

Title	Arthurian references in medieval Welsh poetry, c. 1100-c. 1540
Creators	Lewis, Barry James
Date	2019
Citation	Lewis, Barry James (2019) Arthurian references in medieval Welsh poetry, c. 1100-c. 1540. In: Arthur in the Celtic Languages: The Arthurian Legend in Celtic Literatures and Traditions. Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages (9). University of Wales Press and the Vinaver Trust, Cardiff, pp. 187-202. ISBN 978-1-78683-343-3 (Accepted Version)
URL	<a href="https://dair.dias.ie/id/eprint/1063/">https://dair.dias.ie/id/eprint/1063/</a>

**ARTHURIAN REFERENCES IN MEDIEVAL WELSH POETRY, c. 1100–c. 1540**

*Barry Lewis*

Ail Arthur, modur mydr orfoledd,  
 Ail Gwalchmai, difai, difefl fonedd,  
 Peredur lafnddur, mur marannedd.

(A second Arthur, a lord praised in verse,  
 A second Gwalchmai, faultless, his nobility without stain,  
 A Peredur with a steel blade, a rampart guarding riches.)<sup>1</sup>

None of the texts that are the subject of this chapter belongs to Arthurian literature. The handful of medieval Welsh poems that might be placed in that problematic category have already been discussed in earlier chapters. All are anonymous and were composed in obscure circumstances. By contrast, we know exactly who was the author of the poem from which the lines above have been taken. He was a priest, poet and grammarian known as Einion Offeiriad, who died in 1349.<sup>2</sup> We know too the identity of the ‘second Arthur’ whom he praised: Rhys ap Gruffudd, a powerful figure in south-west Wales in the first half of the fourteenth century. Unlike such poems as ‘Pa gur?’ or *Preiddeu Annwn*, Einion Offeiriad’s address to his patron distances itself from any narrative world attached to the name of Arthur. Its milieu is a contemporary one, and if it looks back to an Arthurian age, it does so merely as an ideal against which the men and women of its own day are to be measured. Yet, like the hundreds of other Welsh poems that contain similar references, it provides us with precious evidence for what the Arthurian narrative meant to poets and patrons in

high and late medieval Wales.

The topic of this chapter, then, is what is left of medieval Welsh verse once the ‘Arthurian’ poems have been removed; that is to say, almost all of it. The greater part is praise poetry such as Einion Offeiriad composed for Rhys ap Gruffudd. Its patrons were typically male and of high social status, though women, too, were praised; verse addressed to them overlaps in complex ways with a body of love poetry. Satire, the mirror-image of praise, also survives in some quantity, while the bulk of what is left consists of religious verse directed to God, the Virgin or the saints.<sup>3</sup> In all of these genres the norm is for the poet to speak in his own persona, not through a narrative character, and accordingly most such poetry is attributed in the manuscripts to named and datable authors. It should be borne in mind that the distinction drawn between the various anonymous poems relating to Arthur, Myrddin and Trystan and the praise poetry is one of genre and not necessarily of date. Indeed, it is overwhelmingly likely that the authors of the ‘Arthurian’ poems were trained in the same bardic tradition, and wrote for the same audiences, as those who composed praise poetry for the Welsh princes and later for the Welsh gentry, and they drew on a reservoir of stories and themes shared by Einion Offeiriad and the other praise poets, who themselves provide evidence for stories that are poorly attested in the surviving ‘Arthurian’ verse.

Einion’s comparison of Rhys ap Gruffudd with the three heroes, Arthur, Gwalchmai and Peredur, is typical of the Arthurian references in praise and in love poetry. Arthur and his associates feature as ideal figures against whom the worth of present-day patrons is assessed. Their names evoke ideals of noble behaviour: a man has ‘the prudence of Cai’ or ‘the nature of Gwalchmai’; a woman is ‘a niece of fair Eigr’; a battle is ‘savage like Camlan’; a coward being satirized is ‘not a man who would stand against a spear-thrust like Perceval’.<sup>4</sup> Such comparisons are among the commonest rhetorical flourishes in medieval Welsh poetry. As a rule, scholars have tended to interrogate them for what they reveal of the education and reading of the poets, paying little

attention to their role within the texts themselves.<sup>5</sup> The present study will do the same, as its remit demands, yet it is important to note that we are dealing with literary texts that have a claim to our attention in their own right and not merely as a quarry for Arthuriana. I shall therefore devote a few words here to the import of the allusions in their artistic context. Praise poetry promises immortality: fame is the survival of one's name. Unlike the vast majority of the human race, a patron whose memory is preserved in song might hope never to disappear into the void of namelessness. It is for this reason that the Welsh *enw* (name) is used virtually as a synonym for *clot* (praise).<sup>6</sup> Names such as *Arthur* or *Gwalchmai* served as quasi-proofs of this hope, for they had already achieved the promised immortality. Evoking them within the social ritual of praise was an act of affirmation and of reassurance. Some evidence exists for an understanding among the poets that their allusions elicited an aesthetic response from their audience. According to one of the 'Triads of Poetry', 'kyfarwydyt ystoryaeu' (knowledge of stories/histories) was one of the three attributes 'that enrich a poet' ('a beir y gerdawr uot yn amyl').<sup>7</sup> The adjective *amyl* seems here to mean rich or abounding in significance, while *ystorya* is a term that covers 'history' in a sense rather wider than that usual today.<sup>8</sup> Hence the Triad attributes aesthetic value to 'knowledge of histories', and it is arguable that this refers to, or at least encompasses, the poets' exemplary and allusive use of personal names.

The Welsh poets drew on a huge repertoire of names, among which the Arthurian ones are a small minority. Some are biblical or classical or are taken from widely known medieval narratives (David, Alexander, Charlemagne and Roland), but most derive from native story traditions. They include ancestors and dynastic heroes as well as characters from the Mabinogi tales. Behind them lies a body of stories that can also be glimpsed in the Triads but is now mostly lost. It is recognized that Geoffrey of Monmouth and the authors of French romances drew upon that story world, and probably also its Breton counterpart, yet we must face the difficulty that very little native evidence survives that definitely pre-dates those authors, so that it is all but impossible to avoid lapsing into

circularity of definition: ‘Arthurian’ characters are defined as those people who are mentioned in certain sections of Geoffrey’s history and in French romances, and then they are sought in Welsh texts of uncertain or later date. In Latin and French the *matière de Bretagne* is identifiably a foreign import and thus relatively easy to isolate. In Wales this is not so; here Arthur is simply one strand in a complex weave of narrative, and it is debatable whether audiences in twelfth-century Wales would have regarded Myrddin or Trystan, for instance, as Arthurian characters, or rather as the foci of independent narratives. Identifying a source for a bare reference is perilous; the more detail offered, the greater the security, yet detail is rare before the fourteenth century. In many instances there probably was no source, at least in any straightforward sense of the word. Names were simply known. A medieval poet who mentions Cai or Gwalchmai might have long forgotten where and when he first encountered these characters. One way out of these problems is to base our definition of what is Arthurian upon scrutiny of the earliest sources. If we ask what the Arthurian narrative world looked like at the very beginning of our period, before Geoffrey of Monmouth began to reshape it, then we can at least establish that there was such a world, and we can be certain of a few elements within it. We have evidence for Arthur himself and his battles, especially Camlan, along with Medrawd (Modred); for Cai and Bedwyr, who may be taken as Arthurian characters *tout court*, reflecting their role in the *Vita Sancti Cadoci* of c. 1100; for Gawain, in William of Malmesbury c. 1125.<sup>9</sup> Clearly Geoffrey took these from existing traditions. Yet reliance on the meagre pre-Galfridian record will not take us far, for it is clear that Welsh literature underwent profound influence from the various manifestations of the Arthurian legend in the Anglo-French sphere. For this reason we should expect that the body of Arthurian knowledge in Wales changed markedly over our period, which means that our definition of what is Arthurian will have to be flexible as well.

It is arguable, from what has been said above, that an Arthurian interpretive model has been imposed on medieval Welsh studies from outside. We have to acknowledge that there is a legitimate

interest in the origins of the *matière de Bretagne*, and that it is necessary for medieval Welsh scholarship to engage with the question, even though it carries the danger of leading us away from considering individual literary works in their own cultural and historical context. For all the difficulties, a study of allusions to the Arthurian narrative world within medieval Welsh poetry is not the pursuit of a phantom. There was such a world, albeit a malleable one that was continuous with a larger body of storytelling. Early references to it afford us some insight into the kinds of materials that went into the making of Geoffrey's history and the romances, while by the end it becomes apparent that the influence of those canonical texts themselves had partially overshadowed the earlier Welsh story world, leaving medieval Welsh poetry, paradoxically, much more 'Arthurian' at the end of the Middle Ages than it had ever been in the twelfth century. The remainder of this chapter will proceed chronologically through the material, setting out the evidence for this change. The task of analysing Arthurian references has been greatly assisted by the availability of previous discussions and of finding aids; the work of Rachel Bromwich, Oliver Padel, Ann Parry Owen and Xiezhen Zhao has proved especially useful.<sup>10</sup>

### **The twelfth and thirteenth centuries**

That much anonymous verse preserved in early manuscripts may come from this period has been suggested above, but the focus here will be on the works of the named and dated court poets.

Almost all of their work from these two centuries is in the Hendregadredd Manuscript (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS NLW 6680B, *c.* 1300–*c.* 1350), the Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jesus College 111, *c.* 1400) or the seventeenth-century National Library of Wales, MS NLW 4973B. The last derives from lost quires of Hendregadredd, and there is a close textual relationship between the Hendregadredd and Red Book collections.<sup>11</sup> In truth our material derives mainly from a single assemblage, probably brought together at Strata Florida abbey in Ceredigion around 1300; the chief exception is a very few items preserved

independently in the earlier Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW, MS Peniarth 1). The compilers of this assemblage favoured court poetry, especially praise of princes, and religious verse. The largest share relates to the courts of Gwynedd, followed by those of Powys and Deheubarth; very little is addressed to patrons beneath the rank of the ruling dynasties, and almost nothing comes from the parts of Wales under Anglo-Norman rule. Hence the conventional label for this period in literary history: *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, the ‘poets of the princes’.

Very little pre-dates the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *De gestis Britonum* in c. 1138. An anonymous poem in honour of the southern dynast Hywel ap Goronwy (d. 1106) may refer to the battle of Badon; more certainly, Meilyr Brydydd compares Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd (d. 1137) to Medrawd.<sup>12</sup> Beyond Meilyr’s time we have to reckon with the possibility that the poets might be familiar with Geoffrey’s work, while by c. 1200 they could have encountered the romances of Chrétien de Troyes in French. The Welsh equivalents, *Geraint*, *Owain* and *Peredur*, followed some time in the thirteenth century. Texts that explore native concepts of Arthur, such as the tale of Culhwch, the poem ‘Pa gur?’ and the Triads, were probably familiar to the poets of the princes, problems of dating notwithstanding.

The earliest reference to Arthur in our corpus is in a praise poem to Madog ap Maredudd of Powys (d. 1160) by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr; interestingly, Arthur is paired with Medrawd:

Arthur gedernyd, menwyd Medrawd.

(With the strength of Arthur, with the disposition of Medrawd.)<sup>13</sup>

This positive view of Medrawd, which we have already encountered in the work of Gwalchmai’s father, Meilyr Brydydd, contrasts starkly with the vilification meted out to Modred by Geoffrey of

Monmouth. It has rightly been taken as a sign that the poets had access to traditions that were not in agreement with Geoffrey's account.<sup>14</sup> The thin trickle of references to Arthur strengthens notably in the work of Llywarch ap Llywelyn or Prydydd y Moch, around the end of the twelfth century. He mentions Arthur on six occasions, all of them in favourable comparisons. One is remarkable for its clear association of Arthur with the Triad of the Three Generous Men (*Tri Hael*); in the text of this Triad in National Library of Wales, Peniarth 50 (1440s and 1450s) Arthur's name is added as a fourth 'more generous than all three', but Prydydd y Moch's reference hints that this expanded version was known much earlier.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, Arthur is also brought into one twelfth-century religious poem where his name appears as a warning against pride in the face of mortality, alongside Julius Caesar, Alexander, Brân ap Llŷr and others.<sup>16</sup> As Oliver Padel points out, such company is no slight against Arthur himself, and it suggests that Geoffrey's portrait of him as a conqueror and emperor had now become accepted.<sup>17</sup> Towards the end of the thirteenth century, references cluster in the work of Bleddyn Fardd. Two are found in his stanzaic elegy for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282), and another in a combined elegy for Llywelyn and his two brothers, not earlier than 1283:

gwae █ddur ual Arthur █rth Gaer Uenlli.

(Steel-speared like Arthur attacking the fort of Benlli.)<sup>18</sup>

Benlli was a giant associated with Foel Fenlli, a hill fort in north-east Wales. No other source mentions a confrontation between Arthur and Benlli, but such a story would be in keeping with other traditions in which Arthur fights with giants.

Members of Arthur's immediate family are infrequently mentioned during these centuries. Uthr appears only once, in a poem for Maredudd ab Owain (d. 1265), while Arthur's mother is



entirely absent.<sup>19</sup> There is no categorically pre-Galfridian source for either character, and this is the earliest known Welsh reference to Arthur's father. Also missing is Arthur's wife Gwenhwyfar.<sup>20</sup> However, the poets do give considerable attention to some Arthurian characters who are absent from or marginal to the works of Geoffrey and Chrétien. Of these, the most prominent is Llachau, a son of Arthur according to an anonymous poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen.<sup>21</sup> There was a story that he died at a place called Llech Ysgar, or so we are told in a poem of 1283 or slightly later,<sup>22</sup> but the story was older, since it is referred to obliquely by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr:

Trunya trugara c olwc,  
Tyrneid y'th lathreid loc,  
Y mae y'th ddibleu ddeu ddinac,  
Llacheu a llachar Gynwryc.<sup>23</sup>

(Trunio of the merciful gaze,  
Lordly in your shining church,  
In your vicinity are two men who never refused a gift,  
Llachau and brilliant Cynwrig.)

St Trunio's church of Llandrinio does lie near the foot of Crickheath hill, now generally identified with Llech Ysgar,<sup>24</sup> and so it is understandable that Llachau was thought to be buried there.

Another important character was Arthur's nephew Eliwlad (ap Madog ab Uthr), mentioned only by Bleddyn Fardd in this period, though there are numerous later examples.<sup>25</sup>

Of Arthur's men, the best-known are Cai, Bedwyr and Gwalchmai. Cynddelw names Cai and his father Cynyr, as well as Dillus fab Efrai, who is killed by Cai in *Culhwch ac Olwen*; it is all but certain that this is an allusion to that tale.<sup>26</sup> In a poem of 1246 or later, Elidir Sais describes two

men waging ‘the battle of Cai and Bedwyr’, while Bedwyr also appears without Cai in a poem by Bleddyn Fardd.<sup>27</sup> Gwalchmai is mentioned by Cynddelw *c.* 1170 and by Y Prydydd Bychan *c.* 1222.<sup>28</sup> It is noteworthy that one of the poets, Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, bears his name. Since Gwalchmai mentions that he received patronage from Cadwallon ap Gruffudd ap Cynan, who died in 1132, it follows that he received his distinctive name in the early years of the twelfth century, before there can be any question of Galfridian influence.<sup>29</sup> Elifri, who appears in a minor role in *Geraint*, seems to have been important, for he is mentioned five times in this period; in no case, however, is any connection with Arthur indicated, so Elifri may well have been an independent figure before his appearance at Arthur’s court in that tale.<sup>30</sup> That brings us to the more difficult characters, those linked with Arthur by Geoffrey or in Continental works but who show signs of having once been independent figures. References to Geraint (his patronymic does not occur) and Owain ab Urien are vague; [*l*]id *Gereint* cannot be taken as a reference to the tale of *Gereint*, anger being such a stereotypical virtue in this poetry.<sup>31</sup> Peredur poses a further difficulty, for unlike Geraint or Owain, there is no certainty that Welsh tradition knew a Peredur son of Efrog before the name was chosen by the author of *Ystorya Peredur* as a substitute for *Perceval*. Indeed, the character is not named by any poet before Bleddyn Fardd in a poem datable in all likelihood to 1276/1277:

Aruot Peredur, drymgur dromgat,

Aruawc ab Eurawc, cadyr ■archawc cat.<sup>32</sup>

(A blow like that of Peredur, a heavy host who dole out heavy pain,

the armed son of Efrog, fine knight of battle.)

The word *marchawc* ‘knight’ makes a connection with *Ystorya Peredur* very likely indeed.

Among Arthurian events and places, the battle of Camlan is most prominent. It is famously cited by Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch in his elegy for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282):

Llawer llef druan, ual ban vu Gamlan.<sup>33</sup>

(Many a wretched cry, as there was when Camlan happened.)

The Twrch Trwyd, the great boar hunted in the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen*, is named by Cynddelw as an embodiment of admirable ferocity in battle, and Cynddelw is also the only poet of this period to mention Arthur's court of Celliwig.<sup>34</sup> By contrast, Caerleon, the site where Geoffrey of Monmouth placed Arthur's chief court, never occurs in an Arthurian context in this poetry.

The shape of the Myrddin legend before Geoffrey is as controversial as that of Arthur. None of the references is old enough to pre-date Geoffrey. To the poets, Myrddin was a famous predecessor of their own, often coupled with Taliesin, once with Aneirin, and connected in particular with prophecy.<sup>35</sup> One reference seems to associate Myrddin with the battle of Arfderydd, though the phrasing is not wholly clear.<sup>36</sup> The only poet to mention Tristan is Bleddyn Fardd, in poems dating to 1284 or a little later. In both cases the form of the name is Drystan and the context is one of warrior prowess, not love.<sup>37</sup>

To the 1280s, then, the impression is that Arthur formed a significant, but not central, part of a wider story world upon which the poets drew for allusions. There is really quite limited evidence for influence from Geoffrey or the Welsh 'romances', though signs of Geoffrey's imperial Arthur are apparent towards the end of the twelfth century. On the other hand, the tale of *Culhwch ac Olwen* and the Triads were familiar to some at least. The importance of such characters as Llachau and Elifri, and the high reputation of Medrawd, testify to the existence of stories that were

independent of Geoffrey or the romances. By the time of Bleddyn Fardd in the later thirteenth century, the influences of romance are beginning to make themselves felt.

### **The fourteenth century**

For poetry composed after the 1280s and 1290s, the Hendregadredd Manuscript and the Red Book of Hergest remain fundamental sources, though now different sections within them are called on. Around the middle of the fourteenth century, Hendregadredd was in use in a lay household in Ceredigion, and many contemporary poems were then added in its blank spaces. Yet the largest collection of fourteenth-century verse is found in columns 1194–1379 of the Red Book. This collection is unique in scale and scope. It ranges over north and south Wales, but its strongest point is Anglesey and the poetry of Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd (fl. 1346–1382). Both sources attest to the continuity of the poetic tradition. Praise poetry for male patrons remains predominant, alongside poems addressed to women and religious poetry. Satire is found in quantity, and in both manuscripts, whereas earlier it had been very scarce. This difference is probably a matter of the survival of texts, reflecting the more welcoming lay environment in which the fourteenth-century verse was transmitted, in contrast to the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* corpus that comes to us through the abbey of Strata Florida. Patrons are now predominantly smaller landowners of what we may call the gentry class, known in Welsh as the *uchelwyr*. Such men had already patronized verse under the rule of the princes, and there is no evidence for a crisis in patronage following the destruction of the Gwynedd dynasty in 1282–3. Indeed, for the fourteenth century our sources reveal patronage in corners of Wales, such as Glamorgan, that are barely represented earlier.

The poetry of this century is much richer in Arthurian references. We must admit that the corpus is larger than that of the two preceding centuries, and also that the density of allusions of all kinds, not merely Arthurian ones, is significantly higher. Thus it is risky to argue that the Arthurian

legend acquired a greater prominence in this century, though it probably did. Overall there is much continuity. Arthur, Cai, Bedwyr, Gwalchmai, Llachau and Medrawd all retain their popularity for heroic comparisons. Eliwlad is mentioned by the Anglesey poet Rhisiertyn before 1382.<sup>38</sup> As in the case of Medrawd, the poets' estimation of Cai remains unreservedly positive and reveals no indication of the bad-tempered and surly character he shows in some romances: Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr praises one of his patrons for having 'the wisdom of Cai', while Meurig ab Iorwerth describes 'a second Cai who maintains and who gives'.<sup>39</sup> Huail son of Caw, who is known from the Lives of St Gildas as an opponent of Arthur, is favourably mentioned by Casnodyn and Gruffudd ap Maredudd.<sup>40</sup> Celliwig, Arthur's court, is named three times, and the Twrch Trwyd also continues to be called on as a suitable image for a warlike patron.<sup>41</sup> All of this suggests the enduring vitality of Welsh traditions of Arthur. On the other hand, evidence for the poets' acquaintance with Geoffrey of Monmouth is now abundant too. Uthr is found frequently, and once as Pendragon, in a clear reference to the story (from Geoffrey) of his taking of Gwrlais's wife.<sup>42</sup> Gwrlais himself appears in a favourable comparison by Gruffudd ap Maredudd, who also twice mentions the Ffrolo whom, according to Geoffrey, Arthur vanquished in France.<sup>43</sup> References to Geraint, Owain and Peredur remain hard to evaluate, though they are abundant enough. A significant change, however, is the frequent naming of women with Arthurian connections: Luned, for instance, who plays an important role in the tale of *Owain*; Eigr, Arthur's mother (Igernia in Geoffrey); Gwenhwyfar, Arthur's wife. The presence of Luned and Eigr is testimony to the influence of the tale of *Owain* and of Geoffrey respectively, but others seem to be drawn from tales that have not survived, or at least not in full. One such tale was Arthur's wooing of Indeg, daughter of Garwy, cited by Gruffudd ap Maredudd in a love poem:

Editor/Typesetter: please retain layout of the quotation and translation as here

Mau ddogngur Arthur o orthir—Prydain,

Er dyn prifdeg llawir,

(Arwydd ei chlod a eurir,  
Eiry hoen) am ferch Arwy Hir.<sup>44</sup>

(Mine is the same share of suffering as Arthur had from the uplands of  
Britain/Scotland,  
For the sake of a beautiful, generous girl,  
(The token of her fame shall be burnished,  
One with skin the hue of snow), for the daughter of Garwy the Tall.)

Another was the story of Tegau Eurfron, wife of Caradog Freichfras. No full version of this survives in medieval Welsh, but a form of it is told in the French *Livre de Carados*, and the names of Tegau and her husband are cited in a Middle English poem of the thirteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Both Indeg and Tegau are named as standards of beauty by the fourteenth-century poets; the earliest such reference to Tegau is perhaps found in the Bardic Grammar in a citation attributed to Llywelyn Foelrhon (fl. 1295–1322/3).<sup>46</sup> The story of Trystan was also familiar to the poets, though in what form is not known. As earlier, Trystan is named in heroic comparisons, but besides these are now clear references to him as a lover, and Esyllt takes her place alongside the other models of femininity:

Trawstaer serchol fryd Trystan  
Ar Esyllt wedd a roeswn.<sup>47</sup>

(The fierce, determined love of a Trystan  
Had I bestowed on one with the face of Esyllt.)

This couplet comes from the same poem by Gruffudd ap Maredudd as the lines on Arthur and

Garwy's daughter cited above. The importance of love poetry in deepening the Arthurian field of reference is apparent here, for the poem also mentions Luned, Enid (Geraint's wife), Eigr, Tegau and Angharad Law Eurog, the lover of the hero in the Welsh tale of *Peredur*.

Besides the poetry preserved in the two main collections, the fourteenth century saw the development of another substantial body of verse. This was verse in the *cywydd* metre, consisting of rhyming couplets of seven-syllable lines, and apparently an innovation of the early fourteenth-century. *Cywyddau* survive almost exclusively in later manuscripts, but they are numerous. Dafydd ap Gwilym, who flourished in the middle of the century, seems to have used the metre predominantly for love poetry. Later in the century it was used for praise too, and quickly became the dominant metre for the rest of the Middle Ages and beyond. Though the *cywydd* verse shows much continuity with the older metres, it could also be highly innovative. Many *cywyddau* have a far more linear structure than most poems following the more traditional forms. Allusions to stories now had the potential to become longer and fuller, as in this comparison between Owain Glyndŵr and his namesake:

Hwyliaist, siwrneiaist helynt

Owain ab Urien gain gynt,

Pan oedd fuan ymwanwr

Y marchog duog o'r dŵr;

Gŵr fu ef wrth ymguraw,

A phen draig y ffynnon draw.

...

Tithau Owain, taith ewybr,

Taer y gwnaut, drafn, â llafn, llwybr.

Brawd unweithred y'th edir,

Barwn hoff, mab Urien hir  
Pan gyhyrddawdd, ryglawdd rôn,  
Â phen marchog y ffynnon.<sup>48</sup>

(You went forth, you made the same journey  
As fair Owain son of Urien once did  
When the dark knight from the water  
Was a swift attacker;  
He was a man in exchanging blows,  
And the chieftain of the fountain there.  
...  
You too, Owain, on a swift course,  
You, lord, would stubbornly cleave a way with your blade.  
You are acknowledged to be a brother in action,  
O beloved baron, to the son of tall Urien  
When he struck, with piercing spear,  
The chief knight of the fountain.)

This poem, of the 1380s, relates to an English campaign against the Scots in which Owain Glyndŵr took part. It leaves no doubt that the tale of *Owein* was read and known. The same poet, Gruffudd Llwyd, tells in another *cywydd* the story of Arthur's fight against the giant Rhita Gawr, which is first found in Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>49</sup> The large corpus of love poetry in the *cywydd* metre, especially by Dafydd ap Gwilym, offers many comparisons with Eigr, Esyllt and Enid, and also with Gwenhwyfar. A poem by Dafydd in honour of Dyddgu includes a lengthy retelling of the famous episode in the tale of Peredur in which the hero comes upon a bird that had been killed by a hawk and was lying in the snow, with a crow feeding on it. Seeing the black feathers of the crow



and the red blood against the whiteness of the snow puts the hero in mind of the hair, cheeks and skin of ‘the woman he loves the most’, and he remains staring at them as if in a trance.<sup>50</sup> Dafydd is reminded of Dyddgu’s own dark hair. He has, however, altered the details. The dead bird is a blackbird (*mwyalch*) and not a duck, and thus he can dispense with the crow, for the black feathers of the dead bird itself provide the image that he needs. Whether this is the result of faulty memory or artistic economy is a matter for speculation, but Thomas Parry noted a precise verbal reminiscence in the poem that suggests that Dafydd had a close knowledge of the text.<sup>51</sup> Another of the narrative runs characteristic of the *cywyddau* relates to the story of the love between Gwenhwyfar and Melwas. It is found in Dafydd ap Gwilym’s poem ‘Y Ffenestr’ (The Window). The poet laments his separation from his love by the unfeeling, unyielding pane of glass, so different from the window through which Melwas succeeded in reaching his love:

Dieithr hwyl, dau uthr helynt,  
Yr hon ar Gaerlleon gynt  
Y dôi Felwas o draserch  
Drwyddi heb arswydi serch,  
Cur tremynt cariad tramawr,  
Gynt ger tŷ ferch Gogfran Gawr.  
Cyd cawn fod pan fai’n odi  
Hwyl am y ffenestr â hi,  
Ni chefais elw fal Melwas,  
Nychu’r grudd, Dduw, nacha’r gras.

(apart from the nature of that window (a couple whose predicament was astonishing)  
in the fort of Caerllion long ago,  
through which Melwas, impelled by desire,

came with none of love's trepidations  
(extreme pain of boundless passion)  
once by the house of Giant Gogfran's daughter.  
Although I could stay a while, when it was snowing,  
on the wrong side of the window from her,  
unlike Melwas I received no reward,  
my only favour, by God, was the wasting of my cheeks.)<sup>52</sup>

A brief version of the story of Melwas's abduction of Gwenhwyfar is found in the second Life of St Gildas, but the placing of Arthur's court at Caerleon derives from Geoffrey of Monmouth, showing how Welsh narrative was intertwining with external traditions. The allusions to Caradog and Tegau, Arthur and Indeg, and Melwas and Gwenhwyfar suggest that Welsh developed a narrative literature of courtly love that was more extensive than the surviving tales of *Geraint*, *Owain* and *Peredur*; how the lost tales related to French romance must remain a matter for speculation.

### **1400 and afterwards**

The Red Book collection takes us to the cusp of 1400. Here we encounter, for the first time, the influence of the later Grail traditions developed in French prose by the successors of Chrétien de Troyes. Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan has convincingly argued that the Welsh Grail story, *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal*, was translated from French on behalf of Hopcyn ap Thomas ab Einion, patron of the Red Book of Hergest, around this very time. And indeed, it is in verse addressed to Hopcyn that we first encounter the word *Greal*, as the name of a book in Hopcyn's possession.<sup>53</sup> The new heroes who came with the Grail story, Lancelot, Galahad and Bors, only appear in Welsh poetry after around 1400. Their names are not Brittonic and were simply adapted into Welsh as *Lawnslod*, *Galâth* or *Galath*, and *Bwrt*, while the characters themselves had no earlier analogues in Welsh.

Rhys Goch Eryri, in the early years of the fifteenth century, is the first poet known to have incorporated them into his repertoire of comparisons, describing Gwilym ap Gruffudd of Y Penrhyn as ‘a Lancelot who does not retreat’ and ‘a second fine Galahad’.<sup>54</sup> These names soon became ubiquitous. A poem by Guto’r Glyn from the 1480s gives us a glimpse of how the Grail story circulated. Addressed to the southern patron Trahaearn ab Ieuan, it asks for a copy of the book of the Grail to be sent on loan to Dafydd, abbot of the north-eastern abbey of Valle Crucis: ‘a famous book about knights, a book to match the skill of all the Round Table’.<sup>55</sup>

In the fifteenth century the dominant metre is the *cywydd*, though the older forms remain common. The body of verse preserved *c.* 1400–*c.* 1540 is dauntingly large. Much is still unedited and there are no full indexes; moreover, Arthurian references now number in the hundreds. It is not possible to give a full account of this period, so the reader is advised that what follows is superficial and impressionistic. Some non-Welsh forms of names are now frequently encountered alongside the traditional ones – *Gawen* beside *Gwalchmai*, *Pysifal* beside *Peredur* – and Arthur’s knights are commonly called *Syr*, creating such hybrids as *Syr Paredur* or *Syr Gwalchmai* alongside *Syr Lawnslod* and *Syr Galath*.<sup>56</sup> It seems that it was also through *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* that the Round Table – *Y Ford Gron* – came into Welsh. It appears in the work of Lewys Glyn Cothi, and frequently thereafter.<sup>57</sup> The poetry of this period places great emphasis on the aspirations of the Welsh gentry to knighthood and to service under the king who grants it – which meant serving the king of England, though the Galfridian and Arthurian framework allowed for a face-saving identification of the English king with his British predecessor:

Arthur yw Edwart fel y perthyn,  
Gwalchmai yw Herbert, a’r dart yn dwn.<sup>58</sup>

(Edward is Arthur, as is right,

Herbert is Gwalchmai with the broken spear.)

The words belong to Lewys Glyn Cothi, in c. 1463 or 1464, praising the service of Sir William Herbert of Raglan under Edward IV. In translating them, should we turn *Gwalchmai* into ‘Gawain’ or leave the Welsh form to stand? The difficulty of answering this question sums up the trajectory of Welsh poetry in the fifteenth century. It should not be thought that the new characters simply replaced the older Welsh story world. We still encounter older names in profusion: Celliwig, Olwen, Melwas, Huail, Tegau, Myrddin in the role of poet. Even Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr, Arthur’s porter, turns up in a poem by Lewys Morgannwg, after 1520.<sup>59</sup> Nor should it be forgotten that as early as the twelfth century there are signs that the poets were engaging with the Arthur of Geoffrey of Monmouth. At all periods Welsh poetry incorporated classical, biblical and European traditions besides its own. Yet by the middle of the fifteenth century it is clear that the poets, and by implication their audiences, had been drawn firmly into a relationship with the English crown, and that they identified fully with the late-medieval chivalric culture exemplified in the Continental romances of Arthur and the Grail. Both change and continuity are visible in a poem that probably celebrates the knighting of Richard Herbert of Montgomery in 1513. Here Lewys Môn urges his patron to emulate the knights of the Round Table:

Syr Lemrog y marchogion,  
saf ar hyd gris y Ford Gron:  
mae’r Greal am wal y mur  
mal y syrthiai ’mhlas Arthur;  
a Syr Bwrt (Oes wŷr o’u bath?)  
fo’i gwelodd, ef a Galath.  
Gwyllo’ch modd, Gwalchmai oeddych,  
a’i geisio o’r gwaed, gysur gwych.<sup>60</sup>

(O Sir Lamorak among knights,  
Stand up to the degree of the Round Table:  
The Grail is all around the wall,  
as it befell in Arthur's court  
And Sir Bors (are there any other men of their stamp?)  
saw it, he and Galahad too.  
Seeing what you are like, you should be a Gwalchmai  
who would seek it through blood, a fine comfort.)

*Arthur* and *Gwalchmai* are names that we have followed from the beginning of our period, but the matrix in which they are now set is the episode from the early part of *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* in which the sacred vessel appears before the knights of Arthur's court, inciting them to their quest. The poet's choice of Gwalchmai/Gawain, the most secular and violent of the knights who seek the Grail, as the model for Sir Richard to follow, reminds us that while the sphere of reference might have changed, a demand for performed and demonstrated masculinity remained at the core of the poets' comparisons, Arthurian or otherwise.

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Geraint Gruffydd and Rhiannon Ifans (eds), *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1997), poem 1, lines 33–5. All translations in this chapter are my own except where noted. I am grateful to Silva Nurmio for commenting on a draft copy of this chapter. All errors are my responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> Gruffydd and Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>3</sup> Prophetic verse is excluded from this essay for lack of space; its connections with Myrddin/Merlin require separate treatment.

<sup>4</sup> N. G. Costigan (Bosco), R. Iestyn Daniel and Dafydd Johnston (eds), *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur, Gwilym Ddu o Arfon, Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr ac Iorwerth Beli* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1995), poem 11, line 25 (*pwyll Cai*); Rhian M. Andrews, N. G. Costigan (Bosco), Christine James, Peredur I. Lynch, Catherine McKenna, Morfydd E. Owen and Brynley F. Roberts (eds), *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill Ail Hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), poem 2, line 15 (*kynnetyf G<sup>o</sup>alchmei*); [www.dafyddapgwilym.net](http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net), poem 117, line 6 (*nith Eigr deg*); Elin M. Jones and Nerys Ann Jones (eds), *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), poem 23, line 80 (*yn fra<sup>o</sup>tus ual Camlan*); Huw Meirion Edwards (ed.), *Gwaith Prydydd Breuan, Rhys ap Dafydd ab Einion, Hywel Ystorm, a Cherddi Dychan Dienw o Lyfr Coch Hergest* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 2000), poem 7, line 26 (*Nid gŵr pâr-sefyll mal Pysyfal*). All websites referenced in this chapter were accessed 24 November 2015.

<sup>5</sup> The classic study is D. Myrddin Lloyd, *Rhai Agweddau ar Ddysg y Gogynfeirdd* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977). See also Rachel Bromwich, 'Cyfeiriadau Traddodiadol a Chwedlonol y Gogynfeirdd', in Morfydd E. Owen and Brynley F. Roberts (eds), *Beirdd a*

---

*Thywysogion: Barddoniaeth Llys yng Nghymru, Iwerddon a'r Alban* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), pp. 202–18; also Bromwich, *TYP4*, pp. lviii–lxix.

<sup>6</sup> Gwalchmai ap Meilyr assured his patron, Rhodri ab Owain (d. 1195), that he would see ‘his name in Hebrew and in Latin / and given exactly in every speech / as far as the course of the sun runs in June’ (J. E. Caerwyn Williams, Peredur I. Lynch and R. Geraint Gruffydd (eds), *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), poem 11, lines 31–3).

<sup>7</sup> G. J. Williams and E. J. Jones (eds), *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> See Brynley F. Roberts, ‘Ystoria’, *BBCS*, 26 (1976), 13–20.

<sup>9</sup> O. J. Padel, ‘The Nature of Arthur’, *CMCS*, 27 (Summer 1994), 1–31 and Padel, *AMWL*. These works provide a convenient summary of sources for Arthur and his men before Geoffrey of Monmouth.

<sup>10</sup> Bromwich, *TYP4*, pp. 271–516, cites many allusions to individual characters. Padel, *AMWL*, pp. 51–63, 99–102 and 108–19, is a more general treatment of the Arthurian allusions. For indexes of names, see Ann Parry Owen, ‘Mynegai i Enwau Priod ym Marddoniaeth Beirdd y Tywysogion’, *LIC*, 20 (1997), 25–45; Ann Parry Owen ‘Mynegai i Enwau Priod yng Ngwaith Beirdd y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Ddeg’, *LIC*, 31 (2008), 35–89. Note now also Xiezhen Zhao, ‘Arthurian Personal Names in Medieval Welsh Poetry’ (unpublished MPhil thesis, Aberystwyth University, 2015). I am very grateful to Xiezhen for providing me with a copy of her thorough and well-argued work.

<sup>11</sup> Nerys Ann Jones, ‘Ffynonellau Canu Beirdd y Tywysogion’, *SC*, 37 (2003), 81–125 is the fundamental investigation of the manuscript corpus.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, Lynch and Gruffydd, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*, poem 1, line 42 (and see the note on the line); poem 3, line 25.

<sup>13</sup> Williams, Lynch and Gruffydd, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*, poem 6, line 8.

<sup>14</sup> First noted by T. Gwynn Jones, ‘Some Arthurian Material in Keltic’, *Aberystwyth Studies*, VIII

---

(1926), 37–93 (43–4). See now Ian Hughes, ‘Camlan, Medrawd a Melwas’, *Dwned*, 13 (2007), 11–46. On the forms *Medrawd* and *Modred*, see O. J. Padel, ‘Geoffrey of Monmouth and Cornwall’, *CMCS*, 8 (Winter 1984), 1–28 (15–16).

<sup>15</sup> Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*, poem 11, lines 53–5. See Bromwich, *TYP4*, pp. 5–6; see also Rebecca Shercliff, chapter 12, p. 00.

<sup>16</sup> Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen (eds), *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 2 vols (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991–5), vol. 2, poem 17, line 67.

<sup>17</sup> Padel, *AMWL*, p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> Andrews et al., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 54, line 30.

<sup>19</sup> Andrews et al., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 10, line 3.

<sup>20</sup> Padel, *AMWL*, pp. 56–7, argues that Gwenhwyfar is obliquely mentioned in a love poem by Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (Kathleen Ann Bramley and Morfydd E. Owen (eds), *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I ac Eraill o Feirdd y Ddeuddegfed Ganrif* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), poem 9, lines 11 and 15), but the daughter of Ogrfan named there is probably not her but a sister wooed by the poorly attested hero Garwy (Peter C. Bartrum, *WCD*, p. 272).

<sup>21</sup> A. O. H. Jarman (ed.), *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), poem 34, lines 49–50.

<sup>22</sup> Andrews, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 52, line 16.

<sup>23</sup> Jones and Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 2, poem 11, lines 13–16.

<sup>24</sup> Jones and Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 1, p. 14 (the identification was made by Enid P. Roberts).

<sup>25</sup> Andrews, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 46, line 7.

<sup>26</sup> Jones and Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 2, poem 4, lines 206–7.

<sup>27</sup> Williams, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*, poem 18, line 18; Andrews, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 55, line 19.

<sup>28</sup> Jones and Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 2, poem 4, line 182; Andrews, *Gwaith*



---

*Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 2, line 15.

<sup>29</sup> Williams, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*, p. 131.

<sup>30</sup> Robert L. Thomson (ed.), *Ystoria Gereint uab Erbin* (Dublin: DIAS, 1997), p. 2 (line 47); Williams, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*, poem 26, line 16; Jones and Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 2, poem 9, line 82; Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*, poem 2, line 49; Andrews, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 23, line 20 and poem 53, line 30.

<sup>31</sup> Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*, poem 7, line 9; for the suggestion, see Bromwich, *TYP4*, pp. 359–60; note that she admits that it is ‘hypothetical’.

<sup>32</sup> Andrews, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 46, lines 15–16.

<sup>33</sup> Andrews, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 36, line 57.

<sup>34</sup> Jones and Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 2, poem 6, lines 206–7; poem 4, line 167.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Williams, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*, poem 16, line 7; poem 17, line 21; N. G. Costigan (Bosco) (ed.), *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd Hanner Cyntaf y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), poem 25, line 4; for prophecy, see Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*, poem 25, line 41.

<sup>36</sup> Jones and Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, 2, poem 4, lines 95–9; the poem is an elegy for Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170).

<sup>37</sup> Andrews, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*, poem 54, line 26 and poem 56, line 9.

<sup>38</sup> Nerys Ann Jones and Erwain Haf Rheinallt (eds), *Gwaith Sefnyn, Rhisieryd, Gruffudd Fychan ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed and Llywarch Bentwrch* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1996), poem 4, line 22.

<sup>39</sup> Costigan, *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur*, poem 11, line 25; R. Iestyn Daniel (ed.), *Gwaith Dafydd y Coed a Beirdd Eraill o Lyfr Coch Hergest* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 2002), poem 13, line 74.

<sup>40</sup> R. Iestyn Daniel (ed.), *Gwaith Casnodyn* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1999), poem 1, line 22; Barry J. Lewis (ed.), *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, 1: *Canu i Deulu Penmynydd* (Aberystwyth:

---

CAWCS, 2003), poem 2, line 42.

<sup>41</sup> Celliwig: Rhiannon Ifans (ed.), *Gwaith Gronw Gyriog, Iorwerth ab y Cyriog, Mab Clochyddyn, Gruffudd ap Tudur Goch ac Ithel Ddu* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1997), poem 1, line 34; R. Iestyn Daniel (ed.), *Gwaith Dafydd Bach ap Madog Wladaidd 'Sypyn Cyfeiliog' a Llywelyn ab y Moel* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 1998), poem 1, line 16; Daniel, *Gwaith Dafydd y Coed*, poem 13, lines 51–2 (explicitly in conjunction with Arthur). Twrch Trwyd: Daniel, *Gwaith Casnodyn*, poem 11, line 65; Lewis, *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, 1, poem 8, line 12; Ann Parry Owen (ed.), *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, 3: *Canu Amrywiol* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 2007), poem 1, line 73.

<sup>42</sup> Costigan, *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Dafydd ap Tudur*, poem 5, line 52.

<sup>43</sup> Gwrlais: Lewis, *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, 1, poem 4, line 10; Ffrolo: Lewis, *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, 1, poem 2, line 11 (quoted) and poem 3, line 36.

<sup>44</sup> Parry Owen, *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, 3, poem 4, lines 1–4. A Triad names Indeg daughter of Garwy the Tall as one of Arthur's concubines, see Bromwich, *TYP4*, p. 164.

<sup>45</sup> See Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, pp. 503–6.

<sup>46</sup> Gruffydd and Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad*, Appendix Dd, poem 8 (p. 168).

<sup>47</sup> Parry Owen, *Gwaith Gruffudd ap Maredudd*, 3, poem 4, lines 49–50.

<sup>48</sup> Rhiannon Ifans and G. R. Isaac (eds), *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd a'r Llygliwiaid Eraill* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 2000), poem 11, lines 39–52.

<sup>49</sup> Ifans and Isaac, *Gwaith Gruffudd Llwyd*, poem 16, lines 1–26.

<sup>50</sup> www.dafyddapgwilym.net, poem 87, lines 33–54; compare Glenys Witchard Goetinck (ed.), *Historia Peredur vab Efwrawc* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976), pp. 30–1.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Parry (ed.), *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, third ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979), p. 481. Dafydd uses the expression *gwedy r'odi* 'having fallen' (l. 51); it occurs as *gwedy ryodi* in the corresponding passage in the tale. *odi* 'to fall, to snow' is a verb specific to the falling of snow, and that is its meaning in the tale, but Dafydd has transferred it to the blood that had dripped from the dead bird.

- 
- <sup>52</sup> [www.dafyddapgwilym.net](http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net), poem 65, lines 17–26 (text and translation). In line 17 *dau uthr helynt* is probably punning on the name of Arthur’s father, and might be translated ‘twice the tribulation of Uthr’, a reference to the illicit love of Uthr for Eigr (Igera).
- <sup>53</sup> Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, ‘Perceval in Wales: Late Medieval Welsh Grail Traditions’, in Alison Adams et al. (eds), *The Changing Face of Arthurian Romance* (Cambridge: Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 78–91. For the poetic reference: Daniel, *Gwaith Dafydd y Coed*, poem 3, line 95.
- <sup>54</sup> Dylan Foster Evans (ed.), *Gwaith Rhys Goch Eryri* (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 2007), poem 2, lines 25–6.
- <sup>55</sup> [www.gutorglyn.net](http://www.gutorglyn.net), poem 114, lines 49–50 (text and translation).
- <sup>56</sup> A. Cynfael Lake (ed.), *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth: CAWCS, 2004), poem 40, line 27 and poem 50, line 38. *Paredur* is frequently found for *Peredur* in this period, perhaps influenced by *pâr* ‘spear’ (see also Lloyd-Morgan, chapter 10, p. 00). There is an early example of *Pyrsyfal* in Edwards, *Gwaith Prydydd Breuan*, poem 7, line 26, preserved in the Red Book.
- <sup>57</sup> Dafydd Johnston (ed.), *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), poem 152, line 26 and poem 163, 58.
- <sup>58</sup> Johnston, *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, poem 112, lines 107–8.
- <sup>59</sup> Lake, *Gwaith Lewys Morgannwg*, poem 70, lines 63–4.
- <sup>60</sup> Eurys I. Rowlands (ed.), *Gwaith Lewys Môn* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1975), poem LXXXVI, lines 55–62.