

SIR JOHN RHŶS MEMORIAL LECTURE

THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN  
'STANZAS OF THE GRAVES'

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*Read 8 March 1967*

I REGARD it as a great honour to have been invited to deliver the Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture for 1967. I have chosen as my subject 'The Stanzas of the Graves' which I hope will be found appropriate inasmuch as Sir John Rhŷs himself discussed the metrical patterns of these stanzas in his challenging, if not completely convincing, paper on 'The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres' in the eighteenth volume of *Y Cymmrodor*. In this lecture I propose to explore, however inadequately, the significance of the content of the stanzas.

In the *Oxford Book of Modern Verse 1892-1935* W. B. Yeats included twenty triplets entitled 'The Song of the Graves'. The only claim which the triplets had to modernity even when Yeats was compiling his anthology, was that they had been translated into English by Ernest Rhys. The original Welsh stanzas or englynion are far from modern: they form an important item in a miscellaneous collection of early Welsh verse found in the Black Book of Carmarthen, a manuscript copied for the greater part probably in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Ernest Rhys's translation is very free, and often incorrect in scholarly detail, but it successfully conveys very much of the form, manner, and mood of the original Welsh. Let me quote a few of the English triplets:

In graves where drips the winter rain  
Lie those that loved me most of men:  
Cerwyd, Cywrid, Caw lie slain.

In graves where the grass grows rank and tall,  
Lie, well avenged ere they did fall:  
Gwrien, Morien, Morial.

Three graves on Celvi's ridge are made;  
 And there are Cynveli and Cynvael laid;  
 The third holds rough-browed Cynon's head.

The long graves in Gwanas—none has told  
 Their history—what men they hold,  
 What deeds, and death, beneath their mould.

The original Welsh stanzas are called 'Englynion y Beddau' (The Stanzas of the Graves) or 'Beddau Milwyr Ynys Prydain' (The Graves of the Warriors of the Island of Britain). The earliest and most important collection of them is that found in the Black Book of Carmarthen (see Series I below). In this collection there are in all seventy-three englynion, of which the first sixty-nine appear to have been copied by a hand of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The last four, however, were added later, probably in the second half of the same century, judging from the orthography used and the style of the handwriting.<sup>1</sup>

As their variant titles suggest, these seventy-three englynion record the traditional burial places of early Welsh heroes, not the heroes of history but those of Welsh saga and folklore. All except seven of the seventy-three englynion take the form of one or the other of the two better-known varieties—englyn milwr and englyn penfyr—of the three-line englyn which early Welsh poets used for gnomic, elegiac, and saga verse. Of the seven exceptions englyn no. 70 is a six-line stanza in awdlgywydd metre and nos. 4, 7, 32, 46, 65, and 72 are englynion gwastad or four-line englynion like those spoken by the magician Gwydion in *Math vab Mathonwy*, the fourth branch of the *Mabinogi*.<sup>2</sup>

The Black Book of Carmarthen, however, is not the only manuscript in which stanzas of the graves are found. Five such stanzas, of which four are englynion milwr and one an englyn gwastad, occur amongst the verse remains of the sagas of Llywarch the Old and Heledd daughter of Cyndrwyn. The earliest extant manuscript which contains these englynion—Series II in the text which follows—is the Red Book of Hergest; but we know from later transcripts in British Museum Additional MS. 31055 and Peniarth MS. 111, the former written by 'Sir' Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw in the year 1596 and the latter in

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Hywel D. Emanuel for his expert opinion on the handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> See *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Ifor Williams, 2nd ed., Cardiff, 1951, pp. 89–90.

1607 by John Jones of Gellilyfdy, that they were once to be found in the fourteenth-century White Book of Rhydderch, when that manuscript was complete. This takes them back about a hundred years earlier than the Red Book of Hergest.

A third source is Peniarth MS. 98, copied by the grammarian and lexicographer Dr. John Davies (*c.* 1567–1644) of Mallwyd in Merioneth, and several other interrelated manuscripts, all of which appear to derive in various ways from a sixteenth-century manuscript. That manuscript, now lost, had been transcribed by William Salesbury of Llanrwst and, in Edward Lhuyd's time, was in the possession of Widow Wynn of Bodysgallen, Caernarvonshire. In these manuscripts we have very corrupt versions of another eighteen stanzas of the graves. The Peniarth MS. 98 text can be consulted below in Series III.<sup>1</sup> Of these eighteen stanzas the first agrees almost word for word with that in the Black Book (see I. 33 below), which records the grave of Ffyrnfael the Generous, son of Hywlydd. Stanzas 10 and 13 are variants of the Black Book englynion 35 and 4, which mention the graves of Tydai, father of the muse, and Lleu Llawgyffes respectively. Moreover, stanzas 7 and 8 in the Peniarth 98 collection, both referring to the grave of Llofan Llaw Ddifo, appear to be variant versions of the same original englyn, with the second and third lines of stanza 7 agreeing with the corresponding lines of stanza 13 in the same series and with lines 3–4 in stanza 4 of the Black Book series. All this textual confusion points to a long manuscript and oral tradition for the englynion in Peniarth MS. 98 and to their being at least as old as those in the Black Book. In form, four of them are englynion milwr, nine are englynion penfyr, and two are englynion gwastad. The remaining three—stanzas 11, 12, 18—are too corrupt for us to know for certain what their original forms were.

Lastly, for the sake of completeness, reference must be made to the single stanza of the same type found in several comparatively late manuscripts, of which the earliest is Wrexham MS. 1. This stanza, reproduced and translated below in Series IV, is an englyn milwr which records the grave of Gwryd ap Gwryd in some *caerau*, or 'fortified places', opposite a place called Bryn Beddau or 'The Hill of Graves'.

Together the four manuscript sources described above present

<sup>1</sup> For the text copied from Widow Wynn's MS. see *Parochialia*, i (1909), pp. 154–5. Related texts occur in the following MSS.: Llanstephan 18, p. 21, Llanstephan 145, p. 167 (in Edward Lhuyd's hand), Llanstephan 193, p. 196 (in the hand of William Owen [-Pughe]).

us with nearly a hundred englynion which either refer to, or are associated with, the graves of heroes. Their language and style, their metrical patterns, and their heroic mood, mellowed somewhat by a brooding sense of pity and sympathy, together with their textual corruptions and confusions reflecting errors in both oral and written transmission, point to their composition in a period considerably earlier than even the Black Book of Carmarthen let alone the White Book of Rhydderch, probably as early as the ninth or tenth century. The later court poets of the princes occasionally refer to the graves of traditional heroes in a way which suggests that they are drawing upon information which they have acquired as part of their bardic stock-in-trade. The twelfth-century Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr composed an elegy on a certain Pyll from Llansadwrn in Carmarthenshire, and one of his englynion is a conscious echo of the stanzas of the graves although in style it is much less simple and direct. Here it is in modern orthography:

Bedd Pyll pwyll enwir, enwawg yn nhrydar,  
buddwasgar beirddwisgawg,  
dan llen ddirgel oerfelawg,  
yn Llan ddifradw gadw Gadawg.<sup>1</sup>

(The grave of Pyll, in mind overpowerful, renowned in battle, scattering largess, robing bards, is under a covering, secret [and] cold, in strongly guarded Llangadog.)

In the main I will confine my discussion of the stanzas of the graves to the collection of seventy-three englynion in the Black Book of Carmarthen as representing the earliest and most reliable text. Most of them are single englynion, each recording the grave of one, two, or three heroes, sometimes with mention of one or more place-names, but often with no such mention. The graves are described as being made wet by rain or shower, and covered with thicket or grass. They are in open country, on the hill-side, on a lofty height or homestead, on the mountain, on the banks of rivers, on the sea-strand, within sound and under the flow (or cover) of the sea, and near fords. Six only are placed near churches: Dylan's grave is said to be at Llanfeuno, 'the church of Beuno', almost certainly at Clynnog Fawr in Caernarvonshire; Ceri Long-sword is said to be buried 'in the churchyard of Corbre' in the region of Heneglwys in Anglesey; the grave of Cynon, whether he is Cynon son of Clydno Eidyn

<sup>1</sup> *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, ed. John Morris-Jones and T. H. Parry-Williams, Cardiff, 1933, p. 181.

or not, is placed at Llanbadarn; Owain ab Urien is said to lie under the soil of Llanforfael, apparently the name of a church which has not survived; the same or another Owain is mentioned as being buried at Llanheledd; and Llemenig's grave is placed at Llanelwy, the church on the bank of the river Elwy, better known as St. Asaph.

The prevailing mood, attitude, and diction are heroic. The heroes whose graves are recorded were 'mighty in attack', they were slain in open battle, not by stealth, and before they were slain they themselves had slain others. Dywel son of Erbin would neither submit to a king nor shun conflict, and wheresoever Brwyno the Tall would be, there would be no retreat before the enemy. Many a corpse fell by the hand of Llachar son of Rhun 'before he became speechless' under stones. Aron son of Dyfnwyn would not call for help against thieves, nor would he spare his foes. Meilyr son of Brwyn of Brycheiniog used to rout his enemies, and Llwhch Llawengin 'would not be three months without a battle'. Talan, who would hew down the leader of every host, was none the less generous, and the portals of his court were ever open. Dehwaint was the 'strong pillar of warriors' (or 'the pillar of strong warriors'), Môr the majestic was a leader who never yielded, and Alun Dyfed could not be made to retreat however hard-pressed in battle. The typical heroic stance is that of Beli son of Benlli, in stanza 73, with his hand proudly laid on his sword. Yet mixed with this constant glorification of manly strength and bravery, there is a very clear note of pity for the erstwhile 'bulls of battle', who, like Rhufawn, have been laid low and buried before they reached their prime. It is wrong that Einion son of Cunedda has been slain; but no one, not even the bravest, can successfully struggle against his fate. As stanza 64 puts it, 'each one's death comes at the fated time'. Elsner son of Nêr, now without fear and without care in the depth of the earth, was 'leader of a host' only 'so long as his time was'.

In their general atmosphere and in their attitude towards the heroic figures whose traditional burial places are listed, the 'Stanzas of the Graves' are akin to several metrical tracts in Irish. One such tract is the fifty-seven quatrains 'On the Graves of Leinster Men', composed not long after the year 972 by Broccán the Pious, a member of the community of Clonmore, Co. Carlow.<sup>1</sup> To show their affinity in purpose and in general

<sup>1</sup> For text and translation by M. E. Dobbs see *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 24 (1953), pp. 139 ff.

effect to the Welsh stanzas it will be enough to quote two of the verses in the editor's translation:

1. The grave (*lecht*) of Cormac son of Culennán in the  
centre of sea-girt Leinster,  
The grave of Cobthach son of Augaine in Dind-ríg  
on the bank of the Barrow,
2. The grave (*lecht*) of Eithne and of Oengus at the  
church of musical Cell-osnad,  
The grave of Lorc on Labraid's slope,  
The grave of Eterscél son of Eogan. . . .

Another poet, Flann, herenech of Glen Uissen, which is not far from Clonmore, wrote forty-three verses on the renowned deeds of the heroes of Leinster.<sup>1</sup> There are also the forty-nine quatrains on 'The Deaths of Some of the Nobles of Érin', beginning 'Fianna bátar i n-Emain'<sup>2</sup> and ascribed, probably correctly as is now thought,<sup>3</sup> to Cináed úa Artacáin who died in 975.

Like the verses in the last-named Irish tract the Welsh stanzas are not confined to the graves or heroes of any particular region of the country. It is unfortunate that too many of the place-names are now unknown for a worthwhile attempt to be made to show their distribution on a map. The stanzas form a catalogue of a kind, but a close analysis of certain groupings within the collection seems to tell us something about the origin of some of the stanzas and how they came into the collection.

The majority of the stanzas follow one or other of two formulaic patterns. Thirty-three of them open with the words '(Y) bedd' (The grave . . .), six with 'Y Beddau' (The graves . . .), and two with '(Y) tri bedd' (The three graves . . .). Eighteen others open with the question 'Pieu y bedd . . .?' (Whose is the grave . . .?), which may be in some way related to the legal triad which lists the 'three reproaches of a corpse', which are 'to ask who killed it, who owns this bier, whose is this grave'.<sup>4</sup> Since an answer is given each time the question is asked in the englynion,

<sup>1</sup> See *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 8 (1910-12), pp. 117-19, for the text from Rawlinson MS. B. 502.

<sup>2</sup> For the text, edited and translated by Whitley Stokes, see *Revue Celtique*, 23 (1902), pp. 303 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Gerard Murphy, 'Was Cináed úa Artacáin (†975) the author of *Fianna bátar i n-Emain*?', *Ériu*, 16 (1952), pp. 151-5.

<sup>4</sup> For the original Welsh triad see *Welsh Mediaeval Law*, ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, Oxford, 1909, p. 137, and *Llyfr Blegywryd*, ed. Stephen J. Williams and J. Enoch Powell, Cardiff, 1942, p. 116.

the reproach implied in the triad that a buried person of whom one asks 'Whose is this grave?' must be unknown does not apply, except possibly in the case of two englynion in which no hero's name is given in answer. Of these two, stanza 49 has a corrupt text: its first line has lost two or three syllables, possibly some personal name; and stanza 69 merely tells us that the 'bull of battle' who lies buried in 'the grave on the slope yonder' is one 'whose hand was a foe to many'. Where the question is posed directly or, once or twice, indirectly in the other stanzas the names of heroes are given in reply, many of them not known for certain outside these stanzas.

Some thirteen englynion out of the seventy-three open with words other than those of the formulaic expressions '(the) grave(s) . . .', '(the) three graves . . .', and 'Whose is the grave . . .?' A close examination of these will show, I believe, that they originally belonged in a different context and that they are accretions from various sources to the catalogue of graves represented by the more normal stanzas. The incremental repetition of the word 'Gwedi' (After) as the first word of the first line of stanza 14—'After things blue and red and fair'—and stanza 15—'After wound and field of blood'—suggests that they originally formed part of a separate series of englynion.<sup>1</sup> The englyn which begins 'Narrow is the grave and long' is last in the series of stanzas (nos. 17–19) which refers to the grave of Meigen son of Rhun. The first two have the same initial phrase 'Whose is the grave . . .?', and all three end with variations of the line 'Bedd Meigen mab Rhun, rhwyf cant' (The grave of Meigen son of Rhun, lord of a host), the last word being changed, following a change in the end rhyme, to *llys* (court) and *gwir* (justice) respectively in the second and third stanzas. It appears that we have here not three independent grave stanzas, but a short series of three stanzas, or part of a longer series, spoken by a character in some story told of Meigen son of Rhun. Since the grave is described as being 'in the region which sea and ravine edge cover' and 'in the island which sea and thicket edge cover' it can be suggested that the story told of Meigen son of Rhun was of the inundation type<sup>2</sup> exemplified in the Black Book of Carmarthen by the verses which refer to the destruction of Maes Gwyddneu<sup>3</sup> and to the grave of 'high-minded Seithennin', one

<sup>1</sup> See *Canu Llywarch Hen*, ed. Ifor Williams, Cardiff, 1935, p. xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 12 (1948), pp. 82–83.

<sup>3</sup> See *Black Book of Carmarthen*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli, 1907, pp. 106–7. For a study and translation of the verses, see Rachel Bromwich,

of the characters in that story, as located 'between Caer Genedr and the sea-shore'.<sup>1</sup> Again stanzas 28–30 refer, each in a different way, to heroes' graves at a place called Gwanas. The first records that 'the grave of Gwrgi the valiant and hero of the Venedotians' and that of 'Llawr, leader of a host' are there, but the second tells us that 'he (or they) who despoiled (or destroyed) the long graves on Gwanas' did not discover who were buried therein or on what mission they had been. There is an obvious inconsistency between these two stanzas: the first refers to two graves as those of Gwrgi and Llawr, whereas the second implies an unspecified number of 'long graves' of unknown warriors, or graves of which no tradition is recorded in this stanza. The third stanza, which has an irregular opening phrase, tells us that it was 'the war-band of Oeth and Anoeth who came thither', and that whosoever would seek them must dig at Gwanas. This third englyn is a comment on the second in that it professes to supply information which is missing in the latter. The reference to 'the war-band of Oeth and Anoeth' must be linked with the references to 'Caer Oeth and Anoeth' in the triad on the 'Three Exalted Prisoners of the Island of Britain'<sup>2</sup> and in the story of *Kulhwch ac Olwen*;<sup>3</sup> but this does not help us to understand what kind of tale lies behind these references. However, the three englynion which mention Gwanas exemplify one type of accretion which has brought some of the stanzas into the series. So do stanzas 37 and 38, each beginning *Pell y vysci* (Long past is the turmoil he caused . . .), which refer to the dead Beid(d)awg Rudd buried under the soil of Machawy. These are not formal grave stanzas and their source may well be a series of elegiac englynion in some lost story told of Beid(d)awg Rudd. Again each of stanzas 42 and 43 begins with an identical first line—'Elffin took me to test my bardic lore'—and has a second line which contains the same words, but in a different order to effect a change in the end-rhyme: *gessevin vch kinran* in stanza 42 becomes *vch kinran gessevin* in stanza 43. All this suggests that the two stanzas once formed part of a longer series. The

'Cantre'r Gwaelod and Ker Is', *The Early Cultures of North West Europe*, ed. Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins, Cambridge, 1950, pp. 217–41.

<sup>1</sup> See below I, no. 6. This englyn also occurs at the end of the Maes Gwyddneu stanzas in *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, Cardiff, 1961, p. 140. Cf. the note on pp. 142–3.

<sup>3</sup> *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli, 1907, p. 229, col. 458, line 4.

substance of each stanza is that Elffin took the speaker to test his bardic lore above a grave, that is, presumably by asking him to declare the name of the warrior who had been buried there. In the third line it is declared that the warrior's name is Rhufawn, who is described as being 'of princely mien' and 'very young when buried'. The Elffin who is the interrogator must be Elffin ap Gwyddno, and this makes it as certain as such things can be that the speaker is Taliesin, not the historical sixth-century poet of that name, but the omniscient bardic prodigy portrayed in an early version of the Story of Taliesin.<sup>1</sup> The reference to the grave of Rhufawn in these englynion was sufficient reason for them to be taken from their context in some form of the Taliesin story and added to a catalogue poem of more formal grave stanzas. The warrior Rhufawn is probably the same as the Rhufawn Bebr whose grave the twelfth-century poet Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd mentions as being wetted by a 'foaming wave' and so, it appears, somewhere near the sea-shore:

Tonn wenn orewyn a orwlych bedd  
Gwyddfa Rhufawn Bebr, ben teyrnedd . . .<sup>2</sup>

(A white foaming wave wets the grave-mound  
of Rhufawn Bebr, chief of kings . . .).

The test to which Taliesin is put by Elffin in the story to which stanzas 42 and 43 originally belonged must surely reflect, at least in part, the kind of antiquarian knowledge which the early poets in Wales were expected to possess and which lies behind the composition of a catalogue poem listing the graves of heroes. To continue with the list of probable accretions to the original poem, let us consider stanzas 46 and 47, in which the personal names Eiddew and Eidal occur. It is the first stanza only which refers to their graves. The second, which has an irregular initial phrase, mentions no graves but names the two heroes and describes them as 'sturdy exiles, whelps with broken shields'. I suggest that the second stanza was not a grave stanza in origin but that it was added to the preceding stanza on the graves of Eiddew and Eidal because it contained the same pair of personal names. The last englyn of those which do not open with the words 'the grave(s) . . .' or 'whose is the grave . . . ?' is stanza 62:

Persistent was he in claiming redress for murder,  
red-speared, gentle-checked;  
and though it was for gain, Bradwen was laid in the grave.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Canu Llywarch Hen*, pp. xlviix-ix. See also Ifor Williams, *Chwedl Taliesin*, Cardiff, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*, p. 315.

It is possible that this englyn, before it became attached to the catalogue of graves, was spoken by some character in some story or simple anecdote told of Bradwen, whether he was the Bradwen whose praises are sung in the 'Gododdin', line 628,<sup>1</sup> or another heroic figure of the same name. It is certain that the court poets of the princes knew of some hero so named with whom they compared their patrons.<sup>2</sup>

In the seventy-three englynion there are eighty-seven male personal names and four female, a total of ninety-one, which is considerably smaller than that of 'about two hundred' given by W. F. Skene and others.<sup>3</sup> The four female names are found together in stanza 70 to which I propose to return later. All the other stanzas contain male names only, the names of heroes. The existence of a stanza recording the grave of a hero, be he historical or not, must mean that some kind of story, whether it was simple or involved, was told of that hero. Herein in great part lies the interest and importance of the stanzas of the graves: they point to the existence of a great corpus of oral traditions in Wales, thus confirming the evidence presented by the Welsh triads and by scattered references in the works of medieval and even post-medieval Welsh poets. Some of the names in the stanzas are those of characters who play a part in stories which have survived in a written form, such as the collection called the *Mabinogion*. Stanza 4 tells us that the grave of Dylan is at the church of Beuno, that is, at Clynnog Fawr. Now on the beach about two and a half miles from Clynnog, between Aberdesach and Pontlyfni, there is a large stone called Maen Dylan, 'Dylan's Stone'. This Dylan must be the same as Dylan son of Wave, of whom it is said in the fourth branch of the *Mabinogi* that

The moment he was baptized he made for the sea. And there and then, as soon as he came to the sea, he received the sea's nature, and swam as well as the best fish in the sea. And for that reason he was called Dylan Eil Ton (Dylan son of Wave). No wave ever broke beneath him. And the blow whereby his death came, his uncle Gofannon aimed. And that was one of the 'Three Unhappy Blows'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Canu Aneirin*, ed. Ifor Williams, Cardiff, 1938, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg*, Cardiff, 1931-63, s.v. 'Bradwen'.

<sup>3</sup> *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ed. William F. Skene, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1868, ii, p. 341; John Williams ab Ithel in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Series II, iii (1852), p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, pp. 77-78.

In a poem which in origin was a soliloquy spoken by the omniscient Taliesin, the question is asked, 'Why is the roar of the sea fierce against the shore?' and the answer given is that 'it is avenging Dylan'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a so-called elegy of Dylan is ascribed to Taliesin and in it reference is made to 'the piercing of Dylan on the deadly shore'.<sup>2</sup> All this is evidence, outside the stanzas of the graves, that there was a story told of Dylan, although it is unlikely that we shall ever know the details of that story. It is clear, however, that the story was localized in the region of Clynnog Fawr and that Dylan's grave was said to be in the church of Beuno 'where the wave makes a noise'.

Let us take another example. Stanza 7 tells that 'the grave of Pryderi is at Abergwenoli (the confluence of the Gwenoli)'. This Pryderi is Pryderi son of Pwyll whose story is told in the *Mabinogi*. The fourth branch tells us of his death and locates his grave. He meets the magician Gwydion in single combat:

And by dint of strength and valour and by magic and enchantment  
Gwydion conquered and Pryderi was slain. And at Maen Tyriawg  
[modern Maentwrog], above Y Felenrhyd, was he buried, and his  
grave is there.<sup>3</sup>

At first sight there appears to be a discrepancy between the location of Pryderi's grave in the stanza and that described in the *Mabinogi*. However, there is no real disagreement here: Gwenoli is the name of a stream which springs near Llyn Tecwyn and flows into the Felenrhyd.<sup>4</sup> Abergwenoli then must mean the confluence of the Gwenoli with the Felenrhyd, and it is there that the stanza locates Pryderi's grave. This location, be it noted, is in agreement with, and yet independent of, the *Mabinogi*. Other figures who are known to us from extant stories, or from references to them in the Triads, and whose graves are mentioned in the stanzas are Seithennin, Gwalchmai, Bedwyr, Gwên son of Llywarch, Lleu Llawgyffes, Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, March—probably King Mark of the Trystan and Iseult story—Gwythur [son of Greidawl], Gwgawn Red-sword, Llemenig, Eilinwy, Talan, Beli ap Benlli, Garwen daughter of Hennin, and some others. The stanzas which refer to their

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Taliesin*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli, 1910, p. 27: Pan yw gofaran twrwf tonneu wrth lan. yn dial dylan.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, p. 73. The MS. reading *Maen Tyryawc* is in error for *Maen Tyryawc*.

<sup>4</sup> R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru*, Cardiff, 1938, p. 146.

graves rarely supply any detail which helps us to know what kind of story was told of them. Even when such a detail is given it is difficult to interpret in relation to the extant form of a particular story. A story is told of Llew Llawgyffes in the fourth branch of the *Mabinogi*, but stanza 35, which refers to his grave, is not easy to interpret with certainty. It appears that the background of the stanza is a story of Llew somewhat different from that told in the *Mabinogi*.

The englynion mention some heroic figures whose historicity appears to be fairly certain, for example, Rhydderch the Generous, Owain son of Urien, Cynon ap Clydno Eidyn, and Arthur. As historical figures their milieu was the old North or present southern Scotland and northern England. Rhydderch the Generous was a sixth-century king of Dumbarton, as was recorded as early as the seventh century in Adamnán's *Life of Columba*, but stanza 13 places his grave at Abererch in the Llŷn peninsula. We know that stories had become attached to his name: he figures in the verse remains of the saga of Myrddin,<sup>1</sup> and the references to him in the Triads presuppose his role as a character in stories. The location of his grave at Abererch implies that one or more of the stories in which he figured had been localized in Wales.<sup>2</sup> We must conclude that the same thing happened to other historical characters from the North: Owain ab Urien is said in stanza 13 to be buried at Llanforfael, and Cynon son of Clydno Eidyn is said to lie 'on a lofty homestead', according to stanza 9, and 'at the foot of the hill', according to stanza 11; but there is no indication where these places were. One can only assume that places in Wales are meant. It is Arthur's distinction that his grave is said to be, in stanza 44, an 'anoeth byd', a phrase the meaning of which has been the subject of much debate. To my mind there can be no doubt that *anoeth* is the singular form of the plural *anoethau*, used several times in the prose tale of *Culhwch and Olwen* for the wonderful things which the hero has to find before he can win Olwen for wife. In combination with *byd* the word means 'the wonder of the world' or 'the most difficult thing in the world to find'. This implies that the folk motif of the vanished undying hero had become attached to Arthur's name before stanza 44 was composed. The englyn tells us that whereas the graves of March (or Mark), Gwythur, and Gwgawn Red-sword were known, in the

<sup>1</sup> See A. O. H. Jarman, *The Legend of Merlin*, Cardiff, 1960, pp. 16, 24.

<sup>2</sup> For the references to Rhydderch Hael (the Generous) see *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, pp. 504-5.

sense that they had been localized in story, Arthur's grave was 'the wonder of the world' in the sense that no one knew where it was because of the belief that Arthur was not dead. Other names having Arthurian associations found in the stanzas are Bedwyr, Gwalchmai, Cynon, March, Gwythur, and Gwrtheyrn. How far the stories in which they figured had been drawn into the Arthurian complex of tales it is difficult to assess, but the naming of Bedwyr in stanza 12, which contains the place-name Camlan, and the naming of March, Gwythur, and Gwgawn Red-sword in the stanza which refers to Arthur's grave as an *anoeth byd*, suggests that this development had already begun. This is consistent with the testimony of the Arthurian anecdotes included in the Nennian *mirabilia*, with their mention of the grave of Amir son of Arthur at Llygad Amir, or modern Gamber Head, and of the hunting of the Twrch Trwyth by Arthur.

There is in these stanzas another group of personal names which merit discussion. These are names which appear to derive from place-names. One example will serve to make clear what is meant. Stanza 26 tells us that 'the grave of Epynt is in the Gefel valley'. We know of more than one stream which goes by the name of Gefel, but it is certain that the one here meant is that on the Epynt mountain flowing into the Dulas and separating the parishes of Llangamarch and Llanddulas. Epynt, which etymologically means 'horse-track' or 'horse-path', makes sense as the name of a range of mountains, but it can hardly be originally the name of a person. If Epynt figured in some story, as the reference to his grave implies, it is safe to conclude that he was an eponymous character deriving his name from that of the mountain; and the story told of him may not necessarily have been more than a simple anecdote.<sup>1</sup> Another probable example of this is to be seen in stanza 60 which refers to 'the grave of Taflogau son of Lludd'. Taflogau is not known elsewhere as a personal name, and so Sir Ifor Williams suggested<sup>2</sup> that it was a scribal error for *Tawgloev*, an old orthographical form of *Tafloyw*, an authentic personal name found in the 'Gododdin'. If we recognize, however, that some of the personal names in the stanzas of the graves are, like Epynt, eponyms derived from the

<sup>1</sup> For similar later anecdotes of eponymous figures recorded in prose about the year 1600 by Dr. John David Rhys in Peniarth MS. 118, see Hugh Owen, 'Peniarth MS. 118, fos. 829-837', *Y Cymmrodor*, 27 (1917), pp. 115-52.

<sup>2</sup> *Canu Aneirin*, p. 309.

names of natural features, there is no need to reject the manuscript form *Tawlogeu*. *Taflogau* is the old form<sup>1</sup> of the name of the stream, now called Dologau, which joins the Ystwyth near Hafod Uchdryd in Cardiganshire. Another stream, once known by the same name, but now called Logau Las, runs into the Ystwyth above Pont-rhyd-y-groes. It must be more than a coincidence that stanza 61, which immediately follows, asks 'Whose is the grave on the bank of the Rhyddnant?': not far from Dologau there is a stream, flowing into the Mynach near Devil's Bridge, and a lake called Rhyddnant. Reference has already been made to the pair of names Eiddew and Eidal. These two names are found together in more than one locality: in the adjoining parishes of Ysbyty Ifan, where there is a Tref Eidda, etc., and Penmachno, where there is a farm called Bryn Eidal,<sup>2</sup> as also in the valley of the Dyfi, where there is a Pant Eidal near the Dyfi estuary and a Moel Eiddew in the parish of Cemais, Montgomeryshire.<sup>3</sup> Both Eiddew and Eidal, it is true, are authentic personal names,<sup>4</sup> but there would appear to be some reason for their coupling together in stanza 46, which refers to their graves, and in stanza 47 which describes them as 'sturdy exiles, whelps with broken shields'. On the analogy of Epynt and Taflogau as eponyms, it is not unreasonable to regard Eiddew and Eidal as eponymous figures whose graves were located in a place where the two names were found in close proximity to each other.

This brings us to the general problem of the place-names mentioned as place-names in the stanzas. If we are correct in understanding such phrases as *y dan y brin*, 'at the foot of the hill', *in yr amgant*, 'in the region', *in yr inis*, 'in the island', *in llethir y brin*, 'on the hill-side', *in y clidur*, 'in the sheltered place', and *yn yr allt trav*, 'on the slope yonder', as descriptive phrases rather than actual place-names, there remain about forty stanzas which contain names of places or of rivers, and some of these forty or so contain more than one such name. Allowing for

<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. J. Thomas, editor of the *University of Wales Dictionary* and an authority on Welsh names of rivers and streams, has kindly supplied me with the following old forms, with dates: *Tawlogen* (= *Taflogau*) 1285, *Tavalogen* (= *Taflogau*) 1285, *Dwy Tafhologen* (= *Dwy Taflogau*) 1336, *Dollogeu* c. 1830. See also *The Description of Pembrokeshire*, by George Owen of Henllys, ed. Henry Owen, London, 1892- , iv, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 7, pp. 272-73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 14, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. *Liber Landavensis*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Oxford, 1893, pp. 243 and 245, *Eidef lector urbis guenti*.

this and for the occasional repetition of the same place-name, Gwanas, for example, in three stanzas and Machawy in two, we find that some fifty names of places and rivers are mentioned. Not all of these can now be traced. Who knows where the following places were?—Caergenedr, Peryddon, Rheon Ryd (probably Rhyd Reon in actual speech), Llanheledd, Pant Gwyn Gwynionawg, and Rhyd Faen-ced. Sometimes the difficulty is not so much the disappearance of place-names as knowing how to choose between more than one place bearing the same name. Stanza 8 locates the grave of Cynon at Llanbadarn, but how can we now decide which of the seven known places called Llanbadarn<sup>1</sup> is meant? In stanza 32 the graves of Gwrien and Llwydawg are placed on Hirfynydd; but which Hirfynydd? This place-name is found near Onllwyn in the Neath area, in the parish of Cerrigydrudion, in Denbighshire, and in Montgomeryshire. According to stanza 58 the grave of Dehwaint is on the bank of the river Clewaint 'in the uplands of Mathafarn'. So far as I know, the name Clewaint has not survived, but there is a place named Mathafarn in Anglesey and another in the parish of Llanwrin in Montgomeryshire, and the variant Bathafarn occurs in the parish of Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd. Again Cemais mentioned in stanza 66 as the land where 'Llwyd the gentle's' grave was, is a place-name found in almost every county in Wales. So too are there several places called Carrog, Camlan, Edrywy, and Maes Mawr.

Which place-names, then, are unambiguous? They are the following: Llanfeuno, by which is meant the church of St. Beuno at Clynog Fawr in Arfon; Heneglwys, the church of that name to the west of Llangefni in Anglesey, probably the same as Mynwent Gorbre, 'Corbre's churchyard', in the same stanza; Abergwenoli, the confluence of the stream Gwenoli with the Felenrhyd, near Maentwrog; Abererch in Llŷn; Ardudwy in Merioneth; the Gefel valley on the Epynt range; Cao, which is almost certainly the Carmarthenshire Cao; Gwanas, near Dolgellau, in the parish of Brithdir and Islaw'r Dre; Ceri in Montgomeryshire; Machawy, which is modern Bachawy (Bach Howey) in Radnorshire; 'the open land of Gwynassedd where the Lliw enters the Llychwr', the latter being the modern Lluchwr or Loughor; Llanelwy, the Welsh name for St. Asaph; Eifionydd; Cefn Celfi; y Morfa, which, as will be seen below, is Morfa Rhianedd between Great and

<sup>1</sup> See *A Gazetteer of Welsh Place-names*, ed. Elwyn Davies, Cardiff, 1957, s.v. 'Llanbadarn Fawr', etc.

Little Orme's Head, near Llandudno; Aelwyd (the hearth of) Dinorben; and Dyfed.

In some of the stanzas we find words and phrases which appear to refer to various kinds of ancient graves or to what were regarded as graves. Stanza 51 refers to the burial of Llachar son of Rhun 'under stones', but there is nothing to indicate whether a cairn, standing stones, or some other stone structure is meant. Occasionally there are details which suggest some definite feature, something which cannot be convincingly explained as the product of a bard's imagination or as merely an expression coined for the sake of rhyme or alliteration. Thus in stanza 24 the grave 'at the Ford of Maen-ced' is said to have 'its head down-hill'. Of 'the long graves on Gwanas' it is said, in stanza 29, that 'he (or they) who despoiled (or destroyed) them' did not discover who were buried therein or on what mission they had been. There is here a clear reference to some kind of archaeological remains which had been rifled. In the stanza which immediately follows, whosoever would seek for 'the war-band of Oeth and Anoeth' is urged to dig at Gwanas. The grave of Madawg, 'fierce horseman', is described, in stanza 63, as being 'four-sided' and having 'four stones at its head'. The Irish metrical tract on the graves of Leinster men, to which I have already referred, contains references to pillar stones in stanzas 5, 10, and 53, and to a *ráth* in stanza 14. The editor of this tract rightly stated that it 'has much topographical interest . . . and suggests archaeological problems meriting investigation'.<sup>1</sup> This statement is equally true of at least some of the stanzas of the graves.

Let me discuss a few stanzas in which the graves mentioned are almost certainly related to standing stones, cairns, cromlechau, or some similar object. Stanza 73 tells us that the grave of Beli son of Benlli is in a place called Maes Mawr. I have already said that there are several places called Maes Mawr in Wales even today; and in the absence of evidence external to the grave stanza it would be difficult to decide which place so named was believed to hold the grave of Beli son of Benlli. There is such evidence in a scrap of tradition recorded between the years 1635 and 1641 by John Jones of Gellilyfdy in Peniarth MS. 267, pp. 29-30, and related by him to the stanza in the Black Book of Carmarthen:

There is a place on the mountain, between Iâl and Ystrad Alun above Rhydygyfarthfa, which was called Y Maes Mawr, where the battle

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 24 (1953-4), p. 139.

took place between Meirion son of [Tybiawn] and Beli son of Benlli the Giant, wherein Beli son of Benlli was slain; and Meirion placed two stones one at each end of the grave, which were there up to within these forty years. . . .<sup>1</sup>

This record, it is true, is late, but it is valuable as preserving a popular tradition associated with what were obviously two standing stones. We are dealing, of course, with a story, not a historical fact, but we are justified in believing that the stanza referring to the grave of Beli son of Benlli is closely related to the above anecdote at a much earlier date.

Stanza 65 tells us that 'the three graves on Cefn Celfi' are those of 'rough-browed Cynon', Cynfael, and Cynfeli. The place-name Cefn Celfi has survived to this day as the name of a farm in the parish of Cilybebyll about two miles from Pontardawe along the road to Neath. The remains of two standing stones are still to be seen there; and in the early thirties of this century old people in the nearby village of Rhos testified to me that the stones were once three in number.<sup>2</sup> Two standing stones, at one time three, on Cefn Celfi and a stanza referring to 'the three graves on Cefn Celfi',—this must, it appears to me, be something more than mere coincidence: it is logical to conclude that the standing stones had been regarded in popular tradition as marking the graves of Cynon, Cynfael, and Cynfeli, of whom some story must have been told. Moreover, it is these very stones which explain the place-name Cefn Celfi. The name means 'the ridge of the pillar stones or standing stones' and it must have been originally applied, not to the farm, but to the ridge on which it lies. The story told of Cynon, Cynfael, and Cynfeli may have been nothing more than an attempt to explain why the ridge was so called and why the standing stones were to be found there.

It is not always standing stones that provide the material basis, as it were, for the references to graves in the stanzas. We read in stanza 71 that 'the grave of Hennin Old-head', of whom we know something from the Triads, 'is on Aelwyd (the hearth of) Dinorben'. It is fortunate that we know exactly where

<sup>1</sup> The Welsh text reads: Mae mann ar y mynydd rhwng Jal ag Ystrad Alun, uwchben Rhyd y Gyfarthfa, a elwit y Maes Mawr lle bu yr wrwydyr rhwng Meirion ap [Tybiawn] a Beli ap Benl[i]i Gawr lle llas Beli ap Benlli; ag y gossodes Meirion ddau faen yn eu sefyll un ym m[h]ob penn ir bedd, y rhain a vuant yno hyd o fewn y deugain mlynedd yma . . .

<sup>2</sup> On the standing stones on Cefn Celfi see Thomas Jones, 'Y Tri Bedd yng Nghefn Celfi', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 8, pp. 239-42.

Dinorben is: it is the great hill-fort near Abergelau in Denbighshire which was surveyed between 1912 and 1922 by the late Dr. Willoughby Gardner and later by Dr. H. N. Savory for the Ministry of Works. It was Dr. Gardner himself who suggested that 'the grave of Hennin Henben [Old-head] may be the cromlech whose ruin still survives near Dinorben farm, the descendant of the old Llys of Dinorben'.<sup>1</sup> It appears to me that there is force in this suggestion.

The standing stones on Cefn Celfi and the now ruined cromlech near Dinorben clearly explain the references to graves in stanzas 65 and 71. We cannot hope to explain similar references in other stanzas until we have a complete inventory of archaeological remains in Wales together with a detailed gazetteer of place-names which will supply ancient as well as modern forms. In the meantime we can at least ask questions and make tentative suggestions. Why is the grave of Rhydderch the Generous said to be, in stanza 13, at Abererch? Had his grave been identified with the standing stones or with the cromlech<sup>2</sup> near the present village of Four Crosses? Again stanza 48 refers to the grave of Brwyno the Tall, but the grave is not located and no place-name is mentioned. The absence of a place-name may well be because the buried hero's name is eponymous. As a place-name element, Brwyno is fairly common in Wales, but perhaps we must look for some place which not only has Brwyno as an element in its name but also exhibits, or can be shown to have exhibited, a standing stone, cromlech, or cairn or some other object which, popularly regarded as an ancient grave, could have had a story attached to it. There is a farm called Brwyno near Glandyfi, and half a mile north-east of it there is a group of four upright stones<sup>3</sup> which could very well have become, in popular story, the grave of an eponymous hero called Brwyno.

A slightly different kind of evidence helps us to decide with certainty which *morfa*, or sea-strand, is meant by the reference, in stanza 70, to 'the graves on the Morfa' which few lament, the graves of Sanant, Rhun, Garwen daughter of Hennin, Lledin, and Llywy. The element *morfa* is very common in Welsh place-names, so that on its own it is far from precise: one thinks of

<sup>1</sup> *Dinorben. A Hill-fort occupied in Early Iron Age and Roman Times*, Willoughby Gardner and H. N. Savory, Cardiff, 1964, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarvonshire*, vol. iii: West, H.M.S.O., 1964, p. 16, items no. 1514 and 1515.

<sup>3</sup> See *Antiquaries Journal*, July 1935, p. 345.

Morfa Mawr, Morfa Bychan, Morfa Nefyn, Morfa Rhuddlan, Morfa Gwent, and many another *morfa* on the Welsh coast, any one of which in certain circumstances could be referred to simply as 'Y Morfa'. Now Sanant, Garwen, Lledin, and Llywy are female personal names, the only four female names in the seventy-three stanzas, and we can be sure that the Morfa of stanza 70 is Morfa Rhianedd (The Sea-strand of the Maidens) between Great and Little Orme's Head near Llandudno. There is confirmation of this in the personal names, especially Lledin: Rhiw Ledin and Creigiau Rhiw Ledin are on Little Orme's Head, just to the east of Llandudno. Moreover, Maelgwn Gwynedd is traditionally associated with nearby Degannwy, where his court was said to be, and with the church of Rhos, where he sleeps his long sleep, so that it is more than likely that the names Sanant and Rhun of the stanza are those of Maelgwn's wife, Sanant daughter of Cyngen,<sup>1</sup> and his son Rhun respectively.<sup>2</sup>

We have already seen when we discussed stanza 7, which locates the grave of Pryderi at Abergwenoli, that the prose tales occasionally refer to graves. Another well-known example is found in the passage in the second branch of the *Mabinogi* which records the death of Branwen daughter of Llŷr in Anglesey:

And a foursided grave was made for her, and she was buried there on the bank of the Alaw.<sup>3</sup>

In my opinion, it was not a personal whim of the author of *Branwen daughter of Llŷr* which made him place the heroine's grave on the bank of the river Alaw: he must have known that close to the river there was a site traditionally regarded as the grave of Bronwen, a form found as a variant of Branwen in the *Mabinogi* itself.<sup>4</sup> The site has long been known as Bedd Bronwen, 'Bronwen's Grave', but we have no proof that the place-name is earlier than the date of composition of the *Mabinogi*. This is not really important: what is significant is that the story-teller knew of some feature of archaeological interest and speculation which was known as a grave. In 1813 a cairn was discovered on the site, and the cairn contained a cist of coarse flags covered

<sup>1</sup> See *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. P. C. Bartrum, Cardiff, 1966, pp. 15, 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 36, 38, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32, line 26. Cf. note, p. 174.

over, and within it an urn (now in the British Museum) containing ashes and fragments of bone.<sup>1</sup>

In the eleven prose tales of the *Mabinogion* the only references to graves are to those of Pryderi and Branwen. We found that the location of Pryderi's grave in the prose tale agrees with that in the stanza although the phraseology is not the same. It happens that the author of the *Mabinogi* has here used as one of his sources whatever oral tradition had to say of Pryderi and the location of his grave. In other words, certain traditions concerning Pryderi have been given a literary form in a prose story which has fortunately survived to this day. Sir Ifor Williams, in his interpretation of the verse remains of the sagas of Llywarch the Old and Heledd daughter of Cyndrwyn, drew attention to an old Welsh proverb, *Tyst yw'r chwedl i'r englyn*, 'The story bears witness to the englyn'.<sup>2</sup> So the extant story of Pryderi bears witness to the reference to his grave in our stanza 7 and corroborates it. Had the story of Pryderi not been given a written literary form, the little we would today know of it would have been confined to scattered references in the Triads and in early Welsh verse, including the grave stanza. Very many of the figures named in the other stanzas are otherwise unknown or, at best, known only by occasional cryptic mention in other sources. I believe, however, that we are justified in postulating some kind of story, be it ever so simple, as background to each of the characters named in the stanzas of the graves, although it would be wrong to assume that all such stories ever attained the comparative fixity of a literary form. In many cases these stories probably represented a combination of speculation concerning archaeological remains, such as standing stones, cromlechau, and cairns, and the localization of traditions which may have been considerably older. The bare statements of the stanzas do not enable us to learn much about the background stories, whether they were mythological, heroic, or onomastic in origin, but the stanzas themselves are witness to a wealth of stories and traditions current in pre-Norman Wales, but now for the greater part lost for ever.

<sup>1</sup> On 'Bedd Bronwen' see *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1868, pp. 238 ff; *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Anglesey*, H.M.S.O., 1937, pp. lxiii, lxiv, 36. There was a fresh excavation of the site in 1967, but the results of it have not yet been published.

<sup>2</sup> *Canu Llywarch Hen*, p. 1.

## CRITICAL TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## ENGLYNION Y BEDDAU

NEU

### BEDDAU MILWYR YNYS PRYDAIN

#### I

*Black Book of Carmarthen* 63. 2–69. 21

1. E betev ae gulich y glav,—  
gvir ny tywnassint<sup>1</sup> vy dignav:  
Kerwid a Chivrid a Chav.
2. E betev ae tut gvitwal,—  
ny llesseint heb ymtial:  
Guryen, Morien, a Morial.
3. E betev ae gvlich kauad,—  
gvyr ny llesseint in lledrad:  
Gwen a Gurien a Guriad.
4. Bet Tedei tad awen  
yg godir Brin Aren;  
yn yd vna ton tolo,  
Bet Dilan Llan Bevno.
5. Bet Keri cletifhir ygodir Hen Eglwys  
yn y diffuis graende,<sup>2</sup>  
tarv torment, ymynwent Corbre.
6. Bet Seithennin sinhuir vann  
y rug Kaer Kenedir a glann  
mor, mauridic a kinran.
7. En aber Gwenoli  
y mae bet Pryderi;  
yn y terev tonnev tir  
yg Karrauc bet Gwallauc Hir.
8. Bet Gwalchmei ym Peryton  
ir diliv y dyneton;  
in Llan Padarn bet Kinon.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *ortywnassint*. On the textual emendation see *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 21, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *graeande*, which can be retained if *yn y* is contracted to *ny*.

THE STANZAS OF THE GRAVES  
OR  
THE GRAVES OF THE WARRIORS OF THE  
ISLAND OF BRITAIN

I

*Black Book of Carmarthen*

1. The graves which the rain wets,—  
men who had not been used to being provoked:  
Cerwyd and Cywryd and Caw.
2. The graves which the thicket covers,—  
they were not slain unavenged:  
Gwrien, Morien and Morial.
3. The graves which the shower wets,—  
men who were not slain by stealth:  
Gwên and Gwrien and Gwriad.
4. The grave of Tydei, father of the muse,  
is in the region of Bryn Aren;  
where the wave makes a noise,  
the grave of Dylan is at Llanfeuno.
5. The grave of Ceri Long-sword is in the region of Hen Eglwys,  
on the gravelly hillside,  
bull of battle, in Corbre's churchyard.
6. The grave of high-minded Seithennin  
is between Caer Genedr and the shore  
of the sea, a majestic leader.
7. At the confluence of the Gwenoli<sup>1</sup>  
is the grave of Pryderi;  
where the waves buffet the land  
at Carrawg is the grave of Gwallawg the Tall.
8. The grave of Gwalchmei is in Peryddon  
as a reproach to men;  
at Llanbadarn is the grave of Cynon.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. where the stream Gwenoli flows into the Felenrhyd.

9. Bet gur gwaud urtin in uchel tytin  
in isel gwelitin,  
bet Kynon mab Clytno Idin.
10. Bet Run mab Pyd in ergrid avon  
in oervel ig gverid;  
bet Kinon in Reon rid.
11. Piev y bet y dan y brin?  
Bet gur gurt yg kyniscin,  
Kinson<sup>1</sup> mab Clytno Idin.
12. Bet mab Ossvran yg Camlan,  
gvydi llauer kywlavan;  
bet Bedwir in alld Tryvan.
13. Bet Owein ab Urien im pedrya[e]l bid,  
dan gverid Llan Morvael;  
in Abererch Riderch Hael.
14. Guydi gurum a choch a chein  
a goruytaur maur minrein,  
in Llan Helet bet Owein.
15. Gwydi gweli a gwaedlan  
a gviscav seirch, a meirch kann,  
neud ew hun bet Kintilan.
16. Piev y bet da y cystlun  
a wnai ar Loegir lv kigrun?  
Bet Gwen ab Llyuarch Hen hun.
17. Piev y bet in yr amgant  
ae tut mor a goror nant?  
Bet Meigen mab Run, rviw cant.
18. Piev y bet in yr inis  
ae tut mor a goror gwris?  
Bet Meigen mab Run, rvif llis.
19. Es cul y bet ac ys hir  
in llurv llyaus Amhir,<sup>2</sup>  
bet Meigen ab Run, ruyw gwir.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *bet kinon*, which makes the line too long.

<sup>2</sup> The text of line 2 is suspect: the line appears to be one syllable short. Emendation of *llurv* to [*gor*]llurv would give the required length without changing the meaning.

9. The grave of a man extolled in song is on a lofty homestead  
in a lowly place of rest,  
the grave of Cynon son of Clydno Eidyn.
10. The grave of Rhun son of Pyd is in the rippling of a river<sup>1</sup>  
in the cold in the earth;  
the grave of Cynon is at Rheon ford.
11. Whose is the grave at the foot of the hill?  
The grave of a man mighty in attack,  
Cynon son of Clydno Eidyn.
12. The grave of Osfran's son is at Camlan,  
after many a slaughter;  
the grave of Bedwyr is on Tryfan hill.
13. The grave of Owein son of Urien is in a square grave  
under the earth of Llanforfael;  
at Abererch is Rhydderch the Generous.
14. After things blue and red and fair  
and great steeds with taut necks,  
at Llanheledd is the grave of Owein.
15. After wound and field of blood  
and wearing harness, and white steeds,  
this is the grave of Cynddylan.
16. Whose is the grave of good repute,  
who would lead a compact host against Lloegr?  
The grave of Gwên son of Llywarch is this.
17. Whose is the grave in the region  
which sea and ravine edge cover?  
The grave of Meigen son of Rhun, lord of a host.
18. Whose is the grave in the island  
which sea and thicket edge cover?  
The grave of Meigen son of Rhun, lord of a court.
19. Narrow is the grave and long  
in the track of Amir's throng,  
the grave of Meigen son of Rhun, lord of right.

<sup>1</sup> *ergrid*, here understood as a common noun, could be the name of a river, in which case the phrase *ergrid avon* would mean 'river Ergryd'.

20. Tri bet tri bodauc in arterchauc brin  
ym Pant Gwinn Gvioniauc:  
Mor a Meilir a Madauc.
21. Bet Madauc, mur egluc yg kywluc kinhen,  
vir Vrien gorev[c],  
mab y Guyn o Winllyuc.
22. Bet Mor maurhidic, diessic unben,  
post kinhen kinteic,  
mab Peredur Penwetic.
23. Bet Meilir maluinauc saluvodauc sinhvir,  
ffiscad fuir fodiauc,  
mab y Bruin o Bricheinauc.
24. Piev y bet in Rid Vaen Ked  
ae pen gan yr anvaered?  
Bet Run mab Alun Diwed.
25. Bet Alun Dywed yn y drewred drav,  
ny kiliei o caled,  
mab Meigen mad pan aned.
26. Bet Llia Gvitel in argel Arduduy  
dan y gvellt ae gvevel;  
bet Epint inyffrin[t] Gewel.
27. Bet Dywel mab Erbin ig gwestedin Caeav;  
ny bitei gur y breinhin,<sup>1</sup>  
divei ny ochelei trin.
28. Bet Gurgi gvychit a Guindodit lev  
a bet Llaur, llu ouit,  
yg guarthaw Guanas Guyr<sup>2</sup> yssit.
29. E beteu hir yg Guanas,—  
ny chauas ae dioes  
pvy vynt vy, pvy eu neges.
30. Teulu Oeth ac Anoeth a dyuu ynoeth  
y eu gur, y eu guas;  
ae ceisso vy clated Guanas.

<sup>1</sup> This line appears to be two syllables too long. One could emend to *ny bei gur[th] breinhin*, 'who would not submit to a king'.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *guyr* added above the line. Possibly it should be deleted.

20. The three graves of three stalwarts on a raised hill,  
in Pant Gwyn Gwynionawg:  
Môr and Meilyr and Madawg.
21. The grave of Madawg, clear bulwark in the press of battle,  
grandson of Urien the valiant,  
son to Gwyn of Gwynllywg.
22. The grave of Môr the majestic, staunch chieftain,  
pillar in the swift-moving battle,  
son of Peredur of Penweddig.
23. The grave of Meilyr Malwynawg<sup>1</sup> ever mean-minded,  
router in terror successful,  
son to Brwyn of Brycheiniog.
24. Whose is the grave at Rhyd Faen-ced  
with its head downhill?  
The grave of Rhun son of Alun Dyfed.
25. The grave of Alun Dyfed in his homestead yonder,  
who would not retreat from battle,  
son of Meigen, born with good fortune.
26. The grave of Llia the Goidel is in the remoteness of Ardu dwy  
under the grass which hides it;  
the grave of Epynt is in the Gefel valley.
27. The grave of Dywel son of Erbin is in the plain of Caeo;  
he would not be vassal to a king,  
a faultless man who would not shun conflict.
28. The grave of Gwrgi the valiant and hero of the Venedotians,  
and the grave of Llawr, leader of a host,  
are in the uplands of Gwanas Gwŷr.
29. The long graves on Gwanas,—  
they who despoiled them did not discover  
who they were, what their mission was.
30. The war-band of Oeth and Anoeth came thither  
to their man, to their servant;<sup>2</sup>  
let him who would seek them, dig Gwanas.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *maluinauc* (= *Malwynawg*) is uncertain. It may be a variant of *molwynog*, as in Rhodri *Molwynog*.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this line is not clear.

31. Bet Llvch Llaueghin ar Certenhin<sup>1</sup> avon,  
pen Saeson suyt Erbin,  
ny bitei drimis heb drin.
32. E beteu yn Hir Vynyt  
yn llvyr y guyr lluosit:  
bet Gvryen gvrhyd enguavc  
a Llvytauc uab Lliwelit.
33. Pieu yr bet yn y mynyt  
a lyviasei luossit?  
Bet Fyrnuael Hael ab Hyvlyt.
34. Pieu ir bet hun? Bet Eitvlch Hir,  
ig gurthtir Pennant Turch,  
mab Arthan gywlauan gyulch.
35. Bet Llev Llaugyfes y dan achles mor,  
yn y bu y gywnes,  
gur<sup>2</sup> guir y neb ny rodes.
36. Bet Beidauc Rut yn amgant Riv Lyvnav,  
bet Lluoscar yg Keri,  
ac yn Ryd Britu bet Omni.
37. Pell y vysci ac argut,  
gueryd Machave ae cut:  
hirguyn<sup>3</sup> bysset Beidauc Rut.
38. Pell y vysci ac anau,  
gueryd Machave arnau,  
Beidauc Rut<sup>4</sup> ab Emer Llydau.
39. Bet unpen o Priden<sup>5</sup> yn lleutir Guynnassed,  
yn yd a Lliv yn Llychur;  
ig Kelli Uriauael bet Gyrthmul.
40. E bet yn Ystyuacheu  
y mae paup yn y amheu,  
bet Gurtheyrn Gurtheneu.
41. Kian a ud yn diffeith cnud<sup>6</sup> drav,  
otuch pen bet alltud,  
bet Kindilic mab Corknud.

<sup>1</sup> *certenhin* may be the actual name of the river or a descriptive adjective meaning 'meandering'.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *gur oet hwnv*. See footnote 1 on p. 134 below.

<sup>3</sup> For an englyn milwr (7, 7, 7) the MS. *hirguynion* makes the line one syllable too long. Hence the emendation.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *+yv hun*, which makes the line too long.

<sup>5</sup> MS. *pridein*. The emended form gives an internal rhyme with *unpen*.

<sup>6</sup> MS. *cund*.

31. The grave of Llŵch Llawengin on Cerddennin river,  
head of the Saxons of Erbin's land,  
he would not be three months without conflict.
32. The graves on Hirfynydd,  
well do throngs know of them:  
the grave of Gwrien renowned for valour  
and Llwydawg son of Lliwelydd.
33. Whose is the grave on the mountain,  
he who had led hosts?  
The grave of Ffyrnfael the Generous, son of Hywlydd.
34. Whose is this grave? The grave of Eiddiwlch the Tall,  
in the upper reaches of Pennant Twrch,  
son of Arthan, vigorous in slaughter.
35. The grave of Llew Llawgyffes under cover of the sea,  
where his disgrace was,  
a man who spared no one.
36. The grave of Beidawg the Red in the region of Rhiw Lyfnaw,  
the grave of Lluosgar in Ceri,  
and at the Ford of Bridw the grave of Omni.
37. Long past and hidden the turmoil he caused,  
the soil of Machawy covers him:  
long [and] white the fingers of Beidawg the Red.
38. Long past the turmoil he caused and his wealth,  
the soil of Machawy upon him,  
Beidawg the Red, son of Emyr Llydaw.
39. The grave of a chieftain from the North is in the open land  
of Gwynasedd,  
where the Lliw flows into the Llychwr;  
at Celli Friafael is the grave of Gyrthmwl.
40. The grave in Ystyfachau  
which everyone doubts,  
is the grave of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau.
41. A whelp howls in the wilderness of the wolf pack yonder,  
above the grave of a foreigner,  
the grave of Cynddilig son of Corcnud.

42. Neum duc i Elffin y prowi vy bartrin  
gessevin vch kinran,—  
bet Ruvaun ruyvenit ran.
43. Neum duc i Elffin y browi vy martrin  
vch kinran gessevin,—  
bet Ruwaun ry ievanc daerin.
44. Bet y March, bet y Guythur,  
bet y Gugaun Cledyfrut;  
anoeth bid bet y Arthur.
45. Bet Elchwith ys gulich [y] glav,<sup>1</sup>  
Maes Meuetauc y danav;  
dyliei Kynon<sup>2</sup> y kuinav.
46. Piev y bet hun, a hun?<sup>3</sup>  
Gowin ymi, mi ae gun:  
bet ew bet Eitew oet hun,  
a bet Eidal tal yscvn.
47. Eitew ac Eidal, diessic alltudion,  
kanavon cylchuy drei;  
mekid meibon Meigen meirch mei.<sup>4</sup>
48. Piev y bet hun? Bet Bruyno Hir,  
hydir y wir in y bro:  
parth yd vei ny bitei fo.
49. Piev y bet hun? [     ] nid<sup>5</sup>  
aral guythuch urth ervid,  
trath lathei chwartei vrthid.
50. Bet Silit dywal in Edrywuy le,  
bet Llemenic in Llan Elvy;  
yg Guernin bre bet Eilinvy.
51. Bet milur mirein gnaud kelein oe lav  
kin bu tav y dan mein,  
Llachar mab Run yg Clun Kein.

<sup>1</sup> No. 5 in Series II below is a variant form of this englyn. The first line is one syllable short in the MS., hence the emendation. An alternative emendation would be to read *Elchwith[an]* by comparison with 'Tom *Elwithan*' in II, no. 5.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *kynon yno*, but cf. Series II, no. 5, where *yno* is omitted.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *Piev y bet hun, Bet hun a hun*, which gives too long a line. Hence the emendation.

<sup>4</sup> The form *mei* may be a common noun, pl. of *ma*, or a proper name.

<sup>5</sup> The first line is corrupt. Assuming that the englyn was an englyn *milwr* and that *Piev y* in line 1 is to be read as *Piev'r*, as in stanzas 7, 16, 18, 24, 33, 55, 57, 61, 69, and 73, two syllables must have been lost. In line 2 *ervid* may be for *erfid*, 'blow, battle', or for *erwyd*, 'spear'.

42. Elffin took me to test my bardic lore  
for the first time above a leader,—  
the grave of Rhufawn of princely mien.<sup>1</sup>
43. Elffin took me to test my bardic lore  
above a leader for the first time,—  
the grave of Rhufawn, buried very young.
44. There is a grave for March, a grave for Gwythur,  
a grave for Gwgawn Red-sword;  
the world's wonder a grave for Arthur.
45. The grave of Elchwith, the rain wets it,  
the plain of Meueddawg is beneath it;  
Cynon had a right to bewail him.
46. Whose is this grave and this?  
Question me for I know it:  
the grave of Eiddew this was,  
and the grave of Eidal of the ready host.
47. Eiddew and Eidal, sturdy exiles,  
Whelps with broken shields;  
Meigen's sons rear the horses of the fields.
48. Whose is this grave? The grave of Brwyno the Tall,  
whose justice was strong in his land:  
where he would be there would be no retreat.
49. Whose is this grave? . . .<sup>2</sup>  
the frenzy of a wild boar under blows,  
whilst he slew thee he would smile at thee.
50. The grave of Silidd the fierce is in Edrywy,  
the grave of Llemenig is at Llanelwy;  
on Gwernin hill is the grave of Eilinwy.
51. The grave of a comely warrior by whose hand a corpse was  
wont to fall  
before he became speechless under stones,  
Llachar son of Rhun in Clun Cain.

<sup>1</sup> I have taken *ran* here to be a lenited form of *gran*, 'cheek, countenance, face'. If the word were taken as from *r(h)an* the meaning would be 'of princely portion'.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote to the Welsh text.

52. Bet Talan talyrth yn ygyrth<sup>1</sup> teircad,  
kymynad pen pop nyrrh,  
hyget, agoret y pirth.
53. Bet Elissner ab Ner inywinder daear,  
diarchar dibryder,  
pen llv<sup>2</sup> tra wu y amser.
54. Bet gur gurt<sup>3</sup> y var, Llachar llyv niver,  
in aber duwir Dyar,<sup>4</sup>  
yn y gvna Tavue toniar.
55. Piev y bet in y Ridev?  
Bet Ruyw yw,<sup>5</sup> mab Rigenev,  
gur a digonei da ar y arwev.<sup>6</sup>
56. Piev y bet hun? Bet Breint  
y rug Llewni<sup>7</sup> ae lledneint,  
bet gur guae y isscereint.<sup>8</sup>
57. Piev y bet in llethir y brin?  
Llauer nys guir ae gowin:  
bet y Coel mab Kinvelin.
58. Bet Deheveint ar Cleveint awon,  
yg gurthtir Mathauarn,  
ystifful kedwir cadarn.
59. Bet Aron mab Diwinvin in Hirgweun le;  
ny dodei lew ar ladron,  
ny rotei gwir y alon.
60. Bet Tawlogev mab Llut in y trewrud trav,  
mal y mae in y kystut,  
ae clathei, [ef] caffei but.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *yg kinhen*. The emendation *yn ygyrth* means very much the same but it supplies an internal rhyme with *talyrth* and an end rhyme with *nyrrh* and *pirth*. Cf. englyn no. 51, where *kelein* rhymes with *mirein* in line 1 and with *mein* and *kein* in lines 2 and 3 respectively. There is a similar rhyme scheme in nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 35, 41, 53, 54, 66, 67.

<sup>2</sup> MS. +*wu* (= *fu*, 'was'), which makes the line one syllable too long.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *gurth*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *dyar* could be the name of a river—cf. *Aberdyar*, the confluence of the Dyar (with the Teifi), in the parish of Llanybydder—or a descriptive adjective meaning 'noisy'.

<sup>5</sup> MS. +*hunv*, which makes the line too long.

<sup>6</sup> This line is three syllables too long as the last line of an englyn milwr. A possible emendation is to read *digonei da ar arwev*. Whatever the original reading was it is not likely to have been different in general meaning from the words of the MS.

<sup>7</sup> MS. *llewin*.

<sup>8</sup> MS. *isscarant*, an authentic variant pl. of *isscar* (= *esgar* 'foe'), changed to *isscereint* as required by the end rhyme.

52. The grave of Talan of the thrusting front in the clash of  
three armies,  
slayer of the head of every force,  
bountiful, with his portals open.
53. The grave of Elsner son of Nêr is in the depth of the earth,  
without fear, without care,  
leader of a host whilst his time was.
54. The grave of a man of vehement rage, Llachar leader of  
men,  
at the confluence of the water of the Dyar,  
where the Tafwy sounds its waves.
55. Whose is the grave at the Fords?  
'Tis the grave of Rhwyf, son of Rhygenau,  
a man who wrought good with his weapons.
56. Whose is this grave? The grave of Braint  
between the Llyfni and its tributaries,  
the grave of a man who was woe to his foes.
57. Whose is the grave on the hill-side?  
Many who know not ask it:  
a grave for Coel son of Cynfelyn.
58. The grave of Dehwaint is on the river Clewaint;  
in the uplands of Mathafarn,  
pillar of staunch warriors.
59. The grave of Aron son of Dyfnwyn is at Hirwaun;  
he would not raise a cry against thieves,<sup>1</sup>  
he would not spare his foes.
60. The grave of Taflogau son of Lludd is in his homestead yonder,  
as he is in his durance,  
whoso would dig it would find treasure.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. he would attack thieves without calling for help.

61. Piev y bet ar lan Ryddnant?  
Run y env, radev keucant,  
ri ew,<sup>1</sup> Riogan ae gvant.
62. Oet ef kyfnissen y holi galanas,  
gwa[iua]wr [r]ut,<sup>2</sup> grut aten;  
a chen bvir<sup>3</sup> but, bet Bradwen.
63. Piev y bet pedrival  
ae pedwar mein am y tal?  
Bet Madauc, marchauc dywal.
64. En Eiwonit, Elvit tir,  
y mae [bet] gur hydud hir:  
lleas paup pan rydighir.
65. E tri bet yg Kewin Kelvi,  
awen ae divaud imi:  
bet Kinon garv y duyael,  
bet Kinvael, bet Kinveli.
66. Bet Llvid lledneis ig Kemeis tir:  
kin boed hir tuw y eis,  
dygirchei tarv trin o<sup>4</sup> treis.
67. Bet Siaun syberv in Hirerv minit  
y rug y gverid ae derv,  
chuerthinauc, bra[da]uc, bridchuerv.
68. Piev y bet in y clidur?  
Tra wu ny bv eitulur,—  
bet Ebediv am Maelur.
69. Piev y bet in yr allt trav?  
Gelin y lauer y lav,  
tarv trin, trugaret itav.
70. Y beddeu yn y Morua,  
ys bychan ay haelewy:  
y mae Sanant,<sup>5</sup> syberw vun,

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Ri oet ew*, which makes the line too long. Cf. line 3 in Series III, no. 10 below.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *guawrut* makes line 2 short by one syllable. Hence the emendation.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *bvir* can be taken for *bwyr*, third pers. sing. pres. subj. of *bod*, in which case the preceding conjunction must be concessive, meaning 'although'. One could read *bv ir* for 'bu er', in which case the conjunction would be the temporal *cyn* 'before'.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *ino*.

<sup>5</sup> J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, p. 69, line 14 reads *fanauc*. The MS. reading is clearly *fanant*.

61. Whose is the grave on Rhyddnant bank?  
His name is Rhun, of sure graces,  
a king he, Rhiogan slew him.
62. Persistent was he in claiming redress for murder,  
red-speared, gentle-checked;  
and though it was for gain, Bradwen was laid in the grave.
63. Whose is the four-sided grave  
with its four stones at its head?  
The grave of Madawg, fierce horseman.
64. In Eifionydd, Elwydd's land,<sup>1</sup>  
is [the grave of] a well-built, tall man:  
each one's death comes at the fated time.
65. The three graves on Cefn Celfi,  
'tis the muse that told me of them:  
the grave of rough-browed Cynon,  
the grave of Cynfael, the grave of Cynfeli.
66. The grave of Llwyd the gentle is in the land of Cemais:  
though long was the growth of his ribs,  
the bull of battle attacked him violently.
67. The grave of Siawn the proud is on Hirerw mountain  
between the earth and his oaken coffin,  
smiling, treacherous, of bitter disposition.
68. Whose is the grave in the sheltered place?<sup>2</sup>  
Whilst he was, he was no weakling,—  
the grave of Ebediw son of Maelwr.
69. Whose is the grave on the slope yonder?  
A foe to many was his hand,  
bull of battle, mercy to him!
70. The graves on the Morfa,  
few are they who lament them:  
there is Sanant, proud maiden,

<sup>1</sup> I have taken MS. *elwit* as a personal name. Cf. Cadair *Elwydd*, the old form of the place-name Cadair *Elwa* in Eifionydd.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *clidur* 'shelter' could be a place-name. Cf. *Bronyclydur* as the name of a farm.

y mae Run ryuel afwy,  
y mae Garrwen<sup>1</sup> verch Hennin,  
y mae Lledin a Llywy.

71. Bed Hennin Henben yn aelwyt Dinorben,  
bed Airgwl yn Dyuet;  
yn Ryt Gynan Cyhoret.<sup>2</sup>
72. Gogyuarch pob diara  
pieu yr vedgor yssy yma:<sup>3</sup>  
bed Einyawn ab Cunedda,  
cwl ym Prydein y ddiua.
73. Pieu yr bed yn y Maes Mawr?  
Balch y law ar y lafnawr,—  
Bed Beli ab Benlli Gawr.

## II

*Red Book of Hergest*

1. Llyma yma bed diuei  
Tringar; y veird [r]yse[e]i  
y glot lle nyt elei  
Byll, pei pellach parei.
2. Bed Gwell yn y Riw Velen,  
bed Sawyl yn Llan Gollen,  
gwercheidw Llam yr Bwch Lloryen.
3. Bed rud neus cud tywarch.  
Nis eiryd gweryt ammarch.  
Bed Llygedwy uab Llywarch.
4. Maes Maodyn, neus cud rew;  
o diua da y odew,  
ar ued Eirinued eiry tew.
5. Tom Elwithan neus gwlych glaw,  
Maes Maodyn y danaw,  
dylvei Gynon y gwynaw.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. *earrwen*. For references to Garrwen daughter of Hennin see J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* (Cardiff, 1950-63), s.v. 'garr'.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *gyhoret*. The syntax requires that the subject should be unlenited here, hence the emendation. *Cyhoret* is an authentic personal name: see J. Lloyd-Jones, op. cit. s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pieu'r vedgor sy yma*, as suggested by Sir John Rhys in *Y Cymmrodor*, 18 (1905), p. 135, to give a line of seven syllables like lines 1, 3, and 4.

<sup>4</sup> For a variant version of this englyn see I, no. 45 above, and cf. footnote 1 on p. 126.

there is Rhun, ardent in battle,  
there is Garwen daughter of Hennin,  
there are Lledin and Llywy.

71. The grave of Hennin Old-head is on the hearth of Dinorben,  
the grave of Airgwl is in Dyfed;  
at Rhyd Gynan is Cyhored.
72. Each mournful person asks  
whose is the sepulchre that is here:  
the grave of Einion son of Cunedda,  
whose slaughter in the North was an outrage.<sup>1</sup>
73. Whose is the grave on Maes Mawr?  
Proud was his hand on his sword,—  
the grave of Beli son of Benlli the Giant.

II

*Red Book of Hergest*

1. See here the grave of a faultless man  
fond of battle; his bards would have spread  
his fame where Pyll would not have gone  
had he lived longer.
2. The grave of Gwell at Rhiwfelen,  
the grave of Sawyl at Llangollen,  
Llorien guards Llam y Bwch.
3. A bloody grave, the sward covers it.  

. . . . .<sup>2</sup>

 The grave of Llyngedwy son of Llywarch.
4. Maes Maoddyn, frost covers it;  
after the slaughter of one well nurtured,  
on the grave of Eirinfedd there is thick snow.
5. The tomb of Elwyddan, rain wets it,  
Maes Maoddyn is below it,  
Cynon had a right to bewail him.

<sup>1</sup> According to the British Museum Harleian MS. 3859 Genealogies, 'Enniaun girt' [= Einion Yrth] son of Cunedda was not slain in the North but came with his father and brothers to Wales. Of Tybiawn son of Cunedda, however, it is said in the same Genealogies: *qui mortuus in regione que uocatur Manau Guodotin et non uenit huc cum patre suo et cum fratribus*. See *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. P. C. Bartrum, Cardiff, 1966, p. 13. In the stanza *Einyawn* (= Einion) could be in error for *Tybiawn*.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of line 2 is very uncertain.

## III

*Peniarth MS. 98B*, pp. 48 ff.

Angwhaneg o Englynion y Beddau, o law Wiliam Salsbri, medd  
Rossier Morys.

1. Y bedd yn y gorfynydd  
a lywiasai liosydd,—  
bedd Ffyrnfael Hael am Hywlydd.
2. Bedd Gwa[ea]nwyn, gwr gofri,  
y rhwng Lliwon a Llyfni,  
gwr<sup>1</sup> gwir i neb ni roddi.
3. Bedd Gwydion ap Don ym Morfa Dinl[I]eu  
y dan fain deveillon,  
Garanawg ei geiffyl meinon.
4. Neud am ddiau cwm am waith fuddig,  
gwr clod ior waith fuddig;  
arwynawl gedawl gredig.<sup>2</sup>
5. Gwedi seirch a meirch crychrawn  
a gawr<sup>3</sup> a gwaywawr<sup>4</sup> vniawn,  
amdinon rythych dros odreon  
pen hardd Llovan Llaw Estrawn.
6. Gwedi seirch a meirch melyn  
a gawr a gwaywawr gwrthryn,  
am dineu rhych bych dros odreon  
pen hardd Llovan Llwygyn.
7. Bedd Llovan Llaw Ddivo yn Arro Venai,  
yn y gwna tonn tolo;  
bedd Dylan yn Llan Feuno.
8. Bedd Llovan Llaw Ddivo yn arei o Venai,  
odidawg ai gwypo  
namyn Duw a mi heno.
9. Bedd Panna fab Pyd yngorthir Arfon  
[y] dan ei oer weryd.  
Bedd Cynon yn Rheon rhyd.

<sup>1</sup> MS. +*oedd ef*. With this line cf. line 3 in I, no. 35 above, and see footnote 2 on p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reading is probably corrupted from *arwynawl kedawl Kredig*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *gwawr*, but cf. *gawr* in line 2 of next englyn.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *gweuyr*, but the emendation *gwaywawr* (cf. line 2 of next stanza) rhymes with *gawr*.

III

*Peniarth MS. 98B, pp. 48 ff.*

More Stanzas of the Graves from William Salesbury's hand, says  
Roger Morys.

1. The grave on the mountain  
of him who had led hosts,—  
the grave of Ffyrnfael the Generous, son of Hywlydd.
2. The grave of Gwa[ea]nwyn, renowned man,  
between the Llifon and the Llyfni,  
a man who would spare no one.
3. The grave of Gwydion son of Dôn on Morfa Dinlleu  
under the stones of Defeillon,  
. . . . .<sup>1</sup>
4. . . . .  
a renowned man, lord victorious in battle,  
terrible, bountiful was Credig.
5. After harness and curly-tailed steeds  
and battle and spears held straight,  
. . . . .<sup>2</sup>  
the fair head of Llofan of the Alien Hand.
6. After harness and yellow steeds  
and battle and opposing spears,  
. . . . .<sup>2</sup>  
the fair head of Llofan of the . . . Hand.
7. The grave of Llofan of the Murderous Hand on the shingle  
of Menai,  
where the wave makes a noise;  
the grave of Dylan is at Llanfeuno.
8. The grave of Llofan of the Murderous Hand on the . . . of  
Menai,  
few are they who know it  
save God and me to-night.
9. The grave of Panna son of Pyd on Arfon's height  
under its cold earth.  
The grave of Cynon at Rheon ford.

<sup>1</sup> The text of line 3 is too corrupt for translation. So, too, line 1 in stanza 4.

<sup>2</sup> Line 3 in stanzas 5 and 6 appears to represent corrupt variants of the same original line.

10. Bedd Llew Llawgyffes dan achles mor;  
cyn dyfod ei armes  
gwr oedd,<sup>1</sup> gwahoddai ormes.
11. Pan gyfu benhych ai befyl ar afon  
oedd arfawg ei ynni.  
llas Agen ap Rugri<sup>2</sup>  
o lias Ager yn aber Bangori.
12. Car canhwyliaith hed hedar luoedd ei laith
13. Bedd Tydai tad awen yngwarthaf Bryn Arien.  
Yn y gwna tonn tolo,  
Bedd Dylan yn Llanveuno.
- 14.<sup>3</sup> Cicleu don drom dra thywawd  
am fedd Disgyrnin disgyffeddawd  
aches trwm anghrwes pechawd.
15. Bedd Elidir Mwynfawr ynglan mawr Meweddu,  
fawd brydus briodawr,  
Gwen efwr,<sup>4</sup> gwr gwrdd y gawr.
16. Y bedd yngorthir Nanllau  
ni wyr neb ei gynneddfau,—  
Mabon vag Mydrion glau.<sup>5</sup>
17. Bedd Ann ap lleian ymnewais fynydd,  
lluagor llew Ymraisi,  
Prif ddewin Merddin Embrais.
18. Vch law rhyd y garw faen ryde  
y mae bedd Rhun ap Alun Dyv[ed]

## IV

*Wrexham MS. 1, p. 361*

1. Piev'r bedd yn y kayrav  
gyferbyn a Bryn Beddav?  
Gwryd ap Gwryd glav.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *gwr oedd ef*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *ywgri* altered to *Rugri*. Peniarth MS. 111 reads *Yvgri*.

<sup>3</sup> Wrongly numbered 15 in MS.

<sup>4</sup> MS. *Gwen efwr* could be a corruption of *gwyn[n]ofwr* as suggested by J. Lloyd-Jones, *op. cit.*, s.v. 'gwenefwr'.

<sup>5</sup> Here and in IV. 1 below one should possibly supply the word *Bedd* before *Mabon* and *Gwryd* respectively to give in each case a line of seven syllables, the normal length in an englyn milwr.

10. The grave of Lleu Llawgyffes under cover of the sea;  
before his doom came  
he was a man who invited attack.
11. When . . . came with his . . . on a river  
his strength was armed.  
Agen son of Rugri was slain  
following the death of Ager at Aber Bangori.
12. Kinsman . . . . .
13. The grave of Tydai, father of the muse, on the top of Bryn  
Arien.  
Where the wave makes a noise,  
the grave of Dylan is at Llanfeuno.
14. I have heard a heavy wave upon the sand  
around the grave of Disgyrnin Disgyffeddawd  
. . . . .
15. The grave of Elidyr Mwynfawr on the bank of great  
Meweddus,  
highly famed ruler,  
provoker, a man of might in battle.
16. The grave on Nantlle's height,  
no one knows its attributes,—  
Mabon son of Mydron the swift.
17. The grave of Ann son of a nun on . . . mountain  
Causing gaps in a host, lion of Emrais;  
Chief magician of Myrddin Emrys.
18. Above the ford of the rough stone . . .  
is the grave of Rhun son of Alun Dyfed.

IV

*Wrexham MS. I, p. 361*

1. Whose is the grave in the fortified places  
opposite Bryn Beddau?  
Gwryd son of Gwryd the swift.