*; §9.26 *cedwis*. 3sg. pret. *-wys*, *-ws*: §4.73 *barnwys*; §4.114 *ystyrywys* (but see note); §4.244 *tyfwys*; §5.51 *atthewys*; §5.163, 165, 172, 174 *swynwys*; §8.8 *carwys*; §8.30 and §10.19 *rithwys*; §10.15 *hudwys*; §11.84 *digarwys*; §14.46 *llynwys*; §14.48 *briwys*; §16.1 *gofeisswys*; §16.7 *athechwys*; §16.35 *gwenwynwys*; §17.6 *hewys*; §17.20 *eidunwys*; §24.13 *ranwys*; §25.12 *pwyllwys*. Suggested §4.114 *ystyrws* is based on an uncertain emendation.

examples of the innovative 3sg. preterite *-awð* which spread across the board in the literary language by the late thirteenth century.⁶⁷

2sg. pres. subjunctive in *-wyr* is found in §10.1 *ry'm awyr*; §12.22 *medhwyr*. The first is paralleled in early twelfth century (CBT I 2.1); the second, although not found in the CBT corpus, belongs to the same category of optative subjunctives which may have had an extended life as formulaic invocations, especially to God (the verb *medu* 'to rule, control' is commonly used of God). The same consideration may apply to irregular 3sg. present subjunctives §6.83 *du(w)ch* (also found in CBT IV 4.121 and VI 10.92); and §13.19 *dy-m-gwares* (cf. CBT V 5.63 and VI 10.75-6).

A variety of other features in our poems are often referred to as 'early':⁶⁸ infixing pronouns between preverb and verb; the indication of possession by the *a'm oed* construction; 3sg. imperfect in *-i*;⁶⁹ infixed pronoun with dative meaning (*a'm rodes*); *rwy* and *nwy/nyw*; preverbal particles such as *hur*; the prepositions *ech* 'out of, from', *dy* 'to, for', etc. But as D. Simon Evans notes, these are all to be found in the CBT corpus as well.⁷⁰

Features *not* evidenced in the CBT corpus include the ?3sg. preterite forms §5.4, 201 and 202 *gwriith*, and §5.201 *datwriith*, which are unparalleled and uncertain (see commentaries); §4.82 and §13.41 *gorwyth*, and §4.81 *diwyth*. There are four instances of 2pl. present in *-yt*, three rhyming in a row in Mabgyfreu Taliessin, §6.8 *dywëit*; §6.9 *eregyt*; §6.10 *erlynyt*; with a further example in the similar context of the Taliesin figure taunting his opposition: §26.6 *dywëit*. (There are, of course, the usual 2pl. present forms in *-wch*:⁷¹ §4.29 *traethwch* (em.); §5.53 *rithwch*; §5.239 *darogenwch*). There are five instances of the retention of *-ð* in the 2sg. pres. *-yd*: §6.36 *dywedyd*; §1.17 and 42 *gwelyd*; §3.36 *ceryd*; §23.15 *a gwynit* (?if for *a gwynyd*); there is evidence for the loss of *-ð* already in the OW period (*chepi* 'you receive'), but it is not known for certain how long it was retained by scribal or poetic conservatism.⁷² The forms §4.8, 72 *budyd*; §18.36, 44 *peridyd*; §7.64 *berwidyd*; and §23.14 *kanonhyd* which may contain relative *-yð*, in the last three cases perhaps analogical (and ?pseudo-

⁶⁷ See Simon Rodway, 'A datable development in medieval literary Welsh', *CMCS* 36 (1998), 71-94. Note that §16.8 *godiwawd* is an *ā*-pret. form which continues side by side with innovative *godiwedawd*: 'Datable development', 91-2. §23.19 *cwdedawd* is plausibly emended to *cw dechawd* by G, but this would constitute the only example of 3sg. pret. in *-awd* in our collection.

⁶⁸ In GMW and elsewhere.

⁶⁹ Treated by Rodway, 'Two developments', HI 69-71.

⁷⁰ D. Simon Evans, 'Iaith y llys a Beirdd y Tywysogion', FS Gruffydd 60-74: *dy* occurs in CBT II 26.287 (Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, end of the 1170s): see on §5.107.

⁷¹ The ending already evidenced in OW in 2pl. pret. *guodemisauch*.

⁷² It is found in rhyming position in CC 21.24-5, 27, 91, 113 in the Debate between the Body and Soul. The newer form is used in a rhyming run of 2sg. forms by Dafydd Benfras, CBT VI, poem 26 (see on §1.91-2).

archaic) formations, are discussed in detail in their respective commentaries.⁷³ In addition, there are a number of lexical items in the poems of the present volume (including *pet* ‘how many?’) which are not paralleled in the court poetry: this is to be expected in the case of those poems which treat matters outside the mainstream topics of praise and religious poetry. The diagnostic status of contracted versus non-contracted forms (such as *maes* v. *māes*; *oscoes* v. *oscōes*; *traet* v. *trāet*, *būm* v. *bu-um*, etc.) is discussed below with metrics. The material presented in this section, therefore, with the exception of the arguably inconclusive features noted in this paragraph, suggests that it would be rash to conclude that the poems of this collection *must* predate the work of the twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century court poets.

We turn now to a second type of investigation which — as the commentaries indicate — is in train throughout this study. This involves the close comparison of the diction of our poems with that of the entire body of poetry up to the date of the writing of the Book of Taliesin in the early fourteenth century. This procedure can obviously be very helpful in interpreting difficult or corrupt lines, and has the potential to tell us much about how the poets worked, how they collocated words and phrases, and what stock rhymes they relied upon: such a procedure is implicit in Ifor Williams’ work and in all other responsible textual studies of hengerdd. This sort of approach is very advanced for Old English poetry, and for other traditions, and has been studied for its own sake partly as a by-product of the oral-formulaic analyses which were in vogue following the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord in the 1940s. While acknowledging that the Welsh material is not dependent on extended formulae in the same way as the Germanic poems, the Slavic epics, or the French chansons de geste, there is undoubtedly scope for working towards a more explicit grammar of poetic diction, and thereby perhaps a better understanding of how the early poets composed and were trained to manipulate the word-hoard.⁷⁴ Ongoing assembling of comparanda, facilitated by new editions of the court poetry, has started to indicate some rather unexpected findings.

First of all, two general considerations are worth restating. The dating of early Welsh poetry has few fixed points which can be used for comparative purposes: the late-ninth- or early tenth-century text of the two series of Juvencus englynion are a certain witness,⁷⁵ as is the eleventh-century fragment of verse about St Padarn’s crozier, *Cyrwen*, preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS

⁷³ Examples from pre-1283 poetry have been collected and discussed by Simon Rodway, ‘What was the function of 3rd sg. pres. ind. “-ydd” in Old and Middle Welsh?’, *Studi Celtici* 2 (2003), 89-132.

⁷⁴ Some efforts in this direction in Haycock, ‘Medd a mêl farddoni’, in FS Gruffydd 39-59; and for the religious poetry of the court poets and their successors, see Barry James Lewis, ‘Adeiladu cerdd: cyfuniadau geiriol yng nghanu crefyddol y Gogynfeirdd’, *LIC* 24 (2001), 33-51.

⁷⁵ BWP 89-121; CC poem 1; on the dating of the hand of Scribe C, who wrote the twelve englynion, ‘around the year 900 or a little later’, see Helen McKee, ‘Scribes and glosses from Dark Age Wales: The Cambridge Juvencus manuscript’, *CMCS* 39 (2000), 1-22, pp. 19-20.

199.⁷⁶ The prophecy *Armes Prydain Fawr* in the *Book of Taliesin*, generally and confidently assigned to the mid-tenth century on historical grounds, cannot be considered a witness in the same way as material preserved, like the aforementioned items, in contemporary manuscripts. Its status bears further investigation in the context of prophetic discourse in general, as well as from the historical point of view, as Colmán Etchingham has indicated.⁷⁷ Other items of *hengerdd*, all in manuscripts from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (or even later), are to a greater or lesser degree contested as to their date and transmission. However, we do have very precisely-dated poetic texts in large numbers from the beginning of the twelfth century onwards — many thousands of lines of the work of the poets of the princes, mainly formal praise and elegy, generally in good textual repair. The bulk of this corpus is preserved in the first stratum of the *Hendregadredd* manuscript, copied *c.* 1300, and supplemented in a purposeful way by a second stratum written in the early decades of the fourteenth century. It has long been held that much of diction and lexicon and *topoi* employed by the court poets was inherited from the *hengerdd* poets, and that similarity of phrasing, vocabulary as well as stock themes is to be expected between the two corpora.⁷⁸ It has been said, echoing T.J. Morgan, that the court poets in their praise-poems were knitting the same socks with the same wool, but making them to a more complicated pattern.⁷⁹ There is undoubtedly some truth in this, and it is partly what one would expect. However, it may in some cases be masking another possible scenario — that some of the putative *hengerdd* or old poetry, traditionally kept in its separate pre-*c.* 1100 box by scholars, overlaps with, or is in a somewhat more complicated relationship with the compositions of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets.

The very fact that a poem is in one of the Four Ancient Books is evidently no guarantee of a pre-1100 dating — patently so in the case of the *Red Book of Hergest* *c.* 1400 with its array of material up to and including work by the fourteenth-century *cywyddwr*, *Iolo Goch*. The *Black Book of Carmarthen* *c.* 1225-50 also contains both twelfth-century court poetry, and evidently recent portions of prophecy mentioning ‘the son of Henry’, and *Llywelyn ab Iorwerth* of *Gwynedd*. In adding the *Hendregadredd* manuscript as a Fifth Ancient Book, Daniel Huws has brought into focus the fact that that anthology predates the *Book of Taliesin*, perhaps helping to breach the psychological barrier which has prevented most modern scholars from countenancing the possibility that the

⁷⁶ BWP 181-9; CC 241-5. Like other scholars, I was under the mistaken impression (CC p. 241) that the *Padarn* fragment had been trimmed away completely by a binder in the 1950s, but happily this proves not to have been the case.

⁷⁷ Investigated further in PBT (in preparation), and by Colmán Etchingham, ‘Viking-age *Gwynedd* and Ireland: political relations’, in *IWMA* 149-67, pp. 164-6.

⁷⁸ Comparative investigations have been conducted by T.J. Morgan, ‘*Dadansoddi'r Gogynfeirdd* (1)’, *B* 13 (1948-50), 169-74, and ‘*Dadansoddi'r Gogynfeirdd* (2)’, *B* 14 (1950-2), 1-8, who is concerned particularly with praise *topoi*; and by Jenny Rowland in an important chapter, ‘*Genres*’, in *EWP* 179-208, which collects examples of echoes of *hengerdd* *englyn* lines and collocations in the work of the court poets.

⁷⁹ John Rowlands’ metaphor.

Book of Taliesin, like the Black Book, might include material from only a century or so before its writing. I tried to show in a previous work that some anonymous religious and Scriptural verse appears to cross the apparent divide between the two categories of *hengerdd* and court poetry, traditionally put at c. 1100 (because that is where the mainstream poetry of the poets associated with the royal courts is first attested). And this is certainly the case for some prophetic poems, as indicated above, and may be so for other genres and forms (such as the three-lined *englyn*), likely to have been continued in use beyond that date.

With these two considerations in mind, the commentaries on the poems in this collection note poetry comparanda from the whole period up to the approximate date of the manuscript in the first part of the fourteenth century, without privileging as 'early' any poems apart from those fragments extant in early manuscripts. This procedure, although conducted primarily as a contribution towards a grammar of poetic diction, has also pointed up the possibility that in several of the poems we may be able to detect the presence of an unexpectedly late voice, albeit working in a different medium and register from the poems normally associated with him. This may be illustrated by reference initially to §5 Kat Godeu. Across the whole poem, there are over 40 instances where words, phrases, and collocations are matched in the work of one particular court poet, Llywarch ap Llywelyn, also known as Prydydd y Moch (fl. c.1174/5 - c.1220). A few examples may indicate the position:⁸⁰

(a) §5.203 *Llachar y emw llawffer* 'radiant his name, strong-handed'.

CBT V 28.31-2 *Bar anwar llachar, llawch gbaŷt./ Llary llaŷfer, fyryfder fossaŷt.* 'One who has radiant, cruel wrath, protector of poetry,/ Generous, strong-handed, strength in battle.'

There are no examples of *llawffer* in *hengerdd* (although *fer y law* occurs in the *Gododdin*). Prydydd y Moch is the only court poet to use the word. *Llachar*, by contrast, is very common (41 instances in CBT corpus). But Prydydd y Moch alone collocates it with *llawffer*.

(b) §5.92-6 *yr y vawr vryt/ . . . Awron delis bryt* 'despite his great intention/ . . . Golden Rod maintained [his] resolve.'

CBT V 10.21-4 *kedwis maŷruryt—ner/ . . . /Pan dellid rac Lloegyr llucuryd,/ Dellis dreic Bowys bwys byd.* 'the lord of great intentions/. . ./ When wrath was sustained against the men of England,/ The hero of Powys held up the weight of the world.'

The 3sg. preterite occurs also in §4.28 *a delis awch tafawt* and §22.2 *py delis mas* (em.); *deliis* occurs twice in the *Gododdin*. Although Prydydd y Moch is the only court poet to use this form (three times), it is *not* a significant finding of itself, especially since it occurs in prose (*Culhwch ac Olwen*) and later poetry. What is significant, however, is that Prydydd y Moch is the only poet to collocate it with *bryt* (in the compounds *maŷruryt*, *llucuryd*).

⁸⁰ Other similarities are noted in the commentary *passim*.

(c) §5.41-2 *Bum yn Kaer Nefenhir:/yt gryssynt wellt a gwyd* 'I was in the Fort of Nefenhyr: herbage and trees were attacking'.

CBT V 23.170 *Amrygyr Newenhyr Na6 Nant* 'one possessing the tumult of Newenhyr Naw Nant'.

Although a place called Caer Nefenhyr Naw Nant is found once in the story, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, it is only otherwise mentioned in these two poetry examples.

(d) §5.57 *Pan swynhwyt godeu* 'when the trees were conjured up'.

The vb *swynaw* in the sense of 'to enchant, conjure (up)' is common in this poem (lines 124, 163, 165, 172). It is also found in §22.2 *pwya'e swynas*, and in a passage about the seven constituents in the Debate between the Body and Soul (CC 21.99 and 111) passage in Black Book of Carmarthen. It is never used by the court poets, with the exception of Prydydd y Moch (of God):

CBT V 15.3 *Dur ynad detyf rad rysswynas—Douyt* 'a harsh judge of the gift of rule that the Lord has created'.

CBT V 18.30 *Duw o Nefry-th-swynas* 'God from Heaven has created you'.

(e) §5.97 *allmyr uch allfryt* 'foreigners over foreign torrents'.

The rare word *allmyr* (cf. OIr *allmuir*) recurs once only in hengerdd, in Moliant Cadwallon line 32. Prydydd y Moch is the only other poet who uses it:

CBT V 10.10 *Prioda6r tud allmyr* 'rightful ruler of the region of the foreigners'.

CBT V 11.26 *Bu gordwy ar allmyr* 'he was an oppressor of foreigners'.

(f) §5.104-5 *ef lladei a pherued/ ac eithaf a diwed* 'he slashed the centre [of the army]/and the wing and the rear'.

Ef as fronted subject pronoun (non-leniting) is used eight times in the Gododdin with the vb *llad*, and it is thus likely that the tree-list passage of Kat Godeu is 'quoting' heroic diction. The non-leniting fronted *ef* is in decline in twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poetry, but is a particular distinguishing feature of Prydydd y Moch (over 20 instances), e.g.:

CBT V 1.73 *Ef gwnaeth tu Penntraeth penn tr6ch—calanet* 'He wrought near Pentraeth the thickest heap of corpses', concluding a run of *seven* of these forms from lines 63-73, as shown in the commentary to §5.104.

(g) §5.115 *heint ech y aghat* '[dispensing] pestilence from his hand'.

Ech is somewhat uncommon in hengerdd (five occurrences). Prydydd y Moch is the only court poet to use it:

CBT V 26.125 *Dy arwyf ech awyt uchod* 'your standard [fluttering] on high from ('as a result of', lit. 'out of') passion'.

(h) §5.116-17 *gorthorat/ gorthoryssit*

Although the verb *gorthorri* ‘to hew’ is found in the *Gododdin*, it is used by Prydydd y Moch but by no other of the CBT poets:

CBT V 2.21 *labr orthorri—cad* ‘a champion cutting down an army’.

(i) §5.153 *a'm creat* ‘was made for me’.

Fairly common in *hengerdd*, but used by Prydydd y Moch only of the court poets:

CBT V 1.10 *O nerth Duw y (em.) cread* ‘by the power of God was he created’.

CBT V 1.45 *Eforeu rieu rygread* ‘He is the best king created’.

(j) §5.238-9 *Derwydon, doethur,/ darogemwch y Arthur* ‘Sages, wise men, prophesy Arthur’.

Note especially *Armes Prydain* line 171 *Dysgogan derwydon meint a deruyd*, and the fact that the noun *derwyd* is not found in *hengerdd* outside the *Book of Taliesin* — except for the possibly derivative *Dydd dyfydd* poem, line 23 (see commentary on §5.238). Two examples by Prydydd y Moch uniquely in court poetry, one collocated with *darogan*:

CBT V 11.45 *Kynan, darogan derwyton,—dydaw* ‘Cynan, son of prophecy of the sages, will come’.

CBT V 25.43 *Dywa6d derwyton dadeni haelon/ O hil eryron o Eryri* ‘Sages spoke of the rebirth of nobles (or ‘a noble’),/ From the line of the eagle[-lords] of Eryri’.

(k) §5.247 *mi hud wyf berthyll* ‘thus am I resplendent’.

The use of *hut* ‘thus’ before substantive vb declines in the twelfth and thirteenth century, but is favoured by Prydydd y Moch (11 out of 36 instances are his, six before forms of vb *bot*).

(l) §5.246-9 *Eurem yn euryll . . . o erymes Fferyll* ‘Like a magnificent jewel in a gold ornament . . . by the prophecy of Virgil’.

CBT V 5.5 *Aryfle ysgwyd eur yn armes—kynnygyn* ‘A splendid shield in combat in the affliction [brought about by the] enemy’.

Eur and *armes* is an otherwise unparalleled collocation in pre-1283 verse.

(m) §5.17-8 *Bum cledyf yn aghat,/ bum yscwyt yg kat* ‘I was a sword in the hand, I was a shield in battle’.

CBT V 1.18 *Heb ysgar ysgwyd ac aghad* ‘Without the separation of shield and hand’.

The collocation *aghat/yscwyt* is restricted to these two instances.

(n) §5.85 *Auanwyd gwneithyt* ‘Raspberry, [he] took action’.

One of a number of 3sg. absolute forms, not in line-initial position (cf. line 83 *eithyt* ‘went’). In this case — a hapax — it appears to be an analogical formation based on *gwnaeth*, or else on presumed *gwneith* — this latter a

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form used uniquely by Prydydd y Moch, and seemingly confirmed by internal rhyme:

CBT V 8.32 *Myrt rywneith yn gyureith gymid* ‘He caused a host [to submit] to the rule[s] of engagement’.

(o) §5.100-1 *Onn goreu ardyrched/ rac bron teyrned* ‘Ash wrought magnificent deeds before princes’.

The CBT corpus has 6 examples of *onn/onnen* ‘ash’. Prydydd y Moch alone uses it with *bron* in a triple collocation including *teyrned* as well, unparalleled apart from the Kat Godeu lines:

CBT V 10.94-6 *Yr gorddwy teyrnet,/ Ongyr gwyr gwrynt yg gwet,/ Onn ger bron breenhinet* ‘In order to subjugate princes, men’s spears lowered in submission, ash staves before kings’.

I have not included in the sample above features which are especial hallmarks of Prydydd y Moch’s diction, but which are also found occasionally in the work of other court poets — such as *rwy* with infixed pronoun, used in relative clauses. The sceptical reader might well wonder at this point whether it is not just the bulk of Prydydd y Moch’s output (30 poems, second only to Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr’s 48) which accounts for the diction of Kat Godeu being mirrored in *his* work, and not in the work of other court poets. I would counter that argument by stressing that Cynddelw, the far more prolific poet, active a generation earlier in Gwynedd as well as in Powys, does *not* demonstrate the range of unusual correspondences noted above. The diagnostic import of the data noted above clearly varies from example to example, as the comments indicate. But the textual evidence seems to point to one of three conclusions: 1. Kat Godeu was composed by Prydydd y Moch, assuming the persona of Taliesin for entertainment of a high order, but singing in a very different genre from his usual formal praise and elegy. 2. Prydydd y Moch was revamping and augmenting earlier Taliesin material, perhaps written material, and Kat Godeu is the result. 3. Prydydd y Moch, *uniquely* among his contemporaries, had privileged access to earlier Taliesin poems and used them *merely* as a quarry, making repeated use of words, phrases and collocations he found there in his own praise-poetry.

The commentaries to the other poems in this collection have addressed this matter with care, indicating all the comparanda so as not to prejudice the investigation.⁸¹ Prydydd y Moch symptoms are discerned in Kat Godeu’s partner poem, §4 Angar Kyfundawt (e.g. §4.76 *aghymes*, a word unique to the Book of Taliesin (in §13.17 also) and CBT V 5.32 and 5.50),⁸² and in the following poems: §3 Aduwyneu Taliessin;⁸³ §6 Mabgyfreu Taliessin (e.g. rhyming *dylan/*

⁸¹ For a broadly comparable investigation, also conducted with extreme caution, see Gruffydd Aled Williams’ discussion of the authorship of the poems Hirlas Owain and Englynion Cylchu Cymru, attributed to the poet-prince Owain Cyfeiliog, but bearing many resemblances to the work of his contemporary, Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, CBT IV, 199-206.

⁸² See also commentary to §4.14, 25, 28, 47-8, 67, 152, 158, 160 and 246.

⁸³ See on §3.1, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 31 and 37.

attan in §6.21-2, as in CBT V 23.93-4);⁸⁴ §7 Mydwyf Merweryd (e.g. §7.24 *noethas/nwythas*, attested otherwise only in CBT V 18.29);⁸⁵ §8 Golychaf-i Gulwyd;⁸⁶ §9 Kadeir Teyrnion (e.g. §9.48-9 rare *powyssed* collocated with *rieu*, as in CBT V 27.16-17);⁸⁷ §10 Kadeir Kerrituen (e.g. rare *myd* 'battle' also in CBT V 11.53);⁸⁸ §13 Kanu y Cwrwf;⁸⁹ §14 Teithi etmygant;⁹⁰ and §22 Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton.⁹¹ Less certain symptoms are discernable in five other poems: §1 Prif Gyuarch Geluyd;⁹² §11 Kanu y Gwynt;⁹³ §15 'Canu y Meirch';⁹⁴ §18 Preideu Annwfynd;⁹⁵ and §24 Marwnat Vthyr Pen.⁹⁶ These and other indications are signalled in the commentaries.

These unexpected findings must lead us to ask more about Llywarch Prydydd y Moch, and his career. He belonged to the third generation of professional court poets known to us by name, and was active in the royal courts of Gwynedd in North Wales between c. 1174/5 and c. 1220. His early career saw him serving Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd and his brother Rhodri ab Owain, their cousin, Gruffudd ap Cynan and his brother Maredudd ap Cynan, evidently blowing with the prevailing political wind during the turbulent thirty years between the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170 and 1199 when Llywelyn ab Iorwerth became ruler over the whole of Gwynedd.⁹⁷ Many of his greatest poems were sung in his prime to his main patron, Llywelyn, during a period of intense cultural activity, and one in which Llywelyn made huge gains at the expense of the Normans, recapturing the castle of Degannwy in 1213 and going on to bring much of Wales under his sway and influence, including central and south-east Wales and Deheubarth. It is likely that the poet was granted lands by Llywelyn: Gwely Prydydd y Moch in the commote of Is Dulas in the cantref of Rhos, a few miles south-west of St Asaph; Melin Prydydd y Moch in the same area; and further

⁸⁴ See on §6.1, 7, 15, 16 and 32.

⁸⁵ See on §7.9, 11, 14, 59 and 69.

⁸⁶ See on §8.13, 23, 25 and 53.

⁸⁷ See on §9.6, 21, 50, 58 and 62.

⁸⁸ See on §10.10 and 13.

⁸⁹ See on §13.17 and 19.

⁹⁰ See on §14.1, 21, 33 and 51.

⁹¹ See on §22.2a, 2b, and 3a.

⁹² See on §1.34 and 98.

⁹³ See on §11.2, 3, 38 and 85.

⁹⁴ See on §15.30, 57 and 58.

⁹⁵ See on §18.2, 9, 16, 21, 36 and 59.

⁹⁶ See on §24.24-5.

⁹⁷ For details, see CBT V, xxi-xxxiii, and especially the fine treatment by Esther Feer and Nerys Ann Jones, 'The poet and his patrons: the early career of Llywarch Brydydd y Moch', in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, edited by Helen Fulton (Dublin, 2005), 132-62. Note the announcement at p. 133 n.4 that 'doubt has been shed on the assumption that Llywarch Brydydd y Moch was one and the same as Llywarch ap Llywelyn', referring to Nerys Ann Jones' forthcoming 'Llywarch ap Llywelyn a Llywarch Brydydd y Moch'. A similar note of caution was sounded by Dafydd Johnston's review-article, 'Gwaith Prydydd y Moch', *LIC* 17 (1993), 304-14, pp. 305-6. Pending published discussion, the material in CBT V is regarded as the work of a single author.

west, Gafael Prydydd y Moch just north of Llangernyw, and within easy striking distance of the royal seat at Degannwy and the abbey of Aberconwy.⁹⁸ As well as being a canny survivor in troubled political times during his early career, and an acknowledged asset in furthering Llywelyn's ambitions, Prydydd y Moch was an exceptionally fine and imaginative poet who was able to draw on a vast reserve of traditional and international learning to amplify his praise-poems and elegies; it is no surprise that he was held in awe by later poets.⁹⁹ We know little of his bardic training, and although it has been suggested that he may have been a pupil of Gwalchmai ap Meilyr or more probably of Cynddelw,¹⁰⁰ he has the bold and distinctive voice of a poet who, in D. Myrddin Lloyd's words, was fired up by objects and events.¹⁰¹ The bulk of his surviving work is formal praise and elegy, but there are two *bygwith* or 'threat' poems,¹⁰² an inventive, partly riddling treatment of the white-hot ordeal iron,¹⁰³ a poem asking for the deliverance of a patron from illness,¹⁰⁴ and one poem conveyed by horse-messenger to a woman, Gwenllïan ferch Hywel of Caerllion in Gwynllŵg (Caerleon, Gwent).¹⁰⁵ The last-mentioned is a very lively and varied piece with elements of boasting, nature description and feigned love-sickness, rather like the *gorhoffedd* genre which is in some ways rather similar in tone to portions of the legendary Taliesin poems.¹⁰⁶ Curiously, there are no known religious poems by Prydydd y Moch, although passages within his other poems indicate complete familiarity with that discourse and its attendant learning from Scripture and other founts.¹⁰⁷

In addition to the persistent correspondences of diction noted between several poem of our collection and the surviving work of Prydydd y Moch, there are

⁹⁸ Details in CBT V, xxi-iii.

⁹⁹ See CBT V, xxiv-xxvi.

¹⁰⁰ Feer and Jones, 134.

¹⁰¹ See CBT IV, 299-301 for a discussion of the perceived differences between him and the more meditative Cynddelw.

¹⁰² CBT V nos 2 and 8, discussed further by Catherine McKenna, 'Bygwith a dychan mewn barddoniaeth llys Gymraeg', in FS Gruffydd 108-21.

¹⁰³ CBT V no. 15, discussed by Nerys Ann Jones, 'Prydydd y Moch: dwy gerdd "wahanol"', *YB* 18 (1992), 55-72; and see the introduction and commentary to §22 in this collection.

¹⁰⁴ CBT V no. 27.

¹⁰⁵ CBT V no. 14, discussed by Jones, 'Prydydd y Moch: dwy gerdd "wahanol".'

¹⁰⁶ See the introduction to §5 Kat Godeu.

¹⁰⁷ Like the other twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets, he is not associated with prophetic poems; however, allusions to and echoes of the prophetic mode are occasionally seen in his work, e.g. CBT V 25.41-9 *Darogan Myrtin dyuod breyenhin/ O Gymry werin o gamh6ri; Dywawd derwyton dadeni haelon/ O hil eryron o Eryri. . . / Yn lary Lywelyn o lin Rodri./ Nys kelaf, honnaf, h6nn y6 Beli—Hir.* 'Myrddin's prophecy is that a king shall come forth through heroic deed from amongst the Cymry; wise men spoke of the rebirth of a leader (or 'leaders') from the lineage of the eagle[-lords] of Eryri (Snowdonia) . . . Generous Llywelyn from the stock of Rhodri. I'll not conceal it [but] will proclaim that this one is Beli Hir.' Another poem of his contains a curious (and unique) rhyme and verbal correspondence *plu/lago* with a line in a Book of Taliesin prophecy, PBT 4.7 *Diwed plu. coll lago o tir Prydyn* 'the end of the course, the loss of lago from the land of Prydyn; cf. CBT V 23.138-40 [*C*] *adwalla6n/ Uab Caduan uab Yago./ Llary ysbar. ysbenyt y plu* 'Cadwallon son of Cadfan son of lago, generous with [his] spear, splendid his course'.

other features and circumstances which might make him an attractive candidate, whether as author or adaptor of legendary Taliesin material (or indeed both). We have already seen above (p. 14) that he knew and referred (c. 1217) to Ceridfen and her cauldron, and to the freeing of Elffin through the power of Taliesin's words. He was informed about the family of Dôn, and indeed provides us with the tradition that Dygant, eponym of Degannwy, was the son of Dôn. He refers to Nefenhyr, Brân (associated with the north-east), Teyrnon, Geraint, Hercules, and possibly Alexander the Great and his Indian adversary-turned-client, Porus. He is the only poet to make any reference to *oferbethau* 'futile things', quoting the Sermon on the Mount's 'pearls before swine' and mentioning the impossibility of 'inviting the wind into a snare'; §2 Buarth Beird is a unique genre poem built around a list of such *oferbethau*. He shows a liking for imaginative riddling in his poem to the ordeal rod, as already mentioned. He refers to the constituents which make man, the usual *pedwar defnydd*, and is ready to add a supernumerary element (the soul) to the orthodox four, as do §25 Kanu y Byt Mawr and analogues to the seven- or nine-element scheme. He alone, of the court poets, refers to the Earth's five zones. A strange quirk seen in one instance is that Prydydd y Moch places an unconjugated rhyming preposition at the end of a line: CBT V 23.39-40 *Porthathwy pan aethom y ar/ Meirch mordwy uch maërdwryf tonnyar*. This may be broadly compared with his line-final *pwyr* 'who': CBT V 22.13-14 *Nyd reid tra dilyn pell ofyn pwyr/ Py geidw yr gorddëfyr rac pob gorddwy*, which in turn brings to mind the curious §18.36 *peridyd pwyr*, and §4.152 *ny wyr neb pan*. And only Prydydd y Moch, of all the court poets, is known to have used the Class 1 short line (see below on this type of line used in very many Book of Taliesin poems). In a highly unusual piece, a short praise-poem to Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd, one of his early patrons, he uses intense hyperalliteration and cymeriad rather than rhyme to bind the lines together;¹⁰⁸ it closes with an Englyn Unodl Union. Like the placing of unusual classes of words at the end of a line, it may indicate a readiness to experiment with form, or it may be a glimpse of a less elevated mode of praise which was not usually committed to writing.

Conjecture about the 'poet's story' might also consider further circumstantial evidence. Prydydd y Moch, like other professional court poets, was called upon to compose pieces to order to serve the interests of diplomacy, as we see in the case of his masterly awdl for Rhys Gryg, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's satellite in Deheubarth. As well as praise poems, other items were put together with an eye to the all-Wales designs of Llywelyn — witness, for instance, Brynley Roberts' convincing case for the prose tale, *Breuddwyd Maxen*, being part of the Gwynedd propaganda machine c. 1215-17;¹⁰⁹ and similar moves were being made by the redactors of the law texts, too, as we have already noted. It is very likely that informal poems, designed for more general entertainment, were part

¹⁰⁸ CBT V no. 3, with metrical discussion *ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁹ Brynley F. Roberts, 'Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig: why? when?', *CSANA Yearbook* 3-4 (2005), 303-14.

of the poets' remit, as well as items tailored for certain gatherings where neighbours, allies, clients, and diplomats from other courts might be present. The inclusive tone of some poems in our collection (e.g. §14) would tally with the avowed national aspirations of Gwynedd propaganda in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and many of the other items would be politically unobjectionable, thoroughly acceptable fare for consumption by locals and visitors alike. A poet of Prydydd y Moch's calibre might have had the imagination to cast a production or series of events recreating Llywelyn's key eastern stronghold, Degannwy, in the image of Maelgwn Gwynedd's court¹¹⁰ — with Llywelyn as Maelgwn, and his queen Joan (illegitimate child of King John) as Sanant. In that 'story' or event, an early poet, 'Taliesin', might have set out his wares, his words being declaimed by a reciter or an actual court poet. It would have been imperative that true poets be showcased not as foaming sycophants (as in Gildas' condemnation of Maelgwn's bards), but repackaged, in the person of the triumphant Taliesin figure, as urbane, international and learned, modern while retaining the key to the hallowed mysteries of the ancient bardic order. Hence the allusions to other texts, such as Gwarchan Maeldderw, the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, and a wide display of poetic genres, including riddles, favourite things, 'futile things', lists of horses and trees, elegies for legendary and historical figures, etc. A trained court poet such as Prydydd y Moch would have traditional learning at his fingertips, of course, but also access to materials — versions of the Four Branches perhaps, law-books, perhaps texts of older poems. Stories and traditions transmitted from the north-west, in Arfon, perhaps including written material from a *clas* such as Clynnog Fawr, may have contributed in some way to his repertoire, and it may have been from that region, 'gwlad Wydion',¹¹¹ that elements of the Taliesin legend had emerged, associating him with the family of Dôn, and sharing their supernatural gifts, especially perhaps as a specialist in poetry and the related sphere of prophecy. A court poet would have been well-placed to amplify and develop the figure with an eye to enhancing and updating the standing of the bardic guild through the Taliesin icon: he might draw on Latin school-texts, such as Orosius, Isidore, Bede, popular *Ioca Monachorum*-type questions-and-answer texts, and tap into current vogues — Arthur and Alexander especially in the twelfth century. Such a performance engineered by a court poet 'at play', using the distancing mechanism of a mask or persona, would allow for a very entertaining mix of material, including such wonders as transformations and excursions across space and time. The poems, indeed, would provide extremely valuable testimony to the breadth, vitality and inventiveness of the court poets' repertoire over and above their impressive works of formal eulogy and elegy.

Once the matrix was created, it could accommodate any number of poems of different kinds, from praise of Maelgwn and his ancestors (such as Cunedda) to

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin* discussed above, pp. 19-20. One might compare the Arthurian propaganda employed by Henry II, Edward I and Edward III.

¹¹¹ *Echrys Ynys* line 7.

virtuoso displays of learning. Such a framework may have also been able to accommodate poems *à clef* in which Prydydd y Moch, a wily political survivor and ‘an astute observer of current events’,¹¹² could point up matters of personal concern. One indisputable fact is that Prydydd y Moch sang two poems to Gruffudd, Llywelyn’s son by his concubine Tangwystl daughter of Llywarch Goch of Rhos. This Gruffudd was excluded as Llywelyn’s heir by a deliberate series of steps taken to secure the succession for the younger son, Dafydd, son of Queen Joan and grandson of the King of England. The first in 1211 was to send the youth as a hostage to King John for four years; subsequent measures sought archiepiscopal and papal acknowledgment for Dafydd, and in 1226 and 1238, the fealty of the other Welsh princes. From 1228-34 Gruffudd was imprisoned by his father in Degannwy, but was subsequently granted Llŷn and southern Powys, indicating some short-lived rapprochement. By the time of Llywelyn’s death in Aberconwy in 1240, however, Gruffudd had been dispossessed of Llŷn and imprisoned with his son in Cricieth castle, from where he was removed by Henry III to the Tower of London, falling to his death while attempting to escape in 1244.¹¹³

The first of Prydydd y Moch’s poems to Gruffudd, beginning and ending with the word *graessaw* (a variant of *croessaw* ‘welcome’), greets him on his return from his four years’ exile in England in 1215. The second short piece, perhaps contemporary with the first, appears to voice veiled indignation at his exclusion, suggesting that he was the poets’ successor of choice: a poem of the same period by Einion Wan,¹¹⁴ a later poem by Einion ap Madog ap Rhahawd (c. 1234-9),¹¹⁵ and a fine elegy by Dafydd Benfras¹¹⁶ point to the same conclusion, that the poets may have been emboldened by a more widespread feeling that an injustice had been perpetrated.¹¹⁷ Since Prydydd y Moch already in c. 1217 mentions the freeing of Elffin, the real-life event possibly alluded to obliquely in the Book of Taliesin poems — if indeed he was the author — would have been Gruffudd’s banishment to England between 1211-15. Was it perhaps during that period that

¹¹² Roberts, ‘Breuddwyd Maxen Wledig: why? when?’, 310.

¹¹³ See R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1990), 239-51; Roger Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great: Prince of Gwynedd* (Llandysul, 2007).

¹¹⁴ CBT VI, poem 3.

¹¹⁵ CBT VI, poem 23. See §5.22 for a possible correspondence with CBT VI 23.17 *yshwg*.

¹¹⁶ CBT VI, poem 29.

¹¹⁷ One might compare the bold way in which Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr’s englynion, Breintiau Gwŷr Powys, gave voice to contemporary concerns, and appealed to the law in the interests of the noblemen of Powys: ‘the startling fact about the poem is that a *pencerdd* who praised Madog ap Maredudd and some of his successors should so openly champion the liberties of the men of Powys against threat from one or more of their rulers’, T.M. Charles-Edwards and Nerys Ann Jones, ‘Breintiau Gwŷr Powys: the Liberties of the Men of Powys’, in WKC 191-223, at p. 192, where it is also stressed that the *pencerdd* was ‘not a mere royal official . . . he stood apart from the royal court, unlike the *bardd teulu* who was wholly part of it’. Prydydd y Moch’s two *bygwith* ‘threat’ poems demonstrate that he was prepared to voice personal grievances against his patrons (see above, n.102). Other twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples of poet as censor rather than yea-saying servant are discussed by Peredur I. Lynch, ‘Court poetry, power and politics’, in WKC 167-90.

indirect pressure was brought to bear on Llywelyn by the plea by 'Taliesin' for the release of his patron from *alltuded*?

Clearly, we are in the realm of speculation here, but this is a hypothesis which might account for the Prydydd y Moch symptoms noted above and provide a plausible context for many of the poems of the collection. Court productions would stand a reasonable chance of survival, even if less weighty items might not have been recorded with the care given to formal praise and elegy: this in turn might explain the garbled state of some of the material which the Book of Taliesin scribe copied (at one or more removes). The sceptic will wonder why none of the material has any hint of attribution to Prydydd y Moch. However, unlike formal praise poems and elegies which usually name the subject and the author, poems in persona, in common with general material for entertainment, such as the Arthurian poem, *Pa ŵr*, popular religious verse and prophecy, are not attributed to their real-life authors.¹¹⁸ We can only speculate, too, as to how and why the mainly northern materials of the manuscript were transmitted to mid- or south-eastern Wales by the early fourteenth century when the manuscript was copied, along with law texts of the Cyfnerth family. The monastery of Cwm-hir in Maelienydd, which was noted as one of the possible places of copying, was the highest and remotest of the Welsh Cistercian houses, yet it was in an area under strong Gwynedd influence throughout much of the thirteenth century; during the Mortimer incursions into Maelienydd in 1198, it had been to Cymer in Meirionnydd that the community had repaired, but in 1231 the monks of Cwm-hir were firmly back in business, aiding Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's attacks on the English near Hay. Meanwhile it was to the Gwynedd court that members of the Maelienydd dynasty fled in the face of the Mortimer takeover. These contacts — over and above the acknowledged links and cooperation which existed between the Welsh Cistercian houses — could have facilitated the transfer of material; one can only wonder whether the burial of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's body at Cwm-hir in 1282 (according to the Bury St Edmunds chronicler) had any cultural repercussions on the activities of the institution there.

Speculation aside, I would conclude with the generalisation that many of the poems edited here agree in language and diction with those by the known twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century court poets, especially Prydydd y Moch. There are few signs of a significantly more archaic layer of composition. In our present state of knowledge, however, it would be rash to dismiss the well-entrenched opinion that some of the material has a pre-twelfth-century origin. Just as the later poems associated with the *Ystoria Taliesin* indicate some reworking or adaptation of lines and phrases found in the Book of Taliesin, so the poems in our collection may have incorporated passages of earlier material of uncertain date.

Metrical patterns

¹¹⁸ See Jenny Rowland's discussion of attributions, 'Y beirdd enwog: Anhysbys a'i cant', in *CyT* 31-49.

General Introduction

A full analysis of the metrical patterns of this collection in the context of the whole range of pre-1283 material has not been attempted here,¹¹⁹ and these comments provide only an outline of the metres used. An important recent advance which has direct bearing on metrical analysis is Peter Schrijver's work on the geminate stops in the Martianus Capella glosses, which has clinched the dating of the Welsh accent shift by *c.* 900:¹²⁰ how long the older word-accentuation would have persisted in verse is naturally more debatable.

The simple short line is used extensively, in fifteen of the twenty-six poems in this collection: in large portions of §1 Prif Gyuarch Geluyd; and in §4 Angar Kyfundawt; §5 Kat Godeu; §6 Mabgyfreu Taliessin; §7 Mydwyf Merweryd; §9 Kadeir Teyrmon; §11 Kanu y Gwynt; §13 Kanu y Cwrwf; §14 Teithi etmygant; §15 'Canu y Meirch'; §17 Anryuedodeu Allyxander; §19 Marwnat Ercwl; §20 Madawc Drut; §25 Kanu y Byt Mawr, and §26 Kanu y Byt Bychan. The line is usually five syllables in length, very occasionally with four syllables, but quite often with six syllables. Although some of these longer instances could be 'justified' in length by deleting emphasising pronouns (*golychaf-i* > *golychaf*, etc.), or by invoking elision (*vy echlessur* > *v'echlessur*) or pretonic syncope (e.g. *maranned* > *m'ranned*), there still remain very many lines which demonstrate that hexasyllabic lines were a working part of the metre, suggesting that the backbone of the metre was in fact accentual, with each line containing two strong accents and between two and four unaccented syllables. In the case of §5 Kat Godeu, for example, there are approximately 59 hexasyllabic lines out of 249; three of these can be rendered pentasyllabic by emending out the pronouns, and modifications invoking elision and syncope or emendations could conceivably be suggested for a further 19 lines.¹²¹ The remainder, 37 lines, are indisputably hexasyllabic. Ten lines have four syllables. And a further seven lines are outside the normal range altogether, with three syllables (1), seven (4),

¹¹⁹ In 1988, Haycock, 'Metrical models for the poems in the Book of Taliesin', in EWP 155-77, surveyed earlier approaches to metrical analysis, on the whole favouring an accentual system. Graham R. Isaac, 'Agweddau ar Fydr yr Hengerdd', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Wales (Aberystwyth, 1992) favoured a syllabic organisation, as did Rowland, EWSP, in the case of the *englynion* verse: see Isaac, 'Zur frühen keltischen Metrik', in *Akten des zweiten deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums*, ed. Stefan Zimmer, Rolf Ködderitzsch and Arndt Wigger (Tübingen, 1999), 77-95. But compare the recent judgment reiterated by R.M. Jones, *Meddwl y Gynghanedd* (Felindre, 2005), 153: 'Fy nghanasgliad i yw, at ei gilydd, fod yr elfen acennol yn flaenllaw gan y Cynfeirdd fel strwythur isymwybodol mewn Tafod, a bod yr elfen sillafog wedi tyfu'n gryfach gryfach nes cyrraedd Strwythur sefydlog mewn Mynegiant erbyn Beirdd yr Uchelwyr.' The metrics of the court poets have been thoroughly examined by Peredur I. Lynch, 'Yr awdl a'i mesurau', and by Nerys Ann Jones, 'Y gogynfeirdd a'r englyn', both in FS Gruffydd 258-87, and 288-301.

¹²⁰ Peter Schrijver, 'Geminate spellings in the Old Welsh glosses to Martianus Capella', *ÉC* 34 (1998-2000), 147-60.

¹²¹ For this purpose, I have also included lines which could be regularised by invoking the concept of mesotomic syllables proposed by Toby D. Griffen, 'Mesotomic syllables in Armes Prydein', *Language Sciences*, 16, no. 2 (1993), 91-106, i.e. the type such as §5.117 *gorthoryssit yg kat* which, on Griffen's model, the first -o- is subsumed with the second. The fact that Griffen's mesotomy leaves so many lines unresolved remains a major problem for his thesis.

and eight (2). The basic patterns sustaining the metre are evidently (1a) /xx/x (*Llyffan du gaflaw*); (1b) x/xx/x, as 1a, but with anacrusis (*Lletrithawc naw blwydyn*); contrasted with (2a) x/x/x (*A oreu Gwytion*) and far less common (3) x/xx/ (*gwaet gwyr hyt an clun*). This metrical backbone is facilitated by a preponderance of disyllable and trisyllable rhyme words (75% of lines) to avoid clashing stress. The rhyme changes frequently, on average one rhyme being maintained over four lines, but varying from a pair to a run of twelve lines on the same rhyme. This fairly frequent rhyme-change may have been condoned in less formal verse with more efforts being made to procure a smoother, more unified feel in poems of a higher register by continuing on one rhyme, as we see especially in the awdlau of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets.¹²² The other feature characteristic of this class of metre is the general tendency to move in couplets or over a group of even-numbered lines: this does not, however, invalidate the use of the term 'line' for the short rhymed unit. The short line is seen to have broadly the same characteristics throughout the poems of this collection. As well as being the classic 'Taliesin rap', it occurs in a range of other poems: in several of the Urien poems, some Gododdin awdlau and parts of Gwarchan Cynfelyn and Gwarchan Maeldderw, in popular religious verse, Arthurian poems such as *Pa ŵr*, as well as in many of the later poems associated with the *Ystoria Taliesin*.¹²³ We have already noted that of the court poets, only *Prydydd y Moch* uses a similar form, though treated in an idiosyncratic manner.

The second class of line is characterised by a single caesura and four accents, varying from seven to twelve syllables, with a very regular clausula or semi-fixed cadence which reinforces the rhyme as an end of line marker. Its most well-known manifestation is the *Cyhydedd Naw Ban*, as used in *Armes Prydain* where lines of nine and ten syllables predominate (89% of the total). In our collection, the four stress line is found in §1.1-7 *Prif Gyuarch Geluyd*; §8 *Golychaf-i Gulwyd*; the second part of §10 *Kadeir Kerrituen*; §12 *Kanu y Med*; §16 *Y gofeisswys byt* (Alexander 1); §18 *Preideu Annwfyn*, and §21 *Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry*. This line allows for a greater degree of ornamentation than the short line and in all our poems, internal rhyme, alliteration and assonance serve to bind the two parts of the line together; the second part is nearly always shorter than the first, comprising the four-syllable cadence already mentioned. Rhyme changes are considerably less frequent than in the case of the short line, and the overall impression is measured, stately and controlled. This metre is extremely common, used in the *Gododdin*, for formal praise and lament, and for prophecy, and in the work of the court poets of the twelfth and thirteenth century (where

¹²² Also visible, of course, in items such as *Armes Prydain*, *Marwnad Cynddylan*, PT X, etc. Of the poems using the short line, comparison may be made with PT III (4.7 lines per rhyme, but only one instance of a rhyme changing after two lines); PT IX (6 lines per rhyme); PT I (with a much higher figure of 25, essentially working on two main rhyme blocks, with generic rhyme present). The whole subject of the frequency of rhyme-change, and the nature of the rhyming words needs further investigation.

¹²³ Haycock, 'Metrical models', 168.

the line also has very many ten and eight syllables variants on the Naw Ban norm of nine).¹²⁴

The third class of line is one which corresponds in broad terms with the Cyhydedd Fer used extensively by the court poets, and found quite frequently in the Gododdin awdlau, and in some religious poems: essentially this is a tripartite line with two discernible caesura and a strong accent in each of its three parts, which are sometimes, but not always, bound by alliteration and/or rhyme. Eight syllables are common, but nine and ten are found too, as well as seven. The lines usually end in a fixed cadence of three syllables (usually x/x) as they do in the work of the court poets (e.g. §23.23 *Kanweith cyn bu lleith yn dorglwyt*).¹²⁵ The poems which use this class are §2 Buarth Beird; §3 Aduwyneu Taliessin; the first part of §10 Kadeir Kerrituen; and §23 'Cunedu' (with interspersed Toddeidiau Byr of some sort).¹²⁶ The rhupunt metre used in §22 is also a tripartite line a,b,c (rhyming a/b), similar to Echrys Ynys, and several of the religious and Scriptural items in the manuscript;¹²⁷ the two earliest examples of praise poems from the turn of the eleventh century and the early twelfth, both from south Wales, also use this metre to excellent effect.¹²⁸

The possibility of elision and pretonic syncope noted above brings us to other features which may have been used as and if required to regularise lines. Rather than the older disyllabic *bu-um* the newer contracted form *bûm* seems to be used in 25 out of 27 instances in §5 Kat Godeu (see on §5.1) although this cannot be entirely certain since the deduction rests on metrical analysis. Instances of *ma-es* versus *maes* (some identifiable by rhyme) are worth noting: see on §5.135, §8.21 and §13.15 *ma-es* versus *maes* in §11.17; also words such as *oscoes* (see on §5.103), *troet* (a diphthong in §2.33 and 34; §4.216; §5.103), *traet* (a diphthong in §8.10 and §11.6 and 18). Instances of generic consonantal or 'Irish' rhyme are not necessarily diagnostic for early dating in verse outside the court poetry corpus, as has long been acknowledged,¹²⁹ but are noted in the commentaries *passim*, as well as examples of proest rhyme.

¹²⁴ Lynch, 'Yr awdl a'i mesurau', 261-63.

¹²⁵ See Lynch, 'Yr awdl a'i mesurau', 260-61.

¹²⁶ On the latter, see J.E. Caerwyn Williams' comments in AH 210-11, and the discussion by John T. Koch, HI 192-3.

¹²⁷ E.g. CC nos 3, 9, 10, 11, 22.

¹²⁸ CBT I, poems 1 and 2.

¹²⁹ Ifor Williams, CLIH lxxxvii, 'Wrth gwrs, nid yw fod y pencerdd ar ôl 1100 yn osgoi'r math cynnar hwn o odli yn profi na allai'r cyfarwydd ei arfer ar ôl hynny'; A.O.H. Jarman, YMaTh 51 for an example in the thirteenth-century Pen3Afallennau; Kenneth Jackson, 'The date of the Old Welsh accent shift', *SC* 10/11 (1975/6), 40-53, p. 49 '... the type of rhyme unhappily christened "Irish" was often used by the early Welsh popular poets though it was eschewed by the Gogynfeirdd and later strict poets. "Irish rhyme" reappears in the popular poetry of the sixteenth and later centuries, and *trwm ac ysgafn* does so in a much higher level of poetry. Doubtless, both had existed at a less exalted level all through the intervening period'; Jenny Rowland, EWSP 334 (and 355-67 for a convincing critique of the assumption by Jackson and others that the early englyn poetry is 'popular' rather than bardic). Many late examples of generic consonantal rhyme are examined in the discussion by Jones, *Meddwl y Gynghanedd*, 338-46.

Editorial principles

The twenty-six poems are presented here in the original orthography, but with silent editorial punctuation¹³⁰ and capitalisation and word-division since J. Gwenogvryn Evans' very accurate diplomatic text can be consulted. Emendations to the text are shown in italic or within square brackets, generally keyed to the manuscript readings in the footnotes and discussed in detail in the commentaries. In general, no emendations have been implemented to regularise the length of lines (see discussion above), although such possibilities are noted in the commentaries. Translations are as close as possible to the original Welsh, and do not attempt to smooth over the many alarmingly abrupt changes of topic.

The commentaries aim to establish the most likely meaning and to explain how and why the translation is as it is. Where the meaning is ambiguous or very hard to discern, that is clearly noted rather than glossing over the problem. The commentaries also provide basic information about what is being discussed in the poem, allusions to names, places, and so on, but they are *particularly* concerned to set the linguistic features and poetic diction within the broad matrix of poetry composed up to the date of the copying of the manuscript in the first part of the fourteenth century. The comparanda are thus drawn not only from the sum of the material known as *hengerdd*, but also from the work of the court poets (c. 1096 to c. 1283)¹³¹ and their early-fourteenth-century successors. Poetic citations from these sources are not generally translated, for reasons of space, although translations are sometimes included where this is particularly helpful to the discussion. For the same reason, definitions and comments by John Lloyd-Jones in his *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gymraeg Gymraeg* [G] are given in English. It is not deemed necessary (or indeed methodologically sound) to transpose the Book of Taliesin text into an earlier orthographic guise, or to provide reconstructed texts (a practice which proceeds on definite assumptions as to meaning and date). The individual introductions serve to summarise the drift of the poems, highlighting points of especial literary and literary-historical significance. Broader questions of metrical patterns, dating and authorship, some of which are noted in the commentaries, have been addressed briefly as a whole above.

¹³⁰ The punctuation of medieval poetry manuscripts, and its significance for grammar, metrics and performance, needs a thorough and sustained examination and is not addressed in this work. Note also that generally I do not draw attention to the scribe's self-corrections (usually with the *punctum delens*); for these see Evans' diplomatic text.

¹³¹ Sometimes referred to as the CBT corpus to avoid confusion with other varieties of 'court poetry': CBT = *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*, 7 vols, general editor R. Geraint Gruffydd.

Bibliographical abbreviations and short titles

- AH *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, edited by Rachel Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (Caerdydd/Cardiff, 1978)
- Altercatio* *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi*, edited by Lloyd Daly and Walther Suchier, *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 24, nos 1-2 (Urbana, 1939)
- AP *Armes Prydein from the Book of Taliesin*, edited by Ifor Williams, English version by Rachel Bromwich, *Medieval and Modern Welsh Series* volume VI (Dublin, 1972)
- AW *The Arthur of the Welsh*, edited by Rachel Bromwich, A.O.H. Jarman and Brynley F. Roberts (Cardiff, 1991)
- B *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
- Bardos *Bardos: Penodau ar y Traddodiad Barddol Cymreig a Cheltaidd, cyflwynedig i J.E. Caerwyn Williams*, edited by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Caerdydd, 1982)
- BD *Brut Dingestow*, edited by Henry Lewis (Caerdydd, 1942)
- Bleg *Llyfr Blegywryd*, edited by Stephen J. Williams and J. Enoch Powell, second edition (Caerdydd, 1961)
- BR *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, edited by Melville Richards (Caerdydd, 1948)
- BT *The Book of Taliesin: Facsimile and Text*, edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910)
- BWP Ifor Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, edited by Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff, 1972, second edition 1980)
- ByT (Pen. 20) *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, edited by Thomas Jones (Caerdydd, 1941)
- ByT (RBH) *Brut y Tywysogyon, Red Book of Hergest Version*, edited and translated by Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1955)
- CA *Canu Aneirin*, edited by Ifor Williams (Caerdydd, 1938)
- Cane, *Personal Names* Meredith Cane, 'Personal Names of Men in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany 400-1400 AD' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2003)
- Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin 'Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin', edited by Paul Russell in WKC 552-60, referred to by line number
- Carey, *King of Mysteries* John Carey, *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin, 1998)
- CBT *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*, 7 vols, general editor R. Geraint Gruffydd (Caerdydd, 1991-6)
- CC *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar*, edited by Marged Haycock (Abertawe, 1994)
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
- CD John Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod* (Oxford, 1925)
- CHAge *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, edited by John T. Koch in collaboration with John Carey, second edition (Malden, MA, 1995)

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- ChwT Ifor Williams, *Chwedl Taliesin*, O'Donnell Lecture 1955-6 (Caerdydd, 1957)
- CIB Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology c. 400-1200*, Publications of the Philological Society, 37 (Oxford, 2003)
- CLlaLI *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, edited by Brynley F. Roberts, Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series volume VII (Dublin, 1975)
- CLIH *Canu Llywarch Hen*, edited by Ifor Williams, second edition (Caerdydd, 1953)
- CMCS *Cambridge/Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*
- CO *Culhwch and Olwen: An Edition and Study of the Oldest Arthurian Tale*, edited by Rachel Bromwich and D. Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1992)
- Collectanea Ps-B* *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, edited by Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge (Dublin, 1998)
- CPNS W.J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926; reprinted Dublin, 1986)
- CTalBB Gruffudd Fôn Gruffudd, 'Cerddi Taliesin Ben Beirdd y Gorllewin: Detholiad o Gerddi a Briodolir i Daliesin', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, Bangor, 1997)
- CyT *Cyfoeth y Testun: Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol*, edited by Iestyn Daniel, Marged Haycock, Dafydd Johnston and Jenny Rowland (Caerdydd, 2003)
- DB *Delw y Byd*, edited by Henry Lewis and P. Diverres (Caerdydd, 1928)
- Delamarre, *Dictionnaire* Xavier Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*, second edition (Paris, 2003)
- DGG² *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*, edited by Ifor Williams and Thomas Roberts, second edition (Caerdydd, 1935)
- DIL *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, 1913-76)
- DN *The Poetical Works of Dafydd Nanmor*, edited by Thomas Roberts and Ifor Williams (Cardiff and London, 1923)
- Dydd dyfydd Ifor Williams, 'Dalen o femrwn', *B* 4 (1927-9), 41-8: poem I, pp. 45-7
- EANC R.J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru*, I (Caerdydd, 1938)
- ÉC *Études celtiques*
- Echrys Ynys BT 68.5-69.8, edited and translated by Ifor Williams, 'Two poems from the Book of Taliesin: II An early Anglesey poem', in BWP 172-80; also translated and discussed by R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'A Welsh "Dark Age" court poem', in FS Mac Cana 39-48
- Edmyg Dinbych BT 42.16-44.16, edited and translated by Ifor Williams, 'Two poems from the Book of Taliesin: I 'The Praise of Tenby'', in BWP 155-72
- EEW T.H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh*, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 10 (London, 1923)
- EGOW Alexander Falileyev, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh* (Tübingen, 2000)
- EIF Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, Early Irish Law Series volume IV (Dublin, 1997)

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- EL Henry Lewis, *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1943)
- ELI Ifor Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd* (Lerpwl, reprinted 1969)
- ELISG J. Lloyd-Jones, *Enwau Lleoedd Sir Gaernarfon* (Caerdydd, 1928)
- English Riddles* Archer Taylor, *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* (1951, reprinted New York, 1977)
- EPN Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, fourth edition (Oxford, 1960)
- Etymologiae* *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, edited by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911); *Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae*, edited and translated by Stephen A. Barney *et al.* (Cambridge, 2006)
- EWGP *Early Welsh Gnostic Poems*, edited by Kenneth Jackson, second edition (Cardiff, 1961)
- EWGT *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, edited by P.C. Bartrum, (Cardiff, 1966)
- EWP *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, edited by Brynley F. Roberts (Aberystwyth, 1988)
- EWSP Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge, 1990)
- EyB Thomas Jones, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves"', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967), 97-137
- FfBO *Ffordd y Brawd Odrig*, edited by Stephen J. Williams (Caerdydd, 1929)
- FS Evans *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica, Essays in honour of D. Ellis Evans*, edited by Joseph F. Eska, R. Geraint Gruffydd and Nicolas Jacobs (Cardiff, 1995)
- FS Gruffydd *Beirdd a Thywysogion: Barddoniaeth Llys yng Nghymru, Iwerddon a'r Alban, cyflwynedig i R. Geraint Gruffydd*, edited by Morfydd E. Owen and Brynley F. Roberts (Caerdydd and Aberystwyth, 1996)
- FS Hamp *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture: A Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*, edited by A.T.E. Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (Van Nuys, 1990)
- FS Mac Cana *Ildánach, Ildírech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*, edited by John Carey, John T. Koch and Pierre-Yves Lambert (Andover and Aberystwyth, 1999)
- FS Watkins *Ieithyddiaeth Geltaidd: Celtic Linguistics. Readings in the Brythonic Languages: Festschrift for T. Arwyn Watkins*, edited by Martin J. Ball, James Fife, Erich Poppe and Jenny Rowland (Amsterdam, 1990)
- G J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1931-63)
- GBDd *Gwaith Bleddyn Ddu*, edited by R. Iestyn Daniel (Aberystwyth, 1994)
- GC *Gwaith Casnodyn*, edited by R. Iestyn Daniel (Aberystwyth, 1999)
- GDC *Gwaith Dafydd y Coed a Beirdd Eraill o Lyfr Coch Hergest*, edited by R. Iestyn Daniel (Aberystwyth, 2002)
- GDG *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, edited by Thomas Parry, second edition (Caerdydd, 1963)
- GDGor *Gwaith Dafydd Gorlech*, edited by Erwain H. Rheinallt

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- (Aberystwyth, 1997)
- GDLI** *Gwaith Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn*, edited by W. Leslie Richards (Caerdydd, 1964)
- Gereint** *Ystoria Gereint uab Erbin*, edited by Robert L. Thomson, Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series volume X (Dublin, 1997)
- Gespräch** *Das mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nebst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum)*, edited by Walther Suchier (Tübingen, 1955)
- GGDT** *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur, Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr ac Iorwerth Beli*, edited by N. G. Costigan (Bosco), R. Iestyn Daniel and Dafydd Johnston (Aberystwyth, 1995)
- GGG** *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, edited by Ifor Williams and J. Llywelyn Williams (Caerdydd, 1961)
- GGH** *Gwaith Gruffudd Hiraethog*, edited by D.J. Bowen (Caerdydd, 1990)
- GGM** *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, edited by Barry J. Lewis and Ann Parry Owen, 3 vols (Aberystwyth, 2003-7)
- GGrG** *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog ac Eraill*, edited by Rhiannon Ifans, Ann Parry Owen, W. Dyfed Rowlands and Erwain H. Rheinallt (Aberystwyth, 1997)
- GHS** *Gwaith Hywel Swardwal a'i Deulu*, edited by Dylan Foster Evans (Aberystwyth, 2000)
- GIG** *Gwaith Iolo Goch*, edited by D. R. Johnston (Caerdydd, 1988)
- GIRh** *Gwaith Ieuan ap Rhydderch*, edited by R. Iestyn Daniel (Aberystwyth, 2003)
- GLGC** *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, edited by Dafydd Johnston (Caerdydd, 1995)
- GLIBH** *Gwaith Llywelyn Brydydd Hoddnant, Dafydd ap Gwilym, Hillyn ac Eraill*, edited by Ann Parry Owen and Dylan Foster Evans (Aberystwyth, 1996)
- GLIG** *Gwaith Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen*, edited by Dafydd Johnston (Aberystwyth, 1998)
- GLM** *Gwaith Lewys Môn*, edited by Eurys I. Rowlands (Caerdydd, 1975)
- GLMorg** *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg*, edited by A. Cynfael Lake, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 2004)
- GMBr** *Gwaith Mathau Brwmffild*, edited by A. Cynfael Lake (Aberystwyth, 2002)
- GMD** *Gwaith Madog Dwygraig*, edited by Huw Meirion Edwards (Aberystwyth, 2006)
- GMW** D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1970)
- GO** *L'Œuvre poétique de Gutun Owain*, edited by É. Bachellery, 2 vols (Paris, 1950-51)
- GodA** *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark Age North Britain*, edited by John T. Koch (Cardiff, 1998)
- Gorcheston** Thomas Parry, 'Y Gorcheston', *B* 5 (1929-31), 138-40
- Gosymdaith** R1055-6, edited by Nicolas Jacobs, "'Gosymdeith Llefoet Wynebclawr": canu gwirebol o Lyfr Coch Hergest', *LIC* 27 (2004), 1-29

Bibliographical Abbreviations

GP	<i>Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid</i> , edited by G.J. Williams and E.J. Jones (Caerdydd, 1934)
GPB	<i>Gwaith Prydydd Breuan, Rhys ap Dafydd ab Einion, Hywel Ystorm, a Cherddi Dychan Eraill o Lyfr Coch Hergest</i> , edited by Huw Meirion Edwards (Aberystwyth, 2000)
GPC	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> (Caerdydd, 1950-2002)
GPC ²	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> , second edition (Caerdydd, 2003-)
Gruffydd, <i>Cerdd Lys Gynnar</i>	R. Geraint Gruffydd, ' <i>Edmyg Dinbych</i> ': <i>Cerdd Lys Gynnar o Lys Gynnar o Ddyfed</i> , Darlith Goffa J.E Caerwyn a Gwen Williams (Aberystwyth, 2002)
GSCyf	<i>Gwaith Dafydd Bach ap Madog Wladaidd 'Sypyn Cyfeiliog' a Llywelyn ab y Moel</i> , edited by R. Iestyn Daniel (Aberystwyth, 1998)
GSRh	<i>Gwaith Seftyn, Rhisierdyn, Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed a Llywelyn Bentwrch</i> , edited by Nerys Ann Jones and Erwain Haf Rheinallt (Aberystwyth, 1995)
GTA	<i>Gwaith Tudur Aled</i> , edited by T. Gwynn Jones, 2 vols (Caerdydd, 1926)
Harper, <i>Music</i>	Sally Harper, <i>Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources</i> (Aldershot, 2007)
Haycock, <i>Drink</i>	Marged Haycock, ' <i>Where Cider Ends, There Ale Begins to Reign</i> ': <i>Drink in Medieval Welsh Poetry</i> , H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures, 10 (Cambridge, 2000)
HB	<i>Historia Brittonum</i> , in <i>Nennius, British History, and the Welsh Annals</i> , edited and translated by John Morris (Chichester, 1980)
HCC	<i>The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives</i> , edited by Sioned Davies and Nerys Ann Jones (Cardiff, 1997)
H-cd	<i>Yr Hengerdd: Mynegiriau Cyflawn</i> , edited by G.R. Isaac (Aberystwyth, 2001)
HE	<i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> , edited by Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
HGC	<i>Hen Gerddi Crefyddol</i> , edited by Henry Lewis (Caerdydd, 1931)
HGK	<i>Historia Gruffud vab Kenan</i> , edited by D. Simon Evans (Caerdydd, 1977)
HI	<i>Yr Hen Iaith: Studies in Early Welsh</i> , edited by Paul Russell (Aberystwyth, 2003)
Higley, <i>Between Languages</i>	Sarah Lynn Higley, <i>Between Languages: The Uncooperative Text in Early Welsh and Old English Nature Poetry</i> (Pennsylvania, 1993)
HW	J.E. Lloyd, <i>A History of Wales</i> , 2 vols (London, 1939)
I&W	Cecile O'Rahilly, <i>Ireland and Wales: their Historical and Literary Relations</i> (London, 1924)
IEME	<i>Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe</i> , edited by Dorothy Whitelock, David N. Dumville and Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1982)
IGE ²	<i>Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill</i> , edited by Henry Lewis, Thomas Roberts and Ifor Williams, second edition (Caerdydd, repr. 1972)
Immacallam	Whitley Stokes, 'The Colloquy of the two sages [: <i>Immacallam in Dá Thuarad</i>]', <i>RC</i> 26 (1905), 4-64 and 284-5; refs. are by page number

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Ior.	<i>Llyfr Iorwerth</i> , edited by A.Rh. Wiliam (Caerdydd, 1960)
Isidore DNR	Isidore, <i>De Natura Rerum</i> , edited by Jacques Fontaine, <i>Isidore de Seville, Traité de la Nature</i> (Bordeaux, 1960)
IWMA	<i>Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages</i> , edited by Karen Jankulak and Jonathan M. Wooding (Dublin, 2007)
Juv	Juvenius manuscript (Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.4.42)
JuvTC	Helen McKee, <i>The Cambridge Juvenius Manuscript glossed in Latin, Old Welsh, and Old Irish: Text and Commentary</i> (Aberystwyth, 2000)
KPV	Stefan Schumacher, <i>Die keltischen Primärverben</i> (Innsbruck 2004)
L&P	Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen, <i>A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar</i> , second edition (Göttingen, 1961)
LBS	Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher, <i>The Lives of the British Saints</i> , 4 vols (London, 1907-13)
LEWP	Ifor Williams, <i>Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry</i> (Dublin, 1944, repr. 1970)
Lexique	<i>Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien</i> , edited by J. Vendryes et al. (Dublin and Paris, 1959-)
LHEB	Kenneth H. Jackson, <i>Language and History in Early Britain</i> (Edinburgh, 1953)
LL	[Liber Landavensis] <i>The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv</i> , edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhÿs (Oxford, 1893)
LIA	<i>The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi</i> , edited by J. Morris Jones and John Rhÿs (Oxford, 1894)
LIC	<i>Llên Cymru</i>
LIDC	<i>Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin</i> , edited by A.O.H. Jarman (Caerdydd, 1982)
LIDW	<i>Llyvyr Du or Weun: Facsimile of the Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws</i> , edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Llanbedrog, 1899)
Marwnad Cynddylan	Marwnad Cynddylan, edited and translated by Jenny Rowland, in EWSP 174-89.
Moliant Cadwallon	Moliant Cadwallon, edited and translated by R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Canu Cadwallon ap Cadfan', in AH 25-42, pp. 29-30.
MvM	W.J. Gruffydd, <i>Math vab Mathonwy</i> (Cardiff, 1928)
MWM	Daniel Huws, <i>Medieval Welsh Manuscripts</i> (Cardiff and Aberystwyth, 2000)
Myv	<i>The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales</i> , edited by Owen Jones, Edward Williams and William Owen Pughe, second edition (Denbigh, 1870)
NLWJ	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
Owein	<i>Owein</i> , edited by R.L. Thomson, Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series volume VII (Dublin, 1968)
Owen, TrArbennig	Morfydd E. Owen, 'Y Trioedd Arbennig', B 24 (1970-2), 434-50
PBT	<i>Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin</i> , edited and translated by Marged Haycock (in preparation). References by poem and line number (see Conspectus in this volume)
Peirian Faban	'Peirian Vaban' [from Peniarth 50], edited by A.O.H. Jarman, B 14 (1950-52), 104-8. References by line number

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Pen3Afallennau	Ifor Williams, 'Y Cyfoesi a'r Afallennau yn Peniarth 3', <i>B</i> 4 (1927-9), 112-29. References by page and line
Pen3Cyfoesi	as above
Pen3Oianau	as above
<i>Peredur</i>	<i>Historia Peredur vab Efracw</i> , edited by Glenys Witchard Goetinck (Caerdydd, 1976)
PKM	<i>Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi</i> , edited by Ifor Williams, second edition (Caerdydd, 1951)
PL	Patrologia Latina
PSol&Sat	<i>The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus</i> , edited from the British Library manuscripts with Commentary, by James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill, McMaster Old English Studies and Texts, 1 (Toronto, 1982)
PT	<i>The Poems of Taliesin</i> , edited by Ifor Williams, translated and revised by J.E. Caerwyn Williams, Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series volume III (Dublin, 1968)
R	<i>The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest</i> , edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, (Llanbedrog, 1911)
RBB	<i>The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest</i> , edited by John Rhŷs and J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1890)
RC	<i>Revue celtique</i>
SBCHP	Peter Schrijver, <i>Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology</i> (Amsterdam, 1995)
SC	<i>Studia Celtica</i>
Tal	John Morris-Jones, 'Taliesin', <i>Y Cymmrodor</i> 28 (1918)
TC	T.J. Morgan, <i>Y Treigladau a'u Cystrawen</i> (Caerdydd, 1952)
TWS	Elissa R. Henken, <i>Traditions of the Welsh Saints</i> (Cambridge, 1987)
Tymhorau	'An early Welsh seasonal poem', edited by Graham C.G. Thomas, <i>B</i> 34 (1987), 61-5
TYP ³	<i>Trioedd Ynys Prydein</i> , edited by Rachel Bromwich, third edition (Cardiff, 2006)
VGFC	<i>Vita Griffini Filii Conani: The Medieval Latin Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan</i> , edited by Paul Russell (Cardiff, 2005)
VKG	Holger Pedersen, <i>Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen</i> , 2 vols (Göttingen, 1909-13)
VM	<i>Life of Merlin: Geoffrey of Monmouth, Vita Merlini</i> , edited by Basil Clarke (Cardiff, 1973)
VSb	<i>Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae</i> , edited by A.W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff, 1944)
WAL	Roger Sherman Loomis, <i>Wales and the Arthurian Legend</i> (Cardiff, 1956)
WBot.	Hugh Davies, <i>Welsh Botany</i> (London, 1813)
WCD	Peter C. Bartrum, <i>A Welsh Classical Dictionary</i> (Aberystwyth, 1993)
WG	J. Morris Jones, <i>A Welsh Grammar</i> (Oxford, 1913)
<i>WHR</i>	<i>Welsh History Review</i>
WKC	<i>The Welsh King and his Court</i> , edited by T.M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen and Paul Russell (Cardiff, 2000)
WLW	<i>The Welsh Law of Women: Studies presented to Daniel A. Binchy</i> ,

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- Wright, *Irish Tradition* edited by Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen (Cardiff, 1980)
Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1993)
- YB *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*
- YCM *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, edited by Stephen J. Williams (Caerdydd, 1930)
- YMaTh *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, edited by A.O.H. Jarman (Caerdydd, 1951, repr. 1967)
- YPaCh *Ymryson Edmwnd Prys a Wiliam Cynwal*, edited by Gruffydd Aled Williams (Caerdydd, 1986)
- YT *Ystoria Taliesin*, edited by Patrick K. Ford (Cardiff, 1992)
- ZcP *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*

1 Prif Gyuarch Geluyd

The first poem in the Book of Taliesin is incomplete, but by happy fortune the beginning can be supplied from the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College MS 111). The relationship between the two texts and the two manuscripts is examined below. Despite some very corrupt lines, and a smattering of Latin and possibly Middle English words and phrases, the main drift of the poem is reasonably clear, and four strands, paralleled elsewhere in the collection, can be discerned. The most evident of these is the speaking persona's assertion of knowledge, presented as a volley of unanswered questions in the first half of the poem, between lines 1-42. This section begins with enquiries arising from the bare account of Creation in Genesis — darkness and light, the foundations of the Earth, night and day, and the making of Adam. These were staples of the question-and-answer collections sometimes known as *Joca Monachorum* (the Monks' Jokes or Trivia) circulating in Latin from at least the eighth century, and found in most of the European vernaculars from Poland to Iceland by the later Middle Ages. Such questions are also explored in related wisdom-texts cast in colloquy form between sages such as Adrian and Epictetus, or Solomon and Saturn.¹ Also paralleled in this body of material is the curiosity about statistics (for example, the measure of Hell, the thickness of its veil, the extent of its maw, the size of its baths (lines 28-31)), and about shadowy figures in Scripture — who acted as Christ's confessor? (lines 24-5); who was the porter of heaven? (line 23). Other questions show a preoccupation with the movements of the ocean waters and the effects of winds, both evident in other poems in this collection, and an interest in the colouring of birds such as the eagle and greenfinch. The nature and density of the questions of this section may be compared especially with poems §4 Angar Kyfundawt, §6 Mabgyfreu Taliessin, and the last sections of §18 Preideu Annwfn.

Secondly, there is an strong undertow of vague political prophecy which mentions Angles, Irish, the mixed-blood Viking Irish (*Gallwydel*), ships on the sea-flood, rumours of vengeance on the Saxons, reaping the enemy around the River Severn, the ocean-going Britons (*marini Brython*) ranged against the fierce *Ffichti* sea-rovers, the lamentations of the Welsh, a possible yearning for a deliverer (see lines 8-9 and 67), and an urgent prayer to the Trinity to rid the land

¹ Walther Suchier, *Das Mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nebst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum)* (Tübingen, 1955); Walther Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage: das Gespräch des Kaisers Hadrian mit dem klugen Kinde Epitus*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 24 (Dresden, 1910); J.E. Cross and T.D. Hill, *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus* (Toronto, 1982). A wide range of question-and-answer material and trivia literature is surveyed in Martha Bayless' chapter, 'The Collectanea [Pseudo-Bedae] and medieval dialogues and riddles', in *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, edited by Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge (Dublin, 1998), 13-24, and in *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi*, edited by Lloyd Daly and Walther Suchier (Urbana, 1939), 11-44.

of the foreigners. The discourse and diction correspond quite closely to other vaticinary poems, as noted in the commentary; another common feature is a more generalised picture of a 'world upside-down', its social chaos — with drunken revelry, lawlessness, loss of rights, and false poets in the ascendant — presaging an even worse cataclysm to come. This, in turn, coalesces with the third theme of the impending Day of Judgment, with a warning (lines 56-7) that the Welsh have lost God's favour.

The final strand involves Taliesin's imagined opponents, interrogated and castigated by turns. Early in the poem, those in orders (either monks or clerics, line 5) are characterised by their mental indolence, with the *plwyf offeireit*, 'priests of the people' seemingly in danger of forfeiting their hopes of Heaven (line 7). The mumbling friar or brother in his fraternity (line 91-3) appears to be an incompetent, 'sowing wide', but not reaping; the English speech of such personnel may perhaps be mimicked in line 74, although there is considerable uncertainty about the interpretation of that line, as there is with the Latin passages in lines 43-6, and particularly line 78.² There is also antagonism towards 'haughty convoluted poets' who compose 'false verse' and who threaten the prerogatives, the mead vessels and rewards which should be reserved for genuine practitioners. By contrast, Taliesin — here calling himself Gwion (line 84) — is 'a leader, a sage in contest', one who has been with skilled men, in the company of Math, Lleu, Gwydion and other members of the family of Dôn (Gofannon, Eufydd and Elestron). He is both old and new. Not only is he endowed with wide-ranging knowledge (from the springs on the heights of Mount Sion to the slime of the ocean depths), but he has the sense, the wit (*synhwyr*) to win for himself the foremost drink of honour.

These elements combine to create a fast-moving poem that uses several metrical patterns discussed in more detail in the General Introduction. Lines 8-72 use the short line without a caesura, the commonest of the metres in this collection. Lines 1-7 use the long line with a clear caesura after the fifth syllable: this too is a common metre, used for example throughout *Armes Prydain*. Lines 79-101, typically between seven and nine syllables, and clearly tripartite, use a somewhat rather less familiar metre, also found in other Book of Taliesin poems. Irregular rhymes and line structures are all noted in the commentary. It would be unwise to assume that the three different metres indicate that the poem was constructed from disparate fragments, especially since combining metres becomes a regular feature in verse from at least the twelfth century. Finally, as with the other poems in the collection, the poem makes best 'sense' if understood to be declaimed by someone acting as Taliesin; perhaps 'his' performance was imagined as being set in the distant past, possibly at Maelgwn Gwynedd's court at Degannwy, but this would in no way rule out allusions to patently 'later' events such as the Viking or Saxon incursions, since prophecy was evidently a

² Latin also features in the first of the two penitential poems which follow it in the manuscript (see General Introduction, 5). For a translation and discussion of the Latin sequence at BT 6.17-7.1, see CC 248-9 and 256-7.

potent component of his repertoire. Such a performance could also make reference to matters of concern or current interest to the audience, perhaps in the case of this poem, expressing a suspicion of the mendicant orders who were to secure an established footing in some urban centres in Wales during the course of the thirteenth century.

As explained in the General Introduction, 1, the Book of Taliesin is now incomplete, showing extensive wear on its outer pages. We know that a folio at the beginning and middle (and possibly quires), and a quire at the end, were already wanting in the seventeenth century when Dr John Davies, the antiquary and lexicographer of Mallwyd, made a copy of what survives (BT 3-80). BT 3 (f. 1r) begins *gan iewyd gan elestron* and the text continues until BT 3.24 *ry brynhwynt wlat Nef, adef goreu*, 'may they secure the land of Heaven, the best dwelling-place', a common sentiment at the end of a poem. At that point a new poem entitled *Marwnat y Vil Feib* 'Elegy for the Thousand Sons' is announced, although it is very likely that that poem, a litany of saints and martyrs, properly begins on the next page, at BT 4.13 *Ebestyl a'r merthyri*.³ The preceding section of material from BT 3.25-4.12 beginning *Archaf wedi yr Trindawt* forms a short penitential poem whose diction and lexicon may be compared with that of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets.⁴ Another short penitential poem, not unlike the 'death-bed' mode adopted elsewhere,⁵ can be discerned in BT 3.12-24.⁶ That text poses especial problems since Latin glosses or comments — some drawing on Psalm 24 — have been incorporated into the text at some earlier stage in its transmission. Our poem is regarded here as ending at BT 3.12 *nac erwyn-ti hedwch, ny'th vi*.

The acephalous text which commences *gan iewyd gan elestron* (line 81) can be augmented by a very similar text in the Red Book of Hergest (c. 1400), cols. 1054.1 to 1055.14. This duplication in itself is unusual for a Book of Taliesin item — only the prophecy *Rydyrchafwy Duw ar plwyff Brython* (PBT poem 6), and *Kanu y Gwynt* (poem §11), and the last section of *Edmyg Dinbych* (also prophetic in nature) are found in other medieval manuscripts.⁷ In the Red Book, Prif Gyuarch Geluyd stands at the very end of a group of mainly prophetic poems,⁸ between a block of saga englynion and *Gosymdaith Llefoed*

³ CC 246-66 (poem 24).

⁴ CC 165-9 (poem 19).

⁵ See CBT I, poem 4, discussed by Nerys Ann Jones, 'Marwysgafyn Veilyr Brydyt: deathbed poem?', *CMCS*, 47 (2004), 17-39.

⁶ CC 151-5.

⁷ John Jones' copy of the first, in Peniarth 111, was made c. 1611 from a medieval exemplar: see Ifor Williams, 'Dalen o femrwn', *B* 4 (1927-9), 41-8, and Graham C.G. Thomas, 'Dryll o hen lyfr ysgrifen', *B* 23 (1968-70), 309-16. In 1640 he copied into Peniarth 113 a text of *Kanu y Gwynt* not from the Book of Taliesin, but from the similar text in Peniarth 50: see introduction to §11. On the last portion of *Edmyg Dinbych*, also in the Black Book of Carmarthen c. 1225-50, see LIDC xlii-iii.

⁸ Edited by Manon Bonner Williams (née Jenkins), 'Aspects of the Welsh Prophetic Verse Tradition in the Middle Ages' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1990).

Wynebclawr (a versified series of gnomes and proverbs).⁹ After copying this item, the scribe left the remaining half of f. 263r blank. An extensive collection of proverbs then follows in a separate quire.¹⁰ The sequence is shown below:

Llywelyn a Gwrnerth (religious)¹¹ 1026.27
 nature verse and gnomes
 Canu Llywarch and Canu Urien
 Geraint
 Cadwallon englynion
 Canu Heledd
 Anrec Vryen 1049.7-1050.6
 Mal rot yn troi 1050.7-23
 Moch daw byt yn gryt 1050.25-1051.3
 Llynghes Von dirion 1051.5-29
 Crist Iessu llwyr uedu 1051.31-1053.15
 Mor yw gwael gwelet 1053.17- 42
 *Prif gyuarth geluyd 1054.1-1055.14
 Gossymdeith Llefoet Wynebclawr 1055.15-1056.42
 blank
 Proverbs 1057-84 (separate quire)
 religious verse

All this material was copied by Hywel Fychan, the scribe who copied the vast bulk of the literary texts of the Red Book. But as Daniel Huws observed, it was not Hywel who added the attribution of the prophetic block to *Taliessin* (col. 1049.7), but Sir John Pryse in the sixteenth century. Pryse not only copied items from the manuscript into his miscellany Balliol 353 (c. 1550) and used quotations in his *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*, but he also wrote an array of titles, attributions and notes in the Red Book itself.¹² He attributed the religious verse following the proverbs (col. 1043 ff.) to Taliesin (*Kanyeu y duw o waith Taliessin*), a statement corrected by Dr John Davies who was able to provide authoritative attributions to Elidir Sais, Meilyr ap Gwalchmai, Madog ap Gwallter, Einion ap Gwalchmai and Llywelyn Fardd.¹³

It is possible that the whole block of prophetic material in the Red Book, beginning with *Anrec Vryen* and ending with *Prif Gyuarth Geluyd* line 80, was contained in a quire (or part of a quire), now lost, which formed part of what preceded the Book of Taliesin as we know it today. There is a concentration of prophetic material towards the end of the Book of Taliesin, and this was evidently continued in a further quire or quires, also lost. While it is conceivable

⁹ Edited by Nicolas Jacobs, "'Gossymdeith Llefoet Wynebclawr": canu gwirebol o Lyfr Coch Hergest', *LIC* 27 (2004), 1-29.

¹⁰ See Richard Glyn Roberts, 'Madwaith Hen Gyrys o lâl' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, Bangor, 2005).

¹¹ CC 338-48 (poem 32).

¹² MWM 24-8

¹³ MWM 28. Davies does not emend Pryse's title *Divregwawt Taliessin* (R1154, edited in CC 349-65, where the date of the title of the poem at CC p. 349 needs to be corrected to 'unfed ganrif ar bymtheg').

that part of the compiler's intention may have been to give unity to his collection by beginning and ending with blocks of prophecy, the fact that he has placed vaticinations such as *Glaswawt Taliessin* (BT 30-31) and *Armes Prydein Vawr* (BT 13-18) apart from the others argues against such a straightforward ordering of the manuscript contents.¹⁴

Lines 81-101 of the present poem indicate that there is a very close relationship between the Book of Taliesin and the Red Book texts: there is nothing in the Red Book copy which suggests an independent source.¹⁵ At first sight, is most unlikely that Hywel Fychan was copying directly from the Book of Taliesin: the Red Book *omnium gatherum* would surely have taken advantage of the rest of its poems, with an eye to its commissioning patron, Hopcyn ap Tomas, and his keen interest in prophecy and international learning.¹⁶ It may conceivably have been part of Hywel Fychan's plan to include such material, perhaps in the folios or parts of folios left blank in quires 22 and 23 (six in total, i.e. 24 columns of text) that were subsequently cut out. But he would have required a total of about 14 folios to accommodate the rest of the Book of Taliesin as it stands, and would therefore have needed an extra quire of twelve as well as the blanks he had left. Alternatively, Hywel Fychan may have realised that the rest of the Book of Taliesin material was not required in this particular collection, since it was already in Hopcyn ap Tomas' library. Going a little further, we can speculate that Hopcyn ap Tomas actually owned the Book of Taliesin, already well-used and missing its first folio (and preceding quire(s), and that he had succeeded in tracking down a text (the exemplar of the Book of Taliesin, perhaps) to fill the lacuna in the first poem. On balance it seems unlikely that the interlock of the text in the two manuscripts is a mere coincidence. Further circumstantial evidence to support this might include the fact that some items of Hopcyn's library — including the Red Books of Hergest and Talgarth — found their way to Hergest, near Kington (via another branch of the Fychan family in Tretower), very near the area where the Book of Taliesin comes to light.¹⁷

¹⁴ See *Conspectus* for the grouping of the poems.

¹⁵ This is also true of the penitential poem, see CC 151-5.

¹⁶ Witness the prominence given to Myrddin's prophecies, placed next to Proffwydoliaeth Sibli Ddoeth, the translation of the Tiburtine Sibyl material: Haycock, '*Sy abl fodd, Sibli fain: Sibyl in medieval Wales*', *CSANA Yearbook* 3-4 (2005), 115-30, at p. 119, and n.25.

¹⁷ See General Introduction.

I Prif Gyuarch Geluyd

Lines 1-79 supplied from Red Book of Hergest, col. 1054

Lines 80-101 Book of Taliesin 3.1-24

Prif gyuarch geluyd — pan ry leat?
The first artful bidding — where could it be read?
Pwy kynt, ae tywyll ae goleuat?
Which one comes first — darkness or light?

Neu Adaf, pan vu? pa dyd y creat?
Where did Adam come from? what day was he created?

Neu y dan tytwet — pyar¹ y seilyat?
What was the layer under the earth founded upon?

5 **A uo lleion nys myn pwyllat;**
He who'd be in orders does not want to think seriously;
est qui peccator am niuereit
with many a sinner [among them],
collawnt gwlat Nefwy plwyf offeireit.²
the priests of the people will forfeit the land of Heaven.

Bore uebin del
A early-rising youth would come
o'r ganont teirpel.
if they were to sing three . . .

10 **Eigyl, Gallwydel,**
The Angles [and] the mixed-blood Irish
gwnaont eu ryuel.
shall make war.

Pan daw nos a dyd?
Where do the day and the night come from?

pan uyd llwyd eryr?
why is an eagle grey?

pan yw tywyll nos?
why is the night dark?

15 **pan yw gwyrdd llinos?**
why is a greenfinch green?

Mor pan dyuerwyd?
Why does the sea surge?

cwd a nys gwelyd.
you don't see where it goes.

¹ ms *pyr*

² ms *offeireireit*

Yssit teir ffynnawn
There are three springs
yMynyd S'yawn;
in Mount Sion;

20 **yssit gaer garthawn**
the leavings of the fort are
a dan donn eigyawn.
beneath the ocean's wave.

Gor-ith-gyuarchawr:
You're asked:

pw y enw y porthawr?
what is the name of the porter?

Pwy vu periglawr
Who was the confessor

25 **y Uab Meir mwynuawr?**
to the bounteous Son of Mary?

Pa uessur mwynaf
What fairest measure

a oruc Adaf?
created Adam?

Pwy vessur Uffern,
What is the measure of Hell,

pw y tewet y llenn,
how thick is its veil,

30 **pw y llet y geneu,**
how wide is its mouth,

pw y meint enneinheu?
how big are its baths?

Neu ulaen gwyd ffal/wm³ —
The tops of the bare trees —

py estwng mor grwm,
what forces them to be so bent over,

neu pet anatuon
how many evils

35 **yssyd yn eu bon?**
are there [lurking] in their trunks?

Neu Leu a Gwydyon
Lleu and Gwydion —

a uuant geluydyon?
were they skilled ones?

³ ms ffaliwm

Neu a wdant lyfyryon

Do bookmen know

<>⁴ **pan daw nos a lliant,**

where the day and the tide come from,

40

pan vyd y diuant,

where their end comes from,

cwd a nos rac dyd,

where the night goes at daybreak,

pan daw nas welyd.

how does it come so that you don't see it?

Pater noster ambulo

gentis tonans in adiuuando

45

sibilem signum

rogantes fortium

Am gwiw, < ar gywyd⁵

For a fair [prize], in song,

amgeissant deu geluyd;

the two skilful ones contend;

am kyuyrdan keryd⁶

[but] concerning the hellfire [to punish] sin

50

<yt enneirch⁷ rector⁸ Douyd.

God's rector holds forth.

Y mwynyant ys ewant

Their [present] enjoyment is pleasurable

ymkaffwynt yn dirdan,

[but] they will come together in the great conflagration,

Kymry yg griduan;

the Cymry in a state of lamentation;

prouator eneit

soul[s] will be put to the test

55

rac llwyth eissyffleit.

in the face of the damned host.

Kymry prif diryeit —

The Cymry [will be] the worst of the wretches —

rann rygoll bwyait.

a group having utterly lost [God's] blessing.

⁴ ms *pa wnant*

⁵ ms *am gwiw gwiw am gwmyd*

⁶ ms *am kaer kerindan kerindyd*

⁷ ms *ry tynneirch*

⁸ ms *pector*

Gwaed hir ucheneit,
[There will be] a wail of protracted groaning,
arwyar⁹ honneit.

[and] manifest bloodshed.

60 **Dydoent gwarthuor,**
There will come — a sea of shame —

gwydueirch dy ar uor,
ships on the ocean,

Eingyl yghygor.

[and] Angles attacking.

Gwelattor arwydon

There will be seen portents

gwynyeith ar Saesson,
of vengeance on the Saxons,

65 **claudus yn syon.**

faltering our murmurs.

O rwyuannusson

From among the leaders

bydhawt penn seiron!

there shall emerge a master strategist!

Rac Ffichti¹⁰ lewon

Against the fierce sea-rovers

marini Brython.

[will be ranged] the sea-borne Britons.

70 **Ry daroganon,**

They shall prophesy

a medi heon

and reap the scattered [soldiers]

am Hafren auon.

around the River Severn.

Lladyr ffradyr¹¹ kenn amasswy

Theft by a brother with a flabby skin

Ffis amala ffur fi3 fel

.....

75 **Dyruedi Trinet tra'm oed,**

An urgent prayer to the Trinity while I may —

Creawdyr, Adonai,¹²

Creator, Lord —

⁹ ms asgwyar

¹⁰ ms ffichit

¹¹ ms ffadyr

¹² ms orohai

hur ai¹³ gentil, diff/anai¹⁴ gopell
that the foreign horde should go thus, should vanish far away.
Codigni cota gosgord mur cornu amandur.

... .. will be sent packing.

Neu bum gan wyr keluydon,
I've been with skilful men,
 80 **gan Uath Hen, gan Gouannon,**
with Math Hen, with Gofannon,

gan Iewyd, gan Elestron, [BT text begins here]

with Eufydd, with Elestron,
ry ganhymdeith achwysson.

I've been party to privileges.

Blwydyn yg Kaer Ofanhon,
For a year I've been in Caer Gofannon,

wyf hen, wyf newyd, wyf Gwion;

I'm old, I'm new, I'm Gwion;

85 **wyf llwyr, wyf synhwyr keion.**

I'm complete, I embody the sense [that secures] the first drink.

Dygofi dy hen Vrython

The established Britons will have to face

Gwydyl kyl diuerogyon,

armed pillaging Irishmen,

... medut medwon.

... and the revelry of drunkards.

Wyf bard, ny rifaf-i eillon;

I am a poet, I don't praise menials;

90 **wyf llyw, wyf syw amrysson.**

I'm a leader, I'm a sage in contest.

Syhëi ar a hëi,

[But] he would scatter wide what he'd sow,

ar a hëi nys medi¹⁵ —

[and] what he'd sow he wouldn't reap —

si ffradyr yn y fradri.

the mumbling brother in his fraternity.

Posbeird¹⁶ bronrein a dyfi,¹⁷

Haughty convoluted poets will come,

¹³ ms *huai*

¹⁴ ms *diff/anai*

¹⁵ ms *medei* with second *e* deleted

¹⁶ ms *posbeirdein*

¹⁷ ms *dyfei* with *e* deleted

- 95 **a deuhont uch medlestri,**
lording it over the mead vessels,
a ganhont gam vardoni,
composing false verse,
a geissont gyfarws nys deubi,
trying to secure a reward that they won't get,
heb gyfreith, heb reith, heb rodi.
without justice, without rights, without power to transact.
A gwedy hynny digoui
And after that, there'll come
- 100 **brithuyt a byt dyuysci;**
cataclysm and worldwide turmoil;
nac eruyn-ti hedwch, ny'th vi!
don't ask for peace because you won't get it!

- 1 **Prif gyuarch geluyd** *Cyuarch* (masc. and fem. noun) understood as a noun (meaning 'greeting, salutation, address; request, bidding' as well as 'question, challenge'), with following lenited adj. If 'the first skilful bidding/address', then perhaps referring to God's first utterance (Genesis 1:3), as in *Quid primum a Deo processit? Verbum hoc, 'Fiat lux'*, 'What first proceeded forth from God? This word: "Be light made"', *Collectanea Ps-B* 122, no. 4. But if 'question, challenge', it may be referring to the 'first artful/tricky question' posed by the poet, about light and darkness in line 2, with *pan ry leat* as a parenthesis. Lenition of *celuyd* rules out 'the prime question of the skilful one/poet'.
- 1 **pan ry leat** Interpreted as a question 'from where, how?' (see GMW 79) rather than 'when it was read'. If referring to God's utterance, the question asks where in Scripture it could be consulted, rather than asking 'from where was it read [by God]'. On the vb *llëu* 'to read; read out', see note on §6.7; the vb *llëu* 'set, position' is not impossible.
- 2 **Pwy kynt, ae tywyll ae goleuat** *Kynt* is comparative degree of adj. *cynnar*, *buan*, etc. 'Which is faster' or 'which is sooner' is possible, as would 'which is anterior'. A similar form of question in §6.29-30 *Pwy gwell y adwyt:/ ae ieuanc ae llwyt*; CBT III 29.15-16 *pwyt gynt,/ Ae flam, ae bleitlam Blerynt?* It would have been obvious from Genesis 1:2-3 that darkness preceded light. What was less clear in 1:5 was the ordering of light and darkness into the first whole day, and perhaps this is the point of the question here. Interest in another detail of the creation of light and darkness is indicated by §18.55 *Ny wdant pan yscar deweint a gwawr* (see note). Creation questions often stand at the head of question-and-answer collections: see introduction above.
- 3 **Neu Adaf pan vu** Questions about Adam's origin, his name, the day of his creation, his appearance, the length of his life, and so on, are very common in dialogue texts: see examples in PSol&Sat 66-79; YT lines 505-6 *Pa ddyn gyntta/ a orug Alfa?* 'What man did Alpha make first?' The answer to the present

question would probably have been a list of the seven, eight, or nine *pondera* or consistencies (discussed in commentaries on §5.154, §11.80, and §25.6), or else 'earth', as seen in the Welsh 'gorchestion': 'Who was buried in his mother's heart? Adam who was buried in the earth': Gorcheston 138.

Neu in lines 3 and 4 could be understood as 'or', but here understood as introducing the subject brought forward for emphasis: see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'MIW *neu, neut* as copula', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 278-85, at p. 282. Compare lines 32, 34, 36 for the same pattern; §24.1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 13, 15-19, and 21; §26.9.

- 3 **pa dyd y creat** The sixth day of Creation (Friday). Similar questions and treatments are noted by Cross and Hill, PSol&Sat 65. *Creat*, cf. §5.153; §11.2.
- 4 **neu y dan tytwet** See on line 3. Commonly used *tytwet* 'soil' e.g. of the grave, sometimes paired with *tywot*, *daear*, etc. Also 'ground, earth'.
- 4 **pyar (ms pyyr) y seilyat** The ms reading *pyyr* appears to be *py* + *yr* (GMW 77), written as *pyr* 'why' in the Book of Taliesin. However, *py ar* 'on what' (cf. §26.10 *py ar yt gwydei*) gives a much better meaning. On vb *seilyaw* and noun *seil*, see §6.67. Cf. Job 38:4-6: 'Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? . . . Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened?'. Interest in the foundations of the Earth, and its suspension in space is also evident in §6.43-4 *py gynheil magwyr/ dayar yn bresswyl*, and especially in §26 Kanu y Byt Bychan.
- 5 **A uo lleion** GPC s.v. *lleion*¹ notes this as a hapax, perhaps 'monk(s), cleric(s)', connecting it more convincingly with *lle* 'grey, pale', as in *lleian* 'nun' (see *B* 13 (1948-50), 196-7), rather than with root of vb *llëu* 'to read' (or *lle* 'place', as in denominative vb *llëu* 'to set, position, lay in place'). Part of the word may be missing (as noted by GPC) because the first part of this sort of line tends to contain five syllables.
- 5 **nys myn pwyllat** 'does not desire (*mynnu*, 3sg. pres.) [serious] thought', i.e. cannot or does not wish to address himself to meditate on these matters. See GPC s.v. *pwyllad* 'intention, intent. . . design; thought, meditation, consideration, pondering, deliberation', etc. If this is correct, it would seem to be a castigation of the mental indolence of the poet's monkish or clerical opponents, seen in other poems: see introduction above.
- 6 **Est qui peccator am niuereit** The L. *est qui* vaguely mirrors *a uo* of line 5. *Am niuereit* is treated as one word by G 'numerous', but not listed as such by GPC². See GPC² *amnifer* 'numerous host' (pl. *-oed*), used five times by Cynddelw. The line is obscure to me, unless it is connected loosely with the idea of John 8:7 'He that is without sin among you (*qui sine peccato est*), let him first cast a stone at her'. The monks or clerics, each one a sinner (*est qui peccator*), are numerous. Or else, with John 9:39-41 where Christ, himself suspected to be a sinner (*peccator*), in turn accuses the Pharisees of sin: although they profess to see, they are spiritually blind. Cf. Ecclesiastes 2:26 'For God giveth to a man that is good in his sight wisdom, and knowledge, and joy: but to the sinner he giveth travail, to gather and to heap up'. Lines 5-7 appear to censure monks or clerics for laziness of mind, sin, and possibly hypocrisy.
- 7 **collawnt gwlat nefwy plwyf offeireit (ms offeireireit)** *Collawnt* 3pl. fut., cf. AP line 8 *gwnaawnt*; PBT 8.38 (Romani kar) *pebyllyawnt*; 8.55 *nuchawnt yn eigawn* (?recte *nychawnt*); 8.61 *bydawnt lawen*; 8.62 *medhawnt*, otherwise rare in poetry. *Nefwy*, not listed by GPC, is found also in PBT 1.1 (Daronwy) *Dvw differth*

Nefwy/ rac llanw llet ofrwy, and PBT 1.8 *amgylch balch Nefwy*, where it is very likely to be a form of the name Noah; and in PBT 6.18 (*Rydyrchafwy Duw*) *yd atrefnwys nefwy yn Ard Nefon* (of Cadwallon) for which Ifor Williams suggested 'court, citadel', *B* 7 (1933-5), 30. Here a formation from *nef* 'heaven' seems suitable; the partial internal rhyme *-wy* with *plwyf* (or perhaps *plwyw*) is against dividing up into *nef* and *wy*, 3pl. pron. in apposition to *plwyf offeireit*.

- 8 **Bore uebin del** GPC *mebin* 'young boy, girl', perhaps used here (cf. *maban* in vaticination) for a promised deliverer, unless for Christ. As in §14.38 *Bran bore dewin*, it is possible to understand 'swift, early-rising', etc. but Lucifer is called 'son of the morning' in Isaiah 14:12 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!' (see on fall of Lucifer, §11.81-8).
- 9 **or ganont teirpel** The ms has *or-ganont* across end of line, with continuation mark. Understood as *o + ry + canont*, 3pl. pres. subjunct. (with G, who also notes this example s.v. *geni* 'to produce, give birth'). *Teirpel* is a mystery: *pel* 'ball, orb', is difficult to accommodate (either as subject or object), unless it was used figuratively. Three golden balls represent the vices of adultery, pride and miserliness, thrown by devils to snare souls, in the early-17c Welsh poem based on the Travels of John Mandeville, *B* 5 (1929-31), 'Siôn Mawndfil yn Gymraeg', 287-327, pp. 323-4 (lines 950-86), but this not likely to be relevant. **Bel* 'hit' as in vb *belu* and *rhyfel*, would appear to be ruled out by the initial *p-* required, as is a loan-word from OE *bellan* 'to bellow', etc. E. *peal* (of bells), from L. *appellare* via Fr., is itself late, as is W. borrowing *apêl* 'appeal', and W. *bel* (from E. *bell*). Nevertheless, the idea of a summons by three bells seems more likely than any other explanation, perhaps rung in accompaniment to prayers for deliverance (e.g. the *De Profundis*, Psalm 130, with verse 6 'My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they watch for the morning').
- 10 **Eigyl, Gallwydel** Lists of nations are common in prophetic discourse. See G and §8.34 for other references to *Gwydel* (usually pl. *Gwydyl*, as in line 87, perhaps to be restored here for sense, with proest rather than full rhyme). *Gallwydel*, however, is an unique compound corresponding to *Gall-Goidil* 'Irish of mixed Viking and Irish blood' (GPC), and cf. *gall* 'foreign', *gallosb* 'foreign visitor'.
- 12 **Pan daw nos a dyd** Questions about the origin of day and night (as in lines 39 and 41 below; §4.149, §14.6-7) were prompted by natural curiosity as well as by the account of the Creation in Genesis (and commentaries), and questions of Scripture (such as Job 38:19 'Where is the way where light dwelleth? and as for darkness, where is the place thereof?'). An early *Loca Monachorum* example asks: *Dic mihi: nox unde uenit et dies ubi uadit?* ('Tell me: from where does the night come and where does the day go?'): Georg Baesecke, *Der Vocabularius Sti. Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission* (Halle, 1933), 5. For a later version, see *Altercatio* 120, no. 49: 'Nox unde venit et dies quo vadit, vel nubes usque quo pergunt? Nox in terram vadit et dies cum sol venit, nubes ad hoccianum cursum dirigunt in mare, et inde ex tribus fontibus in nubilibus et flumina, ex quibus in populo nascantur pluvie, quorum nomina an nonnullis recitantur perites. mare fulons erons arons'.
- 13 **pan uyd llwyt eryr** *Llwyt* 'grey, pale', etc. used of eagles LIDC 21.51, EWSP 433-4, 590, but the meaning 'old, ancient' may also be in play since the eagle, like the stag, is one of the Oldest Animals in the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen* (see G

s.v. *eryr*). 'Holy, blessed' is also possible: *llwyt* was very frequently used of saints (from the 14c, according to GPC), and the eagle was the symbol of John the Evangelist.

15 **pan yw gwyrdd llinos** Found also in §4.146 (Angar Kyfundawt), the only example of the exact duplication of the same question in two poems. The bird is likely to be the Greenfinch (*Carduelis chloris*, Llinos Werdd, also called Llinos Felen and Siencyn Cywarch), rather than the brown Linnet (*C. cannabina*). The Goldfinch (*C. carduelis*), Siskin (*C. spinus*) and Crossbill (*Loxia curvirostra*) can also have green hues. GPC s.v. *gwyrdd* suggests *llinos mor* here, but *mor* clearly belongs with line 16.

16 **Mor pan dyuerwyd** Only attestation of vb *dyferwi* 'to boil, seethe, ?foam up'.

17 **cwd a nys gwelyd** Cf. Job 38:16 'Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea? or hast thou walked in the search of the depth?' The Taliesin question is closely paralleled in the Welsh dialogue, Ymddiddan Adrian ac Epig: *P'le mae'r mor yn myned pan vo trai? I guddugle y ddaiar ag eilwaith y hwydda allan* 'Where does the sea go at ebb? To the hiding place of the earth and it surges forth again': *Gespräch* 69, no. 42.

18 **Yssit teir ffynhawn** It is uncertain whether these three fountains, springs or sources refer to famous springs on Mount Sion (see on line 19), or whether they are the same as the cosmic springs mentioned elsewhere in Welsh poetry. 'Gogonedog Arglwydd', the engaging Black Book of Carmarthen psalm of praise to the Creator, states: *A' th uendicco de teir finhaun yssit/ Due uch guint ac vn uch eluit* 'May the three fountains exalt thee — two above the wind, and one above the earth' (CC 5.5-6). Henry Lewis, HGC 109, suggested that the 'one above the earth' was the ocean, taking the two above the wind to be the sun and the moon. Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 1996), 62 and 166, thought that the third might be the wind rather than the ocean, citing the 'triad' 'wind and sun and moon' in the Irish *Litany of Creation*, in Charles Plummer (ed.), *Irish Litanies*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 62 (London, 1925), 102.

The ocean is referred to elsewhere in poetry as a *ffynhawn* 'spring' (§21.1, and conceivably in §8.50). The sun, moon, ocean and fresh water are treated together as 'four marvels' (though not called *ffynhonneu*) in CC 12.20-28. However, the Red Book of Hergest text of the poem Difregwawd Taliesin, c. 1400, elaborates thus: *Goruc dwy ffynhawn kyflawn eu da:/ Ffynhawn gwres yn awyr a heul yn y hadua,/ Ac o'r tryded ffynhawn y dyellir eigyawn attam yma* (CC 33.28-30) '[God] created two springs of perfect goodness: the spring of heat in the sky, and the sun in its course, and from (or 'by') the third spring the sea is brought towards us here'. The first two springs here are the clouds (with their warm vapour) and the sun. The third one is either some deep wellspring of the ocean or else the moon drawing the waters of the sea. The NLW Peniarth MS 53 version (after 1484), noted by Henry Lewis, has two: *Perys ddwy fynhawn gyflawn eu da,/ Fynawn gwres yn awyr a fynawn glwbwr ay tymhera,/ Fynawn gwres yn ychel heul yn y haddva/ Ar eil fynyawn y dyellir eigyawn attan ny ymma* 'He made two springs perfect their goodness: the spring of heat in the air (and a spring of moisture tempers it), the spring of heat on high — the sun in its course — and (by) the second spring the ocean is brought to us here'.

A poem by Phylip Brydydd composed for a poetic competition at the court of Rhys Ieuanc in Llanbadarn Fawr c. 1216-22 makes reference to Taliesin's bardic

feats and his supposed spheres of learning (discussed in more detail in the commentary on §4.14). CBT VI 14.33 *Rwng y prenn frwydlawn a'r teir prif ffynnawn* refers to the 'the fruitful tree' (identified with the Tree of Life by Morfydd E. Owen, p. 206) and 'the three chief fountains', but they are not elaborated on. The NLW Peniarth MS 113 version of the poem beginning *Gogwn wawd gyrru/ a gwawd difyru*, attributed to Taliesin, describes three fountains found in the napes (*yn i wegilydd*) of the many necks of the Hell monster: see Ifor Williams, 'Darnau o Ganu Taliesin', *B* 5 (1929-31), 130-4, pp. 133-4, and CTalBB 165-83 and 596-616. The phrase seems to be lifted verbatim from the passage in §5 Kat Godeu in which Taliesin grapples with this hundred-headed beast (see on §5.30-40). The garbled passage in Peniarth 113, copied from Peniarth MS 50 ('Y Cwta Cyfarwydd') reads: *Tair ffynnon y sydd/ yn i wegilydd./ morbysgawd arnaw/ a nofiant drwyddaw./ Buddlaith Buddlawn:/ Dyfrdonwy dyfrdawn./ henwer tair ffynnawn,/ o ganol eigiawn./ I/ un a chwydd heli/ pan vo'r mor ngi./ o edryd lliant/ dros foroydd difant./ yr ail yn ddinam/ a ddig . . . / pan vor glaw allan/ drwy'r awyr dylan./ y drydedd a ddawedd/ dr . . . ydded.* 'There are three fountains in its napes. Sea-fish on it swim through it. Buddlaith ('Wet Profit'), Buddlawn ('Full of Profit'), Dyfrdonwy of watery endowment [are] the names of the three fountains from the midst of the ocean. The first swells the brine when the sea . . . from the coursing (?for *edrydd* 'home, abode') of the flow over the ?vanishing seas. The second, faultless, . . . when there is rain out through the air of the ocean. The third'

Three fountains are mentioned in several corrupt Latin question-and-answer texts, but their identity is not clear, e.g. *Altercatio* 120 (and see p. 124 for Suchier's comments on this corrupt answer), and Baesecke, *Vocabularius*, p. 5, both cited on line 12 above. The Irish poem *Dúan in Chóicat Cest* contains the question *Cia hairm atát tri topair sugait muir ngairb 'na nglotain? .i. in acquilone ? haec sunt nomina eorum .i. astrafons in caelo, marefons in mare, indefons in terra* 'In what place are the three springs; they suck the rough sea into their cavity? That is in the north, and these are their names: the *astrafons* in the sky, the *marefons* in the sea, the *indefons* in the earth', Kuno Meyer, 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Texten, V', *ZcP* 4 (1902-3), 234-8, at p. 235 for Egerton MS 1782 text); text with a German translation by Hildegard L.C. Tristram, *Sex Aetates Mundi: Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren* (Heidelberg, 1985), 285-93. Charles D. Wright and Frederick M. Biggs are preparing a new edition of the poem.

Three deep floods of the ocean are also described in the Hiberno-Latin 'Altus Prosator' poem, section IX, translated by Carey, *King of Mysteries* 38-9: 'Clouds carry the wintry brine from the fountains, from the three deeper floods of the ocean, in blue waterspouts of seawater into the heights of heaven, to the profit of grain, of vines and seeds. Driven by the winds which come forth from their storehouses, they dry up the ebbing shallows of the sea'.

- 19 yMynydd S'yawn On the *teir ffynnawn* as cosmic springs, see on line 18. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry by Medieval Welsh Bards*, vol. II (Llanbedrog, 1926), 364, understood the mark as an r-abbreviation, ?*seryawn*, comparing R1051.34 *senhyon* and below line 67 *penn seiron*. This *S/seryawn* or ?*Syr(y)awn* is obscure. If it is merely an otiose strike by the Red Book scribe, or a copying of such a mark, then it may be connected with Mount Sion (Zion) which was sometimes thought to be the location of the Last Judgment (also favoured were the nearby

Vale of Jehoshaphat, or the Mount of Olives), and equated with Heaven itself. *Etymologiae* XIII.xiii.9 mentions the *fons Siloe* at the foot of Mount Zion 'which has no continuous flow of water, but bubbles forth at certain hours and days'. It was imagined that it was on the summit of Mount Zion that the assembly of the 'east of the world' was held when the Ever-new Tongue of Philip the Apostle revealed the workings of the marvels of Heaven and earth. According to *In Tenga Bithnua*, there was a renowned spring of Zion: 'It flows without rising; it always wells up to the brim on Sunday. At night it shines like beams of the sun. More radiant colours than can be told or said appear from one hour to the next. No taste of oil or wine or honey has come into the world which could not be found therein. It never ceases from flowing, [but] its outlet is found nowhere. Whoever has tasted it has not experienced sorrow or grief of mind, and has not been given over to death' (trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries* 83-4). The same text mentions a quite different spring: 'the spring of Seon in the lands of Dard [which] boils up against kin-slayers and idolators. Wrath and madness come upon any mouth which tastes of it; [he who drinks] does not speak thereafter, until he dies in sorrow and wretchedness' (Carey, *King of Mysteries* 84). It may well be that our poet has triplicated the Zion spring, perhaps under the influence of the three 'cosmic' or marine wellsprings discussed in the note on line 18. This seems more likely than a connection with *Seon*, on which see §11.91. *Seon*, used for one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gorcheston 139), is presumably a mistake there for *Geon*.

- 20 **Yssit Gaer garthawn/ adan donn eigawn** Both *Carthawn* or *Garthawn* (? < L. *Gratianus*) are unattested as proper names in MW. But if *Carthawn*, it might conceivably be < L. *Cartana*, a place at the foot of Pliny's 'Caucasus' (Hindu Kush), in a region where Alexander the Great had been active — but this is hardly *dan eigawn*, however. Carthage, very well-known as a sea port, is normally *Cartago* in MW texts, e.g. CC 24.66 (BT) *Cartago Mawr a Minor* referring to African Carthage and Carthago Spartaria, or Cartagena in Spain where Isidore of Seville had family connections (Barney, *Etymologiae* 305 n.7). His *Etymologiae* XV.i.67 describes how Cartagena had been overthrown and reduced to desolation by the Goths. It is hard to see why either of these should have thought to be *under* the sea; emendation to *ar don eigawn* (four syllables) would seem to be ruled out.

More radical would be to emend to *Garmawn* (< *Germanus*); the personal name is found in many place-names in North and Mid Wales, but there are no obvious coastal sites or marine connections. Wexford on Loch Garman, called MW *Loch/Llwch Garmawn*, is more promising: see further §4.159-60. Alternatively, *carthawn* (GPC s.v. *carth*, pl. *carthion*) 'offscourings, sweepings, offal, excrement' (*caer garthawn* would yield 'the sweepings of the fort are under the sea' — marine sewerage, effluent (?), perhaps in contrast to the fountains high up on *Mynydd Syawn* in line 19. Or *garth*, 'enclosure' (?*garthlawn* 'a fortress full of gardens', not impossible for a paradisiacal Otherworld imagined beneath the sea), or *gwarthlawn* 'full of shame' (cf. CBT III 24.152 *deurut warthlaβn*) here perhaps of an inundated kingdom like Maes Gwyddno or the Breton Ker-Is). The translation is based on the unemended text but is very uncertain.

- 22 **Gor-ith-gyuarchawr** On vb *gogyuarth*, and its simplex *cyuarth*, see note to §4.63. For comparable infixes between vb and preverb, cf. CBT I 9.109 *Kyu-ym-goluch*; I 14.81 *Er-yth-yolaf*; III 21.152 *Kyu-ym-doeth kyuoeth*,

kyu-ym-daered; III 28.35-6 *er-yth-gwynaur*./ *Er-yth-gwynant*; VI 7.17 *hand-yth-uagwyd*.

- 23 **pw y enw y porthawr** It may be that Peter, guardian of the Heavenly gate (cf. CBT I 4.26 *porthabr a gymedyr gymhes deithi*) is the 'porter' in question rather than one of the native heavies, encountered in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, the poem Pa ŵr, and elsewhere: see AW 38-9, and 64 n.32. But if the latter, conceivably possibly referring back to the *caer* of line 20 (reading *y phorthawr*), perhaps like Heaven, or Annwn, required to have a porter (*porthawr*) or watchman (*gwylyadur*) on duty. However, the following questions about Christ, Adam and the dimensions of Hell make it more likely that the heavenly gatekeeper is meant.
- 24f **pw y vu periglawr/ y Uab Meir mwynauwr** *Periglawr* (from *perigl/perygl* 'peril'), a common word for confessor or priest: see on §3.25. The answer was perhaps God himself, or John the Baptist, a figure not mentioned very often in the question-and-answer sources, but see *Gespräch* 136, no. 23a: 'Quid dedit quod non habet? Iohannes waptista' (read *baptismum*, as object). *Mwynfawr* 'rich, having treasure' qualifying the whole phrase *mab Meir*, is also used of Christ in CC 11.17 (BT).
- 26 **pa uessur mwynaf/ a oruc Adaf** Since Adam was created in God's own image (Genesis 1:26-7) according to His measure (Wisdom 11:20), his perfection was unsurpassed. Adam's perfect measure is contrasted with the infernal measurements which follow in lines 28-31. See on line 3 for Adam questions, and cf. formulations such as 'Quid est vir? Imago Dei', *Altercatio* 113. The 'measure' used by God at Creation might possibly be meant: Thomas D. Hill, 'The Measure of Hell: *Christ and Satan* 695-722', *Philological Quarterly* 60 (1981), 409-14, at p. 411. A possible echo of the idea in CBT V 17.33-4 *Gwrhydri Adaf gwrhydfferth—bieu/ Buddugawl fab Iorferth* 'Iorwerth's victorious son has the valour of Adam — of fine measure/stature', though CBT 167 understands common *gwryt* 'valour', not *gwrhyt* 'measure'. On *goruc*, see §25.5.
- 28 **Pwy vessur Uffern** Paul is told that the abyss has no measure: 'Abyssus mensuram non habet', *Visio Sancti Pauli*, ed. Theodore Silverstein (London, 1935), 154; Wright, *Irish Tradition* 134. But elsewhere it is said to be as deep as from earth to Heaven, *ibid.*, 180 n.21; Thomas D. Hill, 'The Measure of Hell: *Christ and Satan* 695-722', *Philological Quarterly* 60 (1981), 409-14, discusses the Old English passage which depicts Satan's labours measuring with his own hands the extent of Hell — 'a hundred thousand miles from the doors to the pit'. *In Tenga Bithnua* says: 'I could not [tell] before doom how great and how deep the valley of hell is. Though the swiftest and strongest-flying bird in the world were to travel it, it would hardly pass over that valley in a thousand years"', U. Nic Énri and G. MacNiocaill, 'The Second Recension of the *Evernew Tongue*', *Celtica* 9 (1971), 1-59 (p. 44, noted by Wright, *Irish Tradition* 231 n.77).
- 29 **pw y tewet y llenn** The 'veil' of Hell may refer to the boundary of water (or fire or ice); on *llenn* of death, see §6.70-71. For rhyme *-rn* with nasal, as in *Uffern/llenn*, see on §13.23.
- 30 **pw y llet y geneu** The *geneu* ('maw, jaws') refers either to the Hell mouth, or to the jaws of the Hell monster, described in Kat Godeu (§5.30-40, see commentary and introduction) in terms that recall the infernal dragon of *Visio Sancti Pauli* as well as numerous monsters in Irish and Old English sources.

- 31 **pw y meint enneinheu** The ‘baths’ are presumably the pits or rivers in which souls are tormented.
- 32 **Neu ulaen gwyd ffal/wm (ms ffaliwm)** GPC suggests emending *ffaliwm* to *ffallwm*. The meaning ‘bare’ (< *llwm*) would suit here and in LIDC 25.16-17 *mor amluc guint/ y vlaen bric guit fallum*. The first element is problematic: *ffa* ‘bean; a worthless thing’ (< L. *faba*) is not impossible (cf. GDG 136.15-16 *Ni thalai ffaen gwyrdd flaen gwýdd/ Na thafarn, eithr iaith Dofydd*). L. *fala* ‘scaffold(ing), siege-frame’ might have given W. **ffal*, with *ffallwm* then meaning ‘bare like scaffolding’. L. *folium*, not borrowed into Welsh, may have influenced the scribe. L. *follis* > W. *ffoll* ‘. . . gaping, hollow’ also lacks the required vowel. *Ffawyddden* ‘beech; fir’, a compound of *ffaw* (< L. *fagus*) + *gwydd(en)* was open to be interpreted as *ffa* + *gwydd* and may be relevant.
- 33 **py estwng mor grwm** Cf. PT XI.28 *estyngei Lloygyr*; CBT VI 6.17 *Na cheis vy ystvg, o’m estygyt,—vr*; V 26.63 *kystyngeist*; and see on §4.34.
- 34 **neu pet aneduon (ms anatuon)** G emends to *aneduon*, initially assigning the meaning ‘quiet, peace’ to LIDC 16.58 *Dec mlinet a dev ugein in ygein anetwon*. G’s correction s.v. *deddyf* is followed by GPC s.v. *anneddf* (pl. *anneddfon*) ‘lawlessness, outlawry’ (cf. CBT III 11.58) and by A.O.H. Jarman, in the glossary to LIDC, and in his translation: ‘For ten and forty years, in the wretchedness of outlawry’ (VM 235). The rhyme *bon/anetwon* in the Black Book example favours the emendation. The example by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 4.33-4 *pa hon/ Y keblynt o’r kôbyl andetfon (ms andefon)* is interpreted as pl. ‘bad morals, behaviours’, thence ‘ill, evil’ in general (V 49). Since *pet* ‘how many’ is followed by a sg. noun, the present example is likely to be sg. in sense, perhaps an outlaw or miscreant, or else a lawless deed, either of which would be suitable here.
- 35 **yssyd yn eu bon** See on line 34.
- 36 **Neu Leu a Gwydyon** BT text begins here. On *neu*, see on line 3. For *Lleu*, cf. §8.29-30 *Bum yn Kat Godeu gan Lleu a Gwydyon:/ wy a rithwys gwyd Euuyd (em.) ac Elestron*; §10.5 *Minawc ap Lleu*; §10.7 *yn llechued [Din]lleu*; §15.36 *a march Lleu, lletuegin*; possibly CBT III 21.185 *Mal pan oruyt Lleu yn llyuyr canon*, see III 277 contra GPC where *llëu* is understood). Other references to *Lleu* (Llaw Gyffes), the second son of Arianrhod and nephew (?and son) of Gwydion, whose life adventures are related in the story, *Math fab Mathonwy*, are collected and discussed by Ian Hughes, *Math Uab Mathonwy* (Aberystwyth, 2000), xxix-xxxiv. On *Gwydyon*, see §5.46.
- 37 **a uuant geluydyon** Interpreted as one of the series of questions, rather than ‘Lleu and Gwydion were skilled ones, enchanters’. See below on lines 79-81, where *Math*, *Gofannon*, *Iewyd* and *Elestron* are styled as *[g]wyr keluydon*. *Celuyd* is common in poetry as an adj. and a noun: e.g. of song, CC 1.7a (Juvencus englynion) *haraut (em.) celmed*; of poets, CC 10.16 *Kanu (em.) ohonawt, y lan Trindawt, o neb keluyd*; §4.65; §6.35 *Eilewyd keluyd*; §11.69 *Nyt kerdawr keluyd*; §14.8-9 *A wyr kerd geluyd/ py gel kal-lonyd?*; §9.60 *keluyd rwy katwo*; Echrys Ynys line 10 *Math ac Euuyd hutynt (em.) geluyd ryd eluinor* (of Taliesin, see General Introduction, 6 n.16); §2.28 *a geibyl keluyd ny meued mat (em.)*; §2.30 *a cheluydeit*; CC 21.1 *Kyvaenad keluit* (see CC 221); R1049.34 *Ny byd kerdglyt ny byd keluyd*; CBT I 2.40; II 18.24; IV 6.284 *O golofyn Prydein y prydaf—yn geluyt*; V 23.3, etc. In §10.13, *Gwydion* is styled as *keluydaf gwr a*

gigleu. Used of the interpreter of dreams: LIDC 2.2 *ys celuit ae dehogho*; of Gwenddydd's skills as interrogator, and Myrddin's prophetic prowess in R557.24 and 582.37 (Cyfoesi). Of God, his works and utterances: CC 8.4, 20; 12.19; 17.3; 33.13 and 19; CBT I 32.35; V 2.5-6 *Keluytodeu Reen ranmwyd a mi/ Megys na ranmwyd a 'm ryeni*; of skill of temporal rulers and sages, CBT V 25.6, 6.37, 4.12, etc. *Celuyd* 'skilled (poet)', in §4.90, §5.169, and see on §5.52.

38 **Neu a wdant lyfyrion** 3pl. pres. *gwybot*, cf. AP line 84; §6.48; §18.36, 39, 44 and 55; and regularly in CBT corpus (also *gwdam*, *gwdawch*). *Gwydant* in PT III.9. AP xxvi n.1, suggested emending to *lyfroryon*, the pl. of *llyfrawr* (see Thomas Jones, 'llyfrawr < librarius', *B* 11 (1941-4), 137-8), 'scribe or keeper of books; book-reader; soothsayer, sorcerer, magician'. But a nonce pl. of *llyfyr* 'book' (normally *llyfreu*) is not impossible.

39 ◊ (*ms pa wnant*) **pan daw nos a llant** Hypermetrical *pa wnant* is deleted.

41 **cwd a nos rac dyd** In dialogue texts the idea is mirrored in questions which ask rather where the day or the sun flee before the night. Cross and Hill cite examples from question-and-answer texts from the Old Irish *Tenga Bithnua* and other sources (PSol&Sat 131-4). The *Adrian and Ritheus* question and answer is: 'Tell me where the sun shines at night. I tell you, in three places; first on the belly of the whale which is called Leviathan, and, in the second period, it shines on Hell, and the third period it shines on the island which is called Glið, and the souls of holy men rest there until Doomsday'. Cf. *Collectanea Ps-B* 132 (discussed 221 with further parallels): *Dic mihi, unde fugit dies ante noctem, et nox ubi currit, et in quo loco uterque requiescit? In sole requiescit dies et in nube nox* 'Tell me, whence does the day flee before the night, and where does the night run, and in which place does each rest? The day rests in the earth and the night in the cloud'; and see further John Carey, 'The sun's night journey: a Pharaonic image in medieval Ireland', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994), 14-34.

Cw/cwt (*cw + yt*)/*cwd* (*cw + yð*) 'where, whither', common in the Book of Taliesin and elsewhere: cf. AP line 112 (3 times), 135, 136; §1.17; §4.170 and 223; §6.37; §7.7; §14.6-7; §23.19; Edmyg Dinbych line 13; CC 10.34 (twice); also EWSP 415.4b; CC 12.26 (twice); R577.12, 22 and 578.1 (Cyfoesi); Gosymdaith lines 16 and 82. Eleven examples in CBT corpus, including three by Prydydd y Moch, three by Gwernen ap Clydno, two by Dafydd Benfras, showing its poetic use into the 13c.

43ff **Pater noster ambulo . . . fortium** The text may be garbled but *tonans* is often used in Insular Latin poetry for God, and *ambulo* might imply a *Reisegebet*. Dr Marilynne E. Raybould suggests that the writer may be trying to emphasise a contrast between *tonans* and *sibilem*, 1sg. pres. subjunct. of *sibilare*, and that *gentis* might be an alternative to the more usual pl. *gentes*: 'Our Father, I thunder out (your name? your words?) as I walk along helping the people who request me to whisper the sign of the brave'. She wonders whether the speaker may have been asked for some secret/quiet indication of belief on the part of brave devotees but he in fact is bold enough to shout out his beliefs.

47 **Am gwiw (gwiw) am gwmyd** G (s.v. *amwiw*) does not favour understanding *am gwiw* as *amwiw*, not otherwise attested in medieval period (see CBT II 242 for emendation of *amwið garthan* to *am við garthan* in poem II 14.50). He suggests s.v. *cwmyð* that *am gwmyd* may conceal an original *arwyd* 'sign' (comparing

signum in the preceding Latin passage). Other words which might be relevant are *cwm* (no medieval examples of pl. *cwmyd*, however), *gwyd* 'trees', *kymyd* (3sg. pres. of vb *cymodi* 'to make peace, reconcile', ?*a'm cymyd* 'who/that is at one with me'; **amgymyd* < **amgymodi*). Here, tentatively, the line is emended to *Am gwiw ar gywyd* 'for a fair thing, in song': *am* written erroneously for *ar* under the influence of surrounding words. *Ar gywyd* could also mean 'in an ordered way'. Very uncertain.

48 **amgeissant deu geluyd** The vb form understood as *ymgeissant* (GPC 'to ask, seek; converse, contend', etc.) perhaps referring to two poets (*celuyd*) competing for a fair prize (*gwiw* used nominally). The *deu geluyd* are likely to be Llew and Gwydion, called *celuydyon* in line 37.

49 **Am kyuyrdan keryd (ms kaer kerindan kerindyd)** G s.v. *kerindan kerindyd* suggests deleting *kaer*, and either deleting *kerindan* or emending it to *amgyu(y)rdan* or *am gyfyu(r)dan*. GPC² suggests '?conversation; ?contention, ferocity' for the first, *contra* G 'heat, ferocity'; the second word *cyfrdan* means 'conflagration' (< *tan*), but also 'dissension, contention; cry of grief' (perhaps < *dan* as found in *ymdidan*, according to GPC).

G suggests also that *kerindyd* may be emended to a disyllabic word for the length of the line, which he supposes to have been five syllables, despite the hexasyllabic lines 48, 51 and 52. One can only guess at what might have been here: *keryd* 'sin, misdeed' is an obvious choice, but consider *kerennyd* 'peace, compact', *kelwyd*, etc. The translation is thus very uncertain and is based on a restored line *am kyuyrdan keryd*, with *am* connecting with the vb in line 50, and 'the fire of sin' as the infernal conflagration punishing souls for their sin. The two couplets 47-8 and 49-50 may be contrasting two kinds of utterances — involving contention for a wordly prize in the first, and a warning about hellfire in the second.

50 **yt enneirch (ms ry tynneirch) rector (ms pector) Douyd (ms dauyd)** The vb is either *annerch* 'to address' (3sg. pres. *enneirch*), with particle *yt*, *ryt*, or possibly *y'th*; or else *denneirch* 3sg. pres. of *dannerch* (rare, but cf. CBT I 9.55 *Ac yr bot a'm denneirch*; 9.109 *ban ym denneirch o bell*). CA 235's suggested emendation of *pector dauyd* > *rector Douyd*, is followed, rather than understanding *peccator* 'sinner', or a form related to *pectus*, *-oris*. On the possible significance of confusion between the letter forms *p* and *r*, see on §18.2 *py ledas* (recte *ry ledas*).

51 **Y mwynant ys ewant** G and GPC *ewant* 'pleasurable, desirable' (derived from *chwant*), a hapax. But if a variant of *euant* (*efant*), perhaps connect with element *mant* (as in *difant*, *adfant*, *gormant*), and translate 'evanescent, transitory' which would give better sense. Uncertainty remains because of the lack of end-rhyme, somewhat mitigated by *-nt* correspondence with *ymkaffwynt* in line 52. Therefore consider restoring *eban* 'spiritless, lack-lustre': 'their enjoyment is hollow'.

52 **ymkaffwynt yn dirdan** Despite ms *ym kaffwynt*, understood as 3pl. pres. subjunct. of vb *ymgaff(a)el* 'to come together, assemble' (see G).

53 **yg griduan** *Griduan* 'groaning, lamentation' used of the sinners in the face of Judgment, and the damned in Hell: e.g. CC 20.27 (Armes Dydd Brawd, BT) *Llwyth byt yg griduan*; 33.113-14 *Yn y mae ubein, yn y mae lleuein a llawer pla./ Yn y mae griduan, yn y mae poethuan heb escorua*, and also of enemies in distress.

- 54 **prouator eneit** Vb *profi* 'put to the test' (e.g. CBT V 5.10 *Glyw Prydein rwy proues*; 26.110 *Ac Echdor, pan broued*); for examples of *-ator* endings in pre-1283 poetry, see below, line 63 *gwelattor*, and examples discussed with §4.51-2.
- 55 **rac llwyth eissyffleit** The same collocation in the Day of Judgment address to the sinners, CC 20.141-2 (BT) *Nyt aruollir gwat/ gan llwyth eissyfflat* 'No excuse will be accepted from the host of the damned', and in §11.87-8 *Llucuffer llygrat,/ eissor eissyfflat*. *Eissyfflat* is a learned borrowing from L. *exsufflo*, cf. *exsufflantes* for 'accursed', and is otherwise uncommon (GPC). Since there is seepage between the diction of eschatological and secular prophecy, the poet may also be referring to the trials of the Cymry in the face of their political enemies.
- 56 **prif diryeit** Jenny Rowland remarks on the category of the *dirieit*, contrasted with the *dedwyd*, in proverbs and englyn poetry (also PBT 7.67): 'The *dedwydd* is blessed, wise, God-fearing and peaceful; his fate is good. The *diriaid* is opposite in character: perverse, foolish, sinning and quarrelsome . . . The *diriaid* is at least partially responsible for his own position. Lack of wisdom, defects in his character, sin — all lead to misfortune. He is his own worst enemy, in this world and the next' (EWSP 30-31, and further 197-200, 284). *Dirieit* rhymed with *bweyit*, as here, in LIDC 2.23-4 *Ny lluit reuuet y direid,/ Ny chenir buyeid ar ffo*.
- 57 **rann rygoll bweyit** See GPC s.v. *rhan* for range of meanings, including 'host, allotted portion, fate'. *Rygoll*, 'damned, wholly lost', cf. CBT I 3.39-40 *Gogwypo y Duw o'e diweta6d/ Nad el yn rygoll o'e holl pecha6d*. *Bweyit* (< L. *beati*) 'blessing' here rather than secondary 'psalm, mass' as in CC 28.2 *Pader a buyeid, a bendiceid Creto*; and perhaps LIDC 2.24 *Ny chenir buyeid ar ffo*. Lit. 'the host deprived of/having lost utterly (adj.) blessing'.
- 58 **Gwaed hir ucheneit** *Gwaed* 'cry, moan' (with G), although *gwaed* 'people' is also possible. *Ucheneit* rhymed with *diryeit* in Judgment scene, CBT VII 43.27-8.
- 59 **arwyar (ms asgwyar) honneit** *Asgwyar* is possibly miscopied from *arwyar* 'blood; bloody, bloodstained'; as for *ys* 'it is' is less likely. *Honneit* 'evident'.
- 60 **Dydoent gwarthuur** G s.v. *dyuot* suggests *dydoant* 'they shall come' rather than retaining *-öent* (but see GMW 129 on 3pl. pres. subjunct. in *-öent*, though not found with vb *dyuot* and its compounds). *Dydeuant* is the 3pl. indic. form used in PBT 1.18-19 (Daronwy) *Dedeuant etwaeth/ tros trei a thros traeth* (with PBT 1.28 *Dedeuho* and 1.32 *dydeuho*). A similar collocation in PBT 7.57-8 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Dedeuhant vn gynghor/ y wrthot gwarthmor* may be compared with CBT IV 2.10-12 *Kadarn gyuaruod g6rthod gwarthuur. . . Eigyl . . Lloegyr. . a llu Predein*.
- GPC emends Echrys Ynys line 13 *ny bu werthuor* to *ny bu warthuor*, 'disgrace, shame; foreign army', followed by Gruffydd (FS Mac Cana 46) who cites the suggestion in CBT IV 2.10 'sea of shame' (*gwarth + mor*); cf. CA 297. Gruffydd translates the Echrys Ynys example as 'he was no mercenary'; John T. Koch, deriving the second element from **bor*, FS Mac Cana 46-7, translates 'bearer of disgrace'. See also on hapax GPB 1.12 *gwarthfar*, translated as 'disgrace'.
- 61 **gwydueirch dy ar uor** *Gwydueirch*, lit. 'horses of wood', a kenning comparable to *meirch prenn* used to translate L. *ligneos equos* (see GPC s.v. *gwyddfarch*², and cf. *gwyddfarch*¹ 'wild horses' < *gwydd + march*, also used for 'waves'). Cf. PBT 7.80 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Dygedawr gwydueirch ar llyn*, in prophecy, as

here, and following *Kymry, Eigyl, Gwydyl, Prydyn* (cf. CBT IV 2.10, noted on line 60).

62 **Eingyl yghygor** Cf. *digyngor* rhymed with *gwarthuor*, CBT IV 2.10-11.

63 **Gwelattor arwydon** See on line 54 above.

65 **claudus yn syon** L. *claudus* 'limping, halting, lame', fig. 'wavering, untrustworthy'. Since *i* (yod) is often unrealized in the manuscript's orthography, this is conceivably *Claudius*. If *Syon* is a proper name, it is more likely to be connected with *Seon* (see on §11.91) than with *Mynydd Syawn* in line 19. But *sion*, the pl. of *si* 'whisper, rumour, murmur' (as in line 93) may have been miscopied under the influence of *Syawn*, and is understood here, though very tentatively. Is the poet referring perhaps to previous misleading or untrustworthy rumours about the fate of the Cymry which are now to be dispelled; or is he saying that the appearance of portents or signs are at first greeted with faint murmurings of disbelief?

66 **o rwyuannusson** See GPC s.v. vb *rhwyfaf: rhwyfan* 'to have dominion over, govern, lead', cf. R1053.27-9 (prophecy) *Gogonet an rann amrodes rbyuan. . . atwelir griduan*; CBT V 22.17 *Llab orthrech wrth rwyfan mordwy*; 24.12 *Yn rwyuan teulu, rwyf teuluabc*, etc. There are no other certain medieval examples of the present form, however.

67 **bydhawt penn seiron** *Seiron* is a problem since the pl. of *saer* 'craftsman' (and *pennsaer*) is invariably (*penn*)*seiri*. However, a formation by analogy with *maer* 'steward' (pl. *meiri, meirion*) might have been produced for rhyme.

68 **rac Fichti lewon** Accepting G's emendation to *Fichti*, and understanding the term as having developed (as in the term *Gwydyl Fichti*) to denote 'pirates, sea-raiders' in general, and perhaps Vikings, as explained by Gruffydd, *Cerdd Lys Gynnar* 24. GPC identifies some later examples such as GIG 17.57 as meaning 'inhabitants of Poitou' (*Pictaves*), but this is not accepted by GIG 284. ME *fighti* 'inclined to fight, warlike' is also to be considered. *Lewon* is taken as lenited *glewon* (pl. form of *glew*) rather than *llewon* 'lions, wild cats, ?lynxes' (LIDC 31.82 *lleuon* in context of *Cath Paluc*).

69 **marini Brython** The British marines, or sea-forces. Cf. *Llyr Marini*, TYP³ 421.

70 **daroganon** On early loss of final *-t* in 3pl. endings, see GMW 120.

73 **Lladyr ffradyr kenn amasswy** GPC s.v. *lladyr* '?theft or stolen property', connecting it with *lladron* 'thieves' (< L. *latrones*); but see s.v. *lleidr* for OCorn *ladar*, MBr *lazr*, etc. 'thief' probable analogical formations from pl. If so, *llad(y)r* might be construed as a comparable sg. form. Or is it a mistake for *llad* or *llaf*?

Although G (followed by GPC) is uncertain about the emendation to *ffrad(y)r*, it is accepted here, comparing line 93 *Si ffradyr yn y fradri*. This word could be a learned borrowing from L. *frater* '(religious) brother'; but EEW 72 wonders whether it might not be via E. *frater*. See further on line 93.

Kenn 'scale, skin', also used in §2.39 *mal porthi anclut ar ken*; of snakeskin CBT VII 34.10 *Yn drygwedd lliwen ken cyrph*. *Amasswy* could be divided *am asswy* adj. 'left; sinister, awkward, clumsy' and noun 'left (hand)'. *Am* 'on, around, for' etc., or preferably intensifying *am-* (cf. *amdlawd*). G suggests also a connection with *massw* ~ *masswy* (cf. *assw* ~ *asswy*) 'pleasant, mild; soft, flabby, flaccid'. Is this perhaps describing the nature, or skin or clothing (cf. *pilen*) of a cleric, monk, friar? Their habits and lack of arms at the ready are regarded with

disdain, e.g. R583.31-3 (Cyfoesi) *Ny chymeraf gymun gan ysgymun uyneich/ ac eu tbygeu ar eu clun*; §18.35 and 43. If from *asswy*, 'very sinister, awkward'. Very uncertain with no end-rhyme.

- 74 **Ffis amala ffur fi3 fel** The language is uncertain. Gwenogvryn Evans BT 82 interpreted 3 in *fi3* as a Latin contraction, but it could well be the English yogh (for its use in the Red Book of Hergest, c. 1400, see R578.31 (Cyfoesi) where *wledych* is spelt *wledy3*). The use of the symbol may have been prompted by the use of English words. Thus *ffis* may be compared with ME *fisc*, *fys* 'fish'; *fi3* 'fie!'; *fel* 'skin, pelt, parchment' or 'deceitful, sly, cruel' (and adv.); and *ffur* with *fur*, *fir* 'fire'. The last-mentioned, *ffur*, regarded by GPC as a Welsh word on the basis of OCom gloss *fur* on L. *prudens*, 'wise, prudent, learned', etc., also occurs in §9.6 *Ae fföus* (em.) *ae ffur* (see note), and possibly in §14.15. *Amala* may conceal a miscopying of *amar* 'wound, harm, disrepair; impairment; wounder' (CBT I 17.32 of harmer; V 23.31 of waves; V 30.10 of shackles, etc.), or else contain W. *mal*, or ME *mäl* 'language'. L. *amara* (*amarus* 'bitter'), *mala* 'jaw, cheek', or *mala* 'malign things' are possibly relevant. The whole line defies translation.
- 75 **Dyruedi Trinet tramoed** G s.v. *dyruedi* (?-*di*) suggests a possible connection with *gwedi* 'prayer'; if so *dirwedi* 'urgent, necessary prayer', 'a prayer offered in extremis' is possible. *Tra'm oed* '?beyond my life' or, more likely, *tra'm oed* 'while there was/would be to me' (cf. CBT I 14.27, etc.). Unrhymed.
- 76 **Adonai (ms orohai)** *Orohai* may contain L. *oro* 'I pray, beseech' if *gwedi* 'prayer' in line 75, or it may be related somehow to the exclamatory (*g*)*orohian* (?*gorohaian*), or to the weird PT VIII.44 *vnswn y drwc yieaian*, emended for rhyme to *yieaiaw*, which, according to Ifor Williams, 'looks and sounds like a battle-cry or a college yell', PT 104-5. The ending of *orohai* is orthographically irregular, but the Red Book contains several other examples of *-ai* for usual *-ei*: see WG 115; Morgan Watkin (ed.), *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn* (Caerdydd, 1958), civ; and LHEB 686-7 where the development is reckoned to have started in the late 10c or early 11c, and the full *ai* reached in the 13c or 14c. But it could be a miscopying of unfamiliar *Adonai* (four syllables in CC 2.16 *Adonäy*, but possibly a trisyllable in 33.3, a late religious poem from the Red Book of Hergest). If so, this could have triggered the *-ai* spellings in line 77 (for rhyme). This interpretation is implemented here.
- 77 **Huai gentil diffanai gspell** See above on *-ai* for *-ei*. The word may be a proper name, i.e. the stock or foreign race of Huai (Hu Gadarn, emperor of Constantinople, translating Hugo le Fort in the French *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, is unlikely, as is Hueil ap Caw: see WCD 367-8). *Hu(t)* 'thus' may be relevant, and *hut ai* (*ei*) is the basis of the translation. *Gentil* presumably related to L. *gentiles* 'belonging to same stock; foreigners', *gentilis* 'a heathen, pagan', etc. *Diffanai*, again with innovative *-ai* (rather than *-ei*) may be a miscopying of *difflannei* 'disappear, vanish, fade away, cease to exist; annihilate, destroy', etc. (see GPC s.v. *difflannaf*: *difflanu* for variants in *-ff-*). GPC s.v. *gspell* 'unusual, infrequent, strange' (following G), a guess at the meaning of this hapax form. All very uncertain.
- 78 **Codigni cota gosgord mur cornu amandur** Latin words: *condignus* 'wholly deserving, worthy'; *cornu* 'horn'; *amandur* 'is sent forth, away'. *Gosgord mur*

'bulwark of the battalion'. G suggests *cota* may be for L. *quota* 'how many, which number' or *?costa*, rather than the fem. form of W. *cwitta* 'short'.

79 **wyr keluydon** See on line 36 above.

80 **gan Uath Hen, gan Gouannon** Cf. §5.183-4 *Neu bum yn ysgor/ gan Dylan Eil Mor*; §8.29 *Bum . . gan Leu a Gwydyon*; §8.31 *Bum y gan Vran yn Iwerdon*. The adj. *hen* is used of Math by Lewys Môn, GLM 97.1-2 *Mae 'nghwyn am forwyn yn fwy/ no Math Hen fab Mathonwy*. Math is one of Taliesin's creators in §5.163 *A'm swynwys-i Vath* (see also notes on §5.169-70) and (with Eufydd) in Echrys Ynys line 10 *Math ac Euuyd hutynt (em.) geluyd ryd eluinor* 'Math and Eufydd conjured up a skilful one, an uninhibited singer'. See further on Mathonwy, PBT 1.11-3 (Daronwy) for a reference to the *huttath Vathonwy* 'the magic staff of Mathonwy'. For later Welsh references, and a discussion of the correspondence with the Irish Math mac Úmóir (*Lebor Gabála Érenn*), druid to the Tuatha Dé Danann, and with the wizard Mathgen (Matgen) (*Cath Maige Tuired*), see Ian Hughes, *Math Uab Mathonwy* (Aberystwyth, 2000), viii-xii.

Gofannon, son of Dôn, is linked by his name to Goibniu, the smith of the Tuatha Dé Danann; but see Gerard Murphy, *Duanaire Finn III* (London, 1953), lxxxiii, and Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London, 1967), 227, 380. His function in CO lines 584-7 is to set up the irons on the ploughshare. He is discussed further in §22 *Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton*, and see below on line 83 *Kaer Ofanhon*.

81 **gan lewyd, gan Elestron** The Book of Taliesin text begins here. Significant variants from the Red Book of Hergest text are discussed in the following notes. The form in R *Euuyd* tallies with the other occurrence of the name in the Book of Taliesin, Echrys Ynys line 10 *Math ac Euuyd hutynt (em.) geluyd ryd eluinor*, and it is restored in §8.29-30 *Bum yg Kat Godeu gan Llew a Gwydyon:/ Wy a rithwys gwyd eluyd (recte Euuyd) ac Elestron* (see note). The name appears in the garbled form *lenuydd* (?for *leuuydd*) in *Bonedd yr Arwyr* (Peniarth 182, c. 1514, and see further variants in EWGT 90), and possibly, mistakenly for the name of the character Gwydion, in PKM 67 (R *Ac eueyd uab don*; W *a euyd uab don*), discussed PKM 252-3 and Hughes, *Math Uab Mathonwy*, 24. Note, however, that G classes these examples under common noun *euwyð* 'stalks, stems, lichen, liverwort' (connected with *(i)eu* 'liver'). G also takes *elestron* as pl. of well-attested *elestr* 'flag, iris'. However, lines 80-81 are more likely to contain four personal names, rather than 'with Math Hen, with Gofannon, with liverwort, with irises'.

82 **ry ganhymdeith achwysson** G classes this as 1sg. pret. of vb *canhymdeith* 'to go with, accompany, keep up with, conduct', etc., rather than the vb noun, or noun 'companion, escort' (see also GPC s.v.), but one might expect *ry chanhymdeith* with non-rel. *ry*. Consider, therefore, the vb noun or noun with intensifying *ry*, 'a great accompanying of powers' (referring to the aforementioned four figures) or 'a mighty companion of powers' (referring to the poet himself). On *achwysson*, see §5.48.

83 **Yg Kaer Ofanhon** R *Kaer Gofannon*. D.M. Ellis, 'Llyn Gofannon', *B* 21 (1964-6), 147-9, would like to think, on circumstantial evidence, that the record c. 1303-4 of a fishing lake in Arfon Uwch Gwyrfaï refers to the older name of one of the two lakes in Dyffryn Nantlle. The centre of the commote of Uwch Gwyrfaï may

have been nearby in Baladeulyn, see J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Prince of Wales* (Cardiff, 1998), 230 n.204.

- 84 **wyf Gwion** On the relationship of this form, confirmed by rhyme, to the usual medieval form *Gwiawn*, see on §4.15.
- 85 **wyf llwyr wyf synhwyr keinon** See GPC *llwyr* for range of meanings including 'complete, thorough, full', etc., noting OBr *loir* glossing L. *diligens*. *Llwyr* is commonly rhymed with *synhwyr*: AP line 92; R1053.41 (prophecy) *A synhwyr ll6yr lhyfreu*; CBT I 2.49; I 11.74; II 5.1-2; VI 15.27; VII 33.25, etc. *Keinon*, if pl. and genitive here, 'I am the significance of fine things (treasures, jewels)', with G; but *keinon* is understood here as sg. 'first drink brought into the hall', cf. §8.43, §14.25. Taliesin/Gwion says he embodies the sense or sensibility which secures the prize for pre-eminence.
- 86 **Dygoffi dy hen Vrython** The Book of Taliesin reading *dy hen* (R *dyhen*) is retained, 'to the old (i.e. established) Britons there will befall, come' (on use of prep. *dy*, see on §5.107). But not impossible is *dien* 'fate, annihilation' (masc., but lenition of *Brython* as a consequence of interpretation as *dy hen*, or because it was originally direct object of vb *dyuot*). Cf. use of the vb in line 99 below; CC 8.21 (BT) *deudec dymgofu*; §3.34 *dy-m-gofyd*; PBT 5.15 (Kein Gyfedwch) *dymgöi*.
- 87 **Gwydyl kyl diuerogyon** Cf. §8.34 *a Gwydyl diefyl diferogyon*; §8.39-40 *Gwydyl a Brython a Romani/ a wnahon dyhed a dyuysci* (also LIDC 17.193-4); CBT I 5.6 *Göbytyl, dieuyl duon*, etc. *Kyl* 'armed, sharp', also in §5.142.
- 88 **medut medwon** The line lacks about three syllables, and may have contained one of the words collocated with *medut* 'revelry' and *medw*, such as *med-dawt* 'drunkenness', *meued* 'abundance', *medwawt* 'intoxicating', *medyd* '?ruler' (or another word derived from vb *medu* 'to rule') or *molut* 'praise'. Perhaps restore *a meued medut medwon* 'and an abundance of revelry by drunkards', or *medyt medut medwon* 'the revelry of drunkards (or 'revelling drunkards' — ModW *meddud feddwon*) shall be ruling' [over the Britons]. These foreign upstarts are perhaps the *eillon* 'churls' spurned by the poet in line 89.
- 89 **ny rifaf-i eillon** *Rifaw* 'praise, rate as important, consider', see CA 73 and 272; PKM 138. Cf. §19.5-6 *Ercwlff a dyweddei/ agheu nas riuei*; §23.34 *a rifaf*; CBT I 30.5 *Röyf a'm rifo*; I 31.23; III 5.8 and 49, etc. *Eillon* is used of tenants, not necessarily serfs, in a passage foretelling social upside-down disruption PBT 1.24-5 (Daronwy) *Gwaged a ui ffraeth,/ eillon a ui kaeth* 'women will be vociferous, *eillon* will be bond'. Cf. Edmyg Dinbych line 24 *noc eillon Deutraeth gwell kaeth Dyfet*, on which see Gruffydd, *Cerdd Lys Gynnar* 16. G notes how the word becomes debased to mean 'churl', a possible meaning here.
- 90 **syw amrysson** On *syw* and related words, see on §5.174. *Amrysson* (< *am* 'various, varying' or intensive + *ry* + *son*) used in general sense of 'contention; dispute' in PBT 6.27 (Rydyrchafwy Duw) *eu hamrydar a'e hamrysson*; §8.23-4 *Dodwyf Deganhwy y amrysson/ a Maelgwn uwyhaf y achwysson*; CC 30.10ch *A Duw ni thycia ymryson*; CBT VI 19.17 *fraeth amrysson—llary*. Specifically of poetic contest: CA 55 *kerd amrysson*; and *ny dele bard mynet e amrysson heb e gerd hon*; §10.11-12 *yg kyfamrysson kerdeu/ oed gwell y synhwyr no'r veu*; §2.27 *Nyt ef caraf amryssonyat*; CBT III 21.184 *goruod yn amrysson*; IV 6.237 *y gadeir ymrysson*; V 4.27-8 *wyf diamrysson/ O'r prif ueirt*. Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd's feast at Cardigan in 1176 staged two kinds of *amrysson*, with a chair for the

winner of each: one between the *beird a'r prydydyon*, and another between the harpers, crowders, pipers and various classes of string music (ByT (RBH), 166): see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Yr Arglwydd Rhys ac "Eisteddfod" Aberteifi 1176', in Nerys Ann Jones and Huw Pryce (ed.), *Yr Arglwydd Rhys* (Cardiff, 1996), 94-128. For details of a 13c *amrysson* at Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion, see CBT VI, poems 14 and 15, also discussed in note to §4.15. Here, it refers to a poetic or wisdom contest.

- 91f **Syhēy (ms syhei) ar a hēy (ms hei)/ ar a hēy (ms hei) nys medy (ms medi)** The Red Book reading *sihei* perhaps anticipates line 93 *Si ffradyr*. *Syhēi* may contain the (?intensifying) element *sy-* found in vb *syganu*, in *sybwl* (see on §14.4 *sybwl symaduant*, ?recte *symuduant*) and *syfudr* (see GPC s.vv). The vb *hēu* 'to sow' would partner vb *medi* 'to reap' in line 92, perhaps echoing Micah 6:15 'Thou shalt sow, but thou shalt not reap; thou shalt tread the olives, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil: and sweet wine, but shalt not drink wine', or another of the Biblical sow-and-reap passages, e.g. Job 4:8; John 4:37 'One soweth, and another reapeth'; II Corinthians 9:6, etc. The vb forms in both lines as they stand are 3sg. imperf. or conditional in *-i*, with a poetic opponent or the *ffradyr* of line 93 as subject. Another possibility would be to substitute 2sg. *-y* (< *-yð*, with early loss of *ð*, on which see GMW 10) in the vb forms (for a tour-de-force run of such 2sg. forms, see CBT VI, poem 26 *eddewy, cymery, byddy, rhoddy*, etc.), and if so, 'You'd scatter wide what you'd sow, [and] what you'd sow you'd not reap'.

There may be a lewd physical meaning here, but it is more likely that the vbs here are used figuratively of poetic speech, as by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 8.13-14 *Ytt heu uyg kert nac ef uid/ Mal heu rac moch meryerid* 'May not the sowing of my poetry to you be like sowing pearls before swine'). Later examples include *Heais eiriau, haul cadeiriau* (see GGrG 4.17, and n. on p. 66); see also on §14.33 *se syberw Seon*. For a different interpretation of *ar a hei*, see G s.vv. *ar(h)a* 'to amuse, to interest', and adj. 'happy, pleasant, good', etc.

- 93 **si ffradyr yn y fradri** *Si* '?hum, buzz, mumble', etc. (see GPC). See on line 73 for *ffradyr*, and GPC where it is rendered as 'friar, brother, monk', etc. and possibly 'poet of lower order, poetaster'. Possibly *siffradyr*, a close compound, 'a mumbling brother', the likely object of derision in the preceding lines. The suggestion in EEW 72, 233 that *fradri* is borrowed from ME is accepted by GPC and G.
- 94 **Posbeird** (mss BT *posbeirdein*; R *posberdein*) The manuscript readings could be a double pl. of *bard*, cf. *beirdion*, but are more likely to be from an exemplar which miscopied through anticipating *bronrein*. But see on YT forms below. GPC s.v. suggests that *pos* may be cognate with Mlr *cas(s)* 'curling, complicated' as in name of metre *cas-bairdne*, rather than a borrowing from E. *pose* ('to interrogate, perplex') which is not certainly attested until the end of the 15c. Some instances of *posfardd*, from the 15c onwards, fully documented in GPC, may show the influence of the latter. The *posfardd* is sometimes contrasted with the *prifardd* and *arwyddfardd*; he is said to be concerned with *athrawiaeth* 'learning, doctrine'. It is not certainly used in a derogatory sense until the 18c. Although it appears in a context of bardic antagonism in YT 141 (Peniarth 111 text) *Tewch chwi bosveirdd ffeilstion anhylwydd/ ni wyddoch chwi rannu rhwng gwir a chelwydd*, it does not necessarily denote an inferior grade: on the contrary, it could denote poets who were supposed to be learned, but who were not up to

the mark, as in the present example. CTalBB 570 notes the form *posfeirddiaint*, possibly derived from a reading influenced by the Book of Taliesin text or a related source.

- 95 **a deuhont** *A* may be 'and' rather than rel. pronoun (as in translation). If so, 'And there will come over the mead vessels those who compose. . . .'
- 96 **gam vardoni** *Bardoni* fairly common in CBT corpus: see on §4.74. Those who sing *cam vardoni* may be a separate category from the *posbeird bronrein* of line 94. These upstarts sing faulty, or false song if they are perpetrating a deliberate wrong (cf. force of *camfrawt* 'false judgment', *camlw*, 'false oath' etc.).
- 97 **a geissont gyfarws nys deubi** The line is unusually long with 9 syllables (cf. 8 in line 98), but is retained in the translation. Perhaps restore the line as *er* or *am gyfarws nys deubi* 'for a reward that will not come to them'. The *cyfarws* was a formal gift or payment or perquisite given by a lord to retainers, officials, poets, etc. often at special feasts, weddings, high days and holidays. Calends feasts were key in this respect (as illustrated by CA lines 294-5; Edmyg Dinbych line 4; CBT I 2.12), and in the late medieval period, the 'tair gŵyl arbennig' (Christmas, Easter and Whitsun). On the archaic roots of the wedding gift to the poet, the *cyfarws neithior*, see Proinsias Mac Cana, 'An archaism in Irish poetic tradition', *Celtica* 8 (1968), 174-81.
- 98 **heb gyfreith heb reith heb rodi** Gwynfardd Brycheiniog asks God for inspiration and unimpeded desire consistent with *kyfreith bartoni* to sing the praises of St David, CBT II 26.3. Cynddelw calls himself a *kertawr kyureith*, interpreted in CBT III, 73, as 'one whose office is acknowledged by law'. False poets currying favour are threatened with becoming disempowered under the law in general, or under the laws regulating poets' activities. *Rodi* is understood in a technical sense of a capability taken away from them — to give, bestow people, goods, land, charity, etc. — but it could refer to their being denied any *rodi* 'patronage', as in line 97.
- It is also possible to understand the line as foretelling the sort of general social disruption which features in prophetic discourse rather than specifically referring to the fate of the false practitioners. Prydydd y Moch uses a strikingly similar collocation, *Heb reith, heb gyfreith, heb gyfrad â gwann/ Na gweini Celeurad* 'without justice, without law, without charity to the weak/ nor celebrating Mass', in referring to the period of turmoil before Dafydd ab Owain, his patron, came to power in Gwynedd, c. 1174 (CBT V 1.15-16).
- 100 **brithuyt a byt dyusyci** Commonly used in prophecy: *brithuyt* 'turmoil, chaos' Pen3Afallennau 121.6-7 *dydaw ar Wyndyt brithvyt diheu/ a llynghes dros vor ac angoreu*; LIDC 17.156-7 *Ban diffon brodorion o amtiret Mon/ y holi Brithon, brithuid dybi*; 17.216-17 *A mi dysgoganaw e gvydi Henri/ breenhin na breenhin, brithwyd dybi*; R580.33-4; R1051.1 *Brithuyt a dybyd o dicter karant. Dyusyci* 'turbulence; commotion; mixed up, topsy-turvy': §8.40 *dyhed a dyusyci*; LIDC 17.36 *Ef gunahaud ryuel a difissci*; 17.40 *A mi disgoganaf e bid divisci*; and 17.194-5 *Gwital a Brithon a Romani/ a vnahont dyhet a divysci* (and cf. LIDC 17.160 *digiuysci*); in CBT corpus in battle scenes, etc.
- 101 **nac eruyn-ti hedwch, ny'th vi** Cf. R579.33-5 (Cyfoesi) *Deu ysgbydwyn Veli a dyvi y[n]aeth,/ a wnant dyusyci,/ nac eruyn (em.) hed6ch, [ny'th] vi. Eruyn* 'entreat, crave' is not very frequent in verse: EWSP 448.1; CBT II 5.35; VI

1 Prif Gyuarch Geluyd

10.93; 18.101 *eruynyad*; V 6.23 *eruyynyeid*. Also possible is rel. *ny'th* 'which will not be to you', 'which you'll not get', cf. syntax of line 97.

2 Buarth Beird

This poem is distinguished by a long list of sixteen *oferbethau*, futile or pointless activities (lines 33–49). The list is heralded by an preliminary pair (lines 15–16) and the speaker’s damning assessment of his opponents’ prospects in poetic contention (*amrysson*).¹ ‘With me pitted against them’, he warns, it will be ‘like sinking into a lake without being able to swim’ (lines 14 and 16). The moderately entertaining list of vanities gets into its stride after line 33. Naturally enough, given the agonistic context, some of these relate to martial activities: ‘as futile as going to battle without a foot’ (line 33, with antistrophe in line 34); ‘as futile as giving orders without making any sound’; ‘as hopeless as slashing out at cudgels if you’re armed only with twigs’. Others are concerned with the rural economy: the futility of looking for boars in the heather (rather than in the wood), of gathering nuts with no trees to hand, or of roofing your hall with leaves. Some are perverse acts of charity: ‘feeding the needy on lichen’, ‘showing a light to the blind’, or ‘feeding fish on milk’. While at least one is a variant on a Scriptural example — ‘like grasping the air with a hook’ (line 41) — others may draw on a stock of such sayings (as we might say ‘coals to Newcastle’). But the entertainment was bound to have been heightened if the mismatch was newly-minted, impressing the audience by its novelty and inventiveness.

The characterisation of the opposition as laughable and incompetent can only be related in very broad terms to the various poetic modes of defamation which become increasingly evident in the Welsh manuscript record from the fourteenth century. Misers, malefactors, low-grade clerics and transgressive women were subject to public humiliation, usually through grotesque descriptions of their diseased, distorted and suppurating persons, but often through contamination by coarse foodstuffs, especially dairy products and cereals, human effluent, and animals such as the hedgehog, pig or goat. Other techniques included parody, and bathos, with the high register of the praise-poet — its diction, stock allusions and metaphors — being steered wilfully in an inappropriate direction. Lesser orders of poets often take a rap, but, as Dafydd Johnston and others have noted, the liveliest and cleverest *ad hominem* attacks are found in the debates between poets, and poems which had their origin in the *cyff clêr* ritual humiliations of bardic masters by lesser fry.²

¹ For *amrysson* contexts, see on §1.90, §4.15.

² The best treatment of this whole field is Dafydd Johnston, *Llên yr Uchelwyr: Hanes Beirniadol Llennyddiaeth Gymraeg 1300-1525* (Caerdydd, 2005), 375–400, with further references at p. 468. Dylan Foster Evans, ‘*Goganwr am Gig Ynyd*’: *The Poet as Satirist in Medieval Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1996), has a wealth of excellent examples, with a fine example of *dychan* edited in GLIBH poem 19. Important editions of other fourteenth-century poems include GPB and GMD; GDC poems 7–11 and 15–20; GC poems 11 and 12.

Our poem is relatively restrained with none of the baser elements of *gogan* or defamation which were to be condemned by the fourteenth-century bardic grammars. The list of futilities is the main vehicle for discomfiting the opposition, a teeming horde (of fifteen thousand!) who are bent on insulting the skilled poet (line 28). But because they are ignorant of real versecraft, they are *syn* 'gob-smacked', faltering, composing 'false' and 'futile song' (lines 31 and 2), possibly even apeing alien models (see on line 31). By contrast, the speaking Taliesin figure vaunts his status and authority, which in this particular poem is based above all on skilled craft, declamation, and intellectual powers. His occult knowledge is nevertheless implied by the terms *dryw* and *syw* (line 9) and signalled by his ability to change form (lines 10 and 23), although these aspects are not as evident as in some of the other poems in this collection. His mastery is emphasised by the relentless blows of his vaunt (as in the rapid fire *wyf. . . wyf* in lines 8-11), and his display of a specific genre — in this case the 'futile things', contrasting with other poems which showcase other genres such as questions (§§1 and 4), 'favourite things' (§3), traditional lists (§§15 and 25), or riddles (§§11 and 26). A further element worth noting is the passage in lines 17-22 which seems to imply that despite the present threats (symbolised by the advancing flood-tide), God's refuge will remain unmoved, promising eternal bliss — perhaps to be anticipated by the favours and intoxications on offer at the secular court for the victors in the poetic contention.

The metre is given unity by the very regular clausula of four syllables, with a more fluid section of three or four syllables before the caesura; this first section is usually linked to the clausula by internal rhyme, alliteration or assonance. Almost half the lines rhyme in monosyllables.

2 Buarth Beird

Book of Taliesin 7.12-8.20

Ed ympeilli ⁊ ympwyllat
There was a shake-up and a pause for thought
y veird Brython prydest ofer.
for the poets of the Britons with their futile songs.

Ym ryorsseu ym ryorsed
With my great standing and great status
digawn gofal y gofangord,
that discomfit the host engaged in versecraft,

5 wyf eissygpren kyfyg ar gerd.
I'm a tough scourge on the art of poetry.

Buarth beird ar nys gwypo,
[In the] rendezvous of poets — those who don't know [their craft] —
pymtheg mil o¹ yn y gymhwysaw.
there are fifteen thousand trying to get it into shape.

Wyf kerdolyat, wyf keinyat claer;
I'm a craftsman, I'm a radiant singer;
wyf dur, wyf dryw, wyf syw, wyf saer;²
I'm as hard as steel, I'm a wizard, I'm a sage, I'm a craftsman;

10 wyf sarff, wyf serch, yd ymgestaf,
I'm a serpent, I am desire, I eat voraciously,
nyt wyf vard syn, nyt aryfreidaf:³
I'm not a stunned poet, I don't falter:

pan gan keinyeit canu ygof⁴
when singers sing their songs near me
nyt ef wnaant⁵ wy ryfed vchof.⁶
they'll not create a better splash than me.

Handit a mi eu herbynyaw
With me opposing them, it is
15 mal aruoll dillat heb law,
like receiving clothes with no hands;

¹ ms drostaw

² ms wyf saer wyf syw

³ ms yn aryfreidaw

⁴ ms yg kof

⁵ ms wnaft

⁶ ms vchon

val ymsawd yn llyn heb naw.

like sinking into a lake without being able to swim.

Tyruir⁷ aches ehofyn y grad

The flood-tide thunders with its fearless advance,

uchel y gwaed mordwy⁸ trefyd.

the sea surging with loud tumult [against] the homesteads.

Creic am wanec wrth vawr trefnat —

There is a Rock beyond the wave, according to [God's] great plan —

20 **anclut yscryt⁹ escar nodyat —**

[while] the refuge of the enemy is a forlorn place of terror —

creic pen perchen pennaf¹⁰ ygnat,

the Rock of the foremost Ruler, the supreme judge,

y'n gwna medut med·dawt meidat.¹¹

where the intoxication provided by the ruler will bring pleasure to us.

Wyf kell, wyf dellt, wyf datweirlet;

I'm a cell, I'm fragmented, I change my form;

wyf llogell kerd, wyf lle ynnyet.

I'm a repository of song, I'm a dynamic state.

25 **Karaf-y gorwyd a goreil clyt,**

I love a wooded slope and a snug shelter,

a bard a bryt ny pryn y ret.

and a creative poet who doesn't [merely] buy his advancement.

Nyt ef caraf amryssoniat:

[But] I do not love the type who engages in contention:

a geibyl keluyd ny meued mat.¹²

he who insults a skilled poet will have nothing good.

Madws mynet yr ymdiot

It's high time to go to contend

30 **a cheluydeit am geluydyt**

in artistry with the experts

a cham clwm kystwm kywlat!

with the false composition that's the custom of the foe!

Bugeil broed porthloed, neirthyat,

O shepherd of the lands, refuge, sustainer,

⁷ ms tyru

⁸ ms mordwyt

⁹ ms anclut yscryt

¹⁰ ms pen anygnat

¹¹ ms medyd

¹² ms med

- mal ymdeith heb troet y gat,**
[it would be] like marching to battle without a foot,
yr¹³ vynnei ymdeith heb troet,
wanting to march without a foot,
 35 **yr¹⁴ vagei kneuha heb goet;**
sustaining nut-gathering without any trees;
mal keissaw bydueid yg gruc,
[it would be] like looking for foraging boars in the heather,
mal peireint anreith yn uut;
like commands to pillage, [issued] without any sound;
mal gosgord lluyd heb pen;
like an army of troops without a leader;
mal porthi anclut ar ken;
like feeding the needy on lichen;
 40 **mal grynnyaw tyndei o vroch;¹⁵**
like a badger clearing away ruins;
mal haedu awyr a bach;
like grasping the air with a hook;
mal eirach a gwaet yscall;
like being sparing with the blood of thistles;
mal gwneuthur goleu y dall;
like showing a light to the blind;
mal docni dillat y noeth;
like apportioning clothes to the naked;
 45 **mal tannu engwyn ar traeth;**
like spreading out buttermilk on the strand;
mal porthi pyscawt ar laeth;
like feeding fishes on milk;
mal tõi neuad a deil;
like roofing a hall with leaves;
mal lladu llyry a gweil;
like slashing at cudgels with twigs,
mal todi Dyfet rac geir.
like the way the Dyfed men elide [sounds] in front of words.
 50 **Wyf bard neuad, wyf kyw kadeir;**
I'm a poet in the hall, I'm a chaired prodigy,
digonaf-y veird llafar llesteir.
I cause poets to become impeded in their speech.

¹³ ms eri¹⁴ ms eri¹⁵ ms vro

Kyn vy argywrein y'm garw gyfloc,
Before being laid in my sore burial-ground,
ry prynhom-ni an lloc yth ty-di, Vab Meir.
may we secure our sanctuary in your house, O Son of Mary.

- title **Buarth beird** The poem-title in the manuscript is taken from line 6. The usual meaning of *buarth* is 'enclosure, pen' for milking cattle, and an enclosure for other beasts such as sheep and pigs, later 'courtyard, farmyard'. A looser sense, 'place of resort or assembly, rendezvous' (GPC) is likely here, perhaps for a hall or court (where drink is served and songs are heard, as in CBT I 17.2; III 5.73; IV 8.4; 9.44), a haven of poets (cf. GIG 5.45 and 8.92 *Buarth clyd i borth clêr*; *Yn Sycharth, buarth y beirdd*), and perhaps here — given the agonistic context — as a place of poetic contest too.
- 1 **Ed ympeilli 7 ympwyllat** The symbol 7 would seem to be the Tironian sign for 'and' (L. *et*), or else a contraction for the verbal ending *-et*, or a representation of repeated *ed*, i.e. preverbal particle *y(dd)*, GMW 171 (cf. examples of spellings *en* = *yn*, *e* = *y*, etc. listed in LIDC 168-9). Following this is *y'm* + vb, or a else a form of an otherwise unattested reflexive vb related to *peill(i)eit* 'bolted or fine flour; wheat flour' (cf. L. *pollis*); the vb *peillio* 'to bolt, sieve' is first attested in the 16c (GPC). *Yd ympeilliet* 'there was sifting out, refining' is possible, retaining 7 'and' for the sense, or the repeated particle *ed*. *Ympwyllat* is understood as impers. pret. 'it was considered; there was consideration, self-reflection, deliberation'. *Pwyll* and its derivatives are regularly collocated with *pell*, *pall* and these may be relevant to *ympeilli*. But the lack of end-rhyme — unless this was condoned in an opening line — makes the translation very uncertain indeed. Tal 106-7 understood line 2 as 'To the bards of the Britons (it is) inane poetry', suggesting that line 1 is apparently a quotation (of nonsense, it is implied), comparing the problematic CA line 525 *edili edili ui puillyat* (discussed CA 200 without reference to Tal 106-7).
- 2 **y veird Brython prydest ofer** See on §5.45 for *Brython*. *Beird Brython* recalls HB ch. 62 where Talhaearn Tad Awen, Aneirin, Taliesin, Blwchfardd and Cian are said to have been '[all] together at the same time renowned in British verse' (*simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt*). In pre-1283 verse, *prydest* (-d-) is only otherwise attested in the CBT corpus where it is quite common; collocated with *Prydein*, CBT IV 4.10 and VI 23.10. *Ofer* of poetry: CBT IV 18.67 *Nid ofer draethawd a rydreuthais*, and see EWSP 356-7 for discussion of the terms *oferfardd* (possible used in some instances for an amateur poet) and the *over vessureu* of the bardic grammars.
- 3 **Ym ryorsseu ym ryorsed** No other attestations of *ryorsseu*, which is perhaps a miscopying of *ryorssau* (*ryorssaf*), see GPC s.v. noun *gorsaf* 'bulwark, resistance; opposer; maintenance; defence, supporter'; and s.v. vb noun 'to oppose, stand, withstand, hold out', etc. *Ym* 'to my, in my'. GPC s.v. *gorsed* 'position, office or dignity of sovereign, etc; court, hall, assembly', collocated with *gorsaf* in CBT I 11.36-7; III 11.53-4; 14.40, etc.

- 4 **digawn gofal y gofangord** *Digawn*, 3sg. of vb *digoni* 'to cause, make', or (with G) 'enough'. *Gofan* 'work, making' is used of poetic craft by Cynddelw: CBT III 1.15 *yg gouan—uyg gwa6d*; IV 16.221 *o'm reidun ovan*. Here compounded with *cord* 'company, host'. Proest rhyme with *gerd* line 5.
- 5 **wyf eissygpren kyfyg ar gerd** *Eissygpren* understood as a rod which inflicts *eissyg* (< *eis* + *yng/ing*, cf. *eisgur*) 'pain to the heart, breast', i.e. a scourge.
- 6 **Buarth beird ar nys gwypo** See above on *buarth beird*. *Ar* is understood as demonstrative pron. (see G s.v. *ar* for examples with *ny(t)*). Cf. Edmyg Dinbych line 44 *ni dyly kelenic ny wyppo hwn*; CBT II 26.6 *Bart ny wypo h6nn, hynny dygeint*.
- 7 **pymtheg mil > (ms drostaw) yn y gymhwyssaw** The unusually long line could be regularised by omitting *drostaw*; if retained, then perhaps 'all over, across it (the *buarth*)'. The vb *cymhwyssaw* is rare in MW (see GPC 'to make suitable', etc.). Here referring to the preparation of the assembly place, or more likely the futile attempts of the poetic opposition. But because *cerd* (line 5) is a fem. noun, *y gymhwyssaw* (with lenition) as it stands cannot refer to it. However, the irregular rhyme with *gwypo* suggests that the line may well have been *pymtheg mil ae cymhwysso* (subject + rel. pronoun + infixed pron. + 3sg. pres. subjunct.), giving a regular clausula of four syllables with rhyme, and resolving the problem of lenited *cymhwyssaw*.
- The fantastic number involved makes this assembly comparable with the great throng addressed by St David in Llanddewibrefi: *seith mil ma6r a seith ugeint* (CBT II 26.28); simple hyperbole in CBT II 2.58 *Y'th lys, les milcant*; V 28.10 *Am lury mil o espyt*; V 20.42 *milcanpreit*. Referring specifically to poets: IV 4.221-2 *Gwletycha6d mola6d mil ueiryon/ Y uoli teithi Teyrnon*. *Milfeird* is used in CBT IV 9.111; V 1.152, 5.63 and 20.31; VII 29.16, and *milioed* is also common in referring to poets.
- 8 **Wyf kerdolyat, wyf keinyat claer** *Kerdolyat* is not otherwise attested in MW: see on §8.33. *Keinyat*, and pl. *keineit* as in line 12 below, and in §11.71-2 *nyt kywir keinyat/ ny molhwy y Tat*; PBT 6.19 (Rydyrchafwy Duw) *Keinyadon, moch clywyf eu gofalon*; possibly PT XI.32 (see note on p. 127); common in CBT corpus. *Claer* generally of arms, persons, courts, etc.; of speech of Biblical prophets in CBT VII 32.20 *glaer barableu*.
- 9 **wyf dur wyf dryw wyf syw wyf saer** *Dur* common in martial contexts, for arms, etc. Here possibly cf. Proverbs 27:17 'Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend'. *Saer* and *syw* have been transposed to provide an end-rhyme with *claer* in line 8, and for internal rhyme with *dryw*. For *syw* (and related words), see on §5.174. *Dryw*, either the 'wren', or a very rarely attested cognate of OIr *drui*; OE *dry* is thought to be a borrowing from Irish. For other possible occurrences see §7.12 *ystryw mawr*; PBT 8.37 (Romani kar) *Dwfyndarogan dewin drywon*.
- 10 **wyf sarff wyf serch yd ymgestaf** Cf. with *sarff* (< L. *serpens*) Taliesin's transformations to viper and snake in §5.207-8. The curious juxtaposing of snake and *serch* 'love, lust' may be echoing Genesis 3. Late examples of vbs *cestio* and *ymgestio* (< *cest* 'stomach', see GPC) have the meaning 'to drink greedily, gulp; develop a paunch; guzzle'. Perhaps here figuratively for ingesting knowledge?

But the *cest* (cf. L. *quaestio*; OIr *cest*) found in *gorchest* may be relevant ('I question myself').

- 11 **Nyt wyf vard syn, nyt aryfreidaf (ms yn aryfreidaw)** Understanding *syn* as 'amazed, astounded', etc. (cf. vb *syniaw* < L. *sentire*; and *synnu*), as in CBT VII 41.31. But conceivably a mistake for *sen* 'satire, insult': CBT IV 6.36 *Saesson sseenn*; collocated with *seirff* in III 24.105. *Aryfreidaw*, an otherwise unattested vb formed from *breid* 'scarcely'. The reading suggested for rhyme with *ymgestaf*, line 10, is *nyt aryfreid(y)af* 'I do not stammer/falter'.
- 12 **pan gan keinyeit canu ygor (ms yg kof)** G emends *kof* to *kaw*, for rhyme with line 11 (but see note above); cf. *keineid* and *caw* together in CBT I 2.4 *Amhad anav, areith awyrllav y cav keineid*; CBT IV 6.71 *Cathleu cleu, kerteu caw*, and the meanings of *bangaw*, *amgaw*, *bardd caw*, etc. (see PT 90, TYP³ 228-9). The emendation would yield good meaning, 'when singers sing their songs in strict metre' — the poets' singing in harmony, in strict metre etc. does not intimidate the speaker in any way. If unemended *yg kof*, then 'in memory; ?from memory; ?in a deliberate or mindful way'; or else (as understood in the translation) a mistake for *ygor* 'near me' (see GMW 60), with H-cd.
- 13 **nyt ef wnaant (ms wnafut) wy ryfed vchof (ms vchon)** G's emendation to *wna(a)nt*, 3pl. pres. of *gwneuthur* is reasonable with *wy* and the particle *ef* (GMW 171); *wnahawnt* is also possible. There is no end-rhyme, however, with G's suggested *kaw*, line 12. *Vchtaw* does not yield good sense, but *vchlaw* 'above', or *vchof* 'above me, surpassing me', are possible — 'they do not/shall not create a wonder (*ryfed* as noun) above me, i.e. surpassing me', or if *ry fed* (vb *medu*) 'they shall not create that which may rule over me'. Translation of lines 12-13 is based on the most sparing emendations, but is uncertain.
- 15 **mal aruoll dillat heb law** GPC² *aruoll* 'promise, pledge', etc. and vb noun 'to take, take hold of, accept, welcome, embrace'. Either referring to the difficulty of receiving (?gifts of) clothes if you have no hands, or of putting them on (normally *gwisgaw* however). *Llaw* (< *llawf*) also figuratively, 'authority, power'. This is the first of the futile things or *oferbethau*, cf. line 16, and 33-49. Prydydd y Moch uses the famous example from the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 7:6) 'neither cast ye your pearls before swine', CBT V 8:14 *Mal heu rac moch meryerid*; and in CBT V 30.12, he mentions the impossibility of 'inviting the wind into a snare' (*gwahabŷ gwynt yg gwden*). Otherwise, *oferbethau* are not part of pre-1283 poetic discourse.
- 16 **ymsawd yn llyn heb naw** *Ymsawd* is rare, but cf. *sawd*, *sodi*, etc. *Naw* (< *nawf*) rhymes with *meddyliaw/Aberffraw* (< *-awf*)/*taw*/*luyddaw* in Marwnad Cynddylan line 13 *myned i Fenai cyn nim bai naw*.
- 17 **Tyruif (ms tyruif) aches ehofyn y grad** As it stands, *tyruif* is 3sg. imperf. *tyrfu*, cf. PBT 8.27 (Romani kar) *tyruawt molut mawr edryssed*; of sea, EWSP 407.20-21 *Tonn tyruif toit eruit/aches*. The pres. abs. *tyruit* is restored here for sense. See on §4.168 for *aches* 'flow, flood, surge' of speech, as well as for sea-flood.
- 18 **mordwy (ms mordwyt) trefyd** The vb *tyruit* makes *mordwyt* (ModW *morddwyd*) 'thigh' unlikely. The emendation adopted here is to *mordwy* (CA 304 'movement of the sea, storm, sea', cf. §9.76 *mordwyeit merin*); but *gordwy* 'oppression, infliction, violence' would yield both alliteration and good sense.

Trefyd 'homesteads' (see on §21.16) yields proest rhyme with *grad* line 17; the idea is similar to that of the raging sea near habitations in Hywel ab Owain's Gorhoffedd: CBT II 6.28 and 42 *Tonn wenn orewyn wychyr brth dreuyt. Mordwy* and related words fairly common in poetry: PBT 1.4 (Daronwy) *treis dros vordwy*; §9.75-6 *aches ffyscyolin/ mordweyt merin*; EWSP 446.6 (Englynion Cadwallon) *maranned wedy mordwy*, where it is translated as 'voyage over water', and see GPC for further instances); CBT V 23.40 *Meirch mordwy* (= ships, cf. §1.61) *uch ma brdwryf tonnyar*, etc.

19 **creic am wanec wrth vawr trefnat** *Am* here may mean 'on the other side of, beyond' referring to a rock (i.e. refuge, bastion) which has been disposed or set in order, presumably by God.

20 **anclut yscrut escar nodyat** G s.v. *angclut* 'unimportant, lowly' or *an·glut* 'renowned'; but GPC *anghlud* 'without possessions, poor'. Both cite only this example and *anclut* in line 39 below.

Ysgrut is attested in CBT, three times collocated with *ysgryt* 'terror, fright': CBT III 16.218 *Ysgrud wlyt ar wlet y Melltun* 'One pleasant to a ravaging beast at the feast at Melltun'; 26.21 *Ysgrud glud* (in praising a patron compared in nearby lines to the sea-flood, fortress, etc.); also V 1.51 *Ef ysgrud, ef drud, ef drussyad*; VI 18.46 *Golud mor yskrud, ysgryd Nortmein*, heeding R. Geraint Gruffydd's note of caution on p. 268 (as in GPC) about the assumed meaning, 'ferocious animal, frightener, terrifier'. Thus, '?without fame/poor the terrifier, the refuge of the enemy'.

The translation, however, is based on emending to *agclyt* 'comfortless, cheerless' and *ysgryt*, assuming that by contrast with the Rock of God (line 19), the refuge of the enemy is a cheerless place of fear, possibly echoing Deuteronomy 32; II Samuel 22; Psalms 18, 31 and 27. The context here suggests the sort of contrast made in the Sermon on the Mount of the house founded on a rock (Matthew 7:24-7; Luke 6:48). *Anglyt* is used of the transitory world of mortals, CBT VI 9.2 *byd anglyd, anglaear*; of the world, or of Hell in CBT I 24.32 *O garchar agclaeear agklyt*; and of burial in CBT IV 17.50 *anglaft anglyd*.

21 **Creic pen perchen pennaf ygnat (ms pen anygnat)** *Perchen* 'ruler' used of God and Christ, e.g. Edmyg Dinbych line 2 *perchen Nef a llawr*; CC 11.43 *perchen lleg egylyon*; 14.23 *Vy maurhidic nen, vy perchen, vy parch*; §18.45 *py awr ymeindyd y ganet Perchen*, etc. With *pen*, CC 13.3 *Duw penn perchen pob kiwdawt*; Tymhorau line 22 *edmig perchen pen syweddyd*; CBT IV 17.1 and 16 *Denggrat Benn Berchen, barch Briodaþr . . . Dynyaton Berchen, Benn bob euaþr*, etc.

Seemingly of a secular ruler in PT VII.31 *y vd Prydein pen perchen broestlawn*; certainly so in Echrys Ynys line 20 *priodawr perchen*; PBT 8.81-2 (Romani kar) *Perif perchen ket/ gwledychawt yn Eluet*; PBT 9.12 (Ymawar Llund Bychan) *perchen y Wen Ynys*; LIDC 16.3 *perchen Machrev*, etc. and common in CBT corpus where *perchen/pen* are frequently collocated.

On *anygnat* 'peevish, cross, sullen', etc. see §6.53 and §11.79. If this were retained, it could be construed as 'foolish ones' who are brought under the dominion of God. However, it is likely that *pen anygnat* is a miscopying of *pennaf ygnat*: on *ygnat* 'judge' see §4.35.

22 **y'n gwna medut med-dawt meidat (ms medyd)** Cf. §1.88; AP line 102 *nys gwnaþo medut meddawt genhyn*, etc. *Medyd* is ambiguous: either 'ruler' (here of

God), cf. vb *medu* 'to have dominion, rule' (with GPC), or else its homonym (< *med* 'mead'), 'mead-brewer'. For further details on the treatment of drink, see §§12 and 13. But lack of end-rhyme suggests that *meid(i)at* 'ruler', a synonym of *medyd*, is to be restored, cf. CC 10.1 *Ad Duw meidat*.

- 23 **wyf dell wyf datweirllet** G s.v. *dell* 'bead, jewel, ornament', a hapax with the meaning deduced from OIr comparanda (see now Lexique D-48 on OIr *dellrad* 'radiance', etc.). However, the much better attested *dellt* 'rods, shafts; splinters; in splinters' yields good sense with the containment in the *kell* contrasted with the fragmentation implied also by *datweirllet*. The latter word is not otherwise attested, but cf. *datweir* 'change' in §4.150. Although *datweirllet* could represent *datweirllyt*, with *-llyt* ending (as in Ifor Williams' interpretation of PT 1.10 *gwy ar let* as *gwyarllyt*; cf. *creulyt*, etc.), yielding proest rhyme with line 24, *-llet* is here assumed to be the original form: see CIB 150.
- 24 **wyf llogell kerd wyf lle ynnyet** *Llogell* < L. *locellus* 'compartment, chest', etc.; cf. EGOW 106 *locell* glossing L. *ferculum*; CA line 820 *llawen logell byt* (note p. 273). Unless *ynnyet* is an otherwise unattested form derived from *ynni* 'vigour, power', *anhyet* 'active, nimble' is possible here (as in translation). *Lle* perhaps 'state, condition, instance' (see GPC s.v. *lle*¹ for range of meanings). But *lle-yn* (*llëu* 'read'), *?llëynat* 'reader' may be relevant.
- 25 **Karaf-y gorwyd a goreil clyt** *Gorwyd* 'wooded slope' (with G) rather than *gorwyd* 'horse'. G s.v. *goreil* 'roof, canopy, shelter' (< *eil*), also in CC 10.36 (BT) *gororeil* (em.) *byt*, see note on p. 90; R1368.27 *Pob ryw aniueil gymarawl oreil*. G suggests reading *clet* for full rhyme with line 24.
- 26 **a bard a bryt ny pryn y ret** The third thing which is loved is a poet who composes (< *prydu*) and who does not buy (*ny pryn* = *ny bryn*, rel.) his advancement, his way forward (*y ret*, cf. CBT VI 33.46 *y reet*). 3sg. *pryt* (*prydu*) is a near homophone of noun *prit* (*prynu*).
- 27 **Nyt ef caraf amryssonnyat** GMW 172 translates 'I love not a wrangler', with further examples of *nyt* + preverbal particle *ef*. See on §1.90 *amrysson*. G's emendation of hapax *amryssonnyat* to *amryssoned* for rhyme with line 28 (discussed below) is not implemented.
- 28 **ny meued mat (ms med)** Emending to *mat* for rhyme, linking with line 29 *Madws*, and comparing CBT II 1.102 *Llwytyd g6let a met a meuet mad*. Either emend *ny* to *nyt*, or understand *meued* as 3sg. of vb **meuedu*, as in translation.
- 29 **yr ymdiot** GPC s.v. *yddiodaf*: *yddiod(i)* 'contend', etc. (cf. CBT III 21.68 in a martial context).
- 30 **a cheluydeit am geluydyt** *Celuydeit* is understood as pl. of *celuyd* 'skilled one', see on §1.37 and §5.52, and *am* as prep., rather than part of **amgeluydyt* 'having many arts'. See §17.10 on *keluydyt* 'learning, art'.
- 31 **a cham clwm kystwm kywlat** *Clwm, cwlwm* 'knot, tie', thence 'song, air, tune', and used of poetry, e.g. CBT III 7.31 *bartgl6m diledyeith*. *Kystwm* is understood as a loan word from E. *custom, costume*, with EEW 164, although GPC's first attestation in the sense of 'custom, usage' is 16c; the meaning 'toll, tax, payment' is seen in GDG 185. Using words of English origin in mocking the foe is at least as old as Armes Prydain (e.g. *ffoxas, bwrch, allmyn, cechmyn*, etc.). But G connects *kystwm* with *ystum*, interpreting it as a vb 'to impede, bind; stagger, totter, fall', not followed by GPC. Other possibilities requiring emendation and

loss of internal rhyme: vb *kystwg* 'to bring down, subdue' (e.g. CBT I 21.33; V 26.63); *kystlwn* 'kindred, relation, kinship; affinity, alliance; owning, affirmation, right', and denominative vb noun or 3sg. The adj. **cythrw*m 'equal' is only attested in the equative degree.

- 32 **Bugeil broed porthloed neirthyat** More likely to be an invocation to God or a patron than a description of the speaker: *bugeil* of Christ, CC 11.10, 22.15. *Porthloed* is emended to *porthloed* 'haven, refuge' (see CA 310-11, ELI 61; and GPC s.v. *porthloedd* for numerous poetic examples). Here understood as one of three terms for the one who is invoked in this line. But *porthloed neirthyat* could equally well be 'sustainer of the refuge'.
- 33 **heb troet** *Troet* is a monosyllable here, as in line 34 where it rhymes with *coet*. See on §5.103 *troetued*; §4.216 *troet* and §11.6 *traet*.
- 34 **yr (ms erl) vynnei ymdeith heb troet** Lines 33-49 have a regular pattern of 3 + 4 syllables. G ruled out *ef vynnei* and *ef vagei* (line 35) because the particle *ef* does not usually cause lenition: see discussion on §5.104. Neither did G favour vbs *erfyn* 'to entreat' and *erfagu* 'to rear, feed, nurture, sustain' although both are possible here. He suggested particle *ry* or its variant *yr* (adopted here) used also in rel. clauses (GMW 169, 62-3).
- 36 **mal keissaw bydueid yg gruc** G emends *bydueid* to *bydeif*, an otherwise unattested pl. of *bydaf* 'swarm of bees'. This would give good sense, since swarms settle high up in trees and cliffs, not on the ground where heather grows. But bees do collect nectar from heather in late summer. However, *byt* 'food' (rare) + *beid* 'boars' (pl. of *baed*) — boars to eat, or foraging boars — is understood here. Also possible, with emendation, is *gwydueid* 'wild boars; woodland boars'. Boars, both wild and domestic, would be found most often in or near woodland habitat rather than on heather moorland or mountain pasture. Irish rhyme with line 37. *Gruc* in §3.47.
- 37 **peireint anreith yn uut** *Peir(i)eint*, pl. of *peiriant* 'order, command; causing', CA 89-90.
- 39 **anclut ar ken** For *anclut*, see on line 20 above. *Ken* 'skin, scurf, hide, scale; lichen'.
- 40 **mal grynnaw tyndei o vroch (ms vro)** GPC s.v. *gryniaw*^f, *grynnaf*: *grynio* 'to push, thrust, throw or drive out'; also 'pant, snort', as of a horse in PBT 1.39 (Daronwy), and for exhaling in §25.13. *Tyndei* perhaps a compound of *tei* 'houses', with *tynn* 'tight' or *twn* 'broken, shattered splintered, bruised; also maimed, deformed'. Dafydd ap Gwilym uses the latter word of a ruined house (GDG 380); it is collocated with *grwn* (cf. *grynnyaw*), CBT I 7.103 *Góeleis Loegy*r yg grónn, *góeleis eis yn dónn*. But *vro* does not rhyme, and *vroch* is supplied, for proest with line 41. Consider also *voch* 'pigs'. Uncertain.
- 41 **mal haedu awyr a bach** Cf. Ecclesiastes 5:16 'what profit hath he that hath laboured for the wind?' God alone is able to 'gather the wind in his fists', Proverbs 30:4.
- 42 **mal eirach a gwaet yscall** GPC s.v. *eiriachaf*: *eiriach* 'to spare; be frugal of, stint, . . . abstain from', etc., but not normally used with prep. *a*, therefore consider emending *a gwaet* > *agwael* 'mean, miserly; ?base'. A curious sentence as it stands, but presumably derived from idea of the thistle as the plant *par excellence* for drawing blood, cf. CA line 1324 *ny byd ehovyn noeth yn ysgall* 'the naked man

is not fearless when among thistles'. The plant therefore fully deserves man's revenge; to affect to 'spare' its 'blood' would be futile and pointless. Alternatively, with atypical word order, expressing the idea that it is futile for the thistle itself to abstain from drawing blood.

- 43 **mal docni dillat y noeth** The Scriptural injunction (Matthew 25) to clothe the naked (CC 28.4 *Ro dillad y noeth a buyd y newynauc*, CBT I 12.25 *a dillad y noeth*, etc.) presumably allows them to be given any clothes which are to hand. *Docni* here seems to carry the meaning of apportioning, deciding what clothes are suitable. Although this would be an activity proper to a court where clothing, livery, etc. were important markers of status, and symbols of relationships between individuals, and classes of individuals (see especially WKC 319-46), such care would be misplaced when giving clothes to beggars. Alternatively, with atypical order (see on line 42 for the same possibility), 'as futile as for a naked man to be dispensing clothes'.
- 45 **engwyn ar traeth** If *ewyn* 'foam' (a 'coals to Newcastle' type of futility), then *engwyn* is miscopied from *eugwyn* < *euguin* comparable with OW spellings *Tadaguen*, LL 140 *Diugurach*, etc. (see Henry Lewis, '*Engwyn, nam guy*', *B* 3 (1926-8), 53-4) where (*u*)*gu* is used in words without historical -*g*-. But if *enwyn* 'butter-milk' — a good partner with *llaeth* in line 45, and adopted here — then the orthography is comparable with Black Book of Carmarthen *milguir*, etc.
- 47 **mal tõi neuad a deil** With disyllabic *tõi*, cf. §4.106 *pan yw tõi tir*.
- 48 **mal lladu llyry a gweil** See CA 263, GPC *lladdaf*: *llad(u)* on the hapax vb noun form, perhaps a nonce formation for the sake of the metre: it shows an awareness of either syllabic regularity or the need to avoid clashing stress. *Llyry* (monosyllable) is pl. of *llory* 'staff, cudgel, club', etc., meaning a strong weapon made or adapted for the job, whereas *gweil* here presumably refers to more slender, less resistant twigs or withes. CBT V 14.22 *Gwisc gwyndeil gweil gwet adarre* is the only instance of word in CBT corpus.
- 49 **mal todi Dyfet rac geir** GPC s.v. *todi* 'melt, liquefy, thaw, dissolve', etc., sometimes of annihilation in Hell. Also in technical sense, 'to elide, undergo elision', as in the terms *todeit*, *llythyr tawd*, etc. There is no attested denominative vb formed from *tawt* 'whole, complete', on which see §4.258. *Codi* 'to inflame' if there has been *c/t* scribal confusion; or *dodi*, with H-cd.
- Dyfet*, the name of the region or its inhabitants, seems rather out of place, but it yields reasonable sense: 'like the dissolving away of the men of Dyfed in the face of an utterance', or 'like the way the men of Dyfed elide [sounds] before a word' (perhaps referring to some technicality in poetry, or omission of prosthetic or pretonic vowels or syllables). If so, it might imply that poets from the south were imagined to be the opposition in the *amrysson*. If not *Dyfet*, then consider *dywet* 3sg. pres. of vb *dywedut* 'to say, utter' (see G 431), *diwed* '(at the) end', *dy fed* 'your mead', 'your grave', or, more promisingly, *dy wed* 'your countenance, manner'. Uncertain.
- 50 **wyf kyw kadeir** *Kadeir* may also be interpreted as 'metre, song', as discussed §5.99 and in connection with titles of poems §§7-10 (see especially the commentary on the manuscript title of §7).
- 51 **digonaf-y veird llafar llesteir** Cf. YT lines 358-60, and see General Introduction, 18-19 n.51.

2 Buarth Beird

52f **argywrein . . . Vab Meir** Cf. CC 1.9 (Juvenus englynion) *Nit guorgnim molim map Meir*, (early 10c), AP lines 25 and 45 *mab Meir*, and see CC 113-20 on the growth of Marian devotion in Wales particularly from the late 11c onwards. *Argywrein* (argyfrein), *cyflog(awt)* and *lloc* in use by court poets.

3 Aduwyneu Taliessin

This is one of four poems in the manuscript explicitly connected by its title to the figure of Taliessin, together with §6 Mabgyfreu Taliessin, Glaswawt Taliessin (PBT 2), and §7 Mydwyf Merweryd (mistakenly entitled *Kadeir Taliessin*).¹ It may be compared with connections made in other manuscripts, such as the late title, 'Difregwawd Taliessin' in the Red Book of Hergest (CC poem 33),² 'Pader Taliessin' and 'Ymgroesiad Taliessin'.³

Through a series of attractive vignettes, the poem conveys the beauty and vitality of nature in all its variety, and reflects an appreciation of human endeavour and the bonds and rituals on which an ordered society depends. Heroism and the accoutrements of war are prized — the brave warrior in the breach, the soldier who does not shrink from danger and harm, the gilt shield and the powerful steed. The king, as generous as Nudd, enjoys the company of his fellows at the feast where the poet, like the court physician, is accorded due honour. We hear of a young girl's delight at receiving a ring, and the proper conducting of marriage arrangements. But simpler pleasures abound: the weather getting warmer, visiting loved ones, riding on a foaming horse, hearing the Welsh language being spoken eloquently, seeing the leeks flourishing in the vegetable garden and the wheat ripening on the stalk. The poet pays particular attention to birds, fish and animals who also display a remarkable joie de vivre. Despite the variety of subjects touched upon, the poem's structure and movement by couplet convey order and harmony and unity, further underlined by careful pairing. Sometimes the link within the couplets is simple yet contrastive — eagle with seagull, berries and fruits with crops such as wheat, the tended leeks of the vegetable plot next to the wild mustard or corn marigold. In other cases, the link is more subtle, such as the contrast between a horse's coarse mane and the delicate spider's web. In addition, there is often a thematic connection between the last line of a couplet and the first line of the next. Running through the whole piece is the importance of the individual's compact with the Creator: the poem opens and closes by stressing the need for sincere penance, there is mention of the Mass, and in lines 29-30, there is a pairing which seems to place the cleric on an equal footing with the lord in his court.

The plenitude of Creation is expressed in various genres in Welsh poetry — religious lyrics such as the Black Book of Carmarthen 'Gogonedog Arglwydd'⁴ which draw in a more straightforward way on the model of the Psalms, early nature englynion, and passages of description included in formal odes to God, in boasting poems, and in poems to and about women. Such parallels from pre-1283

¹ It is suggested in the introduction to §7 that the title properly belongs with poem §8.

² See CC 349.

³ Brynley F. Roberts, 'Rhai swynion Cymraeg', *B* 21 (1964-6), 197-213.

⁴ CC poem 5.

poetry are noted in the commentary. The 'favourite things' scheme is, of course, apparent in many traditions,⁵ and such listings were not hard to produce. In medieval Welsh, they may have developed their own conventions, such as the use of line-initial *aduwyn* (or *atwyn*), *gorwyn*,⁶ or *caraf-y* 'I love',⁷ *berth* 'fine',⁸ contrastive pairs, concentration on certain subjects, or combinations with other elements, such as the gnomic statements of the Gorwynion englynion.⁹ Einion ap Gwalchmai's passage, at the end of a formal ode to God (CBT I 29.25-35, early thirteenth century) is perhaps the closest parallel to the present poem:¹⁰

*Aduwyn pob gorllwyn pan dyorllwyt,
Fair is every plan when it succeeds,
Aduwyn arall pall pwylla6 eilwyt!
another fair thing is a canopy set up for a tryst,
Aduwyn met a g6let g6ledic hylwyt,
Fair is the mead and the feast of a prosperous chieftain,
Aduwyn haf hirwyn, kein llwyn can llwyt,
fair is the long bright summer, the fair grove where things go well.
Aduwyn march pennhill Ebrill ebrwyt,
Fair is the stall-reared horse in April,
Aduwyn y6 g6are gwae6 ac arwyt,
Fair it is to toy with spear and standard,
Aduwyn uyt ysgwyd ar deur ysgwyt,
fair is a shield on a valiant man's shoulder,
Aduwyn huysg6r g6r a gorwyt,
Fair and bold are the warrior and steed,
Aduwyn gwyr terwyn taer gyuannwyt—cad
Fair are the fierce warriors in the intense heat of battle
Pan uyt kedym yn ymorchwyt.
when mighty men are in combat.
Aduwynach, kynach (kennyf boed rwyd)
Fairer, more seemly — and may it come easily to me —
Keinuoli Keli calonnogrwyd!
is the fair praising of the generous Lord.*

Another earlier reflex of the same convention, from the twelfth century, is found in Gwalchmai ap Meilyr's Gorhoffedd (CBT I 9.135-7 and 147-50), a very

⁵ For Irish examples, see Kenneth H. Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* (Cambridge, 1935), 87.

⁶ As in the Gorwynion englyn series, EWGP VI.1-33.

⁷ As in Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd's Gorhoffedd, CBT II 6.3-18, 30-33, which combines descriptions of nature (the open land, marsh, meadows and moors of Meirionnydd, rivers, trees, nightingale, seagulls, deer, etc.) with mention of its inhabitants (its ruler, its warband, its women). Cf. also the *Karaf-y* of CBT II 7.1; 10.1.

⁸ E.g. CBT III 3.87-91.

⁹ See note 6 above.

¹⁰ My translation, but see also translations in CBT I 489 and in Catherine A. McKenna, *The Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric* (Belmont MA, 1991), 187.

different kind of poem that combines natural descriptions with yearnings for his love, martial adventures, wide-ranging travels, and praise of his patron:¹¹

Adwyn gwellt didrif pan dyf dieu,
Fair is the untrodden grass when the days lengthen,
 Adwyn balch caen coed, cadyr y ulodeu.
fair is the proud canopy of the trees, fine its flowers.
 Adwyn yueis-y vet a'e venestri o eur
Fair when I drank mead served from gold vessels
 Yn llys Ywein hir hywr dlideu. . .
at the court of tall Owain, who commands the resources of a champion. .

Aduwyn kynteuin, kein hin dyt,
Fair is the beginning of summer, fine the weather in the day,
 Araf e riw haf hyfryd, dedwyt.
Pleasant the slope in the beautiful, favourable summer.
 Aduwyn dyda6 dyuyr (dychwart gwyrth wrth echwyt)
Fair flow the waters — (while) the turquoise sea laughs at the current —
 Oguanw a Chegin a Chlaweda6c drydyt.
of the rivers Ogwen and Cegin, and thirdly, Clywedog.

The present poem is undoubtedly a skilful piece, and as Oliver Davies remarks, 'it is possible to discern here the work of an unknown master who is both single-minded in his reverence for God and all-comprehending in his vision of the world and humanity'.¹² Its diction and lexicon are not incompatible with composition in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and there are no archaisms which require an earlier dating. Nor can we conclude necessarily, as hinted by J.E. Caerwyn Williams,¹³ that it was a model for poets such as Einion ap Gwalchmai.

The commentary notes several striking correspondences with the poetry of Prydydd y Moch,¹⁴ a matter discussed in more detail in the General Introduction. If he *were* indeed the author, line 19 (see below) might possibly suggest that the poem was sung on a visit south to the court of prince Rhys Gryg of Deheubarth. Rhys was ruler of Ystrad Tywi — Cantref Mawr and Cantref Bychan and the commotes of Cydweli and Carnwyllion — and was generally a faithful satellite of Llywelyn I, Prydydd y Moch's chief patron, from 1212 until Rhys' death in 1234. There was some disruption of the alliance between Rhys Gryg and Llywelyn I early in 1220, but this was evidently followed by a new pact

¹¹ Gwalchmai uses the *Gorwyn* convention, CBT I 9.25-6 *Gorwyn blaen auall blodeu uagwy./ Balch caen coed, bryd pa6b parth yd garwy*, as well as *caraf-y* (see above, n.7), CBT I 9.57-60 (nightingale in May; deer).

¹² Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales: The Origins of the Welsh Spiritual Tradition* (Cardiff, 1996), 85, with further comments, 85-7, and a more literary translation, 84-5.

¹³ CBT I, 483.

¹⁴ See especially on lines 1, 8, 9, 11-14, 31

celebrated in Prydydd y Moch's embarrassingly lavish eulogy to Rhys.¹⁵ This occasion would undoubtedly have called for other entertainments at court, music certainly, and perhaps poetry in a lighter vein. Line 19 of our poem is unusual in that it mentions a court official by name — Einion 'a doctor to many', very possibly Einion ap Rhiwallon, one of the renowned family of mediciners (the 'Meddygon Myddfai') supported by Rhys Gryg,¹⁶ who may well have ministered to the troops of Llywelyn and Rhys after their joint military operations in September 1220. But obviously this can be no more than speculation. The passages by Einion ap Gwalchmai and Gwalchmai quoted above are metrically rather more regular than the present poem, using lines of Naw Ban and Toddaid. Although some of our lines are frequently classical Naw Ban, several have seven, eight or ten syllables, and the patterning is often akin to the tripartite Cyhydedd Fer. Editorial policy is not to 'regularise' lines if they yield reasonable sense, as explained in the General Introduction, 40.

¹⁵ CBT V, poem 26. Rhys is likened to the Three Generous Ones (cf. the comparison with Nudd in our poem, line 5), the Tri Chadarn (Samson, Hercules and Hector), and the Tri Hardd, and praised as a warrior and munificent ruler. As Elin Jones hints, the excessive praise is revealed for what it is by the clear signalling of Llywelyn as the dominant partner, *llyw bedyt a chred* 'ruler of Christendom', to Rhys Gryg's *ut Deheu* 'lord of the South'. See also the introduction to §16 Y gofeisswys byt (Alexander 1).

¹⁶ See Morfydd E. Owen, 'Medics and medicine', in WKC 116-41; 'Meddygon Myddfai, a preliminary survey of some medical writings in Welsh', *SC* 10/11 (1975-6), 210-33; 'The medical books of medieval Wales and the Physicians of Myddfai', *The Carmarthen Antiquary* 31 (1995), 34-43.

3 Aduwyneu Taliessin

Book of Taliesin 8.21-10.3

Atwyn rin rypenyt y ryret;
*Fair is the virtue of one who does penance for his
presumption;*

arall atwyn pan vyd Duw dy-m-gwaret.
another fair thing — that it's God who'll give me salvation.

Atwyn kyfed nwy gomed gogyffret;
Fair is the feast that worry doesn't impinge on;

4 **arall atwyn y am kyrn kyfyfet.**
another fair thing is drinking together round the horns.

Atwyn Nud, ud bleid naf;
Fair is Nudd, a leader, a lord like a wolf;
arall atwyn hael gwyl golystaf.
another fair thing is a generous man, courteous and most eminent.

Atwyn aeron yn amser kynhayaf;
Fair are the fruits at harvest time;
8 **arall atwyn gwenith ar galaf.**
another fair thing is the wheat on the stalk.

Atwyn heul yn ehwybyr, yn nwyfre;
Fair is the sun in the cloudless sky, in the air;
arall atwyn y thal hwyr¹ a'e de.
another fair thing is ?its evening countenance and its brilliance.

Atwyn march mygvras mangre;
Fair is the thick-maned stallion in the stud;
12 **arall atwyn dylif yg gwe.²**
another fair thing is the web of the spider's web.

Atwyn chwant ac aryant amaerwy;
Fair is desire and a silver band;
arall atwyn dy vorwyn modrwy.
another fair thing for a maiden is a ring.

Atwyn eryr ar lan llyr pan llanhwy;
Fair is the osprey on the seashore when the tide is flowing;
16 **arall atwyn gwylein yn gwarwy.**
another fair thing is seeing the seagulls at play.

¹ ms *rythalthwyr*

² ms *dilwywhwe* with deleting point beneath first w

Atwyn march ac eurgalch gylchwy;
Fair are the stallion and the gold-chased round shield;
arall atwyn aduwyn yn adwy.
another fair thing is a splendid warrior in the breach.

Atwyn Eynawn, medic y liaws;
Fair is Einion, the doctor ministering to many;
 20 **arall atwyn kerdawr hael hygnaws.**
another fair thing is a generous and amiable musician.

Atwyn Mei y gogeu ac eaws;
Fair is the month of May — its cuckoos and nightingale;
arall atwyn pan vyd hin haws.
another fair thing is when the weather's finer.

Atwyn reith a pherpheith neithawr;
Fair, a group of witnesses and a proper wedding-feast;
 24 **arall atwyn kyflwyn a garhawr.**
another fair thing is a gift which is appreciated.

Atwyn bryt wrth penyt periglawr;
Fair [to have one's] mind on the penance prescribed by the
confessor;
arall atwyn dydwyn y allawr.
another fair thing is the bringing [of the elements of the Mass] to the
altar.

Atwyn med yg kynted y gerdawr;
Fair is the mead in the upper hall for a musician;
 28 **arall atwyn am terwyn toryf vawr.**
another fair thing is a large throng around a brave warrior.

Atwyn cleric³ catholic yn eglwys;
Fair is the faithful cleric in the church;
arall atwyn henefyd yn neuadwys.
another fair thing is a chieftain in the hall.

Atwyn plwyf kymrwy Dwy a towys;
Fair are the steadfast people of God who lead;
 32 **arall atwyn yn amser Paradwys.**
another fair thing — [being] in the aeon of Paradise.

Atwyn lloer llewychawt yn eluyd;
Fair is the moon which illuminates the world;

³ ms cleiric

arall atwyn pan vyd da dy-m-gofyd.

another fair thing is that it is goodness which comes to me.

Atwyn haf ac araff hirdyd;

Fair is the summer and the long still day;

36 **arall atwyn athreidaw a geryd.**

another fair thing is visiting the one you love.

Atwyn blodeu ar warthaf perwyd;

Fair are the flowers on the tops of the sweet fruit-trees;

arall atwyn a Chreawdyr kerenhyd.

another fair thing is reconciliation with the Creator.

Atwyn didryf ewic ac elein;

Fair in the uninhabited spot are the doe and the hind;

40 **arall atwyn ewynawc > archuein.⁴**

another fair thing is a slender foaming steed.

Atwyn lluarth pan llwyd y genhin;

Fair is the vegetable garden when its leeks are doing well;

atwyn arall katawarth yn egin.

another fair thing is when the charlock is sprouting.

Atwyn edystyr⁵ yg kebystyr lletrin;

Fair is the horse in his leather halter;

44 **arall atwyn kyweithas a brenhin.**

another fair thing is being in the company of a king.

Atwyn glew nwy goleith gogywec;

Fair is the brave man who does not shrink from harm;

arall atwyn ellëin Gymrâec.

another fair thing is eloquent Welsh.

Atwyn gruc pan vyd ehöec;

Fair is the heather when it's purple;

48 **arall atwyn morua y warthec.**

another fine thing is a sea-marsh for cattle.

Atwyn tymp pan dyn lloe llaeth;

Fair is the time when the calf is sucking;

arall atwyn ewynawc marchogaeth.

another fine thing is riding on a frothing horse.

Ac ys imi atwyn nyt gwaeth:

And I have a fine thing no less better:

⁴ ms am harchuein

⁵ ms edystystyr

- 52 **atwyn llat⁶ bual wrth tal meduaeth.⁷**
fair is the horn-drink at the head of a mead-feast.
- Atwyn pasc yn y lyn llywyawt;**
Fair is the fish in its shining lake;
arall atwyn gorell liw⁸ gwaryhawt.
another fine thing is the shifting hue of the firmament.
- Atwyn geir a lefeir y Trindawt;**
Fair is the word which the Trinity speaks;
- 56 **arall atwyn rypenytt y pechawt.**
another fine thing is intense penance for sin.
- Aduwynhaf o'r aduwyndawt:**
The finest of [all this] splendour
kerenhyd a Dofyd Dyd Brawt.
[will be] reconciliation with God on the Day of Judgment.

title **Aduwyneu Taliessin** Cf. line 18 *adwyn*; line 57 *adwynhaf*, *aduwyndawt*. This is ModW *addfwyn* 'gentle; tender, mild', etc. a near synonym of *atwyn* used throughout the body of the poem (see on line 1). Cf. §8.9; PT XI.5 *adwyn llan lleennawc*; Edmyg Dinbych lines 1, 3, etc. Used in line-initial position in the Hendregadredd text of Einion ap Gwalchmai's praise of God, CBT I 29.25-33, and also in nature descriptions by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, CBT I 9.147 (as noted in the introduction above).

1 **Atwyn** The orthography here unequivocally denotes ModW *adwyn*, G s.v. *adwyn*² 'pleasant, splendid' (LIDC 121 'fair, splendid'), a word subsumed with *addwyn* in GPC ('excellent, splendid, beautiful, elegant', etc.). CBT IV 202 is of the opinion that the same *atwyn* (ModW *adwyn*) is likely to be the word used by Cynddelw (CBT IV 9.93 *am aduan adwyn* 'around a splendid region'; CBT III 29.17 *Bletynt, bleit adwy, yn adwyn yd las*), and by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 12.48 *Maredut mabr, adwyn bu*; V 16.17 *Gruffut grym euruut . . . adwyn,—llew*) contra interpretation in V 156 and 158.

Examples of what appears to be the commoner, separate *adwyn* (ModW *addwyn*) in the Book of Taliesin are difficult to identify as containing -ð- rather than -d- because of the ambiguity of intervocalic *d* (e.g. line 37 *blodeu* = ModW *blodau*): §7.70 *adwyn y dragon*; CC 10.30 *adwyn nifer*; CC 3.2 (*vn mab adwyn*); CC 24.69 *adwyn ran*; and cf. the problematic §16.13 *oraduwyndawt* (ms or *aduwyndawt*) *hael*. The word *adwyn* is used in the Red Book of Hergest text of Einion ap Gwalchmai's poem (see CBT I 29.25-33, at footnotes 18-20, 23, 25

⁶ ms *athat*

⁷ ms *medueith*

⁸ ms *y oreilw*

adbryn). Yet another complication is §4.195 *atuwyn* (possibly ModW *adfwyn*, but see note).

- 1 **rin rypenyt y ryret** *Rin* 'mystery, secret; quality, virtue' (AP 31, and cf. *bardrin*), used of God's power in §4.75. *Ryphenyt* may be understood here and in line 56 as 'great/abundant penance', comparing the formation of *ryret*; CA line 308 *rywin*; emended PT II.21 (p. 37); and noting CA line 917 *ry benyt ar hyt yd attawr*. If so, with CC 4.1, 'fair is the virtue of extreme repentance for (i.e. to make amends for) pride'. Alternatively, as in the present translation, 3sg. pres. of vb *penydu/penydiaw*, as in CBT IV 16.175-6 *Yn r6y yd am6c a damun6y—bryt./ Rybenyt rybech6y* which is interpreted by Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen as 'completely does He defend the one who wishes [to do] His will, and who does penance for his sin'. Here '... who repents his presumption' (= ModW *ry benyd*) allows a more natural interpretation of *y* 'his'. *Ryret* (cf. *reded* 'to run') 'haste, hurry, rush; folly, presumption, arrogance', etc., as in CC 19.3 *O ryret pressent periclawt*; 24.11 *ryret pressent*; 31.24; CBT I 14.102; II 31.19; VI 10.67.
- 2 **pan vyd Duw dy-m-gwaret** On this use of *pan* 'that', see GMW 80. Here *dy-m-gwaret* is understood as 3sg. pres. (GMW 61, and cf. CC 1.1), similar to the pattern in line 34 *pan vyd da dy-m-gofyd*. Note, however, that G (s.v. *dywaret*) favours *dym* 'to me' + *gwaret* as noun, i.e. 'that it is God [who will come] to my salvation' (not unlike CBT I 27.105 *y'm gwaret*; III 21.146 *Duw y'm g6ared*; VII 40b.2, etc.). But the vb *dywaret* is used in §13.19 *D6us dy-m-gwares*, and infixing pronouns after preverb *dy-* is common, especially with 1sg.: there are 23 examples of *dy-m-* in the CBT corpus (three with *-s-*), including seven by Prydydd y Moch.
- 3 **kyfed nwy gomed gogyffret** *Kyfed* either 'feast' (with G), or 'fellow-drinker, companion'. *Gogyffret* 'care, worry, concern' (GPC) understood as the subject of 3sg. pres. *gomed* 'refuse, deny, negate, suspend, prohibit', rather than *kyfed*. Other possibilities (including emendations to *rwy*, and perhaps of hapax *gogyffret* to *cyffret*) are suggested CC 36-7, but here the text is not emended. On *nwy*, see §4.196, and cf. line 45 below. It is used with *gomed* and preceding subject in CBT I 23.14 (Elidir Sais) *Ediueiryabc da, Du6 n6y gomed* 'the good repentant one — God will not spurn him'.
- 4 **y am kyrn kyfyfet** Cf. CBT II 14.14 *As deuy y corn yr kytyuet*; VII 25.26 *Gorulycheu gan ualch gyfyued*; VII 27.20 *A'e uetgyrn kyfyued*. (*Y*) *am* + vessels of drink is common: with *cyrn*, CA lines 1262-3 *pan ystyern gwern/ e am gamgyrn*; EWSP 455.11 *Eurtirn am cirn, cirn am cluir*; 423.28 and 29 *am gyrn buelyn*; 427.57 *ac am gyrn kyuedwch*; CBT III 3.234 *Am luyrn, am gyrrn, am geinyon*; IV 9.228 *am gyrrn ma6r melyn*, etc.
- 5 **Nud ud** Nudd, one of the 'Three Generous Ones' (the *Tri Hael*), with Mordaf and Rhydderch (TYP³ 464-6), Cf. PT VIII.45 *A Cheneu a Nud Hael a hirwlat ydanaw*; PT XII.4 *Run a Nud a Nwython*; Nudd is mentioned once by Cynddelw (CBT III 26.57); three times by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 2.30; 11.55*; 26.105), twice by Dafydd Benfras (CBT VI 29.77; 29.126*; also *Tri Hael*, 31.28); four times by Bleddyn Fardd (CBT VII 47.8; 49.8 and 9; 50.24), and others (CBT VI 8.21; 18.89; VII 22.21; 25.40*). For later poetry references, see TYP³ 465. On the asterisks, see below.

Ud 'lord' (from earlier *iud*) is a common element in Welsh personal names (*Gruffud*, *Maredud*, *Iudhail*, *Iudnerth*, etc.) and in OBr and OCorn: see P. Sims-Williams, 'The emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton orthography, 600-

800: the evidence of archaic Old Welsh', *B* 38 (1991), 20-86, pp. 79-86. GPC s.v. *udd* does not endorse the derivation from L. *iudex* proposed in GodA xlvii n.3.

Ud is attested 93 times in CBT corpus (collocations with *Nud* shown by asterisks in the above list). 40 of the instances of *ud* are by Prydydd y Moch; 17 are by Cynddelw, and nine are by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr. In the Book of Taliesin, PT III.18 and VI.13 *vd Yrechwyd*; VII.19 *a weles Llwyenyd vdyd kygryn*; VII.31 *vd Prydein pen perchen proestlawn*; VII.32 *y vd nyt ymduc dillat na glas na gawr*; VIII.8 *vd haelhaf y dedueu*; VIII.20 *vd tra blawd*; X.3 *Reget ud ae cud tromlas*; X.8 *vd llewenyd* (recte *Llwyfennyd*) *llatreit*; §8.7 *Keint rac vd clotleu*; Edmyg Dinbych lines 17 and 36 *vd felyc* and *wleidud, ud erllyssan*; possibly §18.50 and 54 *udyd* (see notes).

Elsewhere somewhat infrequent in poetry: CA lines 661 *ny chymyd haed ud a gordin*; 1096 *ud Gwyndyt gwaet Kilyd gwardauc*; 1220 *guaurud rac ut Eidin uruei*; 888 *iud alt* (but see CA 284 for tentative emendation to *Iudhail*); EWSP 421.16 *llary ud*; 424.38 *vd pressen*. R. Geraint Gruffydd restores *vd* in Moliant Cadwallon line 11 by analogy with PT VII.31 (AH 29 and 33).

- 5 **bleid naf** The occurrence of line-final *bleid naf* (CBT VI 12.3 and 47 *uleit naf*), collocations of *ud* and *naf*, and the relative infrequency of *blaenaf* in poetry argue for this as the correct ending here (in CC 32 I suggested *blaenaf*). But one or more words such as *blaenyat*, *blaengar*, should probably be restored in the middle of the line: cf. very frequently, *bleid* and compounds and derivatives, including the name *Bledyn*, collocated with *blaen-*, e.e. CBT III 1.28; 20.32; 23.8 *Cleddyf Riryd Uleit ulaengar*; III 24.103; 26.111 *Bleit blaengar*; 29.8 *Blaengar bleituar Bletyrt Uart*; IV 5.62 *Mygyr uleinyad, uleit ossod*; IV 4.33; 7.6; 8.25; VII 17.16; 36.99 *Penn teyrneid, vleid vlaengar, gantha6*, etc. Restoring *bleinyat blaengar* would yield a length comparable with nearby lines 1, 3, 7, 9. It would be possible to take *ud* with the beginning of the line (i.e. *Nud ud* 'a lord like Nudd', as in CC 32) although this usage is rare in pre-1283 poetry.
- 6 **hael gwyl golystaf** *Hael* 'generous': see on *Nud* in line 5. G s.v. *golystaf* 'most manifest, prominent' suggests *gwolystaf* for more intense correspondence with *gwyl*. This may be the origin of CA line 1217 *mab golistan* (see CA 340), which is, however, connected with a variant of OE *Wulfstan* in GodA xlvi; cf. CBT II 2.53 *Eryri getwi gat olystaf*. *Gwyl* and *hael* are collocated in CBT IV 5.32.
- 7 **aeron yn amser kynhayaf** *Aeron* for 'berries' and various fruits (e.g. of apples in LIDC 16.55).
- 8 **gwenith ar galaf** See on §6.15 *Pan yw kalaf cann* where it is noted that Prydydd y Moch, alone of the court poets, uses *calaf* (CBT V 2.2 *Calaf gan, lloer uann ll6r6 uenegi*).
- 9 **yn ehwybyr yn nwyfre** GPC s.v. *ewybr* (< *wybr* 'cloud'), cf. CBT VII 10.12 *Lle6 ehwybyr, o lwybyr dy la6*. *Wybyr* is more frequent: e.g. CA line 679; Edmyg Dinbych line 16; PBT 7.34 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Wybyr gerd geirionydy*; LIDC 34.42; CBT IV 4.105-6 *Yg ga6r huysg6r huysgein—yn wybyr/ Yn ebrwyt gyuarwein*; V 23.90 *Llwybyr yn wybr, yn ebrwyt allan*.

See CLIH 166 on *eglwyr nwyfre*; WG 155. Curiously Prydydd y Moch is the only one of the court poets to use *nwyfre*: CBT V 14.20 *Llwybrant o'm nwyuyant uch no'r nwyure*. In V 9.21 *Rac colouyn lliab6s maws mab Nwyfre* the 'son of Nwyfre' is perhaps Gwyn, mentioned in the story, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, CO lines 181 and 218. Elin Jones (CBT V 92) suggests that the character *Lliav6s m. Nwyvre*

(TYP³ 414-15) may be a phantom, a misunderstanding of the poet's line; cf. also the mention of Lliaws mab Nwyfre in Englynion y Clywaid (CC 31.61), a poem which draws on *Culhwch ac Olwen*.

- 10 **<y thal hwyr (ms rythalhwyr) a'e de** One would expect a reference here to the heat or light of the sun or moon, and thus *de* is understood by G as 3sg. pres. of defective vb 'to burn, afflict, torment'; see also PT 96; GPC s.v. *de*¹, adj. 'burning, hot, fierce; keen', etc; *B* 4 (1927-9), 51-2 'ferocity'. *Ry* with spirantisation precludes a rel. clause here (GMW 62). It is hard to accommodate *talhwyr*, 2sg. subjunct. of *talw* (L&P 306-7; GMW 128-9). Perhaps restore *ry-th-dalhwyr* or *ry-th-dallhwyr*; or tentatively (as in the translation) *y thal* 'its face, brow' (of the sun) and *hwyr* 'gentle' or 'late; evening'. Is there a reference here to the setting sun, a topic of interest (see on §1.41; less certainly in §15.8-9), or to the sun's burning away of the cloud in the sky?
- 11 **march mygvras mangre** See §4.239 on *gre*, and GPC s.v. *mangre* 'stud, herd of horses', a word used by Gwilym Rhyfel and Prydydd y Moch (CBT II 29.3; V 14.3). *Mygvras* is also fairly uncommon, but cf. CA line 3 *meirch mwth myngvras*; and the character Maig Myngfras (CBT VII 8.7, TYP³ 446-7).
- 12 **dylif yg gwe (ms dilywhwe)** G emends to *dylif gwe* 'the arrangement or warp and weft of woven material', cf. §13.7 *dylif deweint a dyd*; §7.61 *dawn dylif* (em.) *Dofyd*. GPC s.v. *gwe* 'woven fabric' notes that the meaning 'web, spider's web' is first attested c. 1400. Either meaning would suit here, but the superfine filigree woven by the spider would be a more striking contrast to the rough mane of the horse. G's emendation was prompted by the apparently gnomic statement in CBT V 14.12 *Gnabd y dyn dylab dylif ny gwe* 'it is usual for a man to prepare a warp he doesn't weave' (but see Elin Jones' comments, p. 145). Prydydd y Moch is one of the few poets to use *gwe* (also CBT V 9.12 *kynnwe*); Gwalchmai uses *asswe* (CBT I 9.116, discussed p. 219) which seems to contain 3sg. of vb *gwëu*.
- 13 **chwant ac aryant amaerwy** Prydydd y Moch is the only one of the court poets to rhyme *chwant/aryant* (CBT V 24.41-2 *Ac eur ac aryant brth chwant chwannaðc./ A meirch mei, meingrôn, dôn a dossaðc*; V 23.186-8 *chwant/ bliant/aryant*). §4.47-8 has the same collocation; and see also on §5.80 *anwhant*. *Amaerwy*, not very common in poetry, is used for a finger-ring, or possibly bracelet, by the poet who praised Hywel ap Goronwy at the end of the 11c (CBT I 1.25 *Rywiscuis llaur am y vyssaur eur amaerwy*), and figuratively for the rim or edge of a sea-wave by Cynddelw (CBT III 5.99). See further EWSP 624 for discussion of *amaerwy* (recte *aerwy*?) *atnabot amyned* 'the bond of understanding is patience' and 598 on *Amhauial ar auaerwy* (recte *amaerwy*); see also on *aerwy* §18.40.
- 14 **dy vorwyn modrwy dy** 'to, for'. Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch both use *modrwy*, common in prose but rather rare in pre-1283 verse: CBT III 5.105 *ruteur vodrwy* (Rhieingerdd Efa); CBT V 22.31 *Eur didawl, meidraðl y modrwy—a'e phall*.
- 15 **eryr ar lan llyr pan llanhwy** The Osprey, which feeds entirely on fish, or the larger White-tailed or Sea Eagle may be meant: see EWSP 589 for *eryr/ebyr* collocations. Collocated *llyr/llanw (llenwi)/(glan)*: e.g. CBT IV 4.192 *Gwaedlan gwyr, a llyr a'e llanwei*; IV 16.211-12; I 26.9; and V 2.3 *Kyntôryf yn ebyr, llyr yn llenwi*. *Llyr* (personal name) with *eryr* in III 13.34; V 11.27, etc. See §4.2 and §19.21 on 3sg. pres. subjunct. in *-(h)wy*.

- 16 **gwylein yn gwarwy** Cf. CBT I 9.9 (Gwalchmai ap Meilyr) *Gwylein yn gbare ar wely lliant*. This form of the vb noun *gwarwy* (cf. *gware*, *chwarae*) is found in LIDC 16.44; 17.135 and 137; CBT I 1.10; III 16.62; IV 16.180; VII 42.28 *gbarbyua*, etc.
- 17 **eurgalch gylchwy** *Calch* 'lime' was used as a wash finish to decorate shields, and *eurgalch* may be used loosely for a 'gold-painted', or 'splendidly lime-washed' shield. *Cylchwy* 'round shield', as in CA line 395 (see p. 172). Collocated by Cynddelw (who uses *eurgalch* on three occasions), CBT III 16.82 *Ruthyr uthyrvalch*, *eurgalch y gylchwy*; and by Owain Cyfeiliog, CBT II 14.143-4.
- 18 **aduwyn** The usual meanings of *adwyn* (ModW *addwyn*) 'splendid; fine', etc. appear more suitable than 'gentle, tender' in this context and perhaps *adwyn* is to be restored for alliteration with *adwy*, here and in CBT III 29.17 *Bletynt*, *bleit adwy*, *yn adwyn yd las*; see on line 1 above.
- 19 **Eynawn** Either the common noun 'anvil', the blacksmith's main piece of equipment, imagined as a 'healer' and 'mender' of weapons (with G), or else the name of a real doctor, Einion, known to the audience — perhaps supported by the mention in line 20 of another court official. Generally on medicine in medieval Wales, see works cited in note 16 to the introduction above. One of the sons of Rhiwallon, the head of the 'Meddygon Myddfai', was called Einion; he, his brothers Gruffudd and Cadwgan and their father were supported by Rhys Gryg, prince of Ystrad Tywi in the 12c. As discussed in the introduction, it is conceivable that Prydydd y Moch sang our poem on a visit to Rhys Gryg's court perhaps c. 1220.
- 20 **kerdawr hael hygnaws** See on §4.35 *ygmat* which appears to be a parallel form of *ymat*, perhaps comparable to *hygnaws* here rather than *hynaws*. Or alternatively *hygnaws* (for *hynaws*) may have been written because of orthographic conservatism of the sort seen in LIDC 34.61 *milguir*, 18.114 *hirguynion*.
- 21 **Atwyn Mei y gogeu ac eaws** *Y* could also be interpreted as 'to, for', with a pattern similar to line 13: 'Fair is May for cuckoos and nightingale'. See §4.177 on cuckoos, associated with Spring in early englynion and CBT I 17.3 *cogeu cyntefin*; with Whitsuntide in CBT V 14.23. The nightingale in CBT I 9.8 and 87 *ea6s*; I 9.57 *eos Uei*; II 6.32; EWGP IX.12.3 *eos* (late).
- 22 **hin haws** Gwalchmai praises spring weather (*hin*), in CBT I 9.2 and 147 *Aduwyn kynteuin*, *kein hin dyt*. *Haws* is restricted in pre-1283 poetry: EWSP 413.4; *B* 26 (1974-6), 407 (Cadwallon fragment) *Handid haus genyf*; CBT I 6.15; V 30.11.
- 23 **reith a pherpheith neithawr** On the use of *reith* and *neithawr* in law texts, see WLW 64, 72, 86, 109. *Reith* 'a body of compurgators who support the oath of a principal in various contexts', including marriage. On the more general meaning, 'rule, order, manner', also possible here, see AP 26-7 where our line is rendered as 'a legal (?) and perfect marriage feast'. On *neithawr*, see CA 66-7, and §15.9. *Reith* and *perffeith* are rhymed in CBT III 13.46-7; *perffaith/parchraith* in CBT II 22.1-2.
- 24 **kyflwyn a garhawr** The 'gift' (*kyflwyn*) in this marriage context may have been the *cyfarws* that the poet himself would receive for his services: see Proinsias Mac Cana, 'An archaism in Irish poetic tradition', *Celtica* 8 (1968), 174-81, and cf.

- CBT VI 2.10 *Bard gyflwyn*. See GMW 121 on *carhawr* (pres. or fut. impers.), and lists of other forms in the General Introduction, 23.
- 25 **periglawr** See GPC s.v. *periglor*, and cf. §1.24-5 *Pwy vu periglawr/ y Uab Meir mwynuawr*; problematic CA line 961 (and note p. 301); and note similar congruence of R582.34-5 (Cyfoesi) *Na rann periglawr na cherdaβr ny byd,/ nac a dreidyaβ y'r allaβr* (prophesying social disruption); CBT I 24.2; III 3.173 and 232; IV 17.28.
- 26 **dydwyn y allawr** Referring to the carrying of the elements to the altar for the celebration of Mass (*offeren* < L. *offerenda*: see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Offeren, offeiriad', *B* 26 (1974-6), 38-43), or to bringing wealth to the church, as in CA line 378 *Ruuawn Hir ef rodei eur e allawr*.
- 27 **med yg kynted y gerdawr** On *kynted* frequently collocated with *med*, see §5.98. *Kerdawr*, cf. §§11.69, 28.33, etc. *Kerd/kynted*, CBT III 3.43; IV 6.238-9.
- 28 **am terwyn toryf vawr** *Ter(r)wyn/toryf* in CBT I 3.12 and 86; 31.3; II 24.25; VI 18.47.
- 29 **cleric (ms cleiric) catholic** Emended with GPC s.v. *clerig* (< L. *clericus*). The scribal *-ei-* may have been influenced by *cleir(i)ach* (< OIr), on which see GPC. *Catholic* 'universal, true, faithful'. Neither word is used elsewhere in early poetry, but for later instances and prose examples, see GPC.
- 30 **<h>eneuyd yn neuadwys** Cf. PT II.3 *Vryen hwn anwawt (recte anwawc) eineuyd (recte eneuyd)*; PT VI.23 *gan einewyd (recte eneuyd)*: see PT 29 'chieftain' (derived from *hynaf*). The spelling *hen-* (under influence of *hen*) is found in CBT II 1.61; 27.10; VII 28.3, with five instances of the form *hynefyd*. The hapax *neuadwys* is understood as 'hall', with PT 51.
- 31 **plwyf kymrwy Dwy a towys** The scribe has written *kymrwydwy*. On *kymrwy* 'lively', etc., cf. §15.29-30 *march Karadawc — / kymrwy teithiawc*; PT XI.20 (and note p. 124). The adj. is used by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 6.40) alone of the CBT poets. In favour of *Dwy* (or *Dwyw*) 'God' are the collocations with *plwyf* in CC 9.3; CC 20.11-12, and Edmyg Dinbych line 1 *Archaf y wen y Duw plwyf escori* (BWP 162; CLIH 202)). Either *plwyf kymrwy Dwy* or *Dwy* is the subject of 3sg. pres. *towys* (see GPC s.v. *tywysaf: tywys*).
- 32 **Paradwys** Cf. §25.44; EWSP 416.2 *Powys Paradwys Gymry*; CC 11.10; 22.10; R579.11 (Cyfoesi); CBT I 30.11; 33.35; II 14.148; IV 16.109; V 12.4; VII 41.5.
- 33 **lloer llewychawt** CA 121 treated *llewychawt* as an adj., comparing *medwhawt*, *baruawt*, *llywyawt* (line 53), *gwaryhawt* (line 54), etc. GPC s.v. *llewychawd* notes also that it may be 3sg. pres. abs. of vb *llewychu* (L&P 279 'shines'), as in CBT IV 17.19 *llewychaut beunyt*, and understood here and in §10.4 *llewychawt vy lleufereu*. See also on §4.128 *llewych*. Other comparable forms in *-awt* are noted in the General Introduction, 22, with further references.
- 34 **pan vyd da dy-m-gofyd** Cf. syntax of line 2. On the vb *dyofot* 'to happen, befall, come', see §1.86. Here, *-m-* is understood as infixed 1sg. pronoun, but in other instances it seems more likely to be a second preverb, as G suggests. If the latter here, then 'that it is good which comes to pass'. If *pan* 'when', then 'when there is wealth that comes to me'.
- 35 **araff hirdyd** The final *-f* of *araf* has been devoiced by following *h-* (GMW 13-14).

- 36 **athreidaw a geryd** 2sg. pres. of vb *caru*: GMW 115 notes the ‘early’ loss of final *-d* (retained in PT III.5 and 6, etc.), but cf. CC 21 lines 24, 25, 27 (*kerit*), 91 and 113. Loss is seen in CBT VI 26.50 (Dafydd Benfras) *taer y torry*, a poem containing many other 2sg. forms. The vb *athreidaw* ‘to visit’, is not as common as *treidaw*: Marwnad Cynddylan line 64; CBT I 9.24; II 1.46; 11.2; III 24.73, also *athreid* compounded with *llan* and *lle*. In the present context, cf. especially EWGP III.34-5 *ys odidaŵc wyneb ku o gar/ gyt a mynych athreidu*.
- 37 **blodeu ar wrthaf perwyd** The blossom of sweet fruit trees, or pear-trees: see §5.134 and CC 5.8 *siric a perwit*. *Gwarthaf* ‘top, summit’ is uniquely used by Prydydd y Moch in CBT corpus (V 23.148), but found in nature poetry etc.
- 38 **a Chreawdyr kerenhyd** See §22.9 and 28.21 respectively.
- 39 **didryf ewic ac elein** See on the patterning of line 21. Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* 87, favours ‘the lonely doe and the hind’ but the adj. *didryf* is generally used for a place or a building. Here understood as ‘uninhabited place or region’, as in CBT I 9.7 *Gorlas gbellt didrif* and 9.135 *Adwyn gwellt didrif pan dyf dieu*. Cf. EWGP VI.32 *elein yn llwyn*.
- 40 **ewynawc archuein (ms am harchuein)** Since *ewynawc* ‘foaming’ is used for horses, waves, drink, etc. and because animals are mentioned in the previous line, *archuein* ‘slender-waisted, shapely, graceful’ (< *arch* ‘middle of the body’ + *mein* ‘slender’), is likely to be a horse (cf. *meingan*, *meinyell*, etc.), as in CBT IV 4.90; VI 8.25, and cf. line 50 *ewynawc marchogaeth*. Used also of hounds in CBT II 17.1. The scribe’s slip may have been due to the influence of *march*, or *amharch*.
- 40 **lluarth pan lwyd y genhin** Cf. CA line 768 *luarth teulu* (and note p. 263; ELI 22-3); EWGP VII.16 *Bit las lluarth*. *Aer gennin* seems to be a metaphor for warriors in CA line 164. Lines 40-41 appear to contrast *dof* and *gwyllt*, cultivated garden produce contrasted with weeds (if charlock or corn marigold, but see on line 42).
- 42 **katawarth** GPC s.v. *cadafarth* ‘field mustard, charlock’, cf. EWGP VI.20 *melyn kadaŵarth* (see note on p. 59). EIF 234-5 discusses early Irish evidence for the corn marigold (*Chrysanthemum segetum*) as a pernicious weed.
- 43 **edystyr (ms edystystyr)** Cf. CA line 146 *edystrawr pasc* (and note, p. 117); GIG 12.88 *Ac eddystyr mewn cebystr cort*. See TYP³ 105 and HCC 107-9 for the suggestion that the meaning of *eddystyr* (from **adastrio-* ‘haltered [horse]’, HCC 51-2) in *Tri Phryf Edystir Enys Prydein* was influenced by Fr. *destrier*.
- 45 **nwy goleith gogywec** Cf. line 3 above. GPC s.v. *goleithiaf*: *goleithio* ‘to retreat from, avoid; evade’ etc. 3sg. pres. On *gogywec* ‘harm, injury’ see §4.62. Alternatively, ‘that harm does not pass by’.
- 46 **ellëin** GPC ‘fine, splendid’, with *Cymræc* ‘Welsh language’ prised as in CBT I 2.5 and 39 *Cuhelin Bart*, *Kymraec hart* and *Cvhelin doeth*, *Kymraec coeth*; II 8.8 *dy goeth Gymraec*; II 26.136 and 139 *da Gymraec* and *doeth Gymraec*; III 5.4 *Kymraec laesdec*; VI 28.14 *rwydd Gymraeg*.
- 47 **gruc pan vyd ehöec** Cf. §2.36 *bydueid yg gruc*; §5.123; nature englynion, etc. as well as *Cynddelw* (CBT III 7.9; IV 18.7). *Ehöec*, purple or dark red, common for clothes, usually mantles: PT I 4 *cant llen ehoec* (and note p. 18); VII.33 *na choch nac ehoec*; Edmyg Dinbych line 39 *a llen lliw ehoec*; CBT II 8.2 *yn y llenn lliö ehoec*; and see CA 233. In CBT II 26.144-5 the heathery nature of the Caron area in Pennardd is indicated by *ehoec*.

- 48 **morua y warthec** Conceivably 'a marsh — its cattle' (cf. perhaps line 21). The *morua* is preferred to the sea in LIDC 35.1 and 7; Meirionnydd's *morua* is praised in CBT II 6.9 and 30; PBT 3.51 *gwarthec*; EWSP 439.73-4 *Gwarthec Edeirmiawn*; 439.75 *gwarthegydd* (also PT II.2, XI.16; AP line 167; PT XII.34 *gwarthegawc*); Moliant Cadwallon line 26 *ny buglaut y warthec*; CBT II 26.149, IV 4.118.
- 49 **tymp pan dyn lloe llaeth** *Tymp* (< L. *tempus*), 'time, allotted time; occasion'. Rare in poetry, but CBT I 3.86 *Tymp pan dreing terwyn toryf difreityab*; V 2.1 *Kalan hyturef, tymp dyt yn edwi*. *Lloe* for usual sg. *llo* 'calf', or perhaps a form of the pl. (*llo-e*, rather than *lloi*). The usual sg. form *llo* occurs in PBT 3.10 and 16 (Kychwedyl) *yr talu can mu yrof vn llo* and *Nyt efrefwys buch wrth y llo*; CBT V 23.104, etc. On *llaeth*, see §4.134; see GPC s.v. *tynnaf*: *tynnu* 'pull' for a range of meanings including 'suck at a teat'.
- 50 **ewynauc marchogaeth** 'Riding on a frothing/foaming one', i.e. horse.
- 52 **Atwyn llat (ms athal)** G s.v. *athal*, '?reward, payment', suggests emendation which suspends the *atwyn* entirely; *athal* seems to be likely in CBT III 24.81 *Athal eur vual a vu eityab*; but §23.49 *athal gwin kamda* is rather uncertain. If G is right, 'a reward from the horn'.
- 52 **tal meduaeth (ms medueith)** The sg. *meduaeth* ('mead-feast' or 'one reared on mead' hence 'noble') is restored for the rhyme. *Tal* is ambiguous: 'head, end', used in phrases such as CA lines 400 *en tal lleithic* and 537 *tal being*; also *y tal issaf y'r neuad* 'the bottom end of the hall', Bleg 10.28. *Tal* 'payment' is also a possibility, especially if *wrth tal* were 'in accordance with the payment of the mead-feast' or 'of the nobleman'.
- 53 **yn y lyn llywyawt** The hapax *llywyawt* is assumed to be < *llywy* 'beautiful, fair, fine. . . splendid, bright', etc. + *-awt*. *Llywy* (a girl's name in LIDC 18.218; see CIB 51 and 193) is used mainly of women in the 11 instances in CBT corpus, as perhaps in Echrys Ynys line 26. Once of fair region, CBT I 1.8.
- 54 **goreil liw (ms y oreilw) gwaryhawt** G classes [*g*]oreilw tentatively as 3sg. pres. of vb *goralw* but also suggests (s.v. *gwaryhawt*) *yg gworeilw*, comparing BT 54.9-10 (CC 10.36 *Molaf inheu adawt goreu goreleirw byt*, but see CC 83 and 90 for emendation to *gororeil*). Here, I emend to *goreil liw* 'surface-colour', the colour of the surface of the water (cf. *llyn* in line 53), and understand *gwaryhawt* as 'playing', i.e. glinting and refracting light. Or if *goreil* in the sense of 'shadow, cover', perhaps the play of light and shade; if metaphorically for the covering of the earth, i.e. sky, then the changing colour of the firmament, as in translation. *Gwaryhawt* could also be interpreted as 3sg. abs. in *-awt*, 'which plays, glints'; G also suggests a possible formation from *ryhawt* ~ *rahawt* 'splendid, fine'. Another interpretation is prompted by EWGP VI.3 *Gorwyn blaen helic; eilic pysc yn llyn*, and the use of *geilic* 'lively, sprightly' for dogs, EWSP 426.48. Restoration of **goreilic* would give tolerable sense, 'another fair thing is a playful, sprightly [one; ?animal]'.
- 55 **geir a lefeir y Trindawt** *Trindawt* used very commonly with the def. art., e.g. AP line 98; §13.51; CC 14.36 and 59; 21.14 and 64; 33.117; and in numerous CBT instances. *Geir/lefeir* in EWGP III.32; CBT VI 3.35; 10.65-6.

3 Aduwyneu Taliessin

- 56 **rypenyt y pechawt** See on line 1 above. Cf. CBT I 29.35-6 *Aduwynach, kynach* (*kennyf boed rwyt*)/ *Keinuoli Keli calonnogrwyt. Aduwyndawt* 'pleasantness; grace; mercy', etc., as in CC 13.3 *mab aduwyndawt*; CBT I 3.35; 6.21 and 28.26.
- 57 **Aduwynhaf o'r aduwyndawt** See on poem title and line 1 above.
- 58 **kerenhyd a Dofyd** *Kerenhyd* with *Dofyd*, cf. Gosymdaith line 74 *kerennyd a Dovyd ny d6yll*; CBT I 30.42; II 26.82-3, and common with other terms for God as in line 38 above.

4 Angar Kyfundawt

This poem is the longest in the present collection, rivalled only by §5 Kat Godeu (249 lines). It is renowned as the *locus classicus* of Taliesin questions with approximately half of its 266 lines consisting of questions. The rest include passages on the origin of poetry, boasts in an imagined contest scenario, and transformation passages. The ‘uncooperative’ nature of parts of the text has driven many scholars to despair. ‘Imagine now that you have heard 27 lines — and understood three, or less’, said Ifor Williams.¹ Sarah Higley wonders, indeed, whether they were ever intended to be unravelled, being designed as manifestations of Taliesin’s ‘powers of obfuscation’.² This may be so, but part of the problem stems from the evident corruption of parts of the text, its swift changes of direction as one topic is replaced by the next, particularly in the rapid volleys of questions, and the presence of ambiguity and word-play.

The poem’s opening section, lines 1-24, is the most challenging of all, and various interpretations are considered in detail in the commentary. The speaker, undoubtedly Taliesin (‘I am Taliesin’, lines 53 and 263), seeks to establish priority and prerogative by implying in the first two couplets that he has preempted another poet. A veiled threat (or *bygwth*) that the resources of a patron who refuses him will run dry is coupled with the claim that Taliesin’s utterance will bring forth manna,³ bringing to mind the power of the word on human fortunes as asserted by generations of poets in Wales, Ireland and elsewhere. Other skilful practitioners are mentioned: Cian, known from the *Historia Brittonum* list of early poets, Afagddu ‘who brought forth speech in metre’, and Gwiawn — likely to be a pre-form or an alias of the Taliesin figure — who speaks of the coming of ‘a profound one’ who could bring the dead to life, possibly an allusion to Taliesin’s prophesying of Christ.⁴ These figures are associated with cauldrons, seething with inspiration without the agency of fire, and engaged throughout the aeons in producing poetic matter.

Lines 25-30 introduce the opposition, a malign confederacy (*kyfundawt* is restored in line 25), most naturally understood in the light of the following lines as being a band of poets claiming expertise in the ‘nation’s poetry’ (*kerd kiwdawt*, 27). They are goaded to ‘declaim a declamation’ (as the court poets themselves were fond of saying) above the glinting liquor. The problematic lines 31-4 appear to say that in the final reckoning Taliesin will bring forth song concerning one made flesh, a judge, a conqueror, perhaps to be linked with Gwiawn’s apparent prophecy of Christ’s coming, noted above.

¹ PT xv.

² Higley, *Between Languages* 213. Her English translation is at 284-92, with perceptive comments on the poem and problems of interpretation, 210-18.

³ See notes on line 8 *budyd emellin*.

⁴ See commentary on §5.249.

Line 36 signals a brief return to a more familiar vein of discourse as Taliesin reminisces about his sixty years' solitude, on sea and on land, his hundred-strong retinue and his hundred dominions, mentioning an obscure female, Lladon ferch Lliant 'who had little desire for gold and silver' (46-7), and posing a question about the identity of those who spilt the blood of a fair, or holy youth — another possible reference to Christ, who may be the object of the praise mentioned in lines 51-2. Lines 53-6, repeated at the end of the poem (261-6), claim that Taliesin's impeccable song, used in the service of his patron Elffin, will last until Doom. Ifor Williams implied that this marked the end of a poem,⁵ but the text continues quite seamlessly to state that the poet's song used to be rewarded with gold. In those halcyon days, perjury and treachery were anathema. Now, ignorant and over-familiar poets need to be kept in their place, and Taliesin reminds the audience of his position as sage, pre-eminent poet, learned teacher, and of the favour which his song will attract from God. Indeed, it was Talhaearn himself — the *Tad Awen* 'Father of Inspiration' of the *Historia Brittonum* poet-list, praised again in lines 165-6 as the 'greatest sage' — who asserted that God is the true judge of worth. Moreover, poetic inspiration itself is of divine origin (75-6), with its seven-score divisions (*ogyruen*) and sub-divisions (77-80), and its abode both in Annwfn 'below the earth' and in the air above (80-84). The smug claim to know the answer to the paradox 'what sorrow is better than joy' (85-7, derived from Ecclesiastes 7:3) draws attention to the speaker's familiarity with Scripture, and highlights his credentials to introduce the very long display of knowledge that continues to line 225.

Taliesin's knowledge, or rather what John Rhŷs rightly styled 'pretensions of the most extravagant kind', is the most prominent feature of his delineation in this poem, as in others of the collection.⁶ The professed specialities in this instance are poetry (its origin, its practitioners, its fashioning, as mentioned above), natural history ('why a fish has scales', 'why a roebuck is dappled', 'what brings forth a gem from hard stones', 'why a puppy totters'), cosmology ('why is the sun's breast reddened', 'how is the sun put into position'), statistics ('how many raindrops in a shower'), computistics ('how many days in a year'), Scripture ('what caused the river to flood over Pharaoh's people').⁷ He can also claim some modest competence in Latin and Hebrew (226-9).

Extending as it does over some 138 lines, the passage conveys an impression of encyclopaedic learning without the tedium of an actual learned discourse. It uses two entertaining and economical ways to do this, both well-suited to the

⁵ PT xxv.

⁶ Poems §§1, 6, 9, the last portion of §11, and §26.

⁷ Questions, and closely related material such as boasts, totalling some 148, have been arranged by subject matter for convenience in 'Taliesin's questions', *CMCS* 33 (1997), 19-79: they encompass (a) poetry, music, and inspiration; (b) native story tradition; (c) the Earth: its extent, foundations, and suspension; (d) sun, moon, and planets; (e) Heaven and Earth; (f) night and day, time and the seasons; (g) winds; (h) waters, seas, and rivers; (i) drinks and liquids; (j) fire, smoke, and minerals; (k) animals; (l) fishes; (m) birds; (n) plants; (o) colours; (p) body, mind, and soul; (q) Scripture and religion; (r) battle; (s) miscellaneous.

short line. One is simply to assert unrivalled knowledge, using line-initial *Gogwn* 'I know. . .'. (as in lines 88, 122, 124, 169, 177, 182-7, 189, 197). The other, far more common way is to pose questions implying that Taliesin alone knows the answers. These are signalled and given a superficial unity of form by a range of interrogatives with initial *p*-: the archaic-sounding *pet* 'how many?' (a word confined entirely to the Book of Taliesin),⁸ *py* 'what, which?', *pw* 'who; what, which?', and another of Taliesin's trademark interrogatives, *pan* 'how come, whence, how, why?', usually followed by *yw*. The use of simple repetition or antistrophe (especially in lines 106-19) helps to vary the tone by slowing down the pace. Movement of sense is often, but not invariably, by couplet or over four lines. The commentary below notes possible sources and analogues, chiefly from Scripture, medieval question-and-answer texts and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and *De Natura Rerum*,⁹ but also in native poems, including other items in the present collection.¹⁰ Attention is also directed in the commentary to etymological or pseudo-etymological word-play (e.g. line 110 *pan yw gwyrdd gweryt* 'why is the earth green?'), and to possible instances of deliberate ambiguity.¹¹

After claiming that his utterance is declaimed in Hebrew, and using Latin to urge praise of Jesus (*lauda tu, laudate Iessu*), Taliesin lists his 'second' set of transformations (his first is not identified, but was perhaps thought to be his fashioning as a poet by the magicians Math and Gwydion, as described in §5 Kat Godeu). Lines 230-40 see him in the form of wild and tame animals and the implements of the farmer and the smith, but the most significant portion is in lines 241-60. Here we see the use of the riddling motif which Archer Taylor called the 'Trials of Wheat' (or barley), describing in anthropomorphic terms the tortures undergone by grain as it is processed for making bread or ale. Here the life-cycle of the Taliesin-grain is followed, from its planting, harvesting, drying, roasting in an oven or kiln to produce malt, through to its fermentation and maturation as drink to set before a lord, a process very similar to that described in §13 Kanu y Cwrwf, 'The Song of the Ale', which imaginatively explores the idea of the body of the Resurrection (I Corinthians 15). As explained in the commentary on line 252, Taliesin's nine-night sojourn in the 'womb' of the 'red-clawed hen' is best interpreted in this context as a metaphorical treatment of the

⁸ Later MW *pa sawl*.

⁹ Very helpful model editions have been *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus*, edited by James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill (abbreviated as PSol&Sat), and *Collectanea Pseudo-Beda*, edited by Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge (abbreviated as *Collectanea Ps-B*). It will be clear that I have also drawn on *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi*, edited by Lloyd Daly and Walther Suchier (abbreviated as *Altercatio*), and *Das Mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nebst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum)*, edited by Walther Suchier (abbreviated as *Gespräch*).

¹⁰ For example, the question 'why is a greenfinch green' (146) is exactly paralleled in §1.15, and line 198 refers to the events of the tree-battle in §5 Kat Godeu. Interest in the movements of the seas and rivers (lines 108-9, 116-19, 150-51, 181-6, 211) and the wind (109-10, 116-17, 225) are also evident in other poems in this collection.

¹¹ On this aspect, see the stimulating study by Higley, *Between Languages* passim.

4 Angar Kyfundawt

roasting kiln. If so, the folk-tale episode in *Ystoria Taliesin* in which Ceridwen swallows a grain (Gwion) that is then reborn as her 'son' may have arisen from a literal — rather than a figurative — understanding of our poem, or one like it. The relationship between the Book of Taliesin poems and the *Ystoria Taliesin* is discussed further in the General Introduction, 16-19.

Bard — yman y mae!
The poet — here he is!
neu cheint a ganho.
I've [already] sung what he may sing.

Kanet pan darffo
Let him sing [only] when
sywedyd yn yt uo.
the sage has drawn to a close wherever he may be.

5 **Haelon a'm nacco**
A generous one who refuses me
nys deubi a rotho.
will never get anything to give.

Trwy ieith Taliessin
Through the language of Taliesin
budyd emellin.
[will come] the profit of manna.

Kian pan darfu,
When Cian died
10 **lliaws y gyfolu.**
his retinue was numerous.

By lleith bit [ardu],
Until death it shall be obscure —
areith Auacdu:

Afagddu's declamation:
neus duc yn geluyd
skilfully he brought forth
kyureu ar gywyd.
speech in metre.

15 **Gwiawn a leferyd,**
[It is] Gwiawn who utters,
adwfyn dyfyd;
a profound one shall come;
gwnaei o varw vyw
he would bring the dead to life,
ac aghyfoeth yw.
and [yet] he is poor.

Gwnëynt eu peiron
They'd make their cauldrons

- 20 **a verwynt heb tan;**
that were boiling without fire;
gwnëynt eu delideu
they'd work their materials
yn oes oesseu.
for ever and ever.
Dydwyth dydyccawt
Passionately will song be brought forth
o dyfynwedyd gwawt.
by the profound speaker.
- 25 **Neut angar kyfundawt;¹**
Hostile is the confederacy;
pwy y chynefawt?
what is its custom?
Kymeint kerd kiwdawt
[Since] such a great amount of the nation's poetry
a delis awch tafawt,
was on your tongues
pyr na thraethwch² traethawt,
why don't you declaim a declamation,
- 30 **llat uch llyn llathrawt?**
a flow above the shining drink?
Penillyach pawb
When everyone's separated out
dybydaf a gwawt³
I'll come with a song
dwfyn dyfu ygnawt:
of a profound one who became flesh:
neur dodyw ystygat,⁴
there has come a conqueror,
- 35 **trydyd par ygnat.**
one of the three judges in readiness.
Tri vgein mlyned
For sixty years
yt portheis i lawrwed
I endured solitude

¹ ms kyfyndawt

² ms trethwch

³ ms yna gnawt

⁴ ms ystygnawt

yn dwfyr kaw achywed,⁵
in the water gathered in a band [around the earth],
yn eluyd tired.

[and] in the lands of the world.

40 **Kanweis a'm dioed,**
I had a hundred servants,
kant rihyd odynoed.

[and] a hundred dominions after that.

Kan yw yd aethant,
Since it is, they went,

kan yw y doethant
since it is, they came

kan eilewyd y gant,
with song to the enclosure,

45 **ac ef a'e darogant.**
and he foretold it.

Lladon verch Liant
Lladon daughter of Lliant

oed bychan y chwant
had little desire

y eur ac aryant.

for gold and silver.

Pwy'r byw a'e diadas

Who are the living ones(s) who spilt

50 **gwaet y ar wynwas?**
blood from a holy youth?

Odit traethator,
A singular one is spoken of,

mawr molhator.
a great one is praised.

Mitwyf Taliessin:

I am Taliesin:

ryphrydaf-y iawn llin;

I compose a [song] of impeccable pedigree;

55 **paräwt hyt ffin**
my praise of Elffin

yg kynelw Elphin.
will last until Doom.

Neur deiryghet

It was rewarded

⁵ ms *achiwed*

o rif eur dylyet.

by a sum of well-deserved gold.

Pan gaffat, ny charat

[In those days] when it was appreciatively received,

60 **anudon a brat;**

perjury and treachery were not loved;

nu ny chwenychawt⁶

now [however], there'll be no desire

trwy gogyuec an gwawt.

for our song, unfortunately.

A[^{'m}] gogyfarchwy brawt

Whosoever may address me as 'brother'

wrthyf ny gwybyd nebawt:

knows nothing compared with me:

65 **doethur, prif geluyd,**

the sage, the pre-eminent poet,

dispwyllawt sywedyd

the learned one gives instruction

am wyth, am edrywyd,⁷

about fighting, about pursuing,

am doleu dynwedyd,

about the turns [of phrase] of the profound poet,

am gwyr gwawt geluyd.

about men [who are] skilled in song.

70 **Kerdown Duw yssyd**

Let's approach God who is

trwy ieith Talhayarn,

— according to the utterance of Talhaearn —

bedyd budyd varn,

the true judge of the worth of the world,

a varnwys teithi

the One who adjudged the qualities

angerd vardoni.

of passionate song.

75 **Ef a'e rin rodes**

He with his miracle bestowed

awen aghymes:

immeasurable inspiration:

⁶ ms *chwenychvat*

⁷ ms *edrywyth*

seith vgein ogyruen
there are 140 'ogrfen'
yssyd yn awen;
in inspiration;
wyth vgein o pop vgein
eight score . . .

80 **euyd yn vn.**
. . . in [each] one.

Yn Annwfn y diwyth,
In Annwfn he ranged the [divisions of inspiration],
yn Annwfn y gorwyth,
in Annwfn he made them,
yn Annwfn is eluyd,
in Annwfn below the earth,
yn awyr uch eluyd.
in the air above the earth.

85 **Y mae a'e gwbyd**
There is one who knows
py tristit yssyd
what sadness
gwell no llewenyd.
is better than joy.

Gogwn dedyf radeu
I know the set gradations
awen pan deffreu;
of inspiration when it flows;

90 **am geluyd taleu,**
[I know] about payments to a poet,
am detwyd dieu,
about propitious days,
am buched ara,
about a joyful life,
am oesseu yscorua,
about the aeons of the fortress,
am haul teŷrned,
about ones like kings,

95 **py hyt eu kygwara.**
how long their dwelling-place [shall last].
Am gyhauial . . .

.
ydynt trwy weryt
are they through the deliverance

mawrhydic sywyt.⁸
of the honoured learned poet.

Pan dygyfrensit
How did the wind of the firmament

100 **awel uchel gyt?**
distribute itself?

pan vyd goboyw bryt?
why is the mind lively?

pan vyd mor hyfryt?
why is it so fine?

pan yw gwrđ echen?
why is a [certain] lineage fearless?

pan echrewyt ucher?⁹
how was nightfall produced?

105 **neu heul pan dodir?**
how is the sun put into position?

pan yw tōi tir?
where does the roofing of the Earth comes from?

tōi tir pwy meint?
the roofing of the Earth, what's its size?

pan tynhit gwytheint?
where were streams drawn from?

gwytheint pan tynnit?
from where were streams drawn?

110 **pan yw gwyrđ gweryt?**
why is the earth green?

gweryt pan yw gwyrđ?
the earth, why is it green?

pwy echenis kyrd?
who produced poems?

kyrd pwy enchenis?
poems — who produced them?

ystir pwy ystyrywys?
who considered meaning?

115 **Ystyrywyt yn llyfreu**
It's been considered in books

pet wynt, pet ffreu,
how many winds, how many waters,

⁸ ms sywyd

⁹ ms uchel

- pet ffreu, pet wynt,**
how many waters, how many winds,
pet auon ar hynt,
how many coursing rivers,
pet auon yd ynt;
how many rivers they are;
 120 **dayar, pwy y llet,**
the Earth, what is its extent,
neu pwy y thewhet.
what is its thickness.
Gogwn trws llafnawr
I know the tumult of blades
am rud, am lawr.
around a blood-stained [warrior], around a champion.
Gogwn a trefnawr
I know what's ranged
 125 **rwg Nef a llawr;**
between Heaven and earth;
pan atsein aduant,
why a hollow echoes,
pan ergyr diuant,
why annihilation comes all of a sudden,
pan lewych aryant,
why silver gleams,
pan vyd tywyll nant;
why a stream is dark;
 130 **anadyl pan yw du,**
why breath is black,
pan yw creu auu;
why liver is bloody;
buch pan yw bannawc,
why a buck has horns,
gwreic pan yw serchawc,
why a woman is amorous,
llaeth pan yw gwyn,
why milk is white,
 135 **pan yw glas kelyn,**
why holly is green
pan yw baruawt myn
why a kid-goat is bearded,
yn lliaws mehyn;
in many a place;

◊¹⁰

- pan yw keu efwr,**
why the cow-parsley stem is hollow,
 140 **pan yw medw colwyn,**
why a puppy is intoxicated,
pan yw lledyf ordwyn,
why a sledge-hammer is flat,
pan yw brith iyrchwyn,
why a roebuck is dappled,
pan yw hallt halwyn;
why salt is salty;
cwrwf pan yw ystern,
why beer is bitter,
 145 **pan yw lletrud gwern,**
why an alder is flecked with red,
pan yw gwyrdd llinos,
why a greenfinch is green,
pan yw rud egroes —
why rose-hips are red —
neu wreic a'e dioes;
it is a woman who has them;
pan dygynnu nos,
whence night falls,
 150 **py datweir yssyd**
what transformation there is
yn eur lliant;
in the golden sea;
ny wyr neb pan
no-one knows why
rudir y bron huan,
the sun's breast is reddened,
lliw yn erkynan;
the colour prominent;
 155 **neut anhawr¹¹ y dwyn,**
[nor about] the composition of praise,
tant telyn py gwyn;
[or] what the string of a harp laments,
coc, py gwyn py gan,
what the cuckoo laments, what it sings,

¹⁰ ms *pan yw baruawt*¹¹ ms *newyd anahawr*

- py geidw y didan;**
what maintains its song;
py dydwc garthan
what brings the encampment
 160 **Gereint ar Arman;**
of Geraint to ?Garman;
py dydwc glein
what brings forth a gem
o erddygnawt vein;
from hard stones;
pan yw per erwein,
why the meadow-sweet is fragrant,
pan yw gwyrliw brein.
why ravens are irridescent.
 165 **Talhayarn yssyd**
Talhaearn is
mwyhaf > sywedyd.¹²
the greatest sage.
Pwy amgyffrawd gwyd
what tumult [will strike] the trees
o aches amot dyd?
as a result of the torrent on the appointed day?
Gogwn da a drwc,
I know about good and evil,
 170 **cwd a . . .**
where it goes,
cwd amwehenir¹³ mwc,
where smoke disperses,
mawr meint gogyhwc;
[in] a great moving mass.
kawc, pwy a'e dylifas?
who fashioned the vessel?
pwy gwawr gorffennas?
who concluded the dawn?
 175 **pwy a bregethas**
what did they preach,
Eli ac Eneas.
Elijah and Aeneas?

¹² ms *ysywedyd*
¹³ ms *amewenir*

Gogwn gogeu haf,
I know the summer cuckoos —
a uydant ygayaf.
whether they exist in winter.

Awen a ganaf,
I sing inspiration,
 180 **o dwfyn ys dygaf.**
I bring it forth from the depth.

Auon kyt beryt:
The connected river which flows [around the world]:

gogwn y gwrhwt,
I know its might,
gogwn pan dyueinw,
I know how it ebbs,
gogwn pan dyleinw,
I know how it flows,

185 **gogwn pan dillyd,**
I know how it courses,
gogwn pan wescryd.
I know how it retreats.

Gogwn pet¹⁴ pegor
I know how many creatures
yssyd y dan vor;
are under the sea;

gogwn eu heissor
I know the nature
 190 **pawb yn y oscor;¹⁵**
of each one in its shoal;
pet gygloyt yn dyd,
how many divisions in a day,
pet dyd ym blwydyn,
how many days in a year,
pet paladyr yg kat,
how many shafts in a battle,
pet dos yg kawat.
how many drops in a shower.

195 **Atuwyn yt rannawt gwawt**
The [poet] who's not slighted by contention

¹⁴ ms py

¹⁵ ms oscord

nwy mefyl gogyffrawt
will share out his song in splendour.

Gogwn i nebawt:

I know a thing [or two]:

aches gwyd Gwydyon,¹⁶

[about] the onrush of Gwydion's trees,

py lenwis auon

what caused the river to flood

200 **ar pobyl Pharaon;**

over Pharaoh's people;

py dydwc rwynnon

what takes away the ?bonds

baran achwysson;

caused by anger;

py yscawl odef

what [is] the ladder-like design

pan drychafwyt¹⁷ Nef;

by which Heaven was raised;

205 **pwy uu fforch hwyl**

who was the support of the covering,

o dayar hyt awyr;

[extending] from the earth to the air;

pet byssed a'm peir

how many fingers does He create for me

arnun¹⁸ a'm nedeir;

together with the hollow of my hand;

pwy enw y deu eir

[I know] what the names of the two words are

210 **ny eing yn vn peir;**

that can't be fitted into a single cauldron;

pan yw mor medwhawt,

where the intoxicated sea originates,

pan yw du pyscawt —

why fishes are black —

moruwyt uyd eu cnawt;

their flesh is sea-food;

hyd pan yw medysc,

why a stag is . . .

¹⁶ ms has lines 196 and 197 in the reverse order.

¹⁷ ms *drychafafwyt*

¹⁸ ms *am vn*

- 215 **pan yw gannawc pysc,**
why a fish has scales,
pan yw du troet alarch gwyn,
why a white swan's foot is black,
pedrydawc gwayw llym,
why a sharp spear is mighty,
llwyth Nef nyt ystyng;
why the host of Heaven does not yield;
py pedeir tywarchen
[I know] which are the four sods of earth
- 220 **ny wys eu gorffen;**
whose end is not known;
py voch, neu py grwydyr hyd.
?what swine or what wandering stag.
A'th gyfarchaf, vargat vard,
I challenge you, wise poet,
gwr y'th gynnyd,
a man of your pre-eminence,
escyrn nywl cwd ynt,
where are the bones of the mist,
- 225 **a deu rayadyr gwynt?**
and the two cataracts of the wind?
Traethattor vylg gofec
My utterance is declaimed
yn Efrei, yn Efröec,
in Hebrew, in Hebraic,
yn Efröec, yn Efrei,
in Hebraic, in Hebrew,
Lauda tu,¹⁹ laudate Iessu.
Lauda tu laudate Jesus.
Eil gweith y'm rithat:
I was transformed a second time:
- 230 **bum glas gleissat,**
I was a blue salmon,
bum ki, bum hyd,
I was a dog, I was a stag,
bum iwrch ymynyd,
I was a roebuck on the mountain,
bum kyff, bum raw,
I was a block, I was a spade,

¹⁹ ms *laudatu*

- bum bwell yn llaw,**
I was an axe in the hand,
 235 **bum ebill yg gefel,**
I was an auger [held] in tongs,
blwydyn a hanher.
for a year and a half.
Bum keilyawc brithwyn
I was a speckled white cockerel
ar ieir yn Eidin;
covering the hens in Eidyndyn;
bum amws ar re,
I was a stallion at stud,
 240 **bum tarw toste.**
I was a fiery bull.
Bum bwch melinawr,
I was a stook in the mills,
mal amaethawr;²⁰
the ground meal of the farmers;
bum gronyn erkennis,
I was a grain . . .
ef tyfwys ymryn;
it grew on the hill;
 245 **a'm mettawr, a'm dottawr,**
I'm reaped, I'm planted,
yn sawell y'm gyrrawr,
I'm dispatched to the kiln,
y'm ry giawr o law
I'm loosed from the hand
wrth vyg godeidaw.
in order to be roasted.
A'm haruolles yar
A hen got hold of me —
 250 **grafrud, grib escar;**
a red-clawed one, a crested enemy;
gorffowysseis naw nos
I spent nine nights
yn y chroth yn was.
residing in her womb.
Bum aeduedic,
I was matured,

²⁰ ms *ymaethawr*

- bum llat rac gwledic,**
I was drink set before a ruler,
- 255 **bum marw, bum byw,**
I was dead, I was alive,
keig yd y'm ediw;
a stick went into me;
bum y ar wadawt,
I was on the lees,
y racdaw bum tawt;
separated from it, I was whole;
a meil²¹ kyghores
and the drinking-vessel stiffened resolve,
- 260 **gres grafrud a'm rodes.**
[for] the red-clawed one imbued me with passion.
Odit traethattor,
A singular one is spoken of,
mawr molhator.
a great one is praised.
Mitwyf Taliessin:
I'm Taliesin:
ry phrydaf iawnllin;
I compose [song] of true pedigree;
- 265 **parahawt hyt ffin**
my praise of Elffin
yg kynnelw Elphin!
will last until Doom.

title The title *Angar kyfyndawt*, abstracted from line 25 (see note), has been added to the bottom of page 18 by the main scribe.

- 1 **Bard** — **yman y mae** *Yman* 'here', rather uncommon in poetry. But used of temporal 'here and now' in CBT II 1.110; contrasting Man's province with that of God on high in EWSP 452 (Claf Abercuawg) *cas dyn yman cas Duw vry* (em.); also contrastive in EWSP 412 *Pell odyman Aber Lliw*, etc. It is also used at the beginning of texts or sections of texts, often with the vb *dechreu*, as in the Book of Aneirin rubric (mid-13c, CA 55) *Eman e tervyna Gwarchan Kynvelyn . . . eman weithyon e dechreu Gwarchan Maelderw*; in law texts BL Addl 14931, p. 32 (WKC 252) *Eman y llas Elydyr Mwynwaur* (*yma* also used in the same sentence); Cotton Caligula A.III, f. 154r, col. 2, line 17 *Vuchot e traethassam. . . . Eman e traethwn*; Cotton Domitian II, f. 11r *uchof. . . eman*; and elsewhere, e.g.

²¹ ms *am eil*

Peniarth 14, p. 33 *Eman y dechreuant gwyrthyau Seint Edmund*, etc. For the form *yma*, see note on §11.54.

'The poet — here he is'. It cannot be rendered 'it is a poet who is here' since that would require *yssyd*; thus perhaps Ifor Williams' curious translation 'a bard here present', PT xv. As it stands, the declaration, with its odd syntax, is perhaps intended to attract the attention of the audience, rather like the *Hwæt* 'right, then' of Old English poems such as *Beowulf*. It would seem natural that the performer should announce himself, perhaps indicating that he is adopting a persona: cf. in this collection the declamatory openings of §7.1 *Mydwyl Merweryd*; §23.1 *Mydwyl Taliessin deryd*; and the less similar §24.1 *Neu vi luossawc yn trydar*. But a mention of an opposing poet would fit better with the 3sg. vbs in lines 2-3. See further comments on line 4 below.

The professional court poets very occasionally use phrases of the 'be quiet, a poet's talking' variety (e.g. CBT IV 10.16 (Cynddelw) *Gostec, beirt: bart a glybch*, in an unusual, overtly dramatic reconciliation poem). Cynddelw reasserts his professional standing within poems, as do others: e.g. CBT III 5.125 *Bart Llywelyn hael hud ym gelwir*, CBT IV 9.150 *Mi, Gyndelw, a gynnelw gennwch*; 10.31 *Auch bart, abch beirnyad uytaf*; 16.115 *Bard a'th yafl, a'th uafl, a'th uaברה*. But many of their praise poems open with an invocation to God (as is common in *hengerdd*), often combined with a plea for inspiration to sing well; elegies often begin *in medias res* with expressions of grief. The line is not fully rhymed with line 2, a practice possibly condoned in the opening line of a poem. Tal 242 emends *canho* in line 2 to *canhoe* (see note on line 2 on *-wy/oe* and *-o* forms), rhyming with postulated *ymoe* (on which see WG 349). Emendation to *y bo*, or *yt uo* would seem to be ruled out by *yt uo* in line 4. An alternative emendation to *yma*, with proest rhyme with line 2, and repetition of sense 'here', also lacks conviction.

- 2 **neu cheint a ganho** See §5.25 on the 1sg. pret. form *ceint*, generally found in line-initial position in the Book of Taliesin and elsewhere. For *neu* + spirantisation see TC 364. *Canho* 3sg. pres. subjunct.: CC 28.2b *canho*; 29.22b *cano*; R1051.36 (prophecy) *ogano*; CBT VI 11.14. But *-wy* form in LIDC 15.23 (Bedwenni) *a ganhwi*. The shift from *-wy/oe* to *-o* in 3sg. pres. subjunct. forms has been charted by Simon Rodway who shows that *-o* forms increase dramatically in the work of the early Gogynfeirdd; he counts 24 instances of *-wy* in the Book of Taliesin, and 24 of *-o*: 'Two developments in medieval literary Welsh and their implications for dating texts', in HI 67-74, pp. 71-4, and see the General Introduction. See on line 1 for Morris-Jones' restoration of *moe/canhoe*. Without any emendation, with Ifor Williams, 'I have sung what he will sing' (PT xv). Alternatively, 'may he sing what I sang' (understanding *neur geint* rather than *neu cheint*).
- 3 **Kanet pan darffo** The vb *darffo* has a range of meanings, including 'finish, die; happen (to), befall', etc. PT xv suggests 'Let him sing when the wise one has finished'.
- 4 **sywedyd yn yt uo** See §5.174 for discussion of *syw* words. *Yn yt uo*, lit. 'in [the place] where he may be', cf. PBT 3.12 (Kychwedyl) *mal tan twym tARTH yn yt vo*. The point of these lines is unclear. Either (1) the declaimant announces himself in line 1, proceeding to say that he has in the past sung what someone else would sing — as though he might have assumed a poetic persona — and in line 3 asking

that his fictive persona be allowed to take over where the sage (*sywedyd*) left off. Or more plausibly (2), the performer refers mockingly in line 1 to another poet, stating in line 2 that the performer himself has already pre-empted the opposition who must in any case await their turn until he (the *sywedyd*) has finished his disquisition.

- 5 **Haelon a'm nacco** *Haelon* either sg. (as in translation), or pl. (ModW *haelion*). For 3sg. pres. subjunct. in *-o*, see on line 2, and GPC s.v. *nacaf*: *naca* 'deny, refuse'. Cf. CC 16.17 *Rec a archaw-e, ni'm naccer* (asking for reconciliation with God). The vb *nacäu* is also used (e.g. CBT V 28.8 *Ny wybu nakau nep*), as is the noun *nac* 'denial' (ModW *nag*) (e.g. CBT V 6.13 *gŕr ny dyweid—nac*; 5.19 *Ef yn ateb neb ny dywaes—nac* (em.); I 3.14 *Ny duc neb keinyad nac ohonaŕd*; II 26.214 *Ny cheffid gan naf nac o'e eneu*.
- 6 **nys deubi a rotho** Lit. 'there will not come to him that which he may give'. A miserly patron who refuses the poet will be punished, as in Ifor Williams' translation 'a lord who refuses me will never afterwards have anything to give' (PT xv). *Nys deubi*, cf. §1.97 *a geissont gyfarws nys deubi*; *deubi* is also found in PBT 10.9 (Darogan Kadwaladyr) *ys deubi Seis*; CC 20.159; but is not attested in the CBT corpus. See on line 2 for innovative subjunct. form *rotho*. Both *rodwy* and *rodo* are used by court poets; Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch make use of both.
- 7 **Trwy ieith Taliessin** *Trwy* 'through/by means of', cf. lines 71 *trwy ieith Talhayarn*. *Taliesin* mentioned below, 53 and 263 *Mydwyf Taliessin*; §15.35 *a march Taliessin*; §23.1 *Mydwyf Taliessin*; §25.58 *Mydwy Taliessin*; PT IV.23 *Taliesin gan tidi ae didan*; VIII.37 *yspeil Taliessin*, and poem titles §§3, 6, and 7 (recte 8). See TYP³ 500-3, and General Introduction. It is generally thought to be from *tal* 'forehead' + *iesin* 'radiant' (from *ias*, according to GPC), and is found as a personal name (*Talgesin*, *Taliesin*) in Brittany in the 14c. John T. Koch, 'De Sancto Iudicaelo Rege Historia and its implications for the Welsh Taliesin', *CSANA Yearbook 3-4* (2005), 247-62, p. 253, regards *Taliosinus* in Ingomar as an early form but one would rather expect **Talo-ias-* or *Talies-*. There is no evidence that the personal name was in general use in Wales, unlike Brittany.
- 8 **budyd emellin** The problematic *budyd* is found in a similar context in lines 71-2 *trwy ieith Talhayarn/ bedyd budyd varn*; also in PBT 7.29-33 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Katwaladyr a Chynan/ byt budyd bychan:/ difa gwres huan./ Dysgogan deruyd/ a uu a uudyd*. In §5.123, Heather is described as a *budyd amnat* 'famous ?victor/ despoiler'. CBT I 26.49 *Am bun a budyd y hamnodi* is understood as ModW *budydd*, 3sg. pres. rel. by the editors (see note CBT I, p. 454), with the meaning 'to avail' suggested by G: 'for a maiden whom it is worth cherishing'. But *buddydd* would be more consonant with a meaning presumably derived from *budd* 'profit', as Simon Rodway notes, 'What was the function of 3rd sg. prs. ind. "-ydd" in Old and Middle Welsh?', *Studi Celtici* 2 (2003), 89-132, at p. 96.

GPC notes that the medieval forms may represent *buddydd* or *budydd*, the former being the more likely. Various derivations are proposed: from **budd* 'strike' (as in *buddai* 'churn'), from **budd* 'awareness, making known' (as in *rhybudd* 'warning'), or from the very productive noun *budd* 'profit'. Corresponding vb meanings are offered: 'strike, beat, push, fight', or 'know, understand, judge' or 'be beneficial, seemly'. As a noun, 'wizard, diviner' is suggested (a possibility adopted for our example by Higley, *Uncooperative Text*,

285). As noted above, G favours a 3sg., with meanings 'flourish, avail, succeed', or a noun, perhaps connected with *budd* 'profit' (followed in the translation here). It is difficult to see, pace CA 100-101, how *-ydd* could be a pret. ending; Ifor Williams also suggests it may mean the same as 'byddai'. These possibilities are reviewed by Rodway, 'Function of 3rd sg. prs. ind. "-ydd"', 121-3.

Emellin is also a problem. §5.67 *Ny'n gwnaei emellun* is confirmed by rhyme (but cf. PBT 8.51-2 (Romani kar) *Lloegr oll ymellun/ eu meuoed genhyn*), but may not be the same word. GPC *ymellin* cites only one certain medieval example of *ymellin* 'manna', with *nef* (FfBO 33); as Thomas Parry noted, the phrase adopted in GDG 119.28 *ymellin nef* is not in any of the manuscript copies. Given these two uncertainties, the translation is little more than a guess: I understand lines 7-8 to be contrasting the plenitude and profit resulting from Taliesin's utterance, with the empty-handedness of the patron who dares to refuse the poet (lines 5-6). If *emellin* 'manna', it was possibly extended (as in I Corinthians 10:3) to mean food for the soul or spiritual profit. Little is certain about the nature of manna: according to Numbers 11:7 it descended like hoarfrost in the form of coriander seed. Graham Isaac suggests to me that *emellin* appears to be a calque on Greek *ambrosia* (< *an-* + *ball* 'death' + *-in*), and see further on §5.67 *emellun*.

- 9 **Kian pan darfu** The personal name *Cian* is not very common (but see LL 174, and possibly 205 *Cain recte Cian; Annales Cambriae* s.a. 865 *Cian Nant Nimer obiit*; CA lines 83 and 255; LIDC 18.124 is unlikely). It is either a formation within Welsh from *ci* 'dog' + *-an*, a suffix ultimately of Irish origin (cf. *Cynan, Aeddan*), or else a borrowing or imitation of an Irish name. Compare, perhaps, the OIr personal names *Cian* (as in C. Cúldub of Leinster, C. son of Ailill Ólom, and others: D. Ó Corráin and F. Maguire, *Gaelic Personal Names* (Dublin, 1981), 51) and *Cúan*, a relatively common name: see *ibid.*, 65 for C. mac Amalgada, a 7c king of Munster, St Cúan of Wexford, and C. ua Lothcháin, chief poet of Ireland (*primeices Ereinn*), slain in Tethba in 1024, when his slayers 'became putrid within the hour' ('That was a poet's miracle', *The Annals of Ulster*, ed. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983), 462).

The most likely candidate here, of course, is *Cian qui vocatur Gweinth* (recte *Gwenith*) *Guaut* of HB ch. 62, famed in British poetry with Talhaearn Tad Awen, and Aneirin, Taliesin, and Blwchfardd. Talhaearn is also mentioned admiringly in our poem, lines 71 *trwy ieith Talhayarn*, and 164-5 *Talhayarn yssyd/ mwyhaf ysywedyd*. *Cian's* cognomen in HB, 'wheat of song' or 'having/singing song like wheat', is surely a bardic alias. Wheat in general would have been reckoned as the finest of the cereal crops in cultivation: thus the glossator of the 8c Old Irish law-text, *Bretha Déin Chécht*, 'equates a wheat-grain with the rank of superior king, bishop or chief poet, whereas at the bottom of the scale the oat-grain is equated with the commoner of *bóaire* rank' (EIF 219). A similar equation would be the likely origin of *Cian's* cognomen. On the vb *daruot*, see line 3.

- 10 **lliaws y gyfolu** *Cyfolu* is rare, found only in CC 21.84 *Ar dy kywolv* (and see CC 227), and in an early-12c praise poem to the poet-patron, Cuhelyn, described as *Kywolu waur, kywarws mavr kirlav'r eircheid* 'lord of ?a throng, great of gift before the suppliants' (CBT I 2.12). Alliteration with *kywarws* (= *cyfarws*) suggests *cyfolu* (< *cyf-* + *gwo-* + *llu*), as in our example, rather than *cywolu*. If from *llu*, it could mean 'host, following, throng', or perhaps '[bardic] retinue', or

even 'audience'. See, however, G s.v. *kywolu*, who connects it with the root *llw*, suggesting the meanings 'right, protection, appropriateness' etc.

Lliaws, noun and adj. In poetry it frequently precedes a sg. noun ('many a . . .', as in §5.1). The phrase *lliaws y* 'many his' is found, uniquely in the court poetry corpus, in CBT V 23.142 *Llywelyn, lliabs y Uranuro* 'numerous Llywelyn's [forces] from the region of Brân'. But cf. §21.21 *lliaws eu teruysc am eu teruyn*; PBT 9.59 (Ymarwar Llund Bychan) *llary lywyd lluyd lliaws (y) echen*; LIDC 1.28 *llyaus ev hymchuel in eu hymvan*.

- 11 **By lleith bit [ardu]** I follow G s.v. *bylleith* who suggests supplying a word such as *ardu* to rhyme with *Auacdu* (line 12), noting that *by* may be the lenited form of either *py* 'which?' (also 'what (kind of)?', with following lenition) or *py* 'to'; if the latter, then 'until death' (with very common *lleith* 'death'). *Py* 'to' (from **pw* or **po*; cf. OIr *co* 'until') is generally found combined with pronoun (e.g. *py gilyd, pwy gilyd*), or with doubled nouns (RBB 107 *awr py awr*, CA line 628 *o'r mor bwy'r mor*; see GMW 97 and GPC s.v. *pw*³). GDG 274, line 52 *Clwyf py glwyf* 'from wound to wound' (which does not appear to contain a pronoun) perhaps indicates following lenition (not noted by TC 392); it also indicates that the simple form of this prep. was still in use in the 14c. The meaning may be compared with *be(he)t*, used with *Brawt* 'Day of Judgment', EWSP 423.28.

The word supplied by G is *ardu*, the adj. (GPC 'dark, dreadful', but perhaps here in the sense of 'obscure, mysterious') rather than the noun (GPC 'darkness, gloom') which rhymes with [I]u in §24.7 *Neu vi eil Sawyl (em.) yn ardu*. Since *bit* lenites following subject (and complement), the vb noun *gardu* 'to groan' is not impossible. The idea of poetic utterances being continued until the end of time, until Judgment, etc. is common in the Book of Taliesin: below, line 55; §8.27-8 *kadeir kyweir kysson/ ac yt Vrawt parahawt gan gerdoryon*; §10.38-9 *Kadeir getwidyd (em.) yssyd yma/ a hyt Vrawt parawt yn Europa*; §18.8 *ac yt Urawt, parahawt yn bardwedi*; §25.59-60 *areith lif dewin/ parahawt hyt fin*; AP line 164 *Kynan a Chatwaladyr. . . Etmyccawr hyt Vrawt*. Cf. CBT IV 9.6 *Per awen, parhaus hyd Ura6d*.

- 12 **areith Auacdu** See commentary on §10.9 (Kadeir Kerrituen) *Auacdu, vy mab inheu* where he is apparently the son of the speaking persona, surpassing the 'sense' (*synnwyr*) of the latter in poetic competition. *Areith* is used of Taliesin's poetic utterance in §10.25 *a'm areith tryadyl, gadeir gysson*; §25.59 (noted above); of poetry in general in §9.1 *Areith awdyl eglur*, CBT I 2.4 (anon.) *areith awyrllav y cav keineid*; I 21.26 (Elidir Sais) *Rwyd areith o brifyeith brydu*; III 13.53 (Cynddelw) *Ry-m-keimuyc o'm keinualch areith*, etc. It also often denotes declamation, or formal, public utterance, not necessarily in verse (see GPC² s.v.).
- 13 **neus duc yn geluyd Auacdu** is the most likely subject of the vb. With *neus duc*, cf. §9.13 *Neus duc o Gawrnur*, Marwnad Cynddylan lines 53-4 *neus dug Moriael;/ Pymtheccant muhyn a phum gwriael*; AH 42 ('Gofara Braint', Peniarth 120) *Neus duc Gwynedd gorvoled i Vrython*; CA line 727 *neus duc drwy var*; LIDC 31.21-2 *Neus tuc Manauid/ eis tull o Trywruid*, etc. *Dwyn* has a range of meaning: 'bring, lead, cause, make; bear; bear away; take'. G 403 suggests reading pres. *dwc* here (3sg. pres. rather than pret.). *Neus*, though common in hengerdd, is used only five times in CBT corpus (III 21.91; V 11.2; 5.53; VI 20.7, 15.6), twice by Prydydd y Moch, who is also fond of *neur* (three out of four CBT

instances are by him). *Yn geluyd*, here adverbial (on *celuyd*, adj. and noun, often in poetic contexts, see on §1.37).

- 14 **kyureu ar gywyd** *Kyureu* often used of poets' speech: cf. CC 17.15 (BT) *vym bardgyfreu*; §6 (title) *Mabgyfreu Taliessin*; §7.3-4 *llwrw kyfranc kywyd/ kyfreu dyfynwedyd*; §14.40 *wyf kyfreu lawen*; CC 21.75-6 *Nid endeueiste kiwrev/ Beirt gouec higlev*. Used in CC 2.24 and 13.4c of utterance of God and Christ; of the sinners' speech in CC 20.93-4 (BT) *dy gyfreu/ A lefeir dy eneu*; also used of birdsong (see G s.v.). The only two certain examples of the word meaning (poetic) utterance in the CBT corpus are by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 25.2-3) *Kyureu Kyrriduen, rwyf bartoni,/ Yn dull Talyessin yn dillwg Elfin*; and Einion ap Gwalchmai (CBT I 27.97). The editors of CBT I 14.91 (a poem by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr) and 15.13 (by Elidir Sais) understand these two remaining examples to mean 'wealth, possession', as noted by G s.v.

Ar gywyd understood as 'in metre, harmony', although *yng nghywydd* is the phrase used in CC 1.2a (*hi couid canlou* 'in clear, harmonious song', but see CC 10, GPC and G s.v. for its use as an adj.). The prep. *ar* here may be compared with phrases such as §6.55 *ar wawt*; CA line 12 *ar wawt*; CC 30.25b *ar draethawt* (em.), 30.33b *ar eireu*; CBT I 8.62 *Ar awen amnad*; 8.64 *ar barabyl*; III 13.51 *ar gert*; IV 18.16 *ar draethawd*, etc. However, G s.v. *kywyd* notes the possibility of 'order, consistency, arrangement', etc. and 'consistent, correct' for this example, citing also Ifor Williams' suggestion *argywyd* 'harmonious' (*B* 6 (1931-3), 208), not otherwise attested. *Kywyd* and *kyfreu* are collocated again in §7.3-4.

- 15 **Gwiawn** Cf. §7.66 *A Gwiawn auon*. The name Gwiawn is found as one of the sons of Cyndrwyn (with his brothers, Cynon and Gwynn in EWSP 433, and listed with Gwgon and Madawg in TYP³ triad 60 *Tri Phorthawr Gveith Perllan Vangor*, EWGT 85). The name occurs with Gwgawn, Madawg, Gwynn and others in CA line 358, and with Rhufawn, Gwgawn and Gwlyged in CA line 1002. Gwiawn, described as *Dremynwr golwc unyawn* 'a sharp-eyed watcher' in CC 31.46 (Englynion y Clywaid), is presumably the character Gwiawn Llygad Cath (CO line 351) since he is named between Culhwch and Llenlleog, two other characters from *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Historical sources indicate that the name was not uncommon from the 12-14c: e.g. Gwiawn/Gwion, bishop of Bangor 1177-91; and Gwiawn Benarw, the great-grandson of Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd. Toponymic evidence assembled by G s.n. also indicates that *Gwion/-an* was a reasonably widespread name. See below on the derivation.

Phylip Brydydd is the only one of the poets of the princes to mention Gwiawn (CBT VI 14.25), and one who provides a rare glimpse of poetic competition at the courts of the 12-13c princes, as noted in CBT VI, 164-7. The Hendregadredd manuscript's rubric to CBT VI poem 14 states that the awdl was sung in Rhys Ieuanc's court in Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion on the occasion of an *amrysson* (competition) between Phylip and the *beird ysbydeit* 'itinerant or guest poets' as to who should be the first of them to perform on Christmas Day (see CBT VI 198, 204; and 193 for the broad dating between 1216 and 1222; note also the Christmas setting of the contest between Taliesin and Maelgwn's bards in *Ystoria Taliesin*, YT 70, lines 166-7). As well as praising Rhys Ieuanc for his martial prowess and generosity, Phylip refers to *Kadeir Uaelgwn Hir* (lines 19-22), the chair to be claimed by acknowledged poets rather than the *gofeird* (lesser versifiers), and to be competed for *herwyd gwir a breint* 'according to right and

prerogative'. Were Gwiawn because of his poetic gift (*o'e dawn*) to be reborn, no man without craft (*digerd*) would be made a *penkerd* (lines 25-6). And if Phylip were to be supported, he says, he would not be defeated.

A second awdl by Phylip Brydydd (CBT VI, poem 15), entitled as an *amrysson* between him and the *gobeird yspydeit*, refers to various unworthy and unskilled practitioners: *geubeird/ Aghyfrwys* (lines 9-10), *penkeyrdeth Kymry yghamryssed* (line 18), and the *gbageird* with their *gwac-hoffed* (line 42). Golydan, the poet who dealt a mortal blow to the 7c Gwynedd king, Cadwaladr Fendigaid (see TYP³ 150-52), is mentioned, perhaps as an example of bardic miscreancy which may have been known to prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, who is lavishly praised in the awdl, and who may have been present at Rhys Ieuanc's court when it was declaimed. Once again, Phylip refers to Maelgwn Gwynedd (lines 5-6): *Yr pann bu Elffin yghywryssed—baelgwn/ Neus porthes pepprwn pell dyfryded* 'Since the time when Elffin was in Maelgwn's contest, empty words have caused long sadness'. The poet appears to place himself, rather, in a nobler bardic lineage, citing *Hengerd Telessin y teyrned—elbyd./ Hi a bu nebyd naw seyth mlyned* (lines 33-4) 'the old poetry of Taliesin to the kings of the world — it has been new for nine × seven years'. The meaning of the second line is unclear, as Morfydd E. Owen notes (CBT VI, 216): does it refer to some event 63 years before the poem's declamation (i.e. c. 1153-8), are seven and nine used simply for their symbolic connotations, or is there a reference to the length of time Phylip had lived or had sung? He certainly asserts that the *awen* 'inspiration' shall continue as long as he shall live, and as long as the moon and sun continue on their course (lines 35-8). Restoring *naw seyth deg mlyned* (630) is problematic: *seith deg* (70) is not a medieval usage, and one would need to posit a counting system where *naw seith* multiplied the phrase *deg mlyned*. If this were possible, it could refer to the time imagined to have passed since Taliesin's floruit (i.e. c. 586-91) during which period his poems, although *hengerdd*, were still fresh (*newyd*) or pertinent. This reading would yield ten syllables rather than nine (compare decasyllabic lines 10 and 39). These two poems by Phylip Brydydd indicate early-13c knowledge of Gwiawn as a poet, perhaps one in whose imagined time poetic standards were maintained; the context suggests he was known as an *ymrysonfardd*. Both poems connect Maelgwn with a contest scenario: in the first, his chair is involved; Elffin is present in 'Maelgwn's contention' in the second. The second awdl is also significant for its mention of *hengerdd* 'the old craft [of poetry]'— the first recorded usage — and for the view that Taliesin was a praise poet, also attested by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr in the preceding century (CBT III 24.154). See further General Introduction, 13-14.

In a 14c elegy for Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr, probably by Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, the deceased is praised as an embodiment of the qualities of fourteen poets. *Gwiawn ddewin*, Myrddin and Llefoed [Wynepglawr] head the list, which then continues with historical court poets more or less chronologically from Cynddelw to Llygad Gŵr. *Da fu ffawd ei wawd i Wiawn ddewin* 'Good was the fortune of his song for [he who was like] the sage/poet, Gwiawn'. The Cywyddwyr refer to Gwiawn/Gwion, often in elegies for poets: e.g. GLGC 138.23 *prydydd a'i gywydd fal Gwion*; 157.33 *Dafydd wrth gywydd Gwiawn/ a'u dyeill ym mewn dull iawn* (see General Introduction, 2-3, on this last reference); GLM 322 *nog awen-bair Gwion Bach*; cf. 326 *Awen Rhys. . . o bair y wrach berwi'r oedd*; J.C. Morrice (ed.), *Detholiad o Waith Gruffudd ab Ieuan ab*

Llewelyn Vychan (Bangor, 1910); 16.21-2 *Ni bu roddion bereiddiach/ Nag awen ben Gwion bach*; GGH 468 (Wiliam Llŷn on Gruffudd's death) *Gwn na bu er Gwion Bach/ Gau ar synnwyr gresynach* (and see p. 465 *Yr oedd un arwydd iawnair/ Yn ei ben: awen o bair*). Hywel Dafí says of Ieuan ap Swrdwal, *Iawn awdur awen ydoedd;/ Ieuan ail i Wion oedd* (D.J. Bowen and Eurys Rowlands, 'Ymryson rhwng Hywel Dafí a Beirdd Tir Iarll', *LIC* 3 (1954-5), 107; GHS 6).

The third occurrence of the name in the Book of Taliesin is *Gwion* (confirmed by rhyme with [G]ofanhon/keinon): §1.84 *wyf hen, wyf newyd, wyf Gwion*. This raises the question of the relationship between the forms *Gwiawn* and *Gwion*. WG 95 notes examples of reduction of *aw* to *o* in unstressed final syllables in the Middle Welsh period (*Edeirnon*, *Meiryon*, *achos*); further examples, including three comparable instances from the Black Book of Carmarthen following *u* (LIDC 17.64 and 191 *rymdiwod* and 12.73 *diwod*), are claimed by J. Baudiš, *Grammar of Early Welsh* (Oxford, 1924), 44. Although these latter examples could conceivably be archaic spellings comparable with the OW *o* spellings discussed by Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The emergence of Old Welsh, Cornish and Breton orthography, 600-800: the evidence of Archaic Old Welsh', *B* 38 (1991), 20-86, at pp. 20-21, 31-32, 63-71, 77, it is perhaps more likely that they point to reduction of *aw* to *o*. Baudiš also draws attention to reduction in Welsh names in Latin chronicles and charters. In the obit of Gwiawn, bishop of Bangor (†1191) ByT (Pen. 20) and ByT (RBH) have *Gwiawn*, where Cotton Cleopatra B v (second quarter of the 14c) has *Gwion* (Thomas Jones (ed.), *Brenhinedd y Saesson* (Cardiff, 1971), 188, xviii). In general, however, the medieval spelling tradition was conservative (see LHEB 298-90, CD 249-52), and poets often retained *aw* for the sake of rhyme: thus Lewys Glyn Cothi in the 15c uses both *Gwiawn* and *Gwion*. The Ystoria Taliesin prose texts (16c onwards) use the form *Gwion*, as do the associated poems.

There are two possibilities for the formation of *Gwiawn*. It may contain the ending *-ānus* (cf. *Rhufawn* < L. *Romanus*; *Meiriawn* < L. *Marianus*, *Einiawn* < L. *Anianus*, etc.), perhaps from L. *Vigianus/Vigeanus* (cf. St Vigeans, Arbroath, thought to contain L. name of Irish St Féchin: W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1876-7), II, 249-50; but see CPNS 321-2); for the base name, *Vigius*, see Alfred Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 3 vols (Leipzig 1896-1913), III, col. 316. A second possibility is that Welsh had a cognate of OB *-uuoion* (cf. Archaic Old Welsh *Cunueon*, *Conueon* in LL (OW *-on* here representing *-awn*) which lost the [o] from the diphthong [oi], as in OB *Tanetuuoion* > *Tanetguion* (for *Guoion*, *Conuuoion*, *Uuoruuoion*, etc., see J. Loth, *Chrestomathie Bretonne* (Paris, 1890), 177; Léon Fleuriot, *Le vieux Breton: éléments d'une grammaire* (Paris, 1964), 73; Sims-Williams, 'Emergence', 60-63).

Eric Hamp, 'Varia II 2. Gwion and Fer Fí', *Ériu* 29 (1978), 152-3, ignoring the usual form *Gwiawn*, as well as the Breton material, took the form *Gwion* (and the story of the herbal drops from the cauldron on which see YT 30) as the basis for his proposed derivation < **uīs-onos*, comparing the first element with OIr *fi* 'venom, poison; evil', plus the *-onos* suffix often found in names of supernatural beings (such as Mabon, Gwydion, Gofannon, etc.). If Hamp's etymology were right, then *Gwiawn*, by far the commoner written medieval form, would have to be regarded as bogus, a false modernisation of ambiguous OW *-on* as *-awn*. Or was the *-awn* ending, common in personal names, analogically attached to a native

stem (the **μīs*- 'venom' element proposed by Hamp, while suiting Gwion Bach, is hardly a complimentary personal name)?

- 15 **a leferyd** Scribal lenition suggests this may have been, or been understood as, a rel. 3sg. of the common vb *llefaru* (for *-yd* after rel. pronoun *a*, cf. §13.6 *Ys tidi* < (ms *a*) *uedyd*; CC 10.8 *Ti a nodyd*); *a leferyd* could be an updating of older syntactical pattern without rel. pronoun (comparable with *un guetid* in the Juvencus englynion). If lenition is discounted, the noun *lleferyd* 'speech' is possible here (GPC also notes its medieval use as a form of the vb noun: see GPC s.v. *llefaraf*: *llefaru*): 'with speech'.
- 16 **adwfyn dyfyd** No word *adwfyn* is noted by GPC contra G who tentatively suggests 'shallow' for the example in R1035.26 *a dōfyn* (recte *adwfyn*) *ryt* (CLIH 26, EWSP 451). Ifor Williams (CLIH 170) suggested, however, on the basis of a variant ms reading *ag dōfyn*, that this might be understood as *angddwfn*; Rowland proposed rather an original *attwv(y)n* < intensive *ad-* + *dwfyn*, 'very deep' (EWSP 524), a meaning which would suit the present example (used nominally) and in §7.60 *adwfyn* (recte *a dwfyn* with G) *dwfyr echwyd*. In the same way, we may have simply *dwfyn* preceded by the conjunction *a* (commonly written attached to following word, as in line 125 below, *rwg Nef a llawr* (ms *allawr*)). Emendation of *adwfyn* > *o dwfyn* is also possible, comparing lines 178-9 below *Awen a ganaf*/ *o dwfyn ys dygaf* (*dwfyn* 'depths'), and CC 24.17 (BT) *O dwfynueis affwys* (for Christ's Harrowing of Hell).

Dyfyd is understood in the translation as 3sg. fut. of *dyuot* 'to come' rather than *dyfyd* 'sorrow; sad'; however, it is not wholly impossible that the two lines could mean 'Gwiawn speaks of profound sadness'. Understanding 'Gwiawn with profound utterance shall come' would seem to be unlikely since the line-division would separate the noun *lleferyd* from its qualifying adj. *adwfyn*. I understand *leferyd* as a 3sg. (see note above), and *adwfyn* as nominal 'profound, wise, deep one', either referring to Gwiawn, or else a wise or holy man, perhaps Christ himself. Is there a reference here to Gwiawn's foretelling of Christ's birth (see §5.249 for traditions about Taliesin, like Virgil, prophesying the Incarnation), his second coming, or his Harrowing of Hell? Lines 17-18 may support this view.

- 17 **gwnael o varw vyw** If Gwiawn is the subject, the regenerative qualities of his song may be compared with the singing of the Birds of Rhiannon *y rei a dihun y marw ac a hun a y byw* (CO line 632-3; cf. PKM 46 and 48; other parallels are cited CO 126-7). However, there may be a reference to Christ's Resurrection (cf. CBT VII 40b.7-8 *O'r dydd y codes Iesu/ O farw yn fyw*), his redemption of mankind, or his release of the captive souls in Hell. A similar phrase is used of God's power to heal the sick in CBT V 27.2 *A ddigaōn yach o glaf*.
- 18 **ac aghyfoeth yw** GPC s.v. *anghyfoeth* 'without riches, landless, without estate' (cf. Mlr *éccumachta*), but GPC² regards it as a dictionary word, 'poor', noting the present example as uncertain. CBT I 33.27 *Aghyuoeth* (em.) *aghen* (in a difficult awdl by Meilyr ap Gwalchmai expressing desire for deliverance from Hell) does not illuminate its usage. It here describes either Gwiawn, or else (if another character) the 'profound' one of line 16, perhaps Christ. Uncertain.
- 19 **Gwnēynt eu peiron** The subject of the 3pl. imperf. of *gwneuthur* 'to make, do; cause; reckon, account' is more naturally understood as the poets referred to in lines 9-15 (Cian, Afagddu, Gwiawn), rather than the cauldrons (*peiron*). The scribe may have anticipated the *gwnēynt* in line 21. *Peiron* (ModW *peirion*) in

PBT 9.62 (Ymarwar Llud Bychan) *Medhawnt ar peiron berthwyr echen* is probably the pl. of *peir*² 'lord; lordship, dominion', etc. (as noted by GPC s.v.). The usual pl. forms of *peir* 'cauldron' etc., more likely in this context, are *peirieu*, *peiri*. Proest rhyme with line 20 *tan*. For an Otherworld cauldron, see on §18.13-17.

- 21 **eu delideu** Understood as object of vb, but see on line 19. *Dlid* 'texture, closely woven material', with the pl. used either literally ('materials') or in transferred meaning ('resources; qualities') as in PT IX.12 *ys meu y delideu ae gorefrasseu*, IV.25 *y wrdlideu* (see PT 109-10 and 59); CBT I 9.138 *Yn llys Ywein hir hywr dlideu*, and perhaps CBT I 14.14 *pressent dlid*. In this instance, we may have a slightly different transferred sense of 'woven materials', meaning poetry: on the common use of textile imagery applied to poetic craft, see Haycock, 'Defnydd hyd Ddydd Brawd', in *Cymru a'r Cymry 2000*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Aberystwyth, 2001), 41-70, especially pp. 51-53. This seems to be a likely interpretation of CBT V 8.1 *Ardaly nef, ardunya uyn dlid* 'Maintainer of Heaven, honour my song'; and V 8.43-4 *A minheu, magator o'm dlid/ Bot y Duw a bod yg gleindid* 'and for my part, on account of my song will God's goodwill be won, and a dwelling in [heavenly] sanctity' (although 'quality' is possible, with CBT V 82-3, and cf. V 19.4 *kyndlid*).
- 22 **yn oes oesseu** Four-syllable lines are rare in this poem. *Oesseu*, line 93 below. For the whole phrase, cf. *Surrexit in ois oisou* (ed. Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, *CMCS* 5 (1983), 37-66 and 7 (1984), 91-120, p. 107); AP line 86 *oes oesseu eu tretheu nys escorant*, and examples in GPC s.v. Cf. CC 33.32 *A beris oes ac oessoed a blwynyded a secula*, with the pl. form *oessoed* used in 13c prose and in the work of the Cywyddwyr. CBT I 3.147 *oessyt* (ModW *oesydd*) is a rare pl. form.
- 23 **Dydwyth dydyccawt** G *dydwyth* 'profound, intense, passionate' (< *twyth*), followed by GPC, rather than a variant of *dydoeth* 'he/it came'. G *dydyccawt* 3sg. abs. of *dydwyn* 'bring, bear'; see GMW 119, noting that Evans regards some examples of *-awt* as passive; and CBT I, 481 on *cosbawd*. The passive meaning is tentatively adopted here.
- 24 **o dyfynwedyd gwawt** *Dwfyn* 'depth; deep, profound', often found in compounds (see G) is likely to be the first element in *dyfynwedyd* (+ *gwedyd* 'speaker') cf. *adwfyn*, line 16 above, and elsewhere of poetry, poets, etc. (e.g. CBT IV 1.6 *Yn eil awen dofyn o ddfyn gofyein*; III 24.29 *Kyn canwys o dwfyn, o dofyn awen*). Not impossible, however (as noted by GPC 'world-renowned prophet or druid') is *dwfyn* 'world', certain examples of which are rather rare except in personal names (Dyfnwal, etc.): see GPC s.v. Examples such as CBT I 3.32 *Kwyniu-i dragon ddfyn dygyn diwyrnabd*; III 5.83 *Ac nyd oes vart ddfyn*; 11.15 *Dragon dwfyn, deua6d a gadwant*; 24.35 *Neud am dragon ddfyn dyfneis-y auar*; V 6.17 *Yn ardwy beirt ddfyn*; V 2.45 *Gogwyr doethyon ddfyn nad ofyn tlodi* are ambiguous (as indicated by the varying interpretations offered in the CBT translations), although the common synonyms *beird byt*, *beirdd bydysawt* may favour *dwfyn* 'world' in instances with *bard* or *beird*. The compound *dy(f)ynwedyd* is found only in the Book of Taliesin: line 69 below *am doleu dynwedyd*; §7.4 *kyfreu dyfynwedyd*; CC 3.7 *dogyn dwfynwedyd* (of Biblical prophet).

I understand *gwawt* as the song (perhaps prophecy) that is brought forth (*dydyccawt*) by the sage (*o dyfynwedyd*). *Dyfynwedyd gwawt* (with unrealized

lenition) 'the song of the sage' is also possible, but preceding *o* would be hard to explain. In the light of the possibility mentioned above, line 17, that Christ may be referred to, and the attested use of *dyfynwedyd* as an Old Testament prophet, consider also 'a profound one [i.e. Christ] is brought forth fulfilling the song of the prophet'. If so, lines 19-22 might refer to activities affecting the captive souls in Hell. The whole passage is extremely uncertain.

- 25 **Neut angar kyfundawt (ms kyfyndawt)** *Angar* is attested as a son of Caw of Prydyn (see G s.n., and see below on line 38), but is here either the noun *angar* 'wrath, distress' (cf. CBT V 3.13) or the adj. *anghar* 'cruel, hostile' (cf. CBT V 23.43) — both used by Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets. If the adj., 'the hostile ?alliance', possibly referring to a cohort of poetic opponents who are being addressed by the speaker; but it is not impossible that they are some other dark forces, even the devils in Hell.

Kyfyndawt is emend to *kyfundawt* 'union, communion, pact, truce' with G (cf. CBT IV 9.4), as in the title which is presumably excerpted from the poem. It is difficult to account for the reading *y* for *u*, given the scribe's correct copying of *kyfundawt* elsewhere: CC 24.79 (BT) *A chyfundawt kiwdawt Iude* (which has the same collocation as here with *kiwdawt*); CC 11.7 (BT) *Deheu Reen, mynyd adien, mwyn kyfundawt*. *Kyfnawt* 'nature, quality' is another possible emendation, yielding five syllables rather than six. Higley, *Between Languages* 285 and 300, favours *cyfyngdawt* 'distress, straitness, bondage', although this is a word first attested in 1609, according to GPC s.v.

Neut functions as a quasi copula ('hostile is the confederacy') of the common *neut* + adj. complement + subject type identified by J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'MIW *Neu, neut* as copula', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 278-85 at p. 280 §2 (a) (e.g. EWSP 416.7b *neut rud rych neut crych egin*; CBT I 26.3 *Neud llauar adar, neud gbar gbeilgi*, etc.).

- 26 **pw y chynefawt** Since *kyfundawt* (and *kyfnawt*), the nouns suggested as emendations to *kyfyndawt*, are usually masculine, 'what is its custom?' would seem to be ruled out by the spirantisation of *cynefawt*. Note, however, CA line 342 *undawt gyuan*, CBT VII 40.53 *Unda6t oreu* which may suggest that *kyfundawt* (although formed from *cyfun* + *-dawt*) could have been treated as a fem. noun. by analogy with *undawt* (< oblique case of L. *unitas, unitatis*). Alternatively, restoring *ych cynefawt* ('your custom') would resolve the problem and yield sense as well as consistency of meaning (if not form) with *awch tafawt* in line 28. With *pw* 'what?' (rather than 'who?'), see GMW 75, cf. §1.23 *pw emw y porthawr*, §1.28 *Pwy vessur Uffern*; §18.15 *pw y vynut*; §18.56 *pw y rynnawd*; CBT II 16.35 *pw wr*, etc.
- 27 **Kymeint kerd kiwdawt** *Kymeint* equative adj. used as a noun 'often indicating surprise or admiration' (GMW 42), here perhaps intended sarcastically. *Kiwdawt* 'people, tribe, nation', etc., see on line 25 for collocation with *kyfundawt* in CC 24.79.
- 28 **a delis awch tafawt** Since the 3sg. pret. forms of *tal* are *talas, talws*, later *talawd, daly* is the vb here. *Delis* 3sg. pret. is used in §5.96, §22.2 *py delis maes* (recte *mas*), and three times by Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets (CBT V 10.24 and 65; 20.2). The form *deliis* is found in CA lines 301 and 313. I understand *awch tafawt* as subject of vb; Higley, *Between Languages* 285 favours object, translating 'So great is the poem of a nation/ that caught your tongue'.

Collocations of two or three of the group *gwawt/tafawt/traethawt* (and *traethu*) are common: e.g. §5.179-80 *yt uedaf ar wawt* (em.)/ *a traetho tauawt*; §8.12 *handit ryd vyn tafawt*, <>*adawt* <>*ogyrwen*; R1051.33 (prophecy) *vy mard[w]abŷ traethaŷ traethatter*; CC 14.25-6; 21.12-3; CBT I 15.15; 16.6; 28.28; II 6.82-3; 24.3; III 21.183-4; IV 17.18; VI 16.2; 35.1-2, etc.

29 **pyr na thraethwch traethawt** An emendation in light of the common etymological figure, *traethu traethawt* (e.g. § 6.61; CC 14.25; R1051.33; CBT I 28.3; II 24.3; IV 18.16 and 67, etc.) is adopted. Note, however that *treth* 'payment or gift from patron to poet' (GPC s.v.) and its derivatives are also collocated with *traethu*, *-awt*, *-adur*, etc. (CBT II 2.33-4; III 26.18; IV 16.122 and 219; V 10.29; VII 24.3-4), and that the denominative vb *trethu* can mean 'to render praise or tribute to' as well as 'to tax' (see GPC s.v.), i.e. 'why do you not praise the declamation?'. But if the text is emended, as above, it may be assumed that the slip occurred under the influence of parallel collocations with *treth*.

30 **llat uch llyn llathrawt** GPC *llat* 'liquor, drink; gift; grace, benefit, blessing', etc.: line 254 below, §5.15 *darwed yn llat*; §7.26 *llat gwenith*; §12.4; PBT 5.4-5 (Kein Gyfedwch) *oduch lleu llestreu llat*,/ *llat yn eurgyrn*; CC 4.52 *Atwyn llat bual* (em.); Edmyg Dinbych line 55 *od uch llat*; EWSP 451.26 *llawen gwyr odywch llat*; CBT I 9.43 and 141; II 1.98; III 14.22; 16.203; 17.12; IV 8.20; 9.44, etc. Cf. *gwinllat* (CBT IV 4.280 and V 1.34). Not found in the Gododdin. *Llyn* is used as a near synonym: §7.37 *brecci boned llyn*; §8.51; EWGP 26.3 *gnawt gwedy llynn lleturyded*, etc.; CBT III 1.19; cf. PT VII.49 *medlyn*; CBT IV 4.281 *winllynn/winllad*, and V 21.3 *winllynn*.

Llathrawt is understood as hapax adj. 'shining, sparkling' (with GPC), rather than a 3sg. pres./fut. of *llathru* 'shine'. *Llathr*, *llathreit*, *llathru*, commonly used of radiance of arms, poetic speech (CBT I 16.7), fame, gold, snow, colour, etc., especially in CBT corpus. *Uch* is common before nouns to do with drink, horns, and other vessels and comestibles (e.g. CA lines 239, 354, 1054, 1404; CBT I 11.24 and 42; III 24.23; V 23.53; VI 30.90, etc.). 'Liquor above sparkling drink' lacks force. The frequent movement by couplets, or four line units suggests that the line is best taken with line 29 — i.e. describing the *traethawt*, with *llat* in the sense of 'blessing' or 'flow of drink' noted above (*traethawt llat* 'a declamation about drink' would be an awkward locution across the line break). Alternatively, read *uch llat llyn llathrawt* 'above the liquor of the sparkling drink'.

31 **Penillyach pawb** GPC s.v. *penilliach* notes that this medieval hapax is unlikely to contain the derogatory or trivialising suffix *-(i)ach*², found in *sothach* (c. 1400), and in personal names such as *Awarnach*, *Penpalach*, *Vgnach*, *Dormach* (LIDC 31.39 and 41; 36.24-5 and 32; 34.39-40) and *Wrmach* (CO lines 747ff.). On the *-ach* phonaestheme in Welsh, see P. Sims-Williams, 'The significance of the Irish personal names in *Culhwch ac Olwen*', *B* 29 (1982), 600-20, pp. 615-16. A suffix *-ach* is found also in abstract nouns, such as *cyfeddach*, *cyfrinach*, *cyfeillach*, possibly *govurthyach* (CA line 1349), etc.; the derivation of the vb noun *eirach* in §2.42 is uncertain (possibly from the same root as L. *parco*, according to GPC s.v. *eiriachaf*: *eiriach*). In *penillyach*, a compound in *iach* 'sound, healthy, free from blame' is not impossible: since the Book of Taliesin scribe is generally yod-shy, his retention of *-y-* may imply a compound.

Pennill in the meaning 'stanza, verse', etc. is first attested in the 14c bardic grammars (see GPC), but *march pennhill* and *pennhilluaeth* 'stall- or stable-

reared' of horses, especially destriers (CBT I 29.29; III 16.115, and see HCC 71-2), seems to confirm Ifor Williams' comment (*B* 3 (1925-7), 134-6, p. 135) that *pennill* 'stanza' developed from the idea of a division, enclosure, or section of a larger whole, comparing the Old Irish metrical term *cró* (see DIL s.v. (e)). *Penillyach* may be interpreted as a contemptuous term for the versification of poetic opponents, or else (as in the tentative translation) as an abstract noun referring to the enclosing, divisioning or ranking of the poets (cf. perhaps §2 *Buarth Beird*). The Last Judgment is another possible context for the use of such a term, either to denote the dividing of mankind (*penillyach* as abstract noun), or else to signal those assigned to the 'saved' division (*pennill* + *iach* 'blameless') on account of their virtue.

The correspondence between *pawb* and *-awt* includes the diphthong and voiced stops [b] and [d], although the latter matching is rare: CA lxxiv; EWSP 334 notes no such examples, but cf. CC 21.11-12 *paup/tauawd* (across a sense-related couplet), and internal rhyme *pawb/Vrawd* CBT I 23.8. *Pawb* was evidently a difficult word to rhyme, and is generally used line-internally in the CBT corpus, or else (quite often) in the *gair cyrch* of a *toddaid*. The line has only four syllables which adds to the uncertainty of the interpretation.

- 32 **dybydaf a gwawt (ms yna gnawt)** *Dybydaf* 'I shall come' (cf. CBT I 9.166). G s.v. *cnawt* suggests emending to *yn gnawt* ('I shall become flesh'); cf. CBT IV 18.46 *Dyfu Grist y nghnawd*; V 1.140 *Crist yg knabd*. But since there is likely to be confusion with the following line (*ygnawt*), *a gwawt* 'with song' is the preferred emendation.
- 33 **dwfyn dyfu ygnawt** See lines 16 and 24 above on *dwfyn*, and line 32 for *yng nghnawt* (but note that *yn* + nasalisation of /k/ would normally be rendered as *yg knawt* by the Book of Taliesin scribe; lenition (ModW *yn gnawd*) would be rendered *yn gnawt*). The presence of *g* seems to preclude *nawt* 'nature, quality', etc., often used in context of poetry, and the adj. *gnawt* 'customary' yields little sense.
- 34 **neur dothyw ystygnawt** *Ystygnawt* could be construed as an (unattested) compound of *estwg/ystwg* (= *-ng*) + *nawt* or *gnawt* ['one possessing] a subjugating (or subjugated) nature', but preferable (for rhyme with line 35) is an emendation to *ystygat* ('one who subdues, conqueror', cf. CBT I 25.2 *estygyad*), assuming confusion with line 33 *ygnawt*.
- 35 **trydyd par ygnat** 'Third' or 'one of the three'. GPC *par*⁴ 'ready, prepared, made; ?causing, ?creation, a making; ?condition, state', comparing perhaps CBT V 23.59 *goruynt par* 'causing jealousy'; CC 21.102 *Pan im roted par* 'when I was given being'.

Ygnat, a common parallel form to *ynat* 'judge', is frequent in law texts and elsewhere, e.g. PT XII.21 *aeninat yn ygnat ac eluet*; CBT V I 1.52 *ef doethuabr ygnad* (of secular rulers); CC 10.23 (of Solomon); CC 11.21 and §2.21 (of God, and Christ); CC 28.1; CC 29.1 (of ecclesiastical judges). It is unclear to me whether lines 34-5 refer to the speaking persona, claiming to be a victor, and one of three acknowledged judges in poetic competition; or whether they refer to Christ as conqueror, and perhaps as One-of-Three who will exact the final Judgment.

- 36 **Tri vgein mlyned** Cf. §18.31 *tri vgeint*; but §5.12 *trugein*.

- 37 **yt porthais i lawrwed** Although *llawr* 'alone, single' is well-attested (e.g. PT II.16; §5.233), the abstract noun *llawrwed* is not found elsewhere; *llorwedd* 'horizontal' appears to be a 19c formation.
- 38 **yn dwfyr kaw achiwed** GPC *kaw* noun 'band, bandage, knot; swaddling-clothes, rags, clout'; as adj. 'harmonious, well-ordered, skilful'. Ifor Williams appears to favour Caw as a personal name (see below) in PT VII.39 *Ac hyt orffen byt edrywyt kaw* (CT 90), although the stock phrasing there might suggest 'harmonious song'; PT XII.43 *nyt anescut* (em.) *ygaw y gywlat* 'his enemy is not slow to be tied up' (of Gwallog); 'ordered' is the likely meaning in PBT 5.3 (Kein Gyfedwch) *virein ffo racdaw arleg kaw mwyedic uein*. In CBT I 2.43 *Cau tyrmet, cathil kyhidet kyurysset wyv*, it is interpreted as 'binder [of kings]' (of Cuhelyn Fardd), praising his martial or his poetic skill. In the same poem, it is unequivocally used to qualify 'singers' of poetry (CBT I 2.4 *Amhad anav, areith awyrllav y cav keineid*). Cynddelw uses it to qualify 'songs': CBT IV 6.70-71 *Caffôn y radeu, caffabd an gwaðdeu./ Cathleu cleu, kerteu kaw* 'we will receive his gifts [and] he will receive our praise-poems — clear songs [and] skilful (or strict) poems'. Cf. the compound adj. *bangaw*¹ 'eloquent', etc. (see GPC). *Bangaw*, used of an eagle's cry, is collocated with *gwed* and *cyfed* 'feast' in CBT V 26.33-4 *Gnaðd eryr ebyr abar gwet—bangað/ Yn bencnud wy gyuet*.

Since Caw of Prydyn was a touchstone of valour for the poets, as were his sons, including Gildas, Hueil and (B)angar, G s.v. *kaw* wonders, with Ifor Williams, whether his name might not occur in the present example, but also suggests an emendation > *kawc* 'vessel' (s.v. *achwed*).

G emended *achiwed* to *achwed*¹ (yielding five syllables), regarded as separate from *achwed*² 'lineage, descent' (attested CBT II 31.38). However, *achiwed* could be a misreading of *a chyued* (ModW *cyfedd*) 'feast; fellow-carouser or -feaster; companion, friend' (see above for *gwed/kaw/cyued* collocation); or *a chywed* GPC 'burden, load; companion. . . harmonious'. Other readings such as *arfed* 'plan'; *arwed* 'carrying, act of bearing' also lack conviction.

I understand *achiwed* as a wrongly modernised form of *achywed* (ModW *achywedd*) related to vbs. *cywain* (1sg. *cywedaf*) 'to carry together, convey; conduct, gather in', and *dychywedaf*: *dychywain* 'to carry away, take away' (cf. *achanu/canu*; *achredu/credu*, etc.). The water (*dwfyr*) of the world, here in contrast to the land masses (the *eluyd tired* of line 39), was often thought by the medievals to form a continuous band (*kaw*) or belt around the Earth: see further notes on §10.34-6 *dybrys am y llys* (em.) *efnys a fon./ a fon a'e hechrys gwrys gwrth Terra:/ gwenwyn y chynbyt kylch byt ed a*, and §18.51 *ae vn hynt gwynt, ae vn dwfyr mor*. Here the poet stresses his long stretch of solitude on land and sea. Six syllable line, cf. lines 41, 44, etc.

- 40 **Kanweis a'm dioed** Lines 40-45 are linked by cymeriad: *kan(t)* 'a hundred' and its homophone *can* 'with; because'. The same words are found in the more assured and complex cymeriad of PT I.1-7. G and GPC s.v. *gwas* 'youth, lad, servant' notes occasional use of pl. *gweis* in close compounds, *ugeinweis*, *deunawweis*, *teyrnweis*. The pl. of the homophone *gwas* 'dwelling' is not attested.

A'm dioed appears to be the rare imperf. 3sg. of *diuot* indicating possession: see J.E. Caerwyn Williams 'Nodiadau ar eiriau: *difod, diw, pyddiw*', *B* 23 (1968-70), 217-33, at p. 220. 3sg. pres. and pres. subjunct. forms *difyd* and *difo* are found together in proverbs, including *a diuo cancar ef diuyd cannos* 'he who may

have a hundred friends shall have [lodging for] a hundred nights' on the basis of which Ifor Williams restored the two forms in PT II.32 *difyd kat a difo Urfoen* (em.), see PT 42. It is curious that *cant* is also present in our example. *Dioes* is more commonly found: below, line 148; AP lines 29 *nys dioes dayar* (or *eluyd* for rhyme), 156 *nys dioes eluyd*; §11.11 *Ny dioes eisseu*; R582.24-5 (Cyfoesi) *a dioes gbaret hyt Ura6t*. None of these above forms occurs in the CBT corpus (see CBT III, 49 on *ny diuyd* 'which will not end').

41 **kant rihyd odynoed** GPC s.v. *rhiydd* '(royal) splendour, glory, majesty. . . sovereignty'. GMW 221 and GPC treat *odynoed* (ModW *oddynoedd*) as a variant of *oddyno* 'from there, thence; then' (cf. *odynaeth* 'thereafter, thenceforth'). *Kant* 'a hundred', or the prep. 'with'. Are lines 40-41 describing a state contrasted with the solitude of lines 36-9?

42 **Kan yw yd aethant** G 102 classes *kan yw* lines 42-3 tentatively with the prep. *can* 'with, by' used in adverbial phrases denoting means, manner, attendant circumstance or simultaneous action. This implies that Lloyd-Jones understood *yw* as 'yew tree(s); yew-timber'. The yew is poisonous to man and livestock, but its dense timber was prized for making vessels (see Kelly, EIF 383) and bows (see GPC s.v. for evidence from 15c onwards). The Welsh Laws indicate that the worth of a 'holy yew' (*ywen sant*) was a pound (that of a woodland yew was variously 15d or 30d). These may have been trees near churches and burial grounds (see EIF 388-9 for examples of single venerated trees on ecclesiastical and secular sites in early Ireland). *Kan yw* may conceivably mean 'with the yews, armed with weapons of yew; drinking from vessels of yew; buried beneath the yews', or else the longevity of the yew may have given rise to a saying about a long span of time. 'With yew they went, with yew they came'.

An alternative (understood in the translation) would be to understand the conj. *kan* 'since, because' + *yw* ('since it is', 'that being so') not otherwise found in early poetry, although *kan* commonly precedes other parts of vb *bot* (*can ydiw* occurs in GLIBH 19.9). Drastic emendation to *kennyw* 'he perceives, sees' (vb *canuot*), often of God, or to *kennyf* 'with me' does not resolve the problem.

44 **kan eilewyd y gant** On *eilewyd* (ModW *eiliewydd*) generally 'song, poem, poetry' and less certainly 'minstrel, poet; band of minstrels', see G, GPC, PT 60-61, and cf. §6.35-6 *Eilewyd keluyd./ pyr na'm dywedyd*. *Kan* is either 'a hundred', or the prep. *Cant* is either 'a hundred' or *cant*² 'outer circle, periphery; surrounding wall, enclosure', or *cant*³ 'throng, troop' (GPC). The significance of lines 42-4 is obscure to me.

45 **darogant** 3sg. pret. (cf. *kant* 'he sang') rather than noun *darogan(t)*.

46 **Lladon verch Liant** If *-d-* represents [d], the name would appear to be related to *llad* 'liquid, drink', with *lliant* 'sea, flood' as the name of her father (cf. Llŷr) or mother. Compare the name of Dylan Eil Ton ('Sea son of Wave'). But if /d/ represents [ð], it is to be connected with vb *llad* 'to kill; strike'. Neither Lladon nor Lladdon are attested elsewhere. A borrowing from L. *Lātōna* (< Greek *Leto*, daughter of the Titan *Cœus* and *Phoebe* and mother of *Apollo*) is ruled out unless the vowels were shortened in VL (cf. Celt. *Mātrōna* > *Modron*; VL *Mātrōna* > *Madrūn*). A borrowing from L. *ledona* (also *ledo*) 'neap tide', although semantically suitable, is also ruled out by the *-a-*. More likely is a derivation from Celtic **Latonā* with the *-on* ending typical of old inherited names for supernatural beings (*Mabon*, *Modron*, *Rhiannon*, *Amaethon*, *Gofannon*, *Aeron*, etc.). She

might be associated with liquid, probably strong drink — and her parent's name supports this. CBT IV 4.30-32 rhymes the series *lliant/doethant/aethant*.

- 47 **oed bychan y chwant** *Lliant* and *chwant* are rhymed in Edmyg Dinbych lines 58-9 *Aduwyn gaer yssyd ar lan lliant/ aduwyn yt rodir y pawb y chwant*, and by Prydydd y Moch (see on line 48).
- 48 **y eur ac aryant** The phrase *eur ac aryant* is found in AP line 159, and R1049.10 (Anrheg Urien) *Eur ac aryant mor eu diuant eu dihenyd*; cf. also CA line 798 *aryant am y ued eur dylyi*; CA lines 1408-9 *vyg werth y a wnaethant/ o eur pur a dur ac aryant*; common in prose. It is used five times by Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets: CBT V 12.45-6 *Ma6r deym kedyrn kydgyuranmu—eur/ Ac aryant ym pob tu*; 23.57 *Gwiscei eur ac aryant, nys car*; 23.188 *O bali ac eur ac aryant*; 24.41 *Ac eur ac aryant 6rth chwant chwanna6c*; 26.87 *Yssym eur ac aryant*. The same rhyme *chwant/aryant* is found in §3.13. Why Lladon should be heedless of silver and gold is unclear.
- 49 **Pwy'r byw a'e diadas** *Byw*, sg. or pl. of adj. used nominally. *Diadas* appears to be an orthographical variant of *dyadas* 3sg. pret. of vb *dyadu* 'to let go; let (blood), pour' (G, GPC). The proleptic pronoun in *a'e* refers to the *gwaet* in line 50.
- 50 **gwaet y ar wynwas** *Gwynwas* 'holy or fair youth', or a personal name (as in LL 264 *Gunguas*). If the former, it may refer to Christ. Cross and Hill, in their discussion of the *Adrian and Ritheus* question 'Tell me what the glory of the living man is. I tell you, the blood of a dead one', comment that this may be 'a transformation or adaptation of an originally religious statement expressing the conception that the blood of Christ crucified is the glory of every living Christian': PSol&Sat 136-7.
- 51 **Odit traethator** *Odit* 'rare, singular (one)', cf. PBT 1.11-12 (Daronwy) *Odit ae gwypwy:/ hutlath Vathonwy*; PBT 3.7 (Kychwedyl) *odit o Gymry a'e llafaro*; PBT 9.2 *Odit o vab dyn arall y par*; §26.15-17 *byt mor yw ryfed. . . byt mor yw odit*; EWSP 426.47 *odit a uo molediw*.

Traethator, also in line 226 (*traethator*). A number of examples of *-ator* endings are found in the Book of Taliesin, especially in prophecy: §1.54-5 *prouator eneit/ rac llwyth eissyffleit*; §1.63 *Gwelattor arwydon*; PBT 7.55 *kathyl gwae canhator*; PBT 9.16 (Ymarwar Lladur Bychan) *dullator petrygwern llugyrn ymdeith*; CC 20.163 *Kayator y dyleith*. Elsewhere: CA line 950 *mynawc am rann kwynyator*; Moliant Cadwallon line 44 *Canator cathyl*; CBT II 1.83 *gwelhator*; 1.84 *edrychator*; 5.3 *g6elhattor*; III 16.63 *g6astator*; IV 2.26 *eiryachator*; 2.27 *gwelhator*; 2.31 *gweinidator*; 2.48 *golychator*; 2.55 *kyfurdator*; V 8.43 *magator o'm dlid*; 23.126 *g6elhattor*.

Endings in *-etor*, *-itor*, and *-otor*: §18.25 *kymyscator*; PBT 7.68 *tyghettor*; Echrys Ynys line 4 *rewinetor*; 15 *kyrbwylletor*; 17 *cynwyssetor*; §23.16 *cwynitor*; §9.61 and 62 *keissitor*; LIDC 16.88 *kenhittor kirrn eluch*; 17.203 *megittor*; EWSP 430.12c *kwynitor*; 457.35b *ryt rewitor*; R585.13 *treulitor*; 585.20 *peritor* (em.); Peirian Faban line 44 *klywytor*; LIDC 8.4 *brithottor*; CBT I 8.7 *g6elitor*; 14.68 *treithitor*; II 1.81 *clyhwitor*; 1.97 *molidor*; 16.19 *klywitor*; 24.3 *draethawd a draethitor*; III 3.43 *keritor*; 10.38 *keritor*; 10.46 *eu traetha6d traethitor*; 10.58 *kenitor*; 16.185 *honitor*; 21.183 *treithitor 'yg kert*; IV 2.20 *clywitor*; 2.23 *dilochitor*; 2.24 *ergrynitor*; 2.28 *telitor*; 2.29 *aruollitor*; 2.32 *kenitor*; 2.56 *pwyllitor*; 6.206 *keffitor*, etc. As the listings show (and see GMW 120-21 for

further examples), the forms continue to be used in the 12c, especially for vbs *gwelet*, *caru*, *clybot*, *canu*, *traethu*, etc.

- 52 **mawr molhator** Lines 51-6 are repeated in lines 260-65. I understand *odit* and *mawr* to be used nominally, probably of Christ, but possibly of the speaking figure himself.
- 53 **Mitwyf Taliessin** Cf. §7.1 *Mydwyf merweryd*; §23.1 *Mydwyf Taliessin deryd*; §24.25 *Midwyf vard moladwy yghywreint*. The first word is a contraction of *mi* + *yd(d)* + *wyf* 'I am'. Used by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr in his boasting poem, CBT I 9.3-4 *Mi ytwyf eurddetyf diofyn y nrin, / Mi ytwyf llew rac llu, lluch vyg gortin*. Various other constructions are found in poetry when individuals introduce themselves: LIDC 36.27 *Taliessin viw inhev*; EWSP 417 *neud wyf Lywarch lauar pell*; CBT I 4.25 *Mi, Veilyr Brydyt*; III 16.92 *Mi Gyndelw gerd ogyruen*; IV 9.150 *Mi, Gyndelw, a gynnelw gennwch*; 18.64 *Mi, Gynddelw geiniad*; V 1.162 *Mi brydyt brydest annyanaβl*; V 14.13 *Llywarch y'm gelwir*; V 19.13 *Mi Lywarch, titheu Lywelyn*; VI 35.79 *Mi yβ y benkerd*, etc.
- 54 **ryphrydaf-y iawn llin** See TC 365-6 on spirantisation after *ry* 'in the earliest texts', noting additional examples: CC 24.6 *rychatwyf*; PT XII.1-2 *rychanant/rychwynant y dragon*, XII.19 *rytharnawr*; Echrys Ynys line 5 *kan rychior*; PBT 8.6 (Romani kar) *rythrychynt*; CC 4.10 *?rythalhwyf*; Moliant Cadwallon line 22 *rhyphbeyllas*. However, spirantised /k/ continues to be used by the court poets: e.g. CBT I 2.34 *rychlud*; 2.36-7 *Rycheidv y naut/ Rychedwis detyf, rychynis gretyw*; IV 16.15 *Rychyrchant*; V 11.5 *Rychwynant anant anhaβtgoll—teyrn*; VI 18.111 *Rychynghein Prydein yn dibryder*.

The vb *prydu* (cf. OIr *creth* 'poetry') is frequently attested in CBT corpus but is not otherwise common in early verse: §2.26 *bard a bryt*; CC 14.6-7 *is (em.) o wir yd pridaw/ Y Duw maur*; CBT II 1.131 *prydu iti*; III 7.3 *prydu. . . eurgert*; V 24.14 *Prydu nid anoeth y gyuoethaβc*; VII 28.23 *Prydaf yn ddyfnaf ytt*. The noun *prydyd* 'poet' is notably absent from our collection, although it is found in AP line 193 *agawr brydyd*; CC 12.12 *Kyffei bard pridit*; R1052.3 (prophecy) *Yna yt vyd prydyd heb pryder*, and is very common from the 12c on in bardic titles and in CBT corpus generally. *Prydest* (with medial /d/), cf. §2.2 *prydest ofer*, is also common in CBT corpus.

Ifor Williams proposed both 'I sing perfect metre', and 'right lineage', PT xvi, lxii. GMW 62, 'I compose its true lineage', but *y* is more likely to be the prep. 'to', or else the emphasising 1sg. pron. *Llin* (< L. *linea*) usually means 'lineage' in early poetry: PBT 2.26 (Glaswawt) *o lin Anarawt*; Edmyg Dinbych line 14 *Blaen llin ab Erbin*; CC 14.70 *llin Kaïn*, etc. (see GPC). 'I sing to (one(s) of) true lineage' or 'I versify true lineage' or 'I sing [poetry] of true pedigree' are all possible. *Llin* 'line of battle', likely in §5.65 and 75, is not suitable here. The meanings 'drawn line; line of written material' are attested from the 14c onwards (GPC) (*llinell* is not a medieval usage). Elidir Sais (12-13c) uses the compound *iawnllin* of *cerdeu* 'poems' in his Dadolwch to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (CBT I 17.27): *Bydd iawnllary wrth gerddau iownllin*. This poem, a rare example of the 'appeasement' genre (cf. PT X), also mentions *cerddau Taliessin* (I 17.18). The meaning 'correct metre or versification' would be possible, but there are no unequivocal examples of *llin* in this sense. Hence CBT I, 351 translates as 'Bydd yn dra haelionus wrth gerddi o iawn linach' ['Be exceedingly generous to poems of true pedigree']. Cf. also CBT IV 12.22 *O yaβnllin yaβnllwyth Culuart*; VI

30.80 *O iawn deyrnllin y brenhinedd*, with 'lineage' clearly meant in both examples.

Yet another possibility, not usually mentioned in this context, is *llin*³ 'flow, discharge' (GPC), poorly attested as a simplex, but found as the second element of *gwaetllin* 'flow of blood'. It could conceivably be understood here as a figure for poetry, comparing the similar use of *llif* 'flow' in §25.58-61 *Mydwy Taliessin/areith lif dewin/ parahawt hyt fin/ yg kynnelw Elphin*. As noted on line 55 below, *parawt* often refers to compositions.

- 55 **parāwt hyt ffin** Forms of the vb *parhau* occur in nine other instances with *Brawt* 'Judgment': §8.27-8 *Yssit imi teir kadeir kyweir kysson/ ac yt Vrawt parahawt gan gerdoryon*; §10.38-9 *Kadeir getwidyd (em.) yssyd yma,/ a hyt Vrawt parāwt yn Europa*; §12.14 *yn uwyt, yn diawt — hyt Vrawt yt parha*; §18.8 *ac yt Urawt, parahawt yn bardwedi*; §25.54 *hyt Vrodic yt para*; §25.60 *parahawt hyt fin*; LIDC 35.6 (Trystan) *hid Braud parahuad y ertiwul*; CC 33.39 *Chwechet oes: oes Iessu, a hyt Vrawt y para*; CBT IV 9.5-6 *Eil digabyl parabl parhaa6d,/ Per awen, parhaus hyd Ura6d*. All refer to the continuing of song or poetry, apart from §12.14 (resources of the world), §25.54 (Christendom, or the world), CC 33.39 (the Sixth Age), and cf. §25.39 *py hyt yt para?* (of the world).

Hyt ffin: cf. §25.60; cf. CA lines 419/421 for rhyme *ffin/Elffin*. *Ffin* (< L. *finis*) usually 'border, frontier', as in Latin. The same sense of 'end, finish' is seen in IGE² 267.17-18 *Nesnes mae cerdd Daliesin,/ Wrawl ei ffydd ar ael ffin*. In the present example, it means either the 'until the end of life; death' (comparing Latin usage) or else 'until the End', comparing *hyt Urawt*.

- 56 **yg kynelw** Understood as 'my' (*my/fy*) in PT 25. GPC *cynnelw* 'support, succour, protection, benefit; praise, favour, eulogy'; also a vb noun and 3sg. pres.: see GPC s.v. *cynhelwaf*: *cynnelw* 'to support, favour, defend, own; praise, extol'. Cf. PT I.18 *Myg kynnelw o Gynan* (with *o* emended out by Ifor Williams, and translated 'my support, Cynan'). CC 11.4 *kynnelw ohonawt*; 21.2 *Kynelv o Douit*; CBT II 26.4 *Kynnel6 o Dewi*; III 18.16 *A'm kert a'm kynhel6 ohona6*; IV 6.31-2 *a'm kert/ A'm kynhel6 o'm perchen*, etc. for common construction with *o*. In the translation, *yg* is understood as 'my', and *kynelw* as noun 'praise', the subject of *parawt*, but if *yg kynelw* 'in the service of', then *iawn llin*, or the implied song 'of true lineage' is the subject, followed by adverbial phrase.

- 56 **Elphin** < L. *Alpinus*, and the orthography (-*ph*-) often testifies to the perception of Latin origin (cf. *corph* < *corpus*). It is frequently attested as a personal name in the Book of Llandaf charters and elsewhere: LL 174, 158, 272 (*Elfin filius Dissaith*), 179, 180 (*E. filius Guidgen*), 190, 197-8; 259, 268; a rock, *Carn Elfin*, is named in 32.6, 43.27, etc. CA line 421 *e lwry Elfin* 'in the manner of E.', implies that one Elffin was a touchstone of valour. The genealogies record (1) Elffin m. Owain m. Beli m. Neithon m. Gwyddno m. Dyfnwal Hen (EWGT 10, Harleian 3859); (2) Elffin m. Gwyddno m. Cawrdaf (EWGT 73, Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd); and (3) Elffin m. Urien (EWGT 57 and 87, Bonedd y Saint, and Bonedd yr Arwyr); EWSP 425.39 *yn erbyn kyfryssed Elphin*; 426.51 *ym myw Owein ac Elphin*. Rowland wonders whether the latter is to be equated with the original Elffin of the legendary Taliesin poems, EWSP 97.

Other references to Elffin in the Book of Taliesin: below, line 266 for repetition of present formula, and §25.58-61 (see on line 54 above); §8.25-6 *Ellygeis vy arglwyd yg gwyd deon./ Elphin pendefic ryhodigyon*; §9.77-9 *o plant*

Saraphin/ dogyn dwfyn diwerin/ dillygem Elphin; §12.15-18 Golychaf-i wledic, pendefic gwlat hed,/ y dillwg Elphin o alltuted:/ y gwr a'm rodes y gwin a'r cwrwaf a'r med,/ a'r meirch mawr modur, mirein eu gwed; §12.22 Elffinawc varchawc medhwyr dy Ogled. He is clearly the acknowledged lord (*arglwyd*) of the speaker, Taliesin, and one who provides him with patronage in the form of drink and steeds. The release of Elffin from evil custody (§9.77-9) and/or from *alltud* status (§12.16), petitioned for at Degannwy in the presence of Maelgwn in §8.23-4, is clearly a prime motif. Of the court poets, only Prydydd y Moch alludes to the Taliesin's release of Elffin (CBT V 25.3-4 *Yn dull Talyessin yn dillwng Elfin,/ Yn dyllest bartrin beirt uannyeri*); his contemporary, Philip Brydydd, refers to the contention before Maelgwn (CBT VI 15.5, discussed above, on line 15). LIDC 18.127 and 130 *Neu'm duc-i Elffin y prowi vy bartrin* also imply that Elffin controlled the imagined speaker of the grave stanzas (Taliesin in all probability), exhorting him to display his bardic wisdom (*bartrin*). Dafydd Benfras appears to compare Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's might to Elffin's success (*cynnif Elffin*, CBT VI 25.10). None of these literary references gives a patronymic. The first source to do so appears to be in the tale, *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* where Elffin fab Gwyddno is identified as the contrary, hot-headed youth (*gwas traws fenedic*) who strikes Addaon fab Taliesin for splashing water over Arthur, his bishop and their party (BR 8, lines 18-19).

Many post-1283 poets name Elffin, along with other paragons, for his martial spirit, generosity and other qualities and, especially later, as poetic patron par excellence: e.g. GSRh 6.70 *torfoedd Elffin*; GLIG 3.22 *Elffin eilffawd*; GGM III 1.21 *awydd Elffin*; III 2.38 *dewrder Elffin*; GDC 3.73-4 *Ail Elffin gwayw lliw sinobl,/ Yw no neb am win a nobl*; GDC 12.13-14 *Hopgyn glaerwyn, glerwyr frenin,/ Freiniau Elffin, wylffawd gloywedd*; DGG² 80.42 (Gruffudd Gryg) *pwynt Elffin, rhoes win*; GLGC 174.37 *Taliesin i Elffin wyf*; 197.1 *Elffin Llanwrin*; GTA 110.51-6 *I Elffin Taliesin las/ a fu fardd, fwyfwy urddas:/ Chwithau a roech wythryw win/ Yr eilffordd a rôi Elffin:/ Parch, a gwin pêr, a'ch gwenau,/ Punnoedd, meirch, pan oeddym iau*; YPaCh 36.56 [Taliesin] *bardd Elffin*; 51.49 *bardd Elffin*. Further references of this kind are noted by G s.n. *Elffin*.

Few of the poets elaborate on his 'story' in any detail. However, Gwilym Ddu o Arfon makes an unequivocal allusion to the imprisonment motif, implying that he knew that it was Taliesin's fluency which had effected the release of his patron: GGDT 6.53-4 *Pei mau pibl ddiau ddyad Taliesin,/ Pan gyrchodd Elffin*. He says that were he to possess 'the assured authority of Taliesin's flow when he went to fetch Elffin', then his patron Syr Gruffudd Llwyd would be freed from captivity in Rhuddlan (1316-17). Similarly, in addressing two brothers, Henri ap Gwilym ap Tomas and Owain Llwyd, who were imprisoned in Harlech, Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen drew on the motif in an extended passage: A. Eleri Davies (ed.), *Gwaith Deio ab Ieuan Du a Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen* (Caerdydd, 1992), XVI.25-38:

Ill dau diau y deuynt
 Drwy fin gwal adref yn gynt.
 Os cyfing ac ing yw'n gwaith
 O gwbl, bid dda ein gobaith:
 Mab glân Gwyddno Garanir
 I'w efyn hwnt a fu'n hir;
 O wawd Taliesin a'i waith
 [Y]'i tynnyd o'i wart unwaith.

Briwodd enwau'r bardd uniawn
 Y cloeau dur caled iawn;
 Yno gwnaeth â'i awenydd
 Elffin rhwym eurin yn rhydd.
 Drwy 'ngherdd, o gwna Duw erddi,
 Felly dêl fy llewod i.

The 15c contention between Llywelyn ab y Moel and Rhys Goch Eryri refers to the freeing of Elffin when Llywelyn — in response to Rhys's challenges about the origins of poetry and the song of Taliesin (IGE² 164.23-34) — claims knowledge of Taliesin's craft, his inspiration and three transformations (GSCyf 15.53-60):

Ac yn <i>hanes</i> Taliesin,	var. <i>armes</i>
Drud yn llys Faelgwn fu'r drin	
Pan ollyngodd (medrodd mwy)	
Elffin o eurin aerwy;	
Talm a wn o gerdd hwnnw	
A'i chwyl oll, heb un chwai lw,	
A'i awen bresen heb rus,	
A'i dri dadeni dawnus.	

'And in the story of Taliesin, the contest in Maelgwn's court was vehement, when he released (he was able to do more) Elffin from a golden collar; I know a portion of [Taliesin's] craft, and all about his fortunes, truly, and his consistent unimpeded inspiration, and his three gifted rebirths.'

Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin lines 156-7 has *ni [wyr] Wyndodyd/ bod Elffin yn ryd* 'the men of Gwynedd do not know that Elffin is free'. In his poem to the Salmon, Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn addresses the fish as one who is 'as proficient in contention as Elffin's bard' (*cystal . . . am drin â bardd Elffin wyt*, GDLIF 89).

Only in the 16c prose tale, Ystoria Taliesin, is there much detail. There, Elffin is the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, an *ysgwier kyuoethog* 'a rich squire' living near Degannwy; but he is spendthrift and prodigal ('like most courtiers', says Elis Gruffydd), fond of the high life. His fortunes gradually improve after he finds the young Taliesin in his father's weir, but at the court of Maelgwn he is imprisoned for boasting about the pre-eminence of his wife and his poet. Taliesin effects his release by routing Heinin Fardd and his entourage of court poets in poetic and wisdom contest. Elffin's horse is then pitted against Maelgwn's in a race along Morfa Rhianedd, near Llandudno (see on §15 Torrit anuynudawl 'Canu y Meirch'), and Taliesin counsels Elffin's men to dig a pit which is found to be full of gold — a reward for having saved him from the weir and reared him. On Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin, the Ystoria Taliesin poems and the Book of Taliesin material, see General Introduction.

- 57 **Neur deiryghet** GPC vb *deirwng* '?to attract, allure, entice; support, sustain; pay, reward, earn, deserve', attested only here and in CBT III 24.166 *Wedy ked wossep, nep ny'm deiring*, translated 'after [the demise of] the one [who was] ready with his gift, no-one [now] attracts me' (CBT III, 307). G favours past impers., but impers. imperf. subjunct. is also possible (GMW 129), or 3sg. impv. Perhaps of Elffin, 'he was (or would be) enticed' or referring to the reward earned by Elffin (see on line 56 above for the YT story), or the poet's reward for praising him.

58 **o rif eur dylyet** GPC s.v. *dylaf*: *dylu* ‘to be obliged to, ought, be indebted, behove, owe, be in debt’, ‘to have a right to, claim, merit, deserve, possess; claim from’, cf. §9.39-40 *Ny dily kadeir/ ny gatwo vyg geir*, CA line 537 *tal being a dily*; CA line 798 *aryant am y ued eur dilyi* ‘[he who had] silver around his mead, deserved [his] gold’. If past impers., ‘it [the praise] was rewarded by a measure of gold’. But the noun is understood in the translation: GPC s.v. *dyled*, *dylyed*, ‘debt, due, claim, right, demand, obligation, duty, service’, etc. (cf. AP line 134 *pw y meint eu dylyet o’r wlat a dalyant?* ‘what is the extent of their claim on the land they hold?’; R582.30 *dylyet uchaf*; CBT I 14.89 *Y’ m dytwyn o’ m Duw y’ m dylyed* ‘my leading by God to my reward’; V 26.117 *dilys dylyed—Prydein* ‘[one with] a rightful claim over Britain’; VI 12.7 *dylyed dilys*; etc. CA lines 1408-9 *vyg werth y a wnaethant/ o eur pur a dur ac aryant* ‘they rewarded me with pure gold and hard [weapons] and silver’.

Rif ‘(large) number, amount’, but also ‘worth, esteem, honour, praise’, as collocated with *eur* in CBT V 23.192-3 *Yn ruteur, yn rwyrd arduyant/ O bob rif y’ m rbyfy’ m donyant* ‘in red gold, with great honour, out of every respect for my [poetic] amplitude do they reward me’. The commonly occurring *rudeur* ‘red gold’ (see G s.v. *eur*, noting nine examples by Prydydd y Moch) could conceivably have been mistransmitted orally in the present example as *rif eur*. Six syllables.

59 **pan gaffat ny charat** *Pan* ‘when’, not *pan* ‘vessel’.

60 **anudon a brat** Cf. LIDC 17.150-51 *Ban gunelhont meiriev datlev bichein/ Anudon a brad gulad veibonin*; CC 28.7a *Anudon am tir, a brad argluid*.

61 **nu ny chwenychawt (ms chwenychvat)** Accepting G’s emendation, rhyming with line 62, 3sg. fut. (?passive) ‘to desire, long for’, rather than understanding *chwennych* (3sg. pres.) with object *vat* (lenited *mat*). The poet seems to be contrasting the proper rewards awarded to him in the past with a present disregard for poetry, a motif evident in Echrys Ynys, especially lines 11 and 24, in political prophecy and elsewhere.

62 **trwy gogyuec — an gwawt** GPC s.v. *gogyweg* ~ *gogyfeg* ‘?injury, defect, fault, impediment’, cf. §3.45 *Atwyn glew nwy goleith gogywec* ‘A fair thing is a brave man who does not avoid injury’; CBT III 10.74-6 *Arduwaud diatrec./ Kynnifyeid kynygyn ogywec/ Kyndrbynin. . .*; IV 5.129; etc.

The text has not been emended, since *an gwawt* ‘our song’ makes sense. But a smoother connection between lines 61-2 would be yielded by G’s suggested *angnawt* ‘unusual’, etc., on which see GPC s.v. *annawd*. See also note on §5.178 *Hard bard bud an gnawt* (where *angnawt* is suggested).

63 **A’ m (ms a) gogyfarchwy brawt** The vb *gogyfarch* ‘to address, ask’ is common in the Book of Taliesin: CC 17.3 *Ri a’ m gogyfarch yn geluyd*; §7.14 *gogyfarch veird tut*; §7.20 *gogyfarch veird tres* (em.); PBT 3.17 (Kychwedyl) *Gogyfarch Vabon*; Edmyg Dinbych lines 13 and 60 *Gogyfarch ty Prydein kwd gygein hyn; Gogyfarch ti Vyned* (em.). Elsewhere: §1.22 (Red Book); CA lines 197-200 *Gogyuerchi yn hon/ deivyr diuerogyon/ ‘a dyvu o Vrython/ wr well no Chynon?’*; R1049.8 (Anrheg Urien) *Gogyfercheis, gogyfarchaf gogyfuerchyd*; R1051.13-14 (prophecy) *Penn beird pob eluyd o’ th hen ovynnon./ Mi a’ th ogyuarchaf ar arbydon./ Py vynych gymhbylly Vabon*; LIDC 18.222-3 *Gogyuarch pob diara/ ‘Pieu yr vedgor yssy yma?’*; CBT V 3.2 *Gogyfarch teyrn*; 19.33-4 *A’ th*

ogyuarchaf, naf ny eduyn—beirt./ Megys bart ar dremhyn; VI 27.11. The infixed pronoun is suggested in our example for the sense.

- 64 **wrthyf ny gwybyd nebawt** Examples of *gogyfarch* cited above suggest it normally takes a direct object. *Wrthyf* could be understood as ‘in comparison with me’ (GMW 213, comparing CLIH 5.26 *Wrth Wen gweissyonein oedyn*). However, the line is unusually long, with seven syllables, and *wrthyf* (perhaps a gloss?) should perhaps be deleted.
- 65 **Doethur, prif geluyd** See notes on §5.238 *Derwydon doethur*, and on §5.52 *ac eluyd*.
- 66 **dispwyllawt sywedyd** 3sg. abs. of rarely attested *dispwyllaw* (GPC s.v. *disbwyllaf*: *disbwyllaw* ‘to make wise, persuade . . . teach’, etc.). For *sywedyd*, *syw*, *sywyt*, see on §5.174.
- 67 **am wyth am edrywyd (ms edrywyth)** G s.v. *gŵyith* ‘ferocity; battle, fighting’, also adj. ‘ferocious’. Here perhaps used for poetic vehemence, comparing Prydydd y Moch’s use of the word in referring to his own sharp satirical tongue and his ability in poetic contest (CBT V 2.16-7 *G6yth wastabd. . . Gwythla6n y6 uyn da6n yn diuysgi*). Emend *edrywyth* to *edrywyd/edrywed ~ adrywed* ‘track, pursuit’ for rhyme, with G and GPC.
- 68 **am doleu dynwedyd** *Am* understood as ‘about’ as in line 67, although ‘around’ is possible if *dol* ‘water-meadow, field’ (with G). But *doleu* is tentatively understood as ‘turns, twists, loops’ (referring to poetic devices), although such a figurative usage is not noted in GPC s.v. *dól*¹. *Dynwedyd* is understood as a variant of *dyfynwedyd* on which see line 24 above.
- 70 **Kerdown Duw yssyd** G classes *kerdown* as 1pl. impv. of *kerdet* (?with direct object indicating person or thing approached). ‘Let us make for God who is’ seems rather lame on its own; if the sense continues over lines 71-2, perhaps ‘who is — through the utterance of Talhaearn — a judgment . . .’. Another possibility is to emend to *kerdwr* ‘poet’, first attested in mid-14c, GSRh 2.70. Obscure.
- 71 **trwy ieith Talhayarn** Cf. lines 165-6 *Talhayarn . . . mwyhaf ysywedyd*. See on line 7 *trwy ieith Taliessin*. *Talhayarn*, like *Taliesin* and *Cian*, is named in the HB poet list (see on line 9 above).
- 72 **bedyd budyd varn** On problematic *budyd*, see line 8 above. Here, possibly, ‘profit’, although this is extremely uncertain, as is the interpretation of the progression of thought in lines 69-72.
- 73 **a varnwys teithi** The subject of the vb is most naturally taken as God (*Duw*, line 70).
- 74 **angerd vardoni** *angerd* ‘passion’ (genitival). *Bardoni* ‘poetry, composition’, cf. §1.96 *gam vardoni*; CC 2.11-12 *Ys bud bardoni/ Ar helv Elöy*; CBT I 2.25; II 1.151; 10.11; 26.3; III 21.48; V 2.20; 25.2-4 *Kyureu Kyrriduen, rwyf bartoni./ Yn dull Talyessin yn dillwng Elfin./ Yn dyllest bartrin beirt uannyeri*.
- 75 **Ef a’e rin rodes** *Rin* ‘mystery, secret; quality, virtue’ (cf. *bardrin*), here of God’s power, cf. §3.1 *rin rypenyf y ryret*; CBT VII 40.1-2 *Y G6r a’n rodes rinnyeu—ar dauawt/ Ac arawt a geireu*.
- 76 **aghymes** ‘Without measure’, cf. §13.17 *ar eilic aghymes*; §8.20 *llwyth aghymes* (ms *aghes*). With lines 75-6, compare especially CBT V 4.15-16 *Rann6s Du6 De6s donyon—angkymwys./ Agkymhes y veibyon; anghymes* used also in V 5.32

and 5.50. Prydydd y Moch is the only poet to use the word apart from the Book of Taliesin examples.

- 77 **seith vgein ogyruen** The precise meaning of *ogyruen* is unclear. It is used by the 12c court poets (CBT I 2.3 and 37; III 16.92, 24.6) as well as in the Book of Taliesin; see on §§8.12-13, 11.36, and notes on the title, *Kadeir Kerrituen* (§10). Here it would seem to mean a sub-division of the *awen*.
- 79 **wyth vgein o pop vgein** The length and the lack of rhyme indicate textual corruption.
- 80 **euyd yn vn** G s.v. *efyð* 'brass', but with a reference to *euwyd* 'lichen', etc. It seems more likely that the form contains *byd* (ModW *bydd*), or perhaps a miscopying of *heuyt* 'also'. Lines 79-80 may have been referring to further sub-divisions, with eight score parts to each *ogyruen*. Uncertain.
- 80 **Yn Annwfyn y diwyth** On Annwfyn, see §18.7, and cf. §5.189 (Kat Godeu) *Annwfyn llifereint*. *Diwyth* on balance is most likely to be 3sg. pret. of *diwyn* 'recompense, pay compensation for; arrange, put in order' (with G, and see note on *gorwyth* in line 82), rather than the noun 'recompense' or the adj. < *di* + *gŵyith*, 'without wrath'. God is understood as the subject, as in line 75, and *y* is taken as *y* + *y*, the latter being the infixed pronoun 3sg. (or pl. if referring not to the *awen*, but rather to its sub-divisions).
- 82 **y gorwyth** Understood as 'he made it/them', following GPC and PT 92, as in §13.41 *gorwyth medw medwhawt* 'it made the drinkers intoxicated', rather than with G 'enlivened, charged', or the noun derived from *gŵyith* '?disturbance, anger; passion' (as in CBT I 2.21 *milwir orvith* 'anger of warriors'). Discussing PT VII.49 *Neu vi[n]neuu ymgorwyth medu medlyn* Ifor Williams compared the *t*-pret. *gorwyth* versus *gorug* with the pair *amug/amwyth*, translating 'the mead-drink made me drunk' (PT 92). On the formation of *diwyth* and *gorwyth*, see further Stefan Schumacher, 'Archaische Verbalformen im Buch von Aneirin und in anderen frühen Texten des Kymrischen', in *Akten des zweiten deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums*, ed. Stefan Zimmer, Rolf Ködderitzsch and Arndt Wigger (Tübingen, 1999), 202-35, pp. 220-21; his n.28 records my previous interpretation of *diwyth* (line 81) as an adj.
- 83 **yn Annwfyn is eluyd** See discussion of location of Annwfn in §18.
- 85 **Y mae a'e gwybyd** 'There is one who knows it', proleptic pron. referring to *tristit*, line 86; or else *ae* is the earlier form of the rel. pron. (GMW 63 n.4).
- 86 **py tristit yssyd** *Tristit* translating *tristitia* of Scripture (see below). EWGP III.23 *megytr tristit lleturyt llwyr*; AP line 49; common in court poetry.
- 87 **gwell no llewenyd** The source is undoubtedly Ecclesiastes 7:3 'Sorrow is better than laughter: for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better' (Vulg. 7:4 *melior est ira risu quia tristitiam vultus corrigitur animus delinquentis*). With *tristit*, cf. CC 15.2-3 (but see note); CC 31.11c *Digawn Crist trist yn llawen*; CC 31.49b and c *llawen/trist*; EWGP IX.11.3-4, etc.
- 88 **gogwn dedyf radeu** *Gogwn* 'I know', the leitmotiv of this poem, cf. lines 122, 124, 169, 175, 180-85, 187, 196. Otherwise rather infrequent: PBT 8.43 (Romani kar); CA line 1054 *gogwn e* (em.) *eissyllut*; EWSP 424.36a; CBT I 9.89; V 2.47. *Radeu* could well be understood as pl. of *rat* 'blessing, favour, gift', etc. (comparing *taleu*, line 90), or else (if *-ð-*) the lenited form of *gradeu* 'orders, classes, gradations; merits; courses (e.g. of stars)', with genitival *dedyf*, as in the

translation. *Dedyf* is used in a comparable poetic context in §10.24 *vyg kadeir a'm peir a'm deduon*.

- 89 **awen pan deffreu** If a separate item of knowledge, *pan* may be understood as 'whence' ('[I know] whence flows the *awen*'), rather than *pan* 'when' as in translation.
- 90 **am geluyd taleu** This may be a pun on *tal*, 'forehead', the first element of the names Taliesin and Talhaearn: i.e. 'about ones with skilled foreheads'. Translated, however, as the pl. of *tal* 'payment'.
- 91 **buched ara** *Buched* 'life', but conceivably with realised lenition of *puched* 'wish, desire'. G *ara* 'happy' (cf. *diara*), cf. §25.28 *ara planete* (restored reading); Echrys Ynys line 19 *aros ara*.
- 93 **am oesseu yscorua** *Am moesseu*, or *a moesseu*, 'and the customs of a fortress', would have marginally more force than 'ages of a fortress', as in the translation of the unemended text. *Yscorua* 'fortress, defensive structure' (CA 105; PT 91, used by court poets Prydydd y Moch and Dafydd Benfras, CBT V 20.45; VI 35.48). Conceivably used here in a technical sense, as in §2 *Buarth Beird* for the venue of a poetic contest, cf. ModW *talwrn y beirdd* ('the cockpit of the poets'). Lines 88-93 appear to group things which are part of the poet's experience. Six syllables unless disyllabic *scorua* (see EWP 162).
- 94 **am haul teyrned** Unrhymed *teyrned* suggests textual corruption, perhaps an anticipation of *am gyhaul*, line 96. Line 95 would give good sense immediately after line 93 *am oesseu yscorua*. As it stands, 'concerning one(s) like princes'. But if *a'm*, conceivably 'and my peers [are] monarchs'.
- 95 **py hyt eu kygwara** Following GPC 'region, dwelling' (as in §25.53 *bedyd gygwara*) rather than G's first suggestion, 'pleasure, joy'.
- 96f **Am gyhaul/ ydynt trwy weryt** G s.v. *amgyhaul* suggests reading *amgyhaul yt/ ydynt trwy weryt/ mawrhydic sywyt/ pan dygyfrensit*, but it is hard to see what Lloyd-Jones thought this meant. Perhaps 'they are like you through the salvation of the honoured sage', although he cites *gweryt*¹ 'earth; grave' rather than *gweryt*² 'salvation'. *Cyhaul* is possible as well as *amgyhaul*. Lines 94-7 are very uncertain.
- 98 **mawrhydic sywyt (ms sywyd)** Emending for rhyme, with G. See §5.174 for examples and discussion of *syw*, *sywyt*, *sywedyd*, etc.
- 99 **Pan dygyfrensit** *Pan* lit. 'whence?', developing to 'how?'. G treats *dygyfrensit* as 3sg. pret. (or plup.) of vb *dygyfrannu* 'to share out, distribute' (cf. CBT V 12.45 *kydgyurannu*), understanding *-it* as *-yt* (for rhyme), cf. CC 24.23 (BT) *gwelsit* 'saw', etc. However, it may be that *-it* and *-yt* formed a partial rhyme, as in lines 109-10 *tynnit/gweryt*. The subject of the vb is understood as *awel* in line 100, but it could be understood as God, and if so, he may be the *sywyt* of line 98.
- 100 **awel uchel gyt** *Uchel gyt*: lit. 'high circle' or 'high joining, grouping, host', presumably here meaning the firmament, comparing *vchel kylchwy* (CBT I 1.6), possibly a close compound (like *uchelfar*, *uchelfab*, *uchelgorf*, *uchelsaint*, *uchelgrug*, etc.). Further on interest in winds, see §11 (Kanu y Gwynt).
- 102 **pan vyd mor hyfryt** Referring to *bryt* as 'so fine'. A new '[I know] why the sea is fine' is unlikely because of the word order, but see on line 211 below. *Bryt/hyfryt* collocated in CBT II 28.20.

- 103 **pan yw gwrdd echen** GPC s.v. *gwrdd* 'fearless, mighty', a very common first element in compound words, providing a useful collocation with *gwr* 'man, hero'. Here, of *echen* 'lineage or stock', cf. §8.1, §9.4.
- 104 **pan echrewyt ucher** (ms *uchel*) GPC s.v. *echreaf*: *echreu* (< *creu*) 'to cause, produce; ?raise, lift', the latter meaning deduced from the present hapax example. The scribe wrote *echreuwyt*, adding a deleting point beneath the *u*. Irregular rhyme *uchel/echen* may suggest that *uchel* is a mistake for *ucher* 'evening, darkness', yielding Irish rhyme. If not, 'how was the high [firmament] made?'.
- 105 **neu heul pan dodir** On use of *neu*, see note to line 29. *Dodir* understood as pres. impers. of vb *dodi* rather than *todi* 'to liquefy, melt', although that is not impossible figuratively for the evening sun. If *dodi*, cf. Job 9:7 'Which commandeth the sun'; Psalm 74:16-17 'Thou hast prepared the light and the sun. Thou hast set all the borders of the earth'; Psalm 136:8 'The sun to rule by day'. And compare perhaps the question and answer *Quare non cadit sol? Et reciprocis cursibus circumfecerunt ab oriente in occidentem; quia a duobus angelis portatur in curru igneo die ac nocte* (*Gespräch* 19, no. 98), and see Suchier's note on p. 27 on reversing the order of the two parts of the last sentence.
- 106 **pan yw tõi tir** *Tõi* is understood as the denominative vb (disyllabic). Cf. *Cædmon's Hymn*: 'First He created Heaven as a roof (*heben til hrofe*)' and the description of Suibne's oratory in *Túaaim Inbir*: *Mu chridecán, Dia du nim,/ Is hé tugatóir rod-toig* 'My beloved God from Heaven is the thatcher who has roofed it', the 'roof' again being the firmament: Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford, 1956), 112.
- 107 **tõi tir pwyt meint** Cf. inversion pattern (*atroi*) in lines 108-9 and 110-11.
- 108 **pan tynhit gwytheint** *Gwytheint* is commonly attested as a sg. noun 'anger, fury, battle, etc.', and if that is understood, then 'how is anger incited'; the similar word, *wytheint* 'birds of prey' (as in §§10.29, 28.26), would also give good sense (the *g-* a result of scribal confusion of the two words). However, I venture that it may be here a nonce pl. of *gwyth* 'stream, vein, channel', contra GPC and G (on *gwytheint*, see J. Lloyd-Jones, 'wytheint', *B* 4 (1927-9), 145-6; PT 41); the usual pl. form of *gwyth* is *gwyth(y)eu*, as in §11.5 *heb wytheu, heb waet*. For the sense, cf. §7.38 which mentions the waters of the earth being drawn by the moon.
- 110 **pan yw gwyrdd gweryt** *Gwyrdd* < L. *viridis*, sometimes used of the sea, e.g. LIDC 8.4 *Guirt mor brithottor turet* 'green the sea, dappled the lands'. The common meaning of *gweryt* is 'earth, soil', but GPC notes the later usage 'moss, lichen' (first attestation in 1604-7). There may have been thought to be an etymological connection between *gweryt* and *vidiris*. On rhyme *-it/-yt* see on line 99 above.
- 112 **pwyt echenis kyrd** G s.v. *echenu* 'to originate, spring forth, cause, produce'; see Ifor Williams, 'cen, amgen, achen, echen, cenedl', *B* 7 (1933-5), 36-8, and cf. §6.12 *pyt echenis drwc*. *Kyrd* is understood as pl. of *kerd*, 'song, art' rather than of *cord* 'host', also possible.
- 114 **ystir pwyt ystyrywys** *Ystir*, irregular Black Book of Carmarthen-type orthography for *ystyr* 'meaning, sense, significance; story, history'. See Brynley F. Roberts, 'Ystoria', *B* 26 (1974-6), 13-20, on the range of meanings of *ystyr* and *ystoria*, both from L. *historia*; also Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Some functions of origin stories in early medieval Wales', in Tøre Nyberg *et al.* (ed.), *History and Heroic Tale* (Odense, 1985), 97-131 (pp. 98-9), and cf. §5.72 *o ystyr Dilyw*.

The figura etymologica is paralleled in CBT I 32.27 *ystyr a ystyryaf*, VII 33.58 *ystorya/ystyryych*, etc., and the vb is commonly used in the Book of Taliesin and CBT corpus. The irregular rhyme between *echenis/ystyrywys* could be improved by emending to the form *ystyryws* (cf. CBT I 14.33 and VI 26.45), yielding proest. The 3sg. *-ws* ending is common in the CBT corpus: e.g. *dillygws*, *crews*, *trychws*, *dychyrchws*, *dysgws*, *mynnws*, *medrws*, *cyrchws*, etc., and is used extensively by Cynddelw, Gwalchmai, Prydydd y Moch (who has 10+ examples), and others.

- 116 **pet wynt pet ffreu** *Pet* 'how many' (cognate with L. *quot*) is restricted entirely to the Book of Taliesin poems, where it occurs 14 times; *pet wynt* is unusual in demonstrating lenition, and G s.v. *cygloyt* wonders whether there may be a syllable missing before *wynt*. One might suggest one of the compounds *rywynt*, *mawrwynt*, or *ruthrwynt*. Long lists of names of fountains and rivers are found, for example, in Isidore's *Etymologiae* XIII.xi-xiii and xxi, and VM lines 1179-1253. *Ffreu* 'stream' (often compounded with *gwaet*), cf. §6.52 *ryffreu*, §23.46; PBT 8.15; CC 2.21 *a wnaeth fruith a freu* (of God); CBT III 3.68, IV 9.98, V 9.29, etc.
- 118 **pet auon ar hynt** Cf. *ar hynt* as adverbial phrase, CBT VII 3.1 *Llawer deigyrr hydyruer ar hynt*; frequent collocations *hynt/gwynt* throughout medieval poetry, e.g. AP line 96; §18.51 and 56; §17.13-14, etc.
- 119 **pet auon yd ynt** *Auon* may be referring to the ocean-river into which flow all the other rivers; cf. line 181 below, and §18.51 *ae vn hynt gwynt, ae vn dwfyr mor* ('does the wind go along one track? Is the sea all one water?'). 'Mare est aquarum generalis collectio', *Etymologiae* XIII.xiv.1. Compare possibly *Gespräch* 33, no. 53: *Quid est quod ad unum vadit et ad unum redit? Pluvia* 'What goes to one and returns to one? Rain'. The overt reference in line 115 to books on scientific matters, especially the winds and waters, may be compared with the approval accorded to 'Bede's books' in the passage about the ocean-river encircling the world in §10.34-7 *dybrys am y llys (em.) efnys afon,/ afon a'e hechrys gwrys gwrth Terra:/ gwenwyn y chynbyt kylch byt ed a:/ nyt wy dyweit geu llyfreu Beda*.
- 120f **dayar pwy y llet/ pwy y thewhet** Cf. Job 38:18 'Hast thou perceived the breadth (*latitudo*) of the earth? declare if thou knowest it all'; 38:5 'Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it?' The many questions in the last six chapters of Job were popular in question-and-answer collections, and as other questions suggest (see line 149 below; §1.4, 12, and 16-17; §6.40 and 43-4; §7.25; §18.55), they were directly or indirectly an important source for the authors of the Taliesin poems. *Gespräch* 105, no. 10, notes, for example, the Slavic Adam question 'How thick is the Earth and how deep the water? The water is seven stades, and the earth . . .'; also *Gespräch* 128, no. 21: *Wie manig gegent ist der erd? Hundert und funffczechn*.
- 122 **Gogwn trws llafnawr** *Trwst* is the more usual form ('noise, clamour', etc.), but *trws* is also found in CC 20.21 (also Book of Taliesin).
- 123 **am rud am lawr** *Am rud* is understood as 'around a blood-stained one', in absence of adj. **amrud* 'very red, bloody'. With collocation of *llafnawr/rud*, cf. CBT III 18.9-10 *eurgledyfrut—gawr,/ Breisc lafna6r, brwysc lofrut*; V 23.96 *A llafyna6r lledrut uch grut a grann*.

- 124f **Gogwn a trefnawr/ rwg Nef a llawr** Taliesin may be claiming to know the seven gradations called the *seith awyr* in §25.21 probably ‘air, ether, olympus, firmament, fiery heaven, heaven of the angels, heaven of the Trinity’, as listed in the Hiberno-Latin *Liber de Numeris* and other texts (see commentary on §25.21). *Nef a llawr*: CC 20.43 (BT); §5.127; Edmyg Dinbych line 2; LIDC 36.9; very common phrase in court poetry: CBT I 20.15; 33.86; II 6.34; IV 10.6; V 27.10; VI 15.1; 36.51; VII 39.12, etc.
- 126 **pan atsein aduant** GPC² s.v. *adfant* ‘cessation, evanescence, emptiness’, here for a vacuum or a hollow, with PT xvi. See on §14.4 *symaduant*, ?*recte symuduant*. Used as an adj. in §26.12.
- 127 **pan ergyr diuant** For the same rhyme, see §26.12-13 *Byt, mor yw aduant/ pan syrth yn diuant*. *Difant* used commonly of death or annihilation, e.g. §18.58; §24.10; CBT I 31.14; IV 4.26 and 16.105 *yn difant*; V 1.100; 10.75 *yn diuant*; 23.152 *yn diuant*; VI 10.44; VII 7.25, etc.
GPC s.v. *ergyriaf*: *ergyr* (-*iaw*) ‘to rush, attack, thrust’, etc. This appears to be a rare example of the denominative vb. The vb form *vyd* in line 129 suggests that *atsein*, *ergyr* and *lewyh* are all best understood as 3sg. vb forms rather than the corresponding nouns. Note PT xvi ‘why there is an echo in a hollow’ contra ‘why silver gleams’.
- 128 **pan lewyh aryant** *llewychu* and other derivates of *llewyh* used commonly of the sun, moon, weapons, of radiance of persons. Of gold, CBT I 9.34 *Llewychedic eur ar uy ysgwyd*; V 22.6 *Llewychedic eur ar uy kyfrwy*.
- 129 **pan vyd tywyll nant** Contrasting with the gleaming silver of line 128.
- 130 **anadyl pan yw du** PT xvi ‘why breath is black’. Presumably referring to the breath inside the body. *English Riddles* 130 notes a breath riddle from Ireland: ‘Here I have it, yonder I see it/ A black lamb with blue fleece’.
- 131 **pan yw creu auu** GPC *afu* ‘liver’ where *Yr auu, gwaet da a wna* (c. 1400) is noted.
- 132 **buch pan yw bannawc** *Buch* may be ‘cow’ (G), with PT xvi ‘why a cow has horns’; cf. *bannaɔc* of a horned bull in CBT III 22.2, and the two *yhen bannawc* in CO line 596. But if it represents *bwch* ‘buck, buck-goat, roebuck’ (see also §5.66), compare Isidore’s speculation on the etymology of the word *cervus* ‘stag’: ‘Cervi dicti ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων, id est a cornibus’ (‘from horns’), *Etymologiae* XII.i.18. Taliesin himself appears as a buck in §15.59 *Bum hwch, bum bwch* ‘I have been a pig, I have been a buck’; another of his guises is a *bwch melinawr* (line 241 below), interpreted as a ‘stook of grain’. It is not impossible that both meanings of *bwch* are in operation here: the stook of grain with its ‘horned’ or ‘elevated’ (*bannawc*) top, as well as the young animal.
- 133 **gwreic pan yw serchawc** PT xvi, ‘why a woman is affectionate’. *Gwreic* is generally used for a married woman. *Bannawc* and *serchawc* are collocated in Gwalchmai ap Meilyr’s *Gorhoffedd* in lines perhaps drawing on gnomic statements (CBT I 9.92 *Bid sswyssabɔc serchawc, bannaɔc breyr* ‘a lover is emotional, a nobleman is elevated’).
- 134 **llaeth pan yw gwyn** §2.46 *mal porthi pyscawt ar laeth*; §3.49 *pan dyn lloe llaeth*; EWGP IV.5 *gnawt ar laeth maeth dyn creuyd*, etc. *Llefrith* in §8.14. Four-syllabic line unless a variant disyllabic form was spawned on analogy with hiatus

forms such as *trāet*, *trōet*, *māes*, etc. from intervocalic -g- (*llaeth* < L. or Britt. *lact-*). *Llefrith* would yield five syllables.

- 135 **Pan yw glas kelyn** Evergreen holly, referred to in the punning line §5.112 *Kelyn glessyssit* (see note).
- 136 **pan yw baruawt myn** This refers to the paradox that a beard, referred to in heroic poetry and elsewhere as the characteristic mark of an adult male, should be found on a young animal, e.g. EWSP 431 *Ny mat wisc baraf am y drwyn/ Gwr ny bo gwell no morwyn* and p. 582. A similar question is found in a 12c or 13c *loca Monachorum* text: *Quid barbam habuit antequam natus esset? Hircus* (var. *hircus et capra*) 'What had a beard before it was born? The billy-goat', *Gespräch* 135, no. 16D; *English Riddles* 561, of the onion, 'It hiz a beard like a buck'.
- 138 **(pan yw baruawt)** Scribal error through recopying line 136 and omitting the correct one, thus *efwr* in line 139 is unrhymed.
- 139 **pan yw keu efwr** A simple inversion of an extant nature gnome: LIDC 30.44 *cew ewur* ('cow-parsley is hollow'), as noted by P. Sims-Williams, 'Riddling treatment of the "Watchman Device" in *Branwen and Togail Bruidne Da Derga*', *SC* 12/13 (1977-8), 83-117, pp. 110-11. Had more gnomic and proverbial material survived, such recycling might have been more evident. Also *chwec ewur* EWGP VI.10.
- 140 **pan yw medw colwyn** The gnomic poetry singles out *chwyrmiat* 'snarling, snapping; ?snoring' as the distinguishing activity of the *colwyn* 'lapdog, small dog, pup' (EWGP VII.13). Here, *medw* 'intoxicated, clumsy' captures well a puppy's tottering gait.
- 141 **pan yw lledyf ordwyn** *Ordwyn* is the usual medieval form (cf. *ord*), see GPC s.vv. *gordd* and *gorddwyn* 'mallet, sledge-hammer'. *Lledyf* has a range of meanings (see GPC s.v. *lleddf*), including the technical term used in the bardic grammars for the falling diphthong, as actually seen in lines 140-43 *ordwyn*, *colwyn*, *yrchwyn* and *halwyn*!
- 142 **pan yw brith yrchwyn** EWGP III.14 *buan jyrchwyn*; see line 232 below on *iwrch*.
- 143 **pan yw hallt halwyn** This is only medieval example of *halwyn* cited in GPC s.v. *halen*, *halaen*; it is a variant of the latter form. Questions about salt and brine are common: for example, *Altercatio* 121: *Quit salsius sale? Sermo sapiencie*, and the OE question 'Tell me why the sea became salt' with its unusual reply: 'I tell you, from the ten commandments which Moses collected in the old law at God's decree, and he poured out his tears into the sea; thus it became salt': *PSol&Sat* 107-8, where other parallels are cited. An Ystoria Taliesin poem asks: *Pwy sydd galed val maen/ ac ynn haalld val hal[a]en?* ('Who is hard like stone and salty like salt?'): *YT* 80, lines 515-16. Cf. perhaps Matthew 5:13 'Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted'; Mark 9:50.
- 144 **Cwrwf pan yw ystern** With collocation *gwern/ystern*, cf. CA line 1262 *pan ystyern gwern*. Ifor Williams thought it unlikely that Gwarchan Adebón should contain a *pan* 'why?' question, and favoured *pan* 'vessel', CA 350.
- 145 **pan yw lletrud gwern** *Gwern* may be used for an 'alder stave', flecked with red (i.e. 'blood-stained'). *WBot.* 231, notes *rhuddwernen* 'Prunus Padus; Bird Cherry'. Cf. the personal name *Run Rudwern* in CO line 286, where *gwern* probably refers to a stave or shaft of a spear, used in the same way as *onnen* 'ash

stave'. This is a likely meaning in our example, with *lletrud* 'reddened with blood'. For examples of *rud* 'bloody' with *clod*, *peleidydr*, and of *rudonnen*, see PT 77. GPC s.v. *lledrudd* notes its use with *llafnawr* and *llafneu* 'blades', and see examples in commentary on line 123 above.

- 146 **pan yw gwyrd llinos** Exactly the same question as in §1.15, see note.
- 147 **pan yw rud egroes** EWGP VI.11 *egroes*.
- 148 **neu wreic a'e dioes** On *dioes* (vb *diuot*), see on line 40 *dioed*. This example appears to belong to the class of *neu* + emphasised subject (e.g. §24.13 *Neu vi a rannwys*) identified by J.E. Caerwyn Williams, *Celtica* 11 (1976), 282 (see on line 25 above). But since the sense is rather unclear, *neu* 'or' is a possibility.
- 149 **pan dygynnu nos** On *cynnu*, *dygynnu*, PT 71. Cf. sense of line 104 above, *pan echrewyt ucher* (em.). See notes on questions about night, §1.12 *Pan daw nos a dyd*; §1.39 *pan daw nos a lliant*; §1.41 *cwd a nos rac dyd*. Unrhymed *nos* suggests the line is misplaced and properly belongs before or after line 146 *pan yw gwyrd llinos*. But there is metrical confusion in lines 150-51.
- 150 **py datweir yssyd** Unrhymed *yssyd*, which may have ousted a word rhyming with *lliant*. One might propose *amgant*, cf. CBT II 1.161 *Ac amgant lliant yn llenwi—aber*, and V 10.73-4; or *diuant*, cf. §1.39-40 *pan daw nos a lliant/ pan vyd y diuant*; or *aryant*. If *py datweir diuant*, 'what fleeting/short-lived transformation' or (if 3sg. of vb) 'what transforms fleetingly in(to) the golden sea?'. See on lines 152-3. See GPC s.v. *dadwair* 'change' (rare), and on hapax *datweirllet* in §2.23.
- 151 **yn eur lliant** See on lines 152-3.
- 152f **ny wyr neb pan/ rudir y bron huan** Perhaps delete *y*, but as it stands 'why is reddened its breast, the sun'. Uncertain because of the confusion in the rhyme scheme in the surrounding lines. A division into two lines (as in printed text) puts *pan* in an awkward and unusual rhyme position (cf. CBT V 23.39 where *y ar* is in line final position: see General Introduction, 33). *Huan* is understood as 'sun' rather than adj. 'radiant', with the passage referring to the reddening of the sun as it sets over the sea, following on naturally from the nightfall of line 149 and the golden sea of line 151.

There may be an allusion to Christ's reply to the Pharisees and Sadducees on being asked to show a sign from Heaven (Matthew 16:2-3): 'When it is evening it will be fair weather: for the sky is red. And in the morning, it will be foul weather today: for the sky is red and lowering'. Or else it may be a more general reference to weather forecasting, such as Isidore DNR XXXVIII.5: 'si sol, inquit, rubeat, sinceris fere dies erit'. Two sets of questions and answers in the Old English *Adrian and Ritheus* and the *Prose Solomon and Saturn* elaborate on the Scriptural reference (PSol&Sat 119-20):

Tell me why the sun shines so red in the early morning. I tell you, because it comes up from the sea. Tell me why the sun is so red in the evening. I tell you, because it looks down on hell.

Tell me why the sun is red in the evening? I tell you, because it looks down on hell. Tell me why does the sun shine so red in the morning. I tell you, because it doubts whether it can or cannot illuminate this earth as it is commanded.

The editors note that the idea of the setting sun reflecting the flames of Hell is found in Jewish folklore, and that Isidore's description of the sun absorbing water from the sea on rising from it (*Etymologiae* III.lii *et Oceano se tinxerit*) may be a

source for the explanation of the red sun in the morning (because the vb *tingo* could mean 'to tint, to colour', as well as 'to soak'): see further PSol&Sat 120. Isidore's comments on the sun's course (*Etymologiae* III.xlix-lii) are likely to have been influential: the idea of the sun, like fire, being nourished by water, thus receiving light and heat; its course to the west where 'it plunges itself into Oceanus'; and its travelling 'unknown paths under the earth' thus running back to the east again.

- 154 **lliw yn erkynan** GPC s.v. *ergyynn* 'famed. . . conspicuous, clear, bright'. There may be a line missing before or after this line since the poem's movement by sense couplets is marked throughout.
- 155 **Neut (ms newyd) anhawr (ms anahawr) y dwyn** An unusually long line, seemingly corrupt. G s.v. *anawr* '?praise' suggests emendation of *anahawr* > *anhawr*; see CA 118 and AP 59 for possible meaning 'might, force, vigour', and GodA 193 for a problematic derivation from L. *honōr-em*. *Newyd* may be a mistake for *neut* or *neu uyd*. If the former, perhaps '[No-one knows about] fame — its production/bringing forth', as in the tentative translation. Or else *dwyn* in the sense of 'taking away' (used of death) if *anawr* could be understood as 'a famous one' — 'a famous one, his demise'. Uncertain.
- 156 **tant telyn py gwyn** See on §5.19 *Bum tant yn telyn*. *Cwyn/dwyn* collocated in CBT V 28.29, 16.19-20; VII 14.15, 15.2, 44.7, invariably in the context of death laments which may support the second interpretation suggested at the end of the note on line 155 above.
- 157 **Coc py gwyn py gan** As one would expect, *coc* 'cuckoo' and forms of the vb *canu* are often found together, e.g. *Tra vo da gan goc canet*; *Coc lauwr a gan gan dyd*; *Yn Aber Cuawc yt ganant gogeu*, etc., in 'Claf Abercuawg', EWSP 448-52. R584.36-37 *Mei marb cogeu rac annbyt* prophesies a world upside-down when cuckoos will die in May; cf. §3.21 *Arwyn Mei y gogeu ac eaws*, and Whitsun-tide birds in CBT V 14.23 *Neud adneu cogeu, coet neud atre*. However, only one other example collocates *coc* and *cwyn* ('lament; plaintive song', or the 3sg. pres. of the vb *cwyno*), EWSP 416 *Kud cogeu goleu eu cwyn* (em.) 'Hidden the cuckoos; manifest their lament'; see Rowland's note on p. 542. Both examples may play on the similarity between the *cw-cw* bird-song and the first part of the *cwyn* diphthong. The sadness which the call of the cuckoos excites (or exacerbates), perhaps because of its transitory nature, is discussed EWSP 194-5, 204, and 225, CC 141, 148, and Nicolas Jacobs, 'Celtic saga and the contexts of Old English elegiac poetry', *ÉC* 26 (1989), 95-142, pp. 122-3. Slavic and other instances of crying women evoking the image of a cuckoo singing are noted by Felix J. Oinas, 'Karelian and Finnish negative analogy: a construction of Slavic origin', *The Slavic and East European Journal* 20, no. 4 (1976), 379-86, at p. 384, a reference I owe to P. Sims-Williams. See also on line 177 below.
- 158 **Py geidw y didan** 'What maintains its song', or 'what does its song maintain/defend')? While *ceidw* is common, the only other attestation of *py geidw* is by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 22.14 *Py geidw yr gordddŷfyr rac pob gorddwy* 'what/who maintains the land above the river against every assault').
- 159 **py dydwc garthan** See CA 169-70, G and GPC s.v. *garthan* 'entrenchment, encampment, camp, stronghold, rampart, palisade; field of battle; battle, war', not uncommon in pre-1283 poetry. See also note on §1.20-21 *yssit gaer garthawn/ a dan donn eigyawn*.

- 160 **Gereint ar Arman** The personal name *Gereint*, while possible, sits awkwardly with the general items of the list, and so the *cereint* variant of pl. *carant* 'allies, friends, kin' may be relevant. There is a vague similarity here to AP line 145 *ef talhawr o anawr Garmawn garant* (see on line 155 *anhawr*), translated in AP 13 as 'The kinsmen of Garmon will be paid back with vigour (?). But in the present example, the rhyme rules out Garmawn, used in HGK 11 line 13 *Llwch Garmavn* for Wexford harbour (as in VGFC 64, but *llwch Garmon* is the form in ByT (Pen. 20) s.a. 1169), Ir. *Loch Garman*, and in CO lines 253-4 [*p]en tir Gamon*, home of *Llennleawc* the Irishman, accepting *Gamon* as a mistake for *Garmon*, a suggestion made by P. Sims-Williams, 'The Irish geography of *Culhwch ac Olwen*', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin *et al.* (ed.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* (Maynooth, 1989), 412-48, pp. 417-18.

Since no derivative *garman* from *garm* 'clamour, cry' is attested, G favoured *Garman*, a place- or river-name, i.e. 'what brings the encampment of Geraint to Garman?' See further on *Garman* and *Garmawn*, AP 59-60. On Geraint son of Erbin, who is not however associated with Ireland, see TYP³ 356-60 where it is noted that Prydydd y Moch is the first of the court poets to use him as a paragon of valour (CBT V 7.9). Either Din Geraint near the mouth of R. Teifi, and a *portus Din Gerein* (presumably in Cornwall, see AW 47) could be described as *garthan Gereint*, and if *Garman* denoted Wexford, both could be said to be 'opposite' (*ar Arman*). But *dydwc* would then be hard to accommodate (? 'who/what takes, captures the stronghold of Geraint opposite Wexford'). The significance of lines 159-60 is obscure to me.

- 161 **py dydwc glein** GPC s.v. *glain* 'gem', perhaps for 'a precious thing or person'.
- 162 **o erddygnawt vein** Ostensibly referring to the polishing process, but perhaps to be interpreted metaphorically, possibly comparing Job 28:6 'The stones [of the earth] are the place of sapphires; and it hath dust of gold'; [of Christ] Acts 4:11 'This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner', etc. Note unusual orthography of *erddygnawt* (-ð-), in contrast with *erdygnawt* in §5.32 and Echrys Ynys line 23.
- 163 **pan yw per erwein** Meadow-sweet (cf. EWGP VI.32; CBT I 6.12 *erweint ulaðd*) is one of the plants used in the creation of Blodeuwedd (PKM 83).
- 164 **pan yw gwyrliw brein** *Gwyrliw*, also used of the sea, a tent, clothing, etc. probably to be restored, with G, as in translation; or *gwyrliw* may be a variant (cf. *cynfran* ~ *cynran*). But the first element could conceivably be rather *gŵyr* 'wrong, unjust; bent, crossed, distorted': the meaning 'shot, refracting, reflecting' (of colour) is not an impossible semantic extension. If the question means 'Why are ravens the wrong colour?', does this refer to the fact that that a raven's first feathers are white, or to the belief reflected in the dialogue and riddle literature that its disobedience to Noah caused a change of colour: 'Why is the raven so black that before was white? He returned not to the ark', PSol&Sat 145-6. Aldhelm's Raven riddle implies the bird's disobedience: *Quid nigrius corvo? Anima peccatoris* 'What is blacker than the raven? The soul of the sinner' (*Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Cambridge, 1985), 83), itself a *Ioca Monachorum* question and answer: *Gespräch* 127, no. 48.
- 165 **Talhayarn** Cf. line 71 *trwy ieith Talhayarn*, and see note on *Cian*, line 7.

- 166 **o sywedyd (ms ysywedyd)** Confusion with *yssyd* line 165 rather than some bogus prosthetic *y*. On *syw*, *sywyt*, *sywedyd*, see on §5.174.
- 167 **Pwy amgyffrawd gwyd** Following G and GPC s.v. *amgyffrawd*, 'raid, attack, tumult'. Although the orthography here indicates ModW *-awdd*, not *-awd*, final *-d* may have been written under the influence of *sywedyd*, *gwyd*, and *dyd*. CA 138 suggested vb form 'shake', but see GPC s.v. vb *amgyffredaf*: *amgyffred* for a range of meanings, including 'understand; reach; rule; contain, encompass'. The form *amgyffrawt* (vb noun) might have alternated with *amgyffret*; it may also have been a 3sg. pres. The 3sg. pret. would be *amgyffredawd* which is also a possibility here (see further on line 168).
- 168 **o aches amot dyd** *Aches* is used of the sea-flood which presages the Day of Judgment (e.g. CC 20.39, and note on p. 192; and §13.16) and this might suggest that *amot dyd* is referring to the same event, as understood in the translation. But if some other 'appointed time' is meant, such as a bardic contest, *gwyd* and *aches* may be used metaphorically meaning respectively 'poetic matter' (attested from 15c, see GPC s.v.), and 'flow of speech' (see CLIH 74, and cf. CBT V 5.1 *Ardwyreaf hael o hwyl aches—kyrt* 'I praise a generous man with a torrent of flow of poems'; Dydd dyfydd line 16 *ar aches a ganaf*), i.e. 'what tumult of poetry as a result of the tide on the appointed day?' This tentative suggestion might be supported by the context, and the reference to *Talhayarn yssyd/ mwyhaf sywedyd* in lines 165-6.
- 169 **Gogwn da a drwc** With collocation *da/drwc* + *mwc*, cf. CC 32.28-9 *Nyt kyffelyb da a drwc./ Pan ymladho gwynt a mwc. Drwc/mwc* elsewhere, e.g. §5.212-3; PBT 1.50/55 (Daronwy); EWSP 442.91.
- 170f **cwd a . . . / cwd amwehenir (ms amewenir) mwc** First *cwd a* may be dittography, probably under influence of that phrase used elsewhere, e.g. in AP line 112; §1.17 and 41; R577.22; 578.1; 1056.21; CC 12.29, etc.
Amewenir is here emended to *amwehenir* or *ymwehenir*, the impers. form of *ymwahanu* 'to divide oneself' (see G 606), although G s.vv. *amewenir* and *cw* emends to *amwenir* (vb *ymwanu* 'to penetrate') which would give five syllables rather than six, but less good sense. G also suggested (*loc. citt.*, and s.v. *amwyn*), reading *cwd a cwd amwc*. Cf. perhaps Wisdom of Solomon 5:15-17 'hope of the impious like smoke that the wind scatters'; Psalm 37:20 'The wicked. . . shall consume; into smoke shall they consume away'; Psalm 102:3 'For my days are consumed like smoke'; but also common smoke riddles (see *English Riddles*, 947-8).
- 172 **mawr meint gogyhwc** Understood as describing the smoke of line 171 unless a line is missing. *Gogyhwc* used of lively dogs (CA line 1107) and horses' hooves (CA line 667).
- 173 **kawc pwy ae dylifas** Etymological play is possible: although the vb *dylifaw* means 'to make, to fashion, arrange' (the noun *dylif* of the patterning of day and night in §13.7 *dylif deweint a dyd*) it was open to being analysed as *dy-* + *llifaw* 'to flow, to gush'. *Kāwc* is a disyllable in §5.211 (rhyming with *drwc*), a form which would make this line unusually long. Part of a line with *kāwc* at the end may be missing here.
- 174 **pwy gwawr gorffennas** *Gwawr* 'dawn, light'; fig. for 'leader', etc. Conceivably 'which chieftain finished [it]?' referring back to *kawc* (object). Some sense might

be elicited by supplying *nos pwy a'e dylifas/ pwy* (or *py*) *gwawr gorffennas* 'the night, who arranged it? what is the dawn light which brought it to an end?' Alternatively, *gawr pwy a'e dylifas* 'who ranged battle? (cf. CBT III 14.1 *dylif/gawr*, and *dylif* with other words for battle). But obscure as it stands.

- 175f **Pwy a bregethas/ Eli ac Eneas** If *pwy* 'who', the second line is conceivably an answer here (unusually) rather than the indirect object of the vb since *pregethu* is generally followed by *y* ('to'). Alternatively, if *pwy* 'what' is the object of the vb, 'what did Eli and Aeneas preach?' One would expect the pair Elijah and Enoch (W. *Eli ac Enoc*), referred to in dialogue literature and elsewhere as two who had not died and who must wait in sorrow in Paradise: see examples and discussion in PSol&Sat 142-4. Cf. Gorcheston 138 *Pwy yssyd yn wylaw yn wastad ymparadwys. Ely ac enoc*; Kuno Meyer, 'Mitteilungen aus Irischen Texten, V', ZcP 4 (1902-3), 234-8, p. 235, no. 9b. Or else, Elijah and Elisha (*Eliseus*), reckoned to have founded the first monastery: *Quis primus monasterium constituit? Helias et Heliseus, Gespräch* 109, no. 14 (8c *loca Monachorum* text); *Qui iustus per oratione homicidium fecit? Sanctus Helias et Heliseus, Gespräch* 110, no. 40. See discussion, with further examples, in PSol&Sat 117-18.

Elijah was known in Welsh as *Elias* (the Vulgate form) as well as *Eli*, and it is not impossible that the line was originally *Eli ac Elias*, and that the trick in the question (with *pwy* 'who') was to realise that they were one and the same man. G's tentative suggestion that *Eli* here is God seems less likely (s.n. *Eli*¹). The Trojan Aeneas (Welsh *Eneas*) was known from at least the 9c as the great-grandfather of Brutus, the legendary founder of Britain. A factor which may have contributed to the bungling of the line is that the *Historia Brittonum* synchronises Brutus' arrival with 'the time of the high priest Eli' (HB ch. 11), and Aeneas is mentioned at the head of that chapter. Geoffrey of Monmouth accepting the synchronism adds a further one with Aeneas Sylvius, son of Aeneas: *Historia Regum Britanniae* I.18. There are references to Eneas by the court poets and in a triad: CBT I 8.57; II 1.12 and 124; V 18.14; TYP³ no. 50.

- 177f **Gogwn gogeu haf/ a uydant y gayaf** 'Whether they exist', or 'what they are in winter', contra PT xvi 'I know where the cuckoos of summer are in winter' where it is interpreted as a 'where is the day at night?' type of question, according well with the cuckoo's brief appearance; bird migration was a well-known phenomenon (e.g. *Etymologiae* XII.vii.1) even if the destinations were unclear. Ifor Williams' interpretation, however, requires an emendation of *a* to *cw(d)* 'where'. By contrast, G s.v. *a*¹ (2) interpreted *a* as the simple rel. pron., which would presumably mean 'I know about summer cuckoos who are (or 'will be', 'who exist') in winter'.

It is the briefness of the cuckoo's stay in early summer as much as the sad note of its call (see above on line 157) that leads the poet of 'Cyntefin Ceinaf Amser' to turn to thoughts of his departed kinsmen, and thus to the transitory nature of Man's existence on Earth (CC 141, 148). 'Cân yr Henwr' refers to the bird's elusiveness — heard but not seen (EWSP 416). The translation offered above takes *a*, rather, as the interrogative particle; the second possible translation understands the rel. pronoun to mean 'that which they are', with the antecedent not formally expressed (GMW 74). If the second, the lines consider how one might define the summer cuckoo out of season (how can he still be a summer cuckoo?), or in what guise might he be resting in his winter abode (does he, like

the stoat, undergo some dramatic winter transformation of body, and therefore name?).

- 181 **Auon kyt beryt** Understanding *kyt* as a noun 'circle, union, communion; intercourse', and *auon kyt* to mean the 'river' composed of the totality of the seas encircling the earth (see above on line 119). But it is classified tentatively by G s.v. *ke, kyt*, etc 'although'. ('Although the river flows. . .'). The vb *cydferu* is not impossible ('the river which jointly flows'). *Beryt* appears to be 3sg. abs. pres. of *beru* 'to flow'.
- 182 **gogwn y gwrhyt** *Gwrhyt*, either 'size, extent', or 'might, strength' with GPC s.v. *gwyrd²*, in view of the wrath of the ocean in §10.34-5 *efnys afon,/ afon a'e hechrys gwrys gwrth Terra*. The second is common in poetry (e.g. CBT III 25.1; IV 2.38; V 10.22; 13.24; 22.29; VII 27.5 etc.), often followed by a personal name.
- 183 **gogwn pan dyueinw** *Pan* is ambiguous here as elsewhere (see GPC s.v.): 'whence' and 'why' are possible in lines 182-5. Vbs with preverb *dy-* are commonly used of the waters of seas, rivers, fountains, etc.; cf. §1.16 *mor pan dyuerwyd*; §6.22 *dydyhaed* (em.) *attan*; §7.34 *Py dyfrys ffynhawn*; §10.34 *dybrys am y llys* (em.) *efnys afon*. Compare the series of vbs in §21 (Marwnat Corroi) *dylleinw, dydaw, dyhebcyr, dybris, delleinw, dybreu, dysaeth, dychyrch*; EWSP 450.19 (Claf Abercuawg) *O ebyr dyhepkyr tonn*; CA line 801 *a gwedy dyrreith dylleinw auon*; CBT II 6.6; IV 16.212; VI 18.119, etc.
- Questions about the ebb and flow of the sea flood were drawn into religious poetry, as in the Black Book of Carmarthen poem 'Bendith y Wenwas' on the wonders of Creation, CC 12.25-32 (discussed CC 104-12): *A thrydit ryuet yv merwerit mor:/ cv threia, cud echwit?/ Digones periw pedwerit ryvet:/ redecauc duwyr echwit:/ Cvd a? cvd ymda? cv treigil? cv threwna?/ pa hid a? nev cud vit?* 'And the third marvel is the movement of the sea: where does it ebb, where does it retreat? The Lord made a fourth marvel, the fresh flowing water; where does it go? where does it travel? where does it flow? where does it inhabit? how long will it go? or where will it be?'
- 185 **dillyd** Cf. AP line 115 *dylfal dillyd*; CC 11.39 *parth pan dillyd Nilus aber*; EWSP 447.17 *dillyd ddfyr o ffynna6n*; CBT I 9.152 *O Abermenei mynych dyllyt*, etc.
- 186 **wescryd** See G s.v. *gwesgryd* 'ebb, retreat' (rare); CBT VII 30.48 of the waning moon.
- 187 **Gogwn pet (ms py) pegor** An emendation to *pet*, followed by sg. noun ('how many animals') gives better sense than *py pegor* 'what animal'; but see note on line 190 for *pegor* as a possible collective noun.
- 189 **gogwn eu heissor** G s.v. *eiss(y)or*, common with derivatives in Book of Taliesin (PT I.44; AP line 48; §11.88) and court poetry (four of the fourteen examples in CBT are by Prydydd y Moch). Cf. §9.71 *eissoric*, §11.35 *dieissor*; Echrys Ynys line 6 *y gyfeissor*.
- 190 **Pawb yn y oscor (ms oscord)** Emendation of ms *oscord* for rhyme, as required also in §18.26 *gorgord*, recte *goggor*. See CA 380, and GPC s.vv. *goggordd, goggor*. Taliesin claims familiarity with submarine animals, and the nature of each species or class. Isidore stressed the difficulty of classification in his list of over thirty kinds of fishes that are arranged by colour and by analogy with terrestrial creatures: indeed, he begins his treatment by saying (incorrectly) that *piscis* ('fish') is etymologically related to *pecus*, gen. *pecudis* 'beast, animal', *Etymologiae* XII.vi. It is therefore tantalising to see the Welsh poet using *pegor* in

line 187. This word is uncommon in medieval Welsh, but is still in use in north Wales in the sense 'poor blighter, fellow' (perhaps influenced by *cor* 'dwarf', according to GPC s.v. *pegor*¹, but contamination by E. (*poor*) *bugger* seems likely). It derives from an oblique case or nom. pl. of *pecus*, gen. *pecoris*, the collective noun meaning 'cattle, herd, flock'. *Pegor* is assumed here to be sg. (as are most examples cited by GPC), and *py* is accordingly emended to *pet*, see line 187. However, it may be a collective, as in the Black Book of Carmarthen 'Debate of the Body and the Soul': CC 21.7-8 *A'r gnyuer pegor/ Yssit y dan mor* 'and as many beasts as are beneath the sea'. If so, *py* 'what' could be retained, with Ifor Williams, 'I know what beasts there are at the bottom of the sea' (PT xvi) which is equally possible.

The Isidorian treatment perhaps takes its cue from Scriptural references such as Psalm 104:25 'So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts', and draws on lists assembled by Pliny and others. Questions and answers about fish, inspired by Isidore and derived vocabulary lists, are common in dialogue literature, and Latin and vernacular examples are common: 'Tell me how many kinds of flying birds there are. I tell you, fifty-four'. 'Tell me how many kinds of fish there are in water. I tell you, thirty-six': PSol&Sat 117, and discussion 151-3. Taliesin delivers a disquisition on the characteristics of eight fish in *Vita Merlini* (which draws heavily on Isidore) stating, as he does in our example: *Hos quoque per species distinxit factor eorum/ naturamque dedit distinctis* 'Their maker has divided up fish also into types, assigning a specific nature to each different type': VM lines 822-3. Cf. *Saltair na Rann* lines 301-4 'The King made many beasts (*mil*) beneath the vast unreckonable sea: none save my King can reveal their names or their numbers', trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries*, 107.

- 191 **pet gygloyt yn dyd** *Pet* 'how many' is followed usually by an unlenited sg. noun, but see on *pet wynt* in line 115 above. *Gygloyt* is a hapax, perhaps meaning some division of time. If *cygloyt/cyglwyt*, compare possibly L. *cingula* 'girdle, belt', *cingulum* 'zone' (see GPC s.v. *cengl*), or consider a word formed with *congl* 'corner, bend'. One might imagine that the first might render the L. *zona*, rather like W. *gwregys*, used in §25.38 *pyp gwregys Terra*, for a band of the Earth. But this does not suit *dyd*; an emendation to *bedyd* 'world' would give a six-syllable line. If not a suffix *-wyt* (< *-ēt-*) + *cengl*, the second part might contain *llwyt* 'grey' or *clwyt* 'hurdle, division'. Emendation to *cyglwyf* 'injury' would give little sense. Uncertain.

The lack of end-rhyme in this line may be mitigated by the repetition of *dyd* in the following line 192, itself also unrhymed. Statistics and chronometry were both staples of medieval dialogues and catch-questions. Some L. *quot* questions are to be found in Hans Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetische Anordnung*, IV (Q-Sil) (Göttingen, 1966), e.g. 'Quot momenta tenet tempus' (p. 516).

- 192 **pet dyd ym blwydyn** The leap years may have been the catch here.
- 193 **pet paladyr yg kat** *Paladyr* 'shaft', occasionally figuratively for 'upholder, leader', e.g. AP line 91 *Katwaladyr yn baladyr*; CBT VII 54.29. *Kat*, either 'battle' or 'battalion'.
- 194 **pet dos yg kawat** Like the grains of sand on the sea-shore in Scripture, rain-drops could not be numbered. *Gespräch* 19, no. 105 (Adrian and Epictitus):

Septem sunt difficilia, que nemo novit nisi Deus: arenam maris, pluviarum guttas, altitudinem celi, numerum stellarum, profunditatem terre, pruna abyssi 'Seven difficult things which no-one save God knows: the sand of the sea, the drops of the rains, the height of the heavens, the numbers of the stars, the depth of the earth, the ?bottom of the abyss'. Similar lists are noted in *Gespräch* 27. Taliesin's transformations include §5.16 *bum dos yg kawat* 'I have been a drop in a shower', and §5.5 *Bum deigyr yn awyr* 'I have been a raindrop in the air'.

- 195 **Atuwyn yt rannawt gwawt** G classes *atuwyn* s.v. *aduwyn*, *atuwyn* 'splendid, fair'; see further §3.1. *Rannawt* understood as 3sg. fut., cf. *rann/gwawt* in CBT 10.63.
- 196 **nwy mefyl gogyffrawt** G s.v. *gogyffrawt* (noun) '?trouble, care, concern', here understood as subject of vb *meflu*. The object, denoted in *nwy*, is the subject of *rannawt* in line 195. *Nwy* in neg. rel. clauses (GMW 55-6, and cf. *rwy* discussed §5.50), cf. PT XII.10 *nwy hachar kymryeu*; §3.3 *nwy gomed gogyffret*; §3.45 *nwy goleith gogywec*; PBT 1.14 (Daronwy) *ffrwytheu nwy* (em.) *kymrwy*; LIDC 2.4, 10, 12 and 26; 28.22; Gosymdaith line 73 *myt [d]edwyd n6y diuo p6yll* (G's restoration), etc. Eight instances by Cynddelw; two by Prydydd y Moch. The vb *meflu* is uncommon in pre-1283 poetry, although the noun is frequent. It is used in context of poetic competition by Phylip Brydydd (see on line 15 above): CBT VI 15.41 *Ys my a beflawr o'r gygheussed* 'it is I who am insulted as a result of the contention'.
- 198 **aches gwyd Gwydyon** Unrhymed, and the simplest move, adopted here, is to reverse order of lines 196 and 197, but this is not wholly satisfactory since it disrupts the movement by couplet. *Aches* is used of a rush of attacking trees in §5.137, see note. I understand the line as a reference to the events in §5 (Kat Godeu) when the trees that are conjured up by Gwydion give battle. The spelling *Gwydyon* may be influenced by preceding *gwyd*, but cf. *Gwydyon* §8.29, §10.14; *Gwytyon* is the spelling in §5.46 and 165, and in Echrys Ynys lines 7 and 11.
- 199 **py lenwis auon** *Llenwis*, cf. CA line 1453; CBT IV 4.9; V 23.147.
- 200 **ar pobyl Pharaon** Probably referring to the closing in of the Red Sea on the Egyptians after the crossing by the Israelites (Exodus 14:26-28), rather than the annual flood of the River Nile in Egypt discussed by Isidore DNR XLIII (ed. Fontaine, p. 313). The Egyptian Pharaoh also referred to in CC 9.3 (BT) *dial ar plwyf Pharaonus* (plagues of Egypt); CBT II 13.2 *Pann Ffaraon foet*; IV 6.222 *ar Faraon—Freinc*; VI 19.6 *rac Faraaon*; possibly VII 22.24 (unless the native Ffaraon Dandde).
- 201f **Py dydwc rwynton/ baran achwysson** No word *rhwyn* is attested, and it may be a mistake for a rare pl. form of *rhwym* 'bonds, fetters'; *rwym achab's* 'inevitably' occurs in CBT III 15.22. Or is to be connected with *rwyf*, emending to *rwyuon*, or with *ynnon/ynhon* 'enemies'? See §5.48 on *achwysson* 'privileges; causes, reasons'. *Baran* used for roar of fire, sea, wind, tumult of war(rior), etc., could conceivably be connected with the Red Sea event of the preceding lines. *Dydwc* may be for *dyduc* 'took'. The translation is based on emending *rwynton* to *rwymon* and understanding 199-200 as perhaps referring to the loosing of the fetters of sin, or Christ's harrowing of Hell. But all this is very uncertain.
- 203f **py yscawl odef/ pan drychafwyt** (ms *drychafafwyt*) Nef Emending with G. *Yscawl* 'ladder' is the most likely word here with *godef* 'manner; plan, design', and it is consonant with the nature of the following question, but see Ifor

Williams, 'Bellum Cantscaul', *B* 6 (1931-3), 352, where he postulates a native word cognate with OIr *scál* 'hero', as in the personal name, *Ysgolan*. The question suggests Jacob's ladder (Genesis 28:12) 'set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it', the subject of *Ioca Monachorum* questions, such as *Qui vidit scalam ad celum subiuncta? Sanctus Iacob: Gespräch* 111, no. 61. Compare the Adrian and Epictitus questions, *Gespräch* 15, no. 64: *Quis vidit scalam erectam in celum? Iacob*; and p. 16, no. 48. The parallel would be more certain if the reading were *drychafwyt y Nef* 'what ladder-design was raised up to Heaven'. Another possible interpretation (with *y Nef*) would be 'by which there was a raising up to Heaven': if so, compare perhaps the 'seven steps by which one ascends to the kingdom of heaven', in *De Parabolas Salomonis fili David* and other Latin sources discussed by Wright, *Irish Tradition* 65, 73, and 111; possibly CBT IV 8.44 *seithneid awyr*.

- 205 **pwu uu fforch hwyl** *Hwyl* has a number of meanings: 'course, journey; sail (of a ship, windmill, etc.), covering, pall' here perhaps referring to the layers of the atmosphere. See GPC on the relationship with ON, and with OE *segl* 'sail'. The same idea is found in Adrian and Epictitus: *Quid est caelum? Sicut pellis extensa* ('What is the heaven? Like a stretched hide'): *Gespräch* 12, no. 8. The Welsh *Adrian ac Epig* has *Pa beth ydiw y nef? Peth megis kroen ar lled* (*Gespräch* 67). The *fforch* 'cruck' (< L. *furca*) supports the *hwyl* as it would be the roof of a building. God may be meant: cf. §12.2 *Gwr a gynheil y Nef*; CBT I 15.3 *Colofn nef*; VII 52.37 *Gwr a gynheil nef*, etc.
- 207f **pet byssed a'm peir/ arnun (ms am vn) a'm nedeir** A rendering 'how many fingers create me' (or 'how many fingers does he create for me') is complicated by the pl. here rather than the sg. after *pet* (unless *byssed* was treated as a collective). Nevertheless, *nedeir* 'palm' (as in §9.38, EWSP 420.10, CBT VII 54.38, etc.) is very suitable — the fingers arranged around the hollow of the hand (*am nedeir*). Although *peir* is ambiguous ('leader', 'cauldron'), the 3sg. of vb *peri* 'to cause' is preferable given the occurrence of *peir* 'cauldron', in line 210, and the many similar phrases: e.g. CBT V 23.5 *Crist uab Meir a'm peir o'm pedwar—defnyt*; 26.3 *Crist uab Meir a'm peir pur uonhet—synnhwyr*; IV 16.199 and VI 35.87 *Yr Un G6r a'n peir*; VII 44.5 *cof newyt—a'n peir*, etc. *Vn* 'pleasant', perhaps nominally; or *vn* as in vb *unaw* 'to join' ('who joins me with my hand') or the *vn* in *eidunaw* 'to wish, crave, entreat' (*am vn* ? 'for, in return for prayer'). But *mun* as in *munaid* 'handful' may be relevant, or *bun* 'maiden' (*am vun*). With simple minim emendation, *arnun* would yield reasonable if not brilliant sense: 'together with' or 'at the same time as the hollow of my hand', and is implemented here.
- 209 **pwu enw y deu eir** *Geir* 'word' or 'utterance'. Perhaps the two words/utterances may have been *Fiat lux*, God's first words in Genesis 1:3, as found in question-and-answer collections: see PSol&Sat 61-6.
- 210 **ny eing yn vn peir** Likely to refer to a source of poetic speech, often associated with a cauldron, as in §9.35-6 *ban pan doeth o peir/ ogyrwen awen teir*; §10.24-5 *vyg kadeir a'm peir a'm deduon./ a'm areith tryadyl, gadeir gysson*. Prydydd y Moch asks God to provide *awen—ber/ Ual o beir Kyrriduen* 'melodious inspiration like that from Ceridfen's cauldron' (CBT V 10.1-2); Casnodyn, similarly, desires inspiration from her cauldron to lament Madog: *Am Uadawc deifnawc dofyn awen/ Am nur pur ual peir Kerituen* (GC 2.88-9). On the later

prose tale *Ystoria Taliesin*, and cauldrons of poesy in general (including Irish and Scandinavian parallels), see Ford, YT 26-30. The rhyme between *geir* 'word' and *peir* 'cauldron' proved useful in this context. The same collocation is found in §9.34-5, §18.13, CBT V 19.9 *Geir uy geir o'r peir yn perthyn—ar ba6b*, etc.

- 211 **pan yw mor medwhawt** *Medwhawt/pyscawt* collocated in §13.41-2; CA 121. If *mor* 'sea', the connection may have been suggested by the poetic use of *medw* to mean 'wild, rough' of the sea, as in CBT I 2.26 *metv ton dros traeth* ('a drunken/wild wave on the beach'). Since the usual pattern is *pan yw du pyscawt*, the line has to be interpreted as 'where does the intoxicated (? or 'intoxicating') sea come from', but see above on line 102 *pan yw mor hyfryt*.
- 212 **pan yw du pyscawt** See on line 190 above for interest in aquatic life. Isidore, *Etymologiae* XII.vi.5 and 27, discusses *nigri meruli* (the species *Labrus merula*, ?sea-carp) and *melanurus*, which has a black tail and fins and black lines on the body; see further on line 213 below.
- 213 **moruwyt uyd eu cnawt** The line does not seem to be an answer to line 212, rather a comment that fishes are sea-food, either for humans, or for other fish and birds. VM line 791, notes of the moderate sea: *nobis alimenta ministrat* 'it provides us with food'. One of the Welsh *ioca* asks why fish are not salty although they are reared in the salt water. The answer is that they do not drink the water but live off smaller fry (Gorcheston 139 *Paham na byd hallt pyscawt y mor. ac eu magu yn y dwfyr hallt. Wrth na megir wynt ar y dwfyr e hun namyn ar betheu ereill a ueint bychein*). Perhaps our question was originally something like *Pannyt hallt pyscawt?* 'Why are fish not salty?'. But as it stands, perhaps the idea is that fish are cannibals, eating their own kind, and therefore evil, and thus described as black? See especially the commentary on §17.19 (Anryuedodeu Allyxander) *gorllin gan pyscawt* 'oppression by fish'.
- 214 **hyd pan yw medysc** No compound *medysc* is noted in GPC. Higley, *Between Languages* 302, quotes a suggestion I made that *med* 'mead' + *dysc* (< L. *discus*; cf. *disculus* > *disgl*) might refer to a drinking vessel made out of antler-bone; the problem remains that *dysc* in this meaning is unattested. The second element may be rather *ffysc*, or *wysc* 'track' or *dysc* 'learning', but the compounds with *med* give little sense. Even bearing in mind the medieval reputation of the stag for longevity and sagacity (see examples in GPC), an emendation to *hyd pan yw y dysg* 'the stag: whence comes his learning?', or *hyd pan yw hydysc* 'the stag, how is he learned?', with word-play in the second alternative, lacks conviction. Stags appear in poetry as swift, thin, bounding, brave, hunted, or playful. See transformation below, line 231 *bum hyd*; and on §5.125 *hydgwyr*. Very uncertain indeed.
- 215 **pan yw gannwc ppsc** This is the only attested medieval example of *gannawc* 'scaly'; the noun *gan* 'scale' is first attested in 1547 (Salesbury's Dictionary): but see GPC s.vv. and G for comparison with Modlr *gainneach* and *gainne*, and cf. Olr *gainech* 'scurf'. Fins and scales marked out 'clean', edible fish (Leviticus 11:10; Deuteronomy 14:9).
- 216 **pan yw du troet alarch gwyn** This attractive line is too long at seven syllables (or eight if *troet* is still disyllabic, see on §5.103). Perhaps delete *Pan yw*, taking this as read from the preceding line, as it may be in the case of line 217 *pedrydawc gwayw llym*. Another remote possibility would be *pan yw du alarch*

gwyn: Isidore *Etymologiae* XII.vii.18, states in his treatment of the *olor avis* that no-one mentions the black swan (*cygnus nigrus*).

- 217 **pedrydawc gwayw llym** As in line 216, perhaps take *pan yw* as understood. *Pedrydawc* attested often in CBT corpus, though not in other pre-1283 poetry: CBT I 1.6, 3.162; II 1.173, 24.36; III 1.8, 13.8, 16.141 and 231, 24.61; V 2.44, 24.65.
- 218 **llwyth Nef nyt ystyng** A partial rhyme with *llym*: on rhyme between nasals, e.g. *ying/Kyndrwynyn/wynn*, see EWSP 334. GPC s.v. *estyngaf*: *estwng* 'cause to bend, subjugate; bow down, surrender', etc. Understood as a separate statement, but if connected with line 217, 'why a mighty sharp spear does not cause the host of Heaven to surrender'. *Llwyth Nef*, cf. common *llu Nef, nifer Nef*.
- 219f **Py pedeir tywarchen/ ny wys eu gorfffen** Uncertain, but possibly a reference to the four corners of the earth, and thereby linked to the belief that Adam's name was formed from the initial Greek letters of the four points of the compass. Cf. Gorcheston 139: *Pwy enweu y pedeir seren y kaffat enw Adaf ohonunt. Anatoloe. Disis. Arids. Menfebrios*, and see references cited in PSol&Sat 66-67, and in the introduction to §26. Another possibility is that the question relates to the motif of the 'four places visited by the soul' (place of birth, death, baptism, and burial), a tetrad which Wright, *Irish Tradition* 258-9, and n.156, suggests may be 'a Christian expansion of a popular Irish triad enumerating the "three sods" of birth, death and burial'.
- 221 **py voch, neu py grwydyr hyd** The line lacks end-rhyme. G lists this instance of *crywdyr* s.v. *crwydraw* (3sg. pres.), but with the possibility that it may be a noun. If the latter, 'what wandering a stag has'. Very uncertain.
- 222 **A'th gyfarchaf vargatvard** See G s.v. *bargatfard* '?border-poet' on this hapax, which Lloyd-Jones relates to *bargawt* 'edge, boundary'. But the elements may well be *bar* 'summit' + *cad* 'wise, skilful, acute' (cf. OIr *cath*), as suggested by GPC s.v. *bargadfardd*. For the use of vb *cyfarch* in a similar context, cf. §26.5 *Kyfarchaf-y veird byt*. In eliciting information more generally: LIDC 34.13-5 *A'th kiuarchaw . . pan iv dy echen*; R577.12-581.40 (*Cyfoesi passim*); common in CBT corpus in addressing God. See also on line 63 *gogyuarch*.
- 223 **gwr y'th gynnyd** G classes *cynnyd* s.v. noun rather than 3sg. pres. Unusually short line, and unrhymed; did it rhyme originally with line 221 *hyd*? As it stands, '[O] man in your (*yth*) ?pre-eminence', perhaps sarcastically, but uncertain.
- 224 **escyrn nywl** The same phrase *escyrn nywl* is found in the Welsh dialogue, Ymddiddan Adrian ac Epig: *Gespräch* 69, no. 44: *Pa esgyn [recte esgyrn] y sydd i'r nywl? Uwchelder y gweunydd* 'What bones does the mist have? The highland of the moors'. *Gespräch* 71 notes that perhaps the translator had not understood the Latin text, perhaps similar to the question and answer *Quae sunt ossa nubium? Venti excelsi* (printed on p. 17, no. 61), similar to that in *Altercatio* 120, no. 42. Other Welsh variants are printed by J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'L'Enfant Sage ac Adrian et Epictitus yn Gymraeg', *B* 19 (1960-62), 258-95, and *B* 20 (1962-4), 17-28, p. 23.
- 225 **a deu rayadyr gwynt?** Conjunction supplied. There is no exact Scriptural parallel to the question ('the wings of the wind', Psalms 18:10 and 104:3), but the figure was no doubt suggested by the proximity of winds and celestial waters as described in Scripture (for example, Job 38) and in scientific texts.

- 226 **Traethattor vyg gofec** See on line 51 *traethattor*. CA line 550 describes Taliesin as [*g*]ovec *kywrenhin* 'of ready [poetic] utterance'; CC 21.76 *Beirt gouec higlev*.
- 227 **yn Efrei, yn Efröec** See GPC *Efrei* < L. *Hebraea*; *Efröec* < L. *Hebraica*, LHEB 335. Cf. CC 24.80-81 (BT) *leithoed Gröec ac Efrei, / a Lladin*; CBT I 11.31 *Y enw yn Eurai ac yn Lladin*; IGE² 239.30 *A'r groyw Ebryw a Gröeg. Efrei* used for the Hebrews (L. *Hebraei*): CC 9.1 and 21; CBT V 4.8-9 *Treul Efrei, afyrdól Groecyon/ Ercólf a Samsswn, seirf galon*; and of their land, CBT II 26.22. The lines could be improved metrically by restoring *Gröec* 'Greek' for *Efröec* in both.
The name of Dillus' father (*D. fab Efrei* in CO line 979; CBT IV 4.206) looks like a metathesised form of *erfei* 'fine, splendid', etc. unless the father was meant to be likened to a bearded Jew. Another character (CO line 256) is called *Gwr diaul mab Ebrei*, which may be related. *Efrei gywydd* is the name of a musical *cainc* in the list copied out by a 16c hand in the Book of Taliesin (see *NLWJ* 25 (1988), 359).
- 229 **Lauda tu (ms laudatu) laudate lessu** Lines 225-8 are long (6/7/7/8). *Laudate* 2pl. impv. of L. vb *laudo* 'praise', but *laudatu* (ms) is not a normal form, and should be perhaps understood as *lauda tu* 'praise thou' (2sg. impv.); cf. Psalms. Or else perhaps *laudate* was to be repeated, once as adv. 'admirably, laudably'. *lessu* is unrhymed, a feature perhaps condoned at the end of a section or poem. Ifor Williams thought this line was 'a conventional ending' (PT xxv), by which he presumably meant a religious tag.
- 228 **y'm rithat** On the vb, see §5.1.
- 230 **glas gleissat** *Figura etymologica*: see GPC s.v. *gleisiad* 'young salmon', so called for its distinctive silvery-blue back, a word used by poets as a figure for dappled grey horses, e.g. CBT III 1.24 *Eiliw pysgaóð glas, gleissyeid dylan*; 3.214 *Gleissyeit lió, glas ganoligyon*; V 6.19.
- 233 **bum kyff** See GPC for range of medieval meanings including 'stock, block', 'stock, lineage', etc.; the meaning 'chest, box' is not certain until the late 16c.
- 234 **bwell yn llaw** Taliesin's transformations into weapons and tools are found elsewhere, e.g. §5.209-10 (billhook and hunting-lance), etc. *Bwell* is a variant of *bwyall/bwyell*, perhaps reflecting a south- or mid-Wales form, but see examples in G and GPC.
- 235 **ebill yg gefel** *Gefel* 'tongs, pincers', also with Irish rhyme in §22.3. *Ebill* 'auger; pin', etc.
- 236 **blwydyn a hanher** Cf. §5.10.
- 237 **keilyawc brithwyn . . Eidin** Perhaps restore the more common medieval form, *Eidyn*, for rhyme. On the Old North in the medieval Welsh imagination, see Haycock, 'Early Poets Look North', in Alex Woolf (ed.), *Beyond Gododdin*, in preparation. See further §5.209, and §14.35-6 (on Uffin and Gododdin).
- 239 **amws ar re** The form *emys* < L. [*equus*] *admissus* was originally sg. 'stallion' and pl. < *admissi*: see Patricia Kelly, HCC 54. It was subsequently interpreted as a pl. alone with a new sg. *amws* formed from it. *Emys* is very commonly used by Cynddelw, Prydydd y Moch, and to some extent by other court poets; also CA line 1330 (Gwarchan Adebón) *emis*. The law-books use the term to refer specifically to the valuable destrier or war-horse (the *dextrarius* of Latin Redaction D), see Dafydd Jenkins, 'The horse in the Welsh law texts', in HCC, 64-81, at p. 71. The re-formed sg. *amws* is rare in poetry but found in CBT VII

- 25.18. *Ar re* 'in front of/on a stud of horses', as in *ar ieir* in line 238. *Gre* derived from an oblique case of L. *grex*, *-gis*, rhymes internally with *de* in CBT III 3.191; with *eurde* in V 14.35. The law texts say that a legal stud consisted of fifty mares, each worth 120*d*. On studs and the quality of horse breeding in eastern Wales, remarked on by Gerald of Wales in the 12c: see Dafydd Jenkins, HCC 77-8.
- 240 **tarw toste** CA 280 compares element *-de* in *tande*, *llacharte*, *heilde* (one may add *creude*, *angde*, *eurde*, *fflamde*); and see GPC s.v. *de*¹ 'burning, warm, fervent; ardent, lively, grievous'. A compound of two near synonyms, like *tande*.
- 241 **Bum bwch melinawr** The context favours *bwch*, a 'sheaf' or 'stook' of corn waiting to be ground at the mill, although this meaning is not attested until the 18c, according to GPC. *Melinawr* is understood as pl. of *melin* (usually *melineu*). The vb *melinaw/melino* is unattested until the 15c, according to GPC, but a vb form *melinawr* 'is milled' would certainly yield good sense (with GMW 121).
- 242 **mal amaethawr (ms ymaethawr)** *Mâl* understood as 'ground, pulverised', and *amaethawr* as pl. of *amaeth* 'farmer', although a vb form is also possible, as in lines 240 (perhaps) and 244 *mettawr*, *dottawr*.
- 243 **bum gronyn erkennis** G classes ms *erkennis* s.v. *arganfot* 'perceive', 3sg. pret. Not impossible is 3sg. pret. of vb **ergannu* (< *cannu*, though the meaning 'to sieve, riddle' is apparently late). In both cases it is unclear what the subject is. Lack of end-rhyme is a problem, too; consider changing the order with G to *erkennis gronyn* (supported by rhyming *bryn/gronyn* in §13.21-2), deleting *bum* and perhaps further adjusting to *erkennit*, understanding '[the grain] was perceived/spotted'. Or else retain the order, and emend *erkennis* > *ebryn* 'commotion'. Uncertain, as Ifor Williams noted (ChwT 19).
- 245 **a'm mettawr a'm dottawr** Impers. pres. of vbs *medi* and *dodi*.
- 246 **yn sawell y'm gyrrawr** GPC *sawell* 'kiln, chimney', perhaps derived from L. *stabellum* via Irish, cf. OIr *saball* (< L. *stabulum*). Cf. EWSP 409.31-2 *tan trwy lumon*. . . *tan trwy sawell*, and note p. 526. *A'm gyrrawr*, impers. pres. of vb *gyrru*, not very common in poetry, but forms of the vb are found in PT VII.8 *gyrr* (and see p. 84 on VII.15 *G/gyrrwys*); AP line 28 *gyrrawt*; CC 20.111 and 113 *gyrrwys*; Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets uses forms of the vb: CBT V 2.35 *na'm gyrr y brthyd*; V 8.18-19 *gyr . . . gyrrri . . . gyrraf*.
- 247 **y'm ry giawr o law** Possibly a modernised rendering of *ry'm ciawr*. See GPC s.v. *ciawr* 'falls, drops, descends', and CA 174-5 where this example is identified as pres. impers., for the sense presumably, and by analogy with other *-awr* forms in this series. But §17.2-3 *Ryfedaf na chiawr/ adef Nef y lawr* could be 3sg. pres. (with CA 50 contra G); cf. CA line 50 *dychiawr* (contra GodA 57); Echrys Ynys line 5 *kan rychior* (confirmed by end-rhyme) translated 'now that he is fallen' by Gruffydd, FS Mac Cana 45, with CA 175. CA 174 interprets *o law* as 'after that', but the literal 'from/by the hand' gives equally good sense.
- 248 **wrth vvg godeidaw** CA 174 favours *wrth* as 'in order to', while noting the possibility 'while' of simultaneous action. See examples in GPC s.v. *wrth*.
- 249 **A'm haruolles yar** GPC s.v. *arfol* 'receive, meet, embrace', etc., CC 24.94-5 *naw mil seint a aruolles/ Bedyd, a chrefyd, a chyffes*; 20.141, etc. Also 'to conceive', attested from 14c onwards. With *aruolles/escar*, cf. CBT V 23.178 *Yn aruoll ysgarant*. With *law*, cf. §2.15 *mal aruoll dillat heb law*.

- 250 **grafrud, grib escar** *Grafrud* 'red-clawed one' in apposition to *yar* of line 249. On the interpretation of the 'hen' as a kiln, see below on line 252.
- 251 **gorffowysseis naw nos** Vb (and noun) *gorffowys* (ModW *gorffwys*) 'rest, abide', 'abode'. See PT IV.1 (noun); CBT I 7.118; 27.84; IV 8.51; V 9.31 [*g*]orffowysle; VI 29.58; VII 30.38. See on line 252. *Naw nos*, symbolically akin to nine months gestation. Cf. also Cei who was able to hold his breath underwater for nine nights and days, and to go without sleep for the same period (CO lines 384-6).
- 252 **yn y chroth yn was** *Yn was* understood with Ifor Williams, ChwT 19 as 'at home; in peace', rather than *gwas* 'servant, lad', cf. CC 3.4 (em.); 12.1 *gwennwas* (for Heaven, see CC 107); CA line 233 *gwas Nym*, etc. In a previous discussion (CyT 166-71), I argued that the bulk of the present passage (lines 241-60) is concerned with the process of brewing beer and the life-cycle of the grain — its planting, harvesting and its roasting in an oven or kiln (*sawell*) in order to produce malt; then having been matured into drink, it is set before a lord (line 254 *bum llat rac gwledic*). A similar process is described in *Kanu y Cwrwf* (poem §13) where it has been used in a metaphorical treatment of the Last Judgment and the Resurrection (see commentary), and *English Riddles* 251-3 illustrates examples of adapting bread riddles for the same purpose. Other poems in the Book of Taliesin indicate an interest in alcoholic drinks, the origins and nature of which were as mysterious as the *awen* from the cauldron. In the present instance, we may compare the ballad 'John Barleycorn' where the grain's progress is charted, from the soil to the final beverage, including the roasting in the kiln:

O the next they put him in the maltin' kiln
Thinking to dry his bones
And the worst of all they served Barleycorn
They crushed him between two stones.

Then they put him into the mashing-tub
Thinking to scald his tail
And the next thing they called Barleycorn
They called him home-brewed ale.

This version from Shropshire is printed in full in Peter Kennedy, *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland* (London, 1975), 608 (no. 276); cf. no. 277 (p. 609), with references to many other versions, including Robert Burns' famous poem (pp. 627-8). Kennedy was of the opinion that the first known written version was the 17c example in the Pepys collection, Magdalene College, Cambridge. But as well as the Book of Taliesin example — John Barleycorn in embryo, as it were — the same technique is found in early riddling question-and-answer texts, as in this 10c example which deals with the processing inflicted on a grain of flax (*Gespräch* 14, and note on p. 23; another text on p. 35):

Quid est nec maior nec minor quasi formica, in terra vergitur, crescit sicut herba, floret sicut garba, colorem habet sicut cera, in ligno suspenditur, in aqua mergitur, ad solem producitur, cum ligno ceditur, ad ferrum rumpitur, in ligno torquitor, in ignem mittitur, unde ecclesia et principes ornati sunt? Grana sunt lini.

Archer Taylor cites further examples of the 'trials of wheat' motif, charting the fate of plants and other objects which are treated and used by man (*English Riddles* 236-8, 240-47), and Dafydd Johnston reminds me that Dafydd ap Gwilym's *cywydd* 'Y Mwdwl Gwair' (GDG 62) draws on the same technique.

The red-clawed 'hen', I argued, is a metaphor for the malting kiln: the fire glowing red at its foot, possibly extending in front of the kiln itself like a claw (*grafrud*), and its chimney rising behind like a crest (*crib*). The overall shape would be not unlike a fat hen settled down in a hollow, with the plaited withies perhaps suggesting rows of feathers. Dr Michael Monk, University College Cork, noted in a communication that such a metaphor might be suitable, kindly referring me to descriptions and illustrations of medieval kilns: H.T. Knox, 'Notes on gig-mills and drying kilns near Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 26, section C (1907), 265-74 (and plate XX.6), and W. Britnell, 'A fifteenth-century corn-drying kiln from Collfryn, Llansantffraid Deuddwr, Powys', *Medieval Archaeology* 28 (1984), 190-4 (and Fig. 7). It has been suggested that 'oven' is one possible answer to the Old English riddle about the 'dumb lady' who, 'making a meal of gifts that come from a man's hand, . . . swallows daily sustaining treasures dearer than gold. . .'. (Craig Williamson, *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Chapel Hill, 1977), 98 (no. 47)), but this is uncertain, 289-90.

In our example, the grain remains in the womb (*croth*, also 'belly') of the kiln for nine nights, about the minimum time required to produce malt, though 12-15 days would be average: EIF 256. T. Gwynn Jones appears to have been moving towards a metaphorical interpretation although he did not talk specifically about the *sawell*: 'I am sometimes disposed to conjecture the words only form part of a medieval riddle', he noted, and 'to suspect either that riddling ingenuity is responsible for much that has been taken as evidence of belief in transformation'. Of the present lines, '[they] certainly suggest a Riddle having for a subject some kind of strong drink', *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom* (London, 1930), 25 and 27. There is no doubt at all that there is a close identification between Taliesin and the grain, and then with the finished drink itself. The new suggestion I would add is that the malting kiln is the metaphorical 'hen'.

The hen — whether real or metaphorical — is not connected in the Book of Taliesin texts with Ceridfen. That connection has been assumed on the basis of the late prose story in which Gwion Bach changes into many guises and is chased by Ceridwen in the form of a hunting dog, a hawk, etc. Finally he turns into a grain 'in a great pile of bolted wheat' and is swallowed by Ceridwen, now in hen shape. He remains there for nine months — 'Myfi a fŷm naw mis hayach/ yng nghroth Ceridwen y wrach' — and is reborn as her 'child' before being set on the waters. The relationship between the Book of Taliesin poems and the later prose and poetry material is addressed in the General Introduction, 16-20, where it is noted that parts of certain Book of Taliesin poems seem to have been reused creatively; some misinterpretations (e.g. of the hen as a real live animal rather than a metaphor for a kiln) may have been responsible for the story episode about Ceridwen swallowing Gwion, thus steering Taliesin's legendary biography towards the international story tale, 'The Magician and his Disciple', just as the many transformations of the poet Taliesin facilitated the forging of a link with the tale types, of 'Escape through Transformation' and 'Contention between Two Magicians'.

- 253 **Bum aeduedic** Ifor Williams, ChwT 19, supplies *?heid* 'barley' after *bum* to yield five syllables; *yr* 'wheat' is also possible, cf. EWGP IX.9.2 *aeddfed oed yd ac aeron*. *Aeduedic* is very rare, unlike *aedued* CBT V 26.98 *Ual frwyth coed llaŷn aedued*; VII 32.3, 33.35.

- 254 **bum llat rac gwledic** Cf. §13.34 *dydyccawr rac Rieu* of ale being set before the King (or kings).
- 256 **keig yd y'm ediw** *Keig*, see GPC s.v. *cainc*, for 'branch, stick; antler' and figuratively. PT VIII.7 *keig kyhafal y blodeu*; PBT 3.58. Since the meaning 'tune, song' is first attested only in the 14c (GDG 376), it may be understood here literally of a stick used to stir the brew, or perhaps a branch of a plant used as flavouring. The other attractive possibility is *keig* in the sense of 'fit, turn, start, seizure' (see GPC) — 'a seizure took hold of (lit. went into) me' — referring to the fermentation process, the alcoholic kick, or effervescence. *Ediw*, *eddyw/ethyw*, 3sg. pret. of vb *mynet*. For examples of *y* (*yð*) in rel. clauses, see GMW 63 n.2.
- 257 **ar wadawt** Cf. §6.56 *pan uu y gwadawt* (an enquiry about mead and bragget).
- 258 **y racdaw bum tawt** *Y racdaw* understood as 'away from it', i.e. after the drink was decanted and separated from the sediment. But *rac llaw* 'after this, later' (GMW 208) would be a simple emendation, yielding good sense. *Tawt*, discussed CA 259, and GPC s.v. *tawd*, *tod* '?whole, complete', comparing L. *totus*, and the example in *Dydd dyfydd* line 32 *bluittyndaud parahaud bruydir beynit*.
- 259 **a mell (ms am eil) kyghores** G tentatively s.v. *kynggori* 'to counsel, encourage, incite', 3sg. pret. GPC emends to *kyghnōes*, 3sg. pret., see s.v. vb *cynghnoi* 'to gnaw, devour'. Retaining the ms reading, but dividing *a mell kyghores* would yield tolerable sense: 'and the drinking vessel put heart [into drinkers] — the red-clawed one gave me passion'. See GPC s.v. *mail* 'drinking vessel, goblet'. If emended with GPC, then 'it bit me again', referring to a further process to which the drink is subjected, hardly a form of distillation through heating and condensing the vapour (not attested until the later medieval period in Wales and Ireland), but perhaps some other process of concentration or fortification? Uncertain.
- 261 **Odlt traethattor** See above, lines 51-4.

5 Kat Godeu

Kat Godeu, the second longest poem in this collection (249 lines), follows immediately after §4 Angar Kyfındawt (266 lines). Together they contain almost half the number of lines in the Gododdin. The disparate elements of the poem, with their reprises, may be summarised at the outset:

- | | | |
|---|------------------|---|
| 1 | 1-23 | Transformations I |
| 2 | 24-40 | Battle prowess in Cad Goddau; the fight with a hundred-headed monster, a forked toad and crested snake |
| 3 | 41-68
69-74 | The circumstances of the tree-battle at Caer Nefenhyr
The Three Cataclysms I or 'Three Clashes of Arms' |
| 4 | 75-150 | The Trees in Battle |
| 5 | 151-77 | Microcosmic Taliesin's creation by Math, Gwydion and others |
| 6 | 178-206 | Boasting I: poetic prowess, adventures; arms and paraphernalia |
| 7 | 207-10 | Transformations II |
| 8 | 211-37
240-45 | Boasting II: arms, horse, travels, battle feats; with Goronwy
The Three Cataclysms II, with the implication that the return of Arthur (lines 238-9) will be a comparable event |
| 9 | 246-9 | Boasting III: prowess; prophetic gift comparable to Virgil's |

First, the passages of Taliesin's transformations (sections 1 and 7), a key feature in his delineation here as in other poems of this collection.¹ They are announced by the opening words, 'I have been in many forms' which bring to mind the beginning of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* — 'Changes of shape, new forms, are the theme which my spirit impels me now to recite'. Taliesin's own forms are indeed a multitude: the radiant light of the stars and the gleam of lanterns; the equipment of the soldier and the bard (sword and shield, and a string in the harp); a coracle on the ocean; a great bridge extending out over sixty estuaries. He is tiny and huge: the smallest spark in the fire, but also a great flaming log. Frequently he takes on liquid form, perhaps because of the affinity with the imagined flowing nature of poetic inspiration: he has been foam in the wave, a droplet in the air, a raindrop in a shower, and effervescence in drink. By 'being' an eagle or a serpent, he embodies the very metaphors of praise poetry. He was a champion before he became a man of letters, and inhabits words on the page as well, from the smallest unit, 'a word in writing' to the whole text. Being rather than knowing gives him his authority in these sections of the poem, and they certainly have a powerful appeal.²

¹ Notably §§2, 4, 11 and 15.

² They caught the attention of Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, popular edition (London, 1912), 57-8: 'have they not an inwardness, a severity of form, a solemnity of tone, which indicates the still reverberating echo of a profound doctrine and discipline, such as was Druidism?' For comments on the appeal of the reinventive Taliesin for modern Welsh writers,

Linked with the transformations is the more extended treatment of Taliesin's genesis in section 5 (lines 155-7). Taliesin is a microcosm here, a protoplasmic creation 'not born from a mother and a father' (151-2), but composed of nine elements (fruits, flowers such as primrose, nettles, earth, and the water of the ninth wave). This is similar to the composition of Taliesin in the poem *Kanu y Byt Mawr* (§25.6-10), where we have not nine, but *seven* consistencies or elements: fire, earth, water and air, but also mist, and the blossom of trees, and the South wind. Echoes of a similar scheme are found in religious poems as well, like the 'Debate between the Body and Soul' in the Black Book of Carmarthen, and in the story *Math fab Mathonwy*, which tells how Blodeuwedd — like Taliesin here — is created by the wizards Math and Gwydion. The four orthodox elements, fire, earth, water and air, are familiar enough, as well as the idea which was well-rehearsed by authors like Isidore of Seville, of man as the 'little world', the *minor mundus*, the microcosm. In an early-twelfth-century Latin manuscript from Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion, this idea was explained by a quadratic diagram with the microcosm, i.e. Man, in the middle.³ But as explained in the commentary to §5.154 below, apocryphal sources in the early Middle Ages, and question-and-answer texts from the eighth century onwards, enumerate seven and eight consistencies as being combined to create microcosmic Adam — he was not just a product of the dust of the earth as in Genesis 2. For example, one ninth-century text says he was created from land and sea, earth, the clouds of the firmament, wind, stones, the light of the world, and — as a last key constituent — the Holy Spirit. And there are variants, which detail how flowers, for instance, lent to his eyes their shape and variegated colour, and how dew gave him his ability to perspire. It seems likely that these sorts of quasi-learned sources, with some adjustments, lie behind Taliesin's genesis. The rest of section 5 (lines 163-7), metrically wayward in places, lists those involved in his creation as Math, Gwydion, Eurwys, Euron, Modron, the five enchanters who are his fictive parents or mentors (*arthawon*, line 170). And all this while the earth was still in its infancy.

It was suggested above that an element in Taliesin's delineation can be traced to wider European models and motifs. The second part of section 2 (lines 30-40) has also been viewed by John Carey as a further example of the influence of Latin apocryphal texts, specifically *Visio Sancti Pauli*.⁴ Here we see Taliesin grappling with infernal monsters: he pierces a hundred-headed beast that has

see Haycock, *Taliesin a Brwydr y Coed*, Darlith Goffa J.E. Caerwyn a Gwen Williams (Aberystwyth, 2006), 8-9. For a dazzling treatment of shape-shifting, see Marina Warner, *Fantastic Metamorphoses, Other Worlds: Ways of Telling the Self* (Oxford, 2002).

³ See details in the introduction to §26 *Kanu y Byt Bychan*, nn.49-50.

⁴ John Carey, 'Visio Sancti Pauli and the Saltair's Hell', *Éigse* 23 (1989), 39-44 (pp. 40-41); see also further analogues in Wright, *Irish Tradition*, 156-74. A later Welsh imitation is seen in a version of 'Dyhuddiant Elffin': *Kyflod y enau/ a mynydd Mynnau/ . . . Un llygad yn y benn/ Gwyrdd mal glas iaen/ A llwyth trychan men/ yn rhawn pob pawen* 'His jaws as wide as the Alps (!) . . . One eye in his head, green like pale ice, and a load of three hundred wagons in the hair of each paw', Ifor Williams, 'Darnau o Ganu Taliesin', *B* 5 (1929-31), 130-4 (p. 133); and for full edition from all available manuscripts, see CTalBB 165-83 and 596-616.

battalions of other nasties under the root of its tongue and in between the napes of its hundred heads. Then he despatches a ‘forked’ toad with a hundred claws, and a speckled, crested serpent that tortures the souls of the sinners. Taliesin’s role as a *soldier*-poet is emphasised throughout the poem — his martial feats, his arms, and even his horse, Melyngan, ‘as swift as a seagull’ (219-20). In this respect, his boasting is not unlike the boasting (*gorhoffedd*) poems of the twelfth-century poets, Gwalchmai and Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd,⁵ and it sits well with the martial core of the poem, the Battle of the Trees, which gave its title to the whole.

Sections 3 and 4 are by far the most famous passages in the poem. They have attracted enormous speculation since the eighteenth century, and inspired a range of creative works, in art, music and writing.⁶ Section 3 sets the scene for the great battle. The magician Gwydion, *in extremis*, calls on God for help, and is commanded to call up stately trees through his utterance, and to draw them up into ranks ready for battle. In the prose tale, *Math fab Mathonwy*, Gwydion is an expert at this sort of thing — he fashions horses and dogs with all their apparel, and changes mushrooms into shields. Poem §10 in this collection (Kadeir Kerrituen) refers to that story episode, and to Gwydion’s part in the creation of Blodeuwedd; and poem §4.198 appears to refer to the ‘onrush of Gwydion’s trees’, that is the events in Kat Godeu, also brought to mind by Taliesin in §8.29 ‘I was at the Battle of the Trees with Lleu and Gwydion’. It is disappointing that the enemy here is not identified, nor the motive for the battle. One of the later Triads (in NLW Peniarth 50) says that it was fought ‘for a trifle’: for three animals, a bitch, a roebuck and a curlew. And another late source notes that they were from the Otherworld, Annwn. If this was indeed part of the scenario, they might be compared with the Otherworld animals which Gwydion succeeds in procuring in the tale of *Math fab Mathonwy*, as Rachel Bromwich suggested.⁷ But here, in our poem, only one animal is mentioned, the mysterious *buch Anhun* (line 66), discussed further in the commentary below.

Section 3 also provides a preview of the fighting — ‘blood up to our knees’ (line 68) and a keening woman (line 63) — locutions indicating familiarity with the old poetic diction. As to the location we hear, ‘I was in Nefenhyr Fort when the grass and the trees attacked’ (line 41). We are almost certainly in the Old North (i.e. Scotland and northern England), a region that had a number of important functions in the imagination of the early Welsh — especially as a reminder of the lost whole, of their former control over the Island of Britain. Strenuous efforts were made to hold on to this imagined cultural realm, for instance by providing northern genealogies and connections for Welsh kings and saints,⁸ and forging other links with the North. But it was also far enough away to contain the exotic — the realm of fabulous wealth, of kings styled ‘generous’

⁵ CBT I poem 9; and CBT II poem 6.

⁶ See Haycock, *Taliesin a Brwydr y Coed*, 11-12, 18-20.

⁷ TYP³ 217-19.

⁸ The place of the Old North in the medieval Welsh imagination is reviewed in Haycock, ‘Early Welsh poets look North’, in Alex Woolf (ed.), *Beyond Gododdin*, in preparation.

and 'wealthy', and magical objects such as the Thirteen Treasures of the Island of Britain. It was the locus of great battles — Arfderydd, perhaps Camlan, Catraeth, and so on. The North was monstrous too, peopled with giants, old witches in caves, and cannibals eating their fathers' hearts. Located there, near Edinburgh, in an Arthurian poem, were the Cynbyn, the dog-heads of fable, the Cynocephali placed by classical writers and Isidore on the edges of the world — in the far East, in India, Ethiopia, or in Scandinavia as shown on the Hereford Mappamundi. In our poem, Taliesin boasts that he had actually been a billhook in the hands of the dog-heads (line 209), as well as a cockerel lording it over the hens in Edinburgh. This North would be an excellent 'away' location for the fantastic heroics of the tree battle.

Caer Nefenhyr is mentioned in two other places, firstly in the tale *Culhwch ac Olwen*, in a litany of far-flung place-names where Arthur and his company had been — Greece, Africa, Greater and Lesser India, the Fort of Se and Asse, and so on. The second example, just *Nefenhyr* without *caer* this time, is found in a praise-poem by Prydydd y Moch, sung around 1215 when Llywelyn the Great of Gwynedd had just re-won extensive lands back from King John, and when he had recently been fighting briefly on the king's side in the north of England. Llywelyn is hailed as 'the sovereign of Britain', one who causes his foes to flee like madmen into the Caledonian Forest. His fame runs as far as Carlisle and beyond. He is a second Urien, and his ferocity is like that of Nefenhyr.⁹ I think that John Lloyd-Jones was right in deriving this name from a form **Novantorix*,¹⁰ but that it is to be interpreted as 'the king of the Novantae tribe', a people located in ancient sources in the western promontory of Galloway in Southern Scotland, near Stranraer. Perhaps we can place Caer Nefenhyr in the same broad area, as well as our battle of the trees.¹¹ The battle of Arfderydd (Arthuret), was fought in this area too. It is even possible that our title Kat Godeu is playing on the name of the real-life region, Goddau, twice mentioned in the same breath as Rheged in the poems to Urien.¹² The name of that region would appear to be something like 'shrubs, brush-wood', suitable for the comparatively exposed and treeless area in western Galloway.¹³ A real-life battle in the region of Goddau would naturally be called *The Battle of Goddau*, in Welsh *Gwaith* or *Cad Goddau*. Literally it would mean 'the battle of the shrubs'. This would be a good starting-point for a poet with any imagination, especially if he were familiar with the names of the old battles of yore, so many of them containing words for trees and forests: Argoed Llwyfain, Gwaith Pencoed, 'cad ym Mhrysg Cadlau', 'Coed Baidd', 'Gwaith Perllan Fangor' and Cad Coed Celyddon.¹⁴ One may wonder, indeed, whether our poet perhaps knew those two poems to Urien

⁹ CBT V 23.170 *Amrygyr Newenhyr Na6 Nant*.

¹⁰ J. Lloyd-Jones, 'Nefenhyr', *B* 14 (1950-52), 35-7. Cf. **Carantorix* > *Cerenhyr* (*Cerenny*).

¹¹ This seems to me now more likely than a location in Llŷn, suggested in FS Watkins 299.

¹² PT VI.4 and VII.44.

¹³ The same sort of idea gave its name to Shrewsbury (earlier, Shrobbesbury).

¹⁴ A suggestion made in 'The significance of the "Cad Goddau" tree-list in the Book of Taliesin', in FS Watkins 297-31 (pp. 304-5) where references are cited.

which mention the regions, Rheged and Goddau 'drawing up in their ranks' for battle.

Section 4, the imaginative heart of the poem, is basically a list, with interspersed cameos illustrating the feats and behaviour of the plants in battle. 34 species are mentioned in all: trees, of course, but shrubs and even frail plants as well — clover, for example. Rose, raspberry, privet and honeysuckle are found in one group; broom, gorse, heather and fern in another. But the others are not ranged in any apparent order. Irish and Welsh legal texts contain similar lists of trees and plants, arranged partly with an eye to their use and their worth, and these are referred to in the commentary below. Our poet was perhaps drawing in a fairly random way on a pre-existing native catalogue of this sort; we may compare two series of nature poems which use long series of plant-names as a structuring device.¹⁵ Certainly, part of the intention here was to display the technical knowledge of the Taliesin figure, just as he demonstrates familiarity with *materia medica*, or celestial bodies in other poems in this collection.¹⁶ Although catalogues of trees were a commonplace in Latin literature — Ennius, Statius, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which 26 species are conjured up by Orpheus's lyre — and although they were much used by medieval authors, such as Chaucer, there is no evidence in our poem for any direct borrowing.¹⁷

As well as the listing, there are more important things in play. The central idea springs from a metaphor much used in early Welsh poetry: of a man as a 'tree' — sometimes also a column, a pillar, or a roof-beam; and of an army as a 'forest'. This is very common in other traditions: 'like trees walking' is how the blind man in Matthew 8 sees men on the horizon, and there are many instances of an army seen as a forest on the move — in folklore, and early Irish sagas, and famously the moving Birnam Wood in *Macbeth*.¹⁸ Also crucial for the genesis of the central idea of our poem is that the early Welsh, like the ancient Celts in Gaul and Iberia, used trees and plants in personal names. So we have names like *Bleinguid*,¹⁹ Celyn and Celynnin; Ceri; Gwern and Gwernabwy; Eithinyn, Grugyn, Grugunan, several of which are found in the Gododdin. Other names were open to being interpreted as containing plant names: Afan, for instance, an older word for 'raspberries'; or Derwas, Maeldderw, and Derfel (*derw* + *mael* 'lord' with *derw* regarded as 'oak' rather than the homophonous adjective 'certain').

As well as being aware of the use of tree metaphors in personal names and in verse, our poet was also well-versed in other conventions and locutions of heroic poetry: so we see the Alder tree out in the front line (*blaen llin*), piercing first (*a*

¹⁵ Baglawg Byddin, R1032.13-37, edited in EWGP 20-21; and the Gorwynion (R1033.1-1034.23) edited in EWGP 29-32: see FS Watkins 314-15.

¹⁶ See poems §§7 and 13.

¹⁷ FS Watkins 305-6.

¹⁸ FS Watkins 304. J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis and J.K. Rowling have all made use of similar motifs.

¹⁹ See examples in LL 388, and further examples of personal names in *-wydd* in Cane, *Personal Names* 178.

want gysefin). The Privet is called ‘the bull of battle’. Elm thrusts ‘in the middle, the wing and the rear’ of the enemy army. And Raspberry is so heroic that he can dispense with his defensive protective barricade. Catalogues, like other set-pieces, invite parody — like the inflated roll-call of people at Arthur’s court in the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*. Here we have mismatches of a ridiculous kind: the frail Clover forming a terrifying battalion; or Fern ‘the [great] pillager’. We note the stragglers, for one reason or another not keen to get going, and the high-minded Birch getting in a fix as he tries to put his armour on. Despite the difficulties of tuning in to the comic frequencies of another age, I believe Ifor Williams was right to see this as a poet at play,²⁰ having fun, raising a smile from those in the know, but more specifically playing around with the content and diction of the old praise and battle poetry to create a mock-heroic pastiche.²¹ It is even possible that some verbal forms were used to strike an archaic note — *seinyessit*, *gorthoryssit*, *ffynyessit*, *glesyssit*, etc., all transparent forms, with absolute *-it* attached to the 3sg. preterite verbal forms, but in decline in the work of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets.²²

However, other interpretations of the tree list have been around since the days of the fraudster Iolo Morganwg, his son Taliesin, Edward ‘Celtic’ Davies and John Williams (Ab Ithel). Some of these ideas were taken up by Robert Graves in his influential work, *The White Goddess* which claimed that Kat Godeu is an acrophonic poem — that the names of the trees are to be equated with various letters of the alphabet, thus spelling out a(n undisclosed) coded message.²³ Under the influence of the stonemason Iolo Morganwg’s lettering fixation, transmitted to his disciples, and the misleading ideas of Calder and others,²⁴ Graves piled up a heap of material about Ogams, runes and so on to support his theory. But there are some objections. First, there is no evidence at all that the early Welsh called letters by the names of trees, let alone other plants.²⁵ That is to say, that they called the letter *b*, say, *Bedw* (birch) as the Irish used *Beithe*. Damian McManus’

²⁰ LEWP 57.

²¹ For a different interpretation of the tree-list passage as something more serious, see Francesco Benozzo, *Landscape Perception in Early Celtic Literature* (Aberystwyth, 2004), 109-22, who argues that in here, as in folk-tales, we have ‘a dynamic projection of the creative mind in its relationship with the pure and simple forces of the material’ and that it is an expression of the fears we have in the face of the forces of nature (pp. 120-1). Mary-Ann Constantine warns, too, that ‘there is something very late-twentieth-century about an ironic pastiche’: ‘The battle for the “Battle of the Trees”’, in *Graves and the Goddess*, edited by Ian Firla and Grevel Lindop (Cranbury, NJ, 2003), 40-51 (p. 46).

²² Simon Rodway notes nine or ten such forms: ‘Absolute forms in the poetry of the Gogynfeirdd: functionally obsolete archaisms or working system?’, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 7 (1998), 63-84 (pp. 71-3).

²³ Robert Graves, *The White Goddess: A Historical Grammar of Poetic Myth*, amended and enlarged edition (London, 1961).

²⁴ George Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces: The Scholar’s Primer* (Edinburgh, 1917); and references in FS Watkins 380.

²⁵ A point made by D.W. Nash, *Taliesin: or The Bards and Druids of Britain* (London, 1868), 234-5, rejecting with some force ‘any reference to the employment of sprigs or branches of trees, in the formation of a symbolical alphabet’.

work on the names of letters and their kennings shows six, perhaps seven such names for letters of the Ogam alphabet.²⁶ In the Germanic lists, only four letters were called by tree names, and those are apparently not part of the earliest alphabet.²⁷ In Wales, it was Iolo Morganwg who first used the word for 'tree' (*gwýdd*) to mean a letter, possibly on analogy with a secondary meaning of Irish cognate *fid*, which, according to McManus, developed because much of the early writing was executed on wood. But the main reason for rejecting Graves' central idea of an acrophonic poem is simply that too many of the trees begin with the same letter. On the other hand, it is possible that the evidently informed author of Kat Godeu knew that the *occasional* letter among the Irish and English bore the name of a tree. That *may* have been an impulse to assemble a ridiculous bogus set (and see end of the commentary on line 75 for possible ordering). Something similar was going on in the ninth century when the Welsh were ridiculed by an Englishman for not having their own alphabet. The cheeky response, by one Nemnius, was to fabricate a pretend alphabet that actually mimicked the Germanic runes!²⁸

Sections 6 and 8 chronicle a variety of Taliesin's exploits, as poet and warrior, and finally, at the end of the poem, the druids are invited to step forward to sing their prophecies about Arthur (238-9). As for Taliesin himself, he walks a wider stage as he reminds us for the second time of the momentous events of Christian chronology — The Flood, the Crucifixion, the Day of Judgment (242-5). 'I am splendid', he boasts in the final lines, 'and I am enlivened by the prophecy of Virgil'. The poet Virgil morphed into a sage and magician in the Middle Ages, and was credited with having foretold the birth of Christ (see commentary on line 249). That surely is the point here, that Taliesin too had done the same thing (as the Norman writer Wace and other sources testify), that he was, in effect, the Welsh Virgil.

Further points of interest, such as the reference to another extant poem, Gwarchan Maeldderw (lines 147-8), and Taliesin's sojourn in Dylan Ail Mor's citadel (183-4), are discussed in the commentary, as well as several problematic lines. Metrics and dating criteria are addressed in the General Introduction, but it is noted that the word for cherry, *siryau* (line 91) appears to be a loan word from Old English and is therefore unlikely to be very early. In any case, as argued in the General Introduction, 27-30, there are some grounds for identifying the author of the poem as Prydydd y Moch, and thus to assign it to the end of the twelfth century, or (more probably) to the second decade of the thirteenth century.

Of the previous translations into English, the most reliable is that by Patrick K. Ford, *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1977), 183-7, and see also Meirion Pennar, *The Battle of the Trees: Cad Goddau* (Market Drayton, 1992).

²⁶ See Damian McManus, *A Guide to Ogam* (Maynooth, 1991), 36-9, and further references in FS Watkins 318, n.77.

²⁷ FS Watkins 318-19.

²⁸ FS Watkins 306.

5 Kat Godeu

Book of Taliesin 23.9-27.12

Bvm yn lliaws rith
I was in a multitude of forms
kyn bum disgyfrith:
before I was unfettered:

bum cledyf culurith,
I was a slender mottled sword
or adaf¹ pan writh.
made from the hand.

5 Bum deigyr yn awyr,
I was a droplet in the air,
bum serwaw² syr.
I was the stellar radiance of the stars.

Bum geir yn llythyr,
I was a word in writing,
bum llyfyr ym prifder.
I was a book in my prime.

Bum llugyrn lleufer
I was the light of a lantern
10 blwydyn a hanher.
for a year and a half.

Bum pont ar triger
I was a bridge standing
ar trugein aber.
over sixty estuaries.

Bum hynt, bum eryr,
I was a path, I was an eagle,
bum corwc ymyr.
I was a coracle on the seas.

15 Bum darwed yn llat,
I was effervescence in drink,
bum dos yg kawat
I was a raindrop in a shower.

Bum cledyf yn aghat,
I was a sword in the hand,
bum yscwyt yg kat.
I was a shield in battle.

¹ ms credaf

² ms serwaw

- Bum tant yn telyn,**
I was a string in a harp
- 20 **lletrithawc naw blwydyn,**
under enchantment for nine years,
yn dwfyr yn ewyn.
[and] foam in water.
- Bum yspwg yn tan,**
I was a tinder-spark in a fire,
bum gwyd yn gwarthan.
I was a tree in a conflagration.
- Nyt mi wyf ny gan:**
I am not one who does not sing:
- 25 **keint yr yn bychan.**
I have sung from infancy.
- Keint yg ³ godeu bric**
I sang in the treetops
rac Prydein wledic.
before the ruler of Britain.
- Gweint veirch canholic**
I pierced the stall-fed horses
llyghessoed meuedic.
of the one(s) wealthy in fleets.
- 30 **Gweint mil mawrem:**
I pierced a great-scaled beast:
arnaw yd oed canpen,
there were a hundred heads on him,
a chat erdygnawt
and a fierce battalion
dan von y tauawt;
beneath the root of his tongue;
a chat arall yssyd
and another battalion is
- 35 **yn y wegilyd.**
in [each of] his napes.
- Llyffan du gaflaw:**
A black forked toad:
cant ewin arnaw.
a hundred claws on him.
- Neidyr vreith gribawc:**
A speckled crested snake:

³ ms kat

- cant eneit trwy bechawt**
a hundred souls, on account of [their] sin,
 40 **a boenir yn y chnawt.**
are tortured in its flesh.
Bum yn Kaer Nefenhir:⁴
I was in the Fort of Nefenhyr:
yt gryssynt wellt a gwyd.
herbage and trees were attacking.
Kenynt gerdoryon;
Poets were singing;
kryssynt katuaon.
soldiers were attacking.
 45 **Datwyrein y Vrython⁵**
A resurgence for the Britons
a oreu Gwytyon.
was effected by Gwydion.
Gelwyssit ar neifon,
He called on the lord,
ar Grist <⁶ achwysson,
on Christ the omnipotent
hyt pan y gwarettei
so that He might deliver them —
 50 **y Ren rwy digonseï.**
their Lord who had made them.
As atebwys Dofyd,
God answered him,
‘Trwy ieith ac eluyd
‘By means of language and [materials of] the earth
rithwch riedawc wyd,
fashion majestic trees,
gantaw yn lluyd,
a hundred forces into a host,
 55 **a rwystraw⁷ peblic**
and impede the vigorous one,
kat arllaw annefic.’
the wealthy battle-dispenser.’
Pan swynhwyt godeu —
When the trees were conjured up —

⁴ ms *Nefenhir naw* with deleting points under *naw*.

⁵ ms *vrythron*

⁶ ms *o*

⁷ ms *Arwystraw*

gobeith⁸ an godeu —

?an unexpected [source of] hope —

dygottorynt godeu

the trees hewed down [the enemy]

60 **o pedrydant tanheu.**

by means of [their] powerful tendrils.

Kwydynt am aereu

They were attacking around the armies

trychwn trymdieu.

for thirty days of battle.

Dyar gardei bun,

Sorely groaned a woman,

tardei amatgun.

[and] lamentation broke forth.

65 **Blaen llin blaen bun,**

At the head of the line. . . .

budyant buch Anhun.

the spoil [was] the buck/cow of Anhun.

Ny'n gwnei emellun

It caused us no disaster

gwaet gwyr hyt an clun.

the blood of men up to our thighs.

Mwyhaf Teir Aryfgryt

The greatest of the Three Cataclysms

70 **a chweris ym byt:**

which came to pass in the world:

ac vn a deryw

and one came about

o ystyr Dilyw,

as a result of the story of the Flood,

a Christ y croccaw,

and [the second was] Christ's Crucifixion

a Dyd Brawt racllaw.

and [the third is] The Day of Judgment to come.

75 **Gwern blaen llin**

Alder at the head of the line

a want gysseuin;

struck first;

Helyc a Cherddin

Willow and Rowan

⁸ ms ygobeith

buant hwyr y'r vydin.
were slow [joining] the army.

Eirinwyd yspin
Spiky Blackthorn

80 **anwhant o dynin.**
eager for slaughter.

Keri kywrenhin,
The skilful Medlar-tree,
gwrthrychyat gwrthrin.
an anticipator of battle.

Ffuonwyd eithyt
Rose advanced
erbyn llu o gywryt.⁹
against a wrathful host.

85 **Auanwyd gwneithyt:**
Raspberry took action:
ny goreu emwyt
he did not make a defensive palisade
yr angelwch bywyt.
in order to protect [his] life.

Ryswyd a Gwyduyt,¹⁰
Privet and Honeysuckle,
ac Eido yr y bryt,
and Ivy, despite his appearance,

90 **mor eithin y'r gryt.**
how fiercely [did they go] into the fray!
Siryau seinyssit.
Cherry made a commotion.

Bedw yr y vawr vryt
Birch, despite his great intention,
bu hwyr gwiscyssit,
was slow to put on armour,
nyt yr y lyfylder,
not because of his cowardice,

95 **namyn yr y vawred.**
but rather because of his greatness.

Awron¹¹ delis bryt —
Golden Rod maintained [his] resolve —

⁹ ms *gewryt*

¹⁰ ms *gwyduwyt*

¹¹ ms *Anron*

allmyr uch allfryt.

foreigners over foreign torrents.

Ffenitwyd yg kynted,

Pine in the place of honour

kadeir gygwryssed.

contention in the shape of branches.

100 **Onn goreu ardyrched**

Ash wrought magnificent deeds

rac bron teŷrned.

before princes.

Llwyf, yr y varaned,

Elm, despite his wealth,

nyt oscoes troetued:

did not veer a foot:

ef lladei a pherued

he slashed the centre [of the army],

105 **ac eithaf a diwed.**

and the wing and the rear.

Collwyd bernissit

Hazel adjudged

eiryf dy aryfgryt.

the weapons for the conflict.

Gwyros gwyn y byt,

Blessed Dogwood,

tarw trin, tēyrn byt.

the bull of battle, lord of the fray.

110 **Morawc a Moryt**

.....

Ffawyd ffynyessit,

Beech flourished,

Kelyn glessyssit;

Holly grew verdant;

bu ef ygwrhyt.

he was present in battle.

Yspyd at amnat:

Whitethorn the skilful/famous:

115 **heint ech y aghat.**

[dispensing] pestilence from his hand.

Gwinwyd gorthorat

Vine the destroyer

gorthoryssit ygat.

hewed in the fray.

- Redyn anreithat;**
Bracken the pillager;
Banadyl rac bragat
Broom in the van of the battalion
120 **yn rychua briwat.**
was wounded in the churned-up ground.
Eithin ny bu vat:
Gorse was not fortunate
yr hynny gwerinat.
[but] despite that, he was marshalled.
Gruc budyd amnat
Heather the famous ?victor
dy werin swynat.
was enchanted into the army.
125 **Hydgwyr erlynyat.**
. . . [was] a pursuer.
Derw buanawr:
Oak swift of shout:
racdaw crynei Nef a llawr.
Heaven and Earth trembled before him.
Glesyn¹² glew drussyawr,
Woad, a brave warrior,
y enw ym peullawr.
his name in a wax tablet.
130 **Clafuswyd kygres**
The attack of the sickly tree
kymraw a rodes:
caused terror:
gwrthodi, gwrthodes,
he would repulse, he repulsed,
ereill otylles.¹³
[and] stabbed others.
Per goreu gormes
Pear wrought oppression
135 **ym plymlwyt mäes.**
on the battle-field.
Goruthawc kywyd
A terrifying array

¹² ms *glelyn*
¹³ ms *o tylles*

aches Veilonwyd.

[was] the surging Clover.

Kastan kewilyd

Bashful Chesnut,

gwrthryat ferwyd.¹⁴

a opponent [in the ranks of] the strong trees.

140 **Hantit du muchyd,**

Black is jet,

handit crwm mynyd,

rounded is a mountain,

handit kyl coetdyd,

armed is the stag/are trees,

handit kynt myr mawr

swifter are the great seas

er pan gogleu yr awr.

since I heard the battle-cry.

145 **A'n deilas blaen Bedw,**

The top of the Birch put forth leaves for us,

a'n datwrith¹⁵ datedw;

[its] vigour reinforced us;

a'n maglas blaen Derw

the top of the Oak ensnared us

o Warchan Maelderw.

by means of 'Maeldderw's Song'.

Wherthinawc tu creic

The laughing one [i.e. the sea-wave] that covers the rock

150 **ner nyt ystyr eic.¹⁶**

[is like] a lord who takes no account of the shoal.

Nyt o vam a that

It was not from a mother and a father

pan y'm digonat,

that I was made,

a'm creu a'm creat

and my creation was created for me

o naw rith llafanat:

from nine forms of consistency:

155 **o ffrwyth, o ffrwytheu,**

from fruit, from fruits,

¹⁴ ms *fenwyd*

¹⁵ ms *datrith*

¹⁶ ms *ystereic*

- o ffrwyth Duw dechreu;**
from God's fruit in the beginning;
o vriallu a blodeu, ¹⁷
from primroses and flowers,
o vlawt gwyd a godeu,
from the blossom of trees and shrubs,
o prid o pridret
from earth, from the sod
160 **o** ¹⁸ **pan y'm digonet,**
was I made,
o vlawt danat,
from nettle blossom,
o dwfyr ton nawvet.
from the ninth wave's water.
A'm swynwys-i Vath
Math created me
kyn bum diameth. ¹⁹
before I was completed.
165 **A'm swynwys-i Wytyon —**
Gwydion fashioned me —
mawrut o brithron; ²⁰
great enchantment wrought by a magic staff;
o Eurwys, o Euron,
by Eurwys, by Euron,
o Euron, o Vodron;
by Euron, by Modron;
o pypm ²¹ **keluydon —**
by five enchanters —
170 **arthawon eil math —**
of a kind like godparents —
pan ymdygyaed.
was I reared.
A'm swynwys-i wledic
A ruler fashioned me
pan vei let loscedic.
when there would have been a burning extent.

¹⁷ ms *blodeu bre*
¹⁸ ms *y*
¹⁹ ms *diaeret*
²⁰ ms *mawrut o brython*
²¹ ms *pumhwnt*

- A'm swynwys sywyt**
The wisdom of sages fashioned me
 175 **sywydon kyn byt,**
before the world [was made],
pan vei genhyf-y vot,
when I had being,
pan vei [vach] veint byt.
when the extent of the world was [still] small.
Hard bard bud angnawt,²²
A fair poet, of unusual gifts,
yt uedaf ar wawt²³
I control in song
 180 **a traetho tauawt.**
that which the tongue utters.
Gwaryeis yn llychwr,
I played in the light,
kysceis ym porffor.
I slept [wrapped in] purple.
Neu bum yn yscor
I was in the citadel
gan Dylan Eil Mor,
with Dylan Son of the Sea,
 185 **yg kylchet ym perued**
my bed in the interior [of the fort]
rwg deulin teyrned.
between the knees of kings.
Yn deu wayw anchwant:
My two keen spears:
o Nef pan doethant.
from Heaven did they come.
Yn Annwfn llifereint
In the streams of Annwfn
 190 **wrth urwydrin dybydant.**
they come ready for battle.
Petwar vgeint cant
Four score hundred men
a gweint yr eu whant.
did I pierce despite their rapacity.

²² ms *an gnawt*

²³ ms *ar wawt yt uedaf*

Nyt ynt hyn, nyt ynt ieu
They are no older, they are no younger
no mi yn eu bareu.
than me in their passions.

195 **Aryal canhwr ageni pawb**
The passion of a hundred ?had everyone
a naw cant oed genhyf inheu.
and nine hundred did I myself have.

Yg cledyf brithwed²⁴
My stained sword
gwaet bri a'm darwed.
brings me honourable bloodshed.

o douyd o golo lle yd oed,
. . . from the burial in which he was,
 200 **o dof yt las baed.**
by a meek one was the boar slain.

Ef gwrith, ef datwrith,
He made, he remade,
ef gwrith ieithoed.
he made languages/peoples.

Llachar y enw llawffer,
Radiant his name, strong his hand,
lluch llywei nifer;
brilliantly did he direct a host;

205 **ysceinynt yn ufel**
they were scattering in sparks
o dos²⁵ yn uchel.
from a drop in the heights.

Bum neidyr vreith y mryn,
I was a speckled snake on the hill,
bum gwiber yn llyn,
I was a viper in a lake,
bum ser gan Gynbyn,
I was a billhook [wielded] by Cynocephali.

210 **bum bwystuer ryn.²⁶**
I was a stout hunting shaft.
Vyg cassul a'm kâwc
My chasuble and my vessel

²⁴ ms *brith gwaet*

²⁵ ms *dof*

²⁶ ms *hyn*

armaaf nyt yn drwc.

do I prepare well.

Petwar vgeint mwc

Four score [clouds] of smoke

ar pawb a dydwc.

does [the vessel] bear to all:

215 **Pymp pemhwnt aghell**

five fifty handmaidens

a ymtal am kylllell.

is its worth together with my knife.

Whech march melynell:

Six yellow horses:

canweith yssyd well

a hundred times better is

vy march Melyngan,

my steed, Melyngan,

220 **cyfret a gwylan!**

as swift as a seagull!

Mihun nyt eban

I myself am not sluggish

kyfrwg mor a glan:

between the sea and the shore:

neu gorwyf gwaetlan

I caused a bloodbath

ar naw²⁷ cant kynran.

for nine hundred picked warriors.

225 **Rudem vyg kylchwy,²⁸**

My round shield is of ruby,

eur vy yscwytrwy.

my shield-ring is gold.

Ny ganet yn adwy . . .

There was not born in the breach . . .

a nu nym gowy

and now [?no-one] visits me

namyn Goronwy

except Goronwy

230 **o Doleu Edrywy.**

from the Water-meadows of Edrywy.

²⁷ ms *arnaw*

²⁸ ms *kychwy*

Hirwynn vy myssawr:

Long and slender my fingers,

pell na bum heussawr.

I have not been a herdsman for a long time [now].

Treigleis y mywn llawr

I passed into [the form of] a champion

kyn bum lleenawr.

before I was a man of letters.

235 **Treigleis, kylchyneis,**

I underwent transformations, I circulated,

cant ynys kysceis,²⁹

I slept on a hundred islands;

cant caer athrigeis.³⁰

I sojourned in a hundred citadels.

Derwydon, doethur,

Sages, wise men,

darogenwch y Arthur!

prophecy Arthur!

240 **Yssit yssyd gynt**

There is something which has been before

neur uu ergenhynt:

[and] they sang of that which has been:

ac vn a deryw

and one came about

o ystyr Dilyw,

because of the story of the Flood,

a Christ y croccaw,

and [the second was] Christ's Crucifixion

245 **a dyd Brawt racllaw.**

and [the third is] The Day of Judgment to come.

Eurem yn euryll

[Like] a magnificent jewel in a gold ornament

mi hud wyf berthyll,

thus am I resplendent

ac ydwyf³¹ drythyll

and I am exhilarated

o erymes Fferyll.

by the prophecy of Virgil.

²⁹ ms kysceis cant ynys

³⁰ ms athrugys

³¹ ms wydlyf

- 1 **Bvm** Disyllabic in origin (*buum*), but invariably written as a contracted form by the Book of Taliesin scribe. A monosyllable would yield a pentasyllabic line (or, in isolated instances, a hexasyllabic line) in 25 of the 27 occurrences of *bum* in this poem, including the present example. These statistics suggest that the contraction was well-established at the time of composition. All six examples from the court poetry of the 12c and 13c show the contracted form. However, in lines 6 *Bum serwawl syr*, and 210 *bum bwystuer rhyn* (both emended), a strict pentasyllabic metre would require the disyllabic form. §4 also contains several lines where a disyllable would yield a more regular syllabicity (5 syllables), e.g. §4.230 *bum glas gleissat*, §4.253 *Bum aeduedic*, or else the more common of its variants (6 syllables): §4.231 *bum ki, bum hyd*; 233 *bum kyff, bum raw*; 255 *bum marw, bum byw*. This is also the case in portions of ‘Canu y Meirch’: §15.59 *Bum hwch, bum bwch*; §15.60 *bum syw, bum swch*; §15.63 *bum llif yn eirth* (see commentaries). The greater syllabic regularity of the early englyn poetry allows the identification of some sporadic uses of the disyllable form: EWSP 410.1 *Maen wynn tra vum yth oet*; 443.98 *Amser y bum vras vwyt*, but nevertheless indicates that the contracted form is dominant: 410.2 *Maen wynn, tra vum yth erbyn*; 410.3 *Maen wyn, tra vum yth erlit*; 406.12 *Tra vum (i) yn oet y gwas draw*. The two forms appear to be in concurrent use in the englynion Ymddiddan Gwyddno Garanhir a Gwyn ap Nudd: a monosyllable in LIDC 34.49 *Mi a wum lle llas Llachev*, but a disyllable in 34.55 *Ny buum lle llas Gwallauc*, also signalled by the Black Book of Carmarthen scribe’s orthography. It is likely that the disyllabic form continued to be used as required in poetry, with which one may compare the late survival until the 16c of the uncontracted forms *gwybu-um, cytu-un*: WG 36-7.
- 1 **llaws rith** ‘Many a form’. *Rith* ‘appearance, form; guise, disguise’ is common (e.g. PKM 69 *yn rhith beird*); the denominative vb is not used in pre-1283 poetry apart from the Book of Taliesin examples: cf. lines 53 and 154 below, and §4.229 *Eil gweith y’ m rithat*; §8.30 *wy a rithwys gwyd Euuyd* (em.) *ac Elestron*; and obscure §24.6 *am rithwy am dwy pen kawell*. Note also the long run of lines beginning *yn rith* in Cynddelw’s ‘Canu Owain Cyfeiliog’, which includes three items matched in our in our poem (ysgwyd, llafn, cleddyf), CBT III 16.161-8: *Yn rith rynn ysgwyd rac ysgwn blymnyd/ Ar ysgwyt yn arwein,/ Yn rith llew rac llyw goradein,/ Yn rith llafyn anwar, llachar llein,/ Yn rith cletyf claer, clod ysgein—yn aer,/ Yn aroloet kyngrein,/ Yn rith dreic rac dragon Prydein,/ Yn rith bleit, blaengar vu Ywein.*
- 2 **kyn bvm** The construction *kyn bum* ‘before I was’ (now superseded in Modern Welsh by ‘cyn imi fod’ and ‘cyn fy mod’) is found again in lines 164 and 234 below, and most famously in the thrice-repeated *Kynn bum keinvaglawc* at the beginning of *Cân yr Henwr*, EWSP 415-16. Cf. with *bu*: EWSP 426 *kynn bu er lleon llawedrawr*; 438 *Kynn bu vvg kylchet croen[en] gauyr galei*; §20.2 *kyn bu bed*; §23.23 *cyn bu lleith*; §23.26 *kyn bu dayr*; CA lines 176 and 991 *kyn bu clawr glas; kyn bu ei leas*; LIDC 18.156 *kin bu tav y dan mein*, etc. It is similarly exploited for its economic contrastive potential by the court poets (*cyn bu* is common, e.g. CBT I 3.19 *kyn bu breuaðd*). The present example — perhaps even parodic in intent — offers a multitude of pasts rather than a simple choice between ‘then’ and ‘now’.

- 2 **disgyfrith** G ‘free, bold, obstinate’, used of animals (R1348.8 *elein disgyfrith*), particularly of unfettered horses, but also of bold or unrestrained speech, which may be relevant here if Taliesin’s present state, contrasted with his previous forms, is imagined as that of an inspired poet. GPC s.v. follows G’s derivation from *dis-* + **cyfrith*, an adjectival formation from **kom-rektā* which developed to *cyfraith*. But there may have existed a homophone **cyfrith* < *brith* ‘magic, enchantment’ (see below on line 3 *culfrith*, and line 20 *lletrithawc*), and if so, ‘freed from enchantment’ might be considered, with possible word-play.
- 3 **culurith** *Cul* ‘narrow’ + *brith* ‘mottled, flecked’, here perhaps ‘blood-stained’ as in lines 197-8 *cledyf brithwed* (em.)/ *gwaet bri am darwed*, rather than the homonym *brith* ‘magic’ found in the compound *lledfrith* (PKM 237), and perhaps, according to ChwT 22, in another compound, **brithron* (ms *brython*) in line 166 below. Possible word-play. *Brith* is used of spears CBT III 12.29, but is surprisingly infrequent in the court poetry corpus.
- 4 **or adaf (ms credaf) pan writh** Four-syllable lines are unusual and the line seems lame: ‘I believe that it [the sword of line 3] took action’, understanding *pan* ‘that’ rather than ‘when’ (GMW 80 and 242), and *gwrith* with G as *gwneuthur*, 3sg. pret. (contra Morris-Jones WG 337 and 367, who derives it from **urek-t-u*, and identifies the example in line 210 *Ef gwrith ef datwrith* as 1sg. pret., but with a query that it might be 3sg.). Schumacher, KPV 707-11, favours the 3sg. in his full treatment of the forms of *gwneuthur*. However, as noted by Calvert Watkins, *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb*: I, *The Sigmatic Aorist* (Dublin, 1962), 164-5, the pret. passive (formed from **to-* participle) would be identical in form, so it is not impossible that *gwrith* here means ‘it was made’.
- A further problem is that *pan* ‘that’ is found either as a simple conjunction introducing an emphatic clause (which is not the case here), e.g. *Ny wydyem pan oed ti a grogem* (CC 20.135-6; see GMW 80), or else as a rel. after a noun governed by the prep. *o* ‘from, of’ (GMW 79-80). The latter construction may have been present here: possible emendations include *o(r) adaf pan writh* or *ech adaf pan writh* ‘from/by the hand’ ‘immediately’ (cf. GDG 143.25 of a sword, *Coethaf cledren adaf wyd*; line 17 below). On the development of *ech adaf* ‘at once, immediately; afterwards’, see EWSP 515. Other possibilities include *o Adaf pan writh* ‘from [the time of] Adam’; *o dafar pan writh* ‘purposefully’. It is not impossible that *cledr* or *cled* may lie behind *credaf*.
- Because of the several uncertainties here, the emendation and translation offered are very tentative: *ech* (perhaps modernised to *o* + article: *or*) *adaf pan writh* ‘out of the hand did I take action’, or ‘I took action immediately’; if the latter idiom (*ech adaf/or adaf*), perhaps with a nod to the literal meaning. If *gwrith* is pret. passive, then ‘from/by the hand was it made’, as in the translation, or ‘it was made immediately’.
- 6 **bum serwaw[ll] syr** *Serwaw* and *serfaw* are unknown, and a compound *ser* + *gwawl* ‘light, radiance’ is assumed. Four syllables rather than five, unless disyllabic *bu-um*, see on line 1 above). The line is more unusual in having a disyllable before a final monosyllable word and this may indicate corruption. Emendation to *bum serennawl syr* (‘brilliant stars’) would give five syllables, but the more metrically typical *serwawl yn syr* (‘stellar radiance in the stars’) would be preferable. The court poets continue to use the form *syr* (rhymed with *awyr* CBT VII 36.67-8).

- 7 **llythyr** Either *llythyr* < L. *littera*, rhyming with lines 5 and 6 (and with *llyfyr*, line 7), or more likely, rhyming with lines 8-12, *llyther* (< *litterae*), either sg. or pl., the form which occurs in the Nine Juvencus englynion (see CC 1.3n, 5.17; EL 41).
- 8 **ym prifder** GPC s.v. *prifder* (a medieval hapax) < *prif* (a borrowing from L. *primus*) ‘the condition of being principal or best, prime, excellence’ suggest this might be *pryfder* ‘priest’, a word derived, like the Ogam genitive form QRIMITIR (nominative **qrimiter*), from L. *presbyter* via **praebyter* or **praemiter*: Damian McManus, ‘Chronology of the Latin loan-words in early Irish’, *Ériu* 34 (1983), 21-71, p. 46 n.60. On the comment in Cormac’s Glossary that *cruimther* comes from *premther*, a Brittonic form from *pryf* ‘worm’ (an unfortunate derivation tactfully ‘explained’ by reference to the Psalmist’s description of himself as ‘vermis, et non homo’: Psalm 21:7), see Paul Russell, ‘Brittonic words in Irish glosses’, in FS Evans 166-82, pp. 170 and 180. Either meaning is possible here, but ‘in my prime’ (retaining *prifder*) is preferable to ‘for my priest’ since it reinforces the contrast between a small unit (*geir*) with a much larger whole (*llyfyr*).
- 9 **llugyrn lleufer** *Llugyrn* (cf. L. *lucerna*) is found in the Book of Taliesin, §18.20 and PBT 9.16 (Ymarwar Llund Bychan) but not elsewhere in hengerdd. It is used by the early- and mid-12c court poets, especially by Cynddelw who collocates it, as in our example, with *lleufer*: CBT III 16.204-5 *Am lugyrn, am leuuer, / Drudurwysc ri, drudureisc y haelder*, cf. 3.234 *Am lugyrn, am gyrn, am geinion*; 19.26 *Llugyrn gyrn gnuadas*; 3.147; *Llan llugyrn llogawd offeren*. Earlier examples: CBT I 1.38 (late 11c) *Llugirn deudor*; I 2.48 (early 12c) *Llvgyrin kytrim*; and I 25.6 (13c). Most of these examples are more naturally interpreted as pl. forms.
- There are three possibilities for the form of the old sg.: (1) **llugarn* (cf. Cornish and Breton *-arn* forms, via VL **lucarna*: cf. *Garmani* < *Germani*; *tafarn* < *taberna*; *Padarn* < *Paternus*), with a pl. *llugyrn* (cf. *cadarn* pl. *cedyrn*; *tafarn* pl. *tefyrn*). (2) A sg. **llugern* could have been derived from *lucerna* with *a*-affection obliterating the assumed raising before *-rn* (cf. *gwern*, *uffern*, *cern*), on which see Schrijver, SBCHP 65 (one notes that *Edyrn* — alongside *Edern* — could simply be from gen. *Eterni*: on the forms of this name see CIB 98). If sg. **llugern* was the reading in an exemplar, it may have been miscopied on the assumption that the letter *e* represented *y*, and by confusion with the pl. (3) The sg. *llugyrn* postulated by GPC (s.v. *llugorn*), if from Latin, would be the result of the assumed raising before *-rn* without the *a*-affection restriction noted by Schrijver; note however that GPC, following Henry Lewis, also suggest that the word may be a cognate, rather than a borrowing from Latin.
- Leaving aside the question of the original sg. form, the later sg. form *llugorn* is probably a back-formation by analogy with *corn*, pl. *cym*: GPC s.v. Both sg. and pl. are possible for the meaning of the line). An incidental point is that there may be word-play on the homophone **llug* ‘dark, black’ (possibly attested in the compound *llugfryd*, see GPC s.v.).
- 10 **blwydyn a hanner** Cf. §4.235-6 *bum ebill yg gefel, / blwydyn a hanher*; R579.15 (Cyfoesi).
- 11 **bum pont ar triger** *Triger* may contain *-g-* or *-ŋ-* (cf. 215 *aghell*). Although the alternation between initial *dr-* and *tr-* in the forms of *dring(y)aw* (cf. *drem/trem*)

is not attested earlier than the late 16c (GPC s.v.), the pres. impers. subjunct. of the vb would give good sense here: 'I have been a bridge which may be traversed/ascended'. Alternatively, as in the translation, *trig(y)aw* 'to stay, remain; cause to live or remain (< Late L. *trico*): 'which may be left [standing]'. The form precludes the river-name Tigris, one of the rivers flowing from Paradise.

On *ar* which combines the rel. pronoun *a* and preverbal particle *ry/yr*, a development in the Middle Welsh period, see GMW 62-3. It is possible that this is a modernisation of the older pattern (*pont ry driger*) without the rel. particle. *Pont* concludes a run of nouns of Latin origin: *llythyr*, *llyfyr*, *prifder* (< *primus*), *llugyrn* (?), *pont*.

- 12 **ar trugein aber** GPC's first attestation of a contracted form of *tri vgein(t)* 'sixty': contrast §4.36 *Tri vgein mlyned*, and §18.31 *tri vgeint canhwr a seui ar y mur*. Restoring the uncontracted form here would give six, rather than the more usual five syllables.
- 12ff **aber/ eryr/ myr** Cf. the collocations in EWSP 434 *Eryr Eli echeidw myr*, LIDC 34.27 *erir mor terruin treiaw*; EWSP 407 *ruthyr eryr yn ebyr oedut*; §3.15 *eryr/ llyr*, CA line 31 *ery en ebyr*; CBT V 26.33 *Gna6d eryr ebyr abar gwet—bangaw*, all suggesting the predominantly grey White-tailed Eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilia* also known as sea-eagle), or possibly Osprey, both fish raptors with distinctive flight patterns. §1.13 *pan uyd llwyd eryr* favours the first species. Taliesin desires to ascend to the realm of eagles §24.29-30, and cf. the celestial flight of Alexander, borne aloft *rwg deu griffi ar hynt* in §17.14.
- 15 **darwed yn llat** On *darwed* noun and vb noun, used especially of alcoholic drinks (e.g. PT V.1-2 *Ar vn blyned vn yn darwed/ gwin a mall a med*), and blood (see on line 198 below), see PT 59-60. On the interest in fermentation and alcohol, see poems §§12 and 13. *Llat* and *cawat* are also rhymed in EWSP 451.23.
- 16 **dos yn kawat** Collocated as a question in §4.194 *pet dos yg kawat* but otherwise *dos* is rare: Gwalchmai ap Meilyr CBT I 9.93 refers to a woman as having the fair colour of *aryen dos* ('a (?frozen) drop of hoar-frost'). Prydydd y Moch uses the adj. *dosawg* 'sweating, dripping (from the mouth)' of horse-messengers to maidens: CBT V 14.6 and 24.42, as does Gruffudd ap Maredudd GGM III 3.45. This literary motif is used with parodic intent in Llywelyn Ddu ab y Pastard's description of the Aeron Valley in a satire on Madog ap Hywel and his warband (GLIBH 19.76 *Cymyrred a medd a meirch dosog*); used satirically of a man in GPB 9.110.
- 17f **cledyf yn aghat/ bum yscwyt** See above on line 4 for the suggested reading *adaf* 'hand' with *cledyf*. With *aghat* + *ysgwyt*, cf. CBT V 1.18 (Prydydd y Moch) *Heb ysgar ysgwyd ac aghad*.
- 19 **tant yn telyn** Curiously, one of only two examples of the noun *telyn* in early poetry (with §4.156 *tant telyn py gwyn*, and cf. §24.31 *Wyf bard ac wyf telynawr*; and see on §14.5 *ban erdifel tant* (em.)). One pl. form (collocated with a compound of *tant*) occurs in 13c CBT VII 33.75-6 *son clych—a llyfreu,/ Kerddeu, telyneu, crastanneu crych*. It is likely, however, that Edmyg Dinbych line 64 *ac och ar dant* refers to singing an elegy with string accompaniment, just as Prydydd y Moch refers to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's praise: CBT V 23.204 *Can uola6d a thaua6d a thant*. By contrast, *telyn* (and *telynawr*) are very common in law texts, chronicles and later poetry: see A.O.H. Jarman, 'Telyn a chrwth', *LIC* 6 (1960-

- 61), 154-75; Patrick K. Ford, 'Agweddau ar berfformio ym marddoniaeth yr Oesoedd Canol', in *CyT* 77-108; Harper, *Music* 35-46.
- 20 **lletrithawc naw blwydyn** GPC s.vv. *lledrithiog*, *lledrith/lledfrith* (< **brith* 'magic', enchantment, discussed in notes on lines 2, 3 and 45). The older form *lleturithawc* is found in Red and White Book versions of *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, see CLlaL1 13; cf. CO line 409 WB *lleturith*, RB *lletrith*. Either referring to Taliesin's guise as a harp in line 19, or else another enchanted or feigned state; the adj. could also be interpreted substantivally as 'magician', as in TYP³ no. 27 *Tri Lleturithawc Enys Prydein*. For the number nine, cf. lines 154, 196 and 224 below, and see note on §4.251 *gorffwysseis naw nos*.
- 21 **yn dwfyr yn ewyn** Two discrete states (cf. line 13), 'as water, as foam', or 'in water as foam' although this breaks the pattern established in the previous lines and continued in lines 22-3.
- 22 **yspwg yn tan** Cf. CBT VI 23.17 *Mal pan gyrch fflamdan fflamdo ysbwng*, and p. 354 for the development, comparable with Irish *sbonc* < L. *spongia* 'sponge', to some kind of flammable material or amadou, while noting that moss used for roofing may be relevant in that example. GPC s.v. *sbwng* suggest that *ysbwng* 'tinder', etc. may be derived from another source from the sponge word, but this is hardly necessary since spongy fungi (such as *Fomes fomentarius*, the Tinder or Bracket Fungus) were used as kindling. Note that the poem by Einion ap Madog ap Rhahawd cited above has another rare word in common with BT: CBT VI 23.9-10 *Pendefic Crukyeith meith, mygr ddiŷg, / Pennyadur Prydein, prydest deilŷg*, cf. §21.14 *diuwg dybyr*. The prosthetic *y-* yields a five-syllable line, so likely to be 11c or later on Jackson's chronology (LHEB 527-8; cf. CIB 223).
- 23 **gwyd yn gwarthan** The ms has *arthan* with *sw* added above in the same hand. G s.v. *gwarthan* suggests 'grove' and 'great fire', while noting a possible emendation to *garthan* 'entrenchment, encampment, . . . rampart' adopted by GPC s.v. *gwarthan*. If so, cf. *gwarthan* in rhyme block with *tan* in CA line 385, and collocated with a derivative by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 9.16 *Yn amwyn garthan gyrrh ei dandde*. However, it seems more likely that the mistake is for **gworthan* (< *gwor-* + *tan*, cf. *gortho*) 'great fire, conflagration', with a contrast of size (cf. lines 7-8) between the spark or tinder in a fire to a timber in a conflagration. A scribe may have substituted the more common *garthan*, which would also yield sense with *gwydd* 'timber, post', etc.
- 24 **Nyt mi wyf ny gan** Cf. syntax of §7.13 *Nyt mi wyf kerd uut* and §7.19 *Nyt mi wyf kerd vas*; GMW 172. Contrast the diction of §15.20 *Nyt mi gwr llwfyr llwyt*. Lenition is realized here after *ny* in the neg. rel. clause.
- 25 **keint** Cf. CA lines 551 and 912 (see CA 207), the first example in the awdl where Aneirin tells of his sojourn in the *ty deyerin*, next to a mention of Taliesin. Apart from §4.2 *neu cheint a ganho*, the form occurs in line initial position, with a concentration of examples in poem §8 Golychaf-i Gulwyd: §8.3 *Keint yn yspydawt*; §8.4 *keint rac meibon Llyr*; §8.7 *Keint rac vd clotleu*; §8.9 *Keint yn aduwyn rodle*; §8.42 *keint rac teyrned*. The example in *Dydd dyfydd* line 8 *y volaud rebit rykeint* occurs in a poem which has some other Book of Taliesin words and phrases: see General Introduction, 20. Three examples only of the form from the court poetry corpus: CBT II 6.82, III 3.81, VI 26.45 (Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, Cynddelw and Dafydd Benfras).

- 25 **yr yn bychan** Understanding *yr* as 'from, since' with *bychan* perhaps substantival 'a small one'; cf. *a uu yr yn uab* 'who has been from boyhood' noted in GMW 219.
- 26 **Keint yg o godeu bric (ms yg kat godeu bric)** Excising *kat* would give five syllables: 'I sang in the top [branches] of the shrubs/trees'. But if the line is original as it stands ('I sang in the battle of the tree tops' or 'in the tops of the tree army'), it may have been the source of the title of the poem. Conversely, the poem title (which could derive from the use of the noun *godeu* in the poem, or from independent knowledge of the event) may have contaminated the line. A monosyllabic rhyme like *bric* is far more often preceded by an unstressed monosyllable than by a disyllable. *Godeu* is discussed below with the examples in lines 57-9.
- 27 **rac Prydein wledic** Leaving aside the many examples referring to God, there is a concentration of the use of *gwledic* in the Urien and Gwallog poems: PT II.2 *am wledic gweithuudic*; III.7 *yn oruchel wledic*; VII.7 *yd ymarmerth gwledic wrth kymryeu*; VII.30 *gwell ganher gwledic pyr y ganet* (of God?); XII.8 *rychanaf y wledic*; XII.12 *y wledic ny omed*. Another (possibly related) example occurs in the Urien englynion: EWSP 426 *lliaws gwledic ry dreulyas* (note that *lliaws* is used in similar object-in-line-initial position in PT III.2, a poem in which Urien is called *gwledic*). Also CA lines 152 *gwledic gwd gyfgein/ nef Enys Prydein* (?of God); 399 *no Chynon lary vronn geinnyon wledic*; 898 (of Owain) *dymgwallaw gwledic dal*; 1217 *mab golistan cen nei bei guledic*; 1446 and 1465 (Gwarchan Maeldderw) *annavd wledic; trybedavt y wledic*. The precise phrase *Prydein wledic* is not found in early poetry, although cf. of rulers PT VII.31 *vd Prydein*; Moliant Cadwallon line 29 *lluydawc Prydain*; R584.19 (prophecy) *penndeuc Prydein*. *Gwledic* is very common in the court poetry (at least 65 examples in CBT, some with names of regions, though not with *Prydein*) and in prose tales, especially honorific titles in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (Anlawdd Wledig — called *Anblaud Britannie regis* in VSB 194), Casnar W., Cyleddon/Celyddon W., Fflewddwr Fflam W., Taredd W.). See G s.v. and s.nn. on other figures known as *gwledig*: Ceredig and his father Cunedda, Cynan, Emreis (cf. HB ch. 42 *Embreis Guletic*), Gyrthmyl, Macsen. *Prydein* is also very common in court poetry, often with *priawt* and *priodawr*, *teithiawc*, *dreic*, *rwyf*, *llyw*, *ud*, *peir*, etc. for a ruler. It is especially favoured by Prydydd y Moch (37 examples, and two of *Ynys Brydein* (see CBT V 347), compared with 20 examples in the work of Cynddelw).

It is difficult to identify this *Prydein wledic*, as it is to correlate the term precisely with terms used in Latin and Old English: *dux Britanniarum* used for the Hadrian's Wall command instigated by Constantine (see introduction above on the likely northern setting of this poem), *comes Britanniarum*, *rex Britanniae* and *rex totius Britanniae* (used of Æthelbald and Athelstan), *Bretwalda* (of Egberht, king of West Saxons), etc. The only obvious candidate mentioned within the Kat Godeu poem itself is Arthur — who is termed a *dux bellorum* rather than a king or ruler (*gwledic*) in the *Historia Brittonum*; he is an *amherawdyr* 'emperor' in the Geraint englynion and elsewhere.

With 26-7 *Keint . . . rac*, cf. §8.4, 7, 9 and 42; and the description of the role of the *bardd teulu* in singing in battle or beforehand, Bleg 22, lines 23-5 *ac or byd darpar ymlad arnunt, canet y canu a elwir 'Vnbeinyaeth Prydein' racdunt*.

Further on poets singing in battle or beforehand, see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, *LIC* 11 (1970), 33-4, and cf. line 43 below.

- 28 **Gweint veirch canholic** Another 1sg. *t*-pret. (see on *keint* in line 25 above). All surviving examples of 1sg. of vb *gwan(u)* are in this poem (lines 30 and 192) except for CBT I 9.40 (Gwalchmai ap Meilyr's Boast) *Ar lles gwledic Mon gbeint ym plymnwyd*, with collocation with *gwledic*, as here.

GPC suggest that *canolig* derives from *can*² 'surrounding wall, enclosure', with the possible meaning 'stall-fed' which would suit the other two examples, both 12c and both equine: CBT I 2.42 (where ModW *canolig* ('medium') is also noted as a meaning, p. 40), and CBT III 3.214 (see n. on p. 49). One example of *canolig* 'grooved, channelled' (also < *canawl* < L. *canalis*, EL 34) is identified in Dafydd ap Gwilym's description of a sword as *canoliglym*: GDG pp. 378 and 546. See further comment on *canholic* at the end of the note on line 29.

- 29 **llyghessoed meuedic** Seemingly the pl. of *llynges* 'fleet, sea-borne force' (cf. *llynghessawr* in §9.52) and the hapax adj. *meuedic* 'wealthy'. Several examples of *meuedd/meufedd/meuwedd* 'wealth' and *meuedwys* occur in the Book of Taliesin: PT IV.2-3 *a med meuedwys/ Meuedwys med* (discussed PT 51, CA 349); §2.28 *A geibyl keluyd ny meued mat* (em.); AP 2 *maranned a meued*; §7.55-7 *a blaen gwyd godeu./ A mall a meued/ â mynych adneued*; PBT 8.51 (Romani kar) *Lloegyrr oll ymellun eu meuoed genhyn*. Cf. LIDC 18.137 *maes meuetauc* (place-name?); EWSP 455 *dricweuet llyvrder ar gur*, translated (p. 502) as 'an ill possession is cowardice in a warrior'; EWSP 176 *hoffais mewredd (recte meued) eu gwyr ai gwragedd*; CA lines 1259-61 *twryf en agwed/ e rac meuwed/ e rac mawred./ e rac maryed*. Used sporadically by the court poets, sometimes with *med*, as above, or with horses: CBT I 2.29 *meuuet vetvd*; I 3.153 *o'e baabr ueuyt*; III 24.37; 29.10 *bart a'i meithuaeth—met/ A meuuet marchogaeth*; IV 16.198; V 26.41-2 *A'e eur rut a'e but a'i ueuet/ A'e emys hyweturyr hywet*; CBT VI 14.51.

If *meuedic* is a simple adj. qualifying *llyghessoed*, 'I pierced the stall-fed horses of the [sailors of the] wealthy fleets'. Perhaps the fleets are imagined conducting raids for booty along the coastal waters with horses being carried and fed on board. But if *meuedic* is used substantivally, then 'the wealthy one(s) possessing fleets', as in the translation.

As in Old English and Old Norse poetry, ships were sometimes likened to horses in Welsh, as evidenced by *gwydfarch* 'ship', pl. *gwydfeirch* in §1.61 *gwydueirch dy ar uor*; PBT 7.81 (Grawd Lud y Mawr) *Dygedawr gwydueirch ar llyn*, both examples in the context of sea-raids. Gwalchmai ap Meilyr describes one of the three fleets that attacked Anglesey in 1157 under Henry II as *llwrw hirion lli* 'the long-tracked ones of the sea', i.e. leaving a long wake. This in turn may be compared with CA line 303 *llemenic llwybyr dew* for a prancing horse leaving a wide trail behind it. (Although Iolo Goch likens a ship to a *gwilff* and *caseg* ('mare') and *march* (GIG 33.32 and 48), a *dysfalu* poem such as 'Y Llong' is hardly evidence for a regular kenning.) These examples are noted because line 28 *canholic* could be interpreted as a compound of *can(n)* 'white' + *ol* 'track' (?or *can(n)* + adjectival suffix *-awl*) + *-ic*, i.e. 'white-tracked' or 'white, grey' (as in L. *candidus*, and *canus*) of the 'horses' or ships on the sea (cf. *canlliw*, etc.). R. Geraint Gruffydd, *SC* 10/11 (1975-6), 208, also suggests 'thick-tracked ones' < *can(t)*. Or do the two lines refer to the sea and its waves: 'I pierced white-tracked

horses [?waves] of the wealthy one of fleets [?the sea]'. The adj. *cann* is used of the sea (*gweilgi*) and for horses *inter alia*. Possible paronomasia. Six syllables.

- 30 **Gweint mil marwem** Unusual four-syllable line which could be 'regularised' as *mawr e em* or *mawr y em*. As it stands, *marwem* could be a compound of *mawr* and *gem* 'precious stone' (frequently used in compounds: see G s.v.) < L. *gemma* 'bud, eye on a plant; gem'. But the meaning 'covering, skin, scale' suggested by Ifor Williams, *B* 7, 276 and CA 366 for the example in Gwarchan Cynfelyn (CA line 1358 *trwy gibellawr a gemm*) would give good sense here. Generic rhyme between nasals *-em/-en* is not commonly attested but cf. §4.216-7 *gwyn/llym*. On parallels to the description of the beast and the infernal toad and snake (lines 30-40), see the introduction above.
- 31 **arnaw yd oed canpen** Deleting the particle *yd* would yield a five-syllable line, cf. CA line 692 *rac Catraeth oed fraeth eu llw*, EWSP 420.10 *yr Yrechwyd oed uugeil*, and the examples noted in GMW 64, regarded as 'early'. Note PT XII.9 *yn y wlat yd oed ergrynic*.
- 32 **erdygnawt** Two examples in BT: Echrys Ynys lines 22-3 *Pedeir morwyn, wedy eu cwyn dygnawt eu tra;/ erdygnawt wir ar vor ar tir*, and §4.162 *Py dydwc glein o erddygnawt vein*; and three other examples of *dygnawt*: PBT 2.17 (Glaswawt) *Llu o Seis, eil o Ynt, trydyd dygnawt*; 2.33 *O bedrydant dygnawt*; CC 9.5 *dignawt annwyt* (see CC 75). There are two examples of *erdygnawt* in the court poetry: in Einion ap Gwalchmai's description of Hell, as in Kat Godeu: CBT I 28.35-6 *yg gwaela6d—ufern;/ Yn asleu oerwern yn erdygna6d* ('captive' is given as a meaning) and, introducing a picture of Hell and its denizens, in CBT VI 24.7-8 *Mor diryeit y dyn eiduna6—o'e gnawt/ Yrdygna6t becha6t na'e rybucha6* 'How rash it is for man on account of his flesh to desire and to yearn for enslaving sin'.
- In the present example, the preferred meaning is 'captive' qualifying *cat* 'battalion, host', the wretches who are imagined as being tortured in Hell, comparable with the 'hundred souls' tortured in the flesh of the speckled snake in lines 38-9. But 'fierce, grievous' or 'enslaving' are possible if the great beast has subsidiary nasties on board.
- 35 **yn y wegilyd** See commentary on §1.18 for the apparent borrowing of this phrase in a later poem attributed to Taliesin, in which the 'three springs/fountains' are located in the napes of a hellish monster. For analogues to the heads and necks of the infernal monster, see the introduction above.
- 36 **llyffan du gaflaw** See AP 53 on line 117 *Atui pen gaflaw heb emennyd*; cf. §23.31 *ryaflaw hallt*; §15.43 *Carnaflaw*, and in a 9c gloss; otherwise rare.
- 38 **Neidyr vreith gribawc** Cf. CBT VII 40².83-4 *llyffaint llidiog . . . a nadroedd cribog*; and the *neidyr vreith* in line 207 below.
- 41 **Bum yn Kaer Nefenhyr (ms nefenhir)** Six syllables; mesotomy, or pretonic syncope could justify *Nefenhyr* as two syllables but see on line 42 below for the suggestion that *Bum* may be an addition. After *Nefenhir*, *naw* has been written and then deleted with points. This valuable slip indicates that the Book of Taliesin scribe was no mindless copyist. He evidently knew the cognomen of the character *Newenhyr Naw Nant* (variant *Naw Naut*) as used in the story, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 23.170 *Amrygyr Newenhyr Na6 Nant*. See the introduction above on these allusions, and the possible locating of Kaer Nefenhyr, and hence the tree-battle, in the Galloway region. The ending, adjusted here for

rhyme with *gwŷd*, shows copying from a Black Book of Carmarthen-type orthography (cf. LIDC 17.8 *Llyuelin*; 30.90 *Iwerit*, etc.).

- 42 **yt gryssynt** *Yt* (= *yd*) GMW 171, usually before a vb after an adverbial phrase e.g. PT IX.2 *idaw yt ganaf* 'to him shall I sing'; CA line 669 *y gyt en vn vryt yt gyrchassant* 'together with one accord they attacked'; CA line 1176 *men yt welet*; LIDC 18.148 *parth yd vei*; R585.12-13 *Yn Aber Sor yt uyd kyghor ar wyr*; EWSP 453.9 *myn yd vo truin. yd uit trev*. *Yd* is poorly attested as a sentence-initial preverbal particle, GMW 171 noting only LIDC 17.28 *Yd weles e Guendolev*. Therefore, perhaps restore *Yg Kaer Nefenhyr/ yt gryssynt wellt a gwyd* 'In Caer Nefenhyr the grasses and shrubs/trees were attacking', or the mixed order with initial copula (GMW 140-41) *Bu yn Kaer Nefenhir/ yd gryssynt wellt a gwyd*, or delete *yt*, yielding five syllables. Concord between pl. subject and vb, as in lines 43-4, 59.
- 42 **wellt a gwyd** Subject lenition. Collocated in CC 1.2 (Juvencus englynion) *cet treidin guel ha guid* (and see CC 10); CBT II 5.42; IV 18.7; and cf. CBT I 9.135-6 *gwellt + coet*.
- 43 **kenynt gerdoryon** PBT 8.66 (Romani kar) *peneri kerdoryon*; of heavenly singers in CC 20.79 *Kyrd a cherdoryon*; 21.146-7 *Myn y mae kertorion/ In kyveir kysson*; §8.28 *ac yt Vrawt parahawt gan gerdoryon*; §14.32 *Ef kyrch kerdoryon*, etc. See on line 27 (end of note) for poets singing in or before battle.
- 44 **katuaon** Three examples of the compound in *Cynddelw* (CBT III 10.10; IV 4.223; 6.233), and two in prophecies: PBT 3.42 (*Kychwedyl*); Pen3Afallennau 125.125 (em.). Subject lenition not orthographically realized (cf. 42 and 43).
- 45 **Datwyrein y Vrython** (ms *vrythron*) ChwT 21-2 emends to *vrihron*, assuming faulty modernisation of *i* taken as schwa. The compound (< **brith* 'magic' + *rhôn* 'staff, lance'), otherwise unattested, would be comparable with *hudlath*. However, G s.n. *Brython* emends to *vryth(y)on*, and this would yield good sense: 'Gwydion effected a resurgence for (y) the Britons'. *Brython* is common at the end of a line: e.g. PT VIII.25 *mawr gwrnerth ystlyned y Vrython*; PT XII.5 *ny golychaf an gnawt beird o Vrython*; §10.33 *mwyhaf gwarth y marth o parth Brython*; CA line 806 *ny doeth en diwarth o barth Vrython*; PBT 4.27-9 (Dygogan awen) *Arall (recte) a dyfyd —/ pellenawc y luyd —/ llewenyd y Vrython* 'Another shall come — one with far-ranging hosts — [bringing] joy to the Britons'; 6.1 *Rydyrchafwy Duw ar plwyff Brython*; 8.35 *ffaw dreic, diffreidyat y popyl Brython*; §1.86 *Dygofti dy hen Vrython*; AP line 12 (before caesura) *Atporyon uyd Brython pan dyorfyn*, and lines 42 and 90; B 26 (1974-6), 407 (Cadwallon fragment) *Neus duc Gwynedd gorvoled i Vrython*; LIDC 17.180 *Maban dirchavaud mad y Vrython*. But towards the beginning of the line in PBT 7.40-41 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Y Vrython dymbil/ gwaed gwned ofri*. Especially striking is the collocation PBT 7.101-2 *Y Prydein yna y daw datwyrein/ Brython o vonhed Rufein*.

The *lectio difficilior* principle might favour Ifor Williams' unattested **brithron* here and in line 166 (again rhyming with [*G*]wryyon), but the parallels noted here, especially from the prophetic poetry with its discourse of resurgence, resurrection and regrowth (*datwyrein*; *atporyon*) 'for the Britons' favour *Brython*, which is consonant with line 27 *Prydein wledic*. Moreover, it provides a natural antecedent for lines 49-50, on which see below.

Cf. CBT III 21.211-12 *Colofyn Cadellig, Kadell Brython,/ Yg goleuad gblad Gbledic neuion*. *Prydydd y Moch* refers to the prophesied leader, *Cynan*: CBT V

11.46 *Ef dodyw o Urython* rhyming with *kertoryon*; another example V 4.25. There are eight further examples in the CBT corpus, five by Cynddelw.

- 46 **a oreu Gwytyon** 3sg. pret. of *gwneuthur*, as in lines 86 and 100. Common (along with *goruc*), e.g. CA lines 98, 101, 104, 803, 811, 1313; EWSP 441; CC 6.27, 14.48; §11.65, etc., but in decline in the poetry of the 12c and 13c court poets as *goruc* and particularly *gwnaeth* gain ground (37 examples of *goruc*, and over a 100 of *gwnaeth* in CBT corpus).

Gwydion fab Don, Math's nephew, plays an important role as trickster and enchanter in the tale *Math fab Mathonwy* (PKM 67-92), and in the Book of Taliesin: line 165 below where he fashions Taliesin; §1.36-7 *Neu Leu a Gwydyon/ a uuant geluydyon*; §4.198 *aches gwyd Gwydyon*; §8.29 *Bum yg Kat Godeu gan Llew a Gwydyon*; §10.13-15 *Keluydaf gwr a gicleu,/ Gwydyon ap Don dygynuertheu,/ a hudwys gwreic o vlodeu*, and §10.28-9 *ymlad. . . yn Nant Ffrangcon/. . . rwg wytheint a Gwydyon*; Echrys Ynys lines 7 [*g*]/*wlat Wytyon* and 11 *ymyw Gwytyon* (with Math, Eufydd, Amaethon). Also, in LIDC (Ugnach a Thaliesin) 36.15 *Caer Lev a Gwidion*. Ifor Williams translated PT VII.9-10 *molut gwryon/ o dreic dylaw adaw doethaw don*, 'an excellent horseman of swift, ready (generous) praise is/for Gwrion. Will there come a wise son of Dôn from a bungling leader?' (PT 82; and PT 83 and PKM 260 for the suggestion that *Gwrion* may be 'a corruption or corruption of the name Gwydion'. Gwydion is not mentioned in CO, nor by the court poets; and Prydydd y Moch is the only one to mention Dôn (CBT V 4.42 *O amgant llys Dygant uab Don*, on which see commentary on §10.14). In WB Triad 28, Gwydion is Math's apprentice; see TYP³ 394 for the rather sparse later references, including his grave in Morfa Dinlleu (NLW Peniarth 98B, EyB 134), adding YT lines 418-19 *Myui a vum yn llys deon (?recte Don)/ kynn genni Gwidion*.

- 47 **neifon** GPC *neifion* 'heaven(s), lord(s)'. Other examples are rare and from the 12c: CBT I 14.22 *Vn donyon neiuyon* where it is understood as 'heavenly beings'; III 3.239 *niuroed neiuyon* 'heavenly hosts'; III 21.212 *Yg goleuad gwlad Gwledic neiuyon* (rhyming with *Brython*, see on line 45). GPC s. *N/neifion* notes that it came to be associated with the god, Neptune, and with waters in general through connecting *neifion* (derived either from *nef* 'heaven' or *naf* 'lord' + *-ion* (pl) or + *iôn*) with the vb *nofiaw/nawf* 'to swim'. In our example, either 'heaven', 'heavenly beings' or 'lord' would be appropriate, perhaps the latter if in apposition to *Crist* and *Ren* in lines 48 and 50.
- 48 **ar Grist** <> **achwysson** GPC *achwysson* notes '?attributes, privileges, powers,' as in §8.24 *Maelgwn uwyhaf y achwysson*, as well as the more common 'causes, reasons' etc.; see CLIH 187-8; EWSP 536 'complaints, reasons for complaint'. See on §1.82 *ry ganhymdeith achwysson*; §4.202 *baran achwysson*. The phrase *o achwysson* 'on account of' may have led a scribe to insert *o*. Another possible interpretation is 'on the powers of Christ'.
- 49 **hyt pan y gwarettei** *Hyt pan* 'in order that, that': GMW 238 quoting BD 82.29 *Gelwuch ar Grist hyt pan euo a rodo ywch glevder a rydit* 'Call on Christ that He may grant you valour and freedom'. The *y* is a contraction of particle *y* and infixed object pronoun, either sg., or more probably here, pl. referring back to *Brython*, line 45. 3sg. imperf. subjunct. of vb *gwaret*, with secondary meaning 'to save' frequently used in religious and prophetic contexts as well as PT III.13 *heb gaffel gwaret/ rac Vryen Reget*. Contrast the primary meaning 'to run under' in

- CA line 146 *edystrawr pasc ae gwaredei*, although G s.v. *gwaret* suggests 'support, maintain' (succour) in that example. Six syllables.
- 50 **y Ren** 'Their' or 'his' Lord, rather than the article (*contra* GMW 55). Contracted *ren* (ModW *rhên*) would give a six-syllable line.
- 50 **rwy digonsef** See GMW 55n on the use in 'early poetry' of *rwy* (*ry* + 3sg. or pl. of infixed pronoun) in rel. clauses. Examples from *hengerdd* are restricted to the Book of Taliesin: §8.13 *Gwawt ogyrwen vy Ren* (em.) *rwy digones*; §9.60 *keluyd rwy katwo*; §10.10 *detwyd Douyd rwy goreu*. *Rwy* is used in this way by the court poets, notably Cynddelw (5) and Prydydd y Moch (9): CBT III 13.40; 21.90; IV 13.13; 16.84; 17.41; V 1.108 and 115; 5.10, 16 and 61; 18.22; 23.133; 26.58 and 66. The unsynopated pluperfect of *digoni* 'to make' is attested in *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal Rhan I*, ed. Thomas Jones (Caerdydd, 1992), line 2762 *digonassei*.
- 51 **As atebwys Dofyd** Cf. PT VI.9 *Ys atebwys Owein dwyrein ffosawt*, discussed PT 74; §12.7 *As cynnull gwenyn ac nis mwnha*; §16.35 *As gwenwynwys y was*; §19.20 *As amdud* (em.) *tywawt*; CC 10.33 *Llafar a mut, a doeth a drut, as diwygyd*. According to GMW 56, *as* is found as a syllabic form of the object (or dative) pronoun *s*, but following conjunctions. The preverbal particle *as/ys* (GMW 173) is most often found before an optative pres. subjunct., but also occasionally with pres. indic. and pret., in court poetry as well as *hengerdd*. The atypical Book of Taliesin examples are not cited in GMW but all appear to contain accusative (or dative) pronouns rather than being simple particles. Examples of the same type from the court poetry include CBT IV 4.268 *As molaf mal yt adroter* 'I shall praise him so that he may be famed'; with proleptic object pronoun 4.119 *As dygaf . . . y uawrglod* 'I shall bear (it) . . . his great fame'; III 21.187 *As gwtant yn dysc yn disgyblon*; analeptic object pronoun III 15.9 *Dynyadon oesgabt as gbtant—o'y varw*. In other instances, *as* is a rel. pron. + object infixed pron., e.g. CBT III 21.51 *as dirperi* (discussed p. 272). Six syllables.
- 52 **Trwy ieith ac eluyd** Cf. §4.7 *Trwy ieith Taliessin*; §4.71 *trwy ieith Talhayarn*. In PT VI, direct speech commences at the beginning of lines 8, 10, 14 with a descriptive phrase following the speaker's identification. If our line were adverbial, then 'God answered him through language and [?by means of] the earth'. If the beginning of the speech, and retaining ms *ac eluyd* 'earth, land' with G, then 'by means of language and [materials] of the earth, conjure up majestic trees'. This would obviate the need to emend line 53 as suggested below. But incorrect word-division is possible, too (*a celuyd*): 'by means of language, O skilful one'.
- Celuyd* is used of Gwydion in §10.13-14 *Keluydaf gwr a gibleu./ Gwydyon ap Don dygynuertheu*, and in the story of *Math fab Mathonwy* his *keluydodeu* 'arts' enable him to fashion horses and hunting dogs together with their trappings (PKM 70). *Celuyd* is used nominally to denote a range of skilled individuals (those who interpret dreams, enchanters, poets): see examples in commentary on §1.37, §5.52.
- 53 **rithwch** The 2pl. impv. implies that Llew or other members of the family of Dôn, as well as Gwydion, are being exhorted to create the tree battalion, as in §8.29-30 *Bum yg Kat Godeu gan Llew a Gwydyon./ wy a rithwys gwyd Euuyd* (em.) *ac Elestron*. An emendation to *rithych*, 2sg. jussive subjunct. was suggested in FS Watkins 300 and 312 to agree with emended sg. *celuyd* 'magician' in line 52, and

in light of the fact that it is Gwydion alone who entreats God for salvation (lines 47-50). But retaining the ms readings in both lines is to be preferred, understanding that God's injunction includes Gwydion's fellow enchanters. The vb *rithiaw* is used of Gwydion's fashioning of steeds in §10.19-20 *a rithwys gorwydawl/ y ar plagawl llys* (em.). Cf. §4.229 *Eil gweith y'm rithar*; obscure §24.6 *am rithwy am dwy pen kawell*. Apart from the Book of Taliesin, the vb *rithaw* is not used in pre-1283 poetry, although common enough in prose. On noun *rith* 'form, guise' see line 1 above.

- 54 **gantaw** G s.v. *can*¹ (p. 108) regards this example as 3sg. masc. of *can* 'with, in the company of', less common than *kanthaw*, but found also in the south- or mid-Wales Red Book of Hergest: R581.33 (Pen3Cyfoesi 117.129 has *ganthaw*); R1044.31 (EWSP 430.11), R1156.20-21 (CC 33.74). It is also found in the Brut Dingestow text written in the first quire of NLW 5266 (second half of 13c): BD 4.10, 6.19 *gantav* (and 13 other examples), but *ganthaw* is the dominant form in the remainder. Whether the 3sg. fem. *genti* occurring in the Black Book of Carmarthen (CC 14.64 *gureic a mab genti*) contains /t/ or /θ/ or /ð/ is not certain: see Paul Russell, 'What did medieval Welsh scribes do? The scribe of the Dingestow Court manuscript', *CMCS* 37 (1999), 79-96 (pp. 81-2), and the same problem arises here with *gantaw*: *t* representing /θ/ or /ð/ would be atypical of the scribe's practice, perhaps reflecting his exemplar's orthography. But if it does simply represent /t/, it may indicate a southern scribe (as does his tendency not to write stem-formative yod): see Peter Wynn Thomas, 'In search of Middle Welsh dialects', in *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples: Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies*, ed. C. J. Byrne et al. (Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1989), 287-303.

The problem is identifying who or what would be signalled by the conjugated prep. *gantaw*. Graham R. Isaac interprets lines 52-3 alone as God's command (H-cd), with line 54 as '[and there were] with him [the trees] in a host/in hosts'. If the direct speech continues, however, *gantaw* could refer to *eluyd* 'earth', perhaps with *gan* 'from, using, by means of' (GMW 190); or else referring to the *peblic* of line 55 ('with him'). But both seem awkward.

The lenited *c* and medial *t* might seem to preclude *can daw* 'a hundred members of a retinue', although this would yield excellent sense, as in the translation. But possibly *cant* + *daw* > *can naw* (cf. *canyeu* = *can nieu*, see G 108) > *can nhaw* (cf. *cannyn* ~ *canhyn*), which would be realized as *can taw* in BT orthography, cf. line 19 *yn telyn*, ModW *yn nhelyn*). See GPC *daw* for this older sense (the specialised meaning 'in-law relation' is dominant), noting especially the gloss on L. *cliens*, EGOW 41, and comparing OIr *dám* (Lexique D-20).

Another possibility is *gan taw* (ModW *gan daw*) 'silently' (GPC s.v. *gan* 1b, not very common with abstract noun, but cf. CC 22.7 *gan vuil daud* 'humbly'; and cf. ModW *gan bwyll* 'carefully'). The use of language (*trwy ieith*) referred to in line 52 does not necessarily mean that the fashioning of the trees was not effected by stealth.

- 55 **a rwystraw peblic** GPC does not record any examples of *peblig*, but it could be an adj. formed from *pabl* 'lively, spirited', here substantival ('vigorous one') as in the translation, or else qualifying the vb noun ('vigorous impeding'). *Peblig* is the saintly son of Macsen Wledig and Elen in *Bonedd y Saint*, EWGT 63; Melville Richards, *Enwau Tir a Gwlad* (Caernarfon, 1998), 135-6, rejected a derivation

from L. *Publicius* in favour of one from *pabl* (but cf. CIB 102). Cynddelw's great elegy for Owain Gwynedd contains the only other instance of his name in pre-13c poetry, 'aelwyd Beblig' referring to a royal court, presumably near Llanbeblig near Caernarfon: CBT IV 4.158-60 *Hart y uart y ubrt Nadolyc./ Oet aela6 ker aelwyd Beblyc/ Pobyl ar wlet yn het yn hirdryc*. The vb *rwystraw* is rare in pre-1283 poetry (CBT II 15.57; VII 33.22 and 51).

- 56 **kat arllaw annefic** *Kat arllaw* 'battle-dispensing', a phrase used by Cynddelw (CBT IV 6.78 *cad arlla6—aelle6*); cf. EWSP 442.96 *clot arllaw*. Note the collocation CBT VII 29.30 *Yn arllaw anaw yn e rennid* 'dispensing wealth where[ever] it would be distributed', and cf. CBT IV 4.166 *arlla6 lles* 'dispensing profit'. G and GPC treat *annefic* as a form of the rare adj. *an(n)ewic* 'plentiful, numerous; wealthy', from *anaw* with which it is collocated by Cynddelw, CBT IV 3.24 *Dyfynwalla6 ana6 anewic da6n*, and 4.171 *Fra6t walla6 ana6 annewyc—y uyn6*. Cf. also CBT VII 29.30 cited above. The phrase here describes either the trees of line 53 (in which case *annefic* would be substantive with pl. meaning), or, more naturally perhaps, the *peblig* (or *Peblig*) immediately preceding in line 55.
- 57 **swynhwyt** Cf. lines 124, 163, 165, 172 etc. below for vb *swynaw*; AP line 188 *swynedic*; §22.2 *pw y a'e swynas*; CC 21.97-8 *O seith lauanad/ ban im sesuinad*; 21.111 *A'm ssuinassei-i Douit*; 26.12. Used of God by Prydydd y Moch: CBT V 15.3 *Dur ynad detyf rad rysswynas Douyt*; and 18.30 *Duw o nef ry-th-swynas*, but not by other court poets.
- 57 **godeu** Cf. line 26 *godeu bric*, and 157-8 *o vrialu a blodeu, </> o vlawt gwyd a godeu*, with the same collocation in §7.52-5 *A beird a blodeu/ a gudic berthew/ a briallu a briw deil/ a blaen gwyd godeu*. The context of these examples suggests 'trees', 'shrubs' (most likely here) or possibly 'branches' or 'brushwood'; but no other independent occurrences have been found to confirm this. A tentative derivation from the element *-deu* found in *cynneu* 'burning, fire' with the prefix *g(w)o-* 'beneath' was suggested in FS Watkins 308, with a development to 'kindling-wood', and thence to 'wood' in general, in origin a collective noun like *gwýd*, rather than a plural.

In PT VI.4 *Godeu a Reget y ymdullu* (preceding *Argoet* and *Arfynydd*), and VII.44 *Godeu a Reget yn ymdullyaw*, it appears to be the name of a region whose forces were mustered under Urien; if the regional name is identical with the common noun, then a wooded or scrub-wood area (cf. Shropshire and Shrewsbury < *shrobbe*), perhaps adjacent to Rheged; this or another region is found in the cognomen of *Gurycon Godheu*, the daughter of Brychan and wife of Cadrawd Calchfynydd: EWGT 16. See the introduction above for the suggestion that this regional name may have had a part in the genesis of the tree-battle idea.

Of a different derivation, claimed in GPC to be comparable with OIr *dáig*, *fo dáig* (Lexique D-9), is the commonly attested *goðeu ~ goðef* 'intention, purpose'. An even commoner *goðef* (with late-attested variant *goddau*) 'to suffer, endure; permit' (cf. ModW *dioddef*) corresponds to OIr *fo-daim* as *addef* does to OIr *ad-daim* (Lexique D-10-11). Paronomasia might be considered: *kat godeu* could be interpreted as 'a battle of suffering', and with lenition (i.e. ModW *cad oddau*) 'battle intent' or 'battle enduring', although *-ef* rather than *-eu* might be expected in MW. One notes, too, the phrase *o'r (o, er) gwaith goddau* 'deliberately' (GPC s.v. *gwaith*¹, comparing *gwaith*² (2b) 'battle, combat', a synonym of *kat*). Also

worth considering is *codeu*, pl. of *cawð* ‘wrath’, hence *kat godeu* ‘furies of battle’.

- 58 **<gobeith an godeu (ms ygobeith)** The ms reading *ygobeith* could be ‘their hope’, ‘in hope’ (ModW *yng ngobaith*), ‘my hope’ (*(f)yg ngobaith*), or even ‘our hope’ (*yn gobeith*). *G(w)obeith* is common in religious verse (e.g. CC 12.6; 22.4; 25.3; 30.26 *anobeith*; R1056.33 *diobeith*, etc.); occasionally in prophecy (AP line 110; R1053.16); and frequent in CBT corpus. *An godeu* ‘(and) our trees’ is unlikely because it is very unusual for a word to be rhymed with itself in medieval Welsh poetry; compounds were permissible and perhaps words used with two different meanings. *An godeu* could reflect an OW orthography for *anodeu* (< privative *an-* + *godeu* ‘intention’), common both as a noun (especially in law texts), and an adj. ‘unexpected, inadvertent’. If so, ‘their/my/our unexpected [cause for] hope’, or ‘in unexpected hope’; if *y* were deleted, then ‘an unexpected hope’ yielding five syllables, as adopted in the translation. However, if *godeu* ‘intent, purpose’, etc., translate ‘our hope (*yn gobeith*) and our aim’. Also consider a dittographical error (perhaps for *goreu*: ‘it gave us (our) hope’). Very uncertain.
- 59 **dygottorynt godeu** See on line 58. *Godeu* is interpreted as the subject of the vb formed from simplex *torri*; one other example of this vb is identified by G s.v. *dyodor* (CBT III 2.9, but not noted as a possibility in CBT 26). A number of vbs in *dy-* + *go-/gor-* retain medial *g* in the Book of Taliesin and elsewhere: cf. AP 1 *dygogan* and *dygobryssyn* (and PBT 4.1); 13 *dygoganner*; 125 and 127 *dygorfu*; §1.86 *dygofi*; §1.99 *digoui*; PBT 2.34 (Glaswawt) *dygorelwi*; PBT 9.3 (Ymarwar Llund Bychan) *dygorescynnann*; LIDC 17.9 *dygorbit*; R1051.3 *dygoganaf*; CA line 658 *dygoglawd*, etc. Ifor Williams (CA 237; AP 16-17) regarded such forms as simply ‘old orthography’ for *dy-o/dyor-*. G 417 agreed but adding that some of them might well be reformations. Also relevant perhaps are the comments in GMW 62 regarding lenition versus spirantisation (or radical) of the second element of verbal compounds (i.e. lenition in rel. clauses, and retention of the radical otherwise). The forms in the court poetry, used frequently by Prydydd y Moch, are written without *g*: CBT V 1.120 *dyorlluc* (rel.); 17.9 *dyorwyf*; 18.22 *dyoruyt*; CBT I 11.77 *dyodric*; 28.13 *dyorgra6d*; 29.25 *dyorllwyf*; etc., but note CBT I 9.153 (Gwalchmai ap Meilyr) *dygoglat*. Griffen’s mesotomy (see General Introduction, 37 n.121) in *dygottorynt* would justify the line.
- 60 **o pedrydant tanheu** *Pedrydant* < *pedry-* ‘four; perfect, complete’ + ?*tant* (GPC). Cf. PBT 2.33 (Glaswawt) *o bedrydant dygnawt*; LIDC 31.47 *Beduir bedrydant*; CBT I 1.35 *clod pedrydant*; 9.144 *clod Brydein bedrydaneu*; II 25.12 *Pebyrdor pedrydant*; IV 4.4. *dragon pedrydant*; V 2.44 *Mil6r pedrydant*; 23.176 *ar uilwyr Prydein pedrydant*; VI 20.18 *amyl dragon pedrydant*. Also CBT II 1.173 *o bedrydan*; III 1.7 *pair pedrydan*, and R583.24 (Cyfoesi) *clot bodrydant*. The line appears to be employing an etymological figure based on understanding the second element of *pedrydant* to be *tant*. *Tanheu* ‘strings, sinews’, or ‘tendrils’ of trees rather than strings of musical instruments.
- 61 **kwydynt am aereu** CBT IV 13.12 *cwyddynt* (as suggested IV 238-9, the poem is likely to be by Prydydd y Moch rather than by Cynddelw). The vb *cwydaw* is generally used of warriors falling in battle, as in CA lines 998-9 *eil trwm truan gennyf vy gwelet/ dygwydaw an gwyr ny pen o draet*; but, like *disgyn*, it may also

mean ‘to attack, fall on’ in some examples. *Aereu* ‘battles; battlefields, armies’ (GPC).

- 62 **trychwn trymdieu** GPC *trychwn* cites CA 125 (< *try-* ‘three’ + *cwn* ‘hounds’) while noting comparanda (OBr *tricont*, OIr *tricho*, etc.) for ‘thirty’ which gives better sense here than ‘three hounds’ (or chieftains) or a form of the vb *trychu* ‘to cut down, hew, truncate’ (cf. *dygottorynt*, line 59). *Trwm* ‘battle’ rather than ‘heavy, sad’ in *trymdieu*, cf. CBT III 17.31 *Gwayw krwm yn dyt tr6m*, although for the latter with *dyd*, cf. EWSP 447.17 *tru trwmdyd am Gatwallawn*. *Dieu* is generally used with numbers (LIDC 17.79 *hir diev* is unusual, as is §4.91 *detwyd dieu*). The line is understood adverbially.
- 63 **Dyar gardei bun** Descriptions of women’s emotional response to battle and loss, especially their tears and laments, are found in the Gododdin, Armes Prydain, Canu Heledd, and in the court poetry: from *llawer mam a’i deigyrr ar ei hamrant* ‘many a mother with tears in her eyes’ (CA line 674), *dechymyd anaeleu dagreu gwraged* ‘wives’ tears signify grief’ (AP line 37), to *Llawer gbed6 a gbaed y amdana6* ‘many a widow crying out because of him [the slain Llywelyn ap Gruffudd]’ (CBT VII 36.51). Cf. CBT I 3.130 (Meilyr Brydydd) *Crenynt wraget g6et6*. *Gardu* ‘shake, groan’ is used of the earth in CC 15.7-8 *Dayar yn crynu, / Ac eluyd yn gardu*; of limbs being agitated, etc. (see GPC). *Dyar/dear* describes the wailing of those condemned to Hell (CC 10.9) and the fate of Alexander the Great’s soldiers (CC 10.22 *dear eu dihenyd*); *gordear* describes the Wind in §11.46; a raider in PT VIII.16.
- 64 **tardei amatgun** *Tardu* ‘issue, emerge, sprout; erupt’, etc., used of exploding mountains and the heavens falling (CC 20.42-3), fountains, blood, etc. and of vegetation (as in CA line 1267 *tardei galled*): see CA 351 and GPC. G connects *amatgun* with *cyfatcun* ‘grief, mourning; song of grief’ from **cun* < **koin-* an ablaut of the form **kein-* which gave *cwyn* (rather than with *cun* ‘lord’, as in Tal 219) and cf. §23.49 *cyfatcun* and Lexique s.v. *cainid*. If emphatic prefix *am-* + *atcun*, ‘lament’ would give good sense here and link with the theme of line 63.
- But not to be ruled out, in view of the arboreal context and the suitability of the vb, is *amat* < *am-* ‘varied’ + *hat* ‘seed’, GPC s.v. *amad* ‘(mixed or varied) seed. . . mixed, mongrel, varied; sown with mixed seed’. This is used in CA line 1160 *kywryssed a lloegyrr lluyd amhat* ‘contention with the men of Lloegr, a mongrel host’ (CA 331 assumed a meaning ‘produce, growth’, deemed unsuitable), and in CBT V 1.36 *Cadwalla6n amhad*. It is also used approvingly of variety of poetic utterance (CBT I 2.3 *ogyrrven amhad*; III 16.6). The final element would be either **cun* ‘lament’ as suggested for *cyfatcun*, with the compound meaning a ‘varied or rich lament’, or else *cun* ‘host, throng’, yielding ‘a motley host sprouted’ — which would suit the tree battalion very well. Possible paronomasia.
- 65 **Blaen llin blaen bun** Unusual four-syllable line possibly corrupted by line 75 *blaen llin*. The word *blaen* ‘front, top, tip’ is used very extensively in referring to individual species of trees, especially in the Gorwynion englynion noted in the see introduction above, in lines 145 and 147 below, and in CBT I 9.25 *gorwyn blaen auall*, but also in many other nature descriptions, and with *pertheu*, *gwyd*, *cawn*, *gwrysc*, as well as *mynyded*, *neint*, *to*, etc. (G s.v. *blaen*). Collocated *blaen* + *gwyd* is very common (e.g. §1.32; §7.55; EWSP 454.7; 455.11; 466.6; EWGP II.3; CC 16.5 and 18.19).

In martial contexts, it often refers to the van of a host: e.g. CA line 211 *blaen bragat briwei* 'he mangled the vanguard of the army'; CBT IV 3.31 *Krynei ulaen bragad*; III 22.7 *blaen cad ehorth*; II 16.58 *gadulaen gryt*. CA 1464 (Gwarchan Maeldderw) *blin blaen blen blenwyd*, is discussed CA 386 and by Graham Isaac, 'Gwarchan Maeldderw: a 'lost' medieval Welsh classic?', *CMCS* 44 (2002), 73-96, p. 92 where *blenwyd* recte *blaenwyd* (compounded *blaen* + *gwyd*) is annotated as 'front spears' but translated (p. 84) as 'soldiers' (preferable would be a metaphorical use of *gwyd* in the sense of 'trees, timbers', as discussed in the introduction above).

'Best, pre-eminent' as an adj.; also 'pre-eminence'. Note the collocation of *blaen/anhun* and female figure in CA lines 686-8 *blaen ancwyn anhun/ hediw an dihun/ mam reidun rwyf trydar* (discussed CA 245-6); and cf. CA line 69 *diffun ymlaen bun*. *Blaen* + *llin* in Edmyg Dinbych line 14 *blaen llin ab Erbin* is understood as 'the leader ['pennaeth'] of the lineage of the son of Erbin' by Gruffydd, *Cerdd Lys Gynnar* 13-14, who identifies ab Erbin as Voteporix.

CA lines 140-49 play skilfully on the name of a warrior, Blaen, placing his name at the head of six lines. *Bleinguid* is a personal name mentioned several times in the Book of Llandaf (examples at LL 388, cf. *Blainrit* and *Bleinbiu* (LL 217, 240), and may be a possibility in CA line 945 *mac blaenwyd bydin dinus* (on which see CA 297). Most examples of *llin* and its compounds in poetry refer to 'lineage' (see GPC *llin*¹) as in PBT 2.26 (Glaswawt) *o lin Anarawt*; there are no certain early occurrences of the meaning 'line (in wood, stone); line of writing', but see below on line 75 *Gwern blaen llin*, and introduction above. The meaning 'line of battle' is also poorly attested (*llin uthr* is interpreted as 'the one of Uthr's lineage' in GGM I 2.11).

The line is very uncertain because of having four syllables and the many possibilities noted above: 'in the van of the battle-line (was) the foremost woman', 'the leader of the lineage of the foremost woman', 'in the van of the battle-line [and] before a woman' (restoring *ym blaen bun*, and comparing the dual contexts of CA awdl II).

- 65 **budyant buch Anhun** The only other example of *budyant* (< *bud*) before the 15c is CC 17.5 *budyant Uffern* 'spoil(s) of Hell', in a passage on Christ's deliverance of the souls in Hell. *Buch* is either 'cow', or irregular BT orthography for the more common *bwch*, 'buck, buck-goat, roebuck', etc.: see introduction above on the animals associated with the battle in the Triads and later sources. The stem **puch* of the vb *pucho* 'to desire, covet', found in *puchiant*, etc. is not impossible — 'the desire for spoil'.

CA 245-6, discussing line 686 *blaen ancwyn anhun*, notes that *Anhun* may come from L. *Antonius* (cf. CC 2.28 *Paul ac Annhun*, the desert fathers, Paul and Anthony), or *Antonia*. Alternatively, but less likely here than in the Gododdin example, is *anhun* 'sleepless, awake': 'a restless urge for profit/spoil' on the part of the warriors. But if *Anhun*, St Anthony, it is worth noting that Jerome's *Life of Paul the Hermit* describes his encounter in the wilderness with several wild beasts including a satyr. This passage was relayed in *Etymologiae* XI.iii.21 in Isidore's treatment of monstrous races: 'little people with hooked noses: they have horns on their foreheads, and feet like goats' . . . When questioned by the servant of God, this Satyr is said to have responded: "I am one of the mortals that dwell in the desert, whom the pagans, deluded by their fickle error, worship as Fauns and Satyrs". Jerome relates that, contrary to expectation, the satyr desired Christ. One

hesitates to identify this interrogator as *buch* (ModW *bwch*) *Anhun*, especially since lines 65-6 are so obscure. But monstrous races were of abiding interest, and our poem does make mention of the *Cynbyn* (line 209), the Cynocephali who are treated in the same section as the Satyrs in the *Etymologiae*.

- 67 **Ny'n gwnei emellun** G s.v. *emellun* refers to Mellun, interpreted as a place or a region (= *ym Mellun* 'in Mellun') by Ford, *The Mabinogi*, 184, but otherwise unknown. The /e/ rules out *Mellun* < *mall* of a wet or unwholesome spot (cf. *Malltraeth*) or < *ma-* 'plain', etc.; names such as *Melltun* (Churchstoke), and *Mellteyrn* (Botwnnog) discussed by ELISG 55-6 and Ifor Williams, 'mell', *B* 10 (1939-41), 41, are hardly relevant. A meaning such as 'despoiled, destroyed, enervated' or 'destruction', etc. would suit here, as in the only other example in *-un*, PBT 8.51 (Romani kar) *Lloegyr oll ymellun, eu meuoed genhyn*, but the derivation is a problem, complicated by §4.7-8 *Trwy ieith Taliessin/ budyd emellin*, on which see note. Could it be connected with OIr *mell* 'destruction, ravage' (see Lexique M-33) or other words discussed by E.P. Hamp, 'Celtic and Indo-European words in *mVL-', *Celtica* 10 (1973), 151-6? GPC *ymellin* cites only one certain medieval example of *ymellin* 'manna', with *nef. L. Mellōna*, goddess of honey, would give W. *Mellun*.
- 68 **gwaet gwyr hyt an clun** Cf. CA line 839 *diw llun hyt benn clun gwaetlun gwelet* 'On Monday bloodshed (recte *gwaetlin*) was seen as far as the top of the thigh'; and with other nouns, LIDC 17.87 *Eiri hid im pen clun*; Marwnad Cynddylan line 66 *pl[u]de y danaf hyd ymhen fynghlun*. The sense is comparable with EWSP 459.15 *gwyr yn ngryt a gwaet hyt deulin*, and 459.14 *gwaet am draet*; CBT II 25.36 *A gwaedlin am deulin yn gbanecu*; VI 25.28-9 *Oedd gwaedlyd pennau, gwedi gwaedlin—rhwy/ Yn rhedeg am ddevlin*; §8.10 *yny uyd (em.) am an traet gwaet ar dien. Gwaet gwyr* is a very common collocation: CBT V 19.16 *gwaed gwyr gorewyn*; I 3.119 *gwaed gwyr goferai*; III 12.30 *A gwaed gwyr y ar wlith*; PT V.13 *am waet gwyr gonodet*; PBT 7.12 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *yg gwaet gwyr gonofant*; EWSP 433.35 *yingwaet gwynn novi*; 434.38 *gwelit o waet gwyr*; 434.43 *ar waet gwyr gwyla(w)t*; 436.53 *y gwaet a dan draet y gwyr*, etc.
- 69 **Mwyhaf Teir Aryfgryt** 'The three greatest' (ChwT 22) or 'the greatest of the three'. *Aryfgryt* < *arf* + *cryt*, 'commotion, shaking of arms' (corresponding to Irish *arm-chrith*, see Lexique C-239) used line 107 below in the literal meaning. Cf. CBT IV 4.185 (and note p. 80) *bryd erof gryd (recte eiryfgryd), aryf greu a dodei*. CA 176 does not favour the compound in line 413 *en emdwyn aryf gryt gwryt gwryaf* (but see GPC s.v. *ymddygaf: ymdwryn* for the meaning 'to be used to' which would yield sense). Here, a transferred meaning 'cataclysm, commotion' or similar referring to the three great events in the Christian schema. But cf. perhaps groups of battles: TYP³ no. 84 *Tair Ofergad* (of which Cad Goddau was one).
- 70 **a chweris ym byt** 3sg. pret. *chwaeru* 'happen, (be)fall; come', etc., according to G, but GPC regards *chwaru* as vb noun. CBT I 7.85 *rychweirys y Gymry*; VI 9.11 *chweirys*; V 16.1 (Prydydd y Moch) *Chwefrabr mis chweiris chweddyll diargel,—mabr (near dilyw)*; III 11.40 *chueir*. The Hendregadredd text has *chweris* but Red Book *chweiris* in CBT II 9.12; 10.11 *chwaerei*. Possible *e* for [ei]. 'In the world' (*byt*) rather than homophonic *ym myt* (< *myt* 'battle').
- 71 **deryw** 'happened' (G s.v. *darfoi*) rare in hengerdd, and generally used in sense of 'has died' in court poetry.

- 72 **o ystyr Dilyw** See §4.114 on *ystyr* (from L. *historia*), here understood as ‘story, account’. Also from Latin is *dilyw* < *diluvium*. For *dilyw* + Dydd Brawd, cf. CBT I 7.89-90; and I 13.21 *Dili6 a dy6u, Dytbra6d a dyui*.
- 73 **croccaw** Cf. CC 20.148 *Gwedy vyg crogaw*. Vb noun invariably *crogi* in court poetry.
- 74 **Dyd Brawt rac llaw** Cf. of the Day of Judgment, CBT I 28.17-19 *y daw rac llaw . . . Vn dyt . . . y cosbir enwir*; I 36.49.
- 75 **Gwern blaen llin** See the introduction above for general comments on the tree-list, lines 75-148. OIr *fern*, the cognate of *gwern* ‘alder’ (*Alnus glutinosa*) is classed as first in the *Aithig Fedo* ‘commoners of the wood’ (group B in Fergus Kelly’s edition of *Bretha Comaithchesa*, ‘The Old Irish tree-list’, *Celtica* 11 (1976), 107-24), and see also Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 1997), 380-90 (EIF). Damian McManus, ‘Irish letter-names and their kennings’, *Ériu* 39 (1988), 127-68, p. 151, notes an Irish kenning for *Fern* as ‘vanguard of hunting/warrior bands’, comparing the position of *Gwern* at the head of our poem-list and the description of him in line 76.
- Like several other tree-names, *gwern* was used as a personal name: *Gwern*, the ill-fated son of Branwen and Matholwch (PKM 37, 41-44); *Guern* LL 163; also tribal name *Gweirnyawn*, CBT III 10.48. In compounds: *Guerngalui* LL 207, 211; *Guernabui* 75, 77, 80, 164 (and *Guernapui* 166); *Guergnen* 212 and 225; *Guernonoe* 215. As a common noun, *gwern* was used also for the alder’s often wet habitat, particularly in descriptions of Hell (*oerwern*, etc.). The berries and fresh bark of the smaller Alder Buckthorn are poisonous. Alder wood is soft and perishable (but strong in water), and easily turned for making vessels. Kelly notes its use for shields, masts and tent-poles (EIF 384). It is not especially prized in the Welsh law texts (4*d* or 6*d*, cf. oak 120*d*) and is infrequently mentioned in poetry: CA line 1262 (Gwarchan Tudfwlch) *pan ystyern gwern* ‘?a bitter alder vessel’ (CA 350 rejecting emendation to *pan yw ystyern gwern* ‘why is alder bitter?’ but cf. §4.144-5 *cwrwf pan yw ystern, / pan yw lletrud gwern*).
- For the possible meanings of *blaen llin*, see line 65; here the meaning ‘at the head of the line’ (of text, writing, inscription) is possible. Is it a coincidence that the list begins with a tree whose Latin name, *Alnus*, begins with *A*? The Latin names of the trees who were tardy in joining the battalion (line 77) are *Salix* and *Sorbus*, towards the end of the alphabet. See introduction above.
- 76 **a want gysseuin** *Gwant* 3sg. pret. *gwanu* is used in the sense of ‘pierce’ in PT V.21; CA lines 809, 873, 883, 653 and 1237; LIDC 18.187; 31.41, 80 and 86; EWSP 429.3; R1049.4. Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets uses this *t*-pret. form: CBT V 23.177 (rhymed with *pedrydant*, cf. line 60 above). For exactly the same collocation as here, see CA line 872/883 *rac cant ef gwant gesseuin/rac cant em gwant ceseuin*; cf. lines 418 and 423 *Disgynsit en trwm yg kessevin*; 988 *Carasswn disgynnu yg catraeth gessevin*.
- 77 **Helyc a Cherdin** *Helyc* (*Salix caprea*, *S. atrocinnerea*, and many other species native to Wales) corresponds to OIr *Sail*, second to Alder in the *Aithig Fedo* class (EIF 380). *Cerdin* (*Cerddin*, *Sorbus aucuparia*) ‘rowan, mountain-ash’ corresponds to OIr *cáerthann*, the fourth member of the same class: on the possibility of an Irish borrowing into Welsh, see discussions in Lexique C-8 and CIB 83 n.402. Unlike Alder and Willow, Rowan is not listed in the Welsh laws. An OIr personal name *Cáerthann* is attested by Ogam MAQI-CAIRATINI

(genitive), identified with Mac-Cairthinn of Leinster: McManus, *A Guide to Ogam*, 53.

78 **buant hwyr yr vydin** *Hwyr* 'slow; late'. See note on line 75, and for the syntax, see on line 83.

79 **Eirinwyd yspin** The wild *Prunus spinosa*, the sloe-bearing blackthorn, rather than the sweet *P. domestica* or *P. insititia*: see WBot. 47, and EIF 261-2 for the blackthorn (OIr *draigen*), and the cultivated garden plum (*draigen cumra*) attested from the 9c. Blackthorn heads the *fodla fedo* 'lower divisions of the wood' in the Irish tree-list.

Yspin (< L. *spīna*) is understood adjectivally, perhaps serving to differentiate the wild from the cultivated *Prunus*. But if *yspin* is a separate plant, cf. OIr *spin*, the last of the *losa fedo* 'bushes of the wood' class, tentatively identified by Kelly, 'Tree-list', 122-3, as 'wild rose', but also WBot. 246 *yspinwydden*, *yspinys* 'barberry' (*Berberis*). The prosthetic *y-* yields a regular pentasyllabic line.

80 **anwhant o dynin** A very suitable description. Cf. especially CA line 884 *oed mor guanauc* (= chwannawc: CA 284) *idinin. maluiet med neu win* 'he was as eager for slaughter as for drinking mead or wine'; EWGP VIII.14 *chwannawc drut i chwerthin* 'a silly person is keen to laugh'. *Anchwant* (< *an-* + *chwant*), line 187 below; PT VIII.41 *Vn yw bleid banadlawc anchwant* 'pleasing is an avid wolf in the place where the broom grows' (or 'yellow wolf?'); §14.3; PBT 7.10 *eidolyd anchwant*; CC 24.72; Pen3Afallennau 122.26 *deil anchwant* (of the Apple Tree's leaves, 'pleasant', etc.). *Chwant* and *chwannawc* invariably followed by prep. *y* 'for', perhaps to be restored here in place of *o*, but 'because of, as a result of' is not impossible. Prydydd y Moch is the only court poet to use *anchwant* in this sense (in the poem which mentions Nefenhyr): CBT V 23.180 *Ac ysgwyd ar ysgwyt anchwant* (but see note CBT V, p. 235); in CBT I 1.9 *Ergig anchwant*, it appears to mean 'pleasant'. *Dynin* 'corpse, carnage': CA lines 875, and 1370 (Gwarchan Cynfelyn); EWSP 425.39 and 447.14; CBT I 9.123.

81 **Keri kywrenhin** Another of the *Sorbus* family, perhaps *S. torminalis*, service-tree, or medlar: see G and GPC, and see P. Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic Place-names in Europe and Asia Minor* (Oxford, 2006), 205 n.103, for suggested derivation from Late L. *ceresia*. Keri is found as a personal name in *Keri Gletif Hir* (Cleddyf Hir) in LIDC 18.14 and LL 180.

Kywrenhin (~ *kyfren(n)in*) 'skilful, powerful, effective' of soldiers, rulers, and of poets (as in CA line 549-50 *ys gwyr talyessin/ ovec kywrenhin* 'Taliesin of skilful utterance knows it'): CA line 428 *Kywyrein ketwyr kywrennin*; 656 and 664 *kywrenhin*; 890 *kywrennin benn*; §14.37 *ysceirurith* (?recte *ysceinrith*) *kyfrenhin*; EWSP 446 *kywrennin [llu cat] vreisc naf*; R583.13-4 *mar6 kyfrennin Moryal*; fairly common in court poetry too: CBT I 17.2; VI 25.9, etc., as in *cywreint*, see §24.25.

82 **gwrthrychyat gwrthrin** *Gwrthrychyat* used as a legal term for one anticipating (lit. looking forward to) his accession, but in poetry, with an unspecialised meaning (e.g. Pen3Afallennau 122.37 *a mineu amdanat wyf gwyllt gwrthrychyat*; CBT IV 9.39 *G6rth uchyr g6rthrychyeid ys gna6d*; CBT V 6.36 (Prydydd y Moch) *Wy g6rthau g6rthrychyeid*). The use of the prep. *gwrth* in the last two examples might suggest that *gwrthrin* be restored to *gwrth rin*, translating the line as 'one looking forward to a secret/mysterious [happening]', but preferable for the sense is a compound of *trin* 'battle' (see GPC s.v. *gwrthrin*), although not found

in hengerdd, and once only in court poetry, e.g. CBT I 9.83 (Gwalchmai ap Meilyr) *yg górhryn gwyr*.

- 83 **ffuonwyd eithyt** See G and GPC s.v. *ffion* for the meaning 'rose' (EGOW 57 *ffionou* gl. L. *rosarum*), as in LIDC 16.74 and 81 (Afallennau) *Afallen peren a pren fion*, rather than 'foxglove' (as OIr *sion*, *sian*, Lexique S-115) which could hardly qualify as a shrub or tree (-*wyd*). See also Philip G. Rusche, 'The Laud herbal glossary and English-Celtic contacts: a reappraisal', *CMCS* 42 (2002), 73-82, pp. 74-8. The writing of *ffu-* rather than *ffi-* may be due to the influence of words in *ffu-*, or it may be a variant (cf. *gofid* ~ *gofud* etc.).

The rarely attested 3sg. abs. pret. form is found twice in §17.9 and 13 (Anryuedodeu Allyxander) *dan eigawn eithyd* (recte *eithyt* to rhyme in -*yt*); *Eithyd* (recte *eithyt*) *oduch gwynt*, where the orthography suggests the form may have been unfamiliar to the scribe. However, CBT I 24.17 (Elidir Sais) *Duó Sadórn ys aeth, ys eithyt—ym med* 'On Saturday [Christ]went [away], he went to the grave' indicates its survival at least to the early 13c. The other court poetry example (12c) is CBT III 21.171 (Cynddelw) *Eithid y esbyd y ysborthyon* 'His guests went to his feasts'. On the use of abs. forms with preceding adverbial amplification (as well as in sentence initial position), as in §17.9, CBT I 24.17, see Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The double system of verbal inflexion in Old Irish', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1984, 138-201, p. 196 n.57. Here, it appears to be used irregularly, presumably to generate rhyme. Note also the syntax: subject followed by vb with no rel. pronoun (GMW 181). This pattern was discussed by T. Arwyn Watkins, 'Trefn yn y frawddeg Gymraeg', *SC* 12/13 (1977-8), 369-95, who concluded that this pattern is extremely rare ('*eithriadol o brin*', p. 370), restricted to poetry (p. 372), unattested in Old Welsh texts (p. 373), and unlikely, therefore, to have been a basic syntactical pattern in Welsh, as thought by Henry Lewis (p. 375). We see, nevertheless, that this pattern is repeated frequently in the lines below, particularly in the tree-list, but also elsewhere (lines 77-8, 85, 91, 96, 100, 104, 106, 111, 112, 134, 201-2 (3), 247); it is attested in the CBT corpus, as noted below and the subject fronting or nominativus pendens must be regarded as a poetic stylistic inversion. See discussion on line 104-5.

- 84 **llu o gywryt** (ms *gewryt*) The emendation suggested by G s.v. *kywryt* '?wrath, anger' assumes copying from an exemplar where schwa was represented by *e* (cf. *bedin* for *bydin*, CA 76). The instance in Moliant Cadwallon line 10 *aeth kywryd kamawn* is understood as 'hero' by Gruffydd (AH 32); cf. CBT I 1.46 *kywrid Leon*, understood as 'the bravery of Lleon'. It is attested often as a personal name (see G s.nn.). The *o* could be omitted (giving a pentasyllabic line) reading *llu kywryt* 'a host of wrath', or retaining the lenition, *llu gywryt* 'the passion of a host'. But cf. CBT VII 29.33 *Pan uw Gymry lu o gymrwynlid* 'when the Welsh were a host of sad passion'. Another possible emendation is *o geuuryt* 'of false intent' (*uu* interpreted by scribe as *w*), a compound not, however, attested in hengerdd and court poetry.
- 85 **Auanwyd gwneithyt** *Afan* is identified with *Rubus* 'blackberry' in NLW Hafod ms 16 c. 1400: Ida B. Jones, 'Hafod 16, a medieval Welsh medical treatise', *ÉC* 7 (1955), 46-75, 270-339; with *R. idæus* 'raspberry' by Thomas Wiliems (see GPC for both) and WBot. 154. GPC notes its continued use in parts of south Wales (*mafon*, first attested early 17c, is the more common name, with *m. cochion*

'raspberries' and *m. duon* 'blackberries' in some dialects). Here, either the bramble, *R. fruticosus* (see on line 86), usually *drysi* (bearing *mwyar*, as in EWGP II.7), or, more likely, raspberry canes. Both are native to Britain. Blackberries (OIr *sméra*) were a valued fruit in Ireland and the *dris* 'bramble' is classed with the *Losa Fedo*, 'bushes of the wood', the fourth class in the Irish Tree-list: EIF 381. Afan is attested as a Welsh personal name (see G s.n.; TYP³ 275-6 on Afan Ferddig, the poet of Cadwallon; EANC 35-6 and EWGT 20, 55 for the saint's name Afan), and as a river-name (EANC 35-6 suggests it may derive from the personal name, or from OIr *abann* 'river').

The irregular syntactical use of *gwneithyt*, a hapax 3sg. pret. abs., is to be compared with *eithyt*, line 83 above. The form would appear to be analogical, presumably based on *gwnaeth*, or *gwneith*; the latter is only attested in an example by Prydydd y Moch: CBT V 8.32 *Myrt rywneith yn gyureith gymid*, possibly confirmed by internal rhyme. The form is not commented upon by the editors, but Schumacher, KPV 711, correctly notes it as a hapax. See further, General Introduction, 29-30. The vb is not often used intransitively, but see GPC s.v. *gwnaf*: *gwneud*.

- 86 **ny oreu emwyt** See on line 46 above; and CA 231-2 on *emwyt* 'defensive circle, palisade', etc. (< *gwyd*, found in *gwyden* ~ *gwden* 'withy', cf. OIr *féith*). The bush was sufficiently daring to dispense with the protection a palisade (also made of wood) offered in battle. The point of this play would be somewhat more striking if the plant in question were the bramble (*Rubus fruticosus*) with his own encircling protection, rather than the less spiky raspberry (*R. idæus*).
- 87 **amgelwch** *Amgelwch* seems to mean 'protection, defence' (through concealment), as in CBT IV 9.144 *luoet amgelwch* 'hosts' protection', and cf. *amgeled* 'anxiety, worry, care' (as in EWSP 431.15). The vb *ymgel* (like *ymguddiaw*), also from root *cel* 'hide', is used with the negative to indicate unheroic behaviour, cf. PBT 8.75-6 (Romani kar) *dreic nyt ymgelho/ yr meint y do*; CBT VI 35.36 (Dafydd Benfras) *Pan el yn ryuel, nyt ymgela* 'when he may go to battle, he does not hide', CBT II 1.166 (Llywelyn Fardd) *Yn kadó eu ryuel nyd ymgelann*. EWSP 461 *ragod ny ry imgelir* 'there can be no hiding from you' are Gwyddno Garanhir's words on being required to disclose his identity to Gwyn ap Nudd.
- 88 **Ryswyd** See GPC s.v. and FS Watkins 326 for its identification in medieval lists with *Lentiscus* (mastic) and *Myrtus* (myrtle); other sources from c. 1400 onwards connect it with *Ligustrum* (privet). See below on line *Gwyros* 108. The first element of *ryswyd* is uncertain, but it is a homophone of the first element of *rhyswr* 'champion', *rhysfa* 'attack', *rhysgyr* 'assault', etc. and of the personal name, *Rhys*.
- 88 **Gwyduyt** (ms *Gwyduwyt*) Emending for rhyme, yielding what may be, according to G 734, an unique example of an earlier form of the regular *gwyduit* (ModW *gwyddfíd*), *Lonicera periclymenum* (honeysuckle). Alternatively, emend to the regular *gwyduit*, with a rhyme *-it/-yt*, as favoured by GPC s.vv. *gwyddfíd*, *gwyddfwyd*. This is a homophone of *gwyddfíd* 'wood, forest' (cf. OIr *fidbad*), used figuratively in poetry for a host or an army: see introduction above.
- 89 **Eldo yr y bryt** On *eido* and later *eiddew*, *Hedera helix* ('ivy'), see GPC s.v. *eiddew*, and Eric P. Hamp, "'Ivy" in Italic and Celtic', *Journal of Indo-European*

Studies 2 (1974), 87-93. *Eidenn* is sometimes included in the *Losa Fedo* class: EIF 384, where its use as winter cattle-fodder is also noted.

Yr y bryt 'despite their disposition' (ModW *eu bryd*), if referring to the three plants of lines 88 and 89, but if *y bryt* (ModW *ei bryd*), referring to Ivy alone, then < *pryt* 'despite his appearance'. The latter is preferred since it avoids rhyming *bryt* 'intent' with *bryt* in the same rhyme-block, in line 92.

- 90 **mor eithin yr gryt** A play on words, since *eithin* is also a plant-name, see line 121. I understand *eithin* as an adj. 'fierce, keen, sharp', as in *goeithin*, discussed CA 154-5. Ford, *The Mabinogi*, 184-5, favours a compound **mor-eithin* 'sea-furze'.

- 91 **Siryān seinyssit (ms senyssit)** *Siryān* appears to be a loan-word from OE *ciris* or ME *chiri*, as hinted by GPC, and favoured by EEW 143. Cf. *srin*, the Irish word for the cultivated cherry, borrowed from ME *cherrie* (DIL s.vv. *srin*, *seirine*) which suggests that 'the cultivation of the fruit [in Ireland] belongs mainly to the post-Norman era', although some cultivation of the introduced *Prunus cerasus* is indicated by stones in an 11c pit in Dublin: EIF 263. Other Welsh examples confirm the identification: see GPC s.v. and 'Cad Goddau tree-list', 326-7.

If the ms reading *senyssit* is a mistake for *seinyssit* (or *sein(y)essit*), it suggests an exemplar where *e* could represent *ei*; CA lines 325 and 385 *seinyessyt e gledyf ym penn mameu/garthan* suggests the emendation. However, the vb *sennu* 'to insult, chide' — first attested in a poem by Madog Dwygraig GMD 14.49 (see GPC s.v., and on earlier-attested *sen*) — may also be considered: the Cherry may have been imagined as hurling insults at the enemy, or taunting them beforehand. Also the vb *synnu*, attested with the meaning 'to be aghast, frightened stiff' in GDG 382 and in the sense 'to consider, beware', etc. from the 12c or 13c: GPC s.v. For abs. form following a subject, cf. lines 83, 85, 106, 111, 112; for other examples of subject + vb, see note on line 83.

- 92 **Bedw yr y vawr vryt** *Bedw* is either *Betula pubescens*, the downy birch, or *B. pendula* (silver birch). Birch is mentioned in the R1032.13-17 poem (EWGP II.4), and OIr *beithe* is the fifth of the Aithig Fedo 'commoners of the wood' in the Irish tree-list: EIF 380. It was used as a letter-name for the first consonant of the Ogam alphabet. The personal name, *Bedwyr* (< **Bedworīx*), found in literary texts and hagiography, may be linked with Continental Celtic personal names formed from *betu-*, such as *Betuous*, *Betua*, etc. listed by Delamarre, *Dictionnaire* 74. *Bedwi(n)/Bydwini escob* (see references for both in WCD 35-7) may be from OE *Bedwine*, or *Bealdwine*. *Bedo*, a diminutive of the name *Maredudd*, found overwhelmingly in mid-Wales, is attested only from early 14c onwards (Cane, *Personal Names* 86).

Mawr vryt is understood as a close compound: a polysyllabic rhyme-word is statistically more likely in this class of line. *Mawrvryt* is common from the 12c onwards: CC 18.28 (in the pejorative sense, 'presumption'); CBT V 10.21; VI 9.6, 24.11; VII 23.12; 49.27; and in a positive sense, 'magnanimity, high-mindedness'; the bardic grammars require lords and nobles to be praised for their *mawrvryt/mawrvrydus gweithredoed* (GP 56).

- 93 **bu hwyr gwiscyssit** See introduction above on the use of abs. form following an adverb, as in §17.9, CBT I 24.17. The syntax is comparable with the mixed order (GMW 140-41) but without *y* before the vb: cf. CA line 872 *oed garw y gwnaewch chwi waetlin*, line 875 *oed llew y lladewch chwi dynin*, and 877 *oed*

mor diachor yt ladei esgar, LIDC 1.21 (Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin) *Llu Maelgun, bu ysgun y doethan*; CC 18.27 *Bit chuero y talhaur*, etc. Has *y* in our example been dropped/elided for metre? The vb *gwisgaw*, as well as meaning 'to dress; to arm', is used figuratively of trees bearing leaf (e.g. EWSP 447 *Gwisgwys coet keindudet/ haf*; EWSP 448 *pan orwisc coet teglyw haf*; Gosymdaith line 70 *G6isgabt coet kein gowyll*; CBT II 7.4 *Gorwisgwys auall arall arwyf*; V 14.22 (Prydydd y Moch) *Gwisc gwyndeil gwyel gwet adarre*).

The birch comes into leaf quite early, in mid April nowadays (*pace* Benozzo, *Landscape Perception*, 120), so this description indicates him acting out of character. If it is conceivable that the poet knew that OIr *Beithe* was used for the first consonant of the Ogam alphabet, this might enhance the paradox.

- 94 **nyt yr y lyfyrder** *Yr* 'because of, through' (GMW 219), cf. CA line 293 *yr adwryaeth*; CBT III 18.7 (Cynddelw) *Ni oleith lleith yr llyuyrder* 'he did not avoid death through cowardice'; III 12.48 *Nyd trwy lyfyrder y deryb* 'not through cowardice did he die'; *llyfyrder* is also used in late hengerdd (see GPC).
- 95 **namyn yr y vawred** *Namyn* as a conjunction here 'but rather' (GPC s.v.; GMW 232-3). *Mawred* is invariably used of great status, authority, etc. rather than of bodily size (see GPC s.v. *mawredd*). This would argue against the interpretation by Benozzo, *Landscape Perception*, 119 and n.28, where our Birch is compared with the *chanson de geste* hero Renaut de Montauban who cannot put his armour on because his shoulders are too big. Irish rhyme with line 94.
- 96 **Awron** (ms *anron*) **delis bryt** The second element of *anron* would appear to be either *ron* 'rod, spear, pike', etc. (GPC s.v. *rhôn*), or the suffix *-on*. The element *eur* 'gold' (also *awr* < *aurum*) is common in plant-names (GPC s.vv *eurfanadl*, *eurlllys*, *eurflawd*, *eurddrain*, *eurwialen* (*Solidago virgaurea*, Golden Rod). WBot. 189 identified *Euron* with Laburnum, a late introduction to Britain. The emendation to *awron* is very tentative, as is the suggested plant, Golden Rod, which can attain a substantial height and spread. On personal names *Euron* and *Euronwy*, see on line 167 below.
- Delis* 3sg. pret. of vb *dal(y)* used §4.28, §22.2, and twice by Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets (CBT V 10.24 *dellis*, collocated with *llucuryd* and *mabruryt* (cf. line 92 above); 20.2 *dellis*; cf. 10.64 *deliid*;). The form *deliis* is found in CA lines 301 and 313; CO lines 5 and 1012 *delis*. On syntax, see on line 83.
- 97 **allmyr uch allfryt** *Allmyr* 'foreigners', comparing Irish *allmuir*, as in the cognomen of Eochaid of the Déisi (EWGT 4). A rare word, used twice by Prydydd y Moch. The first is in his praise of Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd: *Priodaur tud allmyr* 'the rightful ruler of the region of foreigners' (CBT V 10.10), a series of englynion that opens with one of the few mentions of Ceridfen by the court poets: see introduction to §10. The second is in his elegy for Gruffudd: *bu gordwy ar allmyr* 'he was an oppressor of the foreigners' (CBT V 11.26). The only other example is in Moliant Cadwallon line 32 *Allmyr a maon a gwiwyonawc*.

GPC does not list the hapax *allfryt*; its pairing with *allmyr* suggests a formation from *all-* (or *allt*) and *ffryd*, a pl. of *ffrwd* 'stream, torrent, flood', and a meaning such as 'foreign currents, floods, waters,' etc. The more common pl. *ffrydyeu* is used in §8.49, but *ffryd* was still being used by Meilyr ap Gwalchmai in the 13c: *ffryt a ffr6ytheu* (CBT I 33.39). A compound *all-* + *bryd* seems less

likely with *uch* ‘above, on’; but on personal names *Albrit*, *Alvryt*, see CIB 87. The significance of the line and its relationship to line 96 are obscure to me.

- 98 **Ffenitwyd yg kynted** See GPC s.v. *ffynidwydd*, and compare present spelling with White and Red Book texts of the tale, *Owain*, where an evergreen is denoted: *Owein* line 147; Chrétien’s *Yvain* identifies it as a pine. GPC suggests *ffynid* is cognate with L. *spinētum* ‘a thorn hedge, thicket of thorns’. Since all varieties of genus *Abies* (firs) are introductions to Britain, it is probably the tall *Pinus sylvestris* (Scots Pine) whose absence from the Welsh legal tree-lists suggests to William Linnard, *Trees in the Law of Hywel* (Aberystwyth, 1979), 5-6, that ‘it had become completely extinct in Wales by the time the Laws came to be compiled’; H.A. Hyde, *Welsh Timber Trees* (Cardiff, 1977), 58-9, also discusses the pollen evidence. Remains of pine have been found in submerged coastal forests (e.g. Cors Fochno and Ynyslas in Ceredigion) and in inland peat bogs: pieces of resinous bog pine would have provided good fuel and brands for light. CA line 645 *Lluch bin* (< L. *pīnus*) ‘glowing pine’ could be referring to such semi-fossilised remains, or to recently living trees since *P. sylvestris* var. *scotica* persisted in the Scottish Highlands. In 8-9c Ireland, Scots Pine (OIr *ochtach*) was reckoned as one of the *Airig Fedo* ‘nobles of the wood’ class. It was prized for its resin, used for pitch and preserving wood; its timber was used for buildings and masts of ships: EIF 380 and 383.

Legal texts use *kynted* to refer to a place of honour in the royal hall: ‘the term *cyntedd* (etymologically, “first-seat”) is used either for [the] central division (hence one may be seated *uwch cyntedd* “above the *cyntedd*”) or for the upper part of the hall (so one may be *yng kyntedd y neuadd*, “in the upper part of the hall”). It may be that *cyntedd* was originally used for the king’s throne, which in most texts was placed close to the central screen. . . The king, and perhaps one or two others, had reserved seats; this is suggested by “the chaired bard” being included among the fourteen persons “chaired”, *cadeiriog*, in the hall’: WKC 570-71. The place or seating area of honour would seem to be the meaning in our poem (not the later ‘vestibule, porch’, on which see GPC s.v. *cyntedd*). In the *Gododdin*, *yg kynted* is invariably linked with drink (often rhyming with *medd*) (CA lines 55, 157, 245, 424, 430, 989), as in §3.27, CBT I (Meilyr Brydydd) 3.30; III 3.43; IV 6.239. Cf. also AP line 15 and R1050.2 (Anrheg Urien) rhyming with *gogled*; CC 19.23; CBT V 26.7 *kyntet—Deheubarth*.

- 99 **kadeir gygwryssed** A connection is being made between *cadair* (< L. *cathēdra*) ‘throne’ and the seating connotations (and etymology) of *kynted*, line 98, and ‘contention for/of a chair’ is possible, perhaps meaning that Pine’s prowess in combat would win him a reserved seat in the *kynted*. But other meanings are attested for *kadeir*: ‘branches’, and possibly ‘song, composition’, discussed at the beginning of the commentary on §7.

G treats *cygwryssed* s.v. *kywryssed* ‘contention, contest [verbal and martial], war, battle, wrath, valour’, and cf. s.v. *kyfryssed*, both very commonly used (collocated in a few examples with *cadarn*, *cedyrn*): see PBT 6.3 (Rydyrchafwy Duw). Our form appears to retain initial *g-* of the base element *gwrys*, reflecting the practice of OW orthography; however, this feature is still found in the Black Book of Carmarthen (e.g. LIDC 34.61 *milguir*, 34.15 *pebirgur*) and elsewhere.

- 100 **Onn goreu ardyrched** Hexasyllabic line. *Onn* ‘ash’, found in two poem-lists (EWGP II.1 and VI.1) in other englynion (EWSP 451 *chwerw chweith onn*, and

n.627) and in legal texts. Linnard, *Trees in the Law of Hywel*, 7, 9-10, notes the low worth it is assigned (4*d* in Ior.), 'surprisingly, in view of its acknowledged suitability for tool handles and weapon handles [because of its exceptional strength and smoothness] Ash is, inexplicably, valued at less than a thorn' (but perhaps because it grows so fast). The shafts of the spears from the Llyn Cerrig Bach hoard were made of ash, as well as the handle of an iron implement of Roman workmanship found fossilised in Caerleon: Hyde, *Welsh Timber Trees*, 150. In Ireland, ash (OIr *uinnius*) ranked with the *Airig Fedo*, and was prized for furniture and weapon-shafts, oars and yokes: EIF 383.

Ifor Williams emends PT VIII.13 *pren onhyt yw vy awen gwen > pren onn ytyw vy awen*, interpreting it as 'an ash wood (spear) is my muse' ('It is she who has won for him such great wealth', he explains further, 97). Preferable, perhaps, is 'my *awen* is a [figurative] staff of ash' (i.e. a powerful weapon). Ash-spears are meant by *onn(en)* in CA 303, 316; EWSP 443; CBT III (Cynddelw) 24.96, 28.6; IV (Cynddelw) 6.26, 7.12; V 30.17-18 *Run rut y onnenn./ Eryr teyrnet, y Wynet wenn*. Note the parallel between our lines 100-101 and CBT V 10.94-6 (Prydydd y Moch) *Yr gorddwy teyrnet./ Ongyr gwyr gwyrnt yg gwet./ Onn ger bron breenhinet*.

The vb form *goreu* 'wrought' is understood here (see above on line 83 for other examples of subject + vb), but also possible is a nominal sentence with superlative of adj. *da* ('Ash, the best magnificence') qualifying *ardyrched* (cf. CA line 918 *eillt Wyned klywet e arderched*; CBT II 6.21-2 (Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd) *gweith ardderchet/ Y r6g glyw Powys a glwys Wynet*; PBT 8.9 *ardyrched Katwaladyr*).

101 **rac bron teyrned** *Rac bron* CA line 678; EWSP 454; and seven examples in CBT corpus. Cf. the similar meaning in CA line 1009 *rac teyrned*; §8.42 *rac teyrned*.

102 **Llwyf yr y varanedd** Pretonic syncope (*m'ranhed*) would yield five syllables, as in PT III.25 *a lliaws maranedd*: see General Introduction, 37 n.121. The Elm (*Ulmus glabra*) is not assigned a worth in Welsh law texts, but rope (from its bark) is said to be worth 1*d* (Ior. 93). Its strong timber is particularly useful in wet conditions, such as bridge-piles, and is suitable for furniture, coffin boards, etc. Gerald of Wales notes that archers' bows were made from dwarf elm (?coppiced) elm rather than the usual yew, or sapwood or horn (*Journey through Wales*, I.4). OIr *lem* belongs to the *Aithig Fedo* 'commoners of the wood': and was used as cattle fodder (EIF 380 and 42). Common in toponyms: PT IV.21 *Llwyfenyd* and IX.10 *Lloyfenyd*; VI.20 (BT 60.7) *Gweith Argoed Llwyfein*; CBT IV 1.66, 4.111; VI 18.38, etc.

Maranedd 'treasures, riches' is quite common, e.g. PT III.25 *a lliaws maranedd* (rhyming with *gogled* and *teyrned*); cf. PT VIII.22 *maraneddawc diffredyawc yn Aeron*; EWSP 446.6 *maranned wedi mordwy*; AP 2 *marannedd a meuedd*. CBT III (Cynddelw) 3.8 and 21.102; IV 4.115, etc. See also suggested emendation in §21.15. GPC does not list a **barannedd* (< *baran* 'wrath', etc., cf. *baranres*), but that is not impossible here — 'despite his wrath, bluster'. If Wych Elm (*U. glabra*), *marannedd* 'riches' may be used because of its very profuse flowers, followed by abundant yellow-green fruits (which can appear like a second flush of foliage); also vigorous proliferation of lammas and epicormic

shoots. English Elm (*U. procera*) is less common. *Yr* either 'despite' (common meaning), or 'because of, through' (as in lines 94-5).

103 **nyt oscoes troetued** The first attested example of the vb *osgoi* in GPC. No other examples are available to determine whether *oscoes* should be regarded as a disyllable. *Troet* is confirmed by the rhyme as a diphthong in 'Armes Dydd Brawd' (CC 20.115, and n. on p. 199), and in §2.34 and §4.216; cf. §11.6 *traet*. This development was dated by Jackson between the mid-10c and the beginning of the 12c: LHEB 460. However, the pl. *traet* is a disyllable in 'Armes Dydd Brawd' (CC 20.118), suggesting that both forms were in use. In the present line, the contracted forms would give a five-syllable line, and are perhaps more likely; if both forms were disyllabic, the line would be unusually long.

104f **ef lladei a pherued/ ac eithaf a diwed** Cf. line 185 below; PBT 4.17-19 (Dygogan awen) *a rewinyaw Gwyned,/ o'e heithaf, o'e pherued,/ o'e dechreu, o'e diwed*; AP lines 15-16 *gwyr Gogled yg kynted yn eu kylch<>yn,/ ym perfed eu (recte yn) racwed y discynnyn*; CA lines 410 *ar llet eithaf*; 636 *nac eithaf na chynnor*; 1238-9 *ef ladhei auet (recte pheruet, CA 343) ac eithaf/ oid guiu e mlaen llu llarahaf*; CC 33.23-5 *y deu eithaf . . . yny perued (of the Earth). Perfed/diwed* also collocated in CBT VII 24.28-9.

Ef before the vb is a fronted subject pronoun whose use is to be compared with the subject + unlenited vb pattern already noted as common in this poem (see on line 83 above; and see TC 368, 371-2), as elsewhere, e.g. §14.32 *Ef kyrch kerdoryon*. Cf. its use with vb *llad* 'to kill, strike', in CA line 116 *ef lladei Saesson seithuet dyd*; 414 *ef lladei oswyd*; 666 *ef lladawd a chymawn a llain*; 1007 *ef lladei val dewr*; 1109 *ef lledi bysc yng corwc*; 1190 *em ladaut lu maur*; 1239 *ef ladhei*; cf. 346 *ef llithyei wydgwn*. The use of this syntax (with *ef*) although common in the Gododdin (and in §5 Kat Godeu) is in decline in the work of the court poets: however, it seems particularly favoured by Prydydd y Moch: CBT V 1.73 *Ef gwnaeth tu Penntraeth penn tr6ch—calanet*, concluding a run of seven of these forms from lines 63-73; 1.119 *Ef gwnaeth yn erthyst byst Bochgluc*; 4.40-41 *Ef kynnis tud uoryon./ Ef bu ryt*; 5.45-6 *Dygyuarth pob parth ef porthes. . . ef dygyuoryes*; 6.25-7 *Ef gogel . . . Ef gogawn . . . Ef gogwyt*; 6.43 *Ef medrws modur henuryeid*; 9.9 *ef dwyre prifgat*; 9.27-8 *Ef kymer hyder hyd Uuddugre lys/ Ef dengys emys*; 21.2 *Ef rotes wyllid a dof*; 23.109 *Llywelyn, ef llosges dy uro*; 26.120 *Rys rebyd, ef dyrlyt Dyued*. It is possible that some of these examples use *ef* as a particle (with no lenition, on which see TC 372). The whole subject of subject + vb patterns (see on line 83) needs a full investigation.

Its use by other poets is infrequent: CBT I 8.9. (Gwalchmai ap Meilyr) *Ef g6naeth*; 21.5-11 (Elidir Sais) *Ef goruu/ Ef goreu . . . Ef gwnaeth (3)*; II 26.19 (Gwynfardd Brycheiniog) *Ef kymerth yr Duw dioteifyeint—yn dec*; III 26.78 *Ef latei, ef wanei, wanwyd; ef wnaeth* (note lenition, possibly scribal by analogy with *ef a* pattern, TC 371); IV 9.95-6 *Ef goreu ual g6r yn adwyn/ Yn Seint Cler cledyual ar drwyn*; 18.56 *ac Ef dwyre ynn*; VI 27.100 (Dafydd Benfras) *Ef rhoddai i Dduw ei ddihewyd*. See the General Introduction for comments on authorship.

106 **Collwyd bernissit** *Collwyd* is an attested compound in OCorn *colwiden* and OBR *colguid*: see Lexique C-157-8. *Coll(en)*, hazel (*Corylus avellana*) is listed in the Welsh laws, and in the Gorwynion list (EWGP VI.15 *Gorwyn blaen coll geir Digoll bre*). Heledd compares the rapid growth of her brothers to hazel saplings

(EWSP 441 *a dyuynt ual gwyal coll*), resonating with the vb *colli* 'to lose' used often in the cycle, for lamenting loss of siblings and territory. OIr *coll* is second of the *Airig Fedo* (nobles of the wood), and Kelly notes that hazels were prized for their nuts and for their quick-growing and pliable rods used for fences, enclosures and house-walls (EIF 382). *Coll* was used as a letter name in the Ogam alphabet.

Coll is attested as a Welsh personal name: LL 171, and *Coll ab Egri*, who had a brother *Celyn!* (Cane, *Personal Names* 16); also as the name of the enchanter *Coll m. Collfrewy*, TYP³ 315. *Coll* is presumably the element in *Collen*, the saint (EWGT 62), *Collan* (LL 210), and *Collfyw* (LL 20, 73-4, 163, 211, 358). Cf. OIr *Collarc*, *Collbran(d)*: Jürgen Uhlich, *Die Morphologie der komponierten Personennamen des Altirischen* (Bonn, 1993), 208, and *Coll*, Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* (Halle, 1906), 424, and CIB 205 n.1264; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire* 127, cites the Gaulish personal name *Collus*. *Bernissit* perhaps for *bernyssit* or *bernyssyt*, a hapax classed tentatively by G as impers., but here understood as another 3sg. pret. abs. form.

107 **eiryf dy aryfgryt** PT II.18 *eiryf dillwg*; collocated with *aryf*, as here, in CBT IV (Cynddelw) 9.161; and VII 8.4 and 11 (Prydydd Bychan). The scribe has deleted *ac* and inserted *dy* above the line. For *aryfgryt*, see on line 69. See G for examples of prep. *dy* 'to', including those in LL, one in CBT II 26.287 (end of 1170s), and the one example written by the White Book scribe c. 1350 (CO, line 12 *dy Arthur*, and see note CO xx). The meaning 'for' is clear in CC 1.4 *di elimlu <> betid* (Juvencus englynion), and in §3.14 *arall atwyn dy vorwyn modrwy*. Four syllable line unless the epenthetic vowel in *eiryf* or *aryfgryt* were counted as a syllable. An emendation to *arfeu dy eiryfgryt* would give five syllables, as would emendation to *eirif* 'number' yielding excellent sense.

108 **Gwyros gwyn y byt** The only early attestation of *gwyros*, identified by lexicographers with privet (*Ligustrum*), and (as *cwyros*) with 'cornel-tree, dogwood' (*Cornus sanguinea*), both partial to lime habitats. GPC s.v. suggests it derives from *gŵyr* 'slanting, askew, curved, bent', etc. + *-os*. Both of these have white flowers, which gives a double meaning to the description: 'white/blessed' (cf. ModW *gwyn ei fyd*), with *byt* here in the sense of 'life' (see G s.v. *byt*). The phrase is used of the birch in LIDC 15.1, 9 and 14 (Bedwenni) *Gwin y bid hi y vedwen*; and frequently as a blessing on people(s) and places: e.g. AP line 97; §8.22; §21.24; EWSP 436-7 (Canu Heledd); LIDC 17.100 and 144 (Oianau); R581.22 and 25-6 (Cyfoesi); EWGP VI.23; Gosymdaith line 119; CBT I 9.31, II 1.28 and 31, VI 33.1, etc.

The tree-names are treated *passim* as grammatically masc. nouns, as though they were soldiers. Therefore we have here unrealized lenition of *b-* in *byt*, as in line 89 *yr y bryt*, also noted in 25 *yn bychan*. The more frequent scribal practice in this poem is to realize lenition of *b-*: 33 *dan von*; 78 *yr vydin*; 93 *vawr vryt*; 157 *o vriallu*; 158 and 161 *o vlawt*; 173 *pan vei*; 190 *wrth urwydrin*; 207 *neidyr vreith*.

109 **tarw trin, tēyrn byt** *Tarw trin* is a common collocation: CA lines 427, 433, 587, 921; LIDC 18.203 and 212; 34.1; 40.14, etc. It is not found as such in CBT corpus, although *tarw* is collocated there with *tēyrn* (IV 6.277; V 1.107 *Dadol6ch tēyrn, tarw catuc—pryduawr*), *trydar* (III 8.61), *bydin* (IV 6.85 and 277), and *cadug* (V 25.51, and 1.107, and see TYP³ 12 on *Tri Tharw Caduc Enys Prydein*).

Byt is most naturally understood as 'world': cf. CBT IV 4.230 *Eurllew byt*; 17.87 *ureisc Bennyadur—byd*; VII 51.8 [*p*]enadur *byt*; IV 17.77 *byd lywadur* (of Alexander the Great); VI 29.111 *dragon byd*; V 10.16 and VI 2.24 *R6yf byt*); and cf. PT II.5 *rwyf bedyd*, III.1 *haelaf dyn bedyd*, and perhaps §23.3 *bedyd rwyd*. Unusual 'self-rhyme' with *byt* 'life' in line 108 might be condoned if the meanings of the two were different.

- 110 **Morawc a Moryt** Since no form < *môr* 'sea' + *-awg* is attested (cf. *morawl*), the first word has been thought to be a misreading of *morawt*, derived by GPC from *môr* or possibly from *mawr* + *rhawd*, ?'sea-host' (or 'great host'). The other occurrence (CBT I 3.12 (Meilyr Brydydd)) is understood by the editors as 'sea-host' (p. 85), although the compound *ceinforawd* (I 3.168) is taken as 'a fair journey or sea-voyage'. *Moryt* 'estuary, firth, sea inlet', etc. (GPC). Although 'a great host around the inlet' (reading *am* for *a*) gives reasonable sense, it cuts across the list of plant-names. Since *morwydd* 'mulberry' (< L. *mōrum*) is not attested in medieval sources, it would be unwise to derive *morawt* from *mōrum* 'mulberry, blackberry' (cognate with *mwyar*) + *rhawd* 'host', understanding the compound as referring to clusters of fruit.

Is it possible that *a Moryt* is a faulty copying of an exemplar with *a uuorit* (3sg. of vb *gworet/gwaret*, comparing CC 1.5 *a'n guorit* (Juvencus englynion), but see CC 12 for the problematic unaffected *-o-*), or more simply from *a uuerit* which was miscopied (*uu* as *m*; *o* under influence of *Morawc*; and *-yt* for *-it* to rhyme with line 109)? This would yield good sense — 'a great host brings salvation', perhaps here a general observation. Alternatively, an original *mor haut a wared* 'such a ready deliverance'. The capitals, given as in the manuscript, are an odd feature of the line, as is the departure from movement by couplet or unit of four lines. Very uncertain.

- 111 **Ffawyd ffynessit** William Linnard has shown that beech (*Fagus sylvatica*) is not listed in the 'Venodotian' versions of the Law, but that it is valued at 60*d* in nine out of twelve of the 'Demetian' versions, the 'Gwentian' version (U), and Latin C and D. Its worth is 120*d* in W (BL Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv, also 'Gwentian') and the Bodorgan manuscript. Linnard matches this evidence with the distribution of beech, mainly in south-east Wales (as far west as Cardiff, and north to Black Mountains: Hyde, *Welsh Timber Trees*, 130-31). Like oak, it was used in this area for castle-building. He concludes that 'these uniquely high valuations [of 120*d*] . . . would accord well with a location in the heart of the natural area of distribution of beech in south-east Wales': *Trees in the Law of Hywel*, 10-12. BL Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv, copied by the same scribe as the Book of Taliesin (see the General Introduction), is described by Daniel Huws, in T.M. Charles-Edwards and Morfydd E. Owen (ed.), *Lawyers and Laymen* (Cardiff, 1986), 132-5. The beech is not mentioned elsewhere in early poetry, but is found in the work of the Cywyddwyr (see G); a beech saddle is mentioned in the tale, *Owein* line 637. Edward Lhuyd noted that in Gwynedd, *ffawydd* was used to refer to the fir tree (see GPC s.v.). Because beech is not native to Ireland, it does not appear in Irish tree-lists. See also on §1.32 *ffaliwm* (?recte *ffallwm*). The first element **ffaw* (< L. *fāgus*) is found in the Erfurt glosses: see Vivien Law, 'The Latin and Old English glosses in the "Ars Tatuine"', *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977), 77-89, p. 83. It is a homophone of *ffaw* (< L. *fāma* via **ffawf*) 'fame, reputation; honour', etc. (PBT 8.35 *ffaw dreic* and 41; EWSP 441; LIDC 17.158;

15 examples in CBT corpus), hence *ffawyd* could be construed as ‘tree of fame’. The vb *ffynnu* is not found in *hengerdd*; one example only in court poetry (CBT VII 42.38) although *ffynedig*, *ffyniant*, etc. are common. On the word order, see on line 83.

- 112 **Kelyn glesysst** The collocation occurs in §4.135 *pan yw glas kelyn*. The holly (*Ilex aquifolium*) is not mentioned in the Laws, although it may be one of the unspecified trees planted for shelter (on which see Linnard, *Trees in the Law of Hywel*, 6). Found in the Gorwynion list (EWGP VI.25), and in Canu Heledd as a plant beloved of the goat (EWSP 438 *chwannawc y gel[yn]*; *kelyngar y llillen*). OIr *cuilenn* is ranked with the noble Airig Fedo; Kelly, EIF 382, notes its use for chariot shafts, cooking spits, and perhaps winter fodder.

Celyn is also found as a personal name, as is likely on the Tywyn inscription (CELEN, see CIB 72 and n.332; cf. Irish MAQVI-COLINE (Macc-Cuilinn), 26); for *Celymyn* (as in saint’s name), see G. The vb *glasu* ‘to grow verdant, green’, clearly suitable here as in §4.135, but also ‘to blanch, grow pale’, perhaps in terror here in the face of death (cf. CA line 1053 *kyn glasved a glassu eu rann*; CBT I 29.13 *Kyn glassu uyg gwet*; IV 16.220 *kynn glassu vyg grann*). The word order is discussed with line 83.

- 113 **bu ef ygwrhyt** *Gwr(h)yt* ‘valour; valourous combat’ is very common (see G); cf. §24.14 *yg gwrhyt Arthur*; PT VIII.1 *Eg gwrhyt gogyueirch yn trafferth*, but interpreted by Ifor Williams (93) as (v)yg ‘my valour’; CBT IV 4. 109 *y górhwyd Ywein*.

- 114 **Yspyd at amnat** GPC s.v. *ysbyddad* ‘hawthorn(s), thorn bush(es)’, *Cartaegus monogyna*, and see CO 51-2 for its use in place-names. Listed in Gorwynion (EWGP VI.28); cf. PBT 3.32 (Kychwedyl) *tardei galch a chwyr ac yspyd at*. On Ysbaddaden Bencawr (and *Spaden/Spadaden* son of Ebraucus in translations of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*), see CO 51-2 and references; one might add that the vb *ysbaddu* (< L. *spado*) ‘to geld’ might be relevant to the perception of the giant’s name as well as the spiny nature of the hawthorn. OIr *scé* is placed with the *Aithig Fedo*: EIF 380. *Amnat* ‘skilful, splendid; renowned’, etc., as in line 123, see GPC, CA 290, CC 20.4, CBT I 8.62; III 20.23, 24.150; IV 3.25.

- 115 **heint ech y aghat** *Heint* is used for a wide range of maladies and infections, and is also used metaphorically for ‘pain, pang, suffering’, etc. (GPC s.v.). Varieties of thorn, particularly blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*), can cause lacerations which can take longer than usual to heal, sometimes causing tetanus. *Ech* is not a common prep.: CA lines 115 *ech e dir*, 816 *ech eu temyr*; CC 20.46, etc. (see G). With *ech* . . . *aghat*, cf. CA line 948 *echadaf Heidyn haearnde*; EWSP 405 *ech adaf torrit aruaeth*, with the development to ‘immediately, afterwards’ (unlikely in the present example) discussed 515 and CLIH 60-61. Curiously, Prydydd y Moch is the only one of the later court poets to use *ech*: CBT V 26.125 *Dy arwyd ech awyt uchod* ‘your standard [fluttering] on high from (‘as a result of’, lit. ‘out of’) passion’.

- 116 **Gwinwyd** *Gwinwyd* ‘vine(s)’ (WBot. 197 *Vitis vinifera*), sometimes used for woodbine, bryony and honeysuckle (GPC s.v.). Prydydd Breuan says his patron is ‘as flourishing as the *gwinwydd* with its white flowers’: GPB 1.16, and there are many references by the Cywyddwyr (see G). On the evidence for medieval vineyards in Wales, see Haycock, *Drink* 8 n.23; for Ireland, see EIF 262-3.

- 116f **gorthorat/ gorthoryssit** *Gorthorat* could be understood as pret. impers. of vb *gorthorri*: although he was hewed, yet did he slash others in the fray. Cf. CA lines 361 *a chet lledessynt wy lladassan* and 1128 *ket rylade hwy wy ladassant*; LIDC 21.27 *a chin rillethid ve llatyssint*. The impers. pret. form is [g]orthoret in CA line 844. Also possible is an agent noun (ModW *gorthoriad*), 'hewer, slayer', or an abstract noun 'destruction, hewing' (cf. CBT IV 4.24 *gorthorryant*; V 23.167), as noted by GPC s.v. Unique use of the vb noun in court poetry by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 2.21.
- 118 **Redyn anreithat** *Redyn* 'fern, bracken' (*Pteridium aquilinum*), mentioned in EWGP II.8 and 20; EWSP 416. For later examples, see GPC s.v. OIr *raith* heads the lowly *Losa fedo* in the Irish tree-lists. *Anreithat* is understood as agent noun, like 116 *gorthorat*, although an impers. pret. is not impossible. Noun common in law texts (see GPC s.v.) and in poetry: §2.37; PBT 3.2; CA 1326 (*anreithgar recte anreith*), AP line 95; 13 occurrences in CBT. The vb is rather uncommon: §16.24 *anreithaw*; CBT VI 5.49; VII 24.40 and 108; 26.5.
- 119 **Banadyl Banadyl** 'broom' (*Sarothamnus scoparius*), called *gilcach* in OIr, which is, like bracken, assigned to the *Losa fedo* class (EIF 381). EWGP VI.12 *Gorwyn blaen banadyl, kynnadyl y serchawc/ goruelyn kangeu bacwyawc* appears to refer to the broom shrub as an assignation point for the lover; the yellow clustering flowers became a touchstone for praising fair-haired girls (see CO line 490n.), as did *eithin* 'gorse'. *Banadlwedd* (cf. *Blodeuwedd*) is the name of St Cynog's mother in some genealogies, one of which names her father as *Banadl*; *Banhadlwen* may be meant for *Danhadlwen* daughter of Ynyr: see EWGT 171, 182.
- 119f **rac bragat/ yn rychua briwat** Cf. the collocation in CA line 211 *blaen bragat briwei*; CBT IV 6.95 *A bragad yn briwa6*; 4.188 *Brys briwgad, brig bragad briwei*; V 1.29 *A brwysga6 a briwa6 bragad*; VI 27.35 (*Dafydd Benfras*) *Wedi achadw cad fragad friwgwydd*; VII 24.25 (*Llygad Gŵr*) *Lle bo cad uragad uriwgoch rysset*. Synonymous with *rac bydin* CA 394, 566, etc; CBT I 3.51; *rac teulu* CA 1216; *rac llu* (4 examples in CBT), *blaen cad*, etc. *Rhychfa* not noted by GPC s.v. *rhychfa*, but cf. *rhych* 'furrow', etc. and *rhychdir*. On vb *briwaw*, see also §24.35.
- 121 **Eithin ny bu vat** *Eithin* 'gorse' (*Ulex europaeus*, *U. gallii*): EWGP II.9 *melyn eithin* (cf. CBT II 6.62), VI.4, and VIII.14 *Bid llymm eithin*; see on line 90 above. OIr *aitenn* is assigned to the *Losa Fedo* (EIF 381), like bracken and broom and heather (here, lines 118-23). *Mat* 'fortunate', is very often used adverbially, especially with *geni*, but is rather less frequent as adj.: CBT V 1.40 *Y anant y eni bu mad*; VI 10.29 *Mad bu yn llyw*, etc.
- Eithin* is found as a personal name: LL 144 *Eithin*; 231 *Eithin* of *Garth Benni*; 268 *Eithin filius Elfin*. *Eithinyn* occurs in CA 422 and 427 *Eithinyn uoleit mur greit tarw trin*; 438 *Eithinin uoleit map Boduatam* (em.); 446 *rac rynnau Eithinin*; 1388 (*Gwarchan Cynfelyn*) *meirch Eithinyn*; evidenced also by CBT IV 3.36 *Eithinya6n* 'host/kin of E.'. See also H. Wagner, 'The name Eithne and the background of the tale *Esnada Tige Bucher*', in *Topothesia: Essays in Honour of T.S. Ó Máille* (Galway, 1982), 65-71.
- 122 **gwerinat** Impers. pret. of denominative vb *gwerin(i)aw* 'marshal, order, gather together a force', otherwise unattested in MW although the noun, *gwerin*, is very common.

123 **Gruc budyd amnat** *Gruc* ‘heather’ (*Erica cinerea*); cf. §2.36 *mal keissaw bydueid yg gruc*; §3.47 *Atwyn gruc pan uyd ehöec*; EWGP VI.18; CBT III 7.9 *Twryf gruc yg gotuc, yg goteith* (a comparison with burning heather); IV 18.7 *gwellt a gwydd a grug ym mynydd*. OIr *fróech* belongs to the *Losa fedo* (EIF 381). As in the case of the OIr cognate, the plant is used in personal names: Irish *Fróech*, *Fráechán*; W. *Grugawg* (LL 240 *Grucauc*), *Gruginan* (LL 155 and 240 *Grucinan*); *Grugyn* and *Grugun* (CA 587, 596, 607 *ysgwyt Rugyn/scuyt Grugyn*; CBT III 16.224 *Ysgwyd (16nn tal) Rugun*; CO 158, 166 on the name of the boar, *Grugyn Gwrych Ereint*); *Grugunan* (CBT III 28.25 *Grugunan—gynnetyf*; IV 6.26 *Grugunan rwyuan*). On problematic *budyd*, understood here tentatively as ‘victor, despoiler’ (< *bud* ‘profit, spoil’) see on §4.8 and 72; PBT 7.31; CBT I 26.49 and note on p. 454. On *amnat*, see line 114 above.

124 **dy werin swynat** See on line 107 for *dy* ‘to’, and on line 57 for the vb.

125 **Hydgwyr** (?*hydgwyr*) **erlynyat** No other medieval examples of *hydgwyr*, identified in the 16c with ‘hindberries’ (raspberries) on the basis of correspondence between E. *hind* and W. *hydd*. However, Edward Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica* (Oxford, 1707), 218 and WBot. 202, identify it with *Prunus cerasus nigra* ‘black cherries’. GPC suggests it may contain *cwyr* (?as in *cwros, cwyrwialen* (late identifications with privet and dogwood), but cf. *gwyros* line 108); if *gwyr*, conceivably orthographic retention of initial *g-*.

Another rare word, *hyddgwyr*¹ ‘?feeding on deer’s grease or tallow’, used of a dog in GIG 39.18, may be relevant here, especially with *erlynyat* ‘pursuer’. GPC suggests a possible connection with Old French *cuirie(e)*, the cutting up and apportioning of the deer, a subject discussed in Welsh and Irish law: Dafydd Jenkins, ‘Hawk and hound: hunting in the Laws of Court’, in WKC 255-80, pp. 272-7; EIF 274-6. Another possibility is that the second element of *hydgwyr* is in fact *gwêr* ‘animal fat, tallow’, etc., wrongly ‘modernised’ orthographically as *gwyr* (OW *e* can represent *wy*), again with retention of second element initial *g-*, as above. If one of these alternatives, perhaps paraphrase lines 123-5 as ‘heather, the famous plunderer, was enchanted into the army [where he was like] a pursuer of deer tallow’. Since a description running over three lines is unusual, there may be a line (which contained the name of another tree?) missing before line 125. Uncertain. *Erlynyat*: cf. CA line 1253 *erlinaut gaur*; EWGP VI.28; CBT III 1.28. Here understood as agent noun, but see CA 348 and GPC for abstract noun, ‘pursuit’.

126 **Derw buanawr** *Derw* ‘oak’ (*Quercus robur* pendiculate oak, or *Q. petraeae*, sessile oak), the most consistently highly-valued tree in the Welsh laws (120d in all redactions). OIr *daur* heads the *Airig Fedo* class (EIF 380) and was valued for its size, acorns and bark (for tanning leather), as well as for its timber. Poetry references in nature gnomes: EWGP II.5, VI.23 and 24; EWSP 451 (Claf Abercuawg) *Osglawc blaen derw*. There are several mentions of oak coffins: Marwnad Cynddylan lines 4, 10, 16; EWSP 422 (Canu Urien), discussed 559; CBT I 3.156; III 24.70 and 158; IV 16.32; V 12.16, etc. *Dar* (pl. *deri*) appears to be used figuratively for a warrior (e.g. CBT I 8.80 *gnaws dar dan yas*; II 21.30 *dar diffwys*, and other examples and compounds listed by G s.v. *dâr*). See on §16.5 *Ef torres ar Dar*.

The W. personal names *Maeldderw*, *Derfael* (*derw* + *mael*) (and perhaps *Derwas*), like OBr *Dergen* (Cartulary of Redon) are likely to be compounded not

with *derw* 'oak', but rather with the homophone *derw* 'certain, sure', the element in kinship terms *cefnder(w)*, *cynither(w)*, *cyfylder(w)* 'cousin' that is cognate with OIr *derb*. The latter is found mainly in kinship compounds (*derb-fhine*, *derb-bráthir*, etc.), but in other compounds too. Whether this **deruo-* 'sure' was a development from the word for (oak) tree is uncertain (see Lexique D-55, Delamarre, *Dictionnaire* 141). See further on lines 147-8 below; PBT 1.36 (Daronwy); PBT 3.23 (Kychwedyl) *derlyw derwlin*. Here I follow G in emending to *bu buanawr* (for five syllables) 'was swift of shout' (< *buan* + *gawr*); G also suggests dividing *bu anawr* (*anawr* '?might, force; passion, assistance', see GPC² s.v., 'honour, praise; ?might, force, vigour').

127 **racdaw crynei nef a llawr** Unusually long line. Perhaps omit *racdaw*. Alternatively, read *racdaw crynei llawr* 'the ground trembled before him', or 'before him trembled a warrior' (see GPC s.v. *llawr*²). If the second reading, the common collocation of *nef/llawr* may have corrupted the line.

128 **Glesyn (ms glelyn)** Following emendation suggested tentatively by G. s.v. *glessin* (presumably *l* misread as *l*). *Kelyn*, listed in line 112, is unlikely to be mentioned twice (but see on line 129). EWSP 426 *neus cud glessin* is hardly referring to the late introduction *Borago officinalis* (pace CLIH 143-4), but to a native plant bearing blue flowers such as bugloss (*Lycopsis arvensis*), viper's bugloss (*Echium vulgare*), purple bugloss (*E. lycopsis*), or bugle (*Ajuga reptans*). A more likely candidate, however, is Woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) which has yellow flowers but yields blue dye; it is the plant *glastum* mentioned by Pliny, and OIr *glaisen*, on which see Kelly, EIF 264-7. See GPC s.v. *glesyn*, noting Kelly's new light on OIr *glesin* gl. *sandix* (vermilion) and OIr *glasen* gl. *sandyx*: he explains (p. 267) that 'the pulped leaves can be re-used to dye cloth a strong pink colour after the blue dye-stuff has been squeezed out'.

Drussyawr is a hapax, perhaps formed for the rhyme by analogy with *drusiad* 'warrior, provoker', used in CBT IV 10.11 *aer drussyad*; V 1.51 *Ef ysgrud, ef drud, ef drussyad*; 17.47 *Cadarn gad drusiad* (ms *drwsiad*) *dreisiaw*; VI 18.107 *dreis erlyn drussyad*. Cf. also CBT II 22.43 *aerddraig ardrussig*; IV 4.176 *kedeirn ardrussyc*.

129 **y enw ym peullawr** If *Glesyn* line 128 is accepted as woad, then there are various possibilities (1) 'His name in a *peullawr*' can mean that *Glesyn*'s fame was such that his name was worthy to be recorded in writing. (2) If the *peullawr* were a wax tablet, used with a stylus, layers may have been tintured with woad-dye in order to make the writing more visible: classical sources refer to different coloured waxes. If it were a wooden leaf, possibly a coloured wash was used before writing. (3) His 'name', if used for a letter, could refer to its use on writing tablets. Against (3) is the fact that no Welsh or Irish letters were known as *glesyn/glaisen*; also the arguments against the vegetable alphabet hypothesis outlined in the introduction above.

EGOW 133 *puelloraur* is the pl. of *peullawr* 'writing tablet' (< L. *pugillāris*, -es, or *pugillāria*, cf. OIr *pólaire*), otherwise unattested. The Latin term, as used in the works of Martial and Juvenal, may denote a sort of notebook of thin wooden leaves joined in a concertina format (Alan K. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier* (London, 1994), 84-5; the Vindolanda tablets are mostly single folded leaves (birch, alder, and some oak) rather than the more common wax tablets. A religious lyric refers to writing on a wax tablet (CC 2.39 *llythir yg*

cuir), evidenced also from Ireland, see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: Supplement* (Oxford, 1971), 5; Michael W. Herren (ed.), *The Hisperica Famina*, vol. I (Toronto, 1974), lines 532–46, and elsewhere.

- 130 **Clafuswyd kygres** G s.v. ‘elm’, but the identification is not early. It could be formed from *claf* ‘sick’ + *uswyd* ‘fragments, splinters of wood’ (CA 162), or *clafus* ‘sickly’ + *gwýdd*, perhaps to be compared with CBT VI 20.55 *Kllyfuswyd* (ms *klwyf uswyd*, *clær usswydd*) *nyt plyd neut plyc*, translated as ‘ailing and fragmented’, p. 310 (of ravaged castles). If a particular species of tree, perhaps one with a scabby bark. CBT III 16.95 *kygres* (cf. CBT V 5.24 *ygres*).
- 131 **kymraw** Not attested in *hengerdd*, but 10 examples in CBT corpus (see G s.v.).
- 132 **gwrthodi gwrthodes** Understood as unique instance of 3sg. imperf. (see GMW 121 for survival of forms in *-i* to at least the 12c, and further on §18.7) and pret. of vb *gwrthodi* commonly used in *hengerdd* (see G s.v., and cf. CA lines 42, 1006, 1294 (*gwrthodes*); PT XII.3 (*gwrthodes*); AP line 52 (*gwrthodet*); PBT 7.58 (*gwrthot*); common in CBT (especially vb noun, and in etymological figures)). G suggests emending *gwrthodi* to *gwrthaw* or similar to yield five syllables.
- 133 **ereill otylles (ms o tyllles)** Understanding 3sg. pret. of **godyllu* ‘to pierce’ (< common vb *tyllu*); GMW 61 n.1 for examples of absence of rel. pronoun between object and vbs in *go-*, *dy-*, etc.; contrast line 131 *kymraw a rodes*. Atypical orthography, cf. §21.4 *anwyteu*; §5.46 and 165 *Gwytyon*, etc.
- 134 **Per goreu gormes** Most likely to be the pear (*Pyrus communis*), with the name borrowed from L. *pirum*, pl. *pira*, cf. *pyr* ‘pear tree(s) < L. *pirus* or *pirī*. EEW 32 thought the loan was rather from OE or ME. The adj. ‘sweet; ?domesticated [of fruit]’ may be a development of the pear word: see GPC *pêr*¹ and Stefan Zimmer, ‘Three Welsh etymologies’, *CMCS* 14 (1987), 61–7, p. 62. The *afallen beren* (LIDC poem 16) is likely to be a sweet-apple tree (with Jarman); the Welsh Laws differentiate between sweet and sour varieties. On *perwit*, ‘sweet fruit trees’ see CC 5.8. Kelly, EIF 262, notes that the wild pear is not native to Ireland, and that *péire* for the cultivated variety is a borrowing from Norman French or ME. On syntax, see line 83; *goreu gormes*, cf. CBT I 16.19 (Elidir Sais) *Gorugost wormes*.
- 135 **ym plymlwyt mæes** *Plymlwyt* appears to be a variant (also in GIG 20.3) of common *plymnwyt* ‘battle’, see GPC, CA 122–3, and 337 for emendation of corrupt line 1204 *imil imil luit* to *ym pymlwyt*. On disyllabic *mæes*, see §8.21 and §13.15.
- 136 **Goruthawc kywyd** G and GPC note *goruthawc* as a hapax with tentative meaning ‘terrifying, frightening, amazing; fear’. An emendation > *goruthrawc* is also possible (cf. *goruthrus*, *goruthre*, etc.). *Kywyd* has a range of meanings, the most suitable here being the noun ‘array, ordered rank’, as suggested by G s.v. *kywyd*.
- 137 **aches Veilonwyd** *Aches* (< L. *accessus*) ‘sea, tide, flow, stream’, etc. (§2.17, etc.) and used figuratively, as here, in §4.198 *aches gwyd Gwydyon*; CBT III 12.15, CBT V 5.1 *hwyl aches—kyrt*; 5.67 *mawrmerth aches llydw*; etc. Since *aches* is masc., *Meilonwyd* cannot be a genitive usage, but is rather the ‘*hydref ddail*’ order discussed by Ann Parry Owen, in *CyT* 237–51.

Veilonwyd (ms *veilon wyd*) appears to contain unmodernised *-l-*. GPC s.v. *meillionwydd* notes other examples, with the meaning ‘tree(s) with a sweet scent

like clover' (cf. also *meillionwelli*), which is possible here. If not a tree, then perhaps emend > *meillonyd*, a pl. of the collective noun, cf. *mellhionou* gl. *uiolas* EGOW 112. Both *veilonwyd* (< *gwýd*) and *veilonyd* would yield rhyme (correct FS Watkins 330). Clover is noted in EWGP VI.5; EWSP 435 (Eglwysau Bassa); CC 21.144 (as a feature of Heaven); §7.68; PBT 6.26 (Rydyrchafwy Duw); CBT II 26.96 (of Henfynyw, one of the St David's churches praised by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog) and 6.15 (Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, praising the region of Meirionnydd). Lucerne clover provides a large quantity of valuable fodder.

- 138 **Kastan kewilyd** *Castanea sativa* (sweet chestnut) is probably not a native of Britain: Hyde, *Welsh Timber Trees*, 126, but is thought to be Roman introduction (Oliver Rackham. *Trees and Woodlands in the British Landscape* (London, 1990), 41 and 98, where he notes 12c evidence from the Forest of Dean; William Condry, *Woodlands* (London, 1974), 138). A learned borrowing from L. *castanea* is likely (regular borrowing would have given **castawn*), but GPC s.vv. *castan*, *castanwydden*, suggests a derivation from ME *castayne* or Fr. *castaine*. No other attestations before c. 1400. The use of *kewilyd* 'shame' (especially of a sexual nature, e.g. in PKM 74, 76, 78-9) is suggestive: Isidore, *Etymologiae* XVII.vii.25, says the Greeks call the tree *καστάνια* 'because its paired fruits are hidden in a small sack like testicles, and when they are ejected from it, it is as if they were castrated' (*castrare*); the beaver (*castor*) is said to anticipate a hunter by castrating itself and amputating its own genitals [said to be medically useful] with its teeth (XII.ii.21).
- 139 **gwrthryat ferwyd (ms fenwyd)** *Gwrthryat* noted as hapax by G s.v. who compares vb *erthyadu* 'to restrain, impede': perhaps 'opponent, repulser' here. G also suggests emendation to *gwrthryat* 'refusal; repulse' (following CA 184), or to *gwrthrychat* 'anticipator' (see on line 82). *Ferwyd* (ms *fenwyd*) is emended by G to *fenitwyd*, but this has already been mentioned by the poet in line 98. I understand it tentatively as *fer* 'strong, brave, fierce' etc. (ModW *ffēr*) < L. *ferus* (as in *llawffer*, line 203) + *gwyd*. (ModW *ffer*, and variants *ffyr*, *ffir* 'fir' are late, and fir is not native). Chestnut was a repulser [in the ranks of] the fierce trees (as in translation); alternatively, his strong branches (*ferwyd*) enabled him to repulse (*gwrthryat*). Or else, retaining ms *fenwyd* and understanding *e* for [ə], connect with vb *ffynnu* 'to flourish', etc (GPC s.v.) or, more likely, with *ffyn*, pl. of *ffon* 'stick, lance'. If the latter, Chestnut was a repulser of wooden shafts.
- 140 **Hantit du muchyd** The orthography here suggests copying from an exemplar with *t* for [-d-]; cf. regular *handit* 141-3. Cf. §2.14; §8.12; §11.64; §24.40; CA line 705; CC 16.6, 20.122 (em.), etc.; also continued in use by court poets. In lines 140-43 it has the same meaning as copula *ys* (GMW 147). Lines 140-43 are gnomic in character. *Muchyd*, later *muchudd* 'jet' (GPC s.v. for *muhid* gl. *ebeno*), was used then, as now, as a touchstone of blackness, especially for hair, eyebrows, etc. Isidore remarked that jet was plentiful in Britain, and that it had remarkable properties — to drive away snakes when burned, to signal the presence of virginity, to be set alight by water (cf. §18.25), and extinguished by oil (*Etymologiae* XVI.iii.iv.3). This was followed in part by Bede, HE I.1), but without the most fanciful elements. Bede says it has the attraction properties of amber (*sucinus*), also described by Isidore, under amber, and electrum (XVI.viii.6; xxiv.1-3).

- 141 **crwm** 'Bent, bent over', used (like OIr *cromm*) of animals, humans, trees, buildings, etc. and in stream-names (in sense of 'curving, winding) such as *Crymych* (Pembs.), *Crymlyn* and *Crymig* (EANC 184). Of mountains, note especially CA line 1423 (Gwarchan Maeldderw) *Kywely krymdy krymdwyn* (< *rwyn* 'hill, hillock', trans. Isaac, 'Gwarchan Maeldderw', 83, 'just like a bedfellow in a rickety house by a lumpy hillock', but see CA 377 for possibility of *dwyn*). See further on the mention of Gwarchan Maeldderw, line 148 below.
- 142 **kyl coetdyd** If *coetdyd* represents ModW *coedydd*, a glimpse of an exemplar with *-t-* for medial /d/ (as in line 140), but note that G regards *coetydd* (with medial *t*) as another medieval pl., and he posits confusion here between the two. But a compound of *coet* is not to be dismissed out of hand: *coet + hyd* 'stag', for instance (provection would yield *coetyd*), cf. EWSP 25 *hyd yg koet*; and for the formation, GC 11.143 *coet-hwch* 'wild sow'. The preceding adj. would be suitable: *kyl* 'armed, equipped with sharp points', etc. (cf. §1.87 *Gwydyl kyl diuerogyon*; CBT IV 9.60 *brengyl*), perhaps alluding to its distinguishing feature of antlers. Isidore said (wrongly) that the deer (*cervus*) is 'so called from the word *κέρατα*, that is from their horns' (*Etymologiae* XII.i.18), adding in i.22 an epigram from Martial: 'the boar is feared for his tusk, horns defend the stag;/ what are we unwarlike does but prey?' If this is indeed *coet + hyd*, then there is still the possibility of a play on homophonic *coedyd* 'trees' given the preceding account of the tree-battle.
- 143 **handit kynt myr mawr** Understood here as *kynt* 'swifter' (comparative of *buan*, *cyflym*, cf. AP line 43; CBT V 1.127 and 30.4, etc.) rather than adverb ('formerly', cf. CBT VI 31.64). See on line 240 below and §1.2. Note the collocation in CBT III (Cynddelw) 26.120 *Handid kynt y kwynwn*. *Myr*, pl. of *mor*, is still used by late-13c court poets. I cannot see the point of this line, unless the running seas reflect the human passion for war, stirred up by the battle-cry (*yr awr* in line 144), in contrast to the static conditions of the three preceding items (jet, mountain, stag/trees).
- 144 **er pan gibleu yr awr** 1sg. or 3sg. vb *clybot*. There is no obvious subject for 3sg. Five syllables with elision (*gibleu'r awr*); the def. art., rarely used in poetry, does however occur in elided form (common after preps *y*, *o*, etc., conjunction *a*); after vb form CC 18.5 *Dydav yr heul* (probably elided).
- 145 **An deilas blaen Bedw** 3sg. pret. of *deiliaw*, a vb not otherwise attested in *hengerdd* and CBT; *dalen*, *deil(en)* and derivatives are common enough. The infixed 1pl. pronoun here (and possibly in line 147) is dative, cf. LIDC 17.79 *an bit ni bluitinet a hir diev* 'there will be for us years and long days'; 17.126, 168; R1053.42 (prophecy) *an roder rann Diuieu/ gbenbled gbal oleu*; perhaps CA lines 451 *an deliit* (see note, CA 183), 965 *an dyrllys molet med melys maglawr*.
- 146 **an datwrith datedw** ms *datrith* would be 3sg. pres. of *datrithaw* 'change form, transform (through enchantment)', treated as such by G s.v. (a vb or a noun), although Lloyd-Jones also cites *datwrith*. With hapax *datedw* (< *edwi*) '?resurgence, energy, force' (G), taking *datrith* as a noun, this could be construed as 'our transformation of resurgence'. If a vb form, '[its] energy transforms us'.

Emending to *datwrith*, however, maintains the past tense, and could mean 'its energy reinforced us' or 'it made a resurgence for us' (*dat-* having an intensive force, as in *datgan*); if *dat-* is privative, it would mean 'it undid', which seems unlikely here. On *gwrith*, see on line 4, noting the possibility of 1sg. (unlikely

here), pret. passive ('a resurgence was wrought for us') as well as 3sg., as adopted in the present translation. Uncertain.

147 **an maglas blaen Derw** The infixed 1pl. pronoun is either accusative ('the top of the oak ensnared us') or else dative ('ensnared for us, on our behalf'). There are two possible interpretations: either the oak fought bravely to ensnare the enemy 'for us', and this as a result of the declamation of the song, Gwarchan Maeldderw. Or else (as in the translation), the oak — in contrast to the sustaining birch — ensnared us (viz. the poets), by means of 'his' Gwarchan Maeldderw, perhaps a tricky test-piece or tour-de-force (see on line 148). If the latter, there may be deliberate ambiguity since *maglu* has another meaning, 'spot, stain, mar' (also < L. *macula*): 'besmirched us, brought us into disrepute'. One notes, too, the homophonic correspondence with **maglo*- 'lord', the first element of the name Maelderw.

148 **o Warchan Maelderw** On the personal name, see line 126. The rubric in the Book of Aneirin c. 1250 (CA 55) claims that no poet should venture to go to (a) contest without the Gododdin poem (*e gerd hon*) any more than a man to battle without arms. Then follows the assertion about Gwarchan Maelderw: *Talyessin ae cant ac a rodes breint idaw. kemeint ac e odleu e gododin oll ae dri gwarchan yng kerd amrysson* 'Taliesin sung it and gave it a status/worth as great as the whole Gododdin and its three gwarchanau in contest poetry'. Graham R. Isaac, 'Gwarchan Maeldderw: a "lost" medieval Welsh classic', *CMCS* 44 (2002), 73-96, has discussed and translated this sixty-four line poem (CA lines 1412-80); Ifor Williams' notes (CA 374-89) are still fundamental, together with most of his interpretations.

Isaac dates the poem broadly to the 10c or 11c, viewing it as an elegy with pronounced religious sentiments for a hero, Maeldderw, called a *dar digeryd* 'blameless oak (hero)' in line 53. The elegiac nature of the Book of Aneirin Gwarchan Maeldderw would seem to rule out its use as an exhortatory piece before or during battle, alluded to in the note on line 147 above. The poem reprises the hero's martial exploits, referring possibly to his desired resting-place (*weles recte wales*) on Enlli (Bardsey Island). Old Northern proper names (*esgor Eidin* 'fort of Eidin', *Gogled Run* 'Rhun of the North') are mentioned, but so is the *rud dhreic fud Pharaon* ('booty of the red dragon of Ffaraon') suggestive of the *Historia Brittonum* story of the warring dragons in Snowdonia as elaborated in *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, where the old name for Dinas Emrys in Snowdonia is given as Dinas Pharaon Dandde. By the 12c, Norman kings were referred to by some poets as Ffaraon (see note, CBT IV 148); but Hywel Foel's intercession for Owain ap Gruffudd (CBT VII 22.24) praises him as possessing 'the valour of Ffaraon' as though he were a native hero (the last three lines of Hywel Foel's piece, significantly, include *dreic, dinas, Ffaraon, eryron*).

Isaac (74) disagree with Ifor Williams' view that the poem was given a high worth because of its obscurity. He argues rather that its status derived from its virtuosity. It certainly uses a wider range of metrical forms than is usual in a single poem, and many of the lines, and series of lines, have intense hyperalliteration; many others have a self-contained epigrammatic quality. It seems less of a concert piece and more of a Kreutzer study for the aspiring poet. These factors may have contributed to its seemingly corrupt state as found in the Book of Aneirin, and to the way it is described in our poem as having ensnared 'us'. The twist here is that Taliesin himself was the supposed author of Gwarchan

Maeldderw according to the rubric in the Book of Aneirin! I hope to return to this matter elsewhere.

- 149 **Wherthinawc tu creic** See General Introduction, 2 on south- and mid-Walian *wh* rather than *chw*. It is uncertain whether lines 149-50 relate to the preceding reference to Gwarchan Maeldderw. With *wherthinawc* 'laughing', cf. LIDC 18.204-6 *Bet Siaun syberv in Hirerv minit/ y rug y gverid ae derv,/ chuerthinauc, bra[da]uc, bridchuerv*, and especially EWGP VI.10 (also with *derw*) *chwerthinat tonn* 'laughing the wave' and EWSP 451 (Claf Abercuawg) *chwerthinat tonn*; EWSP 419 *chwerw blwng chwerthin mor*. These references suggest that *wherthinawc* is used, nominally, as a kenning for the sea or the sea-wave breaking on the cliff face (adverbial phrase *tu creic*), rather than referring back to *derw*, line 147 or more obliquely, to Taliesin, whom the Book of Aneirin names as the 'author' of Gwarchan Maeldderw. *Tu* can also be 3sg. pres. of vb 'to cover' (GPC s.v.) — 'the laughing one [sea] covers the rock'.
- 150 **ner nyt ystyr eic (ms ystereic)** *Ner* 'lord', *nyt* (neg. rel. pronoun). The ms *ystereic* is not noted by GPC: Graham Isaac suggests 'cruel' by comparison with Greek *stere-*. If *ystyr eic* (*e* for [ə]), it could be understood as 3sg. of vb *ystyryaw* 'to take heed of' (as in CBT V 8.17 *Ny ystyr llythwyr uy llethrid—y'm kert; ystyrya* is the usual 3sg. form) with object *eic* 'shoal, throng' (cf. *mor(h)eic* of fish). The powerful sea breaking on the cliff is heedless of the fate of the fish. This has the ring of a traditional saying.
- 152 **pan ym digonat** On the construction *o . . . pan*, see GMW 79-80, and compare its use in lines 160 and 188 below; §14.11 *o'r parth pan dwyre*; §16.27 *O gadeu a For pan atrodet*; §18.13-14 *Yg kynneir, o'r peir pan leferit:/ O anadyl naw morwyn gochyneuit*; CC 24.38 (BT) *O artemhyl pen echen pan ym*; 24.111 *O ryret pressent pan wyf dic*; ?24.116; CA line 131 *O vreithyell Gatraeth pan adrodir*; AP line 56; Pen3Afallennau 123.66 *o vlodeu Katuan pan gynydo*; R1052.5 *o brif parch pan y'ih gyuarther*; CBT III 5.123 *o'm kyuoeth . . . pan wyf* (em.). CBT VI 26.41-2 (Dafydd Benfras) *o'r tu pan geffy/ Erddrwyg* 'from the place you get an army' indicates its continued use in 13c poetry.
- Ym* is a syllabic form of the 1sg. object pronoun, cf. CC 21.99 *Ban im sesuinad* (em.); 21.100, etc. *Digonet* rather than *digonat* is the impers. pret. form in line 160 below; §16.36; CC 5.21; and in CBT corpus.
- 153 **a'm creu a'm creat** Understood as a figura etymologica 'and my creating was created for me', cf. §11.2-3 *creat kyn Dilyw,/ creadur kadarn*; LIDC 25.19 *Creaudir y creaduriev*; CBT IV 17.90-91; V 15.8; VII 32.7, etc. This impers. pret. vb form occurs fairly often in hengerdd; restricted to Prydydd y Moch in court poetry: CBT V 1.10 *O nerth Duw y (em.) cread*; 1.45 *Eforeu rieu rygread*.
- 154 **o naw rith llafanat** Microcosmic man is a motif which occurs in other poems, notably §25.6 *vy seith llafanat*; CC 21.97-112 (Dadl y Corff a'r Enaid, 'Debate between the Body and the Soul') *O seith lauanad/ Ban im sesuinad*; §11.79-80 *Ny wybyd anygnat/ y seith lauanat*; and Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin line 184 *Gorug lafanad* (the latter unlikely to be an independent witness, as discussed in General Introduction, 19-20). In the prose tale, *Math fab Mathonwy* (PKM 83), Blodeuwedd is created, like Taliesin (lines 163 and 165 below), by Math and Gwydion. Her three named consistencies are the flowers of the oak, broom and meadowsweet; cf. §10.14-15 *Gwydyon ap Don dygymuertheu,/ a hudwys gwreic o vlodeu*.

The terms *elfen* (< L. *elementum*), and *defnyd* are more commonly used for 'element, substance' than the rare *llafanat* whose derivation is not known (GPC s.v. *llafanad*), but could conceivably be based on *elfen* + *-ad*, with metathesis > *lefenad*, and subsequent vowel harmony. Alternatively, L. *lamina* 'layer' (> W. *llafn* 'blade') + *-ad* and an epenthetic vowel might yield *llafanad*. A connection with OIr *lámnað* 'parturition, act of giving birth', etc. is problematic. The consistencies here are doubled in some cases, but *seven* rather than *nine* can be identified: fruit; primroses; flowers; blossom of trees; earth; nettle blossom; water of the ninth wave. This may suggest that *naw* is a mistake for *seith*, influenced by the popularity of 'nines' (cf. line 162). §25.7-10 lists seven: fire, earth, water, air, mist, flowers, and the south wind. CC 21.101-10 mentions only five — fire, earth, wind, mist, flowers — although line 97 announces seven. The orthodox four elements (fire, earth, water and air) were well-established, but the motif of microcosmic man, often octipartite, is found in question-and-answer and related texts from the 8c onwards, and in exegesis. A Latin example, dated to the 8c, also names seven consistencies (nine for women!): E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, vol. VI, no. 829; Max Forster, 'Das älteste mittellateinische Gesprächsbuchlein', *Romanische Forschungen* 27 (1910), 342-8:

Incipit de septem ponderibus, unde factus es Adam, fides: Ponderus limis: quae de limo factus est. Ponderus maris: inde sunt lacrimae salsae. Ponderus ignis: inde sunt alita caldas. Ponderus uenti: inde est flatus frigitus. Ponderus rux: inde sudor humano corpore. Ponderus floris: inde est uarietas oculorum. Ponderus feni: inde est diuersitas capillorum. Ponderus nuuium: inde est stauilitas in mente. Mulier autem ex noue pondera facta est.

A 9c question-and-answer text names Adam's eight consistencies as land, sea, earth, clouds of the firmament, wind, stones, the Holy Spirit and the light of the world (Walther Suchier, *L'enfant sage: Das Gespräch des Kaisers Hadrian mit dem klugen Kinde Epitus*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 24 (Dresden 1910), 279-80; to this 'octipartite' tradition belongs the Old English colloquy between Solomon and Saturn: earth (flesh), fire (red, hot blood), wind (breath), cloud (instability of mind), grace (understanding and thought), blossoms (variety of his eyes), dew (sweat), salt (tears): PSol&Sat 26, and the Welsh *Historia Adrian ac Ipotis*, LIA 130:

Jpotis a wyddat ef by sawl amryfal defnyd y gwnaethpwynt dyn ohonynt. Y mab a dywat, 'y mae seith defnyd, nyt amgen, prid, a dwfyr, a mor, a'r heul, a'r gwynt, a'r awyr, ac o'r mein gyr llaw y mor, a heuyt o'r Yspryt Glan. O'r prid y gwnaethpwynt knawt dyn. Ac o'r dwfyr y waet. Ac o'r heul y gallon a'e yspeil, y waredogrwyd a'e gampeu da. Ac o'r awyr y synnwyr, ac o'r gwynt y anadyl, ac o'r mein y esgyrn. Ac o'r Yspryt Glan y gorucpwynt y eneit'.

This large body of material has often been linked to the Old Slavonic II Enoch 30:8a, apparently not known in the medieval West. Irish, Hiberno-Latin and English parallels are discussed by Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin, 1975), 21-3; Hildegard L.C. Tristram, 'Der "homo octipartitus" in der irischen und altenglischen Literatur', *ZcP* 34 (1975), 119-53 (who asserts that the Welsh references are all from Middle English sources, 122 n.5); PSol&Sat 67-70; and David Wasserstein, 'The creation of Adam and the Apocrypha in early Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* section C, 88 (1988), 1-17; Haycock, 'Taliesin's Questions', *CMCS* 33 (1997), 19-80, at pp. 66-8. Possible sources and analogues of the early Black Book of Carmarthen

Debate between the Body and the Soul, including the F text of the Middle English Worcester Fragments (c. 12c), with its seeming echo of a seven-consistencies schema, are discussed in CC 205-11. On ideas of macrocosm and microcosm, see §26. Mesotomy might justify *llafanat* yielding a five-syllable line. Less likely is that *rith* 'form, guise' was added as a gloss on the rare word, *llafanat*, and incorporated into the text. The ms reading has been retained in the translation.

- 155 **o ffrwyth** 'Fruit(s), produce', and also figuratively 'profit, reward', etc. (GPC s.v.), cf. (of God) CC 2.21 *A wnaeth fruith a freu*; CBT I 33.39 *ffryt a ffrôytheu*; IV 18.6; 16.113 *Yn ffrwythlawn o frwytheu terra*, etc.
- 157 **o vriallu a blodeu** < (ms *bre*) *Bre* omitted for the rhyme. §7.54-5 *a briallu a briw deil/ a blaen gwyd godeu*. Seven syllables: possibly elision, *o vr(i)allu flodeu*?
- 158 **o vlawt gwyd a godeu** See on lines 57-9 and 157 above.
- 159 **o prid o pridret** I Corinthians 15:47 *Primus homo de terrae, terrenus*; CBT VII 40b.37 *a'n creawdd o bridd a phrif sygnau*; V 16.6 *Prid uyt paþp o'r gorffen*; etc. The two nouns are synonyms, cf. *tref/trefret*, *gweith/gweithret*, etc.
- 160 < **pan y'm digonet (ms y pan)** A scribal error, perhaps anticipating *y'm digonet*; or the more familiar syntax without *pan* (i.e. *o pridret y'm digonet*).
- 161 **o vlawt danat** *-at/-et* proest rhyme. Four syllables; ?emend > *vlodeu*.
- 162 **ton nawvet** Cf. Edmyg Dinbych line 19 *Aduwyn gaer yssyd ar don nawuet*; LIDC 17.14 (Afallennau) *A mi disgoganaf e. rac ton navfed*; CBT II 14.15 (Owain Cyfeiliog) *lli6 tonn nabuet*; III 5.46, etc. See Owen, TrArbennig 449-50.
- 163 **Am swynwys-i Vath** See line 57 on the vb *swynaw*. The lack of end-rhyme here and in line 170 is problematic. §1.79-81 *Neu bum gan wyr keluydon,/ gan Uath Hen, gan Gouannon,/ gan lewyd, gan Elestron*; PBT 1.12-13 (Daronwy) *hutulath Vathonwy,/ yg koet pan tyfwy* (which suggests Mathonwy was a doublet of Math); BT Echrys Ynys line 10 *Math ac Euuyd hutwynt (recte hutynt) geluyd ryd eluinor* (see notes). He is a central figure in the tale, *Math fab Mathonwy*, as lord of Gwynedd and magician par excellence (PKM 67-92); apart from Triad 28 (as enchanter), other references are sparse. Dafydd ap Gwilym notes him as the third of a triad of soldiers skilled in magic (with Menw and Eiddig Gor, see TYP³ 59): *Trydydd oedd, ger moroedd Môn,/ Math, rhwy eurfath, rhi Arfon* (GDG 84.33-42). An englyn attributed to Bleddyn Ddu compares a girl's deceit to the *hud* of Mathonwy's son (TYP³ 60 and references).
- 164 **diameth (ms diaeret)** G suggests 'gifted, able' (< **de-ad-ret*), rejecting *daeret* (< *dae(a)r* 'earth'). This guess makes reasonable sense if Taliesin is referring to his standing as a poet — Math created him before he attained his gifted state. But if a rhyme with *Math*, a trisyllable ending in *-ath* (*-eth*, *-ith*, *-uth* if proest rhyme), possibly *diameth* 'complete', tentatively supplied here (cf. CBT II 4.6; V 14.35). Uncertain.
- 165 **Wytyon** Atypical spelling of *Gwydyon*, on whom see line 46.
- 166 **mawrut o brithron (ms mawnut o brython)** It was suggested tentatively that *Gwydyon* rhymes with *Brython* (ms *vrythron*) in lines 45-6; a reverse emendation > *brithron* is proposed here, although *Brython* is also possible ('great enchantment by (a) Briton(s)'). *Mawnut* (unless containing *mawn* 'peat') seems to be a slip for either *mawr (h)ut* 'great magic' or *mawr ud* (great lord). If the latter, cf. PT VII.31 *y vd Prydein pen perchen broestlawn*.

- 167 **o Eurwys, o Euron** Understood as two personal names, Eurwys unattested elsewhere, but cf. §10.27 *mi ac Euronwy ac Euron*. John T. Koch, 'Some suggestions and etymologies reflecting upon the mythology of the Four Branches', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 9 (1989), 1-11, pp. 6-8, suggests that *Euron* here is a faulty modernisation of a written form **Uuron* (< Brittonic **Wironos*) 'the divine man', and that *Gwron* is to be restored here (connecting it with names Goronwy, Gronw, etc.). He suggests the mistake was in an exemplar of the poem, or else in an early version of the listing, 'Plant Dôn o Arfon'. However, *eur-* is a common first element in female names such as Eurgain, Eurolwyn, Eurbrawst, and Euron is itself confirmed as a female name by Euron ferch Hoeddlyw ap Cadwgan in ByT (RBH) s.a. 1115, p. 100. Many of the later Cywyddwyr cite Euron as a female paragon (e.g. GLGC 44.33; 119.1; 139.49; GTA 5.49, 54.29, 57.78, 110.34; E. Stanton Roberts and W. J. Gruffydd (ed.), *Peniarth 76* (Caerdydd, 1927), 75; GLM 24.43, 93.27, etc. An un-named girl is called *Euron hil* ('of the lineage of E.') in GGrG 5.15. It is possible that some of these poets were referring to Euron, the pet name perhaps of Llywelyn ab y Moel's famous muse (on whom see GSCyf 138). It seems safer to retain *Euron*, a female figure like *Modron* in line 168.
- 168 **o Vodron** Cf. LIDC 31.13 *Mabon am Mydron*; CO 685, etc.; on *Modron* ferch Afallach, and *Madrun*, see TYP³ 449-51.
- 169 **o pypm** ◊ (ms **pumhwnt**) **keluydon** The unusually long line could be shortened by omitting *pypm*, or (more likely, and adopted here) by omitting *pumhwnt*, thus matching the five named figures involved in Taliesin's creation: Math, Gwydion, Eurwys, Euron, *Modron*. *Pumhwnt* may have been added because 5 times 50 and similar phrases were known to the scribe: line 215 below *pypm pemhwnt*; §12.21 *pump pemhwnt kalan*; cf. CA lines 49 and 377 *pym pymwnt*; 180 *pymwnt a phymcant*. Cf. the use of pl. noun *keluydon* with PKM 48, line 2 *pump wraged* (GMW 47).
- 170 **arthawon eil Math** G notes W.J. Gruffydd's view that this is a slip for (?or a metathesised form of) *athra(w)on* 'teachers, instructors', etc., perhaps for 'sages' here, or a fictive kinship term. If *arthawon* is retained as a genuine variant, one notes the curious homophonic correspondence with *arth*, cf. OIr *math* 'bear'. I suggest instead that *arthawon* has arisen from a misreading of the related word, *alltrawon* 'godparents; sponsors at baptism' (see GPC s.v. *alltraw*) from an exemplar *altrauon*. These figures are *eil Math* 'like Math', or else the common noun *math* 'kind' is to be understood — the five figures are of 'a kind similar to godparents'. This seems to be the most satisfying explanation, and is adopted tentatively in the translation.
- 171 **pan ymdygyaed** This vb form (which does not rhyme) has defied explanation. The context would favour 'was I made, conceived, reared, brought up' or similar, as in lines 152 and 160 (vbs such as *dwyn*, impers. pret. *ducpwyt*, impers. imperf. *ducsit*; *ymdwyn* 'give birth to', etc. may be relevant, as suggested by G, or else *dyofagu*, 3sg. pret. *dyofaeth*). Or conceivably an analogical *-aeth* 3sg. pret. ending attached to *dyg-* (from *dwyn*), translating 'through (by means of, with the aid of) five enchanters. . . did he [i.e. Math] rear me'. This would have the advantage of a partial rhyme of sorts with *math*, line 170. In a very similar context of creation, we see a strange vb form: CC 21.110 and 112 *O seith creadur/ Pan im dodaeth ar pur* (ms *dodath* changed to *dodaeth* by scribe); *Im doda[e]th ar deunit*. In both

instances this would seem to be an impers. pret. (or 3sg. pret.) of vb *dodi* 'to put, set', perhaps to be compared with the postulated *-aeth* (?-ath) ending above (see further CC 228). Uncertain.

173 **pan vei let loscedic** *Llet* 'extent' (rather than comparative of *llydan*), or possibly 'half-[burned]'. Since *lloscedic* can be used for burning heavenly bodies, such as the sun (see GPC s.v.), I understand here that the 'burning extent' is referring to the proto-state of the Earth, or the unformed burning wastes of the universe. This seems more likely than taking the *gwledic*, line 172 as subject of vb.

174 **sywyd** *Syw* 'sage' is treated as a borrowing from OIr *sui* by GPC s.v. following Lexique S-199 which compares the pair *dryw*, OIr *druí*. Stefan Zimmer, *Studies in Welsh Word-formation* (Dublin, 2000), 251-2, in reviewing the unusual retention of initial *s-*, does not discuss this possibility, but compares the rare prefix *sy-* as in *syfal*, *syfudr*, etc.

The Book of Taliesin is the locus classicus for words formed from *syw*: §1.90 *wyf syw amrysson*; §2.9 *wyf dryw . . . wyf syw*; §4.4 *sywedyd yn yt uo*; §4.65-6 *doethur, prif geluyd, / dispwyllawt sywedyd*; §4.98-100 *mawrhydic sywyd* (em.) / *Pan dyfrensit / awel uchel gyt*; §4.165-6 *Talhayarn yssyd / mwyhaf sywedyd* (em.); §7.5 *Hard bron sywedyd*; §7.40 *sywyon synhwyr*, §7.41 *sewyd amloer*, §8.44 *pensywet*; §11.91 *Seon sywedyd*; §15.60 *bum syw, bum swch*; PT XII.6 *Ryfed hael o sywyd sywedyd* (and note, p. 130); PBT 7.104-6 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Dysgogan syweddyon. . . dysgogan deruydon*; §25.21-2 *Seith awyr yssyd / od uch sywedyd*; CC 24.10 (BT) *sywedyd llyfreu*. Elsewhere in poetry: CA lines 212-14 *Mab Sywno sywedyd ae gwydyei / a werthws e eneit / er wyneb grybwyllleit*; CC 12.14 *a'r sir syweditiaeth*; LIDC 31.11-12 (Pa ŵr) *Vythneint Elei / a ssivyon ell tri* (viz. Mabon m. Modron, Cysgaint m. Banon, and Gwyn Godyfrion); R577.2 (Cyfoesi) *sy6 pob tut*; Tymhorau line 22 *pen sywedyd*; CBT II 26 (Gwynfardd Brycheiniog of St David), lines 11 *syw gormant*, 85 *syw sywedyd*, 205 *seint sywedyd*, 231 *syw synhwyreu*; CBT V 4.13-14 (Prydydd y Moch) *Marc6lf a Chad6 . . . / A Selyf, benn sywedtyon*; Dydd dyfydd line 27 *Selyf suinedic syuedit*; CBT VII 41.30 *Geyr bron Dofyd a Ssywedyd*; GC 4.2 *Sywedyd, Douyd* (of God), etc. See further GPC s.v. The poetry examples noted here illustrate the range of meaning: 'sage, learned man, instructor', one who has insight and foresight. Some indicate a particular connection with the heavens and celestial bodies, and one at least connects the *sywedyd* with books.

The present form, confirmed by rhyme, is presumably *syw* + *-yt* (cf. *celfyddyd* 'art', *cyfarwyddyd* 'instruction, knowledge', *gwryd* 'manliness', etc.) but unparalleled elsewhere (*sywyd* occurs twice, see above, with its pl. in line 175). The comparanda in *-yt* suggest an abstract noun, 'wisdom' rather than a parallel form to *sywyd* 'a sage' (pace GPC s.v.). The scribe wrote *sywydon* before *sywyd* then corrected the order with a pair of double hairline strokes.

175 **kyn byt** Understood simply as 'before the world [was made]', although this is somewhat at odds with Taliesin's creation from nine consistencies in lines 154-62. The compound *cynfyd* 'primordial world' is attested only from 16c onwards. *Cynbyt* 'trap; dangerous', as in §10.36 seems unlikely but not impossible ('sages involved in dangerous business').

176 **pan vei genhyf-y vot** *Bei* is 3sg. imperf. subjunct. of *bot*, as in lines 173 and 176 with *bot gan* 'to have'; *vot* at the end of the line is probably the vb noun, 'being'

(here object), rather than the noun 'dwelling'. Proest rhyme, unless *byt* 'life' is to be restored here.

177 **pan veî [vach] veint byt** G s.v. *byt* suggests that it may mean 'life' here. *Bach* 'small' is supplied tentatively (although note that *bychan* is far more common); consider also supplying *lleî* 'less, smaller'. This uncertainty, as well as the ambiguity of *byt* ('life' as well as 'world'), makes the translation of lines 175-7 rather tentative.

177 **Hard bard bud angnawt (ms an gnawt)** Taliesin presents his credentials as a poet, using the *hard/hard* collocation found, e.g. in EWGP VII.3; CC 30.1-2; R585.2; CBT II 1.151; III 25.7, 29.9; IV 5.68 (*beirt*); V 26.46; VI 1.11; VII 26.10, etc., and *Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin* line 153 *Uyf bard hard mynaug*. Cf. §7.5 *Hard bron sywedyd*.

Angnawt understood as privative *an-* + *gnawt* 'usual' (with orthographic retention of *g-*) 'unusual', compared by G s.v. *gwawt*³ and GPC² s.v. *annawd* with OIr *ingnád, ingnáth* 'remarkable'. Cf. the same collocation with *tafawt* in CBT VII 26.16 *Nyd annawd tafawd diwyd itaw!* 'Not unusual is a constant tongue [praising] him!'. G also notes the possibility of emending > *anguawt* (< *anw*) 'famous'. I am unconvinced by Tal 138 that the following *ar wawt* (line 179) was a gloss or a correction for postulated *arguawt*. See also on §6.53 *anygnawt*.

179 **yt uedaf ar wawt (ms ar wawt yt uedaf)** See on line 178. Rhyme reinstated through reading *yt uedaf ar wawt*: the scribe may have been distracted by the preceding *angnawt*. *Yt uedaf* < *medu* 'possess, control; decree', etc., often of God. Monosyllabic rhyme word, but preceded by an unstressed syllable.

180 **a traetho tauawt** See on line 177. The vb *traethu* (< L. *tracto*) commonly collocated with *tafawt*, primarily in gnomic, didactic and religious verse: EWGP III.35; *B* 2 (1924) (*Ymddiddan y Corff a'r Enaid*) 129.40; CC 14.25-6; 21.12-13; CBT I 15.15 (*Elidir Sais*); 28.28; V 40.52. In the Book of Taliesin, §4.29-30; §24.39. *Tafawt/gwawt* collocated in §8.12-13; CBT II 6.82-3; IV 17.18; VI 16.2; 35.1; VII 46.25-6, etc.

181 **Gwaryeis yn llychwr** The Book of Taliesin uses only the form with *gw-*: PBT 6.22 (*Rydyrchafwy Duw*) *gware* 'to play'; §3.16 *gwylein yn gwarwy* (cf. CBT I 9.9) and 54 *gwaryhawt*; cf. CA line 452 *gwareus*; LIDC 16.10 *guarwyaur* and 44 *guarvy*; 17.135 [*w*]arvy and 137 [*g*]warruy; CC 31.43 *gwareu*; EWGP IX.4 *gwareus*. Forms in *chw-*: R578.37 *chwaryan*; CC 31.62 *chware*; EWGP IX.8 *chwarwyva* and 10 *chwareus*. CA line 598 *tec ware* and 1455 *idware* could represent either form. *Gw-* is by far the dominant form in CBT corpus for this vb and related words, with at least 13 instances. The same *g/chw* alternation is seen in vb *chwerthin*: BWP 90 *guardam* (*Juvenus englynion*), but CA lines 540 *chwardaf*; 610 *chuar*; 613 *rychward*: see BWP 96.

Llychwr 'light, broad daylight' (following GPC s.v.), obscurely connected with *llug, lluch, lluched*, etc. (cf. *llucheden* > *llycheden*, etc.). CA lines 645-6 *o llychwr y llychwr luch bin/ luch dor y borfor bergerin* are discussed CA 233 (with *cyflychwr*), and the meaning 'from dawn to dusk' is favoured. I would suggest rather 'from daylight [into] the light [emanating from] the blazing pine — a door of light for the purple-clad *peregrinus*'. The only other certain poetry example is CBT V 17.43 *Bar llychwr, gwr yn oed gwas*. In the second probable instance (CBT II 2.27 *traeth llychwr*) R. Lluchwr, west of Swansea, cannot be ruled out

- (II, 42) especially in light of CBT VII 5.33 *traeth Llychwr*. This river is mentioned in LIDC 18.119 *yn yd a Lliv yn Llychur*.
- 182 **ym porffor** Proest rhyme with *llychwr*, with the same collocation as CA 645-6 (see above). *Porffor* commonly used in connection with high status individuals, in CA, PT, and CBT corpora (see GPC s.v.). For the idea of the poet clothed in purple, cf. Myrddin's words in Peirian Faban lines 40-41 *Amser y bum i gynt yn eistedd mywn cor./ sef oedd vyghortho o rudd a phorphor* 'there was a time when I sat in an enclosure; my covering was of red and purple'; (with *ehoec*) Edmyg Dinbych lines 37-40 *Oed ef vyn defawt i Nos Galan/ lledysawt y gan ri ryfel eiran/ a llen lliw ehoec a medu prein/ hyny uwyf tauawt ar veird Prydein* 'It was my custom on a calends night to lie with a king — resplendent in battle — and [to wear] a heather-coloured robe and enjoy the feast so that I may be [accounted] as the tongue [?mouthpiece] for the poets of Britain'; PT I.4 *cant llen ehoec*; CBT IV 2.34 *yg gwisw porfor*; V 1.43-4 *Y bali porffor parth nad—a wyrthya/ A'e werthuawr ysglarlad* 'his purple silk brocade in return for a miraculous song, and his valuable scarlet'; 28.22 *Cynrhaul aur a phorffor* 'distributor of gold and purple' (?including to the poet); 23.186-7 where Prydydd y Moch implies that Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is ready to give away purple clothing, the finest linen, silk, gold and silver; because of his poetic gifts the poet is adorned with [raiment of] red gold (23.191-2).
- 183 **Neu bum yn yscor** The preverbal particle *neu* is common with infixed pronouns. *Neu* is far less common immediately preceding the vb: *neu bum* §1.79; EWSP 410 *neu bu doll*; CA lines 106 *ne lewes*; 551 *neu cheing* (recte *cheint*) *e Ododin*; 990; §4.2 *neu cheint*; CBT I 9.156 *Neu dremyrth*; III 21.37 *Neu cholleis-y*; 21.39 *Neu chyuyd ynof*; V 30.13 *Neu btam*, etc. In CBT corpus, *neud* is the usual form before *oedd/wyfynt*, etc. The 'fort, citadel' may be imagined as in or under the sea, like Annwfyn. Collocated with *mor* in CA lines 1437/1441; CBT IV 4.211 *Gwych ysgor tra mor tra Menei*; CBT II 1.130 *ysgor/aruor*.
- 184 **gan Dylan Eil Mor** On Dylan, see §22. Cf. §1.79-81 *Neu bum . . . / gan Uath Hen, gan Gouannon/ gan Iewyd, gan Elestron*; §8.29 *Bum . . . gan Llew a Gwydyon*; §8.31 *Bum y gan Vran yn Iwerdon*.
- 185 **yg kylchet ym perued** *Yg* understood as *yg = (f)y* 'my' rather than prep. *yn*; cf. below, line 187; §9.38 *yg korn*; and possibly §14.14 *Yn dewis* (recte *Dēws*) *echiawc*; PT IV.1 *Eg gorffowys* and VIII.1 *Eg gwrhwt* (further examples listed PT 50). *G kylchet* 'covering; mantle; bed, couch'; the latter meaning clear in EWGP VI.25 *pan gysco pawb ar gylchet. Ym perued* (? < Late L. *permedius* via **perfyd*, GPC) here refers back to the interior or the depths of the *ysgor* 'fort' of line 183, or else it anticipates Taliesin's being 'in the middle', between the knees of princes, line 186.
- 186 **rwg deulin teyrned** An unparalleled twist on the known phrase *rac deulin*: cf. *The Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Llanbedrog, 1899), 45.2 *rac deulun er ignat*; CBT I 16.18 *rac dy deulin* (Elidir Sais addressing God); 19.14 *Rhag deulin fy Arglwydd*; VI 10.25 *Rac deulin Trined*. Cf. also CA line 1009 *rac teyrned*; §8.42 *rac teyrned*. Six syllables.
- 187 **Yn deu wayw anchwant** *Yn = (f)y*, see line 185. *Anchwant* 'eager' as in line 80, where its use by Prydydd y Moch — uniquely in this sense in CBT corpus — is noted. For general sense, cf. §4.217 *pedrydawc gwayw llym*, etc. *Gwayw* may conceivably be used in a figurative sense of some sort for 'poetic gift, resource

for [poetic] combat', as may be *pren onn* in PT VIII.13 *pren on (h)ytyw vy awen gwen*, according to Ifor Williams, PT 96-7.

- 188 **o Nef pan doethant** On syntax, see line 152.
- 189 **Yn Annwfn llifereint** See §18 Preideu Annwfn; and cf. also the association between the *awen* 'muse' and Annwfn developed in §4.77-84. GPC treats *llifereint* (= ModW *llifeiriaint*) as one of pl. forms *llifeiriant* (used by Cynddelw, CBT III 3.66) but Mary Burdett-Jones suggests to me that *llifereint* may contain a form of *aryant*; if so, cf. names such as *Lludd Llaw Ereint* (CO line 367), and *Grugyn (Gwrych/Gwallt) Ereint* (CO p. 218), translating 'in the silver stream of Annwfn'. In either case, the rhyme would be only partial: *-eint* rhyming with *-ant* rare, but found in CA lines 819-20 *kywreint/didichwant*; and cf. EWGP VI.1 *-yon/neint/heint*. The rhyme could be 'corrected' by supplying the sg. (*llifeiriant* in BT orthography).
- 190 **wrth urwydrin dybydant** *Brwydrin* is a synonym of *brwydyr* (*brwydyr* + *-in*, GPC) as in PBT (Darogan Katwaladyr) 10.2; CA line 609; EWSP 459; or else an adj. 'pugnacious', possibly used nominally here. Understood as the former, cf. with the same vb, CBT IV 9.26 *Gvrth urbydyr crwydyr creulaon dybytawd*. For *wrth* + words for battle, PT II.25 *wrth cat*; CBT V 6.12 *brth aer*, 25.40 *wrth ymbroui*, etc. The subject of the vb is perhaps the *deu wayw* of line 187, or the enemy of line 191. *Dybydant* in prophecy (like *dybyd*, *dybi*, etc.): PBT 6.5; 7.3 *Duw Llun dybydant* and 15 *diheu dybydant*.
- 191 **Petwar vgeint cant** 8000, cf. line 213 *petwar vgeint mwg*; EWSP 176 *pymtheccant muhyn; pedwar vgeinmeirch*.
- 192 **a gweint yr eu whant** See on line 28 for vb, and General Introduction, 2 for *wh-* rather than *chw-* as a south- or mid-Wales feature.
- 193 **Nyt ynt hyn nyt ynt ieu ynt** 3pl. of copula, common in Book of Taliesin as elsewhere: §4.97, 119 and 222; PBT 2.1 (Glaswawt) *mor ynt anuonawc*; §25.24 *mor ynt amrygyr*; PT 1.50 *keith ynt dy Gynan*; VI.8 *a ynt parawt*; IX.15 *yd ynt geith*; AP line 48; possibly CC 9.21 (BT) *hut ynt clydwr*. See notes on §6.72-3 *hynaf uyd dyn pan anher, / a ieu ieu pop amser*; §11.7-8 *Ny byd hyn, ny byd ieu / noget ydechreu*. Einion ap Gwalchmai in his praise of God yearns for Paradise, *Myn na byt dyn na hyn na yeu* 'where man will be neither older nor younger' (CBT I 27.85); CC 13.4 *Keingyfreu, nyt ieu, nyt hyn* (of Christ).
- 194 **no mi yn eu bareu** *Bareu*, understood as pl. of *bar* 'passion, wrath'; but possibly consider *barreu* (GPC s.vv. *bar*¹ ('branches, shoots') and *bar*² ('summit')) since the precise force of lines 193-4 is obscure.
- 195 **Aryal canhwr a geni (ms ageni) pawb** *Aryal* (< *gal*) 'passion, force', usually used of martial prowess in arms (CA line 480, etc.); but of linguistic and other sensory abilities in Llanstephan 27 version of Body and Soul Debate, lines 39-41 *Pa aryal a allut? / Ni thraethut a'th dauawt, ny chlyw[ujt] a'th glusteu / Dim ffrwytheu nis gallut* (B 2 (1924), 129). *Canhwr* < *cant* + *gwr*. G 109 interprets *a geni* as rel. pron. and 3sg. imperf. of vb *canu* 'to sing, declaim', 'everyone used to sing [with] the passion of a hundred men', although the rel. pronoun *a* (rather than *y*) is problematic. Perhaps to be considered are the nouns *angen*¹ 'need, exigency; battle'; *angen(n)* < L. *unguen(tum)* 'extreme unction'; and *agennau*, the frequently used pl. of *agen* 'fissure, cleft', etc. If a vb form, the 3sg. imperf. of the denominative vb *angennu* 'to anoint' (? 'the force of a hundred men used to anoint

everyone'); *genni* 'be contained'; or *geni* 'produce; beget'. None of these can be offered with any conviction, especially in light of the two exceptional eight-syllable lines 195-6, and the lack of rhyme between them. Note that *pawb* is difficult to rhyme, and is very infrequently used in final rhyme position (see §4.31 note). CBT poets have a penchant for using it in the *gair cyrch*.

- 197 **Yg cledyf brithwed (ms brith gwaet)** *Brith* is emended > *brithwed* for rhyme (with G s.v. *brith*). Although the compound with *gwed* is not attested, many others with *brith/breith* are found. Less easily explained as having been bungled by the scribe would be *brithrud* (< *rudd* 'red, bloody', often found with *cledyf*): this would give proest rhyme with *darwed*.
- 198 **gwaet bri am darwed** Lit. 'blood of fame does it bring to me'. With vb, cf. PT V.1-2 *Ar vn blyned vn yn darwed/ gwin a mall a med*. See on line 15 above. In PT 59-60, Ifor Williams translates the present lines as 'my spotted, bloodstained, fame dripping (flowing) sword', with no apparent emendation to line 197, nor comment on *am* before *darwed*. I prefer to understand *darwed* as 3sg. pres. of vb *darwed/darwein* preceded by rel. pronoun and infixed *m* (with dative sense), 'blood of fame [?bringing fame] does it [the sword of line 197] spill for me'. Collocations *gwaet/darwed*: CBT IV 1.12 (2); VII 24.32. *Bri* possibly in §24.35.
- 199f **o douyd/ o golo lle yd oed** There may be part of a line missing before *o douyd* 'by/from God' (which would give proest rhyme with *darwed*), or else *o douyd* may have been mistakenly written in anticipation of *odof* line 200. I can retrieve little certain sense from lines 199-200. The mention of *douyd* 'God', also 'Christ', if original, could suggest that there is a reference to the resurrection of Christ from the burial-place where he was (*o golo lle yd oed*, cf. CBT VI 24.35-6 *A lle yd oed druan . . . / Y werin wirin y waranda6*, where the context is rather Christ's Harrowing of Hell; CBT VII 56.25 *lle y mae*; EWGP III.6 and 12 *lle y bo*). If so, perhaps Christ is the *dof* 'the meek one' (following G s.v. *dof*) who triumphed over the *baed* 'boar', perhaps used like *twrch* for an enemy (e.g. EWSP 429 *a want twrch trwy y benn*), or for evil in general. The pair *gwyllt a dof* 'wild and tame' is very common. Christ is conceivably the subject described in lines 210-4. Very uncertain.
- 200 **o dof yt las baed** See on line 199 for possibility of *o dof* indicating agent of common impers. pret. of vb *llad*, CBT VII 36.26 and 43 *a las o la6*. For collocation *dof/dofyd*, cf. §12.11; CBT V 15.3-4. Alternatively, there may be confusion between *golo* and its synonym *godo* (< *to*) 'covering'. See also on line 206 below.
- 201 **Ef gwrith, ef datwrith** See on line 4 for possibility of 1sg., 3sg., or even impers. pret. of vbs *gwneuthur*, and of *dadwneuthur* (ModW *dad-wneud* 'to undo', or possibly 'to remake'). The hapax *datwrith* is classed as 3sg. pret. by G (< *gwrith*, who also notes vb *datrithaw*). *Ef* is either the subject (see on lines 104-5) or a preverbal particle. If 3sg., the subject of the vbs may be God (and see note on line 199), or there may be a reprise to the sword of line 197-8.
- 202 **ef gwrith ielthoed** Four syllables (see Metrical Note).
- 203 **Llachar y enw, llawffer** *Llachar* 'Brilliant, Radiant' would be as good a name for a sword as for a man (for former, cf. EWSP 404 *Llym vym par llachar ygryt*; for the latter LIDC 18.157 *Llachar mab Run*; and 18.164-6 *Bet gur gurth y var, Llachar llyv niver/ yn Aber Duwir dyar/ yn y gvna Tavue toniar*. *Llachar* is an

adj. frequently used with arms (shields, shafts, swords, etc.), but notably not present in the *Gododdin*; for collocations with *lluch* see line 204.

Llawffer 'strong of hand', a compound of *fer* (see on line 139, and end of note on line 207): note orthography *-ff-* representing ModW *llawf-ffer* (cf. *meddawt* = *medd(w)* + *dawd*), cf. CA line 392 *fer y law faglei fowys varchawc* 'strong his hand, he used to put fire beneath the fleeing horseman', and see CA 172 on *fer* in personal names. The single court poetry example of the word *llawffer* is collocated with *llachar* by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 28.31-2 *Bar anwar llachar, llawch gba6t,/ Llary lla6fer, fyryfder fossa6t*). See discussion in the General Introduction, 27-37.

- 204 **lluch llywei nifer** *Lluch/llachar* collocated in PBT 8.9 (Romani kar) *ardyrched Katwaladyr, lluch a llachar*; CBT I 9.19 (Gwalchmai) *Llachar uyg cleteu, lluch yt ardwy—glew*; II 22.27 (Seisyll Bryffwrch) *Cyfaith gar llachar, lluch ryfig—Arthur*, III 3.156 (Cynddelw) *cas llachar lluchnawt*; 12.22 *Brwysc luchyad, breisc lachar*; 17.17-19 *llachar ei derfysg . . . yn llaw lluchfar*.
- 205 **ysceinynt yn ufel** See GPC and CA 156 on range of meanings of vb 'to scatter, disperse', etc.: of weapons, CA line 316 *ysgeinnyei y onn*; forces, R1050.33-4 *ysgein dros uoroed rif toruoed taruant*; liquids, §15.65 *ysceinat dilyw*; gifts, etc.; and figuratively of fame (*clot*), and song as in PBT 1.35 (Daronwy) *eu gwawt a yscein*. It is used, as here, following *lluch*, of sparks, by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr (CBT I 7.50-51 *Eurllew Llechysgar/ Lluch ysg6n pan esgein uuelyar* 'the splendid lion of [the battle of] Llech Ysgar, dazzlingly swift as he showers sparks'. See note on §24.41 *huyscein*. The subject of the vb is presumably the *nifer* of line 204 (pl. in sense).
- 206 **o dos (ms dof) yn uchel** Emendation as suggested by G s.v. *dof*. See on line 16 above. Are these lines referring to flashes of lightning produced by the agitation of the moist clouds? Or, in light of *ieithoed* and *llawffer* (202 and 204), is there an echo of Isaiah 40:10, 15 'Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand. . . Behold the nations are as a drop of a bucket'?
- 207 **Bum neidyr vreith y mryn** Cf. line 38 *neidyr vreith gribawc*.
- 208 **gwiber** < L. *vipera*, rare in early poetry (but cf. CBT III 3.16, with *nadred*).
- 209 **ser gan Gynbyn** Understanding *ser(r)* 'billhook, sickle' with [i.e. in the hands/paws of] the Cynocephali. See EIF 480, 489-90, on the medieval Irish sickle (*serr, corrán*) and billhook (*fidbae*). Tal 111 first suggested that the *Cynbyn* were the Cynocephali, the monstrous Dog-heads found on the borders of the world in medieval maps, frequently in the east. Small male and females with canine heads and small tails are pictured above the Yppanis River on the Hereford Mappamundi, and although they are named *Gigantes*, they are to be identified with the Dog-heads who had long been associated with India: Scott D. Westrem, *The Hereford Map* (Turnhout, 2001), 40; *Etymologiae* XI.iii.12 and 15; John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge MA, 1981), 4, 72-4, 84. The Hereford Map places the named Cynocephali in Scandinavia, where they are clearly to be seen holding their trade-mark weapon, a double-bladed axe, a detail which may have been known to the author of our poem. In LIDC 31.43-4 (Pa 6r) *Ym minit Eidin/ amuc a Chinbin* they are again found on the margins of the oikoumene, 'in the mountain of Eidyn' (Edinburgh), being attacked by Arthur and his men; and see discussion by P. Sims-Williams, 'The early Welsh Arthurian poems', in AW 33-71, pp. 43-4, suggesting that

Gwrgi Garwlwyd may also have been imagined as a dog-man.

W. *Cynben* is paralleled by OIr *Coin-chenn*. Knowledge of the Cynocephali was transmitted not only by the encyclopaedists, Pliny, Solinus and Isidore, but also with Alexander material and texts dealing with the Marvels of the East: the late-10c *Beowulf*-manuscript — which contains the prose *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, a Wonders of the East text, the Life of St Christopher (himself a Dog-head), as well as *Beowulf* — illustrates the appeal of this spectrum of material in late Anglo-Saxon England: see Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript*, second edition (Toronto, 1995). See further on line 65 above, the introduction above, and the two Alexander poems in the Book of Taliesin (§16 and §17). The *Chanson de Roland* presents some of the monstrous semihumans who have been seconded to the Saracen army — some are spined, others are ‘dog-headed’ (C. Meredith Jones, ‘The conventional Saracen of the songs of geste’, *Speculum* 17 (1942) 201-25; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), 125-6).

- 210 **bum bwystuer ryn (ms *hyn*)** The hapax *bwystfer* ‘lance for hunting animals’ (*bwyst* < L. *bestia* + *ber*) forms a pair of weapons with *ser*, line 209. *Ryn* is used of weapons, e.g. CBT V 26.124 *A’th waew rut yn rynn ymwossod*; *r* may have been misread as *h*. Four syllables unless *bum* is a disyllable.
- 211 **Vyg cassul a’*m* kawc** *Cassul* < L. *casula* ‘chasuble, cassock, cloak’, not otherwise attested in early poetry. The rhyme indicates that *kawc* is a disyllable and therefore that the line has six syllables. The only other early example is §4.173 *kawc, pwy a’e dylifas*. GPC compares Ir. *cuäch* ‘cup, goblet, bowl’ (Lexique C-258-9) and OE *cēac*. Both terms, as well as the *mwc* (if incense) of line 213, suggest that the Taliesin persona is posing as a priest.
- 212 **armaaf nyt yn drwc** The meaning ‘prepare, intend’ proposed by CLIH 57 (accepted by EWSP 514) is suitable here and in PT VI.24 *armaf y blwydyn nat wy kynnyd*; CBT I 4.28 *armaa ui*; 14.5 *armaaf*. Six syllables without contraction. *Nyt yn drwc* ‘not badly’ is not a usual construction in poetry: *nyt drwc* would be the more usual adverbial phrase (cf. PT IX.5 *Nyt mawr ym dawr*) giving five syllables.
- 212 **Petwar vgeint mwc** *Mwc* understood as ‘cloud of smoke’, as in CBT II 26.193 (see note p. 474); perhaps here for incense. *Mwc/drwc* rhyme in §4.169-71 *Gogwn da a drwc,/ cwd a . . ./ cwd amwehenir (em.) mwc*; §6.11-12 *Py datwyreith mwc?/ pyt echenis drwc?*; PBT 1.50/55 (Daronwy); also EWSP 442.
- 214 **ar pawb a dydwc** *Ar* either ‘on’, or ‘to, towards’ (GPC s.v. *ar* (7)). In CBT V 19.9-10 *Geir uy geir o’r peir y perthyn—ar ba6b/ O bobloet dyfestin*, the force of *ar pawb* is not certain: the second line is translated by the editors as ‘which has to do with everyone of the peoples who approach swiftly’. 3sg. pres. of vb *dydwyn* ‘to carry, bear’ + prep. *y* indicating ‘to’ (a person). But the 2sg. impv. is used with *ar llaw* in Owain Cyfeiliog’s Hirlas Owain (CBT II, poem 14) in the sense of serving or bearing drink to the hand of various warriors.
- 215 **Pymp pemhwnt aghell** See on line 169. GPC *angell* ‘shoulder, arm, claw, hand, haunch’ (of venison in CA line 624), which would make some sense with *kyllell* line 216; its use in hydronymy is discussed in EANC 92. However, it seems more likely to be a borrowing from L. *ancilla* ‘maiden’, as suggested in ChwT 21, or its Celtic-Latin variant *ancella*, also possibly found seen in the female personal

name, *Melangell*. The word is used in the same sense as OIr *cumal*, 'female slave, bondwoman, maid', thence 'unit of value', 'recompense', etc. (DIL s.v.). The vb in line 216 would favour this interpretation. *Pemhwnt* is restricted, with no instances in CBT corpus.

- 216 **a ymtal a'm kylllell** See GPC s.v. *tal* for meanings 'pay', 'to be worth', etc. *Ym-* can be reflexive in force, or in some cases intensifying. It is not clear whether the subject of the vb is still the bowl of line 211, but that is assumed here — a vessel of some sort (a censer, perhaps) along with his knife (understanding *a'm kylllell*), the total worth 250 *ancillae* (or choice cuts!). Rather uncertain.
- 217 **march melynell** *Melyn*, very common in descriptions and names of horses + *gell*, a near synonym. See notes to §15 'Canu y Meirch'.
- 218 **canweith yssyd well** §23.23 *Kanweith cyn bu lleith*; 8 examples in CBT corpus. *Yssyd well* corresponds to the pattern sometimes regarded as older in discussions of CA *wr well no Chynon*, etc., cf. Kenneth Jackson, 'Some questions in dispute about early Welsh literature and language', *SC* 8/9 (1973/4), 1-32, pp. 3-4.
- 219 **Melyngan** Understood as the name of Taliesin's horse (*melyn* + *can* 'pale'). *Melyngan Mangre* is the name of Llew's horse in Triad 38 (TYP³ 103-4).
- 220 **cyfret a gwylan** The comparison is with the swiftness of the seagull, rather than its whiteness (as in Edmyg Dinbych line 35, nature englynion, etc.).
- 221 **Mihun nyt eban** *Mihun* 'I myself', cf. §13.49 *mi hun a'm gwarawt*; CC 20.150 *My hun*, etc. GPC *eban* 'sluggish, dispirited, feeble': uncommon, but used in R578.11 (Cyfoesi), and by Cynddelw (CBT IV 16.26 and 209).
- 222 **kyfrwg mor a glan** See on §23.4 *kyfrwnc allt a hallt* (em.) *ac echwyd*.
- 223 **neu gorwyf gwaetlan** 1sg. pres. vb *goruot* (with perfect force, see G 565).
- 224 **ar naw (ms arnaw) cant kynran** Cf. line 196 above; PBT 2.6 and 32 (Glaswawt); LIDC (Pa ŵr) 31.59-60 *Nau cant guarandaw/ chuechant y eirthau*; 31.89 *Nau ugein kinran*; CBT II 25.21; IV 4.34; 6.118; VII 36.96, etc. I understand *ar* as prep. lit. 'on', 'for' rather than ModW *â'r* 'with the nine hundred warriors'. It is difficult to retain the ms reading *arnaw* since it cannot refer back to the fem. noun, *gwaetlan* 'massacre'. GPC *cynran* 'foremost warrior' (< *cyn(t)* + *bran* 'raven'), common in verse. GodA 194 connects it rather with L. *centurio* 'centurion, commander of a century'; cf. P. Sims-Williams, *B* 38 (1991), 39, and A.J. Hughes, *Ériu* 44 (1993), 95-8. *Cynran* is occasionally collocated with *cant* and its compounds (e.g. CBT II 12.11 *deckant kynran*; V 23.66-7; V 28.21), and regularly rhymed with *llan*, *cadlan*, *creulan*, *glan*, etc.
- 225 **Rudem vyg ky<l>chwy** Understanding *rudem* 'ruby; red gem; ruby-coloured'; cf. §7.32 *a rudem a grawn*; CBT III 5.105 (with *kylchwy*, line 103). *Kylchwy* is used for a round shield, for 'girdle, belt' (as in CBT III 5.103), and 'region, environs'. The first is preferred, forming a pair with the shield-ring in line 226.
- 227 **Ny ganet yn adwy** Impers. pret. of vb *geni* (G); possibly consider *gannet* (< vb *genni* 'to be contained'). It seems likely that one or more lines may be missing here: compare CC 20.10-11 *Ny dyfu, ny dyfyd./ Neb cystal a Douyd*; and especially 20.12-13 *Ny ganet y'n plwyw/ Neb kystal a Dwyw*. Here, possibly supply *neb kystal o Dwy* or similar ('there was not created in the breach by God anyone as good [as me]').
- 228 **a nu <n>ym gowy** *Nu* 'now', see on §4.61 *nu ny chwenychawt* (em.); PBT 7.19 *nu oes nuedi*; LIDC 17.30 *nv neud araf*; CBT I 3.154 *nu ny bu gelwyt*; II 2.39 *nu*

neut ethy6; 18.46 *nu bei gallwn* (em.). 3sg. pres. vb *gofwy ~ gowy* 'to visit'. Myrddin complains that no mistress visits him (LIDC 16.44 *nym goffvy gortech*), and the Old Man laments that no-one comes to him anymore (EWSP 418). See end of the commentary on line 230 below.

- 229 **nāmyñ Goronwy** Cf. PBT 1.10 (Daronwy) *gwawr gwyr Goronwy*. Gronw, and Gronwy (Bebr), reduced forms of this commonly attested name, are used in the story *Math fab Mathonwy* (see PKM 286) for the lord of Penllyn, who was also active in Ardudwy. On the formation of the name, see P. Sims-Williams, in FS Evans 205-6. Whether that Gronw is the character in question is uncertain.

Attested historical figures called Goronwy tend to be northern and 12c onwards. For example, Goronwy, son of the poet, Gwalchmai ap Meilyr (whose death is mentioned in CBT I 12.14, and who may be the one mentioned in the elegy for Owain Gwynedd's warband (CBT IV 5.16). Another Goronwy, son of Owain ab Edwin, was a brother-in-law of Gruffudd ap Cynan. In Powys, CBT II 14.19 *Kanawon Goronwy*, may refer to a shadowy brother of Owain Cyfeiliog, and CBT 14.106 refers to a G. fab Einion ap Seisyll, an official at Powys court who married a daughter of Owain Cyfeiliog. The name is used for several generations of the eminent and learned family of Ednyfed Fychan, seneschal of Gwynedd. His son, Goronwy (by Gwenllian, daughter of Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd) led the Gwynedd army in 1263 against king's forces, in Gwent, and he negotiated with Ottobuono, the papal legate. He held extensive lands in Anglesey, Arllechwedd and Ceredigion. His death notice (ByT (Pen 20) s.a. 1268) indicates his eminence: 'steward (*distain*) to the prince, a man eminent in arms and generous with gifts and wise of counsel and true of deed and pleasant of words', as do elegies by Bleddyn Fardd (CBT VII 45) and Y Prydydd Bychan, and see further CBT VII, 533 n.2. But the name is too common to make any identification, especially one so late.

- 230 **Doleu Edrywy** Referring to LIDC 18.152 (Englynion y Beddau) *Bet Silit Dywal in Edrywy le*, Thomas Jones cautions that there may have been several places called Edrywy (EyB 111). Evidence for the possible river- or place-names is listed by R. J. Thomas, 'Enwau afonydd â'r ôl-ddodiad -wy', *B* 7 (1933-5), 117-33, *B* 8 (1935-7), 27-43 (pp. 27-8). On the south-west coast, Traeth Edrywy was identified with Newport Sands (Trefdraeth, Pems.) in the notes to Henry Owen (ed.), *The Description of Penbrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys* (London, 1892-1936), part 2, p. 439, following Lewis Morris, who noted also Carreg y Drowy or Edrywy off nearby Morfa Point (OS Carregdrywy). Further north-east, a River Drywi flows into the sea south-west of Gilfach yr Halen, not far from Henfynyw (Vetus Rubus). These southern locations are outside the geographical area usually associated with Taliesin's exploits and companions.

The *Edrywy ard* 'the height of Edrywy', mentioned in The Sick Man of Abercuawg, is perhaps to be located in the vicinity of Machynlleth (CLIH 166; Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The provenance of the Llywarch Hen poems: a case for Llan-gors, Brycheiniog', *CMCS* 26 (1993), 27-64, pp. 40-41). The Bedwenni example occurs after mention of Ardudwy, but is not conclusive (LIDC 15.17).

A northerly Edrywy is evidenced in the 12c in Gwalchmai's praise of Rhodri son of Owain Gwynedd, *Am draeth Edrywy adrywet brein*, suggesting a coastal location in one of the areas in which he was known to have been active as a warrior — Anglesey, Llŷn, Arfon, or near Aberconwy (CBT I 11.71). Rhian

Andrews makes the good suggestion that this may refer to Traeth Penllech, north of Llangwnnadi in Llŷn and site of a rock called Carreg Drewi; Edrywy may have been the old name for the river now known as Afon Fawr, which flows to the sea at Traeth Penllech. She notes also that Prydydd y Moch's reference to the same ruler's victory on the coast of Llŷn (CBT V 5.41-52) is likely to refer to the same spot: 'Golwg ar yrfa Gwalchmai', *LIC* 27 (2004), 30-44 (p. 42 n.76). The 14c poet Sefnyn's praise of Goronwy Fychan ap Tudur of Penmynydd (Anglesey) and his wife, Myfanwy from Pengwern, Llangollen, claims that his song to her will be joyful *o'r Drefwen hyd Edrywy*. Erwain Rheinalt suggests a contrast between Whittington, in Shropshire, and a far westerly or northerly location, possibly on the coast of Gwynedd: GSRh 3.9 and pp. 32-33.

The note of complaint about the lack of visitors (227-8) and the mention of having been a *heusawr* 'shepherd, herdsman' (232) may suggest that Taliesin is making a textual reference to the plight of figures in story, such as Myrddin, the Old Man, and the lonely and afflicted Claf of Abercuawg — perhaps known as Goronwy — who locates himself 'in the meadows (*doleu*) of the R. Cuawg' and near 'the height of Edrywy', i.e. in the Machynlleth region (EWSP 448-52). By an imaginative turn of the tables, is this wretched figure now bringing solace to Taliesin? A few words in Kat Godeu are found also in Claf Abercuawg, but they cannot constitute a case for direct influence: 149 *wherthinawc/28b chwerthinat tonn*; 224/32a *kynran*; 222 *rwg mor a glan/27b y rwng graean a gro*; 225 *rudem vyg kylchwy/8b neur laesswys vyg kylchwy*; 64 *amatgun/17a kein pob amat*. See further on line 232.

- 231 **Hirwynn vy myssawr** *Hirwyn* of fingers in LIDC 18.114 (of Beidiawg Rhudd); of ash trees by the headwaters of a river (EWGP VI.1); of summer (CBT I 29.28); a maiden's cheek (CBT I 9.58). CA line 611 has *byssed*, as does CBT VI 36.7 (there are no CBT examples of *byssawr*).
- 232 **pell na bum heussawr** *Pell* of time rather than distance, cf. AP line 13. A broadly comparable construction with *na* is found in CBT I 9.89 (Gwalchmai) *Pell nad hunabc gbenn* 'it was a long time ago that the fair one was not a slumberer'. Taliesin's fingers are delicate and white since he has long since ceased to be a herdsman. This is a reversal of the fate of Heledd, the princess who ends up dressed in hard goat skins tending a cow. After a fine martial career, the Sick Man (possibly a leper) of Abercuawg withdrew to run his homestead (*tydyn*), but he became too infirm to tend beasts (*milet ny chatwaf*), and the cow lane (*beuder biw em.*) is empty.
- 233 **Treigleis ymywn llawr** See GPC *treiglaw* for range of meanings, of which 'change, assume form' is the most suitable here, as in line 235. Used perhaps of transformation of water in CC 12.29 *cv treigil* (although 'flow' is also possible). *Y mywn* 'in, into'; the same form common in Book of Taliesin (CC 20.124; Edmyg Dinbych line 53), Red Book of Hergest (EWGP III.15, etc.), and elsewhere (see GPC). GPC *llawr*² for meanings 'champion, hero; unique, alone, pre-eminent', etc., also used as a personal name. Collocated with *byssawr*, as here, in CBT I 1.25 *Rywiscuis llaur am y vyssaur eur amaervy*, and with vb *treiglaw*, CA 261 *treiglessyt llawr lloegrwys giwet*.
- 234 **lleenawr** Disyllabic *lle-en* (< L. *legendum*) in CBT I 16.4 (Elidir Sais, 13c). *Lleenawr* is a medieval hapax, but must mean 'reader, learned man', perhaps synonymous with *lleenawc*, and with *llyfrawr* < L. *librarius* a word which

developed the meaning 'soothsayer, enchanter' according to Thomas Jones (see on §1.38).

- 235 **kylchynais** The denominative vb *cylchynu* is rarely used in poetry, but one example occurs in a figura etymologica by Dafydd Benfras (CBT VI 35.84).
- 236 **cant ynys kysceis** Emending the order of the words with G, for rhyme, and understanding *cant ynys* as locative. The motif of visiting a multitude of islands, a feature of the Irish *immrama*, is discussed in the introduction to §18 Preideu Annwfyn.
- 237 **athrigeis (ms athrugys)** Emending with G s.v. *athrigvaw* 'stay, sojourn' (and compare the noun *athrigvad*, CBT III 24.51). The scribe may have been thinking of a *thrugeint* 'and sixty', or *athrugar* 'cruel'. *Can caer*, cf. EWSP 447.10; CBT II 25.20; V 10.80.
- 238 **Derwydon doethur** *Derwyd* 'wise man' (the Magi appear to be described as *derwydon* in CC 11.33). Other Book of Taliesin examples confirm the strong connection with singing prophecy: PBT 7.32 and 106; AP line 171, as does Dydd dyfydd line 23 *derwrtion* (recte *deruition*) *darogant*. The example in §7.71 (at the end of poem, as here) is less telling. There may be another occurrence in PT XII 36-7 *bint bydi derwyt bryt haf/ pryt mab lleenawc lliawc*. Otherwise the word is not found in hengerdd, and is significantly less common than words such as *syw*, *sywyd*, *sywedyd*, etc (discussed above, on line 174). But the connection with prophecy is made by Cynddelw (CBT III 16.I *Dysgogan derwyton*), and twice by Prydydd y Moch: CBT V 11.45 *Kynan, darogan derwyton—dydað*; V 25.43-4 *Dywaðd derwyton dadeni haelon/ O hil eryron o Eryri*. Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, however, appears to use *derwydon* simply for 'poets' in CBT I 7.82 *Derwyton ðeiniuiad* (one giving supplies to poets, of the prince, Madog ap Maredudd).
- Doethur* may be sg. or pl. (< L. *doctorem* or *doctores*). Occurrences are restricted to the Book of Taliesin: §9.17, again in connection with, and rhyming with, *Arthur*); CC 24.76-7 *A'r meint doethur a darogant/ Crist* (of prophets foretelling Christ); §4.65. *Gwr doeth, doethion* and similar phrases are used, however (e.g. R577.13, where Myrddin is addressed as *gwr doeth, darogenyd*).
- 239 **darogenwch y Arthur** The wise men are being commanding to 'prophecy [the coming of] Arthur' or to declaim prophecy before him (if prep. *y* 'to'). The unusually long heptasyllabic line could be shortened by assuming *darogenwch y* = ModW 'darogenwch chwi Arthur', and omitting the pronoun. Elision of *darogenwch* (*d'rogenwch*) may have further regularised the line, but this must remain uncertain. The noun and vb *darogan(t)* occur in secular prophecy in §1.70; PBT 7.26; 8.37; 10 (*Darogan Katwaladyr*); see also §4.45. For occurrences in late hengerdd prophecy and court poetry, see G. It also occurs in religious verse, CC 17.4; 24.73 and 76, quoted above; CBT I 4.11, etc. Armes Prydain uses the synonyms *dy(s)gogan*, *dyogan*. For other mentions of Arthur, see §§9.18-19; 18.34; 24.14, and the introduction to §18 Preideu Annwfyn.
- 240 **Yssit yssyd gynt** 'There is/exists [something or someone] that is swifter' (*cynt*, comparative adj., as understood here by G), or 'before, formerly'. Is the poet is talking of some event prefigured, or a person (?Arthur) returning in his former guise fulfilling prophecy. Uncertain.
- 241 **neur uu ergenhynt** *Neur* + *ry* perfective particle (GMW 170) or possibly *neu* + the demonstrative pron. *a*. G links *ergenhynt* with one of the vbs *arganuot* 'to perceive', *argannu* 'to sustain, hold, maintain, profess', or *canu* (with preceding

er for particle *ry*). ‘They sang/perceived/professed what happened [lit. ‘has been’]’, presumably the three cataclysmic events of lines 241–45. But possibly the lines anticipate the idea implied in the last lines of the poem that Taliesin, like Virgil, foretold Christ’s birth. If so, perhaps 240–41 could mean in a loose paraphrase: ‘There is one who is swifter still [than Arthur, i.e. Christ] and he was one whom they perceived (?foretold), along with the other three great events’. Uncertain.

- 246 **Eurem yn euryll** Understood as Taliesin likening himself to a splendid jewel: *eurem* GDG 64.37, otherwise rare; *euryll* is a hapax, perhaps meaning ‘golden ornament’, or adj. ‘golden’. It is also possible that Christ himself is being referred to figuratively here, and that because of him (‘thus’) Taliesin is *perthyll*.
- 247 **mi hud wyf berthyll** ‘I am thus [like the *eurem*] resplendent’, understanding *hud* as particle *hut wyf* ‘thus am I’ (GMW 170–71); cf. CBT I 9.52 *hud wyf llofrut*; IV 6.30 *Hud wyf uart*; V 3.11 *hut wyf i’th eduryd*, etc. Eleven of 36 examples of *hu/hut* in CBT corpus are by Prydydd y Moch, six of which precede forms of vb *bot*. *Berthyll*, similar in meaning to *berth* ‘splendid’ which is common in poetry; or else a lenited form of otherwise unattested *perthyll*. GPC favours the latter, but G notes s.v. *berthyll* ‘splendid, gifted’.
- 248 **ac ydwyf (ms *wydyf*) drythyll** *Trythyll* (perhaps ~ *drythyll*, cf. *trem/drem*, etc., as in CC 31.65c *Gnawt o benn drythyll draha*) here in a positive sense ‘lively, spirited’, possibly ‘given [new] life, invigorated’, rather than pejorative ‘lascivious, wanton’, etc. Used of spirited horses by Cynddelw (CBT III, poem 5).
- 249 **o erymes Fferyll** Disyllabic *erymes*, a variant of *armes* found in prophetic poem R1051.3 (see G, GPC and AP xl–xlix); *yrymes* is also found (BT 10, in a 14c hand, but not that of the main scribe). Seven occurrences in CBT corpus, with only one collocated with *eur*, by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 5.5).

Fferyll < L. *Vergilius*. A powerful ending to the poem as Taliesin claims the prophetic power of Virgil, well-known in medieval times for his acquaintance with the Otherworld, and as a sage and necromancer: see especially Domenico Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, translated by E. F. M. Benecke (London and New York, 1895), and Juliette Wood, ‘Virgil and Taliesin: the concept of the magician in medieval folklore’, *Folklore* 94 (1983), 91–104. By the mid-12c at least, there existed a tradition, noted by Wace (1155), that Taliesin, like Virgil, had prophesied the birth of Christ (*Wace’s Roman de Brut: A History of the British*, ed. and trans. by Judith Weiss (Exeter, 1999), 122–3, lines 4855–72:

En Bretagne aveit un devin
 Que l’on apelout Teleusin;
 Pur buen prophete esteit tenez
 E mult esteit de tuz creüz
 ‘En terre est del ciel descenduz
 Cil ki ad esté atenduz
 Ki salver nus deit, Jesu Crist.’
 La prophetie que cil dist
 Fu entre Bretuns recorder;
 De lunc tens ne fu obliee.

‘There was a soothsayer in Britain called Teleusin: he was considered a good prophet and everyone gave him much credence “From heaven to earth has descended he whom we awaited, who will save us, Jesus Christ”. The British remembered the prophecy he uttered; it was not forgotten for a long while.’

On Wace's additions, unlikely to be inventions, see references noted by P. Sims-Williams, 'Did itinerant Breton *conteurs* transmit the *Matière de Bretagne*?', *Romania* 116 (1998), 72-111, at p. 84 n.50. This is also witnessed in a note in the 13c NLW Peniarth 44 text of *Brut y Brenhinedd* (p. 56), which I am grateful to Mr Graham C.G. Thomas formerly of the National Library of Wales, for bringing to my attention.

Yn oes Cynfelyn yddoedd bardd a phrophwyd yn ynys Prydein a elwit Taliesin a hwnnw a ddywawt wrth y brenhin ygeint (recte genit) mab o vorwyn yn Galilea ac y megit ef yni fai ddegmlwydd ar hugain oed ac y crogit ef ac y cleddit ac y cyfodei or feirw yn fyw ac y goresgynnai Vffern.

'In the time of Cynfelyn there was a poet and prophet in the island of Britain and he said to the king that a son would be born of a virgin in Galilea and that he would be reared until he was thirty years of age and that he would be crucified and buried and would arise alive from the dead and would conquer Hell.'

For further poetic references to Fferyll, see G s.n. and GPB 1.22 *cynnydd Fferyll*.

6 Mabgyfreu Taliessin

Questions form the greater part of Mabgyfreu Taliessin 'Taliesin's Juvenilia' which may be thus be compared in broad terms with the tenor of poems §1 Prif Gyuarch Geluyd, §4 Angar Kyfundawt,¹ and the last sections of §18 Preideu Annwfn. In this case, however, the questions are not accompanied by other elements, such as transformation passages, boasting, reminiscences about past adventures, or displaying links with characters of story and legend (with the exception of Ceridfen, line 4, and Dylan, line 21, mentioned incidentally). Indeed, the tone is altogether more sober and measured. Many of the questions are metaphysical in nature, enquiring, for example, about the nature of the soul (lines 31-4, 47-50), the sustaining of the Earth (43-4), and the origin of sin (line 12). The last section (65-83) also addresses serious matters as it meditates on the transitory nature of human existence, asking why God has 'made us short-lived' after having provided so many bounties for man's enjoyment (74-5). Some of these varied wonders — the light of the moon, the roar of the seas, the delight afforded by mead and bragget, the succession of day and night, the characteristics of individual plants² — are touched on in the earlier question portions of the poem. Finally, we are reminded of the impending union with the grave, and the hope that we will be gathered in the end to God.

The opening of the poem (lines 1-6) pose some problems of interpretation, discussed in the commentary below, but they appear to enquire how inspiration (*awen*) was brought forth at the beginning of time, in the days before Ceridfen, perhaps attempting to stress the divine and primordial creation of the poetic gift. Then follows a challenge to 'monks who read' to answer the questions he poses, and ensnare him if they can (lines 7-9). Individuals are also harangued (*a wdost ti* 2sg. in lines 25, 31, 37 and 39), not just the monks, but also the 'skilled weaver of song', presumably a court poet (line 35). The dramatic opposition is extended further to include written material, as the speaker affects amazement that books do not know for certain about the dwelling-place of the soul, or the origin of 'the great wind and the great stream' locked in combat. Such taunts are paralleled in other more strident poems of the collection, which pour scorn on bookmen, parish priests and mumbling friars (§1 Prif Gyuarch Geluyd), on 'pathetic men involved with religious writings' and ignorant monks (§18 Preideu Annwfn), and on a range of poetic practitioners, including the *amryssonyal* 'contest-poet' (§2), the Judas-like *beird tres* and the *beird tut* of §7.20-1 and §7.14, the meretricious and puffed-up *posbeird* (§1.94), and the 'fluent flashy poets' (§7.9), as well as the hopeless poetasters in competition who are ridiculed in §2 Buarth Beird. The blanket antagonism between Taliesin and these other groups, which adds considerably to the entertainment value of the poems, is considered in the

¹ See the introductions to §§1 and 4.

² All familiar themes in other poems, as noted in the commentary.

6 Mabgyfreu Taliessin

General Introduction, 11-12, in the wider context of the collection's intent and authorship. In this particular instance, however, we see how Taliesin's questions could be cast in a quieter vein, with no claims to omniscience, but simply to direct thought to the sinner's fragile existence in a world of wondrous mysteries, and ultimately to God.

6 Mabgyfreu Taliesin

Book of Taliesin 27.13 -28.21

Kyfarchaf y'm Ren
I entreat my Lord
y ystyryaw awen:
that [I may] consider inspiration:

py dyduc aghen
what brought forth [that] necessity

kyn no Cherituen
before Ceridfen

5 kyssefin ym byt
at the beginning, in the world
a uu eissywyt.
which was in need?

Meneich a lëit,
You monks who read,

pyr na'm dywëit,
why don't you tell me,

pyr na'm eregyt,
why don't you ensnare me

10 vn awr na'm herlynyt.
now that you don't pursue me?

Py datwyreith mwc?
What made smoke rise?

pyt echenis drwc?
what engendered evil?

Py ffynhawn a dīwc
what fount radiates beauty

uch argel tywyllwc?
above the cover of darkness?

15 Pan yw kalaf kann,
Whence come white stalks,
pan yw nos lloergan,
whence comes a moonlit night

arall ny chanhwyt
[yet] another [so dark] that you cannot perceive

dy yscwyt allan?
your shield outside?

Pan yw gofaran
Why is it noisy —

- 20 **twrwf tonneu wrth lan?**
the tumult of the waves against the shore?
yn dial Dylan
avenging Dylan
dydyaed¹ attan.
it reaches towards us.
Pan yw mor trwm maen?
Why is a stone so heavy?
pan yw mor llym draen?
why is a thorn-bush so sharp?
- 25 **a wdosti pwy gwell**
do you know which is better —
ae von ae y vlaen?
its base or its tip?
Py peris parwyt
What made a partition
rwg dyn ac annwyt?
between man and the cold?
Pwy gwell y adwyt:
Whose death is better:
- 30 **ae ieuanc ae llwyt?**
a young person or an old one?
A wdosti ti peth wyt
Do you know what you are
pan vych yn kyscwyt:
when you are asleep:
ae corff ae eneit,
a body or a soul
ae argel canhwyt?
or a pale mysterious thing?
- 35 **Eilewyd keluyd,**
O skilful one of song,
pyr na'm dywedyd?
why don't you tell me?
A wdosti cwd uyd
Do you know where
nos yn arhos dyd?
night awaits the day?
A wdosti ar wyd
Do you know

¹ ms *dydahaed*

- 40 **pet deilen yssyd?**
how many leaves there are on the trees?
py drychefis mynyd
what raised up the mountain
kyn rewinyaw eluyd?
before the destruction of the world?
py gynheil magwyr
what holds up the wall
dayar yn bresswyl?
of the Earth constantly?
- 45 **Eneit pwy gwynawr —**
The lamented soul —
pwy gwelas, <² pwy gwyr?
who saw it, who recognises it?
Ryfedaf yn llyfreu
I am amazed in books
nas gwdant yn diheu
that they don't know for certain
eneit pwy y hadneu,
what the soul's dwelling is,
- 50 **pwy pryt y haelodeu;**
[and] what its limbs look like;
py parth pan dineu
from which region flow
rywynt a ryffreu,
the great wind and the great stream
ryfel anygnawt
in dire combat
pechadur periclawt.
endangering the sinner.
- 55 **Ryfedaf ar wawt:**
I wonder in song:
pan uu y gwadawt,
whence came their sediment
py goreu med·dawt,
[and] what created intoxication
o ved a bragawt;
from mead and bragget;
py goryw y ffawt
what caused their destiny

² ms ef

- 60 **amwyn Duw Trindawt?**
save God the Trinity?
Pyr ³ **traethwn-i traythawt**
Why should I declaim a declamation
namyn ohonawt?
except of Thee?
Py peris keinhawc
What created a penny
o aryant rodawt.
from rounded silver?
- 65 **Pan yw mor redegawc**
Whence comes the coursing sea
kam ⁴ **mor eichiawc?** ⁵
of such wretched sin?
Agheu seilyawc,
Death is fundamental,
ym pop gwlat ys rannawc:
it is dealt out in every country:
agheu uch an pen —
death above us —
- 70 **ys lledan y lenn,**
its veil is wide,
vch [no] Nef no'e nen;
higher than Heaven and its firmament;
hynaf uyd dyn pan anher,
a man is old(er) when born,
a ieu ieu pop amser.
and younger and younger all the time.
Yssit a pryderer
There is [something] which is a cause of worry
- 75 **o'r bressent hæd:**
because of the world's dessert:
gwedy anreufed
after [having had] great wealth
pyr y'n gwna ni byrhoedled?
why does he render us short-lived?
Digawn llawryded —
It will cause sadness —

³ ms y⁴ ms karr⁵ ms eithiawc

kywestwch a bed.

the sojourning in the grave.

80 **A'r Gwr a'n gwnaeth**

And He who made us

o'r wlat gwerthefin

(He of the exalted realm)

boet ef an Duw

may it be He, our Lord,

a'n duwch attaw o'r diwed.

who may gather us to Him at the end.

title **Mabgyfreu** Words or utterances spoken in youth, juvenilia, perhaps imagined to be declaimed by the young Taliesin, or perhaps extrapolated from line 73 *ieu ieu pop amser*. With *kyureu* of poetic speech, cf. §4.14 *kyureu ar gywyd*; §7.4 *kyfreu dyfymwedyd*; §14.40 *wyf kyfreu lawen*; CC 17.15 (BT) *vym bardgyfreu*; CC 21.75-6 *Nid edeueiste kiwrev/ beirt gouec higlev*; CBT V 25.2 *Kyureu Kyrriduen, rwyf bartoni*; speech in general, CC 20.93 (BT) *Pony derllys dy gyfreu*; God/Christ's utterances, CC 2.24 *Duwyuaul y kyffreu*; CC 13.4 *Keingyfreu, nyt ieu, nyt hyn*; birdsong, EWGP V.6 *kein gyfreu adar* (and LIDC 26.43), VI.29 and 31; EWSP 448.4 *kyfreu eichyawc* (cuckoo); generally, LIDC 35.21. See further note G s.v. and CBT I, 471 for examples of a second meaning 'wealth, possessions'.

1 **Kyfarchaf y'm Ren** On vbs *cyfarch*, *gogyfarch*, *gorgyfarch*, see §4.222, §26.5; §4.63; CC 17.3; §1.22. *Cyfarchaf i Dduw* is the usual choice with this vb in addressing God, often at the beginning of a poem: CBT I 41.1; V 17.1, 25.1; and elsewhere, III 10.21; IV 18.15; VII 24.121, etc. But *Prydydd y Moch* is the only one to have the same exact collocation, also involving *awen* and *Kyrriduen*: *Kyuarchaf y'm Ren kyuarhuaabr awen./ Kyureu Kyrriduen, rwyf bartoni* (CBT V 25.1-2). Disyllabic *Reen* and lengthened monosyllabic *rên* appear to be both in use in the CBT corpus. Here, as in §25.56-7 *Ry goruc vy awen/ y voli vy Ren*, the monosyllable gives five syllables.

2 **y ystyryaw awen** On *ystyr* and *ystyryaw*, a common vb in the CBT corpus, see §4.114-15, §5.72; otherwise the vb is limited in pre-1283 poetry to the Book of Taliesin and the Cyfoesi. The sense, presumably, is not that the poet asks God to consider or heed (or 'arrange') the *awen*, but rather that he asks that he himself may do so. But see on line 4.

3 **py dyduc aghen** *Py* is interpreted as an interrogative preceding a vb, as in lines 11, 12 and frequently elsewhere. Here it may be used substantivally ('what?'), or in the less common usage, 'why' (GMW 76-7). Although *pyr* (< *py* + *ry*) develops as a conjunction 'that' (see GMW 77 n.2 where its development is compared with that of *pan*), there are no certain examples of *py* (rather than *pyr*), but cf. perhaps §18.1-2 *Pendeuic gwlat ri/ py ledas y pennaeth dros traeth Mundi* 'the ruler of the kingdom, whose dominion extended over the tract of the world' or 'that extended its dominion. . .' (but see notes §18.1-2 for emendation of *py* > *ry*).

Angen has a range of meanings: GPC *angen*¹ 'need, want, lack, loss, adversity, distress, oppression; necessity, necessary feature; battle'; *angen*² < L. *unguentum*.

Although the sense is not entirely clear, the poet seems to be posing a question about how inspiration, a necessity (*aghen*) for man, was summoned up before Ceridfen's time. Alternatively, if *awen* and *aghen* have been transposed (CyT 165-6), 'I ask my Lord to take heed of [?my] spiritual need. What brought forth inspiration before Ceridfen?', comparing the first sentence with the sense of PT X.2 *gobwyllit y Ren oe reit*.

- 4 **kyn no Cherituen** See §10 (Kadeir Kerrituen).
- 5 **kyssefin ym byt** It would be possible to understand *kyssefin* substantivally as referring to the first man in the world, i.e. Adam (*cyssefin* is used adverbially in this context in CBT VI 25.13 *Er pan oreu Duw dyn gyssefin*), or more generally, as pl., 'the first ones'. It seems unlikely that Ceridfen herself is meant. In the translation *kyssefin* is understood adverbially (CyT 167), comparing the *byt/eissywyt* collocation in §26.7-8.
- 6 **a uu eissywyt** GPC s.v. noun and adj. *eisiwed/eisiwyd* < L. *exiguitas*, 'want, need; lack, loss; needy', etc. See §26.7-8 *py gynheil y byt/ na syrth yn eissywyt*; CC 10.13 *Nyt oes ludet nac eissywet y' th wlat, Dofyd*; 24.109 *eissywedid*, all from Book of Taliesin; six examples in CBT corpus.
- 7 **Meneich a lëit** GPC s.v. *mynach, manach*. Cf. *myneich*, and *mynych* (corrected by the scribe to *myneych*) in §18.49 and 53. Ifor Williams, 'Dy-we-yd', *B* 13 (1948-50), 199-201 transmitted Henry Lewis' suggested emendation *a leit* > *llëyc* 'layman, laymen' (via *leic*). This is palaeographically plausible, and would certainly give good sense: GPC s.v. *lleyg* (< L. *lāicus*) accepts the emendation, providing examples where *ysgolheigion* (scholars), *offeiriaid* (priests) and *athrawon* (teachers) are contrasted with laymen. Williams saw here 'the Taliesin of the legends with his usual challenge to the learned men of the court and the church' (p. 200, translated).

If the ms reading *a lëit* is retained, the forms of the vb *llëu* 'to read' which might be involved are either the 2pl. pres. (*lëyt*), as at the end of lines 8-10; or 3sg. pres. abs. (*lëit* or *lëyt*). Both are problematic usages. In the former case, a 2pl. vb would agree with the subject *meneich*: such agreement is commonly found with pronouns, and according to GMW 61, the *ti a disgyneist* pattern may be influenced by Latin; cf. CC 10.8 *Ti a nodyd a rygeryd* 'you protect those whom you love'; CBT VI 26.21 *ti a'i cehy*; 26.9 *ti a brofy*; Peniarth ms 14, p. 87 *Chuychvy . . a levch y dedyf*, etc. By contrast, there are examples where 3sg. vb is used: CC 1.1 (Juvencus englynion) *ti dicones*; CBT VI 10.24 *Ys ti a brthyd*.

The 3sg. pres. abs. form would not normally be expected after the rel. pronoun (at least not by comparison with the functional OIr system of abs. and conjunct). However, there appears to be a parallel usage in CA line 455 *an gelwit e Nef bit athledawr* 'He who calls us to Heaven, may he be a ?slayer' (noted by Graham R. Isaac, *The Verb in the Book of Aneirin* (Tübingen, 1996), 354-5), and also in line 451 *nar . . an deliit kynllwyt*, 'a lord who captures for us a wolf', according to the interpretation in CA 182-3. Here, the ms reading, as the *lectio difficilior* (of this, and suggested *llëyc*), is retained in the translation, and interpreted as 3sg. pres. abs. Examples of vb *llëu* in poetry: §1.1 *ry leat*; CA line 1013 *lleir*; CBT IV 17.9 (the Hendregadredd manuscript attributes this poem to Prydydd y Moch) *lleabr*; R1051.35 (prophecy) *vyg kerdeu uch llyfreu lleer*; see also GPC s.v. *darlleaw*.

- 8 **pyr na'm dywëit** Ifor Williams, *B* 13 (1948-50), 199, was confident that this was 2pl., as found also in closely related passage §26.5-8 *Kyfarchaf-y veird byt/ —*

pryt na'm dywëit —/ *py gynheil y byt/ na syrth yn eissywyt*. On these possibly early forms, see General Introduction, 24-5. Line 36 below *pyr na'm dywedyd* is a similar locution, with 2sg. pres. (-yð). On *pyr*, see GMW 77.

- 9 **pyr na'm eregyt** Some scribal uncertainty is suggested by *eregryt*, with deleting point beneath second *r*. G s.v. **eregi* 'bend, yoke, capture, ensnare', classes *eregyt* as impers. imperf./secondary fut., connecting it with *arac* 'scourge', etc. (CBT VI 2.9n, VII 25.81), but see also G s.v. *gwarac* 'bow, yoke, halter, loop', and Lloyd-Jones's note, *B* 11 (1941-4), 130-32. G also mentions the possibility of *eregyt* with medial [ŋ], to be connected with *ranc* and *rhyngu* (GPC 'reach, attain, get'). Ifor Williams, however, favoured a 2pl. pres. of a vb synonymous with 'say' (no derivation suggested) and was followed by GPC s.v. *eregyd* 'inform'. If Lloyd-Jones is right in making the connection with *arac* and *gwarac*, then 'when don't you [try to] catch me out/ensnare me [with questions]?', as in the translation; if *eregyt*, perhaps 'why don't you confront me?'
- 10 **vn awr na'm herlynyt** Ifor Williams, *B* 13 (1948-50), 200, seems to have understood *vn awr* as 'why?', but 'at one/the same time', 'some time', 'now' (?*yn awr*) seem more likely, as in the tentative translation. *Vnawr*, impers. pres. of *unaw* 'crave, desire' is not impossible: 'it is to be wished that you don't pursue me [any longer]'. *Erlynyt* is understood as 2pl. pres.
- 11 **Py datwyreith mwc** G s.v. *dadwyrein* 'rise, raise up', 3sg. pret. (rather than noun). The vb noun is commonly used: §5.45, PBT 7.101; CC 21.120, etc. The past tense, which puzzled Lloyd-Jones, is explicable if there is reference here to Scripture: e.g. Genesis 19:28 (Abraham looking towards Sodom and Gomorrah and 'lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace'); Judges 20:40 (the pillar of smoke arising from the city); Psalm 68:1-2 'Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered: let them also that hate him flee before him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away: as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God'; Wisdom of Solomon 5:15-17 'hope of the impious . . . like smoke that the wind scatters'.
- 12 **pyt echenis drwc** *Pyt* is unlikely to be < *py* since the latter is used before vowels as well as consonants (*py ymadrawd*, etc.); *py* (as in translation) or *pyr* 'why' are possible. For *echenis*, see on §4.112. The rhyme *mwc/drwc* occurs in §5.212-3.
- 13f **Py ffynhawn a dŵc/ uch argel tywyllwc** 'To restore, pay, recompense' is the primary meaning of the vb *diwyn*, as in §11.56 and 57, but here 'ornament, beautify, order' (G, GPC) is understood. The sun (or moon) is likely to be the *ffynhawn* in question, one of the three cosmic 'springs' discussed in the note to §1.18. Cf. sense of CBT I 21.10 *Ef gwnaeth lloer a llewych ar du* 'He made the moon and illumination over the darkness'. This seems more likely than a reference to the shining crystalline part of heaven. Lines 13-18 discuss aspects of darkness and light.
- 15 **Pan yw kalaf cann** As it stands this can hardly mean 'why/how is a stalk white' (the expected order would be *kalaf pan yw cann*, or (unrhymed) *pan yw cann kalaf*). The translation thus takes *cann* 'white, pale, gleaming' (used of horses, silver, land, etc.) as adj. qualifying *kalaf* rather than as vb complement. Line 16 has the same pattern. There is possible word-play since *kalaf* is used of stalks of grain, for example CC 4.8 *gwenith ar galaf* 'wheat on stalks', and *cann* can mean 'white flour' — how is it that grain-flour (*cann*) is stalks or chaff (*kalaf*).

Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets, uses *calaf*, collocated with *can* in a nature prologue describing autumn, the shortening days, the bright harvest moon showing up the path (cf. line 16 below), the neap tides coursing in the estuaries (cf. perhaps seas in lines 19-22 below): CBT V 2.2 *Calaf gan, lloer uann ll6r6 uenegi*. This poem, 'Bygwth Dafydd ab Owain', contains a number of other correspondences with the Book of Taliesin lexicon, and with its allusions. *Calaf* is also found in §3.8 *arall atwyn gwenith ar galaf*.

- 16 **pan yw nos lloergan** For the order, see on line 15. Prydydd y Moch uniquely uses the form *lloergant* 'moon' (CBT V 23.195, in rhyme position), as well as common *lloer* as in collocation cited in line 15n. *Lloergan* and *lloergant* are otherwise rare in pre-1283 poetry.
- 17 **arall ny chanhwyt** G takes *canhwyt* as 2sg. pres. of *canfod* 'to perceive, find' with Tal 242: 'Why is a night moonlit and another (so dark) that thou seest not thy shield out of doors?'
- 18 **dy yscwyt allan** The rhyme between *canhwyt* and *yscwyt* compensates for hiatus in the main end-rhyme. On *allan* (< **all* + *llann*), see Henry Lewis, *B* 13 (1948-50), 206.
- 19 **Pan yw gofaran** Like much commoner *baran*, *gofaran* is used mainly in martial contexts, e.g. PT II.14 *gwaed gohoyw gofaran*.
- 20 **twrwrw tonneu wrth lan** Cynddelw collocates *twrwrw* and *tonn* several times (CBT III 1.14; 26.20; IV 6.90), as does Prydydd y Moch in a description of a sea-journey to Porthaethwy, Anglesey, in CBT V 23.40 *meirch mordwy uch mabrdwryf tonnyar* 'ships of the flood on the great tumult of the waves'. *Twrwrw* and vb *tyrfu* is common elsewhere in marine contexts (with *aches*, *ebyr*, *eigiawn*, *glasfor*, *llanw*, *moroed*, etc.) as well as for winds, pounding horses, battle, etc. (§2.17, EWSP 407.20 *Tonn tyruit*; 445.112 [*g*] *odwryf godaran*, etc.). *Glan* is often collocated with *dylan/Dylan*; but *llan* (?Clynnog) is not impossible either.
- 21 **yn dial Dylan** Thomas Jones regarded this as a reference to Dylan Ail Ton rather than the common noun *dylan*: EyB 107. For details about the character, and for his elegy, see §22; also mentioned in §5.184.
- 22 **Dydyhaed (ms dydahaed) attan** The scribe may have been poised to write *dydaw* 'comes'. *Dydyhaed(u)*, 3sg. pres. gives good sense; although no other forms of this vb with double prefix are attested, there are a number of such formations in *dydy-* (see G s.v.). The simplex *haedu* means 'reach, grasp for' in §2.41, as does the single prefix form, *dyhaeddu* in CC 21.104 *ny'm dyhaetei alar*; and of the sea, CBT II 6.6 *Myn y dyhaet myr meith gybryssset* 'where the seas reach [the shore] in endless contention'. But *haedu* frequently means 'deserve' in CBT corpus, as in ModW. Prydydd y Moch rhymes *attan* with (*mor*) *dylan*, as here, CBT V 23.93-4. Other court poets rhyme it with *baran* and derivatives, cf. line 19 (e.g. CBT II 1.168-9; IV 16.206-7).
- 24 **pan yw mor llym draen** For examples of *maen/draen* rhyme, see GPC s.v. *draen*, *draenen*. Cf. EWSP 411 *Yn llym megys draen/ Nyt ouer gnif ym hogi Maen* ('sharp as thorns. It is not a vain task for me to hone Maen'). The same question (and rhyme) is found in YT 80, lines 513-14 *Paham J mae kaled maen/ Paham J mae blaenllym y draen?* 'Why is a stone hard? Why is the thorn-bush sharp-pointed?'. Compare the *Adrian and Epictitus* question and answer: *Quid est acutum quod numquam acuitur? Spina est* 'What is the sharp thing which is never

sharpened? A thorn', *Gespräch* 13, no. 31. Thorns and thistles were a consequence of Man's sinning in Eden: Genesis 3:18.

- 25f **a wdostf pwy gwell/ ae von ae y vlaen** This question is unlikely to refer to a single thorn: the whole thorn-bush is more natural with *bon* ('trunk, base') and *blaen*. *Bôn* is used of a tree, tongue, tooth, horn, wing, backside, etc. See on §1.32-5 for *gwyd* ('trees') with *blaen* and *bon*.
But line 25 lacks rhyme, and the text may be corrupt. Perhaps supply *caen* 'covering' (often rhymed with *maen* and *blaen*): 'which is the better covering?' (six syllables if *wdost* rather than *wdosti* (= *wdost ti*).
- 27f **Py peris parwyt/ rwg dyn ac annwyt** Both G and GPC treat this example s.v. *annwyt*² 'cold, chill', understandably since *parwyt* (from an oblique case of L. *paries*), is generally a concrete noun, and could mean here the wall of a shelter from the cold outside, cf. perhaps Job 24:7. Or is it man's nature to be warm-blooded? It is unlikely that *parwyt* could refer to the layer of clothing necessitated by Man's first sin (Genesis 3:21). Since the question precedes the metaphysical enquiries of lines 29-34, the meaning 'nature, innate property' (or even 'soul') is a possibility. Note the same collocation in CC 33.5 *parwydyd eluyd peris prif da* 'the good [Lord] created the divisions of the world' (referring to fire, air, sea, earth); cf. CBT VII 23.21-2 *Gwr a beris lloer, llbry goleuni, / Gwr a beris heul. Peris*, cf. line 63 below; common with God as subject: PT IV.13 *Duw ryth peris*; CC 12.21 and 41; 14.51; 33.35 and 36; and in CBT corpus.
- 29f **Pwy gwell y adwyt/ ae ieuanc ae llwyt** *Gwasgargerdd Fyrddin* (R584.36-7) prophesies *pallant ieueinc rac adwyt/ mei marb cogeu rac annbwt*. Otherwise *adwyt* (= *addwyd*) 'death, misfortune' restricted to Book of Taliessin: Edmyg Dinbych line 31; CC 10.10; §23.26 (where *ydwet* is emended to *adwyt* for rhyme).
- 32 **pan vych yn kyscwyt** The 2sg. pres. subjunct. form *bych* is uncommon in poetry, but found in a didactic religious englyn CC 29.4b, and in eight instances in the CBT corpus, six of which are by Prydydd y Moch (see CBT V, 310); the other two are in CBT VII 33.2 and 46.28.
- 33f **ae corff ae eneit/ ae argel canneit (ms canhwyt)** Accepting the emendation *canhwyt* > *canneit* 'white, radiant, brilliant' for rhyme suggested in Tal 242-3, and supported by G. Morris-Jones also proposed a plausible emendation of *argel* to *angel* 'angel' (angels are described as *goleu*, *gloyw*, etc.) but here *argel* is retained, and understood as a substantive use of the adj. 'hidden, apart, mysterious'. Although there is no precise correspondence, the threefold possibilities bring to mind the questions about the resting-place of the soul during sleep (whether in the heart, blood or brain): *Collectanea Ps-B* 122: *Dic mihi vbi sit anima hominis quando dormiunt homines? In tribus locis: aut in corde, aut in sanguine, aut in cerebro*, discussed 199-200. Further examples are noted in PSol&Sat 105-6. The Welsh *Adrian ac Epig* has *Ymha le y bydd eneit dyn pan vo yn kysgu? Yn yr ymennydd a'r gwaed a'r gallon*, *Gespräch* 70, no. 54. Questions enquiring what sleep is are accompanied by the reply 'a mirror of death' (*Quid est somnus? Imago mortis: Altercatio* 113, no. 20).
- 35 **Eilewyd keluyd** On *eilewyd*, see §4.44, and for this example, PT 60-61 where Ifor Williams notes that *eilewyd* is not necessarily 'singer' rather than 'song', and that *e. keluyd* may be 'thou of the skilful song'. Here *keluyd* is understood substantivally for *keluyd*: for further examples, see note on §4.13.

- 37f **A wdosti cwd uyd/ nos yn arhos dyd** See notes on §1.39-41 *pan daw nos a lliant,/ pan vyd y diuant,/ cwd a nos rac dyd* and §14.6-7 *Neu nos, cwt dyuyd?/ kwd dirgel rac dyd*.
- 39 **pet deilen** On *pet*, see §4.116 and 191.
- 41f **py dyrchefis mynyd/ kyn rewinyaw eluyd** Cf. possibly Job 9:5 ‘Which removeth the mountains, and they know not: which overturneth them in his anger’. If the fut. tense (*dyrchafawt*) or pres. subjunct. (*dyrchafwy*) were substituted for the pret., the lines could refer to one of the Signs of Doomsday, the *dayar gychwyn* ‘the raising up of the earth’ or the exploding mountains described in the poem, *Armes Dydd Brawd* (CC 20.43n.), and in many other Day of Judgment texts. For forms of vb *rewinyaw*, cf. AP line 150; §11.86; PBT 4.17 (*Dyogogan awen*); *Echrys Ynys* line 4; CC 20.85; also LIDC 16.41. Unlike *rewin* ‘ruin, destruction’ (< L. *ruina*), the vb is not used in the CBT corpus.
- 43f **py gynheil magwyr/ dayar yn bresswyl** On *py gynheil* and its use in questions about the holding up of the Earth, see §26.7 and introduction to §26. Used frequently of God’s sustaining of Heaven and the moon: e.g. CBT VII 25.56; VII 52.37; CBT II 31.1. GPC *magwyr* < L. *macēria* ‘wall, fortification, bulwark’, etc.) as in CBT IV 1.51 *am uagwyr uein*. Cf. Job 38:4-6 ‘Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? . . . Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened?’. Since *presswyl* can also be a noun (‘abode, home’), ‘as a dwelling [for mankind]’ is also possible. Here, with GPC, *yn bresswyl* is understood as adverbial. Generic rhyme.
- 45 **eneit pw y gwynawr** Because a rhyme in *-wyr* (or *-wyl*, or *-wyð*) is required here, and because of the lenition after *pw y*, G s.v. *gwynawr* questions whether the vb is a form of *cwynaw* ‘to lament’ (impers. fut.) as in CBT III 28.35 *Er-yth-gwynawr*, etc. The scribe may have been anticipating *pw y gwelas* or *pw y gwyr* in line 46, and if so, restore *cwynawr*; and perhaps emend *pw y* > *pyr* ‘why’. Rhyme suspension may have been condoned if there was a dense correspondence between two lines such as we have here. The translation is very uncertain.
- 46 **pw y gwelas ef pw y gwyr** 3sg. pret. *gwelas*, as in PT XI.44; *gweles*, however, in VII.19, VIII.3, §17.16 and 18, and generally in CBT. See further G 653-4. Since lines 49-50 treat *eneit* as a fem. sg. noun, delete *ef*, understanding *pw y* to contain the object pronoun. Questions about the soul generally turn on its invisibility: e.g. *Quis est quod tangitur et non videtur? Anima hominis* ‘What is felt and not seen? Man’s soul’, W. Willmanns, ‘Ein Fragebüchlein aus dem neunten Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 15 (1872), 166-80, no. 1.
- 47 **Ryfedaf yn llyfreu Ryfedaf**, cf. line 55 below; PT II.27; EWSP 442.90; CC 30.1, and common in CBT corpus (see on §17.1). Overt references to books are quite common in the Book of Taliesin: §4.115-16 *Ystyrywyt yn llyfreu/ pet wynt, pet ffreu*; §10.37 *nyt wy dyweit geu llyfreu Beda*; CC 17.13 *Abreid o’ m dyweit llythyr llyfreu* ‘scarcely do books tell me about. . .’; CC 24.10 *Sywedyd llyfreu*. Elsewhere: *Marwnad Cynddylan* line 57 *myneich llyfyr afael*; CC 3.17-18 *llevreu a llyther*; CC 31.9 *yn darllein llyuyr Cato*; R583.11 (Cyfoesi) *llyfreu awen*; R1051.35 (prophecy) *vyg kerdeu uch llyfreu lleer*; R1053.41 (prophecy) *a synhwyr llwyr llyfreu*; LIDC 25.8 *llyvir*; CBT I 16.4 *llyfreu llen*; 27.92 *llen a llyureu*; II 5.2 *A draetha llyfreu mor llóyr*; 26.157 *llen a llyfreu*; III 21.185 *llyuyr canon*; VI 31.38, VII 32.18 *llen a llyvreu*; 33.75-6 *son clych—a llyfreu./ Kerdeu, telyneu, crastanneu crych*; 40b.118-19 *lles llyfraw/ Llyfraw llaswyrâu*, etc. See

also on §1.38 *lyfyryon*, AP line 193 *llyfrawr*; §5.7-8 *Bum geir yn llythyr./ bum llyfyr ym prifder*.

- 48 **nas gwdant** See on §1.38.
- 49 **eneit pwy y hadneu** *Adneu* used in context of burial in §21.7 *kyn no'e adneu*; EWSP 458.6c *garv atnev*; R1050.22-3; EWGP IV.1 *gnawt adneu yn llann*; CBT V 13.21 *neud adneu*, etc. The question here is concerned with the problem of where the soul rests, as opposed to the body deposited in the grave.
- 50 **y haelodeu** *Aelod* not otherwise attested in pre-1283 verse.
- 51f **py parth pan dineu/ rywynt a ryffreu** The vb *dineu* 'to flow, pour' is collocated with *adneu* in EWSP 548.6 (of blood); CBT IV 6.60 (blood), cf. CBT IV 2.20 *amdineu*; VII 41.46 (rain). Of sea, CC 10.6 (BT) *neur dineuwy*. *Rywynt* 'great wind', otherwise restricted in poetry to three examples: CBT V 30.4 *Ys kynt no rywynt uch rut wybrenn*; V 1.127-8 *gynt/ No rywynt uch Ryd Nuc* (cf. V 1.152 *mabryynt*); VI 18.121 *tbr6f rywynt*. See §11 on treatments of wind in general.
- For common *ffreu* 'stream', see on §4.116; on *ryffreu*, *amgyffreu* cf. §23.46, PBT 5.4; PBT 8.15 *mynut ryffreu*; Pen3Oianau 127.195 *a rwyf o wynt a ryfreu o law*. *Amryffreu*: CC 2.22 *a fop amriffreu*; CBT VII 40.12, etc.
- 53 **ryfel anygnawt** GPC² classes other examples of *anynawt* s.v. *annawd* 'unusual, strange' (see on §5.178), following G s.v. *gnawt* (538), and Lloyd-Jones' note, 'Anynawd, annawd', *B* 11 (1941-4), 124-5. There he retracted the meaning 'dolorous, sad, bitter' s.v. *anynawt* where he was uncertain whether the word was to be connected with *anynal* and *anygnat* (see discussion on §2.21 *pen anygnat recte pennaf ygnat*, and see §11.79 *Ny wybyd anygnat*). See also CBT VI 33.8 *Ry anynawt o beth a bregethir* where G is followed, understanding an orthographical realization of disyllabic *annawt* (< *gnawt*) 'unusual; strange'. The second example, GC 6.37-8 *Y cof ys ynof, ys anynawd—y try./ Tragywydd, o'm ceudawd* clearly supports G, although the note at p. 123 does not explain the orthography and thus the apparent 'long' line in that example. A third example is *Chueris guaut o anynawt* (Peniarth 17, *B* 4 (1927-9), 5).
- Nevertheless, as G s.v. indicated, our present example requires a trisyllable, not the proposed disyllabic *annawt* above. A possibility might be to derive it from intensifying *an-* + *yng* 'duress' + *nawt* 'nature' (cf. compounds *yngres*, *yngloes*, etc.), meaning 'very deadly, dire' or similar. If this refers to the wind and the stream locked in wondrous or deadly combat (*ryfel anygnawt*) it may reflect the belief that thunder and lightning are produced by the wind and the waters in the clouds agitating against each other, as described by Isidore, DNR XXX.3. For the more general idea of the warring elements of the universe, see Michael Lapidge and James Rosier (ed.), *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Cambridge, 1985), 244 n.22, and references. But the problematic *anygnawt* makes the translation uncertain.
- 54 **pechadur periclawt** *Periclawt*, 3sg. fut. of *peryglu* 'to endanger; to be in danger' cf. CC 11.14 (BT) *bei mi prytrwn periclawt* (obscure); CC 19.3 *O ryret pressent periclawt*. GPC treats it as a vb form, rather than an adj. On *-awt* vb endings (3sg. fut. or passive) see §4.23. The reference to the sinner suggests that the preceding lines may refer to the cosmic disturbances preceding Judgment Day (see references with line 41 above). However, lines 53 and 54 may not be connected directly with the previous couplet: '. . . combat will endanger the sinner'.

- 56 **y gwadawt** Pronoun anticipating *med a bragawt* in line 58. Cf. §4.257 *bum y ar wadawt*.
- 57 **med-dawt** See GPC s.v. *medd-dod*, *meddwdod* 'intoxication', Cf. §2.22, AP line 102; CC 28.6 *ryuetudaud*; CA line 1021, etc. Rhymed with *anfawt*, CBT I 28.16-17.
- 58 **o ved a bragawt** Passages about alcoholic drinks are discussed in §§12 and 13, and in general in Haycock, *Drink*, and 'Medd a mêl farddoni', in FS Gruffydd 39-59. *Bragawt*, also in §9.70; Echrys Ynys line 3 *lleweis wirawt*, *gwin a bragawt*; CA line 144 *gwirawt vragawt*; CBT I 3.30 *uet a bragawd*. The word was borrowed into OIr as *bragóit* (see Haycock, *Drink* 8-9).
- 59 **goryw** See GPC s.v. *gorfyddaf*: *gorfod* for 3sg. used in sense 'to cause, make, do' perhaps through convergence with *goryw*, a variant or parallel form of *goreu* 'he made' (vb *gwneuthur*). *Goryw* is used in this sense in the Book of Taliesin: CC 15.4 and 12; 20.109; also possibly CBT III 16.108.
- 60 **amwyn Duw Trindawt** This is the only occurrence of *amwyn* 'except'. *Namyn* is the commonest of the forms (*n*)*amyn*, *namwyn*, etc., as in line 62 and elsewhere in the manuscript; this is also the case in CBT verse (*namwyn* 5 occurrences; *namyn* 20, four times with *Duw*, one of which (CBT III 8.21) echoes the saying found also in CC 31.17 *Namyn Duw nyt oes dewin*, and EWGP VI.4). See note AP 43-4 and Eric P. Hamp, '(n)am(w)yn 'except', *B* 33 (1981-3), 288.
Duw Trindawt also in PBT 9.1, CBT II 22.4 *Duw Drindawd* (cf. *Duw Trined* CBT II 26.197; V 10.53). Cf. rhyme with *ohonawt*, CC 10.16 *Kanu ohonawt, y lan Trindawt, o neb keluyd*; with *ffawt* and *traethawt* CC 21.13-15 (with *ffawt* CBT I 31.17), etc.
- 61 **Pyr <> (ms y) traethwn-i traythawt** For *pyr* 'why' immediately before vb see GMW 77. *Traythawt* is unusual orthography, cf. PT XI *Lloygyr*. On the figura etymologica, see on §4.29 *traethawt*. Rhymed with *ohonawt* in CBT I 3.14; 14.56; 28.1-2, etc.
- 63 **Py peris keinhawc** On the vb, see line 27 above. GPC s.v. *ceiniog* derives the word tentatively from *cant* 'circle, ring', noting that Ir. *cianóg* is borrowed from W. Alternatively, G. R. Isaac connects it with *Ceint* 'Kent', where coinage first became current among the Britons (*Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geography*, CD-ROM (Aberystwyth, 2004), s.v. *canto-*).
- 64 **o aryant rodawt** There may be word-play here if *keinhawc* 'penny' was perceived to be related to *cant* 'circle, ring', and if *rodawt* is formed from *rot* 'circle', or borrowed from L. *rotatus*. GPC, however, notes no such form. Another possibility, with medial *ð* is 3sg. fut. of vb *rodi* 'to give'. Generic rhyme with *awc/awt*. 'Ceiniog arian' is a name for the flower, Honesty, which has large flat silvery seed pods. But *rodawt* is easily emended to *rodawc*, for which there are two possibilities: (1) a formation from *rot* 'circle', and invariably used of a (round) shield; if so here, one decorated with silver, or gleaming like silver. But it seems unlikely that this is a pure silver shield (too soft) being recycled for use as coinage. (2) *rodawc*, see GPC s.v. *rhoddiog*, *rhoddog*, 'generous, munificent, bountiful; giver, benefactor', etc. The second is an attractive possibility, and if so, translate 'who formed a penny out of bountiful silver' or 'from the benefactor's silver'. However, the translation given is based on unemended *rodawt*, interpreted as 'rounded'.

65 **Pan yw mor redegawc** The word order seems to preclude *redegawc* as a complement, 'why is the sea coursing', and *redegawc* is understood as qualifying the noun *mor*. The same adj. describes fresh water in CC 12.28 *redecauc duwyr echwit*; the sea-wave in EWSP 405.6 *Redegawc tonn ar hyt traeth*; elsewhere of tears, horses, of gifts (CBT VII 28.20), and stream of blood (CBT V 24.56). But see on line 66.

66 **kam (ms karr) mor eichiawc (ms eithiawc)** If *karr* means a vehicle (see GPC s.v. *car*¹), it is conceivable that line 65 anticipates it: 'how is it (the cart) so coursing (i.e. so able to bowl along)?'. If G's emendation to *eithinawc* 'furzy, bearing gorse' (?also 'fierce') is right, such a vehicle may have carrying gorse, hence '(why is it) so furzy'. This seems rather awkward, but not impossible. However, if line 65 and 66 refer to two discrete items, 65 may be interpreted as '(how come) a *karr* is so furzy?', perhaps referring to a vehicle carrying, or dragging gorse (as a sort of harrow or rake?) or 'a frame, stand, crate', perhaps for holding gorse'.

Another possibility would be understand *karr* as *car yr ên* 'jawbone, cheekbone', with *eithinawc* used metaphorically for the growth of the beard. The same metaphor is used by Iolo Goch in his famous poem to his scratchy beard: *Cnwd o egin eithin wyd!* 'You are a crop of gorse shoots!', GIG 105, line 28, and by Lewys Glyn Cothi: *Penfar o aith, pwn o frwyn* 'A headstall of gorse, a load of bracken', GLGC 90.32. For this and other beard descriptions, see Dylan Foster Evans, 'Y bardd a'i farf: y traddodiad barfol', *Dwned* 2 (1996), 11-29.

Since the above suggestions give such bizarre meanings (or strained diction), it would seem preferable to emend *eithiawc* to *e(i)chiawc* (G 'free, ready, generous'; GPC '?high, loud, sad; ready, generous'), a word used in §14.14 *Yn dewis* (?recte *Dëws*) *echiawc*; EWSP 448.4 *kyfreu eichyawc* (of the cuckoos); CA line 1076 (and see p. 321). If so, *karr* 'vehicle', unless it is a misreading of a word such as *tan* 'fire', *karn* 'rock', *kam* 'sin, misdeed'. The translation is based on the tentatively restored line *kam mor eichiawc*, adopted as being more in keeping with the reflections on death which follow. Short line, however, cf. line 67.

67 **Agheu seilyawc** *Seilyawc* 'having a foundation; founded, established' is not attested elsewhere in medieval sources unlike *seil*, and vb *seilyaw* (cf. §1.4 *Neu y dan tytwet — pyar* (em.) *y seilyat*; AP line 135; CC 20.165-6 *Crist Iessu uchel./ Ryseilas*; 24.60 *Dan syr seint ryseilwys*, etc). Short line: perhaps supply *ys seilyawc*, comparing *ys rannawc* line 68.

68 **ys rannawc** See GPC s.v. *rhannog* 'shared, distributed', etc.

70 **lledan y lenn** Cf. the veil of Hell, §1.29 *pwytewet y llenn*; *llen* used in CBT corpus and elsewhere for a shroud. The form *lledan* may be for *llydan* (orthographic variant, as suggested by GPC), or a variant of *llydan* by analogy with *lled* (also mentioned by GPC), or imagined to be a feminine form.

71 **Vch Nef no'e nen** 'Higher is Heaven than its roof' or 'higher than Heaven or its roof', reading *Vch no Nef no'e nen* (for five syllables). There may be a line missing (?perhaps ending in *perchen*) between lines 71 and 72 since the poem tends to move in couplets.

72 **hynaf uyd dyn pan anher** Seven syllables. Tal 246-7 suggests emending *hynaf* to *hen*, regarded as more probable than *hÿn* 'older, but note that *hÿn* can also be a noun, 'a senior', synonymous with *hynaf*). Tal 246-7 reads *hen dyn pan anher/ a ieu pop amser* 'Man is old when he is born, and younger always', glossed by '[it]

means that he never attains in this life to the age at which he arrived in previous existence when he was born', which he relates to metempsychosis, discussed 246ff. In poem §11 *Kanu y Gwynt*, the Wind is said to be 'no older, no younger than in the beginning' (§11.7-8 *Ny byd hyn, ny byd ieu/ nogyt ydechreu*). A similar wording is used (of God) in the Old Irish *Tenga Bithnua*, ed. Whitley Stokes, *Ériu* 2 (1905), 107, *nocho n-oon, nochon sinu in cétnu*; cf. CC 13.4 *Keingyfreu, nyt ieu, nyt hyn* referring to Christ. A prayer by Iolo Goch contains passages very similar to the Book of Taliesin wind poem, as Dafydd Johnston notes (GIG 345; text 136-7; see on §11), including part of a riddling description of Christ: *Ef ny bydd hyn yn y flwyddyn,/ Ni wybydd dyn, ef ni bydd iau*. These may be related to Psalm 102:26-7 'But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end'. Paradise is also described as a 'country where man will be neither older nor younger' (CBT I 27.85 *Myn na byt dyn na hyn na yeu*). §5.193-4 *Nyt ynt hyn nyt ieu/ no mi yn eu bareu*, refers to Taliesin's opponents.

The context of the present lines suggests that they may refer, rather, to the idea of spiritual rebirth, as in John 3:3-5, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God". Nicodemus saith unto him, "How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?" Jesus answered . . . "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God". Another possibility, if *dyn* were omitted (and if a missing line had continued the theme of the firmament), would be to take the lines as a riddling description of the moon, comparing examples such as 'in the last minute of my age j do wax young againe and have so still continued since the world first begane. — the moone', *English Riddles* 38. But the parallel is not sufficiently exact to be certain.

- 74 **Yssit a pryderer** GPC s.v. *pryderaf*: *pryderu* for range of meanings often used in discussions of sin, death, Judgment, and in secular prophecy. For noun *pryder* with *pressent*, cf. PT XII.17 *Toryf pressennawl tra Phrydein tra phryder* (also with *Prydein* in Edmyg Dinbych line 45 *yscriuen Brydein bryder briffwn*; R578.43-579.1 (Cyfoesi) *ormes Brydein pryderaōr*, R1050.30, and commonly in CBT corpus); and see on §18.4 *Pwyll a Phryderi*. The vb in PBT 9.20 *Pryderaf, pwyllaf pwy y hymdeith*; §26.3-4 *Lliaws a bwyllaf/ ac a bryderaf*; CC 14.12 *O pechaud kin Braud pryderaw*; CC 33.100 *am y ffawt (em.) ny phrydera*; CA line 1029; common in CBT, including eschatological concerns: CBT I 14.49-50 *Pryderōn gyfnod dyuod Douyt/ A dafneu o'e greu ar y grocwyt* 'Let us address ourselves to the time when God will come [to show] the flecks of his blood on his Cross'; CBT V 12.14 *Pryderōn yn achlut* 'Let us consider our death', etc.
- 75 **o'r bressent hæd** Disyllabic *ha-ed* for rhyme, interpreted here tentatively as 'that which is deserved or merited' or 'goal, attainment' (the root of vb *haedu*, cognate with OIr *saigid*). Presumably because disyllabic treatment of *haed* is not discernable elsewhere (the metre indicates it is a monosyllable in CBT I 2.36 *Ryhait itaut*), G suggested emending to *hadleō* 'corruption, blight', a rare word attested in CBT V 2.70 *A'th uo hwyr hatlet a hir hoelli* 'may you have a delayed decline and a long life'; cf. *hadyl*, CBT V 10.46. See GPC s.vv. *hadledd*, and *hadl*, *haddl*. Ifor Williams, *B* 3 (1925-7), 261, discussing *aed bit* in the Computus fragment suggested *ha-ed* 'wealth' in the present example.
- 76 **gwedy anreufed** Either *an* 'our' and *reufed* 'wealth', which gives good sense, or, as understood here, a compound *anreufed*, not noted by G or GPC (but cf.

anryuedawt, anrec, etc. for the formation). Wealth (*reufed*) as an obstacle to salvation (as in gospels, Matthew 19:24, etc.) is commonly reflected on, e.g. CC 21.40-43; CBT VII 42.8; 42.33 *Ny cheiff kyuoethawc uot yn hirhoedlabc*, etc.

- 77 **pyr y'n gwna ni byrhoedled** Seven syllables; six without *ni*. The abstract noun *byrhoedled* not otherwise attested in poetry (*hirhoedled*, CBT V 36.38), but cf. CA line 354 *hoedl vyrryon*; CBT II 4.29 *hoedyluyrryon*; CA line 91 *dygymyrrws eu hoet eu hanyanawr* (echoed in CBT III 26.9 *Kymyrrws y hoedyl y hyder*); CC 31.21 *Byrrhoedlawc digassawc seint*.
- 78 **Digawn llawryded** *Digawn* taken as 3sg. pres. of vb *digoni* 'to make, cause' rather than *digawn* 'enough'. *Llaw(f)ryded* 'sadness', cf. CC 16.6; CBT I 7.58; III 14.14; IV 9.115; V 29.5.
- 79 **kywestwch a bed** Words in *gwest* 'lying, sleeping, lodging', such as *gwesti*, *gwestifyant* are sometimes used of Heaven (CBT II 26.181 *adfwyn westi*; V 23.207 *yn rann westiuyant*) and of Hell (CBT I 4.36); here, lit. 'a joint lying with the grave'. *Kywestwch* varies with *kywestach*.
- 80 **A'r Gwr a'n gwnaeth** *Gwr* very common of God, especially in *y gwr + a + 3sg.* of vb (*gorug, gwnaeth, peris, rodes, pryn, gwyr*, etc.), cf. §8.19 *a galwn ar y Gwr a'n digones*; §11.16 *y Gwr a* and 65 *Vn Gwr a'e goreu*; §12.2; CC 1.5 (Juvencus englynion) *Gur dicones remedaut elbid*; 26.3 *Y Gur a'm creuys-e*; 33.45 *Gwr a'n iacha*; CBT IV 16.197 *G6r a'n g6naeth*, etc.
- 81 **o'r wlat gwerthefin** *Gwerthefin* in context of Heaven, R583.37 (Cyfoesi) *y gaer wertheuin*; Gosymdaith line 62 *Argl6yd g6latl6yd g6erthevin*; CBT V 29.12 *Wertheuin Ureyenhin ury*; IV 16.149; VI 25.46.
- 83 **a'n duwch attaw** *A'n du(w)ch*, 3sg. pres. subjunct. (optative) of vb *dwyn* (cf. CC 22.9 *A'n duch i'r gulet*; CBT IV 4.121 *As duch Du6 yn y dagneu*; VI 10.92 (of St Michael) *A'm dyduch o yng*). In the present example, *duwch* may have been written under the influence of *Duw* in the preceding line, or else it shows the same development as *uch > uwch*. Rhyme suspension in lines 80-82; *attaw* possibly to be deleted giving two nine-syllable lines 80-84.

7 Mydwyf Merweryd

The title *Kadeir Taliessin* ‘Taliesin’s Metre (or ‘Song’ or ‘Chair’)¹ has been written by the main scribe at the bottom of page 31 together with *XXVIII*, the ‘worth’ of the poem. Similar values are assigned by the scribe to the preceding poem *Glaswawt Taliessin* (prophecy, *XXVIII a dal*),² and the almost adjacent series of three poems which follow §9 *Kadeir Teyrnon* (*CCC.*), §10 *Kadeir Kerrituen* (*CCC.*), and §11 *Kanu y Gwynt* (*CCC. a tal.*). Worths are found again a little further on, in the rubric to the pair, §12 *Kanu y Med* (*XXVIII.*) and §13 *Kanu y Cwrwrf* (*XXVIII.*), with a unique value being assigned to the Scriptural poem on the Plagues of Egypt (*X.C.*), edited CC 72-9. These values, which are confined to the section between pages 30 and 44 in the Book of Taliesin, are matched only by those mentioned in the rubric in the Book of Aneirin (CA 55) found immediately after *Gwarchan Cynfelyn*. It is explained there that each individual awdl of the *Gododdin* counts as one unit of song (*canu vn canuawc*)³ ‘according to status in poetic contest’ (CA 55 *herwyd breint yng kerd amrysson*). The longer *gwarchanau*, however, are said to be worth *tri chanu a thriugeint a thrychant*, that is to say they are equivalent to 300 of such units — a rhetorical mode of saying ‘not just three, nor three score, but three hundred’, rather than the literal adding up to 363 favoured by Ifor Williams.⁴ This worth is assigned to each one of the *gwarchanau*, says the rubric, ‘in order to commemorate the number of the men who went to *Catraeth*’, a number unequivocally stated to be 300 in several places within the *Gododdin* itself.⁵

Gwarchan Maeldderw, however, stands apart from the three other *gwarchanau* and is given especial prominence: it was Taliesin who sang it and who gave it status (*breint*) equivalent in poetic contest to that of all the *Gododdin* awdlau ‘and its three *gwarchanau*’ (i.e. the preceding *Gwarchan Tudfwlch*, *Gwarchan Adebón* and *Gwarchan Cynfelyn*).⁶ Ifor Williams dismissed all of these claims as ‘wholly incredible’, followed by Kenneth Jackson (‘bogus pedantry’) and Daniel

¹ For the meanings of *kadeir*, see discussion below in the commentary on the title.

² BT 30.23-31.20, edited in PBT no. 2. The number 24 is seen as the number of Arthur’s knights in the story of *Peredur*, the number of a group of riders in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, the number of the officers of the court in the Welsh law texts (see WKC 7 and 25), the numbers of letters in the Welsh alphabet according to the bardic grammars, and the number of types of *cerdd dafod* ‘poetry’ and *cerdd dant* ‘music’ (GP xxx, TYP³ cxiii; Harper, *Music* 75-106). It is also the number of Llywarch’s sons (EWSP 407.24-408.28 *Pedeirmeib ar hugeint a'm bu*, etc.), and in late medieval sources, the number of feats a nobleman was expected to be able to excel at (see GPC s.v. *camp*).

³ GPC s.v. *uncanuog* ‘(forming) one unit of poetry’.

⁴ CA iv, lvii. See CC 150 for comparable instances.

⁵ CA lines 70, 86, 481, 701.

⁶ The mention of *Gwarchan Maeldderw* in the poem *Kat Godeu* is discussed in detail in the commentary to §5.148; the text has been newly edited and translated by Graham R. Isaac, ‘*Gwarchan Maeldderw*: a “lost” medieval Welsh classic?’, *CMCS* 44 (2002), 73-96.

Huws ('fairytale-like values'),⁷ but some caution may be in order:⁸ after all, poetic and musical contests in Wales — of the sort held by Rhys ap Gruffudd in Cardigan in 1176 where there were clear winners and losers — may well have employed a system of awarding points, rather than relying on the level of public acclaim, and the bardic grammars from the fourteenth century onwards indicate clearly that some types of composition were more highly regarded than others. We know nothing about marks which might have been awarded to an individual who could relay portions of older poetry, and it is not hard to imagine that the recital of pieces whose meanings had become rather obscure (such as Gwarchan Maeldderw) could have been regarded as a *tour-de-force* by the mid-thirteenth century (thus attracting bonus points). Without knowing the date of the rubric (and the gwarchanau themselves), and the conduct of the *amryssonau* in question, we can only speculate whether the grandiose claim for Gwarchan Taliesin's persona, wishing perhaps to minimise the work of the Aneirin 'school' and its followers, or whether it did indeed reflect the market-value of the recital of, or even reading aloud of *hengerdd* or other test pieces in poetic contest.

Leaving this vexed matter aside, it seems very likely that the title *Kadeir Taliessin* has been misplaced in the manuscript, as other titles were, and that it belongs properly to poem §8 which follows (BT 33.1-34.14). This item comes immediately before the other two 'cadair' poems, *Kadeir Teyrnon* and *Kadeir Kerrituen* (§§9 and 10), both assigned worths, as noted above. As noted in the introduction to §8, 'Golychaf-i gulwyd' is a comprehensive yet economical distillation of the Taliesin spirit, referring to his travels, adventures, and companions as well as his special areas of professed expertise and knowledge. Moreover, it refers specifically to his *kadeir* 'metre' or 'song' in *Kaer Sidi* (line 45) as well as mentioning 'three consistent metres or songs' (*teir kadeir kywir kysson*, line 27) which will be perpetuated by minstrels until Doom — possibly the very group of three poems under discussion. Certainly poem §8 would be well-served by the title *Kadeir Taliesin*. Our present poem is thus referred to in this edition by its opening line *Mydwyf Merweryd* to avoid confusion.

Myfwyf Merweryd is considerably narrower in focus than poem §8, and provides yet another example of a 'genre' piece. Just as other poems are built around 'futile things' (§2), 'fair or favourite things' (§3), questions (§§1, 4, 9, etc.), or listings (§15, parts of §5, etc.), so this poem concentrates in lines 36-61 on posing a particular type of question — 'what connects A and B' (and C and D and E in some cases),⁹ or 'why is an A like a B'.¹⁰ Three other unifying elements are present: unusually, a few items appear to be *materia medica* or exotic

⁷ Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, *The Goddodin: The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), 52; MWM 75.

⁸ See the comments of Kathryn A. Klar, 'What are the Gwarchanau?', in EWP 97-137, especially pp. 116-19.

⁹ On the use of ModW *â* 'with' added for clarity in the text of the poem, see note on line 36.

¹⁰ Much like the sort of modern brainteaser which asks why an elephant is like a tourist. (Answer: they both have a trunk).

substances — gum, resin, ‘foreign unguent’, yellow sulphurate of arsenic (or orpine), pepper, pitch, peppery watercress (lines 28-30, 48, 35) — and this impression is confirmed by the mention of the ‘herbs of the mediciner with his texts and his efficacious spoon’ (lines 50-51), as though part of the purpose of the poem were to suggest the speaker’s familiarity with the semi-magical specialisms of the physician. A second set of substances, overlapping with the first, is formed of liquids of various kinds — the dew on the grass, honey ‘the nectar of the bees’, the foam of the ocean, the wort of ale, the sea-inlet, malted drink, wine from vessels, and the ‘deep, fresh water, a blessing wrought through God’s design’ (lines 25-7, 33, 37, 33, 44, 58, 60-61) — many of them familiar topics in other poems of this collection. A third category, naturally enough drawing on several Latin loan-words, refers to religious objects such as a ‘glass vessel (perhaps in the shape of a miniature boat?) in the hand of a pilgrim’ (46-7), the ‘honoured Eucharist’ (49), and possibly the pyx which contained it (48). Another question enquires about the connection between poets and flowers, plaited hedges, primroses, crushed leaves and the tips of the trees (52-5), perhaps an allusion to Taliesin’s creation as a vegetable microcosm by the enchanters Math and Gwydion as related in Kat Godeu (§5.155-7); and there are mentions of ‘wise men of intelligence’, the sage who is familiar with the phases of the moon (*sewyd amloer* 40-41), Gwiawn’s ‘river’ (presumably a kenning for a flow of inspiration), and the ‘talent of the druids’ (*dawn y derwydon*, line 71). It is difficult to know whether all this seeming hocus-pocus was to be taken seriously.

The passages above are introduced by the first section (lines 1-24) in which Taliesin asserts that he embodies the force or vitality of praise to God, implies his familiarity with the ways of inspiration by day and night (7-8), and boasts of his eloquence (‘I’m not mute of song’, ‘I’m not shallow of song’). He is unimpressed by the ‘poets of the region’ (*beird tut*, line 14), ‘the contentious poets’ (*beird tres*, restored in line 20), whom he seems to view as Judas figures (20-22), ready to take reward in coin for their treachery. Some problems of interpretation arise from the long series of lines beginning with the ambiguous *a* (either *â* ‘with’ or *a* ‘and’, which I have differentiated in the text to make my interpretation clear); other difficulties are addressed in the commentary. But enough is clear to show that the speaker is acknowledging God’s power (and perhaps referring to the salvation offered by the Cross in lines 62-3), and displaying familiarity with arcane matters as well as stressing his mastery of his own professed medium, all qualifications that render him peerless in contest.

Mydwyf merweryd
I am the vitality
molawt Duw Dofyd
of the Lord God's praise

llwrw kyfranc kywyd
emulating the harmonious contest-song
kyfreu dyfynwedyd.
of the wise poet's words.

5 **Hard bron sywedyd**
The sage's breast is resplendent
pan atleferyd.
when he responds.

Awen — cwd echuyd
Where does inspiration flow to,
ar veinyoeth veinyd?
at midnight [and] mid-day?

Beird llafar llucde —
Fluent flashy poets —
10 **eu gwawt ny'm gre.**
their song doesn't excite me.

Ar ystrat ar ystre
On the valley-floor on the borderland
ystryw mawr wyre.¹
there arises great guile.

Nyt mi wyf kerd uut:
I'm not mute of song:
gogyfarch veird tut,
I challenge the poets of the region

15 **ryt ebrwydaf drut,**
I cause the fool to get a move on,
ry talmaf ehut,
I cause the hothead to delay,
ry duhunaf dremut
I awaken the taciturn,
tëyrn terwynwolud.
O fierce energetic lord.

¹ ms mire

Nyt mi wyf kerd vas:

I'm not shallow of song:

20 **gogyfarch veird tres²**
I challenge the battling poets

bath vadawl Idas,

[with their] coin-reward of Judas

dofyn eigyawn adas:

[who was] fit [only] for the deep ocean:

pwy amlenwis kas

who [was it who] embraced the despised

kam³ ym pop noethas?

[and] deformed in each miracle?

25 **Pan yw dien gwllith**

Where does the dew on the grass come from,

a llat gwenith,

and the liquor of wheat,

a gwi⁴ gwenyn,

and the bees' liquid,

a glut ac ystor,

and gum and resin

ac elif⁵ tra mor,

and foreign unguent,

30 **ac eurbibeu lliw,⁶**

and the pigment of yellow orpiment,

a llen aryant gwiw,

and a mantle of fair silver,

a rudem a grawn

and ruby/garnet and berries,

ac ewyn eigyawn?

and the foam of the ocean?

Py dyfrys ffynhawn?

What enlivens a spring?

35 **berwr bybyrdawn.⁷**

peppery watercress.

Py gyssyllt gweryn⁸ —

What connects moisture —

² ms *treis*

³ ms *kamp*

⁴ ms *gwllit*

⁵ ms *elyw*

⁶ ms *eur biben llew*

⁷ ms *byryrdawn*

⁸ ms *gwerin*

brecci boned llyn —

of the wort of ale [which is] the origin of ale —

â llwyth lloer wehyn

with the burden drawn by the moon,

lledyf lloned verlyn?

[otherwise] an inert lifeless body of standing water?

40 **a sywyon synhwyr**

and the wise men of intelligence

â sewyd amloer,

with the sage and his many moons?

a gofrwy gwyd⁹ gwyr

and [what connects] the fair trees bowed

gwrth awel awyr?

with the wind from the sky?

a mall a merin

and ale and a sea-inlet

45 **a gwadawl tramerin?**

and a gift from overseas?

a chorwc gwytrin

and a glass vessel

ar llaw pererin

in the hand of a pilgrim

â phybyr a phyc

with pepper and pitch/a pyx

ac vrdawl segyrffyc

and the honoured Eucharist

50 **a llysseu medyc**

and the herbs of the doctor

llen¹⁰ a llwy venffyc?

with his texts and his efficacious spoon?

A beird â blodeu

And [what connects] poets with flowers

a gudic bertheu

and plaited hedges

a briallu a briw deil

and primroses and crushed leaves

55 **a blaen gwyd godeu.**

and the tips of the trees of the wood.

⁹ ms gwed

¹⁰ ms lle

- A mall a meued**
And malt and riches
â mynych adneued,
with frequent pledges,
a gwin talkibed
and wine from vessels
o Rufein hyt Rossed,
from Rome to Rhosedd,
60 **â dwfyn dwfyr echwyd,**
with the deep fresh water,
dawn dylif Dofyd.
a blessing wrought through God's design.
Neu Pren purawr vyd
It is the Tree of the redeemer which is
ffrwythlawn y gynnyd;
powerfully supreme;
rei ias berwidyd
[but] some he will boil up fiercely
65 **oduch peir pumwyd.**
above a five-beam cauldron.
A Gwiawn auon,
Along with Gwion's river [of song],
a gofrwy hinon
and fair weather
a mel a meillon
and honey and clover,
a medgyrn medwon —
and the mead-horns of the drinkers —
70 **adwyn y dragon**
pleasing to the dragon-leader
dawn y derwydon.
is the talent of his druids.

title **Kadeir Tallessin** See introduction above for the suggestion that this title belongs with poem §8. The primary meaning of *kadeir* (from L. *cathedra*) is of course 'chair', but secondary meanings developed for objects branching out from a centre, such as 'the udder of a cow', or the crown of a tree, or items forming a frame of some sort (see YCM 130.15 and p. 227 for ornamented bands of metal forming a *cadeir* on a helmet). A similar semantic development must have given 'song, metre', the latter unequivocally used as a technical term in 16c texts of the bardic grammars ('pum cadair cerdd dafod', 'tair colofn a thair cadair', etc., see

GPC). The words and phrases that accompany the noun *kadeir* in three Book of Taliesin instances suggest the meaning 'song or 'metre': §8.11 *yg kadeir o peir Kerritwen*; §8.27 *teir kadeir kyweir kysson* 'harmonious and consistent', or 'of consistent harmony'; §9.11 *a'e kadeir gymessur*, rather less certain is §8.45 *Ys kyweir vvg kadeir yg Kaer Sidi*. The use of the vbs *cadw* 'maintain, guard' and *parhau* with *kadeir* is also suggestive, e.g. in §9.59-60 *Kadeir Teyrmon —/ keluyd rwy katwo* 'the song of Teyrmon — may it be the skilful poet who maintains it', and in the emended line §10.38 *Kadeir getwidyd*. Most telling is the first example in §10.22-5 *Pan varnher y kadeireu/ arbenhic onadun (em.) y veu:/ vvg kadeir a'm peir a'm deduon,/ a'm areith tryadyl, gadeir gysson* 'When the "Cadeiriau" come to be judged mine will be the best of them: my song, and my cauldron and my rules, and my careful declamation, worthy of a chair/in harmonious song'. But the last line is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately so. A further passage in §9.39-42 may use the word in both senses: *Ny dyly kadeir/ ny gatwo vvg geir —/ kadeir gynif glaer/ awen huawdyl haer* 'he who doesn't conserve my words, [my] brilliant contest-song of fluent and confident inspiration, doesn't deserve a chair'. It is conceivable, too, that the word could be playfully derived from *cat* 'battle' and *geir* 'word, utterance' and used to mean a 'battle- or contest song'.

- 1 **Mydwyf Merweryd** Cf. §9.49 *rieu merweryd*; CC 21.69-70 *Moe y dinwassute merwerit/ no phregeth evelig* 'You were more used to riotous living than the precept(s) of Scripture' (Soul to the Body); of the sea in CC 12.25-6 *merwerit mor/ cv threia, cud echwit*; six instances in CBT corpus (e.g. of surge of sea CBT I 9.151 *Dy-m-hunis tonn mor y merweryt*) or general tumult (R1051.24 *gbyr merweryd am dreuyd yn ymdrauo*; R1049.25 *nyt ym gyghein ym merweryd*, etc.). The etymology is uncertain: Jenny Rowland, 'Gwerydd', *SC* 16/17 (1981-2), 234-47, at 245-6, points out that *gwerydd* 'sea' is very late (contra J. Loth) and that it is almost certainly a back-formation from *Mor Gwerydd*, *Morwerydd*. *Merweryd* is unlikely to be a bardic alias, 'I am Uproar' with following noun *molawt* (see on line 2); capitalisation is not necessarily significant since capitalisation of proper names is not the scribe's normal practice. For other instances in this collection of *Mydwyf* at the beginning of a poem, see §23.1; see also §4.53.
- 2 **molawt Duw Dofyd** *Molawt* is interpreted as noun: §14.42 *meu molawt Vryen*; AP line 100; of praise of Trinity, CC 1.7; of God: CC (BT) 11.2; 19.2; CC 22.1-2 *maur y uolaud,/ Molaw-e Douit*, etc. But conceivably a vb form, 3sg. pres./ fut. (GMW 119). If so, 'I am M. who praises/will praise Lord God'.
- 3 **llwrw kyfranc kywyd** Lit. 'in the manner of'. *Kyfranc* used most frequently in poetry for 'meeting, hostile confrontation, battle', etc.; verbal contention in §18.50 and 54. The *kyfranc kywyd* may therefore be a 'harmonious song in a contest'. On *kywyd*, collocated with *kylfreu*, see §4.14.
- 4 **kyfreu dyfynwedyd** See on §6 *Mabgyfreu*; §4.14 *kyureu ar gywyd*; and §4.24 *dyfynwedyd*.
- 5 **Hard bron sywedyd** See §5.174 for *syw*, *sywedyd*, etc.
- 6 **pan atleferyd** Although GPC² s.v. *addefaru* 'speak again, repeat', questions this medieval hapax, the meaning given or 'speaks back' (as in *ateb*) is accepted. The vellum was damaged here, obliging the scribe to write *at* and *leferyd* around the gap.
- 7 **Awen cwd echuyd** Cf. CC 12.25-6 *merwerit mor:/ cv threia, cud echwit*? Note the word-play here, since *echuyd* can be a noun synonymous with *meinyd* 'mid-

day; noon' as well as being the 3sg. 'flow' (see G s.vv. *echwŷd* (-*wyd*), and *echwŷd*³).

- 8 **ar veinyoeth veinyd** Cf. PBT 7.51-2 *meindyd bresawt,/ meinoeth berwhawt*; §18.37 *meindyd*. Loss of -*ð*- in *meinyd*, although a regular development, not paralleled in early poetry: possibly under influence of commoner *beumyd* 'every day'. See §18.45 for Scriptural midnight events listed in the Old Irish *In Tenga Bithnua*.
- 9 **Beird llafar llucde** *Llucde* is otherwise unattested. Compounded *lluc* 'radiance' was considerably less productive than *lluch*. Formations in -*ðe* are common in CBT corpus, and especially favoured by Prydydd y Moch (*tande, ysgarde, angde, eurde, creude*, etc.).
- 10 **eu gwawt ny'm gre** *Gre* 'stud' seems unlikely, as is 3sg. of vb *grëu* 'to croak, caw' (of ravens, CBT II 21.41; V 14.17). CA 281 implies the meaning 'to please'. The unusually short line suggests corruption: restore a phrase containing *mangre, asgre* 'breast, heart', *dyre, dygre, dychre, dwyre*, or *ryre*. The most promising of these is *dyre*, 3sg. of vb *dyreaf*: *dyrein* 'to run, hasten; return; rise, ascend; strive' and 'raise, lift up', etc., perhaps with infixed object pronoun *ny dy-m-gre* 'does not lift me', i.e. does not lift the spirits, or bring excitement. Consider also *nym dwyre*, noting interpretation of CBT V 14.11 *dim ny dwyre* as 'nothing avails' rather than 'rise; lift', etc.
- 11 **ar ystrat ar ystre** *Ystrat* either common noun 'valley (floor)' or place-name, on which see refs. in CBT V 18, and below on line 12. *Ystre* 'border(land), battle-front', etc. The second *ar* perhaps to be deleted.
- 12 **ystryw mawr wyre (ms mire)** *Ystryw* 'ruse, stratagem', also in a positive sense, 'ability, skill', etc. collocated with *Ystrat* in CBT I 7.84-6 lamenting death of Madog ap Maredudd, 'lord of Ystrad [Marchell or Alun]' and in IV 2.17 where Owain Gwynedd's 1146-9 campaign in north-east Wales is praised. *Mire* is understood as a miscopying of *wyre* (*wyre* 'rise; ?east', as in *dwyre, dydwyre, dygymwyre, kyfwyre*, etc.). The sense is somewhat obscure, but would seem to relate to the flashy poets who do not impress. If *Ystrat* is a definite place, such as Ystrad Alun, or Ystrad Marchell, then perhaps there is a reference to court poets at a royal residence or community under royal patronage, the *beird tut* of line 14 against whom the speaker pits his wits. Although *yn Ystrat* might be expected, note unique use of *ar* by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 1.32 *Yn kynnyf ar Ysdrad*.
- 14 **gogyfarch veird tut** On the vb, see §1.22 and 4.63. *Tut* 'people, region' relatively rare in the Book of Taliesin: PT II.9; VIII.37; §11.44; CC 11.42 and 20.137. Very frequently used by Prydydd y Moch (16 of 35 instances in CBT corpus; cf. Dafydd Benfras (2), Cynddelw (4)) who is also fond of compounds such as *gwendud, amrywud, cedawldud, eurdud*, etc. With the *bard tut*, cf. the Irish *tuathbard*, on whom see Liam Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Riar* (Dublin, 1987), 98 n.43.
- 15 **ryt ebrwydaf drut** The adj. *ebrwyd* is very common, but *ryt* is unlikely to be simply the noun 'ford' in a nominal sentence: 'the ford is the swiftest fool', even if that could be broadly related to the idea in the proverb *Basaf dwr yn yt lefeir* 'Water is shallowest where it babbles'. The rare vb *ebrwydaw* is used by Dafydd Benfras in CBT VI 27.47 and 49, and is understood here with G for consistency with 1sg. vb forms in lines 16-17, suggesting the preverbal particle *ryt* (as in CC

1.8 *rit ercis* (Juvenus englynion), see GMW 166). *Drut* embraces the meanings 'foolish, foolhardy, rash, brave'. The *drut* is *chwannawc . . . i chwerthin* (EWGP VIII.14), heedless of his death (CC 27.7); and contentious (EWGP VII.12). Used nominally here, it may be object of vb, otherwise adverbial 'I hasten boldly'.

- 16 **ry talmaf ebut** Vb *talmu* < *talm* 'space of time; distance; portion' is not otherwise attested until the 16c, with meanings 'conclude, draw to a close', etc. (GPC). Possibly a meaning such as 'cause to delay, hesitate' here, in contrast to the vb *ebrwydaw* in line 16. But emendation to *ry tharfaf* 'I perturb, put to flight, disconcert' would give good sense, as would *ry tharnaf* 'I [cause] to dry up'.
- 17 **ry dubunaf dremut** GPC s.v. *tremud* 'silent, taciturn' (< *mud*), also '?complete, excellent' (cf. *trimut* 'thrice-mewed', complete, perfect'): CBT I 9.114 *tir tremud*; with *tut* (cf. line 14 above), V 5.24-5 *Deu dragon yn ygres./ Deu dremud am dud a'e dodes*.
- 18 **tëyrn terwynwolut** G favours *g(w)olul²* 'tenacious, eager', or *g(w)olul³* 'to track, chase away, follow' as second element of *terwynwolut*, but if the orthography reflects an exemplar with *w* = [v], then *molut* 'praise'. The phrase may be in apposition to *dremut* line 17, or genitival, or even vocative.
- 20 **gogyfarch veird tres (ms treis)** See above on line 14. As it stands, *treis* does not yield a regular rhyme (or proest) with *vas/Idas*. However it appears to be a false modernisation of *tres* 'battling [poets]' (see on §8.22). *Tras* 'pedigree, lineage', etc. would also yield sense as well as full rhyme, but is a late borrowing from E. *trace*.
- 21 **bath vadawl Idas** The phrase *bath wadawl*, 'reward in coinage' clearly refers to the thirty pieces of silver in exchange for which Judas betrayed Christ (Matthew 26:15; 27:3, 5-8; Mark 14:11; Luke 22:5). *Idas* (-ð-) is the common form of the name in the earlier poetry (LIDC 17.202 *Itas*; CC 12.7; R580.11 (Cyfoesi); CBT I 24.9; 33.99; VI 36.20), later forms *Suddas*, *Suwddas*, *Siwdas*. Matthew 27 relates that after Judas had flung down the pieces in the temple, and hung himself, the coins were buried in the potter's field.
- 22 **dofyn eigyawn adas** Referring either to the pieces of silver (but see above), or more likely to Judas, whose suicide as well as his betrayal of Christ would have necessitated the disposal of his body outside hallowed ground. Medieval suicides were disposed of in ditches, crossroads, dungheaps, marshes, streams, etc., and the imagined removal of Judas to the furthest reaches of the ocean is a logical extension of this mode of thought. See further Susan Leigh Fry, *Burial in Medieval Ireland 900-1500* (Dublin, 1999), 181 and 184. In some sources, such as the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, Judas is encountered in the ocean enduring terrible torture: details in P.L. Baum, 'The medieval legend of Judas Iscariot', *PMLA* (1916), 481-632. It is difficult to perceive a question here about Judas, and it seems more likely that the *beird tres* of line 20 are being vilified for their treachery and ill-gotten rewards through a comparison with Judas.
- 23 **Pwy amlenwis kas** The scribe seems to have hesitated in copying *amlenwis*, but the vb is attested elsewhere, in CBT II 26.193 (with meaning 'surround on all sides') and CBT VII 50.11 *amlenwi nef* translated by its editor as 'fill'. G understands *cas* as 'enmity, bitterness, wrath' rather than 'enemy' or 'hated/hateful one(s)'.

- 24 **kam (ms kamp) ym pop noethas** *Camp* 'feat' is normally used admiringly; similarly *noethas* see GPC s.v. *nwythas* '?excellence, pre-eminence, merit' (and see §15.15): i.e. 'a feat in every excellence', but this seems a non sequitur after line 23. The only other attestation of *nwythas* is by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 18.29 *Dygymer pob ner, pob nwythas—deyrn* 'he [Llywelyn ab Iorwerth] takes (as his subjects) every lord, every pre-eminent king'.
- Do lines 23-4 suggest that feats of excellence somehow attracted bitterness, or do they refer to Christ's embracing of sinners and those hated by society? If the latter, then perhaps restore *kam* 'bent, hunch-backed (ones)' and interpret *noethas* more loosely as 'miracle', as in the tentative text and translation. But a different abstract noun *noethas* 'nakedness' is not impossible, cf. Matthew 25:35-46.
- 25 **Pan yw dien gw lith** Cf. Job 38:28 'Who hath begotten the drops of dew?'. This is the first of a series of about different kinds of liquids. *Dien* 'grass' is covered in blood in §8.10; used also in CC 5.12; the adj. 'fair, fine, fresh' is not impossible, 'how come the dew is fair?', but the noun sits better with the following lines. *Gw lith* is also mentioned as a substance created by God at the same time as poetic inspiration, sweet milk and acorns in §8.14 *arnun (em.) a llefrith a gw lith a mes*. In CC 21.144-7 Heaven is characterised by its dew, clover and harmonious music or song: *Myn y mae meillion/ A gulith a tirion;/ Myn y mae kertorion/ In kyveir kysson*. The single instance in the CBT corpus, by Cynddelw, III 12.30 *A gwaed gwyr y ar wlith*, is a variation on the 'blood on the grass' topos discussed §8.10.
- 26 **a llat gwenith** Referring to liquor made from wheat, i.e. wheat ale. See on §13 (Kanu y Cwrwf). Four syllables, as line 27.
- 27 **a gwit gwenyn** Emending *gw lit* to *gwit*, but see G s.v. *golit* 'greedy, hungry' which would yield five syllables. The copyist seems to have written *gw lit* under the influence of the preceding *gw lith*. On *gwit* 'moisture, liquid', see Ifor Williams, 'Gwid, melwid', *B* 11 (1941-4), 143; and cf. §18.22 *Caer Vedwit*. The same collocation, *gwit gwenyn*, 'the liquor from bees', meaning honey or more usually honey-drink, appears in CBT III 24.23 *uch gwid gbenen*, an example of the conventional [*vch* 'above' + drink] pattern, on which see FS Gruffydd 46-7. The bees' collecting of nectar, used for mead, is mentioned in §12.7-8.
- 28 **a glut ac ystor** *Glut* < L. *gluten*, see GPC and G. GPC derives *ystor* < L. *storax*, perhaps via OE or ME. Cf. CBT VII 32.48 *Myrr ac ystor*, and later *gwm ystor bonheddig* 'fine resin', and *ystor bendigaid sef y strepuledium* 'blessed resin, ?frankincense', *The Physicians of Myddvai*, ed. John Williams (Ab Ithel) (Llandovery, 1861), 244; *arogleu ystor yn kyulenwi holl synnwyr dy ffroeneu* 'the smell of resin filling all the sense of thy nostrils', *Ymborth yr Enaid*, ed. R. Iestyn Daniel (Caerdydd, 1995), 25, line 76 (and note, p. 115).
- 29 **ac elif (ms elyw) tra mor** The ms reading *elyw* appears to be a false modernisation of *elif* 'oil, unguent, salve, balm, remedy' < L. *olivum* (see GPC s.v. *eli*). An emendation to commonly occurring *elyf*, pl. of *alaf* 'riches' would also yield good sense.
- 30 **ac eurbibeu llŵ (ms eur biben llew)** Confusion between *u* and *n*. *Eurbibeu* 'orpiment, arsenic', a metallic ore used yielding a brilliant yellow dye and a powerful toxin, cf. L. *auripigmentum*, and also the plant, 'orpine, livelong', the latter also known as 'Berwr Taliesin': see GPC s.v. *eurbibau* (our corrupt form is not mentioned, but note that John Davies's *Dictionarium Duplex* (1632) states 'Habet Tal[iesin]'), also GPC s.vv. *orpin* and *orpmnt*. Both the orpiment and the

plant are characterised by their vivid yellow colour, which confirms the emendation *llew* > *lliw* for the rhyme. Honey and mead were used extensively in medical remedies, as were various kinds of gums, resins and unguents. The substance orpiment, despite its toxicity, was an ingredient recommended in a cure for a cancer or scrofula, while the plant orpine, mixed with milk and eryngo, was used to induce sleep (*Physicians of Myddvai*, 150 and 142).

- 32 **a rudem a grawn** On *rudem* see §5.225. G classes *grawn* s.v. rather than with the adj. *anghrawn* 'liberal, free, generous', or 3sg. of vb *cronni*. If *grawn* means 'berries' or '(red) grapes' rather than 'grain' (see examples in GPC) the two items might be associated by colour.
- 33 **ac ewyn elgyawn** Cf. §5.21, and see note on §2.45.
- 34 **Py dyfrys ffynhawn** *Dyfrys*, 3sg. *dyfryssyaw* 'quickens, hastens', cf. Gosymdaith line 49 *Difrys gbanec dyffustit traeth*; R1056.10 *Dyvrys gwanec*. The noun *dyfrys* 'haste' is first attested from the 14c (GPC). On *ffynhawn*, which is also used for the sea and cosmic forces, see §6.13.
- 35 **berwr bybyrdawn** (ms *byryrdawn*) Although ms *byryrdawn* could be a mistake for *pyr y dawn* 'why [has it got] an especial quality?', *pybyrdawn* is preferred here; a less likely emendation would be to the attested *berwdawn* 'a gift of boiled meat', or 'vigorous energy', G s.v. *berw*. The inclusion of an answer is a most unusual feature. Alternatively, take line 35 as descriptive of a spring with peppery watercress growing around it. *Berwr* 'watercress', also known as 'berwr y ffynhonnau', WBot. 157-8, was widely used to purify the blood, and it is not surprising that it is mentioned in this poem along with other *materia medica*. *Lepidium latifolium*, another of the *Cruciferae* family, was known as 'pybyrlllys', referring to the hot taste of the plant, and this would support the emendation to *pybyrdawn* 'of peppery quality' suggested above. Whether there is a connection between the noun *pybyr* (? < L. *piper*) used below, line 48 *A phybyr a phyc* and the adj. *pybyr* 'splendid, lively, fiery' (see CA 166; PKM 286) is unclear, but deliberate ambiguity is very likely. Similarly *berwr* 'watercress' brings to mind the vb *berwi*, used of bubbling water and springs, e.g. Gwilym Ddu o Arfon's description of the poet Einion ap Gwalchmai: GGDT 8.24 *A ganai, ffynnai fal berw ffynnawn* 'who sang, who gave forth like the bubbling of a spring'. *Berwr Taliesin* is noted as a plant-name in Dr Davies' *Dictionarium Duplex* (1632), where it is equated with 'Fabaria' (dittander) but GPC s.v. 'orpine, livelong'.
- 36 **Py gyssyllt gweryn** Emending *gwerin* to *gweryn* with G, and see Ifor Williams, 'Gweryn', *B* 11 (1941-4), 142. The passage which follows is particularly problematic with many lines beginning with *a* (either 'and' or 'with', marked *â* in the text for clarity): it is not impossible that the question *py gysyllt* 'what connects. . .' is to be understood throughout.
- 37 **brecci boned llyn** *Llyn* 'drink' in general, but here clearly for ale. *Brecci* (< *brac* 'malt') is the 'starter' of water, sugar and yeast used in brewing, and in this sense it is the origin or source (*boned*) of the ale.
- 38 **a llwyth lloer wehyn** The *llwyth* 'burden' is understood as the waters of the Earth being pulled by the moon, a process described by Isidore, DNR XL.1, 8-11: *Quidam autem uolunt cum augmento lunari crescere oceanum et tamquam eius quibusdam spirationibus retrorsum trahatur, et iterum eiusdem impulsu ac refractu in mensuram propriam refundatur* 'Some believe, however, that the ocean swells with the waxing of the moon, as though a kind of intake of air by the

moon pulls it forwards and on the other hand that a force of the moon pulls it back to its usual size'. See on §4.108 for a possible reference to streams being 'drawn'. *Gwehyn* has a range of meanings including 'pull, pour, dispense, scatter, dispose', etc.

- 39 **lledyf lloned verlyn** Apparently describing the *llwyth* drawn by the moon. If the last word is *merllyn* (see GPC s.v.) < *merf* + *llyn* or < *marw(l)yn*, then 'standing water, stagnant pool, lake', etc. Examples are post-medieval but *marwllyn* is found in LL 183. If *gwerlyn*, however, either 'king, prince, chieftain', etc. or 'strong drink' (GPC bases the meaning on the present example and §12.6 *a'e vedgorn ewyn gwerlyn gwymha*). *Lloned* would appear to be a nonce fem. of *llonyd* 'quiet, still, stagnant', or an irregular orthographic form of *llonyd*. A formation from *llonn* 'happy' seems to be ruled out by single -n- and by the sense.
- 40 **a sywyon synhwyr** See §5.174 on *syw* and derivatives. *Synhwyr* is common in the meaning 'sense, intelligence'. Cf. CBT VII 32.19 *dewinyon synnwyrdoethon*. See on §1.85 for frequent rhyme with *llwyr*, and on §25.11 where 'scheme, design' may be more fitting.
- 41 **a sewyd amloer** *Sewyd* would seem to be for *sywyd* (from an exemplar with *e* for schwa) on which see §5.174. No form *amlwyr* is attested, nor *amloer*, the latter 'with many moons' (cf. *amhad*, *amliw*, etc.) is not necessarily an anachronism in the medieval period if *lloer* is also used of the moon 'of one particular month as distinct from that of another' (GPC). Thus the sage or astrologer here would have specialist knowledge setting him apart from the layman.
- 42 **a gofrwy gwed gwyr** The rhyme is uncertain since rising and falling diphthongs are both possible in *awyr* (see G's broad classification). Thus, *gwȳr* 'men', or *gȳwr* 'bent, bending' with G, who also suggests emending *gwed* to *gwȳd* 'trees'; GPC favours *gwed*¹ 'appearance, aspect' etc. rather than *gwed*² 'yoke, harness; team'. G's suggestion, accepted here, is supported by EWGP III.2 *rac ruthor gwynt gwȳd gwyrant*; EWSP 454-5 *birr diuedit guit gyvrhaud* and *blaen gvit gvir*. The scribe may have written *gwed* thinking that the following word was *gwȳr* 'men'.
- 43 **gwrth awel awyr** Although *gwrthwynt* is attested (though rarely), **gwrthawel* is not found. *Gwrth* 'against; compared with; at time/place of', etc., but *rac* might be expected if the trees are bowed against the force of the wind (cf. GDG 48.1 *Plygu rhag llid*).
- 44 **a mall a merin** The rhyme *merin/tramerin* may have been condoned if the latter was a close compound. Emendation to *medlyn* ('mead-drink'), although suitable with *mall* 'ale, malt' is rejected since it would require rhyme -yn and -in.
- 45 **a gwadawl tramerin** The poet-character is claiming familiarity with the items listed, and there is the possibility that groups are still being likened (see on line 36). The adj. *tramerin*, '(from) beyond the sea', occurs in CA line 591 *trameryn lestyr trameryn lu*, and possibly in PBT 7.111. *Tra merin* + proper name in CA 1209 *tra merin Iodeo*, and PBT 8.80 *tra merin Reget*; *tra merin* on its own, 'over the sea', CBT I 17.23. It is unclear what *gwadawl* 'gift, dowry': possibly a luxury import, such as wine. If so, unity of liquids in lines 44-5.
- 46 **a chorwc gwytrin** The usual meaning of *corwc* 'coracle, skiff' is unsuitable here unless it were in miniature; therefore translated as 'vessel', cf. the ambiguous *llestyr*. *Gwydrin ban* 'glass vessel' in Edmyg Dinbych line 32 *ef a'm rodes med a gwin o wydrin ban*.

- 47 **ar llaw pererin** ‘Into the hand’ (as in CBT II 14.17-18 *A dyd6c o vragab1 wirab1 worgret/ Ar llab Wgabn*, etc.), ‘in the hand’ (e.g. CBT III 17.25); but *arllaw* ‘dispense, administer’ is not impossible.
- 48 **a phybyr a phyc** *Pyc* ‘pitch, bitumen’ (< L. *pix, picis*) mentioned in medical tracts, e.g. *Physicians of Myddvai*, 105, and see GPC for further examples. But an unattested borrowing from L. *pyxis* ‘pyx’ is not impossible, and compare perhaps also L. *pyxis piperis* ‘cruet, pepper box’. *Pybyr* (< L. *piper*) ‘pepper’ also used in medicine, *Physicians of Myddvai* 104. Aldhelm has a pepper riddle: *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Cambridge, 1985), 78.
- 49 **ac vrdawl segyrffyc** *Segyrffyc* ‘Eucharist’ < L. *sacrificium*, rare, but also attested in the Welsh translation of the *Elucidarium*, LIA 145. *Urdawl* may qualify the noun, but it is also used nominally for dignified, honoured or ordained persons (see GPC): ‘the Eucharist (served by the) ordained cleric’.
- 51 **lle allwy venffyc** *Merin, gwydyr* (in *gwytrin*), *pererin, pybyr, pyc, urdawl, segyrffyc, medyc, and benffyc* are all ultimately from Latin, and this may have been the uniting feature in these lines. The ms reading *lle allwy venffyc* is obscure, and possibly corrupt: surrounding lines all begin with *a*. Perhaps read *llen* ‘mantle’ or *llên* ‘learning, erudition’, and *llwy* ‘spoon’ rather than *allwy*, lenited form of *gallwy*, 3sg. pres. subjunct. of vb *gallu* (only *gallo* is attested in G). If *benffyc*, normally meaning ‘loan’ or (as adj.) ‘borrowed’, is nearer here in sense to the L. *beneficium*, then perhaps ‘benefaction, benefit, service’, etc., also to be considered in PT VIII.39 *Vn yw breyr benffyc y arglwyd*, as indicated by Ifor Williams, PT 104. Our line may refer to the by the doctor’s use of written medical texts, or written charms (*llên*), or (as in the tentative translation) a dosing spoon which brings benefit (*llwy venffyc*) to his patients.
- 53 **a gudic bertheu** *Pertheu*, the pl. of *perth* ‘hedge, bush’, etc. (cf. LIDC 26.43 *Gorwin blaen pertheu*, also to be restored in EWGP VI.31), suggests that *gudic* may be an adj. formed from either *gwyd* ‘trees, timber’, etc., *gwyd* ‘wild, overgrown’, or (as understood here) from the element ‘plaited’ in *gwyden, gwden* (see GPC). Emendation to *gwdyf* ‘bill-hook; hedging bill’ is not impossible, i.e. hedges worked with the bill-hook.
- 54 **a briallu a briw deil** Possibly more *materia medica*, but note that *briallu, gwyd*, and *godeu* occur together in Taliesin’s list of the nine constituents from which he was formed: see discussion in notes on §5.154 and §5.157-8. See comments on *briallu* (Primula, primrose) and its relationship with *briblu, OC breilu*, etc., *The Leiden Leechbook*, ed. Alexander Falileyev and Morfydd E. Owen (Innsbruck, 2005), 62-4.
- 55 **a blaen gwyd godeu** On *godeu*, see §5.57-9 and §5.158 *o vlawt gwyd a godeu*.
- 56 **A mall a meued** Cf. line 44 *mall*. On *meued*, see §5.29.
- 57 **a mynych adneued** GPC² favours pl. of *adneu* ‘deposit, pledge’ while G suggests also the possibility of an abstract noun *adneued* ‘making a deposit’. There are no other medieval examples. *Adneu* is used of the grave, hiding-place, of hoarded wealth (e.g. CBT IV 9.185-6 *ny orchut tlysseul Nac aryant nac eur yn adneu*), etc.
- 58 **a gwin talkibed** The pl. of *talcib* ‘vessel, bowl’ (*cib* < L. *cūpa*): see J. Loth, ‘Talcib’, *RC* 22 (1901), 330; *DIL* s.v. *tulchube* ‘large vessel; cup’; *Lexique* T-181. *Talcipp* glosses *cratere* in Martianus Capella, EGOW 145. No further attestations.

- 59 **o Rufein hyt Rossed** *Rossed* is most naturally understood as a place-name, as in CA line 1275 (Gwarchan Tudfwlch) *eil dal rossed* ('a place famous in the past for pomp and luxuries?', CA 353). Possible instances of a place-name rather than the pl. of the common noun *rhos* include PBT 8.45 *yn amwyn rihyd ryfed rossed* ('defending the great glory of R.'), and 8.13 *blwydyned budic rossed rihyd reitheu*; PBT 10.10 (Darogan Katwaladyr) *o ryfyr rosseda*; CBT IV 4.119-20 *As dygaf (ys dygyn atchwetlet)/ Y uabrglod hyd Uabrglhyd rosset* 'I will carry his great fame (it is a grievous story) to the great gate of R', or 'to the moorlands of great Clwyd'. R. Geraint Gruffydd has made the tentative but attractive suggestion that the older name for Rossett, north-east of Wrexham (Clwyd), near Trefalun on the present-day border, may have been a learned back-formation from Rhosedd (*Bardos* 16 n.2); in CBT IV 76, while the place-name is not entirely ruled out, it is treated as pl. of *rhos*, citing D. Pratt's argument that Rossett/Yr Orsedd Goch is to be equated with the Domesday form *radenoure* 'at the red bank'. Note also CBT VI 20.65-6 (praise of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and his warband for their victories c. 1208, possibly by Prydydd y Moch) *Tremynbys rysswr Rossed—Diabret/ Am diebryt Gbyned*, identified tentatively (p. 315) with Rhos Ddiabred between Llandinam and Caersŵs.
- 60 **adwyfn dwfyr echwyd** See on §4.16 for *adwfn* 'very deep', if not *a dwfyn* in both instances.
- 61 **dawn dylif (ms ylif) Dofyd** Accepting G's emendation to *dylif* 'arrangement, ordering, plan', cf. CC 12.27-8 *Digones Periw pedwerit ryvet:/ redecauc duwyr echwit*. On suggested *dylif*, see §3.12.
- 62 **Neu pren purawr vyd** See GPC s.v. *puror*¹ 'cleanser' and *puror*² 'musician, bard'; an impers. of vb *puraw* is unlikely before *vyd* (see CBT IV 318 for note on vb form *diburawr*). If *puror*¹, possibly for God or Christ, with *pren* perhaps for the Cross (see GPC s.v. (d)), as in the translation. But if the more common *puror*², as in CBT III 3.210 (of God) *A'm gwnaeth o burawr yn brydyd* 'who transformed me from a *purawr* into a *prydydd*', then we are dealing with a poet's efficacious staff, or tree or timber — possibly figurative — whose increase is fruitful.
- 63 **ffrwythlawn y gynnyd** *Ffrwythlawn* is used of poetic composition, e.g. CBT I 2.2; 7.32. Used with *pren* in CBT VI 14.33 *Rwng y prenn frwydlawn a'r teir prif ffynnawn*, a reference discussed in §1.18; and see on line 62 above for *pren*, commonly used for Christ's Cross.
- 64 **rei las berwidyd** Disyllabic *rēi* 'wealth, riches; ?booty' would be suitable especially in the last sense for animals being boiled up in a cauldron. *Rei* (ModW *rhai*) is also possible with an implied contrast between those saved through Christ's Cross, and those condemned to Hellfire. An alternative interpretation of lines 62-5, perhaps more in keeping with the tenor of the following passage, would be 'The timber of the bard will have a fruitful effect: it will boil up riches/booty fiercely above the five-legged cauldron'. G notes *berwidyd* as a (rel.) 3sg. rather than a nomen agentis; see further on §18.36 *peridyd*.
- 65 **peir pumwyd** The rhyme in *-yd* suggests *pumwyd* < *pum* + *gwyd* 'tree', here perhaps referring to five beams forming a frame from which the cauldron was suspended (cf. its use for a ship's mast). But cf. possibly Irish *coire cóicduirn* 'cauldron of five-fists' (DIL s.v. *cóic*).

7 Mydwyf Merweryd

- 66 **a Gwiawn auon** See §4.15 on *Gwiawn*. G's 'river' may be a figure for poetic discourse.
- 67 **a gofrwy hnon** Also possible is 'the beauty of fine weather'; see line 42 above.
- 68 **a mel a meillon** Cf. PBT 6.26 (*Rydyrchafwy Duw*) *o'r pan amrygir mel a meillon*.
- 69 **medgyrn medwon** While *medgyrn* is very common, *medwon* is used once only in the CBT corpus, by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 6.16-17 *Yn adon medwon met kynteid./ Yn ardwyl beirt ddfyn*. Elsewhere: §1.88, CA line 354; EWSP 427.56; CC 31.48.
- 70 **adwyn y dragon** On *adwyn*, see §3.1. *Dragon* here figuratively for a lord, leader or perhaps patron: used ad nauseam in the CBT corpus, but rather infrequent elsewhere.
- 71 **dawn y derwydon** On *derwydon*, see §5.238.

8 Golychaf-i Gulwyd

As explained in the introduction to poem §7, it is very likely that this item was intended to bear the title *Kadeir Taliessin* (with its attendant value of XXVIII), thus forming the first of the series of three poems (§§8-10) called *kadeir*.¹ The poem offers an attractive and unusually coherent summa of most of the elements associated with the figure of Taliesin, with the exception of his trademark questions. The main emphasis is on the associations he has enjoyed with a range of characters, some known to us from historical sources: he sang before Brochfael Powys on the meadows of the Severn, before Urien in morning battle, and he disputed with Maelgwn at Degannwy in order to free his lord, Elffin, from captivity (lines 7-10, 23-6). As explained in the commentary, it is simply not appropriate to extrapolate from these references to early figures anything about the affiliations and movements of the putative 'historical' Taliesin any more than we would argue that he had 'really' been on a visit to Ireland or that he had served Arthur on the basis of the evidence of §18 *Preideu Annwfn* (incidentally, Arthur is a notable absentee from the roll-call of the present poem). The persona moves further into legendary time as he recounts how he sang before the sons of Llŷr in Ebyr Henfelen (1-2), and how he witnessed the carnage in Ireland in the company of Brân (31-4) — two allusions which can be matched up to some degree with the narrative in the story of *Branwen ferch Llŷr*. Further associations are paralleled in other poems (as are the links with Maelgwn and Urien noted above): he was with Lleu and Gwydion in the Battle of the Trees (29-30), and his inspiration — albeit originated by God himself — emanates from Ceridfen's cauldron (11-14). He also refers to the experience he has shared with Manawyddan and Pryderi in visiting the Otherworld (*Kaer Sidi*, lines 45 and 47), mirrored in the episode of *Manawyddan fab Llŷr* in which the two men are drawn into a deserted fort, transfixed and rendered speechless.

The lyrical description of *Kaer Sidi* itself (45-51) is of particular interest since it amplifies the picture of the Otherworld in poem §18 *Preideu Annwfn*, adding the details that there is no sickness or old age there, but harmonious poems and instrumental music (see the commentary on the *teir oryan*, line 47) and a plenitude of sweet white wine; it also confirms the impression conveyed by *Preideu Annwfn* that the fort was turreted or four-square, and set in or under the ocean.

Three further features are also seen elsewhere in this collection. Lines 15-22 and 33-40 slide seamlessly into prophecy, foretelling the incursions of sea-borne raiders around Bardsey Island (likely to be a post-eventum reference to the Vikings), mentioning the 'ravaging English hosts' in connection with the fine plain of Anglesey, a period of turbulent fighting by the Irish, the Britons and the 'Romani' (see on line 39), and entreating God for deliverance for the Cymry

¹ The possible meanings are discussed in the commentary to the title of §7.

from the 'swarming host'. These passages use the vague discourse and diction found in other vaticinary material, as noted in the commentary; and lines 39-40 are matched exactly by the Black Book of Carmarthen Oianau, one of the post-Norman Myrddin prophecies.

The second familiar feature is Taliesin's pride in his poetic gift (line 12) which earns him the approval of rulers and noblemen signalled by the ritual first drink which is awarded him (42-4). His song (or 'metre') is heard in *Kaer Sidi*, as it is in §18 Preideu Annwfyn, and his 'three songs/metres of consistent harmony', he claims, will be perpetuated by poets until Doom. It is possible that the 'three songs' in question are our poems §8-10, all called *kadeir*; alternatively, if 'metre', the reference may be to the quite different metres used in those three poems. Our poem uses the relaxed long line, characterised by a clear caesura and a very regular four-syllable clausula, indicated in the layout of the text below. Poem §9 *Kadeir Teyrmon* uses the terser short line, very common in this collection; while poem §10 combines patterns, commencing with a tripartite line (§10.1-27), proceeding to a longer *Naw Ban* type of line (as here), but with both of its sections using an arrangement rather like the *Traeanog* used by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets.² Finally, the third familiar feature we see in our poem is the pious invocation to God at the beginning and the end, perfectly consistent with the body of the poem and Taliesin's usual god-fearing 'voice', and therefore not to be regarded as additions made by an 'improving' scribe.³

² See the details in the introduction to poem §10, and for the metres used in the collection, see the General Introduction, 37-9.

³ An extrapolation to the micro-level of the argument that 'religious and scriptural poems have been interspersed among the others' 'as if the scribe wished to give some "weight" to the content of his manuscript', PT xx.

8 Golychaf-i Gulwyd

Book of Taliesin 33.1-34.14

Golychaf-i Gulwyd, arglwyd pop echen,
I petition God — lord of every race,
arbenhic toruoed yghyoed am orden.
ruler of hosts — publicly for a pact.

Keint yn yspydawt uch gwirawt aflawen,
I sang in a feast over sad drink,

keint rac meibon Llyr yn Ebyr Henuelen.
I sang before Llŷr's sons in Ebyr Henfelen.

5 **Gweleis treis trydar ac auar ac aghen;**
I saw the violence of battle, and sadness and distress;
yt lethrynt lafnawr ar pennawr disgowen.
blades were glinting on proud heads.

Keint rac vd clotleu yn Doleu Hafren,
I sang before a splendidly famous lord on the Severn meadows,
rac Brochuael Powys a garwys vy awen.
before Brochfael Powys who loved my poetic inspiration.

Keint yn aduwyn rodle ymore rac Vryen
I sang in a fine position in the morning in front of Urien
10 **yny uyd¹ am an traet gwaet ar dien.**
until there was blood on the grass all round our feet.

Neut amuc yg kadeir o peir Kerritwen;
He defended my song [emanating] from Ceridfen's cauldron;
handit ryd vyn tafawt, o adawt o² ogyrwen.
unrestrained is my tongue, a repository of inspiration.

Gwawt ogyrwen vy Ren³ rwy digones
The inspiration of poetry — my God created it
arnun⁴ a llefrith a gw lith a mes.
at the same time as fresh milk and dew and acorns.

15 **Ystyryem yn llwyr kyn clwyr cyffes**
Let us be mindful, before the confession cell,
dyfot yn diheu agheu nessnes.
that death is certainly coming nearer and nearer.

Ac am tired Enlli dybi dylles:
And misfortune will come around the lands of Bardsey:

¹ ms ynewyd

² ms yn adawt gwawt

³ ms uferen

⁴ ms arnunt

- dyrehawr llogawr ar glawr aches,
ships will be deployed on the sea-flood,
a galwn ar y Gwr a'n digones:
and let us call on Him who made us:
- 20 **a'n nothwy rac gwyth llwyth aghymes.⁵**
may he protect us from the anger of the swarming host.
Pan alwer Ynys Von tiryon vâes,
When Anglesey is called a fair plain
gwyn eu byt wy gwleidyadon⁶ Saesson ar tres.
blessed are the ravaging English hosts.
Dodwyf Deganhwy y amrysson
I came to Degannwy to dispute
a Maelgwn uwyhaf y achwysson.
with Maelgwn the most powerful.
- 25 **Ellygeis vy arglwyd yg gwyd deon,**
In the presence of nobles I released my lord,
Elphin pendefic rhyodigyon.
Elffin, the ruler of fine men.
Yssit imi teir kadeir kyweir kysson
I have three songs of consistent harmony
ac yt Vrawt parahawt gan gerdoryon.
and they will be perpetuated by poets until Judgment.
Bum yg Kat Godeu gan Lleu a Gwydyon:
I was in the Battle of the Trees with Lleu and Gwydion:
- 30 **wy a rithwys gwyd Euuyd⁷ ac Elestron.**
Eufydd and Elestron fashioned trees.
Bum y gan Vran yn Iwerdon:
I was with Brân in Ireland:
gweleis pan ladwyt >mordwyt⁸ tyllon;
I witnessed the slaying of mighty-thighed warriors;
kigleu gyfarfot angerdolyon⁹
I heard the clash of the fierce men
a Gwydyl diefyl diferogyon.
with the Irish devils, a wily lot.
- 35 **O Penryn Penwaed¹⁰ hyt Luch Reon:**
From the promontory of Penwith as far as Loch Ryan:

⁵ ms *aghes*⁶ ms *gwleidon*⁷ ms *eluyd*⁸ ms *ymordwyt*⁹ ms *am gerdolyon*¹⁰ ms *ren wleth*

Kymry yn vn vryt gwrhyt uoryon.¹¹

the Cymry with a common purpose, men of great valour.

Gwaret dy Gymry yg kymelri —

A salvation for the Cymry in [their] struggle —

teir kenedyl gwythlawn o iawn teithi:

three ferocious peoples possessing true qualities:

Gwydyl a Brython a Romani

The Irishmen and the Britons and the Romani

40 **a wnahon dyhed a dyuysci.**

will make war and turbulence.

Ac am teruyn Prydein — kein y threfi —

And around the limit(s) of Britain — fair its dwellings —

keint rac teŷrned uch medlestri.

I sang before rulers over vessels of mead.

Yg keinyon deon im a'e dyrodi,

Noblemen would give me the first libation,

handwyf¹² pensywet ket ryferthi.

[for] I am a chief sage with an abundance of gifts.

45 **Ys kyweir vvg kadeir yg Kaer Sidi:**

Harmonious is my song in Caer Siddi;

nys plawd heint a heneint a uo yndi,

sickness and old age do not afflict those who are there,

ys gwyr Manawyt a Phryderi.

as Manawyd a Phryderi know.

Teir oryan y am tan a gan recdi,

Three instruments/organs around a fire play in front of it

ac am y banneu ffrydyeu gweilgi;

and around its turrets are the wellsprings of the sea;

50 **a'r ffynhawn ffrwythlawn yssyd oducht i —**

and [as for] the fruitful fountain which is above it —

ys whegach no'r gwin gwyn y llyn yndi.

its drink is sweeter than the white wine.

A gwedy a'th iolaf, Oruchaf Ri,¹³

And after my entreating You, Most High King,

kyn gweryt gorot, kymot a Thi.

before burial in the earth, [may I have] a covenant with You.

¹¹ ms wryon

¹² ms an dwy

¹³ Ri supplied

- 1 **Golychaf-i Gulwyd** 1sg. pres. of vb *golwch*, *golychu* commonly used in the Book of Taliesin (PT XII.5; §12.1 and 15; §18.1 and 59; §22.8; §25.1-2 *Gvolychaf vyn Tat./vy Duw, vyn neirthat*); and Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin lines 38, 54, 87, 93, 109, 123, 141, 167, 181 (see General Introduction, 19-20). Note also its use in CBT I 5.1 *Gwollychaf (ym) Reen, Rex awyr*, a short poem by Meilyr Brydydd unique in the CBT corpus for its use of the awdl-gywydd metre (a metre found in PT X and LIDC poem 2). On Meilyr's use of prophetic diction, and *post eventum* prophecy, combined unusually with elegy, see Nerys Ann Jones, 'The Mynydd Carn "prophecy": a reassessment', *CMCS* 38 (1999), 73-92. An instance of the 1sg. subjunct. occurs in CBT I 33.28 (Meilyr ap Gwalchmai) *Rex ry's-gollychdyf, Rbyf ryuedeu. Culwyd of God*, cf. §21.23; Edmyg Dinbych line 56; CC 8.17; 13.5; 14.41; 20.53 and 154; common in CBT corpus.
- 1 **arglwyd pop echen** *Echen* 'stock, race, line', cf. §4.103, §9.4. Rhymed with *Llyr Henfelen* (cf. line 4 below) by Cynddelw, CBT III 16.89-90 *dra Llyr Henuelen./Maŕbar beir o bedeir echen*; with *arglwyd*, CBT III 24.3.
- 2 **arbenhic toruoed yghyoed am orden** *Toruoed* referring to the heavenly hosts, cf. CBT I 31.3; III 3.239, IV 18.18, etc. Rhymed (as here) with *yghyoed* 'publicly, openly, manifest' in CBT VI 18.123 *Toruoet yg kyhoet yg kyflabnder, cyhoed/toruoed* R1052.28-9; CC 30.41. *Yngyhoed* with *arbennic*, EWSP 445.113 *Arbennig lleithig llurig ynghyhoedd*; the phrase also in CBT III 28.2; V 28.13. Common *gorden* 'delight, wish, desire; pact', rhymed with *Hafren* and *echen* PBT 8.57-9; with *Hafren*, CBT II 25.46. The sentiment echoed in final line 53 *kymot a Thi*.
- 3 **Keint yn yspydawt** *Keint* cf. lines 7, 9 and 42 below; §4.2; §5.25-6; CA line 912; CBT II 6.82 *yr geint*; 26.6 *dygeint*; VI 26.45 *er gaint*. This 1sg. pret. coexisted with *ceneis*, *keintum*, etc. Six instances of *yspydawt* in CBT corpus, three collocated with *esbyt* 'guests' confirm PKM 220-21 'feast; preparations for a feast; company', partially followed by GPC s.v. *ysbyddawd* 'feast, hospitality, (welcoming) lodging; ?fellowship, ?(military) assault'. *Ysbydawt Urdaul Benn* was the name given to the eighty-year carefree sojourn in Gwales in Pembroke before the opening of the door onto Cornwall and Aber Henfelen brought back the sad memory of their lost companions, Bendigeidfran above all. According to PKM 47, *Ysbydawt Uranwen a Matholwch* was 'the one which was taken to Ireland'; and *Yspadawt Uran* was the episode when hosts of numerous regions 'went to Ireland to avenge the Hitting of Branwen' (PKM 48).
- 3 **uch gwirawt aflawen** *Uch gwirawt*, cf. CBT III 11.42, and *uch* common with drink names. *Gwirawt* 'strong drink' is common, e.g. AP line 35; §18.26; Echrys Ynys line 3; CA, etc. The PKM 46-7 episode in Gwales, not itself *aflawen* 'sad', nevertheless ended in misery when the door was opened and sad memories were reactivated (see above). The use of *ysbydawt* suggests that this was the episode in question here, and that lines 3-4 treat a single event: this pattern continues in the following couplets. Alternatively, the line could conceivably refer to the preceding seven years of feasting in Harddlech (PKM 46): although the initial sadness of the company there is not made explicit, it is implied by the mention of the soothing effect of the song of the three birds. If so, two different episodes are being contrasted in lines 3 and 4.
- 4 **keint rac meibon Llyr** The PKM 46-7 account suggests that Manawydan and (the head of) Bendigeidfran are the sons of Llyr on whom see further §15.9.

However, Bleddyn Fardd's elegy for the *three* sons of Gruffudd fab Llywelyn (Owain, Llywelyn and Dafydd) says the *triwyr* were 'like the sons of Llŷr' (CBT VII 54.35-6, and see p. 625 where it is implied that Llŷr himself was the third). GTA I, 42.73 *un llid â Meibion Llŷr*.

- 4 **Ebyr Henuelen** PKM 47 *Aber Hemueleu*, recte *Henuelen*, regarded by Ifor Williams as the whole of the Bristol Channel, or that part between Penfro and Cornwall (PKM 215-6). *Ebyr* may be the pl. of *aber*, or oblique sg. case, as suggested in Tal 197). Cynddelw is the third source for the name, CBT III 16.89 *Ma6rdrabs dreis dra Llyr Henuelen*. Rhyme there as here precludes a name formed from *hen* + personal name *Belyn* (see TYP³ 287-8); *melen* 'yellow' (fem.) referring to sands of the estuary, or the colour of its silty water is perhaps a possibility. The term *Mor Hafren* is used in CBT V 22.23; CO line 1168 *Aber Hafren*.
- 5 **Gweleis treis trydar** *Gweleis* is a commonplace of poetry (about 70 instances in CBT corpus), usually in line-initial position: PT II.11 *Gweleis wyr gwychyr yn lluyd*; CA lines 970 and 976 *Gueleys y wyr tylluawr gan wavr a doyn*; Edmyg Dinbych line 62 *gweleis wyr yg kyfnofant*, §10.28, §14.51, etc. §24.1 *yn trydar*. *Trydar* and *gweleis*, CBT IV 1.49 *Gweleis trydar crein*; *trydar* in proximity to *treis* in CBT II 22.44; III 10.29-30; IV 9.79-80; with phrase *trydar treis* in CBT IV 12.6; VI 4.31.
- 5 **ac auar ac angen** GPC² s.v. *angen* 'need, want . . . distress', etc. also 'battle'.
- 6 **yt lethrynt lafnawr** Cf. CBT III 16.55 *Llatei llauyn gasnar, llathrei galch llassar*, IV 6.48 *Llathrei lafyn o'e la6*; IV 9.97 *Llathrei lafyn uch auyn*; V 13.17 *llathreidrut—lafyna6r*. 17 instances of *llafnawr* versus 13 of *llafneu* in CBT corpus.
- 6 **ar pennawr disgowen** *Pennawr*, cf. CA lines 95, 128 (*ar bennawr* rhyming with *llavnawr*); LIDC 34.12; CBT III 21.164; V 19.5. Used for heads of weapons as well as humans. G s.v. *disgywen* 'lively, wanton; stubborn, etc.; GPC s.v. 'splendid, proud, bold, brave, fearless; clear, manifest'. A word used of poets, battlefield, warrior(s), and wrath by Cynddelw (CBT III 11.77; 16.106 and 107; 24.17; IV 6.236), but not used by other CBT poets. Elsewhere rare in poetry: PBT 8.64 *discowen* (rhymed with *Hafren*, as here); R584.34-5 (also prophecy) *disgiwen bun g6rth b6yth g6as*.
- 7 **Keint rac vd clotleu yn Doleu Hafren** *Clotleu*, cf. Peirian Faban line 52 *Aedan clotleu*; R577.25 and *passim* (Cyfoesi). It is not among the many compounds of *clot* in the CBT corpus, but cf. *clodluc*, CBT V 1.110. Water meadows are frequent along the meandering course of the R. Severn from Newtown to the sea (see on line 8), and the Doleu Hafren are not necessarily to be identified with the meadows at Shrewsbury, as in PT xxix; for *glanneu H.*, *tu H.*, *Dyffryn H.*, *Ystrat H.*, etc., see G s.n. *Hafren*, and EANC 115-17.
- 8 **rac Brochuael Powys** The father of Cynan Garwyn who is praised in PT I: see Graham R. Isaac, 'Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn mab Brochuael: a tenth-century political poem', *ZcP* 51 (1998), 173-85, who takes issue with Ifor Williams' view that it is a contemporary praise-poem. The mere presence of Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn in the Book of Taliesin is no sort of evidence at all that it is by Taliesin, 'the genuine court poet' (PT xxx), rather than another early poet. Neither can our present lines be taken to support the theory that he had served the line of Brochfael, *pace* Ifor Williams, PT xxviii-xxxv, or that he had 'commenced his

career as a court poet in Powys' before moving to Urien's court (PT 1-lx). Brochfael is simply here a well-known figure from the past, like Arthur, Maelgwn, Ynwr Gwent, etc. with whom the Taliesin figure — like the saints — is made to associate (see further, General Introduction). For the author of *Canu Heledd*, Brochfael's name was synonymous with Powys: EWSP 434.37 [T]ir *Brochuael hir rygodet* (and see Rowland's comments, p. 589). Cynddelw (CBT III 3.183) maintained that Brochfael's son, St Tysilio, had defended his father's line in Powys, the region he styles as *Powys wenn, 6lad Urochuael* (III 16.232) and *Gwlad Urochfael Ysgithra6c* (III 15.14). Brochfael was well-known to later poets, e.g. GLGC 132.54, 135.18; and see G s.n.

- 8 **a garwys vy awen** *Awen* understood as object, but conceivably subject: 'Brochfael Powys whom my muse loved, delighted in'.
- 9 **Kelnt yn aduwyn rodle ymore rac Vryen** *Keint*, see on line 3 above. Because of the martial tone of line 10, and the mention of *bore* (see on §21.18) I understand *rodle* as 'a shield-place' (*rot* 'shield'), or a place in the form of a circle (*rot*), perhaps for a round fort or defensive enclosure, or battle-station, rather than from *rodiauw* 'to walk' (thus GPC s.v. *rhodle*, 'ambulatory', etc. with extension to 'habitation', for the sole CBT example, by Cynddelw (CBT III 3.124 *Yn rodle g6yach g6yarllyn*)). *Rodle* 'place of gift-giving' is not an option in that instance (sense, as well as *cymeriad* with *rodwyd*), although it is not impossible here. On *aduwyn*, see on title of §3 title. With Taliesin's association with Urien, cf. §14.42 *meu molawt Vryen*.
- 10 **yny uyd (ms ynewyd) am an traet gwaet ar dien** The emendation is tentative, understanding *yny uyd* literally 'until there is', but used as noted in GMW 245 'to introduce an independent affirmative cause, in which there may also be a suggestion of wonder or surprise', cf. *hyny uyd kaer a welynt* lit. 'it is a fort they could see'. But consider also *yn yt uyd* 'in the place where', or *neu vyd*.
The collocation (*am*) *traet* with *gwaet* is common, cf. CBT IV 4.245 *Creulan6 gbaed am draed amdrychyon*; V 23.149 *Gorllein6 gwaed am draed*; 24.47; 25.53 *Am gynifer gwaed amdrychyon am draed*; VII 4.25; 36.51; 40b.38; etc. Variation of battle topos, as in EWSP 436.53-4 *ar wyneb y gwellt y gwaet; y gwaet a dan draet y gwyr*; and 56 *oed gnodach y gwaet ar wyneb y gwellt/ noc eredic brynar*; LIDC 31.24 *maglei gwaed ar guelld*; CBT I 11.39 *Nyd heb waed ar wellt ar wallt peithya6c*; III 12.30 *A gwaed gwyr y ar wlith*; IV 11.9 *Guaedlyd y lain*, etc. On rather uncommon *dien* 'grass', see §7.25; and on diphthongised *traet*, see further on §11.6 and *troet* §2.33-4, §4.216, §11.18.
- 11 **Neut amuc yg kadeir o peir Kerritwen** It is unclear whether Urien in line 9, or the bloodshed of line 10 is the subject of the 3sg. pret. of vb *amwyn* 'to defend'. For a similar idea, cf. CA lines 465-6 *amuc Moryen/ gwenwawt Mirdyn*; it is the poet himself who is said to be defended in CA lines 557-8. On *yg kadeir*, here understood as 'my song' rather than 'my (bardic) chair', see beginning of commentary on §7; on Ceridfen and her cauldron, see introduction to §10.
- 12 **handit ryd vyn tafawt < (ms yn) adawt < (ms gwawt) ogyrwen** *Ryd* 'free, unfettered; generous, copious, plentiful', cf. of verse, CBT I 3.2 *ryt y vola6d*; VI 27.45 *Rhydd fydd a ganwyf*. For common collocation *tauawt/gwawt*, see examples cited in notes on §4.28 and §5.179-80. On *ogyrwen* 'inspiration; a component of the *awen*', see §4.77 and §9.36. The line is unusually long with 12 syllables:

perhaps delete *handit* or, as in translation, *yn* and *gwawt* (scribal anticipation, and/or familiarity with *tauawt/gwawt* collocation).

- 13 **vy ren (ms uferen) rwy digones** *Uferen* emended to *vy Ren* 'my God' (or *ys vy Ren*). If monosyllabic *ren*, then a metrical pattern (5+4) similar to line 18; if disyllable *rëen* (6+4), as in lines 17, 19, etc. On use of *rwy*, restricted in hengerdd to the Book of Taliesin, and used by Cynddelw (and especially) Prydydd y Moch, see on §5.50 *y Ren rwy digonse*. Cf. §9.60 and §10.10.
- 14 **arnun (ms arnunt) a llefrith a gwllith a mes** Restore *arnun* 'together, at the same time', cf. CC 2.31 *Issi Tri arnun* (of the Trinity 'that is Three simultaneously'); 21.89 *Arnun ni'n cred-ni nep* 'together, we have no credibility' (the Soul addressing the Body). Here, 'together with' or 'at the same time as milk, dew and acorns'. *Llefrith*, cf. *llaeth* in §2.46, §3.49 and §4.134. GPC notes the derivation < **lleflith* (**llef* + *blith*) with dissimilation: sweet or fresh milk was used medicinally (see GPC) as well as for drinking and milk products. For *gwllith*, see on §7.25 *Pan yw dien gwllith*. *Mes* mainly used for 'acorns', valued as pig-fodder, but also for nuts (as with the OIr *mess*, used also for fruits of other trees). The liquid or soft *mes* (< ME *mess*) would suit the other liquids better than 'acorns', but is attested only from the 15c onwards (GPC). These items are perhaps grouped together because of their sweetness (*gwllith* excepted), their general efficacy, or their semi-miraculous nature. In the Old Irish *Bretha Nemed* tract, the nine hazel-trees (*cuill*) of Segais are associated with *imbas* 'poetic inspiration', E.J. Gwynn (ed.), 'An Old-Irish tract on the privileges and responsibilities of poets', *Ériu* 13 (1940-42), 1-60, 220-36, p. 26. Similarly, the 9c *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* alludes to the 'hazels of poetic art', and Néde says he has come along a path 'on goodly cheeses (mast and fruit), on dews of a goddess (corn and milk)', as translated by Stokes, *Immacallam* 4-65, 284-5 (pp. 18-19, 28-9, 50-51). The 'nine hazels of fine mast at Segais' which amass *imbas* are also mentioned in 'The Caldron of Poesy', ed. Liam Breatnach, *Ériu* 32 (1981), 45-93, at p. 66, lines 48-9, and note on p. 86.
- 15 **Ystyryem yn llwyr kyn clwyr cyffes** Vb *ystyryaw* 'to meditate on, think on' common especially in religious contexts; also §4.114-15; §6.2. With *llwyr*, CBT VI 24.90. Adverbial *yn llwyr* AP line 92; LIDC 18.97; CBT I 11.74; 21.5; II 5.64; 26.27; IV 17.51; V 11.17; 28.9; VI 10.80; 15.27; VII 43.7. *Clwyr* understood as 'cell; recess, niche' rather than 'cleric, priest; company [of poets]', see GPC. The latter sense, perhaps in CBT I 2.40 and VI 18.62. Possible here, with inversion: 'confession of the poets' or (more likely) 'confession to the priest'.
- 16 **dyfot yn dieu agheu nessnes** *Dieu/agheu* common, e.g. CA line 63 *dadyl dieu angheu y eu treidaw*; AP line 144; CBT I 14.92, II 4.6, etc. *Dieu* with vb *dyfot*, e.g. in prophecy, PBT 7.15 *diheu dybydant*; R1053.36-7 *ef a dab ual diheu*.
- 17 **Ac am tired Enlli dybi dylles** Enlli, Bardsey Island off west of Llŷn peninsula. Little certain is known of the nature of religious settlements there before 1012, when the monk Haearnddrud died according to ByT. In 12c ecclesiastical tradition (LL 78-86, 84-5) Bardsey was counted as the burial place of 20,000 saints and confessors, including SS Dyfrig, Lleuddad and Deiniol; the wholesomeness of the air and the lack of sickness are also remarked on (perhaps *dylles* in our poem, the opposite of *lles*, has a particular force). In 1120 Dyfrig's remains were translated to Llandaf together with the teeth (!) of the hermit Elgar. Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd, d. 1137 left money to the foundation there, and at the end of the

century Gerald of Wales described the island as a place occupied by extremely devout monks of the Céili Dé persuasion, and commented on the longevity of its inhabitants (*Itinerarium*, II.6). Perhaps already by the time of Meilyr Brydydd in the 12c, it became a place of pilgrimage. For more details and later traditions, see TWS 296-300; Jonathan M. Wooding, 'Island and coastal churches in medieval Wales and Ireland', in IWMA 221-8, at pp. 222-8; Enid Roberts, *A'u Bryd ar Ynys Enlli* (Talybont, 1993).

Like other navigational points and offshore islands, but more particularly in the south-west, it was given a Scandinavian name (< personal name *Bárðr* + *ey* 'island, B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-names in Wales* (London, 1938), 238), but this never supplanted the name Enlli. The first wave of Viking attacks involving North Wales (790, 855, 877 902, 914) was countered to some extent by the efforts of Rhodri Mawr; the second phase from the mid 10c to 11c included extensive looting of ecclesiastical sites on the seaboard: Holyhead (as well as Llŷn) in 961, Penmon 971, Clynnog 978, Llanbadarn 988, St Davids, round to Glamorgan. These were generally conducted by settlers in Man, the Hebrides, Dublin and other ports in Ireland. Although Enlli would have been a target, it was not at all easy of access. The present reference does not necessarily arise directly from that raiding period or other attack on Enlli: prophetic discourse used past events retrospectively and projected them into the future, and in any case, the speaker is clearly positioned in the distant past (Urien, Maelgwn). The nature of Viking raids in Wales is discussed by Henry Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain* (London, 1994), 37-8, 69-71, by Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (Oxford, 1990), 48-60, who argues for a degree of Viking control of Anglesey and Gwynedd in the 9-10c. Mark Redknap, *Vikings in Wales: an Archaeological Quest* (Cardiff, 2000), 97-8 has details of the ongoing excavation of a cemetery at Tŷ Newydd, Enlli where one of the adult males was buried with a silver penny of Edgar (pre-973) in his mouth, 'apparently respecting the pagan custom of paying the ferryman of the dead' attested also on Man. Pre-1283 poetry references to Enlli are not very numerous: CA line 1452 (Gwarchan Maeldderw) *Enlli weles* (recte *wales*); CBT I 4.38 and p. 106 on Meilyr Brydydd's plea to be buried there; CBT I 27.68; II 1.138 (on the settlement there by SS Cadfan and Lleuddad); VII 54.4 *gbyndir Enlli*.

Dybi, 3sg. fut. of vb *dyfot*, restricted to prophecy, cf. AP lines 149, 151 and 153 *Dybi o Lego lyghes rewyd*; *Dybi o Alclut*; *Dybi o Lydaw*; LIDC 17.157 and 217 *brithuid dybi*; CBT II 5.56 *Ar wyneb daear dybi* (Signs before Judgment); but also CBT V 25.18 *Ac yg Caerllion uy lly6 dybi*. *Dylles* is a hapax (< *lles* 'profit'); *anlles* used in §11.63. *Tylles* 'den, lair', also figuratively, is ruled out by lenition (no lenition of subject after *bi*, *dybi*, etc., see TC 298-9).

- 18 **dyrehawr llogawr ar glawr aches** Fut. impers. of vb *dyrein* 'to come, hasten; rise; raise up, bring, lead', etc. *Llogawr* rare, but cf. PBT 8.68 *a'e lu a'e longawr*. *Clawr* of the sea's surface is rare, but cf. Edmyg Dinbych line 3 *ar glawr gweilgi*. *Aches* very common in this collection, see Index.
- 19 **y Gwr a'n digones** On *y Gwr a*, see §6.80 and §11.65. *Digones* commonest with God as subject, cf. line 13 above; §13.12 *Mawr Duw digones*; CC 1.1, 3, 4, 5 and 1.5 (Juvencus englynion) *Ti dicones*; *Dicones Pater*; *Dicones Ihesu*; *Gur dicones*; CC 24.98 *Os Dofyd ry'n digones*; 12.27 *Digones periw pedwerit ryvet*; R577.36 and 583.15-16 (Cyfoesi) *Digones Douyd*; possibly Moliant Cadwallon lines 29-30

douit. . . *digones*; CBT I 33.29-30; IV 16.195. See also PT XII.11, 14 and 17, and G for other uses.

- 20 **a'n nothwy rac gwyth llwyth aghymes (ms aghes)** One instance of 3sg. pres. subjunct. (optative) *noddwy* (~ *nothwy*) in court poetry, CBT V 23.1-2 *Crist Creabdyr, Llywya6dyr llu daear—a nef./ A'm notwy rac auar*, cf. CBT I 30.25 *a'm nodho—rac gball*. On *gwyth*, see §4.67; rhymed with *llwyth* CBT VI 29.84 *Gwyth oedd lwyth*; compounds *cynnwyth*, *diwyth* rhymed with *llwyth* in CBT I 3.102; III 10.49. A more regular final cadence of four syllables if *aghes* is emended to *aghymes* 'plentiful, numerous, immeasurable' (see on §4.76, and its use, uniquely by Prydydd y Moch of the court poets). But if *aghes* is retained, then 'cruel, merciless', etc.
- 21 **Pan alwer Ynys Fon tiryon vāes** See on line 22 for English attacks on Anglesey. *Tiryon*, either adj. 'pleasant, fair', or a formation from *tir* (see GPC s.v. *tirion* 'lands; territory, plain, grassland'); collocated with *Môn*, CBT III 3.138 *Tiryon Mon, meillon y morbenn*; VI 30.64 *Môn dirion diredd*. Anglesey was renowned for its fine arable lands, praised since the time of Gildas. Disyllabic *māes* discussed with §11.17.
- 22 **Gwyn eu byt wy gwleidyadon (ms gwleidon) Saesson ar tres** See §5.108 on *gwyn y byt* 'blessed'. The emendation (G) of *gwleidon* > *gwleidyadon* 'leaders, kings; ?peoples, hosts' gives six syllables before the caesura (not counting pronoun *wy*): see GPC s.v. *gwleidyad(d)on* (and metathesised *gwleiddiaddon*), and cf. CBT I 7.62 (and 7.69 *kywleidyaton*); III 3.241; IV 6.232; V 4.38; VI 31.13. Five syllables are found too, as in line 23, etc. On *tres*, CA 308 'in tumult'. Common in battle descriptions by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch. See suggested *tres* in §7.20.

Notable English incursions of Anglesey before the Edwardian conquest included (1) Edwin's brief occupation c. 632; (2) the Norman incursion on Anglesey in 1098 under the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury. The men of Gwynedd were betrayed by their Scandinavian-Irish mercenaries but King Magnus Bareleg and his Norwegian fleet saved the day; (3) Henry II's two-pronged attack of 1157, when his fleet sailing north from Pembroke raided eastern Anglesey before being repulsed by Owain Gwynedd and his forces at the battle of Tal Moelfre; (4) Edward I's 2000-strong force sent from Degannwy to harvest the crops for the English troops. In addition, English campaigns north-west in the 9c — e.g. west of Snowdonia in 816 — may have made unrecorded incursions into Anglesey.

- 23 **Dodwyf Deganhwy Dodwyf** used by Cynddelw, CBT III 16.184 and IV 9.157; 3sg. *dodyw* form common in CBT corpus, here used with accusative of direction without prep. *y*. *Deganhwy* ~ *Dyganhwy* (< **Decantoviom* from the tribal name *Decantae*, ELISG 4). An important stronghold in the cantref of Rhos (Gwynedd Is Conwy) commanding the Creuddyn peninsula, the Conwy estuary, and the eastern approaches to Arfon and Anglesey. The link we see in our poem between Degannwy and Maelgwn Gwynedd, as in *Ystoria Taliesin*, may have a basis in fact: although he is styled *insularis draco* by Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae* ch. 33-6 (generally thought to refer to Anglesey), he may well have made regular visits to hypothetical mainland strongholds of his realm. But there is no early evidence for this connection (see below for later references), and the possibility remains that the link was promoted for propaganda reasons.

Degannwy figures large in early resistance against the English incursions, and in the struggles between the native princes and the Normans for command of the north Wales seaboard in the 12-13c. Leslie Alcock, 'Excavations at Degannwy Castle 1960-6', *Archaeological Journal* 124 (1967), 190-201, found evidence for some Roman and Dark Age settlement, with some imported glazed pottery from the 6c. *Decantorum arx* is first mentioned in *Annales Cambriae* s.a. 812 when it was struck by lightning and burnt. In 816 the English invaded Snowdonia and the territory of Rhufoniog, east of the R. Conwy; in 822 Degannwy was destroyed by the English under Ceolwulf of Mercia who also took Powys into their power. In 880 on the R. Conwy the men of Gwynedd avenged the death of their king, Rhodri Mawr. The Norman Robert of Rhuddlan built a castle there in 1080 which was taken by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in 1200. After the Norman advance of 1210, it was recaptured and refortified by Llywelyn in 1213, one of the many notable successes which he was to enjoy in this period. He died in 1240, having taken the habit in the nearby Cistercian house of Aberconwy, and Degannwy was razed to the ground by the Welsh in advance of the renewed Norman advance; it was rebuilt in 1244-5, with subsequent fortifications in 1250 and made a chartered borough in 1252. It was recaptured and slighted by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1263 when he was at the height of his powers, and the Normans were forced to retreat east. Its importance waned after Edward I built a new castle on the opposite bank of the R. Conwy.

References in pre-1283 poetry include those to *Dygant* — often Degannwy itself, but sometimes the area of the Decantae, or the banks of the R. Conwy. Degannwy is included as part of the clockwise itinerary of Hywel ap Goronwy's imagined dominions, with Llŷn, Aberffraw, Degannwy, Rhos, Rhufoniog, CBT I 1.13-4, turn of 11c. Cynddelw's *Gweith Brynn Dygannhwy* (CBT IV 1.56) is an important reference to a battle fought by Owain Gwynedd, not recorded in historical sources, but supported by later vaticinatory poetry, and likely to relate to English attacks along the North Wales coast in 1157 or 1167, as suggested by Ann Parry Owen (CBT IV 1-3, and 15). Cynddelw's great elegy for Owain Gwynedd in 1170 indeed equates his death with the demise of *caer Dygant* itself (CBT IV 4.2); similarly Seisyll Bryffwrch, *Dwyn Owain fry . . . Dygant graig* (CBT II 22.42-3). Fighting in the area by his son, Dafydd ab Owain, is noted by Gwilym Rhyfel c. 1173-5, CBT II 28.16 *Dygant ruta6 amgant ryd*.

The first of several mentions of Degannwy by Prydydd y Moch is in his praise of Rhodri son of Owain Gwynedd, sung c. 1175-90 (CBT V 4.42): though associated with Anglesey, Rhodri is also connected with the generous hosts of the Degannwy area, *O amgant llys Dygant uab Don*. Elin Jones notes that this is the only early literary reference to the eponymous *Dygant* as a son of Dôn; it corresponds to *Digant* as one of Dôn's progeny in the 13c *Bonedd yr Arwyr*, EWGT 90 and 72. Prydydd y Moch's praise of Gruffudd ap Cynan (CBT V poem 9, c. 1190-94?) opens defiantly with the prince being styled as *rwy Dygannwy*, possibly aspirational, like the *o bon hyt byniw* in the subsequent line, and references to Powys (see CBT V 86). In c. 1213-14, Prydydd y Moch was able to record the very real victories of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in Mold and Degannwy: *Dugost y Wytgruc a Dygant—y dreis*, CBT V 23.163. A later awdl (CBT V poem 25) celebrating Llywelyn's triumphs in the years preceding the Treaty of Worcester in 1218, sees the poet drinking the prince's wine, luxuriating in golden garments and witnessing patronage of poets at various key sites firmly under

Llywelyn's control: Aberffraw, Carmarthen, *Caer Dygannhwy* (line 15), etc. This poem, entitled 'Y Canu Bychan' (see introduction to §26 on the term), begins with the poet's request for the inspiration associated with Ceridfen (see §10), and with Taliesin's release of Elffin. It is possible that the poem was performed in Degannwy: see further General Introduction, 34-6. An anonymous poem — very likely to be the work of Prydydd y Moch — also praising the successes of Llywelyn and his army c. 1215, styles the prince as [*t]eyrn Degannôy* (CBT VI 20.70). Dafydd Benfras' elegy for Llywelyn I, d. 1240, commemorates him, *inter alia*, as *gwawr Dygant* (CBT VI 27.88).

Later references include CBT VII 1.11-12 *Caer daer . . . Dygant y'th uetyant a'th uo* (Y Prydydd Bychan backing Owain Goch ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's claims to Gwynedd, c. 1246-7); and Llygad Gŵr's praise of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (CBT VII 24.30 *am gylch Dygannwe*), which may refer to the events of 1256 rather than the actual capture of the castle by Llywelyn II in 1263 (CBT VII 239). Prophetic texts also testify to Degannwy as a strategic stronghold, as noted above: LIDC 15.5-6 *A pheleidir a gaur yNyganhvy/ Ac Edwin iMon ban gluedichuy*; 17.65-7 *Pan bebillo Lloegir in tir Ethlin/ a guneuthur Dyganhuy dinas degin/ o g[yuranc] Lloegir a Llyuelin*.

23f **y amrysson/ a Maelgwn** See §1.90 for *amrysson*. It is not stated here that Taliesin is engaged in *amrysson* with Maelgwn's bards, although this inference may be drawn. See on line 22 for Maelgwn's possible historical association with Degannwy. The belief in a connection of the early-6c ruler and his family with the cantref of Rhos and its environs cannot, however, be traced back much earlier than the mid-12c reference by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr: CBT I 9.153-4 *Dygoglat gbenyc gbyynn Gyngreabdyr vynyt,/ Morua Rianet Maelgôn rebyt* 'The white waves beat against the Great Orme [Llandudno], at king Maelgwn's Morfa Rhianedd'. A hand from the second half of the 13c added a portion of tradition connected with this area to the Black Book text of Englynion y Beddau: LIDC 18.213-19 *Y beddeu yn y Morua/ . . . / y mae Sanant, syberw vun,/ y mae Run ryuel afwy,/ y mae Garrwen (em.) verch Hennin,/ y mae Lledin a Llywy./ Bed Hennin Henben yn aelwyt Dinorben*. The first name mentioned here is Sanant daughter of Cyngen of Powys and wife of Maelgwn (see Thomas Jones, *B* 22 (1966-8), 352; note also that Sanant is probably the name of the queen in *Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin* line 26 [*San]ant ferç Faig*). The second name is that of Rhun, Maelgwn's son, and the female name Lledin is associated with names on Little Orme's Head: see Jones, *EyB* 114-15. Moreover, Hennin Henben is possibly to be equated with Heinin (var. Hennin) Fardd, the chief poet at Maelgwn's court in *Ystoria Taliesin* (see on §24.19).

Also from the 13c is Maelgwn Gwynedd's death notice in the B text of the *Annales Cambriae* s.a. 547: *Unde dicitur, 'Hir hun Wailgun en llis Ros'*. Brut Dingestow (c. 1300) states, in a passage not found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, that Maelgwn was buried in the church near his own castle in Degannwy (BD 187). For later references to *Hir hun Faelgwn yn eglwys Rhos*, see TYP³ 430-31. Bryn Maelgwn near Degannwy is first attested in Pennant's *Tours*.

Poetry references to Maelgwn are common: see §14.26 *Maelgwn o Von*; §12.5 *Maelgwn Mon*; EWSP 411.5; LIDC 1.5 and 21, 14.13 and 34.39 (his hound, Dormach); R577.37 (Cyfoesi) *Maelgôn Hir*, and 15; CBT I 8.54 *o Vaelgôn*

Gbynet; III 20.2; 24.164 *o Uaelgynyg*; II 28.46; IV 2.42 *Uaelg6n ry6*; 4.271 *Hil Maelg6n, Maelgynyg ener (hil M. also in IV 9.183; I 16.28)*; IV 12.17-18 *wlad Run—am Maelgwn*; V 22.11 *Maelgynyg*; VI 14.19 *Kadeir 6aelgwn Hir*; 15.5 *[c]ywrwyssed 6aelgwn* (the last two examples discussed in note on §1.90); GGM I 7.85; GGDT 15.29 *M. hir*. See further references in TYP³ 428-32; WCD 438-42; TWS 303-6; Juliette Wood, 'Maelgwn Gwynedd: a forgotten Welsh hero', *Trivium* 19 (1984), 103-17. The story in the law texts of Maelgwn's winged chair enabling him to ride the tide, thus establishing his superiority over the other rulers, is discussed by Morfydd E. Owen in WKC 232-8, 251-2. The Black Book of Chirk (NLW Peniarth 29, mid 13c) attributes to Taliesin a song imagined to have been sung when Rhun, son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, attacked the men of the North on the *Guerit*; this further propaganda story from the law-books (asserting the privileges of the men of Arfon in this case) is also discussed by Owen, WKC 238-45, 252-4.

- 24 **uwyhaf y achwysson** On *achwysson*, see §5.48 and further instances cited there.
- 25 **Ellygeis vy arglwyd** The story of the release of Elffin is discussed in the commentary to §4.56 where it is noted that of the court poets only Prydydd y Moch makes explicit mention of Taliesin's release of Elffin (CBT V 25.2-3 *Yn dull Talyessin yn dillwng* (Red Book text has *ell6ng*) *Elfin./ Yn dyllest bartrin beirt uannyeri*). Cf. in this collection, §9.77-9 *O plant Saraphin./ dogyn dwfyn diwerin./ dillygem Elphin*; §12.15-18 *Golychafi-i wledic pendefic gwlat hed/ y dillwg Elphin o alltuded/ y gwr a'm rodes y gwin a'r cwrwf a'r med/ a'r meirch mawr modur mirein eu gwed*.
- 25 **yg gwyd deon** *Deon* 'noblemen, good men', etc. (Surexit *degon*, CMCS 7 (1984), 101) very common in CBT corpus (see G); CA line 1158 (note p. 330); Marwnad Cynddylan line 1; line 43 below; Echrys Ynys line 5 *Tristlawn deon*; YT lines 318 *meibion deuon* (var. *dewon*), and 418 *Myui a vum yn llys deon* (but ?recte *Don*).
- 26 **Elphin pendefic ryhodigyon** On *Elphin*, see §4.56. *Pendefic* appears not to be in use in any indisputably early sources: §9.65 *o diua pendeuic*; Echrys Ynys line 21 *Difa gwledic or bendefic ae tu terra*; LIDC 16.18 *pendeuic Eryri*; 17.145 *pendewic Dyued*; R584.19-20 (prophecy) *penndeuic Prydein yno penn barn*; CC 30.14 *Arthur, bendefig haelion*. Of God, §12.1 and 15 *Golychaf wledic pendefic popwa*; *Golychaf-i wledic pendefic gwlat hed*; §18.1 and 59 *Golychaf Wledic Pendefic gwlat ri*; *Golychaf-y Wledic, Pendefic mawr*, LIDC 14.2. In CBT corpus, it is restricted to six instances in later poets (later 12c onwards, CBT V-VII only). Also restricted in 13c prose manuscripts: e.g. WKC 251 *Maeldaf Hynaf. . . pendeuyc Penarth yn Aruon*; WKC 252 *pendeuyc Penard*, and cf. PKM 1 *Pwyll Pendefic Dyuet*.
- Ryhodigyon* (< *hawd* 'pleasant, fine, splendid'), rare, but cf. PT II 28 *ran reodic am Vryen* (and note p. 40); and CC 24.110 (BT) *bryt ryodic*.
- 27 **Yssit imi teir kadeir kyweir kysson** On *kadeir*, here unequivocally 'song, poem or metre', see the beginning of the commentary to §7. *Kyweir* 'harmonious, in tune', of *kadeir* again in line 45 below; but probably 'ordered' in §18.3 *Bu kyweir karchar Gweir yg Kaer Sidi*. *Kysson* 'consistent in sound; harmonious', CBT III 21.182 *traethaud gysson*; CBT VII 39.19 *kysson—y g6edi*. See further on §10.25 *a'm areith tryadyl, gadeir gysson*. The two adjs. are collocated in AP line 126 *yn gyweir gyteir gytson gyfffyd* (referring to the Cymry imagined as prevailing in

battle); PBT 6.7-8 (Rydyrchafwy Duw); CC 21.146-7 *Myn y mae kertorion/ In kyveir kysson.*

- 28 **hyt Vrawt parahawt** See on §4.55 for many instances of this and similar phrases used to assert the continuation of song or verse until the Day of Judgment. *Parahawt* is understood here as passive (GMW 119), but if it is the more usual fut. 3sg., then 'it will last until Judgment', referring to the *kyveir kysson*. See Graham R. Isaac, 'The Old- and early Middle-Welsh "future" tense: form and function of a moribund category', *Journal of Celtic Studies* 4 (2004), 153-70.
- 29 **Bum yg Kat Godeu gan Lleu a Gwydyon** See on §5 (Kat Godeu) which mentions Gwydion (see note §5.46) but not Lleu. For Lleu, see on §1.36 *Lleu a Gwydyon*.
- 30 **Wy a rithwys gwyd Ewuyd (ms eluyd) ac Elestron** On *rith*, and vb *rithaw*, see §5.1. On *Ewuyd* and *Elestron*, here understood as two personal names in apposition to *wy*, see commentary on §1.81 *gan lewyd, gan Elestron*. *Gwyd eluyd* 'the trees of the earth, world' may have been written because *elestron* was understood as the pl. of well-attested *elestr* 'flag, iris'. Note, however, that G favours *ewyð* 'stalks, stems, lichen, liverwort' (connected with (*i*)*eu* 'liver'), and *elestron* 'irises'.
- 31 **Bum y gan Vran yn Iwerdon** See above on lines 4-5, and see §14.38 *Bran bore dewin* for other poetic references to Brân. In the story of *Branwen ferch Llŷr* (PKM 44), Taliesin is named one of the seven men who escaped from Ireland with the injured Bendigeidfran.
- 32 **pan ladwyt mordwyt (ms ymordwyt) tyllon** This has caused much headache and confusion.
- (1) Metrical considerations suggest that the final cadence is more likely to be *mordwyt tyllon*, with four rather than five syllables. This seems to make *ymordwyt* 'in the thigh' most unlikely. *Lladwyt* 'was struck, pierced, wounded; slain'.
- (2) *Tyllon* is conceivably pl. of *twll*¹ 'pierced, wounded' etc., used nominally for 'wounded ones' (as in CBT V 11.8-9 *Cant callonn yn donn, yn doll./ Tyllon ei alon*). If so 'when the thigh-pierced ones were struck/slain/wounded'. Such thigh-wounds are described, CBT III 26.89 *Gbaew trwy ðlwg trwy uðg, trwy uortwyd*; CBT IV 6.219 *A llafneu trwy vortwyd*.
- (3) More likely perhaps is pl. of *twll*² 'mighty, stout' in a close compound with *mordwyt*, i.e. 'stout-thighed ones' (cf. *gradforyon*; *hoedylfyryon*, etc.). *Twll* in this sense is seen in synonymous compounds *tyllfawr* and *tyllfras*, the latter used with *mordwyt* in EWSP 407.18 *Gwen vordwyt tylluras a wylyas neithwyr* (note on p. 520 should read CA [line] 976 as *Gueleys y wyr tylluavr*; CLIH 70-71). It is also seen in CO lines 196 and 1154 *Echel Uordwyt Twll*. Thus, 'when the mighty-thighed ones were slain', i.e. the warriors slain on the disastrous expedition to Ireland. Their exploits are probably further commemorated in lines 33-4 (see notes below).
- (4) If a sg. formation in *-on* from *twll*¹ or *twll*² were possible, *mordwyt tyllon* (ModW *morddwyd dyllon*) could be 'thigh-wounded one' or 'thigh-mighty one', referring to Brân. The comparanda cited by GPC 2647 (*euron, hinon, gwron, tirion*) are, however, examples of *-on* added to nouns rather than adj. If 'thigh-wounded one', perhaps a reference to Brân's wounding, although PKM 44 states it to have been 'in his foot with a poison spear' *yn y troet a guenwynwaew*. If

'thigh-mighty one', a heroic description (as of Gwên noted in (3)), with added literal force given the size of Brân's giant legs.

(5) The matter is complicated by the corrupt passage in *Branwen ferch Llŷr* (PKM 44): *Ac yna y dywot mordwyd tyllyon. guern gwngwch uiwch uordwyt tyllyon*. The White Book's scribe failed to modernise his exemplar in writing *mordwyd* rather than *mordwyt* in the first occurrence (the Red Book scribe also wrote *mordwyd* but corrected the *d* to a *t*). At the beginning of the passage *mordwyd tyllyon* is treated as a person (rather than writing *y mordwyd tyllyon*), though it is unclear whether it is thought to be an alias for Bendigeidfran or a distinct character. This may well have been because *mordwyd tyllyon* was perceived as a person in the quotation. But there is no real reason to reject 'mighty-thighed ones' there, meaning the Welsh warriors who begin to taunt the Irish as both sides reach for their arms, 'Hounds of Gwern, beware the mighty-thighed ones [i.e. us!]'. I accept for the time being Ifor Williams' treatment of the rest of the passage, PKM 207, but I am not convinced that *mordwyt tyllyon* has to be a name for Bendigeidfran, as argued also by Proinsias Mac Cana, *Branwen Daughter of Llŷr* (Cardiff, 1958), 161-5, followed by TYP³ 291. The passage contains a tolerable poetic line of nine syllables, as Williams notes, with the same final cadence as in our example, and may be drawing on a similar poetic treatment of the fighting with the Irish. But our poem's conjunction of *Bran* and *mordwyt tyllon* may be drawing on a version of the tale.

- 33 **Kigleu gyfarfot angerdolyon (ms am gerdolyon)** On *kigleu*, see §5.144 and §21.5. G's emendation to *angerdolyon* 'passionate, ferocious; wrathful (ones)', etc. is accepted. *Angerdawl* used in a similar context in PBT 7.76 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr), but otherwise in poetry only in CBT corpus (12 examples); pl. *angertolyon* in CBT III 21.197. *Angerd* itself is extremely common (36 examples) often with following personal name (e.g. CBT IV 9.154 *angert Uallolwch*; V 20.37 *angert Lyr—a Bran*, etc.).
- 34 **a Gwydyl diefyl diferogyon** Cf. §1.87 *Gwydyl kyl diuerogyon*; *Gwydyl* common, especially in prophecy, e.g. AP lines 10, 130, 177; PBT 5.12 (Kein Gyfedwch) *Gwydyl Ffichti*; PBT 7.78 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr). *Gwyddyl gynt* and *Allt wyddyl* are collocated with *dieuyl* 'devils' (< *diaboli*) in Peirian Faban lines 2-3 and 7-8; CBT I 5.7 *G6ytyl, dieuyl duon*. GPC *diferiog*¹ 'crafty, wily; plundering; furious', cf. OIr *dibergach*. Lines 33-4 may be continuing to allude to Brân's expedition to Ireland (cf. PKM 42 *Ac ystryw a wnaeth y Gwydyl*), although it uses the distinctive discourse of prophecy, which continues to line 40.
- 35 **O Pen ren Wleth hyt Luch Reon** The extent topos suggests that *Pen ren Wleth* is likely to a mistake for *Pen* or *Penryn Penwaeth/Penwaed* in Cornwall. Brynley F. Roberts, 'Pen Penwaedd a Phentir Gafran', *LIC* 13 (1980-81), 278-81, reviews the numerous forms used in Welsh literary and historical sources, including CO line 106 *Penn Pengwaed yg Kernyw* (and note, pp. 55-6); Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3514 *a Penpenwyth in Cornubia. . . usque ketenesium litus, i. pentir gauyran. in scocia*; CBT I 9.98 *Kyfrwg Pennwaed barth a Phorth Gemeis* [in Anglesey]; V 1.111-12 *O Pennwaet Dyfneint (dim nyd fuc)/ Hyd Pentir Gafran yd gyfrduc* 'From Penwaedd in Dumnonia (none [of this] is false), as far as Pentir Gafran did he take possession completely'. The scribe was apparently unfamiliar with the name and botched the second pen of *Pen Penwaeth* under the influence of *re* in *Reon*.

However, it is conceivable that *wleth* is to be derived from *Ulaid* 'Ulster' (*Wlthw* in HGK 5.5, and see *ibid.* 55 for forms *Wlid*, *Wllt*), i.e. Penryn Wleth, and that the reference is to the two sides of the channel between northern Ireland and the Stranraer area. Note that K. H. Jackson translates our phrase as 'Promontory of Gwleth', in Nora Chadwick *et al.*, *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 311. Is Cape Wrath, another northern point in Scotland, a possibility?

Luch Reon (Loch Ryan, near Stranraer) and related forms are discussed in the commentary on §9.6. On Penrhyn Blathaon and Pentir Gafran for the extreme northern points of the island of Britain, see Iwan Wmffre, 'Penrhyn Blathaon ac amgyffred yr hen Gymry o eithafion Gogledd Prydain', *SC* 38 (2004), 59-68; and my discussion in Alex Woolf (ed.), *Beyond Gododdin*, in preparation.

- 36 **Kymry yn vn vryt gwrhyt wryon** Cf. CA line 229 *y gyt en vn vryt yt gyrchasant*; CBT II 28.1 *bwyf un uryd—a thi*; III 14.13 *yn unuryd—a'm llyw*, etc. Collocation *bryt/gwrhyt* in CBT V 11.27 *Cadyr wrhyd bryd Bran uab Llyr*, VI 35.7-8. Compounds of *bryt* rhymed with *gwrhyt*, CBT III 3.215 and V 10.21-3. *Gwrhyt* with extent topos, CBT IV 4.252 *Hyd Weryd, 6rhyd orchorton*.

I accept G's emendation of *wryon* to *uoryon* in light of R585.15-16 *hir weryt ar wrytuoryon* (pl. of *mawr*, also with *gwrhyt* in poetry, e.g. R578.14 *Katwalla6n bryt ma6r*, etc.). Similar formations: CC 24.46 *areithuoryon* (but see note p. 261 for other possibilities); *gradforyon*; *hoedylforyon*, *cadforyon*; in CBT *hwylforyon*, *dialforyon*. CBT V 4.40 *tud uoryon*; VI 31.55 *eneddl forion* are not strictly comparable ('great ones of the people'). Alternatively, since *gwrhyt* is used before personal names (e.g. CBT IV 2.38 *g6rhyd Ector* 'the valour of Hector'), restore *Gwryon*, a name attested in PT VII.9 *molut Gwryon* 'with the praise of Gwrion' (but see pp. 82-3); perhaps in *Creuwryon*, see PKM 260; CO lines 185 and 288 (father of Hunabwy). This would also give excellent sense here, 'with the valour of Gwrion', but generally the *gwrhyt* + personal name pattern is used to praise a single figure rather than a group as here.

- 37 **Gwaret (ms gwret) dy Gymry yg kymelri** Cf. R582.3 (Cyfoesi) *Neu Gymry p6y (vyd) eu g6ared (?recte gwaret)*. *Dy* 'for'. *Yg kymelri* 'in tumult, battle', cf. EWSP 430.7 *yg kymelri/ cat*; Echrys Ynys line 6; CBT I 33.16; V 2.18 where it is rhymed with *diuysgi* (see on line 40 below), V 2.40 *a'm kymelri*. Without *yg*, in CBT I 4.16; 10.29; VII 54.23.

- 38 **teir kenedyl gwythlawn o lawn teithi** The mention of 'rightful characteristics' or 'attributes' suggests that the three peoples, presumably those enumerated in line 39, are the perceived means of salvation for the Cymry in line 38. On *kenedyl*, infrequent in poetry outside this collection and CBT corpus, see §15.70; on common *teithi*, see §14.1. *Gwythlawn* rare outside CBT corpus where it is common, but EWGP VI.6 *gwythla6n eidic*; see also §22.4 *gwythloned*.

- 39f **Gwydyl a Brython a Romani/ a wnahon dyhed a dyuysci** The lines are exactly matched in the prophecy, Oianau Myrddin: LIDC 17.193-4 *Gwitil a Brithon a Romani/ A vnahont dyhet a divysci* (in rhyme-block with *teithi*). If the Irish are one of the three races possessing *iawn teithi*, they appear to be seen in a more favourable light than in the days of Brân's expedition. For *Brython*, see Index. *Romani* lit. Romans, but possibly used in prophetic poetry for a category of Britons: the coming of the friend or kinsman of the *Romani* is joyously prophesied in PBT 8.1 *Yn wir dymbi Romani kar*, and PBT 1.2-3 (Daronwy) *Dydeuho*

kynrein/ o amtir Rufein, PBT 7.101-2 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Y Prydein yna y daw datwyrein/ Brython o vonhed Rufein*; PBT 9.13 *pennaeth o Rufein* may also be relevant. In R. Geraint Gruffydd and Rhiannon Ifans (ed.), *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug* (Aberystwyth, 1997), 1.66-7 *Pen-cun llys yw Rhys rhyseidd Beli—Mawr./ Amherawdr Romani*, the last part is regarded simply (and rightly) as ‘emperor of the Romans’, praise hyperbole rather than a phrase describing Beli Mawr (p. 167). On *dyuysci*, see §1.100.

- 41 **Ac am teruyn Prydein kein y threfl** Extremely common *teruyn* (ModW *terfyn*) ‘limit, edge, border’, understood as referring to Taliesin’s singing in the far North, or (more likely) in offshore locations such as *Ebyr Henuelen* (line 4), and *Kaer Sidi* (line 45). Alternatively, restore *ter(r)wyn* ‘fierce, bold ones’: ‘And concerning the fierce ones of Britain — fair its dwellings — did I sing’. *Kein y threfl*, cf. Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 25.19 *Yg Caer Amwythic, yg kein dreui—ner*, 25.26 *Yn Rutlann Degeingyl dec athreui*.
- 42 **keint rac teŷrned uch medlestri** For *keint*, see line 3 above; *uch* with drink §4.30. With *uch medlestri*, cf. §1.95; Edmyg Dinbych line 6. Compound not found otherwise in poetry, but cf. CA line 562 *ae lestri llawn med*; CBT II 1.152 *Namyn het, a met i mebn llestri* (rhyming with *ymroti*). Glass and silver drinking *llestri* are found in CA line 797 *gwin gloew o wydyr lestri*; CA line 1144; CBT II 14.103 *o lestyr aryant*; III 21.45 *eurllestri*; V 1.168 *llestri eurinya6l*, etc. Drinking of mead, etc. discussed in §12 Kanu y Med.
- 43 **Yg keinyon deon im ae dyrodi** On *deon*, see line 25 above. On *kein(y)on*, see §1.85 and §14.25. *Yg keinyon* understood here as ‘first drink, libation for me’ rather than ‘my fair things’. Restoring *a’m dyrodi* or *dy-m-rod* ‘gave to me’ and omitting *im* would give a more regular line.
- 44 **handwyf (ms an dwy) pensywet ket ryferthi** The emendation is G’s. *Pensywet* is clearly to be associated with the *syw* words discussed §5.174; *sywet*, confirmed by rhyme, is understood here as a sg., possibly a back formation from *sywedyd*, rather than a *pencerd*, *pencawr* ‘chief of crafts/poets’ type of locution (from gen. pl.). *Ryferthi* ‘current, flood, flood-tide’, also in §13.45 *kyntraeth*, *reuerthi* (see commentary); CA line 791 *twryf tan a tharan a ryuerthi* (note p. 237); CBT I 33.1 *rbysc ryuerthi* (em.). Like *ryferthwy*, it can be used figuratively for abundance, etc.
- 45 **Ys kyweir vyg kadeir yg Kaer Sidi** The content of lines 45-51 is discussed in the commentary on the depiction of the Otherworld in §18 Preideu Annwfyfyn. As in lines 11 and 27 above, *kadeir* is understood as ‘song, metre’. On *Kaer Sidi*, see §18.3.
- 46 **nys plawd heint a heneint a uo yndi** *Plawd* ‘strike’ (cf. L. vb *plaudo*) is restricted to Book of Taliesin examples PT V.24 *neut Vryen a blawd*; §18.57 *py tir a plawd*; and related or derived Dydd dyfydd line 11 *nys plawd nep nes no heneint*. *Heint* (see §5.115) frequently collocated with *heneint* (see §11.19), e.g. EWSP 418.16 *pas a heneint heint a hoet*; CBT III 3.70-71; IV 16.48 *Heb heneint, heb heint, heb hiraeth*; V 27.13-14, etc. *Yndi* understood as referring to *Kaer Sidi*; conceivably to *kadeir* if that were understood as ‘chair’. The Otherworld, like Heaven, is here characterised by what is not there.
- 47 **ys gwyr Manawyt a Phryderi** The form *Manawyt* also in CA line 35 [b]reithel *Vanawyt*; LIDC 31.21 *Manauid* (in Pa ŵr, where cf. 31.19 *Manawidan ab Llyr*); a different name, it would seem, in CBT III 26.72 *Kynon uab Kul Uanawyd*; CBT

VI 17.4 *Cynon fab Culvanawyd*; CO line 253 *Kuluwanawyt mab Goryon*. See further on Manawydan son of Llŷr, PKM 163, TYP³ 432-4. On *Pryderi*, see on §18.4 *trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi*. The line here appears to refer to the events related in PKM 55-6 where Manawydan and Pryderi are drawn into the deserted supernatural fort (*caer uawr aruchel*): they are transfixed and rendered speechless by a vessel (*cawc*) suspended on chains near a fountain surrounded by marble. Our line may be an addition — drawing on knowledge of another manifestation of the Otherworld realm — for it interrupts the regular movement by couplets which is evident throughout the poem. For a similar aside, spoken by ‘Aneirin’, cf. CA 548-52 *ys gwyr Talyessin* ‘Taliesin knows it’, ‘as T. knows’.

- 48 **Teir oryan** *Oryan* < L. *organum* ‘instrument, form of harmony, organ of body, power of speech’, etc. Translated here as ‘instrument’, which could include the hydraulus of antiquity operated by water (?and fire), and but it could well be an organ in the modern sense. On the history and development of portative and fixed organs, perhaps first introduced to western Europe from the Middle East, see W. L. Sumner, *The Organ* (London, 1973); *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (London, 1984), vol. II, p. 855; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996). There was one was in the church at Compiègne by 757, another installed by Charlemagne in Aachen in 812; by the 10c there were organs in Malmesbury, Glastonbury and Winchester, the last described by Wulfstan. Literary references, such as the mention of hydraulic organs in Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, or Aldhelm’s organ riddle, would also have made them known. Gruffudd Gryg and Dafydd ap Gwilym refer to an organ in Bangor in the early 14c (GDG 149.35 and 15.11). An exotic and costly item such as an organ would suit the Otherworld. CBT I 2.30 *Music a gan mal eur orian* is the only other early poetic reference (also rhyming with *can*), and is likely to mean an organ (CBT I 38 contra LIDC 159 ‘early form of harmony’).

Recdi ‘before, in front of it’, presumably *Kaer Sidi*, but perhaps *canu rac* (see above, lines 3, 4, 7, 9, etc.) used loosely to mean ‘before, in front of’ *Kaer Sidi*’s dwellers, rather than in front of the fort itself — though if it were some kind of hydraulic instrument, it might have been imagined as operating outside.

- 49 **Ac am y banneu ffrydyeu gweilgi** *Banneu* ‘heights, turrets’, but also ‘corners’, rare in early poetry (see GPC). Whether *Kaer Sidi* was imagined as *under* the sea or like an island in the sea is therefore unclear, but phrase *ban caer* ‘turret/battlement’ (e.g. CA 1313 *ar vann caereu*; LIDC 39.10 and 13 *y ar vann caer*) might favour the former. See further discussion in the introduction to §18, and commentary on §18.12 *kaer pedryuan*. *Ffrwt* in AP line 106; uncommon in poetry outside CBT corpus, where it is used of streams, blood, also of hell-fire. *Lliw ffrwd gweilgi* is used as a comparison for white skin in DGG² 25.51. *Gweilgi*, in origin a kenning for the sea (GPC s.v. and PKM 162-3), in Edmyg Dinbych line 3 *ar glawr gweilgi*; in prophecy (e.g. R584.20-22 *Pan dyuo Henri . . galwaŋt gormes dra gweilgi*; R1051.16); in nature englynion (e.g. EWGP II.10), and commonly in CBT.

- 50 **A’r ffynhawn ffrwythlawn yssyd oduchti** On *ffrwythlawn*, see §7.63. See §21.1 for *ffynhawn* referring to sea, and on §1.18 for *teir ffynhawn* and discussion. Here, referring to the ocean-spring above a submarine *Kaer Sidi* — fruitful because of the marine life — or else to a fountain rising up over the fort. In *The Voyage of*

Máel Dúin, ed. and trans. H.P.A. Oskamp (Groningen, 1970), 148-9, a 'large stream rose up out of the strand of the island, and went like a rainbow over the whole island, and flowed into the other strand of the island on the other side of it'. Of the spring of Zion, the Old Irish Evernew Tongue relates (trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries* 83-4):

No taste of oil or wine or honey has come into the world which could not be found therein. It never ceases from flowing, [but] its outlet is found nowhere. Whoever has tasted it has not experienced sorrow or grief of mind, and has not been given over to death. There is moreover a stream of water which goes across the island of torments, which rises up against every company which goes around it with falsehood.

See further discussion in the introduction to §18. *Oduchti*, 'above it', the *kaer* (fem.), a rare instance of conjugated *oduch* (but cf. CC 33.20 *od uchom*). With the succession of rhymed *yndi*, *recci*, *oduchti*, *yndi* (lines 46-51) compare the last part of 'Jesus, Mary and the Miraculous Harvest' (CC 14.46-84 *vrthi*, *erni*, *imdeni*, *idi*, *iti*, *hebti*, *erni*, *oheni*, *y gid a hi*, *indi*) and other *i* rhyme-rolls such as CBT I poem 26, etc.

- 51 **whegach no'r gwin gwyn** Southern or mid-Walian dialectal feature (*chweg* 'sweet'), see General Introduction, 2. GPC notes this as first example of mention of 'white wine': see Haycock, *Drink* 7, 4-5.
- 52 **A gwedy a'th iolaf Oruchaf Ri** Possibly to be understood as adverbial *gwedy* 'then afterwards, ?finally' (cf. CBT VI 34.16 *Dadfrawd gwawd gwedi a ganaf* 'I shall then declaim a eulogy'); preverbal particle *a* + infixed pron. 'th + vb. If so, 'And then (i.e. finally) I shall beg of You . . . a covenant with You'. But G 640 on *gwedy ath*, *gwedy as* favours 'after I will ask you, after my asking you', followed here. I also follow G 640 in supplying *Ri* (= ModW *rhi*) for rhyme and regular cadence. Although the exact phrase *goruchaf ri* is not found in early poetry, *goruchel* and *uchaf* are common with words for God (e.g. PT IX.20 *Duw uchaf*; §22.1 *Un Duw uchaf*; CBT V 13.33 *Ar deheu Rieu, Rwyf goruchel—nef*; VI 16.1 *Goruchel arglwyd, gor-yth-yolaf*, etc.). *Ioli/ri*, AP line 195 *Iolwn y Ri a grewys nef ac eluyd*.
- 53 **kyn gweryt gorot kymot a Thi** Cf. CC 18.12 *Kin myned i'm guerid . . . i'm gorod, i'm gorwet*; *kyn* with *gweryt*, CBT I 18.5; 21.34; 32.6; VI 10.75, etc. With inversion, as here CBT I 7.98 *yg gberyd wely*; IV 6.22 *yg ngweryd achlut*; I 29.22 *Kyn gwerydre lann*. Prydydd y Moch concludes his 'Canu Bychan' to Llywelyn with a similar invocation to God on behalf of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth: *Archaf ytt, Arglwyt yr arglwyti./ Y eryr kemwyr, kymod a thi* (CBT V 25.59-60); curiously, this is the only other occurrence in the CBT corpus of *kymod a thi*, but cf. CBT I 4.4. *Górda, gwna gymod gryghod a mi*; and note Edmyg Dinbych lines 9-10 *Ac a'm bwy <>, o Dëws dros vy gwedi/ pan gattwyf amot, kymot a Thi*.

9 Kadeir Teymon

Although this piece is billed by its speaker as ‘a clear (or ‘brilliant’) poem of immeasurable inspiration’, it has caused bewilderment to scholars searching for information about the many heroes it names, including Aladur, Teymon himself, and most notably, Arthur. Since there is a feeling that ‘as a whole, the poem remains unintelligible’¹ it may be helpful to summarise how it proceeds. The opening announces that the song concerns an ‘authoritative one’ from the stock of Aladur (lines 3-4), presenting a series of alternatives as to how this figure might best be viewed — as wise, as famous, as ruler of Rheon (see below), as God-fearing king, or as warrior in red armour attacking over the rampart, with his praise being sung in the midst of his warband (lines 5-12). One specific feat is mentioned, that he reaved ‘pale horses’ from Cawmur (13-14). While the identity of this figure is not entirely certain, his weighty styling as *Reon rechure* suggests that he is Arthur, named as supreme Northern king *ym Penn Ryonyd yn y Gogledd* in the Triads; the raid on Cawmur can also be linked with the fighting against the sons of Cawmur in the first part of *Marwnat Vthyr Pen* (§24.12), which appears to be a soliloquy by Arthur’s father, Uthr Pendragon. The extended use of line-initial A between lines 1-11 may be a further hint of the identity of the figure who would then be revealed as Arthur in lines 18-19. This technique of delaying the name of the one praised (and sometimes keying it in to the alliteration) is common in early poetry: it was a regular practice in the work of the court poets as well as in the *Gododdin awdlau*. Lines 15-18 use the same technique in miniature, naming three warriors, Teymon, Heilyn, and finally Arthur himself as the third (and perhaps best), honoured in harmonious song as ‘a defence in battle, trampling down nine men at a time’.

The triadic grouping links to others in the following lines: the three high officials who guarded the country (see commentary on their mention in the triads), and the three unidentified *cyfarwyd* ‘knowledgeable ones’ who guarded the sign or portent and who will be ready to come again when needed — a reference, perhaps, to the practitioners of political prophecy. Lines 30-36 present a list of fair things, each introduced by the adjective *ban* ‘splendid’, which may be compared with the delight in God’s creation and the proper conduct of human activity expressed in *Aduwyneu Taliessin* (poem §3). Here too, there is appreciation of shelter, accumulated wealth in the form of cattle, the circulating drinking-horn symbolising solidarity and companionship, and the pronouncement of God’s truth. Also prized is the poetic inspiration deriving from the *peir*, a nicely calculated ambiguity since it can mean ‘cauldron’ (seen in other poems as the source of poetry) or ‘ruler’, here God himself.

¹ AW 52.

Taliesin's trademark boasting follows in lines 37-46: he has been treated well, as a noble invested with a torque or collar (*mynweir*), and a drinking-horn in hand, perhaps a reference to the ritual first drink (*keinion*) awarded those with precedence. His utterances, his fluent and confident song, are to be perpetuated by anyone hoping to win a chair. He asks what are the names of the 'three fortresses between the sea flood and the ?low water mark' — a hard question indeed, for the uninformed (like us) who do not know much about the stewards of those forts. Another grouping of four forts, in the lands or havens of Britain (*ym Prydein powyssed*, line 48 see commentary) complicates matters: if fortified sea-havens, this would facilitate the transition to the next passage (lines 52-8) with its ominous warning of impending fleets and an angry wind from which there will be no shelter on hill or dale. The first warning recalls political prophecy, while the second brings to mind the signs of the End which often coalesced with secular prophetic discourse. These elements become more marked from line 60 onwards: various saviours will be sought (*Ygno* and *Kedic* in lines 61 and 62 are perhaps personal names, as explained in the commentary), and 'there shall arise a ruler' (68), with a period of fighting on the border (73), presumably as a result of the incursions of the seafaring foreigners. The poem swerves into the final four lines with their ringing call to release Elffin (Taliesin's patron) from the clutches of the 'race of Saraphin, the evil lot of the abyss (of Hell)'. Since the angelic Seraphim seem unlikely, it is suggested tentatively in the commentary that *Saraphin* (in the form *Saraffin*) may be a mistake for *Sarassin* 'Saracens', i.e. pagans, idolators, enemies in general, connotations the word possessed even before the Crusades.

Mixed in with the prophetic passage outlined above are other significant lines, notably the unrhymed 59-60 *Kadeir Teyrnon/ keluyd rwy katwo* 'the song of Teyrnon — may it be the skilful poet who perpetuates it', from which the title of the poem was presumably extracted. The continuation of song is a sentiment used elsewhere, so it is very probable that *kadeir* here (as in the titles of poems, §7 (recte §8), §§9 and 10) means 'song' rather than chair. What is more difficult is the identity of *Teyrnon/teyrnon*, a matter addressed in detail at the beginning of the commentary. The metre, as noted, calls for either *katwon* (with Lloyd-Jones), or *teyrno*, a possible, though unattested compound of *tëyrn* 'lord' + *gno* 'famous', and unlikely since Teyrnon 'the venerable' has already been mentioned as the first of the triadic group in lines 15-18. In the title at least, it is perhaps more natural to understand it as a personal name (one or more characters of that name were used as touchstones of valour by the court poets, including three instances by Prydydd y Moch). Another element within the prophetic passage is the sadness expressed on account of the annihilation of a fiery lord 'with the breastplate of Lleon' whose death, perhaps, may have occasioned fears of foreign attacks. As a whole, then, the poem seems to combine prophecy, praise of Arthur as past deliverer and characteristic Taliesinic boasts, interrogatives and intimations of knowledge. The reference at the end to Elffin suggests that it was 'in the story', a performance to display Taliesin's knowledge and skill in different modes and (possibly) thereby to effect the release of his patron.

9 Kadeir Teyrnon

Book of Taliesin 34.15-35.21

Areith awdyl eglur,
[Here is] the declamation of a brilliant poem
awen tra messur
of immeasurable inspiration

am gwr, dewr¹ awdur
concerning a man, a brave authoritative one,
o echen Aladur.

from the stock of Aladur.

5 **Ae ffōus² ae ffur,**
Is he a famous one, a wise one,
ae Reon³ rechtur?
or the ruler of Rheon?

Ae ri rwyfyadur
Or is he a royal ruler
a'e rif Yscrythur
with his reverence of Scripture

a'e goch gochlessur
and his red armour

10 **a'e ergyr dros uur,**
and his host [attacking] over the rampart,

a'e kadeir gymessur
and his measured song
ymlith goscord nur?
in the midst of a lordly warband?

Neus duc o Gawrnur
He bore off from Cawrnur.

meirch gwelw gostrodur.
pale harnessed horses.

15 **Teyrnnon henur,**
The venerable Teyrnnon,

Heilyn pascadur
the fattener, Heilyn,

treded dofyn doethur
[and] the third profound song of the sage

¹ ms *deu*

² ms *ffonsa*

³ ms *reom*

y vendigaw Arthur.

[was sung] in order to bless Arthur.

Arthur vendiga⁴

Arthur has been blessed

20 **ar gerd gyfaenat —**

in harmonious song —

arwyneb yg kat,

[as] a defence in battle,

ar naw bystylat.

trampling nine [at a time].

Pwy y tri chynweissat

Who [were] the three stewards

a werchetwis gwlat?

who guarded the country?

25 **Pwy y tri chyfarwyd**

Who [were] the three knowing ones

a getwis arwyd,

who guarded the sign,

a daw wrth awyd

who will come as desired

erbyn eu harglwyd?

to meet their lord?

Ban rinwed rotwyd,

Splendid is the virtue of the fortification,

30 **ban hydyn hoywyd,⁵**

splendid is the lively presence of a fine man,

ban corn kerdetrwyd,

splendid is a freely-circulating [drinking-]horn,

ban biw wrth echwyd,

splendid are cattle [resting] at noon,

ban gwir pan disgleir,

splendid is the True [God] when he shines forth,

bannach pan lefeir,

more splendid [still] when He pronounces,

35 **ban pan doeth o peir**

splendid [was it] when there emanated from the Sovereign/cauldron

ogyrwen awen teir.

the 'ogyrwen' of triune inspiration.

⁴ ms *vendigau*

⁵ ms *vyd hyn hoywed*

Bum mynawc mynweir

I've been a torqued lord

yg korn y'm nedeir.

with my horn in my hand.

Ny dyly kadeir

He doesn't deserve a chair

40 **ny gatwo vyg geir —**

whoever doesn't conserve my words —

kadeir gynif glaer

[my] brilliant contest-song

awen huawdyl haer.

of fluent and confident inspiration.

Pwy enw y teir kaer

What are the names of the three fortresses

rwg lliant a llaer?

between the sea flood and the low water mark?

45 **Nys gwyr ny vo taer**

He who's not ardent doesn't know

eissylut eu maer.

the nature of their stewards.

Pedeir kaer yssyd

There are four fortresses

ym Prydein powyssed;

in the havens of Britain;

rieu merweryd

tumult of lords —

50 **am nyt vo nyt vyd;**

since it may not be it shan't be;

nyt vyd am nyt vo,

it shan't be since it may not be,

llyghessawr a vo.

there will be fleets.

Tohit gwanec tra gro,

The wave washes over the shingle,

tir dylan dirbo;

certain to be the realm of the sea;

55 **nac eillt nac ado**

neither slopes nor a sheltered spot,

na bryn na thyno

nor hill nor hollow,

na rynnawd godo

nor a covering from the storm [will there be]

rac gwynt pan sorho.
in the face of the angry wind.

Kadeir Teŷrnnon —
The song of ?Teyrnnon —

60 **keluyd rwy katwo.**
may it be the skilful poet who perpetuates it.

Keissitor Ygno,
Yngno will be sought,

keissitor Kedic —
Cedig will be sought —

ketwyr colledic.
[because our] soldiers are bereft.

Tebygaf-i dull dic
I assume a sad manner

65 **o diua pendeuic**
as a result of the annihilation of the lord

o dull diuynnlic
with a fiery nature,

o Leon luryc.
with the breastplate of Lleon.

Drychafawt gwledic
There shall arise a ruler

am terwyn anewic⁶
for the fierce wealthy ones.

70 **Breuhawt bragawt bric —**
There'll be a dispersal of the foaming head of the bragget —

breuawl eissoric —
evanescent by nature —

oric amerin
[and] a spate of ?wounding

am teruyn chwhefrin.
on the contested border.

Jeithoed edëin
The foreign peoples

75 **aches ffyscyolin**
[are] a fast flood

mordwyeit merin.
of sea-voyagers.

O plant Saraphin,
From the stock of Saraphin,

⁶ ms *henwi* (*wi* deleted) *euwic*

dogyn dwfyn diwerin,
the evil lot of the abyss,
dillygem Elphin!
let us release Elffin!

title **Kadeir Teyrnon** Cf. *Kadeir* in titles of §7 (recte §8) and §10; see also §2.50 and §5.99. The status of *Kadeir Teyrnon* in unrhymed line 59 (in a series of -o rhymes) is a problem: the title may have been abstracted from an already corrupted text (see note on line 59). *Teyrnon* is more naturally understood as a personal rather than the uncertain sg. common name, 'monarch' (< *tēyrn* + -on, sg. ending, as in *mabon*; see GPC s.v.); the pl. of *tēyrn* (usually *teyrned*) is more certainly attested: CBT I 11.54 *Kyflauan taerdan rac teyrnon*; CBT III 21.206-7 *Can etyw an llyw, llew teyrnon./ Teyrnet ohen dreic, nenn dragon*; R1051.38-9 *O gytuon teyrnon t6r6f glywher*, and is not impossible in our title since a number of figures are mentioned. The personal name *Teyrnon* is used by the court poets. The late-11c anonymous praise of the south-eastern ruler, Hywel ap Goronwy, is generally thought to refer to *Teyrnon Twrf Liant* of Gwent, PKM 145-6: CBT I 1.45-6 *O Morccanhvc, o Rieinvc, radev rvytheint./ O Teernon, kywrid Leon, galon reibeint*. Similarly, Cynddelw's appeasement poem to the southern prince, Rhys ap Gruffudd, CBT IV 9.145 *Amgelet Brython, brythwch—Teyrnon*. It is open to question whether the same poet uses the name in praising Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd: CBT IV 6.237-9 *Ry-m-gedir y gadeir ymrysson./ Rydyrllid uyg kert yg keinyon—o uet/ Yg kyntet Teyrnon* 'I am allowed his contest-chair, my song deserves my having the first mead libation in the hall of [one like] *Teyrnon* in the hall of monarchs', but the certain use of the name in CBT IV 4.221-2 *Gwletycha6d mola6d mil ueirtyon/ Y uoli teithi Teyrnon./ G6ladoet peir, cadeir caduaon* (elegy for Owain Gwynedd) is in favour. There are three clear instances of the name as a touchstone of valour (and in the last instance, of quiet sense) by Prydydd y Moch: CBT V 2.23 *Gwyllon Teyrnon tud amnoti* 'a fierce one defending the land of *Teyrnon*' or (more likely) 'a fierce one like *Teyrnon* protecting the land' (*bygwith* poem to Dafydd ab Owain of Gwynedd); V 3.7 *Eryw Teyrnon yr yn deyrngein* (greeting poem to the same); V 4.23-6 *Ym o'm da6n y'm da6 kyfla6don/ Am olud termud Teyrnon./ Vyn tafa6d yn ura6d ar Urython/ O Uor Ut hyd Uor Iwerdon* (praise of Dafydd's brother, Rhodri).

- 1 **Areith awdyl eglur** On *areith*, see §4.12, §10.25. On infrequent term *awdyl*, see PT XII.12 *edrych awdyl* (perhaps recte *awdyr*); XII.11 *awdloed* (?recte *awdled*; *anlloed*); and line 42 below; also in the Book of Aneirin rubric where each *laisse* *laisse* of the Gododdin is called an *awdyl* (pl. *odleu*), CA 55. Otherwise in poetry only in CBT corpus (seven examples). *Eglur* 'manifest, clear', of sound, view, e.g. PBT 1.54 (Daronwy) *eglur dremynt a wyl golwc*; of utterance, CC 30.11 *barabyl eglur*, etc.
- 2 **awen tra mesur** *Awen* lines 36, 42 below; §7.7, §8.8; §25.56; PT VIII.13 *pren onhyt yw vy awen gwen* (see PT 96-7); AP line 1 *Dygogan awen. Mesur*, cf. §1.26 and 28; LIDC 1.14 *tra messur*; CBT I 6.3 *Ystryw dra messur*; IV 17.68 *g6an tra messur*; CC 28.5 *guerth myned dros uessur*.
- 3 **am gwr deu awdur** Following G in taking *am* 'around', contra CA 222 **amgwr* (< *kwr*) 'very keen'. The latter could obviate the need for emendation of *deu* to

dewr 'brave' or to *cleu* 'clear, swift, ready', etc. *Dewr* is very commonly positioned before a noun, and is also commonly used in close compounds: *dewrfeird*, *dewrblant*, *dewrwr*, etc. *Awdur* (< L. *auctor*-) is poorly attested in poetry: CBT III 21.4 *Yn abdur llabur lleueryt ya6n* (Cynddelw of himself) and cf. IV 9.1 *abdurta6d* and 1.4 *abduryaeth*, and VII 32.10 *audur brodyeu* (of God).

o **echen Aladur** The silver-gilt plaque containing a representation of helmeted Mars and the words *Marti Alatori* from the Mars votive assemblage at Barkway, Herts. (R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. I *Inscriptions on Stone*, revised new edition by R.S.O. Tomlin (Stroud, 1995), pp. 70-71, and cf. p. 353 for South Shields altar) suggests an interpretatio Romana equation between a native deity, Aladur, and Mars, the Roman god of war. See further D. Ellis Evans, 'Aladur', *ÉC* 12 (1968-9), 509-11; Sabine Ziegler, *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1994), 125 on Gaulish *Alattus* and Ogam ALATTOS (gen.), OIr *allaid* 'wild'; Thomas Green, 'A note on Aladur, Alator and Arthur' (*SC* forthcoming). D.M. Ellis, *B* 16 (1954-6), 274, noted the possibility of the survival of the personal name Aladur in the farm name Coedladur (Cwm Cynllwyd between Llanuwchllyn and Bwlch y Groes), and Nant Ladur, a tributary of R. Clywedog. The alliteration across 1-11 mentioned in the introduction above, may link the initials of Aladur and Arthur, the character most likely to be the 'one of Aladur's stock'. *Echen*, cf. §4.103, §8.1. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Aldroenus king of Armorica (*Aldwr* in the Welsh translations, see WCD 11) is made Uthr Pendragon's father.

ae **ffonsa ae ffur** *Ae* is ambiguous: either 'with his', supported by lenition in line 9 *ae goch gochlessur*, or a series of questions 'is it. . . or. . . or', or a combination of both. *Ffonsa*: L. *fons* 'fountain, spring', etc. borrowed as *ffons*, in common use from the 14c onwards (GPC), or *ffonn* 'stick', or *ffo* 'flight', or *ffōus* (< L. *fāmōsus*) 'renowned' may be relevant, but the *-a* ending is a problem. *Ffōus* is tentatively restored, noting its use in §14.15 *ffus ffōus ffodiawc* (see note). *Ffur* 'wise, wise man' on the basis of OCor *fur* glossing L. *prudens* (GPC), otherwise unattested in medieval sources.

ae **Reon (ms reom) rechtur** *Reom* is certainly a mistake for *Reon*, to be connected with the Northern seat of power, Pen or Penrhyn Rhionydd, claimed for Arthur in Triad 1 *Arthur yn Ben Teyrned ym Penn Ryonyd yn y Gogled*, TYP³ 1, and note on p. 4. This is likely to be near Ptolemy's *Rerigonion* at or near Stranraer, Galloway, on Loch Ryan, itself mentioned in several poems: TYP³ 1-2, following CPNS 34-5; and see A.L.F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979) 447. Mike McCarthy, 'Rerigonium: a lost "city" of the Novantae?', *Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland* 134 (2004), 119-29, suggests it may have been in the Innermessan area of the eastern side of Loch Ryan. Loch Ryan appears in an 'extent' topos in §8.35 *O pen ren wleth* (?recte *Penryn Penwaed*, but see notes) *hyt Luch Reon* 'from Penrhyn Penwaedd to Loch Ryan'. PBT 1.52-3 (Daronwy) *rwg Kaer Rian a Chaer Rywc* 'Between Caer *Rian* and Caer *Rywc*' (next to a mention of Edinburgh) may also be relevant. The Black Book of Carmarthen examples of *Reon* (with *rhyd* 'ford', or *caer* 'fort') may refer to places in Wales: LIDC 16.84 (Afallennau Myrddin) *yny del Kadwaladir oe kinadyl Rid Reon* 'until Cadwaladr comes to confront him at Rheon Ford'; Myrddin also hears the croaking of birds 'near Caer Rheon', LIDC 17.171 *a groar adar kir Kaer Reon*. The place mentioned in Englynion y

Beddau, LIDC 18.32, *bet Kinon in Reon Rid* 'Cynon's grave [is] in Rheon Ford', despite the coupling of Cynon with Penda (who fell at Winwæd, and whose name might have triggered another northern memory), is probably in Arfon: an early-14c poem by Gwilym Ddu mentions the area of 'Arfon south of Rheon Ford' (GGDT 7.58).

It may be ventured further that the northern *Reon* discussed above may be Adamnán's *caput regionis*. Lugbe mocu Min, a former emissary of Rhydderch of Dumbarton, travelled *ad caput regionis*, a port where sailors from Gaul disembarked. A.O. and M.O. Anderson (ed.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford, 1991), 55 and xxxii-iii, translate 'chief place of the region' rejecting the idea (see CPNS 92) that the phrase calqued *Ceann Tire* (Kintyre), and suggesting that the *caput* in question may have Dunollie or Dunadd. One wonders, however, whether *regionis* might not be connected with the names discussed above, and that *Caput Regionis* might not be a L. rendering of OW **Penn Rigon* (or *Regon*) in the vicinity of Loch Ryan.

In the present example, the weighty *rechter* (cf. L. *rector-*, and *rectārius* borrowed as regular *reithawr*, however, and cf. MlR *recht(a)ire* 'steward, administrator') may suggest we are dealing with the Northern seat of power rather than an area in Arfon, although the latter is not impossible. The forms *rector* and *rechter* are discussed in CA 257; there is clearly some connection between our passage and CA lines 731 *ractaf rwyuyadur mur catuilet* (A text) 738 *rector rwyuyadur* (B text), and 760 *rector rwyfyadur*. The form *rechter* confirmed by rhyme in CBT VI 20.16-17 *Kylch vy rŷf yn y rechter./ Rechter Croeseswallt cryssyassant—am dreic* (anonymous, but likely to be by Prydydd y Moch) is interpreted by its editor not as 'ruler, chief, steward', etc. but as an abstract noun 'lordship', comparing the semantic development of *llyw* (see CBT VI 313). CBT VII 28.9 *A rechdŷr a'e wyr* refers to a person: see VII 282.

- 7 **ae ri rwyfyadur** On the CA collocation with *rector*, see on line 6 above; cf. (with *rieu*) PT VIII.31 *Vn yw rieu rwyfyadur a dyawr*; LIDC 17.4 *ruyfadur fit* 'ruler of the faith', of Rhydderch Hael; CBT II 23.17 *Rhwyfiadur Dygen*. *Rhwyf* is very commonly collocated with *ri*, *rieu*.
- 8 **a'e rif Ysgrythur** *Rif* 'praise, honour' (cf. vb *rifaw* 'to praise') rather than *rif* 'number'. *Ysgrythur* (< L. *scriptura*) is hardly ever used in pre-1283 poetry: two exceptions are CBT IV 17.83, in a rhyme block, as in the present example, with *nur*, *Arthur*, *mesur*, *eglur*, etc.; and VI 19.22.
- 9 **a'e goch gochlessur** *Coch* commonly used of bloody weapons, bloodshed, and of high-status clothing. With hapax *gochlessur*, G 'protection, armour, shield', cf. *echlessur/echlyssur*, and *goglyssur* discussed CA 295, and GPC which follows Ifor Williams in suggesting 'protection', etc., but also 'shower of spears' which would also yield good sense here.
- 10 **a'e ergyr dros uur** On *ergyr* 'attack; host', see §4.127. *Mur* is understood as 'wall' or 'rampart', rather than a specific wall such as Hadrian's Wall or Offa's Dyke (both usually called *gwawl*). An attack beyond a specified geographical point would be indicated by prep. *tra*.
- 11 **a'e kadeir gymessur** See above on title for *kadeir* as 'song', here either the one sung by the subject (if Arthur, see CC 297, 30.1, etc. for his imagined poetic abilities), or (more likely) song addressed to him. But *cymessur* is not wholly unsuitable for a well-made 'chair, throne', here situated with the warband.

- 12 **yimplith gosgord nur** GPC s.v. *nur* 'lord, hero' suggests it developed from personal name *Nur* (as in *Casnur*, *Cawrnur* (see below) and a *Nur* associated with Bodedern, Anglesey) which may be present here.
- 13 **Neus duc o Gawrnur** A personal name is certain in §24.11-12 *Neur ordyfneis-i waet am Wythur./ cledyual hydyr rac meibon Cawrnur*. Sims-Williams (AW 53) surmises that a raid on the giant *Cawrnur* and his sons was a story perhaps similar to the attack on the giant *Wrnach*, when spoils were taken as desired, CO line 822.
- 14 **meirch gwelw gostrudur** *Gwelw* common of horses (*cannwelw*, *gwelwgann*, etc.). EGOW 143 *strotur* glosses L. *sambuca* 'stringed instrument; siege bridge'; but since (*y*)*strodur* means 'saddle' in Welsh, it is perhaps related to L. *strator* 'one who saddles a horse', *stratum* 'horse-cloth', etc.; but see GPC for derivation from L. *strātūra*. The *go-* prefix presumably has the force of 'under'.
- 15 **Teyrnon henur** See above on the title for *teyrnon* and *Teyrnon*; the name seems required here as the first of a triadic grouping, with *Heilyn* and *Arthur*. *Henur* is not attested elsewhere: either from *hen* + *nur*, or a back-formation from *henuriat* 'elder', or from L. *senor-*.
- 16 **Heilyn pascadur** As a common noun, *heilyn* 'provider, caterer; server, steward', etc., but here treated as the attested personal name (see EWGT 82, 86-7; CA line 574), often collocated with *hael*, *haelioni*, etc. (e.g. CBT III 28.12-13; IV 4.156; 5.36; 8.34; V 19.28, etc.). This is consonant with the way he is styled as one who provides sustenance and with the portrayal of his generous court in the *Gododdin*. *Pascadur*, see CA 117, CBT I 3.22; III 16.44; of feeding the five thousand in CBT I 15.9 *pasgaduriaeth—gwyr*. Although the court poets make extensive reference to *Teyrnnon* and *Heilyn*, the names do not appear in any extant triad, either singly or together.
- 17 **treded dofyn doethur** *Treded* may be irregular orthography for *trydyd*, 'third, one of three' or *tryded* (fem.), the latter being preferred with fem. *dofyn*, understood here nominally referring to a profound song or utterance emanating from the *doethur* 'wise man, poet', on which see §5.238.
- 18 **y vendigaw Arthur** The interpretation of line 17 appears to gain support from the saying in CBT III 10.12 *Gnabd y uart uendigað haelon*. For the Book of Taliesin references to *Arthur*, see the introduction to §18 *Preideu Annwfn*.
- 19 **Arthur vendigað (ms vendigan)** The antistrophe as the end-rhyme changes is a feature of the short line poems, seen in §17 and elsewhere. Emendation to past impers. of vb *bendigaw* for rhyme with line 20, although G favours adj. **bendigat* 'blessed'. If so, compare the epithet *bendigeit* used of *Brân*, *Gwerthefyr* and *Cadwaladr*, TYP³ 291, 298 and 381.
- 20 **ar gerd gyfaenat** *Cyfaenat*, cf. CBT II 1.117 *y ghyuaenad* 'in harmony'; of song, CC 21.1 *Kyuaenad keluit* and 21.3 *Kyuaenad kynan* 'harmonious song', CBT III 16.5; 26.27, IV 18.83, etc.
- 21 **arwyneb yg kat** Understanding that lines 21-2 are intended to convey the substance of the praise sung to *Arthur*: PBT 8.10 *arwyneb bydinawr*; R579.38 (*Cyfoesi*) *arwyneb kedaðl*. Four out of the five instances in the CBT corpus are by *Prydydd y Moch*, all with *Prydein*: V 3.10, 13.9, 25.45, and 30.15; cf. CBT I 3.69 and V 12.9 *arwynyaðl arwynebet—glyw*.
- 22 **ar naw bystylat** The idea of defeating nine(s) and its multiples is frequent, e.g. §5.223-4 *neu gorwyf gwaetlan/ ar naw cant kynran*; PBT 2.6 (*Glaswawt*) *a naw*

cant maer marwhawt; CA lines 982-3 *disgynnu/ rac naw riallu*; LIDC 31.80 (Pa ŵr) *Kei a guant nav guiton*; 87-9 *Nau ugein kinlluc/ a cuytei in y buyd/ Nau ugein kinran*; CBT II 25.21 *Nab cad a nab cant, gormant gorfu*; IV 4.34 *amdrychu nabcant*, etc. *Pystylat*, rare in poetry, but found in PT IV.17.

- 23f **Pwy y tri chynweissat/ a werchetwis gwlat** *Cynweissat* 'high official, chief servant, ?prince', PKM 192. Triad 13 (TYP³ 25-7) names the Three Officers/Stewards (*Tri Chynweissyat*) of the Island of Britain: Caradog fab Brân (WB Gwydar ap Run ap Beli), Cawrdaf fab Caradog, and Owain fab Maccsen; Ffaraon Dandde is mentioned as *Trydyd cynweissiat uu hwnnw a torres y gallon [o] annuiged*, CLIAI lines 136-7, discussed pp. xxxvi-ii. In the tale of *Branwen ferch Llŷr*, seven governed the land while Brân was in Ireland, and Rachel Bromwich has suggested that the tale added to the original three of the triad in order to match the toponym Bryn Saith Marchog, understood as 'the Hill of the Seven Horsemen', and because seven was a conventional number. *Cynweissat* is not used elsewhere in early poetry. CBT VI 30.41 *gwerchedwis*; VII 8.8 *Gwychwlad o gad a gedwis*.
- 25 **Pwy y tri (chyfanhed deleted) chyfarwyd** On the range of meanings of *cyfarwyd*, 'one who knows; informer; narrator; story-teller', etc., see GPC s.v. *cyfarwydd*; Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd* (Caerdydd, 1995), 1-4; Patrick K. Ford, 'The poet as *cyfarwydd* in early Welsh tradition', *SC* 10/11 (1976), 152-81. Note the etymological rhyme where both *arwyd* and *cyfarwyd* contain *gwyd* 'knowledge'. The identity of these three knowledgeable ones is obscure.
- 26 **a getwis arwyd** Cf. line 23 *a werchetwis*. *Arwyd* 'sign, portent; banner', etc. used in political prophecy contexts in §1.63 *Gwelattor arwydon* (portents of revenge on the English); PBT 6.2 (Rydyrchafwy Duw) *arwyd llewenyd*; R1051.14 *mi a'th ogyuarchaf ar arbydon*, etc. Common in these various meanings in CBT corpus; collocated with *awyd* only in CBT V 26.125 *Dy arwyt ech awyt uchod*.
- 27 **a daw wrth awyd** See on line 26. CBT IV 17.85 *Gôrth awyt* is interpreted as 'through, by means of desire'; VI 27.42 *wrth ei awydd* 'according to his wish'.
- 28 **erbyn eu harglwyd** GPC s.v. *erbyn* notes a range of possible meanings; it is very frequently used in the context of preparations to meet God, Judgment, death, etc., possibly suggesting that God, rather than a secular lord, may be meant here. *Arglwyd* of God, §8.1; §12.2; CC 8.18 and 29, etc., is more common than 'lord', §8.25; §16.37; PT VIII.39; Edmyg Dinbych line 30, etc. Both uses are very frequent in the CBT corpus.
- 29 **Ban rinwed rotwyd** *Ban* common adj. 'high, exalted, splendid', and of sounds 'loud, noisy'. As a noun, 'height; horn; corner; tip, beam; verse; drop', etc. (see GPC s.vv. *ban*¹ and *ban*²). These multiple meanings in lines 29-35 make the translation uncertain; note that G treats all the instances in lines 29-35 as 'loud, resonant', an interpretation acceptable in lines 29-32 and 34-5 but less certain in line 33, see below.

If *rotwyd* means '(causeway) ford' (see GPC s.v. *rhodwydd*, and EWSP 512-13 for suggested derivation from *rhot* + *gwyd* 'trees, branches', etc.), then possibly referring to the noise of the shallow waters in the ford. But if usual 'bank, defence, defensive rampart', etc. then the noisy tumult on or around a rampart under attack is possible.

- 30 **ban vyd hydyn hoywyd (ms hyn hoywed)** Either *hoyw-wed* (< *hoyw* 'fine, active' + *gwed* 'appearance') or *hoyw-ed* 'liveliness, brilliance', etc. would require *rotwŷd* for regular proest rhyme; similarly *hoyw-wŷd* 'majestic trees' for full rhyme. More normally treated *rotwŷd* would require *hoyw-wŷd* (< *gŷwd* 'presence'), very tentatively restored here along with *hydyn* 'fine man'. Otherwise *hyn* 'older' ('tall are the more mature majestic trees' with *hoyw-wŷd*), unless part of 3pl. *bydyn*, or mistake for *hin* 'weather'. Very uncertain.
- 31 **ban corn kerdetrwyd** G s.v. *kerdetrwyd* 'swift moving' unattested as close compound elsewhere, cf. *kerdetdruet*, *kerdetwr*. If *ban* here means 'splendid, exalted', the *corn* could be a freely-circulating drinking horn; or since *kerdet* has meaning 'flow' as well as usual 'travel', it could be described as 'swiftly/readily/easily pouring'; if *ban* 'resonant', then a horn whose sound carries easily. G s.v. also wonders whether *kerdet* might not have the meaning 'to sing' in examples with *kerdoryon*. Note *afrywyt* and *kerted* in CBT IV 4.67-8.
- 32 **ban biw wrth echwyd** *Ban* could well mean 'noisy' here, as in CBT I 11.50 *Bann bref biw yn riw rac e deon*.
- 33 **ban gwir pan disgleir** *Gwir* 'truth' with 3sg. of vb *disgleiriaw* seems rather odd: 'splendid/loud is truth when it shines'. CBT V 15.5 *Dywynnyc dy wir yn wynnyas* 'your justice shines white-hot', though broadly comparable, is a special case, in a poem addressed to the iron rod used in the truth ordeal. *Gwir* used nominally of a person or of God would give better sense, and could be linked with line 34 (see below). Alternatively, emend *gwir* to *gwin* 'wine', described as *gloyw* §18.26, §23.39, CA line 797, CBT I 17.1, etc. CA line 1431 *disgleiryawr* is the only other instance of the vb in pre-1283 poetry, and the first occurrence of adj. *disgleir* appears to be 14c (GC 9.9 *braint noddfa ddisglair*). But cf. *disgleirwin* LIA 94, line 2. Although drinking vessels are also described as shining, and *pan* is a word for a cup or container (e.g. CBT III 17.10 *Gwin o bann*), restoring *pan* at the head of the line would disrupt the series of line-initial *ban*. Interpreting the second instance as *pan disgleir* 'splendid is wine [from] a shining vessel' is possible but at variance with *pan* 'when' in line 34.
- 34 **bannach pan lefeir** Cf. the collocation of *ban/llefeir/peir* in CBT II 1.175-6 *Tra uo ef yn nef yn y wengann—gadeir,/ Yn benn ban lleueir, yn beir eiryann* 'While He may be in Heaven on his fair shining throne, a sovereign when he utters, a radiant ruler' (of God). If *gwir* in line 33 is 'the True One' (i.e. God), it is possible to take 33-4 as a self-contained couplet, as in translation.
- 35 **ban pan doeth o peir** *Peir* is ambiguous: 'cauldron', as elsewhere, see §4.210 (and §4.207-8); §7.65, etc.; but common *peir* 'sovereign', used also of God (e.g. CBT IV 16.15, etc.) is an attractive option if the interpretation of lines 33-4 is correct. The triple *awen teir* would perhaps reflect his triune nature (cf. CC 3.2 *Teir person Duw*; CBT I 14.21; IV 17.105).
- 36 **ogyrwen awen teir** See on §4.77 *ogyruen* where it appears to be a sub-division of the *awen*. Is the sense here 'the three *ogyrwens* of the *awen*', with unusual inversion? *Teir* is more naturally interpreted as genitive, 'of the three' (or 'from/about the three'), referring to the three persons of the Trinity (see on line 35), as in the translation.
- 37 **Bum mynawc mynweir** *Mynawc* is common as an adj. 'courteous, dignified' (see on §10.5 *Mynawc hoedyl Minawc ap Lleu*) and nominally (CA 171); possibly a personal name in CA line 945 *Mynawc Gododdin*, but a common noun in CA

line 538 *Nyt wyf vynawc blin* (Aneirin's sojourn in the *ty deyerin*). *Mynweir* 'collar, torque', PKM 248-9, presumably genitive here for a collared or torqued man, as in translation, but 'an elegant torque' is possible, or with inversion, 'the torque of a nobleman'.

- 38 **yg korn y'm nedeir** With *y(g)* 'my', cf. §4.56, §5.185 and 187. If 'an elegant torque' (see on line 37), conceivably a reference to a penannular collar with a beast's horn held in its own grasp. *Nedeir* with *peir*, §4.207-8.
- 39f **Ny dyly kadeir/ ny gatwo vyg geir** See on the poem's title for *kadeir*, here understood as 'chair'. Cf. lines 45-6 below; Edmyg Dinbych line 44 *Ny dyly kelenic ny wyppo hwn* 'he who does not know this doesn't deserve a calends-gift'; CBT II 26.5-6 *Ny dyly corn met, keinon metweint./ Bart ny wypo h6nn, hynny dygeint*. AP line 23 *yssyd wr dylyedawc a lefeir hyn*. It sounds as though the speaker is recalling his investiture as prime poet — with a ceremonial collar, horn (?perhaps bearing the *keinon* 'first libation') and chair. Other hopefuls are being exhorted to perpetuate his utterance (*geir* can mean 'phrase, saying' as well as 'word'), described in 41-2.
- 41 **Kadeir gynif glaer** *Kadeir* here is understood as 'song', *kadeir gynif* being either 'labour or effort in song', or 'competition-song' (*cynif* qualifying *kadeir*, cf. *cerd dafot*) which is *claer* 'radiant'. But if *kadeir* again means 'chair' as in line 39, the *kadeir gynif* could mean 'contested chair' (cf. *tir cynnif* 'contested land').
- 43 **Pwy enw y teir kaer** The *teir kaer* — the strongholds of the three stewards of line 23, perhaps — may be peninsular fortresses, such as Lindisfarne, Tenby, Caer Arianrhod, or Thanet, accessible only at low tide, or a memory of some of the Saxon Shore forts mentioned by Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, ch. 18.3. Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin line 91 *Puy henwe /r/ tair k[aer]?* was presumably recycled: on the relationship between that text and the Book of Taliesin poems, see General Introduction, 19-20.
- 44 **rwg lliant a llaer** *Lliant* is often collocated with *llyr*. *Llaer* is a hapax, but a meaning 'ebb, extreme limit of ebb-tide' is suggested by *llaered*, 'part of the shore between high and low water marks which may be crossed at low tide', GPC s.v. For a different and unlikely derivation of the latter from *lleu* + *rhyd*, see W.J. Gruffydd, 'llaerad', *B* 11 (1941-4), 100-1. Cf. note in GGM III, 178-9.
- 45 **nys gwyr ny vo taer** See on lines 39-40 above.
- 46 **eissylut eu maer** *Maer* is collocated with *caer* in Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin lines 87-8 [*Golycaf*] *y Mayr./ a aned ynghayr*, PBT 2.5-6 (Glaswawt) *Gnawt gwyth ac adwyth o yspydawt gaer./ a naw cant maer marwhawt*; §24.15-16 *Neu vi a torreis cant kaer./ neu vi a ledeis cant maer*; CBT II 14.110 *Llas maer, llosget kaer geyr mor lliant*.
- 47 **Pedelr kaer yssyd** The identity of the four British fortresses is obscure. The answers could presumably have been supplied from traditional geography, although surviving texts, such as the *Historia Brittonum* list of the Cities of Britain, and *Enweu Ynys Brydein* ('The Names of the Island of Britain', TYP³ 246, and c-civ) shed no light on the matter. The four fortresses are unlikely to have anything to do with the 10c question noted in *Gespräch* 123, no. 15: *Ubi sunt ille que in profundo maris sunt? In extremo terrae sunt .iiii. ita nominatae: Leht, Peleht, Cata, Lethan*.

- 48 **ym Prydein powyssed** *Powyssed* could be connected with *peu* 'country, region' and *peues* (the usual pl. form is *peuesoed*, but *-ed* could be a variant: cf. *blymyded/-oed*). Ifor Williams suggested that PT VIII.33 *powys* is perhaps an error for *peues* (in OW orthography *poues*, CA 313). Curiously, the only other instance of the word *powyssed* (collocated as in the present example with *rieu* 'kings') is by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 27.16-20 *Rwyf Powys, peues hoffeynt./Powyssed Angheu (Powyssuc—a'y gbyr,/ O'r goreu y hamóc)/ A edeu ryeu ryddrwc,/ Ac a bo da, ef a'y dwc '... the [long] rest of death... leaves alive very evil kings, and those who are deserving, it snatches away'. The paraphrase in CBT V 283, translated above, follows Lloyd-Jones in connecting the word not with *peues*, but rather with *powys* with abstract suffix, 'rest' (cf. *gorffowys*, on which see PT 84; *powys* 102). CBT V 284 also ventures it could be 3sg. impv. of a denominative vb. That clearly is not an option in our poem where *-ed* (not *-ed*) is confirmed by (proest) rhyme. In the Prydydd y Moch example, found in a poem that asks God to deliver his patron from illness, is it possible that *Powyssed Angheu* is death which affects regions or countries, i.e. an epidemic or pandemic plague or similar? 'In the lands of Britain' would certainly be a suitable meaning in our line, but if Lloyd-Jones were followed *powyssed* 'resting' as place of rest or of anchor, perhaps haven, or similar, as in Tymhorau line 20 *Neud orffowys llynges*. Alternatively, as in the translation, it could be pl. of *powys* 'haven, resting-place'.*
- 49 **rieu merweryd** On *merweryd*, see §7.1. *Rieu* attested as pl. and sg. 'lord, king' and of God. It is uncertain whether the *pedeir kaer* are the 'kings' (if pl.) commanding the tumult, presumably of the sea, or else battle.
- 50f **am nyt vo nyt vyd/ nyt vyd am nyt vo** Do these lines perhaps echo a known saying? Obscure. *Nyt vyd* and *nyt vo*, although seemingly validated by the repetition, are not found elsewhere in early poetry. However, Computus has *cen nit boi* 'since there cannot be' (see B 3 (1925-7), 256, and note 266-7). Corruption is indicated by repetition of *vo* in line 52. Rhymes in *-o* are somewhat restricted, apart from 3sg. subjunct. forms: e.g. a section of Prydydd y Moch's praise of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (CBT V 23.103-44) uses *bo*, *godo*, *tyno*, *adco* (recte *acdo*), as here; similarly CBT VI poem 11, with *bo*, *gro*, *godo*.
- 52 **llyghessawr a fo** §5.29 *llyghessoed*; common in prophecy, PBT 2.12 (Glaswawt) *teir llyghes yn aches*; AP line 149 *Dybi o Lego lyghes rewyd*; Pen3Afallennau 121.7 *a llynghes dros vor ac angoreu*; R1050.37 *llynghes Lloegyrr*; 1051.5 *Llynghes Von*; 1053.37 *aches lyghesseu*, etc.
- 53 **Tohit gwanec tra gro** Cf. EWSP 407.20-21 *Tonn tyruit toit eruit; Tonn tyruit toit aches*; 454.2 *Ton tra thon toid tu tir*. *Gwanec* with *gro* in R1056.10 *Dyvrys gbanec dygbrthryn gro*; LIDC 2.8 *a bun dec liu guanec gro*, etc.
- 54 **tir dylan dirbo** On *dylan* 'sea' and personal name *Dylan*, see §22. *Dir* as adj. 'certain, inevitable, invincible' (favoured by G, but here understood as adverbial): as a noun 'necessity, compulsion'.
- 55 **nac eillt nac ado** Pl. of *allt* 'slope, hill'; G s.v. *ado* (< *to* 'roof') 'refuge, shelter' with suggestion that that word (more specifically in the meaning 'sheltered hollow' or similar) may be contrasted with *eillt*. Cf. in particular Gosymdaith lines 13-14 *hydyr gwaed gbanec brth vro/ pan elwir chwelit acdo*, although Nicolas Jacobs favours the meaning 'veil' in that example (Gosymdaith 14 and 18). CBT V 23.132 *brwysc acdo* (rhyming with *fo*) is written as *ado* in the Hendregadredd

manuscript, *acdo* in the Red Book (see CBT V 233); see further G s.v. *acdo*, *angdo* and *ado*, and on line 57 below.

- 56 **na bryn na thyno** Cf. PBT 7.90 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *coet maes tyno a bryn*; CC 16.9 *Ym brin, in tyno, in inysset mor*; CBT V 23.119 *Hyd yt el y doryf ar dyno—a brynn*; VII 25.54 *Dywyssaŷc breinyawc brynn a thyno*.
- 57 **na rynnawd godo** Cf. of the wind's fury, §18.56 *neu wynt pwy y* (supplied) *hynt, pwy y rynnawd*. *Godo* 'shelter', with *angdo* in EWSP 455.13 *Guenin igodo. oer agdo rid*; CBT V 23.108; VI 11.18.
- 58 **pan sorho** Lit. 'when it may anger'. The vb *sorri* 'to anger, sulk' is used twice by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 2.14 *Na bwyf bwyll sarruc o bell sorri*; V 25.52 *Ac ar bob sarruc yr eu ssorri*. The only other instance in court poetry is with *sarruc* in an englyn written by a 17c hand in the Hendregadredd manuscript: see CBT IV, 349-54. Elsewhere: LIDC 16.50 *Ryssorri Guassauc*; 17.69 *Ban sorro Deinoel mab Dunaud*; CC 31.38 *pan sorres*. The tempest wind may presage attacks from the sea, but it may refer to the wind which like the surging seas signals Judgment Day, as described, for example, in CC 20.24-5, 45-6, 56.
- 59 **Kadeir Teŷrnon** Unrhymed line, unless there is one line or more missing before this. *Teŷrno* (< *tēyrn* + *gno* 'famous') is rather unlikely given the frequency of the name *Teŷrnon* (see further the introduction and comments on the poem title).
- 60 **keluyd rwy katwo** On *keluyd*, see §1.37; on *rwy*, found in Book of Taliesin and the CBT corpus (especially Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch), see §5.50. See §4.2 on innovative 3sg. subjunct. in *-o*. However, G suggests *katwon* for rhyme. Cf. lines 39-40 above for vb *cadw* with *vyg geir*, emended §10.38 *Kadeir getwidyd*.
- 61 **keissitor Ygno** On endings in *-itor*, *-ator*, etc. see §1.54. *Ygno* presumably from *yng* (ModW *ing*) + *gno*, 'a renowned one in battle' (cf. CBT V 23.115 *fwyrgno*; I 3.3 *urno*; and personal names including comparable *Gueithno* and *Mydno* (on the latter see AH 319), and *Uchno*, *Elno*, *Clydno*, *Cibno*, etc.). Unlikely to be a mistake for *ygo*, *yngo* 'there, nearby', unattested before the 14c (GPC). It is understood here as a personal name (though not attested as far as I know) for parallelism with line 62, but 'a famous one in battle' is very possible; see above on line 59 for possible *Teŷrno*.
- 62 **keissitor Kedic** G classes this instance of *keidic* as adj. 'angry, wrathful, contentious' which he derives from *kat* 'battle' rather than from *ked* 'gift' (cf. very common *kedawl*). If so, either sg. or pl. But *Kedic* is a well-attested name, here perhaps one of the two persons attested in the genealogies. See EWGT 57 (Bonedd y Saint no. 18) for Cedig m. Dyfnwal Hen m. Ednyfed m. Macsen Wledig; he was father of Tudwal (ByS no. 53) and a grandfather of Nudd Hael, and Rhydderch Hael (EWGT 73, Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd no. 8); another grandson was Mordaf (ibid., no. 9). Other members of the Dyfnwal Hen line were Elidir Mwynfawr, Tudfwlch Corneu, Elffin ap Gwyddno, Seruan.

The other is Cedig Draws s. of Ceredig s. of Cunedda; he was father of Afan Buellt and *Lucho* (EWGT 20, Progenies Keredic), Cynan Buellt and Llawr (EWGT 49, Jesus 20, nos. 44 and 48) and Doged Frenin (EWGT 67, Bonedd y Saint no. 95, but a late addition). EWGT 55 (Bonedd y Saint no. 6) notes that the mother of Afan was Tegwedd ferch Tegid Foel o Benllyn. Casnodyn refers to *llit Kedic* (GC 2.24, see note p. 100; the index connects him with Cedig Draws); a series of englynion by Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur (*fl.* 1300) asks for the support of Cedig (called *gwledig*, and denoted as being *cain gadair*), and refers to

the saint's setting free of Rhun in Rhos. This was presumably Rhun son of Maelgwn Gwynedd whose court was imagined to be in Degannwy, in the cantref of Rhos: GGDT poem 1, and pp. 29-30; poem 4.32 places the poet *uwch Caer Rhun*, i.e. in the area between Conwy and Llanrwst, to the west of R. Conwy.

LBS II, 349 s.n. St Doged, notes the record in the Red Book of St Asaph (1256), printed LBS IV 385, where Cedig Draws struck a son of Maelgwn Gwynedd on the head with a drinking-horn and fled for sanctuary to Kentigern's community at Llanelwy, pursued by Maelgwn's officers whose horses were struck blind. Maelgwn himself followed and was also blinded. But his sight was restored by Kentigern in the presence of Cedig. See K. H. Jackson, 'The sources for the Life of St Kentigern', in Nora K. Chadwick *et al.*, *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 273-358, pp. 317-18; TYP³ 492.

Doged is commemorated in Llanddoged in commote of Uwch Dulas, west Denbighshire, a couple of miles north of Llanrwst, and south-east of Caer Rhun (and the Roman fort of Canovium), near the area where Prydydd y Moch held land (see General Introduction, 31-2). A 15c ode in honour of Doged by Ieuan Llwyd Brydydd — 'as I saw written in the White Book of Rhydderch', according to the copyist Thomas Wiliems, Trefriw — is printed in LBS IV, 393-5. The poet had trouble with his eyes, shoulder and arms after a riding accident and exhorts the sick to repair to Doged Frenin 'fab i Gedig', the great-grandson of Cunedda. The healing well, Ffynnon Ddoged is near the church at Llanddoged: Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff, 1992), 173. Our poet may be drawing on local traditions about Cedig.

- 63 **ketwyr colledic** Possibly referring to the figures mentioned in lines 61-2 (if Yngno and Cedig). Are they 'lost' in the sense that their whereabouts are not known (cf. the promised deliver as 'gŵr o gudd', or like Arthur whose grave is not known, LIDC 18.135), and that they are being sought in order to bring succour? Or is the reference to the soldiers who are bereft and in need of leadership (as tentatively in the translation)? See further GPC s.v. *colledig* 'lost, astray; perishable; damned; having lost, having suffered loss, damage', etc., cf. CC 24.108 (BT) *Tost yt gwyn pop colledic*; PBT 7.105 *ygwlat y colledigyon*; CBT III 5.23; 21.181.
- 64 **Tebygaf-i dull dic** Vb *tebygu* rather uncommon in early poetry, but cf. CBT V 19.7-8 *Y'th ysgwyd tebygôyd, toryf wyn./ Ysgwyd ball guall Guhelyn*, and VI 33.19, where the meaning 'compare' is suitable; and the problematic CBT VI 4.21 (see note on p. 58) where 'assume, presume, estimate' is possible, the latter meaning in PKM 36, line 22 (see note, p. 185). The spelling *tebygafi* suggests that *-i* is the pronoun rather than the prep. *y* 'to' used with the vb 'to compare'. *Dull* common for 'manner, style' (of speech, behaviour, etc.) in poetry and elsewhere; also 'marshalling, drawing up into formation' in battle contexts: see PT 39, CA 86. *Dic* 'angry', especially affronted or outraged by bereavement. Uncertain: 'I reckon [there will be] an angry host', or as in translation, 'I assume a distressed manner'.
- 65 **o diua pendefic** For *pendefic*, see on §8.26 *Elphin pendefic rhyodigyon*.
- 66 **o dull diuynnyc** See on line 64 *dull*; *o dull* 'in the manner' in CBT IV 3.15 *o dull kyfyaôn*; V 24.13 *o dull donnyaôc*. *Diuynnyc* for *dywynnyc* 'radiant, ardent, fiery, manifest', etc., also *dywynnyc*, 3sg. of vb as in CBT III 16.12 *dywynnyc o'e aghad*; V 15.5 (Prydydd y Moch to the ordeal-rod again!) *Dywynnyc dy wir yn*

wynnyas. Ifor Williams connects problematic PT V.19 *dygywnyc ychyngar* (in an unrhymed line) with *gwanec* 'wave'.

- 67 **o Leon luryc** Leon was a touchstone of valour for the court poets: CBT I 1.46 *kywrid Leon*; VI 35.21 *grym Lleon*; VII 22.12 *rwysc Lleon*, etc. *Caer Lleon* is Chester, and sometimes more generally for north-east tip of Wales (see CBT IV 82). *Lleon* used on its own to refer to the area in CBT V 20.25 *ar deruyn—Lleon*, in a possible reference to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's attack on Mold (a seat of the earldom of Chester) in 1199.
- 68 **Drychafawt gwledic** See on line 65 for collocations *gwledic/pendefic*. *Dyrchafawt* in prophecy, LIDC 16.12 *Dyrchafaud maban in advan y Dehev*; 17.158 *Dirchafaud dreic faud fau isperi*; and 17.180 *Maban dirchavaud mad y Vrython*; R579.19 (Cyfoesi) *Dyrchauawt unig o gud*, etc. Comparable metathesised forms in *drychafael* (e.g. CBT II 5.4; VI 35.19), and see G for further examples.
- 69 **am terwyn anewic (ms hen euwic)** *Terwyn* 'fierce', etc. if not for *terwyn* 'fierce, ardent' (see GPC s.vv.) or *teruyn* 'border'. No **amder(r)wyn* is attested (cf. however, *amdlawd*, etc.). G's emendation of *hen euwic* to *annefic* 'wealthy, numerous' is accepted (see GPC s.v. *anewic*, *anefic*, and cf. §5.56 *annefic*) in preference to *elwic* 'rich, profitable' (cf. CBT III 3.136 *Tut wledic, elwic elvydenn*), or *diennic* 'generous; ready, lively'. Apart from *pendefic*, *gwledic* is occasionally rhymed with *lleithic*, but that does not yield any sense here. The idea seems to be that a leader will arise to take charge of the brave and numerous (or wealthy) soldiers (*am* 'for the sake of, with regard to').
- 70 **Breuhawt bragawt bric** The *-h-* suggests 3sg. (fut.?) of vb *breuaw* 'to wear away, become brittle, rot, decay; make brittle or tender' (with G and GPC s.v.) rather than *breuawt* adj. 'fragile, evanescent, splintered' (CBT I 3.19 *Gwr a lywei lu kyn bu breuawd*). *Bragawt* 'bragget' is possible with *bric*, 'head, foam on drink', cf. GIG 10.74 *Gwirodau bragodau brig*, GGG 37 *bragod brigwyn*, etc. If so, then 'the foamy head of the bragget disperses', as in the translation.
- However, *bric* is also collocated with *bragat* 'army, battalion' (see §5.119) in CBT IV 4.188 *Brys briwgad, brig bragad briwei*, and is broadly similar in meaning to *blaen bragat* (CA line 211 *blaen bragat briwei*; CBT IV 3.31). Thus, with emendation, 'he wears away the vanguard of the battalion'. *Bragat* is also commonly collocated with forms of the vb *briwaw*, and it is conceivable that original *briwhawt* was miscopied under the influence of following *breuawl*. If so, 'he will shatter the van of the [enemy] army which is feeble in nature'.
- 71 **breuawl eissoric** *Breuawl* 'mortal, transitory, feeble' with *bryv* and *brivher* in LIDC 1.26-7; seven instances in CBT corpus (also *adfreu*, and compounds *aerfreu*, *hoedlfreuawl*, *hoedlfreu*). On *eissor* and related words, see §4.189; *eissoric* not attested elsewhere in early poetry.
- 72 **Oric amerin** *Oric* 'a small while' (< *awr*), CC 20.175, and used with vb *trigaw* EWSP 404.2 *trigwyd oric elwic*; by Cynddelw in connection with brief span of man's life on earth, CBT IV 16.93-4 *Eithyr oric ny thric, ny threfna, / Hoedyl etuyn hoen dyn dibara*; also CBT I 11.76-7 *Yn enw un oric e mennic—e myt:/ E diebrid ny dyodric*. *Merin* 'sea' less likely here than in line 76 below. Is *amerin* to be connected with *amar*¹ 'wound, harm, disrepair, impairment; wounder'; as adj. 'wounded; unlucky, harmful', etc. or *amar*¹ 'noise, noisy' (GPC)?

- 73 **am teruyn chwhefrin** Lit. 'around/on the wild border', i.e. where fighting is spirited. *Am deruyn*, cf. §8.41 *Ac am teruyn Prydein*; §21.21 *lliaws eu teruysc am eu teruyn*; CBT II 25.38 *Am deruysc am deruyn* 'because of fighting regarding the border'; IV 5.35 *Aer deruysc am y deruyn* 'around his border'; V 11.21 *Gwynet g6abrdrosset, g6r drud—am deruyn*, the last phrase translated p. 116, as 'the brave soldier for [defending] the border'; VII 2.11 *G6rt am deruyn* 'a brave hero on the border'. It is also possible that *teruyn* is a mistake for *ter(r)wyn* 'fierce; a fierce one': see on line 69.
- Chwefrin* 'lively, wild,' of fire in Moliant Cadwallon line 3, and CBT V 16.24 *Anyan chwefrin dan Chwefra6r*, etc. CBT I 17.10-11 (Elidir Sais) *a chwair yn chwethin/ . . . o bryder chweurin*. Either nominally, 'around the lively one of the border', or qualifying *teruyn* 'wild border', i.e. a border as a place of spirited fighting.
- 74 **Jeithoed ed6in** *Jeithoed* understood here as 'peoples' rather than 'languages'. *Ed6in* 'strange, foreign, apart', etc.; no other poetic examples apart from four in CBT corpus.
- 76 **mordweyt merin** On *merin*, see §7.44; emended *mordwy* §2.18. GPC s.v. *mordwyad*² 'voyager' is uncertain of this example (pl.), but the meaning, seemingly supported by OBr gloss *mortoiat* on L. *nauta i. gubernator*, is suitable.
- 75 **aches ffyscyolin** On *aches*, see §4.168 and 198; §5.137; §13.16. Cf. PT VIII.36 *Adunswn y ar orwyd ffysciolin* ('lively horse'); with *gwerin* (cf. *diwerin* line 78 below), CA line 429 *e Gatraeth gwerin fraeth fysgyolin*. Also CA line 876 *cleddyual dywal fysgyolin*; CBT I 11.27 *coryf fyscyolin*; V 28.1 *Fyscyolin byddin*.
- 77 **O blant Saraphin** The evil nature of the 'race of Saraphin' would seem to preclude the angelic *Seraphin*, *-im* (Isaiah 6:2-7, etc.) unless the term is used loosely for fiery beings. More likely (as suggested in *Dwned* 1 (1995), 10 and n.9) is that the Saracens are meant: *Sarasin* (GPC s.n. < ME *Sarasin(e)*) was perhaps written *Sarafin* in an exemplar and misinterpreted. The term *Saraceni* was well-established in the Middle Ages: Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, partly following the lead of Jerome, held them to be descendants of Ishmael through corruption of the name 'as if they were descended from Sarah' (IX.ii.6); 'or as the pagans say, because they are of Syrian origin' (IX.ii.57). Even before the Crusades, the Saracens were portrayed as pagans and idolators, and from the 12c onwards, Saracen and pagan became virtually interchangeable terms (as *Ide(w)on* 'Jews' became a general term for 'pagans, enemies') and widespread vilification is found in a wide range of sources such as *chansons de geste*, liturgical drama and saints' lives. Thus Gruffudd Fychan (second half of 14c) refers to the *Sarasin* in connection with Herod's plot to slay Jesus: *O arch (Iesu, barch Berchen,/ Saer oesoedd) y Sarasin/ Erod gwnaeth a'i rawd o gw6n. . .*, GSRh 12.83-5 and note p. 192; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), 130 cites further examples of Herod, Pilate and other malefactors' allegiance to Saracen idols. The Welsh forms used in *Brut y Tywysogyon* (e.g. 1094, 1185, etc.) are *Sarassinyeit*, *Sarascin(n)yeit*, *Saracin(n)yeit*. Movement by couplet might suggest that lines 76-7 be taken together 'sea-voyagers of the stock of Saraphin/Sarasin', but that lessens the force of the final line unless another o 'from' were supplied at the head of line 78.

- 78 **dogyn dwfyn diwerin** *Diwerin* 'evil', rare: of Cain, CC 10.28; the damned at Judgment in CBT I 28.13 *Gwerin diwerin*. As noted in §4.16 *dwfyn* often used as a noun, and here meaning the abyss or depths of Hell.
- 79 **dillygem Elphin** On *Elphin*, see §4.56; on the release of Elffin from captivity (or banishment) see §12.16 *y dillwg Elphin o alltuted*; and §8.25-6 *Ellygeis vy arglwyd yg gwyd deon./ Elphin pendefic rhyodigyon*. The vb *dillwg* is also used of captives elsewhere: CBT II 14.128 *Dillŏng carcharaŏr*, VII 22.2. Of Christ's releasing of the captives in Hell, CC 17.5; 24.16; CBT V 30.9-10 *Dillyngws Keli, ual cwlŏm dolen./ Eu carchar anwar, amhar am penn*; of God's release of the Israelites in Egypt in CBT VI 19.9 (a poem by Dafydd Benfras, as argued p. 283, or Prydydd y Moch). In prophecy PBT 8.41 *dillygyaw Kessarogyon*; cf. PT II.18 *eiryf dillwg* 'relinquishing of arms'; and in Englynion Cadwallon, EWSP 446.2 *llaw ellwng*. If *plant Saraphin* in line 77 are understood as 'Saracens' it does not necessarily mean that he was in exile (*alltuted*) on Crusade. Taliesin says elsewhere (§8.25) that he released his lord 'in the presence of nobles', which could imply that Elffin was near at hand, not abroad, unless he is referring to the plea being witnessed by nobles.

10 Kadeir Kerrituen

The third of the poems entitled *kadeir* (§§8-10) bears the name of Ceridfen, the form and derivation of which are discussed at the beginning of the commentary below. The title suggests that the poem is either about her, or a soliloquy declaimed by her persona, or else a piece which was claimed to emanate from the poetic cauldron she controlled (seen in §6.3-4, as elsewhere).¹ In fact, it is not very evidently any of these, and there is the further possibility that the title was abstracted from the phrase *a'm peir* 'and my cauldron' (line 24) by a scribe assuming that this was Ceridfen's own special accessory, and that she was therefore the speaker; the mention of other female characters (Euron and Euronwy, line 27) could have facilitated this interpretation. In every other way, the poem is consistent with the voice of Taliesin himself, the topics he addresses, and the north-western geographical milieu with which he is often linked. We hear of the characters of the story *Math fab Mathonwy* (Gwydion, Lleu, and Arianrhod), the familiar themes of verbal skill in poetic contest, the movements of the oceans, and his knowledge of book-learning (the books of Bede in this instance).

But if Taliesin, rather than Ceridfen is the speaking persona, as seems most likely, how are we to interpret lines 9-12 which assert that 'Afaidd, my own son' had 'superior sense in poetic contentions than mine'?² It is possible, though by no means certain, that he was in fact Taliesin's son (a connection with Afaon fab Taliesin is also explored in the commentary) and that Afaidd, the additional name of Ceridwen's ugly son Morfran in the *Gwion Bach* portion of *Ystoria Taliesin*, was attached to him through a mistaken idea that she was the speaker in the present poem. This matter is discussed more fully in the note to line 9 below.

As well as the three Book of Taliesin references to Ceridfen, there are five instances of her name in the datable poetry of the court poets and their immediate successors.³ The first is in the well-crafted praise of the nobleman-poet, Cuhelyn Fardd *fl.* 1100-30 of Cemais, north Pembrokeshire (CBT I, poem 2) in which the anonymous author begins by asking God for poetic power akin to 'the dignity of Ceridfen's song, of varied inspiration', using here the technical term *ogyrfen* 'inspiration' that we find in our collection.⁴ The second is by Cynddelw (CBT III

¹ §6.3 demonstrates syncretism between the idea of her cauldron of inspiration and God as ultimate originator of poetry, a feature of the references by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets discussed below.

² It would seem over ingenious to suggest that we have a dialogue between Taliesin and Ceridfen, with the later speaking lines 9-12 and perhaps lines 26-7 or 22-7, although this possibility cannot be ruled out entirely: on the conventions of the *ymddiddan* genre, usually cast in the *englyn* form, see Brynley F. Roberts, 'Rhai o gerddi ymddiddan Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin', in AH 281-325, and see further the comments in EWSP 274-5.

³ Discussed in more detail in CyT 154-7.

⁴ §4.77 *ogyruen*; §8.12 and §9.36 *ogyruen*.

24.8) in the 1160s, at the beginning of an elegy which ends with an unique mention by this poet of Taliesin, a hint, perhaps, that he knew of the association between him and Ceridfen.⁵ He is proud to number himself with the poets of inspiration (*beird ogyrfen*) and claims familiarity with the ‘ways of Ceridfen’s arts’, but implying that in this instance he is giving himself over entirely to a formal expression of grief. Prydydd y Moch at the beginning of the thirteenth century asks for inspiration from God ‘as from Ceridfen’s cauldron’ to praise his patron (addressed as ‘ruler of Degannwy’ in another poem)⁶ — the first datable mention of her cauldron (CBT V 10.1-4).⁷ And at the head of a jubilant praise-poem celebrating prince Llywelyn ab Iorwerth’s victories in the March and Deheubarth in 1217, he asks God once again for ‘the words of Ceridfen, the director of poetry’, coupled with Taliesin’s power in releasing Elffin, and an allusion to the way bardic expertise elicits applause from the poets (CBT V 25.1-5). This is evidently proof of the Taliesin-Ceridfen connection. It is also the first instance — outside the Book of Taliesin — of the episode being set at Degannwy (see §8 Golychaf-i Gulwyd, as discussed in the commentary). Further possible implications, especially in the light of Llywelyn the Great’s recapture of the key stronghold of Degannwy in 1213, are aired in the General Introduction, 27-36. The fifth extant reference to Ceridfen is a century later, by the Glamorgan poet, Casnodyn, who wished to memorialise a noble patron by harnessing profound inspiration ‘like the cauldron of Ceridfen’.⁸

But by the end of the fourteenth century, the figure of Ceridfen — whatever may have been her earlier standing as poetic muse — had become something of a figure of fun judging by Iolo Goch’s satirical elegy to the female Hersdin Hogl, a stock character filthy in every regard, consorting with devils, and carrying a great tub and flail that made her appear like an old witch living ‘in the days of old Ceridfen’.⁹ It is striking that none of the other mainstream fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poets mention Ceridfen by name: Casnodyn and Iolo Goch appear to be the last to do so. Several *do* mention the bubbling *pair awen* ‘cauldron of inspiration’ and even more allude to other episodes familiar to us also from Ystoria Taliesin, especially Taliesin’s trouncing of bards in contest and effecting Elffin’s release. This was a handy allusion for a poet who wished to impress on his patron how useful he was, or to wish him well in illness or imprisonment.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it seems that professional poets had become

⁵ Although Taliesin here is ‘the poet of the Cynferching’ rather than the legendary figure: CyT 155.

⁶ Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd, in CBT V, 9.1, but see V, p. 86.

⁷ Note, however, that the court poets occasionally link cauldrons in general with verbal skill and poetic inspiration: CBT II 2.32 (Llywelyn Fardd), I 16.7 (Elidir Sais, 13c); V, 19.9. But for others (including Cynddelw), *peir* was a word reserved for God or for a powerful secular ruler, praised as *peir rotyon*, *peir kyureith*, *gwladoet beir*, etc.

⁸ GC 2.89 and see also CyT 157 for the suggestion that the deceased patron (perhaps an amateur poet?), rather than the poet, possessed the gift.

⁹ GDG 554-5; GIG 364.

¹⁰ E.g. *Gwaith Deio ab Ieuan Du a Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen*, edited by A. Eleri Davies (Caerdydd, 1992), 16.31-2, and 37-8.

reluctant to connect themselves, through their icon, Taliesin, with hocus-pocus, weird transformations and female control of the *awen*.¹¹ They prefer to reaffirm that Taliesin's inspiration had to do more with learning and wisdom. Thus an elegy for the poet, Siôn Tudur c. 1602, makes much of Siôn's intellectual and artistic forebears — including Ovid and Erasmus, Dafydd ap Gwilym, Tudur Aled and Ieuan Deulwyn — asserting that his song and inspiration derived from a 'pure stream', and 'not Ceridwen's cauldron'.¹²

We can summarise this excursus before moving on to the poem itself. Ceridfen is obviously in charge of a cauldron of poetic inspiration, but we can hardly call her a 'goddess' because there is no evidence for a cult as such. An early formation is suggested by the second element *-ben*, not very productive in the Middle Ages. If *cwrr* is the first element in her name it could be extrapolated that she was imagined as an angular, possibly old woman; but it is possible that her name contains an element meaning 'heat', 'fear', 'passion' or 'belief' (see the commentary below). There is no suggestion that she is a witch or a hag in either the Book of Taliesin or the twelfth- and thirteenth-court poetry; Iolo Goch is the first to hint at a debasing of her status. She pales from sight in the work of the later poets, although there are still references to the 'cauldron of inspiration', and allusions at the end of the fifteenth century indicating knowledge of the story of the 'boy from Llanfair [Caereinion, i.e. Gwion]' who stuck his finger in the cauldron.¹³

Returning to the present poem, we may note the main points of interest to the literary historian. Most significant of these are the unusually extended allusions to the events of the story of *Math fab Mathonwy* — particularly Gwydion's feats in conjuring up horses and saddles in the court of Pryderi, stealing from him the Otherworld pigs, and his hand in creating the 'woman of flowers', Blodeuwedd. The author was familiar, too, with Arianrhod's sea-girt fortress, and with a character, Minawc ap Llew, not known from the extant prose tales or any other source, for that matter. Also unmatched in *Math* — or only in outline there — is the reference to fighting in Nant Ffrancon between Gwydion and his opponents, possibly to be identified with a clash with the pursuing forces from the South who followed Gwydion and the stolen animal up to the North (Anglesey is also mentioned in our poem in this connection). And the poem also implies that Euron and Euronwy were skilled members of the family of Dôn, and that Dôn's court (*llys*) was imagined (like *Kaer Sidi*) as a place of poetry and entertainment.

From the point of view of metrics, there are two discernable portions. The lines in the first part (lines 1-27) tend to be heptasyllabic, and many of them are tripartite in structure; a few divide more naturally into two parts.¹⁴ It is also possible to view lines 1-4, 5-8, and 9-12 as three Englyn Gwastad all using the same rhyme, but this pattern is not sustained. The second portion of the poem

¹¹ An exception is GLM 90. 57-8 'Awen Rhys yn yr oesoedd/ o bair y wrach berwi'r oedd'.

¹² *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*, edited by Enid Roberts, 2 vols (Caerdydd, 1980), I, p. 920, line 80.

¹³ DN 40.13-14; see the treatment by Juliette Wood, 'The folklore background of the Gwion Bach section of Hanes Taliesin', *B* 29 (1980-82), 621-34.

¹⁴ This is a feature of the Class 3 line identified in EWP 171-2.

(lines 28-42) uses Cyhydedd Naw Ban with a regular cadence of four syllables. Both portions use a patterning rather like the Traeanog used occasionally by the court poets (lines 19-21, 39-42), although the number of syllables does not conform to their standard (5/5/6).¹⁵ It is simpler to assume that the author combined metrical patterns, as did the court poets, rather than to posit a combining of two separate poems. After all, both parts involve the family of Dôn (especially Gwydion), Dôn's court is mirrored by Arianrhod's court; both parts open with a reference to cock-crow, and both use *kadeir* in the sense of 'song, metre'.

¹⁵ Discussed by Peredur I. Lynch, 'Yr awdl a'i mesurau', FS Gruffydd, 258-301, pp. 266-8.

Ren ry'm awyr titheu
O Lord, may You grant me
 kerreifant o'm karedeu.
forgiveness for my sins.

Yn deweint, ym pylgeineu,
At midnight [and] at morning prayers
llewychawt vy lleufereu.
my candles burn brightly.

5 **Mynawc hoedyl Minawc ap Lleu**
Noble was the life-course of Miniog son of Lleu
a weleis-i yma gynheu;
whom I used to see here not long ago;
diwed yn llechued Dinlleu,¹
he whose end [was] in the stony grave of Dinlleu
bu gwrđ y hwrđ yg kadeu.
thrust fiercely in battles.

Auacdu, vy mab inheu —
Afagddu, my own son —
 10 **detwyd Douyd rwy goreu;**
it was gracious God who made him —
yg kyfamrysson kerdeu
in poetic contentions
oed gwell y synhwyr no'r veu.
his sense was superior to mine.

Keluydaf gwr a gogleu,
The most skilful one I ever heard of
Gwydyon ap Don dygynuertheu,
was Gwydion son of Dôn, consistently [producing] splendid things,
 15 **a hudwys gwreic o vlodeu,**
who conjured up a woman from flowers,
a dyduc moch o Deheu —
who stole pigs from the South —
kan bu idaw dysc oreu,²
since he had the best learning,

¹ ms *llechued lleu*

² ms *disgoreu*

drut ymyt a gwryt pletheu —

[who was] bold in battle, with [wiles like] the interlace of a chain —

a rithwys gorwydawt

who fashioned horses

20 **y ar plagawt llys,³**

in order to assuage objection,

ac enwerys kyfrwyeu.

as well as wondrous saddles.

Pan varnher y kadeireu

When the 'Cadeiriau' come to be judged

arbenhic onadun⁴ y veu:

my own will be the best of them:

vyg kadeir a'm peir a'm deduon,

my song, and my cauldron and my rules,

25 **a'm areith tryadyl, gadeir gysson.**

and my careful declamation, worthy of a chair/in harmonious song.

Ry'm gelwir kyfrwys yn Llys Don,

I'm called a knowledgeable one in Dôn's court,

mi ac Euronwy ac Euron.

I, and Euronwy and Euron.

Gweleis ymlad taer yn Nant Ffrangcon

I saw desperate fighting in Nant Ffrancon

Duw Sul <⁵ pylgeint, rwg wytheint a Gwydyon.

early on Sunday morning between raptors and Gwydion.

30 **Dyf Ieu, yn geugant, yd aethant Von**

On Thursday, for sure, they went to Anglesey

y geissaw escut⁶ a hudolyon.

to look for a crafty one, and for enchanters.

Aranrot drem clot tra gwawr hinon,

Arianrhod, famed for her appearance surpassing the radiance of fair weather,

mwyhaf gwarth y marth o parth Brython;

her terrifying was the greatest shame [to come] from the region of the Britons;

dybrys am y [l]lys efnys afon,

a raging river rushes around her court,

³ ms *lys*

⁴ ms *vdun*

⁵ ms *pryt*

⁶ ms *yseut*

- 35 **afon a'e hechrys gwrys gwrth Terra:**
a river with its savage wrath beating against the land:
gwenwyn y chynbyt kylch byt ed a
destructive its snare as it goes round the world
(nyt wy dyweit geu llyfreu Beda).
(Bede's books don't tell lies).
Kadeir getwidyd⁷ yssyd yma,
Here (I am), the guardian of song,
a hyt Vrawt parāwt yn Europa.
and it will be continued in Europe until Doom.
- 40 **A'n rothwy y Trindawt**
May the Trinity grant us
trugared Dyd Brawt,
forgiveness on the Day of Judgment,
kein gardawt gan wyrda.
[and] true kindness from noblemen.

title **Kadeir Kerrituen** CCC. On the poem values, see the introduction to §7. For references to Ceridfen (Ceridwen) in medieval texts, see the introduction above. Before discussing the derivation of the name, the forms are given in order of the main manuscripts. The Black Book of Carmarthen (c. 1225-50) LIDC 3.3, 4.1 *Kyrridven* has unequivocal [v]: cf. *advit* (adfydd), *lledvegin* (lledfegin). The *i* is ambiguous, either [i] or schwa as in *llauridet* (ModW llawfrydedd), *ridid* (rhyddid), *pridit* (prydydd). NLW Peniarth 3 (c. 1250-1300) has *Kyrrytuen* (G 136; D.M. Lloyd, 'La poésie de Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr et le manuscrit Peniarth 3', *ÉC* 5 (1950-51), 87-104, p. 103, VIb, line 2). The Hendregadredd manuscript (NLW 6680B, Hand Alpha, c. 1300) has *Kyrriduen* (CBT V 25.2), with [v] after [d] realized according to his usual practice by *u*, cf. *cludueird* (cludfeirdd). Hand J (1300-25) follows the same convention: *Kyrriduen* (CBT V 10.2). In the Book of Taliesin, there are three spellings: §6.4 *Cerituen*; *Kerrituen* in the present title; and §8.11 *Kerritwen*. It was the scribe's normal practice to use *t* for [d] before a consonant (e.g. PBT 1.12 (Daronwy) *hullath*, §5.44 *katuaon*, §5.103 *troetued*, §13.38 *etuynt*, PT XI.39 *atuyd*, etc.), although there are examples where *d* is used, e.g. §4.126 and §26.12 *aduant*; §6.49 and §21.7 *adneu*. He also used *t* for [d] before [u], which he wrote with *w* (e.g. §1.4 *tytwet*, §9.60 *katwo*, §9.63 *ketwyr*, §10.38 *getwidyd*, §15.70 *katwent*). It is clear, then, that *-fen* was intended in the first two examples. If so, what accounts for §8.11 *Kerritwen* (rhyming with *ogyrwen*)? The alternation between intervocalic *w ~ v* is familiar (e.g. *cawod > cafod*, WG 28), as is *v ~ w* after *r-* (e.g. *Corfaen > Corfen > Corwen*; *Iorferth ~ Iorwerth*; *Serfan ~ Serwan*). LHEB 414 notes postconsonantal *v ~ w* as restricted to instances following *l-*, *r-*, and *n-*, but Ifor Williams cited the development of the place-name *Blodwel*, *Blodwol* to *Blodfol*, PKM 201-2 (as in

⁷ ms *getwided*

GLGC 212.11 and 59). It may be that the Book of Taliesin scribe (or a predecessor) wrongly modernised *-uen* or *-ven* in the exemplar under the influence of the ending of *ogyrwen* in the following line (§8.12). Or else, as is very likely, there was analogy with the many female names ending in *gwen* 'fair' (e.g. *Olwen*, *Gallwen*, *Garwen*, *Tangwen*; and cf. *Ehangwen*, Arthur's hall, and *Cyrwen*, Padarn's staff). In the Red Book of Hergest c. 1400 (R1241.29-30), the form *Kerituen* is written by Hywel Fychan, a scribe who uses *w* for the semivowel (e.g. R1242.1 *Bratwenn*); Hand C writes *Kyrrituen* (R1428.32-33), with *u* for [v] according to his own practice (cf. R1429.39 *etuynt*). The evidence above shows that *-fen* (to use modern spelling) was the termination understood by all the 13c and 14c scribes, with the exception of BT §8.11 discussed above.

The majority of examples also use *rr*. The first vowel varies: *e* without exception in the Book of Taliesin, and Hywel Fychan, but *y* elsewhere. Does this indicate phonetic variation in the name? Usually the variation *e* ~ *y* (and *a*) occurs before a nasal (e.g. *cenllysg/cynllysg*; *kyntaf/kentaf/kantaf*, *ymyl/emyl*, see GMW 2), or before elements where there was originally a nasal, such as *cysefin/cesefin*. But pairs such as *ger/gyr*, *cewilydd/cywilydd*, *llewenydd/llywenydd*, *cedymdaith/cydymdaith*, *Merdin/Myrdin* indicate that the variation was not always restricted to those positions. Another reason for the variation *Kyrrid-/Kerrid-* could be that they show different realizations of an epenthetic vowel between the *c* and *r*, if the name originally began with *Kr-* (see below), such as vowel could develop as [e] or [ə]. Alternatively, the variation may be purely orthographic, with the spellings in *e* derived from exemplars where *e* could represent [ə], as in the Book of Aneirin and other 13c manuscripts (e.g. *bedin*, *byddin*; *Kenon*, *Cynon*; *evei*, *yfai*), as well as in some of the OW glosses (e.g. *cemecid* = *cyfegydd*; *remedaut* = *rhyfeddod*; *creman* = *cryman*; *leder* = *llythyr*), although the evidence of the latter set is compromised by the matter of vowel alternation before nasals and possible vowel assimilation. But *e* for [ə] is unusual in the BT (exceptions include PT II.27 *reuedaf*, 28 *reodic*; IX.1 *lleuyd*) and it would seem that [e] was denoted by BT's *Ker-*, and by Hywel Fychan in the Red Book. Nevertheless exemplars where *e* represented [ə] cannot be ruled out. Turning the argument round, an original [e], i.e. *Ceridfen*, could have been wrongly modernised by scribes who assumed that *e* denoted [ə]. *Mutatis mutandis*, a further set of questions can be raised about the status of *i* versus *y* in the second vowel: the Black Book form is ambiguous (see beginning of this note); *y* is clear enough in Peniarth 3.

Later evidence, discussed in detail in CyT 152-3, is not very illuminating. Unfortunately Iolo Goch's line (GIG 36.46, mentioned in the introduction above) does not contain *cynghanedd*, and copies of the poem from the 15-17c show a good deal of variation in the name: *Cereidven*, *Cyridven*, [C]erridwen; *Caridwen*, *Cridwen*, and *Cridfen*. *K/Ceridwen* is the form used by Elis Gruffydd and David Parry in their copies of *Ystoria Taliesin*; *Cariduen* (-wen) by Roger Morris influences *Karidwen* by John Jones (who also has *Ceridwen*). *Keritwen* is the form in the mid-15c Peniarth 47(iii) triad at TYP³ 208; and Dr John Davies of Mallwyd's copy of the Book of Taliesin (NLW 4973B) consistently modernises the name as *Cer(r)idwen*.

Ifor Williams, ChwT 3-4, was of the opinion that *Cyrridfen* was the original form; he was right about *-fen*, but the evidence noted above is not conclusive as to the first two syllables. He derived the name from *cwr(r)*, and in the light of his previous discussion of Padarn's crozier, *Cyrwen* (*Cyrrguenn*, BWP 183-5), he

favoured the meaning 'curved, bent', and *Cyrridfen* as a name given to a crooked-backed hag. But as he acknowledged, 'angle, beak, point' is the basic meaning of *cwrr* and its OIr cognate *corr*; thus both names could refer to things 'angular, pointed, acute'. *Ben* 'woman' although rarely attested in Welsh, is certain enough but the middle of the name (-*id*-), not treated at all by Williams, is problematic. Therefore alternative derivations, examined in detail in more detail in CyT 152-3, might include (1) *cwrr* + *rhit* + *ben* 'woman with angular embrace'; (2) a formation from *cryt* 'fever, ague, shakes' + *ben*; (3) from *creit* 'passionate, inflamed'; (4) from older *Credidfen* (cf. vb *credu*), etymologically related to *Creirwy*, the name of her daughter.

- 1 **Ren ry'm awyr** Cf. CC 17.1 *Ren Nef ry'm awyr dy wedi*; CC 19.8 *Ry'm awyr ym pater ym pechawt*; Dydd dyfydd line 7 *Rymafuir culuit kyrreifeint*; CBT I 2.1 *Devs Reen ry-m-aw-y awen*. 2sg. pres. subjunct. of defective vb. On remnants of the old deponent, see L&P 306-7, GMW 128-9, J. Loth, *RC* 40 (1923), 354-5. The 3sg. imperf. of the same vb is found in §23.37-40 *Ry'm afei*.
- 2 **kerreifant** Cf. CBT II 3.27 *Haedaf o'm kerd kyrreifyant*; III 3.78 *A'm rod6y Creabdyr kyreiuieint*; VII 54.43 *Ym plwyf mad gwastad, gwesti—kyrreifeint*; pl. in Dydd dyfydd line 7 *Rymafuir culuit kyrreifeint*; CC 27.5 *Kyrreiuieint a geiff a goffaho Duw*; CBT I 14.105 *Kyrreiuieint o'r meint meith gyhussed*; I 27.107 *Menhid ym gyrrreiuieint mwynyant creiryeu—Duw*; II 26.21 *A chyrchu Ru6ein, rann gyreifyeint*; IV 17.92 *Kyrreiuieint gymeint gymedrolaeth*; V 7.14 *A 'th roto Creabdyr kyrreiuieint* (the note in CyT 160 is incorrect). GPC connects the noun with stem of vb *cyrraf*: *cyrr-* 'to forgive', cf. 2sg. impv. in LIDC 25.11 *kyrraw de imi vy gev*.
- 2 **o'm karedeu** *Cared* 'sin', CC 18.7; PBT 7.77; and common in CBT corpus.
- 3 **yn deweint ym pylgeineu** Collocation of the sg. forms in EWSP 437.60; CC 28.8 *A kyuodi pilgeint, a deueint duhunau*; CBT II 26.1; IV 14.20, etc. and §13.7 *deweint a dyd*; §18.55 *deweint a gwawr*, with *yn*, CBT III 3.61 *A'e balchwa6r yn a6r yn deweint*.
- 4 **llewychawt** Understood as 3sg. pres./fut., as in §3.33; cf. collocation CBT I 31.9-10 *Gan Du6 yn lleuuer, llewychant,—llu bedyd, / Llewenyd a gaffant*.
- 5 **Mynawc hoedyl Minawc ap Lleu** There is no mention of a son of Lleu in PKM, nor any other reference to him. If *Minawc* = *Miniawg* < *min* 'lip; mouth; edge, sharpness', perhaps for a fluent or acute person. If *Minawc* = *Mynawg*, then a name meaning 'courteous, noble', like the common adj. often used nominally, but it would perhaps be less likely in view of the adj. at the beginning of the line.
Ap also used in line 14; Edmyg Dinbych line 14 *Blaen llin ap Erbin*; PT X.1 *Eneit Owein ap Vryen*. Confined to Englynion y Beddau, Pa 6r, and dialogue poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen (see LIDC index). Restricted in CBT corpus to vol. VII (7 examples) versus 103 examples of *fab*, with the exception of CBT III 26.108 *Mada6c ab Idon* (Peniarth 3 has *vab*). The significance of this needs further investigation: it seems that it was not favoured (or accepted?) in the formal poetic register until the thirteenth century (Phylip Brydydd and especially Bleddyn Fardd), but was part of the diction of poems in persona, the feature which unites the other examples (except the second and third).
- 6 **gynheu** Very rare in poetry, but used to mean '[mentioned] just now, a moment ago' in CBT II 14.93 *Molyant y6 eu rann, y rei gynneu*; R. Iestyn Daniel (ed.).

'Awdl Saith Weddi'r Pader', in CyT 220-36, p. 227, line 59 *Llyna weddïau, gyda'r pump gynnuau*. *Gynt* 'formerly' is very common.

- 7 **diwed yn llechued Dinlleu (ms lleu)** *Diwed* 'death' would suit the tribute to *Minawc*'s life (*hoedyl*); like Afagddu lines 9-12 below, his praise extended over four lines. But if an adverb, then (?) 'lately' (similar to *gynheu* in line 6) would seem to make more sense than 'at last'. The compound *di + wedd* 'without fine appearance, lacklustre' is not attested (*heb wed* is). The orthography suggests that *llechued* was understood as a compound of *llech + bed* (cf. §3.40 *archuein*; §5.120 *rychua*; §8.8 *Brochuael*; PBT 3.1 (Kychwedyl) *o Galchuymyd*); but *llechued* = *llechwedd* 'slope' in an exemplar with Black Book of Carmarthen type orthography may not have been standardised (as in §15.23 *dichuar* = *dichwar*).

The line has six rather than usual seven syllables, and *Lleu* is unlikely to have been rhymed with its uncompounded self: restore either *din* (alliterating nicely with *diwed*), *caer*, or *nant Lleu*, rather than *Arllechued* (or *Ardllechued*) with MvM 58 (followed by TYP³ 413), an area also known as *Llechwedd* (see Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Clas Beuno and the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in Bernhard Maier and Stefan Zimmer (ed.), *150 Jahre "Mabinogion": Deutsch-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen* (Tübingen, 2001), 111-27, p. 118). Dinas Dinlle(u), the now rapidly eroding Iron Age hillfort south-west of Caernarfon is likely to be the *Caer Lev a Gwidion* where Taliesin is heading in his Dialogue with Ugnach (LIDC 36.15), but Graham R. Isaac, "'Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach": propaganda Cymreig yn Oes y Croesgadau?', *LIC* 25 (2002), 12-20, pp. 16-17 suggests that it may be a name for the Milky Way (cf. *Caer Gwydion* in this sense: see G s.v.). LIDC 18.106-7 reports that *Lleu*'s own grave was *y dan achles mor/ yn y bu ei gywnes* 'under the sea in the place where his next-of-kin was' (i.e. his twin, Dylan, whose grave was in nearby Llanfeuno, i.e. Clynnog, near Maen Dylan: see further §22).

- 8 **bu gwrd y hwrd yg kadeu** Same collocation or similar: CBT IV 6.19 *Gwybu babb heb gel gwyth gurt hbrt Hywel*; V 26.54 *Rusgleth gbrt, nyd ymhbrt amheu*; VII 24.143-4 *escud bareu—gbrt,/ Hyllym yn kyhwrt kyhoet waetfreu*.
- 9 **Auacdu vy mab inheu** There are two other certain references to Afagddu in this collection. In §4.11-12 (Angar Kyfundawt) he is mentioned along with Taliesin, Cian and Gwiawn (see notes): *Bylleith bit [ardu],/ areith Auacdu* 'until death Afagddu's utterance shall be obscure'. This is followed by lines 13-14: *neus duc yn geluyd/ kyureu argwyd* 'he brought forth skilfully speech in metre (or harmony)'. Marwnat Vthyr Pen again associates him with the speaker's skill as poet, immediately after a reference to *vy eissillyd* 'my progeny': §24.25-8 *Midwyf vard moladwy yghyweint,/ poet y gan vrein ac eryr ac wytheint;/ Auacdu ae deubu y gymeint/ pan ymbyrth petrywyr rwg dwy geinc* (em.) 'I'm a poet, my skilful art deserves praise, may it be with ravens and eagle(s) and raptors; Afagddu — to him came [an experience] just as great, since good men suspend themselves between two poles' (see notes). We can glean from these references that Afagddu declaims 'dark speech' until death (if G is right in restoring *ardu*), and is likely to be a poet since this is a variant on the 'singing till Doom' topos. The second passage suggests that he had as much ?adventure or recognition as the speaker (Taliesin, I believe, rather than Uthr, see notes and introduction to §24). He is perhaps even imagined to have been on an aerial flight similar to Alexander the Great's (described in §17 Anryuedodeu Taliessin) — an experience the

speaker himself would have relished! It is possible that Taliesin is talking about his own son, one of his own progeny, *vy eissillyd*; at least there is nothing here which is incompatible with that hypothesis. In the present lines we hear that Afagddu has the superior wit or sense in poetic contest, confirming what we learn from §4.11-12, and that he is definitely the speaker's own son (*vy mab inheu*) — with Taliesin once again as the most likely speaking persona (see below)

No satisfactory explanation of the name Afagddu has been proposed; there are no Welsh comparanda as such for *afac*, and one cannot rule out a borrowing from OIr *abac*, a cognate of W. *afanc*. Medieval sources confirm that the Taliesin persona had a son called *Addaon* — *Adaon* (variant *Afaon*), *y gwas cymhennaf a doethaf . . . yn y deyrnas hon* 'the sprucest and smartest chap in this kingdom', according to the tale, *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (BR 8, lines 15-17; also named p. 19, line 26), and see further TYP³ 276, and discussion CC 292 on the religious englynion, Cyssul Adaon (CC no 29), attributed to him. Another possible mention is in the problematic line §15.16 *wrth pedyr afaon* (see commentary). His name is derived from *að + aon < *agon-*, as shown by the OW spelling *Auagon* in the Book of Llandaf (see CIB 209). Indeed, such a written form as this could have spawned *Afag-*, perhaps under influence of the borrowed **afac*. Perhaps the ending *-on* could have been misread as *-ou* which was then either mistaken for *-du*, or else changed to *-du* by analogy with *macdu* (see below), i.e. OW *Auagon* (> *Auagou*) > *Auacdu*. Note that although **Auacdeu* in our line would give internal rhyme with *inheu*, an ending *-u* is required in §4.12 and §24.27.

The slight possibility that Afagddu may somehow be related to Afaon brings us back to the question of the speaker in this part of our poem, mentioned in the introduction above. It might be assumed that it is Ceridfen herself, since the sixteenth-century texts of the Gwion Bach story by Roger Morris and Elis Gruffydd say that 'Y Fagddu' was another name for Morfran, the ill-favoured son of Tegid Foel and Ceridwen, on account of his dark colouring ('am dywyllled ei liw') (Morfran contains *mar* 'phantom' according to G.R. Isaac, *LIC* 24 (2001), 13-23). GPC s.v. *fagddu* suggests that the phrase *y fagddu*, used to mean 'darkness' in the 1588 Bible, derives from the personal name, Afagddu. But not impossible is a formation from the def. art. + *mag* 'rearing, nurture' + *du* (suggested by Ford, YT 89), which was then associated with the name Afagddu (of a different derivation) by Roger Morris, Elis Gruffydd and others.

On the other hand, the name and identity of Afagddu in these later texts may derive from a written copy of, or simply knowledge of a piece called *Kadeir Kerrituen* — that is to say, the title of the poem, itself added under the influence of *a'm peir* 'and my cauldron' in line 24, could have suggested that it was Ceridfen rather than Taliesin speaking, and that she, therefore, was the mother of Afagddu. That misconception could have been grafted onto the story of the ugly son, Morfran Ail Tegid, a character familiar from the story, *Culhwch ac Olwen*, and elsewhere (see TYP³ 452-3). As noted in the introduction above, the content of the present poem is consistent with the concerns of the Taliesin figure, and despite the title (and the reference to the son, Afagddu, accounted for above), it is reasonable to assume that he is the speaking persona.

10 **detwyd Douyd rwy goreu** Understanding *detwyd* as qualifying *Douyd*, rather than 'God made him [to be] a fortunate/happy man'.

10 **rwy goreu** See on §5.50 *y Ren rwy digonsei*.

- 11 **yg kyfamrysson kerdeu** *Kyfamrysson* is a hapax; on *amrysson* see §1.90 and §10.23.
- 12 **synhwyr** See on §7.40 *sywyon synhwyr*.
- 13 **Keluydaf gwr** See on §1.37 *celuyd* 'skilful'; also §5.52. In the story *Math fab Mathonwy*, Gwydion prepares to use his arts and wiles to gain the Otherworld pigs from Pryderi: PKM 70 *Ac yna yd aeth ef yn y gelfydodeu, ac y dechrawt dangos y hut, ac yd hudwys deudec emys, a deudec milgi bronwyn du pob un o homunt, a deudec torch, a deudec kynllyuan armunt, a neb o'r a'[e] guelei, ny wydyat na bydynt eur: a deudec kyfrwy ar y meirch, ac am pob lle y dyliei hayarn uot armunt, y bydei gwbyl o eur, a'r frwyneu yn un weith a hynny. Celfydaf* is used of God CBT I 32.35; of Llywelyn I, CBT V 25.6 *Kymro keluydaf rywnaeth Keli*.
- 14 **Gwydion ap Don dygynuertheu** On Gwydion, see commentary on §5.46; on *ap*, see line 5 above; on *Don*, see line 26 below. G s.v. *dygynuertheu* favours a formation from pl. of **berth* (as in *aberth*, *darmerth*, etc.), while noting the possible emendation to *dygynnertheu* (< *nerth* 'strength'). But *bertheu* could be pl. of adj. *berth* 'fair, splendid', etc., used, like *berthon* (the usual pl. form) to mean 'riches, wealth' as well as 'splendid things'. Alternatively, emend to *dygynuerthideu*, comparing §11.15 *mawr y verthideu* for God, and other examples in GPC s.v. *berthid* 'wonder, marvel; power; riches', although this would give an atypical cadence.
- 15 **a hudwys gwreic o vlodeu** *Blodeuwedd*, fashioned as a wife for Llew by Gwydion and Math in the story, *Math fab Mathonwy*: PKM 83 '*keiswn ninheu, ui a thi, oc an hut a'n lledrith, hudaw gwreic idaw o'r blodeu*'. . . *kymeryssant wy blodeu y deri, a blodeu y banadyl, a blodeu yr erwein, ac o'r rei hynny, asswynaw yr un uorwyn deccaf a thelediwaf a welas dyn erioet*. With the microcosmic motif, cf. Taliesin's own creation from *naw llafanat* 'nine elements', discussed in commentary on §5.154.
- 16 **a dyduc moch o Deheu** *Deheu* as well as *Deheubarth* is used in this episode (e.g. PKM 68 *mi a gigleu dyuot i'r Deheu y ryw bryuet ni doeth y'r ynys honn erioet*), and is the usual term in poetry for south-west Wales. The pigs — a novelty from the Otherworld — are obtained from Pryderi by Gwydion's ruse. Pryderi is bound by an agreement with his subjects that the pigs must remain with him, and not be sold or given away until they have doubled in number. Gwydion creates the wondrous horses and greyhounds with their trappings (see on line 13 above) which are then offered in exchange for the pigs — thereby circumventing the condition binding Pryderi. The journey back to Gwynedd takes in Ceredigion, Powys, Rhos with an onomastic trail of three 'Mochtreffi', and one Mochnant (PKM 70-71).
- 17 **kan bu idaw dysc oreu (ms disgoreu)** See GMW 198 on the syntax. The ms reading suggests a vb form *dy + s + goreu* 'he made it/them', but G's suggested emendation to *dysc oreu* is implemented in the translation. But if a vb, 'since he had that which he made' (?), or take *kan bu* as 'a hundred head of cattle' (*can mu* GMW 47). Gwydion's learning (*dysc*) could embrace his prowess as *kyuarwyd*, as a poet, as a magician, and perhaps as a sophist.
- 18 **drut ymyt a gwryt pletheu** *Myt, mit* 'battle' very rare but cf. CBT V 11.53 *myd angut*, and GPC s.v. *midlan*. With the sense, cf. CBT V 18.10 *Drud cadeu*. Gwydion's success as a warrior in single combat against Pryderi is described in PKM 72 *Ac o nerth grym ac angerd, a hut a lledrith, Gwydion a oruu, a Phryderi*

a las. G s.v. *gwryt* ‘chain’ (endorsed by GPC) goes well with *pletheu*, conveying the schemings of the trickster’s cunning mind, as well as his eloquence and persuasiveness of his *tauawt lawn da* (PKM 69).

- 19 **a rithwys gorwydawt** On vb, see §8.30. *Gorwyd* ‘horse’ common, with pl. *gorwydawt* in CBT I 8.74; II 2.8; III 16.115; IV 9.17, as well as another pl. in LIDC 18.43 *goruytaur*; CBT V 9.3; VII 25.72 *gorwydawr*.
- 20 **y ar plagawt llys** Ifor Williams regarded the hapax *plagawt* as a borrowing from L. *placatio* or *placatus* (vb *placo* ‘to reconcile, appease’, etc.), under semantic influence of related vb *placeo* ‘to please’: he translates ‘in order to please the court’ (*ar* synonymous with *er*, or ‘in order to’; and restoring *llys*): *B* 17 (1958-60), 98; CA 197. Since *y ar* can also mean ‘as well as’, consider (1) *llys* ‘mucus, lichen; mould’ (GPC s.v. *llys*²) (‘as well as fungus in pleasing shape’, referring to the shields of mushrooms in PKM 70). (2) *llys* ‘plant, herb’, i.e. ‘as well as plants which pleased’. (3) *llys* ‘objection, opposition’ (e.g. in law, to testimony or a disqualification in a witness, see GPC s.v. *llys*³). Perhaps ‘?in order to allay the objection’, remembering the conditions which bound Pryderi, and how these were circumvented through the sophistry as well as the magic of Gwydion. The third interpretation is followed in the translation.
- 21 **ac enwerys kyfrwyeu** *Enwerys*, cf. PBT 9.2 (Ymarwar Llud Bychan) *anwaws eu henwerys*; CC 10.2 *Mawr enwerys* ‘great miracle’; quite common in CBT corpus.
- 22 **Pan varnher y kadeireu** The use of vb *barnu* ‘to judge, adjudicate’ favours ‘song, poem, metre’ in this example, with *cadeir* meaning ‘(bardic) chair’ in line 25 below. See Index s.v. *kadeir* for the many instances in this collection; see commentary on the title of §7.
- 23 **arbenhic vdun y veu** *Vdun* ‘to them’ seems odd (*udu(d)* and *udunt*, 3pl.): for the sense restore *onadu(nt)* or *ohonu(nt)* ‘of them’ (as in translation), or 3pl. *vydan* (vb *bot*).
- 24 **a’m peir a’m deduon** See on §4.210 *peir*. Since Taliesin as well as Ceridfen is associated with a cauldron (e.g. the Otherworld cauldron in §18.13 and 15 (Preideu Annwfn), she is not necessarily the speaker of the poem: see the introduction and the commentary on line 9 above. With *deduon* in poetic context, cf. §4.88-9 *Gogwn dedyf radeu/ awen pan deffreu* ‘I know the set gradations of inspiration when it flows’. This pl. rather than usual *dedueu* is also in CBT VI 31.59, and cf. V 4.34 *andetfon*.
- 25 **a’m areith tryadyl gadeir gysson** On *areith*, see §4.12. The second part of the line is ambiguous: ‘consistent with a chair’, i.e. worthy of a chair, or else ‘in harmonious song’.
- 26 **kyfrwys yn Llys Don** See G s.v. *kyfrwys* ‘skilled, able, knowledgeable, proficient’, etc., and cf. PBT 9.1, CC 33.8 (both of God); CC 33.81 (of scholar or wise man?); LIDC 17.103 (of trained dogs, see PKM 94), etc.

Dôn of Arfon, parent of Gwydion, Gilfaethwy, and Arianrhod in the story. *Math fab Mathonwy*. Triad 35 (TYP³ 81, 86), however, says that Beli Mawr was Arianrhod’s father. Bonedd yr Arwyr, thought to stem from a thirteenth-century exemplar (EWGT 90), lists Gofannon, Amaethon, Hunawg, Eufydd, Digant, Elestron, and others as children of Dôn, believed by some medieval authors to be a man. See further WCD 204; Ian Hughes, *Math Uab Mathonwy* (Aberystwyth, 2000), xvi-xviii; and John T. Koch, ‘Some suggestions and etymologies reflecting

upon the mythology of the Four Branches', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 9 (1989), 1-11, pp. 4-5, who rejects the association made by John Rhŷs with the Irish goddess *Danu*, suggesting instead that the original meaning of 'plant Dôn' was 'the children of the earth' (< **ghdhonos*, gen.). 'Llys Dôn' is mentioned in some copies of the poem, 'Myfi a fŷm gyda'm Nêr', which is drawn into Ystoria Taliesin, e.g. Pen 111: *Mi a fŷm yn llys don kyn geni Gwdion* (*llys deon* in Elis Gruffydd's version, however). And some copies of another poem, 'Peddestrig a wnaf' (YT 74), have 'yn llys meibion Dôn' (*deuon* in Elis Gruffydd): see CTalBB 654 and 674 ff. On this later material and its connection with the poems of the present collection, see the General Introduction, 16-19.

- 27 **Euronwy ac Euron** Euron is mentioned in §5.165-9 (Kat Godeu), *A'm swynwys-i Wytyon —/ mawrut o brithron* (em.) —/ *o Eurwys, o Euron, / o Euron, o Vodron; / o pŷmp <> keluydon*, in a section where Taliesin recounts his creation by Math, Gwydion and others. It seems that Eurwys, Euron and Modron, or at least their magical powers, were involved. Euron there, as here, is understood as a female name (see on §5.167). Euronwy may have been a doublet name, perhaps influenced by Math/Mathonwy. Euronwy ferch Clydno Eidyn is named as the mother of St Gwrwst in the genealogies (EWGT 57), and Lewys Glyn Cothi addresses one of his patrons as 'Ail Mathonwy o Euronwy', as though Euronwy was the wife of Mathonwy and mother of Math: GLGC 41.83-4, and p. 544.
- 28 **Gweleis ymlad taer yn Nant Ffrangcon** On *gweleis*, see §8.5. See ELISG 70 for the name (< *Ffranc/ffranc* 'Frank; mercenary') near Carn Fadrun (Llŷn), as well as the name of the valley between Bethesda and Llŷn Ogwen. Does this refer to fighting preceding the events in PKM 71-3 when the men of the South, under Pryderi, pursued the Gwynedd force to the area of Pennardd, between Clynnog and Llanllyfni, then suffering losses in Nantcall before Pryderi was slain near Maentwrog?
- 29 **o (ms pryt) pylgeint rwg wytheint a Gwydyon** *Wytheint* 'birds of prey' as in §24.26: see *B* 4 (1927-9), 145-7, where Ifor Williams suggests omitting *pryt*, and possibly *a* (rather than omitting *rwg* with G) to yield nine syllables.
- 30 **yd aethant Von** Nothing is said of Anglesey in the events recounted in PKM 71-3 (see on line 28); the subject of the vb would appear to be the *wytheint* of line 29.
- 31 **y geissaw escut (ms yscut) a hudolyon** Common adj. *escut* 'skilful, lively; eager' used nominally here, either sg., perhaps referring to Gwydion, or pl. for his forces. Examples such as CC 12.9 *In hudaul gvar guassanaeth y argluit*, describing Judas, show 'deceitful, treacherous' as a meaning of *hudawl*, as well as more usual 'using enchantment, magic' (see GPC s.v. *hudol*).
- 32 **Aranrhot drem clot tra gwawr hinon** Gwydion's sister and opponent in the story, *Math fab Mathonwy*: see TYP³ 284-5, noting that our example is not good evidence for determining whether *Aranrhot* contains *aryan* 'silver' or *aran* because the Book of Taliesin orthography tends to be yod-shy. Her *hual* (fetter), and *carchar* — probably Caer Arianrhod — are mentioned in poems attached to Ystoria Taliesin (YT lines 540 *hual Aranrhod* and 426-7 *Myfi a fŷm dri chyfnod/ mewn carchar Arianrhod*).

Tra 'over, beyond (see PT 21), is commonest with names, and with words for rivers and seas. Sometimes used serially with nouns, meaning 'above, surpassing, in addition to', as in CBT II 24.18-23 and 25.29-37. See GPC for many meanings

- of *gwawr* 'dawn; radiance; leader; lord (of God); queen', etc. *Hinon* in §7.67, and rhyming with *Brython*, as here, in PBT 7.108 *haf ny byd hinon*.
- 33 **mwyhaf gwarth y marth o barth Brython** Cf. CA line 806 *ny doeth en diwarth o barth Vrython*. It is tempting to see an allusion here to Gwydion frightening his sister as he and Lleu approached her sea-girt *llys* from the mainland, *o barth Brython*: PKM 78. Alternatively, if *Brython* were emended to *brithron* (see discussion of similar problem in §5.45 and 166), it could be interpreted instead as a reference to Arianrhod's shame so memorably revealed as she stepped over Math's magic staff (*hullath*), PKM 77. *Cywilyd* 'shame' used in PKM is a close synonym of *gwarth*.
- 34 **Dybrys am y llys efnys afon** See §21.2 on *dybrys* 'hastens'. The ms reading *y llys* could conceivably refer to Gwydion's own court (?*Caer Lev a Gwydion*, i.e. Dinas Dinlleu), but it is more natural to understand this as Arianrhod's own court or *caer* whose island location prompts a quasi-learned digression on the *efnys afon*, the ocean-river encircling the world on which see §4.119.
- 35 **a'e hechrys gwrys gwrth Terra** *Echrys/gwrys* collocated *Echrys Ynys* lines 1, 18; *Terra* §12.9, §16.24, §25.38, *Echrys Ynys* line 21. Compare the restless motion of the waters of Oceanus described in *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, edited by Robert J. Menner (New York and London, 1941), lines 384-9: 'But why struggleth this water around the world, the deep creation suffereth, and may not by day rest or by night, the tide forceth it with power'.
- 36 **gwenwyn y chynbyt kylch byt ed a** Rare *cynbyt* (< *pyt* 'danger', as in *enbyt*); GPC compares *Pwll Cynbyd* (cf. *Trap* in place-names). Cf. CA line 821 *eng kylch byt*; PT 1.25 *kylch byt*; also with *elfyd*, *huan*, etc. *Ed a* = ModW *ydd â* (see on §2.1).
- 37 **nyt wy dyweit geu llyfreu Beda** Bede's fame as exegete and author of scientific handbooks (especially his *De Temporum Ratione*) continued well into the Middle Ages. Perhaps our poem is referring specifically to his discussion of seas and rivers in *De Natura Rerum* (ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123A (Turnhout, 1975), caps. 36-42). Two bifolia of that work of Llanbadarn Fawr provenance dated to first half of the twelfth century (NLW Peniarth MS 540), are described by Daniel Huws, MWM 104-22. Although a charge of heresy was levelled at Bede on account of another scientific work, *De Temporibus*, the assertion in our poem that his books 'tell no lies' may just be an acknowledgment of Bede's authority in these matters particularly since he was able to use his first-hand knowledge of tides to augment the thin accounts by Mediterranean authors: Peter Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (London, 1970), 266-70. Bede was a more general paragon of wisdom, like Cato, for fourteenth-century praise poets: GGM I 1.36 *Beda mawr wybodeu* 'Bede of great learning'; GDC 13.55-6; GSRh 7.17 and 49 (*Bedaf*); and his name is invoked for its authority in an anonymous poem on the Lord's Prayer, ed. by Iestyn Daniel, CyT 220-36, p. 225, line 3, and p. 230; see further TYP³ 286.
- 38 **Kadeir getwidyd (ms getwided)** G's emendation accepted for sense and internal rhyme (cf. CBT II 1.93 *kedwidyt cad*). On the formation (cf. *drem(h)idyd*, *llam(h)idyd*, etc.) see Paul Russell, 'Agent suffixes in Welsh: native and non-native', *B* 36 (1989), 30-42, pp. 37-8; Stefan Schumacher, *The Historical Morphology of the Welsh Verbal Noun* (Maynooth, 2000), 133.

- 39 **hyt Vrawt parāwt** See on §4.55 for many instances of this and similar phrases used to assert the continuation of song or verse until Judgment. *Parahawt* is understood here as passive (GMW 119), as in §8.28, but if more usual fut. 3sg., 'it will last until Judgment', also referring to the *kadeir* of line 38.
- 40 **A'n rothwy** See on §12.19.
- 42 **gwyrda** An emendation to *wrda* (for God, as in CC 33.4; CBT I 4.4, VI 21.11, etc.) would maintain the integrity of the final imprecation.

11 Kanu y Gwynt

This poem is the earliest surviving example of an extended riddle poem from medieval Wales, justly prized for its lively treatment of the wind as a delinquent being,¹ and acknowledged for the light that it sheds on the origins of the *dysfalu* techniques used by the Cywyddwyr, discussed below. Its ‘value’, according to the rubric is put at 300, the same as Kadeir Teŷrmon (§9) and Kadeir Kerrituen (§10), and way ahead of items such as Kanu y Med (§12) and Kanu y Cwrwf (§13) which are graded at a mere 24 ‘points’.²

It is one of the few poems in the Book of Taliesin found in another medieval manuscript, in this case, the miscellany of mainly prophetic material, NLW Peniarth 50 (*Y Cwta Cyfarwydd* c. 1445), p. 61, from where the text was copied into Peniarth 113 by John Jones Gellilyfdy c. 1640. The Peniarth 50 text is an inferior version of the Book of Taliesin poem, but does not appear to be a direct copy of it. The poem also formed part of a group — with Kanu y Byt Mawr (§25), Urien Erechwyd (BT 57 = PT III), and a later adaptation of Armes Dydd Brawd, the poem on the Day of Judgment³ — which was regularly transmitted with, and partly integrated with, the popular Hanes Taliesin material. For this reason, there are a multitude of copies from the end of the sixteenth century onwards. The earliest manuscripts containing this group of four poems are BL Addl 31055 (c. 1594-6) copied by Thomas Wiliems, Trefriw, and NLW 1553, copied by Roger Morys, Coedytalwrn, at the end of the sixteenth century; neither is a copy of the other. Wiliems’ copy (f. 134b) prefaces Canu y Gwynt by saying it was sung *ym horth Castell Teganhwy y wedyawr Creawdr penhaf am gael gwynt y dorri'r carchar yr oedd Elphin ap Gwydno ynddo* ‘at the entrance to Degannwy castle to entreat the supreme Lord for wind to release Elffin from his imprisonment’, ‘to wreak vengeance on Maelgwn Gwynedd’⁴ and that it was *un o'r pedeir colofn cerdd*. No such explanation is given in Morys’ copy. John Jones’ copy of the four poems in NLW Peniarth 111, pp. 12-20 (see YT 139) reflects the version of Morys rather than Wiliems.⁵ In the version of Ystoria Taliesin relayed by Elis Gruffydd (mid-sixteenth century), the wind poem itself is not included, although there is a reference to Taliesin’s *cerdd amborth* ‘efficacious poem’ to call up the wind to destroy Degannwy castle unless Elffin were released.⁶ Since there is no internal evidence in our poem, or in its

¹ The best translation is by Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London, 1970), 105-7; several earlier translations are listed in *A Bibliography of Welsh Literature in English Translation*, edited by S. Rhian Reynolds (Cardiff, 2005), 7-8.

² Discussed in the introduction to poem §7.

³ On this version, first attested in NLW Peniarth 27(ii) (end of the fifteenth century), see CC 170-1.

⁴ Cf. YT lines 337-8 *poed hir ddialedd/ ar Vaelgwn Gwynedd*.

⁵ Copies from Wiliems lack line 3 of the poem.

⁶ YT lines 493-500.

manuscript setting, to suggest that it was imagined as playing this role, Kanu y Gwynt is best viewed as simply another example of a 'genre' piece allowing the persona to demonstrate his skill at a particular kind of composition, in this case the extended riddle form which has a clear affinity with the question mode he uses elsewhere. The subject, too, tallies with Taliesin's curiosity about winds that is displayed both in our poems and in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* which portrays Telgesinus as an expert sent for by Merlin so that he might learn 'what winds and rain-storms were'.⁷

The riddle is developed in a straightforward way, using the typical anthropomorphic mode — the wind as miscreant, causing havoc, and not liable for the damages he incurs. It relies heavily on paradoxes, and on listing 'negatives' or denying attributes and functions.⁸ The invisibility and universality of the wind make it particularly suitable for a riddling treatment, and allow also a fleeting decoy 'solution', God. Thus we see a phrase attested in a religious context, 'he's no older nor younger' (lines 7-8), or the momentarily multivalent 'he's as wide as the face of the earth' (25-6). But the answer is obvious, and God is praised directly as the creator of the wind in the body of the poem (15-16) and again at the close of the riddling section (65-8). Nevertheless, it is perhaps God, as much as his boisterous creation, who has been most brought to mind by the exercise.

In the classic *dysfalu* poems of the Cywyddwyr from the early fourteenth century onwards, objects and natural features and forces are fragmented and reconfigured by dense runs of metaphors. Use of anthropomorphic treatments and 'negative' portrayals suggests to Huw Meirion Edwards that the poets may have been drawing on 'a broader tradition of medieval riddle-poetry, of which "Canu y Gwynt" is the sole surviving example',⁹ a statement which can now be modified by the identification of other extended riddling elements in this collection, notably in Angar Kyfundawt (§4.241-60), Kanu y Cwrwf (§13) and Kanu y Byt Bychan (§26). Edwards also finds some hint in the bardic grammars of an awareness of a literary *Kunsträtsel* or *dychymyg* (in the sense of 'invention, imagining'), perhaps in contrast to unadorned folk-riddles.¹⁰

Many analogues to Kanu y Gwynt have been collected up by others. The wind is a popular subject for folk-riddles worldwide: 'we cannot see this woman but she destroys all kinds of things'; 'it flies in the sky, but has no blood'; 'handless, footless, but opens doors'; 'flies over countries in a breath'; 'one cannot touch it with the hand, one cannot see it with the eye'; 'what has no hands and feet, nor

⁷ §4.116-7; §4.225; §4.100; §6.51-2; §7.42-3; §9.57-8; §18.51; VM lines 734, 745-6.

⁸ See E.K. Maranda, 'The logic of riddles' in P. and E.K. Maranda (ed.), *Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1971), 189-232.

⁹ Edwards, *Influences and Analogues*, 143, and see the whole discussion pp. 140-52.

¹⁰ *Influences and Analogues*, 148-9. The use that prose writers made of a similar mode is discussed in detail by Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Riddling treatment of the "Watchman Device" in *Branwen and Togail Bruidne Da Derga*', *SC* 12/13 (1977-8), 83-117.

head nor body yet can open a gate?', and so on.¹¹ Literary treatments in Latin, by Symphosius, Aldhelm, the authors of the Pseudo-Bede *Collectanea*, and others have also been noted,¹² and just as it has been suggested that Old English riddles are indebted to Latin models,¹³ so Morris-Jones thought that might be the case with our example.¹⁴ This is a possibility given that other elements of the Taliesin repertoire draw on learned and semi-learned Latin material of the *Ioca Monachorum* variety, but it is equally possible that a Welsh author had the wit to work up a poem from a folk riddle for himself, with or without the help or inspiration of a Latin or — as suggested by Ifor Williams¹⁵ — an Old English model. Welsh parallels are noted in the commentary: Dafydd ap Gwilym's Cywydd y Gwynt, more or less contemporary with the copying of the Book of Taliesin, has a few similar lines.¹⁶ Huw Meirion Edwards also notes a cywydd to the trout (perhaps by Gruffydd Gryg), swimming towards heaven 'with no hands', and returning home 'without feet'.¹⁷ Much more substantial, as noted by Dafydd Johnston, are the parallels with Iolo Goch's Prayer (GIG 136-7), a poem that uses the paradox technique to describe Christ, as other religious poets did,¹⁸ reminding us of the sub-text of Kanu y Gwynt mentioned above.¹⁹

¹¹ The first from West Indonesia (*Woisika Riddles*, edited by W.A.L. Stokhof (Canberra, 1982), p. 26); the following examples from Turkey (*Bilmece: A Corpus of Turkish Riddles*, edited by İlhan Başgöz and Andreas Tietze (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 806-8), kindly provided by Sims-Williams who lists other examples in 'Riddling treatment' 100 n.5; see also *English Riddles* 958. The last example 'Beth sydd heb ddwyllaw ac heb draed, heb erioed ben na chorff, er hyn y gall agor llidiart', is no. 283 in Vernam Hull and Archer Taylor, 'A collection of Welsh riddles', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 26 (1942-50), 225-325.

¹² R.Th. Ohl, *The Enigmas of Symphosius* (Philadelphia, 1928); F. Glorie, *Variae Collectiones Aenigmatum Merovingicae Aetatis*, CCSL 133-133A (Turnhout 1968), I, 218 and 385, and II, 587; *Clareti Enigmata*, edited and translated by F. Peachy (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), no. LXI; *Collectanea Ps-B* no. 79 (a parallel noted in Tal 255), but see p. 219 where Michael Lapidge points out Hill's suggestion that it may be Time rather than the Wind which breaks down the woods and shakes the foundations of things: T. D. Hill, 'Saturn's Time Riddle: an Insular Latin analogue for *Solomon and Saturn II*, lines 282-301', *Review of English Studies* 39 (1988), 273-6. See also Charles D. Wright, 'The Three "Victories" of the Wind: a Hibernicism in the *Hisperica Famina*, *Collectanea Bedae* and the Old English Prose *Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster* Dialogue', *Ériu* 41 (1990), 13-25.

¹³ Craig Williamson, *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Chapel Hill, 1977), especially 2, 12 and 23; Erika von Erhardt-Siebold, 'The Old English storm riddles', *PMLA* 64, no. 4 (1949), 884-8.

¹⁴ Tal 256, and further, Sims-Williams, 'Riddling treatment', 100-1, and n.5.

¹⁵ 'Three riddle poems may be of the same period [10c] — may be imitative of Anglo-Saxon riddles, or suggested by them', LEWP 54.

¹⁶ GDG 309-10; <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net>. Theodor M. Chotzen's belief that Dafydd was imitating the Taliesin riddle (*Recherches sur la poésie de Dafydd ab Gwilym* (Amsterdam, 1927), 180-1), is cautiously endorsed by Edwards, *Analogues and Influences*, 142.

¹⁷ Edwards, *Influences and Analogues*, 142.

¹⁸ Examples discussed CC 114-16.

¹⁹ Edwards, *Influences and Analogues*, 142, regards its riddle section as 'indebted to the early poem. . . and perhaps to other material of the same type', seeing GIG 30.7-9 as a 'conscious elaboration' of lines 27-30 in Kanu y Gwynt.

By contrast with the first part of the poem, lines 69 to the end have been entirely dismissed, following Ifor Williams's reasonable assumption that the poem is brought 'to a natural and very appropriate conclusion' by lines 65-8.²⁰ Nevertheless, the mention of the sun and moon in lines 61-4 was latched onto by someone — the poet himself, or an opportunistic scribe — and the speaker turns eventually to hold forth about the properties of the seven planets, styling himself as an astronomer or astrologer, 'the sage of Seon' (see commentary) 'who knows their properties'.²¹ But like the parallel passage in *Kanu y Byt Mawr* (§25.28-36), the line-up of Latin names is hardly orthodox with forms such as *Marca* and *Venerus* (lines 93 and 96). *Luna lafurus* in line 96 is particularly curious: the moon is described as 'labouring' or 'toiling' as it waxes and wanes, or else, with poetic inversion, the line refers to the 'toiling man in the moon', equated in popular belief with the man banished by Moses for collecting firewood on the Sabbath (Numbers 15:32-6, and see commentary). But before the planet passage, the speaker asserts that a skilful poet worth his salt must sing the praises of God the Father: otherwise (it is implied) he is like a plough with no plough-irons and no seed, or like a priest who does not bless the wafer. Numerology then takes over. Ignorant contenders know nothing of how their own beings are composed from seven *pondera* or consistences (*llafanat*, line 80), a motif we see in other poems.²² Then on to the original ten grades of Heaven, with the explanation that the tenth was rejected by God since it was the realm of the fallen Lucifer, 'the corrupter. . . with an accursed nature' (lines 81-8). The belief that demons were celestial bodies before their fall, and the use of Lucifer for Venus as morning star seems likely to have paved the way into the passage about the planets, already mentioned above. The poem ends with an entreaty to God that 'we may not be disposed of by Lucifer's lot'!

As the commentary indicates, the diction and several of the allusions are found also in the work of the court poets, especially *Cynddelw* and *Prydydd y Moch*, and I am not sure what foundation Ifor Williams had for his early dating (tenth century)²³ but he may have been influenced by the date postulated for the Old English riddle poems that he thought were being imitated.

²⁰ PT xxiv.

²¹ For Taliesin as astronomer or *sywedyd*, cf. §25.22; §5.174, and Merlin with his claim to know about 'star wanderings' (VM 1164).

²² *Seith llauanat* in §11.80 and §25.6-10; *naw llafanat* in §5.154 (see discussion).

²³ LEWP 54.

Dechymic pwy yw:
Guess who it is,
creat kyn Dilyw,
created before the Flood,

creadur kadarn

a strong creature

heb gic, heb ascwrn,

with no flesh or bone,

5 **heb wytheu, heb waet,**

no veins, no blood,

heb pen a heb traet.

no head and no feet.

Ny byd hyn, ny byd ieu

He's no older, no younger

noget ydechreu.

than [he was] in the beginning.

Ny daw o'e odeu

He won't come away from his mission

10 **yr ofyn nac agheu.**

through fear nor death.

Ny dioes eisseu

He doesn't have the need[s]

gan greaduryeu.

that created beings have.

Mawr Duw, mor wynneu

Mighty God, how spirited [he is]

ban daw odechreu;

when he first comes;

15 **mawr y verthideu**

of great bounties

y Gwr a'e goreu.

is the One who made him.

Ef ymaes, ef yg koet,

He's in the open, he's in the wood,

heb law a heb troet;

with no hand and no foot,

heb beneint, heb hoet,

without old age or illness,

- 20 **heb eidigaf adoet.**
without being troubled by affliction.
Ac ef yn gyfoet
And he's the same age
a phymhoes pymhoet,
as the five periods of the Five Ages,
a heuyt yssyd hyn —
and also older —
pet pemhwnt ulwydyn?
by how many half-centuries?
- 25 **Ac ef yn gyflet**
And he's as wide
ac wyneb tytwet.
as the face of the earth.
Ac ef ny anet,
And he wasn't born,
ac ef ny welet.
and couldn't be seen.
Ef ar vor, ef ar tir;
He's on the sea, he's on the land;
- 30 **ny wyl, ny welir.**
he sees [but] isn't seen.
Ef yn aghywir:
He's undependable:
ny daw pan vynnir.
he doesn't come when he's wanted.
Ef ar tir, ef ar vor,
He's on land, he's on the sea,
ef yn anhebcor.
he's indispensable.
- 35 **Ef yn diachor,**
He's invincible,
ef yn dieissor.
he's peerless.
Ef o pedeiror,
He [comes] from the four ends [of the Earth],
ny byd wrth gyghor.
he won't submit to counsel.
Ef kychwyn agor
He causes the anchor to shift
- 40 **oduch maen mynuor.**
above the marble stone.

Ef llafar, ef mut,
He's loud, he's taciturn,
ef yn anuynut.
he's uncouth.

Ef yn wrd, ef yn drut
He's daring, he's bold
pan tremyn tros tut.
when he traverses a land.

45 **Ef mut, ef llafar,**
He's taciturn, he's loud,
ef yn ordear,
he's full of commotion,
mwyhaf y vanyar
the noisiest one
ar wyneb dayar.
on the face of the earth.

Ef yn da, ef yn drwc,
He's good, he's bad,
 50 **ef yn aneglwc;**
he's hard to see.
ef yn anamlwc
he's not obvious
kanys gwyl golwc.
because the eye can't see him.

Ef yn drwc, ef yn da,
He's bad, he's good,
ef hwnt, ef yma.
he's there, he's here.

55 **Ef a antrefna,**
He messes things up
ny dīwc a wna.
[and] makes no amends for what he does.

Ny dīwc a wnech
He makes no amends for what he does
ac ef yn dibech.
since he's blameless.

Ef yn wlyp, ef yn sych;
He's wet, he's dry;
 60 **ef a daw yn vynyach**
he often comes
o wres heul
because of the sun's heat

ac oeruel lloer.
and the chill of the moon.

Lloer yn anlles,
The moon is unbeneficial
handit llei y gwres.
[because] its heat is less.

65 **Vn Gwr a'e goreu**
The One and only [God] who made
yr holl greaduryeu:
all the creatures:
Ef bieu dechreu
His is the beginning
a diwed diheu.
and the certain end.

Nyt kerdawr keluyd
He's no skilful poet —
70 **ny molhwy Dofyd;**
he who doesn't praise the Lord;
nyt kywir keinyat
he's no proper singer
ny molhwy y Tat.
if he doesn't praise the Father.
Ny nawt vyd aradyr
It's not normal for a plough to be
heb hēyrn, heb hat.
with no irons, no seed.
75 **Ny bu oleuat**
There was no light to be had
kyn ile creat.
before the primordial matter was created.
Ny byd effeirat
He's no priest
ny bendicco auyrllat.
who doesn't bless the wafer.
Ny wybyd anygnat
The contentious one doesn't know
80 **y seith lauanat.**
his [own] seven consistencies.
Deg wlat darmerthat
Ten realms were organised

yn egylawr wlat.
in the land of the angels.

Decuet digarat
The tenth, rejected,
digarwys eu Tat.
was reviled by their Father.

85 **Digaru kawat**
A reviled host
yn rwy rewinyat —
was completely destroyed —

Llucuffer llygrat,
Lucifer the corrupter,
eissor eissyflat.
with an accursed nature.

Seith seren yssyd
There are seven planets
90 **o seithnawn Dofyd;**
from God's seven gifts;

Seon sywedyd
the sage of Seon
a wyr eu defnyd:
knows their properties:

Marca marcedus,
Marca, enfeebled,
Ola olwynus,¹
The Sun, like a wheel,

95 **Luna lafurus,**
the toiling Moon,
Jubiter, Venerus.
Jubiter, Venus.

O heul, o hydyruer,
From the Sun, from flowing waters,
yt gyrch lloer lleufer.
does the Moon fetch light.

Nyt cof yn ofer,
It is not a vain reminder,
100 **nyt croc ny creter.**
it is not a crucifixion that may be doubted.

An Tat a'n Pater,
Our Father and Pater,

¹ ms *olunus*

a'n kar a'n kymer.

our friend will receive us.

Yn Ren, ny'n ranher

Our Lord, may we not be disposed of

gan lu Llucuffer.

by Lucifer's host.

- 1 **Dechymic pwy yw** Cf. the riddle formula in Hull and Taylor, 'A collection of Welsh riddles', 225-325, nos 131-3 and 357; and see Tal 256, and Edwards, *Influences and Analogues*, 148-50 who notes (p. 149) the challenge *Dychymic pwy emw y verch* 'guess the name of the girl' which accompanies a 14c acrostic in the Hendregadredd manuscript. The vb *dychymyc*, *dychmygu* (< *dychymyc* 'imagination') contains the element *myc* 'to see' found in *edmygu*, *ermygu*, *keinmygu*, a complex discussed by T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The authenticity of the Gododdin: an historian's view', in AH 44-71, pp. 60-61. It is not a word found often in pre-1283 poetry (see GPC), but note CBT VII 40b.87 (late version of poem 40) *A phob dychymyg i drywanu cig* (of infernal inventions or devices to pierce the flesh of sinners). From the 14c onwards, there are a number of examples (e.g. GGM II 15.23 *cam ddychymygion*, translated as 'evil lies', p. 105); some Cywyddwyr instances are discussed by Edwards, *Influences and Analogues*, 148-50.
- 2 **creat cyn Dilyw** *Creat*, cf. line 75 below; §1.3; and §5.153 where its restriction in CBT corpus to instances by Prydydd y Moch is noted. *Dilyw*, cf. §5.72 and 243; §15.65, and common elsewhere.
- 3 **creadur cadarn** *Creadur*, cf. §12.9; CC 21.99; with vb *creu*, CBT V 15.8 *Creadur poethgur*, *pa'th greas* (in Prydydd y Moch's riddling treatment of the iron ordeal-rod); CBT VII 32.7 *yn creu creaduryeu*, etc.; GDG 117.27 *creadur craff*.
- 4 **heb gic heb ascwrn** Proest rhyme with *kadarn*. Pairs and series of repeated *heb* very common: §1.98; PBT 7.64-6; CA line 417; EWSP 431.18-20 and 432.25-9; LIDC 17.199-201; CC 30.f2; 32.26; CBT I 7.37; II 2.36, 3.32, 4.22; III 3.146, 11.2, 16.38 and 249; IV 16.48; V 1.17-19 and 85, 11.36, 23.77, 25.33; VII 36.21, 38.31-2 and 34, etc.
- 6 **heb pen a heb traet** Rhyme between diphthongised *traet* and (*g*)*waet* cannot be earlier than the mid-tenth century on Jackson's chronology, cf. *troet* in line 18 below; §2.33-4; §4.216; and discussion on §5.103. GDG 117.4 and 6 *heb droed heb adain*; *heb untroed*.
- 7 **Ny byd hyn ny byd ieu** See on §5.193-4 *Nyt ynt hyn, nyt ynt ieu/ no mi yn eu bareu*; §6.72-3 *hynaf uyd dyn pan anher,/ a ieu ieu pop amser*; and cf. CBT I 27.85 *Myn na byt dyn na hyn na yeu* (of Paradise); CC 13.4 *Keingysfreu, nyt ieu, nyt hyn* (of Christ); GIG 30.19-20 *Ef ni bydd hyn yn y flwyddyn,/ Ni wybydd dyn, ef ny bydd iau*; see on §6.72. Series of repeated *ny* + vb are common.
- 8 **noget ydechreu** PBT 1.6 *noget Daronwy*; PT X.12 *nocet kysceit*; also *nocet* in White Book (see GPC); *nogyt* in CA lines 14, 53; EWSP 419.1; 421.12; 436.55.

Ydechreu (ModW *yn nechrau*), with unrealized nasalisation following prep. *yn*, as is usual in this manuscript.

- 9 **Ny daw oe odeu** On *godeu*, here 'purpose, mission; visit', see §5.57-8.
- 11f **Ny dioes eisseu/ gan greaduryeu** For *dioes*, see on §4.148. The meaning appears to be that the wind does not possess (*ny dioes*) the need (*eisseu*) [which belongs] to (*gan*) creatures/created beings'. But perhaps 'he is not required, not wanted' (cf. ModW 'nid oes ei eisiau') by creatures (with *gan* rather than *ar*). Both seem rather clumsy.
- 13 **Mawr Duw mor wynneu** *Mawr Duw*, cf. §13.12 *Mawr Duw digones*; CC 12.17; R1056.21 *Mawr Duw mor wyt wrda*; Tymhorau line 9 *Mawr Dduw ddymkawn*; CBT VI 21.3 (exclamatory, as here). G *gwynneu* 'spirited, lively, wanton', not otherwise attested in pre-1283 verse.
- 14 **ban daw o dechreu** G s.v. *dechreu* notes 'first, to begin with' as the meaning here and in CC 20.82 (discussed CC 196). *Ban* understood as lenited form of *pan* 'when' (cf. line 44 *pan tremyn tros tut*) but *pan* 'whence? why?' is possible: 'What was his origin?' in Clancy, *Earliest Welsh Poetry* 105-7.
- 15f **mawr y verthideu/ y Gwr a'e goreu** *Berthideu* 'glories, miracles, riches', cf. CC 1.2 (Juvencus englynion) *T<i b>erdutou*, reading following BWP 106-7; LIDC 25.10 *Creaudur y creadurev perthideu myyhaw*; CBT I 33.38 *Duw dogyn berthideu*; II 26.213 *Ruteur a dillad, uad uerthideu*; IV 17.13 *Berthideu Rieu rywagarabr*. On *y Gwr a*, frequent of God, see §6.80.
- 17 **Ef ymaes ef yg koet** Disyllabic *ma-es* would make the line unusually long with seven syllables. *Maes* has a diphthong in LIDC 18.137 and 226; EWSP 443.102 and 103; 445.111, and in all 18 CBT instances. Disyllabic *māes* is retained (many in rhyme position) in PT II.8; AP line 87; EWSP 414.2; CC 9.10 *ffrwyth coet a māes*; §5.135; §8.21; §13.15; PBT 7.90; LIDC 17.135; 39.3; Tymhorau line 11 *Segites ar vaes a buches lawn*; PKM 90, and see discussion, PKM xviii-xix.
- Maes* and *coet* are frequently collocated, e.g. PT II.8-9 *Ny nodes na maes na choedyd/ tut achles dy ormes pan dyfyd*; AP line 87; CC 9.10; §13.15; PBT 7.90; CBT II 26.96-7 *Hysaes y meillyon, hysfes goedyt*; III 23.3-4 *Nyd bleit coed coll y auael,/ Namwyn bleit maes moessauc hael*; IV 18.5 *A wnaeth coed a maes a mesur iawn*; V 1.97-8 *Ef y uaes, y uaws gadarnbch:/ Chwi y goed — y gad nwy beit6ch*, etc.
- 18 **a heb troet** Cf. §2.33. Rhyme in *-oet*, see line 6 *traet* above, and discussion §5.103.
- 19 **heb heneint heb hoet** Cf. §8.46 *heint a heneint*; EWSP 418.16 *pas a heneint heint a hoet*; LIDC 16.64 *heint a hoed am cylch coed Keliton*. *Hoed* with *coet* also in CA lines 1038-9 *ar dilyvyn goet/ ar diliw hoet yr kyvedeu*; EWSP 433.36 *ef ygoet trwm hoet arnaf*. Cf. CBT IV 16.48 *Heb heneint, heb heint, heb hiraeth*. Similar immunity from sickness in GIG 30.28 *nis dwg heiniau*.
- 20 **heb eidigaf adoet** *Eidigaf* taken as a vb noun (cf. *eidigafael*) following GPC 'vex, injure, harm; ?suffer, endure', comparing *dyrchaf* ~ *dyrchafael* (see §18.18) rather than G adj. 'harmful', cf. EWSP 427.58 *nys eidigauei anghen* 'harm did not trouble it (the hearth of Rheged)'. GPC² s.v. *addoed*² 'death, cause of death, (deadly) harm, hurt, affliction, misfortune'. *Adoet/hoet*: EWGP III.29 *hyd yg koet;/ . . . ar droet;/ llawer adoet*; R583.9 and 15 *hoet dy* (em.) *adoet*; *hoet ym* (em.) *dy adoet*; CBT III 27.4.

- 21f **yn gyfoet/ a phymhoes pymhoet** Nominal use (pl.) of *cyfoet* in Echrys Ynys line 9 *kwydynt kyfoet*, cf. CA line 171 *kwydyn gyuoedyon*; line 903 *gyuoet o gyuergyr esgyn disgyn*; EWGP IV.11 *kyuoet vyd da a detwyd*, etc. Note, with *pump*, CBT II 31.45-6 *Ny byt kyuoed pa6b pymcan mlynet/ Noc y bu gynyg gwlyd teilyg gwlet* trans. in Welsh at p. 545 as 'not everyone will be the same age in five hundred years' time any more than the lord — tender, and meriting a feast — was miserly', and discussed p. 547.

The *pymhoes* 'Five Ages' are referred to by CBT IV 16.169-70 *Pymhoet pobyl rac pobyant ord6y/ Pymhoes byt a heuyt yn h6y*; IV 17.109 *Can duc pymwan Crist pymoes o gaeth*; VI 10.73 *A wara6d pymoes byd o geithiwed—uffern*; 24.40-41 *Yn vn boregweith y'6 hanreithyaw/ Acha6s pymoes byt y bu ynda6*; VII 40.31 *pum oes byr*; 50.37-8 *Y G6r a gymyrth eghyrth yghaf/ Agheu dros bymhoes (drymloes dromhaf)*; 57.5 *Erbynyat pym oes o groes greuawl*. The Ages are specified in CC 33.33-9 (and see p. 362) as part of the Six Age schema (*Sex Aetates Mundi*) familiar to the medieval Christian: (1) age of Adam and Eve (2) age of Noah (*a nofyes yn y archa!*); (3) age of Abraham; (4) age of Moses; (5) age of David. The Sixth Age was that of Christ, *a hyt Vrawt y para* 'and it will last until Doom'. By his five wounds on the Cross, he redeemed the preceding five ages, and his Harrowing of Hell, referred to in the passages cited above, was to free souls. *Pymhoet* is taken as a synonym for *pumhoes* (as in CBT IV 16.170 noted above), < *oet* rather than 'five sorrows (< *hoet*) since *hoet* has just been used in line 19, although that is not impossible. Less likely is that *pymhoet* might refer to the ages of man, usually six, matching the Ages (see *Collectanea Ps-B* no. 378 and references in note p. 273; discussed EWSP 41-53). The translation understands *pymhoes* as genitive.

- 23f **a heuyt yssyd hyn/ pet pemhwnt ulwydyn** For consistency with other lines and regular length, perhaps emend to *ac ef yssyd hyn*, but if *heuyt*, see on §17.22. *Hyn* as well as meaning 'older', is also used for 'elder(s), senior figure(s), ancestor(s)', including God. The second line is a problem: *pet* 'how many?' is usually followed by sg. noun, see on §4.116 and 119; *pemhwnt* '50' is used with *pym* in §5.169 (but see note for suggested emendation), §5.215 and elsewhere. Is *blwydyn* here an old genitive pl.? One might normally expect *mlyned* rather than *ulwydyn* with a cardinal, but cf. *blwyd* with numbers in expressing age (as in ModW 'trigain mlwydd (oed)', etc. Is the idea in Psalms 84:10 'For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand' relevant? But if there is corruption here, perhaps consider *eissydyn* 'abode, landholding, etc. GIG 30.19-20 *Ef ni bydd hyn yn y flwyddyn/ Ni wybydd dyn, ef ny bydd iau* is perhaps relevant.
- 25f **Ac ef yn gyflet/ ac wyneb tytwet** Cf. CBT II 5.56 *ar wyneb daear*; CC 21.110 *Ar vinep eluit*. *Clawr* is also used in this sense (e.g. CBT IV 17.20 *am eluyt gla6r*, etc.). Cf. *Collectanea Ps-B* no. 79 *res quae coelum totamque terram repleuit* 'that thing which fills the sky and the whole earth'; GDG 117.25 *ar hyd daear*; 117.39 *Hydoed y byd a hedy*; 70.53 *Cyflled ei chae â daear* (of bright moon).
- 27f **ny anet/ ac ny welet** Cf. GIG 30.7-8 *ef ni aned/ Ef ni weled*.
- 29 **Ef ar vor ef ar tir** Cf. line 33, and GIG 30.9 *Ar f6r na thir ni welir*.
- 30 **ny wyl ny welir** Two forms of this vb commonly collocated: e.g. PT XI.44 *ny wyl gwr ny welas Gwallawc*; CBT III 3.162 *A weles ny welir hyd ura6t*; IV 6.296 *a'th welir, a'th welaf*; 9.24 *Ny welaf, ni welir kydura6d*; VII 25.31 *Y nep a'th*

- welo, 6rth weled—dy dabn*, etc. Cf. *Collectanea Ps-B* no. 79 *nec oculis uideri* 'cannot be seen with the eyes'.
- 31 **Ef yn aghywir** Understood nominally, as in EWGP VI.17 *gnaŋt gan aghywir eir tŋnn* 'usual is a broken word from an unreliable one'.
- 34 **anhebcor** With *cyngor* (see line 38), GIG 30.5-6.
- 35 **diachor** Common: PBT 2.11 (Glaswawt); §18.52; Edmyg Dinbych line 12; Echrys Ynys line 12; and elsewhere, e.g. CA line 531 etc; CBT corpus.
- 36 **dielssor** Medieval hapax, according to GPC; see on *eissor* §4.189.
- 37 **Ef o pedeiror** *Pedeiror* (< *pedeir* + *or* 'end, border, brink', etc.), cf. CBT II 24.4; III 16.149-51 *rac llyw pedeiror*, / *Treis ar Lloegyr, a llu 6rth agor*; / *Taryf rac tŋryf glasuor a thewdor—a thoryf*; IV 2.52 *O bedeiryeth dŋfyn, o bedeiror*. Referring to the wind coming from the four corners of the world.
- 38 **wrth gyghor** See GPC s.v. *cyngor* for the phrase, rare in poetry. *Cyngor* rhymed with *agor*, CBT V 2.52 *A chygor angor y'm agori*.
- 39 **Ef kychwyn agor** See GPC s.v. *cychwynnaf*: *cychwyn* for range of meanings 'move, remove; set going, initiate', etc. Common in this collection, as elsewhere: PBT 3.29 (Kychwedyl) *kychwyn cat*; Edmyg Dinbych line 17 *escar gychwyn*; AP line 189; CC 20.64 *dayar gychwyn*, etc. *Agor* 'anchor': see on line 37 for collocated *agor/pedeiror/mor*, but possibly 'to open' (*egor, agor*) should be considered in the light of problematic line 40 below.
- 40 **oduch maen mynuor** *Agor* 'anchor' is found with *mor, dyfnuor*, but no compound *mynfor* is attested; possibly a mistake for *mawruor*, or **mwynfor* (late *mynwor* < *mynwair* 'collar, wreath', etc. is unlikely to be relevant). Was there perhaps confusion between two words for 'marble': (1) *marmor* (< *Marmor*) as in CBT II 1.82 *y mein marmor* 'marble stones'; III 16.135 *am byrth marmor—ma6r*; IV 2.36 *pyrth ma6r marmor*, and (2) *mynor* (< ?L. *minarium, -aria*, GPC), used with *maen* (*maen mynor* 'marble', first attested c. 1400 (GPC))? If 'marble' is the meaning here, then perhaps take *agor* as 'opening up, splitting open', i.e. 'he sets off a cracking open above the marble stone', perhaps referring to the destruction of fine buildings. Or is the wind imagined as being set on high on marble pillars (*mein* rather than *maen*), the rays of the sun, cf. vaguely Song of Solomon 5:15? Or was the anchor imagined to be, or be attached to, a lump of heavy marble (as in translation)? An emendation to *marwor* or *marwar* 'live coals' of the *maen* 'hearthstone' could be linked with the wind blowing across the chimney and drawing up the fire — i.e. 'the wind sets off the draught above the coals of the hearth'. This would seem to give the best sense, but involves more emendation than the translation offered.
- 41 **Ef llafar, ef mut** Cf. CC 10.33 *Llafar a mut, a doeth a drut*; CBT V 4.19-20 *tra llafar/termudyon*. *Mut* with *drut* only, §12.11 *rei drut, rei mut*; CBT II 5.63 *A mut a drut a drythyll*. Cf. GIG 30.13-14 *Ef yn uchel, ef yn dawel*, / *Ef yn isel, ef yn asau*.
- 42 **anuynyt** Cf. LIDC 17.84 *Kyuuely anwinud* (of pig); and see on §15.1 *anuynudawl*. *Mynut* 'courteous, smooth' is more common in poetry: see on §18.15.
- 43 **Ef yn wrd ef yn drut** On *gwrđ* see §4.103; *drut* with *mut*, see on line 41 above. GDG 117.4 *Drud byd heb droed heb adain*.

- 44 **pan tremyn tros tut** On *tremyn* 'go, cross, go over', see CA 309, EWSP 596; cf. PT VIII.35 *eryr tir tuhir tythremyn*; Tymhorau line 4 *Neud tremyn aper inter siluas*. Very common in CBT corpus, e.g. I 14.28 *tremynid*, 71 *tremhyn*, 83 *o'e dremyn*; II 25.48 *yn tremynu*; 16.61; 17.9; III 3.94, 5.11; 11.49; 24.63 *tremyn*; IV 4.130 *tremynei*; VI 20.65 *Tremynbys*, etc. Particularly evident in Prydydd y Moch: CBT V 19.34 *Megys bart ar dremhyn*; 20.28-9 *dremyn*; 20.39 *Traw y tremyneist*; 22.5 *tremynu*; 23.94 *tremyned* and 153 *tremynassant*; also agent noun in CBT V 20.33 *tremynyad*, and in the work of other poets (see GPC). On *tut*, common in the CBT corpus (half the instances are by Prydydd y Moch), see §7.14. GDG 117.24 *Neitiwr gwiw dros nawtir gwydd*.
- 46 **yn ordear** On *dear*, see §5.63 and §14.20. Quite common in CBT corpus: collocated with both *gwrđ* and *banyar* by Cynddelw, CBT III 24.41-2 *Neud wy a'e gofwy, neud gordyar./ Neud gordiuet gbr gbrt y uannyar*.
- 47 **mwyhaf y vanyar** See on line 46 for collocation of *banyar* with *gwrđ*, and cf. Cynddelw's use of compound *gwrđfaniar*, CBT IV 9.202 *Gbrtuannyar gbrtuar Gwynndoleu*. With *drut*, III 16.206. *Banyar* rare in poetry outside CBT corpus, but collocated with *baner* (< ME) in late prophecy, R1052.8.
- 49 **Ef yn da ef yn drwc** Cf. GIG 30.10 *Ef yn ddiyr, ef yn ddiaw* (and see GIG 346 on *diyr*).
- 50 **aneglwc** Rare, but in CC 9.18 (BT) *drem aneglwc* (of the Egyptians during the ninth plague, Exodus 7-12); cf. *eglwc* rhyming with *drwc* in PBT 1.49-50 (Daronwy). Cf. GIG 30.8 *ni weled yn iawn olau*.
- 52 **kanys gwyl golwc** Cf. GDG 117.21 *Ni'th wyl drem*; GIG 30.31 *nis gwyl llygad*.
- 54 **ef hwnt ef yma** Rhyme with *da*, *antrefna* confirms *yma*, rather than *yma* as in §4.1 and other instances noted there. How old the *yma* form is not clear (see WG 181 and 433), but the rhyme confirms the instance of *yma* in Eglwysau Basa, EWSP 435.50 *gwyr a wyr a mi yma* (rhyming with *diua* and *ny phara*); cf. EWSP 414.12 *otima* (ModW *oddyma*). It is clearly established in CBT corpus, and rhymed with *-a*, by Cynddelw and Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, mid-late 12c: CBT IV 16.87 and II 26.106. Also instances in V 26.141; VI 20.78, 33.75, 35.90. Elsewhere, LIDC 36.31; CC 32.14; CC 33.34, 49, 77 etc. The examples of *yma* cited in GPC, including CBT II 1.110 *yma* and 14c GIG 30.18 *Draw ac yma drwy ei gamau*, suggest that the two forms coexisted in the literary language of the 12-14c. The rhyme here may be compared with later addition in LIDC 18.223-4 *yma/ Einyavn ab Cunedda*, on which see discussion §23.
- 55 **Ef a antrefna** Cf. CC 29.5 *nac anrefna dy ty*. Cf. *Collectanea Ps-B* no. 79 *siluas et surculos confringit, omniaque fundamenta concutit* 'destroys forests and seedlings, and smashes all foundations'. Although Dafydd ap Gwilym's Wind destroys nests and whips the leaves off the trees (GDG 117.25 *Rhuad blin doriad blaen dâr*), he is not restrained by the law: 117.13-17 *Nythod ddwyn, cyd nithud ddail./ Ni'th dditia neb, ni'th etail/ Na llw rhugl, na llaw rhaglaw . . . ni'th ddeil swyddog na theulu*.
- 56f **ny dŵc a wna/ a wnech** 3sg. pres. of commonly used vb *diwyn* 'to make recompense, put right, mend', WLW 68; CC 32.28, CBT III 28.18 *ny'm diwc*, etc., and see on §6.13. *Gwna*, *gwnech*, 3sg. pres. indic. and subjunct. of vb *gwneuthur*. *Gwnech* very rare, but cf. PT XII.26 *a wnech ud*. Indic. + subjunct.

used together as in CBT II 26.194-5 *A uynn Duw. . . / A uynnho noted*; V 23.136 *a uynn a uynho*; VI 11.6, etc.

- 58 **ac ef yn dibech** The wind is blameless, an idea implied in the Latin passages about the 'Victories of the Wind': one of the victories is that it will not be subject to being burnt at the Day of Judgment: *Collectanea Ps-B* no. 81 (with further parallels in notes on pp. 219-20); Wright, 'The Three "Victories" of the Wind' (cited at end of n.12 in the introduction above).
- 59 **Ef yn wlyb ef yn sych** GDG 117.27 *sych natur*.
- 60 **yn fynych** Uncommon in poetry, but cf. prophecy LIDC 15.13 *a mineich in vynich in varchogion*.
- 61f **o wres heul/ ac oeruel lloer** The consonantal correspondence *llr* conforms to normal Irish rhyme, but *heul/lloer* are irregular (*haul* as pronounced /hoil/ in some modern Welsh dialects in south and mid-Wales, would be an improvement if *lloer* contained [oi]). Both lines are unusually short though the sense is good. Cf. §13.12-13 *Mawr Duw digones/ heul haf a'e rywres*; §19.16 *gwres heul*; PBT 7.31 *gwres huan*; see on §25.42-3 *a thri (em.) yssyd wres/ a dyofac anlles*; CC 33.27 *Ffynnawn gwres yn awyr a heul yn y hadua*. An emendation based on the last instance could be *o wres yn awyr* (perhaps glossed *heul* by a scribe). This, with falling diphthong (see notes on §2.41, §7.41 *amloer* (rhymed with *synhwyr, awyr*) and §15.71) would give proest rhyme with *lloer*, CD 254. *Lloer* frequently rhymed with *oer, adoer*. GDG 117.55 *Deuy o'r sygneu diwael*.
- 63f **Lloer yn anlles/ handlt llei y gwres** *Anlles* 'unbeneficial; disadvantage', rhymed with *gwres* §25.42-3, but not found otherwise in early poetry; the synonym *afles* is used by Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch, CBT III 21.95; IV 9.134; V 5.14. Line 63 is a short line. The moon's phases were thought to have a malign influence on humans and creatures inciting unease and mental disturbance and this may be relevant here; or more simply it may be 'without profit' because, unlike the sun, it has no beneficial heat.
- 65 **Vn Gwr a'e goreu** See §6.80 on very common (*y*) *Gwr a*; cf. with *goreu*, CBT I 22.21 (Elidir Sais) *Y Gwr a oreu awrya6l—etneint*; I 28.16 *O'r Gwr a'n goreu mateu metda6d*. The *a'e* combines the rel. pron. and the proleptic 3pl. object pronoun, anticipating *creaduryeu*. On *goreu*, see §5.46.
- 67f **Ef bieu dechreu/ a diwed diheu** Pronoun + *pieu* rare in earlier poetry: CBT II 26.34 *ef bieu*; IV 12.21 *Mi bieu*; V 26.51 *ti bieu*.
This may signal the end of the poem (or section) with line 64 *yr holl creaduryeu* three lines before the end echoing *creadur kadarn* in line 3. For other poems in this collection which draw to a close with mention of the end of the world, see §§3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 19 and 25.
- 69 **Nyt kerdawr keluyd/ ny molhwy Dofyd** On *keluyd*, see §1.37; on *kerdawr, kerdoryon*, §§5.43, 14.32. *Molhwy* is restored for sense, comparing CBT I 30.18 *Nyt kelvyd coelyd, ar ny6 coelo*, translated CBT I 516 as 'He is not able, the ?believer/prophet [?poet] who does not believe in Him'; III 12.2-3 *Nyd kerta6r nyw molwy, Nid cabyla6d, ys mola6d mwy*; IV 16.119 *A'e mol6y, nys molaf o feit*; IV 18.72 *Nid ef digrefydd a gretto Dofydd*. On 3sg. subjunct. forms in *-(h)wy* rather than *-(h)o*, see on §4.2.
- 71 **nyt kywir keinyat** *Keinyat*, see on §2.8 and 12.

- 73f **Ny nawt vyd aradyr/ heb hēyrn heb hat** *Nawt* ‘nature, quality, trait, custom; ?kin, relation’ etc., cf. PBT 2.29-30 (Glaswawt) *nyt arbet na nawt/ na chefynderw na brawt*, or more likely *gnawt* ‘usual’ used here adverbially in a negative gnome — it is not usual for a plough to be without iron parts and to be used if sowing is not to take place on the ploughed land. Similarly it is usual for proper poets to praise God the Father. These lines are echoed in Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin lines 195-9 *Ef a vu gred/ kynn geni’r Meiciad./ Duw a wnaet arad./ Duw a wnaet yr had./ Taliessin: a’i k[ant]* (see General Introduction, 19-20). The rhyme *Tat/aradyr/hat* suggests that *arad* < *aradyr* was already in existence (as it is in ModW dialects; cf. perhaps *brawd* < **brawd*), as it was by the time of the copying of NLW Peniarth 27 (c. 1450-1500) and Peniarth 113 (c. 1640). But more likely is that the ending *-yr* with epenthetic *y* was disregarded metrically for rhyme, as for syllable count. The word *aradyr* is not common in early poetry, but cf. CC 16.3 *Ereidir in rich, ich yguet*, and as a metaphor for martial prowess in CBT V 10.55 *aradyr kyrt kan yawn*. *Hēyrn*, pl. of *hayarn*, used for the iron parts of plough, viz. ploughshare and coulter (see examples in GPC).
- 75f **Ny bu oleuat/ kyn lle creat** *Goleuat* ‘light; lighting, illumination’, cf. EWSP 431.20 *heb dan heb oleuat*; rhyming with *creat*, §1.2 *Pwy kynt, ae tywyll ae goleuat*; common in CBT corpus. Genesis 1:3 ‘Let there be light: and there was light’ inspired many questions about God’s first command *Fiat lux*: see PSol&Sat 25 and 61. Greek *hyle*, L. *ile*, was a word popularised by Isidore, *Etymologiae* XIII.iii.1, see Ifor Williams, ‘ile’, *B* 11 (1941-4), 144, and by Honorius Augustodunensis, cf. DB 85 *Ile y gelwit y defnyd y gwnaethpwyt y byt ohonaw*. On *creat*, see on line 2 above.
- 76f **Ny byd effeirat/ ny bendicco auyrllat** *Effeirat* not common in poetry: prophesying a world upside-down in which poets are empty-handed and priests bedecked in finery, R585.1-2 *gwacllab bard hard effeiryat*; CC 33.85 *Gwae offeirat byt agreitho gwynt, ny phregetha*; CBT II 1.62, 26.65; III 3.63.
GPC s.v. *auyrllat* ‘host(s) in Eucharist’, otherwise attested first in poetry in GC 7.140 (rhyming with *dengraddwlad*); but used metaphorically of heavenly body, GDG 67.27-8 *Nis diffydd gwynt hynt hydref./ Afrlladen o nen y nef*. The derivation is discussed by Morfydd E. Owen, ‘Some Welsh words: language and religion in early Wales’, in Ernst Bremer *et al.* (ed.), *Language of Religion — Language of the People: Medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (München, 2006), 251-73, p. 261, where it is regarded as a compound of metathesised form of *bara* ‘bread’ + *llat* ‘drink’ rather than *af-* (as in *afrdwl*, *afrdwyth*, *afrllaw*) + *llat*. *Bendicco*: see note on §4.2 on innovative *-o* 3sg. subjunct. forms., and cf. CC 5 *bendicco* passim and CBT II 1.40 contra V 19.1 *A’th uendicwy Dwy Deyrn, werlyn— hael*.
- 79f **Ny wybyd anygnat/ y seith lauauat** On *anygnat*, see §2.21 and also §6.53. On *llauauat*, see §5.154 and parallels cited in note.
- 81 **Deg wlat darmerthat** Understanding *darmerthat* as past impers. *darmerthu* ‘supply, prepare, arrange’; cf. PBT 8.46 (Romani kar) *rat darmerthed*; CA line 1068 *cann calan a darmerthei*; CBT III 12.55; V 26.140. *Yn* either ‘in’ or ‘as’.
Lines 81-8 describe the original ten heavenly grades and the fall of the tenth under Lucifer. References to Nine grades (*naw toryw New*; *nav grad New*; *naw rad Nef*) as relayed from Pseudo-Dionysius, are common in Welsh poetry, as elsewhere: CC 1.6b (perhaps); 12.19 (see note p. 110); 14.19; 19.12; CBT II 1.41 *Bendith nab rat nef yn y dreuyt*; IV 16.58 *Vch nab torof, nab tywysogaeth*;

17.142 *Caffael yn addef nau nef noted*; V 15.18 *Rann o nef a'e nab teyrmas*; 4.43-4 *Efa uo, gan vot egylyon, / Yn Nabgrat, yn debret gwiryon, etc.*

The Ten Grades of Heaven are also mentioned by Cynddelw, CBT IV 17.1-2 *Denggrat Benn Berchen, barch Briodaŵr, / Denggrat dy wennŵlad mor uad, mor uaŵr*, and by Casnodyn in a poem earlier than c. 1330 (GC 7.139 *Dŵr dengradd-wlad*; 7.153 [*a beris*] *dengradd nef a dioddef da a wyddiad*, in a section of rhupunt rhyming in *-ad*, including *oleuad, gwlad, afrllad, had*). See CC 168 for discussion of the Book of Taliesin poem, CC 19.12-13 *Naw rad nef, mestic toruoed, / A decuet, seint seic seithoed* ['I beseech] the nine grades of Heaven, the hosts of the banquet, and the tenth grade — the holy class of saints'. This seems to parallel the Irish belief that a tenth grade was sometimes associated with the holy ones on Earth: *Muintir nime noibdai niuil, / Dechmad nert talman triuin* 'the people of heaven of holy cloud, the tenth force of the stout earth', James Carney, 'Three Old Irish accentual poems', *Ériu* 22 (1971), 23-9. The same sort of scheme is evident in *Saltair na Rann*, edited by Whitley Stokes (Oxford, 1883), lines 657-833, trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries* 115-24. Along with the nine — Angels, Archangels, Virtues; Powers, Principalities and Dominions; Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim — the tenth order is *sil Adaim* 'the race of Adam' (lines 685-6).

Saltair na Rann tells how 'an entire third' of the host which was in heaven 'before the transgression' went to Hell (lines 813-16, trans. *King of Mysteries* 125). The fall of Lucifer 'puffed up by the brilliance of his [own] splendour', 'from the summit of the kingdom of heaven', is the subject of the third section of the Latin poem, 'Altus Prosator', trans. *King of Mysteries* 34-5.

- 82 **yn egylawr wlat** The double pl. form of *a(n)gel* is not attested elsewhere (*egylyon* is very common), and may be a mistake for adj. *egylawl* 'angelic' (G). Cf. CBT IV 18.38-9 *Y ngwas engylion gwrion, gwaraf, / Y ngwenwlad Wledig, nef a archaf*.
- 83f **Decuet digarat/ digarwys eu Tat** See above on line 81. *Digarat* is used of condemned sinners, e.g. CC 24.11-12 *Rac gwerin digarat diswys/ Boet y'm heneit-i amddiffynnwys*; CBT IV 18.95 *Na'm gollwng gan llu du, digarad*; VI 36.47-9 *Mal y duc o'e dec enryded/ Y dŵc Duŵ paŵb yn y dibet. / Digarat a uyd digared—rac llaŵ, etc.*
- 85 **digaru kawat** *Kawat* 'shower' in §4.194; §5.16, but here 'throng, host', as in CBT V 21.11. Collocated with *digarat/digeryd* in CBT VII 30.65-6 where it is translated, p. 327, as 'pestilence' with GPC s.v. *cawod*.
- 86 **yn rwy rewinyat** See on §6.42 for examples of vb *rewinyaw*: but none in CBT corpus. *Yn rwy* 'in abundance, in great numbers', ? CA line 757 [*yn*] *rwy gobrwy*: CBT II 9.3; IV 16.174-5; V 22.10 and 33; *rwy* alone is common.
- 87 **Llucuffer llygrat** Cf. the forms in CC 33.79 *Y gethern a el yn Uffern, gan Luciffer yd a*; CBT VI 10.26-7 *A'r trydy y law y Lucufer/ A'r deu ar deheu yg goleuder*; VII 38.8 *Y mywn kŵymp Luciffer*; 38.17 *Ac anheilŵng lu gan Luciffer*; 38.40 *Na uit un lyssenŵ â Luciffer*; 41.50 *Yn hardymer gan Luciffer, bryder bradeu*. The present form appears to contain native *lluc* 'light' calquing *lux* in Lucifer; it is curious that although *lluc* is not used on its own in the CBT corpus, it is used in compounds *clodluc, haerllug, hafslug*, all by Prydydd y Moch. But the element *lluc*, as in *llucuryt* 'dejection', etc. may be relevant. The second part of *Llucuffer* is perhaps influenced by *Uffern*. In CBT VI 38.40 the correspondence *lyssenw/Luciffer* suggests a pronunciation in *-s-*, perhaps via ME or French, as

found in later poetry, e.g. GPB 6.71-2 *Llusiffer,/ Llys uffern wenwynig*; GBDD 4.28 *Gwala Lwsiffer lys uffern dlawd*. *Llygrat* interpreted here as hapax agent noun, following GPC.

The transition to the heavenly bodies in line 89 may be partly explained by Isaiah 14:12 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning'; thus demons, ruled by the Devil, were thought to have been celestial bodies before their fall (*Etymologiae* VII.xi.15-17). *Lucifer* was also used for Venus as morning star (e.g. *Etymologiae* III.lxxi.18).

88 **eissor eissyflat** For *eissor*, see on §4.189; and for *eissyfflat*, pl. *eissyffleit*, see on §1.55.

89f **Seith seren yssyd/ o seithnawn Dofyd** Referring to the planets connected with the names of the days of the week, one of several renowned 'sevens': see Owen, TrArbennig 441-5. A similar listing of *planedeu* in §25.28-36 (see notes): *Sola, Luna, Marca, Marcarucia, Venus, Venerus, Seuerus, Saturnus*. CC 5.15 *seithnieu a ser*; CC 2.32-3 *Duu y hun/ A unaeth Maurth a Llun*; CBT VII 40.27-9 *Seith rat mat, medrbyf y dechreu,/ Seith leuuer, ennwer eu henweu,/ Seith wers kymman glan*; days of week starting with (Shrove) Tuesday in CBT I poem 24, and CBT VII 40b.1-28. Understanding *seithnawn* < *dawn* 'gift, grace, blessing' rather than *nawn* 'nones; noon' (from L. *nōna*) although there may be deliberate ambiguity.

91f **Seon sywedyd/ a wyr eu defnyd** Taliesin styles himself 'the sage of Seon', cf. §14.33 *se syberw Seon*, and Echrys Ynys line 7 *o wlat Wytyon Seon tewdor*. The connection is confirmed by the Black Book of Carmarthen colloquy between Taliesin and Ugnach. Taliesin is said to be on his way to *Caer Leu a Gwydion* (modern-day Dinas Dinlle, south of Caernarfon) from *Caer Seon/ o imlat ac Itewon* ('from Caer Seon, from fighting with ?enemies', lit. 'Jews'), LIDC 36.13-15. The second englyn in the colloquy (36.4) indicates that Taliesin is heading towards an estuary (*aber*) en route to the vicinity of Dinas Dinlle when he is intercepted by Ugnach who tries to lure him to his home (line 22 *тино*) located in the *dinas* 'fort'. The *aber* in question is most naturally understood as the southern end of the Menai Straits (Aber Menai Point) before it opens out into Llanddwyn Bay. Approaching from the north-easterly direction, from Caernarfon, would involve passing this area on the way to Dinas Dinlle on the coast due south of Aber Menai Point. This would seem to resolve one of the problems which prevented Brynley F. Roberts, 'Rhai o gerddi ymddiddan Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin', AH 281-325 (at p. 320), from identifying Caer Seon with Conway mountain, or the hillfort just to the west (OS Caer Leion), both opposite Degannwy on the eastern bank of the R. Conway. As Roberts explains, this identification was made by Leland (*Sinnodune*, cf. WAL 10-18) and by Lewis Morris (*Caer Sion, Caer Sūon*). See W.E. Griffiths and A.H.A. Hogg, 'The Hill-Fort on Conway Mountain, Caernarvonshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 105 (1956), 49-80, p. 49 n.1.

The matter is complicated by the *Caer Seion* (*Sion* in four mss) mentioned in a complaint poem by Iorwerth Beli to the anglophile Bishop of Bangor (before 1327): GGDT 15.28-9 *Pan aeth Maelgwn hir o dir mab Don—duedd/ I wledd gwalch gorsedd hyd Gaer Seion*. GGDT 159 follows John Rhŷs, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom* (London, 1888), 272, in identifying *Caer Seion* as Caernarfon but this is not tenable: *Caer Seint* (*yn Arfon*) is the regular development from *Segontion/Segontium* > OW

Segeint > *Seint*, LHEB 445 and 513, and *Seiont* is 'an antiquarian and incorrect version of the medieval *Seint* and local *Saint*' (Ifor Williams in I.A. Richmond and O.G.S. Crawford, 'The British section of the Ravenna Cosmography', *Archaeologia* 93 (1949), 45).

Roberts, by contrast, partly on the basis of GGDT 15.35 *Pan ddoethant i'r tir, terfyn Môn,—ar drai*, concludes that Iorwerth's *Caer Seion* was in Anglesey. This is rather uncertain since *terfyn Môn ar drai* could refer to the ebbing of the R. Menai (the 'limit' or 'border' of Anglesey), or even the sea generally around the island as being at low-tide while Maelgwn's minstrels were made to swim a river (not necessarily R. Menai), landing with their harps ruined. Where that was is still rather unclear to me, but I would not rule out the east bank of the R. Conwy as Maelgwn was on his way to Degannwy.

The third complication is Echrys Ynys line 7 *Pan doeth Aedon o wlat Wytyon Seon tewdor* 'when Aeddon came from Gwydion's land [i.e. Arfon in the north-west] to Seon's stronghold' (trans. R. Geraint Gruffydd, FS Mac Cana 41; also possible is that Aeddon is 'the stout defence of Seon'). Because the poem mentions twice the 'harm which has befallen the island' and asks who will now 'maintain Anglesey', it is assumed that the poet who sang this piece (and thus Seon) was himself situated in Anglesey — a questionable assumption since he is voicing a complaint about how he has lost his standing and how poets now are not treated with the respect they were given in the days of Gwydion and Amaethon. The poet, therefore, may be voicing censure from the mainland.

Skene's candidate for the LIDC 36.13 *Caer Seon* has been revived by Graham R. Isaac, "'Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach": propaganda Cymreig yn oes y Croesgadau?', *LIC* 25 (2002), 12-20: there it is interpreted as a reference to Mount Sion (Zion), and contextualised as belonging to the period of the Crusades (cf. BT 105).

On balance, particularly in the absence of any clear candidate in Anglesey, Seon is identified with either Conway mountain or one of its hillforts. (*Caer*) *Seon* could be from a tribal name such as **Sagiones*. The idea of 'Jews' there may have been due to a false deduction from the name.

On *syweddyd*, see §5.174. See GPC s.v. *defnydd* for range of meanings: used for an element (*pedwar defnyd* 'four elements' in CBT III 3.208; V 23.5; VII 24.86, etc.), substance, material, use (and in transferred senses).

- 93 **Marca marcedus** Cf. §25.31 *Marca* (where *Mars*, *-artis* would be expected, cf. *Mawrth*), but cf. variation between name *Martianus* ~ *Marcianus*, and perhaps influence of Marcus the evangelist. *Marcedus* is presumably for Classical *marcidus* 'withered, wasted, shrunk, decayed, rotten; feeble', etc. (Lewis and Short), from vb *marceo*, cf. *marcens* 'weak; enfeebling'. Isidore, *Etymologiae* VIII.xi.51, connects the name Mars with *mors* 'death'; in V.xxx.6 he connects the 'star of Mars' with Vesper (see on line 96).
- 94 **Ola olunus** One might expect *Sola* to match *Luna* in line 95. Latin *ola*, part of the back of the shoulder, or *olla* 'pot' seem hard to accommodate here, as does a formation from W. *ol* 'track'. *Olunus* is conceivably a mistake for, or older orthography for **olwynus* 'like a wheel', cf. EGOW 37 *crunnolunou* gl. L. *orbiculata*. This would be consistent with the adjs. in lines 93 and 95. Sun and moon were compared with wheels, for their shape and for their circular orbit (e.g. PT VIII.26 *mal rot tanhwydin dros eluyd*; CBT VI 15.38 *Tra 6o lloer a heul ar y*

rodwed; V 19.26 *Hyd aeth heul o'e gylchyn*; Gruffudd Gryg's *olwyn oer* (of the moon), see GPC s.v. *olwyn*). If so, a proest rhyme with L. *-us* in *marcedus*, as in the rhyme between *lafurus* and *Venerus*. Otherwise, some Latin-sounding formation based on W. *goleuni*?

- 95 **Luna lafurus** *Llafurus* 'labouring hard; laborious' etc., cf. with *olwyn*, of the difficulties of tilling the soil and moving wheeled equipment round in February, EWGP IX.2.2 *llafurus pal ac olwyn*. Is the Moon described as *llafurus* because of its very visible interminable waxing and waning, or is there a reference to the medieval belief — witnessed in one of the Harley Lyrics broadly contemporary with the Book of Taliesin — of the toiling Man in the Moon, 'e sloweste mon at euer wes yboren' who was banished there by Moses for gathering firewood on the Sabbath (Numbers 15:32-6): see *The Harley Lyrics*, ed. G. L. Brook (Manchester, 1968), 69; discussed Malcolm Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, second edition (Stroud, 2004), 180-82 and references (the belief is reflected in Wales, for example, in GGG 27.5-6 *Yntau'r gwŷr yn y lleuad/ A'r drain o'r war hyd yr iad*). If the latter, 'the toiling one of the Moon' is also a possible translation. The Middle Irish *Saltair na Rann* contains a planet listing (lines 103-4 in Stokes' edition), where the Moon is *Luna lánmas*, trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries* 101, as 'stately Luna'.
- 96 **Jubiter, Venerus** *Venerus* (Classical *Venus*, *-eris*, cf. *Gwener*) is again found in §25.33-4 *ry goruc Venus/ ry goruc Venerus*, where the two distinct names may refer to the morning star Venus (Lucifer) and the evening Venus (Vesper).
- 97f **O heul, o hydyruer/ yt gyrch lloer lleufer** These lines seem to indicate that the moon fetches (*yt gyrch*) its light from the sun and the waters. For the first, cf. *Etymologiae* V.xxx.6 'it borrows its light from the sun'. *Hydyruer* (discussed B 7 (1933-5), 31; ELI 53; CA 72), cf. §22.5 *hytyruer*, §23.31 *hydyruer mor*, CC 5.18; five instances in CBT corpus. The moon is commonly connected with the ocean (e.g. CC 12.23-4 *Eil, canmwyll Cristaun a leuich uch egiawn,/ lloer vilioet vilenhit*), as well as the sun.
- 99 **Nyt cof yn ofer** *Cof* collocated with *ofer* in CBT II 4.39 *Am 'yng cof yg kóyn ouer*, III 11.73 *yn ouer*.
- 100 **nyt croc ny creter** *Croc* 'crucifixion; rood, crucifix'; rel. *ny*, with unrealized lenition (= *ny greter*).
- 101 **An Tat a'n Pater** On *Pater*, see §1.43.
- 102 **a'n kar a'n kymer** *A'n kar* interpreted as 'and our friend' (of God), but *an kar* 'our friend' is also possible.
- 103 **Yn Ren ny'n ranher** See GPC s.v. *rhannaf*: *rhannu* for semantic range 'share, divide; apportion, allot', etc. Impers. subjunct., cf. *creter* in line 100.
- 104 **gan lu Llucuffer** See on line 87 above.

12 Kanu y Med

Kanu y Med ‘The Song of the Mead’ stands immediately before Kanu y Cwrwf (§13) in the manuscript, a natural pairing, and both are assigned a value of 24 ‘points’.¹ In fact these two skilful pieces are rather different in metre and character. Both mention the Day of Judgment, incidentally in the present poem, whereas it is the central concern of poem §13, albeit expressed in riddling form. The present poem is of especial interest for its picture of Taliesin entreating God for the release of his patron, Elffin,² from banishment, a performance very likely to have been imagined as taking place at the court of Maelgwn Gwynedd³ (at Degannwy, according to poem §8),⁴ at a feast where mead — and plenty of other victuals, it is implied — are on offer. The poem is a well-controlled literary creation, moving deftly from the bounty provided for man’s use by God (in lines echoing Genesis), to Maelgwn’s foaming mead-horns, and to the largesse that Taliesin has enjoyed with his own master, Elffin, and hopes to enjoy again.

The poem thus sets up a chain of gift-giving which underlines the fact that the bounty offered by a temporal lord, even one of Maelgwn’s stature, is dependent on the bounty that the Heavenly patron has created and put at the disposal of his subjects — good water to drink, beasts to provide food, and strong liquor. For it is God who has enabled the mysterious process of fermentation (the scientific basis of which was obscure in medieval times), who causes every drink ‘to flourish’. And it is He, too, who has set the bees to work gathering nectar for the honey mead, ordaining that they must forego their own needs for man’s benefit. Just as the opening line of the second verse echoes the first, so the repeated *Y Gwr a* ‘He who’ of lines 2-4 is answered by the *y gwr a* of line 17. This refers to Elffin, absent through banishment or perhaps imprisonment (*alltuted*, line 16) but keenly missed for his ‘wine and ale and mead and great powerful horses of fine appearance’.

The idea of temporal patronage being dependent on God, already mentioned, is made explicit here *trwy vod Duw y ryd trwy enryded* ‘through God’s will shall he give in honourable fashion’, but the statement is ambiguous since it also expresses the firm hope that it will be ‘by the will of God’ that Elffin will once more be able to lay on 250 calends feasts for a peaceable gathering (lines 20-21). The direct appeal to God side-steps Maelgwn, not so much to put him in his place, but to exert indirect pressure on him. The final line’s curious locution (*Elffinawc varchawc*) appears to address a rider or knight who is either Elffin himself, one of his faction, or else someone being invited to be ‘on Elffin’s side’, possibly Maelgwn himself since it expresses the hope ‘may you possess the

¹ Discussed in the introduction to poem §7.

² On Elffin, see commentary to §4.56.

³ Maelgwn in this collection in §8.23-4 (see commentary there for other references) and §14.26.

⁴ The event is also mentioned in §9.77-9 (see commentary).

North' — that is the 'Old North', standing in here perhaps as shorthand for a wide dominion. The verb *medu* 'possess, control, rule' used in the final line is a part homophone with *med* 'mead' and the denominative verb *medwi* 'to intoxicate' used in line 5 *medhet Maelgwn Mon ac a'n medwa*.⁵ Together they point to a certain artistry, also evident in the mellifluous *m*-alliteration and other linkages such as *dillig/dillat/dillwg*, and *Gwr a*, as already noted.

In the work of the thirteenth-century poets, we see clear evidence for a genre of poem which pleads for the release of patrons from captivity, sickness and so on. Two examples are extant by the poet Hywel Foel (CBT VII poems 22 and 23), sung during the period of Owain ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn II's imprisonment 1255-77. Both are addressed to God. The first echoes the first syllable of the word *dillwng* 'release' throughout. The second uses a similar device to our poem, using long sequences of *gwr a*, *gwr yssyt*, etc (in praising Owain over twenty lines) before turning to God — the supreme *Gwr a beris lloer* . . . *Gwr a beris heul* 'the One who made the sun and moon' to plead for the iron fetters to be broken open. And after mentioning Llywelyn II (who effected Owain's plight), the poet stresses at the end that 'it is God alone who has the right to dispossess a man',⁶ a sentiment which is implied in *Kanu y Med*.

Other points of interest are discussed in the commentary: the trademark use of the verb *golychaf*, with the opening lines in the two sections very similar to §18 *Preideu Annwfn*; and Taliesin's interest in the nature and origin of drinks (as in §6.57-60 'what created intoxication from mead and bragget?; what wrought their destiny if it was not God the Trinity?'; §7.26-7 'where does the liquor of wheat (i.e. ale) and the bees' liquid come from?'; §4.144 'why is ale bitter?', etc.).⁷ The poem uses the long line which varies in length between eight and ten syllables, generally with a single caesura, and a fairly regular cadence of four syllables. The two *laissez* and the length of 22 lines are comparable in particular with *Echrys Ynys* (29 lines); the eight lines of the second section may be compared with the length of the individual sections of *Edmyg Dinbych* or many of the *Gododdin awdlau*. Forms such as *as kynnull* (7), *medhwyr-dy* (22), *rothwy* (-*wy* form of subjunct., not -*o*) and perhaps *pemhwnt* are in decline by the twelfth century, but the poem contains no real archaisms, while *etwa* (19), though innovative, is not diagnostic, as explained in the commentary. See further the General Introduction on dating, authorship, the connection between Taliesin and Maelgwn Gwynedd, and the overlap with the story of the freeing of Elffin related in the *Ystoria Taliesin* narrative. It is perhaps worth noting that there are no later signs that the present poem was drawn into that framework — such as we see with §11 *Kanu y Gwynt*. Indeed, it is not directly associated with the events in Maelgwn's court until the statement in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* that 'this poem was written when his [i.e. Taliesin's] patron, Elphin ap Gwyddno, was

⁵ On the use of these words, see 'Medd a mêl farddoni', in FS Gruffydd 39-59.

⁶ GGDT poems 6 and 7 by the 14c Gwilym Ddu o Arfon dwell on the 'hundred feasts', and mead which the poets are lacking since Gruffudd Llwyd is imprisoned; poem 6 refers to Taliesin's release of Elffin and implores for God's merciful intervention.

⁷ Cf. also §7.37.

imprisoned in the Castle of Deganwy by his uncle Maelgwn Gwynedd, Prince or King of Wales'.⁸

As with several other poems in this collection, there is a strong religious impulse: here God is praised as provider of every good thing — enumerated in the same way as in the religious lyrics — but above all, of course, as the creator of strong drink, the 'treasured clear mead' so prized by poets for its potent symbolic worth, and simply for bringing 'enjoyment everywhere'.⁹

⁸ Myv 26. Owen Jones has this note in BL Addl 15002, 103b, and it may derive from Lewis Morris' lost copy of the poem.

⁹ See FS Gruffydd 39-59; Haycock, *Drink* 6-7.

Golychaf wledic, pendeucic popwa,
I entreat God, the ruler of every place,
Gwr a gynheil y Nef, arglwyd pop tra,
the One who holds up Heaven, lord over every thing.

Gwr a wnaeth y dwfyr y bawb yn da,
the One who made the water good for everyone,

Gwr a wnaeth pop llat ac a'e llwyda:
the One who has made every drink and makes them flourish:

5 **medhet Maelgwn Mon, ac a'n medwa**
let Him rule over Maelgwn of Anglesey, and he will intoxicate us
a'e vedgorn ewyn gwerlyn gwymha.
and the foam of his mead-horn will adorn the liquor.

As kynnull gwenyn ac nys mwynha —
The bees collect it and [yet] they don't have the use of it —
med hidleit moleit, molut ypop ma.¹
the renowned clear mead, its praise in every place.

Lleaws creadur a vac Terra
The many created things Earth rears
10 **a wnaeth Duw y dyn yr y donha:**
that God made for man in order to benefit him:
rei drut, rei mut — ef a'e mwynha;
loud ones, quiet ones — [Man] has the use of them;
rei gwyllt, rei dof, Douyd a'e gwna.
wild ones, tame ones — it's God who makes them.

Yn dillig vdunt yn dillat, yn² da,
In abundance, for their benefit as clothes, goods,
yn uwyt, yn diawt — hyt Vrawt yt parha.
food, drink — it will last until Judgment.

15 **Golychaf-i wledic, pendefic gwlat hed,**
I entreat God, the ruler of the realm of peace,
y dillwg Elphin o alltuted:
to release Elffin from banishment:
y gwr a'm rodes y gwin a'r cwrwf a'r med,
he who gave me the wine and the ale and the mead,
a'r meirch mawr modur, mirein eu gwed.
and the great powerful horses, fine their appearance.

¹ ms *ira*

² ms *y*

A'm rothwy etwa mal o'r diwed

May he give to me once again, as eventually,

20 **trwy vod Duw y ryd trwy enryded**

through God's will, he'll give in honourable fashion

pump pemhwnt kalan yg kyman hed.

five times fifty calends [feasts] in a peaceful gathering.

Elffinawc varchawc, medhwyr-dy Ogled.

O Elffin rider, may you possess the North.

- 1 **Golychaf wledic** See on §8.1; §18.1 and 59; §22.8; §25.1 for parallels (also PT XII.5), noting especially the beginning of 'Difregwawd Taliesin', CC 33.1 *Goruchel Duw, golochir ym pobva*, discussed CC 360.
- 1 **pendeuc popwa (ms pop wa)** See §8.26, §9.65 and §18.1 for *pendefic/pendeuc*. restricted before twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See CC 360 on CC 33.1 *pob va*; and the discussion of CBT I 4.17 *Rwyf pobua, mor wyt da brth dy yoli* on p. 105. where a few rare examples of *pop* followed by lenition are cited. G interpreted it as an old close compound of *pop* + *gwa* 'speech, tongue, country', but GPC favours *ma* 'place' as the second element, and is followed here; see also note on §18.57 *py va*.
- 2 **Gwr a gynheil y Nef** See further examples of (*Y*) *Gwr a* 'He who. . .' in notes to §6.80 and §11.65. The two sections of our poem link the bounty of God (the *Gwr a* of lines 2-4) with the munificence of Elffin, the *gwr a* 'the man who' gave bounty to the poet: see introduction. The *y* before *Nef* may be deleted for a more regular five-syllable section before the caesura: only two of the 150 or so examples of *Nef* in the CBT corpus use the def. art. before *Nef*. But line 3 is metrically regular *with* the def. art. The idea of the sustaining of Heaven (and Earth) is discussed in CC 63, and the introduction to §26.
- 3 **arglwyd pop tra** GPC s.v. *tra* 'thing'; and cf. §25.55 *pan varmher pop tra*; CBT I 3.9 *ac eil dra drymhaf*; I 14.20 *Vn dra drugaret* 'mercy of one/same kind, thing': IV 17.80 *Pob tra yn diua ac yn difur*; and especially II 31.1-2 (Gruffudd ap Gwrgenau) *Gwr a gynheil y lloer yn y llaβnwet./ A genniβ pob tra trwydi beruet*. In CBT II 22.50 *Oedd cwyn trangc pob tra a diffig* it is regarded as a different word, a form of *traha* 'pride, presumption', which seems also the case in Echrys Ynys line 22 *dygnawt eu tra*.
- 4 **ac a'e llwyda** See GPC s.v. *llwyddaf: llwyddo* for the meaning 'cause to flourish, succeed', e.g. CBT I 12.32; V 7.15, etc. Here perhaps 'to ferment'. Infix pron. refers to *pop llat* 'every drink'.
- 5 **medhet Maelgwn Mon** On vb *medu* (here 'to rule, possess', 3sg. impv.) see §22.1. Either (1) 'may Maelgwn possess Anglesey' (*Mon* as object), possibly to be favoured if Maelgwn is being addressed in line 22 (see note); or (2) 'Let Him (God) rule over Maelgwn of Anglesey' (adopted here since *medu* is very often used of God); or even (3) 'let it [the drink, *llat*] rule/take hold of Maelgwn'. For a discussion of various collocations with *med* 'mead', *medwi* 'to intoxicate', including with homonymic *med*, and with *medu*, etc. see Haycock, 'Medd a mēl farddoni', in FS Gruffydd 39-59.

If (2) or (3), i.e. *Maelgwn Mon*, cf. the Urien Rheged, Owain Gwynedd type of title (like *Madabč Mon*, CBT VII 16.1 and 10). For §14.26-27 *Maelgwn o Von*, *Dyfyd o Aeron*, see commentary to poem §14. See further on §8.23-4 for Maelgwn's connection with Degannwy as well as Anglesey, and other references to him: none of the poets call him *Maelgwn Mon*. Some of the possible reasons for fixing on Maelgwn for the Elffin-Taliesin story are discussed in the General Introduction, 12.

a'e vedgorn ewyn The pl. *medgyrn* is far commoner than the sg. The pl. occurs in e.g. CA line 1125, and is extremely frequently in the CBT corpus, e.g. CBT IV 6.161 *A'e uetgyrn vrth pabir*, VII 27.20 *A'i uetgyrn kyfyued*, etc. Froth on a head of drink is hardly ever called *ewyn* in poetry, but *gorewyn* 'foaming' is used of mead (not normally a foaming drink), CBT II 14.26 ('Hirlas Owain') and IV 9.225 *met gorewyn*. *Medgorn ewyn* understood as inversion: see Ann Parry Owen, 'Cyfuniadau *hydref ddail ym marddoniaeth Beirdd y Tywysogion*', in *CyT* 237-51.

gwerlyn gwymha See G s.vv. *gwerlyn*¹ adj. '? stubborn, ardent, assiduous', etc., and *gwerlyn*² '?strong drink, strong ale' (< *gwer*, cf. OIr *ferg* 'anger, wrath' + *llyn*), the latter meaning on the basis of the present uncertain example and §7.39 *lledyf lloned verlyn* (but see discussion for possible *merllyn*, *marwllyn* in that instance). More certain are the examples of *gwerlin(g)/gwerlyng* 'king, prince, leader, chief', e.g. CBT I 1.42; I 8.28 *gberlin teithi*; V 19.1 *A'th uendiccw y Dwy Deyrn, werlin—hael*; VI 18.37, and G's *gwerlyn*¹ may belong with this category.

Gwymha is problematic. The superlative of adj. *gwymp* 'splendid, beautiful', etc. (usually *gwymfaf*) is precluded by the rhyme, unless *-f* had already been lost, or unless restored *gwym(p)af/gwymhaf* formed a partial rhyme with *medwa* and *mwynha*, cf. CC 8.5-6 rhyming *Adaf/Eua*. See also CC 21.105-6 *goruchaf/da* (and note p. 228 where it is suggested that *-f* may have been already been lost in practice (despite scribal conservatism), or else that *-af/-a*, although of different origins (*-am-* and *-ag-*) formed an acceptable correspondence. Correct CC 228 line 5 *goruchaf* to *gorucha*. See also CC 21.130-31 *tagde/arvere* for another possible instance of loss of *-f* (*tagde* < *tagdef*); and discussion of form *Cunedaf* in §23.5.

G understands *gwymha* as 3sg. pres. of the denominative vb 'to adorn, to beautify' again with *mp* > *mh*. Emendation to *gwynha* 'it whitens' (examples in G 742) seems unnecessary. I follow G's lead here 'with the foam of his mead-horn which adorns the drink', or as in translation, rather than understanding superlative adj. ('the most splendid king', i.e. Maelgwn; or 'the most splendid drink').

As kynnull gwenyn ac nys mwynha *As*, preverbal particle + infixed pron, cf. §5.51 *As atebwys Dofyd*; §16.35 *As gwenwynwys y was*; §19.20 and 21 *as amdut* (em.) *tywawt* and *As rodwy*; PT VI.12 *kyn as talei*; X.21 *kyt as cronyei*; CC 10.33 *as diwygyd*; but also commonly used in 12c poetry, especially by Cynddelw, e.g. CBT IV 4.119-20 *As dygaf (ys dygyn atchwetlet)/ Y uaβrglod hyd Uaβrgluyd rosset*; 4.268 *As molaf mal yt adroter*. Nevertheless, GMW 55 notes its use 'in early poetry'. The idea here is although the bees collect the nectar for the honey, they do not enjoy the use of it because it is taken away to make mead: the line may echo a proverb or riddle, or the theme of others gaining from one's hard-won produce (as in Deuteronomy 28).

The Cyfnerth law-text states that ‘the lineage of bees is from Paradise, and it was because of man’s sins that they came from there and that God gave them his grace; and therefore mass cannot be sung without the wax’ (trans. Dafydd Jenkins, *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Llandysul 1986), 183). The terms and details in the law texts, as well as the figurative use in poetry of *modrydaf* ‘queen-bee’ for a leader (twelve instances in CBT corpus, see Elin Phillips, ‘Modrydaf’, *B* 25 (1972-4), 119-20) indicate the importance of apiculture in Wales, as in Ireland, on which see T.M. Charles-Edwards and Fergus Kelly (ed.), *Bechbretha* (Dublin, 1983), and EIF 108-14. §7.27 enquires about the origin of honey.

- 8 **Med hidleit moleit, molut ypop tra** *Moleit* (‘praised’, common in CA, also CBT II 14.128; V 6.22; VI 10.29). *Hidleit* ‘strained, clear’ (CA line 354; CBT II 14.129). Common *molud* ‘praise, singing of praise’, cf. PT VII.9; several instances in CA; Edmyg Dinbych lines 29 and 49; PBT 8.27; CBT I 2.29 *molud esmuith*; V 11.25, etc. For collocations of *med* with vbs *moli* and *magu*, *molud*, and other words and phrases, see FS Gruffydd 39-59.

It is likely that *ypop ma* was in the exemplar, and that the scribe’s eye was drawn to *Terra* (*t’ra*) in line 9. This gives a more satisfying line as well as extended alliteration — ‘[its] praise sung everywhere’. But if the ms reading were retained, then ‘praise [be] to everything’, understanding *y* ‘to’ rather than *ModW ym mhob* ‘in every’.

- 9 **Lleaws creadur a vac Terra** GPC s.v. *lliaws* notes the variant *lleaws*, as in CBT VII 33.82, comparing *deall*, *dyall*. With the Earth rearing (*magu*), see on §13.29. On use of L. *Terra*, see §16.24.
- 10 **yr y donha** GPC s.v. *donha* ‘endow’ (< *dawn*), a hapax form of the vb noun (cf. *doniaw*).
- 11 **rei drut, rei mut, ef a’e mwynha** See §11.41-3 for *mut/drut*. Lines 11-12’s list recalls the categories of created things ordained for man’s use in Genesis 1:24 and 26-30 ‘Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth. . . and let [man] have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth. . . and replenish the earth and subdue it. . . every herb. . . every tree . . . to you it shall be meat’. *Cynddelw* (CBT IV 16.111) describes the creation of Paradise in a way suggesting that Adam did not make correct use of its bounty, presumably alluding to the eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil: *Y Adaf, adef ni vwyna:/ Ffrwyth l6ythlenn, wastatwen westua/ Yn ffr6thla6n o ffr6ytheu terra*; CBT VI 35.4 *a’i m6ynhaa*.
- 12 **rei gwyllt rei dof** See G s.v. *gwyllt* for collocated *gwyllt/dof*, as in the law texts, lor. 69, and poetry, e.g. CBT V 21.2 *Ef rotes wyllt a dof* (of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth); CBT VII 41.12 *y wyllt a dof y dab angheu*. *Dof/gwar* is the contrasting pair in CC 30.5.
- 13 **Yn dillig vdunt yn dillat yn da (ms yd a)** The ms reading *y6 a* = ‘it does go, become’ gives reasonable sense, but the emendation yields four types of items, clothes, goods, food and drink symmetrical with the four types of *creadur* of lines 11-12. *Dillig* is noted as hapax adj. ‘liberal, free’, GPC s.v. *dillyng*, and see vb *dillyngaf*: *dillwng*, *dillyngio*, as used below, line 16, and in §9.79. The spelling here may have been influenced by *dillin*, a common spelling of *dillyn* ‘thing of beauty’ (see G, GPC), a word collocated with *dillat* (as here) in CBT V 23.13-14 *yn llassar—dillad/ Yn dillin kyuarpar*.

- 14 **yn uwyt yn dlawt** See on line 11 above for echo of Genesis 1:29.
- 14 **hyt Vrawt yt parha** See note on §4.55 for examples of similar phrases.
- 15 **Golychaf-i wledic pendefic gwlat hed** See on line 1. Since *gwlat hed* is used elsewhere of Heaven (CC 19.21 (BT)), the invocation is almost certainly to God as in line 1, although an address to the secular *gwledic*, Maelgwn, cannot be entirely ruled out, especially since the two sections of the poem set up a contrast between divine and temporal generosity. Deliberate ambiguity is possible.
- 16 **y dillwg Elphin o alltuted** On *dillwg*, see §9.79; Elffin is discussed, together with other references to his captivity, in the commentary on §4.56, where it is noted that Prydydd y Moch is the only one of the CBT poets to refer to the story of Elffin's release; see also §8.25. *Alltuted*, lit. the condition of an *alltud*; see GPC s.v. *alltudedd* on range of meanings 'exile, banishment . . . captivity', etc., and cf. AP lines 28, 43, 189 (*alltutyd*), the last echoed in CBT V 26.30 *Y gychwyn allmyn alltudet*; PBT 8.32 (Romani kar) *a hynt o alltuted*; also CC 16.13; EWGP VI.8 (rhyming with *med*, as here); CBT II 6.24; III 3.21. Atypical *t* for intervocalic [d].
- 17 **y gwr a'm rodes** The same locution as in lines 2-4 where it is used of God.
- 17 **y gwin a'r cwrwff a'r med** On common lists of drinks, see FS Gruffydd 39-59. Ale is not mentioned at all in the CBT corpus, perhaps being considered too ordinary; wine is not mentioned in the law texts since the emphasis there is on regularly available native produce: for discussion of these two points, see Haycock, *Drink* 6-10.
- 18 **a'r meirch mawr modur mirein eu gwed** *M-* alliteration is common in collocations with *med*, as in line 8 above and elsewhere, as are *march/meirch* with *med*: see 'Medd a mêl farddoni', 39-59. *Modur* generally used as noun 'leader, prince', etc. (see GPC s.v.); here apparently adjectival. Five of the ten CBT instances are by Prydydd y Moch. One of the englynion in the story *Math fab Mathonwy* has the same collocation as noted by Ifor Williams: PKM 90 *mirein modur einywed* and note p. 298. *Modur* is not otherwise attested in pre-1283 poetry. Common *mirein* also in §22.7; PBT 5.3 (Kein Gyfedwch); often collocated with *mawr*.
- 19 **A'm rothwy** Cf. §10.40 *A'n rothwy y Trindawt*; §19.21 *As rodwy Trindawt*, and see §3.15 and §4.2 on 3sg. subjunct. in *-(h)wy*.
- 19 **etwa mal o'r diwed** *Etwa* '(once) again, still', as in §26.14 *Etwa, yn geugant*, CC 33.72, contra *etwaeth* in rhyming examples PBT 1.18 (Daronwy) *Dedeuant etwaeth*; EWSP 450.15; CC 12.16 *eddwaeth*. Both *etwa* (5) and *etwaeth* (4) are used in CBT corpus, and the use of both by Cynddelw (CBT IV 16.88, III 11.55) suggests they were used as required for rhyme. Phylip Brydydd (VI 14.8) and Elidir Sais (I 15.26) were still using *etwaeth* in the 13c. For derivation of the forms, see GPC and WG 432. For consistency of final cadence *o'r* has been supplied: cf. *o'r diwed* in §6.83; LIDC 2.20; R577.37; CBT V 29.8; VI 32.12; VII 24.29; 42.7; 43.48.
- 20 **trwy vod Duw y ryd trwy enryded** Cf. CBT II 26.161 *drwy vot Dewi*.
- 21 **pump pemhwnt kalan** Cf. §5.215 *pymp pemhwnt*; §5.169 *pymp pumhwnt* but see note on the latter. See §14.49 for references to calends feasts, and compare especially §14.57 *Trychant kalan kyman clotuawr*. *Kalan/kyman* also found together in CBT IV 4.52 *Coel Calan, kyman kymhenrwy*; CBT VI 18.70 *Nid Kalan kyman gbr y gymein*.

- 22 **Elffinawc varchawc** G understands the curious adj. *Elffinawc* as ‘belonging to Elffin; in Elffin’s faction’. If so, who is being addressed? Could he be a horseman in Elffin’s ‘team’ preparing to run a race (cf. the horse-race on Morfa Rhianedd near Degannwy described in YT 82), or to attempt some other feat of horsemanship like riding to the North. Or it could conceivably be Elffin himself addressed from afar (‘you Elffin horseman’) — admittedly an odd locution but possible if the poet was wishing him lordship over the North. On the other hand, Maelgwn is an obvious candidate, especially since *medhwyr-dy* echoes the vb in line 5 *medhet Maelgwn Mon*. (If so it might favour the interpretation there of ‘Let Maelgwn rule over Anglesey’, but see note on line 5). This would mean understanding *Elffinawc* as ‘being on Elffin’s side, rooting for Elffin’. The similar *Meurygawg marchawc* (‘horseman . . . like Meurig’) is discussed by Jenny Rowland, EWSP 414, 474, 537, who rejects Ifor Williams’ interpretation of *meurygawg* as ‘prominent, splendid’ (CLIH 151). Here, could *elffinawc* be based — like *Elffin* < L. *Alpinus* (cf. *Mynyddawg*) — on L. adj. *alpinus* ‘pertaining to Alps, high mountains in general’ — i.e. mountain horseman. Or else *el* + *ffin* + *-awc* ‘having many borders’. Or even *Elffinawc* as a by-form of *Elffin* (many personal names end in *-awc*). These last points can be no more than speculation. The poets very frequently place an adj. ending in *-awc* before the word *marchawc*: e.g. *eurdorchawc*, *awydawc*, *diofnawc*, *enwawc*, *preswylawc*, *oesawc*, *mygedawc*, *rudfoawc*, etc.
- 22 **medhwyr-dy Ogled** 2sg. deponent (vb *medu*) that occurs, according to GMW 128 ‘in a few early poetic forms’. These are §10.1 *ry’m awyr*, CC 17.1 (BT) *ry’m awyr dy wedi*; CC 19.8 (BT) *Ry’m awyr y’m pater*; §10.1 *Ren ry’m awyr ditheu*; Dydd dyfydd line 7 *Rymafuir culuit kyrreifeint*; CC 19.2 (BT) *a’m rothwyr*, CC 24.106 (BT) *A’n bwyr gwar*. LIDC 16.190 *bvir* is likely to be *bv ir* (see note, LIDC 103). Also an instance in LIDC 39.2 *edrychuir-de* in the Boddi Maes Gwyddnau poem where there are also two examples of innovative *-awd* 3sg. pret. forms. In literary sources, *Gogled* invariably refers to the northern British territories rather than to north Wales.

13 Kanu y Cwrwf

Ale was low in the hierarchy of alcoholic beverages in medieval Wales, and was a daily necessity when water was not fit to drink. Not having the status of mead, bragget and wine, it is less often mentioned in poetry. Only from the fourteenth and fifteenth century onwards are special brews, such as Shrewsbury or Weobley ale, singled out for praise by the Cywyddwyr, with ale also featuring in set-piece lists of drinks as seen in earlier poetry: *Gwin a mall a med* (PT V.2); *Gwin a mall a med a amucsant* (CA line 698); *y gwin a'r cwrwf a'r med* (§12.17); *A mall a meued . . . a gwin talkibed* (§7.56-8).¹ *Mall* is used for ale in some of these examples,² as in the present poem which only uses the word *cwrwf* in the title. *Mall* is used once, uncertainly, in the work of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets.³ Bragget is mentioned there three times,⁴ but the word *cwrwf* is not used at all in the court corpus. The seven or so instances of *cwrwf* elsewhere in pre-1283 poetry are discussed elsewhere in the context of the literary treatment of drink.⁵

Kanu y Cwrwf 'The Song of the Ale', like its companion piece Kanu y Med (§12) on the same manuscript page, was valued at 24 'points'⁶ and combines praise of God with other elements. In this poem, God is praised for disposing the succession of day and night (lines 6-7), the warmth of summer (12-13), and the profitable fruits and crops of the earth (14-15). But although He is the fount of enjoyment and evening relaxation, it is the storms and winds announcing the Day of Judgment which are most evident in the opening lines (1-5), and again in lines 16-19 which allude to the heaving seas and flowing tides that will foretell the end. These passages and the speaker's call for deliverance from God alert us to the real purpose of the poem. At its heart are lines 20-23: 'And before coming to the Judgment Hill, the host of the world could not accomplish a single thing without the might of the great King'. The literal meaning is 'they could not

¹ Further lists noted in FS Gruffydd 48-9; and cf. the list in 'The Song of the Butler' (Canu y Trulliad): Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin lines 100-4 *medd yn y meiliau . . . bragod wirodau./ Diwalaŷ y gwin/ yn laŷ y brenin*. For the same device in OE, see Christine E. Fell, 'Old English *beor*', *Leeds Studies in English*, NS 8 (1975), 76-95, pp. 82-3.

² As in §7.44 *a mall a merin*.

³ CBT IV 4.114 *Bugeil Mon mall diret*, where 'malt' rather than 'malted drink' may be the meaning (see CBT IV 76). It is possible that the further ambiguity of the word *mall* ('putrefaction, rotteness') discouraged its use. See commentary below on line 27.

⁴ CBT I 3.30 (Meilyr Brydydd); II 14.17 (Owain Cyfeiliog); and IV 9.43-4 (Cynnddelw).

⁵ CA lines 1306-7 (Gorchan Tudfwlch) *yr med a chwryf/ yd aethan twryf*; PT IV.18 *Pystalat rwrwf/ ac yuet cwrwf*; AP line 179 *bydinoed am gwrwf a thwrwf milwyr*; EWSP 416.2 *kyryrdy/ Powys*; 429.3 *cu a rodeist yr cwrwf Trenn*; 430.11 *mor wylat/ gantaw mal y gwrwf y gat*, discussed by Rowland, 580-1; §4.144 *Cwrwf pan yw ystern*; CC 31.48 *Allwyd cwryf y gallon* (and cf. *B* 4 (1927-9), 2.24 and 3.61). See further Haycock, *Drink*; and "'Canu y Cwrw" o Lyfr Taliesin', *Dwned* 4 (1998), 9-32.

⁶ See introduction to poem §7.

accomplish a single grain' — *vn gromyn*, 'a single thing', and the idiom of the single grain opens the way for a quite detailed description of the malting and brewing processes: the first and second steeping of the grain to sprout and putrefy into malt, purifying the wort of ale (by heating), cleaning the vats, setting the drink aside to mature, before the finished mature product is brought forth from the cell and set before the king.

Recipes and practical instructions are not a usual feature of early Welsh poetry, being associated rather with medical or legal texts. Indeed, an Irish legal tract, *Cáin Aicillne*,⁷ provides useful information about the techniques of early brewing: barley was the usual grain used in Ireland, although wheat was also used.⁸ The first stage was to start the grain sprouting by soaking it in water (mentioned in our poem in lines 24-5); this took 24 hours, according to *Cáin Aicillne*. Then it was drained for a day and a half, covered for four and a half days beneath straw or hay,⁹ left uncovered for three days and after a further five days was heated in a kiln. Then it was ground up and mashed in hot water and left:¹⁰ this is the 'second occasion' of soaking, mentioned in lines 26-7 of our poem. It produces the putrefying smell of malt ('that which the Earth rears becomes pungent', according to lines 28-9).¹¹ After straining and boiling the wort of ale (*brecci*, 31) to make it pure (*croyw*, 31), yeast or a starter would be added, although this is not mentioned here.¹² As well as noting these steps, the poem mentions the washing clean of the vessels (30),¹³ and bringing forth of the drink from the 'cell' when it is clear (*anawell*, 32-3). Line 37 states that honey is one of the ingredients: some may have been added to the ale to cause a second fermentation, thereby improving its flavour and keeping qualities. Bragget, as explained in the commentary, would probably have contained far more honey

⁷ For details, see Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 270-1. E.J. Gwynn pointed to a possible poetic treatment of the history of ale (on the corn-stalk . . . then in the corn rick . . . then in the wain . . . then in the barns: but here I lose the thread', 'An Old-Irish tract on the privileges and responsibilities of poets', *Ériu* 13 (1942), 1-60, and 220-36 (p. 229, commenting on p. 40, line 24 to p. 41, line 4).

⁸ Cf. the German Weizenbier; evidence from Ireland in EIF 334; and see also GPC s.v. *cwrw*.

⁹ See GPC s.v. *bragwair*.

¹⁰ For details of farmhouse brewing in Wales in the modern period, see Elfyn Scourfield, *Macsu Cwrw yn Nyfed* (Cardiff, 1983), 8.

¹¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes how the ancient Celts drank 'smelly' barley beer made from soaked grain (*Roman Antiquities*, 7.xiii, quoted by Malcolm Chapman, *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth* (Basingstoke, 1992), 166, with useful comments on the presentation of alien drinking habits (166-70)). It is rather the smell of hops which characterises modern beer: see H.A. Monckton, *A History of English Ale and Beer* (London, 1966), 20. The practice of adding hops was known in Flanders and Germany from the ninth century onwards (Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, trans. Anthea Bell (Oxford, 1992), 182-3), and was introduced to Britain perhaps by the fourteenth century: Geoffrey Grigson, *The Englishman's Flora* (London, 1955; reprinted 1987), 240.

¹² The workings of yeast were a mystery until Louis Pasteur published his *Études sur la bière* in 1876 partly based on his fieldwork in Whitbread's Brewery in London. Thus, 'goddisgoode' was one of the words for yeast in English: Monckton, *History of English Ale*, 192 and 17.

¹³ Perhaps the vats rather than the drinking vessels: see Scourfield, *Macsu Cwrw*, 8.

than this regular sort of ale. Lines 38-9 appear to wonder that a bitter quality could characterise a beverage containing honey.

Since it is accompanied by serious reminders of the Last Judgment, it seems undeniable that the 'brewing' passage requires a metaphorical interpretation: moreover its imaginative and unusual treatment of the grain is clearly related to I Corinthians 15, the body of the resurrection sown, like a grain, 'in corruption' but 'raised in incorruption'; 'sown a natural body' but raised as 'a spiritual body'.¹⁴ The poet mentions the stench of the rotting grain 'which the earth has bred' (28) and contrasts it with the clarity and purity of the finished product, ale to set before a king. The popularity of the Pauline seed-corn topos in Patristic commentary, in the Old English *Phoenix*, and elsewhere makes this a plausible reading.¹⁵ It has affinities with the riddling items of the present collection, especially Kanu y Byt Bychan (§26), and to some extent Kanu y Gwynt (§11). But its fusion of the Biblical metaphor with the brewing process links it especially with the 'Trials of Wheat' motif identified in the poem *Angar Kyfundawt* (§4.241-60) where the successive stages in the treatment of the grain — reaping, roasting, drying, maturation — before appearing as fine beer are again detailed. A metaphorical interpretation in the present instance also explains why the poet took the unusual step of including this technical passage.¹⁶

It is more difficult to follow the progression of thought in the final section of the poem, especially between lines 40-49. After God is acknowledged as the 'most generous of all' for providing the means of intoxication, fish are mentioned (?cf. I Corinthians 15:39 '[flesh] of fishes') in an obscure line, proceeding to the comment that 'their dwellings are as numerous as the grains or gravel (*grayan*) of the sea'. Although this sort of comparison is found in Scripture,¹⁷ the transition is

¹⁴ I Corinthians 15:36-52: 'Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body. All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds. . . . So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption. It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power. It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. . . . The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven. . . . We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed'. Cf. also John 12:24. For Pelagius' commentary on the Pauline epistles, possibly known in Wales, see David N. Dumville 'Late-seventh- or eighth-century evidence for the British transmission of Pelagius', *CMCS* 10 (1985), 39-52.

¹⁵ *The Phoenix*, edited by N.F. Blake, revised edition (Exeter, 1990), 74. No comparable malting and brewing metaphors are mentioned in Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity 200-1336* (New York, 1995); Hugh Magennis, *Anglo-Saxon Appetites: Food and Drink and their Consumption in Old English and Related Literature* (Dublin, 1999), 42-3; also p. 13 on the infrequency of spiritual and metaphorical applications of the imagery of food and drink in Old English poetry.

¹⁶ An incidental effect is to convey the speaker's knowledge of a craft specialism. On the Taliesin persona's interest in the origins of alcohol, see the introduction to §12 Kanu y Med.

¹⁷ Psalm 139:18 (designs of God); Manasses 9 (sins greater than the sands of the sea), etc.

hard to fathom, as my commentary concedes.¹⁸ The gravel is said to be ‘beneath the sand’ in line 47 after a mention of neap- and spring-tide (*kyntraeth* and *reuerthi*), perhaps referring to the shingle on the shore, alternately revealed and covered up with sand by the movement of the seas.

Finally, implementing Ifor Williams’ emendation of line 48, there seems to be a return to the central idea of resurrection, with a verbal echo of line 19. We appear to be supplied with the words of Christ, ‘the rightful Lord’: ‘I have ransomed (or ‘saved’) myself’, curiously like Christ’s utterance in Armes Dydd Brawd (CC 20.150), and perhaps prompted by the scorn of the chief priests, scribes, elders and thieves as in the Crucifixion narrative of Matthew 27:40-43: “save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the Cross . . . He saved others; himself he cannot save . . . He trusted in God: let him deliver him now”. The final couplet reinforces the pivotal idea of 22-3 (‘they wouldn’t be able to do a single thing without the great Lord’s power’) — ‘nothing can be done without the power of the Trinity’.

The poem is primarily a meditation on sin and its implications, and its mode is most closely paralleled by *Kanu y Byt Bychan* (§26). Both invite a figurative approach, assuming an audience alive to metaphor, Scriptural allusion, and purposeful ambiguity — and in this case able to appreciate ale not just for its own reinvigorating properties, but as a medium for directing thought to the eternal life.

¹⁸ Perhaps the poem’s title leads us to expect more thematic unity than is present: is it simply proceeding to wonder at other features of God’s creation (the numerous fish, the shingle and sand at neap and spring tide)?

Teithi etmygynt¹
Would that they'd honoured the qualities
Gwr a gatwy² gwynt.
of the One who guards the wind!

Pan del y rihyd

When His majesty comes

goruloedawc eluyd,
the earth will be full of cries,

5 **menwyt³ yn tragywyd.**

[but] bliss in eternity.

Ys tidi a uedyd

It is You who ordains

dylif deweint a dyd:

the arrangement of night and day:

dyd ymaruogawr,⁴

by day, there's putting on [spiritual] armour,

nos ymorffowyssawr —

by night, there's relaxation —

10 **maswed a uolhawr**

[and] praise for the enjoyment

y wrth wledic mawr.

[which comes] from the great lord.

Mawr Duw digones

Great God made

heul haf a'e rywres,

the summer sun and its strong heat,

ac Ef digones

and He made

15 **bud coet a mäes.**

the fruit of the trees and the field.

Galwetawr yr aches,

There will be a calling up of the tide,

ar eillic aghymes;

the fierce, boundless [sea];

¹ ms *etmynt*

² ms *gatwynt*

³ ms *menhyt*

⁴ ms *ymamogawr*

galwettawr pop reges⁵ —
every ebbing will be called up —

Dëus dy-m-gwares!
may God help me!

20 **A chyn dybydyn**
And before the coming
llwyth byt y'r vn bryn
of the world's host to the [Judgment] Mount,

ny ellynt ronyn
they wouldn't be able to accomplish a single thing

heb gyfoeth Mechtëyrn.

without the power of the great Lord.

Ef a'e tawd yn llyn

He puts the grain to soak in water

25 **hyny vo eginyn;**
until it sprouts;

Ef a'e tawd weith arall

He soaks it a second time

hyny vo yn vall:

until it's malt:

dreuhawc dyderuyd

that which the earth rears

dy-s-gofac yr eluyd.

becomes putrid.⁶

30 **Golchettawr y lestri,**
The vessels for it will be washed clean,

bit groyw y vrecci.

and its wort will be pure.

A phan vo anawell

And when it's matured

dydyccawr o gell;

it will be brought out of the cell;

dydyccawr rac Rieu

there shall be set before the King

35 **y keingyfedeu.**

its fine feasts.

Nys gwrthryn pop deu:

No pair [at the feast] will refuse it,

⁵ ms *neges*

⁶ Translation of lines 28-9 are transposed.

y mel a'e goreu.

[for] it is the honey that made it.

Duw etuynt, yn of

O wondrous God, bitter

yt vyd yn y vod.

it is as regards its quality.

40 **Llaryaf yw Trindawt:**

The Trinity is the most generous of all:

gorwyth medw medwhawt

it made the drinkers intoxicated

o vynut pyscawt —

?behaving like fish —

meint y godrefi

their little dwellings as numerous

grayan mor heli

as the grains of the salt-sea;

45 **kyntraeth, reuerthi,**

at neap tide [and] springtide,

grayan mor heli

the grains of the salt-sea

y dan tywawt

beneath the sand.

Amkeud yor⁷ teithiawc,

the rightful God said,

'mi hun a'm gwarawt.'

'I myself have ransomed myself'.

50 **Ny digonir nebawt**

Nothing is accomplished

heb gyfoeth y Trindawt.

without the power of the Trinity.

1 **Teithi etmygynt (ms etmynt)** On *teithi* see §8.38. The opening of §14.1 *Teithi etmygant* and CA lines 178-9 *Teithi etmygant/ tri llwry nouant* at the head of awdl XVIII suggest an opening formula commanding attention through unusual object + vb word order and tmesis. These comparanda led G to suggest emending *etmynt* to *etmygynt* (3pl. imperf. or conditional), with *Gwr* (here for God) as genitive, an awkward locution which does, however, give a pentasyllabic line. G's alternative suggestion is that *etmynt* represents *etuynt* 'to be remembered, praised; miraculous; thoughtful' (G), 'wise, prudent', etc. (GPC), from an exemplar where *m* represented [v]. *Etuynt* qualifies *gwr* CA line 125, and *Duw* in line 38 below. If

teithi etuynt, then ‘one wise [as to] his qualities’ of God. G’s first suggestion is implemented, understanding imperf. subjunct. with optative force, but lines 1-2 remain uncertain.

- 2 **Gwr a gatwy** (ms *gatwynt*) *gwynt* See note on §6.80 for *Gwr a* referring to God. *Gatwynt* is emended to *gatwy* with G. s.v. *cadw*, assuming scribal anticipation of *gwynt*; cf. §9.40 and 60 *katwo*. *Cadwyna* would also be suitable (3sg. vb ‘to chain’, see below) but the vb is not attested before the 14c (GPC), and the line would be six syllables.
- G is uncertain of *gwynt* because of the problems in lines 1-2, but the mention of the wind is in keeping with the concern with Judgement in lines 4-5, developed from line 16 onwards: compare the loosing of the chained red wind in *Armes Dydd Brawd*, CC 20.45-6 *Gwynt rud dygetawr/ ech ei gadwynawr*, and the other Signs, CC 20.24-5 *Gwynt a mor a than/ Lluchet a tharyan*. The idea of controlling the winds recalls Psalm 135:7 ‘he bringeth the wind out of his treasures’, and Jeremiah 10:13; Revelation 7:1, etc.
- 3 **Pan del y rihyd** *Rihyd* ‘pomp, glory, majesty’ referring to the appearance of God at Judgment, similar to CC 20.75-6 *Pan dyffo Trindawt/ Ymas maestawt*. On *rihyd*, see CA 120-21; CC 168; CBT I 2.34; VII 30.24 *ryhyd*; also with a different abstract suffix, *rihed*, CC 11.4; 20.59-60 *Atuyd triganed/ A chym rac rihed*; CBT III 3.6 *Y’w wennwlat, y’6 rat, y’6 ried*; §5.53 *riedawc* ‘lordly, majestic’. There may be a line missing between lines 3 and 4 since the movement by couplets is otherwise a regular feature of the poem, and lines 4 and 5 clearly go together.
- 4 **goruloedawc** Only example. *Bloed* ‘shout, cry’ and adjs. rare in poetry corpus (CBT III 6.4; IV 14.5), but *Beli bloedvawr* in CA line 449. When God appears in glory Earth will be full of sore cries, cf. Matthew 13:41 and 50 ‘there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth’, contrasted with the kingdom of Heaven, as in line 5; Revelation 1:7 ‘Behold, he cometh with clouds. . . and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him’. But cf. also the description of the dead arising with a great clamour for the Judgment: CC 20.86 *mawr gawr* (see CC 197 for other possibilities).
- 5 **menwyt** (ms *menhyt*) *yn tragywyd* Emended to *menwyt*: see CA 384, GPC s.v. *mynwyd* ~ *menwyd* ‘(good) nature, disposition; joy, pleasure’, etc., see §20.1. A reference to the eternal joy after the Judgment, in Heaven, described in CC 10.35 as *adef menwyt* ‘the home of happiness’. Less likely is *mynut* ‘. . . courtesy; generous, suave’: ‘eternally generous One, You rule . . .’.
- 6 **Ys tidi a uedyd** Vb *medu* ‘to rule, control’, etc. frequently used of God: see GPC s.v. *meddu*, and Ifor Williams, ‘*Medd, medr, armes* etc.’, *B* 1 (1921-3), 23-36, especially p. 28. Cf. §22.1 *dewin doethaf mwyhaf a ued*; CC 1.9 *Un ha med* (but see CC 16 on possibility of noun); 18.8; 21.122 *Kyuoethauc Duw a wet*; CBT I 14.99, 15.30; II 6.25, 26.291; IV 16.63, 16.187, etc. On the rel. *-yd* see GMW 119, and Simon Rodway, ‘What was the function of 3rd sg. prs. ind. “-ydd” in Old and Middle Welsh?’, *Studi Celtici* 2 (2003), 89-132. Rel. *-yd* may originally have obviated the need for rel. pronoun *a*. Alternatively, delete *Ys* for five syllables. CBT I 10.35 *Medyt* is a noun ‘ruler’, not a vb form.
- 7 **dylif deweint a dyd** On *dylif*, ‘arrangement, pattern’, see suggestion for §3.12. *Deweint* is often contrasted with rhyming *pylgeint* ‘day-break’ (see CC 291, and cf. EWSP 437.60; CBT II 26.1-2; IV 14.20); with *gwawr* in §18.55.

- 8 **dyd ymaruogawr (ms ymamogawr)** Scribal confusion of minims. Impers. of vb *ymaruogi* 'to arm' (GMW 121) in a literal or more likely a spiritual sense as found in CC 26.1-3 which opens in the manner of a morning lorica praying for the protection of Christ's Cross as armour: *Kyntaw geir a dywedaw/ Y bore ban kywodaw: 'Croes Crist yn wissc ymdanaw' // Ar helv uy ren y guiscav hetiu . . . Guiscaw ymdanaw yn berth.*
- 9 **nos ymorfflowyssawr** Unsyncopated form of *gorffowys*, as in §4.251 *gorffowysseis* (see note) and all CBT examples; six syllables, however.
- 10 **maswed a uolhawr** See GPC s.v. *maswedd* for original positive meanings including 'entertainment, happiness, mirth; easy life', etc. But if pejorative 'frivolity', see on line 11.
- 11 **y wrth wledic mawr** See GMW 200-1 for range of meanings of *y wrth* ('from, concerning; in comparison with', etc.). In the light of God's bounty, detailed in following lines 12-15, 'from' seems most likely. But not impossible is 'Frivolity is what is praised in comparison with the great lord'. The *gwledic mawr* is understood as God, not a secular lord, for concatenation with line 12.
- 12 **Mawr Duw digones** See §8.19 for frequent examples of vb *digoni*, such as CC 1.5 *Gur dicones remedaut elbid*, 1.1, 1.3, etc. *Digones* could be rel. (with pronoun not needed before *di-*, or else fronted subject: see discussion §5.83 and §5.104-5.
- 15 **bud coet a mäs** *Coet/maes* often collocated, see on §11.17 *Ef ymaes, ef yg koet*, where further examples of disyllabic *mäs* are noted.
- 16 **Galwetawr yr aches** With the *-etawr* ending (GMW 121), cf. *golchettawr* in line 30 below; PBT 9.12 (Ymarwar Llud Bychan) *dysgogettawr*; CC 20.29 and 44 *dygetawr*; CC 21.132 *dygettaur*; CC 20.35 *lloscetawr*. Not attested in CBT corpus although *-itor* and *-ator* forms are: see General Introduction, 23.
Yr may be a mistake for *ar* (as used in line 17). For vb *galw* with *ar*, cf. §5.47-8 *Gelwyssit ar neifon/ ar Grist*; §8.19 a *galwn ar y Gwr a'n digones*, and examples in G s.v. But *galwettawr* is used without a following prep. in line 18. *Aches* 'tide' see §4.168, §5.137, §8.18, etc. and compare especially the description of the impending Judgment with unnatural ebbing and flowing of the seas: CC 20.39-42 *Ef tynho aches/ Rac y varanres./ Difurn dyd reges:/ Gwae a'e harhöes* 'the tide will flow in the face of his wrath. The day of the ebbing will be manifest: woe on those awaiting it'. See further note CC 192-3. *Aches* is also used figuratively for a flow of words: see on §4.168. If so, perhaps 'the utterance will be voiced to the . . .'. An emendation of *aches* to *achles* (cf. PT II.8 for rhyming *maes/achles*), with prep. *yr* 'for, for the sake of' is also possible: 'In order to have protection, there will be a calling on the radiant immeasurable One'. But see below on lines 17-18.
- 17 **ar eilic aghymes** Understood as two adjs. used nominally of the fierce ocean, but possibly of God himself. See G s.vv. *geilic* 'bright, sparkling; lively, spirited' (of animals, fish, etc.), also as noun 'radiance, spirit'; and see §4.76 on *aghymes*, used by Prydydd y Moch alone of the early poets. Cf. especially §8.18-21 *aches/digones/aghys* (recte *aghymes*)/*väs* for the succession of rhyme-words. Six syllables as it stands, but see end of note on line 18.
- 18 **pop reges (ms neges)** If *neges* 'message', then 'every message will be voiced, "May God save me!"'. This is not impossible; perhaps delete *pop* for better sense. If *neges* 'mission' (see CA 102, CLIH 74, on collocation EWSP 407.21

Tonn tyruit toit aches./ pan ant kynrein [y neges]/ Gwen gwae ryhen ry'th golles), then 'every mission is summoned'.

The emendation to *reges* (< L. *recessus*) is suggested on the basis of the rhyming *aches* (< L. *accessus*) and *dyd reges* in CC 20.39-40, quoted above in the note to line 16. CC 192-3 suggests 'ebb-tide' in addition to GPC 'retreat, return, departure, death', and that meaning is favoured here. The idea is that the Judgment will be presaged by unusual ebbing and flowing of the seas, summoned by God. Lines 16-18 have six syllables (cf. lines 5, 7 and 9): they have not been regularised in the translation, but could be restored thus: *Galwettawr aches,/ geilic aghymes;/ galwettawr reges,/ Deus dymgwares.*

- 19 **Dēus dy-m-gwares** Cf. §14.14 *Dēws* (em.); very common in poetry, see G, CC 371. *Dy-m-gwares*: see GMW 128 on 3sg. pres. subjunct. forms *gwares*, *ryres*, etc. with optative meaning. *Gwares* was used in 12c and 13c poetry: CBT V 5.63-4 *Duw/ Dyn ym myd a'n gbares*; VI 10.75-6 *poed Gōr Gwarded/ A'm gwares o boen.*
- 20 **A chyn dybydyn** *Cyn* 'before' preferable to *cy(n)* 'although'. 3pl. consuetudinal past according to GMW 137; classed as future by G s.v. *dyfor*. Translated here loosely with G. On early loss of *-t*, see GMW 120.
- 21 **llwyth byt** Cf. CC 20.27 *Llwyth byt yg griduan*; also CBT I 33.65 *Paōp pressennaōl lōyth*; IV 17.49 *llwyth eluyt*; and cf. II 26.185 *a llu y byd*; III 3.99 *pobl byd*; V 11.17 [*l*]lu byd, etc.
- 21 **vn bryn** The hill of Judgment, as in CC 14.16-17 *In vn llv. . . Hid im pen vn brin erbin ev barnv.* The site of Judgment was sometimes connected with Vale of Jehoshaphat (on the basis of Joel 3:12 'for there will I sit to judge all the heathen roundabout'), with the nearby Mount of Olives (as in CBT VI 10.50 *Deuwn rac y uronn Urynn Olifer*) or Mount Zion (see on §1.19 *Mynyd Syāwn*). See §22.1 for comparable *un Duw*, *unDuw* 'one and only God'; *vn bryn* perhaps conveying 'that one special hill'.
- 22 **ny ellynt ronyn** See G s.v. *grawn*, for singulative *gronyn*, lit. 'a grain' but figuratively 'a tiny thing'. See introduction on the significance of the grain.
- 23 **heb gyfoeth Mechtēyrn** Ifor Williams, *B* 10 (1939-41), 40, translates 'without the wealth of God'. The idea is reiterated in lines 50-51 *Ny digonir nebawt/ heb gyfoeth y Trindawt.* *Mechtēyrn* of God rather less frequent than of secular ruler, but CC 10.41 [*m*]echtēyrn byt; CBT I 33.12 and 85 (Meilyr ap Gwalchmai) *Mechdeyrn kaeroed, na cheryd vi*; *Glan Mechteyrn.* For *-rn* rhyming with final nasals, cf. §1.28-9 *Uffern/llenn*; §23.19-20 *caletlwm/ascwrn*; AP lines 18-19 *mechtēyrn/gwynyn*; lines 99-100 *Glywyssyg/mechtēyrn*; EWSP 334 *carn/cann/ glan; digyung/gedyrn*, classed with Irish rhyme.
- 24 **Ef a'e tawd yn llyn** On the malting process described in lines 24-9, and its spiritual interpretation, see introduction above. The vb *todi* here and in line 26 below brings to mind the fierce fires which will rage on earth at the Judgment (II Peter 3:12), hellfire (cf. CBT I 20.16 *taōd tanaōl*; VII 52.1), and sinners who are melted or liquified (see PKM 294-5; St Beuno's melting of the evil prince Caradog, VSB 18 *y todes y brenhin yn llynn tawd*).
- 25 **hyny vo eginyn** Lit. 'until it may be a sprout'.
- 27 **yn vall** 'Malt, drink made from malt', CA 249, CLIH 232, PKM 295. GPC s.v. *mall*² suggests plausibly that it may be the same as *mall*¹ 'plague, infection, decay,

blight, putrefaction; mortality, destruction', also figuratively, and as adj. 'rotten, corrupted; bad, evil, damned', etc. See introduction above on the literal and spiritual meanings.

- 28 **dreuhawc dyderuyd** ModW *dreuhawg* 'stinking, rank' not found otherwise in pre-1283 poetry. The vb *drewi* is used to describe the rotting away of the grain in the earth before coming to life once more. This forms part of the Christian instruction, based on I Corinthians 15, given by Rolant to the pagan: '*Duw. . . a wna dyfu o'r plenhigyn pren yn uchel, a'r gronyn gwenith, gwedi drewho yn y ddaear a'i farw, a'i gwna i dyfu ac i ffrwythaw yn fyw drachefn, yntau a wna gyfodi pawb y dydd diwethaf o feirw i fywyd*', YCM 31. Cf. the stench of Lazarus's body in the grave in John 11:39.
- 29 **dy-s-gofac yr eluyd** Understanding 'that which the earth rears', i.e. the grain, as the subject of *dyderuyd* in line 28. The idea of the earth rearing is found in §12.9 *Lleaws creadur a vac Terra*; of the equatorial zone in §25.43 *a dyofac anlles*; and of the consuming earth, EWSP 439.77 *Tywarchen Ercal . . / a gwedy rys mac rys mal*; CC 29.8 *daear. . / Meint a dyofac (em.) a ys* 'the Earth swallows all it rears'; CBT I 18.25 (Elidir Sais) *O'r a fag daear, hi a'i dwg—o'i phlant*, and VI 32.3-4 (Dafydd Benfras) *A bacco, treul gyffro trang./ Yn bnawr y llawr a'e llwng*, all echoing Ecclesiastes 12:7 *et revertatur pulvis in terram suam unde erat*, but see also CLIH 227, and EWSP 601 for Greek parallels. I Corinthians 15's treatment of the resurrection of the dead is discussed in the introduction.
- 30 **Golchettawr y lestri** See on line 16 *galwetawr*. Clean vessels are vital for successful brewing. But again, a spiritual interpretation is likely, cf. Matthew 23:26 (the hypocrisy of the scribes and Pharisees, like 'whited sepulchres' and vessels dirty on the inside); II Timothy 2:21 'If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work'; Matthew 9:17 'Neither do men put new wine into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out' (Mark 2:22; Luke 5:38). Although Scripture does not mention brewing nor ale, the idea here is somewhat similar to the idea that old leaven must be cleaned away: I Corinthians 5:7 'Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened'.
- 31 **Blt groyw y vreci** The *brecci* 'wort of ale' causes the ale to work, as noted in §7.37 *brecci boned llyn*. *Croyw* is used for clear water, speech, poetry; some compound adjs. have overtones of 'pure, holy'. The wort of ale is heated to purify it.
- 32 **anawell** G s.v. suggests *nawell* for five syllables, but many lines in this poem have six syllables. See J.E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traethodydd*, 1980, 46-7 on (a)*nawell* 'mature, clear' in the Juvencus englynion (BWP 90). Lines 31-2 are likely to have spiritual meaning, see introduction.
- 34 **dydyccawr rac rieu** *Rieu* can be pl. 'kings' or, as understood here, sg. for God (as in CBT I 3.2 *Rieu, R6yf eluyt*; IV 16.116 and 224 *bendigeit—Rieu; Ar deheu vy Rieu*; IV 18.89 *Can wyd Rieu hael*; V 13.33 *Ar deheu Rieu*; VI 27.98 *I'm Rhiau goreu*, etc.).
- 35 **y keingyfedeu** *Y* is ambiguous: either 'to', or a pronoun. If pl. *rieu*, then 'their'; if sg. 'his' or 'its' (referring to the ale), with unrealized lenition of *keingyfedeu*. *Cyfed* 'feast, sustenance' (cf. CC 17.12 *Poet y'm heneit y da gyfedeu*), but also frequently 'feast companion' (CLIH 146, CA 293), possible here.

- 36 **Nys gwrthryn pop deu** *Gwrthryn* 'cast out, send back, refuse, withstand', with *pop deu* 'every pair' as a marginally more likely subject than *rieu*. *Pop deu* '(in) twos', GPC s.v. *pob*, perhaps referring to pairs of feasters (cf. GLGC 226.35 *Croesaw a ddaw i bob ddau*), although Gerald of Wales notes (*Descriptio Cambriae* I.10) that the Welsh sat in threes, not in twos.
- 37 **y mel a'e goreu** Honey was added to malted liquor in order to aid fermentation and to produce a stronger drink that would keep longer. Bragget (*bragawt*, see §6.58 and §9.70) also used honey, but in greater quantity. In strength, bragget stood between mead and wine and ordinary ale, and was an export brew of some repute: a recipe as well as the Welsh name found its way to Ireland by the 10c.: see EIF 334-5; Paul Russell, 'Brittonic words in Irish glossaries', in FS Evans 166-82, pp. 167, 173, 175. 'Welsh ale', very likely to be bragget, is mentioned in Anglo-Saxon sources such as the 909 charter '12 [sesters] of sweet Welsh ale': *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A.J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1939), 38; see also 12 and 272 for its use in medicine and charms. Monckton, *History of English Ale*, 30-31, thought it was a 'variety of ale originally brewed in Wales and which achieved such distinction that it was imitated in other parts of the country . . . it seems likely that it was very sweet and contained spices'. *Y* either unusual use of independent def. art. (*o'r, y'r*, etc. are quite common), or else *y* 'their'.
- 38 **Duw etuynt yn of** See on line 1 for *etuynt*. The first part of the line is understood as address to God. GPC *of* 'crude, untreated, uncooked, raw; ?bitter, sharp, nauseating, sickly; something raw or crude; particle' is more easily accommodated than *ynof* 'within me'.
- 39 **yt vyd yn y vod** If *bod* 'wish' one might expect *can y vod*, *wrth y vod*, *o'e vod* or *trwy y vod*, 'according to his wish', although GPC s.v. *bodd* notes this example. If so, cf. perhaps I Corinthians 15:38 'But God giveth it [grain] a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body'. If *mod* 'way, condition, type, state', as in translation, then referring to the bitterness of the ale contrasted with the honey which was used to make it — that is, its condition has been altered. Cf. §4.144 *cwrwf pan yw ystern* which enquires why beer is bitter. Irish rhyme *of vod*.
- 41 **gorwyth medw medwhawt** On vb form *gorwyth* interpreted with GPC as 'he made', see §4.81-2 *Yn Annwffyn y diwyth, / yn Annwffyn y gorwyth*. As it stands, the adj. *medw* is understood as nominal here, either sg. or pl. 'drunken one(s); drinker(s)'. But it is conceivable that original *med* was corrupted to *medw* under the influence of following *medwhawt* (on which see §4.211-12 *pan yw mor medwhawt, / pan yw du pyscawt*). If so, then 'God made mead intoxicating with a sparkle [like that] of fish'. The rhyme block over three rather than four lines may indicate that a line is missing between 41 and 42; on the other hand, §4.211-12 rhymes *medwhawt/pyscawt* as here.
- 42 **O vynut (ms ovynut) pyscawt** *Mynut* 'courtesy, behaviour; manner, gesture, movement'; as adj. 'courteous, well-mannered, refined; generous', etc. If connecting with line 41, perhaps *o* 'of' 'of the manner of fish', i.e. the drunkards are like fish. But see on line 41 for another possibility.
- 43 **meint y godrefi** GPC s.v. *godref* 'homestead, booth, small dwelling', no other medieval attestation. Presumably referring to the homes of the fish, but perhaps the drinkers in line 41. The significance of lines 42-3 is uncertain.

- 45 **kyntraeth (ms kyn traeth) reuerthi** The rare word, *cindraid* glosses *L. ledona* 'neap tide', in NLW Peniarth 540, a manuscript of Bede's *De Natura Rerum*, copied at Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion in the first half of the 12c: Daniel Huws, MWM 104-22, pp. 115, 119-20. On the reverence for Bede, see discussion of §10.37 *Nyt wy dyweit geu llyfreu Beda*. Since only these two examples of the word survive, it is impossible to know whether there was ever a semantic development similar to that of OIr *contracht* which developed the additional meaning 'misfortune' (DIL s.v.).
Reuerthi is a variant of common *ryferthwy* (CA 267, and see MWM 119 n.51 for use of *rhyferthwy* in sense of 'spring tide' as late as 1696). The word (in the spelling *riberthi*) glosses *malina* in the same portion of the Llanbadarn *De Natura Rerum*. It also occurs in §8.44 *ket ryferthi* where it is used figuratively for an abundance of gifts (see note). In the present example, the two are understood adverbially. But in view of the figurative meaning in §8.44, there is a possibility of word-play here, with the expanse of exposed shingle as the *reuerthi*, seen to best effect at ebb or neap tide.
- 47 **y dan tywawt** Possibly connecting with line 46 referring to the shingle revealed beneath the sand (see on line 46); or else with following lines, in which case it may be a conventional way of denoting the grave (see examples in note on §19.20).
- 48 **amkeud yor (ms y ar) teithiawc** The vb form *amkeud*, written as two words in the ms, is discussed in CA 151 and LEWP 74 n.27: 'Here again *am keud* must be a vb of saying or declaring, like *amcawd*, *amceudant*, . . . for it is followed by a statement in Direct Speech'. GPC s.v. *amcawdd* follows CA 151 in treating it as 3sg. pret. 'said'. However, Fredrik Otto Lindeman, 'Welsh *dywedaf*', *B* 31 (1984), 93-100, p. 98, favours 1sg. pret., taking following *y* as pronoun: 'I said rightfully: I alone saved myself', while not ruling out 3sg., translating, 'He said: I alone have separated myself from the Rightful-One'. The first attempt understands *ar teithiawc* as 'rightfully, justly', but although he refers to GMW 184 (*ar* + noun denoting manner or condition), that is not a correct parallel. The second attempt requires the direct speech to begin in the middle of the line, which seems awkward. Because of the difficulty of accommodating *y ar teithiawc*: 'from one with proper right/characteristics', Ifor Williams (LEWP 74 n.27) suggested the emendation of *y ar* to *yor* 'Lord' which gives excellent sense with *teithiawc*, and is adopted here. On Irish rhyme *-awc/-awt*, see EWSP 334.
- 49 **Mi hun a'm gwarawt** GPC s.v. *gwardaf*: *gwaredu*, *gwarded* (common 3sg. pret. form) 'delivered, ransomed, saved', etc. This may relate to the gospels' account of the Crucifixion, as noted in the introduction above, 'If thou be Christ, save thyself' (Luke 23:37, 39, etc.), but perhaps the doctrine of Atonement (Mark 10: 45 'to give his life a ransom for many', etc.).

14 Teithi etmygant

This poem poses problems, especially at the beginning where the identity of the one described (if the translation is accepted) as 'a fierce (or 'foreign') combatant shifting like a whirlpool' (lines 3-5) is in some doubt; he may conceivably be the speaking persona himself. The difficulty is compounded by the *Tryffin garant* 'the kinsmen of Tryffin' in line 2 also being uncertain: they may possibly be the kin or descendants of Tryffin, grandson of Rhodri Mawr of Gwynedd (connected in the genealogies with the area around Y Rhiw in Llŷn), or the better evidenced father of Aergol of Dyfed (or another southern ruler of the same name, see commentary). Whoever they are, they seem to be ready to acknowledge true or rightful qualities in others, perhaps here admiring the poet 'as he strikes the string'. However, this interpretation is very uncertain, and alternatives, such as the possibility of a lamentation for a dead warrior or leader, are discussed in the commentary on lines 1-5.

What does seem indisputable, however, is a desire for a degree of inclusivity, for naming illustrious figures connected with different regions of Wales and beyond: thus we have Maelgwn 'of Anglesey'; the nodal ancestor Coel 'and his whelps', a designation that by the central Middle Ages was claimed by the line of Gwynedd but also by rulers in Deheubarth and Powys; Dyfydd (perhaps a mistake for Dyfyr, son of Alun Dyfed) 'from Aeron'; Gwrweddw and his sons (associated with Ergyng in the south-east); Brân (a figure connected with north-east Powys); Tryffin (as noted above); and especially the men of Gwent. The attacks of 'the long-haired Gwenhwys', surely long in the past, on Caerwrangon (Worcester) are admiringly portrayed, as is King Ynyr Gwent's taking of hostages (possibly reflected in a garbled form in the story, *Culhwch ac Olwen*), his lavish hospitality 'in a hundred calends feasts', and his fame as 'the red reaper of the men of Wessex' at the battle of Harddnenwys (see commentary). Indeed, after several lines of conventional battle descriptions, the poem ends with the assertion that the land of Ynyr will surely continue to be reddened by bloodshed.

The speaker's references to himself may give some clue as to the imagined performance scenario. As in other poems of this collection, he connects himself with Seon — possibly the fort on Conway mountain opposite Degannwy, implying that poets flock there because he is noted for his proud wordcraft (lit. 'word-sowing'). At least four other strands provide links with other poems in this collection, confirming that the poem is spoken by the Taliesin voice. Firstly, we see the questions about where the day hides from the night (6-7), and more obscure questions in lines 12-13. Secondly, there is a characteristic note of challenge to other practitioners ('Does the one skilled in poetry know what hearts conceal?', lines 8-9), as well as a rhetorical appeal to the audience as to which of the great figures (and the regions they represent) should be awarded precedence in the gathering. Thirdly, the speaker boasts about his own contacts across time

and space: he has quaffed wine in the great hall of Uffin and in Gododdin, has been a sage attendant on the legendary Brân, and he has sung the praise of Urien '[way] beyond Dygen' (the Breiddin hills of Shropshire) — a rare coupling with the leading figure of the Northern resistance, as relayed by the *Historia Brittonum*. Finally, we see the common element of praise to God, in this instance (if I understand the text correctly), for his wisdom and grace and his offer of salvation to the somnolent sinner; there is also an exhortation to the Cymry, now in charge of the 'strongholds' (see below), to give praise (?and thanks) to their loving Father. In addition, the paronomasia employed in using the words *llawen* 'happy' and *kerdenhin* 'wanderer' (but both river names as well) is consistent with Taliesin's word-play elsewhere.

The question arises as to what occasion might suit a performance of a piece like this which has so many varied elements. One possibility is that it was performed 'in the story' — i.e. imagined to be happening at the court of Maelgwn at Degannwy on an occasion when he was receiving visitors. Another is that the mask or persona of Taliesin was used in a real-life setting, not just to provide entertainment, but to foster solidarity in a gathering of representatives from different kingdoms, or satellite regions. Diplomatic flattery could well have turned to the doings of fifth- and sixth-century heroic worthies. The mention of an attack in the past on Worcester raises the possibility that a more recent event there, the Treaty of Worcester in 1218, is fresh in the mind. From 1212 to 1217, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd had made massive gains, especially in the virtually national campaign of 1215 when eleven princes served with him, enabling the capture of seven castles, Carmarthen, Cardigan, Senghennydd, Cydweli, Llansteffan, St Clears, Laugharne, Trefdraeth and Cilgerran (is this perhaps the thrust of our line 18 referring to the *Kymry kaerwedawc* 'the Welsh in control of strongholds?'). Llywelyn's mastery by 1218 was such that as '*de facto* prince of native Wales'¹ he sought new terms with the English, agreed at Worcester. In the years that followed he was able to consolidate his position, aiming, as R.R. Davies says, 'to create a federation under his presidency rather than to amalgamate the various principalities and regions into a single unit', continuing his practice of summoning assemblies, as he had already done in Aberdyfi in 1216. Davies points to the 'elaboration of a historical and legal mythology to explain and justify Gwynedd's hegemony in Wales', including the legend that Maelgwn Gwynedd was chief king of Wales with authority over the lords (*ieirll*) of Mathrafal, Dinefwr and Caerleon.² It was clearly important for Llywelyn to maintain control over eastern central Wales through astute marriage alliances and diplomacy as well as military might, and to maintain his alliances further afield in Glamorgan and Gwent. Is it possible, then, that the emphasis on Gwent in our poem — if it does indeed emanate from this period — indicates a particular topical need or concern to include them in his scheme of unity, as it

¹ R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1991), 243, and 241-51 for Llywelyn's later career.

² Davies, *Conquest*, 246; discussed in detail by Morfydd E. Owen, 'Royal propaganda: stories from the law-texts', in WKC 224-54, pp. 232-8 and 251-2.

had been important for Llywelyn in 1216 to secure the allegiance of Morgan ap Hywel of Gwynllŵg, lord of Caerleon in Gwent.³ Clearly, we are in the realm of speculation here, but several collocations and locutions, signalled in the commentary, are not inconsistent with the diction of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's chief poet, Prydydd y Moch, as discussed in the General Introduction, 27-36. The short line (5-6 syllables) gives way to a 4+4/ 4+4 patterning in lines 57-8.

³ Owen, WKC 235 argues convincingly that Morgan is a likely candidate for the title of *iarll* of Caerleon mentioned in the law-text story of the supremacy of Maelgwn Gwynedd.

14 Teithi etmygant
Book of Taliesin 41.16 - 42.15

Teithi etmygant
They admire qualities
yn Tryffin garant,
being Tryffin's kin,

◊¹ gallwgyd anchwant,
[who are] eager for a fierce combatant
sybwl symduant²
shifting like a whirlpool

5 **ban erdifel tant.**³
as he strikes the string.

Neu nos, cwt dyuyd?
the night — where will it come?

kwd dirgel rac dyd?
where does it hide from the day?

A wyr kerd geluyd
Does the one skilled in poetry know

py gel kal-lonyd?
what hearts conceal?

10 **A'm dyro a'm de**
May he give me [?once more] the [?sun] that warms me
o'r parth pan dwyre.
from the region from which it rises.

Py dyduc llyw gayaf?
What conveyed the leader in the winter?

py gyt dechreu lle?
what union [was there] in the place of origin [Eden]?

Yn Dëws⁴ echiawc,
Our generous God,
15 **ffus, ffous ffodiawc:**
the famous, fortunate omniscient one:

Ef duhun hunawc,
He wakens the sleeper,

Ef gobryn karawc
He merits a flow [of praise]

¹ ms *gallawc*

² ms *symaduant*

³ ms *tanc*

⁴ ms *dewis*

Kymry kaeruedawc
from the Cymry in their strongholds
y tat caradawc.⁵
to their dear Father.

20 **Dear meneiuon,**
Clamorous are the hosts,
dear mynawc Mon,
clamorous is the ruler of Anglesey,
mawr erch anudon.
[because of] great and shocking perjury.

Gwenhwys gwallt hiryon
The long-haired men of Gwent
am Gaer Wyragon.
around Worcester.

25 **Pwy a tal y keinion?**
Who deserves the drink of honour?
ae Maelgwn o Von?
Maelgwn from Anglesey?
ae Dyfydd o Aeron?
or Dyfydd from Aeron?
ae Coel a'e kanawon?
or Coel and his hounds?
ae Gwrwedw a'e veibon?
or Gwrweddw and his sons?

30 **Nyt anchward y alon**
His enemies do not laugh
o Ynyr wystlon.
because of the hostages [taken by] Ynyr.
Ef kyrch kerdoryon
Poets make for
se syberw Seon.
one in (Caer) Seon with his proud [word-]sowing.

Neur dieryueis-i win⁶
I have quaffed wine
35 **ymordei Vffin,**
in the great hall of Uffin,
ymoroed⁷ Gododin;
in the seas [of drink] of Gododdin;

⁵ ms *garadawc*

⁶ ms *dierueis irin*

⁷ ms *ymorthoed* with punctum delens beneath -t-

ysceiŋrith⁸ kyfrenhin,
[I was] a potent one in dispersed form,
Bran bore dewin.

the early-rising sage of Brân.

Wyf kerdenhin hen,
I am an ancient wanderer,

40 **wyf kyfreu lawen,**
my speech is happy,

a thraw y Dygen,
and beyond Dygen,

meu molawt Vryen.
mine is the praise of Urien.

Eiryan eiryoës,
One of a brilliant nature,

llyminawc llu moës:
behaving [as befits] an eager leader of an army:

45 **ruduedel Iwys⁹**
the red reaper of the men of Wessex —

rudyn a'e llynwys;
those who defiled him became bloodstained;

kat yn Hardnenwys,
a battle in Harddnenwys,

Ynyr a'e briwys.
Ynyr stabbed them.

Kant kalan cynnwys,
a welcome in a hundred calends-feasts,

50 **kant car am y uwys.**
a hundred kinsmen at his table.

Gweleis wyr goruawr
I saw strong men

a dygyrchynt awr.
who were making for battle.

Gweleis waet ar llawr
I saw blood on the ground

rac ruthyr cledyfawr;
in the face of a rush of swords;

55 **glessynt escyll gwawr,**
the wings of the dawn were becoming blue

⁸ ms ysceirurith

⁹ ms auwys

escorynt-vy waywawr.

[as] spears launched forth.

Trychant kalan kyman clotuawr

For three hundred [more] calends — [in] an assembly of note —

Ynyr artir yn wir cochawr.

shall Ynyr's land surely be reddened [with blood].

- 1 **Teithi etmygant** Also at beginning of preceding poem §13.1 *Teithi etmynt* (recte *etmygynt*); at the head of an awdl, CA lines 178-9 *Teithi etmygant/ tri llwry nouant*; elsewhere in poetry, *teithi* is very common (e.g. §4.73; §8.38; CC 10.5, CC 24.4 and 6, etc.) as is adj. *teithiawc*: e.g. PT VIII.27 *mal ton teithiawc Llwyfenyd*; CA line 1095; §13.48; §15.30; PBT 5.8; 8.34 *teithiawc Mon*; CC 20.71, etc.).

Edmyc/edmic and vb forms, esp. impers., are common (CA lines 56 *Hyueid Hir etmygir tra vo kerdawr*, 1129 *a hyt orfen byt etmyc vydant*; 1395 (Gwarchan Cynfelyn) *Etmygir e vab Tecvann*, etc.), but not in Book of Taliesin except in AP line 164 *Etmyccawr hyt Vrawt*, and title [*Ed*]mic *Dinbych*. The only collocation of *teithi* and *edmyg* apart from this and CA line 178 is by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 2.28-9 *Marchogwyr hyd bell ar dy deithi./ Gwell wytt, un edmyc treissyc, no'r Tri*.

- 2 **yn Tryffin garant** Common *carant* 'relatives; friends'; with *dichwant* in §15.22-3. With personal name: AP line 145 *Garmawn garant*; §24.10 *carant Casnur*, etc. In the 14c, a *Tryffin* is a touchstone of martial valour in GGM III 1.15 *Tryffin beleidr*, and in Rhisierdyn's elegy for Sir Hywel y Fwyall, Constable of Cricieth castle (GSRh 6.60 *deulid Tryffin*, and note on p. 102 for cywydd instances). *Tryffwn* in CBT I 3.113 *Am drefan Dryffwn*; TYP³ 507 *Drutwas m. Tryffin/ m. Driffin* = CO lines 200 and 364. In genealogies, the name occurs in the Dyfed line, *Aircol map Triphun map Clotri* (also LL 125); *Ayrcol lawhir m. Triphun m. Ewein vreisc*; *Triphun map Regin [Rhain] map Morgetiud* (obit *Annales Cambriae* s.a. 814 *Trifun*); and in the Gwynedd line, *Tryffin ap Merfyn* [ap Rhodri Mawr] 'yd henyw gweheliaeth y Rhiw o Lelyn ohonaw' (EWGT 10; 45; 11; 101). Also VSB 152 king *Triphunus* in Rhygyfarch's Life of St David. On TRILVNI for possible *TRIBBVNI, see CIB 91 n.465. Which one of these characters, if any, is in our present example is uncertain. On ON name *Þorfinnr* (*Thor-*, *Tor-*, *Thur-*, *Tur-*, *Ture-*, etc.), see G.P. Jones, 'The Scandinavian element in Welsh', *ZcP* 16 (1927), 162-6, at p. 166. There is no particular reason to restore *tryffun* 'panting' (of horses, CBT III 16.207), or a formation from *ffin*. *Yn* is understood as predicative 'as, since they are' rather than 'in' or 'our'.

- 3 **◊ (ms gallawc) gallwgyd anchwant** A seemingly corrupt line, possibly two lines in origin: *gallawc* is not attested, but is possibly an adj. formed from *gall* 'foreigner' (< *Gallus* 'Gaul', or Irish *Gall*), cf. *gallosb*, §1.10 *Gallwydel*, or else a mistake for *gwallawc* 'faulty, negligent', or the personal name *Gwallawc*. G, while noting possible formation from *gall* 'foreign, fierce' or from *gallu*, i.e. 'powerful', is probably right to delete it as a copyist's slip before *gallwgyd* 'fierce or foreign warrior' (< *gall* + *gwgyd* with G, and EWSP 519, though not noted in

GPC). On *anchwant*, see on §5.80 *anwhant* and 187, where its unique use in the sense 'eager, avid' in the CBT corpus by Prydydd y Moch is noted. Here qualifying *gallwgyd*, or (as in translation) describing *Tryffin garant* who are eager for a combatant. But see on line 4 for alternatives.

- 4 **sybwill symduant** (ms *symadnant*) *Sybwill*: ELI 60; *B* 13 (1948-50), 184 'vortex, pool, pit', used of hellish abyss, etc. (see GPC). *G* regards *aduant* 'emptiness, vacuum, hollow, evanescence; transient; sad' (see §4.126) as the second element of *symaduant*; the first is obscure unless reformed from *symut* 'move, change'. *Sym*, 3sg. vb *siomi* (< ME *shom*, *some*) as in GGM II 1.172, is not attested before the 14c; and a mistake for *sy'n* 'which is in' seems unlikely. Alternatively, *sybwill syn aduant* 'a shockingly sad abyss [of misery]' (but *syn* is not early), or as in the translation, emend to *symut* + the element *mant* found in *difant*, *adfant*, *gormant*. If the line is indeed a boastful allusion to the poet's own prowess in poetic combat, or his ability to change shape, then the transition to his trademark questions, and later on in the poem to his past adventures, is more natural. But there remains the possibility, perhaps supported by the tenor of lines 8-9, that a brave warrior has been taken away, with loud lamentation to harp accompaniment.
- 5 **ban erdifel tant** (ms *tanc*) Emendation to *tant* with *G* and GPC for the rhyme. *G* treats otherwise unattested *erdifel* as 3sg. of **erdifelu* 'die, unravel, break' which he links with vb *belu* 'to strike, pierce, kill' (CC 9.12 *belsit*), cf. *ryfelu*, *oerfel*, etc. If so, with *pan* 'how, why', 'why does a string break?'; if *ban* 'loud', 'loudly does a string break'. If *pan* simply means 'when', then 'when he [i.e. the poet] strikes the string', as in the translation. It is not impossible, however, that *erdifel* is a mistake for *erdifwl* 'lament, grief', in which case cf. §4.156 *tant telyn py gwyn* 'the string of a harp, what does it lament?'. The interpretation of lines 3-5 remains uncertain.
- 6f **Neu nos cwt dyuyd/ kwd dirgel rac dyd** Cf. *cw* questions in §§1.17 and 41, 4.170; 7.7, etc. Here *pan* 'whence' would be preferable in meaning, and a scribe may have anticipated *kwd* in line 7. On day and night questions see §1.12 and 41. On *neu*, §1.3.
- 8 **a wyr kerd geluyd** See on §1.37 and §5.52 for *celuyd*.
- 9 **py gel kal-lonyd** Following *G* s.v. *cal-lon* rather than Tal 213 'why does he conceal his wisdom?' (*kanhonyd*), despite single *-n-* and unusual pl. form (normally *kal-lonneu*). This seems to be supported by *kal-lon* with vb *celu*, as in the proverbial sentiment, EWGP VI.10 *ny chel grud kystud kallon*; EWSP 451.28; CC 31.35 (attributed to Afaon son of Taliesin) reflected in CBT III 4.7 *Mel yd wyf yn kelu kallon yssic*; VI 33.23-4 *kallon a dorrir/ (Cof anwar galar, pa gelir?)*, and cf. idea of concealment of grief, III 12.51-2 *Ny chel uyg kert uy kwynuan./ Ni chut uy grut uy grituan*.
- 10 **A'm dyro a'm de** *G* s.v. *dyrodi* 3sg. subjunct. notes possibility of vb *dyrru* 'compel' (< *dy* + *gyrru*), although this is not used in early poetry. *A'm de* 'which burns, inflames, torments me', EWSP 450.18 *anaf a'm de*; in grieving context, EWSP 437.59 *Nyt agheu Ffreuer a'm de heno*; CBT II 32.13 *Gweleis le a'm de amdana6—heddiw*. See on lines 11 and 12.
- 11 **o'r parth pan dwyre** 'From the region whence it rises' suggests the sun as the subject of *a'm de* in line 10, cf. PT VI.2 *o'r pan dwyre heul hyt pan gynnu*; CBT V 14.38 *Hyd y daera6d heul, hyd y dwyre*; VI 18.74 *Hyd y dwyre heul hyd y*

dwyrein. Later, VII 40.58 *O'r lle kyuyt heul*; 40b.101 *O'r lle cyfyd haul hyd lle try araul*.

- 12 **Py dyduc llyw gayaf** Very uncertain because of the lack of end-rhyme in *-e* (proest in *-a* would be acceptable, but *gaea'* is unlikely; see, however, CC 69-70, for a possible example of rhyming *-af* and *-a*). *Py* 'why' or 'what' (GMW 76). If *llyw* of a secular leader, *gayaf* is most naturally understood adverbially: 'in the winter', a time for feasts and largesse (cf. CA lines 294-5 *nyt edewis e lys les kerdoryon Prydein/ Diw Calan Yonawr ene aruaeth*; CBT III 14.33; IV 4.158 *Hart y uart y uwrt Nadolyc*; VII 36.13-14 *g6isga6d bop gaeaf/ G6isgoed ymdanaf y ymdana6*, etc.). Is *llyw* object or subject? 'What did the leader carry [off] in winter?'; 'what carried the leader in winter?'; 'why did he carry away the leader in the winter?'. If for Christ, is this a possible reference to his nativity or flight to Egypt?; and is he the subject of *a'm de* in line 10? For a likely instance of a comparison between Christ and the sun, see CC 18.5 and p. 161. But if a mistake for *lliw* 'colour', perhaps emend for rhyme and sense to *gayaf gne* 'the colour of winter'; *lliw gayaf* would be a prosaic scribal modernisation. 'What took [away] colour of winter?'. This is all very uncertain and the line is left unemended.
- 13 **py gyt dechreu lle** Another obscure line. Nouns *cyt* 'circle, union, communion; intercourse' and *dechreu* 'beginning, origin, source' are possible; G s.vv. *kyt*, *dechreu*, suggests tentatively 3sg. pres. of *cytdechreu*, 'to begin, to start'. *Lle* is 'place' or the adj. 'sad' (CA 280).
- 14 **Yn Dëws (ms dewis) echiawc** G's suggestion (s.v. *echiawc*) to emend *dewis* to *dëws* is accepted; s.v. *dewis* he suggests *yn* 'my', but 'our' is equally likely. On *e(i)chiawc* 'free, ready, generous' see §6.66.
- 15 **ffus fföus ffodiawc** G's suggestion that *ffus* is from L. *fons* 'source; origin, creator' is not endorsed by GPC. It may well be a miscopying via *ffuf* of *ffur* 'sage', on which see §1.74 and §9.5. On *fföus* 'renowned' (< L. *fāmōsus*), see suggested restoration in §9.5. The scribe has written *ffo diawc*, suggesting he understood 'slow to flee, or retreat (see CA 179), but it is understood here as one word, see GPC s.v. *ffodiog* 'fortunate, lucky; prosperous, happy; auspicious'. See on line 17.
- 16 **Ef duhun hunawc** Cf. Ephesians 5:14 'Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light'.
- 17 **Ef gobryn karawc** See G s.v. *karrawc* 'spring, stream, river' and GPC for late attestations; it is rhymed with *ffodiawc*, as here, in Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin lines 149-54 *ni bo karaug ryd/ ond i'r Hebogyd./ Ys ryd pob karaug/ o bart yr [hebaug]./ Uyf bard hard mynaug/ mirain a ffodiaug*, where, as in our poem, a transferred meaning 'torrent of song' would be suitable. The place-name Carrog seems unlikely unless *Kymry kaeruedawc* were the subject of the vb rather than God, but note LIDC 18.23 (Beddau) *Yg Karrauc bet Gwallauc Hir* in the light of the uncertainty of line 2 *gallawc*.
- 18 **Kymry kaeruedawc** *Kaerwedawc* is a hapax not noted by GPC, but understood with G as an adj. 'with strongholds, castles' formed from rare *kaerwed* (CBT I 17.30 (Elidir Sais) *o'th feinín—gaerwedd*). But if the second element is *med-*, 'possessing castles'; if *gwed* 'yoke', perhaps 'brought under subjugation by means of castles'. See further on line 24.

- 19 **y tat caradawc (ms garadawc)** G regards [*c*]aradawc as 'dear, loving; friend, beloved', cf. CBT II 26.42, III 16.66 *keiryada6c*. But if it qualifies God the father (*tat*), as in the translation, the lenition is a problem and is emended accordingly. On the common personal name *Caradawc*, see §15.29; if the name is to be understood here, then the Cymry are 'yoked by means of castles to C's father': see EWGT 175 for possible candidates such as Ynyr Gwent (see on lines 31, 48, and 58 below), Cynfelyn, etc.
- 20 **Dear meneiuon** Adj. *dear* 'sad, bitter, cruel; loud', and noun 'clamour, lamentation'. Two other instances of *meneiuon* (ModW orthography = *meneifion*) in CC 11.36 *rex meneifion* (of God as 'king of hosts', see CC 103); and CBT IV 6.244 *Yn Aber, muner meneiuyon*. Derivation unclear.
- 21 **mynawc Mon** On *mynawc*, see §9.37. *Mon* very commonly used with *ud*, *gwledic*, *bugeil*, *rwyf*, *llyw*, etc. Note collocation of *mynawc* and *Mon* in an elegy, very likely by Prydydd y Moch, for Gruffudd ap Cynan who died in 1200 having taken the habit in Aberconwy: CBT V 11.48-9 *Un oet well, ut mwynbell Mon./Myna6c ardercha6c ardyrchauael beirt*. A praise poem by the same poet, this time to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd, uses the same collocation: CBT V 24.30 *Dy ueirt ynt heirtyon, ut Mon myna6c*. It is impossible to know what ruler is meant in our example.
- 22 **anudon** Often with *brat* 'treachery', and common, though not used in CBT corpus. There is no need to emend to *am Idon*, i.e. the personal name Iddon, son of Ynyr Gwent, or the problematic river-name (the latter in CBT IV 4.250 rhyming with *Gwennhwysson*), discussed by me in Alex Woolf (ed.), *Beyond Gododdin*, in preparation.
- 23 **Gwenhwys gwallt hiryon** *Gwenhwys* PT I.19 (see note, p. 20), CA 321; PBT 3.56 (Kychwedyl). *Gwallthiryon* is paralleled in poetry only by AP line 147 where the phrase describes the warriors who will come from Ireland. It may have overtones of foreign-ness or wildness, or extreme manly valour.
- 24 **am Gaer Wyragon** OE *Wigornaceastre*, etc. HB ch. 66a has *Cair Guiragon* and ch. 37 names a king *Guoyrancgon* ruling in Kent at time of Vortigern and Hengest. See G 96 and 749 for prose examples of the place-name. No historical sources record an attack on Worcester by the men of Gwent. Rhymed with *Mon* in CBT VI 31.49 *Perynt hynt hendref Wyrangon*, perhaps referred to because of the significance of the 1218 Treaty of Worcester in acknowledging Llywelyn I's gains during the campaigns of 1215-17, on which see the introduction above.
- 25 **Pwy a tal y keinion** Cf. §1.85, §8.43 for *keinyon* 'first drink, drink of honour'. Five syllables if def. art. *y* is omitted.
- 26 **ae Maelgwn o Von** On Maelgwn, see §8.24, and General Introduction 12. Two Triads link his name with Iddon son of Ynyr Gwent: no. 42 names his horse, Llwyd, along with Cethin, the horse of Iddon (see introduction to §15); no. 69 'Tri Budyr Hafren' has the corrupt *Calam varch Idon ap Ner [recte Ynyr] y gan Vaelgwn* (discussed TYP³ 194). For Ynyr and his family, see on line 31 below. For personal name + *o* + place of origin (not title), cf. CA 1311 (Gwarchan Tudfwlch) *Teithfyw o Von*; LIDC 18.71 *Bruin o Bricheinauc*; the locution is more frequent with common noun, e.g. CA line 196 *kynrein o Aeron*; R1049.27 *Dreic o Wyned*; LIDC 17.142 *arth o Deheubarth*, etc., and in *Duw o nef* type phrases.

- 27 **ae Dyfyd o Aeron** G classes this instance of *dyfyd* as a 3sg. fut. of vb *dyuot* 'to come'. The *ae* would be either rel. pronoun, perhaps with infixed object pronoun referring to his destination 'is it Maelgwn from Anglesey who will come there/to it from Aeron'. Perhaps Lloyd-Jones wanted to retain a triadic group for lines 26-9. A personal name is a more natural alternative, however, perhaps without *o* for a more regular line length. *Dyfyd*, not attested in EWGT, may be a variant of *Dafyd*, or a mistake for *Dyfyfyr*. If the latter, perhaps the same as BR 19, line 25 *Dyuyr uab Alun Dyuet* (placed near *Moruran Eil Tegit* and *Adaon mab Telyessin*); *Gereint* line 606. This would suit the Aeron region of Ceredigion (cf. PBT 6.10-11 (Rydyrchafwy Duw) *Pan welych wyr ryn am Lyn Aeron./ pan fo trwm Tywi a Theiui auon*). An unnamed son of Alun Dyfed (CO lines 185 and 725) is sought as an *ellygwr da* 'a good unleasher'. Both Alun Dyfed (mab Meigen) and his son, Rhun, are commemorated in a grave stanza, LIDC 18.74-5. In the late manuscript Cardiff 36, a *Dyfyfyr* (var. *Dyfrwr*, *Dyfyfwr*, *Dyfferwr*, *Dyffrwr*, *Divyraur*) is the child of Stradweul who is the wife of Coel and mother of Cenau (EWGT 90; TYP³ 244-5 where it is suggested that this *Dyfyfyr* may be *Dyfr Wallt Eureit* of Triad 88, a paragon of female beauty, as in GDG 52.13; WCD 136 assumes *Dyfyfyr/Dyfrwr* to be a man).
- 28 **ae Coel a'e kanawon** PT VI.11 *a cheneu vab Coel* (see p. 75 for suggested deletion of *vab*). Coel Hen was a nodal northern ancestor whose descendants were reckoned by the genealogists to include Urien, Llywarch, Gwallawg, Dunawd, Gwrgi and Peredur and others: see EWGT 178; TYP³ 314-15; WCD 136. The CBT corpus has nine instances of the term Coeling, especially for members of the Gwynedd royal line and relations in Powys and Deheubarth (see further on §23.13 'Cunedaf'). *Canawon* 'hounds', frequent with name of person or region, common for warriors as well as scions; see on §23.12 *y gwn*.
- 29 **ae Gwrwedw a'e velbon** Cf. the patronym of an abbot of Caerwent, LL 222 *Gurvetu*; but possibly a mistake for the commoner name *Gw(o)ruodw*, as in LL 230 *Gurbodu*; 158, 179, 180, 187, 188 and 190 *Gurvodu*; 191 *Guorvodu*. A Gwrfoddw was king of Eryng (*Gurvodius rex Ercycg*, LL 161-2), and was active c. 610-15 according to Wendy Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979), 172. He granted land in Bolgros (modern Bellimoor, Herefordshire) and the land for *Lann Guorboe* (Garway) to Bishop Ufelfyw. LL 161 includes a brief mention of his victory over the Saxons (. . . *uictoria in die belli super Saxoniam gentem*); his son Erfyg is named as co-witness to both charters. Gwrfoddw may well be the figure in our poem.
- 30 **Nyt anchward y alon** Sole instance of vb **anchwerthin* (G, GPC²); *dychwerthin* is found. Possibly restore *ny chward* for five syllables, although preceding lines have six syllables too. Does *y alon* 'his enemies' refer to Gwrwedw's opponents? Understatement (cf. CBT II 6.66 *Ac ni chward y gbr hi rac gortin*) indicating the distress wrought on Gwrwedw's enemies by the taking of hostages by Ynyr, his contemporary, and perhaps (if Gwrfoddw) his ally in Gwent against the Saxons.
- 31 **o Ynyr wystlon** See on line 30. Ynyr Gwent, father of King Iddon whose activities c. 600 granting Llan-arth, Llandeilo Bertholau and Llandeilo Gresynni to Teilo are recorded in LL 118, 121-4, along with a mention of his success in resisting Saxon incursions in his territory. Both Ynyr and Iddon figure in saints' lives (Teilo, Tatheus, Beuno): see WCD 643 and 379; TYP³ 404. In the Life of Beuno, Iddon travels to Pennardd in Arfon to avenge the death of his sister,

Digiwc, slain by her husband who was employed at Aberffraw. CBT I 9.86 *Gwledic Aberffraw a gwlad Ynyr* seems almost certain to refer to Gwent, and to Owain Gwynedd's aspirations to rule the length of Wales (but see note, p. 217 for an Ynyr in the poet's mother's line). *Ynyr* < L. *Honorius*.

The mention here of Ynyr's hostages is perhaps to be compared with Glewlwyd's great boasting of his past adventures in far-flung places (*Mi a uum gynt yGhaer Se ac Asse*, etc.), CO lines 118-20 *Mi a uum gynt yn ymladd deu Ynyr pan ducpwynt y deudec gwystyl o Lychlyn*, discussed CO 58-9. Who the 'two Ynyrs' are is unclear — is there textual contamination here from *deudec*? 'Two sons of Ynyr' are mentioned as members of Owain Cyfeiliog's warband in CBT II 14.64, or as touchstones for two previously named warriors (the latter is less likely, according to G. Aled Williams in CBT II, 244).

- 32 **Ef kyrch kerdoryon** On *ef* as particle, see §5.104; on *kerdoryon*, §5.43.
- 33 **se syberw Seon** On *Seon*, see §11.91. With *se*, cf. CBT I 7.87 *Eil marth maobr mor de, eil yrth, eil syrth se* where the note (p. 167, wrongly stating the provenance of our example as being in §13) favours 'scattered, in disarray'; 13.13 *Gnabd wedy ryserch ryse*, interpreted as 'great scattering'; V 14.29-30 *Caeroet Gbenlliant Gwynllybc se./ Caradwy lywy, lewych ystre*, where it is rendered 'seed, progeny' (following Loth, Stokes, and Vendryes, see p. 145); V 18.20 *Dy gletyf dy glod ryseas* 'Your sword has scattered your fame'; perhaps in the satire GGDT 12.11 *Alltud secreulyd sucán*, where 'bloody flux' might be suitable. The restoration of *ry se-ei* proposed in CLIH 92 is questioned in EWSP 532. With *syberw* 'proud' in the present example, *se* is perhaps 'the proud seed of Seon', i.e. the people of the region of (Caer) Seon; or if for a single person, with inversion, 'the one of Seon' (i.e. Taliesin) who excels in scattering (words, fame, etc.). The latter is tentatively suggested in the loose translation. For the idea of 'scattering, sowing fame, words', etc. cf. the seemingly related *hëu* in CBT V 8.13-14 *Ytt heu uyg kert nac ef uid/ Mal heu rac moch meryerid*; 14.37 *A chlodaw ei hawl, ei chlod a he*, and further examples at note on §1.91-2.
- 34 **Neur dieryueis-i win (ms neur dleruels irin)** G's suggested emendation (which follows Thomas Williams, Trefriw) is partially accepted, comparing vb *eryfet* in CA line 1174 *Neut eryueis y ued ar yg kerdet*; R584.4 *Eryueis-i <> win o wydyr gbynn*; 584.6 *Eryueis i <> win o gäbc*; EWSP 412.46 *Eryueis i win o gawc*; CBT II 2.55-7 *Eryueis dy win o'th wen adaf—diwed;/ Eryuaf dy bet, dy bod a wnaf./ Eryuant anant o eur, o aryant*; III 1.18 *Yryueis y'th lys, Leissya6n gyman*; 24.108 *Yryuassam-ny ued6 uet y Drefwenn*; IV 1.22 *Ac yryued creu ac eryuein*; V 25.9 *Eryr teyrnet, yryueis y uet*; 25.11 *Yryueis y win o'e ualch vuelin*. Also *yfeis + gwin + mordei* in CA lines 202 and 221 *Eveis-y win a med e mordei*; CBT I 3.73; 9.137; cf. 17.1 *Gnawd yr yfawd glyw gloyw-win—o fual*. No vb *dieryuet* otherwise attested; five syllables if *neut eryueis(-) win*. G also suggests 1sg. pret. of vb *diaruu* 'to disarm' (< *aryf*): if so, *rin* would presumably be 'secret power, quality', perhaps of poets' skill or knowledge or ability (as in *bardrin*), but parallels favour the emendation.
- 35 **ymordei Vffin** *Mordei* 'court(s)', see CA 73-4 on six instances in Gododdin materials; PT VIII.19 (see §15.41 on the interpretation of that line); §19.7 *Yscwydawl ymordei*; LIDC 17.11; CBT I 3.144; II 12.10; III 21.128.

Uffin was thought to be a region by Ifor Williams (CA, 30, discussing CA line 991 *kyn bu e leas oe las uffin*), followed by Jackson and Jarman: the location and

derivation are not known (perhaps *Ud* (as in *Mor Udd*); or *ud* ('lord' < earlier *iud*) + *ffin*, the latter a late formation (because an old compound *iud* + *ffin* would yield **Iffin*, cf. *Iuddhael* > *Ith(a)el*). Perhaps we are dealing with something Germanic — personal names *Uf(f)a*, *Wuffa* (as in the grandfather of Rædwald, and his descendants, the *Wuffingas*, mentioned in HE II.15 in connection with Edwin's conversion of Eorpswald); *Yffi*, son of Osfrith of Northumbria. Note also OE *Ifa*, *Yfing*, etc. in Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal-Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), pp. 300 and 429. *Uffin* does not feature in Koch's version of the *Gododdin* (GodA 118), although it is anchored by rhyme, and occurs in an identical form in our present instance. The Germanic names noted above are from *wulf* with loss of *-l-*. Perhaps cf. PT VII.11 *yn y doeth Vlph yn treis ar y alon*, and VII.29 *lletrud a gyfranc ac Vlph yn ryt*: although Ifor Williams, PT 83, suggests *Vlph* < L. *Ulpius*, see CIB 165 for a possible **Wlff*, comparable with OIr *Olcán* < **ulc^wo-* 'wolf'. Could *Vffin* have been used as a common name for the English?

- 36 **ymoroed Gododin** ms *ymorthoed* has a deleting point beneath *-t-*. Although *porthloed* 'harbour-town, refuge'; or *porthoedd* 'ports', 'porticos' are possible, the expected realization (with nasalisation) would be *ymporth(l)loed* in the regular orthography of the manuscript. *Ymoroed* (ModW *ym moroedd*) 'seas', here perhaps figuratively of copiousness, abundance of drink (an extension of *llyn!*) would seem a safer choice, assuming the *punctum delens* was intended for the whole digraph *th*. Alternatively, *ymorchwyd* (< *gorchwyd* 'great swelling, wrath, bravado') with *c* miscopied as *t*, and *-oe-* for *-wy-*: attested in CA line 632-3 *ny weleist emorchwyd mawr marchogyon/ wy ledin ny rodin nawd y Saesson*. See on line 37.

Gododin is rare in pre-1283 poetry outside the Book of Aneirin but cf. PT VII.16 *hyueid a gododin*, interpreted by Ifor Williams, PT 84-5, as 'the very bold ones (band) of (from) [*a = o* 'from?'] *Gododdin*'. Also in name of character in CO 624 *corn Gwlgawt Gododin* (ms *gogodin*); and region *Manau Guotodin*, HB ch. 62.

- 37 **ysceirurith kyfrenhin** *Ysceir* ~ *esgeir* 'leg, limb; ridge' + *brith* 'speckled; ?magic' (for latter meaning, see discussion of §5.3, 45, 166), conceivably 'mottled leg' if referring to Brân fab Llŷr's injury (see on line 38). But it may be a miscopying of *ysceinurith* or *ysceinrith* (< *ysgein* 'disperse, scatter'); the latter emendation is adopted as giving better sense (although 'dappled ridge' is not impossible). As well as being used of arms, hosts, sparks, water etc. (e.g. §5.205; §24.41 *huyscein*; §15.65 *ysceinat Dilyw*), *ysgein* is used of song, as in PBT 1.35 (Daronwy) *eu gwawt a yscein*, and of fame (e.g. CBT III 16.165; VI 8.1 and 40 *Clot ysgein*, etc.). Collocated with *moroed* 'seas' in R1050.33-4 (prophecy) *ysgein dros uoroed rif toruoed taruant*. *Kyfrenhin* ~ *kywrenhin* 'familiar, skilful, ready; powerful', etc., see on §5.81, noting especially CA lines 549-50 *ys gwyr talyessin/ ovec kywrenhin*. Here understood nominally.
- 38 **Bran bore dewin** *Dewin* (< *divinus*) very often used with *Duw* 'God'; in poetic and wisdom contexts, in PBT 8.37 (Romani kar) (with *drywon*); §25.59 *areith lif dewin*; CBT III 8.21-2 *Nis gwyr namyn Duw a dewinion—byd/ A diwyd dderwyddon*; VI 25.34-5 *Mi i'm byw be byddwn dewin/ Ym marddair mawrddawn gyssefin*; VII 32.19-20 *A dewinyon synnwyrdoethon, dethol gampeu./ A darogan prophdydi glan, glaer barableu*.

It seems more likely that the speaker is describing himself as the *dewin* associated with Brân, or perhaps Brân's people (see below on *Branfro* and *Brandir* in the north-east of Powys) rather than describing Brân as a *dewin*, the *ysceirurith kyfrenhin* (line 37). Taliesin's association with Brân son of Llŷr is vaunted in §8.31-2 *Bum y gan Vran yn Iwerdon:/ gweleis pan ladwyt mordwyt* (em.) *tyllon*, and §8.4-5 refers to him singing before *meibon Llŷr* in *Ebyr Hemuelen*. In the story of *Branwen* (PKM 44), Taliesin is named as one of the seven men who escaped from Ireland with the injured Bendigeidfran. See TYP³ 290-92 and note on §8.31. This Brân figure is cited as a paragon by Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch: CBT III 7.17 *Rut ongyr Bran vab Llŷr Lledyeith*; IV 17.71 *Rybu Uran uab Llŷr, llw rwy madur—mad*; V 11.27 *Cadyr wrhyd bryd Bran uab Llŷr*, 20.37 *Angut bu dy gyrch, angert Llŷr—a Bran*. The area in north-east Powys associated with Brân is called *Branfro* by Prydydd y Moch (V 23.142) and Llygad Gŵr (VII 25.60), and *Brandir* in an east-west extent topos by Gruffudd ap Maredudd: GGM III 1.6 *rwg Brandir a Brynn Derwin*. On the other hand, Taliesin is also associated with the northern figure, Brân Galed o'r Gogledd, by the 15c poet, Guto'r Glyn (GGG 82.61-4 *Brân Galed brin y gelwynt/ Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd gynt;/ Taliesin, ddewin ddiwael/ A'i troes yn well no'r Tri Hael* (TYP³ 292)), and in this section of our poem, which looks back on the figures and places of the Old North, he could conceivably be the Brân in question. The precise significance of *bore* 'early-rising, pertaining to the morning' is obscure, but may refer to the speaker's readiness to join with battle-forces first thing (cf. §8.9 quoted below on line 42); if Bendigeidfran, then perhaps referring to the speaker's early rising in order to escape with the others from Ireland.

- 39f **Wyf kerdengin hen/ wyf kyfreu lawen** *Kerdengin* adj. 'wandering, travelling, straying' (e.g. EWSP 439.73 and 74 *Gwarthec Edeirnyawn ny buant gerdennin*; CBT VI 5.11); as noun 'traveller, wanderer' (cf. CBT I 17.17-18 (Elidir Sais) *Ni rybum gerddennin./ Edrych cyrdd cerddau Taliessin*, followed by a reference to *brau gyfnod breiddin*, discussed *ibid.*, pp. 353-4). There may be paronomasia here since *Cerddennin* and *Llawen* (and possibly *Dygen*, see line 41) are also found as river names (see EANC 203-4 and 120-21). The first is in Englynion y Beddau, LIDC 18.93 *bet Llŷch Llaueghin ar Certenhin avon/ pen Saeson suyt Erbin*; the second is in *Canu Llywarch* (EWSP 406), on which see Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The provenance of the Llywarch Hen poems: a case for Llan-gors, Brycheiniog', *CMCS* 26 (1993), 27-63, at 42 for *Llawen-nant* in Breconshire. See further on line 42 for the rhyme-words. On *kyfreu*, see §7.4.
- 41 **a thraw y Dygen** This is unequivocally seen from Welsh soil, with the common phrase 'beyond Dygen' referring to land often far beyond the mountains north-east of Welshpool. *Dygen* is often mentioned as a boundary: e.g. EWSP 446.5 *ac o'r tu draw y Dygen*; CBT I 1.18; 16.25; II 23.17; 28.39; III 16.93; 71.16; *Dygen Ureit* in CBT I 9.6; and see CBT I, 353-4. It may have been another name for *Breiddin* or one of its peaks (EANC 103), or a nearby stream (G s.n.). The *Dygen Dyfnant* mentioned by Prydydd y Moch (CBT V 23.154) is regarded by Elin Jones as an unknown place in Arfon because of the mention in line 158 of *Bronnyr-erw*, site of a shadowy battle thought to have been fought by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth c. 1194. The same prince is addressed as *Dygen rwyf* in CBT V 20.27 where the border locality is favoured. For the geographical *tra* formula, see

Haycock, 'Early poets look North', in Alex Woolf (ed.), *Beyond Gododdin*, in preparation.

- 42 **meu molawt Vryen** It is striking that the rhyming words *hen*, *llawen*, *Urien* match those of the tag in some of the putative historical Taliesin poems (PT II-VII and IX); cf. R1050.4-6 (Anrheg Urien) *Minneu Dalyessin,/ o ia6n ll[i]n geirionnyd;/ ny dalywyf yn hen/ ym dygyn aghen,/ ony mol6yf-i Vryen*. But *llawen* and *aflawen* are rhymed elsewhere with *Urien*, as is *hen*: e.g. PT II 28-30 *am Vryen/ . . . / galyscein* (em.) *y wytheint oed llawen* (em.); V.10 *Ny bydwn lawen bei lleas Vryen*; EWSP 413.3, 423.30, CC 31.11, CBT III 16.101-2, etc. *Meu* 'mine' prominent in PT IX.11-12 *ys meu* series; cf. Edmyg Dinbych line 42. Expressing obligation to mourn, praise, or to observe the contractual reciprocity of the poet-patron relationship, e.g. CA lines 1316-17 *Blwydyn hiraeth/ er gwyr Gatraeth am maeth ys meu*; 1376 *ys meu e gwynaw*; CC 20.89; with *molawt*, CC 22.1 *meu y voli, maur y uolaud*; CBT VI 27.1-2 *Meu foli Crist celi, Culwydd,/ Mawr folawd*. Very common in CBT secular and religious corpora. On common *molawt*, see §7.2. Outside the poems edited in PT, the present example and §8.9 *Keint yn aduwyn rodle ymore rac Vryen* are the only references to *Urien* in the Book of Taliesin — not noted in the otherwise exhaustive list of historical and literary references in TYP³ 508-12.
- 43 **Eiryen eiryoes** G *eiryoes* 'faith, belief, trust, guarantee', etc.; GPC adds 'spirit, nature', and see discussion of *eiryos*, PT 72-3. Collocated with *eiryen* 'radiant, splendid' of God's creating man's short life, CBT IV 16.196 *Yn eiryoes yn eiryen*. The place-name *Eiryoes* named in the Red Book of St Asaph is identified as *Eirias* just east of Llandrillo yn Rhos by David Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd* (Cardiff, 1984), 238-9. The adj. *eiryen* is prominent in Edmyg Dinbych lines 4, 30 and 38; also found CA lines 556, 1050, ?227; EWSP 416.3; EWGP III.8, and common in CBT corpus. The line may refer to *Urien* in the preceding line, or to the *llyminawc* of line 44.
- 44 **llyminawc llumoes** *Llyminawc* 'leaper, leaping' (VGFC 135) or if (as in GPC) derived from *llym* rather than a form in *llam-*, then 'keen, eager, ready'. It seems to refer to a deliverer or attacker in the prophecy PBT 4.14-19 (Dyogogan awen) *Ry dybyd llyminawc/ a uyd gwr chwannawc/ y werescyn Mon/ a rewinyaw Gwyned/ o'e heithaf o'e pherued/ o'e dechreu o'e diwed*, as it does in the quotation attributed to Myrddin given in HGK 5 *Llyminauc lletffer a daroganer* (where the Latin *Saltus ferinus praesagitur (venturus de mari)* indicates it was understood as to do with 'leaping'); see further AP xliii-iv; HGK 58; and VGFC 134-5. Cf. §15.48 *llemenic*; §18.19 *Lleminawc*.
- If *llumoes* is a compressed form of *llu a'm oes* 'there is a host to me', *llyminawc* either qualifies *llu*, 'an eager/leaping host', or is used nominally with following genitive, 'I possess the eager/leaping one of the host'. But the construction is usually found with *ny* in poetry (PBT 10.7 *ny'm oes*; EWSP 439.72; CBT I 3.170 *ny'm oes neued*; I 7.3 *ny'm oes*; II 4.43 *Ny'm oes nabd*); with interrogative and collocated with *eiroes*, in LIDC 34.3 *dinam eiroes a'm oes naut?* *Cynddelw* collocates *moes* 'customary behaviour, wont', etc. and *eiryoes*, CBT IV 9.23 *eryr eiryoes moes Medra6d*, and *moes* is understood here too, with inversion (ModW *llyminawg llu foes*).
- 45 **ruduedel auwys** Cf. CA line 793 *ruduedel ryuel a eiduni*; CBT III 16.81 *Rur vedel, ryuel ryuerthwy*. *Medel* can be sg. (e.g. PT X.9 *medel galon*; CA line 1335

(Gwarchan Adebón) *medel e alon*, with *rudvyt* in preceding line) or pl. 'company of reapers', as probably in CA line 310.

Obscure *auwys* is emended to *affwys* 'abyss; steep, bottomless' in H-cd. G suggests *Iwys* 'men of Wessex' (followed here, and understood as Ynyr's Saxon enemies); G also suggests *a uwys*. Note rhymed *mwys*, *briwwys*, *cynnwys*, *Iwys*, *Llymwys*, *Athrwys*, etc. in Gwalchmai, CBT I 7.112-40. Alternatively, rare *ardwys* 'severe'. The rhyme precludes *a wÿs* 'who is known' (pres. impers. of vb *gwybot*). Uncertain.

- 46 **rudyn æ llynwys** The scribe wrote *llynnywys*, then deleted the second *y*. GPC follows CA 112 in interpreting this instance as 3sg. pret. *llynu* (< *llyn*) 'to infect, defile, corrupt; be infectious, ?smear'. See JuvTC 525 on *linisant* gl. L. *lauare*. *Llynnwys* Lincoln (as in CBT I 7.120) is not likely to be relevant.
- 47 **Kat yn Hardnenwys** Same locution as in the battle lists of PBT 3.19-20 (Kychwedyl); PT I.9, 11, 13 and 20; VII.21 and 23; XI.18, 22, 24, 26, 28 and 30; CBT I 3.131 and 133. *Hardnenwys*, regarded by G as a place-name, is not identified — and in the context of Ynyr, a form such as *Ard Wenhwys* might be restored, perhaps referring to Caerllion, or Chepstow (Caer Went, later Castell Gwent, thence Cas-gwent); cf. perhaps the type of caput with regional name, in PT I.13 *kat yg Cruc Dymet. Ard*, 'high place, summit', as in PBT 6.18 (Rydyrchafwy Duw) *Ard Nefon*. If the name as it stands refers, like *Caer Wyragon* of line 24, to a place beyond Wales that was attacked by Ynyr and the men of Gwent, then Hardenhuish, Wiltshire (west of Chippenham) might be relevant (EPN 218 notes forms *Hardenhus* Domesday, *Hardehiwis* 1178, *Herdenehywys* 1258).
- 48 **Ynyr a'e briwys** On *Ynyr*, see note on line 31 above. The same vb form in CBT I 7.123 (*briwwys* rhyming with *Iwys*); also §5.120 *briwat*; PBT 2.21 (Glaswawt) *briwhawt*; PT V.23 *neut Vryen a'e briw*. Elsewhere common: CA line 211 *blaen bragat briwei*, cf. CBT IV 4.188; V 1.29, etc.
- 49 **Kant kalan cynnwys** Much in the style of the Gododdin, lines 49-50 contrast Ynyr's provision of feasts for his kinsmen or friends with his savage treatment of the enemy. Calends feasts are very frequently mentioned by the poets, e.g. §12.21 *pump pemhwnt kalan*; in Edmyg Dinbych lines 4, 29, 37; CA lines 294-5, 1065 *cann calan a darmerthei* (1091 *can yg calan darmerthei*); CBT I 2.14 *kant Kalan*; 3.150; III 1.13; 14.33; 21.123; IV 16.215; V 1.65; 12.34; 23.70 and 98; VI 14.46, etc. Several poems, including Edmyg Dinbych, and the early-12c praise of Cuhelyn Fardd, appear to be intended for performance at calends feasts, occasions when the poets would request or be freely given a *calennig*, a payment or gift. This poem may be another example.
- 50 **kant car am y uwys** Cf. proverb *A diuo can car ef diuyd cannos*, quoted in PT 42. *Mwys* (< L. *mensa*) meaning 'table' (as in EWSP 423.29 *am wys*) rather than 'hamper' (such as the one owned by Gwyddno Garanhir, TYP³ 260-61, 391-2). Rather rare in poetry, but CBT I 7.115-16 *Lliabŷ bart a borthid ar y uwys/ Ar y uet o uelged gŷlad Athrwys*.
- 51 **Gweleis wyr goruawr** On *gweleis*, often in line initial position, see §8.5. *Goruawr* collocated uniquely in early poetry with *gwr* in CBT V 1.117.
- 55 **glessynt escyll gwawr** I doubt the interpretation of PT X.6 *escyll gawr* as 'the wings of the dawn', preferring not to emend that text to *gwawr*, and to understand *gawr* as 'battle'; the wings of the battle are the raised spears, or spears in flight

through the air. But in the present instance, *gwawr* 'dawn' or possibly adj. 'shining'; and see GPC s.v. *glasaf* (1b), and §5.112.

- 57 **Trychant kalan kyman clotuawr** See on line 49 *kalan*. *Trychan(t)* '300' frequent in CA, and used in CBT II 22.36; III 8.3; IV 1.45; V 23.149; 26.94, and in compounds (*trychanllong*, *trychanwaith*, etc.).

Kyman 'throng, assembly' rhymed with *kalan* in Edmyg Dinbych lines 27 and 29; CBT IV 4.52 *Coel Calan*, *kyman kymhenrwyf*; VI 18.70; used at head of four-syllable clausulae, as here, in CA lines 774 *kyman kaffat*; 782; 790 *kyman ovri*; 821 *keman kywreint*; and in CBT VII 24.74 *kyman keluyt*. Cf. also collocation with *clot*, CBT III 24.135 *Gogyman cluduan*, *cludueirt wogaun*.

- 58 **Ynyr artir yn wir cochawr** *Ardir* 'arable land' not attested until the 16c (GPC), but is understood here. Alternatively emend to (*g*)*orthir* 'border, land'. Marwnad Cynddylan line 46 *canawon artir wras* is emended to *Arthur fras* in CLIH 52, but not by Rowland, EWSP 176-7, 186, who favours *ardymuras* 'strong-handed'. *Cochawr* is understood as impers. fut., following G's suggestion s.v. *coch*.

15 Torrit anuynudawl ‘Canu y Meirch’

This poem, incomplete at the end because of a missing quire, has no manuscript title, but is often referred to as ‘Canu y Meirch’, following the usage established by Ifor Williams (PT xxii). The central section, lines 25-58, a list of famous horses and their legendary owners, has been translated and discussed by Rachel Bromwich in her detailed treatment of the Triads of the Horses.¹

More problematic, as she notes, is the interpretation of the first section (lines 1-26) which appears to be very corrupt in parts. Although the two opening lines as they stand appear to relate to a horse (*tuthiawl* in line 2 is key), lines 3-9 are most naturally interpreted as describing the sun’s position, its great heat, and its nightly disappearance into the Ocean, here imagined as the ‘nuptials’ between the sun and ocean (as explained in the commentary). Other poems in the collection show a similar interest in the progression of day and night, and the whereabouts of the sun when it is not to be seen in the sky. Lines 10-12 describe the sea coursing into the estuaries, the effulgence of the evening, and perhaps the dawn, with lines 12-16 making extensive use of the preposition *gwrth*, very probably in a variety of meanings, a technique used in court poetry.² This feature makes interpretation of these lines particularly difficult. Line 17 strikes a formal praise-poem note (*ardwyreaf-i*) as the speaker professes to exalt a subject of mighty tumult and profound antagonism: whether this is God in Judgment, as interpreted in the translation, or else an imagined patron, or even the Ocean is not certain. The section concludes with an assertion that the speaker is not a cowardly old man and that he is not to be classed with the dregs, perhaps beggars, who stand at the gate. He introduces his two ‘friends’ (*deu garant*), perhaps his two oxen, and invokes the blessing of the nine heavenly orders on them and on the horses which he proceeds to list in lines 27-58.

The names of the owners and the horses (italicised) mentioned in this section are set out below alongside the evidence from the horse triads, Triads 38-46, discussed in detail in TYP³ 103-28:

<i>Book of Taliesin</i>	<i>Triads</i>
Maeog’s horse	—
Genethog’s horse	—
Caradog’s horse	38 and LIDC 6.14 <i>Llvagor</i> horse of Caradog (Freichfras)
Gwythur’s horse	—
Gwawrddur’s horse	—
Arthur’s horse	—
Taliesin’s horse	—

¹ TYP³ lxxx-lxxxviii and 103-28; lines 25-58 are translated on p. lxxxii.

² See commentary on lines 12-13.

Lleu's horse	38 <i>Melyngan Mangre</i> is Lleu Llaw Gyffes' horse
<i>Pebrllai</i>	—
<i>Grai</i> , Cunin's horse	41 <i>Ferlas</i> is Cunin Cof's son's horse
<i>Cornan</i>	44 <i>Cornan</i> is the horse of the sons of Eliffer
<i>Awydd awyddog</i>	39 <i>Awyddog Breichir</i> horse of Cyhored son of Cynan
<i>Du Moroedd</i>	44 <i>Du (y) Moroedd</i> horse of Elidir Mwynfawr
Brwyn Bron Bradog's horse	43 <i>Du</i> is the horse of Brwyn son of Cynaddaf
three <i>Carnaflaw(g)</i>	40 <i>Carnaflawg</i> horse of Owain son of Urien
<i>Cethin Ceidio</i> 's horse	42 <i>Cethin Carnaflaw</i> horse of Iddon son of Ynyr Gwent; 44 and 46a <i>Cethin Cyslym</i> horse of Dinogad son of Cynan Garwyn
<i>Ysgwyd(d)frith</i>	43 (Peniarth 47) <i>Ysgwyd(d)frith</i> horse of Llemenig son of Mawan
<i>Llwyd Rhydderch</i> 's horse	42 <i>Llwyd</i> horse of Alser son of Maelgwn; 43 <i>Rhuddlwyd</i> Rhydderch's horse; LIDC 6.8 <i>Drudlwyd</i> Rhydderch's horse
<i>Llamrai</i>	—
<i>Ffroenfol</i>	—
Sadyrmin's horse	—
Custennin's horse	—
<i>Henwyn</i>	—

The comparisons above do *not* suggest that our poet was necessarily drawing on the horse triads rather than on his own store of names. It is hard to discern the 'triadic arrangement' perceived in parts of the poem by Rachel Bromwich, with the exception, perhaps, of the mention, in line 43, of three horses called by the same name, *Carnaflaw* — a grouping not reflected anyway in the extant horse triads — and setting aside the grouping *by rhyme* of triplets of owners (lines 27-30, 31-4). Neither is it possible to fully endorse the view that 'obviously there exists a close connection between the poem and the extant versions of *Trioedd y Meirch*'.³ The triad-makers did not avail themselves of horse names in the poem, such as *Pebrllai*, *Grai*, *Ysgwydfrith* and *Ffroenfol* (lines 37, 38, 47, 52), and conversely, neither did our poet make use of the information found in the extant triads. Where the same name occurs, the match between owner and horse does not correspond. It is also difficult to see how the assumed antiquity of the horse triads⁴ can be backed up by the Book of Taliesin poem which has no telling archaisms which require it to be dated before the twelfth or thirteenth century; indeed, as indicated in the commentary, the vocabulary used to describe the horses is very similar to that used by the court poets of that period.

The section between lines 59-68, beginning *Bum hwch bum bwch* 'I've been a sow, I've been a buck' includes a number of transformations, similar to those in other poems in this collection (especially §§1-2, 4-5), with animals, birds and the elements predominating. Brief praise of a brave warband, possibly Morial's (lines 69-70), gives way to two obscure lines whose significance is uncertain

³ TYP³ lxxxi and lxxxvii.

⁴ TYP³ lxxxi.

because the text is incomplete. The catchword *kyneilwat* at the bottom on the page indicates that a whole gathering is missing between BT 48 and BT 51 where the text of acephalous poem §16 begins.

The poem is another example of a genre piece, in this case built around a list displaying knowledge of famous owners and their horses, accompanied by Taliesinic elements such as transformations and allusions to natural history (seas, day and night) which suggest that he is the imagined speaking persona. It is impossible to say with any certainty whether the poem was imagined to be declaimed in a specific setting, for example in a story episode such as that found in *Ystoria Taliesin* where characters vie in bravery or the swiftness of their steeds:

J bwrient twy gwesdiwne ynn i mysc J hun, pwy ddewrach J wyr? Pwy gyntt J weirch? Pwy degach buannach J veirch a'i vilgwn?

They exchanged questions among themselves — whose men are braver? whose horses are faster? whose horses and hunting dogs are fairer and swifter?

or where Elffin's horse is pitted against twenty-four of Maelgwn Gwynedd's fastest horses to race along the strand of Morfa Rhianedd near Degannwy.⁵ Such a contextualisation, favoured by the ever-sensible D. W. Nash,⁶ is possible although there is no any real supporting evidence within the poem as we have it.

Lines 1-64 use the familiar short lines, generally of five syllables, with a significant number of six- and four-syllable lines. Lines 65-74 include some longer lines but the lack of rhyme in places indicates a considerable degree of textual corruption.

⁵ YT lines 181-3, and 583-612.

⁶ D.W. Nash, *Taliesin; or, The Bards and Druids of Britain* (London, 1858), 246.

Torrit anuynudawl
*An untamed horse was broken in,
tuthiawl dan yscawl.
a prancing steed beneath a champion.*

Ef ioler¹ od uch llawr
*May there be praise of the one above the earth,
tan tanhwytin gwawr
the flaming radiant fire
5 uch awel uchel,
higher than the wind of the firmament,
uch no phop nyfel,
higher than every cloud,
mawr y anufel.²
great its ferocity.*

Ny thric ygofel
*It does not remain in hiding
[hwy] no neithawr llyr,
any longer than its nuptials with the ocean,
10 llyr llwybyr dybyr³
the sea with its path coursing
dy var yg kynebyr
to the seething in the estuaries.*

Gwawr gwen gwrthuchyr
*The brilliant radiance of the evening
wrth wawr, wrth wrys,
in contrast with the dawn, with the storm [at sea],
wrth pop heuelis.
with every comparable thing.*

Wrth heuelis Nwython,
*Addressing Nwython's peer,
wrth pedryfaon,⁴
[and] good people,
ardwyreaf-i a varn,
I exalt Him who will judge,*

¹ ms *iolen*

² ms *anyfel*

³ ms *y tebyr*

⁴ ms *pedyr afaon*

avar⁵ gwrys kadarn,
the mighty one of dreadful wrath,
trydar dwfyn y gas.
a tumultuous one whose enmity is profound.

20 **Nyt mi gwr llwfyr llwyt**
I'm not a cowardly old man
llwybyr⁶ crwybyr wrth clwyt.
like the dregs at the gate.

Hut yni⁷ vyn deu garant —
Thus are my two friends —
deu dichuar dichwant,
two plodding ones with no desire,
o'm llaw y'th law dyt dwy dim.
from my hand to yours . . .

25 **Trithri nodet**
[May there be] the protection of the nine [Heavenly grades]
atcor ar henet,
for the ploughing-team beasts of yore,

a march Mayawc,
and (for) Maeog's horse,
a march Genethawc,
and Genethog's horse,
a march Karadawc —
and Caradog's horse —

30 **kymrwy teithiawc —**
a powerful one with the proper attributes —

a march Gwythur,
and Gwythur's horse
a march Gwa[w]rdur,
and Gwawrddur's horse
a march Arthur —
and Arthur's horse —
ehofyn rodi cur —
fearless in inflicting injury —

35 **a march Taliessin,**
and Taliesin's horse,
a march Lleu, lletuegin,
and Lleu's nurtured horse,

⁵ supplied

⁶ supplied

⁷ supplied

- a 'Phebyr llei' llwynin**
and well-hung 'Strong Dun',
a 'Grei' march Cunin,
and Cunin's horse, 'Gray',
'Kornan' kynheilwawc,
'Cornan' the supportive,
 40 **'Awyd' awydawc.**
'Awydd' the eager,
'Du Moroed' enwawc,
Famous 'Black of the Seas',
march Brwyn Bron Bradawc,
Brwyn Crafty-Breast's horse,
a'r tri 'Carnaflaw⁸'⁸
and the three 'Clefted' [geldings]
nyt ant hynt hilaw.
who'll never go out to stud.
 45 **'Kethin' march Keidaw**
Ceidio's horse 'Cethin'
karn aflaw⁹ arnaw,
with a cloven hoof,
'Yscwydurith' yscodic
skittish 'Dappled Withers'
gorwyd llemenic,
a bounding steed,
march Ryderch rydic
wrathful Rhydderch's horse
 50 **'Llwyd' lliw cellëic,¹⁰**
'Grey', stag-coloured,
a 'Llamrei' llam¹¹ elwic,
and 'Grey Leaper' with useful leap,
a 'Ffroenuoll' gwirenhic
and lively 'Flaring Nostril'
march Sadyrnin,
Sadyrnin's horse,
a march Custenhin,
and Custennin's horse,
 55 **ac ereill yn trin**
and others in battle

⁸ ms *carnaflawc*⁹ ms *avarn*¹⁰ ms *elleic*¹¹ ms *llawn*

rac tir allwynin;¹²
before the afflicted land.

'Henwyn' mat dyduc
Henwyn [who] happily brought
kychwedyl o Hiraduc.
tidings from Hiraddug.

Bum hwch, bum bwch,
I've been a sow, I've been a buck,

60 **bum syw, bum swch,**
I've been a sage, I've been a ploughshare,

bum banw,¹³ **bum banhwch,**
I've been a piglet, I've been a boar,

bum gawr ymrythwch,
I've been tumult in a storm,

bum llif yn eirth,
I've been a dispersed flood of water,

bum ton yn egheirth,
I've been a wave in the tempests,

65 **bum yscraf**¹⁴ **ysceinat Dilyw,**
I've been a vessel sent forth at the Flood

bum kath penurith ar tri phren,
I've been a speckled-headed cat on three trees,

<¹⁵ **bum pengafyr ar yscawpren,**
I've been a godwit on an elder-tree,

bum garan gwala gwelet golwc.
I've been a crane with his gaze eying up his fill.

Tragwres milet Moryal
The great ferocity of Morial's warband,

70 **katwent kenedyl da.**
a good kindred in battle.

O'r yssyd is awyr
Of all those under the sky

gwedy kassolwyr¹⁶
in the wake of the enemies,

nyt byw
not alive. . .

¹² ms *allgwin*

¹³ ms *bann*

¹⁴ ms *yscafyn*

¹⁵ ms *bum pell*

¹⁶ ms *kassolwir*

o'r mod meint a'm gwyr.

of such a great stature as my men.

75 **Kyneilwat**

Sustainer

- 1 **Torrit anuynudawl** *Torrit* is classed by GPC as a rare medieval example of vb *torri* in the sense 'to break in or tame' of an animal; cf. PKM 23 *hywedu* 'to break in'; *diwyllyaw* 'to train' in Welsh law texts, see HCC 67. Here, either 3sg. pres. abs., or past impers. There is no other attestation of *anuynudawl*, nor **mynudawl* with adj. ending *-awl* added to noun *mynut* 'courtesy, gentility, but cf. *ysprydawl*, *breudwydiawl*, *bydawl*, *daearawl*, *pechodawl*, *cedawl*, *gwrawl*, *bedyddiawl*, *callestrigiawl*, etc., formations used extensively by the court poets. Well-attested *anuynyt* 'wild, fierce' is used of the wind in §11.42, and of Myrddin's porcine bedfellow in LIDC 17.84 *Kyuuely anwinud*, etc., and could conceivably be restored here if the scribe anticipated the endings of *tuthiawl* and *yscawl* (see on line 2), and if an unrhymed opening line were condoned.
- 2 **tuth iawl dan yscawl** Horses — like women — are commonly denoted by adj. or adj. compound used nominally (e.g. *meinyell* 'slender bay', CA line 307; *meinir* 'tall slender [girl]'). The noun *tuth/tith* is common of horses, e.g. CA line 278 *tith orwydan* 'trotting pony' (cf. CBT III 21.175 *Gorwytawr tuthuawr*), as is the adj. *tuthiawc* (see GPC). But it is also used of birds, waves, people. The ms reading as two words does not necessarily rule out an adj. *tuthiawl* (as in translation) but none is noted in GPC, implying noun *iawl* 'request; praise' (a gait/movement worthy of praise) or less likely, 3sg. of denominative vb *ioli*.
Although *tan* 'fire', with *tuthiawl* 'coursing or moving fire' is possible, *dan* 'under' would be more likely with *yscawl* 'warrior, champion' (CA 388), a word which continues in use in CBT corpus. However, the text may be corrupt. The original may have been *Torrit anuynut/ tuthiawl dan ysgut (esgut)* 'the wild one (i.e. the sea) breaks open the swift coursing one' (referring to the sun, see on lines 3-9), with *-awl* mistakenly written anticipating *tuthiawl*, and *yscut* subsequently changed to *yscawl* for rhyme. Since this interpretation involves heavy emendation, the ms reading is retained.
- 3 **Ef ioler (ms iolen) od uch llawr** *Iolen* may be related to *iawl*, or *ioli* (see on line 2), or *eiriawl*: perhaps emend > *efiolet* (as in translation) or *eiriolet* or *ymiolet*. Or else to *ufeleu* 'sparks', or *ufelyn* 'fiery, sparking', or *ufeliar*, or *[g]oleu* 'light', all regularly collocated with *tan* (cf. line 4). TYP³ lxxxi regards this line and the following lines as an allusion to the sparks of fire cast up by the horse's hooves 'which is anticipatory of some of the *cywyddau i ofyn march* [cywyddau requesting horses] of the later period'. This is not impossible, but the hyperbole is extreme, and it seems more likely that it is the sun that is described in lines 3-7.
- 4 **tan tanhwytin gwawr** The only other attestation of *tanhwytin* is PT VIII.26 *mal rot tanhwydin dros eluyd*, 'like a fiery wheel over the Earth' referring to the sun (see PT 100). GPC regards this as *tanhwydin*, not *-ð-*. For *gwawr*, see on line 12 below.
- 5 **uch awel uchel** *Awel* 'wind', but conceivably a mistake for *awyr*.

- 6 **uch no phop nyfel** GPC derives the hapax *nyfel* tentatively from L. **nubila* < *nūbila* 'clouds', cf. *nywl* (some disyllabic examples) perhaps, it is claimed, < L. *nūbilus*. Consider a formation from *nyf* 'snow'?
- 7 **mawr y anufel (ms anyfel)** Accepting G's emendation to *anufel* (< *an-intensifying* + *ufel*) 'heat, ferocity', although otherwise unattested. The scribe may have been influenced by *nyfel* in line 6.
- 8 **Ny thric ygofel** G s.v. *gouel*² suggests 'hidden, hiding place', but with the suggestion that it may be a mistake for otherwise unattested *gosel* regarded as meaning 'plot, snare' (presumably from root of *selu* 'look, spy', etc.). *Gofel*¹ 'sweet; flowing', is used of wine in CA line 162. Other possibilities are *gofel* (< **bel*) 'strike', as noted in CA 121; *gofer* 'flow' (with Irish rhyme); and *gogel* 'avoiding, evading'. The vb *trigyaw* 'to rest, remain' is collocated with *llyr* and *ebyr* (see on lines 9-11) in CBT III 4.3-4 (of a maiden) *Lliw goleu tonneu, taenwerw gwenic, / Llanw ebyr a'r llyr lle ny mawrdric* 'One of the radiant hue of the waves, of the scattered foam of the waves/of the flow of the estuaries and the sea where it does not tarry long'.
- 9 **hwy no neithawr llyr** TYP³ 420 guided by Ifor Williams supplies *hwy. Neithawr* (< L. *nuptialia*) 'wedding-feast; marriage; feast', sometimes used figuratively, e.g. of the grave, as in CBT IV 17.23 *Gwrth yoli Keli kynn neithyawr—daear* (cf. §6.79 *kywestwch a bed*).

Llyr is frequent as a common noun 'sea, ocean': §3.15 *Atwyn eryr ar lan llyr pan llanhwy*; EWSP 420.6 *kell llyr ebyr gwyr glawr*; LIDC 17.215 *kyn duguitei awir y lavr a llyr en lli*; CC 33.6 *O tan ac awyr a llyr a therra*; Moliant Cadwallon lines 4-5 *Rhahawd y [g]adveirch ai radlawn medud/ y uolud ar llyr llawn. . . heuelys y llong*; CBT I 26.9 *llyr yn llenwi*; III 4.4 *Llanw ebyr a'r llyr*; 14.20 *Ual twryf ebyr yn llyr llawn*; IV 16.212; V 2.3 *Kynt6ryf yn ebyr, llyr yn llenwi*, etc.

There are various characters called Llŷr: see WCD 421-2 on son of Bleiddudd in Brutiau; the figure possibly commemorated in Llanllŷr (Ceredigion) and in Llanyre (Radnorshire); Llŷr Marini, and Llŷr Lluyddog (Triad 18 one of the three battle-horsemen). Most commonly mentioned is the shadowy character Llŷr, father of Manawydan, Brân, Branwen, etc., as in §8.3-4 *Keint yn yspydawt uch gwirawt aflawen, / keint rac meibon Llyr yn Ebyr Henuelen*, in court poetry (e.g. CBT III 7.17 *Rut ongyr Bran vab Llyr Lledyeith*) as well as PKM and elsewhere: see references and discussion, TYP³ 418-21. Rachel Bromwich understands the present line as referring to 'the wedding-feast of Llŷr', and suggests the existence of 'a story to the effect that this feast was in some way interrupted or perhaps prevented. But no other source throws any light on the allusion', TYP³ 420. The prolonged sojourn in Gwales (PKM 46-7; §8.3-4), curtailed by the opening of the door towards Aber Henfelen, involved not Llŷr, but his sons. Possibly *mab Llyr* was originally an epithet like *mac Lir* in Irish so that *Llyr* could denote Brân himself?

I interpret lines 8-9 tentatively as a reference to the sun's nocturnal disappearance, heralded by its setting in the sea, imagined here as a marriage between the sun and ocean, just as burial in earth is cast as a *neithiawr daear* (see the beginning of this note). Its period of hiding therefore lasts no longer than its marriage with the sea. Other poems in this collection display a keen interest in the whereabouts of day and night (see on §1.41) and a reason for the reddening of the setting sun (§4.152-3). Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae* III.lii 'The sun, when it rises,

holds a path through the south. Afterward, it goes to the west and plunges itself into the Ocean, and it travels unknown paths under the earth, and once again runs back to the east', and see further John Carey, 'The sun's night journey: a Pharaonic image in medieval Ireland', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994), 14-34.

- 10 **Llyr llwybyr dybyr (ms y tebyr)** *Llwybyr* 'track, path, course'; *tebyr* in late sources as pl. of *tabar* 'tabar, gown, mantle' (from ME or Old French), but the sense is obscure, unless figurative for trails of red in the sea. A native *tebyr* would derive from **teporix* 'shelter/refuge king', with the first element (cf. OIr *techid*) seen in *godeb* 'hiding-place, retreat, refuge', etc. *Godeb* is used in CBT II 5.19-20 of the underwater refuge of sea-fish whence they will rise to the surface of the ocean before the Day of Judgment. Possible emendations include: G's *dybyr* 'flow(s), current(s); flowing' (adopted in the translation), or *eryr* 'eagle' on the strength of its regular collocation with *ebyr*. *Llyr llwybyr eryr* (or pl. *llwybryd*) would yield reasonable sense: 'the sea is the path of eagles'; the mistake could be partially explained by confusion with *kynebyr* line 11. With more drastic emendation, consider *hepkyr* 'dispense with, relinquish; do without, refrain from' and *dyhepgyr* 'it flows away' cf. §21.2 and 9 *dyhebcyr* (of the sea); EWSP 450.19 *o ebyr dyhepkyr tonn*; CBT II 3.72 *Ny hepkyr gleissyat glas vor*. A restored *Llyr llwybyr dyhepkyr* would yield 'it (the sun) relinquishes the path of the sea'.
- 11 **dy var yg kynebyr** 'Your wrath' (*dy var*) would imply an address, either to the *llyr* or *tebyr* of line 10 (unlikely), or to God (see on line 12). Alternatively, *dy* 'to', as understood in the translation. *Bar* 'wrath' used of sea in CBT III 13.32 *bar dyfynuor dyuynueith*. G suggests reading *dyuyr* 'waters', interpreting *kynebyr* as pl. of **kynaber* 'estuary'.
- 12 **Gwawr gwen gwrthuchyr** *Gwawr* 'lord', also for God, and 'dawn; brightness', etc. *Gwrthuchyr*, elsewhere *gwrthucher* (rare) 'evening' (cf. OCor *gurthuher* glossing *vespera*). Cf. *uchyr* interpreted as a variant of *ucher* in CBT IV 9.40, and notes thereon (pp. 85 and 199) where the extended meaning of 'evening entertainment or feast' suggested by Lloyd-Jones is accepted, comparing the similar semantic development of *nawn*. The example in CBT IV 9.40 *Gwrth uchyr gwrthrychyeid ys gnawd*, 'usual are those who are looking forward to an evening feast' occurs in a run of lines beginning with the prep. *gwrth* (as here), used in a variety of meanings.
- 13 **wrth wawr wrth wrys** G suggests emending *wrth wawr* to *waewawr* 'spears'. *Gwrys* 'attack, battle; ferocity, ire', etc., used of the sea's onrush in §10.35 *afon a'e hechrys gwrys gwrth Terra*. But *frys* (< *brys*) is not impossible. The many possible meanings of *gwrth* make interpretation uncertain: G s.v. classes *wrth wrys* with *gwrth* 'in the face of, before'.
- 14 **wrth pop heuelis** *Heuelys* for the rhyme with *wrys* here, and in line 15. The *-is* spelling occurs again in PBT 9.7 (Ymarwar Llundud Bychan) *Amlaes eu peisseu, pwy eu heuelis?* (rhyming with L. *maris*, and W. *efnis*, recte *efnys*).
- 15 **Wrth heuelis Nwython** *Nwython* could conceivably be connected with the unexplained first element of *nwythas/noethas* 'excellence, pre-eminence' found in CBT V 18.29 *pob nwythas—deyrn* (see note on p. 176) and §7.24 *kam* (em.) *ym pop noethas*. This element may also be present in *amnwyth*. If so, perhaps 'pre-eminent one'. However, *Nwython* is a personal name; his valour is a touchstone in CBT III 21.176, and his kingdom and court are mentioned in CBT IV 4.235 and

VI 19.29 (collocated with *ammwyth*) respectively. CBT III, 277 suggests an identification with Neithon fab Senyllt or with Neithon fab Gwyddno (EWGT 10.4, 10.5), the latter being the Clyde ruler, grandfather of Owain who slew Dyfnwal Frych, and who is called *Nwyth(y)on* in CA lines 969 and 975 (CA 303, 336-7), cf. PT XII.4 *Run a Nud a Nwython*. See further CIB 179 and n.1089.

- 16 **wrth pedryfaon (ms pedyr afaon)** *Pedyr*, St Peter, is commonly addressed as intercessor, and heavenly gatekeeper (13 instances in CBT). *Afaon* is known as a son of Taliesin in CC 31.35; see CC 292 on the title *Kyssel Adaon*, and see commentary on §10.9. Since the conjunction of the two names seems very odd, emend to *pedyt* (ModW *peddyd*) 'pedestrian, walker; infantry(man), foot-soldier', with the personal name *Afaon* — 'the pedestrian, Afaon', or as in the translation, to **pedryfaon* 'perfect people' (cf. *pedryfan*, *pedrychwelit*, *pedrylaw*, etc.).
- 17 **ardwyreaf-i avarn** G proposed (1) *ardunyaf(-) avarn/ avar gwrys kadarn*, or (2) *ardunyaf(i) avar/ gwrys kadarn trydar/ dwfyn y gas . . .* with a word such as *casnar* supplied for rhyme with *trydar*, and *Avarn* understood as the name of a horse; *avar* 'who judges' is preferred. G's emendation of the vb is for the length of his proposed line. I retain *ardwyreaf* used especially in praise-poems entitled *arwyrain*, discussed by Ann Parry Owen, 'Canu arwyrain Beirdd y Tywysogion', *YB* 24 (1998), 44-59, with comments by T.M. Charles-Edwards and Nerys Ann Jones in WKC 194-201. The translation and interpretation of lines 10-18 are extremely uncertain.
- 18 **[avar] gwrys kadarn** *Avar* supplied, with G (see on line 17 above).
- 19 **trydar dwfyn y gas** Unrhymed line suggests there is a following line missing here.
- 20 **Nyt mi gwr llwyr llwyt** *Llwyt* 'holy' as well as 'grey, old', possibly referring to the cowardice or reluctance of the man of God to fight.
- 21 **llwybyr crwybyr wrth clwyt** GPC s.v. *crwybr* 'honeycomb or similar structure; dregs, lees; scum, froth; hoar-frost, rime'. Both G and GPC favour the last-mentioned meaning in the present example, perhaps envisaging the freezing cold outside at the gate (note that *llwyt* is used of hoar-frost). Since the line is unusually short, perhaps supply *llwybyr* at the beginning, understanding *crwybyr* derogatively as 'scum, dregs', referring to beggars, suppliants, or mendicants at the gate (possibly cf. Luke 16:20 'a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores').
- 22 **Hut vyn deu garant** If preverbal part *hu(t)* 'thus', perhaps supply *ynt*. *Carant*, pl. of *car*, but here appearing to be a sg., perhaps reformed from the pl. *cereint*. But for pl. with numbers, see GMW 47, and comments on possible dual *deu ychen*, GMW 34. See further on line 23.
- 23 **deu dichuar dichwant** See G s.v. *dichwar* 'nasty, fierce' (< *chwar* or *gwar*) and GPC 'without laughter, sad, glum'; *dichwant* 'without desire or covetousness, unheeding, careless'. Orthography *u* for *w* after *ch-* is atypical (see on §10.7). Who are these two listless friends or relatives? Is the poet referring to his two hands (cf. *llaw* in line 24), or two friends, or two draught oxen? The two oxen who drew St David's bell, *Bangu*, to *Glascwm*, are described in CBT II 26.51-54 as *deu odida6c* and as *Deu gar a gertynt yn gydpreinya6c*, and the adjs. in our example would certainly suit gelded draught beasts. Other possibilities for the pair include the Body and Soul, described in the Red Book of Talgarth debate text (*B* 2

(1923-5), 127-30), as *Deu gydymdeith deu diwyt/ Deu lwgwr ryweryt// Deu vwynuawr y ogawr byt/ . . . deu anwar wenwyn* etc. Cf. also the two saints Cadfan and Lleuddad, CBT II 1.115-21 *Deu br a uolaf . . . / Deu dec, deu dedwyt, deu ryt rotyad,/ Deu doeth y ghyuoeth, y ghyuaenad,/ Deu gu, deu gyueith, deu wynneithad. . .* etc., a description which may in turn echo another notable passage concerning the two promised deliverers, Cynan and Cadwaladr, AP lines 165-70.

- 24 **O'm llaw y'th law dyt dwy dim** Lacks rhyme, suggesting a lacuna in the text. The last part might mean 'the two put/give something' (*dyt*, 3sg. pres. of vb *dodi*). G's emendation (p. 357) to *nyt wyf dim* lacks force (as well as rhyme). *O'm llaw* 'from' or 'by my hand'. Perhaps *tyt* (= *tid* 'rope, chain, harness'), or *dim ny dwyre* 'it does not avail' are relevant.
- 25 **Trithri nodet** This line is unusually short. *Trithri* may be a locution for nine (cf. nine grades of Heaven); *tri* for triads, the *Tri Hael*, the three persons of the Trinity, the three hosts at Judgment, etc. *Nodet* is well-attested as 'refuge, sanctuary', etc., frequently of God, and collocated with *nef* 'Heaven', e.g. CBT IV 17.142 *Caffael yn adef nau nef noted*. Also *arnodet* (of the Heavenly refuge in CBT IV 18.13). Although a formation from noun *not* 'aim; fame' is possible, no certain examples have been found to support Rachel Bromwich's translation, '(to) the famous Threes (= triads?)', TYP³ lxxxii where *Tri Thri* is not accounted for.
- 26 **atcor ar henet** GPC s.v. noun *atgor* 'return' [? 'restitution'], otherwise unattested and vb *atgoraf: atgor(i)*. 'A return to ancient times', TYP³ lxxxii. If line 25 is talking of God or Heaven, then perhaps a return to original state of grace? But the vb forms *atcorsant* etc. are invariably followed by preposition *y*, not *ar*. Therefore, tentatively, *atcor* 'ploughing team' (with *âr* 'arable land') suitable here if lines 22-3 are a pair of oxen, and linking naturally with the animals that follow. GPC s.v. *henet* '?antiquity, olden days'.
- 27 **a march Mayawc** The personal name *Maeawc* (< *Magiacus*): cf. LL 155 *Maioc* and 140 *Maiuc*, on which see Graham R. Isaac, 'Some Welsh etymologies', *ÉC* 30 (1994), 229-31, p. 230. The line is unusually short: perhaps supply *mei* after *march*. This word *mei* 'of the field, plain' is used of horses in CBT II 22.29, III 26.34 and 124, and V 24.42.
- 28 **Genethawc** G notes *Iago m. Genedawc*; on the cognate Ogam name GENITTAC[I], and OIr *Gentech*, *genn* 'wedge, block', see Sabine Ziegler, *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1994), 183-4.
- 29 **Karadawc** A common name: see on §14.19, G, CA lines 343, 357, 389; CBT III 2.30; Marwnad Cynddylan line 24. *Caergaradawc* in Moliand Cadwallon line 36; PT XII.48. Here most likely Caradog Freichfras, on whom see TYP³ 304-5. His horse is named in Triad 38 as *Lluagor*, and in the *Livre de Carados* (i.e. First Continuation of *Perceval*) his father sires a foal called *Loriagort*, *Lorzagor*, etc. (see details in TYP³ 103-4).
- 30 **kymrwy teithlawc** *Kymrwy* 'lively, strong, bold', see §3.31, and note unique use in CBT corpus of adj. in CBT V 6.40. *Teithlawc* common for a person or animal with the proper attributes or qualities, hence 'thoroughbred', TYP³ lxxxii.
- 31 **Gwythur** < L. *Victōr*-, a name also in §24.11, LIDC 18.133 (in the englyn which asserts that the whereabouts of Arthur's grave is a mystery), CBT IV 4.196 *Gwythur naws*. On Gwythyr son of Greidawl, see TYP³ 395-6.

- 32 **Gwa[w]rdur** Emended with TYP³ lxxxii. The name found in CA line 359, and in line 1244 where his prowess is praised *cenî bei ef Arthur* 'although he was not Arthur' (cf. conjunction of *Gwythur/Arthur* noted in line 31 above). The pairing here and in CA may be simply because of the rhyme.
- 33 **march Arthur** Arthur's stallion is not likely to be the same animal as Llamrei, his mare in CO lines 1016 and 1226, mentioned below in line 51.
- 35 **march Tallessin** Cf. §5.219 for Taliesin's horse, Melyngan, 'as swift as a seagull'. This is the same name as Lleu's horse, Melyngan Mangre in Triad 38 (TYP³ 103).
- 36 **march Lleu lletuegin** *Lletuegin* 'half-reared; hand-reared, well-fed', etc. (or with David Greene, *Celtica* 2 (1954), 338-9, 'fosterling'), more likely to refer to Lleu's horse than to him, cf. of horse CBT IV 3.26 *lleduegin graðn*.
- 37 **a 'Phebyrlllei' llwynin** The name is formed from *pybyr* 'fine, radiant, lively' + *llei* 'grey, brown, dun', cf. CBT I 7.129. *Llwynin* could conceivably be an adj. formed from *l(l)wyn*, a borrowing from Old French *loigne* 'loin(s)', attested from the 16c onwards. Here it would refer to the procreative potential of the stallion, and would be more in keeping with the positive attributes of the horses than TYP³'s 'dejected' (see below). Or else a formation from *llwyn* 'grove', figuratively for a bushy coat, mane or tail. The *-in* added to a noun generally indicates a substance out of which something is made (e.g. *derwin* 'of oak', *meinin* 'of stone', *deyerin* 'of earth', etc.). TYP³ lxxxii translates 'dejected': see GPC² *allwynin* 'sad, pitiful; ?sadness' for postulated derivation from **llwyn*, allegedly cognate with Mlr. *lén*.
- 38 **'Grei' march Cunin** G s.v. *grei*, GPC s.v. *grai* borrowed from OE *græz*. Cf. CBT I 7.130 (Gwalchmai) *Lliaðs grei grym diffwys*, and the element in *Llamrei*, line 51. On Cunin Cof of the triads, see TYP³ 318; on the name in general and its possible origins, including borrowing from OIr or from OE *cyning*, see CIB 156-7 and n.924. If the latter, then the use of borrowed *Grei* may be significant.
- 39 **'Kornan' kynheilwawc** Emending with G to *kynheilwawc*, 'sustaining, supportive', cf. CBT I 3.88. *Kornan* 'horny' perhaps in a sexual sense, or else referring to his hard hooves; a 'horned' horse (TYP³ lxxxii) would be one wearing a horned head-dress, or likened to a unicorn.
- 40 **'Awyd' awydawc** The same rare adj. is used of a rider in CBT VII 54.18 *Awydawc uarchawc, ueirch ddi Gronni*. As a name of a horse in Triad 38, see introduction. See on line 1 for *-awc* endings.
- 41 **'Du Moroed' enwawc** Cf. the forms in Triad 44a *Du Moro*, *Du y Moroed*, the horse of Elidir Mwynfawr; *Du, march Moro Oeruedawc* in CO line 718. There may be a previously unnoticed reference to the horse in PT VIII.19 *sag dilew du merwyd ymordei* (recte *sag dile Du Morwyd ymordei*) 'the destructive pounding of Du Moroedd in the court', figuratively for Urien, the fighter and cattle-reaver.
- 42 **march Brwyn Bron Bradawc** TYP³ lxxxiii favours 'wily' rather than 'treacherous', comparing personal name, *Bradwen*, and rejecting the usual, well-attested pejorative meaning of *brat* and hence *bradawc*. *Du Moroed* may be Brwyn's horse (but it is *Du* in the Triads; and *Du Moroed* is the horse of Elidir Mwynfawr: see introduction above).
- 43 **a'r tri 'Carnaflaw<' (ms carnaflawc)** Emend for rhyme with line 44. Cf. AP line 117 *pen gaflaw* 'head split open'; §5.36 *Llyffan du gaflaw*. Note unusual

absence of spirantisation after *tri* favouring the name *Carnaflaw* (Gruffudd ap Maredudd compares his horse to a *Carnaflaw*, GGM III 3.42 *Unrhediad Carnaflaw*). As well as *carn* 'hoof' (giving 'cloven-hoofed', with TYP³ 107) *carn-* is found as an intensifying prefix before nouns and adjs.: 'completely split, forked' is a possible meaning, perhaps here for the gelding of the stallions. On geldings, see Patricia Kelly in HCC 55.

- 45 '**Kethin** march **Keidaw** *Cethin* 'roan, dun, russet' of a horse's colour. Gruffudd ap Maredudd's horse messenger (see on line 43) is compared to a *Cethin Cyflym*, GGM III 3.35-6 *Ail y Cethin, ny blinha,/ Cyflym . . .* On Ceidiaw, possibly father of Gwenddolau or son of Ynyr Gwent, see TYP³ 311.
- 46 **karn aflaw** (ms **avarn**) **arnaw** G s.v. *avarn* suggests 'hard' or 'soft', but no such word is noted by GPC², and it is emended to *aflaw* 'cloven', see on line 43.
- 47 '**Ysgwydurith** **yscodic** Either *yscwydurith* < *ysgwyð* 'shoulder' ('Dappled Withers') or < *ysgwyt* 'shield' figuratively for 'protection' ('Dappled Refuge'), the latter giving richer alliteration with *ysgodic* 'skittish, shying away' (ModW *ysgodig*). See TYP³ 113-14 for variant *Ysgwydvritth march llemenic m. Mawan* in Peniarth 47 version of Triad 43.
- 48 **gorwyd llemenic** Both may be adjs. respectively 'swift' and 'leaping'; one or both may be used substantivally; and *llemenic* may be a personal name (thus TYP³ lxxxii, and 114, but see also p. 411). *Gorwyd* is also well-attested as a noun 'horse' (and *gorwydan* 'pony'); on the etymology, see Patricia Kelly, HCC 51-2.
- 49 **march Ryderch rydic** TYP³ lxxxiii reports Ifor Williams' suggestion, **rodic* 'giving', apt for this character, one of the famed Three Generous Men TYP³ 493-5. Cf. collocations with *rod(i)* etc: CBT V 2.30 *Mordaf, Nut, Ryderch—yn detyf rotii*; 26.105-6 *pan roted ruteur/ A Rydderch afneued*; VI 18.91 *Ysymy Ryterch, rotyad—eur melyn*; VII 53.27 *Rydderch roddyon*. But *rydic*, either *ry* + *dic* 'very wrathful, indignant' (as in translation), or *ryd* + *-ic* 'magnanimous', is retained, qualifying Rhydderch. His wrath is most memorably conveyed in the Myrddin poems, but he is also famous for his liberality. The adj. could possibly refer in the first case to the horse rather than Rhydderch.
- 50 '**Llwyd** **lliw cellëic** (ms **elleic**) *Rudlwyd* 'Red-grey' is Rhydderch's horse in Triad 43. The word (*gellëic* is unattested elsewhere, and may be connected with *gell* 'yellow, roan'. Alternatively, as in the translation, emend to *cellëic* 'stag, hart, stag in season; champion'. The miscopying may be due in part to the scribe's familiarity with *lliw ehöec* 'colour of heather'. Horses are figuratively called 'deer' (*eilon*) in CBT I 2.42, 9.59; V 24.16 *hytueirch*, and compared with them in III 13.44 *Mynw eilon* and 16.115 *Gorwytawd penn keirw*, as well as being likened to birds and fish, especially salmon. This convention, continued by the Cywyddwyr, is acknowledged by the 15c poet, Owain ap Llywelyn ab y Moel: *ni ddysfalwn hwn yn hydd/ ond yn wennol dan winwydd* 'I would not liken this [horse] to a deer, but rather to a swallow beneath the vine' (quoted by Bleddyn Owen Huws in HCC 149, and cf. examples by Tudur Aled, *trem hydd; Ail y carw; Naid yr iwrch rhag y neidr oedd; carw o anian*, quoted on pp. 152-3 and 156).
- 51 '**Llamrei** **llam** (ms **llawn**) **elwic** For continuity with line 50, one is tempted to emend to *llam ewic* 'with the leap of a hart' (see examples above). *Geilic* 'lively' is another possibility, but G, emending to *llam(m)*, retains *elwic* 'useful,

- profitable, beneficial', and is followed here, especially in the light of EWGP VI.26 *hydyr elwic gorwyd*. *Llamrei* probably < *llam* + *grei*, see on line 38 above.
- 52 **'Ffroenuoll' gwirenhic** *Ffroenuoll* 'wide-open nostrils' common, see G, and cf. of horses' nostrils: CBT III 25.6 *Ffroenwynnyon*; V 6.20 *froenuabr*, IV 4.170 *froen dyuryc*. *Gwyrennic* 'strong, powerful' also common in CBT corpus, and used once of a hawk in EWSP 426.48.
- 53 **Sadyrnin** From L. name *Saturninus* (EL 46), commemorated on the inscription at Llansadwrn, Anglesey; the name found in Llansadyrnin, Carmarthenshire, may have been used side by side with *Sadwrn*, the saint of these churches, WCD 573. One other literary attestation occurs in R 577.28-9 *Morgant Uawr uab Sadyruin* (recte *Sadyrnin*), as the father of *Morgant Fawr*, prophesied by *Myrddin* to succeed *Rhydderch Hael*.
- 54 **march Custennin** On Constantine the Great; the usurper Constantine; and Constantinus ruler of Dumnonia, see TYP³ 318-9. WCD 156-8 has more detail on *Custennin Fendigaid* (the name given in the Welsh Brutiau to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Constantinus, brother of Aldroenus); *Custennin ap Mynwyedig*, the shepherd in CO lines 435, 458, etc.; and the historical *Custennin fab Iago* (d. 980). See also the charter relating to *Lann Custenhinn Garthbenni* in LL 72, and persons named in LL 276-7. *Custennin* is not referred to elsewhere in poetry until the 14c instance by *Casnodyn*, GC 2.102 *Am gost Gustennin fab Elen*.
- 56 **rac tir allwynin** (ms *allgwin*) Rhyme with *trin* rules out **allwyn* but restore *allwynin* 'sad, bad' with G for length of line, preferable in this respect, though not in sense, to suggested *allmyn* (see TYP³ lxxxiv).
- 57 **'Henwyn' mat dyduc** Adverbial *mat* very common in poetry; with compounds of *dwyn*, CBT V 23.177 *Mad ymdugost waew*; 23.185 *Mad y'th ymduc mam*. The name *Henwyn* is suitable for a horse ('Old White'), as *Henwen* is for the itinerant sow who figures large in Triad 26, TYP³ 50-58. Geoffrey's *Henuinus*, duke of Cornwall, is rendered as *Henwyn* in the Welsh Brutiau.
- 58 **kychwedyl o Hiraduc** *Kychwedyl* 'tidings', usually of battles, cf. PBT 3.1 and 39 *o Galchuynydd*; Moliant Cadwallon line 16; CBT I 25.4; IV 7.18; V 2.7; VI 8.24. Our present poem suggests knowledge of a battle in *Hiraddug* which had a happy outcome. Two *englynion* about horses are attributed to the 12c poet *Gwilym Rhyfel* (CBT II poems 29 and 30), and may have formed part of a series describing a horse messenger. The first was excerpted in the bardic grammar of *Einion Offeiriad*, and in the version as edited by *Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug*; the second is in *Dafydd Ddu's* edition. The first concludes with the lines *Mein a'y nad yn Hiraduc* 'Stones would wear them [horse-shoes] away in *Hiraddug*'. *Prydydd y Moch* also mentions *Hiraddug*, the *trefgordd* in Clwyd, in parishes of Cwm and Diserth, in his praise of *Dafydd ab Owain of Gwynedd* c. 1174-5, parts of which appear to refer to *Dafydd's* campaigning in Clwyd a decade earlier. CBT V 1.114 *O hir wabl Hiraduc*, is interpreted as a reference to *Offa's Dyke* which runs past *Moel Hiraddug* (see CBT V 21), although G's suggestion *O hir Wawl* [i.e. *Hadrian's Wall*] *i/hyt Hiraduc* 'as far as *Hiraddug*' is attractive given the other instances of the length-and-breadth formula in the preceding lines of the poem. The *Llanstephan 34* text of the *Life of St Collen* (EWGT 30-31) says that *Caradog Freichfras* injured his arm *yn gwaith Hiradduc* so that one arm was bigger than the other, but *Hafod 19's ynn gwneuthur adduc* 'making an attack' may well be more correct.

- 59 **bwm hwch bum bwch** On *bwch*, see §4.241.
- 60 **bum syw bum swch** On *syw* and related words, see §5.174. *Swch* is a ploughshare or any other pointed object, such as a spike or lance.
- 61 **bum banw (ms bann) bum banhwch** *Ban* has a range of possible meanings including 'mountain'; 'drinking/sounding horn' (favoured by GPC here); 'branch/beam'; 'verse/line'; 'exalted one', etc. The homophone *ban* 'drop' is also possible, as is *banw*² 'young pig' (one syllable), suitable with *banhwch*, and adopted here. It is not the scribe's usual practice to write *-nn*.
- 62 **ymrythwch** *Brythwch* is used for winter storm (wind), the tumult presaging Judgment, the tumult of a hero, etc. (GPC).
- 63 **llif yn eirth** *Eirth* is a rare instance of use of the root of vb *eirthyaw* 'to scatter, disperse, spread', here of flood water, as of a river breaking its banks, or the Flood, comparing *Dilyw* line 65. The vb is used by Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch in praising generosity: CBT III 24.64 *Arthen eirthyab*; V 1.8 *Y deua6d eirthyab* 'his custom [is] to disperse [largesse]'. It is also used to refer to scattering the enemy, LIDC 31.60; possibly CBT III 24.95 *eirthyab Arthen*; V 20.5.
- 64 **bum ton yn egheirth** G suggests 'storms', pl. of *engyrth*, followed cautiously by GPC s.v. *engyrth*, *yngyrth* 'amazing, dreadful', etc. and 'dread, horror, direness', often of death; cf. CC 22.12; CBT V 23.43; VII 4.19; 14.17; 48.6; 50.37, etc. Short line.
- 65 **Bum yscraf (ms yscafyn) ysceinat Dilyw** The adj. *yscafyn* 'light; carefree', etc. may well be qualifying *ysceinat* which is understood as related to *ysceiniaw* 'scatter, disperse, cause to move', etc., perhaps a nomen agentis 'dispenser', of God who sent the Flood, or an abstract noun. The emendation to *yscraf* (ModW *ysgraff*) 'boat, vessel' is offered very tentatively since *arch* and *balch* are the words normally used for Noah's Ark, *Dilyw* is unrhymed and the metrical pattern appears to break down. *Dilen* 'destruction, ruin' would give rhyme with line 66.
- 66 **kath penurith ar tri phren** *Penurith* of mottled or grizzled head, hair, etc. A *cath vreith*, perhaps a lynx, is mentioned in prophecy: PBT 6.23 (Rydyrchafwy Duw), cf. PBT 5.21 *lynx*. On *Cath Balug* and other monster-cats, see TYP³ 473-6. The significance of the *tri phren*, lit. 'three trees, shafts, masts', is obscure to me — on three legs?
- 67 **(ms bum pell) bum pengafyr ar yscawpren** The unusually long line of nine syllables suggests deleting *bum pell*. GPC notes s.v. *pengafyr* 'goat's head', 'goat-headed' (in contrast to a formation like *Cynben* 'Dog-head'), and the bird *Limosa limosa*, Godwit, not attested as *pengafyr* in medieval sources. However, this wader which has an extremely long beak, like the crane in line 69, nests and feeds on the ground and in water, especially near estuaries. The mention of the *yscawpren*, which likes a wet habitat like the Godwit, brings to mind the traditions — at least as early as *Piers Plowman* — that Judas hanged himself from an elder tree. Did Judas's evil caused him to be seen as a goat in the popular medieval imagination? If so there may be deliberate ambiguity here.
- 68 **bum garan gwala gwelet golwc** The crane (*garan*, *Grus grus*), is larger than the heron (*crychydd*, *crëyr* in ModW), and more tractable: see EIF 125-9.
- 69 **Tragwres milet Moryal** See GPC s.vv. *tragwres* 'great heat' (of Hellfire, heat of battle, etc.) and also commoner *trachwres*. *Milet* well-attested as 'warband,

retinue', etc. *Moryal* occurs as a personal name in CA line 662 (see note p. 238 on Bryn Morial); EWSP 439.77 (Canu Heledd) *o etiued Moryal*; R 583.13-14 (Cyfoesi) lamented together with Morgenau and Morien; LIDC (Beddau) 18.6 (no localisation, but again with Morien), and is interpreted as such here. But it could be understood as the adj. (< *mawr* + *gal*) 'of great valour', as perceived by Ifor Williams in PT XII.44-5 *Tyllynt tal yscwydawl rac taleu y veirch/ o march* (?recte *marchlu*) *trwst moryal*, but questioned by GPC s.v. *morial*. The lack of rhyme remains a problem.

- 70 **katwent kenedyl da** *Katwent* 'battle (field); fighting', etc., and *kenedyl* both common in CBT corpus, but rare in other poetry, excepting CC 20.102 (BT) *heb gatwent*; two instances of 'race, nation', §8.38 *teir kenedyl*; PBT 5.14 (Kein Gyfedwch) *o genedyl ysci*; and one of 'race, stock, breed', PT VIII.35 *veirch o genedyl vrych*.
- 71 **o'r yssyd is awyr** *Is awyr* corresponding to English idiom 'under the sun, on earth'.
- 72 **gwedy kassolwir** G s.v. *kassolwir* understands this hapax as pl. of **kasolwr* (< **casawl* + *gwr*), which would rhyme with *awŷr* (see G s.v. *awŷr*, *awŷr*). On adj. formations in *-awc*, see on line 1 above.
- 73 **nyt byw** Line 74's *gŵyr* or *gwŷr* may have been rhymed with the end of the missing phrase after *nyt byw*, and possibly with the following lost lines. *Llwyr* is a common rhyming partner for *gŵyr* (e.g. LIDC 18.97; CBT I 2.49; 21.5; 33.32; V 26.128; 28.9; VI 15.27; VII 25.29; 43.7, etc.): perhaps ?*lleturyd llwyr*; *namyn llwyr* or similar. But line 74 may contain *gwŷr* continuing the rhyme block started in line 71.
- 74 **o'r mod meint a'm gwyr** Very uncertain because of the apparent lacuna in line 73. If *a'm gwŷr*, 'as many as know me', perhaps referring back to those in line 71; *gŵyr* 'wicked, perverse (act)' does not seem very likely.
- 75 **kyneilwat** This is the catchword at the end of the quire, indicating that a whole quire (or more) is missing between this poem and acephalous §16.

16 Y gofeisswys byt (Alexander 1)

This untitled poem, together with §17 Anryuedodeu Allyxander 'The Marvels of Alexander' and §19 Marwnat Ercwl 'Elegy for Hercules', provides important evidence for the Welsh poets' knowledge of traditions about the classical heroes Alexander the Great and Hercules. Unusually, the characters and their stories are developed to some extent whereas the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets and their successors tended rather to use their names simply as bardic shorthand to convey the worthy qualities of patrons praised as world conquerors, 'second Alexanders', or warriors possessing the 'might of Hercules'.¹ The three poems are also of interest because they deal exclusively with the heroic deeds of characters from outside the Welsh tradition² and make use of material ultimately derived from written sources. In this last respect, they may be compared with some of the Scriptural poems in the Book of Taliesin and other poems in the present collection which draw on the European encyclopaedic and wisdom tradition.

The two complementary Welsh Alexander poems are almost consecutive in the manuscript.³ The present item, unfortunately without its beginning because the first folio of the quire is missing,⁴ addresses Alexander the Great's 'historical' exploits, and its most likely ultimate source is Orosius' *Historiae Aduersum Paganos*, written in the fifth century.⁵ The second much shorter and simpler piece entitled Anryuedodeu Allyxand[er] 'The Marvels of Alexander' by a fourteenth-century rubricator⁶ presents the two most captivating motifs of the vast medieval legend — the Celestial Flight and the Submarine Adventure, which extended the sphere of Alexander's imagined influence to the unconquered realms of space and sea-bed. That poem is treated separately (§17).

¹ Later allusions are discussed below.

² The lament for the Irish hero, Cú Roí is another important example: see the introduction to §21 where Cú Roí's 'Alexander' aspects are noted.

³ They are separated by a short poem in praise of the Trinity (edited as CC poem 3) which concludes by comparing Christ's cross to a breastplate: *Croes crist glaear* (em.), *lluryc llachar rac pop aelet;/ Rac pop anuaws poet yndilis, dinas diffret* 'Christ's tender cross, a shining breastplate against every suffering; against every fierce one may it be steadfast, a citadel of defence'. Although the poem does not conform to the pattern of the *loricae* in Celtic-Latin, Irish and Welsh sources, a fourteenth-century rubricator, influenced by the Alexander material on either side of the poem and by the tone of the concluding lines, added the title *Llvruc Alexandyr* 'Alexander's Lorica'; see further Ifor Williams, 'Llurig Alexander', *B* 17 (1956-8), 95; Brynley F. Roberts, 'Rhai swynion Cymreig', *B* 21 (1964-6), 199-202, and 'Llurig Alexander', *B* 20 (1962-4), 104-6; CC 23-6.

⁴ See General Introduction, 1.

⁵ *Pauli Orosii Historiarum Aduersum Paganos Libri Septem*, edited by C. Zangemeister (Vienna, 1882).

⁶ See details in the introduction to §17.

We join the first poem *in medias res*, as noted above, with Alexander traversing the world, bringing twelve countries under his rule (as in the beginning of the account in I Maccabees 1). When he died in 323 B.C. he had reigned for twelve years, a numerological coincidence often embroidered by later writers, but not in this instance apparently.⁷ The garbled list of conquests a little further on appears to be an attempt to supply the required twelve realms (lines 15-20, see below). Lines 2-4 use conventional hyperbole to describe Alexander's prodigality and his prowess, the chief elements of the ideal ruler as conceived by the native poets. Line 5 *Ef torres ar Dar teir gweith yg kat* 'he defeated Darius three times in battle', refers to the three key encounters of the campaign against the Persians under the Great King Darius III, given prominence in Orosius' account: the first on the River Granicus near the Sea of Marmara in 334; the resounding victory at Issus (333) which caused the Persians to flee in panic, and which established Macedonian control of the east as far as the Euphrates; and the Battle of Gaugamela in 331, which opened the way to Mesopotamia, and to Alexander's occupation of Babylon, Susa and Persepolis.⁸ Line 6, discussed in the commentary, seems to involve a play on words: *Dar*, the Welsh form of Darius, also means 'oak tree' and, figuratively in Welsh poetry, '(battle) leader'. In conjunction with *corgwyd*, '?shrubs, small trees', it suggests the kind of pun on personal names found in the Gododdin and elsewhere in early poetry.⁹ Darius' flight and pursuit by Alexander follows in lines 7-8, with lines 9-10 alluding to his capture and imprisonment in a golden fether (*hual eurin*), another detail mentioned by Orosius.¹⁰

Lines 14-20 use the common listing technique to introduce the lands and cities conquered by Alexander.¹¹ Of these, only Syria, Persia, Babylon, and Asia are identifiable. Alliteration and internal rhyme may have generated further names to trope the genuine ones. Whether they actually existed was perhaps of less importance than conveying an impression of 'foreign parts', an impetus seen also in a Book of Taliesin religious poem commemorating the saints of the world.¹² And in the prose tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, imaginary places eke out

⁷ Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen-âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886), II, 369. His twelve-year reign is mentioned by Orosius, III.23.6. On the historical Alexander, see W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1948), I, 120, and works cited in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford, 1996), 59.

⁸ Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, I, 16-17, 24-27, and 45-51. Orosius, III.16-17, places clear emphasis on the fateful nature of the three battles against Darius, and groups them together in his narrative.

⁹ See examples in the commentary on §22.6..

¹⁰ Orosius, III.17.6: *Darium uero cum a propinquis suis uinctum conpedibus aureis teneri conperisset persequi statuit*. Golden fetters are also mentioned in the accounts of Quintus Curtius Rufus and Justinus. See further the commentary on line 9.

¹¹ Lists of battles, territories or place-names are found, for example, in PT I.9-20; XI.16-31; in Englynion Cadwallon (EWSP 446-7, AH 36-8); and very frequently in the CBT corpus (e.g. CBT I poem 1; II poems 15 and 26.275-84; III poem 8; VI poem 35, etc.).

¹² CC poem 24.

the genuine exotic place-names: *Caer Se ac Asse*, *Sach a Salach*, *Lotor a Ffotor*, *Caer Brythwch a Brathach a Nerthach*, and *Caer Oeth ac Anoeth*.¹³ The Welsh *Elucidarium* rendering of Sodom and Gomorrah as *Souir ac Ouir* illustrates the same rhyming tendency,¹⁴ also seen in the extended parallelism of the famous list of places in the Old English *Widsith* poem (e.g. 'I was with Secca and Becca').¹⁵ Although the Welsh, like the Irish, are likely to have garbled or misunderstood foreign names,¹⁶ it is hard to see what genuine place-names could lie behind forms such as *Dinifdra* and *Dinitra*, and the islands of *Pleth a Phletheppa*, and they may be pure invention.¹⁷

Lines 21-6 present the mythical Amazons, familiar from other sources as fierce women located in Pontic Asia Minor who, like an uncontrollable plague, overran and destroyed Europe, Asia, and the known world.¹⁸ Alexander's feat in subduing them was one of his claims to fame in the Middle Ages, linking him with a succession of heroes that included Bellerophon, Achilles and Hercules. It is significant that our poet calls the Amazons the *bronloscedigyon*, 'those with burned breasts' (line 26): this phrase refers to the belief that the right breasts of the female children were burned away in order to facilitate the use of the bow, and it derives from a popular etymology of the word *Amazones* used by early medieval authors.¹⁹

¹³ CO lines 117-26, discussed pp. 58-60; Brynley F. Roberts, 'Yr India Fawr a'r India Fechan', *LIC* 13 (1980-81), 281-3; Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The significance of the Irish personal names in *Culhwch ac Olwen*', *B* 29 (1980-82), 601-2.

¹⁴ LIA 287; cf. *Sodma Gomorha gynt, Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn*, edited by J.C. Morrice (Bangor, 1908), 226, line 44; *Yr Areithiau Pros*, edited by D. Gwenallt Jones (Cardiff, 1934), 5, line 19 *niktref is law Seissniktref*.

¹⁵ *The Exeter Book*, edited by G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie (New York and London, 1936), 151 ff.

¹⁶ Kuno Meyer noted how foreign personal names were often given an idiosyncratic Irish dress, e.g. *Ecbyrt* > *Ichibrichlan*, *Lysimachus* > *Lessimamus*, 'Die Geschichte von Philipp und Alexander von Macedon aus dem Lebar Brecc', *Irische Texte*, ii, part 2, edited by W. Stokes and E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1887), 10-11.

¹⁷ Some possibilities are discussed in the commentary.

¹⁸ e.g. Orosius, I.15-16, I.21.2, and particularly I.16.1: *mulieres patria profugae Europam atque Asiam, id est plurimas fortissimasque mundi partes, intrauerunt peruagatae sunt deluerunt. centum paene annis euertendo urbes plurimas atque alias constituendo tenuerunt*; *Etymologiae* IX.ii.64 and XVIII.iv.5.

¹⁹ See Simeon Potter, 'A commentary on King Alfred's Orosius', *Anglia* 71 (1952-3), 394, on the genuine and presumed derivations. Orosius, like Justinus and Curtius, mentions the burned breasts without dwelling in detail on the etymology: *tunc pace armis quaesita extremos concubitus ineunt, editos mares mox enecant. feminas studiose nutriunt inustis infantium dexterioribus mammillis, ne sagittarum iactis impedirentur; unde Amazones dictae* (I.15.3), and this is taken up and elaborated by Isidore, *Etymologiae* IX.ii.64. Janet Bately suggests that the recognition in the Old English Orosius that *Amazones* means 'seared breasts' may derive from a glossed Orosius manuscript or a batch of glossaries: 'King Alfred and the Latin MSS of Orosius' History', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 22 (1961), 98-9; and 'The classical additions in the Old English Orosius', in *England before the Conquest: Studies presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, edited by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 240 and n.7. The related word *semiuste* ('halfburnt') explains the name *Amazones* in the Leiden Glossary and other glossaries; see J. H. Hessels (ed.), *A Late Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*:

Line 27 touches on Alexander's Indian campaign and his dealings with Porus, who was defeated at the battle on the R. Hydaspes (Jhelum) in the Punjab, but who was then granted control of lands to the east under Alexander's overlordship. The court poets, Prydydd y Moch and Einion Wan, knew his name (W. *Por*), and, as noted in the commentary, Prydydd y Moch appears to have deployed it with some precision in praising the southern princeling Rhys Gryg of Deheubarth, a satellite of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd.²⁰ The return from India was disastrous for Alexander's forces because of the acute shortage of water; in the legendary material, the search for water occurs in the remoter reaches of India itself, and is treated at great length in the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*²¹ — with enumeration of pack-animals, elephants, camels, mules, etc. — but not in Orosius' *History*. Line 33 states that 'a hundred thousand soldiers died of thirst', and Alexander's own death by poison follows in line 35. Many variants of the latter event circulated from an early date — girls bearing poison, envenomed feathers, and so on²² — but ours accords with Orosius' statement that Alexander was poisoned by his own servant in Babylon.²³

preserved in the Library of the Leiden University (Cambridge, 1906), p. 39. Morris-Jones (who acknowledges Ifor Williams's help) was the first to draw attention to the phrase *bronloscedigyon* (Tal 99-100), and to mention Orosius in connection with the Welsh poem. The phrase was also transmitted to the Irish: the Book of Leinster *Táin* uses the term *Cichloiste* 'burned-breasted ones' for the Amazons who were slaughtered in 'Armenia' by Cú Chulainn, and *Togail Troi* calls Penthesila 'the queen of the Burnt-breasts': these and other examples are discussed by Patrick K. Ford, 'Amazon dot Choin', *CSANA Yearbook 2*, edited by Joseph Falaky Nagy (Dublin, 2002), 100-10. On the Welsh formation, see commentary on line 26.

²⁰ *Por* was identified as Porus in Tal 100, n.2; see also CA 110; FfBO 64. See commentary on line 27 for Einion Wan, and instances where the common noun meaning 'lord' is more appropriate, as in CA line 1269 (see note on p. 351). On the conflicting traditions about Alexander's dealings with Porus, see George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, edited by D.J.A. Ross (Cambridge, 1956), 340.

²¹ *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, edited by W. Walther Boer (Meisenheim am Glan, 1973), 615; the text is translated and discussed by Lloyd L. Gunderson, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1980), 142-5; Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (revised edition, Toronto, 1995), 204-23 prints the text from BL Royal 13.i with variants from Boer's edition, as well as the Old English version, with a modern English translation (pp. 224-53). Orchard's illuminating chapter on the Alexander legend in Anglo-Saxon England demonstrates how the Old English translator manipulated his source, making Alexander much more a figure who has 'a disturbing arrogance in his own esteem' (p. 136), and portraying him as more selfish in the face of the drought than in the Latin *Epistola* (pp. 137-8). He concludes (p. 139) that the Old English author 'appears... to have given an Orosian perspective to the Latin wonder-tale'.

²² The official line was that Alexander the Great died of fever, as in 1 Maccabees 1:5: see Elizabeth Visser, 'Alexander's Last Days in Hellenistic and Roman Tradition', in *Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages: Ten Studies on the Last Days of Alexander in Literary and Historical Writing*, edited by L.J. Engels *et al.* (Nijmegen, 1978), 220. The tradition that he was poisoned emerged soon after his death, as Visser notes; see also David J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, second edition (Frankfurt, 1988), 5.

²³ Orosius III.20.4: *Alexander uero apud Babylonam, cum adhuc sanguinem sitiens male castigata auiditate ministri insidiis uenenum potasset, interiit.*

Furthermore, line 36 is unusual for a Welsh source in that it makes explicit a moralistic point of view: 'it would have been better had it been done sooner'. This outburst is not entirely out of the blue, for it seems to be anticipated in lines 30-31 in an address to God: 'a land for Thy servants was rendered faithless; there shall not be respite from fatigue for Thine enemy'. The final-lines of the poem continue in resolutely pious fashion with conventional religious sentiments similar to that in other poems of this collection.

How, then, was this Alexander material known to our Welsh poet? The fount of the legend is found in the Greek 'Alexander-Romance' falsely ascribed to Callisthenes; it survives in various versions from the third century A.D. and draws on a wide range of stories and legends which had been growing about the world conqueror since his death. It was essentially a work of fiction but given spurious authority by its use of imaginary letters, to his mother, and to his teacher, Aristotle. The subsequent fourth-century Latin version by Julius Valerius was epitomised in the ninth; versions were a source for the very many vernacular works which blossomed especially from the twelfth century onwards. More often than not, the epitomes were used in conjunction with a version of the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, the account of the marvels and monsters encountered on the Indian campaign, mentioned above. The *Epistola* was translated into Old English before 1000, and is found in the *Beowulf*-manuscript (BL Cotton Vitellius A. xv);²⁴ it was also one of the sources for the Middle Irish Alexander tale, a work thought to date from the tenth or eleventh century.²⁵

Meanwhile, another redaction of the Pseudo-Callisthenes romance was brought to western Europe by Archpriest Leo of Naples, who had been on a diplomatic mission to the Byzantine court in the mid-tenth century. He had translated it into Latin by 959 as *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni*, a work which includes the Celestial Flight and the Submarine Adventure (see on §17). From the eleventh century onwards, three interpolated redactions of this work, known as the *Historia de Preliis*, were made, the second of them being interpolated with material from Orosius.²⁶ Other sources of tradition from the accounts of the historians Quintus Curtius Rufus, Justinus, and Orosius above

²⁴ Together with the 'Wonders of the East', both edited and translated (with accompanying Latin texts) in Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*.

²⁵ Erik Peters, 'Die irische Alexandersage', *ZcP* 30 (1969), 712-64; the tenth-century date proposed by Peters is questioned as possibly too early by Máire Ni Mhaonaigh, in *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Æniasa and Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás*, edited by Kevin Murray, Irish Texts Society subsidiary series 17 (London, 2006), 1 n.3. The Leabhar Breac text and excerpts from the Book of Ballymote are also edited by Kuno Meyer, 'Geschichte' (see n.16 above), pp. 43-69 and 100-7. See also Robert T. Meyer, 'The Sources of the Middle Irish Alexander', *Modern Philology*, 47 (1949), 27. Hildegard L.C. Tristram, 'Der insulare Alexander', in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter*, edited by Willi Erzgräber (Sigmaringen, 1989), 129-55, is a useful overview of the materials in English, Welsh and Irish.

²⁶ General surveys include Cary, *Medieval Alexander*, 38-58; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, 48-65; *The History of Alexander's Battles: Historia de Preliis, the J1 Version*, translated by R. Telfryn Pritchard (Toronto, 1992).

all, often converged with the Pseudo-Callisthenes stream as the legend expanded and began to move into western European vernaculars around the turn of the millennium.

Some close correspondences between our poem and the succinct account of Alexander in Orosius' *History* have already been noted. Nearly every salient feature can be paralleled in that single source: the marauding Amazons and their burned breasts, the three battles against Darius and his fettering in a golden shackle, and Alexander's poisoning by his own servant. Moreover, the tone of censure in line 36 takes its cue from Orosius who, as Cary noted, 'did not spare Alexander, rather he carried the Stoic abuse of him to its last extreme for the benefit of his Christian readers. For him, Alexander was a ruthless, bloodthirsty conqueror fired by his insane love of glory in battle'.²⁷ This attitude may be reflected further in another Book of Taliesin item, a Scriptural poem which follows the shorter Alexander poem (§17) in the manuscript: 'Although Alexander's men were numerous, he did not flourish without Thy friendship. As for his armies and his great battalions and his false troops — when they died, their fate was woeful'.²⁸ It is difficult to say that our poet knew Orosius directly rather than through an epitome or derivative. The *History* was certainly an immensely popular school text, and had been known to Gildas. Its use in glossaries and above all its translation at Alfred's court in ninth-century Wessex indicate how valued it was in England. It was used as a source for the Irish Alexander tale; and an Irish origin in the eighth century has been suggested for the one surviving commentary on Orosius. And at least five copies of the *History* were glossed in Old Breton between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.²⁹ But none of the 250 and more surviving manuscripts has a Welsh provenance. Nevertheless, the poem shows story material ultimately from a source drawing on Orosius, and being adapted and accommodated in a verse tradition often remarked on for its lack of narrative elements.³⁰

The panegyric mode that dominates the poetic record obscures the extent of the poets' knowledge of story themes connected with heroes. Alexander's name does not occur in the medieval Triads as such, only in a surprisingly late adaptation of the Nine Worthies scheme in the sixteenth century.³¹ Yet one of the court poets (either Cynddelw or Prydydd y Moch) was familiar with a similar scheme,³² and such listings (sometimes partial) of nine worthies, conquerors, etc.

²⁷ Cary, *Medieval Alexander*, 119.

²⁸ BT 53.18-24, edited CC 10.18-22, and see "'Some talk of Alexander and some of Hercules": three early medieval poems from the Book of Taliesin', *CMCS* 13 (1987), 19 n.63. I Maccabees 1 is another possible source.

²⁹ For details on the English, Irish and Breton materials, see "'Some talk of Alexander"', 20.

³⁰ A point discussed in CC 124-5.

³¹ TYP³ 133. On the Nine Worthies in relation to Welsh material, see Horst Schröder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen, 1971).

³² CBT IV 17.67-78 (a poem to God) adapts the framework to include native heroes (Brân fab Llŷr, Madog possibly Arthur's brother (see §20), and otherwise unknown Greiddur) as well as some of the canonical Nine (Arthur, Julius Caesar, and Alexander) and Hercules, and fuses it with the *ubi sunt?* topos. Although the Hendregadredd manuscript attributes the poem to

became popular by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³³ Poetic references to Alexander are found from the mid-twelfth century on, but are not very common before the sixteenth century. He appears as world conqueror in lists of worthies, sometimes dovetailed with the *ubi sunt?* motif ('wher is Alisaunder that conquer'd al?'), or as daring aviator and submariner (see introduction to §17).³⁴ There are late mentions of the story of the Wonderstone,³⁵ and the fourteenth-century Casnodyn had some vague idea of the name of his horse, Bucephalus.³⁶ It is curious that no Welsh prose Alexander material survives before the sixteenth century, despite the considerable vogue for prose translations from Latin and French in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, Walter of Châtillon's Latin *Alexandreis* was partly translated.³⁷

Prydydd y Moch, the Red Book of Hergest attribution to Cynddelw is accepted conditionally by CBT IV 299-301. Lack of religious verse by Prydydd y Moch makes stylistic comparison difficult in this instance.

³³ E.g. GGG 63.4-26; *Gwaith Maredudd ap Rhys a'i Gyfoedion*, edited by Enid Roberts (Aberystwyth, 2003), 15.25-31; 29.26-7; GLMorg I 1.47-50 (with further details on pp. 192-3, including mention of a Nine Worthies tapestry: Dafydd Ifans, 'Nawwyr teilwng Plas Bodwrda', *NLWJ* 18 (1973-4), 181-6); GLMorg II 99.49-52; GMBr 5.57, 7.66, etc.

³⁴ See n.32 above on CBT IV 17.67-78; CBT IV 8. 30 for Cynddelw's styling of the mighty Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth as 'a warrior with Alexander's qualities'. The same prince is commemorated in the chronicle entry for 1197 with reference to the Wheel of Fortune motif and ten classical and Biblical heroes; the Latin metrical verses which follow name Caesar and Arthur, then Alexander: *Resus Alexander in velle pari fuit alter./ Mundum substerni gliscit vterque sibi./ Occasus solis tritus Resi fuit armis./ Sensit Alexandri solis in orbe manum* 'Rhys was a second Alexander with similar aspirations: the two desired the world at their feet. The sunset [i.e. west] was subjugated by Rhys' arms; he sensed Alexander's hand in the sun's orb' (ByT (Pen. 20), 140-1; edited and discussed by Huw Pryce in *Yr Arglwydd Rhys*, edited by Nerys Ann Jones and Huw Pryce (Caerdydd, 1996), 212-37). Later mentions of Alexander include GGM I 3.132; IGE² 253.25-6; *Gwaith Gwerful Mechain ac Eraill*, edited by Nerys A. Howells (Aberystwyth, 2001), 3.27-30 (world conqueror who fell prey to a woman) and 7.63-66 (the far travels of Alexander and his men); *Gwaith Llawdden*, edited by R. Iestyn Daniel (Aberystwyth, 2006), 15.19-20 (Aristotle's advice to Alexander); GLMorg I 47.42 (Aristotle's advice); 50.16; II 62.10; 96.18 (comparison of Ann Boleyn with the girl who poisoned Alexander's wine); etc. See also references in n.33 above. On late medieval *ubi sunt?* treatments in Irish, see Hildegard L.C. Tristram, 'More talk of Alexander', *Celtica* 21 (1990), 658-63, and William Gillies' edition and analysis of the poem 'Ceathrar do bhí ar uaigh an fhir', in 'Ffigur Alexander: tystiolaeth o brydyddiaeth farddol Aeleg', in FS Gruffydd 219-36.

³⁵ GGG 47.59-60 (and see note in GLM 507). On this motif, derived from the Talmud, via the 12c *Iter ad Paradisum*, see Cary, *Medieval Alexander*, 19-20 and 150-51.

³⁶ GC 5.9 *Arial Bugethal* 'with the spirit of Bugethal'. An earlier reference to Bucephalus (*Bucefal*) is found in the mid-thirteenth-century HGK 5, lines 11-12, and in VGFC 58. TYP³ 108, suggests that the name of the horse Bucheslom in Triad 40 may have been influenced by the name of Alexander's horse.

³⁷ See Telfryn Pritchard, 'Notes on an *Alexandreis* Manuscript: NLW 5040B', *NLWJ* 20 (1977-8), 345-51; "'Aristotle's advice to Alexander": Welsh versions of an *Alexandreis* passage', *NLWJ* 24 (1985-6), 295-308, and 'Ystori y Gŵr Moel o Sythia', *SC* 18-19 (1983-4), 216-33. The *Alexandreis* epic, composed sometime between 1176 and 1202, was enormously popular, and it includes elaborate accounts of the events treated in our poem. It is unlikely, however, that Walter was the source: in that case, the Welsh poet would have selected the very episodes presented by Orosius, and it would be odd that he did not exploit the *Alexandreis* more

Numerous manuscripts of Welsh versions of the *Secretum Secretorum* do survive, however: this was a book of counsel, in part a 'mirror for princes' purporting to have been written by Aristotle for Alexander. The abstracted sections on physiognomy and hygiene seem to have been particularly popular in Wales, and circulated independently, as elsewhere.³⁸

The present poem, together with §17, present by far the fullest poetic treatment of Alexander in medieval Welsh poetry. The question of why they should have been included in a Taliesin compendium is discussed in the introduction to §17 and in the General Introduction.

extensively. Furthermore, the Welsh poet's censorious treatment of Alexander is more in keeping with that of Orosius than with Walter's more romantic portrayal.

³⁸ See Cary, *Medieval Alexander*, 21-2; Morfydd E. Owen, 'Meddygon Myddfai: A preliminary survey of some medical writing in Welsh', *SC* 10-11 (1975-6), 222-33; and the exemplary investigation by Elizabeth Meinir James, '*Secretum Secretorum*: Astudiaeth Feimiadol o Ddetholiadau Cymraeg a Lladin o'r Llythyr Ffug-Aristotelaidd at Alecsander Fawr' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1986).

16 Y gofeisswys byt (Alexander 1)

Book of Taliesin 51.1-52.5

... y gofeisswys byt,
... *he traversed the world,*

bu deutec gorwlat¹ gwledychyssid,
he reigned over twelve foreign realms,
bu haelhaf, berthaf o'r ry anet,
he was the most generous, the most splendid man [ever] born,
bu terwyn gwenwyn, gwae y gywlat.
he was a fierce slayer, woe upon his neighbour.

5 **Ef torres ar Dar teir gweith yg kat,**
He defeated Darius three times in battle,
ac ef ny vyd corgwyd y wlat.
and there are not [even] shrubs [left] in his land.

Dar plufawr pebyr pell atechwys ef;²
Darius with strong wings retreated far
gyrth y godiwawd Alexander.
[but] Alexander furiously overtook him.

Yn hual eurin gwae a garcharer;
Woe on the one imprisoned in a golden fetter;

10 **ny phell garcharwyt — agheu dybu:**
he was not imprisoned for long [for] death came:
ac lle ef kafas ergyr o lu.
the [captive] with the sad cry was attacked by a battalion.

Neb kyn noc ef ny darhawd
No-one before him. . . .

meued³ byr⁴ berthrwyd oradwyndawt.⁵
the wealth of the world, magnificent splendour.

Hael Alexander a'e kymmerth yna:
Prodigal Alexander then conquered them:

15 **gwlat Syr a Siryoel, a gwlat Syria,**
the land of Syr and Sirioel, and the land of Syria,
a gwlat Dinifdra, a gwlat Dinitra,
and the land of Dinifdra, and the land of Dinitra,
gwlat Pers a Mers a gwlat y Kanna,
the land of Persia and Mers and the land of Canna,

¹ ms *ar wlat*

² ms *coet*

³ ms *myued*

⁴ ms *bed*

⁵ ms *or adwyndawt*

- ac nyssed Pleth a Phletheppa,**
and the islands of Pleth and Pletheppa,
a chiwdawt Babilon ac Agascia ⁶
and the citizens of Babylon, and Asia,
 20 **a gwlat Galldarus, bychan y da,**
and the land of Galldarus, paltry its wealth,
hyt yd ymduc y tir tywarch yna
until he proceeded then to a region, a land
yn⁷ yt wnahont eu bryt wrth eu helya:
in which they [viz. the Amazons] take pleasure in perverted hunting:
yr⁸ wedant gwystlon yn⁹ Europa
they put hostages under the yoke in Europe
ac anreithaw gwladoed gwylyoed¹⁰ Terra.
and devastate lands in the remote regions of the Earth.
 25 **Gwychyr¹¹ gwenynt wraged gordynt yma,**
The fierce men [of Alexander's army] violated these proud women,
bronloscedigyon gwyled gwastra.
the ones with burnt breasts, lacking [fitting] modesty.
O gadeu a For pan atrodet
It was recounted, with regard to the battles with Porus,
digonynt brein, gwnēint pen brithret
that the warriors took action, that they wrought great disaster.
O¹² milwyr Mageidawn pan attrodet
It was recounted concerning the soldiers of Macedon
 30 **neu wlat y'th weisson Ti pan diffydet.**
that it was a land for Thy servants which was rendered faithless.
Ny byd y'th escar escor lludet.
There will not be respite from fatigue for Thine enemy,
rac gofal yr hual a'e agalet.
from the custody of the fetter and its severity.
Mil cant riallu a uu varw rac sychet,
A hundred thousand soldiers died from thirst,
eu geu gogwilleu ac eu milet.
[with] their unsuitable head-dresses and their pack-animals.
 35 **As gwenwynwys y was kyn no'e trefret;**
His servant poisoned him before [he went to] his resting-place;

⁶ ms *mawr*⁷ ms *ac*⁸ ms *ywedant*⁹ ms *y*¹⁰ ms *gwyssyoed*¹¹ ms *gwythyr*¹² ms *ymilwyr*

kyn no hyn bei gwell digonet.

it would have been better had this been done sooner.

Y'm harglwyd gwlatlwyd gwlat gogonet —

To my prosperously reigning Lord of the realm of glory —

vn wlat ior oror goreu ystlyner¹³ —

the pleasant realm of God, the land of the most perfect accord —

diwyccwyf <>;¹⁴ poet genhyt-ty gyffret.

may I make amends; may [my] refuge be at Thy side.

40 **A'r sawl a'm clyw, poet meu eu hunet:**

And those who hear me — may my wish be theirs [too]:

digonwynt wy vod Duw kyn gwasc tytwet.

may they do God's will before the oppression of the sod.

- 1 **gofeisswys** GPC notes this as hapax 3sg. pret. of **gofeissaw* 'to travel, walk, traverse; ford, wade through'. The simple denominative vb, *beissaw*, with similar meanings, is attested from the 15c onwards; on noun *beis* 'that on which it is possible to tread', generally used of a ford or a seabed, see Ifor Williams, *B* 4 (1927-9), 342-4; PKM 192-3; §23.18 *dyfynveis*; CC 24.17 *O dwfynueis affwys abret*; CBT V 21.22 *Lewenyt d6fyn a beis*. While **gofeissaw* is likely to have the same range of meanings as *beissaw*, with GPC (as in the translation), perhaps 'to tread down, to trample', figuratively 'to subdue, conquer' would be a possibility. The first part of the line would have contained five syllables or so, possibly beginning with *bu*; *gofeisswys* gives a regular four-syllable final cadence so *y* is more likely to be the end of a word than a separate word.
- 2 **deutec (ms deu tec)** Understood as one of the forms of 'twelve', *deudec*, or *deudeg* (with final *η*), the latter being used sporadically before nouns with initial vowel, [g], or [gw]. The form here may have been copied from an exemplar (such as Black Book of Carmarthen (e.g. *Kyntilan*) with *t* for intervocalic *ð*. The two elements were written separately (cf. the treatment of personal names elements in Chad 1 memorandum, ed. Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, *CMCS* 7 (1984), 115-17), but *deu tec* is not necessarily an archaic feature, e.g. *deu deg mlyned* in RBB 126, line 27. Twelve countries were brought under Alexander's rule, and he reigned for twelve years: see introduction above.
- 2 **gorwlat (ms ar wlat) gwledychyssit** G treats *ar wlat* as two words because *gwledychu ar* 'to rule over' is more frequently used than the transitive vb *gwledychu*, but cf. *gwledychwys ynteu Pryderi seith cantref Dyuet* 'he, Pryderi, ruled over the seven cantrefs of Dyfed', PKM 27; and CBT II 25.6 *wlad wletychu*; I 21.12 *bydoed wledychu*, etc. If G is correct, then the use of the abs. form *gwledychyssit* after an adverbial phrase might be possible, but numeral + prep. + noun would be a most unusual poetic inversion: one would expect **bu ar deu dec gwlat gwledychyssit*.

¹³ ms *ystlyned*

¹⁴ ms *digonwyf*

Since *arwlat* (*âr* 'tilth, ploughing' + *gwlat*) is not an attested compound, *arwlat* is emended to *gorwlat*, 'neighbouring, foreign land' (G, GPC, s.v.) cognate accusative of *gwledychysid*. *Gwledychu/gwlat* (and derivatives) are common, e.g. in CBT I 31.31; II 2.45 *Py arglôyd gôlatlôyd y gôledychaf—idaw*; 15.25-6 *y wlad/ A wletychws Meruyn*; 25.6; III 1.6; IV 4.218-19 *Pa wledic a wledych arnei?/ Gwletychôs ar wlad*; 16.1-2 *Wledic/ A wledych heb auar*; 16.191 *Kan gôledych Gôledic eur gylchôy*; VI 35.32; 26.34 *Arbennig wledig a wladychy*; VII 25.80 *Dioual wlad a wletycho*, etc. The vb also in PBT 1.17 (Daronwy) *pryt pan wledychwy*; 8.82 (Romani kar) *gwledychawt yn Eluet*; CC 11.10 *duun gwledychawt*; LIDC 15.6 *Ac Edwin iMon ban gluedichuy*. For the syntax, see GMW 140-41. For abs. verbal forms in rhyme position and preceded by *bu*, cf. CC 10.38 *Kiwdawt niniuen bu gwr llawen pregythyssit*; and CC 10.39 *Riein tramor bu yscawt ior yscoryssit*. On *-yssit/-essit* vb endings, see §5.91, and General Introduction, 22.

- 3 **bu haelhaf berthaf o'r ry anet** For coupling of *haelhaf* with one or more superlative adjs., CBT I 1.41 *Haelaw, lariau, lefaf, teccaf o Adaw plant*; V 6.42 *Ef haelaf, ef teccaf teleid*; and cf. PT III.2 *haelaf dyn bedyd*; IX.14 *haelaf rygigleu*; CBT III 26.103 *Vn a vu haelaf o haelon—Kymry*; VI 3.23 *haelaf mab dyn*, etc. With vb, cf. CC 5.1 *Ar clawr eluyd y gystedlyd ny ry anet*; CBT V 26.95-6 *Ef goreu rieu ryaned/ Yr Arthur, llary uodur lliwed*.
- 4 **bu terwyn gwenwyn gwae y gywlat** *Terwyn* (adj.) qualifying *gwenwyn* here used substantivally, rather than substantival *terwyn* (with G). The two collocated in CBT II 24.25 *Rhyn wyn wenwyn, rhad tad terwyn*; III 3.116 *Treis wenôyn terrwyn*; V 25.37 *Neu Loegyrlu derrwyn a'e llyw lliidwenwyn*. *Terwyn/torri*, e.g. CA line 1426 (Gwarchan Maeldderw). *Gwae* extremely common, e.g. CC 10.3 *gwae eu hescar*; CBT VI 19.14 *gôae dy alon*, etc. *Cywlat* 'neighbour; enemy', cf. PT XII.43; CA line 30; EWSP 421.11 *kywlat rwyt*; §23.43 *lludwy uedei gywlat rac mab Edern*; CBT I 25.2 *Estygyad kywlad*; II 28.7 *kyôlad ormes*; III 16.88 *kywlad loes*; IV 9.85 *kymrwyn—y gywlad*; V 5.9 *Ni chôsc y gywlad*; 18.15 *Dy gywlad nid lledrad y llas*. Lines 2, 3, and 4 are linked by proest rhyme and by initial *cymeriad geiriol*.
- 5 **Ef torres ar Dar teir gweith yg kat** On *ef* (fronted subject pronoun), see on §5.104 and §14.32. The idiom *torri ar* 'defeat' is discussed with Irish parallels, by Ifor Williams, *B* 3 (1926-7), 23, and CA 278 and 312; see further David N. Dumville, 'An Irish idiom latinised', *Éigse* 16 (1975-6), 183-6, and 'Notes on Celtic Latin', *B* 30 (1981-3), 286-8. Cynddelw's example means 'defeat' as here, CBT IV 6.88 *Terrwyn ri yn torri arnab*, and a few further examples are noted by GPC 3532 s.v. *torraf: torri*. §19.7-8 *Yscwydawl ymordei/ arnaw a torrei* is understood literally, see notes.

On the three battles against Darius III, the Persian king, see introduction. Note that G s.v. *dar*² 'leader, battle-leader, lord' suggests a figurative usage of the personal name *Dar* < *Darius*. The first attestation of *dar* 'hero' noted by GPC is CBT I 8.80 (Gwalchmai ap Meilyr) *Ac angert anwar gnaws dar dan yas* (where Darius is not inconceivable, or even *Dardanius* (for Dardanus, one of ancestors of the Trojan nation) — the poem also mentions Aeneas and Goliath, and *gnaws* is followed by personal name in CBT V 16.3 *gnaôs Echel*). It is likely, however, that the oak, the noblest and most valuable of the trees, was used in the sense 'hero, leader' earlier than this, especially since *prenn* 'tree', *post*, *colofyn*

'column' and *nenbrenn* 'roof-beam' were established bardic praise epithets. In the introduction to §5, it is suggested that these and similar metaphors may have facilitated the heroic pastiche in *Kat Godeu*, where trees and shrubs join battle. See also on *derw* and *Maelderw*, §5.126 and 147-8.

ac ef ny vyd corgwyd y wlat Problematic line. *Corgwyd* 'brushwood, shrubs' (< *cor* 'small, dwarf' + *gwyd* 'trees') is attested only from 1780 (GPC), but cf. single example of *corwrysc* 'small brushwood' c. 1400 (GPC s.v.), *corgi*, *coriar*, etc. For examples of retention of the radical of the second element see §5.99. It rhymes internally with *vyd*, but this is not a consistent feature of the lines. But G favoured either (a) a compound in *cwyd* (*cwydaw* 'fall'), such as *rygwyd*; or (b) an emendation to a word such as *dorglwyd*, wondering also whether *vyd* should be changed to *ny* or *ry bydei*, or *bu*. Note, however, the pres. tense in line 9. I retain *corgwyd* = *corwyd*, understanding *y wlat* as *y'y* 'to/for his [Darius'] land', preferred to *yn y wlat* 'in his land' because of the regular four-syllable end cadence. Rather uncertain: possibly one or more syllables missing in the first part of the line.

Dar plufawr pebyr *Pebyr/pybyr* 'strong' (see PKM 286, CA 355), but perhaps a mistake for *pefyr* (one syllable) 'radiant, splendid' if this detail about Darius' feathers (*plufawr*) refers to an iridescent plumed head-dress or helmet (cf. EWSP 438.72 *pluawr [mawr] melyn*). On the other hand, if *plufawr* is used figuratively for 'wings', one might compare the idea expressed elsewhere in poetry that only those with wings are able to escape from danger: CA 1117 *nyt anghei oll ny uei oradein*; PBT 3.27-8 (Kychwedyl) *ony bei ac adaned yd ehettyn, / rac Mabon heb galaned wy nyt ëyn*. It would not be impossible for a Welsh poet to say that Darius fled from the battle of Issus on strong (*pebyr*) wings: the entire Persian army was sent into a panic retreat which gave Alexander control of the middle East as far as the R. Euphrates.

pell athechwys ef (ms coet) 3sg. pret. of *athechu* 'retreat from, flee from', although rather a rare vb (CC 20.139-40 *Bei a'th wybydem, / Crist, a'th athechem*; CBT I 9.56 *Nid athechaf drin drwy ymgythrut*). Since *coet* does not rhyme, it may be interpreted as a gloss which was added in an exemplar to explain *corgwyd*, or to point to the play on the words *dar* and *corgwyd*. Supplying the personal pronoun *ef* (referring to Darius, who is the object of the vb in the following line) would yield good sense as well as Irish rhyme with line 8. For line-final *ef*, cf. §19.18.

gyrth y godiwawd *Alexander y* is the contracted form containing the particle *y* and the infixed object pronoun 'y, GMW 55. On *godiwawd*, 3sg. pret. of vb *godiwes/godiwedyd*, regarded by Morris-Jones as a key for the development of the *-awd* 3sg. pret., see Simon Rodway, 'A datable development in medieval literary Welsh', *CMCS* 36 (1998), 71-94, pp. 91-2 and references; and CA 78 for *godiwawr* recte *godiwawd* in CA line 40. The vb noun (*godiwes*) occurs six times in CBT corpus, but not other forms. Rodway, 'Datable development', 92-4, however, regards *llad* as the key vb for the development of 3sg. pret. *-awd* (CA lines 666 *lladawd*, 1192 *ladaut*; PT X.11 *pan ladawd Owein Fflamdwyn*; EWSP 456.34 *lataut*). Cf. CA line 1477 (Gwarchan Maeldderw) *dhisgynnyawd*; LIDC 39.5 *ae hellygaut*; 39.8 *ae golligaut*; EWSP 418.18 (Cân yr Henwr) *a'm karawd*; R1052.12 *kilya6d*; CC 31.16 *rannawd*; 31.38 *carawd*; 31.69 *godefawd*. In CBT corpus, III 3.21 and 4.8 *gyrcha6d* and *gyrchawd*; 5.62 *keryta6d*; IV 7.23 *llataut*;

6.112 *raclyda6t*; VI 5.55 *cwyddawdd*; 5.34 *llywya6d*; 14.32 *ysgarawd*; VII 24.95 *kyrcha6t*; 24.103 *plygawt*; 30.33 *gorffeigyawd*; 33.38 *llunya6d*; 36.13 *gwasgara6d* and *g6isga6d*; 39.18 *bendiga6d*; 40b.31 *darparawdd*; 40b.35 *rannawdd*; 40b.37 *creawdd*; 40b.38 *prynawdd*, etc., and see Rodway, 'Datable development' 74 n.10, who discounts the 40b forms in the list above since they are in late manuscripts.

On *gyrth*, see CA 337. Adverbial use in CBT V 23.156 *Eilyrth gyrth y'n g6rthuynassant*; CBT III 10.66 *Gyrth yn g6an rac g6aeduriw*; IV 5.115 *G6an garthan, gyrth yn ymliw*. See introduction for other medieval Welsh mentions of Alexander. The line is perhaps referring to the events preceding immediately before Alexander's third conclusive victory at Gaugamela (in present day Iraq) in 331.

- 9 **Yn hual eurin** *Hual*, 'fetter, bond(s)', also line 32 below: see CA 350-51, CA lines 1056 and 1267; GPC s.v., and TYP³ 32-3 for a discussion of the Tri Hualawc, and of other possible meanings of *hual*. The White Book version of the triad in question adds details about the gold fetters. The same phrase is used of the shackle which held Elffin, *B* 5 (1929-31), 134; cf. IGE² 167.25-8 *Ac yn armes Taliesin, / Drud yn llys Faelgwn fu'r drin, / Pan ollygawdd, medrawdd mwyl, / Elffin o eurin aerwyl*, and see further General Introduction. In pre-1283 poetry, *eurin* is rather uncommon, although used by court poets Cynddelw (twice), Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (once), and Prydydd y Moch (twice, as well as *eurinya6l*). See introduction above, for Orosius' mention of Darius' golden fetter.
- 10 **ny phell garcharwyt — agheu dybu** On *pell* 'long' (of time) see AP line 13, and CLIH 106; on the spirantisation, see TC 352. Comparable adverbial uses: CBT I 1.19 *pell y treithvy*; III 3.95 *pell dygir*, 3.106 *pell yd atrodwr*; 5.22 *pell nas g6elwyl*; IV 2.56 *pell pwyllitor*, 6.180 *pell kyrchir—y ueirch*; VI 15.22 *pell yd etmygir*, etc. After the battle of Gaugamela in autumn 331, Darius was murdered by members of his own guard in the summer of 330.
- 11 **ac lle ef kafas ergyr o lu** The first part of the line is emended very tentatively to *aele lef*, '(one with) a dolorous cry', referring to Darius in captivity, although *a lle* 'sadly did he' is a possibility. *Ergyr* 'attack, assault; host, van'.
- 12 **neb kyn noc ef ny darhawd** The line is short and lacks rhyme. But if *tarhawd* is a 3sg. pret. form, like *godiwawd* in line 8, it may be connected with the vb *taraw* 'to hit, to rush' (see PKM 243), or with the forms *tarhei* and *terhid* (CA lines 445 and 1214); on the possible meanings of the latter, 'break, resound, crack', see CA 180-81, and cf. *tardu* 'leap, spring forth, gush', discussed CA 351, §5.64, §21.22. If *myued* is taken with line 13, perhaps consider emending (for rhyme with *adwyndawt*) to *Neb kyn noc ef ny darhei ar rawt* 'no-one before him [viz. Alexander] would attack the host [of Darius]'; or *Neb kyn noc ef yny adawt* 'No-one before him [had been] in his [Darius'] citadel', referring to Alexander's looting and burning of the Persian royal residence, Persepolis, whose wealth may also be referred to in line 13. But these two lines are very uncertain.
- 13 **meued (ms myued) bed berthrwyd oradwyndawt (ms or adwyndawt)** *Myued* may be emended to *ryued* 'owns, decrees' (see Ifor Williams, *B* 1 (1921-3), 128), or to *reued* (PT 109), or to *meu(u)ed*, 'wealth, riches, possessions' (see PT 51), as adopted here (faulty scribal modernisation of *e* by *y*). The following *bed* 'grave', not impossible as it stands, may be a slip for *byt* 'world', influenced by the end of the preceding word, and I translate accordingly. *Berthrwyd*

oradwyndawt, with an intensive form of *adwyndawt*, would yield 'fairness of splendour', describing the riches of the world; but perhaps *o'r adwyndawt* (cf. *adwyndawt* in §3.57). Lines 12-13 seem to have been no more intelligible to the scribe than to me: he suspends all punctuation here.

- 14 **Hael Alexander a'e kymmerth yna** *Hael* before a personal name common in CBT corpus: CBT III 7.28 *Hael Vadabc*; V 5.40 *Hael Dauyt*; 7.1 *Hael Rodri*; 11.1 *Hael Gruffur*; VI 21.12 *Hael Iessu*, etc., but not otherwise in early poetry. *Ae* contains a proleptic 3pl. infixed object pron. referring to the lands in lines 15-19. *Yna* generally used by later court poets (CBT VII), but examples by Cynddelw (CBT IV 16.110 and 223), and Dafydd Benfras (CBT VI 35.52, also *llyna* 31.9); note *odyna* 'from then on' in CBT II 32.20; IV 16.103. Elsewhere also in late material: PBT 7.101 (*Gwawt Lud y Mawr*); PBT 10.9 (*Darogan Katwaladyr*); CC 30.42; LIDC 17.168; R1049.28 (*Anrheg Urien*), etc.
- 15 **gwlat Syr a Siryoel** On the names listed in lines 15-20, see introduction. Although *syr* can mean 'stars, planets' (see the discussion of Alexander's Celestial Flight, §17), *Syr* and *Siryoel* seem to be troping the genuine name, *Syria*.
- 16 **gwlat Dinifdra a gwlat Dinitra** If *-f-* in the first name is a misreading of a long *f*, it could conceivably be based on *dinistyr* 'destruction, ruin', etc. The 'Wonders of the East' (Latin and Old English texts) mentions a cannibalistic race called *Donestre* living on an island in the Red Sea: see Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, 179 and 196. But the names may be fabricated around *din* 'stronghold', as suggested in the introduction above.
- 17 **gwlat Pers a Mers** *Pers* is the usual MW form of *Persia*: see B.G. Owens, 'Y Fersiynau Cymraeg o *Dares Phrygius (Ystorya Dared)*' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1951), 87; and FfBO 31, line 12. *Mers* is more likely to be a rhyme-partner created for *Pers* (see introduction) rather than representing Mesopotamia, Media or similar.
- 17 **a gwlat y Kanna** Cf. perhaps *Cana* in Galilee; or the land of Canaan.
- 18 **ynysed Pleth a Phletheppa** I have not succeeded in finding islands with suitable names. *Pleth* 'interweaving, braid', etc. could conceivably be used with *ynysed* to refer to an archipelago (ModW *ynysedd bleth*), such as the Greek islands, but it may be an attempt to convey the Peloponnese (L. *Peloponnesus*, hopelessly garbled by one of the scribes of the Red Book as *gwlat Penelopensis*: DB 41. But *Philippi*, *Philippopolis*, *Persepolis*, etc. may be relevant.
- 19 **a chiwdawt Babilon ac Ascia** <> (ms *agascia mawr*) Although *ciwdawt* usually means 'people, nation, tribe, citizens', it may have the other meaning of its L. source *civitas*, cf. Breton *quedet* 'town'. Both *Babilon* and *Pab(i)lon* occur in post-1283 poetry: for forms showing the 'Alexander the Pig' treatment of English *b-*, cf. GC 7.187 *swddan Pabilon* 'sultan of Babylon', and see A. Cynfael Lake, *Gwaith Siôn Ceri* (Aberystwyth, 1996), 7.14 [*t]ŵr Pablôn*, and note p. 174 for further examples of *P-* and *B-* forms; GDGor 6.12 *Tŵr Bablon*. But it is perhaps more likely to be *B-*, without usual lenition after the fem. sg. noun *ciwdawt* (like *gwlat Pers* line 17).

As well as the regular L. *Asia* (e.g. §25.50), the form *Ascia* and *Asicia* are found too: PBT 9.4 (*Ymarwar Llud Bychan*) *gwlat yr Ascia a gwlat Gafis*; CC 24.31 (BT) *Asicia, Affrica, Europa*, one of which, preferably *Ascia*, may be restored here (trissyllable?). *Ac* may have been repeated inadvertently in an

exemplar. For the rhyme, delete *mawr* which was perhaps added by a scribe familiar with the phrase *Assya mawr* (as opposed to Asia Minor) as used in the 14c: see GDC 5.69-71 *Arglwyd Asia—mawr/. . . Affrica/ Europa*. Cf. CO line 118 *Mi a uum gynt yn yr India Uawr a'r India Uechan*. This seems to rule out a connection with the form *Afia* (CBT VI 3.28 *rudeur Afya*; V 8.16 *Eur Auya*) 'Arabia'.

- 20 **a gwlat Galldarus bychan y da** The second element may be connected with the Taurus mountains, a region conquered by Alexander. The Cilician Gates was the name given to the pass through the Taurus mountains, connecting central Anatolia with the Cilician plain and Syria. But the name Taurus was also extended to include the mountains of northern Iran, the Hindu Kush and even the Himalayas, and was thought to reach eventually as far as the eastern ocean. Alexander's crossing of the Hindu Kush to invade Bactria in 329 may be the event referred to here (Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* VII.3 gives a graphic account of the privations involved in this desolate region). The adj. *gall* 'foreign, strange; cruel' is perhaps relevant to the first part of the name, but cf. *Galdares*, mentioned by Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, II, 365.

Another possibility, reading *Gandarus*, might be to connect the name with the region Gandhara near Peshawar which included the Swat valley with its capital at Taxila; the objection would be that this particular area was hardly ill-provided with wealth (*bychan y da*) since it controlled key trade routes. If Galldarus was thought to be a personal name, however, *bychan y da* could be 'little was his goodness'. For *bychan y*, *mawr y*, cf. §4.47

- 21 **hyt yd ymduc ytir tywarch yna** *Ymduc*, 3sg. pret. of *ymdwyn*, cf. *emdygyn*, CA, line 973 (B text; *disgynnyn* in A text, line 967). On *yna*, see line 14 above. For *tywarch* 'sod' used figuratively for 'land', see CLIH 125, and CA 187. The land in question is presumably the heartland of the Amazons, usually located near a R. Thermidon in the remote north of the Pontus in Asia Minor.
- 22 **yn (ms ac) yt wnahont eu bryt wrth eu helya** Lines 21-2 would be better connected by *yn yt wnahont* (for *yn y* 'where', GMW 71-2, PT 98). The subject of the vb is understood as the Amazons, famed for their prowess in hunting with the bow. The same form of the vb noun *helya* is found in CA line 1105, see CA 322. *Gwneuthur eu bryt* 'to content themselves', if *eu bryt* is not a miscopying of **enbryt*, later *enuryt* 'oppression, violence'. I take the second *eu* as the lenited form of *geu* 'false, deceptive' (cf. line 34) meaning that hunting was an unnatural female activity.
- 23 **yt wedant gwystlon yn (ms y) Europa** Emending *ywedant* to *yt wedant* with G s.v. *gweðu* 'to yoke'. See the introduction above on the devastation caused by the Amazons. *Europa* in §10.39; §25.52; CC 24.31, etc.
- 24 **gwylyoed (ms gwyssyoed) Terra** *Gwyssyoed* is not an attested pl. form of *gwys* 'sow', so read *gwylyoed* (long *s* misread as *l*), pl. of the adj. *gwyllt*, used substantivally here to mean 'wild regions' (the examples cited in GPC 1767 all refer to land), unless it could (unusually) have been used, like *gwyll(y)on*, for people. G, however, lists *gwyssyoed* tentatively under *gwys* 'summons', although *-ion* is the usual pl. If Lloyd-Jones is right, translate 'and pillaging lands [thus precipitating] calls to arms [throughout] the Earth'. *Terra* commonly used in *-a* rhyme-blocks: cf. Echrys Ynys line 21; §12.9; §25.38; CBT IV 16.113 *o ffr6ytheu terra*, etc.

- 25 **Gwychyr** (ms *gwythyr*) **gwenynt wraged gordynt yma** Read either *gwyth y[r]* ‘fiercely did they pierce’ with G, or *gwychyr* ‘fierce, savage; strong, brave’, used substantivally to refer to Alexander’s soldiers piercing, violating or impregnating (vb *gwanu*) the Amazons. Or else *gwychyr* as adv. with *gwenynt*, and *wraged gordynt* as subject rather than object. Rather than connecting *gordynt* with (*g*)*ordi* ‘to hammer with a mallet’, or with *cordi* ‘to stir, churn; disturb’, it is understood as a variant of *gorfynt* with alternation between [ð] and [v]. On *gorfynt* ‘proud’, used with *gwr* and *gwyrr*, cf. CA lines 125 and 1456; CBT IV 5.83; *gwraged gorfynt* would be a pointed variant on such a phrase. On *yma*, see §4.1 and §11.54.
- 26 **bronloscedigyon** Discussed in the introduction above. This kind of formation is partly like PT II.20 *granwymyon* (em.); CA line 354 *hoedyl vyrryon*; CBT III 26.99 *cletyfrutyon*; III 21.201 *dialuoryon*; CBT VI 19.11 *traedsychyon* etc; *eurdorchoogyon* (four times in CBT corpus); III 3.214 *canoligyon*; 25.6 *ffroemwynnyon*. There are no precise parallels with *-edic + -yon* in early poetry however (*colledigion* in prophecy is nearest), although there are plenty of *urdedic*, *bendigedic*, *poenedic* types of words in use. But common in translated prose BD 62, line 11 *guymydedigyon*; 152 *llosgedigyon*. See GPC s.v. *llosgedig*, and cf. §5.173 *lloscedic*.
- 26 **gwyled gwastra** *Gwyled* ‘modesty, courtesy, meekness’, regarded as a *sine qua non* in a woman: signs of the impending Day of Judgment, according to *Oianau Myrddin*, are that incest will be rife, that men will be without valour (*gwir heb gurhid*), and that women will lack modesty (*gwraget heb gvilet*): LIDC 17.211. GPC suggests the meaning ‘?base, vain’ for *gwastra* here, in R1055.37-8 *ym gweithret gbastra gbeilit*, and in the personal name, PKM 72 line 20 *Gwrgi Gwastra*.
- 27 **O gadeu a For pan attronet** On the syntax *o . . . pan*, see §5.151-2. *Por* is the Indian king Porus (d. 318 B.C.) who, despite his defeat at the battle of the Hydaspes in 326, went on to become allied to Alexander’s ambitions in the east. On Alexander’s Indian campaign, see the introduction above. The Welsh poets’ knowledge of Porus’ name is obscured by the common noun *por* ‘lord’ (see GPC). Thus instances of *cyueisor por* and *por eissor* (CBT III 21.44; V 1.23, and 26.47) are interpreted by their editors as ‘nature of a lord’, although, especially in V 26.47 *Por eissor, un eissyeyu ny’m gwet*, Porus would be suitable as a comparison with Rhys Gryg — a satellite of Prydydd y Moch’s chief patron, Llywelyn Fawr, just as Porus (who impressed Alexander with his heroism at the battle of the Hyspades) ruled in India under the aegis of Alexander. Rhys is likened in the same poem to the worthies of yore — Arthur, Hercules, Samson, Hector, the *Tri Hael*, the Three Fairest Men, etc. The reference by Einion Wan c. 1244, CBT VI 6.6 *gvrhyd Por* (see note p. 85), is rightly taken as an instance of personal name following common pattern *gwryt + personal name*, on which see also §24.14. The same argument could, of course, be invoked for the *eissor/cyfeissor* phrases noted above: cf. CBT I 3.25 and 97 *eissor Medraðd* and *eisor Mechyt*; 7.34; 25.16 *Kyueissor Ector/Echdor*. The common noun meaning ‘lord’ is more appropriate in CA line 1269 (see note on p. 351).

One would expect the orthography *a Phor*, but such a reading in an exemplar may have been mechanically rendered as *f* (= *ff*) as though it were initial *Ph-*, as in *Pharoan/Ffaraon*, etc.

- 28 **digonynt brein gwnëint pen brithret** *Digoni* meaning 'to satisfy, satiate' (rather than 'to do, cause, to make, take action') is not attested by GPC until the 14c. 'They caused ravens' would be a variation on common topos, but with the rest of the line, *brein* is more likely to be subject, and used figuratively to refer to Alexander's soldiers (cf. *cynrein* 'warriors'), also the subject of *gwneint*. Alternatively, *prein* 'feast, banquet' (as in Edmyg Dinbych line 39) would suit well as object of *digonynt*. *Gwneint* for *gwnëynt*, 3pl. imperf. of vb *gwneuthur* 'to make'. *Brithret*, cf. PBT 7.93 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Yt vi brithret a lliaws gyniret*; CA lines 775 (A) and 783 (B), *ri guanaid brit ret*; *ketwyr am Gatraeth a wnaeth brithret*; EWSP 459.14 *gweleis i vrithret*.
- 29 **O (ms y) milwyr Mageidawn pan attrodet** The same syntactical pattern as in line 27 is restored for the meaning. *Mageidawn* is understood as Macedonia (other forms include *Magidawr*, recte *Magidawn*, in §17.5; *Magidon*, *Machaon*, *Makaon*, *Machan*, and *Cedonia*: see B.G. Owens, 'Fersiynau Cymraeg o Dares Phrygius', *passim*). However, a very similar phrase occurs in Englynion Cadwallon (EWSP 447.6 *rac milwyr magei dawn*, translated by Gruffydd, AH 38, as 'he nurtured skill in front of/in the face of the soldiers'). If the ms readings are retained, then 'their/his soldiers nurtured skill when it was recounted':
- 30 **neu wlat y'th weisson Ti pan diffydet** GPC *diffyddiaw*, 'to break an oath or covenant, lose faith, become sceptical'. Lines 30 and 31 address God.
- 31 **ny byd y'th escar escor lludet** Cf. EWSP 418.21 *hir gnif heb escor lludet*; CBT VII 25.12 *Ny chaei dy esgar escor lluted*; *esgor/esgar* and derivatives also collocated CBT I 6.15; II 3.69; III 21.111.
- 32 **a'e agalet** See GPC² s.v. *agal* 'pain, severity' (see the sole example in CBT I 12.16, with note p. 259); G suggests an equative grade of adj. *agal* used as a noun, and wonders whether it might be connected with *agalen* 'whetstone'. CBT III 14.33 *Mawrged agkalet* is clearly another formation, 'generous, not stingy' from privative *an-* + *calet*.
- 33 **Mil cant riallu a vu varw rac sychet** See introduction above on the thirst suffered on the return from the Indian campaign as described in the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*. On *riallu* 'soldier, champion, member of royal retinue', common throughout pre-1283 poetry, see GPC; *B* 6 (1931-3), 139; CA 216; PT XII.46. *Saith cant riallu* in Marwnad Cynddylan line 27; CA line 701 *trychan riallu*.
- 34 **eu geu gogwilleu ac eu milet** G treats *cogwilleu* as an earlier spelling of the pl. of *cowyll* 'veil, head-dress, covering', comparing *coguyll* in the Black Book of Chirk. The derivation is uncertain (see GPC for *caw* 'piece of cloth' + *-yll*), and there may be influence from L. *cucullus*. The word is used in the law texts to mean 'morning gift' made by a new bride to her husband. Here it is understood literally, but a figurative use, such as 'deceptions' is also possible. See §15.69 on *milet* 'host'; here possibly it is a pl. form of *mil* 'animal' (cf. CBT III 24.128 *gwytuiled* 'wild animals') in view of the great trains of pack animals which accompanied Alexander's army when they were suffering drought (see introduction above).
- 35 **as gwenwynwys y was kyn no'e trefret** See introduction above on Alexander's death by poison. *Kyn (no)* means 'before', of time rather than place (for which *rac* and *o vlaen* are the usual preps.). If the noun *trefret* 'homestead' (see PT 17) is to be retained, one might perhaps understand either 'before [he went] home/to

his dwelling' or take *trefret* figuratively for 'resting-place, grave'; cf. the use of *adlam* in CA line 366, and *adneu* in §21.7. Phrases with *kyn no* used in the context of death and burial are extremely common (e.g. CBT I 26.15 *kyn no'e tregi*; III 24.76 *kynn no'e gwytað*, and see G s.v. *kynn*; and note on §21.7). Other phrases which would rhyme here include *kyn no'e vynet*, *kyn no'e daeret*, and *kyn no'e tytwet*.

- 36 **kyn no hyn bei gwell dlgonet** On the moral censure apparent here as in the previous lines, see the introduction above.
- 37 **y'm harglwyd gwlatlwyd gwlat gogonet** See G s.v. *gwlatlwyd*, for numerous examples of collocations with *arglwyd* (including six in CBT corpus); and Gosymdaith line 62 *Arglwyd gblatlwyd gberthevin*. *Gwlat/gogonet* in CBT I 3.168; *gogonet* generally very common for glory of Heaven, etc.
- 38 **Vn wlat ior oror goreu ystlynet (ms ystlyned)** *Vn wlat*: either 'the sole realm' or 'the pleasant realm'; on *vn* 'pleasant' (cf. *eu hunet*, line 40). For rhyme emend *ystlyned* to its near synonym with a different suffix, *ystlynet* (-*ed*) 'relation, family; kin, lineage, pedigree' (GPC s.v.): see further PT 99-100 and 102; CA 335. The restored *ystlynet* is used by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr and Prydydd y Moch (CBT I 14.103; V 26.90); one instance of *ystlyned* (CBT II 31.40).
- 39 **diwyccwyf > (ms digonwyf)** Delete *digonwyf*, which may have been written under the influence of *digonwynt* in line 41.
- 41 **tytwet** On *tytwet* 'earth, sod' and related forms see CA 307, §1.4; §11.26. For *gwasc*, *gwascu* of oppressive earth on the grave, cf. CBT II 23.15 *Oer, gywasg gywisg pridd a main*; IV 16.31-2; the topos is developed especially in 14c elegies for women.

17 Anryuedodeu Allyxander (Alexander 2)

This poem follows the longer poem about Alexander the Great's historical exploits in the manuscript, with a short religious piece, *Llvruc Alexandyr* between the two, as discussed in note 3 to the introduction to §16. It was not the main scribe, but another fourteenth-century rubricator, who added both the title *Llvruc Alexandyr* 'The Lorica of Alexander' to the religious piece and also the title *Anryuedodeu Allyxander* to the present poem. 'The Marvels of Alexander' was an extremely apt choice¹ since the poem treats two of the most striking motifs of his legend — the Celestial or Aerial Flight and the Submarine Adventure — that portray him questing for knowledge and new realms to conquer, both in the air and under the sea. It contrasts with the longer poem by reaching out beyond the terrestrial conquests of Alexander, and by presenting the emperor in a wholly positive light without any of the censure which became apparent towards the end of poem §16. It is also much simpler, using the short line and copious antistrophe to move from one end-rhyme to the next.²

Lines 1-4 use the pathetic fallacy, also found at the beginning of the elegy for Hercules (§19), expressing wonder that the very heavens do not fall at the death of Alexander. Lines 4-7 is a vignette of Alexander's skill with spear and sword. Then comes the submarine adventure (8-12), with its motivation clearly indicated as being scientific, 'to seek *keluydyt*', i.e. skill, learning, or knowledge.³ The medieval Alexander was famed for his *sapientia* as well as his *fortitudo* and applauded for his *curiositas* just as he was condemned for his *hubris*. He was widely credited with discoveries in experimental science: as well as initiating an expedition to ascertain whether the salt water Hyrcanian Sea was actually a sea or a lake, he was reputed to have taken scientific experts with him

¹ Alexander material in many European traditions is classed with marvels (*mirabilia*; *merveilles*, *Wunder*, etc.) corresponding to *anryfedodeu* in the title, and *ryfedawt* in the poem (line 18). These are often mentioned in rubrics and within texts: many are listed by Victor M. Schmidt, *A Legend and Its Image: The Aerial Flight of Alexander the Great in Medieval Art* (Groningen, 1995), 41, e.g. Rudolf of Ems' *Alexander* (13c) which aims to relate the 'wunderliche' wonders performed by Alexander 'mit wunderlicher kraft'. He also notes how some authors, such as Frutolf of Michelsberg c. 1100, made a distinction between the 'historical' material and the miraculous stories or *mirabilia*.

² Cf. especially PT IV.

³ See commentary on line 9. The *Historia de Preliis* contains an extended description of the submarine reconnaissance: "'Venit iterum in cor meum, ut mensurarem fundum maris. Feci venire astrologos et geometricos precipique illis, ut construerent mihi vasculum, in quo valerem descendere in profundum maris et perquirere ammirabiles bestias, quae ibi habitant Vidi ibi diversas figuras piscium atque ex diversis coloribus; vidi ibi et alias bestias habentes imagines terrenarum bestiarum ambulantes per fundum maris quasi quadrupedia. Veniebant usque ad me et fugiebant. Vidi ibi et alias ammirabiles causas, quas recitare non possum"', *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyter Leo*, edited by Friedrich Pfister (Heidelberg, 1913), 126-7. The best introduction to the Submarine Adventure is D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander and the Faithless Lady: A Submarine Adventure* (London, 1967); see also Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, 38-9.

to Asia and to have reported on the marvels of the East in letters to his teacher, Aristotle.⁴ In lines 13-17, he ascends from the seabed to the heavens, flying between two griffins. Other literary and iconographic sources discussed below variously represent two, four, or more griffins (or other birds in some instances) bearing him to the sky in a carriage or basket as they pursue liver or flesh baited on a stick.⁵ The purpose of the exercise here is to get a good view of the mortal world in its entirety (*pressent 'n y chymes*, line 17). This aspect of Alexander's Celestial Flight as he looks back and sees the Earth like a ball, or a threshing-floor with the sea wrapped like a serpent around it, is nearly always present in the literary accounts of the Flight,⁶ and was sometimes a cue for moralists to point to the vanity of human ambitions. Alexander descends once again in lines 18-19, presumably in his bathyscaphe, although the means of conveyance is not stated,⁷ and sees another marvel (*ryuedawt*): 'oppression by/amongst the fish' (*gorllin gan pyscawt*, see commentary on line 19) Curiously this brings to mind either the menacing aquatic life encountered by Alexander according to some of the earliest texts, or alternatively the description of the fishes' perpetual struggle for survival in derivatives of the *Historia de Preliis* such as the Old French *Roman d'Alexandre*.⁸ The religious tag which rounds off the poem is remarkably

⁴ For the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, see introduction to §16. On a related text, the *Epistola de Mirabilibus Indiae*, see Cary, *Medieval Alexander*, 16, and Friedrich Pfister, 'Von den Wundern des Morgenlandes', in his *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976), 131-2. See further information in Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, 119-20.

⁵ The Celestial Flight is discussed by Cary, *Medieval Alexander*, 134-5 and 296-7; Ian Michael, *Alexander's Flying Machine: The History of a Legend* (Southampton, 1974); Chiara Settis-Frugoni, *Historia Alexandri elevati per griphos ad aerem: origine, iconografia e fortuna di un tema*, Istituto Storica Italiano per il Medio Evo, Studi Storici, 80-82 (Rome, 1973); the iconography is also treated in detail (with bibliography) by Pfister, *Kleine Schriften*, 286-300; H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo, 1953); Schmidt, *Aerial Flight*. On the topos of celestial flight, and its interpretation, see E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge, 1965), 78.

⁶ A detail already present in the Pseudo-Callisthenes. The relevant part of the earliest *Historia de Preliis* version, c. 1000, is translated by Schmidt, *Aerial Flight*, 12: 'I thought with my friends about constructing a machine with which I could ascend to the heavens and see whether they are the heavens we see. I made a machine to sit in, caught griffins and attached them with chains, and put sticks before them and food for them on top, and they began to ascend to the heavens. But suddenly a (or 'the') divine power overshadowed them and threw them onto the earth in a field at ten days' travel from my army, and I suffered no injury within the iron bars. I ascended to such a height that the earth seemed like a threshing-floor below me. And the sea seemed to me like a serpent wound around it (i.e. the earth) and with a lot of trouble I was joined with my soldiers. When the army saw me, they acclaimed and praised me' (see Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman*, 126: 'Tantam altitudinem ascendi, ut sicut area videbatur esse terra sub me. Mare autem ita videbatur mihi sicut draco girans ea et cum forti angustia iunctus sum militibus meis"). The glass-vessel ocean exploration (also recorded in several of the Pseudo-Callisthenes) follows.

⁷ See Ross, *Alexander and the Faithless Lady*, 5-19; and *Alexander Historiatus*, 38-41.

⁸ For the former, see n.3 and J. Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes: Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der ältesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage* (Halle, 1867), 142. For the latter, see *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, edited by Alfons Hilka (Halle, 1920), 232-3, and

well disposed towards the protagonist: 'what he desired in his heart he won of the world, and also, at his death, mercy from God'.

Unfortunately, this brief commemorative poem is too short for a source to be determined precisely. The motifs involved were well established in the Pseudo-Callisthenes and *Historia de Preliis* streams of tradition (outlined in the introduction to §16) and were in any case sufficiently memorable to be conveyed by hearsay or through pictures without need for a direct literary source. It has been noted, of the Celestial Flight, that 'no other episode from Alexander's miraculous life was represented so often in the visual arts of Western Europe, the Byzantine empire, and the areas under its influence' and that it was the only episode which was also represented as 'an independent image, that is, outside the context of cycles illustrating Alexander's life'.⁹ Indeed, one of the earliest indications of the popularity of the Flight is a late-tenth-century embroidery now in the Mainfränkisches Museum at Würzburg with fragments of accompanying text including *Miracula poli libuit prospir* 'it pleased him to . . . the wonders of heaven'.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the fact that the birds are named as griffins, the details of the world viewed 'n y chymes 'in its full extent' from above, the stress on the intellectual curiosity which motivated the expedition to see the aquatic life, and the violence found among the fish may imply that the piece was ultimately dependent on a written source, such as the *Historia de Preliis* or a derivative. Close analogues are noted in the commentary.

It has already been noted that the piece is positive in tone, but beyond that it is hard to know whether the episodes were being relayed in this poem simply for their 'Wonder' appeal — which they undoubtedly possessed —, or as an exhortation to daring and self-confidence in seeking knowledge, or whether the poet had in mind a moral exemplum of some sort. Art critics have considered whether some representations of the Flight in church settings (such as the famous Otranto mosaic) should be read as indicating the salvation awaiting people in the afterlife, or as expressing a desire for Heaven, an interpretation which would sit quite well with our poem.¹¹ More likely, given the three spheres of earth, sea and air which are encompassed here, there is an acknowledgement that man's striving must ultimately be towards the realm of the eternal.

A number of allusions to Alexander in medieval Welsh poetry and prose have already been discussed in the introduction to §16, but we may note here a few examples referring to his Celestial Flight or the Submarine Adventure. The earliest allusion to the Flight is by one of the court poets (either Cynddelw or

references at pp. xvi-xvii; Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, II, 164; Ian Michael, *The Treatment of Classical Material in the 'Libro de Alexandre'* (Manchester, 1970), 148.

⁹ Schmidt, *Aerial Flight*, 1 and 5.

¹⁰ Schmidt, *Aerial Flight*, 13-14. He regards ch. 36 of the *Cosmographica* attributed to Aethicus Ister (?late eighth century) as an early indication of the wide knowledge of the Submarine Adventure: in the description of the Meopari, a nation of seafarers who used submarine pirate vessels called Colimphae, the *Cosmographia* says that that people tell very famous tales that are beyond belief about Alexander's underwater adventure: H. Wüttke, *Der Kosmographie des Istriers Aithikos* (Leipzig, 1854), 21-4.

¹¹ Schmidt, *Aerial Flight*, 65-7.

Prydydd y Moch) in a poem already mentioned which uses the *ubi sunt?* theme combined with great figures of the past. They include one Madog (perhaps Arthur's brother: see on §20): *Rybu gamwetawc Madawc, modur faw—,/ Rybut bu itaw, dylab dolur:/ Bu Alexander, byd lywadur,/ Hyt sygnoed nefoet, ny bu segur* 'Madog, renowned leader, was transgressive; he had a warning, sore trouble: Alexander, the ruler of the world, as far as the stars of the heavens, was not idle/secure'.¹² I take this warning to mean that even Alexander — who travelled to the stars in heaven — was not exempt from death, was not secure. In the fifteenth century poets such as Lewys Môn, Dafydd Nanmor, and Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn¹³ exhort their patrons to ascend in deeds or nobility, sometimes coupling Alexander with the 'Adar Llwhch Gwin', birds akin to Alexander's griffins, sometimes used figuratively, as 'sustainers, helpers'.¹⁴ In the following century, the Celestial Flight was grafted onto an account of March ap Meirchion.¹⁵ Lewys Morgannwg seems to have known something of about the air and sea adventures in his praise to Henry VIII ('the sea and stars yielded to Alexander's control'), and uses the same phrase again praising Walter Devereux for bearing 'Alexander's pole-axe' and being a conqueror 'from the sea to the stars'.¹⁶ Was it was this sort of hyperbole which led to the stage-Welshman Fluellen and his 'Alexander the Pig'?

The complementary pair of Alexander poems in the Book of Taliesin poems make explicit a degree of knowledge unusual in medieval Welsh literary sources. But it would be surprising if the Welsh had *not* been receptive to the legend which captivated their neighbours in Ireland and England and swept the Continent — it offered history, exciting tales of conquest, travel to the very ends of the earth, information on the natural history of the east, and wondrous exploits; Alexander himself could be viewed in different lights — as scientist-scholar, Crusading emperor, a superhuman reaching for the stars, or as a man who proved as mortal as the next. The presence of the two poems in the manuscript may simply reflect the Alexander vogue which was at its very height in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, running parallel to the vogue for Arthur. Or they may have been included because they mirrored some of the interests and concerns of the Taliesin figure: 'his' interest in learning, in geography, the characteristics and classification of birds and fish, and the movements of the seas and the air. There are no surviving early poems in which Taliesin (like the Old English 'far-traveller', the poet Widsith)¹⁷ claims to have 'been with' Alexander,

¹² CBT IV 17.75-8; the translation follows IV 314, but note that *segur* (< Latin *securus*) is ambiguous: either 'secure, safe' (more likely, I think), or 'idle' (as in ModW, and in IV 314). CBT V 4.6 is *not* about Alexander the Great (as stated CBT IV 314), but Alexander Paris, son of Priam, one of the three 'as comely as Adam himself' (TYP³ 134).

¹³ GLM 60.53-56 mentions the baited stick; DN 16.57-60; GDLI 28.25-6.

¹⁴ On the term, see GO vol. I, 77 and 81-2; DN 159-61. Further instances are noted by GPC² s.v. *adar*. On their role in the Drudwas story, see TYP³ 330-1.

¹⁵ DN 159-61.

¹⁶ GLMorg II 98.81-2; II 66.11-3.

¹⁷ *The Exeter Book*, edited by G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie (New York and London, 1936), 151 *para wæs Hwala hwile selast/ and Alexandreas ealra ricost/ monna cynnes and he mæst*

as he was with Maelgwn, or Brochfael Powys, or Arthur, but this *is* found in later material.¹⁸

gebah./ para pe ic ofer foldan gefrægen hæbbe 'Of these [kings] Hwala was once the noblest, and Alexander the most powerful of all the race of men, and he was the most successful of those of whom I have learnt throughout the earth'. However, the metrics of these lines led Kemp Malone (ed.), *Widsith* (Copenhagen, 1962), 37-8, to reject these lines as an interpolation.

¹⁸ YT lines 404-9 *Myui a uum gida'm Neer/ ynn y goruchelder/ pan gwympodd Luwshiffer/ i vfern ddyuynder./ Myui a vu[m] yn arwain manner/ ymlaen Alexander./ A myui a wn hennwau'r seer/ o ogleedd hyd awsder.* 'I was with my Lord in the heights when Lucifer fell to the depths of Hell. I bore the standard before Alexander. And I know the names of the stars from the North to the South.'

Ryfedaf na chiawr
I am astonished that Heaven's dwelling
adef Nef y lawr
does not fall to earth

o dyfot rwyf gawr,
on account of the death of the battle-leader,

Alexander Mawr.

Alexander the Great.

5 **Alexander Magidawn¹**

Alexander of Macedon

hewys hayarndawn.

hurled a cascade of iron [spears].

Cledyfal anwogawn

He of the mighty sword-play

aeth dan eigawn;

went beneath the ocean;

dan eigawn eithyr²

beneath the ocean he went

10 **y geissaw keluydyt.**

to pursue learning/art.

A geisso keluydyt

Whosoever may seek learning

bit oiewin y vryt.

must be intrepid of purpose.

Eithyr³ oduch gwynt

He went above the wind

rwg deu grifft ar hynt

flying between two griffins

15 **y welet dremynt.**

in order to see a sight.

Dremynt a weles:

He saw a sight:

pressent 'n y chymes.

the world in its entirety.

¹ ms *magidawr*

² ms *eithyd*

³ ms *eithyd*

Gweles ryfedawt:*He saw [another] marvel:***gorllin gan pyscawt.***oppression by the fish.*20 **A eidunwys yn y vryt***That which he desired in his heart***a gafas o'r byt;***he won of the world;***a heuyt o'e diwed,***and also, by his death,***gan Duw trugared.***mercy from God.*

title **Anryuedodeu Allyxand[er]** On the title, written by a different 14c hand from the main Book of Taliesin scribe, see introduction above. With *anryuedodeu* 'mirabilia, wonders, marvels', cf. *ryuedaf*, line 1, and *ryfedawt*, line 18 below, and adjs. *ryfed* (very common), *anryfed* (CBT II 31.19; IV 4.116), *enryuet* (CBT II 26.279), etc.

- 1 **Ryfedaf na chiawr** Vb *ryfedu* is common (for 1sg. in poetry, cf. §6.47 and 55; PT II.27; EWSP 442.90; CC 30.1 and 3; CBT I 32.22; II 2.19 and 35; VI 30.6). *Ciawr* is interpreted as 3sg. pres. of the defective vb 'to fall, drop' (with CA 83 and GPC rather than G s.v. *dychiawr*), but see further on §4.247 noting the possibility of pres. impers. *ciawr*, also possible here, 'is not dropped'. For the broad sense, cf. CC 20.44 (BT) *Terdit Nef y lawr* 'Heaven will fall to earth', in a description of the Signs of Doomsday; LIDC 17.214-15 *Yr gueith Arywderit mi ny'm dorbi/ kyn duguitei awir y lavr a llyr en lli*. Various aspects of the idea of the falling heavens are discussed by William Sayers, 'Mani Maldi an Nem ... ringing changes on a cosmic motif', *Ériu* 37 (1986), 99-117.
- 2 **adef Nef y lawr** *Adef* of heavenly abode, is common, and very frequently rhymed with *Nef*: CA lines 332 and 1005 *y wlat nef adef atnabot* and *kynnwys yg wlat nef adef avneuet*; CC 10.35 *adef menwyt*; CC 17.15 *Ry prynwynt wlat Nef, adef goreu*. There are over 30 examples in CBT corpus including 10 of precise *adef Nef* phrase, also found in PBT 5.28 (Kein Gyfedwch) *adef Nef dimbi*.
- 3 **o dyfot rwyf gawr** *Dyfot* is found in a similar context in §19.3, and in EWSP 446.1 *Kadwallawn kyn noe dyuot*. In these three cases, it could be a slip for *difot* 'departure, disappearance; death', on which see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, *B* 23 (1968-70), 217, but *dyfot* 'to come' is used with *angeu* and *lleith* 'death', *dyd* '[death-]day', *amser*, *cyfnod*, etc. and Dafydd Benfras' example, *Och Dduw o ddyfod in arglwydd* (CBT VI 27.34) may be a comparable instance of the meaning 'coming [to the grave]', or possibly 'taking away' as explained in CBT VI 440. With phrase *rwyf gawr*, cf. CBT III 21.20; VI 13.5; VII 4.28.
- 5 **Alexander Magidawn (ms magidawr)** Macedonia, see on §16.29 *Mageidawn*. The scribe's eye may have been drawn to the *-awr* endings of the previous lines.

- 6 **hewys hayarndawn** See CA, lines 262, 306, and 425 for the figurative use of *hëu* 'to sow'. Frequently collocated with *hayarn*, pl. *heyrm* e.g. CBT II 25.41 *heyrm heu*; IV 4.27 *Glas uereu heyrm heasant*; 6.166 *Pan wasgar heyrm, pan heir*; V 9.7 *heyym dyhe*; 10.27-8 *Heynt Loegr, liwed enwir, / Heyrn am deyrn, am dir*; VII 36.97 *heyrm heeit o'e lab*. I understand *hayarndawn* as object of the vb, 'a gift [i.e. cascade] of iron [spears]' rather than 'hardness, strength; cruelty, roughness' with GPC. The objections to taking *hayarndawn* as subject of the vb (describing Alexander) are (1) it does not conform to the convention noted above, and (2) one cannot 'sow' sword-play (*cledyual*, line 7). Cf. especially the examples by Cynddelw: CBT III 24.144 *Wedy Ririd Uleit, ulaft haeardaun*; 21.23 *yn gban gbaeadafn*; 26.140 *garwlym y waewadafn*; IV 3.40 *Meu nad . . . gwaeadafn*.
- 7 **Cledyual anwogawn** *Cledyual* is used in §24.12; CA (4 examples); EWSP 427.52; by Cynddelw (8 examples), *Prydydd y Moch* (2), *Llygad Gŵr* (1). *Anwogawn* in CC 15.2 (*Marwnad Erof Greulawn*) (but recte *wogawn*, see CC 138), 15.3 and 11; CBT I 33.54 *annwogafn woglyt* and III 26.133 *hoetyl anwogafn*; the form *anogafn* in CBT III 21.14 and IV 3.45. See further J. Lloyd-Jones, 'Coned, gwogawn, Gwgan, gonod, etc.', *B* 2 (1923-5), 6-8, and GPC² s.v. *anwogawn*², *anogawn*.
- 8f **aeth dan eigawn;/ dan eigawn eithyt (ms eithyd)** The antistrophe (and perhaps the line length) suggests that *eithyt* should be restored at the beginning of line 8, cf. line 13). *Eithyt* is certainly to be restored for end-rhyme in line 9; see full discussion on §5.83 *Ffuonwyd eithyt* where the sporadic survival of the form into 13c is noted. Our scribe was copying from an exemplar with *d* for [d], but perhaps because of his unfamiliarity with the abs. form, he failed twice to modernise it (despite the rhyme needed in line 9). On the use of such abs. forms with preceding adverbial amplification, as in line 9, see commentary on §5.83. On the Submarine Adventure, see introduction above.
- 10 **y geissaw keluydyt** On the intellectual motivation for the underwater trip, see introduction. *Keluydyt* 'skill, art, learning', see on §1.37 *celuyd*; §10.13 *Keluydaf gwr* (of Gwydion); and cf. §2.30 *celuydyt*. Not infrequent in CBT corpus.
- 11 **a geisso keluydyt** 3sg. pres. subjunct. in *-o*, rather than *-wy*: see §4.2. Cf. CC 33.93 *a geisso*; LIDC 18.92 *ae ceisso vy*; CBT I 30.7 (Meilyr ap Gwalchmai) *a'e keisso*; VII 42.36.
- 12 **bit olewin y vryt** *Goiewin* rare, but see Gosymdaith line 51 *gôyluein hanes goyewin*. *Bryt* rhymes with *keluydyt* in CBT I 30.13-14; VI 27.66-7.
- 14 **deu griff ar hynt** *Griff* < L. *gryphus*, here with excrescent *t*; see DB 119-20. As well as being used for the bird, and figuratively (e.g. CBT VI 29.24 *Am riff ner*; 29.100 *Griff ner*), *griff* is the first element in personal names, *Gruffud*, *Griffri*. On the Celestial Flight, see the introduction above. See §4.117-18 on *gwynt/hynt*. Griffins were mythical beasts associated with deities such as Helios and Dionysus with whom Alexander was sometimes equated; they carried them on their backs, pulled them in chariots, and conveyed their souls. Griffins were considered to be extremely aggressive (I. Wegner, *Studien zur Ikonographie des Greifen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1928).
- 15 **dremynt** For *dremint* glossing L. *orizon*, see Alison Pedcn, *CMCS* 2 (1981), 22-3 and n.8. Cf. PBT 1.53 *Eglur dremynt a wyl golwc*; also *tremynt*, e.g. CBT III 3.161, etc. The Old French prose *Roman d'Alexandre* (after 1206) notes that

Alexander wanted to know what the earth looks like from above: Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, 228-31: *por ce qu'il voloit quels chozes il avoit au chiel amont et de quel forme la terre estoit par desous.*

- 17 **pressent ny chymes** On very common *pressent* 'world', see §6.75, CLIH 136. Elision of *yn y* > 'ny 'in its' with spirantisation (*pressent* is fem. sg.). *Cymes* 'full extent, entirety', see Ifor Williams, *Chwedlau Odo* (Wrexham, 1926), 46. The significance of this detail of the panorama of the whole world is discussed in the introduction. *Present/gorllin* in CBT VI 25.45.
- 18 **Gweles ryuedawt** Cf. CBT IV 9.34 *A'e gweles, gwelei ryueta6d*; VI 29.7 *A'i gweles, gwelynt ryfeddau*. Used of God's wonders in CBT I 3.1 *mor ryuet y ryueta6d*; VII 32.5 *ryued6n ryuedodeu*. See introduction on the title of the poem; cf. the use of *ammirabiles* in the *Historia de Preliis* version (introduction, n.3), and *mirabilia* in the allusion to the Celestial Flight in a ?9c poem (*grifus prenidit altum ascensum viditque mirabilia*): F. Zarncke, 'Über das Fragment eines lateinischen Alexanderliedes', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Philol.-Hist. Cl., 29 (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 57-69.
- 19 **gorllin gan (ms gorllingan) pyscawt** See CA 358; GPC s.v. *gorllin* 'excess, ostentation, excellence, feat; great host, great number, superior force; oppression, tyranny', cf. OIr *forllin*, and MW *tragorllin*. Apart from CA line 1311 *Teithfyw o Von ar vreint gorllin*, the other six poetry examples are restricted to the CBT corpus. *Gan* 'by, with' is understood as a separate word with GPC and G. Less likely possibilities: *can(t)* 'hundred' (with pl. noun, GMW 51), 'a great host of a hundred fish'; or else *gorllingan* (as the scribe may have understood it) as a compound of *cant*, *cann* '?faction, host, band' (see G s.v.).
- The idea is that Alexander was able to see for himself the way human tyranny was mirrored in the underwater world: see on §4.212-13 *Pan yw du pyscawt —/ moruwyt uyd eu cnawt*, and further Wolfgang Mieder's chapter, 'Big Fish Eat Little Fish', in *Tradition and Innovation in Folk Literature* (Hanover, USA, 1987), especially 191-2. I am grateful to Dr Malcolm Jones, University of Sheffield, for bringing this item to my attention. See introduction for content parallels, and cf. also from the Stockholm manuscript of the Old French *Roman en prose* (quoted Schmidt, *Aerial Flight*, 101) *Et fist faire une bote de verre et se fist metre dedens et se fist celer ens la mer por veoir les merveilles et les diversités et batailles des poissons en la mer. Et quant il ot tout ce fait, il se fist coroner a estre empereor de tout le monde.*
- 20f **A eidunwys yn y vryt/ a gafas o'r byt** PT 24 translates 'who desired in his heart what he found (won) of the world', but here *a eidunwys* is understood as 'that which he desired'; on the lack of a formal antecedent, GMW 68, 72-3 and cf. the example cited there, p. 74 *A wnaethost . . . yrof i, Duw ay talo itt. Vb eidunaw* (as well as *eidun* and compounds) is common in englyn poetry, and especially in CBT corpus.
- 22f **a heuyt o'e diwed/ gan Duw trugared** The 'filler' *heuyt*, quite common in CBT corpus, is collocated with *byt*: CC 21.22-3 *Guae tidi hewid/ Pir doduid im bid*; CC 25.1 and 6; CBT II 2.11-12 *Treideis a gereis a garaf—heuyt:/ Ha6d y byt y pryt a bryderaf*; III 8.71-2 *Nid meddwl meddu hefyd,/ Namyn o Dduw, ddim o'r byd*; IV 16.170 *Pymhoes byt a heuyt yn h6y*; V 22.36 *Teir oes byd a heuyd yn hwy*, etc. *Heuyt* otherwise restricted: §11.23; EWSP 448.1, 448.7 (with *bryt*);

17 Anryuedodeu Allyxander (Alexander 2)

444.109. *Trugared* extremely common: in Book of Taliesin, CC 10.41; 19.10 and 22; 20.7; §10.41; §19.22; §22.9; Echrys Ynys line 29.

18 Preideu Annwfn

This long, well-wrought poem recounting Arthur's expedition by sea to the Otherworld has been the subject of various editions and translations,¹ and has attracted the attention of many scholars, whether they are searching for confirmation of the antiquity of Welsh legendary verse, or for early Arthurian materials, for evidence for Irish influence in early and medieval Wales, or for motifs, figures and episodes which may have been present in pre-forms of surviving prose tales, both in Irish and in Welsh.² The main story analogues are referred to in the commentary (mainly the tales of *Culhwch ac Olwen* and *Branwen*, and material in the Cambro-Latin *Historia Brittonum* which drew on an Irish source similar to the account in the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* about the wave of legendary settlers of Ireland from Spain). Detailed treatments of problematic lines are also consigned to the commentary which offers alternative translations where appropriate.

The speaker is undoubtedly the Taliesin figure, recognisable by his trademark questions (the nature of the Otherworld cauldron, in line 15), and more particularly by his taunting of 'men involved with religious writings' (line 29), 'pathetic men with their trailing shields, with no go in them' (lines 35 and 42) who are ignorant of the matters he masters. They are not party to his eye-witness knowledge of Arthur's feat 'beyond the Glass Fort', nor are they informed in other (possibly related) items of traditional learning — the mysterious Brindled Ox, for example (line 39). More seriously, they appear to be ignorant about the very matters they should excel in, such as Biblical chronology ('do they know it's Christmas?': see commentary on lines 44-5) and scientific book-learning about winds, seas, day and night. Monks are particularly singled out for scorn in the final sections, pictured as swarming packs of dogs or wolves, perhaps pitting their wits unsuccessfully against the 'lords' of learning — poets like Taliesin himself who know the answers to these questions as well as their own traditional repertoire. The explicit nature of these taunts and Taliesin's claim to engross the

¹ WAL 131-78; John K. Bollard, 'Arthur in the early Welsh tradition', in *The Romance of Arthur*, edited by James J. Wilhelm and Laila Z. Gross (New York, 1984), 13-25; Jon B. Coe and Simon Young, *The Celtic Sources for the Arthurian Legend* (Felinfach 1995), 137-9; Sarah Lynn Higley, 'The Spoils of Annwn: Taliesin and material poetry', in *A Celtic Florilegium: Studies in Memory of Brendan O Hehir*, edited by Kathryn A. Klar et al. (Andover, MA, 1996), 43-53; John T. Koch, in CHAge 290-92; Stefan Zimmer, *Die keltischen Wurzeln der Artussage* (Heidelberg, 2006), 79-86; Haycock, 'Preiddeu Annwn and the figure of Taliesin', SC 18/19 (1983/4), 52-78. Oliver J. Padel's new edition, along with editions of other Welsh Arthurian poems, is to be published in a series under the general editorship of Erich Poppe and Nerys Ann Jones.

² John T. Koch, *B* 31 (1984), 87-92; Patrick Sims-Williams, in AW 54-7; Andrea Budgey, 'Preiddeu Annwn and the Welsh tradition of Arthur', in *Celtic Languages, Celtic Peoples*, edited by C. J. Byrne et al. (Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1992), 391-404; Oliver J. Padel, *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff, 2000); John Carey, 'Bran son of Febal and Brán son of Llŷr', in IWMA 168-79, and *Ireland and the Grail* (Aberystwyth, 2007).

specialisms of other learned classes links the poem with several others in this collection.

The poem as a whole, as I have argued before, is primarily a vehicle for Taliesin to display his familiarity with a range of story episodes and characters (and to name-drop titles of tales, perhaps),³ and to make allusion to material ultimately derived from written sources (note the Isidorean echo in line 25, and the Glass Fort comparable with the *Historia Brittonum*'s glass tower in the middle of the sea with its mute inhabitants). It enables him to sound impressive and to demonstrate that he has been 'with' Arthur, just as he was 'with' Brân in Ireland (and was one of the seven who returned from that disastrous expedition), or with Maelgwn, or with Elffin or Brochfael Powys.

Most impressively and entertainingly, it is a chance for him to provide a glittering kaleidoscopic view of the Otherworld, identified in the first section as *Caer Sidi*, a name certainly based on the Irish *sidh*.⁴ Leaving aside *Annwfn*, *Vffern*, and *kaer pedryuan*, tentatively interpreted as a description rather than a title as such, six further *caereu* 'forts' are mentioned by name bringing to mind the multiplicity of names for the Irish Otherworld, and the islands visited on the *immrama* 'sea-voyages'. It is difficult to say whether this seven-name multiplex scheme owes anything to these sorts of excursions, or to the motif of the ascent through the seven heavens (also popular in Irish sources)⁵ or whether it simply reflects the popularity of the perfect number seven.⁶ The dangerous allure of the Otherworld is considerably heightened by the repeated mention of the 'three full loads' of Arthur's ship *Prydwen* who embarked on the expedition and the seven survivors who returned. This refrain, as well as the long ornamented lines gives the poem some of the 'stately' quality that has been noted. Another feature that seems to add to its gravity is the relatively high proportion (5%) of words derived from Latin. Whether the rhyme in lines 23/24 *clywanawr/pybyrdor* must be 'very archaic . . . probably before the 8th century', as suggested by Kenneth Jackson,⁷ and endorsed by John T. Koch, is debatable. The forms *gwidanhôr*, *gwidyanhawr* (lines 50 and 54, see commentary), also used as the basis for an early dating, are to be treated with some circumspection in a poem with marked scholastic features, and one which purports to be spoken by a primordial poet reminiscing about his adventures in the distant Arthurian past.

³ See on line 4 *ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi*; and cf. §21.20 *cyfranc Corröy a Chocholyn*; §5.148 *Gwarchan Maelderw*.

⁴ The description of the Otherworld is complemented by the brief view provided in §8.45-51 (*Golychaf-i Gulwyd*, perhaps the original *Kadeir Taliessin*: see introductions to §§7 and 8).

⁵ See commentary on §25.21.

⁶ The poem as it stands contains eight sections, or seven if the last two are run together. Although it is satisfying to see form following content, the famous elegy for Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (CBT II poem 19) where seven and three again figure large, uses six, not seven englynion.

⁷ LHEB 298.

Golychaf Wledic, Pendeuic gwlat ri,
I praise the Lord, the Ruler of the kingly realm,
ry¹ ledas y pennaeth dros traeth Mundi.
who has extended his sway over the extent of the world.

Bu kyweir karchar Gweir yg Kaer Sidi,
Maintained was Gwair's prison in Caer Siddi
trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi.
throughout Pwyll and Pryderi's story.

5 **Neb kyn noc ef nyt aeth idi —**
No-one went there before he did —
y'r gadwyn tromlas kywirwas <² ketwi.
into the heavy grey chain guarding the loyal lad.

A rac preideu Annwfyn tost yt geni,
And before the spoils/herds of Annwfn he was singing sadly,
ac yt Urawt, parahawt yn bardwedi.
and until Doom shall our poetic prayer continue.

Tri lloneit Prytwen yd aetham-ni idi:
Three full loads of Prydwen we went into it:
10 **nam[yn] seith ny dyrreith o Gaer Sidi.**
save seven, none came back from Caer Siddi.

Neut wyf glot geinmyn: cerd ochlywir³
I'm splendid of fame — song was heard
yg kaer pedryuan pedrychwelyt.⁴
in the four quarters of the fort, revolving [to face] the four directions.

Yg kynneir, o'r peir pan leferit:
My first utterance was spoken concerning the cauldron
o anadyl naw morwyn gochyneuit.
kindled by the breath of nine maidens.

15 **Neu peir Pen Annwfyn, pwy y vnut,**
The cauldron of the Head of Annwn, what is its disposition
gwrym am y oror a mererit?
[with its] a dark trim, and pearls?

¹ ms py

² ms ae

³ ms ochlywir

⁴ ms pedyr ychwelyt

Ny beirw bwyt llwfyf, ny ry tyghit;
It does not boil a coward's food, it has not been destined to do so;
cledyf lluch Lleawc idaw ry dyrchit,
Lleog's flashing sword was thrust into it,
ac yn llaw Leminawc yd edewit.
and it was left behind in Lleminog's hand.

20 **A rac drws porth Vffern, llugyrn lloscit.**
And in front of the door of Hell's gate lamps were burned
a phan aetham-ni gan Arthur, trafferth lehrhit,⁵
and when we went with Arthur, famed in tribulation,
namyn seith ny dyrreith o Gaer Vedwit.
save seven, none returned from the Mead-Feast Fort.

Neut wyf glot geinmyn: kyrd glywanor⁶
I'm splendid of fame: songs are heard
yg kaer pedryfan, ynys pybyrdor.
in the four quarters of the fort, stout defence of the island.

25 **Echwyd a muchyd kymysceter;**
Fresh water and jet are mixed together;
gwin gloyw eu gwirawt rac eu gosgor⁷
sparkling wine is their drink, set in front of their battalion.
Tri lloneit Prytwen yd aetham-ni ar vor:
Three full loads of Prydwen we went by sea:
namyn seith ny dyrreith o Gaer Rigor.
save seven, none came back from the Petrification Fort.

Ny obrynaf-i lawyr llen Llywyadur,
I don't rate the pathetic men involved with religious writings,
30 **tra Chaer Wydyr ny welsynt wrhyt Arthur:**
those who hadn't seen Arthur's feat beyond the Glass Fort:
tri vgeint canhwr a seui ar y mur;
six thousand men were standing on its wall;
oed anhawd ymadrawd ae gwylyadur.
it was hard to communicate with their watchman.
Tri lloneit Prytwen yd aeth gan Arthur:
Three full loads of Prydwen went with Arthur:
namyn seith ny dyrreith o Gaer Golud.
save seven, none came back from the Fort of Impediment.

⁵ ms *lechrhit*

⁶ ms *kerd glywanawr*

⁷ ms *gorgord*

- 35 **Ny obrynaf-i lawyr llaes eu kylchwy**
I don't deserve to be stuck with pathetic men with their trailing shields,
ny wdant-wy py dyd peridydyd pwy,
who don't know who's created on what day,
py awr ymeindydyd y ganet Dwy,⁸
when at mid-day was God born,
pwy gwnaeth ar nyt aeth Doleu Defwy;
[nor] who made the one who didn't go to the Meadows of Defwy;
ny wdant-wy yr Ych Brych, bras y penrwy,
those who know nothing of the Brindled Ox, with his stout collar,
40 **seith vgein kygwng yn y aerwy.**
[and] seven score links in its chain.
A phan aetham-ni gan Arthur, auyrdwl gofwy,
And when we went with Arthur, sad journey,
namyn seith ny dyrreith o Gaer Vandwy.
save seven none returned from Mand(d)wy Fort.
- Ny obrynaf-y lawyr llaes eu gohen,**
I don't deserve to be stuck with pathetic men, with no go in them,
ny wdant py dyd peridydyd Pen,
[those] who don't know on what day the Lord is created,
45 **py awr ymeindydyd y ganet Perchen.**
[nor] when, at noon, the Ruler was born,
py vil a gatwant, aryant y pen.
[nor] what animal is it they guard, with his silver head.
Pan aetham-ni gan Arthur, afyrdwl gynhen,
When we went with Arthur, sad conflict,
namyn seith ny dyrreith o Gaer Ochren.
save seven none came back from the Angular Fort.
- Myneich dychnut val cunin cor**
Monks congregate like a pack of dogs
50 **o gyfranc udyd ae gwidanhor**
because of the clash between masters who know
ae vn hynt gwynt, ae vn dwfyr mor,
whether the wind [follows] a single path, whether the sea is all one
water,
ae vn vfel tan, twrwr diachor.
whether fire — an unstoppable force — is all one spark.

⁸ ms cwyt

Myneych dychnut val bleidawr

Monks congregate like wolves

o gyfranc udyd ae gwidyantawr.

because of the clash between masters who know.

- 55 **Ny wdant pan yscar deweint a gwawr,**
They [the monks] don't know how the darkness and light divide,
neu wynt, pwy y hynt, pwy y rynnawd,
[nor] the wind's course, its onrush,
py va a diua, py tir a plawd;
what place it devastates, what land it strikes,
bet sant yn diuant, a bet allawr.
how many saints are in the void, and how many altars.

Golychaf-y Wledic, Pendefic mawr:

I praise the Lord, the great Ruler:

- 60 **na bwyf trist: Crist a'm gwadawl.**
may I not endure sadness: Christ will reward me.

title **Preideu Annwfyn** See below on line 7 from where the phrase was abstracted by John Lewis of Llynwene (c. 1548-c. 1616) who wrote it as *preideu Annwn*.

1 **Golychaf Wledic** Cf. line 59 below, and §8.1, §12.1; §22.8; §25.1 for parallel use of vb *golwch*, *golychu* in invocations to God in the Book of Taliesin (also PT XII.5), and related sources (see on §8.1).

1 **Pendeuic gwlat ri** See §8.26 on *pendefic*, restricted before the 12-13c, and for collocations with *gwledic*. CBT *pendefic/gwledic* are late: VI 19.13 *Pendeuic, G6ledic g6lat gorchordon—bar*, 26.33-4 *Cymer a fynnych, Cymry—bendefig./Arbennig wledig a wladychy*; VII 25.7 *Pendeuic, gwledic, gwlad amgyfred—naf. Gwlat ri* understood as 'realm of a king'.

2 **ry (ms py) ledas y pennaeth** *Py* before a vb is generally interrogative ('what?', 'why?', cf. §4.158 *py geidw*; §6.43 *py gynheil*; and see note on §6.3). Here it is emended to *ry* (GMW 62-3 for its use in rel. clause), assuming confusion between *ri* and *ry*, and between letter forms *p* and *r* which might still have been confused to at least c. 1150 (see further SC 18/19 (1983/4), 64). Vb *lledu* with *pennaeth* 'authority, dominion' in AP line 175 *Llettawt eu pennaeth tros Yrechwyd*.

2 **dros traeth Mundi** The usual meanings of *traeth* 'shore, beach' seem rather unsuitable unless the poet is anticipating the expedition over the sea and thinking in terms of the (furthest) shores of the world land-mass as conceived by medieval mapmakers. Alternatively, one of the meanings of L. *tractus* (which gave *traeth*) may be relevant — 'tract, extent'. L. *mundus* used in HGC 14.15-16 *Pan dhescenno Deus/ ynghanol mundus* (late version of Armes Dydd Brawd, see CC poem 20).

3 **Bu kyweir karchar Gweir** On *kyweir*, see §8.27 *teir kadeir kyweir kysson* and especially §8.45 *Ys kyweir vvg kadeir yg Kaer Sidi* where the meanings 'ordered,

in good repair, prepared, ready' as well as 'harmonious' are possible. Here the former, unless *kyweir* is a mistake for *kyueir* (ModW *cyfair*) 'place, region, area', etc. — 'the place of Gwair's imprisonment was in *Kaer Sidi*'.

Gweir, although a common name, is usually identified with *G. ap G(w)eirioed* in triad 52, one of the 'Three Exalted Prisoners' with Llŷr and Mabon ap Modron (TYP³ 146-8, 373-4); Ifor Williams (PKM 248-9) connects the name with *Mabinogi Mynweir a Mynord*, the title given to the part of the tale of *Manawydan fab Llŷr* that describes the imprisonment of Pryderi and Rhiannon; John Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1901), II, 679, notes Ynys Wair as an old name for Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel. On *Caer Weir* see §23.6. However it is not impossible that another character is meant, such as Gweir m. Gwystyl (Gwestyl) (TYP³ 374) whose father's name ('hostage') may point to the salient feature of the son's delineation, as prisoner or hostage perhaps. A few poetry references suggest a sad figure (e.g. in elegies, CBT V 13.16 *Neu'n gwneir uegys Gweir uab Gbestyl*, and VI 4.27; GGM I 5.149 *ail rhwysg Gwair fab Gwestl* (addressing an ailing patron); on the other hand, he is simply a martial paragon in CBT III 20.19 *angert Weir*, GGM I 3.40 *llid Gwair*, III 2.30 *Gwair o angerdd*, etc., see GGM III, 108.

- 3 **yg Kaer Sidi** The ambiguous Book of Taliesin *-d-* could represent either *Sidi* or *Siddi*. *Sidi* is used occasionally by the Cywyddwyr, and by others, such as Elis Gruffydd (*Kaer Sidia*) who may have seen a written medieval form like ours. Patrick Sims-Williams, IEME 243-8, argues that *sidi* is probably a learned literary borrowing from OIr *side*, gen. sg. or pl. or nom. pl. of *sid* 'abode of the gods (later "fairies") especially a tumulus ("fairy-mound")'; more detail in his 'Some Celtic Otherworld terms', in FS Hamp 57-81, pp. 69-75.
- 4 **trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi** Usual meanings of *trwy* are 'through, through-out' (period of time), 'through, by means of', and 'through, because of, from' (GMW 211). I find no parallels for the meaning 'according to' suggested by Loomis; *herwyd* is the usual way of expressing 'according to', e.g. CBT VII 42.9 *heróyd a treythir*, Bleg 98-9 *herwyd kyfreith Hywel Da*, etc. GPC *ebostol* (2) 'epistle, portion of Holy Scripture, homily following epistle, letter; tale, story' (perhaps from L. *epistola*, but see on pl. *ebestyl*, *ebystyl* < L. *apostoli*, with analogical sg. *ebostol* 'apostle' (Echrys Ynys line 16 *ran ebostol*) PKM lii-iii. No other examples of its use for a secular story, but it would seem likely to refer here to the material of the First Branch which has two main parts: the first deals with Pwyll's successful dealings with the Otherworld realm which earns him the title Pwyll *Penn Annwn* (see on line 15 below), and the second involves the wooing of Rhiannon, and the birth and rearing of his son, Pryderi. But since Pryderi is a player in the Third and Fourth Branches, and is also mentioned as having been on the expedition to Ireland in the Second, the *ebostol* in question may have spanned the whole of their exploits. Gwair's *karchar*, if not his imprisonment, is placed in the same once-upon-a-time as the well-known *ebostol*, most naturally as a sequel.

The names of father and son are semantically linked: *pwyl* 'sense, reason' and *pryder(i)* 'care, concern, worry', and note the collocation of the denominative vbs in CA 1029 *lliaws pryder pryderaf fun* (?recte *fraw*); PBT 9.20 (Ymarwar Llud Bychan) *Pryderaf, pwyllaf pwy y hymdeith*, and §26.3-4 *Lliaws a bwyllaf/ ac a bryderaf*. See further TYP³ 485-7 on these names and *Pryder m. Dolor Deiuyr a Brennych*. Pryderi, unlike Pwyll, is mentioned quite often: §8.45-7 *Ys kyweir vgy*

kadeir yg Kaer Sidi:/ mys plawd heint a heneint a uo yndi,/ ys gwyr Manawyt a Phryderi (see commentary); LIDC 18.20-1 *En Aber Gwenoli/ y mae bet Pryderi*; CBT I (Einion ap Gwalchmai) 26.38-9 *Yt wyf pryderus ual Pryderi./ Pryder nabd keuda6d, kyfnerthi—ny 6nn*; III 21.67 *Am Ywein Prydein, Pryderi—haua*; VII 23.18 *prifddeddyf Pryderi*.

5 **Neb kyn noc ef nyt aeth ldi** *Gweir* is the most natural subject. *Neb* with following neg. (GMW 173). *Idi* either refers back to *Kaer Sidi* of line 3 or anticipates the *cadwyn dromlas* of line 6, as in translation, and cf. pattern of lines 9-10.

6 **I'r gadwyn tromlas** *Trwm/trom* frequently used in compounds, as is *glas* 'grey, blue': for metal in CA lines 7 and 960; EWSP 441.89 *ar glas vereu*; 443.101 *a gloes glas vereu*; LIDC 31.78 *kin gloes glas verev*; CBT IV 4.27; I 8.47 *A lluryga6r glas*; II 21.8 *llafn glas*; V 16.22 *glas waewa6r*, etc. *Glas efyn* 'grey shackle' in VII 23.25.

6 **kywirwas** < (ms *ae*) *ketwi* Accepting G's deletion of *ae*, and *ketwi* as vb noun rather than 3sg. imperf. This gives a somewhat more regular final cadence, although four syllables is the norm. The vb noun *ketwi* in CC 14.44 *gironet kedwi*; CBT II 1.140; 2.53 *Eryri getwi*. The vb noun may have been interpreted by a scribe as 3sg. imperf. preceded by the rel. pron. *ae* or rel. pron. with infixed pron. 3sg.; the words were also open to interpretation that the *kywirwas* was a different person from *Gweir* ('a faithful lad was guarding it/him').

7 **A rac preideu Annwfn** The source of the title *preideu Annwn* added by John Lewis, the owner of the manuscript in the 16-17c: see General Introduction, 3. On the range of meanings of *rac*, see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, *ÉC* 6 (1952), 11-20. *Preideu* either 'spoils, booty' (most likely) and/or 'herds', perhaps comparable to wondrous herds encountered in the Irish Otherworld voyages: see examples in *SC* 18/19 (1983/4), 67.

On the possible derivations of *Annwfn*, 'very deep' (*an-* + *dwfn*) or 'not-world' (privative *an-* + *dwfn* 'world'), see GPC, PKM 99-101, and FS Hamp 62-4. *Annwfn* in *Angar Kyfundawt* §4.83 is *is eluyd* 'beneath the earth/world', and connected with *Taliesin*'s inspiration; in §5.189 it has (or is in) flowing water (or conceivably a 'silver stream', see commentary). Other poetry references include CBT IV 8.8-10 *Yn awen barawd a6dyl burwa6d ber:/ Yn ann6fn, yn d6fn, yn dyfynder—yd uarn./ Nid beirt a'e daduarn, bart a'e daduer* 'With ready inspiration of an awdl of pure and fair song; in *Annwfn*, in this world (or 'in the deep'), in the depth does it pronounce, [and] it will not be [any other] poets who render it powerless [for a true] poet [now] declaims it'; GIRh 3.67-70 *Ac ister dyfnder pob dwfn/ Hyd ar fyd, ennyd, Annwfn./ Hyd y gellid (bid heb wg)/ Gweled bellaf a golwg* 'and the bottom of the depths of every deep place as far as (momentarily) the world of *Annwfn*, as far as it's possible (let that be without frowning!) to see furthest with the eye'. This is part of *Ieuan ap Rhydderch*'s description of what he can discern with his brass quadrant, and the editor believes it serves to imply that the miraculous device can do the impossible (p. 150); GDGor 7.2 *Greg unig o graig Annwn* and 7.10 *Cloch Annwn mawrswn ei siol*, both describing the noisy Raven who offers prophetic advice to the poet;

7 **tost yd geni** With 3sg. imperf. ending *-i*, cf. numerous examples in CBT corpus: *keri* (I 10.7), *llochi* (I 10.8), *renni* (I 3.93), *gorelwi* (II 26.168), *gweli* (III 21.44), *dirperi* (III 21.51), *gorseui* (III 21.69), *differi* (V 25.36). *Tost* of *gawr* 'cry' in PT

- II.10. The youth was singing (vb *canu* conveys a greater degree of control than *wylo*, *cywnaw*, etc.), but wailing and weeping is found in the Irish Otherworld voyages such as the Voyage of Mael Dúin: see further SC 18/19 (1983/4), 67.
- 8 **ac yt Urawt parahawt yn bardwedi** See on §4.55 for numerous examples of forms of vb *parhau* with *Brawt*. *Yt* may be for *hyt* 'until', as in §8.28 *Ac yt Vrawt parahawt gan gerdoryon* (through mistaking initial *h-* for a merely orthographic *h-*), or else for the prep. *behet*, *bet*. *Yn bardwedi* understood as 'our bardic prayer or entreaty' (to God, as is usual with *gwedi*); other possibilities are discussed, SC 18/19 (1983-4), 67. Although *bardwedi* is not otherwise attested, cf. compounds *bardwawt*, *bardget*, *bardglwm*, *bardeir*, etc. noted by G s.v. *bard*.
- 9 **Tri lloneit Prytwen** *Lloneit* 'fullness' (< *llawn*), cf. CBT II 26.239 *Lloneid Llech Llauar*. *Prytwen* ('Fair of Form'), Arthur's ship, shares the *gwyn/gwen* 'white, blessed' element of his other possessions (*Ehangwenn*, his hall; *Carnwennan*, his knife; *Gwennhwyfar*, his wife; *Gwenn*, his mantle), as noted by Patrick K. Ford, *B* 30 (1983), 268-73, p. 270, see CO 64, 147. On LL 207 *Messur Pritguenn*, a topographical feature or place-name mentioned in a charter granting land to *Lann Uvien* (?Llangofan, south-east of Raglan), see K. H. Jackson, 'Rhai sylwadau ar "Kulhwch ac Olwen"', *YB* 12 (1982), 12-23, pp. 22-3. *Pridwen* is Arthur's shield in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* IX.4. Does the 'three fullnesses of Prydwen' imply a shuttle service, or a ship packed to three times its normal capacity, or three separate ships each carrying Prydwen's payload?
- 9 **yd aetham-ni idi** 1pl. *aethom* used by Prydydd y Moch of raid on Porthaethwy, Anglesey, CBT V 23.39-40 *Porthathwy pan aethom y ar/ Meirch mordwy uch mabrdwryf tonnyar*. The same poem uses several words found in present poem: 52-3 *llosgwy/cym*; 62 *preideu*; 64 *Mal Arthur*; 69 *pedryuan*. The final cadence of the present line is atypical, as is line 27: was an original *yd aeth idi* (cf. line 33 *yd aeth gan Arthur*) changed under the influence of the beginnings of lines 21, 41, 47, or else expanded and further personalised?
- 10 **nam[yn] seith** The motif of the small number of survivors is common, especially in the Gododdin, CA lines 29 *namen vn gwr o gant ny (em.) delhei*, also 842; 240 *ny diengis namyn tri*; 694 *namen vn gwr ny dyuu*; 702 and 707 *namen vn gur nyt atcorsant*, B text *anghassant*; also AP line 74 *namyn petwar nyt atcorant*; CBT II 19.3-4 *Nyd oes, yssywaeth, o'r seith/ Namyn tri trin dioleith*. Most relevant here, however, are the *seithwyr* who escaped back to the Island of the Mighty after the expedition to Ireland as told in the story of *Branwen*: Pryderi, Manawydan, *Gliuieu Eil Taran*, Taliesin, Ynawg, *Grudyeu uab Muryel*, and Heilyn fab Gwyn Hen, PKM 44. References to sevens and multiples are very common in the Book of Taliesin as elsewhere in medieval texts: below, line 40 *seith vgein kygwng*; §4.77 *seith vgein ogyruen*; §11.80 *seith lauana*; §11.89 *Seith seren*; PBT 4.5 (Dyogogan awen) *Seith meib o Veli*; §24.33 *seith vgein kerdawr*, PBT 8.29 (Romani kar) *seith ieith y ri Gwyned*; §25.6 *seith llafana*; §25.11-19 seven senses; §25.21 *seith awyr*, CC 24.82-3 *Seith vgeint, seith <> cant o seint/ A seith mil, a seith dec vgeint*. See further on §25.6 and 11. Close in tone to the refrain in our poem are the lines in the Afallennau, LIDC 16.23-6 *Seithlog y deuant dros lydan lin/ A seith cant dros mor y oreskin./ O'r saul y deuant nyd ant y kenhin/ Namuin seith lledwac gwydi ev llettkint*; and in Pen3Afallennau 121.5-9 *Disgogan chwibleian kyfan chwetleu./ dydaw ar Wyndyt brithvyt diheu./ a llynges dros vor*

ac angoreu;/ seith long y deuant, a seith gant dros donneu,/ disgynant ar draeth a dan saetheu.

- 10 **ny dyrreith** 3sg. pret. *dyrein* (GPC 'to run, hasten; return; rise, ascend; strive', discussed CA 269-70; Calvert Watkins, *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb: I, The Sigmatic Aorist* (Dublin, 1962), 164-5). Cf. PBT 2.9 (Glasawt) *Adoer lleith dyrreith*; CBT VI 31.2, etc. The line is surely echoed in the Afallennau lines referring to Camlan: *Namyn seith ni dyrraith or cymmanfa* (quoted by TYP³ 168 from the version printed in Myv 117-18).
- 11 **Neut wyf glot geinmyn** Lit. 'I am fair in fame', either famous or else good at making fame, probably the latter, exemplified by the song heard in the Four-Turreted Fort. Adj. *ceinmyn* of clothes, CBT IV 9.223 *Gwyrnt wasgar o wisgoet keinmyn*; of deceased prince CBT II 20.3; otherwise rare in poetry, except for CA lines 1380-81 (Gwarchan Cynfelyn) *Gochawn kyrd keinmyn/ yw Gwarchan Kynvelyn* 'the honoured one among fair poems is Gwarchan Cynfelyn'.
- 11 **cerd ochlywir (ms ochlywir)** Emendation with G for rhyme. Etymological collocations of *clot/vb clybot, clywet*, are quite common. *Gochlywet* with *clot* in a proverbial Gosymdaith line 117 *A vo gle6 gochlywir y glot*, which may be echoed in our line, causing the miscopying. Otherwise uncommon in poetry, but PT II.14 *gwaed. . . gochlywyd (recte gochlywit)*.
- 12 **yg kaer pedryuan** < *pedry-* 'four, four-square; perfect' + *ban* 'height, top'. *Bann caer* in LIDC 39.10 and 13, and CO line 832 *ar vann y gaer* appears to mean 'turret, pinnacle'; the description of *Kaer Sidi*, §8.49 *ac am y banneu ffrydyeu gweilgi* refers to the sea around the pinnacles, or else corners of the fort. LIDC 17.53 *Cirrn ar y guraget pedryfanhauc* refers to women's head-dresses, either 'four-square', or (as 'horns' implies) with four raised points. Gosymdaith line 41 (cf. line 11 above) *Pedryfan d6fyn pedrychwelit* is obscure, although Ifor Williams ventured 'four-cornered is the world, four-sided' with *ban* 'corner, end, point', as in *pedwar ban y byd* 'four corners of the world', *banneu'r Groes*, etc., see GPC; this is followed by Nicolas Jacobs (Gosymdaith pp. 14 and 21) who suggests a possible reference to Judgment, comparing Revelation 7:1-3. Cynddelw uses *pedryuan* of the Cross (CBT IV 16.204) and Prydydd y Moch addresses Llywelyn ab Iorwerth as *Dreic Prydein pedryuan* (Red Book *pedrydan*), CBT V 23.68, translated p. 226 as 'leader of the four corners of Britain'. It is possible, therefore, that *yg kaer pedryuan* could be (a) 'in the four-square fort', or, with inversion, (b) in the four ends/corners of the fort', or (c) 'four-pinnacled fort'. If it is not a title as such, this would mean that seven proper names in *kaer* are mentioned in the poem, viz. *Kaer Sidi, K. Vedwid, K. Rigor, K. Wydr, K. Golud, K. Vandwy, K. Ochren* (leaving aside *Annwfn* and *Vffern*), matching the seven survivors. Interpretation (b) is favoured in the translation (*contra* SC 18/19, pp. 62, 68-9 'Four-Turreted Fort'). There may be a play on another meaning of *ban*, 'song, verse', see below on line 14.
- 12 **pedrychwelyt (ms pedyr ychwelyt)** Paralleled only in Gosymdaith line 41 (see previous note), where 'facing four ways' (or 'four-sided', with Ifor Williams) is possible with *d6fyn* 'world'. But since *chwel* can mean 'turn, course' (cf. §19.1 *ymchoeles*), the word in both instances could mean 'turning in four directions' or 'perfectly, completely revolving', or else be a related verbal form (past impersonal?). Cú Roi's fort had this particular property, like Chaucer's House of Fame, and the Byzantine palace in *Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à*

Constantinople, ed. Paul Aebischer (Genève, 1965), lines 352-60, discussed in detail by Lucie Polak, 'Charlemagne and the Marvels of Constantinople', in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J.A. Ross*, edited by Peter Noble *et al.* (New York and London, 1982), 159-71.

- 13 **Yg kynneir o'r peir pan leferit** Yg 'my': see Index for frequent examples in the Book of Taliesin poems. Uncommon compound *kynneir* 'first utterance, song' ('eulogy' in CBT II 25.3 *Kynneir o'm cadeir, cadarn ganu—Rys*). *O . . . pan* is ambiguous: 'from, by', as in §5.151-2 *Nyt o vam a that/ pan y'm digonat*; or 'concerning', as in §16.27 *O gadeu a For pan atrodet*, and understood here since the next lines treat the cauldron in some detail. For further examples of *peir/geir*, see §4.209-10.
- 14 **o anadyl naw morwyn gochyneuit** Cf. the nine sisters in the *Insula Pomorum* as described by Telgesinus to Merlinus in VM lines 916-28 (Morgen, specialist in healing and astrology; Moronoe, Mazoe, Gliten, Glitoea, Gliton, Tyronoe and Thiten), see VM 260-67, WAL 154-6; and the nine witches in *Peredur* 29.17 *Naw gwidon . . . Kaer Loyw*; as well as other bands of nine such as CO line 511 *naw porthawr*, the nine grades of Heaven (see CC 110), etc. It is not clear whether it was the cauldron or Taliesin's *kynneir* which was ignited by the breath of the nine maidens: for the idea of poetry containing nine parts, cf. CBT III 1.1-2 *Ardywreaf naf o nab rann—uyg kert./ O nab rif angert, o naw ryw uann* 'I praise the lord with the nine parts of my art, with the nine numbers of inspiration, with nine types of song'.
- 15 **Neu peir Pen Annwfn pwy y vynut** *Pen Annwn* 'Chief of Annwn' is the title which Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed secures for himself after his stay in the Otherworld: it is given great prominence in the second part of the First Branch. End-rhyme as it stands is partial (proest with *-it*), and *mynut* 'demeanour, manner; way of behaving' is retained (see GPC s.v. *mynud* for other meanings), avoiding emendation; *gwr(h)yt* 'measure', or *gwryt* 'strength, valour, ?virtue' was suggested in SC 18/19, p. 70.
- 16 **gwrym am y oror a mererit** Some dark-coloured substance (see GPC s.v. *gwrn*) around the rim of the cauldron, perhaps an iron band, or enamel, jet, or niello (black sulphide of silver) decoration, see D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100* (London, 1964), 21-2. *Mererit* (ModW *mer(i)erid*) borrowed from L. *margarita* 'pearl' (from Greek). Used as a woman's name in LIDC 39.10, 13 etc, but otherwise rare in poetry: CBT V 8.14 *Mal heu rac moch meryerid* 'pearls before swine' (see on §1.91-2); VII 29.32.
- 17 **ny beirw bwyt llwfyw ny ry tyghit** The Thirteen Treasures of the Island of Britain includes a cauldron with the same quality: see Eurys Rowlands, *LIC* 5 (1958-9) 33-69; TYP³ 258 and 262; WAL 157; and there is another unboiling cauldron controlled by St Beuno, VSB 17-18.
- 18 **Cledyf lluch Lleawc** Collocated *cledyf* ~ *cledeu/lluch* three times in CBT I (Gwalchmai ap Meilyr): 9.33 *Llachar vyg cletyf, lluch y annwyd—yg cad*; 9.75 *Lluch uyg cletyf, uyg keinyaw ny llwyr*; 9.19 *Llachar uyg cleteu, lluch yt ardwy—glew*. *Lluch* (and compounds) extremely common in CBT poetry, see §5.204. *Lleawc* is interpreted as a name or a nickname, meaning either 'destroyer' (connected with element *lle*, as in *dileaf*: *dilëu*), or 'a reader' (cf. vb *lleaf*: *lleu* 'to read'), to be identified with the Irishman *Llen(n)l(l)leawc Wyddel* who kills Diwrnach Gawr, allowing Arthur and his men to seize the cauldron: CO lines

253, 293, 1051 (and note p. 88). The form of the name in CO may include a doubling and 'explanatory' *llên* ('letters, literature'); *llen* 'mantle' does not yield a very convincing name or nickname. If, however, *lleawc* is simply an adj. 'death-dealing' (WAL 135 n.30) qualifying *cladyf*, a misinterpretation of the line could have given rise to a phantom name (with unaccounted-for replacement of *lluch* by *llen* in CO version).

- 18 **Idaw ry dyrchit** *Dyrchit* is either past impers. of vb *dyrchu* 'to lift, raise; rise' (although *dyrchafael* ~ *dyrchafu* is usual medieval form, used of weapons in e.g. PT VI.15), or as in translation, of vb *tyrchu* 'to dig, pierce' understood here as 'to thrust into'.
- 19 **yn llaw Leminawc yd edewit** Adj. *lleminawc* 'leaping (one)' used as a personal name (?or nickname) in LL 174, and possibly in §15.48 *llemenic* (see note). In note on §14.44 *llyminawc*, that word's use for the deliverer of prophecy is noted. Possibly, then, for Arthur. The cauldron is what Llemenog was left holding.
- 20 **A rac drws porth Vffern llugyrn lloscit** Full internal rhyme with *Vffern* if *llugyrn* (pl.) were emended to *llugern* (old sg. < L. *lucerna*), but proest as it stands. *Llugyrn/llosc* CBT I 25.7-8, and see on §5.9. Syncretism with the Christian Hell, cf. Matthew 13:42, 25:30, Revelation 20:14, 19:20, etc. For a precise parallel, in a Harrowing of Hell context, cf. CBT VII 40.33 and 40b.74 (Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch) *Y drws porth uffern gethern gaetheu* (40b *gethrau*).
- 21 **trafferth lehrhit (ms lechrit)** Cf. PT VIII.1 *Eg gwrhyt gogyueirch yn trafferth* (see *ibid.*, p. 93); CBT I 8.36; II 2.7; III 16.208; VI 1.24, etc. The adj. *llethrit* 'radiant, shining; famous' (also 'radiance', as in CBT I 16.8 *Llethrit a berit o beir awen*) is used in EWSP 435.44 *ry gwelir Trenn tref lethrit*, otherwise only by Prydydd y Moch in poetry (CBT V 8.17; 13.17; and 6.34 *llethridua6r*). As 3sg. vb *llathru* in §26.18 *mor vawr yt lethrit*.
- 22 **o Gaer Vedwit** *Medwit* understood as *med* + *gwit* 'feast, banquet, liquid, fluid, honey' (see on §7.27 *gwit* (em.) *gwenyn*), the Honey-Mead Fort, or the Mead-Feast Fort. The fountain of drink 'sweeter than white wine' characterises *Kaer Sidi* in poem §8.50-1. See further WAL 164.
- 23 **Kyrd (ms kerd) glywanor (ms glywanawr)** The rhyme probably requires *glywanor* (despite EWGP 72, quoting CA 351, and *Gwiawn* ~ *Gwion* in note to §4.15 (and §1.84)) and the sense required is something like 'is (?will be) heard', in parallel with line 11 *cerd ochlywit* 'song was heard' (also copied with a wrong ending, *ochlywir* 'is heard'). John T. Koch, *B* 31 (1984), 87-92, suggests that the Book of Taliesin scribe wrote *-awr* because he was used to modernising Archaic Old Welsh texts in which *o* was used for later *aw* as well as *o*. Even if this were the case it would not of course prove that Preideu Annwfn was itself such a text. In SC 20-21 (1985-6), 57, Koch gives only one other example of *o* ~ *aw*, also a doubtful one (PT I.11), and our *-awr* could easily be due to confusion with the passive ending *-(h)awr* (GMW 121, and list in G.R. Isaac, *Journal of Celtic Studies* 4 (2004), 165-6, e.g. *clywawr*). Following Pedersen (rather than Lewis and Pedersen, L&P 307) Koch classifies *clywanor* as a deponent vb 'they hear', with *kerd* 'song' as its object. This loses the parallelism with line 11. A better solution, mentioned by Koch (p. 90) and adopted by Stefan Schumacher, *Die Sprache* 37 (1995), 65-7, is to take *kerd* as a spelling of the attested pl. *kyrd* (e.g. §4.112-13; the scribe had difficulty with *e* = *y*, e.g. §26.2 *bet*), in concord with a 3pl. passive/impersonal vb: 'songs are heard' (cf. CBT I 26.26 *lluoet llesseint*

'hosts were slain' (pl.) versus CBT II 5.3 *Góyrtheu goleu gówelhattor* 'clear wonders will be seen' (sg.). An unique 10c match for **clywan(h)or* is *plánthónnór* 'they will be dug' glossing L. *fodientur* in JuvTC 370, 546. It is impossible to guess how long such plural forms survived; since concord was exceptional, pl. impers. forms are not well-attested either in the OW or the early MW period. Our poet may employ this pl. vb and latinize or Latin-looking construction (cf. D. Simon Evans, AH 77) in order to vary his rhyme scheme from *-it* to *-or*. Koch's re-division of *geinmyn kerd* as *gein myn kerd* 'fair my song' (p. 90) is not metrically acceptable: the pre-caesura section is almost invariably five syllables, not four, and the final cadence is almost invariably four rather than five syllables.

- 24 **yg kaer pedryfan** See on line 12. The scribe has updated his orthography from *-yuan* to *-yfan*.
- 24 **ynys pybyrdor** *Pybyr* 'strong, vigorous' + *dor* 'door', but scribal confusion between *pybyr* and *pefr* 'radiant, shining', is common — 'shining door' would suit the flaming lantern(s) 'before the door of the entrance' in line 20. Here I understand the fort to be the 'stout defence' of the island (with inversion, *pybyr* 'strong', and *dor* used figuratively as in Echrys Ynys line 2 *Menei y dor*, CBT II 22.28 *Gosgordd dor*, III 20.8 *Cadeu dor*, III 16.223 *Ysgor dor*, etc.). As well as CBT II 25.12 *Pebyrddor pedrydant*, *pedror* (em.) *gylchu*, compare frequent compounding of *dor*, as in *aerðor*, *cadrðor*, *durðor*, *eurðor*, *mygrðor*, *pedreindor*, etc.
- 25 **echwyd a muchyd kymysceter** *Echwyd* 'fresh, fresh water', rejecting *dwfyr* 'water' that Ifor Williams supplies at the beginning of the line (WAL 136 n.37) since it makes the pre-caesura section longer than is normal in this awdl. *Muchyd* 'jet' (see on §5.140) could conceivably be used with *echwyd* 'mid-day' to contrast light and darkness (cf. *echwyd/ucher*), but there may be a reference here to one of the strange properties of jet mentioned in Isidore's *Etymologiae* XVI.iv.3: 'it is set alight by water and extinguished by oil'. The resulting flame was perhaps imagined as illuminating the wine drinking of line 26. Similar conjunctions in CA line 138 *ket yvem vedd gloyw wrth leu babir*; §23.39 [*g*]win gloyw ac olew (if for oil of lamps); CBT II 14.139-40 *Menestyr, med ankðyn a'm kydrodir, / Górdan gloeð goleu, górdleð babir*, III 3.88-9 *Grth y lleu babir, / Berth y chlas a'e chyrn glas gloewhir*.
- 26 **gwin gloyw eu gwirawt** See on line 25.
- 26 **rac eu gosgor<> (ms gorgord)** See on §4.190 *goscord recte goscor*. The form without final *-ð* is still found in the 12c (CBT IV 2.57), rhyming with *pyyllitor*.
- 28 **o Gaer Rigor** Understood as from L. *rigor* 'stiffness, rigidity', etc., but there are many other possibilities: *frigor* 'cold', comparing coldness of Hell (P. Sims-Williams, IEME 244 n.33, and J.E. Caerwyn Williams, *Canu Crefyddol y Gogynfeirdd* (Abertawe, 1976), 29); (*G*)*rigor*, i.e. Gregory the Great (Ifor Williams, WAL 165).
- 29 **Ny obrynaf-i lawyr** GPC *gobrynaf*: *gobryn* 'merit, deserve, be worthy of, gain', but Ifor Williams' 'I set no value on' (WAL 136 n.39) yields better sense than the usual range of meanings, as does 'I deserve better than . . .'. *Llawyr*, a compound of *llaw* 'small, insignificant', unless it is a mistake for *llewyr*, either pl. of *llawer* 'multitude' (cf. CBT V 10.56; 19.3; VI 12.19), or 'readers' (< *lle-*, as in *lleaf*: *lleu* 'to read'). There is some uncertainty about the example in CBT V 23.77 *Dygywt*

gbyr heb leuyr, heb lann, understood p. 232, with GPC, as *lleufer* 'light'. The Book of Taliesin ms reading is retained in light of Gwalchmai's Gorhoffedd, CBT I 9.61 *Ny charyf llawyr 'ny llabr gythrut* 'I do not love paltry men with their pathetic fear'. Gwalchmai's curious verbal form (one would expect *caraf* or *cerif*) may be a bogus archaism, or is it a mistake for 1sg. subjunct. *carwyf*? See further General Introduction, 21.

- 29 **llen Llywyadur** Understood as writings (*llen*) to do with the Ruler, i.e. Christian learning. For *llywyadur* of God, cf. CBT VI (Dafydd Benfras) 24.5; also *llywiadr*, VII 51.33; and very common *llywyawdyr* (CBT I 30.31; III 3.204; IV 7.102; V 23.1, etc.).
- 30 **tra Chaer Wydyr ny welsynt wrhyt Arthur** *Ny welsynt* understood as beginning a rel. clause. The Glass Fort recalls Revelation 21:18 'and the [Heavenly] city was pure gold, like unto clear glass', but more specifically the glass tower in HB ch. 13 whose inhabitants are not able to reply when spoken to: *conspiciunt turrim vitream in medio mare, et homines conspiciebant super turrim, et quaerebant loqui ad illos, nunquam respondebant*. See most recently, John Carey, 'Bran son of Febal and Brân son of Llŷr', in IWMA 168-79, p. 173. On Myrddin's *ty gwydr*, Eurys I. Rowlands, 'Y Tri Thlws ar Ddeg', *LIC* 5 (1958-9), 33-69, at pp. 45, 51-2; TYP³ 462; and further on glass buildings, IEME 246. Glass drinking vessels are referred to in poetry (and see on §7.46 *a chorwc gwytrin*), as are windows (once, in CBT III 5.14); glass was used figuratively in *oeswydr, hoed(d)ylwydr* to express the fragility of man's life. *Gwrhyt*, for *gwryt* 'valour', but 'size, stature' is not impossible: see on the same phrase, §24.14 *gwrhyt Arthur*.
- 31 **tri vgeint canhwr** Cf. AP lines 72-3 *Naw ugain canhwr y discynnant./ Mawr watwar namyn petwar nyt atcorant*; §5.195. The forms *vgein, trugein* before a noun in §4.36 *Tri vgein mlyned*; §5.12 *ar trugein aber*, CBT I 8.52 *Yn seith ugein yeith wy ueith voli*, etc. Independent form *vgeint* as well as *vgein* used in CBT corpus.
- 31 **a seui ar y mur** A more regular cadence would be *seui ar fur*. 3sg. imperf. in *-i* used in related vb form CBT III 21.69 *a orseui*.
- 32 **oed anhawd ymadrawd** *Adrawd/hawd* and compounds collocated in CBT corpus, not otherwise.
- 32 **ae gwylyadur** EWSP 450.21 (Claf Abercuawg) *Amlwc golwc gwylyadur*, CBT IV 17.85.
- 34 **o Gaer Golud** Understood as *golud* 'impediment', rather than lenited *colud* 'bowels, intestines, entrails' (for a fort hidden away, if the latter, see on §5.185 *perued*). Generic rhyme with *Arthur*.
- 35 **llaes eu kylchwy** *Llaes* 'long, lax, hanging, loose'. Since *kylchwy* can mean a round shield but also 'belt, girdle; garment', a castigation of the *llawyr* who do not take up arms, or else are wearing trailing clothes or habits. CA line 448 *wyre llu llaes ysgwydawr* and EWSP 449.8 *neur laesswys vvg kylchwy* suggest the former, but see EWSP 619, and CBT VII 18.9 *Balch yn ysgwyd loe6galch laes* where *ysgwyd* . . . *laes* is clearly not a cause for shame.
- 36 **ny wdant-wy py dyd** See on §1.38 *a wdant lyfyrion*, and §6.47-8 *Ryfedaf yn llyfneu/ nas gwdant yn diheu*. The active inflexion of *gwybot* (as in PT III.9

Lloegrwys ae gwydant) contrasts with *gwidanhor* (line 50) and cf. *gwidyanhawr* (line 54).

- 36 **peridydyd pwy** *Peridydyd* is understood as vb form 'is created' (from abs. *perit* + *-yð* (rel.) rather than agent noun 'one who creates, makes', or a compound formed from vb noun *peri* + *dyð*. §7.64 *berwidyd* may be a comparable formation. Whether *-yð* can be attached to past impers. (*perit*, GMW 126) is uncertain. See Simon Rodway, 'What was the function of 3rd sg. prs. ind. "-ydd" in Old and Middle Welsh?', *Studi Celtici* 2 (2003), 89-132, at pp. 112-13, and his comment p. 121 that 'if we accept [*peridydyd*, like *berwidyd* and *kanonhyd* (§23.14)] as analogical forms in which a relative *-ydd* is grafted on to other finite endings, we could just as well imagine these to have been formed consciously by an author deliberately searching for obscure turns of phrase, as to have sprung spontaneously from a functional morpheme'.
- Pwy* 'who', rather unusual at the end of a line, but cf. CBT V 22.13-14 *Nyd reid tra dilyn pell ofyn pwy*,/ *Py geidw yr gorddðfyr rac pob gorddwy* (and cf. curious use of prep. at the end of CBT V 23.39 *y ar*). Taliesin's opponents are being taunted for their ignorance in chronology. See also on line 37.
- 37 **py awr ymeindydyd** Cf. *meindydyd* in PBT 3.61 (Kychwedyl); PBT 7.52 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr); CBT I 3.103; and §7.8 *meinydyd*, reckoned to be formations analogical with *mein(y)oeth* 'midnight' WG 93.
- 37 **y ganet Dwy (ms cw)** *Dwy*, a form of *Duw*, used in §3.31 and possibly to be restored in §24.6; also in CBT I 12.1-5 *Dwy dwywabl annwyd, etc.*; V 19.1 *A'th uendiccw Dwy Deyrn*. If this emendation is right, perhaps restore *pwy* in line 36 to *plwyf* or *plwy(w)* 'people, humans' since the two words are rhymed or collocated, e.g. in §3.31; PBT (Rydyrchafwy Duw) 6.1 and 29; Edmyg Dinbych line 1 *Archaf-i wen i Duw plwyf escori*; CC 9.3; CC 20.12; Marwnad Cynddylan line 30.
- 38 **pwy gwnaeth ar nyt aeth Doleu Defwy** The whole line is obscure because *Doleu Defwy* is unidentified. Suggestions proposed in SC 18/19, p. 74 include: (1) river-name in *def-/dyf-* 'black', as in *Dyfi* (EANC 139-40). Was this imagined as a river between this world and the next? (2) Name of a place or a region, as it appears to be in PT VIII.34 *Vn yw yn Deuwy pan ofwy y werin*, see PT 102-3; and in CBT V 22.7-8 *Ac euraðc Aruon ac Ardudwy*,/ *Ardal dðfyn hoewal, am dal deuwy*, although CBT V 203, 207 restores *deuwy* (*contra* G) translating 'for double wages'.
- 39 **yr Ych Brych bras y penrwy** *Penrwy* 'head-ring, head-stall, halter' or perhaps 'yoke'. The beast appears in Triad 45, with variants *Peniarth 47 ych brychbras y beuren* and *Peniarth 185 y benrhen* (TYP³ 124, and xxvi); and in CO line 593 (see note, 122-3). Note use of def. art. with the ox's name.
- 40 **seith vgein kygwng yn y aerwy** See above on line 10 for sevens. *Kygwng*: the scribe normally writes final *-ng* as *g*.
- 41 **auyrdwl gofwy** Both words are common: *afyrdwl* again in line 47 below; Pen3Cyfoesi 121.245 *afyrdwl hynt*; PBT 2.32 (Glaswawt); six examples in CBT corpus, three by Cynddelw.
- 42 **o Gaer Vandwy** Probably to be identified with LIDC 34.30-31 (Ymddiddan Gwyddnau Garanhir and Gwyn ap Nudd) *Kaer Wantwy*, and *rac Mantwy*, site of a (possibly Otherworld) battle. CBT III 16.69 *beirt wantwy* is uncertain but is

interpreted, p. 212, as a description of Owain Cyfeiliog as 'maintainer of poets' following G s.v. *gwantwy* (-*dwy*).

- 43 **lawyr llaes eu gohen** See on line 35 above. *Gohen* 'attack, intent; resolve, will'.
- 44 **peridy d Pen** See on line 36 above. *Pen* is understood as 'Lord', here of God or Christ, comparing line 37 *py awr . . . y ganet Dwy* (em.), and the use of both *pen* and *perchen* for God, e.g. CC 13.3 *Duw penn perchen pob kiwdawt*; Tymhorau line 22 *edmig perchen pen sywedydd*; CBT IV 17.1 *Denggrat Benn Berchen* and 17.16 *Dynyaton Berchen, Benn bob eua br*, etc. See also on §2.21 *creic pen perchen*. But *pen/perchen* is also used of secular lords, as in PT VII.31 *y vd Prydein pen perchen broestlawn*; Echrys Ynys line 20 *Draganawl ben priodawr perchen yMretonia*; and commonly in CBT corpus.
- 45 **Perchen** See on line 44. Taliesin seems to taunting his opponents with their ignorance of the chronology of the Incarnation. With these questions, cf. '*Pa awr y ganet ef? Megys y dyweit y proffwyt hanner nos y doeth ef oe eisteduaev brenhinawl*' 'What hour was he born? As the prophet says, he came at midnight from his regal thrones', LIA 17. Similar questions are relayed in the Old Irish *In Tenga Bithnua* (Carey, *King of Mysteries* 93-4) where events happening at midnight are listed:
- The wise men of the Hebrews said: 'at what time of the day or night was the world made, and [at what time] will it be destroyed, and [at what time] did the Lord arise from the dead?'
- The Ever-new Tongue answered: 'At midnight', said he, 'the Lord arose and the world was made; and at midnight the circuit was made which was the material of the world; and at midnight the Adversary (that is, the Devil) was exiled from heaven; and at midnight the body of man was made in Paradise. At midnight Cain performed the first kin-slaying that was perpetrated in the world. At midnight sulphurous fire was poured down upon the five cities [. . . Flood, Passover, Red Sea crossing, Babylon conquered, etc.]. At midnight the Saviour of the world was born in Bethlehem in Judaea; and he was crucified at midnight [. . . Harrowing of Hell]. At midnight the material of the world was formed. At midnight it will be destroyed'.
- 46 **py vil a gatwant aryant y pen** *Mil* is understood as an 'animal' guarded by the monks, perhaps a riddling question referring to a silver-headed crozier with a zoomorphic crook bearing a reliquary-box, similar to the one from Lismore (c. 1100), now in the National Museum of Ireland. Various types of croziers are discussed by Françoise Henry, *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions 800-1020 A.D.* (London, 1967), 114-20, and *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period 1020-1170 A.D.* (London, 1970), 74-102. For the poetic praise of St Padarn's crozier, called *Cyrwen*, see CC poem 23, discussed 242-3.
- 48 **o Gaer Ochren** Connected with *ochr* 'edge, side', for an 'angular' fort, i.e. not round. The 15c poet Hywel Swrdwal refers to *Caer Ochren* in an elegy for a patron who had died of illness: GHS 14.53-4 *Gwn gario, ochr Gaer Ochren, / Galon oer y gelain wen*, but it is uncertain whether this is to be connected with a place near his home in Brycheiniog (*y Fan* is mentioned in line 65) which the funeral cortège would have passed: the Roman fort known as *Y Gaer* is just west of *Peutun-gwyn*, one of the main seats of the family, and there are several hill-forts nearby. Alternatively, it may be a designation for Heaven, cf. Revelation 21:16 'And the city lieth foursquare'. There is no especial reason to assume a connection with *Achren, Cad Achren* (see introduction to §5 *Kat Godeu*) either here or in CBT III 24.116 and IV 6.44 *echrys Ochren*.

- 49 **mynech dychnut val cunin cor** Hapax *dychnut* understood as 3sg. of vb formed from *cnut* 'pack of hounds, wolves': GPC 'to crowd together in a pack'. Comparison with line 53 *bleidawr* 'wolves' indicates that *cunin* is a formation from *cun* 'pack of dogs' rather than *cun* 'lord', although deliberate ambiguity is possible. *Cor* either from L. *chorus*, or native *cor* 'host, company, assembly'.
- 50 **o gyfranc udyd** On *cyfranc*, either 'clash, contention' or secondary meaning, 'tale, story', see §21.20. *Udyd* understood not as rel. of vb *udaw* 'howl', but as pl. of *ud* 'lord' (see §3.5 for its extensive use, particularly in CBT corpus and by Prydydd y Moch). The only other pl. form is in PT VII.19 *Vdyd kygryn*. Here it may refer to 'masters' in arcane knowledge with the monks congregating to hear the *udyd* contend with one another, or else the monks themselves assembling to pit their wits against the *udyd*.
- 50 **ae gwidanhor** Here and in line 54 *ae gwidyanhawr*, *ae* may be *a'e* ('who know it') or a survival of OW *hai* (relative pronoun, later *a*, i.e. 'who know'), as discussed by John T. Koch, *B* 31 (1984), 91-2. If the latter, cf. citations in GPC² 2 such as LIDC 18.1 (Beddau) *E betev ae gulich y glav*, where *g* is similarly unlenited. Possibly *ae* in our example escaped modernisation to *a* because of the cymeriad with *ae?* in the following lines. Koch, followed by Schumacher, KPV 701, classifies the verbs here and in line 54 as 3pl. deponents, which might seem to support the deponent interpretation of *kerd glywanawr* in line 23 above. Note, however, that although 3sg. *gwyr* 'knows' may loosely be called 'deponent', it is really an old perfect with present meaning in which the *-r* has spread from the 3pl. perfect ending (cf. L. *-ere* and later, with analogical *nt* as in Celtic, *-erunt*) to the 3sg: **wid-r-e > gwyr* (see W. Meid, 'Olr. *-fitir*, etc., MW *gŵyr*, Bret. *goar* "knows", *ÉC* 13 (1972-3), 346-8). This makes it certain that the 3pl. originally had an *r* in it and this is what *gwidanhor* must be (*nh < *nt*). This is a more archaic form than *gw(y)dant* in line 36 *ny wdant* (and PT III.9 *Lloegrwys ae gwydant*), but it is difficult to predict how long the two forms may have coexisted. As noted by Schumacher (KPV 701), *goar* is still found in MBr (as is *gŵyr* in ModW), yet *guid* is already attested in OBr. A.L. Sihler comments that 'to know' 'has one of the most conservative paradigms in IE languages, even rivaling the verb "to be" when it comes to retaining inherited details of inflection' (*New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Oxford, 1995), 569). Thus *gwidanhor* may still have been available beside *gwdant/gwydant* in the MW period. The spelling of *gwy-* here with *i* is more typical of Black Book of Carmarthen-type orthography (e.g. *gvich* rather than *gwych*) than that of the Book of Taliesin.
- 51 **ae vn hynt gwynt** Common rhyming collocation, e.g. §4.118, §17.13-14, etc.
- 51 **ae vn dwfyr mor** Echoing Genesis 1:10 'and the gathering together of the waters called the Seas', and the emphasis of authors such as Isidore on the unity of the oceans: *Etymologiae* XIII.xiv.1 *Mare est aquarum generalis collectio*. Cf. perhaps *Gespräch* 33, no. 53: *Quid est quod ad unum vadit et ad unum redit? Pluvia* 'What goes to one and returns to one? Rain'. The waters of the world could be assigned to two classes, salt and fresh (e.g. *Collectanea Ps-B* no. 111 (p. 134) *Aquae mundi quot sint? Duae: sal et aqua* 'How many are the waters of the world? Two: salt and (fresh-)water'), but their mingling in the seas might have prompted this query.

- 52 **ae vn vfel tan twrwf diachor** Is fire composed of, or does it have its origin in a single spark? Cf. §5.22 *Bum yspwg yn tan*, and the spark riddle in Aldhelm's *Enigmata*, Aldhelm: *The Poetic Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Cambridge, 1985), 90. *Twryf*, cf. §6.20 *twrwf tonneu*. *Twryf* and derivatives are collocated with *tan* in CA lines 124, 791; CBT III 24.146; IV 16.127; VII 24.125, and *twryf* is used of burning (CBT III 7.9 with *gruc*; III 26.130 with *goteith*; VII 27.39 with *uuel* (ModW *ufel*) as here). *Diachor*: of the wind in §11.35 *Ef yn diachor*; also PBT 2.11 (Glaswawt); Edmyg Dinbych line 12; Echrys Ynys line 12; Marwnad Cynddylan line 21; CA lines 531, 1048, fairly common in CBT corpus.
- 53 **Myneych dychnut val bleidawr** The repetition of the first part of line 49 and the new end-rhyme seem to mark a new awdl although the previous one is very short with only four lines.
- 54 **ae gwidyantawr** According to Schumacher, KPV 701, this is a poetic variant of line 50 *ae gwidanhor* for the sake of rhyme, influenced by the ending *-(h)awr* mentioned in the commentary on line 23. The *y* may be due to the influence of the impf. where *gwyd-y-wn* etc. is regular (cf. Schrijver, SBCHP 155). Koch, *B* 31 (1984), 92, takes it as future: 'who will discover them'. See also §21.19 *gwydir*.
- 55 **pan ysgar deweint a gwawr** Cf. Genesis 1:4 'and God divided the light from the darkness'; 1:14 'Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night'; 1:18 'to divide the light from the darkness'; Job 38:24 'By what way is the light parted, which scattereth the east wind upon the earth?' (*Per quam viam spargitur lux, dividitur aestus super terram?*). Discussions of the meaning of *dies* 'day', understood from the Biblical context as being related to the vb *diuido*, are found in commentaries, and scientific works, e.g. Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, edited by Charles W. Jones, *Beda's Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), 186, lines 1-2; Pseudo-Bede, *De Diuisionibus Temporum*, cap. 8 (PL 90, 656A), and also in question-and-answer collections, such as *Adrian and Epictitus: Dies unde accepit nomen? Dividendo lucem a tenebris* 'From where did the day get its name? From dividing light from darkness' (*Gespräch* 18 (AE1b), no. 83, and p. 26). *Pan* understood here as 'why? how come?' rather than 'when', which is not impossible. *Deweint* contrasted with *dyd* in §13.7; used with *gwawr*, CBT VI 12.31.
- 56 **neu wynt pwy y hynt pwy y rynnawd** See on *hynt/gwynt*, line 51 above. On *rynnawd* 'rush, attack', cf. §9.57-8 *na rynnawd godo/ rac gwynt pan sorho* 'nor a covering from the storm [will there be] in the face of the angry wind'. Generic rhyme of commonest *-awd/-awr* type.
- 57 **py va a diua py tir a plawd** On *ma* 'place' see §12.1 and 8. *Diua*, used as a noun in §9.65, is 3sg. of vb here (as in CBT III 3.201 *Credaf da ny diua, ni diuyd*) and I follow G in restoring preceding rel. pron. *a*. *Plawd* is restricted to Book of Taliesin and related or derived examples, see §8.46. On the devastation caused by the wind, see §11.55.
- 58 **bet sant yn diuant a bet allawr** On *pet* 'how many?', common in this collection, see §4.116. Lenition would not be expected: restore *pet* (which may have been unfamiliar to the scribe). On *diuant*, see §4.127, §24.10 'space, void, annihilation, death' perhaps here for Eternity contrasted with (restored) *ar llawr* 'on earth' (as in *Nef a llawr*, §4.125; §5.127, etc.). *Allawr* 'altar' (*pet* is followed by sg. noun) gives less good sense but has the advantage of symmetry with series of nouns

following *py/pet* in lines 57-8, and requires no emendation. Saints' altars are a natural focus for praise of St Cadfan and St Dewi (CBT II, poems 1 and 26).

59 **Golychaf-y Wledic Pendeuc mawr** See on line 1 above.

na bwyf 1sg. subjunct. with optative force, although restoring *mal na bwyf trist* 'so that I may not be' would give a somewhat more regular length. Cf. the penultimate line of Echrys Ynys line 16 *Am bwyf-i gan Grist, hyt na bwyf trist, ran ebostol.*

59 **gwadawl** Common as noun and vb noun. Here 3sg. pres. as in CC 18.20-21 *Guae agaur a graun maur uerthet./ Ac onys guataul y riet;* CBT V 1.166 *Mi a'th wa6d a'th watabl.*

19 Marwnat Ercwl

The Book of Taliesin scribe wrote the title *Marwnat erof* in the space at the end of the preceding poem (Dadolwch Vryen, PT X) above the present piece on page 65 of the manuscript. It is certain, however, that the title properly belongs with part of the material on the following page of the manuscript. There, on page 66, lines 11-17 contain two joined fragments: (a) an elegy for a character called *Madawc drut*, edited in this collection as §20; (b) a poem about Herod (*Erof*) languishing in Hell, discussed A.O.H. Jarman, “‘Erof Greulawn’”, *LIC* 7 (1962-4), 106-10, and edited and translated CC 136-8. The fragments were given a joint preparatory title in the margin (BT 66, line 8), *mad drut ac erof*. The title of our present piece, *Marwnat erof* may have derived from an abbreviated title *marwnat er.* in an exemplar, which was then falsely expanded under the influence of an adjacent poem about Herod. The poem is clearly about Hercules, and the early form *Ercwl* — which is required for rhyme with *bygwl* with line 13 — is restored in line 12 and in the title.

The poem stands at the head of a block of elegies (§§20-23 in this collection, plus *Marwnat Owein* (PT X) and *Echrys Ynys* — an elegy for a ruler called Aeddon, with other elements present, too — between §§22 and 23). It is not altogether surprising that the Book of Taliesin should contain a poem about Hercules, who was regarded by Alexander himself, and by classical and medieval authors, as Alexander’s *figura*.¹ This poem is very similar in form and spirit to the shorter Alexander poem (§17 *Anryuedodeu Allyxander*), and both contain twenty-three lines. The main point of interest is the allusion to Hercules’ *four pillars* or columns, burnished with red gold. These are not necessarily the pillars, generally two in number, at the western end of the Mediterranean (Cadiz, Straits of Gibraltar), which traditionally defined the ancient world’s limits of navigation. They may possibly be the pillars described, for example in the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, as standing at the furthestmost bounds of the East; such gold columns were allegedly seen and copied by Alexander the Great on his travels.² The two types seem to have been conflated in later works such as

¹ ‘Der König selbst führte ja seinen Stammbaum auf Herakles und Dionysos zurück und nahm sich beide zum Vorbild, die in der mythischen Zeit ebenfalls die ganze Welt durchzogen hatten, und so galt Alexander als der “neue Dionysos”’, Friedrich Pfister, *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976), 7, and see further *ibid.*, 46-7. Hercules, like Alexander, had subjugated the Amazons.

² The usual columns of Hercules are mentioned by Orosius, but no details are given: ‘Europae in Hispania occidentalis oceanus termino est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis columnae uisuntur et Tyrreni maris faucibus oceani aestus inmittitur’ (*Historiae* I.2.7). Cf. Boer, *Epistola*, 26-8 (translated Gunderson, *Epistola*, 148: ‘[Porus] accompanied us to the memorials of Heracles and Dionysus. Moreover on the uttermost boundaries of the east he had set up golden statues of both gods. Anxious to know whether or not these were solid, I perforated them all and at the moment I saw they were solid, I filled them with the same material, and placated Dionysus and Heracles with sacrificial victims I kept moving towards

Raoul le Fèvre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes* and its derivatives (such as the fifteenth-century Irish text, *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* from Caxton's translation) which mention four equal pillars. On one of them was inscribed in letters of gold: 'Go no further to seek land, to conquer further kingdoms in the west, for you will find no more land'.³

As with the shorter of the two Alexander poems (§17), the brevity of the Hercules poem makes it hard to pinpoint a source. *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, attributed to Dares Phrygius, is thought not to have been translated into Welsh until c. 1300,⁴ and in any case, it does not give details about the four columns such as we find in the poem. Neither does Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* I.12 elaborate on them. The most likely explanation is that the idea of the western columns of Hercules, which was common enough and referred to by many writers (Pliny, Solinus, Orosius, Isidore, etc.), was embroidered, possibly by allusion to material from the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, a very widely known text, and one known to the Irish and the English by the tenth century.⁵

Medieval Welsh references to Hercules are also brief, but — unlike Alexander — he was at least given the imprimatur of the Red Book triads as one of the 'Three Endowed with the Might of Adam',⁶ with Samson and Hector, and it is in this worthy company that he usually appears, variously named as *Ercwl* (the earliest form), *Ercwlf*, or *Ercwlff* (see commentary on line 4). The twelfth-century poets, Cynddelw and Gwilym Rhyfel, and Prydydd y Moch (12-13c),

the sea, wishing, if I could, to sail on the ocean which flows around the world. The inhabitants of the place explained to me that the ocean was gloomy and full of shallows, and that since no one must try to go further than Heracles and Dionysus, two very pre-eminent gods, had dared to go, I would make all the larger impression as I, with my human strength, went further than the gods had gone'). See also Gunderson, *Epistola*, 156, on the pillars which Alexander himself set up (two solid gold pillars in Persia, and five memorials beyond those of Hercules and Dionysus in the remotest part of India).

³ Caxton's translation is printed in *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, edited by H. Oskar Sommer, 2 vols (London, 1894), II, 396-7; see also Sommer's discussion of Raoul le Fèvre's sources: I, cxxix-cxxx. Caxton's *Recuyell* is the basis of the fifteenth-century Irish retelling, edited by E.G. Quin, *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, Irish Texts Society 38 (London and Dublin, 1939), and discussed by Erich Poppe, 'Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás — rewriting Hercules in Ireland', in *Translations from Classical Literature: 'Imtheachta Aeniasa' and 'Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás'*, edited by Kevin Murray, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series 17 (London, 2006), 37-68, and Bianca Ross, *Bildungsidol—Ritter—Held: Herakles bei William Caxton und Uilliam Mac an Léga* (Heidelberg, 1989).

⁴ B.G. Owens, 'Y Fersiynau Cymraeg o Dares Phrygius (*Ystoria Dared*)' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1951); and see *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol*, edited by Nesta Lloyd and Morfydd E. Owen (Caerdydd, 1986), 33-4, and Erich Poppe, 'Personal names and an insular tradition of Pseudo-Dares', *Ériu* 53 (2003), 53-9.

⁵ See introduction to §16 (Alexander I).

⁶ *Ercwlf Gadarn*, TYP³ 129-33. Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (died 1197) was praised as having *mawrvrydrwyd Herkwlf* (ByT (Pen. 20)), and as being *Erckwlf o wychder* 'a Hercules for excellence' (ByT (RBH)). See further introduction to §16, n.34. 'Ystoria Ercwlf', from Elis Gruffudd's Chronicle (NLW MS 5268, sixteenth century), is edited by Thomas Jones, *B* 10 (1939-41), 284-97, and 11 (1941-4), 21-30 and 85-91.

used him as a touchstone of valour (see commentary on line 4), as did their successors. Rachel Bromwich judges that it was knowledge of the *De Excidio Troiae Historia* which brought Hercules' name into vogue in Wales, and that the twelfth-century references indicate that the poets 'were familiar with the content of the Latin text of *Dares*, which was translated into Welsh not earlier than circa 1300'.⁷ Our poem seems to imply that some details about Hercules' columns not elaborated in *De Excidio Troiae Historiae* were also known at least by the first quarter of the fourteenth century, possibly through knowledge of the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, which may also have been known to the author of the longer of the two Alexander poems (§16). The later Cywyddwyr refer to Hercules' columns (sometimes three in number), and to a tradition, perhaps influenced by native poetic convention, that he himself was a column of the world.⁸

⁷ TYP³ 131.

⁸ E.g. GC 1.61 *Ercwlff gryf*; GGG 27.3-4 *Er dwyn baich awr dan y byd/ Y safodd Ercles hefyd*; 54.49-50 *Cael ffyniant Ercwlff ennyd./ Cynnal baich canol y byd*; three columns in 59.53-4 *Ercwlff a roes tair colofn/ Ar gyfair Mor Tawch rhag ofn*; GTA II 113.19-22 *Od ai neb awr dan y byd./ Er cael ffon Ercwlff ennyd./ Rhobert, i 'th ddiarhebu./ Rhown i 'th fraich y baich y bu* (and note on p. 603); GLM 64.1-4 *Clyw sôn Erclais a 'i hanes./ cael ofn praff colofnau pres./ cael ym Mor Tawch c'lymu'r tair./ cyn cof, acw'n eu cyfair./ Mae'r golofn uwch Môr Gelau* [referring to the patron, Pirs Conwy] *yn aur pur hen er parhau* (and see n. on p. 477); GLMorg has *Ercles*, *Erclys* and *Ercwlff* forms: I 2.7; 23.34; II 66.45; 67.43; 70.10; 99.50; 99.72. *Erclus* is used in GMBr 2.37 and 9.41.

Ymchoeles eluyd
The Earth turned over —
val nos yn dyd
as when night [falls] in daytime —

o dyfot clotryd,
on account of the death of the famous one,

Ercwlff pen bedyd.
Hercules, the lord of the world.

5 **Ercwlff a dywedei**
Hercules used to say
agheu nas riuei.
that he took no account of death.

Yscwydawr ymordei
Shields in halls
arnaw a torrei.
used to break over him.

Ercwlf ry wessyt¹
Hercules could set in place
10 **eurin² lloer egyt!³**
the entire golden moon!

Pedeir colofyn kyhyt
Four pillar the same height
rudeur ar eu hyt —
with red gold along their length —

Colofneu Ercwl⁴,
The Pillars of Hercules,
nys arueid bygwl.
no coward shall challenge them.

15 **Bygwl nys beidei —**
No coward would challenge them —
gwres heul nys gadei.
the heat of the sun would not allow him [to do so].

Nyt aeth neb is Nef
No-one beneath the heavens

¹ ms *sywessyd*

² ms *ermin*

³ ms *egytd*

⁴ ms *Ercwlf*

hyt yd aeth ef.

went as far as he did.

Ercwlf mur ffossawt,

Hercules, the rampart of battle,

20 **as amdud⁵ tywawt.**

the sand [now] covers him.

As rodwy Trindaw⁶

May the Trinity grant him

trugared Dydbrawt,

mercy on the Day of Judgment

yn vndawt heb eisseu.

in [God's] unity, without need.

title **Marwnat erof** See introduction above.

- 1 **Ymchoeles eluyd** See GPC s.v. vb *ymchwelaf*, *ymchoelaf*: *ymchwelyd* . . . *ymchoelyd*, 'to return, go or come back, turn (back), turn over or up . . . upset', etc. The same 3sg. pret. form *ymchoeles* in PBT 3.15 (Kychwedyl) *Pan ymchoeles echwyd o Gludwys vro*; vb also used in CC 14.80 *ymchueli*; 20.90 and 92 *ymchoelant*; R1049.38 *ymchwelu*; rather infrequent in CBT, mainly vols. VI and VII.
- 2 **val nos yn dyd** Line is unusual with four syllables; possibly restore *ymeinyd* 'at mid-day'.
- 3 **odyfot clotryd** On *dyfot*, possibly for *difot*, see note on §17.3. *Clotryd* lit. 'one whose fame is free, freely heard/transmitted': reasonably common, see G s.v. *clot*, CA 375, PT 45, and B 3 (1926-7), 39.
- 4 **Ercwlff pen bedyd** The older form *Ercwl* (cf. OIr *Ercuil*) which has to be restored in line 13 for the rhyme is also found in CBT IV 2.24 *Grym afyrd6l Erk6l ergrynitor*, and in E. Stanton Roberts and W.J. Gruffydd (ed.), *MS Peniarth 76* (Cardiff, 1927), 59. However, *Ercwlff*, with excrescent *-ff* perhaps by analogy with names such as *Marcwlf* (< L. *Marcolfus*), is used by the court poets: CBT II 28.10 (Gwilym Rhyfel) *Nerth Erc6lff y6'r trydyt*; IV 17.73 *Rybu Erc6lf mawr, rwysc dyra6r dur*; V 4.8-10 *Treul Efrei, afyrd6l Groecyon/ Erc6lf a Samss6n, seirf galon,/ Ac Echdor gadarn, gad wyllon*; V 26.108-10 *Mal g6rhyd Ercwlf ergrynhed/ A Sams6n (gwytg6n gogoned—acha6s)/ Ac Echdor, pan broued*. Later, forms influenced by ME (*Ercles*, *Erclus*, *Erclais*, *Erclys*) are also used by 15c and 16c poets (see introduction above). With *pen bedyd* 'lord of the world', cf. PT II.5 *rwysf bedyd* (and CBT V 20.11), CBT V 26.99 *llyw bedyt a chred*, etc., V 19.6 *Penn Prydein*; II 26.211 *Penn argynnan bedyt, crefyt a chred* (of St David).
- 6 **agheu nas riuei** On *riuaw* 'to set count on, reckon, esteem' see §1.89.

⁵ ms *am dut*

⁶ ms *trindaw*

- 7 **yscwydawr ymordel** On *mordei*, see §14.35. The pl. form *yscwydawr* is more common than *yscwydeu* throughout CBT corpus, as elsewhere in poetry.
- 8 **arnaw a torrel** Taken in its literal meaning, 'broke over him', or else 'routed, defeated him'; on the latter meaning, see §16.5.
- 9 **Ercwlf ry wessyt (ms sywessyd)** Possibly emend to *sywedyd* 'one with occult knowledge', or at least *syw* (see on §5.174): Hercules was sometimes regarded as a magician in the Middle Ages (cf. Quin, *Stair Ercuil oculus a Bâs*, 94: *ro bui sel innti ag dénum eladhan a n-uaim thalman*). However, it is difficult to account for the misreading. Other possibilities include *syr wessyt* (*syr* 'stars' + *gwessyt*, 3sg. pres. *gossot* 'to set, place; found, ordain', etc.) or *ry wessyt* (as in translation, with *ry* indicating possibility, GMW 168; alternatively understand *ry* as including 3pl. proleptic object pronoun referring to the columns in line 11). It is uncertain whether lines 9-10 end in [d] and rhyme with lines 11-12, or in [ð], rhyming with each other.
- 10 **eurin (ms ermin) lloer egyt (ms egyd)** The scribe corrected original *lloegyrt* to *lloer*. G emends *ermin* to *eurin* (adopted here), *erwyn*, or *eruyll*, and refers also to *hermyn*. Graham Isaac (H-cd) suggests a mistake for *erbyn*. If *lloer* is correct, *eurin* would go well with it; cf. *eurlloer*. Another attested compound such as *eurlloryf* 'golden pillar, splendid sustainer' might be relevant.
Egyd may conceivably be the same as the form(s) of *mynet* attested as *nitegid* in the Computus fragment and *hegit* and unaffected *agit* in Oxoniensis Prior: Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'The Old Welsh glosses on weights and measures', in HI 103-34, pp. 112 and 130. See GMW 119 (4) on rel. -yð, and references in note to §4.8. If the final consonant is [d], possibilities are *egit* (ModW *eid*), *ygyt* (ModW *yghyd*) 'together', *ygyt* (as in translation) or a form of the vb *eghi*.
- 11 **Pedeir colofyn kyhyt** The Pillars of Hercules; see introduction on their number and position. I have not emended to *kyt* with G although it gives good sense ('a group of four pillars') and regular line-length. *Kyhyt* 'of equal length' is retained in the translation.
- 12 **rudeur ar eu hyt** 13 instances of *rudeur* in CBT corpus but not otherwise in pre-1283 poetry.
- 13 **Colofneu Ercwl (ms ercwlf)** See on line 4 above for *Ercwl* form. L. *columnae* rendered with loan *colofneu*; the sg. (only occasionally the pl.) was used very extensively as a figure in Welsh poetry for 'sustainer, prop' (of battle, territory, lineage, peace, etc.), e.g. CBT VII 42.26 *Colofynneu cadeu*; V 4.12 *Teir colofyn y kelhytodyon*, etc. and cf. also *eurgolofyn*, -*eu* (e.g. the world's saints are *eurgolofneu eglwys*, CC 24.8).
- 14 **nys arueid bygwl** For *bygwl* cf. CBT IV 1.68 *Nyd oetud uygwyl, vugeil Prydein*, V 13.11 *Ny uagai uygwl ateb*; also EWSP 437.63 *bygylaeth* 'cowardice'; CBT VI 3.18 and 21; CC 16.16 *bygilet*. *Arueid/arueid(y)aw* common in CBT corpus, with five examples of preceding *nys/nyt/ny'th*: CBT II 26.99; 28.24 and 54; III 17.30; VII 11.23.
- 16 **gwres heul** Cf. §11.61.
- 17 **Is Nef** Cf. CC 1.9 *Uuc Nem is Nem*; 20.16-7; 24.101; three instances by Cynddelw, alone of CBT poets.
- 19 **mur ffossawt** *Ffossawt* common throughout pre-1283 poetry, e.g. PT VI.9 *dwyrein ffossawt*, etc. all listed by G.

- 20 **as amdud (ms am dut) tywawt** *Amdud*, 3sg. pres. of *amdudyaw* 'to cover', copied from an exemplar with *t* for [-ð]; on the particle *a* + infixed pron. 's, see GMW 55. It was commonly used in 12c court poetry, especially in line initial position, as here in lines 20-21. *Tywawt* common in burial contexts: e.g. EWSP 422.25 *a dan brid a thywawt*; CC 14.24 *kin tywarch, kin tywaud*; CBT I 3.29 *Kyn myned mab Kynan y dan dywabd*; I 28.21 *kyn gloes glasuet tywabd*; II 32.11 *G6aelabt ty tywabt tawel*; and see on §13.47. Isidore, *Etymologiae* IX.ii.120 reported that Hercules had perished in Spain.
- 21 **As rodwy Trindawt/ trugared Dydbrawt** Cf. §12.19 *A 'm rothwy*, and §3.15 on 3sg. subjunct. endings in *-(h)wy*. See on *Dyd Brawt* §5.74; *trugared* §17.23.
- 22 **yn vndawt heb eisseu** *Vndawt* rhyming with *-brawt*, leaving *eisseu* unanswered.

20 Madawc Drut

This poem follows §19 *Marwnat Ercwl* (Elegy for Hercules) which was wrongly entitled *Marwnat erof* by the Book of Taliesin scribe. To the left of the head of the present poem, he wrote a guide title, *mad. drut ac erof*, which refers to the composite nature of the verse portion between BT 66.9-17, seemingly fragments of two distinct poems, one an elegy for *Madawc*, the other a corrupt poem about Herod (*Erof Greulawn*), his betrayal of Christ and his dispatch to the far reaches of Hell.¹

The identity of this Madog turns on ambiguous line 5 *Mab Vthyr cyn lleas*, understood here as the personal name Uthyr, rather than the adjective *vthyr* (both ModW *uthr*) ‘terrible, awful; awesome’. The little that is known of Madog’s father, Uthr Pendragon, is reviewed in the introduction to §24. Elsewhere, Madog’s son, Eliwlad, who has been transformed into an eagle, holds a didactic religious colloquy with Arthur.² After his identity has been revealed as *mab Madawc uab Uthur*, Arthur calls him *vy nei*, confirming that Madog and Arthur were indeed two brothers, or possibly half-brothers. Eliwlad was also known as a soldier to poets such as Bleddyn Fardd, Rhisierdyn and others,³ and he is named as one of the ‘Three Golden-Tongued Knights’ of Arthur’s court along with Gwalchmai and Drudwas.⁴

As for Madog himself, there is a possible mention of him by Cynddelw or Prydydd y Moch in an *ubi sunt?* context (with Arthur, Julius Caesar, Brân son of Llŷr, Hercules, and Alexander the Great), CBT IV 17.75-8 *Rybu gamwetaþc Madaþc, modur—faþ, / Rybut þu itaþ, dylaþ dolur: / Bu Alexander, byd lywadur, / Hyt sygnoet nefoet, ny bu segur* ‘Transgressing was Madog, famous leader; he had a warning, sad distress: Alexander, world ruler, [who went] as far as the stars of heaven — [even] he was not safe (i.e. immune from death)’.⁵ This hints at some wrong doing (*camwed*) on Madog’s part, perhaps overweening ambition like Alexander. In CBT IV 321, it is rightly acknowledged that in that line-up of semi-legendary worthies, Madog son of Uthr is a far more compelling candidate than a contemporary twelfth-century figure such as Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor⁶ or Madog ap Maredudd.

The guide-title *mad. drut* may have some significance: *drut* ‘brave, valiant, foolhardy, presumptuous’ etc. (‘Brave Madog’), but with the remote possibility — not however supported by G or GPC — that it has the same meaning here as the Old Irish *drúth* ‘fool, jongleur’ (see Lexique D-206). If Madog was a jester, or a joker, then line 4 *o gamp a chymwed* ‘through feat and jest/trick’ might be

¹ Edited and translated, CC 136-8.

² CC 297-312

³ CBT VII 46.7 [*m*]ilwr 6al Eliwlat); Rhisierdyn (GSRh 4.22): see TYP³ 346.

⁴ TYP³ 266.

⁵ See introduction to §16, n.32 and introduction to §17, n.12.

⁶ Henry Lewis drew attention to the poem by Prydydd y Moch requesting God to heal Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor of sickness (CBT V, poem 27).

more meaningful; he was clearly a figure who brought fun and enjoyment. It would perhaps explain in part why his elegy has been set next to that of 'cruel Herod', a character who degenerated into a comic buffoon in medieval plays. But there is no evidence that Madog son of Uthr was noted for such feats, nor indeed any evidence for much else about him. If *ythyr* is understood as an adjective (see above, and note to line 5), then the Madog could be anyone of that name, real or fictitious. The meagre six lines of his elegy offer no further clues.

§20 Mad[awc] drut

Book of Taliesin 66.9-11

Madawc mur menwyt,
Madog protector of happiness,
Madawc, kyn bu bed,
Madog, before he was in the grave,
bu dinas edryssed,
was a citadel of prowess
o gamp a chymwed.
through feat and jest.
Mab Vthyr cyn lleas,
Before the son of Uthr was slain
o'e law dywystlas.
he pledged himself by his hand.

- 1 **Madawc mur menwyt** See introduction on the name *Madawc*. *Menwyt*, with *e* for *y* as in the majority of pre-1283 examples: GPC s.v. *mynwyd*, *menwyd* '(good) nature, disposition; joy, delight, pleasure', but it does not rhyme with line 2. Possibly a mistake for *meu(u)ed* 'riches', *maswed* 'enjoyment', *mwynfud* (cf. CBT VII 11.28 *mur mwynfud*), or *muner* 'lord; generosity' (cf. CBT IV 8.2 *uenwyd vuner*, VI 27.53 *muner menwyd* (em.)). If the last, perhaps restore *Madawc menwyt muner* 'Madog, lord of pleasure'. *Menwyt* is found collocated with the name of Madog fab Maredudd (d. 1160) in CBT I 6.8-9 *Arthur gedernyd, menwyd Medra6d;/ Mada6c maws odrut, mygyruab Maredu*; and VII 55.7 *6ab Mada6c 6yna6c, 6enwyt—diorchud*. *Menwyt* is suggested as an emendation to *menhyt* in §13.5.
- 2 **kyn bu bed** See on §5.2. Cf. §23.23 and 26 *cyn bu lleith; kyn bu dayr*, CA lines 176-7 *kyn bu clawr glas/ bed Gwruelling Vreisc*; 991 *kyn bu e leas*; LIDC 18.156 *kin bu tav y dan mein*; CBT II 6.38 *kyn bwyf bet*; III 10.54 *Kynn bu tranc eu trosset*; V 12.41 *kyn bu lla6r—y dy*; etc. *Cyn* + *colli/mynet/diwed* very common, and with various words for 'grave'.
- 3 **bu dinas edryssed** *Edryssed* 'pomp, plenty; splendour', etc., cf. PBT 8.27 *tyruawt molut mawr edryssed*; CA line 1273 *a gwynhei dyd kein edryssed*; line 1277 *bv edryssed*; CBT II 26.276 *llu edrysset*; VI 15.24 *yn edryssed*. *Dinas* used often for a hospitable refuge.
- 4 **o gamp a chymwed** *Cymwed* (three syllables) 'play, jest, banter, pleasantry, mirth', etc., see EWSP 417.11 and 12.
- 5 **Mab Vthyr cyn lleas** *Vythyr* understood as name of Madog's father (see introduction) rather than adj. *vthyr* 'terrible' reflecting the name at the head of lines 1 and 2.

oe law dywystlas 3sg. pret. vb *dy(g)wystlaw* 'to pledge, bind, swear on oath; bind oneself, pledge oneself', cf. with *llaw*, LIDC 31.55 (Pa wŕ) *oe lav diguistlad* (describing Cai); CBT I 9.145 *Dygwsytir itaw o Din Alclud goglet*; III 16.11 *dygwystyl dy waew*. Simplex vb, PT II.47 *rigwystlant*, etc.

21 Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry

This short but atmospheric poem commemorating the Irish hero, Cú Roí mac Dáiri, has been studied mainly for the light which it can or cannot shed on the question of cultural commerce, particularly the transmission of names and stories, between the medieval Irish and the Welsh. To this end, Cecile O'Rahilly drafted in Ifor Williams to provide a partial translation for inclusion in her book, *Ireland and Wales: their Historical and Literary Relations* (London, 1924) [I&W], 128-9. In 1982, the poem was more fully edited and discussed by Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The evidence for vernacular Irish literary influence on early mediaeval Welsh literature', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, David N. Dumville and Rosamond McKitterick [IEME], 248-55. The matter of Irish influence is reviewed briefly below.

The poem is the third item in the section of elegies, and stands immediately before Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton §22 with which it is linked by the motif of the grieving waves, particularly fitting for the marine Dylan 'son of wave', and the mariner Cú Roí 'who held sway over the southern sea'. The sea waves breaking ceaselessly on the shore can be a reminder of the eternal might of natural forces contrasted with the fragility of man's short time on earth, and are used by some Welsh poets to create an elegiac mood — as a throbbing accompaniment to human grief. Thus the Sick Man of Abercuawg's sad and lonely state is heightened by 'the wet shingle and shore', the 'spreading wave' as he meditates on his heart 'broken with longing': 'from the estuaries a shining wave flows out: laughter is far from my heart' (*o ebyr dyhepcyr tonn/ peuyr pell chwerthin o'm kallon*); 'I have heard a heavy-pounding wave, loud between the beach and the shingle. My heart is raw because of depression tonight' (*Kigleu don drom y tholovann y rwng graean a gro/ krei vy bryt rac lletvryt heno*).¹ The mysterious Black Book of Carmarthen 'Trystan' fragment creates a powerful atmosphere of loss very similar to our poem as it mourns for the brave hero, Cyheig whose *carrec* (gravestone or memorial, perhaps) is washed by the sea: 'Although I love the sea-marsh, I hate the wave: the violence of the wave caused a grievous wound between us'.² And the mood of several of the Grave stanzas is intensified by the desolate wet landscape and the pounding waves on the land.³ The thirteenth-century poet, Bleddyn Fardd, makes the connection explicit in an elegy: 'Grief cleaves my heart as a wave cleaves the fair land',⁴ proceeding to play on the homophones *tonn* 'wave' and *tonn*, the feminine form of the adjective *twnn* 'shattered', a linguistic coincidence which may have promoted the sad connotations of violation: thus, he says, *oerdonn byg callon* 'sad and wounded is

¹ EWSP 449.13-15; 450.19; 451.27.

² LIDC 35.7-8 and cf. lines 1-2.

³ LIDC 18.12, 18, 22, echoed by Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, 'A white foaming wave washes over a grave, the burial-mound of Rhufon Bybr, chief of kings', CBT II 6.1-2.

⁴ CBT VII 53.15-16 *Yt hyll gowal byg callon/ bal yt hyll tec erchyll tonn*.

my heart'. A curious line in the twelfth-century Llywelyn Fardd's poem of appeasement to Owain Fychan states that the poet intends — if he outlives his patron — to 'put water in your elegy' (*Aruaeth yb gennyf . . . / Dodi ddfyr y'th varbnat*), perhaps implying that he will shed tears over the task, but conceivably referring to the use of the motif of waters (seas or rivers) in his lament.⁵

A second feature which this elegy shares with other medieval Welsh poems is the use of verbs in *dy-* in sea, wave and water descriptions, as discussed in the commentary below. We see this in other poems in this collection, in examples noted in the preceding paragraph, and in the work of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets. Such verbs are particularly evident in Gwalchmai ap Meilyr's *Gorhoffedd* which combines delight in the victories of his patron, Owain Gwynedd, naming places throughout Wales and beyond, exultation in his own prowess as a warrior, and descriptions of nature framing the poet's thoughts of his sweetheart, Genilles, now far away in Anglesey as he campaigns with Owain. Sea descriptions are included in the run of lines between 113-46 where *d-* is the unifying sound: 'a green wave awoke me (*dy-m-hunis*) near Aberffro, it makes for (*dychyrch*) the quiet land'; 'a green wave awoke me near Aber Dau, it makes for the pale shore'; 'the wave of the tumultuous sea woke me; frequently it flows (*dyllyd*) from Abermenai'; the 'white waves strike (*dyoglad*) Cyngreawdr Mountain'. Unlike the examples where waves are used mainly to evoke sadness, the sea here mirrors the vigour and mobility of the poet and his patron; but the waves of North Wales may also be a reminder of his yearning for the girl over the water. Other court poets turn to these *dy-* verbs in sea and water descriptions (e.g. Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, '[the place] where the seas reach (*dyhaed*)'; Cynddelw 'the variegated wave wears away (*dychymriw*) the shore', 'the seas flood, the sea rises' (*dylleinw llyr, dydetgyr dylan*); and Einion ap Gwgon, 'the wave agitates the dulse, the fickle unstoppable flow fills the estuary (*dyleinw aber/ Dylad anwastad*).⁶ Specified waves are known in Welsh as in Irish — the ninth wave, for instance (see on §5.162), and ones associated with regions as in *Marwnat Dylan* §22.6-7: 'The wave of Ireland, and the wave of Man, and the wave of the North, and the fourth, the wave of Britain of the splendid hosts'. The present poem appears to be built to a large extent on the sea description, often associated in Welsh poetry with an elegiac mood, and with certain conventions (including *dy-* verbs) which continued to be used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁷ It is metrically regular, using the 5+4 *Naw Ban*, with three sections linked by similar opening couplets.

Irish analogues do not reveal as much as one would hope. In terms of general mood, it would be no surprise to find the sea waves associated with sadness and

⁵ CBT II 3.3-4.

⁶ CBT II 6.6; IV 16.211-12; VI 18.119-20. See further examples in commentary on line 2 below.

⁷ J. Loth, *RC* 21 (1900), 55-6, thought it was an imitation of an Irish poem about the murder of Cú Roí by Cú Chulainn, and on the basis of metrical features, favoured a date of composition after 1150. He thought that the transmission was due to singers and artists in Gruffudd ap Cynan's household, a matter beyond the scope of this introduction.

loss, part of the 'nature in mourning' motif found in Irish bardic poetry and elsewhere. The sea-waves can bear bad tidings: it is 'the three waves of Ireland' that inform Conall Cernach that Conchobar is in mortal danger,⁸ while in 'The Colloquy of the Two Sages', the poet Néde, away in Scotland on his studies, hears 'a chant of wailing and sadness' on the strand, revealed to be the wave lamenting the death in Ireland of Néde's father, Adnae.⁹

The Irish *Cú Roí* assemblage¹⁰ indicate that he was in some ways an Irish Alexander, with world-historical aspirations, and Welsh knowledge of this aspect of his delineation is indicated by *dalei lyw ar Vor Deheu* (see commentary). Another connection obviously known in Wales was his journey (or raid on) Man (*Manaw*), and the contention or conflict with *Cú Chulainn*, referred to ambiguously as a *kyfranc* which can also indicate a story about such a conflict (as in *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*).¹¹ Other points, such as his great wealth are too vague to be of use. The Welsh poem does not allow us to say that the Welsh knew about *Cú Roí*'s voyaging to the Island of the Men of Falga to reave cattle, a cauldron, and a woman (Bláthine) — if they did, however, such a story may have resonated with Arthur's raid on the Otherworld of *Annwfn* (see §18), and some of the overlapping episodes in the story of *Branwen*. Several of *Cú Roí*'s exotic campaigns, fighting against the English, the Greeks, the Cynocephali, etc., with even Amazons recruited to his army, certainly put him in the Arthur-Alexander-Hercules category, of interest to the Book of Taliesin compiler — but none of this knowledge can be assumed from the Welsh poem. Although there are difficulties of interpretation in the final section of the poem, I cannot discern here any clear allusion to the storming of *Cú Roí*'s fortress, as Kuno Meyer found.¹²

Staying with what the Welsh poem *does* tell us, the speaking persona affects sadness (although not personal privation), but also says that tales (*chwedleu*) are made known to him 'throughout the world', seeming to mean that he is party to information, perhaps story-material from far and wide. Is this perhaps the main

⁸ See IEME 255 and references.

⁹ *Immacallam* 8.

¹⁰ Rudolf Thurneysen, 'Die Saga von CuRoi', *ZcP* 9 (1913), 189-234 and 336, and *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle, 1921), 431-6, 460-61, 501 remain fundamental for *Aided Con Roi* I and II and the various poems spoken by Ferchertne, *Cú Roí*'s poet, and others. Details of Kuno Meyer's editions of these poems are noted in IEME 250 and 253. *Cú Roí*'s delineation in *Fled Bricrenn* as foreign campaigner visiting Greece, the Columns of Hercules (cf. §19), Asia, Africa, etc. and as shapeshifter has been examined (with another review of the bibliography) by Petra S. Hellmuth, 'The role of *Cú Roí* in *Fled Bricrenn*', in Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Fled Bricrenn: Reassessments*, Irish Texts Society Subsidiary Series 10 (London, 2000), 56-69.

¹¹ O'Rahilly, I&W 90 thought that this line indicated 'a knowledge of the fact that *Cú Roí* was slain by *Cú Chulainn* (implied by the words *kyfranc corroi a chocholyn*)', but this is not wholly certain. She agrees with Loth that the Welsh poem is an imitation of an Irish poem on the death of *Cú Roí*, another questionable conclusion.

¹² Kuno Meyer, 'Early relations between Gael and Brython', *Y Cymmrodor* (1895-6), 55-86, pp. 71-2: 'the well-known Irish tale of the storming of *Cúroí mac Dairi*'s fortress by the Ulster hero *Cúchulinn* is alluded to in a way which shows that this Irish story was well known to a Welsh audience'; cf. *MvM* 266: 'The story of *Cúroí*'s death was well-known in Wales'.

purpose of the poem — if it was a ‘Taliesin’ composition — that he should have knowledge of the main protagonists of Irish story, as well as knowing about Alexander, Hercules, Arthur and the rest? Perhaps even that he (like the Irish Néde) commands the *éces* or ‘science’ necessary to interpret the waves. There are several points in the poem where *éces* fails me: lines 17 and 22 are particularly troublesome and various possibilities are discussed in the commentary.

Dy ffynhawn lydan dylleinw aches,
From the wide sea-fountain flows the tide,
dydaw, dyhebcyr, dybris, dybrys.
it advances, it retreats, it smashes, it surges.

Marwnat Corröy a'm kyffröes;
The death-song of Corroi has agitated me;

oer dewi¹ gwr garw y anwyteu:
the sad silencing of a man of tempestuous qualities:

5 **a oed voy y drwc nys mawr gicleu.**
scarcely have I heard of one whose misfortune was greater.

Mab Dayry dalei lyw ar vor Deheu;
Dayry's son used to hold a rudder on the southern sea;

dihathyl² oed ei glot kyn no'e adneu.
Incorrupt was his fame before his burial.

Dy ffynhawn lydan delleinw nanneu,³
From the wide sea-fountain flow the currents,
dydaw, dyhebcyr, dybrys, dybreu.

[the sea] advances, it retreats, it surges, it smashes,

10 **Marwnat Corröy genhyf inheu;**
The death-song of Corroi affects me too;

oer dewi⁴ [gwr garw y anwyteu:
the sad silencing of a man of tempestuous qualities:

a oed voy y drwc nys mawr gicleu].
scarcely have I heard of one whose misfortune was greater.

Dy ffynhawn lydan dylleinw dyllyr,
From the wide sea-fountain flows a flood,
dysaeth, dychyrch traeth diuwg dybyr.
swiftly-coursing currents strike, attack the shore.

15 **Gwr a werescyn, mawr <varanhed,⁵**
One who conquers, one of great treasure,

a wedy Mynaw, mynet trefyd;
and after Man, making for homesteads;

¹ ms *deni*

² ms *dathyl*

³ ms *nonneu*

⁴ ms *deni*

⁵ ms *m. .r. y varanres*

a wdant⁶ wy ffr(atr)es ffraw uwynouyd?⁷

do the monks know about the passionate treasure-chief?

Tra uu uudugre, vore dyrawr⁸ —

While the swiftly victorious one was alive, the fierce one in morning [bat

chwedleu a'm gwydir o wir hyd lawr —

tidings are made known to me in truth throughout the Earth —

20 **kyfranc Corröi a Chocholyn**

[there was] contention between Corröi and Cocholyn

lliaws eu teruysc am eu teruyn.

[and] frequent [were] their conflicts for their borderlands.

Tardei Pen am wern gwerin goredwyn⁹

The Lord descended swiftly on the [Hell-]swamp of the host in torment:

Kaer yssy Gulwyd ny gwyd, ny gryn:¹⁰

God has a citadel which shall not fall, which shall not shake:

gwyn y vyt yr eneit a'e harobryn.

blessed the soul who shall secure it.

title **Marwnat corroi m. dayry** Written in red by the main Book of Taliesin scribe on the right hand side of the beginning of the text, with a small guide title partly visible on the left, as well as *marwn. corroi*, a title added by the antiquary, John Lewis, who owned the manuscript in the 16c: see General Introduction, 2-3.

1 **Dy ffynhawn lydan** On *dy* 'to', see §5.107; note that G 405 also suggests the attractive possibility of *dy* 'from', found in PBT 8.11 (Romani kar) *Yn wir dymbi dy dra noneu*, and PBT 8.57 *Yn wir dymbi dy dra Hafren*, and other examples cited by G; since it gives rather better linking of sense, it is adopted here. On *ffynhawn* 'spring, source', including for the ocean, see §1.18; §6.13; §7.34; §8.50. There are no attested vbs **ffynhonnu* or **dyffynhonnu*, although a 3sg. *dyffynhawn* would suit very well at the head of a series of verbal forms here and in lines 8 and 13. If that were conceivable, then *llydan* 'the broad one' (of the sea) would be the subject. *Llydan* 'wide', of sea in Edmyg Dinbych line 11 *Aduwyn gaer yssyd ar llydan llyn*; PBT 8.55 *nuchawnt yn eigawn tra llydan lyn*; LIDC 16.23 *Seithlog y deuant dros lydan lin*; 17.116 *Ban diffon Nortmin y ar llidan llin*; Peirian Faban lines 5 and 10 *Aedan a dyuyd(d) o dramwy mor llydan*. Common of land, e.g. PT 1.23 *nerthiat* (em.) *wlat lydan*; CBT IV 3.18 *bro lydan*; of hosts, etc. Of veil of death, §6.70 *ys lledan y llen*.

1 **dylleinw aches** On *dylleinw* 'flows', cf. §4.183-4 *gogwn pan dyueinw, / gogwn pan dyleinw* 'I know how it ebbs, I know how it flows'; CA line 801 *a gwedy dyrreith dylleinw auon*; CBT IV 16.212 *Dilleinö llyr, didetkyr dylann*; VI 18.119 *Teruysc tonn dilysc, dyleinö aber*. See note on §4.183 for examples of use of vbs

⁶ ms *u . . ant*

⁷ ms *ffra wynyonyd*

⁸ ms *dugrawr*

⁹ ms *goaduwyn*

¹⁰ ms *grin*

with preverb *dy-* commonly used of the waters of seas, rivers, fountains, etc. While the extensive use of this feature in this poem could conceivably be intended to convey an 'Irish' feel, reflecting the preverb *do-* of Old Irish, runs of line initial *dy-* are common enough elsewhere in Welsh poetry, as discussed in the introduction above (e.g. CBT I poem 9 (see on line 2); I 11.1-6 and 58-70; III 16.1-15 and 187-93; IV 16.208-14; V 14.1-4, etc.). *Aches*, see on §2.17 *Tyrui* (em.) *aches ehofyn y grad*; §4.168 where it may refer to flow of speech; §5.137.

2 **dydaw dyhebcyr** *Dydaw* is commonest in prophetic discourse: AP line 107 *dydaw y dyd*; PBT 4.24 (Dygogan awen) *Dydaw gwr o gud* (em.); LIDC 16.6 *dydau Dyw Iev*; Pen3Afallennau 121.6 *dydaw ar Wyndyt brithvyt diheu*; R1049.16 and 23 (Anrheg Urien) *dydað luyd*; *dydað coller*; CBT V 11.45; of approaching death, CC 18.31; CBT I 3.18; 7.6; Gosymdaith line 1 *Golut byt eyt dydað*; PKM 90 *Ef dydau Llew y'm arfet*; of sun, CC 18.5; of St Michael, CBT VI 10.51, an example which demonstrates the continuing use of the form in the 13c (cf. Nicolas Jacobs, Gosymdaith 6). Used once of waters of rivers in CBT I 9.149-50 *Aduwyn dydað dyuyr (dychwart gwyrth wrth echwyt)/ Oguanw a Chegin a Chlawedaðc drydyt*. The vb *dyhebcor*, in contrast to *hepcor*, is attested in only two other instances: EWSP 450.19 (Claf Abercuawg) *O ebyr dyhepkyr tonn;/ peuyr pell chwerthin om kallon* (see introduction above); and CBT I 9.143 (Gwalchmai) *Dyhepkyr alaf, elyf donyeu*.

2 **dybris dybrys** Following G s.v. *dybrissaw* 'crush, grind, break to pieces', and GPC contra Ifor Williams (I&W) 'it hastens' (as though it were the same vb as *dybrys*). Discussing PT IV.14 *rac ofyn dybris* at p. 56, he favours *dybris* 'destruction', comparing OIr *briss-*, while not entirely rejecting *dy brys* 'your attack, onslaught', despite the faulty rhyme. The second vb *dybryssyaw* is better attested: cf. of waters, §7.34 *Py dyfrys ffynhawn*; §10.34 *dybrys am y llys* (em.) *efnys afon*; of wealth, CBT III 16.9 *Dybrys alaf Deiuyr y dreuad—Powys*; of poet's hastening, I 9.127 *Dybrysseis ynneu* (the two latter instances in runs of *dy-* forms, see on line 1); I 10.31-2 *Lliaðs dyurydet/ A'm dyurys eu treghi*; VI 31.18 *Hu dyfrys dyfyrd cynfreinon*; VII 11.19 *Dyfrys brwydyr* (vb noun). As it stands, proest rhyme with *aches/kyffrões*. Full rhyme would require a formation from *pres* (see GPC s.v. *pres*¹ 'press, oppression, crush, throng' and *pres*² 'quick, fast, sudden', etc.): there is no early evidence for the denominative vb, and none for *dybresu/yaw*. But if a noun **dybres*, then it would be the subject of the vb *dybris*, i.e. 'the oppressive one [the sea] smashes', or even the subject of the three vb forms *dydaw*, *dyhebcyr* and *dybris*. Cf. the subject at the end of line 14.

3 **Marwnat Corroï** Apart from its use in poem titles, *marwnat* is restricted to §24.39 *y traethu vy marwnat*, and 15 instances in CBT corpus. It is interesting that it is the *marwnat* which has agitated him rather than the death. Trisyllabic *Corroï* for regular 5+4 line, and for internal correspondence with *kyffrões*. OIr *Roi* was treated as disyllabic in 10c (IEME 250 n.73), but our form does not necessarily reflect this earlier stage rather than an adaptation in Welsh of already diphthongised OIr *oi* (IEME 250-51). Pre-1283 poetry texts invariably use *tröi*, *cnöi*, *töi*, *llöi*, *golöir*, *dymgöi*, *fföir*, *crynhöi*, *gorthöir*, *golöi*, *diföir*, *arhöi*, etc., with the exception of vb *roi*, 'to give', treated as a diphthong in VI 1.3 and CBT VII 32.38; 40b.114 (and *Elöi* from Hebrew).

The vb *kyffröi* used in grief context, CBT VI 5.5-6 *am y dwyn/ Dolur kwyn a'e kyffry* 'because of his having been taken away, the pain of grief/lament agitates

them'. Cf. the use of noun *cyffro* with *galar* 'grief', CBT VII 44.21; *trang* 'death', VI 32.3; *daear* 'earth, grave', I 24.31; and of agitation because of the death of a ruler, VII 56.27 *cur kyffro*; VII 51.21 *kyffro—mawr/ Am amerodr Kymro*.

- 4 **oer deni** *Oer* 'cold, sad' of the grave e.g. R583.3-5 (Cyfoesi) *oer esgar . . dy olo* (em.) *di y dan dayar*; CBT VII 7.24 *oeruet*; IV 17.54; VI 4.26 *oerwely*, etc. Very common in elegies, CBT I 7.16 *oer goted*; VI 29.35 *Bu oer ym aros y chwedlau*; VII 7.25 *Oer y'm da6 treis ura6 tros diuant—dragon*; 15.23 *Chwetyl oer*, 16.5 *oer golled*; 36.1 *Oer gallon dan vronn o vra6*; 49.4 *oer gymraw*; 52.12 *oer eu galar*; 52.20 *oerlleith*; 53.15-17 *Yt hyll goual byg callon/ 6al yt hyll tec erchyll tonn./ Oerdonn byg callon*.

G s.v. *dan* 'under' regarded *deni* as 3sg. fem. form referring back to *ffynhawn* in line 1, or else the *marwnat* of line 3. If the first, it would suggest that Cú Roí was imagined to be lying beneath the sea, perhaps drowned. But IEME 249 suggests that it represents *dyni* 'to us', comparing OIr *mor uar dam* 'woe is me', cf. Ifor Williams who translates 'Alas! a man of harsh disposition', I&W 128. *Ynni* 'to us', while not nearly as common as unemphatic *yn*, is found in CBT I 14.25 *Truan a annyan ynny o ampwyll*; 28.18 *a Douyt ynny a'e dywa6d*; VI 8.39 *R6yd ynny rodi*; 26.23 *Erwan yw ynny, o mynny*; 30.81 *Callaf yw ini beth ammynedd*); comparable forms, *imi*, *itti*, etc. are also used occasionally. Cf. CC 1.4c *didu* 'to them'; and the long series of rhyming conjugated prepositions in CC poem 14: *iti*, *gwydi ny*, *vrthi*, *erni*, *imdeni*, *idi*, *hebti*, *y gid a hi*, *indi*. This interpretation would give a satisfying correspondence with *dy ffynhawn* in line 1; cf. orthography *delleinw* for *dylleinw* in line 8. Another less likely interpretation would be 3sg. imperf. of vb *tan(n)u* 'to spread out, disperse', cf. §2.45 *mal tannu engwyn ar traeth*. The idea would be that the death-song (like the sea-tide) was dolefully conveying far and wide the news of Cú Roí's death. Alternatively, as in the translation, *deni* may have been miscopied for *deui*, *dewi* (< *tewi* 'to fall silent; to silence'). 'The sad silencing' of Cú Roí whose notoriety had been on everyone's ears. The vb *tewi* is used figuratively for dying in CBT I 4.24 *Amdla6d uyn taua6d ar vyn tewi*; 9.82 *Tewi gan llyw a wyr*; 19.9 *Cyn tewi rwyf tywarch glaswydd*; 26.23 *Gweryd rut a'e tut wedy tewi*; II 1.146 *kyn ta6 a chynn tewi*; VII 54.35 *hiraeth hir dewi—trywyr*.

- 4 **gwr garw y anwyteu** *Garw* of cruel warriors, rough seas, burials, etc. Collocated with *gwr/gwyr*, e.g. CBT VI 27.61 *Gwir yw marw gwr garw*, etc. The adjective is apt for Cú Roí who appears in *Fled Bricrend*, ed. George Henderson (London, 1899), 126-8, in the guise of a rude *bachlach* making a stormy commotion as he advances to cut off Cú Chulainn's head. *Anmwyt* 'nature, passion, quality', etc. (see on §6.28); with *garw* in LIDC 31.49-50 *in amvin a Garvluid/ oet guychir y annuyd*; pl. not otherwise used in poetry, though sg. is common. With *-t-* [d] cf. §5.46, 5.165 *Gwytyon*.
- 5 **a oed voy y drwc nys mawr gicleu** *Moy* for *mwy*, cf. PT IX.10 *Lloyfenyd*, perhaps §4.191 *cygloyt*. *Drwc* understood as 'misfortune' rather than 'iniquity', perhaps referring to knowledge of Cú Roí's betrayal by his wife and his slaying at the hand of Cú Chulainn. For *cicleu*, see on §5.144. Vbs preceded by *mawr*: e.g. CC 11.31 *ny mawr glywant*; CBT VI 29.118 *Can mynnwn fy marw ni mawr fyddaf*; by *mynych*, Gosymdaith line 108 *gwall ar ny mynych welir*.

Mab Dayry dalel lyw With *Dayry* cf. spellings elsewhere in this manuscript, §15.27 *Mayawc*; §4.225 *rayadyr*; §4.71 *Talhayarn*; §6.61 *traythawt*. Sims-Williams, IEME 251, wonders whether Irish *á* with i-glide might not have sounded like a diphthong to the Welsh. The form appears here to be monosyllabic (5+4 is the regular pattern throughout the poem), presumably reflecting perceived OIr final [ə]. P. Sims-Williams discusses the 6c inscription in St Nicholas, Pembrokeshire commemorating a woman Tynghedog, VXSOR DAARI; he suggests that the personal name Tarre referred to by the 14c Pembrokeshire poet, Prydydd Breuan, may also be connected: see CIB 61-2 and 182 and GPB 2.12 and note, pp. 26-7. The form of the name *Daere* in CO line 178-9 *Cubert m. Daere* is reasonably close to the Irish; but *Cú Roí* itself has become *Cubert* (< OE *Cuðberht*, with loss of *-ð-*): *B* 29 (1980-82), 600-20, p. 608 and n.6 for use of personal-name *Cwbert* in Wales, and in the place-name, Gwbert, near Cardigan; Bedwyr L. Jones, *Nomina* 14 (1990-91), 110-11, noted that the latter name is not attested until 1801. It is not mentioned by B.G. Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales* (London, 1938), although English names *Mwnt* and *Ferwig* in the vicinity are noted, p. xlvi.

Llyw most commonly used in poetry for 'ruler', often with territory (*Gwyned, Prydein, Cymru, Aruon*, etc.), but here a rare instance in early poetry of primary meaning 'rudder, helm', etc. (see JuvTC 526 on *liou* gl. L. *ligones* 'mattocks, hoes', and GPC on OCorn *leu* gl. L. *clauus* 'rudder, helm').

ar Vor Deheu *Deheu* very common for Deheubarth, south-west Wales (e.g. AP line 78; §10.16 *a dyduc moch o Deheu*; PBT 8.24 *o parth Deheu*; CBT VI 18.108, etc.). Rhymed with *adneu* in EWGP IV.1 *Gnawt gwynt o'r deheu; gnawt atneu yn llann*. The sea in question here may have been thought to be near Africa like the south wind: DB 59 *Y deheu yu gwynt yr Affric; hwnnw a vac tymestleu a tharaneu a mellit*. *Cú Roí's* exploits in the 'south', on the Red Sea and Africa are specifically mentioned in the ?11c poem beginning 'Atbér mór do mathaib', edited by Kuno Meyer, 'Gedicht auf Cúrói Mac Dári', *ZcP* 3 (1899-1901), 38, in which he is portrayed as *ri ar domun* king over the world', possessor of a great fleet, and an army including Amazons. He travels the world, and fights the English, the Greeks, and the Cynocephali: see introduction above. Edward Anwyl, 'Notes on *Kulhwch ac Olwen*', *RC* 34 (1913), 406-17, pp. 413-14, suggested that the *Glewlwyd* speech in *Culhwch ac Olwen* was modelled on Alexander material. See CO 58-9; Brynley F. Roberts, 'Yr India Fawr a'r India Fechan', *LIC* 13 (1980-81), 281-3.

dihathyl (ms dathyl) oed ei glot G notes that a form such as *dihadyl* 'lasting, unsullied' (< *hadyl* decay' (cf. *hadled*), as in CBT V 10.46, and V 2.70) would give a more regular 5+4 pattern, and this is adopted here. GPC s.v. *dathl* however favours 'fame' here, comparing the pair *dan* (as in *cynnan*, etc.)/*dathl* with *can/cathl*. No other early poetry instances of *dathyl*, or vb *dathlu*.

kyn no'e adneu See on line 6. *Kyn no'e* + words for death are very common: e.g. CA line 54 *kyn noe argyurein e waet e lawr*; CA line 265 *kyn noe agheu*; EWSP 410.38 *kyn noe gysgu ny bu doll*; 446.1 *kyn noe dyuot*; CBT III 5.66 *kynn no'e vyned*; and with *lleith, lleas, llad, trengi*, etc. *Adneu* for the grave, and with *clot*, in CBT II 14.82 (Owain Cyfeiliog) *Kerdyn hyn y glot kynn oer adneu*.

delleinw nonneu See on lines 1 and 4 (if *deni* = *dyni* 'to us'). *Nonneu* is perhaps a mistake for *nanneu* or *nanheu*, a (rare) pl. of *nant* 'stream, flow', but used

elsewhere in the manuscript, CC 20.95, and understood here. The scribe may have been led by *ffynhawn* to think of its pl. *ffynhonneu*. Alternatively, with Loth, RC 50 (1933), 72, *tonneu* 'waves'. But see on PBT 8.11 *Yn wir dymbi dy dra noneu* for suggested emendation to *tra thonneu*.

- 9 **dybreu** 3sg. pres. of otherwise unattested *dybreuaw* (< **breuaw*, see on §9.70 *breuhawt*).
- 10 **genhyf inheu** Cf. CBT VI 29.93 *Gwenwyn gwyn gennyf nid ymgudd* lit. 'the bitter lament/complaint which is upon me does not hide itself'; CBT IV 6.1 *kanmyad Du6 gennyf* '[may I have] God's permission'. Either 'I too/for my part am affected by/mindful of CR's death-song', or 'I have', or 'by me' i.e. I sing the death-song, or death-song is mine, too (as well as the lot of the seas).
- 13 **dyllelnw dyllyr** G suggests **dyllyr* 'sea, ocean' (with Loth, RC 50 (1933), 72, though not ruling out *dy llyr*), and cf. CBT IV 16.212 *Dilleinw llyr, didetkyr dylann*. Preferable, however, is the emendation to attested vb *dillyd* (with Irish rhyme) suggested IEME 249 n.61, cf. CC 11.39 *pan dillyd Nilus*; CC 12.2-4 *Breisc ton, bron ehalaeth:/ Duv y env in nvfin, im pop ieith./ Dyllit enweir; Meiry maeth*; CBT I 9.151-2 *Dy-m-hunis tonn mor y merweryt./ O Abermenei mynych dyllyt*. If so, it could be 3sg. pres. or vb noun. The latter would be preferable 'there flows a flooding', although 3sg. is possible, 'it flows, it pours'. The mistake could be explained by the scribe's eye to the rhyme and the influence of *llyr*.
- 14 **dysaeth dychyrch traeth** *Dysaeth* treated as hapax 3sg. of **dysaethu* 'attack' by GPC, and see s.v. *saethaf*: *saethu* 'shoot', etc. (*saeth* 'fruitless' is unlikely to be relevant here). *Dychyrch* 'it attacks' would be broadly synonymous (cf. CBT III 16.192; IV 16.210 of the wind's attack; I 11.66 *Dychyrch6s uy llyw*). But 'it makes for' is possible (see GPC s.v. *cyrchu* for range of meanings), as understood in CBT I 9.113-14 *Dy-m-hunis tonn wyrth Aberfra6./ Dychyrch tir tremud, dychlut anaw*, and 9.132 *Dychyrch glan glaswyn, glwys y frydeu*. Both *dychyrch* and *dygyrch* are found as nouns too (e.g. CBT IV 7.15 *Mynw tonn, tremid y dygyrch*). The idea of the sea attacking or eroding the land is a commonplace in poetry, e.g. CBT III 1.4; 5.97; IV 16.211-12 *Dychymri6 tonn amlib amlann./ Dillein6 llyr, didetkyr dylann*; VI 18.118; etc. With *traeth*: III 1.14; 16.117; VI 20.12, etc.
- 14 **diuwg dybyr** Subject of preceding vbs with *diuwg* understood as adj. 'swiftly flowing, rushing; destructive; swift, invincible' (as in, e.g., CBT III 14.43 and 26.132; VI 23.9; cf. *gordifwng* CBT III 10.29 and 18.1) rather than 3sg. vb (as in CA line 794; CBT V 9.19). G explains *dybyr* as pl. of **dyber* 'a flow' (cf. *cymer* 'confluence', *aber*, *difer*, etc.), accepted here, or a related vb form from **dyberu*. An emendation to *dyfyr* 'waters' (cf. especially Gwalchmai, CBT I 9.149) would yield sense, and correspondence with *diuwg*.
- 15 **Gwr a werescyn** Cf. PBT 4.15-16 (Dyogogan awen) *gwr chwannawc/ y werescyn Mon*; although poetry texts write the form *gorescyn*, the older *gwerescyn* is well-evidenced in prose texts, as G shows. *Gwr a* frequently used for God, and generally as 'one who. .'. It is not impossible that the sea-flood, rather than Cú Roi, is meant (see on line 16 *Mynaw* and *trefyd*).
- 15 **mawr varaned (ms m. .wr y varanres)** There is a corner of the folio lost here. Supplying *mawr y varanres* (for the collocation, cf. PBT 8.21 (Romani kar) *rac y varanres a'e vawr vedeu*) gives sense but violates regular 5+4 pattern:

emendation to *mawr varanres* is more likely. The lack of end-rhyme may indicate that a line or lines are missing before line 15 — perhaps another line beginning *Marwnat Corröy*, and possibly ending in an 3sg. pret. in *-es* (such as *a'm hysgoges*), or *reges*, *aches*, (*k*)*ygres*, or similar. Various guesses using court poetry diction, would be *Marwnat Corröy rwy ry-m-codes*; or *Marwnat Corröy gwae rwy golles*; or *Marwnat Corröy a'm godiwes*.

But Lloyd-Jones is probably right to seek rather a rhyme in *-yr* or Irish rhyme in *-yd*. He suggested *mor mawr yweryd* (G s.v. *baranres*) but this is not a genuine early form: Jenny Rowland, 'Gwerydd', *SC* 16/17 (1981-2), 234-47. More likely possibilities are *mor varanned* 'riches of/from the sea'; or *mawr varanhd* 'great (his) wealth' (both yielding proest rhyme); see on §5.102. More radically, for full rhyme, *mor verweryd* 'tumult of the sea' or *mawr verweryd* 'great his tumult'; for *merweryd*, see §7.1. It is rhymed with *trefyd* (as here, with *gwyr*) in prophetic poem R1051.24-5 *Göyr merweryd am dreuyd yn ymdrauo*.

- 16 **a wedy Mynaw** Ambiguous. AP, line 72 *O Vynaw hyt Lydaw yn eu llaw yt vyd/ o Dyuet hyt Danet wy bieuyd*, is almost certainly a reference to the North British region. Gwynfardd Brycheiniog's litany of saints' regions (CBT II 26.276-84) includes *Seint Angab a Llydaö . . . / Seint Lloegrwys ac Iwys a seint y Goclet/ Seint Manab ac Anaö ac Ymysset*; compare the collocations with *gogled* in R1050.28-30 (prophecy) *Moch daö göyr Manab yr mynnu molyant, / a'r Gogled dyhed dieu y gwnant*, and §22.6-7 *Ton Iwerdon, a thon Vanaw, a thon Ogled, / a thon Prydein, toruoed virein, yn petwared*. The Isle of Man seems the more likely in these three examples (*Gogledd* being a separate entity), as in CBT VII 48.21 where Owain Goch's lineage is traced from the 'brave privileged line of the king of Manaw' (Merfyn Frych or his father, Gwriad, supposed founders of the second Gwynedd dynasty: see P. Sims-Williams, 'Historical need and literary narrative: a caveat from ninth-century Wales', *WHR* 17 (1994), 1-40, pp. 11-20), although Cunedda, from Manaw Gododdin (HB ch. 62), cannot be entirely ruled out (see CBT VII, p. 565). Peirian Faban lines 5-6 *Aedan a dyuyd o dramwy mor llydan, / A llu o Vanaw a gyuyt ganthaw* is probably Man. In the Cyfoesi, R581.13-14 *Pan uo Owein ym Manab, a chat ym Prydyn geir llaö* appears to position Manaw 'near' Prydyn (if for Pictland); if for Britain, then Man, one of the three 'adjacent' islands. Ifor Williams understands PT V.6 *yg godeu gweith Mynaw* (rhyming with *anaw*, cf. CBT II 26.278 *Manab/Anaö*) as Manaw Gododdin. HB ch. 62's information about Cunedda and his sons coming *de regione quae vocatur Manau Guotodin* is taken up in hagiography, e.g. the son of *Typipaun* (Tybiawn) having died *in regione Manu Gudodin* (Life of St Carannog, VSB 148), but the phrase Manaw Gododdin is not attested at all in poetry.

Cú Roi's destination was the Island of Fir Falga, identified with Man (see IEME 251 n.77). There was interest in Man especially in Gwynedd (see above), and this may be one of the reasons why his story sparked interest in Wales. For similar diction with place-name, cf. CBT V 28.3-4 *Carno bro, breinyaö l addef, / A göedy Carno, caer nef* (two other examples of *a gwedy* by Prydydd y Moch); contrastive *a gwedy* . . . common elsewhere: CA lines 71, 801 *a gwedy dyrreith dylleinw auon*; PT II.12; AP line 4 (and PBT 4.4); PBT 8.71; LIDC 16.43; EWSP 439.77; 457.3; 458.4-6; R585.17; EWGP VI.13; CC 8.3 and 5, etc.

- 16 **mynet trefyd** *Mynet* with destination as direct object, as in CC 26.7 *Arowun myned Ruvein*; forms of vb, e.g. LIDC 31.81 *Kei win a aeth Von*; CA passim *aeth*

Gatraeth, Ododin (but also *y Gatraeth*, line 1197, in B text; line 1402 (Gwarchan Cynfelyn) *y vreithyell Gatraeth*). *Mynet yn* 'going into' is common (e.g. AP line 44; Edmyg Dinbych line 31; CC 15.13; 20.95; 33.118); with *tra* PT I.33 *tra Menei mynet*; with *y* 'to', Marwnad Cynddylan line 7 *myned i Fenai*; LIDC 17.42 *a myned y Loegrui diffuis trewi*, etc.

Trefyd 'homesteads'. See note above for collocation R1051.24-5 *treuyd/merweryd*. See note on §2.18 *mordwy* (em.) *trefyd* in marine context, and cf. CBT II 6.28 and 42 *Tonn wenn orewyn wychyr wrth dreuyt*. If the sea-flood, rather than Cú Roí, is the *gwr a werescyn* (see on line 15), then the idea is that having been around Mynaw (Man), it continues its course, attacking settlements on the shore. Was this perhaps the *ton Vanaw* referred to in Dylan Eil Ton's elegy, §22.6? If Cú Roí, however, presumably referring to his making for (enemy?) homesteads, or else returning home (if *mynet trefyd* is similar in meaning to *mynet adref*).

- 17 **a . . . ant wy ffr'es** *Ffr'es* is presumably *fratres* 'brothers' (see on *ffradyr* §1.93); If so, and if *wy* is 3pl. pronoun (perhaps extrametrical), then perhaps supply *a aethant, archant, or a wdant* 'do they know?' as in the translation. If so, a typical Taliesinic challenge to monks, followed up with an aside in line 19 about how well-informed he is. But *wy* may be 'to his' (cf. CBT I 8.32, V 26.11 *kyrchant wy orsset*, etc.), suggesting a disyllabic word (not necessarily a vb form) in *-ant* (?*aduant*). Sims-Williams (in a revision of his IEME discussion in a forthcoming book on Ireland and Wales) suggests that *brodir* 'land, region' may have been taken as *brodyr*, and glossed with L. *fratres* which then supplanted the original word: *aethant wy vrodur . . .* 'they went to the homeland of the swift destroyer'. The *ffr-* correspondence with the second half of the line would be sacrificed.

- 17 **ffraw uwynouyd (ms ffra wynonyd)** G understands *ffraw* (< *ffrawf*) 'lively, eager, passionate', etc. (GPC), perhaps 'flowing, gushing' of water, e.g. CBT III 26.20 *Tóryf tonn fraeth frau aber*. *Ffraw*, river and area near royal seat Aberffraw, is more common than the adj. in CBT corpus.

G(w)wynonyd, the commote Gwynionydd in Ceredigion (see EANC 16-17 on derivation from personal name *Gwniawn*, cf. R. Wnion) seems unlikely. But if Gwynionydd could be connected with area nr. R. Wnion, Meirionnydd, then the Cistercian monastery at Cymer (founded c. 1198), at the confluence of the Wnion and the Mawdd(ach), would be a good spot for finding *ffratres*. One could read *a wdant ffratres ffraw Wynonyd* 'do the monks of fine Gwynionydd know?' **Gwynouyd*, nomen agentis < *gwynofi*, understood by Sims-Williams as 'destroyer', is not attested. *Mwynouyd* 'treasure chief' (< *dofyd* or *ofyd*), restricted to CBT III 16.159, would give reasonable sense, i.e. *ffraw uwynouyd* 'fine treasure chief' or 'treasure chief of the Ffraw', and is tentatively adopted.

- 18 **Tra uu uudugre** The scribe wrote *uudugure* and then deleted the third *u*. CA 242-3 regards the second element of *budugre* as either *bre* or *gwre* with *budug* 'victorious' or personal name, *Budic* (m. as well as f.). This is partly on the late evidence of the place-name Buddugre written *ym mudug wre* in NLW 4973 (CBT III 8.38; note that at p. 96 the form modernised as Buddugwre is retained; CBT V 9.27 *hyd Uuddugre—lys* is not diagnostic. Sims-Williams understands the second element in our example as *re* 'swift' (see GPC), cf. *budugfalch*, and this is accepted. A compound adj. referring to Cú Roí seems preferable to a place-name, with *Tra uu* 'while he was (still) alive', cf. LIDC 18.163 *pen llv wu tra wu y*

amser, 18.208 *tra wu ny by eitilur*, EWSP 432.22 *hyt tra uu ny bu dollglwyt*; CC 33.19 and 84; common in CBT corpus.

- 18 **vore dyrawr (ms dugrawr)** G suggests emendation to *dwyreawr* though it is not clear whether he took it as 'hour of day-break' (rare, but in CBT I 3.117), presumably of morning battles such as in PT II.12, PT V.1, CA line 855, etc., or else vb form < *dwyrein* 'to rise'. In both cases, the line would be metrically irregular, and correspondence with *-dugr* forfeited. I suggest *dyrawr* 'fierce, ardent, eager', etc. as giving better sense than *digrawn* 'generous, unstinting'. *Bore* collocated with words in *-re*, CA line 716; CBT III 16.146.
- 19 **chwedleu a'm gwydir o wir hyt lawr** *Chwedleu*, cognate with OIr *scéla*, used in a general sense of 'news, tidings' as well as 'tales' (see PKM 152-3; cf. *cychwedyl*, PBT 3.1 and 39; §15.58; Moliant Cadwallon line 16 *Kychwedyl a'm dodyw o Wynedd glawr*). The former meaning is commoner in poetry, e.g. Pen3Afallennau 121.5 *Disgogan chwibleian kyfan chwetleu* (LIDC 16.68 *hwetil a diwit*); R580.10 (Cyfoesi) *chwedleu atkas*; R582.38 (Cyfoesi) *truan a chwedyl*; CBT VI 29.35; VII 30.14, etc. with many examples where the tidings are sad, bringing news of death or defeat. EWGP IV.1 *gnawt y dyn ofyn chwedleu* is ambiguous, as is the adj. (perhaps used nominally of a poet or storyteller) in PT XII.31 *chwedlawc trwydedawc traeth(i)dud*. The meaning, 'tale, story' is better attested in prose, e.g. *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*, ed. Brynley F. Roberts (Dublin, 2005), line 321 *A'r chwedyl hon a elwir Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*; CLlaLL line 171 *a'r chwedyl hwnn a elwir Kyfranc Llud a Lleuelys*; *Owein* line 822; *Gereint* line 342 *Y chwedyl ef hyd yma*, etc.

Ifor Williams translates 'tales are known to me truly and completely' understanding *gwydir*, although unique, as pres. impers. of vb *gwybot*, comparable to past impers. *gwydit*, and to *doruydir* < *d(y)orfot*; *gorfydir* < *gorfot*. This is supported by §18.50 and 54 where *cyfranc* is collocated with forms of the same vb: *o gyfranc udyd ae gwidanhor/gwidyanhawr*. *A'm cwydir* 'fall to me' would be an alternative. However G s.v. *kwyd*¹ emends to *chwedleu am gwyd yr awyr hyt lawr* 'tales/news of the fall of the sky to the earth', a motif found in §17.1-2 and elsewhere (see notes), but this is not metrically acceptable. He also suggests **amgwydir*. *O wir* 'truly', cf. AP line 138; CC 14.6 *ys o wir yd pridaw*; CBT I 8.26 *A elwir o wir oreu Kymro*; III 11.17 *Ni thelir o wir. Hyt lawr*, lit. 'to, as far as the ground', sometimes with *o Nef*; here perhaps 'all over the earth'.

- 20 **kyfranc Corroi a Chocholyn** *Cyfranc* used for 'meeting, clash, battle', e.g. Peirian Faban lines 52-3 *O gyfrang Ryderch ac Aedan clotleu/ mor hygleu y clywir o'r Gogled y'r Deheu*; verbal contention perhaps in §18.50 and 55 (noted above, on line 18) and §7.3. G tracks the development of more generalised 'happening, event, adventure, tale' found mainly in prose, and in titles: see CLlaLl 16.

For Irish *u* represented by *o* in the form *Cocholyn*, cf. CO line 189 *Fercos m. Poch* for *Fergus*. The form *Cocholyn* matches the name (or more likely, nickname) of the Irish settler who gave his name to the landholding, *Gauell Cocholyn*, recorded in the *Extent of Merioneth* (1420), discussed by Sims-Williams, 'Cú Chulainn in Wales: Welsh sources for Irish onomastics', *Celtica* 21 (1990), 620-33, where occurrences of *Cochwlyn*, *Cycholyn*, *Cychwyllyn*, etc. are also assembled.

- 21 **lliaws eu teruysc am eu teruyn** Adj. *lliaws* is followed by sg. noun, *lliaws bard*, etc. In addition, sg. (as in the case of *teruysc* and *teruyn*) is normal usage with phrases in *eu*, e.g. CBT II 14.21 *Kanawon hydbyth, hydyr eu gbeithret*; II 26.52 *Dodyssant-hwy eu gbarr dan garr Kyna6c*; V 23.31 *Oet amliw tonneu 16nn, amhar—eu neid*; VI 15.38 *Tra 6o lloer a heul ar y rodwed*, i.e. one item per agent. Where it is clear that each agent has a number of items, pl. is used, e.g. CBT VII 40b.84 *A nadoedd cribog oer eu cribau*. Therefore, there is no need to understand 'on either side of their border' as in IEME 251. *Teruysc* and *teruyn* are commonly collocated: see on §9.73 where examples of *am teruyn* 'for; around; on either side' are also noted. *Teruysc* 'commotion, unrest' rather uncommon outside CBT corpus, but cf. EWGP II.2; V.4; R1052.31 *teruysgi*. For *teruysc* aimed at gaining land, CBT IV 6.183 *T6r6f yn toryf, yn teruysc am dir*.
- 22 **Tardel Pen am wern** It is difficult to know whether this line is a vignette relating to the contention between Cú Roí and Cú Chulainn, or whether it is to be taken with the pious closure in lines 23-4, with *pen* 'leader' referring to Christ. If the latter, cf. perhaps §18.44 *py dyd peridyd Pen*; CC 14.2 *yssi pen plant Adaw*; CBT IV 17.16 *Dynyaton Berchen, Benn bob eua6r*, and for other examples of *pen* with *perchen*, see on §2.21.
Vb *tardu* 'to split, break forth, crack, burst, jump', used of waters, rivers, springs, the heavens, vegetation, soldiers in battle: CC 20.43-4; AP lines 25 and 45 (n. on p. 28); CA 180-81, 351; §5.64; PBT 3.32 (Kychwedyl); of arms, CBT I 3.111 *Taer tertyn asseu taleu treuyt* 'Harshly were the spears cleaving the ramparts of the dwellings'. *Gwern* (and compounds) frequently in context of Hell (*Uffern wern*, etc.); also 'spear, stave', and a personal name (PKM 37) as well as 'alder tree' (as in §5.75).
- 22 **gwerin goredwyn (ms goadwyn)** G suggests either **goadwyn* (< *gwyn* 'white, fair') or *goëdwyn* or *goredwyn* 'pain, suffering' for rhyme in *-yn*. The latter seems preferable (attested in CBT I 33.42-3 *Goreu gwardret goredwyn ffa6./ Gobrynnv gobr6y, gobwyll ohona6*), here referring to the suffering inhabitants of Hell who were freed by Christ. But if referring to Cú Roí, *pen am wern* could conceivably be for *pennaf gwern* 'foremost stave/alder' as in IEME 250 and n.69 'the chief alder of a fair people broke'. No other examples of *goadwyn*, however, nor of *adwyn (-yn)*.
- 23 **Kaer yssy Gulwyd ny gwyd ny gryn (ms crin)** Cf. end of AP, lines 197-9 *kaer a'm Duw yssyd/ ny threinc ny dieinc nyt ardispyd./ ny wyw ny wellyc ny phlyc ny chryd*. Here the 3sg. vb forms *cwyd* and *cryn* are rel., hence lenited, with subject *Kaer*. *Yssy* is *yssy* 'is' elided with *y* 'to', common with pronominal forms (e.g. CBT III 17.29 *Vt yssym, etiw a'r geir*; VII 24.17 *Llyw yssy'm, ys amyl anrydet*). For *yssyd y* in poetry cf. CC 20.145-6 *Can mil egylon/ yssyd imi yn tyston*; CBT II 26.91-2 *A Bangor esgor a bangeibyr Henllann/ Yssyt y'r cloduan*. *Cwydaw* of building uncommon in poetry, but cf. CBT IV 6.91 *T6r Kynuael yn kwyta6*. Emendation to *crÿn* for rhyme: the scribe may have been thinking of vb *crinaw* 'to wither'. On *Culwyd* 'Lord', see §8.1.
- 24 **gwyn y vyt yr eneit a'e harobryn** *Gwyn y vyt* 'happy, blessed', common in gnomic and prophetic verse: EWGP VI.23; IX.4.6; R1056.41-2; AP line 97; LIDC 15.1, 9 and 14 (of a birch tree, cf. §5.108 of Dogwood); LIDC 16.34; 17.100 and 144; R581.22 and 25-6; §8.22. Of Heledd's sister Ffreuer, EWSP 436.57 and 437.58. However, the metrical pattern would be more consistent with

the rest of the poem if *gwynvyt yr eneit* were restored, i.e. 'bliss for the soul who attains it'. In poetry, the def. art. is often used with a prep., but rarely without.

Arobryn 3sg. of vb *arobrynu* not otherwise attested in medieval period, but *gobrynu* 'to deserve' is quite common, e.g. CC 33.76 *Y obrynu gwlat Nef*; CC 24.92-3 *gobrynant ran/ Yn Nefoed*; §18.29, 35 and 43; with *goredwyn* in CBT I 33.42-3 *goredwyn ffa6./ Gobrynnv gobrwy*; with *eneit*, CBT II 14.132 *Yr gobryn gobr6y g6erth eu heneit*.

22 Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton

Dylan Ail Ton is one of the characters whose name does not feature in the extant Triads: several of the players of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi are unexpected absentees. Very little is known of Dylan's his story from the prose tales and the sparse poetic references, although comparativists have indicated how his story may be fleshed out by reference to animal folklore and ballad tradition, most convincingly material about seals.¹

First, the unusual name.² John Lloyd-Jones thought that *glann* 'shore' could possibly be the second element of the common noun *dylan(n)* 'ocean, sea, wave'.³ In favour of this are the frequent rhymes between *dylan(n)* and words ending in heavy (*trwm*) syllables, often but not always written with a *-nn* in medieval Welsh.⁴ Perhaps Lloyd-Jones thought the original meaning of the word was 'shore (of sea), strand, edge', developing to take in 'sea or waves breaking on the shore', and then denoting simply 'sea, waves', etc. The vb *dy(l)lenwi* 'to flow' (see on §21.1 and 13) attested in a marine context may well have been a factor in such a semantic development. Another possibility along the same lines would be *dy + llann* (cognate with English *land*) a compound perhaps developing from 'shore, foreshore' to 'sea'. Dr John Davies of Mallwyd⁵ suggested that the second element was to be connected with *llanw* 'filling, flowing, tide', in other words that the final *-w* in that word might be derived from the same Celtic *-w*-suffix as in *banw*, 'female; girl, woman, wife', *delw* 'image', etc. and that **llan* originated from a synonymous form without that extension.⁶ There are two

¹ Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'The lost tale of Dylan in the Fourth Branch of *The Mabinogi*', *SC* 24/25 (1989-90), 26-37.

² Apparently, Dylan Thomas' father was moved to give the name after seeing a performance of Joseph Holbrooke's opera, *Dylan, Son of the Wave*, composed in 1914 as part of a trilogy, *Cauldron of Annwn*, completed in 1922 (Part I *Children of Don*; Part II *Bronwen*) with libretto by T.E. Scott-Ellis (Lord Howard de Walden). Holbrooke lived in a house called Dylan near Harlech, Meirionnydd. Bob Dylan (né Zimmerman), Eric Thompson's *The Magic Roundabout* (rabbit), and Swansea actress Catherine Zeta Jones have all helped to keep the name known outside Wales. There is no evidence that it was ever used as a personal name in the medieval period.

³ G s.v. *dylan(n)*. Nouns formed from *dy* + noun are far less common with formations from *dy* + verbal stem. But examples include *dylat* (< *dy + llat*) 'flow, flood, current; river-bed'; *dyfynt* (< *dy + *mynt*) 'enthusiasm, keenness'; *dyar* (< *dy + *gar*) 'commotion, sound'; §21.13 *dyllyr* is another possible example.

⁴ E.g. CBT II 1.99 *llann/dylann*; 1.169-70 *ynghynuarann/dylann*, etc., see CD 232-5. The personal name *Dylan* is also heavy in §6.21.

⁵ *Dictionarium Duplex*, s.v.

⁶ Cf. OIr *do-lin* 'flows' (VKG 566, but cf. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1959), 664, 798, where different roots are given for the two).

objections, however: this **llan* would not be a heavy syllable, and there is no evidence at all for such a **llan* ‘flow, flood’.⁷

‘Sea son of Wave’ is the meaning of *Dylan Eil Ton*,⁸ and *Dylan Eil Mor* which occurs once, in §5.184. *Eil* ‘son, heir’ is an extension of the primary meaning, ‘other, second’⁹ and there are many parallels with *eil* before a parent’s name.¹⁰ The name thus belongs to a familiar class of manufactured names where the two parts are similar or semantically related (e.g. *Nerth mab Kadarn*, *Sucgyn fab Sucnedut* in the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*).¹¹ The related name *Cyndylan*¹² contains **cuno-*, a popular element in personal names (*Cyndaf*, *Cynlas*, *Cynfelyn*, etc., OIr *Cú*, *Congus*), and corresponds in meaning to OIr *Murchú* ‘sea hound’.

Most of the abundant poetry examples¹³ involve the common noun *dylan(n)* rather than the personal name.¹⁴ Thus the phrase *mor dylan*¹⁵ means ‘sea flood’, not ‘the sea of Dylan’. Indeed, references to the character Dylan are rare in both poetry and prose: apart from the references in the Book of Taliesin and Englynion y Beddau, discussed below, one of the few likely instances is by Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr (*fl.* early fourteenth century), who characterises a deceased patron as having *Llid anian Dylan* (GGDT 11.21, supported by Trahaearn’s similar use of *llid Llŷr Llediaith* in 11.24). The fullest account is in the story, *Math fab Mathonwy* (PKM 77-8), which encapsulates his birth, his appearance, his baptism, his *cynneddf* (‘special quality’) and his death at the hands of his uncle, Gofannon:¹⁶

Yna y camawd hitheu dros yr hutlath, ac ar y cam hwnnw, adaw mab brasuelyn mawr a oruc. Sef a wnaeth y mab, dodi diaspat uchel . . .

⁷ The loss of final -w in words such as *arddelw* > *arddel*; *syberw* > *syber* is too late a development to be relevant here: WG 51.

⁸ The connection between the personal name *Dylan* and OIr *delg* ‘thorn’ made by W.J. Gruffydd, MvM 214-15, is not supported: see PKM 271.

⁹ PKM 213; D.A. Binchy, ‘Some Celtic legal terms’, *Celtica* 3 (1956), 221-31; T.M. Charles-Edwards, ‘The heir-apparent in Irish and Welsh Law’, *Celtica* 9 (1971), 180-90.

¹⁰ See PKM 213 and G s.v. *eil*. With *Ail Ton*, cf. OIr *Mac Lir*, cognomen of the sea-god, Manannán (cf. Manawydan mab Llŷr).

¹¹ ‘Might son of Strong’ and ‘Suck, son of Sucker’, CO lines 200, 316. Names of this sort are also used for comic effect (with food substitution as a parodic device) in the Irish tale, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, edited by Kenneth H. Jackson (Dublin, 1990).

¹² See CA 200. Note the heavy rhyme *Cynddylan/gwann*, EWSP 437.58. LL *Eudolan* (= *Euddylan*) is noted as another personal name with *dylan(n)* by PKM 271 and GPC s.v. *dylan*.

¹³ All pre-1283 examples are listed in G.

¹⁴ Contra MvM 221.

¹⁵ As in CBT V 23.94; GGM II 1.196, etc.

¹⁶ Gofannon son of Don is a shadowy figure who does not figure in the Triads. There are two references to him in the Book of Taliesin, §1.79-81 *Neu bum gan wyr keluydon,/ gan Uath Hen, gan Gouannon,/ gan lewyd, gan Elestron*; and §1.83 *Blwydyn yg Kaer Ofanhon* (see commentary on these lines for *Llyn Gofannon*; the reference to Gofannon in the story, *Culhwch ac Olwen*; and the Irish divine smith, Goibniu). The passage from *Math* (PKM 78) suggests that the storyteller did not know much about him, although this is uncertain

'Ie', heb Math uab Mathonwy, 'mi a baraf uedydyaw hwn', wrth y mab brasuelyn. 'Sef enw a baraf, Dylan'. Bedydyaw a wnaethpwynt y mab, ac y gyt ac y bedydywyt, y mor a gyrchwys. Ac yn y lle, y gyt ac y doeth i'r mor, annyan y mor a gauas, a chystal y nouyei a'r pysc goreu yn y mor, ac o achaws hynny y gelwit Dylan Eil Ton. Ny thorres tonn adanaw eiryoet. A'r ergyt y doeth y anghew ohonaw, a uryrwys Gouannon y ewythr. A hwnnw a uu trydyd anuat ergyt.

Then [Arianrhod] stepped over the magic wand, and in so doing, left behind a sturdy boy, solid and fair-haired. The boy gave a loud cry . . .

'Now then', said Math son of Mathonwy, referring to the sturdy fair-haired boy, 'I'll see to it that this one's baptized. I'll call him Dylan'. The boy was baptized, and as soon as he was baptized he made for the sea. And there, the minute he came to the sea he took on the sea's nature, and could swim as well as the best fish in the sea. And because of that he was called Dylan Ail Ton. No wave ever broke under him. The blow which brought about his death was struck by Gofannon, his uncle. And that was one of the Three Unfortunate Blows.

Although Dylan's death is described here as one of the Three Unfortunate Blows, that triad does not survive.¹⁷ Englynion y Beddau locate Dylan's grave in Arfon:

Bet Tedei Tad Awen.
yg godir Brin Aren.
ynydvna ton tolo.
Bet Dilan Llan Bevno.¹⁸

The last two lines are to be taken together: 'where the wave makes a noise, the grave of Dylan is at Llanfeuno'.¹⁹ Clynnog Fawr, a mile or so from the sea is meant, or perhaps a location nearer to the sea and within the territory of the *llan* — possibly Maen Dylan, the great rock on the shore between Aberdesach and Pontlyfni.²⁰ This location is consistent with the events of the story of *Math fab Mathonwy* in Arllechwedd and Arfon, and with the reference in line 5 of our

¹⁷ See TYP³ lxxii.

¹⁸ LIDC 18.10-13; Peniarth 98B (EyB 134, englyn 7) *Bedd Llovan Llaw Ddivo yn Arro Venai./ yn y gwna tonn tolo./ bedd Dylan yn Llan Feuno*; englyn 13 *Bedd Tydai tad awen yngwarthaf Bryn Arienn./ Yn y gwna tonn tolo./ Bedd Dylan yn Llanveuno*. For the importance of the *clas* of Clynnog Fawr in the genesis of the Four Branches (and the Beddau stanzas, perhaps), see Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Clas Beuno and the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', in *150 Jahre "Mabinogion": Deutsch-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen*, edited by Bernhard Maier and Stefan Zimmer (Tübingen, 2001), 111-27.

¹⁹ With EyB 137. The play on *ton* supports this.

²⁰ OS Map, first edition *Point Maen-ddulan* (1816-40) appears to be the earliest attestation; the boulder is mentioned by local 19c writers, John Jones, Llanllyfni, and Glasnynys. ELISG 9 suggests that Cae'r Gofaint, a little over a mile from Maen Dylan, was connected with Gofannon, but this is speculative in view of the frequency of *gof*, pl. *gofaint* in place-names. Chris Grooms, *The Giants of Wales: Cewri Cymru* (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter, 1993), 169, also notes a field-name, Cwyn Dylan in quite a different area. Myrddin Fardd (John Jones, 1836-1921) reported that the name recorded the spot where a giant, Dylan, was murdered on a journey from Llanrwst to Trefriw.

poem to *gwamu Dylan adwythic lann treis ynhytyruer* 'the striking of Dylan on the deadly shore, violence in the current'.

The other two references in the Book of Taliesin offer little additional information. §5.183-6 *Neu bum yn yscor/ gan Dylan Eil Mor,/ yg kylchet ym perued/ rwg deulin teyrned* 'I was in the citadel with Dylan Son of the Sea, my bed in the interior [of the fort] between the knees of kings' forms part of Taliesin's reminiscences of his exploits. The second seems to relate to a tradition of a murder on the shore: §6.19-22 *Pan yw gofaran / twrwf tonneu wrth lan?/ yn dial Dylan/ dydyhaed* (em.) *attan* 'Why is it noisy — the tumult of the waves against the shore? avenging Dylan it reaches towards us'.²¹ Flickering shadows are what remain, in the condensed heroic biography in *Math*, in Englynion y Beddau²² and in our exiguous elegy. Nevertheless, taken together, they testify again to Taliesin's persistent association with the characters and locale of *Math* (as found elsewhere in this collection), and to a degree of commonality of material in verse and prose, here turning on a violent death, most probably a heinous kin-slaying.

Marwnat Dylan follows Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry in the manuscript, and as discussed in the introduction to §21, they are linked by the motif of the mourning waves, very fitting for these two figures — Dylan, an embodiment of the sea's nature, and Cú Roí, the world-traveller and naval commander 'who held sway over the southern sea'. In Marwnat Corroi, the barest of story outlines is eclipsed by the impetus to create a powerful elegiac atmosphere. In Marwnat Dylan, the enveloping religious sentiments, expressed in classic court-poet diction, are dominant. The brevity of the poem, with only nine lines of rhupunt (and 72 words),²³ mirrors Dylan's fleeting appearance in the prose tale, yet it appears to be — as he was — a viable whole. §19 Marwnat Ercwl is of similar length (78 words). But problems of interpretation are raised by its lack of detail and narrative, and particularly by the questions in lines 2 and 3, which are investigated further in the commentary. It is suggested extremely tentatively that the slayer of Dylan — most likely his uncle, Gofannon the smith, though he is not named — was imagined to have undergone trial by ordeal, with the hot metal of his trade being the means by which he was condemned. This, *if* correct, might suggest that Prydydd y Moch was the author: see the General Introduction, 27-36. Dating is uncertain: line 1a *maes* is likely to be a mistake for *mas*, and the problematic section 1c *yn llaw trahael* is undoubtedly corrupt (see commentary

²¹ But see EyB 107, 'why is the roaring of the sea fierce against the shore? It is avenging Dylan' and commentary on §6.19-21. I agree with G that §9.53-4 *Tohit gwanec tra gro,/ tir dylan dirbo* is more likely to contain the common noun 'ocean, sea' than the personal name.

²² It is worth noting another possible reference to Dylan, although he is not named: LIDC 18.106-7 *Bet Llev Llaugyfes ydan achles mor/ yn y bu y gywnes* 'the grave of Lleu Llaw Gyffes beneath the cover of the sea, in the place where his relative was', understanding *cyfnnes* with GPC to mean 'near relation, next of kin', most likely here his twin, Dylan, rather than with Thomas Jones EyB 125 'where his disgrace was'. Cf. especially *cyfneseifeit* 'kindred, next-of-kin' in the law texts: see WLW 119. GPC s.v. *cyfnnes* emends *achles* > *aches* but this is not necessary.

²³ See General Introduction, 37-9, on the metres used in this collection.

for suggested emendations). The diagnostic worth of Irish rhyme *-er/-ed* (and possibly *-el*) as found elsewhere in this collection, is questioned in the General Introduction, 39.

22 Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton

Book of Taliesin 67.9-17

Un Duw uchaf, dewin doethaf, mwyhaf a ued:
The one God above, the wisest sage, the greatest that rules:
py delis mas?¹ pwy a'e swynas yn llaw trafel?²
what held the metal? who fashioned it as a hand-ordeal?

Neu gynt noc ef, pwy uu tagnef ar redyf gefel?

Before him, who was [a means of] settlement, with vice-like quality?

Gwrthgrif³ gwastrawt gwenwyn a wnaeth gweith gwythloned:

The groom watches intently — he wrought harm, a deed of violence:

5 gwanu Dylan, adwythic lann, treis yn hytyruer.

the striking of Dylan on the deadly shore, violence in the current.

Ton Iwerdon, a thon Vanaw, a thon Oged,

*The wave of Ireland, and the wave of Man, and the wave of the
North,*

a thon Prydein, toruoed virein, yn petwared.

and the fourth, the wave of Britain of the splendid hosts.

Golychaf-i Tat, Duw Douydat, gwlat heb omed,

*I entreat the Father, Lord God Father of the realm where there is no
refusal,*

Creawdyr Celi a'n kynnwys ni yn trugared.

the heavenly Creator who will receive us into [His] mercy.

title **Marwnat dylan eil ton. tal. ae cant** The title was written by the main scribe, and is unusual in attributing the poem explicitly to Taliesin: see General Introduction.

1a **Un Duw uchaf** *Un Duw*, cf. CC 2.6; CBT I 28.48; 31.15 and 26; II 1.95; 17.107; V 19.25; VI 19.1 and 12. *Un Mab Duw*: CBT II 6.19; 11.15; IV 16.3; V 27.13; VII 32.58; 40.32. Also CC 18.3 *Vn mab Meir*, 33.56 *un Mab Meir*; 33.67 *un Mab Maria*; CBT IV 16.4. Cf. §13.21 *vn bryn*.

PT IX.39 *Duw uchaf*; CBT I 10.36-7 *Y Duw uchaf erchi*; / *Archaf arch y Grist Keli*; II 1.145 *Molaf Du6 uchaf*; V 26.146 *Teyrnas Duw uchod*; CC 18.8 *Duv uchom, Duu ragom, Duu [a] vet*.

1b **dewin doethaf** *Dewin* is common with *Duw*, see G and CC 84. *Dewin doethaf* used by Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch, CBT VII 40.56 and 40b.95; cf. CBT VII 32.19 *A dewinyon synnwyrdoethon*. *Doethaf* not otherwise common in poetry, but CC 30.17; CBT V 1.52 *Ef ddoethaf, ef doethua6r ygnad*.

¹ ms *maes*

² ms *llaw trahael*

³ ms *gwrthrif*

- 1c **mwyhaf a ued a ued** 'who rules, decrees', etc. common of God, see §13.6.
- 2a **py delis mas (ms maes)** Disyllabic *māes* (see on §11.17 for other examples) would yield proest with *swynas*; however, four, not five syllables are usual in these *rhupunt* sections (see below on *yn llaw trahael*).

On *delis*, see §4.28 and §5.96, noting its use three times by Prydydd y Moch alone of the court poets (CBT V 10.24 and 65; 20.2). The form *deliis* is found in CA lines 301 and 313. An emendation proposed in YB 13 (1985), 34-5, *py/pwy dylif mas* 'what is the composition of metal?' (cf. §1.28 *Pwy vessur Uffern*, etc.) assumed copying from an exemplar with *e* for [ə] and long *f*. Other possibilities suggested there were *py dylifas* (cf. §4.173) 'what did he arrange', and *py dylif mas* 'what makes up metal?'.

While the vb *dal(y)* 'to hold, keep, maintain, defend' is suitable with *māes* (as with *tir, goror*, AP line 134 *gwlaf*, etc.), *gefel* in line 3, as well as the metrical consideration, supports W.J. Gruffydd's suggested emendation of *māes* > *mas* (MvM 219-20), accepted by GPC. This *mas* is from L. *massa* 'lump, mass' (also OBr *mas*; OIr *mass*, see GPC s.v.). *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* notes its use for 'raw material; unformed primordial matter' as well as 'lump; measure of weight; multitude', etc. *Mas* is used occasionally in poetry: CBT I 2.23 *Mas cas uognav* 'matter inciting enmity'; V 18.35-6 *Wyt goreu un gbron o'r uas/ A wnaeth Duó y dyt y'n creas* 'You are the single best hero [formed] from the substance which God made on the day he created us' (translated 'multitude, many', p. 175). L. *massa* is often used of metal, as in the vivid description of the Cyclopes at work in their forge, turning the hot metal with gripping tongs (*Aeneid* VIII.453 . . . *tenaci forcipe massam*). In OW, *mas* glosses *metallum*, and CO lines 303-4 uses it for hot metal from the forge.

On *py* 'what; why?', see notes to §4.158 and §6.3, 43. *Mas* could also be subject rather than object: 'what did the metal (or substance) hold/maintain/uphold?'. It cannot be ruled out that *py* might be a mistake for *pwy* 'who?'.

- 2b **pwy a'e swynas** On the vb *swynaw*, common in Kat Godeu, see §5.57; and cf. CC 21.97-8 and 111 *O seith lauanað/ ban im sesuinad . . . A'm ssuinassei-i Douit*; in CC 26.12, the meaning appears to be more like 'to bless'. Prydydd y Moch uses *swynas* in his Ode to the Ordeal Iron: CBT V 15.3 *Dur ynad detyf rad rysswynas—Douyt* 'A harsh judge abiding by the grace of justice created by God' (see below on 3c); we see a further instance by him in CBT V 18.30 *Duw o nef ry-th-swynas*. It is not used by other court poets.
- 2c **yn llaw trahael** The rhyme is faulty if *hael* is a diphthong, although the syllabic length of the section, with a diphthong, is regular. *Hael* is generally treated a diphthong in poetry: Echrys Ynys line 17 *hael archaedon*, in a section of *rhupunt* metre, as here; PBT 8.26 (Romani kar) *hael hywred*, and 8.83 *hael hydyr y dylif*; CC 12.22, etc., and invariably in CBT corpus. The diphthong is confirmed by rhyme in Marwnad Cynddylan line 62; EWSP 442.94; CC 8.12; 14.4; 21.152 (but see p. 232); LIDC 18.41 *hael/Morvael* and 102 *hael/Fyrnuael*; CBT corpus, etc. But *hael* may conceivably be a disyllable in CC 31.22 *Trydyd hael, serchawc serch* (a line of an englyn milwr); and the inscription IUTHAHELO suggests *häel* (from **sæg-elo-* < **segh-elo-*) as noted CIB 222-3 and 277-80. If so, perhaps restore *yn llaw häel* (cf. EWSP 442.94 *llaw hael*; *tra hael* is not attested elsewhere in pre-1283 poetry; *trawshael* 'powerful and generous' CBT VII 45.14, is not likely to be relevant). 2b and c: 'who fashioned it in [his] generous hand?'.

a rhetorical question referring to God. With this interpretation, *mas* 'primordial substance, matter' is perhaps more suitable; cf. §11.76 *ile*, and general interest in the Creation evident in this collection.

Alternatively, W.J. Gruffydd's bold emendation to *tryfer* (MvM 219-20) yields good sense and metre if Dylan's slayer's weapon is indeed being described. He translates 'who held the heated iron, who shaped it by magic to be a three-pointed spear for the hand'. Note CBT VII 38.31 *Ef yn wann truan labtryuer—heb nerth*, of the old and enfeebled sinner.

A third possible emendation, adopted in the translation, is *trafel* 'travail, care' ('who fashioned it to be an ordeal for the hand', see above on 2a and 2b), although *trafael*, attested from the 12c onwards, is the usual medieval form of this loanword (possibly via ME) from Old French *travaillier* < Late Latin *trepalium* 'instrument of torture'; the form *trafel* is attested from the 16c onwards (see GPC). This interpretation has the advantage of drawing together the strands of reference in the poem: God as wise ruler and judge (line 1), his judgment being given instrumental force in a piece of metal to be held in the hand (line 2); an enquiry as to what could previously have been the means of lasting settlement of dispute (line 3); and the accusation against Dylan's slayer (lines 4-5), known from the story of *Math fab Mathonwy* to have been the smith Gofannon. Does the poet imagine, or draw on a story about the smith being found guilty by a piece of metal such as he was familiar working with? On the ordeal iron, see CBT V 146-7, and the fuller discussion by Nerys Ann Jones, 'Prydydd y Moch: dwy gerdd "wahanol"', *YB* 18 (1992), 55-72 (pp. 66-72), who argues that Prydydd y Moch may have actually undergone trial by ordeal for the slaying of one Madog, and that this would have been more likely in one of the Marcher lordships rather than in *Pura Wallia* where the ordeal was apparently not in use: but see *ibid.*, p. 70, nn.52-3. The evidence for the ordeal in early Ireland discussed by Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 209-11, includes immersing the hand in a cauldron of boiling water, and licking a red-hot adze of bronze or lead; in some texts, St Patrick is credited with the introduction of the ordeal to Ireland.

The translation in *YB* 13, p. 35 'in the heat of the great striking', restored *yn llawt ryuel* assuming false word division and confusion of *u* first with *n*, and then with *h*. On *llawt* (cf. OIr *láth*) see CA 193; *B* 8, 230-32; however, the examples in GPC, albeit late, suggest its use was confined to 'heat' (of an animal), but cf. compounds *trallawt*, etc. *Ryfel* (< *bel* 'strike') 'great striking, blow' or usual 'fighting, war'. There may be an intended contrast with *tagnef* in line 3b. Or *yn tawd ryuel* 'in the striking of the molten [iron]'.

- 3a **Neu gynt noc ef** Since the suggested *mas* is fem., *ef* presumably refers to God, the creator of the implement described in line 2, but possibly refers to the suggested *llaw trafel*. *Cynt/gynt no* is not common in poetry, but cf. CBT V 1.127-8 *na bwynt gynt/ No rywynt uch Ryd Nuc*; and V 30.4 *Ys kynt no rywynt uch rut wybrenn*.
- 3b **pwu uu tagnef** *Tagnef* 'peace' (ModW *tangnef*), cf. CBT I 32.13-14 *Ef divradw achad6, uchaf—y dagnef./ Ef a oruc nef, adef Adaf*, IV 9.130-31 *profwn yn tagnef./ Tagneuet amna6t amniuer6ch—rif*; 18.54-5 *Ac Ef, Arglwydd nef, tangnef tynged./ A'n dug o gyfrgoll pan archolled*; V 28.2-3 *Kerddwys hael yn tangnef/ Carno bro*, etc. MvM 219-20 unnecessarily emends to *tan nef* 'under Heaven'.

- 3c **ar redyf gefel** *Gredyf* + personal name or common noun is frequently found. See CA 61 where Ifor Williams remarks (trans.) ‘another’s peace is *ar redyf gefel* (BT 67) because he holds tight like a pincers to his word’. The medieval saying, *Craffach no’r gefel* ‘more tenacious than the tongs’, is noted in GPC s.v. *gefel*, *gefail*. But *ar redyf* is not otherwise found in pre-1283 poetry, suggesting that *ar redyf gefel* might be intended literally: ‘before that/him, who imposed peace on the power of the tongs?’ or ‘on the one of the [tenacious] nature of the tongs’. *Gefel* in §4.235-6 *bum ebill yg gefel,/ blwydyn a hanher* also with Irish rhyme.
- 4a **Gwrthgrif (ms gwrthrif) gwastrawt** Following G s.v. vb *gwrthgrif* ‘to stare, gaze, watch intently’, who treats this example as 3sg. pres. rather than the vb noun; see GPC for additional meanings ‘await, await eagerly, greedily’, etc. CBT VI 2.15 *R6yt Bryneich, branes brthgrif* and other examples are discussed CBT VI, 33-4. It is very likely that *gwrthgrif* was wrongly modernised as *gwrthrif*. Another possibility is **gwrthnif* ‘bad deed’ < *gwrth* (cf. *gwrtharaith* WLW 64) + *gnif* ‘deed; effort, task; battle, commotion; pain, distress’ (as in *cynnif*) — ‘the bad deed of the groom’ or (with inversion) ‘a groom of misdeed’. There is no attested **gwrthrif* < *gwrth* + *rhif* ‘fame, respect’ (see CA 73 on *rifaw* ‘to set count upon, to reckon, to esteem’). G s.v. *gwastrawt*: ‘groom, ostler, equerry, official responsible for horses and riders’ weapons’. This figure is interpreted as being the guilty one who ‘watches intently’, perhaps awaiting the outcome of the ordeal which he has endured (if the interpretation in 2c is correct). If he is the smith, Gofannon, then *gwastrawt* may be used loosely (or scathingly) because of his connection with horses, riders, their arms and equipment. Less likely is that the *gwastrawt* is an onlooker, possibly culpable (cf. the various types of *sellach* ‘onlooker’ in the Old Irish law texts, Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*, 352-3), or a witness, rather than the perpetrator.
- 4b **gwenwyn a wnaeth** Cf. CBT III 28.31 *G6r goreuras, g6as gbenwyn*; V 25.37-8 *llidwenwyn (+ tra g6eilgi)*. Although there is no regular rhyme between *wnaeth* and *gwastrawt* there is consonantal and etymological correspondence between *wnaeth*, and *gweith* in 4c as well as alliteration across the length of the line. The same technique is used in line 6 where repeated *a thon* unifies the line. Thus, there is no need to implement G’s emendation to *waewnawt* (s.v. *gwaew* ‘pain, distress’) nor Gruffydd’s suggested *waewawr*. *Gwenwyn* is understood as the abstract noun ‘bitterness, cruelty, ferocity, wrath’, object of the vb; but G favours nominal usage, ‘bitter, cruel, fierce, wrathful (man)’, as subject (i.e. 4b-c, ‘the cruel man wrought a deed of violence’). On *gwnaeth* (and *goruc, goreu*), see §5.46.
- 4c **gweith gwythloned** *Gwythloned* attested in rhyme block with *ran trugaret* in LIDC 17.89, and with *Goglet* in LIDC 17.58, CBT II 26.273 (and *gwnaeth*). With *gweith*, CBT VI 36.21-2 *G6eithvernit g6ythliit, gwythloned—y’r byt,/ G6rthuyt uu gywyt y argybed* (of Judas or the Jews in context of Christ’s betrayal); CBT IV 4.128 *Oet trymle gweithle gwythlonet*; with *gwan* (and *trywan*) in V 26.27-8 *Gna6d gwaewabr g6ryabr gwythlonet,/ Gwan trywan trwydun gythrymet*, etc. The precise phrase is used in 14c GGM I 6.14; III 1.42, and GLIG 5.78.
- 5a **gwanu Dylan** G s.v. *gwanu* ‘to hit, push, rush; pierce, bite, gouge, perforate, penetrate’, etc., cf. CA lines 220 and 401. ‘To hit’ would be the meaning most consistent with the account in PKM 78 of the *ergyt* ‘blow’ which caused his death, but Llew Llaw Gyffes, Dylan’s twin, was killed by a poisoned spear.

worked on for a year by Gronw Bebr (PKM 87-8) and the details of the two deaths may have influenced each other. *Gwanu* is not used as vb noun in CBT corpus (*gwân* is common, however); *trywanu* also rare in poetry (CBT VII 40b.87).

- 5b **adwythic lann** *Adwythic* is not common, but CA line 1179 *atwythic scyndauc Madauc Eluet*, and examples of *adwyth*; neither used in CBT corpus.
- 5c **treis yn hytyruer** On *hytyruer*, used for both fresh and salt water currents, see on §11.97 *hydyruer*.
- 6 **Ton Iwerdon a thon Vanaw a thon Ogled** The use of the second part of Dylan's full name, *ton*, recalls the storyteller's assertion that no *wave* ever broke beneath Dylan (PKM 77 *Ny thorres tonn adanaw eiryoet*). Elements of personal names are very often played on in poetry (as in treatment of Buddfan, Marchlew, Ceredig, Peredur, Clydno, Tudfwlch, Gwair, etc. in CA; Bleddyn (with *bleid*, e.g. CBT III 29.31); Llywelyn (with *llyw*, very common); Ceredig (with *cariad*, CBT V 1.25), etc. See the introduction to §21, and §21.16n for a comparable series of waves, and a discussion of the lamenting function of the sea. MvM 220 emends *Vanaw* to *Aruon*, but this is unnecessary (see on line 4b above). *Gogled* is North Britain, the usual medieval literary usage.
- 7 **A thon Prydein toruoed virein yn petwared** The explicit 'fourth' suggests that the first three waves were a traditional grouping. But these names were often trotted out together: see on §21.16. *Prydein* and *mirein* are also collocated frequently, e.g. AP lines 152 *o Brydein virein luyd*; 169 *Prydein mirein luyd*; EWSP 447.1 *pryt mirein Prydein ogonet*; CC 24.68-70 *Nifer seint Ynys Prydein/ Ac Iwerdon, adwyn ran:/ Toruoed gweithredoed mirein*. Note *aduirein* with *twryf* and *toruoet* in CBT IV 1.47-8.
- 8a-b **Golychaf-i Tat Duw Douydat** See on §8.1 for the frequent use of vb *golwch*, *golychu* in this collection. Close compound of *dofyd* + *tat*, cf. CC 10.1 *Duw dofydat*; 20.144 *dofydyat*. See G. s.v. *dofyd* for *douyd dat* and *Duw dofyd*.
- 8c **gwlat heb omed** *Gomed* 'refusal, withhold' in rhymes with *trugared/Gogled*: CC 18.2; CBT I 4.19, etc.
- 9 **Creawdyr Celi** *Celi* (< L. *coeli*, pl. or gen. sg. of *coelum* 'heaven'), extremely common, e.g. CC 2.2, 14.59, generally with preceding noun in CBT corpus — *Crist, Crist Eli, Rwyf, Culwyd*, etc.; though not an exact parallel, cf. CBT V 26.1-2 *Crist Creabdyr, Ymerabdyr a'n met,/ Crist Keli, colofyn tagnheuet*, etc.

23 'Cunedaf'

This untitled poem follows a group of elegies (Marwnat Ercwl, Madawc, Herod, Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry, Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton, Marwnat Owein),¹ coming immediately after Echrys Ynys, an elegy (with other elements present) for a ruler, Aeddon, of Anglesey.² It is followed by the short prophetic poem, Dygogan awen, then Marwnat Vthyr Pen (§24).³ It has been edited three times before, once in English and twice in Welsh. John Morris-Jones produced a heavily-emended text, with translation, notes and extensive discussion referring to the previous ideas put forward by Thomas Stephens, D. W. Nash and others; he proposed, on the basis of an emendation, that the poem was an elegy for Rhun, son of Maelgwn Gwynedd.⁴ J.E. Caerwyn Williams' '*Marwnad Cunedda o Lyfr Taliesin*',⁵ acknowledging the 'invisible' guiding hand of Lloyd-Jones' *Geirfa*, provided a very detailed treatment of the many cruces in the text pointing up an array of possible alternatives to those offered by Morris-Jones; no connected translation was given, but many lines he *was* sure of were translated (often in English) in the body of his notes. Both of these treatments are fundamental to an understanding of the text, whatever their limitations may be in terms of contextualising the poem, assessing its date and — more importantly — its purpose. John T. Koch has translated the poem into Modern Welsh, with a reconstructed text in 'Archaic Neo-Brittonic', a list of linguistic features, further notes on the text and a metrical analysis. His introduction sets the scene for an interpretation of the poem as a seriously archaic elegy for Cunedda sung at some time between 407 and 454.⁶

Speculation aside, the little we know of Cunedda is found in the early ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, the genealogies, and the related material in the twelfth-century second *Life* of St Carannog, grandson of Cunedda. *Historia Brittonum* chapter 62 after the mention of the five poets famed in British verse turns to Maelgwn reigning in Gwynedd, 'for his ancestor (*atavus*), *Cunedag*, with his sons, to the number of eight, had come from the north, from the country called Manaw Gododdin, 146 years before Maelgwn reigned, and expelled the Irish from these countries, with immense slaughter, so that they never again returned to inhabit them'. Working back from Maelgwn's death (dated in the *Annales Cambriae* to 547) would situate Cunedda *c.* 400, which would need to be squared with the tenth-century genealogical information that Maelgwn was the son of Cadwallon son of Einion son of Cunedda — not impossible if

¹ Poems §§19-20; CC poem 15; §§21-22; and PT X respectively.

² BWP 172-80; R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'A Welsh "Dark Age" court poem', in FS Mac Cana 39-48.

³ PBT 4; and §24.

⁴ Tal 202-23.

⁵ AH 208-33.

⁶ "'Marwnad Cunedda" a diwedd y Brydain Rufeinig', in HI 171-97.

Maelgwn lived to be an old man; *atavus* could then mean great-grandfather rather than 'forebear'. Chapter 14 says that the sons of Liethan [i.e. Uí Liatháin, neighbours of the Déisi] prevailed in the country of the Demetians [Dyfed], and in other countries, that is Gower [and] Kidwelly, until they were expelled by *Cunedda*, and by his sons, from all countries in Britain'. The note in the Harley genealogy gives their names: Cunedda's first born, *Typipaun* (= Tybiawn) died in the region of Manaw Gododdin (*Manau Guodotin*), and did not come with his father *Cunedda* and his brothers, viz. Meirion (Tybiawn's son), Osfael, Rhufon, Dunod, Ceredig, Afloeg, Einion Yrth, Dogfael and Edern. The second Carannog *Life* has the same information in essence, but the boundary now extends from the R. Dee in the north-east down as far south as the R. Gwaun (Teifi in the Harleian genealogies). In chapter 4 the eponymous Ceredig, now an old man, found his territory occupied by force by the Irish — in this source there is no reason given for the movement from Manaw Gododdin, nor is it said that there had already been a clearance of the Irish before the occupation in Ceredig's time.⁷

The Cunedda story has been disputed for generations, taken as historically true by some, dismissed as propaganda or origin myth by others, or conditionally accepted as an origin story based in part on historical events: R. Geraint Gruffydd has provided a useful account of the contending views, aligning himself with the latter camp.⁸ What is absolutely clear is that our present poem has none of this story, but presents Cunedda as a bold warrior famed for his 'wonders in battle with nine hundred horses before his [last] Communion' and above all as a model patron whose death prompts the speaker to remember the wealth of goods and stock he had received from him.

The textual difficulties of parts of this elegy make any interpretation uncertain, but my provisional conclusion is that it was made in commemoration of Cunedda, and cast as a Taliesin composition, asserting that he had served as the faithful poet and elegist of Maelgwn Gwynedd's ancestor — just as in other poems, he associates himself with Arthur, or Urien, or Brochfael Powys. It can be imagined to have been declaimed 'in the story' at Maelgwn's court as part of Taliesin's wide-ranging display of learning and his parading of illustrious contacts with characters from history, story and legend alike. This scenario, at a stroke, obviates the need to explain away the mention of *kymun*, and *bedyd*, the embarrassing *Kaer Weir*, the later form *Cunedaf* (see commentary), the clear reference to the anachronistic fighting with the 'men of Bernicia', and the opening Taliesin couplet. The appeal of a poem about the ancestor Cunedda could have been great in the Gwynedd court at many periods: at the time of Maelgwn himself, at the court of Merfyn Frych at the time of the *Historia Brittonum*, or in the tenth century when the genealogical notes were being copied, although, as indicated above, the clearing out of the Irish forms no part of the poem. Such a composition would, moreover, have been relevant and

⁷ See discussion by Karen Jankulak, 'Carantoc *alias* Cairnech? British saints, Irish saints, and the Irish in Wales', in IWMA 116-48.

⁸ R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'From Gododdin to Gwynedd: reflections on the story of Cunedda', *SC* 24/25 (1989/90), 1-14.

useful in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the court poets and lawyers were actively promoting the connections with Maelgwn (with at least one mention of Cunedda himself),⁹ but also asserting the Gwynedd descent from the Coeling, and Coeling blood in Powys and Deheubarth, too.¹⁰ It is worth noting that the two mentions of the Coeling in our poem are paralleled in poetry *only* in the nine instances in the work of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century court poets (six of them by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr). The emphasis in our poem on the friendly alliance between the supporters of Cunedda and the line of Coel is mirrored in the genealogies, where Cunedda's wife is the daughter of Coel, an alignment which served to reconcile the origin legend for large regions of north and mid Wales (i.e. the story of Cunedda's sons) with the descent of the ruling dynasty of Gwynedd from Coel.¹¹ The lack of reference to the expulsion of the Irish in our poem is no surprise at all: it would not have served any purpose, indeed it may not have been politic to raise the spectre of that particular spate of ethnic cleansing, not in the Gwynedd court where the royal line itself was compromised by its Irish connections (via Gruffydd ap Cynan's mother's family, and contacts thereafter, as in the case of Owain Gwynedd's liaison with the Irish mother of his son, Hywel); neither would it have been something the lines of Dyfed and Brycheiniog would have relished hearing. A poem such as ours would have been an uncontentious, bland amalgam which would have an appeal in many parts of Wales, as well as Gwynedd, tapping in to the wealth and glamour of the Old North (only vaguely delineated, however), and aligning the Cunedda and Coeling factions. From the point of view of the court poets — whose creation I believe this was — such a performance would reinforce the antiquity and the prestige of the bardic order, and emphasise in particular the age-old poet-patron relationship, and the tradition of munificence associated with it (an element which dominates the elegy). One notes also the disparagement of lesser poets, characteristic of the Taliesin 'voice'. The poem's performance 'in the story' would have gone down very well at many courts, but more particularly it would have served as a bonding mechanism for a gathering of rulers from Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth, perhaps being wooed by a ruler such as Owain Gwynedd (whose descent from Cunedda, 'the bear of Orben' [i.e. Dinorben] is mentioned by his poet, Gwalchmai),¹² or even Llywelyn I of Gwynedd, perhaps celebrating his reconquest of nearby Degannwy. Interpretation as a seriously late poem is not ruled out by the language of the poem, and the scenario outlined here — speculative though it may be — has the advantage of not requiring the special pleading and adjustments required to view this as a genuine fifth-century composition.

⁹ And compare the name Cunedda given to the son of Cadwallon, son of Gruffudd ap Cynan. On his maiming by Owain Gwynedd in 1152, see ByT (RBH) 130.

¹⁰ See genealogical chart in *WHR* 17 (1994), 12-13.

¹¹ The same mechanism was used to integrate the first and second Gwynedd dynasty and to legitimise the line of Merfyn Frych through his marriage with the daughter of Cynan Dindaethwy, *ibid.*, 20-26.

¹² CBT I 8.56.

23 'Cunedaf'

Book of Taliesin 69.9-70.16

Mydwyf Taliessin deryd;
I am ardent Taliesin;
gwawt godolaf vedyd:
I present song to the world:

bedyd rwyd rifedeu eidolyd

praises of the the world's bounteous wonders

kyfrwnc allt a hallt¹ ac echwyd.

between the high place and the sea-water and the fresh water.

5 **Ergrynawr Cunedaf creisseryd**

Because of Cuneddaf's ebbing away shock is felt

yg Kaer Weir a Chaer Liwelyd.

in Caer Wair and Carlisle.

Ergrynawt kyfatwt kyfergyr

A multitude will fear the onrush,

kyfanwanec tan, ton tra myr

the surge of fire, the wave overtaking the seas,

lluydawt² glew y gilyd.

brave men will muster their companions.

10 **Kan kafas y whel uch eluyd**

Since he secured his stay above the earth (i.e. in Heaven)

mal vcheneit gwynt wrth onwyd.

like a sigh is the wind against the ash-trees.

Kefynderchyn y gwn y gyfyl,

His hounds used to admire his presence,

kyfachelwyn a Choelyn kerenhyd,

they used to maintain a pact with the descendants of Coel,

gwiscant veird kywrein kanonhyd

they provide garments for poets skilled in rules [of poetry].

15 **Marw Cunedaf a gwynaf, a gwynit:**

It is the death of Cuneddaf that I lament, that was lamented:

cwynitor tewdor, tew duun,³

lamented is the stout defender, stout in co-operation,

diarchar dychyfar⁴ dychyfun

invincible in joint battle-operation,

¹ ms ac allt

² ms llupawt

³ ms tewdun

⁴ ms dychyfal

dyfynveis dyfyngleis dychyffun.

[now] bound in the deep yawning trench.

Ymadrawd — cwd e clawd⁵ caletlwm

The question [is] where is the hard bare grave

20 **kaletach wrth elyn noc ascwrn.**

of [the one who was] harder than bone towards the enemy?

Yscynyal Cunedaf kyn kywys a thytwet

Eminent Cuneddaf — before annihilation and the earth

y wyneb a gatwet.

his honour was maintained.

Kanweith cyn bu lleith yn dorglwyt

A hundred times before the death of our defender

dychludent wyr Bryneich ym pylwyt.

they'd bear off the men of Bernicia in battle;

25 **ef canet rac y ofyn a'e arswyt,**

there'd be wailing in the face of the fear and terror [he caused],

oergerdet kyn bu dayr, dygyn adwyt.⁶

a sad journey before being laid to earth, sore death.

Heit haul am wydwal gwrebrwyt,⁷

Like a swarm [seeking] the twined defence of the covert,

gweinaw gwaeth llyfred noc adwyt.

sheathing [arms] is worse cowardice than death.

Adoet hun dimyaw a gwynaf

The sad sleep of death do I lament,

30 **am lys am grys Cunedaf,**

for the court, for the ?shroud of Cuneddaf,

am ryaflaw hallt am hydryuer mor,

for the great sea-inlet, for the swift sea-current,

am breid a fwrn a ballaf.

for the herd and the furnace that am I wanting.

Gwawtveird < oganon a oganaf,⁸

I deride poets of song who disparage,

ac ereill a rifhon⁹ a rifaf.

and I hold in esteem others who offer praise.

35 **Ryfedawr yn erulawd a naw cant gorwyd**

Wonders in battle with nine hundred horses

⁵ ms cwdedawd

⁶ ms dogyn ydwet

⁷ ms gwnebrwyt

⁸ ms a ogon aogaf

⁹ ms arefon

kyn kymun Cunedaf.¹⁰

before Cunedaf's last Communion.

Ry'm afei biw blith yr haf,

He gave me milking cows in the summer,

ry'm afei edystrawt ygayaf;

he gave me horses in the winter;

ry'm afei win gloyw ac olew;

he gave me shining wine and oil;

40 **ry'm afei torof keith rac vntrew.**

he gave me a gang of slaves [to guard] against misfortune.

Ef dyfal ogressur ogyflew,

He [was] a fierce voracious attacker,

gweladur, pennadur pryt llew,

sharp-eyed, a leader like a lion,

lludwy uedei gywlat rac mab Edern

the enemy (land) was reduced to ashes in the face of Edern's son.

kyn edyrn anaelew.

before the great sadness [of his death.]

45 **Ef dywal, diarchar, diedig,**

He [was] fierce, invincible, implacable,

amryfreu agheu dychyfyg.

a surge of cruel death.

Ef goborthi aes yman regorawl,

He used to bear a shield in the vanguard,

gwyr gwrawl oed y vnbyn.

his chieftains were valorous men.

Dy-m-hun a chyfatcun a thal gwin kamda

*The lament, and the obligation to repay the champion's wine wake
me*

50 **diua hwn¹¹ o Goelig.**

[because of] the destruction of this man of Coel's faction.

1 **Mydwyf Taliessin deryd** Cf. opening of §7.1 *Mydwyf merweryd*; §4.53 and 263; §24.25 *midwyf*; §25.58 *mydwy*. *Teryd* 'ardent, passionate' (used of fire, horses, soldiers, cries, etc.). For lenition after male personal name, possibly scribal, cf. CA line 977 *Dyrynwal Vrych*; EWSP 409.33 *Pyll wynn*; 410.1-5 *Maen wynn*; 430.13 *Kyndylan wynn*; R578.40 *Meruin Vrych*; R530.38 *Myrdin dec*, CC 10.27 *Auel wiryon*, etc.; see TC 118 for examples of non-lenition.

¹⁰ ms *cuneda*

¹¹ ms *hun*

- 2 **gwawt godolaf vedyd** The vb *godoli* is a variant of *gwadoli* 'to present to, endow' (< *gwadawl*) in use at least from the twelfth century: e.g. CBT I 10.25 *madyoet gotoli*; and cf. CA lines 563-4 *godolei*; ?675 *dygodolyn*; 1240 *godolei o heit meirch e gayaf*. Seven syllables if a 'with' were added at the beginning of the line (i.e. 'I present the world with song').
- 3 **bedyd rwyd rifedeu eidolyd** *Rifedeu* understood as *ryfedeu* 'wonders' with preceding *rwyd* as adj. 'bounteous, free' rather than genitive noun *rwyð* 'wealth, bounty'. *Eidolyd* 'praises, praise-songs' (but see GPC) elaborating on the nature of the song mentioned in the previous line. Cf. collocation *ryfed/rwyd* in CC 1.3 (Juvencus englynion) *Dicones Pater ha rimed presen;/ is abruid i cinimer*, CC 21.162-3 *Nis ry draeth ryuetev/ Kyvoeth ruytev Douit* 'No-one can express the wonders, the bounties of God's dominion' (and see note p. 233). Four specific wonders of creation (each one again called a *ryvet*) are listed in CC 12.21-8 — the sun, the moon, the tumultuous salt sea, and the running fresh water (*duwyt echwit*).
- 4 **kyfrwnc allt a hallt ac echwyd** *Kyfrwng* 'between, in-between', perhaps used here like *rwg* . . . *a* 'including, what between' (cf. CBT II 6.37 *r6g nos a dyt* for a journey extending over a night and a day). If so, then the *allt* 'height' as well as the common pair *hallt ac echwyd* 'salt- and fresh-water' exemplify the wonders of the earth: the latter are found in a similar context in CC 21.12-14 *Kyffei bart pridit ar yssit in eluit;/ A'r hallt a'r echuit, a'r graean a'r mir,/ A'r sir syweditiaeth* 'Even if a bard were a poet singing of the things in the world — the salt water and the fresh, the gravel and the seas and the stars studied by the sages', it would not be possible to recount all God's wonders'. This seems more likely than a line situating the poet or his praises. The *allt/hallt* collocation is echoed in GIG 17.58 *Rhwng allt a môr hallt, mawr haid*.
- 5 **Ergrynawr** The vb *ergrynu* 'to tremble in fear; to fear' is quite common: e.g. CA line 608 *Er kryn*; LIDC 16.62 (Afallennau) *ergrinaf wy nragon*; PBT 7.116-17 (Rydyrchafwy Duw) *Ergrynaf kyllestric Käen/ gan Wledic gwlat anorffen*; CBT I 3.166 *Ergrynei vym pwyll e bell gereded*; III 24.105 *Ergrynynt eu bar seirff saffar senn*; IV 2.24 *Grym afyrd6l Erk6l ergrynitor*; 6.184 *Tr6m yt ergryner crynoder y uar*; V 26.108-9 *Mal g6rhyd Ercwlf ergrynهد/ A Sams6n (gwytg6n gogoned—acha6s)*. Also CBT I 4.16 *Rydyergryneis o'e gymhelri*; PT XII.9 *yn y wlat yd oed ergrynic* 'one who is feared'.
- 5 **Cunedaf** As Morris-Jones thought, the *-f* appears to have been added on to the name which had lost the final consonant (*-g* on the evidence of HB ch. 62 *Cunedag*, i.e. final element *dagos*, reflected in Geoffrey of Monmouth's form *Cunedagius*). The Harleian genealogies c. 1100 and HB ch. 6 record the form with no final consonant, as does our poem, line 36. The addition of the *-f* for rhyme suggests that *Cunedaf* was thought to be an acceptable variant: this is probably due to the influence of another name, *Cyndaf* (< **Cunotamos*, cf. **pennotamicos* which gave *pendefic*). *Cyndaf*, unlike *Cunedaf*, is a normal development with loss of composition vowel and regular *cuno-* > *cyn-*. *Cunedaf* rather than expected *Cyn6da* suggests that an early OW written form (like Harleian genealogy *Cunedaf*; cf. LL 185 *Cunhearn*; 180 *Cunvor*, etc.) was taken up and used 'as found' though with the *-f* adjustment ad lib. We may compare a name like *Beda* (Bede) alternating with *Bedaf* (GDC 13.55-6; GSRh 7.17 and 49). It is likely that the pair *Adaf/Efa* reinforced the male/female connotations of *-af* versus the *-a* ending. Cf.

in a regional name, HGK 5 *Midif* (Olr *Mide*, *Midi*); in later Taliesinic material (CTalBB 62-82), we see such forms as *Satanaf*, *Germaniaf*, *Brutaniaf*, and even *Aleliwiaf!*. Here there is no need for internal rhyme (?*ergrynaf* if so). Graham R. Isaac, 'Cunedag', *B* 38 (1991), 100-101, reviews the derivation (favouring a 'hound-' name), and also suggests a misinterpretation of earlier written sources. See further on §12.6.

- 5 **creisseryd** This is tentatively emended to either *[g]wesgryd* 'decline, ebbing away' (used of the waning moon in CBT VII 30.48) or *[g]wesceryd* 'scatterer'; compounds of *ryd* 'free, ready, abundant' are favoured by others: *crys* (Koch), *treis* (G and Caerwyn Williams, cf. CBT VI 30.87 A *Dafydd dreisrydd drosedd—cyn golo*).
- 6 **Caer Weir a Chaer Liwelyd** *Caer Weir* is a problem in AP line 7 (see below), one of the few other instances. Another is in the list of British cities, 'Enwau ac Anrhyfeddodau Ynys Prydain (RBH. col. 600)', *B* 5 (1929-31), 19-24, p. 19. G 359, sought to detect a parallel name, too, in HB ch. 61 *Ida. . . junxit Dinguayr di guurth Berneich* (var. *Din Gueirm et Gurd Birnech*), reading *Dingweir digurth Berneich* and connecting it with *Caer Weir* (?Durham), rather than with *Dinguoaroy* (Barnburgh) of HB ch. 63. Ifor Williams identified *Caer Weir* with Durham (on River Wear, *Uedra*), *B* 11 (1941-4), 82-3. John Koch favours (in our poem) one of the two Roman forts on the R. Wear, Chester-le-Street or Binchester (HI 194). Before the arrival of St Cuthbert's relics in 995, Maiden Castle on the Wear seems to have been the nearest substantial fortification to Durham, with no early evidence of a *caer* on the medieval cathedral and castle site: M. G. Jarrett, 'Excavations at Maiden Castle, Durham', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* 11 (1958-65), 124-7, cited by Richard Coates, 'Maiden Castle, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Harūn al-Rašīd', *Nomina* 29 (2006), 5-60, at p. 17. In AP line 7, *Gwaethyl wyr hyt Gaer Weir gwasgarawt allmyn*, a Wear fort would be a tolerable location, understanding 'the warriors [Britons and their allies] as far as the Durham region will scatter the foreigners'. But Bromwich's translation, 'the warriors will scatter the foreigners as far as *Caer Weir*' would not really suit the Wear area (except perhaps at its mouth) since the whole thrust of the poem is that the Saxons should be sent packing across the seas from whence they came, not parked just south of Hadrian's Wall. We might look for a southern location: *Caer Weir* might be connected with *Ynys Weir*, the latter possibly an alternative name for the Isle of Wight (*Vectis*; *Inis Gweith* in HB), as suggested in TYP³ 249, and reiterated by Brynley F. Roberts, *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic* (Dublin, 2005), 40. But there is no very prominent fort (*caer*) on the Isle of Wight except Carisbrooke, and this remains an obstacle were a simple emendation to be implemented in the AP text, *Gaer Weir* > *Gaer Weith* (confusion between Old Welsh *t* [representing /θ/] and *r*). Further west from Wight, near the coast are Wareham (*Werham*, formed from OE element *wer* 'weir'), and Dorchester (*Durnovaria*; Asser's *Durngueir*) with nearby Maiden Castle; south-eastern locations merit further investigation. If a far northern location is to be sought, it might be borne in mind that Ptolemy's *Virvedrum Promontorium*, identified with Duncansby Head, Caithness, is formed from *Uedra*: see A.L.F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979), 489-90 and 507; Graham R. Isaac, 'Scotland', in Javier de Hoz *et al.* (eds), *New Approaches to*

Celtic Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geography (Madrid, 2005), 189-214, at 202; Andrew Breeze, in Richard Coates *et al.*, *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Stamford, 2000), 79-80 (the latter also speculates, *ibid.*, 147-9, that *Broninis* may have been the British name for Durham, and that *Caer Weir* may have been Wearmouth).

Cair Ligualid (Carlisle) is in the HB list of cities, and unlike *Caer Weir*, is referred to occasionally by the court poets: Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (CBT II 6.35); Elidir Sais's poem of appeasement to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (CBT I, 17.23) — which mentions Taliesin, Myrddin, *Lliwelydd* (line 55) and Llywelyn's fame as 'exterminator of the English' — styles him as 'fearless beyond the sea (*tra merin*)', very likely in the North in view of his campaigning with King John against William of Scotland at Newcastle and Norham in the summer of 1209: HW 622-3. Prydydd y Moch exhorts Llywelyn (with hindsight perhaps) to 'sail, travel beyond the sea-wave' and imagines his praise extending to Carlisle (CBT V, 23.197 *Lliwelyd lletawd dy foliant*). See further General Introduction, 31-6. The Red Book of Hergest version of Enweu Ynys Prydein has a horribly garbled *Kaer Lyssydit*: Williams, 'Enwau ac Anrhyfeddodau', *B* 5 (1929-31), 19-24.

7 **ergrynawt kyfatwt kyfergyr** See on line 5. Central section generally with two or three syllables. If the beginning of problematic *kyfatwt* is the result of anticipation of *kyfergyr* and *kyfanwanec*, consider *adawt* 'abode' (sometimes of the world), or rare *adot* (adod) '?shame, provocation'. If *kyf-* is retained, the word may be (1) a compound with one of the above; or (2) a slip for **kyfrawt* (< *rawt* 'host, multitude; course', used of waves, CBT VII 30.36 *rawt wenyw ryt Derwennyd*) yielding sense, rhyme and alliteration; (3) rare *kyffrawt* (with G): GPC 'attack, battle, stir, agitation'; *Bardos* 23, line 26 'rhyfel'; EWSP 177 'host'. More extreme drastic emendations include *kyfundawt* (also suggested by G); *kiwdawt* (with Koch), common in poetry for 'people' in general, sometimes for human race, e.g. R582.23-4 (Cyfoesi) *A chiwdaŵt plant Adaf*; or any one of the many words in *kyfar-*. The translation is very uncertain, and based on restored *kyfrawt*. Common *kyfergyr* 'attack, onrush, battle' in AP line 125, etc.; with *myr* in CBT I 5.12.

8 **kyfanwanec tan, ton tra myr (ms tra myr ton)** Taking *kyfanwanec* as close or loose compound with *gwanec* 'wave' cf. CBT I 2.7 *kyvan volaud cluttaud attad*. The words *tra myr ton* may have been transposed, and *myr* is tentatively placed in rhyme position. With *tra myr*, cf. *tra mor, tramerin*, etc.

9 **lluydawt (ms llupawt) glew y gilyd** CBT II 1.52 *A lut y'r gelyn lat y gilyt* suggests Koch's *lludawt* (< *lludiaw*) HI 186, 194, which gives good sense (it assumes copying at some stage from an exemplar using thorn, cf. Juvenius manuscript). Caerwyn Williams favoured *llwyprawt* (< *llwybr*). In this case one might suppose OW **llupraut* (cf. LL 120 and 264 *gundy* = *gwyndy* and *Gungwas* = *Gwynwas*) copied as **lluppawt* (for *r/p* confusion, see on §18.2). The line is short even if *ton* were included here. My alternative would be *lluydawt* — 'brave men will mobilise/muster their companions' — which would give an extra syllable and tolerable sense.

10 **Kan kafas y whel uch eluyd** *wh* for initial *chw*, thus GPC s.v. *chwêl* 'turn, course, period, while; ?commotion, disturbance'. Koch emends to *uhel* 'uchel radd'. *Uch eluyd* invariably means 'above the earth', i.e. in the air, heavens, etc. not 'over the earth', and *uch* 'above' not 'over' (as PT II.10 *tros eluyd*). The

meaning is clear in §4.83-4 *yn Annwfn yn eluyd, / yn awyr uch eluyd*; CC 5.6 *Due uch guint ac vn uch eluit*; Moliant Cadwallon line 22 *Tra barheyd Nef uch eluit lawr*, etc. It is not certain that *Cunedaf* is the subject of the vb rather than the wind in line 11, but I understand the former, comparing the use of vb *caffael* for attainment of Heaven (e.g. CC 27.5 *Kyrreiweint a geiff a goffahao Duw . . . A New y nos y tragho*; CBT V 1.175-6 *a'r sawl / A geif tud an Tad ysbrydaþl*; 15.17-18 *Noc a'i keif Cain a'e glas / Rann o nef a'e naþ teyrmas*; VI 33.59 *Kaffael idaþ nef o'e nodet*, etc.).

- 11 **mal vcheneit gwynt wrth onwyd** Cf. EWGP VII.2 *Bit laþen meichyeit þrth ucheneit gwynt*; III.30 *gochwiban gþynt yþch blaen onn*. *Onwyd* either ash trees or ash-staves (as in CBT I 3.120; and cf. use of *onn* and *onnen*), but the prep. *gwrth* 'against' (CC 32.18 *gwynt wrth lynn*; CBT III 24.40 *hynt gþynt gþrth donnyar*) favours the former, with an expression here of the pathetic fallacy. LIDC 25.16-17 *mor amluc guint / y vlaen bric guit fallum*. With *mal*, reformed from *sal*, according to GPC, cf. §2.15ff.
- 12 **Kefynderchyn y gwn ygyfyl** Connecting *-derch-* with *drych*, etc. and *kefyn* as faulty modernisation of *kein* 'fair' (homonym with *kein* 'back', a variant of *kefyn*). The formation is therefore similar to *keinmygu* 'to admire' (and cf. *keinfoi*; §26.1 *keinganu*, etc.), and cf. the female personal names *Ceindrech* and *Ceindyrch* (see EWGT 176). 'They used to admire' (< *-ynt*). Alternatively, if *kefyn* 'back' is retained, conceivably 'look back', although I find no vb compounds of this sort with *kefyn*. 'His hounds' (*y gwn*) figuratively for his followers or descendants (cf. §14.28 *Coel a'e kanawon*), or perhaps other rulers under his dominion. *Y gyfyl* understood as 'his proximity, presence', but if *ygyfyl* (*yng nghyfyl*) 'in the presence, in [his] presence'.
- 12 **kyfachetwyn a Choelyn kerenhyd** Vb understood with G as 3pl. imperf. of *kyfachadw* 'keep, guard'. *Coelyn(g)* 'descendants of Coel' (line 50 below *Coelig*) is restricted in poetry to this poem and nine instances in CBT corpus (six by Cynddelw). Used in praise/elegy of Gwynedd rulers (Owain Gwynedd and his sons Hywel and Dafydd), related princes elsewhere (e.g. Rhys ap Gruffudd of the Deheubarth; Gwenwynwyn and Owain Fychan of Powys), and others (e.g. Rhirid Flaidd). On *Coel* (Hen), ancestor of Urien, Llywarch and others, see §14.28 *Coel a'e kanawon*; PT VI.11-12 *A cheneu vab Coel bydei kymwyawc / lew kyn as talei o wystyl nebawt*, referring to Coel (Hen).

Common *kerenhyd* 'peace, truce; pact, understanding' (object of vb): near *Coel* in PT VI.14, quoted above; especially common in line final position (over half of the 25 CBT instances). The line is somewhat long, so perhaps delete *a* (same meaning) or read *achetwyn* rather than *kyfachetwyn*. The stress is on the friendly relationship between the followers of Cunedda and the Coeling.

- 14 **Gwisgant veird kywrein kanonhyd** Tal suggests *kallonyd* (< *call*); G suggests pl. of *kal-lon* 'heart, breast', etc. here as in §14.9 *py gel kal-lonyd*. I am inclined to connect the form with *kanon* 'canon, rule, law', used in didactic verse of religious material, but also more generally of poetic rule or orthodoxy, e.g. CBT III 11.8 *O ganon kertoryon kanaf*; 21.185 *Mal pan oruyt Llew yn llyuyr canon*; I 16.5-6 *Y Grist y canaf, ar ureint canon, / Keinwaþt o'm tauaþt ar draethaþt drþn*. But in the case of *canon* single *-n-* and no *-h-* would be expected if it were the pl. of *canon* or a noun synonymous with *kanonwr* 'canon, ecclesiastical personage'. If connected with *kanu*, then 3pl. *kanont* (or *canhawnt*) + rel. ending. Whether this is

really an archaic, inherited form (with Koch), or a confection, as implied by Simon Rodway, *Studi Celtici* 2 (2003), 111, 121, is uncertain. Koch translates 'who (shall) sing'; Rodway, 'who sing'. See also on §7.64 *berwidyd* and §18.36 and 44 *peridyd*.

- 15 **Marw Cunedaf a gwynaf a gwynit** CA line 1287 (Gwarchan Tudfwlch) has *kwynaf*, EWSP 437.62 *a gwynaf*; but *cwynif* is the form in Marwnad Cynddylan *passim*; LIDC 35.9 *Ew kuynhiw iny wuiw in hervit hon*. If *-if* is the earlier form, then what is *-af* doing here (in rhyme position)? The repetition of *cwyn-* paralleled in CBT III 28.35-6 *A' th gwynaf, er-yth-gwynaur, / Er-yth-gwynant cant kertaabr*. Since the line is somewhat long, perhaps delete *marw* (with H-cd). As it stands, unrhymed *gwynit*: perhaps *gwynyd* or else *gwynir*, proest rhyme with *diarchar*.
- 16 **cwynitor tewdor tewdun** §9.61-2 *keissitor*; and see §1.54 and 63; §4.51-2; §4.226. Vb ending *-itor* in CBT I 8.8. *gbelitor*; I 14.68, II 24.3, III 21.183, IV 2.7 *treithitor* and 9.13 *treithitor*; II 1.81 and 16.19 *klywitor*; 1.97 *molitor*; III 3.43 and 10.38 *ceritor*; III 10.58 and IV 2.33 *kenitor*; III 16.185 *honitor*; IV 2.28 *telitor*; 2.29 *aruollitor*; 2.57 *pyllitor*; 6.206 and 210 *keffitor* 2.23 *dilochitor*; 2.24 *ergryntor*; etc. See also §4.51 for *-ator*, *-etor* endings.
- Tewdor* is extremely common in the CBT corpus where the form is clearly with medial *-d-* rather than *-ð-* (< *dor* 'door': see on §18.24 *pybyrdor*). The examples in Echrys Ynys line 7 *Seon tewdor* and CA line 953 *ef dodes rac trin tewdor* have ambiguous orthography, as here, but are included by GPC s.v. *tewdor*. Koch favours *tew + dor* with Caerwyn Williams.
- The line is shorter than usual, with an irregular cadence if it ends in *tewdun*. This is regarded by Koch and Williams as an otherwise unattested compound of *twm* 'broken', a word which is, however, used in other compounds: e.g. *gwaywdwn*, *hydwn*, *llafndwn*; *dwn* 'dark' is unlikely. *Tew + twm* for thick broken earth (i.e. grave?). If the rhyme is *-un*, however, perhaps consider restoring *tew reidun*, or *tew duun*, or even *dewr duun* (*duun* 'agreement'; in agreement. agreeable').
- 17 **diarchar dychyfar (ms dychyfal) dychyfun** *Diarchar* 'invincible, powerful'. etc., cf. line 46 below; AP line 168; PBT (Romani kar) 8.8 etc. and common in CBT corpus. GPC s.v. hapax *dychyfal* 'noble, dignified' follows G who connects it with vb *alaf*: *alu*, OIr *al-* 'rear'. But if there is scribal repetition, perhaps restore *dyfal/dywal*. The tentative translation is based on emending *dychyfal* to *dychyfar* or *cyfar* (used in burial context in CBT VI 33.51 *Kyuar a daear dygnet—y achlud*), with the basic meaning 'joint-ploughing' understood figuratively for battling; *dychyfun* < *cyfun* 'joint-; united'. But if *dychyfun* = *dychyffun*, perhaps it is to be connected with *ffun* 'breath', or *ffun* 'rope, band, tie'. Very uncertain.
- 18 **dyfynveis dyfngleis dychyfun** First two words perhaps *dwfn* 'deep' + *bais* and *cleis* respectively. In a deep-bottomed deep trench ?with no breath, or if *ffun* 'band, rope' perhaps to do with the binding of the body in the grave (*cyffun*). 'Bound in the deep-bottomed deep trench' (cf. *iscell* in PT X.5). If *cleis* for a 'wound, bruise' then 'profoundly deep wound'? of the poet's emotions.
- 19 **Ymadrawd cwd e clawd (ms cwdedawd) caletlwm** *Ymadrawd* 'phrase, words'. or 3sg. pres. *Cwdedawd* if early is unlikely to be *-awd* 3sg. pret. which makes G's *cw dechawd* (vb *techu* 'retreat') problematic for an early dating, although the sense would be acceptable ('where has he retreated to?'). Koch relates it to *amcawd* etc. Other possibilities might include *cawd* (*cwd a gawd caletlwm* 'where

are those who offend the *caletlwm?*); or *cwd edyw* 'where has he gone?' (forfeiting the internal rhyme). The translation understands *e clawd* 'his pit, ditch', used here of Cunedda's grave, qualified by *kaletlwm*. If *kaletlwm* refers to Cunedda, conceivably 'austere' etc. (although *calet* would most naturally mean miserly), compounded with *llwm* 'bare'. The idea of the unknown grave is found in LIDC 18.135 *anoeth bid bet y Arthur*; implied also in CA lines 19-20 *marth ym pa vro/ llad vn mab Marro*.

- 21 **Yscynyal Cunedaf kyn kywys a thytwet** Unusually long line if *tytwet* is the rhyme word. Lines 21-2 contain three section of six syllables each, and the sense is mostly clear. GPC s.v. *esgynial* treats *yscynyal* as 'climbing, mounting, ascending; lofty, elevated' rather than *ys cynyal* (see *cynial* 'ferocity', a hapax formation with commonly compounded *gal*). *Kywys* is understood as *kyfys* 'devouring' (used of the earth in CC 29.8 *daear . . . / Meint a dyofac* (em.) *a ys* 'the Earth swallows all it rears'). On *tytwet* see §11.26 *ac wyneb tytwet*.
- 22 **y wyneb a gatwet** A commonplace of the medieval honour society, reflected in CA lines 212-13 *a werthws e eneit/ er wyneb grybwyllyeit*; LIDC 17.201 *Heb cadvid vynep heb ran vrdas*; EWGP VII.4 and VIII.13; CC 32.22 *ym mraint cadw dy wyneb*; CBT I 3.108 *Pan gedwis y wyneb heb gewilyt*. See further the comments of T.M. Charles-Edwards in AH 59-61.
- 23 **Kanweith cyn bu lleith yn dorglwyt** On comparable *cyn bu* formulations, see §20.2. With *cant*, cf. CBT V 12.41 *Fraw gyrchyd cant cad kyn bu llaβr—y dy*; IV 17.139, etc. With *lleith*, CBT II 11.3; IV 17.40 and 140. *Dorglwyt* lit. 'door hurdle', figuratively 'defence', rare in poetry, but used by Cynddelw, CBT III 26.86.
- 24 **dychludent wyr Bryneich ym pylwyt** Cf. LIDC 17.131 *Ban diffont guir Brineirch ir guarth luit* and EWSP 421.15 *neus goruc o dir (?recte o wyr) Bryneich/ . . . gelorawr veich*. *Bryneich* is retained through medieval poetry to denote the enemy of the Cymry. See §5.135 on *p(l)ylwyt* (and *phymnwyt*, the form used extensively in CBT corpus).
- 25 **Ef canet rac y ofyn a'e arswyd** Possible confusion between *canu/cwynaw*: 'there was lamenting'.
- 26 **oergerdet kyn bu dayr** *Oer* often used in laments. On variant *dayr*, see GPC s.v. *daear* (*dayar* is the usual form in the Book of Taliesin).
- 26 **dogyn adwyt (ms ydwet)** For rhyme, restore *adwyt* 'death' (see on §6.29), and consider *dygyn* for *dogyn*.
- 27 **Heit haul am wydwal gwrebrwyt (ms gwnebrwyt)** *Gwydwal* 'thicket; obstacle', used by Cynddelw, CBT IV 4.199 *G6ytwal Dyfneual dyfnassei—uy mot*. I follow G s.v. *gwnebrwyt* who emends to *gwrebrwyt*, containing **gwre* 'wall' (see GPC² *achwre*, *achre*) and *brwyt* 'point, skewer, weaving frame' (cf. vb *brwydaw* used figuratively 'to compose poetry'), also adj. 'variegated, pied, chequered'.
- 28 **gweinaw gwaeth llyfred noc adwyt** The second part of the line seems to echo a saying (*gwaeth . . . na . . .*; cf. *gwell* sayings), cf. CBT VI 14.44 *Ae gwaeth mynac nac noc eddewyt?*. The idea of something 'worse than death' common: e.g. CBT VII 41.44 *g6aeth noc ageu*. See GPC s.v. *llyfredd* 'cowardice', far less common than *llyfyrder*. G regards *gweinaw* (-*yaw*) as vb noun 'to sheathe', and if so perhaps for relinquishing the armed struggle — an action more cowardly than

death. But is *naw gwaeth* 'nine times worse' perhaps relevant, cf. CBT VI 29.77 *tri naw well no Nudd?* In relation to Koch's hint that *gweinaw* is 'knew', cf. KPV 349-51 on *adwaen* and GMW 147 on *guoreu*.

- 30 **am lys am grys Cunedaf** *Llys* 'court' or *amlys* 'varied court, many courts', AH 226. *Crys* 'shirt, belt', or 'attack' (*cryssyaw*), see on line 5 above, or *amgrys* 'many shirts, belts' ('For Cunedda's court, well-supplied with shirts').
- 31 **am ryaflaw hallt am hydyruer mor** Lines 31-2 are understood as three sections, similar to the pattern in lines 21-2. *Ryaflaw hallt* may be a deep sea inlet like a fork. Or it could be for an object (like a fish, or a ship) which cleaves the sea, or (with AP 53) 'the salt sea, which is being split open or torn by ships'. Morris-Jones favoured a kenning for salmon (because of its forked tail) used as a comparison, followed by Koch and AH 226. On *hydyruer*, see §11.97 and 25.5.
- 33 **Gwawtveird > oganon oganaf (ms aogon aogaf)** Morris-Jones favoured viewing *ogon* and *ogaf* as *wodon* and *wodaf* (through miscopying of *c* and *t* in an exemplar). The vb in question, *gwodi* he derives from *gwawt*, and this is followed by GPC. It gives sense and an etymological figure with *gwawtveird*: 'Poets of song will sing what I sing'. AH 228 notes two good parallels to a repeated vb in comparable sense, viz. CBT II 1.171 *Debr6r a uolaf a uolant ueirt byd* and V 1.55 *Pwyllaf a ganaf, a gen6ch,—ueirtyon*. A broadly similar concept is found in this collection too, cf. §8.27-8 *Yssit imi teir kadeir kyweir kysson/ ac yt Vrawt parahawt gan gerdoryon*, and see note §4.55 for further examples.
- Although Caerwyn Williams, following G, probes a different vb *gwoði*, GPC 'to long (for), desire, beg, plead' (from *gwawð* 'desire'), he concurs with Morris-Jones. Koch, avoiding emendation, postulates another vb, **gogaf* 'I call, say' cognate with, or borrowed from L. *voco*, but unattested elsewhere.
- The vb *goganu* would be a possibility if suspension marks were present in an exemplar. This vb is used in a favourable way 'to praise, eulogise' in PBT 7.1 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *Kathyl goreu gogant*; CC 10.17 *Beird a'th gogan*; CBT I 20.1-2 *Goganaw i Arglwyd gogonavl,/ Gogoned Vrenhin, Dewin d6ywawl*; V 5.61 *Mad gogant molyant rwy moles*; as well as in vb *darogan*, etc. But *goganu* is more frequently used to mean 'satirise, mock, disparage'. No rel. pron. is required with preverb *go-*, therefore *Gwawtveird ogan(h)on oganaf* 'I discount song-poets who disparage, and I hold in esteem others who praise'. This interpretation has the advantage of more pointed contrast between lines 33 and 34, and the use of a frequently attested vb (cf. also proverbial *a oganho a ogenir*, see GPC s.v. *goganu*). It does, however, involve slightly more intervention than Morris-Jones' interpretation which is, as noted above, is quite acceptable.
- 34 **ac ereill a rif(h)on (ms arefon) a rifaf** The pattern of line 33 suggests *a rifhon a rifaf*. If Morris-Jones is followed for line 33, then 'will praise what I praise'. For vb, see on §1.89 and §19.6.
- 35 **Ryfedawr yn erulawd** As it stands, impers. of vb *ryfedu* 'to wonder', or pl. of noun *ryfed* 'a wonder' as understood here. But various emendations are also possible: *ryfedawt* 'a wonder', *ryfeduawr* 'great [his] wonder', as well as formations from *ry* + *med*, or *rifet* 'number'. *Erulawd* understood with GPC as 'fray, battle'.
- 35 **a naw cant gorwyd** Either 'and' or 'with' 900 horses; if the latter, hyperbole referring to Cunedda's imagined cavalry strength: for such conventional battle-

numbers, see on §5.224 *naw cant kynran*. There is no particular need to understand *anaw* 'wealth'.

- 36 **kyn kymun Cunedaf** *Cunedaf* required for rhyme: see on line 5. *Kymun* is invariably used in the medieval period for the sacrament of Holy Communion (see GPC), and cf. the usage of the vb *kymunaw*.
- 37 **Ry'm afei biw blith yr haf** For alternation *w ~ f*, cf. *Dydd dyfydd* line 7 *Rymafuir culuit kyrreifeint*, and see on §10.1-2 *Ren ry'm awyr titheu/ kerreifant*. *Biw* 'cattle', cf. §9.32, PT V.8-9 *wyth vgein vn lliw o loi a biw/ biw blith ac ychen a phop kein agen*, and common elsewhere. Atypical cadence suggests restoring *amser haf* or similar.
- 38 **edystrawt** See on §3.43.
- 40 **win gloyw ac olew** See on §18.25-6 for conjunction of shining drink and illumination. *Olew* understood here as oil for giving light, but culinary oil (from native plants such as linseed, or imported olive oil), medicinal unguent or holy oil are also possible. Koch, HI 197, notes with GPC the Peniarth 12 collocation, *amllder o win ac olew*. The pair is extremely common (38 examples) in the Bible. See on §7.29 *elyw* (recte *elif*).
- 40 **torof keith rac vntrew** The 'troop of slaves, bondmen' are imagined to have been provided to guard the poet from ill or misfortune (with Morris-Jones). *Rac vntrew*, lit. 'from one sneeze'. As in other cultures, a sneeze was clearly regarded as a bad omen: see discussion EWSP 629, PT V.26 *Nac vn trew na deu ny nawd yraceu* (recte *rac angeu*); CC 26.2 and 10.
- 41 **Ef dyfal ogressur ogyflew** *Dyfal* 'constant' or for *dywal* 'fierce'. *Gogressur* is best connected with *crys* 'attack', i.e. *gogryssur* (influenced by Late L. *aggressor*?). *Ogyflew* is very uncertain, but understood here as formed from *llewa* 'to eat voraciously', etc. rather than emending to **gogynllew* (< *cynllew* 'warrior'). *Cyflew* 'hairy, with fur', would not be unsuitable in an extended comparison between the hero and the lion waiting to pounce, but it is not apparently attested.
- 42 **gweladur pennadur pryt llew** *Gweladur* is a hapax form, but transparently formed from vb *gwelet* (cf. §18.32 *gwylyadur* from *gwyliaw*). Sixteen or more examples of *Pen(n)adur/pen(y)adur* in CBT corpus, but not found elsewhere in pre-1283 poetry.
- 43 **lludwy uedei gywlat** *Lludw* 'ashes', comparing the use of vb *lludwaw* 'to reduce to ashes' in martial contexts such as CBT VI 18.60 *lludwa6 Llannhuadein*; 20.35 *yn llutwa6 Llid6m yn rat*; VII 26.26. The otherwise unattested *lludwy* instead of *lludw* may be the result of confusion with 3sg. pres. subjunct. of vb *lludyaw* 'to hinder'. *Cywlat* can be the border or adjoining land, or its inhabitants. The *uedei* may represent lenited *bydei* (with AH 230, as in translation) or *gwedei*; or else restore *lludw y ued e gywlat* 'ashen-faced his enemy'.
- 43 **rac mab Edern** Edern was the father of Cunedda, grandson of Tegid (*Cunedda map Aetern map Patern Pesrut map Tacit*, EWGT p. 9), great-great-grandfather of Maelgwn. Edern was also thought to be the name of one of Cunedda's sons (whence the regional name, *Edeirnyawn*).
- 44 **kyn edyrn anaelew** If *anaelew* is for *anaeleu* or *anaele* 'suffering, pain, hurt . . . affliction, grief, sorrow' (? < *lle* 'sad') common in elegy, end-rhymes in lines 41 and 42 would have to be interpreted as *ogyfleu* 'radiant' and *pryt lleu* 'with bright

appearance'. Alternatively, *anaelaw* 'without profit, wealth' for proest rhyme with *ogyflew* and *llew*. It is understood here, though very uncertainly, as a variant of *anaeleu*.

- 45 **Ef dywal diarchar diedig** See on lines 41 and 17 above. *Diedig* 'stubborn, fierce', etc. collocated with *cyfing*, CBT III 24.156.
- 47 **yman regorawl** *Regorawl* understood as *ragorawl*, not otherwise in pre-1283 poetry, but found soon thereafter. It is best understood as adj. from *ragor* in the sense of 'van, front-line'. Formations in noun + *-awl* appear to proliferate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as noted in the commentary on §15.2.
- 48 **gwyr (ms gwir) gwrawl oed y vnbyn** *Gwir* emended to *gwyr*. See §15.2 on *-awl* endings. *Gwrawl* is common in the CBT corpus (34 examples), and compare the conventional phrase (*oed*) *gwrawl y. Vnbyn* occurs twice in the *Gododdin* (one instance of sg.); CC 14.5 *Yssy haul urawl, guruhaw a cliwir* (of God); otherwise restricted to CBT corpus (15 examples).
- 49 **Dy-m-hun a chyfatcun** Cf. CBT I 9.113 and 131 *Dy-m-hunis tonn wyrt*, and see note p. 219. *Dyhunaw* understood here as there as 'to wake', and *chyfatcun* as 'lament' with G, comparing §5.64 *amatgun*.
- 49 **a thal gwin kamda** If *athal* with GPC, see on §3.52; AH 232 suggests considering *attal* 'withholding'. But *a thal* is understood here as part of the pair *a chyfatcun a thal* 'both . . . and'. Koch sees *kamda* as a bungled form of *Cunedda* (HI 188) but here it is understood as a compound of *camp* 'feat' + *da*. Further interpretations based on heavy emendation are discussed AH 232-3.
- 50 **diua hwn (ms hun) o Goelig** Morris-Jones' insists here (as in line 29) on emending *hun* to *Run* (son of Maelgwn). Here *hun* 'sleep' may be repeated ('the destruction of sleep (now as before) by the Coeling'), but preferable for the sense is to restore *hwn* 'this one' (e.g. PT II.3 *Vryen hwn*; CA line 101 *goreu (yw) hwenn*; CBT III 26.126-7 *Ydoet hael tra vu hwenn/ Hwenn oet digrif hael, hwenn oet digrawn—glew*; V 25.49 *h6nn y6 Beli—Hir*; VII 47.28 *Gway Wynet hir orwet hwenn*, etc.). See further AH 209.

Coelig rhyming with *diedig/dychyfyg/vnbyn* (on rhyming of nasals, see EWSP 334). *O*: if 'by', it might imply a belief that Cunedda had been slain by one of the Coel line or allegiance. Alternatively, and more likely, is that *o* means 'from, of', i.e. *hwn o Goeling* 'this one from/of the Coel faction'. An attempt is being made here (as in line 13) to align him more closely with the Coeling faction. The genealogies record that his wife was Grawl daughter of Coel. This alignment (like their joint descent from St Anne, in the Harleian genealogies) would have served to reconcile the origin legend for large regions of north and mid Wales — the sons of Cunedda story of the *Historia Brittonum* — with the descent of the ruling dynasty of Gwynedd from Coel (as well as Coeling blood in power in Powys and Deheubarth (see note on line 13). The CBT corpus has nine instances of the term *Coeling*, especially for members of the Gwynedd royal line and relations in Powys and Deheubarth; for the *-ing* suffix in *Coeling*, etc., argued to be from OE, see CIB 157-8.

24 Marwnat Vthyr Pen

The guide-title *mar. vthyr. . . dragon* together with the abbreviated red title *marwnat vythyr pen* show that the poem was thought to be an elegy for Uthr Bendragon at some stage in its transmission. However it stands somewhat apart from the group of elegies, sandwiched between two prophetic poems, *Dygogan awen* and *Kein Gyfedwch*.¹ The first poem prophesies the coming of a series of promised deliverers, a *llyminawc* who will overcome Anglesey and devastate Gwynedd (lines 14-22), a 'man from hiding' (*gwr o gud*) who will wage war on the foreigners (lines 24-6), and another 'with far-ranging forces' (*pellennawc y luyd*) who will bring joy to the Britons (lines 27-9). The second prophecy, patently late, mentions the oppression by foreigners, including Norman rulers. Neither of these prophecies mentions Uthr Bendragon, or his son, Arthur, although he could conceivably be one of the unnamed saviours of the poem *Dygogan awen*.

The speaker of the present poem presents himself in lines 1-25 as a warrior above all. In the second half, lines 26-35 the emphasis is on the speaker's poetic skill, and his ability as a harpist, piper and crowder (player on the *crwth*). Other poems in this collection such as §5 *Kat Godeu* indicate that both martial and artistic qualities (as well as others) coexist in the delineation of Taliesin himself, and it is tempting to assume that he is the speaker of the whole poem. Alternatively, the second half may have been originally a 'Taliesin' piece which became attached to a soliloquy (?by Uthr) because of the very marked egocentric nature of the two, and perhaps because Taliesin was imagined to have sung the deathsong of Uthr (not necessarily the first part of our poem), just as he was the putative author of Dylan's elegy and the poem on *Cunedda* (§§22 and 23).

Uthr is not mentioned in the poem, although Arthur is, in line 14 in which the speaker seems to rate his own valour as nine times more powerful than Arthur's; in line 25, he appears to regard his own progeny as indispensable. Uthr became widely known as Uther, a major protagonist in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136): there he is the son of King Constantine II, partly reared in Brittany by King Budicius, returning to take revenge on Vortigern; he goes to Ireland to fetch the Giants' Ring with the aid of Merlin, defeating King Gillomanius; at St Davids he kills Paschent and Gillomanius, and succeeds his brother Aurelius Ambrosius as King of Britain, assuming the name Pendragon, connected with the meteor in dragon shape he had witnessed and two golden dragons he has made. Defeats at York (at the hands of Octa and Eosa) are followed by victory at Mount Damen and over the Scots. His Eastertide court in London is mentioned. He uses Merlin to transform him into the shape of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall, in order to seduce Gorlois' wife, Ygerne. They marry and have a son, Arthur. Warfare is resumed with Octa and Eosa with the aid of Loth

¹ PBT nos. 4 and 5.

of Lodonesia because of Uther's advancing age and illness. Loth fails, and Uther, although seriously ill, besieges and slays Octa and Eosa in St Albans. But the Saxons poison the well there and Uther, with a hundred of his men, dies. He was buried inside the Giants' Ring, near the monastery of Ambrius.

According to Triad 28, the Three Great Enchantments (*hut*) of the Island of Britain were those of Math fab Mathonwy; *6thyr Bendragon* (variants *Uthur*; *Uther*; *Yther*) and Gwythelin Gorr. Rachel Bromwich surmises that Uthr's *hut* may refer to his powers as a shape-shifter when he is aided by Merlin to assume the guise of Gorlois. Since the earliest manuscript of the triad, NLW Peniarth 16, is no earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century, Galfridian influence cannot be ruled out, despite the editor's assertion that 'the triad suggests that the story [of the disguise] was known in some form in the Welsh pre-Geoffrey tradition'.² By the same token, the present poem cannot be assumed to pre-date Geoffrey; but neither is there any demonstrable influence from that source, summarised above.

Other verse references to Uthr, reviewed by Rachel Bromwich, TYP³ 512-15, include §20.5-6 *mab Vthyr cyn lleas, / o'e law dywystlas* 'the son of Uthr before his death pledged himself by his hand'. There, the personal name is more likely than the adj. *uthr* 'terrible, fierce' since Madog is Uthr's son in Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr (CC 30.6 and 7). The other important mention in poetry is in the Pa ŵr poem (possibly twelfth century),³ LIDC 31.13-14 *Mabon am Mydron/gwas Uthir Pendragon* 'Mabon son of Modron the servant of Uthr Pendragon'. As noted in TYP³ 515, the thirteenth-century poet, Y Prydydd Bychan, appears to use the name of the character in praising Maredudd ab Owain: CBT VII 10.3 *pwyll mab Uthyr, rwyf aruthyr riw* 'a man with Uthr's son's wisdom, an awesome lord on the mountain', presumably likening him to Arthur.⁴ Later poets, such as Gruffudd ap Maredudd, were clearly acquainted with Galfridian material: GGM III 4.21-4; see further TYP³ 515 and WCD 636-7. The metre of both sections uses tripartite lines (8 syllables, sometimes 9), with two clear caesura; the final cadences are generally trisyllabic, usually x / x.

² TYP³ 61. Triad 51 (Red Book of Hergest), patently drawing on Geoffrey, also mentions Uthr.

³ Discussed by Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The early Welsh Arthurian poems', in AW 33-71, pp. 38-46; for a date c. 1100, see p. 39. TYP³ 513 dates it to the tenth or eleventh century.

⁴ Morfydd E. Owen, CBT VII 88, suggests that Pwyll (Pendefig Dyfed), hero of the First Branch of the Mabinogi may be meant, while noting that there is no evidence that his father was called Uthr.

24 Marwnat Vthyr Pendragon

Book of Taliesin 71.6-72.8

Neu vi luossawc yn trydar:
It is I who commands hosts in battle:
ny pheidwn rwg deulu heb wyar.
I'd not give up between two forces without bloodshed.

Neu vi a elwir gorlassar:
It's I who's styled 'Armed in Blue':
vy gwrys bu enuys y'm hescar.
my ferocity snared my enemy.

5 **Neu vi tywyssawc yn tywyll:**
It is I who's a leader in darkness:
am rithwy am dwy pen kawell.

.....

Neu vi eil Sawyl¹ yn ardu:
It's I who's a second Sawyl in the gloom:
ny pheidwn heb wyar rwg deulu.
I'd not give up without bloodshed [the fight] between two forces.

Neu vi a amuc vy achlessur
It's I who defended my hiding-place
10 **yn difant a charant Casnur.**
in [the fight to] the death against Casnur's kin.
Neur ordyfneis-i waet am Wythur,
I was used to blood[shed] around Gwythur,
cledyual hydyr rac meibon Cawrnur.
with vigorous swordstroke against Cawrnur's sons.

Neu vi a rannwys vy echlessur:
It was I who shared my stronghold:
nawuetran yg gwrhwt Arthur.
Arthur has a [mere] ninth of my valour.

15 **Neu vi a torreis cant kaer,**
It was I who stormed a hundred citadels,
neu vi a ledeis cant maer,
it was I who slew a a hundred stewards,
neu vi a rodeis cant llen,
it was I who shared out a hundred mantles,

¹ ms *kawyl*

- neu vi a ledeis cant pen,**
it was I who cut off a hundred heads,
neu vi a rodeis y² Henpen,
it was I who gave Henben
 20 **cledyfawr goruawr gyghallen.**
swords of great protective power.
Neu vi a oreu cerenhyd,³
It was I who forged friendship,
hayarndor edeithor pen mynyd.
an iron door, a fire break on the mountain top.
Ym gweduit ym gofit hydyr <-> gyhyr,⁴
In my bereft state, in my distress [I was] strong of sinew,
nyt oed vyt na bei vy eissillyd.
there'd not be life were it not for my progeny.
- 25 **Midwyf vard moladwy yghywreint,**
I'm a poet, my skilful art deserves praise,
poet y gan vrein ac eryr ac wytheint;
may it be with ravens and eagle(s) and raptors;
Auacdu ae deubu y gymeint
Afagddu — to him came [an experience] just as great,
pan ymbyrth petrywyr rwg dwy geinc.⁵
since good men suspend themselves between two poles.
Drigyaw y nef oed ef vy chwant,
To ascend to the heavens was my desire,
- 30 **rac eryr, rac ofyn amheirant.**
beyond the eagle, beyond fear of harm.
Wyf bard ac wyf telynawr,
I'm a poet, and I'm a harper,
wyf pibyd ac wyf crythawr.
I'm a piper, and I'm a crowder.
Seith vgein kerdawr
Seven score poets/musicians
dy goruawr gyghallen.
for great artistry.
- 35 **Bum⁶ kalch vriw vriwat,⁷**
I was a destroyer with a shattered shield,

² ms *i*³ ms *terenhyd*⁴ ms *oed gyhir*⁵ ms *deu geint*⁶ ms *bu*⁷ ms *vri vriniat*

huescyll edeinat.*a swift-winged bird.***Dy Vab, dy veirdnat,***To the Son — a poetic song to you —***dy Veir, Dewindat⁸***[and] to Mary, o wise Father***vyn tauawt y traethu vy marwnat.***[will be devoted] my tongue to declaim my elegy.*40 **Handit o meinat gwrthglodyat — byt,***The defence of the world is of rock,***pryt Prydein (huyscein ymhwylat),***when Britain's turn comes — my thoughts ascending —***Gwledic Nef yg kennadeu na'm doat.***O Ruler of Heaven, may you not disallow me my entreaties.*

title **Marwnat vthyr pen.** The rubricating guide title is *mar. vthyr dragon*. See introduction on Uthr Pendragon, and on the identity of the speaker in the poem. TYP³ 512-13 discusses the formation: *dragon* sg. and pl. (< L. *dracon-*; cf. *dreic* < *draco*, often collocated with *dragon*), and see Kenneth Jackson, 'Rhai sylwadau ar "Kulhwch ac Olwen"', *YB* 12 (1982), 12-23, pp. 12-15, on *penkawr* (where *kawr* is from old genitive pl.). *Pendragon* is 'chief of warriors' if of this type; otherwise, if sg., 'chief leader/warrior'. The first line of the poem echoes the force of the former. *Pen dragon* in CBT I 11.55; VII 36.90 (both collocated with *dreic*). *Pendragon* is used in CBT IV 13.21 *Ym Mon, bendragon, ban dreigiau—Prydain* in a praise-poem to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth attributed to Cynddelw, but which may be by Prydydd y Moch (see CBT IV 238-9). Cynddelw's other instance is CBT IV 6.251. It is used twice by Prydydd y Moch, again of Llywelyn I (CBT V 17.7 and 31).

- 1 **Neu vi luossawc yn trydar** *Neu* (like *neut*) introduces the subject brought forward for emphasis: see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'MIW *neu, neut* as copula', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 278-85, at p. 282. Cf. §1.32, 34, 36. *Lluossawc* 'numerous; having numerous hosts', cf. in the latter sense, PBT 8.28 (Romani kar); Moliant Cadwallon line 33; EWSP 446.8; CC 30.38; CBT V 24.22, etc. *Trydar/gwayr/escar* are collocated in EWSP 458.7; *trydar* and *yn trydar* very common; CBT VII 8.18. *gwyar/aerdrydar*.
- 2 **rwg deu lu** Cf. EWSP 420.7 (Pen Urien); PBT 6.7 (Rydyrchafwy Duw) *deu lu*; PKM 29 *y rwg y deu lu*.
- 3 **gorlassar** Cf. PT V.28 *Gorgoryawc gorlassawc gorlassar*, rhyming with *escar*, as here; again PT VIII.17 *goryawc gorlassawc gorlassar*. Both passages are corrupt. PT 98 suggests 'clad in blue-grey armour' or 'armed with blue-grey weapons', following G and GPC who derive it from *glassar* 'sword, turf, sod'

⁸ ms *dewndat*

rather than *llassar* 'azure', etc. (see GPC s.v. *llassar*), presumably because one would expect **gorllassar*. That may indeed have been present, with *l* representing developed [ɸ]. *Llassar* is rhymed with *casnar*, *Casnar* (cf. line 10 *casnur*) in CBT III 16.55, VII 52.14-5. On the personal names *Llassar* Llaes Gygnwyd, *Olrlasa(i)r*, *calch llassar* 'lime of azure', etc., see Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Iron House in Ireland*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture 16 (Cambridge 2005), 11-16.

- 4 **vy gwrys bu enuys y'm hescar** *Enuys* 'circle, ring, collar', perhaps here as 'snare'; but *eunys* (ModW *efnys*) 'wrathful, hostile' is very likely (through minim confusion, or metathesis): cf. §10.34; PBT 6.13 (Rydyrchafwy Duw); PBT 9.8 (Ymarwar Llund Bychan), and its use, rhymed with *gwrys*, in CBT I 3.65 *Brennhin brwydyr efnys gwrys gbellynnyabc*; III 13.17 *Brys yg gbrys, yn efnys ouynwreith*; IV 9.215 *Gbrys efnys dechrys, dechryn—y ongyr*.
- 5 **yn tywyll** Cf. AP line 88; CC 20.96.
- 6 **a'm rithwy am dwy pen kawell** G emends *am dwy* > *an Dwy(w)* 'our Lord', understood as the subject of 3sg. subjunct. *rithwy* 'transform' etc., but *yn adwy* 'in the breach' or *yn ardwy* 'as a defence' would give a more regular three syllables in the central section. *Kawell* 'basket, pannier; cradle; fish-trap; creel, cage; quiver; belly, breast' (GPC) seems unlikely, as do *cowyll* 'maidenhood-fee; clothing, covering' (with G s.v. *coŵyll*), *sawell* 'chimney, kiln' (see on §4.246), or *nawell* 'nine times better'. *Cannwyll* is sometimes a rhyme partner for *tywyll* (e.g. AP line 88 *cannwyll yn tywyll*; CC 18.13; R1056.15), and would yield full rhyme. 'May our Lord, the guiding/chief light, transform me' is a possibility; or (with *yn adwy*) 'May the guiding/chief light (i.e. God) transform me in the breach'. Or is *pen kawell* a basket to collect up the heads he cuts off (line 18)? If Uthr is the speaker, is vb *rithaw* to be connected with his transformation through disguise (see introduction)? Obscure.
- 7 **eil kawyl yn ardu** G emends *kawyl* > *Sawyl*, the personal name (from *Samuelis* via **Safwyl*). *Sawyl* Ben Uchel is named with Pasgen and Rhun as one of the Three Arrogant Men, Triad 23, as a combative tyrant in *Vita Cadoci* (VSB 58); and in CO 344-5. *Samuil Pennissel* in genealogies, EWGT 12 (later *Benuchel*), Irish sources, and in Geoffrey of Monmouth. Other *Sawyls* include a son of Llywarch, and the saint commemorated in Llansawel: see further TYP³ 496, WCD 581 and CO 104. *Ardu* 'darkness, gloom; dark, dreadful' (GPC), sometimes collocated with *afyrdwl* 'sad; sadness' (see G, GPC).
- 9 **vy achlessur** See on *vy echlessur* line 13. Elision would regularise the final cadence.
- 10 **yn difant a charant Casnur** On *difant*, see §4.127; on *charant*, §§14.2 and 18.22; for the element *nur*, see on §9.12. *Casnur* understood as a personal name (cf. *Cawrnur* line 12) though G, but not GPC, notes possible adj. 'wrathful, angry'.
- 11 **am Wythur** On the personal name *Gwythur*, see §15.31. *Am* 'for, around', perhaps here meaning that the speaker was in *Gwythur*'s entourage.
- 12 **meibon Cawrnur** See on §9.13-14 which describe horses being reaved from *Cawrnur*.
- 13 **a rannwys vy echlessur** Cf. *achlessur* line 9. GPC treats this example as a variant of *echlysur* (later *achlysur*) 'cause, reason, occasion, opportunity; retreat, refuge'. Here as in line 9 a meaning such as 'opportunity, advantage' is possible.

- 14 **nawuetran yg gwrhyt Arthur** *Nawuetran* 'ninth part' with *yg gwrhyt* understood as 'of my valour' (*gwryt* ~ *gwrhyt*). Arthur has a ninth part of the speaker's valour. This seems to have more point than 'I have shared my refuge, a ninth share in Arthur's valour', TYP³ 513, AW 53. *Gwrhyt* 'measure' is not wholly impossible — 'one of the nine divisions [done] according to the Arthurian measure/fathom', etc., or 'a ninth part is in [a place] called Arthur's Measure or Span', the latter like *Gwrhyt Kei* discussed TYP³ 311, and other *Gwryd* names discussed G 709-10. The phrase is exactly the same as in §18.30 (*Preideu Annwfyd*) *tra Chaer Wydyr ny welsynt wrhyt Arthur*.
- 15 **a torreis cant kaer** Vb *torri* for attacking hosts, storming buildings, etc. Similarly collocated in EWSP 447.10 *kan kat a thorri can kaer*, CBT V 10.79-80 *Can cad tec torreist, dreic aer, / A gwedy can cad, can caer*. Also cf. CBT I 9.83 *Torred Caeryrtin*; V 26.15 *Torreist Gaeryrtin*; V 5.47 *Deu kann waew terrwyn torres—bar dygrón*; II 25.20 *Cannhaer am kanncaer cyn hetychu*. *Cant caer* is also attested in §5.237.
- 16 **a ledels cant maer** See §9.46 for other instances of rhyming *maer/kaer* including (with vb *llad*) CBT II 14.110 (*Owain Cyfeiliog*) *Llas maer, llosget kaer geyr mor lliant*.
- 17 **a rodeis cant llen** Cf. PT I.4 *Cant llen ehoec*.
- 19 **a rodeis i Henpen** The *i* is a remnant of the pronoun, i.e. *rodeis-i*. Restore *y Henben*. *Henpen* is a personal name, or possibly a nickname, as in LIDC 18.219 *Bed Hennin Henben yn aelwyt Dinorben* (Abergele, Denbighshire), presumably the same character as *Hennin* father of *Garwen* (em.) LIDC 18.217, and *Henin Hen*, father of *Garwen* in *Triad 57* (see TYP³ 397), and possibly to be equated with *Heinin Vardd*, chief poet at the *Degannwy* court of *Maelgwn Gwynedd* in YT line 374, 380; and 200 *Henin*. See further on §8.24.
- 20 **goruawr gyghallen** *Cyghallen*, cf. line 33 below, otherwise rare in poetry: CBT III 24.94 (rhyming with *unbenn*); IV 6.30-31 *Hud wyf uart y ueirt kyghallen./ Hud af yg kyntoryf yg kynhen*; 17.34. G suggests 'skill, artistry, ability' (? < *call*) but GPC 'protection, shelter', followed in CBT editions. Here understood with preceding qualifying adj. *goruawr*.
- 21 **a oreu cerenhyd (ms terenhyd)** The rel. pronoun is supplied for consistency with the other *neu vi* lines. *Cerenhyd/cerennyd/careennyd* 'friendship, truce, treaty' etc. is more likely than a formation from *taran* or *taranu*.
- 22 **hayarndor edeithor pen mynyd** *Hayarndor*, cf. *durdor* CBT II 2.41 and many compounds in *dor* (listed by G) 'entrance, door; defence' including §18.24 *pybyrdor*; §23.16 *tewdor*; *Echrys Ynys* line 7 *Seon tewdor*; and several CBT instances, especially by *Cynddelw* who also uses *haearn* as first element (*haearn dawn*; *haearnllu*). *Hayarndor* is not paralleled in poetry, however.
- Edeithor* is not attested elsewhere: G suggests *et (bet)* 'until' (cf. *educher* 'until evening') + a word meaning 'gap, haven', etc., or alternatively, a compound of root of *godeith* 'fire, conflagration' + *or* 'boundary, limit, edge'. *Godeith* with *mynydd*, EWSP 460.19 *ruthur godeith ar diffeith vynydd*. More radical emendations might involve *diachor* 'invincible'; *durdor* (cf. CBT II 2.41 *Escor dor, durdor diachoraf*); *eissor* 'nature'; *eurddor*; *rheithor*, *pedeiror*, etc. *Echdor* is collocated with *dor* and compounds in CBT I 25.16 *Kyueissor Echdor, aerdor eurdyrn*; IV 6.122 *Echel dor, Echdor gor goeluein* (and 6 other instances in CBT corpus). But these can be no more than speculation. The translation follows G's

second suggestion. The line, following suggested *cerenhyd*, thus has two images of defence — the door of iron, and a boundary or limit (*or*) to the blazing heather, gorse, etc. (*godeith*, or some other formation from **deith*) on the mountain top.

Pen mynydd simply 'on the mountain top'; although a reference to Penmynydd, Anglesey, a house of the Tudur family in the 14c (see GGM I, 14-15) cannot be ruled out. Cynddelw refers to Penmynydd in his praise-poem to St Tysilio who had connections with Anglesey as well as with Meifod in Powys (CBT III 3.196).

- 23 **Ym gweduit ym goffit hydyr oed gyhir** Line longer than usual. G favours a noun *gweduit* 'bereavement, forlorn state, loneliness' rather than *y'm gweddwit* 'I was widowed' (vb *gwedwi* is not attested early), but also suggests *gwyduit* 'trees, forest', figuratively for 'army, host'.

Cyhir is emended with G to *cyhyr* 'sinew' (*hydyr gyhyr* 'strong of sinew'), giving Irish rhyme with *eissyllyd*. Alternatively, *cyhed* 'judgment place, pertaining to judgment, last Judgment', reading *eissilled* in line 24 (as in PBT 8.33): 'in my distress in the powerful Judgment seat'. In both cases, delete *oed*, a scribal anticipation of *oed* in line 24.

- 24 **nyt oed vyt na bei vy eissillyd** *Byr* 'world; life', with *oed* used in a modal sense. *Na* appears to mean 'unless' as in PT II.35, etc. *na molwyf i Vryen*. See also on §26.8 *na syrth*. *Eissillyd/eissyllyd* 'progeny', cf. PT III.21; LIDC 17.8; CC 26.12; 18 instances in CBT corpus. Note collocation with *moladwy* (as here) by Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 9.13-14 *Moladwy y ryd rod y bore./ Moidyd eissilyd ny syll eurde*.

- 25 **Midwyf vard moladwy yghyweint** See note on §4.53 and cf. openings of poem §7 and §23. On *moladwy/eissillyd*, see on line 24. *Moladwy* otherwise restricted in poetry to CBT II 1.95, V 9.13 and VI 14.11. *Cyweint* common (see G), and see on §5.81 and §14.37 *kylfrenhin*.

- 26 **poet y gan vreïn ac eryr ac wytheint** Bird names are often used figuratively for warriors: if so here, the speaker may wish his song to be used in their service. But literal meaning is more likely with line 29 *Drigyaw y nef oed ef vy chwant*. On *wytheint*, see PT 41 where the present example is rendered as 'fury of battle (< *gwyth* 'fury, passion'), but here I follow GPC s.v. *wythaint* 'birds of prey'; see further on §10.29. Sg. *eryr* is rather odd; perhaps *eryron* instead of *ac eryr*?

- 27 **Auacdu æ deubu y gymeint** On *Auacdu*, see §4.12, §10.9. *Deubu* noted as 3sg. secondary perfect of *dyfot* 'come' WG 363 (with *dybu*, *dyvu*), but not by GMW 134 (nor indexed in G). *Y gymeint*, with def. art.: 'the amount, as much as' (G) — does this refer to *cyweint* (used nominally)? Translation and sense uncertain.

- 28 **pan ymbyrth petrywyr rwg dwy geinc** (ms *deu geint*) *Pan* understood as conjunction rather than an interrogative, or the noun *pan* 'vessel, bowl; ?cauldron'. 3sg. pres. of vb *ymborthi* 'to feed, sustain (oneself); bear, accept'. etc., or perhaps of *amborthi* 'to hold up, tolerate'. *Petrywyr* pl. of *petrywyr*: *petryr* conveys sense of Latin *quadr-* 'four-', sometimes indicating perfection or wholeness. *Ceint*, a river and region in Anglesey (EWSP 446.2) as well as Kent, seems hard to accommodate, as does *deugeint* '40'. In the absence of any attestation of pl. or dual *ceint* (sg. *cant*), *deu geint* is emended with G to *dwyr geinc* 'branch; pole', also 'ridge, back': for comparable Irish rhyme, see EWSP 417.11 *heneint/deint/ceinc*, and comment, 334. The interpretation of lines 27-8 is very uncertain, but if *rwg dwyr geinc* is right, then line 29 might support the

possibility of an aerial flight here, not unlike that of Alexander, described in §17 Anryuedodeu Allyxander: two griffins (sometimes eagles) were fed on baited sticks in order to bear the flying machine aloft (is problematic *cawell* 'basket, cage' in line 6 perhaps relevant?).

- 29 **Dringyaw y nef oed ef vy chwant** See on line 28.
- 30 **rac eryr, rac ofyn amheirant** *Rac* 'in front of; away from, beyond', i.e. to ascend far beyond the realm of the eagles, and from any harm; but cf. CBT IV 4.104 *uch adneu ednein*. GPC² derives hapax *amheirant* from *peirant*, or (more likely) from the root of vb *amharu* 'to impair, harm' (collocated with *eryr*, CBT VI 18.130 *Y wyr am eryr ny amparer*).
- 31f **wyf telynawr/ wyf pibyd ac wyf crythawr** Discussed by A.O.H. Jarman, 'Telyn a chrwth', *LIC* 6 (1960-61), 154-73, and with a wider frame of reference, Patrick K. Ford, 'Agweddau ar berfformio ym marddoniaeth yr Oesoedd Canol', in *CyT* 77-108, and Harper, *Music* 35-46. References to musicians and their instruments are disappointingly few in pre-1283 poetry, although Madog ap Gwallter mentions a chorus of *clych*, *llyfreu*, *kerdeu*, *telyneu* and *crastanneu crych* praising God (CBT VII 33.75-6). Professional bardic hostility towards musicians, and scorn for the harp and the *crwth* (fiddle) are vividly expressed in Iorwerth Beli's complaint against the Bishop of Bangor, probably Anian Sais, in the early 14c (see GGDT 149-61; Harper, *Music* 42-3). In the Black Book of Chirk law-text, the three instruments are named together as the *offer* (tools of trade) which would be supplied by the king to the *pencerd* ('chief of skilled craft'): LIDW 128.9-10 *telyn y hun a crud y arall a pybeu yr tredet* 'a harp to one, and a *crwth* to another, and pipes to the third'. The three corresponding classes of instrumentalists are mentioned in the chronicle entry for 1176 describing Rhys ap Gruffudd's special feast at Cardigan where one of the competitions was 'between the harpists and the crowders and pipers and various classes of string-music' (ByT (RBH) 166; see Harper, *Music* 41-2). See further GPC s.vv. *telynor* and *telyn*; *crythor* and *crwth*; *pibydd* and *pib* (< L. *pipa*); §5.19 on *telyn*; HGK 87 and VGFC 154 on *Gellan telynyaur penkerd*, L. *Gellan cytharaedus penkerd* 'Gellan, the harpist, i.e. *pencerdd*'.
- 33 **Seith vgein kerdawr** The metre seems to change here to the shorter two-stress line (5-6 syllables). A line combining 33-4 would be much too long unless it was drastically cut and altered to *seith vgein gynghallen goruawr*. On *seith vgein*, see §4.77; *kerdawr* also in §3.20 and 27; §11.69; §14.32 *kerdoryon*: §5.43; §8.28; PBT 8.66 (Romani kar); CC 20.79, etc.
- 34 **dy goruawr gyghallen** ms *dygoruawr*, treated as *dy goruawr* by G s.v. *goruawr* 'very great'. Possibly 'seven score musicians/poets [correspond] to the skilful art of one very great [poet]'. This would facilitate the movement to 3sg. in line 35.
- 35 **Bum (ms bu) kalch vriw vriwat (ms vri vriniat)** *Calch* frequently used of limed shield. Emending *vriniat* to *vriwat* (< *briwaw* 'to shatter'), comparing its use with words for shield in CA line 449 *ysgwyt vriw rac biw Beli bloedvawr*, CA lines 587 *ysgwyt Rugyn rac tarw trin y dal vriw vu* (and lines 596, 607); Edmyg Dinbych line 66 *kylchwy vriwant*; EWSP 405.9 *ysgwyt [brwy] briw, kynn techaf*; 408.30 *ysgwydawl a vriwat*; 413.1 *briwei calch [mab Llywarch] hen*; Marwnad Cynddylan line 49 *briwynt calch*; LIDC 17.115 *Briuhaud llurugev rac llim waewaur*, 34.32 *aessaur brihuid. torrhid eis*; CBT III 10.68 *ysgôyduriw*; 19.19 *Yn rodab6c uriw*; 27.2 *a'r daryan daer daluriw*; IV 6.29 *Hud uriw calch*; VI 4.25

Briðgalch y rodaðc; VII 4.20 *Teruyn gadð, taryan urað, urið*. Vb also used e.g. §5.120 *yn rychua briwat*; PBT 2.21; §14.48; PT V.47, and common elsewhere. G takes this instance as agent noun *briwyat* 'piercer, destroyer, scatterer' (*vriwat* for the yod-avoiding Book of Taliesin scribe, although *gwrthglodyat* in line 40) rather than past impers.

Vri (*bri* 'fame, honour, ability, power; exalted, victorious') is queried by G who suggests possible *vriw*. If so, the hero is praised for being a destroyer who has himself a shattered shield indicating his extreme valour, as in the *Gododdin* (e.g. CA line 403 *calch drei tyllei vydinawr*) and in CBT examples noted above. *Bu* is understood as a mistake for *bum* (perhaps written with a suspension mark?). See on line 39 below.

- 36 **huescyll edeinat** If *escyll* were 3sg. of vb *asgellu* 'to fly; to wing, to feather' the particle *hu* might be expected to take the form *hut*; note, however, unusual CBT I 9.63 *Ny hu ynt* and II 4.37 *Ny hu wyf*. It is preferable, therefore, to understand **huescyll*, a similar formation to *huadain* 'swift of wing' (e.g. CBT IV 1.7), and cf. *husycein* (three instances by Cynddelw, see on line 41 below), *huysgwn*, *huynys* (*Echrys Ynys* lines 1 and 18), and common *huysgwr*. *Edeinat*, lit. 'a winged one', for a bird or its flight (G), a word not attested elsewhere, but cf. CBT V 9.12 *edeinfeirch* for fleet horses; also *goradein*, etc.
- 37 **Dy vab dy veirdnat** The mention of *mab*, if *Meir* and *Tat* are accepted in line 38, suggests a pious invocation for grace to declaim *vy marwnat* (line 39). *Dy* 'thy' or 'to' (but not listed s.v. by G). *Beirdnat* 'poetic song', unique compound (see G s.v. *bard*); is *dy veirdnat* possibly a mistake for *diweirnat* 'a sincere song' (cf. *diweirvawl*, and *diweir/Meir* collocations)?
- 38 **dy Veir dewindat (ms dewndat)** Possibly 'to Mary' unless a mistake for *diweir* (see on line 37), or *diwyn*, or some other vb form with *ryn tauawt* as object. G favours *undat* for last part of *dewndat* (rather than *dewrdat*) — with repeated prep.? *Dewindat* or *Dëwsdat* are possible in this context (see on §§14.38 and 25.1; §14.14). Rather uncertain.
- 39 **ryn tauawt y traethu vy marwnat** See §5.180 on *tauawt*; §21.3 on *marwnat*; Index s.v. *traethu*; *traethu/tauawt* CBT VI 35.1-2 *Traethðys yn tauaðt trðy nerth y Drindaðt*. It seems seem bizarre — but not impossible — that the character (*Uthr Pendragon* if the title is to be believed) should be declaiming an elegy for his own demise. He himself is the only subject praised in the two sections of the poem and this is a possibility. Alternatively, the *marwnat* referred to in line 49 is not this poem at all, but one composed by the speaker, most likely the *Taliesin* figure (i.e. *his* elegy for someone else, perhaps *Uthr*?). The longer line, as in 1-32, is used 39-42.
- 40 **Handit o meinat gwrthglodyat byt** The hapax *meinat* is to be connected with, or be seen as a mistake for, *mein* 'stones'; with *gwrthglodyat*, 'stonework' as suggested by GPC s.v. would seem more suitable than *mei* + *nat* 'song', or a formation from *gofein* (*go* + *mein* 'thin'). *Hanfot o* is often used to indicate origin or affiliation, e.g. CBT VI 7.1-2 *Handid uyg gystlðn. . . / O ueirt yspydeid*; 7.5-6 *Handid uy arglwyf. . . / O ryw diamryw diamryuys*; 7.21-2 *Handwyd. . . / O Lary uab Casnar*, etc. *Gwrthglodyat* is a medieval hapax, 'an undermining, contravallation; stronghold, place of defence, security' (GPC). If *meinat* 'stonework; [?fortress] of stone', perhaps *gwrthglodyat byt* is figuratively for God (cf. Psalms 18:2-3 'The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer . . . so

shall I be saved from my enemies'; 31:3; 42:9; 71:3; Isaiah 33:16, etc.), or to the Church (Matthew 16:18, etc.), or to the parable of the house founded on a rock. But *mein* is also used in connection with the grave.

- 41 **pryt Prydein huyscein ymbwyllat** *Pryt*¹ noun 'time, occasion, when', *pryt*² 'appearance, form', or 3sg. pres. of vb *prydu* 'to compose, form'. Collocated with *Prydein* CBT IV 13.21-2 *Prydain/prydfawr*; IV 6.284 *Prydein/prydaf*; V 3.10 *pryduawr/Prydein*; 10.65-6 *Prydein/pryduerth*; 11.4 *Peir Prydein pryd nad oet rabch*; 12.5-6 *y esbyd—Prydein./ Ut pryduawr ei brhyd*; 17.9-10 *Prydain/prydfawr*; 20.17-18 *Prydein/pryduerth*; 23.141 *pryduawr/Prydein*; 30.1-2 *dragon nenn—Prydein./ Llawer bart prydua6r yn y ohen*; VI 6.33 *prydua6r Prydein*; 8.8, etc. Nevertheless, *bryt* 'intent, resolve' or *pryt* 'dear, costly; dearly-bought, payment' might be considered. The latter used with *Prydein*: e.g. CBT III 26.1-2; IV 17.70 and V 20.29-30.

For rare *huyscein*, 'spreading, scattering; exalted, ascending high', cf. *Cynddelw*, CBT III 20.33, IV 1.35; and IV 4.105 *Yg ga6r huysg6r huysgein—yn wybyr*; see also §14.37. *Ymbwyllat*: see on §1.5 *pwyllat* 'intention, intent. . . design; thought, meditation, consideration, pondering, deliberation', etc. Here *ym* 'my' or *ym* 'in'. The interpretation of lines 40-41 is very uncertain, but proceeds without emending the text.

- 42 **yg kennadeu na'm doat** G treats *doat* as a variant of *dyat*, 2sg. impv. of vb *dyadu* 'to flow, leak; let flow, let go, pour, loose'.

25 Kanu y Byt Mawr

In the manuscript, Kanu y Byt Mawr 'The Greater Song of the World' stands immediately before Kanu y Byt Bychan 'The Lesser Song of the World' (§26), but both titles are ambiguous, and have been interpreted as 'The Song of the Macrocosm' and the 'Song of the Microcosm',¹ an ambiguity discussed in the introduction to §26. Kanu y Byt Mawr is a reasonably straightforward summary of the main ideas of medieval cosmography, and concepts and schemes which would have been familiar to educated Christians through widely studied works such as those of Isidore, Bede and Honorius Augustodunensis, and via popular question-and-answer and numerological texts, as well as diagrams and maps.² As Morfydd E. Owen notes, some of this material — such as the five-zone schema of the world, or the threefold division of the land-mass of the Earth — was inherited from the writers of Antiquity.³ While much of the poem can be paralleled in other sources, there are features especially in the first two sections (lines 1-20) which appear to be less orthodox: the number of elements which compose man are seven (*seith llafanat*) rather than the usual four. But this scheme is found elsewhere in the Book of Taliesin and other Welsh sources, and is very likely to derive from question-and-answer texts that transmitted elements of apocryphal material.⁴ The five senses are also augmented: inhaling, exhaling and giving voice are included while touch seems to have been omitted, or else subsumed with *clywet* (which can mean 'to feel' as well as 'to hear').⁵ Half of the Latin names of the planets listed in lines 27-36 are familiar, but *Marca*, and particularly the forms *Ymarcarucia*, *Venerus* and *Seuerus* are a problem. Although possibilities of faulty transmission are aired in the commentary, in the hope of exonerating the author, the feeling remains that the poem was the thing, not the precise details of the 'learning', and that the poet was more than ready to sacrifice case-endings in the cause of rhyme.

Whether this poem with its seven sections was intended as a teaching or memory aid⁶ is therefore doubtful: its main purpose was to convey Taliesin's learning. Its final lines 65-71 connects it with §4 Angar Kyfundawt, and the use of *golychaf*, *sywedyd*, etc. is paralleled in other poems, as indicated in the

¹ PT xix, xx-xxi.

² For diagrammatic material, see especially John E. Murdoch, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York, 1984); for this aspect of maps, see Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge, 2001).

³ Owen, TrArbennig 434-50.

⁴ See commentary on §5.154.

⁵ See commentary on lines 11-20.

⁶ Some religious poems, such as Difregwawd Taliesin (CC poem 33) have a didactic purpose over and above presenting a summa of Scripture: thus it lists the different names for God, summarising the four elements, the five zones, the water cycle, etc. in the same way as the much earlier, and much more detailed Irish *Saltair na Rann* and 'Evernew Tongue', *In Tengu Bithnua*.

commentary which also notes the similarities to Telgesinus' repertoire as performed in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*. It is generally assumed that Geoffrey of Monmouth drew on material similar to this poem in displaying Taliesin's scientific knowledge but there is no *a priori* case why the author(s) of the Welsh Taliesin poems should not have been influenced to some extent by Geoffrey of Monmouth's delineation.⁷ As regards diction and lexicon, there is nothing here not paralleled in the court poetry corpus. The text shows some signs of having been adapted for clarity or accessibility, perhaps at the expense of the uniformity of line-length which is basically pentasyllabic, with most lines showing a two regular strong accents.

⁷ See John Jay Parry, *Vita Merlini*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 10, no. 3 (Urbana, 1925), with a translation of our poem. A Welsh translation is included in CC 46-9. Oliver J. Padel, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the development of the Merlin legend', *CMCS* 51 (2006), 37-65, pp. 50-52, argues that VM could have influenced vernacular Welsh literature.

Gvolychaf vyn Tat,
I praise my Father,
vyn Duw, vyn neirthat,
my God, my sustainer,

a dodes trwy vy iat
who added, through my head,
eneit y'm pwyllat.
a soul into my design.

5 **A'm goruc yn gwylat**
Happily He made for me
vy seith llafanat:
my seven consistencies:

o tan a dayar,
of fire and earth,
a dwfyr ac awyr,
and water and air,
a nywl a blodeu,
and mist and flowers,

10 **a gwynt godeheu.**
and the fruitful wind.

Eil, synhwyr pwyllat
Secondly, the design of the senses
y'm pwyllwys vyn Tat:
did my Father determine for me:

vn yw a rynnyaf,
one, by which I exhale,
a deu a tynnaf,¹
and two, by which I draw breath,

15 **a thri a waedaf,**
and three, by which I give voice,
a phetwar a vlassaaf,
and four, by which I taste,
a phymp a welaf,
and five, by which I see,
a chwech a glywaf,
and six, by which I hear,

¹ ms *tynaf*

a seith a arogleuaf,
and seven, by which I smell,
 20 **ac a agdiwedaf.**
and by which I can follow a scent.

Seith awyr yssyd
There are seven heavens
od uch sywedyd;
above the sage
a their ran ymyr —
and three divisions in the seas —
mor ynt amrygyr.
how restless they are.

25 **Mor uawr a ryfed**
What a great wonder
y byt nat vnwed.
that the world is not all the same.

Ry goruc Duw vry
God on high made
ara² planete:
the fine planets:
ry goruc Sola,
He made the sun,
 30 **ry goruc Luna,**
He made the Moon,
ry goruc Marca,
He made Mars,
yMarcarucia;
and Mercury;
ry goruc Venus,
He made Venus,
ry goruc Venerus,
He made Venerus,
 35 **ry goruc Seuerus,**
He made Severus,
a seithuet, Saturnus.
and seventh, Saturn.

Ry goruc Duw da
The good God made

² ms ar y

pymp gwregys Terra —
the five zones of the Earth —

py hyt yt para?
how long will it last?

- 40 **Vn yssyd adoer,³**
One is very cold,
a deu yssyd oer,
and number two is cold,
a thri⁴ yssyd wres
and number three has a heat
a dyofac anles;
that breeds enervation;
petwar,⁵ Paradwys,
number four, Paradise,
 45 **gwerin a gynnwys;**
supports people;
pymp,⁶ artymherawt,⁷
number five, temperate,
a pyrth y vedyssawt.
nourishes the world.

Yn tri yt rannat
Into three the Earth was divided
yn amgen pwyllat:
according to a different scheme:

- 50 **vn yw yr Asia,**
one, Asia,
deu yw yr Affrica,
two, Africa,
tri yw Europa,
three, Europe,
bedyd gygwara:
the region of Christendom:
hyd Vrodic yt para,
it will last until the Judgment
 55 **pan varnher pop tra.**
when every thing shall be judged.

³ ms *oer*

⁴ ms *ar trydyd*

⁵ ms *petweryd*

⁶ ms *pymhet*

⁷ ms *artymherawd*

Ry goruc vy awen*He made my inspiration***y voli vy Ren.***[for me] to praise my King.***Mydwy Taliessin***I am Taliesin***areith lif dewin:***with a sage's flow of eloquence:*60 **parahawt hyt fin***it will last until the end of time***yg kynnelw Elphin.***my praise of Elffin.*

- 1 **Gvolychaf** Instances of this 'trademark' form are found in several poem openings in the Book of Taliesin, related Canu i Swyddogion Llys y Brenin (see General Introduction, 19-20), and CBT I 5.1 (?Meilyr Brydydd): see on §8.1.
- 2 **vyn Duw vyn neirthat** Cf. CBT II 25.1 *Uyn Duw, uyn neirthat*.
- 3 **trwy vy iat** Either 'through, throughout', or 'through, because of, by means of'. *Iat* 'head, top of the head' not very common in poetry: PBT 3.53 and 59 (Kychwedyl); CC 20.128; EWSP 459.16; Peirian Faban line 64. Used once by Prydydd y Moch alone of CBT poets: V 1.30 *A brwysglet a breisclat tr6m yad*. Here perhaps elided as *v'iat* for five syllables.
- 4 **eneit y'm pwyllat** *Eneit* 'spirit' (as opposed to body) much commoner than the meaning 'life'. *Pwyllat* noun 'intention, aim, plan, thought, contemplation; consideration, deliberation, sense' (GPC s.v.; CA 101, 200) with *y'm* understood as 'to, into, for my' rather than *ym* 'in my' or 'in'. The idea here seems to be that God has put a soul or spirit into man ('throughout my head') either to temper his *pwyllat* 'thought, mind, deliberation', or else to be an addition to the human schema or design (*pwyllat* is used in this sense in line 11). This scheme is elaborated in lines 6-10 with regard to the seven consistencies (see below), which were often augmented by the further component of the soul. For the soul added to the four humours scheme, see on lines 7-8 below.

The line suggests that the soul resided in the head, although uncertainty on this point is indicated by the question in §6.49 *eneit pwy y hadneu* 'what is the repository of the soul?'. In particular, there was debate about the location of the soul of man when asleep, reflected in §6.31-4 *A wdosti peth wyt/ pan vych yn kyscwyt:/ ae corff ae eneit,/ ae argel canhwyt?* (see commentary for parallels in wisdom texts). Isidore, *Etymologiae* XI.i.25, discussing the head, likens its role to that of the soul itself watching over the body, an image which may be relevant to our line if *pwyllat* means the human 'design' (see above). Medieval opinion about the location of the intellect was also divided — the head in the Platonic tradition, and the heart in Aristoteleian thought — and question-and-answer texts address this point: PSol&Sat 147 'Tell me where is a man's intellect. I tell you, in the

head, and it goes out through the mouth'; *Collectanea Ps-B* nos. 113-14 (p. 135) discuss the location of memory, perception (*sensus*) in the brain.

- 5 **A'm goruc yn gwylat** The very common form 3sg. *goruc*, as opposed to *gwnaeth*, *goryw*, etc. is used through out this poem, and also in §1.26-7 *Pa uessur mwynaf/ a oruc Adaf*, though not elsewhere in this manuscript. See Peter Wynn Thomas, '(Gwnaeth): newidyn arddulliol yn y Cyfnod Canol', in *CyT* 252-80. With dative infixed pronoun, cf. CBT I 15.32 *A'm gorug hynafiaeth*; VI 27.72. *Gwylat* 'happy, glad', glossing *L. hilaris* (see GPC s.v. *gwylad*), also in EWSP 430.11 but otherwise rare.
- 6 **vy seith llafanat** The consistencies or *pondera* (variously seven, eight and nine) which make up man are discussed in the commentary on §5.154 *o naw rith llafanat*, together with the rare word *llafanat*, also found in §11.79-80 *Ny wybyd anygnat/ y seith lauanat* and CC 21.97-8 (Body and Soul Debate) *O seith lauanad/ Ban im sesuinad*.
- 7f **o tan a dayar, a dwfyr ac awyr** The four orthodox elements are used of microcosmic man by Prydydd y Moch, who adds the soul (*eneit*, interpreted as 'life' in CBT V 69): CBT V 6.50-52 *Rodri hael, a'e hafal ny gŏneid/ O dŏfyr ac awyr ac eneid—a phrit/ A frawtus tan ny pheid*. Other poetry references to the *petwar defnyd* in CBT III 3.208; V 23.5; VII 24.86, etc. In VM lines 736-9, Telgesinus begins his cosmological disquisition by saying that God produced four elements out of nothing.
- 9 **a nywl a blodeu** *Nywl* 'mist, cloud'. Cloud is included as an element in some of the *Ioca Monachorum* analogues (L'Enfant Sage, 'Solomon and Saturn', etc.), and in CC 21.107 *Oetun nyul ar mynit*. Flowers are also included (e.g. *Pondus floris: inde est uarietas oculorum*, Förster, 'Gesprächbuchlein'; a pound of blossoms in 'Solomon and Saturn'), as in CC 21.109-10 *Oetun blodev guit/ Ar vinep eluit*. See further the texts and references cited in the commentary on §5.154. Flowers figure in Taliesin's own consistences (§5.157-61 *o vriallu a blodeu <->/ o vlawt gwyd a godeu,/. . . o vlawt danat*) and in those of Blodeuwedd (flowers of the oak, broom and meadowsweet, PKM 83; §10.15 *a hudwys gwreic o vlodeu*).
- 10 **a gwynt godeheu** *Godeheu* either 'south', or 'fortunate, fruitful, bringing prosperity'. The wind is included in many of the texts listing consistences: see §5.154, and cf. CC 21.105 *Oetun quint go<r>uchaf*.
- 11 **synhwyr pwyllat** See on line 4 above for *pwyllat*, here clearly meaning 'scheme' or 'design' with related vb *pwyllaw* in line 12. The list of senses following the consistences accords with the idea that there was a connection between bodily functions and the elements, as seen in some of the texts noted in discussion of §5.154, and made explicit in the Welsh version of the *Elucidarium*, LIA 9: *Y vronn yn y mae y chwythat a'r pessychu yn keffylybu yr awyr yn y lle y kyffroir y gwynt a'r taranev O'r tan nefawl y olwc. O'r awyr uchaf y glywet O'r issaf y ymauaelat. O'r dwfyr y vlas. O'r dayar y gerdedyat*. On the related idea of microcosm and macrocosm, see §26. Five senses are standard in medieval sources, usually presented in the order of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. But seven, rather than five, are found in some classical and apocryphal texts, discussed by James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. I (London, 1983), 150. Here four of the usual five (see on line 20) are preceded by the functions of exhaling, inhaling and giving voice.

- 12 **vn yw a rynnaf** Lit. 'one is what I breathe out'. *Grynnaw* 'push, force out; blow out, pant', etc. used of a horse's characteristic panting or blowing in PBT 1.38-9 (Daronwy) *ki y tynnu/ march y rynyaw*, where it is paired, as here, with *vb tynnu* 'a dog's sniffing/scenting'; the meaning of the instance in §2.40 *mal grynnaw tyndei o vro* (?recte *vroch*) is uncertain.
- 13 **a deu a tynaf (ms tynaf)** See on line 12 above. 'Drawing breath' is the most likely meaning here since smell is listed in line 19.
- 15 **a waedaf** Understood as *gwaedaf* 'shout, cry' with G, although *gwaedaf* 'I bleed' is not impossible.
- 16 **a vlassaaf** The *-aa-* indicates a stressed long vowel (*a + a < vb blas(h)a-u*), or *vlassa-af* (giving seven syllables, as in line 19).
- 19 **a arogleuaf** Not otherwise used in early poetry; from the same root as the *vb clywet* which embraces feeling and smell as well as hearing.
- 20 **ac a agdiwedaf** One would expect here a reference to touch, often listed last of the senses because of its connection with carnal sin, but it may be subsumed in *clywet*, as noted above. G derives *agdiwedaf*, not otherwise attested, from (*h*)*ang-* 'narrow, confined; ?sore' + *diwed* (as in *go(r)diweddu*, *-es*, *-yd*, 'overtake, attain'), and if he is right, then *agdiweddu* seems to be a function of the sense of smell, allowing one to track or follow closely, as in translation. See also GPC s.v. *diweddaf*: *diweddu* 'to finish', etc. (and 'to lay out' of corpse, as in CBT I 30.35). Could it mean 'and I will finish up in constricted fashion [i.e. in the grave]'?
- 21 **Seith awyr yssyd** The seven heavens, mentioned in Old English, Irish and Hiberno-Latin sources, are listed in the 8c Hiberno-Latin *Liber de Numeris* as 'air, ether, olympus, firmament, fiery heaven, heaven of the angels, heaven of the Trinity': other slightly different schemes, and their relationship to the Middle Irish *Saltair na Rann*, lines 633-6, are discussed with references by John Carey, 'Cosmology in *Saltair na Rann*', *Celtica* 17 (1985), 33-52, pp. 41-4. The Old Irish *In Tenga Bithnua* (ed. Stokes, *Ériu*, 2 (1905), 96-162, 3 (1907), 34-5) describes them in detail: 'the radiant bright cloudy heaven which is nearest to you, from which shine the moon and shooting stars (?); two shining fiery heavens above that, with emissions of angels in them and scattering of winds; a cold icy heaven above those, bluer than every bright colour, seven times colder than snow, from which shines the sun; two more shining fiery heavens above those. . . ; a fiery splendid lofty heaven above those, upon which is placed the circuit of the *riched*. That is a sunny fiery heaven' (trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries* 82). The particular trials which test the travelling souls in each of the heavens are graphically described in *Fis Adamnáin* (Carey, *King of Mysteries* 267-9). For discussion, see Jane Stevenson, 'Ascent through the Heavens, from Egypt to Ireland', *CMCS* 5 (1983), 21-35, and Wright, *Irish Tradition* 218-22. Isidore, *Etymologiae* III.xlii.4, lists seven regions of heaven named after 'famous places' — Merois, Syene, Catachoras, etc. — very different from the Hiberno-Latin and Irish material noted above which may reflect an apocryphon used especially in Insular works, with the possibility that some elements were contrived under Augustinian influence by the Irish themselves (Carey, 'Cosmology', 423).

In VM lines 740-43 and 764-80, Taliesin (Telgesinus) mentions some of the layers of the heavens: (1) the firmament with bright stars, (2) ethereal heaven with sun, stars and angels, (3) the airy heaven with moon and sympathetic spirits who act as intercessors, (4) the sub-lunar space, peopled by evil demons. Despite

very many references to sevens (see Index s.v. *seith*), the present example appears to be the only instance in pre-1283 Welsh poetry of a phrase which could mean 'seven heavens' (*seith nef* is also unattested). The absence of any detail makes it difficult to link it with either the apocryphal or encyclopaedic traditions, and indeed it may simply be an imitation of the other 'sevens' in the poem, and influenced in particular by the number of the planets.

- 22 **sywedyd** See on §5.174, and cf. especially for the *sywedyd*'s study of the stars, CC 12.14 *a'r sir syweditiaeth* (unless the abstract noun there is formed from *sywedyd* referring to God).
- 23 **a their ran ymyr** The Old Irish *In Tenga Bithnua* has 'three bodies of seas around the world . . . a sea with seven shapes beneath the sides of the world, against which hell roars and makes an outcry around the valley. A clear blue salt sea which sets the flood tide and ebb tide in motion, which casts up abundant produce. And . . . a flaming sea, which . . . lies in the heavens' (trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries* 82-3). In VM lines 788-819, Telgesinus instructs that the seas are divided into three parts, one hot, one cold and one temperate.
- 24 **mor ynt amrygyr** For the syntax which continues in poetry to the end of the 13c at least, cf. PBT 2.1 (Glaswawt) *Kennadeu a'm dodynt mor ynt anuonawc*; §26.12 *Byt, mor yw aduant, 15 byt mor yw ryfed, 17 byt mor yw odit*; EWSP 436.57 *mor yw diheint heno*; R1049.10 *mor eu diuant*; 1053.17 *Mor y6 gbael g6elet*; CBT II 22.16 *Cerddorion mor ynt gaith*; VII 36.37 *mor byf drist drostab*; etc. Three other instances of *amrygyr*, all in CBT: I 9.81; III 24.34; V 23.170.
- 25 **mor uawr a ryfed** *Mawr a ryfed* understood as 'a great wonder' (cf. CBT II 6.19; VI 15.1, both in addresses to God), rather than 'how great and wondrous' with *ryfed* adj. rather than a noun (see GPC s.v. *rhyfedd*). For rhyme with *vnwed*. cf. §26.15-16 *byt mor yw ryfed/ na syrth yn vnwed*.
- 26 **vnwed** 'Of one appearance, uniform' or 'of similar appearance, manner', cf. §26.16; uncertain PT VIII *vn wed ac vnswn*; CBT I 14.20. Lines 25-6 are closely paralleled by LIDC 17.162-3 (Oianau) *mor enryuet/ na bit un enhid y bid in unwet* 'how amazing that the world is not the same for a moment'.
- 27 **Ry goruc Duw vry** *Vry* (< *bry*) 'above, on high' of God's position, as commonly used (e.g. EWSP 452.31; CC 22.5; CBT I 27.83; IV 17.118; V 29.12 (*Wertheuin Ureyenhin ury*); VI 12.44; 24.92; VII 15.5; 20.16), rather than that of the planets.
- 28 **ara (ms ar y) planete** Emendation to *ara* 'happy, pleasant, fine' qualifying object of *goruc*. Perhaps the scribe was thinking of *bri* 'honour' rather than *bry* at the end of line 27 and rationalised the unfamiliar *ara* which occurs only in §4.92 *buched ara* and Echrys Ynys line 19 *aros ara*. LIDC 36.17 *met ara phellas* is emended to *a nawellas* or *anawellas* 'which sparkled' by J.E. Caerwyn Williams (see LIDC 116), and to *met arap Hellas* 'mead from fair Greece' by Graham R. Isaac, *LIC* 25 (2002), 15. Also CBT IV 16.100 *diara* 'unpleasant', and 3sg. of vb in CBT II 18.20 *Ny'm arha aros agkyuyeyth*.
- 29 **ry goruc Sola** This list of planets is somewhat more orthodox than the list of the *seith seren* in §11.93-6 *Marca marcedus,/ Ola olwynus (em.),/ Luna lafurus./ Jubiter, Venerus* (see commentary).
- 31 **Marca** The strange form is matched in §11.93, see note.
- 32 **yMarcarucia** *Merchyr, Mercher* (< (*dies*) *Mercurii*). The exigencies of rhyme and line length seem to have produced this barbarous form based on *Mercurius*.

and influenced by preceding *Marca*, or *marca* 'land', or adj. *mercarius* (*marcarius*). The initial *y* could be the def. art., or *ym* 'in', a slip for *a* 'and', or some embellishment to the name itself.

- 33f **Venus/ ry goruc Venerus** Jupiter is missing (cf. §11.96 *Jubiter, Venerus*), perhaps because *Jovis* or *Juppiter* could not be easily rhymed with the other names. The two names here may be an attempt to differentiate between the morning star Venus (*Lucifer*) and the evening Venus (*Vesper*). *Gwener* < *Veneris*, gen. sg. of *Venus*. Could *Venerus* here and in §11.96 be a mistake for *Vesperus*?
- 35 **Seuerus** The L. adj. 'serious, grave, strict', etc. would not be a suitable designation for the missing planet, Jupiter, 'cheerful, festive yet temperable' (C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge, 1964), 105-6). Could a long *f* have been a miscopying of *l* in an exemplar that had *Ieu verus* 'true Jupiter' or *Ieuerus* as a hybrid Cambro-Latinate form to match ending of (bogus) *Venerus*?
- 38 **pymp gwregys Terra** *Gwregys*, like OIr *criss*, is used to translate L. *zona*, lit. 'belt'. The five zones of the world were treated in antiquity by authors such as Virgil, Ovid, Pliny and Macrobius. Medieval authors such as Isidore, Bede, the Irish authors of *In Tenga Bithnua* and *Saltair na Rann*, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Honorius Augustodunensis and others discussed their properties and use (or uselessness) in the way we see here: Bede, *De Natura Rerum*, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123A (Turnhout, 1975), 173-234, p. 199; *In Tenga Bithnua* and *Saltair na Rann* passages trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries* 82 and 102-3; DB 25; and VM lines 747-52: 'He established the earth, which stands by its own strength and is not easily moved. It is divided into five zones. The middle zone is uninhabitable because of the heat, and the two outer zones are avoided because of the cold. He allowed the other two to have a temperate climate. These are the zones where men, birds and the herds of wild beasts live'. On the unclear relationship between our poem and the *Vita Merlini*, see the introduction above.

Some medieval mapmakers placed the zones as belts: see Leo Bagrow, *A History of Cartography* (Oxford, 1985); David Woodward, 'Medieval *Mappaemundi*', in *The History of Cartography*, vol. I: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, 1987), 296-7 and 353-5. Illustrators also explained the idea in a different way: for instance, a 10c memory diagram accompanying Isidore's treatment of the *zoniae* in *De Natura Rerum* used a five-petal arrangement to summarise the key information (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 6649, f. 8v), shown in Fig. 1.6 in Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*, 16.

Other early poetry references to the five zones are limited: Prydydd y Moch, CBT V 17.7-8 *Penndragon, berion bar,/ Pumwregys dewrwrys daiar*, and CC 33.21-7 *Pump gwregys llunnywyws llunedic llawda —/ 'Sicut in celo et in terra' —/ Llawn yw y deu eithaf o eiry a ia,/ Ac rac oeruel neb nys nessaa;/ Pymhet yn y perued neb nys kyuanheda./ Y deu o bobtu y dyuu tymer da:/ Gwres odyhwnnt ac oeruel odyma* 'Five zones did the good-handed Maker make — "As in Heaven so on Earth" — the two furthest are full of snow and ice, and because of the cold no-one goes near them; no-one inhabits the fifth in the middle [of the world]. To the two on either side came a good climate, with heat from that quarter and cold from this'.

- 39 **py hyt yt para** Either a question, as in the translation, answered in line 54, or 'as long as it will last'. There may be a line missing before or after this line since the movement is normally in couplets.
- 40 **Vn yssyd adoer (ms oer)** G's emendation is accepted to avoid rhyming *oer* with itself.
- 42 **a thri (ms a'r trydyd) yssyd wres** Restoration of *a thri* gives five syllables and the same pattern as in lines 13-19, 40-41 and 50-52. Cf. rhyme in §11.63-4 *Lloer yn anlles, / handit llei y gwres*.
- 43 **a dyofac anlles** The heat of the equatorial zone breeds ill, *anlles* (see on §11.63); see §13.29 on *dyofac* and *magu* used of the earth 'rearing'.
- 44 **petwar (ms petweryd) Paradwys** See on line 42 for emendation, and §3.32 on *Paradwys*, here used for the temperate zone in which the Garden of Eden was located. Most medieval T-O maps position the earthly Paradise at the very east of the land mass, at the extreme top centre.
- 45 **gwerin a gynnwys** See GPC s.v. vb *cynhwysaf*: *cynnwys* for meanings 'support, maintain, encourage, welcome', etc. as well as 'contain'.
- 46 **pymp (ms pymhet) artymherawt (ms artymherawd)** See on line 42 for the first emendation; the second indicates copying from an exemplar with *d* for *-d*. This is the northern temperate zone which takes up most of the medieval maps. *Artymherawt* < *ar* + *tymherawt* < L. *temperatus* used in Latin treatments, or formed from common *ardymher*. Cf. DB 25 *A'r dwy gymherued yssyd ardymeredic o'r gwres o'r neillparth a'r oeruel o'r tu arall*, and CC 33.26 *Y deu o boptu y dyuu tymer da* (see above on line 38).
- 47 **a pyrth y vedyssawt** Note the def. art., possibly an addition. With art. in CC 14.22 *beirt y uedissiaud*; 22.14 *i'r vedissyaud*, but CBT I 28.20 *ar genetyl uedysyaabd*; IV 9.56 *eurgreir bedysyaabd*; GGM I 5.114 *[b]eirdd bydysiawd*. *Bedysawt* is understood as object of the vb *porthi* 'to feed; sustain' (perhaps meant in a spiritual sense?) rather than subject.
- 48 **Yn tri yt rannat** Medieval T-O maps provided a visualisation of this scheme which was given great currency by Isidore of Seville's *De Natura Rerum* and his *Etymologiae*: Asia in the top section, Europe bottom left, Africa bottom right. This medieval commonplace is ordered as here in CC 24.30-31 (BT) *Tres partes diuica: / Asicia, Affrica, Europa*, and in the Welsh numerological triads, on which see Owen, *TrArbennig* 441-3. The Hereford Map has Africa and Europe labelled (in gold!) the wrong way round.
- 49 **yn amgen pwyllat** This indicates a familiarity with different schemes of viewing the world, making explicit the move from the zone mode to the T-O model.
- 50 **yr Asia** See on §16.19 for other forms used in MW.
- 53 **bedyd gygwara** The only other example of *kygwara* is in §4.95 *py hyt eu kygwara* where GPC s.v. *cyngwara* 'region, area, habitation' (? < *gwara*) is tentatively followed rather than G 'joy, happiness' who connects it with *ara*, *diara* (see above on line 28) while not ruling out 'area, region, circle'. On *bedyd*, see §19.4.
- 54 **hyt Vroddic yt para** *Broddic* is an adj. formed from *brawt* 'judgment', here for Day of Judgment with vb *parhau*, as in §8.28, 12.14, 18.8, etc. Cf. CC 21.161 (Body and Soul Debate) *Broddic Dit*. This appears to answer the question posed in line 39 *py hyt yt para?*

- 55 **pop tra** See on §12.2 and 8.
- 56f **vy awen/ y voli vy Ren** See on §6.1-2 *Kyfarchaf y'm Ren/ y ystyryaw awen.*
- 58f **Mydwy Taliessin. . . . Elphin** See on very similar §4.53-6 *Mitwyf Taliessin:/ rypdrydaf-y iawn llin;/ paräwt hyt ffin/ yg kynelw Elphin.*
- 59 **areith lif dewin** Inversion: the *dewin* (see §14.38) has a flow of *areith* (see §4.12, §9.1).

26 Kanu y Byt Bychan

The poem is evidently spoken by the persona of Taliesin whose range of learning is often displayed in other poems in challenges and questions to imaginary opponents, whether monks, bookmen or poetasters.¹ In this case, the challenge is to the *beird byl* 'the poets of the world'.² This grandiose designation, used by generations of professional poets, is used with calculated sarcasm by Taliesin. Since these poets claim a special connection with the world and should therefore be expected to know something about it he invites them to answer a fundamental cosmological problem: how is the world sustained? After pursuing closely related questions ('If the world fell, onto what would it drop? Who would hold it up?'), he provides his own answer: the world is sustained by the four Evangelists through 'the grace of the Spirit'.

While questions of all kinds, especially about natural phenomena, are a familiar feature in the present collection, there are three unusual aspects to this poem. Firstly, it is rare for Taliesin to address a single problem in any detail or to develop a chain of related questions:³ more typical is an aggregation of topics, as in §4 *Angar Kyfundawt* or §6 *Mabgyfreu Taliesin*. The second difference is that the present poem includes an answer: like the questions in the Book of Job, most questions in the Book of Taliesin are left unanswered, being sufficient in themselves to convey the desired wonder at prodigious knowledge. The third, and perhaps most significant feature, is that both the question and the answer sections of this poem are to be understood primarily in a metaphorical or spiritual sense rather than literally.

The correct interpretation of the piece is hinted at early on by references both to the Day of Doom (line 2) and to the poet's *pryder* or angst (lines 3-4). At the heart of the poem, is the seemingly literal question *Py gynheil y byl?* 'what holds up the world?' (line 7), but since *cynnal* also embraces the meanings 'sustain; guard, defend' and is used elsewhere to describe the Divine sustaining of Heaven and other celestial bodies,⁴ the audience is primed for a spiritual interpretation. This is confirmed not only by the line which follows, but by a series of words between lines 8-16 (*syrth* 'falls', *cwydei* 'fell', *eissywyt* 'need', *aduant* 'wretched', and *diuant* 'perdition') which would have an immediate significance for the Christian, anxious about the Day of Judgment and endeavouring to avoid falling into mortal sin. The answer comes as no surprise, for there has been none of the wilful piling up of false clues which can characterise the literary riddle.

¹ This introduction is a slightly revised version of 'Taliesin's "Lesser Song of the World"', in *Essays and Poems presented to Daniel Huws*, edited by Tegwyn Jones and E.B. Fryde (Aberystwyth, 1994), 229-50.

² See commentary on line 5 below.

³ An important exception is the extended riddle on the wind. §11 *Kanu y Gwynt*. Questions about the sea, and day and night tend to run together.

⁴ See notes on line 7 of the text.

The world and its inhabitants are sustained, and defended from the consequences of sin, by the Four Evangelists whose power comes from the gift of the Holy Spirit and in whose writings the way of salvation is revealed.

The presence of both question and answer is helpful in establishing the affinities of the poem. In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, the question-and-answer format was used as a literary device, developed in various ways in riddles, dialogues and wisdom contents, and continued to be a useful didactic tool, to present information about technical subjects, such as medicine and grammar.⁵ It was a procedure used in patristic and medieval exegesis,⁶ and the emphasis on manifold interpretations of Scripture meant that questions and answers of a symbolic or a metaphorical kind would be familiar in learned circles. At a lower level, even the most basic instruction in the Christian faith would have been required to deal with the meaning of symbols and metaphors.

Well over a century ago, Reinhold Köhler pointed out that there are parallels to the Kanu y Byt Bychan question and answer in Latin texts of the *Ioca Monachorum* type and in related vernacular sources.⁷ The *Ioca Monachorum*, strings of simple questions and answers mainly on Biblical topics, frequently with personal names in the answers, are found in many manuscripts from the eighth century onwards.⁸ They have been described as 'the jests (or puzzles) of monks, the academics of their day, whose subject was morality but whose delight was often in the written word and meaning'.⁹ Robert McNally felt, with less sympathy, that although they reflected (or even parodied) the academic method of the period, they testified to a regrettably low-grade and simplistic form of Bible study.¹⁰ It is true that the lists relay simple and literal Biblical knowledge

⁵ Discussed in *Altercatio* 38-44; *The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, edited by Robert J. Menner (New York and London, 1941), 53-8: PSol&Sat 7.

⁶ *Altercatio* 25ff. In the early medieval period, the question-and-answer format was 'particularly favoured' by the Irish for religious instruction and exposition: PSol&Sat 9, referring to R.E. McNally's investigations: *Der irische Liber de Numeris* (München, 1957), 155, and to his description of the eighth-century catechism, *Prebium de multorum exemplaribus*, as 'a handbook useful to the itinerant preacher, the teacher, or even to the spiritual father charged with the obligation of giving spiritual conferences or instructions' (*Scriptores Hiberniae Minores pars I*, CCSL 108 (Turnhout, 1973). For general comments on the Hiberno-Latin use of the format, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1966-81), I, 205-73, trans. as 'Turning-points in the history of Latin exegesis', in *Biblical Studies, The Medieval Irish Contribution*, edited by Martin McNamara (Dublin, 1976).

⁷ 'Taliesin's Little World', *RC* 4 (1879-80), 447-9.

⁸ *Gespräch*.

⁹ PSol&Sat 6.

¹⁰ Robert E. McNally, *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages*, Woodstock Papers, 4 (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), 38-9. Compare *Altercatio* 18: 'Judging from the character of the contents of the question-and-answer chains in general, one might say that their reading public must have been composed, on the whole, of persons of a rather low intelligence quotient. Conversely, to be of any interest to such an audience as they might expect, and so, to be read down through the Middle Ages, these questions and answers would have to be of either a popular or a religious nature, and they were both.'

(‘How many Evangelists are there? Four’),¹¹ sometimes put in an unexpected way (‘Who was the first to talk to an ass? Balaam’). But on the other hand, there are more sophisticated questions and answers, some of which have a more riddling quality: ‘Who died and was not born? Adam’. Others turn on a traditional spiritual understanding of Scripture: ‘Which is the best of trees? The vine’ (signifying Christ).¹²

· Question-and-answer miscellanies of various kinds became very popular, both in Latin and in many European vernaculars, and the commentaries to the poems of this Taliesin collection have referred to examples including the *Altercatio* and *Disputatio* of Adrian and Epictitus, the dialogues of Solomon and Saturn and of Adrian and Ritheus, and versions of the work known as *L’Enfant Sage*.¹³ In Welsh, there are several texts of *L’Enfant Sage* (*Hystoria Adrian ac Ipotis*) from the first half of the fourteenth century onwards. The *Altercatio Adriani et Epictiti* (*Ymddiddan Adrian ac Epig*), on the other hand, is first attested in a late sixteenth century manuscript.¹⁴ The Old English prose Solomon and Saturn may serve here as a typical example of the eclecticism of the genre:

[The] majority of questions . . . are based on scripture or writings arising from scripture. Some demand direct knowledge of scriptural fact, even of the letter of scripture, some of apocryphal or rabbinic lore, and some of mediævally ‘scientific’ information although these are sometimes dependent on the Hexaemeral traditions. Others draw on ancient medical observations or opinion and yet others on proverbial wisdom, whether proverbially based or not. Most of the questions depend on factual knowledge but a number are catch-questions with a riddling quality.¹⁵

It was from this vast body of material that Köhler drew parallels for Kanu y Byt Bychan. These include the following sequence of questions from a tenth-century text of Adrian and Epictitus:

12 Quid sustinet caelum? — Terra.

¹¹ The first question (from Numbers 22:28-30) is taken from *Gespräch* 110, no. 28; cf. p. 33, no. 35 (Adrian and Epictitus text). The second question is at p. 110 (no. 48).

¹² For the former, see *Gespräch* 15; for the latter, PSol&Sat 93-6.

¹³ *Altercatio*; *Gespräch*; PSol&Sat. Latin and vernacular texts of *L’Enfant Sage* are edited by Walter Suchier, *L’Enfant Sage: Das Gespräch des Kaisers Hadrian mit dem klugen Kinde Epitus*, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 24 (Dresden, 1910).

¹⁴ For manuscripts of *Hystoria Adrian ac Ipotis* and an edition based on Llyfr Ancr Llanddewibrefi (c. 1346) with variants from the other medieval copies, see J.E. Caerwyn Williams, ‘L’Enfant Sage ac Adrian et Epictitus yn Gymraeg’, *B* 19 (1960-62), 259-95. ‘Ymddiddan Adrian ac Epig’ is discussed by J.E. Caerwyn Williams, *B* 20 (1962-4), 17-28, which supplements *Gespräch* 65-74, 142, where the earliest text, copied by Hywel ap Syr Mathew in 1575, is printed in full. Thomas Parry, ‘Y Gorcheston’, *B* 5 (1929-31), 138-40, prints the Hafod MS 16 text; for an edition based on all the manuscripts, see Martha Bayless and Catherine Byfield, ‘Y Gorcheston: the Welsh *loca Monachorum*: texts, translations and commentary’, *SC* 30 (1996), 197-222.

¹⁵ PSol&Sat 3. Cf. the editors’ comment in *Altercatio* 11: ‘Nothing is either too ridiculous or too sublime to be treated and explained by this procedure: everything from God and his angels to the earth and the most vulgar riddles thereon is grist for the question and answer mill’

13 Quid est terra? — Caelaria vite.

14 Qui sustinet terra? — Aqua.

15 Qui sustinet aqua? — Petra.

16 Quid sustinet petra? — Quattuor animalia habentes alas, hoc sunt Marcus, Matheus, Lucas et Iohannes.

17 Qui sustinet quattuor animalia? — Ignis.

18 Qui sustinet ignem? — Abyssus.

19 Qui sustinet abyssum? — Arbor qui ante initium mundi ad radice positus est et omnia continet; ipse est Dominus Deus noster.¹⁶

Question 14 'What sustains the world?' may be compared with an isolated *loca Monachorum* example, perhaps from the eighth century: *Qui sustine terra? Aqua*,¹⁷ although that text does not mention the Evangelists. A Provençal version concludes on a similar note to our Welsh poem: the Tree is sustained 'by love of the command of Christ and the grace of the Holy Spirit':

Que soste la terra? Ayga.

Que soste l'ayga? Peyras.

Que soste las peyras? IIII evangelistas.

Que soste los IIII evangelistas? Fuoc esperital, en lo cal es la ymage dels angels e dels archangels e la figura.

Que soste fuoc esperital? Abis.

Que soste abis? Albres que fou plante en paradys, en aquell albre estan los patriarchas els prophetas, e d'aquestz albre dis la sancta escriptura, que soste la terra e la mar e totz lo mon.

Que soste aquest albre? Am lo comandamen de nostre senhor Ihesu Christz et am la gracia del sant esperitz.¹⁸

A sixteenth-century Welsh version not noted by Köhler may be compared:

Beth y sydd yn kynnal y ddaiar? — Dyfroedd.

Beth y sydd yn kynnal y dwfr? — Maen.

Beth y sydd yn kynnal y maen? — Pedwar ynifel Adeiniog: Mark, M[athew], L[uc], J[oa].

Beth y sydd yn kynnal y pedwar ynifel adeiniog? — Tan.

Beth y sydd yn kynnal y tan? — Dyfnder.

Beth iw'r dyfnder? — Pren, yr hwn oedd kyn y byd yn kynnal y kwbl, nid amgen na'r Tad a'r Mab a'r Ysbryd Glan yn vn Duw.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Gespräch* 11-16, version AE 1a, annotated at pp. 20-21. Cf. Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage*, 267 (nos. 46-51). The very similar version AE2 (twelfth century) is also printed in *Gespräch* 34: *Quid sustinet celum? Terra. Quid sustinet terram? Aqua. Quid sustinet aquam? Petra. Quid sustinet petram? iiiior animalia. Que sunt illa quatuor animalia? Lucas, Marcus, Matheus, Iohannes. Quid sustinet iiiior animalia? Ignis. Quid sustinet ignem? Abyssus. Quid sustinet abyssum? Arbor qui ab initio positus est, ipse est Dominus noster Iesus.*

¹⁷ *Gespräch* 111. For references to Greek questions, see *Gespräch* 85. Compare also *Qui nunquam cadit? Terra* (*Gespräch* 13, no. 24) and the Welsh question and answer, *Beth ny syrth byth? Daiar* (*Gespräch* 70, no. 22).

¹⁸ Karl Bartsch, 'Zur Räthselliteratur', *Germania* 4 (1859), 308-15, at p. 311. Similar versions are mentioned by Bartsch, *Denkmäler der provinzialischen Litteratur*, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 39 (1856), 306, and in *Gespräch* 61.

Other parallels, including a Middle English version of *L'Enfant Sage* ('The wyse chyld of thre yere old')²⁰ and a Slavic series²¹ further illustrate how the topic of the 'sustaining' of the Earth and the special role of the Four Evangelists in that process were drawn into question-and-answer collections. That such a collection also inspired our poet too seems very likely.

It is not clear whether other questions on the same topic in the Book of Taliesin were intended to be interpreted metaphorically, as here, or whether they merely show a straightforward scientific curiosity: §6.43-4 'What holds up the wall of the Earth in perpetuity?' and §1.4-5 'What was the layer under the earth founded upon?'. The world's suspension in space was of considerable interest as an intellectual problem. Medieval Christian belief was gleaned from Scripture (the Book of Job and the Psalms),²² patristic discussions (especially Ambrose and Augustine) and the treatments of classical writers, notably Pliny.²³ Together, these formed the basis for Isidore of Seville and Bede, as well as for twelfth-century encyclopaedists such as Honorius Augustodunensis.

The strands of belief were these: (a) that God had positioned the Earth and that it was he who held it up, as he did the Heavens and other heavenly bodies. Further enquiry was therefore superfluous, as Ambrose stressed. Thus the idea of God as celestial prop is taken for granted by many medieval Welsh poets;²⁴ a corollary of this belief is that God will indicate the impending Judgment by letting loose the heavenly bodies.²⁵ (b) Scripture, particularly Psalm 104, also hinted at a scientific or rational explanation of the precise mechanics of God's power. The Earth was held up 'by its own stability' which, as Pliny explained,

¹⁹ London. BM Addl 15047, pp. 285-312, printed in *Gespräch* 65-76; the text here follows Williams, 'L'Enfant Sage', *B* 20 (1962-4), 19-20, but with modern punctuation. Cardiff 66 (c. 1690) reads: *Ad[rian] a ofynodd, 'Pa beth sydd yn cynal y ddauar a ffa beth iw'r ddaiar?'* *Ep[ig] atebodd, 'Cell o fowyd i chwi o achos o honi hi y mae ymborth gwyllt a gwar yn dyfod.'* *Ad[rian] ofynodd, 'Beth sydd yn cynal y ddauar?'* *Epig atebodd, 'Dyfr.'* *Ad[rian]: 'Pa beth sydd yn cynal y dwr etc.?'* *Epig atebodd, 'Y main.'* This text also lists the Evangelists in full: *pedwar Anifail adeiniog nid amgen Marcûs, Matheus, Lucos, Johanes*, and has a slightly different ending to the series: *pren oedd er cyn y byd yn cynal y cwbul gar yr Arglwydd Ddau a'i fab Jessû Grist*. Further readings from manuscripts and printed texts are given by Williams. 'L'Enfant Sage', 20-23.

²⁰ 'What susteyneth the erthe? The water. What susteyneth the water? The IIII evangelists. What susteyneth the IIII evangelists? The spiritual fyre. What susteyneth the spiritual fyre? A tre whyche was planted in paradise in the begynnyng whan God came into the vyrgyn Mary' (quoted by Köhler, 'Taliesin's Little World', 447-9).

²¹ Translated by V. Jagič, 'Die Christlich-mythologische Schicht in der russischen Volksepik', *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 1 (1876), 82-160, at p. 95; the sequence is Earth, water, stone, four winged animals (i.e. the Evangelists), fire out of which warm springs flow, a second fire twelve times stronger than the first, an oak planted before any other, whose roots stand by divine power, and finally God and the divine power which have no beginning and no end. Other versions are discussed by Jagič, 127-8, and by Köhler, 'Little World', 335-6. For a German translation of the Slavic Adam-Questions, see *Gespräch* 104-7.

²² Job 26:7 and 38.46; Psalm 104:5-6 and Psalm 102:25, and cf. Proverbs 8:29 and Isaiah 48:13.

²³ *Hist. Nat.* II.iv.10-11; lxiv.160; lxxv.162.

²⁴ See notes on line 7 of the poem.

²⁵ See CC 176.

derived from its sphericity. Isidore discusses both of these ideas, reminding the reader of Ambrose's statement that man should content himself with the information in Job that God suspended the Earth in the void, but he also refers to the rational explanation that the Earth rests on a layer of thick air, and that its own mass is held in equilibrium by the exertion of equal forces. Isidore then moves on to the suggestion in Psalm 135:6 that the Earth rests on the waters, before summarising all the possibilities and concluding that the matter is ultimately beyond human comprehension.²⁶

Bede's *De Natura Rerum* draws on these authorities as well as on the Pseudo-Isidorian *De Ordine Creaturarum*.²⁷ Because no new theories were to displace the main ones outlined above during the early medieval period, Honorius' *Imago Mundi* in the twelfth century simply reaffirms that the Earth is sustained by God's power: *divina potentia sustentatur ut legitur: Non timetis me ait dominus qui suspendi terram in nichilo. Fundata est enim super stabilitatem suam*.²⁸ In the twelfth-century *Vita Merlini*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's Taliesin (Telgesinus) says much the same thing in his discourse on the movements of the heavenly bodies and other cosmological matters: 'He established the earth (divided into five zones), which stands by its own strength and is not easily moved'.²⁹

These mainstream beliefs did not preclude the metaphor of the Earth (and Heavens and other bodies) being sustained by pillars. This was also to be found in Scripture,³⁰ as well as in the 'world-tree' idea of pagan cosmology. In the Book of Taliesin, saints and martyrs are *eurgolofneu eglwys* 'the splendid columns of the Church' (CC 24.8). Fourteenth-century poets provide examples such as GC 7.147 *Crist Celi, Colofn lleuad* 'Heavenly Christ, the Column of the moon' and various related metaphors. God is *colofn llu Cred* 'the column of the host of Christendom' (GGM II 1.17); Gruffudd ap Maredudd praises God who sustains him *yn golofnedig* (GGM II 3.188), and Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr dwells at length on the nature of the *pedwar post*, 'the four posts' without which the world would be endangered like a vessel adrift on the waves (GGDT 10.1-20, 39-40). In Ireland, a gloss in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* talks figuratively of SS Brigid and Patrick as 'two columns of Ireland' akin to the two columns of the world: *amal bite da cholba i ndomun, sic Brigit oculus Pátraic i nEreinn*.³¹

How do the Four Evangelists fit into this nexus of ideas about the world? In the eighth-century Hiberno-Latin *Expositio Quatuor Euangeliorum* (which has

²⁶ Isidore, DNR 317-9; on sustaining of Heaven, DNR 219-21.

²⁷ PL 83, 942B.

²⁸ Valerie I.J. Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis: Imago Mundi', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge* 49 (1982), 71-53, at p. 51.

²⁹ VM lines 747-8.

³⁰ Job 9:6; 26:11; I Samuel 2:8; Psalm 75:4. Cf. I Enoch 57.

³¹ Quoted by Henri Gaidoz, 'La cosmologie celtique', *ZcP* 1 (1887), 27-8 (see *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. and translated by J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, 2 vols (London, 1898), I, 111, and II, 189). Cf. 'Altus Prosator', 'By the divine powers of the great God the globe of the earth is suspended, and the circle of the great abyss set, held up by God, by the mighty hand of the Omnipotent. Columns support it like bars, promontories and cliffs, firm foundations, like pillars planted and immovable', trans. Carey, *King of Mysteries*, 41.

the same non-Hieronymian order of the Evangelists as Kanu y Byt Bychan) the quaternity of gospels is derived from the four primordial elements: *caelum* (John), *terra* (Matthew), *ignis* (Luke), and *aqua* (Mark).³² The connection with the elements gave rise to the association with Man whose composition mirrored that of the macrocosm. As McNally has shown, the symbolic relationship of the Four Evangelists, the world, and Man is common in medieval thought and art, and is referred to frequently in discussions of the number four:³³

III significat III euangelia, et quadriformem mundum in ecclesia, et hominem ex III substantiis consistentem. Quae omnia per quadriformem doctrinam euangeliorum renouantur.

A similar scheme is found in a late-thirteenth-century Welsh numerological text:³⁴

Y pedwar tri: pedwar defnydd dyn, tan, awyr, dwvwr, dayar. A'r pedwar ewangelystor, Mathew, Marcus, Lucas, Joh[ann]es a pheteir cogyl y dayar.
'The "four" triad: man's four elements, fire, air, water, earth. And the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; and the four corners of the Earth.'

With the linking of microcosm and macrocosm (see below), McNally compared the process by which Adam's cosmic tetragrammaton is formed from the initial letters of the names of the four stars, or from the four corners or directions of the world.³⁵ The *Expositio Quatuor Euangeliorum* joins this theme with the Evangelists: *Et sicut de Adam omnis homo nascitur, ita per quattuor evangelistas <omnes> ad fidem veniunt.*³⁶ Their connection with the four directions, already well established,³⁷ was elaborated in Hiberno-Latin and other sources,³⁸ where they are also related to quaternities of liquids and activities, and to the four rivers

³² PL 30, 533A, discussed by Robert E. McNally, 'The Evangelists in the Hiberno-Latin tradition', in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johannes Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart, 1971), 111-22, at p. 113. The association with four primordial elements is a scheme which McNally traces to the *Ambigua* of Maximus Confessor (d. 662), perhaps transmitted through an excerpt in a patristic collectaneum.

³³ *In Evangelia Excerpta*, ed. R.E. McNally, *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores pars I*, p. 225. Fours in Scripture were thus liable to be interpreted with reference to the Evangelists. e.g. the treatment of Acts 10:11-12 by Augustine and the Irish Pseudo-Jerome: McNally, 'The Evangelists', 121.

³⁴ Owen, TrArbennig 441. The text is attributed to Taliesin in some manuscripts.

³⁵ McNally, 'The Evangelists', 115. On Adam's tetragrammaton (mentioned by Augustine) see C. W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass, 1943), 368-70; Barbara Maurmann, *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters* (München, 1976), 34; Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny, 'L'homme comme symbole: le microcosme', *Simboli e Simbologia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 23 (Spoleto, 1976), 123-95, p. 165.

³⁶ PL 30, 533B, quoted by McNally, 'The Evangelists', 115.

³⁷ E.g. by Isidore's *Etymologiae*, VI.ii.40: 'Hi sunt quattuor Evangelistae, quos per Ezechielem spiritus sanctus significavit in quattuor animalibus. Propterea autem quattuor animalia, quia per quattuor mundi partes fides Christianae religionis eorum praedicatione disseminata est'.

³⁸ E.g. *In Evangelia Excerpta*, 216-17: Matthew/east, Mark/south, Luke/west, John/north. Note the mental picture of the Cross formed here, pointing to Christ at the centre.

of Paradise. This group of symbols associating the Evangelists with world and Man, together with the reverence accorded to them and their Gospels,³⁹ lies behind the answers of our poem and the *Ioca Monachorum*-type texts already discussed.⁴⁰ Later Welsh poets continued to honour the Evangelists: in the late fourteenth century, for example, Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd begins a series of englynion with an idea very similar to that of Kanu y Byt Bychan: *Rhoes Duw, fy Llyw byw, bedwar/ Lwysteg efangelystor/ I gynnal, mal y'u molir,/ Byd a nef, bid anofer* 'God, my living Lord, gave the Four fair and fine Evangelists in order to sustain, as they are praised, the Earth and Heaven, let it not be in vain.'⁴¹

This brings us finally to the meaning of the title Kanu y Byt Bychan. It has generally been understood as 'The Song of the Little World', with *bychan* qualifying *byt*. Ifor Williams understood this to mean specifically 'the song of the microcosm'⁴² with *byt bychan* presumably calquing Greek *mikros kosmos* or its Latin derivative, or a phrase with the same meaning.⁴³ In his opinion, the *byt bychan* referred to Man (microcosm) whose composition reflected that of the Earth (macrocosm). Many scholars have discussed this pervasive medieval theme, and traced its transmission from antiquity.⁴⁴ Although Greek thought on the topic was found in Macrobius, Chalcidius and Boethius, the most influential source for subsequent writers was undoubtedly Isidore who expresses the idea clearly in *De Natura Rerum* IX.1:

De mundo. Mundus est uniuersitas omnis quae constat ex caelo et terra. De quo Paulus apostolus ait: praeterit enim figura huius mundi. Secundum mysticum autem sensum, mundus competentur homo significatur, quia sicut ille ex quattuor concretus est elementis, ita et iste ex quattuor constat humoribus uno temperamento conmixtus.⁴⁵

The actual term *micros kosmos* is also used in DNR IX.2:

³⁹ Recitation of the Evangelists' names had an apotropaic function in charms: see Thomas D. Hill, 'The æcerbot charm and its Christian user', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 213-21, especially pp. 215-19. The grouping of their symbols around a cross may have been in some instances designed to 'ward off evil from the sacred text or site or person equipped with such an image': Lawrence Nees, 'The colophon drawing in the Book of Mulling: a supposed Irish monastery plan and the tradition of terminal illustration in early medieval manuscripts', *CMCS* 5 (1983), 67-91, at pp. 85-6.

⁴⁰ Not discussed here are less immediate parallels such as a fifteenth-century text of Adrian and Epictitus: *Gespräch* 19, no. 102: 'Que est vacca que continet celum et terram super cornua? Vacca illa id est iusticia: duo cornua due leges, nova et vetus: quattuor pedes quattuor euangeliste: lac quod emanat de mamillis suis sciencia scripturarum'.

⁴¹ GGM II 14.1-4. For other references to the Evangelists, see G s.vv. *euangelystor* and *angelystor*, and GGM II, 211-2.

⁴² PT xix.

⁴³ E.g. *minus mundus, parvus mundus, mundus minor*, etc.

⁴⁴ See Rudolf Allers, 'Microcosmos from Anaximandros to Paracelsius', *Traditio* 2 (1944), 319-408; Marian Kurdzialek, 'Der Mensch als Abbild des Kosmos', *Miscellanea Medieualia* 8 (1971), 35-75; D'Alverny, 'L'homme comme symbole', 123-95.

⁴⁵ Isidore, DNR 207.

Vnde et ueteres hominem in communione fabricae mundi constituerunt. siquidem graece mundus cosmos, homo autem micros cosmos, id est minor mundus est appellatus, licet et per mundum nonnumquam scriptura peccatores insinuet, de quibus dictum est: et mundus eum non cognouit.⁴⁶

It would seem that the terms *micros cosmos* and *microcosmos* were largely confined before the twelfth century to glossaries and works deriving from Isidore⁴⁷ but within that large category, *microcosmos* is frequent, generally glossed by *minor mundus*.⁴⁸ An early-twelfth-century Welsh manuscript of Macrobius's Commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*, probably from Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion, elucidates the author's comment that the cosmos is called a big man and man a miniature universe with a diagram derived from Isidore's *De Natura Rerum*.⁴⁹ The diagram,⁵⁰ unusually, is quadratic unlike the countless Isidorean *rotae*. It shows the four elements, seasons, ages and humours in their respective quarters with a small square inside reading *Microcosmos. id est minor mundus*; a gloss above *Microcosmos* adds *id est homo*. It might be assumed that the concept was known in Wales at least by the twelfth century, and that the vernacular phrase *byt bychan* might also have been used in the technical sense of Man as Microcosm. By the fourteenth century, we have evidence for this usage in the Welsh translation of the *Elucidarium*:

*O ba beth y krewyt dyn? O gedernyt corfforawl, ac yn ysprydawl. Y corfforawl o'r petwar defnyd, megys y byt. Ac am hynny y gelwir ef 'y byt bychan'.*⁵¹

'From what was Man created? From corporeal strength and spiritually. The corporeal from the four elements as in the case of the world. And for that reason he is called "the small world".'

Compare also the later version of Armes Dydd Brawd: *Ef a roes pob rhann/ dan law'r Byd Bychan* '[God] placed every part [of the world) under the authority of the Microcosm'.⁵² And elsewhere in our present collection, as in other medieval Welsh texts, there is evidence for the idea of microcosmic man (and woman) in the lists of *pondera* — seven, eight and nine *llafanat* or consistencies — which link the human form with the physical features of the world.⁵³

⁴⁶ Isidore, DNR 207. Compare his use of the term in *Etymologiae*, III.xxiii.2. For other examples of the idea see Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans L'Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols (Paris, 1959-83), II, 647-76. On the phrase *minor mundus*, see D'Alverny, 'L'homme comme symbole', 171 n.102.

⁴⁷ As noted by Bischoff, 'Turning Points', 147.

⁴⁸ D'Alverny, 'L'homme comme symbole', 175.

⁴⁹ Described by Alison Peden, 'Science and philosophy in Wales at the time of the Norman conquest: a Macrobius manuscript from Llanbadarn', *CMCS* 2 (1981), 21-45.

⁵⁰ The diagram is reproduced in Peden, 'Science and philosophy', plate IV. An 8c Isidorean diagram, in the more usual wheel form, is illustrated in John E. Murdoch, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York, 1984), p. 356.

⁵¹ LIA 9.

⁵² HGC 14, line 10; this line is not found in the earlier Book of Taliesin text (CC poem 20).

⁵³ See commentary on §5.154.

To what extent would *Kanu y Byt Bychan* meaning 'Song of the Microcosm (i.e. Man) be an apt title? As already noted, the poem at the most superficial level asks how the Earth is sustained in space: it is a sort of 'Canu y Byd', a 'poem about the world'. On the more significant metaphorical level, it considers how Man, the 'Byd Bychan', is guarded from sin by the Four Evangelists who were symbolically associated with quaternities found both in the world and in Man. The figurative title would therefore point the way to the correct interpretation of the question posed in the poem.

On the other hand, it is possible to argue that the title simply means 'The Small Song of the World', as Ifor Williams acknowledged.⁵⁴ The poem, one of the shortest in the manuscript, follows on immediately from *Kanu y Byt Mawr* (§25), a poem of 61 lines listing Man's consistencies and his senses, and describing the seven heavens, the tripartite division of the seas, the seven planets, the five zones of the world, and the three land masses. This wide-ranging poem would be well served by the title 'The Great Song of the World', a possibility mentioned as an alternative to 'The Song of the Great World' by J.J. Parry.⁵⁵ Furthermore, there are other examples in the Book of Taliesin of pairs of poems, the longer designated *mawr*, the shorter *bychan*: example, *Gwawt Lud y Mawr* and *Ymarwar Llud Bychan*, both of them vaticinary poems, with the latter considerably shorter than the former.⁵⁶ In the same way, *Armes Prydain Fawr* means 'The Great Prophecy of Britain', not (despite the Britons' claim to hegemony over the whole island) 'The Prophecy of Great Britain'.⁵⁷ Ifor Williams suggested that its 'small' partner was an untitled poem which begins with the same four lines as *Armes Prydain Fawr*.⁵⁸ A poem title in the *Hendregadredd* manuscript also shows that *Canu Bychan* was understood as the shorter of a pair of poems on the same subject: 'Y Canu Bychan a gant Prydydd y Moch i Lywelyn fab Iorwerth' is a poem of 60 lines which follows a longer *awdl* of 208 lines addressed to the same prince.⁵⁹ In the case of the title of our short poem, both interpretations are valid and grammatical, and it is very possible that the title was intended to be ambiguous.

Although this poem is to be regarded primarily as a religious piece, it is included in the present collection since it has clear affinities with the question-and-answer material associated with Taliesin in other poems, and with riddling and metaphorical treatments directed to spiritual meditation, in particular §13 *Kanu y Cwrwf*.

⁵⁴ AP xli.

⁵⁵ John Jay Parry, *Vita Merlini*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 10, no. 3 (Urbana, 1925), 133. The adjective would qualify the whole phrase: cf. *Budvan vab Bleidvan dihavarch* (CA line 291), etc.

⁵⁶ BT 74.11 and 78.18 (PBT nos. 7 and 9).

⁵⁷ AP xli.

⁵⁸ AP xliiii referring to BT 70.16 (PBT no. 4).

⁵⁹ CBT V poems 25 and 23. The longer poem is not however designated as 'y canu mawr' in the *Hendregadredd* manuscript or the Red Book.

Keingeneis, kanaf
I have sung skilfully, [and] I shall sing
bet¹ vndyd mwyhaf.
until the greatest single Day (i.e. Doom).

Lliaws a bwyllaf
There are many matters which I consider
ac a bryderaf.
and about which I am concerned.

5 **Kyfarchaf-y veird byt —**
I challenge the poets of the world —
pryt na'm dywëit —
since you do not tell me —
py gynheil y byt
what sustains the world
na syrth yn eissywyt?
so that it does not fall into oblivion?

Neu'r byt, bei syrthei,
Or the world, if it were to fall,
10 **py ar yt gwydei?**
onto what would it drop?
pwy a'e gogynhalei?
who would hold it up?
Byt, mor yw aduant
How futile is the world
pan syrth yn diuant.
that falls into the void/perdition.

Etwa, yn geugant,
Again, in truth,
15 **byt mor yw ryfed**
how strange is the world
na syrth yn vnwed.
that it does not fall in the same way.
Byt mor yw odit,
How remarkable is the world,
mor vawr yt lethrit.
how greatly does it shine.
Johannes, Matheus.
John, Matthew,

¹ ms *byt*

20 **Lucas a Marcus:***Luke and Mark:***wy a gynheil y byt***it is they who sustain the world***trwy rat yr Yspryt.***through the grace of the Spirit.*

- 1 **Keingeneis** The adj. *cein* is used adverbially (in close or loose compounds) with the vb *canu* in CBT II 2.6 *Arwyrein Owein a geinganaf*; IV 2.32 *Arwyrein Ywein kein kenitor*; and in the 14c GLIBH 1.18 *Cedol arwyrain a gain genir*; see G 123-24 for its use with other vbs (*keinuoli*, *keinyuet*, and *keinmygu/keinuygu*), and in nouns (*keinforawd*, *keinfyged*, *keingyfreu*, etc.). It is therefore unlikely that *kein* here is substantival: i.e. 'I have sung to/about a fair thing, [and] shall sing', or 'The fair thing which I have praised I shall [continue to] praise' (with unrealized lenition of *kanaf*).
- 2 **bet (ms byt)** G s.v. *byt* 'world' queries this example. Ifor Williams, interpreted *kanaf byt* as 'I sing/shall sing of/to the world', taking *kanu* to mean the same as *kanu am* or *kanu y* (CA xxii). But there are no other certain instances of the vb *kanu* (as opposed to the noun) used in this way without the preps. *y*, *o*, or *am*. In CA line 551 *neu cheing (recte ceint) e Ododin* (taken by Ifor Williams as 'I have sung to the Gododdin people'), the *e* could represent the prep. 'to' rather than the affixed pron. which he understands; and *Gododin* could be the title of the poem rather than the tribal designation. I have tentatively emended to *bet* (or *behet*): G 'to, up to, as far as, until' (cf. frequently in the Book of Llandaf charters; PBT 8.40 (Romani kar) *pell debet byhyt o Iwerdon*; GC 2.124 *Rheded fed feidrol dreigiol Drugar*, etc.) rather than understanding *kanaf byt* as 'I sing of/to the world' with CA xxii. The error (*byt* for *bet*) could have arisen by false modernisation and by the proximity of *byt* 'world'.
- 2 **vndyd mwyhaf** I understand *vndyd mwyhaf* 'the greatest single day' to refer to the Day of Judgment, asserting that poetic composition will continue until Doom, as expressed elsewhere in this collection: §18.8 *ac yt Urawt, parahawt yn bardwedi*; §8.27-8 *teir kadeir kyweir kysson/ ac yt Vrawt parahawt gan gerdoryon*; §10.38-9 *Kadeir getwided (recte getwidyd) yssyd yma./ A hyt Vrawt paräwt yn Europa*. For the sense of 'one certain appointed day, Judgment Day' cf. the usage of *vndyd* in CBT I 28.18-19 *Vn dyt (a Douyt ynni a'e dywa6d)/ Y cosbir enwir*; II 5.61-2 (Llywelyn Fardd's poem on the Signs of the Day of Judgment) *Undyd Douyd dybyd oll/ Pobloed plant Adaf o bell*; VII 43.13-14 *Bei na bei vndyd (Douyd a'n da6!)/ Dydbra6t yn bara6t y'n diburya6*.
 'Death day' is also a possibility, comparing L. *supremus dies*, discussed by J.E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Cymraeg dydd: Gwyddeleg lá: Lladin *dies* = *dies mortis*', *B* 24 (1972), 477-81, p. 479. If the latter, then the commonplace of singing unto death, as found in the envoi to the Urien Rheged poems (PT II.33-4 *Ac yny vallwyff(-y) hen/ ym dygyn agheu aghen*, and III-VII, and IX).

CA 100-1 suggested emending *vndyd* > *vudyd* or *budyd*, comparing CA line 103 *rac bedin Ododin pan vudyd*, and PBT 7.31 (Gwawt Lud y Mawr) *byt budyd bychan*. But the meaning of *vudyd/budyd* is very uncertain in these examples, as elsewhere (see on §4.8, §4.72 and §5.123) and there seems no need to emend.

- 3f **Lliaws a bwyllaf/ ac a bryderaf** The collocation of the vbs *pwyllaw* and *pryderu* recalls the famous father and son whose names are paired in §18.4 *Trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi*. Was *pwyll a phryder* perhaps a stock phrase (like *tir a daear*, *ser a sygneu*) echoed both here and in the names of the Mabinogi characters? For vbs with direct object, CBT I 5.3 *Pryder pryderaf yn uawr*; V 1.55 *Pwyllaf a ganaf, a gen6ch,—ueirtyon*, etc.
- 5 **veird byt** A stock collocation also found in PT VIII.47; CA line 285, LIDC 35.4; CBT II 22.12; III 21.132; IV 11.12; V 6.8; 17.44; VII 5.15; GLIG 3.15; GGM I 5.48. Cf. also PT IV.11 *y veird y byt*; R1293.31-2 *beird y byt*; PT III.4 *beird bedyd*; LIDC 12.22 *beird y uedissiaud*; GGM I 5.114 *beirdd bydysiaud*; and perhaps CBT III 5.83 [*b*]ard *d6fyn*, although G favours the adj. 'profound' rather than the noun 'world'.
- 6 **pryt** The line is understood as an aside, with *pryt* 'when ... not, since/that... not' (GMW 244). But questions such as §6.7-8 *Meneich a lëit, / pyr na'm dywëit* 'You monks who read, why don't you tell me?' (see note); §6.35-6 *Eilewyd keluyd, / pyr na'm dywedyd* 'O skilful one of song, why don't you tell me?' in similar agonistic contexts suggest that *pryt* might be emended to *pyr* 'why'.
- 6 **dywëit** 2pl., see on §6.8-10 *dywëit*, *eregyt*, *erlynýt*, and cf. PT 1.21 *Tegyrned truan crinyt rac Kynan* (discussed PT 26).
- 7 **py gynheil y byt** See introduction, and commentary on §6.43-4 *py gynheil magwyr/ dayar yn bresswyl*. Of the various meanings of *cynnal* discussed by G s.v. and PKM 300, those relevant here are 'to hold up', and the figurative sense 'to sustain, maintain; defend, guard'. God is often referred to as *Gwr a gynheil y Nef*, *arglwyd pop tra*; CBT VII 25.56 *Gwr a gynheil Nef a'e nerthao*; 52.37 *Gwr a gynheil Nef gwir oddef gwar*; with *byt a Nef* (GGM II 14.3-4 *I gynnal mal y'u molir, / Byd a nef, bid anofer*, discussed in introduction above); with *lloer* 'moon' (e.g. CBT II 31.1 *Gwr a gynheil y lloer yn y lla6nwet* 'He who sustains the moon in its fullness'); and with *seil* 'foundation' (e.g. GC 7.168 *Gwr a gynheil sail saith urddolion*; GLIBH 18.38 *Gwr a gynheil seil seithradd prelad*).
- 8 **na syrth** The problem with understanding *na syrth* as 'which does not fall' here and in line 16 is that *na* (as opposed to *ny*) is rare in a proper rel. clause (GMW 61); in this case, it could be a scribal modernisation. Preferable for the meaning, however, is an adverbial clause of result 'so that ... not' (a usage not noted by GMW, but see GPC s.v. *na* 1 (d)).
- 8 **eissywyt** See on §6.5-6 *kyssefin ym byt/ a uu eissywyt*. G 'need, want, loss, harm' (sometimes adj.); GPC s.v. *eisywed/eisiwyd* (< L. *exiguitas*, *-atis* 'scantiness in measure or number, smallness, littleness; defect, shortcoming'). It is used to translate L. *egestas* 'indigence, extreme poverty, necessity, want' (e.g. *B* 2 (1923-5), 32.12; LIA 22.28-9 *drvy eissywet ac anghen* 'per mortis egestionem'), and cf. adj. *eissywedic* 'needy, indigent, poor'.
- 9 **Neu'r byt** Understood here as *neu* 'or' + art., introducing a related question. But *neu* may be used simply to bring forward the subject (*y byt*) for emphasis: see discussion and further examples in commentary on §1.3 *Neu Adaf, pan vu*.

- 10 **py ar** G s.v. *âr* (3) 'ploughed land' queries this example, mentioning also 'on what (thing)?'. I follow GMW 77 (and WG 63 and GPC s.v. *pahar* '[upon] what, for what') in favouring the latter.
- 11 **pwya'e gogynhalei** See on line 7 above. A hapax verbal form: G s.v. *gogynnal*.
- 12 **mor yw aduant** G 'empty, futile, vain', used nominally in §4.126, rhyming with related *diuant* as here. For the *mor* + copula + adj. order (cf. lines 15 and 17) see GMW 43 and on §25.24 *mor ynt amrygyr*.
- 13 **pan syrth** *Pan* 'that' (GMW 80), or else *pan* 'when', or 'whence? how?'. If the latter, then either 'How feeble is the world when it falls into perdition?', or 'How is it that falls into perdition?'.
13 **diuant** Understood as noun 'perdition; void, annihilation' but *yn diuant* could also be adverbial (see G s.v. *diuant* as noun and adj. used in both literal and spiritual senses).
- 14 **Etwa** See on §12.19 for relative distribution of *etwa* and *etwaeth* in poetry.
- 14 **yn geugant** Cf. PT IV 11-12 *racwed rothit y veird y byt./ Byt yn geugant itti yt wedant*; §10.30; PBT 7.15; CA line 99; CBT I 31.4; V 23.196.
- 15 **Byt mor yw ryfed** See on line 12 above for the syntax, and for the rhyme with *vnwed* cf. §25.25-6 *mor uawr a ryfed/ y byt nat vnwed*.
- 16 **na syrth yn vnwed** For *na*, see on line 8 above; on *vnwed*, see §25.26.
- 17 **mor yw odit** See on line 12.
- 18 **mor vawr yt lethrit** 3sg. pres. *llathru* 'to gleam, shine' (an abs. form not listed in GMW 119); and see on §8.6 *llethrynt*. Adj. in §18.21 *trafferth lethrit* (em.), and abstract noun in CBT examples. The Earth here presumably 'shines' in a figurative sense. A less likely alternative (since it blurs the bounds of the question and the answer and violates the movement by couplet) is that the Evangelists of line 19 are the subject of the vb, i.e. 'How greatly shine forth John, Matthew'.
- 19f **Johannes, Matheus/ Lucas a Marcus** The forms of the names match those of the late-13c NLW Peniarth 45 version of the *Trioedd Arbennig* (Owen, *TrArbennig* 441). Cf. CBT I 27.95-6 *Matheu./ Marcus a Lucas, Ionas eneu*; V 15.2 *ual y credôn y Yonas* (Red Book *Ionas*). *Ieuan*, the Welsh form of *Johannes*, common as a personal name in Wales, in CBT II 1.174 *detueu Ieuan*; IV 16.219 *mal traethaôl Jeuan* (the *In Principio*, John chapter 1, see notes CBT II 32 and IV 297-8); I 14.35, IV 16.202 and VII 39.17 (John the Baptist); GGM II 14.5,9,13,17 *Ieuan, Marcus, Lucas, Mathau*; CC 24.91 *Ieuan*; CC 20.155 *deu Ieuan* (the Evangelist and John the Baptist). Neither the pre-Vulgate order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) nor the Hieronymian order is followed in our example because of the demands of the rhyme-scheme.
- 21 **wy a gynheil y byt** See on line 7 above. Deletion of *a* would give five syllables.
- 22 **trwy rat yr Yspryt** See introduction above. Def. art. gives five syllables.

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25	Plaeu yr Eiff 42.16-45.9	CC poem 9
26	Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn 45.8-46.4	PT I
27	Llath Moessen <i>recte</i> Gwyeil Jesse 46.5-47.18	CC poem 11
28	Torrit anuynudawl 'Canu y Meirch' 47.19-48.27 <i>incomplete</i>	§15
29	Y gofeisswys byt (Alexander 1) 51.1-52.5 <i>incomplete</i>	§16
30	Ar clawr eluyd (Llvruc Alexandyr) 52.6-17	CC poem 3
31	Anryuedodeu Allyxander (Alexander 2) 52.18-53.2	§17
32	Ad Duw meidat (Llath Voyssen) 53.3-54.15	CC poem 10
33	Preideu Annwfn 54.16-56.13	§18
34	Arwyre gwyr Katraeth gan dyd 56.14-57.13	PT II
35	Uryen Yrechwyd 57.14-58.12	PT III
36	Eg gorffowys 58.13-59.6	PT IV
37	Ar vn blyned 59.7-60.7	PT V
38	Gweith Argoet Llwyfein. Kanu Vryen 60.7-26	PT VI
39	Ardwyre Reget ryssed rieu 61.1-62.16	PT VII
40	Yspeil Taliessin. Kanu Vryen 62.16-63.24	PT VIII
41	En enw gwledic Nef gorchordyon (Gwallawg 2) 63.25-65.5	PT XII
42	Dadolwch Vryen 65.5-24	PT IX
43	Marwnat Ercwl 65.24-66.8	§19
44	Madawc Drut 66.9-11	§20

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45	Erof Greulawn 66.11-17	CC poem 15
46	Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry 66.18-67.8	§21
47	Marwnat Dylan eil Ton 67.8-17	§22
48	Marwnat Owein 67.18-68.4	PT X
49	Echrys Ynys 68.5-8	BWP 172-80
50	Mydwyf Taliessin ('Cunedaf') 69.9-70.16	§23
51	Dygogan awen 70.16-71.6	AP xl-xlv; PBT 4
52	Marwnat Vthyr Pen 71.6-72.8	§24
53	Kein Gyfedwch 72.9-22	PBT poem 5
54	Rydyrchafwy Duw ar plwyff Brython 72.23-73.19	PBT poem 6
55	Trindawt tragwyd 73.20-74.11	CC poem 8
56	Gwawt Lud y Mawr 74.12-76.14	PBT poem 7
57	Yn wir dymbi Romani kar 76.15-78.18	PBT poem 8
58	Ymarwar Llud Bychan 78.18-79.8	PBT poem 9
59	Kanu y Byt Mawr 79.8-80.6	§25
60	Kanu y Byt Bychan 80.6-16	§26
61	Darogan Katwal[adyr] 80.17-26 <i>incomplete</i>	PBT poem 10

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