CATHERINE MCKENNA

'PY GANWYF?'
SOME TERMINOLOGY FOR POETRY IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY WALES

Hector Munro Chadwick (1870–1947) was Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge from 1912 to 1941. Through the immense range of his scholarly publications, and through the vigorous enthusiasm which he brought to all aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies — philological and literary, historical and archaeological — he helped to define the field and to give it the interdisciplinary orientation which characterizes it still. The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, which owes its existence and its own interdisciplinary outlook to H. M. Chadwick, has wished to commemorate his enduring contribution to Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic studies by establishing an annual series of lectures in his name.

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CATHERINE MCKENNA

It is a tremendous honor to have been invited to give the H. M. Chadwick Lecture for 2015, and a great pleasure to be here, where it is so indubitably spring, among so many good friends.[1] Many of those who have preceded me as Chadwick Lecturer have deep roots in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, of which H. M. Chadwick is the founding father. My own relationship with ASNC blossomed at a later stage in my professional life, but it has been a source of great satisfaction to me both personally and as advisor to a number of postgraduate students who have come to Harvard from ASNC, or who have found support for their research here as visitors from Harvard.

I am not a child of ASNC but I owe a considerable debt to H. M. Chadwick nevertheless. As an undergraduate, I was deeply attracted to the literary ethos associated with his vision of the Heroic Age, and I set my sights at first on becoming an Anglo-Saxonist. It was the desire to do 'a little Celtic on the side' that eventually took me to Harvard's Celtic Department and a little Old English on the side. When I went to Harvard as a student, the Chadwicks' *Growth of Literature*[2] was still enormously influential in the study of the early Middle Ages. In early Irish studies, the focus was on the Ulster Cycle, and in Welsh studies, on *hengerdd*. I had imagined myself concentrating on the Irish side of Celtic studies, but a couplet from *The Gododdin*, then regarded almost incontrovertibly as an heroic age poem, changed my mind:

[2] H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932; repr. 1986), 3 vols.

> Trychant trwy beiryant en cattau
> A gwedy elwch tawelwch vu.[3]

I loved what seemed to me to be the stoic terseness of it; even more, I loved the chiastic rhyme in the second line.

As it has turned out, I have spent more of my time and energy on the Poets of the Princes than on *hengerdd*, and I have thereby managed largely to sidestep the difficult but productive questions that have arisen in recent decades concerning its actual 'heroic age' status. But the work that many and various scholars, including Simon Evans, Geraint Gruffydd, Marged Haycock, Daniel Huws, Graham Isaac, Brynley Roberts, Simon Rodway, Jenny Rowland, Paul Russell, and others, have done in grappling with those questions has transformed our understanding of literary culture in medieval Wales in ways that affect our understanding of the poets of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Wales as much as they do our understanding of the *Cynfeirdd*.[4]

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[3] Ifor Williams, ed., *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1938), 3 (lines 70–1).

[4] Among the studies that have most influenced my own thinking about the dating and chronology of Welsh poetry are R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Canu Cadwallon ap Cadfan,' in *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd: Studies in Old Welsh Poetry*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), 25–43; D. Simon Evans, 'Iaith y Gododdin,' in *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, ed. Bromwich and Jones, pp. 72–88; David N. Dumville, 'Early Welsh Poetry: Problems of Historicity,' in *Early Welsh Poetry: Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, ed. Brynley F. Roberts (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1988), 1–16; Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990); G. R. Isaac, *The Verb in the Book of Aneirin: Studies in Syntax, Morphology and Etymology* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996); G. R. Isaac, 'Readings in the History and Transmission of the *Gododdin*', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 37 (1999), 55–78; Daniel Huws, 'Five Ancient Books of Wales,' in *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press and National Library of Wales, 2000), 65–83 (originally published as The Sixth H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture (Cambridge: ASNC, 1996)); Simon Rodway, 'Two Developments in Medieval Literary Welsh and their Implications for Dating Texts', in *Yr Hen Iaith: Studies in Early Welsh,* ed. Paul Russell (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2003), 67–74; G. R. Isaac, '*Canu Aneirin* Awdl LI Revisited: Gildas and the *Gododdin*', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 54 (2004), 144–53; Marged Haycock, ed. and trans., *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2007; 2nd edn 2015); Paul Russell, 'Scribal (in)consistency in Thirteenth-century South Wales: The Orthography of the Black Book of Carmarthen', *Studia Celtica* 43 (2009), 155–74; O. J. Padel, 'Aneirin and Taliesin: Sceptical Speculations', in *Beyond the Gododdin:Dark Age Scotland in Medieval Wales,* ed. Alex Woolf (Saint Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies, University of Saint Andrews, 2013), 115–52.

I will be focusing here on the poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but with a very keen sense of how deeply indebted I am to the various ways of thinking about earlier Welsh poetry—and poetry long thought to be earlier, although perhaps not—that these scholars have introduced into the conversation.

The traditional model of the development of Welsh poetry was confident of the sixth-century roots of the poetry attributed to Aneirin and Taliesin, of the ninth-century provenance of the saga *englynion*, and of the eleventh- and early twelfth-century authenticity of the several praise poems that anticipate the explosion of praise poetry in the mid-twelfth century. Closely bound up with this model was a notion of the bard as the companion of his chief, the singer of his praises and occasionally his sharply satirical critic. Most poetic activity apart from the singing of praise was, until fairly recently, imagined to have been strictly out-of-office hours and at least slightly surreptitious, almost certainly devoid of status in the public sphere of the court. Caerwyn Williams' 1970 overview of the Poets of the Princes drew a confident line from the poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries back to the five who *in poemate claruerunt* in the mid-sixth century, according to the *Historia Brittonum*, and beyond them to the *bardoi* of classical writers in the Posidonian tradition, such as Diodorus Siculus, Athenaeus and Strabo.[5] That model of the Welsh bard of the High Middle Ages as preserving in all respects the ancient traditions of his profession has been modulated by the same work that is reshaping our understanding of *hengerdd*. I think particularly of course of Marged Haycock's sustained work on the Book of Taliesin and her tantalizing suggestion that not only may much of the Taliesin poetry have been composed and performed by poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries adopting the Taliesin persona,

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[5] J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Beirdd y Tywysogion: Arolwg', *Llên Cymru* 11 (1970), 3–94, especially 14–18; see also idem, *The Court Poet in Medieval Wales* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997). For the passage of *Historia Brittonum* referred to (*Tunc Outigirn in illo tempore fortiter dimicabat contra gentem Anglorum. Tunc Talhaern Tat Aguen in poemate claruit, et Neirin, et Taliessin, et Bluchbard, et Cian qui vocatur Gueith Guaut, simul uno tempore in poemate Brittanico claruerunt*), see John Morris, ed., trans., *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London: Phillimore; Totowa NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980), § 62 (p. 78). For passages from ancient writers on the role of the bards in ancient Celtic society, see J. J. Tierney, 'The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 60 (1959/1960), 189–275, especially 225, 228, 241, 248, 251, 269. These passages are also available, in translation, in John T. Koch with John Carey, eds., *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, 3rd ed. (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications), 10–19.

but that we may even be able to identify the principal Taliesin impersonator, that is, Llywarch ap Llywelyn, Prydydd y Moch.[6] And new insights into the poetry in the Book of Taliesin raise interesting questions in turn about the enigmatic stanza in the Book of Aneirin, *Canu Aneirin* 48 A, with its inscrutable reference to '*mi na fi Neirin*':

> Nyt wyf vynawc blin
> Ny dialaf vy ordin.
> Ny chwardaf y chwerthin
> A dan droet ronin.
> Ystynnawc vyg glin
> En ty deyeryn.
> Cadwyn heyernin
> Am ben vyn deulin
> O ved o vuelin.
> O Gatraeth werin.
> Mi na vi Aneirin.
> Ys gwyr Talyessin
> Ovec kywrenhin.
> Neu cheing e Ododin
> Kynn gwawr dyd dilin.[7]

A. O. H. Jarman translated this stanza as follows:

> I am no weary lord,
> I avenge no provocation,
> I do not laugh
> Beneath the feet of hairy slugs.
> Outstretched is my knee
> In an earthly dwelling,
> An iron chain
> Around my knees.
> About mead from the drinking-horn,
> About the men of Catraeth,
> I, yet not I, Aneirin

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[6] Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, 2nd edn, especially pp. 25–36. See also eadem, ed., *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybie: Cyhoeddiadau Barddas, 1994) and eadem, ed. and trans., *Prophecies from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2013).

[7] Williams, *Canu Aneirin,* XLVIII (p. 22).

(Taliesin knows it,
Skilled in expression)
Sang *Y Gododdin*
Before the next day dawned.[8]

One wonders whether Aneirin might be 'I, yet not I' because he is a persona adopted by a poet of the later Middle Ages.

Another aspect of the refinement in recent decades of our understanding of medieval Welsh literary culture, and here at last I turn in the direction of my actual topic, is an enhanced sense of the degree to which that literary culture was interwoven with the culture of ecclesiastical institutions, both the native *clasau* and the Cistercian monasteries adopted so readily by Welsh princes from the second half of the twelfth century on. ASNC's own Kathleen Hughes, Paul Russell, and David Dumville, along with Daniel Huws, are among those whose close study of the script and the contents of surviving Welsh manuscripts has helped us to identify with some confidence points of origin for annals, chronicles, and the earliest surviving anthology of Welsh poetry, the Black Book of Carmarthen.[9] Their work also helps us to map the relationship among the monasteries, particularly the Welsh Cistercian houses, and between these houses and the families that supported them. We know that the Cistercian houses, and Strata Florida in particular, played a significant role during the fourteenth century in the preservation and transmission of the poetry and prose of medieval Wales, as well as in the production and transmission of its historiography.[10] What I

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[8] A. O. H. Jarman, ed., trans., *Aneirin: Y Gododdin, Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem,* The Welsh Classics (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1988)*,* 49, p. 32 (lines 470–84).

[9] Kathleen Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles: "Annales Cambriae" and Related Texts', The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture for 1973 (London, 1974), also published in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59 (1973), 233–58; David N. Dumville, 'The Welsh Latin Annals', in *Histories and Pseudo-Histories of the Insular Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), III (originally published in *Studia Celtica* 12/13 (1972–4), 461–7); Daniel Huws, *Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes* (forthcoming); Paul Russell, 'Scribal (in)consistency in Thirteenth-century South Wales'; idem, 'Orthography as a Key to Codicology: Innovation in the Work of a Thirteenth-century Welsh Scribe', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 25 (1993), 77–85; see also Owain Wyn Jones, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Wales' (PhD diss., Bangor University, 2013).

[10] See Daniel Huws, 'The Hendregadredd Manuscript', in *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 193–226 (originally published as 'Llawysgrif Hendregadredd', *Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales Journal* 22 (1981), 1–26); and 'Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch', in *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 227–68 (originally published in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 21 (1991), 1–37).

would like to consider today is the likelihood of the poets themselves, and not merely their texts, having participated in the life of those monasteries in the preceding centuries as well.

The Welsh poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were high status servants and companions of aristocratic patrons, many of whom were patrons as well of monastic foundations. In return for their material support, the monasteries served their patrons' spiritual needs. The monks prayed for their benefactors, of course, but the monasteries also sometimes served them as places of retirement in old age and as final resting places for their remains. The monasteries also engaged, as already noted, in literary activities–composing, compiling, combining, and redacting historical records, and on some occasions making records of poetry that celebrated those patrons and the narrative prose that entertained them. I realize that in alluding implicitly to such books as the Hendregadredd Manuscript, the White Book of Rhydderch, and Peniarth 20, I am anachronistic, stepping beyond the end of the period of the Poetry of the Princes into the fourteenth century. The vigorous work of the Cistercian monasteries in the vernacular belongs to the period after 1282. Earlier poetry manuscripts, though, — the Black Book of Carmarthen and the Book of Aneirin — bear witness to a degree of monastic involvement with the vernacular literary culture in Wales in the pre-conquest period. The Black Book is fascinating, regarded in this perspective, revealing as it does the scribe's access to, and taste for, poetry of many different kinds and subject matters. Some of these seem appropriate to a monastic milieu, such as the hymns of praise, the poem that draws on the apocryphal tradition of the infancy gospels, and the debate between body and soul. Others are more secular, including the poems associated with Llywarch Hen, Myrddin, the legendary Taliesin and Arthur; the poems rooted in place lore; and the several praise poems that belong to *barddoniaeth y tywysogion* 'the poetry of the princes'.[11]

On the basis of these bits of manuscript evidence of a pre-Conquest interest in Welsh poetry in the monasteries, and of what we know about the relationship of aristocratic patrons to monasteries on the one hand, and to their court officers on the other, I hope that you will indulge me if I imagine a milieu in which poets accompanied their princes to monasteries from time to time, in which poets as well as princes engaged in occasional conversations with abbots and other highly placed monks. The clearest evidence in the poetry itself for relationships between poets and monasteries points to the native *clasau:* I am thinking here of the poems by Cynddelw to

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[11] A. O. H. Jarman, ed., *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982).

St. Tysilio, by Llywelyn Fardd to Cadfan, and by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog to St. David, poems which associate themselves with Meifod in Powys, Tywyn in Meirionydd, and Llanddewibrefi and St. David's respectively.[12] There are also the *marwysgafn* of Meilyr Brydydd, with its familiar and affectionate evocation of the monastery on Ynys Enlli, or Bardsey, and Einion ap Gwalchmai's reverent representation of the monastic life.[13]

Some interesting analyses of the poems to saints have suggested ways in which they might have constituted part of a political discourse among elites that included clerics, princes, poets, and other courtiers. Nerys Ann Jones has argued that Cynddelw speaks in his poem celebrating St. Tysilio on behalf of the *clas* of Meifod, where Madog ap Maredudd, the last prince of a unified Powys, was buried beside his predecessors. She suggests that the poem addresses itself to Owain Gwynedd, powerful ally of Owain Fychan, one of two contenders for supremacy in southern Powys, and that its subtext is a plea to Owain Gwynedd to protect Meifod during a perilous period of conflict between two of the heirs of Madog ap Maredudd.[14]

Cynddelw's career, as inferred from the surviving eulogies and elegies attributed to him, is usually described as having started in his native Powys, in the service of Madog ap Maredudd, and ended in the court of Gwynedd, where he sang the praises of Owain Gwynedd, among others. An interpretation of his *Canu Tysilio* that insists upon its being a praise poem

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[12] *Canu Tysilio*, GCBM I, 3; *Canu Cadfan*, GLlF, 1; *Canu i Ddewi*, GLlF, 26. References to the editions in CBT are by volume, poem and line numbers unless otherwise indicated; the English translations are generally based on the modern Welsh rendering.

[13] *GMB*, 4.27–38: *Pryd y bo kyfnod yn kyuodi/ y ssaßl yssy 'met, armaa ui./ As bwyf yn adef yn arhos y llef,/ Y lloc a achef aches wrthi,/ Ac yssi ditrif didreul e bri/ Ac am y mynwent mynwes heli./ Ynys ßeir uirein, ynys glan y glein,/Gßrthrych dadwyrein ys kein yndi./ Krist croesdarogan, a'm gwyr, a'm gwarchan / Rac uffern affan, wahan westi:/ Kreavdyr a'm crewys a'm kynnwys i / Ymplith plwyf gwirin gwerin Enlli* 'When the appointed time of our resurrection comes, all who are in the grave, make me ready. May I be at home, awaiting the call, in the monastery by which the tide rises and which is a wilderness of unperishing glory, and surrounding its cemetery the breast of the sea. Island of radiant Mary, holy island of the saints: anticipating resurrection is fair there. Christ of the prophesied cross, who knows me, will conduct me away from hell, the painful, isolated abode. The creator who created me will receive me among the pure people, the folk of Enlli'. *GMB*, 27.51–4: *Gwyn eu byd uyneich uyßn eglwysseu,/ Eglwysgar, hygar, hygadß gloeseu, / diwetyn werin wiryon gathleu, /dynyaton, dynyon diamreu* 'Blessed are they, monks in churches, church-loving, amiable, keeping penance; a gentle community of pure hymns, mortal men, steadfast men'.

[14] Nerys Ann Jones and Morfydd E. Owen, 'Twelfth-century Welsh Hagiography: the Gogynfeirdd poems to saints', in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 45–76, at pp. 59–61.

commissioned by a patron might have to choose between the superiors in Meifod and Owain Gwynedd. The abbot, the prior and the archdeacon of Meifod are explicitly praised for the honour that they accord to the poet and the gifts they give him, which is evidence of an encounter between poet and clerics:

> **Y Hynaf henyỽ o'e thiryon,**
> Handit ryd rỽng y dỽy auon;
> **Y Sygynnab gleỽ, gloeỽ rodyon**
> A uolaf, a uolant veirdon.
> **Karaf-y barch y Harchdiagon**,
> Caradaỽc vreinhawc, vreisc rodyon,[15]

And there appears to be a reference to Owain as well–or to <u>some</u> princely patron, in any event–when Cynddelw asserts that he is *prydydd* to the *dragon* of Prydain:

> **Prydyd ỽyf rac Prydein dragon**,
> Priaỽt kerd, cadeir prydydyon.[16]

If we think of the poem as Cynddelw's contribution to a conversation, whether in the presence of both abbot and prince or as a *de facto* messenger between them, the situation is slightly more complicated, and the poet's agency more to the fore. Not that he wouldn't have expected a reward, perhaps from both abbot and prince, but praise for the sake of reward might not have been his principal aim by any means in this diplomatic mission.

The relationship of poets with monasteries may be most evident in the case of the *clasau,* but given the early and extensive patronage extended by Welsh princes to the Cistercian order that first arrived in Wales in the 1130s, we may look for evidence of familiarity on the part of poets of the thirteenth,

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[15] *GCBM* I, 3.225–30. The editors' paraphrase of these lines may be translated thus: '[Meifod's] abbot comes from its district, it is free between its two rivers; its valiant prior, splendid are his gifts, I praise, whom poets praise. I love the honour that I receive from its archdeacon, noble Caradog, generous with gifts'.

[16] *GCBM* I, 3.211–12: 'I am a poet before a prince of Britain, possessor of art, the chief of poets'. The editors note that the epithet *Prydain ddragon* might be taken to refer to the abbot of Meifod, but consider it more likely that the *dragon* in question is Madog ap Maredudd, who was Cynddelw's patron. I would agree that the phrase refers to a secular patron, whether Madog (who might have been deceased at the time the poem was composed), or more likely Owain Gwynedd, whom Cynddelw subsequently served.

and even of the later twelfth century, with the Cistercian foundations as well The Lord Rhys took over Strata Florida from its original Anglo-Norman founder as early as 1165. By 1175, Cadell ap Gruffudd, a brother of the Lord Rhys who had once been the ruler of Deheubarth, but who was seriously disabled in 1151, was buried at Strata Florida 'after assuming the habit of the Order'.[17] He was the first of many Welsh princes who would take the habit in a Cistercian monastery, and die and be buried there. As Huw Pryce has pointed out, adopting patronage of monasteries seems to have been an aspect of the conquest of territory for Welsh princes, but it is not unlikely that a patron would be interested as well in the cultural capital that might be generated through an alliance with the monks and employment of their literary skills. The important books that we associate with Strata Florida — the Hendregadredd Manuscript and the White Book of Rhydderch — date from a century or more after Rhys's death. But the writing of history in Welsh Cistercian abbeys, for which Strata Florida was an important center, would seem to have begun within Rhys's lifetime, if only just. While we have no hard evidence of Cistercian communities taking an interest in the native arts of Wales before the fourteenth century, from that point on we have the evidence not only of book production but also of a substantial body of poetry addressed to Cistercian abbots.[18] Yet, given the interest that Rhys demonstrated in the arts of poetry and music, both native and Norman apparently, as evidenced in the gathering that he convened in Ceredigion in 1176, and given his patronage of the abbey of Strata Florida, it is not outrageous to imagine that he might have visited Strata Florida on occasion accompanied by a retinue that included a poet or two, perhaps even Cynddelw, nor to imagine similar occasions at the other Cistercian abbeys that developed strong Welsh identities — Whitland, Strata Marcella, Cwmhir, Aberconwy, Cymer, Valle Crucis.

For the thirteenth century, we have evidence of Cistercians serving as emissaries between Welsh princes, and gathering to invoke the support of the Pope for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.[19] While details of this sort gleaned from

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[17] Huw Pryce, 'Patrons and Patronage among the Cistercians in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2005), 81–95, at pp. 84 and 92, n. 39. Thomas Jones, ed. and trans.*, Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle* of *the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955), pp. 130–33, 146–7, 166–7.

[18] Dafydd Johnston, 'Monastic Patronage of Welsh Poetry', in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp. 177–90.

[19] J. Beverley Smith, 'Cymer Abbey and the Welsh Princes', *Cylchgrawn Cymdeithas Hanes a Chofnodion Sir Meirionydd* 13 (1998–9), 101–18, at pp. 110–11. On the

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the historical record have been marshaled as evidence of the political and cultural support for the Welsh princes offered by the Cistercians, not much thought has been given, as far as I am aware, to the precise nature of the contacts and interactions between monastic officials and princely court officers that are likely to have taken place in the course of meetings that dealt with matters of land tenure, diplomacy, or the commissioning of letters and documents. Speaking generally of Cistercian practice, in Wales as elsewhere, we know that princes and their retinues were among the categories of person offered hospitality on occasion in the guest houses of the monasteries, and these are very likely to have served as sites of contact between monks and poets.[20]

Iestyn Daniel has made the point that the Cistercian order, particularly in its early years, was 'anti-literary', frowning on any learning for its monks except the chant of the liturgy.[21] However, we know for one thing that the community at Strata Florida seems to have gotten over its resistance to non-liturgical texts by the late thirteenth century, if not before. Indeed, the predominance of native Welsh names in the surviving lists of Cistercian abbots in Wales suggests that these men may well have been familiar with Welsh poetic traditions before entering the order.[22] And in any event, even to suppose a studied indifference to bardic poetry on the part of the monks does not require us to suppose an indifference to the life and liturgy of the monastery on the part of the poets.

I have been trying up to this point to set the stage for discussion in the remainder of my time of a few terms that occur in the work of the poetry of the princes in connection with their craft. It is important to bear in mind the evidence for the variety of their poetic practice — occasional demonstrations of arcane learning in a quasi-mystical mode in the persona of Taliesin or even perhaps Aneirin; penitential lyrics; bardic contentions; poems for their own children; poems in praise of women; celebrations of the aristocratic life, composed perhaps in collaboration with princely patrons; occasional poems warning princes, perhaps somewhat playfully, to show their poets proper respect; occasional poems alluding obliquely to a degree of estrangement of poet from patron; and what we think of as their bread and butter poems,

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involvement of the Welsh Cistercians in diplomacy, see also David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Caldey Island: Cyhoeddiadau Sistersiaidd, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 32–42.

[20] David H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998), pp. 126–8.

[21] Iestyn Daniel, 'Golwg ar Ryddiaith Grefyddol Gymraeg Ganol', *Llên Cymru* 15 (1984–8), 207–48, at pp. 218–19.

[22] David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, vol. 1, Appendix 1, no pp.

eulogies of princes, as well as elegies on their deaths. The modes and contexts of the performance of these eulogies are famously elusive to our understanding. Nevertheless, we take it that they would for the most part have been performed on occasions of some significance and gravity, and not every time that the prince and his *teulu* sat down to dinner together. Inaugurations, the three principal feasts of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, celebrations of military victories, and visits from or to important allies, subordinates, and overlords come to mind. We have seen in a very quick look at Cynddelw's *Canu Tysilio* that the praise poem might on occasions of such diplomatic visits have participated in the discourse of negotiation. I think it is helpful to look at the poets' role in this way, moving their role as praise poets out of the foreground and into the same plane as their other modes of poetic practice — even if this distorts the situation somewhat in a new direction.

The poetry itself is evidence that the poets were — to varying degrees, naturally — intimates of their princes. They were men of considerable social standing, in some cases members of families of poets that served several generations of princes or of families with members who served the princes as court officers in various capacities, as did the family of Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch. They were masters of rhetorical language, which was vital not only to entertainment but to decorum, diplomacy and the performance of status.

At the same time, the range of the poetry speaks to the horizontal relationships that connected the poets with one another in their craft. We don't have a clear understanding of the 'bardic order' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nor incontrovertible evidence that *pencerdd* was a title awarded by that order, as Dafydd Jenkins so persuasively argued.[23] Yet it is evident that the poets stood in very self-conscious relationship to one another, as multiple references in their poems make plain. I might cite just two examples. Meilyr Brydydd, in the *marwnad* for Gruffudd ap Cynan that stands at the head of the canon-defining Hendregadredd Manuscript, claims a more intimate relationship with Gruffudd than is available to *manfeirdd*, or petty poets. They are not even aware of the moment at which the old king

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[23] 'The essential point is that *pencerdd* and *bardd teulu* are terms belonging to two different fields: *pencerdd* names a status in the independent bardic organization, *bardd teulu* names an office in the state organization' (Dafydd Jenkins, '*Bardd Teulu* and *Pencerdd*', in *The Welsh King and His Court,* ed. T. M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen and Paul Russell (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp. 142–66, at 165).

passes away.[24] Cynddelw, in the poem from which I take my title, summons his fellow poets to rise up and sing, along with him we assume, but exults in his own special status: *a mi, ueirt, y mewn, a chwi allan!* (And I, poets, am within, and you without.) [25] The relationship among poets is certainly agonistic, but somehow, one feels, not always seriously hostile.

In addition to the networks that linked poet to patron in mutual dependency, and poet to poet in a web of wide ranging practice to which competition was fundamental, networks of aristocratic rulers and their wellborn retainers put poets into relationship with princes, warriors, jurists, and clerics. I want to suggest that these contacts outside the poets' professional order contributed inevitably to an enlargement of their sense of their art, and that we can catch glimpses of this in terms that they employ for the making of poetry.

It is fundamental to the tradition for poets and others to describe their activity as singing. Whether they chanted their verse, or intoned it as heightened speech, perhaps accompanied, they routinely refer to it as *canu* 'to sing, chant, produce musical sounds' as well as 'to compose poetry'. Describing poetic composition and performance as *canu* is an integral aspect of the 'backward look' employed by the poets of the princes to link their practice with that of the poets of *Yr Hen Ogledd*.[26] To cite one example of this, Dafydd Benfras in the mid-thirteenth century prays for the *awen* of Myrddin in order to praise Llywelyn Fawr as Aneirin had praised the doomed warriors of Gododdin:

> A'm gwnel, radd vchel rwyf cyflychwin,
> Cyflawn o awen awydd Fyrddin

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[24] *GMB*, 3. 85–6, 141–2: *Ni wyr kychwilueirt kyhusseitia6c / Tymp pan dreing terwyn toryf difreityawc* 'Pompous wandering bards know not the moment when the fiery one of the defending host dies'; *Ny 6tant vanueirt ny ma6r gynnyt / Pwy a enillo o'r do ysyt* 'The petty bards who achieve no great advancement do not know who of the present generation will triumph'. See also J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Meilyr Brydydd and Gruffudd ap Cynan', in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. K. L. Maund (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), pp. 165–86, with edition and translation at pp. 176–86.

[25] *GCBM* I, 1.34.

[26] For a complete list of references to the Cynfeirdd in the work of the Poets of the Princes, see Nerys Ann Jones, 'Hengerdd in the Age of the Poets of the Princes', in *Beyond the Gododdin: Dark Age Scotland in Medieval Wales*, ed. Alex Woolf (St. Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies, 2013), pp. 41–80, at pp. 43–9 and 59–61.

> I **ganu** moliant mal Aneirin — gynt
>> Dydd y **cant** Ododin.[27]

The verb *canu* abounds in the poetry of the princes. The conclusion of Cynddelw's *arwyrain* for Madog ap Maredudd, from which I have borrowed my title today, is a virtual concert of variations on the word, forms of which occur six times in five lines:

> Canwyf — py ganwyf? — cadclwyf cluduan:
> Canaf can caraf (can wyf gwaethyluann)
> Canu kert am borth am byrth cloduan;
> Kyuodᴠch, kenᴠch, kenyf o'm bann,
> A mi, ueirt, y mewn, a chwi allan.[28]

This kind of language links the poets of the princes not only with the *Cynfeirdd*, but in traditional scholarship with the *bardoi* described by classical writers in the Posidonian tradition. And indeed, the poets of the princes were nothing if not 'backward looking'. Not only did they make occasional reference to Myrddin, Taliesin and Aneirin, but they borrowed entire phrases from their predecessors among *Cynfeirdd* and *Gogynfeirdd* alike.

But there is other vocabulary for the process of making and performing poetry as well, and it is to some of that terminology that I turn at last. Seven of the poets of the princes use the noun *parabl*, or its verbal noun *parablu*. According to GPC, *parabl* is borrowed from Old French *parabole,* possibly via Middle English, and its earliest cited occurrence is in Cynddelw's *marwysgafn*, where he begs God to attend to his composition, described as *erbarch o gyfarch, o gyfaenad,/ fy nigabl barabl a rybarad, / fy ngherdd i'th gyrbwyll Canwyll canwlad.*[29] Cynddelw also employs the word in his *dadolwch* for the Lord Rhys.[30] It is not clear whether in this poem too

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[27] *GDB*, 25.3–6. The editor's paraphrase may be translated thus: 'May he make me, with my high degree of impure arrogance, full of the inspiration that Myrddin desired, to **sing** praise as did Aneirin once, on the day he **sang** *Gododdin*'.

[28] *GCBM* I, 1. 30–34: 'Let me sing—what should I sing?—the renowned battle-wounder: I will sing since I love, since I am contentious, singing a poem about support, about the famous gates: Arise, sing, I shall sing my song, and I, bards, within, and you without'.

[29] *GCBM* II, 18.83–5: 'The reverence of a salutation, of harmonious song, my flawless *parabl* which has been fashioned, my song in your praise, oh light of a hundred lands'.

[30] GCBM II, 9.1–6: *A'm rotwy rwyf nef rwysc aᴠdurtaᴠd — kert / (Ny'm gwnel cart o nebaᴠd) / Y uoli Mab Duᴠ dibechaᴠd,/ Dibechdoeth kyuoeth kyvundaᴠd. / Eil digabyl*

it refers to the part of his composition in praise of God, or whether, and I think this is a more reasonable interpretation, it refers to the praise of the Lord Rhys on which he is about to embark, having somehow flubbed an earlier *molawd* and gotten himself in trouble. Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, an older contemporary of Cynddelw, employs the term *parabl* unambiguously of a secular lord, Owain Gwynedd, whom he promises to exalt *ar barabyl perwaϬd, ar draethawd dras*.[31] We will return to this passage later on.

GPC defines *parabl* rather neutrally; it is glossed in English as 'utterance, spoken word, (verbal) expression; ?word, promise, oath; a speech, oration, report, ?tale; parable, a saying; (power or faculty of) speech; pronunciation.' Similarly, *parablu* is glossed 'to utter, say, speak, express verbally; pronounce or sound (letter, &c.); deliver (a speech, &c.); argue, reason; gabble, babble.' And yet the French *parabole*, from which it is thought to have been borrowed has as the first of its two closely related senses (according to Godefroy's *Dictionnaire de l'ancien langue francaise*) parable, i.e., a metaphorical or allegorical narrative, such as are found in the Gospels. Its second sense, derived from the first, is any rhetorical figure. I would suggest that the term *parabl* is likely to have held this specific sense, especially when it first came into Welsh, and that it meant more than generic utterance to the poets who employed it.[32]

And it is not impossible that it came into Welsh not from French, or perhaps not only from French, but from ecclesiastical Latin, although it would have had to be a fairly late borrowing from Latin to preserve its medial *-b-*. The Vulgate uses *parabola* to refer to the parables of Jesus; the word occurs five times in the thirteenth chapter of Matthew's Gospel alone. Even more pertinently, Psalm 77:2 in the Vulgate declares, *asperiam in parabola os meum eloquar propositiones ab initio.* (I will open my mouth in

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parabyl parhaaϬd, / Per awen, parhaus hyd UraϬd 'May the Lord of heaven give me the power of authoritative poetry (may he cause me shame about nothing) to praise the sinless Son of God, sinless and wise, the power of concord. May the second faultless *parabl* last, sweet *awen*, lasting until Judgment'.

[31] *GMB*, 8.63–4: *Ardwyreaf inheu uann, kyntoraϬr ffosaϬd, / Ar barabyl perwavd, ar draethawd dras* 'I exalt the chief, the battle leader, in a *parabl* of sweet eulogy, in a genealogical treatise'.

[32] The two senses of *parabl*, the generic and the specific, one referring to any utterance or word, the other to a parable, allegory, metaphor or other cloaked meaning, may both have been in play in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Welsh. The bifurcated development of Latin *parabola* is discussed by Aidan Doyle, 'Comparing Like to (Un)like: Parables, Words, and Opinions in Romance and Irish', in *Ollam: Studies in Gaelic and Related Traditions in Honor of Tomás Ó Cathasaigh*, ed. Matthieu Boyd (Madison NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2016), pp. 185–94, at pp. 186–7.

a parable; I will utter propositions from the beginning). The aura of arcane and ancient wisdom clings to the word *parabola* in this instance, arcane and ancient wisdom of the sort attributed to the figure of Taliesin, and claimed by poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they adopted his persona.

We find the noun *parab*[*y*]*l* in precisely this kind of mystical context in *Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*, a dialogue in *englynion* that has been tentatively dated to the twelfth century. In this poem, Arthur's deceased nephew appears to him in the form of an eagle and instructs him in some of the basic truths of faith. Throughout, Arthur refers to the eagle's discourse as *parabl*.[33] We also find what I would regard as a considered use of *parabl* as a descriptor for arcane speech in the Nativity hymn attributed to Madog ap Gwallter, identified in the Red Book as '*y Brawd Madog ap Gwallter*', and generally thought like to have been a Franciscan friar.[34] Madog's poem describes the prophecy (*darogan*) of the holy prophets (*proffwydi glân*) as [*c*]*laer barablau*.[35]

Madog may represent in his person the interpenetration of ecclesiastical and vernacular literary cultures in pre-conquest Wales. But any poet whose ecclesiastical connections — whether with native *clas*, Cistercian monastery, or even conceivably plain parish priest or *offeiriad teulu* — a poet whose diplomatic and ecclesiastical connections gave him access to the concept of the French *parabole* or the Latin *parabola* might well have adopted it precisely because of its connotations of the figurative language, dark speech, and ancient arcane knowledge. We do the poets an injustice, I think, when we render *parabl* as a generic 'utterance'; we lose the attention that the word draws to the metaphors that are the heart of their eulogies, and we ignore the glimpse that the word gives us of their culturally productive relationships with other orders of society.

I will not discuss all of the remaining occurrences of *parabl* in the poetry of the princes.[36] I have to admit that the pull of the delicious rhyming phrase *digabl barabl* seems to exert its influence in some of them to a greater degree than do the connotations of the word itself.[37] But there are

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[33] Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas*, poem 30, pp. 297–312.

[34] Rhian M.Andrews, ed., 'Gwaith Madog ap Gwallter,' in *GBF*, pp. 345–92, at 347.

[35] *GBF*, 32.20.

[36] These are: *GMB*, 8.64; 26.40; 28.3–4; *GLlF* 22.8; Prydydd y Moch, in *GPM*, 8.7; 10. 88; 23.99; *GBF*, 3.19; 32.20.

[37] This collocation occurs four times: in a passage in Seisyll Bryffwrch (*GBF* 22.8); in a line from Prydydd y Moch (*GPM* 23.99), and twice in poems of Cynddelw discussed in the text (*GCBM* II, 9.1–6; 18.84).

reasons for believing that the word was chosen for its resonance in a number of them. Even into the thirteenth century, the word seems to hold on to some of its implication of intrinsically <u>poetic</u> speech. Phylip Brydydd celebrates his own poetry in an *ymryson* with wandering bards that supposedly took place in the court of Rhys Ifanc in Llanbadarn Fawr at some point between 1215 and 1222. It is a poem that situates itself explicitly in relation to the contention of the bards at the court of Maelgwn Gwynedd in which Taliesin was the victor, a poem very conscious of itself as participating in a long tradition. And as its editor, Morfydd Owen, points out, it incorporates 'some lines of excursus demonstrating the poet's knowledge of religious and apocryphal matters'. At the conclusion of the poem, Phylip praises Rhys's court and his own performances there by referring to a time *pan ṽei parabl doeth a dywettit.*[38]

I would like to look next at a second set of terms employed by poets of the princes when referring to their practice: the verb *traethu* and its related nouns *traeth* and *traethawd.* Forms of *traethu* and nouns built on the same root abound in the poetry of the princes; a cursory count that I am not certain included every possible relevant form yielded more than 60 instances.

GPC identifies the verb *traethaf, traethu* as a borrowing of Latin *tractō*, and glosses it as follows: 'to speak, express, declare, relate, pronounce, tell, say, talk, speak (in public), deliver (lecture, speech, &c.); address (in poetry), declaim (poetry); discuss (orally or in writing), explain, set out.' In other words, it is again a rather generic verb for the production of any kind of speech act, and most paraphrases and translations of its instances in medieval Welsh poetry have treated it as such — a neutral set of terms for the production of an utterance, handy for poetic purposes for various reasons. It can be transitive, and take *traethawd* as its direct object, permitting satisfying phrases like *draethawd a draethaf.* It must be acknowledged that the Latin *tractō* is itself a verb with a very wide semantic range, encompassing every sort of verbal activity and manipulation. It is also a verb that found its way, especially in the Middle Ages, into a noun based on its past participle, *tractātus,* a noun that refers to a considerable range of verbal products — treatises, tractates, tracts — that generally have in common a seriousness of purpose, a concern with exposition rather than narration, and some degree of extension: we do not expect a *tractātus* to be succinct. Many instances of the verb *traethu* in medieval Welsh prose suggest that it had this particular overtone of serious and extended verbal consideration. We find it used this way in the *Bruts*. In the mid-thirteenth-century Llanstephan 1 *Brut*

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[38] *GDB*, 14.31–8 and 54.

y Brenhinedd, most likely written at Valle Crucis, for example, it is written of the decadent state of Christian religion in the time of Vortigern that *ar rey hynny a traethws Gildas en eglur*.[39] It occurs in the Laws as well; in the BL Cotton Caligula A.iii text of *Llyfr Iorwerth* (written by the same scribe as Llanstephan 1), the section of the Laws of Court dealing with the poet opens with *Or bard teylw ay ϭreynt. ay swyd. ay delyet e traetha hynn*,[40] and similar formulae employing the verb *traethu* occur in connection with the other officers and elsewhere in the laws.

The noun *traethawd* occurs far less frequently in early prose. Interestingly, it appears in the text of *Historia Gruffud Vab Kenan* with specific reference to verse. The author expresses his inadequacy before the task of describing Gruffudd's battles by declaring that *Miϭi a gyuadeuaf nas dichonaf ϭi ac nas dichonϭn pei bedϭn kyn huotlet a thullius ϭard ym prol. ac a maro ϭard en traethaut mydyr.*[41] Elsewhere, however, the noun *traethawd* appears in passages similar to those in which we find the verb *traethu*. The text of *Brut y Brenhinedd* in the later thirteenth-century NLW MS 5266, like that in Llanstephan 1, makes reference to matters dealt with by Gildas that require no further elaboration in the Brut; in NLW 5266, though, this is expressed using the noun: *Canys peth a ysgriuennei gur kymmeint a hϭnnϭ. o eglur traethaϭt nyt reit ym minneu y atnewydhau ef.*[42]

The noun *traethawd* occurs far more frequently in the poetry of the princes than it does in the surviving prose of the period as witnessed by early manuscripts. It is a particular favorite of Cynddelw, in whose surviving

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[39] G. R. Isaac et al., ed., *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13eg Ganrif Fersiwn 1.0.* (Cadair: Open Access Repository at Aberystwyth University). Llanstephan1, t. 121 (accessed 8 March 2015). On MS Llanstephan 1, see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, pp. 53, 58.

[40] Isaac, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13eg Ganrif Fersiwn 1.0*, Cotton Caligula A.iii t. 149r, col. 1 (accessed 8 March 2015).

[41] Ibid., Peniarth 17, t. 15. In the Latin text of the Life published by Paul Russell, the corresponding passage is as follows: *ingenue fateor deesse mihi facultatem, immo nec tanto oneri posse me esse parem, si vel soluta oratione Tullii eloquentia pollerem, vel adstricta numeris poesi Maronem vincerem (*Paul Russell, ed., trans., *The Medieval Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), Appendix 3: The fair copy of Peniarth 434 in BL, Cotton MS. Vitellius C.ix, fols. 133r–143v, § 23, p. 193). The underlying crossed-out text of Peniarth 434 which best represents the original has *Homerum* instead of *Maronem*, Homer rather than Vergil, as the poet whose excellence in metrical discourse the author could not hope to emulate. My thanks to Paul Russell for this information.

[42] Isaac, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg o Lawysgrifau'r 13eg Ganrif Fersiwn 1.0*, LLGC 5266, t. 85 (accessed 8 March 2015).

poetry it occurs ten times, out of a total of 18 instances in the corpus. Setting aside for the time being, but bearing in mind, the 11 occurrences in his poetry of forms of the verb *traethu*, an examination of his use of the noun *traethawd* may shed some provisional light on the question of whether it was understood simply as a synonym for 'poem' or 'composition', or whether it had a particular referent or resonance.

Five instances of *traethawd* in Cynddelw's poetry occur in *awdlau* addressed to God, and suggest to my mind a conviction that such a poem must be something more than and different from a common or garden variety eulogy of a prince. In one *awdl i Dduw*, Cynddelw declares that

> Caraf-y dreth a draethant geinyeit,
> Traethaᴃt ber y buraᴃ eneit.[43]

> I love the tribute that the *ceiniaid traethu*,
> A sweet *traethawd* to purify the soul.

While this couplet has been interpreted as referring to *datgeiniaid* reciting poems as tributes to God, I think that it more likely expresses admiration of the liturgical chant of monks–the *ceiniaid,* in my reading–and a belief in its spiritual efficacy. And further on in the same poem, *traethawd Ieuan* refers to the Gospel of John, or to the opening 14 verses that were known in Welsh as *Efengyl Ieuan.*[44] In another *awdl i Dduw*, it is said that it is through a *traethawd berffaith*, or perfect *traethawd,* among other things, including 'the fetters of language' (*egwydet yeith*) and the catechism (*egwytaᴃr*) that the Lord is glorified, and this grouping also implies that the *traethawd* is some sort of treatise on the nature of the Trinity.[45]

What then to make of two instances in Cynddelw's *marwysgafn* where the *traethawd* is clearly his own composition, which he offers to God? The word here is not an unmarked synonym for 'poem', but a calling of the divine attention to the fact that Cynddelw's work is as reflective and informed as any other theological treatment of the nature of God.[46]

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[43] *GCBM* II, 16.122–23.

[44] *GCBM* II, 16.219–20: *Gᴃedy treth mal traethaᴃt Jeuan, / Kynn glasued, kynn glassu vyg grann.*

[45] *GCBM* II, 17.11–14: *O fyryf yoli Tri o draethaᴃd berfeith, / O egwydet yeith, o egwytaᴃr, / Berthideu Rieu rhywasgaraᴃr, / Ny mad borthes mam mab nwy ditaᴃr.*

[46] *GCBM* II, 18.15–6 and 66–7: *Cyfarchaf-i, Dduw, cyfarchaf — ceinfolawd / Ar draethawd a draethaf*; and *Gwledig arbennig, pan genais — hanawd / Nid ofer draethawd a rydreuthais.*

It is interesting that four of the eight instances of *traethawd* found in the work of the poets of the princes but outside of Cynddelw's verse are to be found in poems attributed to members of the 'founding family' of *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, the family of Meilyr Brydydd of Gwynedd. Three of these occur in religious poems. Gwalchmai ap Meilyr prays that he may occupy himself with composing a *traethawd* about God whenever he speaks; Meilyr ap Gwalchmai (who may or may not have existed),[47] prays that God will enable him to compose a *traethawd deithi*, a *traethawd* on the divine attributes, a phrase that evokes the idea of the *traethawd* as a kind of formal theological treatise.[48] This poet was a contemporary of Cynddelw, and so we may cautiously imagine that the two poets would have shared a sense of the connotations of the term. Einion ap Gwalchmai joins the words *parabl* and *parablu* with *traethawd* and *traethu,* as he prays for the ability to compose a poem in God's praise, drawing together words that I hope by now to have convinced you carry something of a special charge, in order to indicate the sort of metaphorical and theological wisdom that ought to pack an *awdl i Dduw*. [49]

Additional evidence that *traethawd* is thought of as an expository form rather than a lyric one, is its use in connection with genealogy. In a secular poem, a eulogy or *arwyrain* for Owain Gwynedd, Gwalchmai declares his intention to praise Owain in 'a *parabl* of sweet praise, in a *traethawd* of lineage'.[50] Like his son Einion, he juxtaposes the terms *parabl* and *traethawd*, in this case employing them in phrases that point to the different functions of the two terms, *parabl* referring to the multiplication of metaphors that is the very stuff of bardic eulogy, and *traethawd* to the facts, learned rather than inspired, that an effective praise poem must set forth in

[47] Nerys Ann Jones, 'Meilyr ap Gwalchmai – Rhithfardd?' *Dwned* 9 (2003), 23–36.

[48] *GMB*, 33.1–4: *Reen riedaϭc rϭysc ryuerthi, / Rex, ryngaf o'th rod rϭyduod uoli, / Rann eiryan araϭt traethaϭt teithi / Y'm trugar Arglϭyd, Kulwyd keli.*

[49] *GMB*, 28.1–4: *Peryf nef, pura uyg keudaϭd, / Par ym, Duw, parablu ohonaϭd / Parabyl gwir pan dreithir draethaϭd / Per uegys pur uelys uolaϭd.* Barry Lewis considers the terms *parabl* and *traethawd* in his PhD thesis, and concludes that 'Nid enwau generig mo'r rhain; fe'u defnyddir yn ddiwahân am ganu mawl seciwlar a chanu i Dduw. Enwau ydynt am farddoniaeth a cherddi'n gyffredinol, enwau sy'n pwysleisio'r cysyniad o grefft'. (Barry James Lewis, 'Genre a Genres ym Marddoniaeth Grefyddol y Cynfeirdd a'r Gogynfeirdd , PhD diss., Aberystwyth University, 2003, p. 131). While I would agree that the terms are not markers of genre, I believe that they are something other than 'names for poetry and poems in general'.

[50] *GMB*, 8. 63–4: *Ardwyreaf inheu uann, cyntoraϭr ffosaϭd, / Ar barabyl perwaϭd, ar draethawd dras.*

order to give itself sturdy bones. Cynddelw uses *traethawd* in reference to a genealogy as well, in this case of one of the *gwelygorddau* of Powys.[51]

I am not sure that I can fit each instance of the word *traethawd in* Cynddelw's secular poetry into the glass slipper of specific semantic range that I have been attempting to craft for it here. In the 232-line *dadolwch*, or poem of reconciliation, that he addresses to the Arglwydd Rhys, patron of poets and of Strata Florida, a poem that I have already mentioned in connection with the term *parabl*, it seems that the poet promises a *traethawd* in the sense of a substantial piece of discourse, one worthy of the patron's forgiveness.[52] But in several other instances it is difficult to find anything beyond the alliterative symphony that the noun, its verb, and other derivative forms create.[53]

This has been merely an exploratory expedition into the world of Welsh words derived from Latin *tractō* and *tractātus*, and perhaps *trahō* and *tractus* as well. It remains to look closely and in detail at the ways in which the verb *traethu* is used; it remains to look at these words in other poetic corpora, and particularly the Book of Taliesin. However, I hope that I have given you some reason to believe that there is nuance in the terms that Poets of the Princes employ in connection with their poetic practice, as well as auditory variety. And that we can see in the range of language employed in connection with poetry a reflection of the networks in which the poets participated, and of their openness to aspects of the society in which they lived that lay beyond the bounds of song.

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[51] *GCBM* I, 10.45–6: *Seithued welygort, oleugor — tros waᴃd, / Eu traethaᴃd traethitor*.

[52] *GCBM* II, 9.13–14: *Mur maᴃrgor, treithitor traethaᴃd, / Traeth o'm bronn tra thonn, tra thywaᴃd.*

[53] *GCBM* I, 21.180–3: *Pan brouer traethaud traethaduryon — call, / Nid colledic uyg kyueillyon: /Kyndelw wyf, hyd tra uwyf traethaud gysson / Treithitor 'yg kert, 'yg kein osson*; *GCBM* I, 26.17–18: T*eilᴃg y'm talu a'm roter / Treth volaud, traethaud naud nausber.*

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CBT	Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion

GBF   *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a beirdd eraill Ail Hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, ed. Rh. M. Andrews, N. G. Costigan (Bosco), C. James, P. I. Lynch, C. McKenna, M. E. Owen, and B. F. Roberts, CBT VII (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996)

GCBM I   *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, I, ed. N. A. Jones and A. Parry Owen, CBT III (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991)

GCBM II   *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr*, II, ed. N. A. Jones and A. Parry Owen, CBT IV (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995)

GDB   *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac eraill o feirdd Hanner Cyntaf y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg*, ed. N. G. Costigan (Bosco), R. G. Gruffydd, N. A. Jones, P. I. Lynch, C. McKenna. M. E. Owen and G. A. Williams, CBT VI (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995)

GLlF   *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I ac eraill o feirdd y Ddeuddegfed Ganrif*, ed. K. A. Bramley, N. A. Jones, M. E. Owen, C. McKenna, G. Aled Williams, and J. E. Caerwyn Williams, CBT II (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994)

GMB   *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, ed. J. E. Caerwyn Williams and P. I. Lynch, CBT I (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994)

GPC   *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru. A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, ed. R. J. Thomas, Gareth A. Bevan and P. J. Donovan, 1st edn. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950–2002); 2nd edn. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003); online edn: http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk/.

GPM   *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn, 'Prydydd y Moch'*, ed. E. M. Jones and N. A. Jones, CBT V (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991)

NLW   National Library of Wales

The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic offers programmes of study, at both undergraduate and graduate level, on the pre-Norman culture of the British Isles in its various aspects: historical, literary, linguistic, palaeographical, archaeological. The Department also serves as a focal point for scholars visiting Cambridge from various parts of the world, who are attracted to Cambridge by the University Library (one of the largest in the world), the collections of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic manuscripts in the University and various college libraries, the collection of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Scandinavian coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, or the rich collection of Anglo-Saxon artefacts in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. It is possible for the Department to host a small number of Visiting Scholars each year.

Information on any aspect of the Department's activities can be obtained by writing to: The Head of Department, Department of Anglo Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Faculty of English, 9 West Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DP.

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